PIPE SPRING

Cultures at a Crossroads: An Administrative History



CULTURES AT A CROSSROADS

An Administrative History of Pipe Spring National Monument

Kathleen L. McKoy

2000

Cultural Resources Selections
No. 15
Intermountain Region
Denver, CO

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FOREWORD

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

This study, prepared by National Park Service Historian Kathleen L. McKoy, provides a comprehensive history of Pipe Spring National Monument's administration, from its creation in 1923 to 1990. It is concerned with the people and events that played a role in the establishment of the monument as well as its subsequent administration. The study will aid both current and future monument managers in protecting the monument and interpreting it to the public.

Karen P. Wade
Regional Director
Intermountain Region

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

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PREFACE

Purpose

This administrative history is primarily intended to provide monument managers with a better understanding of the complex issues underlying both the creation and subsequent administration of Pipe Spring National Monument. The study will also provide support staff working in the areas of resource management, interpretation, and maintenance with useful and accurate information to assist them in understanding how past events and decisions have impacted their areas of responsibility. The assumption underlying all administrative histories of National Park Service units is that through examining the problems their predecessors faced and the courses they followed, officials at all levels can be better informed about current issues and thus bring greater awareness to future management decisions.

The need for this study was identified in mid-November 1994 during an on-site meeting between members of the Rocky Mountain Region's cultural resources management team, led by Historical Architect Rodd Wheaton, and staff of Pipe Spring National Monument and Zion National Park. Superintendent John W. Hiscock had supervised the monument for only six months when the team responded to his request for technical assistance. Hiscock asked those assembled at this meeting to consider the question, what were the monument's most pressing cultural resource management needs and what would it take to address those needs? An ethnographic study of Zion National Park and Pipe Spring National Monument was already in progress. It was agreed at the time that, after a resource management plan, the next two most critical studies needed were a cultural landscape assessment and an administrative history. It was acknowledged that oral histories were also an important "mother lode" of information that had only partly been mined by past monument historians and few of those interviews had ever been transcribed.

Format and Organization

In researching and writing this study, I endeavored to gather and present information that would not only fulfill the requirements of an administrative history but that would also be useful to the monument in future studies, particularly those identified at the 1994 meeting. For example, this history documents the monument's efforts over the years to create a historic house museum, which may be useful to a future historic furnishings report; a chronology of past restoration and rehabilitation work on the monument's historic buildings will be equally essential to a historic structures report. (The drawback to such an approach, of course, is that in trying to create such an "all-purpose" document, far more detail is included than the average reader cares to wade through!) In the same vein, a coordinated approach was taken by monument management both in the timing and requests for funding and in the undertaking of a number of needed studies, contemporaneous with the administrative history project. All of the monument's documents were searched and assessed for pertinence; those determined of historical value were organized and archived. Thirteen oral history interviews (conducted by monument staff between 1973 and 1989) were transcribed in 1996; another 14 interviews were conducted in 1996 and 1997, eight of which were with members of the Kaibab Paiute

Tribe. All of these interviews provided much useful information. Moreover, data collected in 1997 to inventory and evaluate the monument's cultural landscape was also used and expanded on in the administrative history. This "layering" of projects was highly effective, both from a standpoint of funding and in increasing the amount of historical data which could be gathered.

While there was initial discussion about writing the monument's history using a thematic framework (having separate issue chapters on interpretation, tribal relations, and water matters, for example), it soon became apparent that a chronological format was a more appropriate and useful way to tell the Pipe Spring story. This is primarily due to the continually overlapping nature and complexity of monument issues. Beginning with Part IV, each chapter has an introductory section; most provide a historical context for the time period along with descriptions of changes in officials from the Washington, D.C., to the local levels. Most introductions offer a quick "snap shot" of the years covered in the chapter, highlighting the most significant events.

No existing historical or ethnographic studies adequately provided a background for the types of research questions being asked in this study. While a small number of articles and booklets have been published about Pipe Spring's early history, my research revealed that a significant amount of error and contradiction existed in these secondary sources. Realizing that some of what I presented in Part I would not be in keeping with some other histories in use at the monument, I took great care to endnote source material. Not all questions about the site's early history have been definitively settled. Additional research into 19th century documents may yield more answers, but was far outside the scope of this administrative history.

One thing became apparent as soon as I delved deeply into the history of the monument, and that is that one could not comprehend its history or appreciate the complexity of controversial matters — particularly about water - without at least a general understanding of the history of the two neighboring communities: the Kaibab Indian Reservation and the Mormon settlement of Moccasin. While it was beyond the scope of this study to chronicle a complete history of either of those communities, references to them continually surfaced in monument documents, some of which is included in this history. Part I contains background information about the Kaibab Indian Reservation and Moccasin to facilitate the reader's understanding of later events. This study provides only scattered references, however, to economic and social conditions among these communities after the Great Depression. As those communities research and compile their own histories, the Pipe Spring story can only grow richer.

The history of the monument's establishment is prefaced with a description of its setting and with historical and ethnographical background on the Arizona Strip. From that point onward, the history is written predominantly in chronological fashion through World War II. Beginning with the chapter on the Cold War (Part VIII) the chronological style is continued, but section headings tend to assume a more predictable format, allowing the reader to target specific information from one chapter to the next with relative ease. This style of organization, along with the index and an electronic version of this document, will enable monument staff to quickly computer-search subject areas and generate comprehensive reports on various sub-topics of the monument's history.

Sources

Research for this administrative history relied heavily on primary federal government documents from the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), especially Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79. Documents were also located in the NARA's Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Record Group 48, and from

Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), Record Group 75. Documentation on the Division of Grazing's Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) Camp DG-44 was primarily obtained from NARA's Records of the CCC, Record Group 35, and from monument archives. Other Park Service records and official correspondence were obtained primarily from the archives and administrative files of Pipe Spring National Monument and Zion National Park.

In addition to these sources, documents critical to the understanding of the history of the Kaibab Indian Reservation and its relations to the monument came from one regional office and two field stations of the BIA, listed below. Most documents related to the history of the Union Pacific's tours of and development in southern Utah and northern Arizona parks came from the Union Pacific Museum's archives in Omaha, Nebraska. Oral histories were also an important source of information. Oral history interviews were conducted with former superintendents (both of Pipe Spring and Zion), former interpreters and other monument staff, local cattlemen, Kaibab Paiute, and others. Maps, plans, and construction drawings were particularly helpful in reconstructing the history of monument developments and changes to the landscape (see Appendix XII for a list of these documents). Historical photographs were also useful in that regard.

The following is a comprehensive list by state of archives and libraries visited by either Historian Mary S. Culpin and/or myself in the course of research:

Arizona: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Western Regional Office, Branch of Real Estate Services and Branch of Land and Water Resources (Water Rights Protection Section), Phoenix; Hayden Library, Archives and Manuscripts, Arizona State University, Tempe; Northern Arizona University, Cline Library, Special Collections and Archives Department, Flagstaff; Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff; Pipe Spring National Monument archives and administrative files, Fredonia

California: Bancroft Library, Manuscript Collections, University of California, Berkeley; National Archives and Records Administration, San Bruno and Laguna Nigel

Colorado: National Archives and Records Administration, Lakewood; National Park Service, Water Resources Division files, Ft. Collins; National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Denver Support Office, administrative files; National Park Service, Denver Service Center, Technical Information Center and Library; Denver Public Library, Western History Collection

Maryland: National Archives and Records Administration, College Park

Nebraska: Union Pacific Museum, Omaha

New Mexico: National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Santa Fe Support Office, library, Santa Fe

Utah: Harold B. Lee Library, Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Church Library and Archives, Salt Lake City; Zion National Park archives and administrative files, Springdale; Bureau of Indian Affairs, Southern Paiute Field Station, St. George and Uintah and Ouray Field Station, Ft. Duschene

Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration

The following is a list of the most important series of official reports utilized during the

course of research:

Annual Reports (Pipe Spring National Monument and Zion National Park)
Annual Statements for Interpretation and Visitor Services (Pipe Spring National Monument)
Custodian's/Park Manager's/Superintendent's Monthly Reports (Pipe Spring National Monument)
Camp Inspection Reports for Pipe Spring National Monument (Emergency Conservation Work/Civilian Conservation Corps)
Field Reports for Pipe Spring National Monument (Branch of Plans and Design)
Historian's Monthly Reports (Pipe Spring National Monument)
Inspection Reports (Pipe Spring National Monument)
"Notes of C. Leonard Heaton on Pipe Springs National Monument" (Heaton Journal)
Log of Significant Events (Pipe Spring National Monument)
Log of Significant Events and Important Contacts (Zion National Park)
Monthly Reports to Chief Architect (Branch of Plans and Design)
Monthly Reports to Chief of Planning (Regional Landscape Architect)
Project Completion Reports (Pipe Spring National Monument)
Reports of the Secretary of the Interior
Reports of the Director of the National Park Service
Reports of Park Engineer on Civil Works Projects
Southwestern Monuments Monthly Reports
Staff Meeting Minutes (Zion National Park)
Superintendent's Monthly Reports (Zion National Park)

The Heaton Journal, referenced above, is a particularly valuable document. Leonard Heaton, the monument's custodian from 1926-1963, kept a daily journal at the monument, faithfully recording much of what took place during those years (this was in addition to his monthly reports to superiors). While the Heaton family retains the original hand-written journal, the monument has a typed transcription, made some years later. The latter contains numerous typographic and factual errors, however, and required considerable analysis and comparison with other documents to correct. It would be very useful to the monument to have a photocopy of the original.

Citations and Research Collection

As a point of clarification, early monthly reports were dated in endnotes according to when they were written (for example, a report for August might be dated September 5, when it was prepared). In later years, the date of preparation is unknown and reports are cited for the month they were written about ("monthly report, April 1964"). Over the years titles and positions of officials often changed. In the narrative, I referred to each official by the title that was current for the period I was writing about. It is customary in official government correspondence for memorandums to use titles only, rather than names. Whenever I could determine the name of an official, I used it in the endnote in lieu of title. In a few instances, it was not possible to locate the name of the official, in which case only the title was used. Finally, whenever I provided information that came from a secondary source, I referenced the primary document in the endnote, but did not list it in the bibliography, where only the secondary source it came from was listed. With few exceptions then, the bibliography contains only those documents that I had direct access to.

With the exception of books and works cited by other authors, copies of all documents reviewed and analyzed during the course of this study now form an administrative history research collection, which will become part of the monument's permanent archives. The exact

location where each document was found is referenced in pencil on the individual copy of the document. This information is not included in endnotes for several reasons. First, most of the documents obtained from the monument's archives were in process of being re-archived when copies were made for this study. In many cases, the file and location codes later changed and it was not possible for researchers to re-identify the thousands of pages of data copied and hand-labeled. Second, adding locational information to endnotes would have increased the length of these notes significantly. Third, most people who have additional questions about a document will most likely seek out the document copy in the monument's administrative history research collection, not go directly to the original archives or library. Finally, the locational information *does* exist on the copied document, should the reader still require it.

Within the administrative history research collection, documents from Park Service records have been filed chronologically; documents from other agencies or repositories (such as the BIA or Union Pacific) are also filed chronologically but separately, with other ix.documents from that location. Particularly lengthy or significant reports - deemed critical to the monument's administrative history - were filed in individually-labeled files and kept together to facilitate future reference. This overall organization should facilitate future use of the documents.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When the Pipe Spring National Monument administrative history project began in 1995, two Park Service historians were assigned to research and co-author the monument's history, Regional Historian Mary S. Culpin and myself. Culpin was by far the more senior historian and is acknowledged Service-wide as an authority on the history of water rights in national parks. Her expertise was important as the monument sought to document and gain perspective on resource issues at Pipe Spring. Culpin was instrumental in defining the scope of the project, successfully lobbied for initial funding, and actively participated in gathering primary research materials during 1995 and 1996. Her pending resignation from the Park Service, however, forced her to withdraw from active participation in the project in 1997. She continued to serve in an advisory capacity through the preparation of the history's first draft in late 1998 and provided much constructive comment.

During the research phase of the project, staff at all the archives and libraries visited were very helpful. In particular, I want to thank the following people: Vicki Black Webster, Southeast Utah Group, who assisted Culpin's and my work with the monument's archival collection even as she was busily reorganizing it; Pierre M. Cantou, Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in Phoenix, who graciously allowed access to BIA records in the midst of an office move; and Rosemary Sucec, for locating and copying Pipe Spring documentation in BIA offices in St. George and Ft. Duschene, Utah. The following people also offered assistance with archival collections: Karen Underhill at Northern Arizona University's Cline Library; Pat Etter at Arizona State University's Hayden Library; Tony Marinella at the Museum of Northern Arizona; Pat Fesler and Steve Floray at Zion National Park; and Don Snoddy at the Union Pacific Museum.

Other Park Service staff who reviewed and commented on the draft manuscript were Chief Chuck Pettee, Water Rights Branch, Water Resources Division, and Bureau Historian Barry Mackintosh, National Center for the Cultural Resource Stewardship Partnership Programs. Aside from the author, only one other person was required to read and reread multiple copies of the draft, and that was the monument's Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management Andrea Bornemeier. In addition to providing constructive comments and corrections, she tirelessly searched out answers to questions that lingered after I had exhausted all other sources. In many of these efforts she had the support of other monument staff and I wish to express my appreciation to them as well.

In addition to internal review, a manuscript draft was submitted to two other historians: Dr. Reba Wells Grandrud, Acting Director of the Arizona Historical Society, Central Arizona Division, and Utah historian Charles S. Peterson. Both provided very helpful comments to the author and in a number of instances raised provocative questions worthy of future research. I also thank Tribal Administrator Angelita Bulletts, Civilian xi.Conservation Corps veteran Jack Harden, and former Park Historian Jim McKown for reviewing portions of the manuscript. I am particularly indebted to Martie Sucec for her careful editing as well as to Lori Kinser for expertly formatting the manuscript and preparing it for publication.

A number of former employees and people living in communities near Pipe Spring National

Monument contributed to this report through their willingness to be interviewed. For their interviews, I am grateful to the following people: former Zion National Park Superintendents Warren F. Hamilton and Robert C. Heyder, former Pipe Spring National Monument Superintendents Bernard G. Tracy and William M. Herr, former monument employees Melvin Heaton, Nora Heaton, Adeline Johnson, Leonard P. Heaton, Grant Heaton, Jack L. Harden, Park Guide Debra Judd, and two now-retired Park Service officials, Architect A. Norman Harp and Civil Engineer William E. Fields. For taking the lead in joint interviews with members of the Kaibab Paiute Tribe I want to thank Dr. David E. Ruppert, Park Service ethnographer. I am also thankful to the following members of the Kaibab Paiute Tribe for sharing their stories: Gloria Bulletts-Benson, Carlos Bulletts, Fred Drye, Vivienne Jake, Warren Mayo, Dolores and Gevene Savala, Lita Segmiller, Ila Bulletts, Angelita Bulletts, and Amelia Segundo.

During the course of time it took to complete research and write the administrative history, I worked under the supervision of three men: former Team Coordinator Robert L. Moon, former Acting Program Manager Richard J. Cronenberger, and current Program Manager William P. O'Brien. Without Moon's initial sanction and support in 1996 to work at home part-time on the project, followed by Cronenberger and O'Brien's subsequent support for the arrangement, it would not have been possible for me to devote the kind of concentrated attention the project required. For their support and for my co-workers' genial acceptance of the arrangement, I am very appreciative.

Finally, I am indebted to Superintendent John W. Hiscock for doing whatever was needed to ensure the success and completion of this study. In addition to making sure all the necessary funds were available to see the project through to completion, he fostered an environment at the monument that made working with him and his staff a continual pleasure. His meticulous review of the draft manuscript and searching questions reveal his training in law and history, at times spurring me to dig yet another layer deeper into the complexities of Pipe Spring's history. Of paramount importance to him was that the history be balanced and objective in its consideration and interpretation of historic events. To the extent to which I have achieved such a perspective, I owe much to those people cited above; to the extent that any lapse may have occurred, I take full responsibility.

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PIPE SPRING

Cultures at a Crossroads: An Administrative History

INTRODUCTION

On May 31, 1998, Pipe Spring National Monument celebrated its 75th anniversary. Festivities included guided tours of "Winsor Castle," living history demonstrations, pioneer and Native American craft demonstrations, old-time tunes performed on banjo and fiddle, Indian dancing and drumming, and informal talks about the management and preservation of the monument. Former, long-time Custodian Leonard Heaton would have approved of the free dinner of pit-roasted beef and Dutch oven-baked potatoes served to 400 at the celebration, what he used to call a "big feed!" In a number of ways, the day's activities were reminiscent of the old Establishment Day celebrations Heaton had hosted at the monument during the 1950s. Prior to the event, the Canyon Country Quilt Guild demonstrated quilting over a three-month period in the visitor center. Monument staff attempted to track down descendants of the "W" families - the Winsors, Whitmores, and Woolleys - to extend a special invitation. About 1,000 people attended the one-day event, most from towns within a 100-mile radius. A special exhibit on the history of National Park Service management of the site was produced and on display at the visitor center throughout the year.

After completing this report, I pondered the question, "If one could miraculously be transported back to Pipe Spring in the year 1923, what would be different?" The most dramatic differences are visual ones. The once-crumbling buildings have been fully restored and are well maintained. As for the landscape, most remnants of the site's late 19th and early 20th century ranching activities - the old corral fencing and cattle troughs, mud-lined reservoirs, earth compacted by cattle watering at the site - are all gone, replaced by verdant growth of shade trees, fruit orchards, and demonstration gardens. In place of a caretaker and cowhands inhabiting the Pipe Spring fort, employee housing is discretely tucked behind trees some distance south of the historic area. Rooms of the historic buildings are furnished now with artifacts that speak to the visitor of a way of life that none has ever experienced and few can imagine, life 120 years ago on the remote Arizona Strip.

Aside from the visual differences between the Pipe Spring of 1923 and now, there are other, more subtle differences. Not only a window to the past, this national monument is a window on the present, one through which we can see a nation wrestling on a daily basis with the human costs of Westward expansion. In years past, descendents of Euroamerican settlers sought to commemorate the sacrifices of their forebears, often through the preservation of such historic sites as Pipe Spring. Today, the country's collective consciousness has broadened to consider the impact that such settlement had on native peoples, to consider what they too sacrificed, almost always without choice. Since the 1970s, beginning with the rise of Indian activism in the United States, Pipe Spring National Monument has made a sustained effort to incorporate the story of the Kaibab Paiute people, struggling at times with how this could best be done. More and more, with the support of the National Park Service, the Kaibab Paiute are telling their *own* stories, leaving the listener to ponder history's lessons as well as its paradoxes.

The task directive for this administrative history specified that there were to be six areas of concentration: the monument's creation, its administration from 1923 to 1990, the evolution

of the buildings and landscape, the history of water rights and water use, the development of interpretive themes and services, and - since the monument is located within the Kaibab Indian Reservation - relations between the Park Service and the Kaibab Paiute.

The introductory chapter describes the monument's setting and provides background on the ethnography and pre-monument history of the region. Use of and competition for resources is clear at this time and is a recurring theme throughout the region's history, one that would continually color the monument's relations with its neighbors. The remaining chapters chronicle events leading up to the creation of the monument and its subsequent administration. The roles played by private enterprise (especially Union Pacific), the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Church), private citizens, and state and federal governments in developing tourism in southern Utah and northern Arizona are critical to understanding how and why the monument was established. Indian-white competition in Moccasin for water and land are also described, as this too played a role in the Heaton family's willingness to convey the Pipe Spring title to the federal government. Soon after the monument's establishment in 1923, the competing interests of two sister agencies of the federal government (the National Park Service and the Office of Indian Affairs) emerged as yet another thorny administrative issue.

In some ways, former Custodian Leonard Heaton was typical of early Park Service caretakers, often men with roots in the local community. Working for a nominal $1 per month in exchange for the "privilege" of living at and managing a site, Heaton had his counterparts all over the West. In other ways, however, Pipe Spring's history is unique. Built as a fortification against Indian raids just as treaties ended the threat to white settlers, it was never attacked. After establishment, the monument's location within the Kaibab Indian Reservation presented a number of challenges to the Park Service, the Office of Indian Affairs, and tribal government. Heaton oversaw the monument for a remarkable 37 years, from its early years through the Great Depression, World War II, the Cold War, the Korean War, and the onset of the war in Viet Nam. He did it with the unflagging help of his entire family, which included his wife Edna and, eventually, 10 children.

Thanks to the detailed monument journal kept by Heaton, we have an unusually personal picture of what life was like for a monument caretaker and his family during the Park Service's formative years. Even his letters and official reports to headquarters contain an open and frank style that reveals his thoughts and feelings on various matters. (This personal perspective of events is often lacking in most official records that administrative histories are based on.) Recent interviews with some of the Kaibab Paiute, as well as Heaton's own records, reveal a man who respected his neighbors and who was in turn held in esteem by Mormons and Indians alike. No other administrator after Heaton was so much a part of the two distinct yet overlapping worlds that lay just outside the monument's boundaries. Later Pipe Spring administrators came up through the ranks as career Park Service personnel. Since nearly all were regarded as "outsiders," they faced one problem that Heaton did not, that of earning the trust and respect of local communities.

Of all the subject areas covered by my research, I found the quality of the monument's public relations with its neighbors, particularly the Kaibab Paiute, the most difficult to quantify through historical documentation. Still, certain things are apparent. What monument managers *didn't* do was just as important as what they *did* do in establishing and maintaining good communication with the Tribe. My overall impression is that the individual manager's personal circumstances, interests, and style had much to do with whether or not successful relations were built with members of the Tribe, or for that matter, with the non-Indian community. For example, the fact that Superintendent Bernard Tracy's wife was a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, that he considered himself a native of the West, and that he loved to farm certainly facilitated the couple's acceptance by local Mormon

families. Of course, individual personalities and interests of tribal representatives were also part of the mix, coloring whether relationships with monument staff were close, as during Tracy's tenure, or distant at other times.

At times, a monument manager's particular past experiences infused Pipe Spring with much needed "new blood," reinventing or reinvigorating interpretive programs and relationships with the public. Superintendent Ray Geerdes' prior experience working with Alaska's white and Indian youth through the Neighborhood Youth Corps program in Sitka National Historical Park led to his successfully establishing similar programs at Pipe Spring in the late 1960s.

During the 1960s and 1970s, there was a great deal of face-to-face communication between monument staff and members of the Kaibab Paiute Tribe or its representatives. Mutual cooperation resulted in a wealth of visible benefits to all. The "honeymoon period" between the Tribe and Park Service resulting from their joint development activities in the early 1970s inevitably ended, however, deteriorating from time to time into the proverbial (and literal) spat over who was responsible for cleaning up what. During the 1980s, Superintendent Bill Herr's interests appeared to be in establishing and strengthening social and political relations with the communities of Fredonia and Kanab. There is little evidence that he cultivated either personal or professional relations with the Tribe. Under his tenure, communication with tribal members was often indirect, made through the monument's maintenance man, Doug Dewitz. My impression is that relations with the Tribe stagnated during this period. Relations with Mormon neighbors also appear to have become rather strained in the 1980s as managers experimented with new ways of interpreting the site's history. The love of tradition is strong in this country and change is not easily taken to.

What is apparent from the historical record is that when monument-community relations have been good, truly *remarkable* things have happened! Much of the credit of the success of the monument's living history program during the 1970s is due to the enthusiastic involvement of interpreters (paid and unpaid) from Moccasin, Fredonia, and Kanab. Federally-funded Community Action programs of that period enabled the monument to employ young whites and Indians alike in unprecedented numbers, arguably making a real social and economic difference in the community. Plans to jointly plan and build a visitor center and joint-use well and water system in the early 1970s, accompanied by a vital and popular interpretive program, resulted in initial bridge building between three very different worlds: that of the white Mormon, the Indian, and the Park Service.

Much to the credit of the monument's current administration, great strides have been made in recent years in improving community relations, particularly with the Tribe. Once again, as it was nearly 30 years ago, Park Service and tribal representatives are communicating face-to-face, looking for ways to solve problems together. Only recently, in 1998, a resource collection agreement - now considered a model for the agency - was made with the Kaibab Paiute Tribe and Southern Paiute Nation for Zion National Park, Pipe Spring National Monument, and Cedar Breaks National Monument. (It is certainly not the first Pipe Spring model worthy of emulation. The joint developments with the Tribe in the early 1970s were considered exemplary at the time, held up as a model for other federal agencies.) Currently, monument management is working closely with the Kaibab Paiute Tribe to transform the current visitor center into a joint Park Service and tribal visitor center. (Ironically, something similar was the original intent of those who planned the building in 1971. Somewhere along the way, the Tribe's inclusion failed to materialize.) Living history interpretation has attained new levels of professionalism, accuracy, and inclusiveness with excellent "pioneer" and Indian presentations and demonstrations routinely available.

Challenges and opportunities will continually present themselves at Pipe Spring National

Monument as it enters the next century. The proposed joint visitor center will not only enhance relationships with the Tribe, but also greatly aid in telling the inclusive, culturally complete stories of the site. Pipe Spring should serve as an example to the diversity of our modern American populace, of how different cultures — prehistoric Indian, Southern Paiute, and Euroamerican — utilized and lived within the natural environment differently, and how their practices, contact, and interactions changed lifestyles, and even the environment they relied upon. It can also serve as a monument to the struggles and triumphs of Americans seeking social, economic, and religious freedom in the American West — in this particular instance, the Latter-day Saints. Management continues to be confronted with issues associated with protection, allocation, and distribution of water resources. Current efforts to expand our knowledge of the regional groundwater aquifer and to convince all local communities of its limits and the need to concur in its use and protection are critical. Additional partnerships with tribal government should be built to allow relocation of other facilities (curatorial storage, housing) from the 40-acre monument to the neighboring reservation. All of these visionary goals will require positive relations between the National Park Service, the Kaibab Paiute Tribe, and local descendants of Euroamerican settlers.

As part of its mission to preserve, protect, and interpret its resources, one of the monument's greatest challenges in the coming century is to study the lessons afforded by its history and to strive to become a vital link between the generations and between diverse cultures. During the late 1980s, a visitor wandered into the visitor center and asked one of the Paiute seasonal interpreters at the front desk, "What *is* this place?" He answered, "Well, do you want the pioneer version, the Indian version, or the Park Service version?" For Pipe Spring National Monument to matter to all our country's citizens in the years ahead, it must find a way to convey the stories and values of the indigenous people, the white settlers, and the National Park Service. Pipe Spring National Monument is indeed a place where cultures are at a crossroads. [1]

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PIPE SPRING

Cultures at a Crossroads: An Administrative History

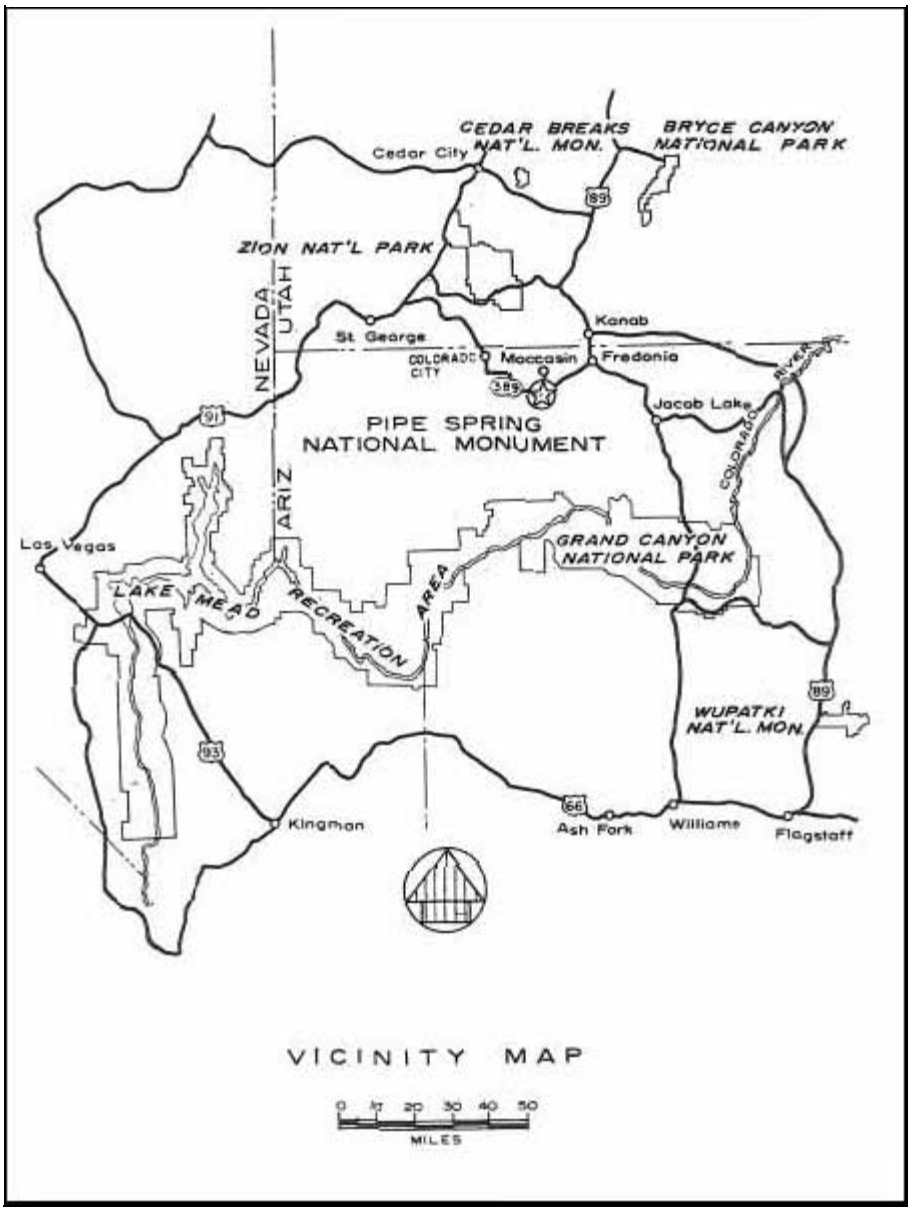
I: BACKGROUND

Location and Environment

Pipe Spring National Monument is located on a 40-acre tract of land in Mohave County, in the northernmost part of central Arizona. The monument is eight miles south of Utah's southern boundary, 60 miles southeast of St. George, Utah, 20 miles southwest of Kanab, and 15 miles west of Fredonia, Arizona, on State Highway 389. The entire stretch of land between Utah's southern boundary and the Grand Canyon is known as the "Arizona Strip." This region has very strong historical and cultural ties with Utah among the immigrant "Mormons," a popular term for those with religious and/or cultural ties to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. [2] The Kaibab Paiute consider the larger area encompassing the southern half of Utah, northern Arizona, and portions of Nevada as traditional areas of prehistoric and historic use. Pipe Spring National Monument lies within the boundaries of the Kaibab Indian Reservation, established before the monument was created. [3]

Primary historic resources at the monument include three sandstone buildings (the Pipe Spring fort, east cabin, and west cabin), the historic-period sites of the Whitmore-McInytre dugout and a lime kiln, and other structures, including stone walls, the quarry trail, and the fort ponds. Reconstructed "historic" features include a vegetable garden, orchard, vineyard, telegraph line, and corrals. For the most part, modern developments are located at the southernmost part of the monument and include a residential area, maintenance area, and access road. This area is fairly well screened by plantings. There are three springs at the monument: the main spring (Pipe Spring), emerging from beneath the fort itself; tunnel spring (located just southwest of the fort); and cabin spring (a seep spring near the west cabin, once called the "calf pasture spring"). The springs are fed by the Navajo Sandstone aquifer to the north and west, via the Sevier Fault. Because there is more than one spring at the site, for many years it was referred to as "Pipe Springs," although the monument's official name was never plural.

The monument occupies the Moccasin Terrace of the Markagunt Plateau at the southern sloping base of the Vermilion Cliffs. From this site, a dry plain slopes southward for 40-50 miles before it descends dramatically into the Grand Canyon. The elevation of the monument is 5,000 feet, the climate is fairly temperate, and the plant and animal species are typically semi-desert. North of the monument is pinyon-juniper woodland. Intermingled with and at the edge of this woodland community is a sagebrush grassland with sagebrush dominant on the more level areas of ground and pinyon-juniper occurring on the shallow rocky soils and broken country of adjacent higher elevations. Other on-site vegetation includes rabbitbrush, prickly pear cactus, and sagebrush. Culturally introduced plant materials include a variety of shade trees (ash, cottonwood, poplar, elm, locust, ailanthus), fruit trees, a grape arbor, and a vegetable garden. Animal species include small rodents, reptiles, birds, coyotes, badgers, and porcupines. [4] High temperatures range in the summer from 90 to 115 degrees; in the winter, normal low temperatures range from 0 to 40 degrees.



1. Pipe Spring National Monument vicinity map; 1959, modified *(Pipe Spring National Monument).*

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Cultures at a Crossroads: An Administrative History

PART II - THE CREATION OF PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT

Introduction

The reasons for the establishment of Pipe Spring National Monument can best be understood within the context of the overall development of parks, transportation systems, and tourism in southern Utah and northern Arizona during the late 1910s and early 1920s. To a much greater extent than is the case with other national parks and monuments, Pipe Spring's creation and later development hinged heavily on what was happening to parks in the surrounding area and to improvements to the region's transportation network. The development of the region's scenic attractions required a massive and coordinated effort of the federal government (most importantly, the National Park Service, the U.S. Forest Service, and the Bureau of Public Roads), state and county governments in Utah and Arizona, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Church) officials at all levels, the Union Pacific System (Union Pacific or UP) and its subsidiaries, local businessmen, and private citizens. With such a conglomerate of interests involved, it is hardly surprising to discover - as events will show - that this remote site became the vehicle to accomplish a wide variety of goals. Some objectives were quite temporary in nature; others were decidedly permanent. The metaphor for Pipe Spring as "vehicle" is most appropriate, for the invention and popularization of motorized transportation would have long-lasting impact on the fate of this historic site.



21. Barbara Babcock opening gate for car at Pipe Spring, ca. 1920
(Courtesy Union Pacific Museum, image 643).

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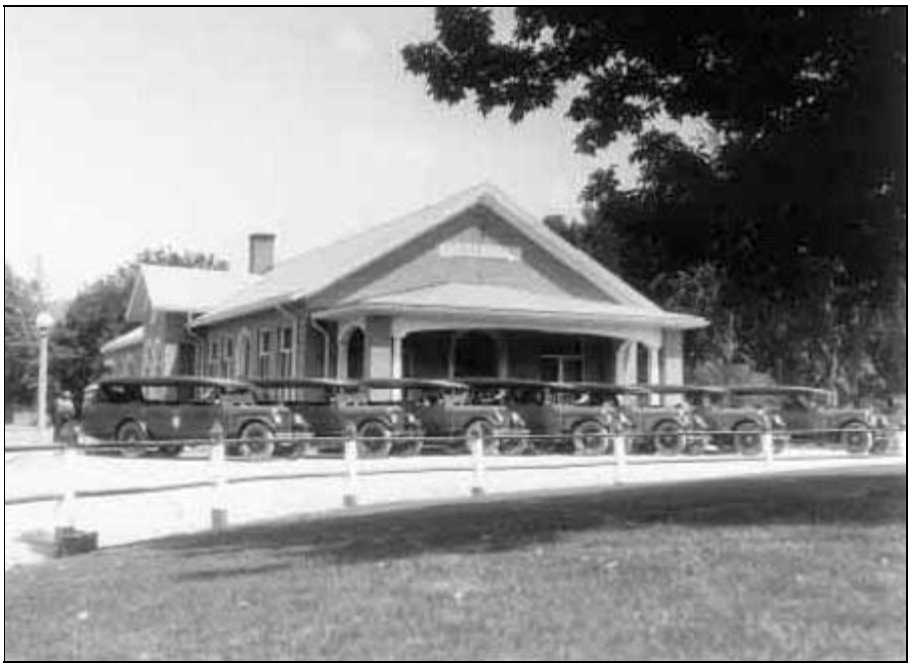
PIPE SPRING

Cultures at a Crossroads: An Administrative History

PART III - THE MONUMENT'S FIRST TEN YEARS

Area Developments

During its first decade as a national monument, from 1923 to 1933, Pipe Spring continued to be affected by developments taking place in national parks to the north and to the south. From 1924 to 1930, Pipe Spring was included on the Utah Parks Company's circle tour of Zion, Cedar Breaks, Bryce Canyon, and the Grand Canyon's North Rim. During those years tour buses regularly made scheduled lunch and rest stops at Pipe Spring. Motorists traveling in private automobiles also traveled the route from Zion to the North rim via the Rockville shortcut, passing by Pipe Spring. The event that proved most significant in Pipe Spring's history, in terms of visitation, was the completion of the Zion-Mt. Carmel Highway in Zion National Park.



37. Utah Parks Company buses lined up at Cedar City depot, ca. 1928
(Courtesy Union Pacific Museum, image 8635).

Zion National Park

On April 9, 1924, Congress authorized appropriations of $7.5 million over a three-year period for construction of roads and trails in the national parks and monuments. The Interior Department appropriation act of March 3, 1925, carried an additional $1.5 million for road construction in national parks. The new funds were immediately available, providing added impetus to the park road program. The Bureau of Public Roads conducted the survey for the Zion-Mt. Carmel road in September 1925. In March 1925 the completion of the 220-foot

steel bridge that spanned the Virgin River and the regrading of 15 miles of road beyond the bridge at Rockville shortened the distance from Zion to the North Rim by 30 miles. Tourists and others heavily used the Rockville shortcut for about five years prior to the completion of the Zion-Mt. Carmel Highway.

The 1925 season was a significant one at Zion. It was the first highly advertised season, bringing 16,817 visitors - more than twice the previous year's visitation. The Utah Parks Company was ready by May 15 with its new two-story rustic lodge and 46 guest cottages. (The lodge was enlarged and an additional 15 cottages were built in the spring of 1926.) A new fleet of motor buses transported tourists from the railhead at Cedar City to Zion. Transportation to other scenic areas was provided by another subsidiary of Union Pacific, the Utah & Grand Canyon Transportation Company, whose motor fleet was also new. By the 1926 season, visitation at Zion had increased another 30 percent, enabling the Utah & Grand Canyon Transportation Company to maintain daily bus service to the North Rim via the Rockville shortcut.

In fiscal year (FY) 1927 Congress approved base plans to develop adequate road and trail systems in the national parks to modern standards which called for the ultimate expenditure of $51 million, in addition to $9 million previously appropriated. In FY 1928 Congress increased the authorization for park road construction from $2.5 million annually to $5 million annually. [504] It was during 1927 that construction work on Zion National Park's 25-mile road to Mt. Carmel began. This road, with its mile-long tunnel through solid sandstone, is considered one of the greatest pieces of road construction in the country. [505] Named the Zion-Mt. Carmel Highway, the highly scenic road was dedicated and opened to general traffic on July 4, 1929, with National Park Service Director Horace Albright serving as master of ceremonies. [506] Utah's Governor George H. Dern presented the formal dedication speech, and a chorus of 30 men from St. George furnished musical entertainment. The new road finally made Zion National Park directly accessible from the east. Visitation rose from 33,383 in 1929 to 55,297 in 1930, an increase of 65.6 percent. [507] Another event that occurred at Zion National Park in 1930 was an expansion of its east and south boundaries through an act of Congress on June 13, 1930, adding 17,900 acres to the park.



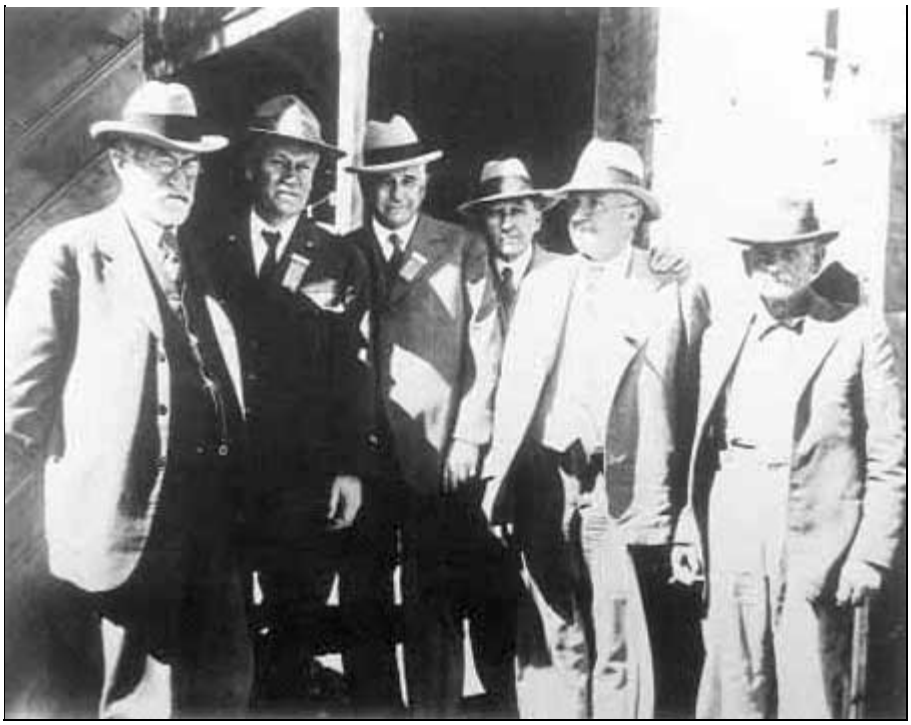
38. Tourists boarding buses at Cedar City, ca. 1928
(Courtesy Union Pacific Museum, image 8634).

The Grand Canyon's North Rim

For the most part, no development took place at the North Rim of the Grand Canyon until the mid-1920s. Before that time, the vast majority of visitors went to the Canyon's South Rim where both administrative and tourist developments were concentrated. [508] There was a Wylie camp at the North Rim in 1919 (as there was at Zion National Park) but little else. [509] By 1922 stage trips were available every other day from Lund and Marysville alternately, to Cedar Breaks, Bryce Canyon, Zion, and the North Rim of the Grand Canyon. [510] In 1924 plans were tentatively outlined for Park Service facilities that called for development of a water system and construction of several ranger cabins at Bright Angel Point, as well as area road and trail developments. Director Stephen T. Mather favored tourist accommodations at the North Rim to be camps rather than hotels: "This area should be kept exclusively for the benefit of nature lovers and for those who are willing to forego such conveniences as room with bath in order to visit it." [511] It would not remain so primitive.

During FY 1925 surveys were completed for the installation of water development at Bright Angel Point on the North Rim. A ranger cabin and support buildings were constructed. In 1925 visitation to the North Rim was up 110 percent over the prior year. [512] Camping at the North Rim was limited in 1925 and 1926 because water sources had yet to be developed. Poor roads in southern Utah and northern Arizona also played a part in limiting travel to the North Rim. Finally, funds were authorized for use in FY 1927 to develop a water system at the North Rim. Water from two springs was to be collected and pumped to a tank at Bright Angel Point, then distributed by gravity to nearby campgrounds.

In 1927 the boundaries of Grand Canyon National Park were changed, adding 51 square miles of the Kaibab Forest on the north. Also that year, a government contract was awarded to Utah Parks Company to construct a lodge and cabins at Bright Angel Point. The Company had already purchased the Bright Angel Camp from Elizabeth McKee, operating it during the 1927 season. Construction of a new lodge at Bright Angel Point at the North Rim began during the winter of 1927-1928. Leonard Heaton noted in his journal for the month of January 1928, "Large UP trucks pass every day for the Grand Canyon or back for Cedar City." [513] Heavy rain in early February made the road from Zion to Fredonia so soft and muddy that Heaton reported, "Two UP trucks four days on the road from Hurricane, Utah to Fredonia, Arizona, 65 miles." [514] By May Heaton reported tourists were starting to come through on their way to the North Rim, in addition to heavy freight traffic: "Lots of trucks passing hauling freight to the Grand Canyon for the UP. Also lots of tourists coming, on an average of six cars a day." [515]



39. Officials at Pipe Spring, en route to the dedication of Grand Canyon Lodge, September 1928.
From left to right: Heber J. Grant, Stephen T. Mather, Carl R. Gray, Utah Senator William King, Harry Chandler, and Jonathan Heaton.
(Pipe Spring National Monument).

On September 14, 1928, the Utah Parks Company dedicated its new Grand Canyon Lodge at Bright Angel Point. An entourage of officials, most of whom were important in the creation of Pipe Spring National Monument, stopped at Pipe Spring en route to the dedication of the new lodge. A photograph taken at Pipe Spring that day shows Church President Heber J. Grant, Director Stephen T. Mather, Union Pacific's President Carl R. Gray, Utah Senator William King, *Los Angeles Times* Publisher Harry Chandler, and Jonathan Heaton, patriarch of the Heaton family and prior owner of Pipe Spring (see figure 39). [516]

At about the same time as the completion of Grand Canyon Lodge, the Kaibab Trail was completed to the North Rim, making it possible to travel by horse from the South Rim to the North Rim in one day instead of the two days previously required. By 1929 the Utah Parks Company added five, four-room deluxe cabins to the lodge complex at the North Rim. During the 1929 season, the Grand Canyon Lodge and cabins were open from May 28 to October 6. The company reported a very successful season in their first year of operation at the North Rim. The opening of the North Rim to tourists was a very important advance. To some, the North Rim was more attractive than the South Rim and much less congested. The road to the North Rim from Utah is of great scenic beauty, through the aspen and pine forests of Kaibab Plateau. Travel between the north and south rims of the Grand Canyon, as well as general park-to-park travel in the Southwest, was soon greatly facilitated by the completion of a steel bridge which crossed the Colorado River at Lee's Ferry. The Navajo Bridge opened on June 15, 1929.

Bryce Canyon National Park

A congressional act of February 25, 1928, increased the area to be included in Bryce Canyon National Monument and changed its name to Bryce Canyon National Park. The new park contained 22 square miles and was overseen by the superintendent of Zion National Park. Under an agreement reached with Union Pacific, the company's private holdings were deeded

to the federal government. State lands within the area were exchanged for other lands outside the park boundaries.

Visitation to Bryce Canyon during FY 1929 was 21,997. (By contrast, Pipe Spring National Monument had an estimated 24,883 visitors that year, and Zion National Park 33,383. [517] The completion of the Zion-Mt. Carmel Highway had an immediate and positive effect on Bryce Canyon's visitation, which increased in 1930 to 35,982, an increase of 63.5 percent over 1929. [518] All the efforts to improve roads and promote southern Utah's parks appeared to be successful, for Zion's visitation too had more than doubled since 1925. Improved driving conditions, advertising, and the growing popularity of the automobile contributed to a significant increase in the number of visitors to national parks and monuments by the end of the 1920s. While increased visitation to southern Utah and northern Arizona sites had been a chief goal of Mather and Albright, rapidly rising numbers of visitors created additional strain on Park Service caretakers and on scarce financial resources. More people meant demand for more camping space, more parking space, more toilet facilities, and — perhaps most challenging in the Southwest — more water.

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PART IV — THE GREAT DIVIDE

Introduction

Despite the water agreement reached at Pipe Spring National Monument on June 9, 1924, between the National Park Service, Office of Indian Affairs, and Charles C. Heaton (representing area cattlemen), the issues of water rights and distribution came up again in the summer of 1929 and continued to surface into the 1930s. [667] They primarily arose from the Office of Indian Affairs' concern about the amount of water being used on the monument by caretaker Leonard Heaton. Prior to Heaton's appointment, little if any monument water was used for landscape maintenance. There is no evidence of landscaping activities at Pipe Spring while the monument was under John White's direction, other than removal of fences and corrals. With Park Service permission, White did maintain a small family garden, and the Office of Indian Affairs had made no objection to that concession. However, once Leonard Heaton was hired as monument caretaker in early 1926 things quickly changed. In addition to the Heaton brothers' pond (mentioned in Part III), two new reservoirs (the meadow ponds) were built to impound spring water for irrigation. Some of the water was used to irrigate land for the Heatons' personal use (for grazing meadows, gardens, and fruit trees) while other water from Pipe Spring sustained vegetation of direct benefit to the public (shade trees around the fort and nearby camping areas). Although Heaton's planting activities demanded ever-increasing amounts of water to maintain, a surprising five-year period of calm reigned between the signing of the 1924 agreement and 1929 when conflict over water issues erupted once again to a level requiring involvement by Washington's Department of the Interior officials. To understand why this was so, one must know what was happening a few miles to the north.

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V: THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Introduction

By the fall of 1930, Custodian Leonard Heaton's monthly reports to headquarters referenced problems of area unemployment. In November he wrote, "There have been only a few people here this last month and they have been hunting work and something to eat." [830] In August 1932 he reported, "The people of this section received 10,800 pounds of flour from the Red Cross which will be a great help to some, but if work is not furnished to some they will go hungry or will have to be kept by some charity organization this winter." [831] During the fall of 1932, Mohave County offered roadwork to help alleviate the problem. Heaton reported, "Road work on Highway 89 is underway allowing married men 30 hours of work each week at .50 per hour. The work has been so arranged that about six or seven men from each settlement will be at work all the time." [832] Yet the problem of unemployment was far too acute and widespread to be solved by local, county, or even state measures. The mobilization of federal forces was required to address the worst financial crisis of the 20th century, known as the Great Depression. The federal programs implemented during the 1930s would considerably impact Pipe Spring National Monument.

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PART VI: THE WORLD WAR II YEARS

Introduction

The entry of the United States into World War II created critical management problems for the National Park Service. Congress cut park appropriations by more than 50 percent. Between June 30, 1942, and June 30, 1943, the number of permanent, full-time positions in the Park Service was reduced from 4,510 to 1,974, a cut of more than 55 percent. With the imposition of gas rationing, visitation fell dramatically; all travel promotion activities within the agency ceased. Even the railroads abandoned their policy of putting on special supplemental trains and reducing rates to the parks. Total visitation to national parks and monuments for 1942 (the first travel year after the country went to war) fell by 55 percent. [1166]

For the previous decade, the Park Service had derived incalculable benefit from the labor of the Civilian Conservation Corps and other public works programs. All CCC camps were ordered closed by June 30, 1943 (as discussed in Part V, Pipe Spring National Monument lost its camp considerably earlier, much to Custodian Heaton's relief). The loss of CCC camps and their work crews from the National Park Service and U.S. Forest Service units was only slightly ameliorated by the Selective Service's establishment of Civilian Public Service camps, manned largely by conscientious objectors. [1167] Now, in addition to the cessation of these work programs, finding qualified or experienced men to hire became a difficult challenge because so many men joined the military or became otherwise involved in the war effort. In fact, some parks became so desperate that they - like private industry - began hiring women in positions previously reserved for men, as rangers and fire lookouts.

A minimal staff of engineers, landscape architects, and historians was retained in the Washington office and four regional offices in order to maintain certain basic functions and to continue the work of planning for future developments. Certain other activities, however, ceased to function at all during the war years, such as the Historic American Buildings Survey. To make matters even more complicated, the offices of the National Park Service, as well as two other services, were moved from Washington, D.C., to Chicago in 1942 to make room for military functions in the nation's capitol. They were not moved back until 1947.

Some parks were heavily impacted by wartime activities, particularly by military demands for their natural resources. Secretary Harold L. Ickes called on the various bureaus in his department for "full mobilization of the Nation's natural resources for war..." [1168] Fortunately, Pipe Spring National Monument had absolutely nothing the military needed or wanted. Nonetheless, the war's impact was felt in a number of ways. The worst drop in monument visitation since the opening of the Zion-Mt. Carmel Tunnel occurred during the war years. Perhaps of even more significance to Pipe Spring was the transfer of the monument's administration from Southwestern National Monuments (Southwestern Monuments) to Zion National Park. Although Custodian Heaton then faced an unprecedented number of official inspections, property inventories, and lectures on how to do things "right," he responded with his characteristic humility and desire to do whatever was asked of him. As

in other park units, monument development plans were executed, reviewed, and commented on, to be put "on the shelf " until the war's end. Historical research continued, particularly as Zion officials asked new questions about the importance of the monument's historic landscape. Progress continued in transforming the fort into a historic house museum. Road issues continued to be debated during the war years, whether discussions centered on the monument road or the only sporadically maintained approach roads from east and west. Finally, the question of water rights at the monument was revived again, precipitated by a federal ruling in 1942 on water reserves and park units.

Otherwise, life at Pipe Spring went on pretty much as usual, with the local folk continuing to gather at the site to picnic in view of the old Mormon fort and under the shade of its many trees. There was another important attraction, of course. Now that the monument's water was no longer demanded by the Army for CCC camps, local Mormons and Indians alike were welcome to cool off in the meadow pool, an opportunity many took advantage of during the hot, dry summers that were characteristic of the Arizona Strip.

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PART VII: THE CALM BEFORE THE COLD WAR

Introduction

The relative quiet that Pipe Spring National Monument experienced during World War II continued for the remainder of the decade. This chapter focuses on the events that took place at the monument from January 1946 to January 1951, when the United States government began aboveground testing of atomic weapons in Arizona's neighboring state of Nevada. While the post-war years are also part of the Cold War era (described in the introduction of Part VIII), impacts of the Cold War would not be directly experienced at Pipe Spring until 1951. The highlights of this period at the monument include completion of the master plan, the installation of the Bishop Hopkins collection in the west cabin, Custodian Leonard Heaton's acquisition of a new truck, and the Kanab celebration of Utah's Centennial (all in 1947); replacement of the fort's kitchen and parlor floors (1948), its big gates (1949), and catwalk (1950); stabilization and repairs to the west cabin (1950); and a community barbecue attended by Arizona Governor Daniel E. Garvey and other officials (also 1950). Also worthy of note were two reservation fires, one in 1948 and the other in 1950. The April 1948 Indian School fire - which Leonard Heaton and Moccasin residents helped to fight - was the far more destructive of the two. Finally, significant improvements were made to the Heatons' residence during 1948, in part to make the temporary structure more livable, but also to accommodate a growing family.

Conspicuously absent from these years is any dispute over Pipe Spring water between the Indian Service, Park Service, and those cattlemen entitled to a share. In the absence of contrary evidence, it can only be presumed that all parties found their needs being sufficiently met by the existing arrangement.

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PART VIII: THE COLD WAR ON THE ARIZONA STRIP

Introduction

The year 1951 quickly ended the peace and quiet of the early post-war years at Pipe Spring National Monument. Atomic weapons testing at the nearby Nevada Test Site, as well as activity associated with uranium and oil exploration and mining, signaled that a new era had arrived on the Arizona Strip. This chapter deals primarily with events transpiring in and around the monument during the period from January 1951 through December 1955. The highlights for these five years include the observable impacts of weapons testing and mineral exploration and mining; administrative changes at the Washington, regional, and monument levels; the monument's acquisition of a two-way radio (1951); stabilization work to the fort's balconies (1951), exterior painting of the fort (1952) and restoration of the spring room (1953); destruction of the barn/garage by fire (1951) and construction of a new utility building (1952-1953); acquisition of a pressure fire pump and accessories (1953); installation of a new generator and construction of its housing (1954); installation of new highway and park signage (1954-1955); and filming of the first movie at Pipe Spring (1955). The early 1950s also was a time when evidence was being gathered for an important legal case, *Arizona v. California*, in which the United States asserted claims to water in the mainstream of the Colorado River on behalf of five Indian reservations in Arizona, California, and Nevada. Outside the monument, perhaps the most memorable event among local residents was the Arizona law enforcement officials' raid on the polygamous settlement of Short Creek in July 1953. Finally, during this period Custodian Heaton acquired seasonal part-time help for the first time.

In addition to the *Arizona v. California* case, one other important historical event took place during the early 1950s that particularly impacted American Indians. On August 1, 1953, Congress passed the Termination Resolution, adopting a policy of discontinuing federal controls, restrictions, and benefits for Indians under federal jurisdiction. [1492] Between 1954 and 1960, federal services or trust supervision was withdrawn from 61 tribes or other Indian groups, until opposition caused a deceleration of the program. Many tribes and Indian organizations, such as the National Congress of American Indians, condemned termination, advocating instead self-determination and a review of federal policies. Depending on where they lived, Indian tribes were impacted differently by the Termination Resolution. While the Paiute in the state of Utah were officially terminated, bands of the Southern Paiute Nation living in Arizona and Nevada were not, although the threat of termination of their reservations loomed over these years.

Several important administrative changes took place in the Washington office, the regional office, and at Zion National Park during the early 1950s. On April 1, 1951, Arthur B. Demaray succeeded Newton Drury as Park Service director. He held that position only until early December when Conrad L. Wirth succeeded him on December 9, 1951. Wirth remained director until early 1964, overseeing the Park Service in the years leading up to and during a most important period in the agency's history known as Mission 66. At ZionNational Park,

Paul R. Franke succeeded Charles J. Smith as superintendent on June 1, 1952, and served in that position until the end of 1959. This was Franke's third and last time serving as Zion's superintendent. During 1953 the National Park Service reorganized, both at the national and regional levels. In addition to the pre-existing Division of Design and Construction, two new divisions were created: the Division of Interpretation and Division of Cooperative Activities. The four regional offices were delegated some authority previously exercised by the director. On March 1, 1955, Regional Director Minor R. Tillotson died. He was succeeded by Custodian Leonard Heaton's old friend from Southwestern Monuments, Hugh M. Miller, who remained in the position until late 1959.

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PART IX: MISSION 66

Introduction

Mission 66 was a service-wide, 10-year conservation program initiated by the National Park Service in 1956. In the words of Director Conrad L. Wirth, "Its whole purpose was to make possible the best and wisest use of America's scenic and historic heritage." [1648] Accomplishment of the program required a great deal of new development and construction, but this activity was seen as the necessary means to achieve conservation objectives. Approved by President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Congress, the program was launched with an increase of $19,153,700 in the Park Service's appropriation for the 1957 fiscal year. In response to increasing demands of the motor touring public, parks across the country endeavored to improve their physical plants, roads, campgrounds, and visitor services. Mission 66 made funds available for new developments at Pipe Spring National Monument, some of which had been needed and planned since the 1930s. While the national program formally lasted until 1966, most of its impacts on Pipe Spring were experienced between 1957 and 1961. During Mission 66, a modern comfort station was erected (1956-1957); the monument's first permanent residences were built (1959); new walkways were constructed and old ones repaired (1959-1960); a new parking area and service roads were built (1960); restoration work on the fort and rehabilitation work on the cabins was carried out (1959-1961); and the museum displays in the fort and two cabins were greatly improved (early 1960s). Two other significant advances at the monument during this period were the hiring of a seasonal park historian in 1956 (replaced by a permanent park historian in 1958 and his successor in 1960) and the long-awaited arrival of commercial power to the area in 1960.

Overshadowing all other events in the region and of significant impact to the monument's development was the construction of one of the world's highest dams at Glen Canyon. The building of the dam was authorized on April 11, 1956. While the prime contract was awarded in April 1957, related construction projects began during the fall of 1956. The most important of these was the construction of the Glen Canyon Bridge, built between February 1957 and August 1958. (Prior to the construction of the bridge, people in Utah had to drive all the way around to Lee's Ferry and cross over the Navajo Bridge in order to get to Page, Arizona, a trip of 200 miles.) The first bucket of concrete was poured for the dam on June 17, 1960; the final bucket on September 13, 1963. [1649] The dam's construction finally brought about improvement to area roads, including to the long-neglected Hurricane-Fredonia route.

This chapter chronicles events from 1956 through December 1963, to include the retirement of Acting Superintendent Leonard Heaton and the transition to Management Assistant Hugh H. Bozarth.

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PART X - PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT COMES ALIVE

Introduction

As the 1960s progressed, more and more emphasis was placed on re-creating the "historic scene" at Pipe Spring National Monument. [1885] This had long been of some concern to management, but the restoration and maintenance needs of the historic buildings had always taken precedence. Now that Mission 66 programs and funding had taken care of the immediate needs of the historic buildings, attention turned to their setting. In addition, monument staff put into effect some earlier suggestions made by interpretive specialists to improve the interpretive program and came up with ideas of their own. The seeds for developing the monument into a "living history ranch" were planted during this period, as evidenced by the gradual changes in exhibits and the increasing use of demonstrations during guided tours. It would not be until 1968, however - when government-sponsored youth training and employment programs became available - that the supply of personnel would even begin to approach the demands of a full-fledged living history program. From the monument's perspective, the long-awaited completion of State Highway 389 in May 1967 was probably the most important event of the decade, not only for the monument but also for neighboring communities.

Events transpiring at the highest level of government had eventual repercussions at Pipe Spring National Monument. President John F. Kennedy's assassination on November 22, 1963, left the country in a state of shock. Vice-president Lyndon B. Johnson became president and remained in office until 1968, when Richard M. Nixon won the White House. National political and social turmoil over the war in Viet Nam and civil rights issues during the 1960s did not touch the remote site of Pipe Spring National Monument, but President's Johnson's "War on Poverty" most certainly did. Announced in his State of the Union Address on January 8, 1964, Johnson's War on Poverty called for legislation that would attack the multiple causes of poverty: illiteracy, unemployment, and inadequate public services. Under the Economic Opportunity Act of August 30, 1964, $947.7 million was authorized for 10 separate programs overseen by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), including Job Corps, Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), and work-training programs, such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC), Youth Conservation Corps (YCC), and Operation Mainstream. These programs would be for Pipe Spring National Monument what the CCC camp had been, only with far fewer administrative headaches. Additional "warm bodies" working at Pipe Spring enabled the monument to carry out a number of programs and projects that had been on its wish list for many years. During this period, the Zion Natural History Association also offered generous financial support to help the monument reach a number of worthy goals related to its living history program and native grass restoration project.

Beginning about 1964, there were many changes in Park Service management personnel, from the monument level to the Washington office. Management Assistant Hugh H. Bozarth was hired to oversee Pipe Spring National Monument in October 1963. He was the first

manager from Park Service ranks to take charge of the monument since its establishment in 1923. Bozarth remained there until September 1967. James M. ("Jim") Harter served as acting management assistant from Bozarth's departure until April 1968. Supervisory Historian Raymond J. Geerdes succeeded Harter and remained at Pipe Spring until February 1971. In August 1965 Zion National Park's Superintendent Francis R. Oberhansley retired; Warren F. Hamilton succeeded him. Hamilton left Zion in late April 1968, succeeded by Karl T. Gilbert (1968-1969) and Oscar T. Dick (1969). From April 6, 1969, to September 18, 1971, Karl T. Gilbert was general superintendent of the newly established Southern Utah Group (SOUG) in Cedar City, Utah, which administered Bryce Canyon, Zion, and Capitol Reef national parks, and Cedar Breaks and Pipe Spring national monuments. (SOUG was later abolished on July 8, 1972.) Robert I. Kerr was made superintendent of Zion in 1970. At the Southwest Regional Office, Regional Director Daniel B. Beard succeeded Thomas J. Allen on August 6, 1963, and served until September 9, 1967. Frank F. Kowski succeeded him at that time. In Washington, D.C., Director Conrad Wirth left his position in January 1964 and was succeeded by George B. Hartzog, Jr. The longest continuous presence during the decade was Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall who served in his position from January 21, 1961, to January 20, 1969. (Udall had direct family ties to Pipe Spring National Monument. His grandmother, Eliza Luella Stewart, was the Deseret Telegraph Office's first telegraph operator at Pipe Spring during the early 1870s.) On January 21, 1969, Walter J. Hickel, who served only until November 25, 1970, succeeded Udall.

The federal government's efforts to terminate its obligations to Indian tribes in the 1950s (mentioned in the introduction of Part VIII) led to a growing backlash in the 1960s. Coinciding with a new Democratic administration that professed concern about the plight of the poor, federal aid to tribes greatly expanded during this period and reservation governments were made eligible as sponsoring agencies for numerous federal economic opportunities. In the late 1960s, the Department of the Interior received an appropriation of $1 million to carry out an Indian assistance program. [1886] Half of this amount was allocated for the Southwest Region. In addition, the Paiute received $1 million as a result of the aboriginal land settlement. The money enabled the Kaibab Paiute Tribe to pursue its desire to develop a tourism complex, the primary objective being to create jobs for its members. [1887] All at once the monument and regional office staff were catapulted into an unprecedented working relationship with the Tribe. In response to the Tribe's planned developments, the Park Service rallied to reduce the visual impact of developments on the "historic scene" while protecting the tri-partite water agreement of 1933. In anticipation that the Tribe might challenge this agreement, a great deal of historical research was conducted in 1969 to bolster the Park Service's case for legal ownership of the land and springs. Talk of an interdepartmental land exchange was also thrown into the mix, reviving the possibility of expanding the monument's boundaries.

The Indian occupation of Alcatraz Island on November 20, 1969, according to one historical reference, "signaled the rise of Indian activism." [1888] It could be argued that the 1953 Termination Resolution and its effects led to this increase in activism, however, at least laying the foundation for Indian activism during the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s. The American Indian Movement (AIM), founded in 1970, soon emerged as the most militant voice for radical change in federal-Indian relations, setting the stage for future political confrontations in the early 1970s. By the end of the decade, Park Service officials administering park units adjacent to reservations could not ignore the increasing economic and political power of Indians. Amidst a backdrop of an increasingly tense environment in many parts of the country, the cooperative efforts and relatively smooth working relationships between the Kaibab Paiute, Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), and Pipe Spring National Monument in the late 1960s are all the more noteworthy. Both the Indians and the Park Service stood to benefit from maintaining harmony, and — at least at Pipe Spring — both succeeded in doing so.

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PART XI: LIVING IN THE PAST, PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

Introduction

This chapter covers the monument's history from late 1970, when Area Manager Raymond J. Geerdes left Pipe Spring, to early 1979, when Superintendent Bernard G. Tracy retired. The highpoints of the decade were the dedication of the Kaibab Paiute Cultural Building/Visitor Center and National Park Service-Kaibab Paiute Tribe joint-use water supply system on May 26, 1973; and the monument's two-year celebration of the country's bicentennial with an expansion of its living history program.

In 1970 President Richard M. Nixon was in the middle of his first term in office. Nixon's second term was clouded by the Watergate scandals and ended in his resignation on August 9, 1974. He was succeeded by Vice-president Gerald R. Ford who later was defeated in the 1976 elections by James Earl ("Jimmy") Carter. During the early 1970s, the United States moved toward military disengagement from its long involvement in the civil war in Viet Nam. The roots of U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia went back to the Truman era and, like the Korean War, were the product of Cold War foreign policy. After sending military advisors from 1955 to 1960, the U.S. government became directly embroiled in the conflict, sending military troops from 1961 to 1973. In 1973 U.S. troops were withdrawn while the federal government continued its support of the South Vietnamese government and military. In 1975 the Saigon government surrendered to the North Vietnamese-backed Provisional Revolutionary Government, ending the war. [2107] The same year U.S. troops were withdrawn from Southeast Asia, another international conflict erupted in the Middle East. The Arab-Israeli War of October 6-22, 1973 (also called the Yom Kippur War), led to an Arab embargo of oil shipments to the United States. The resulting energy crisis resulted in a host of measures being implemented to curb energy consumption by individual citizens, businesses, and governments and to spur the development of additional energy sources. The fuel shortage appears to have contributed to a 21 percent drop in visitation to Pipe Spring National Monument in 1974.

President Nixon's cuts in funds for the Office of Equal Opportunity led to the cancellation of many Community Action programs such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC), Head Start, and Operation Mainstream in 1973. [2108] While the monument struggled to retain the area's NYC program and keep its interpretive program afloat in the early 1970s, it received a boost during the country's bicentennial celebration. Beginning in 1976, enrollees under the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) program furnished workers for the monument. Volunteers in the Parks (VIPs) also became increasingly essential to the monument's interpretive program, especially in cattle branding and domestic arts demonstrations.

A number of Park Service administrative changes took place during the 1970s. Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall's long tenure in the 1960s was followed by five changes in the Secretary's position between 1969 and 1977, made in the following order: Walter J. Hickel,

Rogers C. B. Morton, Stanley K. Hathaway, Thomas S. Kleppe, and Cecil D. Andrus. Fewer changes were made to the directorate. Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., served until December 31, 1972. Shortly before his departure, Hartzog reinstated the Superintendent's Annual Report to the Director. (This report had been discontinued in 1964.) Hartzog was succeeded by Ronald H. Walker (January 1, 1973-January 3, 1975), Gary E. Everhardt (January 13, 1975-May 27, 1977); and William J. Whalen (July 5, 1977-May 13, 1980).

Of more direct impact to Pipe Spring National Monument were administrative changes made on the regional level. The monument fell under the direction of three different regional offices during the 1970s. At the beginning of the decade the monument was overseen by Regional Director Frank F. Kowski of the Southwest Region. On November 15, 1971, the boundary of the Midwest Region was adjusted to include Utah, Colorado, and at least part of Arizona. Most likely because of the monument's close historical association with and geographic proximity to Utah, the administration of the monument was transferred to the Midwest Regional Office in Omaha, Nebraska, on that date. Regional Director J. Leonard Volz then headed that office. The monument remained under his direction until January 6, 1974, when the Rocky Mountain Region was established in Denver, Colorado. The monument then fell under its oversight. Regional Director Lynn H. Thompson oversaw the Rocky Mountain Region until Glen T. Bean succeeded him in 1978. Bean held this position until early 1980.

Until July 1972, the monument remained under the administration of the Park Service's Southern Utah Group. Acting General Superintendent Bill R. Alford succeeded General Superintendent Karl T. Gilbert on September 19, 1971; Acting General Superintendent James W. Schaack replaced Alford on January 9, 1972. The Southern Utah Group was abolished on July 8, 1972, after which time the monument was again placed under the direct management of Zion National Park. Zion's superintendents included Robert I. Kerr (May 3, 1970-July 8, 1972), Robert C. Heyder (July 9, 1972-June 2, 1979), and John O. Lancaster (June 3, 1979-May 16, 1981).

During the 1970s, there were numerous changes in personnel at the monument. For information on historians, technicians, seasonal aids, and laborers, see the "Personnel" section. For information about work performed by enrollees in the Neighborhood Youth Corps and Comprehensive Employment Training Act programs and by Volunteers in the Parks, see separate sections under those headings.

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PART XII: THE HERR ADMINISTRATION

Introduction

This chapter deals with events occurring in and around Pipe Spring National Monument while it was under the administration of Superintendent William M. ("Bill") Herr, beginning with his arrival on April 8, 1979, and ending soon after his transfer to Golden Spike National Historic Site in mid-January 1989. (Some events associated with the very early administration of one of Herr's successors, Gary M. Hasty, are also mentioned.) A decline in the spring flow at the monument, first noticed in the 1970s, continued throughout the 1980s. The decline led to a two-year study by the Park Service's Water Resources Division. During the 1980s, developments on the Kaibab Paiute Indian Reservation in 1980 and in Moccasin in 1987 threatened to upset the delicate balance over water use that existed between the Park Service, the Kaibab Paiute Tribe, and the Mormon community of Moccasin. Considerable rehabilitation work was accomplished during this period to the fort and west cabin, as well as to tunnel spring.

International events continued to impact the monument to some degree, as the Arab-Israeli conflict had in 1973-1974. When Bill Herr arrived at Pipe Spring, President Jimmy Carter was still in office. During 1979 and 1980, gasoline prices were high, in large part due to critical events in Iran. On November 4, 1979, a hostage crisis took place in Iran, when 53 Americans were held captive for 444 days by Ayatollah Khomeini's Revolutionary Council, an act triggered by the U.S. admitting the recently deposed Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi into the country for medical treatment. President Carter froze Iranian assets in the United States and announced the country would go to war to protect oil supply routes in the Persian Gulf. Formal relations with Iran were broken on April 7, 1980, followed by economic sanctions against Iran. The hostage crisis dominated U.S. foreign policy for over a year. It led in mid-November 1979 to the implementation of emergency building temperature restrictions at the monument and other park units. (Fortunately, just one month prior to the hostage crisis, a number of changes had been made to the two permanent residences to make them more energy efficient. See "Permanent Residences" section.) Carter's failure to win release of the hostages helped Ronald Reagan win the 1980 presidential election. The hostages were freed on Inaugural Day, January 20, 1981. As part of the agreement between the U.S. and Iran, trade restrictions were lifted and the U.S. energy crisis gradually eased.

President Reagan served for two terms. Former Vice-president George Bush succeeded him in 1988. [2259] The budget-cutting policies of Reagan and Bush led to a curtailment of assistance to Native Americans, leaving some reservations with few opportunities for economic improvement. That is why, some have argued, that the Kaibab Paiute Tribe showed interest in a late 1989 business proposal to locate hazardous waster incinerators on the reservation, a plan that would have put the area at risk for an environmental disaster.

Within the Park Service a number of administrative changes took place between 1979 and 1989. There would be four Secretaries of the Interior during this period: Cecil D. Andrus, James D. Watt, William C. Clark, and Donald Paul Hodel. In 1979 William J. Whalen was

National Park Service director, followed in May 1980 by Russell E. Dickenson. William Penn Mott succeeded Dickenson in May 1985 and served in the post until April 1989. In the Rocky Mountain Region, L. Lorraine Mintzmyer succeeded Regional Director Glen T. Bean on April 6, 1980, and held the position until early October 1991. Superintendent Bob Heyder left Zion National Park in 1979. Zion was successively overseen by Superintendent John O. Lancaster (1979-1981), and two Acting Superintendents, Russell C. Alderson and Malcolm S. Nicholson (1981). Superintendent Harold L. ("Harry") Grafe took over Zion in October 1981 and remained in the position for 10 years. As far as Region, Zion, and Pipe Spring administrations go, the 1980s were a period of relative stability for the monument, with Mintzmyer, Grafe, and Herr providing a rare degree of continuity.

During the 1980s, Herr worked with a number of different tribal chairs. Tribal Chairman Bill Tom represented the Tribe until 1982 when Dolores ("Dee") Savala was elected tribal chair. Gloria Bulletts succeeded Savala in 1983. Both women were subsequently re-elected as tribal chairs later in the decade. Alberta Fuller was elected tribal chair in October 1989. A complete chronology of tribal chairs for the decade has yet to be compiled. What is notable about the decade is that tribal government shifted from being headed by Kaibab Paiute men to being led by Kaibab Paiute women, although men continued to serve on the Council and in other tribal government positions.

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PIPE SPRING

Cultures at a Crossroads: An Administrative History

EPILOGUE

"Whereas, it appears that the public good would be promoted..." So reads a portion of President Harding's proclamation setting aside Pipe Spring as a national monument 75 years ago. What did its creators have in mind when they referenced "the public good?" Might it be something entirely different for today's computer-age visitor than it was for the family that arrived at Pipe Spring during the 1920s in a Model T?

Since the time Pipe Spring National Monument was established, the National Park System has grown, not only in physical terms - through the addition of hundreds of areas of national significance - but in terms of social awareness. Since the 1920s, the nation's conscience has been awakened and challenged by World War II, the Holocaust, the Nuclear Age, the Cold War, wars in Korea and Viet Nam, and the Civil Rights Movement. Voices of women, Native Americans, Hispanics, and others have all been raised since the 1960s, along with the insistence that American history recognize the sacrifices and contributions of *all* Americans. To its credit, the National Park Service now strives to interpret historical sites in ways that do justice to the plural society we live in. Admittedly, our resolve to now "tell it like it *really* was" creates a host of challenges. Hopefully, this non-exclusivistic approach toward researching, writing, and teaching about the past will generate histories that ring true to more of its citizens.

As the administration of Pipe Spring National Monument profoundly knows, there are two communities that feel compelled to convey their story at this historic site. For most of its history, particularly while Leonard Heaton administered the site, it can be argued that interpretation was presented mostly from the perspective of the Latter-day Saints. By the late 1980s, the pendulum appears to have swung toward a more generic "pioneer" history, although the reasons for this are not very clear. Understandably, given that Pipe Spring is the only Church-associated site that has gained national recognition, the *perception* that its history is not "correctly" being passed on has upset some members of the community. Yet it is important to ask, were monument administrators afraid their interpreters would be accused of proselytizing if they spoke too much of the Church's history or its role at Pipe Spring? Were they uncomfortable with the religious tenets of those responsible for the fort's existence and for the settlement of surrounding communities? Some documentation suggests this may be the case. In a country that advocates freedom of religion as well as separation of church and state, it is understandable that to interpret Pipe Spring is to walk a fine line.

The fact is, however, Pipe Spring's late-19th century history is inextricably bound to an important religious movement. Unlike many other religious and secular movements of the last century, this one thrived. Since it was first organized with six members on April 6, 1830, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has become one of the world's fastest growing religions and one of its largest churches. When Utah attained statehood in 1896, most of the Church's 250,000 members lived within the state's boundaries. The Church now claims over 10 million members, with only half of that number living in the U.S. It directs the largest volunteer missionary force in the world, operating 330 missions in 162 countries; the Book of Mormon is available in 91 languages. [2389] Rooted in the utopian and revivalist

fervor prevalent in the country during the first half of the 19th century, Latter-day Saints are arguably the most enduring example of religious communitarianism. Many descendants of those who fled to the West 150 years ago to escape religious persecution are deservedly proud of their accomplishments, their faith, and their story.

The Kaibab Paiute also have survived generations of persecution, along with dispossession of their lands and associated resources. Yet they cling proudly and tenaciously to their own values and traditions. They, too, have important stories to share.

These are by no means the only stories that can be told at Pipe Spring, however. The interpretive possibilities at Pipe Spring - the opportunities to explore important, thought-provoking questions relevant to our times - are almost limitless. What has been learned from past experience, however, is that the success of interpretive programs can be strengthened by community understanding and support. With its 30-year history of partnering with its Kaibab Paiute and Mormon neighbors, Pipe Spring National Monument is prepared more than most for the years ahead. Indeed, many other parks and monuments could benefit from the lessons learned there.

"Diversity" - whether based on differences of race, sex, ethnicity, or religion — is a word we hear a great deal today, thanks to changing demographics and social sensitivity. Diversity was most certainly *not* a consideration in the early 1920s when people first contemplated making Pipe Spring into a national monument. Latter-day Saints were still considered a "peculiar" people by many of their fellow citizens, unable to shake the legacy in the public mind of their most controversial social experiment: polygamy. As was mentioned in Part I, the fact that Pipe Spring played an important part in Mormon history was never mentioned in the proclamation establishing the monument "to serve as a memorial of western pioneer life."

In fact, documentary evidence suggests that, to Park Service Director Stephen T. Mather and others, the significance of Pipe Spring in 1923 was decidedly more logistical than historical. And yet, on the eve of the 21st century, we can see that Pipe Spring National Monument offers its visitors much more than a rest-stop, that the "public good" can indeed be promoted at this remote site, and that the springs there can perhaps quench a different kind of thirst, one for understanding and reconciliation.

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PIPE SPRING

Cultures at a Crossroads: An Administrative History

NOTES

Introduction

[1] Although the word "pioneer" has long been used when describing the exploration and settlement activities of Euroamericans, the author has refrained from using the term in this report, except in quotations. "Pioneer" is defined in one dictionary as "one who ventures into unknown or unclaimed territory to settle." Contemporary historians, anthropologists, and Native Americans argue that the Americas were neither unknown nor uninhabited, and that the use of this term perpetuates a myth and is offensive to some. For this reason, the author has chosen to use the less culturally-laden word, "settler."

Part I - Background

[2] From this point on in the history, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is referred to as the "Church," and its followers as "Latter-day Saints" or "Mormons." Today, the Church frowns on the use of the term "Mormon" being used to describe either its followers or the Church, and requests that the term be used only in the context of the Book of Mormon. Both the Church and its followers, however, have for generations been referred to as "Mormon," much as the members of the Religious Society of Friends are called (and call each other) "Quakers." In both cases, what once was a somewhat pejorative nickname has become — to most, anyway - acceptable.

[3] The official name of the Tribe is "The Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians." Past documentation, however, indicates a variety of names has been used in official reports and correspondence: Kaibab Indians, Kaibab-Paiute (hyphenated), and more recently, the Kaibab Paiute. The latter is used throughout this document.

[4] William J. Hunt, Jr., "Archeological Study of Historic Structures HS-2 and HS-3, Pipe Springs National Monument, Arizona. (National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska, May 1, 1991): 2.

[5] For additional information, see Gregory L. Fox, "The Pipe Spring Archeological Survey: A Section 110 Planning Project, Pipe Spring National Monument, Mohave County, Arizona" (Tucson: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, 1994).

[6] Richard W. Stoffle, Diane E. Austin, David B. Halmo, Arthur M. Phillips III, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment: Zion National Park, Utah and Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona*, Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ and Southern Paiute Consortium, Pipe Spring, AZ. Draft, July, 1995.

[7] Martha C. Knack, "Interethnic Competition at Kaibab During the Early Twentieth Century,"

Ethnohistory 40:2 (Spring 1993): 214-215.

[8] Stoffle et al., *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 19-20.

[9] Richard W. Stoffle and Michael J. Evans. *Kaibab Paiute History, The Early Years*, Vol. 23:2 (1976): 2-3. Reprinted by the Kaibab Paiute Tribe from an article published in *Ethnohistory*, this study was originally called, "Resource Competition and Population Change: A Kaibab Paiute Ethnohistorical Case."

[10] For more information on this important expedition, see David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale, 1992).

[11] For additional information, see Angus M. Woodbury, *History of Southern Utah and Its Parks*, Utah State Historical Society, Vol. XII, Nos. 3-4 (July-October, 1944): 123-125.

[12] Warren L. d'Azevedo, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. II, Great Basin* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986): 368-396.

[13] The Spanish were not alone in their practice of slavery; various forms of slavery were practiced all over the New World.

[14] Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration for the State of Utah (WPA): *Utah, A Guide to the State* (Hasting House, NY, 1941): 41.

[15] Such feelings were expressed during oral history interviews conducted by Park Service staff with a number of tribal members during the summer of 1997.

[16] For additional information on the Old Spanish Trail, see Leroy R. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles, with Extracts from Contemporary Records and Including Diaries of Antonio Armijo and Orville Pratt* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1954); C. Gregory Crampton and Steven K. Madsen, *In Search of the Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles, 1829-1848.* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs-Smith, 1994); and John W. Robinson, "Traders, Travelers, and Horsethieves on the Old Spanish Trail," *Overland Journal* Vol. 15, No. 2, Summer 1997.

[17] Stoffle and Evans, *Kaibab Paiute History*, 6.

[18] One of the first to enter the Salt Lake Valley was Erastus Snow, who arrived in advance of Brigham Young on July 21, 1847. Snow would later figure prominently in southern Utah history.

[19] For more information on Mormon colonization of the area, see Charles S. Peterson's, "Settlement on the Little Colorado, 1873-1900." Ph.D. diss., University of Utah. Microfiche, 1967 (Denver Public Library, Western History Collection); and C. Gregory Crampton's "Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah and in Adjacent Parts of Arizona and Nevada, 1851-1900" (National Park Service, 1965; Denver Service Center Library).

[20] d'Azevedo, ed., 386.

[21] Charles S. Peterson, *Utah, A History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1977): 43. The "inner cordon" colonies were those established closest to Salt Lake City, mostly between 1847-1857.

[22] Stoffle and Evans describe a number of "adaptive strategies" by the Kaibab Paiute in

response to Euroamerican occupation of their territory. One strategy used to regain access to their appropriated resources was conversion to the Mormon religion *(Kaibab Paiute History,* 17).

[23] According to Charles S. Peterson, the location of this Utah mission was south of Cedar City to Santa Clara, extending to Las Vegas, including Harmony and New Harmony; for a time it may have also included Washington, Utah (Peterson's handwritten comments on draft manuscript, January 1999).

[24] Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1920): 569-570.

[25] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom, An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958): 167-168.

[26] For a thorough overview of the Utah War, see Arrington, 170-194.

[27] House Executive Doc. No. 2, 35th Congr., 1st sess., 21; cited in Arrington, 171.

[28] One of the documents Buchanan used to justify his concerns was a disgruntled letter from a mail contractor displaced by Young's express company, W. M. F. Magraw. Magraw was one of the first to benefit by the cancellation of the mail contract with the B.Y. Express Company; he was also a principal supply contractor for the Utah Expedition (Arrington, 174).

[29] Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia,* 569.

[30] Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia,* 570.

[31] Leroy R. and Ann W. Hafen, editors. *The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858: A Documentary Account of the United States Military Movement under Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, and The Resistance by Brigham Young and the Mormon Nauvoo Legion.* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1982): 183.

[32] Arrington, 175-176.

[33] Mormons use the term "gentile" to refer to non-Mormons.

[34] Peterson, *Utah, A History*, 97. For more information, see Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1950; second edition, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1962).

[35] Arrington, 177.

[36] The migration of Mormons from Nauvoo to the Great Salt Lake Valley is referred to as the "Exodus," the name of the Old Testament book that tells of the Israelites' flight from their Egyptian oppressors.

[37] C. Gregory Crampton, "Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah and in Adjacent Parts of Arizona and Nevada, 1851-1900" (National Park Service, 1965): 94. Crampton lists the names of the 11 men accompanying Hamblin on the expedition.

[38] Woodbury: 164.

[39] According to some reports the Salt Lake Valley had been a no-man's land avoided by both

Ute and Shosoni (Peterson, *Utah, A History*, 41).

[40] Warren A. Beck and Ynez D. Haase. *Historical Atlas of the American West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989: 39. The authors do not state if these figures include all races.

[41] Zorro Bradley, "The Whitmore-McIntyre Dugout, Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona," unpublished report, 1959: 6. See also, C. Gregory Crampton's "Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah," pp.117-125. Black Hawk was one of the principal Ute leaders. He is not to be confused with the Sauk and Fox leader Black Hawk, who joined Shawnee leader Tecumseh's alliance of Indian tribes with the British to fight the United States government during the War of 1812. The author was advised by Charles S. Peterson that University of Utah Press will be publishing a definitive history of the Black Hawk Indian War in the fall of 1999 (title not provided).

[42] Arrington, 229.

[43] Woodbury, 168.

[44] d'Azevedo, ed., 387.

[45] One could argue a certain amount of wisdom in the proclivity of the Paiute to form alliances and live in proximity to Mormon settlements. In doing so, they were less susceptible to Navajo raiders. They also could appeal to Mormon charity in hard times. Moreover, where other Indians fought against the Militia and/or U.S. Army and lost, most were removed from the very areas they fought hardest to protect. The Kaibab Paiute, on the other hand, have retained a small part of their original territory.

[46] For information about the role of mission "calls" in Mormon settlement, see Charles S. Peterson's *Take Up Your Mission — Mormon Colonizing Along the Little Colorado River, 1870-1900* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973). "Mission calls were extended by the authority of church leaders and received full validity by public announcement and popular ratification." (Peterson, 42)

[47] Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, Martha A. Sandweiss: *The Oxford History of the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994): 293.

[48] For more information about events leading up to and immediately after the creation of Bosque Redondo, see Josephy, 350-358.

[49] Chiricahua Apache leader Geronimo refused to surrender until 1886. Subtler forms of resistance were manifest during the Ghost Dance years of 1880 and 1890, participated in by some Southern Paiute.

[50] Peterson, *Utah, A History*, 139.

[51] Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee, An Indian History of the American West*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970): 33.

[52] Some dissident Paiute allied with the Navajo in defense of their territory, report Stoffle and Evans *(Kaibab Paiute History*, 13) but the majority sided with whites (Woodbury, 169). One source says that Paiute, "often abetted by Navajo, began hostilities in southern Utah" with a horse stealing raid on the settlement of Kanab in December 1865 (Bradley, 3). The alliance of most with the Mormons provided a measure of self-protection against the far more numerous

and powerful Navajo, while sparing them from warring with the Mormons and U.S. Army.

[53] Dan L. Thrapp, *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography, Vol. III*. (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1988): 1169.

[54] James H. McClintock, *Mormon Settlement in Arizona — A Record of Peaceful Conquest of the Desert* (Phoenix: 1921): 79.

[55] Woodbury, 177. Woodbury writes that there was one other incident during the winter of 1873-1874 that threatened the peace, involving the shooting by whites of three Navajo in Grass Valley. Hamblin was able to convince the angry Navajo that the killers were non-Mormons and further conflict was averted.

[56] C. Gregory Crampton, *Land of Living Rock, The Grand Canyon and the High Plateaus: Arizona, Utah, Nevada*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972): 143.

[57] Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission:* 68-90. The most western of the two roads, pioneered by Jacob Hamblin, headed south from St. George to cross the Colorado River at Pearce's Ferry. Another version of this route followed a more southwesterly route from St. George, crossing at Stone's Ferry. These two wagon trails intersected at various points, finally becoming a single route that headed east toward the Little Colorado. This was called Stone's and Pearce's route. A second route, know as the San Juan Route, traversed the southeastern part of Utah and was promoted for a time by Erastus Snow as the best route to Arizona.

[58] Ibid., 146.

[59] A Bureau of Land Management archeologist, Rick Malcomson, worked off and on for 13-14 years on a draft National Register nomination for portions of the trail that crossed BLM land in Arizona and Utah. The most current draft dates to 1992 and has been reviewed by both Arizona and Utah Historic Preservation Offices. Malcomson retired in 1992. The Arizona State Historic Preservation Office is currently negotiating with the Arizona Strip District Office of the Bureau of Land Management in St. George for an archeologist do some final ground truthing before finalizing the nomination.

[60] Arrington, 5.

[61] Cited in Peterson, *Utah, A History,* 42.

[62] Peterson, *Utah, A History,* 41.

[63] Such views of cultural superiority and a sense of religious duty to "save" native peoples is, of course, not unlike that held by many European and Euroamerican colonists of earlier periods and in other parts of the continent. The highly organized, Church-sponsored manner in which these views were implemented, however, serves to distinguish Mormon colonizing from most earlier (as well as later) colonizing efforts, particularly those made by mainstream Protestants. One could argue, however, that the role of the Catholic Church during Spanish exploration and settlement during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries was quite similar to the role played by the 19th century Mormon Church and its followers.

[64] Peterson, *Utah, A History,* 36.

[65] Recorded under the heading, "Pipe Springs, or Home of the Pahutes [sic], or the Indians." This is a subsection of "The Pipe Spring Story," Edwin D. Woolley-Erastus Snow Collection (Woolley/Snow Family Collection), MSS1403, Harold B. Lee Library, Special Collections,

Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. It is uncertain which Woolley family member prepared the transcript, but it was most likely either Bert or Dilworth Woolley, sons of Edwin D. Woolley, Jr.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

[68] According to a personal communication from Park Service Ethnographer David E. Ruppert, the view of many native groups in the desert west as "lowly" or "backward" was commonly held by Euroamericans. Late 19th century thought regarding social evolution relied on a scale of "progress" from savage and barbarian (not exhibiting the material wealth of Europeans) to civilized (epitomized by the English gentleman). There was a tendency for white observers to place these desert dwellers on the bottom of this scale. Such a crude scale of "progress" is totally rejected today.

[69] The ecological impacts to the Kaibab Paiute by the presence and activities of Mormon settlers are discussed in Stoffle's and Evans' *Kaibab Paiute History* and the *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment* prepared by Stoffle et al.

[70] Stoffle and Evans, *Kaibab Paiute History*, 8-9.

[71] Woodbury, 22.

[72] Jacob Hamblin, Nov. 1, 1880. Slightly different excerpts from this letter are cited in Stoffle and Evans, p. 15, and in Robert H. Keller and Michael F. Turek, *American Indians and National Parks* (Tucson, AZ, University of Arizona Press, 1998): 70-71.

[73] Stoffle and Evans, *Kaibab Paiute History*, 13. See pp. 13-16 for the effects on the Kaibab Paiute resulting from the settlers' appropriation of resources.

[74] For a summary of Pipe Spring ownership, see Appendix I.

[75] Woodbury, 166. In *A History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks*, Woodbury states that W. B. Maxwell established a ranch at Short Creek "some time prior to 1863" and that James M. Whitmore located ranches at Pipe Springs and Moccasin not long after. This in conflict with reports by C. Leonard Heaton and others that Maxwell, not Whitmore, first settled Moccasin in 1865. No other source linking Whitmore to Moccasin was found.

[76] Actually, there are one or more lesser springs at each location, thus these places were often referred to as "Pipe Springs" and "Moccasin Springs." The main spring at each of these respective sites, however, is called "Pipe Spring" or "Moccasin Spring."

[77] Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958): 54.

[78] Book A, Records of Washington County, Utah Territory. Located in the Washington County Recorder's Office in St. George, Utah. See supporting document No. 5 in Geerdes' report, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring: A Legal and Historical Brief " (unpublished manuscript, January 1, 1970). See also pp. 11-12.

[79] Documentation indicates that the Whitmore family continued to reside in St. George, thus the dugout was most likely used only as temporary shelter for him and/or McIntyre. A record of Whitmore's developments is contained in a May 28, 1865 report by President Snow and

party to the area. (PISP vertical files)

[80] Leonard Heaton, "Historical [sic] and Facts Pertaining to Pipe Spring National Monument," p. 6. Lloyd Sandberg (p. 6) also reported McIntyre was a brother-in-law; Woodward (p. 8) and Jenson (p. 659) call him Whitmore's "herder;" Carter (p. 202) refers to McIntyre as "a hired man;" Bradley (p. 3) reports various writers also refer to McIntyre as son-in-law, brother-in-law, and stepson. See also reference to Mrs. McIntyre later in this chapter.

[81] Peter Gottfredson, *Indian Depradations In Utah*, (Salt Lake City, 1919): 179-160. Cited in Woodward's, "Brief Historical Sketch of Pipe Springs, Arizona," 8.

[82] C. Leonard Heaton, "Historical [sic] and Facts Pertaining to Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona," ca. 1946, 6-C (monument archives).

[83] Flora Snow Woolley wrote that the son left in the dugout was eight years old ("History of the Pipe Springs Monument" November 9, 1934, Edwin D. Woolley and Erastus Snow Family Collection, MSS 1403, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT). Historian Arthur Woodward said the name of the son left in the dugout wasn't found in historical accounts but the only son of an appropriate age was James Jr., age eleven ("A Brief Historical Sketch of Pipe Springs, Arizona" June 1, 1941).

[84] C. Gregory Crampton wrote that men of the Iron County Militia were responsible for locating the bodies of Whitmore and McIntyre and capturing and killing the Paiute. Crampton, "Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah," 125.

[85] "Memorandum made by Charles Ellis Johnson in July 1914." Church Archives, MS 7941. This memo incorrectly identifies Andrus as "Jim Andrews." The misspelling "Androus" has also been seen.

[86] According to Flora Snow Woolley, the bodies were found four miles southeast of the dugout. F. S. Woolley, op. cit.

[87] Angus Woodbury reported the story differently in *A History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks*. He wrote that the first two Paiute taken captive were questioned and tortured, and that the Militia made a surprise dawn raid upon the camp, killing two Paiute and capturing five. These captives were also tortured before they consented to taking the Mormons to the bodies of Whitmore and McIntyre. The captives claimed innocence, but clothing of the dead men was in their possession and thus considered proof of guilt. Perhaps to avoid the unpleasantness of shooting men face-to-face, the Indians were turned loose and were shot as they attempted to run. This version of the story, like that of Andrus, suggests that nine Paiute were killed (Woodbury, p. 168). Unfortunately, Woodbury did not cite the source for his account. Arizona State Historian James McClintock also reported nine Indians were killed "in a short engagement" (p. 72). Several other accounts say that seven Paiute men were killed. In yet another reference to the incident, recorded by Dilworth Woolley, a man named Ruben Dodge reported that "Jim Andrus' posse caught the Indians, permitted them to run the gauntlet, killed all but one boy who Jim raised." ("Dilworth on Pipe Springs, from his orange notebook," Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit.) Finally, Alonzo Winsor, son of A. P. Winsor, "was under the impression that 13 Indians were killed," reported Leonard Heaton in his "Early History of Pipe Spring," *Southwestern Monuments Report Supplement*, April 1936: 304. An lengthy article could be written just about the plethora of stories associated with the Whitmore-McIntyre slayings and subsequent retaliatory killings of Paiute.

[88] Crampton, "Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah," 126.

[89] C. Leonard Heaton, "Historical [sic] and Facts Pertaining to Pipe Spring National Monument" (unpublished, undated manuscript, probably 1949). This report contains numerous versions of the Whitmore-McIntyre story. Heaton reported that Hamblin later learned of the Paiute men's innocence during his visits to "Navajo Indian Country." Robert W. Olsen, Jr., reported that a Paiute told Hamblin in 1869 that three of his tribe led the Navajo to Whitmore's sheep, and at least one accompanied them back across the Colorado River ("Pipe Spring," 1965).

[90] Winsor's son, Alonzo, recounted the story of how this happened to Leonard Heaton in 1936. It is cited in Bradley, 7-8.

[91] Crampton, "Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah," 126.

[92] Henry P. Walker and Don Bufkin, *Historical Atlas of Arizona*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979): 35.

[93] Raymond J. Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring: A Legal and Historical Brief " (unpublished manuscript, January 1, 1970): 11-14.

[94] For additional information about the Andrus expedition, see C. Gregory Crampton's "Military Reconnaissance in Southern Utah, 1866." *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 32 (Spring, 1964).

[95] James G. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," p. 303, History Department of the Church. Cited in A. Berle Clemensen, *Historic Structure Report - History Data Section, Pipe Spring National Monument* (Denver, CO: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1980, unpublished draft): 1-2.

[96] *Deseret News* Salt Lake City, March 1, 1869; cited in Clemensen, 2.

[97] John R. Young to Erastus Snow, August 15, 1869; cited in Clemensen, 2.

[98] The location of the site of this shed in unknown.

[99] Jacob Hamblin and John R. Young to George A. Smith, September 12, 1869, "Journal History," September 12, 1869. Cited in Clemensen, 2.

[100] A number of reasons have been given as to why the fort was sited in such a manner as to control the primary water source at Pipe Spring. Most often, sources indicate it was to ensure a stable water supply for the fort's occupants and the Church's tithed cattle herds. One source, published in *Arizona, A State Guide* in 1941, was unique in that it stated the fort "was constructed over the springs to prevent Indians from poisoning the settlement's water supply." No source was cited for this information and while it was stated as fact, it is likely based on rumor. (Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of Arizona, *Arizona, A State Guide*, New York, NY: Hastings House, 1941: 283.)

[101] John W. Powell, Major Powell's Trip to Grand Canyon, *Scribner's Monthly*, October 1875, 663. Cited in Lloyd S. Sandberg's unpublished report, "Pipe Spring National Monument," 1957: 5.

[102] In a September 24, 1943, memorandum from Acting Chief Historian Charles W. Porter III to A. E. Demaray, Porter references some early names of Pipe Spring, including "Yellow Rock Spring": "John W. Powell… in his journal for September 13, 1870, remarked that he

camped at a 'great spring, known to the Indians as Yellow Rock Spring, but to the Mormons as Pipe Spring' where 'the Mormons design to build a fort another year, as an outpost for protection against the Indians.'" (J. W. Powell, *Canyons of the Colorado*, Meadville, Pennsylvania, 1895: 297-298).

[103] Born Mary Elizabeth Carter, she married Whitmore in 1852. The couple had six children.

[104] This verbal agreement was recorded in the Winsor Company's Ledger B, after the company's January 1873 organization.

[105] *Andrew Jenson's Manuscript History*, Historian's Office, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (no date given); cited in Lloyd Sandberg, "Pipe Spring National Monument," unpublished manuscript, 1957, 16-18. The excerpt from Jenson's manuscript reads very much like the company's minutes, thus they have been quoted as such.

[106] Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, UT, Deseret News Publishing Co., 1941): p. 659. Jenson wrote the company organized "with a capital stock of $500,000." This is consistent with excerpts from *Andrew Jensen's Manuscript History* copied by Lloyd Sandberg, op. cit. Robert J. Olsen, Jr., and David Lavender have incorrectly reported the amount of authorized capital stock was $50,000.

[107] The Church subscribed to $10,000; Brigham Young, Sr., to $2,350, A. P. Winsor to $3,000, Alexander F. MacDonald, $1,000. Five men held the remaining stock.

[108] Jenson's manuscript, cited in Sandberg, 17. Church Historian Andrew Jenson wrote that "a one-third interest in Moccasin Springs was purchased at the suggestion of Pres. Young and was later paid for by the company named." *Encyclopedic History*, 659.

[109] Sandberg, 18.

[110] Ibid.

[111] It is believed that the verbal agreement, bill of sale, and Winsor Company meeting minutes are the only records of the transaction, as no record of the title of transfer could be located during a search of county records by Geerdes in 1969.

[112] Mary Bywater Cross, *Quilts and Women of the Mormon Migrations*. Nashville, Tennessee: Rutledge Hill Press, 1996: 126-127.

[113] Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring," 29.

[114] This information comes from a quote from Pearson H. Corbett's *Jacob Hamblin*, cited in Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring," 29. Corbett's book may say more about who "Mrs. McIntyre" was.

[115] Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 570.

[116] Edwin D. Woolley, Jr., "The Pipe Spring Story," Chapter VI: 28, Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit.

[117] A. Wm. Lund, letter to George A. Smith, February 11, 1942.

[118] A "stake" is made of up three or more "wards," the latter being comparable to a local

congregation, parish, or single church. Kanab Stake was organized in 1877. The reference to Joseph W. Young being nephew to Brigham Young is in Arrington, 207.

[119] Joseph W. Young, letter to Horace S. Eldredge, October 16, 1870. Cited in Woodward, 19.

[120] "Memoirs of Joseph R. Young, Utah Pioneer of 1847, written by Himself, Salt Lake City, 1920"; cited in Woodward, 20.

[121] "Extracts from Letter by Walter F. Winsor Pertinent to the Pipe Spring Story" under "Material on Pipe Springs Furnished by Mr. L. M. Winsor...," Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit.

[122] Clemensen, 6. Clemensen reports on the same page that there were two lime kilns "just below the hill on which the west stone house was located." The ruins of only one kiln have been found in this location. C. Gregory Crampton wrote that nearly all of the million board feet of lumber used in the construction of the St. George Temple came from Mt. Trumbull, located about 60 miles southeast of St. George (Crampton, "Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah," 160).

[123] Berle Clemensen speculates that the size was reduced because of the small size of the work force; this may certainly also have been a factor.

[124] Clemensen, 11.

[125] Dilworth Woolley wrote to his brother, H. E. Woolley, on August 21, 1943, correcting the Park Service booklet being used at Pipe Spring, which said the north building was erected directly over the spring. Woolley wrote that the spring was located about 15 feet outside the building. Numerous other sources, including Anson P. Winsor's son, L. M. Winsor, contradict him.

[126] See Clemensen, op. cit., and David Lavender's *The History of Arizona's Pipe Spring National Monument*.

[127] Crampton, "Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah," 171-172. A news article in the *Arizona Daily Star* states that the telegraph line was used as the telephone line until 1937 ("Pipe Spring Monument Is a Complete Museum," Denver Service Center Library, undated, ca. 1940). For information on the 1965 reconstruction of the historic telegraph line within monument boundaries, see Part X.

[128] "Material on Pipe Springs furnished by Mr. L. M. Winsor, December 16, 1960." Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit. Some historical documentation spells the name "Windsor Castle."

[129] Ibid.

[130] "Material on Pipe Springs Furnished by Mr. L. M. Winsor, December 16, 1960," Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit.

[131] "Dilworth [Woolley] on Pipe Springs," Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit.

[132] Stoffle et al., *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 21. This period is referred to by the authors as "Lost Times" for the Kaibab Paiute, dating from 1870 to 1900.

[133] Between 1850 and 1900, more than 90,000 came from abroad "to strengthen Zion's union and redeem its wastelands" (Peterson, *Utah, A History*, 36). All were presumably Mormon converts.

[134] Clemensen, 14. See also, "Anson Perry Winsor," St. George Stake H.P. Quo. Record, #15649, page 272, which states: "I, Anson Perry Winsor… in 1869 was called to settle and build up Pipe Springs, and remained there until called by President Young to labor in the Temple of St. George in September 1876." The date given for when Winsor left Pipe Spring varies somewhat, according to source. One author states that Winsor left Pipe Spring in 1875 (Carter, 153). Another source says he was called to St. George in 1877, perhaps because the Temple was not dedicated until 1877 (Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 570). September 1876 appears to be correct, given that Winsor's son had to fill in for a brief time prior to the arrival of Pulsipher in January 1877. Anson P. Winsor lived to be 99 years old.

[135] Edwin D. Woolley, Jr., "The Pipe Spring Story," Chapter VI: 5. Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit. This information is taken from Charles Pulsipher's autobiography, quoted by Woolley.

[136] Clemensen, 14. This date is consistent with an excerpt from Pulsipher's autobiography, quoted in Woolley, which says when the St. George Temple was completed on January 1, 1877, Pulsipher received a telegram from Brigham Young commanding him to come to St. George. He arrived there the next day, where Young directed him to leave immediately for "Winsor Ranch" to take over operations there.

[137] "The Pulsipher Family Comes to Pipe Spring," Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit. According to genealogical and family records, the first wife was Ann Beers. No children are recorded of that marriage. There is no mention of her living at Pipe Spring in Clemensen, who mentions the other two wives (p. 15). At the same time Brigham Young directed Pulsipher to oversee the ranch at Pipe Spring, he told him to get a young wife and raise more family, his other four children by Sariah being nearly grown. He married Julia on December 13, 1877, and had 12 more children with her.

[138] Crampton, "Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah," 55.

[139] Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring," 18.

[140] Arrington, 356. Arrington wrote an article for *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XXII (1952), "The Settlement of the Brigham Young Estate, 1877-1879," which would most likely list the date of final settlement.

[141] Edwin D. Woolley, Jr., reports that Pulsipher was at the ranch until the winter of 1880, thus it appears he did not leave Pipe Spring until sometime after Emett's arrival. "The Pipe Spring Story," Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit. In an unpublished biographical sketch, Pulsipher wrote that he "labored there three years..."

[142] Gurnsey and Harriet Brown were Flora Snow Woolley's uncle and aunt. F. S. Woolley, "History of the Pipe Springs Monument," Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit. Elizabeth Woolley Jenson wrote that Brown purchased the ranch lease in 1881 (Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring," 56).

[143] Sometime during his tenure at Pipe Spring (1961-1966), Park Historian Robert Olsen borrowed the original drawing from Ena Spendlove of Kanab to have it photographed. The drawing had been passed down in her family. Its whereabouts today are unknown to the

author.

[144] Edwin D. Woolley, Jr. (1845-1920), had a half-brother named Edwin Gordon Woolley (1845-1930). Both were sons of Edwin Dilworth Woolley, Sr., (1807-1881) whose first wife was Mary Wickersham Woolley, mother of Edwin D. Woolley. Woolley, Sr.'s second (plural) wife was Louisa Chaplin Gordon, mother of Edwin G. Woolley. When Louisa died in Nauvoo, Illinois in 1849, the child was sent to Massachusetts to be raised by Louisa's mother. Meanwhile, Woolley left with his other family and the Saints to Salt Lake City. After settling in Utah, the father returned to get five-year-old Edwin G. and took him to live with his family in Utah. Edwin D., just three months older than Edwin G., were "raised together more like twins than as ordinary brothers," said a family account. The two half-brothers later married the Bentley sisters.

[145] Flora was 29 years old when she went to Pipe Spring. E. D. Woolley, Jr.'s first wife in Kanab was Emma Geneva Bentley, sister to Mary Lavinia Bentley, who married E. G. Woolley. For additional detail on Woolley's Kanab property, see letter from H. E. Woolley to Dilworth Woolley, August 15, 1943, attached to memorandum from A. E. Demaray to Newton Drury, September 15, 1943.

[146] Clemensen, 22.

[147] On the quitclaim deed from Seegmiller to B. F. Saunders, the name is spelled "McFarland." This is a typographical error. Reference is made to the McFarlane survey by Dilworth Woolley in his letter to his brother, H. E. Woolley, dated August 21, 1943 (appended to A. E. Demaray's letter to Newton B. Drury, September 15, 1943). Dilworth was present when the survey lines were run.

[148] Bill of Sale from Benjamin and Tacy Saunders to Bulloch and Jones, signed and dated March 8, 1898. It is not known what circumstances are connected to the reduction of James M. Whitmore's 160-acre tract to the 140 purchased by the Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company or how the property was reduced another 100 acres by the time of the 1886 McFarlane survey. One possibility is that the Church either sold part of the land or transferred it to the United Order of Orderville prior to the survey.

[149] Ken Verdoia and Richard Frimage, *Utah: The Struggle for Statehood*. (Salt Lake City, Utah. University of Utah Press, 1996): 129-131.

[150] Arrington, 356-359.

[151] Launched in the fall of 1849, the Perpetual Emigrating Fund was incorporated as the Perpetual Emigrating Company in September 1850 "to promote, facilitate, and accomplish the emigration of the poor" to the Great Basin. Earnings from California Gold Rush returnees provided the initial financial base. Brigham Young served as president of the company until his death (Arrington, 77-78).

[152] Arrington, 361.

[153] Arrington, 359.

[154] During "the Raid," polygamous husbands sought to find locations for their families in out-of-the way places unlikely to be visited by federal deputies (Arrington, 383).

[155] "In Two Worlds - The Recollections of Florence Snow Woolley" (as dictated to her daughter, Elizabeth Woolley Jenson; undated, unpublished manuscript in monument's vertical

files): 62; and "Pipe Springs Becomes a Sanctuary/Place of Refuge," Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit. The latter contains a vivid description of the raiding period.

[156] Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring," 19.

[157] See Clemensen, 22-24.

[158] "Notes from Correspondence of Dilworth and Bert [Woolley] on Pipe Springs," states that Erastus Snow and Edwin D. Woolley, Jr., conferred on site prior to making the changes to the building. Woolley/Snow Family Collection.

[159] Dilworth Woolley also wrote of the changes and how they came about in his letter to his brother H. E. Woolley, August 21, 1943 (attached to a memorandum from A. E. Demaray to Newton Drury, dated September 15, 1943). He recalled it being a topic of conversation between his father Edwin D. Woolley, Jr., his grandfather Erastus Snow, and unnamed "others."

[160] Flora Snow Woolley, op. cit.

[161] Dilworth Woolley, letter to H. E. Woolley, September 4, 1943 (attached to a memorandum from A. E. Demaray to Newton Drury, dated September 15, 1943).

[162] Unsigned letter dated April 14, 1916. In Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit.

[163] The site of these watering holes can still be discerned when the area is compared to a historic photograph in the monument's collection that shows cattle watering there. The old watering holes straddle the monument's west boundary and Kaibab Indian Reservation land.

[164] Ibid. Reference to the popular name "Woolley's lambing ground" found in the chapter "Pipe Spring Becomes a Sanctuary/Place of Refuge" in "The Pipe Spring Story," Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit.

[165] Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 659.

[166] "Telegraph and Telephone," in "The Pipe Spring Story," Woolley/Snow Family Collection.

[167] Leonard Heaton, file memorandum, August 13, 1938.

[168] McClintock, 99.

[169] From 1870 until 1895, the Church successfully concealed its ownership of the Pipe Spring ranch to prevent its confiscation by the federal government under the antipolygamy laws discussed earlier. The Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 made the hiding of Church holdings even more imperative, thus the lack of physical evidence recording transfer of Pipe Spring property during this era may have been the result of deliberate intent by Church officials.

[170] Arrington, 364.

[171] The kinship tie to Brigham Young is cited in Arrington, 283.

[172] Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring," 60. See also Clemensen, 27.

[173] Geerdes' interviews with a number of people who knew of Seegmiller's and Woolley's

management of the Church's herds suggest that Seegmiller was not alone in his underhanded dealings, and that Woolley too had similar shortcomings. While Seegmiller was fired, Woolley was only admonished by Anthony W. Ivins, the two men's supervisor.

[174] Historian Charles S. Peterson suggested to the author that J. W. Young may have masterminded Seegmiller's filing on Pipe Spring with Valentine scrip. Seegmiller was Young's foreman for the Arizona Land and Cattle Company. For additional information see Earle R. Forrest's *Arizona's Dark and Bloody Ground* and Peterson's *Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonizing Along the Little Colorado River* (Peterson's handwritten comments on draft manuscript, January 1999).

[175] Copy of Act, Forty-second Congress, Sess. III, Chapt. 89, 92-95, 1872.

[176] Geerdes researched the Valentine scrip matter in 1969 in connection with researching the history of Pipe Spring ownership. Geerdes states that Seegmiller's application to the Prescott Land Office was denied because the land had not yet been surveyed. Had one been made, he wrote, it would have revealed the Pipe Spring property already had a long history of use and development (Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring," 39). The author has not located documents supporting two of Geerdes' conclusions: 1) that Seegmiller's application was denied, and 2) that Valentine scrip could only be filed on surveyed land.

[177] This is speculation on Geerdes' part, but he provides some strong evidence for his conclusion. There was so much Mormon subterfuge during this period (in attempts to hide Church assets) that it is often impossible to ascertain some people's motives for acquiring - or attempting to acquire - Church property.

[178] Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring," 43.

[179] Ken Chamberlain, letter to A. D. Findlay, June 19, 1985.

[180] Flora Snow Woolley, op. cit.

[181] Arrington, 378.

[182] B. F. Saunders was born in Missouri, September 1847. In *Heart Throbs of the West*, p. 210, Saunders was credited with bringing the most up-to-date cattle breeds to Utah's Dixie. He lived in Salt Lake City at the time of his death on July 26, 1909.

[183] Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring," 49.

[184] Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring," 63. Geerdes was convinced through his extensive research that there existed a "gentlemen's" agreement between B. F. Saunders and Church officials by which Saunders was treated well in return for protecting the Church's interests.

[185] Douglas D. Alder and Karl F. Brooks, *A History of Washington County, From Isolation to Destination*. (Salt Lake City, Utah Historical Society, 1996): 98.

[186] Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring," 51.

[187] Geerdes spells this two ways, "Parashont" and "Parashant."

[188] "Kaibab" operations are believed to refer to a ranch at V.T. Park on the Kaibab Plateau. Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring," 49.

[189] Geerdes reviewed the Company's papers at the Church Historian's Library in Salt Lake City and stated that records from these years are not available.

[190] Minutes of the final October 1, 1895, meeting of the Board of Directors, Canaan Cooperative Stock Company. Reported in Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring," 52.

[191] Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring," 62-63.

[192] Church Legal Office, Salt Lake City; cited in Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring," 62.

[193] The name "Bulloch" has been incorrectly spelled in a number of publications, including Lavender's booklet and Clemensen's report. The correct spelling has been taken from copies of original documents signed by David Bulloch.

[194] David Dunn Bulloch, letter to his wife Sarah Ann, December 1, 1895. Attached to Geerdes' report, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring."

[195] Bulloch and Jones sold and conveyed the Pipe Spring tract to the Pipe Springs Cattle Company, "a Corporation of the State of Utah, with its principal office in Salt Lake City for $5,000. Bulloch and Jones were two of the Company's four directors, all of whom had close ties to the Church.

[196] For additional information, see typed memo filed under date of August 29, 1946.

[197] The total cost for 1,200 head would be $27,000. The Company owed the Deseret National Bank of Salt Lake City $19,000 as mortgage on the herd; the sale to Findlay was to pay off that debt.

[198] The total value of 3,000 sheep would be $6,750.

[199] This copy of the contract used in research for this report was unsigned.

[200] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, July 23, 1934.

[201] List of quitclaim deeds pertaining to Pipe Spring, located in the Mohave County Recorder's Office, Kingman, Arizona. Cited in Geerdes, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring," 66. In all quitclaim deeds the grantors are both husband and wife; but for brevity's sake, the author used only the husband's name in the narrative; both are included in the summary ownership chronology, Appendix I.

[202] No description has been found that gives the location of the "Findlay Lower Reservoir."

[203] Another report states, "The name Moccasin was derived, it is said, from a moccasin snake which was left at the spring by the Indians in an effort to frighten away the whites." Vincent W. Vandiver, "Report on Pipe Springs National Monument," January 1937: 7.

[204] McClintock, 97-98.

[205] Crampton, "Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah," 125. Leonard Heaton wrote that William B. Maxwell made the first claim at Moccasin in 1865, but this is later than the date given by James H. McClintock and C. Gregory Crampton. (C. Leonard Heaton, "A Brief History of the Town of Moccasin, Arizona," undated). Also, "Arizona Strip Town Peopled by

One Family," newspaper article published ca. 1940, echoes the 1865 date but probably used Heaton as their source.

[206] Crampton cites Andrew Jenson's *Encyclopedic History* (1941) as his source for information on the early settlement of Moccasin (Jenson, pp. 522-523). In C. Leonard Heaton's "A Brief History of the Town of Moccasin, Arizona," Heaton reported that Maxwell sold the Moccasin ranch soon after acquiring it to "an unknown man" who built a cabin and lived there about eight years.

[207] Southern Paiute periodic use and occupation of the site was part of a pattern of regular use and occupation. Although a specific site was not occupied year round, the larger region of use was permanently occupied.

[208] Emma Carroll Seegmiller, "Voices from Within - The Story of the United Order," unpublished manuscript (MS 1000, Folder 1), Church Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, UT.

[209] It may seem peculiar to "gentiles" that at the beginning of the 20th century Mormons and Paiute were praying for a U.S. President who had been dead since December 14, 1799. Praying for the conversion of souls of deceased non-Mormons was and still is an important part of Church practice. This is one of the reasons for the Mormons' intense interest in genealogy.

[210] "Dilworth on Pipe Springs, from his orange notebook," Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit. This information is taken from a statement made by Silas Smith Young to Dilworth Woolley on March 3, 1944.

[211] This part of the history is recorded in a sworn affidavit taken January 18, 1921, and signed by Charles C. Heaton, Edward Carroll, Henry Blackburn, Henry W. Esplin and Jonathan Heaton, per C. C. Heaton. The affidavit is attached to a petition requesting that certain lands be withdrawn from the Kaibab Indian Reservation. Both are under filed cover letter of March 16, 1921, from John H. Page & Co. to Senator Carl Hayden (Hayden Papers, ASU, Tempe, AZ).

[212] Emma Carroll Seegmiller, op. cit.

[213] Woodbury, 183-184.

[214] Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion." *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 3:141-159 (1939). Cited in Stoffle and Evans, *Kaibab Paiute History*, 14.

[215] Leonard Arrington, "Orderville Utah: A Pioneer Mormon Experiment in Economic Organization." Utah State Agricultural College Monograph, Series Vol. 2, No. 2. (1954). Cited in Stoffle and Evans, *Kaibab Paiute History*, 14.

[216] Leonard Heaton, letter to Mrs. J. Rowe Groesbeck, May 23, 1961.

[217] See Chubbuck's quote under the section, "The Federal Government's Response: Creation of the Kaibab Indian Reservation." It is highly characteristic of the times that the Church bought the one-third water rights from its own company, the Canaan Cooperative Cattle Company. Also, a news article published ca. 1940 ("Arizona Strip Town Peopled by One Family") states, "One-third of the water was granted the Paiutes by the church in the early eighties..." Other researchers — Lavender, and Stoffle and Evans - reported that the one-third flow of Moccasin Spring was given to the Indians "in the early 1900s," p. 34, or "probably

just before 1907," p. 18, respectively. They wrote that the Church prevailed upon the Heatons to give up this share of water. Both are incorrect. The Church appears to have held one-third water rights to Moccasin since the early 1870s. In a 1938 history of the reservation located in BIA files, Phoenix, Arizona, it states the Church established a mission at Moccasin Springs in 1875. ("Reservation — Kaibab: History of Reservation;" see BIA, Phoenix records file.)

[218] C. Leonard Heaton, "A Brief History of the Town of Moccasin, Arizona," op. cit. A later description of the Paiute community at Moccasin states the size of the farm plot was "about 12 acres."

[219] WPA, *Utah Guide*, 343.

[220] Leonard Heaton, letter to Mrs. J. Groesbeck, May 23, 1961.

[221] Woodbury, 184.

[222] Arrington, 337. See also Woodbury, 183-184.

[223] The petition requesting withdrawal of lands from the Kaibab Indian Reservation states that Jonathan Heaton had settled upon a part of these lands, purchased with improvements from a prior settler for $5,000 in 1875. (The exact location of the lands purchased by Heaton is not described.)

[224] C. Leonard Heaton, "A Brief History of the Town of Moccasin, Arizona," op. cit. Heaton says Jonathan bought out his brother in 1893. He does not give the date the property came into the five brothers' hands, but this is reported in a newspaper article, "Arizona Strip Town Peopled by One Family."

[225] Jonathan Heaton's first wife was Clarissa Amy Hoyt, whom he married on September 27, 1875. The couple had 15 children and maintained a home in Alton, Utah. He married Lucy Elizabeth Carroll on December 6, 1878. They lived in Moccasin, Arizona, and had 11 children.

[226] C. Leonard Heaton, "A Brief History of the Town of Moccasin, Arizona," op. cit. Heaton's words are ironic given that when Mormons fled their new settlements in the area during the Navajo uprisings of the late 1860s, the Paiute had been entrusted to watch over Mormon gardens and fields.

[227] Ibid.

[228] The number of acres irrigated is cited in a letter from Assistant Secretary F. M. Goodwin to Attorney Samuel Herrick, July 5, 1921. The quote is from the March 1921 petition filed by residents of Moccasin requesting withdrawal of certain lands from the reservation.

[229] "Arizona Strip Town Peopled By One Family," unidentified newspaper article, ca. 1940.

[230] D. B. Morgan, letter to Senator Carl Hayden, March 16, 1921.

[231] While one newspaper report states only that his sons were given land, the fact that two sons-in-law also lived in Moccasin (last names Johnson and Brown), suggests that land was also given to two daughters.

[232] Ibid. Also in "Moccasin: One Family Town," *Christian Science Monitor*, February or March, 1941. National Park Service, Denver Service Center Library.

[233] James A. Brown, "Report of Special Agent for Kaibab Indians, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1903" (pp.329-330). Bureau of Indian Affairs, Phoenix, Arizona, *Arizona v. California* case exhibits file, ca. 1953. The Kaibab Agency was then based in Kanab, Utah.

[234] Knack, 217. Smoot made his request in a letter of December 1, 1905.

[235] Woodbury, 193.

[236] Knack, 216.

[237] Woodbury, 192.

[238] Knack, 216-217.

[239] An excellent resource for additional information about this period is Knack, op. cit.

[240] File memorandum, Office of Indian Affairs, dated December 30, 1910, signature indecipherable.

[241] Cited in letter from Assistant Secretary F. M. Goodwin to Attorney Samuel Herrick, July 5, 1921. (A copy of Chubbuck's report has not been located.) This suggests one possible motive for the Church giving the Kaibab Paiute land and water at Moccasin Ranch, but it may not be the only one, given that the Indians were there first.

[242] Acting Commissioner A. F. Larrabey, letter to Secretary of the Interior, October 8, 1907.

[243] Cited in letter from First Assistant Secretary James R. Garfield to Senator Reed Smoot, October 1908.

[244] Ibid.

[245] Cited by F. M. Goodwin, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, to Attorney Samuel Herrick, July 5, 1921.

[246] When Churchill met with the "chief " of the San Juan Paiute at Willow Spring, about 12 miles from Tuba City, the Indian "insisted that all the Piutes [sic] needed from the Government was to be let alone." Their main fear was that they might be relocated to another location.

[247] Ibid.

[248] Ibid.

[249] Their share of the water provided 1/6 of a second foot, according to the BIA's "History of [Kaibab] Reservation," 1938.

[250] R. A. Ballinger, letter to Reed Smoot, Dec. 15, 1909. No copy of the petition has been located.

[251] Peter Iverson, "When Indians Became Cowboys," *Montana, The Magazine of Western History*," Winter 1995: 18-19.

[252] H. C. Means, report to W. H. Code, July 12, 1911.

[253] Ibid., 5.

[254] Ibid.

[255] It might be possible to track down the informant's name by finding out who was the Kanab Stake President about 1911.

[256] This "unknown man" may be the man Maxwell sold his claim to.

[257] This report conflicts with other documentation that states the Church owned the 1/3 water rights prior to the United Order becoming involved at Moccasin. It is typical of a number of documents of this and later periods which attempt to trace the history of how the Indians obtained their rights to land and water at Moccasin.

[258] Lorenzo D. Creel, report dated October 28, 1911. Cited in letter from Assistant Commissioner E. B. Meritt to E. A. Farrow, July 13, 1918. The date of the interview is unreported in Meritt's letter to Farrow.

[259] G. A. Gutches, Letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 23, 1912. Cited in Knack, 225.

[260] R. A. Ward, letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 5, 1912.

[261] Ibid., 3.

[262] Ibid., 4.

[263] Ibid., 5.

[264] C. F. Hauke, letter to Secretary of the Interior, May 1, 1912.

[265] C. F. Hauke, letters to Secretary of the Interior, dated March 19 and 20, June 18, and July 16, 1913. The grazing fee for cattle in 1916 ranged from 75 cents to one dollar per head.

[266] Copies of Executive Orders of June 11, 1913, July 17, 1917, and October 22, 1918; from BIA Office, St. George, Utah. File "Kaibab Realty: Cadastral Survey/Resurvey of Boundary."

[267] F. H. Abbott, letter to Secretary of the Interior, July 2, 1913.

[268] Ibid., 3.

[269] The Department's withdrawal was later repeated when President Wilson issued Executive Order No. 2979 on October 22, 1918, revoking Executive Order No. 1786 of 1913 and restoring the public lands of Township 41, range 2 west, to settlement, location, sale and entry. It is unclear why Order No. 2979 was required or issued. Perhaps the earlier Departmental order was considered insufficient after the 1917 establishment of the permanent reservation.

[270] A. A. Jones, letter to Clay Tallman, July 10, 1914.

[271] A. A. Jones, letter to Mulford Winsor, July 16, 1914.

[272] There was not enough housing provided at the Kaibab village for all the Kaibab Paiute in the area, so some had to live in nearby white communities.

[273] Henry W. Dietz, "Report on Water Supply of the Kaibab Indian Reservation, Arizona." November 1914: 2-3.

[274] Ibid., 3-4.

[275] Ibid., 12.

[276] Ibid., 13.

[277] The Kaibab Indian Reservation installed and maintained a fence around Moccasin Spring to keep animals away from the source of their water. Occasionally, animals (such as geese) would get into the enclosure and pollute the water supply. This was a serious concern of Dr. Farrow's in the early 1920s.

[278] Ibid., 6.

[279] Clay Tallman, letter to Secretary of the Interior, July 9, 1917. Lavender says that this did not affect private ownership of the Pipe Spring land.

[280] Cato Sells, letter to Secretary Lane, June 16, 1917.

[281] Grazing leases document that cattlemen paid the Tribe 50 cents per head in 1913, 75 cents per head in 1916, and one dollar per head in 1917 for grazing privileges.

[282] Cato Sells, op. cit.

[283] Ibid.

[284] E. A. Farrow, letter to Jonathan Heaton, April 26, 1918.

[285] Jonathan Heaton, letter to E. A. Farrow, May 6, 1918.

[286] E. B. Meritt, letter to E. A. Farrow, July 13, 1918.

[287] Ibid.

[288] E. A. Farrow, letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 23, 1918.

[289] E. B. Meritt, letter to E. A. Farrow, October 16, 1918. The copy made of this letter is extremely poor (too light) and portions are impossible to read.

[290] E. A. Farrow, letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 27, 1919.

[291] E. A. Farrow, letter to Recorder of Mohave County, April 14, 1919.

[292] E. A. Farrow, letter to Arizona's Secretary of State, September 16, 1919.

[293] E. A. Farrow, letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 18, 1921.

[294] E. A. Farrow, letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 2, 1921.

[295] Ibid.

[296] This should not be interpreted as only a personal conflict however, for Farrow's arrival in November 1918 also immediately preceded the end of World War I and the beginning of an economic depression in the 1920s, which undoubtedly heightened competition for resources.

[297] See Knack, 219-220. Historic correspondence reviewed by this author indicates that the total amount of land the Heaton's fought for was 3,000 acres plus the three 160- acre homesteads. Knack's summary implies that a total of 3,000 acres was claimed.

[298] Charles C. Heaton, letter to Mr. John H. Page & Co., March 11, 1921 (Hayden Papers, ASU, Tempe, AZ).

[299] "Reservation — Kaibab; Project — Kaibab" History of the Reservation, prepared in 1938. (BIA files, Branch of Water Resources, Phoenix, AZ).

[300] D. B. Morgan of John H. Page & Co., letter to Senator Carl Hayden, September 22, 1922. (Hayden Papers, ASU, Tempe, AZ).

[301] Francis M. Goodwin, to Samuel Herrick, July 5, 1921. This correspondence refers to 3,000 acres as the aggregate amount the family filed on, which was over and above the 3 Heaton homestead claims. While several other documents use the 3,000-acre figure to describe the fenced lands, many documents - especially those later prepared by the Office of Indian Affairs - state the amount of fenced land was 4,000 acres. Some of Farrow's correspondence state 3,600 acres were fenced. Not knowing which of these figures is correct, the author has quoted all documents as they are written. In a letter dated September 13, 1922, from First Assistant Secretary E. C. Finney to Senator Carl Hayden, the 4,000 acre figure is used, for example (Hayden Papers, ASU, Tempe, AZ). It is used again in a November 24, 1922, letter from Commissioner Burke to the Secretary of the Interior.

[302] Charles H. Burke, letter to Secretary Fall, November 24, 1922. (Letter contains list of correspondence pertaining to the Heaton family and land disputes.) Also, F. M. Goodwin, letter to Samuel Herrick, July 5, 1921.

[303] See Knack, 224-225.

[304] See the oral history interview with Kaibab Paiute elder Lita Segmiller, born in 1925. Segmiller recalled "He was a man that stood up for the Indian people.... He saw to it that they got what was coming to them.... He was a good man." *(Oral History Collection, Pipe Spring National Monument, Vol. III*, p. G-20, draft version).

[305] John W. Atwater, Inspector. "Inspection Report, Kaibab Agency and Schools," August 24-30, 1922.

[306] Ibid.

[307] Unidentified official, report to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec. 28, 1922. The last page of this report was not copied at the BIA archives in Ft. Duchesne, Utah, so the official's name is unknown.

[308] Atwater, "Inspection Report."

[309] Ibid.

[310] d'Azevedo, 389. Knack also reports the effects of the drought of the "Dust Bowl" era on local cattlemen: "Nearly all small ranchers went out of business until, by 1935, only the Heatons remained," she wrote (Knack, 225).

[311] This was reported by Leonard Heaton in a January 5, 1934, letter to Frank Pinkley when the skeleton of Colvin's horse was discovered in the tunnel of tunnel spring. Heaton said Colvin lived at the fort from 1908-1914. This, along with photographs of the fort taken in 1908 by Charles C. Heaton, suggests that the Heatons may have taken possession prior to the formal sale of the property.

[312] "Notes on Pipe Springs from Autobiography of W. S. Rust," Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit.

[313] Ibid.

[314] "Maida Rust Judd, Her Story," Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit. Written by her sister Mrs. E. A. Madsen of Sandy, Utah.

[315] Commissioner of the General Land Office, letter to Register and Receiver, Phoenix, Arizona, April 10, 1920 (Hayden Papers, ASU, Tempe, AZ). Although this letter is unsigned and without letterhead, other documentation (C. A. Engle, letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 15, 1924) confirms its origin and the exact date of rejection.

[316] John H. Page and Company, Public Land Specialists, Phoenix, Arizona.

[317] John H. Page to Charles C. Heaton, April 8, 1921.

[318] E. C. Finney's "Decision on Appeal from the General Land Office [etc.], June 6, 1921." Cited in Knack, 228.

[319] John H. Page, letter to Sen. Carl Hayden, August 25, 1921 (Hayden Papers, ASU, Tempe, AZ).

[320] Senator Carl Hayden's secretary, letter to John H. Page, August 29, 1921 (Hayden Papers, ASU, Tempe, AZ).

[321] The letter was written on June 21, 1921, but no copy has been located.

[322] Senator Carl Hayden, letter to John H. Page, October 17, 1921 (Hayden Papers, ASU, Tempe, AZ).

[323] This is noteworthy as another railroad company, this time the Union Pacific, would later play a key role promoting the creation of southern Utah and northern Arizona parks and monuments during the 1920s.

[324] Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1991): 11-12.

[325] Ibid., 14.

[326] Paul Herman Buck, *The Evolution of the National Park System of the United States.* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946): 40.

[327] John Ise, *The National Park Service: 1916-1959*. (New York: Arno Press, 1979): 186.

[328] Albright and Mather were by no means the first pushing for the passage of the Organic Act. Early conservationists, Frederick Law Olmsted, the American Civic Association, the Sierra Club, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs were among the major supporters of the Act.

[329] Albright left Washington, D.C., in June 1919 to become Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park; he held that post until January 1929. During the last two and one-half years at Yellowstone, he also served as Mather's Assistant Director in the field.

[330] Alfred Runte, *Trains of Discovery — Western Railroads and National Parks* (Niwot, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart, Inc., 1990): 42.

[331] Lary M. Dilsaver, "Secretary Lane's Letter on National Park Management," in *American's National Park System, The Critical Documents*. (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1994): 51. Horace Albright is the actual author of this letter.

[332] Albright served in the position of director from January 12, 1929, to August 9, 1933.

[333] Although a natural feature, Scott's Bluff National Monument at Gering, Nebraska, was the first historical monument established under the Park Service, proclaimed on December 12, 1919. This massive promontory was a landmark on the Oregon Trail.

[334] Ise, 194. Cites Shankland's *Steven Mather of the National Parks*. Mather made his fortune in borax prior to his appointment as Park Service director.

[335] Ise, 197.

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[336] Woodbury, 193.

[337] Ibid.

[338] Throughout the agrarian West, 1919 marked the onset of drought, the discontinuance of wartime spending, the elimination of wartime price supports, and the failure of overseas and domestic markets. Utah stock cows that sold for up to $70 a head in 1917 sold for $20 a head in 1920. Wool dropped from 60 cents per pound to less than 20 cents per pound. By the time the stock market crashed in October 1929, the total value of Utah livestock had plummeted to $22 million, down from $47 million in 1918 (Leonard J. Arrington, *Utah's Audacious Stockman: Charlie Redd*. Logan and Provo: Utah State University Press and the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, 1995: 105-106).

[339] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, for fiscal year ending June 30, 1920: 38. It is unknown if Mather attended the conference and dedication or made his comments from elsewhere. While it is doubtful there is a connection, it is worth noting that the date August 26, 1920, is the same date that Heaton sold one-third interest in Pipe Spring water to some cattlemen of Kane, Washington, and Iron counties.

[340] Ibid., 39.

[341] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1923: 28.

[342] Ise, 242. Ise reported that he traveled this road in 1922 and recalled that he " nearly lost the trail at one point. Occasionally a tourist would get lost in the desert at this time and a few deaths were recorded."

[343] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, for fiscal year ending June 30,1923: 9.

[344] See Figures 16-18 in Clemensen's report, photos of the fort taken by Mather, now in the National Archives.

[345] Clemensen, 31.

[346] Keller and Turek, 71. Authors cite letter from Stephen T. Mather to C. Burke, June 6, 1921.

[347] George W. P. Hunt served as U.S. minister to Siam 1920-1921, so was not the governor at this time. He was elected Arizona's governor for seven nonconsecutive terms between 1912-1932.

[348] Clemensen, 31. See also Robert H. Keller's interview with Leonard and Edna Heaton, November 8, 1991. Leonard Heaton mistakenly reported this visit took place in 1922.

[349] Robert H. Keller, interview with Leonard and Edna Heaton, November 8, 1991. The misspelling of Randall Jones as "Maranda" Jones has been corrected in this report.

[350] At some point during the early 1920s, Jones became a representative of Union Pacific's parks department. No documentation has been located to indicate when this came about. In the *Dudes are Always Right, the Utah Parks Company in Zion National Park, 1923-1972* (unpublished manuscript, 1980: 123). Dena S. Markoff includes a photograph of Randall Jones, noting that he was an early booster of Zion National Park, long-time photographer for Utah Parks Company, and also played an important role in finalizing plans for the Zion-Mt. Carmel Tunnel.

[351] Stephen T. Mather, letter to George A. Smith, January 18, 1922. Cited in Clemensen, 31.

[352] Described by George H. Smith, in a letter to Carl R. Gray, October 24, 1923.

[353] George H. Smith, letter to Carl R. Gray, October 24, 1923 (Smith was the UP's attorney).

[354] Utah Historian Charles S. Peterson informed the author that by 1912 Utah Governor William Spry was a full-fledged advocate of roads; his successor, Simon Bamberger (1916-1920), was less enthusiastic about "roads to rocks" but continued Spry's initiative.

[355] Unsigned letter report, October 22, 1921.

[356] Stephen T. Mather, letter to D. S. Spencer, November 28, 1921.

[357] Horace M. Albright, letter to Stephen T. Mather, December 17, 1921.

[358] "Minutes of the Governor's Committee on National Park Development in Utah" and attached memoranda, December 19, 1921.

[359] "National Park Association in Utah Proposed," *Deseret News*, December 19, 1921.

[360] "Highway System to Link Utah Parks Proposed," *Deseret News*, December 20, 1921.

[361] Ibid.

[362] "Zion Park and Cedar Breaks May be United," *Deseret News*, December 20, 1921.

[363] Woodbury, 201.

[364] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1924: 16.

[365] "Southern Utah Counties Seek Primary Road," *Deseret News*, December 20, 1921.

[366] Alfred Runte, "Pragmatic Alliance — Western Railroads and the National Parks, *"(National Parks & Conservation Magazine* (April 1974). In this article, Runte states that this awareness emerged after preservationists lost the 1908 battle to save Yosemite's Hetch Hetchy Valley.

[367] Runte, 17.

[368] Maury Klein, *Union Pacific — The Rebirth, 1894-1969* (New York: Doubleday, 1990): 259.

[369] Ibid.

[370] Klein, 263.

[371] Ibid.

[372] Klein, 262.

[373] Klein, 264

[374] D. S. Spencer, "Zion - Our Newest National Park - And Other Southern Utah Scenic Attractions," *The Union Pacific Magazine* (January 1922): 31-32.

[375] Ibid.

[376] Ibid.

[377] J. T. Hammond, Jr., memorandum to Utah Parks Company, November 28, 1923. It is uncertain if Hammond is using Oldroyd's correct title. Utah Historian Charles S. Peterson suggested to the author that Oldroyd may have instead held the chairmanship of the State Land Board.

[378] Stephen T. Mather, letter to Charles B. Petty, April 13, 1922.

[379] Stephen T. Mather, letter to W. W. Seegmiller, April 13, 1922.

[380] Woodbury, 203.

[381] "Utah Construction Program of UP Involves $5,000,000," *The Union Pacific Magazine*, (November, 1922): 15.

[382] "Southern Utah Soon to See Development," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 12, 1923.

[383] In Mather's 1924 *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, he states that the hotel was placed in operation in 1924.

[384] "UP Officials Head New Corporation to Develop State," *Deseret News,* March 29, 1923.

[385] "Offer Is Made For Bryce Land," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 5, 1923.

[386] The application was for purchase of "the southeast quarter of the southeast quarter of section 36, township 36 south, range 4 west, Salt Lake meridian." *(Salt Lake Tribune*, May 5, 1923)

[387] "C. of C. Disapproves U.P. Land Purchase," *Deseret Evening News*, May 14, 1923.

[388] "Coast Seeks Delta Trade" *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 21, 1923. Charles S. Peterson informed the author that the main UP line went through Delta; the spur line was constructed to Fillmore, about 25-30 miles east of Delta. (Peterson's handwritten comments on draft manuscript, January 1999.)

[389] "U.P. Has Big Utah Program," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 23, 1923.

[390] "Mabey Relates Facts of Trip," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 24, 1923. The Lincoln Highway was a route that crossed into northern Utah, from Wyoming toward Ogden. This incident is typical of political infighting that occurred when different regions were competing for road dollars.

[391] Ibid.

[392] "Club Favors Sale of 40 acres at Bryce Canyon," *Deseret News*, May 25, 1923.

[393] "Hotels to be Finished Soon," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 28, 1923.

[394] Randall L. Jones, letter to H. M. Adams, November 10, 1923.

[395] Randall L. Jones, letter to H. M. Adams, December 19, 1923.

[396] Randall L. Jones, letter to H. M. Adams, December 10, 1923.

[397] Carl R. Gray, telegram to George H. Smith, November 22, 1923.

[398] George H. Smith, "Memorandum of Facts, Utah Park Development," November 26, 1923.

[399] Heber J. Grant, letter to Stephen T. Mather, May 12, 1923. Cited in Clemensen, 32.

[400] Heber J. Grant, letter to Stephen T. Mather, May 12, 1923. Cited in "A Brief Report on Pipe Spring National Monument As Reflected by the Early Files of That Area," 1943. (This report is filed under cover letter of October 22, 1943.)

[401] Stephen T. Mather, letter to Heber J. Grant, May 21, 1923. Cited in Clemensen, 32.

[402] Stephen T. Mather, letter to Lafayette Hanchett, May 21, 1923. Cited in Clemensen, 32.

[403] Lafayette Hanchett, June 8, 1923. Cited in "A Brief Report on Pipe Spring National

Monument As Reflected by the Early Files of That Area," 1943. It is unknown if Hanchett's letter was addressed to Mather or President Grant. (This report is filed under cover letter of October 22, 1943.)

[404] A. E. Demaray, memorandum to Stephen T. Mather, May 23, 1923. Cited in Clemensen, 33.

[405] Charles H. Burke, memorandum to Hubert Work, May 28, 1923.

[406] William Spry, memorandum to Arno B. Cammerer, May 23, 1923.

[407] Knack, 228. Knack cites E. C. Finney's Decision on Appeal from the General Land Office, Re: Valentine Scrip Location, Phoenix 04907-K, June 6, 1921.

[408] Stephen T. Mather, memorandum to Hubert Work, May 29, 1923.

[409] Hubert Work, memorandum to President Warren G. Harding, May 29, 1923.

[410] Proclamation No. 1663, May 31, 1923.

[411] In 1980, National Park Service Historian Berle Clemensen pieced together events that immediately followed the monument's establishment. Some of the information in this part of the history is drawn from his Historic Structure Report, History Data Section, Pipe Spring National Monument with supporting primary documentation referenced. Where primary documentation was available for this period, it was cross-referenced with Clemensen's history.

[412] B. L. Vipond, memorandum to E. B. Meritt, June 7, 1923. Cited in Clemensen, 33.

[413] A. E. Demaray, letter to Heber J. Grant, July 30, 1923. Cited in Clemensen, 34.

[414] This is part of quote, cited in Part I of this report, taken from Dilsaver, 51.

[415] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, for fiscal year ending June 30, 1923: 14-15.

[416] Ibid., 45.

[417] National Park Service, Branch of History, "A Brief Report on Pipe Spring National Monument as Reflected by the Early Files of That Area," October 22, 1943 (attached to memorandum from Hillory A. Tolson to A. E. Demaray, October 22, 1943).

[418] Given the Arizona Strip's close historical and cultural ties to Utah, it is almost easy to forget that Pipe Spring fell under the political jurisdiction of Arizona. Attempts by the researcher to locate newspaper articles published about Pipe Spring in the *Mohave Miner*, local newspaper of Kingman, Arizona (the Mohave County seat), at the time of the monument's establishment were unsuccessful. It is possible that a search of Phoenix's *Arizona Republic* might turn up an article related to the event, or that Governor Hunt's official papers might contain some correspondence on the matter.

The vast majority of National Park Service records related to Pipe Spring, however, document that Mather was in much closer contact with Church and state officials in Utah on the matter than with those in Arizona. While Senator Hayden was very involved in trying to help Charles C. Heaton protect his ownership rights to Pipe Spring, a search of his official

papers disclosed no correspondence related to the establishment of the monument. This is an area that could use some additional research.

[419] Roger W. Toll, letter to Arno B. Cammerer, November 8, 1932.

[420] While it is not known for certain if Mather was aware of its plans, the company hardly kept it a secret, having written about their plans in their company magazine in January 1922, referenced earlier in this report.

[421] Knack, 225. Knack reports that nearly all the small ranchers went out of business until, by 1935, only the Heatons remained.

[422] Thomas C. Parker, letter to Director Horace Albright, June 6, 1933. The record of the discussion between Heaton and Demaray is referenced in the July 30, 1923, letter from Demaray to Grant.

[423] While Albright correctly identifies some of the primary contributors toward Pipe Spring's purchase, he neglects to recognize the private citizens who made contributions. The Heatons, of course, also made a considerable contribution.

[424] One source states that school sections could not be sold in less than a 40-acre tract, so it appears that Utah sold UP 40 acres with the "deal" that UP would then give back 19 of those acres to the state (land that comprised the canyon's rim). Thus one finds some news articles reporting that 40 acres were sold and others saying that 21 acres were sold. Both are in a sense correct, but it's important to know that UP did not *end up* with 40 acres.

[425] "State Agrees to Sell Bryce Canyon Land to Railroad for Hotel Site," *Deseret News*, June 4, 1923, and "State to Keep Title to Land," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 5, 1923. The first article contains the terms of the state's counterproposal.

[426] The article goes on to describe that the two men were to travel from Salt Lake City to Lund, Cedar City, to Zion National Park, Pipe Spring National Monument, the North Rim, then north to Kanab, Bryce Canyon, Richfield and east to Hanksville, "pack train to the natural bridges," Bluff, and finally to Mesa Verde.

[427] "Scenic Utah to be Viewed," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 4, 1923.

[428] Ibid.

[429] "Governor Back From Road Trip," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 4, 1923.

[430] "State Officials Leave to View Park Hotel Site," *Deseret News*, June 1, 1923.

[431] Ibid. Colonel Samuel C. Lancaster worked for the Oregon Highway Dept. when the Columbia River Highway was built 1913-1922. See also Linda Flint McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916-1942* (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office 1993): 103. McClelland writes that this highway "established the state of the art for building scenic roads in mountainous areas." and that it would greatly influence the construction of park roads in the 1930s.

[432] "Bryce is Made U.S. Monument," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 30, 1923.

[433] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1924: 15.

[434] Union Pacific advertising brochure, "President Harding and Zion National Park," undated; probably 1924.

[435] "Bryce is Made U.S. Monument," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 30, 1923.

[436] Ise, 243. The author does not give the exact date.

[437] "Hotel Begun at Zion Park," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 30, 1923.

[438] "State Offer for Bryce Land Sale Accepted by U.P.," *Deseret Evening News*, July 2, 1923.

[439] "Bryce Hotel Now Assured," *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 3, 1923.

[440] Bill of Sale, Union Pacific Archives. Syrett had built a small hotel and a number of tourist cabins at Bryce Canyon since 1919 on land he obtained from Utah under a grazing lease. While his lease expired in 1922 and was not renewed by the state, he did not abandon his improvements until the Utah Parks Company purchased them.

[441] B. J. Finch, "Report on Investigation of Routes in Southern Utah," undated and unsigned; investigation made June 19-23, 1923 (F. P. Farquhar Papers, Bancroft Library).

[442] Ibid.

[443] "Southern Utah Soon to See Development, " *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 12, 1923. The *Tribune* refers to this section of road as part of the "Salt Lake-Grand Canyon highway" and indicates the improvement work was carried out in 1923.

[444] Finch, "Report on Investigation of Routes in Southern Utah."

[445] Ibid.

[446] Ibid.

[447] "Road Commissioners Favor Shorter Road, Zion Park to Bryce Canyon," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 26, 1923.

[448] This was reported in Woodbury, 206.

[449] Francis P. Farquhar, letter to Jonathan Heaton, August 25, 1923 (F. P. Farquhar Papers, Bancroft Library).

[450] Jonathan Heaton, note to Francis P. Farquhar, August 31, 1923 (F. P. Farquhar Papers, Bancroft Library).

[451] Francis P. Farquhar, letter to Charles Smith, July 4, 1947.

[452] In Keller's 1991 interview with Leonard Heaton, he was told that the Heaton brothers sold one-third of the water to the cattlemen, which included 15 or 20 different men.

[453] Francis P. Farquhar. "Director Stephen T Mather and Party, Schedule of Trip to Zion National Park, North Rim, Bryce Canyon, and Cedar City, September 3 to 14, 1923" (F. P. Farquhar Papers, Bancroft Library).

[454] Ibid. From Pipe Spring, Mather's party traveled back via the Kaibab Forest to the North

Rim. On September 9 they parted company with Daniel Hull (who set out for El Tovar), heading north from Grand Canyon to Kanab. This time they did not make the detour to Pipe Spring, having concluded their business there on September 7. That evening in Kanab's Rust Highway Hotel, Mather, Harris, and Farquhar made remarks at a meeting of the Young People's Mutual Improvement Association, after which the Honorable James W. Good presented an oration, "Come, come, ye Saints," and "Utah, Star of the West." En route to Bryce Canyon the following day, the party briefly visited with the bishops of Mt. Carmel, Orderville, and Glendale (Sorenson, Carroll, and Hopkins, respectively). On September 10 and 11 Mather's party toured Bryce Canyon and Cedar Breaks, then returned to Cedar City by night train. The next day they attended "Old Home Celebration" and the official dedication of the Union Pacific's spur line to Cedar City. Mather took part in the ceremonies, which were held in the tabernacle, presided over by Randall L. Jones. An entire morning of oratory followed, presented by a host of local and state dignitaries; as well as Union Pacific officials from Los Angeles. Mather and Good also addressed those assembled. A belated train arrived at two o'clock. More speeches ensued, including one by Senator Reed Smoot. Finally, the Harding memorial golden rail was laid. Farquhar, probably worn quite thin at the end of nine long, hot days of auto touring and a day of speeches, wryly listed the VIPs in attendance: "President Heber J. Grant, President Ivins, Governor Charles R. Mabey, Vice-president Adams of the Union Pacific, Dan S. Spencer, District Forester R. H. Rutledge, President H. W. Lunt, General Sherman, Mr. Lancaster, Carl McStay; not to mention Dusty Rhodes and Goodrich Mudd." As he wound down his log of the day's events, Farquhar humorously remarked that the "Big wind from the orators brought on rain."

[455] Francis P. Farquhar, letter to Amy Heaton, October 16, 1923 (F. P. Farquhar Papers, Bancroft Library). Myrtle White was Pipe Spring caretaker John White's wife.

[456] President Grant had informed Mather in May 1923 that Heaton would sell the property for $5,000, as stated earlier in this report.

[457] For a discussion of the economic and religious tensions between the idealistic Latter-day Saint settlers and Indians on Utah's southern frontier, see Charles S. Peterson's *Take up Your Mission: Mormon Colonizing Along the Little Colorado River* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973).

[458] Stephen T. Mather, letter to Ole Bowman, December 10, 1923. Cited in Clemensen, 35

[459] Ole Bowman, letter to Stephen T. Mather, December 20, 1923. Cited in Clemensen, 35.

[460] Charles C. Heaton, letter to Heber J. Grant, December 18, 1923. Cited in Clemensen, 36.

[461] Stephen T. Mather, telegram to Heber J. Grant, January 4, 1924. Cited in Clemensen, 36.

[462] Stephen T. Mather, letter to Charles C. Heaton, February 11, 1924.

[463] There is no copy of this letter on file; it is referenced in Mather's letter of March 13 and in Clemensen, 36.

[464] The documentation that describes what the adjustment consisted of has not been located. Fall's adjustment is referred to by Keller and Turek, 73, with no citation or detail given. It apparently excluded the Pipe Spring tract given that Heaton was asking for a new public water reserve to be established.

[465] Stephen T. Mather to Charles Burke, March 13, 1924. Cited in Clemensen, 37.

[466] In a later report, Engle writes this section of land was known as "Pasture 2." C. A. Engle, report to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 14, 1924. Engle is *not* saying Farrow had developed tunnel spring, only that he had improved Pasture 2.

[467] This date is inconsistent with the date of August 26, 1920, given by Charles C. Heaton at the September 7, 1923, Pipe Spring meeting when terms of agreement for sale were made with Mather.

[468] C. A. Engle, letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 13, 1924.

[469] Ibid.

[470] The first coincidence (if it indeed was one) has already been mentioned: that the date of E. C. Finney's denial of Heaton's application and the date that Stephen T. Mather wrote to Commissioner Burke about his interest in making Pipe Spring a national monument were the same - June 6, 1921.

[471] C.A. Engle, letter to Commisioner of Indian Affairs, May 14, 1924.

[472] Stephen T. Mather, letter to Charles C. Heaton, May 25, 1924.

[473] Frank Pinkley, letter report to Stephen T. Mather, June 13, 1924.

[474] Ibid.

[475] Memorandum of Agreement, June 9, 1924.

[476] These names were listed in a rider to the water rights record for tunnel spring. Findlay's name was misspelled "Finlay" in this list, Bulloch was misspelled "Bullock," and Lehi was misspelled "Lehigh." That record was taken from a undated, hand-written note in the NPS Water Rights Division files for Pipe Spring. The latter indicated that the Sorenson ownership passed to Leonard Heaton some time prior to May 1937. These names are also included in the Robert H. Rose report, September 19, 1933.

[477] Frank Pinkley, letter report to Stephen T. Mather, June 13, 1924.

[478] Arno B. Cammerer, letter to Frank Pinkley, June 20, 1924 (text cited in full).

[479] Francis M. Goodwin, letter to Attorney General, June 25, 1924

[480] Knack, 221.

[481] Stephen T. Mather, letter to Charles C. Heaton, July 2, 1924.

[482] Stephen T. Mather, letter to Hubert Work, October 15, 1924.

[483] Hubert Work, letter to Stephen T. Mather, October 23, 1924.

[484] Keller, 8.

[485] It is not known when or how he came by this information.

[486] Heber S. Grant, letter to Leonard Heaton, October 10, 1933.

[487] One might be safe in assuming that McIntyre and Whitmore were related to the two men slain in 1865 at Pipe Spring; what interest the other small donors had the monument's establishment, or who they were, is unknown to the author.

[488] Robert A. Burns, letter to Jonathan Heaton, May 7, 1926.

[489] Stephen T. Mather, letter to Charles C. Heaton, March 13, 1924.

[490] Ibid.

[491] John White to Stephen Mather, November 16, 1923; Stephen Mather to Charles C. Heaton, November 24, 1923; Stephen Mather to Charles C. Heaton, February 11, 1924; Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, June 28, 1924; A. E. Demaray to Frank Pinkley, July 9, 1924. All cited in Clemensen, 38-39.

[492] Stephen T. Mather, letter to Carl Gray, October 9, 1923 (F. P. Farquhar Papers, Bancroft Library).

[493] "Mather Details Possibilities of Southern Utah Attractions," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 9, 1924.

[494] The story of the Rockville cutoff is long and very involved. Mather played a critical role in getting it constructed. For details, see 1924 correspondence from Union Pacific archives.

[495] "Southwest Circle Tour Roads and Bridges," U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Government Printing Office, 1994.

[496] "Highways in Harmony: Southwest Circle Tour Roads and Bridge," U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Government Printing Office, 1994.

[497] The Virgin River Bridge was still under construction at the end of 1924.

[498] Stephen T. Mather, telegram to D. S. Spencer, April 29, 1924. Attached to D. S. Spencer report to H. M. Adams, May 1, 1924.

[499] Randall Jones, letter to H. M. Adams, July 14, 1924.

[500] "2 Zion Park Road Connections Are to be Improved," *Deseret News*, July 18, 1924. See also "Parks Committee Assures Finances for Road Programs," *Deseret News*, July 18, 1924.

[501] "$200,000 Will Be Spent in 1925 in Advertising Southern Utah Wonders," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 25, 1924.

[502] Ibid. Union Pacific must have purchased these in 1924, as they offered their first circle tour that year.

[503] "Mather Details Possibilities of Southern Utah Attractions," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 9, 1924. No reference is made in this article to Pipe Spring National Monument, which printed only excerpts of Mather's annual report.

Part III - The Monument's First Ten Years

[504] *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, fiscal year 1928: 5.

[505] Ise, 243.

[506] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1930: 174, 177.

[507] Ibid., 173.

[508] Most tourism began there after the Santa Fe Railroad built a spur line to Williams, Arizona in 1901 and constructed the El Tovar Hotel in 1904.

[509] W. W. Wylie first established Wylie camps in Yellowstone National Park. "Wylie Way" camps were later established at Zion and the North Rim of the Grand Canyon and operated by permit through 1922. These camps were the forerunners of the later lodge system.

[510] The word "stage" was used to denote rail travel during the 1920s. In the case of travel in southern Utah and northern Arizona, travel was a combination of rail (to Cedar City) and motor coach (bus) travel.

[511] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1924: 43.

[512] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1925: 127.

[513] "Notes of C. Leonard Heaton on Pipe Springs National Monument" [Heaton Journal] January 1928. Heaton began to keep a monthly journal in early 1928, which became almost a daily journal beginning in February. He continued this only through May 1928. (He did send monthly reports to Pinkley, however, and Pinkley then excerpted portions of Heaton's remarks for his own monthly reports to the director.) Heaton did not resume his journal keeping until October 1935. From that point on, he maintained a daily journal until his retirement in September 1964.

[514] Heaton Journal, February 1928.

[515] Heaton Journal, May 23, 1928.

[516] The monument has also in its collection film footage of the men at Pipe Spring that day (Andrea Bornemeier, review comment to Kathleen L. McKoy, July 1999).

[517] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1929: 50, 159. Most of the southwestern national monuments have only estimated visitation figures reported in the annual reports.

[518] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1930: 78.

[519] The road was also designated State Highway 40 at some point.

[520] Linda Flint McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916-1942.* Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1993.

[521] Heaton reported Coolidge was 510 driving miles from Pipe Spring in the 1930s.

[522] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1923: 82.

[523] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1929: 155.

[524] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1926: 153.

[525] As mentioned in Part II, Charles C. Heaton unofficially oversaw White's activities.

[526] Frank Pinkley, monthly report to Stephen Mather, August 1, 1925. Cited in Clemensen, 41.

[527] Stephen T. Mather to Frank Pinkley, September 8, 1923. Cited in Clemensen, 38. It is unknown if he followed Mather's advice, but no documentation has been located that indicates restoration funds were ever received from the State of Arizona.

[528] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, November 5, 1923. Cited in Clemensen, 38. It is not known is meant by "provide experience with local materials and labor." Perhaps Pinkly wanted local workmen to gain experience on the secondary buildings prior to employing them on any fort restoration work. (Original report unavailable.)

[529] Attached to an October 22, 1943, memorandum to Associate Director Arthur B. Demaray, is a report on early monument files which notes the following of Pinkley's role in the restoration of the monument's historic buildings: "Mr. Pinkley's advice appears to have been sound, but the restoration work went forward without any qualified historical or architectural supervision."

[530] "Questions on History of Pipe Spring Answered by Dilworth Woolley," cited in Clemensen, 61.

[531] Clemensen, 61.

[532] Clemensen, 40.

[533] Heaton Journal, February 8, 1961.

[534] Grant Heaton reported that Leonard attended his last years of high school in St. George and believed he graduated but did not mention any college. Interview by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 27, 1997. A letter from Paul R. Franke to Hugh Miller dated July 18, 1955, states that Heaton attended several years of college at Brigham Young University.

[535] Leonard Heaton, letter to Mrs. J. Groesbeck, May 23, 1961; reference to having worked in 1925 and to the horse "Snake" in Heaton Journal, February 8, 1961. No documentation has been found that suggests any prior "deal" was made to hire Heaton when the government acquired the property from his father, Charles C. Heaton. If there had been such an understanding, the Park Service would not have needed White to stay on as long as he did.

[536] He did not get the title of Custodian until 1932.

[537] "In 1926 February 8, I came to Pipe Spring to look after the monument for the National Park Service, for the privilege of operating a service station and lunch counter. This I did for four years." Leonard Heaton, letter to Mrs. J. Groesbeck, May 23, 1961. (In the 1991 Keller interview, Heaton reported he operated the store "for about five years.")

[538] Frank Pinkley, letter report to Stephen T. Mather, May 3, 1926.

[539] Grant Heaton, interview by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 27, 1997.

[540] A handwritten note on the accompanying memo to Acting Director Arno B. Cammerer stated "No permit issued to Leonard Heaton in 1932. H.H."

[541] Grant Heaton, interview by Gaylan Hoyt, August 8, 1998.

[542] Commenting on a draft of this manuscript, Utah Historian Charles S. Peterson pointed out that local ranchers, traders, and tour guides were frequently necessary points of access to remote areas of the Four Corners region. At Hubbell Trading Post, John Lorenzo Hubble and his son Lorenzo played a role similar to the role of the Heatons at Pipe Spring; so did Zeke Johnson, caretaker at Natural Bridges National Monument (Charles S. Peterson, review comments, attached to letter to Superintendent John Hiscock, January 28, 1999).

[543] Bob Keller, "Interview Between Dr. Bob Keller and Leonard and Edna Heaton, Pipe Spring National Monument, Moccasin, Arizona," November 8, 1991: 4.

[544] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1929.

[545] Keller, 12.

[546] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1926: 154.

[547] Frank Pinkley, letter report to Stephen T. Mather, October 1, 1926.

[548] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley, letter report to Stephen T. Mather, March 1, 1928. See letter for more detail on work involved.

[549] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, March 1, 1927. Cited in Clemensen, 46.

[550] For details see Clemensen, 43-44.

[551] This site is also spelled "Bull Rush Wash" in old reports and correspondence.

[552] Clemensen, 51. Clemensen does not cite his source for this information.

[553] Leonard Heaton, interview by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980. Cited in Clemensen, 51.

[554] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, February 24, 1936.

[555] Keller, 18-19.

[556] Other documentation suggests the Heatons lived only on the second floor of the upper house in the first years.

[557] Grant Heaton, interview by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 27, 1997.

[558] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley, letter report to Horace M. Albright, March 10, 1930.

[559] Leonard Heaton, quoted by M. O. Evanstad, letter report to Horace M. Albright, November 13, 1930.

[560] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, July 31, 1933.

[561] *Southwestern Monument Monthly Report*, for January, March, May 1928. Also Leonard Heaton's Journals for 1928: February 21, 23; March 11, 21, 27; April 23.

[562] Clemensen states the work was completed by March, but Heaton's reports for this period indicate otherwise (see endnote 44).

[563] Clemensen, 53.

[564] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley, letter report to Stephen T. Mather, June 1, 1928.

[565] Frank Pinkley, letter report to Stephen T. Mather, September 5, 1928.

[566] Frank Pinkley, memorandum to Stephen T. Mather, August 14, 1926; Leonard Heaton to Frank Pinkley, September 12, 1926; Leonard Heaton to Frank Pinkley, April 29, 1927; interview of Leonard Heaton by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980. All cited in Clemensen, 53.

[567] Clemensen, 58.

[568] Harry Langley, letter to Charles E. Peterson, March 21, 1930. Langley describes Ruestch as "a native who has not only visited the Monument but has lived there" (Harry Langley, letter to Charles E. Peterson, March 21, 1930). It is unknown under what conditions Ruetsch "lived" at Pipe Spring; perhaps he was a caretaker at one time for a prior owner.

[569] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley, letter report Horace M. Albright, September 5, 1929.

[570] Three years later, Frank Pinkley wrote in a May 7, 1935, letter to Director Arno B. Cammerer that Heaton's position at that time was "Laborer, Grade 4," annual salary, $1,200.

[571] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, December 22, 1932.

[572] The Heaton children were born in the following order: Kezia Maxine, June 16, 1927; Charles Clawson, November 20, 1928; Dear R., July 29, 1930; Leonard P., August 12, 1932; Lowell H., April 9, 1934; Sherwin, November 10, 1936; Gary A., August 14, 1939; Olive, November 21, 1942; Claren Robertson, June 24, 1944; and Millicent, May 20, 1947 (genealogical data provided by monument staff).

[573] Leonard Heaton, letter to Mrs. J. Groesbeck, May 23, 1961.

[574] Ibid.

[575] Heaton Journal, September 29, 1941.

[576] *Southwestern Monument Monthly Report*, December 1932.

[577] Ibid.

[578] Ibid.

[579] Birds mentioned in Leonard Heaton's journal include the Green-tailed Towhee, Gambel quail, Nevada savanna sparrow, English song sparrows, robin, meadowlark, killdeer, crow, seagull, red-breasted nuthatches, long-tailed Chat, Clark nutcracker, junco, Canyon wren, Gambel sparrow, black birds, finches, shrike, sage thrasher, spotted robin, Western Vesper sparrow, flycatcher, kingfisher, Burid sparrow, Deseret sparrow hawk, horn finches, "Scarpner," woodpeckers, golden eagles, red-shafted flicker, vermilion flycatcher.

[580] Reptiles notes are the Stephegers blue-bellied lizard, tiger lizard, blow snake, king snake, spotted night snake, Kingmakers, and the ever-present rattlesnake.

[581] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley in letter report to Horace M. Albright, August 5, 1931. Heaton reported that the rattlesnakes particularly liked the west cabin that summer.

[582] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley in letter report to Horace M. Albright, June 6, 1932.

[583] The store is shown on a number of maps, including NM/PS-4933, dated December 1933, and NM/PS-4941, dated April 1936. Both identify the building as "stone store building." Leonard Heaton also shows it in a 1932 hand-sketched map, identified as "house."

[584] In a 1961 letter Heaton reported he operated the store for four years. Leonard Heaton, letter to Mrs. J. Groesbeck, May 23, 1961.

[585] According to Grant Heaton, Maggie Heaton (wife of Charles C. Heaton) also owned and operated a small store in Moccasin, which still stands.

[586] Grant Heaton, interview by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 27, 1997.

[587] Keller, 1.

[588] Warren Mayo, interview by David E. Ruppert and Kathleen L. McKoy, March 25, 1997.

[589] Lita Segmiller, interview by David E. Ruppert and Kathleen L. McKoy, March 25, 1997.

[590] Ibid.

[591] Ibid.

[592] Ibid.

[593] Ibid.

[594] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley in letter report to Horace M. Albright, September 4, 1930.

[595] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley in letter report to Horace M. Albright, November 5, 1931.

[596] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley in letter report to Horace M. Albright, August 1932.

[597] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley in letter report to Horace M. Albright, October

1, 1932.

[598] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, October 24, 1933. It is not known where roundups were held this year or in later ones. The year had been very dry resulting in poor grazing conditions. Most of the cattlemen planned to sell most of their stock that fall, figuring on significant losses if the winter brought snow. (Heaton's monthly report for September 1933.)

[599] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley in letter report to Horace M. Albright, December 2, 1931.

[600] The Mutual Improvement Association (MIA) was a Church-sponsored group for girls and young women divided by age: the youngest were the Beehive Girls (ages 12-13), the MIA Maids (ages 14-15), and the Gleaner Girls (16 and older), now referred to as the Laurels. (LaVina Heaton, oral communication to Debra Judd, August 1999.)

[601] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, July 26, 1933.

[602] Heaton Journal, April 17, 1949. On Easter Sunday, had "about 20 cars & 70 or more people out to picnic..." One of the visitors was Mrs. Elvira Winsor Jahovac, great great granddaughter of Bishop A. P. Winsor.

[603] Heaton Journal, May 17, 1941.

[604] Leonard Heaton, "Guide for Lecture to Visitors," undated, ca. 1945. The campground at that time was located southeast of the fort, below the road that passed through the monument. That would have put the Heaton brothers' pond approximately in the location used today as a vegetable garden.

[605] Ibid., 4.

[606] Ibid.

[607] Grant Heaton, interview by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 27, 1997.

[608] Heaton, "Guide for Lecture to Visitors," 4.

[609] Ibid.

[610] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, January 7, 1932. Horace Albright didn't particularly care for all these chickens running around the monument; he requested that Heaton keep them away from the fort.

[611] Leonard Heaton wrote to Frank Pinkley on June 19, 1931, "...will spend the next 4 weeks catching fawn." According to Grant Heaton, Leonard captured fawn then raised them for a time before selling them to the Forest Service. (This was common practice in Fredonia at the time, monument staff informed the author.) Frequently a few of the captured fawn would die before Heaton could sell them.

[612] Many of these landscape features are shown on sketch map of the monument prepared in 1932 by Leonard Heaton. That map is included in Part IV of this report.

[613] Clemensen, 42.

[614] Frank Pinkley, letter report to Stephen T. Mather January 1, 1928: "[Heaton] has been working on the road west of the monument which goes to Zion National Park. Some money is being expended on this road ...as it is one of the weakest links in the chain of roads north of the Grand Canyon."

[615] Using a historic photograph in the monument's collection, Landscape Architect Peggy Froeschauer Nelson identified the original location of the watering holes during a 1997 Cultural Landscape Inventory of the fort's landscape.

[616] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, April 1, 1928. The location of the new stock watering holes has yet to be determined.

[617] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley, letter report to Stephen T. Mather, September 5, 1928.

[618] Leonard Heaton, quoted by M. O. Evenstad, letter report Horace M. Albright, August 6, 1929.

[619] Leonard Heaton, quoted by M. O. Evenstad, letter report Horace M. Albright, July 10, 1929.

[620] The earliest camping areas are not shown on any maps located to date.

[621] When Park Service official Harry Langley made the first proposal to construct a formal campground at PISP in late 1933, this was the general area he suggested be used. His report will be referenced later.

[622] Leonard Heaton, quoted by M. O. Evenstad, letter report Horace M. Albright, August 6, 1929.

[623] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley, letter report to Director, December 3, 1929.

[624] Leonard Heaton, letter report to Frank Pinkley, May 26, 1932.

[625] Since all of the published tours in 1929 going from southern Utah to the North Rim state that tours were to travel the Zion-Mt. Carmel Highway, and the tour season began June 1, it suggests that the road may have been opened to UP travel prior to its official opening.

[626] Klein, 267.

[627] Leonard Heaton kept a journal for part of 1928, then did not resume keeping it until October 1935.

[628] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley, letter report to Horace M. Albright, February 10, 1930.

[629] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley, letter report to Horace M. Albright, March 10, 1930.

[630] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley, letter report to Horace M. Albright, April 10, 1930.

[631] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley, letter report to Horace M. Albright, July 16, 1930.

[632] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley, letter report to Horace M. Albright, August 13, 1930.

[633] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley in letter report to Horace M. Albright, July 6, 1932.

[634] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1930: 180.

[635] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, for fiscal years ending 1931 and 1932: 114 and 88, respectively.

[636] Ibid., 173.

[637] "A New Highway...Through a Mountain!" Union Pacific Archives, Utah Parks Company collection.

[638] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1930: 78.

[639] National Park Service. "Zion and Bryce Canyon National Parks, Utah," 1930.

[640] Leonard Heaton, quoted by Frank Pinkley in letter report to Horace M. Albright, October 1, 1932.

[641] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1923: 20.

[642] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 30, 1929: 156.

[643] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, for fiscal year ending June 30, 1926: 7.

[644] During the early 1930s, Park Service officials responding to media inquiries about Pipe Spring often referred them to Heaton for detailed information. Thus, newspaper or magazine articles also repeated the history as the monument's caretaker then told it.

[645] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, September 25, 1935.

[646] Note believed to have been attached to letter from Frank Pinkley to A. E. Demaray, January 22, 1931. (Rest of letter missing.)

[647] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, October 24, 1933.

[648] In a letter dated January 10, 1941, Heaton reported uncovering a double burial while digging trenches for the sewer system. In this case, he placed the bones back in the trench, covered them up and notified Superintendent Miller at Southwestern National Monuments.

[649] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, May 24, 1933.

[650] Grant Heaton, interview by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 27, 1997.

[651] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, September 25, 1935.

[652] Grant Heaton, interview by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 27, 1997.

[653] *Southwestern Monument Monthly Report*, June 1933.

[654] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, October 24, 1933.

[655] Leonard Heaton, cited in George A. Moskey, letter to Leonard Heaton, July 29, 1933.

[656] Ibid.

[657] Lafayette Hanchett, letter to John D. Giles, December 10, 1930; and E. T. Scoyen, letter to Horace M. Albright, December 28, 1930.

[658] Horace M. Albright, letter to E. T. Scoyen, January 5, 1931.

[659] Frank Pinkley, letter to Horace M. Albright, January 22, 1931.

[660] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, March 1933.

[661] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, June 19, 1931. It appears that the reason for Charles C. Heaton's trip was to confer with officials on the water crisis at Pipe Spring (see Part IV).

[662] George Albert Smith, letter to Arno B. Cammerer, August 10, 1933. (Smith was also one of the Church's Council of Twelve; he succeeded Heber J. Grant as Church President in 1945.)

[663] The original text proposed for the plaque contained another sentence added at this point: "The Washington County Militia recovered the bodies and seven Indians were killed." It is unknown why the association had this statement omitted from the marker when it was cast.

[664] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, September 7, 1933.

[665] Leonard Heaton. "Historical [sic] and Facts Pertaining to Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona," 4-5.

[666] Leonard Heaton, "Some Early History of Pipe Spring National Monument," *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report Supplement*, April 1936: 300.

Part IV - The Great Divide

[667] See Part II of this report for information regarding this agreement.

[668] Edgar A. Farrow, letter to Charles H. Burke, January 7, 1925.

[669] A discussion of Engle's report is included in Part II.

[670] The district's Supervising Engineer, L. M. Holt, stated in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of February 20, 1934, that "it has not been definitely determined whether the many dry years have reduced the flow of the Springs, or whether the development of water above may have reduced their flow." Thus, the 10-year drought could have been to blame for the decrease in spring flow rather than the Heatons' activities.

[671] Edgar A. Farrow, letter to Charles H. Burke, January 29, 1925.

[672] Ibid. Although Charles Heaton was the legal owner of this property, it is apparent from this conversation that Jonathan Heaton was still in large part in control of what went on in Moccasin.

[673] The white population of Moccasin in 1921 was 39; by the early 1940s it had reached 63. The Indian population remained larger than the white population, increasing from 73 in 1906 to 94 in 1926.

[674] Edgar A. Farrow, letter to Charles H. Burke, January 27, 1926.

[675] E. B. Meritt, letter to Edgar A. Farrow, February 26, 1926.

[676] Charles S. Peterson noted that Leo A. Snow made the original recommendation that later led to the establishment of Mukuntuweap National Monument (later, Zion National Park) after his General Land Office survey of the area (Peterson's handwritten comments on draft manuscript, January 1999).

[677] Leo A. Snow, letter report to Edgar A. Farrow, September 1, 1926.

[678] Ibid.

[679] Ibid.

[680] C. A. Engle, letter to E. A Farrow, November 2, 1926.

[681] Henry W. Dietz, "Report on Water Supply of the Kaibab Reservation, Arizona," November 1914: 6.

[682] For information about these other controversial areas see Martha C. Knack, "Interethnic Competition at Kaibab during the early Twentieth Century."

[683] It appears from correspondence during this period that at least in the early 1930s, a Mr. Hanrion was in charge of overseeing day-to-day operations at the reservation.

[684] This visit is reported in *American Indians & National Parks*, Robert H. Keller and Michael F. Turek, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998): 77.

[685] Ibid.

[686] T. N. Neske to Charles H. Burke, August 15, 1928. Cited in Keller and Turek, 77.

[687] Collier was a vigorous and unrelenting critic of the prevailing belief that Indians should be assimilated into the "superior" white society. For additional information on John Collier's remarkable role as reformer, see Lawrence C. Kelly's "John Collier and the Indian New Deal: An Assessment," in Jane F. Smith and Robert M. Kvasnicka, eds. *Indian-White Relations, A Persistent Paradox* (Washington D.C.: Howard University Press, 1976): 227-241.

[688] E. B. Meritt, letter to Secretary of the Interior, August 24, 1926. Other sources indicate the Indians' cooperative cattle business was fairly successful during this period.

[689] See Parts I and II of this report for references to these three reports and full citations.

[690] Holt was based in Salt Lake City and in charge of District 2 since 1931.

[691] J. Henry Scattergood, letter to Horace M. Albright, August 30, 1929. A copy of Holt's report has not been located.

[692] Arno B. Cammerer, letter to Charles J. Rhoads, September 12, 1929.

[693] Charles J. Rhoads, letter to Horace M. Albright, September 30, 1929.

[694] Frank Pinkley, letter to Horace M. Albright, October 10, 1929.

[695] Ibid.

[696] Ibid.

[697] By time-division, Pinkley meant arranging for the monument to use the whole spring output during the day, "when we have visitors," and letting the Indian Service use it from night until morning, "when we can best spare it."

[698] It is uncertain if the correct spelling is Sorenson or Sornson, which is the way Leonard Heaton spelled it. The former spelling was used as Ben Sorenson was a member of the cattlemen's association that watered stock at Pipe Spring.

[699] Frank Pinkley, letter to Leonard Heaton, April 23, 1931.

[700] In this account, it is stated that the Heatons had 3,000 acres of reservation land enclosed by their fences, as opposed to the 4,000 acres referenced in other reports. All of this land had been enclosed while the land was still public domain, i.e., prior to 1907. Rhoads states that the 3,000 acres *included* the three homestead claims of Charles, Lucy, and Fred Heaton for which patents were issued. This also is a discrepancy with other documentation.

[701] Charles J. Rhoads, letter to the Secretary of the Interior, April 15, 1931.

[702] This event is fully chronicled in Part II.

[703] Charles J. Rhoads, letter to the Secretary of the Interior, April 15, 1931. No Park Service records of this meeting have been located.

[704] George C. Coggins, *Public Natural Resources Law*. (New York: Clark Boardman Company, Ltd., 1990): 4-41. See also Charles J. Meyers, *Water Resource Management — A Coursebook in Law and Public Policy*. (Mineola, NY: The Foundation Press, Inc. 1980): 201-205.

[705] E. C. Finney, letter to Secretary of the Interior, May 6, 1931.

[706] Charles J. Rhoads, letter to Edgar A. Farrow, May 21, 1931.

[707] Frank Pinkley, letter to Thomas Vint, May 18, 1931.

[708] Frank Pinkley, letter to Horace M. Albright, June 18, 1931.

[709] Frank Pinkley, letter to Leonard Heaton, June 20, 1931.

[710] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, June 10, 1931.

[711] Later documentation shows that Heaton's visit was successful in that he gained the support in his cause of George A. Smith, second in power to Heber J. Grant. There may be other reasons he went to Salt Lake City other than to seek out Smith's support. Although more research would need to be conducted to substantiate this, this researcher has the impression that most of the money privately raised to purchase Pipe Spring came not from local ranchers at all, but from men with Salt Lake City — and probably Church — connections. It was because southern Utah ranchers did *not* contribute to the fund that Charles Heaton had to come up with the extra $500.

[712] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, January 7, 1932.

[713] Frank Pinkley, letter to Leonard Heaton, January 14, 1932.

[714] Chief Clerk, letter to Frank Pinkley, February 9, 1933. Later correspondence indicates this position was Grade 4.

[715] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, May 26, 1932.

[716] The information from this point forward in this paragraph and the following one is taken from Knack, 230-232.

[717] Charles J. Rhoads, letter to Carl Hayden, October 20, 1932. Cited in Knack.

[718] B. S. Garber, letter to Horace M. Albright, August 26, 1932.

[719] Arno B. Cammerer, letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 30, 1932.

[720] Arno B. Cammerer, letters to Frank Pinkley and to Leonard Heaton, both August 30, 1932.

[721] A copy of Smith's letter has not been located. It is referenced in a letter from Reed Smoot to George A. Smith, October 26, 1932.

[722] Charles J. Rhoads, letter to Senator Smoot, October 25, 1932. (No copy of Smoot's letter has been located, but Rhoads references his letter of October 4.)

[723] Ibid.

[724] Reed Smoot, letter to George A. Smith, October 26, 1932.

[725] George A. Smith, letter to Charles C. Heaton, November 21, 1932.

[726] Leonard Heaton, letter to Horace M. Albright, October 7, 1932.

[727] Ibid.

[728] Horace M. Albright, letter to Leonard Heaton, October 25, 1932.

[729] Leonard Heaton, letter to Horace M. Albright, November 7, 1932.

[730] Ibid.

[731] Ibid.

[732] Arno B. Cammerer, letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 8, 1932.

[733] Ibid.

[734] J. Henry Scattergood, letter to Horace M. Albright, December 27, 1932.

[735] Ibid. In her article describing this period and Scattergood's letter, Martha C. Knack states that the monument's landscaping activities ca. 1932 (just after Finney's 1931 decision) included adding a campground and two additional reservoirs (Knack: 229-230). This is untrue. No additional reservoirs were constructed after the 1926 meadow ponds. The new campground was not sited until the fall of 1933 (it was constructed in 1934). Heaton did not begin planting trees in that area until the winter of 1933-1934.

[736] Ibid.

[737] Ise, 442.

[738] Arno B. Cammerer, letter to Leonard Heaton, January 4, 1933.

[739] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, January 11, 1933.

[740] Ibid.

[741] Ibid.

[742] Ibid. One can only speculate, given the racism of the times, what Heaton meant by this statement. Within the context of this letter, he appears to be suggesting that something dark and sinister is behind the Indian Service's attempts to get water for the Indians.

[743] Ibid.

[744] Ibid.

[745] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, January 11, 1933 (second letter).

[746] Charles J. Rhoads, letter to Horace M. Albright, February 13, 1933.

[747] Horace M. Albright, telegram to Leonard Heaton, February 24, 1933.

[748] Leonard Heaton, letter to Edgar A. Farrow, February 24, 1933.

[749] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, February 24, 1933. In fact, the meadow was not there when the monument was created; it grew up after the meadow ponds were constructed in 1926 and 1927.

[750] Ibid.

[751] Frank Pinkley, letter to Leonard Heaton, March 11, 1933.

[752] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, March 24, 1933.

[753] Ibid.

[754] Leonard Heaton, letter to Edgar A. Farrow, March 29, 1933.

[755] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, March 29, 1933.

[756] Charles J. Rhoads, letter to Edgar A. Farrow, April 3, 1933.

[757] Referenced in John Collier, letter to Horace M. Albright, May 9, 1933. There was a signature line provided for the Park Service Director on the original letter but the copy obtained as part of the author's research does not have the Director's signature.

[758] In one report Heaton says they started work on April 5; in another letter he states they started on April 4.

[759] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, April 7, 1933.

[760] Edgar A. Farrow, letter to Charles J. Rhoads, April 19, 1933.

[761] Leonard Heaton, letter to Horace M. Albright, April 22, 1933.

[762] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, April 25, 1933.

[763] Frank Pinkley, letter to Horace M. Albright, April 12, 1933.

[764] Ibid.

[765] Horace M. Albright, letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 27, 1933.

[766] John Collier, memorandum to Horace M. Albright, May 9, 1933.

[767] Ibid.

[768] Keller and Turek, 79.

[769] Heber J. Meeks, Lee J. Esplin, Fred C. Heaton, Gilbert G. Heaton; letter to William King, May 15, 1933. Cited in Knack.

[770] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, April 24, 1933.

[771] Leonard Heaton, letter to Horace M. Albright, May 26, 1933.

[772] Arno B. Cammerer, letter to Leonard Heaton, May 26, 1933.

[773] Ibid.

[774] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, June 1933.

[775] It is unknown who this official was. Heaton spelled the name "Linzie" while Farrow spelled the name "Lenzie." The latter spelling was used.

[776] Leonard Heaton, letter to Bob Rose, December 25, 1933.

[777] Thomas C. Parker, letter to Horace M. Albright, June 6, 1933.

[778] Ibid.

[779] Ibid..

[780] Leonard Heaton, letter to Edgar A. Farrow, June 5, 1933. Heaton makes no mention of the stockmen's water, thus it is presumed he is referring only to the water source that supplied the fort ponds.

[781] Edgar A. Farrow, letter to Leonard Heaton, June 24, 1933.

[782] Leonard Heaton, letter to Horace M. Albright, June 26, 1933.

[783] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, July 31, 1933.

[784] Langley's official title at Grand Canyon was Assistant Architect, but he was a Landscape Architect who worked for Chief Landscape Architect Thomas C. Vint's Landscape Division, San Francisco.

[785] Frank Pinkley, letter to Leonard Heaton, August 5, 1933.

[786] Thomas C. Parker, letter to F. A. Kittredge, August 11, 1933.

[787] Leonard Heaton, letter to Horace M. Albright, August 16, 1933.

[788] Ibid.

[789] Ibid.

[790] A. E. Demaray, letter to Frank Pinkley, August 31, 1933.

[791] Leonard Heaton, letter to Bob Rose, December 25, 1933. Heaton requests a copy of Parker's June 2 report in this letter, which he had never received a copy of. It is not known if it was ever sent to him.

[792] Harry Langley, letter to T. C. Vint, August 31, 1933.

[793] Frank Pinkley, letter to Arno B. Cammerer, September 7, 1933.

[794] Ibid.

[795] Ibid., 3.

[796] Ibid., 4.

[797] Ibid., 4-5.

[798] Ibid., 5.

[799] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, September 25, 1933.

[800] Harry Langley, memorandum to T. C. Vint, undated, assumed to be September 1933.

[801] Ibid.

[802] Ibid.

[803] Rose pointed out this figure was very close to that obtained in September 1929 by the Indian Irrigation Service's Supervising Engineer, 33.56 gallons per minute.

[804] Robert H. Rose, "Report of Water Resources and Administrative Problems at the Pipe Spring National Monument," September 19, 1933.

[805] A. van V. Dunn, letter to Joseph E. Taylor, April 9, 1937.

[806] Ibid., 17.

[807] Ibid., 29.

[808] Ibid., 17-18. The names of the cattlemen were listed in Part II of this history. There was only one discrepancy. Rose spelled John Schmutz "John Schonitz." "Schmutz" is probably the correct spelling, as it is the name of a ranching family common on the Arizona Strip, according to Charles S. Peterson. (Peterson's handwritten comments on draft manuscript, January 1999.)

[809] Ibid., 19.

[810] Ibid., 36.

[811] Ibid., 33.

[812] It appears from both the tone of the report and some of the information contained in it that Rose was relying to a considerable extent on Leonard Heaton for some of his "facts." Heaton, of course, had his own bias, just as Edgar A. Farrow had.

[813] Ibid., 53.

[814] Ibid., 54.

[815] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, October 24, 1933.

[816] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, October 24, 1933.

[817] Ibid.

[818] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, November 23, 1933.

[819] Pinkley had not sent a copy to Supt. Patraw or Asst. Supt. Parker at Zion, either, by October 19. It is possible that Pinkley discussed Rose's recommendations with the Washington office by telephone, but there is no record of it.

[820] John Collier, letter to the Secretary of the Interior, October 13, 1933.

[821] Oscar L. Chapman, "Regulations for the Division of the Waters of Pipe Springs," November 2, 1933.

[822] Solving the water problem through interdepartmental compromise is reminiscent of how the legality of Charles C. Heaton's ownership of Pipe Spring had been circumvented by establishment of the monument.

[823] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, October 24, 1933.

[824] A. E. Demaray, letter to Frank Pinkley, October 28, 1933.

[825] Ibid.

[826] F. A. Kittredge, letter to Arno B. Cammerer, November 15, 1933.

[827] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, October 24, 1933.

[828] He reports that the stockmen had received no word either about the regulations.

[829] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, November 20, 1933.

Part V - The Great Depression

[830] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, November 1930.

[831] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, August 1932.

[832] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, September 1932.

[833] The name was officially changed in January 1937.

[834] Richard B. Morris, *Encyclopedia of American History*. New York: Harper & Row, 1982.

[835] John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and The National Park Service, 1933-1942 — An Administrative History*. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1985. See also Isabelle F. Story, *The National Parks and Emergency Conservation*, Washington: GPO, 1933.

[836] Ibid.

[837] In various documentation of the period, the camp was also referred to as "DG-44-A" and "G-44-A."

[838] Leonard Heaton, letter to National Park Service, Washington, D.C., March 30, 1933. There is no other correspondence on the matter of public works projects at Pipe Spring until November 1933.

[839] Stan Cohen, *The Tree Army, A Pictorial History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942*. Missoula: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1980: 91-92.

[840] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, September 25, 1933.

[841] The Federal Emergency Relief Act was passed on May 12, 1933. The Public Works Administration was established June 16, 1933 under the National Industrial Recovery Act.

[842] F. A. Kittredge, letter to Leonard Heaton, November 15, 1933.

[843] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, December 4, 1933.

[844] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, December 15, 1933.

[845] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, December 1933.

[846] Ibid.

[847] Originally NM/PS-3000, by 1935 the plans were designated NM/PS-3004.

[848] A rather poor copy of these plans is attached to Langley's report of December 20, 1933.

[849] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, December 1933.

[850] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, January 5, 1934. This suggests that the Heatons took possession prior to the transfer of title, which was early January 1909.

[851] Ibid.

[852] F. A. Kittredge, letter to A. E. Cowell, January 9, 1934.

[853] Leonard Heaton, report on CWA work to Washington office, April 20, 1934.

[854] At this time Thomas C. Vint was Chief Architect, Washington office, although he was a landscape architect by training and previous position. He was Chief Landscape Architect from 1927-1933, San Francisco.

[855] Harry Langley, letter to T. C. Vint, February 7, 1934.

[856] A. B. Cammerer, letter to T. C. Vint, January 31, 1934.

[857] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, January 19, 1934.

[858] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, January 24, 1934.

[859] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, March 26, 1934.

[860] Leonard Heaton, report to State Administrator, Civil Works Program, undated (ca. March 27, 1934.)

[861] A. E. Cowell, Final Report on Civil Works Program, April 29, 1934.

[862] A. E. Cowell, letter to William G. Carnes, April 28, 1934.

[863] Leonard Heaton, letter to Hugh M. Miller, June 8, 1934. After Frank Pinkley, Hugh M. Miller was next in command at Southwestern National Monuments. His exact title is unknown.

[864] He asked the Heatons if they could show there was a need by visitors for these services; apparently, they could not.

[865] Frank Pinkley to Carnes, April 18, 1935: Pinkley mentions that Heaton "was in the office the other day and tells us that the store building shown on the plot plan has been removed." When Heaton learned that a CCC camps was to be established at the monument during the summer of 1935, he asked Pinkley if the store/gas station could be rebuilt at the monument.

Pinkley denied the request.

[866] Grant Heaton, interview by Gaylan Hoyt, August 8, 1998.

[867] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, April 23, 1934.

[868] L. M. Holt, letter to John Collier, February 6, 1934.

[869] No further correspondence was located on the matter.

[870] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, April 23, 1934.

[871] Heaton variously refers to Hall in later reports using the wrong first initials. Cowell reported the meeting took place on May 3; Heaton reported it was May 5.

[872] A. E. Cowell, "Report on Spring Flow, Pipe Springs National Monument, May, 1934."

[873] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, May 25, 1934.

[874] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, May 23, 1934.

[875] It is presumed that Heaton continued his time-sharing method of allotting water to the Indian Service until the weir plate was installed in April 1935.

[876] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, June 25, 1934.

[877] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, May 24, 1937.

[878] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, August 3, 1934.

[879] Frank Pinkley, letter to Leonard Heaton, August 9, 1934.

[880] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, August 13, 1934.

[881] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, August 24, 1934.

[882] Frank Pinkley, letter to Leonard Heaton, August 25, 1934.

[883] Frank Pinkley, letter to Leonard Heaton, October 11, 1934.

[884] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, October 8, 1934. It is unknown how he planned to water the garden, or if the meadow pond was still dry.

[885] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, October 24, 1934. The cedars and pines were not planted until the following March. Twenty-five cedars and 14 pines were planted on the southeast quarter of the monument. Heaton's efforts to replant native vegetation on the monument were directed by Langley and other Park Service officials.

[886] Heaton states in his journal that Parven Church was an Indian stockman. (July 12, 1940) (Note: Heaton frequently misspelled Church's first name.) In 1942, Heaton says he is the local agent for the Indian Service (February 4, 1942). It is uncertain what official role he played.

[887] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, November 23, 1934.

[888] Chairman, Board of Supervisors of Mohave County, letter to Frank Pinkley, October 8, 1934.

[889] Park Service brochures stated the distance to Fredonia was 18 miles. Heaton refers to the distance as 15 miles.

[890] The final version is NM/PS-4940, dated January 1935.

[891] For construction details, see A. E. Cowell's "Report for Period Ending April 3, 1935."

[892] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, April 24, 1935.

[893] Cowell later reported the weir plate was "rectangular, with end contraction, cut from sheet brass."

[894] These were drawing NM/PS-3004. The final plans, NM/PS 2025-B, were issued in early 1942.

[895] Leonard Heaton, letter to David H. Madson, April 26, 1935.

[896] Ibid.

[897] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, April 26, 1935.

[898] Hillory A. Tolson, letter to Frank Pinkley, May 16, 1935.

[899] A. E. Cowell, letter to F. A. Kittredge, May 4, 1935.

[900] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, May 24, 1935.

[901] A. D. Ryan, radiogram to A. B. Cammerer, June 10, 1935.

[902] Heaton reported in September 1934: "There is a lot of talk and meetings being held here about the Taylor (Bill) and how it will affect the industry. There are two main groups of people. One wants to Strip for just Arizona residents, and all other stockmen will have to move out regardless of their holdings; and the other is to give every man his right to the grazing in proportion to his holdings." Leonard Heaton, monthly report, September 24, 1934.

[903] The Grazing Service merged into a new Bureau of Land Management in 1946.

[904] Cohen, 92.

[905] Ibid. See also Robert Fechner, *Annual Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work, Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1936* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1936): 42-43.

[906] Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Arizona. *Arizona, A State Guide*. New York: Hasting House: 80.

[907] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, July 25, 1935.

[908] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, September 25, 1935. Two years later, Heaton wrote that he moved his family to Moccasin so they would not be exposed "to the rough element that

always goes with a camp of men" (letter of October 29, 1937).

[909] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, February 24, 1936.

[910] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, August 26, 1935.

[911] Ibid.

[912] Water Agreement, August 15, 1935. PISP archives.

[913] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, August 26, 1935.

[914] Hillory A. Tolson, letter to Frank Pinkley, October 22, 1935.

[915] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, October 27, 1935. Another source says they were sent to Pinto, Utah.

[916] Pinkley later wrote, "the diaries were instituted primarily as a measure of protection for the employees..." Frank Pinkley to Leonard Heaton, May 14, 1938.

[917] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, October 18, 1935.

[918] Company 2557 came into being on October 29, 1935, with the redesignation of Company 1979.

[919] The officers, advisers, and instructors changed frequently during the four years the CCC camp was at Pipe Spring. No attempt has been made to identify all of them. The names of most are included the J. C. Reddoch's annual camp reports, but reports are available only for 1936, 1938, and 1939 as Reddoch was unable to reach the camp in 1937 due to snow-covered roads.

[920] W. H. Wirt, "Report to Chief Forester on Emergency Conservation Work at Pipe Springs National Monument," December 10, 1935. The camp's enrollees were designated "Junior" to distinguish them from Veteran enrollees.

[921] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, November 23, 1935.

[922] The flagstone came from a quarry several miles away.

[923] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, December 25, 1935.

[924] Ibid.

[925] W. H. Wirt's "Report to Chief Forester on Emergency Conservation Work at Pipe Spring National Monument," December 10, 1935.

[926] O. T. Hagen, letter to Leonard Heaton, December 8, 1935.

[927] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, December 25, 1935.

[928] Hugh M. Miller, telegram to Leonard Heaton, February 24, 1936.

[929] Heaton Journal, February 28, 1936.

[930] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, February 24, 1936.

[931] ECW Camp Report for Company 2557, DG-44, March 9, 1936.

[932] J. D. Erskine, monthly report, March 22, 1936.

[933] Heaton Journal, March 22, 1936.

[934] Heaton Journal, March 24, 1936.

[935] Heaton Journal, March 27, 1936.

[936] Heaton Journal, May 15, 1936.

[937] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, August 31, 1936.

[938] Heaton Journal, April 30, 1936.

[939] Frank Pinkley, letter to Leonard Heaton, May 15, 1936.

[940] Heaton Journal, March 30, 1936.

[941] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, April 24, 1936.

[942] Heaton Journal, April 23, 1936. Shirey's first name is unknown.

[943] J. D. Walkup, letters to Senator Carl Hayden and Hugh M. Miller, April 22, 1936.

[944] Frank Pinkley, letter to J. D. Walkup, April 25, 1936.

[945] Hillory A. Tolson, letter to Carl Hayden, undated (response to Hayden letter of April 27, 1936).

[946] Heaton Journal, May 14, 1936.

[947] David H. Madson, letter to Frank Pinkley, October 6, 1936.

[948] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, June 22, 1936.

[949] Heaton had trouble with the boys stealing parts from the Park Service's truck in order to patch up another automobile to drive to town in.

[950] Jack L. Harden, letter to Kathleen L. McKoy, August 11, 1999.

[951] Heaton Journal, June 6, 1936.

[952] Heaton Journal, July 25 and 27, 1936.

[953] Frank Pinkley, letter to Alfred C. Kuehl, August 1, 1936.

[954] George L. Collins, letter to Division of Grazing, September 1, 1936.

[955] Alfred C. Kuehl, report to Thomas C. Vint, November 1936.

[956] Hugh M. Miller, letter to George L. Collins, December 11, 1936.

[957] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, December 22, 1936.

[958] Heaton Journal, November 28, 1936. Heaton estimated the number to be 3,000 to 4,000 fish.

[959] Keller and Turek suggest the filing resulted from an area drought in 1936, which created additional demand on Pipe Spring water by cattlemen, the Wildlife Service, and a number of local families. While Heaton reports the drought, no documentation has been seen by the author of this report that links the drought to Pinkley's desire to file.

[960] Joseph E. Taylor, letter to Arno B. Cammerer, December 19, 1936.

[961] Frank Pinkley, letter to Leonard Heaton, May 19, 1937.

[962] To this request Heaton stated the deed had either been sent by his father to Heber J. Grant or Lafayette Hanchett, and did not know what had happened to it after that point. Pinkley was finally able to obtain a copy at the County Record Office in Kingman.

[963] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, May 24, 1937.

[964] Heaton said that the only change in the list of "owners" of the cattlemen's one-third share of water was that he, Leonard Heaton, had acquired B. P. Sorenson's interest.

[965] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, May 24, 1937.

[966] Joseph E. Taylor, letter to Frank Pinkley, June 3, 1937.

[967] George A. Moskey, letter to Joseph E. Taylor, January 27, 1937.

[968] Edwin T. Stewart, letter to Albert L. Johnson, February 1, 1937.

[969] Arno B. Cammerer, letter to Joseph E. Taylor, February 11, 1937.

[970] William Zimmerman, Jr., letter to Arno B. Cammerer, March 12, 1937.

[971] A. E. Demaray, letter to Joseph E. Taylor, March 26, 1937.

[972] Joseph E. Taylor, letter to Arno B. Cammerer, April 7, 1937.

[973] See A. van V. Dunn, letter to Joseph E. Taylor, April 9, 1937.

[974] Frank Pinkley, letter to Albert L. Johnson, May 19, 1937. In a later letter (June 9, 1937) from Leonard Heaton to Frank Pinkley, Heaton stated that on occasion — when he was not irrigating the monument during winter months — spring water flowed down a sandy wash about 1.5 miles to the south, but did not leave the reservation.

[975] A. E. Demaray, letter to Joseph E. Taylor, May 21, 1937.

[976] Ibid.

[977] Joseph E. Taylor, letter to Frank Pinkley, June 3, 1937.

[978] Vincent W. Vandiver, "Report on Pipe Springs National Monument, Mohave County, Arizona," January 1937. This report contains numerous photographs of the immediate and surrounding landscape.

[979] Landscape Architect Alfred C. Kuehl approved planting grass in the areas Heaton suggested. Rather than the Bermuda that Heaton wanted to plant, Kuehl recommended Muhly grass and Arizona fescue, which were more cold resistant (Alfred C. Kuehl, letter to Hugh M. Miller, March 6, 1937).

[980] Heaton always referred to these were "poplar" logs. Kuehl called them cottonwood. Photographs of the trough, drinking fountain, and tables are attached to job completion reports of January 1938.

[981] Heaton Journal, April 16, 1937.

[982] Heaton Journal, May 27, 1937.

[983] Heaton Journal, June 13, 1937.

[984] Heaton Journal, June 1, 1937.

[985] Heaton Journal, July 15, 1937.

[986] Heaton Journal, December 27, 1937; Heaton's monthly report, January 23, 1938.

[987] Heaton Journal, July 24, 1937.

[988] Heaton Journal, August 11, 1937.

[989] Alfred C. Kuehl, monthly narrative report, August 20-September 20, 1937.

[990] This suggests native seed had been gathered for reseeding portions of the monument.

[991] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, September 22, 1937.

[992] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, October 22, 1937.

[993] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, November 22, 1937.

[994] Heaton Journal, October 18, 1937.

[995] Alfred C. Kuehl, monthly reports, September 20-October 20, 1937, and October 20-November 24, 1937.

[996] Leonard Heaton states it was 6 x 7 feet; Kuehl reports it was 6 x 6 feet.

[997] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, December 22, 1937.

[998] Frank Pinkley, letter to Acting Regional Director, September 9, 1937.

[999] Herbert Maier, letter to Arno B. Cammerer, September 15, 1937.

[1000] Herbert Maier, letter to Nute H. Epps, November 22, 1937.

[1001] Leonard Heaton, letter to H. B. Hommon, October 29, 1937.

[1002] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, June 30, 1938. It is believed the drinking fountain was located on the south side of the ponds, just east of the steps. This report states the fountain, trough, and table were completed in January 1938, but this conflicts with earlier reports from Heaton.

[1003] Heaton's reports indicate that this number reflects actual visitors who were registered or contacted at the fort. There is a possibility that visitation figures for other years include vehicles and parties simply driving past the monument.

[1004] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, January 23, 1938.

[1005] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, February 23, 1938.

[1006] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, May 24, 1938.

[1007] Preliminary Study for Custodian's Residence, NM/PS-2025.

[1008] This is probably Lorenzo Brown who was nicknamed "Ren." He may be related to Heaton by marriage, for there was Brown family in Moccasin.

[1009] Alfred C. Kuehl, Field Report, August 8, 1938.

[1010] A September 5, 1938, memo from Frank Pinkley to Leonard Heaton says that 700 linear feet of ditches were authorized for removal.

[1011] Carl A. Wickerham, memorandum to District Commander, August 23, 1938.

[1012] Keith K. Tatom, letter to Frank Pinkley, August 30, 1938.

[1013] Frank Pinkley, letter to Commander Officer, Fort Douglas District, September 5, 1938.

[1014] Heaton Journal, September 15, 1938.

[1015] Hugh M. Miller, memorandum to Frank Pinkley, September 24, 1938.

[1016] Ibid.

[1017] J. H. Tovrea, Concrete Culvert Proposal, October 11, 1938.

[1018] Heaton Journal, November 17, 1938.

[1019] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, October 14, 1938; and monthly report, December 23, 1938; Heaton Journal, November 20, 1940.

[1020] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, November 25, 1938.

[1021] Ibid.

[1022] Ibid.

[1023] W. H. McDougall, memorandum to Frank Pinkley, January 3, 1939. See Part VI for later developments regarding the fort ponds and fish.

[1024] The birds came from the Papago-Saguaro Park station of the Arizona Game and Fish Department.

[1025] Natt N. Dodge, memorandum to Frank Pinkley, December 12, 1938.

[1026] Leonard Heaton, monthly reports, for January 23, 1939, and February 22, 1939.

[1027] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, August 31, 1947.

[1028] Natt N. Dodge, memorandum to Frank Pinkley, December 12, 1938.

[1029] Ibid.

[1030] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, December 23, 1938.

[1031] Heaton Journal, January 2, 1939.

[1032] Frank Pinkley, letter to Leonard Heaton, February 4, 1939.

[1033] Leonard Heaton, letter to Frank Pinkley, March 4, 1939.

[1034] Heaton Journal, March 29, 1940. "The children found some more pots and some human bones in the land knoll about the same place they found the pottery last year. I had digging stopped and brought the pots to the monument, all were broken.... Made a report of the find to H.Q. and Nusbaum."

[1035] Heaton Journal, December 3, 1938.

[1036] On October 24, 1940 Heaton reported "two small Indian pots that were found at Moccasin 2 years ago" were stolen from his display at the monument (Heaton Journal). It is not known how much of the collection is still retained at Pipe Spring.

[1037] Jesse Nusbaum, letter to Leonard Heaton, April 11, 1941.

[1038] Leonard Heaton, culvert completion report, June 9, 1939.

[1039] Alfred C. Kuehl, field report, April 23, 1939.

[1040] Ibid.

[1041] Frank Pinkley, memorandum to Acting Regional Director, May 11, 1939.

[1042] Leonard Heaton, completion report, January 20, 1941.

[1043] See "Western Camping Fireplace," PG 3062-A, March 25, 1935 (map files, 1930s).

[1044] Date of completion, May 31, 1939; report filed March 13, 1940.

[1045] Frank Pinkley, letter to J. C. Roak, February 13, 1940.

[1046] J. C. Roak, letter to Hugh M. Miller, March 14, 1940.

[1047] Heaton Journal, January 24, 1940. "Took Mrs. Heaton through some of the CCC

buildings.... She liked the educational building as it is finished off better and in a better location than any of the others."

[1048] Leonard Heaton, letter to Hugh M. Miller, May 25, 1940.

[1049] A floor plan of the residence, as remodeled by Heaton in 1941, can be found attached to a letter to Hugh M. Miller from Leonard Heaton, January 13, 1942.

[1050] Heaton Journal, October 8-9, 1940.

[1051] Hugh M. Miller, letter to Leonard Heaton, October 24, 1940.

[1052] Headquarters, Southwestern Monuments, "Justification to Accompany Preliminary Estimates for Fiscal Year 1942." April 12, 1940. The fort is referred to in the plural since there are technically two buildings, the upper and lower buildings.

[1053] Research on the fort's original shingles was conducted in 1940. See Hugh M. Miller letter to Minor R. Tillotson, December 16, 1940.

[1054] Headquarters, Southwestern Monuments, "Justification to Accompany Preliminary Estimates for Fiscal Year 1942." April 12, 1940.

[1055] Heaton Journal, February 14, 1940.

[1056] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, April 1940.

[1057] Heaton Journal, May 1, 1940.

[1058] Edwin C. Alberts, memorandum to Frank Pinkley, April 19, 1940. McClung and Lovelady were the men who made the measurements. Their first names are unknown.

[1059] Historic American Buildings Survey, No. Ariz-18, approved November 7, 1940.

[1060] Heaton Journal, May 9, 1940.

[1061] Heaton Journal, May 22, 1940.

[1062] Heaton Journal, July 1, 1940.

[1063] This was Camp DG-173. In documentation during this period it is variously referred to as being 3, 3.5, or 4 miles south of Pipe Spring. As the most common distance cited is 4 miles, that distance was used.

[1064] See CCC, Eight Corps Area, Camp Property Disposal List, April 24, 1940; Bernard L. Douglas, letter to Regional Grazier, August 16, 1940.

[1065] Heaton Journal, October 2, 1940.

[1066] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Reports*, September 1940.

[1067] A later entry in Heaton's journal suggests the men may have been Grant and Sterling Heaton, his brothers.

[1068] Dale S. King, letter to Leonard Heaton, July 16, 1940. The analysis report included the

statement, "The plaster contains no gypsum, whereas present day plaster does."

[1069] Lyle E. Bennett, Field Report, August 14, 1940.

[1070] Heaton Journal, August 21, 1940.

[1071] Drury had actually been offered the job of director in 1933, but had declined it.

[1072] Ise, 442.

[1073] J. C. Roak, letter to Hugh M. Miller, July 25, 1940.

[1074] Heaton Journal, November 8, 1940.

[1075] For details about the condition of the fort, see Charles. A. Richey's "Report of Inspection, Pipe Springs National Monument," November 8, 1940.

[1076] Heaton installed a floor in the cellar in late August 1942.

[1077] Program of work, under cover letter of June 18, 1940, H. C. Fortier to A. L. Wathen.

[1078] The project (ECW Job 22) was completed by mid-January. See Heaton's report of January 20, 1941, for details of the entire project. The 1946 Master Plan Outline describes the system as consisting of "580 feet of 6" sewer line and a 2,500 gallon septic tank."

[1079] A detailed account of this discovery is in Heaton's Journal, January 9-10, 1941.

[1080] Leonard Heaton, letter to Superintendent's Office, January 10, 1941.

[1081] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, March 1941.

[1082] See George W. Norgard, "Field Report," April 3, 1941, for details.

[1083] Charles A. Richey, "Report of Inspection, Pipe Spring National Monument," April 19, 1941.

[1084] Ibid.

[1085] Clifford K. Heaton, Owen Johnson, Wesley McAllister, and one unidentified man were the primary local workers.

[1086] For details, see Alfred C. Kuehl, "Field Report," April 19 and May 1, 1941.

[1087] For details on all of May's work, see daily entries in Heaton Journal, May 1941.

[1088] Heaton Journal, May 12, 1941.

[1089] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, April 1941. Other references to roof repairs in Heaton's Journal, various dates, May 1941.

[1090] Heaton Journal, May 31, 1941.

[1091] For details see George W. Norgard's Field Report, June 14, 1941.

[1092] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, July, 1941.

[1093] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, August, 1941.

[1094] Hugh M. Miller, letter to Leonard Heaton, May 8, 1941.

[1095] When Heaton cleaned out meadow pond in May 1944, he noticed rocks lining it were becoming loose. He wrote in his journal, "I wonder if the Park Service could furnish 1 or 2 tons of cement to cover the bottom and up the sides 3 or 4 feet. Sure would make it a good swimming hole"(May 3, 1944). Perhaps he hoped Zion's Superintendent Charles J. Smith wouldn't share Hugh M. Miller's stand on not having a swimming pool at the monument.

[1096] Apparently, Tillotson had broached this idea with Hugh M. Miller a year earlier, so the idea was not entirely new to Miller.

[1097] Paul R. Frank, memorandum to the Minor R. Tillotson, September 3, 1941.

[1098] Hugh M. Miller, memorandum to the Minor R. Tillotson, September 5, 1941.

[1099] Newton B. Drury, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, September 16, 1941.

[1100] Hugh M. Miller, "Report of Inspection," September 29, 1941.

[1101] Final plans NM/PS 2025-B are referenced in Part VI.

[1102] Leonard Heaton, letter to Charles A. Richey, December 16, 1941; the plan for the custodian's residence was NM/PS-2025-B.

[1103] Alfred C. Kuehl, "Report to the Chief Architect on Pipe Springs [sic] National Monument," November 1936. The cottonwood trees referred to are the grove south of the ponds. While these were once thought to have been planted during the years Camp DG-44 was at Pipe Spring (Nelson and McKoy, 1997 Cultural Landscape Inventory), it has since been documented by such references as this one that cottonwood trees were at that location long before the camp's arrival. A number of officers of DG-44 and Forest Service staff set up their quarters beneath these trees.

[1104] Ibid. See also Alfred C. Kuehl, letter to George L. Collins, November 13, 1936.

[1105] Frank Pinkley, letter to Alfred C. Kuehl, November 17, 1936.

[1106] W. J. Ward, "Report of Reconnaissance for Proposed Fredonia-Toroweap Approach Road to Grand Canyon National Monument [sic]" June 10, 1937.

[1107] Charles A. Richey, monthly narrative report, July 1937.

[1108] A. E. Demaray, letter to Senator Carl Hayden, November 22, 1937. See also Hillory A. Tolson, letter to Carl Hayden, July 31, 1946. This later letter references the 1937 road survey.

[1109] Carl Hayden, letter to Elmer C. Coker, February 8, 1938.

[1110] This engineer's name is unknown but it was neither Conway nor Pratt.

[1111] Hugh M. Miller, telegram to Minor R. Tillotson, March 2, 1940.

[1112] Jesse L. Nusbaum, "Report on Archeological Investigations of Indian Service 'Short Creek to Zion' Road Location across a Western, or Late Pueblo II Mound, on the Kaibab Indian Reservation, immediately southward of Pipe Springs National Monument," September 1940 (filed under cover letter to the Director, September 13, 1940). Nusbaum's suggests that Naranjo joined him "at the last moment" as one of his oldest friends. (Note: Heaton misspells this name as "Nirango.")

[1113] It is uncertain what year the fenced stock drive was constructed. It may have been one of the activities carried out by the CWA in association with their relocation of the old monument road in the early 1930s.

[1114] Jesse L. Nusbaum, "Report on Archeological Investigations of Indian Service 'Short Creek to Zion' Road Location across a Western, or Late Pueblo II Mound, on the Kaibab Indian Reservation, immediately southward of Pipe Springs National Monument," September 1940.

[1115] Ibid.

[1116] Leonard Heaton, letter to Hugh M. Miller, August 28, 1940.

[1117] Albert H. Good, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, September 30, 1940.

[1118] Milo F. Christiansen, memorandum to Newton Drury, October 24, 1940.

[1119] It is possible that the regional office made its decision based on the information sent them in August by Heaton, that the Indian Service did not intend to build a road past the monument. This wasn't officially acknowledged to Park Service officials, however, until a year later.

[1120] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, October 1940.

[1121] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, August, 1941. Heaton reported that the two CCC camps furnishing Indian Service labor on the road were to be moved out for the winter of 1940-1941, but it is uncertain if this happened. Heaton did say that the roadwork was originally to take 60 days, but was still in progress six months later (Leonard Heaton, monthly report, March 1942).

[1122] Alfred C. Kuehl, "Field Report," April 19 and May 1, 1941. It is unknown if Dr. Farrow was still superintendent, but he probably was not, both because he resided in Cedar City during his last years in that position and because he opposed the Park Service's preferred road location.

[1123] Hugh M. Miller, memorandum to Region III, May 14, 1941.

[1124] Hugh M. Miller, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, August 29, 1941.

[1125] Jesse Nusbaum, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, June 12, 1941.

[1126] Thomas C. Vint, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, October 21, 1941.

[1127] Heaton Journal, May 12, 1937. Heaton's journals indicate that whenever he was on leave but still in the area (e.g., Moccasin), he would often stop by the monument to check on how his "substitute" was doing. He always reported things going well.

[1128] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, November 22, 1939.

[1129] Also referenced as "Pipe Spring National Monument: A Few Historical Facts."

[1130] Vandiver stated that he obtained his data on the history of the fort and Moccasin from Heaton.

[1131] Region III was established August 1, 1937, covering the Southwest states. The name was changed to Southwest Region in 1962.

[1132] Frank Pinkley, letter to Acting Regional Director, November 3, 1937.

[1133] Frank Pinkley, letter to Leonard Heaton, December 18, 1937.

[1134] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, December 22, 1936.

[1135] "Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona," March 1938. Although the author is not identified, the text has the "flavor" of being written by Leonard Heaton.

[1136] Ibid.

[1137] H. E. Rothrock, letter to Frank Pinkley, August 13, 1938. No mention is made of the fact that American Indians were drawn to the springs long before the Latter-day Saint settlers.

[1138] Heaton Journal, May 23, 1938.

[1139] For some unknown reason, Rothrock did not submit a written report for the May trip until August 13, nearly 3 months later. While Rothrock's report states the monument visit took place on May 21, Leonard Heaton's journal recorded it on May 23; Al Kuehl's Field Report also dates the visit as May 23.

[1140] The geologist, a Mr. Hawkins, was to be assisted by Al Kuehl.

[1141] Dale S. King, memorandum to Frank Pinkley, August 25, 1938.

[1142] Charles N. Gould, "Report on Proposed Wayside Shrine at Pipe Spring National Monument," Report No. 188, Inspected September 27, 1938.

[1143] H. E. Rothrock, memorandum to Leonard Heaton, July 28, 1939.

[1144] Natt N. Dodge, memorandum to Frank Pinkley, December 12, 1938.

[1145] H. E. Rothrock, "Report on Pipe Springs National Monument," June 1939.

[1146] Ibid.

[1147] Mrs. Shields was the wife of the blacksmith at Grand Canyon National Park. She was said to have been "very active" in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Charles A. Richey, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, February 6, 1942).

[1148] Hugh M. Miller, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, December 23, 1940.

[1149] Minor R. Tillotson, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, January 10, 1941.

[1150] "Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona," W. H. Kistler Stationery Co., Denver, CO, July 1941. A copy of this leaflet was located in the Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit.

[1151] Subsequent correspondence suggests that Neasham "overlooked" Church data when he prepared the monument's first published leaflet. On February 9, 1942, Regional Archeologist Jesse Nusbaum sent Church official George A. Smith a copy of the leaflet and asked for Church data "on the naming of the site, the time of arrival of Bishop Winsor, the date of completion of the buildings, and any other suggestions that you would like to have considered in a future replication of this leaflet." Smith complied with Nusbaum's request with a return letter dated February 11, 1942.

[1152] Hugh M. Miller, memorandum to Newton Drury, May 1, 1941.

[1153] Ibid.

[1154] Hugh M. Miller, memorandum to Dorr G. Yeager, May 28, 1941.

[1155] Arthur Woodward, "Brief Historical Sketch of Pipe Springs, Arizona," June 1941; 1.

[1156] Ibid., 26.

[1157] Ibid.

[1158] Ibid., 27-28.

[1159] Ibid., 29.

[1160] Dorr G. Yeager, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, June 19, 1941.

[1161] Leonard Heaton, letter to Hugh M. Miller, June 19, 1941.

[1162] Hugh M. Miller, letter to Leonard Heaton, June 27, 1941.

[1163] Leonard Heaton, letter to Hugh M. Miller, July 20, 1941.

[1164] Russell K. Grater, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, August 19, 1941.

[1165] Charles A. Richey, memorandum to Russell L. Mahan, November 21, 1941.

Part VI - The World War II Years

[1166] Ise, 447-448. The author drew on John Ise's, *The National Park Service: 1916-1959* (cited in an earlier chapter) for information in these first introductory paragraphs.

[1167] The work of the Civilian Public Service camps was primarily conservation-oriented.

[1168] *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1942*. Cited in Ise, 449.

[1169] Some plasterwork was done in the fort rooms on ceilings and walls during the war years. Heaton reported repairs to the fort's rock floor in the south wing in his monthly report for April 1944. He put a new roof on the residence in May 1944. This is about the sum of building work unless otherwise noted in this chapter. Historical architects may want to refer

to descriptive information in "Major Repair and Rehabilitation Program" sheets (submitted under cover memorandum of August 12, 1944) which list building and other needs for repairs and work.

[1170] Grant Heaton reported that Dean Heaton is the only child of Leonard and Edna Heaton still living in the immediate area. He now resides in Fredonia.

[1171] Bennett and Yeager visited on August 29, 1944; Cornell visited with Vint on May 31, 1945.

[1172] Heaton Journal, August 29, 1944.

[1173] Heaton Journal, January 17, 1942.

[1174] Hugh Miller, memorandum to Hillory A. Tolson, January 9, 1942.

[1175] Heaton Journal, January 24, 1942.

[1176] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, February 1942.

[1177] In March 1942 Southwestern Monuments forwarded its files and plans to Zion. A list of plans and drawings sent is attached to a memorandum from Charles A. Richey to Paul R. Franke, March 10, 1942. It is unknown if Zion later sent these to Pipe Spring or if they remain in Zion's collection.

[1178] Zion National Park oversaw Bryce Canyon National Park from 1928 to 1953.

[1179] The topics reported on are weather conditions, inspections, maintenance, lectures/guide service, increase/decrease in travel, visitors (VIPs), wildlife protection and fish cultural activities, accidents, and visits by U.S. Armed forces. In addition to sending in this official monthly report to Zion, Heaton submitted a copy of his daily journal entries for the month. In June 1944 Assistant Superintendent Dorr G. Yeager asked Heaton to discontinue sending his monthly diary, but advised him to continue keeping his journal.

[1180] Heaton Journal, February 1, 1944.

[1181] The acting director approved the design in January 1942. A copy of these plans (NM/PS 2025-B) are attached to a memorandum to Heaton from Walter S. Harwood, February 3, 1942. They include a locational map. (Apparently, earlier plans for two residences had been abandoned.) Working drawings for the residence were finalized in early 1943.

[1182] Heaton's journal indicates he made at least one trip to Zion a month, usually to pick up supplies.

[1183] Heaton appears to have only occasionally attended these classes, probably because of the long distance he would have had to travel.

[1184] Heaton Journal, March 23, 1942.

[1185] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 1942.

[1186] This was not the only way in which park units "contributed" to the war effort, however. On December 16, 1941, the Secretary of the Interior called on all bureaus of the Department of the Interior for "full mobilization of the Nation's natural resources for war..." In fiscal year

1942, 125 permits were issued by the Department to the War and Navy Departments and war agencies to make use of National Park Service lands, buildings, and facilities *(Report of the Director of the National Park Service*, fiscal year ending June 1942).

[1187] Heaton refers to this some times as the Gunnery Training Station and other times the "Air Base." The official title of the base and branch of military it was associated with is unknown to the author.

[1188] Heaton Journal, April 9, 1942.

[1189] Heaton Journal, May 28, 1942.

[1190] The raising of Hereford cattle provided the Tribe's primary source of non-governmental income during these years.

[1191] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, August 2, 1943.

[1192] Such acts of kindness were not limited to the war years, but were reported both prior to and after the war.

[1193] Heaton Journal, June 2, 1942.

[1194] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, June 1, 1944.

[1195] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, August 2, 1943. Heaton reported these "pesty animals" climbed to the tops of black locust trees to eat the tender growing shoots, doing considerable damage to the monument's trees.

[1196] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, September 1, 1945. "It look like we might lose all this specie of trees," he wrote.

[1197] Heaton Journal, May 23, 1944. Heaton also used poison wheat in the fort to try to exterminate rats and mice.

[1198] Heaton Journal, July 11, 1945: "Had 6 Indian children down for a swim today."

[1199] Heaton Journal, June 26, 1942.

[1200] On July 22 Heaton excavated outside the west cabin's west wall in preparation for new concrete footings. On the 29th he wrote in his journal, "...the west end of the south wall [of the west cabin] looks a lot better since I pulled it back in line."

[1201] John E. Kell, memorandum to Harvey Cornell, October 5, 1942.

[1202] Paul R. Franke, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, December 23, 1942.

[1203] Ibid.

[1204] Ibid.

[1205] Minor R. Tillotson, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, January 2, 1943.

[1206] Ibid.

[1207] Herbert E. Kahler, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, January 20, 1943.

[1208] Harvey Cornell, memorandum to Newton Drury, January 1, 1943.

[1209] Heaton's surgery was related to chronic appendicitis and a hernia. Edna would have her own turn with surgery at year's end. In mid-December 1943, Heaton took a few days annual leave to take Edna to St. George for a planned operation (an ovarian cyst and an appendix were removed). When he went to St. George to pick her up from her hospital stay, a blood clot was discovered and she had to stay several more days. He finally was able to bring her home from the hospital on New Year's Eve.

[1210] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, November 16, 1942.

[1211] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, June 2, 1942.

[1212] Lauritzen, Jonreed, "Pipe Spring, A Monument to Pioneers," *Arizona Highways*, February 1943.

[1213] In July and October 1944, the Utah State Historical Society published Angus M. Woodbury's "A History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks." Published in two separate issues of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, these articles provided one of the most comprehensive and scholarly histories available at the time concerning Mormon colonization of southern Utah and the northernmost region of Arizona, particularly Kane County, where Kanab was located. Woodbury, a professor at the University of Utah, grew up in St. George and descended from Mormon settlers.

[1214] Heaton Journal, June 29, 1943.

[1215] Drawings NM/PS 2029A and 2029B. The final version, 2029C, is dated March 31, 1945.

[1216] Dorr G. Yeager, memorandum to Charles J. Smith, September 20, 1943.

[1217] Heaton Journal, January 29, 1944.

[1218] Heaton Journal, April 13, 1944.

[1219] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, June 1, 1944. (Heaton also mentions this in his journal.) The crew was to be made up of Kaibab Paiute and Moccasin men. The outcome of this effort it is unknown to the author.

[1220] Heaton Journal, July 31, 1944.

[1221] In his monthly report for September 1945, Heaton reported "a good crop of wheat and spuds" was expected from the Alton farm.

[1222] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, September 1, 1945.

[1223] How common this type of arrangement was in other monuments during the period is unknown.

[1224] Heaton Journal, July 12, 1945. This history may be Heaton's "Historical [sic] and Facts Pertaining to Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona." Although undated, it appears to have been completed in 1949. (See Part VII.)

[1225] Heaton Journal, August and October 1946.

[1226] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, December 1, 1942. By comparison, visitation in November 1941 was 47.

[1227] While Drury's original directive has not been located, a response from Heaton is on file. See Leonard Heaton, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, December 1, 1942. It seems that the directive had to do with park units that had public roads passing through them, thus would not have affected all units in the same manner.

[1228] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, March 31, 1943.

[1229] Dorr G. Yeager, memorandum to Leonard Heaton, August 17, 1943.

[1230] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, October 1, 1943. The travel figures reported for the monument are taken from *Report of the Director of the National Park Service*. These vary slightly at times from the figures reported by Heaton, but not by a significant amount.

[1231] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, September 1, 1945.

[1232] Heaton Journal, January 19, 1943.

[1233] Heaton Journal, February 18, 1943. "ECW" refers to the Emergency Conservation Work program.

[1234] Heaton Journal, December 21, 1943.

[1235] Heaton Journal, January 12, 1944.

[1236] Heaton Journal, December 18, 1945.

[1237] Heaton Journal, September 16, 1943.

[1238] Heaton Journal, November 5, 1943. On April 11, 1944, Heaton wrote in his journal, "Planted the lawn on the south and east of the residence building today." On May 17, 1944, he wrote, "...am having some tough luck getting the lawn to grow. Too much sand blown onto the young grass."

[1239] Heaton Journal, February 12, 1943.

[1240] Charles J. Smith, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, January 13, 1944. Heaton reported to Smith that such flash floods occurred at least every two or three years in the area. Overflow of the drainage ditch was caused by wood and other debris lodging against the center support of the bridge that spanned the ditch.

[1241] Heaton Journal, August 29, 1943.

[1242] Heaton Journal, January 29, 1945.

[1243] Heaton Journal, January 15, 1943.

[1244] Heaton Journal, December 3, 1942.

[1245] See Part III.

[1246] For details see later section, "Interpretation - the War Years."

[1247] For details about how this collection was acquired, see Heaton's monthly reports for April and May 1945.

[1248] Heaton Journal, April 17, 1942.

[1249] Heaton Journal, April 25, 1942.

[1250] Heaton Journal, April 15, 1942.

[1251] Heaton Journal, August 13, 1943.

[1252] Heaton Journal, April 4, 1944.

[1253] Heaton Journal, July 21, 1944.

[1254] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, June 1, 1945.

[1255] Heaton Journal, May 6, 1944.

[1256] Leonard Heaton, letter to Dorr G. Yeager, September 25, 1944.

[1257] Heaton seems to have gone to this extra effort when a group of boy scouts or Beehive Girls had an overnight outing at the monument, not for the average visitor.

[1258] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, June 1, 1945. See also Heaton's Journal, May 21, 1945.

[1259] Heaton Journal, May 21, 1945. Warren Mayo is still living on the reservation. F. (Francella?) Jake may be Tim Rogers' mother and Elouise Drye was Benn Pikyavit's mother. Charlie Chassis was Glendora Homer's great grandfather and would have been an adult in 1945.

[1260] The original request came from the Chicago office; which branch or division is uncertain, but the question about taxes suggests it may have been Lands.

[1261] Leonard Heaton, memorandum to Dorr G. Yeager, August 18, 1943. Zion misplaced the first letter and had to ask Heaton to resend it, which he did on September 15, 1943.

[1262] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, August 2, 1943.

[1263] Hillory A. Tolson, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, July 15, 1943.

[1264] Hillory A. Tolson, memorandum to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 7, 1943.

[1265] Hillory A. Tolson, memorandum to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 20, 1943.

[1266] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, May 1, 1945.

[1267] On October 13, 1943, Heaton wrote in his journal, "Will see Mr. Church of the [Kaibab] Indian Reservation about getting 12 or 15 loads of gravel to put on roads."

[1268] Heaton Journal, October 20, 1943.

[1269] Paul R. Franke, memorandum to Hugh Miller, April 6, 1942.

[1270] It should be remembered that Heaton held firm to his conviction that the Indian Service had no legal right to Pipe Spring water and that he maintained the position that the Park Service's one-third share was insufficient to meet the monument's needs. Unfortunately, he took it upon himself to "right" the wrong he felt had been inflicted on the monument by the Indian Service.

[1271] No documentation has been located that indicates if or when Heaton's system of distribution was abandoned. A May 23, 1956, letter from Leonard Heaton to the Chief of Lands indicates at least the family's domestic supply was coming from the old Army connection and therefore did not pass through the division weir.

[1272] Heaton Journal, March 4, 1942.

[1273] Heaton Journal, March 18, 1942.

[1274] Heaton Journal, March 28, 1942.

[1275] No additional information is available to the author on how this ruling came about.

[1276] A. van V. Dunn, memorandum to Attorney Albert L. Johnson, February 6, 1943.

[1277] As mentioned in Dunn's memorandum (cited above), this law took effect in 1919. Demaray's letter of May 21, 1937, is referenced in Part V.

[1278] Albert L. Johnson, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, March 4, 1943.

[1279] Charles A. Richey, memorandum to the Water Rights Section, March 10, 1945.

[1280] Paul R. Franke, memorandum for Regional Director, March 20, 1943.

[1281] Ibid.

[1282] The Rose report was discussed in Part IV.

[1283] The author lacks the legal background to analyze Dunn's analysis or to provide much additional commentary. It is recommended that those interested in establishing a legal case of any sort refer to original documents referenced in this administrative history.

[1284] A. van V. Dunn, memorandum to Albert L. Johnson, April 22, 1943: 1.

[1285] Ibid.

[1286] The 1907 withdrawal refers to use being for the "Kaibab and other Indians."

[1287] A. van V. Dunn, memorandum to Albert L. Johnson, April 22, 1943: 2.

[1288] Ibid.

[1289] Ibid., 3.

[1290] Ibid.

[1291] See Part II for details on the 1924 agreement and Part IV for detail on the 1933 agreement.

[1292] A. van V. Dunn, memorandum to Albert L. Johnson, April 22, 1943: 4.

[1293] Ibid. Dunn makes an error in stating "the ponds at the monument were built about 1863 and water has been used and dissipated ever since." While there were most likely dirt reservoirs at Pipe Spring from an early date, the stone-lined ponds were constructed in the late 19th century during the Woolley family's residency at the site.

[1294] Ibid., 4-5. Dunn cites Sec. 75-101 and Sec. 75-140 of the 1939 water code.

[1295] Ibid., 6. The allowable quota was 21,439 gallons per day (gpd) for each party. The Park Service's deficit was 49 gpd; the stockmen's deficit was 145 gpd; the Indian Service's surplus was 6,122 gpd. Later on Dunn states that the stockmen "have a nominally fully used third of the spring flow...but may in reality have an unused surplus like the Indians." (p. 7) Dunn does not provide the names of the 10 families west of the monument provided water by the Park Service, but these are *not* the stockmen's families. Their "water demand" was listed as 310 gallons per day (gpd). By comparison, Heaton's family used 200 gpd.

[1296] Ibid., 7.

[1297] Ibid., 6. The majority of stock Dunn calculated for were categorized as "transient." He allowed only for two head of livestock for Heaton. The families west of the monument were referred to by Heaton in a letter to Frank Pinkley dated May 24, 1937: "Then we have some 11 families living west of us that come to the Monument for water which I presume is used for domestic purposes, or maybe to water a milk cow or a horse." Apparently this occurred only during the summer months.

[1298] In a later letter to Minor R. Tillotson, Dunn wrote, "I also feel that the Park Service could use more of the total flow than its third without detriment to the others.... I gather that the custodian would like to do so." A. van V. Dunn, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, May 31, 1943.

[1299] A. van V. Dunn, memorandum to Albert L. Johnson, April 22, 1943: 7.

[1300] Ibid., 8.

[1301] No indication of *why* he doubted this is given.

[1302] A. van V. Dunn, memorandum to Albert L. Johnson, April 22, 1943: 8.

[1303] Ibid.

[1304] Albert L. Johnson, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, April 30, 1943.

[1305] Ibid. See the Johnson memorandum for details.

[1306] Ibid.

[1307] Hillory A. Tolson, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, May 22, 1943.

[1308] Heaton Journal, November 5, 1945.

[1309] Charles A. Richey, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, February 6, 1942.

[1310] Ibid., 2.

[1311] Charles A. Richey, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, April 7, 1942.

[1312] Jesse L. Nusbaum, letter to George Albert Smith, February 9, 1942.

[1313] George Albert Smith, letter to Jesse L. Nusbaum, February 11, 1942, with attachment: A. Wm. Lund, letter to George A. Smith, February 11, 1942. The Church provided no information regarding the origin of the Pipe Spring name. The accuracy of the Pipe Spring naming story was still being called into question in 1943, even as it was repeated in the 1943 edition of the monument's leaflet (see Charles W. Porter III, memorandum to Miss Story, July 1, 1943).

[1314] Milton J. McColm, memorandum to Newton B. Drury, October 20, 1942.

[1315] Heaton Journal, September 22, 1943. See also Erik K. Reed, letter to Charles J. Smith, October 7, 1949.

[1316] Dorr G. Yeager, memorandum to Charles J. Smith, September 20, 1943.

[1317] Ibid.

[1318] Ibid.

[1319] Ibid.

[1320] See "Monument Administration" section.

[1321] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, October 1, 1943.

[1322] This correspondence is attached to a memorandum from A. E. Demaray to Newton Drury, dated September 15, 1943. Not all of it is accurate, however. For example, Dilworth Woolley believed — citing secondary sources - that the Dominguez and Escalante expedition was the first to visit Pipe Spring, not Jacob Hamblin's party.

[1323] Dilworth Woolley, letters to H. E. Woolley, August 21, 1943, and September 4, 1943; attached to a memorandum from A. E. Demaray to Newton Drury, dated September 15, 1943.

[1324] Leonard Heaton, letter to Dilworth Woolley, January 14, 1944.

Part VII — The Calm Before the Cold War

[1325] Firewood was obtained for a time from Crofts Sawmill, location unknown. Later it was obtained from Fredonia's Whiting Brothers Sawmill, which opened in 1951.

[1326] Heaton Journal, August 13 and 14, 1948.

[1327] Heaton Journal, May 17, 1947: "Started on the new change of work week today, running

from Saturday morning to Wednesday evening."

[1328] Heaton Journal, June 23, 1946: "Have decided not to make the change in my work week on account of my church work Sunday afternoon. Will have to keep some member of the family on the place every day when possible as there are too many people coming out to see the place to go off and leave it."

[1329] Heaton Journal, November 4, 1946. After a particularly long wait in lines at the Alton mine he wrote, "We sure do suffer with the cold in that old fort truck without a good floor mat or heater," he wrote. He bought coal from the Atherly Brothers coal mine. The company changed hands in March 1948.

[1330] Heaton Journal, May 13, 1946.

[1331] There is some indication that Fredonia obtained power from Kanab, but was not technically served by REA. Residents there were still pushing for an REA project in the early 1950s, along with other small communities of the Arizona Strip.

[1332] Heaton Journal, September 27, 1946.

[1333] Heaton Journal, July 3, 1949.

[1334] Heaton Journal, May 11, 1949: "Took a phone message up to the Indian village to Warren Mayo;" November 24, 1949: "Took an urgent message to Kenneth Rink at Cane Beds at noon."

[1335] DDT is an abbreviation for *dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane*.

[1336] Heaton Journal, October 2, 1946.

[1337] Heaton Journal, May 1, 1947.

[1338] Heaton Journal, May 3, 1947. Heaton did not report the outcome of the hunt.

[1339] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, August 31, 1947.

[1340] Heaton Journal, August 19, 1947: "Had a roundup of rats within the fort that have made the place their home and [are] doing a lot of damage. Caught one."

[1341] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, October 31, 1950.

[1342] It is uncertain to the author why this date was picked for the celebration as the day officially set aside to commemorate the event is "Pioneer Day," July 24.

[1343] Heaton Journal, June 8, 1947.

[1344] The flowers were to represent beadwork on the moccasin.

[1345] Heaton Journal, June 12, 1947.

[1346] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, June 30, 1947.

[1347] Heaton Journal, July 15, 1947. The word "paint" could be a typo in the transcript of the journal.

[1348] Leonard Heaton, memorandum to Charles J. Smith, April 4, 1949.

[1349] Ibid.

[1350] Heaton Journal, March 30, 1950.

[1351] Heaton Journal, July 20, 1949. The transcript of the Heaton Journal says the men were looking 6 miles south of the monument but all other later references say the area was 6 miles north. The identity of these two men is unknown to the author, or when dinosaur tracks were first reported in the region.

[1352] Heaton Journal, October 24, 1949.

[1353] Heaton Journal, July 7, 1950.

[1354] Leonard Heaton, letter to Newton Drury, December 18, 1945.

[1355] Ibid.

[1356] Heaton Journal, May 24, 1947.

[1357] Heaton Journal, July 22, 1947. The purpose of the men's visit is unknown, but seems to have included a discussion of the monument road relocation.

[1358] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, August 31, 1947. By 1954 the flock was 150 strong (monthly report, September 1, 1954).

[1359] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, October 31, 1950.

[1360] The monument truck appears to have been the Heatons' only form of transportation, other than that provided by horses.

[1361] Heaton Journal, April 29, 1948.

[1362] Heaton Journal, September 15, 1948.

[1363] Heaton Journal, May 15, 1948.

[1364] Heaton Journal, June 14, 1948.

[1365] Heaton Journal, July 16, 1948.

[1366] Heaton Journal, July 14, 1948.

[1367] Heaton Journal, September 22, 1948.

[1368] Heaton Journal, August 2, 1948. These figures conflict with Heaton's fort "window count" of April 17, 1941, when he wrote that there were 152 small window panes to wash in the fort.

[1369] Heaton Journal, entries for October 3-8, 1948.

[1370] Heaton Journal, October 21, 1948.

[1371] Heaton Journal, February 7, 1949.

[1372] Heaton Journal, February 11, 1949.

[1373] Heaton Journal, April 17, 1949.

[1374] Heaton Journal, April 22, 1949.

[1375] Heaton Journal, April 25, 1949.

[1376] Heaton Journal, September 30, 1949. Another source says visitation for the year was 1,290. "Travel Statistics from 1926 to 1953, inclusive," Pipe Spring National Monument Master Plan, April 22, 1954.

[1377] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, May 1946.

[1378] Heaton Journal, October 5, 1949.

[1379] Heaton Journal, May 28, 1950.

[1380] Heaton Journal, October 27, 1949.

[1381] Heaton Journal, September 7, 1950.

[1382] Heaton Journal, August 16, 1952.

[1383] Heaton Journal, February 9, 1950.

[1384] A "status" employee is one who had completed the probationary period under the career-conditional employment system. It is also known as an employee with competitive status.

[1385] Heaton Journal, August 29, 1950.

[1386] Heaton Journal, December 21, 1949.

[1387] Heaton Journal, February 15, 1950.

[1388] Heaton Journal, March 1, 1950.

[1389] Charles J. Smith, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, April 3, 1950.

[1390] Heaton Journal June 14 and 15, 1956.

[1391] Heaton Journal, April 29, 1950.

[1392] Dudley Hamblin was the son of Jacob Hamblin.

[1393] Ibid.

[1394] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, May 1, 1950.

[1395] Heaton Journal, May 21, 1950.

[1396] Heaton Journal, June 9, 1950.

[1397] Heaton Journal, June 26, 1950.

[1398] Heaton Journal, August 9, 1950.

[1399] This list is attached to a letter from Heaton to Patraw, July 7, 1950.

[1400] "Travel Statistics from 1926 to 1953, inclusive," Pipe Spring National Monument Master Plan, April 22, 1954.

[1401] The visitation for April alone was 1,047, thanks to the barbecue.

[1402] Heaton Journal, May 25, 1946.

[1403] Heaton Journal, May 27, 1949.

[1404] Heaton's notes, titled "August 29, 1946." Monair claimed to have helped finish building the fort ponds, trading wine to Jonathan Heaton in Moccasin for a barrel of carp for the ponds. (Other reports suggest the ponds were constructed during the Woolley period.)

[1405] Heaton Journal, September 18, 1949.

[1406] Heaton Journal, April 9, 1950. Winsor "told me that the east cabin was built for his father and family. The open room between the two rooms was the blacksmith shop. West cabin was for the [stone] masons, Elijah and Elisha Averett, and other workmen. He drove the oxen that hauled the rock from the hillside to the fort." If Winsor was 86 in 1950, that would have made him only about 6 years old at the time the fort was constructed, which seems too young to have been driving oxen down the stone boat trail.

[1407] The legend of how Pipe Spring got its name is cited in Lavender, 41. It should be noted that during this period the Branch of History questioned the source of this story and recommended further study be made of the legend. "When the true origin of a place name is not known, popular imagination usually invents just such a story as this to explain it," wrote one of Drury's associates on November 27, 1946.

[1408] Heaton Journal, December 12, 1948.

[1409] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, June 1, 1946.

[1410] Heaton Journal, January 7, 1947.

[1411] Heaton Journal, May 12, 1948.

[1412] Heaton Journal, May 26, 1947.

[1413] Ibid.

[1414] Heaton Journal, August 6, 1949. Heaton doesn't specify which pond Dean dove into, but it is presumed it was the meadow pond as this one was preferred for swimming.

[1415] Heaton Journal, May 20, 1947.

[1416] Heaton Journal, June 3, 1947.

[1417] Heaton Journal, January 22, 1948. No mention was made of the cause of Bulletts' death.

[1418] Heaton Journal, April 29, 1947: "Cleaned out the head of pipe leading the water into the spring room of the fort. Found it backed up with tree roots. Took about 3 hours to dig it out and cover it back over. Just in front of the west door, north building." He had to do more work along these lines in January 1947.

[1419] Heaton Journal, November 26, 1947.

[1420] Heaton Journal, December 3, 1947. For more details on this project, see Leonard Heaton, memorandum to Charles J. Smith, December 9, 1947.

[1421] Heaton Journal, December 4, 1947.

[1422] Heaton later reported that in addition to hot linseed oil, the preservative used to treat the joists and underside of flooring was 10 parts diesel and one part penta.

[1423] For details, see Heaton's journal entries for January-April, 1948.

[1424] See "Pipe Spring National Monument Repairs to Historic Buildings, 1942-1948," monument archives.

[1425] It is not known what source Heaton relied on to determine what the original gates looked like. Mrs. Min Adams described the original gates to Heaton in a June 1, 1949, interview, but this interview took place just after he had constructed the new gates.

[1426] Heaton says he ran out of square nails while assembling the west gates. It is uncertain if he obtained more before assembling the east gates.

[1427] Heaton Journal, June 8, 1949.

[1428] Heaton Journal, June 13, 1949.

[1429] Charles J. Smith, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, April 3, 1950; Heaton Journal, July 11, 1950.

[1430] For additional project details see "Report on Rehabilitation."

[1431] Heaton Journal, September 19, 1950.

[1432] Heaton Journal, November 19, 1950.

[1433] Heaton Journal, November 25, 1946.

[1434] Charles J. Smith, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, April 3, 1950.

[1435] For details see Heaton's journal entries for May and June 1949. See also "Report of Rehabilitation, West Cabin."

[1436] Heaton Journal, March 5, 1946.

[1437] "Schedule of Appraised Values of Quarters," October 22, 1946. Under cover letter of December 19, 1946. This report includes a floor plan.

[1438] Ibid.

[1439] Heaton Journal, July 21, 1947.

[1440] Heaton Journal, August 24, 1949.

[1441] There is a reference to the kerosene fridge in Heaton's Journal, January 8, 1954, so the family must have had both kinds at different times.

[1442] Charles J. Smith, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, July 13, 1950.

[1443] Heaton Journal, May 22, 1946.

[1444] Heaton Journal, August 8, 1946.

[1445] Heaton Journal, July 6, 1947.

[1446] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, July 30, 1948.

[1447] Heaton Journal, May 23, 1949.

[1448] In fact, clogged lines were so common no attempt has been made to describe them all; cleaning the lines was practically a routine maintenance task for Heaton.

[1449] Heaton Journal, June 4, 1948.

[1450] Heaton Journal, August 24, 1948: "Cleaned out the roots clogging the water from running through the fort. Found tree roots growing up the 2" pipe from the lower end."

[1451] Heaton Journal, January 12, 1948.

[1452] Heaton Journal, August 11, 1950.

[1453] Leonard Heaton, letter to Charles J. Smith, August 12, 1950.

[1454] Paul L. Balch, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, August 21, 1947.

[1455] Paul L. Balch, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, June 21, 1948.

[1456] According to Heaton's journal, Grater also returned with Natt Dodge in September 26, 1946, and took pictures. Illustration no. 90 of the residence (attributed to Grater) was thus probably taken either on June 26 or September 26, 1946.

[1457] Other information on the stones is contained in a letter from Leonard Heaton to Lynn B. Johnston, August 15, 1955. See also Heaton Journal, entries for September 19 and October 19, 1946.

[1458] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, June 1, 1946: "Mr. Foote of Kanab informed me the other day that he had located the half of the old grinder from the first grist mill to be erected in Long Valley about 1880 and I could come get it any time I wanted it. With this and the [other] half Mr. Black has would make the set complete. These grinders are made of volcanic rock from Dixie County. Hand worked. About 3 foot across, 18 inches thick. Was turned by water power."

[1459] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, December 2, 1946. Heaton wrote in his journal the previous November 18, 1946: "Made a blockade in the doorway of the two rooms of the west cabin so that I can put the Bishop Hopkins collection in for display and lock it up."

[1460] Heaton Journal, May 18, 1947.

[1461] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, March 1, 1948.

[1462] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, May 1, 1950.

[1463] For details, see Heaton's monthly report for October 31, 1950.

[1464] Heaton Journal, July 12, 1945.

[1465] Heaton Journal, July 27, 1946.

[1466] Heaton probably meant to title it either "History and Facts Pertaining to Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona, or "Historical Facts Pertaining to Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona." The report has neither date nor author on it, but it is unmistakably Leonard Heaton's writing. The first paragraph gives the date away, for it says the history contains "some of the stories and observations that has [sic] come to my attention the past twenty-three years." Heaton was appointed custodian in 1926, thus 23 years later would date the report to 1949. This is consistent with his references to writing the history made in his journal during the years 1945-1949. (It is currently archived at the monument in a General History file dated "1936-1938.")

[1467] As mentioned earlier, Reed never visited Pipe Spring until May 1948.

[1468] Charles S. Smith, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, December 30, 1946. This memorandum contains much useful documentation that Smith cites as evidence to support his argument.

[1469] Ibid.

[1470] Erik K. Reed, memorandum to Charles J. Smith, January 10, 1949. See also Erik K. Reed, letter to H. E. Bolton, June 2, 1948; Erik K. Reed, memorandum to Newton Drury, July 20, 1949.

[1471] Erik K. Reed, memorandum to Charles J. Smith, June 20, 1946.

[1472] Kahler suggested that Heaton research *Deseret News* files and Church records in Salt Lake City, and that he contact Juanita Brooks and review James C. Black's journals, both in St. George.

[1473] Heaton Journal, June 1, 1949. See also "An Interview with Mrs. Min Adams, Kanab, Utah, June 1, 1949," in monument archives. Adams reported that her husband succeeded another caretaker, Max McArthur. Both men were unable to tolerate being ordered about by the women living at the fort.

[1474] Heaton Journal, April 19, 1946.

[1475] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, December 2, 1946.

[1476] Heaton Journal, November 24, 1946.

[1477] Charles J. Smith, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, August 1, 1947.

[1478] Ibid.

[1479] Forrest R. Stone, letter to E. T. Scoyen, August 15, 1947.

[1480] E. T. Scoyen, memorandum to Charles J. Smith, August 19, 1947.

[1481] Heaton Journal, September 21, 1947.

[1482] Charles J. Smith, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, January 16, 1948.

[1483] Heaton Journal, February 18, 1949.

[1484] Heaton Journal, February 20, 1949.

[1485] Heaton Journal, May 9, 1949.

[1486] Heaton Journal, March 2, 1950. This was presumably the barbecue that was held at the monument, reported on earlier in this chapter.

[1487] Heaton Journal, March 14, 1950.

[1488] Heaton Journal, May 23, 1950.

[1489] This report, like his "History and Facts Pertaining to Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona," bears neither Heaton's name nor a date, but is obviously his writing style. The date has been estimated by the author by analyzing references within the text, such as the reference to Bishop Hopkins tools, most of which were not acquired by Heaton for the monument's collection until May 1945. Heaton reported in July 1948 that he was busy writing up "the historic notes" he had obtained from "old settlers as they visited the monument in the past" (Leonard Heaton, monthly report, July 1948).

[1490] This story is first recounted, in an abbreviated form, in Heaton's "Notes Taken in An Interview with Alonzo Winsor," March 1936.

[1491] Author's note: I suspect that as long as Heaton was overseeing the monument, interpretation followed along the lines of what he wrote in his "Guide for Lecture to Visitors." In other words, no matter what story the Park Service wanted told, Heaton was in charge of what was said on the guided tour and for many years had considerable control over exhibit text as well.

Part VIII - The Cold War on the Arizona Strip

[1492] For additional information, see Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977) and his article, "Termination: A Legacy of the Indian New Deal," *Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 14 (April 1983).

[1493] Morris, *Encyclopedia of American History*, 645.

[1494] Carole Gallagher, *American Ground Zero, The Secret Nuclear War*. New York: Random House, 1993. Photojournalist Gallagher served from 1983 through 1992 as the director of the Nuclear Towns Documentary Project (sponsored from 1985-1990 by the Utah State Historical Society).

[1495] "Ground Zero Under Study As Potential Tourist Stop," *Denver Post*, October 17, 1999.

[1496] For details on the outcome of this and other litigation related to atomic testing, see Gallagher, *American Ground Zero,* xvii-xix.

[1497] Heaton Journal, January 27, 1951.

[1498] Heaton Journal, January 28, 1951. In a number of his transcribed entries, Heaton capitalizes "Atomic Bomb" or "Atomic" which hints at the possible awe, respect, and/or fear attached to the weapon by Heaton at the time. It is uncertain if the transcriptionist consistently preserved this convention.

[1499] Heaton may have kept a personal journal aside from the one he kept for the monument. If so, some of his feelings may be revealed in that record.

[1500] Cathy A. Gilbert and Kathleen L. McKo*y, Cultural Landscape Report: Fruita Rural Historic District, Capitol Reef National Park.* U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Intermountain Region, 1997. Uranium mining ended in the park in 1956.

[1501] Heaton Journal, September 6, 1952.

[1502] See Heaton's journal entries for June 20, July 10, August 30 and 31, September 9 and 4, 1954.

[1503] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, July 3, 1954.

[1504] Heaton Journal, August 30, 1954.

[1505] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, September 1, 1954.

[1506] Heaton Journal, September 4, 1954.

[1507] Heaton Journal, October 14, 1954. See also Heaton's monthly report, November 2, 1954.

[1508] Heaton Journal, October 18, 1954.

[1509] Heaton Journal, January 12, 1954.

[1510] Heaton Journal, February 1, 1951.

[1511] Charles J. Smith, monthly report, April 10, 1951.

[1512] Heaton does not report in his journal where the machine was located but in Charles J. Smith's report to the director for March 1951, he states it was not on the monument.

[1513] Heaton Journal, March 29, 1951. Heaton incorrectly refers to the compound as "silver iodine."

[1514] Heaton Journal, August 10, 1951.

[1515] Earlier correspondence indicates the monument received "the old 50 watt radio that was at the Zion park office." Charles J. Smith, memorandum to Tillotson, December 13, 1950.

[1516] Heaton Journal, May 28, 1951. See also Heaton's monthly report to Charles J. Smith, June 1, 1951.

[1517] This building is also referred to as the "stable/garage." It was built about 1929 by Heaton, used as a barn and hay shed until about 1938 when it was converted by Heaton into a combination barn, garage, and utility building.

[1518] Both children were under seven years of age, a later report stated.

[1519] A report of the fire is attached to a memorandum from Hugh M. Miller to Charles J. Smith, dated July 20, 1951. See also "Individual Fire Report" attached to memorandum from Charles J. Smith to Minor R. Tillotson, August 7, 1951. The latter report includes photographs of the scene.

[1520] Heaton Journal, January 17, 1957.

[1521] Heaton was appointed temporary chairman of this association in April 1953.

[1522] S. T. Carlson, memorandum to Acting Regional Director, August 28, 1951.

[1523] Heaton Journal, July 9, 1951. Heaton reference to his girl getting hurt concerns a power mower accident involving Olive, described later under the "Accidents, Deaths, and Heaton Family Matters" section. This happened about one month earlier.

[1524] Heaton Journal, July 9, 1952.

[1525] Heaton Journal, July 10-11, 1952.

[1526] Heaton Journal, April 4-5, 1953.

[1527] Heaton Journal, April 24, 1953.

[1528] Heaton Journal, July 27, 1952.

[1529] Heaton Journal, August 20, 1952.

[1530] Heaton Journal September 24, 1952.

[1531] Heaton Journal, July 30, 1952.

[1532] Heaton Journal, February 2, 1955: "Got home about 8:30 p.m. with a sick headache. Just too much tobacco smoke for me."

[1533] Heaton Journal, August 14, 1953.

[1534] Ibid.

[1535] The company's name, "GarKane," was named after Garfield and Kane counties.

[1536] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, March 3, 1953.

[1537] Heaton Journal, April 1, 1953.

[1538] References in the early 1960s to the pump refer to is as a McCulloch make. It was purchased in Salt Lake City.

[1539] Zion National Park staff meeting minutes, October 14, 1953.

[1540] Heaton Journal, June 23, 1953.

[1541] Heaton Journal, June 30, 1953.

[1542] Zion staff meeting minutes, July 29, 1953.

[1543] Heaton Journal, August 14, 1953.

[1544] It appears that this was the first reprinting since 1941. Neither 1941 nor 1954 leaflets stated camping facilities were available, only picnicking facilities.

[1545] The Church does not sanction polygamy, nor has it since the Woodruff "manifesto" of 1890. The Church excommunicates members practicing it. See Part I for additional history. It is still practiced, however, by a small group of Mormon fundamentalists who refuse to accept official Church policy on the matter.

[1546] For additional information on the Short Creek raid, see Martha Sonntag Bradley, *Kidnapped From That Land — the Government Raids on the Short Creek Polygamists,* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993; and Roman Malach's *Short Creek-Colorado City on the Arizona Strip,* Mohave County Board of Supervisors, Kingman, Arizona, 1982.

[1547] Heaton Journal, July 26, 1953.

[1548] Heaton Journal, July 27-28, 1953.

[1549] Heaton Journal, August 1, 1953.

[1550] Bradley states that Short Creek wives and children were taken after the raid to Phoenix and placed under state and county welfare jurisdiction; the children were made wards of the state (Bradley, 153).

[1551] This did not end Arizona's crackdown on Short Creek polygamists, however. Utah took even stronger legal action against polygamists during this period. See the case of *Black v. State,* Bradley, pp. 160-181.

[1552] Archeologist Laird Naylor, past resident of Colorado City, wrote to the author on August 23, 1999, "I have never heard the rationale for the [name] change overtly stated…. However, I think it is clear that they wanted to escape the stigma associated with the 1953 raid by the State of Arizona." Naylor later informed the author that he's seen "colloquial references" in the news media that there are about 40,000 practicing polygamists in the Intermountain West today.

[1553] *Westways*, Volume 45, No. 8, August 1953.

[1554] Heaton Journal, August 28, 1953. This suggests Heaton wasn't a source of Ransom's

information.

[1555] Heaton Journal, January 15, 1954. No details have been found on the proposed change.

[1556] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, February 1, 1955.

[1557] Kelly Heaton suffered from a heart problem.

[1558] Sherwin also filled in during Heaton's absences in 1955.

[1559] Heaton Journal, September 3, 1954.

[1560] In Heaton's monthly report for August 1955, he reported the film was called "Pioneer Scout."

[1561] Heaton Journal, August 25, 1955. "Kock" might be a transcription error as "Koch" is a more common spelling.

[1562] Heaton Journal, August 26, 1955.

[1563] Heaton Journal, May 4, 1955.

[1564] John M. Davis, letter to Sherwin Heaton, June 17, 1955.

[1565] Hugh M. Miller, memorandum to Chester A. Thomas, June 28, 1955.

[1566] Chester A. Thomas, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, July 12, 1955. Sherwin Heaton actually resided in Moccasin at the time.

[1567] Ibid.

[1568] Leonard Heaton's brother, Grant Heaton, said that Leonard injured his right hand in a farming accident while he was unloading hay off a wagon into the barn hayloft, using a system of ropes and pulleys. Grant stated that he still had the use of his hand after the accident (personal communications to Gaylan Hoyt and Kathleen L. McKoy, late 1998 and early 1999, respectively).

[1569] Paul R. Franke, letter to Hugh M. Miller, July 18, 1955.

[1570] Hugh M. Miller, draft memorandum to Charles J. Franke, July 26, 1955 (not sent).

[1571] Ibid.

[1572] Hugh M. Miller, memorandum to Charles J. Franke, July 26, 1955.

[1573] Hugh M. Miller, memorandum to files, September 13, 1955.

[1574] Paul R. Franke, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, July 17, 1956.

[1575] Paul R. Franke, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, October 14, 1955.

[1576] See Appendix VI, "Visitation." In the Annual Report of Information and Interpretive Services, monument visitor contact for 1955 is reported to be 2,341. The cause for the discrepancy is unknown. The higher figure is from Heaton's monthly report for December

1955.

[1577] Heaton Journal, March 24-25, 1951.

[1578] Heaton's journal says "80," but his monthly report for August 1951 says there were 90 girls.

[1579] Heaton Journal, June 2, 1951. See also Heaton's monthly report, July 2, 1951.

[1580] Heaton Journal, May 15, 1954.

[1581] Heaton Journal, September 9-11, 1954.

[1582] Heaton Journal, July 30-31, 1955.

[1583] Heaton Journal, September 3, 1955.

[1584] Heaton Journal, March 17, 1951.

[1585] For details, see Heaton's journal entries from late April to mid-June 1951. (Heaton's journal states he began work on April 24, but his final report states May 3.) See also "Report for Rehabilitation" July 9, 1951.

[1586] For more detail, see Heaton's journal entries, February 7-14, 1952. Heaton's descriptions are a bit confusing as on one occasion he calls the balusters "railings."

[1587] Heaton Journal, March 26, 1952.

[1588] Heaton Journal, June 23, 1953. Heaton obtained the log from an area sawmill about March 1953.

[1589] Heaton Journal, July 18, 1953. See also Project Completion Report, Historic Fort Rehabilitation, August 28, 1953.

[1590] Paul R. Franke, memorandum to Minor R. Tillotson, March 10, 1953.

[1591] Leonard Heaton, "Walk and Trail Improvement Program, 1951." This proposal appears to call for all the walkways in the monument to be blacktopped.

[1592] Heaton does not give their names.

[1593] Heaton Journal, December 7, 1954.

[1594] Heaton Journal, January 15, 1955.

[1595] Heaton Journal, January 1, 1953.

[1596] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, September 30, 1952. See also Project Completion Report, ca. April 1953.

[1597] Natt N. Dodge, memorandum to Hugh Miller, May 8, 1953.

[1598] Leonard Heaton, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, May 26, 1953. This description is notable because the exact location of early stone quarries used during the fort's construction

is undocumented. Heaton mentions two distinct areas were used.

[1599] Heaton Journal, August 30, 1953.

[1600] Heaton Journal, October 3, 1953.

[1601] Heaton Journal, August 24, 1954.

[1602] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, December 2, 1954.

[1603] Heaton Journal, August 31, 1955.

[1604] Paul R. Franke, monthly report, January 11, 1956.

[1605] Heaton Journal, July 3, 1955.

[1606] Heaton Journal, September 13, 1954.

[1607] Heaton Journal, November 14, 1955.

[1608] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, October 3, 1954. See also Heaton's journal entries for September 12 and 13, 1954.

[1609] Heaton Journal, March 1, 1952.

[1610] There is some correspondence regarding conservation of this painting on March 25 and 26, 1959.

[1611] Heaton Journal, February 1, 1955.

[1612] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, December 2, 1955.

[1613] Heaton Journal, May 23, 1955.

[1614] Heaton Journal, May 21, 1950.

[1615] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, July 2, 1951.

[1616] Heaton Journal, October 22, 1951.

[1617] Heaton Journal, May 6, 1953.

[1618] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, May 1955.

[1619] For more information on this case, see Charles J. Meyers and A. Dan Tarlock, *Water Resource Management, A Coursebook in Law and Public Policy*. New York: The Foundation Press, Inc. 1980: 205-209.

[1620] See report files in the administrative history manuscript collection for a copy of this report.

[1621] "Factual Data in Support of Claims for Indians and Indian Tribes to Uses of Water in the Lower Basin of the Colorado River in the States and Arizona and California," Vol. XVIII, Kaibab Reservation. December 1954.

[1622] Ibid., 2.

[1623] Ibid., 3.

[1624] This map is missing a small portion from the center; BIA staff in Phoenix, Arizona, copied it.

[1625] Heaton Journal, March 12, 1951.

[1626] Phone interview, Kathleen L. McKoy with Grant Heaton, September 3, 1998. Grant Heaton reported that Olive is now living in Texas.

[1627] Heaton Journal, June 9, 1951. See also Heaton's monthly report, July 2, 1951.

[1628] Heaton Journal, April 3, 1953.

[1629] Heaton Journal, October 27, 1951.

[1630] Heaton Journal, March 19, 1952.

[1631] Heaton Journal, June 14, 1955.

[1632] Leonard Heaton, monthly report to Charles J. Smith, June 1, 1951.

[1633] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, September 30, 1952. She married Wells Lindquist Brady.

[1634] Heaton Journal, May 18, 1957.

[1635] At times, the Mohave County road crews maintained the entire road from Fredonia to Short Creek, which appears to have been the case between October and December 1953.

[1636] Heaton Journal, May 2, 1951.

[1637] Heaton Journal, January 19, 1952.

[1638] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, April 30, 1952.

[1639] Heaton Journal, June 17, 1952.

[1640] Heaton Journal, September 6, 1952.

[1641] Heaton Journal, September 13, 1952; see also Heaton's monthly report, September 30, 1952.

[1642] Zion staff meeting minutes, November 5, 1952.

[1643] House Joint Memorial No. 2; Arizona's First Regular Session, Twenty-first Legislature; attached to cover letter, Governor Howard Pyle to National Park Service, March 25, 1953.

[1644] Ibid.

[1645] Heaton Journal, March 4, 1953.

[1646] Conrad L. Wirth, letter to Governor Howard Pyle, April 10, 1953.

[1647] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, June 4, 1955.

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[1648] Conrad L. Wirth, Annual Report to the Secretary of the Interior, fiscal year ending June 30, 1956.

[1649] Chris Goetze, memorandum to Kathleen L. McKoy, June 14, 1999.

[1650] David H. Canfield, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, April 23, 1956.

[1651] Ibid.

[1652] In a later reference to Little, Heaton spells his first name "Louran."

[1653] The children were Sharon, Curtis, and Susan, ages 8, 6, and 3, respectively.

[1654] Heaton Journal, June 8, 1956.

[1655] Sandberg's 21-page narrative history of Pipe Spring drew on both primary and secondary source materials. The report is entitled, "Pipe Spring National Monument." Historical handbooks were a series of handbooks that described the historical and archeological areas in the National Park System. Additional research was done by Sandberg's successor, James C. McKown. It was finally published in 1966, with McKown and Robert M. Utley listed as authors.

[1656] Heaton Journal, August 30, 1956.

[1657] Heaton Journal, August 1, 1956.

[1658] Heaton Journal, August 17, 1956.

[1659] Heaton Journal, August 24, 1956. The dog was the Heaton's pet. It was a small dog, recalled James C. McKown in 1999.

[1660] Heaton Journal, September 5, 1956.

[1661] Heaton Journal, October 3, 1956.

[1662] Heaton Journal, October 8-21, 1956.

[1663] Heaton Journal, March 7, 1957.

[1664] Leonard Heaton, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, April 11, 1956.

[1665] Paul R. Franke, memorandum to Chief, Western Office of Design and Construction (WODC), March 7, 1958. Heaton made no mention of his son finding remains neither during the work nor in his monthly report. This information only surfaced in Franke's memo referenced above when he asked that the master plan's base map indicate "large prehistoric

burial ground on the SW section of the monument. Some dozen skeletons or parts thereof have been uncovered there, particularly when we removed the old corral and stock sheds. Mr. Heaton advises that there are no doubt several hundred burials in the area indicated." A later handwritten note on a memo of July 30, 1964, written by Hugh Bozarth, stated Heaton told him he had dug up skeletons in this area as a child while digging underground play houses.

[1666] Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire, Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985): 274.

[1667] Later, work population shifted to Page, Arizona, which reduced travel to the monument.

[1668] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, March 1, 1957.

[1669] Heaton Journal, May 17, 1957.

[1670] Paul R. Franke, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, June 6, 1957; see also Heaton's journal entry for May 30, 1957.

[1671] Heaton Journal, June 1, 1957.

[1672] Heaton Journal, July 10, 1957.

[1673] The Sandbergs still live in Hurricane. For the remainder of his career, Lloyd combined teaching school with working as a seasonal interpretive ranger at Zion National Park.

[1674] Heaton Journal, November 7-8, 1957.

[1675] Erik K. Reed, letter to Arthur Woodward, January 18, 1957; see also Arthur Woodward, letter to Erik K. Reed, November 1, 1957.

[1676] Charlie R. Steen, memorandum to Erik K. Reed, December 6, 1957.

[1677] Charlie R. Steen, memorandum to Erik K. Reed, December 12, 1957.

[1678] In a later August 30, 1958, memorandum written by Hugh M. Miller, it was stated that McKown took the historian position because history had been his major in school and because he wanted to attain experience applicable to park ranger standards. His real goal was to get into the Park Service protection force. The position at Pipe Spring was a GS-5 Park Historian.

[1679] Franke informed Heaton at the February 5 staff meeting that he wanted McKown to work at Zion for three months, which Heaton apparently was unhappy about. Franke had said he would let McKown come earlier to Pipe Spring if the weather was good (i.e., visitation increased).

[1680] Heaton Journal, March 9, 1958.

[1681] Heaton Journal, March 25, 1958.

[1682] Heaton Journal, April 26, 1958.

[1683] Heaton does not record how long this took, but it appears to have been only a matter of four or five days.

[1684] Benn Pikyavit, personal communication, September 1998. (Pikyavit is a Kaibab Paiute employed as seasonal guide for the monument.)

[1685] Heaton Journal, May 12, 1958.

[1686] Apparently, the old CCC log tables were not disposed of at the time, for Heaton references the need to replace them in January 1961.

[1687] James C. McKown, telephone interview by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 27, 1999.

[1688] Ibid.

[1689] Ibid.

[1690] James C. McKown, letter to Kathleen L McKoy, September 9, 1999.

[1691] Heaton Journal, June 5, 1958.

[1692] Heaton Journal, July 26, 1958. He does not say what he did with the pots; presumably they went into the museum's collection.

[1693] Heaton Journal, July 26, 1958.

[1694] Hugh M. Miller, memorandum to Conrad L. Wirth, August 30, 1958.

[1695] Ibid.

[1696] Heaton Journal, October 1, 1958.

[1697] Heaton had previously asked permission for his mother, Maggie Heaton, to arrange the furnishings in the fort.

[1698] Charlie R. Steen, memorandum to Erik K. Reed, March 3, 1959.

[1699] Sandberg was hired in June to scout around and buy more furnishings.

[1700] Heaton Journal, January 29, 1959.

[1701] On May 7, 1959 Heaton wrote in his journal that the office trailer "is in very bad shape and should never have been brought over here."

[1702] Heaton Journal, July 21, 1959. The transcription of Heaton's journal suggests the men actually heard the fort walls "cracking" at the time of the earthquake!

[1703] H. L. Bill, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, August 14, 1959.

[1704] It is uncertain if this was the outside trough or the one in the spring room.

[1705] Heaton Journal, September 4, 1959.

[1706] See Zorro A. Bradley's 30-page report for details, "The Whitmore-McIntyre Dugout, Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona," 1959.

[1707] Erik K. Reed, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, October 1, 1959.

[1708] Udall forwarded the letter to the Washington office, which in turn passed it on to the regional office for consideration on September 18, 1961. No other correspondence is available regarding this request.

[1709] Robert M. Utley, memorandum to Erik K. Reed, October 2, 1959.

[1710] Ibid.

[1711] It is unknown if Franke transferred or resigned, but most likely the latter. Heaton wrote that Franke and his wife moved to Santa Fe.

[1712] Heaton Journal, August 24, 1960.

[1713] Heaton Journal, September 19, 1960.

[1714] Attendance at the affair wasn't reported.

[1715] Charlie R. Steen, memorandum to Erik K. Reed, June 30, 1960.

[1716] Heaton Journal, November 11, 1959.

[1717] McKown worked as an inner-canyon ranger at Grand Canyon until April 1962, then moved to Montana where he worked for 35 more seasons as a seasonal ranger at Yellowstone National Park. For additional information see letter from McKown to McKoy, September 9, 1999; and transcribed telephone interview with McKown by McKoy, September 27, 1999.

[1718] Heaton Journal, June 29, 1960.

[1719] James C. McKown, letter to Kathleen L. McKoy, September 9, 1999.

[1720] Heaton Journal, August 22, 1960.

[1721] Heaton Journal, September 7, 1960.

[1722] Max P. Peterson, Annual Report of Information and Interpretation, 1960.

[1723] Heaton Journal, December 31, 1960.

[1724] Heaton Journal, February 8, 1961. Heaton states no one had lived in the fort since 1938, but his family actually moved out in 1936.

[1725] It is never stated whether the Tribe purchased it or private individuals from the reservation. He references the requests in his journal on January 26, 1961, and wrote, "[They] will get it for almost nothing."

[1726] There is a photograph of one of the sections on a flat-bed truck being moved off the monument (PISP, neg. 154). This building may yet be standing in Kaibab Village.

[1727] Heaton Journal, May 6, 1961.

[1728] This tank lay around the monument for about three years before Zion made arrangements for the Tribe to take it in August 1962. Another fuel tank associated with the old power house was sent to Zion.

[1729] Heaton Journal, August 18, 1961.

[1730] Heaton Journal, August 20, 1961.

[1731] Heaton Journal, July 8, 1961.

[1732] Later events suggest the couple may have been having marital troubles at the time of Olsen's hiring, although these may also have occurred as a result of the separation.

[1733] Either during or just prior to January 1962, Olsen had a search made of National Archives photos taken during the Powell Survey, but none could be found that related to Pipe Spring. He also researched photos in the Denver Public Library, Western Collection. For details, see Olsen's monthly report, January 31, 1962.

[1734] Olsen wrote and published an article, "Early Cultures of the Southwest," in *California Archeological Bulletin of the California State Archeological Society*, January 1963 (No. 1).

[1735] Heaton Journal, October 21, 1960. See also August 30, 1961, reference to monument needing a maintenance man with skills with tools, plastering, painting, and carpentry.

[1736] 1961 Annual Report on Information and Interpretation.

[1737] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, December 3, 1961.

[1738] Heaton Journal, January 4, 1962.

[1739] Ray Mose, as recorded by Leonard Heaton in his journal, February 27, 1962.

[1740] Leonard Heaton, memorandum to Francis R. Oberhansley, March 30, 1962. A map showing the location of the east cabin corrals is attached to a memorandum from Oberhansley to the regional director, April 3, 1962.

[1741] Thomas J. Allen, memorandum to Francis R. Oberhansley, April 10, 1962.

[1742] Robert W. Olsen, Jr., monthly report, June 1, 1962.

[1743] Robert W. Olsen, Jr., monthly report, October 2, 1962.

[1744] Franklin G. Smith, memorandum to George C. Miller, August 1, 1962. This memorandum also includes recommendations regarding two looms in the monument's collection.

[1745] Robert M. Utley, memorandum to George C. Miller, October 4, 1962.

[1746] Ibid.

[1747] Robert W. Olsen, Jr., monthly report, June 30, 1962.

[1748] It is possible this condition was related to the earlier back trouble that he reported having. He mentioned later that the operation was on the veins in his legs and that it improved his condition.

[1749] See Robert W. Olsen, Jr., combined monthly report for December 1962 and January 1963

for research information on the authenticity of the name's origin.

[1750] Heaton Journal, June 19, 1963.

[1751] Heaton Journal, August 11, 1963.

[1752] Heaton Journal, August 24, 1963.

[1753] Heaton Journal, September 14, 1963.

[1754] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, September 2, 1963.

[1755] The caretaker position was abolished about October 1968 so that the incumbent could be promoted to tour guide, subject to furlough.

[1756] Heaton Journal, January 9, 1957.

[1757] Heaton Journal, February 28, 1959.

[1758] On one occasion, Heaton refers to Burr as the "manager" for GarKane Power Company.

[1759] Heaton Journal, May 8, 1958.

[1760] Heaton Journal, August 11, 1958.

[1761] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, September 30, 1959.

[1762] Heaton Journal, October 26, 1959.

[1763] Heaton's journal says power reached Moccasin on April 7, but his monthly report says power was turned on in the new line from Boulder on April 8.

[1764] All Establishment Day events during this period are noted under the "Monument Administration" section.

[1765] Heaton Journal, April 9, 1956.

[1766] Heaton Journal, April 21, 1957.

[1767] Heaton Journal, April 6, 1958.

[1768] Heaton Journal May 4, 1958.

[1769] Ibid.

[1770] Heaton Journal, March 24, 1959. The information regarding McIntyre conflicts with other sources.

[1771] Heaton Journal, April 13, 1957.

[1772] Robert W. Olsen, Jr., Annual Report on Information and Interpretation, 1963.

[1773] This may be contained in the Woolley/Snow Family Collection, op. cit.

[1774] Robert W. Olsen, Jr., monthly report, September 30, 1962. Heaton incorrectly reports the date as September 3 in his journal.

[1775] The engineer's first name is unknown.

[1776] Heaton Journal, December 13, 1956.

[1777] Heaton Journal, February 7, 1957.

[1778] Heaton Journal, various entries, January 1959.

[1779] Charlie R. Steen, memorandum to Regional Chief, Division of Interpretation, March 3, 1959. Additional description of work done is contained in Heaton's monthly narrative reports.

[1780] For details, see "Completion Report for Rehabilitation of Fort and Cabins Project," July 25, 1961.

[1781] Heaton Journal, March 7-8, 1957.

[1782] Robert W. Olsen, Jr., file memo, January 25, 1964. See memo for detail; includes a sketch map that also shows location of several old ponds west of the fort.

[1783] Its location is shown on a utilities sketch map attached to memorandum of July 5, 1957, from Heaton to Franke.

[1784] Leonard Heaton, "Completion Report of Construction Project," signed by Paul R. Franke, August 15, 1957. The concrete comfort station was removed some time after the completion of the visitor center in 1973.

[1785] Heaton reported in his journal on March 20, 1957: "Planted several varieties of cactus and four trees around the comfort station. Want to plant some grass later on."

[1786] It should be mentioned that originally a two-story duplex was planned for the residences. That was opposed by the regional office and by Heaton, as was the concept of a one-story duplex. In November 1958 Zion officials proposed that yet a third residence be added to the master plan to house a permanent maintenance man.

[1787] Leonard Heaton, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, November 4, 1958.

[1788] Doty is well-known for the Mission 66 visitor centers he designed for the Park Service, but as it turned out he would not design Pipe Spring's.

[1789] H. L. Bill, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, August 14, 1959.

[1790] See Heaton's monthly reports for July-December 1959. For the most detail, see Narrative Report, Contract No. 14-10-345-7, attached to Individual Building Data form, buildings 6 and 7; see also project completion report.

[1791] For details, see "Completion Report, Entrance, Residence and Utility Roads," final approval February 8, 1961.

[1792] The wooden part of this sign was probably the one made in Zion and delivered to the park in 1956. Heaton never reported its installation. The stone part of the entrance sign was made in 1961.

[1793] This sign is now located just west of the visitor center.

[1794] Miles E. Smith, "Limited Examination, Field Records, and Property," Pipe Spring National Monument, February 28, 1962.

[1795] For design of collection box, see P. E. Smith, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, February 24, 1959.

[1796] Drawing NM/PS-3109 is in the 1950s map file compiled for this project.

[1797] P. E. Smith, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, March 4, 1959.

[1798] Paul R. Franke, memorandum to Chief, WODC, March 13, 1959.

[1799] Hugh M. Miller, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, March 25, 1959.

[1800] P. E. Smith, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, April 15, 1959.

[1801] Heaton Journal, August 10, 1959.

[1802] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, November 30, 1960.

[1803] In November the bottom of the ponds was dug out to try to reduce the murkiness of the water so visitors could better see the fish.

[1804] Heaton reported in his journal several earthquake tremors were felt at Pipe Spring on February 15, 1962, but did not associate these with changes in the spring flow.

[1805] Heaton Journal, August 6, 1958. It is uncertain what magazine the article was in. Heaton refers to it as a vacation magazine; the *Westways* printed an article mentioning the swimming pool in August 1953.

[1806] Heaton Journal, July 29, 1963.

[1807] Heaton Journal, March 5, 1956. Heaton reported that he caught a bobcat in a trap set in Heart Canyon. The bobcat had killed one of the white ducks the previous day.

[1808] Hugh H. Bozarth, monthly report, December 1963.

[1809] Heaton Journal, August 24, 1956.

[1810] Leonard Heaton, "Completion Report for Rehabilitation of Fort and Cabins Project," July 25, 1961. (Heaton's monthly report says this work was completed March 27.) See also Paul R. Franke, memorandum to Chief, WODC, February 11, 1959, and Leonard Heaton, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, February 12, 1959, as well as Heaton's monthly narrative reports. For design of collection box, see P. E. Smith, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, February 24, 1959.

[1811] Heaton Journal, April 10, 1961.

[1812] Heaton Journal, November 6, 1960.

[1813] See Heaton's journal entry of September 1, 1958, for list of items.

[1814] Heaton Journal, January 15, 1959.

[1815] See Heaton's 1961 journal entries for specific references to acquisitions.

[1816] See Heaton's journal entry for September 4, 1961, and monthly report for September 1961. Other donations were made in 1962 (see Olsen's monthly report for June 1962).

[1817] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, January 31, 1963.

[1818] Heaton Journal, April 18, 1956. See also entry of April 20, 1958.

[1819] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, August 2, 1956.

[1820] The inquiry letter has not been located, only Heaton's response.

[1821] Leonard Heaton, memorandum to Chief of Lands, May 23, 1956. Heaton's report was not sent directly to the Chief of Lands, but was edited and retyped by Zion officials. When they transcribed this statement and sent it to the regional office it stated, "No meters are used at Pipe Springs. The water is taken directly from the spring and no restrictions are made to its use." (Paul R. Franke, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, June 4, 1956) With regard to Heaton's domestic water supply, see also attachments to Heaton memorandum to Paul R. Franke, July 5, 1957.

[1822] "Answers for the National Park Service to Interrogatories Addressed to the United States by the California Defendants in *Arizona v. California*," May 29, 1956.

[1823] Leonard Heaton, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, October 1, 1956 (under cover letter of October 11, 1956, Chester A. Thomas to Regional Director). The original questions were posed by Chief of Lands David Canfield and sent by A. van V. Dunn in a memorandum of August 29, 1956 (not located).

[1824] In a somewhat contradictory statement, Heaton also reported that before the monument was established, the water at Pipe Spring flowed south into the meadow area and then into a sandy area below it. While this area extended one to three miles south, Heaton thought the spring flow would not have exceeded more than one-half mile beyond the meadow at any time.

[1825] A. van V. Dunn, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, April 24, 1957. An index to the docket is attached to Dunn's memorandum.

[1826] Donald E. Lee, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, April 3, 1958.

[1827] John E. Kell, memorandum to Chief, WODC, March 18, 1959.

[1828] A. van V. Dunn, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, March 20, 1959.

[1829] Correspondence files for 1960-1963 contain little, compared to prior years.

[1830] John C. Dibbern, letter to Herman E. O'Harra, April 21, 1961.

[1831] John C. Dibbern, letter to Herman E. O'Harra, November 23, 1961.

[1832] Heaton Journal, May 26, 1956. No details are given. Heaton refers to the boy as

"Maxine" but, according to tribal members, that was not the boy's correct name.

[1833] Heaton Journal, April 23, 1959. First name is not given.

[1834] Heaton Journal, March 17, 1957.

[1835] Heaton Journal, July 30, 1958.

[1836] Heaton Journal, entries for September 22, 24, and October 7, 1960.

[1837] Heaton Journal, December 13, 1960.

[1838] Heaton Journal, May 4, 1961.

[1839] Heaton Journal, July 5, 1962.

[1840] Andrea Bornemeier, memorandum to Kathleen L. McKoy, June 11, 1999.

[1841] Heaton Journal, September 8, 1962. The girls were unnamed.

[1842] Beginning in 1952, there were widespread field tests of use of gamma globulin during polio epidemics in Utah, Texas, and Iowa, but the tests showed only short-term protection. A vaccine prepared by Dr. Jonas E. Salk was used in the largest medical field test in history on 1,830,000 school children ca. 1953-1954; results were reported in April 1955, disclosing active immunity was provided by the Salk vaccine for at least six months with more permanent protection by use of booster injections.

[1843] Morris, *Encyclopedia of American History*, 814.

[1844] It appears the marriage was "sealed" in St. George on June 8, 1957, as Heaton reports the same son was married in St. George, Utah, on this date.

[1845] One reference states "a son and daughter" and states they were graduating from Tempe College. Staff meeting minutes say the graduation was for a son. The college is presumably Arizona State University in Tempe, Arizona.

[1846] Heaton Journal, June 20, 1956.

[1847] Heaton Journal, June 23, 1956.

[1848] Heaton Journal, May 6, 1957.

[1849] Heaton Journal, February 8, 1958.

[1850] Heaton Journal, January 29, 1960.

[1851] Heaton Journal, March 7, 1956. "Oiled" roads were graveled, as opposed to dirt or bituminous-paved roads.

[1852] Heaton Journal, March 24, 1956.

[1853] David H. Canfield, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, April 23, 1956.

[1854] Chester A. Thomas, monthly report to Conrad L. Wirth, May 2, 1956.

[1855] Heaton Journal, June 23, 1956.

[1856] Heaton Journal, July 2, 1956.

[1857] Heaton Journal, July 14, 1956.

[1858] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, August 2, 1956.

[1859] Heaton Journal, August 23, 1956.

[1860] Hugh M. Miller, memorandum to Conrad L. Wirth, August 27, 1956.

[1861] J. Edward Amschel, memorandum to Conrad L. Wirth, October 2, 1956.

[1862] Paul R. Franke, memorandum to Hugh M. Miller, November 23, 1956.

[1863] Ibid.

[1864] Heaton Journal, May 2, 1957.

[1865] Heaton Journal, July 21, 1957.

[1866] Heaton Journal, August 7, 1957.

[1867] Leonard Heaton, monthly report, September 30, 1957.

[1868] Heaton Journal, October 1, 1957.

[1869] Heaton Journal, February 17, 1958.

[1870] Heaton Journal, February 24-25, 1958.

[1871] Heaton Journal, March 4, 1958.

[1872] Paul R. Franke, memorandum to Chief, WODC, March 7, 1958.

[1873] Thomas C. Vint, memorandum to Chief, WODC, June 16, 1958.

[1874] Hugh M. Miller, memorandum to Chief of Operations, June 25, 1958.

[1875] Paul R. Franke, letter to Superintendent, Kaibab Indian Reservation, June 27, 1958. It is not known who the official was at Ft. Duchesne at this time.

[1876] Paul R. Franke, letter to Superintendent, Hopi Indian Reservation, July 3, 1958. It is unclear to the author why both superintendents at Ft. Duchesne and Keams Canyon were notified about the matter.

[1877] David H. Canfield, memorandum to the Hugh M. Miller, July 31, 1958.

[1878] A map was not attached to the archived letter. The transmittal letter to the Hopi Indian Reservation is dated September 10, 1958; none has been located to the Kaibab Indian Reservation, but it is presumed one was sent out about the same time.

[1879] H. E. O'Harra, letter to Paul R. Franke, September 17, 1958.

[1880] David H. Canfield, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, October 7, 1958.

[1881] Heaton Journal, January 24, 1959.

[1882] Leonard Heaton, memorandum to Paul R. Franke, February 12, 1959 (filed under cover memorandum of February 17, 1959).

[1883] Heaton Journal, October 12, 1961. See also Zion staff meeting minutes, February 7, 1962.

[1884] Possibly to avoid future problems, the State was not content with the Tribe's earlier granting of right-of-way for the road to cross the reservation, but wanted to own the land outright.

Part X - Pipe Spring National Monument Comes Alive

[1885] It is important to emphasize that what is often referred to as protecting the "historic setting" of Pipe Spring in the 1960s was not so much maintaining any *existing* historic integrity but was an attempt to return conditions to what they were believed to have been like in the 1870s. It was thus an attempt to *reconstruct* a historic landscape. This was discussed in the Cultural Landscape Inventory of the monument's landscape, conducted in 1997 by Peggy Froeschauer Nelson and Kathleen L. McKoy.

[1886] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, December 29, 1969.

[1887] Karl T. Gilbert, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, July 22, 1970.

[1888] Morris, *Encyclopedia of American History*, 645.

[1889] The correspondence files for the 1960s are very slim for reasons unknown.

[1890] Historian's monthly report, July 1966.

[1891] Historian's monthly report, September 1964.

[1892] Management Assistant's monthly report, April 1964. A later interview with Grant Heaton revealed that the four poles west of the fort were not historic, but had been replaced with new poles in 1959.

[1893] According to monument staff, the telegraph pole located near the lime kiln site was struck by lightning in the early 1990s and was replaced. The remaining poles are the ones placed in 1965.

[1894] In his monthly report, August 1965, Olsen reported that William H. Hamblin's grandson, Albert Hamblin, visited the monument and stated that his grandfather was poisoned to death in Pioche, Nevada in 1872, before he could testify in court to the ownership of a mine.

[1895] A sketch map dated "3/5/64" was made at that time showing the main pipelines. See map in 1964 correspondence files.

[1896] Bozarth refers to his samples as "drinking water," suggesting that the samples were taken

from the collection box rather than from the fort ponds.

[1897] Management Assistant's monthly report, March 1965.

[1898] This work was part of routine maintenance during the 1960s. The tree crew pruned the trees again in 1969.

[1899] Management Assistant's monthly report, June 1965.

[1900] While no evidence of the road can be discerned east of the fort, one can still see evidence of the road west of the fort as well as for some distance outside the monument boundary, heading southwest. This is believed to be the trace of the old Kaibab Wagon Road as well as old monument road.

[1901] Management Assistant's monthly report, July 1967.

[1902] James C. McKown, telephone interview by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 27, 1999.

[1903] It is unknown why Swearingen did not reference Arthur Woodward's 1959 "Details for Furnishing House Museum at Pipe Spring National Monument," unless she considered it inadequate.

[1904] Jean R. Swearingen, memorandum to Daniel B. Beard, July 14, 1967. Report entitled "Pipe Spring National Monument," appended to cover memo.

[1905] Bozarth presumably attended as well, but does not say so in his monthly report for August.

[1906] Management Assistant's monthly report, May 1967.

[1907] Carole Gallagher, *American Ground Zero, The Secret Nuclear War*: xxix.

[1908] *The Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials* published by the U.S. Department of the Interior (1991) incorrectly states that Bozarth remained at Pipe Spring until September 1970.

[1909] Acting Management Assistant's monthly report, September 1967. Later references indicate that management wanted to add to the earlier reconstructed corral.

[1910] See later sketch map showing native grass restoration areas. The area Bolander planted in is presumed to be that labeled "Project II," located northeast of the fort.

[1911] The location of the temporary contact station is shown on Drawing 321/80001, "Water System," June 25, 1969.

[1912] The monument was designated Sitka National Historical Park on October 18, 1972. By coincidence, the current superintendent at Pipe Spring National Monument, John W. Hiscock, worked in the Alaska Regional Office from 1989-1994, just prior to his transfer to Pipe Spring.

[1913] That May, Park Naturalist Barbara Lund (Zion) identified 49 different bird species in the monument, including the broadwing hawk, considered rare for the area.

[1914] Raymond J. Geerdes, letter to Jack Peters, March 7, 1969. Geerdes' title at the Sitka site

is unknown. He may have been appointed acting superintendent; he is not listed as one of its superintendents in the *Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials*. He writes in this letter that he was "in charge" of the Alaska site.

[1915] Youths had to be out of school for at least three months before they could qualify under this program and their families had to meet an income criteria.

[1916] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Joe Montoya, Andrew Sandaval, Jack Peters, July 14, 1969.

[1917] It appears that Geerdes had to find unused NYC "slots" in other communities and ask to use these in order to take on Paiute enrollees, thus it was more difficult to hire them.

[1918] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, June 21, 1968. Geerdes reported that the Tribe had only four eligible enrollees, two of whom worked at the monument.

[1919] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, February 28, 1969. This memorandum is a summary of area contacts with local Paiute and Navajo.

[1920] Raymond J. Geerdes, letter to Tony Gabaldon, June 10, 1969. Four VISTA volunteers worked in the Moccasin area, but not directly for the monument. The particular letter references controversy in the Fredonia community about the VISTA workers, but does not provide details. Geerdes had high praise for their work.

[1921] Tait was first hired under the Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) program; he later also worked under the NYC program.

[1922] Karl T. Gilbert, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, June 27, 1968.

[1923] Frank F. Kowski, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, July 18, 1968.

[1924] Paul C. Heaton, letter to Clarence Newman, undated (ca. late August 1968). Handwritten notes by Raymond J. Geerdes from May and June listed one other name, but it is uncertain if he worked that summer (Stanley Brewer, a Paiute boy). Steve Tait also worked at the monument that summer.

[1925] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, August 6, 1968.

[1926] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, February 28, 1969.

[1927] The girls were both white.

[1928] In early September, Geerdes made recommendation to Zion officials that Heaton be given an Incentive Award for his "Special Service" in connection with the NYC program.

[1929] Log of Events, Interpretation and Visitor Services, September 1968 (Zion). See also Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, August 31, 1970.

[1930] During the summer Paul C. Heaton contacted seed companies for price lists of native grasses, stating the monument was interested in blue grama, sand drop seed, and native Indian grasses. It is presumed these are the types planted that fall.

[1931] Log of Significant Events, August 1968.

[1932] Two rattlers were killed in July; four more in August. Numbers 4 and 5 were near the comfort station and ponds; Number 6 was on the steps of the pond. As in the past it was those hot and dry summer months that attracted both tourists and rattlesnakes!

[1933] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, August 6, 1968.

[1934] Ibid.

[1935] Ibid.

[1936] Geerdes reported this just after Jake's tragic death in his Log of Significant Events for January 1969. Of course, these visits were not solely related to the NYC program, but also to tribal development plans.

[1937] He added the caveat that she must meet NYC eligibility requirements, which she did. Glendora Snow later married and is now Glendora Homer. She most recently was employed as a seasonal ranger at the monument during the summer of 1999.

[1938] It is unclear how much guide work the Paiute girls did that summer. Geerdes mentions that, in costume, they ground corn and demonstrated beadwork outside the fort and interacted there with visitors. They also worked in the visitor contact station doing office work.

[1939] Raymond J. Geerdes, letter to O. F. Myrup, August 4, 1969.

[1940] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Acting Director, Harpers Ferry Center, September 19, 1970. This memorandum provides the rationale for why buckskin dresses were adopted by the girls. Geerdes explained, "all our research seemed to indicate the young Paiute girls in the 1870s, such as the sketch made of a pretty Paiute girl near Nixon Spring by Powell's party, wore nothing from the waist up. Although several of our Paiute girls rivaled the charm and beauty of the young Paiute girl in Powell's sketch, our better judgement restrained us from being too authentic in this."

[1941] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, February 29, 1969.

[1942] Geerdes later reported the projects cost only five dollars for staples!

[1943] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Ron Greenberg, June 24, 1969. See also Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, July 18, 1969; and Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, August 31, 1970.

[1944] Log of Significant Events (SOUG), March 1969.

[1945] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Acting Director, Harpers Ferry Center, September 19, 1970.

[1946] For details, see Raymond J. Geerdes, letter to Ron Greenberg, June 24, 1969.

[1947] Log of Significant Events, May and June, 1969.

[1948] What is not made clear in Geerdes' reports is whether the men involved in the demonstrations were all-volunteer or not. They probably were.

[1949] Raymond J. Geerdes, letter to Jack Peters, March 7, 1969.

[1950] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Acting Director, Harpers Ferry Center, September 19, 1970. Geerdes preferred to use the term "Living Interpretation," to "Living History."

[1951] Raymond J. Geerdes, letter to S. P. Duncan, R. Ruiz, and P. Homer, Jr., May 9, 1969.

[1952] It is presumed the enrollees were paid this amount (or close to it) during 1968 as well, but no documentation on their pay for that year has been located.

[1953] Log of Significant Events, July 1969. The names of all the enrollees are not available for this year.

[1954] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, August 31, 1970. Geerdes never describes the costumes of the Indian girls.

[1955] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Acting Director, Harpers Ferry Center, September 19, 1970.

[1956] Ibid.

[1957] Geerdes does not identify the women who worked in the fort.

[1958] Raymond J. Geerdes, letter to O. F. Myrup, August 4, 1969.

[1959] Log of Significant Events, May and June, 1969.

[1960] It is not known if this change involved a promotion. No paperwork on the change has been located.

[1961] This resulted in an odd situation. While Pipe Spring was located in Mohave County but Kingman, Arizona, had no active NYC program. Flagstaff was in Coconino County. By being on the Coconino Community Action Council, Geerdes had access to Flagstaff 's NYC "slots," recruiting most of his enrollees through the Flagstaff agency by 1970. That first summer Geerdes also picked up enrollees from other county agencies who failed to utilize their quota.

[1962] A later report indicates that a remnant of a "historic orchard" of plum, peach, and apple trees existed but had gone to "weeds." See monument's 1970 Operations Evaluation, Part VIII.

[1963] "Goals" attached to Raymond J. Geerdes memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, July 18, 1969.

[1964] Log of Significant Events, January 1970.

[1965] Geerdes reported to Andy Sandaval in early 1970 that the monument had two people on staff with M.A. degrees in history. He is probably referring to Allen Malmquist, Tony Heaton, and/or himself.

[1966] Raymond J. Geerdes, letter to Christian Tract Society, March 11, 1970.

[1967] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, August 31, 1970. This report includes an enrollee chart listing all the enrollees' names, their job functions, and other information. In-school program enrollees were Bonnie Button, Hazel Mackelsprang, Gina Bundy, Addie Johnson, Lorna Young, Amelia Baker, Ila Jane Bulletts, Brenda Drye, Eileen Drye, Glen Drye, Danny Bulletts, Elwin John, Glen Rogers, Sarah Mae Nez, Maeta Holliday,

Daisey Curley, Marilyn Manywhiskers, Chester Franklin, and Larry Curley. Out-of-school program enrollees were Roger Manywhiskers and Norman Curley. Operation Mainstream employees were Konda Button and Alfred Drye.

[1968] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, May 6, 1970.

[1969] Log of Significant Events, August 1970.

[1970] C. M. McKell, letter to Raymond J. Geerdes, August 24, 1970. McKell noted that the exotic species growing in the area Geerdes was attempting to revegetate was *Arigostrata cilianensis*, or "stink grass."

[1971] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, May 6, 1970. In 1969 Teller and Snow had demonstrated corn grinding; Geerdes doesn't mention what new Indian demonstration was added in 1970.

[1972] The Dons Club is a well-respected group of Phoenix businessmen interested in Arizona history, particularly the Spanish period. According to Arizona historian Reba Grandrud, it still exists and has many members. She thought the club may have been formed in the 1930s. (Reba Grandrud, personal communication to Kathleen L. McKoy, June 17, 1999.)

[1973] "Operations Evaluation of Pipe Spring National Monument, July 30, 1970-August 15, 1970," Luis A. Gastellum, Chief of Office of Operations Evaluation.

[1974] Ibid.

[1975] Raymond J. Geerdes, letter to Clenta Holmes, April 22, 1970.

[1976] Management Assistant's monthly report, March 1965.

[1977] Management Assistant's monthly report, April 1966.

[1978] Vernon E. Jake, letter to Warren F. Hamilton, October 18, 1967.

[1979] Warren F. Hamilton, letter to Vernon E. Jake, October 31, 1967.

[1980] Zion staff meeting minutes, November 1, 1967.

[1981] Oral interview with William E. Fields by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 15, 1997. Fields (both civil engineer and water rights specialist) became chief of this program in 1969 and served in that position until his retirement in 1987.

[1982] Warren F. Hamilton, memorandum to Daniel B. Beard, April 3, 1968.

[1983] The Park Service's Field Office of Design and Construction was established in San Francisco in July 1954, taking the place of the earlier Western Office of Design and Construction (WODC). In February 1966 it was redesignated the San Francisco Planning and Service Center (referred to as the San Francisco Service Center, or "SSC"). It covered all of the four western regions. In October 1969 the Western Service Center was established; it became the Denver Service Center in November 1971.

[1984] Garry C. Switzer, memorandum to Chief Landscape Architect, March 29, 1968.

[1985] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, July 13, 1968.

[1986] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, February 28, 1969.

[1987] Log of Significant Events, January 1969.

[1988] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, February 28, 1969.

[1989] Ibid.

[1990] John E. Cook, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, March 11, 1969.

[1991] Kaibab Village has also been referred to by the Kaibab Paiute as "Old Moccasin," "Indian Moccasin," or just "Moccasin," but is a separate community from the original Moccasin (about 1.5 miles northwest) from which they moved in 1908. See Part I for details.

[1992] See Lupe Anaya letter to Mel Heaton, April 21, 1969; Raymond J. Geerdes, letter to Lupe Anaya, April 25, 1969; and Lupe Anaya letter to Raymond J. Geerdes, May 19, 1969.

[1993] See Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Joe Montoya, Andrew Sandaval, Jack Peters, July 14, 1969. The program was not without its difficulties, mostly of an administrative nature. The fact that Fredonia was in a different county than the monument was one obstacle to be overcome with NYC coordinators. In addition, Geerdes at times became extremely frustrated and angered by what he perceived as poor communication and lack of support from the NYC area staff in Flagstaff, particularly during the summer of 1969. A bitter controversy erupted that summer when Geerdes started Dale Yellowhair and Melvis Slim (both Navajo from Fredonia) working, prior to their paperwork being approved by NYC headquarters in Flagstaff. The Flagstaff office later said the boys failed to qualify, dropped them from the program (because the family did not meet the income requirements), and refused to pay them for just under 200 combined hours of work. Geerdes' response letter regarding the matter was ignored for three weeks, prompting phone calls which went unanswered or unreturned. Geerdes' letter of July 14 was a second letter about the matter, this time both angry and threatening in its tone. No further documentation was located regarding the matter, so the outcome of the disagreement is unknown. The working relationship at least seems to be have been repaired by the fall.

[1994] Memorandum of telephone call to Karl T. Gilbert from Raymond J. Geerdes, May 13, 1969.

[1995] Karl T. Gilbert, memorandum to Frank T. Kowski, May 16, 1969.

[1996] Log of Significant Events, June 1969.

[1997] Log of Significant Events, July 1969.

[1998] Fields was also chief of the Park Service's Indian Assistance Division and former chief of Water Rights in the Western Office of Design and Construction He identifies himself as Indian. His father was part Cherokee and his mother Anglo. He grew up in New Mexico and spent a great deal of time on the Navajo Reservation. He worked for the Park Service from 1958 to 1987. For more information see oral history interview conducted by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 15, 1997, park archives. At the time of this writing, he was living outside of Santa Fe, New Mexico.

[1999] William E. Fields, Report on Field Trip to Pipe Spring National Monument, July 10, 1969.

[2000] William E. Fields, memorandum to Assistant Regional Director, Operations, July 10, 1969.

[2001] Ibid.

[2002] See "The Heaton Family and Pipe Spring, 1909-1924" section in Part I, and "Pipe Spring's Purchase and Belated Transfer to the Federal Government" in Part II.

[2003] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, July 3, 1969 (SOUG edited version).

[2004] Ibid.

[2005] Ibid.

[2006] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, July 3, 1969 (PISP original version). "3,000" is possibly a typographical error, unless the EDA grant was to fund a system that would only provide for the tribal office building. A tank this small would have been insufficient for all the planned developments.

[2007] Karl T. Gilbert, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, July 10, 1969.

[2008] Karl T. Gilbert, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, July 15, 1969

[2009] Gerard S. Witucki, memorandum to Chief of the Division of Water Resources, July 22, 1969.

[2010] William E. Brown, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, July 14, 1969.

[2011] William E. Brown, memorandum to the Assistant Regional Director, July 31, 1969.

[2012] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, August 5, 1969.

[2013] Ronald E. Cotten and William E. Fields, memorandum to Assistant Regional Director, Operations, September 15, 1969. NPS officials included Karl T. Gilbert, Joe Davis, Jim Schaack, Ray Geerdes, William E. Fields, and Ronald E. Cotten. BIA officials attending the meeting were Supervisory General Engineer Victor Lund, Plant Manager George Easton, and Land Operations Officer Al Purchase.

[2014] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, January 1, 1970, "Legal and Historical Brief," 6.

[2015] For details regarding the geological aspects of the water situation see William F. Mildner, memorandum to William E. Fields, September 29, 1969.

[2016] Frank F. Kowski, memorandum to Director, Western Service Center, December 12, 1969.

[2017] Frank F. Kowski, memorandum to Director, Western Service Center, July 17, 1970.

[2018] Albert H. Schroeder, memorandum to Raymond J. Geerdes, August 29, 1969.

[2019] Karl T. Gilbert, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, October 10, 1969. There is no elaboration provided on this last point.

[2020] The lands were described as "the balance of Sec. 17 (600 acres), the N 1/2 of the N 1/2 of Sec. 20 (down to the highway) and those parts of Secs. 16 and 21 lying west of the new Moccasin Road — about 760 acres total." Source: "Memorandum of Understanding Between Pipe Springs National Monument and the Kaibab Paiute Tribe," unsigned and undated; probably prepared by Ray Geerdes in either late 1969 or early 1970.

[2021] Log of Significant Events, November 1969.

[2022] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, January 1, 1970, "Legal and Historical Brief," 6.

[2023] Karl T. Gilbert, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, December 12, 1969. Copies of several sample layouts were attached to this memo, but the quality is too poor to include in this report.

[2024] Monte E. Fitch, memorandum to George B. Hartzog, Jr., December 16, 1969.

[2025] Castro was also Claudina Teller's brother.

[2026] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, December 20, 1969.

[2027] Ibid.

[2028] A German term literally meaning "living space," but alluding to the amount of additional territory deemed necessary by a nation for its economic well-being.

[2029] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, December 29, 1969. He is referring to Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel.

[2030] Raymond J. Geerdes, letter to Bill Tom, December 29, 1969.

[2031] Edward A. Hummel, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, December 24, 1969.

[2032] John E. Ritchie, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, December 30, 1969.

[2033] The date and location of this meeting (whether at the monument or tribal office) is unknown. No detailed report of this meeting has been located. Only a reference to it in the Log of Significant Events, March 1970.

[2034] BIA Area Director, memorandum to Superintendent, Hopi Agency, April 17, 1970.

[2035] Ray Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, March 25, 1970.

[2036] Log of Significant Events, March 1970. See also letter from Raymond J. Geerdes to Westley Lucas, March 28, 1970.

[2037] See Raymond J. Geerdes memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, August 31, 1970, for an excellent background summary on the monument's NYC program.

[2038] The new housing area was referred to as the "Mutual Self-Help Housing Project." Until this time, the road to Moccasin had not been paved.

[2039] Originally Gilbert declined the invitation, but a later letter (James M. Eden to Homer M.

Gilliland, June 16, 1970) indicates he attended, and that he and Geerdes spoke with Gilliland.

[2040] Homer M. Gilliland, letter to Frank F. Kowski, May 11, 1970.

[2041] Karl T. Gilbert, letter to Bill Tom, May 28, 1970.

[2042] Karl T. Gilbert, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, July 22, 1970. Resolution is attached to this memo.

[2043] Frank F. Kowski, memorandum to Walter J. Hickel, September 21, 1970.

[2044] Minutes of the BIA-NPS meeting, July 20, 1970.

[2045] Copies of these plans were not located during research.

[2046] No documentation has been located that would explain why the change of heart regarding a land exchange, whether the Tribe had reversed its views or the BIA opposed the exchange.

[2047] Bill R. Alford, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, May 19, 1970.

[2048] Log of Significant Events, July 1970.

[2049] The research process ended up taking three to four months longer than Geerdes had originally anticipated.

[2050] Log of Significant Events, December 1969. See also Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, December 16, 1969.

[2051] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, September 4, 1969.

[2052] Ibid.

[2053] Ibid.

[2054] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum and report to Karl T. Gilbert, January 1, 1970, "The Ownership of Pipe Spring: Legal and Historical Brief," 68.

[2055] Historian's monthly report, January 1964.

[2056] A sketch map of the proposed trail is attached to a January 25, 1964, file memo by Bob Olsen concerning the lime kiln.

[2057] Historian's monthly report, January 1964. Olsen wrote "I also found a rock with drill holes in it near the stone boat trail."

[2058] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, July 13, 1968.

[2059] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, August 6, 1968. See also Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, July 18, 1969.

[2060] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, July 18, 1969.

[2061] Annual Report on Information and Interpretation, 1964.

[2062] Ray Geerdes later reported that the rugs woven on the loom were used in the fort.

[2063] The monument's 1970 Operations Evaluation stated that Harpers Ferry staff visited the monument to begin the interpretive prospectus, but did not indicate the date of their visit.

[2064] "Program Standards, Interpretation, Pipe Spring National Monument," approved by Frank F. Kowski, July 22, 1969.

[2065] The Universal Microfilming Corporation copied the ledger in March in Salt Lake City. The negative of the microfilm was turned over to the Zion Natural History Association, who paid for the filming.

[2066] See Olsen's monthly report for February 1964 for details on how Dellenbaugh sketch plan differed from what was at the fort in 1964. Olsen's March 1964 report goes into great detail about where the spring entered the fort, as Dellenbaugh's sketch showed it not emerging inside the fort but entering the fort through the west wall of the lower building.

[2067] Robert W. Olsen, Jr., "Pipe Spring, Arizona, and Thereabouts," *The Journal of Arizona History*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Spring 1965).

[2068] According to monument staff, the location of this tape is unknown; it also appears never to have been transcribed. (Andrea Bornemeier, electronic communication to Kathleen L. McKoy, June 24, 1999.)

[2069] Historian's monthly report, May 1966. This is the first reference the author has seen to this family name connected to Moccasin Spring ownership and requires verification beyond the scope of this report. Mrs. Nisson stated her parents were in the area during the time of the Whitmore-McIntyre slayings.

[2070] Garth M. Colton, letter to Raymond J. Geerdes, June 6, 1969. A copy of the agreement with Colton's signature is included, It is not known of Geerdes signed and returned the agreement or if the joint proposals were ever carried out.

[2071] Log of Significant Events, January 1970. See also Geerdes' letter to Jensen, April 28, 1970.

[2072] Annual Reports for 1964-1967; Log of Significant Events, December 1968 and December 1969.

[2073] See Olsen's file notes of October 30, 1965, for details.

[2074] Management Assistant's monthly report, May 1967.

[2075] Dodd was interviewed in April 1976; a transcript of that interview is in monument archives *(Oral History Collection, Pipe Spring National Monument, Vol. I*, 1996).

[2076] Geerdes once spells the name "Latimore," but later refers to a Melva Whitmore Latimer, who made a donation of antique clothing in June 1968. This woman, Geerdes stated, was Whitmore's great granddaughter.

[2077] Bozarth gives this name in his monthly report. Olsen reported the dress was made by "the second lady telegrapher stationed at Pipe Spring in 1876," and mentions no name.

[2078] Charles S. Pope, report to Frank Kowski on April 30 and May 1 Pipe Spring visit, June

25, 1969. For information about the Johnson family at Lee's Ferry, see the recent National Register nomination prepared for Lee's Ferry and Lonely Dell Ranch Historic District by Historical Research Associates, Inc., July 1997.

[2079] Ibid.

[2080] Later, Pope's office requested that the stone walls with efflorescence be periodically washed with clear water and asked also for sample of the efflorescent salts for analysis. For details, see memorandum for E. A. Connally to Frank F. Kowski, August 8, 1969.

[2081] Karl T. Gilbert, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, February 13, 1970 (draft).

[2082] Log of Significant Events, July 1969.

[2083] Log of Significant Events, August 1969.

[2084] It was thought by the inspector that the unsatisfactory water quality was caused by the collection box (buried beneath the parlor floor) not being thoroughly disinfected before it was put back into use. It had been emptied and cleaned shortly before three tests in June and July 1964 revealed poor water samples.

[2085] Kenneth D. Feigner, "Environmental Health Survey, Pipe Spring National Monument," July 15, 1964.

[2086] Zion workmen later repatched the hole.

[2087] The new leach filed was located about 25 feet east of where Leonard Heaton once indicated skeletons had been unearthed.

[2088] This area is no longer used as a public area and is covered with natural vegetation, as is the entire site of the old CCC camp.

[2089] Management Assistant's monthly report, April 1964.

[2090] Log of Significant Events, May and June 1969.

[2091] Management Assistant's monthly report, May 1966.

[2092] Log of Significant Events, September and October, 1969.

[2093] A clevis is a U-shaped metal shackle with the ends drilled to receive a pin or bolt, used for attaching or suspending parts.

[2094] Frank R. Oberhansley, letter to Norman Heaton, January 14, 1964.

[2095] Bozarth reported in Chapter 1 of the Master Plan that the spring flow was 64,000 gallons per day.

[2096] Log of Significant Events, November 1968.

[2097] Log of Significant Events, January 1969. For a more detailed account, see Raymond J. Geerdes letter to Fred Howard, January 30, 1969.

[2098] Management Assistant's monthly report, February 1965. It is difficult to ascertain if the

event took place within monument boundaries from Bozarth's description.

[2099] Log of Significant Events, June 1968.

[2100] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, February 28, 1969.

[2101] Log of Significant Events, November 1968.

[2102] Raymond J. Geerdes, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, February 28, 1969.

[2103] Sydney B. Ellis, letter to Glen Cook, July 29, 1968.

[2104] Raymond J. Geerdes, letter to Karl T. Gilbert, September 4, 1968.

[2105] Log of Significant Events, September 1968.

[2106] Karl T. Gilbert, letter to Glen N. Cook, Madison Productions, Inc., October 4, 1968.

Part XI - Living in the Past, Planning for the Future

[2107] Morris, *Encyclopedia of American History*, 501-505.

[2108] "Fredonia Community Action Programs May Continue; Administrative Jobs End." *The Southern Utah News*, March 1, 1973. (Attached to Robert C. Heyder memorandum of March 6, 1973.)

[2109] For details, see Richard A. Thomason's archeological report, "Pipe Springs National Monument Utilities Project," January 15, 1971.

[2110] The U.S. Department of the Interior's *Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials* lists Tracy's title as "Park Manager," as well as his successor, William M. Herr. The author has deferred to the title used by Tracy and Herr on official correspondence, "Superintendent."

[2111] Quoted by Bernard G. Tracy; interview by Mary Jane Lowe, *Oral History Collection, Pipe Spring National Monument, Vol. II*, 1996.

[2112] The contractor was from Hurricane, Utah, whom Witucki and Barrett met with en route to Pipe Spring on January 11.

[2113] Gerard S. Witucki, memorandum to WSC Director William L. Bowen, January 20, 1971.

[2114] Donald C. Barrett, memorandum to William L. Bowen, February 19, 1971. Barrett reported that an earlier report suggesting water could be obtained from alluvial fill in Two Mile Wash was probably based on the assumption that the Indian well at Moccasin was completed in the alluvium. "There is good reason to question this assumption," he wrote.

[2115] Donald C. Barrett, memorandum to William L. Bowen, April 2, 1971. This report also contains as-built dimensions and hydrologic data.

[2116] Karl T. Gilbert, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, March 31, 1971.

[2117] Ibid.

[2118] Karl T. Gilbert, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, April 2, 1971.

[2119] Bill Tom, letter to Karl T. Gilbert, March 30, 1971. Attached to Gilbert memorandum of April 2, 1971.

[2120] According to information provided by William E. Fields to Kathleen L. McKoy during a September 15, 1997, interview, the Economic Development Administration (EDA) provided funds for tribal developments through the Indian Development District of Arizona.

[2121] Karl T. Gilbert, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, May 3, 1971.

[2122] Only the architect's last name was reported, "Numkena," with some question over its spelling.

[2123] "Agreement," attached to letter from Bill Tom to Karl T. Gilbert, July 30, 1971.

[2124] For the differences in versions see Karl T. Gilbert's version attached to memo of April 2, 1971; Bill Tom's version attached to memo of July 30, 1971; and Gilbert's comments in memo to Frank F. Kowski, August 9, 1971.

[2125] Karl T. Gilbert, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, August 25, 1971.

[2126] Ibid. It is not known who was appointed to the task. (It may have been Bill Fields.)

[2127] Theodore R. Thompson, memorandum to Acting Chief, Office of Environmental Protection and Design, Western Service Center. Several sketches are attached, including suggested building arrangement. The building layout is considerably different from the existing one.

[2128] Merrill D. Beal, memorandum to Glenn O. Hendrix, Denver Service Center, August 11, 1972. See McLane report attached to Beal's memorandum.

[2129] The building is referenced in documents from the 1970s by a wide variety of names: at the January 20, 1972, meeting it was called the Indian Cultural Center Building; other names used in 1972 were the Kaibab Paiute Cultural Center, Kaibab Paiute Tribal Building, Visitor Center-Arts and Crafts Building, and Kaibab Paiute Tribal Cultural Building/Visitor Center. (The latter was used on the official dedication program.) After its construction, it was most often called the visitor center.

[2130] A. Norman Harp, interview by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 15, 1997.

[2131] According to Bill Fields, the Park Service's Indian Assistance Program assisted the Tribe in writing a grant to obtain construction funds from the EDA. William E. Fields, interview by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 15, 1997.

[2132] For a cost breakdown, see A. Norman Harp, letter to Ferrell Secakuku, January 26, 1972. Bill Fields later commented that the Western Office of Design and Construction probably would have charged $65,000 for the plans alone!

[2133] A. Norman Harp, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, January 25, 1972.

[2134] The author has not located the Completion Report on the building, nor does other documentation list the start-up date or date of completion. No annual report was filed that

year, nor were monthly reports kept. One source stated the building was scheduled to be completed by October 1972.

[2135] A. Norman Harp, interview by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 15, 1997.

[2136] Correspondence states that Paul Akers (Indian Technical Assistance Center) also provided help to the Tribe in this project.

[2137] William E. Fields, interview by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 15, 1997. Fields stated, "We hired as many Kaibabs as we could hire."

[2138] A. Norman Harp, interview by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 15, 1997. Natay is currently American Indian Trust Responsibility Officer for the Intermountain Region.

[2139] William E. Fields, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, July 26, 1972.

[2140] William E. Fields, interview by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 15, 1997.

[2141] Bernard G. Tracy, memorandum to J. Leonard Volz, August 18, 1972.

[2142] U. S. Government Lease for Real Property, Lease No. GS-09B-73087, March 29, 1973. (Research copy only has signature of Bill Tom.

[2143] Zion's Superintendent Robert C. Heyder recalled in a 1996 interview that the Kaibab Paiute Band attained tribal status about this time, another reason to celebrate.

[2144] Plan of Operations for Dedication, Pipe Spring National Monument, May 26, 1973.

[2145] Dedication Program, May 26, 1973.

[2146] Robert R. Lovegren, memorandum to Utah State Director, October 23, 1973. Arizona's Assistant to the Regional Director sought to develop an agreement with the Yavapai Apaches in the development of a visitor complex near Montezuma Castle National Monument. They asked to see Pipe Spring agreements as examples.

[2147] Negotiations to renew the contract, which expired April 13, 1997, are still in process at the time of this writing. In the interim, the old agreement has been mutually renewed in three-month increments.

[2148] For details, see Construction Drawing No. 321/41,001, Water Supply System, January 1972.

[2149] Although this is the amount listed in the contract, the final Completion Report lists the total cost as $152,312.50. Completion Report, February 21, 1974.

[2150] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1974. (Robert C. Heyder version.) See also related correspondence, June 24, 1974.

[2151] Bernard G. Tracy, memorandum to Lynn H. Thompson, through Robert C. Heyder, February 3, 1977.

[2152] "Operations Evaluation, Pipe Spring National Monument," June 25, 1975.

[2153] It was mentioned that "although there are some difficulties that have arisen with Indian

employees due to major cultural differences, these matters appear to be handled satisfactorily."

[2154] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1976 (Robert C. Heyder version).

[2155] In paperwork prepared by the Tribe in applying for financial assistance to build the multi-purpose center, it was stated, "Presently, the Tribe is experiencing a high rate of alcoholism among its tribal members. It can be readily assumed that this may be the result of lack of adequate facilities to deal with the leisure time of the Kaibab Paiute Tribe. The provision of leisure service facilities is essential towards the unification of the Tribe and the preservation and enhancement of the culture." (Program Narrative Statement, Part IV," attached to Robert C. Heyder memorandum to Regional Director, May 20, 1976.)

[2156] "Paiutes Plan to Dedicate New Building," *Southern Utah News*, December 21, 1978.

[2157] Bernard G. Tracy, letter to Chairperson, May 28, 1976.

[2158] Ed Jahns, memorandum to Bernard G. Tracy, January 5, 1977.

[2159] Bernard G. Tracy, memorandum to Lynn H. Thompson, through Robert C. Heyder, February 3, 1977; Robert C. Heyder, memorandum to Lynn H. Thompson, February 9, 1977.

[2160] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1977 (Robert C. Heyder version).

[2161] At the end of 1977, the Tribe planned to construct a 4,000-foot long, six-inch sewer line to a sewage lagoon by the next travel season. A new lagoon was reported built in the Superintendent's Annual Report for 1977, but no description the system was included.

[2162] The author does not have a copy of the schedules attached to the lease agreement, so is unable to determine in what ways the lease was "improved." It is likely that the Park Service was clearer about its expectations regarding maintenance services to be provided by the Tribe since this was the area that caused the most problems between 1973-1978.

[2163] Tracy retired at the GS-09 level. In a 1975 Operations Evaluation, it was reported that nearly all administrative services were handled at Zion National Park at that time. Should the monument either be made independent of Zion or should it hire an Administrative Assistant to take over its administrative duties, they stated, consideration should be given to upgrading the Superintendent's grade to a GS-11. Since neither of these conditions were met when William M. Herr was hired in 1979, it is unclear why the position was upgraded.

[2164] William E. Fields, interview by Kathleen L. McKoy, September 15, 1997.

[2165] Ibid. Fields recalled the Tribe located a couple of trailers for offices on the campground for a while when it was only partially constructed.

[2166] The author believes this area served as the tribal picnic area referred to in Park Service documents, long before it opened as a campground.

[2167] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1979 (John O. Lancaster version).

[2168] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1979 (John O. Lancaster version).

[2169] William E. Fields, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, July 26, 1972.

[2170] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1978 (Robert C. Heyder version).

[2171] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1974. Another document states the Tribe tapped the line "on June 24 or thereabouts, and the delivery of water commenced by the National Park Service on June 26." Robert C. Heyder, letter to Bill Tom, December 18, 1974.

[2172] Correspondence from Richard R. Truitt to Bill Tom, September 23, 1974, suggests the new housing units were to be transferred to Kaibab Village from Zion.

[2173] Robert C. Heyder, letter to Bill Tom, September 25, 1974.

[2174] Ibid. See also related correspondence, September 12, 1974.

[2175] Bernard G. Tracy, memorandum to Robert C. Heyder, May 15, 1975.

[2176] Bernard C. Tracy, memorandum to Acting General Superintendent Billy R. Alford, December 30, 1971.

[2177] These two programs may have been linked to the NYC program.

[2178] For details see letter of January 28, 1972, from Bernard Tracy to Governor Jack Williams and letter and petition from the Neighborhood Council to Bob Kennerly, Arizona Rural Effort, February 4, 1972.

[2179] Bernard G. Tracy, letter to Jack Williams, June 15, 1972.

[2180] Bernard G. Tracy, memorandum to J. Leonard Volz, September 7, 1972.

[2181] Adeline Johnson was married to Owen Johnson, whose mother, Ester Heaton Johnson, was one of Jonathan Heaton's daughters.

[2182] Documents suggest that Park Guide Joe Bolander supervised the VIPs.

[2183] Robert C. Heyder, memorandum to Bernard G. Tracy, May 25, 1973.

[2184] Ibid.

[2185] Bernard Tracy, undated memo (1972 research file). This memo also reported the cost of the branding program for 1971 and 1972.

[2186] It is unclear if the ZNHA sold only quilts produced as part of the monument's interpretive program or if other quilts were sold.

[2187] Because no Superintendent's Annual Reports were required or filed for 1970 and 1971, and Tracy filed no monthly logs in 1971, little data is available on personnel for that period. In fact, no monthly logs from Tracy were located for the entire period of his tenure.

[2188] Mel Heaton continued to lead private wagon treks after he left the monument. From 1978-1998 he led annual Honeymoon Trail treks, in addition to other wagon treks. The second week of September was the time chosen for the Honeymoon Trail trek. (Mel Heaton, personal communication to Kathleen L. McKoy, July 6, 1999.)

[2189] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1972.

[2190] "Information on Quilting at Pipe Spring National Monument," attached to Bernard Tracy memo of November 18, 1976.

[2191] In 1973 an Operations Evaluation Team raised a concern about having Heaton's animals on the monument. "The Government provides feed and care for these animals. The question arises concerning the legality of the Government furnishing feed and care to animals belonging to one of its employees. The question of injury to a visitor or death of an animal poses complications. It is recommended that the Superintendent explore the possibility of purchasing animals rather than continuing with the present practice." (Operations Evaluation Report, May 1973.)

[2192] "Management Objectives, Pipe Spring National Monument," (draft) March 3, 1971.

[2193] Correspondence states that by Rick Strand, presumably of Harpers Ferry Center, developed the exhibit plan.

[2194] "Observations and Recommendations Pertaining to the Pipe Springs National Monument Interpretive Program," John W. Hanna, August 6, 1974.

[2195] For Clark's initial proposal and budget, see his memo to Bob Heyder, May 5, 1975.

[2196] Paul Swearingen would later attend the open house and accompany the first wagon trek.

[2197] "The Making of an Interpretive Event," Glenn O. Clark, undated (probably October 1975). Much of the description of the first wagon trek is taken from this report. Additional detail is contained in this highly entertaining narrative.

[2198] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1976. See also NPS Press Release, August 25, 1976.

[2199] The exact dates of the 1977 and 1978 wagon treks were not given in the Superintendent's Annual Reports in which they were mentioned.

[2200] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1978.

[2201] Vicki H. Black, "Communication Counselor's Report, Glen Canyon NRA, Zion NP, Pipe Spring NM, Cedar Breaks NM," September 6, 1977. (Her name is now Vicki B. Webster.)

[2202] See Appendix VI, "Visitation."

[2203] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1975.

[2204] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1976 (Robert C. Heyder version).

[2205] Rodd L. Wheaton, memorandum to Associate Regional Director, Professional Support, September 20, 1974.

[2206] Contract issued May 14, 1976, to Conron and Muths; see research file, "Pipe Springs Buildings, Misc. Dates."

[2207] Tom Muths, Trip Report for November 15-16, 1976; see report for additional details. See also Trip Report by Rodd Wheaton, November 30, 1976.

[2208] The firms' report is attached to Rodd L. Wheaton memorandum to Robert C. Heyder, November 8, 1977.

[2209] This report is attached to a memo from Bill R. Alford to Frank F. Kowski, October 5, 1971.

[2210] "Management Objectives, Pipe Spring National Monument," (draft) March 3, 1971.

[2211] Ibid.

[2212] George M. Kessler, letter to Joseph Bolander, February 24, 1971.

[2213] Purchase Order No. 1550, February 18, 1972.

[2214] Project Construction Proposal, Grounds Improvement, Fort and Picnic Area, M-9-2.

[2215] "Operations Evaluation Report," May 1973. During the 1980s, monument staff report, a lot of irrigation line was laid so that cultivated areas and some trees could be watered from the ponds.

[2216] The monument was, in fact, referred to during this period as "Tracy's Truck Farm," but it is unknown if this moniker came from local residents or from Park Service administrators who disapproved of his farming activities. In Tracy's defense, he had gone to great lengths to insure the planting of historically appropriate species.

[2217] "Pipe Spring Pasture Survey," H. E. McCutchen, April 9, 1976. Attached to Robert C. Heyder's cover memorandum of June 4, 1976.

[2218] Resource Management Plan, Pipe Spring National Monument, January 31, 1977.

[2219] Ibid.

[2220] Hank McCutchen, "A Condition and Trend Analysis of Two Pastures at Pipe Spring National Monument," October 5, 1977.

[2221] Bernard G. Tracy, memorandum to Robert C. Heyder, July 13, 1977.

[2222] Glen T. Bean, memorandum to Robert C. Heyder, September 20, 1977.

[2223] Robert C. Heyder, memorandum to Bernard G. Tracy, November 15, 1977.

[2224] Bernard G. Tracy, memorandum to Robert C. Heyder, October 20, 1977.

[2225] Robert C. Heyder, memorandum to Bernard G. Tracy, November 15, 1977. See also Lynn H. Thompson, memorandum to Robert C. Heyder, January 12, 1977.

[2226] No formal evaluation of the cultural landscape was completed until 1997, when it was determined that the landscape lacked sufficient historical integrity for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. (See Peggy Froeschauer Nelson and Kathleen L. McKoy. "Cultural Landscape Inventory, Pipe Spring National Monument," August 1997.) This determination, however, did not preclude its management as a historic landscape, but gave managers a wider latitude in how they chose to manage it.

[2227] The document listed standards for law enforcement; fee collection; forestry and fire control; primary and secondary roads; trails and walk, buildings, utilities (including irrigation system), garbage and trash removal, grounds, fences and walls, picnic area, signs, interpretive

program, livestock program, historic artifacts, GSA vehicles, and storm drainage channels. Under all these areas, workload factors were listed along with requirements to meet standards. This report is attached to a memo from Bill R. Alford to Frank F. Kowski, October 5, 1971.

[2228] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1979 (John O. Lancaster version).

[2229] Bill R. Alford, memorandum to Frank F. Kowski, December 20, 1971.

[2230] These guidelines were adapted from Nan Carson Rickey's, *Guide to Interpretive Maintenance, Old Bedlam, Collins Quarters, 1863-1864*, prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site.

[2231] Jean R. Swearingen, memorandum to J. Leonard Volz, December 1, 1971. ("Preliminary Guide" is attached to this memorandum.)

[2232] For Olsen's report, see Robert W. Olsen, memorandum to Chief, Division of Museum Services, February 14, 1975.

[2233] File memo, May 30, 1975.

[2234] Ed Jahns, Trip Report, August 10-11, 1976.

[2235] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1976.

[2236] Bernard Tracy, memorandum to Robert C. Heyder, December 6, 1976. A list of items not found in the inventory (thus to be deaccessioned) is attached to this memo.

[2237] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1977 (Robert C. Heyder version).

[2238] Dean Bradshaw, letter to Bernard G. Tracy, February 1, 1977.

[2239] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1978 (Robert C. Heyder version).

[2240] Records of the area's annual "Christmas" bird count for 1969, 1970, and 1971 are in research file "PISP Bird Count/Surveys." (For information on the Audubon Society's Christmas bird count, see December 21, 1978, article from the *Washington County News* in this file.) There may have been other years the count was conducted, but reports were not located for other years.

[2241] Superintendents' Annual Report for 1974.

[2242] E. Durant McArthur, letter to Glenn O. Clark, May 6, 1975.

[2243] "The Flora of Pipe Spring National Monument," Richard J. King, Soil Conservation Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture (undated; probably late 1977 or January 1978).

[2244] LaMar W. Lindsay and Rex E. Madsen, "Report of Archeological Surveys of the Pipe Springs National Monument Water Supply System Project, Kaibab Indian Reservation, Mohave County, Arizona; Zion National Park Sewer Extension Project, Washington County, Utah; Arches National Park Road and Sewage Disposal Area Projects, Grand County, Utah; and Canyonlands National Park Road Projects, Needles and Grandview Point Areas, San Juan County, Utah." (Salt Lake City: University of Utah; unpublished public document, July 15, 1973): 4-5.

[2245] Four, two-hour interviews by Glenn Clark with Joe Bolander and one three-hour interview with Leonard Heaton, conducted in January 1976, were transcribed in 1996 and are included in the monument's *Oral History Collection, Pipe Spring National Monument, Vol. 1*.

[2246] This report on water, sewage, and waste disposal was originally part of a larger document whose title was not noted on the copied section.

[2247] James W. Schaack, memorandum to J. Leonard Volz, April 21, 1972; news article attached. *(The Southern Utah News*: "Power Lines to Cut Across Area," April 20, 1972.)

[2248] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1978.

[2249] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1978 (Robert C. Heyder version).

[2250] It was reported that the historic measurement was 1945 in the Superintendent's Annual Report for 1979. This is incorrect; the author has substituted the correct figure. See Part V, "Completing the Division of Water" section.

[2251] A 1973 Operations Evaluation team reported that Heaton's animals were furnished feed at the government's expense and questioned the legality of the arrangement, as well as liability issues.

[2252] Bernard G. Tracy; interview by Mary Jane Lowe, *Oral History Collection, Pipe Spring National Monument, Vol. II*, 1996, VIII:7. Tracy couldn't remember how many ("twenty-five or fifty"); breeds were la porpentins, silver wyandottes, and others.

[2253] Ibid. VIII:8.

[2254] Ronald E. Cotten, memorandum to Assistant Director, Park Support Services, August 26, 1971. Numerous photographs are included with this report.

[2255] For additional reports on storm damage repair, see also J. Leonard Volz, memorandum to Bernard G. Tracy, June 27, 1972; Donald M. McLane, memorandum to Assistant Director, Park Operations, July 28, 1972 (attached to memorandum from Merrill D. Beal to Director, Denver Service Center, August 11, 1972).

[2256] WO #1510-7002-404; WO for Emergency Storm Damage Repairs, approved June 6, 1972.

[2257] Additional work related to storm damage repairs is described in WO #1510-7501-503, see 1972 research files. See also Completion Report, dated April 3, 1975.

[2258] Bernard G. Tracy, memorandum to Karl T. Gilbert, March 17, 1971.

Part XII - The Herr Administration

[2259] Morris, *Encyclopedia of American History*, 488; 540.

[2260] *NPS-28, Cultural Resource Management Guideline*, National Park Service Department of the Interior, July 1994.

[2261] John O. Lancaster, memorandum to Glen T. Bean.

[2262] Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Office of Management Policy: "Draft, Native American Relationships Policy," September 22, 1980.

[2263] Solicitor's supplement to Solicitor Opinion No. M-36914 under cover memo of February 10, 1981, from Ira J. Hutchison to all regional directors and DSC manager. See supplement for additional information.

[2264] Superintendent's Annual Report, 1980.

[2265] Banks' Parks Technician position was upgraded to Ranger, GS-09, after he left in 1989.

[2266] The names of permanent employees are not repeated annually in the Personnel chart (Appendix IX), only dates they began and ended their work at the monument. As much information as possible on these topics was gathered during the course of research. Names of seasonal staff (particularly CETA workers) were not always reported, however. This is the most complete list that could be compiled from the records available to the author.

[2267] "Operations Evaluation and Management Review of Pipe Spring National Monument," May 9-14, 1982 (under cover memorandum from Lorraine Mintzmyer to William M. Herr, July 12, 1982). Herr's response to the report are in his memo to Zion's superintendent, August 3, 1982. This statement appears to be an exaggeration, as the level of ZNHA contributions represented only a fraction of the monument's allotted budget (see Appendix VIII). Funds from ZNHA were most often applied to interpretive programs, the museum, and the library.

[2268] Ibid.

[2269] William M. Herr, memorandum to Dolores Savala, October 22, 1985. No response on file.

[2270] During 1984 and 1986, the event was held in early September. It is not known if it was always held that month, nor if it was offered annually, although Herr refers to it as annual event in 1986.

[2271] "'Pride in America' Program set," *Spectrum*, Wednesday, July 15, 1987.

[2272] Operations Evaluation, Pipe Spring National Monument, June 13-15, 1988. Under cover memo from William M. Herr, with responses to evaluation report, September 29, 1988.

[2273] Ibid.

[2274] Ibid.

[2275] Kathleen L. McKoy and Historical Landscape Architect Peggy Froeschauer Nelson carried out landscape research in the summer of 1997. The study confirmed the 1988 team's assessment of the landscape, documenting its loss of historical integrity.

[2276] William M. Herr, monthly report for November 1988. "The affirmative answer took about 2 seconds," reported Herr. Herr does not say why the offer came from Superintendent Grafe, who was at Pipe Spring when it was made.

[2277] The earliest proposal was to locate the incinerator just over one-half mile south of PISP; by 1990 the location being considered was 5 miles southeast of PISP.

[2278] Superintendent's annual report, 1990.

[2279] "Approval of waste incinerator project means jobs, 'war'" *Spectrum*, October 9, 1990.

[2280] A substantial amount of documentation on the Waste-Tech issue is located in the 1990 research file, but the author collected none after that date. Articles with complete citations are listed in the Bibliography of this report (a number of articles lacked dates or name of the newspaper).

[2281] Superintendent's annual reports, 1979-1989.

[2282] Herr's community activities appear not to have included much (if any) off-duty socializing with the Kaibab Paiute. Reports indicate his interactions with the Tribe were nearly always of an official nature.

[2283] Superintendent's annual report, 1989.

[2284] Statement for Management, Pipe Spring National Monument; approved November 26, 1980.

[2285] Zion staff meeting minutes, February 25, 1981.

[2286] The exact amount agreed upon in 1972 was 7,884,000 gallons of water per year.

[2287] William M. Herr, letter to Dolores Savala, January 16, 1984.

[2288] William M. Herr, memorandum to Lorraine Mintzmyer, April 9, 1984.

[2289] In January 1983 Park Technician Fred Banks spoke to members of the Tribal Council about seasonal employment opportunities that summer, which suggests the monument's interest in hiring members of the Tribe. There may have been little interest among Indian youth to work either as fort guides or laborers.

[2290] There is a perception among a number of recently interviewed tribal members that Kaibab Paiute have had little employment opportunity at the monument, and that their ranks have been drawn upon only for menial work, such as the seasonal laborer position. Shortly after Sam Tom was hired, a permanent maintenance mechanic position opened at the monument. There is no indication Herr encouraged tribal members to apply. The fact that there were few Indians working at the monument during the 1980s may have reinforced that feeling.

[2291] The author was unable to learn what the"TGB" acronym stands for.

[2292] Archeologist Ann Johnson, Rocky Mountain Regional Office, provided Section 106 clearance for this project.

[2293] For additional detail on water line installation, see memorandum to files by William M. Herr, May 4, 1982.

[2294] Superintendent's annual report, 1980.

[2295] That year the monument drafted its "Water Resource Management Plan" which described the ways in which monument water was used and described floodplain management, water

quantity, impacts of decreasing surface water at Pipe Spring, water quality, the ecosystem, water rights, and analysis of alternatives. See draft report for details, 1982 research file.

[2296] Stanley L. Ponce and William B. Reed, memorandum to Chief, Water Resources Division, October 23, 1984.

[2297] Revised 10-238, Development/Study Package Proposal, "Determine Reason for Decreased Spring Flow," referenced in the Superintendent's annual report for 1984 (copy of 10-238 in 1984 research file).

[2298] For details on the 1973 Park Service well and on the proposed monument study outline, see William B. Reed, memorandum to Stanley Ponce, December 18, 1984.

[2299] William M. Herr, monthly reports for February and March 1986. It is interesting to note what may have been a notion among local ranchers that the Park Service well negatively impacted flow from Pipe Spring sources, particularly given that such pains were taken to drill a well that would *not* impact Pipe Spring water.

[2300] The men were Olen Williams and Don Barrett. Barrett returned with Richard Inglis in August 1986 to install measuring instruments. In October Barrett and Inglis returned with Alice Johns, also from Ft. Collins.

[2301] Water measuring devices were installed as part of the study, but the 1987 Superintendent's annual report stated, "Additional study has gone into a workable device for tunnel spring." It is unclear then whether all water sources were being accurately measured or just the main spring.

[2302] Owen R. Williams and Donald C. Barrett. "An Evaluation of the Decline in Spring Flow at Pipe Spring National Monument," undated; under cover memorandum of September 2, 1986.

[2303] Donald Barrett and Richard Inglis, memorandum to Chief, Water Rights Branch (Stanley Ponce), October 7, 1986. See also Barrett and Inglis memorandum/trip report to Chief, Water Resources Division, October 15, 1986.

[2304] Alice E. Johns, memorandum to Chief, Water Resources Division, February 9, 1987. She refers to the springs as main spring, spring house spring, and tunnel spring. Rick Inglis refers to these three in 1988 as big spring, parlor room spring, and tunnel spring.

[2305] Doug Dewitz, file memoranda, November 15, 1987.

[2306] William M. Herr, monthly report, December 1987. For additional information about work on tunnel spring, see Doug Dewitz, memorandum to Ron Hermance, August 26, 1986; William L. Werrell, memorandum to Lorraine Mintzmyer, February 2, 1988; and - most important - Dewitz's handwritten project notes attached to PX 1510-8-0010, September 16, 1988.

[2307] Ibid.

[2308] See file and phone memoranda from September 23 through December 3, 1987; see also file record 112, Water Rights Branch Information Tracking System, December 4, 1987 (all in 1987 research file).

[2309] It is now known that drilling in Moccasin does not affect Moccasin Spring unless the

drilling is along the fault. (Andrea Bornemeier, draft review comment to Kathleen L. McKoy, June 25, 1999.)

[2310] No documentation is available to the author to indicate the outcome of these events.

[2311] Beth Voelkel, phone memorandum of call from Doug Dewitz, December 3, 1987.

[2312] William Werrell, memorandum to Harold Grafe, September 29, 1987; and Water Resources Division file memo, undated.

[2313] Doug Dewitz, memorandum to L-54 water files, Zion, and Water Resources Division, October 29, 1987.

[2314] Doug Dewitz, memorandum to William M. Herr, June 28, 1988.

[2315] No documentation available to the author after the 1972 water agreement reports anything being done to monitor the Tribe's use of Pipe Spring water.

[2316] For details, see Richard R. Inglis' trip report, August 26, 1988, under cover memo from Stanley L. Ponce (same date).

[2317] Milton Jackson, memorandum to Lorraine Mintzmyer, June 26, 1989. Subsequent events occur beyond the time-frame of this study and have not been researched.

[2318] No report is available on the status of the shop in 1985.

[2319] Jamie Gentry, letter to Tribal Council, March 14, 1988.

[2320] Superintendent's annual report, 1989. It is presumed Hasty is referencing sales in fiscal, not calendar years. For sales totals for the decade covered by this chapter, see Superintendent's annual reports, 1979-1989.

[2321] Zion staff meeting minutes, July 31, 1979.

[2322] Gary M. Hasty, memorandum to Leslie J. Powell, October 31, 1989.

[2323] Leslie J. Powell, letter to Cecil Scott, November 2, 1989.

[2324] Cecil Scott, letter to Leslie J. Powell, November 15, 1989.

[2325] Zion staff meeting minutes, February 5, 1981.

[2326] No information has been located on how this program was operated or funded.

[2327] John Cram was responsible for most blacksmithing demonstrations.

[2328] William M. Herr, monthly report, May 1979.

[2329] Zion staff meeting minutes, July 28, 1981. See also memo from M. S. Nicholson to Chief, Office of Communications and Public Affairs, July 15, 1981.

[2330] Zion staff meeting minutes, September 4, 1980. The author was unable to learn who "Mr. Jackson" was.

[2331] It is unknown if this idea was ultimately carried out.

[2332] These reports are not available for every year, only for 1982 through 1986 and 1988.

[2333] "Annual Statement for Interpretation and Visitor Services," March 8, 1982.

[2334] Ibid.

[2335] "Annual Statement for Interpretation and Visitor Services," February 4, 1988.

[2336] Ibid.

[2337] Superintendent's annual report, 1989.

[2338] Ibid.

[2339] For an example of one locally prominent woman's thoughts on the subject, see the interview of Adeline S. Johnson, April 26, 1996 *(Oral History Collection, Pipe Spring National Monument, Vol. II,* 1996).

[2340] Superintendent's annual report, 1989. Hasty does not specify which years were miscalculated. Herr's 1979-1988 figures are reported in the Appendix as Herr calculated them. The 1989 figure was reported by Hasty.

[2341] Zion staff meeting minutes, August 7, 1980.

[2342] For a more complete listing of notable visitors, see the Superintendent's annual reports for this time period.

[2343] Zion Concession Specialist John W. Hiscock visited the monument in July 1985 to look over the sales outlet. He returned in September that year for the same purpose. This was at a time the ZNHA was considering leasing the Tribe's gift shop space.

[2344] Zion staff meeting minutes, March 26, 1980. This work was performed under Contract No. CX 1200-6-B 029 (or 016?), "Pipe Spring Restoration Project." For details, see progress reports filed in May-September 1980.

[2345] John Conron, along with Rick Borjes, served as the historical architects overseeing the project. Conron was with Conron & Muths, Restoration Architects, based in Jackson, Wyoming, the private consulting firm that did the initial investigation of the fort's moisture problem beginning in November 1976 (see Part XI).

[2346] Associated drawings: 321-80,007 2A (Walkway Removal) and 2321-80,007 2B (Change Drainage Location). See also, Zion staff meeting minutes for April-September, 1980 meetings.

[2347] For details, see the following: 1) trip report for June 3-4, 1980, by Richard A. Borjes; 2) Completion Report, by Raymond D. Pollock, June 22, 1981; 3) trip and closeout inspection report for September 4-6, 1980, by Richard A. Borjes.

[2348] "Pipe Spring National Monument, Original Woodwork Paint/Finish Color Study," Conron and Muths, Restoration Architects, March 1981: 94. According to Leonard Heaton's records, the red and green scheme of the porches dates no later than 1952 (possibly as early as 1942). Heaton also mentions painting other exterior woodwork light gray in 1952 (the author could

find no mention of "cream" in his records). Heaton reported painting other exterior woodwork light gray in 1952. The change to white may date to 1959 when the porches were scraped and repainted.

[2349] Ibid. See also later references to this study in Gary M. Hasty memorandum to Richard A. Strait, September 6, 1989, and Richard J. Cronenberger memorandum to William M. Herr, November 14, 1989, in which Cronenberger recommended retaining the white paint scheme.

[2350] For details, see Completion Report, "Remove Old, Rebuild New Catwalk," November 10, 1982.

[2351] For details, see Completion Report, "Reroof Fort/Building #1," March 20, 1984.

[2352] For details, see Completion Report, "Regrout Fort Walls/Building #1," March 20, 1984.

[2353] Superintendent's annual report, 1990. Work originally planned for the east cabin included replacing the existing roof framing system and sheathing in kind, installation of a new bentonite roof with built in drainage, site drainage, and repointing of stone masonry, interior and exterior.

[2354] See 1) 1989 research file for information on Project No. PISP-8901 — Reroof and Stabilize East Cabin and West Cabin, and Project No. PISP-8902, Site Drainage for East Cabin and West Cabin; 2) trip report for July 17-21, 1989, by Richard J. Cronenberger; and 3) "Brief Overview, Stabilization to HS-3, Summer/Fall 1989," by Doug Dewitz.

[2355] Bryce Canyon Preservation Assistance Team, "Preservation Maintenance Project Proposal, Blacksmith Show and Bunkhouse, PISP," June 1989.

[2356] "Devastating Storm Strikes Pipe Spring," NPS press release, August 21, 1989.

[2357] William M. Herr, monthly report, August 1981.

[2358] William M. Herr, oral interview by M. J. Lowe, April 30, 1996. *Oral History Collection, Pipe Spring National Monument, Vol. II*: 27.

[2359] Maintenance Mechanic Doug Dewitz received training in orchard management techniques (tree pruning, etc.) at Capitol Reef National Park. For a list of fruit trees ordered in February 1985, see 1985 research file.

[2360] William M. Herr, oral interview by M. J. Lowe, April 30, 1996. *Oral History Collection, Pipe Spring National Monument, Vol. II*: 28.

[2361] Ibid., 32.

[2362] Ibid., 36.

[2363] William M. Herr, memorandum to Rodd Wheaton, April 20, 1983.

[2364] Draft Cultural Resources Management Plan, February 1985.

[2365] The 1985 Draft Cultural Resource Management Plan states, "Native grasses at Pipe Spring have been crowded out or overgrazed to near extinction. Some species maintain a tenuous hold. A proposal has been written for future funding consideration for planting native grasses, trees, and shrubs."

[2366] "Operation Evaluation Report," June 13-15, 1988 (filed under cover memorandum from William M. Herr to Lorraine Mintzmyer, September 29, 1988; includes Herr's responses to evaluation).

[2367] Ibid.

[2368] Ibid.

[2369] The draft Cultural Resources Management Plan was never finalized, as a new format came out in 1988.

[2370] Everhart also oversaw roadwork the crew did about this time at the monument.

[2371] Ron Everhart, memorandum to Glen T. Bean, September 25, 1979.

[2372] For details, see "Completion Report, Shop Rehabilitation," March 20, 1984.

[2373] This trail work did not include the nature trail, which has never been wheel chair accessible due to the extreme ruggedness of the terrain.

[2374] Doris D. Fanelli, "Collection Preservation Guide, Pipe Spring National Monument," July 1980.

[2375] William M. Herr, memorandum to Lorraine Mintzmyer, March 31, 1981.

[2376] Richard A. Strait, memorandum to Assistant Manager, Midwest/Rocky Mountain Team, Denver Service Center, May 8, 1891. Region's comments are attached.

[2377] Robert J. Shelley, memorandum to Richard A. Strait, September 18, 1981 (Berle Clemensen's September 14, 1981, response to regional comments is attached).

[2378] The 1984 National Register nomination contains numerous errors. The current Superintendent intends to have the nomination amended at some future date for the purposes of providing corrections, changing the district boundaries, and extending the site's period of significance.

[2379] Superintendent's annual report, 1981.

[2380] Superintendent's annual report, 1982. See also Herr's monthly report for May 1982.

[2381] William M. Herr, monthly report, March 1984.

[2382] For details see William M. Herr, memorandum to Board of Survey, Zion National Park, March 30, 1982.

[2383] William M. Herr, monthly report, March 1982.

[2384] William M. Herr, monthly report January 1985.

[2385] Zion staff meeting minutes, April 22, 1981.

[2386] William M. Herr, monthly report, February 1982. Herr reported, "Up to four feral dogs have been observed in the area lately. Research with a rifle indicated that the Superintendent

is a lousy shot. Further research will be carried out with the aid of a pistol."

[2387] William M. Herr, monthly report, July 1982.

[2388] William M. Herr, monthly report, July 1985. No specifics and outcome were reported.

Epilogue

[2389] Global Media Guide; Dec. 31, 1998, statistics (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Internet website - www.lds.org).

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PIPE SPRING

Cultures at a Crossroads: An Administrative History

APPENDIX I: PIPE SPRING RANCH OWNERSHIP SUMMARY

April 13, 1863
James M. Whitmore was issued a land certificate for a 160-acre tract that included Pipe Spring.

January 9, 1866
Pipe Spring ranch inherited by Whitmore's widow, Elizabeth.

Church ownership (1870-1895)

> December 1870
> Pipe Spring property transferred from Elizabeth Whitmore to the Church, by verbal agreement with Brigham Young.
>
> January 1, 1874
> Elizabeth Whitmore paid $1000 in stock and $366.64 cash for Pipe Spring property by Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company (organized January 3, 1873; largest stockholder: the Church).
>
> January 1, 1879
> Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company transferred property to the Canaan Cooperative Cattle Company.
>
> November 15, 1879
> Canaan Company returned Pipe Springs property to the Church.
>
> 1881-1885
> Pipe Spring ranch leased to Kanab resident Joseph Gurnsey Brown.
>
> ca. 1885
> Management of the ranch and herds turned over to the United Order of Orderville.
>
> August 22, 1887
> Kaibab Land and Cattle Company organized ("umbrella" holding company for the Church).

mid-1895
Church sold Pipe Spring property to Benjamin F. Saunders (no record of conveyance; exact date unknown).

July 23, 1895
Daniel and Artimesia Snow Seegmiller execute quitclaim deed to Benjamin F. Saunders.

December 2, 1895
Benjamin F. and Tacy E. Saunders execute quitclaim deed to David D. Bulloch and Lehi W. Jones.

November 3, 1902
David and Alice B. Bulloch and Lehi and Henrietta L. Jones execute quitclaim deed to A. D. Findlay (sale actually took place January 23, 1901).

January 2, 1909
A. D. Findlay sold the Pipe Spring ranch to Jonathan Heaton and Sons, a copartnership (quitclaim deed not executed until 1920).

December 31, 1920
A. D. and S. E. Findlay execute quitclaim deed to Pipe Springs Land & Live Stock Company.

December 18, 1920
Pipe Springs Land & Live Stock Company executes quitclaim deed to Charles C. Heaton.

April 28, 1924 Charles C. Heaton executes quitclaim deed to United States of America.

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APPENDIX II: PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION

PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT
(ARIZONA)

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

WHEREAS, there is in northwestern Arizona on the road between Zion National Park and the North Rim of the Grand Canyon National Park a spring, known as Pipe Spring, which affords the only water along the road between Hurricane, Utah, and Fredonia, Arizona, a distance of sixty-two miles; and

WHEREAS, a settlement was made at Pipe Spring in 1863 and there was built a large dwelling place, called "Windsor Castle," with portholes in its walls, which was used as a place of refuge from hostile Indians by the early settlers, and it was also the first station of the Deseret Telegraph in Arizona; and

WHEREAS, it appears that the public good would be promoted by reserving the land on which Pipe Spring and the early dwelling place are located as a National Monument, with as much land as may be necessary for the proper protection thereof, to serve as a memorial of western pioneer life,

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power in me vested by section two of the act of Congress entitled, "An Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities," approved June 8, 1906 (34 Stat., 225) do proclaim that there is hereby reserved, subject to all prior valid claims, and set apart as a National Monument to be known as the Pipe Spring National Monument the lands shown upon the diagram hereto annexed and made a part hereof and more particularly described as follows:

The southeast quarter of the southeast quarter of section seventeen, township forty north, range four west, Gila and Salt River Base and Meridian.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to

appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any of the features or objects included within the boundaries of this Monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

The Director of the National Park Service under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management and control of this Monument, as provided in the act of Congress entitled, "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat., 535), as amended June 2, 1920 (41 Stat., 732): Provided, that in the administration of this Monument, the Indians of the Kaibab Reservation, shall have the privilege of utilizing waters from Pipe Spring for irrigation, stock watering and other purposes, under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior.

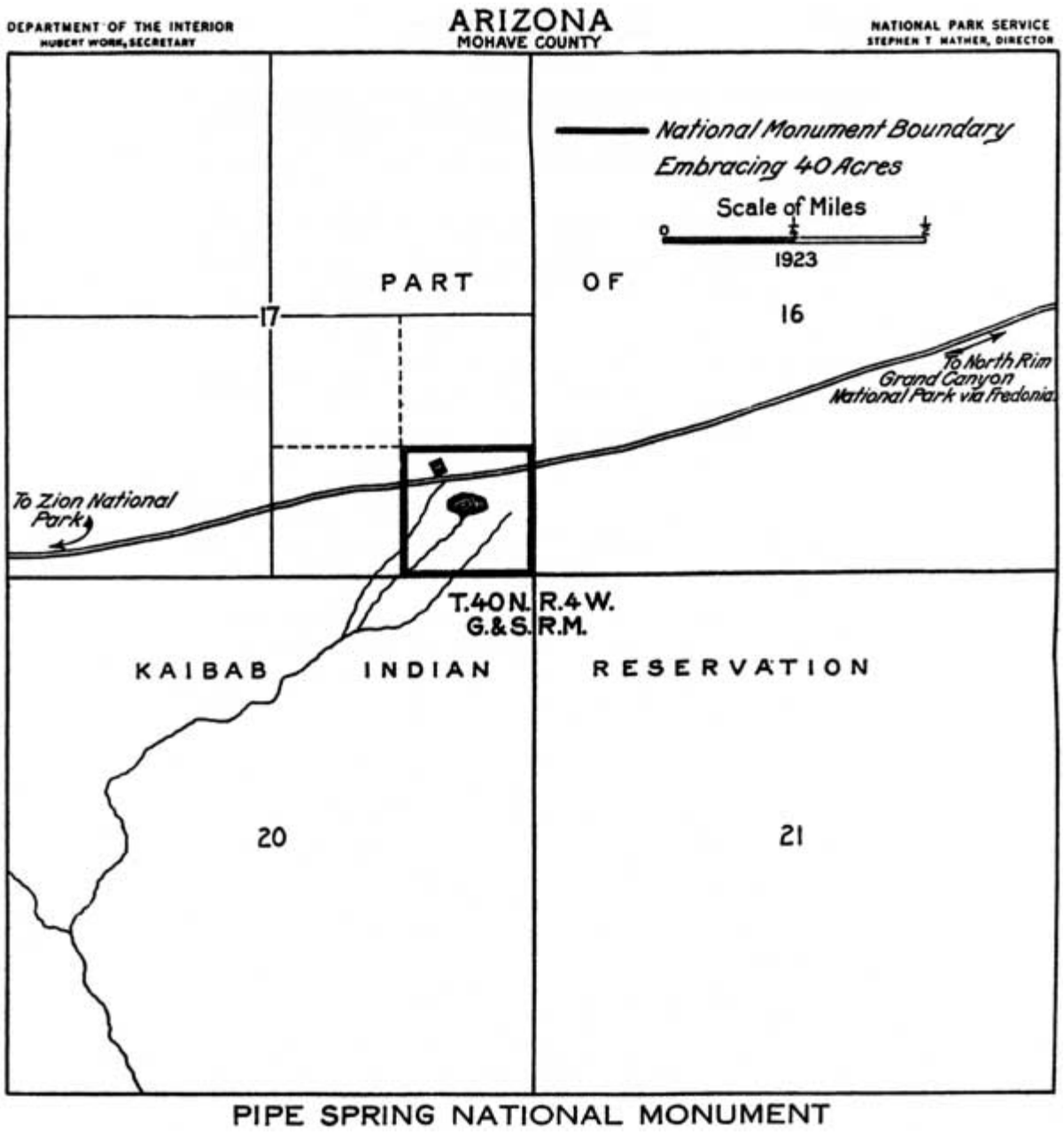
IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[SEAL.] DONE at the City of Washington this thirty-first day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-seventh.

WARREN G HARDING

By the President:
CHARLES E. HUGHES
Secretary of State.

[No. 1663.]



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APPENDIX IIIa: QUITCLAIM DEED

Quite-Claim Deed.

For and in consideration of the sum of four thousand dollars, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, I quit-claim to the United States of America all my interest in the following tract of real estate: The southeast quarter of the southeast quarter of section seventeen, township forty north, range four west, Gila and Salt River Base and Meridian.

Charles C. Heaton

State of Utah:
County of Kane

Before me John W. Glazier a Notary Public on this day personally appeared Charles C. Heaton, known to me to be the person whose name is subscribed to the foregoing instrument, and acknowledged to me that he executed the same.

Given under my hand and seal of office this 28th day of April A.D. 1924.

John W. Glazier
Notary Public

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APPENDIX IIIb: WITHDRAWAL OF APPLICATION

Withdrawl of Pending Application

A. 484

April 28-1924.

Phoenix 04807

I hereby withdraw the application filed in the Prescott, Arizona, land office on May 3, 1888, by Daniel Seegmiller to locate Valentine script certificate No. E-13 (Prescott No. 3), and the application of myself and the Pipe Springs Land and Live Stock Company to conform said location to the SE. 1/4 SE. 1/4, Sec 17, T. 40 N., R. 4 W., G. & S. R. M.

Charles Heaton

Witness to signature:

Jno. W. Glazier
Zona Seegmiller,

Filed and Recorded at Request of Heber J. Grant September 29th A.D. 1924, at 9 O'clock A.M. in Book 16 of Miscellaneous Records at page 12 Records of Mohave County, Arizona.

W.H. Welsh
County Recorder

By Mary Carrow,
Deputy Recorder.

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PIPE SPRING

Cultures at a Crossroads: An Administrative History

APPENDIX IV: ROSE REPORT SUMMARY

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS OF WHOLE INVESTIGATION

(1) Water discharging from Big Spring (27.77 gallons per minute) and the Historic Spring (5.67 gallons per minute) totals 33.44 gallons per minute. This is the total amount flowing into the Interlocked Pools. The 7.70 gallons per minute from Upper Meadow Pool goes to Cattlemen. Total 41.14 gallons per minute, is present water yield at Monument.

(2) Any material increase in available water at the Monument hinges upon cleaning Tunnel Spring entrance and constructing a flume. The greatest possible increase: 41.14 gallons per minute might be increased to 44.56 gallons per minute, less than 10 percent increase over the present available water.

(3) No further extension of the Tunnel into the hill should be permitted under any circumstances. Tunnel Spring emerges 22 feet lower than Big Spring and directional trend of fracture and joint system strongly indicates connection between the two springs.

(4) This water difficulty is not between merely the Heatons of Moccasin, and the Indian Service. The Cattlemen's Association is made up of 13 signatures with Heaton Brothers as only one of them. Heaton cattle rarely make up more than one-fourth all of the cattle that figure in this water problem.

(5) The Indian Service bases their claim to the waters and are contesting legal rights of Cattlemen solely on the wording of the Presidential Proclamation, which wording was in all probability inserted by that Service when the Proclamation was being prepared. They seem to interpret "use waters" to mean ALL water, and the Indian Service seems to pass up the statement " . . . subject to all prior valid claims . . "

(6) The National Park Service, it seems, is not aware that its future needs will require a large portion of all available water on the Monument after Cattlemen are recognized. Our Service should, it seems, remember that the Heads of the Mormon Church — not merely Heatons — are interested in the complete historical restoration of Winnsor Castle and its setting of trees, orchards, meadows, and gardens. Mr. Mather's dream was to carry out this beautiful restoration. It seems to fall short of this future program would mean breaking the faith of the whole Mormon Church in the National Park Service and Mr. Mather. We must realize the magnitude of this intense interest in Pipe Sprig. It is the whole Mormon Church and its leaders. Let's not make the grave mistake of underestimating this interest in Pipe Spring National Monument.

(7) Under Arizona Water Law, and according to the Proclamation, the National Park Service accepted Pipe Spring Monument lands "SUBJECT TO PRIOR VALID CLAIMS" and there seems little reason to presume that the Indian Service OWNS the waters there now. The amount they receive, it seems, would be contingent upon whatever SURPLUS is left after Park Service rights (acquired through transfer from private ownership) are preserved. These Park Service needs are, and will be, more than mere "culinary water, and possibly enough for

a cow and chickens, and the small meadow."

(8) The Cattlemen appear to have had legal rights to water under Arizona Water Law prior to the establishing the Monument. This would appear to be one of the "prior valid claims" which we, as owners of the land, should recognize in accordance with the Proclamation.

(9) During the Summer of 1933, the Indian Service has been getting three-fourths of the 33.44 gallons going into the Interlocked Pools, except for small tourists' needs and water used by the Laborer's household.

(10) The Park Service Meadow has been getting one-fourth of the same water after the small amounts taken are deducted.

(11) It seems definitely established that the Indians are irrigating less than one-third the land their three-fourths of the water would irrigate if the Indians made the best use of available waters.

(12) At Two-Mile Wash, if developed, the Indians could be cultivating 8 times the crops now being cultivated. Less than 3 acres are now cultivated, where possibly 25 acres could be irrigated if pipe were installed and farming were efficient.

(13) THE INDIANS CERTAINLY ARE NOT IN DIRE NEED OF A FEW MORE GALLONS PER MINUTE AT PIPE SPRINGS. If efficiently used, their present waters would irrigate from 3 to 8 tImes the amount of land they now have under cultivation.

(14) Re-allocation of the Laborer's times to Civil Service Custodial grade and appropriation for residence and maintenance of the Momment would, in two weeks after operation, remove all trace of the pioneering appearance from the Monument.

(15) Landscape architects should cooperate with us at once in working out definitely the future needs in trees, meadows, orchards, and gardens for an historical restoration of the Monument. The Engineers should then promptly have some one familiar with Irrigation Engineering submit figures on water the National Park Service needs for this restoration, and for residential and tourists' needs. We will then know just how much water we can turn over as surplus above our needs to the Indians.

Finally, solving the administrative problem at the Monument is only a matter of increased appropriations for (1) re-allocation of the Laborer position to Custodian or Park Ranger; (2) residence for the Custodian; (3) maintenance of the Monument premises; and (4) restoration of the Monument Setting as it was in past days. Such bringing of the property up to Park Service standards and maintaining those standards is contingent upon retention of rights we now have to Pipe Spring waters. The entire Mormon Church has a live interest in this most important historic landmark to their early pioneers. The Mormon Church fully expects us to bring the property up to Park standards by a full and complete restoration of Winsor Castle and its setting. To accomplish this end, most, if not all, of the water to which we now have legal right will be needed. Whatever is then surplus can be utilized by the Indians.

Respectfully submitted,

Robert H. Rose,
Assistant Superintendent.

Approved:

Frank Pinkley,

Superintendent.

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APPENDIX V: REGULATIONS FOR WATER DIVISION

REGULATIONS FOR THE DIVISION OF THE
WATERS OF PIPE SPRINGS

NOV - 2 1933

Pursuant to authority vested in me by Presidential Proclamation of May 31, 1923, the following regulations are prescribed governing the distribution of the waters of Pipe Springs for irrigation, stock watering, and other purposes:

1. The waters of the Springs shall be divided equally, one-third to the Pipe Springs National Monument, one-third to the Indians of the Kaibab Indian Reservation, and one-third to the stockmen represented by a memorandum agreement signed June 9, 1924, by representatives of the respective interests.

2. In order to accurately divide the waters, there shall be installed recognized recording water meters at each of the three springs, from which the water supply for the respective parties is derived, and of the combined flow of such springs each of the respective parties shall be entitled to receive for their respective uses one-third of such quantity of water. The diversion and use of water before it empties into reservoirs now constructed on the Monument shell be charged against the one-third share of the total flow to the party receiving such quantity of water. In order to prevent dispute among the respective interests relative to their not receiving their total share of the water, there shall be installed similar water meters at the respective points of outlets through which water to the respective parties is being carried to their point of use.

3. The cost, including installation, maintenance, repairs and replacements of the meters shall be borne equally by the respective interests.

4. Failure on the part of the respective interests to pay for their share of the cost of the meters, their maintenance, repairs and replacements, shall be grounds for refusal of delivery of water to the parties so delinquent.

5. The respective interests involved shall have the right to inspect at any time the records of the division of the waters, but no tampering or interference with the meters shall be permitted. Should it appear at any time that any or all such meters after having been installed are not properly functioning, the matter, through proper channels, shall be submitted to the Director of the Park Service and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, which Services shall have the meters inspected and if such inspection warrants, appropriate adjustments shall be made promptly.

6. Nothing herein shall be construed as in any way affecting or determining the respective water rights of the parties herein referred to. The right is reserved to modify, amend or

change these regulations as conditions may warrant.

(Sgd.) OSCAR L. CHAPMAN
ASSISTANT SECRETARY.

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APPENDIX VI: VISITATION, PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT (1925-1990)

YEAR	NUMBER OF PISP VISITORS
1925	4,000 est.
1926	16,728 est.
1927	16,853 est.
1928	17,321 est.
1929	24,883 est.
1930	8,765
1931	2,300
1932	2,100
1933	2,548
1934	8,544
1935	4,896
1936	4,218
1937	667 *(1,042)*
1938	4,700 *(2,245)*
1939	4,780 *(3,192)*
1940	1,141
1941	1,934 *(1,914)*
1942 (first war year)	372
1943 (new method of counting)	6,310 *(200)*
1944	515
1945	635
1946 (first post-war year)	1,193
1947	760
1948	839
1949	1,290
1950	2,352
1951	2,104 *(2,113)*
1952	2,153
1953	3,566 *(3,623)*
1954	4,423 *(4,080)*

1955	4,641 *(4,771)* (2,341 visitor contacts)
1956 (first year with seasonal ranger)	8,746 *(7,909)* (4,698 visitor contacts)
1957 (start construction Glen Canyon Dam)	15,699 *(14,963)* (7,676 visitor contacts)
1958	13,620
1959	10,994
1960 (new counting method)	7,323
1961	10,465
1962	13,999
1963	17,138
1964	14,312
1965	15,597
1966	16,181
1967	16,895
1968	21,539
1969	27,232
1970	36,000
1971	"over 34,000" [1]
1972	33,500 [2]
1973	24,051
1974 (U.S. oil embargo by Arab nations)	19,007
1975	24,168
1976	27,270
1977	28,202
1978	29,613
1979 (high gasoline prices begin)	26,139
1980 (Iran hostage crisis until 1/20/81)	26,901
1981	31,379
1982	31,631
1983	29,746
1984	30,139
1985	31,580
1986	35,285
1987	37,527
1988	42,577
1989	44,521
1990	46,542

Sources:

Report of the Director of the National Park Service for fiscal years 1926-1932. "Travel Statistics from 1926 to 1953, inclusive," Pipe Spring National Monument Master Plan, April

22, 1954.

Figures after 1953 were gleaned from Heaton's journal, monthly reports, Annual Reports on Information and Interpretation. Beginning in 1955, records distinguished between "total visitation," which included picnickers and campers and fort visitors, and "visitor contact," which was a count of only those who toured the fort.

Numbers shown in italics are taken from "Annual Attendance at Sites at National Parks, Monuments, and Recreation Areas in the Lower Colorado River Basin," which is attached to a memorandum to the NPS Solicitor from Assistant Director Jackson E. Price, April 22, 1958. Where there is no number in italics it means this list did not conflict with visitation numbers provided in Heaton's and/or Zion National Park's reports.

---

[1] No official figure has been located for this year. The Operations Evaluation report filed in May 1972 stated that year's visitation was "over 34,000" but the travel year was not yet over.

[2] There was no Annual Report filed in 1970 or 1971. This figure was cited in the 1978 Master Plan and is probably more accurate than an estimate given by Bernard Tracy in the Superintendent's Annual Report for 1972: "about 40,000.".

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APPENDIX VII: AGREEMENT WITH KAIBAB PAIUTE TRIBE

AGREEMENT

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this 13th day of April 1972, between the Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians of the Kaibab Reservation, Arizona, organized pursuant to Section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984), as amended, hereinafter referred to as the "Tribe," and the United States National Park Service, hereinafter referred to as the "Service."

W I T N E S S E T H :

WHEREAS, the waters of Pipe Springs within the boundary of Pipe Springs National Monument are now being used by both of the parties hereto under previous agreement : and

WHEREAS, increased needs of both parties have been given consideration, and with the permission of the Tribe the Service has drilled a well on tribal lands two miles north of Pipe Springs National Monument; and

WHEREAS, it is deemed advisable to enter into an agreement for the use of the waters from Pipe Springs and from the well so drilled in a manner to meet the needs of both parties,

NOW, THEREFORE, in consideration of the premises and of the mutual covenants and agreements hereinafter contained, and the performance thereof by the parties hereto, the parties do hereby mutually covenant and agree as follows:

l. It is mutually understood and agreed that this contract shall become effective on execution thereof and shall extend for a period of twenty-five years (25) and, at the option of the Tribe, may be extended for an additional period of twenty-five (25) years, upon giving notice to that effect to the other party to this agreement at least thirty (30) days prior to the date of such expiration.

2. The Service agrees to construct a water system which shall include a pump station, approved water treatment plant, an adequate water storage tank and a six inch water line or larger from the tank to Pipe Springs National Monument; the Service further agrees to provide Ts and water meters at five locations for service to tribal facilities, The locations of such Ts shall be determined by further agreement of the parties hereto. The Tribe agrees that the Service may have a right of way with full rights of ingress and egress during the term of this agreement for the construction, maintenance and use of the water system as described on the attached plat which is marked Exhibit "A" and by reference made a part of this agreement.

3. The Service agrees to operate, maintain and repair the water system constructed as aforesaid at its sole cost and expense.

4. The Tribe agrees that the Service may use the present one-third of the output of water of Pipe Springs now being used by the Tribe so long as this agreement shall remain in force, except as hereinafter provided in paragraph No. 12 and 14.

5. The Service agrees that in lieu of the waters of Pipe Springs to which the Tribe has hereby granted exclusive use to the Service, the Service will furnish to the Tribe 7,884,000 gallons of water per year from the water system constructed pursuant to the terms of this agreement at the sole cost and expense of the Service and without any charge to the Tribe.

6. The Tribe agrees to pay the actual cost of production rate for all water used by the Tribe during any one year in excess of the amount to be furnished to the Tribe without cost as stated in the preceding paragraph. Cost of production shall be determined by prorating the cost of (a) electricity, (b) chemicals, (c) maintenance of pump, plant and main line with appurtenances, and (d) seven year amortization of the pump. The cost of production will be re-evaluated at the end of each two year period.

7. The Service retains the ownership in the water system as constructed by it, but in the event of termination of this agreement, the Tribe shall be given the right of purchase of the equipment at the then appraised market value before the Service shall have the right to remove the same from tribal property.

8. It is mutually agreed that the waters of both the well and Pipe Springs will be economically used with the objective of conserving the same, and obtaining the most feasible use therefrom. Water from the well shall not be used for commercial agriculture. In the event rated production of the well becomes less than 15 gallons per minutes, the deficit of the amount agreed to be furnished by the Service to the Tribe shall be made available to the Tribe from Pipe Springs.

9. The Service agrees to meter all water and annually bill the Tribe for water in excess of the specified amount as hereinbefore provided.

10. The Service agrees to pay a rental charge for the use of water from the well by the Service at the rate of $33 per acre foot, payable annually. The rental charge does not apply to any water used by the Tribe from the well.

11. The Parties each agree to make prompt payment upon receipt of billing from the other party.

12. The Service agrees that it will maintain the pool now constituting a part of the Pipe Springs Monument attraction and in the event water used by the Service from Pipe Springs is less than the output of said Springs, the Service agrees to make the excess water available to the Tribe through the Tribe's present line and storage system.

13. The Tribe at its own cost and expense may install a pipeline connecting the water well lines with the Kaibab Village system for emergency purposes only.

14. The Tribe would like to retain one gallon per minute flow from Pipe Springs for Livestock purposes which the Tribe will install at their own expenses.

KAIBAB BAND OF PAIUTE
INDIANS
OF THE KAIBAB

RESERVATION, ARIZONA

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Tribal Chairman

Regional Director

APPROVED:

Acting Superintendent Hopi Indian Agency
Bureau of Indian Affairs

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PIPE SPRING

Cultures at a Crossroads: An Administrative History

APPENDIX VIII: MONUMENT'S ADMINISTRATIVE BUDGET

Note: Budget figures reported in Superintendent's Annual Report beginning in 1973. No annual reports have been located for 1971, 1972, and 1985. The 1989 Annual Report lacked needed data.

YEAR	APPROVED BUDGET [1]	ENTRANCE FEES	OTHER FUNDING
1972	$48,000 [2] (approx.)	not reported	not reported
1973	$65,500	not reported	not reported
1974	$71,700	$2,048	$1,147 (ZNHA) [3]
1975	$77,100	$4,002	$680
1976	$80,300; $24,000 [4]	$5,179	$1,040 (ZNHA); $26,100 [5]
1977	$99,300	$5,487	$943 (ZNHA)
1978	$105,600	$5,821	$2,200 (ZNHA)
1979	$124,200	$5,271	$859 (ZNHA)
1980	$126,700; $700 (VIP program)	$5,414	$2,587 (ZNHA)
1981	$133,400; $1,000 (VIP program)	$6,431	$4,381 (ZNHA)
1982	$133,500; $900 (VIP program)	$6,116	$4,948 (ZNHA)
1983	$141,400; $1,300 (VIP program)	$5,373	$5,280 (ZNHA)
1984	$158,800; $1,400 (VIP program)	$5,613	$5,010 (ZNHA)
1985	(not reported)	(not reported)	(not reported)
1986	$166,500; $1,030 (VIP program)	$6,316	$2,255 (ZNHA)
1987	$182,800; $1,275 (VIP program)	$13,726	$4,116 (ZNHA)
1988	$189,600; $2,400 (VIP program)	$13,262	$3,965

[1] This figure, unless otherwise designated, is the monument's approved budget for that fiscal year. It does not include funds allocated for special projects.

[2] Cited in memorandum from Regional Curator Jean R. Swearingen, December 1, 1971.

[3] Zion Natural History Association.

[4] Second amount for transitional period, July 1-September 30, 1976.

[5] Bicentennial funding.

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PIPE SPRING

Cultures at a Crossroads: An Administrative History

APPENDIX IX: PERSONNEL, PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT (1923-1990)

1923	John E. White acts as Caretaker, paid out-of-pocket by Charles C. Heaton
1924-1925	John E. White acts as Caretaker, paid out-of-pocket by Stephen T. Mather
1926	C. Leonard Heaton hired as Caretaker for $1 a month, February 8, 1926
1932	C. Leonard Heaton appointed full-time Custodian for $75 a month
1953	Seasonal Laborer Melvin Kelsey ("Kelly") Heaton hired May 15, 1953
1954	Sherwin Heaton hired as seasonal laborer
1955	C. Leonard Heaton promoted to Acting Superintendent, GS-07, December 15, 1955 Sherwin and Lowell Heaton work very briefly as seasonal laborers Robin Grant Brown hired as seasonal laborer
1956	Seasonal Park Historian, Lloyd Snow Sandberg enters on duty (EOD) June 8, 1956 (also works summer of 1957 and on intermittent basis into early 1960s)
1957	Seasonal Laborers: Carl W. Johnson and Kelly Heaton
1958	Park Historian James C. ("Jim") McKown, EOD February 10, 1958 Seasonal Laborers: Gary Heaton and Ray Mose (works to ca. 1967)
1959	Seasonal Laborers: Ray Mose, Allen Drye, Clair Ford, Harry Judd, Sherwin Heaton, Ivan A. Goodall
1960	Park Historian Jim McKown transfers to Grand Canyon National Park, June 30, 1960 Park Historian Max P. Peterson EOD August 22, 1960 Seasonal Laborers: Ray Mose, Grant Heaton, Harry Judd, Clifford K. Heaton
1961	Park Historian Max Peterson resigns August 19, 1961 Park Historian Robert ("Bob") W. Olsen, Jr., EOD August 28, 1961
1962	Seasonal Laborer: Ray Mose
1963	Acting Superintendent C. Leonard Heaton retires, September 14, 1963 Management Assistant Hugh H. Bozarth, GS-09, EOD October 14, 1963 Joe Bolander hired as caretaker, September 3, 1963 Seasonal Laborer: Ray Mose
1966	Park Historian Robert Olsen transfers to Whitman Historic Site, leaving September 23, 1966
1967	Seasonal Historian Paul C. Heaton hired part-time March 12, 1967, converted to full-time May 27, 1967 Management Assistant Hugh H. Bozarth transfers to White Sands National Monument, early September 1967 Acting Management Assistant James M. Harter, GS-05, EOD September 5, 1967 Seasonal Laborer Melvin ("Mel") Heaton hired fall, 1967
1968	Acting Management Assistant James M. Harter transfers to Oregon Caves National

	Monument, April 5, 1968 Supervisory Park Historian Raymond J. Geerdes, GS-11, EOD April 25, 1968 Seasonal Historian Allen Malmquist hired for summer, May, 1968 Seasonal Historian Paul C. Heaton rehired for summer Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) program (summer) — 15 enrollees (10 boys, 5 girls) for summer NYC out-of-school program (fall and/or winter) approximately 8 enrollees Youth Conservation Corps — 5 enrollees (1 summer, 4 fall) Joe Bolander promoted to Park Guide, subject to furlough, November 17, 1968 Doyle C. Winder hired as temporary laborer, November 1968
1969	Ray Geerdes' title changed to Management Assistant, early August 1969 Ray Geerdes' title changed to Area Manager, November 1969 Seasonal Historian Allen Malmquist rehired for summer Seasonal Historian Paul C. Heaton rehired for summer Konda Button hired under Operation Mainstream as clerk/receptionist October 1969 NYC in-school program — 18 enrollees for summer NYC out-of-school program, approximately 9 Volunteers active in cattle branding demonstrations; number not reported David Johnson hired as intermittent laborer for summer
1970	Seasonal Historian Anthony G. Heaton hired, spring 1970 Seasonal Historian Allen Malmquist rehired for summer Seasonal Historian Paul C. Heaton rehired for summer Area Manager Raymond J. Geerdes transfers to Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, leaving October 7, 1970 Park Naturalist James Schaack appointed Acting Park Manager (for about 4 months, October 8, 1970 to February 13, 1971) NYC in-school program — 19 enrollees for summer NYC out-of-school program — 2 enrollees for summer Operation Mainstream — 2 employees Volunteers active in cattle branding demonstrations; number not reported David Johnson rehired as intermittent laborer Alfred Drye hired as intermittent laborer
1971	Superintendent Bernard G. Tracy EOD, February 14, 1971 Seasonal Historians — unreported NYC program — 18 enrollees (11 girls, 7 boys) Summer Aids — 4 (3 girls, 1 boy)
1972	Park Historian Richard K. Wilt EOD late October 1972 3 park technicians (seasonal) 3 park aids, GS-01 and GS-02 (seasonal) NYC program – 14 enrollees (8 girls, 6 boys) Volunteers in Parks (VIPs) — 18 (10 women, 8 men)
1973	Clerk/Typist Konda Button, appointed to career-conditional position NYC program – active, but number of enrollees not reported VIPs — active in branding demonstration and in planning for dedication of Kaibab-Paiute Cultural Center; number not reported
1974	Konda Button married and resigned her position May 16, 1974 Seasonal Park Aid Nora Heaton hired for clerk/typist position July 1, 1974 Seasonal Park Aid Yvonne Heaton hired for summer Seasonal laborer Elwin John (Kaibab Paiute) hired for summer Rick Wilt transfers to Badlands National Park, November 1974 NYC program - active, but total number of enrollees not reported VIPs — active in branding demonstrations; number not reported

1975	Park Historian Glenn O. Clark, GS-09, EOD March 30, 1975 Seasonal Park Aids: Adeline Johnson, Lisa Heaton, Clorene Hoyt (local whites) and Lori Jake (Kaibab Paiute) Seasonal Laborer Elwin John rehired NYC Program – 8 enrollees (6 girls and 2 boys) VIPs — active in branding demonstrations; number not reported
1976	Park Technician Joe Bolander resigned after 12 years at PISP, January 31, 1976 Park Technician Dale Scheier, GS-05, hired June 6, 1976 Park Technician Paul Happel hired in new position, GS-04, August 17, 1976 Seasonal Park Aids: Adeline Johnson, Lisa Heaton, Nora Heaton, Clorene Hoyt, Carla Esplin (local whites), and Lori Jake (Kaibab Paiute). Leta Segmiller and Elva Drye hired for Indian craft demonstrations Seasonal Laborer Elwin John, rehired for summer CETA —11 employees (5 girls, 6 boys) VIPs — 27 total (14 in cattle branding demonstration, 13 in wagon trek)
1977	Park Historian Glenn Clark transfers to Virgin Islands National Park in late July, 1977; position is abolished Park Technician Paul Happel transfers to Point Reyes National Seashore in late September, 1977 Seasonal Laborer Carlos Bullets hired for summer CETA — 9 employees (6 girls and 3 boys) VIPs — 16 participants (10 in branding demonstrations, 4 in wagon trek, 2 in fort)
1978	Park Aid Nora Heaton promoted to park technician (clerk/typist), GS-03/04, January 15, 1978; promoted to GS-04 on August 29, 1978 Park Technician (Historian) Fred Banks, Jr., GS-06/07, hired February 26, 1978 Dale Scheier promoted to GS-06, July 16, 1978 Seasonal Laborer Carlos Bullets rehired for summer; Bob Higgins also hired (?) Four Seasonal Park Aids employed as interpreters (one Native American — Lori Jake?) CETA — 10 employees (9 girls and 1 boy, unnamed) VIPs — 9, participants in one branding demonstration
1979	Bernard Tracy officially retires on January 13 (continues to work to April 7) Superintendent William M. Herr, GS-11, EOD April 8, 1979 Maintenance Worker Melvin Heaton resigns after nearly 13 years, May 12, 1979 5 Seasonal Park Aids, interpreters (all women: Adeline Johnson, Jolene Heaton, Debbie Judd, and 2 others unnamed.) Three Seasonal Laborers - Bob Higgins, Burton Rust, Kristine Brinkerhoff. CETA —9 employees (8 girls and 1 boy, unnamed) VIPs —20 participants in branding demonstrations
1980	1 Seasonal Park Technician, interpretation (Adeline Johnson) 1 Seasonal Park Technician, laborer (_?_ Heaton) 3 Seasonal Park Aids (Pat Lomax, Andy Schmutz, and Lori Jake) 2 Seasonal Laborers (Dan Lomax, Burton Rust) 8 CETA employees: 5 interpreters (Barbara Anderson, Marion Cox, Lucy Cox, Kim Heaton, and Debbie Johnson) and 2 laborers, 1 as museum aid (Cheryl Burch) 1 Student Conservation Association (SCA) worker (Jane Kimball) VIPs — 18, branding, blacksmithing and other work
1981	Dale Scheier transfers to Great Sand Dunes NM, COB April 18, 1981 Maintenance Mechanic C. Douglas Dewitz, EOD November 1, 1981 4 Seasonal Park Technicians, interpretation (Adeline Johnson, Andy Schmutz, Debbie Stender, Julie Heaton)

	? Seasonal Park Aids (Lori Jake + ?) 2 Seasonal Laborers (Burton Rust, Sam Tom) 8 CETA employees: 6 interpreters (Lucy Cox, Hallie Cram, Kim Heaton, Garry Russell, Brent Johnson, Barbara Anderson), 2 laborers (Steven Homer, Marion Cox; Eric Anderson also mentioned as CETA maintenance worker) 1 SCA worker (Lynn Lancaster) 18 VIPs: 11 branding, 5 blacksmithing, 2 interpreting in fort
1982	Nora Heaton retires, December 25, 1982 2 Seasonal Park Aids, interpreters (Adeline Johnson, Julie Heaton) 1 Seasonal Park Technician, interpreter 2 Seasonal laborers (Burton Rust, Sam Tom) 1 SCA (Kati Jokerst) 7 CETA employees: 5 interpreters (Lucy Cox, Brent Johnson, Barbara Anderson, Janet and Nannette Davis), and 2 laborers (Marion Cox and Garry Russell) 28 VIPs: 21 branding, 4 blacksmithing, 3 interpreting in fort
1983	Seasonal Typist Lillie Mae Smith, EOD February 28, 1983; left March 24, 1983 Administrative Clerk Jeff Frank, EOD May 16, 1983 4 Seasonal Park Aids, interpreters (Barbara Anderson, Andy Schmutz, Julie Heaton, Lucy Cox) 3 Seasonal laborers (Sam Tom, Gordon Shearer, Ralph Castro) 6 CETA employees: 4 interpreters, 2 laborers (Brent Johnson, Janette and Janet Davis, Michael Holmes, James Cox, Marion Cox) 1 Seasonal Museum Aid (Kim Heaton) 1 SCA, Museum Aid (Lauren Clark) 25 VIPs: branding, blacksmithing, and fair booth
1984	4 Seasonal Park Aids, interpreters (Debbie Johnson, Andy Schmutz, Lauren Clark, Mary Berentz) 3 Seasonal laborers (Sam Tom, Gordon Shearer; third person unnamed) 6 Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) employees: 4 interpreters (Diane Kropf, Jannette and Janet Davis, James Cox) and 2 laborers (Marion and Lucy Cox) 1 SCA (Frances Herbert) 14 VIPs: branding, blacksmithing, interpreting
1985	5 Seasonal Park Aids, interpreters (Mary Dalton, Julie Heaton, Adeline Johnson, Yvonne Heaton, Mary Dewitz) 2 Seasonal laborers (Sam Tom, Gordon Shearer) 9 JTPAs (Janet Davis, Marlene Cox, James Cox, Rodney Drye, Kim Chamberlain, Carlon Hoyt, Robert Davis, RaChel Griffiths, Kathy Heaton.) 4 Indian Development District of Arizona (IDDA) (Pat Castro, Tim Castro, Herschel Hill, Philip Lopez) 2 ____ (TGB) (Glena Lee, Carol Pikyvit) 2 SCAs (Debra Pifer, Lulu Chye) VIPs
1986	Jeff Frank transfers to Zion National Park, COB May 10, 1986 Clerk-Typist Jewel Harter, EOD December 7, 1986 4 Seasonal Park Aids, interpreters (Yvonne Heaton, Adeline Johnson, Jo Ann Bean, Mary Dewitz) 2 Seasonal laborers (Sam Tom, Gordon Shearer) 8 JTPAs (Kathy Heaton, Kim Chamberlain, Robert Davis, John Barney, Marlene Cox, Opal Hill, Millie Sexton, Alberta Jo) 2 SCAs (Elizabeth Prather, Lulu Chye) 86 VIPs: branding, blacksmithing, clogging demonstrations
1987	Jewel Harter, transfers to Yosemite, August 26, 1987

	Clerk-Typist Marlene Frederick, EOD October 11, 1987 5 Seasonal Park Aids, interpreters (Maurine Cundick, Yvonne Heaton, JoAnn Bean, Adeline Johnson; Mary Dewitz) 3 Seasonal laborers (Sam Tom, Gordon Shearer, Roland Spendlove) 12 JTPAs (Millie Sexton, Genevieve Homer, Matt Heaton, Juanita Heaton, Robert Davis, Alberta Joe, Frank Nakadama, Victor Bunnus, Leonard Joe, Irene Martinez, John Barney, Herschel Hill) 1 SCA (Amanda McLeod) 150 VIPs: branding, blacksmithing, clogging demonstrations; Take Pride in American cleanup, holiday decor
1988	Seasonal Museum Curator Zula Brinkerhoff, EOD March 27, 1988 Marlene Frederick marries and changes last name to "Coombs," September Seasonal Park Ranger (Maurine Cundick) 3 Seasonal Park Aids, interpreters (Yvonne Heaton, Nedra Heaton, Mary Dewitz; possibly 1-2 others) 2 Seasonal laborers (Harvey Segundo, Sam Tom) 6 JTPAs (Millie and Jackie Sexton, Benjamin and Matt Heaton, Herschel Hill) 1 SCA (Cathy Clifton) 139 VIPs: branding, blacksmithing, dancing, interpreting, Indian crafts, holiday décor
1989	Bill Herr transfers to Golden Spike National Historic Site, EOD January 15, 1989 John W. Hiscock appointed Acting Superintendent, January 15 to May 6, 1989 Superintendent Gary M. Hasty, EOD May 7, 1989 Fred Banks transfers to Mount Rushmore National Memorial (no date given) Park Ranger, GS-09, position created (name of Banks' successor?) Marlene Coombs (Administrative Assistant? No hiring date reported.) Seasonal staff: 2 GS-03 females, 1 GS-03 female handicapped, 2 WG-03 Native Americans, 1 WG-03 male ? JTPAs ? VIPs: branding, blacksmithing
1990	Ranger Mary C. Davis transfers from Vicksburg Nat. Military Park, July 1990 Marlene Frederick transfers to Golden Spike NHS, September 1990 Administrative Clerk Pat Yero hired, late September 1990

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APPENDIX X: LIST OF OFFICIALS, PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT (1923-1999)

Monument established May 31, 1923.

Administered by Southwestern National Monuments until February 16, 1942.

Administered by Zion National Park from February 16, 1942, to April 5, 1969.

Administered by Southern Utah Group from April 6, 1969, to July 8, 1972.

Administered by Zion National Park from July 9, 1972, to the present.

John White, Caretaker	5/31/23 — fall, 1925
Charles Leonard Heaton, Caretaker	2/08/26 — 1932
_____, Custodian	1932 — 12/14/55
_____, Acting Superintendent	12/15/55 — 9/14/63
Hugh H. Bozarth, Management Assistant	10/14/63 — 9/?/67
James M. Harter, Acting Management Assistant	9/05/67 — 4/05/68
Raymond J. Geerdes, Supervisory Park Historian	4/25/68 — 8/?/69
_____, Management Assistant	8/?/69 — Oct.'69
_____, Area Manager	Nov.'69 — 10/07/70
James Schaack, Acting Superintendent	10/08/70 — 2/13/71
Bernard G. Tracy, Superintendent	2/14/71 — 4/07/79
William M. Herr, Superintendent	4/08/79 — 1/14/89
John W. Hiscock, Acting Superintendent	1/15/89 — 5/06/89
Gary M. Hasty, Superintendent	5/07/89 — 11/10/93
Mary Davis, Acting Superintendent	11/11/93 — 6/11/94
John W. Hiscock, Superintendent	6/12/94 to present

APPENDIX XI: KAIBAB INDIAN RESERVATION STATISTICS

Table I. KAIBAB INDIAN RESERVATION

Land areas, population and computed water requirements

Calendar Year	Area irrigated Indian land /1	Farm families /1	Irrigated area per family	Total population /2	Irrigated area per person	Computed	
						Cons. use /3	Divers. req. /4
	Acres	No.	Acres	No.	Acres	Ac. ft.	Ac. ft.
1910	40	15	2.7	83	0.5	80	160
1911	40	10	4.0	89	0.5	80	160
1912	20	23	0/9	89	0.2	40	80
1913	20	23	0.9	93	0.2	40	80
1914	-	-	-	96	-	-	-
1915	-	-	-	08	-	-	-
1916	30	-	-	95	0.3	60	120
1917	32	16	2.0	95	0.3	64	128
1918	74	16	4.6	102	0.7	148	296
1919	-	-	-	105	-	-	-
1920	-	-	-	106	-	-	-
1921	-	-	-	110	-	-	-
1922	-	-	-	105	-	-	-
1923	-	-	-	198	-	-	-
1924	44	-	-	511	0.1	88	176
1925	-	-	-	94	-	-	-
1926	44	-	-	94	0.5	88	176
1927	44	12	3.7	93	0.5	88	176
1928	44	12	3.7	94	0.5	88	176
1929	44	12	3.7	95	0.5	88	176

1930	44	12	3.7	96	0.5	88	176
1931	44	12	3.7	95	0.5	88	176
1932	44	12	3.7	91	0.5	88	176
1933	44	12	3.7	96	0.5	88	176
1934	44	12	3.7	93	0.5	88	176
1935	0	0	-	91	0	0	0
1936	0	0	-	89	0	0	0
1937	0	0	-	85	0	0	0
1938	30	-	-	87	0.3	60	120
1939	40	-	-	85	0.5	80	160
1940	-	-	-	85	-	-	-
1941	-	-	-	85	-	-	-
1942	-	-	-	83	-	-	-
1943	-	-	-	86	-	-	-
1944	-	-	-	86	-	-	-
1945	-	-	-	85	-	-	-
1946	40	-	-	101	0.4	80	160
1947	49	-	-	102	0.5	98	196
1948	47	-	-	104	0.5	94	188
1949	48	-	-	104	0.5	96	192
1950	53	-	-	91	0.6	106	212
1951	51	-	-	107	0.5	102	204
1952	57	-	-	108	0.5	114	228
1953	57	-	-	96	0.6	114	228
1954	20	-	-	110	0.2	40	80
1955	10	-	-	100	0.1	20	40

1/ Sources:

1910-1918 Commissioner's Annual Report.
1923 and 1926 District No. 2 Indian Irrigation Service Annual Reports.
1927 to 1937 Miscellaneous Irrigation Data of Indian Irrigation Projects.
1938 and 1939 Statistical Supplement to Commissioner's Annual Reports.
1946 to 1955 Annual Irrigation Crop Reports.

2/ Sources:

1910 to 1932 and 1938 to 1945, Commissioner's Annual Reports.
1933 to 1937 Report of Secretary of Interior.
1946 to 1952 and 1954 & 1955, Office of Bureau of Indian Affairs.
1953 Bureau of Ethnic Research, University of Arizona, 1953.

3/ Assumed to be 2.0 acre-feet for consumptive irrigation requirement.

4/ Project efficiency estimated at 50 percent.

Table from "Kaibab Indian Reservation Land and Water Resources," Temp. Exhibit No. 20, prepared by Bureau of Indian Affairs for *Arizona v. California* legal case (BIA files, Phoenix, Arizona).

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pisp/adhi/adhia11.htm
Last Updated: 28-Aug-2006

APPENDIX XII: MAPS AND DRAWINGS, PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT

Copies of the following maps and drawings were collected and referenced during the course of researching the monument's administrative history. (All are now part of the monument's administrative history research collection.) In some cases, documents were available at more than one location; however, only one was listed.

Location Codes:

BIA: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Phoenix, AZ
Bancroft: Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA
DSC Library: Denver Service Center Library, Denver, CO
DSC/TIC: Denver Service Center, Technical Information Center, Denver, CO
NARA I: National Archives and Record Administration, Washington, D.C.
NARA II: National Archives and Record Administration, College Park, Maryland
NARA/RM: National Archives and Record Administration, Rocky Mountain Region, Denver, CO
NARA/SB: National Archives and Record Administration, San Bruno, CA
NPS/WRD: National Park Service, Water Resources Division, Ft. Collins, CO
PISP: Pipe Spring National Monument, Fredonia, AZ
UP: Union Pacific Museum, Omaha, NE
ZION: Zion National Park Archives, Springdale, UT

DATE	REF. NO.	DESCRIPTION (SOURCE)	LOCATION OF ORIGINAL
1870s	(none)	Expeditions of 1871, 1872, 1873 (John W. Powell surveys)	Bancroft Dec.11,
1886	(none)	Two Mile Run Survey (John M. MacFarlane)	Utah State Hist. Soc.
pre-1900 conditions	(none)	Mormon Settlements along the Arizona Strip and in Arizona (Walker and Bufkin, *Historical Atlas of Arizona*)	Public Library
pre-1900 conditions	(none)	Map showing early settlement and roads in Arizona (McClintock, *Mormon Settlement in Arizona*)	Public Library
pre-1900 conditions	(none)	Map showing boundary changes to Utah and surrounding territories, 1850-1896 (Beck and Haase, *Historical Atlas of the American West*)	Public Library
Feb.15, 1916	(none)	Public Land Survey, T 40N, R 4W (USGS)	NPS/WRD
1920	(none)	National Park-to-Park Highway (NPS)	DSC Library

April, 1921 (?)	#9897	Kaibab Reservation, Arizona (plat map)	NARA II
1921 (?)	#9683	Kaibab Reservation, Arizona (Office of Indian Affairs)	NARA II
1921 (or 1923?)	(none)	Map Showing Highways connecting CEBR, N. Rim of GRCA, & Kaibab Forest & Railroads from which Stage Lines Operate	BRCA, UP
1922	(none)	Auto Trails Map, State of Utah (Rand McNally)	UP
Jan. 1922	(none)	Map Showing Highways connecting BRCA, ZION, CEBR, & North Rim of the GRCA (UP)	UP
1923	(none)	Map Showing Roads connecting CEBR, BRCA, N. Rim of GRCA, and ZION	NARA/RM
1923	(none)	Utah State Trunk Lines (State Road Commission)	UP
Feb. 1924	(none)	Map of Transportation System and Railroad Connections of the Utah-Arizona Parks Transportation Co. (UP)	UP
1924	(none)	Tours of ZION, CEBR, BRCA, and GRCA (UP)	UP
1924	(none; Engle's 5/14/24 report)	Kaibab Reservation (BIA?)	BIA
May 1924	(none; Engle's5/13/24 letter)	untitled map showing "suggested public watering place" on Kaibab Indian Reservation (Department of the Interior, US Indian Irrigation Service)	PISP
Feb. 1924	(none; see letter of 3/21/25)	untitled map showing roads connecting S. Utah & N. Arizona parks; road improvements, by source of funding (UP)	UP
Feb. 1924	(none; see letter of 3/21/25)	untitled map showing roads connecting S. Utah & N. Arizona parks; status of improvements (UP)	UP
May 1924	(none)	Kaibab Indian Reservation (Department of the Interior, US Indian Irrigation Service) BIA	BIA
May 1929	(none)	Map showing location of ZION, BRCA, BRCA, Kaibab National Forest and CEBR (UP)	UP
1930	(none)	Sketch Map of SW Utah and GRCA *(Los Angeles Times*; reprinted in ZION/BRCA circular, 1930)	ZION
1930	(none)	Map Showing Roads Connecting CEBR, BRCA, N. of GRCA, and ZION (ZION/BRCA circular, 1930)	DSC Library
Nov. 1932	(see letter of 1/7/32)	Map of Pipe Spring National Monument Showing the Irrigation and Plant Life (hand-drawn by L. Heaton)	NARA II
Nov. 1933	(none)	Pipe Spring National Monument (+ division box)	NPS/WRD
Dec. 1933	(illegible)	General Development Plan (NPS)	NARA II
Dec. 1933	NM/PS-4933	Sketch Map Showing Water Situation (NPS)	PISP
Dec. 1933	(none)	Sketch Map Showing Tunnel Spring (L. Heaton)	NARA II
April 1934	NM/PS-4936	Boundary Survey Map (NPS)	PISP
April 1934	NM/PS-4937	Topographical Sheet	DSC/TIC

May 1934	NM/PS-4945	Water Division Structure (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Oct. 1934	NM/PS-4939	Proposed Entrance Road (NPS)	PISP
Jan. 1935	NM/PS-4940	Proposed Approach Road (NPS)	PISP
March 1935	NM/PS-3062	A Western Camping Fireplace (NPS)	PISP
May 1935	NM/PS-4942	Proposed Fence Improvements (NPS)	PISP
August 1935	NM/PS-3005	Layout Plan & ECW Projects (NPS)	PISP
Sept. 1935	NM/PS-8101	Project Plan, ECW 6th Per., Camp - DG44 (NPS)	NARA II
Jan. 1936	NM/PS-3001	A PISP Master Plan cover (NPS)	NARA II
Jan. 1936	NM/PS-3002	A Plan of the Monument (NPS)	NARA II
Jan. 1936	NM/PS-3003	A General Development Plan (NPS)	NARA II
Jan. 1936	NM/PS-4947	Headquarters Area, Utilities Layout (NPS)	NARA II
Jan. 1936	NM/PS-4946	Proposed Campground Road (NPS)	PISP
Feb. 1936	(none)	site location of Whitmore dugout (L. Heaton)	NARA/RM
March 1936	NM/PS-4949	Proposed Foot Paths (NPS)	PISP
March 1936	ECW Project 5	Ditches - Diversion (NPS)	PISP
March 1936	NM/PS-4950	Proposed Parking Area and Boulder Curb (NPS)	PISP
March 1936	NM/PS-4948	Proposed Flood Control Ditch, Central Area (NPS)	PISP
April 1936	(none)	Plat Showing Location of Pipe Springs Acreage (hand-drawn; unknown author)	NARA II
April 1936	NM/PS-4941	[title block not copied; depicts Public Works Projects]	PISP
Jan. 1937	NM/PS-3001B	PISP Master Plan cover (NPS)	NARA II
Jan. 1937	NM/PS-3002B	Plan of the Monument (NPS)	NARA II
Jan. 1937	NM/PS-3003B	General Development Plan (NPS)	NARA II
Jan. 1937	NM/PS-4953	Headquarters Area, Utilities Layout (NPS)	NARA II
April 1937	NM/PS-4952	Water System Study (NPS)	NARA II
Aug. 1937	NM/PS-5700A	Proposed Water System (NPS)	PISP
Sept. 1937	(none)	Temporary Garage (NPS, preliminary plans)	NARA/RM
Jan. 1938	NM/PS-3001C	Cover, Master Plan (NPS)	NARA II
Jan. 1938	NM/PS-3002C	Plan of the Monument (NPS)	NARA II
Jan. 1938	NM/PS-3003C	General Development Plan (NPS)	NARA II

July 1938	NM/PS-5701	Headquarters Area, Utilities Layout (NPS)	NARA II
Oct. 1938	NM/PS-5350	Proposed Sewage System & Septic Tank (NPS)	PISP
Oct. 1938	NM/PS-5351	Proposed Concrete Culvert (NPS)	PISP
March 1939	NM/PS-5351	A Proposed Slab Bridge (NPS)	PISP
May 1939	NM/PS-2027	Signs, Garbage Containers, Hydrants (NPS)	PISP
Jan. 1940	NM/PS-3003D	General Development Plan (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Jan. 1940	NM/PS-3002D	Index and Key Map, Master Plan (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Sept. 1940	Fed.Proj.498	A Historic American Buildings Survey, Pipe Spring Fort & Cabins (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Jan. 1940	NM/PS-5701	A Utilities Layout, Headquarters Area (NPS)	DSC/TIC
ca. 1941	(none)	(untitled; map of Kaibab Indian Reservation)	PISP
Jan. 1942	NM/PS-2025B	Custodian's Residence (NPS)	PISP
Jan. 1942	(none)	Floor Plan of Custodian's Residence (sketch of CCC building, L. Heaton)	PISP
May 1942	NM/PS-2029	Public Contact and Comfort Station (NPS)	DSC/TIC
July 1943	NM/PS-2032A	Gasoline and Oil House (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Feb. 1944	NM/PS-2031	Utility Building (NPS)	DSC/TIC
May 1945 (?)	NM/PS-2026	Planting Sketch and Toilet Locations (H. Cornell, NPS)	PISP
June 1945	NM/PS-2029C	Contact Station (NPS)	DSC/TIC
1946	NM/PS-3100	Cover, Master Plan (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Oct. 1946	NM/PS-2101	Developed Area Plan (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Nov. 1946	NM/PS-5701B	Utilities Layout (NPS)	DSC/TIC
1946	(none)	Development Outline, Developed Area, Master Plan (NPS)	DSC/TIC
1946	(none)	Development Outline, Interpretation, Master Plan	DSC/TIC
1947	(unknown)	Cover, Master Plan; Development Outline (NPS)	PISP
1948	(unknown)	(Fort's) Existing Drainage System (NPS, as per L. Heaton sketch)	PISP (?)
1948	(none)	Historical Trails, Map of Utah (State of Utah)	PISP
undated (late 1940s)	NM/PS-3101	Index Sheet, Master Plan (NPS)	DSC/TIC
ca. 1950	(none)	Walks & Trails Improvement (L. Heaton)	PISP
May 1952	NM/PS-10,000A	Forestry - Fire Control (unknown)	PISP
July 1953	NM/PS-2100E	Roads & Trails Systems (NPS)	DSC/TIC
1953	(none)	Kaibab Indian Reservation (BIA)	BIA
April			

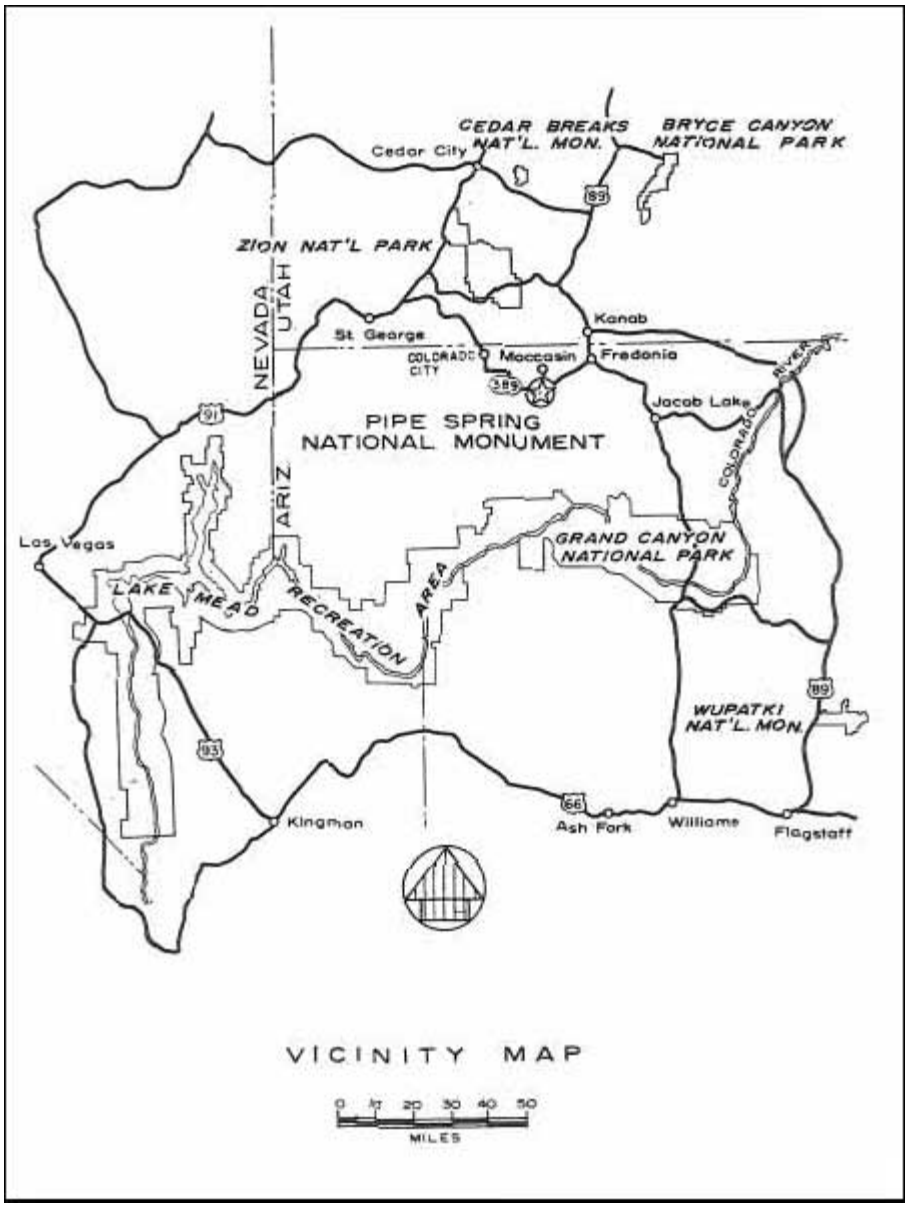
1956	NM/PS-2051	Comfort Station (NPS)	PISP
May 1957	NM/PS-7100	Boundary Status Map	NARA/SB
July 1957	NPS/PS-002	Map of Utility Pipelines (sketch, L. Heaton)	PISP
Feb. 1958	NM/PS-2101B	General Development (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Feb. 1958	NM/PS-3102	Topographic Base Map (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Feb. 1958	NM/PS-3103	Proposed Physical Improvements, Mission 66; added data, 1966 (NPS)	DSC/TIC
March 1958	NM/PS-3100A	Cover and Index Sheet, Master Plan (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Feb. 1959	(none)	Collection Box for Water System (NPS)	PISP
April 1959	NM/PS-3109A	Water System (NPS)	DSC/TIC
May 1959	NM/PS-3104	Headquarters Area (NPS)	DSC/TIC
May 1959	NM/PS-3018B	Employee Residences (NPS)	PISP
June 1959	NM/PS-3104A	Trail Location [walkways] (NPS)	PISP
1959	(none; "fig. 1")	PISP Vicinity Map (in Zorro Bradley's report)	PISP
Jan. 1960	NM/PS-3110	Site Development & Planting Plan — Residences (NPS)	PISP
August 1966	NM/PS-2302	[Entrance] Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan (NPS)	DSC/TIC
May 1967	NM/PS-3119	Proposed Relocation of Visitor Center (NPS)	DSC/TIC
March 1968	(see 3/29/68 meeting report)	Pipe Springs National Monument, Arizona (sketch map showing proposed development area)	PISP
June 1968	321/80000	Underground Power (NPS)	DSC/TIC
July 1968	(none)	Environmental Study Area	PISP
July 1968	(none)	Nature Trail/Native Grass Restoration Projects I & II	PISP
June 1969	321/80001	Water System; plan of water diversion structure (NPS)	DSC/TIC
June 1969	321/80002	Utilities Systems, As Maintained; Utilities Systems, Residential & Utility Area (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Aug. 1969	NM/PS-2301B	Roads & Trails Systems, As Maintained (NPS)	DSC/TIC
May 1971	321/41,000	Preliminary Design/Topography - Well Site (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Jan. 1972	321/41,001	Water Supply System (NPS)	DSC/TIC
May 1972	KAI-AZ/WD-4A	Plot Plan [Visitor Center & Parking Area] (NPS)	PISP
July 1972	NM/PS-80000[1]	Proposed Development (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Nov. 1973	(unknown)	Waysides (NPS)	PISP
Jan. 1980		Pipe Spring [Fort] Restoration Project, 1979	

	321/80007	(Conron & Muths)	DSC/TIC
1980	321/80003	As Maintained Roads & Trails (NPS)	PISP
Nov. 1981	321/80006B	Existing Land Mgmt. & Use - Constraint (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Jan. 1982	321/80012A	Site Map; residential analysis (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Jan. 1982	321/80,008B	Regional Map, Pipe Spring National Monument (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Dec. 1982	321/80003	As Maintained Roads & Trails (NPS)	PISP
1982-1983	(none)	Tree Type and Location, Fort Area (NPS; sketch, unknown author)	PISP
June 1988	321/80018A	Cattleman's Tunnel Spring Rehab; plan & profile; vault details (NPS)	DSC/TIC
Oct. 1988	(none)	[PISP landscape - 5 site maps with L. Heaton's hand-written notes indicating changes over time]	PISP
Dec. 1993	321/20,900	Pipe Spring National Monument (NPS)	DSC/TIC
June 1997	321/80,022	Pipe Spring National Monument, Cultural Landscape Inventory, Existing Conditions (NPS)	DSC/TIC

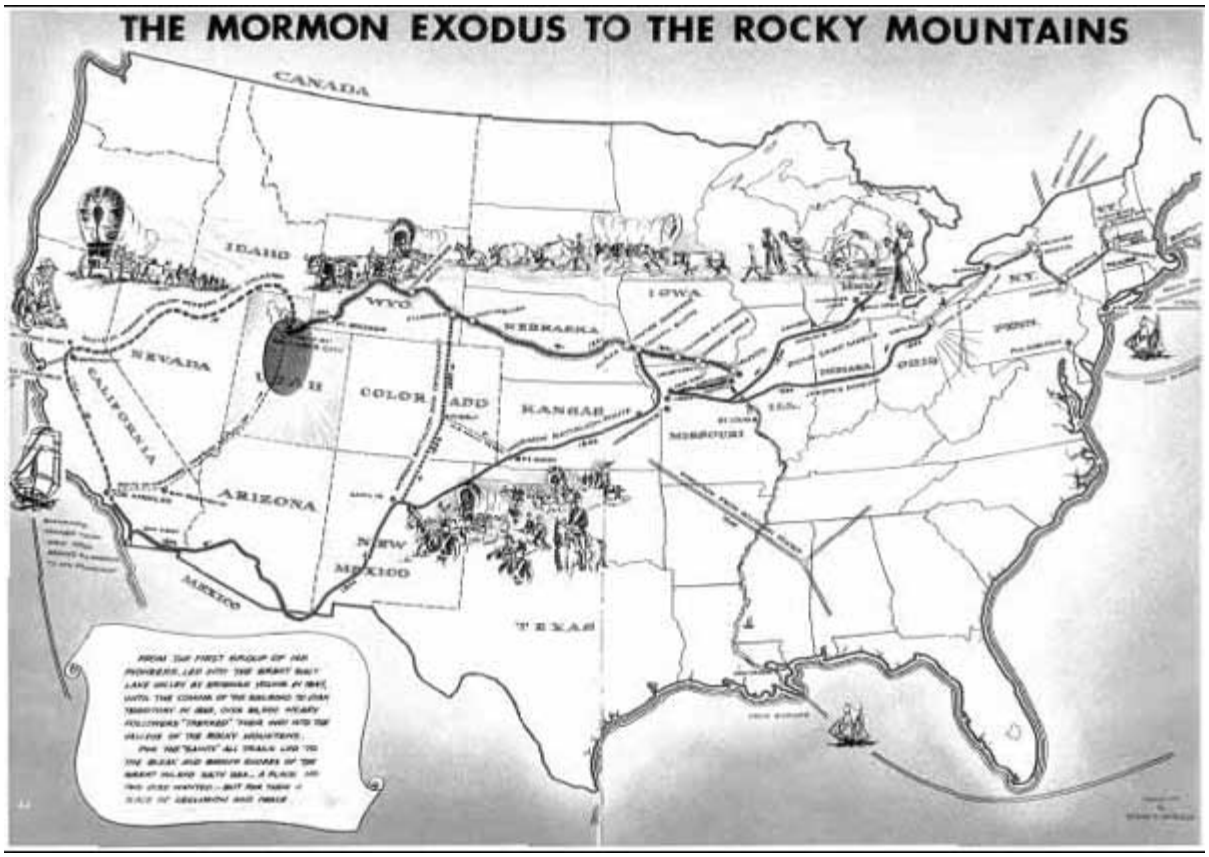
[1]For some unknown reason, this identification number is duplicative of 321/80000, dated June 1968, "Underground Power" (321 is the code for PISP).

<<< **Previoius** <<< **Contents** >>>

pisp/adhi/adhia12.htm
Last Updated: 28-Aug-2006

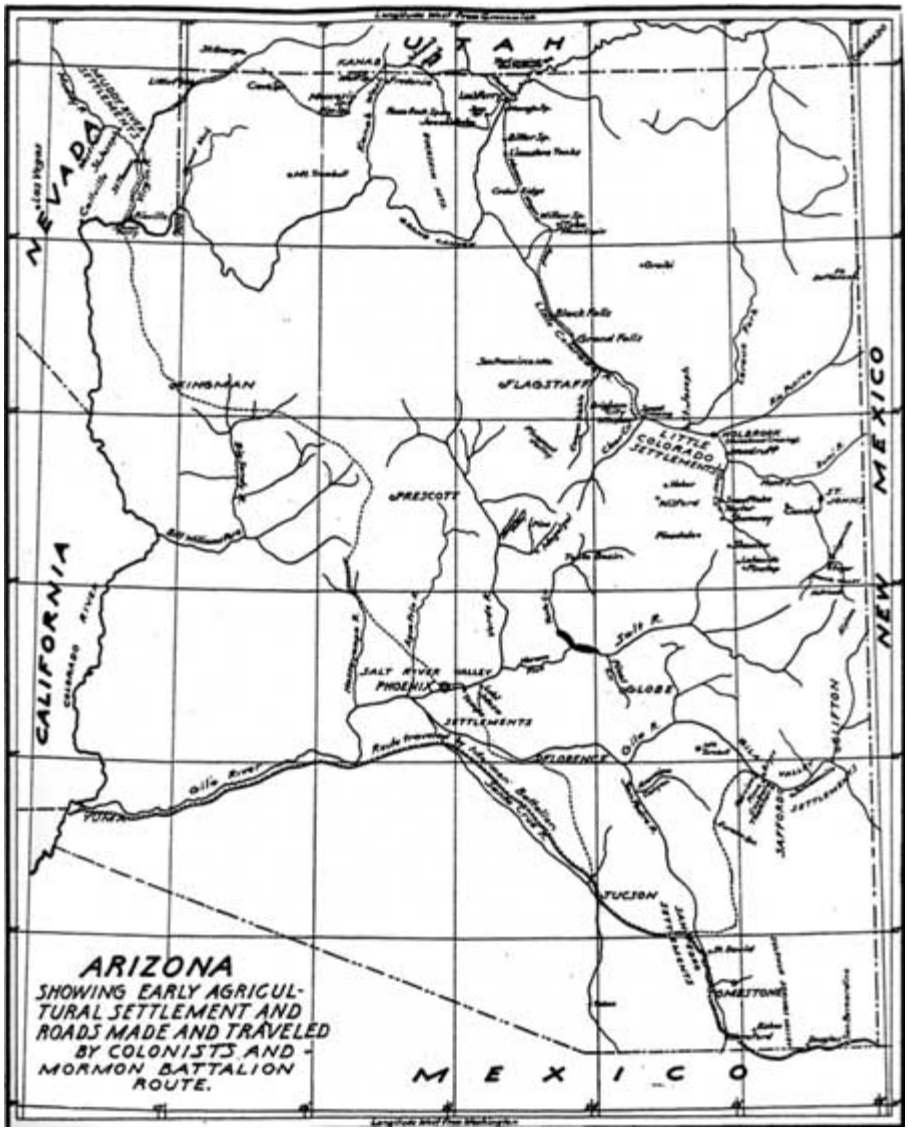


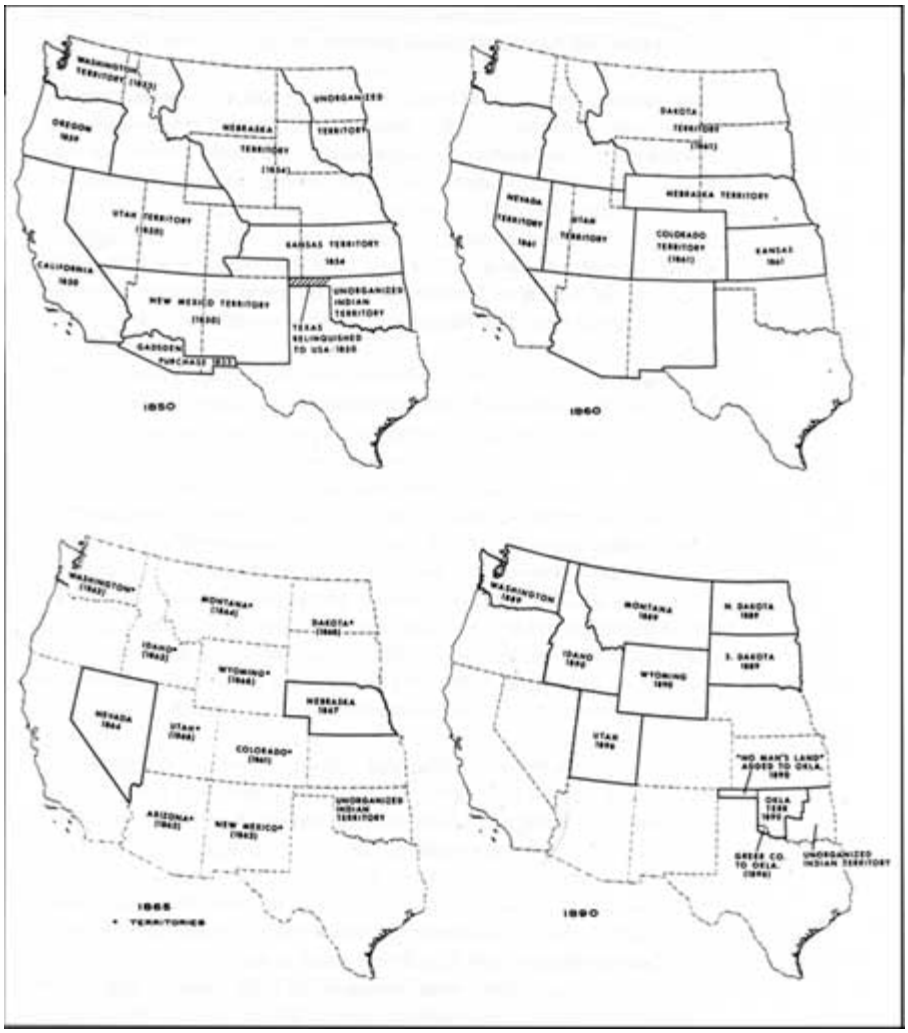
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THE MORMON EXODUS TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS
CANADA
IDAHO
WYO
NEBRASKA
IOWA
NEVADA
COLOR
ADO
KANSAS
MISSOURI
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
NY
PENN
CALIFORNIA
ARIZONA
NEW
MEXICO
MEXICO
TEXAS

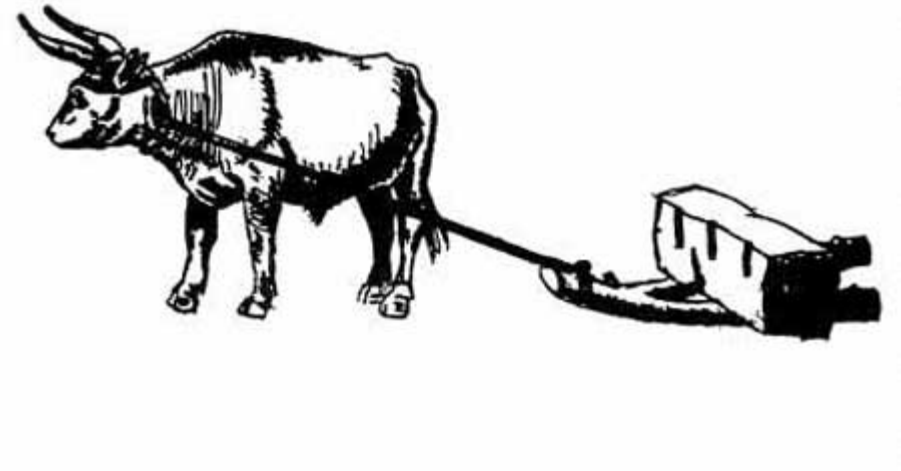


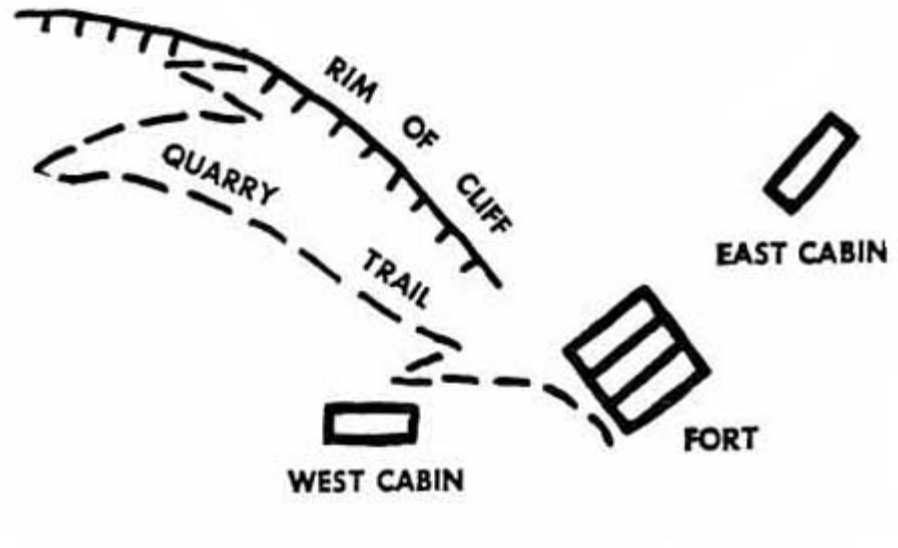

Muddy River settlements
ST. GEORGE
COLORADO CITY
KANAB
FROM POINTS IN UTAH
Crossing of the Fathers
WEST POINT
LITTLEFIELD
FREDONIA
LEES FERRY
SAINT JOSEPH
BUNKERVILLE
PIPE SPRINGS
ORDERVILLE
SAINT THOMAS
JACOB'S POOLS
Navajo Springs
Bitter Springs
LAS VEGAS
CALLVILLE
The Arizona Strip
RIOVILLE
Willow Springs
TUBA CITY
MOENKOPI
PIERCE FERRY
Colorado River
MOENAVE
GRAND CANYON
MORMON WAGON ROAD
(THE HONEYMOON TRAIL)
BLACK FALLS
GRAND FALLS
Fort Moroni
Leroux Springs
Little Colorado settlements
BRIGHAM CITY
SUNSET
JOSEPH CITY
HOLBROOK
Mormon Dairy
Mormon Lake
MILLVILLE
TAYLOR
OBED
WOODRUFF
ARIPINE
PINEDALE
FORESTDALE
SNOWFLAKE
ST. JOHNS
HEBER
SHUMWAY
WILFORD
CONCHO
OVERGAARD
SHOW LOW
LINDEN
SPRINGERVILLE
LAKESIDE
NUTRIOSO
EAGAR
ELLSWORTH
ALPINE
LUNA
Salt River Valley settlements
Salt River
Mormon Flat
FAIRVIEW
GRAHAM
HUBBARD
BRYCE
TEMPE
LEHI
MESA
NEPHI
Gila settlements
EDEN
MAYER
GLENBAR
PIMA
CENTRAL
THATCHER
ALGODON
LAYTON
ARTESIA
FRANKLIN
Gila River
BINGHAMPTON
San Pedro settlements
POMERENE
ST. DAVID
TUBAC
NORTH
SCALE in MILES
0
50
100 miles
LEGEND
Community now abandoned or part of a larger city
Community (existing)
Mormon Trails
Mexico
COLONIA SAN JOSE
COLONIA MORELOS
COLONIA OAXACA
MORMON SETTLEMENTS

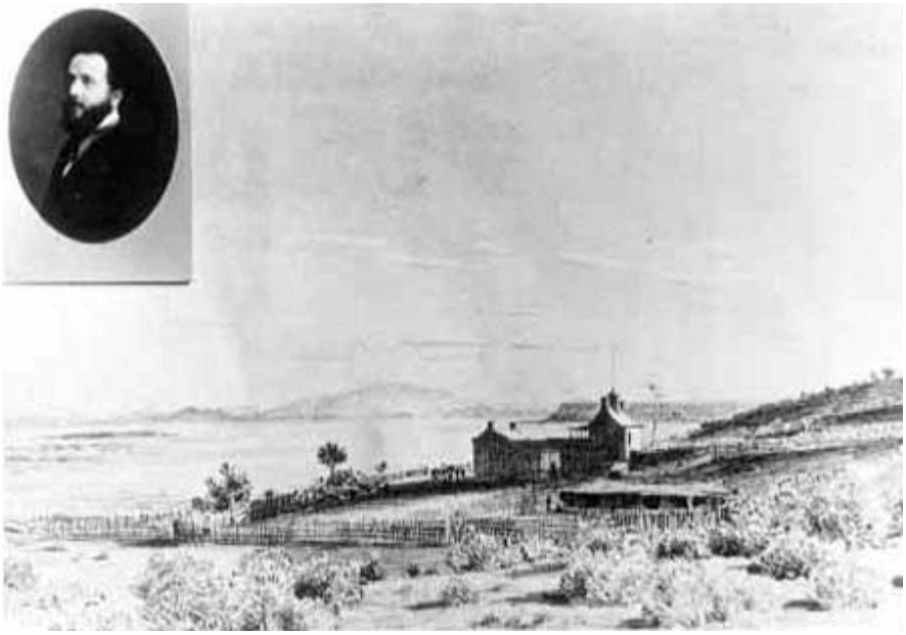

UTAH
NEVADA
CALIFORNIA
NEW MEXICO
MEXICO
KINGMAN
FLAGSTAFF
LITTLE COLORADO SETTLEMENTS
PRESCOTT
SALT RIVER VALLEY
PHOENIX
SETTLEMENTS
GLOBE
FLORENCE
SAFFORD
SETTLEMENTS
TUCSON
TOMBSTONE
ARIZONA
SHOWING EARLY AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT AND ROADS MADE AND TRAVELED BY COLONISTS AND MORMON BATTALION ROUTE.


1850
1860
1865
* TERRITORIES
1890


30'
113°
30'
HURRICANE
LEDGE



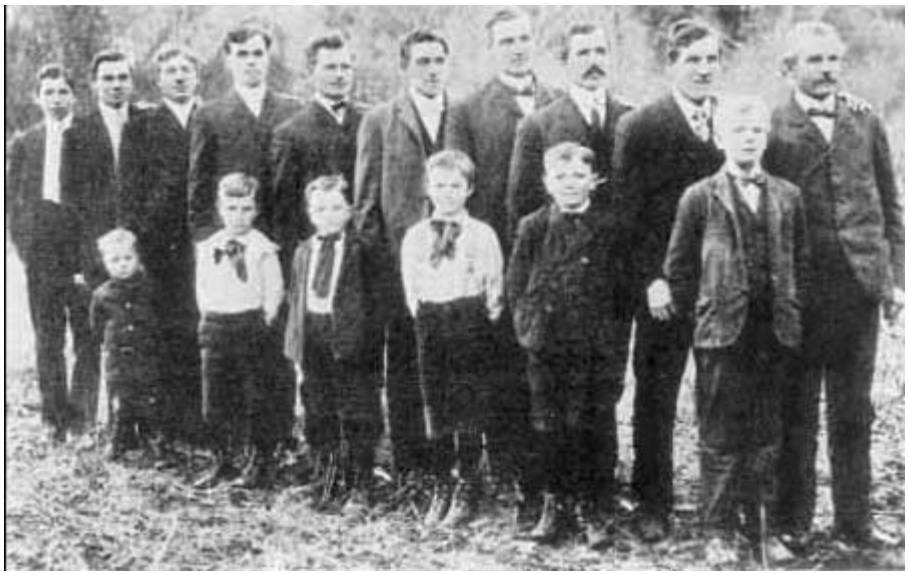

RIM OF CLIFF
QUARRY
TRAIL
EAST CABIN
FORT
WEST CABIN

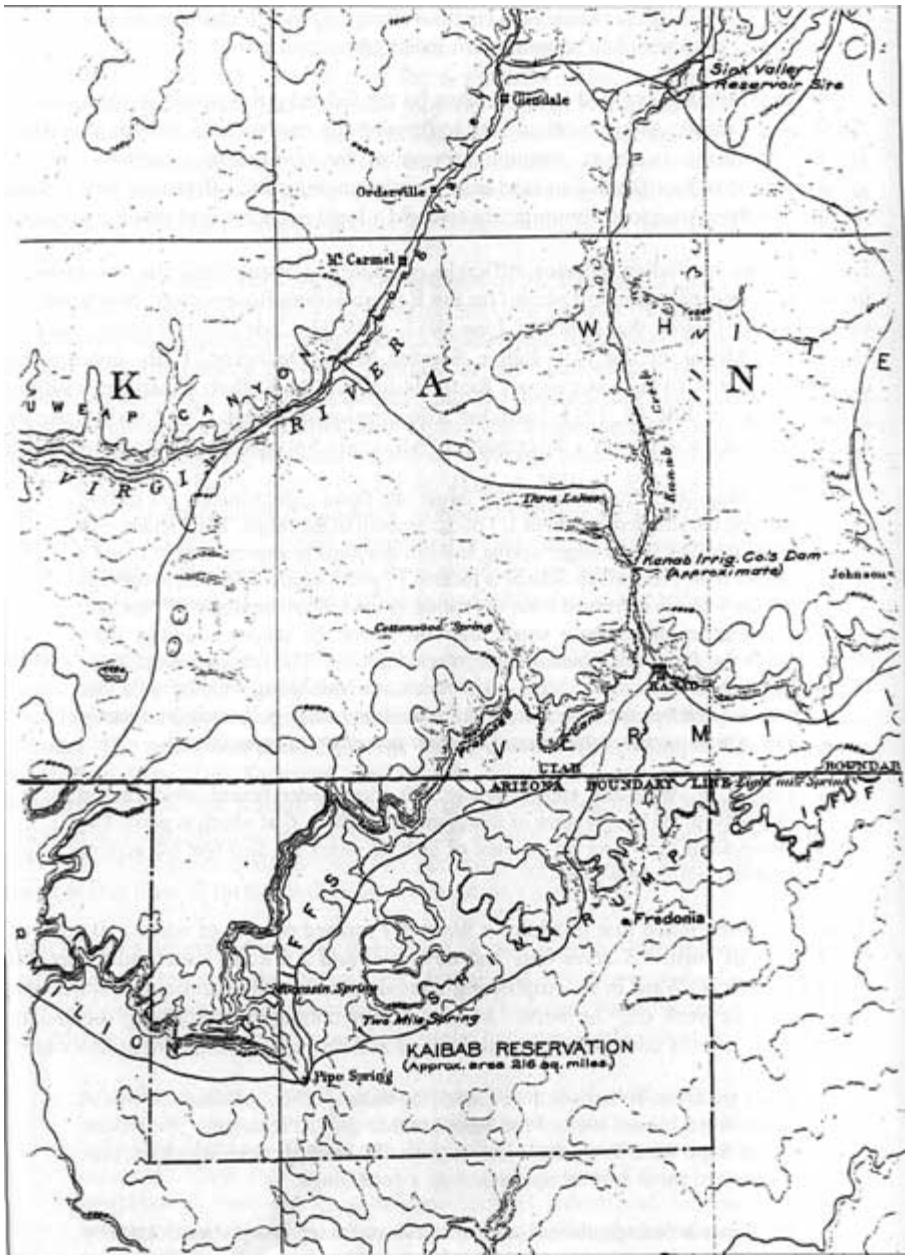


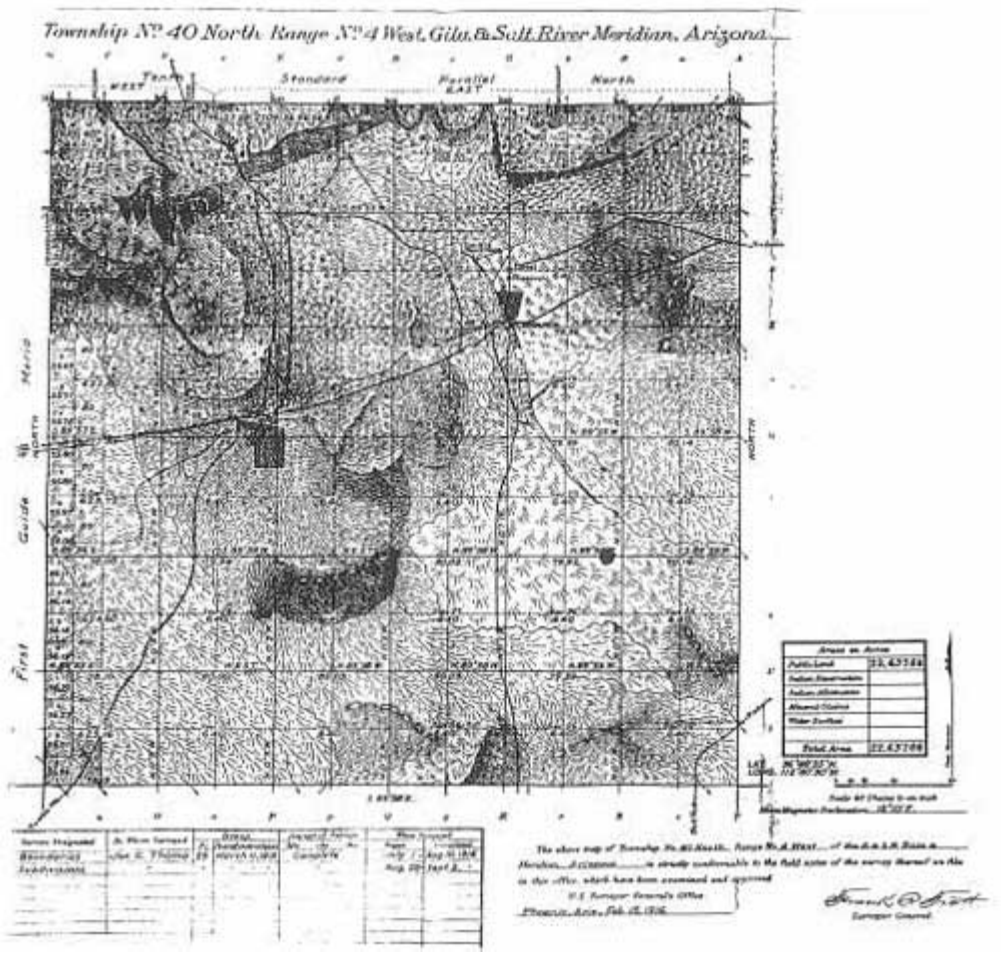



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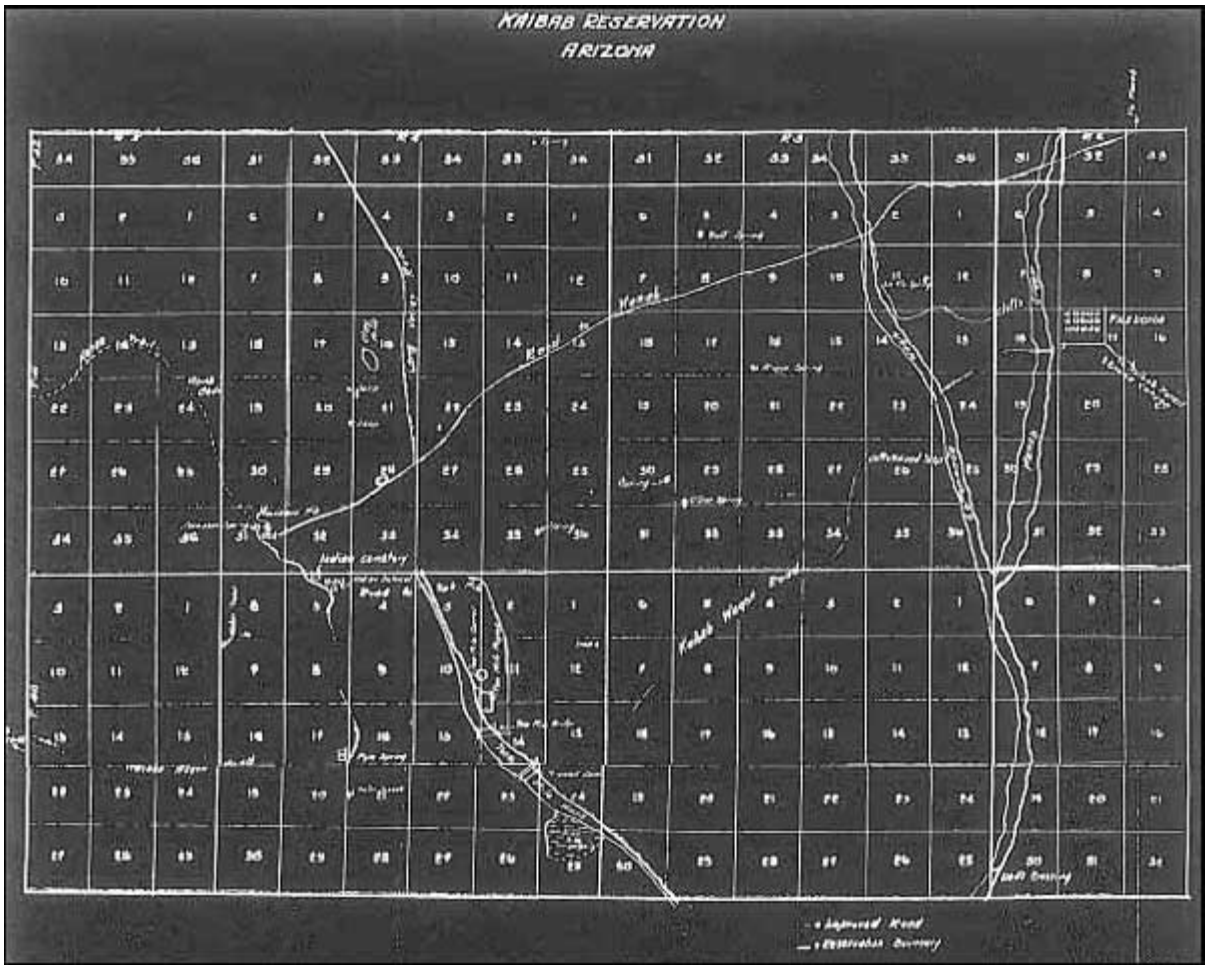





Sink Valley Reservoir Site
Glendale
Orderville
Mt Carmel
KANAB CANYON
VIRGIN RIVER
WHITE
Three Lakes
Kanab Irrig. Co's Dam (Approximate)
Johnson
Cottonwood Spring
Kanab
UTAH
ARIZONA BOUNDARY LINE
Fredonia
Moquith Spring
Two Mile Spring
KAIBAB RESERVATION
(Approx. area 216 sq. miles)
Pipe Spring



http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/pisp/adhi/images/fig16.jpg[9/3/2013 4:00:20 PM]

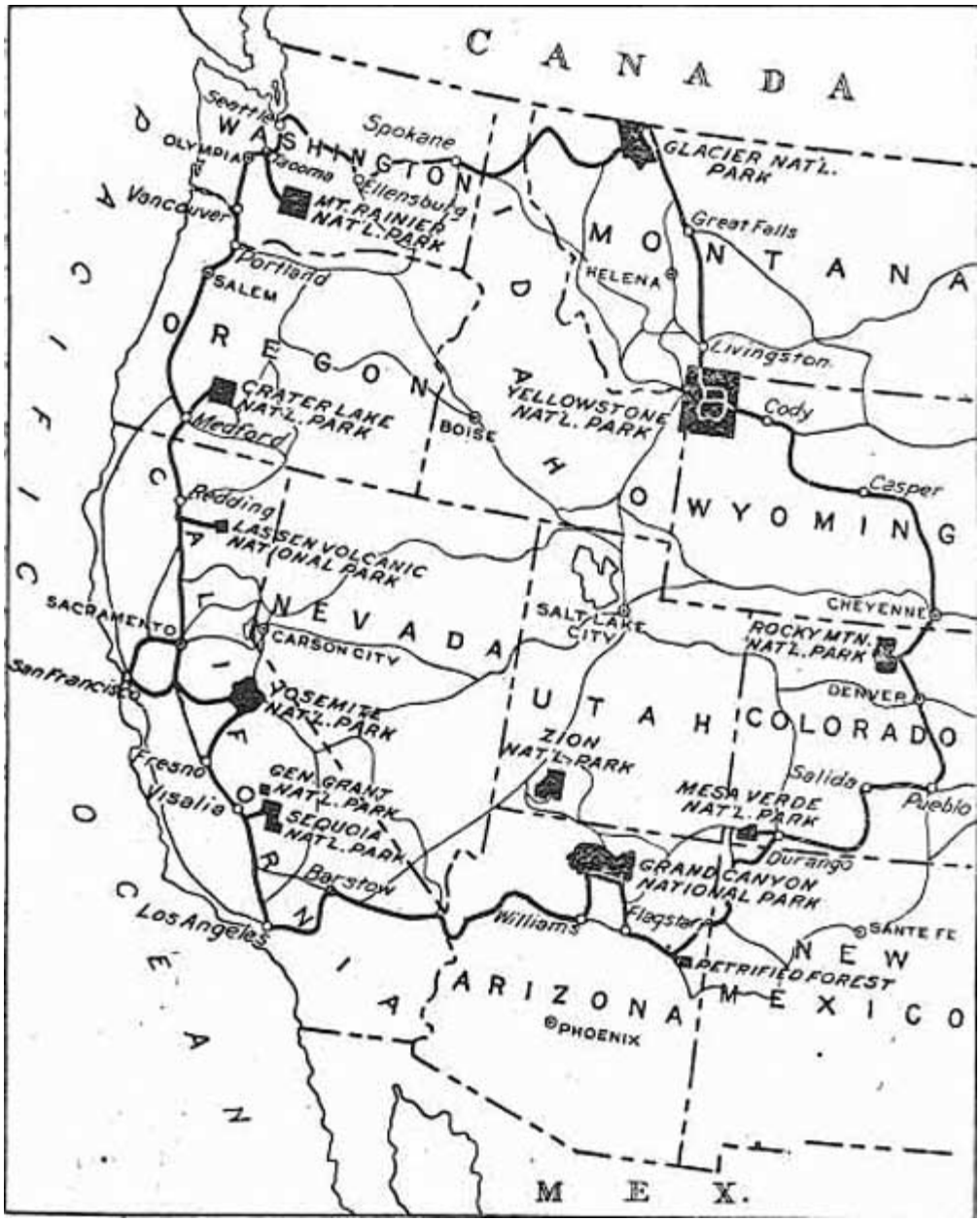

KAIBAB RESERVATION
ARIZONA
Improved Road
Reservation Boundary



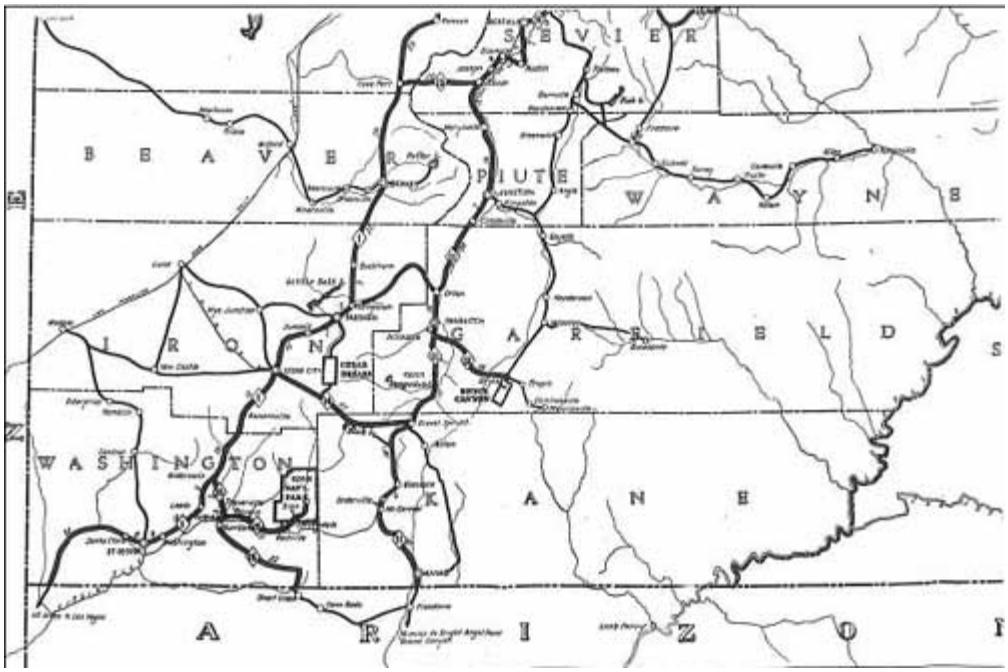


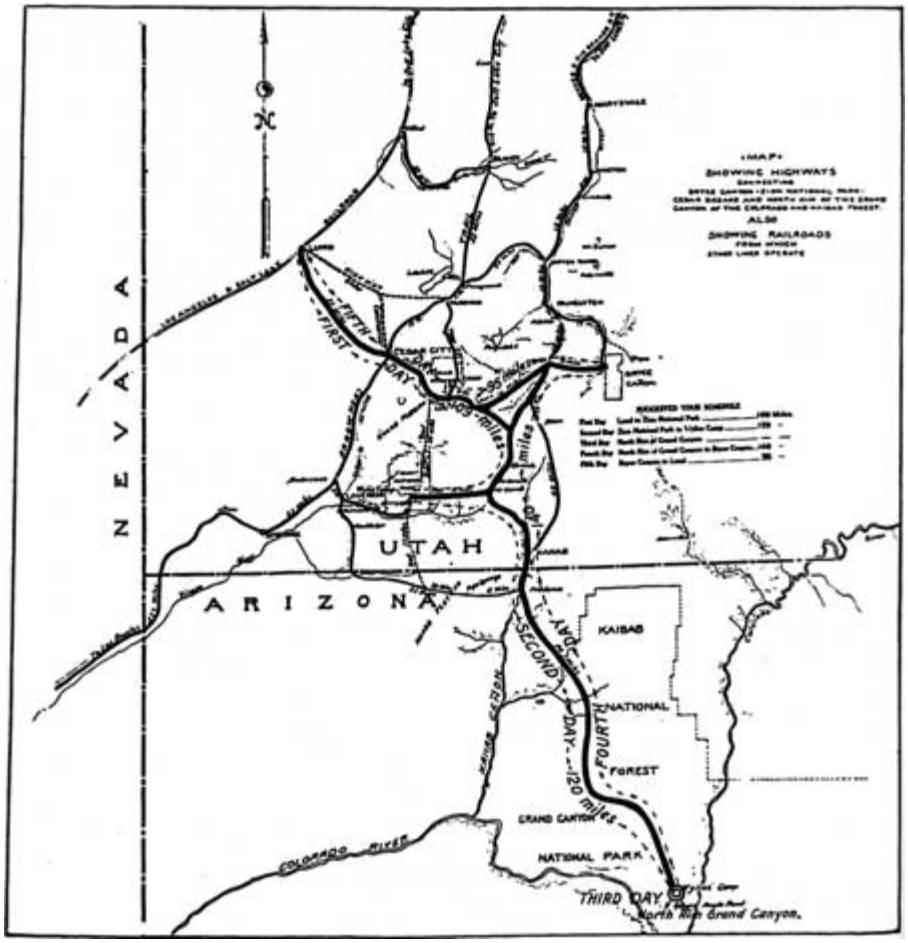






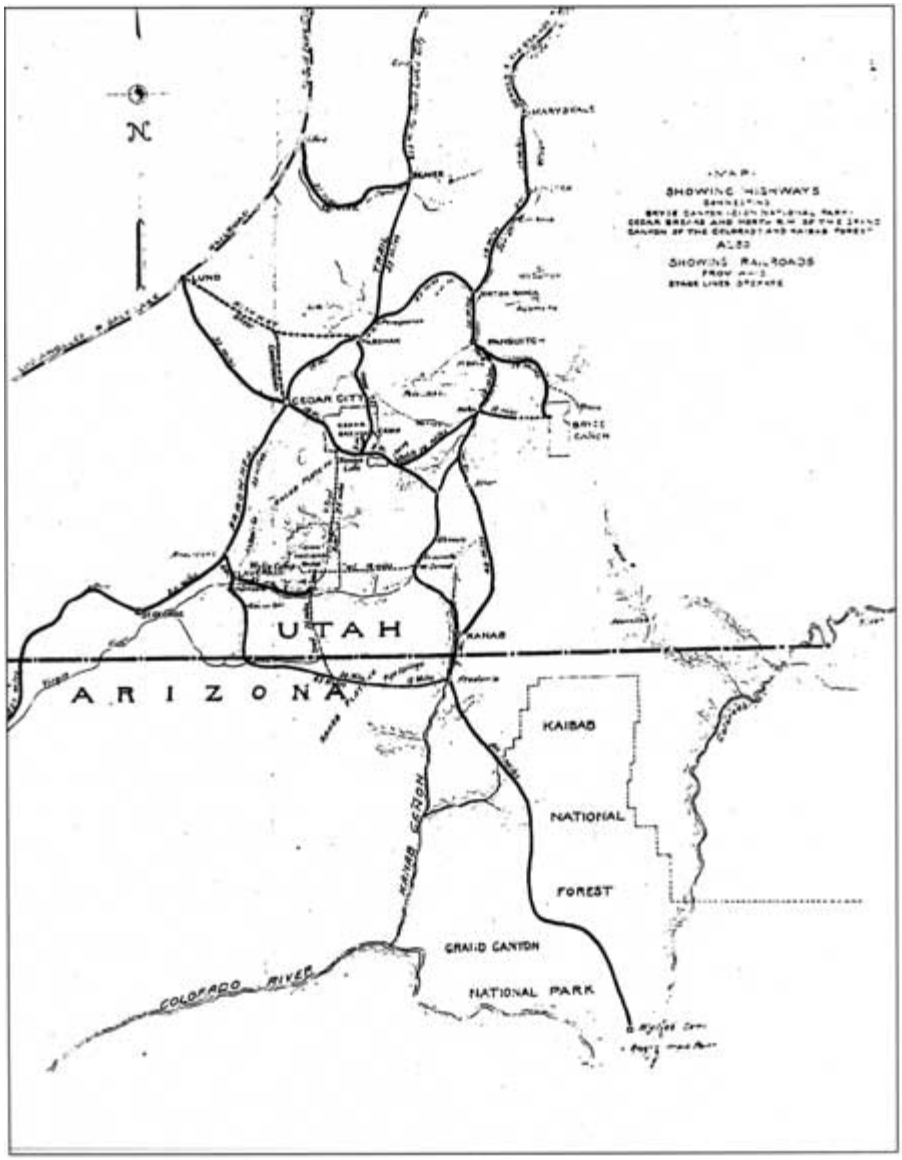
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SEVIER
BEAVER
PIUTE
WAYNE
IRON
GARFIELD
WASHINGTON
KANE
ARIZONA


NEVADA
UTAH
ARIZONA
FIRST DAY
FIFTH DAY
SECOND DAY
THIRD DAY
FOURTH DAY
KAIBAB
NATIONAL
FOREST
GRAND CANYON
NATIONAL PARK
COLORADO RIVER
KANAB CREEK
Grand Canyon.






N
MAP
SHOWING HIGHWAYS
SHOWING RAILROADS
UTAH
ARIZONA
KAIBAB
NATIONAL
FOREST
GRAND CANYON
NATIONAL PARK
COLORADO RIVER
CEDAR CITY
KANAB



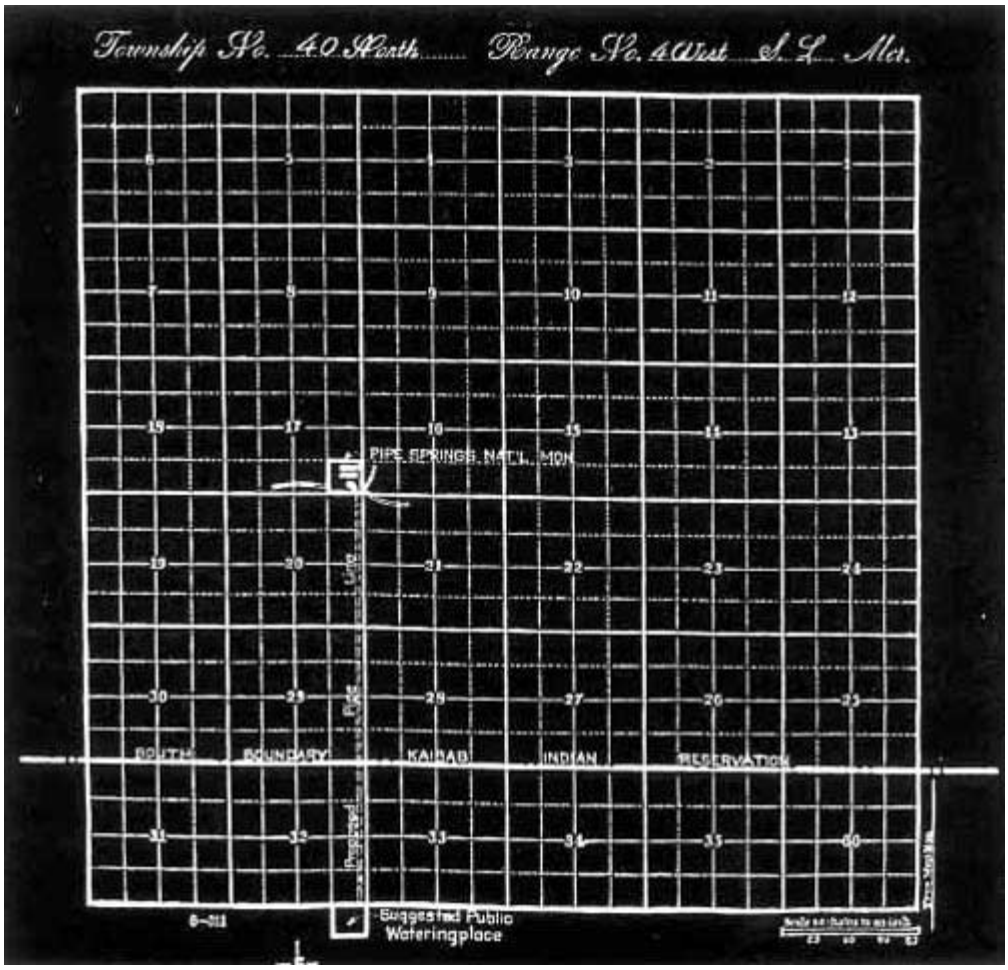


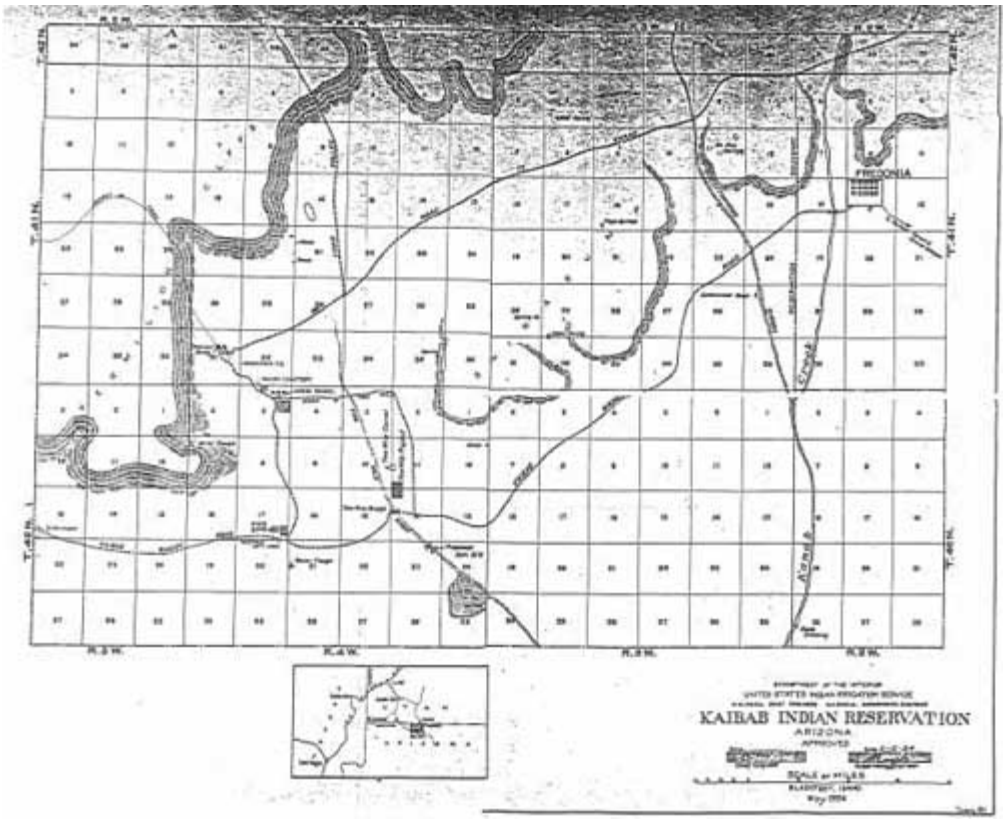


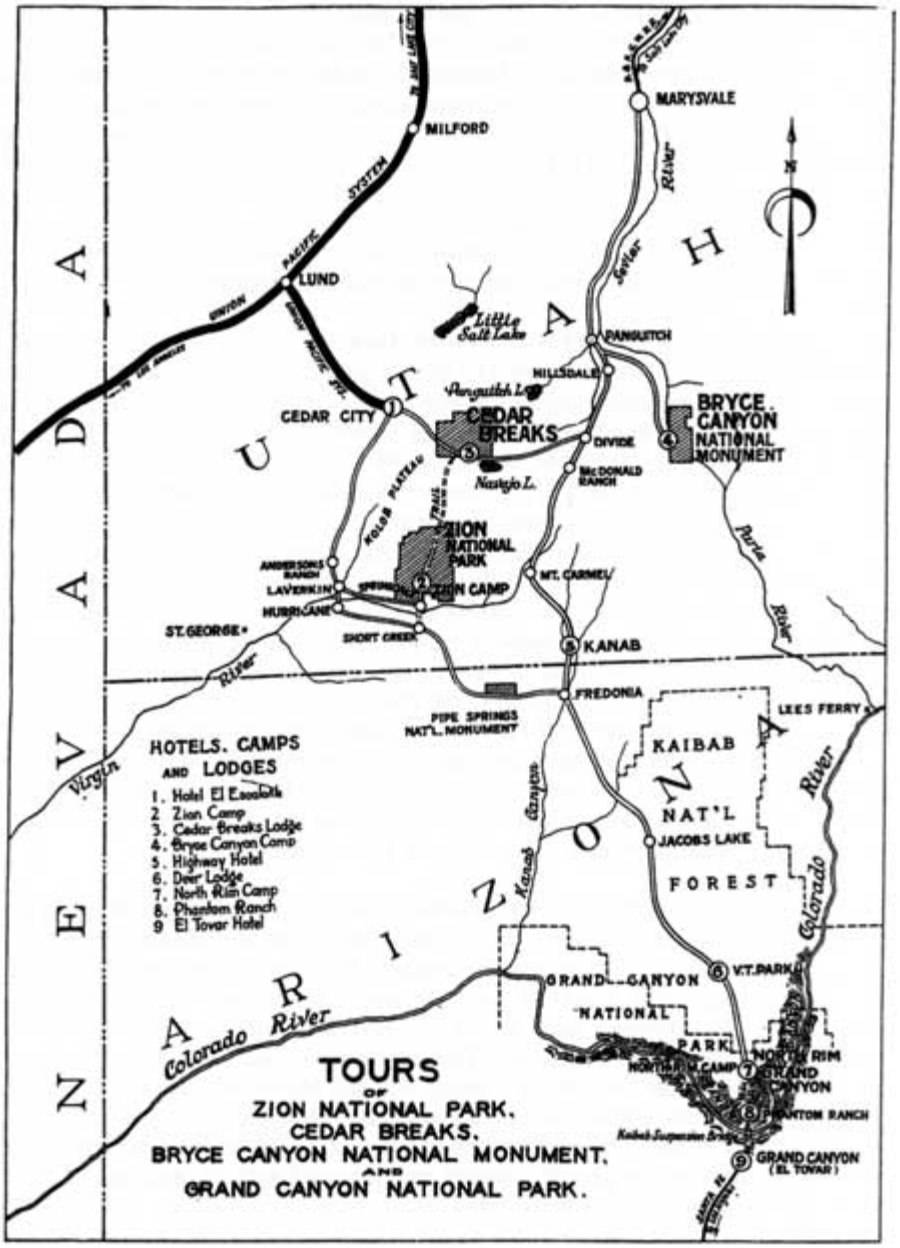







Township No. 40 North..... Range No. 4 West S. L. Mer.
PIPE SPRINGS NAT'L. MON.
SOUTH BOUNDARY KAIBAB INDIAN RESERVATION
Suggested Public Wateringplace

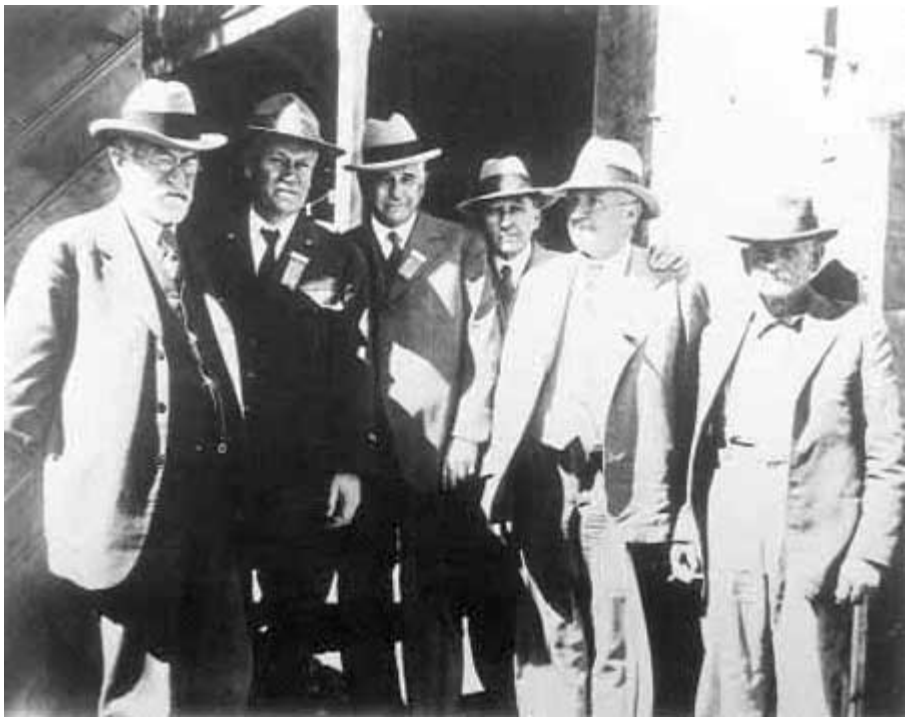

KAIBAB INDIAN RESERVATION
ARIZONA



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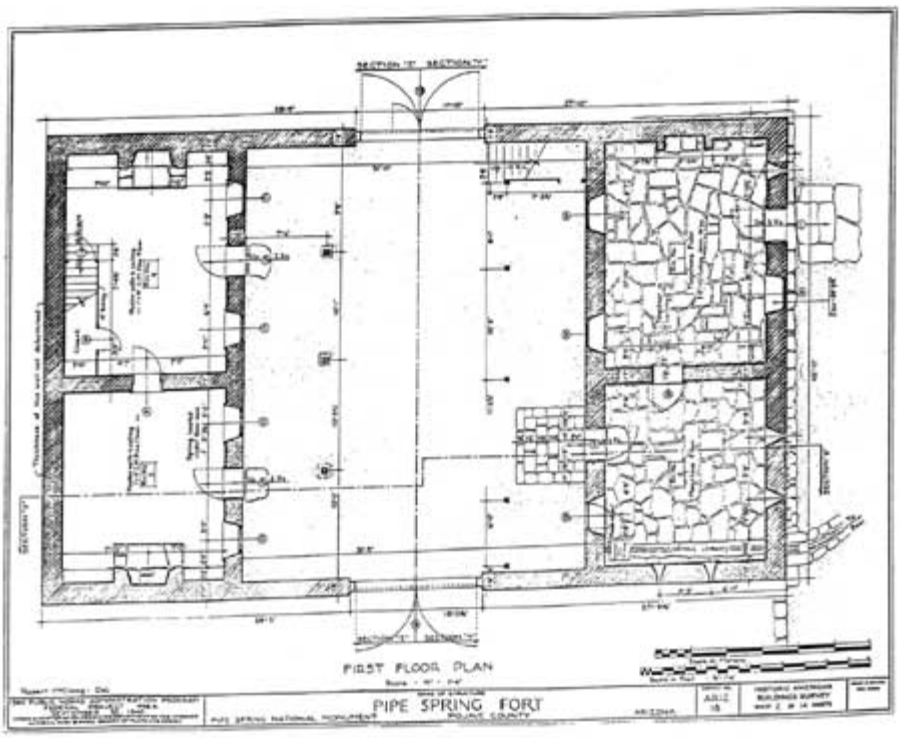


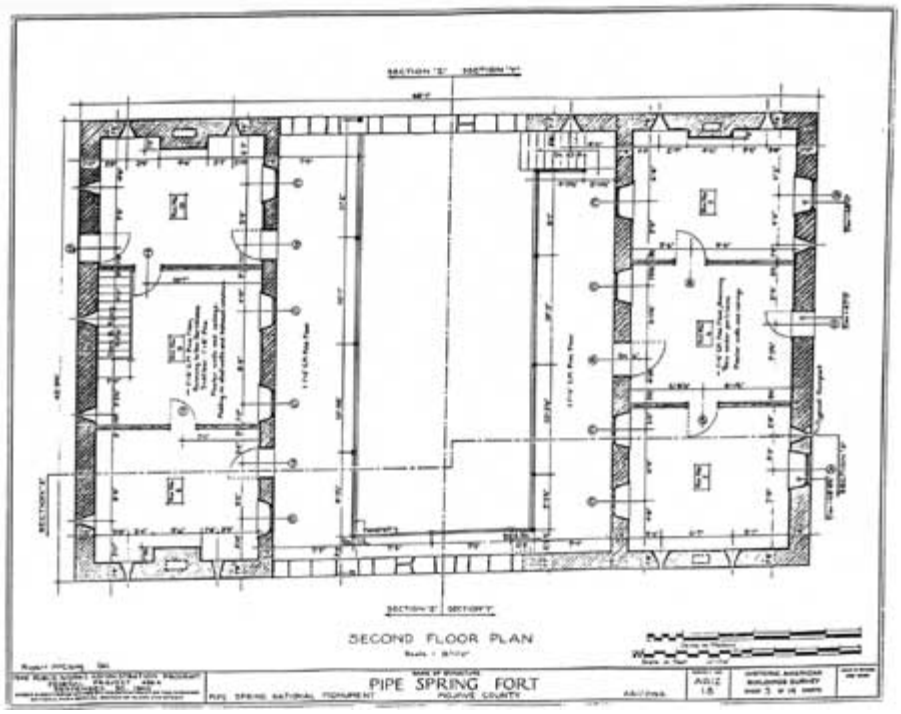









FIRST FLOOR PLAN
PIPE SPRING FORT
PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT
MOHAVE COUNTY
ARIZONA
HABS
AZ-12
18

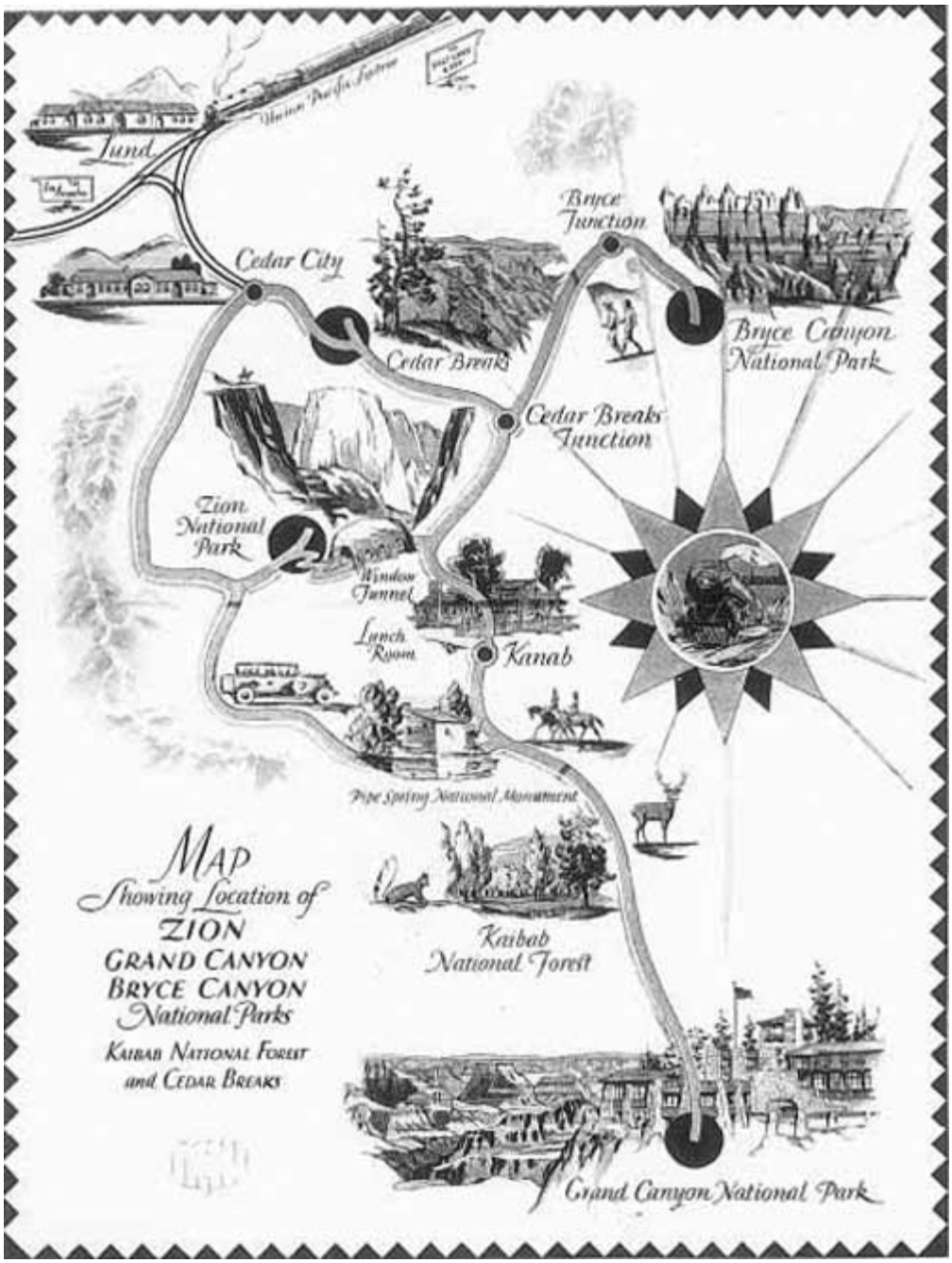

SECOND FLOOR PLAN
PIPE SPRING FORT
PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT
MOHAVE COUNTY
ARIZONA
HABS
AZ-12
18

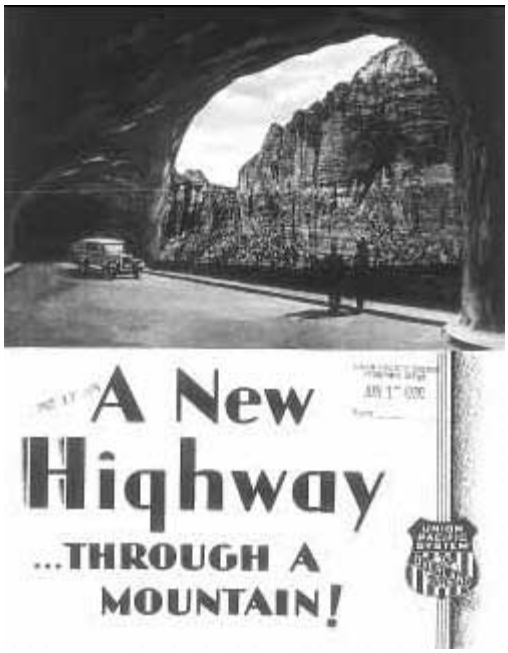




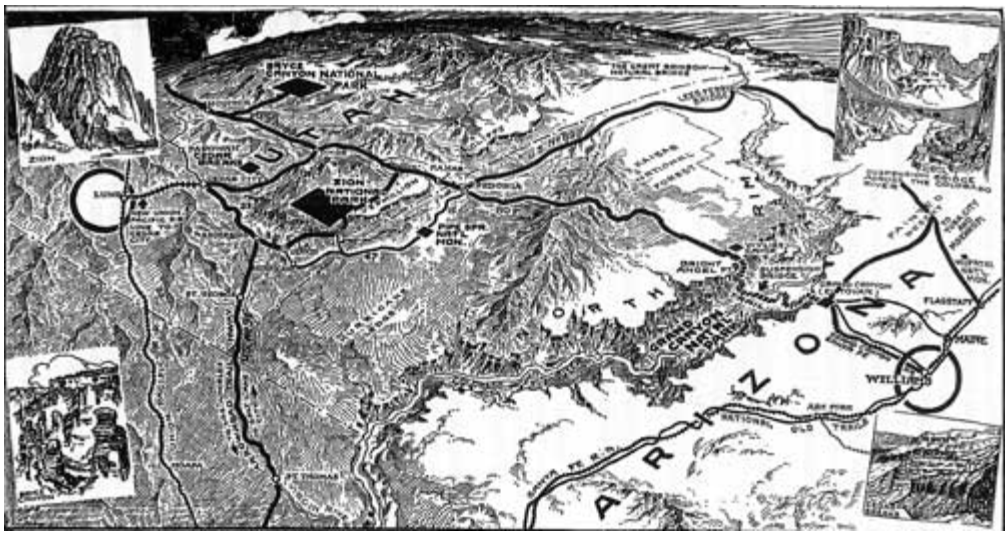





Lund
Cedar City
Bryce Junction
Bryce Canyon National Park
Cedar Breaks
Cedar Breaks Junction
Zion National Park
Window Tunnel
Lunch Room
Kanab
Pipe Spring National Monument
Kaibab National Forest
Grand Canyon National Park
MAP
Showing Location of
ZION
GRAND CANYON
BRYCE CANYON
National Parks
KAIBAB NATIONAL FOREST
and CEDAR BREAKS


A New
Highway
...THROUGH A
MOUNTAIN!

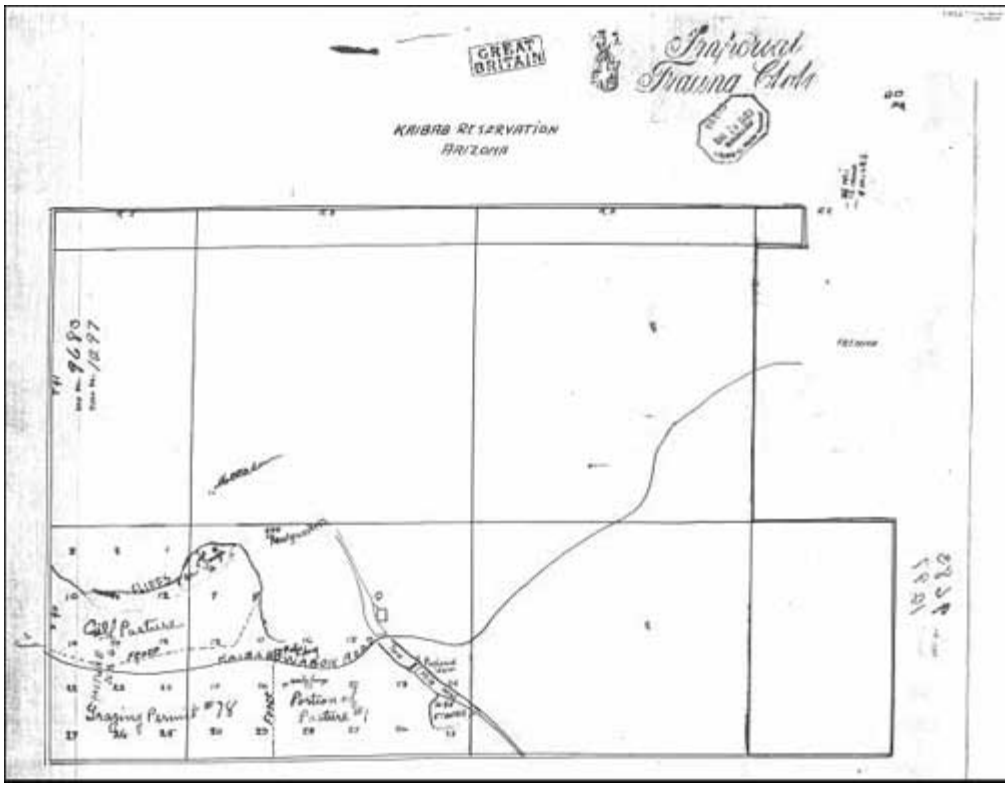

If it's a
National Park
it's probably on the
UNION PACIFIC
19 National Parks
in the Continental U. S.
13 are reached via the
UNION PACIFIC
UNION
PACIFIC
THE OVERLAND ROUTE
UNION PACIFIC

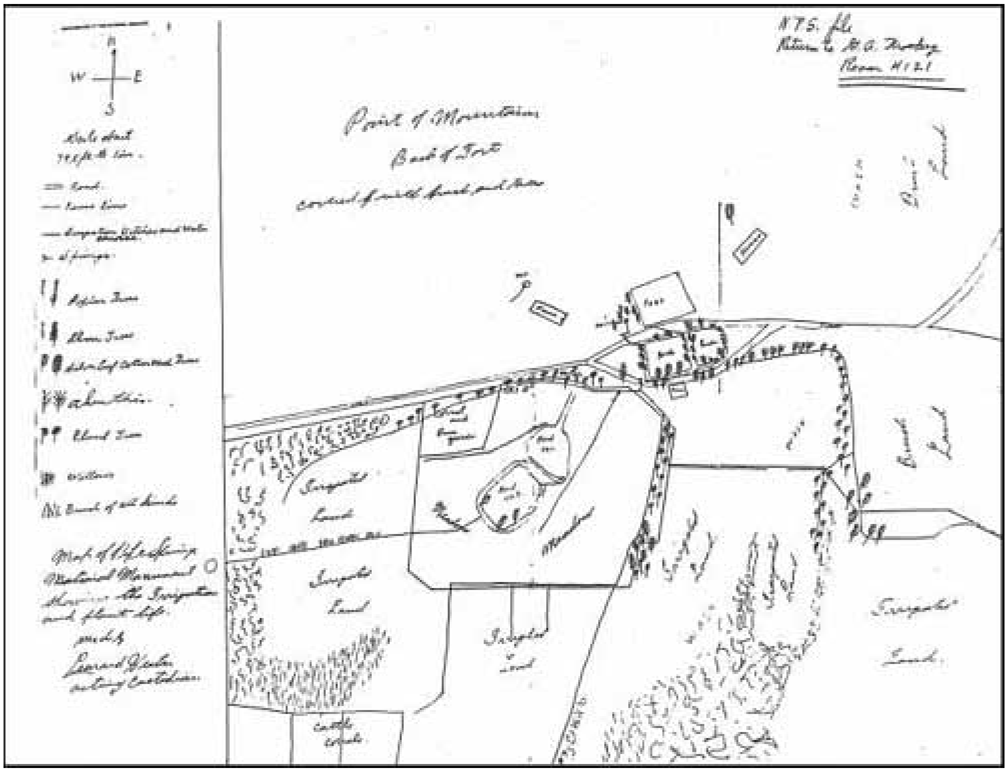

BRYCE CANYON NATIONAL PARK
ZION NATIONAL PARK
KAIBAB NATIONAL FOREST
GRAND CANYON NATIONAL PARK
FLAGSTAFF
WILLIAMS
NORTH
ARIZONA

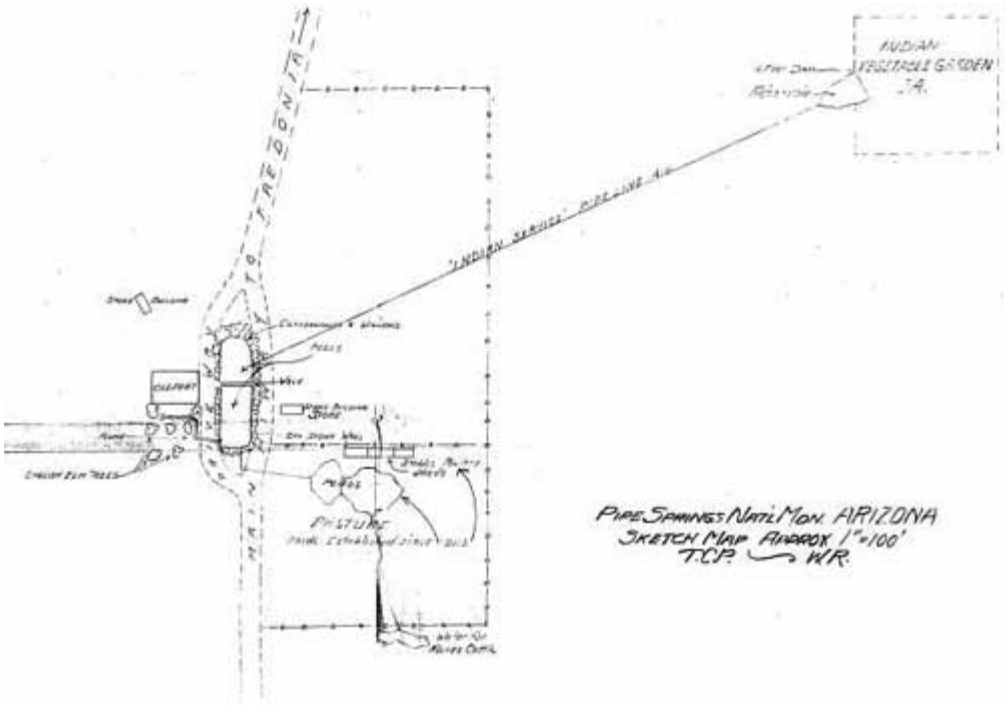



No 5



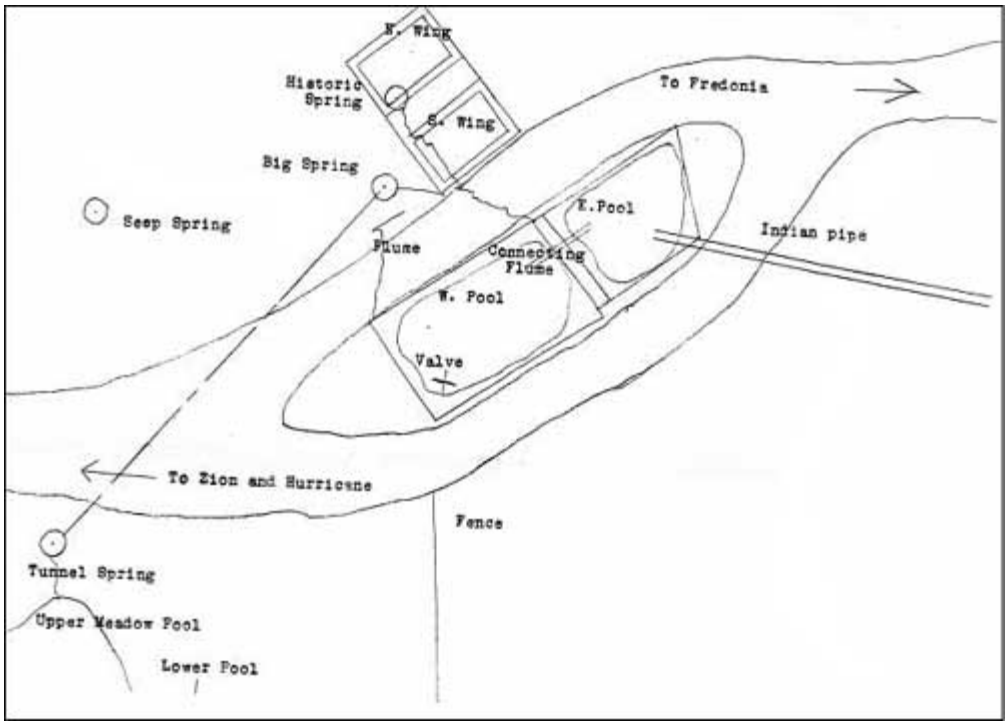

GREAT BRITAIN
KAIBAB RESERVATION
ARIZONA
Cliff Pasture
Grazing Permit #78
Portion of Pasture #1


N
W
E
S
Point of Mountain
Back of Fort
Irrigated Land
Irrigated Land
Irrigated Land
Irrigated Land
Cattle Corral



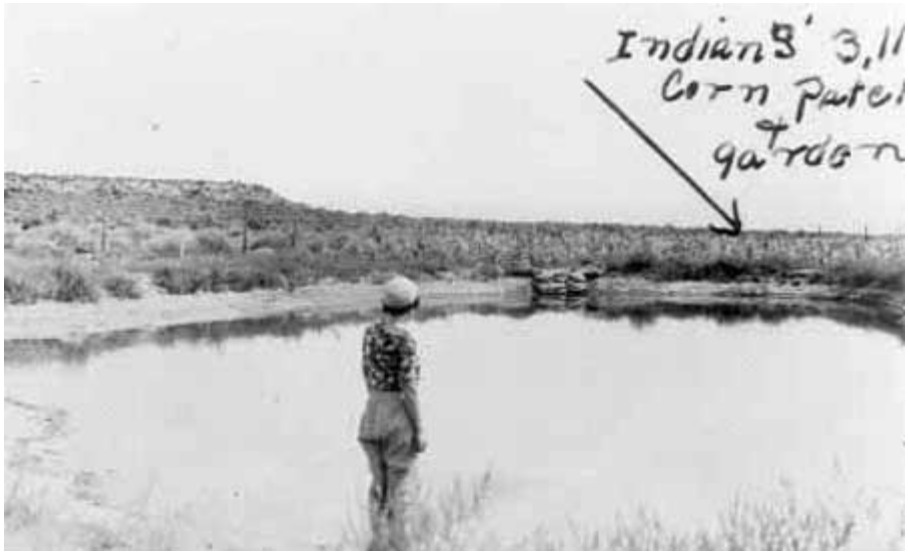
PIPE SPRINGS NAT'L MON. ARIZONA
SKETCH MAP APPROX 1"=100'
T.C.P. → W.R.

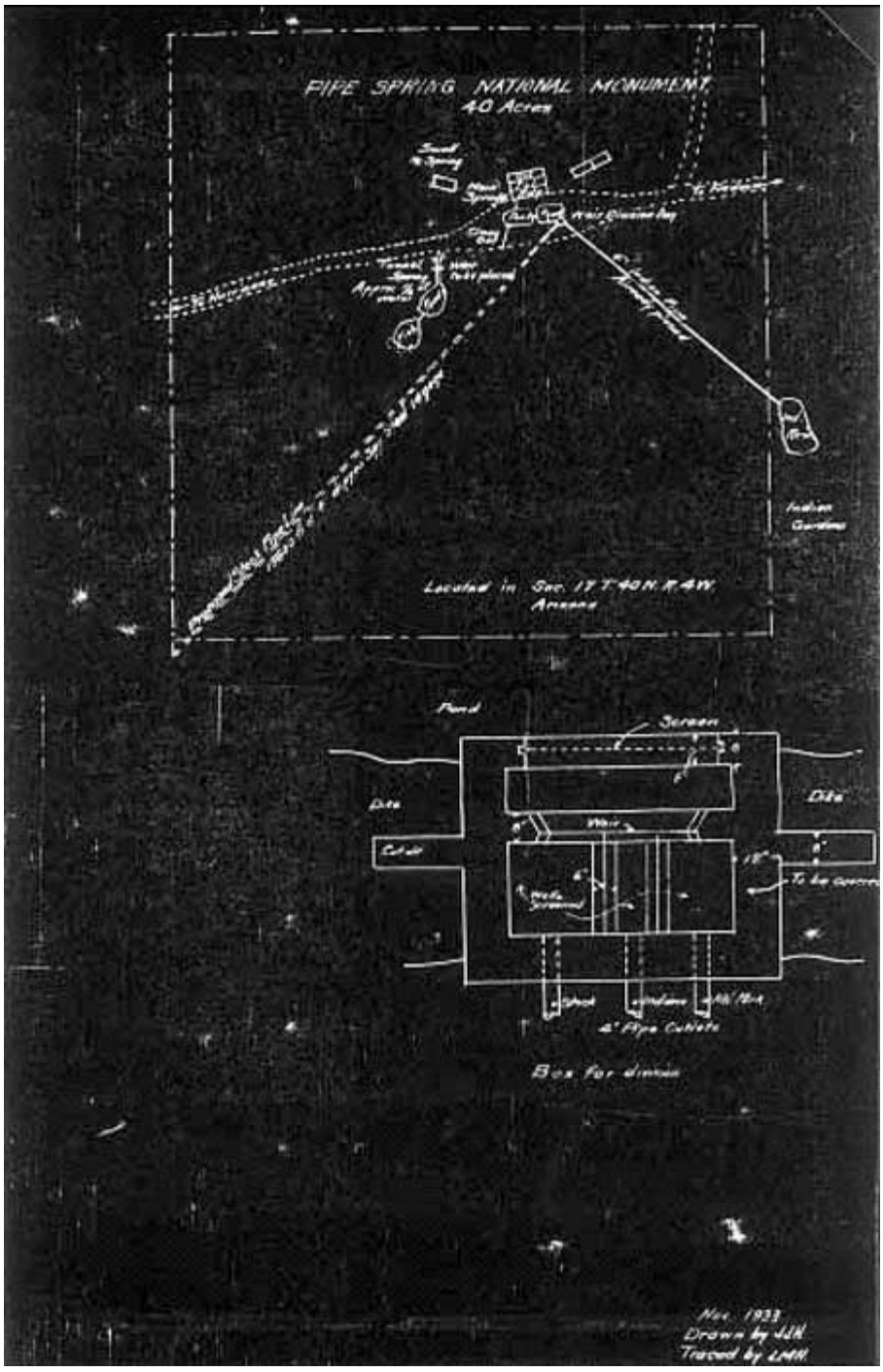
http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/pisp/adhi/images/fig59.jpg[9/3/2013 4:00:45 PM]


N. Wing
Historic Spring
S. Wing
To Fredonia
Big Spring
Seep Spring
E.Pool
Indian pipe
Flume
Connecting Flume
W. Pool
Valve
To Zion and Hurricane
Fence
Tunnel Spring
Upper Meadow Pool
Lower Pool

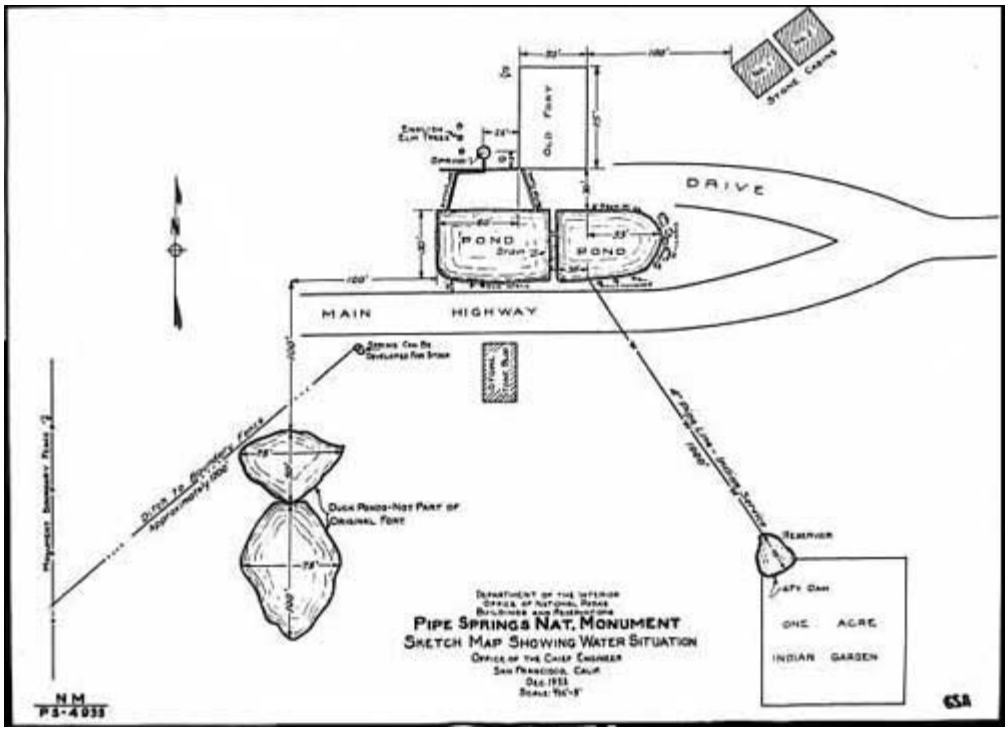





Indians' 3,1
Corn Patc
&
garden

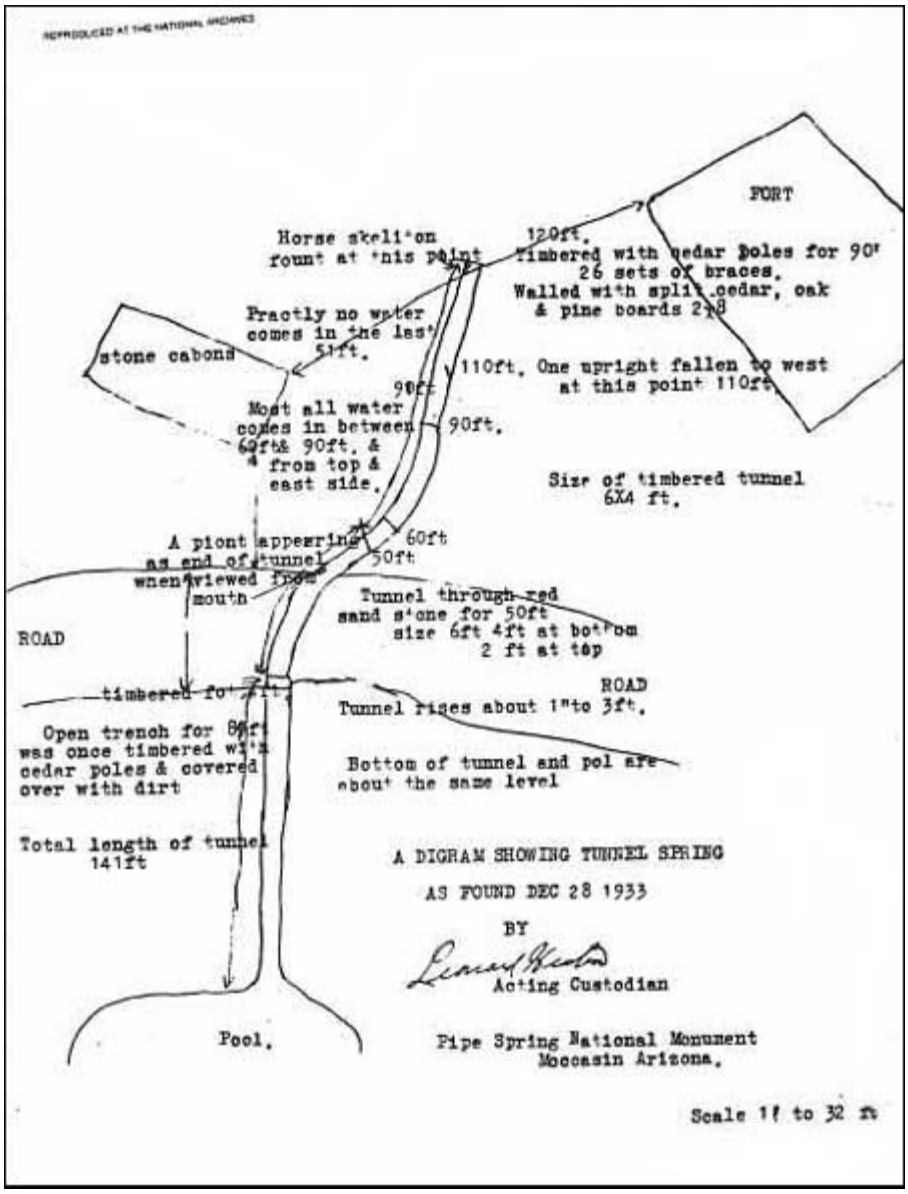


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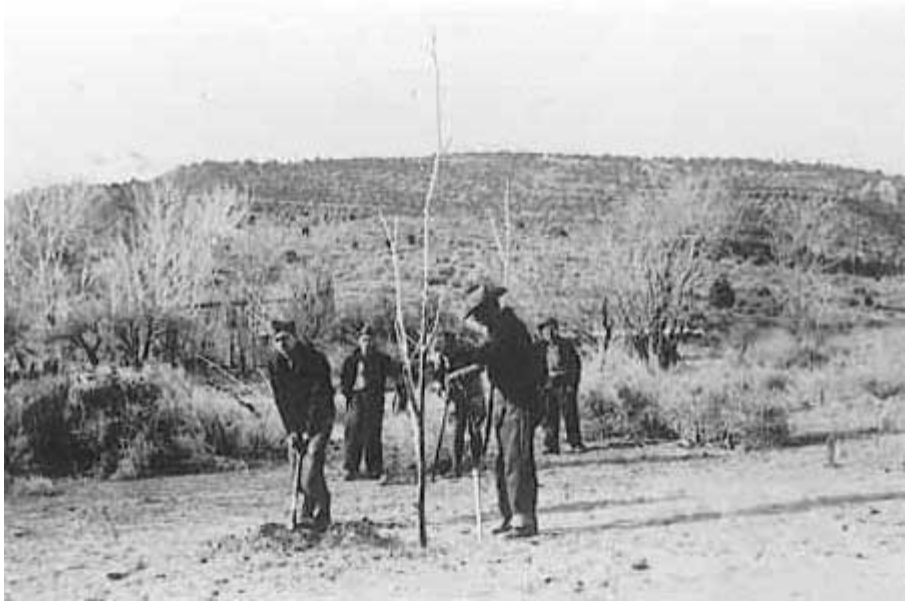
REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES



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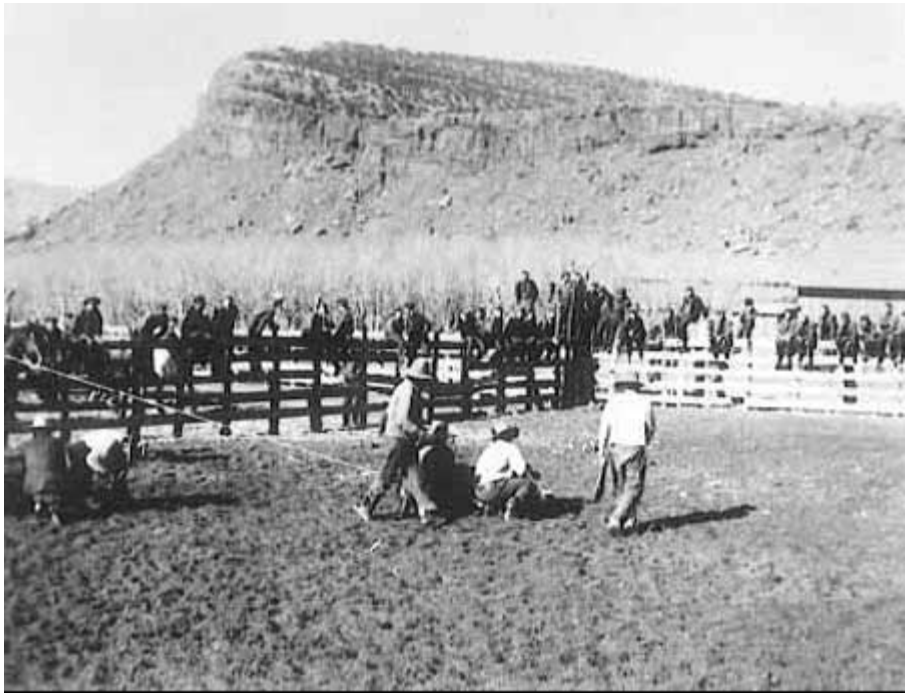














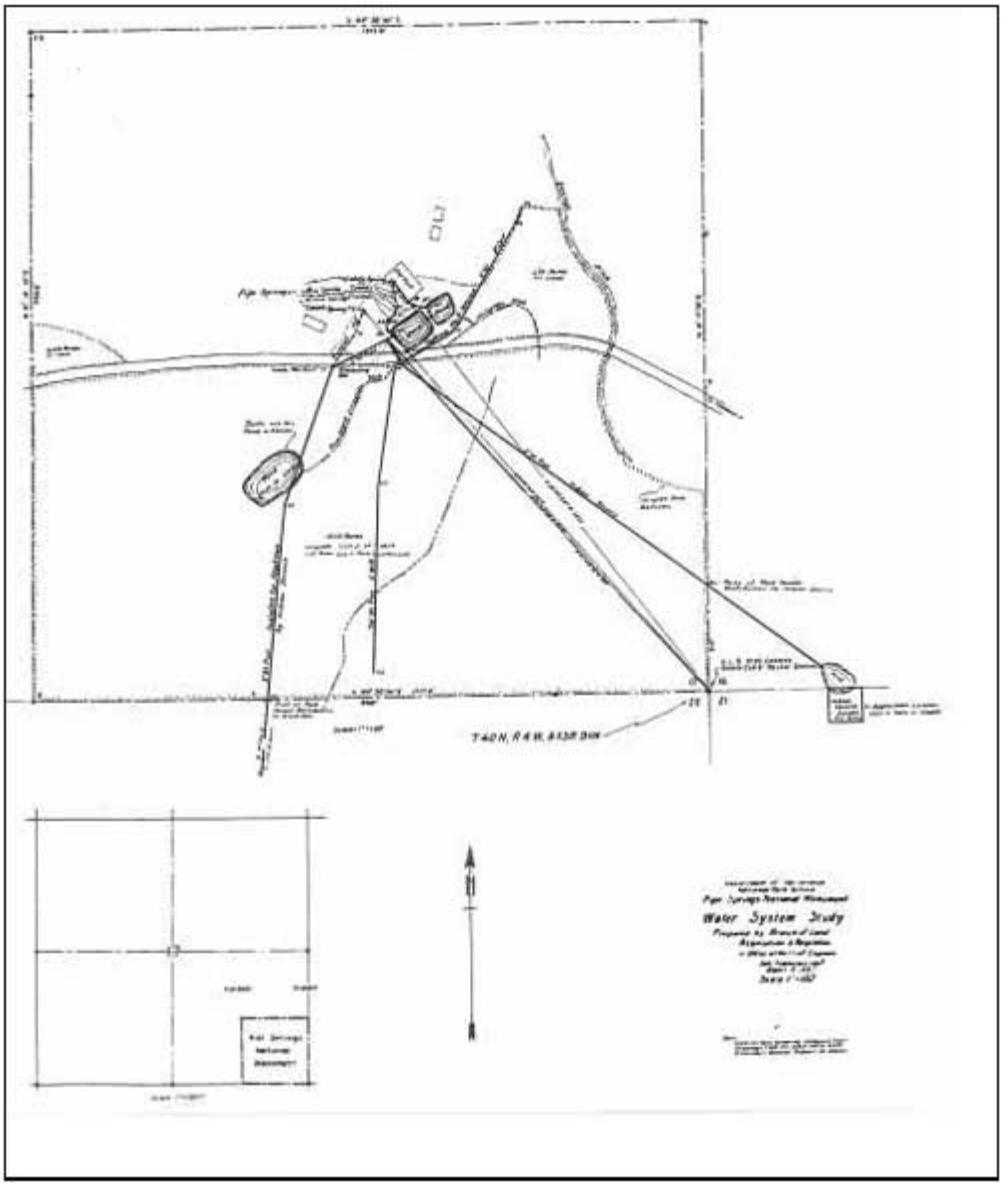




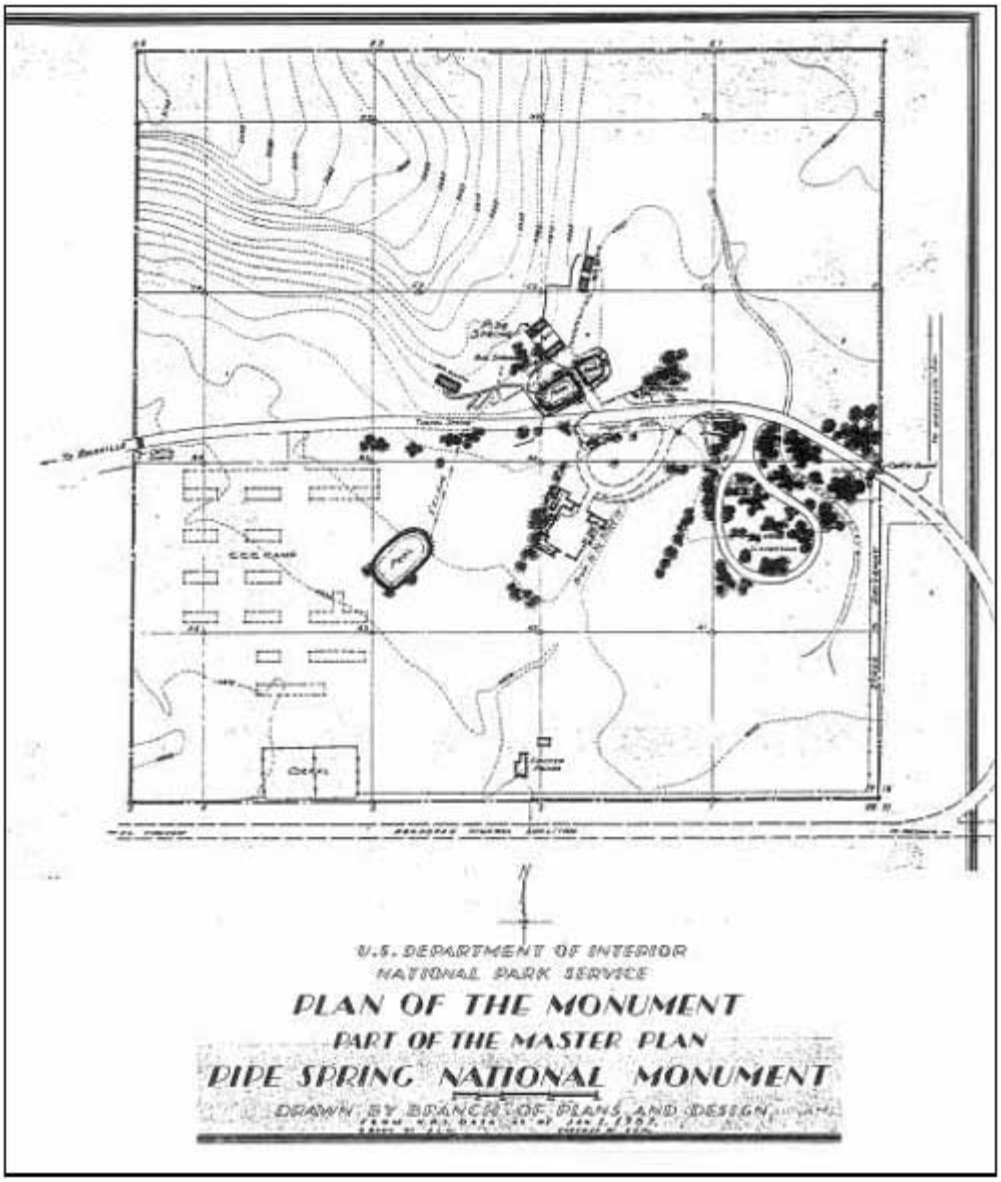





MUSEUM
COME IN AND
REGISTER


T 40 N, R 4 W, S 35 E, SW
Water System Study

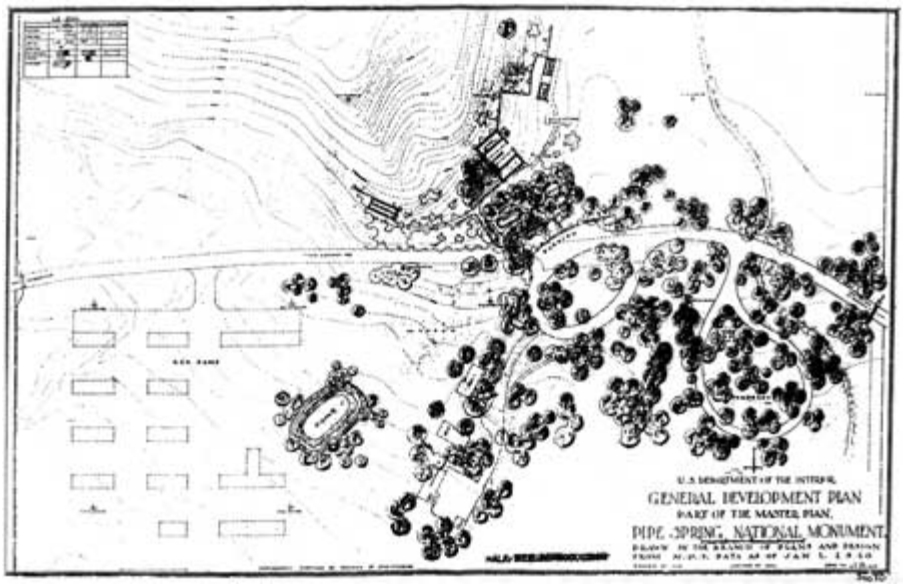


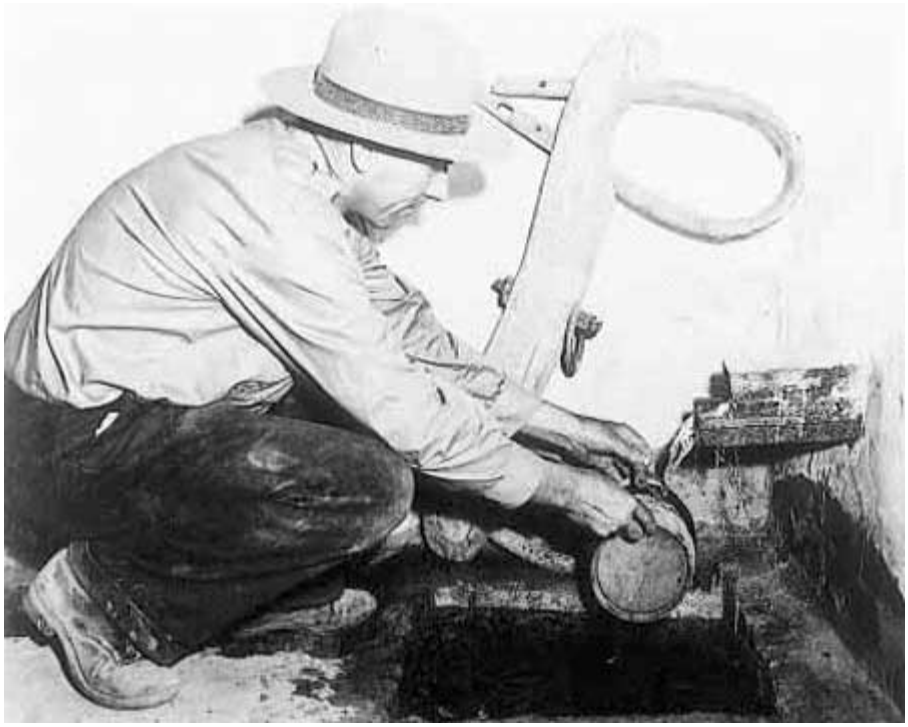

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
PLAN OF THE MONUMENT
PART OF THE MASTER PLAN
PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT
DRAWN BY BRANCH OF PLANS AND DESIGN



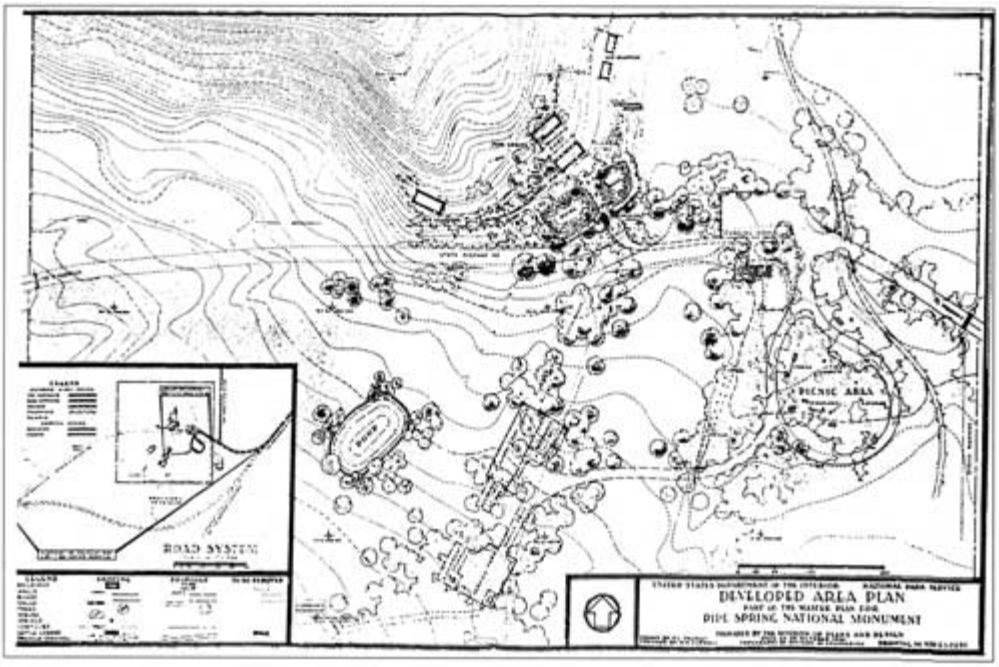





U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
GENERAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN
PART OF THE MASTER PLAN
PIPE SPRING, NATIONAL MONUMENT






PICNIC AREA
DEVELOPED AREA PLAN
PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT



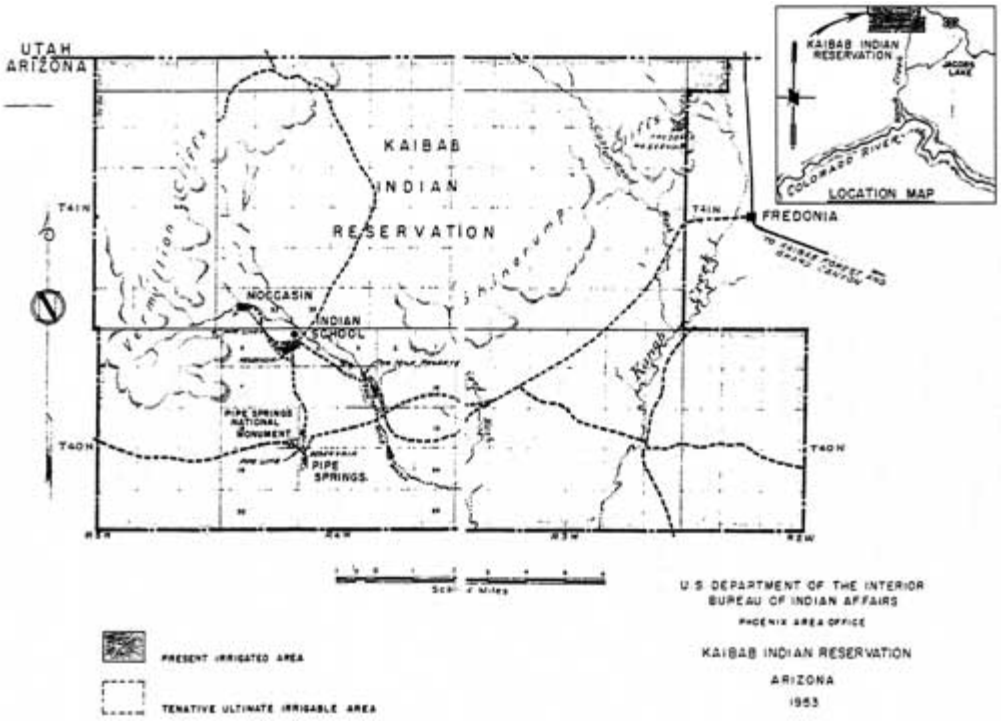





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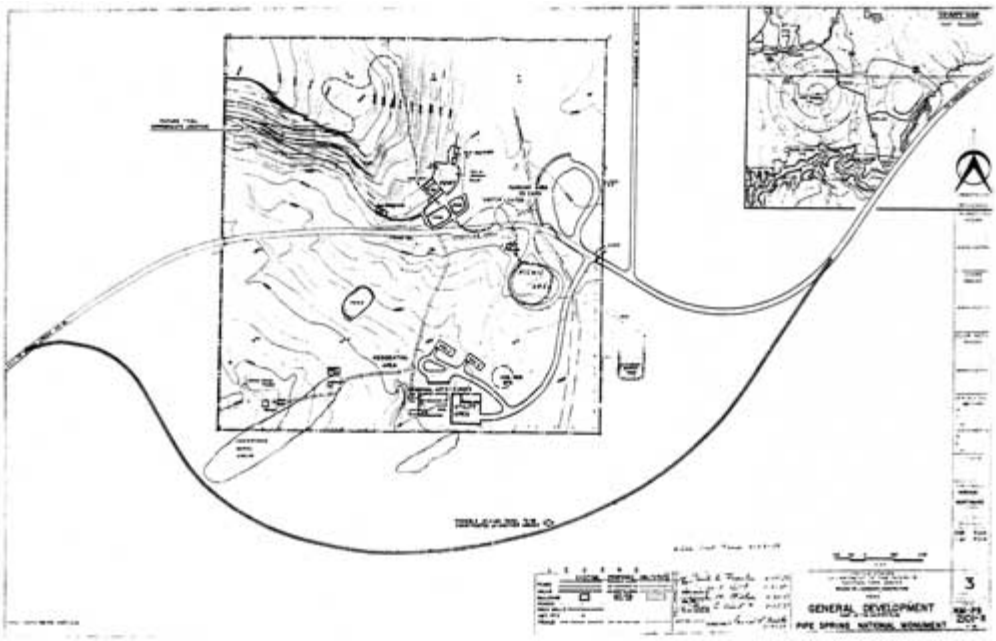




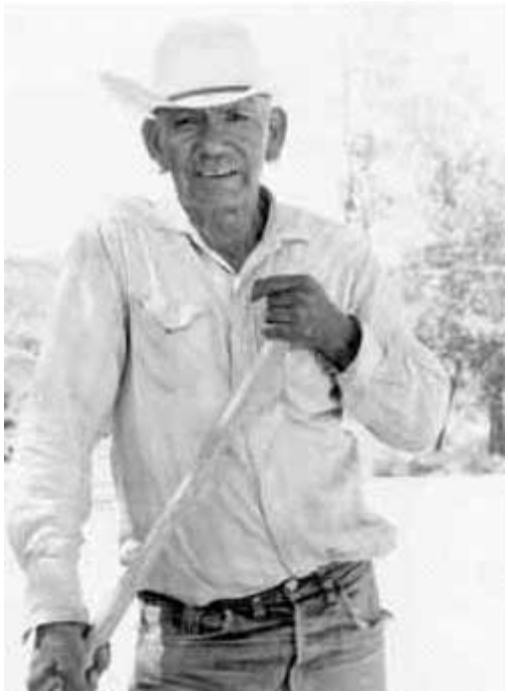


http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/pisp/adhi/images/fig95.jpg[9/3/2013 4:01:35 PM]




GENERAL DEVELOPMENT
PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT
3











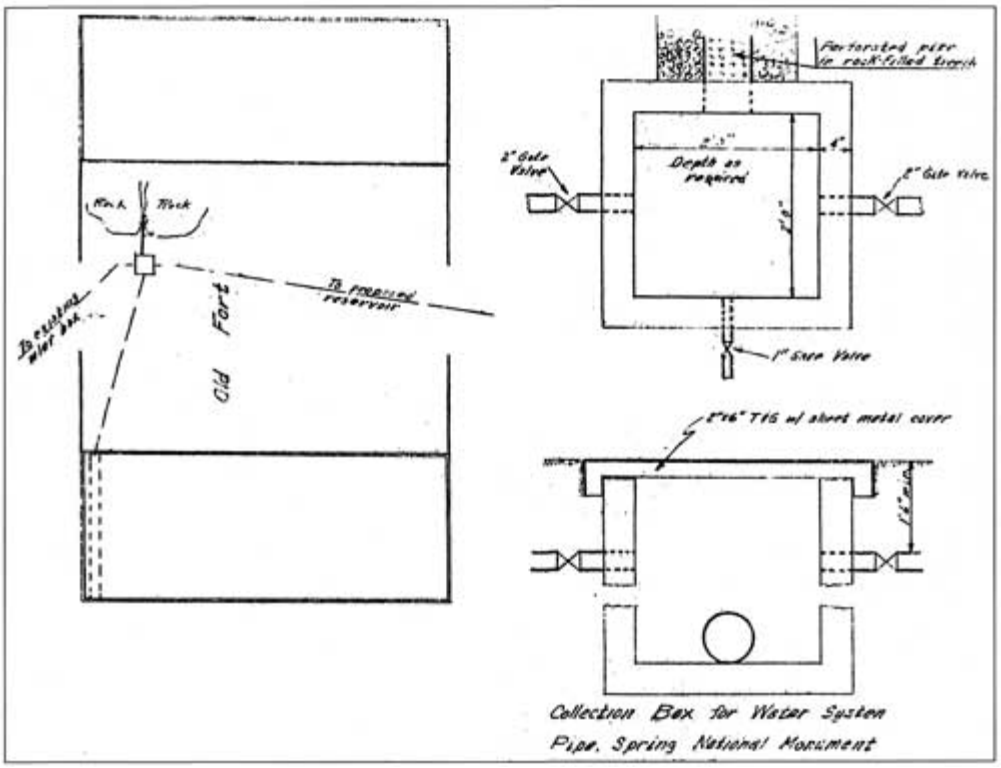




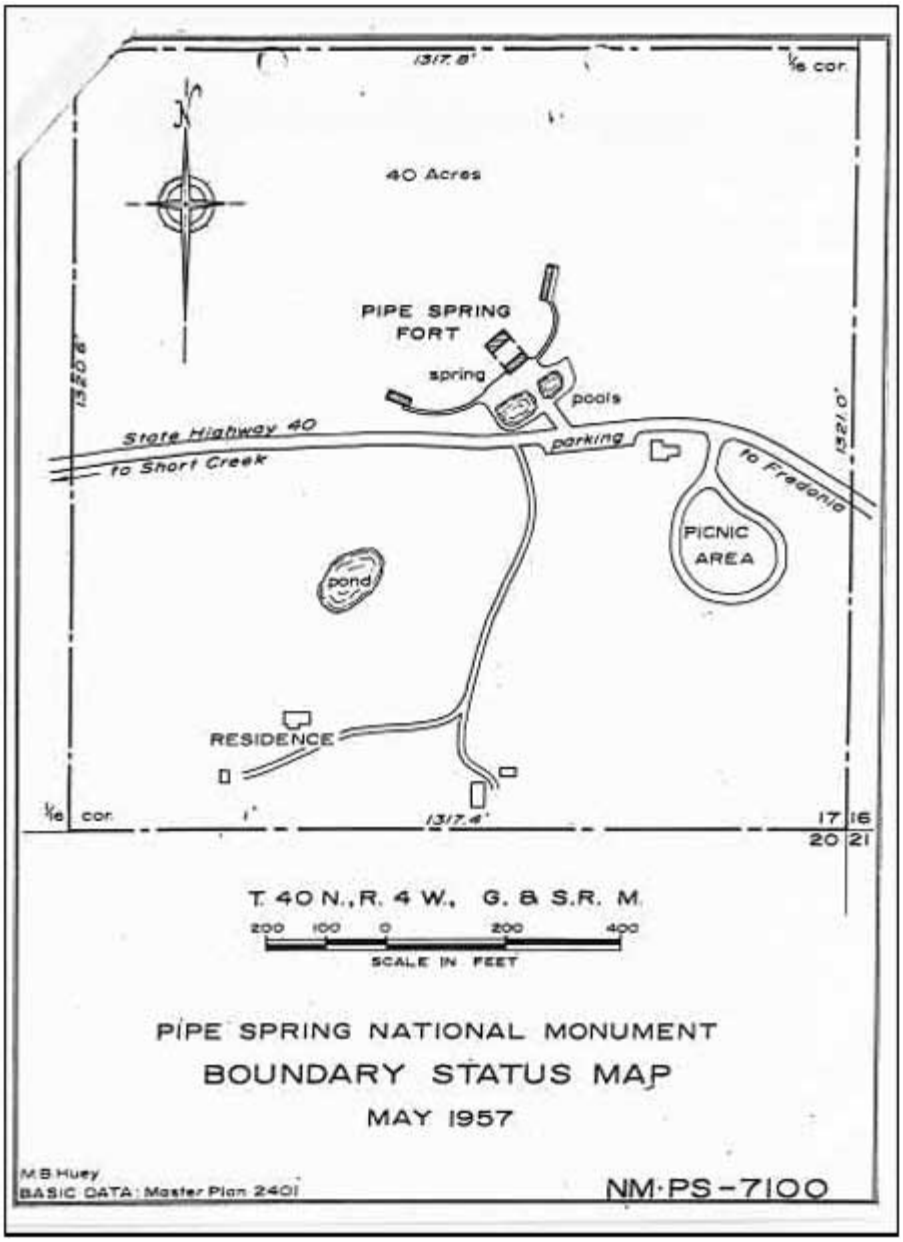








Collection Box for Water System Pipe, Spring National Monument



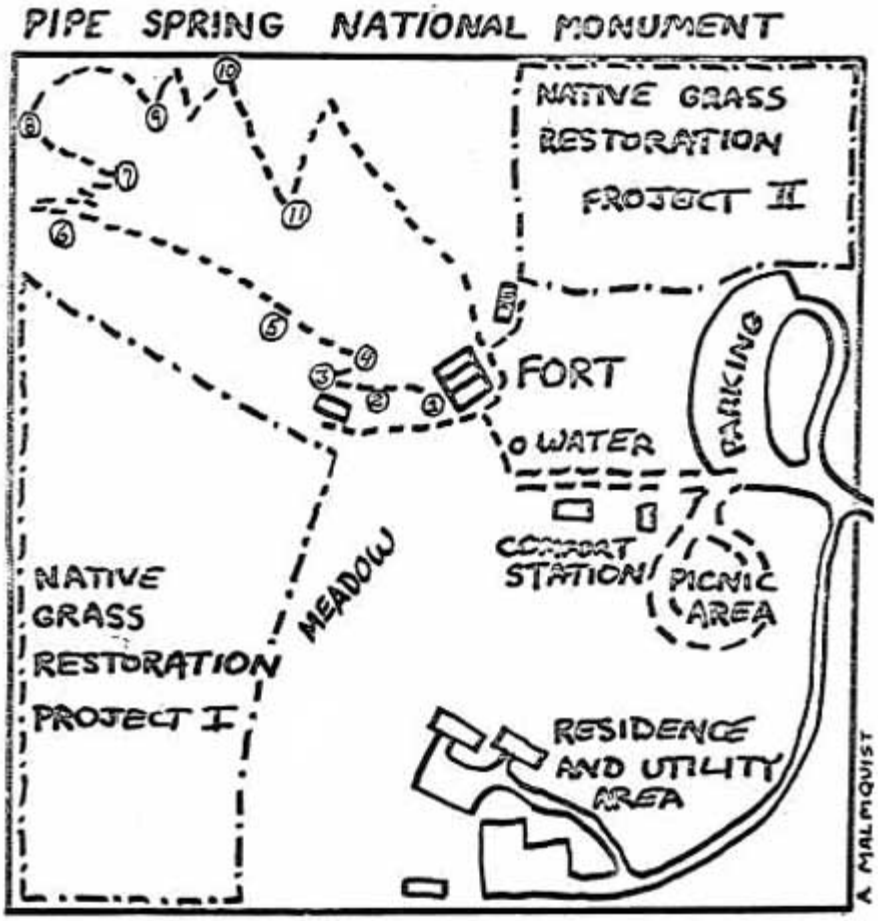
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Metalphoto Markers On Nature Trail

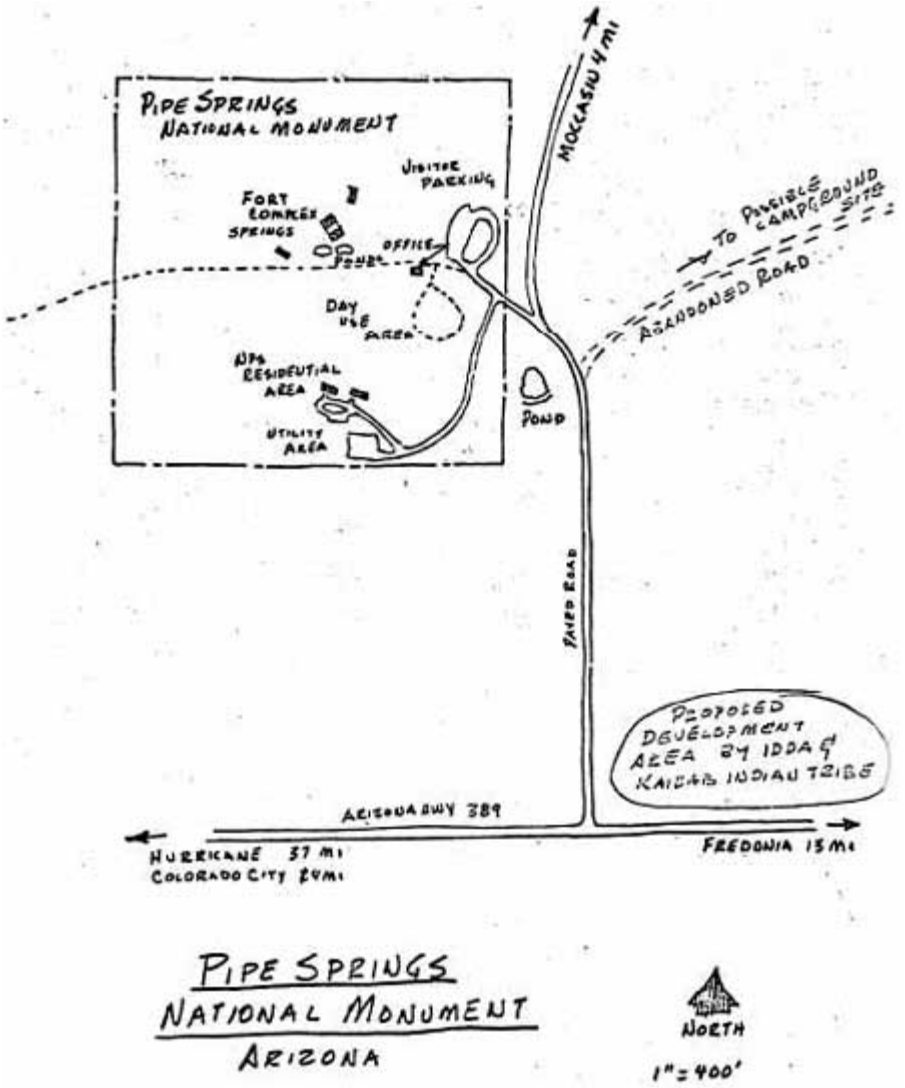
1. Pipe Spring flowing from under Fort
2. Deseret Telegraph pole
3. Seep, one of several associated with Pipe Spring
4. Fort from rear, hard to defend
5. Quarry Trail, how "rock lizard" used
6. Contrast native grass below with sage outside monument
7. Arizona Strip, identify points on horizon
8. Point out Powell Monument on rim and others to the east.
9. Identify pinon, juniper, cacti, ect.
10. Downthrow of strata along Sever Fault, geology of Spring
11. Oasis around Pipe Spring

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/pisp/adhi/images/fig114.jpg[9/3/2013 4:02:31 PM]

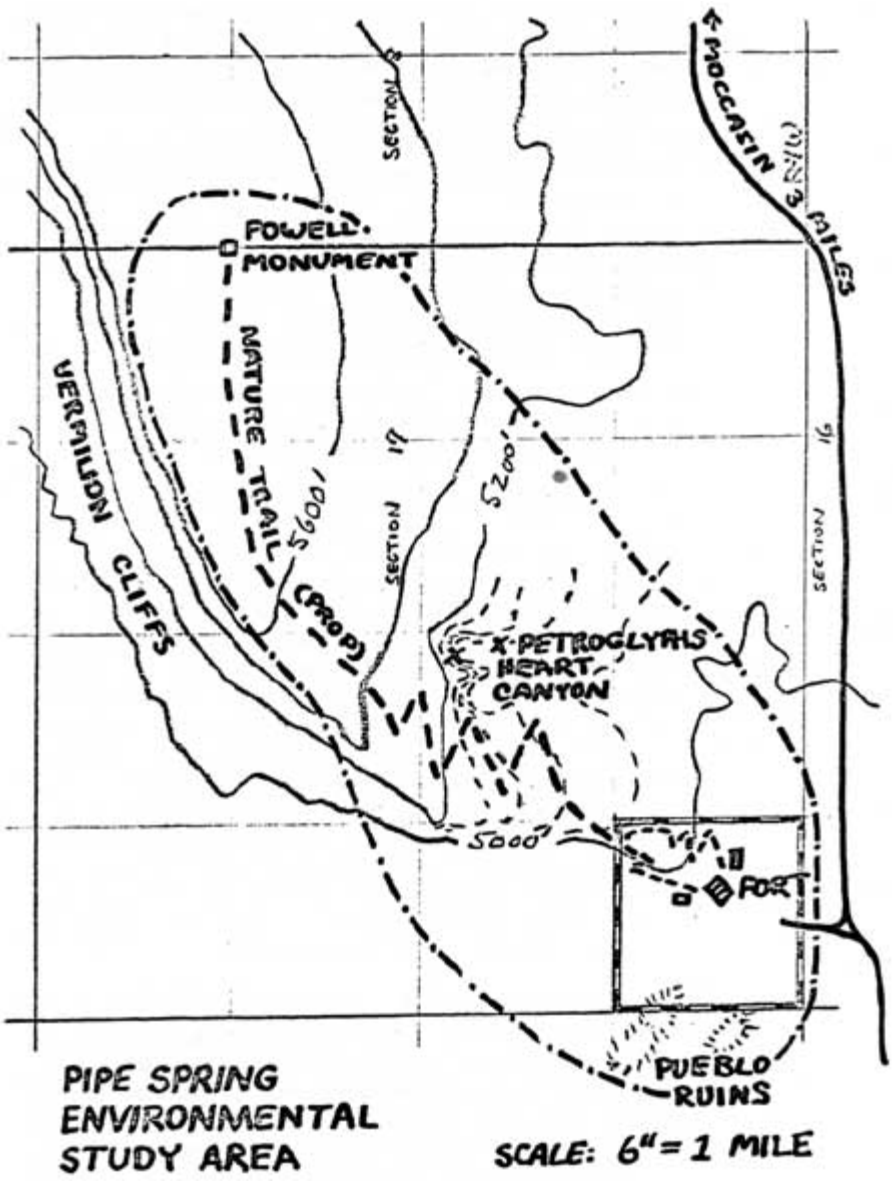








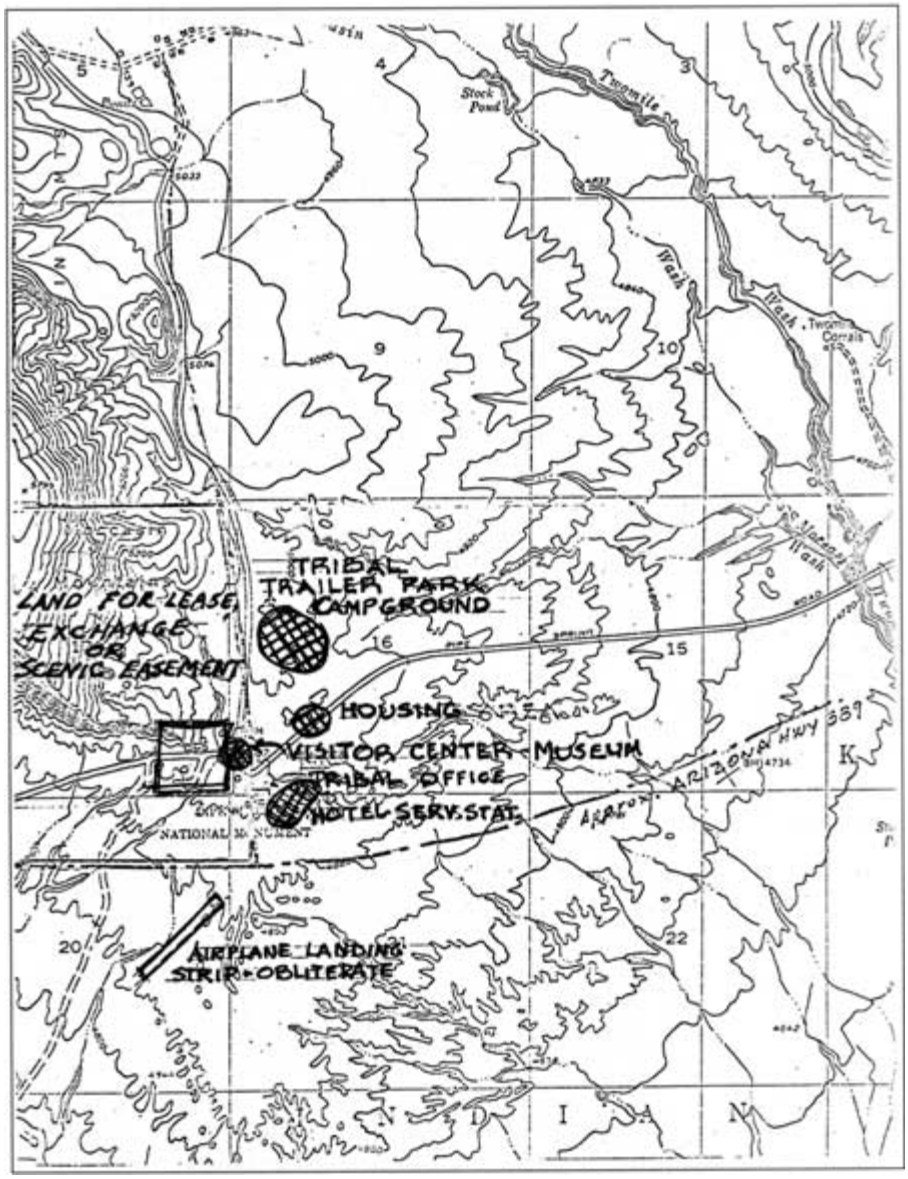
http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/pisp/adhi/images/fig118.jpg[9/3/2013 4:02:33 PM]



PIPE SPRING ENVIRONMENTAL STUDY AREA

SCALE: 6" = 1 MILE

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/pisp/adhi/images/fig119.jpg[9/3/2013 4:02:34 PM]


Stock Pond
Tsegi
Wash
Wash
Twin Trails
TRIBAL TRAILER PARK CAMPGROUND
LAND FOR LEASE, EXCHANGE OR SCENIC EASEMENT
HOUSING
VISITOR CENTER-MUSEUM
TRIBAL OFFICE
HOTEL SERV. STA.
ARIZONA HWY 564
ARIZONA HWY 389
NATIONAL MONUMENT
AIRPLANE LANDING STRIP-OBLITERATE
INDIAN





