

DINOSAUR NATIONAL MONUMENT
HISTORIC RESOURCES STUDY

FINAL REPORT
Submitted to:
National Park Service
Rocky Mountain Regional Office
Contract CX-1200-4-A066
Item 1
July 31, 1985

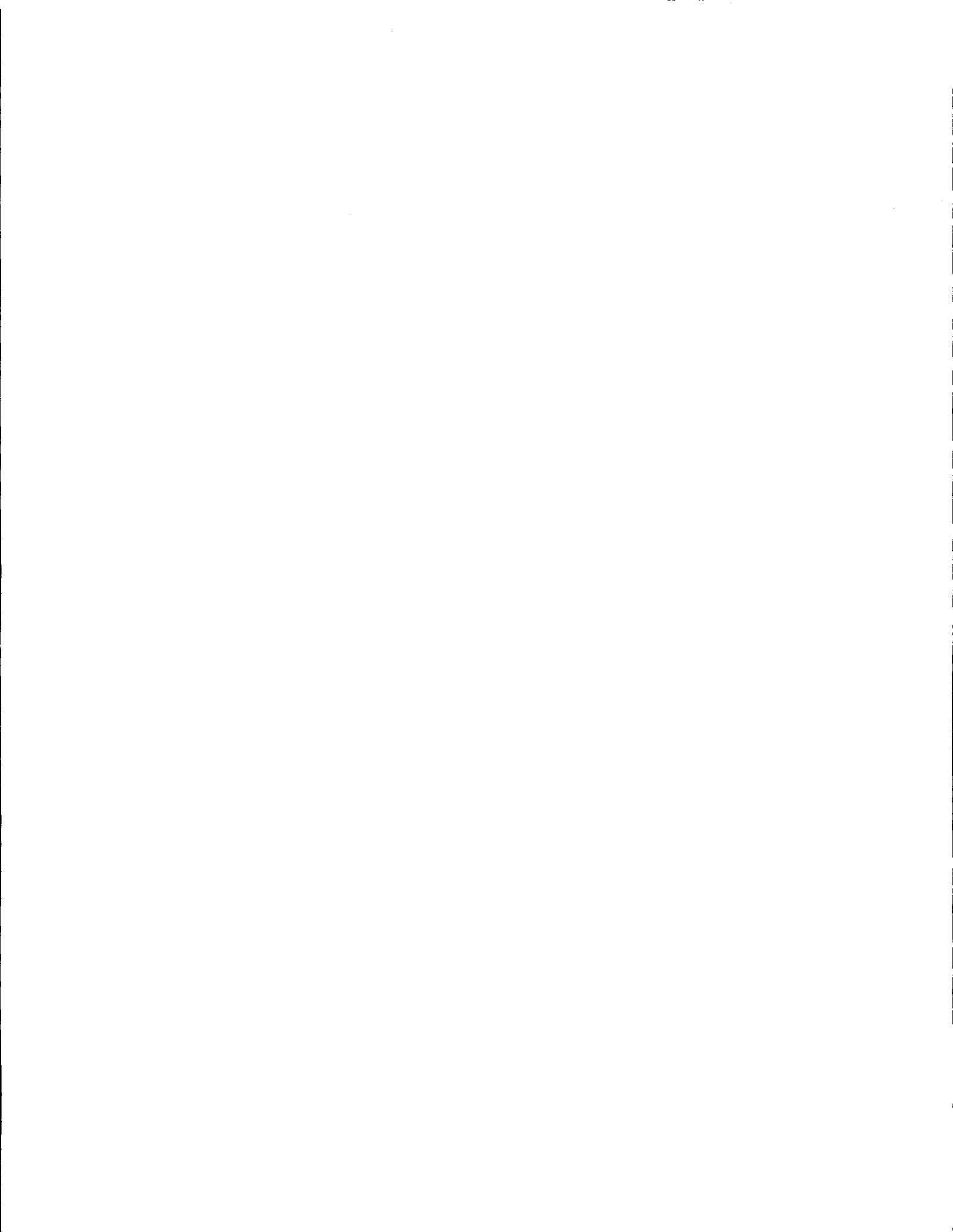


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Memorandum

To: Superintendent, Dinosaur National Monument

From: Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation,
Rocky Mountain Region

Subject: Transmittal of Historic Resource Study, Dinosaur National Monument

Enclosed for your use and distribution are 10 copies of the subject study completed under contract by Western Historical Studies, Inc. Please note the addendum comments in the map folder which represent revision of the manuscript to comply with the review from the Department of the Interior Solicitor's Office. This review was completed in order that we issue a document that would not conflict with any ongoing legal work.

We have sent copies of the document to the Utah State Historical Society. The base map will be sent for inclusion later.

/sgd/ Richard A. Strait

Richard A. Strait

Enclosures (10)

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Chief, MWAC, w/c enc. (1)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As with any project this size there are a number of people involved other than the author, and all too frequently they go unappreciated. However, I hope this page will act to correct that in some small way. First, Dr. Michael Schene, the National Park Service Regional Historian, deserves a great deal of thanks for his help in finding material, making the phone calls, and all the other little things that keep a study moving along. The other fine people at the Rocky Mountain Regional Office, Branch of Historic Preservation, deserve thanks, particularly Branch Chief Rodd Wheaton, Marcy Culpin, and JoAnn D'Ascenz and the two contracting officers, Howard Martin and Keith Warner. At Dinosaur, Superintendent Joe L.Kennedy, David Whitman, Lynn Loetterle, Linda West, and Dan Chure all made researching there a pleasure by setting me down in a room full of files and other materials and saying "have at it." Also, David, Lynn, Linda and Glade Ross spent hours reviewing the draft report and making many useful comments. Equally, Rangers Bill Van Cott, Joe Wieszczyk, Jerry Ballard and Glade Ross, who spent days driving to the remote corners of the Monument, and River Rangers Bill Ott and Elaine Adams who ferried me down the Yampa and Green Rivers to see those sites inaccessible by road, all get a round of applause for help and patience with the historian and his forms.

Outside the National Park Service the staffs at the Colorado Historical Society, Utah Historical Society, Denver Public Library, Western History Department, and the Western History Collections of the University of Colorado get a thank-you for their help,



as does Doug Ernest at Morgan Library of Colorado State University
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thanks to all of you.

Steven F. Mehls, Principal Investigator
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Western Historical Studies, Inc.



INTRODUCTION

CHRONOLOGICAL AND THEMATIC SUMMARY

The 325 square miles of Colorado and Utah that make up today's Dinosaur National Monument have had a long, varied, and often colorful history. Even the history of the Monument itself, as a part of the National Park System, is anything but colorless, from the struggle to create a national monument to its later expansion and development for outdoor recreation. President Woodrow Wilson set aside eighty acres north of Jensen, Utah, as Dinosaur National Monument in 1915. At that time the focus of interest was on the fossil quarry. Twenty years later attention shifted to the dramatic canyons of the Yampa and Green Rivers. Attempts to preserve those areas culminated in the expansion of Dinosaur to nearly its present size by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1938. Since then boundary adjustments have been made and access roads acquired that slightly increased the area of Dinosaur National Monument.

In the narrative that follows the reader will meet the famous, infamous and not so famous people who gave Dinosaur its history. In looking back at their lives and struggles an attempt has been made to place them into a broader regional context. For the sake of clarity, the reader must keep in mind that when textural references are made to Dinosaur, the Monument or Dinosaur National Monument those descriptors are used to denote the lands that make up the Monument today, even though the events discussed took place both before and after either



the 1915 proclamation establishing Dinosaur National Monument or President Roosevelt's executive order that enlarged Dinosaur in 1938. As well, use of the Dinosaur area, the Monument region, locale, or similar terms denote events that took place either inside, outside or both in and out of the present boundaries. While such semantics may be a bit confusing, history frequently does not recognize borders laid down by government surveyors and to address only those things that happened within Monument's present boundaries would be to look at its history in a vacuum.

The Euro-American history of Dinosaur dates to 1776. As the British government in London faced colonial problems that led to American independence, the Spanish government struggled with different issues in its American colonies. The authorities of New Mexico, then on the northern edges of Spain's new world empire, hoped to find new, overland routes from Santa Fe to other Spanish settlements in California. To accomplish the task the governor commissioned two friars, Dominguez and Escalante, to travel north and west from New Mexico toward California. The expedition lasted from summer into late fall of 1776 and marked the beginning of more than a century of exploration in and around Dinosaur. The next visitors arrived in 1825 when William Ashley led a small party down the Green River looking for likely hunting grounds and sites for fur trading rendezvous. After Ashley came the Fremont expedition of 1843-1844 that visited the lands immediately north of the Monument in 1844. Five years later William Manly and a group of men migrating to California



as part of the gold rush of 1849, traversed Dinosaur in boats on Green River.

The period between Ashley's trip and Frémont's expedition was that of the fur trade for the Dinosaur area.

From 1820 until the early 1840s mountain men combed the entire Rocky Mountain West in search of beaver pelts. As part of this trade Fort Davy Crockett, immediately north of the Monument, was built and stayed in business as a trading post from 1834 until 1840.

The demise of the fort marked the end of the fur trade, but not the end of Euro-American occupation and use of local lands. In 1849 "Uncle Sam" Bassett took up residence on Willow Creek, being the first of many Bassetts to call Dinosaur and the lands around it home. During the 1850s a few other settlers drifted into the lands north of the Monument, known by then as Brown's Park or Brown's Hole. Also, it was during that period that the first cattle entered Brown's Park; the herd of W.H. Snyder on its way to sale in the gold fields of California. Ten years after Snyder's visit the nation was torn apart by the Civil War. That conflict stopped further development in Dinosaur and much of the West for nearly a decade.

Four years after the guns fell silent at Appomattox Court House the next major expedition into the area came when Maj. John Wesley Powell made the first of two trips down Green River in 1869. Two years later the Major undertook a second expedition on the Green River through Dinosaur and beyond. By the time



Powell made his 1871 visit the region had begun to be settled as ranchers from Wyoming moved south onto the ranges of northwestern Colorado. A few years later, when the last great federal explorations, the Hayden Surveys, took place Brown's Park and the Ashley Valley of Utah found cattlemen calling the area theirs. Within a decade more than a dozen ranches had been established in the area, both in Colorado and Utah. As ranching grew so did illegal activities closely associated with it--rustling and horse stealing. The growth of crime resulted in part because of the remoteness of the area. The isolation was due, at least partially, to the earlier failures at road building and the presence of the Union Pacific Railroad that traversed southern Wyoming by the late 1860s. The rail line acted as a magnet for settlement and business activity, while at the same time areas removed from it, such as Dinosaur, tended to remain more isolated. By 1900 Dinosaur and the lands around it were the unchallenged home of the cattleman as well as being known as a place to go to avoid legal entanglements.

The first ten years of the twentieth century marked a period of dramatic change for the Dinosaur area. Ranching, while remaining the dominant activity, did experience change in three ways--the introduction of sheep on a large scale, settlement of much of the land around the Monument by farmers, and the increased role of the federal government in area natural resource conservation. While the first sheep came to Dinosaur during in 1879 as part of the Edwards Brothers' ranching operation they were tolerated



as necessary to keep Wyoming cattle outfits from invading the entire area. However, by 1900, as range became more scarce, and more sheep arrived, cattlemen reacted violently. For the first twenty years of the new century a state of tension existed between cattlemen, primarily from Colorado, and sheepmen from Utah. The second change, increased farming in the region, also acted to take land away from grazing and was opposed by cattlemen. However, the flood of farmers subsided by the middle-1920s as many gave up their homesteads or became livestock raisers themselves. The third change, federal conservation, began in 1891 with passage of the General Revision Act and has continued to the present through agencies such as the U.S. Forest Service or Bureau of Land Management. Federal water resource development also started in this period with passage of the Newlands Act in 1902.

For Dinosaur, the first pressures from the newly formed Bureau of Reclamation were felt when field work was done on Green River in hopes of creating a Brown's Park Reservoir. However, the idea never got beyond the planning stage and was abandoned by 1915.

One other event took place during the first decade of the twentieth century, relatively unnoticed at the time except by a handful of scientists, that eventually had a profound impact on the history of Dinosaur. In August of 1909, Earl Douglass, then employed as a field paleontologist for the Carnegie Museum, discovered the first fossils at what soon became the famous



quarry that prompted creation of Dinosaur National Monument in 1915.

The 1920s proved to be a period of little change for Dinosaur. The Carnegie Museum and others at the quarry tapered down the level of their activities until 1925 when nearly all work halted and the quarry entered a caretaker phase under auspices of the National Park Service. Even if no new development work was taking place, tourists, now in their automobiles, began to brave the treacherous roads and come to Dinosaur to see the bones. They also looked to areas such as the Gates of Lodore as places to visit for scenic enjoyment. As the twenties became the thirties and the nation slipped into the Great Depression following the stock market crash of 1929, ranchers and farmers in the Dinosaur area noticed little change as prices for cattle, sheep and farm products had been low for nearly a decade. Nevertheless, with the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 and his promise to help get the nation out of the Depression, activity at and around Dinosaur increased. Farm price supports helped local ranchers weather the storm while public works programs led to preparation of the quarry for its new role of visitor display. Also, President Roosevelt, a friend of conservation, listened to the advice of his Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes, and enlarged Dinosaur National Monument to include the spectacular canyons of the Green and Yampa Rivers in 1938. Just over three years later the nation was plunged into World War II.



The war both helped and hurt Dinosaur. High wartime prices for food aided local farmers and ranchers. But, the redirection of federal attention and money to the war effort meant that no further development work took place at the Monument, a hiatus that lasted more than fifteen years.

Another impact of the war was the near end of visitation as gasoline rationing kept tourists from the highways. However, that proved to be only temporary. After the war ended Americans took to their cars and set out for Dinosaur and the rest of the National Park System. By 1950 the flood of visitors was well underway and Dinosaur's staff did its best to handle the flow. That year also saw the first of two 1950s attempts by the Bureau of Reclamation to receive Congressional blessing for water projects within Dinosaur. In the end Congress refused approval for both Echo Park Dam and Split Mountain Dam, but not before Dinosaur garnered considerable national publicity. As the dust settled over those debates National Park Service planners took steps to improve Dinosaur for visitors that culminated with the construction and opening of the present Quarry Visitor Center in 1958. The building set new standards in style that the National Park Service used throughout its 1950s-1960s development program known as MISSION 66. During the early 1960s, also as part of MISSION 66, the Monument received money for road construction and, most dramatically, the relocation and construction of a new headquarters at Dinosaur, Colorado. From that point through



1985 the history of Dinosaur has been one of continued development, albeit on a smaller scale, and increasing use by visitors.

Examination of the history of Dinosaur National Monument reveals ten themes that form a convenient subject framework for this and future studies of the Monument. These themes served as a route to identify topics for research and can be used to evaluate historic sites and values in local, regional, and national contexts. Also, the thematic approach allows for construction of a less complicated chronological framework by treating each subject separately, yet associating them with the overall historic developments in the Monument.

The ten themes identified in the Dinosaur National Monument Historic Resources Study include:

1. Exploration to 1900
2. Early Settlement of the area, 1850-1880
3. Ranching to 1900(Cattle and Sheep)
4. The Development of Trails and Transportation
5. The Outlaws, 1870-1910
6. Mining and Lumbering
7. Ranching After 1900(Cattle and Sheep)
8. Conservation and Federal Resource Development after 1891
9. Water Resource Development after 1900
10. Scientific Exploration and Monument Development after 1900



Within each of these themes there are sub-themes, including the fur trade under exploration; farming under both of the ranching headings; the Great Depression under conservation and federal resource development; and quarry development, expansion of the Monument(1938), the Great Depression, tourism, MISSION 66, and water resource conflicts under the Monument development heading.

Sub-themes by their nature are dependent on the theme for their contextual associations, such as in the case of Dinosaur, the fur trade. While that business was important in the lands immediately around the Monument(Fort Davy Crockett), Dinosaur's major association with the fur trade comes from Ashley's exploration of the Green River, not the trapping that may have taken place in parts of the Monument. Therefore, the fur trade becomes a sub-theme of exploration. Another example is farming. Within the Monument only limited farming took place, primarily either food for family consumption or harvesting of hay, but the development of farming in the region, especially northwestern Colorado, after 1900, impacted ranching by taking lands out of grazing, placing more pressure on those tracts still available to the stockmen. Therefore farming becomes a sub-theme of ranching. By adopting this approach, the themes generated by this study are tailored to the historic values of the Monument, yet associated with the larger context of regional history.

Each of these themes has sites or historic values associated with it. Also, because of the nature of the themes, representing certain lifestyles or economic pursuits, some sites and values



can be associated with more than one theme. This is particularly evident in the early ranching and outlaw themes. A good example is the Matt Rash cabin along the Yampa River. Its primary function was livestock raising but it also served as a place for outlaws to visit and even Rash was an amateur outlaw, possibly using the secluded location to hide stolen cattle. The range and number of sites associated with each theme varies, with ranching having by far and away the most sites and early exploration the fewest. This is to be expected since ranching was the dominant lifeway of the area for more than sixty years, and also the transitory nature of activities such as exploring acted to prevent the leaving of cultural resources in the traditional(extant) sense.

Only two sites associated with exploration have been identified within Dinosaur National Monument, the Escalante Crossing and the Denis Julien inscription. However, the Escalante Crossing may be incorrectly located if the Chavez translation is accepted. That document places the crossing south of the presently marked location where the Jensen Road crosses the Monument boundary. The Julien site, as the only example of human workmanship definitely associated with this theme, has significance within the Monument.

Sites within Dinosaur that are associated with the early settlement, ranching before and ranching after 1900 themes include: Split Mountain Gorge cabin, Beach Draw cabin, Josie Bassett Morris cabin, Ruple ranch, Jack Chew's homesite at Pool Creek, Chew's Pool Creek ranch, Pat Lynch's caves, rockshelter, corral,



the Pat Lynch brand sites and Lynch cabins one and two, Griff Edwards ranch, Herb Bassett ranch, George Bassett cabin and summer camp, Massey cabin, Buffham cabin, the "historic dugout," Bower cabin, Donald Wall cabin, Red Rock ranch, Blevins cabin, Mantle ranch(private in-holding), Big Joe cabin, Baker cabin, Snow/Murray cabin, Johnson cabin, Bower cabin, Upper(#1) and Lower(#2) Brown's Draw cabins, Haystack Rock cabin, "round house" cabin, Stubbs cabin, Chapman ranch, Shank ranch, Porter House, Lowell ranch, Bill White ranch, Hackings Draw and Hells Canyon corrals, and Laura Walker cabin. Of all those only the Bassett family sites, the Chew family sites, Shank ranch, Griff Edwards ranch, and Pat Lynch sites could be considered as significant because of their connections to persons of local significance or as highly representative of the themes. Other sites associated with ranching and farming as well as water development include the attempted diversion works(drilled tunnel) at the Ruple ranch, and the earthen dams near Cub Creek and Burnt Gulch.

Sites associated with mining and lumbering in Dinosaur National Monument all appear to be tied to mining. These are: "placer diggings," Shephard mine, Mantle mine and mine road, "Acme" mine, "front room" mine, miner/hermit shelter, Shephard cabin, and marginally the Wade and Curtis cabins.

Three known sites in the Monument are associated with the outlaw theme, the Outlaw Trail, outlaw cabin and the outlaw cave. Of these, outlaw/signature cave is the most significant because of its association with this and other themes. However,



some of the local ranches and cabins also have associations to the theme, such as the Bassett corral, outside the Monument, site of the Jack Bennett lynching.

Water resource development is represented by five sites within Dinosaur National Monument, including the Echo Park and Split Mountain damsites, the USGS camp, Serviceberry Gap water tank, and the pipes in Whirlpool Canyon. The USGS camp can be considered significant because it is representative of the struggle to develop water resources. The last resource may be associated either with the Echo Park damsite or development by the National Park Service.

The other theme that has a large number of representative resources within the Monument is post-1900 scientific exploration and Monument development. Of these four are directly related to the Douglass discoveries and representative of the scientific exploration portion of the theme, the Douglass homestead and Douglass's shop and lab, Gawin Douglass' Orchid Draw site and quarry worker Schaefermeyer's cabin site. From that list only the Douglass shop is clearly associated with the quarry giving it more significance. The quarry site, as developed, is associated with scientific discovery and bridges the gap between the scientist and the National Park Service. A number of other resources associated with the development of the Monument which fall into the more conventional types associated with park development and management, including tourism, are: metal storage shed buildings and "CCC" canal, the first and second



Jones Hole ranger stations and boat shelter, the upper(remaining) Wade and Curtis cabin, Echo Park ranger station, Round Top lookout tower and cabin, Deerlodge ranger station, and Harpers Corner road ranger station and Zenobia lookout tower. Of all these resources the boat shelter and Quarry Visitor Center are the most significant.

Transportation development in the Monument is represented by a number of the modern roads that follow more or less the routes of historic travel because of the topographic limits on trail locations, such as the Jones Hole-Island Park trail. Some of these also represent Park Service development with the associated improvements that have been made to the previously existing roads and trails.¹ None appear as overly significant.

The final theme, conservation and federal resource development, is not represented by any resources within the Monument if the strictest definition is taken; however, the water development resources and the entire Monument itself could be included under this theme if taken in its broadest sense. One type of resource that while presently not recorded or appreciated as an historic resource, but falls under this category, is the grazing land within the Monument that has been managed and improved by the government during the twentieth century. Other similar types of activities, such as wildlife management, also would fall

¹Information for this section is based on a list of historic resources compiled by Dinosaur National Monument staff members dated 21 October 1984 and as a result of WHS work on Option A.



under this theme. However, they may be more pertinent to the lands around Dinosaur than to the Monument itself.

The history of Dinosaur National Monument and the lands around it dates to 1776 and the appearance of the Dominguez-Escalante expedition in the area. After that fateful journey the next ninety years of the Dinosaur history continued to be that of an area controlled by Native Americans but punctuated by visits from Euro-Americans. Those visitors occupied themselves with further explorations of the region and trapping and trading furs. Animal pelts were the first natural resource of the area to be used by Anglo-Americans. The second readily available resource to be used was the grazing land. The vast amounts of land available for use, coupled with the relatively hospitable, though arid, climate for livestock, led to the development of ranching during the 1870s. Stockraising led to the permanent settlement of the region and included both cattle and sheep grazing. Relations between cattlemen and sheepmen between the 1880s and 1920s usually were less than cordial, with occasional violence against both the sheep and their owners. In addition to that violence the isolation and rugged terrain of the region, complemented by the rather lackadaisical attitudes held by local residents regarding law enforcement, led to the region's being used frequently by outlaws for their hideouts and getaways. People living in the area participated in the law-breaking by rustling from their more prosperous neighbors, particularly Ora Haley and the Hoys. Despite the near-end of lawlessness



after Tom Horn's visits at the turn of the century and the appearance of a new threats to the public domain range in the form of federal reservations and homesteaders, ranching continued to be the dominant activity in the Monument until it was created by President Wilson(1915) and expanded by President Roosevelt(1938).

The federal government, more than any other force, changed local life in the twentieth century as it adopted new policies to protect and manage the region's natural resources. This included the protection of Douglass's dinosaur fossil discoveries and the natural beauty of the Green and Yampa River canyons. The presence of the Monument, accompanied by the development of paved roads and the spread of automobile travel in the twentieth century, led to the development of tourism as a business for the local area.

The history of Dinosaur National Monument is one filled with famous characters, John Wesley Powell, William Ashley, Earl Douglass, as well as the infamous such as Butch Cassidy, Harry Tracy, or Tom Horn. More than that, the history of the Monument is the story of men, women and children, many all but unknown to history, striving to carve out an existence from the harsh environment, facing problems of isolation, climate and topography to make a place to live for themselves and their families. Those people, as much or more than the Powells or Cassidys, are the substance of Dinosaur's history.



CHAPTER I

THE LAND OF DINOSAUR NATIONAL MONUMENT

The lands within Dinosaur National Monument are characterized by extreme contrast, both within the Monument and when compared with the surrounding area. The Monument straddles the Colorado-Utah state line, with the majority of the lands, and Monument Headquarters, being in Colorado. To the west of the Monument the Uinta Mountains, running generally east to west in northeastern Utah, rise to more than thirteen thousand feet and include Kings Peak, the highest point in Utah at 13,498 feet above sea level. South of the Monument the mountains give way to the Ashley Valley and Uinta Basin. Along a southeasterly axis through the northern edges of the Monument from Utah to Maybell, Colorado, lies Brown's Park, a high mountain park ringed by rugged mountains and dramatic canyons. To the north of Dinosaur lie the mountains and uplands of southern Wyoming (see figure 1-1).

The lands of today's Dinosaur National Monument offer awe-inspiring views to visitors and have yielded tremendous quantities of scientific information. The terrain took tens of millions of years for nature to form. Much of the region is based on Precambrian deposits that eroded to create sedimentary formations, were uplifted and experienced new erosion. For Dinosaur National Monument the most critical geologic era was the Mesozoic, spanning 180 million years, commencing 245 million years ago and ending 65 million years ago. Scientists have divided the Mesozoic



DINOSAUR NATIONAL MONUMENT

UTAH - COLORADO

- - - - - Paved Road (1st Class, All Weather)
 - - - - - Improved Road (Gravel, 2nd Class Generally Feasible Year Round)
 - - - - - County Road (Dist. 3rd Class)
 - - - - - Unimproved Track or Jeep Road

SCALE IN MILES

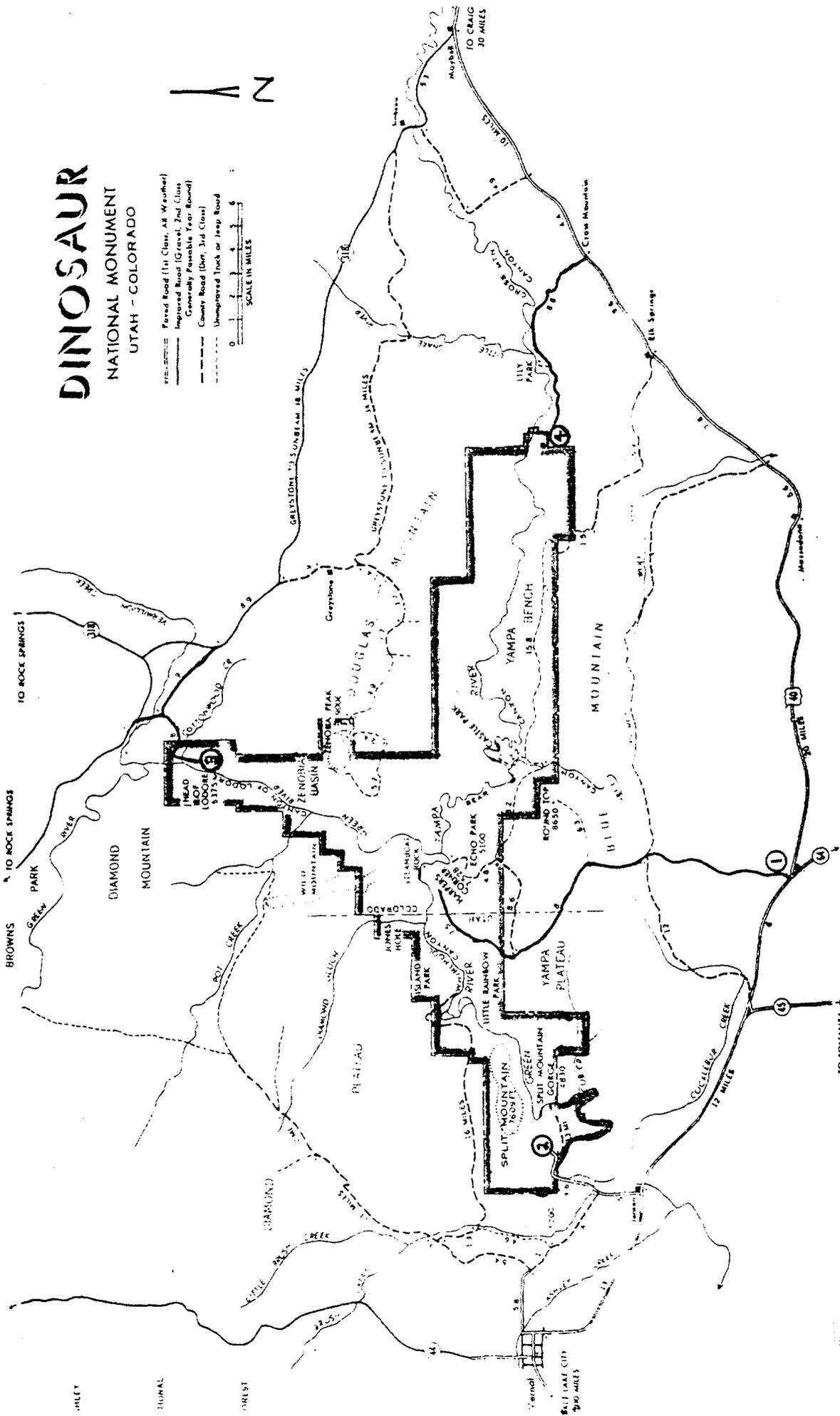


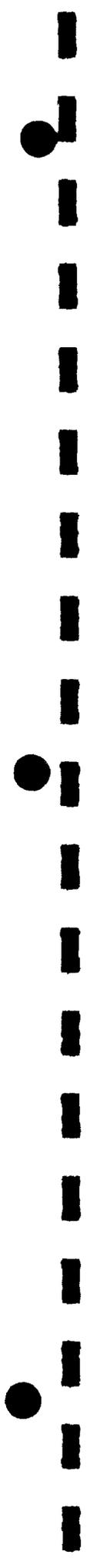
FIGURE 1-1 Dinosaur National Monument

- 1 -- Monument Headquarters
- 2 -- Quarry Visitor Center
- 3 -- Lodore Ranger Station
- 4 -- Deerlodge



Era into three periods, the Triassic (oldest), Jurassic (middle), and Cretaceous (more recent). During the Jurassic Period the dinosaurs that would give the Monument its fame lived. As the Jurassic Period closed the huge reptiles died out and the land was further modified during the Cretaceous Period as more layers of conglomerate, limestone, mudstone, sandstone, shale and sedimentary rocks were formed. The next major event on the area's geologic history took place during the Tertiary Period of the Cenozoic Era. The earth uplifted the Rocky Mountains as part of the Laramide Orogeny. The final changes have taken place since the great uplifting as the erosional forces of wind and water which have continued their relentless attack on the sedimentary deposits of the region.¹

Those comparatively recent events created the mountains and canyons that dominate much of the Monument. The major mountains of Dinosaur include Douglas Mountain, Diamond Mountain, Blue Mountain, Split Mountain, and Wild Mountain. On each of these can be found a number of lesser peaks, basins, canyons, and parks. One of these, Zenobia Peak, is the highest point within the Monument at 9,006 feet, while the lowest point, nearly a mile closer to sea level, is on the surface of the Green River at 4,730 feet. From the summit of Wild Mountain to the bottom of Whirlpool Canyon the elevation change is more than thirty-three hundred feet. As dramatic as that drop may sound, possibly the most well-known and awe-inspiring elevation change takes



place at the Gates of Lodore where the cliffs rise more than two thousand feet above the Green River, with some sheer drops of more than one thousand feet.²

The Monument also contains a number of minor peaks, such as Zenobia, mentioned earlier, Hardscrabble Mountain, Ruple Ridge or Katy's Nipple among others. Interspersed are numerous parks, flats and basins, some smaller than a square mile and others large and open enough to allow construction of an airplane landing field. These too have colorful names such as Echo Park, Rainbow Park, or Pearl Park. East Cactus Flats, West Cactus Flats, and the Yampa Plateau all are within the boundaries of Dinosaur National Monument.³ The rivers, streams, and creeks of the Monument draw all these diverse elements together and focus them on the Yampa and Green Rivers.

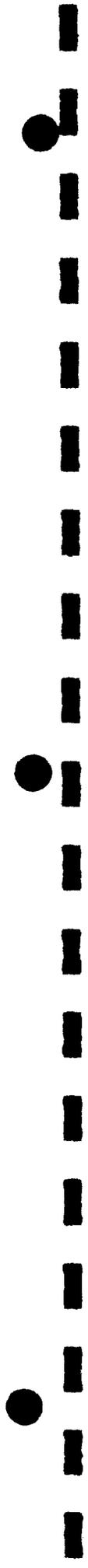
Dinosaur National Monument's fame comes from two sources. First, the world renowned fossil quarry draws thousands of visitors each year. Secondly, the dramatic river canyons of the region not only offer unique opportunities to view the earth's geologic record, but also serve as centers of sport rafting for adventurers from around the nation. Those two rivers--the Yampa and Green--constitute not only a sportsman's paradise but are the primary drainages of the Monument and have played a major role in the area's history, both geologic and human. The Yampa, fed by snow runoff, arises in the mountains southeast of Steamboat Springs, Colorado, and flows in a westerly direction from that town west to the Monument and in Echo Park, near Steamboat Rock,



within Dinosaur, it adds its waters to the Green River. The Green flows in a southerly direction from the mountains of southwestern Wyoming through the Monument and on south through eastern Utah to its junction with the Colorado River in Canyonlands National Park southwest of Moab, Utah. Through the millenia of their flow, these two watercourses, the Yampa and Green, have cut the deep canyons in Dinosaur. Because of their rapid natural flow and numerous rapids, the Monument's two major streams have never been useful for commercial transportation.

The Yampa and Green Rivers, in addition to forming the massive canyons, have also created numerous little parks and meadows along their courses, such as Island Park or Echo Park. These tiny enclaves have offered shelter and land for human use through the centuries. They tend to mark the locations of a number of historic activities that have taken place within the Monument.⁴

Within the Monument those two rivers are fed by a number of smaller streams and creeks. Among the perennial streams are Pool Creek, Sand Creek, and Cub Creek. However, the major sources of water within the Monument are springs and seasonal streams. Most of the year those streams are void of water, but during spring and early summer as the winter snows melt, these drainages carry water into the rivers. Even with these numerous sources of water, the hazards of the rapids and uncertainty of flow have prevented man from depending on them for all but basic needs, despite many plans to dam the rivers and establish



reservoirs for irrigation. Those attempts failed because of strident opposition from people who sought to preserve the natural condition of the rivers and protect the Monument from development.

The other major topographic feature of the Dinosaur National Monument region is Brown's Park. The Park lies in Colorado and Utah and extends slightly into Wyoming. The northern extension of the Monument, above the Gates of Lodore, is included within Brown's Park and many of the people who figured prominently in the area's history resided in Brown's Park. Legend maintains that the area was named for Baptiste Brown, a French-Canadian mountain man who was in the region during the 1820s.⁵ As if to compound the confusion, Maj. John Wesley Powell gave credit for the name to a "Bible-back Brown," whom Powell described as a French fur trader.⁶ However, other accounts and more recent research tend to discount the Baptiste or Bible-back Brown legend, saying instead that the Park or Hole, as it is also referred to, was named for the coloration of many of the rocks in the area that gave the appearance of a large brown area.⁷ Whatever the origin of the name Brown's Park, it and the lands around it, have maintained a mystical quality for historians and followers of the American West for generations.

The Monument's climatic patterns make it an arid environment with an average annual precipitation of between 8 and 15 inches. The water does not come primarily as snow as is typical throughout much of the Colorado Plateau, but is rather evenly distributed between the snows of winter and the localized, but



often violent thunderstorms of spring and summer. These storms can be dangerous as fire-causing lightning strikes frequently accompany them, and the heavy downpours they bring can easily turn the dry washes into raging flash flood zones. Not only can the precipitation cause problems for man in the region, so can the temperature extremes. Winter lows in the area can fall to more than 60° below zero(F) and stay below zero for days at a time, while in the summer, highs can soar to well over 100°(F), quickly drying out what little moisture might have been available. These variations have forced man to find adequate shelter from both cold and heat.⁸

Despite the rugged topography and harsh climate of Dinosaur National Monument, it has been home to dozens of species of wildlife and plants for thousands of years. In historic times more than forty species of mammals have lived within the Monument, many surviving to the present because as a National Monument the area is closed to hunting and trapping. Elk, mule deer, bighorn sheep, and occasional pronghorn antelope are present within the Monument, as are predators such as black bears, mountain lions, bobcats, coyotes, foxes, weasels, badgers and skunks. Before their extermination gray wolves and grizzly bears also lived in the area. In addition to those larger mammalian species other smaller mammals, reptiles, and birds also make their homes within the Monument, including rabbits, lizards, faded midget rattlesnakes, golden and bald eagles, owls, migratory water fowl(seasonally), and songbirds. The rivers teem with their



own life including the rare Colorado Squawfish and Humpback Chub, as well as the more common varieties of trout. Some of these animals provided a food source for the early human inhabitants of the region, both Native and Anglo-American.⁹

The other source of food for many of the Monument's earliest inhabitants came from the vegetation found locally. More than 550 species of plants have been identified within the area, however, some are rare and uniquely adapted to the local arid environment. Along the streams and rivers, cottonwoods, box elders, willows, and water birches can be found. In the dry basin and uplands, away from the riparian areas, sagebrush, greasewood, and salt brush dominate the vegetation. The higher reaches of the Monument are home to pinyon pine and juniper forests. All of these plant types are suited to the local environment and each community is found in different eco-zones of the Monument.¹⁰

Humans may have inhabited the region for more than ten thousand years and some of these early residents left their marks, in the form of petroglyphs, within the Monument. Of more importance to the historic development of the lands in and around Dinosaur were the Utes, a hunting and gathering people that may have appeared in the area as early as 700 A.D. and continued to be a force in the region into the twentieth century. At the height of their power the Ute peoples controlled the lands from central Utah east to the plains of Colorado and from the Shoshoni homelands in Idaho and Wyoming as far south



as the northern fringes of New Mexico(see figure 1-2). Ethnographic and historical accounts indicate that the Uinta Mountains, immediately west of the Monument were viewed as the center of Ute life and throughout their struggles with Euro-Americans, the Ute attempted to preserve their hold over those lands.¹¹

The Uinta Basin Utes' socio-political organization revolved around the extended family. These family groups combined for foraging, defense, and other communal needs. They tended to stay in areas that they were familiar with if the resource base remained adequate. The multiple-family bands did not maintain a formal political organization; rather, leaders were chosen because of their expertise in various endeavors such as raiding, hunting, or slave capture and trading. This informal leadership system underwent a transition after contact with Anglo-Americans, who wanted to deal with a single Indian spokesman for each band or tribe. The Ute religion centered on survival and, not surprisingly, emphasized long life, health, and hunting and gathering issues. For religious leadership the Utes turned to their shaman who reputedly had curative powers as well as supernatural powers to insure successful hunts or control the weather. Later, as Anglo-Americans forced a more formal organization on the Utes, they adapted two dance ceremonies as centers of their worship--the Sun Dance and the Bear Dance.¹² Ute presence in and around Dinosaur National Monument acted as one of many deterrents to intensive Anglo-American use of the region throughout much of the region's history.



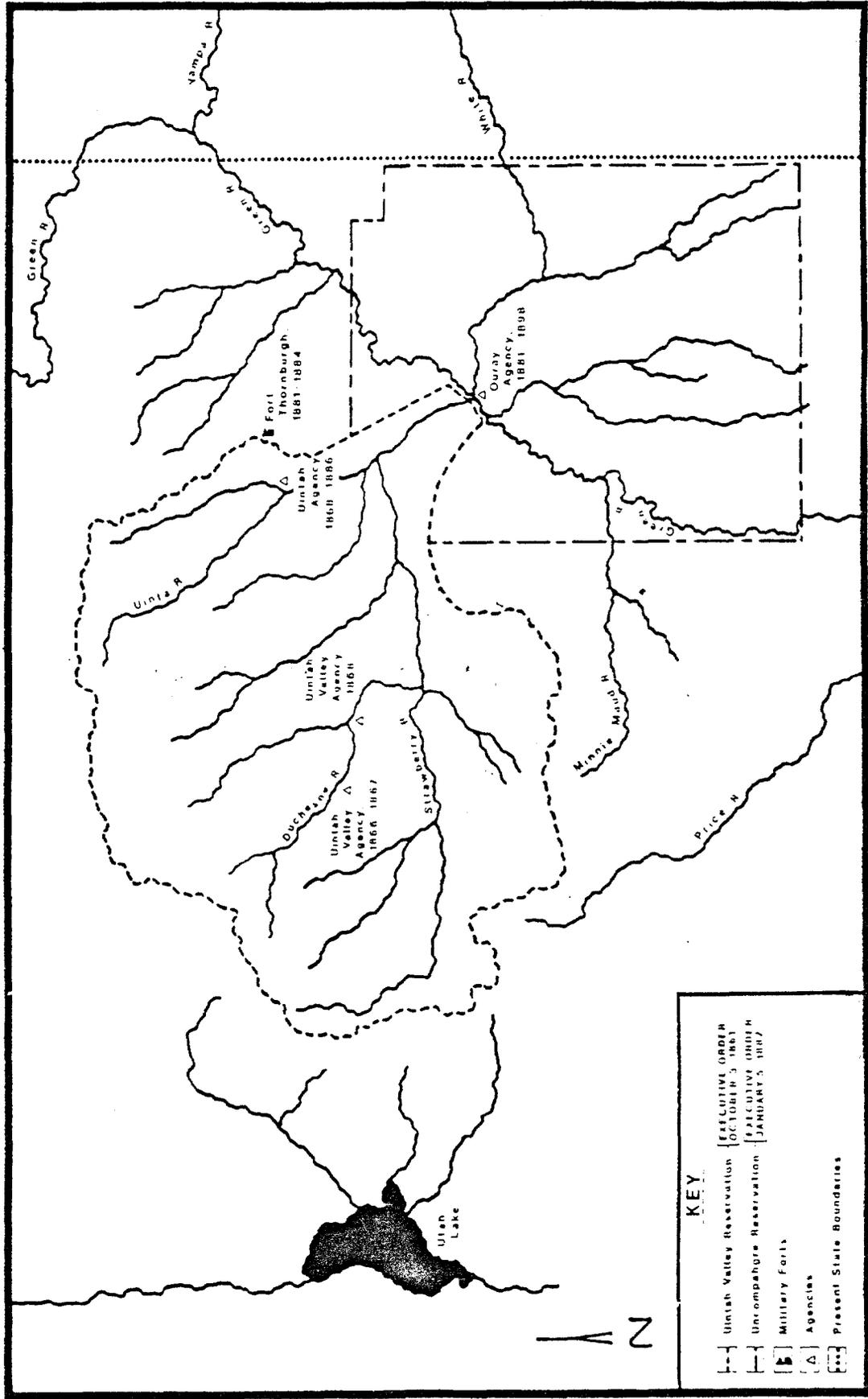


FIGURE 1-2 Utah Ute Reservations, 1861-1898
From: Grady, et al., 1984.



The natural and historic isolation of the Dinosaur region dictated the way Anglo-Americans used the lands and even the number of people who found the area attractive for settlement and use. Since 1776, travelers have followed routes that took them near, but not always into Dinosaur, including Brown's Park. Part of this comes from the natural terrain. The rivers and their canyons constitute almost insurmountable barriers to travel with few fords and no easy access to the river crossings from outside the immediate area. Even though many Anglo-American explorers visited the rivers, none could find any practical method to turn the Yampa and Green Rivers into useable arteries of commerce. The final natural factor that forced an isolation on the area was the way the mountains surrounded the region on all sides forming basins and parks that were not readily accessible from the outside world. The rugged slopes, covered with snow for months at a time, discouraged travelers from entering the area. Because of those factors, early explorers sought routes, primarily for wagons, elsewhere. Settlers tended to choose lands along the roads once they were established, and only after those areas filled up did the population pressure force people to look elsewhere. Western railroads tended to reinforce this pattern, and in the case of Dinosaur this was the Union Pacific across southern Wyoming. Topographic factors, both inside and around the Monument acted to isolate the area from the rest of the West. Later writers have taken notice of that; one author



terming the area the land "where the old West stayed young," while another writer called it "an isolated empire."¹³

Even though most Anglo-Americans ignored the Monument for many years, its environment made it attractive to others. During the early nineteenth century, fur trappers and traders discovered that the mountains that made their journeys into the area difficult also acted to prevent cold winter storms from gaining access. This meant that Brown's Park generally experienced milder winters than other parts of the Rocky Mountains. Many mountain men found it to be a commodious place to winter. That same climatic characteristic led early cattlemen to the area searching for places to winter their herds, and eventually leading to permanent settlement. Through the history of Dinosaur National Monument, as with much of the American West, natural forces have had a great influence, if not control over, the uses that Anglo-Americans have found for lands.



CHAPTER I NOTES

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²United States Geological Survey Topographic Map for Dinosaur National Monument, 1971 edition.

³Ibid.

⁴Allen Hagood, Dinosaur, The Story Behind The Scenery, (Las Vegas, NV.: KC Publications, 1971), pp. 22-25 and 30-32.

⁵Dick Dunham and Vivian Dunham, Flaming Gorge Country, (Denver: Sage Books, 1977), p. 49; and John Rolfe Burroughs, Where the Old West Stayed Young, (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1962), p. 6, hereafter cited: Burroughs, Young.

⁶John Wesley Powell, "Letters of Major J. W. Powell to the Chicago Tribune," Utah Historical Quarterly, 15(1947):76.

⁷J.S. Hoy, "The J.S. Hoy Manuscript," Western History Collections, University of Colorado, pp. 70 and 90; William L. Tennent, John Jarvie of Brown's Park, (Salt Lake City, UT.: Bureau of Land Management, 1981), pp. 7-9.

⁸Wallace R. Hansen, "Dinosaur National Monument," Dinosaur National Monument Map, (Reston, VA.: United States Geological Survey, 1971), np.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹James Grady, et al. An Archaeological Overview and Management Plan for the Green River Launch Complex, (Denver: National Park Service, contract CX-0001-2-0048, 1984), pp. 2-12 to 2-19, hereafter cited: Grady, Green River; and Gale R. Rhoades and Kerry Ross Boren, Footprints in the Wilderness, A History of the Lost Rhoades Mines, (Salt Lake City, UT: Dream Garden Press, 1980), pp. 99-101.



¹²Grady, Green River, pp. 2-23 to 2-25.

¹³Burroughs, Young, title page; and Athearn, Isolated, title page.



CHAPTER II

THE EXPLORATION OF DINOSAUR NATIONAL MONUMENT TO 1900

The vast and unknown wilderness of the American West has stimulated dreams, curiosity, and interest from Spanish colonial times until the twentieth century. As part of that region, Dinosaur National Monument shared in many of the great expeditions for knowledge that began as early as 1776. While the momentous event of colonists declaring their independence from Great Britain was taking place in Philadelphia, thousands of miles west the Spaniards, secure in their imperial power, prepared to send an expedition into the wilderness to search for a new road to tie their New Mexican settlements more closely to those of California. The Catholic Church, close ally of the Spanish New World government, also desired a new route to its missions on the Pacific shores and encouraged exploration.

As partners in the expedition, the church and government approved the plans of two Franciscan priests, Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante and Fray Francisco Atensio Dominguez, to follow a traditional traders' route north from Santa Fe, New Mexico to the Grand (Colorado) River not far from modern Grand Junction, Colorado and thence in a northerly and northwesterly route before leaving modern Colorado, heading west. The two padres decided on this seemingly out of the way route because hostile Hopi Indians in modern Arizona blocked the more direct



westerly path from New Mexico. The small party of ten left Santa Fe on July 29, 1776.¹

The expedition moved northwesterly out of Santa Fe and into Colorado, averaging approximately nine miles a day. By September 5 they reached the Colorado River and four days later encamped near modern Rangely, Colorado. In Colorado, Utes guided the explorers along their route and showed the Spaniards the way into Utah. By September 13 the small band approached the southwestern edges of the Monument, discovering Musket Shot Springs that day and moving on. Later that day they arrived on the eastern banks of the Green River, which they named Rio de San Buenaventura. Encamping within view of Split Mountain, the explorers spent September 14 and 15 resting their mounts. On the sixteenth they moved ahead to ford the Green River and proceed southwesterly away from Dinosaur. From recent translations the exact location of their river crossing appears to have been at the mouth of Brush Creek, approximately a mile south of the point where the Jensen Road crosses the Monument boundary.² The padres moved on southwesterly across the heart of Utah, being near modern Provo, Utah, on September 24. On October 8 the leaders of the expedition decided that farther sojourning west would be fruitless and they redirected the party southeast toward Santa Fe. The little band reached the capital of New Mexico on January 2, 1777, without finding a route to California.³(see figure 2-1)



DINOSAUR

NATIONAL MONUMENT

UTAH - COLORADO

Paved Road (1st Class, All Weather)
 Improved Road (Gravel, 2nd Class
 Generally Passable Year Round)
 County Road (Dirt, 3rd Class)
 Unimproved Track or Jeep Road

0 1 2 3 4 5
 SCALE IN MILES

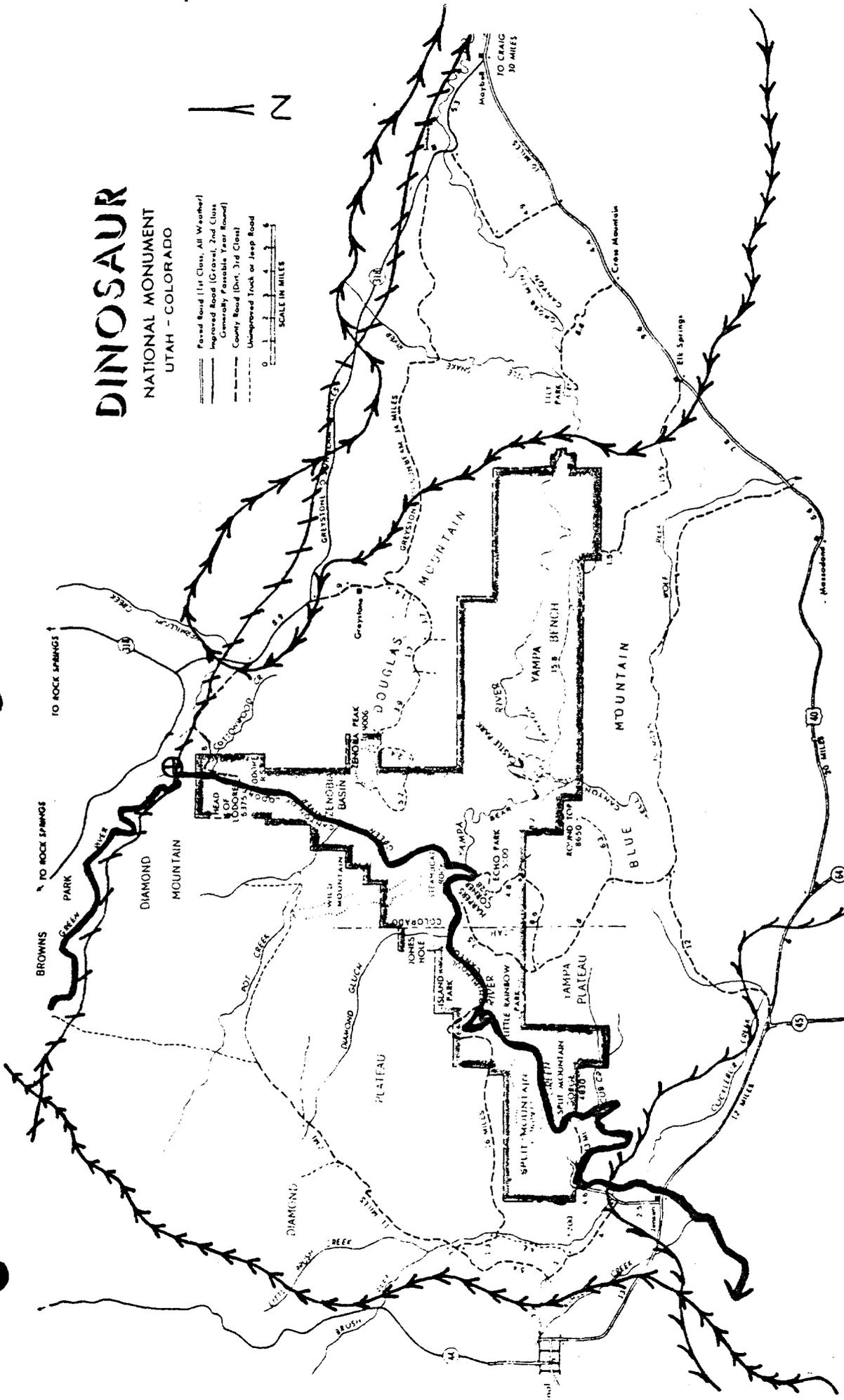


FIGURE 2-1 The Exploration of Dinosaur

-  -- Dominguez and Escalante
-  -- Ashley, Manly and Powell heavy line on Green River
-  -- Hayden/USGS Survey of the Territories, approximate route shown, the explorers would travel through an area taking many days and making dozens of small side trips for mapping
-  -- Fort Davy Crockett locale



Failure of the Dominguez-Escalante expedition marked the end of official Spanish involvement in the region and within seventy-five years the entire region would belong first to the Mexican government(1821) and by March, 1848 to the United States. While no further official expeditions from Spain or Mexico entered the region, their traders developed an active trade with the Ute Indians that continued into the 1850s when Brigham Young and the Mormons put an end to trafficking in Indian slaves. Generally, the Utes captured other Indians and took them to the Hispanic settlements of New Mexico for sale. The Utes then returned to Utah with their trade goods. In addition to that trade, the Spaniards and later Mexicans may have been involved in gold mining in the Uinta Mountains and the general northeastern Utah area. Jensen, Utah, figures prominently in many of the locational descriptions of the mines. Modern Utahns, searching for the fabled Lost Rhoades Mines have recovered a number of Spanish artifacts from the region, including cannon, helmets, armor and smelting tools, as well as finding Spanish inscriptions in trees and on rocks in the area.⁴

Whether or not Hispanics were actively mining gold in the region after 1800, within a few years a new power would make its presence felt in the Dinosaur area. The United States, less than twenty years old as a nation, began a program of territorial acquisition in 1803 with the Louisiana Purchase. To catalog its purchase, the federal government sponsored a number of expeditions into the trans-Mississippi West, including the



works of Lewis and Clark, Zebulon Pike, and Stephen H. Long. While none of these early federal explorers visited the Monument, they did stimulate a general interest in the West.⁵

One group of entrepreneurs, the fur traders, intently followed the course of the various federal expeditions. Many found in those reports and successes new opportunities for pioneer trade. John Jacob Astor and his American Fur Company braved the perils of the wilderness in search of the elusive beaver. A number of people looked to the fur trade as their path to riches and fame. The western fur trade, while temporarily disrupted by the War of 1812 and hostility of British traders, became firmly established by the early 1820s. During the years from 1808, when Astor founded the American Fur Company, until 1825, the mountain men slowly approached the Dinosaur region from two directions--north out of Santa Fe, and west along the Missouri and Platte Rivers from St. Louis, Missouri.⁶

St. Louis by the early nineteenth century already had a long tradition of involvement in frontier commerce. It was from this milieu that William Ashley and others rose to prominence in the fur trade. With his partner, Andrew Henry, Ashley formed a group originally known as the Ashley-Henry Outfit and later the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. In late 1824 Ashley prepared to lead an expedition to the Rocky Mountains for the 1825 trapping season. Facing the Nebraska winter, Ashley and the 25 members of his party moved west along the Platte River and then the South Platte reaching the front range of the Rockies in modern



Colorado by late February, 1825. After a delay for better weather, the group scaled the mountains and moved northwesterly. They arrived on the banks of the Green River in southwestern Wyoming on April 18. At that point Ashley decided to encamp and prepare his men for the hunting season.

Ashley's group spent three days preparing for the season. On April 21 he dispatched the three smaller parties overland to hunt, while Ashley and the remainder readied themselves to float down the Green River searching for a suitable rendezvous site to exchange furs for the trade goods he had brought with him from St. Louis. On the 21st Ashley and his group left the encampment and proceeded downriver in their hide-covered boat, making forty miles the first day. During those forty miles Ashley determined that the boat was overloaded and the next day the party built another boat. With two boats the group made faster progress and on April 30 arrived at Henry's Fork, which Ashley designated as the site for the rendezvous. After marking the site and resting, the group proceeded on down Green River on May 2, passing through Flaming Gorge. Five days later they arrived at a point two miles upstream from the Gates of Lodore and noted that the place had been used as a winter camp for, as Ashley described it, several thousand Indians.⁷

William Ashley and his band entered Dinosaur's canyons through the Gates of Lodore on May 8, 1825, beginning a long and trying voyage. These early explorers found the rapids of the Green River to be treacherous, but the canyons to be awe-



inspiring, and they appreciated their great depth and the beauty of places such as Island Park. He described the junction of the Yampa River, which he called Mary's River, with the Green, Split Mountain, and the ever-present rapids that required sixteen portages. After following the river on its course through Dinosaur, the party continued on down the Green, explored the Uinta Mountains, and returned to the rendezvous site on Henry's Fork on July 1. After trading with his party and a number of trappers who had left the British Hudson's Bay Company, Ashley left the Rockies for St. Louis with one hundred packs of beaver pelts in his possession. This 1825 rendezvous set a pattern that continued for fourteen years, long after Ashley retired from the trade a wealthy man. Later river travelers and early settlers in Brown's Park claim that they saw Ashley's name and the date "1825" or "1855" scratched into canyon walls along the Green at Ashley Falls.⁸

While Ashley's pioneering explorations into the Dinosaur region opened the area to greater use, some fur traders already were familiar with the area. Soon, it became a popular place for the mountain men. This later popularity may have been based on reports of earlier visitors such as Maurice Le Duc who claimed he had trapped Brown's Park in 1819 or 1820. Antoine Robidoux, later to become famous as a fort operator, may have been in Brown's Park in 1825,⁹ and Baptiste Brown, if he were real, may have been in the Park as early as 1820 under the name Jean-Baptiste Chalifoux, and supposedly spent the winter of 1827-1828



in Brown's Hole, becoming the first Euro-American to do so.¹⁰ While Brown's existence remains clouded in history, the Col. William Bean trapping party did leave documentary proof of their use of Brown's Park for a wintering ground in 1831-1832 while on a trapping expedition working out of Fort Smith, Arkansas.¹¹

Prewett F. Sinclair, one member of the Bean party, apparently liked Brown's Park because after five years of trapping around the Rockies he returned to the Park to settle. He, William Craig and Philip F. Thompson built and operated Fort Davy Crockett beside the Green River about two miles above of the mouth of Vermillion Creek in Hoy Bottom. While the exact date of construction is unknown, the post seems to have been opened between 1834 and 1837. Whether built at the time or not, the post probably did not get named Fort Davy Crockett until after Crockett's death in the seige of the Alamo at San Antonio, Texas, in 1836. This fort found stiff competition from other trading posts in the region including two owned and operated by Taos, New Mexico, trader Antoine Robidoux. He opened the first post--Fort Robidoux or Uncompaghre, near modern Delta, Colorado, in 1828 and later expanded his operations northward when he opened Fort Uinta in northeastern Utah at the later site of the White Rocks Agency.¹²

Fort Davy Crockett became the social and economic center of Brown's Park, but despite this not all people who visited the post were pleased by what they found. The post earned the nickname Fort Misery for its lack of amenities. Two accounts of the post are known, one complimentary by T.J. Farnham and



the second not so by F.A. Wislizenus, who agreed with the trappers who labeled the place Fort Misery. Even in the face of Wislizenus's negative reports, a number of well-known mountain men frequented the post and Brown's Park during 1839-1840, including Kit Carson, Joe Meek, Doc Newell, Dick Owens, Levin Mitchell, James Baker, John "Jack" Robinson, Henry Fraeb(Frapp), and Seth Ward. In addition Utes and Shoshoni Indians visited the post, some making winter encampments nearby in Brown's Hole. The latter year proved to be the last great season for Fort Crockett, and after some trouble among the partners and others over the theft of Indian horses, the garrison broke up. Beyond the trouble with neighboring tribesmen, the post's owners found that they could not compete for pelts with the rendezvous, especially as beaver became more scarce in the region. Each mountain man of Fort Davy Crockett took his own path after the post closed.¹³

The demise of Fort Crockett did not mean the end of the fur trade in Brown's Park or on the Green River, but within a decade the trappers had all left the area. By the mid-1840s not only was the fort in ruins according to John C. Fremont, but also the locally available supply of beaver had been decimated by the twenty years of trapping. The final blow came when European fashion trends replaced beaver with silk as "the" material for men's hats. The last reported beaver hunt in the area took place during the 1870s when J.S. Hoy accompanied two men, Messrs. Buck and Clint, to Beaver Creek Canyon and the two trappers exterminated the last of the region's beaver population.¹⁴



During the interim between the demise of Fort Davy Crockett and the final beaver hunt in Brown's Park, a number of people passed through the region, some overland and some boating down the Green River. The second recorded use of the river as a transportation route came in 1849 at the height of the California Gold Rush. William L. Manly, a young man from Wisconsin, became afflicted with the "Gold Fever" and in 1849 headed west with a group of midwesterners on their way to California. Manly was in the employ of Charles Dallas, a wagon owner hauling people and goods to the gold fields. As the group moved west, Manly and others heard news of disasters along the trail in California, most notably the cannibalism of the Donner Party, and they also learned that due to the lateness of the season Dallas intended to winter in the then two-year-old Mormon settlement of Salt Lake City. Not wanting to die on the trail in the Sierra Nevada Mountains or spend the winter with the Mormons, Manly and six others deserted the wagon train when it crossed Green River. Taking an old ferryboat found nearby, the seven men, secure in the knowledge gleaned from others along the Overland Trail that the river flowed to the Pacific and contained no significant hazards, set out for the gold fields via the Green River. After days of arduous work and frightening experiences, including the sinking of their boat and its replacing it with canoes, finding ominous notes and debris of previous travelers in the Canyon of Lodore, and near starvation, the little band finally gave up their river passage near present Green River City, Utah.



Apparently they decided that life with the Mormons could not be any more hazardous than Green River. Manly and his associates left the river, traveled overland to Salt Lake City and joined another wagon trail headed for California, via Death Valley.¹⁵

As the fur frontier slowly disappeared from the Dinosaur area, other new adventurers came to replace the mountain men--the federal explorers. John C. Frémont, the first of this new breed of westerner traveler to visit the Brown's Park area, passed through the region on the return leg of his second western exploration of 1843-1844. On this trip, Frémont had nearly paralleled the Oregon Trail as far as Fort Vancouver before moving south into California. After leaving the Pacific Coast, Frémont traversed the Great Basin and parts of the Utah's Wasatch and Uinta Mountains before stopping at Fort Uintah in late Spring of 1844. On June 5 the party headed east from that post toward Green River and Brown's Park under the guidance of Joseph Walker, an experienced mountain man and one-time resident of Fort Davy Crockett. Within two days the band had reached the western edges of Brown's Hole at Diamond Mountain and prepared to enter the Park after crossing the Green River. Once the run-off swollen river had been crossed, the party camped on the banks of the river opposite some ruins later determined to be those of Fort Crockett. The party, including its sometimes complaining cartographer Charles Preuss, found themselves pleasantly surprised by Brown's Hole, but soon left. Within a week they reached the Platte Valley and, on July 1, the expedition disbanded at Bent's Fort on the



Arkansas River in southeastern Colorado. From all indications, Frémont's expedition never entered the present boundaries of Dinosaur National Monument.¹⁶

Frémont's expedition marked the beginning of a quarter century hiatus in exploration for the Dinosaur region. In the interim a Civil War was fought, peace restored, gold discovered in Colorado and the first Transcontinental Railroad completed in the desolate hills north of the Great Salt Lake in Utah in 1869.

The same year the Transcontinental rails were joined, also witnessed a resumption of scientific exploration in the Dinosaur region. Congress, in the years after the Civil War, decided to fund a number of scientific explorations of the American West, hoping that the information gained from these expeditions would aid in the settlement and "civilization" of the West. John Wesley Powell led one of the first of these trips, the purpose of which was to follow and map the Colorado River system from the Rockies to the Southwest. As a starting point he chose Green River City, Wyoming, a new town on the tracks of the Union Pacific railroad. The previous summer he had been in the mountain parks of Colorado. Powell, his wife, and brother wintered near modern Meeker, Colorado, in 1868 as Powell arranged for supplies from the Army and some assistance from the Smithsonian Institution. With the arrival of spring the small group left winter camp, traveled through Brown's Park, camping near the Gates of Lodore, and arrived in Green River City during May, 1869, to make final



preparations for the journey. On May 24 the four boats and ten explorers set out on their eight hundred mile expedition down the Green. By the evening of June 6 the party had reached the Gates of Lodore and after a day in camp continued on downstream on June 8. From that point for the next twenty days the hardy band struggled to survive on the river passing and naming points such as Lodore Canyon and Echo Park. Eventually the group made it through Dinosaur and on south along the Green to near St. Thomas, Utah, where they ended the expedition during the first week of September.

Two years after he had begun his first trip down the Green, Powell set out on a second expedition down Green River on May 22, 1871. Powell planned this expedition to be more scientific than the first. As a result they went no quicker than in 1869, but gathered considerably more information. Powell and his men celebrated the Fourth of July, 1871, in Dinosaur at Whirlpool Canyon before moving on down the river. This expedition continued on until October 23, only to resume the next year for less than a month, never successfully completing the entire run to the Virgin River, getting only as far as Kanab Wash in Grand Canyon. Powell named a number of the topographic features within Dinosaur National Monument during his two trips: the Gates of Lodore, Lodore Canyon, Winnie's Grotto, Disaster Falls, Triplet Falls, Hell's Half Mile, Alcove Brook, Echo Park, Whirlpool Canyon, Island Park, and Split Mountain Canyon.¹⁷



As Powell busied himself with the Colorado River system other explorers also traversed the West in search of knowledge, particularly information useful to the economic development of the West. Two of these explorers visited and wrote about the Dinosaur area during the 1870s, both leaving an impression on the American people as to the value of the region. The first of these was Clarence King, former leader of the survey of the Fortieth parallel from California to the eastern edge of the Rockies. That expedition looked at natural resources, potential travel routes, and established a set of accurate triangulation points for future survey work. King, gaining fame from that effort, became the first director of the newly created United States Geological and Geographic Survey, the forerunner of the modern United States Geological Survey(USGS). During 1872 rumors began to circulate that diamonds had been found somewhere in the West by two prospectors, Philip Arnold and John Slack. The news of the finds reached the right ears and soon no less influential people than former Union Army General George B. McClellan and Civil War General and Union Pacific Railroad builder Grenville M. Dodge were involved in a corporation to mine the diamonds. The sale of the claims netted Arnold and Slack \$600,000 and by the late summer of 1872 a diamond rush was on to northwestern Colorado. Fearing that something was amiss, King sent Samuel F. Emmons of the USGS into the area to examine the diamond field. The geologist soon discovered that the diamonds had been salted around Diamond Peak and the entire scheme lay exposed. This



gained the USGS a degree of public credibility that helped the agency through its early, struggling years.¹⁸

Another federal explorer busy in the region during the 1870s was Ferdinand V. Hayden. He had been charged with a geological survey of the territories, including Colorado and Utah, to identify the mineral, agricultural, and grazing potential of these lands. After years in eastern and central Colorado and such notable discoveries as the Mount of the Holy Cross and many of the Anasazi ruins to his team's credit, 1876 saw the Hayden survey move into the Yampa, then known as the Bear, River Valley. Of importance to the history of the immediate Monument area, in the Hayden reports were the findings of abundant coal lands and fossil-bearing formations in the region. The reports expressed concern that without large-scale irrigation the principal economic activity of the region would be grazing.¹⁹

After the Hayden Survey moved on to other parts of the West much of the exploration that took place in the Dinosaur region happened under private sponsorship, either corporate or scholastic. People such as Othniel Charles Marsh, Professor of Paleontology at Yale University, began leading expeditions into the West looking for fossils and other scientific specimens. In 1870 Marsh and a group of Yale students undertook a fossil hunt that led them from the Loup River of Nebraska to Colorado and into the Uinta Mountains. In the Dinosaur region Marsh helped discover the great Tertiary lake-bed formations that eventually yielded abundant fossils. As well, Marsh and his



students nearly met with disaster when they became embroiled in a dispute with a gang of reputed desperadoes from Brown's Hole. Safely away from the ruffians, the Ivy Leaguers went on to Salt Lake City and eventually back to New Haven, being received there as near-conquering heroes for their exploits. After the success of the 1870 expedition, Marsh led others in 1871, 1872, 1873, and his last in 1874. Years later Earl Douglass, discoverer of the dinosaur quarry at the Monument, on his own search for scientific knowledge, would base his decision to hunt for fossils in the Uinta Basin because of the success of Marsh and others who followed him into the region.²⁰

The age of the explorer closed not long after the Hayden surveys left the Yampa Valley in 1876. The need for the explorer had passed and those who searched for knowledge in and of the area later did not come hoping to accomplish the great catalogings of a Powell or the practical knowledge of Green River of an Ashley. Rather, the later explorers would come with very specific questions, based on either scientific hypothesis or theories of economic geology, lacking the romance of their forerunners.

By the time those new explorers arrived, however, the area already boasted permanent settlements, connections to the outside world on the Union Pacific, and a solid reputation as an excellent locale for livestock raising.



CHAPTER II NOTES

¹Herbert E. Bolton Pageant in the Wilderness, the Story of the Escalante Expedition to the Interior Basin, 1776, (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1950), pp. 6-10; Herbert Auerbach, "Father Escalante's Intinerary," Utah Historical Quarterly, 9(1941): 109-128, hereafter cited: Auerbach, "Itinerary," _____, "Father Escalante's Journal and Related Documents and Map," Utah Historical Quarterly, 11(1943): 1-142, hereafter cited: Auerbach, "Journal,".

²Frank B. Sarles, Jr., Dinosaur Park History Study, Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1969), pp. 9-18, hereafter cited: Sarles, Dinosaur; Chavez, Fray Angelico, trans., and Ted J. Warner, ed., The Dominguez-Escalante Journal, (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), pp. 43-44. Sarles, basing his work on previous translations of the explorers' journals indicates that the expedition probably forded the Green River where the Jensen Road crosses the the Monument boundary. However, the Chavez translation places the ford approximately a mile south of the gate at the mouth of Brush Creek, approximately five miles north of the Highway 40 junction in Jensen, Utah.

³Auerbach, "Journal" and _____, "Itinerary," pp. 120-128.

⁴Gale R. Rhoades and Kerry Ross Boren, Footprints in the Wilderness, A History of the Lost Rhoades Mines, (Salt Lake City: Dream Garden Press, 1980), pp. 330-333, 361, 384-385.

⁵William H. Goetzmann, Exploration and Empire, The Explorer and Scientist in the Winning of the American West, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1966), pp. 4-8, 14-19, 47-52, and 58-64, hereafter cited: Goetzmann, Empire.

⁶Ray Allen Billington, Westward Expansion, 3rd. ed., (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1967), pp. 455-456.

⁷Harrison Clifford Dale, The Ashley-Smith Explorations and Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829, (Glendale, CA.: The Arthur H. Clarke CO., 1941), pp. 115-139.

⁸Ibid., pp. 138-157; and John Wesley Powell, "The Letters of John Wesley Powell to the Chicago Tribune," Utah Historical Quarterly, 15(1947): 77-78.



⁹Frederic J. Athearn, An Isolated Empire, the History of Northwestern Colorado, 3rd. ed., (Denver: Bureau of Land Mangement, 1981), pp. 21-24, is based on the extensive works of LeRoy R. Hafen in his 8 volume study, The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West, 8 vols. (Glendale, CA.: Arthur H. Clarke Co., 1966), vols. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 all have some biographical information on the different hunters and trappers to visit the Brown's Park area and should be consulted for specifics about each of the individual personalities.

¹⁰John Rolfe Burroughs, Where the Old West Stayed Young, (New York: William Morrow Co., 1962), p. 35.

¹¹Sarles, Dinosaur, p. 28; and LeRoy R. Hafen, "The Sinclair-Bean Party of Trappers, 1830-1832," The Colorado Magazine, 31(1954): 161-172.

¹²Sarles, Dinosaur, pp. 29-30; LeRoy R. Hafen, "Fort Davy Crockett," The Colorado Magazine, 24(1952): 17-33, hereafter cited: Hafen, "Crockett."

¹³Hafen "Crockett," pp. 22-31, and F. A. Wislinzenus, A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839, (St. Louis: n.p., 1912), p. 129.

¹⁴J.S. Hoy, "The Hoy Manuscript," Western History Collections, University of Colorado, p. 170; John C. Fremont, Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-1844, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1845), pp. 279-280; Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, eds., The Expeditions of John C. Fremont, 2 vols., (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), pp. 470-477, hereafter cited: Jackson and Spence, Fremont.

¹⁵Sarles, Dinosaur, pp. 44-57.

¹⁶Jackson and Spence, Fremont, pp. 470-477.

¹⁷Sarles, Dinosaur, pp. 59-88, Powell named the following features along the Green River within Dinosaur National Monument: Gates of Lodore, Lodore Canyon, Winnie's Grotto, Disaster Falls, Hell's Half Mile, Blacktail Cliff, Alcove Brook, Triplet Falls, Echo Park, Ribbon Cliffs, Whirlpool Canyon, Island Park and Split Mountain Canyon.

¹⁸Richard A. Bartlett, Great Surveys of the American West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), pp. 187-203.



¹⁹Ferdinand V. Hayden, United States Geologic and Geographic Survey of the Territories, 12 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1867-1878) 1876 vol., pp.340-355; and for a general background of the Hayden work see: Frances William Binkley, "The Hayden Survey," (M.A. Thesis, University of Colorado, 1945).

²⁰C. W. Betts, "The Yale College Expedition of 1870," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 43(1871): 663-671; and Goetzmann, Empire, pp. 425-428.



CHAPTER III

EARLY SETTLEMENT IN AND AROUND DINOSAUR

The first people to consider permanent residence in the Dinosaur National Monument area arrived before the federal explorers had completed their work. Some stayed only briefly in the region, while others became established residents of Brown's Park and its environs because of its climate and comparatively gentle topography. They paid little attention to the lands further south along the Yampa and Green Rivers. Eventually, their descendants and newcomers would spread out from Brown's Park and take up lands throughout the Monument.

The 1840s witnessed more visitors to the area and the tentative beginnings of settlement in the region. In 1842 Marcus Whitman of Oregon fame passed through Brown's Hole on his way east as part of his missionary work. He avoided the Oregon Trail over South Pass, Wyoming, after he heard rumors of Indian hostilities in that area. A few years later, in 1849, a group of Cherokee Indians en route to the California gold fields wintered in Brown's Park. The Cherokee argonauts may have met another individual already living in the area. During 1849 Samuel "Uncle Sam" Bassett made his way into Brown's Park and took up residence on Willow Creek, becoming the first of many Bassetts to call the Monument area home for more than a century. Bassett would drift in and out of Brown's Park for a number of years and became an early semi-permanent settler.¹



While Sam Bassett slowly carved out a life from the wilderness during the 1850s the reputation of Brown's Park as a comfortable place to winter continued to grow. Some trappers, unwilling to give up the fur trade, continued to work the area during the forties and fifties, basing themselves at Fort Bridger in southwestern Wyoming. After the discovery of gold in California, a number of Texas cattlemen used the park as a wintering ground for herds on their way to market in the gold fields, the earliest being W.H. Snyder who made the trek during the early 1850s, realizing a profit of \$20 per head for his efforts.²

The second and third semi-permanent settlers to the area arrived in June, 1854, when Warren D. Parsons and his wife Anne, also known as "Snappin Annie" because of her sharp tongue, chose the Park as their new home. Mrs. Parsons gained fame as the first white woman in Brown's Park. For their ranch site the Parsons chose Beaver Creek, outside modern Dinosaur National Monument.³

The Civil War(1861-1865) interrupted further settlement of Brown's Park and the Dinosaur region until the late 1860s and early 1870s. The seventies witnessed the first intensive, permanent settlement and use of the region, as the area's reputation as a hospitable place to winter spread. Other factors acted to increase the area's attractiveness to potential residents. Completion of the Union Pacific railroad through southern Wyoming during 1868 increased accessibility to the region. Compounding



this, the Mormon church, the dominant political and social force in Utah from 1847 on, began to encourage use of eastern Utah by the end of the seventies, and especially during the early 1880s as the Ute menace was controlled. Mormon livestock growers then moved into the northeastern part of the Territory in greater numbers. Those two factors, combined with the climate of the region, stimulated the use of the lands in the area and as that happened settlers followed.

The first minority settlers to arrive in Brown's Park came during the late 1860s and during the next fifty years members of two different minority groups would play a large role in the region's history. The late sixties settlers were Joseph "Mexican Joe," Herrera, a brother, Pablo, and a small group of compatriots from New Mexico. They may have been refugees or criminals on the run from New Mexican authorities. The Herrera band first moved to Dummy Bottom near the northern boundary of the Monument in 1868 and then on to South Pass City, Wyoming. South Pass City at the time was a wide-open gold camp. Joseph, after at least a year in town working at various schemes to make money, killed a man in a saloon brawl and found out that even in "lawless" mining towns some acts would not be tolerated as he was encouraged by other local residents to leave South Pass City. The little band moved back to Brown's Park in 1870 and settled there, apparently making their living by helping themselves to a few head of cattle now and again from passing hers. "Mexican Joe's" gang, including Asbury B. Conway, an



attorney who had met Herrera in South Pass City, and later went on to be Chief Justice of the Wyoming Supreme Court, combed the countryside looking for cattle, either strays or parts of herds to be rustled. This continued for nearly four years. At that point Conway left the group and opened a law office in Green River City, Wyoming. At about the same time the Herrera gang found that some of their new neighbors did not take kindly to having their cattle stolen and "Mexican Joe" decided to move on. Herrera may have come back into the region many years later and lived a quiet life.⁴ Later, other Hispanics would become active in the region, making more positive contributions to the local economy, especially in sheep raising.

Blacks also made their presence felt in the area during the 1870s, and not unlike the Hispanics they found employment on both sides of the law. Ned Huddleston, an ex-slave, first arrived in the Monument area during the late 1860s and became a member of the Tip Gault Gang until an ambush by local cowboys broke up the gang in 1875. The second Black, Isom Dart, who may have been Ned Huddleston using an assumed name, gained fame as an adept cowboy and a man with the skill necessary to adroitly alter the brands on cattle. That latter talent eventually cost him his life. The third Black to achieve some local prominence was Albert "Speck" Williams or Welhouse, a ferryman who worked for Dr. John Parsons and later John Jarvie on their ferryboat across the Green River near Parsons Creek in Utah. The black



man was well liked by the local residents. Josie Bassett Morris, long-time Monument resident, described him as "very nice."⁵

While the minorities busied themselves with their chosen careers in the area a number of Anglo-Americans also arrived to take up residency. Many of these people did not bother with the provisions of the Homestead Act or other federal land disposal laws, but rather they squatted on the land and tended to move their homes about with some regularity. This changed by the end of the nineteenth century as they realized that squatting afforded them no legal protection should others try to claim their lands.⁶

One of the first "seventies" settlers to arrive was a cattleman from Texas who rediscovered the hospitable winter climate of Brown's Park for cattle. George Baggs, namesake of Baggs, Wyoming, and a long-time Wyoming cattleman, used the Park as a winter pasture for a herd of longhorns in 1871 before selling them to Crawford and Thompson, a Wyoming outfit. Not only did the cattle prosper during the winter of 1871-1872 but the herd's new owners chose to return their animals to the Park the next year under the watchful eye of Jesse S. Hoy, one of their cowboys. Despite a more severe winter, Hoy found the region to be to his liking and soon set up his own ranch there. Only at that point did cattlemen begin to build permanent structures, primarily cabins and houses, in the area. In 1873 Hoy's brother Valentine also moved to Brown's Park, followed by Adea and Benjamin Hoy in 1875 and Harry Hoy in 1880. Their ranch was located along



the Green River on either side of the mouth of Hoy Canyon, northwest of the Gates of Lodore, but their range stretched for miles around the ranch.⁷

As the Hoys and other cattlemen began to settle the region they found that the area also attracted a number of others. Dr. John Parsons, son of Warren and Anne Parsons, moved himself and his family to the Dinosaur region in 1874. John Parsons chose Sears Creek as the site for his home and across Green River, on the north side, he built a small smelter and forge. In 1878 he became the first postmaster of Brown's Park, Utah Territory. John Parsons' son Warren, also a medical practitioner, moved into the region during the seventies as well. John died in 1881 and John Jarvie bought the Parsons properties and businesses that year. Jarvie continued the post office, ferry and a general store in the area until his untimely death. In July, 1909 a hold-up of store by two drifters, Hood and McKinley, resulted in Jarvie's death. In the meantime, other notable figures in the region's history also would temporarily occupy the cabin, including Matt Warner, outlaw, and the Chew family.⁸ The seventies witnessed the arrival of more settlers including Jimmie Reed and his Indian wife, Margret, who located on the south side of Green River at Jimmie Reed Creek(also known as Crouse Creek); Billy Buck Tittsworth; a rancher, Frank Orr; Jim Warren; Hank Ford; the Edwards brothers, Griff and Jack; the Scrivners, James, Walter and George; Tom Davenport; Tommy Dowdle; Frank Goodman, former member of the first Powell expedition; Harry Hindle;



and Jimmie Goodson. Goodson has the distinction of being the first person to try to farm in the area. In 1878 he raised about four acres of hay and vegetables on Willow Creek, two miles west of the Colorado-Utah state line.⁹

These early arrivals worked to eke out a living in the Dinosaur area through the seventies and by the latter years of the decade they were being joined by others. Two of the families that arrived after 1875 played a major role in the history of the area and Monument--the Crouses and the Herbert Bassetts. Charles "Charlie" Crouse arrived in Brown's Park in 1876. Accompanied by his partner Aaron Overholt, Crouse established a horse ranch at the head of Pot Creek. A few years later Crouse married Mary Law and during 1880 the newlyweds bought out Jimmie Reed's claim, renamed the Creek, Crouse, and continued in the horse business. Crouse prided himself in breeding winning animals. He and Overholt also opened a saloon and livery stable in Ashley--(later known as Vernal), Utah, that had the reputation of being a watering hole for outlaws.¹⁰

The Herbert Bassett family, including his wife Elizabeth and their two children--Josephine(Josie) and Sam--arrived in the area about the same time as Crouse and Overholt, either in 1874 or 1878. In 1959 Josie Bassett Morris remembered the date as 1874 but other, more reliable, sources date their arrival to the later year. Herbert decided to move to Brown's Park after coaxing from his brother Sam, a long-time area resident, and when the family first arrived they lived with "Uncle Sam"



at a cabin on Matt Creek, about two miles north of the mouth of Lodore Canyon. The year of their arrival, 1878, Anna, also known as Ann, was born, becoming the first Anglo-American child born in Brown's Park. Later Elbert "Eb" and George were born. Not long after Ann's birth the family moved to its own five-room house at Joe's Spring. As Herbert's ranching activities expanded he built a barn, sheds, a bunkhouse, and corrals at the site. In 1879 Herbert, along with his guide, "Buffalo" Jack Rife, built a summer cabin in Zenobia Basin, not far from the crest of Douglass Mountain, used while his cattle grazed the basin, now within the Monument. Mrs. Bassett, a reader of poetry, surely must have agreed with Maj. Powell's name choice of Zenobia for the peak and basin. Later Bassett and his neighbor, Tom Davenport, grew the first grain cultivated in that area. In 1890 Herbert Bassett became postmaster of the newly created Lodore, Colorado, post office. In 1887 the Brown's Park, Utah, office had been closed and for nearly three years the residents had to go Maybell, Colorado for mail. The opening of the Lodore office rectified that situation. The Bassett children, particularly the two girls, Josie and Ann, later became famous for their exploits outside or at least near the edges of the law.¹¹

John Mantle was another settler who came into the Dinosaur area, probably during the 1880s. He took up ranching as well as prospecting. Eventually, members of his family became locally influential. John seems to have been involved in horse breeding and like Charles Crouse, felt that he could rear winning animals.



In 1892 Mantle and Crouse had what was described as another one of their horse races near Vernal. Crouse eventually emerged the victor in the contest, but in that particular race Mantle accused him of giving his horse drugs, which led to something of a local scandal. Later, Mantle's relatives would settle along the Yampa River within the Monuemnt and continue the family tradition of ranching.¹²

Farther west, on the Utah side of the Monument, settlement also took place; however, it developed only slowly until the early 1880s after the Colorado Utes had been removed to Utah to share a reservation with the Utah Utes. At the same time the original 1861 reservation was decreased slightly in size, opening up some new areas for settlement. In 1881 the Army established Fort Thornburgh, near Vernal, Utah, to insure peace between the Utes and their new Anglo neighbors. Among the pioneers who took adavantage of the security, land availability and later benefitted from the reservation adjustments were the Ruple family, the Hatch family, and Lars Jensen.

Lars Jensen made his way into the region during the early 1870s, chosing land at what became the site of Jensen, Utah, for his farm in either 1872 or 1876. Jensen and a handful of others that settled with him as a Mormon colony hoped the area's population would grow, but found that because of the Ute Reservation other potential settlers looked elsewhere for their homes.¹³ Within ten years the situtation changed as the Army provided



protection for homesteaders from the Indians. New families moved into the area, among them the Hatches and Ruples.

The Hatch family in Utah could trace its roots to the original Mormon migrations to the Great Salt Lake in 1847. Three brothers, Abram, Jeremiah, and Lorenzo Hatch helped move the Mormons west from the Winter Quarters and then came to the Great Salt Lake themselves. The brothers each took up sheep raising and other occupations as well as having a number of offspring. By the 1880s the Hatch family was one of the most powerful in Utah and began to expand their operations all over the territory, including lands as far west as the Skull Valley near the Great Salt Lake Desert and east to the Uinta Mountains and beyond. As part of their operations the family sent members to the various areas to live and settle resulting in the Abram Hatch family arriving in the Vernal-Jensen area as an extension of the livestock business.¹⁴

The Ruple family arrived in the Monument about the same time, settling Island Park in 1883. Henry Ruple and his wife attempted to raise livestock and farm the area. Like many others in the Monument region the Ruples had only a squatter's claim on the land for a number of years, but despite the lack of clear title they still invested many years and much work in the ranch, even going to the trouble of trying to drill a tunnel to irrigate land south of Green River. Their reclamation effort never was completed.¹⁵ The Ruples and others in the region quickly found that they had to learn to cope with the



arid environment and make adaptations in their lifestyle to survive.

While families such as the Ruples worked at survival by building cabins and planting crops one individual, Patrick H. Lynch, survived in the Monument living as a hermit. Lynch, born in Cloncoe, Ireland, in 1841, emigrated to the United States during the late 1850s. Before his arrival he served in the British navy during the mid-1850s. He joined the United States Navy in 1860 for one year. He re-enlisted in 1861 and served through the early years of the Civil War aboard U.S.S. North Carolina, U.S.S. Alabama, and U.S.S. Ohio. During this time he used both his real name, Patrick Lynch and an assumed name, James Cooper. Unable to find steady work after a period as a civilian watchman for military warehouses from 1863 through 1865, Lynch joined the Army in 1867. He served three years on the frontier in the 37th and 5th U.S. Infantries. He was honorably discharged at River Bend, Colorado Territory in 1870, having never advanced above the rank of private. From then until the early 1880s he apparently drifted around Colorado. By the early eighties he arrived at Dinosaur, possibly as an employee of Henry Ruple. That association dissolved about 1885. From then until 1917 he lived a hermit's life throughout the eastern parts of the Monument. For shelter he used caves, while he hunted for meat or accepted handouts from other local residents. He did raise a few cows and horses, but never developed a ranch like others in the area. Lynch left a distinctive "PL" brand and ship picto-



graphs on cave walls and other stone surfaces from Pat's Hole, named for him, to Castle Park. He became one of the most romanticized of Dinosaur's early residents.¹⁶

While little remains today to describe the life and problems these early pioneers of Dinosaur and the lands around it experienced what information is extant indicates that their day to day life was drab and harsh. The family constituted the basic economic unit and over time it became the extended family through marriages and as more than one generation lived in the area. Many of the single men of the area, being without immediate family closeby, worked for and became nearly household members at the smaller ranches. Others, such as the hands working for the Hoys, found their companionship from their fellow cowboys.

All family members pitched in to help with the economic survival of the family. Wives and daughters, in addition to cooking, baking, laundry and clothing repair, did chores, rode fence, and rounded up strays. Children helped with laundry, tended gardens or small animals, or gathered hay. In addition to the hard work the women by and large were especially shocked by the lack of ammenities offered by life in the area. Not only were they removed from other female companionship, they also had to worry about Indian raids, the fears of cold winters and possible sickness, as well as the constant threat that the rivers or some other natural force might claim the life of a family member at any time. In the words of J.S. Hoy the women of Brown's Park were "martyrs to the cause."¹⁷



Undoubtedly even the ladies' best efforts could not alleviate the hardships of pioneer life if measured by modern standards. Work started at dawn and continued until evening with breaks for breakfast, lunch and supper. Meals most often consisted of some type of meat, sometimes fresh from a recent slaughter or hunt, or, more often, dried, salted or smoked. Bacon was very popular. Homemade bread adorned the table nearly every day. Fruit, either dried, preserved or if in season, fresh; and vegetables rounded out the menu. More often than not the fruit came from the homesteader's orchard or berry patch, store-bought fruit being too expensive. If those items were not available potatoes and/or dried beans appeared on the dinner plate. Beans also constituted the staple food of trail and camp travel while moving herds from range to range or market. Those who intended to stay at their homesite for a number of years invested the time and effort to construct the refrigerator of the late nineteenth century--a root cellar. Canned foods, while available after 1875, were expensive and treated as luxuries rather than staples. If the pioneer diet pales by modern tastes so did their apparel.

Typical frontier clothes were not fashionable by everyday standards. Rather they were functional. Men and boys usually wore trousers and shirts made of homespun or roughly woven fabrics. Women's and girls' fashions dictated a skirt and shirtwaist or dress, but many frontier women wore trousers because they were more practical for getting around in rough terrain and the voluminous skirts of the day had an uncanny habit of catching



fire when worn too close to an open fire. The dresses frequently seen on women in photographs from the period were the special clothes, reserved for events such as church, weddings, funerals and the like. Even if the environment forced the women to make concessions in their everyday apparel they did follow fashion trends avidly. At community gatherings new styles were discussed even if they were not copied.

Despite those strains the pioneers bore the stresses and pressed on to conquer the area's natural environment the best they could. What most of them quickly discovered, if they did not know it before arriving, was that the Monument and its surroundings, even the rough terrain, was particularly well suited to livestock raising and by 1890 nearly every settler in the area practiced animal husbandry.



CHAPTER III NOTES

¹William L. Tennent, John Jarvie of Brown's Park, (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Land Management, 1981), pp. 18-19, hereafter cited: Tennent, Jarvie; and Ann Bassett Willis, "'Queen Anne' of Brown's Park," The Colorado Magazine, 29(April 1952): 83-85, hereafter cited: Willis, "Queen Anne."

²Tennent, Jarvie, p. 19.

³John Rolfe Burroughs, Where the Old West Stayed Young, (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1962), pp. 37-38, hereafter cited: Burroughs, Young.

⁴Ibid., pp. 16-19.; Tennent, Jarvie, p, 28.; Enola Chew Burdick, "Remembering," manuscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center, n.p.

⁵Burroughs, Young, pp. 23-25; Tennent, Jarvie, pp. 58-59; and Josie Bassett Morris Interview, 29 September 1959, typescript on file at Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center, hereafter cited: Morris Interview, 9/29/59; Various Josie Bassett Morris and Ann Bassett Willis documents at Dinosaur National Monument indicate that Huddleston and Dart were not the same person, however, they seem to be alone in that view.

⁶Burroughs, Young, p. 32.

⁷J.S. Hoy, "Hoy Manuscript," pp. 102-105, copy on file at Norlin Library, Western History Collections, hereafter cited: Hoy, "Manuscript," and Tennent, Jarvie, p. 29.

⁸Tennent, Jarvie, pp. 31, 81-83, the Parsons Cabin was included in the National Register of Historic Places as the oldest structure in Brown's Park, however, in 1978 hunters burned it down.

⁹Ibid., p. 31; and Hoy, "Manuscript," pp. 105-116.

¹⁰Hoy, "Manuscript," pp. 108-120; Daughters of the Utah Pioneers of Uintah County, Utah, Builders of Uintah: A Centennial History of Uintah County, 1871-1947, (Springville, UT.: pp., 1947), p. 41.

¹¹Morris Interview, 9/29/59; Willis, "Queen Anne." pp. 81-98; and Burroughs, Young, p. 44.

¹²Tennent, Jarvie, p. 33; and Lance R. Williams, LCS forms for Mantle Ranch and Pat's Cave, 1975, copies on file at Rocky Mountain Regional Office, National Park Service; and Mrs. Charles (Evelyn) Mantle Interview, 15 July 1961, typescript on file at Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center.



¹³Utah State University Theater Arts Interviews for Jensen and Island Park, Utah, typescript of file at Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center.

¹⁴Ruth A. Hatch-Hale, Genealogy and History of the Hatch Family, Descendants of Thomas and Grace Hatch of Dorchester, Yarmouth and Barnstable, Massachusetts, (Salt Lake City: Hatch Family Genealogical Society, n.d.); and of particular interest to the Hatch family in Utah and LDS Church history see: A.N. Sorenson, Biography of Hezekiah Eastman Hatch, (Logan UT.: family printed, 1952).

¹⁵Lance R. Williams, LCS form for Ruple Ranch, 1975, copy on file at Rocky Mountain Regional Office, National Park Service; and Sue Ruple Watson Interview, 5 August 1971, typescript on file at Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center.

¹⁶Patrick Lynch military service records, Record Groups 24 and 94, National Archives, copies on file at Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center as part of this study; Charles H. Leckenby, The Tread of Pioneers, Some Highlights in the Dramatic and Colorful History of Northwestern Colorado, (Steamboat Springs, CO.: The Pilot Press, 1945), pp. 70-74.

¹⁷Hoy, "Manuscript," pp. 156-163; Willis, "Queen Anne," pp. 83-94; and Burroughs, Young, pp. 44-45.



CHAPTER IV

CATTLEMEN AND RANCHING IN AND AROUND DINOSAUR BEFORE 1900

Development of ranching in the Monument and surrounding lands began in the 1850s as people such as W. H. Snyder of Texas took advantage of the grazing lands and relatively mild winters of Brown's Park to winter herds that were being driven overland to the California gold fields. These drives continued until Texas secession and ensuing Civil War. Not long after the War ended the cattle frontier exploded across the Great Plains- Intermountain West, and the cattlemen no longer focused their attentions solely on California. Instead they looked to the markets of Chicago and the East Coast for buyers. The other factor that influenced their decisions was the presence of newly constructed railroads that spanned the Great Plains, especially the Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific. Those transportation systems offered much faster access to the marketplace than all overland cattle drives did and soon buyers began to make their way west to the railheads to meet the herds coming out of Texas. As well, other cattlemen began to view the northern plains as great open pastures that could be used to fatten cattle before shipment to market.¹ The spread of the cattle frontier continued until the 1880s and as part of it, southwestern Wyoming and Brown's Park became centers of livestock raising. From there the industry spread into northeastern Utah by the end of the decade.



In the Dinosaur region, early settlers realized that the arid local climate would not support intensive farming, nor would the broken, mountainous terrain be easily turned into wheat fields. Soon they turned to livestock raising as their primary source of income. Some, such as the Hoy family, never even bothered with farming, but immediately turned to cattle growing as their business.² As the first post-Civil War settlers were making their way west to the Dinosaur area important developments took place in the Fort Bridger, Wyoming, area. Encouraged by the market for beef offered by the Union Pacific Railroad construction crews, in 1868 "Judge" William Carter imported a herd of Longhorns to fatten and then sell to the railroad. He enjoyed success and three years later George Baggs drove a herd of nine hundred cattle into Brown's Park and wintered them there without the loss of a single steer.³

News of Carter's profits and the good luck Baggs enjoyed encouraged others to follow suit and during the winter of 1872-1873 nearly five thousand head wintered in Brown's Park, four thousand from two Texas outfits, one operated by Hugh and Asa Adair and the second by a Mr. Keiser. The remaining cattle belonged to the Crawford and Thompson outfit that had purchased the Baggs herd in 1872. Jesse S. Hoy, a cowboy experienced on the Laramie Plains, had charge of the Crawford-Thompson herd that winter and by the next year he had set up his own operation in Brown's Park. Hoy encouraged his family to join him in the area and by 1880 the five Hoys took the lead in local ranching, basing



their operations on the north side of Green River near Hoy Canyon about ten miles northwest of the site of the Lodore School.

(see figure 4-1) The initial success of the Hoys drew further attention to Brown's Park and the possibilities it offered for livestock raising. The Hoys apparently hoped to become the John Wesley Iliffs or Murdo MacKenzies, rich cattle ranchers of the Great Plains, of Brown's Park, but later the Hoys found that most of their neighbors did not share their ambition and as one informant put it, "Between cows run off and law suits the Hoys lost most of the money they made."⁴

The year after Jesse and Valentine Hoy established their operations in Brown's Park one of the Edwards brothers, Griff, arrived at Green River and set up operations north of the Gates of Lodore. Like the Hoys, the Edwards had previous experience with cattle. He and his brother John had been raising stock in Colorado until the government forced them to leave because they were ranching on lands that were made part of the Ute Reservation created in 1873 as a result of pressures from Anglo-American Coloradans interested in the San Juan Mountains mining boom. John soon joined Griff in Brown's Park and they continued their cattle operations until 1879 and 1880 when the Edwards sold their herds and became sheep raisers instead, then a popular move among other area residents despite traditional western antagonisms between cattlemen and sheepmen.⁵

The Hoys and Edwards found themselves being joined by a number of other cattlemen during the later 1870s and early 1880s,





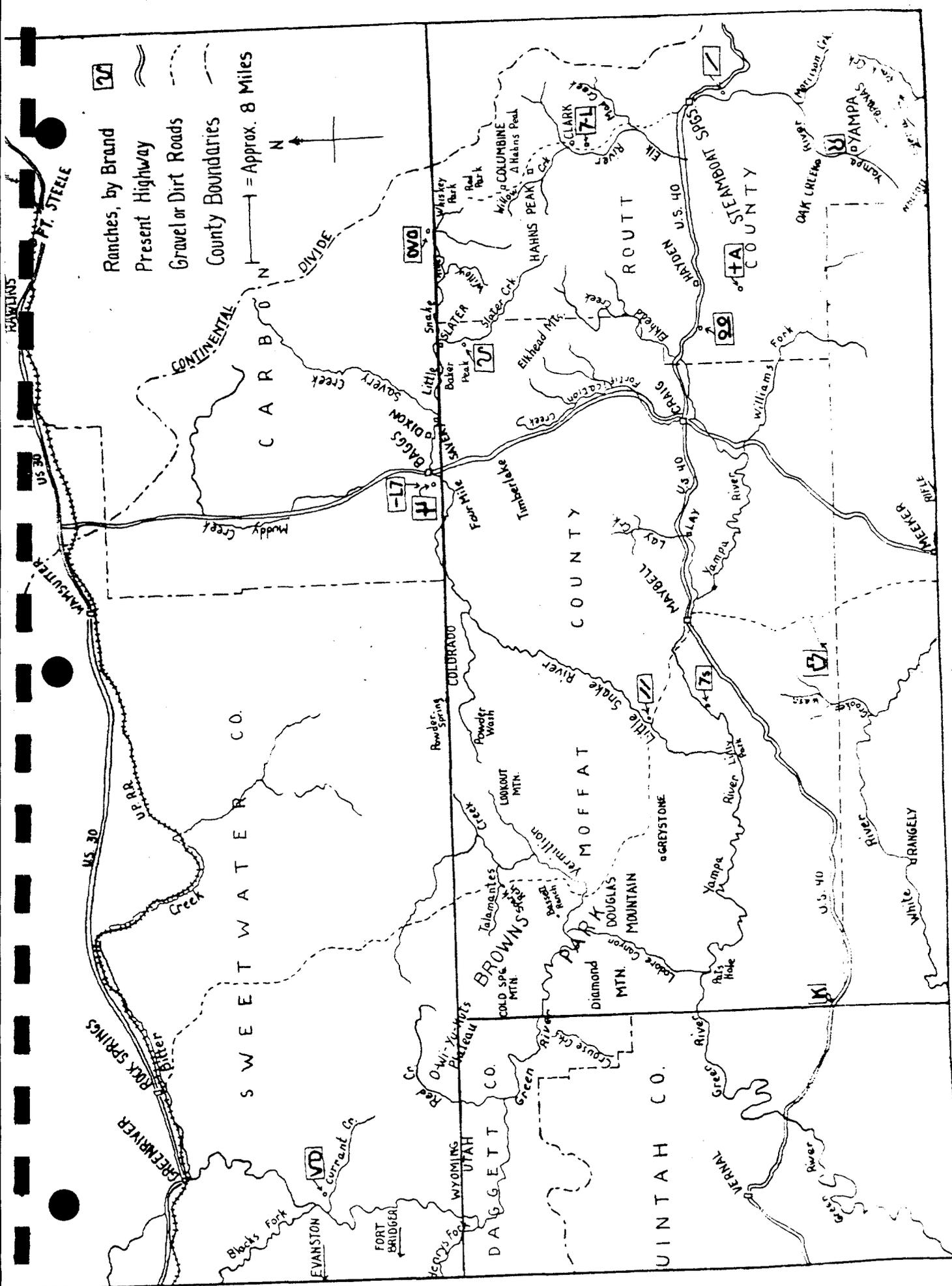


FIGURE 4-1b Ranches of the Greater Dinosaur Area
From: Burroughs, 1962.



some larger operators and some smaller. The Herbert Bassetts, the Henry Ruples, and the Mantle family all took up cattle raising soon after their arrival in the area. By 1880 fewer than six cattle outfits based their operations in the Dinosaur area, including the Hoys, Edwards, Bassetts, the Middlesex Land and Cattle Company, and Charley Crouse. However, after 1880 this changed dramatically as beef prices continued their upward climb and there seemed to be no outer limits to the market's ability to absorb more and more cattle.⁶ Throughout the West people referred to this period as the Beef Bonanza as investors from the world's money markets scrambled to get in on the profits to be made.

Two factors beyond the strong markets influenced the spread of the cattle frontier into all corners of the West during the late 1870s and early 1880s -- free grass and the availability of water. Most of the land in Dinosaur, as well as throughout the region, belonged to the federal government as part of the public domain and was open to anyone who would use it. Further, as long as it remained public land no territory or state could tax it. With land available at no charge cattlemen took advantage of the situation by allowing their cattle to roam at will in search of forage, rounding the herds up in spring and fall to brand new calves, count the winter kill, and cut out those animals ready for market. Typically the only lands they sought to purchase or patent were those with water, either along streams or rivers or that contained dependable springs. However, in the Dinosaur



area, with the two major rivers, the Yampa and the Green, their tributaries, and the number of springs in the Monument, control of water became less important. As a result many of the early settlers did not bother to patent their lands for a number of years, but rather simply took up residency on a given parcel. That process commonly earned them the title "squatter." This led to a greater spatial mobility for many of the families as they moved from water source to water source in the region. Apparently what evolved in the Dinosaur area was a recognition of a family's traditional lands, as evidenced by the Bassett family uses of Zenobia Basin as summer range and the various cabins they built there. Eventually, steps were taken to secure ownership through patent, but only after threats from an outside force that impinged on a given individual's traditional lands.⁷

One of the new forces in the region that appeared as the 1870s closed was the Middlesex Land and Cattle Company, founded in Boston and financed by New Englanders and probably some British investors as well. The Middlesex operation began in southwestern Wyoming by acquiring land from the Swan Land and Cattle Company, one of the major powers in Wyoming cattle circles. Mr. Clay, founder of the Middlesex, apparently realizing that further range acquisitions in Wyoming would be expensive, either from other cattle companies or the Union Pacific Railroad's land department, looked to Brown's Park as a likely area for expansion.⁸

The Middlesex Company made offers to buy out some of the smaller landholders in the region, but the Bassetts, Hoys, and



others refused to cooperate. As a result in 1879, Middlesex management then decided to force the squatters out by taking over all the range with Middlesex cows and cowboys. Dinosaur area pioneers did not take kindly to being told to sell or else and united in their opposition to what Ann Bassett later described to be "like a flood, devouring and consuming everything in its path."⁹ Fearing the worst, the early settlers in the Brown's Park area of the Monument, who previously had been the only users of the range, banded together to protect themselves from the Wyoming behemoth. One strategy they employed was to pilfer Middlesex cattle and the second, started in 1879, was to encourage the Edwards brothers to make the change from cattle to sheep, in essence creating a fence of sheep that would keep the Middlesex cattle from moving farther south into the Monument. This held the Wyoming invader at bay and the area was saved. Middlesex herds continued to use northwestern Colorado range north of Brown's Park for seven more years. However, the boom could not and did not last forever. The severe winter of 1886-87, sometimes referred to as the Great Blizzard, tumbling market prices caused by oversupply, and depletion of the range through overgrazing, brought many western cattle companies to bankruptcy, including the Middlesex outfit.¹⁰

The early Dinosaur area residents must have felt that trouble travelled in threes in the early 1880s. No sooner did the Middlesex threat pass than two new forces appeared in the area -- Ora Haley and Charles Popper, on the Colorado and Utah sides of



the Monument respectively. In 1881 or 1882 the K Ranch of Charles Popper moved into the Vernal, Utah, area and soon centered its operations around Jensen, Utah. The range foreman took advantage of the protection offered by the many canyons and parks along Green River, frequently using Pat's Hole as a winter range for the ranch's horse herds. Local residents resented Popper as an outsider, reputedly being a millionaire from New York City.¹¹ Despite Popper's wealth and control of many acres of range, his ranch seems to have been more acceptable locally than either the Middlesex or the other newcomer of the early 1880s--Ora Haley and his Two Bar Ranch.

Haley had begun his career as a cattleman on the Laramie Plains of south-central Wyoming in 1868 as the territory was being organized. Haley arrived at Laramie, Wyoming, before the town was founded in May of that year and soon after became one of Albany County's first representatives to the territorial legislature. From that point on Haley's career moved ahead rapidly, reputedly achieving millionaire status from his land holdings and cattle operations by 1880. As the area developed Albany County residents looked to Haley as one of their leaders until his death early in the twentieth century.¹²

Haley's fortunes in Wyoming grew so rapidly that by 1880 he began to look for new lands to buy in and around Wyoming. One area that caught his eye was northwestern Colorado where some ranchers had been enjoying success during the 1870s and rangeland remained available. In the spring of 1880 Haley contacted



the outfit of Hulett and Torrence that operated out of a home ranch on the Yampa River near Lay, Colorado. The two parties completed a bargain and by summertime Haley took control of the operation, eventually becoming known--and hated--by some Brown's Park settlers as the Two Bar because of the brand used "//." Haley, while not as open about his intentions as the Middlesex Company had been, did begin to dominate the region's ranges soon after his arrival by bringing in 7,000 head of cattle that grew by year's end to between 12,000 and 15,000. This taking of the range soon caused Haley and his Two Bar to become prime targets of local rustling activities and frequently he bore the brunt of criticism for conditions in the area.¹³

The invasion of the Dinosaur area by the three large cattle operations, the Middlesex Company, Popper's, and Ora Haley's, led to the development of a nearly paranoid mindset in some members of the local population. Settlers, such as the Bassetts, became afraid that the big outfits were constantly out to take away the range and run them out of business, even though Haley and Popper never announced any plans to that effect as the Middlesex Company had. Life became not a contest of survival against the elements and economic ups and downs typically associated with frontier life as much as it did a contest of "us" versus "them," us being the Bassetts and other small ranchers and them the big outfits, especially Haley's. As a result new definitions of acceptable behavior were created that resembled something of a Robin Hood outlook; that is it was acceptable to take from



Haley to give to the common people of the area. This thinking pattern became ingrained and because many of the "us" group, particularly the Bassett daughters, Ann and Josie, outlived them, their interpretation has come to dominate local history in the Dinosaur region. Further adding to this skewing has been the fact that the Bassett sisters tended to be more colorful than other people in the area and as local characters their views not only attracted a wider audience but also tend to be biased to support their feelings on the area's history.¹⁴

These interpretational and attitudinal problems aside, there can be no doubt that ranching by both large and small operators became the dominant economic activity on the region by the 1890s, even with the setbacks occasioned by the weather and market disasters cattlemen experienced during the late 1880s. Examination of the late nineteenth century cattle industry in the Dinosaur area points out two other possible reasons for the sense of "us" versus "them" expressed by some of the local residents--the dominance of Wyoming interests in local business affairs and the dependence of the ranchers on the Union Pacific Railroad, also in Wyoming, as their connection to the outside world. The control Wyoming businessmen had over the region varied through time and was challenged to a certain degree by Salt Lake City, especially that city's bankers and the Mormon Church, but the presence of these outsiders from the north constituted a part of daily life for the early residents of the Monument area well into the twentieth century. The bankers



of Rock Springs, Wyoming, held most of the loans and facilitated many of the other financial dealings for local residents. This pattern was reinforced by credit extended by Rock Springs merchants to local residents and shopkeepers, necessitating annual or more frequent trips to that Wyoming town to settle accounts. As late as 1909 the relationships remained intact even though Vernal, Utah, and Craig, Colorado, were growing business centers. As the murderers of John Jarvie found out after the crime had been committed, the old man's safe was nearly empty because he had just returned from settling annual loans in Rock Springs. Before that, in 1900, Denver merchants had begun to complain about the situation, claiming that loyal Coloradans were trading with out-of-staters because of the area's isolation and the proximity of the Union Pacific's line.¹⁵

The Union Pacific acted as the second major Wyoming influence on the Dinosaur area that the local residents had little control over. The railroad, while many miles north of the Monument, served as the link between the region and the outside world. Supplies came into towns such as Rock Springs or Green River City and then moved by wagon to Brown's Park, Vernal or Maybell, Colorado. Cattle sold commercially had to be driven overland to the railroad and then on east to markets such as Chicago. Beyond the line serving as the connector to the outside world, the Union Pacific also acted as a further control over the local economy by setting rates. If rates were low local stockmen made money; if they were high the same growers broke even or



lost money. On the other hand the rates on incoming freight also determined the prices consumers paid for various commodities they would not or could not make themselves. The alternative to shipping on the Union Pacific was a long and costly trip to Denver or Salt Lake City and that did not insure better rates. No doubt many of the local residents felt rather helpless in the face of the iron horse, probably adding to the sense of frustration expressed by some in the Monument area.¹⁶

Another force, closer to home, appeared during the early 1880s. The cattlemen did not like competition for "their" rangelands. Sheep, the traditional enemy of cattle, began to make their way into the Monument area starting in late 1879.

The first woolies to arrive, belonging to the Edwards brothers, came with the blessing of local cattlemen who hoped the presence of the sheep would discourage the farther southward march of the Middlesex herds. The ploy worked because the Middlesex operators believed, as did many if not all other cattlemen of the period, that sheep destroyed the range by grazing the grass too close to the ground and fouling watering holes. Once the Middlesex threat had been stopped and the company went out of business in 1887, many in Brown's Park believed, or hoped that the Edwards would sell their flocks and return to cattle ranching. This proved not to be the case. The Edwards not only maintained their flock but added to its size. Estimates from the time maintain that by the early 1890s the Edwards flock had grown to as many as twenty thousand or more sheep.¹⁷



No doubt part of the reason for this increase can be found in the economics of sheep raising. Sheep produce two marketable crops--wool and mutton, unlike a cow that produces only beef and by-products at the time of slaughter. The annual wool crop helped defray the costs of keeping the animals until fattened for market as meat. The demand for wool remained strong throughout the late nineteenth century as the American population grew and man-made fibers were yet to be invented. As a result sheep-growers could expect handsome returns from their investment. In Utah a second force, the Mormon Church, also encouraged sheep raising, primarily on economic grounds, as Church leaders sought to create a self-contained economy within the territory, providing ready markets for locally produced wool at Utah cloth mills.¹⁸

The successes of the Edwards and other wool growers caused an expansion of the local industry during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. During the 1880s Wyoming sheepmen began drifting south into the Brown's Park area to winter their flocks and soon some set up permanent operations there including Frank Goodman and Charley Sparks. Later they were joined by the Cosgriff Brothers, Tom Davenport, and a Mr. McKirkley. So quickly did the area fill up with sheep that by 1895 estimates range as high as sixty thousand head being in the area. By that point in time cattlemen had begun to organize to stop the invasion and in 1896 the Brown's Park Cattle Association perfected its organization, electing Matt Rash as its first president.



They began by terrorizing sheep herders and threatening the owners and the intimidation proved great enough that by 1900 Frank Goodman and Jack Edwards had sold out and left the region. Also, by the turn of the century something of a "Dead" line came into existence that roughly followed the Colorado-Utah border. The cattlemen of the Colorado side let it be known that any sheep moving eastward from Utah across the line would be considered in violation of the line and potential victims of raids by cowboys. In 1896 two sheep herders had been killed by cow hands and in 1899 the cattlemen of northwestern Colorado attacked a flock of three thousand sheep. Despite attempts by Colorado authorities to halt the violence, the cow-sheep battle continued well into the twentieth century.¹⁷

One other form of stock raising took place in the Monument area during the late nineteenth century--horses. Charley Crouse and Wells, Fargo and Company owned the two most notable operations in the region at the time. Crouse occupied a ranch on Crouse Creek and raised horses for work and racing, often selling them to ranches in Wyoming. The other horse operation in and near Dinosaur, at Lily Park, was the White Bear Ranch, owned originally by John W. Lowell and after 1896 by Wells, Fargo and Company, who may have been involved in the operation as early as 1883. Both of these ranches also appear to have raised a number of cattle over the years, and their horse operations may have been more a sidelight than primary activity. Not surprisingly most cattle ranches also raised horses, primarily to supply their



own needs for mounts and work animals. Even with the two horse ranches in the area, the Dinosaur region never developed as a center of horse breeding, but rather continued to be the domain of cattleman and sheepman.¹⁸

Throughout the late nineteenth century the basic occupation of the vast majority of the region's settlers remained livestock raising. Cattle first entered the area during the 1850s and by the mid-1870s the region already had gained a reputation as a paradise for cattlemen. The early stockraisers depended on open range ranching methods, based on the existence of the public domain and free access to the vast acres of grass that the federal lands contained. They did not try to patent the lands, except for sites for their home ranches, usually located near a perennial water supply, either a spring or one of the area's rivers. The seasons dictated activities, with spring and fall roundups followed by movements between summer and winter range, as demonstrated by the Bassetts' activities in Zenobia Basin, their traditional summer range.¹⁹ Ranching in the region tended to be divided between the large outfits, such as Haley's Two Bar that had as many as twenty thousand head of cattle in the area at various times, and the smaller ones that had herds numbering one hundred or fewer cows and heifers.²⁰ From 1880 until the 1910s friction existed between those two groups over control of the range which led to a number of problems, such as rustling. The other major livestock activity became sheep raising after 1880, so that by the mid-1890s more than fifty



thousand head of sheep lived in the region. The presence of sheep also created conflicts. Cattlemen, protective of their range, feared the encroachment of sheep and to stop the spread of sheep raising resorted to violence by the end of the nineteenth century. In fact by the turn of the century violence seemed to be the order of the day in the Dinosaur area.



CHAPTER IV NOTES

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³Frederic J. Athearn, An Isolated Empire, A History of Northwestern Colorado, 3rd. ed. (Denver: Bureau of Land Management, 1981), p. 69, hereafter cited: Athearn, Isolated.

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⁵Glade M. Ross, "Pioneers and Historic Structures of Dinosaur National Monument," draft 1984, manuscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Headquarters, hereafter cited: Ross, "Pioneers."

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⁸Burroughs, Young, pp. 65-67.

⁹quoted in: Ibid., p. 66.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 66-67; and Tennent, Jarvie, pp. 34 and 36.

¹¹Verda and Hugh Stewart Interview, typescript on file at Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center; Burroughs, Young, p. 69.

¹²Lola M. Homsher, "The History of Albany County, Wyoming to 1880," (M.A. thesis, University of Wyoming, 1949). pp. 16-28.

¹³Burroughs, Young, pp. 69-77, 278 and 310.



¹⁴For examples of this see: Ann Bassett Willis, "'Queen Anne' of Brown's Park," The Colorado Magazine, 29(July 1952): 218-235, 29(October 1952): 284-298, 30(January 1953): 58-76; the Anne Bassett Willis - Ester Campbell Correspondence, copies on file at Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center; Josie Bassett Morris Interviews, 26 September 1959, 18 July 1960 and 7 July 1961, typescripts on file at Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center, hereafter cited: Morris Interview, (date).

¹⁵Burroughs, Young, p. 51; Tennent, Jarvie, p. 81; and Rocky Mountain News, 25 March 1902.

¹⁶Burroughs, Young, pp. 139, 143-144, 155; and for a general discussion of the Union Pacific and its policies toward development of trade and agriculture along its lines see: Robert G. Athearn, Union Pacific Country, (Chicago: Rand-McNally and Co., 1971).

¹⁷Ross, "Pioneers," pp. 20-22.

¹⁸Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 121-122, 317-324.

¹⁹Ross, "Pioneers," p. 22; Burroughs, Young, pp. 136-142; (Craig) Empire-Courier, 23 January 1957; and Joe Haslem Interview, typescript on file, Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center.

²⁰Tennent, Jarvie, pp. 31-33; Ross, "Pioneers," p. 88.

²¹Ross, "Pioneers," p. 7.

²²Morris Interview, 9/26/59.



CHAPTER V

TRAILS AND TRANSPORTATION IN THE DINOSAUR AREA

The ability to move of people and goods from one location to another and the difficulties involved frequently determined the course of local history in the American West. Transportation and accessibility, combined with other factors such as natural resource and land availability and boosterism, became crucial determiners of a given locale's type and speed of growth. In the Dinosaur region the historical record gives excellent examples of this phenomenon. To the south, in the Grand Valley/Grand Junction, Colorado area, land and water were readily available resulting in rapid growth, especially after the Denver and Rio Grande Railway arrived within a year of the first settlers. North of the Dinosaur region, in southern Wyoming, growth also took place because of the same factors, however, it was slowed because the Union Pacific land grants made some land unavailable for homesteading.¹

The lands in between those two axes of development, including Dinosaur, remained under-utilized and under occupied because they lacked either a dependable transportation system such as a railroad or easy access to such a corridor. The people who chose to settle in the Monument and its surrounding areas did so realizing they would have to find their own routes to the outside world, primarily trails overland, because the Yampa and Green Rivers offered no opportunities for commercial shipping,



a situation typical of most western rivers. The rivers and their canyons also acted as a determining factor on the routes that the trails could take within Dinosaur, it being impractical if not impossible, during the late nineteenth century to bridge some of the canyons, such as Lodore Canyon. Neither the residents nor the local governments had the money to do the extensive rock work necessary to blast shelves for trails into the canyon walls to facilitate wagon travel. Understandably, the pioneers who laid out the trails tried to avoid all costly work, such as earthmoving, if alternate routes could be secured that did not require such construction or costs. Finally, the rivers offered only a limited number of fords or crossings, which also tended to direct the routes that the trails would take. All these factors combined meant that Dinosaur had very few trails and by and large the ones that were present were used only by local residents and tended to connect interior parts of the Monument with other roads.

In and around Dinosaur trail development can be dated to the 1860s and efforts by early Denverites to established a mail route through the Rockies to Salt Lake City. To find a route Denver's boosters hired retired mountain man Jim Bridger and Lt. Edward Berthoud. The pair discovered Berthoud Pass and then followed a path generally along the route of modern U.S. Highway 40 through northwestern Colorado and on into Utah.

Stage service along the route never became successful and by 1864 stage traffic west from Denver bypassed the region to the



north. This happened because of a lack of customers along the route and problems caused by the crossings of the high passes in winter both in the Colorado Rockies and Uintas of Utah. Later attempts at an east-west route through the region would meet the same difficulties. Transportation entrepreneurs found the route in Utah blocked by creation of the first Uintah Ute Reservation in 1861.² However, that proved to be of little consequence as new, more dependable means of travel became available by the end of the decade.

Abandonment of the Berthoud Pass route and delays in the development of the Dinosaur area caused by the Civil War led to a general reorientation of travel routes by 1870. The major event of the late sixties, the construction of the Union Pacific across southern Wyoming, set the stage for local trail development, causing early settlers to want trails built as feeders to the railroad rather than as independent entities. As a result the majority of the trails in the Dinosaur area ran in an overall north to south direction rather than east to west as the Bridger-Berthoud route had.

The notable exception to this was the trail that ran the length of Brown's Park from northwest to southeast between Jesse Ewing Canyon, where the trail turned north to Wyoming, and the Little Snake River. Between Vermillion Creek and Jesse Ewing Canyon the route ran on the bench lands north of Green River, while southeast of Vermillion Creek the trail had two branches, one to Greystone and one more northerly via West and East Boone



Draws to the Little Snake and beyond.(see figure 5-1) This trail, like dozens of others in the West, was at one time called the Cherokee Trail.³

This trail served as a route through Brown's Park to connect the various ranches with the main routes out of the area, both running to the north. One route, used by mountain men and the Fremont expedition, followed Irish Canyon out of the Hole and then proceeded in a generally northerly direction to Rock Springs, 80 miles from Brown's Park. John Rolfe Burroughs, one of the leading authorities on Brown's Park history, estimated that ninety-five percent of the traffic in and out of the Park followed that route, passing near Joe's Spring, site of the original Herbert Bassett place. If that approximation is accurate the Bassetts probably had more contact with people passing through the region than any other settlers who had chosen more remote parts of the area for their homesites.⁴

The second route north out of the region followed Jesse Ewing Canyon and Red Creek north through Clay Basin on its route to Wyoming. This route came to be known as the Old Trappers Trail. Not far from that exit from Brown's Park was one of the fords and a ferry that crossed Green River allowing access to the western areas of Dinosaur around the western side of Diamond Mountain. John Jarvie operated the ferry from 1881 until his murder in 1909, having purchased the operation from John Parsons who first began carrying people and wagons across the river sometime in the late 1870s. Parsons first arrived at the site



DINOSAUR NATIONAL MONUMENT

UTAH - COLORADO

Paved Road (1st Class, All Weather)
 Improved Road (Gravel, 2nd Class, Generally Passable Year Round)
 County Road (Dirt, 3rd Class)
 Unimproved Track or Jeep Road

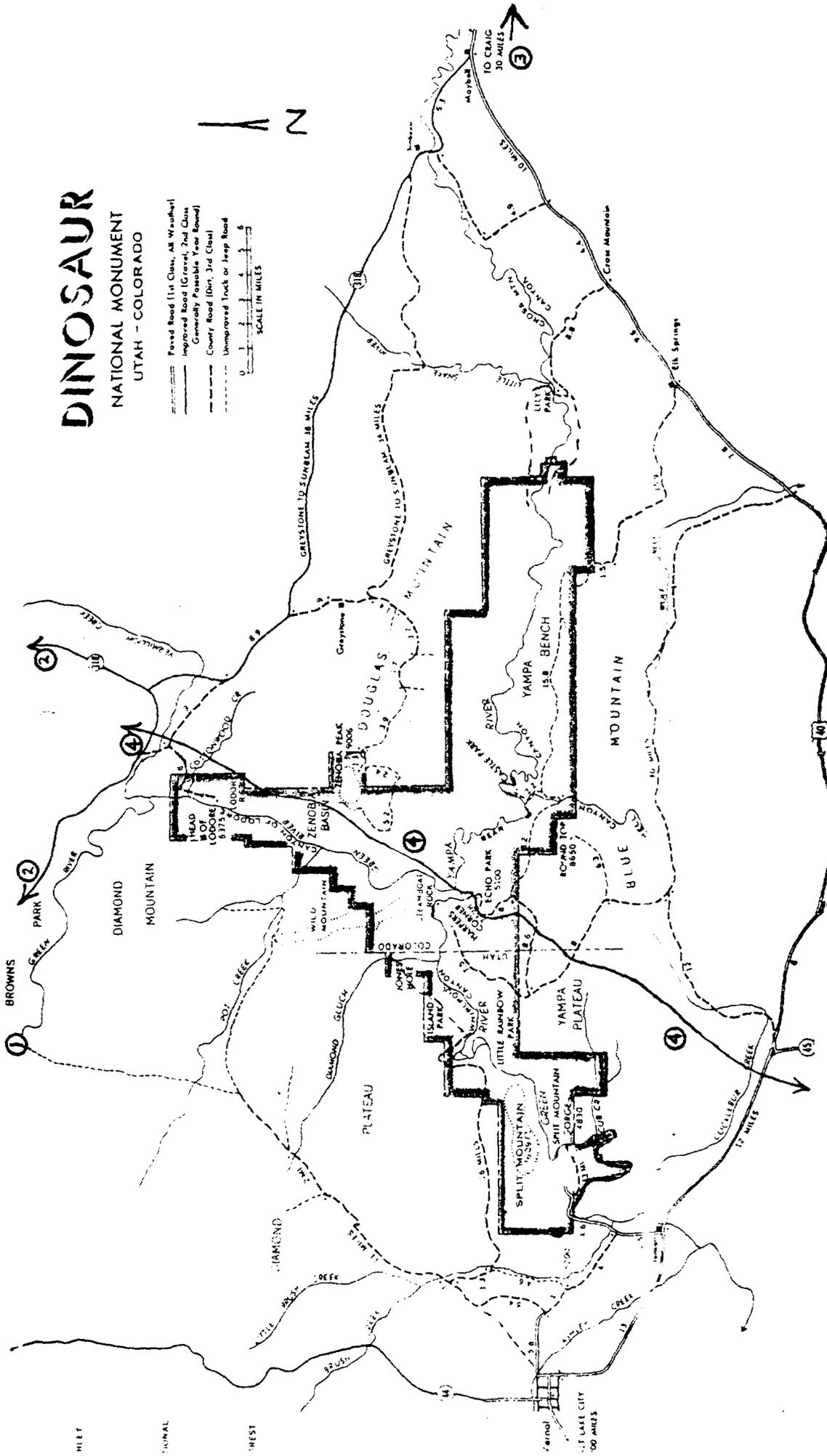


FIGURE 5-1 Roads, Trails and Paths of Dinosaur

- 1 -- Jarvie's Ferry
- 2 -- Roads to Rock Springs, Wyoming, and the Union Pacific Railroad
- 3 -- To the Denver and Salt Lake Railway after 1913
- 4 -- Approximate route of the Outlaw Trail



in 1874, commencing ferry operations after that. Jarvie targeted as his market the settlers of the Ashley Valley and vicinity. By 1898 he offered to trade passage for farm produce since many local residents frequently found themselves short of cash with which to pay Jarvie. The ferry owner had a number of the more colorful local characters in his employ at one time or another including Albert "Speck" Williams or Welhouse, a black, as well as Matt Warner one of the more famous local bandits. To supplement his ferry business Jarvie also ran a freighting company during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is not surprising that with that combination one of the major trails into the Ashley Valley ran south from Jarvie's Ferry into the Valley, providing access to areas such as Island Park along Wagon Road Bench.⁵ Jarvie found that he did have competition for the local traffic by the end of the nineteenth century.

Not far downstream from the ferry two wagon fords across Green River developed and travelers could bypass the ferry and the toll charged by Jarvie. While people following these routes had to take a more circuitious path, they did save the charges and ended up on the trail north and south anyway. Farther downstream at Hoy Bottom, the Hoy Brothers operated a ferry for a short time. As if Jarvie did not have enough competition from the Hoys and the fords, during 1901, Charlie Crouse built a tollbridge over the river that connected with the trail to the Ashley Valley. Crouse also founded the town of Bridgeport at the site, taking



away much of Jarvie's ferry trade as well as customers from the store he ran at his place. The bridge washed out in an iceflow after it had been in operation only a few years and Jarvie regained his lost business.⁶

The problems Crouse had with his bridge surviving the elements was typical of those of other would-be entrepreneurs encountered and offer a further explanation for the dearth of bridges over the Green and Yampa Rivers in the Dinosaur area. Beyond the lack of suitable sites for bridges, the final problem that no doubt discouraged bridge-building was the relatively high costs involved, and in both Colorado and Utah only injections of county, state, and finally federal money led to a more extensive bridging program.

The trails through Brown's Park and the Ashley Valley connected those regions to the lands beyond. During the early years these trails served as feeders to the Union Pacific in Wyoming, but by the 1880s, with the settlement in Colorado expanding west after removal of the Utes following the Meeker Massacre of 1879, new routes were established to give people in the area access to the east. The Union Pacific continued to receive the bulk of Monument area trade, but the new communication lines did cut into it. The need for routes out of the Monument became especially acute for the people on the Colorado side because their county seat of government was located first at Hahn's Peak and later at Steamboat Springs and finally in 1914 in Craig, all many miles east of the Monument.⁷



Roads built into the region from the east generally came from the Colorado or Eagle River Valleys or over Rollins Pass on the Continental Divide northwest of Denver converging on Steamboat Springs. From there the roads tended west-northwest up the Yampa Valley through Hayden, Craig and Maybell, Colorado, before connecting with the trails in Brown's Park. The other route into the region came to be known as the "Government Road" because it was built by the Army from Rifle, Colorado north to supply the White River Ute Agency, near modern Meeker, Colorado, and extensions of the route went as far north as Craig and on into Wyoming. These lines of communication gave the Dinosaur residents alternate lines of communication with the outside world even if a trip from Wolcott, Colorado, on the Denver and Rio Grande Railway east of Eagle, Colorado, in the central mountains did take three days just to arrive at Steamboat Springs.⁸

Within the Monument the locally available capital and time as well as the topography acted to limit road building activity. The majority of the roads in the Monument probably started as trails used by individuals, either on foot or horseback, and to drive livestock from one range to another or out of the area to market. From there the routes either developed into paths for wagons, such as the trail to the Chew ranch that the family improved, or remained as trails. Eventually motorized traffic replaced horsepowered travel and the routes became ranch roads or remained as Jeep or foot trails into some of the more remote or seldom used portions of the Monument. None of these routes



experienced the heavy traffic of the wagon roads north of the Green River in Brown's Park or from Jarvie's Ferry south into the Ashley Valley.

The lack of a large local population combined with the absence of major communities within the boundaries of the Monument meant that stagecoach companies did not serve the Monument. The only recorded connection Dinosaur had with one of the major stage companies was the White Bear Ranch in Lily Park, owned by Wells, Fargo and Company for raising cattle and horses. No substantial evidence exists that the ranch ever served as a stage station for Wells, Fargo and Company. However, other stage operators did begin to serve the area by the close of the nineteenth century, including James L. Norvell, a livestock buyer and frequent traveler through the Yampa Valley on his buying trips. He opened a line from Steamboat Springs to Lay, Colorado. Also, by the close of the century Vernal, Utah, had regular stage service. Stage and freight service to Jensen and Vernal improved during the early twentieth century as the Uintah Railway opened a subsidiary company to carry people and goods north from its northern end of track at Bonanza, Utah, into the Ashley Valley. These conveyances lumbered along a few miles a day and if descriptions from travelers on other routes serve as any indication such trips tended to be anything but enjoyable.⁹

In addition to the wagon roads and stock trails of the Monument area that carried the goods and people, two other types of transportation saw seasonal use in the area -- sleds and



ice skates. Throughout the area when winter closed in, residents used the trails, but instead of wagons, they took to sleds and other vehicles adaptable to winter conditions. During winter the rivers turned into pathways that could be used and as late as 1900 children on their way to and from school put on their iceskates and took to the rivers for their daily commutes.¹⁰ Even though it was possible to get around the region in the winter, travel probably was limited due to the hazards of frost-bite, frozen limbs, and possible catastrophe in the heavy snows.

Winter or summer one route in the area saw much use and served a purpose much different from the typical avenues of commerce in the Monument. While most of the roads and trails carried people, livestock, and goods to and from the region as part of their everyday affairs, one became legendary as a route for individuals trying to out-distance the long arm of the law. The rugged topography and lack of access, the same factors that discouraged heavy settlement in the Monument area, also slowed all but the most ardent of pursuers. This made the area a popular place for bandits making their getaway from crimes outside the Monument. Frequently, the scene of the misdeed was southern Wyoming and the booty offered by the banks and Union Pacific express cars.

As early as the 1870s criminals on the run began to frequent Brown's Park as a place to hide out or pass through on their way to other hideouts. The path became known as the Gulf to Border trail passing through Brown's Park near the Matt Rash



place, past Zenobia Peak, on to Echo Park, and south.¹¹ Later users of the trail modified it somewhat to cross Dinosaur diagonally, entering the Monument east of the Lodore Ranger Station, south over Burnt Ridge, to Jack Springs and out along Green River near the Quarry site.¹² Either of these routes within Dinosaur constituted only a small portion of the fabled trail that reputedly ran from the Canadian border south to Mexico and included such legendary locales as the "Hole in the Wall" or "Robbers' Roost," putting the Monument on at least one national trail. In addition to those two well known routes others probably were used on occasion by individuals, making the exact location of each of the escape routes impossible to pinpoint. Because of the nature of the Outlaw Trail, also referred to as the Shelf Trail, and its users it was not well marked or highly developed nor did it have a formal right-of-way that easily could be found, rather information was passed on orally from one user to the next. In addition to the remoteness and rugged terrain, the availability of shelter, either in caves or cabins or with some of the settlers also made the area an ideal place for those hoping to avoid pursuit.

The Outlaw Trail continued to be used until the early twentieth century at which time most of the criminals had either been arrested, killed in gun battles, or had left the region searching for greener pastures and anonymity elsewhere. The Trail was symbolic of one of the more exciting phases of Dinosaur history, when the Monument became part of the "Wild West" much like the



CHAPTER V NOTES

¹Steven F. Mehls, The Valley of Opportunity, A History of West Central Colorado, (Denver: Bureau of Land Management, 1982), pp. ii-iii; John Rolfe Burroughs, Where The Old West Stayed Young, (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1962), pp. 69, 72, 143-144, 155, hereafter cited: Burroughs, Young.

²Charles E. Leckenby, The Tread of Pioneers, (Steamboat Springs, CO: Pilot Press, 1944), pp. 129-131, hereafter cited: Leckenby, Tread; Fred A. Conetah, ed., A History of the Northern Ute Peoples, (Salt Lake City: Uintah and Ouray Tribe, 1982), p. 53.

³J.S. Hoy, "The Hoy Manuscript," Norlin Library, Western History Collections, pp.141-142; hereafter Cited: Hoy, "Manuscript,"; Burroughs, Young, p. 37.

⁴Hoy, "Manuscript," pp. 140-143; Burroughs, Young, p. 43.

⁵William L. Tennent, John Jarvie of Brown's Park, (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Land Management, 1981), pp. 54-56, 93, hereafter cited: Tennent, Jarvie.

⁶Ibid., pp. 54-56; Burroughs, Young, pp. 50, 106, 160; Glade Ross, Personal Communication.

⁷Frederic J. Athearn, An Isolated Empire, A History of Northwest Colorado, 3rd ed., (Denver: Bureau of Land Management, 1981), pp. 73, 101-102.

⁸Ibid., pp. 40-42, 70-72; Leckenby, Tread, pp. 58-63.

⁹Earl Douglass diaries for June-July 1909, Earl Douglass Estate Files, Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center; and Cleo W. Chew Manuscript, Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center, hereafter cited: Chew ms.; see: Henry E. Bender, Jr., The Uintah Railway, (Berkeley, CA.: Howell-North Books, 1971).

¹⁰Burroughs, Young, pp. 92, 95; Tennent, Jarvie, p. 64.

¹¹Chew ms.

¹²Glade M. Ross, "Pioneers and Historic Structures of Dinosaur National Monument," manuscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Headquarters, p. 132.

¹³Charles Kelly, The Outlaw Trail, (New York: Bonanza Books, 1959), reprint of 1938 edition, frontice map.



movie and television producers wished. From 1870 until about 1910 lawlessness described life in the area as well as any other word might, with flights from relentless posses, the Outlaw's Thanksgiving Dinner, and other colorful episodes punctuating the drab existence of many of the area's settlers.¹⁴



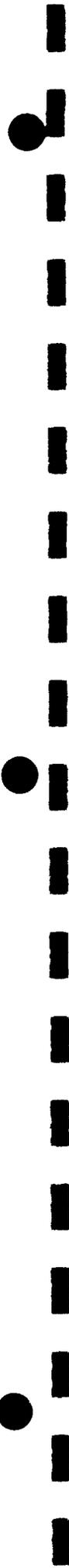
¹⁴Ibid., details the career of Cassidy and other outlaws that frequented the Monument area.



CHAPTER VI

THE OUTLAWS OF DINOSAUR

The "Wild West" conjures up images of cowboys, gunmen, and robbers making their getaway on fleet horses with a posse thundering out of town after them. To a certain degree the late nineteenth century history of the Dinosaur region contains all those characters, especially the gunslingers and bandits. Many reasons for this can be found. First, the area remained isolated and removed from centers of activity and civilization for many years. Secondly, the location and geography of Brown's Park, in addition to limiting access to the area, also offered a unique place for escapes from the law. Brown's Park, much like modern Dinosaur, straddles the border of two states. Brown's Park in its fullest sense goes one better being in three states--Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming. Before modern police procedures and development of the concept of "hot pursuit," Brown's Park offered criminals a unique opportunity--if wanted in one state or territory all they had to do to escape was cross the line into another jurisdiction. Peace officers from all three states realized this and generally did not bother to follow wanted men into the area knowing that soon the wrongdoer would easily be out of reach across the line.¹ By the 1890s the Dinosaur region had developed a reputation of being a land safe only for criminals and their sympathizers. By 1910 this would change



and change dramatically, but during the thirty years from 1870 to 1900, the Dinosaur area indeed was the Wild West.

Two distinct groups of outlaws developed during the halcyon days of late nineteenth century Brown's Park--the professionals such as Butch Cassidy and his Wild Bunch, and the amateurs, a group that included almost every settler in the Park, except maybe the Hoys, John Jarvie, and Herbert Bassett. For Matt Rash, Isom Dart, other Bassetts, "Judge" Bennett, Matt Warner, and others dabbling in crime constituted a way of supplementing or securing the family income. They limited their criminal activities to rounding up stray or not so stray cattle, frequently belonging to the Hoys or Ora Haley's Two Bar ranch, a few head at a time. The newly acquired cattle were either butchered or had their brands altered and were added to the thief's personal herd.² By the turn of the century such practices were widespread among most of the early settlers, particularly in the northern (Brown's Park) portion of the Monument.

Criminal activity in the Dinosaur area probably began during the Civil War in a minor way. Fugitives from Colorado gold camps, deserters, and individuals hoping to avoid the draft congregated in Brown's Park. They found themselves safely out of reach of the conscription officers and apparently made their living from nature. These ne'er-do-wells discouraged anyone who might think of turning them over to authorities and by 1870 Brown's Park already had a reputation as a place full of tough characters to be avoided if possible.³



"Mexican Joe" Herrera and his small band became the leaders of the Brown's Park criminal element by 1870. Herrera and some of his compatriots had moved into the Park after escaping with their lives from angry citizens in South Pass City, Wyoming. The little band of outcasts built a cabin and settled in at Joe's Spring, a site that commanded a view of the major trails in and out of the area. Once in Brown's Park they adopted cattle stealing as their livelihood, appropriating animals from passing Texas herds on their way north to market. His taste for violence, especially knife fights, became legend in the area and many an aggressor found the sight of Herrera's blade enough to settle a dispute. However, the criminal Herrera picked the wrong person to fight with in Valentine Hoy during the mid 1870s. The Hoy's had been having trouble keeping track of their cattle and were convinced that the little group at Joe's Spring had been helping themselves to Hoy stock. Herrera did not appreciate the accusations, taking after Valentine with his knife. Hoy not only stood his ground, he defeated Herrera in a knife fight. Herrera suffered a wound to his buttocks and a mortal blow to his ego. After the fight Herrera laid low for a period and eventually drifted out of the region. He may have gone back to New Mexico and become a political activist for Mexican-American rights to protect settlers from land-hungry Anglos.⁴ Later Herbert Bassett would find Joe's Spring to be an ideal homesite and because of its central location in Brown's Park, he and his family had a number



of opportunities to become acquainted with Dinosaur's outlaw element.

The Herrera-Hoy episode marked the beginning of a long battle between the Hoy's and their neighbors. Hoy cattle became favorite targets for local residents, as did later those belonging to the Middlesex Company and Ora Haley. Once a cow had been stolen the normal channels of commerce took over. Cattle not butchered were raised by the thief and once the cattle were ready for market the new owner drove the animals to Rock Springs, Wyoming, for sale. Because of the close ties between that town and many of the residents in the Dinosaur area very few questions concerning a given animal's heritage were asked, keeping both buyer and seller happy. The Rock Springs cattle markets also supplied some of the first rustlers to come to the Monument region--Texas cowboys laid off at the end of the drive or told they would be wintering in Wyoming to tend the herd before being paid off. As ranching grew in southwestern Wyoming and northwestern Colorado so did livestock thievery.⁵

Part-time rustling as a way of life became firmly ingrained in the settlers of the Dinosaur region by the early 1880s. Among the vocational rustlers the name of James L. Warren stands out during the 1870s. His ranch on Pot Creek evolved into a haven for cattle thieves and undoubtedly his herd multiplied because of this.⁶ Two other names appeared on the list as well during the late 1870s--Charley Crouse and William "Billy" or "Billy Buck" Tittsworth. Crouse and Tittsworth both operated



ranches, Crouse's on Crouse Creek and Tittsworth's on Salt Wells Creek. Both of these men also supplemented the natural increase of their herds through stealing cattle from their more well-to-do neighbors, especially the Hoys. Tittsworth eventually gained some local notoriety for the killing of Charley Powers, after which Tittsworth left the region to hog farm in Iowa. Both men were viewed by many of their contemporaries as stable members of the community even if some of their dealings were on the shady side. Tittsworth lost this respect after the Powers killing and became persona non grata in Brown's Park.⁷ "Crouse Roost" located on or near the Crouse ranch became another favorite hideout for bandits escaping the law and apparently Mr. Crouse neither bothered to report his visitors to the law nor ask what business they were involved in. He also was part owner of a saloon in Vernal that a number of desperadoes frequented on their passage north or south along the Outlaw Trail.⁸

During the 1880s other local settlers also became involved in rustling to enlarge their herds, including Matt Rash, Isom Dart, and Elizabeth Bassett, through her friends and eventually her children. While her husband, Herbert, never became involved in the illegal activities, Elizabeth took a more active interest in rustling. She eventually led the "Bassett Gang," one of Brown's Park's more long-lived groups of criminals, fashioning herself as something of a nineteenth century Robin Hood, stealing from the rich, primarily Ora Haley, and giving to the poor, her family, Isom Dart, and Matt Rash. Coincidentally Dart and



Rash happened to be the members of her gang. Dart and Rash first appeared in the Monument area during the mid-1880s, relocating to the area from Texas, possibly with a herd of stolen cattle. Rash worked first for the Middlesex Company, but when they went out of business, Rash had to seek new employment.

He built a cabin on Matt Rash Creek and set up a ranch, acquiring his herd through both legal and illegal means. Later he also had a cabin near the Yampa River within the Monument. Rash's nearest neighbors were the Bassetts and soon he began to share his booty with them. Apparently, Mrs. Bassett's style and charm could get men to do almost anything for her, even stealing cattle. Isom Dart followed Rash into the Bassett circle and became the second non-family member participant in the doings of the "Gang."⁹

Some sources indicate that Dart's criminal activity in the region spanned three decades from the 1870s to the early twentieth century under the names of Ned Huddleston and later Isom Dart. However, as he was a black man in a region dominated by Anglos, very few did not recognize the alias. Dart tended more toward being a professional rustler than did the other members of the Bassett Gang, starting his career in the region as a member of the Tip Gault Gang. Gault and his associates earned a living stealing horses, but by 1870 had turned their attention to the possibilities offered by the new cattle ranches springing up along the Union Pacific in southern Wyoming. Gault found cattle rustling to be profitable, but as it turned out, only for a short time. The gang quickly became the scourge



of local ranchers and a concerted effort was made to drive them from the country or exterminate them. Extermination became the alternative used when a group of cowboys ambushed the gang and killed them all except Ned Huddleston. The black man escaped by feigning death from a wound he received and then crawling into an aspen grove. A few days later he found a horse and tried to escape, being successful with help from Billy Tittsworth. Huddleston left the area after recovering from his wounds and after a brief stint in some Nevada mining camps made his way to Texas and Oklahoma, working ranches and eventually owning a partnership interest in a Oklahoma cotton plantation. Unhappy with some events there, compounded by personal problems, including a love affair between his adopted Indian daughter, Mincy, and Matt Rash, Huddleston returned to the Brown's Park area during the mid-1880s. All sources agree that Dart, whether he and Huddleston were the same person or not, along with Matt Rash, took jobs from the Middlesex Company until it went out of business. Left to his own devices, Dart soon took up rustling and fell in with the Bassett Gang.¹⁰

Other settlers followed the patterns typified by the Bassetts and by 1890 nearly everyone in the Monument area owned at least a few head of cattle that originally had belonged to someone else. This became an important fact in the early history of the Dinosaur area for interpretation of local social history. The ability of local residents to ignore the law, while possibly encouraged by the lack of law enforcement in the vicinity, did



lead to the development of a peculiar set of property values. As an example of the remoteness of the legal machinery to the area, in Colorado the county seat was at Hahn's Peak, more than one hundred miles east of the Monument area. On the Utah side Vernal served as the nearest justice, also at least a day's ride from the Monument. Because of this many crime victims did not even bother reporting incidents of rustling to the District Attorney.¹¹ Knowing that there was little chance of being caught and brought to task for their wrong-doings, area residents became lackadaisical about the legal system. A set of values evolved that demanded individual action to stop a criminal. But since so many people became involved in minor wrongdoing very few took any action, undoubtedly fearing that their sins might very well come back to haunt them. That, coupled with the general poverty of many of the settlers and the fact that many were just squatters, led them to put much less emphasis on personal property and its protection than would typically be found in late nineteenth century. The one apparently unwritten rule applied by local residents to the Monument area was that outsiders, either economically, such as the Hoys, or physically, such as Ora Haley, were fair game. However, stealing or violence against others in the area was unacceptable. The same code applied to the professional criminals that visited the area during the late nineteenth century. Their sanctuary was safe as long as they did not direct any violence at or steal from any local residents.



The professionals did not appear in records of the Monument area until the 1890s and their stay lasted only slightly more than a decade. However, during that brief period they added much to local color and legend, with names such as Butch Cassidy, also known as George LeRoy Parker, Elza Lay, the McCarty Gang, a family operation, and the Sundance Kid. These people understood the problems and ineffectiveness of the area's law enforcement officers as well as the feelings of the local residents about the law. If one accepts the more sympathetic view of criminals such as Butch Cassidy, their life before resorting to crime had many things in common with that of the settlers of the region, giving both sides an empathy toward the other. The desperadoes also knew of the Outlaw Trail and convenient hideouts in the Monument and its surrounding area.¹²

Among the earliest outlaws to operate in the region were Matt Warner and some of his friends, the McCartys. During the late 1880s the McCartys and Warner concentrated their efforts in the LaSal Mountains of southeastern Utah, occupying their time rustling entire herds of cattle or robbing banks. Warner did maintain a cabin and small ranch near Diamond Mountain that he and his fellow raiders used as a hideout on occasion. During this period they made the acquaintance of a number of settlers in Brown's Park and at times distributed loot from their jobs to the settlers.¹³ One settler that Tom McCarty kept up a correspondence with was John Hoyle Chew. Chew no doubt kept McCarty up to date on developments in the Monument area.¹⁴



Butch Cassidy first worked with the McCartys and Warner in 1889 when they robbed the bank in Telluride, Colorado, then a booming mining community. The robbers succeeded and took to the Outlaw Trail to make their escape. However, the McCartys had only a few more years ahead of them. On September 7, 1893, Fred, Bill and Tom, the wisest of the family, attempted to rob the Farmers' Bank of Delta, Colorado. All went well until the outlaws tried to make their escape. W. Ray Simpson, a hardware store operator heard shots from the bank and rushed into the street. Seeing the gang leaving town, Simpson leveled his rifle and fired knocking Bill dead. The second or third shot had the same effect on Fred, while Tom spurred his horse out of town. The Delta robbery marked the end of the McCarty gang, leaving Matt Warner and Butch Cassidy temporarily without allies for further robberies.¹⁵

As the McCartys had been meeting their fate in Colorado so to Butch Cassidy had some trouble with the law. After trying cowhand jobs in Brown's Park(1889) and elsewhere, followed by an attempt to establish a ranch with Al Hainer in Wyoming, Cassidy reverted to crime. Charged and convicted of horse stealing, he spent two years in the Wyoming Penitentiary, being released in 1896. With few skills and a criminal record he quickly fell into a life of crime and in association with some other outlaws from Hole-in-the-Wall, Wyoming, set up a new gang, "The Wild Bunch."¹⁶



After an attempt to free Matt Warner from the Ogden, Utah jail Cassidy recruited a new group of followers that became known as the Wild Bunch, a group of five that terrorized Utah and Wyoming until the early twentieth century. Throughout this period they used at least one cabin and possibly more in the Dinosaur area as hideouts. One that became well known was at Powder Springs, Wyoming, and another, inside the Monument, was near Pat's Hole. Another may have been about three miles from Warm Springs on the Outlaw Trail. The Wild Bunch included some of the boldest and smartest criminals to work in the West. They were Cassidy, Harry Longabaugh, Ben Kilpatrick, Bill Carver, and Harvey Logan.¹⁷ In her reminiscences, Josie Bassett Morris characterized Cassidy as not a bad fellow.¹⁸ She also knew and went to school with one of the group--Elza Lay. However, Lay's career came to a quick halt and he found himself out of the gang in 1899 after a train robbery near Folsom, New Mexico, went sour. Captured and tried he was sent to the New Mexico penitentiary.¹⁹ After that setback in New Mexico the gang regrouped and began an earnest war on the Union Pacific railroad's express cars in southern Wyoming.

However, time and civilization had closed in on the Wild Bunch just as those two elements did on the Dinosaur area. After some spectacular robberies, such as the ones at Tipton and Wilcox, Wyoming, the Union Pacific took action. The company established new policies to protect their express shipments and hired a number of trackers and professional law officers



to form a "Rolling Posse" that literally traveled up and down the line on special railcars and were ready to begin pursuit within minutes of news of a robbery. The pressure of this posse and the Pinkertons led the Wild Bunch to split up by the end of 1902.²⁰

Lawlessness in the Brown's Park region had attracted the attention of the governors of Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming by 1898 but other events of that year brought the law into the region in full force. It came when two convicts, escaped from the Utah Penitentiary, made their way into Brown's Park and killed a young man. Harry Tracy and David Lant escaped in early October and took jobs or at least residence at one of the Hoy ranches. They fell in with Patrick Johnson, another individual with a shady past. In February, Johnson shot and killed Willie Strang, a young boy at the ranch. Strang was there to learn the ways of a cowboy. All three left the ranch, deciding that the best course of action was to put miles between themselves and any law officers that might investigate the killing. Indeed, local residents became so incensed over the shooting that they formed a posse and called for assistance from the sheriffs of Routt County, Colorado and Uintah County, Utah. The pursuit led in and out of the northern edges of the Monument until the posse felt they had the trio cornered on the east side of Lodore Canyon. At this point Valentine Hoy attempted to get the desperadoes out of their hiding spot only to be killed by Tracy. The posse lost some of its fire and temporarily retreated. The trio then



escaped and tried to make their way out of Brown's Park. In the interim Sheriff Neiman and Deputy Sheriff Farnham of Routt County had arrived on the scene and captured Jack Bennett, long-time area resident and known bootlegger, with supplies assumed to be for the fugitives. Bennett was taken to Bassett's Ranch and a group of vigilantes took him away from the deputy and lynched him on the corral posts. A few days later the posse closed in on the trio that had made its way off the mountain, capturing all three. Tracy escaped from Colorado authorities and went on to a life of crime in Oregon and met a violent death, while the other two spent their time behind bars and retired from the Dinosaur scene.²¹ Law had come to the area, but more importantly the Lant-Tracy-Johnson affair highlights the local value system. The three men had been welcome until they committed an act of violence against a local resident, compounding it by the murder of Hoy, and in so doing brought the wrath of all residents down on their heads or as in the case of Jack Bennett, his neck.

The next force that tended to reduce criminal activity in the Monument area came in the form of Tom Horn, or as he referred to himself locally, Tom Hicks. After nearly twenty years of frustration at the inability of local law enforcement authorities to protect his cattle Ora Haley finally turned to other measures, a stock detective, to stop the pilfering of his herds by people in Brown's Park. Haley and other area ranchers apparently hired Horn to clean out the rustlers in Brown's Park as he had done in Wyoming. In April of 1900 Horn, traveling



under the name Hicks, appeared in Brown's Park as a horse buyer and apparently got the information he needed to determine who had been involved in the rustling. He returned to the area secretly and posted notices on a number of doors warning the occupants to clear out or face death. Many people failed to take the warning, but after the discovery of Matt Rash's body, killed July 9, 1900, the rustlers started to take heed. One who did not was Isom Dart, who died from a .30-30 shot on October 3. This convinced some of the others who had been lingering to head out of the country including Jim McKnight, former husband of Josie Bassett, her brother Sam Bassett, Joe Davenport, and Longhorn Thompson. Horn finally ran out of luck or outlived his usefulness and died at the end of a rope in the Laramie, County, Wyoming, Jail November 20, 1903, waiting for the cattlemen he had served to save his life.²² About ten years after Horn departed Brown's Park, Bob Meldrum arrived at the behest of cattlemen to finalize the clean-up job started by Horn. Basing himself at Baggs, Wyoming, he worked the area warning rustlers to give up that pursuit between 1908 and 1911. Apparently the memories of Horn remained fresh and Meldrum did not have to kill anyone in the region as he had in Wyoming.²³

The scare Tom Horn put into many rustlers and would be rustlers acted as a definite inducement for many to give up the life of crime, but for one in particular the association of Haley and Horn led to new and ever bolder exploits against Haley. Ann Bassett, lover and fiancée of Matt Rash, viewed



the killing of Rash by Haley's employee as a personal insult and began a campaign against his Two Bar Ranch that would eventually earn her the title of "Queen Ann, Queen of the Rustlers," a trial in Craig for stock theft and an acquittal in 1913. Twelve years later, her brother Eb, carrying on the family fight against the Two Bar, was arrested for rustling and rather than face the charges he committed suicide on his way to trial in Craig, Colorado, on November 25, 1915.²⁴ Ann had left the region after her trial, Elbert(Eb) had committed suicide, brother Sam had left for the Army and Alaska, yet the Bassetts, this time Josephine, continued their rustling. As late as the 1940s Josie still appropriated beef from neighbors to her Cub Creek house, going so far as to show Life magazine how it was done in a photo-feature for the January 5, 1948 issue.²⁵ However, by then Josie and her rustling had become a local anachronism, not a way of life.

Possibly the reason for Eb's suicide can be found in the fact that by 1920 rustling at least as done in the late nineteenth century had become unacceptable to the local population as they adopted property values more in tune with the rest of the nation. No better example of this can be found than in the fact that Brown's Park cattlemen had become so weary of the cattle thefts that in the early 1920s they dynamited some of the more narrow ledges of the Outlaw Trail and in so doing permanently closed it for use by rustlers, ending once and for all the outlaw phase of Dinosaur's history.²⁶



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¹Charles Kelly, The Outlaw Trail, (New York: Bonanza Books, 1959), pp. 82-84, hereafter cited: Kelly, Outlaw; John Rolfe Burroughs, Where The Old West Stayed Young, (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1962), p. 101, hereafter cited: Burroughs, Young.

²Kelly, Outlaw, pp. 75-78; Burroughs, Young, p. 109.

³Burroughs, Young, pp. 10-11.

⁴J.S. Hoy, "The Hoy Manuscript," Norlin Library, Western History Collections, pp. 73-76, 102-106, 204-210, hereafter cited: Hoy, "Manuscript;" William L. Tennent, John Jarvie of Brown's Park, (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Land Management, 1981), p. 28, hereafter cited: Tennent, Jarvie; Cleo W. Chew, "History Compiled from Park Files and Miscellaneous Publications," manuscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center, hereafter cited: Chew, ms.

⁵Burroughs, Young, pp. 112-113; Kelly, Outlaw, p. 68.

⁶Burroughs, Young, p. 35.

⁷Hoy, "Manuscript," pp. 198-202.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 216; and Josie Bassett Morris interview, 26 September 1959, typescript on file at Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center, hereafter cited: Morris Interview.

⁹Burroughs, Young, pp. 55-56, 106, 113.

¹⁰Kelly, Outlaw, pp. 71-73; Josie Bassett Morris and Ann Bassett Willis materials at Dinosaur National Monument indicate that Dart and Huddleston were two different people, however, this may be open to question given the extremely close relationship between Dart and the Bassett family if the family members were trying to keep Dart out of trouble for his wrongdoings as Huddleston.

¹¹Hoy, "manuscript," pp. 210-211.

¹²Kelly, Outlaw, pp. 3-13.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 21-22, 25.

¹⁴Burroughs, Young, p. 122.

¹⁵Kelly, Outlaw, pp. 46-50.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 51-60.



¹⁷Ibid., p.. 120-132, Glade M. Ross, "Pioneers and Historic Structures of Dinosaur National Monument," 1984, manuscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Headquarters, hereafter cited: Ross, "Pioneers;" Charles H. Leckenby, The Tread of Pioneers, (Steamboat Springs, CO: Pilot Press, 1944), p. 76, hereafter cited: Leckenby, Tread.

¹⁸Morris Interview; Burroughs, Young, p. 135.

¹⁹Kelly, Outlaw, pp. 253-157.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 273-288.

²¹Ibid., pp. 187-206; Hoy, "Manuscript," pp. 214-220.

²²Chew, ms, p. 17; Burroughs, Young, pp. 199-214; Craig (Colorado)Courrier, 25 December 1957.

²³Burroughs, Young, pp. 299-301.

²⁴Ross, "Pioneers," p. 8; and for an extensive but somewhat jaded account of the entire episode see: Ann Bassett Willis, "'Queen Ann' of Brown's Park," The Colorado Magazine 29(April 1952): 81-98, 29(July 1952): 218-235 and especially 29(October 1952): 284-298 and 30(January 1953): 58-76.

²⁵Life Magazine, 3 January 1948.

²⁶Leckenby, Tread, p. 76.



CHAPTER VII

MINING, LUMBERING, AND OTHER ACTIVITIES IN AND AROUND DINOSAUR NATIONAL MONUMENT

Livestock raising constituted the primary lifeway of the people of the Monument and the lands around it, but during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a few individuals attempted to make their living from two other sources--lumbering and mining. The origins of these activities date to the time of the first wave of settlement that arrived in the area after the Civil War and continued into the 1950s. After expansion of the Monument in 1938 the activities were limited primarily to those areas outside its borders. Through the years only a limited number of lumber camps and mines operated in the area, never dominant forces in the local economy.

Lumbering never reached any major proportions in the Dinosaur area; rather work that did take place was oriented toward the local market. Much of it was done on a personal basis to provide building materials and firewood for family use. Again the remoteness of the Monument from transportation and major markets, as well as the difficulty in moving the sawlogs from where they were cut to other locations, mitigated against development of an industry. Most wood used in the area came from sawmills either in the Rockies or Uintas and hauled in on wagons rather than from the mountains of the Monument. By 1890 sawmills operated northeast of Craig, Colorado, supplied that town's needs and more.¹



Creation of National Forests, such as Ashley and Routt National Forests closed down those areas to intensive timbering and during the early twentieth century loggers, aided by trucks, looked for other sources of supply. During 1928 and 1929 the Maddox sawmill operated on Douglas Mountain, near Zenobia Peak, but little else is known about it.² The final mention of lumbering in the Dinosaur area comes in January of 1937 when winter tree cutting was taking place in the mountains around the Monument then only 80 acres at the Quarry, so some lumbering may have been happening within the area that soon became Dinosaur.³

Prospecting on the Western Slope of Colorado began in the early 1860s and by the end of the Civil War discoveries had been made at Hahn's Peak, but that gold soon ran out and the camp slowly moldered away. This early attempt got no closer than 100 miles from Dinosaur. Nevertheless, Uncle Sam Bassett, during his stays in Brown's Park, prospected the area including parts of the Monument. He continued searching for gold until he became too old to continue.⁴ The next recorded prospector, after Sam Bassett, in the Dinosaur area came into the Brown's Park area in 1868. Jesse Ewing led H.M. Hook and three or four others from Green River City, Wyoming, south into the Park that year in search of whatever they could find. Eventually, Ewing discovered copper along Red Creek, near Jesse Ewing Canyon and began mining. Over the years Ewing took a number of partners into his operation, one at a time, and when his partners ran out of money he drove them off the claim at knifepoint. Defrauding



the would-be miners worked for a number of years and Ewing developed a reputation as a man to avoid in business dealings. His operation fell apart about 1875 after he had bilked such later notables as Isom Dart. After taking in a lady of negotiable virtue as a boarder and mistress Ewing entered into partnership with a man named Duncan. Duncan and Ewing's lady, Madam Forrestal, after apparently sharing each other's intimate company, plotted and then murdered Ewing. Ewing's death did not bring the end of copper mining in the area, but it was more than five years before another mine for that mineral opened.⁵

Other mining promoters also inhabited Brown's Park in an attempt to defraud potential investors, including Phillip Arnold who perpetrated the great "Diamond Hoax" in 1872. Before the United States Geological Survey uncovered the diamond salting near Vermillion Flats Arnold had managed to entice nearly six hundred thousand dollars from investors.⁶

Griff Edwards, noted cattleman turned sheepman, used his spare time to prospect Brown's Park. In 1884 he discovered a copper lode on Zenobia Peak, near the crest of Douglas Mountain, and began to develop it as the Bromide Mine. He also built a smelter at Greystone, Colorado. By 1886, after other discoveries, the Edwards Brothers had established the Four Mile Gold Company as well.⁷ In addition to the Bromide Mine prospectors discovered other veins on Douglas Mountain, including the Durham, Carbinet, Side Issue, Treasure and Bromide Number 2 lode mining claims. One of the big investors in these operations was John Jarvie,



the ferry operator. In 1898 Jarvie and his associates sold out at a loss to the Bromide Mining Company. This setback did not deter Jarvie who continued to prospect the region until his death. He never did find the mother lode of gold and soon after the turn of the century copper mining activity in the area died out.⁸

Undoubtedly Jarvie, Edwards, and the others who discovered copper had hoped to find other precious minerals as some in the region had earlier. By 1871 four prospectors had been successful in finding gold in the Monument area and each operated small, placer, mines on Vermillion Creek referred to and organized as the Brown's Hole District. The record of these activities remains scant and probably the mines were only marginally successful, especially in comparison to the tremendous gold mines then being discovered in the San Juan Mountains of southwestern Colorado.⁹ In the Monument, the Harding Hole area saw its share of prospectors including "Dad" Redfern, followed by Jens Jensen in 1923. Jensen and a man named Bascom actually mined the placer claims in Harding Hole leaving behind some equipment and debris.¹⁰ No record remains to indicate how much eventually came out of those mines, but apparently they yielded enough to encourage others to continue the search for precious metals in and around Dinosaur.

The decade of the 1930s witnessed the last attempts at finding gold in the Green River sectors of the Monument. Possibly spurred on by the Great Depression, individuals living in the area spent a good deal of time wading the banks of the river



searching for placer gold. Only one group seems to have been successful, Wade and Curtis, caretakers of the Lodore Guest/Dude Ranch at the Gates of Lodore. They found that the economic depression of the thirties cut deeply into their tourist business and fortunately for them they found placer gold. They had multiple claims in the vicinity of their cabins. Wade and Curtis operations at the mines continued three years and even though the diggings were not extensive they did pay enough to make up for losses at the guest ranch.¹¹

In addition to the gold and copper found in and around Dinosaur, miners attempted to wrest two other minerals from the mountains of the area--platinum and Uranium. Both of these materials became valuable only during the twentieth century after America industrialized, and found uses for the minerals. At or about the time of World War I(1914-1918) two prospectors worked the hills at the head of Lodore Canyon searching for platinum. Apparently their efforts ended in failure because the historical record contains no further references to platinum mining in the area.¹²

Uranium, the second valuable mineral to be sought near Dinosaur, first became commercially profitable during the early twentieth century and deposits of the material were found throughout the Colorado Plateau, especially in west-central and southwestern Colorado and adjoining areas of Utah. Closer to the Monument Bill Allen staked a uranium claim in Red Creek Canyon during this first uranium boom.¹³



The excitement died after huge uranium discoveries in the Belgian Congo undercut the world price structure. However, the explosions of the atomic bombs over Japan by the United States that ended World War II ushered in a second "U-Boom" as an American supply of the mineral took on a new significance for national policy. The federal Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) helped the boom along by subsidizing new discoveries and guaranteeing prices. The new prospectors, geiger counters in hand, combed the Colorado Plateau, including Dinosaur. In 1950 Ann Bassett Willis and her husband Frank owned a uranium mine at an unspecified location that paid them \$544.00 from one load of ore mined in 52 days. The mine probably was not in the Dinosaur area as the Willises had not lived there for a number of years. A few years later Nick Meagher filed a uranium claim for lands on Miller Creek. Other miners, including the Mantles and a man named Shephard, filed and opened claims within the Monument near Tanks Peak. Whether or not the mines ever paid large returns is doubtful. In 1958 the AEC announced that it would buy no ore from mines not already developed, effectively ending the boom and eliminating all but the largest processors from the market.¹⁴

The U-Boom of the 1950s highlighted one of the trends of the twentieth century history of Dinosaur and the region around it--the increasing role played by the federal government and the extent of control Washington, D.C., had over the affairs of the area. The federal presence began to be felt in the region



during the early 1890s and by the early twentieth century even the "kings of the range" such as Ora Haley found that they and other stockraisers had a new business partner and decisions made by that partner, the federal government, would be very powerful determinants in the daily affairs of the people of the Dinosaur area.



CHAPTER VII NOTES

¹Craig (Colorado) Empire Courier, 27 March 1957.

²Glade M. Ross, "Pioneers and Historical Structures of Dinosaur National Monument," draft 1984, p. 45, manuscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Headquarters, hereafter cited: Ross, "Pioneers."

³Monthly Superintendent's Report, January, 1937, Dinosaur National Monument, copy on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center.

⁴Charles H. Leckenby, The Tread of Pioneers, (Steamboat Springs, CO: Pilot Press, 1944), pp. 21-26; Josie Bassett Morris Interviews, Typescript on file at Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center.

⁵J.S. Hoy, "The Hoy Manuscript," Norlin Library, Western History Collections, p. 102, hereafter cited: Hoy, "Manuscript;" John Rolfe Burroughs, Where the Old West Stayed Young, (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1962), pp. 102-104, hereafter cited: Burroughs, Young.

⁶Hoy, "Manuscript," pp. 129-130; Frederic J. Athearn, An Isolated Empire, A History of Northwest Colorado, 3rd. ed., (Denver: Bureau of Land Management, 1981), p. 60.

⁷Burroughs, Young, pp. 157, 232.

⁸William L. Tennent, John Jarvie of Brown's Park, (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Land Management, 1981) pp. 56, 58-59.

⁹Marian McLeod, "History Notes, Brown's Park History," manuscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center, hereafter cited: McLeod, "Notes."

¹⁰Enola Chew Burdick, "Remembering," manuscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center; Ross, "Pioneers," pp. 44-47.

¹¹Ross, "Pioneers," p. 47.

¹³Ibid.



¹⁴Ann Bassett to Esther Campbell, 23 April 1950, Bassett-Campbell Correspondence, Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center; Josie Bassett Morris Interview, 26 September 1959, typescript on file at Dinosaur National Monument; and for a general overview of the 1950s U-boom on the Colorado Plateau see: Michael B. Husband, "'History's Greatest Metal Hunt:' The Uranium Boom on the Colorado Plateau," Journal of the West 21(October 1982): 17-23.



CHAPTER VIII

CATTLE AND SHEEP RAISING IN THE DINOSAUR AREA AFTER 1900

Drama ran high in the Dinosaur region as the new century unfolded. Change was rapidly taking place and the residents of the area struggled to keep up. A number of examples of those new forces can be seen in the area, from the Tom Horn and earlier Lant and Tracy episodes that brought law and order to the emergence of new federal policies regarding America's natural resources as exemplified by the creation of National Parks and Monuments or National Forests. The other drama came from the increased accessibility of the region that brought a new wave of settlement to the entire northwestern Colorado-northeastern Utah region. In the Monument new settlers included the Chew family and the Mantle family, who arrived in the area before 1920.¹

Despite all the changes taking place a number of long-time residents such as the Bassetts, Ruples or Pat Lynch tried to maintain their old lifestyles as did some of their neighbors such as Ora Haley and his Two Bar ranch. All of those people and others in the area took a particular interest in maintaining the open range. While it is doubtful that the Bassetts and Haley, for example, recognized this common interest, it nevertheless was present. Threats to the range came in three forms which all the individuals identified--the presence of the Forest Service and its regulation of grazing within forest boundaries, encroachment of sheep from Utah and Wyoming, and the increased presence of farmers who were plowing up the range



and trying to turn it into wheat or corn fields. Those new residents took thousands of acres out of the range, most, if not all, of it outside the Monument, but the result was to place more pressure on the range within Dinosaur's boundaries.²

By 1900 subtle pressures began to be felt by ranchers as the then nine year old Forest Service began to establish policies for grazing on its lands. Local cattle and sheep raisers felt little impact from the early forest reserves set aside in 1891 and 1892, nor did they appreciate the potential impacts of the regulations and fee system being established during 1898 and evolving since then. However, they must have had some inkling of the threat posed to their way of life by the National Forests from all the protests heard in Colorado and Utah from people closer to the reserves. If the Dinosaur area residents missed those outcries the issue soon became crystal clear for them. In 1905 President Theodore Roosevelt, a staunch conservationist and supporter of the National Forest program, set aside the thousands of acres of Park Range(modern Routt,Colorado) and Ashley(Utah) National Forests. In so doing those areas, once used by cattlemen for summer grazing, were included under the regulations and fee system already in place elsewhere in the West.³ Roosevelt's actions led to Forest Service officers evicting a number of cattlemen from the range. Cattlemen responded by issuing threats of dire violence directed at Forest Service officers if they tried to enforce the new rules. The issues were finally settled by the United States Supreme Court by 1920.



The federal government had emerged victorious from the legal battles. This left the cattlemen little choice but to accept the verdict or leave the business. The early conservation efforts dramatically decreased the amount of available range either by declaring certain areas off limits to livestock or reducing the number of animals allowed to graze on the lands.⁴

The federal "tree agents," as the forest rangers were derisively referred to, further exacerbated the conflict when the Secretary of the Interior decided to open the timber reserves to sheep grazing in 1900. Sheepmen and cattlemen had a twenty year history of antagonism in the Dinosaur area. The specter of sheep, especially from Wyoming or Utah, having access to range in Colorado with federal blessing proved to be more than the local stockmen could endure. During the first twenty years of the twentieth century the long smoldering dispute warmed and finally ignited in 1920. The origins of the 1920 "Sheep War" in the area can be found in the 1890s as local cattlemen organized the Brown's Park Cattle Association to stop further encroachments of sheep into the Colorado portions of the Monument. The Edwards brothers, once the savior of Brown's Park by stopping the Middlesex Company's cattle with their sheep, felt the pressure of the the newly formed association in 1896 and 1897. In 1896 two Edwards sheep-herders met death at the hands of some masked cowboys. Fearing for his life Jack and Griff Edwards sold their flocks and land, leaving the Monument region in 1899. Jack departed for the more hospitable climes of Oregon while Griff went to Nebraska.



As the cattlemen pressured the Edwards brothers, they also directed attacks against Wyoming operators such as Frank Goodman. At the same time both sides appealed to the Colorado State Legislature for protection. The cattlemen wanted and received a line drawn across the public domain dividing sheep and cattle lands to limit sheep encroachment and violence. However, the mythical line did not stop further violence and as 1899 closed, Routt County(Colorado) cattlemen led an attack on three thousand sheep, killing or crippling a number of the animals.⁵ Given that history of violence, prognostications for the new century boded ill for range relations between sheep and cattle interests.

The sheep-cattle conflicts of the early twentieth century tended to follow somewhat traditional lines; that is, Colorado people, and most of those of the Monument raised cattle, while their antagonists, the sheepmen, came from Utah. The cattlemen clung firmly to the belief that grazing sheep ruined the range by eating the grass too close to the ground and that they fouled watering holes. While little scientific evidence supported such claims the people remained steadfast in their beliefs, possibly a cover for the basic problem--competition for a finite supply of range compounded by chronic overgrazing. The second, unspoken, but undoubtedly present factor for cattlemen attacks on sheepmen can be found in latent prejudices, racial and religious. After 1900 one of the major financiers of sheepmen in the Dinosaur area was a Greek banker in Price, Utah. Other financial help for sheepmen came from the Mormon Church, or so it was believed



by Colorado cattlemen. Finally, many of the sheepherders were of Hispanic origin, either Mexicans or Basques. All these factors fanned the flames of conflict in the Monument area that smoldered until 1911.⁶

Five masked riders approached a sheep encampment on the range southeast of Craig on December 9, 1911, and before they left they had destroyed ninety head of sheep and badly frightened the sheepherder. The exact identities of the riders have been lost to history but one expert on the area's history surmises they were small ranchers who feared that if the woolies were not stopped they would be driven out of business, the range being left to either the big sheep operators or large cattle ranches. The next year a number of northwestern Colorado cattlemen hired L.H. "Doc" Chivington to patrol a line from Vermillion Creek to the Little Snake River in search of sheep. The cattlemen feared that Utah wool growers would attempt to take advantage of the area's sparse population to sneak sheep onto the Colorado range. Chivington kept up his patrols until 1922, the year of the final battle between the two protagonists in the Dinosaur area.⁷

Seeds of further violence by cattlemen against wool growers continued to be scattered in the wind through the hectic years of World War I(1914-1918). During the War, farm and livestock prices reached abnormally high levels and undoubtedly this prosperity acted to ease tensions, at least temporarily. However, after the Armistice, beef, mutton, and wool prices all retreated,



reminding a number of Monument area stockgrowers that profits were transitory. Competition for the range immediately heated up and by 1920 the long festering problem erupted in violence. However, by that point in time a new group had entered the fray--the homesteaders of northwestern Colorado. They found that they could not make enough from their dryland farms and to supplement their income the "sodbusters" contracted with Utah sheepmen to graze the flocks on the farm lands. The farmers found this upset many of their neighbors and again it was northwestern Colorado cattlemen who initiated the battle.⁸

The opening battle of what became known as the "Sheep War" or "Colorado-Utah Sheep War" came on April 5, 1920. Seven cowboys clubbed to death 350 sheep grazing not far from the Monument in Colorado. As if to reiterate their message to wool-growers, the attacker nearly lynched the young boys tending the flock, letting them go because of their age. The sheep belonged to a resident of Vernal, Utah. After news of that massacre circulated in the region tempers on both sides flared and further violence became inevitable as the summer sheep drives advanced. On the night of July 29-30, the next battle occurred when Colorado cattlemen ambushed John Darnell, a Utah sheepman, and his flock of eighteen hundred head. In the attack Darnell and 686 of his charges met their doom. The massacre happened only four miles into Moffat County, Colorado, from Utah, either at Rough Gulch at the head of Buckwater Creek.⁹ The Darnell murder prompted Colorado Governor Oliver Shoup to send a detachment



of State Police to Moffat County to protect the Utah sheepmen on their drive to Routt National Forest. Presence of the law enforcement officers cooled tempers and the "Sheep War" drew to a close. In the future the conflict was limited to the courtroom. In 1922 northwestern Colorado cattlemen made a last stand to stop the sheep invasion from the west. Farrington Carpenter, a Hayden, Colorado, cattleman trained in the law, devised a scheme to cut off access roads and barricade the sheep flocks out of Routt National Forest. The plan worked for one year, but in 1923 public driveways for the sheep were created and the cattlemen could no longer keep the Utahns from federal rangelands.¹⁰

The final settlement of the long-standing feud between cattlemen and sheepmen proved to be only one of the changes taking place in the Dinosaur area during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Cattlemen tried to continue business as usual, that is maintain open range ranching, much as it had been since the early 1870s. As late as 1910 ranchers in Lily Park held cattle round-ups,¹¹ yet such events fast were becoming anachronisms, much as rustling had. Symbolic of the new order taking control in the Dinosaur region, Ora Haley sold the Two Bar Ranch and all his other holdings except a grist mill at Steamboat Springs, Colorado, to Rock Springs, Wyoming, banker August Kendall between August, 1913 and the end of 1914. Haley became the first of many of the region's longstanding occupants to sell out and by 1920 only a very few of the old timers remained, such as the Hatches, Ruples and Bassetts. Those who remained



in the cattle business found themselves deeply in debt, on a downhill slide that would eventually carry them into the Great Depression of the 1930s. Wool growers did not suffer the same woes as those of the cattlemen, rather they weathered the economic troubles of the 1920s.

Possibly, the most poignant example of the woes of cattle ranchers came from the suicide of Elbert "Eb" Bassett. He was on his way to Craig to face trial for rustling and arson, a crime supposedly committed to collect fire insurance. His case constituted an extreme example of the desperation some Monument area cattlemen felt. Bassett chose death over incarceration, possibly recognizing that the wide open days had passed and now juries made up of conservative farmers would not be as likely to accept or ignore wrongdoing as those of earlier decades had been. Ironically, the Two Bar Ranch, no longer owned by Bassett nemesis Ora Haley, brought the charges against young Bassett.¹²

While the National Forest grazing restrictions and introduction of large numbers of sheep into northwestern Colorado posed problems for the local cattlemen, their greatest single threat came from the near tidal wave of farmers who located in the Dinosaur area and throughout all of northeastern Utah and northwestern Colorado after the turn of the century as part of what proved to be the last great homesteading boom of American history, spreading throughout the Great Plains-Intermountain West from Canada south to Mexico. The first indications of this new settlement activity began to appear in the Dinosaur area as early as 1903 when a



number of farm families arrived at Lily Park to take up homesteads.¹³

A characteristic of this settlement boom shared with many of its nineteenth century predecessors was the role that boosterism and promotion played in getting settlers to one given area or another. The list of boomers of the Dinosaur region included the United States General Land Office, through its local agent A. G. Wallihan, a man long familiar with the region from personal experience, David Moffat, well known Denver banker and mining entrepreneur, then owner and hopeful builder of a railroad, the Denver, Northwestern and Pacific, through the area along modern U.S. Highway 40; the Colorado State Board of Immigration; and Colorado Senator Lawrence C. Phipps, co-owner of the Great Northern Irrigation and Power Company, a corporate colonization effort.¹⁴ None of these individuals proved to be better at finding settlers for the region than Volney T. Hoggatt, experienced frontier boomer and after September 6, 1915 editor of the Denver Post's subsidiary publication, The Great Divide. Hoggatt not only used the pages of his tabloid to promote the Great Divide colony in northwestern Colorado, he also offered advice to other settlers in the region. One of Hoggatt's constant complaints came from attempts by cattlemen to control the land, keeping the "honest" settler from his birthright to homestead part of the public domain. To counter the ranchers Hoggatt suggested farmers homestead and then fence water holes, denying access to cattle. Such tactics led to tension between the settlers and their stock growing neighbors resulting in numerous instances



of fence cutting and crop destruction by cattle. Earlier, by 1906, ranchers started complaining that with all the farms springing up they could no longer drive their animals overland to railheads for shipment. They hired Farrington Carpenter to try to stop the fencing, but found that the farmers had the law on their side in wanting to protect their property and crops from intruders.¹⁵

The ranchers surely must have felt that Washington, D.C. had conceived a plot to undo the cattle industry during the early twentieth century. Beyond the legal protections for fencing and creation of National Forests, Congress and the Chief Executives took other, apparently detrimental, steps to hurt ranching. In 1905, at the same time he set aside Routt and Ashley National Forests, President Theodore Roosevelt also opened parts of the Uintah Reservation to Anglo settlement in a highly publicized move to further settlement. To encourage farming of lands in the more arid reaches of the West, Congress in 1909 and 1916 passed two modifications to the homestead policy. The Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909 increased homestead size from 160 to 320 acres, but as if that were not enough the Stock Raising Homestead Act of 1916 again increased parcel size to 640 acres. Other changes allowed homestead patents to be secured in less than the traditional five years and relaxed requirements on continuous occupation until patenting. These laws, combined with the abnormally high prices for farm produce occasioned by World War I, enticed tens of thousands of people to take advantage of federal generosity.¹⁶



In Dinosaur and its immediate vicinity a number of new settlers arrived to try their luck against the elements. In Lily Park the population boom continued until about 1915 at which point informed estimates say approximately fifty families made their homes there.¹⁷ The Deerlodge park area experience a similar population boom with settlers such as Finn Chapman and Henry Shank arriving. Another new arrival to the region, Jack Chew and family, first near Greystone, Colorado, in 1901, then moving to Dummy Bottom on the site of the Crane and "Dummy" Wilson place. Jack Chew served as Lodore postmaster for a short period before deciding to move again. The third move took the family to Pool Creek. Jack Chew bought a squatter's claim from Charles Moran and moved his family to the site in 1910. Harry and Rial Chew, two of the family's sons, joined the Pool Creek operation about 1910. Rial continued to ranch there for more than fifty years.¹⁸

Another settler to the Monument moved in a few years later, in 1919, and like the Chews, he too bought a previous claim. The individual was Charles Mantle and the site he chose was in Castle Park. Mantle purchased the land from William Hall in 1919 and set out to build a ranch. Seven years later, apparently confident that he could succeed, Mantle married Evelyn Fuller, soon taking on the responsibilities of parenthood as well as matrimony. As testimony to the continuing isolation of the area, the Mantles built and operated their own school to educate their children. The tiny center of learning had pupils as late



as 1945. Life for both the Chews and Mantles proved to be hard, trying to wrest a living from the inhospitable environment. Their struggles continued for a number of years, and they became typical of most twentieth century settlers in Monument area--making enough to get by but not getting rich, always apprehensive about some disaster that might wipe them out.¹⁹

As with earlier settlers, these later arrivals at Dinosaur led anything but an exciting life. Rather, their day-to-day existence was drab. Their diet, at least in variety, had improved with developments in food preservation technology, primarily reliable canning, either done at home or commercially. Canned fruits, vegetables and meats started to replace dried varieties. As a result root cellar, orchards and gardens became even more important. Despite that change in preserving, drying of foods and smoking of meats remained important and the foodstuffs thus produced remained present in the diet of most Dinosaur area settlers. The sun still dictated the workday as the seasons controlled the type of work from planting to tilling to harvesting. Farm machinery became more complex and efficient, but much of it still depended on horses for power. Gasoline powered tractors were only becoming available by the end of World War I, but because of costs, fuel supply needs and the remoteness of the area, were probably not very common. Equally, the costs and distance from fuel no doubt slowed the spread of the other marvel of the early twentieth century - the automobile. No doubt the rugged terrain and lack of bridges also mitigaged against widespread



auto use by Monument residents until later. The post-1900 settlers, primarily because of economic and environmental factors, dressed much as those of the late nineteenth century.

A more closeknit social structure also began to develop in certain parts of the region, a reflection of the increased population. In locales such as Deerlodge, where enough people were present, a sense of community developed. As with any similar environment certain people emerged as leaders, such as Henry Shank of Deerlodge. This was reinforced through intermarriage as he became the local patriarch. For the more isolated areas, such as Island Park, communities did not develop because there were not enough people, or with the Chews, the family was so large it functioned as something of its own community.²⁰

The settlers at Lily Park, Deerlodge Park and throughout the fringes of the Monument, continued to get by, not unlike the Mantles or Chews. So did people such as Reg Buffam, occupant of some land at the west foot of Zenobia Peak. Buffam, like many of his neighbors, found that he could not make an adequate living by ranching alone. Instead, he diversified, planting some crops and undoubtedly hay for winter stock feeding, as well as tending a herd of cattle. The line between ranching and farming had become blurred as economic necessity dictated a new flexibility by agriculturalists if they were to survive in the Dinosaur environment of the twentieth century. Even such adaptive strategies did not insure success, however. Nature still played a powerful role in local affairs as the



Lily Park settlers discovered during the early 1930s when Mormon crickets infested their fields and pastures, destroying all vegetation in their path. This would have led to a general depopulation of the park except for the fact that many of the residents could not afford to leave. Their poverty dictated that they stay,²¹ something that could be said for a number of local residents by the 1930s.

The opening decades of the twentieth century witnessed dramatic change in the Dinosaur area. The old, open range cattle industry passed from the scene, encouraged along the road to demise by a number of factors. One of the most important had been the rapid peopling of the area by farmers intent on growing crops on the dry lands of the region. Not only did these agrarians plow the range and fence water holes, they also brought new standards of civilization, alien to the free-spirited existence of the Monument previously. The other force came from Washington, D.C. as the American people developed an awareness of the reckless exploitation of America's natural resources during the nineteenth century. Calling on Congress to encourage and enforce conservation as well as direct further resource development, those reformers convinced the federal government to take a new interest in the West after 1900.



CHAPTER VIII NOTES

¹Lance R. Williams, "LCS Form: Mantle Ranch," National Park Service, 1975, hereafter cited: Williams, "Mantle LCS;" Lance J. Olivieri, "LCS Form: Pool Creek Ranch," National Park Service, 1975.

²John Rolfe Burroughs, Where The Old West Stayed Young, (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1962), pp. 278-290, 330-335, hereafter cited: Burroughs, Young.

³Frederic J. Athearn, An Isolated Empire, A History of Northwestern Colorado, 3rd ed., (Denver: Bureau of Land Management, 1981), p. 103, hereafter cited: Athearn, Isolated; James Grady, et. al. An Archaeological Overview and Management Plan for the Green River Launch Complex, Final Report, Contract CX-0001-2-0048, National Park Service, Denver, 1984, p. II-18, hereafter cited: Grady, Overview; and for a detailed account of the protests concerning the establishment of National Forests see: G. Michael McCarthy, Hour of Trial, The Conservation Movement in Colorado and the West, 1891-1907, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977).

⁴Athearn, Isolated, p. 103; Burroughs, Young, pp. 278-289.

⁵Craig (Colorado) Empire Courier, 19 June 1957; Burroughs, Young, pp. 136, 141-145.

⁶Burroughs, Young, pp. 344-346.

⁷Ibid., pp. 342-343.

⁸Ibid., pp. 344-347.

⁹Ibid., pp. 345-348, Burroughs cites location as Rough Gulch; Joe Haslem Interview, 6 October 1969, typescript of file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center, Haslem gives the location of the Darnell murder as the head of Buckwater Creek.

¹⁰Burroughs, Young, pp. 348-350.

¹¹Ibid., p. 177.

¹²Ibid., pp. 351-353; Glade M. Ross, "Pioneers and Historic Structures of Dinosaur National Monument," draft 1984, manuscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Headquarters, p. 8, hereafter cited: Ross, "Pioneers."

¹³Ross, "Pioneers," p. 77.



¹⁴A.G. Wallihan Letter, Norlin Library, Western History Collections; Colorado State Board of Immigration, Publically Owned Lands in Northwestern Colorado and Northeastern Utah, (Denver: n.p., 1918); Thomas Tonge, "About the Line of the Denver, Northwestern and Pacific Railway," (Denver: p.p., 1902); William Weston, "The Hydro-carbon Field of Western Colorado and Eastern Utah Along the Proposed Line of the Denver, Northwestern and Pacific Railway," A report to D.H. Moffat, (Denver: n.p., 1903, 1909); Burroughs, Young, pp. 327-330.

¹⁵Copies of the Great Divide are available from the Western History Department, Denver Public Library; Burroughs, Young, pp. 321-330, 338-339.

¹⁶Grady, Overview, p. II-18; Roy M. Robbins, Our Landed Heritage, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), pp. 362, 387; For the hoped for growth potential of the Uintah Ute Reservation opening in 1905 see Rocky Mountain News and Denver Post, for 1905. Both papers called the Roosevelt decision long overdue and prophesied a great land rush to the area.

¹⁷Ross, "Pioneers," pp. 77-79.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 132, gives the 1901 date; Enola Chew Burdick, "Remembering," manuscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center; and Rial Chew Interview, typescript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center give different dates; Harold J. Brodrick, "Historic Ranch Report for Dinosaur National Monument," 1963, manuscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center.

¹⁹Verda Meeks Stewart and Hugh Stewart Interview, 1960, typescript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center; Williams. "Mantle LCS."

²⁰Elaine Adams, Personal Communication; for a generalized study of communities on the American frontier see: Robert V. Hine, Community on the American Frontier, Separate But Not Alone, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980).

²¹Ross, "Pioneers," pp. 51, 77-79.



CHAPTER IX

CONSERVATION AND FEDERAL RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT AFTER 1900

News of land frauds, deforestation of entire mountains, near extinction of the once great buffalo herds, the erosion of thousands of acres of farm land, and similar reports shocked Americans in the Midwest and East during the 1880s. They began to worry that if something were not done to halt the waste and abuse of the nation's resources there would be nothing left for future generations. It was such a spirit that led to the creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872 and others during the late nineteenth century. By 1890 conservation minded lawmakers had identified the two major culprits--the Desert Land Act and the Timber Culture Act, recognizing that these good intentioned land disposal laws had become tools for the unscrupulous to alienate tens of thousands of acres of the public lands. That year Representative Lewis Payson of Illinois introduced a bill in the House of Representatives to remove those laws from the books and as it finally emerged the General Revision Act also authorized the President to withdraw lands from private entry as timber reserves. The General Revision Act debates lasted more than a year but in 1891 the conservationists succeeded. Within a few months of passage General Land Office agents scoured the West looking for potential timber reserves. Before the end of the year the first set-asides had taken place, including White River Timber Reserve (later National Forest) in western Colorado. From then until 1905 the presidents continued to



declare more and more lands off limits to private ownership.¹

The individuals most impacted by the new reservation policy in the Dinosaur area were the cattlemen, as was the case through much of the Intermountain West. However, they did not feel the full pressure of the policy until 1905 when President Theodore Roosevelt set aside the Park Range, renamed Routt in 1908 (Colorado) and Ashley (Utah) Reserves. By that time policies for grazing limitations and fees had been established. The same year that Roosevelt set aside the Dinosaur area tracts Congress passed another law that transferred management of the tracts from the Department of the Interior's General Land Office to the newly created U.S. Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture, specifically under the control of Roosevelt intimate and professionally trained forester Gifford Pinchot. Two years later, in 1907, the names were officially changed to National Forests.²

Pinchot found that he faced a definite uphill battle in trying to stem the tide of opposition to the system among cattlemen through the West, including those of the Dinosaur area. As early as 1900 Routt County stockmen had joined their neighbors of western Colorado in the Western Range Stock Growers Association. The group's purpose was to direct public attention to the then newly announced grazing permit and fee system as a force detrimental to their industry.³

Gifford Pinchot bore the brunt of public criticism for forest policies through the first decade of the twentieth century, being labeled "Czar Pinchot", carpetbagger and other less than



dignified terms. However, the forester's even temperament and commitment to the cause of conservation allowed him to weather the storms and by 1910, after a number of protest conventions and court tests of the new system, to emerge victorious.⁴ One of his more vocal opponents was Edward T. Taylor, U.S. Representative for all of western Colorado. Taylor did not oppose the basic need for conservation, but he hoped that it could be accomplished while still allowing reasonable use of the Forests and other public lands.⁵

The major impact of the forest reserves on Dinosaur area residents proved to be to put even more pressure on the already over-grazed ranges of northwestern Colorado and northeastern Utah. The ranchers of the area, especially the larger outfits, traditionally had used the mountain ranges included in the reserves for summer range, but what evolved from the limitations on grazing was more animals competing for the grasses of the Monument and surrounding areas. The contest became more intense as sheep from Utah and settlers from around the area came into the region looking for land. The open range days ended and many of the long operating ranches changed hands as the old timers, apparently unable to adjust to the new conditions, left the business. By 1920 Ora Haley and others had departed, replaced by new settlers, such as the Chews or Mantles within Dinosaur.⁶

The frontier had closed, but not without federal encouragement as expressed in the conservation policies, and the new land disposal (homestead) laws discussed previously. After Theodore



Roosevelt became president following the assassination of William McKinley in 1911, conservationists had a friend in the White House. Roosevelt, a man who fancied himself a friend of the West from his experiences on a North Dakota ranch, and a staunch conservationist took an active part in framing new and radically different resource policies during his time in the White House.

In an attempt to better manage America's natural resources Congress gave the president authority to withdraw known mineral lands from private entry, anticipating the establishment of a leasing system for the minerals, particularly energy minerals such as oil, natural gas, coal, and oil shale.⁷ The level of knowledge of mineral deposits at the time prevented implementation of the policy, but it did stimulate extensive new investigations by the United States Geological Survey throughout the West. In the Dinosaur area the Geological Survey focused its attention on the known deposits of coal and oil shale. Publishing numerous reports on those and other minerals, the Survey's work eventually led to the withdrawal of thousands of acres of minerals from private entry.⁸ In 1920 the federal government attempted to establish a management policy for those minerals through leasing--the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920.⁹

One resource allowed both conservationists and Westerners to unite in their encouragement of federal action--water. Water, literally the fluid of life in the arid and semi-arid West, including Dinosaur, and its management had been a problem for settlers in the region since the earliest Mormon attempts to



cultivate the lands around the Great Salt Lake or Hispanic settlers efforts to cultivate the San Luis Valley of Colorado. John Wesley Powell, noted explorer of the Colorado River system, including the Green and Yampa Rivers, possibly made his greatest impact on the West not from those heroic voyages but from his theories about water management. Starting with the publication of his Lands of the Arid Region in 1878 Powell began a campaign to create a national policy for water development. His arguments attracted many supporters.

Congress recognized the problem and tried to address it through measures such as the Carey Act(1894) that gave federal land to states for irrigation development. Even the gift of land proved inadequate as most of the western states had no money to finance the projects with. Recognizing this problem Congress again addressed the issue in 1901 after Representative Francis G. Newlands of Nevada introduced a bill to use federal funds to build reclamation projects. Eastern and Midwestern legislators argued that this constituted nothing more than "pork barrel" for the West, but their arguments were silenced after a scheme for paybacks to the government from the water users was amended onto the original idea. Debates had dragged on through the winter of 1901-02, but in Spring of 1902, President Roosevelt let it be known that he favored the legislation and assumed that Congress could get a bill on his desk for signature



before their summer recess. This happened and on June 17, 1902, a national reclamation policy became law with the approval of Roosevelt.¹⁰

The Newlands Act created the Federal Reclamation Service, later known as the Bureau of Reclamation, and charged the new agency with locating and developing potential reservoir sites in the West. The law also allowed the President, acting on the wishes of the Service, to withdraw those locations from private entry. The Geological Survey went into the field to locate the reservoir sites, but almost before the ink had dried on the President's signature the Service announced its first withdrawals, based on the records of previous surveys, often not substantiated by enough work to evaluate the practicality of the locations vis a vis bedrock for dams, stream flow, or potential users.¹¹

As early as 1900, prior to approval of the Newlands Act, the United States Geological Survey made a visit to the Dinosaur region searching for potential dam sites. They concentrated their efforts on Lodore Canyon. Apparently the initial evaluations were positive enough for the Survey to return to the locale to do more extensive testing for a damsite. On October 17, 1904, the Bureau of Reclamation set aside the Brown's Park Reservoir Site.¹² A few years later, in 1905, a twenty man crew of hydrologists headed by W.E. Jones from the Geological Survey reappeared in the area. They set up camp in the Lodore area, not far from the then Chew homesite. From that camp the examiners searched



Green River for a specific damsite for approximately three years. They drilled ten different test holes in the riverbottom, marking each location in bold numbers on the canyon walls. The drillers failed to find adequate bedrock formations under the river to support a dam and gave up their effort in 1911. From the earliest rumors of a dam through the end of the survey and testing local residents remained up in arms, fearful that the next test might find bedrock and the proposed dam would be built, flooding Brown's Park.¹³ That fear has continued to hang over various parts of Dinosaur for more than seventy years, Bureau of Reclamation planners presumably adopting something of a never-say-die attitude.

While the Reclamation Service, Forest Service, and mineral leasing policies radically changed life in the Dinosaur area during the early twentieth century, they all were oriented at the management of natural resources for public use. However, one other part of the conservation movement, if viewed in its broadest sense, sought preservation rather than managed development of parts of America's natural bounty. These people turned to the National Park idea as their vehicle of expression. What began to develop during the late nineteenth century in the minds of many Americans was what historians have labelled a "Wilderness Cult," a feeling that part of what made America great was its wilderness and man(settlers) testing themselves against nature. Like the conservationists, they feared that if something were not done Americans would unwittingly destroy the roots of their own greatness. To them the only logical alternative would be



the permanent preservation of portions of the wilderness as National Parks, allowing only uses compatible with the natural state of the lands. After early successes in the preservation of the giant redwoods of California and the geysers of Yellowstone (as a National Park) these people, led by influential naturalists such as John Muir, began new campaigns during the 1890s to save even more of America's wilderness from private exploitation. After discovery of Mesa Verde's cliff dwellings and fears that they would be exploited rather than protected calls went up for legislation to protect such natural treasures. Congress responded with the passage of the Antiquities Act of 1906 that provided for establishment of the first national monuments. Finding a friend in the White House in Theodore Roosevelt, calls went up around the West for the creation of new National Parks and Monuments.¹⁴

The residents of the Dinosaur area probably paid little attention to newspaper stories about the need for new National Parks or protection of Indian ruins, rather they followed the doings of Gifford Pinchot, Theodore Roosevelt, and the Bureau of Reclamation with much greater interest. Those forces impacted their daily lives and as such deserved their scrutiny. Even as the Geological Survey searched for a site for a dam in Lodore Canyon other searches were going on a few miles south west, north of Jensen that would lead to the establishment of a National Monument in their backyards.



CHAPTER IX NOTES

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³Richard Goff and Robert H. McCaffree, Century in the Saddle, The 100 Year Story of the Colorado Cattlemen's Association, (Denver: Colorado Cattlemen's Centennial Commission, 1967), pp. 136-143.

⁴McCarthy, Hour, pp. 54-55, , 89-92 and 114-120.

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⁶John Rolfe Burroughs, Where The Old West Stayed Young, (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1962), pp. 278-293 and 351-356.

⁷Taylor Scrapbook 17, NLWH.

⁸For example see: E.G. Woodruff and David T. Day, Oil Shale of Northwestern Colorado and Northeastern Utah, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1914); or Hoyt S. Gale, Coal Fields of Northwestern Colorado and Northeastern Utah, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910).

⁹Roy Robbins, Our Landed Heritage, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), pp. 346, 368, 394-399.

¹⁰For the early history of reclamation policy and enactment of the Newlands Act see: George Wharton James, Reclaiming the Arid West, The Story of the United States Reclamation Service, (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1917), especially pp. 2-23, hereafter cited: James, Reclaiming; and John T. Ganoe, "The Origins of a National Reclamation Policy," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 18(June 1931): 34-52.

¹¹James, Reclaiming, pp. 16, 32, 117-122.



¹²History and Legislation Folder to 30 November 1953, manuscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center; and Josie Bassett Morris Interview with Jess Lombard, 1951, Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center.

¹³John Ground-Earl Semingsen Correspondence, 1964, Dinosaur National Monument, Quarry Visitor Center; Memo, Superintendent, Dinosaur National Monument to Superintendent, Rocky Mountain National Park, 3 July 1951, History Notes file, Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center.

¹⁴ For a thought provoking discussion of the wilderness ideal in American history see: Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967); or more pertinent to the actual events of the early twentieth century see: John Muir, Our National Parks, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909).



CHAPTER X

SCIENTIFIC EXPLORATION AFTER 1900 AND QUARRY DISCOVERY

Scientists of the late nineteenth century had their curiosity piqued by the great catalogs of information brought back by explorers such as John Wesley Powell. Those investigators made reference to finding fossils in mineral deposits and in some cases discovered sites of great antiquity such as Anasazi ruins found by Hayden surveyors in southwestern Colorado. News of such finds encouraged scientists to look at the American West as a great storehouse of potential information. This curiosity received further encouragement from changes in scientific philosophy taking place during the late nineteenth century, such as the debate generated by Charles Darwin's publication of The Origin of Species. By 1900 efforts of people such as Othniel C. Marsh had been richly rewarded by tremendous fossil finds resulting in immense quantities of new information being available, stimulating further investigation.¹

The knowledge of the possibilities for great fossil finds in the Monument area first became public in the 1870s. Powell, in writing up the findings of his trips down the Green River, mentioned noticing the remains of reptiles. The river explorer did not do further investigations of the remains, as the rivers were his primary concern during the expeditions. As Powell moved down the Colorado and its tributaries, Professor Marsh led expeditions of Yale University graduate students on fossil hunts through the West, including in 1870 a trip through Brown's



Park and the Uinta Mountains. In 1875 Marsh returned to the area, again searching for paleontological samples, and apparently had contact with some of the local settlers, who referred to the scientists as "bonehunters." Marsh's trips discovered a number of important geologic formations to be fossil bearing and this news acted to encourage others to search the West.²

Scientists found that they were not alone in their explorations of the area. Rather cowboys, homeseekers, and hunters also visited the Dinosaur area and discovered fossils. Few of them appreciated what they had been finding, recognizing only that many of the fossil bones were much larger than any modern wildlife. As described in the late 1930s, "For more than twenty years one man walked every day over a doorstep made from a slab of sandstone in which a dinosaur had left his footprints."³ Few, if any, of these early settlers appreciated the significance of their discoveries even if they were impressed by the size of the fossils. Between the local residents' discoveries that became common knowledge in the region through word of mouth and the findings of Marsh in the Uintas, it is not surprising that by the 1890s paleontologists took a greater interest in the region's scientific possibilities.⁴

As the stories from local residents persisted other scientists took to the field systematically exploring for fossils. One of these was O.A. Peterson from the American Museum of Natural History. In 1893, following up on information from local residents, Peterson concentrated his efforts in the Uinta Basin, west of



the present Monument, in the Moon Lake area. Peterson discovered bones in a fossil-bearing stratum of the 140,000,000 year-old Morrison Formation. After some of the fossils were excavated Peterson and other scientists carefully examined the finds and pronounced them to be dinosaur remains. He also may have visited the Monument area during 1891, but if he did it is surprising that he failed to find the quarry site.⁵ Seven years later another scientist, Elmer S. Riggs, working for the Chicago Museum of Natural History, searched for specimens further south, near Fruita, Colorado. Riggs' efforts concentrated on the Morrison Formation outcrops there and like Peterson, he too was rewarded by nature, finding new types of dinosaurs. Work at that site continued for a number of years as more and more fossils were uncovered.⁶

During the early years of the twentieth century paleontologists, supported by specimen hungry natural history museums, scoured the region searching for fossils. One of the museums involved in the scramble was the Carnegie Museum funded by steel millionaire Andrew Carnegie. In 1908 Museum Director W.J. Holland and Earl Douglass, a staff paleontologist, visited the Uinta Basin to evaluate the area as a possible place to find specimens for their collections and exhibits. During the 1908 reconnaissance, Holland and Douglass identified numerous examples of Morrison outcroppings and talked with local informants about their fossil hunting experiences. The duo from Pittsburgh looked through the area of Peterson's discoveries and then moved on north,



finding some bone near Split Mountain. Apparently the two scientists felt that the region offered some potential and after their return to Pittsburgh, Douglass began to prepare for another expedition during the 1909 field season. Douglass intended to concentrate his work in the Morrison Formation exposed in the mountains and foothills along Green River around Jensen, Utah.⁷

Douglass spent the spring of 1909 preparing for the expedition, hoping to be in the field by the end of June. When he left Pittsburgh for the West, Douglass went with the permission, if not the whole-hearted support of Museum Director Holland, describing the Director's attitude on June 9 as "pretty reticent about our trip west," and two weeks later as "very peculiar about the expeditions this year."⁸ With confidence shaken Douglass pressed ahead, beginning intensive field work during early July. Convinced by his previous experiences and local hearsay that the area north of Jensen probably held the treasures he was looking for, Douglass concentrated his efforts there. The paleontologist hired local residents to help in his search, including George Goodrich and Frank Neal. Hiking for days around the area he failed to find any evidences of fossils and as the process went on and on Douglass, already apprehensive about the Museum's support, became more and more melancholy. On August 4 he received a letter from Holland directing Douglass to cease his search in the Jensen area and move farther west to the lands



east of Vernal, insinuating that Douglass was wasting time on the expedition.⁹

The explorer's already low spirits sank further and by the tenth of August he was ready to give up the search. However, Neal kept Douglass going through his encouragements of the paleontologist as the little band of fossil hunters worked its way along Brush Creek and to the north. Nearly at the end of his patience Douglass trudged on until August 17 when, as he described it, "At last in the top of the ledge where the softer overlying beds form a divide . . . I saw eight of the tail bones of a Brontosaurus in exact position."¹⁰

The hunt was a success, but as further work at the site proved, it was an even greater one that Douglass suspected on that fateful August day. During the next few months Douglass continued his work on the Brontosaurus and in the process discovered the co-mingled parts of another, smaller dinosaur in the skeleton. From that point on work continued and by the end of the first year the Brontosaurus had been uncovered and was on its way to Pittsburgh. The finds not only attracted comment from Holland but Andrew Carnegie, patron of the operation as well. Carnegie contributed an additional \$5,000 annually to support the work in Utah. As the extent of the discovery began to be appreciated Douglass realized that he would be spending a number of years in the area so he sent for his wife and small son to join him at the site. They established residence near the quarry, building a cabin nearby and devoting their full attentions to the discoveries.



being made. Douglass, previously a somewhat prolific scientific writer, gave up publishing as more and more of his time was spent directing the quarry operations.¹¹

Douglass recruited more workers from local ranches, established a forge to repair and sharpen tools, and built a few yards of mine track to haul off the overburden rock that was being blasted and picked away. Within a year the quarry operation had grown tremendously. Douglass found that he faced one problem that many other people in the area did--the need for dependable transportation to move the fossils from the quarry. He hired local wagon drivers--including Hiram Meeks, Heber Wall, John Rasmussen, and John Kay--to drive his fossils, left partially in the sandstone and covered for shipment in casts of plaster, sixty miles south to Dragon, Utah. Dragon was the northern terminus of the Uintah Railway and once the fossils left there they were shipped south on the Uintah and then east on the Denver and Rio Grande.¹²

As word of Douglass' discoveries spread other paleontologists took an interest in the region and the fossils coming from the quarry. The continuing discoveries at the quarry further piqued this interest. In 1913 the first discovery, Brontosaurus (Apatosaurus), had been prepared and the exhibit opened at the Carnegie Museum. Meanwhile at the quarry Douglass and his co-workers continued their excavations. They uncovered Dryosaurus, Stegosaurus, another large Apatosaurus, Camarasaurus, Barosaurus, and Diplodocus, of the plant-eating varieties of dinosaurs. The meat eaters Allosaurus also appeared in the quarry remains. Despite the



wealth of material being found Douglass did not get sloppy in his work methods, or as described by one local observer as being very particular in his handling of the bones.¹³

Despite the rich scientific harvest being found at the quarry the land remained unprotected from private entry, meaning that anyone at any time could file a claim on it and either homestead or buy the land from the federal government. Douglass and Carnegie Museum officials became fearful that just such an event would take place, closing off all scientists to the fossil treasures, possibly making them available only to the highest bidder. To try to prevent that from happening, the Museum's directors filed a mining claim on the property. However, General Land Office review of the claim disallowed it because fossils did not meet the legal criteria of minerals as outlined under the mining laws. Continued pressure in Washington, however, did reveal an avenue of protection. The nine-year-old Antiquities Act of 1906, passed by Congress as a result of the Mesa Verde discoveries, provided for the creation of National Monuments to protect lands of great historic or scientific value. Department of the Interior officials, sympathetic with the Museum and its fears for the future of the quarry, suggested such a course of action and on October 4, 1915, President Woodrow Wilson issued Presidential Proclamation 1313 that declared an eighty-acre tract including the quarry of "extraordinary. . .of Dinosaurian and other gigantic reptilian remains" to be Dinosaur National Monument. In less than a year Dinosaur National Monument and



a number of others were placed under the then newly created National Park Service, a management tool to oversee the burgeoning number of Parks and Monuments. The quarry now safely protected, Douglass and the Carnegie Museum could continue with their excavation work.¹⁴

After ten years of development and collection of museum specimens the Carnegie Museum began to lose interest in the quarry. After Andrew Carnegie's death in 1919 funding began to dry up. Two other institutions, the Smithsonian and the University of Utah, began to take an interest in the Monument, sending workers and money to help keep the operation going. In 1923, after fourteen years of active involvement, the Carnegie Museum closed down its operations at the quarry and soon thereafter nearly all fossil removal ceased.¹⁵

Douglass and the National Park Service hoped that they could create a visitor center so that paleontologists as well as laymen could appreciate the quarry and its fossils in their natural setting. As early as 1915 Douglass spoke of removing enough rock from the slope to expose a number of fossils and then allowing the public to see them. Later, as the intensive quarrying operations ceased, the National Park Service began developing plans for just such a center, but a number of years and dramatic changes took place before the plans could be put into action. For the remainder of the 1920s the Monument existed in something of a caretaker status, awaiting further developments.¹⁶



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¹For a discussion on the impacts of Darwinism on American thinking and science see chapters one and two of Paul F. Boller, Jr., American Thought in Transition: The Impact of Evolutionary Naturalism, 1865-1900, (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company 1969).

²John M. Good, et al., The Dinosaur Quarry, Dinosaur National Monument, (Washington, D.C.: 1958), p. 27, hereafter cited: Good, Quarry; J.S. Hoy, "The Hoy Manuscript," Norlin Library, Western History Collections, p. 139; and William H. Goetzmann, Exploration and Empire, The Explorer and Scientist in the Winning of the American West, (New York: Random House, 1966), pp. 426-427.

³Federal Writers Program, Utah A Guide to the State, (New York: Hastings House, 1945), p. 478.

⁴Ibid.; Good, Quarry, p. 27.

⁵Earl Douglass, "Biographical Data and Accounts--Earl Douglass," manuscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center, hereafter cited: Douglass, "Accounts.;" Grand Junction (Colorado) Daily Sentinel, 28 May 1978.

⁶Steven F. Mehls, The Valley of Opportunity, A History of West Central Colorado, (Denver: Bureau of Land Management, 1982), pp. 28-29.

⁷Douglass, "Accounts."

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.; Frank Edward Neal Interview, typescript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center.

¹⁰Douglass, "Accounts."

¹¹Ibid.; Good, Quarry, pp. 28, 31.

¹²Good, Quarry, pp. 32, 34; Verda Meeks Stewart and Hugh Stewart Interview, typescript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center.

¹³Good, Quarry, pp. 28, 31-32; Gawin Douglass Interviews, 12 October 1979 and 10 July 1981, on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center; Joe Haslem Interview, typescript on file Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center.

¹⁴Douglass, "Accounts.;" Good, Quarry, p. 36.



15 Good, Quarry, p. 36; Jack McIntosh Interview, typescript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center.

16 Good, Quarry, pp. 36-37.



CHAPTER XI

THE ENLARGEMENT OF DINOSAUR NATIONAL MONUMENT

The end of quarrying at Dinosaur by the Carnegie Museum did not mean an end to the development of the Monument. As events unfolded in the decade and one-half after Douglass ceased up his operations dramatic change took place that culminated in the enlargement of Dinosaur from a mere eighty acres to 325 square miles. That proved to be the culmination of efforts dating to the time of Douglass to preserve the natural wonders of the area, primarily the great canyons of the Green and Yampa Rivers, as a complement to the scientific wonders of the quarry. In the beginning, however, little consideration was given to the combination of those two values, as most early discussions revolved around establishment of a separate National Park for the river environs.

Needless to say the idea of another reservation of federal lands met with opposition, both locally and from as far away as California. Many of the opponents had their fears rooted in arguments, primarily expressed locally, that the federal government already had set aside too many acres in creating national forests, mineral lands, such as the Naval Oil Shale Reserves southeast of the Monument near Rifle, Colorado, or water power and reservoir sites throughout the region. The local heritage of free and unlimited use of the public domain, already severely impinged upon by the creation of Routt, Ashley, and other National Forests, appeared to be a thing of the past



as the government made new plans to heed the call of naturalists and began making preparations to expand Dinosaur by 1930. By 1933 the Park Service and other officials in Washington began to listen more closely and started planning for a new park or enlarged Dinosaur.¹ More than that, a number of families resided on lands that potentially might be part of the Monument or Park and they responded with less than enthusiastic comments about that possibility.

Ten years before ideas for an enlarged Monument or a Gates of Lodore or Green River Canyons National Park began to be heard around Dinosaur and the nation's capital, Congress accepted some responsibilities for the quarry site. In 1924 the appropriation to operate the Monument was a paltry \$5,000, but when the issue appeared before Congress two years later the amount had risen dramatically, reaching the \$100,000 plateau.² Part of that money was to be spent on improving conditions at the quarry in preparation for the expected growth of visitors, their access being made much easier by the construction of United States Highway 40 between Denver and Salt Lake City. While this road was a far cry from a modern highway, it did increase the Monument's accessibility, especially during the 1920s as more and more Americans took to their cars for vacations. The comparative cheapness of auto travel to rail, development of motor courts to house these travelers, and the enlarged middle class that had both the means and leisure time, meant that car-borne vacations were almost inevitable during the twenties.



This trend toward auto travel had been spurred by both the state and national legislatures as well as private lobbyists. During the first decade of the twentieth century, as Douglass was planning and exploring the region for dinosaur remains, others were busy in what has been described as the Good Roads Movement. That movement culminated in the creation of a federal highway department and state highway departments or commissions before the start of World War I(1914). The initial responsibilities of those agencies included designation and improvement of highways throughout the region. While their early work was restrained by the First World War and budgetary considerations, they pressed ahead to provide each part of the region with improved roads designed for automobile traffic. The other element that improved access to the Dinosaur are was the completion of the Denver and Salt Lake Railroad to Craig, Colorado, in 1913, from where the Monument was only a day's drive down the new highway.³

Despite the easier access, visitation at the quarry site remained low through the twenties, if compared to the present day, and into the thirties. During the thirties Monument Superintendent A.C. Boyle blamed the lack of visitors on the need for pavement on Highway 40 and the quarry access road and better facilities for visitors once they reached the quarry.⁴ These improvements would come to Dinosaur, but before they did many improvements had to be made at the quarry. However, as Boyle argued for increased funding for his projects others in the area were beginning to view the increased traffic as a blessing,



as well as a potential market. The natural attractions of the region, soon to be a reason for increasing the size of Dinosaur, had gained a significant following during the early twentieth century. Part of the popularity of the region no doubt came from the publication of a number of photographs taken by the Kolb Brothers in 1911. They visited the Green and Yampa Rivers as part of their photographic expedition through the Colorado River system. While in the Dinosaur area they met Pat Lynch and the Chew family. Their photographs as well as the moving descriptions of the area from Major Powell and others encouraged tourists to seek out the area as one stop on their western vacations.⁵

The increasing number of tourists, combined with the popularity of western vacations during the late nineteenth and especially early twentieth centuries, led people to consider the development of a tourist trade in Brown's Park. The goal apparently was to take advantage of the scenery of the Green River and the Canyon of Lodore. Many of these western guest facilities became known as "Dude Ranches," where easterners could relive what they felt to be the "Wild West" as part of their vacation. The earliest "Dude Ranches" in the West dated to the late nineteenth century; however, because of its lack of access the Monument area did not have any such facilities until the 1930s. Around 1933 John Grounds, Jim Crozier, and local farmer Jack Langley entered a partnership to operate a guest ranch near the Gates of Lodore, an area that Langley had homesteaded during the 1920s.⁶



It is doubtful that the Lodore dude ranch ever achieved financial success as the early 1930s marked the depths of the Great Depression and vacations became a luxury enjoyed by only a few.

The operation, Lodore Tourist Camp, came popularly to be known as the Wade and Curtis cabins as time passed. By mining placer gold in the area to make up for deficits at the camp, the partners were able to keep the camp open through the Great Depression. River running, the hoped-for trade, apparently did not materialize enough to make the dude ranch a financial success on its own. What luck the partners did have ran out in 1941 when the United States entered World War II and travel was restricted by the federal government to save gasoline and rubber. That blow wiped out the Lodore Tourist Camp and the structures were taken over by the National Park Service for ranger cabins in the expanded Monument. Another individual, Bus Hatch, also looked to rafting as a potential route to profit. He built a boathouse at Jones Hole and started offering commercial trips during the 1930s. Hatch's boating company became the first river concessionaire in the new Dinosaur National Monument. In the meantime, however, Grounds, Langley, and the other partners, as well as Hatch, had come out in favor of the creation of an enlarged Monument, a goal they saw fulfilled in 1938.⁷

The excitement of running Green River through the Canyon of Lodore, Disaster Falls, Triplet Falls and through Echo Park had become well known among avid boaters and sportsmen after



the end of World War I(1918). During the twenties, as the area became more accessible, more and more visitors came to the region to experience the sweeping vistas, white water, and other attractions. They took away stories of the magnificence of the region and in so doing began, possibly unwittingly, to popularize the idea of preserving the region for future generations. By the early 1930s this talk was growing, especially in Colorado, a state looking to revive its sagging agricultural economy through new businesses such as tourism. One individual who happened to be in a position to do something about the talk was Representative Edward T. Taylor of Glenwood Springs, who also happened to be one of the ranking majority members of the United States House of Representatives and chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, overseer of the Department of the Interior, custodian of the public domain, and the cabinet-level agency in charge of the National Park Service. Taylor, at first a vocal critic of federal conservation and reservation policies, had by the thirties changed his view somewhat. More than that Taylor was concerned about the fate of his home district and its economic problems. As a result he took an active interest on a number of public lands issues, including the enlargement of Dinosaur National Monument into his district.⁸

Friends such as Taylor did not hurt the chances for expansion of the Monument and during the early and mid-1930s talk began to be translated into action. One of the first indications that either a new Monument or Park, such as Lodore National



Park, might be in the offing came in 1933 when Yellowstone National Park Superintendent Toll visited the area as part of a nationwide tour searching for new parks. The second indication appeared in 1935 when Carrol H. Wegemann, a geologist of the National Park Service, visited the region. His mission revolved around investigation of the suitability of the canyons of the Green and Yampa Rivers as a potential park as well as a preliminary report on boundaries for such a park. He returned to Washington, impressed by what he saw, and in July of 1935 issued a favorable report on the idea.⁹ From that point on things moved rapidly for the new park.

The appearance of Wegemann and other officials in the region and the increased notoriety of the project around Washington acted as a red flag to the opposition. During 1936 and 1937 primary opposition came from local residents, at first fearful of the closure of more public lands and also their status as property owners within the proposed new monument. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (D-1933-1945) defused the first criticism in 1935 when on February 5 he withdrew all remaining, then not reserved, public lands from private entry.¹⁰ That action closed all opportunities for people to claim the lands. However, that did not stop the fears of the local residents who felt they would be thrown off their lands. National Park Service officials in 1936 and 1937 worked to assure those individuals that they would be compensated for their lands and allowed to remain in their homes, at least until their death. To reinforce that



idea federal civil engineers were in the area first surveying the boundaries of the enlarged Monument and then working out sale agreements with the inholders.¹¹

However, those Utahns and Coloradans proved to be only part of the opposition to the idea. The other center of anti-expansion sentiment lay in California, a state in need of water from the Colorado River and its tributaries. Voices from the Pacific Coast complained that creation of the new monument would prevent the development of the region's water resources, implying there would be a water shortage in California.¹² This criticism surfaced despite recent ratification of the Colorado River Compact that assured California and other downstream users their fair share of the river system's flow. Their opposition was more or less ignored by Interior Department decisionmakers as the drive to create a new or enlarged monument gained momentum during 1936 and 1937.¹³

At Dinosaur Superintendent A. C. Boyle prepared for the enlargement in 1937 and 1938. In June of 1937 he reported to Washington that he was preparing to redirect his and the staff's activities to a new emphasis on the primitive areas as a dual component of his responsibilities, the other being the quarry.¹⁴ The Director of the National Park Service read Toll's, Wegemann's, and other reports that explained such topics as accessibility that left him with a favorable impression of an expanded Dinosaur National Monument. During the late spring of 1938 he endorsed the plans and took the idea to Secretary of the Interior Harold



L. Ickes. The Secretary, well known for his pro-conservation attitudes, concurred and requested that President Franklin D. Roosevelt use his executive power to establish a larger Dinosaur. On July 14, 1938, the White House issued Presidential Proclamation #2290 that expanded the Monument to 325 square miles (209,744 acres) straddling the Colorado-Utah state line.¹⁵ Roosevelt's proclamation cited the fact that the lands "have situated thereon various objects of historic and scientific interest."¹⁶ Twenty-two years later Congress revised the boundaries slightly to include access roads for the Monument, but in essence the amount of land contained in Dinosaur National Monument has remained unchanged since that July day in 1938.¹⁷ Even with its expanded size Dinosaur continued to report to Rocky Mountain National Park and did so for many years after World War II.

Expansion of Dinosaur took place during a period of other dramatic change for the nation and region--the Great Depression. This, the most famous and severe economic downturn to date in American history, led to a new and increased role for the federal government in the day-to-day life of all Americans. Moreover, a number of the programs instituted by President Roosevelt to speed recovery and "reform" the American economic system had direct impacts on Dinosaur and the people living in its locale, both before and after expansion.¹⁸



CHAPTER XI NOTES

¹Joe Haslem Interview, 6 October 1969, typescript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center, hereafter cited: Haslem Interview; and for the major administrative actions taken at Dinosaur through this period see: R.G. Beildemann, "The Administrative History of Dinosaur National Monument," unpublished manuscript, 1956, on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center, hereafter cited: Beidlemann, "Administrative."

²Edmund B. Rogers, comp. History of Legislation Relating to the National Park System Through the Eighty-Second Congress, (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, 1958), Dinosaur Appendix, hereafter cited: Rogers, Legislative.

³Michael B. Husband, Colorado Plateau Historic Context Report, (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 1984), sections 9 and 14.

⁴Superintendent's Monthly Reports, Dinosaur National Monument, November, December 1936, January 1938, copies from National Archives on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center, hereafter cited: Monthly Report; W. P. Webber, "An Outline for Development of Dinosaur National Monument," 28 April 1931, maunscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center.

⁵Charles H. Leckenby, The Tread of Pioneers, (Steamboat Springs, CO: Pilot Printing Co., 1944), p. 72.

⁶Glade M. Ross, "Pioneers and Historic Structures of Dinosaur National Monument," 1984, maunscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Headquarters, p. 45.

⁷Lance R. Williams, "Wade and Curtis Cabins LCS Form," November 1975, manuscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center; Frank B. Sarles, Jr., "Dinosaur Park History Study," Contract DINO-H-1, 1969, maunscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center, p. 104; Elaine Adams, Personal Communication.

⁸Edward T. Taylor Scrapbooks 13, 14, 17, Edward T. Taylor Collections, Norlin Library, Western History Collections.

⁹Carroll H. Wegemann, "Report on Lodore and Yampa Canyons in Northwest Colorado," 29 July 1935, typescript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center.

¹⁰Roy M. Robbins, Our Landed Heritage, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), p. 423.



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¹⁴Beidleman, "Administrative;" Monthly Report, June, 1937.

¹⁵Rogers, Legislative, p. II-30; and History and Legislation Pertinent to Dinosaur National Monument to 30 November 1953, folder, on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center, hereafter cited: History/Legislation Folder.

¹⁶History/Legislation Folder.

¹⁷Rogers, Legislative, appendix.

¹⁸Federal Writers Program, Utah, A Guide to the State, (New York: Hastings House, 1941) p. 479.



CHAPTER XII

DINOSAUR DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Americans across the nation enjoyed a sense of euphoria during the 1920s as the economy boomed, business prospered, and Wall Street's stockbrokers watched as the average climbed steadily upward. This apparent prosperity, particularly for the urban middle class, led to a gradually increasing visitorship for the Dinosaur area, as these were the same people likely to take to their automobiles for vacations. Throughout the twenties, the Jazz and Flapper Age, the boom continued. Only in the last months of the decade did trouble appear on the horizon when in October of 1929 the stock market crashed, wiping out the paper millions of American investors who had speculated in the market, hoping to cash in on the boom.

Even as stock prices tumbled few people realized that what really was beginning was the Great Depression. Slowly the level of business activity slid lower and lower until by 1931 and 1932 the economy reached new lows. Unemployment rose as did the welfare rolls. The American people fast approached desperation.

For those who made their homes in the Monument area this was nothing new; they had been experiencing bad times since the early 1920s. Northeastern Utah and northwestern Colorado, along with much of the West, never did enjoy the same levels of prosperity that the rest of the nation did. Instead, the boom of World War I failed by 1920 and 1921 as the wartime farm price inflation reversed and prices began to tumble. As markets



went down so did local spirits. Settlers throughout the area held on to hope that the area would boom again after the state of Colorado approved funding for the Moffat Tunnel to give the Denver and Salt Lake Railroad a better route to Craig. Talk even began to circulate again of extending the line on west into Utah and Salt Lake City. Even with completion of the new tunnel on February 26, 1928, the area did not boom. Rather, an out-migration from certain areas, such as the Great Divide Colony, continued as it would until the last residents left by the mid-1930s. Arrival of the Great Depression did not severely impact the region. Its residents already had years of experience at surviving hard times.¹

If the depression did not radically alter life in the Monument area a number of the federal programs instituted by President Franklin D. Roosevelt helped the situation. His predecessor, Herbert C. Hoover, had been in office only a little over six months when the stock market crashed. Hoover, not expecting that it portended the disasters to come, did very little. Victimized by circumstances beyond his control, Hoover took little action to aid the domestic situation. His advisors failed to grasp the magnitude of the problem as the nation slid deeper and deeper into depression. By 1932 the American people demanded help from Washington and Hoover, in their eyes, had proven himself unable to supply assistance. However, in the campaign of 1932 Roosevelt, his Democratic opponent, promised a "New Deal" for the American people. As a result of his rather nebulous



campaign rhetoric, Roosevelt, soon to be popularly referred to as FDR, found himself the victor in November of 1932 and began planning what the federal government could do to help the nation recover from the Great Depression. By the time Inauguration Day arrived in March of 1933 Roosevelt's programs were ready to be put into action. He had framed his plans to be both dramatic and bold, taking the federal government into areas that it previously had been hesitant to venture. Out of all this came presidential "alphabet Soup" as dozens of new agencies were created and others, already existing, were expanded. A few of these operated in and around the Monument, having direct impacts on the lives of local residents.²

The president aimed two of his thrusts at economic recovery and reform. The third, relief, had to come as well because of the millions of Americans out of work and food. The line between recovery and relief became clouded in the Dinosaur area as a number of public works projects aimed at putting money in consumers' hands to stimulate business also acted as a vehicle to keep people from starvation. Four public works agencies became active in the region during the New Deal(1933-1941). The included the Civil Works Administration(CWA), Public Works Administration(PWA), supplanted later by the Works Progress Administration(WPA), Emergency Relief Administration(ERA), and the Civilian Conservation Corps(CCC). The CWA, PWA, and CCC were established not long after Roosevelt took office and each was directed at one or another type of problem. Philosophically



all were oriented toward the idea of hiring people to do work on public projects, that being a preferred alternative to a simple hand-out of money.³ The CWA's greatest contribution in the Monument area came from its attempt to interview old timers about early settlement and other historical issues in the area. The CWA interviewers were organized and controlled by state historical societies and that is where the results of their work were deposited.⁴ The PWA undertook a number of projects that benefited Dinosaur, such as work on improvements to U.S. Highway 40, followed by further work under the WPA.⁵ The PWA and CWA were only temporary agencies and as such went out of business by the mid-1930s. The demise of those agencies did not signal the achievement of economic recovery and the role that they played in giving jobs to the unemployed remained. To fill the void the WPA was created in 1935.⁶

When Congress established the WPA, Monument Superintendent A.C. Boyle could not have imagined the tremendous impact the new agency would have on his efforts to improve Dinosaur and the quarry. Beginning in 1934 the National Park Service started a program to improve the quarry site as an interpretive display for visitors, expanded on the idea that had originated with Earl Douglass. During 1934 the Monument became a transient camp for men on the road seeking work. The National Park Service hired one hundred of them to undertake the job of removing the overburden from the fossil bearing strata. In the ten years since the end of quarrying much of the debris left by that operation



and the newly exposed rocks fell into the quarrying area producing hundreds of tons of rock material that needed to be removed. The problem was further complicated by the fossils in the strata. Workers were encouraged to be as careful as possible so as not to damage any of the fragile fossils. This meant that heavy blasting could not be done. Instead, only light charges and hand drilling were allowed. Nevertheless the workers, under Superintendent A.C. Boyle, kept at the job until 1936.⁷

The WPA took over the operations in 1936, adding the improvement of the Monument to its list of projects in Utah. During the operations it became obvious to observers on the scene that earlier estimates by Park Service engineers as to the amount of rock to be removed were woefully short. The primary cause of the inaccuracy came from the fact that the geologic structure of the strata at the quarry precluded nearly vertical walls on the south side of the site if workers were to be kept safe. By 1938 77,000 cubic yards of overburden material had been taken out of the quarry, 66,000 cubic yards above the original estimates. Even though hand drilling and light charges slowed the process one expedient was adopted--a mine railway was placed in service to move the waste from the excavation site to the spoil pile. The work continued until June of 1937.⁸

At that time the initial excavation plan had been completed and the Monument staff awaited instructions. Before the end of the month consulting paleontologist Barnum Brown recommended that the floor be further lowered and widened. While awaiting



approval the WPA cut the work force by fifty, something that Boyle did not like given the magnitude of the task and concern about the imminent expansion of the Monument. The wait was short and the next month instructions to proceed were received. Work continued with the decreased WPA crews. They blasted and picked out the lowered floor until 1940 when the job was all but complete and their labors were needed elsewhere as the United States began to prepare for involvement in World War II.⁹

In addition to the work at the quarry the WPA undertook other projects in the Monument as well. These included construction and improvement of the access road, building a water distribution system and sanitary facilities, construction of a camp for the workers (originally started as the Transient Camp), visitor area, and headquarters structures at the Monument. All these were located in, at, or near the present Quarry Visitor Center. The camp, visitor center and headquarters proved to be relatively easy to accomplish given Emergency Relief Administration funding (ERA) and the WPA labor available. In Superintendent Boyle's mind these were important accomplishments if the public at large were to have the opportunity to enjoy the fossil beds. As a reflection of this in the summer of 1937, despite the ongoing Great Depression, 5,110 people visited the quarry, a new record.¹⁰

Even with those improvements Boyle found cause for on-going complaint about the Monument to Washington--the inadequate access road from Highway 40 to the quarry and Monument headquarters. Starting in 1933 a program was begun to place the road in acceptable



condition. Work was slowed by periodic heavy rains that flooded the road and made it impassable. As Boyle described the conditions in 1938, "Just enough work is spent on the bad parts of our road to insure regular transportation of men and supplies."¹¹

Another problem, the condition of Highway 40, was markedly improved during 1936 when much of it was asphalted. However, as Boyle pointed out, the new pavement did not cure all the visitors' woes. In 1937 the Superintendent told of a Utah Highway Department official who, while looking for the access road to the Monument, ended up in Colorado before he realized his mistake. To remedy this, signs were erected at the junction of the access road and Highway 40. Despite that improvement Boyle reported as late as 1941 that visitors complained of the access road to the quarry and an inability to find their way to the interior of the by then, expanded Monument.¹² Even in the face of such troubles Dinosaur served the public through the Great Depression and benefitted from some of the recovery programs of President Roosevelt.

Other Roosevelt programs impacted the region, including the CCC and a major revision in the philosophy and administration of the public lands. During the 1920s, stockraising, still the dominant activity in the region despite challenges from farmers, had become an economically unhealthy industry due to overproduction for World War I demands, both of meat and byproducts such as wool or leather. Beyond that, conservationists, pleased with early improvements in grazing conditions on National Forests,



began to turn their attention to the remaining public land. They hoped to have a system of federal control and leasing. This idea failed to gain popularity among westerners until the 1920s when they began to realize the need for control of the land if any were to survive the economic troubles. In 1928 enough support was generated in Congress for the idea of grazing leases to create an experiment--Mizpah-Pumpkin Creek Grazing District in southeastern Montana. The idea caught the attention of Representative Edward T. Taylor who represented all western Colorado, as well as stockmen of northwestern Colorado including their political leader, Farrington R. Carpenter. Taylor, Carpenter, and other supporters of the leasing idea found little support from the Hoover White House, but once FDR and his Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes took over leasing was viewed in a new light.

With such encouragement, Taylor set out to frame a law to establish leased grazing as the policy for federal lands. Taking into consideration local needs and attempting to head off western objections, the law as proposed included a voice for cattlemen in the control of local grazing districts. The president favored the new law because it allowed the government to control the number of animals grazed on public lands, a thrust in tune with other New Deal business recovery programs that focused attention on the control of overproduction as the method to keep prices up. After some refinement with the Interior Department and Congressional debate the Taylor Grazing Act passed



Congress and became law with Roosevelt's signature on June 28, 1934. Early the next year all remaining public lands came under the control of the Grazing Service (USDI) and the process of establishing districts and quotas began throughout the West.¹³

Organization of Grazing Districts took place beginning in late summer and fall of 1934 under the leadership of newly appointed Grazing Service Director Farrington Carpenter. The first to be established, District Number 1 or the "Taylor District," was set up on September 17, 1934, in Grand Junction, Colorado, and included Moffat County and lands that would become part of Dinosaur National Monument before the end of the decade.¹⁴ Once the district had been established a program was begun by the Civilian Conservation Corps to improve forage in the area. From then until 1941 the CCC would remain active in the Monument improving trails, replanting, and the like.¹⁵

Locally, establishment of the Grazing Service impacted both the Monument and the people around it. In particular, as public meetings were held in Craig, Colorado, and Vernal, Utah, to get the Grazing Districts functioning the question of the enlargement of Dinosaur came before the stockmen. The graziers and National Park Service representative, David Madsen, asked the people at public meetings in June, 1936, where they felt appropriate boundaries for the Monument would fall. The apparent goal was to head off some local opposition to the enlargement by securing citizen input. Cattlemen Joe Haslem and Sam Carr unabashedly stepped forward and taking red pencil in hand



marked out what they felt to be the proper borders for the new park.¹⁶ While it is doubtful that the process was that simple, the attention being paid to the needs of local stockmen by Interior Department officials to insure success of the Grazing Act probably did play a role in the eventual survey and boundary determinations of the Monument. Also, the Grazing Service and its successor Bureau of Land Management controlled grazing within the Monument into the 1950s. At least in the case of Dinosaur the two Interior Department agencies worked hand in hand to help preserve local economic lifeways.¹⁷

Even in the face of such comparatively massive federal programs of economic aid and rehabilitation some in the Monument area chose to find their own solutions. One was the gold mining operations being run by Lodore dude ranchers to make enough money to keep from losing the property for taxes. Three other individuals tried another scheme to make money--distilling illegal alcohol. During the 1920s the nation went dry under prohibition and it was not until the thirties that the amendment was repealed. In the interim people remained thirsty and sought out illegal whiskey, bathtub gin came into its own, and moonshining became a popular way to supplement the family income. In the Monument a little group of three tried to established their still; however, the operation was unsuccessful and local residents had to go elsewhere to slake their thirst.¹⁸



Despite the tremendous developments at and around Dinosaur during the Great Depression, including the massive federal involvement, the economic woes continued through the decade and until 1940 and 1941 as the nation prepared for World War II and allied purchases of war material, supplies, and food turned the economy around. The final cure came on December 7, 1941, as the United States found it impossible to stay out of the War after Japanese bombs fell on the Hawaiian naval and military bases. The coming of the war meant that for the duration activity at the Monument reverted to something of a custodial operation as it had been before the burst of development that had taken place during the 1930s. Thirties work included the preparation of the quarry for further visitor oriented development, a new headquarters, buildings for exhibits, living quarters, water and sanitary systems and an improved access road and, last but most dramatic, the 1938 expansion of the Monument. Even though the New Deal did not pull the area out of the Depression it did help change the face of Dinosaur forever laying the groundwork for future development.



CHAPTER XII NOTES

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⁵Superintendent's Monthly Reports, Dinosaur National Monument, copies on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center, June, November 1936, hereafter cited: Superintendent Monthly.

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¹⁶Joe Haslem Interview, 6 October 1969, typescript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center.

¹⁷History and Legislation Concerning Dinosaur National Monument to 30 November 1953, Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center.

¹⁸Glade M. Ross, "Pioneers and Historic Structures of Dinosaur National Monument," draft 1984, manuscript on file at Dinosaur National Monument Headquarters, p. 56.



CHAPTER XIII

DEVELOPMENT OF WATER RESOURCES IN THE DINOSAUR AREA AFTER 1900

Water, the fluid of life, has always been a scarce commodity in the West. Its development by Anglo-American settlers, and later with the help of the federal government, make up a significant portion of the history of the region, including Dinosaur National Monument. Beginning with the Newlands Act of 1902, the federal government took a more active part in securing supplies of water for the West. The 1902 legislation created the Bureau of Reclamation and gave it the power to reserve sites for reservoirs as well as build them. Not long after that reservations were being made across the West in preparation for the new bureau's dam building and irrigation projects.

The Bureau of Reclamation made its first reservation in the Dinosaur area on October 17, 1904 for the Brown's Park Reservoir Site. Little came of those plans because the surveyors could not find bedrock in Green River. The fact that they could not find bedrock did not mean an end to Bureau of Reclamation interest in the region. However, they did not return with more reservations for nearly forty years.¹

Even though little happened for water development in the Dinosaur area changes were taking place elsewhere during the intervening years that would have a tremendous impact on the Monument after it was enlarged. In addition to water for irrigation the government, as well as private companies, began to look at the hydro-electric potential of western rivers. The advent



of electric motors and lights during the late nineteenth century increased the potential market for electricity so that by the early twentieth century a number of corporations started to build hydro-electric plants, often depending on the public lands for their dam sites. This fact became clear in 1912 after publication of a report regarding water power development that indicated ten corporations controlled most of the water power in the West including the public lands. Further investigation indicated that twenty-eight companies controlled 90% of the water power, a fearful fact to the Wilson Administration that had taken stands against monopoly. Such shocking facts spurred Congress to action, but only after more than six years of debate, often interrupted by the World War I emergency. Western legislators, fearful of more massive federal reservations similar to those for National Forests that had caused such upheaval, opposed early attempts to reserve water power sites. However, by 1920 they agreed with the policy, primarily because of federal generosity to the states with the royalties from water power site leases. In 1920 Congress passed a bill that created the Federal Power Commission and authorized reservation of the sites and a leasing system for them. President Wilson was reluctant to sign the measure because it did not exempt national parks from power development. After assurances from Congress that the problem would be corrected, Wilson signed. The next year the amendment exempting national parks and monuments, except with the approval of Congress, was passed and signed.²



After debate on the Federal Power Commission died down, that agency and the Bureau of Reclamation continued their work in the West. By the mid-1920s a number of the early reclamation projects had been completed and that agency undertook the planning and development of even more projects. By the mid 1930s Reclamation agents again were in the field searching for new locales for reservoirs and canal systems, including the Colorado-Big Thompson Project (northeastern Colorado), the Frying Pan-Arkansas Project (southeastern Colorado), and others. Out of Colorado-Big Thompson planning came an important change in federal policy regarding the sanctity of national parks and monuments. The Colorado-Big Thompson Project called for collection of water on the Western Slope at Grand Lake and transmittal of the water through a tunnel under Rocky Mountain National Park to farmers on the eastern plains of Colorado. The Park was off-limits to such undertakings, but after pressure from influential Congressmen, such as Edward T. Taylor, the Federal Power Act was amended in August, 1935. These changes reaffirmed the denial of access to national parks and monuments for water projects except for those specifically approved by Congress. Still resisting the idea of building under Rocky Mountain National Park, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes refused to issue a go-ahead order to the Bureau of Reclamation. After much pressure from both inside and outside the Administration Ickes gave his permission in 1937. In describing this exception, one author said, "The foundations had now been laid for the explosive battle over Dinosaur National Monument



in the 1950s,"³ even though Dinosaur was protected by the 1935 Amendment.

Even with the new legislation other problems remained that slowed water development through the 1920s and into the 1930s. In addition to the economic problems of the Great Depression, another part of the delay came from the West. Westerners, inherently fearful of Washington, D.C., viewed the entire reclamation process with some suspicion. Fearful that soon they would lose control of their own water to the government, representatives from all the Colorado River Basin states met in 1922 to hammer out an agreement dividing the waters equitably. From this meeting and subsequent negotiation the Colorado River Compact emerged that included the waters of the Yampa and Green Rivers as part of the Colorado River's flow. This interstate agreement was approved by Congress before the end of the decade after years of struggle to get each state to approve the compact. This action allowed each state to know how much water it had so that plans for future development could be made.⁴

Outcome of the Colorado River debate slowed Bureau of Reclamation plans only temporarily. Once the division had been made that agency undertook more planning for future development, no doubt hoping to take advantage of the large public works budgets that were making their way through Congress under Franklin D. Roosevelt's administrations. Looking again to the Dinosaur region, the Bureau investigated alternative sites for dams. Little happened until 1943 when the reports had been



completed and announcement of withdrawal of the Echo Park and Split Mountain dam and reservoir sites. Even withdrawal did not mean construction, especially since in 1943 the nation and its government were almost totally absorbed in trying to win World War II and Congress was not prepared to pass the needed authorizing legislation. Further, the Upper Basin states as set out in the Colorado River Compact had yet to determine how much water member states, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and New Mexico, each would receive. Efforts to resolve this matter continued until 1948 when a three-week conference between representatives of each of the states took place at Vernal and the matter was solved.⁵

The Federal Power Commission also remained active through the 1930s. That body had set aside a number of sites and began leasing them to prospective dam builders during the early 1920s. Their work continued into the 1930s and forties, including examination of new sites in national parks and monuments set aside after March 3, 1921, as allowed by the 1921 and 1935 amendments to their legislation. Suddenly a new arena for their activities opened up, including the lands of the Dinosaur expansion.⁶

Amendments to the law and the Bureau of Reclamation planning during the 1930s and 1940s set the stage for some dramatic post-war developments in western water. After the division of the waters between the Upper Basin States had taken place, the Bureau of Reclamation began planning in earnest for a comprehensive water storage system in the region, to be known as the Colorado River



Storage System. It was to include upwards of fifteen individual reservoirs on the Colorado and Green Rivers and their tributaries.⁷

Encompassed within post-war Reclamation planning were two reservoirs that would directly impact Dinosaur National Monument. In the years immediately following the end of World War II the Bureau of Reclamation continued its planning for the projects and in 1950 received approval for the Split Mountain Reservoir from Secretary of the Interior Oscar L. Chapman. The next hurdle, and first public notice of the Bureau's plans came on April 3, 1950, when the plan was presented to Congress at hearings by the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. At those hearings the depth of Reclamation's planning became obvious to Washington watchers. As later described by Monument sympathizers, Reclamation was "loaded with years of preparation, it was ready to shove through the scheme."⁸

News of the proposal caused a great stir among national conservation and Parks groups as they prepared to do battle in the halls of Congress to stop the project. As one author described the situation:

The threat of a government agency[Bureau of Reclamation] being allowed to ignore the safeguards that heretofore have surrounded our parks, carries shocking implications of what may lie ahead, once such a precedent is set and the established policies overridden.⁹

Dinosaur National Monument and the Split Mountain Reservoir had become much more than a local issue, at least in the eyes of conservation groups such as the National Parks Association and others. They took their fight into the field, urging people



to write Congress in opposition to the proposal and going to places like Vernal to investigate the local situation. In an article in National Parks Magazine, a journal published for members of the National Parks Association, the author, Devereux Butcher, found that the Bureau of Reclamation had promised a great business boom for Vernal if the dam were built. New tourists interested in water sports, farmers, and others would all flock to the area under Reclamation scenarios as presented to the public. Needless to say Butcher felt that the dambuilders had been less than candid about the situation.¹⁰

The debate raged on into 1951 when force opposed to the proposal had begun to gather enough strength to mount a viable case in Congress. They did so through Representative Leroy Johnson of California, who used much of the information gathered by the National Parks Association in debates before Congress, as well as having those remarks reprinted for public distribution. In addition a number of conservation and wilderness preservation groups joined the fight to stop the project, coalescing as the Emergency Conservation Committee. Nearly all that panel's members feared not only what would happen to Dinosaur, but moreover the precedent that this would set. If Dinosaur's scenery and rivers could be inundated in a reservoir which national park or monument would be next?¹¹

Despite the apparent defeat of the Split Mountain Reservoir in Congress, the Bureau of Reclamation and water developers of the region were not yet ready to give up the war. Pushing



ahead with their efforts to create the Colorado River Storage Project the Bureau of Reclamation unveiled the Echo Park Reservoir as part of the overall plan in December of 1953 and January of 1954. During the early months of 1954 the firestorm again began to gather around the question of a reservoir in Dinosaur National Monument. Reclamation's plans should have been stopped cold by natural forces before the debate really got going. On February 21, 1954 an earthquake hit the Monument area, apparently having its epicenter in or near the Monument.¹² However, this did not halt the reservoir planning or debate.

Again conservation groups rallied to the defense of the Monument, such as the Emergency Committee that had begun its work during the Split Mountain fight. They garnered national attention from Newsweek, that ran an article on January 25 entitled "Dams and Dinosaurs," explaining the cultural and scenic resources that would be lost if the project went ahead as scheduled.¹³ As winter became spring the debate continued and the anti-dam forces picked up an important ally, Raymond Moley, former close advisor to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and by 1954 columnist for Newsweek. In the April 12 issue he accused Reclamation planners of using gimmicks and "unsound bookkeeping" to prove their case.¹⁴ On May 9 he called the project "Pork Unlimited," an obvious reference to pork barrel legislation and went on to charge that the Interior Department and President Dwight D. Eisenhower favored the project, "only to keep western Republicans in office."¹⁵



Despite such harsh criticism the Senate approved the measure on April 20, 1955 and sent it on to the House of Representatives. Supporters of the measure in the House feared that the protests from conservation groups, Moley, and others over the Echo Park dam might well delay the entire Upper Colorado Storage Project. As a result leaders of the fight for the bill in the House decided to drop the controversial dam from the proposal. Instead, the Flaming Gorge Dam and reservoir were substituted. Even with Echo Park dropped it took another year of debate before the Upper Colorado Storage Project passed the House of Representatives. On April 11, 1956 President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the law and before the end of the year construction was underway on both the Flaming Gorge Dam and Glen Canyon Dam, the largest and most southern of the reservoirs included in the overall system. Construction at Flaming Gorge lasted eight years and in August, 1964, Mrs. Lyndon Johnson, wife of the president, dedicated the completed dam. Flaming Gorge Reservoir, Dinosaur's nearest neighbor in the Colorado River Storage Project, stretched from the dam site ninety-one miles upstream to Green River, Wyoming. Its capacity is in excess of 3,800,000 acre-feet of water and eventually will generate 100,000 kilowatts of electricity. The Bureau of Reclamation has developed a National Recreation Area around the reservoir. Green River stream flow through Dinosaur has been controlled through regulated release from the reservoir.¹⁶



The development of water resources around Dinosaur and the Monument's dependence on the Green and Yampa Rivers for recreational purposes continues to be an area of concern for administrators. Most recently, the Juniper-Cross Mountain project in northwestern Colorado, still under consideration, has stirred considerable debate in the region, including the National Park Service. Resisting threats to the Monument's water and the natural condition of aridity in the region may be a major factor in the Monument's future history.



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¹History of Legislation Concerning Dinosaur National Monument to 30 November 1953, on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center, hereafter cited: Legislative Folder.

²Roy M. Robbins, Our Landed Heritage, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), pp. 390-396; 16USCS s^s796,797,798, hereafter cited:16USCS.

³Donald C. Swain, "The National Park Service and the New Deal, 1933-1940," Pacific Historical Quarterly, 41(August 1972):322; 16USCS.

⁴For a detailed discussion of the entire process of framing the Colorado River Compact see: Norris Hundley, Jr., Water and the West, The Colorado River Compact and the Politics of Water in the American West, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

⁵Ibid., pp. 300-302; Legislative Folder.

⁶Legislative Folder.

⁷Jay R. Bingham, "Reclamation and the Colorado," Utah Historical Quarterly, 28(July 1960): 238-240, hereafter cited: Bingham, "Reclamation."

⁸Arthur Carhart, "The Menaced Dinosaur National Monument," reprint from National Parks Magazine, January-March 1952 issue, p. 1.

⁹Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁰Devereux Butcher, "This Is Dinosaur," National Parks Magazine, 24(October-December 1950):123-128.

¹¹Leroy Johnson, "This Is Dinosaur, Extension of Remarks of the Honorable Leroy Johnson of California to the United States House of Representatives, 20 December 1950 and 30 January 1951," printed by Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1951, for distribution by the National Parks Association; No Author, Don't Dam the National Park System, (Washington, D.C.: Emergency Committee on Natural Resources, n.d.), hereafter cited: Emergency Committee.

¹²Earthquake File, Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center, see correspondence of Monument Naturalist Harry B. Robinson for details of the earthquake.



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¹⁴Raymond Moley, "Water, Land and Bookkeeping," Newsweek, 12 April 1954, p. 112.

¹⁵_____, "Pork Unlimited," Newsweek, 9 May 1954, p. 108.

¹⁶Bingham, "Reclamation," pp. 240, 242.



CHAPTER XIV

DINOSAUR: WORLD WAR II AND BEYOND

As the Great Depression ended and the United States plunged into World War II the National Parks found that the development work of the 1930s ended abruptly as the nation's attention and resources were focussed on winning the war. Dinosaur shared in this as the Monument and its staff awaited the end of the war and hoped for better days. In addition to a lack of funds for further improvements the war also brought a near halt to visitation as fuel rationing kept Americans from taking to the roads for vacations. Once the war ended visitorship rebounded but not so the National Park Service's budget, which meant that Dinosaur had to wait, as did other parks and monuments, for increased funding to carry out further work.

The situation at Dinosaur was little changed from what it had been in the 1930s. Visitors to the Monument saw the quarry under a steel building that also housed the headquarters, museum and other facilities, they still faced a rather poor road into the Monument, and some parts of the it remained all but inaccessible. In particular the Colorado side of Dinosaur lacked any significant improvements over the conditions that had existed when Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the proclamation that expanded it.

Despite these handicaps the American public sought out Dinosaur and other national parks and monuments as spots for their summer vacations. After the war-time restrictions on



gasoline, rubber, and general consumerism were lifted, Americans in ever-increasing numbers took to the nation's highways and the tradition of the auto-vacation came to life again. These people spent their winters studying road maps and planning for the next summer's great adventure. Drawn by the lure of the "Old West," as then and throughout the fifties being popularized in the new medium--television--and the call to exotic places and sites, Americans got in their cars and headed to Dinosaur and other parks in ever-increasing numbers throughout the decade. This put a severe strain on Dinosaur's limited facilities and before long complaints from visitors and fears of even more deterioration to the Monument, as well as nearly all other National Parks, led to action.¹

Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the National Park Service during the 1950s, clearly realized the problem by 1955 as did others, such as Reader's Digest. The National Park System as a whole had suffered tremendous budget cuts as a result of World War II, but after the war as other agencies had their budget levels restored or even increased the Park Service was not as fortunate before Congress at appropriation time. By 1955 the situation had reached crisis proportions. Wirth, along with key members of his staff, finally identified their problems and once that was done they framed a plan of action to rectify the situation. The plan for overall improvement of parks and monuments throughout the System came to be known as MISSION 66, a program to be completed in ten years, or in other words



by 1966, the Fiftieth Anniversary of the creation of the National Park System. Wirth and others in the Park Service felt that such a bold, all-encompassing approach would have a better chance before Congress than small items for each individual park or monument, and their faith proved to be well placed.²

Among the problems identified by the MISSION 66 staff were inadequate visitor centers and headquarter facilities; substandard living quarters for park staff members; need for more and better roads; new methods for dealing with concessioners; and a host of other problems. Soon Wirth and his committee realized that underlying the entire planning framework was the fact that the needs of each park varied with its mission, location and visitation. Recognizing this National Park Service designers adopted certain standards, such as for employee housing, that could be used with only minor modifications throughout the System, but left enough flexibility so that each park or monument could develop facilities to fit its own needs.³

For Dinosaur this meant that the long-awaited work on a permanent visitor center at the quarry, new roads, and other facilities could finally be planned and, if Congress funded MISSION 66, built. As part of MISSION 66 planning, Park Service officials began to recognize the need for durability in their permanent, heavily utilized structures, something that mitigated against the extensive use of wood in construction, as had been done previously. More than that, at Dinosaur at least, the Quarry Visitor Center needed to be something that would inspire



the public and prepare them for the fantastic sights they were about to behold at the quarry. As a result of these combined ideas plans for the new visitor center were drawn up during 1956 and in early 1957 with MISSION 66 barely underway, construction began on the visitor center.⁴

Work on the structure began on May 1, 1957, as Superintendent Jess Lombard looked on, undoubtedly realizing that he was witnessing the fulfillment of the dreams of Earl Douglass and others who had hoped and planned over the years to have a "proper" building at the quarry for visitors to appreciate the magnitude of the site they were beholding. Construction proceeded ahead through the remainder of 1957. Delays because of late delivery of structural steel and decisions about colors forced the completion date of the project back, but on May 9, 1958, work was completed. A few weeks later, as the summer tourist rush started, the first visitors came to the site.⁵ Despite the impressive nature of the structure, it was not long before problems appeared. The building sits on bentonite, a highly unstable soil, and as it shifted the roof needed repair, marking the beginning of a long chain of problems with the structure's maintenance. Nevertheless, the new visitor center constituted a definite improvement over the older sheetmetal building and more importantly marked the first example of a change in National Park Service design preferences from rustic to modern.⁶

The Quarry Visitor Center proved to be only the initial phase of MISSION 66 at Dinosaur National Monument. As work



on the new visitor center was underway, planners finalized the program for Dinosaur's overall improvement. Their ideas translated into a program of capital investment totaling 5.3 million dollars by 1966. The first effort after the visitor center to gain attention was the access road to the quarry and in late 1957 a contract for paving and improvements was let.⁷ From then on through 1966 construction throughout Dinosaur continued at a hectic pace. In addition to other road work new comfort stations, employee housing, and improvements to camping areas at the Gates of Lodore, and work at scenic areas and the like all took place.⁸

As these improvements were being made a major shift in previous policy, took place during MISSION 66--the establishment and building of a new headquarters for the Monument separate from the quarry or its vicinity. Until 1965 Monument administration had been centered in Utah, either at the quarry, Jensen, or Vernal. However, due to political pressure and a new emphasis on the outdoor recreational potential of Dinosaur, the headquarters was moved to Artesia, Colorado, appropriately renamed Dinosaur, Colorado. Starting with facilities such as a new shop building in 1962 work moved ahead at the new location until 1965 when the headquarters building itself was occupied by the National Park Service. With this improvement and others finished that year MISSION 66 wound down at Dinosaur National Monument, leaving a much improved part of the National Park System.⁹

Throughout the Park Service, MISSION 66 greatly impacted the future of national parks. As part of the overall program



2,767 miles of roads and 936 miles of trails were either improved or built, 742 new picnic areas were built, 257 new service and administrative buildings, 1,239 new residences, 218 utility buildings, and 114 new visitor centers, many using the same design philosophy as the Quarry Visitor Center, all were finished. Compared to the national totals the efforts at Dinosaur seem small, but for the Monument these were significant nonetheless.¹⁰ Dinosaur, at the end of MISSION 66, had become a sparkling example of the goals and hopes of Director Wirth and others when they launched the program in 1955.

Dinosaur experienced a number of changes during the 1950s and early 1960s that were not improvements in the Monument's physical plant, but in its political status and size as well. On January 6, 1953, Representative Leroy Johnson of California introduced HR 1037 that would, if accepted, convert Dinosaur National Monument into Green River Canyons National Park and reduce the Monument back to roughly its size before expansion in 1938. The motivations may very well have stemmed from concern over Bureau of Reclamation proposals for damming the Green that had surfaced earlier. Whatever the reason behind the move debate on the idea continued through the year with opponents and proponents lining up their arguments. One of the most vehement denunciations of the proposal came from the Colorado Cattlemen's Association, that charged out-of-staters with trying to tamper with Colorado affairs and fear that any new national park would impact their grazing rights in the area.¹¹



Johnson's bill failed to win approval, but it was not the last attempt to change the Monument into a national park. On July 17, 1957 Colorado Senator Gordon Allott introduced Senate Bill S-2577 that would convert the Monument into Dinosaur National Park. Its timing was somewhat better because the furor over Split Mountain and Echo Park Dams had died down and attention could be focussed on the park issue by itself. Allott found that his proposal for the creation of the thirtieth national park met with approval from groups such as the Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, and other conservation-minded groups. These organizations prepared to do battle with as they were characterized, "those who always oppose parks."¹² As it turned out Allott had not done his homework well enough and not even all of Colorado supported the move.

One very influential member of Congress who took an active interest in the question and the entire future of Dinosaur was Representative Wayne Aspinall of Grand Junction. Aspinall had inherited Edward T. Taylor's seat in Congress, including Moffat County, and much like Taylor, Aspinall became deeply involved in the House Committee on Public Lands (formerly Interior and Insular Affairs). In 1959 he became chairman of that committee and from that position directed the affairs of the Interior Department through control of key legislation. Aspinall took a friendly stance toward the National Park Service, no doubt a position that helped with the completion of MISSION 66.¹³ The Colorado Representative, however, never lost sight of his



constituents and when many of them, particularly ranchers dependent on public lands for range, expressed fears that Dinosaur might impinge their grazing, Aspinall sought an alternative route to help the Monument.

In 1959, after Allott's park proposal had lost momentum, Aspinall introduced his own plan. Instead of creating a Dinosaur National Park, the Aspinall idea called for an increase in size for the Monument. That year he helped push through a resolution expanding Dinosaur from 209,744 acres to 214,500 acres. Throughout the effort Aspinall made clear that his proposal would protect existing grazing rights in the area. That part of the idea no doubt was to placate any opposition that he might have generated from his own district.¹⁴ While presently available documents do not clarify whether Aspinall was influential in the movement of Dinosaur's headquarters to Colorado, it would seem to be a very real possibility that his position in Congress may have impacted the relocation to his district. Friends in Washington such as Aspinall did not hurt Dinosaur and as the sixties gave way to the seventies increased awareness of environmental protection and wilderness areas as well as other attractions continued to increase Dinosaur's popularity with the American public. The nation survived trials such as the 1973 Oil Embargo and higher energy costs, both of which temporarily slowed motorists. By the early 1980s Dinosaur faced new problems such as energy development in the region around it and again the idea of conversion to a national park surfaced. Awaiting



final action on that proposal the Dinosaur staff looks to the future with continued dedication to their respective specialties and the Monument.



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¹Superintendent's Monthly Reports, Dinosaur National Monument, copies on file at Dinosaur National Monument Headquarters, 1947-1951, hereafter cited: Superintendent Monthly; Conrad L. Wirth, Parks, Politics and the People, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), pp. 240-244, hereafter cited: Wirth, Parks.

²Wirth, Parks, pp. 237-255.

³Ibid., pp. 244-249, give pictures and diagrams of park housing at the time and planned.

⁴Ibid., pp. 268-270; Visitor Center folder, Building Files, Dinosaur National Monument, copies on file at Rocky Mountain Regional Office, National Park Service and Dinosaur National Monument, hereafter cited: Building Files.

⁵Visitor Center folder, Building Files.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Employee Housing folders, Building Files; Grand Junction Daily Sentinel, 24 August 1964.

⁹Artesia Maintenance Shop folder, Building Files; Superintendent Monthly, January, February March 1965.

¹⁰Wirth, Parks, pp. 262, 266-270.

¹¹History and Legislation Pertinent to Dinosaur National Monument to 30 November 1953, folder, on file at Dinosaur National Monument Quarry Visitor Center; Denver Post, 6 June 1953.

¹²No Author, Conservation Special Bulletin, (n.c.: Council of Conservationists, Inc., 1957). Pamphlet supporting Allott's National Park proposal.

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¹⁴Rocky Mountain News, 27 April 1959.



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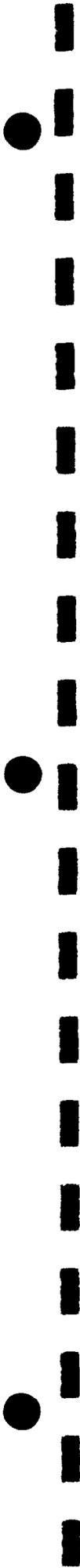
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APPENDICES



APPENDIX A

LEVEL OF PRESENT RESOURCES KNOWLEDGE

At the present time the primary problem with the knowledge of historic resources at Dinosaur National Monument is the vast differences in the level of knowledge about specific resources. Some sites are very well documented and researched, such as the Josie Bassett Morris ranch or the quarry, while others are barely above the identification level, such as the Blevin cabin or miners/hermit shelter. Part of this can be traced to the history of the area, with the Bassett family and others being well known for their colorful actions and thusly sites associated with them are better known than those associated with the mundane settlers of the region. Also, families, such as the Chews or Mantles, that stayed in the area and have been interviewed by National Park Service staff members, tended to raise the level of knowledge about sites they were associated with. Conversely, people who left the area and have not been located or interviewed are not well represented in the knowledge pool of Dinosaur's history. As a result the sites associated with them are not as well documented. While this is to be expected, it does present problems for management of the resources as well as the Monument in general. Until this situation is corrected it will remain difficult to evaluate all the resources at the Monument.

The second factor that impacts the level of resources knowledge is the accuracy of some of the information available about the



local history of the Monument area. Any time famous or infamous characters appear in local history there is the great likelihood for legends to grow, and if repeated often enough, they become accepted as fact. For example, in the Dinosaur area individuals such as Butch Cassidy, Tom McCarty, or Tom Horn undoubtedly were present, but exactly what they did, where they stayed or who they saw, will probably never be known, as their respective businesses were not of a type that lent themselves to extensive and accurate record-keeping. Further, human nature entered into the picture as local residents chose to be associated with or wanted to be associated with a Cassidy or McCarty. The residents, such as Ann Bassett, or Avvon Chew no doubt felt that such an association added to their personal stature among their neighbors. The result was that many of the residents helped their own "stories" grow as they were retold, a factor that is always a problem when oral tradition is used for historical research. Finally, the biases of people like Ann Bassett enter into the level of knowledge situation. In the past few writers have been aware of the biases, or if they were aware of the biases did nothing to correct them. The result has been to overemphasize some resources and under-emphasize others.

At present the level of knowledge for many, if not most, of the historic resources within Dinosaur National Monument is not at a level high enough to make adequate professional evaluations of the resources vis a vis the criteria for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places(36CFR60.4). This



situation is likely to change in the near future as this study is completed and the contextual and evaluational information it contains is synthesized with the report being prepared by Glade Ross, "Pioneers and Historic Structures of Dinosaur National Monument." Mr. Ross's document contains much valuable data about the individual resources, and when that information is placed into contexts for evaluation, Dinosaur's historic resources can be evaluated for their significance as defined by the National Register of Historic Places.



APPENDIX B

EVALUATION OF PRESENT INVENTORY DEFICIENCIES

The present status of historic resources inventory, study and evaluation at Dinosaur National Monument has been without a focus to the extent that the goal of a cultural(historic) resources study should be the evaluation and subsequent nomination of worthy properties to the National Register of Historic Places. Secondary to that is the development of interpretive data, such as signs or information for use by National Park Service personnel when dealing with the public. Previous work at Dinosaur has focused on the collection of data, apparently for interpretive purposes more than cultural resources management, and has not been carried out in a systematic manner. As a result the body of knowledge contains much information but lacks three major elements. The first is an overall synthesis of the area's history and the history of the Monument. The second, closely associated with the first, is the lack of a regional historic context for the Monument. The third is a general underestimation of the value of resources in the Monument that reflect federal involvement, particularly National Park Service, in the Monument's development during the twentieth century.

The first deficiency, an overall synthesis of the Monument's history, will be corrected when this study is completed, at least to the present time. However, history is a dynamic discipline and as new information becomes available the synthesis will need to be updated. The areas of concern most likely to witness



significant new studies in the foreseeable future are the entire question of twentieth century western history, as defined as the post-frontier period, the Great Depression and New Deal in the area, and the evolution and development of water law, and water resources and Bureau of Reclamation activities in the period after the initial burst of projects between 1902 and approximately 1925. The other area of concern will be conservation and natural resource planning after the efforts of the early twentieth century. The findings of such studies will have to be incorporated into a future synthesis of Dinosaur history.

The second deficiency that will be corrected by this study and incorporation of information from the final version of Glade Ross's "Pioneers and Historic Structures" report will be the development of thematic historic contexts applicable to the Monument but that are associated with regional events. Thusly, the broad patterns of history for the area will be identified, fulfilling that portion of the National Register of Historic Places criteria enunciated in 36CFR60.4. As a result the themes will facilitate study and evaluation of historic resources. Until the contexts are established the evaluation of most of the historic resources of Dinosaur can not be done adequately because their status as unique or representative examples of one or more themes(broad patterns) will not be readily or easily documented. At present the study and evaluation seems to be taking place in a partial vacuum, relying on associations with



significant persons or events rather than patterns. Assuming that a thematic association implies some type of significance, then each resource not associated with a significant person or event, but associated with a theme, can be evaluated on its own merits of integrity, architectural qualities, or informational potential as outlined in 36CFR60.4, as would the other resources.

The third inventory deficiency is the underestimation of the importance of National Park Service and other federal resources as potentially valuable historic resources. This is partially rooted in the lack of an overall regional context and also in the fact that many of the resources are used on a day-to-day basis. Frequently, as the old saying goes, familiarity breeds contempt, or at least a certain "taken for granted" attitude. Finally, the National Register of Historic Places criteria of a resource generally needing to be more than fifty years old has led to a slighting of modern resources. Of particular interest to Dinosaur and the role of the federal government are those resources that can be associated with the Great Depression and Monument expansion that have or soon will cross the fifty-year old barrier. Also, the Quarry Visitor Center is important because its architectural style became the model for more recent (MISSION 66) National Park Service Structures. Undoubtedly, as more historic research is done on the twentieth century West the appreciation, study and evaluation of these resources will increase. Recognizing that this is likely to happen, any historic preservation



plan developed for Dinosaur should include those resources or at least provisions for consideration of them in the future.

The final deficiency that needs to be addressed at Dinosaur National Monument is the treatment of historic resources. Once the evaluation process is completed and the worthy properties have been identified, an historic resource management plan can be developed that will outline the proper treatment measures, such as reconstruction, rehabilitation, excavation, stabilization, signing, and interpretive programs for the individual resources. At present, the Monument's resource plans do not adequately address these concerns nor does the present level of effort meet legislative criteria for treatment should a number of sites be included in the National Register of Historic Places. This area should be considered as part of the overall development plans for the Monument and very well may be impacted by considerations such as a change in status to a National Park, budgetary restrictions for both development and protection of cultural properties, and other resource values that might be negatively impacted by extensive historic resource development. Once the present historic resources study is completed a basic cultural resources management plan can be framed.



APPENDIX C

HISTORIC VALUES NOT REPRESENTED BY EXTANT RESOURCES

Within Dinosaur National Monument there are two types of historic values that are not represented by extant resources, at least if defined in the traditional sense of a structure, building, or architectural/engineering feature. Some may be represented by sites and others not. The two categories are:

- 1) values representing momentary or transitory activities, and
- 2) locations that once were the site of an historic resource but that have had the resource razed or destroyed.

Within the first category there are a number of values present that can be associated with the themes and subthemes of Dinosaur's history. Foremost are those values associated with the exploration and fur trade and resource development, including the Green and Yampa Rivers. Most obvious are the locations like Disaster Falls or the Gates of Lodore, named by John Wesley Powell on his expeditions through the area. In addition to the Powell trips those of Dominguez-Escalante, William Manly, William Ashley and other, lesser known explorers and fur traders, that passed through the area are associated with the rivers. This important association continued on into the twentieth century with the United States Geological Survey's work on water resource development on the rivers. As a result of these associations both the Green River and to a lesser extent the Yampa River are extremely important to the area's history



and thusly have high historic value even though they are not historic resources in the traditional sense.

Other historic values of lesser importance in the transitory category include the places used for grazing, as driveways for herds of cattle or sheep, sites where violent acts occurred, either in the cattlemen-sheepmen conflicts or others, such as the murder of Valentine Hoy and the temporary campsites of Euro-Americans in the area since the early 1800s or placer mining prospecting locations. By and large the historic value of those locations is less than the ones mentioned above because of three factors: 1) other, more complete and informative resources representing the same theme are extant elsewhere in the Monument, 2) the event that took place at a site was either so common, making camp during a hunting trip for example, and/or hard to pinpoint as to make the cost of a search for the location unjustifiable when compared to the historic or informational value of it, and 3) the importance of the value is negligible when placed in the proper historic context.

The second type of value not represented or no longer represented by an historic resource is that of the once but no longer present category. Within this category there are two sub-classifications for addressing these values: 1) those associated with the early settlement or development of the region, and 2) those associated with the early development of the quarry and Monument. Presently, there is no way to estimate the number of resources that once may have existed that were associated with the area's



early settlement. In many accounts there are references to we lived here and then built a bigger house or moved somewhere else, such as the Chews' early years in the Monument or Henry Shank moving his house out of the Monument by sledding it on the Yampa one winter when when the river was frozen over. Presumably those earlier structures were abandoned, adapted to another use or most likely torn apart for materials to be used as part of some other structure. Whatever became of them, the resource was lost, but the value remained. However, these generally are of comparatively little value because there are still resources extant in the Monument representative of the same settlement and development themes, even to the extent that the old structures were reused in different functions, such as the Chew granary that started as the Jenkins cabin.

The other values that are present at Dinosaur but not represented by as many resources as were at one time extant are those associated with the development of the quarry and Monument. By the very nature of the quarry operation and later improvements made for the present visitor center, sites associated with the initial fossil discovery were lost as were many of the early shelters, tools, and features that were used by Douglass to excavate the site. Further, the present visitor center and other improvements made at Dinosaur during the 1950s and 1960s led to the destruction of a number of resources associated with 1930s public works projects at the Monument. These included: five storage buildings, 3 sets of living quarters, the original



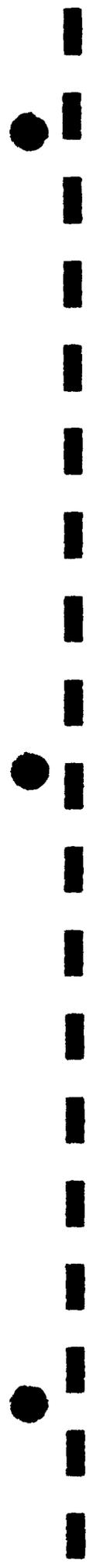
headquarters and visitors center at the quarry, and five privies (the pits may still be on the sites but buried). Twelve of those fourteen buildings were constructed by the Emergency Relief Administration between 1933 and 1937. The other two were built in 1936 and 1937 by the National Park Service. Again, while these resources have been lost their value remains and is expressed, if not reinforced by other resources at Dinosaur (ranger stations lookout towers, and the remaining Wade and Curtis Cabin) as well as the documentation of the structures.

The Wade and Curtis Cabin also is indicative of this classification. It is the one two remaining resources closely associated with the early development of tourism in the area, as well as the expansion of the Monument in 1938. Those same values are represented by the location of the other (lower) Wade and Curtus Cabin which burned some time before 1975, but its value is diminished by the presence of the remaining (upper) Wade and Curtis Cabin.

While a number of historic values are present in Dinosaur that are not or no longer represented by historic resources, their relative value is low because of their nature, contextual associations, or the fact that other resources representing the same theme(s) are extant in the Monument. The major exception to this is the values represented by the Green River, primarily because of the numerous expeditions that followed and explored the river, including Ashley, Powell and others, as well as the Dominguez-Escalante trip and its crossing of the Green. In



consideration of future developments of and along the river
these values should be taken into consideration.



APPENDIX D

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DOCUMENTATION FROM THIS STUDY

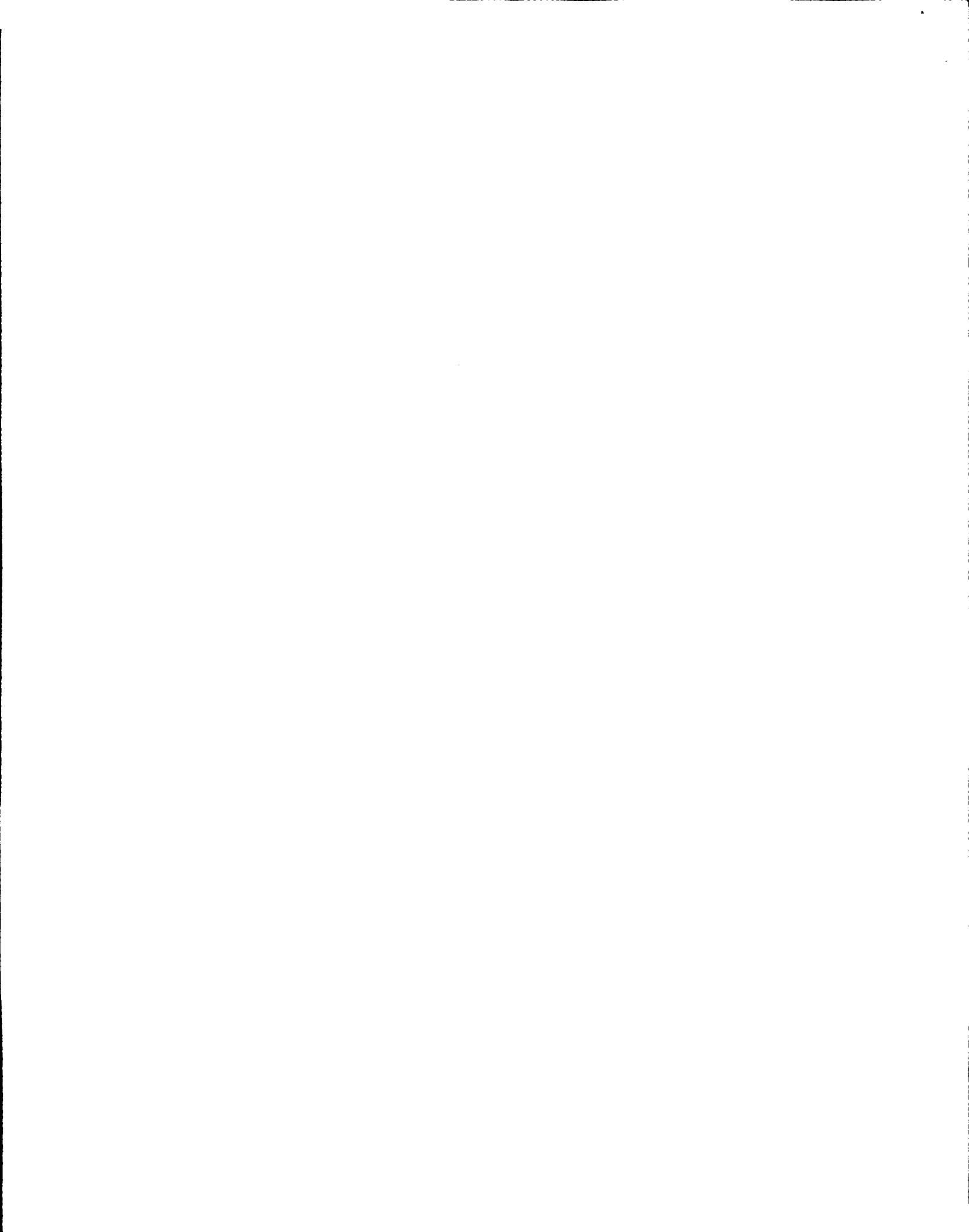
The documentation generated by this historic resources study, aside from the formal reports and eventual nomination papers, should be filed at the Quarry Visitor Center with the other historic and cultural resources information in the appropriate files. Copies of the LCS forms, final report and National Register of Historic Places nomination forms should also be maintained at the Rocky Mountain Regional Office with their Dinosaur National Monument files and in the Monument's cultural resources files. Western Historical Studies will also maintain archival copies of the final reports, forms and nomination papers as well as a copy of the computer diskettes of the reports. A duplicate copy of the computer diskettes will be turned over to the Rocky Mountain Regional Office for their use or transmission to the Monument. Also, the National Park Service should make copies of the final report available to the Colorado and Utah Historic Preservation Officers (SHPOs), if the SHPOs so desire and the National Park Service concurs.



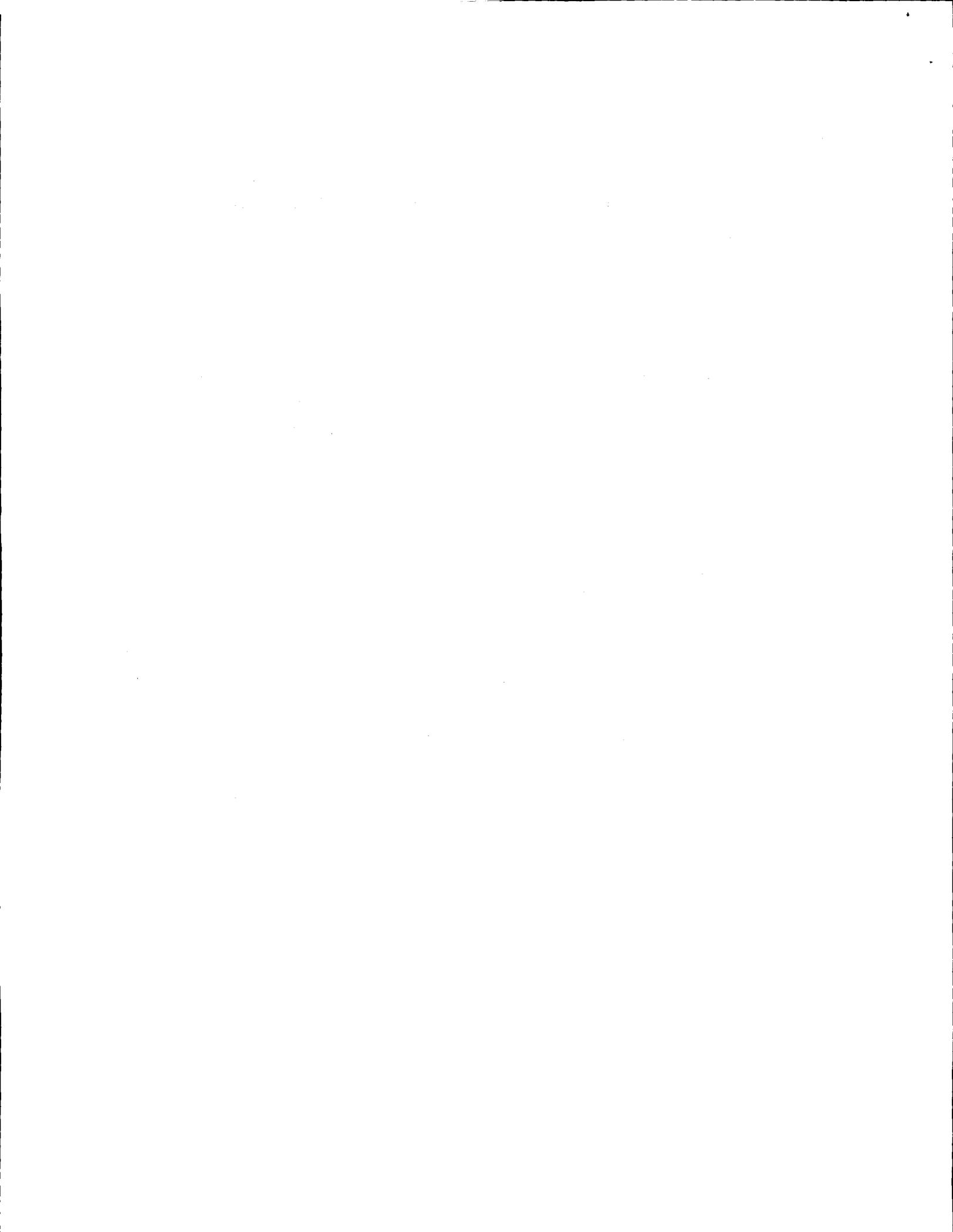
ADDENDUM TO CHAPTER XI

The enlargement of Dinosaur National Monument in 1938 was the culmination of more than seven years work by the National Park Service and the Department of the Interior to preserve one more of America's scenic and natural wonders. The Toll survey of 1933 examined areas throughout the Southwest that had potential to become national parks or monuments. His work included the canyonlands of the Green and Yampa Rivers near the then eighty acre Dinosaur National Monument. Toll, in recording his visit to the area, was particularly impressed with the fact that nearly all the canyonlands were as they had been when first recorded by John Wesley Powell more than seventy years earlier, or that in other words, to Toll the historic scene remained intact. Toll's positive report on the canyonlands led Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes to seek preservation of the area and begin preparations for establishment of a new national monument in the area. Favorable reports from other specialists sent to the region as investigators supported Ickes' plan. The reports of a number of natural scientists from different disciplines, such as geologist Wegemann, reinforced Ickes' earlier decision to have the region preserved as a national monument. As a result Ickes had the National Park Service begin public hearings in preparation for the new monument.

In seeking the input of local residents and others National Park Service official David Madsen conducted two heated meetings in the Dinosaur area, and found that not all shared Secretary Ickes' enthusiasm for the new monument. Aside from the obvious concerns about their future from in-holders two other points came to the fore during the public debates--control of grazing and protection of grazing rights in the area should it become a monument. The grazing question was defused by close cooperation between the National Park Service, the then newly created U.S. Grazing Service and local stockmen to mitigate any adverse impacts. Protective legislation passed by Congress in 1935 forbade construction of dams and reserviors in all national parks and monuments.



After Ickes pushed ahead with the idea of a new monument, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Dinosaur National Monument Proclamation in 1938.

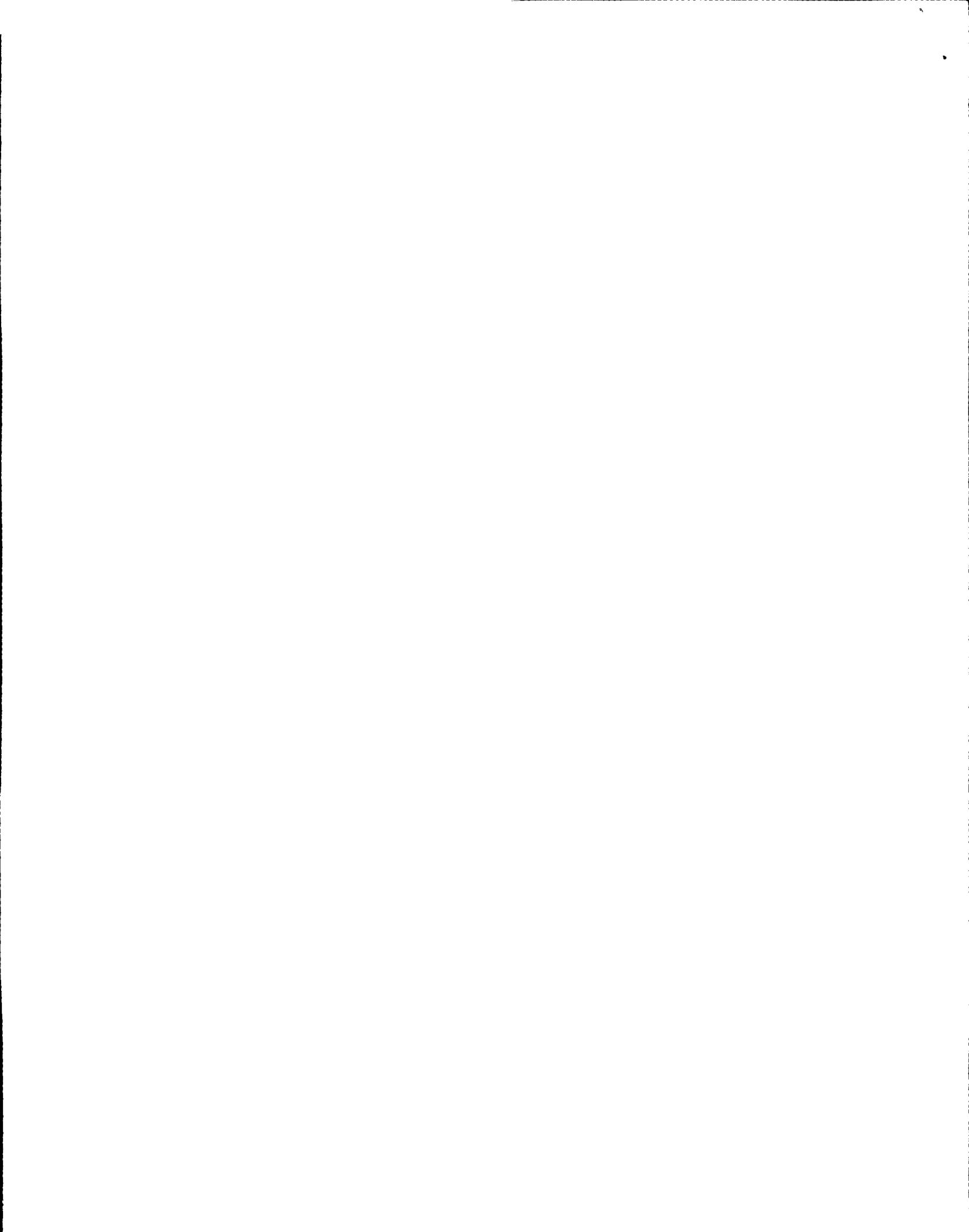


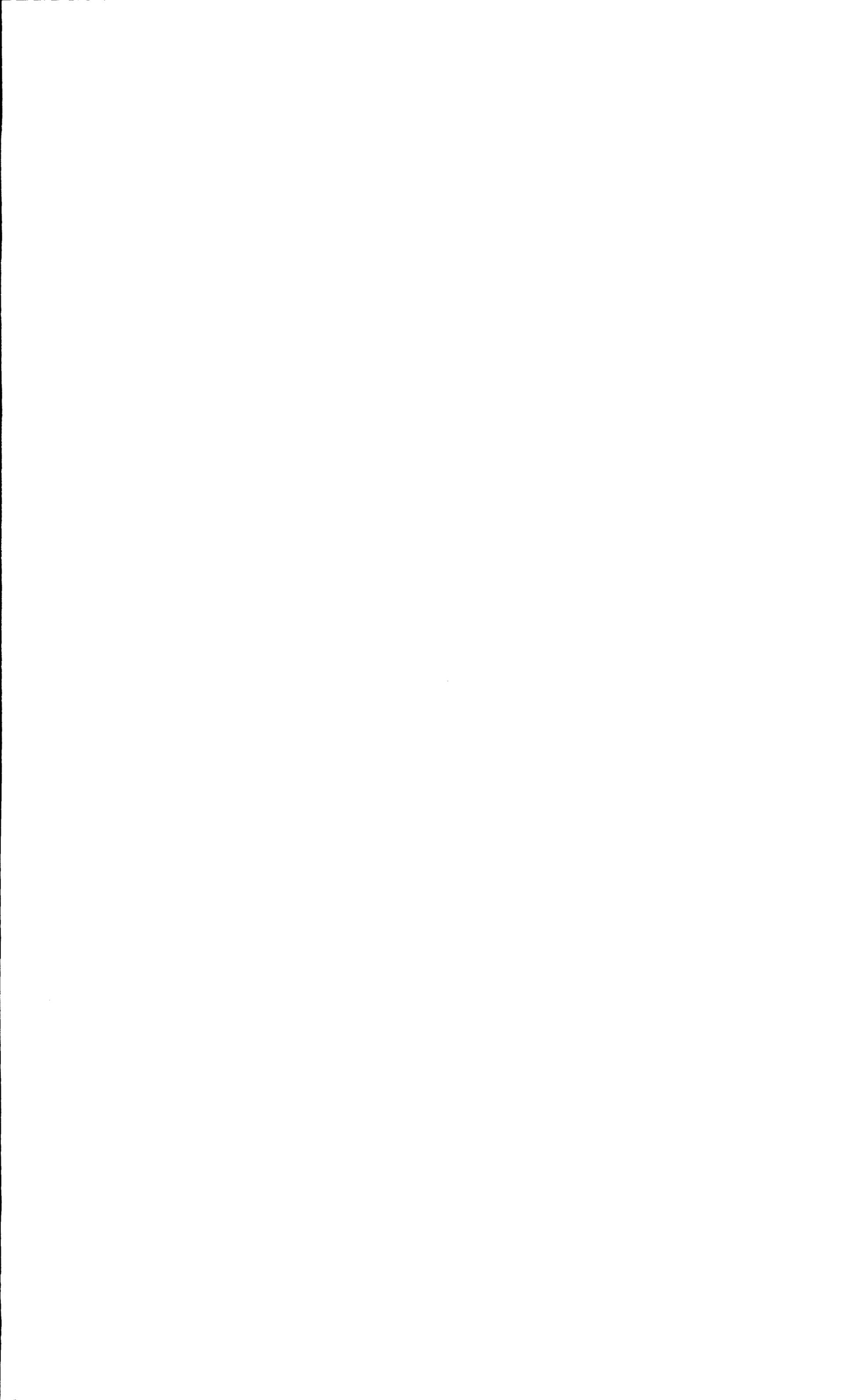
ADDENDUM TO CHAPTER XIII

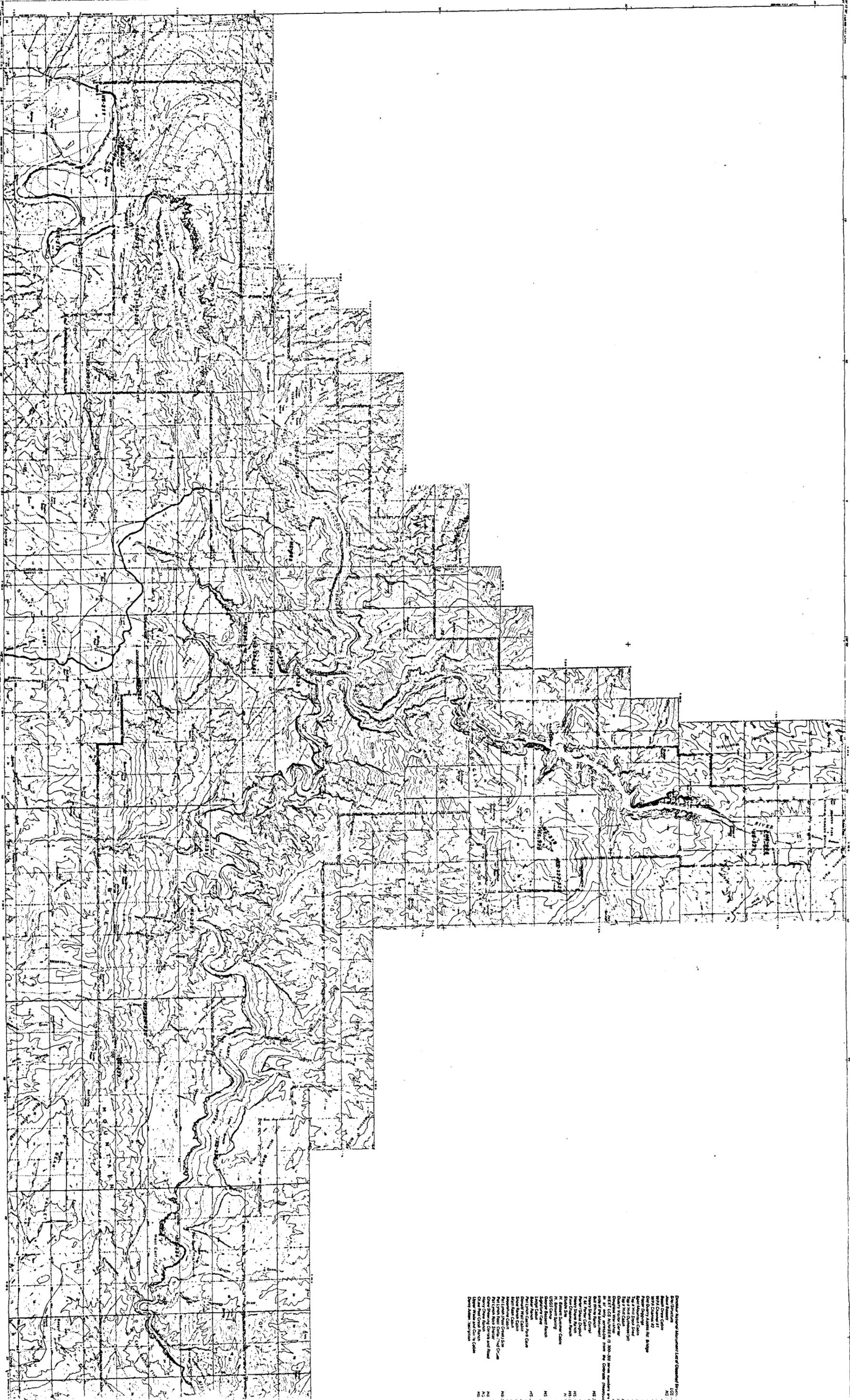
The question of water resource development within Dinosaur National Monument has had problems and pitfalls. Congressional actions, particularly the 1921 and 1935 amendments to the Federal Water Power Act have clarified the situation to a certain extent. The 1921 amendment excluded national parks and monuments then in existence from waterpower site development by the Federal Power Commission and the 1935 amendment extended the protection to all national parks and monuments, including those to be established in the future. Only Congressional approval of a specific power site development could override those amendments.

The states of Utah and Colorado, along with other western states, took steps to develop the waters of the Colorado River System and protect state control over those waters. This led to the division of the waters between the states of the upper and lower Colorado River Basin during the 1920s and among the states of the upper basin in a compact negotiated in Vernal, Utah, in 1948 and ratified by all member states and Congress early in 1949. Their divisions included the waters of the Yampa, Little Snake, and other streams tributary to the Colorado.

The Bureau of Reclamation, empowered to withdraw from entry and develop reservoir sites also became an active participant in Dinosaur's water history. The Bureau worked with the states of the Colorado River Basin on the Colorado River Compact. In 1943 when the Bureau of Reclamation withdrew the Echo Park and Split Mountain damsites and began planning for future development, without National Park Service approval. Much controversy in the Department of Interior surrounded the proposal, first to build the dams and, secondly, to submit the plan to Congress. Congressional approval in 1950 unleashed tremendous public furror over the proposed invasion of a national monument. The National Park Service continues the fight to preserve the natural beauty of the canyons of the Yampa and Green Rivers.







District: National Monument (part of Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument)
 Sheet: 122/80,034
 Date: 1981
 Part: 1 of 2

122/80,034
 SAT 1081
 PART 1 of 2

HISTORIC BASE MAP
 DINOSAUR NATIONAL MONUMENT

ON MONUMENT

