

**THE REBIRTH OF THE HISTORIC OLD HOLE-IN-THE-ROCK TRAIL
AS A RECREATIONAL TRAIL**

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The Rebirth of the Historic Old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail
as a Recreational Trail

A Thesis

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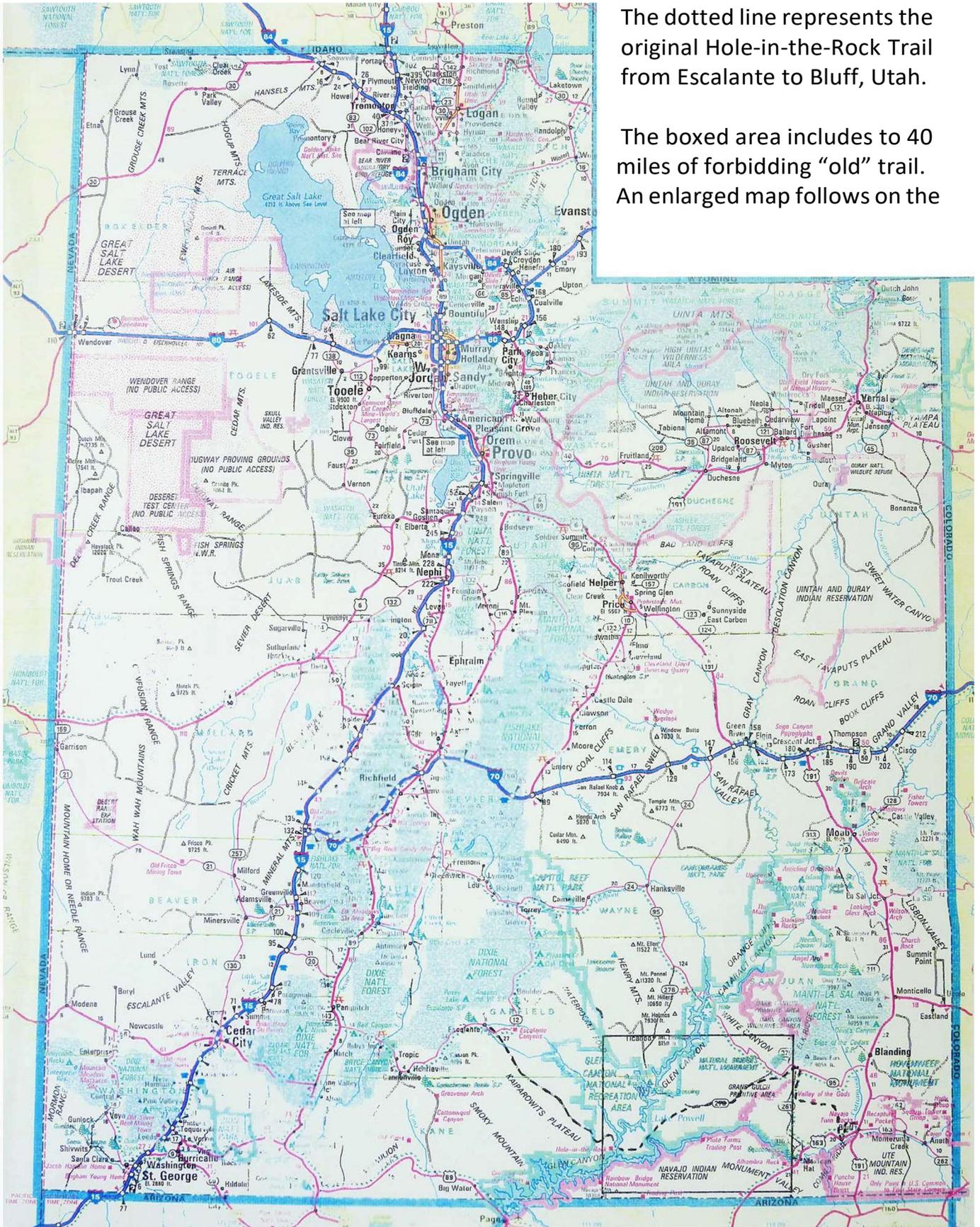
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Running Head: REBIRTH OF THE OLD HOLE-IN-THE-ROCK TRAIL

Preface

This study presents the story of the historical and recreational use of the old Mormon Pioneer Hole-in-the-Rock Trail. After the original trail was opened in 1880 by 250 San Juan County colonizers, a 40 mile segment of the trail was quickly abandoned because of its forbidding and rugged terrain. Eventually, curious descendants of the Mormon colonizers reopened the abandoned portion of the trail for recreational use.

This project identified the personalities and events that instigated the recreational use of the old trail, identified the folklore which is perpetuated by modern users of the trail, and collected existing home movies, photographs, slides, and video tapes which document early recreation treks. The rebirth of the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail for recreational use occurred from 1939 to the present (1995). In addition to a more complete old trail experience, it is hoped that this study will motivate modern visitors to regard themselves as not only trail users, but also as concerned trail caretakers.

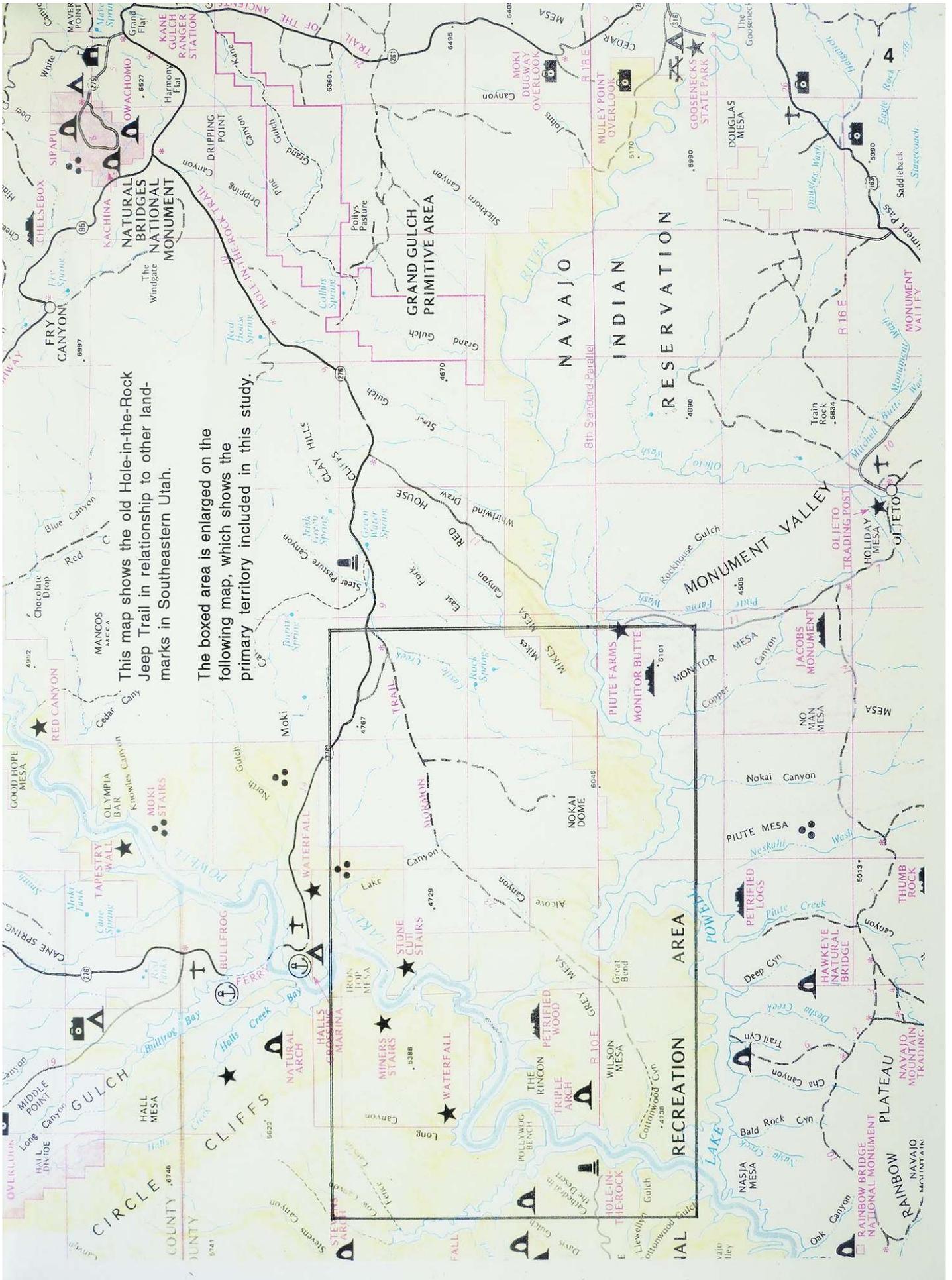


The dotted line represents the original Hole-in-the-Rock Trail from Escalante to Bluff, Utah.

The boxed area includes to 40 miles of forbidding "old" trail. An enlarged map follows on the

This map shows the old Hole-in-the-Rock Jeep Trail in relationship to other landmarks in Southeastern Utah.

The boxed area is enlarged on the following map, which shows the primary territory included in this study.

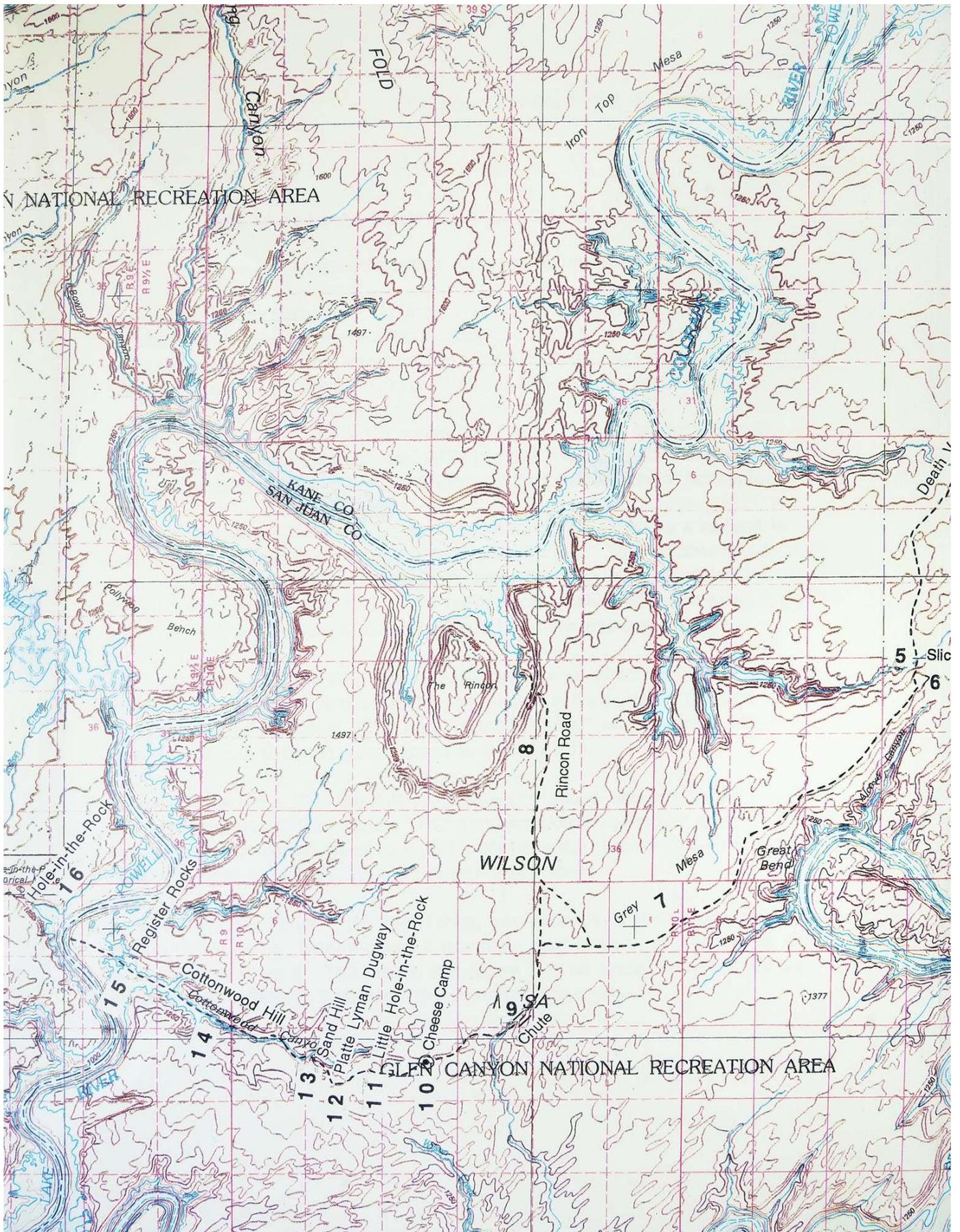




Topographical map of the old Hole-in-the-Rock Jeep Trail. The dotted line represents the path of four-wheel drive explorers.

One centimeter on the map represents one kilometer on the ground.

*Landmark descriptions for each numbered site are located on pages 6-8.



Old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail Landmark Descriptions

*See preceding map for geographic locations.

1. Half-track Junction - An old army half-track was abandoned at this site, probably by the Skelly Oil Company during the 1950's. This location marked the point where the early four-wheel drive explorers began to work their way west toward the old trail portion. The shell of the half-track is still present.
2. Skelly Oil Road - Skelly Oil contracted Frost Black to grade this road to their oil workings at Nokai Dome in 1951. This road permitted motorized vehicles to ascend Clay Hill, which previously kept the old trail in isolation.
3. Lake Canyon - The pioneers named this landmark because a natural lake had formed in the canyon behind a dam of drift sand. This landmark is located approximately seven miles east of Slick Rock Hill. The wagons of 1880 crossed Lake Canyon on the dam of the lake but a flood washed the dam away in 1915 and this canyon became a major obstacle to future exploration.
4. Death Valley - This title refers to the seven-mile stretch of utter desolation between Slick Rock Hill and Lake Canyon. There is no evidence that the 1880 trailblazers used this term. The name "Death Valley" was probably added by jeep enthusiasts trying to gain access to the old trail.
5. Slick Rock Hill - This sandstone hill is a precarious descent of 1000 feet off the northeast end of Grey Mesa. The route was discovered and named in 1879 by four lead scouts assigned to find a path from the bottom of the Hole-in-the-Rock eastward to Montezuma, on the San Juan River.
6. Mountain Goat Trail - George Hobbs, one of the four scouts who found the wagon path to Bluff, recorded that a mountain goat led him off Slick Rock Hill as he tried to lasso it. The scouts concluded that an ascent from the hill was possible only after the mountain goat revealed the route.

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7. Grey Mesa - This name described a flat, sandy tableland atop a huge mountain of sandstone, 10 miles east of the Colorado River. Shadscale brush give the mesa a thin, grey frosting from a distance. The Chute was the only pioneer access from the west and Slick Rock Hill was the only access from the east. The summit provides spectacular views into the Big Bend of the San Juan River and into Lake Powell via Iceberg Canyon. The vertical distance from mesa to water is over 2000 feet in both cases.
8. Rincon Road - In 1958, a group of uranium prospectors built a mining road to access outcroppings at the Rincon Beach of the Colorado River. This road permitted four-wheel drive vehicles to ascend Slick Rock Hill for the first time.
9. The Chute - The Chute is a natural U-shaped water flume carved down the sandstone face of the south-west side of Grey Mesa by many thousands of gallons of rain water. It became the only access to the top of Grey Mesa from the west.
10. Cheese Camp - The pioneers held a cheese auction at this site in February 1880.
11. Little Hole-in-the-Rock - This is the third of the three major ascents up Cottonwood Hill. Named by David Miller in 1954, this V-shaped climb bears a miniature resemblance to the actual Hole on the opposite side of the Colorado River.
12. Platte Lyman Dugway - This is the second of the three major ascents up Cottonwood Hill, also named by David Miller in 1954. Shortly after the original expedition of 1880, Platte Lyman returned to Escalante, Utah, for a load of flour. While trying to negotiate the dugway with the loaded wagon, the horses pulled the tongue out of the wagon and spilled the flour down the slickrock. The white stain could be seen for months and became a landmark feature. For that fact, it was named after the unfortunate freighter.
13. Sand Hill - This is the first of three major uphill grades which are all part of what the pioneers called Cottonwood Hill. The name "Sand Hill" was attached to the steep hill of drift sand by David Miller while doing research for his book on the Hole-in-the-Rock in 1954.

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14. Cottonwood Hill - This was the name given by the 1880 road builders to the grueling 1000 foot ascent out of the Colorado River Gorge after they had descended to the river through the crack in the cliff called the Hole-in-the-Rock. Cottonwood Hill included three separate inclines called Sand Hill, Platte Lyman Dugway, and Little Hole-in-the-Rock.

15. Register Rocks - The original pioneers carved their names in these large sandstone ledges in 1880. The name was given by David Miller in 1954. The names are covered by the waters of Lake Powell today. The highest names were briefly visible in 1992 after the Lake receded to its lowest level in twenty years.

16. Hole-in-the-Rock - This gigantic crevice was the landmark the trail was named for. It is a narrow cleft in the west cliff of the Colorado River Gorge which allowed the pioneers of 1880 to drive their wagons and teams down the breathtaking plunge of 1000 vertical feet to the banks of the river below.

Chapter One

The San Juan Mission

Introduction

This study presents the story of the historical and recreational use of the old Mormon Pioneer Hole-in-the-Rock Trail. After the original trail was opened in 1880 by 250 San Juan County colonizers, a 40-mile segment of the trail was quickly abandoned because of its forbidding and rugged terrain. Eventually, curious descendants of the Mormon colonizers reopened the abandoned portion of the trail for recreational use.

As time passed, visitors to the old trail became increasingly less familiar with the origin, legends, and legacy of the 1880 pioneer adventure and the subsequent rebirth of the old trail for recreational use. Many visitors came to regard the old trail as simply a great outdoor experience, independent of its historical past. In an attempt to enhance the recreational experience of modern trail visitors, this study compiled important information about the rebirth of the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail for recreational use. In addition to a more complete old trail experience, it is hoped that modern visitors will regard themselves as not only trail users, but also as concerned trail caretakers.

This study of the old Mormon pioneer trail for recreational use focused on five historical segments and a summary of the folklore which grew around

that recreation. The chapters contain the following: (1) a review of the pioneer expedition which created the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail and the isolation of the 40 mile segment of old trail central to this work, (2) the investigation of two modern horseback expeditions that first retraced the 40 miles of old trail, (3) the outline of the first four-wheel drive exploration for access to the old trail, (4) the summary of organized four-wheel drive expeditions over the trail before the formation of Lake Powell, (5) an overview of post-Lake Powell old trail four-wheel drive recreation, and (6) a synopsis of the old trail folklore which includes lessons, legends, and principles of Hole-in-the-Rock recreation.

Forty Forbidding Miles

One hundred and fifteen years ago, a colossal crevice in a sandstone cliff called the Hole-in-the-Rock became the hallmark of a pioneer wagon road that extended from Escalante, Utah eastward to Bluff, Utah, a total distance of 180 miles. Typical of most other American immigrant trails, long portions of the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail gradually became established roads. The original wagon road was named the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail, but today, only fragments of the original trail remain in their pioneer condition.

The deep Colorado River Gorge cut the 1880 wagon trail into two distinct segments. The actual cleft in the sandstone cliff called Hole-in-the-Rock marked the end of the western segment of the trail, located in Utah's Garfield and Kane Counties. In 1995, this western portion of the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail,

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from Escalante to the Hole-in-the-Rock, is easily accessible in two-wheel drive automobiles. The modern road, primarily a gravel, county-maintained road, either approximates the 1880 trail or is located exactly on top of it.

On the east side of the Colorado River Gorge (San Juan County) parts of four paved state highways and a county-maintained, dirt road approximate or cover large portions of the original pioneer road. Although technically still the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail, modern travelers racing along the improved portions in automobiles, seldom grasp the significance of the pioneer struggles which preceded their comfortable journeys. The longest remaining continuous section of unimproved trail is the first 40 miles of the wagon trail east of the Colorado River.

The creation of Lake Powell in 1963¹ further enhanced access to the Hole-in-the-Rock. After the Hole-in-the-Rock could be approached easily from Lake Powell by boat, and from the west on improved roads by automobile, it became the most publicized feature of the original wagon trail. Many visitors assumed that the cliff in the sandstone cliff represented the only difficulty encountered by the 1880 pioneers. Curious sight-seers paused at the crevice, examined the evidence of the pioneering achievement, shook their heads in amazement, and disappeared without the slightest comprehension of the obstacles on the east side of the Colorado River.²

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In reality, the 40 miles of wagon trail immediately east of the Colorado River (San Juan County) was the true test of pioneer grit.³ David Miller, author of the book Hole-In-The-Rock, wrote:

Nowhere in the (pioneer's) records do I find any real doubt expressed that a road could be blasted down through that cleft in the canyon wall. It was the country to the east, beyond the river, that seemed too rugged!⁴

The rugged terrain of those heartbreaking 40 miles contained the most concentrated collection of obstacles that a nineteenth century wagon traveler could encounter. Sand Hill, Platte Lyman Dugway, the Little Hole-in-the-Rock, the Chute, Slick Rock Hill, and Clay Hill Pass were each deterrents of staggering proportions. Strung together in such close proximity, these forbidding barriers offered an unyielding monument to the indomitable spirit of these pioneers and became the enduring legacy of the entire Hole-in-the-Rock Trail. Because this stretch of trail contained some of the best evidences of the original pioneer roadwork and because it was not replaced by improved roads, this portion of the trail is referred to as the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail for this study. Those impossible, yet irresistible 40 miles are the focus of this work.

Mormon Migrations

The modern visitor who leaves the improved roadways and ventures into the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail rapidly gains appreciation for an unusual

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pioneering adventure, perhaps one of the most unusual in United States history.

Albert R. Lyman, son of Hole-in-the-Rock Trail captain Platte D. Lyman, maintained that moving wagons down the Hole-in-the-Rock, then conquering the next 40 miles of trail, constituted the most difficult migration assignment ever given to members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS or Mormon Church).⁵ That was a bold assertion in light of the multiple arduous relocations required of many early church members.⁶

From the organization of the LDS Church in 1830, it was a denomination on the move. Between 1831 and 1846, the Mormons moved in mass from New York to Ohio, from Ohio to Western Missouri, from Western Missouri to Northern Missouri, from Missouri to Illinois, and from Illinois to Utah.⁷ Obligated exodus was seldom convenient. Some of these displacements caused severe suffering among the migrating church members. The long and difficult 1,050 mile journey from Illinois to Utah was especially trying.⁸

Other church migrations were completely voluntary. Brigham Young, the leader who directed the western exodus of the Mormon Church, determined to colonize a large area around the Salt Lake Valley. Mormon leaders developed a practical custom of calling members on missions to settle regions they wanted occupied.⁹ These colonizing missions were common during the three decades immediately following the Mormons' arrival in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847.¹⁰ As a result, after only ten years, all the territory in the present state

of Utah was either colonized or under consideration, except for the southeastern corner (now San Juan County).¹¹ By the late 1870's, Brigham Young felt an urgent need to gain political control of as much of the Utah territory as possible. The neglected southeastern corner finally came under close scrutiny.¹² Brigham Young conceived the Hole-in-the-Rock Mission to the San Juan River region, but the great Mormon colonizer died before its completion.¹³ John Taylor, Brigham Young's successor, continued the effort to settle the San Juan territory.

The colonizing missions initiated by the LDS Church were usually well planned. After church authorities chose experienced pioneering leadership to head the expedition, they selected colonizing "missionaries" because of their energy and strength in order to minimize the hardship that always accompanied relocation.¹⁴ Most church members responded gladly to these assignments. They usually considered their mission "call" to be from God, viewing it as an opportunity to serve their church.¹⁵

A Sobering Comparison

The Mormon migration included tragedies such as the ill-fated Willie and Martin handcart companies of 1856. These Mormon converts could not afford wagons and oxen. They pulled carts across the central plains of Iowa, Nebraska, and Wyoming to Utah. Eight handcart companies arrived in the Salt Lake Valley without unusual difficulty, but the Willie-Martin groups began their

journey too late in the season and were caught in heavy winter snow storms in Wyoming.¹⁶ Over two hundred people lost their lives in those two companies alone, more deaths than were recorded in any other immigrant group in the United States.¹⁷ Jens and Elsie Nielson participated in the Willie handcart company. The Nielson's also joined the Hole-in-the-Rock colonizing expedition.

Jens Nielson compared the two experiences. Although no limbs or lives were lost, he explained, "As extreme as this handcart ordeal was, the trek through the Hole-in-the-Rock was more severe."¹⁸ On the cold plains of Wyoming, near South Pass, Jens' feet were so badly frozen that Elsie chose to pull him in their handcart rather than leave him to die. It was no small task for a tiny woman, barely five feet tall and one hundred pounds, to move a man six-foot six-inches tall who weighed well over two-hundred pounds.¹⁹ Jens pleaded with Elsie to leave him behind and save herself, but she heroically preserved her husband's life.²⁰ Jens and Elsie Nielson also lost their twelve-year old son, Jens Jr., on that same handcart journey.²¹

Elsie Nielson also made her own assessment of the Hole-in-the-Rock expedition. Elsie's daughter recorded:

As we journeyed down Comb Wash, the sand was about four fellies deep on the wheel and when we stopped for dinner one day, I remember my mother sitting on the wagon tongue.

I said to her, "How does this journey compare with the journey

you had when you crossed the plains with the handcart company?" She said, "I don't remember everything about the handcart company, but we could get along. We can't even get along in this sand."

Our shoes were all worn out and they would fill up with rough sand which made it almost impossible to walk.²²

"Short Cut to the San Juan"

There were two known routes from the Cedar City area to Montezuma Creek on the San Juan River before the Hole-in-the-Rock expedition was ever assembled. A southern route, scouted one year earlier, circled southeast from Cedar City through Kanab, crossed the Colorado River at Lee's Ferry, made a southern path around Navajo Mountain, and turned northeast through Kayenta, Arizona, to the San Juan River.²³ The second route circled north from Cedar City through Sevier Valley, northeast through Castle Valley and Green River, southeast through Moab, then south to the San Juan River. The proposed Hole-in-the-Rock "shortcut" represented the diameter of the large geographic circle created by the other two routes to the San Juan. On a map, the Hole-in-the-Rock "shortcut" appeared to be half the distance.²⁴

Silas S. Smith was selected by LDS Church authorities to be president and captain of the San Juan Mission. Before the Hole-in-the-Rock expedition, Smith visited the future settlement sites of Montezuma Creek and Bluff in 1879. He followed the southern route through Kayenta, Arizona, for his initial visit to

the San Juan, concluding that there must be a better way. Although church leaders in Salt Lake City had only specified the final destination of the colonizing mission as "east of the Colorado River," Silas Smith favored the San Juan River and recognized his chance to make Montezuma his home.²⁵

The Hole-in-the-Rock colonizers began their grand adventure with optimistic hopes for a quick six-week journey. However, when the main body of the colonizing group reached the top of the Colorado River Gorge and caught their first glimpse of the cliff they had to descend with loaded wagons, they were shocked by the reality of their challenge. The crack called Hole-in-the-Rock was the first overwhelming obstacle encountered along the wagon route chosen by the San Juan Mission's leaders and was, more accurately described, a gigantic crevice rather than a hole.²⁶ The rock which hosted this crevice was the sandstone cliff which formed the western wall of the Colorado River Gorge. The vertical cliffs of that deep canyon approached 1,000 feet in height in many locations, including the area adjacent to the Hole-in-the-Rock.

Inadequate exploration of the area led the pioneers to make what could be considered a migration blunder.²⁷ Not more than 17 of the 250 travelers had personally inspected the Hole-in-the-Rock before the final decision to proceed with the journey was made.²⁸ The majority of the 17 eyewitnesses were determined to abort the mission, at least along the proposed route, but a persuasive man named George Hobbs and a heavy snowstorm in the

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Escalante mountains behind them exerted enough influence to prevail over the doubters.²⁹ Hobb's determination to continue the trek was probably less important than the early snows which blocked the return road and helped solidify the pioneer's resolve to move ahead.³⁰ Winter storms limited the pioneer company's options to waiting for springtime while whining about their short-sighted leaders and bad fortune, or venturing ahead. A united and determined group earnestly began to convert the notch in the cliff into a wagon road.

Three major road building obstacles confronted the pioneers before their wagons could roll again. Those immediate challenges were widening the notch at the top of the gorge to allow wagon passage, attaching a road to the cliff at the bottom of the notch, and building a dugway out of the gorge on the other side of the river. The group divided the tasks, setting about to accomplish the three goals simultaneously.

Platte D. Lyman was assigned to serve as assistant captain to Silas Smith.³¹ As events unfolded, Smith spent very little time with the company, leaving Lyman in charge of the field operations. On December 16, 1879, Platte D. Lyman conducted his own survey of the sandstone seam with the aid of a carpenter's square and level.³² He concluded that the first third of a mile (from the top to the end of the crevice) descended at an incline of 16 feet per rod, or 45 degrees.³³ In addition, the first 50 feet of the crack would have to

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be widened considerably in order to admit a horse-team and wagon.

Jens Nielson, Benjamin Perkins, and Hyrum Perkins accepted the assignment of directing the first task of widening the notch, blasting inside the notch itself.³⁴ The Perkins brothers had previously joined the Mormon Church in Wales, where they acquired considerable experience in the coal mines and became proficient in the use of blasting powder. Their experience proved important to the success of the company, who affectionately referred to them as "the blasters and blowers from Wales."³⁵

Below the notch was the second major obstacle. At the bottom of the notch, about one-third the distance to the Colorado River, the crevice widened into a canyon. The road builders decided that a steep shoulder of sand and rock could provide a reasonable road the last two-thirds of a mile to the river. However, they had to cross a 50 foot section of sheer canyon cliff to get from the lower end of the notch to the sandy shoulder. Since there could be no wagon trail carved from the sheer wall, Benjamin Perkins conceived the idea of attaching a road to the face of the cliff. He instructed a second crew to chisel and pick a shelf along the ledge wide enough to accommodate the inside wheels of the wagons.³⁶ The crew then drilled holes, two and one-half inches in diameter and ten inches deep, under the new shelf at an angle of 45 degrees and oak stakes, about two feet long, were wedged into the holes. Poles spanned the gaps between the oak stakes. Finally, workers lifted a road

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bed from the cliff face by piling brush, rocks, and sand over the stakes and poles. It was named "Uncle Ben's Dugway" in honor of its engineer.³⁷ A third work crew was dispatched across the Colorado River to construct a dugway up the first 200 feet out of the river bottom.

During this time, Charles Hall and his sons arrived at the Hole-in-the-Rock with the lumber for a ferry that he had been commissioned by LDS Church leaders in Salt Lake City to construct.³⁸ Once the wagons were down the gigantic crevice, it was the Halls' job to float the pioneers across the Colorado River.

While all the preparatory work progressed, Platte Lyman gave four important assignments or "calls" to members of the company. Lyman sent four experienced explorers across the Colorado River to locate a possible wagon route to Montezuma Creek, 120 miles to the east. Those chosen were George W. Sevy, Lemuel H. Redd, Sr., George Morrell, and George B. Hobbs.³⁹

The trailblazers found that a broken maze of "slickrock" presented the greatest challenge to building a wagon road east of the river. They used the term "slickrock" to describe the smooth appearance of sandstone mesas and buttes, abundant in the 40 miles of the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail. In 1880, Elizabeth Morris Decker described it: "The mountains are just one solid rock as smooth as an apple."

⁴⁰ The scouts maintained hope that a future road could be found through

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the difficult terrain until they encountered Grey Mesa, ten miles east of the Hole-in-the-Rock.

Grey Mesa was king among the numerous slickrock mesas of that region. This mesa, approximately eight miles long and three miles wide, rose 2000 feet above the San Juan and Colorado Rivers, both of which could be seen from the edge of the mesa top. Shadscale brush gave the appearance of a thin, grey icing atop the mountain from a distance. A natural, U-shaped water flume called the "chute" provided access to the top of Grey Mesa from the west. However, when the advance scouts reached the east end, seven and one-half level miles further, they were abruptly stopped by a precipitous drop of 1,000 feet. After searching all day for a way off the steep slickrock descent, the pathfinders concluded that the Hole-in-the-Rock trek was finally really over. It would end, not because of the forbidding crevice which was nearly conquered, but because of an obscure sandstone cliff called Slick Rock Hill.

As the scouts were preparing to return and give their bleak report to the large group working at the Hole-in-the-Rock, a remarkable event occurred. While cooking breakfast, George Hobbs saw a herd of mountain sheep near the campsite and tried to lasso one with his pack rope. Hobbs remembered:

I followed it for some distance. It seemed to draw me off down in the rocks until I finally got to the bottom of the rocks, about a mile from camp; there the animal left me. I climbed back up the rocks and soon learned that Bro. Sevy and Morrell who had been trying to find a way to get down these rocks,

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but had returned to camp, reporting that we could go no farther. I told them that I had already been clear to the bottom. They then told me to swallow my breakfast and lead out and they would follow me. This seemed to be the only passage down these slick rocks.⁴¹

The four scouts continued on, completing a difficult reconnaissance. In fulfilling their "calls," they suffered many hardships, including getting lost and going for days without food. The scouting party, absent from the main body of pioneers for 24 days, finally returned to camp at the top of the Hole-in-the-Rock in early January, 1880 to report that a way to Montezuma was possible.⁴²

After six weeks of dangerous and backbreaking work, preparations at the giant notch were complete.⁴³ On January 26, 1880, the trail builders drove the first teams and wagons down the Hole-in-the-Rock, giving birth to a pioneering legend.⁴⁴ Elizabeth Morris Decker, a young wife in the 1880 expedition, wrote, "If you ever come this way it will scare you to death to look down it."⁴⁵

The pioneers collected into two good campsites in the bottom of Cottonwood Canyon, on the east side of the Colorado River. The two miles of Cottonwood Canyon closest to the river provided several rock tanks of pure fresh water and good forage for the animals.⁴⁶ The next two miles were a

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different proposition. Three separate steep slopes stood between the travelers and the top of Cottonwood Canyon. The pioneers called all three barriers Cottonwood Hill.

The first slope was a very steep hill of fine drifting sand approximately 200 feet long. The second ascent was a mountain of solid sandstone. A V-shaped notch; a miniature version of the trail's namesake, which led directly to a small flat mesa was the third obstacle. The pioneer company camped for ten days at the Cottonwood campsites while the road builders made an assault on the three obstacles.⁴⁷ On February 1, 1000 pounds of blasting powder arrived from suppliers in Escalante. The road builders blasted a narrow dugway from the north face of the sandstone mountain and widened the V-shaped notch to admit wagons. It required seven teams of horses or oxen to drag the heavy wagons up those steep slopes of Cottonwood Hill.⁴⁸

Just over one mile from the top of Cottonwood Hill, the pioneers again arrived at the end of the road. More road cuts through solid rock were necessary. While the pioneers were camped at this location some men from Panguitch arrived to help with the road construction. The men brought two hundred pounds of pork and forty pounds of cheese for the beleaguered travelers. Because forty pounds of cheese seemed insignificant among 250 people, a decision was made to auction off the cheese. The cheese auction caused enough excitement to give the camp its permanent name, "Cheese Camp."⁴⁹

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From Cheese Camp, the road builders carved the wagon road through solid rock buttes to the base of the "Chute." The Chute was a natural U-shaped water flume carved for centuries down the sandstone ledge by the erosive action of rain water. The flume was one-quarter mile long and made an ascent of nearly 500 feet.⁵⁰ It became the only access to the top of Grey Mesa from the west. Luckily, very little road work was necessary despite the steep climb. At least on this ascent, the pioneers did not worry about falling off a cliff because the sandstone chute formed walls on both sides of the wagons.⁵¹

From the Chute, the road made a continual, but manageable climb to the top of Grey Mesa, two miles away. Grey Mesa was seven and one-half miles of flat, sandy tableland. After the easy trip across the top of Grey Mesa, the expedition came to the point where the four advance explorers had been led over the brink by a mountain sheep.⁵² No natural chute awaited the anxious pioneers. A series of dugways, each carved from solid rock, were required to reach the valley 1000 feet below. The road builders spent one week preparing Slick Rock Hill for the wagon descent. The remnants of one wagon box can still be seen at the top of this series of dugways.

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David Miller wrote:

Today that portion of the old road lying between the Hole-in-the-Rock and the east base of Grey Mesa (approximately seventeen miles) is by far the roughest stretch of the present jeep trail. It was one of the most difficult parts of the whole undertaking, as viewed by pioneer road builders of 1880. This was the region that explorers of the company had found to be completely impassable, yet the road had been blasted through that rough country in one month.⁵³

From the base of Grey Mesa (Slick Rock Hill) the old road followed a northeasterly direction toward Lake Pagahrit, another seven miles away. This beautiful body of clear, fresh water provided a very unexpected sight for the pioneers in that desert country. The sand dune dam holding the lake in place also provided a bridge across Lake Canyon. The pioneers finally crossed a gulch without excruciating effort. The lake furnished a pleasant setting for a few days of rest and gave the company the heart to continue their arduous journey.⁵⁴ Members of the expedition noted the obvious value of this site for a cattle range and subsequently made good use of it.⁵⁵

While some members of the San Juan Mission actually enjoyed camp life on the shores of Lake Pagahrit, the work crews pushed forward through Castle Wash to the top of Clay Hill.⁵⁶ This was relatively easy road building. The steep grades of Clay Hill constituted another drop in elevation of 1000 feet, but the clay soil was better road

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base than the solid rock of the previous stretch of wagon trail. The dugway which became Clay Hill Pass required another week of exhausting work.⁵⁶ While the wagons were worked down Clay Hill, Platte Lyman recorded in his journal:

Monday, March 15th, 1880. Last night was the coldest night I ever experienced. It was impossible to be comfortable in bed or anywhere else.⁵⁸

Had it not been for the forbidding maze of continual obstacles between the Colorado River and Clay Hill, the remaining 80 miles to Montezuma Creek would have passed quickly. However, the horse and ox teams were becoming so emaciated that even level pulls were strenuous for the weakened animals. Many animals died of starvation or were killed to provide food for the hungry pioneers. George Hobbs remembered the sorry condition of the stock:

The weaker (parties) were in the rear, some had an ox and a mule hitched together, some had cows and heifers in their teams, one I noticed was a pair of mules with an ox on the spike with a young girl riding the ox, to keep him in the road.⁵⁹

The lack of strong animals caused a few wagons to be left along the road, to be picked up later.

In spite of the dire circumstances of the pioneer company, one more major obstacle loomed ahead--Comb Ridge. Getting wagons to the top of the

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Comb required building one last dugway across the face of solid rock, which the pioneers named "San Juan Hill." ⁶⁰ After six months of constant road building and travel, San Juan Hill proved almost too much for the worn-out teams.

Charles Redd recorded a graphic description of that last great pull:

Here again seven span of horses were used, so that when some of the horses were on their knees, fighting to get up to find a foothold, the still erect horses could plunge upward against the sharp grade. On the worst slopes the men were forced to beat their jaded animals into giving all they had. After several pulls, rests, and pulls, many of the horses took to spasms and near-convulsions, so exhausted were they. By the time most of the outfits were across, the worst stretches could easily be identified by the dried blood and matted hair from the forelegs of the struggling teams. My father [L.H. Redd, Jr.] was a strong man, and reluctant to display emotion; but whenever in later years the full pathos of San Juan Hill was recalled either by himself or someone else, the memory of such bitter struggles was too much for him and he wept. ⁶¹

In the beginning, the San Juan Mission prepared for a six week "short-cut" to Montezuma Creek, but instead, encountered a six-month struggle against hostile terrain and supply shortages. ⁶² The pioneers of the Hole-in-the-Rock colonizing mission ended their journey on April 6, 1880. ⁶³ On Sunday, April 25, the settlers met and, by unanimous vote, named their new community Bluff

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City.⁶⁴ The San Juan Mission's intended destination was not Bluff City but Montezuma Creek, only fifteen easy miles further east on the San Juan River, but they could go no further.⁶⁵ The pioneers were exhausted and their animals were near starvation. Jens Nielson's ox team, which had dwindled to a mule coupled with one remaining ox, collapsed in their yoke and died at the top of San Juan Hill,⁶⁶ only five miles from Bluff. The Hole-in-the-Rock Trail had beaten the once hearty group into final submission.

Hall's Crossing

After the group ended their journey, Platte D. Lyman, field captain of the first expedition, and his brothers Edward, Walter, and Joseph made one of the few return trips from Bluff to Escalante, Utah. Joseph Lyman needed to rescue a broken wagon he left behind and his brothers volunteered to help. The foursome repaired the wagon and got Joseph headed toward Bluff without much difficulty. The three remaining brothers continued toward Escalante to secure a wagon load of flour for the new Bluff City settlers.⁶⁷ The Lyman brothers retraced the trail and took a wagon up the Hole-in-the-Rock to Escalante. To achieve such a feat, they traveled half a day⁶⁸ and rested their five horses nearly two hundred times⁶⁹ between the Colorado River and the top of the Hole-in-the-Rock, a distance of only one mile.⁷⁰

The euphoria of the Lyman brothers ascent up the crevice was short lived. After the wagon was loaded with 1,000 pounds of flour at Escalante, the

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brothers confidently started home. But during their return to Bluff, disaster struck. On Thursday, May 19, 1880, while trying to negotiate the second of three major ascents up Cottonwood Hill, the horses broke loose from the loaded wagon and spilled the precious flour down the slickrock.⁷¹ The white stain could be seen for months and became a landmark feature of the trail. For that fact, the ascent was named after the unfortunate freighter and became known as Platte Lyman Dugway.⁷²

On the flour journey, Platte and Walter Lyman parked their wagon for a day at Lake Canyon, allowing their horses to graze and recover their strength. The brothers walked to the mouth of the gulch called Lake Canyon to find its confluence with the Colorado River. They estimated the distance from the sand dune dam, which held back the lake and also provided the wagon bridge across Lake Canyon, to the Colorado River to be about eight miles. From the confluence, Platte and Walter walked three miles further up the river and discovered a much better site for future wagon crossings.⁷³ The new site, with more level approaches to the river from both sides, eventually became known as "Hall's Crossing."

Platte Lyman was involved in at least one more trip over the original Hole-in-the-Rock Trail after the flour episode. He made the journey in June of 1880 to retrieve his wife and a new baby boy, Albert R. Lyman, born January 10, 1880 in Fillmore, Utah.⁷⁴ This time he safely delivered the cherished cargo

to Bluff City.

Recreation and the Old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail

The easier Hall's Crossing route eliminated the most grueling portion of the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail, the first 40 miles east of the Colorado River. They were quickly and gratefully abandoned. As the majority of the remaining Hole-in-the-Rock Trail gradually became improved roads, isolation and forbidding terrain preserved the old trail portion in its primitive condition.

Southern San Juan County was austere and uninviting country. Survival was the highest priority of San Juan's first settlers, not recreation. Revisiting the abandoned old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail would have served only to satisfy curiosity concerning the difficulty of the 1880 trek. The luxury of traveling such rugged terrain merely to satisfy curiosity would have to await a generation that possessed the luxury of leisure time, the availability of advanced transportation, and a thirst for adventure.

The old portion of the trail offered some unique recreational opportunities for later generations. It was off the beaten path and offered seclusion and wild scenery. It represented the most difficult portion of the 1880 pioneer trek, which made it a special place for the descendants of those pioneers. It represented a challenge. The terrain which had severely tested the resolve of the pioneers provided miniature pioneering episodes for anyone adventuresome enough to challenge the old trail. Many of the elements of

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quality recreation including risk, intense involvement, physical challenge, wild nature, education, creativity, quiet reflection, humor, renewal, social bonding, service, inspiration, and eternal recall were a part of the old trail experience. The old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail offered all that recreation plus a rich historical past.

Those individuals who recognized the recreation potential of the old trail esteemed the pioneers' Hole-in-the-Rock Trek of 1880 as legendary, when their own story was also remarkable. Those who adapted the unthinkable 40 miles of old wagon trail to recreational use in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s may have been as ingenious and tenacious as their 1880 counterparts. It is no wonder when one realizes that the early recreational users of the trail were primarily children of the original trailblazers. The descendants came to regard the old trail as a rite of passage and a spiritual connection to their fathers.

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Chapter Two

The Old Trail Revisited

After the completion of the 1880 Hole-in-the-Rock Trek, the almost immediate discovery of a superior Colorado River passage at Hall's Crossing effectively eliminated the first 40 miles of the original trail on the east side of the river. Platte and Walter Lyman first saw the future site of Hall's Crossing on May 24, 1880.¹ Whether the Lyman brothers reported their discovery to Charles Hall or whether he found the location himself is not known. In 1881, Charles Hall, the same pioneer who established the ferry service at Hole-in-the-Rock, moved twenty miles north of the Hole-in-the-Rock to the better site and established a ferry service at "Hall's Crossing."² Hall's Crossing endured and became the permanent river crossing. Presently, a large Lake Powell Marina is located at Hall's Crossing and passengers ferry the crossing to Bullfrog Marina on modern ferryboats.

The 1980 Centennial Coincidence

The abandoned old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail remained in obscurity for 59 years after the original pioneer expedition of 1880. The remote San Juan County area which included the old portion of the trail, especially Lake Canyon, was used by the Al Scorup or 'T-Y' Cattle Company for winter range. With the exception of Scorup cowboys and isolated mining prospectors, few humans viewed this wild country. The first recreational trek to the Hole-in-the-Rock

from the east would also have been forgotten except for a later commemorative jeep trip.³

The only radio station in San Juan County, KUTA, sponsored a free jeep trip as a Hole-in-the-Rock centennial promotion in 1980. Clara Mae Hatch's name was drawn from among several hundred contestants and she and her husband Oleen, a Monticello High School history teacher, were invited to join five other people on the jeep trip.⁴

Along the trail, the Hatches discovered they were traveling with one of Clara Mae's distant relatives, a Dave Richardson from Texas. To this day, promoters of the centennial trip are not sure how Richardson learned of the expedition.⁵ He did not "win" a place in the caravan like the other participants, but his presence on the trip added new insight regarding the history of the old trail.

Mr. Richardson informed the Hatches that his father, Sullivan Richardson, had initiated his own Hole-in-the-Rock excursion much earlier and had recorded his trip on film, but Dave could not remember the exact dates of the trip. Once informed of Sullivan Richardson's old Hole-in-the-Rock movie, Mrs. Hatch remembered having seen it in Cedar City as a child.⁶ Clara Mae Hatch was about six years old when Sullivan came to Cedar City, Utah, to visit his parents. He brought several of his "adventure" films and invited the residents of Cedar City to see them. Clara Mae vividly remembered how a cowboy made biscuits in the top of a flour sack during

the Hole-in-the-Rock adventure film.⁷

After their pilgrimage in 1980, the Hatches recognized the historical value of Sullivan's first recreational trek to the Hole-in-the-Rock and proceeded to inquire about the existence of Sullivan Richardson's adventure film. In May, 1985, the Hatches made contact with Sullivan's widow in California and made arrangements to have her husband's original 16-millimeter film transferred to video tape. Without the transfer, Sullivan C. Richardson's Hole-in-the-Rock film would have disappeared upon his widow's death.⁸

After Oleen Hatch acquired his own copy of the Sullivan film, he arranged for Zeke Johnson Jr., Sullivan's guide for the trip, and veteran trail expert, Lynn Lyman, to add the voice narration to the original video version of the Richardson film. The narration was added to the film on July 26, 1985. It provided a valuable historical beginning for the story of the rebirth of the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail.

Sullivan Richardson

1939 Adventure Film

The person responsible for establishing a recreational interest in the old stretch of trail from Clay Hill to the Colorado River was a man named Sullivan Coral Richardson.⁹ Although none of Sullivan Richardson's ancestors were involved with the pioneer trek of 1880, he heard the Hole-in-the-Rock legend as he grew up in Cedar City, Utah. He wanted to check out the eastern portion of the

Hole-in-the-Rock Trail and compare the myths with reality. Sullivan also recognized a financial opportunity to market his expedition through film, if the trip was as amazing as some people claimed.¹⁰

Sullivan's employer in 1939, the Detroit News, paid Richardson to film several western documentary series. In addition to preparing adventure articles for his newspaper, Richardson also produced travel movies. He then presented live programs around the United States where he narrated the silent adventure films.¹¹ The San Juan Record carefully recorded Richardson's activities. The May 18, 1939, edition of The Record announced that S. C. Richardson of the Detroit News requested the local Blue Mountain Civic Club to make the arrangements for his anticipated trip to San Juan County. The Civic Club met with San Juan County community leaders and found enthusiastic support to bring him to the area. The Club assigned the towns of Monticello and Blanding to contribute \$25 each, while they asked Bluff City to give \$10 to \$15. The San Juan County Commission pledged to add enough money to bring the total to \$75, the calculated cost of the expedition.¹² Zeke Johnson, Jr., a tourist outfitter at the Natural Bridges, submitted the lowest bid for horse and equipment provisions.¹³ One week later, May 25, 1939, The Record reported that Richardson was pleased with the arrangements and would be delighted to take motion pictures of the scenery along the old pioneer trail from Hole-in-the-Rock to Bluff, Utah.¹⁴ The Civic

Club excitedly announced on June 1, 1939, that S. C. Richardson consented to show his film "Early History and Legends of Arizona" at a public meeting in Blanding after his Hole-in-the-Rock trek.¹⁵ Civic Club members also initiated plans to collect all the surviving members of the 1880 pioneer excursion and have them featured in the Sullivan film.

On June 29, 1939, a nervous newspaper reporter hoped that Sullivan would soon return from his Hole-in-the-Rock trek and keep his appointment in Blanding. The reporter wrote:

At nine o'clock this morning nothing had been heard at Blanding of the Richardson-Whittaker-Johnson excursion to Hole-in-the-Rock, but since Mr. Richardson is scheduled to lecture in Blanding tonight on Colorful Arizona, there is no question but that they will put in an appearance some time during the day. Tomorrow at 11:00 a.m. all survivors of the Hole-in-the-Rock expedition are to be assembled at Blanding and photographed in technicolor film, to become a part of the historic expedition.¹⁶

The excursion included Sullivan Richardson, his cameraman, Whittaker, and two experienced guides, Zeke Johnson, Jr., and Jim Mike.¹⁷ Zeke Johnson had punched cows for the Scorup (T-Y) Cattle Co. and was familiar with the abandoned portion of the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail. Johnson was also company cook for the

Trek. He demonstrated making biscuits on the top of his flour sack without using any utensils. Zeke smoothed a "bowl" in the flour and mixed all the ingredients, including water and oil, in it. He said, " it saved on pans and never wasted flour."

Jim Mike was never mentioned in the written evidence, but was unmistakably present on the film. A Piute Indian, Jim Mike grew up in the hostile Hole-in-the-Rock country near Navajo Mountain. He retold the story often that, as a young boy, he heard the pioneer's blasting powder explosions at the Hole-in-the-Rock in 1880.¹⁸ The Indians who lived around Navajo Mountain could not possibly conceive that the "crazy white men" were building a wagon road.¹⁹

After the foursome in the Richardson expedition filmed many old trail landmarks including remarkable footage of Slick Rock Hill, the Chute, and Cottonwood Hill, they arrived at the Colorado River where they determined to cross it and climb the huge crevice the trail is named for, the Hole-in-the-Rock. While Whittaker recorded the action, Sullivan, Zeke, and Jim endeavored to coax an abandoned, leaky boat across the river. They stripped down to their long-john underwear and positioned Jim Mike in the rear of the boat to bail water with a can. Judging from the video of Jim Mike's flailing arms, the boat leaked water at a very alarming rate.²⁰

The three men tried to persuade one of their horses to tow the boat across the river. Pulling a rowboat against the swift current proved too strenuous for the horse and it continually returned to the point of departure.

The men eventually succeeded in fording the river themselves and climbed to the top of the Hole-in-the-Rock.

The Richardson film also included footage of the original Hole-in-the-Rock survivors, as promised in The San Juan Record article. The 1880 pioneers, who were alive in 1939, dressed in their finery and performed a short square-dance for the cameraman. Kumen Jones, a very prominent leader of the original expedition, had a leg amputated before the film was made due to diabetes. But that physical problem did not prevent Kumen Jones from doing a jig on his crutches for the camera. As Zeke Johnson added his voice narration to the film in 1985, Kumen's little jig prompted Zeke to exclaim, "Well, I guess old Kumen hasn't lost all his get-up-and-go yet." ²¹

Sullivan Richardson's expedition provided an incentive for residents of San Juan County to observe the old trail personally. The old portion of the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail had been visited and captured on moving film for the whole world to see.

Charlie Redd

1940 Horseback Pilgrimage

Another force enticing the descendants toward the old trail was the curiosity created by Hole-in-the-Rock trek descriptions, like those of Jens and Elsie Nielson. These stories fueled the desire of the pioneers' descendants to experience the spirit of the trek and see the revered passageway for

themselves. The inhabitants of San Juan County, after 1880, were aware of the pioneers' Hole-in-the-Rock ordeal, yet few had visited the old portion of the trail. The harshness of terrain, which added such wonder to the Hole-in-the-Rock epic, also provided a thick shroud of mystery.

The first direct descendant to demonstrate an interest in re-creating the old trail adventure was Charles (Charlie) Redd of La Sal, Utah. Charlie was the son of Lemuel Hardison Redd, Jr. and the grandson of Lemuel Hardison Redd, Sr., who both participated in the San Juan Mission company of 1879-1880. Charlie Redd certainly enjoyed a rich Hole-in-the-Rock heritage, yet he recalled that the trip was rarely mentioned during his early years growing up in Bluff City, Utah.²² Apparently, the original participants simply didn't discuss the subject of the pioneer colonizing epic. Charlie made some enlightening observations about the original trailblazers. He speculated that perhaps the hard lives of the pioneer group schooled them into feeling that the Hole-in-the-Rock ordeal was only one of their ordinary problems.²³ Mr. Redd stated that there was no bragging exhibited by the pioneers, nor was there complaining and whining about their strange adventure. He remembered:

They were so fully conscious of the part they were playing in building up God's kingdom that daily they gave thanks that they had been counted worthy to serve. Consequently, these folks who, in coming through the Hole-in-the-Rock established an all-time record in pioneering, said little or

nothing about past events to their children.²⁴

Charlie Redd's sister, Marion, recounted a story which also revealed the attitudes of many who participated in the original expedition. Marion and Charlie's mother, Eliza Redd, combed her daughter's hair one day as they talked about the "early days." She described the trials and tribulations of the 1880 ordeal to her daughter until Marion was in tears. Marion exclaimed, "Oh, mother, how did you ever stand it?"

Eliza waited a moment and then said, "It was the happiest time of my life. Everybody was helping everyone else out and we knew we were on a sacred mission."²⁵

Charlie Redd remembered the gradual awakening which he experienced regarding the significance of the old trail. The quiet, unassuming dignity of the original participants only added to the reverence of the event and Charlie began to think of the trail as special, even something sacred.²⁶ He yearned to experience the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail for himself. Charlie's craving to experience the trail for himself became a passion. Charlie's mother, Eliza, died in 1938 and her memory might have caused him to reflect upon his Hole-in-the-Rock heritage.²⁷ His wife, Annaley, remembered later that Charlie was consumed with the need to organize a trip to the Hole-in-the-Rock for well over a year.²⁸ Charlie Redd was responsible for initiating much of the "pilgrimage to a shrine" parlance that was attached to the horseback and all subsequent treks.²⁹

He wrote a letter to The San Juan Record, printed in the September 12, 1940, edition. In the letter, he publicly announced his plans:

Plans in the making for several months will be carried out next week when the pilgrimage to the famous Hole-in-the-Rock will get under way. While this trip will be a most fascinating one from a standpoint of scenery and association, it is not a lark, nor a vacation, but rather, a serious pilgrimage. It will be an earnest and reverent group, going to a shrine. We will honor and pay homage to our folks, but what is more important in my mind, is the enrichment of our SOUIS and lives in spending ten days re-living, as nearly as possible, the spirit and atmosphere of the noble little pioneer band.³⁰

Charlie's letter in The Record explained the itinerary, the method of organization, and the equipment needed for the venture. The letter was signed by Charles Redd, President of the Pioneer Association, Daniel Perkins, 1st Vice President, Kate Hansen, 2nd Vice President, and Ruth Bailey, Secretary.³¹ The scheduled dates for the horseback trip were September 15-24, 1940.

A Stake Conference of the LDS Church held at Monticello, Utah, on Sunday, September 7, 1940, gave all the local church authorities a public forum to emphasize the trip. Even the visiting authority from LDS headquarters in Salt Lake City was caught up in the excitement. Marvin O. Ashton of the Presiding Bishopric of the Church referred to the legacy of the San Juan Mission

when he exclaimed, "This is a he-mans country and I mean 'He.' City boys haven't the chance that you boys have to become he-men."³²

Charlie Redd, speaking in the same conference, discussed the trip to the Hole-in-the-Rock and emphasized the importance of making the trip.

Anticipation was reaching a fever pitch.

Fortunately, Platte Lyman's baby boy, Albert R. , born in 1880 and carried down the wagon descent of the Hole-in-the-Rock in his mother's arms, grew up to become one of the major contributors to The San Juan Record.

"The Old Settler," as Albert R. Lyman became affectionately known, was especially sensitive to news about the old pioneer trail. Because of Lyman's presence, the newspaper undoubtedly contained more information regarding the trail than it normally would have included. Albert R. Lyman and Mrs. Frank Halls (Elizabeth Woods Halls)³³ submitted complete travelogues of the horse back trip for the newspaper. Lyman's reverent introduction summarized his reaction to the trek: "On the 24th of the month we completed the big pilgrimage to the sacred place."³⁴

The 1940 company contained an impressive array of direct pioneer descendants. Of the 86 participants, 80 were either children or children-in-law of the early San Juan pioneers.³⁵ A small group, including Charlie and Annaley Redd from La Sal, started from Bluff City, Utah, and retraced the entire eastern portion of the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail back to the Colorado River on horseback. The

majority of the participants from Monticello and Blanding traveled by car to the Natural Bridges National Monument where a rendezvous with the La Sal party was accomplished. Before the horseback company started, it was divided into ten camping groups. Each group was assigned a captain in recognition of the "captains of ten" of 1880.

Mrs. Halls reported that several of the original pioneers who made the first trip in 1879-80 were chauffeured to an evening meeting at the Natural

Bridges, which served as the official start of the long awaited pilgrimage.³⁶ Most of the surviving pioneers were too old to be interested in completing the re-creation of the trek, but were happy to be part of the reunion-fireside meeting at the Natural Bridges.³⁷

The most prominent pioneer among them was Kumen Jones, who was 83 years old.³⁸ Jones was named by many as the driver of the first wagon-team through the crevice on January 26, 1880.³⁹ He was not selected to pilot the first wagon because of superior driving skill, but because he was unmarried and, therefore, considered expendable.⁴⁰

The San Juan Record identified other prominent pioneers at the reunion meeting. Sarah Perkins, age 80, of Salt Lake City, was the oldest lady present. Also identified were the only two persons who made the 1880 trek and also completed the 1940 horseback trip: Charles E. Walton, 72, of Monticello, Utah, and Caroline Nielson Redd, 66, of Blanding, Utah. Charles Walton was 12 years

old and Caroline Redd was a young girl of six when they accompanied their parents on the historic journey.

Zeke Johnson Sr., the father of the guide for the Sullivan Richardson adventure film, was the custodian of the Natural Bridges National Monument in 1940 and hosted the evening fireside. He reported that this was the largest crowd to ever be at the Bridges at one time.⁴¹

Rain began shortly after the meeting commenced and Albert R. Lyman wrote that rain came intermittently throughout the trip. Initially, sleeping in wet blankets was annoying, but the rain proved to be a godsend. Annaley Redd remembered later that lack of water could have proven disastrous. Everyone underestimated the desolate terrain and the typical scarcity of water.⁴² With 144 head of stock accompanying 86 adults, abundant water was essential.

The rainwater filled hundreds of natural "potholes" in the sandstone and conveniently solved the problem.

The first day on the old trail gave the group their first glimpse of the 1000 foot ascent up Clay Hill. The weather conditions of 1880 were repeated for the 1940 company. Their fathers came down Clay Hill in the winter mud of February, 1880. Likewise in 1940, the rain caused the heavy clay-soil of Clay Hill to turn to grease. The horses were led up the steep side of Clay Hill with "blue gumbo" hanging heavily from the descendant's boots.⁴³

The company camped at "Greenwater" in Castle Wash. It was named "castle" after the remnants of a beautiful Anasazi Ruin located there. Rain complicated camping preparations and most campers resigned themselves to sleeping in soggy bedding. One of the ten camping groups bedded down in the dry wash at the base of the ruin. Not long after silence finally descended over the camp, a plaintive voice from the "dry wash" tent muttered, "We are in a flood," and the occupants scrambled for higher ground. Other camps cheerfully shared their bedding with those who were displaced.⁴⁴

The second day was spent uneventfully wending toward Lake Canyon. The once beautiful lake was now a deep, empty gorge. The black water stains on the ledges above captured the imagination of the group as they tried to envision the welcome desert oasis that saved their parents.

Friendships were beginning to grow.⁴⁵ The company felt honored to have Jim Mike, the Piute guide for Sullivan Richardson's adventure movie, accompany them. All the pioneer descendants were pleased that the caravan included a trail veteran as seasoned and respected as Jim Mike and were anxious that he would feel welcome. All the camping group captains were Mormons who did not drink coffee, but they knew that Jim Mike was a notorious coffee lover. Every participant remembered the large amount of coffee which was hauled along the trail for Jim Mike. Each camp group hoped that Jim Mike would stop by for a hot cup and each group was amply

prepared. Had the 1940 expedition encountered hardship, their food reserves would have been quickly depleted, but they could have sipped coffee for a month.⁴⁶

Annaley recalled riding with "Aunt" Caroline Redd one day when they spotted an old tin cup along the trail. "Oh, I remember the day my mother threw it out," exclaimed Aunt Caroline.

Annaley was so enthralled to be near an "original" pioneer that she innocently queried, "Do you really?"

Caroline laughed, "I was just kidding."⁴⁷

About noon of the third day, the reverent pioneer descendants paused at Slick Rock Hill to review the mountain sheep story.⁴⁸ This was a special site for the large group of the pioneer descendants who were inspecting this landmark for the first time. A mishap was narrowly avoided while the 1940 pack-trip group worked their way up Slick Rock Hill. One of the horses, a pretty pinto, suddenly veered off the dugway and got out on the slick rock at an angle of 45 degrees. Everyone held their breath. The stock experts in the group were sure the horse would plunge to its death. The pinto was able to tip-toe through an about-face and make its way back to the trail.⁴⁹

The travelers enjoyed a leisurely ride across the flat top of Grey Mesa and arrived at the west side of Grey Mesa to observe another storied landmark, the Chute. The Chute was a natural U-shaped water flume

carved down the sandstone face of the southwest side of Grey Mesa by rain water. became the only wagon access to the top of Grey Mesa from the west.⁵⁰ Making camp at "Cheese Camp"⁵¹ seemed appropriate after such a significant day of sight-seeing and reminiscing. Once again the location had been significant to the 1880 settlers.

As wonderful as the fourth day had been for the 1940 re-creation trek, it was only a prerequisite for the events of the fifth day. After breaking their own Cheese Camp, it was a distance of only a mile until the party broke out of the maze of slickrock where they could get their first full view of the trail's namesake. From the top of Cottonwood Hill, the descendants could see parts of the six miles of Hole-in-the-Rock Trail descending toward the Colorado River.

Rising in majestic splendor behind the river was the Hole-in-the-Rock.

The company slowly worked their way down Cottonwood Hill which descended toward the river in three distinct pitches of steep grade. The first pitch was a steep decline called Little Hole-in-the-Rock, a V-shaped climb named by David Miller in 1954 because of its miniature resemblance to the gigantic crevice on the opposite side of the Colorado River.⁵²

The second distinct pitch was Platte Lyman Dugway. As the descendants led their horses down the dugway they contemplated the agony of getting a wagon load of flour down the Hole-in-the-Rock, across the Colorado River, up Sand Hill, and then losing it on the dugway.

inspecting the site of the spilled flour, the group wondered if the Lyman brothers swore that day. Platte Lyman's journal recorded only that he "spent the balance of the day in mending up and getting things in shape to move on."⁵³

Sand Hill was the last of the three major grades which were all part of what the Pioneers called Cottonwood Hill. The company could see the difficulty of their fathers' task to pull loaded wagons 200 feet uphill through soft, deep sand. Many wondered if the steep sand dune was not a greater obstacle than the steep sandstone. After the three major declines were negotiated, the bottom of Cottonwood Canyon leveled out to accommodate relaxed traveling for the 1940 horseback company.

The group encountered one more thrilling landmark before they arrived at the Colorado River. The trail sliced directly between two sandstone ledges called Register Rocks, named by David Miller in 1954 to commemorate the names which had been carved into the ledges by members of the 1880 expedition.⁵⁴ The sight of their father's names scratched deeply into the sandstone nearly overpowered some of the descendants. Karl Lyman stated that he "felt like taking my hat off, bowing my head, crossing my heart, and saying, 'The Lord be praised'."⁵⁵

One-half mile west of Register Rocks, the horseback company found a flat shelf that provided a wonderful campsite 150 feet above the river, on the

east side. The spectacular backdrop for the camp-shelf was the storied Hole-in-the-Rock, across the river to the west. This setting inspired an emotional campfire meeting of music and family history on the evening of September 20, 1940.⁵⁶

On September 21, the group gathered along the banks of the Colorado River where they planned to cross and climb up through the gigantic crevice.

Norman Nevills, a river-runner from Mexican Hat, Utah, had been procured by Charlie Redd to ferry the large group across the Colorado River to inspect the Hole-in-the-Rock. By the time he arrived at the designated site, his small boat motor had malfunctioned. In the true pioneer spirit, he rowed 18 round trips across the river, 5 passengers at a time.⁵⁷ Norman earned his place in the cherished memories of the excursion because of his yeoman service. Norman worked feverishly to get his motor working sporadically by the time the large group arrived at the river for their return to the east side of the Colorado.⁵⁸

Albert R. Lyman recorded an event which occurred while the group inspected the gigantic cleft for the first time:

As the company ate lunch up and down the steep gorge, the Blanding male quartet and other good singers perched on a little shelf and sang the old Mormons songs dear to the pioneers. Their voices, echoing up and down between the lofty walls, had an unusually pleasing effect. Some of the company declared it was the most wonderful event of the pilgrimage.

Karl Lyman, seventh of Albert R. Lyman's fifteen children, remembered the emotion evoked by the Hole-in-the-Rock choir fifty-five years later. He stated, "The acoustics carried the music all the way up and down the Hole. People thought they were hearing angels sing--it was a marvelous thing."⁶⁰

The scene from the top of the Hole-in-the-Rock, and the corresponding view to the east across the river and up Cottonwood Canyon, was the setting for another memorable meeting. A party of 22 visitors traveled to the famous notch from Escalante and joined with the San Juan Mission descendants for the occasion. Two original songs were composed and performed especially for the occasion.

Even the members of the 1940 horseback trip were privileged to enjoy some hardship which required them to serve each other. One such event was an unfortunate accident suffered by Caroline Redd on the journey home. "Aunt" Caroline Redd was preparing for bed when she fell into a wash, breaking her collarbone and thumb. Fortunately, a doctor was present and gave her morphine to deaden the pain.⁶¹ Caroline continued to suffer considerably and was unable to ride a horse alone.

The company decided that someone should ride behind her and hold her in the saddle for the 30 mile distance back to the cars at Clay Hill. They chose Karl and George Lyman to "hold" Caroline because they were small but wiry men. Karl

Lyman reported later that they selected two sturdy horses and alternated holding Caroline about every five miles. ⁶²

"Aunt" Caroline, as she was known, survived the ordeal and added to her own chapter to the "lore of the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail." Karl Lyman finished Aunt Caroline's chapter when he joked with her children, "Your father might have courted your mother, but I think I had my arms around your mother longer than your father ever did." ⁶³

The horseback trek to the Hole-in-the-Rock was a resounding success. Annaley Redd represented the other participants of the 1940 expedition when she expressed her fond memories of the experience. Her enthusiasm, contagious 55 years after the event, was apparent when she related, "I loved the ride on top of Grey Mesa. I let my horse go at a full gallop and loved the wind in my hair. I loved the meetings at night. I loved the scenery. I loved the rocks. I wasn't bored a minute. I loved horseback riding!" ⁶⁴

The September 26, 1940 issue of The Record also contained glowing summaries of the trek:

On Tuesday evening the twenty three Monticello folk returned from one of the most eventful experiences of their lives. ⁶⁵

At a business meeting along the old trail, the group adopted the new name "The Hole-in-the-Rock Association," voted to retain Charlie Redd as president, and decided to make the pilgrimage an annual affair in some form. ⁶⁶ However, the wonderful adventure was not attempted again. Cowboys

continued to gather cows in the area, but the isolation of the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail began to return. World War II exerted a dampening effect upon the enthusiasm of the descendants. The terrain, also, was as wild and discouraging as before.

NOTES

1. Miller, Hole-In-The-Rock, p. 172.
2. 1bid. p. 117.
3. Oral Interview with Clara Mae Hatch, 1995.
4. Letters from Oleen and Clara Mae Hatch, 1995.
5. Oral interviews with Harry and Howard Randall, 1995.
6. Letter from Clara Mae Hatch, 1995.
7. 1bid.
8. 1bid.
9. Ancestral File, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. February 04, 1995.
10. Transcription of narration for the Sullivan Richardson adventure film, 1985.
11. Transcription of the narration of Sullivan Richardson's Hole-in-the-Rock film, 1985.
12. The San Juan Record, Vol 24. No 34
13. 1bid.
14. The San Juan Record, vol. 24. No. 35.
15. The San Juan Record, vol. 24. no. 36. 16. The San Juan Rec, vol. 24. no. 40.
17. 1bid.
18. 1bid.
19. 1bid.
20. Transcription of the narration of Sullivan Richardson's Hole-in-the-Rock film, 1985.

- 21.1bid.
- 22.Embry, La-Sal-Rejections, p. 65
- 23.1bid., p. 65.
- 24.1bid., p. 65.
- 25.1Interview with Annaley Redd, 1994.
- 26.Embry, La-Sal-Reflections, p. 65.
- 27.Letter from C. Hardy Redd, 1995.
- 28.Oral Interview with Annaley Redd, 1995.
- 29.Oral interviews with Annaley Redd and Karl Lyman, 1994.
30. The San Juan Record, Vol. 25. no. 51. Italics added.
- 31.1bid.
- 32.1bid.
- 33.Oral Interview with Annaley Redd, 1994.
- 34.1bid. Italics added.
- 35.The San Juan Record, Vol. 26. no. 1.
- 36.1bid.
- 37.The San Juan Record, Vol. 26. no. 2.
- 38.1bid.
- 39.Mi11er, Hole-In-The-Rock, p. 110.
- 40.1Interview with Susanne Nielson Anderson, 1995.
- 41.The San Juan Record, Vol. 26. no. 1.
- 42.Oral Interview with Annaley Redd, 1994.
- 43.1bid.
- 44.1bid.
- 45.1bid.
- 46.1Interviews with Annaley Redd and Karl Lyman, 1994.
- 47.1bid.

48.1bid.

49. The San Juan Record, Vol. 26. no. 2.

50.1bid.

51. Miller, Hole-In-The-Rock, p. 126. The site of the original cheese auction of February, 1880.

52.1bid.

53.1bid., p. 172.

54.1bid.

55. Interview with Karl Lyman, 1994.

56. The San Juan Record, Vol. 26. no. 1.

57. The San Juan Record, Vol. 25. no. 2.

58.1bid.

59.1bid.

60. Interview with Karl Lyman, 1994.

61.1bid.

62. Oral interview with Karl Lyman, 1994.

63. Interview with Karl Lyman, 1994.

64. Oral interview with Annaley Redd, 1994.

65.1bid.

66. The San Juan Record, Vol. 26. no. 1.



Sullivan Richardson washes while Zeke Johnson prepares the evening meal.
Pack Trip, 1939



Zeke Johnson makes biscuits using nothing but ingredients and his flour sack.



Sullivan Richardson probes one of the drill holes used for blasting the wagon road down Slick Rock Hill.



Sullivan Richardson, Zeke Johnson, and Jim Mike try to coax a horse to tow their boat across the Colorado River.



Fireside-Reunion at the Natural Bridges National Monument to formally begin the 40 Horseback trip to Hole-in-the Rock.



1940 Horseback trek preparing to embark from the bottom of Clay Hill Pass.



Fermin Lopez holding the coyote he lassoed in Comb Wash.



Preparing for a day's ride.



One of several steep dugways carved from the side of Slick Rock Hill.



Another of the dugways carved from Slick Rock Hill.
These dugways followed the famous "mountain goat trail".



Frank Redd at the top of Slick Rock Hill or Grey Mesa.
Threat Bend of the San Juan River s in the background.



The 1940 horseback riders crossing Grey Mesa.



The gigantic sandstone water-flume called the "Chute". It formed the only access to Grey Mesa from the west.



Breaking camp at "Cheese Camp".



Riders emerging from the Little Hole-in-the-Rock.



Descending Platte Lyman Dugway, site of the flour accident.
Charles Walton and Caroline Redd, who accompanied the pioneer trek of
1880 are closest to the camera.



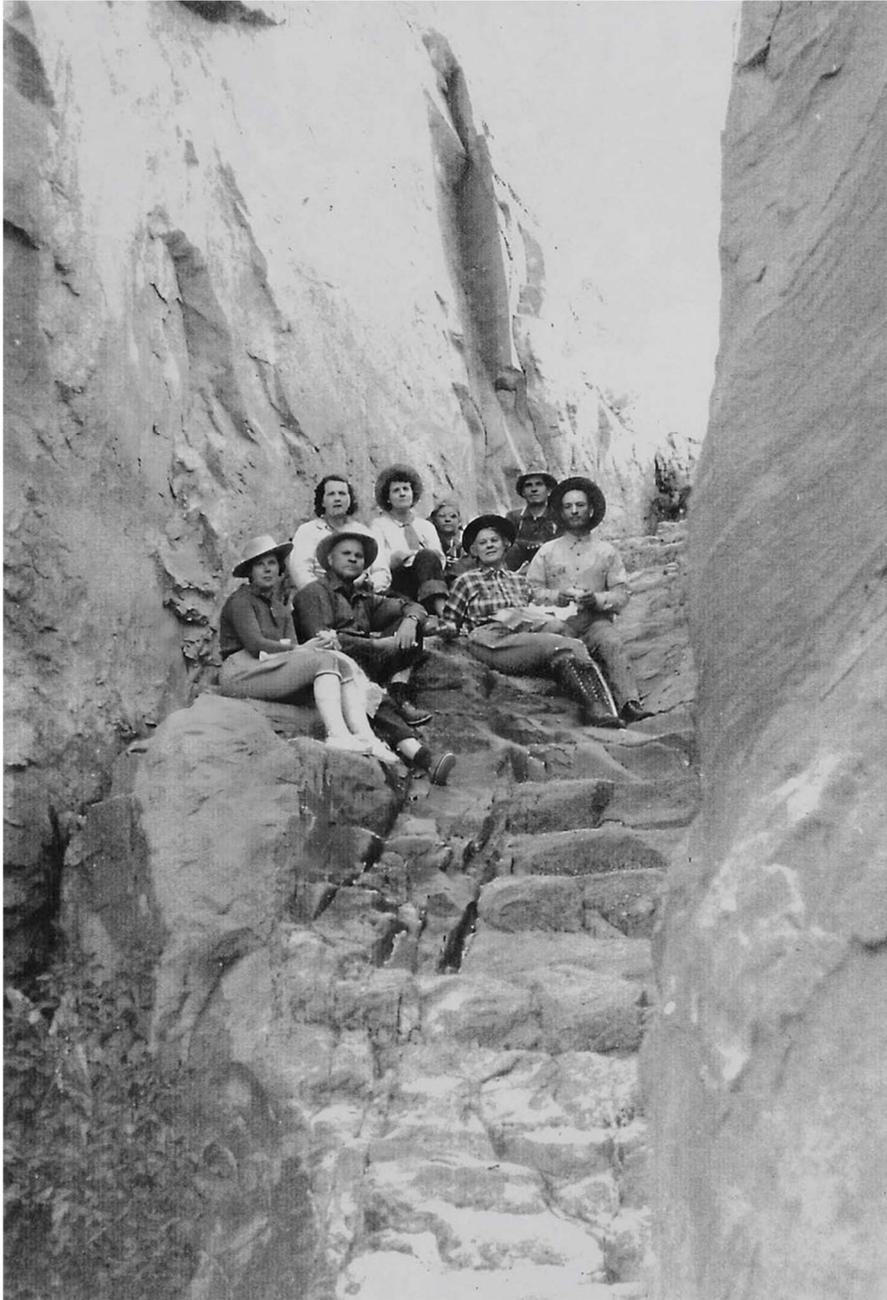
The portion of Cottonwood Hill between Platte Lyman Dugway and Sand Hill.



The caravan approaching Register Rocks.
The Hole-in-the-Rock in the distance is framed
perfectly between the Register Rocks.



Final approach to the Colorado River from the east.
The shoulder work of the original pioneer road is clearly visible.



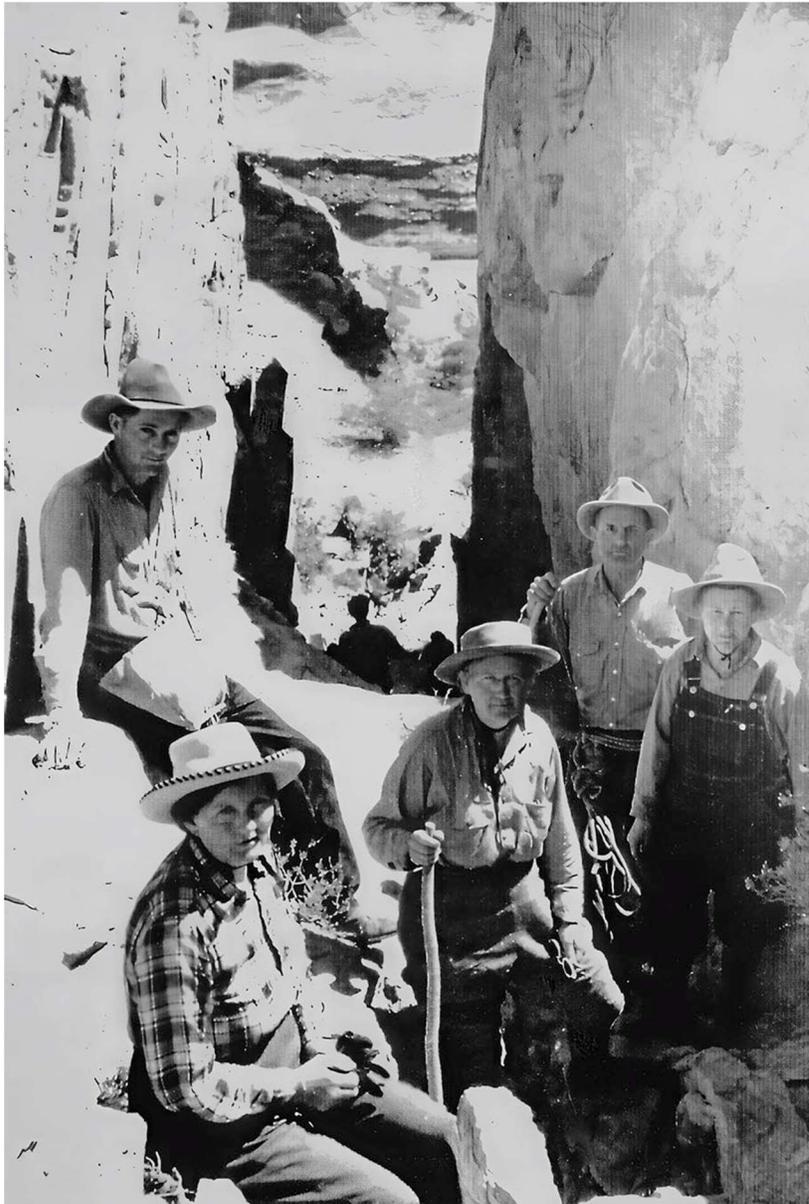
A group eating lunch near the top of the Hole-in-the-Rock.
Annaley and Charlie Redd, 1940 expedition organizers, are nearest the camera.
The camera was facing west.



All participants of the 1940 Pack-trip assembled at the top of the Hole-in-the-Rock.



Descendants of prominent Hole-in-the-Rock Pioneers.
Lyman family clan. 1940 horseback trek.



Descendants of Benjamin and Hyrum Perkins.
A small triangle of the Colorado River can be seen in the background.
The photograph was taken at the top of the Hole-in-the-Rock facing east.



Jens Nielson descendants. 1940 horseback trek.



Descendants of Lemuel H. Redd, Sr. 1940 horseback trek.

Chapter Three

Four-Wheel Drive

Although the 1940 horseback group agreed to make the trip to the Hole-in-the-Rock an annual event, they never repeated the excursion. Many adults could not escape for ten days from jobs and family responsibilities to duplicate their adventure. Others simply did not have the necessary horses and pack animals available to join such a group. World War II stifled the ability of San Juan County residents to organize for elaborate recreational endeavors.

However, as the service men returned home, they brought an idea for an exciting new way to revisit the isolated pioneer trail. The war effort introduced many veterans to a transportation phenomenon: four-wheel drive.¹ San Juan County residents were anxious to rediscover the old trail. They hoped this new technology would make it possible for the average person to enjoy the experience.²

Skelly Oil

Two major barriers stood between the forbidding 40 miles of the old trail and any mechanized use of it. Exactly the same geographical obstacles that were so disheartening to the 1880 pioneers stymied motorized vehicles: Clay Hill and Slick Rock Hill. Oil and uranium exploration related to the post-war energy boom in San Juan County eventually conquered both obstacles.

The first printed notification of impending action at Clay Hill appeared in

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the local, weekly newspaper, The San Juan Record. In the February 1, 1951 issue of The Record, an inconspicuous report on oil and gas activities within the county leaked the following news, "Another company is to drill a well in San Juan, this time in the remote and inaccessible area of the confluence of the San Juan and Colorado Rivers."³

The article identified Earl Cosper and a Mr. Bradish as field men for the Skelly Oil Company of Tulsa, Oklahoma. These men were assigned to make arrangements for the construction of a road into the "wildest, roughest country in the County."⁴ Optimistic reports stated the road could be completed by June, 1951. Skelly Oil contracted O. Frost Black of Blanding, Utah, to do the heavy road construction. One year earlier, Frost Black purchased a TD-18 cable dozer-tractor with a cable and pulley system to raise and lower the push blade. Skelly Oil also hired Oz Hunt, another dozer operator, to help Black grade the first improved road up Clay Hill Pass.⁵

San Juan County residents considered Skelly Oil to be just another obscure company prospecting for energy sources in the 1950s until the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail enthusiasts realized the potential of Skelly's proposed road. Local interest in the Skelly Oil Company quickly escalated from complacency to fervor among those longing for access to the old trail.⁶ Albert R. Lyman, writing for The Record recognized the significance of the proposed new road and kept his readers posted. The February 8, 1951 newspaper

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reassured everyone that Skelly Oil was indeed proceeding with their plans to construct a road into Grey Mesa country.⁷

The March 8, 1951 edition of the newspaper announced the triumph in glowing terms:

Clay Hill has been conquered! There is now a road over which you can drive your car to its top. Clay Hill has for three quarters of a century, ever since the Mormon pioneers first trekked across the wilderness from Iron County in 1878, been a formidable barrier to traffic other than a man on foot or horse back. Some of the wildest country left in the United States has been effectively isolated because of the steep slopes and rocky hillsides of Clay Hill. The new road, incidently, will prove valuable for stockmen and miners, and will undoubtedly attract some of the hardier of those seeking a thrill in unknown places. Congratulations Skelly Oil for both your courage and pioneering spirit in this venture.⁸

The daring road grader, O. Frost Black, had unwittingly placed himself in the annals of history. He was hailed the conquering hero for his ascent up Clay Hill Pass, leaving an improved road in the wake of his dozer.

The objective of Skelly Oil was to access an anticipated fortune of oil reserves in a large sandstone outcrop called Nokai Dome, near the San Juan River. After the road up was completed, Skelly Oil came to a discouraging conclusion: their expensive new road led to a "dry hole," deplete of any

precious fuel. With the oil discovery never realized, Skelly declared the venture a financial disaster.⁹

Even though there was no oil, there was now a road over Clay Hill. The despair of the disappointed oil company was replaced by the hope of the fourwheel enthusiasts trying to find a way to reopen the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail. Clay Hill could suddenly be driven without effort!¹⁰ Skelly's drill-rig at Nokai Dome positioned a daring four-wheel drive explorer within 5 miles of Lake Canyon and the intersection with the old abandoned portion of the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail. The relatives of Platte D. Lyman, field captain of the 1880 Hole-in-the-Rock expedition, were equal to the challenge. Lynn Lyman especially stood out as the main instigator of the charge to reclaim the old trail for recreational use.

Lynn Lyman

After Lynn Lyman participated in the horseback trip of 1940, he became the self-appointed caretaker of the old trail.¹¹ No individual matched Lynn's sustained enthusiasm for the old trail over the next half-century. Between 1940 and 1990, Lynn's wife, Hazel Lyman, recorded 28 excursions over the old trail that she took. Hazel knew only that Lynn made "many more trips than I did."¹²

Lynn Lyman's devotion to the trail earned him the title "Apostle of the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail" prior to his death in April, 1992.¹³ His adult life was spent marking, preserving, and guiding others over the old trail. The son of

Walter Lyman and the nephew of Platte Lyman, he came by his enthusiasm for the old trail genetically. However, unlike his predecessors, he did not envy the agricultural lifestyle of his fathers. Lynn said once:

Dad wanted me to be a rancher like him, but I didn't have anything in my head but wheels. I loved to tinker. When I was 15 or 16 I got hold of a radio magazine and a few parts. I wound my own coils around an oatmeal box and built a radio.

A fellow said to my dad one day, "That boy of yours is quite a genius, isn't he?" and my father said, "yes, I'm afraid he is." That's as much encouragement as I ever got from him. ¹⁴

Lynn Lyman's inclination toward mechanical invention and away from ranching had an important impact on the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail. The new off-road transportation technology, irresistible to Lynn Lyman's appetite for tinkering with machines, emerged at the same time his interest in the old trail began. This combination hastened the introduction of four-wheel drive vehicles to the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail.

The Weapons Carrier

Lynn, Edward, Henry, Almon, and Kay Lyman, Gordon Platte, and Orville Gunther created the first chapter of motorized "old trail-lore." ¹⁵ Two members of the group, Edward Lyman and his son Kay, joined a uranium mining venture near Torrey, Utah and purchased a war-surplus Dodge weapons carrier for the

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mine.¹⁶ The Dodge weapons carrier, larger than an army jeep, could carry more weight, and had a higher ground clearance.¹⁷ The miners and early four-wheel drive users of San Juan County preferred the bigger carrier to the jeep for long and arduous expeditions.

Of course, Lynn Lyman envisioned more noble purposes for the four-wheel drive weapons carrier than mundane mining slavery. The weapons carrier had the distinction of being chosen to spearhead the first vehicular assault on the old trail.¹⁸ Kay Lyman "didn't even have the (Hole-in-the-Rock) fever yet,"¹⁹ but what fever he lacked, Lynn Lyman made up for. However, Kay possessed the one essential that Lynn lacked and that was the weapons carrier.

Gordon Platte invited Orville Gunther from Lehi, Utah, to make the historic trek. Platte informed Gunther that this was an experiment to find an access to the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail using four-wheel drive and the idea intrigued him, even though he had no genetic ties to the San Juan pioneers. Fortunately, Gunther thought to bring along his movie camera to film the highlights of the expedition.

The group left Blanding, Utah on April 8, 1954. They traveled on the Skelly Oil road toward Nokai Dome until they located a good departure point for their attempt to reach Lake Canyon. At that junction, supplies and passengers were transferred to the weapons carrier and the group headed west.²⁰ Lynn Lyman daringly accompanied the weapons carrier with his pickup

for a short distance. After one and three-quarter miles, the way became so steep and rough that Lyman parked his truck, joining Kay Lyman and the others on the weapons carrier.²¹ The Dodge weapons carrier was destined for singular immortality if it could only survive the test.

There were no roads. Under the able leadership of Henry Lyman, a longtime Scorup cowboy and guide for the 1940 horseback trip, the group slowly picked their way toward Lake Canyon. Henry's guidance proved essential to the success of this first four-wheel drive venture. He led the group on a cow trail into Lake Canyon, the only access into the steep-sided gulch.²² As they crept along in the vehicle, Lynn Lyman occasionally jumped off the carrier with his bar/chisel and chipped away enough sandstone to allow the weapons carrier to squeeze through narrow passages.²³

Lake Canyon was a heart-stopper for the drivers. The men, looking over the slick-rock descents into and ascents out of the Lake Canyon forks, held their breath many times as they crept along the challenging and unfamiliar terrain. Modern jeepers now work these vertical climbs off an old uranium prospecting road that was built in 1958, but without the help of the uranium road, the 1954 group accomplished some first-time four-wheel drive thrills.

Kay Lyman remembered:

We were in deep blow sand and we were worried. We were worried we were going to get stuck. But it (the weapons carrier) was a good old

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four-wheel drive. It was slower than a snail and it kept heating up. It was just pulling for all it was worth to keep going. If we had broken down (laugh) we would have had a long ways.....We had one comfort. We knew if we broke down we probably wouldn't stay broke down because we had Lynn Lyman.

When we got into Lake Canyon coming back, we just went straight up the slick-rock and I didn't know. I said, 'You guys hang on and stand on the bumpers so this thing doesn't keel over.' I should have had sense enough to just tell Lynn to drive it.²⁴

Orville Gunther remembered being concerned about the Dodge's reliability. Notwithstanding the unimpressive appearance of the vehicle, Edward Lyman had unshakable faith in his weapons carrier. Every time the going got treacherous and the men expressed doubts, Edward would indignantly respond,

"Don't you worry. The Dodge will go anywhere."²⁵

Edward Lyman, the patriarch of the group, dutifully called the men to prayer night and morning. Gunther noticed that the prayers were especially fervent in behalf of the Dodge and its successful completion of the mission.²⁶

Ironically, this same canyon, so frightening for the weapons carrier expedition, was virtually the only bright spot for the beleaguered pioneers of 1880. Then, a drift-sand dam blocked the canyon creating a large lake.²⁷ The 1880 pioneers were able to wash and rest at the lake before crossing the

treacherous chasm by using the dam as a bridge. Lake Canyon was the only gulch forded without excruciating effort in 1880. The sand dune lake gave the pioneers the heart to continue their journey.

A flash flood washed out the sand dune dam in 1915, leaving a deep gorge behind.²⁸ The strategic position of the old dam immediately preceded the point where Lake Canyon forked to become two chasms. Consequently, the dam allowed Lake Canyon to be crossed in one attempt. The absence of the dam forced four-wheel drivers to move further upstream and cross the two forks of Lake Canyon, referred to as the east and west forks of Lake Canyon.²⁹

The Dodge weapons carrier group made the first four-wheel vehicular assault into Lake Canyon. It is not certain how far the group traveled beyond Lake Canyon. The company camped somewhere in Death Valley, the seven mile stretch of desolation between Lake Canyon and Grey Mesa, and hiked to Slick Rock Hill the next morning.³⁰ They were not able to get the weapons carrier all the way to the base of Grey Mesa or Slick Rock Hill.³¹

Of the weapons carrier group, only Edward, Lynn, and Henry Lyman participated in the horseback trip of 1940. The remainder of the weapons carrier expedition examined the pioneer road up Slick Rock Hill for the first time. They inspected the series of dugways, each carved from solid rock, that constitute the "mountain sheep trail" wagon road down Slick Rock Hill. Orville

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Gunther remembered that the group repeated the mountain goat story several times during their inspection of Slick Rock Hill, impressing him with the reverence the Lymans had for the trail.³²

Gunther, who was not related to the Hole-in-the-Rock pioneers, had no emotional attachment to the trail. He made another observation as a neutral participant. Because the uranium boom was in high gear in 1954, Orville commented to the Lymans that their knowledge of the country was ideally suited to staking out some uranium claims and accumulating some wealth. The pioneer descendants quickly informed him that it would be "a violation of religious principles to be searching for gold when their duty was to document and preserve the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail."³³

After hiking the "mountain goat trail" wagon road, the weapons carrier group spent the entire day searching for a jeep path up Slick Rock Hill. No four-wheel drive daredevil wanted to attempt Slick Rock Hill as it existed in 1954. The wagon road dugways, carved from solid rock, are, even at this writing, much too steep and narrow to be negotiated with modern jeeps. Fate played a cruel trick to place the explorers at the north-east foot of Grey Mesa with seventeen mythical miles of old wagon trail beckoning, yet mocking their efforts. The weapons carrier explorers returned to Blanding convinced that the four-wheel drive potential of the old trail had been exhausted.

A University of Utah historian played a significant role in reviving the

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efforts of the Blanding explorers. David E. Miller had recently begun the research for his book Hole-In-The-Rock, which would chronicle the 1880 pioneer expedition. Just as Charlie Redd had been drawn to the old trail by the memory of his mother, David Miller was drawn to the Hole-in-the-Rock episode because of Charlie's account of the pioneer story. Charlie Redd published a paper in the 1949 Brand Book entitled "Short Cut to the San Juan." Redd's paper was the best short treatment of the Hole-in-the-Rock expedition prior to Miller's comprehensive history.³⁴

Miller visited the Hole-in-the-Rock for the first time in 1953. David Miller prevailed on two friends, Earl Olson and Stanley F. Wangsgaard, from the Salt Lake City area, to accompany him on the adventure. They traveled to the Hole by way of the eastern (Escalante) approach to the Hole-in-the-Rock, which was the only overland access in 1953. The road from the Escalante side of the Colorado River consisted of graded dirt and gravel, easily negotiable in 2-wheel drive.³⁵

On April 18, 1953, the small exploring party arrived at the top of the landmark cliff. The David Miller contingency hiked down through the Hole-in-the-Rock, navigated the Colorado River in a rubber raft, and hiked to the top of Cottonwood Hill. They hiked about two miles further, but began to glimpse the difficulty of the terrain and turned around at that point. On their return to the river, the group thought to leave a brief description of their exploration at the

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top of Cottonwood Hill. David Miller penciled a very brief summary of their trip, added their signatures, and folded the paper into an empty Kodachrome film canister. Miller placed the film can in a rock monument at the top of Cottonwood Hill. The monument and film canister continued to provide a repository for important adventure details until 1963, when it was destroyed by vandals. Fortunately, Hazel Lyman, Lynn's Lyman's wife, took time on a previous trip, June 7, 1962, to copy the contents of the film can into her Hole-in-the-Rock journal.³⁶

Because of David Miller's research interest, he was anxious to see the trail beyond the top of Cottonwood Hill. Informed of the weapons carrier expedition, Miller immediately made contact with Lynn Lyman to obtain a report.³⁷ Miller easily persuaded Lynn Lyman to make another attempt to reach Slick Rock Hill. But the weapons carrier explorers learned in their recent attempt at trailblazing that vehicular modifications would be necessary to reach Slick Rock Hill. The time had arrived to explore a four-wheel drive option other than the bulky weapons carrier.

The Jeep

Several men in Blanding drove army jeeps during World War II, becoming familiar with jeep technology.³⁸ An army veteran named Kline Black came home from the army as one of the most excited new jeep enthusiasts. Kline served in the Northwest Sector Defense Command, 145th Cavalry, during the war.

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Horrified when he first learned that he had been assigned to a cavalry unit, Black imagined that cavalry necessarily involved horse-riding. He sighed later, even thinking of it, "Oh, how I hated horses."³⁹

Kline grew up as a Blanding farm boy who had his fill of experiences with horses. "If they (horses) weren't trying to kick you, they were trying to bite you," Kline remembered.⁴⁰

A life-long mechanic, Kline became an instant fan of the new army jeep when it arrived at the Northwest Command. Company leaders arranged a Sector demonstration to pit the new jeep against the revered army half-track and six-wheel drive armored car. Curious GI's flocked to the contest. Kline quickly volunteered to drive the jeep. Leaders selected a very steep hill as the test-site and the half-track went first, followed by the armored car. The first two vehicles tore up the terrain and dug deep pits where their unsuccessful climbs were terminated. Black watched carefully and reasoned that "in low transfer and second gear, I'll have maximum speed combined with climbing power at the bottom of the hill."⁴¹

Kline sailed up the incline, bounced through the half-track and armored car pits to the top of the steep hill, and returned to camp the new hero. From that moment, Kline determined that his "horse-power was going to be gas and iron."⁴² He could tolerate, even enjoy, the new "mechanized" infantry.

The Jeep made the leap from service in wartime to popularity in peace-

time, where it virtually invented the concept of the sports utility vehicle.⁴³ In 1940, the Army issued a formal specification to 135 manufacturers for a quarter-ton, four-wheel-drive vehicle. The specification was so urgent (70 vehicles delivered in 75 days) that only three manufacturers responded:

Bantam American Car Co., Ford, and Willy's-Overland.⁴⁴

Karl K. Probst at Bantam American had the greatest influence on Jeep's design. In only five days, Probst and his assistants designed the vehicle that would become the Jeep.⁴⁵ As a result of Probst's rapid work, Bantam American landed the Army's lucrative order. Unfortunately, Bantam American's facilities were so small that they could not possibly deliver the entire order and the bulk of their prize was given to Willy's-Overland.⁴⁶

Jeep became an instant sensation. It could go just about anywhere and climb just about any hill. In addition to its versatility, the jeep became fashionable. The Army decommissioned the jeep for civilian use in 1945⁴⁷ and Willy's-Overland capitalized on an abundance of free war advertising. Every GI had ridden in one and almost every civilian had seen one. "Jeep" became a household word, and an odd household word at that.⁴⁸

People have argued over the origin of the word "jeep" for years. Some people think the word came from the acronym GP, or General Purpose, an Army designation for some of their reconnaissance cars. More likely, Army drivers named the vehicle after the Popeye character, Eugene the Jeep. The official

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name used by the Army for the majority of wartime was the "peep,"⁴⁹ because the windshield could be lowered for "peeping" ahead. Jeep enthusiasts are grateful the "peep" name vanished as it is much less dignified to participate in a "peeping" excursion than in a "jeeping" expedition.

Because of his experience in the military, Kline Black became one of the first "jeepers" in San Juan County. Black worked as a mechanic at the Chevron Station in Blanding, Utah, where he was part-owner. With no relationship to the original Hole-in-the-Rockers, his interest was simply the challenge of the difficult terrain. Kline stated:

When I came out of the army I got hold of Lynn (Lyman) and I says, 'Lynn, wouldn't it be fun to get some jeeps--the way these army jeeps can climb hills, wouldn't it be great for you to get one and me get one and we'll do a lot of exploring in this country?' And he (Lyman) went for it. I can't remember whether he came up with a jeep first or whether I did, but it was approximately the same time.⁵⁰

Lyman accepted Kline Black's challenge and both became some of San Juan County's first jeep owners by 1947.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the idea of attempting the old trail in a jeep had not yet gained acceptance. David Miller's request for assistance must have provided the urgency necessary to develop the idea because by May, 1954, Lynn Lyman prepared to lead Miller's expedition in his own army-surplus, Willy's Jeep.

Lynn, Edward, and Henry Lyman guided David Miller's group who anxiously awaited their first view of the old Hole-in-the-Rock trail east of Cottonwood Hill. Their three jeeps duplicated the path of the weapons carrier through Lake Canyon, across Death Valley to the base of Grey Mesa.⁵² Miller and most of the men hiked the mountain goat path up Slick Rock Hill, across Grey Mesa, down the Chute and to the top of Cottonwood Hill.⁵³

According to David Miller:

There is simply no way of describing the country or understanding the nature of the obstacles to be overcome without having made such a reconnaissance. Furthermore, it would be foolhardy indeed for anyone not well acquainted with that wild country to try to drive a jeep into the region. Without the help of experienced guides we would never have reached our destination, but would have become hopelessly lost in the maze of canyons, gulches, and buttes with which that country is so generously blessed.⁵⁴

While Miller's group hiked the trail, Lynn and Karl Lyman spent a lot of time trying to locate a place where they could at least winch a jeep up Slick Rock Hill. They again concluded that Slick Rock Hill was immune to four-wheel drive.⁵⁵ Interest in the recreational use of the old trail subsided for a time.

The Rincon Connection

Part of the compulsion of jeeping lies in pitting driving skill and four-wheel technology against rugged terrain. The wise jeeper grudgingly learns and accepts his limits. It would have been difficult for a jeeper with Lynn Lyman's passion for the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail to accept defeat. He certainly dreamed of conquering Slick Rock Hill.

There is no written evidence of the old trail being used between May 1954 and September 1957. Again, the incentive came from Professor David Miller in Salt Lake City. After Miller concluded the research for his book Hole - in-the-Rock, he continued to research historical events of San Juan County, Utah. Miller wanted to visit Halls Crossing, the site where Joseph A. Lyman, an original Hole-in-the-Rock pioneer, was shot and killed by horse thieves crouching on the opposite cliff in 1881.⁵⁶

Miller arranged for the Blanding jeepers to guide him to Halls Crossing, where he then separated from the group and headed for Salt Lake. The local group then consisted of Lynn, Edward, Karl, and Albert R. Lyman, Leland Redd, Norwood Porter, and Daniel Perkins. The "Old Settler," Albert R., was now 77. Free of their guiding responsibilities, the group set their sights on a rematch with Slick Rock Hill. This time mechanical failure intervened. One of Lynn's jeep wheels went bad and he spent an hour reassembling his wheel bearing. Without

great confidence in the wheel, the group spent their time searching out an alternative route in and out of the east and west forks of Lake Canyon. The jeep drivers were becoming more bold. Albert R. Lyman described their Lake Canyon efforts with skepticism. Albert could not bear to ride in the vehicles, so he stood and watched as "his three jeep-crazy kinsmen" got down so far down the slope they couldn't get back. "It was foolish--it was terrifying."

Albert R. continued:

They moved at snail's pace, now right, now left, and sometimes along rock so sidling it seemed they would surely turn over. They crawled safely to the bottom. 'Well I'll be damned!' breathed the old man instinctively in a long sigh of relief.⁵⁷

The group did not even get within seven miles of Slick Rock Hill.⁵⁸ They wondered if it was time to give up the obsession of driving the old trail in motorized vehicles. Before this last attempt failed, Albert R. Lyman confidently predicted, "If and when such a road is found (up Slick Rock Hill), there will be a big jeep pilgrimage to Hole-in-the-Rock."⁵⁹

While the Lyman four-wheel drive explorers were beginning to doubt the possibility of a "big jeep pilgrimage," the events that would result in the conquering of Slick Rock Hill were already underway. Without ever driving a jeep, Gwen Lyman, Albert R. Lyman's, youngest daughter, influenced getting a

jeep up Slick Rock Hill more than all her jeep crazy relatives. Don Smith, Gwen's husband, worked as a river guide for Frank Wright and Jim Rigg. Frank Wright was the Colorado River guru until Lake Powell began to fill the gorge in 1963. Jim Rigg was Wright's financial partner in the river running business. Don Smith was a daring young adventurer in 1952, running rapids and loving life. Personable and capable, Don made an ideal river guide.

The river-raft trip pertinent to this study began in Green River, Utah, in the summer of either 1952 or 1953. The rafters made a successful plunge through Cataract Canyon and put to shore at Hite, Utah, where two new passengers joined the expedition, a father and daughter duo, Henry and Emily Gates, from California. Henry and Emily expressed curiosity about the prevalent uranium fever and discussed the subject with Don as the party floated down the Colorado River. Don knew of the existence of several uranium outcroppings along the banks of the river.⁶⁰

The group floated on the Colorado River around a tremendous horseshoe bend, a peninsula called the Rincon. While camping overnight at the Rincon, Don Smith pointed out low-grade uranium outcroppings nearby. When Emily Gates expressed excitement at the prospect of owning a mining claim, Don volunteered to stake one for her.⁶¹

The typical method of staking a claim included writing a claim notice on a slip of paper and leaving it in a tin can, buried under a rock monument. The

only claim message Don was familiar with was one used by a prospector named Ray Lyman. Being anxious to convince competitors that all the available territory was claimed, Ray Lyman hurried all over San Juan County leaving the message:

From this point forth
We the following men of worth
Claim the whole damned Earth.⁶²

Don Smith left this message at three or four promising outcroppings and put the name Emily Gates next to his own, a whim he would later regret. He registered the mineral claim at the San Juan County Courthouse and forgot about it.

Three or four years later in 1957, two uranium prospectors, Marvin Turnage and Dick Grimm, showed up to inquire of Don Smith about the possibility of leasing his and Emily Gates' Rincon claims. Don made a special trip to California to locate Emily and get her signature on the lease agreements.⁶³

The two men were granted their lease and the problem of getting to the Rincon via Grey Mesa suddenly had money behind it. In order to make the mine accessible, Turnage and Grimm built a small airstrip on the beaches of Rincon.

A Piper Cub airplane provided access to the area.

Drilling core-sample holes and hauling the anticipated wealth of uranium required overland access to the Rincon. Marvin Turnage took responsibility for

the difficult project. He obtained his own jeep and set out for the base of Slick Rock Hill. Better jeepers than Turnage had already concluded that Slick Rock Hill was impassable, but Turnage persisted. While hot-rodding through the dry wash bottoms at the base of Grey Mesa in search of a jeep path, Turnage's jeep engine threw a piston rod through the engine block.

It had been the mortal fear of every four-wheel drive exploring party to break down in Death Valley, the seven-mile stretch between Lake Canyon and Slick Rock Hill.⁶⁴ The desolation of that area is indescribable. The story of the Turnage escape from Death Valley and his return to civilization is regrettably absent from this study.

Marvin Turnage surfaced in Blanding, Utah and made his way to the Chevron Service on the corner of Center and Main streets. Two Black brothers, Glenn and Kline, were co-owners of the Chevron Service which supplied the automotive needs for much of southern San Juan County. Kline Black, the more outgoing of the brothers, became friends with nearly every customer. He was acquainted with Marvin Turnage and knew something about his purpose.⁶⁵ Turnage approached Kline Black with an incredible offer. "I'll sell you a jeep for \$50, range delivery (or as is)," he exclaimed.

"I'll take it right now," said Kline, shaking on the deal.

Kline took \$50 from the cash register and paid Marvin Turnage on the spot. "Now where is this jeep?" asked Kline.

"At the bottom of the pioneer dugway," Turnage replied.

That description meant nothing to Kline Black at the time and he dismissed the whereabouts of the jeep as unimportant. Black looked forward to rescuing his jeep, confident of his expert mechanic ability.⁶⁶

Eventually, Kline Black persuaded a friend, Duane Johnson to pilot his single-engine airplane for the reconnaissance mission. Lynn Lyman consented to guide the flight so Kline would be able to locate his new jeep. Finding the jeep proved to be surprisingly difficult. The search required several flight passes back and forth across Death Valley before they finally spotted the jeep. It did not fully occur to Kline that the sighting difficulty was caused by the broken ruggedness of the terrain. He continued to believe that retrieving his jeep would be relatively simple.

Meanwhile, Marvin Turnage still had a job to perform. While the jeepers became obsessed with plans to rescue Black's new jeep, Turnage hired a road construction foreman named Bus Lewis to get him to the Rincon and get him there fast.

The May 2, 1958, issue of The Record lit the fires of four-wheel drive exploration all over again:

It is reported that a road is being shot out of the sandstone up the steep side of Slick Rock, the east boundary of Grey Mesa, over which the old Mormon road leads to Hole-in-the-Rock on the Colorado River. The

men making the road are interested in some outcropping in what is called the Rincon.

A jeep-pilgrimage is waiting to start from here to Hole-in-the-Rock as soon as the road is opened up Slick Rock. This will open a possible, although desperately rough, passageway, to go by jeeps to one of San Juan's most alluring attractions.⁶⁷

Grave concerns from county residents immediately surfaced about shooting a road up Slick Rock Hill with dynamite.⁶⁸ Lynn Lyman responded swiftly and deserved credit for his foresight. He worried that the road-builders, in their sprint to the Rincon, might destroy the old "mountain goat-trail" dugways created by the pioneers. He assembled a group of devout old trail enthusiasts to hurry out and visit with Bus Lewis, Turnage's road foreman.

Kline Black joined this same group for his first attempt to drive the Turnage jeep out of Death Valley.⁶⁹

The group consisted of Edward, Lynn, Chad, Karl, and Joe Finn Lyman, Kline, Dale, and Leo Black, Alma Redd, Clarence Rogers and Lyle Johnson.⁷⁰ While Kline and Leo Black worked on the stranded jeep, the negotiating team, headed by Lynn Lyman and Clarence Rogers, visited with the road building crew. Bus Lewis, construction foreman, acted very cooperatively and promised not to destroy any of the old trail. Lynn Lyman, determined to help Lewis keep his promise, found a good route for the new road up Slick Rock Hill. Lynn Lyman

and Clarence Rogers hiked the hill and built little rock monuments to identify a possible path. The construction company followed the rock markers, averting the destruction of an important section of the trail.⁷¹

The Slick Rock road negotiating mission was a resounding success but the jeep rescue mission was not. Kline Black's first impulse had been to take an engine out to the stranded jeep, replace it in the field, and drive it home to Blanding. Unfortunately, he met his good friend, Alma Redd, soon afterward and Alma altered the plan.

"You're a good mechanic," said Alma. "Let's see if you can get it out of there, Kline."

Kline succumbed to "mechanic ego" and accepted the challenge.⁷² He sheepishly admitted later that it was a foolish choice. Kline laughed as he remembered that "Alma knew nothing about jeeps and talked me into trying against my better judgement"⁷³

By the time the caravan negotiated Lake Canyon and Death Valley, Kline was fully aware of the magnitude of his ignorance. It was remotely possible that a wounded jeep might be nursed along a level road, but he was confronted by some precarious climbs that stress healthy jeeps to their limits. Nevertheless, Kline's mechanic friend, Leo Black, remained optimistic. "We'll drive you out on three cylinders," Leo exclaimed.⁷⁴

Kline and Leo dropped the oil pan on the old Turnage jeep and pulled the

bad piston. They coaxed the engine to life and proceeded to limp across Death Valley. The scene amused Kline over 35 years later. He sat in "billowing clouds of exhaust smoke" so dense he could not see ahead, deafened by the atrocious noise of the misfiring engine.⁷⁵ Mercifully, before Kline died of asphyxiation or damaged his hearing, the engine blew its head-gasket and Kline admitted defeat. They succeeded in moving the jeep a total of five miles.⁷⁶

Despite the setback, Kline experienced his own change of heart with regard to the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail. The pure joy of serious jeeping on the scale of the Lake Canyon pitches only whetted his appetite to hurry back. He longed to get his "range-delivery" jeep fixed and join future attempts to reach the Hole-in-the-Rock from the east.

Kline quickly devised a second plan, this time without consulting Alma Redd. Kline sent three 2x6 tripod timbers out to Death Valley with some willing uranium prospectors. He made a pulley system to hoist the engines out of and into the broken jeep and set out with another crew and a replacement engine. Kline commented later, "I had it all premeditated before we left town."⁷⁷ Kline had the new engine replaced and was back on the road in four hours!⁷⁸

This trip of May, 1958, had been successful in several important ways. In addition to persuading the road builders to preserve the old trail at Slick Rock Hill and the mechanical achievements of resurrecting Kline Black's jeep, the group discovered a new and shorter route through Lake Canyon.

As usual, Albert R. Lyman kept track of the group's progress. He herded cows in Lake Canyon as a boy and the new jeep path through Lake Canyon passed within sight of his old cabin. The fact that men in motorized vehicles had visited his boyhood stomping grounds seemed almost unbelievable. His assessment of the new development revealed his growing respect for his "jeep-crazy" kinsmen. He wrote a short summary of the latest expedition for his readers in the May 9, 1958, issue of The Record:

In the years that we camped there we figured it was hazardous for a man to try going up or down it (the slickrock) afoot, but the jeeps went crawling up it like bedbugs on a wall, and all hands let a yell of triumph as they reached the top. "Yea, the jeep goeth wheresoever it listeth, and no man saith, Whither goest thou?"⁷⁹

For an old horse and wagon pioneer, the jeep was a marvel.⁸⁰ "The Old Settler" reciprocated the awe and respect that the early recreational trail users exhibited for the 1880 pioneers. As impressive as the wagon journey was, the determination of the early recreational trail enthusiasts did not go ignored.

The old trail explorers anxiously awaited news of the road up Slick Rock Hill. Every interested jeeper knew that the instant the road crew reached the summit, the last serious four-wheel drive obstacle was removed. A spirit of

"putting the first man on the moon" began to creep in among the jeep explorers. The race competition lasted only a short time, then the typical spirit of cooperation returned. A uranium prospector, Lee Shumway, reported to The Record that the construction reached the bottom of Slick Rock Hill by May 30, 1958. Shumway returned with an old powder can which had lain by the side of the old trail since 1880.⁸¹

A short comment in The San Juan Record on June 6 fanned the flames: That road up the face of Slick Rock has progressed two-thirds the way to the top, and we are "getting mighty anxious" for the jeep caravan to start its big pilgrimage to Hole-in-the-Rock.⁸²

Just at this time of anticipation, the Rincon road construction crew hit a snag of some kind. Road builders claimed no further progress on Slick Rock Hill during June and July of 1958.⁸³ The Rincon miners nearly abandoned their road construction. They realized it was now evident that the waters of the proposed Lake Powell would eventually bury their mine workings at the Rincon. Apparently, they made the decision to gamble and intensify a race for the Rincon uranium, a race that could not possibly be won. Early in August, the rejuvenated road construction crew reached the summit of Grey Mesa.⁸⁴

Life-long explorers of San Juan County, Kent and Fern Frost, were following the news with many others. The "two-thirds up" report of June 6 gave Kent Frost the impetus to move. Frost recorded in his journal that on

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June 17 he found the road workers camped in small trailers at Lake Canyon and stopped for an update. Frost knocked on the door of one trailer and a woman answered the knock. The woman, with her face wrapped in a towel, blurted, "I'm very embarrassed to talk to you. I'm very allergic to something around here and my face and neck are swollen with hives."⁸⁵

The woman, probably the wife of road foreman Bus Lewis, let the towel drop, alarming Frost with her appearance. Frost, concerned for the safety of the woman, immediately began to investigate the possible source of her troubles. He discovered that poison ivy toxin was being transported to her neck and face on the hair of her small dog. Frost could not yet drive Slick Rock Hill but may have saved the woman from serious consequence. Even though the trip had been eventful, no jeeping challenge had been conquered.⁸⁶

Kent Frost led a very significant jeep expedition just two months later. On August 20, 1958, Kent and his wife Fern, led a group on an expedition that achieved the unthinkable: a jeep on top of Grey Mesa. The historic company included thirteen sturdy explorers from Monticello and Blanding. Several of the group were children who were receiving their first introduction to the traditions of the old trail. Those already prominent in four-wheel drive exploration were Edward, Kay, and Karl Lyman, Kent and Fern Frost, and an important newcomer, Daryle Redd.⁸⁷ Daryle Redd thought to bring his new 8-millimeter film camera and recorded the historic journey.

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Kent and Fern Frost and Daryle Redd and his son, L. Hardy, left Monticello at 5:30 a.m. on the morning of August 20 and headed for the rendezvous with the Blanding contingent. The expedition left the Nokai Dome (Skelly Oil) road at what would later become known as "Half-Track" Junction, and worked their way toward Lake Canyon.

The old half-track was a critical landmark to the jeepers until the Calvin Black Memorial airport was constructed in 1990 and created another access to Lake Canyon. The origin of the half-track could not be determined. It was presumed that the half-track was used in connection with the Skelly Oil efforts on Nokai Dome, probably to haul supplies. It was the classic World War II surplus half-track with large truck tires in front and caterpillar track-cleats in the rear. Kent Frost said it was just parked on the sandstone as though for the week-end and never moved again.⁸⁸ The hulking trail marker remains at this writing. Whoever abandoned the half-track could not have chosen a more strategic site for its final resting place. It marks the best possible place to leave the Nokai Dome road and work westward toward Lake Canyon and the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail. Every trail explorer used the half-track to adjust his bearings in the early days.

The Kent Frost group certainly realized sometime while crossing Death Valley that they were destined for immortality. The road up Slick Rock Hill had been completed only days before. Fortunately, Daryle Redd took a rapid

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panoramic sweep of the new road with his movie camera. Modern jeepers would shake their heads in disbelief at Daryle's pictures. Originally, road builders blasted the trail from solid sandstone which created considerable blast pits. The creation of the numerous pits was of little concern to the construction crew. They simply hauled in tons of fill material and filled the holes with road bed. However, years of erosion washed away the artificial road bed and the rugged ascent of Slick Rock Hill in 1995 is one of the most difficult jeeping challenges available. Today jeepers struggle through the deep blast-pits and serious jeep injuries are prevalent--sheared drive-lines and broken steering columns being most common.

The purpose of Marvin Turnage, Bus Lewis and the Slick Rock road builders was not to aid the old trail enthusiasts, but rather to access the uranium at Rincon. The Rincon road turned north at the west end of Grey Mesa while the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail turned south. From that fork in the road, the Kent Frost expedition drove in territory never before driven by motorized vehicles. The group camped for the night near the fork to be fresh for their impending adventure.⁸⁹

As David Miller described early on, one would need to observe this rugged country personally to comprehend what the expedition would encounter on August 21, 1958. The going was extremely slow. The adults walked ahead of the jeeps to search out a path. Their tedious exploration for the pioneer

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trail became boring for the seven young boys on the trip. Kay Lyman remembered with smiling disgust, "We were making history and all the little boys were interested in was flipping lizards with their flippers." ⁹⁰

By midmorning, the explorers arrived at the top of the Chute. The steepest grade is near the top and very few jeeps drive the Chute immediately upon arrival. Most jeeps are inclined to stop at the top, study the descent for half an hour, take several deep breaths, and then take up the rear. It is comforting to watch while someone else shows the way.

Today there are black tire-marks on the sandstone which testify of the strain encountered by each successful ascent. In 1958 there was no indication that once down, the jeeps would ever get back up. Because Kent Frost carefully chose their path on foot, Fern Frost drove the first jeep down the Chute, an honored distinction. Some drivers speculated that the pathfinders were simply deferring to Fern and that, in reality, she was the only one brave enough to make the attempt. When asked about her feelings at the moment of

truth, Fern replied, "I felt real calm because that jeep would do anything." ⁹¹

The jeep Fern referred to was "Ruby," a bright red 1955 model. The 1955 model jeep was the first model with the rounded hood and the Frosts were very proud of Ruby's sleek appearance and fine performance.

Two hours later the group arrived at the top of Cottonwood Canyon.

Looking cross the Colorado River, six miles distant, they saw the storied Hole-

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in-the-Rock. They enjoyed enough excitement for one trip and did not attempt to take their jeeps any further. On the return trip, the group took the Rincon fork to visit the mining prospectors camped on the Rincon beaches of the river. A miner by the name of Slim Williams was the only one at camp but the group inspected the miner's tent village and enjoyed a friendly chat.

Kent tried some early cat-fishing the next morning and reported good success. The group returned to Blanding and Monticello in high spirits. Typical of the little boys on the trip, Charles Lyman could only remember that "Kent Frost was in charge of the food and he was well prepared."⁹²

Interestingly, Kent's journal entry concerning the food said, "\$70 for grocery bill, do not care to furnish food for any more of these trips."⁹³

The Old Settler, Albert R. Lyman, made his customary evaluation of the Kent Frost expedition in the August 29 edition of The San Juan Record.

They went farther than any jeep has gone before, but at the head of Cottonwood Canyon, where they could have gone down, they didn't dare to go even with a jeep for fear of not being able to get back. With the right kind of equipment, however, that part of the road can be made passable without much delay, and it will then be possible to plan the long-talked-of jeep caravan to the historic old Hole. ⁹⁴

Patient Lynn Lyman, the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail guardian, was slightly annoyed at having been left behind, but he only mentioned it to close friends.

He would never miss another ground breaking trip.

Only twenty-seven days passed before Lynn Lyman headed toward Cottonwood Canyon at the head of his own jeep caravan. With his cousin's words "They didn't dare to go" ringing in his ears, Lynn determined to accomplish a first for himself. The Lyman group quickly retraced the path of the Kent Frost group and arrived at the top of Cottonwood Hill on the afternoon of September 20, 1958.

The jeepers took a moment of soul-searching, similar to that of Fern Frost, at the top of the Chute. This time the "jeep-crazy" relatives worked up the courage for the descent down the three dizzying pitches called the Little Hole-in-the-Rock, Platte Lyman Dugway, and Sand Hill. There was a very likely chance that this time a jeep really could not come back. The group unanimously agreed that only Lynn Lyman's jeep should make the attempt. Before starting his engine, Lynn said to his wife, Hazel, "If I can't get back with this jeep, I'm going to stay down there with it."

Hazel asked, "Can I go with you?"

Lynn replied, "No, you can't go. It's too dangerous."⁹⁵

No sooner did Lynn turn his attention to the task ahead, than Hazel promptly snuck into the back of the jeep and went down anyway. Lynn Lyman became to the jeepers in 1958 what Kumen Jones was to the pioneers of 1880 when he drove the first wagon down the gigantic crevice called the Hole-in-the-

Rock. However, this time the first driver was not single and expendable, and his wife would not be denied the thrill-ride.

Lynn successfully negotiated The Little Hole and Platte Lyman Dugway, but had the wisdom to stop short of Sand Hill, named by David Miller in 1954.⁹⁶ The steep hill of drift sand was the limit. Assisted in a place or two by the strong shoulders of several men,⁹⁷ Lynn pulled back up Cottonwood Hill with a plan already taking shape in his mind.

Lynn Lyman knew the first jeep expedition to arrive at the Colorado River would need assurance that all three segments of Cottonwood Hill could be managed safely. He had seen abundant discarded drilling cable around the old Skelly Oil workings on Nokai Dome. He later deposited three lengths of drilling cable, one at the top of each steep incline so jeeps could help pull each other up the worst places. Lynn Lyman's group hurried back to Blanding to announce that the first jeep caravan to achieve the Colorado River from the east was finally a distinct possibility.

NOTES

1. Bill Siuru, The Jeep: Fifty Years In War and Peace (Mechanical Engineering: 04/90), p. 57.

2. Oral Interview with Hazel Lyman, 1994.

3. The San Juan Record, vol. 35. no. 20.

4. 1bid.

5. Oral interview with O. Frost Black, 1994.

6. Oral interview with Hazel Lyman, 1994.

7. 1bid.

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8. The San Juan Record, vol. 35. no. 24.
9. Oral Interview with O. Frost Black, 1994.
10. The San Juan Record, vol. 35. no. 24.
11. Narration transcription of the Sullivan Richardson adventure film, 1985.
12. Oral interview with Hazel Lyman, 1994.
13. 1bid.
14. DesereLNeys, December 7, 1986.
15. Oral Interview with Kay Lyman, 1994.
16. 1bid.
17. Oral interview with Don Smith, 1994.
18. Powell, San Juan County. Utah, p. 119.
19. Interview with Kay Lyman, 1994.
20. Powell, San Juan County. Utah, p. 119.
21. The San Juan Record, vol. 38. no. 11.
22. Powell, San Juan County. Utah, p. 120.
23. Oral interview with Orville Gunther, 1995.
24. Interview with Kay Lyman, 1994.
25. Interview with Orville Gunther, 1995.
26. 1bid.
27. Miller, Hole-in-the-Rock, p. 133.
28. 1bid.
29. Oral interview with Kent Frost, 1994.
30. Powell, San Juan County. Utah, p. 119.
31. Orville Gunther, 1995.
32. 1bid.
33. Orville Gunther, 1995.
34. Miller, Hole-in-the-Rock, p. 225.
35. Hazel Lyman Hole-in-the-Rock journal, 1994.

Rebirth of the Old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail
Chapter 3: Four-Wheel Drive

36. Interview with Hazel Lyman, 1994.
37. Powell, San Juan County. Utah, p. 120.
38. Oral interviews with Kline Black and Don Smith, 1994.
39. Oral Interview with Kline Black, 1994.
40. 1bid.
41. 1bid.
42. 1bid.
43. Siuru, The Jeep, p. 57.
44. 1bid.
45. 1bid.
46. 1bid.
47. David Taylor, Iacocca's Minivan, (Fortune: 05/30/94), p. 8.
48. Siuru, The Jeep, p. 59.
49. 1bid.
50. Oral Interview with Kline Black, 1994.
51. Deseret News, December 7, 1986.
52. Miller, Hole-in-the-Rock, pp. 132-133.
53. 1bid.
54. 1bid.
55. Powell, San Juan County. Utah, p. 120.
56. The San Juan Record, vol. 41. no. 35. Verified by Karl Lyman, 1995.
57. The San Juan Record, vol. 41. no. 35.
58. Interview with Karl Lyman, 1995.
59. The San Juan Record, vol. 41. no. 33.
60. Oral Interview with Don Smith, 1994.
61. 1bid.
62. 1bid.

Rebirth of the Old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail
Chapter 3: Four-Wheel Drive

63.1bid.

64.1Interviews with Kay Lyman and Kline Black, 1994.

65.1Interview with Kline Black, 1994.

66.1bid.

67. The San Juan Record, Vol 43. No. 15.

68. Powell, San Juan County. Utah, p. 120.

69.1bid.

70.1bid.

71.1bid.

72.0ral interview with Kline Black, 1994.

73.1bid.

74.1bid.

75.1bid.

76. The San Juan Record, vol. 42. no. 15.

77.1Interview with Kline Black, 1994.

78.1bid.

79. The San Juan Record, vol. 42. no. 15.

80.0ral interview with Kline Black, 1995.

81. The San Juan Record, Vol. 42 no. 18.

82.1bid.

83.0ral interview with Kent and Fern Frost, 1994.

84.1bid.

85.1Interview with Kent Frost, 1994.

86.1bid.

87.Hazel Lyman Hole-in-the-Rock journal, 1994.

88.1Interview with Kent Frost, 1994.

89.Journal of Kent Frost, 1994.

Rebirth of the Old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail
Chapter 3: Four-Wheel Drive

90. Interview with Kay Lyman, 1994.

91. Interview with Fern Frost, 1994.

92. Interview with Charles Lyman, 1994.

93. Journal of Kent Frost, 1994.

94. The San Juan Record, vol. 42. no. 31.

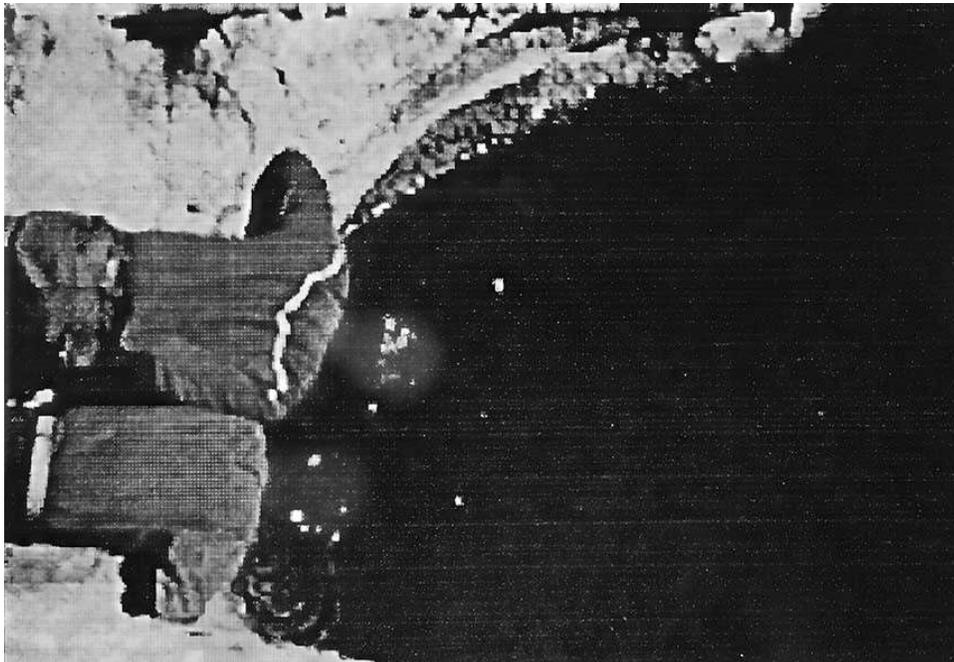
95. Oral interview with Hazel Lyman, 1994.

96. *ibid.*

97. Oral interview with Gene Blickenstaff, 1994.



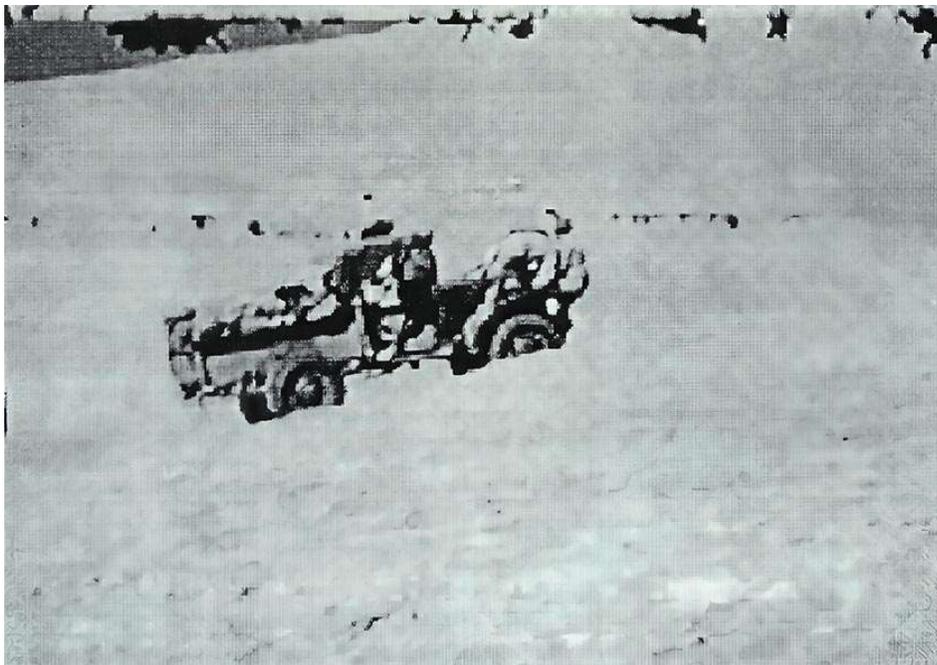
The "weapons carrier" expedition of 1954.
Scouting a path from the Skelly road toward Lake Canyon.



Drinking from the sandstone potholes which
are abundant along the trail.



"Weapons Carrier" group hiking the pioneer dugways at Slick Rock Hill.



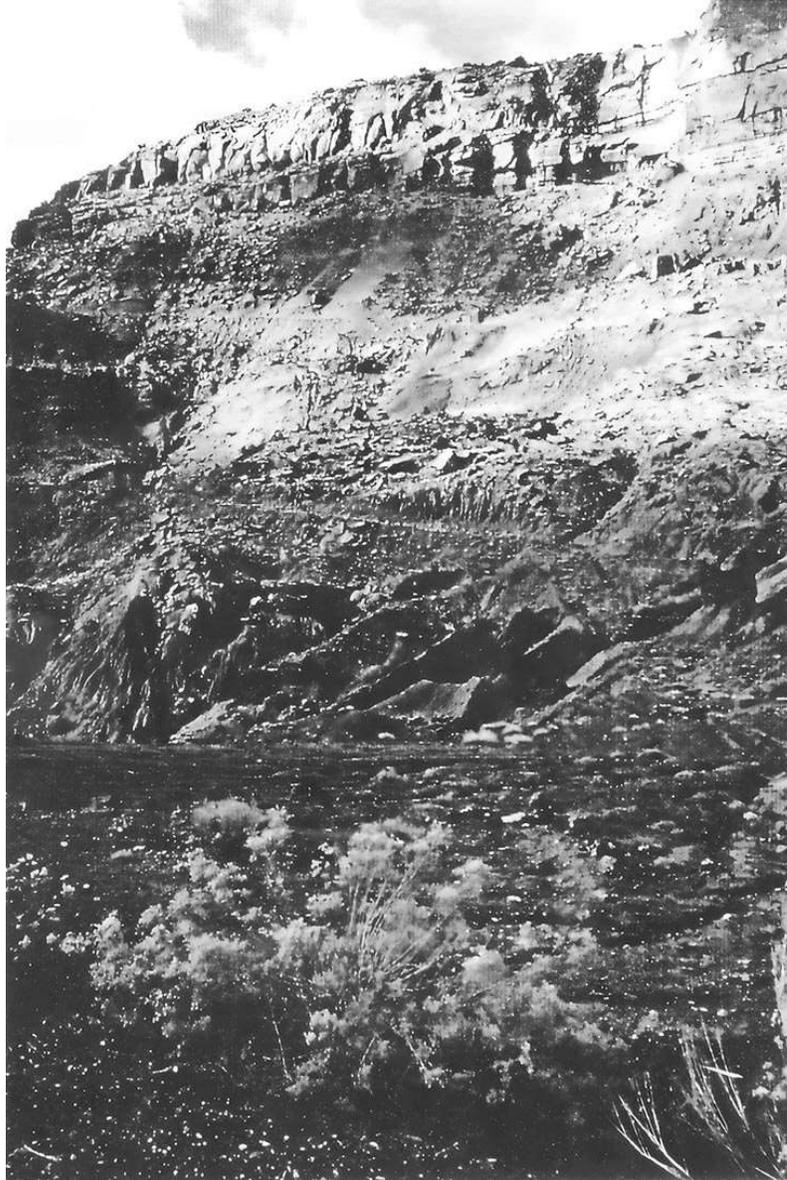
The men putting their weight on the front tires of the weapons carrier to keep them on the slickrock while getting out of Lake Canyon.



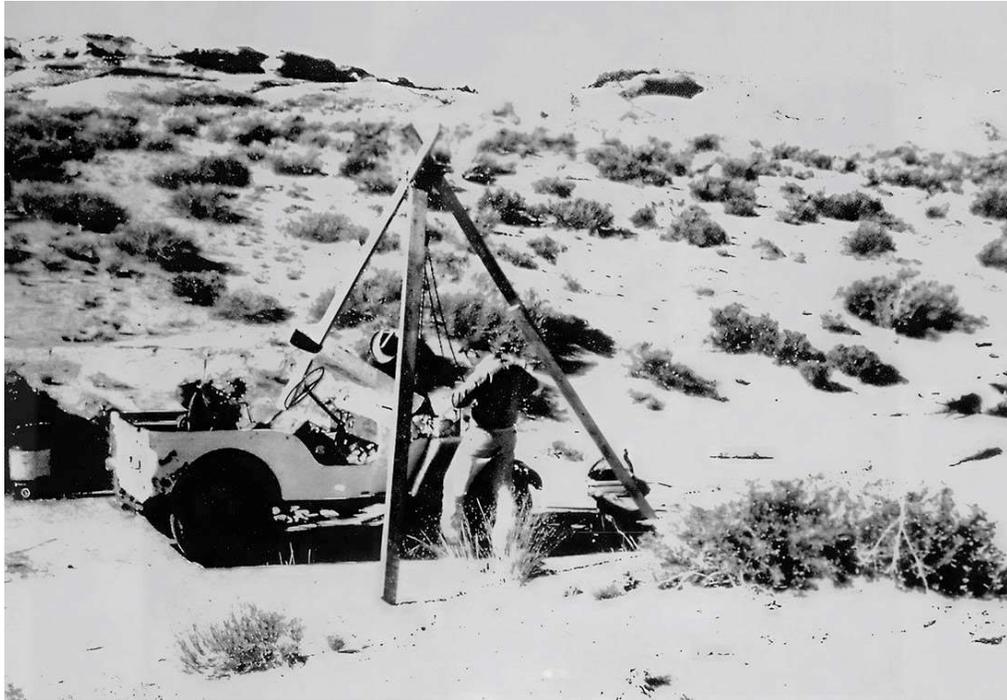
O. Frost Black constructing road in 1950 with his T D-18 cable-dozer.



A boulder which sits near the top of the 1951 Clay Hill road.
The inscription reads "Make peace with God. Skell."



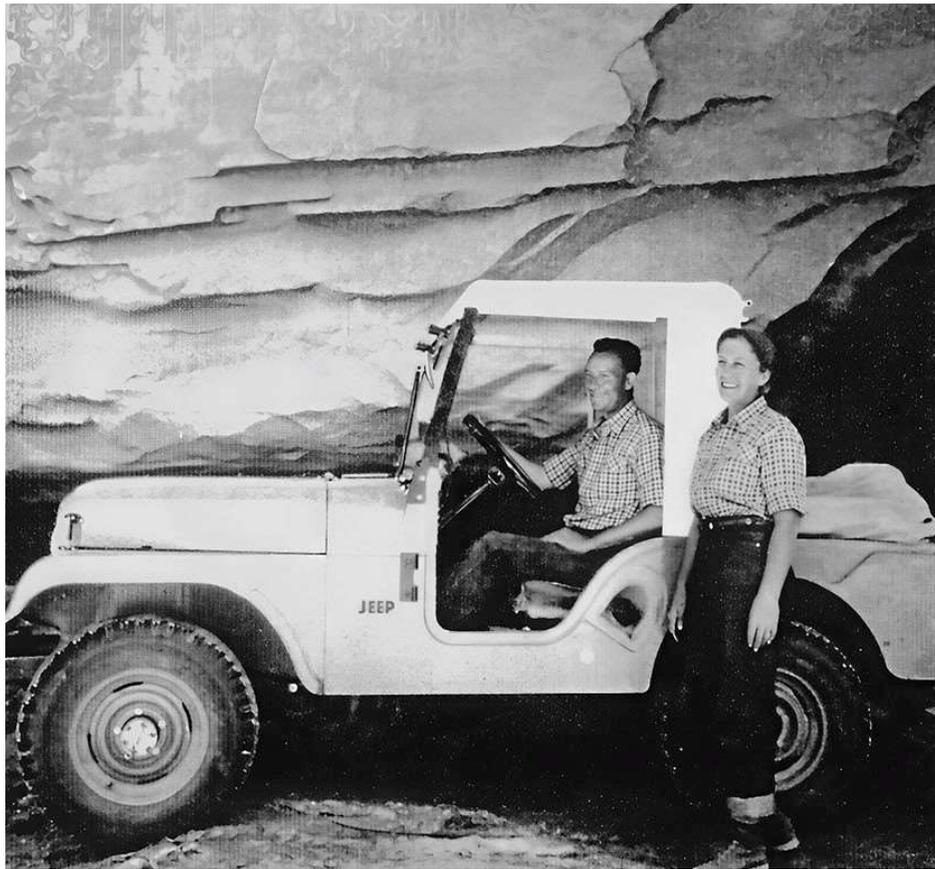
The remnants of the old Skelly Oil road up Clay Hill.



Kline Black replacing the engine in his "range delivery" jeep.



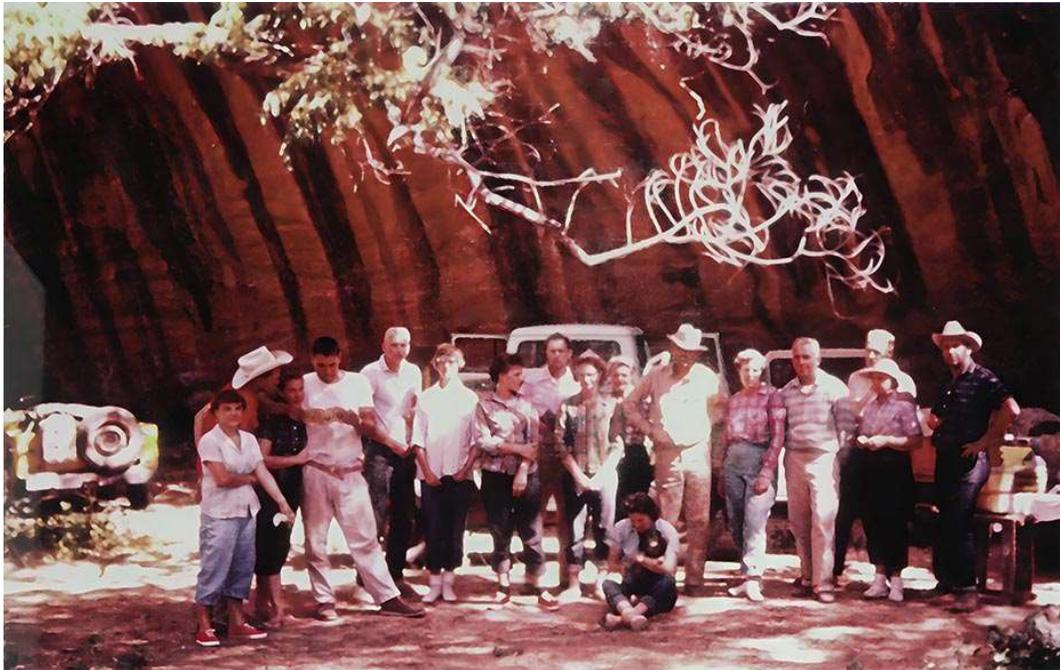
The hulk of the old half-track which marks the junction where the forbidding 30 miles of old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail leaves the Nokai Dome road.



Kent and Fern Frost and their "Ruby" jeep.
Fern and "Ruby" were the first pair to descend the Chute.



"Ruby" parked at the top of Cottonwood Hill.
The Hole-in-The-Rock is in the shadow of the far cliff.



1958 expedition in Lake Canyon. This was the first group to take a jeep down Little Hole-in-the-Rock and Platte Lyman Dugway.



Hazel and Lynn Lyman, with a grandson.
Hazel's Hole-in-the-Rock Journal is in her left hand.

Chapter Four

"A New and Generous Friendship"

The last five miles of the old portion of the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail, from the top of Cottonwood Hill westward to the Colorado River, finally appeared vulnerable to four-wheel drive exploration. The four-wheel explorers were sure that the next jeep expedition would reach the Colorado River. Lynn Lyman eventually encouraged all interested persons to visit the Hole-in-the-Rock for their own edification, but cautioned that the first jeeps to reach the Colorado River should appropriately be as reverent a group as the 1940 horseback group had been. The names of those invited to accompany Lynn to the River constituted a virtual "Who's Who" of early San Juan County jeep explorers. Albert R. Lyman, Lynn and Hazel Lyman, Kline Black, Daryle Redd, Kent and Fern Frost, and Don Smith were some of the prominent explorers included in the expedition.¹

Albert R. Lyman, then 79 years old, infused his readers with his typical enthusiasm in his The San Juan Record column dated April 24, 1959."

Another thing for which we have a pronounced bias is the pilgrimage to Hole-in-the-Rock which we are starting in high spirits, in keen anticipations and in jeeps, under the mighty lure of the bald rocks, the soft sand, and the solemn solitude. The many disciples of Lynn Lyman are either going along or are going to be disappointed. The pilgrimage, lasting four days,

will extend clear to the river or else, and is to provide us with a humdinger of a story for next week.²

Two weeks later, the newspaper started with the bold declaration, "We got there."³ It was true. Seven jeeps maneuvered to the east bank of the Colorado River, but not without difficulty akin to that of the original pioneers. Fortunately, only jeeping veterans had participated. In April, 1959, the Skelly Oil and Rincon Uranium roads provided painless access to the west end of Grey Mesa. From that point, the serious jeeping started.

At the Chute, the first jeeping thrill of the expedition occurred. Floyd Atkins, Albert R. Lyman's son-in-law, drove a four-wheel army ambulance. The cumbersome ambulance was bigger and more top-heavy than the jeeps. Near the top of the chute, the jeepers came to a very steep pitch of sandstone with a deep gash at the bottom of the grade. The evil looking gash was just the right size to accept a vehicle's front tire and further accentuate the pitch. After sizing up the challenge, leaders cautioned the drivers to straddle the gash with their front tires, but the long hood of the army ambulance obstructed Floyd Atkin's view of the path ahead and he plunged headlong into the gash. His rear tires lifted three feet into the air, and it appeared that he would roll his vehicle over frontwards. Scotty Atkins, watching his father's predicament from the seat of another jeep said, "I think I'll pray."⁴ Scotty's faith combined with the weight of several men on the back bumper got Floyd's ambulance

back down on all four tires. Floyd carefully eased the vehicle to the bottom of the Chute safely.

Unfortunately, Albert R. Lyman had chosen the sturdy army ambulance for his personal conveyance. The scare at the top of the Chute convinced him to walk on foot over the remaining stretches of dangerous terrain. Albert R. Lyman achieved his unmatched record of traveling the 1880 trail in a wagon, participating in the 1940 pack-trip, and participating in the first jeep trip to reach the Colorado River. However, he never went again. The jeeps won Albert's respect but not his love.

The group made camp after the first day at the bottom of the Chute. The morning of April 25th dawned on nervous jeepers about to make history. Lynn Lyman premeditated the final assault on Cottonwood Hill in his mind, leery of the risks ahead. To prepare for winching the jeeps back up the steep incline, the group left one jeep and the army ambulance parked at the top of Cottonwood Hill and the remaining eleven jeeps made the first group descent of Little Hole-in-the-Rock.

The Platte Lyman Dugway presented the next major obstacle. A steep pitch near the top of the dugway was similar to the pitch near the top of the Chute. There was one major difference. The U-shaped walls of the Chute gave an illusion of safety because the road was fitted with natural "guard-rails." In contrast, the north edge of the Dugway was a cliff of frightening dimensions

and in order to negotiate the steep pitch near its top, the jeep drivers placed their tires precariously close to the edge. Any driver error on top of the Dugway meant falling two hundred feet into a slickrock ravine.

Two jeeps were left at the top of the Dugway and nine vehicles began the dangerous descent. Carefully, the jeeps crawled to the bottom. Albert R. would have nothing to do with a jeep descent choosing instead to walk, but he posed for a picture at the notorious site where his father spilled one thousand pounds of flour. Earlier, Lynn Lyman ventured no further than Platte Lyman Dugway during his solo descent of Cottonwood Hill in 1958. The jeeps suddenly entered uncharted territory, beginning with Sand Hill. A jeep with a winch on the front bumper was left at the top of the hill to drag the returning jeeps to the top. Then the group went to work. Drifting sand turned the old pioneer road into a rounded side hill, much too steep for jeeps without modification. Every man took a shovel and began to square up the rounded sand into a proper road. The company eased down the steep slope in safety, but with serious misgivings about the possibilities of getting the vehicles back up.⁵

Everyone assumed that Little Hole-in-the-Rock, Platte Lyman Dugway, and Sand Hill constituted the deterrents to finally reaching the river and no one bothered to investigate further down Cottonwood Canyon. The group was shocked into silence when they reached Register Rocks, the site where several pioneers carved their names into the sandstone in 1880. At Register Rocks, only a few hundred feet from the river, the road became a narrow slit between two sandstone ledges

and a boulder the size of a small house had broken from the north ledge and lodged squarely in the road. Albert R. Lyman poignantly explained:

So near and yet so far! The famous seam in the towering wall was in plain sight ahead. The eager company had come all that way over many dangers and difficulties to reach the river opposite that weird seam, and the potency of their hopes and their resolutions accumulated against that big rock like a stream of water piling up behind a dam.⁶

This group was not about to be denied. By moving smaller rocks against the large boulder to gain a foothold, the men muscled seven jeeps up and over the obstacle. Albert R. described the scene of busy workers as "red ants around a beetle." The explorers cheered as the last jeep surmounted the boulder and arrived at the Colorado River. But in keeping with the tradition of Platte Lyman's flour trip, the euphoria was short-lived. The jeepers could hardly enjoy the magnificent shrine which formed the backdrop for their celebration because impending darkness would soon complicate their plan. They left all of the camping gear deposited at the base of the Chute for their return camp. Surmounting the boulder between Register Rocks absorbed valuable time. The group realized they would have to hurry back to camp in order to beat

nightfall. Cottonwood Hill could not be driven in the dark.

The jeep crews frantically turned their attention to survival. The cursed boulder at Register Rocks proved more troublesome from the downhill side and all the drivers were required to "pull like horses"⁷ to get the seven jeeps back over the rock. They thought they had a jeep-winch waiting for them to pull the vehicles up Sand Hill. To the group's dismay, the jeep's winch could not pull the weight of a jeep up such a steep sand dune. Instead, the weight of the jeep at the bottom pulled the jeep at the top of Sand Hill part way down. By now, the jeepers were at least gaining empathy for the horses of 1880. The men muscled the stranded jeep backwards up through the sand to the top of the hill while the driver spun his tires in reverse.⁸ Lynn Lyman's forethought to deposit drilling cable at the top of Sand Hill was inspired. Once the drivers succeeded in getting a single jeep back to the top of Sand Hill, they attached the drill cable and individually towed each jeep up the sand dune.

Platte Lyman's five horse-team required over two-hundred brief rests to pull a wagon up the Hole-in-the-Rock in 1880.⁹ No participant in 1959 thought to count the rest stops required of the jeep drivers and crews while they hauled seven jeeps over the Register Rocks boulder and one jeep up Sand Hill.

Everyone dreaded the steep knob near the top of Platte Lyman Dugway and the breathtaking vertical drop from the knob's north edge. Scotty Atkins previously demonstrated child-like faith for the group, so with less hesitation,

several more silent prayers were offered.¹⁰ The group ascended Platte Lyman Dugway and Little Hole-in-the-Rock without incident. A weary group reached camp just before dark.

Most of the April 1959, expedition slept soundly after their momentarily strenuous day. Fortunately, Norwood Porter, a habitual early morning walker, did not use the exertions of the previous day as an excuse to sleep in. While hiking down the natural drainage which emptied the Chute, Norwood Porter discovered a beautiful natural sandstone bridge. He awakened his companions and took them to behold the natural wonder which they named "Old Settler Arch" in honor of Albert R. Lyman.¹¹ It is reasonable to assume that Norwood Porter was the first white man to see Old Settler Arch.

For breakfast, Don and Gwen Smith made pancakes for the satisfied explorers, gaining notoriety for their prolific product. Don made some very "runny" pancake batter. He added a little flour attempting to find the right consistency. Then he added a little more and a little more. "That dang pancake dough kept raising and raising and Don kept changing to bigger and bigger pans," remembered Gwen.¹² The participants teased Don about making, and discarding, so many pancakes that "the old trail could be paved with them."¹³ Platte Lyman's grandson-in-law left another deposit of flour along the old trail, an appropriate tribute.

After returning to Blanding, Utah, the 79 year-old Albert R. Lyman wrote an emotional column in [The San Juan Record](#).

My dear San Juaners:

On Saturday, the 25th (April), our Hole-in-the Rock caravan paused at the once-beautiful Lake Pagahrit. It couldn't mean as much to any of the rest as it meant to me. We stopped by the old black willow tree where I camped with my father in May, 1891 and at frequent intervals for 10 years thereafter. The old tree is still clinging to life, and may retain its hold for some time to come, but I shall probably never see it again. I looked at it and restrained my tears.

Not a vestige of our old corral remains. But worst of all, the delightful old lake is gone! It was alive with water birds swimming on its blue surface and nesting in the verdure along its shores. With its thick belt of rushes and flags, its floating islands, it was the voice of glad life by day and by night. We loved it. Old man Soldiercoat told (my father) the Piutes called it Pagahrit (accent on the throaty second syllable) and that the word meant standing water.¹⁴

Lake Canyon was all that remained of the once beautiful oasis. The ghastly hole in the earth bore the black water-marks on the sandstone cliffs as a reminder of the golden years of Lake Pagahrit. Albert R. Lyman's prediction that he may never see the old cottonwood tree in Lake Canyon again was

prophetic. The 1959 jeep trip to the Hole was his last encounter with Lake Canyon, where he spent so much time as a little cowboy.

Albert's last trip to the Hole-in-the-Rock left him in a very reflective mood. After mulling over his most recent contemplations, the Old Settler wrote a masterpiece segment for the Record dated May 15, 1959:

The most thrilling and unforgettable feature of our latest pilgrimage was not the spell of the unusual scenery nor the soul-stirring hush of the splendid faraway; it was not even the sight of old dugways on dizzy rims, and camping places that recall tales of hardship and adventure.

It was something more, something intangible yet positive—what shall we call it? Whatever we call it, it is the gentle pull of this shrine in the remote wilderness which, as it draws people to it, draws them together in a new and generous friendship.

This is the influence that got right into the heart of every one of our caravan as we inched our way through difficulty and danger. We didn't hear a sour note on all the trip. With some of our company we had never met before, and with others we had had but a passing acquaintance, but at once we were all akin.

We all felt it--such a sharp contrast to our wonted world of avaricious competition and rivalry and commotion. We had escaped for a little while into a peculiar Eden where we just wanted to linger on indefinitely, and let the gentle suasion revamp us into the men of good will that the Creator intended.¹⁵

Those sage observations by Albert R. Lyman described precisely what the recreational value of the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail would become in the subsequent years. The Hole experience created an unusual bond of friendship among all the participants of each expedition. The spirit of generous friendship seemed to infect the four-wheel drive trailblazers also. Those "jeep-crazy kinsmen" enjoyed a rich era of adventure and exploration, but rather than becoming exclusive and protective of their hard-won territory, they readily opened their arms to strangers.

Lynn and Hazel Lyman, Karl Lyman, Kline Black, Don Smith, Kent and Fern Frost all maintained a life-long interest and led numerous expeditions over the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail, but they were also content to allow the magic of the old trail to work on many others. Every subsequent jeep caravan included more nonresidents of San Juan County.

At least one more group ventured to the Colorado River during October of 1959. Each group followed the precedent of leaving jeeps at the top of dangerous inclines to tow the other jeeps to safety. Some remnants of the cable grooves are presently visible in the sandstone at the top of Little Hole-in-the-Rock.

The October company was significant for two reasons. First, Lynn Lyman took dynamite along and shot out the boulder that lodged in the narrows between Register Rocks.¹⁶ Secondly, on this jeeping

expedition in '59, a worthy jeeping record was established. The first jeep to approach Sand Hill on the return trip climbed the hill under its own power.¹⁷ The physical conditions were perfect. A short rain compacted the sand and provided unusual traction for the first jeep, piloted by Calvin Black.¹⁸ This amazing feat was never accomplished again.

Following the October expedition, The San Juan Record published a mileage chart for the old portion of the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail:

It is five miles (from the Colorado River) to the head of Cottonwood Canyon, 3.1 miles on to the Chute, 2 to the west end of Grey Mesa, 2 to the Rincon fork, 6.3 to Slick Rock Hill, 8.5 to Lake Canyon, and 8.5 to the junction with the Nokai Dome road.¹⁹

In June of 1960, only one trip was chronicled. The year 1961 passed without a single adventure, a one-year lull that has not occurred since.

Glen Canyon Dam

The old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail enthusiasts recognized the effect the proposed Glen Canyon Dam would have on some of the important sections of the trail. In spite of the fact that some of the historic parts of the original pioneer road would be covered with water, no one complained. The San Juan residents endured constant water shortages which afflicted that desert region

and did not protest the possibility of an abundant water supply.

On October 15, 1956, an electric impulse ignited the starting blast at Glen Canyon Dam. President Dwight Eisenhower fought long and hard to win approval for the Colorado River Storage Project (CRSP). Out of respect for his work, dam officials conceived a plan to involve the President in the opening ceremony to begin construction without having him travel to Utah.²⁰

From the White House, President Eisenhower tapped a telegraph key, which sent a signal to Kanab, Utah. A radio relayed the signal to the dam site where a flagman's wave indicated it was time to set off the contact plunger.²¹ The cables were checked, the two-way radios were tested, and the phone lines from Washington D.C., to Kanab were opened. But when the president pushed the key, nothing happened. Officials frantically whispered over the telephone that the President was waiting. Unfortunately, the static in the walkie-talkies between the dignitaries on the ledge and the flagman at the rim prevented them from hearing the message clearly. Wanting to avoid embarrassment, the flagman cautiously thought he heard "no-go", while the message became a more emphatic "GO-GO!" The time lapse between the President's signal and the actual blast continued to increase. When the flagman finally understood the walkie-talkie message, the blast echoed over the phone lines. President Eisenhower exclaimed, "I guess it takes electricity a long time to travel out West."²²

Rock work necessary for the dam key-ways, the steel bridge across the gorge, and the diversion tunnels began with President Eisenhower's delayed blast. This preparatory work consumed the first 4 years of construction, 1956-1960. The gigantic keyways for the dam were blasted from the sandstone cliffs of the Colorado River Gorge. After the first cement was poured in June 1960, over 8,000 cubic yards of concrete were poured every day for 3 years. Diversion tunnels were closed in March 1963, which started the reservoir filling with water. Concrete pouring continued for another 6 months.

Glen Canyon Dam was finished in September, 1963. Lake Powell's full pool level was established at 3700 feet elevation by the Colorado River Basin Act of 1968.²³ The Colorado River channel at the Hole-in-the-Rock was approximately 3250 feet in elevation. Consequently the Lake Powell water in the river gorge was projected to rise to about 450 feet deep at the base of the sandstone cleft.

A gradual realization permeated those who were becoming addicted to the old trail jeep excursions: the waters of Lake Powell would eventually back two and one-half miles up the sacred reaches of Cottonwood Canyon and bury the lower portion of the old trail, including the etched names at Register Rocks. The year 1962 presented the last opportunity to visit the Hole-in-the-Rock in its original form. The 1962 four-wheel drive excursion became the

bench mark for "jeep crazy kinsmen" that the 1940 horseback trip had been for the pioneers' descendants.

Appropriately, Lynn and Hazel Lyman were selected to guide the last expedition to the Colorado River and the Hole-in-the-Rock. One hundred and ten people in 30 jeeps clamored for a place in the caravan. Those specially invited to make the trip included David Miller and his wife, who made their first fourwheel drive pilgrimage all the way to the Colorado River from the east. Noted author, David Lavender and his wife were invited. San Juan LDS Stake President, Leland Redd, served as religious leader for the expedition.²⁴ Charlie and Annaley Redd, organizers of the 1940 horseback trip, also topped the invitation list.

The dates set for the 1962 pilgrimage were June 4-7. Without the necessity of breaking new ground on each trip, the expeditions settled into an established routine. While routine may have lessened the adventure aspect of future expeditions over the old trail, it enhanced the social recreation. Participants were more relaxed, knowing the journey could be safely completed. The "generous friendship" which emanated from the huge crevice to trail visitors became the most satisfying element of the trip.

The unusually large number of jeeps presented new problems for the trip organizers. Each rest stop and lunch break turned into unbearably

long activities. Mechanical failures turned into costly time consumers. The wear and tear on the trail made the going hard for the last jeeps. For instance, the ascent of Sand Hill was especially difficult. The spinning tires of repeated attempts got the sand so stirred up that one jeep did not have the power or traction to drag another jeep up the hill. Two jeeps had to be hooked together in order to pull one up the hill. The large group was unwieldy and patient Lynn Lyman, C. Hardy Redd, and his brother Paul Redd just about worked themselves to death getting all the jeeps towed up Cottonwood Canyon.²⁵

Occasional equipment breakdowns hampered the trip, but Lynn Lyman's mechanical genius again saved the mission. C. Hardy remembered watching Lynn create a broken gear part from a large flat-washer to repair a jeep's front-wheel drive mechanism.²⁶

L. Robert Anderson was an important newcomer to the old trail in 1962. With the exception of Lynn Lyman, Robert Anderson probably introduced more newcomers to the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail than any guide after 1962.

Anderson said of his maiden 1962 pilgrimage:

I had not before, and have not since, experienced anything like that expedition. It was a festive occasion. I doubt if any subsequent trip, in terms of sheer numbers, came close.²⁷

C. Hardy Redd, son of Charlie Redd, remembered fondly the jeep ride across Grey Mesa. He said, "We were up where we could see things,

where the breeze blows and the wind is so fresh."²⁸ C. Hardy's reaction to jeeping across this portion of the old trail was remarkably similar to his mother's, Annaley Redd, reaction to her horseback ride across Grey Mesa in 1940.

C. Hardy also remembered that Grey Mesa marked the location where his family's ice reserves ran out in 1962. That was a discomfoting thought to those two generations removed from the original trek of 1880. After pouring the last lemonade that contained ice, Annaley announced, "You better really enjoy this. We won't have ice the rest of the way."

C. Hardy laughed, "We were really pioneering in 1962."²⁹

Sonja Redd, C. Hardy's young bride, became seriously ill during the expedition but her pioneer spirit surfaced. Even after her ear-drum burst at the top of Cottonwood Hill she could not resist swimming in the beautiful water holes in Cottonwood Canyon. Sonja remembered that it had been an unusually wet spring in San Juan County and every pothole in the sandstone was full to the brim.³⁰

Even the teenagers on the trip were awed with the experience. Buckley Jensen, an 18-year-old participant wrote in his journal:

I enjoyed the finest jeep trip, in my estimation, that is possible to take in San Juan County. I really didn't know any of these people very well before the trip, but before the trip was over and we had come to know each other well I came to the conclusion I had never known a finer

group of people.

I can truthfully say it was the greatest trip I've ever taken and was about as enjoyable as anything I have ever done in my life. We were with some of the grandest people, boy they were really super--We saw some of San Juan's most beautiful scenery and we visited a place as rich in history and legend as any in the west.

All these things combined to make four of the most wonderful days I have yet lived--I'll never forget my first "Hole-in-the-Rock" Trip.³¹

Everyone considered the trip a huge success, but because of the complications of managing a large number of jeeps on the difficult jeep trip, Lynn Lyman determined that large groups would be avoided in the future. Besides, many strangers were becoming acquainted with the trail and no longer needed the guiding services of the original recreational trailblazers. The 1962 excursion was well worth the effort, but four-wheel drive excursions were never the same afterward.

One more group descended Cottonwood Hill to the forming Lake Powell in 1963. After that attempt, the Little Hole-in-the-Rock, Platte Lyman Dugway, and Sand Hill were practically abandoned as jeep challenges. With the exception of Robert Anderson's expeditions, very few jeepers enjoyed the thrills of Cottonwood Hill. Finally, the U.S. Park Service closed the hill to four-wheel drive use in 1972.

For the 1963 jeep expedition to the new lake, DeMar Perkins of Monticello, Utah, built the only four-wheel drive vehicle ever designed specifically for the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail. DeMar Perkins was a direct descendant of Benjamin Perkins, the road construction foreman for the San Juan Mission.

DeMar inherited his progenitor's penchant for invention and engineering. He evaluated the army jeep and was sure that some modifications could improve its performance on rugged portions of the old trail. The conditions that inspired DeMar's new four-wheel design were reminiscent of the mad scientist who starred in the movie, Back to the Future. In the movie, the eccentric scientist, Emmet Brown, fell off his toilet while trying to hang a picture on the wall, bumped his head and received his vision of the "flux capacitor." Perkin's conception of a new improved four-wheel drive vehicle was somewhat similar.

DeMar Perkins sat on his sofa one day after the 1962 "last expedition to the river." He grabbed the fat around his waist and thought, "I'm getting a little overweight. I'll take a few exercises like I used to in the army."³²

One deep knee-bend later, DeMar was writhing on the floor in pain, having torn a ligament in his knee. While DeMar laid in his hospital bed recovering from the emergency surgery, he concocted a new four-wheel drive vehicle concept. Soon after he got out of the hospital, he built the "crazy thing."³³ In order to work on his "new jeep" with his leg

in a cast, DeMar bought himself a little stool to rest his injured limb on so he could "weld and think."

DeMar acquired the nickname "Dooley" sometime during his high school years so, immediately upon inspecting his new car, his friends dubbed it the "Dooley-bug." It was ingeniously built after the middle-swivel design used in large front-end earth loaders. The driver of the Dooley-bug sat over the front tires.³⁴

Testing his new vehicle on the old trail, DeMar headed down the steep incline of the Chute. Observers reported they were sure he would flip over, as the Dooley-bug appeared very front heavy. However, DeMar was confident and anxious to demonstrate the capabilities of his invention, successfully conquering the dangers of the Chute. He relished the opportunity to "show off" on Cottonwood Hill, where jeeps were experiencing more difficulty with each successive trip. Only two miles short of DeMar's anticipated victory, the Dooley-bug stopped cold. The drive-gear had slipped out and could not be repaired on the trail.³⁵ A humbled DeMar Perkins had to be towed by jeep back up the Chute and home.

Utah School Board Movie Re-creation

The most unique adventure on the old trail since the Creation of Lake Powell occurred in 1970. The Utah State Board of Education decided to enhance the Utah history course required of

all seventh grade students in Utah's public schools.³⁶ The Board hired an amateur film production crew, directed by Dean Bradshaw, to produce a documentary history film on the Hole-in-the-Rock Trek of 1880.³⁷ Bradshaw was aware that a Monticello, Utah, resident named Rusty Musselman furnished western props for commercial films. The history film operated on a scanty budget, but once informed of the crew's intentions, Musselman volunteered his expensive props. He wanted to see the film done right.³⁸

Dan Keeler, who worked for the school board, felt that the actors for the film should be descendants of the original Hole-in-the-Rock pioneers. He was informed that the family of Juan and Lorraine Hansen were not only descendants, but that their five young sons would all make good pioneer moviestars.³⁹ A granddaughter of Kumen Jones, Lorraine Hansen felt honored to assist the documentary effort.⁴⁰

The small production company filmed a few scenes on the Escalante (west) side of the Colorado River during the late fall of 1969. They moved their equipment to the site known as Cheese Camp on the east side of the river during February, 1970.⁴¹ The 1880 company conquered Cottonwood Hill and camped at Cheese Camp during February. The film crew gained some appreciation for the weather conditions of the original pioneer trek.⁴²

Lorraine Hansen's journal furnished the details of the adventure. On February 16, 1970, the crew moved a small camp to Cheese Camp

and prepared for shooting the next day.⁴³ The young people in the group started playing in the large water tank at the bottom of the Chute. Near panic erupted when two girls suddenly realized that they could not get out of the steep-sided tank. The frantic youngsters pulled one man into the tank with them before the others succeeded in extracting all three.⁴⁴

Rusty Musselman's horse teams pulled his authentic wagon most of the way over the old trail. He remembered that the wagon was towed by jeep down the Chute and down Little Hole-in-the-Rock, but came up both inclines by real horse-power.⁴⁵ Wisely, no attempt was made to pull the wagon up the lower portions of Cottonwood Hill. That fact made February 17th a historic day for the Little Hole-in-the-Rock.⁴⁶ Ninety years passed, almost to the day, between team and wagon ascents of that hill. Musselman thought they ought to do some road repair, but the director refused saying the old trail ought to be left in its original condition. Musselman responded, "I'm sure this road is not presently in its original condition and I don't want to break a wagon."⁴⁷ The director denied Musselman's request for improvements, making the ascent more rough for the horses and wagons, but more impressive for future viewers of the film.

Grasping the significance of the occasion, Hazel Parkinson asked permission to accompany Rusty Musselman in his daring ascent.⁴⁸ Musselman warned his passenger that the steep lurching of the wagon

would create some frightening angles for the wagon. Parkinson insisted she was ready. The very first climb caused her to start sliding backwards out of the wagon, so she reached forward and grabbed Musselman's belt. "She like to pulled my pants off," laughed Musselman. He admitted that it was distracting to handle the horses and hold his pants up simultaneously.⁴⁹

Dan Keeler, who worked for the State School Board kept emphasizing that "we've got to be careful because we're not insured all that much."⁵⁰ The crew wished they had a little more insurance as they filmed around Cottonwood Hill, Cheese Camp, and the Chute through February 19.⁵¹ Musselman remembered that the horses got skinned up a little pulling the Chute, but again succeeded.⁵² Of course, unlike the pioneers, the 1970 teams pulled empty wagons. All day, February 20, the crew filmed camp scenes in Lake Canyon and then headed for home.⁵³ Those privileged to participate in the film received as realistic a re-enactment of the original adventure as anyone had.

Lorraine Hansen made two observations of her experience: This week was wonderful. I appreciate more what those folks went through for us to be in a blessed corner of God's country.⁵⁴

I felt a little deprived because we had motorized vehicles to get out of tough spots. It was only a tiny flavor of what they endured. It was a deprivation because I didn't get to suffer like they did.⁵⁵

Only a granddaughter of Kumen Jones would feel deprived because she

didn't get to suffer enough.

Modern Jeep Pilgrimages

Hundreds of small, private groups have made their pilgrimage over the old trail since Lake Powell began to form in 1963. No longer is an expedition to the Hole-in-the-Rock a cause for public celebration, chronicled in The San Juan Record for the public to enjoy vicariously. The "generous friendship" associated with the trek is as real today as it ever was. The jeeping challenges provided by the forbidding 40 miles of old trail have actually been enhanced with time. The old Grey Mesa road built by the Rincon uranium prospectors has deteriorated badly and each vehicle is tested more completely each year.

In 1995, a jeep pilgrimage to the Hole-in-the-Rock is accomplished two different ways. First, typical jeepers haul their camping supplies in their jeeps to the bottom of Grey Mesa, where the weight is then temporarily abandoned and camp is set up prior to the precarious ascent of Slick Rock Hill. Jeep passengers travel to the top of Cottonwood Hill for the inspiring view of Cottonwood Canyon and the majestic Hole-in-the-Rock, 5 miles away. No attempt is made to cross Lake Powell and hike up to the crevice called the Hole-in-the-Rock. One camp going in and one camp coming out is made at the bottom of Slick Rock Hill.

Lyle Anderson, inspired by his father L. Robert Anderson, instigated a

more luxurious version of the excursion. His groups normally acquire one house-boat and at least one speed-boat. The sea forces carrying the camping gear embark from Halls Crossing Marina, while the land forces jeep their way slowly toward Cottonwood Hill. A planned rendezvous occurs somewhere in Cottonwood Canyon at the end of the first day. Making the rendezvous has occasionally provided some of the greatest suspense of the trek, which only heightens the recreational value of the experience. (Twice the reunion was not accomplished until well after dark!) The sea forces generally precede the land forces and have a delicious meal prepared.

The second day is a recovery time of leisurely activity and generous friendship. The houseboat transports everyone to the Hole-in-the-Rock for a hike to its summit and for the long awaited choir recital inside the cleft. The speedboat is commissioned to take at least one group to Rainbow Bridge, 40 minutes further south from the Hole-in-the-Rock.

The morning of the third day starts early, as those hiking up Cottonwood Hill to the jeeps try to beat the hot desert heat. A healthy transfer of passengers between the boats and the jeeps is encouraged to enable all interested individuals to experience the jeep trip at least one way. The transfer occurs quite naturally because after jeeping to Cottonwood Hill, there is enough fear about the return trip among the jeep passengers and enough ignorance and curiosity among the boat passengers to accommodate a peaceful transfer.

Ideally, enough suffering accompanies the typical old trail recreational experience to create an eternal memory. An appropriate amount of hardship re-creates the pioneer spirit of 1880 and requires that the participants serve one another. This is thought to be the catalyst for the generous friendship which is so prevalent on the Hole-in-the-Rock journey.⁵⁶

Robert Anderson wrote about an example of this phenomenon. He broke a universal joint on his jeep in a 1989 expedition over the old trail. Another member of the party Anderson had not previously known, Stan Hunt, volunteered to help him solve his mechanical problem. Stan hiked to Lake Powell, boated to Bullfrog Marina, drove all night to Green River, bought a new universal joint, drove back to Bullfrog, boated to Cottonwood Canyon and replaced the universal joint for Robert Anderson so he could jeep back out with the main group. In a letter to this author, L. Robert Anderson recorded:

Call it a "pilgrimage" or whatever, something happens in a positive way to those who make the trip with the right spirit. Take, for example, Stan Hunt of Green River, our dear mutual friend. He literally bashed his outfit to pieces on the trip, yet his first thought was to help me. Think what he did for me in repairing my universal joint. There is now a special bond between us.⁵⁷

The pioneer legacy adds richness to the Hole-in-the-Rock experience

which is beyond classic recreation, or getting away for self indulgence. It is the kind of recreation that lifts mankind towards being the "men of good will the creator intended"⁵⁸ and promotes interdependence rather than independence.

NOTES

1. Hazel Lyman's Hole-in-the-Rock Journal, 1959.
2. The San Juan Record, vol. 43. no. 13.
3. The San Juan Record, vol. 43. no. 15.
- 4.1bid.
5. The San Juan Record, vol. 43. no. 15.
- 6.1bid.
7. The San Juan Record, vol. 43. no. 15.
8. Oral Interview with Gene Blickenstaff, 1994.
9. Powell, San Juan County, Utah, p. 122.
10. The San Juan Record, vol. 43. no. 15.
11. Oral Interview with Don Smith, 1994.
12. Oral interview with Don and Gwen Smith, 1994.
- 13.1bid.
14. The San Juan Record, vol. 43. no. 15.
15. The San Juan Record, vol. 43. no. 16. Italics added.
16. The San Juan Record, vol. 43. no. 36.
- 17.1bid.
18. Oral interview with Joe Finn Lyman, 1994.
19. The San Juan Record, vol. 43. no. 36.
20. Russell Martin, A Story That Stands Like A Dam: Glen Canyon and the Struggle for the Soul of the West. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1989), p. 80.

21.1bid. p. 86.

22.1bid., p. 87.

23. Potter and Drake, Lake Powell, pp. 111-112.

24. The San Juan Record, Vol. 46. no. 20.

25. Oral interview with C. Hardy and Sonja Redd, 1994.

26.1bid.

27. Letter from L. Robert Anderson, who was serving a mission in England for the L.D.S. Church at the time of this writing. March 24, 1995.

28. Oral Interview with C. Hardy and Sonja Redd, 1994.

29.1bid.

30.1bid.

31. Journal of R. Buckley Jensen, July 1962.

32. Oral Interview with DeMar Perkins, 1994.

33.1bid.

34.1bid.

35.1bid.

36. Oral interview with Rusty Musselman, 1995.

37.1bid.

38.1bid.

39. Oral interview with Lorraine Hansen, 1995.

40.1bid.

41.1bid.

42.1bid.

43. Journal of Lorraine Hansen, February 16, 1970.

44. Oral interview with DeMar Perkins, 1994.

45. Oral interview with Rusty Musselman, 1995.

46. Journal of Lorraine Hansen, February 17, 1970.

47. Oral interview with Rusty Musselman, 1995.

Rebirth of the Old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail
Chapter 4: "A New and Generous Friendship"

48.1bid.

49.1bid.

50.Oral interview with Lorraine Hansen, 1995.

51.Journal of Lorraine Hansen, February 19, 1970.

52.Oral interview with Rusty Musselman, 1995.

53.Journal of Lorraine Hansen, February 20, 1970.

54.1bid.

55.Oral interview with Lorraine Hansen, 1995.

56.Oral interview with Lyle Anderson, 1995.

57. Letter from L. Robert Anderson, 1995.

58. The San Juan Record, Vol. 43. no. 16.



The first four-wheel drive group to reach the Colorado River.
The crew is repairing the wagon road down Little Hole-in-the-Rock.



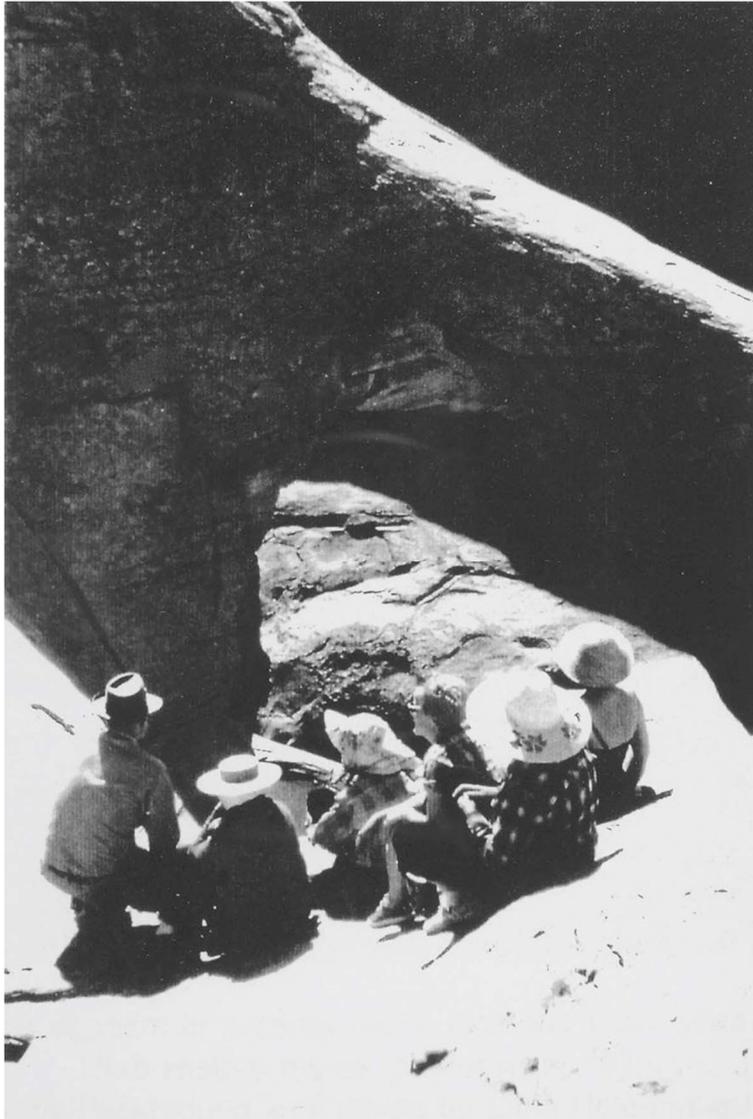
1959 expedition descends Platte Lyman Dugway.
Albert R. Lyman is standing in the center of the photograph.



First jeeps to descend Sand Hill in 1959.



Kline Black at the Colorado River in 1959.
The "Shrine" is directly behind Kline.

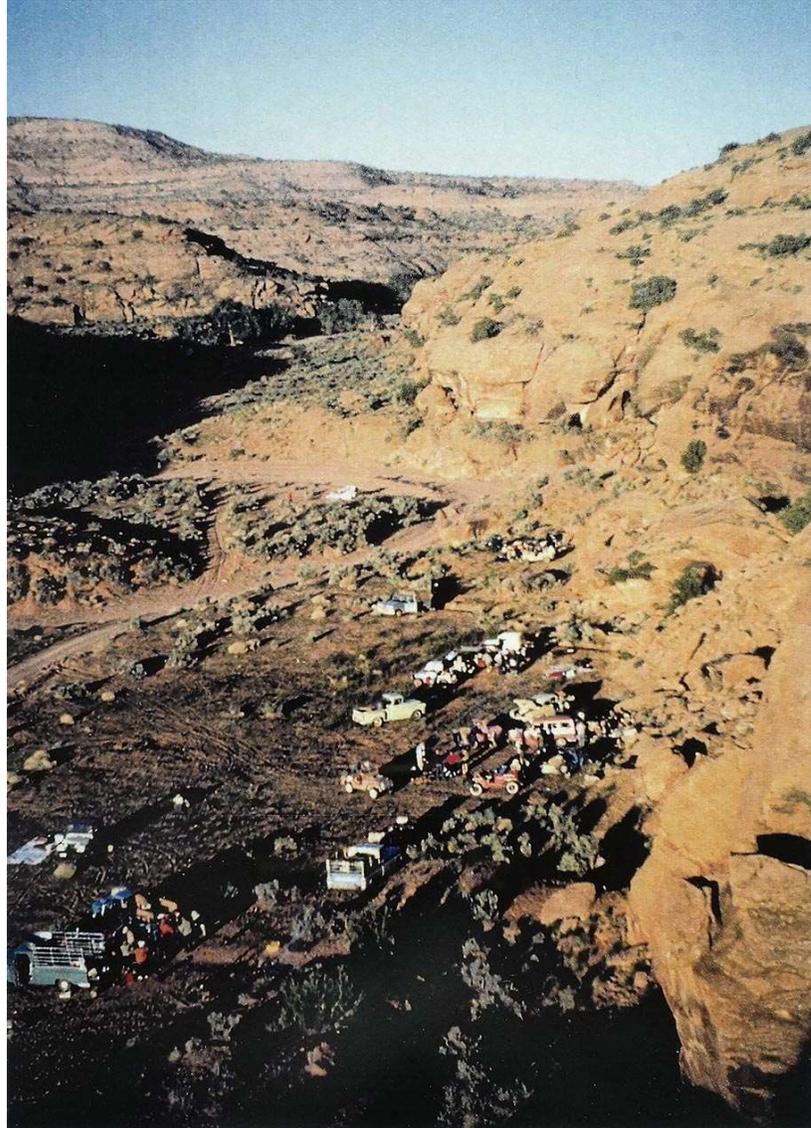


"Old Settler Arch," discovered by Norwood Porter in 1959.
Named in honor of Albert R. Lyman.



Lorraine Hansen appears in a camp-scene from the Utah State School Board Utah History movie, produced in 1970.

The wagon in the background was driven up Little Hole-in-the-Rock and the Chute by Rusty Musselman, who furnished the props for the movie.

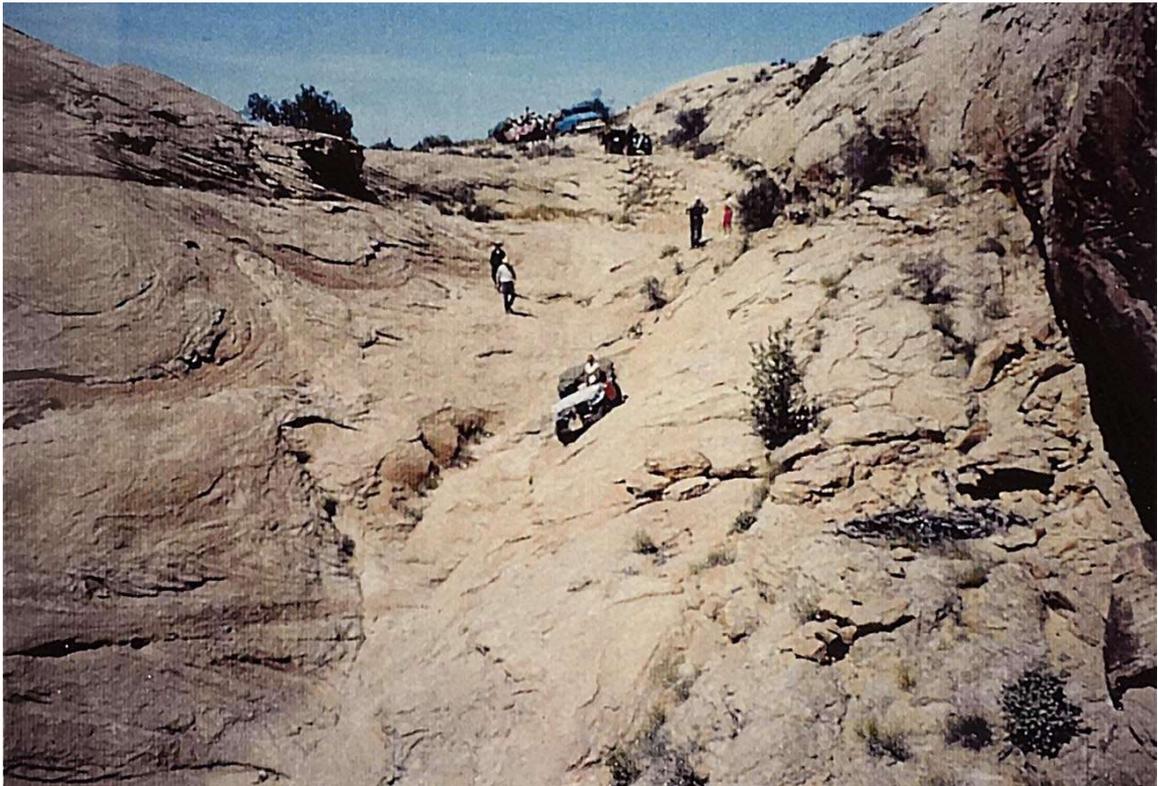


The last jeep pilgrimage to Hole-in-the-Rock and the Colorado in 1962. before Lake Powell began to form.

Camp was made In Castle Wash



Beautiful Anasazi Ruin which inspired the name "Castle Wash."



1962 jeep caravan descends the Chute.



Robert Anderson makes his first descent of Little Hole-in-the-Rock in his new jeep "Snow White".

The Hole-in-the-Rock is in the shadow on the horizon.



Jeeps emerging from Little Hole-in-the-Rock heading toward Platte Lyman Dugway.



Passengers bail out before the precarious knob near the top of Platte Lyman Dugway.



The view of Platte Lyman Dugway from the bottom.



Squaring up the shoulder of Sand Hill for the descent into Cottonwood Canyon.



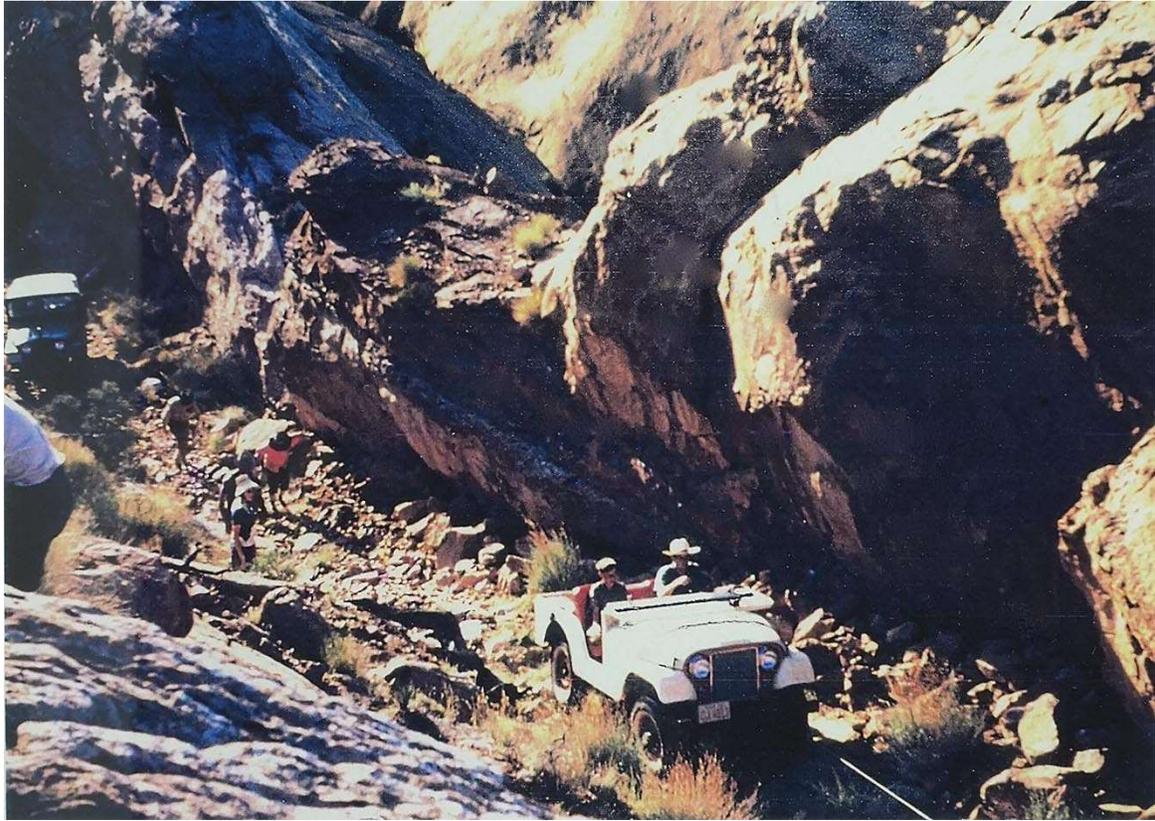
Caravan at the Colorado River. The river is between the jeeps and the Hole-in-the-Rock above the green drainage to the west.



Picture taken from the top of Hole-in-the-Rock looking east up Cottonwood Canyon. The 1962 jeeps are barely visible on the shelf above the river.



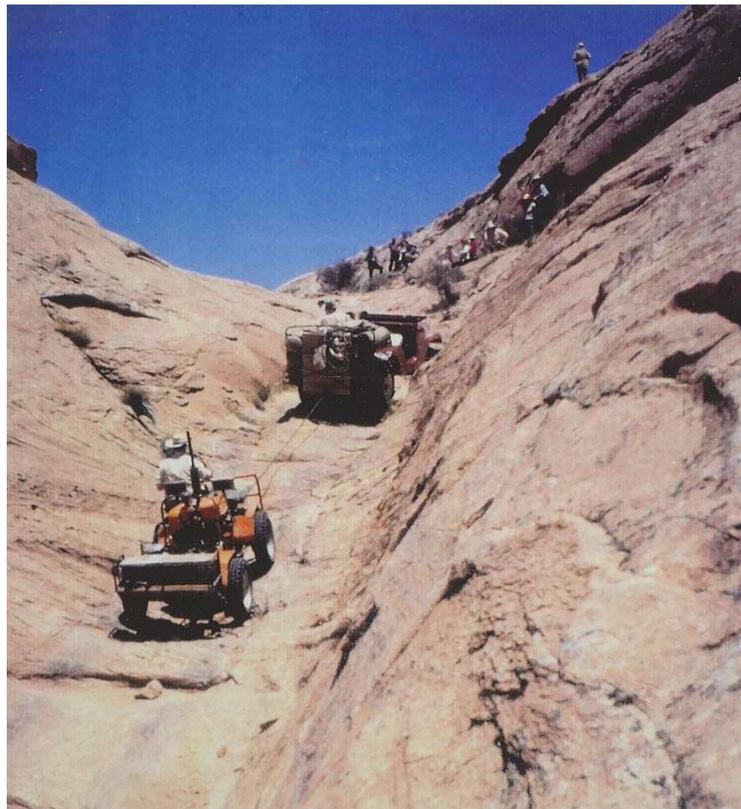
Jeeps towing each other up Sand Hill.



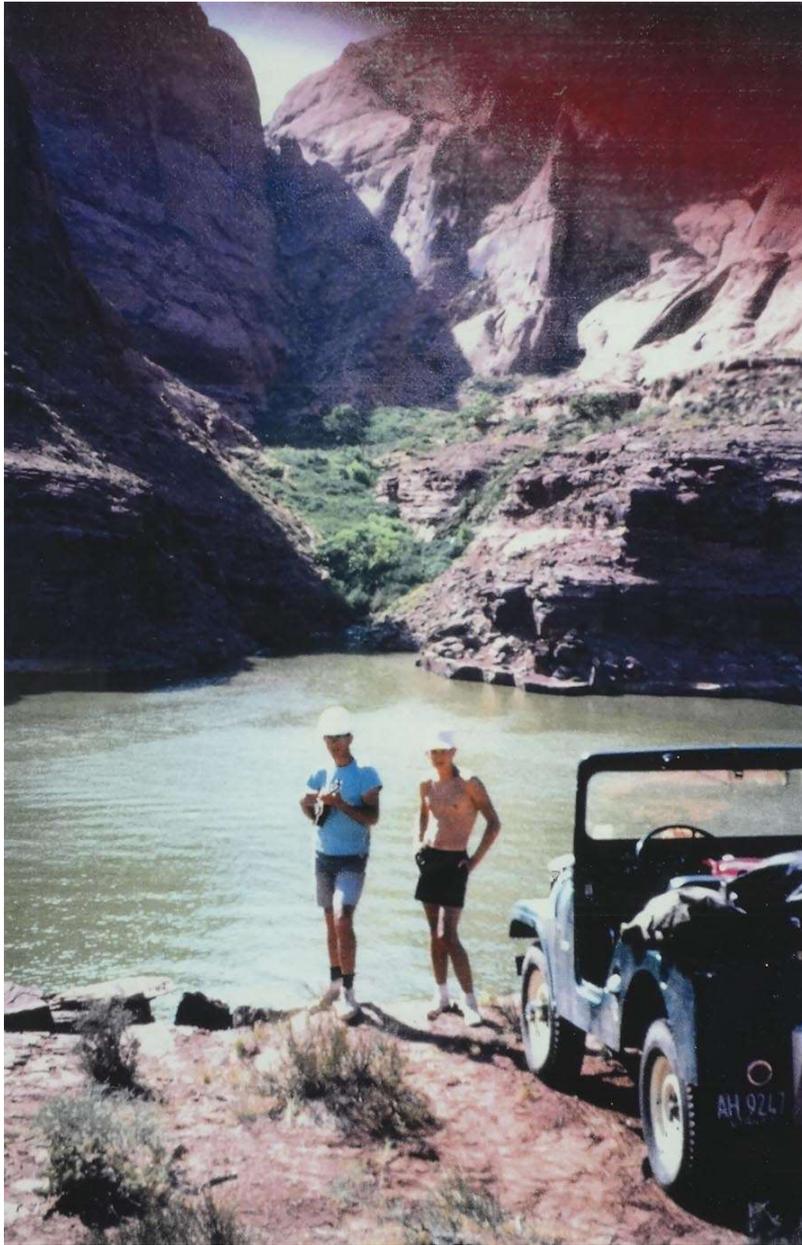
Jeeps being towed up Little Hole-in-the-Rock.



DeMar Perkins and his "Dooley-Bug" invented for the 1963 expedition.



The "Dooley-Bug" being towed up the Chute.



1963 Hole-in-the-Rock Expedition at the shores of the expanding Lake Powell.

Chapter Five

The Hole-in-the-Rock Trail Folklore

The present Hole-in-the-Rock trek across the 40 mile long old trail portion is a wholesome recreational activity. It inspires those who admire the dedication and sacrifices of the 1880 pioneers. The pioneer descendants who established the old trail for recreational visits considered the trail's legacy to be an essential ingredient of a meaningful old trail experience.¹

They discussed

Hole-in-the-Rock history, philosophy, and religion as a natural part of each expedition. The folklore of their expedition was steeped in their religious convictions. Every campfire along the historic old trail inspired another pioneer reflection or another lesson for happy living. A rich body of folklore grew around the recreational use of the old trail. Several examples of that "old traillore" are preserved in this work.

The "Old Settler," Albert R. Lyman, set the precedent for old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail folklore when he wrote:

[It was an eccentric old cuss about eighty years old who had come down through the Hole-in-the-Rock before I was weaned, and though I couldn't recollect clearly just how and what was done, my imagination compensated for what I couldn't remember, and I added my little might by talking and talking. ²

Albert R. Lyman admitted that his imagination compensated for what he

could not remember clearly. Talking and talking is a major activity of each expedition over the old trail. Trek participants discuss the ideology of the 1880 adventure and apply the pioneer courage and life principles to modern situations. A reliable antidote to modern discouragement is to visit the "shrine" and remember the optimism and endurance of the pioneers. These old trail reminiscences evolved into "old trail folklore."

Old Trail Principles

One variety of "old trail folklore" was intended to enhance the recreational experience of each subsequent pilgrimage over the old trail. The traditions of significant earlier treks provided a link between the pioneers and the modern old trail users. L. Robert and Lyle R. Anderson, a father and son duo who are also devout old trail enthusiasts, were especially adept at transferring the worthwhile traditions of previous old trail expeditions to ongoing treks. The Andersons called their traditions "principles," which they taught to the fortunate participants of Anderson jeep safaris. These principles enriched the old trail experience for newcomers who needed refining exposure to the spirit of the pioneers. Karl Lyman offered an insight into the origin of such folklore. At the time of the 1940 pack-trip to the Hole-in-the-Rock, Karl was working for Jay Redd in the old L. H. Redd store in Monticello and had to talk like a "dutch uncle" to get permission to take time off for the trip.³ Karl tried to persuade Jay Redd to make the trip, but Jay refused.

As Karl stood, subdued by the magnitude of his experience at the bottom of the Hole-in-the-Rock, he wondered how he could help his friend appreciate the importance of making the pilgrimage. A natural seep drained the massive crevice and a large willow patch grew where the spring entered the Colorado River. Karl had two canteens on his belt and filled them with water from the spring. He brought the water home to Jay Redd and a few other people who did not make the trip. Karl said, "This is some holy water (water from the Hole) and if you people will take a drink of it you will have renewed your covenants with the Lord and be blessed."⁴

The Covenant Principle

Upon hearing of Karl Lyman's "Holy Water" Robert Anderson quickly established his first Hole-in-the-Rock "principle." Anderson and others spoke of going to the Hole-in-the-Rock annually to "Renew their Covenants" because of the incident with the spring water.⁵

Another version of the "Covenant Principle" was Oblation Rock, established by Robert Anderson in 1990. A large sugar loaf-shaped sandstone sits in the middle of Cottonwood Canyon. The small mountain is nearly equidistant from the Hole-in-the-Rock to the west and Little Hole-in-the-Rock to the east. It offers an ideal lookout to both. Anderson discovered an observation bench on the side of the rock and hailed the site "Oblation Rock." It is customary for visitors to take binoculars, sit on the bench, and

pay their oblations to the old trail while in full view of the hostile terrain.

Another variation of the Covenant Principle was to bring the names of those not fortunate enough to make the trek and stuff them in the Ben Perkins' drill holes, similar to the Jews and the wailing wall in Jerusalem. The temporary road base that constituted "Uncle Ben's Dugway" eroded away, leaving only the pick-marks in the sandstone and the drill holes, perfect for receiving the tiny messages.

The "Covenant Principle" evolved to the degree that, lacking the bloodlines, a person's only realistic hope for salvation depended upon making the pilgrimage in person. When that was not possible, one's name could be carried in the pocket of a four-wheel driver, but not a motorcycle driver. Perhaps Charles Redd and Karl Lyman would be chagrined at the tradition started by their "shrine," "pilgrimage," "covenants" talk, but it added a reverent respect for the trail. The trail is physically treated better by those who understand the legends.

The Choir Principle

Another example of an Anderson principle is the "choir principle." This principle was inspired by the Blanding Singers who first discovered the wonderful acoustics of the gigantic cleft in 1940. On modern treks, Lyle Anderson assigns an accomplished musician to select the appropriate music and direct the choir. The assigned singers pause near the top of the

sandstone cleft and harmonize in four parts.⁶ Many Lake Powell boaters, privileged to be hiking the crevice during the recital, have experienced an angelic emotion similar to the emotion described by Karl Lyman. The text of the two songs written especially for the 1940 horseback expedition was discovered with this research. The lyrics are reprinted here in hopes that these songs may again be performed on the choir shelf inside the gigantic crevice:

Tune: COVERED WAGON TRAILS

Riding down trails made long, long ago

By our forefathers all,

Who had answered, as we know,

Their own dear leaders' call.

Chorus:

Down a covered wagon trail,

Not a brave heart dared to fail,

Over bush and rock they rode

Each with an enormous load.

Though they're nearly all gone now,

To their memory we bow;

Now our voices let's raise,

As we sing to their praise

Down this old time Wagon Trail.⁷

Tune: SMILES

There are trails across the desert,
There are trails across the sand,
There are trails the Piutes used to travel
As they wandered in a native band.
When the trails of Indians and of Mormons
Came together in this dreary place,
They made history of this San Juan Country,
'Tis their trail that we came to trace.

Covered wagons furnished transportation,
Weary horses plodded through the dust;
Sturdy hearts that bravely kept their courage--
They came willingly because they must--
Weariness and troubles oft beset them,
Of their praise we love to sing and talk;
'Tis of them we're thinking as we travel
Down their trail to the Hole-in-the-Rock.⁸

The Cheerful Disposition Principle

One legend associated with the 1880 wagon trek was the remarkable

cooperation and good will exhibited by the pioneers in the face of unprecedented adversity.⁹ The only recorded incident of serious contention in 1880 occurred while the pioneers were stopped at Cheese Camp. An argument broke out over whether those with large numbers of stock should be allowed to forage their animals ahead of the wagons. Feed was extremely scarce and those with the wagons wanted to be sure the animals pulling the wagons would not be short-changed.¹⁰

The complaining disclosed by Annaley Redd and Karl Lyman during their 1940 horseback trip prompted another trail principle. Annaley admitted that she overheard some complaining about the food during the expedition. The sun came out in fury the day the 1940 group reached the Colorado River. The heat of the day added another challenge to the group's determination to follow their fathers' example of refraining from complaining. Karl Lyman was privy to the conversation of a small group of riders who were being "tested" by the blazing sun.¹¹ J. H. McGibony, the company's photographer, was riding with Karl Lyman and a "complainer." The complainer bellyached about the sun and said he wished he was dead. McGibony turned to Lyman and declared, "Well, I hope the son of a bitch doesn't die. I'd like to throw him in the river when we get there."¹²

The need for good will on modern expeditions prompted Lyle Anderson to coin another principle. Although never widespread on Hole-in-the-Rock

expeditions, Anderson thought that complaining should be eliminated altogether. To qualify for admission to a jeep group sponsored by Anderson, a person must be capable of maintaining a cheerful disposition for at least three consecutive days and attest so in writing.¹³ This social principle is called the "Cheerful Disposition Principle." When difficult circumstances occur, Lyle permits one designated whiner in each expedition, but only one.¹⁴

The Edway Redd Principle

Two Anderson principles are specifically designed for trail jeep drivers. The "Edway Redd Principle" is very practical and useful during rugged ascents. The principle states that jeeps can make incredible climbs as long as all four tires stay on the rock. Edway Redd owned the Chevrolet Automobile dealership in Monticello, Utah, at the time that jeeping the trail became popular. Edway always drove a new car for promotional purposes and prided himself on his driving ability. He usually had the newest jeep on Hole-in-the-Rock expeditions and would become frustrated if his jeep could not accomplish every desired maneuver.

A common driver error was over-reacting to difficult climbs, racing the engine, and charging at the climb, which usually resulted in a spin-out. Edway often succumbed to the temptation. Edway was also generous with driving suggestions and after pausing to give a driving lecture to his associates on one Hole-in-the-Rock safari, Edway backed his new jeep over a sturdy bush on top

of a large sand mound. One observer, DeMar Perkins, believed that Edway's jeep was the only jeep ever high-centered on flat ground.¹⁵ Edway muttered as the amused jeepers dug his jeep off the bush.

Later, during the same jeep trip, Edway spun his tires too rapidly while trying to climb a steep sandy hill and became stuck. Several men put a shoulder to Edway's jeep in an attempt to dislodge him from the sand. DeMar Perkins made the mistake of getting directly behind one rear tire, getting sprayed with sand when Edway impetuously raced his engine and again spun his tires. DeMar could not resist the opportunity to tease his good friend. DeMar joked, "Edway, I didn't mind pushing you, but why did you have to fill my mouth with sand?"

Edway's temper flashed and he blurted, "DeMar, if you would keep your damned mouth shut, it wouldn't be full of sand."¹⁶

When a jeep driver races his engine or loses his patience he will likely be reminded of the "Edway Redd Principle."

The Bennion Redd Principle

The "Bennion Redd Principle" is a wonderful tribute to a kind man. It has initiated a tradition among old trail jeepers to see which traveler can treat the others to the most unexpected cool drink. After the company's ice and cool drinks had long since vanished, Bennion Redd would await the perfect opportunity to produce ice cold refreshment. Robert Anderson remembered:

It was a hot, backbreaking effort to get the jeeps back up the sand hill, Platte Lyman Dugway, and the Little Hole. We were done in--and can you believe--Bennion was serving us ice cold drinks. To this day I do not know how he did it. I have tried, without success, to duplicate what he did. Bennion Redd was a worker of miracles.¹⁷

Modern expeditions park their jeeps at the top of Cottonwood Hill and hike to and from the shores of Lake Powell. The return hike up the hill can be strenuous, especially in hot weather. The time while the hikers are recovering from their effort provides a perfect opportunity for a thoughtful jeeper to reenact the "Bennion Redd Principle." The problem is that Bennion's process of preserving ice remains a secret. Only jeep caravans traveling in moderate weather have kept sufficient ice reserves for three days. The tossing, topless jeep, combined with 100 plus degree temperatures is a refrigeration nightmare.

Old Trail-lore

Another variety of "trail-lore" is more spiritual in nature. A gradual change of heart comes over those who continued to visit the old trail. L. Robert Anderson described the change as a four step process. Anderson had no lineage connection to the 1880 pioneers when he made his first visit to the old trail in 1962. He heard that the old trail was a good jeeping challenge, so testing his new jeep was his first step. He then began to be interested in the

trip because of the association with good people. From love of the adventure and love of the participants, Anderson moved to admiration for the "sticktitude"¹⁸ of those Hole-in-the-Rock pioneers. The final step in his evolution came when he began to see, in the Hole-in-the-Rock experience, some lessons that had meaning far above and beyond the relatively simple matter of getting from Escalante to the San Juan. Anderson related:

If one looks at the experience as a matter of getting from there to here, it was less than a rousing success. On the other hand, if one looks at what really resulted, the effort was an unqualified success. For example, I wonder if the early San Juan settlers would have had the same determination to stick it out if they had come in the "easy way" via Moab. Certainly a sense of "mission" came from the expedition which persists, and perhaps grows stronger, to this very day. The whole business reminds me of Zion's Camp.¹⁹

Lessons "far and above" the wagon journey inspired the spiritual folklore associated with the old trail. The descendants of the San Juan Mission pioneers searched for symbolic lessons in the adversity of the 1880 trek. Obvious questions surfaced immediately after revisiting the forbidding 40 miles of the old trail. Why did this expedition ever happen in the first place? Were the instigators of the ordeal without sense or compassion? Was it irresponsible to send the San Juan Mission into such uncharted terrain?

The portion of the proposed "shortcut" east of the Colorado River was woefully unexplored and underestimated. Church leaders responsible for making the final travel decisions assumed that the giant sandstone cleft alone represented the major difficulty of the new route. Many boat visitors to the Hole-in-the-Rock from Lake Powell made the same mistake.

The Hole-in-the-Rock episode was either the stupidest pioneering blunder in LDS Church history, or there were obscure purposes behind the commandment. One hundred and fifteen years of speculation have offered several possible lessons for the perusal of present old trail users. Jens and Elsie Nielson compared the difficulty of the Hole-in-the-Rock trek to that of the Willie-Martin Handcart companies. Another parallel between those two extreme Mormon migration epics was the ample criticism heaped upon both. Why did the leaders responsible for making the final travel decisions allow the pioneers to make unnecessary mistakes? The handcart companies started their journey too late in the season and someone should have stopped them. The Hole-in-the-Rock pioneers started their journey without knowing what lay on the east side of the Colorado River and someone should have canceled their mission.

An incident which occurred many years after the handcart disaster was also a fitting summary to the Hole-in-the-Rock adventure:

A teacher conducting a class said it was unwise ever to attempt, even

to permit [the Willie-Martin handcart companies] to come across the plains under such conditions. Some sharp criticism of the Church and its leaders was being indulged in for permitting any company of converts to venture across the plains with no more supplies or protection than a handcart caravan afforded.

An old man in the corner sat silent and listened as long as he could stand it, then arose and said things that no person who heard him will ever forget. In substance [he] said, "I ask you to stop this criticism. You are discussing a matter you know nothing about. Cold historic facts mean nothing here, for they give no proper interpretation of the questions involved. Mistake to send the handcart companies out so late in the season? Yes. But I was in that company and my wife and Sister Nellie Unthank whom you have cited was there, too. We suffered beyond anything you can imagine and many died of exposure and starvation, but did you ever hear a survivor of that company ever utter a word of criticism? Not one of that company ever apostatized or left the Church, because every one of us came through with the absolute knowledge that God lives for we became acquainted with him in our extremities.

"I have pulled my handcart when I was so weak and weary from illness and lack of food that I could hardly put one foot ahead of the other. I have looked ahead and seen a patch of sand of a hill slope and I

have said, I can go only that far and there I must give up, for I cannot pull the load through it. I have looked back many times to see who was pushing my cart, but my eyes saw no one. I knew then that the angels of God were there."

"Was I sorry that I chose to come by handcart? No. Neither then nor any minute of my life since. The price we paid to become acquainted was a privilege to pay, and I am thankful that I was privileged to come in the Martin Handcart Company."²⁰

One of the dignitaries invited to accompany the last jeep trek to the

Colorado River in 1962 could not help scoffing at the shrine and the senseless people who created it. Without knowing either the history or folklore associated with the Hole-in-the-Rock, the stranger had little reverence for the old trail. His behavior and criticism became mildly offensive to the pioneer descendants.²¹ The issue of "stupid and needless suffering" was secondary to the issues of faith and obedience exhibited by the 1880 group. The pioneers found themselves thrust into difficult circumstances beyond their control. A line from an original song composed for the 1940 horseback trip--"They came willingly because they must"--seemed contradictory, but it captured the attitude with which early LDS Church members accepted such calls from God. In 1880 "must" was the only option available to the obedient and "willing" was the only acceptable attitude.

Faced with grinding opposition, the pioneers had two choices. One was to feel picked on and to teach their children that they were victims of harsh treatment. The other choice was to respond to their challenge cheerfully and leave their children a heritage of faith and optimism. Despite conquering difficult terrain, this story would be insignificant if they had chosen the first alternative. The pioneer choice to accept their adversity with faith may be the most enduring legacy to present recreational users of the trail. Visiting the "shrine" today always puts perspective back into the visitors' lives. Whether the visitors' problems are real or imagined, they seem trivial and manageable after inspecting what the Hole-in-the-Rock pioneers endured.

Another inspiring lesson evolved from the pioneers' resolution to continue the trek, especially after the horrors of the landscape were more fully known. Many San Juan pioneers first made their way to the Hole-in-the-Rock without seeing the forbidding challenge for themselves, but there came a time when reality set in. Platte D. Lyman, field captain of the 1880 expedition, arrived at the crevice after many other families had already assembled at that point. Platte voted to abandon the trip immediately after personally inspecting the east side of the river. ²²

Mother Nature, or the Lord, intervened to help remove Platte's doubts. Heavy snows in the Escalante Mountains blocked the "turn-back" road and the

pioneers could sit and whine about their short-sighted leaders, or they could attempt the impossible. An example of setting aside personal views for the unity of the group was another legacy of the trek.

One intriguing campfire discussion was to project what the future of the pioneers could have been had they achieved their original destination of Montezuma Creek. Had the 1880 expedition followed either of the two other routes to the San Juan, they would have missed Bluff, Utah, which became their headquarters. The Hole-in-the-Rock Trail wore them out sufficiently to stop them short of Montezuma, the future site of one of the major oil and natural gas discoveries in the Western United States. One thing is for sure, there could have been some mighty rich Mormons living in southern San Juan County. Despite the wasted possibility of inheriting oil fortunes, descendants of the Hole-in-the-Rock pioneers are content that the Lord had greater purposes in mind. The spiritual refinement and strength received from the trek have proven more important to family unity and religious commitment over time, than inherited wealth.

Present trail users cannot help but marvel at a unique geological phenomenon that exists around Grey Mesa. The descent from Grey Mesa was a 1,000 foot vertical plunge down the miraculous "goat trail," called Slick Rock Hill. That giant slickrock mountain gives birth to thousands of baby rocks as round as marbles. Over centuries of time, the wind, rain and cold worked a miracle. Tiny seeds in the sandstone mountain are

exposed by the weather until they are perfectly formed. When the baby marbles are mature, they let go of the mountain and roll down its side. As the rocks roll, their last deformities are rubbed off and they are perfect enough to be used in a real game of marbles. Many "moki-marbles" lie in the wagon tracks of the pioneer road and the road builders must have been aware of them. The sandstone marbles made footing slippery and the pioneers probably thought of them as simply another nuisance. The children must have played with the marbles for hours as their parents toiled.

Did parents or children contemplate the symbolic lessons of the sandstone marbles? Was the Lord giving silent encouragement to the beleaguered pioneers? There is no record that the pioneers, young or old, made a conscious connection between their mission and the "moki-marbles." Such connections would be left to the convenience of jeepers with time on their hands and "trail-lore" to explore. Joseph Smith, LDS Church founder and first prophet said:

I am like a huge, rough stone rolling down from a high mountain; and the only polishing I get is when some corner gets rubbed off by coming in contact with something else, striking with accelerated force against religious bigotry, priestcraft, lying editors, suborned judges and jurors, and the authority of perjured executives, backed by mobs, blasphemers, licentious and corrupt men and women--all

hell knocking off a corner here and a corner there. Thus I will become a smooth and polished shaft in the quiver of the Almighty.²³

The weathering that polished and perfected the stones symbolically represented the adversities that polish and perfect people. The scriptures carried in the pioneer wagons of 1880 contained the passage:

And Zion cannot be built up unless it is by the principles of the law of the celestial kingdom; otherwise I cannot receive her unto myself. And my people must needs be chastened until they learn obedience, if it must needs be, by the things which they suffer. That they themselves may be prepared, and that my people may be taught more perfectly concerning their duty, and the things which I require at their hands.²⁴

A scripture which used the exact word "stone" was very familiar to the pioneers. The Old Testament prophet Daniel foresaw a future day when God's Kingdom would be "like a stone cut out of the mountain without hands" that rolled forth to fill the whole earth.²⁵ Church members believed that the restored Church of Jesus Christ literally fulfilled Daniel's prophesy. The Hole-in-the-Rock pioneers were trudging over perfect stones, cut from a mountain without hands, on their way to establish another settlement of Zion. That story had to be added to the old trail folklore.

There was another strong similarity between the Hole-in-the-Rock trek

and a trying episode from the life of Joseph Smith. The 1880 pioneers arrived at the future site of Bluff City on April 6, 1880. April 6th was also the date that Joseph Smith was released from Missouri's Liberty Jail in 1839, after enduring six months of intense suffering.²⁶ Both Joseph Smith's Liberty Jail ordeal and the San Juan Mission epic began in November and ended on April 6th. The six-month Hole-in-the-Rock ordeal refined and tempered the pioneers just as Liberty Jail had purified their prophet, Joseph Smith.

The Hole-in-the-Rock trail produced a people humbled and devoted to their convictions. The difficulty of the 1880 Hole-in-the-Rock Trek spawned a sense of "mission" among its participants. Charles S. Peterson compared the strong purpose of the San Juan settlers with the purpose of other Eastern Utah settlers:

The cooperative pattern of settlement gave a distinct Mormon flavor to the San Juan area. The character of the Moab, La Sal, and Castleton district was more consistent with the general frontier. With few exceptions Grand County Mormons had come unbidden, prompted by their own ideas of opportunity rather than by the mission call by which Mormon colonizing was so often carried out.

From earliest time Grand County gave itself unabashedly to economic development. San Juan, on the other hand, was concerned with inner self and developed strong traditions of its uniqueness. To an amazing degree it was preoccupied with what

may be called the Hole-in-the-Rock mystique. They had done their duty. Once on the San Juan many questioned the wisdom of staying.

The Hole-in-the-Rockers dug in at Bluff. The enforced confinement to home and community put people into more contact with each other and they were living under adverse circumstances. This had the tendency to bring out the very best in them. Mormons gradually expanded and took over the county (San Juan) for a number of reasons, primarily because they were better "stayers."²⁷

The staying power derived from completing the Hole-in-the-Rock expedition became an enduring attribute of the pioneers and their descendants. Today, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints continues to call members to serve missions, primarily proselyting missions. A symbol of present faithfulness is the willingness of members to accept and honorably fulfill these mission calls. The descendants of the Hole-in-the-Rock pioneers continue to send an unusually large proportion of their eligible youth on these two-year missions. The legacy of faith continues.

Old trail enthusiasts believed that divine intervention played an important part in the rebirth of the old trail. Could the incidents which led to the rediscovery of the old trail be only coincidence? Why did Dave Richardson make the Centennial Hole-in-the-Rock excursion in 1980?

Why did Skelly Oil drill their extravagant "dry-hole" on Nokai Dome in 1951? Why did the Rincon uranium prospectors try desperately to race the waters of Lake Powell to their futile mining claims? Why did two strangers board Don Smith's river raft at Hite, Utah? Why did Albert R. Lyman's contribution to The San Juan Record exactly span the important years of the old trail's rebirth? Could it be speculated that there was purpose in the rebirth of the old trail?

One surprising discovery of this study was the extent to which gentiles contributed to the rebirth of the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail. Gentile is a term which refers to lineage. For this study gentile referred to persons without ancestral lineage to the Hole-in-the-Rock pioneer group of 1880.

Of those who influenced the rebirth of the trail, Sullivan C. Richardson, O. Frost Black, Orville Gunther, David E. Miller, Don Smith, Marvin Turnage, Kline Black, Fern Frost, Rusty Musselman, and Clara Mae Hatch were all prominent gentiles. For years there was a perceived rivalry and mild animosity between the Hole-in-the-Rock pioneer descendants and the gentiles of San Juan County. The Hole-in-the-Rock relatives were sometimes accused of being clannish and arrogant, understandable in light of the remarkable achievement of their fathers. Perhaps the gentiles were simply envious and manufactured the problem.

There was some substance to the rivalry. Clara Mae Hatch remembered feeling it after she moved to Monticello. She felt snubbed by

the pioneer descendants and decided to mention it to one of them. In conversation with Jay Redd, Clara Mae received clarification on the superiority issue. The matter was really quite simple in Jay's mind. "If it seems to you that the Hole-in-the-Rockers think they are better, maybe it is because they are," Jay declared flatly.²⁸

Perhaps the prominent role of the gentiles in the trail's rebirth was the Lord's method of encouraging a permanent reconciliation. Symbolically, the gentiles seem to have been welcomed to the Hole-in-the-Rock fold in much the same way Peter was commanded to welcome Cornelius, a gentile, to the ancient Church of Jesus Christ.²⁹ When Peter finally understood that the gentiles were being welcomed into the covenant, he exclaimed, "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons."³⁰

The use of the trail for recreation contributed to that reconciliation. A Hole-in-the-Rock expedition dissolved differences quickly and left a wonderful memory behind. San Juan Mission descendants and gentiles are welded together by the "new and generous friendship" of the old trail experience. L.

Robert Anderson, a Hole-in-the-Rock gentile, summarized by saying:

My feelings about the Hole-in-the-Rock might be best illustrated by saying that were it possible, I would like each of my grandchildren to take the trip and really get the spirit of it all. There are wonderful lessons to be learned.³¹

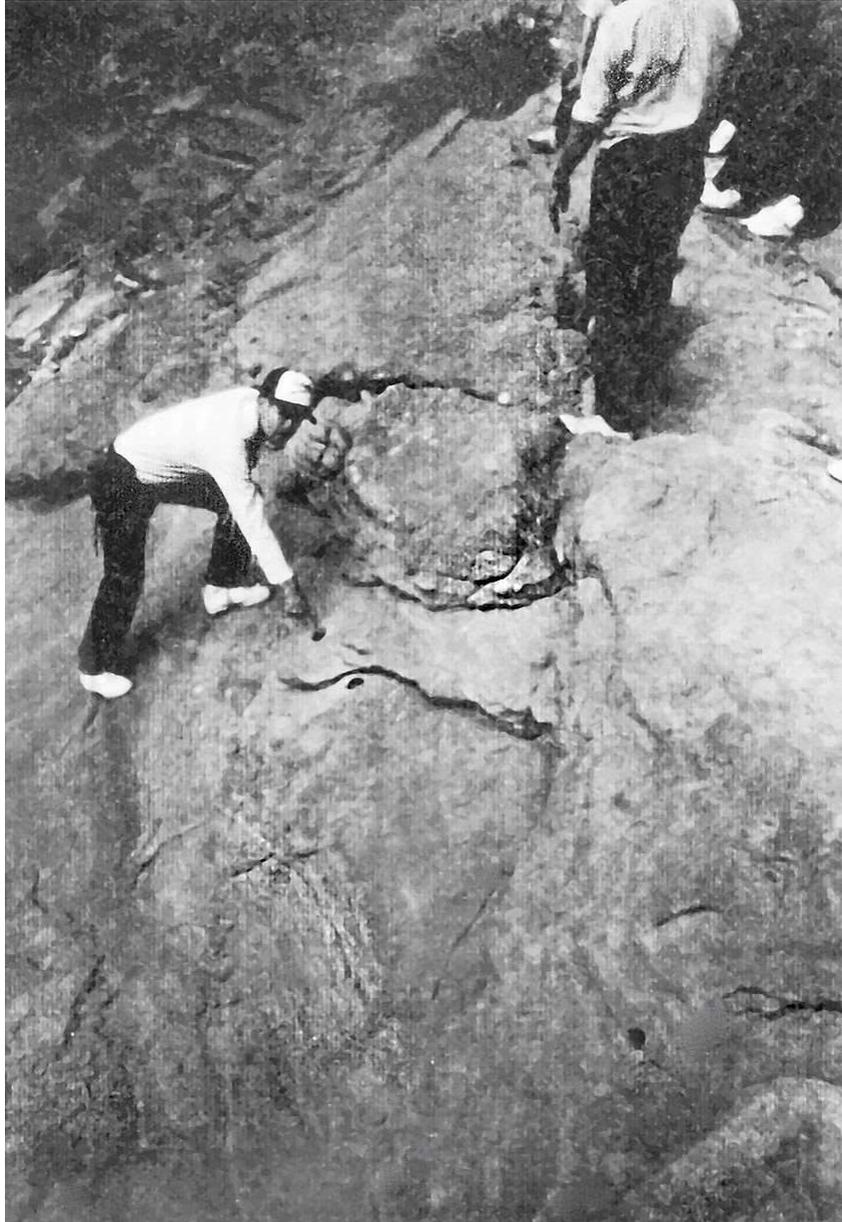
NOTES

1. Oral interview with Joe Finn Lyman, 1994.
2. The San Juan Record, Vol. 43. no. 15.
3. Oral interview with Karl Lyman, 1994.
4. Interview with Karl Lyman, 1995.
5. *ibid.*
6. Oral Interview with Lyle Anderson, 1995.
7. The San Juan Record, Vol. 26. no. 2.
8. *ibid.*
9. Miller, Hole-In-The-Rock, p. 127.
10. *ibid.*
11. Oral interview with Karl Lyman, 1995.
12. Interview with Karl Lyman, 1995.
13. Interview with Lyle Anderson, 1995.
14. *ibid.*
15. Oral interview with DeMar Perkins, 1994.
16. *ibid.*
17. Letter from L. Robert Anderson, 24 March, 1994.
18. *ibid.*
19. *ibid.*

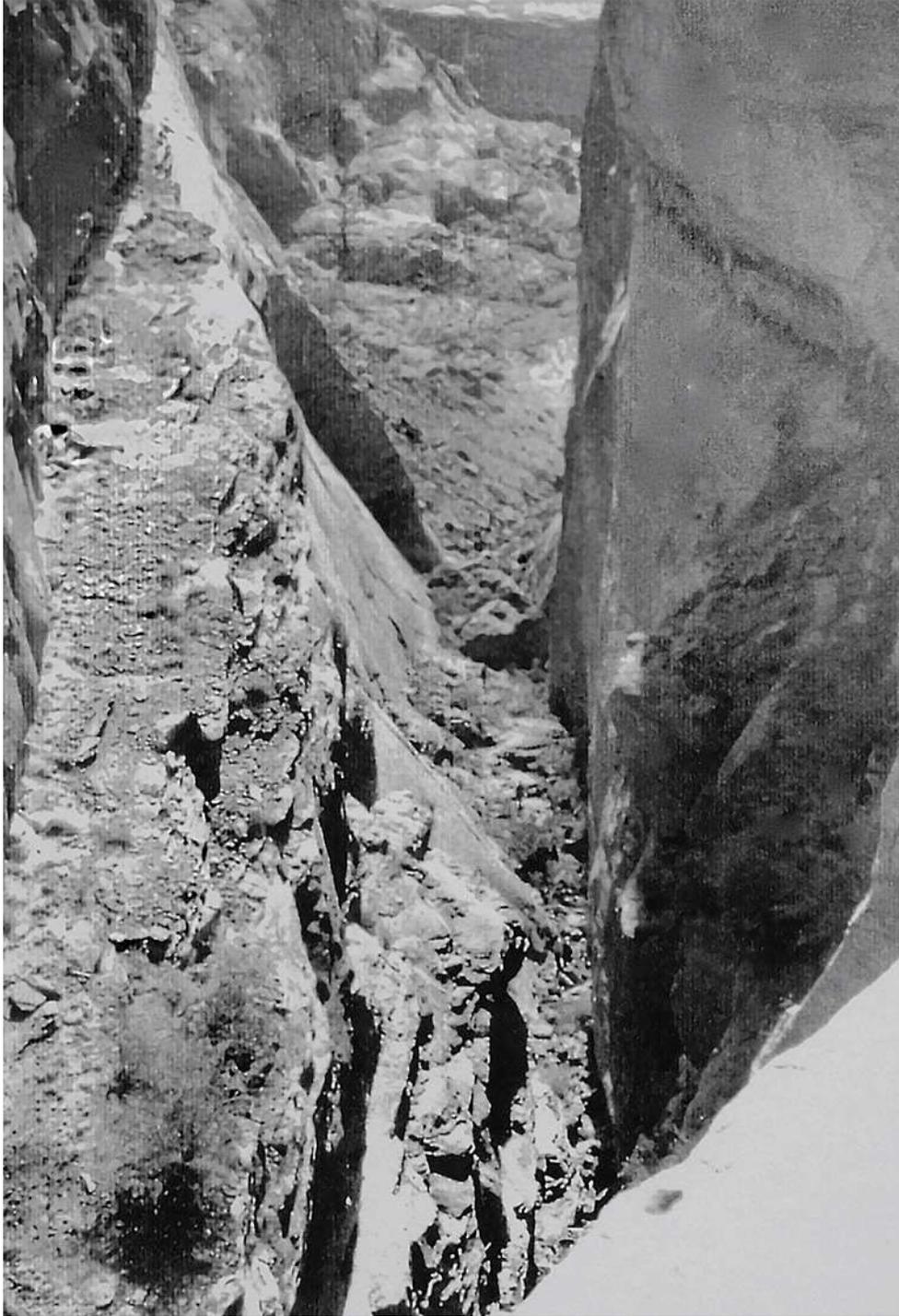
20. Relief Society Magazine, January 1948, p. 8; cited by Elder James E. Faust, "The Refiner's Fire," Ensign, May 1979:53.
21. Interview with Annaley Redd, 1995.
22. Miller, Hole-In-The-Rock, p. 62.
23. Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church, (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), Vol. 5, p. 401.
24. Doctrine and Covenants, (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), p. 212.
25. Holy Bible, (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1982), p. 1103.
26. Church History in the Fulness of Times, p. 209.
27. Embry, LaSal Reflections, p. 93.
28. Letter from Clara Mae Hatch, 1995.
29. Holy Bible, 1982 edition, p. 1383.
30. *ibid.*, p. 1384.
31. Letter from L. Robert Anderson, 24 March, 1995.



Drill holes from "Uncle Ben's Dugway."
In 1940 remnants of the oak stakes
which held the road bed were still in place.



"Uncle Ben's drill holes" as they appear today.
The shelf chipped from the ledge to accommodate the inside wagon wheels is visible under the visitor's feet.



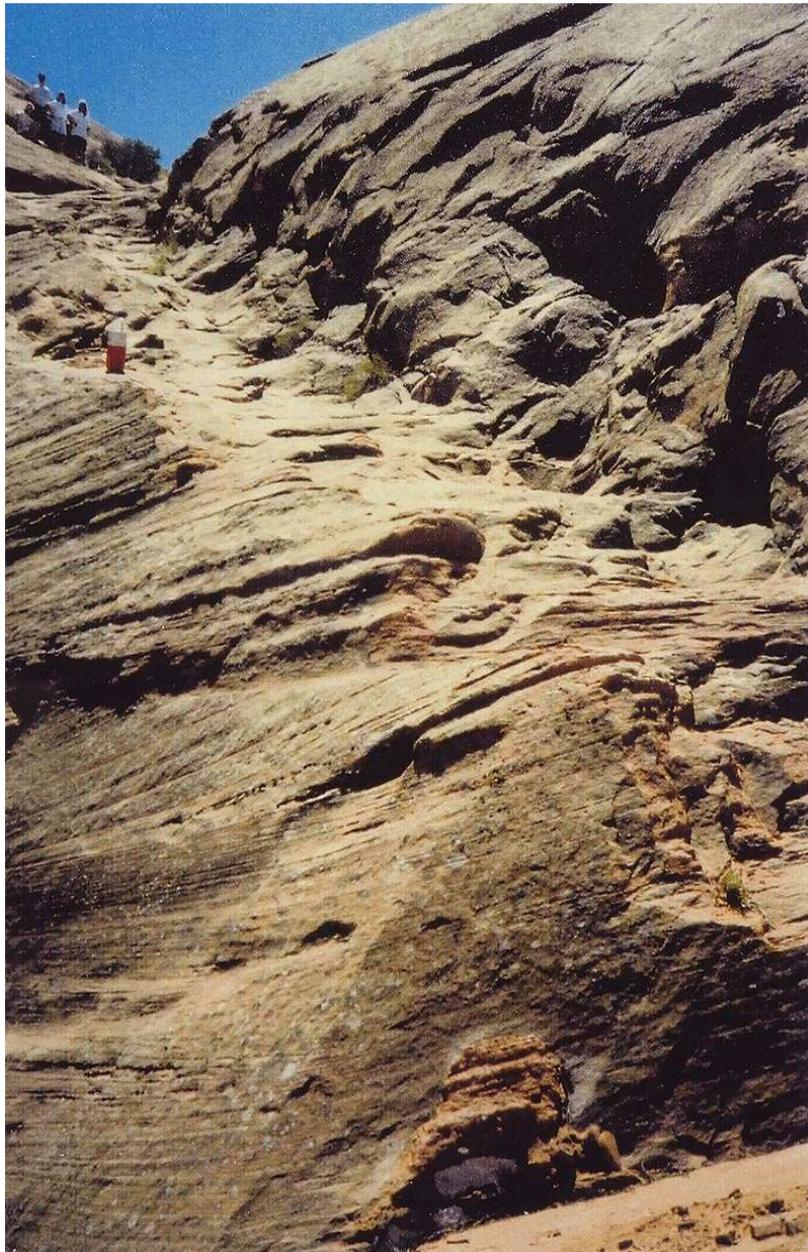
"Choir Shelf," where the Blanding Singers discovered the wonderful acoustics of the Hole-in-the-Rock in 1940. The view is to the east from the top of the gigantic crevice.



The east end of Grey Mesa (on the horizon).
The "miraculous" mountain goat trail descends the sandstone ledges
under the east end, also referred to as Slick Rock Hill.



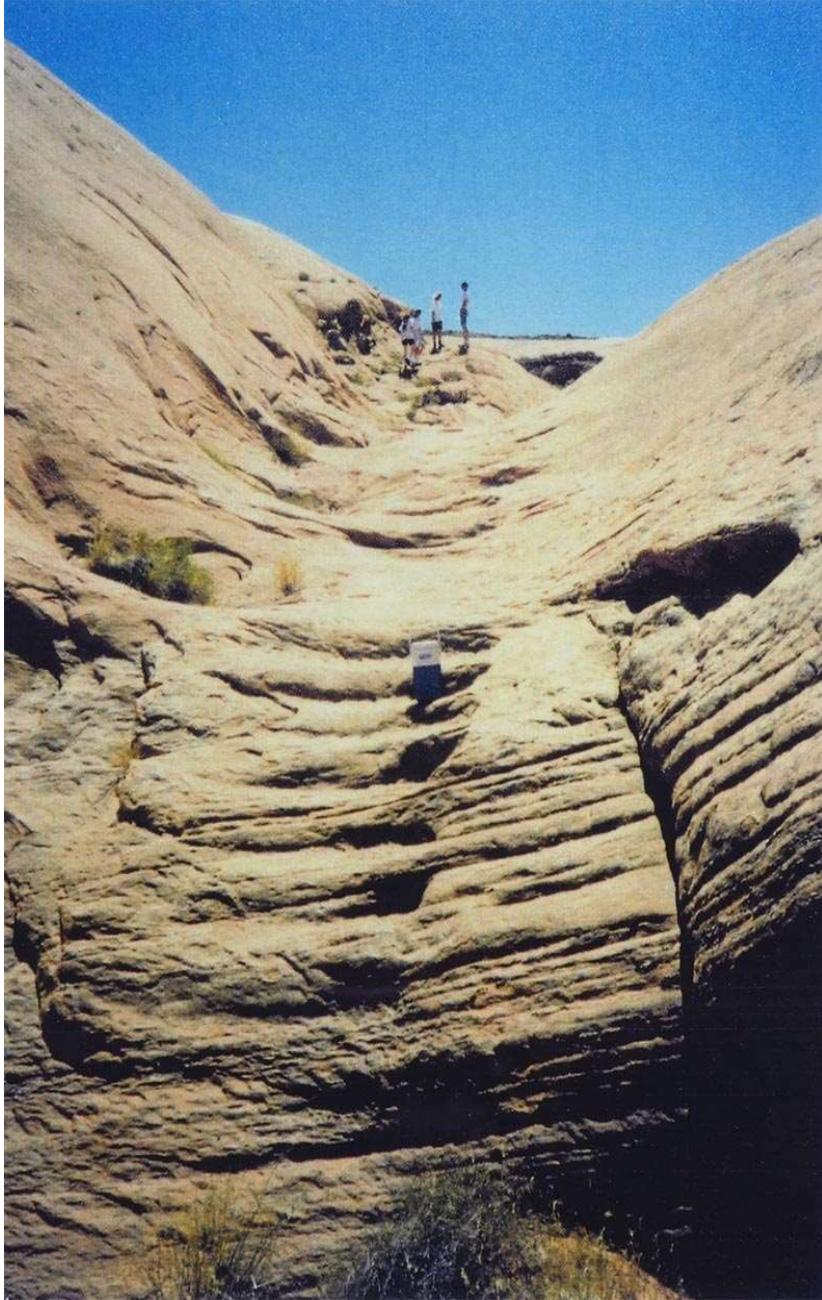
Four visitors standing in the first of several dugways, in order of ascent,
carved from Slick Rock Hill by the 1880 pioneers.



Second in the series of ascending Slick Rock Hill dugways. Horse teams pulled wagons down and up these dugways in 1880.



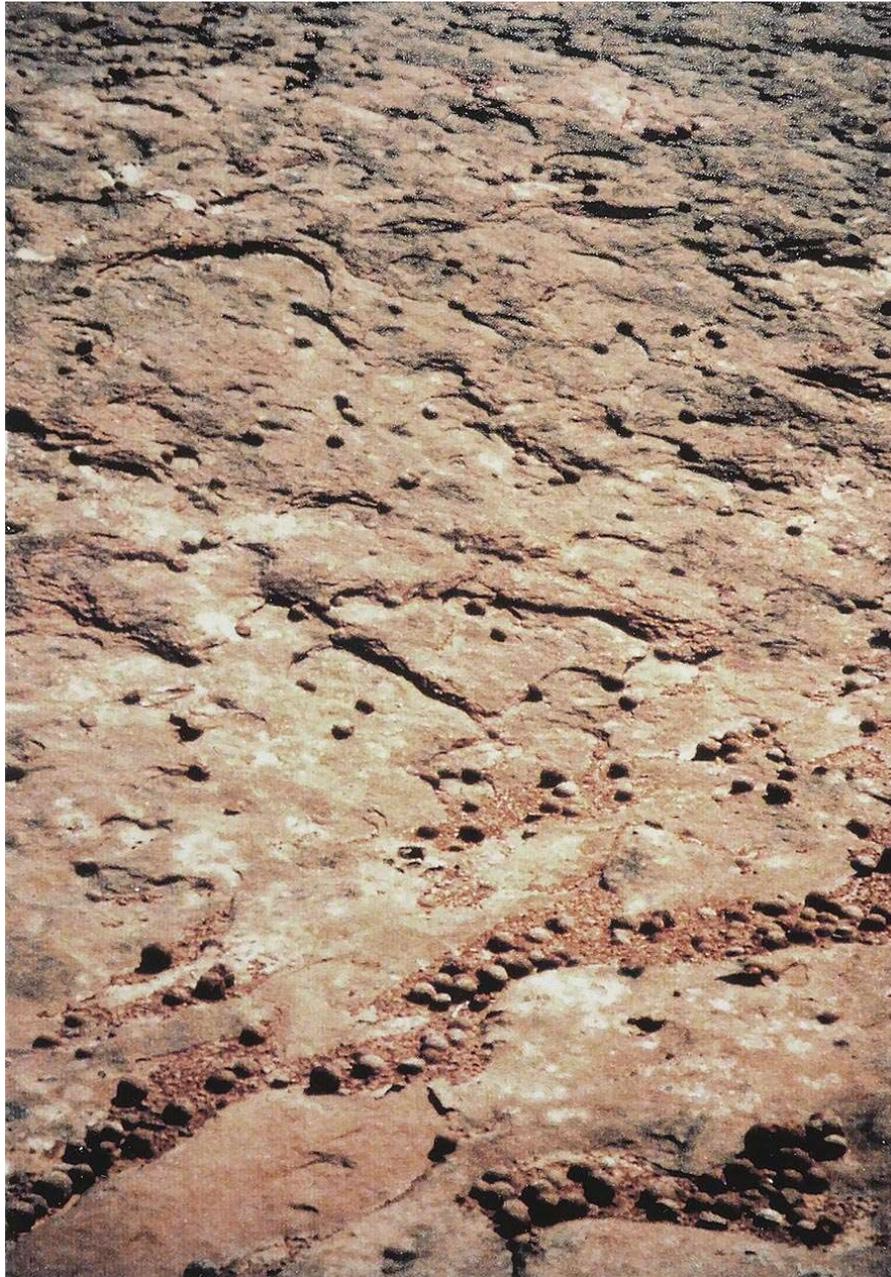
The third Slick Rock Hill dugway in order of ascent toward the summit.



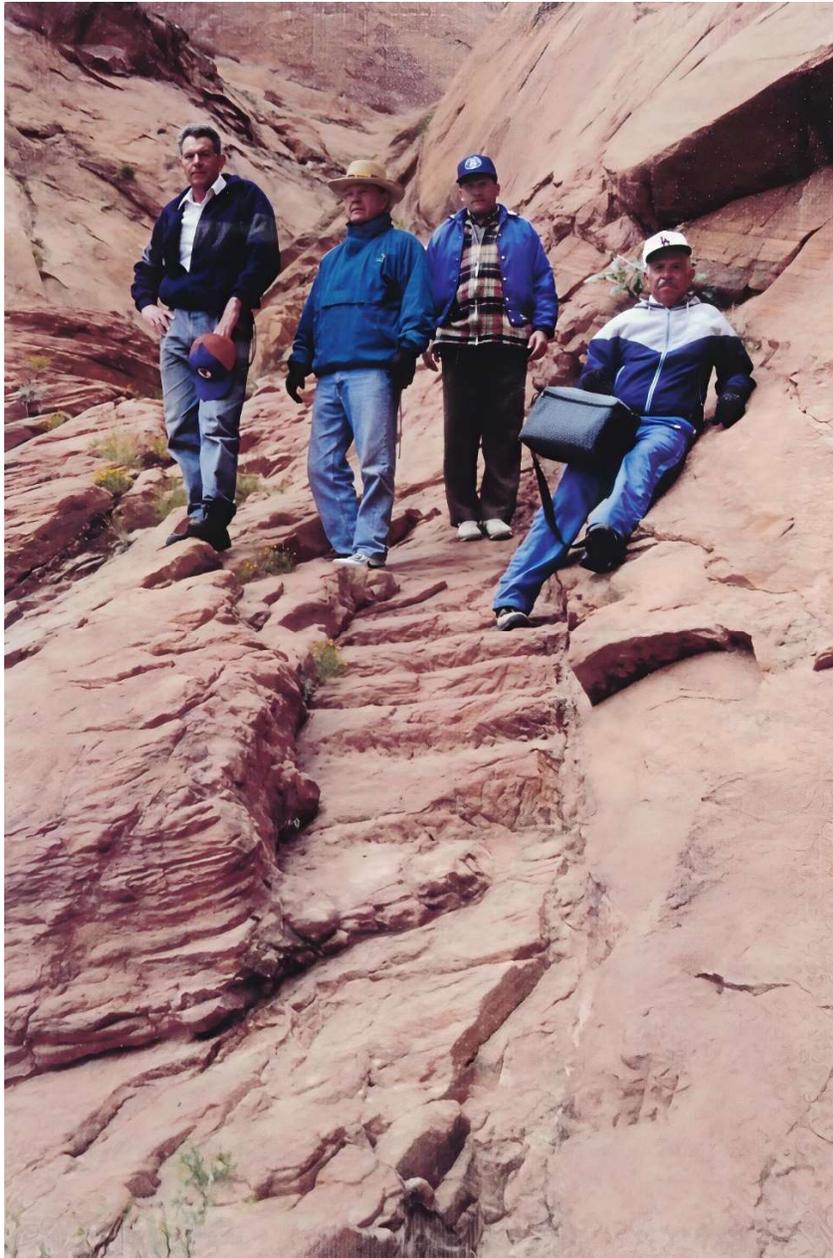
The fourth major dugway in the ascent of Slick Rock Hill. These dugways were all part of the path designated by the mountain goat. The summit of Grey Mesa is visible on the horizon.



Last original timber remnants from an 1880 wagon box.
The timbers are located where the mountain goat trail breaks out
onto the summit of Grey Mesa.



“Moki-Marbles” or the “stones cut out without hands” which grow in abundance on the steep sides of Slick Rock Hill. The stones pictured are in various stages of formation.



A 1995 group of RMYL faculty at the bottom of the Hole-in-the-Rock.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

Beginning with the creation of the trail by the daring Mormon colonizers in 1880, to the dedication of reverent descendants who determined to revisit the hallowed landmarks of their fathers in modern times, the history of the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail adds a richness to modern recreational jeep expeditions. Today's adventurers do not need to know or understand the interesting legacy of the trail to enjoy their visit to the Hole-in-the-Rock. Any hardy four-wheeler who makes the trip today along the forbidding 40 miles will probably love the rugged beauty of the scenery and the challenges of the indomitable landscape to the vehicles. The remarkable isolation of the lonely trail affects most visitors. However, those who prepare for this adventure by learning about the history of the trail will add a deeper dimension to their recreational experience. It then becomes an activity which renews and inspires the individual.

This paper presented the story of the historical and recreational use of the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail. The first chapter briefly summarized the story of the original Mormon colonizers looking for a shortcut to the San Juan Country. The second chapter reviewed the efforts of the descendants to revisit the trail of their fathers. The third chapter introduced the story of the opening of the trail for recreational use by four-wheel drive vehicles. Chapter Four chronicled the important expeditions and the people who instigated them in modern times.

The old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail folklore which has grown around the adventure was explained in Chapter Five. The information in each of these chapters give understanding and insight into one of the great recreational opportunities of our time, a visit to the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail.

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Appendix
Primary Sources

Albert R. Lyman's Journal

Transcription of the list of participants who made the 1940 horseback pilgrimage to the Hole-in-the-Rock. List was taken from the journal of Albert R. Lyman by his son, Karl R. Lyman.

A. R. Lyman	Gladys Lyman
Cassie Monson	Enone Davis
Irene Lyman	Edward Lyman
Karl R. Lyman	Ruth Partridge
Wilbur Laws	Marion Redd
J. H. McGibony	Dr. Dal Sundwall
James M. Redd, Jr.	Anna Redd
Jim Redd	Edith Redd Leonia
Mr. & Mrs. Elnor Decker	Leland Redd
Allie H. Redd	Charles Redd
Annaley Naegle Redd	Fermin Lopez
Clyde Barton	Sade Barton
Herman Butt	Pearl Butt
Frank Hall	Lizzie Hall
Daniel Perkins	Cornelius Perkins
DeMar Perkins	Jolin Perkins
Stella Perkins	Charles E. Walton
Isabell Redd	Heber Frost
John Redd	Helen Redd
Kate Hansen	Willard Bartledge
Vin Redd	L. Frank Redd
Norma Redd	Irene Redd
Alma J. Redd	Kistin Redd
Daniel Perkins	Margaret Perkins
Annie Perkins	Karl Perkins
DeLyman Bayles	Grant Bayles
Josephine Bayles	Lynn Lyman
Hazel Lyman	George Lyman
Margaret Lyman	Henry Lyman
LaVar Lyman	Floyd Nielson
Clara Nielson	Joseph Nielson
Marion Nielson	Jim Mike

Jacob Adams
Wile Redd
Hattie Barton
Thomas Jones
Cordon Jones
Alma Jones
Gordon Adams
Parley Redd
Helen Bartledge
Dorothy Bayles

Lucy Adams
Lydia Redd
Lynn Thompson
Anna Jones
Hattie G. Jones
Ernest Adams
Reed Wilson
Ruth Redd
Mr. & Mrs. Jim Decker

Hazel Lyman's Hole-in-the-Rock Journal

Transcription of Hazel Lyman's Hole-in-the-Rock Journal from her first journal entry through the last jeep trek to the Colorado River in 1962.

Record of the earliest trips to Cottonwood Hill and attempts to reach the river by jeep. Copied from the records in a Kodachrome can and jar at the top of Cottonwood Hill, and permanent record book left on June 7, 1962.

April 18, 1953--2 PM. Saturday

We hike down Hole-in-the-Rock, crossed the river in a rubber boat, and then hiked along the old Pioneer Trail to top of Grey Mesa.

Earl Olson. Bountiful, Utah.

Stanley F. Wangsgaard. Centerville, Utah.

David E. Miller. Dept. of History, University of Utah.

September 5, 1954.

We repeated going to the Chutes.

Bill Pope. 6895 Crestview. Bountiful, Utah.

Earl E. Olson. 6856 Crestview. Bountiful, Utah.

Douglas Reynolds. Salt Lake City, Utah. Stanley

Wangsgaard. Centerville, Utah.

August 20, 1958.

Drove 4 jeeps from Blanding to this point (Head of Cottonwood, looking into River at Hole-in-the-Rock).

Edward Lyman

Daryle M. Redd

Kay P. Lyman

Hardy Redd

Gordon Lyman

Fern Frost

Mark Lyman

Kent Frost

Lloyd Lyman

Chad Lyman

Charles Lyman

Karl R. Lyman

Jed Lyman

Monticello, Utah

all from Blanding

September 19, 1958.

Drove down Cottonwood Hill to the Sand Hill.

Gene Blickenstaff

Jick Blickenstaff

Lynn Lyman

Hazel Lyman

Vint Jones

Margaret Jones

Sawn Bohn
Dr. Porter
Lyle Johnson
Wally Jeannerette
Joe Finn Lyman
Frances Nielson

Linda Bohn
Kay Porter
Klea Johnson
Marge Jeannerette
Marilyn Lyman
Rose Mari Burtenshaw

April 23, 1959.

FIRST TRIP IN JEEPS ALL THE WAY TO THE RIVER.

Made it clear to the river with five jeeps. 15
jeeps, 37 people.

Albert R. Lyman
Leland W. Redd
Lynn Lyman
Libby Lyman
Francelle Blickenstaff
Kline Black
Donna Black
Klea Johnson
Kay Porter
Emily Redd
Velda Nielson
Vernetta Sonderegger
Kent Frost
Loren Hawkins
Wally Jennerette
Floyd Atkins
Don Smith
Norman Lowe

Gladys P. Lyman
J. Wiley Redd
Hazel Lyman
Gene Blickenstaff
Lawrence Wright
Glenn Black
Lyle Johnson
Norwood Porter
Preston Redd
Bud Nielson
Ernest Sonderegger
Daryle Redd
Fern Frost
Macy Hawkins
Marge Jeannerette
Ellen Atkins
Gwen Smith
Verla Lowe

October 2, 1959.

Jeep Trip--camped at Chute the Chutes. Rained all night. Lost one wheel off Joe's jeep.
Lost part of drive shaft off of Cahoon's jeep. All is well.

Emily Redd
Joe Nielson

Marian Nielson
Clarence Rogers

Reva Rogers	Pep Redd
Jim Redd	Arthur Rogers
Howard Nielson	Chad Lyman
Carol Hurst	Louise M. Cahoon
Ray S. Cahoon	Agnes D. Hurst
A. P. Lyman	William R. Hurst
Norman Ellertson	Karl R. Lyman
Hazel Lyman	Lynn Lyman
Edward Lyman	Parley O. Hurst

May 31, 1960.

Daryle M. Redd	Pearl N. Redd
Lemuel Hardison Redd	Lynn Lyman
Hazel Lyman	Gary Lyman
Joan Lyman	Glenn Lyman (age 6)
Gregory Lyman (age 4)	Lynn Helquist
Mabel Helquist	Charles L. Helquist
Jonny Helquist	John Oakes
Joann Oakes	Blair Oakes (age 5)
Leslie Oakes (age 3)	Phil Rollins
Mary Rollins	Garth Rollins (age 5)
Glenn Brown	Margaret Brown
Norman Ellertson	Carol Ellertson
Morris Nelson	Gwen Nelson
Diane Nelson	Alfred Frost
Maxine Frost	Jeffery Frost
Jane Frost	Karl Lyman
Chad Lyman	Joe Lyman
Marilyn Lyman	Marvin Lyman
Don Davis	Eleanor Davis
Don L. Davis	Darlene Davis
Stephanie Davis	

May 7, 1962.

Leland D. Weaver.	Albuquerque, New Mexico.
Mabelle Weaver.	"
Arthur R. Fife	"
Dr. Ray Fife & sons.	Phoenix, Arizona.

David	“
Dana	“
Tommie	“

About the last of May, 1962.

Scouting trip prior to the big trip in the first part of June.

Ron and Marcia Nielson--	Monticello
Bruce and Carolyn Black	“
Susan Butt	“
Margaret Jones	“
Lynn & Hazel Lyman	“

Hole-in-the-Rock trek. June 4-8, 1962.

Camped at the head of Cottonwood Hill June 5-6. 29 Jeeps, 1 Scout. 110 people.

David E. Miller.	Salt Lake City, Utah.
Dalla S. Miller	“
Mildred Lavender.	Ojai, California.
David Lavender	“
I. M. Snell.	Provo, Utah.
Leland W. Redd.	Blanding, Utah.
Afton N. Redd	“
Hazel Lyman	“
Lynn F. Lyman	“
Leona Carter	“
Sanndra Lie Carter	“
Lyle C. Palmer	“
Pep Redd	“
Emily Redd	“
Sally Redd	“
Jay Redd	“
Jim Redd	“
Lewis Black	“
Gretchen Redd	“
Donna Smith	“
Bryce Redd	“
John Wendell Butler.	Pettsfield, Massachusetts.
Karl D. Butler.	Ithaca, New York.
Gene Blickenstaff.	Blanding, Utah.
Jickie Blickenstaff	“
Scott Blickenstaff	“

Cathie Blickenstaff	“
Charlie Redd	La Sal, Utah.
Annaley Redd	“
Charles Hardy Redd	“
Sonja Redd	“
Paul David Redd	“
Beverly Redd	“
Regina Redd	“
Rebecca Sue Redd	“
Mrs. Seraphine S. Frost.	Monticello, Utah.
Clarence A. Frost	“
Alfred Frost	“
Pearl F. Lewis	“
Helen Williams	“
Emma Freestone	“
Arlow L. Freestone	“
Madge G. Anderson	“
L. Robert Anderson	“
Richard S. Williams	“
Daryle Redd	“
Peari Redd	“
Tonya Redd	“
Merlene Redd	“
Hardy Redd	“
JoAnne Redd	“
Keith Brent (Buddy) Redd	“
Rex Buckley Jensen	“
Joseph V. Hamilton	“
Joyce Guymon Hamilton	“
William W. Hall (Helicopter)	Las Vegas, Nevada.
Richard C. Goff (Helicopter)	“
Lawrence Wright.	Blanding, Utah.
Lucille Wright	“
Kline Black	“
Edna Black	“
Dale K. Black	“
Marlene Black	“
Klark Black	“
Kirby Black	“
Loren Hawkins	“

Rebirth of the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail
Chapter 6: Conclusion

Macy Hawkins	“
Wesley Hunt	“
Lloyd Adams	“
Allie Adams	“
Elnora Nielson	“
Freeda Guymon	“
Dave Guymon	“
Elaine Guymon	“
Beverly Guymon	“
Oley Black	“
Mary Black	“
Val Don Black	“
Albert Campbell	Cortez, Colorado.
Eileen Campbell	“
Elaine Campbell	“
Harold Bollan.	Dolores, Colorado.
Phyllis Bollan	“
Aleta Ann Bollan	“
Freddie H. Bollan	“
Jackie G. Bollan	“
Wesley A. Bollan	“
Marvin Lyman.	Blanding, Utah.
Bruce Hurst	“
Louise Hurst	“
Joe Lyman	“
Marilyn Lyman	“
David Lyman (4 years)	“
Don Davis	“
Eleanor Davis	“
Francis Lyman	Grand Junction, Colorado.
DaNece Lyman	“
Duane Lyman (7 years)	“
Francis Barton.	Monticello, Utah.
Iris T. Barton	“
Rae Randall	“
Earl Randall	“

Lorraine Hansen's Journal**Participants in the 1970 Utah State School Board Re-creation Hole-in-the-Rock Movie:**

Boyd Wilson	Reed Wilson
Carl Mahon	Rusty Musselman
Neil Larson	Dana Sterling
Shawna Tinsley	Frances Tinsley
Lynn Lyman	Hazel Lyman
Rosemary Tibbitts	Clarence Rogers
DeMar Perkins	Lillie Musselman
Susan Musselman	Eloise Mahon
Leslie Rowley	Craig Levitt
Wendle Black	Hazel Parkinson
Lorraine Hansen	Boyd Hansen
David Hansen	Scott Hansen
Steven Hansen	Alan Hansen
Dan Keeler	Dean Bradshaw
Allen Young	Bob Clayton

Appendix A

Prospectus

Chapter 1

Introduction

In January of 1880, two hundred and fifty hearty pioneers lowered 80 wagons down a breathtaking chute to the Colorado River and the Hole-in-the-Rock legend was born. Elizabeth Morris Decker, a young girl in the original expedition, wrote, "If you ever come this way it will scare you to death to look down it" (Miller, 1966, p. 116).

The crack in the sandstone cliff called the Hole-in-the-Rock has become the hallmark of a wagon road which extended from Escalante, Utah eastward to Bluff, Utah, a total of 180 miles. The original wagon road was split into two distinct trails by the Colorado River Gorge. Today the rugged gorge is partially filled with the waters of Lake Powell behind the Glen Canyon Dam.

The actual Hole-in-the-Rock marked the final approach to the Colorado River from the west (Kane County). Because the Hole can be accessed conveniently from Lake Powell by boat and because it is the most publicized feature of the trail, many visitors assume that the Hole defines the difficulty encountered by the 1880 pioneers. In reality, the 40 miles of trail immediately east (San Juan County) of the Colorado River became the true test of pioneer grit.

Cottonwood Canyon, Sand Hill, Platte Lyman Dugway, the Little Hole-in-the-Rock, the Chute, Slick Rock Hill, Lake Canyon, and Clay Hill Pass are each

obstacles of staggering proportions within those 40 miles. Strung together in such close proximity, they offered an unyielding monument to the indomitable spirit of the Mormon pioneers. The establishment of a better Colorado River Gorge passage at Hall's Crossing in 1881 eliminated this 40 mile stretch of the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail. The forbidding terrain of the area kept this trail portion in obscurity for 59 years. It is the best preserved portion of the original trail and is referred to as the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail for this study.

The recreation potential of such an obscure and difficult trail portion became obvious to future generations (Embry, 1984). The descendants of the Hole-in-the-Rock pioneers were filled with a curiosity to see what their forbearers endured. The daring explorers who adapted the old wagon trail to recreational use in the 1930's, 1940's, and 1950¹s were as ingenious and tenacious as their 1880 counterparts (Powell, 1983). It is no wonder when one realizes that the early recreational trail users were primarily children of the original trailblazers. Naturally, the descendants have come to regard the trail as a rite of passage and a spiritual connection to their fathers.

These early recreational trail users esteemed the pioneers as the legendary trailblazers, when their own story was equally remarkable. To date, their story has not been recorded.

Statement of Problem

The purpose of this project is to chronicle the rebirth of the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail (the 40 miles of trail from Utah highway 276 to Cottonwood Canyon) as a recreational trail and to document it as one of the rich recreational experiences of the Western United States.

Subproblems

Subproblems of the study included:

1. identification of the personalities who instigated the recreational use of the old trail;
2. description of the important early events which inspired the recreational use of the historic trail;
3. identification of the folklore which is perpetuated by modern users of the trail; and
4. collection of existing home movies, photographs, slides and video tapes which document early recreation treks.

Limitations

This study will be conducted in an oral history format. This format will limit the history presented to the memories and viewpoints of the individuals interviewed. The history would certainly be more complete if it had been written as the events occurred. Many of the original recreational Hole-in-the-Rock Trail enthusiasts have died. Fortunately, most of the few remaining

individuals involved in the rebirth of this great adventure will be represented in this study.

Delimitations

The interviews for this study will be undertaken during the fall and winter of 1994-95. The study is delimited to the time period after 1939 to the present (1995). This fifty-six year time period represents the era of development of the old Hole in the Rock Trail as a recreational experience (Powell,1983).

Definitions

Definitions of terms pertinent to this study:

Clay Hill Pass: One of several 1000 foot changes in elevation along the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail. Clay Hill was encountered and conquered by the pioneers in March of 1880 (Miller, 1966). Clay Hill is located 15 miles east of Lake Canyon and was such a formidable barrier that it effectively blocked access to the old trail until 1951 (San Juan Record, 1951).

Cottonwood Hill: The name given by the 1880 road-builders to the grueling 1000 foot ascent out of the Colorado River Gorge after they had descended to the river through the crack in the cliff called the Hole-in-the-Rock (Miller, 1966).

Death-Valley: Refers to the seven-mile stretch of utter desolation between Slick Rock Hill and Lake Canyon. There is no evidence that the 1880

trailblazers used this term (Miller, 1966). The name "Death Valley" was probably added by jeep enthusiasts trying to gain access to the old trail (Powell, 1983).

Dugway: A road constructed along a hillside by using for the fill on the downhill side material excavated immediately above it (Webster's Dictionary, 1969).

Four-Wheel Drive Vehicles: Vehicles which can engage all four wheels to navigate multi-terrain environments. For this study, the term 4-wheel drive vehicle will be limited to multiple passenger vehicles of standard "jeep" size or similar size. Smaller all-terrain vehicles (ATV) and motorcycles are not included in this study.

Gentile: A term which refers to lineage. For this study "gentile" referred to persons without ancestral lineage to the Hole-in-the-Rock pioneer company of 1880.

Gray Mesa: A flat, sandy tableland atop a huge mountain of sandstone, 10 miles east of the Colorado River. Shadscale brush give the mesa a thin, grey frosting from a distance, hence the name. The Chute was the only pioneer access from the west and Slick Rock Hill was the only access from the east. The summit provides spectacular views into the Big Bend of the San Juan River and into Lake Powell via Iceberg Canyon. The vertical distance from mesa to water is over 2000 feet in both cases.

Hole-in-the-Rock: A narrow cleft in the west cliff of the Colorado River Gorge which allowed the pioneers of 1880 to make a breathtaking plunge of 1000 vertical feet to the banks of the river below.

Hole-in-the-Rock Trail: The original wagon trail constructed in 1880 from Escalante, Utah, eastward to Bluff, Utah, a distance of 180 miles. The cleft in the sandstone cliff is the trail's feature landmark.

Jeep: A four-wheel drive passenger carrier invented for military use during World War II. The military decommissioned Jeep for civilian use in the year 1945 (Taylor, 1994). This study will use the term "jeep" in the generic sense to describe all 4-wheel drive vehicles of standard automobile dimensions.

Smaller all-terrain vehicles (ATV) and motorcycles will not be part of this study.

Jeeper: This study will use this term to refer to persons who drive jeeps for recreation and "jeeping" will be a verb that describes the action jeepers.

Lake Canyon: Named by the pioneers because a natural lake had formed in the canyon behind a dam of drift sand. This landmark is located approximately seven miles east of Slick Rock Hill. The wagons of 1880 crossed Lake Canyon on the dam of the lake but a flood washed the dam away in 1915 (Miller, 1966) and this canyon became a major obstacle to future exploration.

Little Hole-in-the-Rock: The third of the three major ascents up Cottonwood Hill. Named by David Miller in 1954, this V-shaped climb bears a striking resemblance to the actual Hole on the opposite side of the Colorado

River (Miller, 1966).

Old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail: The 40 mile segment of the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail immediately east of the Colorado River. This portion of the pioneer trail contained the most difficult obstacles to wagon travel and was abandoned in 1881, less than one year after the original pioneer trek. This 40 miles of old trail is the focus of this study.

Recreation Trail: A blazed, improved, or otherwise marked path (Webster's Dictionary, 1969). When these marked paths lie within the boundaries of publicly owned lands the trail use is managed by a public agency. The thirty miles of the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail which are commonly used by jeepers are the first thirty miles east of the Colorado River. The U.S. Park Service and the Bureau of Land Management are the public agencies which have management jurisdiction over that portion of the old trail.

Register Rocks: Large sandstone ledges upon which several of the original pioneers carved their names in 1880. The name was given by David Miller in 1954. The names are covered by the waters of Lake Powell today. The highest names were briefly visible in 1992 after the Lake receded to its lowest level in twenty years (Anderson, 1995).

Sand-Hill: The first of three major uphill grades which are all part of what the pioneers called Cottonwood Hill. The name 'Sand Hill' was attached to the steep hill of drift sand by David Miller while doing research for his book

on the Hole-in-the-Rock in 1954 (Miller, 1966).

San-Juan-Hill: The last major obstacle encountered by the pioneers before they arrived in Bluff, Utah. San Juan Hill constituted the route over Comb Ridge in southern San Juan County (Miller, 1966).

Secondary Source: All forms of data at least two steps removed from the event. Oral histories are considered secondary sources (Scott, 1959, p. 470).

Slickrocks: A pioneer term which refers to the smooth appearance of sandstone mountains. In 1880, Elizabeth Morris Decker's description of slickrock was, "The mountains are just one solid rock as smooth as an apple" (Miller, 1966, p. 119).

Slick Rocks or Slick Rocks Hill: The precarious descent of 1000 feet off the north-east end of Grey Mesa. The route was discovered and named in 1879 by four lead scouts assigned to find a path from the bottom of the Hole-in-the-Rock eastward to Montezuma, on the San Juan River (Miller, 1966).

The Chute: A natural U-shaped water flume carved down the sandstone face of the south-west side of Grey Mesa by many thousands of gallons of rain water. It became the only access to the top of Grey Mesa from the west (Miller, 1966).

The Dugway or Platte Lyman Dugway: The second of the three major ascents up Cottonwood Hill, also named by David Miller in 1954 (Miller, 1966).

Shortly after the original expedition of 1880, Platte Lyman returned to Escalante, Utah, for a load of flour. While trying to negotiate the dugway with the loaded wagon, the horses pulled the tongue out of the wagon and spilled the flour down the slickrock. The white stain could be seen for months and became a landmark feature. For that fact, it was named after the unfortunate freighter (Lyman, 1995).

Chapter 2

Review of Related Literature

The purpose of this study is to chronicle the rebirth of the historic old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail for recreational use and to evaluate it as one of the rich recreational experiences of the American West. There are few existing printed sources dealing with the "rebirth" of the trail. One motivation for this research is that it will add to the existing historical literature of the Hole-in-the-Rock saga. During the investigative stages of this research, nine primary and four secondary sources were discovered.

The primary sources for the history will include the following: 1. a film created by Sullivan C. Richardson in the year 1939, 2. a collection of still photographs and slides spanning the era from 1939 to the present, 3. Albert R. Lyman's personal journal, 4. Hazel Lyman's Hole-in-the-Rock journal, 5. a home-movie created by Orville Gunther in 1954. 6. a home-movie created by Daryle Redd in 1958, 7. Buckley Jensen's personal journal, 8. a film created by the Utah State School Board in the year 1970, and 9. Lorraine Hansen's personal journal. The primary sources are summarized in the order in which they contribute to this paper.

The first documented attempt to visit the old trail as a recreation experience occurred during the summer of 1939 (Richardson, 1939). Fortunately, that experience was captured on film. A copy of the film has been

acquired and will be used in this study. The original film did not record sound, but in 1985, the film was played for one of the original participants and his voice narration was added to the film (Hatch, 1995). The transcribed narration of that journey became the first related literature of this study.

This study's most enduring contribution may well be the collection of photographs the study will generate. The sample subjects were extremely generous to allow their old and valuable pictures to be borrowed and copied. The visual accuracy of photographs are an important primary resource in a study which depends so heavily on human memory faded with time.

Because written evidence of the early recreational treks is scarce, four separate journals will be especially helpful. These journal keepers are (1) Albert R. Lyman, (2) Hazel Lyman, (3) Buckley Jensen, and (4) Lorraine Hansen. Both Albert R. Lyman and Hazel Lyman (wife of Lynn Lyman) thought to record the names of early recreational users of the trail and the dates they traveled. Ironically, Platte D. Lyman, Albert's father, was the only pioneer who thought to keep a daily record of the 1880 adventure.

First, the journal of Albert R. Lyman listed the participants of the 1940 horseback trip in his journal. Lyman's list will appear in the finished manuscript appendix.

Secondly, Hazel's "hole-diary" identifies the early jeepers. Hazel's journal will identify the oral interviewees and place the sample subjects within the time

and context of their contribution. Without her diary, the chronology of this study would be muddled. Transcribed pages from Hazel Lyman's journal will also appear in the manuscript appendix.

Buckley Jensen wrote the only contemporary travelogue of two of the important jeep trips over the old Hole-in-the-Rock trail. His journal captured the emotion and the pure recreational quality of the experience. Lorraine Hansen recorded the names of the participants in the Utah School Board recreation movie of 1970, along with her feelings of that experience, in her personal journal. A transcription of her journal also appears in the manuscript appendix.

The transcription of a second film production will provide the final printed source. In February, 1970, a group, under the direction of the Utah State Board of Education, re-enacted the original trek in preparation for the Centennial Celebration (School Board, 1980). A few wagons were actually towed to the top of Cottonwood Hill by jeeps and then horse drawn over significant portions of the trail for the filming crews of the Centennial production (Hansen, 1994). That experience rates near the top of the rich recreational adventures provided by the old trail.

Two home-movies will also be valuable primary sources. One movie was recorded by Orville Gunther in 1954 and the other was produced by Daryle Redd in 1958. They will allow excellent visual understanding of two initial trips

toward the Hole-in-the-Rock. However, neither contains narration for transcription.

The remainder of the related literature will be secondary data and will include the following: 1. The San Juan Record, a rural newspaper published in Monticello, Utah, 2. the book Hole in the Rock, by David Miller, 3. the book San Juan County, Utah, edited by Allan Kent Powell, and 4. oral histories conducted by the author.

The San Juan Record, a small weekly newspaper, which is produced in Monticello, Utah, and serves all of San Juan County, will be an extremely valuable resource. The San Juan Record will provide the majority of the secondary data used in this study. A 1940 horseback trek to the over the old trail became the hallmark adventure in the rebirth of the trail. It was the first opportunity for a large number of the descendants of the original pioneers to experience the ordeal for themselves. The plans, excitement, agenda, and summary of this epic were all captured in The Record. Fortunately, one of the major contributors to The San Juan Record for many of the critical years of this study was a man named Albert R. Lyman. "The Old Settler," as Albert R. Lyman was affectionately known, was the son of Platte D. Lyman, the field captain for the original wagon journey. Because Albert R. Lyman was especially sensitive to news about the trail, the paper undoubtedly contained more information regarding the old trail than it would have in his absence. The San

Juan Record contained at least a paragraph about every ground-breaking trek over the old trail.

The Book, Hole-in-the-Rock, by David E. Miller, is accepted as the authoritative work on the original colonizing mission of 1879-80. Miller's book was published in two editions, the first in 1959 and the second in 1966. The 1966 edition of the book will be used for this research. The book, Hole-in-the-Rock, will prove invaluable because the historical heritage of the trail adds so much depth to the recreational experience. Miller makes very brief reference to his association with San Juan County'/ jeep enthusiasts who were trying to make 4-wheel drive vehicle access to the trail in 1954 (Miller, 1966).

Another valuable published resource will be one chapter from the book, San Juan County, Utah, edited by Allan Kent Powell. The book is a collection of reminiscences on a variety of topics important to the development of San Juan County. The chapter narrated by Lynn Lyman will be very helpful. Lynn, affectionately referred to as the "Apostle of the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail" (Richardson, 1939), reputedly had more to do with the rebirth of the trail than any other single individual (Powell, 1983). In the chapter titled: "Exploring and Documenting the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail," Lyman outlines briefly the events of this expanded study.

Lynn Lyman's sketch of the recreational rebirth of the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail will provide the outline for this research. An attempt will be made to

explore the events of Lyman's outline by examining the primary sources and establishing the chronology of the events. Locating and interviewing the survivors of those early recreational adventures will add depth and perspective to Lynn Lyman's outline.

The greater volume of related literature will be "created" from the oral history format. Thirty-one interviews with prominent persons will be taped using a cassette recorder and then transcribed to paper.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Introduction

Outside of San Juan County, Utah, the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail is not widely known. Perhaps that is as it should be. The modern relatives of the Hole-in-the-Rock pioneers are very reverent toward this territory and consider the trek to the Hole-in-the-Rock as a right of passage. Not having inherited any bloodlines to the Hole-in-the-Rock pioneers, the author would technically be classified a Gentile. With that in mind, the author joined an expedition in 1989 and the mighty change of heart occurred.

Jay B. Nash (1956) would likely rate the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail experience very high on the scale of leisure values. Many of the elements of quality recreation are a part of the pilgrimage. It involves risk, creativity, intense involvement, challenge, humor, renewal, social bonding, service, inspiration, wild nature, and eternal recall. A trip to the Hole-in-the-Rock provides all that recreation plus the rich reverence of a historical past.

Admittedly, some will find the recreational usage of an historic trail offensive. The creation of roads and human access to an area as remote as any within the United States combined with the use of 4-wheel drive vehicles are topics rife with controversy. This study cannot resolve those controversies except in a general way as they pertain specifically to this trail.

This historical study will be written to identify the key persons and events which inspired interest in the old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail as a recreational experience. This history will be studied through primary and secondary data to determine the recreational influence on the rebirth of the old trail. Written documents and oral histories will provide the body of data for the study. All material will be evaluated by the author with regard to primary or secondary sources. Oral histories will be regarded as secondary data.

Oral histories will be used to substantiate and give clarification to the written data. The oral histories will be obtained after a careful chronology has been established from the written record. The oral histories will be valuable for adding personal memories and feelings to the written record. Oral histories can hopefully identify the evolution of local folklore which has grown during the recreational use of the trail.

Primary Sources

The primary sources for the history will include the following: 1. a film created by Sullivan C. Richardson in the year 1939, 2. a collection of still photographs spanning the era from 1938 to the present, 3. Albert R. Lyman's personal journal, 4. Hazel Lyman's Hole-in-the-Rock journal, 5. Orville Gunther's home-movie of the 1954 "weapons carried" adventure, 6. a home-movie created by Daryle Redd in 1958, 7. Buckley Jensen's personal journal, 8. a film created by the Utah State School Board in the year 1970, and 9. excerpts

from the journal of Lorraine Hansen, who participated in the 1970 Utah School Board film. The written primary evidence deemed essential for preservation will appear in the manuscript appendix.

Secondary Sources

The secondary sources for the history will include, but not be limited to, the following: 1. I-he-Sa—Juan-R.ecQ-r-d, a rural newspaper published in Monticello, Utah, 2. the book Hole in the Rock, by David Miller, 3. the book, San_Juan-Coun.tL-.Uiah, edited by Allan Kent Powell, and 4. oral history interviews conducted by the author.

Oral history subjects were selected from the population of all individuals who 1. were instrumental in the efforts of original trail blazers, 2. were continuous users of the trail for a period of at least ten years, 3. were involved with unique experience along the trail, and 4. were willing to interview with the author.

Data Gathering

The subjects of the sample will be contacted and scheduled for interviews. These interviews will be conducted in a face to face format, in a location comfortable to the interviewee. The interviews will be conducted by the author between October, 1994 and April, 1995. All interviews will be cassette recorded for later analysis. A list of all interviewees appears in appendix A-2. A copy of the questions to be asked the interviewees also

appears in appendix A-2.

Data Analysis

Descriptive historical data will be analyzed by reviewing the primary and secondary sources of data. After analyzing the data to factual information, with reasonable assurance of authenticity, the information will be organized and presented in a chronological fashion. The events of chapter four will be viewed first from the primary data. Personal insights and observations will then be added from the secondary sources. Chapter four will be presented in finished manuscript format.

Appendix A-I

A Pictorial History of Hole-in-the-Rock Trail Recreation

A Pictorial History of Hole-in-the-Rock Trail Recreation

A significant picture history will be published with this study and will include:

1. three still pictures transferred from the video tape of Sullivan C. Richardson's first recreational trip to the Hole-in-the-Rock in 1939;
2. fifteen photographs collected from the Charles Redd horse-back adventure of 1940;
3. two still pictures transferred from the Orville Gunther home-movie of the 1954 "weapons carrier" expedition;
4. four still pictures transferred from the Daryle Redd home-movies of 1958-1960;
5. an assortment of 15 photographs from several of the significant jeep trips after 1960; and
6. fifteen photographs of important trail landmarks and trail conditions, spanning the time from the trail's rebirth (1939) to the present (1995).

Appendix A-2

Oral History Interviewee List and Questions

Interviewee List

Anderson, Robert L. Important trail enthusiast. Monticello, Utah.

Anderson, Lyle. Son of Robert L. Anderson. Contributor to continuing enthusiasm of Hole-in-the-Rock Trail recreation. Monticello, Utah.

Black, Arvid. Son of O. Frost Black and long-time trail enthusiast. Blanding, Utah.

Black, Glenn. Early San Juan County jeep enthusiast. Blanding, Utah.

Black, O. Frost. Early San Juan County earth-mover and road-grader. Blanding, Utah.

Black, Kline. Pioneer jeep enthusiast. Blanding, Utah.

Boyle, William. Owner and editor of the San Juan Record. Monticello, Utah.

Frost, Fern. Early San Juan County jeep explorer. Monticello, Utah.

Frost, Kent. Early San Juan County jeep explorer. Monticello, Utah.

Gunther, Orville. Participant in "weapons carrier" adventure into Death Valley. American Fork, Utah.

Hansen, Juan. Participant in 1970 re-enactment of the Hole-in-the-Rock Journey. Monticello, Utah.

Hansen, Lorraine. Participant in the 1970 Utah School Board re-creation of the Hole-in-the-Rock adventure. Salt Lake City, Utah.

Hatch, Clara Mae. Relative of Sullivan C. Richardson, first recreational visitor to Hole-in-the-Rock via Grey Mesa. Monticello, Utah.

Hatch, Oleen. Monticello historian and librarian. Procured earliest records of the first recreational visit to Hole-in-the-Rock from the east side of the Colorado River. Monticello, Utah.

Jensen, R. Buckley. Early jeeper and journal keeper. Monticello, Utah.

Jones, Vint. Early Hole-in-the-Rock-Trail enthusiast. Blanding, Utah.

Lyman, Hazel. Wife of Lynn Lyman. Hole-in-the-Rock journal keeper. Blanding, Utah.

Lyman, Joe F. Continuous Hole-in-the Rock Trail enthusiast. Blanding, Utah.

Lyman, Charles. Participant in first jeep trip over Grey Mesa. Blanding, Utah.

Lyman, Karl. Son of Albert R. Lyman. Participant in several early horseback and jeep trip to Hole-in-the-Rock. Orem, Utah.

Lyman, Kay P. Probable first four-wheel drive vehicle (Dodge war-surplus weapons carrier) owner in Blanding, Utah. Blanding, Utah.

Musselman, Rusty. Outfitter for the 1970 re-enactment of the Hole-in-the-Rock journey. Peter's Point, Utah.

Perkins, DeMar. Inventor and jeep enthusiast. Monticello, Utah.

Randall, Harry. Outfitter for 1980 Centennial jeep trip. Monticello, Utah.

Randall, Howard. Blanding, Utah Chamber of Commerce President in 1980. Promoter of 1980 Centennial jeep trip. Blanding, Utah.

Redd, Annaley. Wife of Charles Redd, the principle organizer of the 1940 horseback trip to Hole-in-the-Rock. Provo, Utah.

Redd, C. Hardy. Son of Charles Redd. Devoted Hole-in-the-Rock enthusiast from the early beginnings to the present. La Sal, Utah.

Redd, L. Hardy. Participant in important early jeep trips to the Hole. Monticello, Utah.

Redd, Daryle. Early Hole-in-the-Rock enthusiast and film recorder. Monticello, Utah.

Smith, Don. Uranium prospector and Colorado River explorer. Blanding, Utah.

Smith, Gwen. Daughter of Albert R. Lyman. Hole-in-the-Rock enthusiast. Blanding, Utah.

Interview Questions

Personal

1. Are you personally related to the 1880 Hole-in-the-Rock Pioneers?
2. What circumstances motivated your desire to experience the Hole-in-the-Rock Trail for yourself?

Historical

1. When did you make your first visit to the Hole-in-the-Rock?
2. How many people were in your first group?
3. List as many names of that first group as you can.
4. Outline the agenda of your first excursion as completely as possible.
5. Were there any unusual occurrences on that trip?
6. How long did your interest in the Hole-in-the-Rock experience continue?
7. Can you recall any anecdotes about excursions to the Hole that have added to the rich lore of the adventure?
8. Do you have any photographs, slides, or home movies of your earliest treks to the Hole-in-the-Rock?

Appendix A-3
Primary Sources

Primary Sources

The finished manuscript appendix will contain several documents deemed essential for preservation as they pertain to this study:

1. A transcription of the list of persons who participated in the horseback trip of 1940 will appear in the manuscript appendix.
2. Photocopies of the pages of Hazel Lyman's Hole-in-the-Rock Journal which apply to this study will also appear in the manuscript appendix.
3. A list of the participants in the 1970 Utah School Board Hole-in-the-Rock re-creation movie will be transcribed from the journal of Lorraine Hansen.
4. An assortment of maps will help acquaint the reader with the geographical area of this study.

The Rebirth of the Historic Old Hole-in-the-Rock Trail as a
Recreational Trail

William LeGrand Black

Department of Recreation Management and Youth Leadership

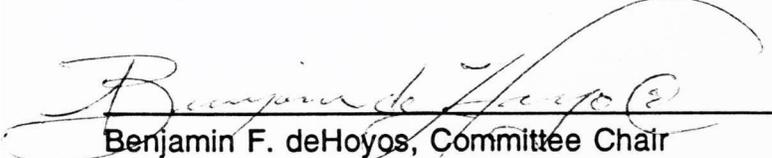
M. A. Degree, August 1995

ABSTRACT

This study researches and documents the history of the rebirth of the old pioneer Hole-in-the-Rock Trail as a recreational trail. Subproblems were: a) identification of the personalities and events that instigated the recreational use of the old trail, b) identification of the folklore which is perpetuated by modern users of the trail, and c) collection of existing home movies, photographs, slides, and video tapes which document early recreation treks.

Findings include: the development of four-wheel drive vehicles made the trail more accessible to recreational trail users; an understanding of the historical nature of the trail enhances the recreational experience; and the rich folklore which exists about the trail heightens the leisure experience.

COMMITTEE APPROVAL



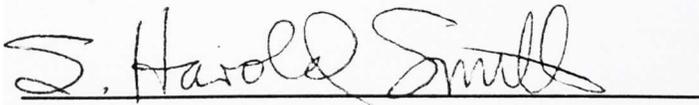
Benjamin F. deHoyos, Committee Chair



Burton K. Olsen, Committee Member



Jessie L. Embry, Committee Member



S. Harold Smith, Committee Member



S. Harold Smith, Department Chair