AMERICAN ZION: MORMON PERSPECTIVES ON LANDSCAPE FROM ZION NATIONAL PARK TO THE BUNDY FAMILY WAR

by

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DEDICATION

To DQ, with love. And to Gene Gaines, with gratitude.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PROLOGUE 1

INTRODUCTION 5

1. ZION CANYON IN THE LAND OF DIXIE 18

Mormon Settlement 18
Roots of Zion 21
Building Zion over Paiute Homeland 31
Settling Dixie 40
Dixie and The United Order 46
Miracles, Faith-Promoting Events and the Supernatural 52
From Livelihood to Leisure 57
Conclusion 65

2. STRANGERS IN ZION 69

Winds of Change 69
A Romance with Mormon and Paiute Homeland 72
Roads to Rocks 83
Engaging Local Support 100
Conclusion 109

3. DYNAMITE AND DEVOTION IN ZION CANYON 112

Reshaping and Reimaging Mormon Homeland 112
Mormon Notions of Landscape 115
A Space in the Making 131
At Play in Wonderland 141
Zion Easter Pageant and the Rocks of Ages 149
Conclusion 158

4. RAGE IN ZION: THE STEEP DESCENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN DIXIE RESIDENTS AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT 162

The Open Range Becomes Managed 165
Escalante, Part 1 176
Sagebrush and Range Wars 187
Escalante, Part 2 197
Escalante, Part 3 206
Cliven Bundy, the Spokesperson of the Paranoid Style 210
Conclusion 217

TABLE OF CONTENTS – CONTINUED

5. THE GUNS OF ZION 221

The Bundy Family, Public Lands and Mormonism 221
History of Violence 224
Cliven Bundy and His Beef with the BLM 231
The Constitution Cowboy 238
Like Father, Like Sons 251
Cowboys and Indians 262
Conclusion 267

CONCLUSION 271

Dissertation Summary 271

EPILOGUE 281

REFERENCES 292

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

1. Portrait of Joseph Smith....24
2. Portrait of Brigham Young....25
3. Honeymoon in Zion Canyon....64
4. Arrowhead Trail atop Old Mormon Trail....100
5. President Warren Harding in Zion National Park, 1923....108
6. Zion-Mt. Carmel Tunnel....128
7. Three Patriarchs. Easter Pageant Zion....136
8. J.L. Crawford Growing Up in Zion Canyon....139
9. Actor Playing Jesus during the Easter Pageant....152
10. Actor Playing Herod's Dancing Girl during Easter Pageant....153
11. Tourists in Zion. Easter Pageant....158
12. Regional Map....169
13. "Ceiling Cat Watching." Posted on *Why We Protest*.net....223
14. Nephi Johnson....227
15. John D. Lee at Mountain Meadows....228
16. Wovoka. "Paiute Prophet Wovoka Preached about Peace"....266

LIST OF ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS

Church History Library
Church of the Latter Day Saints
Salt Lake City, UT

Reed Smoot Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections
Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University
Provo, UT

Special Collections, Merrill Cazier Library, Utah State University
Logan, UT

Special Collections, Dixie State College of Utah
St. George, Utah

Special Collections, Gerald S. Sherratt, Southern Utah University
Cedar City, Utah

Zion Archives, National Park Service, Zion National Park and the Zion National Park Library
Springdale, Utah

J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah
Utah Digital Newspapers
Available on-line: https://digitalnewspapers.org

Washington County Historical Society
Available on-line: http://www.wchsutah.org

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is about Mormon views on landscape and resource use from Euro-American settlement in what is today southern Utah and southeastern Nevada, to the current range battles over public lands. In journals, articles, interviews, videos, and blog posts, a record of grazing and extraction during early settlement through the opening of tourism and modern federal management exists; these materials portray religious and utilitarian views on landscape and justify land use accordingly. Opinions over the appropriate use of federal lands, cultural biases and differing notions of ownership present a wide disparity on regional and national perceptions of suitable uses of federal property. Most urban Americans want to access public lands for reasons other than resource extraction. Western ranchers and their supporters, on the other hand, want to use public land for economic purposes. A group of Mormon ranchers justify their position through ancestry, entitlement and religious beliefs. The result has been a protracted conflict, in Mormon homeland, between the federal government, regional residents and the broader American public. This dissertation tracks early land use by Southern Paiute and Mormons; the history of grazing on federal lands and the establishment of national parks and monuments in Mormon country; and current armed conflicts over land use.

PROLOGUE

> *They [*federal authorities] *was acting—I don't know—acting like an army coming against we, the people.*[1]
> —Cliven Bundy

As Americans, we represent an array of values, traditions, priorities, cultures, skin colors, ancestries, and livelihoods. The one thing we do have in common is that we are "We the people." And as we the people, we are promised justice, domestic tranquility, general welfare, and liberty by the U.S. Constitution. In addition to creating government structure, this is a document meant to protect individual freedoms. But in a democracy, the desires of a majority prevail even if these demands impede the needs of an individual.

We live in a country with almost 310,000,000 other "we the people." And we are deeply divided, perhaps more than ever. According to the *New York Times*, Americans are "the oppressed and their oppressors, the afraid and the feared, hope and dread, change and deadlock, all fooled forever that we are a single we."[2] And yet, here we are, striving to make a perfect nation and at a time when we are alarmingly politically, economically, geographically, and culturally divergent.

What happens when a few Americans begin to believe that maintaining their own freedom surpasses the propensities of a majority of fellow Americans? One example of this is a ranching family and their supporters in southeastern Nevada who think that, in

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[1] *Around the Nation*, "Cliven Bundy's Arrest Caps Years of Calls for the Federal Government to Take Action," National Public Radio, transcript, February 11, 2016, accessed February 14, 2017, http://www.npr.org/templates/transcript/transcript.php?storyId=466451287.

[2] Wesley Morris, "We the People Aren't Sure Who 'We' Even Are," *The New York Times Magazine*, November 14, 2016, accessed December 10, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/20/magazine/we-the-people-arent-sure-who-we-even-are.html?_r=0.

spite of federal law, they are entitled to do what they want on publically owned lands. They justify their actions, including an armed standoff and a militaristic take-over of a federal wildlife refuge, through unique positions on proprietary ownership; religious belief; a certainty of their own "higher truth"; a special understanding of the U.S. Constitution; and a comprehension of the will of "we the people" that they uniquely possess.

This family, the Bundys, maintain their rights are irrefutable and God-given. In the name of protecting these rights, they have gathered armed militia from all over the country to confront the US government who, by court order, had acted to confiscate cows illegally grazing on public lands. Facing snipers and an angry crowd of protesters, US enforcement eventually backed down, leaving behind a "victorious" empowered group of anti-government protesters.

In his speeches and in the media, Cliven Bundy has repeatedly referred to "We the people" when he discussed his plight in regards to the principles of the Constitution. But which people? His fight reflects those of a rural culture that is isolated and anxious—a group that has relied on livelihoods that are growing less viable in a modern economically and culturally diverse nation. Bundy's followers have romanticized Cliven as a heroic cowboy and made him the face of a rebellion. He is also the face of the disenfranchised white working class male in rural America.

Bundy's job hasn't gone to China or Mexico. He lives in ranch country with his neighbors who are, or were, ranchers. Bundy's livelihood has been threatened by the priorities of other Americans who value public lands as ecologically functional landscapes that provide recreational opportunities and escapes from the frenzy of urban

areas. The American people value public lands as refuges for fish and wildlife, protected from the threats of unmitigated mining, grazing and timber harvest. They support laws that work to protect species and resources. But to the Bundys, the land is meant to be used and made productive. Obviously federal environmental laws and restrictions were not in place when their ancestors, the Mormon settlers, first moved into the Great Basin, Mojave Desert, and Colorado Plateau. And now these Latter Day Saint (LDS) descendants are faced with the will of a majority of Americans. The result has been a loud pounding upon a document that says nothing about ranching or public lands, the U.S. Constitution. Additionally, this family has waged a battle that has involved other anti-government agitators and lots of guns. The Bundy Ranch Facebook page has become an amplifier for over 200,000 supporters who rage, pray, dialogue, and share conspiracies.[3]

Although the Bundys are Mormon, and their actions are admittedly justified through their faith, the disgruntlement over federal policy on public lands is not a Mormon religious position. The Bundys uphold unique LDS positions on the government and the U.S. Constitution. In looking at their actions and their worldview, one sees that the Bundys borrow from the history of settlement and a Mormon early relationship with their region. They also blend somewhat archaic aspects of Mormon theology with the religious leanings of the American Patriot movement. In the last several years, however, they have had to deal with the priorities of other Americans, including environmentalists, recreationalists, range specialists, and Native American activists. So although the Bundy

[3] Last time I visited their page, a number of claims, such as Hillary Clinton's involvement in a child prostitution ring run from a DC pizza restaurant, had been removed.

family has been waging their battle for the rights of “we the people,” it has become increasingly clear that there is no one cohesive “we.”

INTRODUCTION

> *What shall one then answer the messengers of the nation? That the LORD hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people shall trust in it.*
> —Isaiah 14:32[4]

Utah, Nevada, and parts of Arizona have been shaped by Mormon culture, history, and land-use for nearly two hundred years. Mormon perceptions and resource use from the time of settlement in the mid-nineteenth century, to the establishment of Utah's first national park in 1919 can help set the framework for modern public land disputes. Traditions and assumptions brought to the region by Latter Day Saints (LDS) provide insight into ongoing public land wars. By examining the roots of LDS investment in the region and the beliefs that became embedded in some of the more isolated areas, a story of a perceived disparity, cowboy mythology, and old time religion emerged to reside in this corner of canyon country.

The region is named Dixie. In the 1850s, Brigham Young dispatched Mormon families to plant cotton along the Virgin River, Southern Paiute lands, in an effort known as the Cotton Mission or Dixie Mission. Within this mission, religious, economic, cultural, and environmental conditions inspired various understandings and differing uses of lands and natural resources. Over the decades, these factors created a broad spectrum of local and national opinions on the appropriate use of public lands and fueled some of the most vitriolic and dangerous present-day land use battles in the United States.

Traveling west to escape religious oppression, Mormon pioneers sought a place to practice their faith in peace. With them they took the idea of Zion, a vital Mormon notion

[4] Isaiah, 14:32 (KJV).

of refuge and homeland. And it is this notion of Mormon homeland (later inspiring the name of Zion National Park) that became the embodiment of Euro-American Mormon and non-Mormon perspectives of landscape. Mormons brought with them the idea of Zion to the Great Basin, the Colorado Plateau, the Mohave Desert and the Rocky Mountains. Here they planted the seeds of Zion, physically with their Mormon poplars (Lombardy), orchards, and cotton and figuratively in imaging their self-proclaimed God-given homeland. As the Mormon leader Joseph Smith first contemplated the idea of Zion for his people, his vision was most certainly not that of southern Utah, Nevada, and northern Arizona, a far-flung severe landscape that inspired one writer to describe it both as a "fairy land" and an "inferno."[5] But it was here where Dixie settlers found their Zion, harsh and hidden, separated from the rest of the country for decades before adventurous government-sponsored surveyors came to "discover" this incredible place.

Dixie Mission families settled the Virgin River region along the 162-mile-long tributary to the Colorado River, which flows through Utah, Nevada, and Arizona. Pioneer Isaac Behunin, an early Mormon adherent who felt safety and inspiration within its steep red walls, named this place, on the upper Virgin River, Zion Canyon. But the canyon, which became part of Zion National Park (ZNP), was one small piece of envisioned Mormon homeland. The idea of Zion came to reveal itself in the American West. Its establishment was manifested in one sense through the creation of farms, irrigation systems, rangeland, and the network of Mormon families and communities. Zion became

[5] William D. Rischel, "Fairy Land or Inferno," *Motorland* (March, 1926) National Park Service, General Archives Box 1, Folder 2404-j. Zion National Park Collection, p. 11.

Deseret, Brigham Young's imagined Mormon Empire, stretching across the Sierra Nevada, to the Southern Rockies, from Oregon to Mexico.

A different notion of landscape collided with the Mormon homeland when John Wesley Powell's survey crew first travelled through the Virgin River Basin. In 1880, Captain Clarence E. Dutton of the US Geological Service wrote of Zion Canyon "Nothing exceeds the wondrous beauty of Little Zion Valley…."[6] Dutton's impressions were Thoreauvian, in that the canyon was beautiful because it was "wild." His was a worldview coming out of an emerging American movement that found sacred qualities in "untouched" nature. This new romance with American wilderness informed Dutton's view, an idea that eschewed earlier European and American idea that nature needed to be domesticated in order for it to have value. Popular writers and leaders in the preservation movement, John Muir and David Henry Thoreau, came to find God in mountains, rivers, and rocks. To the Romantic preservationist, an uncultivated land revealed the divine. To the Mormons, the divine was discovered in cultivation.

Dutton's report on the marvels of this region came ten years after the establishment of Yellowstone National Park in 1872. The government had come to acknowledge the importance of preserving its lands and designating areas with varying levels of oversight. Designations took many forms—areas for timber reserves, rangelands for grazing, and parks for natural wonders. In the Dixie region, the first federal designation was the Dixie Forest Reserve, established in 1905. The Mukuntuweap

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[6] Clarence Dutton, "The Physical Geography of the Grand Canyon District," in *Second Annual Report of the United States Geological Survey to the Secretary of the Interior 1880-1881,* ed. J. W. Powell (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1882), 88.

National Monument, known locally as Zion Canyon, followed in 1909, formally becoming ZNP in 1919. The park was Utah's first national park and the eleventh in the United States.

After Dutton and Powell, other "Gentiles" (non-Israelites, a term LDS called non-Mormons) came to Dixie to explore the area for tourist business ventures. Federal and state agencies began to make commitments to improve roads, dovetailing with local and federal agents' pursuit of new attractions in the form of parks, monuments, and later wilderness areas. After decades of struggle and toil in a desolate Dixie, LDS settlers saw paved roads built atop Mormon trails. And the roads offered entry to gape-jawed tourists who came to Mormon homeland. The result was a space where two cultures, whose values, priorities, and various interpretations of land use eventually came into conflict.

As tourists travelled for scenery and solace, they entered into a very claimed territory. This landscape was a place where Mormons fought to settle. They would not hand it over for those seeking larkish fun if it meant that federal protection excluded utilitarian uses. To the Mormon rancher public land access was necessary to make a living. After a smooth and mutually beneficial process in opening ZNP, regional attitudes shifted. Federal authority over public lands felt like robbery. Dixie Mormons backed their position with culturally influenced ideas regarding birthright and ancestry. These were a people with a history of feeling oppressed by the government. Actions ordered by bureaucrats in Washington DC to control "their" land felt oppressive. As Mormon homeland became a mecca for the outdoor enthusiasts and conservationists, the government, in fits and spurts, took measures to manage the land for assets other than

resource extraction (under a great deal of pressure from national and regional conservation groups). This caused local revolt that continues passionately today.

The relatively amicable creation of ZNP in Dixie appears as an anomaly. This park was established with much local and national support. One reason the locals collaborated in the development of ZNP was the involvement of the National Parks Director Stephen Mather (1867-1930). This man and the Deputy Director Horace Albright (1890-1987) created relationships, in some cases life long, with area residents by engaging them in park planning, road projects, and boosterism. Much of the park planning was done through collaboration, as Mormon and non-Mormon committees worked on local, state, and federal levels. Mormon Senator Reed Smoot of Utah (1862-1941) was involved not only in establishing ZNP, but also in the creation of the US Park Service itself. In addition to the cooperative nature of the creation of the park and its infrastructure, there were other reasons it stayed largely non-controversial. ZNP was small and very few families were impacted by its withdrawal from agricultural use. Regional and national parties buoyed its popularity. The destination's appeal was sealed in its development as a shared space where culturally, both Mormons and non-Mormons placed their stamp.

In building ZNP, locals and federal agencies also worked with Union Pacific Railroad officials, members of Congress, highway boosters from California, Nevada, and Utah, state road engineers, and the tourism industry. A united effort between locals and non-locals culminated with the dedication of the Zion-Mt. Carmel Highway in 1930, an engineering marvel that allowed automobiles to pass through a hole five miles long, blasted into the red rock of the upper regions of Zion Canyon. But in becoming a park,

Zion Canyon became a built space. Roads, lodges, bridges, tunnels, and trails made this wonderland an adventure in the "cultivated wild."[7]

During the 1920s and 1930s, enthusiasm for the tourist opportunities in Dixie increased as the national press featured elaborate stories on the scenic wonders found in the region. In addition to ZNP, people also traveled to see the country and the "new" spectacle of nearby Bryce Canyon. Due to the region's fame, federal interest in further land preservation spurred efforts in Escalante and Wayne Wonderland, landscapes adjacent to ZNP.[8]

While federal efforts in designating western lands for parks and monuments were gaining unprecedented national momentum, fissures between federal and local interests appeared. During a state hearing in 1936 on plans to make Escalante a national monument and the potential grazing restrictions involved with that designation, a local rancher said, "This is a little harder rap than we can take without putting up a battle." Then he added, "You can make it legal, but you can never make it moral."[9] The idea of morality in public lands management has since proliferated over and very much shapes the debate today. Adding to this notion, there exists a Mormon prophecy heralding a savior (or saviors) to rise up to question the morality of an unjust government. This role

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[7] David Quammen, "The Paradox of the Park," *National Geographic* 229, no. 5 (May 2016): 55-67.

[8] Wayne Wonderland was an area promoted by a Wayne County teacher, Joe Hickman and his brother-in-law, Ephraim P. Pectol. It later was designated Capitol Reef National Monument. Charles Kelly, "The Fathers of Capitol Reef National Park," *History Blazer,* Utah Government Digital Library, September 1995, accessed February 9, 2017, http://historytogo.utah.gov/utah_chapters/from_war_to_war/thefathersofcapitolreefnationalpark.html; Elmo R. Richardson, "Federal Park Policy in Utah: The Escalante National Monument Controversy of 1935-1940," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (Spring 1965): 113.

[9] Utah State Planning Board, "Meeting Held at Price, Utah, June 26, 1936, For the Purpose of Discussing the Proposed Escalante National Monument," Escalante File, Series 22028, Box 11, Folder 11, Utah State Historical Society, p. 21; Richardson, "Federal Park Policy in Utah," 109-133.

has actually been undertaken by a ranching family, the Bundys, and their followers in southern Dixie.

As federally protected spaces became more and more popular, Americans pushed for more public land protection. Laws, agencies, and rules enacted after the 1916 National Park Organic Act and the creation of ZNP mandated the protection of endangered species, the conservation of roadless areas, and further restrictions on resource extraction on western public lands. The fight over these public lands, of which millions of acres have been used by Mormon families for generations, has engaged a broad range of opinions locally and nationally. At the one end of the spectrum, there are those who feel that public land should be used for resource extraction above all else. On the other end are those who believe public lands should be managed only for wild attributes and non-human species with bans on grazing, mining, and timber harvest. Each side maintains their own moral imperative in validating their respective positions over the suitable use of public lands. The difference between land use battles over western public land and the lands of Dixie has been that Mormonism has been wielded as a sword and a shield. The battle has become religious.

While the argument of states' rights vs. federal rights might be ubiquitous in the American West, it takes on a particular tenor in Dixie where some locals feel that their illegal actions are supported by a divinely bestowed role to protect the U.S. Constitution. Dixie rancher Cliven Bundy (1946-), the patriarch of a family of Mormon anti-government militants, conceded that he "abides by almost zero federal laws."

Nonetheless he asserts his rights to use public lands for his ranching business.[10] Due to a rich history of Mormon prophets predicting the role of LDS heroes in upholding the Constitution, Bundy feels he has a better understanding of the document. He substantiates his actions with the following Joseph Smith prophecy (among others): "…this Nation will be on the very verge of crumbling to peices [*sic*] and tumbling to the ground and when the constitution is upon the brink of ruin this people will be the Staff upon which the Nation shall lean and they shall bear the constitution away from the very verge of destruction."[11] Cliven Bundy and his sons Ammon and Ryan believe themselves to be the staff and have been dangerously empowered through Mormon prophecy to wage war against American federal law.[12]

In telling of Dixie, I follow the history of land use beginning with the first Euro-American LDS settlement and the making of homeland (1862-1909); the "outsider discovery" of the region and American enthusiasm over public wild lands (1872-1930); the breakdown in the relationship between local ranchers and the federal government over new parks and monuments (1937-1969); the enactment of environmental laws governing public lands in the 1960s and 1970s and subsequent disputes of the Sagebrush Rebellion (1970-1993); and, finally, modern armed disputes over public land use in the Dixie region of southern Utah and Nevada (1990s-2016). I explore aspects of spiritual,

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[10] John Glionna, "Range War Heats Up Again between Defiant Nevada Rancher and Government," *Los Angeles Times*, March 27, 2014, accessed January 4, 2016, http://articles.latimes.com/2014/mar/27/nation/la-na-nn-nevada-range-war-blm-20140327.

[11] Joseph Smith, Discourse, circa 19 July 1840, as reported by Martha Jane Knowlton Coray [ca. 1850s], Martha Jane Coray notebook, MS 1998, Joseph Smith Papers, Church History Library, p. 12-13.

[12] Cliven, Ryan and Carol Bundy, 2015. Interview by author. Bunkerville, NV, March 4.

cultural, physical, and human geographies within the Mormon environmental narrative of this landscape, all instrumental in shaping land-use battles in the western U.S. I emphasize the importance of incorporating religious concepts of landscape into American Western History, adding to the growing field in the study of Mormon environmental history through the exploration of relationships that LDS culture has with parks, national monuments, and recreational and wilderness areas. I hope to both challenge and contribute to the scholarship of the American West.

I use various methodologies to understand the epistemic culture of Mormons in Dixie, their common "affinities, necessities and historic coincidence" tangled in settlement, grazing, access, religious beliefs, federal conservation policy, and anti-government fervor over public lands.[13] Although a great deal has been written about the history of ZNP, little has addressed the religious imaginings of landscape in and around ZNP and the unfolding events from the creation of the park to the current vitriol over public land management in the region. My work presents a series of occurrences that provide a study of myth and landscape in the American West. I also look at how land battles are rooted in Mormon culture and history and analyze how early views and events became foundational to Cliven Bundy's dangerous actions in Nevada.

To date, the most comprehensive history of the creation of ZNP is *A History of Southern Utah and its National Parks*, by the naturalist Angus Woodbury, first published in 1944.[14] Articles by historians Wayne Hinton and Thomas Alexander have also covered

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[13] Karin Knorr Cetina, *Epistemic Cultures: How the Sciences Make Knowledge* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1999), 1.

[14] Angus M. Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12, nos. 3-4 (July-October 1944): 111-209.

aspects of the creation of ZNP.[15] Elmo Richardson and Hal Rothman have analyzed early struggles over national monument designation and park consideration for Escalante and Cedar Breaks in the *Utah Historical Quarterly*.[16] *Federal Land, Western Anger: The Sagebrush Rebellion and Environmental Politics* depicted western land battles from the 1970s to early 1990s.[17] I argue that both Mormons and non-Mormons have at times taken positions on landscape in reaction to federal oversight within the context of religious belief and/or a sense of righteous authority.

My dissertation seeks to trace how notions of landscape and myth flow back and forth between local Mormons and "outsiders" in this landscape. Non-Mormon visitors brought with them an appreciation that influenced local culture and directly impacted Mormon appreciation of their surroundings. But outsiders also brought a challenge to the Mormon sense of the appropriate use of land. In past histories on landscape in southern Utah, local people are sometimes represented as not caring about the beauty of their landscape because the scenery was superfluous to making a living. But as Richard White has pointed out, those working the land can have a deep appreciation and love of the land

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[15] Thomas G. Alexander, "Red Rock and Gray Stone: Senator Reed Smoot, the Establishment of Zion National Park and Bryce Canyon National Parks, and the Building of Downtown Washington, D.C," *Pacific Historical Review* 72, no. 1 (2003): 1-38; Wayne K. Hinton, "Getting Along: The Significance of Cooperation in the Development of Zion National Park," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 68, no. 4 (Fall, 2000): 313-331.

[16] Richardson, "Federal Park Policy in Utah," 109-133; Hal Rothman, "Shaping the Nature of a Controversy: The Park Service, the Forest and the Cedar Breaks Proposal," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (Summer 1987): 213-233.

[17] McGregor R. Cawley, *Federal Land, Western Anger: The Sagebrush Rebellion and Environmental Politics* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993).

in addition to those "celebrating the virtues of play and recreation in nature."[18] There exists a broad spectrum of Mormon viewpoints throughout the history of public land conservation in the region, including a sincere local and regional appreciation for its natural wonders and support in the federal protection of public lands. There are those that want to log, mine and graze in Dixie who still maintain a deep appreciation for the wonder of the lands.

A drastic change did occur in local attitudes after the establishment of ZNP as federal interests continued to call for further land protection. Some locals came to resent national appreciation of their local scenic attractions, and such people viewed further protection campaigns of regional public lands as elitist, ignorant and dismissive of local interests. Unlike the seemingly universal support over the establishment of ZNP, by the 1960s, changing perspectives led to local and federal polarization over the concept of landscape use. Dixie lands became a conflict zone. And as such, events occurred that became an echo, in a sense, of a dark past when a deep resentment towards the federal government resulted in an ambush of Gentiles en route to California. Mormon Militia killed 120 men, women and children in 1857.[19] Something equally bloody almost came to pass in 2014, when the Bundy family organized hundreds of people (known later in the

[18] Richard White, "Are You an Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living? Work and Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996), 171.

[19] Robert W. Walker, Richard E. Turley and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

media as the Bundy Militia) and engaged in armed conflict with the federal government over grazing issues on public lands.[20]

In telling the story, I use both "Dixie" and "Zion" as lenses through which to examine the region's culture, environment, religion, and history. I explore the origins of Mormon Zion and trace how notions of sacred space are sometimes shared and sometimes divergent on public lands. Dixie became a liminal zone, but it also became a war zone. I highlight the brief decades in which ZNP was created and was culturally reshaped by locals, tourists, businesses, and politicians. By the late 1930s and 1940s, what had been a united spirit of collaboration was over. Public land policy became contentious as federal restrictions created a mutinous movement among Dixie ranchers. In looking at the beginning of what became an extended rebellion on public land, I examine why some locals felt violence was justified due to legacy, privilege, prophecy and divine providence. But I also make the point that anti-government positions were not universally held. Many Mormons in Dixie find these stances to be dangerous and without religious justification. The Mormon Church has also condemned the actions of the Bundy Militia and their followers.

For some LDS, the spiritual geography of Mormon Zion and the sacred writings of their prophets have greater significance than federal laws. They want to dismantle regulations and continue to mine, log and graze the public trust. But there exists a wide spectrum of beliefs within Mormon culture. For example, author Terry Tempest

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[20] John Sepulvado, "Why the Bundy Militia Mixes Mormon Symbolism with Anti-Government Sentiment," *PBS Newshour*, January 4, 2016, accessed January 7, 2016, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/why-the-bundy-militia-mixes-mormon-symbolism-with-anti-government-sentiment/.

Williams, who grew up in the Mormon Church, is one of this country's most passionate activists for public land protection.

I have come to see the story of Dixie as the story of *range,* in both meanings of this word: (1) the spectrum of Mormon and non-Mormon views on and experiences with landscape; and (2) the land where livestock and recreationalists mingle with wildlife. I tell this story with a prologue, introduction, five chapters, a conclusion and epilogue, taking the narrative to the 2016 Bundy Militia government takeover of Malheur Wildlife Refuge, and their subsequent arrests.

Western protests over federal lands have spurred animal mutilation, destruction of Anasazi ruins, effigy burning, armed conflict and the loss of human life. Although far from universally felt, historical and cultural issues do undergird the unprecedented public lands battles that smolder in Dixie today. Certain ideas of Mormon homeland stand at odds with an American public's interest in conservation efforts. Due to the spectrum of opinions on appropriate land use, Dixie has become a region where ideologies play out, sometimes treacherously.

CHAPTER ONE

ZION CANYON IN THE LAND OF DIXIE

Mormon Settlement

> *For the Lord shall comfort Zion; He will comfort all her waste places; he will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like a garden of the Lord.*
> —Isaiah 51:3.[1]

This concept of Mormon Zion emerged from Mormon experience. Alighting onto the landscape of southern Utah and southern Nevada, it became affixed in the establishment of the Dixie Mission region of the Virgin River. Zion and its conventions are products of Mormon history, theology and reality. Its basis is found in several things: the Christian Bible, *The Book of Mormon, Doctrines and Covenants* and prophecy as well as in the story of religious persecution, pilgrimage and settlement in the Great Basin. Mormon Zion as sacred landscape is both a trajectory and an unfolding. Its manifestation was contingent on a multitude of factors in addition to those described above. These included the conversion of Native Americans, the settlement of the desert, and the embedding of Mormon myth and magic on a place where Brigham Young (1801-1877) envisioned a great Mormon empire, Deseret. Overlooked by most other Euro-American settlers intent on greener pastures, Zion came to reside in a land of devastating floods, scabby range, insect infestations and drought. But the LDS made it their Zion, a God-given New Jerusalem promised to them by their martyred leader Joseph Smith (1805-

[1] Isaiah 51:3, KJV

1844).[2] As Mormons claimed and built Zion, they did so on top of Indian lands, also regarded as sacred and God-given.[3]

Mormon culture became rooted in Deseret in a variety of ways. Actual settlement fixed what geographer D.W. Meinig called the Mormon Culture Region. Meinig explained the concentric circles of this region, which included the Wasatch Oasis (Salt Lake Valley, etc.) as the "core," the Utah and southeastern Idaho "domain'" and the eastern Oregon to Mexico "sphere."[4] LDS settled the west unlike other pioneers because they did so together, unified by belief and experience. Their unique patterns of establishing themselves were dictated by SLC Church leadership. As homesteaders, they came to the Great Basin feeling oppressed and disenfranchised, so they settled their own western space as a safe haven. In doing so, they built tightknit communities and clustered houses rather than settling in scattered homesteads, holding to Eastern community planning models and utopian ideas.

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[2] Joseph Smith prophesized the manifestation of the Mormon homeland many times in specific places, like Missouri (*Doctrine and Covenants*, 57:1-5); the manifestation of Zion in 'the gathering" of Mormon adherents in one place (*Doctrine and Covenants*, 29:8); and predicted a timeframe in which Zion would unfold "within this generation" (*Doctrine and Covenants*, 84:2). *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints: Carefully Selected from the Revelations of God, and Compiled by Joseph Smith Jr., Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, Fredrick G. Williams [Presiding Elders of Said Church]* (Kirkland, OH: F.G. Williams and Co. for the Proprietors, 1835). *The History of the Church* makes the claim that Joseph Smith also declared "some of you will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains." *History of the Church,* 5:85; "History of the Church" (manuscript), book D-1, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah p.1362.

[3] Richard W. Stoffel and Michael J. Evans, *Kaibab Paiute History: The Early Years* (Freedonia: Kaibab Paiute Tribe, 1978), 9; William Logan Hebner, *Southern Paiute: A Portrait* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2010).

[4] D.W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55, no. 2 (June 1965): 191-220.

Arjun Appadurai discussed the idea of ethnoscapes, mediascapes, financescapes and ideoscapes in looking at how cultures organized after a migration as a diaspora, creating what he suggested is a layered "imagined world."[5] His work looked at globalization, but these "scapes" applied to the Mormons in Dixie as well. LDS believed in a shared and unique ethnicity, and as such they lived in a unified ethnoscape and practiced a unique set of beliefs within an ideoscape. They made a living much the same way, cultivating a financescape. And they were exposed to the same information—word of mouth, then newspapers, radio and finally television and social media, which represented a Dixie mediascape. As the decades progressed and Dixie came into the age of modernity, a pocket of descendants would still be framed by these scapes; their ethnoscape, financescape and ideoscape informed by a mediascape of inflammatory pieces and conspiracy theory helped to incite the passions of a very tight network of people.

Coming from the ethos of the Second Great Awakening, Mormons were not the only ones who regarded America as sacred landscape. Many Americans of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries believed in American Palestine, a sacred land of religious freedom that offered opportunity of a divinely bestowed manifest destiny.[6] Joseph Smith channeled the national zeitgeist of nineteenth century religious revivalism, which was influenced by anxieties over the Industrial Revolution. He, like many of his revivalist

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[5] Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in Global Cultural Economy," *Theory, Culture and Society* 7, no. 295 (1990), accessed February 9, 2017, http://www.arjunappadurai.org/articles/Appadurai_Disjuncture_and_Difference_in_the_Global_Cultural_Economy.pdf.

[6] Hilton Obenzinger, *American Palestine: Melville, Twain and the Holy Land Mania* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

contemporaries, channeled a spiritual enthusiasm that came in reaction to a backlash to Puritanism. In the spirit of his era, he introduced a new American religion.

When the Mormons headed west, LDS beliefs and experiences shaped interaction with and an understanding of what they perceived as an earthly homeland. Their relationship to the space came through their perceived "pilgrimage" from the American Midwest to Utah's Wasatch Range and Salt Lake Valley. As Mormons fled religious persecution, they participated in Brigham Young's mission to settle a Mormon empire while creating routes through difficult country. Their efforts to build in the desert reinforced their identity as Israelites and determined Mormons. According to W. Paul Reeve, "the religious nature of Mormon settlement efforts equated success with piety and failure with lack of devotion to God and the cause of Zion."[7] The struggle and success of living in marginal lands was a testament to their faith. Their homeland had been a long time coming and in building it and cultivating the landscape, they became better Mormons.

Roots of Zion

Mormonism is a distinctly American religion. Its ideas come from, and are influenced by, a nineteenth century American religious enthusiasms. In his book *American Palestine: Melville, Twain, and the Holy Land Mania*, Hilton Obenzinger explained, "Holy Land literature—and the entire cultural 'mania' with the Holy Land—became a crucial forum for negotiating settler identity, a site rendered even more

[7] Paul W. Reeve, "'As Ugly as Evil' and 'As Wicked as Hell': Gadianton and the Legend Process among the Mormons," in *Between the Pulpit and Pew: The Supernatural World in Mormon History and Folklore,* ed. Paul W. Reeve and Michael Scott Van Wagenen (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2011), 82.

complex by the jarring disjuncture between biblical narrative and the actualities of a non-Western, 'fallen' Palestine." [8] American landscape was an improved Middle East; a place for a unique American narrative of where people settled lands bestowed by God. There were many who believed that America would be the location of the Second Coming, an event that some thought imminent at the end of the nineteenth century. This idea of American sacred space fueled frontier passions as settlers pushed west in search of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Flush with nationalism and the idea of manifest exegesis, America had a romance with western expansion.[9] As Sacvan Bercovich argued, "The Jacksonian Romantics, expanding the outlook of the Revolutionary Era, read the biblical promises in nature itself."[10] Opportunity was out there, along the western frontier, and if people had the gumption, guts and the grace of God, they could stake a claim in it.

In 1831, Joseph Smith had a revelation that Missouri was Mormon Zion, the place where Mormons were divinely entitled to build communities and temples to practice their religious beliefs in peace. He named this settlement in Jackson County, Missouri, Zion's Camp. The *Doctrine and Covenants*, a Mormon sacred text of Smith's prophecies, stated:

> Hearken, O ye elders of my church, saith the Lord your God, who have assembled yourselves together, according to my commandments, in this land, which is the land of Missouri, which is the land which I have

[8] Obenzinger, *American Palestine*, 5.

[9] Ibid., 29.

[10] Sacvan Bercovich, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 164.

> appointed and consecrated for the gathering of the Saints. Wherefore, this is the land of promise, and the place for the city of Zion.[11]

Within this settlement was the shaping of a unique Mormon Zion. First, Zion was real, tangible, God-promised and in the state of Missouri. Second, Zion was mobile, moving with the Saints themselves. Third, Zion manifested in gathering, when Mormons came together for social events, church and even in defense of their beliefs. Although there were quarrels and posturing among the LDS, a core group of believers were becoming increasingly united in their faith and in their reliance on one another. Due to the pervasive scorn and prejudice shown towards the new religious group by the non-Mormon populace, LDS knitted together for safety and companionship, forming a type of spiritual huddle, evidenced today in tightknit Mormon communities. Zion was a place, a collection of people and a conviction of faith.

In 1890, years after he professed that the frontier was closed, Fredrick Jackson Turner asserted that democracy was a product of the American frontier and its settlement.[12] Turner's frontier was a picture of abundant and fertile lands where cultures homogenized and individualism defined the prevailing ethic. This was most definitely not the experience of the Saints. Mormons were communal. They practiced theocracy and worked to preserve their unique customs and individuality. Due to their particular practices and growing numbers, they were seen as a threat to non-Mormons. They were

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[11] *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints: Carefully Selected from the Revelations of God, and Compiled by Joseph Smith Jr., Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, Fredrick G.Williams [Presiding Elders of Said Church]* (Kirkland, OH: F.G. Williams and Co. for the Proprietors, 1835), 57:2-3.

[12] Fredrick Jackson Turner first presented his research on the American Frontier during the American Historical Association meeting ay the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. His work was later published.

discriminated against and subjected to threats and violence. Numerous issues alienated LDS from Gentile mid-westerners who feared LDS voting blocs could highjack local elections, win influence and control policy. Additionally, Missouri was also largely anti-abolitionist and Joseph Smith was for the elimination of slavery.[13] Gentiles also begrudged the Saints who proclaimed that lands belonging to the non-Mormons would eventually fall into the Saints' hands due to God's promise and Smith's prophecy.[14] This idea wasn't particularly politic in Mormon/non-Mormon relations.



Figure 1. Portrait of Joseph Smith. The Mormon Channel. https://www.mormonchannel.org/bc/content/mormon-channel/images/audio/1600x900/joseph-smith-for-president-episode-64-2011-10-18.jpg.

[13] Brigham Young differed from Joseph Smith on this view. Mormon families brought slaves to Utah.

[14] *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints: Carefully Selected from the Revelations of God, and Compiled by Joseph Smith Jr., Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, Fredrick G.Williams [Presiding Elders of Said Church]* (Kirkland, OH: F.G. Williams and Co. for the Proprietors, 1835), 52:42.



Figure 2. Portrait of Brigham Young. The Church of Jesus Christ Latter Day Saints. https://www.lds.org/bc/content/shared/content/images/gospel-library/manual/32479/32479_all_002_01-brigham.jpg.

Anti-Mormonism was ubiquitous in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. According to J. Spencer Fluhman, critics first found Mormonism to be a fake religion, then to be an alien or foreign religion, and finally, merely a false one."[15] Joseph Smith, who actually ran for US president in 1844, was seen as a shyster and the Mormon community was viewed suspiciously for their political positions and ambitions in making a religious empire. Resentment reached a high point in 1838 in Jackson County, Missouri when skirmishes resulted in an attack at Haun's Mill by the Missouri Militia against the Mormon community. Twenty people were killed and some of their bodies were hacked into pieces. This attack led to the organization of the Mormon Militia, a

[15] J. Spencer Fluhman, *"A Peculiar People:" Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 9.

group established to protect the Mormon people. Following the attack, many LDS departed Jackson County and moved on to Missouri's Daviess County, which according to Smith was now Zion. In fact, Smith declared the new site home of the original Garden of Eden. Wilford Woodruff (1807-1889), a man who served as a prophet and as the forth president of the LDS Church, wrote in his journals that Brigham Young spoke to Joseph Smith about Missouri's religious significance. This passage recalled a conversation that Woodford had with Young on March 5, 1873:

> Again Presdet [*sic*] Joseph the Prophet told me that the Garden of Eden was in Jackson Co Missouri, & when Adam was driven out of the Garden of Eden, He went about 40 miles to the Place which we Named Adam Ondi Ahman, & there built an Altar of Stone & offered Sacrifice. That Altar remains to this day. I saw it as Adam left it as did many others, & through all the revolutions of the world that Altar had not been disturbed.[16]

The Garden of Eden was in America. To Mormons, the history of the American landscape was sacrosanct. Although the Saints were forced to abandon Missouri, their impressions and religious imaginings of the Americas is significant in understanding their worldview. American landscape itself was a sacred tableau where they could see evidence of events that transpired in *The Book of Mormon*. The Mormons believed that they had come from Israel and inhabited the Americas long before the time of Christ, so America already was their Zion. Additionally, with Smith's prophecies and in the mobility of Zion, simply the place where Mormons congregated and practiced made the land hallowed.

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[16] Wilford Woodruff, *Waiting for World's End: The Diaries of Wilford Woodruff*, ed. Susan Staker (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1993), 306.

Anti-Mormonism was rife. In 1838, Missouri governor Lindsay Boggs signed Missouri Executive Order 44, ordering the Saints to leave the state or risk "extermination." The law stated: "...open and avowed defiance of the laws, and of having made war upon the people of this State ... the Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the State if necessary for the public peace—their outrages are beyond all description."[17] This edict sent the Mormons on the run again after they had already broken ground for temples. Zion was never completed during the Missouri settlement of 1831-1838 and LDS were forced out with no reparations. But when one Zion was abandoned, sacred space could be found further along, somewhere ahead in future prophetic messages. In the first decade of their religion, Mormon sacred land was a moving target, vulnerable to hostile neighbors. Each time the Mormons were run out of a place, a new revelation saw Zion down the road.

After Missouri, the Mormons fled to Nauvoo, Illinois, taking with them their idea of a special place, now affixed to the beleaguered Mormon body. The notion of homeland, so often uprooted and re-rooted, was now a part of the adherents themselves as they repeated their pattern of fleeing and resettling. The body itself was a sacred vessel of Mormonism. *The Book of Mormon* explained LDS were their own race, that they shared blood and heritage. Upon hearing the words of Joseph Smith, a convert could feel the truth of his message in the blood, because a convert carried the stuff of Mormon within his or her body. The concept of "believing blood" was explained by Elder Bruce McConkie (1915-1985), a Member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, the most elite

[17] Exec. Order No. 44 (October 27, 1838).

level of advisors to the president (each acting as prophet) of LDS. In his work, the *Mormon Doctrine*, he analyzed writings and prophesies throughout the Saints' history. His explanation of believing blood is as follows:

> What then is believing blood? It is the blood that flows in the veins of those who are the literal seed of Abraham–not that the blood itself believes, but that those born in that lineage have both the right and a special spiritual capacity to recognize, receive, and believe the truth. The term is simply a beautiful, a poetic, and a symbolic way of referring to the seed of Abraham to whom the promises were made. It identifies those who developed in pre-existence the talent to recognize the truth and to desire righteousness.[18]

In other words, if the Mormon faith resonated with a person, that individual had been predestined to be a Saint. He or she inherited an embodied knowledge that gravitated toward the Mormon faith, awakened in the juices. Their blood was not Gentile; their blood was Mormon. And so even physically a Mormon was "other," a separate race from other Americans. This is a case also made in *The Book of Mormon,* which explained that the Saints were descendants of Nephi. This was a member of an ancient Israelite who came to the Americas, establishing Mormon ancestry as American as the American Indian. Indigenous peoples, in the eyes of the Mormon adherent, were ancestors of Nephi's brother Laman who left ancient Israel with his family to settle the Americas.

In 1844, after being hauled to jail, Joseph Smith and his brother were killed by a mob in Carthage, Illinois. The Church was left without an appointed or clear successor. In the wake of their leader's murder, two things emerged that worked to shape the Saints' destiny. First Brigham Young proved himself to be a powerful and strategic Mormon

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[18] Bruce R. McConkie, *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Books, 1985), 38-39.

leader. And, second, as the new leader, Young declared that he planned to follow another prophecy that Smith had made before his death: "[He] prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains….some of you will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains."[19] The revelation, controversial in the Church as to whether it really did come from Smith, once again saw Zion further afield, providing the motivation to keep moving west in the wake of their prophet's death. Zion was still in play, its identity still in the making. In 1846 and 1847, Mormons began their way towards the Rocky Mountains, carrying with them the promise Zion packed on handcarts, horses and wagons.

The act of marching to the Great Basin was a significant event in cementing the notion of a journey into sacred space. Religious historian Diane Eck saw "the human body providing one of the primary schemas for understanding and ordering the land."[20] She applies this to the phenomena of pilgrimage and the action of crossing landscapes as an act of worship and creation or re-enactment of myth. The act of Mormons' journeying west became construed as the re-enactment of the Israelites' Exodus, a pilgrimage central to understanding the plight of the beleaguered Jew. These human actors, gathered along the trail, sharing a believing blood, were acting to forge a sacred history that, to them, mirrored biblical history.

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[19] *History of the Church,* 5:85; from "History of the Church" (manuscript), book D-1, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, p. 1362.

[20] Diana L. Eck, *India: A Sacred Geography* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2012), 25.

When the LDS finally crossed the Rocky Mountains, they had been asked to pack and repack their hopes so often that reaching the Salt Lake Valley must have felt like a miracle. Zion had stayed alive in prophecy, in the body, in belief, and in the burgeoning number of converts who walked west. Theirs was a story of persecution and perseverance that freighted and framed the myth of Zion. For as many times as Zion had been promised, Zion had been lost. With their arrival in the Great Basin, Zion and the Mormons had a home.

Philosopher of religion Mark R. Wynn offered an explanation of the creation of sacred space, asserting that cultures use the idea of a place to understand how a defined physical environment becomes a location for God.[21] In other words, humans can use landscape to reinforce and "verify" their notions of the sacred. Mormons came to believe that the Great Basin was a reflection of what God wanted for them all along; a prize given in recognition of their determination. In "giving" them the land, God had tested their fortitude and rewarded them with meager but sufficient livelihoods. By living in the mountains and desert and cultivating a region disregarded by other settlers, these adherents became better Mormons. In the struggle, a relationship with and an understanding in God strengthened. God gave the Mormons a hard place because they had the special ability to make a difficult place useful.

[21] Mark Wynn, *Faith and Place: An Essay on Embodied Religious Epistemology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 101.

Building Zion over Paiute Homeland

The Great Salt Lake Valley and the nearby environs were the first lands settled after reaching the Rocky Mountains. In response to the limits of land in the Salt Lake Valley and Wasatch Range, as well as in an effort to build the Mormon Empire of Deseret, Young organized scouting parties to ride south and investigate opportunities for settlement. One of the earliest adherents of Smith's gospel, Parley Pratt (1807-1857), led the first party down to what is now the site of Cedar City and continued along the Virgin River. He reported iron deposits and farmland, noting: "…a wide expanse of chaotic material presented itself, huge hills, sandy deserts, cheerless grassless plains, perpendicular rocks, loose barren clay, dissolving beds of sandstone…."[22] This description is indicative of many Mormon observations on landscape; straightforward and utilitarian. This region, which one day would inspire writers to sing its praises, did not necessarily stir every non-Mormon visitor either. In 1845, explorer John Charles Fremont declared the Virgin River to be "the most dreary river I have ever seen."[23]

Pratt, like Fremont, was unimpressed with the Virgin River region. But there were other Mormons highly aware of the beauty of their surroundings. Pratt's brother, Orson Pratt (1811-1881), wrote lovingly of the Great Basin, albeit not of the Virgin River region per se. He connected Mormon persecution with the gift of this new environment and

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[22] Parley P. Pratt, "Report to the Legislative Council of Deseret, 5 Feb. 1850;" in *Over the Rim: The Parley P. Pratt Exploring Expedition to Southern Utah, 1849–50,* eds. William B. Smart and Donna T. Smart (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1999), 181.

[23] 28th Cong. 1845, "*Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-44,* (statement of Charles J. Fremont), May 5, 1842.

homeland, making the connection between history, injustice and the divine bestowment. Pratt wrote:

> Having received nothing but one continued series of persecutions since the rise of the church, the Saints were determined to seek our location a far distant from the inhuman, bloodthirsty savages who dwelt in the United States under the pious name of Christians. They accordingly sent nearly 200 men to explore the great interior of North America, who by being directed by the spirit of God, found suitable location in the Great Basin…. This is now one of the most wild, romantic and retired countries on the western hemisphere....[24]

The LDS had staked their claim. They had a place to call home. In Orson Pratt, there was a feeling of awe in extolling the virtues of wilderness. This place was wild, but it could also be tamed. And it was land away from a place, according to Pratt, intent upon a cruel persecution of Mormon beliefs.

After Parley Pratt returned and his report was vetted, lesser affluent and influential Mormon families were sent south from the crowed Salt Lake Valley. The Dixie Mission represented a settlement effort that involved aspects of further manifesting Zion. Now that Zion was fixed geographically, cultivating the land was necessary both to survival as well as for further making the land sacred. Additionally, the act of converting Native Americans was also essential in the manifestation of Zion.

Indian Mission work was an important part of settlement from both practical and spiritual standpoints. Mormons believed that by converting the indigenous population, they hastened the coming of God. *The Book of Mormon* described two tribes, the Lamanites and Nephites, their departure from Israel and their coming to the Americas.

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[24] Orson Pratt, *The Fulfillment of Modern Prophecy*, No. 7, October 1849, 18, accessed February 14, 2015. https://archive.org/stream/newjerusalemorfu02prat#page/n0/mode/2up; Richard Francaviglia "Mapping Deseret: Vernacular Mormon Mapmaking and the Spiritual Geography of the American West," (draft chapter, Environmental History Seminar, Brigham Young University, November 5, 2015), 1.

LDS believe that after the arrival of this ancient band of Israelites, thousands of years of battles ensued between the Lamanites, descendants of Laman, and the Nephites, descendants of Laman's brother, Nephi. The Nephites of the Americas ultimately perished at the hands of the Lamanites. According to *The Book of Mormon*, as punishment for their role in the annihilation of the Nephites, God gave the Lamanites dark skin. However, by converting to Mormonism, indigenous people could return to their natural white color: "…their scales of darkness begin to fall from their eyes; and many generations shall not pass away among them, save they shall be a white and a delightsome people."[25] And as Native American people turned into white people, a manifestation of their new faith and renewed virtue, their conversion took the world one step closer to the Second Coming.

Historians were slow in giving voice to the tribes within Mormon Culture Region, as most historical accounts were written by Euro-Americans. Ronald Walker asserted that early Mormon records of LDS-Indian relations are "incomplete and tentative."[26] In looking at journals and other accounts of interactions between these cultures, Mormon historians in the mid-twentieth century emphasized the idea of "good intentions" that Mormons had towards the Indian population, influenced by Brigham Young's policy of conciliation and charity. Young's famous quote, "its cheaper to feed the Indians than fight them," often informed Mormon academic bias, which made the argument that

[25] Nephi 30-6, The Book of Mormon.

[26] Richard White, "Toward a Reconstruction of Mormon and Indian Relations, 1847-1877," *Brigham Young University Studies* 29, no. 4 (Fall 1989): 23.

Mormons were more altruistic to Native Americans than other settlers.[27] Thinking among Mormon historians shifted as emphasis turned to Mormon hostility and imperialism as well white diseases, resource competition, cultural clashes and assimilation practices. In spite of their designs upon the land and the subsequent displacement of Indians, the Mormons carried on an ambivalent relationship with tribes.

Martha Knack wrote a history of the Southern Paiute, detailing the belief of Mormon providence in the claiming of Paiute lands, as indicated by Brigham Young. She also explored the settler misunderstanding of Paiute nomadic traditions, specifically the idea of reciprocal hospitality.[28] The Mormons thought they were welcomed in the Dixie region because they did not often meet with hostility. The interactions between Mormons and Paiute were mainly over food, alliance making in response to other hostile regional tribes and the Mormon mandate of conversion. LDS also saw the Paiute as beggars, when it was actually customary to both ask and offer food among Paiute bands when they camped nearby.[29] Giving away food was expected and sometimes necessary for survival in this nomadic culture. In addition to accusing the Paiute of beggary, it was not uncommon for LDS to "buy" Paiute children, under the guise of charity and missionary work, and use them as laborers. Utes sold Paiutes as slaves when the Mormons arrived and the LDS couched their use of the children as a humanitarian act.[30]

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[27] John Turner, *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2012), 217.

[28] Martha Knack, *Between the Boundaries: The Southern Paiutes*, 1775-1995 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 48-72.

[29] Ibid, 55.

[30] Ibid, 56-57.

The idea of shared heritage, referred to as the "remnant of Jacob," is also addressed in the following passage of *The Book of Mormon:* "And the remnant of Jacob shall be among the Gentiles in the midst of many people as a lion among the beasts of the forest, as a young lion among the flocks of sheep: who, if he go through, both treadeth down, and teareth in pieces, and none can deliver. Thine hand shall be lifted up upon thine adversaries, and all thine enemies shall be cut off." [31] Given the Mormon circumstances of settlement and the adversarial relationship with the federal government, it is easy to see why this passage and the LDS/tribal alliances of the 1850s and 1860s would have been appealing. Tribal alliances at the time were considered a potential weapon against the federal government.

The LDS had come into Utah territory with two ideas. One, they were finally home. And two, the occupants of the land, Ute, Paiute, Shoshoni and other tribes, were ancestors who shared a common history. Indians, like the Mormons, were "other," a separate race from the non-Mormon American.[32] The Paiute also distinguished Mormons from other Americans, calling LDS "Mormoni" and Gentiles "Mericats."[33]

Efforts to reach out to the indigenous people were uneven, and complete attempts to fully understand their culture were unsuccessful. Although conversion of the Paiute was part of the making of Mormon Zion, accepting native culture and traditions was not. Juanita Brooks, a famous historian from Bunkerville, NV, a southern outpost in the Dixie

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[31] Micah 5:8-9, The Book of Mormon.

[32] Mormons considered themselves as "other," and Native Americans were considered as other by the Euro-American population.

[33] Knack, *Between the Boundaries*, 75.

region and home to the anti-government Bunker family, spent time researching and writing about the early Mormon settlement in her region. In addition to Brooks's controversial work on the Mountain Meadows Massacre, she wrote about early relationships between LDS and tribes. In one article, she made a reference to a letter to local Paiute leader known as "Moqueak" from early settler Bishop Robert Gardner, who expressed his frustration as well as making clear his naivety about Paiute traditional practices. The letter read:

> We all feel kindly to you Indians, and we will do you all the good we can. But we have to work hard to get our bread and clothing and teams to work our land; our wives have to work hard; our children have to work hard, and we have no time to work for you… You Indians want a heap of land and have no team nor plows, nor tools to work with; nor seed to plant. You want us Mormons to do this all for you. We have not the time, we must work for our own children. You must do as we do—take a little land, do a heap of work, and raise more grain. Now Moqueak, what I say, I mean and you need not trouble me anymore, for more land. I know better what is good for you than you do yourself. I remain, very kindly to the Indians, R. Gardner. [34]

The Southern Paiute did not settle the land like Mormon families and attempts to impose Mormon culture onto the Paiutes did not work. As the Mormons built Zion in southern Utah by irrigating and planting on Paiute lands, the indigenous people starved. There were Indians who converted, but Mormon settlement made it extremely difficult to practice the hunting and gathering lifestyle that typified the traditional Paiute relationship to the land prior to the arrival of the Mormon settlers. The Mormon idea that they were superior and therefore more entitled to the land was evident. Paiute were treated as nuisances and disregarded for their cultural patterns.

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[34] Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations of the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 , nos. 1-2 (January-April 1944): 26.

As historian Jared Farmer points out in his book *On Zion's Mount*, the indigenous people of Utah felt that the land was sacred geography, similar to the way that the Mormons did.[35] The Southern Paiute believed they descended from Tabuts, a wolf god. According a version of the Paiute creation myth, "Tabuts had a mischievous younger brother, Shinangwav, the coyote. Shinangway cut open the sack and people fell out in bunches all over the world. The people were angry at this treatment, and that is why other people always fight. The people left in the sack were the Southern Paiutes. Tabuts blessed them and put them in the very best place." [36] The Paiute believed that their land was divinely bestowed and felt entitled to and fortunate for their home. But the Virgin River lands proved to be insufficient in accommodating two sacred homelands for two cultures, particularly ones who utilized the lands so differently. Mormons were farmers and the Indians, for the most part, were not. Though the Paiute had farmed in lean years, they mainly lived off the natural fruits of the land. And their forage lands were stripped when settled by Mormons, leaving them without the provisions within their own sacred homeland. [37] Bishop Gardner wrote he knew better than the Paiute what they needed, but his advice, in addition to being culturally tone deaf, was also unrealistic given the land's incapacity to accommodate both Indian and Mormon populations.

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[35] Jared Farmer, *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians and the American Landscape* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 11, 48-52.

[36] Utah American Western Center, University of Utah, *Paiute History*, accessed June 21, 2014, http://www.utahindians.org/archives/paiutes/history.html.

[37] Martha Knack, "Church and State in the History of Southern Paiutes in Cedar City, Utah," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 19, no. 2 (1997): 159-178.

As part of the Southern Indian and Dixie Missions, Brigham Young sent Jacob Hamblin to help convert the southern tribes to Mormonism as well as to create advantageous relationships. Hamblin had been instrumental in building ties with the tribes of the Salt Lake Valley and had a knack for languages. Hamblin wrote in his journal about his frustration with the Paiutes, indicating his ignorance of their lifestyle and his bigotry: "…there is not a day passes over my head, but that I consider it so great a privilege to have an hour to myself, where the Piutes [*sic*] cannot see me: so that I can realize that the task of civilizing this People. They are in a very low, degraded condition indeed; loathsome and filthy beyond description."[38] Given the lack of empathy in regards to Paiute, it is significant to note that Hamblin was, in fact, known among the Saints to be an empathetic Indian missionary.[39] But he lacked perspective and understanding, comparing Paiute bands unfavorably to other wealthier tribes. The Paiute were a tribe that had no horses and inhabited simple brushwood shelters suited to their nomadic patterns. They were a small tribe vulnerable to attacks from larger bands. Throughout the Dixie settlement, relations were better with Paiute than with Navajo, though there were cases of violence, one notable case was the Circleville Massacre during which Mormons slit the throats of twenty-four Paiute during the Black Hawk War (1832).[40]

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[38] Jacob Hamblin, 1855, "Journal of Jacob Hamblin, 1854-1859," March 8, typescript. MSA, 567-1, Utah State Archive; Juanita Brooks. "Indian Relations of the Mormon Frontier," 1-48.

[39] Todd M. Compton, *A Frontier Life: Jacob Hamblin, Explorer and Indian Missionary* (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 2013).

[40] Albert Winkler, "The Circleville Massacre: A Brutal Incident in Utah's Black Hawk War," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (1987): 4-21; "Editorial: Little Known Circleville Massacre is Very Much Worth Remembering," *Salt Lake City Tribune*, April 22, 2016, accessed February 5, 2017, http://www.sltrib.com/opinion/3808767-155/editorial-little-known-circleville-massacre-is.

During settlement, there was justifiably pushback on Mormon interference and takeover of traditional lands. Early Indian conflicts in Southern Utah involved cattle rustling and some violence. James Jennings (1853-1947) described the murder of the Berry brothers, near Short Creek, three miles from the settlement of Shunesberg, another abandoned community currently just beyond the boundaries of ZNP. Jennings explained, "Indians lived in Rockville and in Virgin, but I have never known Indians to live above Springdale, up the canyon. I noticed they would go up to kill deer but always they were in a hurry to get back…. Navajos were the Indians to cause trouble. The Utes [Paiute] seemed peaceful enough."[41]

James Jepson (1854-1950) recalled two murders when James "Doc" Whitmore from St. George went to Pipe Springs to resupply his sheep camp and check on his herder, Robert McIntyre. A posse found two Paiute who had stripped the men's bodies of clothing, although the Paiute claimed that Navajo had killed the sheepherders. "The posse became so enraged and disgusted they lined the Piutes [*sic*] and killed them without further delay." [42] To the settlers, *The Book of Mormon acted* as a historical record in addition to a sacred text, and recounted centuries of battles and bloodshed between Nephites and Lamanites. In the mind of the settlers, perhaps the clashes with the indigenous people were perceived as a continuation of these historical struggles. Mormons and Indians continued to engage in complicated relationships, perhaps more nuanced than native struggles with other white settlers, due to these religious

[41] Winkler, "The Circleville Massacre," 5.

[42] James Jennings. 1935. Interview by Harold Russell. Transcript. MC68, B3 F1, Special Collections, Merrill Cazier Library, Utah State University, 14-15.

understandings of ancestry and obligations in helping the Indians towards redemption. Though the Mormons may have viewed the Indians as kin, they did not recognize these so-called Lamanite entitlements to the land or validate their patterns of land use. If the Paiute weren't creating permanent settlements or farms, in the eyes of the Mormons, they were relinquishing their rights to the land.

Settling Dixie

In her unpublished memoir, "Memories of New Harmony," Alice Redd Rich (1879-1968) refers to a speech made by John D. Lee, an influential early homesteader who had been spiritually adopted by Brigham Young.[43] Rich quoted Lee in his address to pioneers at an event celebrating the founding of one of the earliest settlements in southern Utah in 1852, the fort and town of New Harmony.[44] (The ZNP Kolob Canyon entrance lists its mailing address as New Harmony, UT.) As presented by Rich, Lee's speech began, "Brethren, we are called upon again to found a settlement in these valleys of Zion. It is our mission to subdue the earth and reclaim its waste places. This is a beautiful valley with good, rich soil and an excellent climate… The scenery about us is magnificent and inspiring, and these mountains will be our fortress of protection and defense against our enemies." [45] This sentiment was American and Christian, so it's not surprising that subduing the earth was a Mormon value as well.

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[43] Spiritual adoptions sealed two men, not related by blood, into a "father and son" relationship.

[44] Alice C. Rich, "Memories of New Harmony," unpublished memoir, 1957, Platt Family Center, Washing County Historical Society, accessed June 12, 2014, p. 3, http://wchsutah.org/towns/new-harmony1.pdf.

[45] Ibid., 5.

In November of 1858, Brigham Young sent Nephi Johnson to explore the valley behind a place called Hurricane Fault, today the site of Hurricane, UT. It is believed that he was the first white settler to see Zion Canyon. Johnson identified two sites for settlement, Pocketville (which later became Virgin City, then just Virgin) and Shunesburg, now a ghost town. Johnson represents a central character in this narrative on the history of Dixie. A native of Kirkland, Ohio, one of the first LDS settlements, he migrated along the Oregon Trail, arriving in the Great Salt Lake Valley in 1848. With his wives and children, he lived in Virgin, Kanab and Mesquite as a rancher and farmer. General Powell hired Johnson as a guide and he worked with Jacob Hamblin on the Southern Indian Mission. And today, Cliven Bundy claims to be related to Nephi Johnson as part of his historical claim to ranch lands in Dixie.

Several other communities began to form along the Virgin as pioneers sorted land through settlement. Several miles upriver from neighboring towns Virgin City (1858) and Rockville (1862), homesteader and farmer Isaac Behunin (1803-1881) named the place where he was living with his family, Zion Canyon. Behunin was an original adherent of Joseph Smith and had followed the Mormon exodus from New York, to Ohio, to Missouri and Illinois and finally to Utah. He lived in the Mormon community of Nauvoo, IL when Joseph Smith was murdered in 1844. Like Nephi Johnson, Behunin struggled across the Oregon Trail and was ordered by Brigham Young to settle in southwest Utah. After experiencing decades of religious oppression, Behunin landed in one of the most remote corners in America and he named it, unsurprisingly, Zion.

Behunin's farm was located within a network of settlements that relied on one another for trade, social interactions, and Mormon fellowship. The townships nearest to

where Behunin raised his tobacco, fruits and vegetables were Shunesburg (1862), Rockdale, Duncan's Retreat (1861) and Grafton (1859). James Jennings, Behunin's neighbor, said, "He was odd and mysterious. They raised their own tobacco there in Zion and called it 'Behunin's Best.'" In addition to finding spiritual meaning in the walls of the canyon, Behunin also found sacred nature in his crops. Jennings added that Behunin, his sons and "the old lady" all smoked. Behunin, Jennings attested, had said that, "'Tobacco is our God.'"[46] There is an unverified legend that when Brigham Young visited Zion Canyon and saw Behinin's tobacco growing, he disgustedly declared that the canyon "was not Zion."[47] The Mormon Church did not condone smoking.

The act of making a living in this region, of building irrigation and communal living systems, worked to transform this "waste place" into sacred land. According to Isaac 1:35, a biblical passage held dear by the LDS in their impressions of establishing their homeland, "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose."[48] The rugged lands of Young's sacred missions were turning into an LDS New Jerusalem. Like their brethren, the ancient Israelites, these hardy men and women were making the desert bloom and feeding the growing number of children and converts.

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[46] James Jennings. 1935. Interview by Harold Russell. MC68, B3 F1, Special Collections, Merrill Cazier, Utah State University, p. 2.

[47] Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah," 158.

[48] Isaiah 1:35, KJV.

As Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox and Dean L. May wrote in their work, *Building the City of God*, a Mormon town was a reflection of Mormon spirituality.[49] Houses were clustered, water and land were shared and the community shared labor in the construction of the town infrastructure. In the early years of settlement, Dixie was still famous for cotton, orchards, wine and tight-knitted communities. Rich wrote about the typical Mormon village experience growing up in New Harmony, painting a portrait of collaboration among the families. She explained:

> Like the pioneers of every village, the early settlers met and solved problems along the line of activity. In this way, they were able to master every situation. Fuel for warmth and cooking [had to] be supplied by wood, hauled from the mountainsides, chopped and stored for the long winter season…. If the coals were dead, someone [had to] borrow from a kind neighbor….Every household had cows which supplied milk and cream. Sometimes in the summer, some good manager would run a dairy on shares at a cool mountain homestead, and take cows from many families and make cheese by a hand process, and put up great crocks of butter…. With no refrigeration, it was impossible to have fresh meat, so the pioneers solved the problem by a neighborhood exchange. Periodically a farmer slaughtered a beef and parceled out the meat. …" [50]

The description is representative of towns in Dixie, and demonstrated the communal network that was essential in supporting the population. William W. Flanigan (1877-1961) of Springdale explained during an interview that "fire had to be kept overnight—lacking which we must borrow a start,"[51] echoing the assertions of Alice Rich's recollections of borrowing an ember to start a cold stove. But commence was not simply

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[49] Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Press, 1976).

[50] Rich, "Memories of New Harmony," 3; Lyman D. Platt and Karen L. Platt, *Grafton: Ghost Town on the Rio Virgin*. (St. George, UT, Tonaquint Press, 1998), 43-45.

[51] William Wallace Flanigan, undated. "Excerpts from the Diaries of William Wallace Flanigan," F832.Z8F53, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, p. 2.

local. Zion offered an economic network. Mary Wood Hall (1889-1980) described a dairy that her mother ran above Grafton, keeping the cream and butter for personal use, selling the surplus as far away as Salt Lake City. [52]

According to the remembrances of James Jennings, Grafton, now a ghost town on the border of ZNP, was an incredibly self-sufficient settlement with the ability to grow food and build necessities. Everyone had a role and was committed to the well-being of their neighbors. There was "Aunt Kasiah," the nurse; Thomas Hall, a tinker; and Samuel Kenner, a musician, also known as "Doc." William Carpenter was in the possession of a lathe and made barrels and bowls, and Henry Stocks built a sorghum mill where he turned out molasses.[53] The settlers grew and traded goods, married neighbors and worked within niches of productivity, so that the settlement was greater than the sums of its parts.

In their practices, the Mormons were exotic to other Americans. They were considered a "peculiar people."[54] Even today, many Americans think Mormons are rather strange in their beliefs and insular communities. Traveling through Utah, unveils extraordinary geography that conjures aspects of the Middle East. LDS have intentionally ordered the landscape to reflect these holy lands. A map of Utah is rife with Middle Eastern allusions, such as features named the Jordan River and Mount Nebo (the mountain where Moses died). Brigham Young's imagined empire, Deseret, stretched

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[52] Mary Berth Wood Hall, 1969. Interview by Fielding Harris, September 23, transcript. Voices of Remembrance Foundation, Oral History Collection. Dixie State College of Utah, p. 12.

[53] James Jennings, 1935. Interview by Harold Russell, transcript. MC68, B3 F1, Special Collections, Merrill Cazier Library, Utah State University, p. 3.

[54] J. Spencer Fluhman, *A Peculiar People*: Anti Mormonism and the Making of Religion in the Nineteenth Century (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 1.

over desert encompassing the Great Salt Lake, America's Dead Sea. He willed his people to make the desert bloom and with sophisticated forms of irrigation, they planted vineyards and orchards like the farms of Palestine. With their skills in cultivating the desert and their success in thriving under circumstances of oppression, it is not difficult to imagine that the Mormons, believing themselves to be a lost tribe of Israel, made the Great Basin into their imagined "Oriental" homeland.

Richard V. Francaviglia explored elements of Mormonism and Orientalism in his book *Go East, Young Man: Imaging the American West as the Orient*.[55] Famously, Richard Burton, the great British explorer who was the first westerner to travel to Mecca, wrote of the Mormons, their practices, culture and their belief that Salt Lake City was "Zion on the tops of the mountains." He compared their practices to the "Hajiis of Mecca" and admired their practice of polygamy.[56] It might seem extraordinary that the man who sought the source of the Nile and the mysteries of the Haj felt a pull to see the holy lands of the Mormons. But the early Mormons as they, to a certain extent, replicated and imagined the lands of the Middle East, were extraordinary.

The Mormons saw themselves as descendants of the lost tribe of Israel and the land they finally reached shared characteristics of Middle East. In their notions of lineage and their imagining of homeland, they created Zion as a reflection of their identity. Mormon families made up Mormon communities and Mormon communities made up Mormon networks. In the manifestation of their sacred land, one of "milk and honey,"

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[55] Richard V. Francaviglia, *Go East, Young Man: Imaging the American West as the Orient* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2011).

[56] Richard Burton, *The City of Saints* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1862); Francaviglia, *Go East, Young Man*, 87-125.

early Mormons settlers fancied themselves as members of a beehive. Industrious and communal, LDS built and cultivated and shared and prospered. This was the way they lived and it remains an emblem still evident in early church carvings, stained glass, flags and plaques inscribed with images of the hive.

Dixie and The United Order

As Dixie Mormons settled the lands, they did so collaboratively within an area isolated from other non-Mormon settlers. But the region met with an influx of Gentiles as economic opportunities summoned other Americans. These non-Mormons came to the Dixie and Iron Mission regions with the discovery of ore, causing anxiety among Church leaders. Gold and silver deposits were discovered in Utah in the 1850s and by 1869, the Central Pacific linked the East and West coasts through Utah. An article in *The Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, written in 1859, quoted Abraham Lincoln, "Utah will become the treasure house of the nation."[57] Little did he know it would be the scenery that would become the nation's most treasured part of Utah. *Harper's* stated that Brigham Young was fighting to retain a Mormon Empire in Utah against the whole of the United States. Economic fluctuations, the fear of a dependence on Gentile merchants, and a growing concern over mineral ownership spurred Young to secure Mormon properties and protect his power base. At the time, Utah was still decades away from statehood. Polygamy was under fire as the U.S. Congress considered the Cullom Bill, a measure that could have classified women in plural marriages as courtesans and mark their children as

[57] E.H. Tullidge, "The Reformation in Utah," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 43, no. 256 (September 1871): 602.

illegitimate. (Although the Collum Bill failed to pass, the later Edmunds Bill outlawed polygamy in 1882.) In addition to trying to maintain a legal right to practice the Mormon tradition of plural wives, Young was also desperately trying to out-compete non-Mormon merchants. He urged Mormon manufacturers to fix wages to keep Mormon product prices low. In addition to these pressures, Utah's court system was under fire for alleged corruption and on-going infighting among Church leaders. Leaders were loudly making allegations against one another. These stories played out in Utah and national media causing embarrassment and a further bias against what was perceived as a theocracy in Utah.

Americans were suspicious of the LDS and by extension, apprehensive about their landscape. In an article in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, recounting impressions of the Mormons in Utah as well as their landscape, an anonymous writer stated wondered:

> Can any good come out of Utah? We've heard of spiritual wives and materialistic husbands, of the conflict between Mormon morals and Gentile laws … let us consider the many things in Utah which interest without pain. We have for this survey an embarrassment of riches: loft mountains covering two-fifths of the whole Territory, 20,000 square miles of alkali desert, and wild canyons rich in natural beauty and mineral wealth; a Salt Lake covering 400 square miles, hot springs, mountains of salt and fountains of brine.…I visited Southern Utah and Northern Arizona, where a curious contrast is noted. … In the south there is a grandeur that is awfully suggestive—suggestive of death and worn out lands, of cosmic convulsions and volcanic catastrophes that swept away whole races of pre-Adamites. ….[58]

This sentiment underlined the contempt that many non-Mormons continued to harbor for the Mormon population. But it also conveyed a curiosity in Mormon land and resources. Within a couple of years, the national narrative on these lands would change and regional

[58] "The Silver Mountains of Utah," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 52, no. 317 (October 1876): 641-642.

beauty along with Mormon hospitality would be touted as a reason to visit. But when this article was written, the relationship between Gentiles and LDS was still fraught with distrust, disapproval and resentment.

In response to the economic and cultural pressures of non-Mormon interests moving into Mormon homeland, Young moved to implement a system that he hoped would protect his people and reinforce early church principles. In 1874, he reissued Joseph Smith's policy of communalism, called the United Order of Enoch. This was done in part for economic equality among the LDS as well as a way to quell the mounting pressures coming from the influx of outsiders. Instituting the United Order was reflective of Young's desire to pull his Mormon network together both socially and economically. It was another expression of Mormon Zion—a directive to communally share possessions, surplus as well as faith and lifestyle. Young declared:

> I have looked upon the community of Latter-Day Saints in vision and beheld them organized as one great family of heaven, each person performing his several duties in his line of industry, working for good of the whole than for individual aggrandizement; and in this I have beheld the most beautiful order that the mind of man can contemplate and the grandest results for the upbuilding of the kingdom of God and the spread of righteousness upon the earth.[59]

The United Order model, not unlike other utopian societies that Smith had been aware of during the Second Great Awakening in the early nineteenth century, was again adding to the layers of Mormon unity reinforcing collaboration, prophecy and clannishness. The United Order also reiterated the beehive principle.

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[59] Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses by Brigham Young, His Counselors, Twelve Apostles and Others* (Liverpool: Albert Carrington, 1869), 12:153.

United Order principles were utilitarian and called for communalistic neighborhoods, farms and factories. It was also a spiritual obligation. In the partaking of the United Order, LDS acknowledged "that the Church may stand independent above all other creatures;" "prepare the saints for a place in the celestial kingdom;" and promise to "strengthen Zion…"[60] The United Order was meant to consolidate the hearts and minds of the Mormon people; to refocus their devotion to the church and distinguish Mormon traditions from those of non-Mormon culture.

In rural Dixie, the United Order was not a difficult system to implement, though it was difficult to maintain. The townships, farms, and irrigation systems were already orderly and functional and Mormons were already highly dependent on one another. Poverty plagued the southern Mormon settlements and basic subsistence was arduous. Dixie communities such as Orderville, Springdale and St. George in Utah and Bunkerville in Nevada joined the United Order in 1874, the year it was implemented. The campaign was overall largely a failure and in many towns it lasted only months to a year. Dixie housed two exceptions, Orderville, UT and Bunkerville, NV, where the model persisted and might have continued longer if polygamy hadn't been outlawed.[61] In the end, although other Mormon communities were very connected, it turned out that families wanted to keep their own wealth and property. Capitalism was the favored model even among a people who had joined a faith with communal underpinnings. Though the Mormons were connected in so many ways, they enjoyed economic independence.

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[60] Frank W. Hirschi, "Law of Consecration," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillian, 1992), 312-313.

[61] Richard D. Poll, Thomas G. Alexander, Eugene E. Campbell, and David E. Miller, *Utah's History* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1989), 232.

This period once again distinguished the Mormons from other western settlements and remains a noteworthy event in Mormon history. Pioneer Arthur Delano Cox (1893-1978), who grew up in Chihuahua, Mexico and Orderville, UT, explained the rationale for the United Order and the experience of his parents, growing up within it:

> This United Order put men and women to work at what they were best qualified. You take an individual [who] is qualified for a certain thing; they can do more good and accomplish more than one [who] doesn't have this talent or ability. [The United Order] progressed this way until someone began keeping books and needed better pay than the man [who] hoed weeds out of the garden…. I am glad my parents both had a chance of living as youngsters in [the] United Order…. I have talked with people who have lived in the United Order and they never did lack for having a lot of good food and clothing and things. When the [United] Order broke up, there were many families [who] had gone in there with little means and didn't go out with the means. [62]

Orderville practiced the communal model for a decade, longer than any other community. It reinforced a mode of living and social order as well as emphasized that Mormons were obliged to take care of their own. This ethos continues today in the Relief Society, additional Mormon charities and even in land use campaigns where Mormons families fight on behalf of other Mormon families.

In his autobiography, town founder Edward Bunker (1822-1901) wrote about life under Young's communal mandate, which lasted in Bunkerville for three years.

> …we attempted to organize into stewardship, and the result was that we broke up. The brethren did not understand the principle sufficient to accept of it… Our labors, however, were very highly crowned with success. In settling up we paid off the capital stock dollar for dollar, fed and clothed the company and paid 18 per cent [*sic*] on every man's labor. We made a

[62] Arthur Delano Cox, 1968. Interview by Fielding Harris, transcript, December 27. Voices of Remembrance Foundation, Oral History Collection. Dixie State College of Utah.

> valuation of our improvements, divided them up and they went to pay our indebtedness. [63]

Although the experiment in living left many feeling ambivalent, there were those who felt pride in their accomplishments in communal living as well resentment in its eventual discontinuation. The idea behind the United Order represented the desire on the part of Brigham Young and the Mormon Church to make the LDS self-sufficient as a culture. The model was implemented as a way to expand Mormon self-reliance within communities and to eliminate a need to rely on Gentile merchants or networks outside of the faith.

William Flanigan was born over a decade after Orderville abandoned the United Order, but a culture of cooperation and sharing resources still persisted. In his diaries, he wrote of meager food and hardship, but also emphasized the Mormon interconnectedness. He said: "For a great many years Rockville and Springville were in the same ward [Church congregation] …Along with older men, a child on horse was good at moving cattle. Whether the bunch was big or small, they had to be night herded, and the tired men sorely needed rest. I helped drive up and down the Shunesburg trail many times—always in the company of older men." [64] The sharing of labor offered reprieve from long hours and the ability to manage multi-family assets.

The United Order, though abandoned, helped bond Mormon families to each other and to their communities. Although short-lived, it added to a legacy of tight

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[63] Edward Bunker, unpublished autobiography, 2006, transcribed by Michael Bunker, accessed July 18, 2014, http://www.bunker.org/ebauto.html.

[64] William Wallace Flanigan, undated, "Excerpts from the Diaries of William Wallace Flanigan," transcript, F832.Z8F53, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, p. 3.

connections, shared responsibility, and joint ownership over lands and natural resources. It also was an act of "circling the wagons" in response to "outsiders" coming into Mormon territory—the Mormons created tighter networks in order to maintain their culture and their assets to survive independently. In the wake of the United Order, many communities throughout Dixie continued to work collaboratively, building irrigation ditches and dams, community buildings, and raising crops and livestock together. A shared responsibility of improvements to the land created a deep sense of belonging to Mormon Zion.

Miracles, Faith-Promoting Events and the Supernatural

Zion was a sacred place. The region's first settlers and Dixie residents expected God's intervention in everyday affairs, both mundane and harrowing. God was always on hand in Zion, as evidenced and celebrated in the most traumatic of circumstances. One early record of God's presence in Zion is from an account in Grafton, down river from Zion Canyon. The town site was selected for settlement due its seemingly lush pastureland. Bishop Franklin W. Young, the first bishop of this area and the nephew of Brigham Young, described the strange relationship that the early settlers had with the landscape—a mixture of gratitude, fortitude, awe and divine intervention. In his journal, he wrote of the near death of Olive Tenney:

> On Saturday January 18th, 1862. Early in the morning I was called up out of bed to go help some people get out of the water, the River was very high indeed, and when it was light enough I went down to brother Tenney's, as that was opposite of that place and found that his houses were washed down & one of them was washed away and most everything in it. Mrs. Tenney was carried out of the water to bro. Barney's & was

> there confined to bed and gave birth to a fine son, who she after called Marvelous Flood.[65]

A terrifying event turned into a miracle and the fortuitous outcome was commemorated in the name of the baby, who came to be known as Marv. The flood wiped out most of the town, swept away the Tenney home and their family's possessions, but the family still recognized the blessing of the baby in the midst of natural disaster. The baby was safely delivered in the middle of a flood. Young's journal went on to note that the river changed its course, taking with it swaths of arable lands and fences, looking more "like the Missouri River" than the Virgin, a river one could walk across at various points.[66] The event was significant and terrible, but in the name of the child, we see a triumph in Zion.

The awe and wonder that the Saints expounded in their journals and explained in their oral histories did not often come from an appreciation of the majestic rock formations that they lived amidst, but rather from daily miracles that they saw taking place in their homeland. In many accounts of life in Dixie, the scenery was treated as superfluous to the landscape's ability to sustain farming and ranching, though Dixie LDS had a deep appreciation for the space as a sacred place. Mormons saw the marvelous in the regular intervention of God in their interactions with landscape, animals, and natural phenomena. God was working in the waters, the lands and in the elements.

Lulu Jones Waite (1910-1997) was a romance novelist born in Enterprise, Utah. Waite, much like Marvelous Flood Tenney, was born when the Virgin had dangerously

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[65] Franklin Young, Journal, January 8, 1862, MS 324, Church History Library.

[66] Ibid., 135.

breached its banks.[67] Parley Pratt predicted this and wrote of the nature of the dramatic weather patterns and the sandy soils. This region was created by, and seasonally reshaped by, floods. During the building of Dixie settlements, dams, levies and canals were crafted as collaborative town projects in order to control the water flow. Waite recalled "The Virgin River…was here that my four brothers, my father, mother and I had the best part of our lives. We were a family and we were all together. This river was like one of our family. We were always warned to stay away from the river, especially during floods."[68] Waite spoke of miracles and experiences with God and the devil as an everyday occurrence when she was growing up. On one occasion, she had taken a ride on Old Blue, a horse that bucked "at the drop of a hat." On the ride to a nearby farm, Old Blue stopped and did not budge. "I knew immediately what it was, because the Spirit said, 'Satan.' …. I whipped him again, I thought: this time I am not going to let anything stop me…. I said 'Satan, get out of my way. You are not going to hinder me.' This horse went up [a hill] as if nothing was wrong. I knew that these powers were always around you."[69] Though Old Blue might just have been a stubborn and opinionated horse, to Waite he was a conduit of the power of her religion and faith. The incident indicated that in the life of a Dixie Mormon, one could call on the divine to right wrongs in times of difficulty or adversity.

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[67] Lulu Jones Waite, 1969. Interview by Fielding Harris, May 28, Voices of Remembrance Foundation, Oral History Collection, Dixie State College of Utah. p. 6.

[68] Ibid., 15.

[69] Ibid., 10.

Waite elaborated on many close calls, near brushes with death, narrowly avoided by prayers and pleas to God. In one case she spoke of an old Mormon belief in the wandering Nephite, a member of the lost tribe of Israel, who wanders the land picking up rides from Mormons, saving them from perils, only to vanish into thin air. One day, Waite was travelling to Cedar City in a car. When she and her family saw a man walking by the side of the road, they picked him up. He seemed otherworldly to Waite. She even recalled taking his picture, only to have his image strangely changed when the film was developed. During the journey to Cedar City, the family was in a terrible accident during which, remarkably, everyone survived. The car was still drivable and they took the hitchhiker on to Cedar City and dropped him off. When they went back to check on him a few minutes later, he was gone.[70]

This was a folktale seen also in the broader American lore as a mysterious stranger appearing, when individuals are in imminent danger, to save the day. But the Mormons took the story and made it unique to their culture. The LDS Nephite version included a twist where the mysterious stranger asked a series of questions of his fellow travelers to test their Mormon faith.[71] The idea that the supernatural intercedes in Dixie on behalf of righteous Mormons is part of what drives the efforts of the Bundy family. It has made them felt impervious to harm or federal retribution.

Other Dixie residents told of miracles in their oral histories. Glenn Waite (1906-1991), born in Bunkerville, Nevada, explained the following in his oral testimony: "All of

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[70] Ibid., 10.

[71] Matthew Bowman, "A Mormon Bigfoot: David Patten's Cain and the Conception of Evil in LDS Folklore," in *Between the Pulpit and Pew: The Supernatural World in Mormon History and Folklore*, eds. Paul W. Reeve and Michael Scott Van Wagenen. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2011), 20.

our life we had a lot of faith-promoting incidents. We were brought up that way.… We did not call them miracles because it was more or less an everyday affair. We prayed for things and we usually [received] them in a roundabout way." [72] Mormons attributed fortuitous events to divine intervention. Others who lived in the region claimed to have had premonitions and portentous dreams, and to have heard voices of an ailing or dead loved one.[73] With the isolation of the Virgin River settlements, and the networks connecting one to another, traditions and worldview were deeply forged, shared in the oral tradition where supernatural stories abounded.

In looking at the sacred, supernatural, miracles and faith promoting events, there became an established intersect between theology and folklore. Zion was sacred and God inhabited the land where He could be expected to come to the rescue in a miracle or faith promoting event. This idea was embedded in LDS culture—their story was one of overcoming hardship thanks to divine favor. Additionally, the early Mormon Church was rife with supernatural phenomena including angels, prophecies, buried gold, seer stones, speaking in tongues, healings, portents and dreams. "Mormon cosmology inspired" the many tales told in Dixie.[74] This sacred place, given to Mormons by prophecy and earned

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[72] Glenn Waite, 1969. Interview by Fielding Harris, transcript, May 28. Voices of Remembrance Foundation, Oral History Collection. Dixie State College of Utah, Utah, p. 15.

[73] Marie Blake Gubler, 1969. Interview by Fielding Harris, transcript, June 20. Voices of Remembrance Foundation, Oral History Collection. Dixie State College of Utah, p. 12; Willis Leland Rasmussen, 1969. Interview by Fielding Harris, transcript, Sept. 11. Voice of Remembrance Foundation, Oral History Collection. September 11, 1969. Dixie State College of Utah, p. 17; Agnes Melinda Leavitt 1969. Interview by Fielding Harris, transcript, April 11. Voices of Remembrance Foundation, Oral History Collection. Dixie State College of Utah, p. 35-36.

[74] Paul W. Reeve and Michael Scott Van Wagenen, "Between the Pew and the Pulpit: Where History and Lore Intersect,"in *Between the Pulpit and Pew: The Supernatural World in Mormon History and Folklore,* eds. Paul W. Reeve and Michael Scott Van Wagenen (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2011), 5.

through hard work, was embroidered with tales that reinforced religious belief. There was a thin line between earth and heaven as evidence in the day-to-day experience of living in rural Mormon America.

From Livelihood to Leisure

Dixie was a hard country to navigate, for work or play, but residents forged ahead over buttes, bluffs and arroyos to maintain essential networks. Families remained connected, bound by marriages, faith and commerce. In addition to the connectivity of families within each community, Dixie towns were also connected as pioneers travelled long distances to attend events. School, dances, musical events, ward gatherings and special ceremonies like baptisms, endowments and sealings (weddings that transcended time on Earth and extended to life after death) kept residents united physically, socially, culturally and religiously. Dixie had a significant European immigrant population with extraordinary musical skills, which also encouraged collaborations. Music and dancing brought people from these communities together with surprising frequency. John Henry Zohner, born in Switzerland, having moved to Cedar City sometime after 1917, explained that "Up there I would ride for thirty miles to go to a dance."[75] Cyrus Gifford played the "violin, clarinet, saxophone, accordion, piano, guitar, mandolin, about anything." [76] Musicians gathered at town meetinghouses to play together and hold dances. Merrill

[75] John Henry Zohner, 1969. Interview by Fielding Harris, February 22 transcript. Voices of Remembrance Foundation, Oral History Collection. Febuary 22, 1969. Dixie State College of Utah p. 21.

[76] Cyrus Gifford, 1969. Interview by Fielding Harris, November 24, transcript. Voices of Remembrance Foundation, Oral History Collection. Dixie State College of Utah, p. 31.

Russell, who played fiddle, recalled, "I often played for a couple of times a week."[77] These frequent gatherings, despite the long distance between settlements, continued to reinforce the idea of Mormon geography. The relationships among families and neighbors as well as the routes between communities created both human and geographical networks.

Communities around Zion Canyon organized their region into the easiest ways to exploit resources, though day-to-day livelihoods were still a struggle. Moving cattle or supplies was time consuming, but the settlers used rather clever technologies to cut down on time and effort. David Flanigan (1869-1951), for example, developed a device with cables and pulleys that could load timber onto a bed. After the lumber was loaded, the bed dropped from the forested lands above Zion Canyon to the valley floor, supplying the towns of Grafton, Rockville and Springdale with fuel and building materials.[78] Over the years, the cable carried millions of feet of timber into the valley. Although the technology was used to bring wood down in the building of the Zion Lodge in 1923-1924, it fell out of use sometime afterward. It was finally removed in 1930 when the school principal of Orderville, Albin Brooksby, was killed during a field trip by a piece of iron that came loose and struck him on the head. [79]

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[77] Merrill Russell, 1969. Interview by Fielding Harris, July 22 transcript. Voices of Remembrance Foundation, Oral History Collection. Dixie State College of Utah, p.13.

[78] William Wallace Flanigan, undated. "Excerpts from the Diaries of William Wallace Flanigan," transcript. F832.Z8F53, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, p. 9.

[79] "Albin Brooksby Killed at Zion National Park." *Garfield County News,* March 18, 1930, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3207084&q=Albin+Brooksby+Killed+at+Zion+National+Park&page=1&rows=25&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0#t_3207084.

Running livestock between the lower and upper canyon required a twelve-hour trip over the East Rim Trail, an old Indian trail, minimally improved by rancher John Winder at the turn of the twentieth century. It wasn't uncommon for cows and horses to fall to their deaths on the precarious route between summer and winter pastures. On his trip in 1902, George Bucknam Dorr (1855-1944), a wealthy traveler from Boston and champion for wild places, wrote of the cattle trail that would become the famous ZNP East Rim Trail. He observed, "...the canyon opened grandly out as if for the enthronement of some ancient god, and there from its deep embayment, rose a dangerous and only trail connecting the bottom canyon with the plains above—a summer-grazing ground for cattle, whose bone marked of ancient sacrifice, the bases of the cliffs it climbed."[80] Life in canyon country, though filled with God and daily miracles, was still a tough place to do business. When a family's precious cow could fall to its death walking from pasture to pasture, despite all the region's beauty, it was the loss of a cow that really mattered. Then, as now, it is the asset, not the spectacle, that the rancher values.

William Flanigan, in his journal, recalled traversing the region in his father's wagon to pick up lumber. The trip took him from Zion Canyon to what is now the polygamous community of Colorado City, the stronghold of the condemned offshoot of the Mormon Church, the Fundamentalist Church Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints. From here Flanigan and his father headed north to Mt. Carmel and into Long Valley.[81] On the return route, with 1,000 board feet of timber loaded in the wagon, he and his

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[80] George Bucknam Dorr, "Two National Monuments: The Desert and the Ocean Front. Zion National Monument," *Sieur de Mont Publications* 14 (October 2, 1920): 11.

[81] This is now the Smithsonian Butte Backcountry via highways 50, 237 and 43.

father went through Johnson Canyon to Fredonia.[82] The Flanigans crossed what is now the Kaibab Paiute Indian Reservation through Big Plain, a stretch southeast of Rockville. Their trip took fourteen days.[83] Today, on paved roads, the trip takes a few hours.

In one of his diaries, Flanigan wrote, "At Rockville where I was born you could look east and north—east into the beautiful mountains, at the ledges, and I sometimes wonder if the sight of such a beautiful landscape helped me to appreciate the scenery later on in years."[84] He reminisced about his childhood home but acknowledged it was in retrospect that he learned to appreciate the scenery. It is easy to understand given how arduous it was to get from point A to point B; soaring rocks were intimidating rather than enjoyable. By game trails, Indian footpaths, wagon trails and cow trails, moving through this country was rough going.

Canyoneers and rock climbers eventually flocked to ZNP, but most local Mormons did not view the area with the sensibility of an outdoor enthusiast. Flanigan was one exception. In 1900, he hiked through The Narrows, a section of the North Fork of the Virgin River, now a popular backcountry route in ZNP. When Flanigan attempted to go through it, the local inhabitants believed it was likely an impassible canyon with quick sand, waterfalls and whirlpools. Even if it were navigable, locals didn't want to subject themselves to the potential perils. But Flanigan saw the journey as a fun venture.

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[82] Today, this route is part of the Johnson Canyon Skutumpah Scenic Highway through the Grand Staircase Escalante National Monument. It is unclear how they traveled to Fredonia, though today the route is Highway 89 W to Kanab and Highway 89 S to Fredonia.

[83] William Wallace Flanigan, undated, "Excerpts from the Diaries of William Wallace Flanigan," transcript. F832.Z8F53, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, p. 3.

[84] Ibid, 1.

Asking his friend to wait thirty-six hours at a rendezvous point, Flanigan said that if he failed show up, they should alert folks in Rockville that he was missing. As he recorded in his journal:

> For several years now I have been trying to get someone to go down the Virgin River Narrows from the Crystal Ranch to Zion [Canyon], as no man, that we know of, has been down through them, they seem to think it would be impassible… I started out at about seven or eight o'clock on the morning of June 30, 1900. I had good heavy shoes, good overalls, and I had a good exciting trip, and landed clear down to Springdale in about nine or ten hours, made the whole trip on foot.[85]

He may have accelerated the pace due to the fact that he saw mountain lion tracks and was worried he might run into a grizzly bear. The last bear had been shot in 1884, a short distance from the Narrows. He concluded in an entry detailing his experience, "… not sure I could go clear through and it was a shaky place to spend the night alone. But I made it through and was thrilled." [86] Today, the Narrows is one of ZNP's most popular trips and, although Flanigan moved through it safely, it has proved fatal to visitors during periods of high water.[87]

Joseph Smith Fife and his son, Wilford Root Fife (1890-1988), brought another leisure activity to the region. Wilford was born in Cedar City and grew up helping his family homestead a piece of land, where they worked during the summer, raising cows. His father built a fish pond, where Wilford began a love of fishing. He explained how his

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[85] Ibid, 8.

[86] Ibid, 8. The first Euro-American to travel The Narrows was actually Grove Karl Gilbert who accompanied John Wesley Powell on the Wheeler Survey in 1872. Powell surveyed the Parunuweap Canyon, the East Fork of the Virgin River.

[87] Four Boy Scouts and their leader were killed in 1961 in a flashflood in the Narrows and seven hikers died in 2015 in a flood in the Narrows Keyhole Slot Canyon. William Yardley, Matt Pearce and Nigel Duara, "Seven Hikers' Descent into Doom at Zion National Park," *Los Angeles Times*, September, 20, 2015, accessed February 5, 2017, http://graphics.latimes.com/zion-flash-flood/.

father Joseph stocked the Virgin River by raising trout at his homestead and feeding them into the river. In an interview Fife said that his father and uncle William B. Walker stocked the first trout:

> …. in the headwaters of the Virgin River between 1885 and 1890. They went over to Panguitch Lake [seventy nine miles by highway today] to get spawners. They went with a team and wagon. There were no roads in place; they just had to cut timber and go through. They would take a barrel. In the spring they would catch some of those big spawners in the small streams, put them in the barrel and bring them back. One of them would sit up all night and keep the water fresh." [88]

Today this practice would be condemned considering issues of "bucket biology," the act of illegal stocking. But the act emphasizes that the residents of Zion country were keen to recreate and have fun in nature. In fact, one day Wilford caught eighty-six fish in the canyon. Although a food source, fishing was also a leisure pursuit. And by stocking the river, locals were creating opportunities to experience Zion Canyon not just as an obstacle to overcome, as in the act of moving cattle and hauling wood. They could fish a stock pond anytime, but the act of placing the fish in the canyon indicated an interest in engaging with a captivating space.

William Louis Crawford (1873-1935) also had a hobby through which he developed a unique relationship to landscape that differed from most of his neighbors. His family's farm stood where the current ZNP Visitor's Center now stands. He grew McIntosh apples, three varieties of Winesap apples, banana apples, quinces, several varieties of peaches and plums until the farm was bought out and made to move in 1931

[88] Wilford Root Fife, 1969. Interview by Fielding Harris, February 10, transcript. Voices of Remembrance Foundation, Oral History Collection. Dixie State College of Utah, p. 6.

from the park boundaries.[89] In his younger days, Crawford was a sheepherder and during his long and lonely days he entertained himself by taking pictures, often inserting himself in the frame.[90] In an interview, his son John Louis (J.L.) Crawford (1914-2011) explained his father's technique, using a stereo camera to take stereoptic pictures of the landscape. Crawford expounded "He rigged up a means by which he could take his own picture. Because he was a loner… he would take a picture of scenery, but frequently get in the picture by carrying a spool of thread in his pocket. It was a white thread and he'd rig it up on the spool of thread in his pocket so he could trip the shutter and get in his own pictures."[91] The elder Crawford took pictures of himself climbing a natural bridge, honeymooning in Zion Canyon on a trip with his wife, Mary Jane Bean Crawford (1891-1976), and standing on a ledge overlooking the North Rim of the Grand Canyon.[92] His collection is extensive and confirms his avid interest in the region as an amateur photographer. Many shots have him in the picture, perhaps suggesting that landscape wasn't accurately conveyed without a human included, or more specifically, a Mormon settler. His pictures indicated that he, himself, was a fixture on the landscape as permanent and as dominant as majestic rocks. Crawford's pictures commemorated homeland as well as declared his own place in it.

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[89] J.L. Crawford 1982. Interview by Dena Markoff, transcript, January 18. Zion 12352, Box 5. National Park Service, Zion National Park Collection, p. 2.

[90] Ibid., 1-3.

[91] Ibid., 3.

[92] Photo Diary, 1898. J.L. Crawford Collection, MS. 57, B2F2, J.L. Crawford Papers, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University.

Outdoor recreation, dancing, music and socializing were all part of life in Dixie. There was a deep appreciation of the land as a place where LDS could settle and prosper, though the idea of protecting undeveloped land for the sole purpose of recreation was not a cultural value. Ironically J.L. Crawford, whose family was ultimately ousted from their homestead in Zion Canyon, became ZNP's biggest fan. He wrote and lectured all of his life about the magic of the park. His collection, left to the library at Southern Utah University, is full writing on happy childhood reminiscences; participation in ZNP celebrations; histories on his Zion Canyon neighbors and stories about his beloved ZNP.



Figure 3. Honeymoon in Zion Canyon. William Louis Crawford and Mary Jane Bean Crawford. Used with permission. J.L. Crawford Papers, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University.

Conclusion

After years of conflict and religious oppression, Dixie became the canvas on which to further construct Zion. Dixie was the realm of religious adherents, bound and determined to survive in an extreme environment. It was here they would cultivate the desert and make it bloom. As settlers converted the Paiute to Mormonism, Lamanites would lighten in their complexion. In the face of adversity, God would speak or intervene. The Mormons had found their space and they were bound and determined to cultivate it, sacralize it and own it.

In truth, LDS came to recognize this land as their sacred place, in part because it was the only place available, since the Great Basin had been bypassed by other Euro-American settlers. Mormons had been pushed out of lush Missouri, their leader had been assassinated and they needed a safe haven. The Great Basin was where they landed. In settling the area, LDS spread their own notions of the sacred over Native American homeland.

Here they came to see natural occurrences, both bad and good, as the will of God. If a baby was born during a flood, the flood was celebrated and the miracle of survival became embodied in the naming of the baby. If an accident befell a family, a guardian angel was on hand to make sure that it wasn't worse. If adversity materialized, God was there, and had the Mormon's best interest at hand.

Mormons took with them preconceived notions and cultural particularities into western settlement patterns. Even their own homes evidenced this. Architectural historian Thomas Carter pointed out that the Mormon experience (in the West) is unique, and

domestic architecture, in part, demonstrated this exceptionalism. Not all the houses in Mormon communities were identical, as Carter explained:

> Once the group safely nursed along the trail and settled in the Great Basin, the eastern emphasis on housing conformity merely restrained itself. Church prescription of house types, official and unofficial was unnecessary. These people were not adventurers. They were solid citizens who, accustomed to amenities of life, naturally hoped to continue their previous lifestyle. The Mormon landscape is in the west, but not of it.[93]

This was a culture apart, bonded by communal settlement, practicing religious beliefs and sharing the history of having to flee a country to find homeland. Their communities were communal and unlike other western communities. The Mormon experience in the west was not that of the non-Mormon homesteader or explorer. They were not in the Great Basin for adventure, although they often experienced it due to the necessity of survival under harsh conditions. They were there to create a connected and communal culture, influenced by East Coast ideas of the Second Great Awakening.

In the stories and notions of landscape, the Mormon settlements also made their presence a permanent and sacred element of the land. Dixie was their birthright and the canvas they used in both the creation and reinforcement of their lifestyles and spiritual convictions. They were ancient Israelites, settling in the desert after exile. This land was sacred homeland, a place of Mormon legacy and reward. This was evident when William Crawford memorialized the landscape and inserted himself into the depiction. The land became Zion because Mormons were in the picture. And in the manifestation of Zion, as noted by Isaac Behunin and John Lee, Mormons found safety.

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[93] Thomas Carter, *Building Zion: The Material World of Mormon Settlement* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), xi.

Native Americans were another aspect of this land and their presence underpinned Mormon worldview. Encountering the indigenous people was a validation of *The Book of Mormon*, in that Indian people of the Americas validated Mormon "history" and supported the return of Mormons to the Americas. The Great Basin wasn't just a place where the Mormons fled persecution, it had been theirs all along. In meeting their kin in the form of a Native American, Mormons knew that they were back in the land of their ancestors. Complicated interactions with the Paiutes also reinforced historical ideas. After all, the Lamanites fought with Nephites over the centuries, eventually killing off the Nephites altogether, according to *The Book of Mormon*. Although the Saints saw the Indians as brothers, their shared history saw cycles of war and reconciliation.

In Dixie, there exists a legacy of creating, occupying, belonging to and owning a sacred space. But this did not create a strong Mormon pro-conservation ethic. This is still evident today in many manifestations, some benign and some thorny. Historian Dan Flores believed that although the LDS practiced an egalitarian communal lifestyle, as best exemplified by the years of the United Order, it did not produce the results that many deep ecologists predicted could occur in a communalistic "ecotopian" ethic.[94] By sharing work and resources, the Saints did not avoid over-taxing the landscape, as will be discussed in further chapters. But their efforts on the land perpetuated the idea that the land acted as the stage for shared Mormon priorities. Brigham Young said in 1847, "There shall be no private ownership of the streams that come out of the canyons, not the

[94] Dan Flores, "Zion in Eden: Phases of Environmental history in Utah," *Environmental Review* 7, no. 4 (Winter 1983), 326.

timber that grows out of the hills. They belong to the people, all of the people."[95] But of course, he meant the Mormon people.

Prior to federal oversight and the coming land disputes, Dixie remained an isolated region where many ranched land and raised livestock, unimpeded by the federal government. In the years after the Powell expedition (1871-1872) and Young's death, settled communities continued their networks through commerce, worship, marriage and celebrations played out on the land. They shared water and livestock range, their lands increasingly impacted by overgrazing, flooding and a change in vegetation. By the end of the nineteenth century, regional cotton farms were found not to be economically viable. Silver mines had seen their heyday and wool and livestock prices were unreliable. Diversified revenue was a necessity. As an influx of federal players trickled into the country with big plans to open up this Mormon corner to a broader American public, a hope of new economic pursuits arose. Dixie would get into the tourism trade! Agents within the federal government wanted to find antidotes to urban environments and actively sought undeveloped places and the lands of southern Utah met their criteria. Dixie was about to end its isolation and meet the rest of the nation.

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[95] B. H Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints,* vol. 6 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1930), 269; Flores, "Zion in Eden, 330.

CHAPTER TWO

STRANGERS IN ZION

Winds of Change

> *Much of the road [*sic*] in Dixie was over boulders of black volcanic rock. We just bounced from one boulder to another. Some were narrow roads hugging the side of the mountains, and so very crooked and steep that it was hard to keep the wagon right-side up… It was open country and our main trouble was from mud, because in those days none of the road was graded…* [1]
> —Journal of James Jepson

The hamlets along the Virgin River, built by Mormon blood, sweat and tears, were on the verge of becoming a holiday destination. As non-Mormon explorers, preservationists and tourism promoters came to Dixie, fresh opportunities and perspectives ushered in different imaginings of landscape. Newcomers perceived, then designed, the lands in and around what would become ZNP, Bryce Canyon and other geological marvels. The outsiders encountered residents of Dixie who had assumed the roles similar to their parents and grandparents, engaging in ranching, farming, raising families and abiding by their faith. And as the landscape drew the enthusiastic attention of the federal government, suddenly the American public wanted to see Zion.

Dixie was not what you'd call handy—it was a rough and remote place with axel-breaking trails over rough rock. In order to bring in tourists, Dixie needed roads. The initial step in developing Dixie came by the building of routes to remote backcountry.

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[1] James Jennings. 1935. Interview by Harold Russell. Transcript. MC68, B3 F1, Special Collections, Merrill Cazier Library, Utah State University, p. 8.

The years spent building roads into Utah's isolated places opened up scenery, revenue opportunities and access opportunities for locals. But in opening up this place, a landscape of traditional land use practices and a cultural understanding of a Mormon homeland, Dixie also introduced a new culture that valued the land because it was pretty rather than productive. Roads brought in different priorities that came to confront regional values.

Before the region erupted into wars over public land, there came the story of ZNP. The idea of a national park was motivated by a new American passion for "wild" land. When federal players looked at Zion Canyon with an eye towards preservation, they engaged locals in imagining the possibilities by planning the park and building relationships, even though that meant curtailing agricultural livelihoods within the park boundaries. Along with America and its money came commercial efforts aimed at infrastructure and transportation routes. The thrill over the wonders of landscape and the heady excitement in accessing remote country brought highway boosters, the Union Pacific Railroad, Utah governors, engineers and even convicts. Together as some of the first partners in developing recreational and scenic opportunities in southern Utah, they brought and shaped novel ways of interpreting landscape into a rural Mormon cultural purview.

ZNP came into being with nearly unanimous local support in a region that is notorious for its fights over public lands. The park is an anomaly, and represents an important event in the study of early federal conservation efforts on public lands. In the beginning, as federal interests stepped into Mormon homeland, for a time the relationship between Utah and the federal government improved. In the act of being recognized for

Utah's scenic beauty, the regional LDS felt validated, proud and deeply patriotic. But after the creation of the Zion Mt. Carmel highway, which runs as an artery through the park, the relationship between locals and feds began to sour. To the feds, Zion was a national park. To the locals Zion was homeland.

In order to really have a park in Zion Canyon, a herculean effort was necessary to build a network of roads both from cities such as Los Angeles and Salt Lake, in addition to a need to improve primitive regional roads. The people responsible for this expensive and time-consuming process engaged in cordial relations with locals in opening up Dixie. Correspondence and media captured moments in the development of the park and highlighted networks established between the local population and players in California, Washington, DC, and Salt Lake City. Additionally, in some cases, as Americans fell in love with the scenic Mormon homeland, the local Mormon Saints grew to appreciate their own backyards through the eyes of tourists.

As a general rule, LDS and early American adventurers who experienced Zion Canyon did so with their own unique experiences and traditions. This was Paiute territory, settled by religious pioneers, and revealed to outsiders through their own explorations into Mormon country. To LDS it was a hard place, where they willed a treacherous land to blossom with productivity. To the visitor, it was often a sublime marvel of spectacular geology enjoyed through the windshield of their cars. This was the cultural dichotomy. LDS maintained a worldview that had changed in American consciousness after the disappearance of the frontier. To a growing number of Americans, wilderness was no longer a bad place or the stuff of biblical exile as Euro-American Puritans had considered it. Uncultivated places were targeted for preservation—a space beyond the taint of

humanity. And in becoming such, "the concept of wilderness had to become loaded with some of the deepest core values of the culture that created and idolized it: it had to become sacred."[2]

Seeking wilderness with the notion of the sacred was on the mind of visitors to Zion Canyon, including some of the first who came as members of General Powell's exploration of the Colorado River watershed. And this love affair with nature brought in the outsider, but there was also a real appreciation of Mormon culture among some visitors who saw the exotic and the industry in the people. This appreciation was evidenced in the relationships that early park service personnel had with the local people. A great deal of collegiality and respect is found in visitor anecdotes and writings. In the making of the park came the transformation of the canyon. Hiking paths replaced the cattle trails. Joyrides replaced arduous journeys. And Mormons, for better or worse, flung open the door to homeland.

A Romance with Mormon and Paiute Homeland

Mormons had lived in southern Utah for a little less than two decades by the time the federal government sent an exploration team to map the Colorado River watershed. In 1872, John Wesley Powell (1834-1902), an officer with the US Geological Service, came to survey the Virgin River. He led his team on a journey of rivers, rocks and canyons that stood adjacent to laborious Mormon domesticity. To Powell and his men, the lands of Dixie were nothing short of a wonderland. This sentiment was evident in accounts by

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[2] William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness or Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature,* ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996), 73.

expedition members Clarence E. Dutton (1941-1912) and Frederick Dellenbaugh (1853-1935). Almost fifty years after they first laid eyes on Utah's geography their stirring accounts and Dellenbaugh's exquisite paintings of Zion Canyon helped inspire the designation of ZNP.[3] Powell called one of the most notable canyons 'Mukuntuweap,' a term which he attributed to the Paiute name of the place. The name might have come from a Euro-American interpretation of some Paiute word, though its original meaning is disputed.[4] The local Mormons called the canyon Zion or Little Zion Canyon.

In settling southern Utah, Mormon families planted orchards, cotton and even vineyards while raising livestock and most residents did not spend time admiring their geography. In contrast, some members of Powell's party were influenced by a Thoreauvian spirit, and came to regard this region as special due to the "wilderness" attributes.[5] This new romance with wild places came about as America became increasingly settled and urban areas more densely populated. With the disappearance of uncultivated and unsettled lands, broader American attitudes on nature changed, and a movement based on the yearning for places of "untrammeled" wild emerged. This was a reversal of the Puritan ideal, and to a certain extent a Mormon conviction, which saw uncultivated land as problematic at best, ominous at worst.

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[3] Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah," 186-187.

[4] Nathan Waite, "Remembering, Branding, Claiming: How Mukuntuweap National Monument Became Zion National Park," Utah State History Conference, September 6, 2013; Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah," 114; William R. Palmer, "Indian Names in Utah Geography," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (1928): 13.

[5] Roderick Nash referred to David Henry Thoreau as one of the most important thinkers in and inspirations to the creation of the American Romantic movement and its regard for the wilderness ideal. This ideal put a great premium on "unpeopled" and "untamed" nature and helped to spawn the preservation of public lands. Roderick Nash, *Wilderness in the American Mind,* 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

As the federal government assessed lands across the West, a land protection movement began in the wake of the near extinction of the bison and the disappearance of the frontier. As Roderick Nash pointed out, wilderness preservation became a national priority. There were those who felt the American Wilderness could rival the beauty of the wonders of the world, such as the Sistine Chapel and the Taj Mahal. Yellowstone National Park, the world's first national park, marked the manifestation of this new national cultural value. Federal interests targeted wild and remote places for protection as antidote to rapid urbanization, a balm for the soul and a place to find God.[6]

> God was on the mountaintop, in the chasm, in the waterfall, in the thundercloud, in the rainbow, in the sunset—Yellowstone, Yosemite, Grand Canyon, Rainier, Zion—to realize that virtually all of them fit one or more of these categories. Less sublime landscapes simply did not appear worthy of protection…[7]

In Dixie, God was considered to be everywhere by LDS settlers. To the visitors, God was found in the most beautiful remote and lonely places. And in the outsiders act of seeing these spaces as "unpeopled," rather than acknowledging them as Mormon lands for subsistence, it came back to haunt government efforts. The landscape was utilized and ranchers running cows on public land would fight to obstruct future efforts in land conservation. American Romanticism, as Nash pointed out, emphasized that "appreciation arose with the association of God and wilderness," infusing the preservationist movement in the early twentieth century with spirituality and an ardor for

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[6] Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 5th ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 45.

[7] Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," 73.

wilderness.[8] But the wilderness ideal, as it would come to be presented in the next decades, would not find an appreciative audience in rural Dixie.

Naturalist John Burroughs described the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River as having a "far-off, half-sacred antiquity, some greater Jerusalem, Egypt, Babylon, or India."[9] As Henry David Thoreau wrote in "Walking," "The West of which I speak is but another name for the Wild; and what I have been preparing to say is, that in Wildness is the preservation of the world."[10] Like so many others, Thoreau romanticized the west for its wilderness qualities, but also believed wilderness in itself a cathedral for humanity, much like Isaac Behunin had felt about Zion Canyon. Of course this paradox underlines why there is not such thing as a pristine wild place—humans are always part of the equation. Coincidentally, in the paragraph proceeding Thoreau's above-mentioned quote, the writer described an experience on his walk as he "gazed the fresh ruins of Nauvoo," the last settlement the Mormons were forced to abandon before their flight to the Great Basin. This coincidence is a reminder that the Romantics and the Mormons were cultural contemporaries that formed quite different ideologies on nature and the wishes of God. As Thoreau walked, contemplating nature, he witnessed the ashes of a Zion that never took hold.

Unlike Thoreau, John Muir and Ralph Waldo Emerson, Joseph Smith did not emphasize the sacred in wilderness. Rather, he embraced ideas of utopian society, as did

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[8] Ibid., 45.

[9] John Burroughs, "The Grand Canyon of the Colorado," *Century Magazine* (January 1911) 425.

[10] Henry David Thoreau, *Walking* (Red Wing, MN: Cricket House Books, 2010), 17. This was first published in 1861.

the Oneida, the Shakers and the Harmony communities. God was in human industry, not in fallow ground. According to Smith's vision, the LDS conjured sacred space through the acts of communalism, productiveness and yield. *The Book of Mormon* was published in 1830 and Emerson's *Nature* in 1836, but as contemporaries, Joseph Smith and Emerson had drastically different ideas on landscape and the divine. Puritan ideals regarding wilderness and Transcendentalist ideals, which influenced the preservationists, were juxtaposed—the former focused on the divine in the cultivated/utilitarian use of land and the latter saw God in "unspoiled" nature.[11] Perry Miller attempted to make both the Puritan and the Transcendentalist takes on nature "errands," though it didn't quite work. According to Puritan leader Increase Mather, it may have been an errand to cultivate nature, but to Emerson, it was bliss to take in nature through a "transparent eyeball."[12] It was no errand to be in nature for the Transcendentalist. The plow was left behind.

The writings of Thoreau, John Muir and Ralph Waldo Emerson, highlighted spiritual aspects to nature. Their position was in reaction to two hundred years of American efforts to subdue and cultivate lands. They stood together in the conviction that not all lands could or should be subdued.[13] As Muir wrote while travelling through the wilderness of the Sierra Nevada:

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[11] Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1964), 184-203.

[12] Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Nature and Other Essays* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 2009), 3. "Nature" was originally published in 1836 and this collection in 1906.

[13] Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

> Oh, these vast, calm, measureless mountain days, inciting at once to work and rest! Days in whose light everything seems equally divine, opening a thousand windows to show us God. Nevermore, however weary, should one faint by the way who gains the blessings of one mountain day; whatever his fate, long life, short life, stormy or calm, he is rich forever."[14]

A hike in the high peaks of California was a day spent with God. And just like Muir's beloved Yosemite, Zion Canyon became a space inspiring Romantic sentiment. Pantheism had entered Mormon country.

Captain Clarence E. Dutton of the US Geological Service wrote, "In an instant, there flashed before us a scene never to be forgotten. In the coming time it will, I believe, in its own way be regarded as the most exquisite of its kind which the world discloses."[15] This was Dutton's first glimpse of Zion Canyon. He continued in his enthusiastic description, and noted:

> Nothing exceeds the wondrous beauty of Little Zion Valley, which separates two temples and their respective group of towers. Nor are these the only sublime structures, which look down into its depths, for similar ones are seen on either hand along its receding vista until a turn in the course carries the valley out of sight. In its proportions it is about equal to Yosemite, but in the nobility and beauty of the sculptures there is no comparison. It is Hyperion to a satyr. No wonder the fierce Mormon zealot, who named it, was reminded by Great Zion, on which his fervid thoughts were bent—'of houses not built with hands, enteral in the heavens.' [16]

Imagining this "fierce Mormon zealot," Dutton referred inadvertently to Isaac Behunin, the Mormon pioneer and tobacco farmer who finally felt safe in the walls of the canyon

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[14] John Muir, *My First Summer in the Sierra* (Mineola, NY: Dover Press, 2004), 34. The book was first published in 1911.

[15] Dutton, "The Physical Geography of the Grand Canyon District," 88.

[16] Ibid., 91.

and thus named it Zion. Both of these men, though coming from different backgrounds and worldviews, saw God in the rocks. The lands were sacred.

One thing so extraordinary about this region was the way these two sentiments came to reside together. According to Behunin family tradition, "Isaac was sitting with his neighbors one evening talking about the grandeur of their surroundings. He said a man can worship God among these great cathedrals as well as he can in any man-made church in Zion, the biblical heavenly 'City of God.'"[17] Safe within the walls, Isaac Behunin worshiped his own way, without threat or the harsh judgment of Gentiles. As an early Mormon adherent, after thirty years of searching for a place to settle and practice his religious beliefs in peace, Behunin found Zion Canyon. God, for both Gentiles and Mormons, could be felt in the canyon, but these cultures related to Him in different ways.

Though Dutton believed that he could relate to Behunin, that "fierce Mormon zealot," in admiring the glory of the canyon, these two men came into this canyon with different perspectives and priorities. To Behunin, the canyon was impressive, but more importantly, it was far from the angry mobs that had chased him from Missouri.[18] Behunin found refuge in this canyon not unlike the refuge finally found by the ancient Israelites in their struggle to reclaim homeland. Dutton's impressions were Romantically hued. The canyon was a pure wilderness, divine in its natural splendor. Its wild beauty was the work of God. In the walls of Zion Canyon, these views overlapped in a mutual admiration.

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[17] Fenton E. Moss, 1998. "The Man Who Named Zion Canyon: The Story of Isaac Behunin," 270.1 B421m, Church History Library, p. 2.

[18] Ibid., 1.

During his exploration, Powell employed Paiute guides in part of his Colorado River watershed exploration. At the time, there were conflicting reports on the historical Paiute use of Zion Canyon. According to Angus Woodbury, who wrote the definitive history of southern Utah national parks, the Paiute were afraid of the canyon, especially after dark. Woodbury recounted a story in his book on Mormon settler Nephi Johnson and his Paiute guide, who according to Johnson was too spooked to follow him past the mouth of the canyon.[19] Many Mormon accounts made references to the Paiute being afraid of the canyon but there are Paiute accounts that contradict this.

How much the Paiute used the canyon is unclear, as the early history of the place is drawn from the experiences of Mormon settlers and not indigenous peoples themselves. In addressing this discrepancy, Pekka Hamalainen employed a method in his work called "upstreaming," the act of cross-referencing the most current and comprehensive ethnological observations with materials written by European Americans who had historic contact with Native Americans. He also worked between the sets of materials, "side-tracking," by which he inferred some shared practices from other regional tribes, bringing out native voices in records made by white people. [20]

Later accounts revealed inaccuracies in Mormon accounts of Paiute use of the canyon. Paiute Elder Clifford Jake refuted the idea that the Paiute were afraid of the canyon during an interview. He responded, when asked, "Afraid of Zion?... The Indians

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[19] Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah," 112, 148.

[20] Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 13.

had gardens up in the canyon."[21] He continued to explain the Paiute understanding of the sacred nature in the region surrounding the canyon:

> Zion still has a lot of good spirits in it…. Song in the water, song in the rock wall; got some voice down there, some good medicine men. … In Hurricane, there's a hole where the wind comes from, old people knew about it…Pah Tempe hotsprings—all the Paiute know that's a very special place that the Creator put here. [22]

The Paiute were nomadic and may have used the canyon from time to time. But they seemed to have ceased use when Mormons settled the area. When tourist had arrived in the region, the Paiute population was dispersed and displaced. Rather than living freely within their historical territory, many "became wards of the Mormon Church," and embarrassed locals after the park's opening by begging in from of tourists.[23] A place that may, at one time, have provided gardens for an indigenous population, was now a vacation spot for the white American middle class.

Powell's party member, artist Fredrick Dellenbaugh, wrote in an article in *Scribner's Magazine* about the aesthetics of Mormon Zion within the villages and farms that framed the wilderness:

> The Mormons being apt masters in irrigation, the land contains a number of districts that, by contrast with the surroundings, rival the Garden of Eden. Here grapes, peaches, almonds, figs, pomegranates, etc., are yielded in abundance.… imagine meadows, farms and shady brooks to be a mere phantasmagoria—when lo! the magic turn of the road reveals a sweep of emerald with ditches of dashing water plume like poplars of Lombardy,

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[21] Hebner, *Southern Paiute*, 73.

[22] Ibid., 73.

[23] Ibid., 12; Knack, "Church and State History," 159, 162.

> fan spreading cottonwoods, vineyards, roses, peach and apple orchards, fig-trees and all the surroundings of comfortable country life.[24]

The cultivation practices of Dixie put "green fields and foliage" and "bright oases" in the desert region of the Great Basin.[25] Though land and soil proved insufficient for large cotton production and the last mill closed in 1910, Mormon settlers created sophisticated irrigation systems and made the arid land productive.[26] The orchards were part of the region's great charm.

The Paiute had also used irrigation for squash and other foodstuffs during years when natural food sources were scarce.[27] But the Mormons took these techniques much further. Through the practice of communal work and the on-going encouragement from the Church, the region produced enough crops to export to Mormon settlements beyond the boundaries of Dixie. Over decades and differing Church policies, the region produced great quantities of fruit, wine, castor oil, indigo, tobacco, sugar, olive oil and almonds among other crops. The productivity of the region was in itself a delight to visitors. Mormon orchards and orderly towns were admired, not just by Dellenbaugh, but also by many writers including Wallace Stegner, Ed Abbey, and even Richard Burton.

Although most of the early breathless accounts of Zion Canyon come from non-Mormon visitors, there are Mormons of the period who also wrote of its majesty. Alfred

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[24] Fredrick S. Dellenbaugh, "A New Valley of Wonders," *Scribner's Magazine*, 35, no. 1 (January 1904): 2.

[25] Ibid., 2.

[26] Leonard J. Arrington, "The Mormon Cotton Mission in Southern Utah," *Pacific Historical Review* 25, no. 3 (August, 1956): 221-238.

[27] Hebner, *Southern Paiute:* 3, 158; Beverly P. Smaby, "The Mormons and the Indians: Conflicting Ecological Systems in the Great Basin," *American Studies* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1975): 35-48.

Lambourne (1850-1926), a British writer, painter and Mormon convert who lived in Salt Lake City, detailed his experiences travelling into Zion Canyon in an article in *Improvement Era*. His party had crossed the Virgin River nineteen times in the lower canyon, mules and wagons slowly making progress. His language in describing the rock formations implied a deep and poetic appreciation for the area. He wrote:

> At a turn in the rough little road, where the stream bawled the loudest, and foamed over the ruins of the cliffs, and above the arrow-wood and pinion pine where the moose stood in crevices of the foreground of rocks, their red—I should say parti-colored—mural fronts—fretted, traced and sculpted—stood against the deep blue of a cloudless sky. The brilliant sunlight made them a wonderful sight to behold, nor were they less remarkable in appearance as the sun fell westward and the edges of the wild rocks caught red fire, making them redder than before, though in places they were purple barred with shadows.[28]

Like Fredrick Dellenbaugh, Lambourne travelled to the area to paint it, establishing a different involvement with the canyon than that of the Mormon homesteader who had made a living there. But in the early twentieth century, for the settler it was a hard life.

Fredrick Dellenbaugh, a member of an early surveying team to Zion Canyon, described a later journey that he took to Zion Canyon, this time travelling with paint boxes and photographic equipment rather than sextants and chronometers. He wrote of his great incredulity at the beauty of the landscape and also of the virtual inaccessibility of its geological contours, "…we were creeping along the roadway hewn out of the low hills by the Springdale people, who utilize the lands above. Without this no wagon could go further. For a couple of miles the bottom is forbidding, the river roars at our feet, the

[28] Alfred Lambourne, "The Mu-kun-tu-weap," *Improvement Era* 14, no. 6 (April 1911): 530.

precipices leaping into the sky."[29] His article conveyed both his appreciation of the magnificent canyon and the acknowledgment of its tricky logistics—a factor that would take years, money and influence to right. Mormon agriculture held appeal to the visitor in its exceptionality. Mormons were traditional, self-sufficient and unusual to those living outside of spaces that had been set up communally. They had created their Garden of Eden in the desert and in doing so became exotic roadside attractions.

During his trip, Dellenbaugh anticipated a point in the not too distant future when the canyon could be more easily reached. Now a ghost town, Grafton existed down river from what would become ZNP. He wrote "Grafton has a situation that must someday make it famous, yet one dreads to think of this land being overrun by the ennuied tourist… It cannot long remain unvisited if a railway is within easy reach."[30]

Roads to Rocks

Opening up southern Utah required two important events in American western history: the railroad connecting Los Angeles with Salt Lake City and the development of a highway from Southern California through Las Vegas and into Utah's capital. Access was essential in attracting the people and dollars to what was newly envisioned as pleasuring grounds in Utah's desert. The development of improved roads were important in two ways—improvement of old wagon trails helped local and regional people commercially and socially; and roads brought tourists from far-flung places. The improvement of the road system in the interior of the state happened in fits and starts

[29] Ibid., 14-15.

[30] Dellenbaugh, "A New Valley of Wonders," 7.

alongside the promotion and building of Arrowhead Highway. This main artery followed the same route (roughly) as Interstate 15 does today.[31]

Federal, state and private interests intent on planning, funding and advancing the idea of tourism and adventure in the American West began their various roles to promote Zion Canyon. St. George resident and Mormon Leo Snow, a US deputy surveyor, was sent to scout the area in 1908 for its potential as a national park, which he recommended. Snow's report was received with excitement in Washington, DC.[32]

Local people engaged in tourism promotion. Three men in particular emerged as regional leaders in promoting ZNP: Henry Lund, a director of the Union Pacific Railroad (namesake of Lund, UT the first railway depot to service Zion Canyon) and member of the Utah State Roads Commission; Cedar City's Randall Jones, assistant supervisor of the Union Pacific Railroad and along with William Louis Crawford, one of the first photographers of the canyon; and David Hirschi, Rockville resident who acted as the president of the Grand Canyon Highway Association.

Howard Means (1875-1951), a non-Mormon, spent years working in Utah. He was the head of the State Roads Commission under Governor Mabey and acted as one of the architects of the ambitious Zion Mt. Carmel Highway. He wrote in his autobiography of his own ambivalence to the landscape and how he was influenced by local appreciation. On Means's first visit to the region in 1907, his companion, Utah State

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[31] Edmund Leo Lyman, "The Arrowhead Trails Highway: California's Predecessor to Interstate 15," *Southern California Quarterly* 81, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 315-340; Edmund Leo Lyman, "From the City of Angels to the City of Saints: The Struggle to Build a Railroad from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City," *California History* 70, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 73-93.

[32] At the time, the canyon was still called Mukuntuweap in Washington, due to Powell's report, and Zion regionally.

engineer Caleb Tanner told him that he (Tanner) didn't see potential for tourist development and was unimpressed by the scenery. Means agreed and wrote:

> they all looked like mountains to me. At the time we made the trip through the Arizona strip… the first pictures of Zion Canyon were taken by Randall Jones. In my opinion Randall did more to promote, develop, and publicize the beauties of southern Utah than any other individual…. His pictures were shown from coast to coast throughout this county, and were exhibited on request in the White House on two occasions, to my knowledge.[33]

Means came to see the region's potential through the eyes of Randall Jones and through his relationship with Henry Lund. In this case, the locals influenced the visitor, an indication of the growing excitement and support within the Dixie population.

In an article written in 1946, the writer imagined a young Randall Jones as he first laid eyes on the canyon, in the 1890s, "a barefoot kid in homemade jeans rode his cayuse over the hills looking for stray cattle. …'Someday, the kid thought, I'll go down there. I'll walk those fairy castles; I'll measure my height against the magnitude of those towering rocks.' … That kid was Randall Jones."[34] In the article, Jones was credited with beating the pavement touting the beauty of Zion Canyon, and engaging industry as well as regional and federal government support for the place he fell in love with in his youth.

Federal interests acted on Snow's recommendation and made plans to reshape the region. In 1909, President William Howard Taft signed legislation making Mukuntuweap Canyon a national monument. Still, in order to make this region accessible for sightseers, development in the canyon was contingent upon access, and the massive challenge of

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[33] Howard Means, Autobiography 1947-1948. MSSA17, Utah State Archive, p. 2.

[34] Olive Wooley Burt, "A Kid Names Jones Had a Dream," *Utah Magazine* 8, no. 6 (June 1946): 26-29.

building roads in the Dixie region required commitments of money and labor. Despite the sightseeing treks of Alfred Lambourne and Fredrick Dellenbaugh, Zion Canyon was still too remote for the casual tourist.

By the time Zion Canyon was established as a national monument in 1909, the first step in becoming a park, Utah had been a state for thirteen years. Statehood came about, in part, after the church conceded to federal and internal pressures by outlawing polygamy. Republican Senator Reed Smoot (1862-1941) was the first Mormon elected to Congress, in 1903, where he fought a bitter battle as a Mormon representative against an investigative committee who denounced his eligibility based on his beliefs. The Senate voted against the committee's recommendation to bar him from the Senate in 1907. He won the election in 1908 and went onto serve until 1933. During his tenure Smoot promoted Utah's scenic landscapes and was one of the leaders in the creation of the National Park Service.

It is an understatement to proclaim that the establishment of the Park Service and its role in the U.S., was furthered by the automobile. The car came to represent greater individual freedom and mobility. Additionally, members of the American middle class were living lives with disposable income and opportunities for leisure time. In his biography of Stephen Mather, Robert Shankland wrote, "The automobile reached swarming ubiquity fast… As the automobile prospered, so did the national parks…."[35] This emerging demographic encouraged the American tourist industry to launch large

[35] Robert Shankland, *Stephen Mather of the National Parks* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), 146-147; David Louter, *Windshield Wilderness: Cars, Roads and Nature in Washington's National Parks* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 21; Paul Sutter, *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005); Lyman, "The Arrowhead Trails Highway, 315-340; Lyman, "From the City of Angels," 73-93.

marketing campaigns placing new national parks into the American imagination, stirring an excitement over an American holiday vacation.

In the effort to connect Utah with the broader West, the Utah State Road Commission was created in 1909. Utah Governor William Spry (1864-1929) along with Senator Smoot became an advocate of tourism in his state and a force behind the emergence of a highway and road system in southern Utah. Since roads were imperative, but costs exorbitant, Spry looked to open southern Utah in the most cost-effective way possible. He traveled to Colorado in 1911 to investigate the use of convict labor in the building of roads, an inexpensive way to undertake what might otherwise be an enormous expense to Utah. The decision made financial sense: to guard, clothe and feed a convict laborer was thirty-six cents a day as opposed to the daily two dollars and fifty cents wage earned by the non-incarcerated population.[36]

Senator Smoot introduced a parks bill in 1911, but it took many years to move through Congress, during which time he worked diligently in his role as a member of the Senate Public Lands and Survey Committee. In Smoot's journal, in typical brief style, he jotted down, under Wednesday April 10, 1912: "Spent considerable time discussing my bill creating Bureau of National Parks…."[37] Still just a gleam in the senator's eye, the National Parks Organic Act (1916) did not pass for another four and a half years.

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[36] "Convict Built Roads Success," *Salt Lake City Tribune*, June 9, 1911, accessed February 2, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=14185199&q=convict+built+roads+success&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0&date_tdt=%5B+1910-01-01T00%3A00%3A00Z+TO+1913-12-31T00%3A00%3A00Z+%5D#t_14185199.

[37] Reed Smoot Journal, MSS1187, Book 11, April 10, 1912. Typescript. Reed Smoot Papers, Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, p. 5.

The Union Pacific Railroad was working to create partnerships to build tourist infrastructure and offer trips into Zion Canyon. In 1913, Governor Spry teamed with Union Pacific's Salt Lake Route director, Douglas White, to explore an automobile route from the railway stop in Lund, to Cedar City, Zion Canyon, and on to the Grand Canyon. Also joining them were H. H. Hayes, A. W. Miles and E. H. Moorman of the Yellowstone-based tourism company, the Wylie Permanent Camping Company.[38] On this trip, Spry scouted the condition of southern Utah's roads to consider convict projects. White and representatives of the Wylie Camp studied a tourist circuit from the Grand Canyon to Little Zion Canyon. Representatives of William Wylie (1848-1930), a tourism operator who had operated camps in Yellowstone National Park and was interested in opening tented camps in Zion Canyon and the Grand Canyon, also joined the trip.[39] Prior to Zion Canyon, Wylie, the former Montana Superintendent of Schools, operated camps in Yellowstone National Park from 1893 until 1905.

The land of the Mormon homesteaders was bony and hard-won, but the Southern Utah-Arizona tourist circuit had to be accessible and comfortable. In other words, this region needed to shift from a place of hardship to a place of comfort and convenience. Though hotels did exist in the region. In J.L. Crawford's papers, he recalled three hotels in Hurricane, including the Reeve, the Bradshaw and the Isom Hotel; all three catered to

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[38] "Looking for a Route to Grand Canyon," *Iron County Record*, October 17, 1913, accessed February 2, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=4216421&q=Looking+for+a+Route+to+Grand+Canyon&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_4216421.

[39] Ibid.

the sheep industry.[40] Crawford, who had grown up in Zion Canyon, about thirty miles from Hurricane, remembered that Gould's Shearing Corral, established in 1910, did a brisk sheep-shearing business that drew large numbers of buyers and sellers.[41] But the with tourists came better amenities. Pageantry, campfire tales and chicken dinners on white tablecloths were comforts not imperative to Mormon sheepherders.

T.E. Hunt, special agent of the Department of the Interior, issued a July 12, 1916 report to H. Stanley Hinrichs, Chief of the Salt Lake City Field Division for the U.S. General Land office, giving his assessment of the then national monument. He wrote:

> It is not believed that any improvements on the reservation should be undertaken until such a time as a good road shall have been constructed to its border. It is suggested that some steps might be taken to bring about co-operation of the United States authorities with those of the state of Utah looking to the construction of a first class road to the border of the monument…. No accurate data could be secured as to the number of yearly visitors to this monument, but from the best information at hand it is estimated that about one thousand, to twelve hundred visited last year. [42]

Hunt went on to note that opportunities for tourists who wished to stay in the area were limited to a hotel in Hurricane, ninety miles from the closest train stop in Lund, Utah. Room rentals in farmhouses in Springdale or Rockville were also an option. If staying in Hurricane, a traveler could stay at a hotel, engage an automobile or proceed on horseback to the monument, a twenty-mile trip. [43]

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[40] J.L. Crawford, "Grow of Tourism in Eastern Washington County." Unpublished typescript. Undated. MS57 B8F30 J.L. Crawford Collection, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, p. 1.

[41] Ibid., 2.

[42] T.E. Hunt, 1916. "Special Report on Mukutuweap National Monument," to H. Stanley Hinrichs. photocopy of report, July 12. *Zion Codex Vol. 1, 1908-1919*. Zion National Park Library.

[43] Ibid.

In June of 1916, Governor Spry took another trip to Dixie and Mukuntuweap National Monument with a reporter from the *Salt Lake Tribune*. The account of the trip made clear the adventurous spirit required if a person was set on visiting the monument—the journey was not an easy one. The *Tribune* carried three articles that detailed the many challenges to accessing the remote region. The articles also noted the many changes to Dixie since settlement and the shifting economy. The party visited an old cotton mill that hadn't been in operation since the turn of the twentieth century and the old Silver Reef mine, once the largest silver mine in the state. The roads were jarring, though the *Tribune* journalist commented that some stretches of road were quite improved due to prison labor.[44] The 550-mile round trip was made in six days. There were automobile breakdowns and the aches and pains of hard travel. The writer commented after a particularly difficult stretch, "practically half of the members of the party were incapacitated…" after a two-day trip to Mukuntuweap National Monument (still so named), accessible by horse and wagon from the small town of Virgin. [45]

In terms of the readiness of the region for the average tourist, the *Tribune* writer wrote, "Mukuntuweap Canyon is no place for travellers until better roads are built and proper accommodations are provided. The average tourist likes to rough it on the cushions of a sleeper or a six-cylinder motor, both of which are an impossibility under

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[44] O.J. Grimes. "More of the Beauties of the 'Dixie' Land in Utah," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 11, 1916, accessed February 2, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=14703105&q=More+Beauties+of+the+Dixie+Land&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0&date_tdt=%5B+1915-01-01T00%3A00%3A00Z+TO+1918-12-31T00%3A00%3A00Z+%5D#t_14703105.

[45] O.J. Grimes. "More Beauties of the Dixie Land [part 2]," *Salt Lake Tribune,* June 25, 1916, accessed February 2, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=14664900&q=More+Beauties+of+the+Dixie+Land&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0&date_tdt=%5B+1915-01-01T00%3A00%3A00Z+TO+1918-12-31T00%3A00%3A00Z+%5D#t_14664900.

present conditions."[46] He concluded his series writing, "… the most enjoyable feature of the whole journey was the good fellowship that existed at all times. Men of affairs and men of state threw aside the cloaks of business and became boys once more and formed lasting friendships, such as are founded only in the environment of the open."[47] The country was not yet ready for the coddled traveller, but it was for the rough and ready who could brave primitive routes that locals used since settlement.

Stephen Mather had already created relationships with U.S. railroads interested in benefitting from tourism to national parks—the Union Pacific and Santa Fe together advanced over a million dollars to the development of and publicity for national parks in 1915.[48] President Woodrow Wilson signed the National Parks Organic Act, sponsored by Smoot and William Kent of California, into law on August 25, 1916. Stephen Mather was appointed as the first director of the U.S. National Parks Service that year.

For decades, ZNP was an idea incubated by federal interests: the first step in reaching this goal was the monument designation. The second step was collaborative road building efforts. In addition to the work that Spry and the state of Utah were putting into road development, local communities were also putting in small amounts of cash. The big push came when Senator Reed Smoot helped secure a $15,000 appropriation for a road to the monument.[49]

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[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Shankland, *Stephen Mather of the National Parks*, 145.

[49] "$15,000 for Arrowhead Trail," *Millard County Progress*, May 3, 1918, accessed February 2, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=5424590&q=Reed+Smoot+%2415%2C000+on+roads&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_5424590.

Chartered roughly along the Old Spanish Trail, the Arrowhead Trail, a highway linking California to Dixie, was also gaining support. Auto enthusiast Charles Bigelow made multiple trips between Utah and California, going faster and faster, his efforts in highway boosterism working to bring about a commitment to a viable route that made travel and tourism easier and more convenient. In 1916, Bigelow and his party of game speedsters shaved seventy miles off the route from California to Utah's capital, through cut-offs they identified while making their trip.[50] On this occasion, Cactus Kate II, a Packard, made the trip from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City carrying Bigelow, K. L. Dewein and Louis Nikrent. A Utah newspaper article read, "As to the scenery and romantic and historical interest the route is unsurpassed. It takes the traveler within easy distance of the wonderful Little Zion Canyon, a rival of Yosemite, and the Grand Canyon of the Colorado may be reached at its wildest and most impressive parts."[51] Bigelow's voyage marked a gargantuan effort and propelled efforts to connect the cities and sights of Nevada, California and Utah. His ventures and enthusiasm helped to create one of the most important arteries for tourist travels in the western United States, the Arrowhead Trail.

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[50] "Blazing Trail L.A. to Salt Lake Cactus Kate II Arrives in Town," *Salt Lake City Telegram*, May 21, 1916, accessed July 10, 2014, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=19995540&q=Cactus+Kate+II+Arrives+in+Town&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0#t_19995540.

[51] "Arrowhead Route the Best Yet," *Millard County Chronicle*, February 22, 1916, accessed July 10, 2014, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=5162264&q=Arrowhead+Route+the+Best+Yet&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_5162264.

California, with more cars per capita than any other state at the time, was an important neighbor with an enormous population of potential tourists. [52] According to an enthusiastic article in a 1916 issue of the *Salt Lake Telegram,* quoting from a piece in the *Los Angeles Examiner*, "The Cactus Kate II crowd went back home as booster for Utah: 'Less known today than any other scenic wonder in southern Utah is soon to be made easily accessible to transcontinental motorists on the Arrowhead Trail.'"[53] Bigelow, a car racer, was also very interested in the sights of southern Utah. The personal thrill he found in racing across primitive roads was coupled with a sincere commitment to helping the people of southern Utah showcase their scenic wonders.[54]

While roads were planned from the hub towns of St. George and Cedar City to the tourist attractions, the tourism industry began to market adventure in earnest. In addition to touting scenery, brochures highlighted Mormon orchards and villages as well as opportunities for camping, hiking and riding horses. Marketing literature also presented the making of Utah's transportation system and the involvement of convict labor. One magazine mentioned "… an excellent road…the work in the 'Dixie' country being performed by convicts from the Utah penitentiary under a special law passed for the purpose. By convict labor some of the most abominable highways in the whole inter-

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[52] Lyman. "The Arrowhead Trails Highway," 315-340.

[53] "Angelenos Boost Southern Utah Scenery," *Salt Lake Telegram*, January 18, 1916, accessed July 10, 2014, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=20003913&q=Angelenos+Boost+Southern+Utah+Scenery&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_20003913.

[54] Lyman, "The Arrowhead Trails Highway," 315-340.

mountain country were transformed into boulevards."[55] Convicts traded hours improving roads for shorter prison sentences.

Visitors without their own personal automobile could travel to the Wylie Way, William Wylie's tourist camp in Mukuntuweap National Monument, with brothers Gronway and Chauncey Parry. After departing their train at the Lund Depot, the regional stop that served tourists visiting the area by train until a spur was built to Cedar City in 1923, the tourists loaded into a touring car and started on their adventure. First they'd stop for a meal in Cedar City, then continue on over seventy miles of still bumpy roads into the monument and up to the Wylie Camp. According to a travel brochure issued by the Salt Lake Railroad in 1917:

> Then all at once through vigorous and concentrated action by the United States government, the State of Utah, Washington County and Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad (Salt Lake Route) this extraordinary region was made known and made accessible to the world. It is expected that congress will decide to preserve its pristine splendor and make the entire district Zion National Park. U.S. engineers made the most substantial automobile road inside its boundaries, and this was connected with a similar state and county highway to Lund station railway, through the efforts of former Governor Spry. [56]

With the attraction of the park and the collaborative efforts, visitors were less apt to bust an axel while on a touring vacation.

Although authorized in 1916, the Park Service was not funded until 1917. World War I had drained federal coffers and money wasn't available to the new service until the year following its establishment. Horace Albright had planned to enlist in the war effort,

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[55] "Opening of Zion Canyon: Utah's Scenic Wonderland." *Arrowhead Magazine and Guidebook*, July, 1917, PAM 10408, Utah State Archive. p. 18.

[56] Howard Nichols, *Zion Canyon, Utah's New Wonderland via Salt Lake City Route and Wylie Way.* Salt Lake City Route brochure, 1917, PAM 599, Utah State Archive, p. 5.

but was encouraged to stay after his supervisor, Mather, who suffered from depression and mental illness, fell ill in 1917. As a result, Albright jumped in as the acting supervisor and visited Mukuntuweap Canyon in that capacity in 1917 with Union Pacific Representative Douglas White. White had convinced Albright to visit when the two met at the famous northern California Bohemian Grove in 1917.[57] The two men travelled with Chauncey Parry to the Wylie Way Camp, along with State Senator Henry Lunt (1863-1926), the Vice-Chair of the State Road Commission under Governor Charles Mabey (1877-1959). The Arrowhead Highway was taking travelers comfortably from California to Salt Lake, but the road from Cedar City to Zion Canyon was still in terrible shape. Although Albright was impressed with the canyon and recommended it for national park status, he knew that the road was to be a major work, and with roadwork came the need for money. White and Albright, at the end of their tour through Utah, made a stop in Salt Lake City to confer with Utah's Governor Simon Bamberger (1846-1926). Bamberger's interest in tourism differed significantly from his predecessor, William Spry. Albright recalled, "…after Doug White made a presentation for the new road, Governor Bamberger jumped out of his chair, pounded on the table, and said, 'I'll build no roads to rocks.'"[58]According to Albright, Bamberger was disinclined to continue with road building because, "Governor Bamberger had some bad experiences with the roads down

[57] Horace M. Albright, 1979. Interview by J. L. Crawford. April 10 transcript. B8F26, J.L. Crawford Papers, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, p. 10.

[58] Ibid., 10.

there. He had some prisoners working down there and they didn't do the kind of work he expected…. He apparently didn't have sentiments so far as the park was concerned." [59]

In an interview with the *Salt Lake City Tribune* after his initial visit to Zion Canyon, Albright said that he believed that Salt Lake City was a "dual gateway to both Zion and Yellowstone," and expressed excitement over road construction in "Dixie country."[60] He said that he had "seen enough within the borders of Zion Canyon to guarantee for Utah a place among the wonder-possessing states of the Union," adding he was "particularly pleased to learn from Governor Bamberger that this road work will be done." [61] Utah was distinguishing itself as a state with some of the finest country in America. And roads were allowing Americans to see it. And in spite of earlier skepticism about roads and rocks, Governor Bamberger came through. In a 1917 letter to Allen Chamberlain in the Department of Interior, Albright wrote

> I hope you will dwell on the "Zion Canyon" idea rather than Mukuntuweap, as the whole interesting history of the Mormon settlement of southern Utah is closely related to the monument, and life in the Mormon communities a hundred miles from the railroad is one of the interesting features of the Zion Canyon trip.[62]

Although the origins of the name Mukuntuweap are hazy and come from a John Wesley Powell's understanding of an unknown Paiute word, Albright's rejection of the name seemed to indicate a disregard for a Paiute presence in the canyon in favor of a white

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[59] Ibid., 10.

[60] "Director of Park Lauds Zion Canyon," *Salt Lake City Tribune*, September 9, 1917, accessed September 13, 2015, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=14829532&q=Director+of+Park+Lauds+Zion+Canyon&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_14829532.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Horace Albright, 1917 letter to Allen Chamberlain, October 9. Photocopy, *Zion Codex Vol. 1, 1908-1919*. Zion National Park Library.

settler connection to the landscape. William Palmer, St. George resident who spent years working with the Southern Paiute and whose collection is now housed in the Southern Utah University special collections, said that in:

> naming the features of the land, why the white man's ruthless disregard of the ancient and time honored nomenclature of the race he has superseded ? . . . In most instances we will find that the new settlers scarcely paused long enough to ask the Indians if the country and its parts were named. . . . Our map carries many names that are wholly void of sense or meaning, and bear absolutely no relationship to, or connection with, the places to which they have been attached.[63]

In his memoir Albright said, "I always preferred local names, especially native Indian ones, for natural wonders, but Mukuntuweap was a problem. It . . . was too difficult to pronounce and really tough to spell."[64]

According to Mark David Spence, erasing the native presence in the making of a national park was also evidenced in the making of the Yosemite and Yellowstone parks.[65] With the Paiute landscape subsumed by Mormon settlement and then designated as an American park, the non-native players diminished the history of an Indian presence. Albright's letter reflected an acknowledged preference for Mormon culture over Paiute culture. It also indicated a federal recognition of the significance of the notion of Mormon Zion. In 1918, Mukuntuweap became Zion.

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[63] Palmer, "Indian Names in Utah Geography," 5–6; Nathan Waite, "Remembering, Branding, Claiming: How Mukuntuweap National Monument Became Zion National Park," Utah State History Conference, September 6, 2013, p. 3.

[64] Horace Albright and Marion Albright Schneck, *Creating the National Park Service: The Missing Years* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 243–244; Waite, "Remembering, Branding, Claiming," 3.

[65] Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of National Parks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 5.

By 1917, a Salt Lake Route brochure mentioned the accessibility to Zion over and over again in its text. "The newly-opened land of beauty and rest is now comfortably accessible. By the modern magic of transportation combining a great railroad, automobiles and good roads, Zion Canyon has been brought within easy reach of all."[66] Within a year of the *Tribune* article on the Spry party in Dixie that discouraged the average tourist from visiting the canyon, the establishment of Wylie Way and an infusion of money from Congress would literally pave the way for the lay sightseer to be able drive into the canyon.

An article touting the scenic opportunities of the southwest further expounded on the amazing nature of the region, placing special emphasis on the new highway that opened the region up to tourism. It read:

> Probably no other unit of the national highway system has received so much favorable publicity throughout the United States, especially in the East, during the first year of its existence as the Arrowhead Trail…. This is believed to have been due chiefly to two things: That it traverses a hitherto practically unknown scenic region of Utah, with connections with the Grand Canyon and Zion Canyon; and that soon after the organization of the Arrowhead Trails Association that body became a member of the American Automobile Association and a division of the National Highways Association, the former of which maintains the greatest touring bureau in the country, in New York and Washington, D. C.[67]

With the completion of the Arrowhead Trail, the whole of southern Utah was open to the traveler, making the way for other national parks and national monuments such as Bryce,

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[66] Ibid., 7.

[67] "Arrowhead Trail from Los Angeles to Salt Lake," *Motor West*, September 15, 1917, accessed February 11, 2017, https://books.google.com/books?id=PqYAAAAAMAAJ&pg=RA6-PA12&dq=motor+west+magazine+September+15,+1917&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjc9-2-7IjSAhVjsVQKHdtwClUQ6AEIHDAA#v=onepage&q=motor%20west%20magazine%20September%2015%2C%201917&f=false.

Wayne Wonderland and Escalante. Routes that had taken the Mormon settlers days and weeks to navigate were now easy car trips from Los Angeles or Salt Lake City.

Bamberger wrote that roads were imperative to cover routes not serviced by rail transportation. He said:

> the state is devoting considerable attention to the construction of highways to serve outlying sections. In 1919 and 1920, the state plans to expend approximately seven and a half millions [*sic*] on roads. … In the meantime roads of less substantial character but suitable for motor purposes are being built to the Unitah Basin into the San Juan County, the 'Dixie' region and to connect the many scenic attractions in the southern part of the state.[68]

Though Bamberger had initially tried to avoid the expensive and time consuming work of building roads in his state, Americans were increasingly interested in visiting their new park system. Convict labor continued until the 1920s in the development of Utah's highway system. Despite the Governor's misgivings about convict labor, a monument commemorating him was built by Castle Gate-Duchesne Road.[69]

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[68] Simon Bamberger, "Stories about Utah: Utah Forges Ahead," *The 1918 Railroad Redbook* MSS 1550, Utah State Historical Society, p. 186.

[69] Convicts of Con-Camp, Road Crew, Governor Simon Bamberger Monument, 1918. Stone. Monument, eight miles north of Castle Gate, mile marker 165, Highway 191, Helper, Utah.

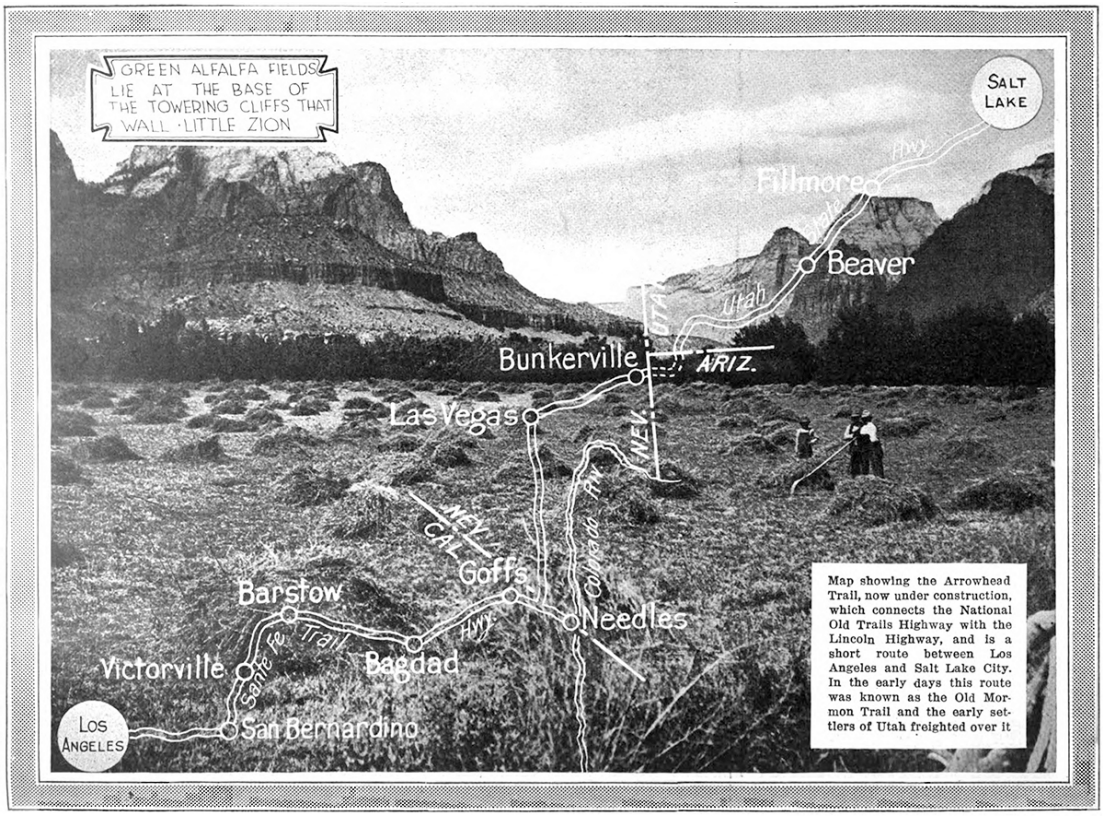


Figure 4. Arrowhead Trail atop Old Mormon Trail. Article in American Motorist. "A Visit to Little Zion Canyon." August 1, 1916. Accessed February 11, 2017. http://www.americanroads.us/photos/articleimages/American_Motorist_1916_08_p7_2.j. Copyright S. Varner.

Engaging Local Support

By the time Stephen Mather was able to see the park in 1919, Horace Albright had become the superintendent of Yellowstone National Park. Rockville local Walter Ruesch had been hired as the custodian of Zion. Stephen Mather had become head of the Park Service after he retired as a businessman. Known for his warmth and gregarious personality, he created personal relationships with the Dixie locals in playful and genuine ways. On his first visit to the region, he went to see movies in order to meet people and

introduce himself. He also attended a LDS temple service near Bryce Canyon, where he joined along and sang with the choir.[70]

The new park benefitted from Mather's spirit of collegiality and his large presence. He came to oversee many aspects of the development and went out of his way to engage local people. Albright told a story reflecting the level of humanity and humor that Mather took to southern Utah. During one trip, Mather decided to procure a watermelon from a private garden. Albright recounted, "He [Mather] always wanted to steal a watermelon…[he] climbed over the fence and stole [one]. As soon as he found out who owned the place he [Mather] went around and got acquainted with him. It was Bishop McAllister and he [Mather] told him… he wanted to pay for it and offered him five dollars." [71] McAllister refused the offer and explained that Mather could have the whole field for that kind of money. But Mather insisted, gave him the money and told the Bishop that the act of "stealing" a watermelon was so satisfying that it was worth it.[72] Inevitably, federal actions became less personal over the decades, with less local involvement and support. This, in part, resulted in resentment over land use decisions being made by faceless D.C. bureaucrats.

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[70] Lafayette Hanchett, undated. "Stephen Mather," Zion 2384, Box 1, National Park Service, Zion Park Collection, p. 2.

[71] Horace M. 1979. Interview by J. L. Crawford. April 10, transcript. Zion 12352, Box 5, National Park Service Zion National Park Collection, p. 12.

[72] Ibid., 4.

Utah Automotive Representative Lafayette Hanchett (1868-1955) traveled with Stephen Mather to Bryce and Zion Canyons in 1919.[73] After this group arrived late in Panguich, eighteen miles from Bryce Canyon, all went to bed after dinner except for the Park Director. Mather decided to venture into town to attend a local theater and watch a movie. Here he began a "conversation about Bryce and was greatly amazed to find present a number of Panguich citizens who had never seen Bryce although they had lived their lifetime within eighteen miles of the great beauty spot."[74] Hanchett recalled that the next day four cars of local people arrived at the canyon's ledge to behold the red eroded geology at the bottom of Bryce Canyon for the first time. Mather shared coffee and sandwiches with his guests before Hanchett reminded the Director of the National Park Service to save lunch for himself.[75]

But not all local people shared this enthusiasm for landscape protection. In Bryce Canyon, also in the process of becoming federally protected, former park employee Arthur Stevens described a scouting mission in the early 1920s. This Canyon was protected in 1928 and managed by ZNP administrators until 1957 when it became a park. Stevens explained in a 1982 letter, "So impressed were we with the outstanding beauty of the region, and of Bryce Canyon in particular, that we started a movement to publicize it. Mr. J. W. Humphrey, superintendent of the (then) Sevier National Forest, was mildly

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[73] "Salt Lakers Boost New Park," *Iron County News*, November 28, 1919, accessed September 20, 2015, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=4205246&q=Salt+Lakers+Boost+New+Park&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_4205246.

[74] Lafayette Hanchett, undated, "Stephen Mather," Zion 2384, Box 1, National Park Service, Zion Park Collection, p. 2.

[75] Ibid., 3.

amused at the idea that anything under his jurisdiction could be of national interest. The local people were indifferent." [76] As with Zion Canyon, most locals did not appreciate the scenic qualities of Bryce Canyon. It would take time for many of the locals to adjust to the idea that outsiders clamored to visit their homeland just to see it.

The stories of Mather's personal gestures to the local people underscored an investment in the park and Mormon community that could not be repeated today. The intimacy, leisurely pace in relationship cultivation and care in understanding local priorities are no longer a possibilities within a bureau that today employs approximately 22,000 people (and 400,000 volunteers); oversees 411 areas; and manages over 84,000,000 acres.[77] But Stephen Mather was a product of a different era and a different agency. He invested time, his own money and sincerity in the making of ZNP. According to former ZNP Superintendent Eviend T. Scoyen, "he [Mather] was very much in love with the people down in this section of Utah."[78]

In 1923, Mather took a group of regional Camp Fire Girls on a personal tour of Yellowstone.[79] Scoyen, who supervised ZNP from 1927-1931, said Mather believed that the locals needed to know about the importance of national parks and how the public utilized them. Scoyen recalled:

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[76] Arthur Stevens, 1982. Letter to Utah State Historical Society. June 4. MS57 B6 F12, J.L. Crawford Collection. Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, p. 1.

[77] National Park Service, "Frequently Asked Questions," https://www.nps.gov/aboutus/faqs.htm.

[78] Eviend T. Scoyen, 1971. "Eviend T. Scoyen: An Interview about his experiences as the first superintendent of Zion National Park, 1927-1931" Interview by Lucy C. Schiefer, January 28, transcript. Zion 12352, Box 5, National Park Service, Zion National Park Collection, p. 3.

[79] "Camp Fire Girls Have Great Vacation Trip," *News Advocate*, July, 26, 1923, accessed February 2, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=6079410&q=Camp+Fire+Girls+Have+Great+Vacation+Trip&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_6079410.

> …he offered to send a bunch of young people from Dixie on a camping trip to Yellowstone Park. He got together with … some of the bishops… and they finally decided that they would have a contest of some kind and the twenty young people who rated highest in the contest would be his guests for a trip to Yellowstone. They finally agreed that the contest would be based on the knowledge of scriptures… He hired a couple of trucks and took them to Yellowstone for two weeks; paid all the expenses of the trip out of his own pocket."[80]

By sponsoring a contest on scriptures, rather than, say, naming U.S. presidents, Mather recognized and honored the cultural and religious values of the people living around Zion Canyon.

This relationship between federal land conservationists and local communities, in addition to being an unprecedented event in Utah's history, also helped the state better integrate with the rest of the country. ZNP was part of the American national park system, and as such, acted as invitation to Americans to come visit Mormon country. In spite of a clannish reputation, the Mormon communities opened their door to the nation. Decades had passed since Mormons had fled to Utah over the Oregon Trail and the days of distrust between LDS and Gentiles seemed to have abated by the time Stephen Mather came to Dixie. However, cultural skepticism and bias continued to lurk in the corners.

There exists a mysterious, but telltale letter in the ZNP archive, an anonymous typescript found in the Mather file. It indicated a mocking prejudice that non-Mormons working in the making of the park had towards the Mormon culture. The letter specified that the Mormon Church in Dixie and the federal government were at odds in their vision for the landscape, and stated "there developed a sharp cleavage as to the desirability of a

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[80] Eviend T. Scoyen, 1971. "Eviend T. Scoyen: An Interview about his experiences as the first superintendent of Zion National Park, 1927-1931" Interview by Lucy C. Schiefer, January 28, transcript. Zion 12352, Box 5, National Park Service, Zion National Park Collection, pp. 2-3.

national park in the Mormon hinterland. The conservative elders felt it meant a weakening of the morale. They accused youngsters of hankering for profit." This missive continued to convey a story about two elders playing checkers when one looked up from the game and said:

> 'Ye be a gentile, I reckon!'…Wish your kind would skedaddle out of here. Before your gentiles came, I had three wives and no fussing about housework… I've had to put away two wives—I kept the youngest, and of all the foolishness—I just can't keep up with her!

Clearly the writer was being tongue and cheek, but it highlighted the intolerance that the non-Mormons still felt about traditional Mormon culture. Circa 1920, the letter also alluded to a resentment among the Mormon population towards outsiders and their designs. Although the Mormon Church had banned polygamy in 1890, it was still the tradition the LDS were most famous for practicing to the broader American public. In the building of support for the national park ideal, Mather was encountering a very foreign and misunderstood culture. But the observations of this anonymous letter were both condescending and uninformed. The memo concluded with "It was into that kind of environment that Director Mather went with his rare tact and his genius for leadership—Well the nation now has Zion, Bryce and Cedar Breaks."[81] The truth was that Mather encountered many locals who were both enthusiastic about the park ideal and quite capable in their involvement in its manifestation.

Images of ZNP in the national press were enticing and gorgeous. A stunning advertising campaign that was rolled out in 1920 just after park designation showcased

[81] Anonymous, undated. "The Creation of Zion National Park." Zion 2384, Box 5 National Park Service, Zion National Park Collection.

jaw-dropping scenery as a backdrop to beautiful Mormon sorority sisters from the University of Utah frolicking with ropes and pick axes. One young Elder, on mission overseas in London, glanced at the images in a British newspaper, only to recognize his fiancée dressed in army pants, golf socks, lace-up boots and a tam. She is pictured sketching in the air, sitting on a wooden plank suspended by a rope amidst the rock formations.[82] Multiple articles were written about the park's stunning beauty and appeal. During ZNP's first decade, the park hosted a U.S. president, fourteen governors and scores of other politicians. Thousands of tourists enjoyed outdoor concerts, pageants and fireside chats with lantern slideshows. The landscape inspired countless works of art and original works of music. The word was out on the beauty of Dixie.

In 1923, President Warren Harding went to ZNP, where he spoke to gathered crowds with Senator Smoot, Governor Bamberger and LDS President Heber J. Grant. Also attending the celebration were Church leader Edward H. Snow and many Church counselors, high councilmen and bishops. Karl Larson, who played in the marching band that performed the day of the President's visit, recalled, "It was perhaps the biggest day in Utah's Dixie history since the dedication of the St. George Temple over forty-three years earlier."[83] The St. George Temple was the most important sacred place in Dixie, and the first Mormon temple to be completed in the Mormon Empire. In other words, ZNP was a very big deal.

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[82] John Clark and Melissa Clark, *Opening Zion: A Scrapbook of the National Park's First Official Tourists*. (Salt Lake City, UT: Bonneville Books, 2010), 33.

[83] Andrew Karl Larson, "Zion National Park with Some Reminiscences Fifty Years Later," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (October 1969): 422.

Harding and his party visited Cedar City after returning from Zion Canyon, and again thousands gathered to celebrate the President and his trip to southern Utah. Randall Jones acted as master of ceremony at the celebration, where Harding laid a golden rail commemorating the opening of the Cedar City train spur. Many people were thanked in regards to the road projects helping to open up their remote country, including retired Governor Spry and Senator Lunt, both of whom, in various ways, had helped to insure that the road to Zion Canyon allowed the president's party to travel by automobile at speeds of forty miles an hour.[84] Salt Lake City Mayor C.C. Neslen remarked that this was a moment in history to mark "the opening up and development of our resources that are here." Two prayers were read, both written by Lafayette Hanchett, before a downpour halted the festivities.[85]

[84] "Cedar City's Celebration: The Biggest Ever Staged in Southern Utah," *Iron County Record*, September 14, 1923, accessed February 2, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3731492&q=Zion+national+park+celebration&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0&date_tdt=%5B+1921-01-01T00%3A00%3A00Z+TO+1928-12-31T00%3A00%3A00Z+%5D&facet_paper=%22Iron+County+Record%22#t_3731492.

[85] Ibid.



Figure 5. President Warren Harding in Zion National Park, 1923. Washington County Historical Society Collection. Accessed February 9, 2017. http://wchsutah.org/photos2/wchs-02483.jpg.

Although improvements were dramatic, the roads were far from ideal. But locals, in 1923, worked for free to smooth the road for the presidential visit to their backyard. Senator Reed Smoot recalled his travels with the president:

> The President's train was the first passenger train ever entering Cedar City. A great crowd of people were assembled to greet him. Autos were all ready to leave for Zion National Park…. The road was in fair shape. About 200 men had worked for days on the road repairing it without compensation. There was very little dust. The distance to the park is 63

> miles…. Crowds were gathered along the road to see the president and cheer him on his way. People came from miles around. [86]

The trip seemed to have been a success, as Smoot finished his entry with an observation that Mrs. Harding "enjoyed every minute," and that the excursion was "over without incident and everyone feeling happy." [87] Smoot was enthusiastic, but there was still work to do. The next step was in opening the park itself to the automobile. After years of development the great Zion Mt. Carmel Tunnel and highway would open the heart of ZNP.

Conclusion

Zion Canyon acted as a place of Mormon traditional land use and a safe haven for the religiously oppressed until the arrival of explorers sent to map western waterways. As America became enthralled with its last wild places and the automobile began to allow for travel to remote areas, people outside of Dixie heard the siren song of the red rocks. As the place shifted from agricultural land to vacation destination, land use and perceptions changed Dixie from an exclusively Mormon space to an American public space.

With the establishment of the National Park Service, pride, patriotism and profit took the sting out of some of the federal oversight. In the glow of nationalism, as southern Utah grew more famous across the country, and with the promise of economic opportunities, local communities came together to rally behind park designation.

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[86] Reed Smoot, Journal June 23, 1923. Typescript. Reed Smoot Papers. Book 33, Vol. 8, Box 4, MSS 1187. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, p. 73.

[87] Ibid., 73.

Adding to the benefits of having Utah's first national park were the roads that made the lives of locals much easier. Roads were built, tracing the routes that pioneers had etched to access the onerous geography of homeland. Governor William Spry, who had been very invested in the development of roads and in ZNP specifically, was memorialized for his work on behalf of the park. Spry Canyon, named after William Spry, today commemorates his efforts to build roads and notoriety for southern Utah.[88] ZNP became a place where America met with Mormon homeland. It was a place of reconciliation to an extent, but also an early foothold that the federal government took in Dixie in addition to the Sevier National Forest. ZNP represented recognition of what would become a very unpopular truth. American public land sat square within a physical, emotional, cultural, religious and economical Mormon space.

In the zeal to open its doors, the government offered an open invitation to the American public—Come to southern Utah and see America's wonders, unlike anything else in the world. In a Union Pacific tourist brochure, the preface includes a note from the Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, inviting future visitors:

> Uncle Sam asks you to be his guest. He has prepared for you the choice places of this continent—places of grandeur, beauty and wonder. He has built roads through the deepest cut canyons and beside happy streams, which will carry you into these places in comfort, and has provided lodgings and food in the most distant and inaccessible place that you might enjoy yourself and realize as little as possible the rigors of the

[88] Spry was originally honored with renaming Angels Landing, 'El Gobernador,' though the name reverted back to its original title. "Formation Was Named in Honor of Gov. Spry," *Garfield County News*, February 23, 1934, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3228958&q=Formation+Was+Named+in+Honor+of+Gov.+Spry&page=1&rows=25&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_3228958.

> pioneer traveler's life. These are for you. They are playgrounds for the people. To see them is to make more hearty your affection for America. [89]

It seemed, through the making of ZNP, that the local Mormons had become "more hearty in their affections" for America. But in welcoming Uncle Sam, Dixie LDS were also conceding to a federal government that would issue management decisions in regards to lands that locals believed were their own birthright. The myth of Zion confronted the American notion of a public ownership over federal lands. With the American awareness of and enthusiasm for conservation efforts, more federal efforts began to target lands used for generations by Mormon ranchers and to "protect them."

The ZNP collaboration between the federal government and the Mormons was highly successful even though the establishment of the park meant the cessation of ranching and farming that Mormon settlers had enjoyed since their arrival. Just as LDS displaced the Southern Paiute, some LDS began to feel that America was displacing them. Much of the land in the western United States was federally owned and Americans had a real zeal for exploring their public lands. Roads to ZNP gave entry to different ideas of land ownership.

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[89] Jack Lait, "An Appreciation of Zion National Monument," *United States Railroad Administration*, 1917, p. 2.1917, PAM 599, Utah State Archive, p. 4.

CHAPTER THREE

DYNAMITE AND DEVOTION IN ZION CANYON

Reshaping and Reimaging Mormon Homeland

> *But human nature is human nature, and the people of Utah refused to appreciate their own till [*sic*] outsiders should come in and tell them what they had was good.*[1]
> —Robert Sterling Yard

With roads bringing tourists to the entrance of the park, the interior of ZNP needed to be developed to allow for sightseeing from the comfort of one's automobile. In building the park, a "paradox of the cultivated wild" worked to incorporate both Mormon sensibilities as well as Romantic preservationist notions.[2] As the Mormon population began to reconsider their landscape just after the establishment of ZNP, it both drew from religious viewpoints and borrowed from perspectives brought in by the influences of the tourist trade. In the beginning, the park and its federal management was a happy circumstance in Dixie. Local perceptions on landscape shifted with the introduction of tourists, roads, infrastructure and a taste of an American appreciation of the natural world. Activities and recollections came to reflect a different way of LDS experiencing landscape and activities, through plays and field trips. In the Beehive Girls, a scouting group, there is evidence in a sense of an emerging morality in time spent outdoors. With a

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[1] Robert Sterling Yard, *The New Zion National Park, Rainbow in the Desert* (Washington D.C.: The National Parks Association, 1919) 25.

[2] I am borrowing a phrase from David Quammen, but applying it in a different manner than his original application of the idea. Quammen, "The Paradox of the Park," 55-67.

fresh understanding of the spectacular nature of their Zion and an excitement in the co-creation of a wonderland in their backyards, many local people came to re-evaluate their conceptions of land and recreate relationships with it. This is seen in journals and writings by those employed by or visiting ZNP. Those working in the park, either in the building of infrastructure or in the production of a park-sponsored theatrical spectacle, displayed an appreciation for place in a way that valued the land beyond what one could reap. And this appreciation became contagious.

Geographer John Ronnie Short wrote, "there is nothing so social as our ideas about the physical environment." [3] Locals and visitors alike came to admire the scenic qualities of Dixie. Enjoyment in their environment became a pastime. Even though LDS had relinquished a slice of homeland, as tourists basked in the glory of the purple, red and pink strata that colored the walls of backcountry Utah, locals took note and began to look closer to see splendor as well. And in doing so, there came about a regional re-evaluation of where the divine was situated in homeland.

Much has been written about the history of national parks and their making, subjects deftly presented by Alfred Runt and Roderick Nash.[4] Mark David Spence detailed the erasing of Native American culture from the American national park narrative by reducing their presence to "visitor" in an effort to create a sense that parks

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[3] John Rennie Short, *Imagined Country: Society, Culture and Environment* (New York: Routledge, 1991), xviii; Jeanne Kay Guelke *The Playgrounds of God's Country: Zion and Bryce Canyon National Parks at the Start of the Great Depression* (unpublished manuscript, 1999), 3.

[4] Runte, *National Parks*; Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*.

are part of an unpeopled land.[5] This was, in part, the myth of wilderness. William Cronon wrote:

> the myth of wilderness as 'virgin,' uninhabited land had always been especially cruel when seen from the perspective of the Indians who once called this land home… The removal of the Indians to create an 'uninhabited wilderness'—uninhabited as never before in the human history of place—reminds us just how invented, just how constructed, the American wilderness really is.[6]

A wild land is a myth and represents the Romantic desire to be in a spiritual and physical space that does not exist. Cronon sympathized with the Indians. The Mormons felt they had been put in a similar situation, facing those seeking an "uninhabited wilderness" smack dab in the middle of Mormon homeland.

ZNP bears layers of cultural strata. Carrying the inscriptions of a Romantic landscape and a vague record of Paiute habitation, it also encompasses a third and forth narrative, Mormon culture and Mormon/Romantic syncretism. Before regional and federal relationships soured, a group of local people who lived near ZNP made a great effort to fit their own cultural priorities within American enthusiasms.

The ZNP collaboration between the federal government and the Mormons was highly successful even though the establishment of the park meant the eviction of those local people who used Zion Canyon for livestock and crop production. This change must have been vexing to some locals, not only because culturally an uncultivated landscape was a squandered opportunity, but also because Zion Canyon could no longer be used to move livestock. In the ZNP archive, there are letters from locals asking Mather and

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[5] Spence, *Dispossessing Wilderness*.

[6] Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," 79.

Albright to make exceptions for livestock—requests denied as the agents readied the park for tourism. Yet in spite of the park being created and the subsequently imposed federal restrictions of land use, local sources from the time—interviews, journals, letters and media—reflected the fact that Mormon residents around ZNP offered almost unanimous support for its creation. But just as importantly, as they embraced this new idea of their lands as a tourist attraction, there were those locals who began to revise their own perspectives, devising several ways to make the park itself reflect Mormon sensibilities.

Mormon Notions of Landscape

The promise of economic investment, the glow of American nationalism and the warmth of Utah's state pride swayed the local communities to rally behind park designation.[7] ZNP was accepted by many Utah residents, but the idea of land saved in a natural state was a strange idea to the Mormon adherent. Mormon historian Leonard J. Arrington stated in his work on the settlement of southern Utah and the Mormon Dixie Mission, "The oft stated goal of the Mormon Church in the West was to build up the Kingdom."[8] Settlement, resource extraction and building were Mormon values stemming from a desire to be independent from the rest of America—to create a self-sufficient society in order to function autonomously from a nation historically regarded as an aggressor. Zion was homeland and as such it needed to be productive to support the Mormon working community. This idea of land use was not exclusive to Mormons. As Cronon wrote, "country people generally know far too much about working land to

[7] Alexander, "Red Rock and Gray Stone," 1-38; Hinton, "Getting Along," 313-331.

[8] Arrington, "The Mormon Cotton Mission," 237.

regard unworked land as their ideal."[9] But in the creation of the park itself, a great deal of work was necessary.

The canyon country of Utah is particularly difficult, both to access as well as to develop. Paul T. Nelson explained the Judeo-Christian dualism in viewing this region: "Good Land versus Bad Land, desert versus garden."[10] Based on the geology, topography and aridity, this was a bad land and a place very hard to sustain a thriving human settlement. It was in the act of taking bad land and making it productive that the land had transformed and become habitable. Ironically, it was the very features that made this land bad that made it wondrous to the visitor.

The displacement of people and the federal curtailment of land use are detailed in Karl Jacoby's work on the trend of dislocation, restrictions and hunting bans in the American conservation movement.[11] As Mark David Spence pointed out, "what tourists, government officials, and environmentalists fail to remember is that uninhabited landscapes had to be created." [12]And with ZNP, this meant the removal of local people from the canyon and controls on traditional uses.

Locals were starting to glimpse the advantages and disadvantages of having a federally protected area in their backyard. With the passage of the National Park Service Organic Act in 1916, an agency was finally in place to manage the growing number of

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[9] Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," 79.

[10] Paul T. Nelson, *Wrecks of Human Ambition: A History of Utah's Canyon Country to 1936* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2014), 3.

[11] Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

[12] Spence, *Dispossessing Wilderness*, 131.

American parks. Grazing restrictions were imposed strictly in Zion Canyon within two years after the establishment of the National Park Service. Though federal oversight of grazing in Dixie came to twist this region into a highly charged site over public uses of federal land, restrictions in Zion Canyon started with little fanfare and seemingly no vitriol.

In a series of letters, resource extraction and livestock issues were discussed and restrictions imposed. Some residents accepted new land use policy in the canyon that prohibited free range animals. In fact, a few locals even drew officials' attention to their neighbors' violations. Rebecca Dennett of Rockville wrote a letter to the Superintendent of the Department of the Interior, R. B. Marshall, complaining about loose pigs in the canyon.[13] Marshall responded with a letter to the owner of the pigs, Mr. Henry Hirschi, "I am advised that pigs belonging to you are trespassing upon the lands within the Mukuntuweap National Monument, destroying vegetation and polluting the water. This is contrary to the regulations governing a national monument, and your animals must be kept off the lands embraced there within."[14] In addition to livestock use, letter topics to Director Mather ranged from locals asking permission to harvest driftwood to farming in the canyon and trail maintenance.

In one exchange between H. Jolley, a Mormon rancher in Hurricane, Utah, and the National Park Service, Director Mather reluctantly gave permission to Jolley to move 2,000 sheep from the bottom of the canyon to the East Rim, if absolutely necessary. He

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[13] Rebecca Dennett 1916 letter to R.B. Marshall, September 24, photocopy of original. *Zion Codex Vol. 1, 1908-1919*. Zion National Park Library.

[14] R.B. Marshall 1916 letter to Henry Hirschi, October 26, photocopy of original, *Zion Codex Vol. 1, 1908-1919*. Zion National Park Library.

noted federal investment in the monument in the form of a concession organized by Senator Smoot for road building and wrote in his correspondence:

> During this past year the Government spent more than $15,000 in the construction of a new road on the floor of Zion Canyon in order that this beautiful region may be made accessible to the travelling public and developed as a national park area. The driving of sheep over this route would seriously injure it, and it would be very detrimental to travel when the park is open to visitors… Now that the government has undertaken to develop Zion Canyon as a great tourist resort, sheep and cattle must be excluded from the floor of the valley under all circumstances.[15]

This conveyed the investment that the federal government was making in the region as well as the necessary changes in regulating local ability to utilize the landscape. Zion was no longer exclusively theirs. (Although, of course, as Indian territory, the lands were never exclusively theirs.) Use of federally designated lands was no longer determined by the locals. Although initially Mather agreed to allow Jolley the use of Zion Canyon as a contingency, he reversed his decision in a later letter by saying,

> This action was taken upon further advice from my representative in Zion Canyon that it would be very much against the interests of the Government to permit the movement of sheep through the Gorge this year. I feel it would be entirely unfair to permit you to drive sheep into the Canyon when I have required all of the farmers in the Virgin Country to keep their livestock out of the Canyon during the winter months. All of the citizens of Rockville and Springdale are heartily cooperating with us in our efforts to develop the monument as a tourist resort, and I feel certain that when you have analyzed our policies carefully you will agree that I can hardly take any other action… [16]

This decision reversal may have come about due to another letter from canyon resident John Winder, complaining that Jolley had used the trail from the bottom of the canyon to

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[15] Stephen T. Mather 1918 letter to H. Jolley, April 23, photocopy of original, *Zion Codex Vol. 1, 1908-1919*. Zion National Park Library.

[16] Ibid.

the East Rim for years and has never contributed financially or through upkeep of the trail.[17] Winder developed a route for livestock that took animals from the base of Zion Canyon to the summering ranges on the top of Cable Mountain, an arduous trip that required an entire day to travel one way.[18]

Many locals sought ways to become directly involved in the park. Excitement over the monument was seen in other correspondence as locals devised ways to engage tourists and profit from their visits. On February 5, 1917, David Dennett asked to build a hotel in the canyon, citing, in order to qualify himself, that he had been putting up visitors already and that his wife "has travelled in Europe and has been actively concerned in the hotel business for ten years in England."[19] A response to the Dennett bid illustrated both the appreciation for and the condescension to the local people. The letter was written by topographic engineer T. O. Tufts, who was dispatched by Washington, DC to survey a road through the park. He wrote:

> I do not think that the application from Mr. Dennett is entitled to serious consideration. He is a man who means well and is an excellent laborer and teamster, but has no financial backing at all, and so far that I know has had absolutely no experience in the hotel business. He is a typical rancher of the region, and that means a man of pioneer type, the actual living conditions of the Mormon ranchers are very primitive. I do not believe he could take care of the class of people who come to the parks in a way that would please them.[20]

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[17] John 1918 letter to Department of the Interior, National Park Service. May 10, photocopy of original, *Zion Codex Vol. 1, 1908-1919*. Zion National Park Library.

[18] I found no response from Jolley to Mather's letter, nor additional letters to indicate local pushback to new regulations as implemented by the park service.

[19] David Dennett 1917 letter to Department of Interior, Feb 5, photocopy of original, *Zion Codex Vol. 1, 1908-1919*. Zion National Park Library.

[20] T.O. Tufts. 1917 "Memorandum in regard to concessions in Mukuntuweap National Monument," February 17, photocopy of original, *Zion Codex Vol. 1, 1908-1919.* Zion National Park Library.

The LDS in the region lived simply and didn't have experience with the needs of the American tourist. In the end, Yellowstone's tourism pioneer, William Wylie, and the enterprising Cedar City Parry brothers were eventually awarded the contract. [21]

Another letter offered to build a type of ride for tourists. Rockville resident Ira Millett wrote a letter to the Park Service and queried "Dear Sirs, I would like to get a permit to erect a cable elevator in Zions [*sic*] Canyon, for scenic purposes. What would be the necessary steps to take? Yours very truly, Ira Millett."[22] This idea was likely inspired by machinery used on Cable Mountain to haul timber and supplies, apparatus that famously took a few thrill seekers up the steep cliffs to the sawmill above.[23] This scheme probably wouldn't have been particularly safe, though Millet's letter conveyed a sincere interest in locals to become involved with the tourist industry

According to early correspondence, illegal grazing continued in the canyon after it was declared a national monument. Walter Ruesch, a local Mormon who served as the first custodian of the canyon, wrote a letter in 1918 to his boss, Stephen Mather, about an ongoing issue of trespassing cattle. Ruesch explained that in rounding up the cows, "the canyon was so rough, we were obliged to go on foot and the cattle have been in this country for at least a year and some of them longer which makes it hard to get them

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[21]William Wylie and Cedar City residents Gronway and Chauncy Perry secured the first concession deal with the park, with their joint venture, The Wylie Way.

[22] Ira Millett, 1917. To Letter to National Park Service, "Sirs," photocopy of original, *Zion Codex Vol. 1, 1908-1919*. Zion National Park Library.

[23] Western Heritage Conservation, *The Outstanding Wonder: Zion Canyon's Cable Mountain Draw Works* (Springdale, UT: Zion Natural History Association, 1978).

out."[24] Mather replied immediately. "In view of the fact that we shall likely have funds available to provide access to this scenic part of the monument next year, I do not deem it advisable to open it to grazing." He ordered Ruesch to "…advise applicants for grazing privileges that their applications cannot be acted upon favorably."[25] It is easy to feel sympathetic to Reusch's chore. Feral cattle are notoriously hard to round up in the canyon lands. According to homesteader Ebenezer Bryce in the nearby Bryce Canyon, "it was a heck of a place to lose a cow." [26] The rock formations in Dixie country could be maze-like and often hard to keep track of cows.

Locals, even if inconvenienced with federal land use restrictions, coalesced around the park. But just as importantly, as locals embraced this new idea of an uncultivated tourist attraction, they devised several ways to make ZNP reflect Mormon sensibilities. Roads, rockwork and ritual all helped to re-sacralize ZNP within a Mormon worldview. Zion had provided refuge for decades before the tourists arrived, and would again be reimagined amidst the onslaught of dudes and sagebrushers.[27]

Though Isaac Behunin saw the divine in Zion Canyon, others needed the appreciation of outside visitors to help them see the beauty of homeland. Lola Belle DeMille Bryner (1901-1974) was born in Rockville and baptized in the Virgin River. In

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[24] Walter Ruesch 1918 letter to Stephen Mather, Dec. 18, photocopy of original, *Zion Codex Vol. 1, 1908-1919*. Zion National Park Library.

[25] Stephen Mather 1918 letter to Walter Ruesch, December 11, photocopy of original, *Zion Codex Vol. 1, 1908-1919*. Zion National Park Library.

[26] Betty Jane Bryce, "Biography of Ebenezer Bryce," 1950. MS 57 B6, Utah State Historical Society.

[27] Early terms used to describe park visitors. "Dudes" traveled by train or motor stages and "Sagebrushers" traveled in their own vehicles.

an interview she recalled being a child in a beautiful valley that was "untouched by civilization," busying herself bird-watching and flower-gathering. She went on to say:

> Our rides to Springdale were especially beautiful because we were going towards Zion Canyon. I didn't realize as a child how beautiful the ledges were until later when so many people came to see. Thousands of people travel through there each year to see those beautiful mountains of Zion."[28]

In recounting her childhood in this 1968 interview, Bryner does so through a lens given to her by outsiders. Though she'd lived near the canyon her whole life, it was through the eyes of strangers that she finally saw the beauty of her home.

Bryner eluded to another piece of ZNP history—the roads that now connected the region, so that outsiders could access the new sights. The roads, of course, also made connections easier for residents. The St. George Temple was the spiritual hub in the Dixie Mormon network. Dedicated in 1871, it held both the first temple in Utah and the only temple dedicated during Brigham Young's lifetime.[29] It was the exemplar of Mormon sacred space, providing regional settlers opportunities to engage in rituals and ceremonies that tied them eternally to each other and to heaven. In 1895, William Flanigan traveled the forty miles to seal himself to his bride after a courtship on horseback. "[We] each would try and have the best horse we could get a girl on behind us and ride, we really had a sport… One summer I sported two girls for a few months, Nellie H. Draper and Pauline Ruesch. But I continued to take Nell out and we decided to get married. On March 11 we left home with a team and wagon, travelled two days from Springdale to St. George, went

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[28] Lola Belle DeMille Bryner, 1968. Interviewed by Fielding H. Harris. May 4. Transcript. Voices of Remembrance Foundation, Oral History Collection, Dixie State College of Utah, St. George, Utah, p.12.

[29] The Salt Lake Temple was dedicated in 1893.

to [the 1898 Stakes Conference] and was married in the St George Temple…"[30] Flanigan made his long journey to be married in the most important Mormon earthly space in Dixie. In the St. George Temple, he was bound to Nellie in his lifetime and in the next realm. In looking at the journals and oral histories of settlers, the reader comes to understand how important paths and roads were to these interconnected communities for social, spiritual and logistical reasons.

As Dixie's natural wonders attracted increasing numbers of visitors, new routes and better roads brought people to scenic venues. Tourist accommodations brought with them telephones and electricity to local communities. Not only were these of economic and logistical imperative, their development may have better helped make ZNP into a space relevant to a Mormon worldview. In looking at how Mormons viewed sacred landscape, historian Jedediah Rodgers made the point that southern Utah residents viewed roads as "expressions of ideology." In his book *Roads in the Wilderness,* he pointed out that the building of roads became an extension of Mormon dominion.[31] Through settlement in southern Utah, Mormons moved through the land only by back-breaking forays. Access in Dixie was accomplished through innovation and struggle. Paths, trails and roads had a special meaning to the pioneer Saints—they were symbols of intrepidness that their ancestors carved into stretches of impenetrable country. Given the history of Mormon settlement and routes, improved roads served to enshrine the efforts

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[30] William Wallace Flanigan, undated. "Excerpts from the Diaries of William Wallace Flanigan," transcript. F832.Z8F53, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, p. 6.

[31] Jedediah Rodgers, *Roads in the Wilderness: Conflict in Canyon Country*. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2013), 6, 3.

of their fearless ancestors. The same route that William Flanigan took with Nell on their two day trip now takes less than an hour.

One of the most famous features in this region is Hole in the Rock, a route that Mormon pioneers blasted and chiseled through the rock in a narrow crevice in the Glen Canyon. In 1880, after months of work to widen the slot, two hundred and fifty people made their way down the dangerous path of rocks and brush whereby "party members lowered, skidded and sometimes let their wagons simply careen through the Hole in the Rock."[32] This was seen as nothing short of a miracle. According to an article in the Church of the Latter Day Saints magazine, *Ensign*, "the faith, courage, and sacrifice of the Saints who passed through Hole-in-the-Rock in 1880 stand as an example to all Latter-day Saints of the power available to us when we are on the Lord's errand."[33] The will of the Mormon people to overcome obstacles was correlated to their faith and fortitude. Moving forward and reaching the impossible was an act of conviction. And within this idea, the extreme routes through the canyon country of Dixie became, in a sense, hallowed.

Part of the push to open up the land to automobiles and tourists was the famous park's Zion-Mt. Carmel tunnel. When the park was designated, neither locals nor the park service administrators knew the most remote lands within the park boundaries. Because of this inscrutable backcountry, engineers had to consult with locals to work out how to route cars through the park to quickly get them to the rim of the Grand Canyon. At the

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[32] Ibid., 163.

[33] LaRene Porter Gaunt, "Hole-in-the-Rock," *Ensign Magazine*, October 1995, accessed February 2, 2017, https://www.lds.org/ensign/1995/10/hole-in-the-rock?lang=eng.

time, the tourist route connecting Arizona's Grand Canyon to ZNP, Bryce and Cedar Breaks was inconvenient, about 175 miles out of the way. In 1921, State Road Commission engineer Howard Means was tasked with finding viable routes that would connect ZNP with the north rim of the Grand Canyon and Bryce Canyon.

After numerous trips to southern Utah, and hours studying maps and many interviews with "old-time settlers," Howard Means would have an encounter with John Winder, the rancher who improved the old Paiute trail that ran from the valley floor to the east rim of Zion Canyon. Although Winder had never been east of the country between Springdale and Mt. Carmel (south and east of the park, respectively) "he had been into the country north of there and knew something of the terrain."[34] After scouting the possible route from Orderville, a town two miles southeast of Mt. Carmel, with ranchers who grazed their cattle east of the park, Means returned to Zion Canyon to arrange a trip with Winder to see the tablelands where a route could be plotted:

> After staying up all night, we found John Winder in the morning and got him to accompany us up Pine Creek as far as we could go… After spending the day in Pine Creek Canyon, we came to the conclusion that there was certainly no way out there, as this perpendicular wall successfully closed off any continuation of a road up this creek.
>
> The next morning we got a very early start, and with our horses went down over a tremendously rough country to the south, and we encountered a waterway. … Finch [district engineer of the Ogden Bureau] and I went afoot and followed this waterway up in the attempt to get to the top of the range so that we could tell something about the surrounding country…. We finally got to the top of this summit, and in a position where we could observe what was west of us…. Imagine our surprise when we found from

[34] Howard Means, "Zion Park-Mt. Carmel Road," personal paper, undated. MSSA17, Utah State Archive, p. 5.

> this location that the Pine Creek that flowed into Zion was a continuation of Clear Creek that the geological survey showed turned south.[35]

With the realization that Clear and Pine were the same creek, Means had a better idea of how to create the route:

> The only solution to this impossible situation was to build a roadway immediately inside the surface of this perpendicular rock wall. This would entail tremendous expense we thoroughly appreciate, but the subject in hand was a tremendous value and had to be solved if physically possible from some source.[36]

Having solved the logistics of the route, Means set about conceiving the giant road-building effort. Means and Winder had located a route that would come into being by blowing holes into the walls of the canyon. This twenty-six mile route opened the park and whittled almost two hundred miles from a tourist circuit that connected Bryce and the Grand Canyon. The project (construction lasted from 1927-1930), which was seen by many as a world-class engineering feat, carved a hole through rock. The resultant passage comprised six tunnels, the longest measuring over a mile. [37]

Building the highway was not without controversy. Stephen Mather supported Howard Means's proposed route, though it seemed that at least initially, Horace Albright did not. Union Pacific saw the highway as serving automobilists rather that those visitors traveling by train. According to a section in an unfinished biography on Mather co-written by Albright, park officials were keen to create a better route for tourists interested in touring other nearby scenic attractions. Motorists wanted a short cut through ZNP,

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[35] Ibid., 7-8.

[36] Ibid., 9.

[37] Donald T. Garate, *The Zion Tunnel: From Slickrock to Switchback* (Springdale, UT: Zion Natural History Association, 1989).

though railroad officials were against the idea. In the unpublished manuscript, Albright, using a third person narrative, indicated that in consideration of building tunnels and creating a shorter route, the road planning team did so "over the dead bodies of the Union Pacific officials who wanted the road to go the long way. Horace Albright was there and Horace was inclined to side with the Union Pacific people…. Mr. Mather got very angry and said, 'Horace, if you say anything more, I'm going to fire you right now.'"[38] Union Pacific ultimately capitulated and established a subsidiary in 1923 to cater to motorists. Their new Utah Parks Company handled all park concessions for those who had travelled by train and those who had driven the tourist circuit. This new arm catered to those in private cars as well as passenger trains, as a way to compensate for the dwindling train passenger revenues.

On the highway's opening day celebration, July 4, 1930, governors from twelve states attended and a large band played between speeches, including talks from Stephen Mather and Utah Governor George Dern (1882-1936). Dern was quoted noting that the highway dedication was a fitting event for the "use of the people of the United States on its birthday. It is also fitting that this ceremony should be held in the presence of the governors of so many of Utah's sister states…. It is as if the people of the whole nation were here this morning to see this marvelous undertaking placed at their service."[39] This was a considerable moment in the interface between what had been a tiny Mormon corner

[38] Horace Albright and anon, undated. Unpublished Biography. Typescript. Zion 2384, Box 1. Stephen Mather Collection, Zion National Park Collection.

[39] "Zion Mt. Carmel Road Opens," *Salt Lake Telegraph*, June 4, 1930, accessed April 15, 2015, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=16126673&q=Zion+Mt.+Carmel+Road+Opens&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_16126673.

and the whole of America. Visitation to ZNP increased during 1920-1930, growing from 1,050 cars and 3,692 people to 16,633 cars and 55,297 people.[40]



Figure 6. Zion-Mt. Carmel Tunnel. Photograph. Easter Pageant Zion National Park Photo Collection, 1940. C-154, Utah State Historical Society. Used with permission.

At the same time people were celebrating the Zion-Mt. Carmel Highway, others who had championed its cause and heralded the beauty of this remote, wild country, expressed ambivalence. Charles Bigelow, who had worked so hard to create the

[40] Dena Markoff, "An Administrative History: Decision-Making that Shaped the Park, 1909 to 1981," Report for Western Heritage Conservation, Inc. July 1982, MS. 58 B6F49, J.L. Crawford Collection, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Table 2.

Arrowhead Highway, said in the *Los Angeles Evening Express*, later reprinted in a Utah newspaper:

> Ten years ago, Las Vegas, St. George and the intervening hamlets were just places people lived. Today you find paved streets, electroliers, handsomely appointed hotels and kept stores housed in modern buildings. Yesterday the residents of these cities were apparently living day to day: now they are forward looking—taking pride in self and ownership. [41]

He continued to say, "A few years ago, anyone who assayed a drive from Los Angeles through Barstow, Las Vegas, St. George to Zion Canyon was counted an adventurer…" But now that the highways were oiled and the Zion-Mt. Carmel Highway connected with U.S. highway 89, Bigelow lamented, "It has ceased to be an adventure to drive to Zion National Park."[42] As a promoter of Utah landscapes, Bigelow, the race car driver, who made records driving Cactus Kate from California to Salt Lake City, had a hand in taming this once wild place. As Cronon pointed out, "as more and more tourists sought out the wilderness as a spectacle to be looked at for its great beauty, the sublime in effect became domesticated."[43] Roads rendered wild country docile.

During Zion's Centennial Celebration in 2009, John Winder's great-great grandson Dan was quoted as saying "He (John) was always seeking to unite Zion with the area outside of Zion," and "to open this area up to the outside world and this tunnel is

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[41] "Scenic Drive Over 91 Told in L.A. Paper," *Washington County News,* June 4, 1931, accessed March, 17, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=21761824&q=Bigelow+Zion&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0&date_tdt=%5B+1931-01-01T00%3A00%3A00Z+TO+1933-12-31T00%3A00%3A00Z+%5D#t_21761824.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," 75.

what made that possible."[44] John Winder had a great knowledge of the land and helped scout the route for an impressive road. But with the park designation, he lost the opportunity to drive his cows through the canyon, an issue his son, Dan, never forgot.

The elder Winder was described as energetic yet stooped, a man whose occupations included rancher, bootlegger and farmer.[45] He, himself, did not leave behind any of his own opinions on the park. What John Winder did leave was a legacy. According to his neighbor J.L. Crawford, "He probably wasn't the first one to think of a road through Pine Creek, but did more to keep the idea alive than anyone else and he is the one who guided the state and federal engineers over the rugged terrain when the plan was finally accepted."[46] Winder died thirteen years after the tunnel was opened to the public. Years later his son, also named Dan Winder, would be asked during an interview, about the restrictions to cattle grazing in the park. The younger Winder said "I think people were better off financially before they ever made it a park. Because everyone had a few head of cattle and if you needed something you could sell a few cows. I'm not a lover of the Park Service." [47] In the same interview, he lamented the restrictions on wood harvest, remarking, "it's [the park service] just a dictatorship as far as I can see."[48] By the

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[44] *All Things Considered*, "Walking through History at Zion National Park," National Public Radio, August 27, 2009, hosted by Howard Berkes, accessed February 6, 2017, http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=112270247. The quote is interesting in light of the fact that the only material which I could find indicating any opposition among local people for a national park in Zion came from John Winder's son.

[45] J.L. Crawford, "I Remember John Winder." Undated typescript. J.L. Crawford Collection, MS57 B8F13, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, p. 2.

[46] Ibid., 2.

[47] Dan Winder and Marion Winder, 1978. Interview by Rosslyn Stewart, Zion Reunion. August 26, transcript. Zion 12352, Box 5. National Park Service, Zion National Park Collection, p. 4.

[48] Ibid., 7.

time Winder was interviewed in 1978, his sentiments condemning federal conservation efforts in Dixie had become ubiquitous.[49] In his research on the history of American conservation, Karl Jacoby wrote that locals often saw that the "most notable feature of conservation was the transformation of previously acceptable practices into illegal acts: hunting or fishing redefined as poaching, foraging as trespassing, the setting of fires as arson, and the cutting of trees as timber theft."[50] When the Zion Canyon region was settled, the area was that had been utilized for timber harvest, livestock and farming was no longer available to local people who had used the canyon for a few generations to fed themselves and their families.

A Space in the Making

As bridges, arches and roads opened up the park and engraved the land, the Park Service, regional automobile clubs and the Union Pacific Railroad Company's marketing efforts continued to sell nature and draw crowds. The following narrative conveyed an enraptured sense of a place that rivaled the wonders of the world:

> Zion Canyon is an epic, written by Mother Nature in her most ecstatic humor, illustrated by Creation in its most majestic manifestations, published by God Almighty as an inspiration to all mankind… On every

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[49] Nethella G. Woolsey, "What's to Protect Us From the 'Protectionists'" *Garfield County News*, February 6, 1969, accessed February 2, 20017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3366269&q=Nethella+'Protectionists'&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0#t_3366269; "B.L.M. Official Comments on Criticism of Portions of the Organic Rules," *Times Independent*, March 24, 1977, accessed February 2, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=20431510&q=B.L.M.+Official+Comments+on+Criticism+of+Portions+of+the+Organic+Rules&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0#t_20431510; Dan Whipple, "Environmentalists, Backlash and the 'New Right'" *High Country News*, May 5, 1978, 1, 4-5, accessed February 2, 2017, http://s3.amazonaws.com/hcn-media/archive-pdf/1978_05_05.pdf.

[50] Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 2.

> side was crude but marvelous nature in bird and foliage and fish and rock and water. I stood there and gasped, though I had become almost familiar with the miracles of Zion. I gasped a prayer, for one may not behold what one beholds there without knowing that there is a God: that His ways are inexplicable to man and to be taken in faith alone. …it gives to one… a more profound impression of the wonderworks of God. [51]

A trip to ZNP was marketed as transformative, spiritual and even epiphanic. This was adventure upon hallowed ground. Drive, hike, camp and, while you're at it, meet God! This spiritual lens in viewing landscape had a Romantic flourish certainly not employed singularly in the marketing of ZNP. But with this Romantic sensibility and lens, Mormon ideas on Zion were both reinforced and confronted. In promotional materials, there were also invitations asking the would-be tourists to imagine their own interpretations of the sacred, adding to the existing layers of cultural imaginings. As one brochure asserted, "It is a place to drink in beauty, to form new conceptions of the divine" and so some locals obliged.[52]

Maurice Cope (1885-1979), a Mormon park ranger who worked in both Bryce and Zion Canyons from 1928 to 1957, described his very original interpretations while walking through the eroding sandstone pillars of Bryce Canyon, which at the time was managed by ZNP. He wrote:

> As you descend the next slope—you will follow a Comanche trail, which, mutely speaks of Indian legends and lore, and of dark skinned uncommunicative people who have inhabited this land, for ages, the brave chieftain by the trail is solemnly pointing towards the majestic Escalante mountain or Mt. Liahona across the eastern skies some miles away, for

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[51] Jack Lait, "An Appreciation of Zion National Monument," *United States Railroad Administration*, 1917, 1917, PAM 599, Utah State Archive, p. 3.

[52] W.H. Murray, "Zion National Park, Bryce Canyon, Cedar Breaks, Kaibab Forest, North Rim of the Grand Canyon." *Union Pacific System*. PAM 599, Utah State Archive. 1926. p. 6.

> many moons this has been the Indian landmark, compass and guide as it is exactly on a Meridian line and stands far above all other eminent sentinels.
>
> He could tell you a wonderful story of strife and conquest, prosperity and decay, during the past thousands of years, how his forefathers left Jerusalem 600 years B.C. because they were warned of the destruction of that city, and wished to serve their God unmolested. He could describe their plights as they wondered in the desert… guided and instructed to build ships and landed upon this promised land… More in stone is recorded in history for us, a story of the rise and fall of two mighty nations… in the rise and fall of this mysterious civilization, all this is gracefully represented in the towering "Mt. Liahona."[53]

This is an interpretation based on Cope's own impressions of God and *The Book of Mormon*. A Liahona was the miraculous compass that a prophet named Lehi used to navigate his family and others from Jerusalem to the Americas. There are two references in *The Book of Mormon* that describe "Liahona:"

> And now, my son, I have something to say concerning the thing, which our fathers call a ball, or director—or our fathers called it Liahona, which is, being interpreted, a compass; and the Lord prepared it. [54]

The Liahona led Lehi and his people to Zion, where Cope saw this story retold in the bedrock of homeland.

Mt. Liahona was never an official designation and was perhaps a personal name used only by Cope. But even if it was only Cope who recognized the mountain as Liahona, he wasn't the only one who sacralized landscape by giving features names with Mormon and other Christian denominations religious significance. Kolob Canyon, a national monument annexed to ZNP in 1956, was named for the star Kolob, which the Saints maintained held the seat of God. ZNP's Mount Moroni was named for the angel

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[53] Maurice Cope, 1979. "Living for Ages in 24 Hours: Pre-Americans" Unpublished typescript, MSA2594, Utah Historical Society, p. 5.

[54] Alma 37:38, The Book of Mormon.

who visited Joseph Smith and guided him to the gold plates from which he claimed to transcribe *The Book of Mormon*. Mt. Carmel, the town just east of the park, was named after the place where the prophet Elijah challenged the priests of Baal, as described in the Bible's Book of Kings. The nomenclature resonated with Mormons and also helped non-Mormons envision an arcane association between spirituality and place. Walking through Dixie was like walking through stories in sacred text.

To see *The Book of Mormon* and the Bible on the American landscape was not uncommon to the Mormon. Joseph Smith saw the Garden of Eden in Missouri. Brigham Young appointed William Huntington to explore the Grand and San Juan River region, where he reported evidence of the hideout for the Gadianton Robbers, a gang of villains in *The Book of Mormon*.[55] Not all Mormons were quick to see sacred history in the landscape. Although Cope was not literal in his descriptions of seeing *The Book of Mormon* manifested in landscape, there have been other LDS literalists who attempted to prove their own history within the "archeological" evidence in south Utah's sandstone. Dr. James E. Talmage, a professor of geology at University of Utah, followed in the footsteps of John Wesley Powell. He and his men ventured to chart regions near what would become ZNP. He wrote in a 1895 journal entry of items locals claimed to be artifacts left by Nephites and Lamanites, describing:

> small specimens of this stone have been brought to me: and several scientific men to whom they have been shown have pronounced them artificial production. Some of our people whose zeal for *The Book of Mormon* has actually clouded their judgment, pronounced this, as every

[55] Nelson, *Wrecks of Human Ambition*, 152.

> other occurrence having any resemblance to archaic work as Nephite origin.[56]

Unlike Talmage's example of people looking for Mormon history in the rocks, Cope's musings were not literal in nature, but conveyed a cultural worldview, inspired by *The Book of Mormon* and applied to his backyard.

As the Anasazi and Paiute had ascribed their impressions onto landscape, the park became a reflection of both Mormon and non-Mormon Christian spiritual sensibility. Fredrick Vining Fisher, a Methodist minister from Ogden, Utah, was credited with giving famous ZNP regional rock formations their biblical titles during a trip he took through the canyon with local boys. Together they named the Three Patriarchs, three gorgeous geological features that remain central attractions at ZNP. Fisher himself named the Great White Throne.[57] In addition to their contributions, others named the Altar of Sacrifice, Cathedral Mountain and two peaks named the Guardian Angels. The park also consulted a member of the Southern Paiute Shivwitz band to help with place names. Tony Tillahash, who had been taken from his home in Utah and raised at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, named, among other features, the Temple of Sinawava.[58] The mix of religious names and impressions make ZNP a veritable garden of the gods.

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[56] Craig S. Smith, "James E. Talmage and the 1895 Deseret Museum Expedition to Southern Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 84, no. 2 (Spring, 2016): 147.

[57] Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah," 189-190.

[58] The Paiutes saw Sinwava as a central God. Mormon missionaries upheld Sinwava to would-be converts as Jesus and other members of the tribe believed that Sinwava was "God, Jesus, same thing." Hebner, *Southern Paiute*, 16, 19, 107.



Figure 7. Three Patriarchs. Easter Pageant Zion. National Park Photo Collection, 1940, C-154, Utah State Historical Society. Used with permission.

Cope's writing also made reference to an "urim" and a "thummim," as he wished for their magical powers in his study of the "corridors in Time, while musing during his hikes through Bryce Canyon."[59] The urim and thummim are "seer stones," devices that Joseph Smith claimed to have used to transcribe *The Book of Mormon*. In addition to finding Mormon sacred symbolism in the formations of Bryce, Cope continued to imagine pagan gods, Mt. Olympus and the Greek gods, and a "kelidascopic [sic]

[59] Maurice Cope, 1979. "Living for Ages in 24 hours: Pre-Americans" 1979. Unpublished typescript, MSA2594, Utah State Historical Society, p. 5.

symphony" of colors, whispers and shadows. Another of Cope's passages mirrored the florid language of many of the travel brochures:

> Only the language of the Gods could attempt to describe the transdent [sic] glory, and seeing, only, is believing—I must draw the curtain, for a rapture too deep for tears must be bathed in solitude.[60]

Cope wrote of nature as a place for celebrating solitude while contemplating the divine. As a member of a culture that valued the collective—the family, community and church—the reflections of Cope represent a different emphasis on a solo sacred experience. In Cope's study of landscape, we see the lands of southern Utah take on a syncretism in perspectives, a Mormon Romanticism.

J.L. Crawford mentioned perhaps a more typical Mormon approach to relating religiously to Zion Canyon in the prayer his father gave each evening asking for God to "bless the water and elements," a practice that sanctified earthly resources that aided in agriculture or production. [61] Crawford recalled, "When I was very young I interpreted his [father's prayer]—'bless the water and the elements' as 'bless the watermelons.' The Lord must have heard it too because as long as we lived at Oak Creek he grew great melon crops."[62] This sweet story demonstrated a more typical Mormon focus on environment—a place that provided fundamentals to production. The canyon's water and

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[60] Ibid., 5.

[61] This sentiment is more in line with Brigham Young's quote, "It is all good, the air, the water, the gold, the silver; the wheat, the fine flour and the cattle upon the thousand hills are all good…" Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 1:272-73; Sara Dant, "The 'Lion of the Lord' and the Land: Brigham Young's Environmental Ethic" (draft chapter, Environmental History Seminar, Brigham Young University, November 5, 2015), 6.

[62] Janice F. DeMille. "Generations, William Louis Crawford." *Color Country Spectrum Outlook*, Sunday, May 7, 1978. MS57 B6F7. J.L. Crawford Collection, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University. p. 10.

the elements were themselves manifestations worthy of God's attention and blessings, in so much as they helped to yield a nice crop.

As employees of the park or the construction crews involved with building park infrastructure, they were able to leave marks that reflected their own particular cultural ideas. For example, the roads to and from ZNP were built upon the trails of pioneer Saints. Their improvement and permanence was a way to monumentalize Mormon legacy. Locals also began to inscribe the park with beautiful masonry building upon a natural landscape. Uncultivated places may not have been a Mormon cultural value, but the children and grandchildren of settlers were able to consecrate ZNP, in a way, by building and shaping the land.



Figure 8. J.L. Crawford Growing Up in Zion Canyon. J.L. Crawford Collection, Special Collections, Gerald S. Sherratt, Southern Utah University.

Loren S. Higbee (1897-1992), a resident of Virgin, Utah, was a rock mason in ZNP and one of the workers who built the bridges and arches, acts that invested local skills in the making of ZNP. He said:

> There are some real old timers up there. I know the Winders. I remember them well. They were real rock masons. They built some arch work. Those bridges they built were real artistic, the way they put those in there. It seems like quite a few people around Springdale were really, well, you could say artists when it came to building bridges and arches out of sandstone, cutting it and shaping it. It had to have shape, it couldn't just be squares. They had to be diamond shapes and other shapes to them, to make the bridge arch like that. Of course they were all good workers.[63]

According to Mormon worldview, it was the ordering of land that sacralized it.[64] The Mormon sacred text *The Pearl of Great Price* addressed the importance of a built space:

> And the Lord called his people Zion, because they were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them. And Enoch continued his preaching in righteousness unto the people of God. And it came to pass in his days, that he built a city that was called the City of Holiness, even Zion.[65]

In the building of ZNP, Mormon masons imbued land with LDS mandate and tradition.

In his essay "The Paradox of the Park," David Quammen discussed the "paradox of the cultivated wild" in Yellowstone National Park. This premise stemmed from contradictory notions of wilderness as untouched hinterland vs. a park for entertaining tourists. Though Quammen's point focused on managing and taming wildlife to enchant

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[63] Loren S. Higbee, 1970. Interviewed by Dena S. Markoff, December 2, transcript. Zion BRCA03786, Western Heritage Conservation Inc., Zion Oral History Project, National Park Service, Zion National Park Collection, p. 9.

[64] Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*.

[65] *The Pearl of Great Price*, Book of Moses, 7:18-19; Joseph Smith, *Pearl of Great Price* (Liverpool: F.D. Richards, 1851).

human visitors in Yellowstone National Park, ZNP, like all parks, represent a cultivated wild.[66] Due to its ecology and its geographical setting, ZNP offers its own paradox: the expansive development in a rough country to channel tourists through a wild region. To bring people into ZNP, an ambitious highway was created to bring outdoor enthusiasts to high and perilous climbs, hikes and canyoneering expeditions. ZNP and its difficult geography required a great deal of cultivating to bring the tourist and his (or her) automobile into a wilderness.

At Play in Wonderland

As tourism increased in Utah, Mormons also took to the rocks with a playful eagerness. With the enthusiastic efforts of Eugene Roberts, athletic director at Brigham Young University and his love of Mt. Timpanogos, mountaineering had already become popular in Salt Lake City.[67] The year after ZNP was designated, locals launched forays of organized adventure in their own backcountry. In 1920, the St. George troop of Beehive Girls visited ZNP. The organization was a girl's club, founded in 1913, a Mormon version of the American Girl Scouts or Campfire Girls. Beehive Girls "endeavored to have faith, seek knowledge, honor womanhood, understand beauty and taste the sweetness of service." [68]

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[66] Quammen, "The Paradox of the Park," 55-67.

[67] Farmer, *On Zion's Mount*, 180-189.

[68] General Board of the Young Woman's Mutual Improvement Association, *Beehive Girls Handbook* (Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of the Jesus Christ of Latter-day-Saints, 1935).

When the Beehive Girls visited Zion National Park with a visiting troop of Boy Scouts, they enjoyed the recreational opportunities, swimming, "hiking and enjoying the scenery." [69] By encouraging activity in the great outdoors, Beehive leaders were instructing the girls to become model LDS women. Recreation and the knowledge of national parks became a Beehive Girl value in 1919.

The *Beehive Girl Handbook* offered a wide variety of goals for its participants, girls aged twelve or thirteen. The first section of the 1919 handbook was devoted to religious obligations. According to the instructions, the Beehive Girl needed to practice "faith promoting" activities first and foremost. Additionally, there were other exercises that she was encouraged to pursue. Some of these included knowing the differences between Latter Day Saints and other Christian denominations; acting as a proxy and "twenty times be baptized for the dead;" understand the work of Martin Luther, John Knox and John Calvin; practice domestic skills; and help LDS missionaries in their activities.[70] Other objectives inspired women to pursue traditional domestic roles of the Mormon woman such as baking bread, pressing a suit, cooking meat in four different ways, cleaning four common stains from garments or explaining "why a mother's condition may influence the quality of her milk."[71] There was an emphasis on Mormon heritage as the guidebook instructed the girls to interview members of the 1856 Handcart

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[69] "Bee Hive Girls Have a Good Time at Zion National Park," *Washington County News*, June 17, 1920, accessed February 2, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=21861006&q=Bee+Hive+Girls+Have+a+Good+Time+at+Zion+National+Park&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_21861006.

[70] General Board of the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association, *Handbook for the Bee-Hive Girls of the Y.L.M.I.A*, 4th ed. (Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1919), 30-32.

[71] Ibid., 33, 34, 51.

Company, the Mormon Battalion and Indian missionaries. Girls were also instructed to learn about the Utah state Indian tribes, tribal "religious conditions" and the history of a "notable Indian."[72]

The handbook was written to shape a young woman within a traditional Mormon worldview. And this, surprisingly, included cultivating an interest in the out-of-doors. Beehive Girls were encouraged to participate in recreational activities, a reflection of the shifts taking place in the Mormon culture. Among the prescribed pursuits were the following:

> 359. Cover twenty-five miles on snowshoes…
> 371. Climb a mountain, attaining a point at least 1,000 above the starting point…
> 582. Tell briefly the geological history of the geysers in Yellowstone National Park.
> 583. Describe and give an account of the life history of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado.
> 585. Tell briefly the geological history of Little Zion Canyon. [Zion Canyon]
> 586. Tell briefly the climatic and physiographic characteristics of Glacier National Park.[73]

These goals reflected the idea that recreation, the National Park Service and the out-of-doors had entered the Mormon cultural lexicon as a value before it had become important to the people of Dixie. The broader LDS culture was embracing the great outdoors, instructing young women to be active as part of their development in becoming a Mormon woman. The edition of the handbook quoted above was written even before Zion was designated a national park, indicating that Mormon attitudes in the state of Utah

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[72] Ibid., 31.

[73] Ibid., 40, 46.

were embracing the larger American interest in nature and national parks.[74] It should be noted, however, that Salt Lake City, where the handbooks were written and published, was by far less isolated from popular America culture than the communities in and around ZNP.

As the Beehive Girls were guided by the Salt Lake City authors who wrote the handbook that encouraged forays into wilderness, Dixie locals were also taking interest in the pleasures of the great outdoors. King Hendricks (1900-1970), a librarian, professor and administrator at the former Branch Agricultural College, now Southern Utah University in Cedar City, travelled to ZNP on many occasions. In a short memoir left among his papers, he wrote of one particular fishing trip along the Virgin River in 1925. Over the course of two days, Hendricks and his party caught one hundred and forty-three trout. Hendricks's piece, simply called "Narrative by King Hendricks," included many ribald and witty asides, such as a joke by one of the trip participants who, after days walking along the river, cracked that "he had never followed a virgin so far before."[75] Hendricks went on to make observations of vegetation and rock formations, also noting cougar and deer tracks as well as the presence of water ouzels and a rock wren. [76]

The experience these men had was very typical of the types of escapades that people from all over the country were having at ZNP. Hendricks wrote of singing

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[74] This brochure was published the year ZNP was designated, so the guidelines were written prior to the area becoming a national park.

[75] King Hendricks, 1925. "Narrative by King Hendricks." George A. Croft Collection. MS 8, Box 1, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, p. 5.

[76] Ibid., 3, 5.

throughout the trip, and included a song in his musings that borrowed the lyrics and tune from a popular American folk song of the 1910s, "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum:"

> I don't like fish, and fish don't like me and that is the reason we never agree.
> Hallelujah, I'm a bum. Hallelujah, bum again, Hallelujah, give me a hand out to revive me again.
> Oh I went on a trip and I carried a stick but in spite of my efforts I fell in the crik.
> Hallelujah wet my _____ [sic]. Hallelujah, wet it again. Hallelujah build a fire to dry me again.[77]

Hendricks's camping story captured the silly fun of friends, camping out, the singing of naughty lyrics, fishing and eating pork and beans by the campfire. In fact, his story sounded sweetly ordinary. But there was one reference in his piece that made his trip uniquely Mormon.

While fishing and camping with his buddies, Hendricks referred to singing "Welcome, Welcome Sabbath Morning," a traditional Mormon hymn containing lyrics indicative of the Mormon settler worldview and the belief of being "other." [78]

> We are earnest in our labors. To God's kingdom we belong.
> Trials make our faith grow stronger. Truth is nobler than a crown.
> We will brave the tempest longer. Tho the world upon us frown.[79]

Although Hendricks was out having a good old American time, his boisterous group of songsters were reminding themselves of three essential Mormon truths: their birthright, their fortitude and their legacy of historical injustice. In spite of the cultural interface taking place in Zion, the Saints remained a culture apart.

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[77] Ibid., Appendix I.

[78] Ibid., 4.

[79] Robert Baird, "Welcome, Welcome Sabbath Morning," in *Hymns of the Church of the Latter Day Saints*. (Salt Lake City, UT: Church of the Latter Day Saints, 1985), 280.

Hendricks and his pals were a part of the growing interest in recreation and park tourism among the Mormons. Utah Senator Smoot, one of the architects of the national park service, wrote of a visit to Yellowstone National Park. In his journal, he shared his impression of the park and his time touring with Horace Albright, who by then had become the Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park after his earlier work in the establishment of ZNP. Smoot wrote:

> Thursday July 14, 1927. Supt Albright took us to breakfast and showed us the principal Geysers and wonders of Old Faithful and others. We took lunch at the Old Faithful Inn and then we started for Moran and Jackson and Jenny Lakes. We all delighted with the beauties of Jenny Lake at the foot of the Grand Tetons. We returned to a camping place about 2 miles north of Moran. Had a small cabin to ourselves. Had a good trout dinner. We saw a bull moose feeding in a swamp about a quarter mile from our cabin. We met a number of bears on the way and took time to feed them…[80]

Smoot's description was that of the happy-go-lucky tourist experiencing wildlife and landscape in America's most famous national park. He noted in his July 16, 1927 entry, "One large bear was swimming the river and we called to him, he turned and swam towards us and as soon as he was out of the water came to the Auto and I fed him some candy and he was happy."[81] He went on to write in his journal about catching eighty trout in Yellowstone Lake; staying in well-appointed guestrooms in the park's hotels; and an evening dance performance for the park's guests.

Smoot did not regard the trip as a sacred experience, but it is clear that as one of the fathers of Utah's national parks, he clearly embraced the idea of finding beauty and

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[80] Reed Smoot, Journal. Book 37, July 12,1927-July 18, 1927. Typescript. Reed Smoot Papers. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, p. 97-100.

[81] Ibid., 98.

entertainment in nature. Additionally, Smoot's journals also celebrated another new American construct, so essential to park tourism—the highway. During his family's vacation in the family Packard, Smoot drove the northern stretches of Highway 89 from Logan to Idaho Falls, Ashton and then on to West Yellowstone. Smoot wrote of enjoying the improved route, an experience that his ancestors could never have imagined, but for which they no doubt would have yearned. At the end of his first full day in the park, he ended his daily journal entry with, "All feeling fine and the Auto running perfectly." [82] Smoot spent his time amid, in Quammen's phrase, "the cultivated wild." The national park was a place where a bear might swim across rivers for candy. It was a place where wildlife and wildlands were accessed by perfectly running autos that drove along smooth paved roads.

The park personnel, many of whom were local, took care of the communities in and around ZNP. Sometimes a rule was bent in a way that suggested the willingness to invest in the locals' welfare rather than adhere to rules of federal bureaucracy. During an interview, J.L. Crawford, whose family was the last to leave the canyon after being bought out in 1931, recalled:

> In the summer of '32, the people of Springdale got together and petitioned the Park Service to allow them to go in and harvest the hay. There was a lot of alfalfa hay growing all over this area that the park had taken over. Although it hadn't been irrigated because they just let the irrigation cease in most of the areas… There was a ditch on each side that supplied part of Springdale property, but dad's old ditch and the regular Oak Creek ditch were allowed to go out of use for the most part and they didn't maintain the farms or orchards. I don't remember that we went in and harvested any fruit that summer, but the park did allow the people of Springdale to go in

[82] Ibid., 97.

> and harvest the hay. At least they made one general big cutting of all the hay and then they divided it up among the people of Springdale.[83]

The park, no longer an agricultural space, still bore the marks of Mormon settlement. And in allowing a harvest, park personnel showed support of the community and local culture in their departure from official policy.

In the same spirit, Superintendent Eivind Scoyen (1896-1973) told of how he helped support the town of Springdale by building a new school and a new Mormon chapel. He supported local people and their priorities. As agents worked to move the last family from the park boundaries, Scoyen experienced firsthand the power of the "call to Dixie." This call was the order to go south and establish communities. In 1861, Brigham Young announced the roster of Saints who would undertake the Dixie Mission during a conference in Salt Lake City. According to historian H. Lorenzo Reid:

> One of the proverbial statements that aptly characterized the early pioneers of the Dixie Mission was to the effect that they were extremely loyal to the call of their church that had they been called to build their home on barren rock they would have done so willingly, and would have remained there until they were released from that call. [84]

LDS believed "the call" was as binding as the word of God.

In an interview with J.L. Crawford, Scoyen paraphrased a conversation that he had had with Crawford's uncle:

> I was trying every way I could to get the best possible deal that was satisfactory to them, and I thought I'd done that. Everybody agreed to the deal. But I think your father came up to me, just after I thought everything was arranged, and said,

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[83] J.L. Crawford Interview 1989. Interview by Don Graff. September 29, transcript. Zion National Park Oral History Project, CCC Reunion, MS178, Register of Civilian Conservation Corps Oral History Project, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University Archive, p. 3.

[84] H. Lorenzo Reid, *Brigham Young's Dixie of the Desert: Exploration and Settlement* (Salt Lake City: Zion Historical Association, 1964), 98.

> 'Mr., we've been talking about it, and we can't sell you that property.'
> I said, 'What's wrong? Is the price alright?'
> 'Yes. The price is alright. And the conditions and everything are all right. But Brigham Young called us to settle here, and we can't go until we are released.'[85]

This conversation took place over seventy years after the canyon was first settled, evidencing the binding Mormon traditions in this region.

Scoyen ended up going to Salt Lake City to request that the Church President, Heber Grant, officially release the Crawford family from "the call." Although Scoyen could have overruled the Crawford family concern, he didn't. In fact, by appealing to the president of the Mormon Church, he took the family's trepidation and sense of duty very seriously. This spirit of honoring of Mormon culture made it easier for the locals to adopt the park as a space that fit, though unconventionally, into Mormon homeland.

Zion Easter Pageant and the Rocks of Ages

A momentous yet short-lived moment in the sacralization of ZNP was the creation of the Mormon/non-Mormon worship celebration, the Zion Easter Pageant. An abbreviated version of an Easter play first took place in 1935, which evolved into a production with several hundred cast members by 1938.[86] The last production was held in 1940. The pageant involved the faculty at Branch Agricultural College, Dixie College, towns around the park and many civic organizations. The event came to serve several

[85] Eviend T. Scoyen, 1971. "Eviend T. Scoyen: An Interview about his experiences as the first superintendent of Zion National Park, 1927-1931" Interview by Lucy C. Schiefer, January 28, transcript. Zion 12352, Box 5, National Park Service, Zion National Park Collection, p. 19; Hinton, "Getting Along," 313-331.

[86] H.E. Petersen, "Zion Easter Pageant: Outline of the Zion National Park Easter Pageant," Report by Easter Pageant Executive Committee, 1938, Easter History Pageant Box, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, p. 1.

functions: promoting tourism, engaging regional residents in visiting the park, providing entertainment and celebrating a Christian holiday. The pageant's impact was myriad and reinforced the perspectives and objectives of the various groups invested in ZNP. In 1940, the event drew almost 9,000 visitors who came to watch a Passion Play staged at the foot of the Great White Throne. [87]

The production clearly consumed a great deal of time and resources. Costumes were elaborate and the photos show Herod's dancing girls who wear scarves, billowy fabrics and cropped tops showing bare mid-drifts. Jesus, white-robed and bearded, stands solemnly among King Herod's court. Mother Mary and Mary Magdalene, in embellished robes and gowns, cover their faces as they mourn and Herod, with a high, cylindrical crown, looks on at his harem, staff by his side. The landscape in these photos suggests an otherworldly place of ancient dramas or an abstracted version of the holy land.[88] One article claimed, "There is undoubtedly no setting in the world to compare with this for the reenactment of the scene depicting the life and crucifixion of Him who has been called Savior."[89] According to this assertion, during the re-enactment of the death and resurrection of Jesus, ZNP seemed more sacred than Jerusalem, Gethsemane or Golgotha. In its final year, ZNP was the stage for six hundred people from neighboring

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[87] "Near Record Crowd Attends Zion Easter Pageant," *Iron County Record*, March 28, 1940, accessed February 5, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3838644&q=easter+pageant+zion+park&page=3&rows=25&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0&date_tdt=%5B+1940-01-01T00%3A00%3A00Z+TO+1940-12-31T00%3A00%3A00Z+%5D#t_3838644.

[88] Easter Pageant Zion National Park Photo Collection, 1940, C-154, Folders 1-3, Utah State Historical Society.

[89] "Stage All Set for Zion Easter Pageant," *Garfield News*, April 7, 1938, accessed February 5, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3825801&q=Stage+All+Set+for+Zion+Easter+Pageant&page=1&rows=25&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0&date_tdt=%5B+1938-01-01T00%3A00%3A00Z+TO+1938-12-31T00%3A00%3A00Z+%5D#t_3825801.

communities collectively dramatizing the resurrection of Christ. Actors, members of the orchestra, singers in the chorus and the audience used the park as a space to evoke the most significant event in Christianity.[90]

The celebration was marketed nationally and, according to the park supervisor, grand ambitions were wrapped around the production. According to one article, "Superintendent P.P. Patraw of Zion National Park is firm in his belief that the Zion Easter Pageant will continue to grow each year and will eventually become a shrine for all western Christians."[91] The affair, in its fourth year, drew people from twenty-six states. [92]

[90] "Thousands Expected to Witness Fourth Annual Presentation of Zion Easter Pageant." *Iron County Record*, March 21, 1940, accessed February 2, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3825801&q=Stage+All+Set+for+Zion+Easter+Pageant&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_3825801.

[91] Ibid.

[92] "Zion Easter Pageant Most Impressive Ever Staged," *Iron County Record*, April 21, 1938, accessed February 2, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3843135&q=Zion+Easter+Pageant+Most+Impressive+Ever+Staged&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_3843135; Janet Seegmiller, *History of Iron County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1988), 244.



Figure 9. Actor Playing Jesus during the Easter Pageant. Zion Easter Pageant Zion National Park Photo Collection, 1940, C-154, Utah State Historical Society. Used with permission.



Figure 10. Actor Playing Herod's Dancing Girl during Easter Pageant. Easter Pageant Zion National Park Photo Collection, 1940. C-154, Folders 1-3, Utah State Historical Society. Used with permission.

The pageant must have been profoundly relevant to the Saints who came to ZNP either to watch or to participate in the play. In staging the resurrection of Christ, the experience worked to reinforce Mormon beliefs presented in *The Book of Mormon*, 3 Nephi 11-30, which depicts the appearance of Jesus in the Americas, after the resurrection in Jerusalem. To watch the play in their sacred homeland might in some sense have been a reaffirmation and validation of the Mormon belief that Christ had visited the Americas after his resurrection.

Many locals participated in the various aspects of the production, which further invested them in the event. Springdale resident Phil Hepworth was a member of the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1940 when he became involved with the pageant "I saw the pageant. The last one though, done down there on the old Crawford farm…. I guess the reason I liked it so well was because I helped set up for it, get ready for it."[93] When many locals became involved in the production, there emerged a sense of ownership in the park.

Many Mormons living in the region had held positions over the years as park personnel on road construction crews or on park infrastructure. Some locals had travelled to the park to camp and picnic, though few had fallen in love with the majesty of its landscape. The truth was that most area residents still had not bothered to explore their own magnificent backyard. And the pageant seemed a way to remedy their indifference.

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[93] Phil Hepworth, 1989. Interview by Don Graff, September 27, transcript. Zion National Park Oral History Project, CCC Reunion, MS. 178, Register of Civilian Conservation Corps Oral History Project, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, p. 12.

According to a letter to Gilliam Advertising Agency, the Easter Pageant was developed as a lure to regional LDS:

> Last year our pageant was the best publicity item that we have ever had for southern Utah. The tie that Zion Park has with Easter makes it a natural for publicity. We made all of the large papers that we sent material to, and not only that, many of them carried pictures of Zion several weeks after the pageant. Naturally on Easter we have a religious angle to consider, especially for the local people and churches, but primarily this is a thing for publicity, and to get not only advertising for southern Utah, but to get Utah people to see Zion National Park. It is after all rather humiliating to have as many California people visit Zion as Utah people do.[94]

The letter is incomplete and unsigned, but its context suggested that it came from a local person interested in marketing southern Utah to other southern Utahans.[95] Though no longer a space for ranching, with the Easter Pageant, if even for a few years, ZNP became a place for religious ritual and as such, became a bigger draw for local visitorship.

The pageant, though short-lived, drew thousands of people to ZNP. But church authorities eventually discontinued it. According to a letter written by members of the Council of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve, the church had serious concerns about the event. The letter expressed disapproval over local people leaving their own temples on Easter Sunday, as well as a fear that the festivities were inappropriate for the Sabbath. Moreover, there was anxiety, on the part of the Church leaders, that Jesus should not be impersonated, no matter how reverential the depiction. And finally,

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[94] Anon, 1938. Letter to Mariam Nelson, c/o Gilliam Advertising Agency, Salt Lake City, Utah. Feb 13. Easter Pageant Box, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, p. 1. It is interesting to see how the religious importance of the Easter Pageant, the main hook in engaging local people in visiting ZNP, is less important to the writer of the letter than the need for publicity.

[95] I make the assumption that the author is a Dixie Mormon, as he refers to the people of Utah, "as our own people," a reference to kinship with other Saints ubiquitous in LDS culture. The writer indicated that he/she is directly involved in the production, mentioning in the letter "our Easter Pageant" and "a wish that we had an advertising man down here."

ironically, the Church authorities were worried about risks involved in a Mormon collaboration with other Christians. Their letter stated:

> There is more and more tendency in the church, as we more and more mingle with non-members of the Church, to take on the activities of non-members, particularly where they have a religious character, and these accretions have a tendency to change the simplicity of our ordinances and of our faith.
>
> The decision of the Brethren was that we could not give this Zion Pageant a Church approval, since there lurked in such celebrations certain grave dangers, and the Brethren all expressed the hope that you Presidents of Stakes and other officers of the Church would consider well the kind of celebration you provided and whether or not in view of your Church positions you could properly take an active part therein as sponsors or directors. [96]

ZNP was a place of Mormon and non-Mormon collaboration, though the idea of non-Mormon notions of Christian theology potentially polluting local beliefs was unacceptable to the LDS Church leaders. Although the pageant was conceived, produced, directed and enacted by regional Saints, the ritual was meant to be shared with locals and broader national audiences. The park itself became an unsecure portal, wherein the act of sharing something so sacred, in company with non-Mormons, could lead to the contamination of Mormon ideals. The Church leaders wanted to maintain their autonomy and, as a result, they shut the ZNP Easter Pageant down.

J.L. Crawford and Emeritus archivist Janet Seegmiller at Southern Utah University have written that the park personnel were also having trouble managing such a

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[96] David O. McKay and J. Reuben Clark 1940 letter to Harold. B. Snow March 6. Reprinted in "Famed Zion Easter Pageant to be Discontinued—Objections Voiced by General Church Authorities," *Iron Country News*, February 27, 1941, accessed February 3, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=4221023&q=Famed+Zion+Easter+Pageant+to+be+Discontinued—Objections+Voiced+by+General+Church+Authorities&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_4221023.

large event. [97] However, in the park archives there are two letters that indicate support of the event, even suggesting the renaming of one of the park's geologic features to "Resurrection Mountain." Although Superintendent P.P. Patraw left the park for a job at Hot Springs National Park in Arkansas, in 1940 he wrote a letter to the new Superintendent at ZNP, C. Marshall Finnan:

> After some labor pains I just gave birth to an idea. If the Zion Easter Pageant continues to show healthy signs of permanency, why not suggest changing the name of Bridge Mountain to 'Resurrection Mountain' or 'Easter Mountain?' I particularly like 'Resurrection' and its keeping with the nomenclature of Zion's formations.[98]

To which Finnan responded:

> Thanks for the suggestion… I think this would be an appropriate name, and from all indications last Sunday it appears that the annual Easter Pageant will definitely become a permanent feature of Zion National Park.[99]

This correspondence took place in the final year of the pageant. It certainly seemed to indicate support from the Park Service in the production. The park superintendent under whom the event was cancelled was interested in preserving the play. But the Church was not ready to share their sacred beliefs with the broader public, a position that unintentionally reflected a growing local aversion to sharing Dixie lands with the American public.

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[97] J.L. Crawford, updated, "The Zion National Park Easter Pageant," *Southwest Utah Magazine*, B8F18, J.L. Crawford Collection, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, p. 45; Seegmiller, *The History of Iron County*, 244.

[98] P.P. Patraw 1940. Letter to Marshall C. Finnan. March 22. Zion 14578, Box 8, National Park Service, Zion National Park Collection.

[99] Marshall C. Finnan, 1940 "Memorandum for Superintendent Patraw." March 30. Zion 14578, Box 8, National Park Service, Zion National Park Collection.



Figure 11. Tourists in Zion. Easter Pageant. Zion National Park Photo Collection, 1940. C-154, Utah State Historical Society. Used with permission.

Conclusion

Geographer Jeanne Kay Guelke asserted that, "appreciation of scenery is a product of education or ethnic worldview that encourages people to reflect on what they see in particular ways."[100] As outsiders came to ZNP, local ways of seeing were impacted. The myth of Romantic wilderness, one created in reaction to the urbanization of America, took hold in Dixie. Lola Waite came to understand the beauty of her homeland in retrospect when she saw tourists gape at her backyard. Maurice Cope yearned for an urim

[100] Guelke, *The Playgrounds of God's Country*, 3.

and thummim to better understand the sacred aspects of landscape as he saw eroding sandstone take religious meaning. And hiking in ZNP became one moral step towards the making of the ideal moral Mormon woman.

In the Easter Pageant, we see a coming together of Mormon and non-Mormon cultures in ZNP as they celebrate Christianity's most sacred holiday. Perhaps the event was a way for the local communities to apply a religious significance to the secular layer of the national park fixed on Mormon homeland. LDS believe that Christ visited the Americas after his resurrection. The Pageant was established to entice local visitation—scenery not being the hook that most local people bit. They went to see the resurrection of Christ, but this nondenominational Passion Play celebration created a potential danger for the local culture. Mormons mixing with non-Mormons could corrupt Mormon ideals. The park was federal and secular and although the local population had warmed to it, to the Church ZNP was a place that drew outsiders with dangerous ideas. This LDS suspicion was also mentioned in the satirical anonymous letter found in the park archive alleging that LDS believed that outsiders were weakening morals. It seemed that Church leaders were reticent about public lands as cultural mixing zones.

Dixie population, although in support in ZNP, continued to hold onto its idea of homeland. To understand the impact of myth on landscape and history, George B. Handley and Elizabeth DeLoughrey make the argument that a region encrypts both space and time.[101] Geographer John Rennie Short makes the point "myths destroy time," kept

[101] Elizabeth DeLoughrey and George B. Handley, *Post Colonial Ecologies: Literatures of the Environment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 4.

ever new with each generation.[102] Myths, such as land entitlements, are passed from generation to generation irrespective of years. As we will see in the next chapters, although the myth of a Romantic wilderness arrived in Dixie, Mormon worldview continued to perpetuate ideas and actions of local communities in their fight against further federal land protection of wilderness attributes.

Efforts to make Capitol Reef, Escalante and Cedar Breaks parks and monuments worked to erode federal and local relationships over aspects of land use restrictions, most explosively, grazing. Roads to natural wonders, such a victory in the unlocking of Utah's hidden landscape, also became bitterly controversial in the coming decades. As Paul Sutter points out in *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement*, the idea of wilder places shifted in the American consciousness from the concept of a national park to the idea that real wilderness meant large roadless tracks.[103] And by the mid-1970s, Utah, an area of vast roadless lands where Mormon pioneers had taken perilous journeys with their wagons and possessions in a search for places to settle, had become the controversial epicenter of the roadless wilderness debate and one site of the Sagebrush Rebellion.

In looking at the Maurice Cope collection at the Utah State Archive, I was struck by a photograph. Both amateur photographer and amateur writer, Cope took hundreds of pictures of rock formations, fellow park rangers and lodges in southern Utah. Among these shots, there is an undated photograph of a "grazing limits" sign on a fence line,

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[102] Short, *Imagined Country*, xviii.

[103] Sutter, *Driven Wild*, 18.

indicating lands beyond the sign were off-limits to livestock.[104] This picture, so much a departure from his other work, can be seen as a window into things to come. As Cope saw the sacred in the rocks of Bryce, he also saw the political boundaries that divided in his region. His picture of the painted signpost, garlanded with barbwire, was to become the story of post-ZNP Utah. Cultural and governmental boundaries caused clashes in land and over the next several decades within the myths behind wilderness, an American public came to collide with the grandchildren of settlers.

[104] Maurice Cope, Photographic Collection. 1927-1945, MSSC1082, Utah State Collection Archive.

CHAPTER FOUR

RAGE IN ZION: THE STEEP DESCENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN DIXIE RESIDENTS AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

> *One wonders what would have been the condition of this isolated people, with a background of rough and ready frontier life in which the cowpuncher was the predominating type, had it not been for the influence of the church.*[1]
> —Nethelia King

> *There are a great many people in the United States who want public lands devoted more and more to recreation and wild life [*sic*] and less and less to the use of the livestock*.[2]
> —Dave Madsen

Following the establishment of ZNP, ties between Washington and Dixie deteriorated as subsequent federal efforts to create monuments and parks in southern Utah came with further restrictions or bans on logging, grazing and mineral exploration. While the Park Service looked to expand its collection of parks and monuments, its efforts coincided with another movement launched to protect even larger areas of public land—Wilderness areas. With the passage of the 1964 Wilderness Act, public lands were subjected to inventory and scrutinized for "wilderness" qualities. These included areas that were at least 5,000 acres in size, roadless, and provided "outstanding opportunities for solitude or a primitive and unconfined type of recreation."[3] When the Bureau of Land

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[1] Nethelia King Griffin, "Life in Boulder," 1940 (unpublished manuscript) MSSA 562, Utah State Historical Society, p. 6.

[2] Meeting Held at Price, Utah, June 26, 1936, For the Purpose of Discussing the Proposed Escalante National Monument" Escalante File, Series 22028, Box 11, Folder 11, Utah State Historical Society, p. 8.

[3] Wilderness Act of 1964, Pub. Law No. 88-577 (16 U.S. C. 1131-1136), Section 2-3.

Management (BLM), which oversaw millions of acres of public land, was tasked with identifying areas within their jurisdiction with wilderness attributes, the battles in Dixie intensified. The idea of wilderness did not culturally resonate with many LDS in Dixie. Some grew enraged as well as emboldened by the idea that their lands were being taken from them and simply wasted as unutilized space.

The BLM inventory of public lands helped to fuel the Sagebrush Rebellion in the 1970s and 1980s. This movement encouraged brazen disregard for federal laws as people, sometimes armed, protested restrictions on public lands. Long gone were the days of celebrating presidential visits to Utah's public lands. Park Service Director Stephen Mather's playful raid on a watermelon patch seemed like an old fairy tale. By the time President Bill Clinton unilaterally designated Grand Staircase Escalante National Monument (GSENM) in 1996, Dixie had become a hot zone. Despite the bitter local opposition to any federal protection for the Escalante region, the monument was created by an Executive Order under the Antiquities Act, an action that left many residents feeling helpless. The action also fueled conspiracy theories, effigy burnings and an irreparable tear between ranchers and the Bureau of Land Management.

In the fallout over Escalante, Cliven Bundy, who was engaged in his own fight with the BLM, was to become a spokesperson for the battle over public lands. This Dixie Mormon rancher became the face of the cowboy who pushed back against what some saw as an unjust government that threatened ranchers and their traditional way of life. With newly established federal laws pursing further conservation, the plight of the Bundy family fueled broad regional resentment. Bitterness led to radicalization as Mormon fringe beliefs blended with conspiracy theory and insurrection. In spite of the success of

ZNP, an evolving sentiment over government management of regional public lands would eventually lead to deep ties between a handful of Dixie ranchers and the American Militia Movement.

By the 1920s and 1930s, an early suspicion of federal conservation efforts led agencies and Utah state politicians to take covert actions through secret correspondence and resolutions against the Park Service. Though new parks grandfathered in limited grazing rights in order to secure local support, the feds and ranchers had different priorities and opinions over best land use practices. By the 1930s, public hearings on public land designation grew more rancorous, as did the perspectives in local media. By the 1970 into the early 2000s, indignation over federal land restrictions and contempt for outspoken environmentalists brought on waves of vandalism, death threats, burnings in effigy and animal mutilation. Today fierce anti-government sentiments have led to property destruction, incarceration and even death. Over the course of the twentieth century, public land designations, use limits and impacts on traditional Mormon ranching communities changed the local perceptions of U.S. government from partner to invader. By 2014, Dixie ranchers and their supporters had become murderously angry.

This anger ire public land management is not unique to Dixie. Many people in the western United States are unhappy with government oversight and restrictions to mining, grazing, off-road vehicle use and timber harvest. But in southwest Utah and southern Nevada a new layer of resolve emerged. This was Mormon country, Zion, where LDS settlers had fled to the Great Basin and sacralized the region with their lifestyle and beliefs. The idea that outsiders could make decisions about land, and ban traditional practices enacted by generations of families, felt to some like an abomination. Some felt

like crimes were being perpetrated against them. And some felt they needed to take matters into their own hands and fight back.

The Open Range Becomes Managed

Before the federal government looked to protect lands in the West, the region had been overstocked and badly damaged. Before the passage of the 1934 Taylor Grazing Act, a law meant to curtail deterioration of public lands, public commons had gone from being landscapes of lush native vegetation and wildlife habitat to in some cases, bare dirt. When the Mormon settlers first arrived, the range was covered with "a heavy stand of grass which we called Blue Grass," according to Independence Taylor, of New Harmony, a small town next to ZNP's Kolob Canyon entrance. He continued to explain that when he arrived in Dixie with his family in 1862:

> I have seen the time when there was not so much a wash between New Harmony and the highway. Now there are many and some from 10 to 20 feet deep… During the years between 1875-1890, thousands of cattle were driven from Cedar City, Parowan, Beaver and Wilford for Dixie… because of the mild winters. It was during this time that the range began to deprecate and washes, gullies and sagebrush came in.[4]

Erosion and weed species came as the result of too many cattle on arid landscape. This resulted in marginalized range, invasive species and flooding.

Many Mormon ranchers saw federal land as simply pasture, though some those valued the region for other reasons. The Federal Writer's Project, a Depression Era Program, aimed at employing people to write, edit and research American culture and

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[4] "Statement of Independence Taylor, Concerning Early Range Conditions in the Vicinity of New Harmony, Utah, and Subsequent Changes," by Carl H. Dopp, October 15, 1935. Special Range Report. MSS 009, F5, Special Collections, Merrill Cazier Library, Utah State University, p. 1-2.

history, captured some of this sentiment. Mormon settler Joseph Wallace Thompson was a rare voice for government conservation measures. This resident of Garfield County, which contains pieces of Bryce Canyon and Capitol Reef National Parks, as well as GSENM, he told writer Layton J. Ott about his views:

> …a man could ride for miles through the tall grass… Some valleys were covered with white sage, in which a herd of sheep would be entirely hidden… It was a blooming flower garden as far as one could see. Now tumble weeds, Russian thistle has taken the place of the … luscious grass and other rich forage… Mr. Thompson believes the only possible chance to redeem this great primitive area will be for the government to take over and set it apart as a great game reserve; stock it with buffalo, elk and other wild game; banish sheep and cattle from the entire area…. [It] will become a real asset to our country, while as it is there are not more than fifteen men who in any manner benefit from all those miles and miles of primitive and useless lands.[5]

This statement illustrated the position that conservationists were beginning to embrace in their designs for the West. Landscape was not merely pastureland, but wild and "primitive" spaces in their own right. It bears to mention, Thompson was very much an outlier in his region and within his culture.

ZNP was protected for its stunning geological formations, but the Dixie range also possessed ecological value. While spectacular geography did rise out of plains, drawing the attentions of the Park Service, the Dixie region had, at one time, accommodated abundant wildlife. However, Mormon homesteaders who originally settled these lands displaced or extirpated much of the larger fauna.[6] When drought

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[5] Layton J. Ott, 1939. "Life Sketch of Joseph Wallace Thompson," January 3, transcript. Federal Writers Project, Special Collections, Merrill Cazier Library, Utah State University, Utah State University, p. 5.

[6] Rancher Harry Mahleres from Price, Utah ran 8,000 sheep on public commons, recalling the sighting of antelope, deer, and buffalo in the San Rafael desert around the 1900s. Harry Mahleres, 1940. "Interview with Harry Mahleres, Price Utah," Interviewed by C.C. Anderson, July transcript. MSS 009, F13, Special Collections, Merrill Cazier Library, Utah State University, p. 1-2.

occurred or when prices dropped and the stock couldn't be sold, as was the case from 1929-1940, the range was further impacted and degraded.[7] As a result, arising powerfully from the years of the Great Depression, Dixie ranchers grew adamant in their position of entitlement to public lands.

Dixie ranchers needed the public lands to make a living. Livestock and dairy were essential for the regional economy and locals utilized federal lands for pasture and profit. By the time the National Park Service began to develop public lands of the southwest for tourism, Dixie families and communities weren't just connected geographically by religion and marriage, they were also connected by grazing lands, seasonal pasture use and ranching culture. Many ranchers had connections to lands in the bordering states of Arizona and Nevada, using range throughout Dixie territory. Although there was support for the growing tourist industry with its revenue and roads, after the advent of ZNP, further plans for parks and monuments began to feel threatening to local interests.

Still a fledgling agency, the Park Service wanted to create a large presence within the Department of the Interior, establish its authority and build its budget.[8] Driven by the growing excitement over the idea of a system of American national parks, leaders in the Service were keen to develop more public lands as destinations. The idea that public lands were better used as vacation spots for the American public than as cattle pastures by a small number of ranching families guided the Service's vision. Dixie ranchers, dependent on public lands, disagreed and asserted the lands should be space for multiple

[7] Harry Mahleres, 1940. "Interview with Harry Mahlerers, Price Utah," Interviewed by C.C. Anderson. July transcript. Special Collections, Merrill Cazier Library, Utah State University, p. 2. The San Rafael Swell is today one of the most controversial regions in Utah in the on-going debate to make it a national monument.

[8] Rothman, "Shaping the Nature of a Controversy," 213-235.

uses and that ranchers contended that lots of city-slicker visitors preferred scenery dotted with cows.[9]

ZNP was never going to be the only conservation effort in the Dixie region. From their first forays into southern Utah, Stephen Mather and Horace Albright actively scouted other scenic sights for designations. Not only had roads begun to connect the region, wonders were also being packaged together as geographical tent poles for the great southwestern park tour. A tourist map highlighted the most defining designations in the region: ZNP, Bryce National Park, Capitol Reef National Park and the memorial site in Mountain Meadows.[10] Regional towns included are St. George, Cedar City and Kanab. Bunkerville in Nevada, where the Bundy family lives, falls off the map. Escalante, now the GSENM, looms large in the south-central portion of the region, dwarfing Cedar Breaks National Monument to its west.

[9] Meeting Held at Price, Utah, June 26, 1936, For the Purpose of Discussing the Proposed Escalante National Monument" Escalante File, Series 22028, Box 11, Folder 11, Utah State Historical Society, p. 12.

[10] Map of Southern Utah National Parks, Cedar City/Brian Head Tourism Bureau, undated; The Mountains Meadow Massacre site is most recent Park Service Designation, though the memorial has been discussed since as early as 1907 according to a letter found in the archives; Dixie Forest Supervisor, signature unreadable, 1907. Letter to Department of Agriculture, Nov. 1. MSS B6, Utah State Historical Society, p. 1-2.

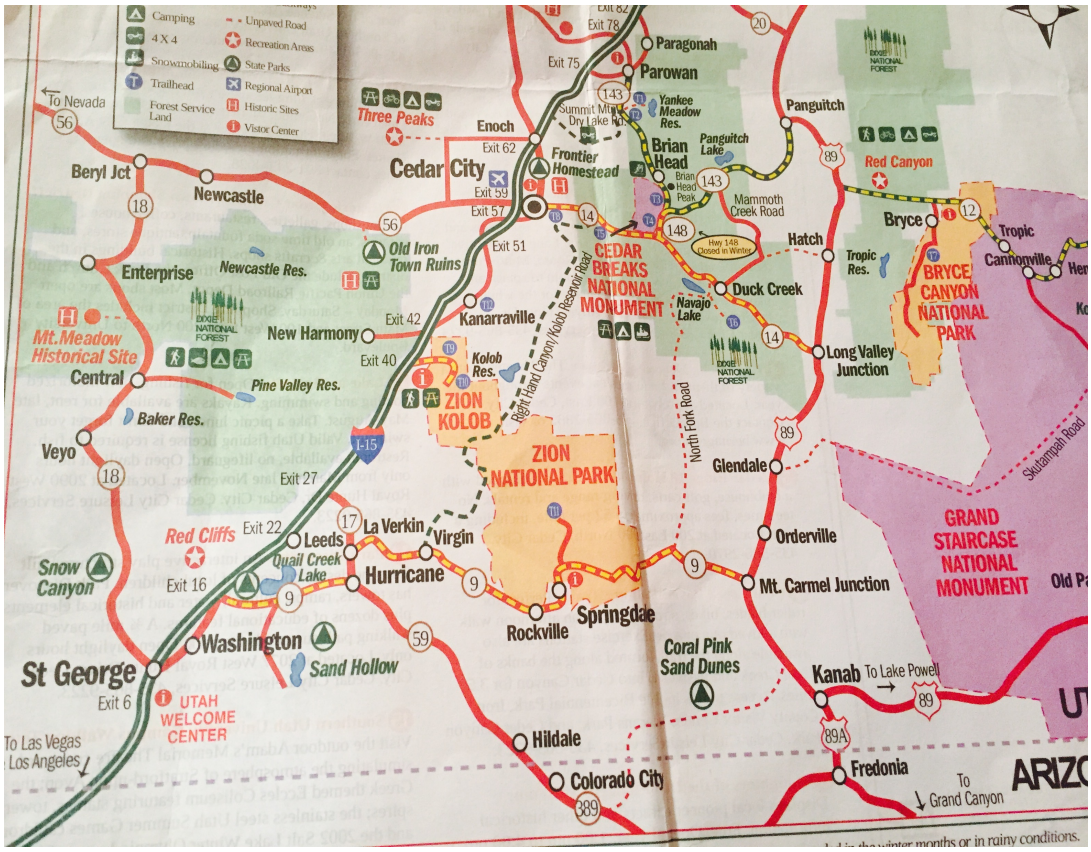


Figure 12. Regional Map. Map of Southern Utah National Parks, Cedar City/Brian Head Tourism Bureau, undated. Copyright unknown.

Although the ranching community did not want to give up their rights to graze on public lands, there were many locals who still wanted Dixie to be a great American destination. In 1921, giddy with possibilities after the advent of ZNP, two men and a group of boosters began to contemplate their own idea for a park, Wayne Wonderland, named after Wayne County. Grocer Ephraim Pector and his brother-in-law Joe Hickman, principal of Wayne High School, worked to publicize the beautiful landscape around their home in Torrey. By 1925, Hickman had become a state legislator and crafted a bill

to "develop a state park system," which Governor George Dern signed.[11] The grocer and the principal hoped that their Wayne Wonderland would become Utah's first state park. The year that Hickman's bill was signed, park boosters held a celebration in anticipation of the park designation, complete with a rodeo and dance. Utah Governor Dern attended and spoke about the region's beauty.[12] Mormon Church officials and a representative from the Denver and Rio Grande Railroads were also on hand. Sadly Joe Hickman died two weeks after the event, drowning in nearby Fish Lake. With his death, efforts to move Wayne Wonderland forward stalled.[13]

Over the next several years, it was up to his brother-in-law to get the region recognized, supported and designated as a protected place. But cows grazed in the region and locals did not support a designation that eliminated livestock. As a result, Wayne Wonderland became part of a drawn-out process that plagued other proposed parks and monuments. When park boosters could not move the park forward, they tried to enlist the support of the National Park Service. With the park proposal still languishing by 1934, Utah State Planning Board member Paul R. Arentz applied to the National Park Service

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[11] "Utah State Park System Created by Legislator," *Richfield Reaper,* March 5, 1925, accessed February 3, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=9157908&q=Utah+State+Park+System&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0&facet_paper=%22Richfield+Reaper%22#t_9157908; "The Establishment of Capitol Reef National Monument," Capitol Reef: Administrative History, National Park Service, accessed August 12, 2016. http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/care/adhi/adhi8b.htm.

[12] "Capitol Reef is Dedicated by State Officials," *Richfield Reaper*, July 23, 1925, accessed August 12, 2016, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=9175904&q=Capitol+Reef+is+Dedicated+by+State+Officials&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0&facet_paper=%22Richfield+Reaper%22#t_9175904.

[13] "Former Citizen of Milford was Drown Fish Lake," *Beaver County News*, July 31, 1925, accessed August 13, 2016, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=21064833&q=Former+Citizen+of+Milford+was+Drown+Fish+Lake&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0#t_21064833.

seeking support from the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) State Park Emergency Conservation Work program. Boosters hoped to further their park plan by receiving funding and guidance from the national agency and engaging in building infrastructure in preparation for this tourist destination.[14] Understanding the controversy over a possible grazing ban with park status, to appease ranchers who grazed in the region, Arentz, in his application letter, argued that livestock should remain within the boundaries of any future park. "As near as I can see it," he explained, " the grazing of these cattle and sheep across this particular area would not affect the beauty of it—in fact, it would enhance its beauty."[15] The Park Service wholeheartedly disagreed. Park Service representative Herbert Maier replied:

> This application, as well as your letter, was very interesting to me… There is one point with which I'm forced to disagree… I am sure that you will find that any conservationist or park enthusiast will tell you that the grazing of cattle on park areas is detrimental to the area. This is for many reasons but one of the most outstanding reasons is that it most certainly destroys the flora of the area and results in unfavorable conditions of erosion…. I am sure that this office would not approve of the development of the park by Federal funds unless the matter of grazing permits were definitely controlled and reduced to a minimum.[16]

Although Maier's letter concluded by asking Mr. Arentz not to make grazing "a monkey wrench in the machinery," it already was. The Park Service wanted cows eliminated from the parks. In the case of Wayne Wonderland, the ranchers ultimately prevailed.

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[14] Herbert Maier, 1934. Letter to Mr. Paul R Arenetz July 22. Utah State Archives and Records Service, Series 22027, Box 1, Folder 20, Roll 716. Utah State Historical Society.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

In 1937, Wayne Wonderland became Capitol Reef National Monument and cows remained inside the boundaries after agreements with local ranchers had been secured.[17] The occasion was celebrated with much of the same pomp and circumstance that occurred with the opening of ZNP, attracting over two thousand visitors. Those in attendance enjoyed "barbeque, fresh peaches and melons," as well as a dance.[18] The man who worked for nearly two decades to put this place on the map, Ephraim Pectol, attended the event along with Superintendent P.P. Patraw of ZNP and Utah Governor Henry Blood. [19] When the monument was made a national park in 1971, grazing rights were grandfathered into the park, with the condition that these rights could only be passed along to the next generation born before 1971.[20] As of 2015, there were only two permits still in use and the Park Service was working on an Environmental Impact Statement to determine the future of these agreements.[21]

In Bryce Canyon, grazing continued after the area was made into a park, though the issue remained controversial. Eivind Scoyen, the ZNP Superintendent overseeing Bryce, expressed his concern over the grazing issue in a letter to Park Service Director Horace Albright, who had succeeded Stephen Mather in that role in 1929. Scoyen wrote

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[17] "Outlook Brighter for Capitol Reef Monument Area," *Richfield Reaper*, October 29, 1936, accessed November 3, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=9206980&q=title_t%3A%22Capitol+Reef+Monument+Area%22&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0&facet_paper=%22Richfield+Reaper%22#t_9206980.

[18] "Capitol Reef dedicated by Governor," *Richfield Reaper*, September 30, 1937, accessed August 27, 2016, http://udn.lib.utah.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/rich2/id/33602/show/33616/rec/11.

[19] Ibid.

[20] National Park Service, "Livestock Trailing and Grazing Management Plan—EIS Scoping Newsletter," 1-2, accessed August 15, 2016, http://www.nps.gov/care/learn/management/upload/2015-03-03-CARE-LGTMP-Public-Scoping-Newsletter.pdf.

[21] Ibid., 2.

that he "cannot see how it [grazing within the park boundaries] can be improved and suit the purpose of the two services [Forest Service and Park Service]. It was necessary for me to insist that gradual elimination of grazing in the park is desirable, and at the same time, protect the Forest Service against attacks by the livestock interests for letting the area go to the park."[22] Grazing records were incomplete in Bryce until the park size expanded in 1931 and the Park Service handed livestock allotment management to the Forest Service.[23] In 1931, there were 12 permittees with 5,162 sheep and 717 cows. By 1955, there were only three permittees left and 631 cows.[24] In 1964, livestock was eliminated entirely from the park and a thirteen-mile fence was built to keep livestock from trespassing.[25]

A Cedar Breaks area proposal brought the National Park Service, Stephen Mather and Horace Albright, and local boosters together again.[26] Still invested in the promotion of tourist opportunities in Dixie, ZNP boosters Randall Jones and Henry Lund wanted to establish a park or monument at Cedar Breaks, but they were rather surprised by the ambitions of the Park Service's scope of the proposed area. According to a 1921 memorandum from the personnel at the Dixie-Sevier Forest Service Office, Jones expressed concern over the proposed park size to Stephen Mather and Senator Reed

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[22] E.T. Scoyen,1930. "Memorandum of Understanding," December 8. National Park Service, Folder: Bryce Canyon National Park, 1927-2008 Landscape Reports. Grazing History. Zion National Park Archives.

[23] Joseph C. Rumburg Jr. 1956. Letter to Superintendent of Zion and Bryce Canyon, January 27. MSS B-6, Permanent Grazing History Bryce Canyon National Park, Utah Historical Society, p. 1.

[24] Ibid., 7.

[25] National Park Service, "Land Use History," Bryce Canyon National Park, accessed February 3, 2017, http://www.nps.gov/brca/learn/historyculture/land_use_history.htm.

[26] Rothman, "Shaping the Nature of Controversy," 213-235.

Smoot. The memo also mentioned that Lund, a director of the Union Pacific Railroad, did not support the area proposed by the Park Service, because both were anxious about including acreage with timber for potential harvest.[27] Given the trepidation that Lund and Jones had over the objectives of the Park Service, the Inspector of Grazing for the Dixie-Sevier Forest speculated that the local sensitivity over the Park Service's Cedar Breaks proposed boundaries and the requisite resource extraction restrictions would kill the proposal.[28] According to Hal Rothman, "Forest Service officials regarded national parks as an anathema, and anytime they prevented the establishment of one they considered it a triumph."[29] The Forest Service felt that the Park Service only provided a single use rather than their own mission, which they viewed as "multi-use. As a result, these two agencies fought over public land designations and use. Cedar Breaks became a national monument in 1933 after a prolonged fight between the Park Service and the Forest Service over management. The Park Service was ultimately named the administrator, and as a result, scenery became the priority over resource use. [30]

Though some ranchers kept their grazing rights, for a time, in Capitol Reef and Bryce, the American public was becoming increasingly interested in wildlife habitat, wild lands and practices that impacted these values. In 1930, the year that the Zion Mt. Carmel Tunnel opened, regional ranchers, championed by Senator William Henry King (1863-1949), protested plans for a buffalo refuge in House Rock Valley in northern Arizona

[27] M.W. Mace, 1921. Memorandum for District Forester, May 21, Cedar Breaks National Monument History, MSB6, #2 of 2, Utah Historical Society, p. 7-9.

[28] Ibid., 8.

[29] Rothman, "Shaping the Nature of Controversy," 215.

[30] Ibid., 234-235.

along the Utah state line.[31] The state of Arizona aimed to place bison in an area known as House Rock, about forty miles southeast of Kanab. In addition to his stance on the buffalo range, Senator King complained about the deer population coming from the nearby Kaibab Plateau impacting livestock browse. He believed that the Kaibab National Forest, like most of the federal lands in his region, needed to be managed for cattle and sheep first and foremost, not wildlife. [32]

There were those in the Department of the Interior that had come to view livestock grazing as detrimental to healthy natural habitat. F.T. Carpenter, of the Grazing Division of the Department of the Interior, received a letter from Newell B. Cook, Commissioner of the Utah Department of Fish and Game, just prior to the passage of the Taylor Grazing Act. With it, Newell provided a map of proposed refuges where livestock should be banned. In his letter, Mr. Newell stated:

> Unquestionably some of our wild-life [*sic*] species have suffered greatly from the abuses given unappropriated lands. Particularly has this affected antelope and ground-nesting birds. Their food has been taken, nests have been trampled out, young birds have been killed, erosion has drained their watering places, and fires have destroyed their natural habitat. In spite of the fact that we haven't killed antelope for thirty years, there has been little, if any increase. Some species of ground-nesting birds are facing extermination.[33]

Species protection began to shape decisions in federal management implementation, though the Endangered Species Act was still decades from being passed.

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[31] "King Protests Buffalo Area," *Kane County Standard*, August 8, 1930, accessed February 5, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=4558671&q=King+Protests+Buffalo+Area&page=1&rows=25&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_4558671.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Newell B. Cook 1936, letter to F.T. Carpenter, Oct 20. October 30. Utah State Archives and Records Service, Series 22027, Box 1, Folder 20, Roll 716. Utah State Historical Society.

The collaborative spirit in which ZNP was established had become a sweet memory as ranchers and the Park Service vied for use of public lands. Although compromises were made, the federal government had begun to protect lands for scenic and habitat values, a departure from traditional land use. Bryce, Cedar Breaks and Capitol Reef, though successful, had brought to light the deep disparities in the interpretations of land—a place beneficial to resource development and production and a "wilderness." Cattle became grandfathered, in some cases, to avoid fights, but the issue was clear—places that had served as pasture, became areas to potentially protect and manage for species and recreation.

Escalante, Part 1

Despite frustrations over grazing, some regional residents involved in the service industry viewed visitor dollars as a salve to Depression hardships, providing a needed economic boost and a dose of American modernity. According to the *Kane County Standard*, a newspaper based in Kanab some thirty-five miles from ZNP:

> Tourist traffic increases daily and everyone is busy… last Saturday night Center Street was so crowded with cars in front of the stores and hotel that there was scarcely room to pass. In spite of the fact that we are all 'crying depression and hard times' Kanab people drive good cars, have good homes, wear good clothes and eat good food…. The splendid highway through Kanab has probably done more to give the town an atmosphere of progress than any other thing…. Today a tourist can buy fruits, meats and groceries at the stores… If one needs a shave, haircut, wave or a re-set they can get them at our barbershops and beauty parlor and even get their shoes fixed while they wait. [34]

[34] "Kanab a Modern City," *Kane County Standard*, June 5, 1931, accessed June 17, 2015, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=4562927&q=Kanab+a+Modern+City&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0&facet_paper=%22Kane+County+Standard%22#t_4562927.

Tourism brought prosperity and a thrill in knowing Dixie was a nationally recognized destination. This article quoted above ends with an idea for a Kanab slogan, "Kanab, the Best for Accommodations, Eats, Service, Entertainment and Hospitality." There was a genuine appreciation for what ZNP had brought to the region. To some area residents, perhaps one park was enough. Federal plans to protect nearby Escalante did not sit well with many citizens of Kanab or their neighbors.

According to the National Park Service's history of Capitol Reef, the delay in creating this conservation area was primarily due to the battle of Escalante and the indignation among Dixie ranchers regarding federal designs.[35] Perhaps no public land use fight has been as protracted and controversial except for, perhaps, the San Rafael Swell, another region loved by hikers, environmentalists and off road vehicle enthusiasts.[36] The region was named after Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, who in 1776 wandered the area with a group of missionaries looking for a route to California. Around one hundred years later, Mormon settlers brought "a herd of Co-op cattle," owned by the LDS Church, to graze the "mesas and canyon bottoms afford[ing] good pasture."[37] Other Mormon ranchers brought in thousands of sheep and cattle and by 1902, "several years of drought

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[35] Capitol Reef Administrative History, "The Establishment of Capitol Reef National Monument: Wayne Wonderland to Capitol Reef, 1933-1936," 13, accessed May 10, 2016, http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/care/adhi/adhi8a.htm.

[36] Jeffery O. Durrant, *Struggle Over Utah's San Rafael Swell: Wilderness, National Conservation Areas and National Monuments* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007), 119-152. The region is not designated a national monument, but does contain Wilderness Study Areas. It also is used for grazing and has been mined for copper, gypsum and uranium, with little success.

[37] Nethelia King Griffin, "Life in Boulder," 1940 (unpublished manuscript) MSSA 562, Utah State Historical Society. p. 8,10. Mormon Co-op cattle was livestock tithed to the Mormon Church.

that naturally intensified the evil of overgrazing," caused hundreds of cows to die.[38] According to one account:

> By 1905 the rich meadows on the mountain plateau had turned to dust beds. Sheep, bedded in the headwaters of the mountain streams and dying in the water ditches, so befouled them that ranchers' families could hardly get a decent drink of water. Cattle bones bleached on the dry benches and around mudholes and 'loco' patches, these poisonous weeds seeming to grow after other forage was dead and to attract starving animals with the promise of food.[39]

According to the Park Service's 1936 first conservation proposal, Escalante includes 6,968 square miles, eight percent of the state of Utah. It's an arid rocky place with seasonal water supplies and limited browse.[40] In the early 1900s, forest rangers estimated the area accommodated 3,406 cattle and 14,755 sheep, though locals believed that this estimate represented only forty percent of the total number of animals grazing the region.[41] In any case, Escalante was carrying far more cows than the land could accommodate and remain ecologically resilient.

Federal law slowly caught up to the problem of overstocking that had been created in part by a misunderstood western landscape. The Homestead Act of 1862 allowed for settlers to claim land tracts, between 160 and 640 acres, in order to set up homesteads and engage in agriculture. Especially in the West, unreserved lands untenable for farming due to climate, geography and water issues often became rangeland on more or less a first-come, first-served basis. Since the lands were not privately owned, there

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[38] Ibid., 10.

[39] Ibid., 11.

[40] Richardson, "Federal Park Policy in Utah," 115.

[41] Nethelia King Griffin, "Life in Boulder," (unpublished manuscript) 1940, MSSA 562, Utah State Historical Society. p. 11.

were no incentives to make improvements or practice conservation of the range.[42] The Forest Reserve Act of 1891 allowed the president to create forest reserves on western public lands, and the Forest Service was created in 1905 in the effort to better assess and manage public resources. Following the model set forth by the Forest Service in their process of managing grazing within forest reserves, the 1934 Taylor Grazing Act was enacted to manage and help recover the millions of acres of overgrazed commons in the western United States. Under the Act, public lands were divided into grazing districts and ranchers were issued ten-year lease permits. In most cases, permit privileges were given to ranchers who had been grazing since 1932 in their region. A permit stipulated the allowed number of animal units within each grazing allotment. Federal permits and allotments became a value-added asset for private landowners along with their personal property.

The law created a new governing body, the Division of Grazing (later the US Grazing Service), which in 1946 became the Bureau of Land Management (BLM, an agency in the Department of the Interior), which oversaw some grazing districts not already overseen by the Forest Service.[43]

The Taylor Grazing Act allowed for reduction of livestock herds in times of drought. But after the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969, the 1973 Endangered Species Act (ESA) and the Federal Lands Policy Management Act (FLPMA) of 1976, the BLM was mandated to manage federal lands to

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[42] Virgil Hurlburt, "The Taylor Grazing Act," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics* 11, no. 2 (May 1935): 203.

[43] Ibid., 204, Exceptions included Indian Reservations and the public lands within the state of Alaska.

address much broader attributes including the protection of historic artifacts, riparian areas and vulnerable plants and wildlife. The Taylor Act had created a managing agency and a structure by which the federal government could cap grazing in certain areas to best manage the lands for the American public. The ESA, FLPMA and NEPA required that government agencies protect the integrity of the land, vegetation, water and wildlife in addition to managing livestock leases and stock limits.

At the time the Taylor Grazing Act was passed, some ranchers were relieved that the federal law created a structure, officially designated allotments and grazing rights through leased permits. In one Utah Writer's Project interview in Kanab with rancher Alex Findlay, Findlay explained "Taylor Grazing [*sic*] is one of the best things the government has done. It would do more for the range than anything I know of. If we would organize for grazing purposes all over the country, the range would be brought back quicker than otherwise."[44] But here was the heart of the issue—the Department of the Interior contained the Department of Grazing as well as agencies with much different priorities, such as the Park Service. At the time when Dixie ranchers were celebrating the Taylor Grazing Act, many other people felt a growing unease with the Department of the Interior's other initiatives, such as the designs on Escalante.

At the first public meeting regarding the making of Escalante into a national monument or park, a regional dismay over federal priorities and grazing policy was evident in the 1936 meeting minutes. The discourse was polite, but hostility was found

[44] Julius S. Daley, 1941. "History of Grazing: An Interview with Alex Findlay," Utah Writers' Project, Kanab, UT, February 21, transcript. USU_COLL MSS 009, F7, Special Collections, Merrill Cazier Library, Utah State University, p. 1.

just below the surface. This was especially true of the ranchers who came to Price, Utah to express their concerns to Dave Madsen, head of the State Wildlife Division of the National Park Service. Comments ranged from civil to a glossed passive aggressive.

Representing the Advisory Boards of Utah Grazing Districts, Mr. Charles Redd (1889-1975) listed his many objections to making Escalante a protected tourist destination if the designation included grazing restrictions or abolition. He also believed that since the value of the ranches in the region was tied to individual grazing allotment leases on public lands, removing grazing rights would devalue personal properties. Redd believed that the Taylor Grazing Act, as administered on the rangeland, was finally providing "conservation," "stabilization," and "better relations between users of the range."[45] He asserted that creating a national monument or park would flout the system set up by the Taylor Grazing Act, a law finally allowing the range to recover.

Redd explained to the meeting participants both his displeasure at the plan and his distrust of the goals of the Park Service:

> You gentlemen understand that we are at a great disadvantage against an effective old war horse like Dave Madsen. Secretary Ickes and the Park Service knew what they were doing when they sent Dave Madsen down here… The record of the Park Service is not very promising to the livestock industry because they are not satisfied as long as there is a cow or sheep left… Now Dave, I make statements that are not diplomatic and maybe a bit strong, but that's the way I feel about the situation.[46]

Redd did not object to tourism in general, but believed that tourism and ranching were simpatico. The idea of dude ranch tourism was also raised during the meeting to illustrate

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[45]Meeting Held at Price, Utah, June 26, 1936, For the Purpose of Discussing the Proposed Escalante National Monument," Escalante File, Series 22028, Box 11, Folder 11, Utah State Historical Society, p. 14. Harold Ickes was the Secretary of the Interior from 1933-1946.

[46] Ibid., 12, 13.

this compatibility. Redd believed that these lands could be multi-use, rather than what he construed as the Park Service's push for single-use appropriation of lands. He asserted "we feel that there are a great many tourists, Dave, who feel like these livestock afford a nice attraction."[47]

Into the thirties, a great deal of Church leadership and civic leadership overlapped in Mormon communities and with this, a certain vernacular overlapped.[48] This overlap was evinced by the minutes of town hall or council meetings when statements regarding politics, municipal or resource issues were recorded as coming from a participant as "Brother," along with a surname. Although this was a common practice, at the time, there is irony in this convention when rancher Charles Redd at one point addressed Dave Madsen as "Brother Dave" at the Price meeting. Redd's opinion of Mr. Madsen and the Park Service was hardly brotherly, but the two men did share the LDS background.[49]

Madsen, the son of a man who began the first commercial fishing industry on Lake Utah, stood firm in his resolve to protect some public lands from livestock. His position remained that the Taylor Grazing Act was created to resolve issues of range deterioration and "that the more scenic attractions of this great area be withheld for the benefit of future generations and the benefit of the people not interested in the livestock

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[47] Ibid., 12.

[48] Martha Sontag Bradley, *A History of Kane County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1999), 195.

[49] "Meeting Held at Price, Utah, June 26, 1936, For the Purpose of Discussing the Proposed Escalante National Monument," Escalante File, Series 22028, Box 11, Folder 11, Utah State Historical Society, p. 26.

industry."[50] This was the rub—the Department of the Interior had the roles of managing lands for both regional and for national interests both in ranching and conservation.

The Price meeting revealed the crux of this issue. The local people wanted to continue to graze livestock in the region and now they had the Taylor Grazing Act that offered oversight. A letter from Director Carpenter (the same official who received the 1934 letter from the Utah State Department of Fish and Game regarding the need to protect ground nesting birds with refuges) to J.Q. Peterson was read aloud to be recorded in the minutes, stating:

> The rules of the Park Service provide that there will be no grazing whatever within its parks and monuments, except that they provide for existing ranches within their boundaries for a specified term of years, and in some cases for the life of the present owner, but they do not allow grazing rights to be transferred or to follow the property.[51]

Park Service representative Dave Madsen disagreed with the assertions in the letter, pointing out that concessions were being built into the Escalante plan and grazing would continue in parts of the monument with limitations, where on other sections grazing would be restricted.[52]

At the time this meeting was held, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, Dave Madsen's superior, was part of a group of men who were rethinking the idea of federal land conservation, moving away from the park as an ideal and onto ambitions of large

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[50] Ibid., 5.

[51] Ibid., 3-4.

[52] Ibid., 7.

landscapes without roads.[53] Former Directors Stephen Mather and Horace Albright had envisioned places with tourist amenities, roads and concessions, but there were several people, within both the Park Service and the Forest Service, who were pushing for primitive areas that emphasized hiking, horse packing and camping and sightseeing from a car.[54] David Louter explained that Harold Ickes "especially despised automobiles."[55] He felt that public land should be kept primitive and primeval, a very large lurch from the Dixie culture's understanding of their working landscape.

During the Price meeting, Mr. George A. Staples of the Utah State Planning Board remarked:

> I don't think we need to qualify about the primitive stage of that country … I believe that some of the country is just as primitive today as it was when Brigham Young stuck his staff in the ground and said :'This is the place.' … As I see it, our problem should be to build roads to those places that the people may see them and let our livestock go on and graze their areas that they have always been grazing… [56]

To the LDS rancher, Escalante, though federally owned land, was part of the Mormon story. It was where their families had been called to make the desert bloom. It was the land where Brigham Young led them to escape persecution. Mormon cattle had been in Escalante for sixty years. Escalante was Zion. It was Mormon country and Brigham Young, with the thrust of a staff, made it so.

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[53] T.H. Watkins, "Untrammeled by Man: The Making of the Wilderness Act of 1964," *Audubon* 90, no. 6 (November 1989): 74-90.

[54] Ibid., 81.

[55] Louter, *Windshield Wilderness*, 73-74.

[56] Meeting Held at Price, Utah, June 26, 1936, For the Purpose of Discussing the Proposed Escalante National Monument," Escalante File, Series 22028, Box 11, Folder 11, Utah State Historical Society, p. 24.

The Price meeting minutes are filled with negative comments on any restrictions to grazing on public lands; sentiments that tourists' dollars do not lessen local taxes; and that wildlife, in the form of predators, was not a welcome part of the landscape.[57] The meeting record revealed a great suspicion and fear of the goals of the Park Service.[58] As rancher Milton Twichell of Escalante (the town) said, "you [the Park Service] might just as well go out and take the property [private] as to take their grazing rights. You can make it legal, but you can never make it moral."[59] In the end, the participants of the meeting voted unanimously against the Escalante National Monument proposal, but agreed to set up a committee of grazing interests and federal players for further review. [60]

In the years after the Price meeting, the Park Service whittled down the proposed area to 2,000 square miles and continued to share a great deal of optimism about creating a primitive federally protected area despite local dissent.[61] Correspondence between Utah resource management committee members, politicians and the Department of the Interior suggested a wishful enthusiasm and confidence in the eventual making of Escalante Monument, and seemed to disregard the concerns and contentions of Utahans.

In 1940, after years of back and forth over issues of grazing and mining restrictions in Escalante, Utah's Governor Blood sent a letter to the Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, which made it abundantly clear that Utah's interests were at odds

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[57] Ibid., 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25.

[58] Ibid., 3, 10, 11, 13.

[59] Ibid., 21.

[60] Ibid., 26.

[61] Arno Cammerer 1938. Letter to Senator William H. King, February 11. Series 22028, Box 1, Folder 1, Utah Historical Society, p. 1.

with those of Ickes. He wrote, "It is apparent that problems incident with this area have been studied by federal and state officials from entirely different points of view, with resultant misunderstanding."[62] Blood conceded that tourism was important to Utah, but if Escalante were to become a monument, Utah needed to control "land and water for irrigation and power and flood and silt control [*sic*] and for all agricultural, grazing or sociological purposes" as well as be allowed "unrestricted road construction and use."[63] His letter demonstrated his concern in losing the state's control over Utah's natural resources. Ickes was unswayed. In response to Blood's demands, Secretary Ickes considered going over the governor's head, seeking a presidential proclamation to designate the monument. But World War II loomed on the horizon and Escalante would not become a presidential priority in the 1940s.[64] A sliver of the original proposal did become a protected area in 1964 with the making of Canyonlands National Park, but for the next decades, Escalante seemed safely off the federal radar screen. That was until President Clinton did exactly what Utahans had feared from FDR—a presidential proclamation designating Escalante the Grand Staircase Escalante National Monument (GSENM) in 1996.

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[62] Henry H. Blood 1936. Letter to Harold L. Ickes. Series 186 Governor Blood Correspondence. Series 22028, Box 25 Folder 24. reel 49. Utah State Archives.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Harry J. Brown, "Ickes Presses for Utah Area Control," *Salt Lake City Tribune*, photocopy, August 11, 1940, Series 22028, Box 1, Folder 6, Utah State Historical Society.

Sagebrush and Range Wars

Though an Escalante monument was set on the backburner for decade, the American public did not slow in their love affair with wilderness. A new generation of preservationists, emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s, inspired by Rachael Carson, Aldo Leopold and Edward Abbey. They were known as environmentalists. New federal laws were passed to further protect tracts of public land, including the Wilderness Act of 1964. Wilderness became an official federal designation of public lands and unlike a national park or a national monument, Wilderness areas did not allow cars or any vehicle with motors. No permanent roads were permitted. Mining was permitted under certain circumstances pending an Environmental Impact Statement (a study of ecosystem impacts). Grazing was allowed to continue due to the political pressures at the time.[65] But in the eyes of Dixie residents, designating a region as Wilderness was just another way to lock up their lands.

After the passage of the Wilderness Act, the government began to inventory public lands in the Dixie. The idea of protecting roadless areas that prohibited the building of new roads was in and of itself a cultural affront. Whether a paved route or a dirt trail, roads were, to some extent, a symbol of Mormon fortitude. To deny vehicles on old trails that crisscrossed Zion's backcountry seemed a dismissal of Mormon heritage.[66]

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[65] A. Kerr and M. Salvo, "Livestock Grazing in the National Park and Wilderness Preservation Systems," *Wild Earth*," 10, part 2 (2000): 45-52.

[66] Roads are very important regionally as a testament to the efforts of early LDS who settled the region. Rodgers, *Roads in the Wilderness*.

The myth of wilderness, as described by William Cronon, is that it is separate from civilization, making the idea of wilderness itself a human construct.[67] Humans are inextricably linked to the earth's places. Escalante was a region used by the Anasazi, Paiute, Navajo and Mormon communities. Its sweeping contours are not "unspoiled" by humans, but rather have served as utilized landscape. Ruins, petroglyphs and old trails indicate long-time human inhabitance in this region. This goes for the other areas the government considered for monument, park and wilderness status. Americans wanted an idea of "wild" that didn't actually exist, so federal officials rewrote history and invented the idea of an untrammeled place.

The Park Service and the Forest Service began roadless inventories first, and among other areas, parts of Bryce Canyon, ZNP, Cedar Breaks and Capitol Reef were reviewed for wilderness consideration.[68] Locals overwhelmingly protested the potential wilderness designation out of concern that an inability to build roads would limit future opportunities.[69] In 1969, Nethella G. Woodsley wrote a piece in the Garfield, Utah hometown newspaper entitled "What's to Protect Us from the Protectionists," lamenting the rise of the conservation movement, the influence of David Brower and the threat of

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[67] William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996), 69-70.

[68] "Areas Considered for Wilderness Tag," *Davis Daily Clipper*, October 13, 1967, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=809846&q=Areas+Considered+for+Wilderness+Tag&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_809846.

[69] "Hot Protests on Wilderness Areas Exclusion Due at Four Hearings," *Moab Times Independent*, December 7, 1967, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=20414902&q=Hot+Protests+on+Wilderness+Areas+Exclusion+Due+at+Four+Hearings&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_20414902.

what she described as a "land grab."[70] She also warned about an effort to create "great Wilderness Areas in southern Utah," expanding parks and national monuments as well as overtaking public lands that would tie up "oil reserves, the uranium, and the cattle ranges of all the Boulder ranchers and several of those in the Escalante."[71]

When Edward Abbey wrote his love letter to the landscape of southern Utah, the 1971 *Desert Solitaire*, outsiders were not just visiting Utah, they were staying. These transplants, like Abbey, engaged in a love affair with the Utah desert, and created relationships with the land for reasons other than its ability to produce uranium, coal, crops, timber or to sustain cow/calf pairs. Americans had become concerned with the state of the environment and in response, the federal government created further legislation to regulate public land extraction activities. In 1976, the Federal Lands Policy and Management Act required the BLM to protect public land within "the quality of scientific, scenic, historical, ecological, environmental, air and atmospheric, water resource, and archeological values… preserve and protect certain public lands in their natural condition… provide food and habitat for fish and wildlife and domestic animals… provide for outdoor recreation and human occupancy and use."[72] Not surprisingly, this

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[70] Nethella G. Woolsey, "What's to Protect Us from the Protectionists?" *Garfield County News*, February 6, 1969, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3366269&q=title_t%3A%22protect+us%22&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0&facet_paper=%22Garfield+County+News%22#t_3366269.

[71] Nethella Woolsey, "Anti-People 'Wilderness' Moves Seen as Causes for Alarm," *Garfield County News,* March 9, 1969, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3366451&q=title_t%3Aanti-people&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0&facet_paper=%22Garfield+County+News%22#t_3366451.

[72] Federal Land Policy and Management Act, 43 USC, Subchapter 1, section A: 8, 479, accessed February 4, 2017, https://www.fs.usda.gov/Internet/FSE_DOCUMENTS/fseprd488457.pdf.

Act was construed as yet another threat to southern Utah and worked to fan the flames of what became known as the Sagebrush Rebellion.[73]

The same year the Act was passed, four hundred residents of Kane County, angry over the abandoned Kaiparowits Power Plant proposal, a 3.5 billion dollar coal fired generation plant project in the Escalante, burned actor Robert Redford in effigy. Redford, a part-time Utah resident was a vocal opponent of the mine.[74] The California company involved, Southern California Edison, announced that the 3,000 megawatt facility would not proceed as planned, though an option was left open for a future project on a smaller scale.[75] *High Country News* (HCN), a bi-weekly magazine on western environmental issues, reported on this story. The article quoted Senator Frank E. Moss (1911-2003), who bemoaned the loss of jobs that resulted from the abandoned power plant plans and Senator Jake Garn (1932-) accused radical environmentalists of harassing the company in "the name of clean air and water."[76] HCN, started in 1970, had quickly become a counterpoint to many regional papers reporting on Dixie issues, including the industry friendly *Garfield County News* and the *Kanab Standard*.

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[73] "Worried Citizens Express Concern as Wilderness Meet," *Garfield County News*, May 10, 1979, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3397651&q=title_t%3A%22Worried+Citizens+Express%22&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0&facet_paper=%22Garfield+County+News%22#t_3397651.

[74] "Robert Redford Burned in Effigy for Opposing Power Plant," *New York Times*, April 19, 1976, accessed February 4, 2017, http://www.nytimes.com/1976/04/19/archives/redford-burned-in-effigy-for-opposing-power-plant.html.

[75] Jack McLellan, "Kairparowits Coal Power Plans Scuttled," *High Country News*, April 23, 1976, http://s3.amazonaws.com/hcn-media/archive-pdf/1976_04_23.pdf.

[76] Ibid., 6.

Regional anger over federal land planning was giving way to paranoia and wild rumors. The BLM District Manager in Moab was interviewed, dispelling a report that the BLM was amassing weapons. He said:

> There are many malicious rumors being circulated particularly in the Moab area that the BLM is stockpiling firearms and engaging in similarly frightening activities. These are absolutely untrue and apparently the result of some people's effort to discredit everything that the BLM is doing because of their own fears.[77]

Locals' worry over federal oversight and conjecture over government motives caused further rifts in relations. When Utah's potential wilderness areas were added to a national wilderness proposal sponsored by California Congressman Phillip Burton (1926-1983), Utah Representative Dan Marriott (1939-) blasted the plan and stated:

> PUBLIC land means it belongs to the PUBLIC. But who among the public knows better how to manage it: some self-proclaimed outside 'experts' from California who see it as a pristine playground never to be touched, or people who lived and grown up there [*sic*] and whose very livelihood depends on proper and wise management and development of the resources. Of course it's the latter. [78]

Further in this article, Representative Marriott played up the idea of state sovereignty and his interest in the deeding of public lands to individual states.

> We Utahans appreciate the natural beauty of our unique landscape, probably more than those outsiders who are trying to tell us what to do with it. I plan to fight Representative Burton's bill to the end if it means protecting the proper development of our state's public lands. We have

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[77] "B.L.M. Official Comments on Criticism of Portions of Organic Rules," *Times Independent*, March 24, 1977, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=20431510&q=B.L.M.+Official+Comments&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0&facet_paper=%22Times+Independent%22#t_20431510.

[78] "Rep. Dan Marriott: Wilderness Questioned," *Iron County Record*, February 2, 1978, accessed February 3, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=4484151&q=Wilderness&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0&date_tdt=%5B+1978-01-01T00%3A00%3A00Z+TO+1982-12-31T00%3A00%3A00Z+%5D&facet_paper=%22Iron+County+Record%22#t_4484151.

> never tried to tell California how to develop its land, so why should we let them tell us how to develop that land we know most about. We shouldn't and we won't.[79]

Marriott implied that Utah had more claim to its public lands and their residents' use of them than the rest of the American people. Although adored by Americans, the public lands of Utah, in Marriott's opinion, were proprietary to Utahans.

The Sagebrush Rebellion was a series of actions and proposed legislation in western states aimed at taking control over public lands. In addition to states' rights, the movement employed rhetoric calling for less environmental oversight, multiple use of public lands and state and county sovereignty. These ideas pushed to remove federal authority from land management. The county sovereignty movement sought to place authority with the county sheriff rather than in federal or state law enforcement.[80] The state sovereignty movement stated that the federal government cannot own land and therefore it belongs to states. In other words, the movement wanted to diminish government authority.

A strengthening environmental movement pushed back. In a lawsuit in 1974, *Natural Resources Defense Council v. Morton*, a U.S. District Court ruled that the BLM needed to comply with National Environmental Protection Act and issue 212 Environmental Impact Statements (EIS) instead of the one statement the BLM had developed for all of their rangeland. The EIS requirement was later dropped to 144 impact statements in the lawsuit *Natural Resources Defense Council v Andrus*. These EIS

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[79] Ibid.

[80] Tina L. Compton, Kirsten Jansen and Jerold N. Willmore, "The U.S. Constitution and Wilderness Designation," in *Contested Landscape: The Politics of Wilderness in Utah in the West,* eds. Doug Goodman and Daniel McCool (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999), 24.

were meant to determine impacts of livestock grazing on millions of acres of varied ecosystems across American public lands. The court had found that a single EIS for 247.3 million acres was absolutely unsatisfactory. With the ruling, the burden of study and the ground truth monitoring put more BLM employees in the field and more federal scrutiny on public lands ranching.[81]

Prior to this lawsuit, ranchers had grazed livestock with relatively little oversight. Now they felt invaded, micromanaged and hamstrung. In 1979, a *New York Times* article entitled, "West Taking South's Place as Most Alienated Area," conveyed how western people and politicians felt their states were "most abused by the federal government and least understood."[82] Five states, including Utah, passed legislation to transfer public lands to the state. In addition to the state's legislative efforts, in 1979 and again in 1981, Utah Senator Orrin Hatch (1932-) introduced federal bills that ceded BLM land and Forest Service land to western states. Neither bill passed.[83]

"Land grab" was again in a headline of an article detailing the expansion of Capitol Reef National Monument by 215,000 acres in 1979. Distrust of federal objectives proliferated. Commissioner Bernell Lewis of Kane County (1912-1985) feared secretive

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[81] D. Dean Bibles, "The Transforming Effect of the Natural Resources Defense Council Consent Decree," U.S. Department of the Interior Bureau of Land Management, accessed August 27, 2016, http://www.blm.gov/wo/st/en/info/history/sidebars/natural_resources/the_transforming_effect.html.

[82] John Herbers, "West Taking South's Place as Most Alienated Area," *New York Times*, March 18, 1979, accessed February 4, 2017, http://www.nytimes.com/1979/03/18/archives/west-taking-souths-place-as-most-alienated-area-replacing-the-south.html.

[83] Ryan Lenz and Mark Potok, "War in the West: The Bundy Ranch Standoff and the American Radical Right," *A Special Report for the Southern Poverty Law Center*, July 2014, accessed July 5, 2016, https://www.splcenter.org/20140709/war-west-bundy-ranch-standoff-and-american-radical-right.

[83] Robert H. Nelson, "Why the Sagebrush Rebellion Burned Out," *AEI:Journal on Government and Society: Regulation* (May/June 1984): 33, accessed July 5, 2016, https://object.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/serials/files/regulation/1984/5/v8n3-5.pdf.

government actions and the withdrawal of lands. He stated at a meeting on the proposed monument expansion:

> If it happened once, it can happen again… Government for the people by their consent is the basis of our democracy. We are proud of the beauty of our country and want the world to see it. We do not want it shut up. Neither do we want our livelihood of our people taken from them. We want multiple use of our lands. [84]

Echoing sentiments expressed by participants in Price regarding the Escalante, Dixie residents feared their traditional uses of public lands to be reframed or revoked. The idea of a "government for the people" would continue and take a louder and more adamant tone. But which people? Dixie ranchers or an American population wishing to protect public lands from extraction and resource exploitation?

A few years after Robert Redford's effigy had turned to ashes, another battle was heating up, this time over access to a place called Negro Bill Canyon. Evaluating the area for wilderness consideration, the BLM blocked the dirt track to the canyon as part of their Wilderness Study Area inventory. Utahans in Grand County threw the gauntlet down. Upset about the road restriction involved in the wilderness inventory process, locals drove more than eighty cars behind a bulldozer, shoving a federally placed barrier aside. The protesters sang "The Star Spangled Banner" in honor of the day they had chosen to

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[84] Nethella G. Woolsey, "Congressman and Senator Attend Meeting as Many Protest Monumental Land Grab," *Garfield County News*, February 20, 1969, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3366371&q=title_t%3A%22Congressman+and+Senator%22&page=1&rows=50&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0&facet_paper=%22Garfield+County+News%22#t_3366371.

take their stand—July 4, 1980. This action became one of the defining moments of the Sagebrush Rebellion.[85]

Accessibility to remote canyon country had always been a challenge to the Mormon residents of southern Utah, but with modern vehicles, the act of driving across rough country became a popular pastime. Tourists and residents were flocking to canyon country to drive vehicles "off-road," while some contumacious enthusiasts flouted restrictions on ATVs and 4x4s within designated roadless areas. The Grand County Fourth of July protest was a bold anti-government stance. In addition to emboldening other rebels, it helped galvanize Earth First!, a environmental group that would regard vocal conservationist, writer and part-time Utah resident Ed Abbey as their inspiration.

In an ironic twist, the Grand County bulldozing demonstrators were informed that they hadn't pushed past Wilderness Study Area boundaries during their Independence Day protest. And so, on the not so symbolic day of July 7, 1980, the bulldozer was back to rectify the matter and cross the boundary in an anticlimactic follow-up. When asked about this protest, Debbie Sease, then of the Wilderness Society and later with the Sierra Club, said, "The Sagebrush Rebellion's true intent is not to give the lands back to the states. It is to emasculate BLM and to stop the management of these lands."[86] Public land use had become a battle of wills and culture.

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[85] Jedediah Smith, "The Volatile Sagebrush Rebellion," in *Utah in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Brian Q. Cannon and Jessie L. Embry *(*Logan: Utah State University Press, 2009), 367-384.

[86] Margot Hornblower, "The Sagebrush Revolution," *The Washington Post*, November 11, 1979, accessed February 4, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1979/11/11/the-sagebrush-revolution/7ebf91e7-cbed-4bae-80c9-9a0cce5fe5d7/?utm_term=.7d178434c5cf.

When Ronald Reagan was elected to office, he sent a telegram on November 20, 1980 to Representative Dean Rhodes of the Subcommittee on Mining and Mining Oversight Hearing, which stated:

> Please convey best wishes to all my fellow Sagebrush Rebels… I renew my pledge to work towards a sagebrush solution. My administration will work to insure that the states have an equitable share of public lands and their natural resources. To all good luck….[87]

Due to the president's support and the appointment of notoriously anti-environmental James Watt to Secretary of Interior, during the Reagan years the Sagebrush movement quieted.[88] Some were placated with sympathies offered by President Reagan and Interior Secretary Watt, but the movement also faced a fundamental flaw in its rationale. This western rebellion, while popular, lacked a well-developed platform. According even to conservative points of view, like that of the American Enterprise Institute, the Sagebrush Rebellion was a wild goose chase.[89] From the ranchers' perspective, if the western states had taken ownership of public lands, the grazing fees, substantially lower on public lands than those on private lands, would likely increase. From the states' perspective, if they suddenly controlled public lands within their boundaries, many states would deal with dramatic financial burdens and burgeoning budgets. Rebels and critics alike began to ask themselves if states would need to pad their budgets with increased fees from hunters,

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[87] William Perry Pendley, *Sagebrush Rebel: Reagan's Battle with Environmental Extremists and Why It Matters Today* (Washington DC: Regency Publishing, 2013), 38.

[88] The Southern Poverty Law Center asserts that during terms when a Republican president sits in the office, anti-government and hate-group activity declines.

[89] Nelson, "Why the Sagebrush Rebellion Burned Out," 27-35.

anglers, recreationalists and ranchers. In the end, even some supporters of the Sagebrush Rebellion feared the consequences of the states' control.

A recent study from the state of Wyoming looking at the pros and cons of transferring federal lands to the state concluded it *"*would not anticipate any substantial gains in revenue production or additional sources of revenue with any transfer of management—certainly not enough to offset the enormous costs such an endeavor would likely entail."[90] The states' rights issue is still a rallying cry among western ranchers, but in practicality, it is folly.

Escalante, Part 2

The Utah Wilderness Act was passed in 1984, protecting 750,000 acres, Utah's BLM lands were still being inventoried for wilderness potential.[91] The Act only protected half of what conservationists involved had originally wanted in the bill.[92] Though wilderness designation was very unpopular to many Dixie residents, demographics were changing. Outdoor enthusiasts and retirees had begun moving to St. George; Springdale and other nearby communities attracted people with different interests and lifestyles that changed the character and politics in the region. The result pitted neighbor against neighbor and insider against outsider.

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[90] Y2 Consultants, *Study on Management of Public Lands in Wyoming*, xxi, accessed December 30, 2016, http://slf-web.state.wy.us/osli/News/FinalStudyFedLand.pdf.

[91] Christopher Wehrle and Robin Clegg, "The Evolution of the Wilderness Concept," in *Contested Landscape: The Politics of Wilderness in Utah in the West,* eds. Doug Goodman and Daniel McCool (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999), 11.

[92] C.L. Rawlins, "Utah's Wilderness Bill Heads for the House," *High Country News*, March 5, 1984, 3, accessed February 4, 2017, http://s3.amazonaws.com/hcn-media/archive-pdf/1984_03_05_rfs.pdf.

In the town of Escalante, a few months prior to the passage of the Utah Wilderness Act, three members of the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance were hanged in effigy and their likenesses dragged behind vehicles. Escalante resident Robert Weed was targeted and had his home vandalized. Someone buried wooden boards with nails along his driveway, causing his wife to have a tire blown on a "dangerous stretch of cliff side road" while she was taking her children to school.[93] Weed was likely harassed by those upset about the inclusion of Box-Death Hallow in Utah's 1984 wilderness bill, a feature in the Escalante region found to contain "reserves of carbon dioxide used to flush more oils from wells."[94] He had supported the inclusion of the feature. Escalante's mayor suggested that Weed had staged the break-in and his wife's accident himself , asserting that Weed, his organization, and the Sierra Club were government funded "parasites."[95]

The BLM released its statewide Wilderness Draft Environmental Impact Statement, which assessed 3.2 million acres and recommended 1.9 million acres suitable for wilderness designation. Conservation organizations like the Utah Wilderness Coalition, the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society, had pushed for 5.1 million acres, did not think the BLM study had gone far enough.[96] Taking up the conservationist's cause, in 1989, Utah congressman Wayne Owens (1937-2002) introduced the Citizen's Wilderness Proposal, a bill designed to protect over 5 million acres. He got his inspiration

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[93] Betsy Marston, "Wilderness Fight leads to Symbolic Hanging," *High Country News*, June 11, 1984, 5, accessed February 4, 2017. http://s3.amazonaws.com/hcn-media/archive-pdf/1984_06_11_rfs.pdf.

[94] Ibid., 5.

[95] Ibid., 5.

[96] John G. Mitchell, "To the Edge of Forever: The Canyon Country of Southern Utah, Where Wilderness Lies Hostage to Ancient Quarrels and Finely Drawn Bureaucratic Distinctions," photocopy. *Wilderness* (Fall, 1988) Zion F1, Box 72. National Park Service, Zion National Park Collection, p. 24.

for the bill after a coalition of conservation groups identified millions of acres of land with wilderness potential that the BLM had overlooked in its first inventory and proposal. A version of this bill, which expanded to include 9.2 million acres of Utah's roadless area, has been languishing in Congress for thirty years after its introduction.

Environmentalists were not the only ones who experienced harassment. In 1990, Arthur Lyman found cows and calves shot to death on his Escalante River grazing allotment in the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. Around the time of this incident, Lyman had found a sign posted nearby that read "Stop Destructive Welfare Ranching."[97] His three cabins were also burned down, and although $24,000 was offered in reward for the perpetrator, no one was ever caught.[98] In 1992, the Lyman family agreed to relinquish rights to their 54,825 acre allotment, which had supported three hundred and sixty animals, in exchange for undisclosed compensation from the Richard King Mellon Foundation and the Conservation Fund.[99] The Superintendent of the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area explained that ridding the area of livestock would eradicate "user conflict and enhance recreational opportunities for hikers and other park [*sic*] visitors, while protecting our water quality, wetlands and streamside habitat…."[100] The year before being bought out, Arthur Lyman was quoted as saying, "It makes no

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[97] Dirk Johnson, A Range War of Words on Grazing in the West, *New York Times*, August 5, 1991, accessed February 4, 2017, http://www.nytimes.com/1991/08/05/us/a-range-war-of-words-on-grazing-in-the-west.html?pagewanted=all.

[98] "Lymans Forego Grazing Rights on Escalante River Allotment," *Garfield County News*, June 11, 1992, accessed September 10, 2016, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3435990&q=lyman+grazing&page=1&rows=25&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0&date_tdt=%5B+1991-01-01T00%3A00%3A00Z+TO+1992-12-31T00%3A00%3A00Z+%5D#t_3435990.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid.

difference to the big old United States if this ranch goes under and goes to sagebrush. But this is my way of life."[101] The rancher lifestyle in Dixie represented both the "cowboy ideal" as well the heritage of the Mormon settler.

In 1991, the Garfield County Commission and then the Escalante City Council endorsed a proposal to create a national park in their area, an idea also supported by Utah's Governor, Norman Bangerter (1933-2015).[102] The acreage that this coalition recommended was already designated a Wilderness Study Area. Their plan was to change the designation to a park status, which they saw as a more flexible designation for industrial opportunities, which a wilderness status prevented. Commission Chairman Tom Hatch remarked, "We hope that environmentalist groups might be willing to see the Kaiparowits Plateau freed up for eventual development, in exchange for a national park in one of the most beautiful and environmentally sensitive areas in Utah."[103] He later noted, "We've lost our say if we end up with wilderness."[104] But the park idea was equally unpalatable to conservationists as it was to ranchers. The environmentalists

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[101] Dirk Johnson, "A Range War of Words on Grazing in the West," *New York Times*, August 5, 1991, accessed February 4, 2017, http://www.nytimes.com/1991/08/05/us/a-range-war-of-words-on-grazing-in-the-west.html?pagewanted=all.

[102] "County Asks for National Park for Escalante Canyons Area," *Garfield County News*, August 1, 1991, accessed September 11, 2016, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3431337&q=county+asks+for+national+park+for+escalante&eq=&page=1&rows=50&core=udn&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t#t_3431337.

[103] Ibid.

[104] "Escalante Residents Speak Out on National Park Issue," *Garfield County News*, September 19, 1991, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3431571&q=Escalante+Residents+Speak+Out+on+National+Park+Issue&page=1&rows=25&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0&date_tdt=%5B+1991-01-01T00%3A00%3A00Z+TO+1992-12-31T00%3A00%3A00Z+%5D#t_3431571.

thought the proposal was too small and ranchers worried about the restrictions that came with a park.[105]

In 1992, Utah Congressman Jim Hansen and Utah Senators Jake Garn and Orrin Hatch introduced legislation that would open Escalante as a "showcase of multiple uses" under the designation of Escalante Conservation Area.[106] Expressing distrust in the objectives of the Park Service, Rep. Hansen validated his position when he said "our experience with Canyonlands and Basin National Park [*sic*] in Nevada are good examples of parks that promised the continuation of multiple use and sensitivity to the local needs, but failed to deliver on these promises."[107] Discourse over this proposal highlighted the vast cultural differences in priorities between ranching interests in Garfield County and conservationists/hikers who sought wilderness experiences in Utah's backcountry. Rep. Hansen expressed his perspectives on landscape, "In a park, you have rangers in Smokey Bear hats telling you to look but not touch. . . . In a resource area you can have cattle roundups like in the movie 'City Slickers,' you can have rodeos, wagon rides, cookouts and walks. . . . People can get dirty and have fun."[108] Hansen's version of public land use was wildly out of touch with the vision of conservationists. Ken Rait, of the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance, said of the Hansen's proposal, "The proposal would do

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[105] Ibid.

[106] "Legislation Introduced for Escalante Conservation Area," *Garfield County News*, June 25, 1992, accessed September 10, 2016, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3432719&q=vandal+lyman+cattle+escalante+river+&eq=&page=1&rows=50&core=udn&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=&gallery=&date_tdt=%5B+1990-01-01T00%3A00%3A00Z+TO+1992-12-31T00%3A00%3A00Z+%5D#t_3432719.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid.

nothing more than turn the Escalante country into a three-ring circus for cowboys, miners and road builders. It's a proposal that would rob the American public of the highest and best designation for the spectacular Escalante country, which is wilderness."[109]

In perhaps one of the strangest twists in the Escalante story, Garfield County Commissioners Tom Hatch and Lisa Liston worked with the BLM, the National Park Service and the U.S. Forest Service to craft the "Canyons of the Escalante, National Eco-Region Concept." The title language is a clear tip of the hat to environmentalists, but the plan was off-putting to both the locals and conservation groups.[110] The Eco-Region plan laid forth four areas with different management schemes, including managing existing Wilderness Study Areas as wilderness. Environmentalists didn't think it went far enough. The wilderness areas were a problem for locals, who wanted none. The title of the plan set off local conspiracy theorizing that linked the effort to a sinister international land grab. During a hearing in Escalante, a committee of proponents expressed apprehension over "the state's Eco-Region concept document as incorporating language used by the United Nations." And over the next two decades, this local anxiety would grow to paranoia over federal intentions for Escalante. Conspiracies linked shady federal deals to international mining industries that threatened to take American resources. Among Utah ranchers, as well as those in Montana, Idaho, and other western states, anti-UN rhetoric

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[109] Lee Davidson and Joseph Bauman, "Hansen Pushes for Creation of a Conservation Area in Escalante Canyons," *Deseret News*, June 18, 1992, accessed February 4, 2017, http://www.deseretnews.com/article/232551/HANSEN-PUSHES-CREATION-OF-A-CONSERVATION-AREA-IN-ESCALANTE-CANYONS.html?pg=all.

[110] "Escalante Ecoregion Meeting Generates New Controversy," *Garfield County News*, January 19, 1995, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3433219&q=Escalante+Ecoregion+Meeting+Generates+New+Controversy&page=1&rows=25&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0#t_3433219.

from 1950s John Birch Society propaganda proliferated in militia extremist groups.[111] Mutual frustration over federal policies worked to build bridges between Dixie ranchers and the American Patriot movement. Their fear of government became tangled in international conspiracy theory.

In the 1990s, the Sagebrush Rebellion movement morphed into a less incendiary-sounding coalition called the Wise Use Movement. This campaign was an anti-environmentalist collection of interests focused on ranching, mining, timber harvest and oil production on public lands. Among the wise-users were those ready to spill blood in order to make their point. Televangelist Pat Roberts, also an influence in the Patriot Movement, told his followers that the federal government was moving towards a "New World Order."[112] This thinking was folded into "wise use" presentations where environmentalists were being branded as anti-God. At a 1995 militia meeting in Spokane, Washington, Troy Mader of Wyoming, a representative of both the Common Man Institute and the Abundant Wildlife Foundation, explained to his audience, "Most environmental groups, with no regard for truth, use misinformation to further their agendas and are anti-God, anti-American and anti-gun."[113] Wise Users were mad at the faceless federal players maneuvering in Washington, DC, and their feelings extended to conservationists, government range managers, biologists and rangers who had become

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[111] Morris Dees, founder of the Southern Poverty Law Center, said that some members of the Patriot Movement believe that the United Nations is trying to impose a New World Order. Morris Dees and John Corcoran, *Gathering Storm: America's Militia Threat*, (New York: Harper Perennial, 1996), 32.

[112] Dees and Corcoran, *Gathering Storm*, 32.

[113] Patrick Dawson, "Armed, Crazy and Lost in the Wild West," *High Country News*, May 15, 1995, accessed February 4, 2017, http://www.hcn.org/issues/35/1043.

fixed in the crosshairs. At this time, the BLM was so alarmed about this rhetoric, saber-rattling and disregard for federal authority that the agency issued the "County Supremacy Safety Ordinance" for employees who were being harassed by locals embracing county sovereignty and denouncing federal authority.[114] And there was real cause for concern. In addition to reports of threats to federal agents and their families, a man named Claude Dallas, years prior, had actually shot and killed two Idaho Department of Fish and Game wardens in the Owyhee Desert, after the agents approached him about poaching.[115]

By 1995, this new version of the Sagebrush Rebellion was in full swing, but this time the movement's thinking showed signs of anti-government radicalization. Political scientist William Chaloupka pointed out the increase in western states being influenced by the militia movement, a fringe that supported "federalism, constitutionalism and sovereign legitimacy."[116] He also described how this type of rationale emboldened rebels to question federal authority over public lands. Ranchers asserted that the federal government wasn't authorized to manage, let alone designate conservation status to lands in the west. Nye County official Dick Carver claimed the government had "no authority 'to own, hold, or accept dominion over public lands.'"[117] In 1994, Carver reopened a road by bulldozing around a Forest Service closure. He bragged at a "Win Back the West Rally" in Alturas, California that he refused to stop his bulldozer when a Forest Service

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[114] William Chaloupka, "The County Supremacy and Militia Movements: Federalism as an issue on the Radical Right, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 26, no. 3 (Summer 1996): 164.

[115] John Miller, "Anger and Joy Greet the Release of Infamous Trapper," *Los Angeles Times*, February 6, 2005, accessed September 15, 2016, http://articles.latimes.com/2005/feb/06/news/adna-claude6.

[116] William Chaloupka, "The County Supremacy and Militia Movements," 161.

[117] Ibid., 163.

ranger commanded him to do so. Carter told the audience, "All it would have taken was for him [the ranger] to draw a weapon… Fifty people with side arms would have drilled him."[118] Guns were now a prop in this land war.

Escalante locals formed a Zero Wilderness platform validating their position based on the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution. Advocate Joel Greer wrote, "The Tenth Amendment also clearly states that the power belongs to the people and those inherent powers of the people, when consolidated, are superior in every respect to the government."[119] Greer explained that Wayne and Paiute County Commissioners had signed a Citizen's Zero Wilderness Proposal, further stating in his letter, "Congress in a joint resolution in 1935: 'The government of the United States is not a concession to the people from someone higher up. It is the creation and the creature of the people themselves, as absolute sovereign beings.'" The Tenther Movement, as it has come to be known, fought federal government overreach on lands they felt the government had no authority to manage. Constitutional historians and court cases have refuted this line of thinking.[120] The federal government can and does own federal land.

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[118] Jon Christensen, "County Commissioner Courts Bloodshed," *High Country News*, April 3, 1995, accessed February 4, 2017, http://www.hcn.org/issues/32/919.

[119] Joel Greer, "It's a Constitutional Issue," *Garfield County News*, March 30, 1995, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3433679&q=joel+greer+constitutional&page=1&rows=25&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_3433679.

[120] Garrett Epps, "Constitutional Myth #7: The 10th Amendment Protects 'States' Rights," *Atlantic*, July 11, 2011, accessed January 5, 2016, https://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2011/07/constitutional-myth-7-the-10th-amendment-protects-states-rights/241671/. The Tenth Amendment states: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Challenging the idea of state sovereignty, American Constitutional scholar Garrett Epps in his *Atlantic* piece "Constitutional Myth #7: The 10th Amendment Protects 'States' Rights," made three points that unsettle the states' rights rationale. First, in the Articles of Confederation (first Constitution of the United States replaced in 1789), the idea of the Tenth Amendment was still evolving and read, "Each state retains its *sovereignty*, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and *right*, which is not by this confederation *expressly* delegated to the United States, in

Escalante, Part 3

Amid the fight over public lands in Dixie, with the stroke of a pen, President Bill Clinton designated the hotly contested region of Escalante a national monument on September 18, 1996. The Grand Staircase Escalante National Monument (GSENM), an area of 1.7 million acres, found federal protection sixty years after the meeting in Price where ranchers had first voiced their trepidation over locking up lands.

The new monument was feted in a very different manner than the opening of ZNP or the visit from President Harding, when locals, numerous governors and church officials came together to all celebrate. President Clinton announced the new national monument designation in Arizona, not in Utah, to a crowd of "environmentalists, Native Americans, government bureaucrats, politicians, scholars and even a few movie stars."[121] None of Utah's elected officials were present.[122] Many residents of local communities felt outraged and felt powerless, lamenting the impacts on future coal development, livestock grazing and motorized vehicle access. In the town of Escalante, Clinton and

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Congress assembled." But the language shifted in the actual U.S. Constitution and "expressly" was intentionally removed to make room for the idea of implicit powers of the U.S. government. When the word *expressly* disappeared from the document, so too did its meaning. Epps second point maintains that Article One of the Constitution states "The Congress shall have Power To ... make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof." In other words, it is the job of Congress to make and execute laws that are "necessary and proper." Because the Forest Service, the Park Service and the BLM did not exist at the time the constitution was written, there was no discussion of necessary and proper ways to manage the enormous public domain. And lastly, the U.S. Constitution begins with, *We the People*, and not *We the States*. As Epps asserted, "The people are the holders of 'rights'; they are the holders of 'sovereignty.' And in terms of federal lands, it is the people, the public, who weigh in on how those lands are managed and used, not the states."

[121] Paul Larmer, "A Bold Stroke: Clinton Take 1.7 million Acre Stand in Utah," *High Country News*, September 30, 1996, accessed February 2, 2017, http://www.hcn.org/issues/90/2795.

[122] James Brooke, "New Reserve Stirs Animosities in Utah," *New York Times*, October 13, 1996, accessed September 15, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/1996/10/13/us/new-reserve-stirs-animosities-in-utah.html.

Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt were both hanged in effigy.[123] Utah Senator Orrin Hatch called it the "mother of all land grabs," and Utah Representative Bob Bennett (1933-2016) said it was "an outrageous, arrogant approach to public policy."[124] This was most definitely not a collaborative effort between local boosters and the U.S. government.

Prior to the monument designation, a plan had been in place finally to mine the Kaiparowits Plateau, a region that had been of interest since it was mined in the late 1800s and again in the 1960s and 1970s when Southern California Edison pursued a lease to no avail. Dutch company, Andalex, had recently expressed interest in excavating an estimated 62 million tons of coal, but their plans were now in limbo.[125]

Locals wanted development, not scenery. Kanab realtor Dale Clarkson was quoted explaining that Escalante contains "the finest energy field we have in the United States" but that the "monument won't have a dime's influence on tourism…. It's not even second-class scenery—it's third or fourth class. It's such marginal ground that part of it was used in the motion picture 'Planet of the Apes.'"[126] But the place certainly appealed to some. On the other hand, Ed Abbey wrote of Escalante:

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[123] Ibid.

[124] Paul Larmer, "A Bold Stroke: Clinton Takes 1.7 million Acre Stand in Utah," *High Country News*, September 30, 1996, accessed February 2, 2017, http://www.hcn.org/issues/90/2795.

[125] "County Commissioners Speak Out on Clinton's Canyons of the Escalante National Monument," *Garfield County News*, September 19, 1996, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3460366&q=Speak+Out+Clinton+Escalante+National&page=1&rows=25&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0#t_3460366.

[126] James Brooke, "New Reserve Stirs Animosities in Utah," *New York Times*, October 13, 1996, accessed September 15, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/1996/10/13/us/new-reserve-stirs-animosities-in-utah.html.

> There are enough cathedrals and temples and altars here for a Hindu pantheon of divinities. Each time I look up one of the secretive little side canyons I half expect to see not only the cottonwood tree rising over its tiny spring—the leafy god, the desert's liquid eye—but also a rainbow-colored corona of blazing light, pure spirit, pure being, pure disembodied intelligence, about to speak my name. If a man's imagination were not so weak, so easily tired, if his capacity for wonder not so limited, he would abandon forever such fantasies of the supernal. He would learn to perceive in water, leaves and silence more than sufficient of the absolute and marvelous, more than enough to console him for the loss of the ancient dreams.[127]

These sentiments reflect early flourishes in ZNP brochures, except he made the case that the concept of a divine being is unnecessary when one drinks in the beauty of the natural world. In any case, he seemed to be onto something in extolling the glory of Escalante country. An area that had seen a few cowboys and some off-the-beaten path hikers came to draw 878,000 visitors in 2014.[128]

Clinton surprised a lot of people with the GSENM designation and his actions blindsided many Kanab residents, including Shawna Cox. A fifth generation Mormon, Cox grew up in the small town of Freedonia, Arizona, seven miles south of Kanab. Her uncle was Walter Reusch, the first custodian in Zion National Monument, who coincidentally was tasked with rounding up the last cattle trespassing in Zion Canyon in 1918. Though she likes the idea of ZNP, she doesn't like the changes federally protected areas and outsiders have brought to her region, such as the insistence of building sidewalks in Kanab.[129]

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[127] Edward Abbey, *Desert Solitaire* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), 176-177.

[128] Grand Staircase Escalante National Monument, "Manager's Annual Report," 2014, 9, accessed February 4, 2017, https://www.blm.gov/style/medialib/blm/ut/grand_staircase-escalante/nlcs_mgrs_report.Par.61629.File.dat/GSENM_Manager_Report_FY2014_draft1-25-2015.pdf.

[129] Shawna Cox, 2016, Interview by author. Kanab, Utah, May 27.

She also sees the government as villainous and is convinced that public land protection is a sign of international corporate interests. In her self-published book, *Last Rancher Standing: The Cliven Bundy Saga, A Close-up View*, Cox told of the day that the monument was declared, when chaos ensued. In response, an emergency meeting was called where she first discovered the culprit behind the making of the monument, the "Grand Canyon Trust Company."[130] In this memoir-cum-biography-of-Cliven-Bundy-cum-constitutional-primer, she had an "ah-ha" moment, when she:

> pulled up their membership roster I was shocked to see that a huge percentage of the members were from China. What? The pieces to the puzzle began to shape in my mind, We spent 20 years trying to open the Kaiparowits coal mine, working through all of the red government tape that we were getting ready to sink the first shaft the following week… Does this mean that Clinton had sold us to China so he could get re-elected for a second term, or was there more to it?[131]

Cox hoped for decades to open the Kaiparowits Plateau and when the monument was declared, she folded her resentment and helplessness into the idea of a plot between Clinton and China to take away public lands.[132]

In his essay, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," Richard Hofstadter discussed the phenomenon of individuals and groups who feel persecuted in some manner and, as a result, employ a "paranoid style," typified by "heated exaggeration,

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[130] Shawna Cox, *Last Rancher Standing: The Clive Bundy Saga, a Close-up View* (New York: Legends Library, 2016), 4-5. The Grand Canyon Trust, the organization that helped create the GSENM, is a not for profit group.

[131] Ibid., 5.

[132] Shawna Cox, 2016. Interview by author. Kanab, Utah, May 27. During my interview with Cox, when I asked her about the "membership" roster, she asserted that the Grand Canyon Land Trust membership is mostly Chinese.

suspiciousness and conspiratorial fantasies."[133] According to Hofstadter, when tyranny is perceived, a "spokesperson of the paranoid style finds it directed against a nation, a culture, a way of life whose fate affects not himself alone but millions of other people…" and suddenly feels that "his political passions are unselfish and patriotic" creating the feeling of "righteousness and moral indignation."[134] This was the feeling that Cox carried. This was the Bundy family's view as well. They believed that the government had specifically targeted their way of life, and in response, they felt emboldened to take the role of liberator and bringer of justice.

Cliven Bundy, the Spokesperson of the Paranoid Style

In 1989, the Mojave Desert Tortoise was listed under the Endangered Species Act and as a result the BLM was tasked with implementing a tortoise recovery plan. The agency informed Dixie region rancher Cliven Bundy, of Bunkerville, of new restrictions that affected his grazing leases, including an area called Gold Butte. He was instructed to reduce his herd.[135] Bundy refused to remove any cattle and stopped paying grazing fees on his allotment in 1993. After fighting the issue in court, Bundy's neighbors begrudgingly submitted to the BLM. Among others, rancher Kelton Hafen, who firmly believed that cattle did no harm to the desert tortoise and that Bundy was justified in his

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[133] Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style of American Politics and Other Essays* (New York: Vintage Books, 2008), 3.

[134] Ibid., 4.

[135] Henry Brean, "Bunkerville Rancher Wows to Resist Federal Roundup of his Cattle, *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, March 25, 2014, accessed January 6, 2016, http://www.reviewjournal.com/news/nevada/bunkerville-rancher-vows-resist-federal-roundup-his-cattle.

hard line position, took federal compensation and gave up his grazing rights on BLM land.[136]

Payments to cease grazing rights, like the one Hafen received, came from a deal that developers made with the Fish and Wildlife Service. Las Vegas builders wanted to expand the city's development into fragile tortoise habitat and agreed to pay monies toward protecting remote habitat in exchange for permission to build over critical habitat around the metropolitan area. The habitat they swapped for, and then "bought," was in Dixie, far from the casinos, shops and traffic that defined Sin City. These developers paid $250 to $500 per acre to build in the highly developed part of Clark County, which was used to buy out allotments in rural Nevada, also part of the desert tortoise range.[137] Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt heralded the arrangement as a visionary step in species protection, a precautionary measure in providing refuge on public lands so that a species could remain healthy in the event of a crisis. He said, "We don't do anything about ecosystem relations until a species is spiraling into extinction. We've got to do better…."[138] The result was more development in urban Clark County, and angry ranchers in the county's rural areas, many of whom did not want the money, they wanted the livelihood.

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[136] Lyman and Kelton Hafen, 2016. Interview by author. Clover Valley, NV, May 24.

[137] Tom Kenworthy, "Odds May be Against Novel Effort to Protect Desert Tortoise," *Washington Post*, March 21, 1993, accessed February 4, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1993/03/21/odds-may-be-against-novel-effort-to-protect-desert-tortoise/866cb98d-68d1-4a4c-bf06-d33c3717f153/?utm_term=.e82101bbb07c.

[138] Ibid.

The tortoise recovery plan was highly controversial. Reuters reported, "When the U.S. government declared the Mojave desert tortoise an endangered species in 1989, it effectively marked the cattle ranchers of Nevada's Clark County for extinction."[139] Though BLM wanted the cows off critical habitat, many families didn't want to give up their leases. Some went to court, some took the compensation, and the Bundys just ignored the BLM's position and continued to graze their herds. To date, Cliven Bundy is the only rancher with cows on public lands in the one-million-acre Desert Tortoise recovery area.[140] And he still owes over one million dollars in grazing fees and fines.[141]

Cliven Bundy began to emerge as a local hero, a spokesperson for justice in his battle against a tyrannical government. It was in this role that he decided to help others engaged in fights over grazing restrictions on public lands, like Mary Bulloch (1952-2009). Bulloch, one of eight children, was raised in a Mormon ranching family outside Cedar City. After two divorces, and the deaths of a boyfriend and a husband (events which led to local speculation over her involvement), Bulloch became known locally as "Bloody Mary." After her marriage to husband number three, Boyd Rucker (1914-1993), Bulloch worked a cattle outfit that leased the GSENM Fifty Mile allotment on the Kaiparowits Plateau.[142] In 2000, seven years after the death of Rucker, the BLM ordered

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[139] Mike Blake, "Before Cliven Bundy Stand-Off, a Collision between Ranchers and Tortoises," *Newsweek*, May 30, 2014, accessed February 4, 2017, http://www.newsweek.com/cliven-bundy-stand-collision-between-ranchers-and-tortoises-252840.

[140] Ibid.

[141] Matt Pearce, "Cliven Bundy Still Owes 1$ Million. What are the Feds Doing to Collect It?" *Los Angeles Times*, January 7, 2016, accessed March 7, 2016, http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-cliven-bundy-fines-20160107-story.html.

[142] Electra Draper, "Rancher Draws Line in Grazing Fight," *Denver Post*, October 26, 2000, accessed July 29, 2015, http://extrasdenverpost.com/news/news1126b.htm; Cox, *Last Rancher Standing*.

Bulloch to remove her cows from sections of her allotment due to drought conditions. And so started another battle.

The fight was ugly and epic. The BLM fenced off Bulloch's one water source and, unable to access water, Bulloch cows succumbed.[143] In her frustration, Bulloch wrote an open letter to the Kanab newspaper explaining the impact of the BLM's decision. She alleged that Kate Cannon, the BLM regional supervisor, "choked at least 20 heads of cows and calves to death!... I personally watched three heifers lay down and their calves and walk off; they were so delirious for water…. The worst part is, before I can get her [Kate Cannon] stopped, I'm afraid all my cattle will be dead."[144] Later that summer, the BLM informed Bulloch that she could not have any cattle on the allotment. When she did not comply, the BLM confiscated them.

Bulloch claimed she was put in an impossible situation. Hers were wild cattle, cattle that had become feral and notoriously difficult to round up. The BLM claimed that Bulloch entirely disregarded their drought guidelines, although Cannon said that she "bent over backwards" to accommodate Bulloch's situation, including hauling water and cattle feed as well as granting access.[145] "I don't want to be in the round-up business," said Cannon. "But it's the job of the BLM to be the caretaker of the land, to manage

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[143] Cox, *Last Rancher Standing*, 9.

[144] Marry Bulloch, "An Open Letter from Mary Bullock," *Garfield County News*, October 26, 2000, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3469662&q=open+letter+mary+bulloch&page=1&rows=25&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0#t_3469662.

[145] Electra Draper, "Rancher Draws Line in Grazing Fight," *Denver Post*, November 26, 2000, accessed July 29, 2015, http://extrasdenverpost.com/news/news1126b.htm.

grazing so the land remains healthy for all uses."[146] Many Dixie residents, familiar with the stock and conditions in this part of the country, explained that the cattle are quite healthy in this arid country and can survive on scrubby browse.[147] However, U.S. Geological Survey ecologist Thomas J. Stohlgren, a researcher in the GSENM, said that a region where there was no historical presence of grazing herbivores, may not be suited for livestock at all. He pointed to the fragility of the area and the presence of microbial cryptogamic crust, making the point that this region was an ecological "hot spot." "For cows and conservation to mix, we have to know where those hot spots are and protect them—and I don't think we've done a very good job of that."[148] Local conservation activists were taking this position and calling for the closure of allotments, including Mary Bulloch's, citing overgrazing, erosion and the spread of the non-native weed, cheatgrass.[149] After Mary Bulloch failed to round up her cattle, the BLM confiscated them and sent them to auction.

With the help of Cliven Bundy and others, Bulloch got her cattle back from the Salina auction house.[150] Supported by fifteen regional ranchers, Sheriff Utah Phil Barney

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[146] Ibid.

[147] Cox, *Last Rancher Standing*, 9; Lyman and Kelton Hafen, 2016. Interview by author. Clover Valley, NV, May 24.

[148] Mari N. Jenson, "Can Cows and Conservation Mix?" *BioScience* 51, no. 2 (February 2001): 90, accessed February 4, 2017, https://academic.oup.com/bioscience/article/51/2/85/393992/Can-Cows-and-Conservation-Mix-Conservationists.

[149] Escalante Wilderness Project Press Release, "Trespass Cattle Still on Fifty-Mile Mountain," June 25, 2001, accessed September 4, 2015, www.rangebiome.org/headlines/nr/50miletrespass.html.

[150] "Bulloch's Cows Released after Salina Auction is Called Off," *Garfield County News,* November 9, 2000, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3466434&q=Bulloch+Cows+Released&page=1&rows=25&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0#t_3466434.

let her reclaim the herd in spite of the federal confiscation order. He said he wanted to avoid a "Waco situation." According to Bulloch, the event was "pretty western: Police lined up on one side and us cowboys were on the other side."[151] Bundy, with his state and county sovereign conspiracy ideas, counted on Sheriff Barney to uphold justice in the face of corrupt federal dealings. According to a statement made by Bundy, Bulloch, like many of the region's ranchers, "have been beaten down by the BLM's heavy hand. I have a sheriff who understands my rights and who stands up for me and helps me protect them…. The BLM simply bypassed the law and stole her [Bulloch's] cattle"[152] This incident helped further elevate Bundy's profile both in the press and in the public eye, enmeshing him further in the broader battle over grazing on public lands. It also foreshadowed the events that the Bundy family engaged in fourteen years later.

During the transfer from GSENM to Salina and back, some of Bulloch's cattle were injured or killed. Due to their wild nature, they were unaccustomed to being hauled and panicked in the confines of the truck. In retaliation for the BLM's actions, Bulloch beheaded one of her cows that had died during transport. Parked in front on the BLM office in Kanab, she hung the decapitated head on the side of her truck and wrote, "Direct Result of Kate Cannon's Grazing Management Plan."[153]

Because of her brazen actions in taking on the BLM, Mary Bulloch became a folk hero in the region. Country western performer Curley Musgrave wrote a song about Fifty

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[151] Cart*,* 2000; Brent Israelson and Thomas Burr, "Sherriff's Defy Feds, Take Back Seized Cattle," *Salt Lake City Tribune,* November 9, 2000, C1.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Electra Draper, "Rancher Draws Line in Grazing Fight," *Denver Post*, November 26, 2000, accessed July 29, 2015, http://extrasdenverpost.com/news/news1126b.htm.

Mile Mountain and Bulloch's travails with the government. Musgrave lamented in his lyrics:

> Where are the cowboys of the ol' Fifty Mountain? Oh, I'm close to tears, but tears don't grow green grass….With luck I'll see Mary a' chasing a wild cow, cross the arroyo, my she's one fine hand… Somewhere in the shadows of Fifty Mile Mountain, alone she's a' trying to hold to the land…"[154]

Mary Bulloch and Cliven Bundy and their plight embodied the cowboy myth. Theirs was a way of life becoming difficult to sustain in the face of ecological issues and public sentiment. Though range managers warned of the negative impacts on grazing in fragile environments, regional ranchers are skeptical of the government's position and their science. Kelton Hafen's son, Lyman Hafen, wrote the memoir, *Roping the Wind*, a celebration of his western Mormon lifestyle running cattle with his dad. He said "the environmental movement was trying to dull the luster of the cowboy myth by targeting public land ranchers as the enemies of the environment."[155] Cowboys and conservationists locked horns over land use. The Mormon ranchers wanted to hold onto tradition and environmentalists wanted traditional uses to be studied and managed for suitability in fragile ecosystems to insure sustainability. Depending on the political leanings of each administration, both sides have been frustrated with the government, feeling like their positions were maligned by federal policy.

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[154] Curley Musgrave, "The Old Fifty Mile," *The Heritage,* recorded 2003, accessed February 10, 2017, http://tidido.com/a35184374391338/al55f185bba5f3907573943ca8/t55f185bca5f3907573943d1b.

[155] Lyman Hafen, *Roping the Wind: A Personal History of Cowboys and the Land* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1995), 4.

Conclusion

As the public became more interested in conservation and wilderness experiences, public lands battles in Utah became a contentious backdrop for American land priorities. New laws and designations precluded some traditional uses of lands. Mining and logging operations slowed, in most cases due to markets rather than to federal restrictions. Grazing impacted wildlife habitat and riparian health, and the American public coming out to experience "wild land," did not want to be reminded that the landscape was very much in use, either by seeing livestock or stepping in their spoor. American priorities on public lands issues did not align with local concerns and this misalignment became explosive.

When the Escalante discussion began in 1936, George A. Staples of the Utah State Planning Board reminded the participants of a Mormon story where "Brigham Young stuck his staff in the ground and said 'This is the place.'"[156] This was homeland, but homeland was also a place of immense tracts of federal land. At the time, the creation of ZNP had seemed like a wonderful way to invite America into beautiful Mormon country. But in its further pursuits to create parks, monuments and wilderness areas, America overstayed its welcome.

The year after GSENM was designated, Republican candidate for Congress Chris Cannon (no relation to Kate Cannon) began a congressional bid. In his campaign ads he referred to the Utah War—the 1857-1858 event that pitted the Mormons against the

[156] Meeting Held at Price, Utah, June 26, 1936, For the Purpose of Discussing the Proposed Escalante National Monument," Escalante File, Series 22028, Box 11, Folder 11, Utah State Historical Society, p. 24.

federal government. The Utah War unfolded when the U.S. government sent troops to Utah territory in response to both Brigham Young's ambitions of empire and the practice of polygamy. It was in reaction to these federal forces that the Mormon Militia killed members of the Baker-Fancher wagon train in Mountain Meadows. In his 1990s television ad, Chris Cannon stated "I feel like I'm back in the 1850s again, with the federal government encamped all around us. Now Clinton takes our land."[157] His sentiment implied that Utah was once again at war with the federal government, a message meant to rally Dixie residents and remind them of their distinct history of shared federal persecution. Cannon's communication also carried in it a threat. The last time the "federal government encamped all around us" blood was shed.

The monument grazing rules, resource development regulations, wilderness studies and Endangered Species Act restrictions created an environment of locals feeling helpless, fearful and enraged.[158] Many felt like this government overreach intentionally targeted their rural culture—a jab of the finger to the "independent" cowboy lifestyle. According to a study on rationales behind conspiracy theory, "some ranchers and loggers of the American West believe that the government threatens their way of life, and they think there is a conspiracy to deprive them of their lands, livelihood, and rights."[159] Add to this Hofstadter's "paranoid style" premise and a culture emerges that felt alienated and

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[157] James Brooke, "New Reserve Stirs Animosities in Utah," *New York Times*, October 13, 1996, accessed August 12, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/1996/10/13/us/new-reserve-stirs-animosities-in-utah.html.

[158] One interesting exception to anger over designation came in 2009, when parts of ZNP were designated wilderness under the Omnibus Public Land Management Act. The act designated two million acres of wilderness in nine states and was largely non-controversial in Utah.

[159] Marina Abalakina-Papp, Walter G. Stephan, Ted Craig and W. Larry Gregory, "Beliefs in Conspiracies," *Political Psychology* 1, no. 3 (1999): 639.

powerless to an Orwellian order. A belief that the U.S. government was out to get them, and that larger global forces were complicit in this crime. The notion galvanized a group of people, including Shawna Cox and Cliven Bundy. They had started to feel that it was incumbent upon themselves to take justice into their own hands, taking a page from the American militia movement.

According to Morris Dees, founder of the hate-group watchdog organization Southern Poverty Law Center, one of the main enemies of the militia in the U.S. is a perceived United Nation's New World Order.[160] During an interview, Shawna Cox explained the sinister designs that the United Nations had on the American people. She referred to a resolution passed at the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit called Agenda 21, a '21st Century' community and national sustainable development strategy to reduce poverty and pollution.[161] Cox carries with her "Sustainable Development or Sustainable Freedom?" brochures, a warning against the goals of Agenda 21 and the dangers of the United Nations. The far-right, radical John Birch Society condemned Agenda 21 and has suggested that it is a way to depopulate rural areas, regulate family size and move citizens to urban areas where they can be better regulated.[162] Several anti-Semitic, neo-Nazi groups, American Militia and even Mormon Glenn Beck have called Agenda 21 an international take-over plot. In addition to their long held beliefs in state and county sovereignty, a fight against a New World Order ties Shawna Cox and the Bundy family to radical hate groups and militia who believe that the government is out to take away self-

[160] Dees and Corcoran, *Gathering Storm*, 82-84.

[161] Shawna Cox. 2016. Interview by author. Kanab, Utah, May 27.

[162] Lenz and Potok, "War in the West."

sufficiency, self-governance and liberty. With this notion, the Bundys have also brought another cultural stratum into their fight with the federal government, a radicalized version of Mormonism.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE GUNS OF ZION

The Bundy Family, Public Lands and Mormonism

> *I always thought of the Bundy's as a tough hearted and rugged family, the kind of people who could be cut to their knees by noon and back on their feet by evening. They were survivors and they were a deeply proud family that stood together and laughed often and lived deeply…. I later learned they were a clan you would never want to cross. Some of them had a mean streak that ran as deep as their spirits ran high.* [1]
> —Lyman Hafen

> *Not wanting to convert to their beliefs is not a particularly good excuse for hanging in effigy, vandalizing, threatening or any other cowardly ways used to harass them [environmentalists].*[2]
> —Gwendolyn Zeta

In 2014, Cliven Bundy and his family took their fight over grazing rights into a national realm in their effort to challenge public lands ownership and government authority. Fortified by Mormon history, theology and a certainty that God was on their side, the Bundys inspired armed militia to engage in a standoff with federal agents in Nevada—a standoff that the family and members of the American militia claimed to have won after federal agents retreated. Two years later, Bundy's sons launched a militarized take-over of the Malheur Wildlife Refuge in Oregon to protest another ranching family's plight. The Bundys have emerged as a cause célèbre among the American Militia

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[1] Lyman Hafen, *Far from Cactus Flat: The 20th Century Story of a Harsh Land, a Proud Family and a Lost Son* (St. George: Arizona strip Interpretative Associate, 2006) p. 10.

[2] Gwendolyn Zeta, "Let's Respect Everyone's Rights," *Garfield County News*, June 3, 1999, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3458523&q=Gwendolyn+Zeta&page=1&rows=25&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=rel&gallery=0&date_tdt=%5B+1998-01-01T00%3A00%3A00Z+TO+2000-12-31T00%3A00%3A00Z+%5D#t_3458523.

Movement and in doing so, have emboldened others to challenge federal authority. Cliven Bundy's arrival as a spokesperson on public lands grazing, constitutional rights and the will of God reveals a man who believes in his own superior moral authority and righteousness. In his convictions, he came to feel impervious to federal law enforcement. He and his sons are informed by a cowboy mythology—a story that enjoyed a broad appeal in Dixie and regionally, but that neglects historical and economic nuance. Bundy has become a special version of the myth, one that embraces the image of the Mormon homesteader who fought hard to settle the desert of Dixie. His convictions rely on early church ideologies and nineteenth century notions of land ownership. He talks about "We the People" at rallies and the violations being imposed upon said people by the government. Yet his personal crusade as public lands rancher reflects a rather limited demographic when considering the whole of America. That said, his crusade speaks to the concerns of the white working class; men and women who once relied upon natural resource extraction to provide for their families and insure the health of their communities. Cowboys are few and far between in this country, but the image of a working class man making a living from raw materials has inspired a large and angst-ridden following who believe that protecting the environment takes away jobs and that the federal government is failing them.

Cliven Bundy, his sons and their followers have taken on the government in the role of saviors. And in this role as their personas became layered with religious and cultural expressions, Bundy and his supporters began to role-play heroes in *The Book of Mormon.* Many of his followers have emphasized a special relationship with the U.S. Constitution. Some claim to have a unique understanding of the legal and spiritual nature

of land ownership. And as a coalition, the Bundy followers find inspiration in the John Birch Society and Posse Comitatus, groups that espouse very hard alt-right viewpoints. They have launched their fight on the ground, reached out to militia and called for heavenly support. Their motivations shifted from fighting a battle to keep cows on 145,604 acres of federal land to launching a national holy war.



Figure 13. "Ceiling Cat Watching." Posted on *Why We Protest*.net, April 24, 2014. Accessed February 9, 2017. https://whyweprotest.net/attachments/cliven-bundy-an-hero-png.228562/. Copyright unknown.

History of Violence

Bundy's connection to LDS pioneers came from his claimed connection to Nephi Johnson, the first Mormon settler to explore Zion Canyon. Johnson married Bundy's widowed great-great-great grandmother, Bodil Margaret Jensen, and in the process adopted Bundy's great-great grandfather Johnny Jensen. A practicing polygamist, Johnson married three women and had twenty-seven biological children and six step children.[3] According to Bundy, spiritual adoption thereby provided a Bundy birthright in the region and a stake in the ownership to land homesteaded by early Dixie pioneers.[4] In addition to being the first white visitor to Zion Canyon, Nephi Johnson also played a role in the 1857 Mountain Meadows Massacre.

Like the Bundys, Juanita Brooks (1889-1989) lived in Bunkerville, Nevada. An historian and writer, Brooks helped bring her region into the national spotlight during the mid-twentieth century by writing books and articles on the west and Mormon history. Daughter of the co-founder of Bunkerville, Dudley Leavitt, Brooks attended Columbia University then moved to St. George to teach at what is today known as Dixie State University. There is a portrait of Ms. Brooks, a serious-looking woman with her dark hair and cat-eye glasses, hanging in a frame on the second floor of the Dixie State Library. She looks exacting. She was also determined, brave, articulate and troubled by her own culture; a culture that maintained an abiding anger over intrusions from outsiders.

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[3] Robert Briggs, "Nephi Johnson," *1857 Iron County Militia*, accessed February 4, 2017, http://www.1857ironcountymilitia.com/index.php?title=Nephi_Johnson.

[4] Cliven, Ryan and Carol Bundy, 2015. Interview by author. Bunkerville, NV, March 4.

In 1950, over thirty years after the establishment of ZNP, Brooks published an article regarding the land of her ancestors and the transition from Mormon homeland to tourist destination. She wrote

> Pioneer travelers measuring the distances in terms of days and nights on the road, of hours plodding across a sandy stretch or up a grade to a summit, called the whole area 'the land where God forgot.' This view to them was not something to admire but a place where they must live…
> You now stand almost midway between two lanes of traffic through Utah—US 91, for which you left some twenty miles back, and US 89, which lies ahead. For nearly three hundred miles they run parallel, much of the way only forty miles apart, and joining them in a sort of magic circle are the scenic wonders of Zion, Bryce, Cedar Breaks, all within 150 miles. Today, instead of being the land God forgot, it is the land that man remembers and tells his friends…[5]

To early Mormons settlers, canyon country was as desolate and seemed godforsaken.[6] This made the land demanding to settle, but to the LDS, the struggle became a spiritual challenge. By contrast, the many visitors who came to see this place felt awe and divinity in the contours of the jagged terrain. This was Dixie's paradox: a landscape, alluring in destination, but demanding in habitation.

When Mormon pioneers settled Brooks' part of Dixie, a rugged intersection of the Mojave Desert, the Colorado Plateau and the Great Basin, it did seem forlorn. But again, this is part of the Mormon story. Irrigating red dust and grazing livestock on the barest of ranges was testimony to the fortitude of a tough people. And by living on this landscape for generations, Dixie LDS passed their rough and tumble legacy along with scrubby land on to children and grandchildren.

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[5] Juanita Brooks, "The Land that God Forgot," *Utah Historic Quarterly* 26, No. 3 (July 1958): 211.

[6] Nelson, *Wrecks of Human Ambition*.

In 1919, Brooks was approached by Nephi Johnson, and asked to write his recollections. According to Brooks, Johnson implored, "My eyes have witnessed things that my tongue has never uttered, and before I die I want it written down. And I want you to do it."[7] As a busy young woman, Brooks delayed visiting Johnson and addressing his request. When she finally went to him, he was no longer lucid. She recalled sitting with him as he lay dying, later writing that he moaned "blood, blood, blood!" in delirium.[8] Brooks came to understand that this outburst reflected a final anguish over his role in the mass slaughter at Mountain Meadows, Dixie's first anti-government protest.[9]

[7] David Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach, "Riding Herd: A Conversation with Juanita Brooks," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 9, no. 1 (1974): 9, 26, accessed February 4, 2017, http://dialoguejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/sbi/issues/V09N01.pdf.

[8] Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre,* 3rd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), vii.

[9] Levi S. Peterson, *Juanita Brooks: The Life Story of a Courageous Historian of the Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 41, 44.

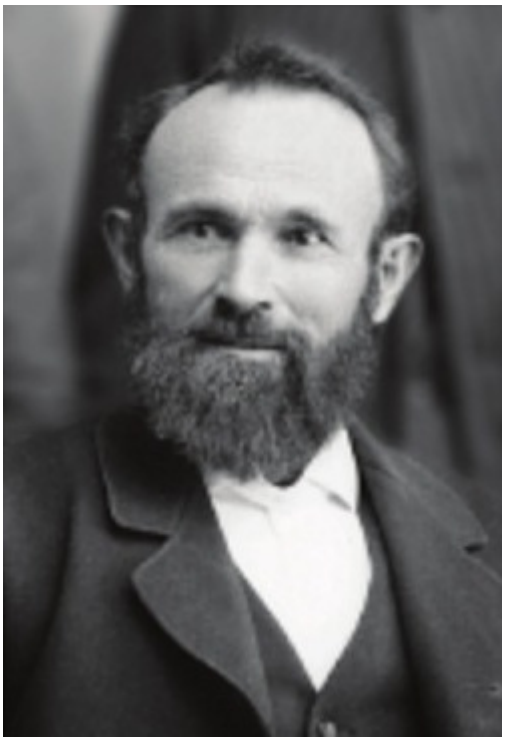


Figure 14. Nephi Johnson. Washington County Historical Society. Undated photograph. http://www.wchsutah.org/people/nephi-johnson0.jpg.

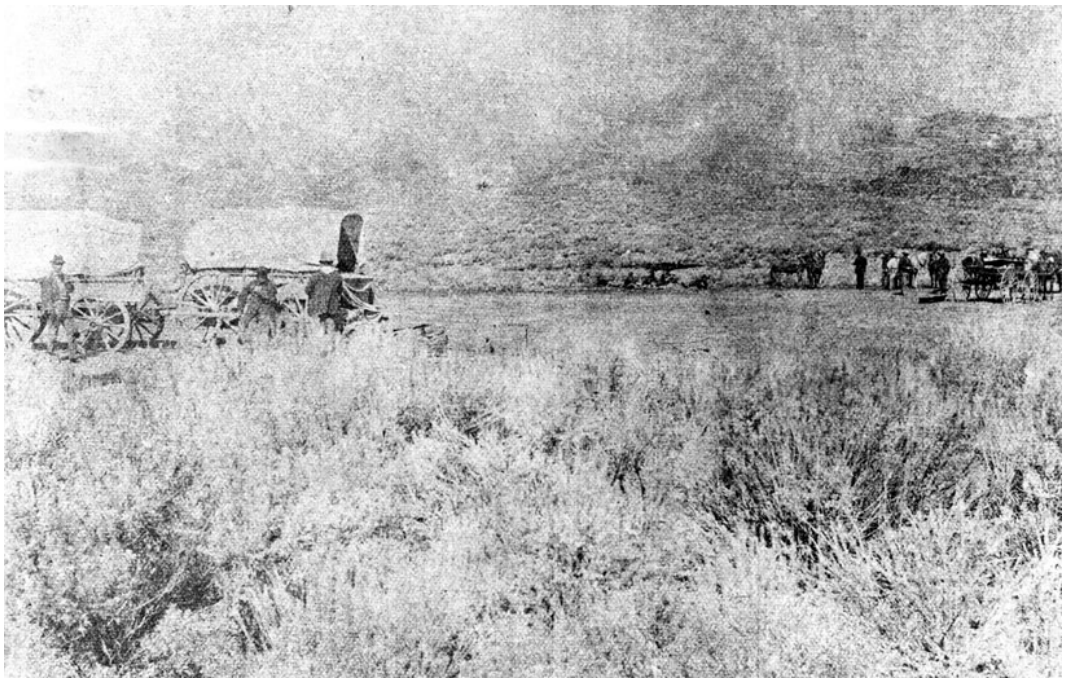


Figure 15. John D. Lee at Mountain Meadows. "The Scene at Mountain Meadows, Utah, Prior to the Execution of John D. Lee (center), the Only Individual Held Publicly Responsible for the 1857 Massacre of More than 100 Settlers from Arkansas; circa 1875." Accessed February 9, 2017. http://www.encyclopediaof arkansas.net/media/gallery/photo/mountain_meadows_f.jpg.

After Johnson passed away, as a way to keep her word and tell his story, Brooks went about researching the massacre, Johnson's participation and her own grandfather's involvement. The result was the *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, published in 1950. Prior to Brooks's work, the Mormon Church had not admitted the role of Brigham Young in helping to suppress the news of Mormon involvement in the killing. For her revelation, Brooks experienced fallout in her own community. In revealing that the Mormons had killed the non-Mormon settlers and blamed the Southern Paiute for the crime, Brooks was viewed by some as a traitor and disloyal to her faith. "This book [*Mountain Meadows*

Massacre] branded me as an apostate," Brooks declared.[10] In a remembrance of her life, biographer Levi Peterson noted "Although Juanita was not excommunicated for her history of the massacre, she resented bitterly the atmosphere of disgrace, which descended upon her and her loyal husband."[11] In spite of the anger some LDS had for what they perceived as disloyalty, the book forced the Church and the people of Dixie to face their role in the Utah Territorial Militia murders. The militia consisted of a group of LDS men that had formed in response to the violence against them in the Midwest. They were responsible for killing one hundred and twenty innocent "interlopers" because their presence was perceived as a threat to homeland.

In *Mountain Meadows Massacre,* Brooks reported tensions with the federal government were high when the Baker-Fancher wagon-train party, en route to California, stopped to camp in Mormon territory at Mountain Meadow.[12] On September 11, 1857, a few Paiute and the Utah Mormon Militia attacked the party, killing men, women and children. They left their bodies unburied, scattered across a valley below a rocky outcrop. Local families did adopt some of the surviving children who were later returned to their families.

The killing reflected the deep rage Mormons carried towards non-Mormon America after being forced out of the Midwest. The crime transpired during the Utah War, a strange skirmish between U.S. troops and the Mormons. Newly settled LDS

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[10] Bitton and Ursenbach, "Riding Herd," 29.

[11] Levi S. Peterson, "In Memoriam," *Sunstone Magazine*, October 1989, 7, accessed February 2, 2017, https://www.sunstonemagazine.com/pdf/073-06-08.pdf.

[12] The site is roughly fifty-five miles north of Bunkerville, thirty miles west of St. George and sixty west of ZNP.

settlers seethed at the U.S. military presence in Utah Territory. The Mormon pioneers had brought with them the fresh and vivid memories of vigilante violence after the murder of Joseph Smith. The Baker-Fancher party suffered grievously for the fury and anxiety among Mormons who imagined their Zion was under threat.

When she wrote her work, Brooks believed Dixie still smoldered over the events of the past. She saw this resentment in Mormon ritual when she was anointed during her marriage ceremony to her first husband at the St. George Temple. An officiant told her "to be strong in defense of Zion, and in avenging the blood of the prophet."[13]
The ceremony and its recitations undergirded ongoing LDS feelings of injustice, ire and separateness. Brooks's wedding took place in 1919, the year ZNP was designated. In the mind of Juanita Brooks, even as Dixie was opening to the American tourist, emotions were still somewhat raw.

Mountain Meadows had been, in part, the enactment of a sectarian battle in defense of homeland and culture. It was a brutal backlash towards the federal government and retribution towards "trespassing" Gentiles. Mormon land was worth killing over, a truth Cliven Bundy's spiritual grandfather relived as he died. After inquests and trials, only one man was punished for his involvement in the bloodbath, famous LDS pioneer John D. Lee (1812-1877). Lee was convicted and executed in 1877, just six years after enthusiast Fredrick Dellenbaugh first laid eyes on the wondrous geography of southern Utah with the Powell party. By the time Lee died, the fight over Zion had seemingly cooled, as invitations were offered to an appreciative American public.

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[13] Peterson, *Juanita Brooks*, 44.

In the next decades, as visitors came to trek through canyons, climb walls and spires and gaze upon the impressive rock formations, they frolicked only mere miles from the site of the Mountain Meadows slaughter. Americans fell in love with this land and clamored for more monuments and wilderness areas. Their affairs with red rock led to deep local resentment. American appreciation for lands, beyond their ability to produce, led to further restrictions. Many Dixie residents saw federal environmental rules and land designations as land grabs. And a few ranchers made it clear, as had their ancestors, that they would protect their land even if blood was shed. Which brings us back to Cliven Bundy.

Cliven Bundy and His Beef with the BLM

When Cliven Bundy stopped paying his fees for his grazing allotments, he went to war. And over the years he supported others in fighting government regulations. In Mary Bulloch's case, he helped her to reclaim her confiscated cattle. He also began to speak at rallies held to garner support for BLM reform and rancher rights. During these speeches, he claimed that ranchers had the God-given and unalienable rights to public lands. He railed against the BLM and Forest Service's actions over land management, explaining that these agencies were in "direct conflict with the Constitution."[14] He told his audiences that the sheriff was the highest authority and preempted the power of the BLM and the

[14] "Courthouse Meet Draws Angry Ranchers, Sheriff, Commissioners on BLM Cattle Sale and Utah Ag Department Deal with Feds," *Garfield County News*, February 8, 2001, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3469468&q=Courthouse+Meet+Draws+Angry+Ranchers%2C+Sheriff%2C+Commissioners+on+BLM+Cattle+Sale+and+Utah+Ag+Department+Deal+with+Feds&page=1&rows=25&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0#t_3469468.

FBI. [15] At one point he even said that of the $250,000 in legal fees he had used to fight the government, "a big chunk was coming from the LDS church."[16] In 1998 a U.S. district court ruled to place a permanent injunction against Bundy.[17] Following this decision, the BLM threatened to take action and confiscate Bundy's cattle in the Gold Butte region. But Bundy did not remove his animals.

Other Nevada ranchers, including Cliff Gardner and Wayne Hage, were also embattled over public land use in Nevada. Like Bundy, they validated their own actions with a sovereign state rationale, again asserting that the U.S. government did not actually own the public land in the state of Nevada and therefore was not entitled to manage it. Gardner, a member of the Nevada Committee for Full Statehood (a group that did not acknowledge federal ownership or control over Nevada's public lands), was charged with trespassing after letting his cattle illegally graze on Forest Service land without a permit. In 1994, he lost his permit after he let his cows graze in an area that was recovering from fire damage.[18]

These ranchers, in addition to being anti-government, were anti-science. They did not trust the research that federal agencies relied on to manage habitat. Bundy and the other ranchers in rebellion ignored grazing restrictions on fragile lands in recovery. They

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid. In spite of inquiries, I cannot find proof of this. But this might be my next research challenge.

[17] United States vs. Cliven Bundy, CV-S-98-531-JBR, November 4, 1998, 11, accessed February 5, 2017, https://www.hcn.org/articles/1998.11.4_BundyCourtJudgment.PDF.

[18] Jeffery Mullins, "Cliff Gardner Faces Trespass Sentencing Monday," *Elko Daily*, March 7, 2002, accessed February 4, 2017, http://elkodaily.com/news/local/cliff-gardner-faces-trespass-sentencing-monday/article_4fc8d5a3-0b9f-5f65-91df-695e3bf07208.html.

also disputed impacts that cattle had on threatened species. While serving as the Clark County Director of the Nevada Livestock Association, Bundy said:

> Now they are claiming more of their 'lynx and spotted owl land grab science' [*sic*] that 25 to 30 cows, all a man has left, are somehow going to cause harm to the tortoises and willow flycatcher… We don't believe it and we are not going to allow further impoundment of cattle. It's rustling pure and simple under the color of law. They'll probably kill more tortoises and willow flycatchers running over them with souped up motorcycles and hired henchmen trying to run down some poor cow and her calf…[19]

At the time this article was published, Nevada State Department of Wildlife Director Kenneth May was considering a petition to get the sage grouse listed on the endangered species list. Detractors accused him of espousing "voodoo science, research that identified cattle as a threat to this ground nesting bird."[20] Due to May's efforts to protect habitat and potentially limit grazing in some areas, Nevada Governor Brian Sandoval fired him.[21]

Wayne Hage ran cattle without permits on BLM and Forest Service lands in upstate Nevada. It looked like a victory for public land ranching when after years of fighting, U.S. District judge Robert Clive Jones, who is a Mormon, ruled in 2013 "that a rancher who holds water rights from the state can graze cattle within a half mile of the

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[19] "BLM After More Cows in Nevada Counties; Sheriff stands for Due Process," *Garfield County News*, March 28, 2002, accessed February 4, 2017, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=3471223&q=BLM+After+More+Cows+in+Nevada+Counties%3B+Sheriff+stands+for+Due+Process&page=1&rows=25&fd=title_t%2Cpaper_t%2Cdate_tdt%2Ctype_t&sort=date_tdt+asc&gallery=0#t_3471223.

[20] Nate Schweber, "Ouster Sharpens Debate on the Sage Grouse, *New York Times*, February 5, 2003, accessed February 4, 2017, https://green.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/02/05/ouster-sharpens-debate-on-the-sage-grouse/.

[21] Ibid.

water without a federal permit…."[22] Jones dismissed all but two of the federal trespassing charges and ordered the Forest Service and the BLM to issue grazing permits to the family who, like Bundy, had lost the rights in 1993.

The Jones's ruling was overturned in 2016 when a panel of judges determined, "An owner of water rights — like all other persons — may graze cattle on federal lands only if he or she has obtained a grazing permit or other grazing authorization…Water rights are irrelevant to that basic requirement."[23] The appeals court also ruled that Jones had been biased in his judgment, had "grossly abused the power of contempt" and had openly declared his bias against the BLM when he accused their staff of "the standard arrogant, arbitrary, capricious attitude that I recognize in many of these cases."[24] BLM agents were viewed as villains. They were outsiders who could not trace their roots back for generations.

In response to the 2016 decision to overturn Judge Jones' ruling, Hage's son, Wayne Hage Jr., said, "It is a big disappointment, not just for my family, but for the entire industry…. They felt relief at the Jones decision. Ranchers' rights had been upheld but now it has been overturned. It looks to me that the 9th Circuit just swelled the ranks of the militia."[25] The militia, who already had a relationship with many western ranchers,

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[22] Bob Egelko, "Appeals Court Reins in Judge in Sagebrush Rebellion Case," *SF Gate*, January 17, 2016, accessed September 17, 2017, http://www.sfgate.com/nation/article/Appeals-court-reins-in-judge-in-Sagebrush-6765808.php.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Sean Whaley, "Nevada Ranching Family Loses Federal Lands Court Case," *Las Vegas Review*, January 18, 2016, accessed February 4, 2017, http://www.reviewjournal.com/news/nevada/nevada-ranching-family-loses-federal-lands-court-case.

[25] Ibid.

were by this point firmly embedded in the public lands battle with ranchers in their fight against the government.

The Oathkeepers and the Constitutional Sheriffs for Peace Officers Association were two militia groups supporting the Bundys. The groups both borrowed ideology from Posse Comitatus (Power of the Country), a movement started by William Potter Gale, a member of the Christian Identity.[26] Counting Randy Weaver of Ruby Ridge, Idaho among its adherents, the Identity was a white supremacist, apocalyptic group preparing for a battle between Jesus Christ and Satan.[27]

In order to freely participate in a war with the feds, Gale tried to "constitutionally" circumvent federal authority, which he perceived as malevolent. He espoused state sovereignty and the power of the county sheriff and contended "it is the duty of the Sheriff to protect local citizens from such lawful acts. Once he has been advised and refuses to perform his lawful duty in respect to the matter," the Posse Comitatus "can step in, act as governing force, bear arms [and] shall not be impeded."[28] In other words, the militia movement believed that if a citizen consulted a sheriff over a grievance and the sheriff did not act, that citizen had the right to take up arms against the federal government. For example, they believed that if someone, like Cliven Bundy, asked a

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[26] Dees and Corcoran, *Gathering Storm*, 25; JJ McNabb, "Context Matters: The Cliven Bundy Standoff -- Part 3," *Forbes.com,* May 6, 2014, accessed February 1, 2016, http://www.forbes.com/sites/jjmacnab/2014/05/06/context-matters-the-cliven-bundy-standoff-part-3/#52f7781b13c9.

[27] Dees and Corcoran, *Gathering Storm*, 24.

[28] JJ McNabb, "Context Matters: The Cliven Bundy Standoff -- Part 3," *Forbes.com,* May 6, 2014, accessed February 1, 2016, http://www.forbes.com/sites/jjmacnab/2014/05/06/context-matters-the-cliven-bundy-standoff-part-3/#52f7781b13c9.

sheriff to stop a federal agency from confiscating his cows and the sheriff refused, then Bundy would be legally entitled to take up arms and make the government stop himself.

Again, in 2013, the U.S. launched charges against Bundy, maintaining that his feral cattle were "threats to public safety… causing accidents and posing a threat to workers and visitors of the National Parks Service…" and had "damaged natural and cultural resources including scenic values and various endangered species, including two fish species, one bird species, and the desert tortoise; and adversely impacted natural resources by denuding rangelands and damaging archeological resources."[29] And again, the U.S. won the case against Bundy. The judge ruled:

> Bundy shall remove his livestock from the New Trespass Lands within 45 days of the date hereof, and that the United States is entitled to seize and remove to impound any of Bundy's cattle that remain in trespass after 45 days of the date hereof: United States is entitled to seize and remove to impound any of Bundy's cattle for any future trespasses, provided the United States has provided notice to Bundy under the governing regulations of the United States Department of the Interior.[30]

Following this decision, the BLM sent a letter notifying Cliven Bundy that his "trespass cattle" would be impounded.[31] Two weeks later, the BLM closed off 322,000 acres of public land. When federal agents arrived, Bundy appealed to the Clark County sheriff's office, issuing a "Range War Emergency Notice and Demand for Protection."[32] The feds

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[29] Zach Parry, "Cliven Bundy's Battle of Bunkerville: An Attorney's Analysis," April 18, 2014, accessed February 3, 2016, http://pickardparry.com/2014/04/cliven-bundy-legal-historical-analysis/.

[30] *United States v. Cliven Bundy*, No. 2:12-cv-0804-LDG-GWF. U.S. District Court, United States District Court, District of Nevada, July 9, 2013.

[31] Jamie Fuller, "The Long Fight between the Bundy's and the Federal Government, from 1989 to Today," *The Washington Post*, January 4, 2016, accessed February 4, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2014/04/15/everything-you-need-to-know-about-the-long-fight-between-cliven-bundy-and-the-federal-government/?utm_term=.f88c790218fb.

[32] Ibid.

began the cattle round-up on April 5, 2014. With his notice to the sheriff's department, Bundy had taken steps, in his mind, to take justice into his own hands if his sheriff refused to support his range war.

A video of Cliven Bundy asking for backup in his fight against the government was posted on Mormon Glenn Beck's network, *The Blaze*. It then went viral as calls to action were raised on the family blog, anti-government sites and Facebook.[33] Within a matter of days, hundreds of angry patriots from all over the country arrived at the Bundy Ranch. Amidst flags, trucks and sagebrush, a sign beckoned, "Militia Sighn [*sic*] in."[34]

On April 12, 2014, Cliven Bundy, his wife, many of his children and grandchildren, joined along local protesters and members of various nationalistic and paramilitary groups, and marched and rode horses towards the former Bunkerville allotment, the BLM lands that Bundy and his father had once leased.[35] Militia snipers laid in wait above the rally, their guns pointed at federal agents standing under an Interstate 15 overpass. Clark County sheriff Doug Gillespie tried to defuse the situation, but to no avail. Bundy and his backers refused to back down, instead demanding that the agents turn over their weapons.[36] The sheriff, realizing the futility of his role in the situation, left the area. In reaction to the sheriff's departure, Bundy ordered the crowd to go and get his

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[33] Lenz and Potok, "War in the West."

[34] Jamie Fuller, "The Long Fight between the Bundy's and the Federal Government, from 1989 to Today," *Washington Post*, January 4, 2016, accessed February 4, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2014/04/15/everything-you-need-to-know-about-the-long-fight-between-cliven-bundy-and-the-federal-government/?utm_term=.f88c790218fb.

[35] Cliven, Ryan and Carol Bundy, 2015. Interview by author. Bunkerville, NV, March 4.

[36] Lenz and Potok, "War in the West."

cows. According to the tenants of Posse Comitatus, he and the militia were now in charge of meting out justice against a tyrannical government.

Protesters heckled BLM agents and law enforcement and pushed them up against a gate that blocked access to Bundy's former allotment. The mob cheered, some waving American flags and Gadsden banners emblazoned with "Don't Tread on Me." Finally, recognizing the impasse and the potential danger, federal agents and Nevada police retreated. As the feds left the scene, Ryan Bundy yelled, "The West has now been won!"[37] This moment was a huge victory for the Patriot movement as it seemed that Bundy and the protesters had beaten the government. This thrill of victory would follow the Bundy brothers when they went to Malheur two years later.

The Constitution Cowboy

After his 2014 confrontation with the feds, Cliven Bundy himself said, "If the standoff with the Bundys was wrong, would the Lord have been with us?...Could those people that stood (with me) without fear and went through that spiritual experience … have done that without the Lord being there? No, they couldn't."[38] An article in a St. George newspaper reported that in preparation for the Bundy armed showdown with the BLM, "Bundy's daughter-in-law, Briana, spoke of how the members of the family fasted and prayed for the spirit of their forefathers to be with them as they prepared on

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[37] "Historic! Feds Forced to Surrender to American Citizens," YouTube video, 6:13, Posted by Alex Jones Channel, April 13, 2014, accessed February 9, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bD61YFxUga4.

[38] Kevin Jenkins, "Bundy with Feds, a Spiritual Battle," *The Spectrum*, August 12, 2014, accessed February 17, 2016, http://www.thespectrum.com/story/news/local/2014/08/02/bundy-showdown-feds-spiritual-battle/13536097/.

horseback to defy the BLM's efforts to impound cattle…"[39] The Bundy family had come to feel impervious to the long arm of the law because they truly believed that God was on their side in their feud. Like the faith-promoting events of early Dixie settlers, God was ready to intervene with a Mormon in need.

On March 5, 2015, I visited the Bundy family, a year after the Bunkerville stand-off and a year before the take-over at Malheur. En route to the Bundy compound, the dramatic beauty of southern Utah's geography tapers into a flatter and drier band of the Mojave Desert. It's hotter, lower in elevation and on hot days the surrounding mountains are blurred by heat waves. Bundy Ranch is off Riverside Drive, so named for the slow, dull stretch of water and dust—a channel of the same Virgin River that etched Zion Canyon. The cross streets of "Fraught" and "Hopeless" announce intersections that seem to lead only into empty haze and brush. After several lonely miles, the Bundy Ranch stands at the end of a long driveway adorned with flags, patriotic slogans and a sign advertising melons.

Cliven Bundy has time after time justified his actions, among many other reasons, through his understanding of Mormonism. He has referred to his campaign as a holy war.[40] During the course of a three-hour interview with me, Cliven Bundy authenticated his anti-government position through LDS ancestry and birthright; LDS history of western settlement; and his understanding of Mormon duty.

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[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

Though Cliven Bundy might regard Nephi Johnson as a distant grandfather, the Bundy family didn't actually move to Bunkerville and begin ranching there until the 1940s. Still, he conjured the actions of the first settler as if he himself had been there to bear witness:

> He traveled with a team of horses … everything he owns on that wagon and he has, you know, his wife and family and maybe a milk cow tied behind … actually making a trail in here. When they get to a place that they think they maybe want to settle or spend the night or explore or whatever, what do they need? The very first thing they need is for … horse needs to drink…. So they unbuckle their horse from the wagon, harness off the horse, and they lead the horse to [water] …. And when that horse takes the very first sip of that renewable resource, he is beginning to create a beneficial use of that resource. And from that point on, he is the first white man basically to create a beneficial use for man and when that horse takes that drink and so he's first come, first served, I think. So he has created the first beneficial use of that resource. Renewable resource….That's how our rights are created. … And that's what the range war, the Bundy war, is all about right now is it's really about protecting three things: our life, liberty, and our property. [41]

Bundy's vision of the world does not take into consideration the sovereign rights of the Paiute. He and his family are firmly ensconced within the cowboy myth of the west, a narrative of conquest, commodification and capitalism. Once a horse, belonging to a Mormon settler, drank from the Virgin, the land was given value and became their property. To Bundy, it was only after the Mormon homesteader came to make the land useful, that the real history of the region begins. Before the Mormons manifested Zion, the region's story didn't count.

In spite of the fact that the Bundys live next to a Southern Paiute reservation, they think little about Native American sovereignty issues. Ryan Bundy said "that the Native

[41] Cliven, Ryan and Carol Bundy, 2015. Interview by author. Bunkerville, NV, March 4.

Americans had the claim to the land, but they lost that claim. There are things to learn from cultures of the past, but the current culture is the most important."[42] This is an ironic position since the Bundys story is shrouded in cowboy ethos, a narrative that in our current American culture itself feels largely one of the past.

During my visit, Carol Bundy, Cliven's wife said that the issue of maintaining a traditional lifestyle was a great part of the impetus in their war. She explained:

> The freedom to ranch.… because our families have ranched this area for so long, it's a custom and culture we're fighting for. It's a way of life….Because the government wants to come in and control all of this land. But for us, it's a way of life and it's a heritage that has been passed down. We've been from farming and ranching all of our life and that's what we know and that's what we want to pass on to our children—that opportunity to do that. And it's being taken away. Not just here, but all over.

In an era of corporate ranching and the public's interest in environmental regulation, this is often the fate of the cowboy in the new American west. And yet the image of the cowboy, historically, holds much appeal in the American imagination. According to the author of the novel *The Virginian*, Owen Wister (1860-1938), the cowboy was "the best thing the Declaration of Independence ever turned out ... the same creature who was the volunteer on both sides in the Civil War - the son of the soil, whose passion and intelligence and character made him able to fight battles almost without need of captains, . . . that is the fellow . . . and the plains brought him again to perfections only latent in

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[42] A.B. Wilkinson, "A Right to the Land: Native Americans and Militias in Oregon and Nevada," *Huffington Post*, January 25, 2016, accessed August 27, 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/a-b-wilkinson/gold-butte_b_9044222.html.

civilization."[43] The cowboy, through movies, music, novels, advertising and television, is one ideal of a true American. As Wister alluded, his very presence was justified by the Declaration of Independence. This American myth has become inextricably linked to ideas of self-governance, self-determination and big open spaces. The guns, the masculinity and the notion of freedom all make this myth appealing to the American patriot movement as well. Ironically, for as traditional as the cowboy ideal is, Bundy's war wouldn't be nearly as popular and successful if it wasn't for a new-fangled idea—the internet—where the Bundys and their supporters continue to make their case everyday. The Bundy Facebook page propagates activism and on-going hero worship.

Among other western writers and historians, Patricia Limerick dispelled the cowboy myth. Detailing the struggles of western development, the boom and bust cycles of resource extraction and the legacy of government subsidies, Limerick contended the cowboy ideal was built on the back of violence, imperialism, unsustainable resource use.[44] Cowboys have a romantic and popular cachet, but to use the image as the height of individualism, as the Bundy family has done, is to ignore the history of western settlement. And yet, it is this idea of the cowboy and his right to freedom that continues to fuel the range war.

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[43] Neal E. Lambert, "Freedom and the American Cowboy," *Brigham Young University* 8, no. 1 (January 1, 1968): 61, accessed February 9, 2017, http://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1238&context=byusq.

[44] Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987).

Shawna Cox told me that her friend Mary Bulloch demanded that people call her a cowboy.[45] This identity was wrapped in her livelihood as well as in her determination to maintain the idea of rugged individualism, in spite the fact that the government subsidizes public land ranching. Cox very much admires Bundy and Bulloch, and has herself become involved in fighting the government. This fight had been going on for decades. During the 1990s, Cox attended *People for the West!* workshops, which were sponsored by a Wise Use group backed by corporate interests. The programs inspired members to fight government regulations on extractive practices on public lands. *People for the West!* targeted communities with disgruntled residents allowing for a cross-pollination among rural Mormons, anti-environmentalists, ranchers, anti-government and militia.[46] Cox became secretary for the local Kanab charter after the organization changed their name to *People for the USA!*"[47] Its motto was "Fighting to Keep America Strong by Keeping Public Lands Open."[48] Open, that is, to unregulated mining, four-wheeling and grazing.

Grazing restrictions weren't the only thing provoking Dixie residents. In 2009, over three hundred locals, led by former Kane County Commissioner Mark Habbeshaw, rode ATVs through the Paria River Basin, an area in GSENM closed to motorized vehicles. Cox, the organizer, commented to the *Salt Lake City Tribune* reporter, "People are the government. We need to go back to the Constitution….We're standing up for

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[45] Shawna Cox, 2016. Interview by author. Kanab, Utah, May 27.

[46] James Morton Turner, "The Specter of Environmentalism: Wilderness, Environmental Politics, and the Evolution of the New Right," *Journal of American History* 96, no. 1 (June 2009): 137.

[47] Cox, *Last Rancher Standing*, 18.

[48] Turner, "The Specter of Environmentalism," 137.

access."[49] During the rally, a Kane County commissioner clumsily referred to a line from the movie Network when he shouted, "We're mad as hell and aren't going to take [it] anymore." After his speech, he and a group of supporters rode their ATVs out along the Paria River as their wheels cut the soft, muddy river bottom. [50] Like Bundy, Cox had become convinced that she had a higher understanding of the Constitution.[51] She remains certain that unseen parties are out to take over public lands and a rural lifestyle.

During the 1990s, ranchers involved in battling the government over grazing restrictions began to carry a pocket U.S. Constitution in their shirts. The practice became a symbol for their fight, in which they contended their rights were being taken from them.[52] Cliven Bundy and his sons carry a pocket Constitution annotated by Cleon Skousen (1913-2006). Skousen, an extremist right-wing thinker, engaged in anti-communist efforts beginning in the late 1950s until the end of his life. He was a speaker for the John Birch Society and was seen as so dangerous that J. Edgar Hoover's FBI had over 2,000 pages in his file.[53] The Mormon Church distanced themselves from Skousen

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[49] Matt Canham, "Five Acts of Environmental Disobedience," *Salt Lake City Tribune*, May 2, 2014, accessed February 4, 2017, http://archive.sltrib.com/story.php?ref=/sltrib/home3/57875796-200/blm-com-county-dechristopher.html.csp.

[50] Mark Havnes, "Protests Roar through Fed Lands," *Salt Lake City Tribune*, May 9, 2009, accessed February 4, 2017, http://archive.sltrib.com/story.php?ref=/news/ci_12334760.

[51] The US Supreme Court who had ruled repeatedly against the idea of state sovereignty. According to Public Land Law Professor Deb Donahue at the University of Wyoming, "They're [the Bundys and their followers] just not accurately representing what the Constitution says and how courts, including the Supreme Court, have construed it for over 200 years now." Bryce Gray, "No, Federal Land Transfers Are Not in the Constitution," *High Country News*, February 4, 2016, accessed February 4, 2017, http://www.hcn.org/articles/legal-experts-oregon-militants-land-transfer-advocates-misguided-on-constitution.

[52] Turner, "The Specter of Environmentalism," 140.

[53] Ibid.; Dennis Lythgoe, "'Brack' has been Fiery Presence in Utah," *Deseret News*, September 13, 1994, accessed February 17, 2017, http://www.deseretnews.com/article/375244/BRACK-HAS-BEEN-A-FIERY-PRESENCE-IN-UTAH.html?pg=all.

because of his fundamentalism. He so incited other radical right activists that when he was fired as the chief of police in Salt Lake City, his supporters burned crosses on Mayor J. Bracken Lee's lawn.[54] He contended that the Constitution was based on the word of God.[55]

In a manifesto first published in 1982, "100 things Destroying America," Skousen wrote in a section called "Unconstitutional Withholding of Land From the States":

> The founders made it very clear in the Constitution and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 that all new states would enter the Union on an equal basis with the original 13 States. It was clearly stated that all land comprising federal territory was to be surrendered when it became a new state …
>
> The Federal Government presently occupies about 40% of all state lands, most of it unconstitutionally. This is particularly true in the western states and Alaska where these states were strong-armed into surrendering vast regions to the Federal Government before they could be admitted. As a result, the Federal Government has taken over lands for the following purposes not authorized by the Constitution: National Forests…National Parks …Wilderness areas from which the States have been excluded for development, mining, and the procuring of natural resources…Land coming under the Bureau of Land Management where cattle and sheep operators are being excluded in violation of their grazing rights. [56]

Bundy has maintained that the BLM is an illegal entity unlawfully managing his livestock allotment. This concept was backed up by Skousen. The Bundys and Shawna Cox hand out pocket Skousen Constitutions in their mission to "educate" their

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Alexander Zaitchik, "Meet the Man Who Changed Glenn Beck's Life," *Salon*, September 16, 2009, accessed February 17, 2017, http://www.salon.com/2009/09/16/beck_skousen/.

[56] Cleon Skousen, "One Hundred Things Destroying America," *Latter Day Conservative*, 1982, accessed February 6, 2017, http://www.latterdayconservative.com/articles/100-things-destroying-america/.

followers.[57] Cox gave one to me during our interview. The problem is, these pocket Constitutions have been annotated to present Skousen's unique spin on the document.[58]

The Bundys use Skousen and other Mormon leaders to back up their positions. There is a history of Mormon leaders making claims that the Latter Day Saints have a special relationship with the Constitution. The Bundys believe that Mormons maintain a better understanding of, and have a better relationship to, the document than a typical non-Mormon American citizens. And as such, Bundy and his sons felt obliged, as Mormons, to uphold their role in fighting to protect the U.S. Constitution.

The history of the relationship between Mormons and the Constitution goes back to the beginning of the Church. Joseph Smith specifically focused on the First Amendment because he felt it had been violated in the persecution of his Mormon people. As the leader of the LDS, he felt that basic protections afforded in the Constitution, such as "prohibits the making of any law respecting an establishment of religion," and "impeding the free exercise of religion," were not properly extended to the Mormon people. He prophesized that one day it would be incumbent on Mormon leaders to defend the document against the corrupt federal government and the hostile gentiles.[59]

According to Joseph Smith's writings, "…this Nation will be on the very verge of crumbling to peices [*sic*] and tumbling to the ground and when the Constitution is upon

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[57] Nigel Duara, "Oregon Armed Protesters Invoke the Constitution -- Annotated by a Conspiracy Theorist," *Los Angeles Times*, January 21, 2016, accessed February 1, 2016, http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-ff-oregon-standoff-constitution-20160121-story.html.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Joseph Smith, circa 1840. 'Discourse,' as reported by Martha Jane Knowlton Coray [ca. 1850s] Martha Jane Coray notebook, MS 1998, Joseph Smith Papers, Church History Library, p. 12-13.

the brink of ruin this people will be the Staff upon which the Nation shall lean and they shall bear the constitution away from the very verge of destruction."[60] Because Mormonism is so young and came out of nineteenth century America, the actual U.S. Constitution is a part of Mormon theology. Joseph Smith wrapped the Constitution within his prophecy so the document is part of Mormon worldview. This connection has defined the role of Bundy and his sons—they actually believe they themselves are the staff for a nation to lean upon.

The Mormon Church has a long history of prophets emphasizing the special relationship that LDS have with the Constitution. Mormon prophets after Smith also asserted that they received messages from God reaffirming Smith's position, including David O. McKay (1873-1970) and Cleon Skousen's close friend, Ezra Taft Benson (1899-1994). Their statements were adamant, some even menacing, calling on Mormons to defend the Constitution no matter the cost.

Ezra Taft Benson, a close associate to Cleon Skousen, served as Secretary of Agriculture for eight years in the Eisenhower administration, then went on to become the 13th President of the Mormon Church. In his words:

> I have faith that the Constitution will be saved as prophesied by Joseph Smith. But it will not be saved in Washington. It will be saved by the citizens of this nation who love and cherish freedom. It will be saved by enlightened members of this Church — men and women who will subscribe to and abide the principles of the Constitution.[61]

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[60] Ibid., 12-13.

[61] Ezra Taft Benson, "Our Divine Constitution," transcript, Church of the Latter Days Saints General Conference, October 1987, accessed February 6, 2017, https://www.lds.org/general-conference/1987/10/our-divine-constitution?lang=eng.

This type of language has become a rallying cry motivating the Bundy family. According to their beloved prophet, the Constitution will not be saved by Washington insiders and the East Coast elite. The people who will save the Constitution will be Mormons who have a innate, inherited knowledge of the Constitution—a wisdom so deep, it is in their "believing blood." The Bundys felt a divine calling in upholding the Constitutional rights of U.S. citizens, beginning with themselves, then extending their largesse to others. Cliven Bundy explained why the Constitution is so important to him:

> …as a Mormon we believe in inspiration… the Constitution was inspired… If it's inspired, who is the author? Who is the author of the Bible? We, don't we believe that Jesus Christ is basically the author of most of the things that are written in the Bible? Well, if the Constitution is inspired, who is the author? Wouldn't that author be Jesus Christ again? [62]

Bundy is operating within a view that Jesus Christ wrote the Constitution and therefore his battle is done in service to Christ. He continued his line of thinking and said:

> So, if you think of the Constitution of being an inspired document [*sic*] and then we believe that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land… and then we believe that when statehoods, according to our Constitution, statehood… that states become sovereign, sort of like they are nations and individual sovereignty moves into the statehood ….we, the people, are basically the judge…. [63]

This thinking reflects Posse Comitatus influence and the ideas of Cleon Skousen. Bundy felt as though he were on a divinely directed crusade to save our country from those defying Jesus's vision and guidelines for America.

According to a correspondence I had with Brigham Young University (Idaho) English professor Jaren Watson, who interviewed Ryan Bundy at Malheur Wildlife

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[62] Cliven, Ryan and Carol Bundy, 2015. Interview by author. Bunkerville, NV, March 4.

[63] Ibid.

Refuge, Ryan carries a notebook of quotes with him everywhere he goes. He showed it to me in Bunkerville. Watson, told me "It's a book of lectures/essays/quotes from the founding fathers and leaders of the LDS church. It was compiled by Keith Allen Nay, friend and neighboring rancher to the Bundys…. Cliven wrote the introduction to it."[64]

It is not difficult to see how Church leaders and their fiery rhetoric have influenced the Bundys. The Church's third president, John Taylor (1808-1887), said in 1879:

> The day is not far distant when this nation will be shaken from center to circumference. And now, you may write it down, any of you, and I will prophesy it in the name of God… When the people shall have torn to shreds the Constitution of the United States the Elders of Israel will be found holding it up to the nations of the earth and proclaiming liberty and equal rights to all men, and extending the hand of fellowship to the oppressed of all nations. This is part of the program, and as long as we do what is right and fear God, he will help us and stand by us under all circumstances.[65]

Many Church leaders after Joseph Smith warned of the day when a corrupt government would tear constitutional rights asunder. When this day came, it was up to the Elders of Israel, the LDS under the protection of God, to return liberty to the oppressed. And this day seemed to have arrived in the figure of a Mormon cowboy who saw the actions of a federal agency tasked with confiscating trespassing cattle as akin to shredding the U.S. Constitution.

On April 12, 2014, Bundy undertook his calling. And the militia joined him in his quest. Some militia have been inspired to act because they believe in an imminent Second

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[64] Jaren Watson 2016. Facebook Messenger to Betsy Gaines Quammen, January, accessed January 2016. (Jarren Watson has since left Facebook and his message is no longer available on line.)

[65] Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 21:8.

Coming and practice their defiance in a way to bring this about. According to the founder of the Southern Poverty Law Center, an organization that tracks hate crimes, some neo-Nazis and militia groups practice a "postmillennial religion that believes Jesus Christ will return once God's Law is established on earth following the Battle of Armageddon. Identity adherents are preparing for that battle. They are advocating a well stocked arsenal and survival gear at the ready."[66]

According to a popular theme in militia philosophy and Mormon prophecy, the nation is going to have to go through a very hard transition in order to recover and return to a wholesome and traditional state. The current president of the National Institute for Constitutional Studies, Earl Taylor, the organization that prints and provides the Cleon Skousen pocket Constitutions, also a Mormon, said:

> I fear that the United States is going to have to go through the wringer… It's gonna be rough.
>
> When the time comes, when the people who are in power for the power and the glory, and there is no more power and glory left, they'll probably be looking around asking, 'Can anybody help?' And you'll say, 'Yeah, I've got some ideas. Come on over and eat a little something.' Because there probably won't be much food anyway, but if you're wise, you'll have some.
>
> We're gonna win this thing… I've read the last chapter, like you have, and in the end, we're gonna win this thing….Isn't that great?[67]

In this, Taylor was suggesting a Revelation type event to harken a change in government and the nation. Taylor also made reference to preparedness in the case of shortages in his

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[66] Dees and Corcoran, *Gathering Storm*, 24.

[67] Alexander Zaitchik, "Fringe Mormon Group Makes Myths with Glenn Beck's Help," *Southern Poverty Law Center Intelligence Report*, February 23, 2011, accessed August 27, 2016, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2011/fringe-mormon-group-makes-myths-glenn-beck's-help.

prediction that a major disruption might be necessary to bring forth a shake-up of biblical proportions.[68]

Although the Mormon Church has condemned the actions of the Bundy family, over the years Church leaders have encouraged brash actions in defense of what they have often described as a vulnerable Constitution.[69] President Benson used powerful religious imagery when he issued the following warning regarding the Constitution:

> For years we have heard of the role the elders could play in saving the Constitution from total destruction. But how can the elders be expected to save it if they have not studied it and are not sure if it is being destroyed or what is destroying it?…Satan is anxious to neutralize the inspired counsel of the Prophet and hence keep the priesthood off balance, ineffective and inert in the fight for freedom. He does this through diverse means, including the use of perverse reasoning. . . . [70]

As followers of Skousen, the Bundys feel they are righting "perverse reasoning." The family has bundled ancestry, theology, pseudo scholarship, anger and heavy firepower, to validate their actions.

Like Father, Like Sons

On January 2, 2016, the Bundy brothers, Ryan and Ammon, along with a crew of about a dozen patriots, began the occupation of Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in

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[68] Mormons are encouraged by the Church to set aside food (three months to thirty years' worth of supplies) in case of a shortage. Many militia members and Christian fundamentalists also store supplies in preparation for a war of "End Times."

[69] Tad Walch, "LDS Church Condemns Seizure of Oregon Federal Facilities by Militia Diting Mormon Beliefs," *Deseret News*, January 4, 2016, http://www.deseretnews.com/article/865644791/LDS-Church-condemns-seizure-of-Oregon-federal-facilities-by-militia-citing-Mormon-beliefs.html?pg=all.

[70] Ezra Taft Benson, "Our Immediate Responsibility," transcript, Brigham Young University Devotional, October 25, 1966, *Latter Day Conservative*, accessed February 6. 2017, http://www.latterdayconservative.com/ezra-taft-benson/our-immediate-responsibility/.

Oregon.[71] Their demands were confusing. First they called for arson charges to be dropped against local ranchers Dwight Hammond and his son Stephen. Then they insisted on invalidating government property and giving lands to private owners. Further, they called for nullifying the system of federal grazing permits; a return to historical grazing practices; and the handing over of the federal refuge to the county. Ammon told the media that the protesters wouldn't leave until the demands were met. Later he conceded that he had no idea how to implement their plan. ""We could put more thought to that," Bundy admitted when questioned about the practicality of his demands.[72] The occupying group was named the Bundy Militia by the press.[73] Like their father, the Bundy brothers were motivated by religious duty and a certainty in regards to federal constitutional violations at Malheur Refuge. The occupation became a forum for the Bundys' cause—an amalgamation of militia-backed, religiously tinged, Sagebrush-style insurgency. The result was forty-one days of prayers and military style posturing on BLM managed lands. The campaign ended with a death, the deconsecration of Southern Paiute artifacts and the arrest of twenty-six people including Cliven, Ammon and Ryan Bundy as well as Bundy family supporter, Shawna Cox.

The brothers stated that their action was an effort to take back public lands for those involved in resource extraction practices. "It is our goal to get the logger back to

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[71] Another brother, Mel, came and left the refuge. The number of participants ebbed and flowed throughout the occupation.

[72] Les Zaitz, "Demands by Oregon Standoff Leaders Defy Logic and Law, Authorities Say," *Oregonian/OregonLive*, January 23, 2016, http://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-standoff/2016/01/demands_by_oregon_refuge_occup.html.

[73] There have been a few outlets that have labeled the occupants "The Bundy Militia," including *Forbes* and *New York Magazine*.

logging, the rancher back to ranching," Ammon Bundy told reporters.[74] However, Malheur, established in 1908 by Teddy Roosevelt, is profitable as a tourist destination. Home to over 320 species of birds and 58 of mammals, it brings the county roughly fifteen million dollars annually, mainly from bird watchers. [75]

The 2016 takeover itself became a strange type of rite, complete with invocations, religious cleansing and the blowing of shofars (large Israeli ceremonial horns). Mormons Ammon and Ryan Bundy, Todd MacFarland (one time attorney of Mary Bulloch's), LaVoy Finicum, Shawna Cox, Wesley Kjar, Brand Thorton, and Dylan Anderson were among the protesters at Malheur, some of whom had also been part of the 2014 Bunkerville standoff. Brian Cavalier, also at the refuge, had lived on and off with the Bundy family since the standoff and told me during my visit to Bunkerville that he had converted to Mormonism.[76] Other participants were not LDS, including militia that had been at the standoff, Peter Santilli, Ryan Payne and Blaine Cooper.[77]

There are aspects that reflect Mormon worldview within the Bundy family actions. With the takeover action, the brothers engaged in a type of Mormon sacred duty to their father. Ammon Bundy became concerned about matters in Oregon after Cliven

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[74] "Armed Group in Oregon Fears Raid; Critics Decry Goals," *CBS*, January 6, 2016, http://www.cbsnews.com/news/militia-occupation-leader-in-oregon-were-like-rosa-parks/.

[75] This is according to the Malheur Wildlife Refuge website, http://www.fws.gov/refuge/Malheur/wildlife_and_habitat; Laura Gunderson, "Militants' Choice of Wildlife Refuge Provided Isolation, Ready Compound," *Oregonian/OregonLive* , January 4, 2016, http://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/index.ssf/2016/01/militants_choice_of_malheur_re.html.

[76] Cliven, Ryan and Carol Bundy, 2015. Interview by author. Bunkerville, NV, March 4.

[77] "Faces of the Malheur Occupation: Meet the Militants and Their Visitors," *Oregonian/OregonLive,* January 22, 2016, http://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/index.ssf/2016/01/oregon_militant_profiles_list.html.

shared with him the story of the Hammonds, the father and son who had been accused of setting fire to federal land to cover up evidence of poaching.[78] The Hammonds, who spent years locking horns with the BLM, served some jail time, but were ordered to return to prison because they had not serve the mandatory minimum sentence (five years). The Hammond story had unsettled the elder Bundy, who saw injustice in their plight.[79] In response, Ammon acted in a manner befitting the son of a patriarch.

In 1 Nephi in *The Book of Mormon*, Lehi, asked his sons to go reclaim his "family birthright" that had been stolen. Though he loathed the act, son Nephi killed the perpetrator and recovered the family property. The young hero hadn't wanted to slay anyone, but God insisted. In the killing of the villain Laban, Nephi did his duty for God, for his father and for his family. *The Book of Mormon* quotes Nephi, "And it came to pass that thus far I and my father had kept the commandments wherewith the Lord had commanded us." [80] In turn, Ammon also kept his duty to his father in upholding the public land feud with the BLM and aiding the Hammonds due to Cliven Bundy's concern. The Hammonds, for their part, condemned the Bundy Militia and their actions at Malheur. Father and son are currently serving their sentences.

In a YouTube video explaining why he is involved with the takeover, Ammon explained his father's concern over the Hammonds. Getting on his knees and asking God

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[78] Justin Wm. Moyer, "The Mysterious Fires that Led to the Bundy Clan's Oregon Standoff," *Washington Post*, January 4, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2016/01/04/the-mysterious-fires-that-led-to-the-bundy-clans-oregon-standoff/?utm_term=.38fa1a0ab44e.

[79] Terrence Petty and Michelle Rindels, "Ammon Bundy Says He's Following Directions From God," *Huffington Post*, January 5, 2016, accessed January 14, 2017, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/ammon-bundy-mission-from-god_us_568c6b8fe4b0cad15e62836f.

[80] 1 Nephi 5:20, The Book of Mormon.

what he should do, he became convinced that he should intervene on the Hammonds behalf. In this nearly twenty-minute video communication, he continued to explain his rationale for the take-over. "I began to understand what the Lord felt about the Hammonds…Harney County…this country."[81] He continued that he believed that if he didn't act, God would hold him, Ammon, accountable for not stepping up and taking action on behalf of the Hammonds. After talking to his wife, Ammon set off for Oregon.

Like a number of the occupants, LDS Dylan Anderson told a reporter "I'm willing to die here."[82] It is hard to say how many felt this way or to understand the motivations behind each of the occupants being there. Some vowed to give their lives if necessary, like Anderson and LaVoy Finicum.[83] A number of others, including the Bundys and vets Blaine Cooper and Ryan Paine, expressed to the press that they were willing to "kill or be killed."[84] The takeover, according to Ammon Bundy, was held at Malheur because "the facility has been the tool to do all the tyranny… We're planning on staying here for years, absolutely. This is not a decision we've made at the last minute."[85] The militia members

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[81] "Dear Friends," YouTube video, 4:33, posted by Ammon Bundy, January 1, 2016, accessed January 3, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M7M0mG6HUyk.

[82] John Sepulvado, "Explainer: The Bundy Militias' Particular Brand of Mormonism," *Oregon Public Broadcasting*, transcript, January 3, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, http://www.opb.org/news/article/explainer-the-bundy-militias-particular-brand-of-mormonism/.

[83] Amelia Templeton and Conrad Wilson, "Deceased Militant LaVoy Finicum: Rancher, Patriarch, Bundy Believer," Oregon Public Broadcasting, transcript, January 27, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, http://www.opb.org/news/article/robert-lavoy-finicum-dead-rancher-bundy-burns-oregon/.

[84] Dana Liebelson, Ryan J. Reilly and Nick Baumann, "Oregon Militants Vow To 'Kill and Be Killed If Necessary,' But FBI Isn't Biting," *The Huffington Post*, January 4, 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/oregon-militia-fbi_us_568a831ae4b0b958f65c1bfa.

[85] Les Zaitz, "Militia Takes Over Malheur National Wildlife Refuge Headquarters," *Oregonian/OregonLive*, January 2, 2016, accessed January 4, 2016, http://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/index.ssf/2016/01/drama_in_burns_ends_with_quiet.html.

came to the refuge without supplies. Their lack of planning begs the question, what were they expecting? But if there had been advance planning, why did the militants arrive with no equipment necessary for long-term planned actions? According to Blaine Cooper's Facebook post, the group was in need of "snacks."[86] Carol Bundy, Ryan and Ammon's mother, sent an email request to supporters to send supplies and food.[87] During the trial testimony, Angela Bundy said she only packed "one change of clothing" for her husband Ryan.[88] No provisions, no clear cut demands and the lack of planning seems to indicate that the Bundy militia believed that their actions would bring about some immediate result. Perhaps their lack of preparation suggested that a miracle was expected. Or perhaps they assumed they'd be martyred for their cause and avenged by the militia before they needed to eat, ushering in revolution.[89] To some extent, members counted on either of these events or both. They did not consider foodstuffs, sleeping bags, socks or changes clothing necessary for a long-term campaign. Had they imagined that, by simply showing up, they might re-enact the story in *The Book of Mormon* of Moroni who bravely and boldly galvanized the people of the land in support of his fight against oppression?

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[86] Joseph Rose, "Best Snacks to Send an Oregon Militia with the Munchies," *Oregonian/OregonLive*, January 5, 2016, accessed January 7, 2016, http://www.oregonlive.com/geek/2016/01/best_oregon_militia_snacks_pol.html.

[87] Rick Bowmer, "Standoff Leader's Mom Asks Supporters to Send Supplies," *The Spectrum*, January 10, 2016, http://www.thespectrum.com/story/news/2016/01/10/standoff-leaders-mom-asks-supporters-send-supplies/78611236./.

[88] Associated Press, "Ryan Bundy Questions Wife at Oregon Standoff Trial: 'You're My Wife, Right?'" *KATU*, October 11, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, http://katu.com/news/local/ryan-bundy-questions-wife-at-oregon-standoff-trial.

[89] The Oath Keepers, one of the biggest militia presences in the west, were against the Bundy action and asked, via their web page, that the Bundys leave the occupation peacefully. Stewart Rhodes, "Recommended Honorable Exit Strategy for Ammon Bundy," *Oathkeepers.org*, January 6, 2016, accessed January 10, 2016, https://www.oathkeepers.org/a-recommended-honorable-exit-strategy-for-ammon-bundy/.

When first interviewed, Dylan Anderson identified himself as Captain Moroni.[90] The story of Moroni has deep significance with this Bundy Militia. He was a Nephite hero who stood up to corruption in *The Book of Mormon*, a man "angry with the government, because of their indifference concerning the freedom of their country."[91] In Moroni's fight, he ripped his shirt to make a banner that read "in memory of our God, our religion and freedom and our peace, our lives and our children."[92] A version of this flag hung at the Bundy compound during the Bunkerville standoff. [93]

In the eyes of the Bundy Militia, Captain Moroni was the great liberator, rallying people to gather with him in the name of the Lord to protect their rights. He said "…let them come forth in the strength of the Lord, and enter into a covenant that they will maintain their rights, and their religion, that the Lord God may bless them."[94] Perhaps the lack of preparation indicated that Ammon and his followers envisioned a great gathering would manifest to reinforce their actions at Malheur. They certainly sounded the call to "we the people," of Harney County and their network of anti-government followers. According to the actions of the Bundy brothers and their inner circle, Malheur seemed to be thought of as the match to light the fire that would bring government tyranny to an end.

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[90] Sepulvado, "Explainer."

[91] *All Things Considered*, "Mormon Faith Serves as Powerful Symbol For Oregon Protesters," National Public Radio, January 4, 2016, hosted by Audie Cornish, accessed February 6, 2017, http://www.npr.org/2016/01/04/461944989/mormon-faith-serves-as-powerful-symbol-for-oregon-protesters; Alma 59:13, The Book of Mormon.

[92] Alma 46:12, The Book of Mormon.

[93] *All Things Considered*, "Mormon Faith Serves as Powerful Symbol."

[94] Alma 46:20, 23, The Book of Mormon.

During interviews, town hall meetings and YouTube videos, the occupants implored people to join in the fight. According to an alt-right website, *Sign of the Times*, Blaine Cooper said, "It doesn't have to stop here [Malheur]. This could be a hope that spreads through the whole country, the whole United States. Everybody's looking for this hope because the government has beat us, and oppressed us, and took everything from us; they will not stop until we tell them no."[95] The Bundys and their militia had come to Oregon to make their stand as representatives of we the people.

Understanding the religious motivations behind why the brothers went to Oregon illuminates how they operated on the ground in terms of military tactics and ritual. This was a religious war and guns were in abundance. The occupants participated in firearms training; stashed extra ammunition; and kept rifles in and around the refuge.[96] Men monitored who came in and out of the facility, kept watch on the roads and assigned snipers to stand in a watchtower above the refuge headquarters. Women cooked and washed clothes. Occupant Debra Bass was quoted as saying she'd stay to cook at Malheur " for as long as it takes. We women, we are helpers. That's how we are created, and that's what we do here."[97] This is evidenced as well in Angela Bundy testifying that it was she who packed her husband's suitcase for him before he drove to Malheur. Roles

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[95] RT, "Armed Militia Occupy Forest Reserve HQ in Oregon, Call 'US Patriots' to Arms, Bundy Bros Join Protest," *Signs of the Times*, January 3, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, https://www.sott.net/article/309698-Armed-militia-occupy-forest-reserve-HQ-in-Oregon-call-US-patriots-to-arms-Bundy-bros-join-protest.

[96] Maxine Bernstein, "Feds: Evidence of Firearms Training During Refuge Standoff by Malheur Boat Launch," *The Oregonian/OregonLive,* June 10, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, http://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-standoff/2016/06/feds_evidence_of_firearms_trai.html.

[97] Amanda Peacher, "Meet the Women of the Occupied Refuge," transcript, Oregon Public Broadcasting, January 22, 2016, accessed February 7, 2017, http://www.opb.org/news/series/burns-oregon-standoff-bundy-militia-news-updates/oregon-militia-meet-the-women-of-the-occupied-refuge/.

in the Malheur standoff were traditional and gender specific, men as protectors and women as caregivers. Military exercises were conducted night and day and meals were served and eaten communally. And together the occupants, both Mormon and non-Mormon, prayed that God would help them.[98]

Mormon occupant Brand Thornton explained that though God was in charge, it was Ammon who had received prophecy. He said, "I'm going to say the spirit of God is the leader…and Ammon received those type of spiritual messages, you know, and he conveyed that message…If your heart is open… number one, you'll know whether he's telling you the truth…."[99] Thornton confirmed in the interview that this was a mission from God. He explained, "God told us to do this. Absolutely. Yes. Absolutely." And he continued, "If you go to the Declaration of Independence and when government becomes corrupted, you actually have the sacred obligation/responsibility to replace that government."[100] This again reflects the conflation of fringe Mormonism and the Patriot Movement.

In addition to prayer, rituals were also performed at the refuge. Thornton brought his shofar, which he sounded, he said, to call God to keep the protesters from harm.[101]

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[98] Jonathon Allen and Jim Urquhart, "Oregon Occupiers: Not Quite Time to Go Home Yet," *Reuters,* January 6, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-oregon-militia-idUSKBN0UL01R20160107.

[99] Scott Carrier, "Absolutely, God Told Us to Do This," *Home of the Brave,* podcast audio, January 13, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, http://homebrave.com/home-of-the-brave//absolutely-god-told-us-to-do-this.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Sara Weisfeldt and Michael Martinez, "Five Things to Know about On-Going Oregon Standoff," *CNN*, January 16, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, http://www.cnn.com/2016/01/16/us/things-to-know-about-oregon-standoff/.

This was his own spin on a Jewish tradition that uses the horn to indicate the beginning of a holiday. In addition to blowing his horn, Thornton engaged in other rites at the refuge such as ritual cleanses and curses. He acted to sacralize the space and bring God and spiritual momentum to the battle at the refuge.

Thorton explained that according to the *Doctrine and Covenants* (a sacred Mormon text), when someone takes on a corrupt federal agency, there are steps to the process. First you petition the government, but if that doesn't work

> … then you do a priesthood curse, which I have done in all these places…You start off by raising your arm to the Square, calling upon the Lord through his priesthood, and then you specifically tell Him the oppression that is taking place and even the people's names who are doing it, and ask the Lord that they will remove this oppression. And then you pour the water over your feet and when you're done, you say, 'Amen.' Yes, I did it the first thing when I got here. [102]

Cursing rituals were a part of early Church practice, but stopped being widely used by the 1900s. Casting these spells was used primarily in response to rebuffed missionary efforts. "As the Church has become more stable and prosperous, its goals appear to be more geared toward integration and contribution to the surrounding community rather than separation from, and condemnation of unbelieving Gentiles." [103] The employment of curses in early Mormonism came out of the primitive Christian and Millennialism traditions rife in upstate New York where Joseph Smith was raised. In expectation of the

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[102] Carrier, "Absolutely, God Told Us to Do This."

[103] Samuel R. Weber, "'Shake Off the Dust of Thy Feet:' The Rise and Fall of Mormon Ritual Cursing," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 46, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 128, accessed May 10, 2016, https://www.dialoguejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/sbi/articles/Dialogue_V46N01_526d.pdf.

Second Coming, Mormon curses and ritual washing were done to cleanse the Earth in preparation for God's return.[104]

In the case of Thornton, the ritual was done to correct the government personnel negatively impacting the rights of the people of Harney County. And like the Bundys', he felt religiously obliged. He said, " The Constitution is a spiritual document…. It doesn't sound like scripture per se… but defines your God-given rights. Let's just say that if you have the Lord's laws in your heart, which he said he'd write his law in your heart in the last days…." [105] In addition to echoing the Bundys sentiments about a sacred obligation, Thornton also makes reference to another Mormon belief, "last days" or End Times. Thornton seems to assert that this event was forthcoming and on his mind during time spent at the Malheur takeover. Many participants at Malheur were expecting a religious event to occur, brought forth through their actions.

LaVoy Finicum was prepared to die when he went to Malheur. A Mormon rancher from Cane Beds, Arizona, less than five miles south of Colorado City where Warren Jeffs oversaw the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Finicum recently finished writing an apocalyptic novel, *Only by Blood and Suffering: Regaining Lost Freedom*.[106] On the dedication page he warned, "It is my belief that freedom will rise again in this land, but only after much blood and suffering. This is my

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[104] Ibid., 109.

[105] Carrier, "Absolutely, God Told Us to Do This."

[106] LaVoy Finicum, *Only by Blood and Suffering: Regaining Lost Freedom*, Kindle ed. (Rochester, NY: Legends Publishing, Inc. 2015).

witness and my warning."[107] The book is about a societal and technological breakdown during which a Utah ranching family survive an apocalyptic age of cannibalism, rape, murder, robbery, the collapse of the monetary system and federal government. Automobiles no longer run, so travel is done on horseback. Food is raised or hunted. Corruption is rife, so "natural law," or vigilante justice is employed. Punishment of crimes is imposed by whoever witnessed the deed.

In the book's final passage, Finicum's hero is killed as he successfully defends his family. But before his demise, he undertakes key rituals. He prays. He thanks his family. He recalls his ancestors. And finally he pops his enemy between the eyes with a six-shooter.[108] It borrows from cowboy cliché, but also from a bygone Mormon worldview to most LDS today. LaVoy Finicum died in a shoot-out with state police and FBI on January 26, 2016, yelling "just shoot me." He, Shawna Cox and the Bundy brothers had been en route to a town hall meeting in John Day, Oregon to drum up support for the militia actions at Malheur.[109]

Cowboys and Indians

The Paiute have a different version of why LaVoy Finicum was killed. In a landscape of cultural intersections and multiple narratives, Mormon, militia and Native American understanding of Malheur reflect different priorities and traditions. A video

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[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Lynne Terry, "Robert 'LaVoy' Finicum Yelled at Police, 'Just Shoot Me,' Witness Says," *Oregonian/OregonLive*, January 31, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, http://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-standoff/2016/01/shawna_cox_refuge_occupier_des.html.

posted on the day he died showed LaVoy Finicum rifling through boxes of Paiute artifacts found on the grounds and stored at the refuge's headquarters. In the video, Finicum made a plea to the tribe, whose lands border the refuge, and asked tribal members to come get their property. He also asked for the opportunity of a dialogue.[110] During the takeover, the militia had been living on top of Indian homeland for weeks while promising to give the lands to white ranching families. When the Bundys and their followers brought their own myths to Malheur, they neglected to honor those of the Paiute.

Poet Anthony McCann interviewed Northern Paiute leaders after the death of Finicum. The tribal members and even their tribal archeologist, Diane Teeman, have an uneasy relationship with ancestral lands and the possessions left behind in the dirt. This is a culture that believes in the idea of "puha," or power.[111] According to Teeman, puha is transferred onto used objects, remaining on tools, pots, etc. after the death of a person. [112]

When tribal members saw a YouTube video of Finicum pulling out the possessions of the ancestors, they grew concerned. In addition to worrying about harm that might come to the tribal objects, they also grew anxious about how puha might impact the men who went through the boxes. When tribal leader Jarvis Kennedy heard about the fatal shoot-out, he said, "We don't think it is a coincidence that he died. No

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[110] "LaVoy Finicum Trying to Save Native American Artifacts," Youtube video, 3:26, posted by animedudevid, January 26, 2016, accessed September 30, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6is6NJhnORE.

[111] Jay Miller, "Basin Religion and Theology: A Comparative Study of Power (Puha)," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 5, no. ½ (Summer and Winter 1983): 66-83.

[112] Anthony McCann, "Malheur Part II, Ours but Not Ours," *LA Review of Books*, September 8, 2016, accessed October 3, 2016, https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/malheur-part-ii-not/.

disrespect. We feel for his family. We didn't want it to happen to him. But you can't go messing with objects like that without protection..."[113] Burns Paiute Tribal Chairwoman Charlotte Roderique said, "He should never have picked those up and disturbed those spirits who made them. If it is flint arrowheads, someone who was a warrior or was a good hunter—those are the kind who can come back and do these things."[114] Members of the Northern Paiute wondered, if the Bundy Militia only valued the history of land ownership from the time of the white settler, were their fates impacted by the unacknowledged legacy of the Paiute and the power of things left in the ground?

There is parallel in the stories of the Mormon militia in Oregon and the neighboring Northern Paiutes. Both of these cultures have imagined and prayed for the Second Coming to rescue supporters from government tyranny. In 1889, Northern Paiute tribal member Wovoka (1856-1932) dreamed of a ritual for Native Americans, so that they might call God to restore the land as it was before the arrival of the white settler. The religious movement, called the Ghost Dance, was a syncretic blend of Christianity and numerous Native American beliefs.[115] It was, like Mormonism, uniquely American. As Joseph Smith was to LDS, Wovoka was to many Native Americans throughout the west. Like with Smith, the federal government was skeptical of the new American

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[113] Ibid.

[114] Jacqueline Keeler, "'It's So Disgusting' Malheur Militia Dug Latrine Trenches Among Sacred Artifacts," *Indian Country Media Network*, February 17, 2016, accessed September 9, 2016, http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2016/02/17/its-so-disgusting-malheur-militia-dug-latrine-trenches-among-sacred-artifacts-163454.

[115] Michael Hittman, *Wovoka and the Ghost Dance*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990); Anthony McCann, "Malheur Part II, Ours but Not Ours" *LA Review of Books*, September 8, 2016, accessed October 3, 2016, https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/malheur-part-ii-not/.

prophet. His Ghost Dance inspired the Calvary to kill one hundred and fifty people at Wounded Knee as they engaged in Wovoka's prophesied ritual.

Wovoka envisioned government reform, preaching of a day that he would be president of the west as Benjamin Harrison served back east.[116] He was a shaman whose followers claimed he could control the weather. Some claimed that he would never die, but live on with "the Great Messiah."[117] In this very same region, Ammon Bundy and Wovoka, both concerned with the government and feeling deprived of traditional lands, acted through a sense of divine inspiration some hundred years apart.

[116] Michael Hittman, *Wovoka and the Ghost Dance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 64.

[117] Ibid., 168.



Figure 16. Wovoka. “Paiute Prophet Wovoka Preached about Peace.” *Las Vegas Review Journal*. Photograph courtesy of the Nevada Historical Society. January 3, 2014. http://www.reviewjournal.com/nevada-150/paiute-prophet-wovoka-preached-about-peace. Copyright unknown.

In the end, Ammon and Ryan Bundy, Shawna Cox and others were arrested January 26, 2016 after LaVoy Finicum was shot and killed by law enforcement. Cliven Bundy was arrested after flying to Portland to support the remaining protesters at Malheur on February 10. The last four remaining protesters were arrested on February 11.

After the occupation was over, the refuge was in shambles. Trenches of human feces and new roads built on sacred Paiute grounds were left behind. Property was destroyed, trash was scattered throughout and many regional residents were traumatized, including members of the Burns Paiute tribe. In spite of the mess, tribal members were

eager to return to the refuge. According to Charlotte Roderique, "We want to cleanse the land," Roderique says, "and not disturb animal life or the spirits of our people." [118] Today, the refuge has reopened to the public, but the headquarters and visitor center remain closed due to damage.

Conclusion

The Bundys have quilted a patchwork of justifications for their actions with squares taken from *The Book of Mormon*, Posse Comitatus, Cleon Skousen, Church prophesy and cowboy mythology. They've reshaped the meaning of constitutional law to meet their own goals. Unasked, they have taken on the role as the liberators of "we the people," without understanding the priorities of other demographics or cultures. They lurched to Malheur Wildlife Refuge and left it a mess.

In *The Book of Mormon*, God told Nephi to act, to kill if necessary. God told Captain Moroni to stand up to tyranny and gather people to his cause. The Bundys have fashioned themselves into sacred characters, taking them from an upbringing in isolation on a melon farm to the armed take-over of government property. Their feud with the government over cows in desolate country became self-righteous and religious. In 2014, they believed they had won a battle to beat back federal control. This action inspired them, and in the two years that passed between the Nevada incident and Malheur, they came to see themselves as the voice for the people. And in looking at the circumstances

[118] Keeler, "'It's So Disgusting';" Kristina Killgrove, "Bundy Militia Compared to ISIS for Pawing through Native American Artifacts, Destroying Sites," *Forbes*, January 21, 2016, accessed February 9, 2017, http://www.forbes.com/sites/kristinakillgrove/2016/01/21/bundy-militia-compared-to-isis-for-pawing-through-native-american-artifacts-destroying-sites/#ef70f555e2c2.

of the Oregon occupation, many of the participants assumed God would intervene on their behalves.

During my interview with the family, the Bundys referred to the Nevada standoff as a potential Waco or Ruby Ridge. This was not told as a cautionary tale; they said this with pride. Carol told me her youngest son, on the morning of the incident, had looked at her and said it was "a good day to die," a quote attributed to Crazy Horse, but actually with hazy origins. After the standoff, Bundy's sons launched another crusade, one which resulted in their friend and fellow Mormon, LaVoy Finicum, getting killed. The gathering was not just a matter of public land grazing rules or a call for the release of the Hammonds. It was an act of revolution. Since the FBI stayed clear of Malheur, choosing not to engage with the armed militants, the take-over was largely impotent. After the leaders were jailed on January 26, 2016, one of the last four people holed up in Malheur, Sean Anderson, said, "I'm hoping for a miracle… I believe God put us here."[119] Ironically, their miracle would come some seven months later when Ammon and Ryan Bundy, Shawna Cox and other protesters were acquitted of any crime at Malheur. The verdict baffled many and has led to speculation over a mishandled federal prosecution.[120]

Cliven Bundy was adamant that his was the correct take on his personal rights. He became empowered because he, along with his family, thought that he "won" his standoff, back in April 2014. Mr. Bundy faced no consequences for two years until

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[119] Molly Young, "Oregon Standoff: Last of the Occupiers 'Hoping for a Miracle,'" *Oregonian/Oregon Live* January 30, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, http://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-standoff/2016/01/oregon_standoff_last_of_the_oc.html.

[120] Bradley W. Parks, "41 Days and Eight Months Later: Dissecting the Oregon Standoff Trial," transcript, Oregon Public Broadcasting, Oct 30, 2016, accessed February 17, 2017, http://www.opb.org/news/series/burns-oregon-standoff-bundy-militia-news-updates/trial-not-guilty-verdict-reaction-bundy/.

February 10, 2016 when he was arrested at the Portland International Airport on charges of "conspiracy, assault on a federal law enforcement officer, 'the use and carry of a firearm in relation to a crime of violence,' obstruction of justice, extortion, and aiding and abetting."[121] He is currently awaiting trial, set for spring 2017.

This battle is one that has been raging since the Mormons first came to the Great Basin over one hundred and seventy years ago. The Mountain Meadows Massacre proved that Mormons would kill to protect their sacred lands. This position was again evident in April of 2014 in Nevada and again at Malheur where the Bundy Militia staked their claim on the northern tip of Deseret, Brigham Young's imagined empire.

Symbolism in the Bundy position remains very important to the family. Their actions were informed by a mishmash of Millennialism, radical Mormon theology and an indignation fueled by their father's loss of his rights to graze on a piece of public land. But they also wanted to be seen as heroes—both in a Mormon sense (Moroni) and in an American sense, the cowboy. Before trial, Ammon Bundy, himself named after a Nephite missionary in *The Book of Mormon*, fought for the right to wear a cowboy hat and cowboy boots to his trial.[122] His lawyer argued, "These men are cowboys, and given that the jury will be assessing their authenticity and credibility, they should be able to present themselves to the jury in that manner… We must consider, … how will he [Ammon

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[121] Mark Katkov and Christopher Dean Hopkins, "Cliven Bundy Is Charged with Conspiracy and Extortion," *NPR.com,* February 11, 2016, accessed February 7, 2017, http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/02/11/466354051/fbi-arrests-cliven-bundy-as-pressure-mounts-on-4-remaining-wildlife-refuge-occup.

[122] Maxine Bernstein, "Ammon Bundy's Lawyer Argues for His Client's Right to Wear Cowboy Boots at Trial," *The Oregonian/OregonLive*, September 7, 2016, accessed February 9, 2017, http://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-standoff/2016/09/ammon_bundys_lawyer_argues_for.html.

Bundy] look? And what are the spot assumptions and impressions will the jury have about him [*sic*] when they see him in the kind of white socks and loafers he was wearing today, with his beltless trousers, and dressed in a formal suit without a tie," Ammon's lawyer wrote.[123] Ammon Bundy wanted to be a cowboy for the American public. Due to "safety issues," his request was denied.[124]

Ammon Bundy isn't a rancher. He is a businessman who borrowed $530,000 from the U.S. government Small Business Administration when his company faced difficulty during the recession. His house was foreclosed on in 2012. [125] He is a white working class man who is struggling. And in this struggle, he, like his father, has imagined himself to be a savior to others like him. The Bundy family anxiety is part of a larger American problem of an American working class facing difficulty in navigating the current economic state. Market forces, increased public environmental awareness and shifts in American culture and priorities have impacted the Bundys. There is a yearning to go back to the old days before regulation. In the case of the Bundys, they have the Dixie narrative and a version of Mormon worldview that inspires their actions. The Bundys created a crusade, with cultural, religious, economic and political underpinnings. But in the process, they ignored a full historic narrative, the federal law and the will of other Americans.

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[123] Ibid.

[124] Debra Cassens Weiss, "Ammon and Ryan Bundy Won't Be Allowed to Wear Their Preferred Cowboy Attire at Trial," *ABA Journal*, September 8, 2016, accessed February 9, 2017, http://www.abajournal.com/news/article/ammon_bundy_wont_be_allowed_to_wear_his_preferred_cowboy_attire_at_trial.

[125] Laura Gunderson, "Ammon Bundy: His History and a $500,000 Federal Loan," *Oregonian/OregonLive* January 5, 2016, accessed February 9, 2017, http://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/index.ssf/2016/01/ammon_bundy_his_history_and_a.html.

CONCLUSION

Dissertation Summary

The lands of Dixie span from tough to impossible in their ability to afford a family a decent living. The region has some raw materials, but to coax fruits from the land required toil and fortitude. The Southern Paiute, called "diggers" by regional tribes and white settlers, followed their food seasonally as nomads. When the Mormons arrived, they cultivated the space and either eked out a living or failed. This was a hard land, initially viewed by early Euro-American visitors, including Mormons, as worthless and impractical. But this jagged broken canyon country also happened to be beautiful.

In the act of establishing themselves, the Dixie Mormons accomplished what must have seemed to some, including themselves, an unachievable act. Within the act of making the desert bloom, they came to believe in a superior resourcefulness. This was construed as evidence of God's favor. This was the land that other white settlers had bypassed as a "bad land."[1] It was the Mormons who claimed this marginal place, occupied by Paiute, and made it their place of refuge, gathering and productivity. And in doing so, the Great Basin region and parts of the Colorado Plateau and Mojave Desert became sacred Zion. But the lands of Zion came with boundaries and public lands challenged an idea of Mormon dominion.

Not long after Mormon settlement, a group of Gentiles came into the region with different priorities. Influenced by Emerson and Thoreau, these men experienced God not

[1] Nelson, *Wrecks of Human Ambition*.

in the painstaking cultivation of land, but in "raw" undeveloped nature. Unlike the Mormon Zion, a place enshrined through labor, early surveyors saw God in pure nature where the divine resided in the rocks, the mountains, the trees and the rivers. These lands demanded exaltation, inspiring flowery worded articles and Hudson River School style paintings. There were Mormons who also saw God in nature, but for the most part, LDS culture valued utilitarian aspects of landscape over awe-inspiring sunsets backlighting red fins of sandstone.

Over the years these perspectives blended in the formation of ZNP, a place of a cultivated wild. In order to reach the places of outstanding scenic values, the land had to be built. Viewed as God's Country by both Mormons and non-Mormons, the place needed infrastructure in order to provide access. Roads, trails, restaurants and lodgings emerged, accommodating visitors and locals alike. As it became built, this scape grew to bear the marks both of Mormon culture and the American Romance with the myth of the wild.

The creation of ZNP represented a collaborative embodiment of both cultures in a landscape. The park creation happened during favorable circumstances—the timing was perfect and the Mormons were flattered by attention to their homeland. LDS were keen to establish good relations with the rest of the United States and eager to develop other economic opportunities in addition to mining, logging and ranching, Mormons embraced ZNP as a way to accomplish both. The roads and highways that accompanied the making of the park were of great interest to Utah residents and opened their country economically as well as culturally.

But the glowing relations between Dixie residents and the federal government did not last when the interests of Utahans in the mining and ranching industries began to chafe at the government's land conservation efforts. New parks and monuments came with conditions and restrictions to resource extraction. Ranchers across the west balked at public land management while a majority of Americans celebrated public lands protection. The government responded, depending on the administration, with national monuments, wilderness study and greater protection of species; all actions that came with land use restrictions. But westerners reliant on public lands viewed government actions as a hostile takeover of local assets. Federal restrictions begat rebellion and rebellion galvanized the environmental movement. Both sides lobbied Congress to undertake their respective priorities. The result was an increasingly ugly public land war that pitted endangered species, lands and water conservation against cattle grazing and coal development. And within this battle, divisions in cultural values, ideas of proprietary rights and different notions of spirituality were revealed. If this was God's country, was God in nature or was God in utility?

For decades the conflict raged, inciting death threats, vandalism, animal mutilation and sabotage. And in this struggle both sides felt like they were getting the short end of the stick. Conservationists lamented dwindling species populations, overgrazing and weedy non-native plants while the ranchers saw their grazing allotments either reduced or abolished. Meanwhile people flocked to places like GSENM and the parks. Zion had to restrict traffic and bus in visitors. Retirees moved to St. George to play golf in sunny weather. Regional demographics changed with the influx of more people

who were not economically dependent on public lands. Priorities shifted and regulations were imposed. But also, ranching was a hard career in which to make a living. More and more cowboys were forced to hang up their reins. But in spite of these changes, one family decided that they were not going to give up their traditional way of life. And they fought back against the government, with a religious vengeance.

This Bundy family tied their history to some of the first Mormons who settled along an isolated and rugged stretch of the Virgin River. They battled for more than twenty years over grazing issues, accruing over a million dollars in unpaid grazing fees while continuing to graze on public lands. After a permanent injunction was placed on their allotments in 1998, the BLM was tasked with confiscating illegally trespassing cattle. Because the Bundys were convinced that the government had no authority to manage public lands in Nevada, they saw the actions of the BLM as a violation of the U.S. Constitution. This Mormon family engaged militia groups in their cause and took on the federal government, claiming to fight for the rights of the states and people.[2]

In 2014, the Bundys and hundreds of protesters, many bearing arms, participated in a standoff with federal agents. The Bundys were fighting for home ground, their proprietary rights to the land as well as their way of life. The militia members who joined the protest were fighting with the Bundys, whom they saw as taking on a corrupt government.

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[2] Most Americans do not support turning public lands over to the states. Even most westerners support federal control of public lands rather than state control according to a 2016 poll by Colorado College. Our American Public Lands, "Public Opinion Research," accessed November 17, 2016, http://www.americanpubliclands.com/public-opinion-research/.

Mormonism and the U.S. Constitution were central themes during my conversation with the family. The Constitution has a deep meaning for Cliven Bundy, who points to the document's significance in Mormon history and theology. He told me that "Jesus wrote the Constitution."[3] Joseph Smith felt that the Latter Day Saints were not afforded the rights of the First Amendment, which guarantees freedom of religion. In his fight to protect the religious rights of his adherents, Smith decreed it was incumbent on Mormon leaders to defend the Constitution, prophesying that in the future, it would be incumbent on LDS to defend the document in the midst of a government breakdown.

At the time, I didn't know that Ryan and his brother Ammon would take their fight to Oregon, but eighteen months after my visit, they did just that. Along with them, the brothers brought a militia and firearms. They set up shop in the refuge's headquarters, and began to issue demands of the federal government. First they asked for the release of Steven and Dwight Hammond, two local ranchers convicted of setting fires. Then they demanded the return of federal land to the white population of Burns, not the Northern Paiute who had originally inhabited the land. When the Bundys took their personal grudge to Oregon, they came with the belief that they were not only justified in their interpretation of the Constitution, but duty-bound by their religion to uphold it. The Nevada standoff had left business unfinished and Malheur was to be the place where the government would face real reckoning.

[3] Cliven, Ryan and Carol Bundy, 2015. Interview by author. Bunkerville, NV, March 4.

After a few days of occupation, Ryan was quoted saying "My Mormonism plays a large part in what I do … the biggest part."[4] Although the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints condemned the Bundy take-over of Malheur, a long list of Mormon prophets have warned LDS of the loss of liberties and foretold a day when the Mormons would themselves have to save the U.S. Constitution. In Ryan's notebook, Joseph F. Smith, the Sixth President of the Mormon Church and the nephew of the founder, predicted that the Mormon people, cannot "brook the thought of it [Constitution] being torn into shreds, or destroyed, or trampled under foot and ignored by men….That is the sentiment of anarchism … It means destruction." The Bundys and Robert LaVoy Finicum went to Oregon as part of a holy battle, a mission inspired by the words of their prophets.[5]

The battle ended in complications. For the militants, who, when interviewed, explained that their stance was to bring about a full-blown war and even Armageddon, the conclusion of the takeover was both anti-climactic and baffling.[6]

On January 24, 2016, Oregon State police shot Finicum to death at a roadblock as he reached for his 9mm Ruger. Ammon and Ryan Bundy, Shawna Cox and Ryan Payne were arrested at the scene. Fifteen days later, the last four protesters were taken into

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[4] John Sepulvado, "We'll Leave Occupied Buildings if the Community Wants Us To," transcript, Oregon Public Broadcasting, January 4, 2016, accessed February 17, 2017, http://www.opb.org/news/series/burns-oregon-standoff-bundy-militia-news-updates/bundy-well-leave-occupied-buildings-if-community-wants-us-to/.

[5] According to Joseph Smith's writings, "…this Nation will be on the very verge of crumbling to peices [*sic*] and tumbling to the ground and when the Constitution is upon the brink of ruin this people will be the Staff upon which the Nation shall lean and they shall bear the constitution away from the very verge of destruction." Joseph Smith, circa 1840. 'Discourse,' as reported by Martha Jane Knowlton Coray [ca. 1850s] (Martha Jane Coray notebook, MS 1998, Joseph Smith Papers, Church History Library) p. 12-13.

[6] *Malheur*, Dir. David Garrett Byars, unreleased film, rough cut, 2016.

custody, leaving behind piles of garbage generated during the takeover of the refuge. In total twenty-six militants were indicted for felony conspiracy. Twelve protesters pleaded guilty to the charges leveled against them. The Bundy brothers, Cox and four other defendants pleaded not guilty on the federal conspiracy change. To the shock of their lawyers and the media, they were acquitted.[7] After the ruling, Ammon Bundy's lawyer, Marcus Mumford, in a last strange twist, was tackled and tasered twice, after the judge refused his aggressive requests to free his client. The request was denied because Bundy faced more charges in conjunction with the 2014 Nevada standoff.[8] The Bundys had created a passionate group of supporters who protested in front of the Portland courthouse while their trial ensued. Other Americans held rallies and donated money to the Fish and Wildlife Service, Malheur Refuge, the Northern Paiute and other locals groups to show their disdain over the actions of the Bundy militia.[9]

Though not party to the Oregon takeover, Cliven Bundy was arrested on February 17, 2016 at the airport in Portland, Oregon on his way to the Malheur Wildlife Refuge. He was indicted on sixteen federal charges for the Nevada standoff with four of his sons, Ammon, Ryan, Mel and David. They are awaiting trial for the Nevada incident along with twelve other men. The first of three trials began in February 2017.

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[7] Courtney Sherwood and Kirk Johnson, "Bundy Brothers Acquitted in Takeover of Oregon Wildlife Refuge," *New York Times*, October 27, 2016, accessed October 31, 2017, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/28/us/bundy-brothers-acquitted-in-takeover-of-oregon-wildlife-refuge.html?_r=0.

[8] Conrad Wilson, "Bundy's Attorney Pleads Not Guilty in Courthouse Scuffle Case," transcript, *Oregon Public Broadcasting*, January 6, 2017, accessed January 15, 2017, http://www.opb.org/news/series/burns-oregon-standoff-bundy-militia-news-updates/marcus-mumford-plea/.

[9] Kevin Harden, "Donations Pile up as Refuge Supporters Fight standoff with Big Bucks," *Portland Tribune*, February 19, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, http://portlandtribune.com/pt/9-news/294132-171512-donations-pile-up-as-refuge-supporters-fight-standoff-with-big-bucks.

The Bundys, though they do substantiate their actions with their Mormon faith, are in no way representative of the Mormons or Dixie residents. Although J.L. Crawford, the son of the last homesteader in Zion Canyon, was forced to leave the canyon and his way of life, he spent much of his career celebrating the national parks of his home. He was a cook, a member of the construction of the Mt. Carmel Zion Tunnel crew and served with Civilian Conservation Corps to help to build park infrastructure. He was an amateur historian of ZNP and a life long friend of early park advocates, including Horace Albright. At the end of Albright's life, in 1986, Crawford visited the former head of the Park Service, who then was 97 and living in a senior facility in California. J.L. wrote as an addendum to his interview with Alright, that after his visit with his old friend he returned to Utah to ask:

> ZNP Superintendent Heyder, the possibility of having that Natural History Association to provide funds to purchase a suitable home [for Albright] give him domestic help, including nurses and make him comfortable for the rest of his days. I believed the nation owed him much more than that.[10]

Crawford was deeply grateful for the Park Service and for the men who brought parks to his region. He wrote in this memo, "It will always be my feeling that the teaming of Horace M. Albright and Stephen T. Mather was no less than providential. I often wonder where the Park Service would have gone without their dedication…."[11] Crawford's life changed when his family left the homestead, but he devoted his life to the park, its history and its land.

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[10] Horace M. Albright, 1979. Interview by J. L. Crawford. April 10 transcript. B8F26, J.L. Crawford Papers, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Addendum.

[11] Ibid.

Terry Tempest Williams, raised Mormon, is one of the most powerful voices in the American conservation movement. In her most recent book she wrote of a trip with her church to Utah's Timpanogos Cave National Monument. After being left behind by the church group she experienced an epiphany, not unlike those described in the early ZNP tourist brochures that described God's presence in nature. Williams wrote

> To this day, my spiritual life is found inside the heart of the wild… When I am away, I anticipate my return to touch stone, rock, the trunks of trees, the sway of grasses, the barbs of a feather, the fur left behind by a shedding bison."[12]

In this recent book, she also recounted her days in ZNP, Canyonlands and Capitol Reef with fierce affection. These were places that she loved to visit and to drink in their beauty, as a Mormon woman and as a lover of wild places. She continues to love the lands of southern Utah and act as an advocate for their preservation. She has also been an active proponent of the Bears Ears National Monument.[13] It is one of two national monuments that President Barack Obama declared before leaving office. The other is Gold Butte, where Bundy family cattle still roam, even while the Bundys sit in jail. The monuments are currently under attack.

LDS George B. Handley described himself, "I am not like the Mormon pioneers of the nineteenth century… I am a twenty-first century Utah Mormon."[14] He continued:

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[12] Terry Tempest Williams, *The Hour of the Land: A Personal Topography of America's National Parks* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2016), 10.

[13] Terry Tempest Williams and Bill Hedden, "Op-ed: 'Midnight Monument'? No, Utah Leaders Had Years to Make a Bears Ears Deal," S*alt Lake City Tribune*, December 20, 2016, accessed February 9, 2017, http://www.sltrib.com/opinion/4732301-155/op-ed-midnight-monument-no-utah-leaders.

[14] George B. Handley, *Home Waters: A Year of Recompenses on the Provo River* (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 2010), xi.

> In our heady embrace of the recompenses of an engineered world, we rejected the recompenses of its wilderness, failing to see that the desert blossoms with its own brilliant colors… Love of the land is needed to make things right, but it is no panacea for environmental degradation. As Wallace Stegner famously warned us 'we may love a place and still be dangerous to it.'[15]

Like Handley, Terry Tempest Williams notes the impacts of high volume park visitation and loving a land to death. Ranching, mining and logging negatively impact public lands, but so too do well-meaning tourists.

Williams writes that "the creation of America's national parks has been the creation of myths."[16] And the west is filled with myths. There's the myth of an unpeopled land that connects to the myth of pristine wilderness. There's the myth of Zion, Mormon homeland, the sacred place where LDS can build to delight the eye of God. And there is Cliven Bundy's myth that he represents "we the people," a unified population that embraces his plight, values and priorities. But not all Americans do. The one thing that we, the people, do share is ownership of public lands, finite, fragile and valuable beyond what they can produce for humans.

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[15] Ibid., xiii.

[16] Williams, *The Hour of the Land*, 11.

EPILOGUE

Lyman Hafen, Executive Director of the Zion National Park Foundation, thinks he knows what happened to the desert tortoise. He said that the reptile disappeared from the Gold Butte area because families en route back and forth from Las Vegas would stop their cars along the highway and grab the tortoises as pets for their kids. He said that this practice resulted in a population of tortoises that now live around St. George—inhabitants made up of the offspring of former pets that escaped domestic arrangements. In other words, though he admits that he has never interviewed a wildlife biologist, Hafen thinks the scarcity of tortoises along the Arizona Strip has to do with this local tradition and not the impacts of grazing. Hafen believes that cows and tortoises do just fine together.[1]

Both Hafen and his father Kelton have supported the Bundy fight and feel that ranching has gotten a bad wrap from conservationists. But father and son drew the line when the militia got involved with the family. According to Lyman Hafen, that was going too far.[2] But both men were very concerned for the family, emphasizing that the Bundys, though reckless, truly believed that they "are doing the right thing."[3]

I spent a day riding horses with Lyman on his father's ranch. Like Cliven Bundy, Kelton Hafen, a man in his 80s, traced his ancestry back to the first Mormon settlers.[4] A schoolhouse where his grandmother had attended school still remained on his ranch,

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[1] Lyman and Kelton Hafen, 2016. Interview by author. Clover Valley, NV, May 25.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

nested in Clover Valley, Nevada. The site of the ranch ties together so many aspects of the story of this region. It sits below Bunker Mountain, named after the co-founder of Bunkerville. The Shivwits Paiute reservation lies to the southeast, between St. George and the BLM land where Kelton had once grazed his cattle. The quickest route to access the ranch from St. George is Highway 18, which takes you straight through the Mountain Meadows Massacre site. Along this route memorials and signs remind travellers of the brutal murders that occurred mere miles from the Hafen family ranch.

Though Kelton still ranches on private land, he took a deal funded by Las Vegas developers who, in exchange for building in desert tortoise habitat around their city, bought out ranchers near the Hafen ranch. Standing on the red dirt, a little wobbly from age and hard work, he explained that as a Saint from a long line of LDS ranchers, he knew how to use this land in a way that baffled other ranchers. He told me that visitors had come to visit the place only to marvel that anyone could raise cattle on such marginal range.

> Most cattlemen, say from Montana, Wyoming, come down here and take a look at this and they can't see a thing that a cow can live on. We had some people from Wyoming come across our range many years ago and we were driving our cattle from one part of the range to another. And they looked at those cattle and we [*sic*] said 'how can those cattle look so good and there's not a damn thing here for them to eat?' But they don't understand that this is black brush, it's not real good feed, but cattle use it and there's different types of browse… we don't expect to get a cow fat on the winter range, we hope that the year's good enough that she can maintain herself and have a calf.[5]

[5] Ibid.

Mormon ranchers in Dixie pride themselves on doing what other ranchers cannot do, maintaining herds on the most meager of rangeland. They know how to make the desert productive.

But this success is relative. In the ranking of cattle production among the U.S. fifty states, Utah comes in thirty-sixth and Nevada thirty-seventh. Added together, these states match only 9.7% of the cattle production of the top ranked state, Texas.[6] Mormon ranchers might be able to run cows in the desert, but based on these production rates and the ecological ramifications, should they?

Like Kelton Hafen, Cliven Bundy sees the fact that he can run cattle in harsh environments, just like generations have before him, as a testament to Mormon fortitude—a certain know-how passed from generation to generation. And his anger over the federal call for the cessation of this practice is understandable. Many Mormon ranchers depend on public lands grazing rights. But there is something more. Their lifestyle is the core of their identity. These are the people, as Lyman Hafen lovingly points out, who come from a line of "leather faced, chappy-lipped, gravelvoiced old boys, all of them grandsons of Mormon pioneers, all of them living the only lives they have ever known—extensions of the lives of their fathers."[7] The cowboy and the ranching lifestyle make them Dixie Mormons.

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[6] Rob Cook, "Cattle Inventory: Ranking of All 50 States," *Drovers*, accessed February 6, 2017, http://www.cattlenetwork.com/advice-and-tips/cowcalf-producer/cattle-inventory-ranking-all-50-states.

[7] Hafen, *Roping the Wind*, 15.

The Bundys were dealt a blow, but not without the promise of compensation. If the family had gone the way of Kelton Hafen, they would have been recompensed fairly.[8] But Cliven, unlike his neighbors, did not want to take the deal, so he kept grazing his cows and stopped paying his grazing fees. And over the years, when the government took him to task for illegally grazing his cows, he pushed back harder and harder. He ultimately reached out to an element that may have felt empowering and commanding, but it seriously eroded his credibility and his case.

By engaging militia, white supremacists, anti-government extremists and conspiracy theorists, Bundy made things dangerous for his followers, his family, federal agents, police personnel and fellow Americans. As Wallace Stegner said, "we may love a place and still be a danger to it." Yes, the Bundys love Dixie and the American west, but they have created a danger to the region and American public lands. By making their points with guns and the takeover of federal lands (which cost taxpayers six million dollars in property damage and costs), they courted peril and sedition.[9]

Bundy orchestrated the Nevada standoff with sharp shooter militants aiming at armed federal agents—a situation where hundreds of people could have been killed. Two Bundy militants; Alyn Beck and Igor Soldo, broke off from the militia encampment and drove to Las Vegas where they killed two police. Witnesses testified that the couple

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[8] Lyman and Kelton Hafen, 2016. Interview by author. Clover Valley, NV, May 25.

[9] Les Zaitz, $6 million will go to Restore Malheur Refuge, Cover other Costs of Standoff, *The Oregonian/OregonLive*, March 23, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, http://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-standoff/2016/03/repairs_to_malheur_refuge_will.html.

shouted “this is a revolution” and “we are freedom fighters.” They later shot and killed another man.[10]

Standoff participant and former Arizona sheriff Richard Mack told the press, “We were actually strategizing to put all the women up at the front. If they are going to start shooting, it’s going to be women that are going to be televised all across the world getting shot by these rogue federal officers.”[11] Bundy, in his outrage, has invited a rather execrable element onto his team. In his battle for his livelihood and his identity, he put people in mortal danger.

For years leading up to and following the standoff, BLM agents have been harassed and threatened in Dixie. During and after Malheur, leaders in nearby Burns, Oregon who tried to protect their town from the onslaught of armed people were also menaced.[12] After the arrest of the Bundys, during which LaVoy Finicum was shot, protesters threatened to kill police and the Governor of Oregon and in a strange non sequitur, burn Qur’ans.[13]

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[10] Zachary Roth, “Neighbors: Vegas Cop Killers Said They Were at Bundy’s Ranch, *MSNBC*, June 9, 2014, accessed February 6, 2017, http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/vegas-shooters-bundy-ranch-neighbors-say.

[11] Jamie Fuller, “The Long Fight Between the Bundys and the Federal Government, from 1989 to Today,” *Washington Post*, April 15, 2014, accessed February 6, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2014/04/15/everything-you-need-to-know-about-the-long-fight-between-cliven-bundy-and-the-federal-government/?utm_term=.b79fa3ebbcd8.

[12] John Glionna, “Oregon Sheriff Has Received Numerous Death Threats since Militia Takeover,” *The Guardian*, January 7, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/07/oregon-residents-say-its-time-for-the-militia-to-pack-it-up-and-go; Amanda Peacher, “Supporters of Harney County Judge Grasty Rally Against Recall,” transcript, *Oregon Public Broadcasting*, August 23, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, http://www.opb.org/news/series/burns-oregon-standoff-bundy-militia-news-updates/steve-grasty-harney-county-judge-supporters-rally-against-recall-/; https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/14/oregon-militia-standoff-bundy-trial-oregon-sheriff-david-ward.

[13] Ryan Haas, “LaVoy Finicum Supporters Threatened to Burn Qurans, Kill Police and Oregon Governor,” transcript, *Oregon Public Broadcasting*, March 26, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, http://www.opb.org/

The Bundy Ranch page on Facebook has become a place where thousands of disgruntled Americans have come to roost and share their thoughts. Many feel besieged, having convinced themselves that there are sinister international forces plaguing them intentionally and strategically. Some express special insights into the intentions of the U.S. Constitution. And some express their responsibility, by force if necessary, in upholding these constitutional interpretations. The voices of the Bundy Ranch Facebook page are part of an American demographic that feeds on misinformation and conspiracy. They post messages back and forth in an incessant reinforcement of their shared ideas. They bolster each other, as Kelton Hafen observed, that they think they are doing "the right thing."

The online Bundy Ranch community continues to call for militia posturing and state sovereignty. Wild stories and UN conspiracy are rife within the postings as are the oft-repeated calls to abolish the EPA and the BLM. A great many posts send prayers to the Bundy family, wishes for Barrack Obama's demise and expressions of blind optimism in Donald Trump's ability to make their lives better. In an open letter to Trump, Shawna Cox offered:

> I am a personal witness to the atrocities that have been inflicted upon the people of this nation from a Federal government that is out of control. We now have many Americans, veterans, and hardworking Families who have been attacked, forced and regulated out of business. This comes by way of greedy politicians and people of nobility, along with the elite who have put us into slavery….
>
> As you well know this is the last free country in the world. A sacred land preserved for a righteous and moral people. If we don't preserve our

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news/series/burns-oregon-standoff-bundy-militia-news-updates/finicum-supporters-threaten-to-kill-cops-because-they-are-cops/.

> Constitution we will no longer have our God given rights of Liberty to do the same thing you have been able to do, to become a self-made man through your [*sic*] own labors. Will You help us?...We need to stand together against the real Conspirators. United We Stand/Divided We Fall.[14]

Many commenters, including Cliven Bundy himself, encouraged followers to vote for the controversial Republican candidate. Now they expect Trump to release the Bundy men from jail, dissolve the BLM and the EPA and give federal lands to state and private interests. And they may get their wish.

On December 28, 2016, President Obama designated Bears Ears and Gold Butte as national monuments. While Bears Ears, an area set up to be jointly managed by several tribes and the government, received most of the national attention, Gold Butte garnered the most buzz on the Bundy Ranch page. Gold Butte is a 296,937-acre monument that includes petroglyphs, notable rock formations and critical habitat for the desert tortoise. It is also where the Bundy cattle continue to run rogue. For Southern Paiute who regard the area as sacred, the monument is a win.[15] For the Bundys it was a blow. The Bundy Ranch page showed the following statement, entitled "Gold Butte: Our Land":

> We, the Bundy Family, would like to say to President Obama that we are saddened, but not surprised, by your decision to make our ranch and home a national monument. If any of this were really about protecting the land, you would come here, work with the local people who love this land, those who have a vested interest in this land, and take the time to learn what this land really needs. This is about control, pure and simple. You don't love this land, you have never visited here, but you love being in control of this land. The problems we have had with federal land

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[14] Shawna Cox, "Dear President Trump," *Facebook*, December 22, 2016, accessed February 6, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/bundyranch/?hc_ref=SEARCH&fref=nf.

[15] Jacelle Ramon-Sauberan, "Southern Paiutes 11-Mile Culture Walk to Protect Gold Butte," *Indian Country Media Network*, May 10, 2016, accessed February 9, 2017, https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/environment/southern-paiutes-11-mile-culture-walk-to-protect-gold-butte/.

> management have never been about cows, tortoises, or fees. It has always been about the constitutional limits on the federal government's authority. While you enjoy a vacation in Hawaii we are here caring for this land and resisting federal overreach. Shame on you for undoing with your pen the good work we have done with our sweat for generations. We call on Attorney General Adam Laxalt to fight this to the fullest extent of the law!

Gold Butte is an area that Nevada Senator Harry Reid, a Mormon, has worked for years to protect due to its beauty and its abundant antiquities. It is absolutely not the Bundys' personal land. It is public land layered with cultural understandings, including that of Paiute and Mormon homeland. It is also important habitat, which accounts for the fact that the Bundys are no longer allowed to graze their cattle there. Though they still do illegally. For decades the American public has pushed to conserve federal lands, sometimes at the expense of individuals who profited from extractive uses that had negative environmental impacts. Gold Butte belongs to the Bundys, as it belongs to all Americans. But the rights of all Americans are not part of the Bundys' campaign.

At Malheur, Ryan Bundy admitted, "We also recognize that the Native Americans had the claim to the land, but they lost that claim. There are things to learn from cultures of the past, but the current culture is the most important." Cliven Bundy said of African Americans:

> They abort their young children, they put their young men in jail, because they never learned how to pick cotton. And I've often wondered, are they better off as slaves, picking cotton and having a family life and doing things, or are they better off under government subsidy.[16]

[16] Adam Nagourney, "A Defiant Rancher Savors the Audience That Rallied to His Side, *New York Times*, April 23, 2014, accessed February 7, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/24/us/politics/rancher-proudly-breaks-the-law-becoming-a-hero-in-the-west.html.

This statement is of course racist and appalling. It also shows both ignorance and hypocrisy in consideration of the fact that public lands ranchers themselves are subsidized. Federal leases on public lands are $1.69 per cow/calf pair (monthly) in comparison to an average $20 fee per pair on private land.[17] It is very cheap to graze on the lands that western ranchers feel entitled to utilize,

When I first met the family, I thought the Bundys were outliers, but in watching their supporters, listening to their rhetoric and witnessing their actions, I have come to see that the Bundys do represent an angry cross-section of "We the People." The people who voted for Trump in response to the diminished opportunities in rural white America. This demographic is seen in coal towns, factory towns and in rural Dixie.

They do not see themselves as subversive. When I met the Bundy family, they were warm and friendly. Cliven's bodyguard Brian "Boodah" Cavalier, joked that when he saw my Prius with two Russian wolfhounds, he knew that I was not any type of threat. He did not appear armed when he came into the living room to meet me. The family joked with me and made me feel welcome. After the three-hour visit, Carol gave me a hug. Cliven sent me off with a signed *Book of Mormon* and Ryan followed me to my car and bade me to "really read" his sacred book.

My meeting with Shawna Cox was equally hospitable. Her husband brought us fresh cut fruit salad during our couple of hours together. She texted me the following day to make sure I was safe during a long drive from Kanab to Telluride. These people see

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[17] Joe Burns and Tom Schick, "Controversial Federal Grazing Fees Not a Great Deal for Anyone," transcript, Oregon Public Broadcasting, January 6, 2016, accessed January 10, 2016, http://www.opb.org/news/series/burns-oregon-standoff-bundy-militia-news-updates/federal-grazing-fees/.

themselves as everyday family folks who have been pushed too far by a "corrupt government." They hope that Donald Trump will save them and return them to a time when cowboy was king and government oversight was non-existent. Bundy Ranch follower Anna Lach posted "Get rid of BLM. Why does a foreign corporation have any authority. These people need to be freed and compensated. Just a thought."[18] Like so many on the Bundy Ranch page, Ms. Lach brings up conspiracy by alleging that the BLM is part of international forces intent on robbing Americans and imposing phony environmental regulations. But the truth is that the American public fell in love with Dixie's public lands and wanted them protected.[19]

As the Bundys await trail, we the people will watch and wonder what consequences await the actions of the Bundy Militia on American public lands. In the meantime, Congress is considering repealing the Antiquities Act, overturning protection of national monuments including Bears Ears and GSENM, weakening the Endangered Species Act, reducing the size of national monuments and drilling in national parks. House Rule 622 has been crafted by Utah Congress member Jason Chaffetz to turn over law enforcement duty on public lands to the state sheriff. Cliven Bundy's fight, which at the beginning of my dissertation seemed quixotic, has come to epitomize a real challenge to the reality of the rights of the American people. Should public lands, which are an American birthright, be lauded and utilized for their productivity? Or should parks,

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[18] Anna Lach, February 1, 2017, Bundy Ranch Page, *Facebook*, https://www.facebook.com/bundyranch/.

[19] Ninety percent of the American public support the Endangered Species Act. "New Poll Finds Strong Support for Endangered Species," *Tulchin Research* press release, July 7, 2015, accessed February 17, 2017, http://www.tulchinresearch.com/2015/07/07/new-national-poll-finds-strong-support-for-endangered-species-act/.

monuments and Wilderness areas be esteemed and safeguarded for habitat, sanctuary and recreation? Given our current political climate and the passions of we the people, over the next years, voices on both sides of these questions will certainly grow in pitch, intensity and certitude.

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