

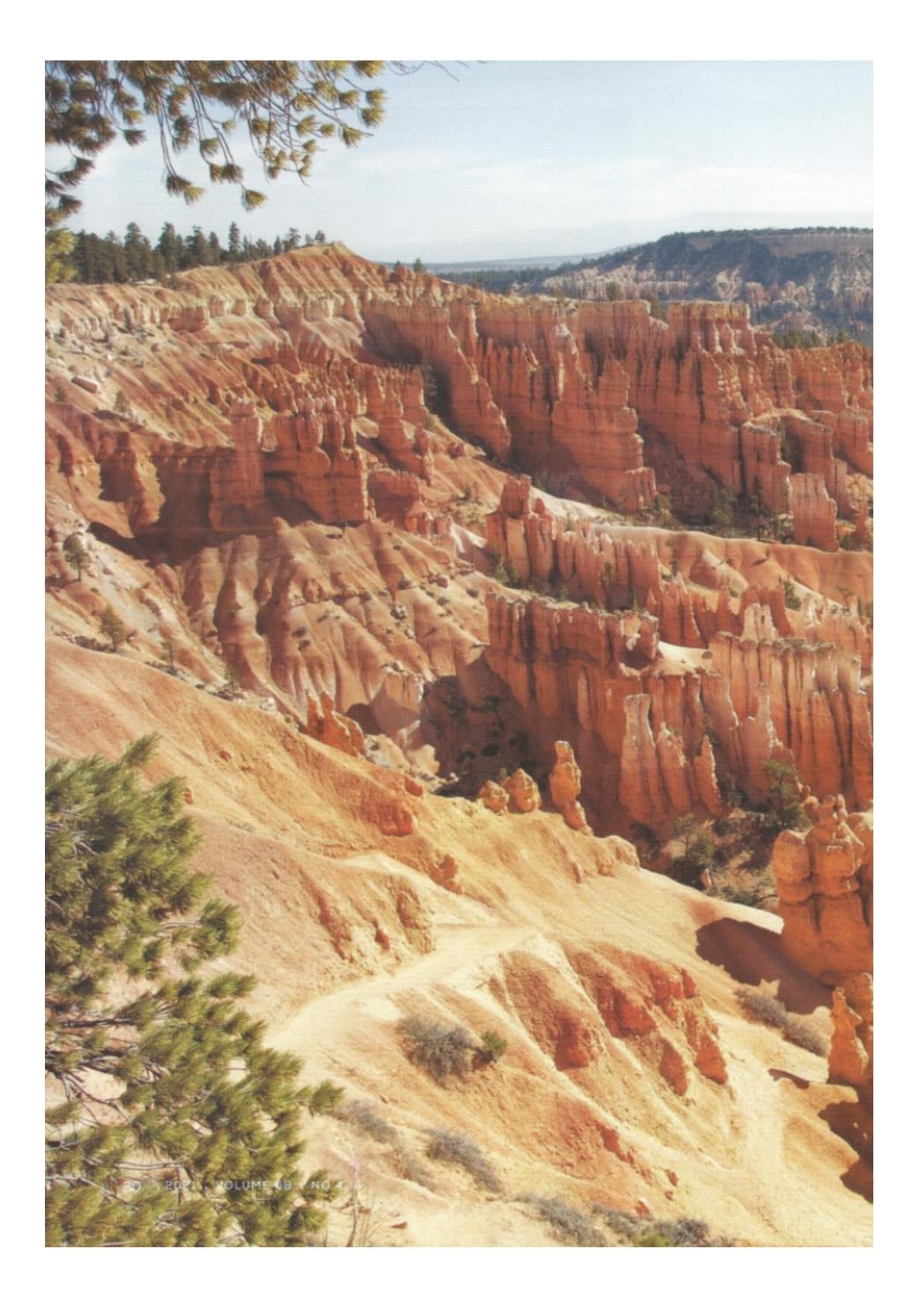
Ebenezer Bryce

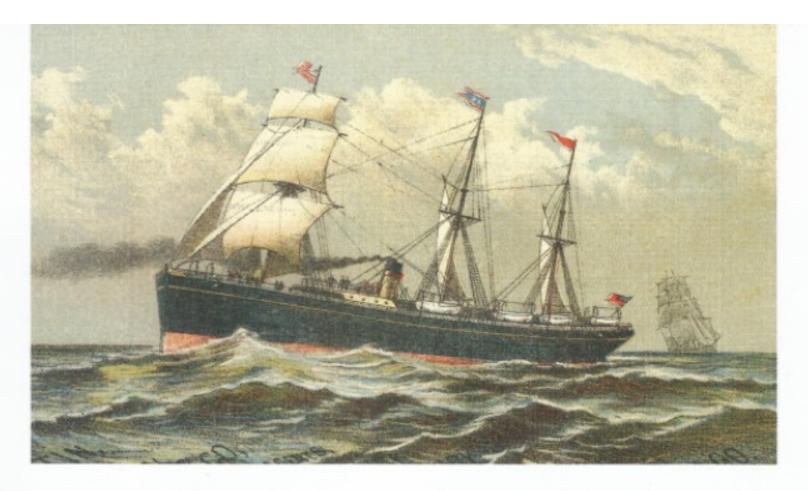
BY GALE REX BRYCE
WITH THOMAS ALEXANDER

Early Life

benezer Adam Bryce was born November 17, 1830, to Andrew and Janet Adams Bryce of Dunblane, Perthshire, Scotland. Ebenezer was the third son of eight children born to the couple. While Ebenezer was still a toddler, Andrew moved the family to the parish of Alloa, a busy riverport and seat of manufacturing, including shipbuilding. Ebenezer writes, "At the age of fifteen I was [made an] apprentice in the shipyard for five years." The experience of becoming a ship's carpenter laid a solid foundation for many of his future activities.

A fellow worker at the shipyard, William Fotheringham, who had converted to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, frequently preached the gospel to his fellow workmen, several of whom embraced it. Ebenezer tells us that "early in the spring of 1848" he "became united with the Church." He was seventeen years old. EST 1928





That same year Ebenezer joined the Fotheringham family and other members of their Latterday Saint branch—several of whom William had
introduced to the gospel—on the ship Erin's Queen
bound for the southern United States. Ebenezer was
listed as Bryce Fotheringham on the ship's manifest.
The voyage was forty-nine days from Liverpool to
New Orleans, arriving on October 27, 1848. Bryce
continued his journey upriver to St. Louis where he
"was ordained a member of the 31st Quorum of the
Seventy under the hands of A. P. Rockwood."

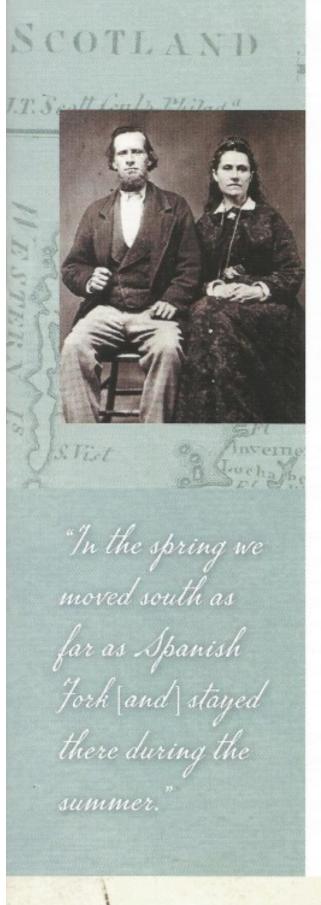
In June 1850 Ebenezer joined the James Pace Company bound for the Salt Lake Valley, a company of one hundred wagons organized by Orson Hyde and captained by Pace. The company arrived in the Valley over a three-day period in late September of that year.

The Valley of the Great Salt Lake

Upon arriving in the Salt Lake Valley, Ebenezer was taken in and given a job by Elder George A. Smith and his wife, Bathsheba; the latter often referred to Ebenezer as "my boy." Because the Smith home was ideally situated at the center of Salt Lake City, Ebenezer was able to attend the groundbreaking for the Salt Lake Temple in February 1853, for example, and the laying of the temple cornerstones in early April of that year.

Ebenezer received his patriarchal blessing in June 1851 from Church Patriarch "Uncle" John Smith, the brother of Joseph Smith Sr., who served as Church Patriarch from 1849 to 1854. One interesting promise in that blessing was that "when it is necessary for the salvation of Israel," Ebenezer would "cause streams to break forth in dry places to give drink to [his] people."





Ebenezer was not the only one taken in and given a job by the Smiths. Mary Ann Park—born in Warwick, Kent County, Ontario, Canada, in January 1837—had been hired to help with cooking and other household duties. The two soon became acquainted; over time, they fell in love. They were married in April 1854 in the Smith home; Elder Smith performed the ceremony, and his wife was one of the witnesses. Mary Ann was just three months past her seventeenth birthday; Ebenezer was twenty-three.

Establishing a Profession and a Family

In early 1855 Ebenezer and Mary Ann moved to Tooele, a settlement west of Salt Lake, where Ebenezer had been hired to work at the sawmill of Eli B. Kelsey—his first experience at a working sawmill. The couple's first two children were born in Tooele.

The family moved back to Salt Lake City in 1856, "about the time [of the] trouble with the government of the United States," Ebenezer wrote. Spurring the event later known as the Utah War, US President James Buchanan had believed false reports from enemies of the Church and decided to send a contingent of 2,500 soldiers to Utah to deal with the "Mormon problem." Rather than engage in open war with the federal troops, the Saints in what is now northern Utah were directed simply to leave their homes and temporarily relocate to settlements in southern Utah County; this is known as the Move South. The Saints adopted only three defensive tactics—limited guerrilla warfare against federal supply trains; construction of breastworks in Echo Canyon to impede the troops' entry into the Valley; and, should federal troops threaten to occupy deserted settlements in northern Utah and pillage unharvested crops or other food supplies, a potential scorched-earth policy. Two of these three tactics involved Ebenezer and Mary Ann directly.

In March 1856 Ebenezer was listed as a private in Company A of the Tooele Top Battalion of the Nauvoo Legion. He tells us that he "was on guard with others in Echo Canyon" and undoubtedly took part in the construction of breastworks there.

Meanwhile in the Salt Lake Valley there was great concern among the wives of men with assignments, including Mary Ann. She had a two-year-old son and an infant daughter and was pregnant with a third child. Her husband was potentially under fire by a hostile army, and she and other women knew that, should the army invade and attempt to take over Valley settlements, homes and crops were to be burned by Saints assigned to remain behind and watch. Thankfully, such fears were never realized. As Ebenezer

calmly notes, "In the spring we moved south as far as Spanish Fork [and] stayed there during the summer." While the Bryces and their neighbors evacuated the city to get out of the way of the army, their homes remained intact.

Nevertheless, it was not until July 1, 1856, that Brigham Young authorized the Saints to return to the Valley. Ebenezer reports that instead of returning to their home, they "moved to Mill Creek Ward and settled there." Locating in the Mill Creek area was a great blessing to Mary Ann because she and her family were reunited with her parents and other family members, including her sister Jane.

Jane had married Archibald Gardner in 1852; within a few short years Gardner had become a successful entrepreneur who owned several gristmills and sawmills. Thus, the move to Mill Creek was an economic blessing to the Bryces, given Ebenezer's subsequent employment at one of his brother-in-law's mills. In March 1861 the Bryces were sealed in the Endowment House, and that fall Ebenezer received a call from Church leaders that would radically change his family's life.

Called to Dixie

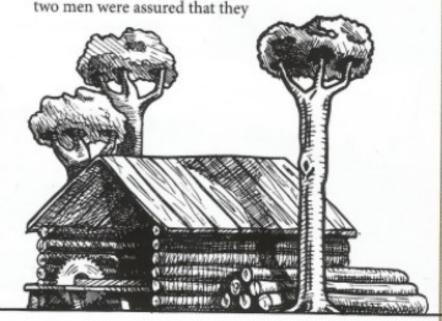
Ebenezer writes, "[During] October [1861] conference [I] was called on a mission with about 200 other families"; they were charged with settling southwestern Utah. Generally known as the "Cotton Mission," the resulting enterprise would become St. George—named in honor of George A. Smith who had personally selected many of the settler families. Ebenezer reports that his family "arrived in St. George early in December" when their fifth child was about six weeks old. The journey from Mill Creek—with five children, the oldest of which was not quite seven years old—had taken about five weeks.

Ebenezer reports that in the spring of 1862 he "was called upon by Erastus Snow to go to Pine Valley to build sawmills." There he became reacquainted with an old friend, Lorenzo Brown, with whom he had worked in sawmills at Mill Creek.

In February 1863 the two friends contracted to purchase the Pine Valley claim of Thomas Forsyth,6 which included a log house, a half-acre garden lot, some hewn timber for a mill, and a grant for a mill site.7 Over the next two months Bryce and Brown struggled to construct their mill, collecting enough iron to forge necessary metal parts by hand. But by mid-April discouragement and financial setbacks led the two friends to seriously consider selling their claim—had there been anyone to sell it to. President Brigham Young encouraged them to persevere, and so the two men worked for another mill in the valley8 so they could support their families until their own mill was viable. The need for funds was likely brought forcefully to Ebenezer's attention when Mary Ann bore him twins, making a total of seven children under the age of nine.

Ebenezer and Lorenzo labored to make their investment viable, taking teams up the nearby canyons, marking trees, felling them, and hauling them to their mill to be sawn into lumber. By May 1863 they were "leveling the mill race, so at the close of this week things look more prosperous than they have done before." At this point Archibald Gardner became an equal partner in the mill with Lorenzo and Ebenezer.9

In January 1864 Ebenezer and Lorenzo traveled to Salt Lake City to discuss with Apostles Erastus Snow, George A. Smith, and Wilford Woodruff the allocation of timber resources in Pine Valley. The





"If a flood should come, it would float, and if a wind came strong enough to blow it over, it still would never crash to pieces."

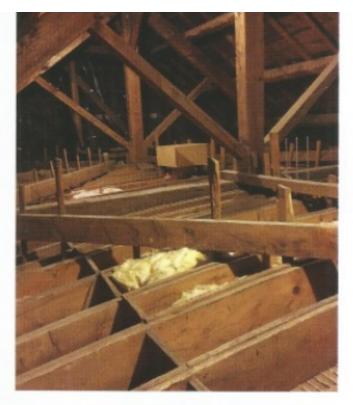
would have the timber they needed. The mill did well, and two years later, the two men reached an agreement whereby Lorenzo bought out Ebenezer's share in the mill.¹⁰

The Pine Valley Chapel

The original settlers of Pine Valley built largely temporary dwellings in a hilly valley in Pine Valley Canyon known as the upper town; these "were either dugouts or hastily built cabins." In 1866 most of the original residents moved to the flatter and larger "lower town" further down the canyon where there was more arable land and irrigation was easier. 12

After the "big move" and after original settlers were joined by others, Pine Valley residents voted to build a church/schoolhouse "that they could make more use of and one that they could be proud of." When they asked Ebenezer if he could design the building, he responded that "if they would be satisfied to have it built like a ship upside down, he would be willing to try it. Everyone agreed."¹³

A strong foundation was created for the building, with shaped granite boulders as the cornerstones and limestone blocks in between. From a nearby gorge, tall straight pine trees were selected for the foundation of the walls of the chapel. Logs selected for "the bottom layers" were more than two feet in diameter; squared off, the logs remained "fully eighteen to twenty-four inches square." Each log was painstakingly squared "by cutting the four sides off with an adze"; each of the four sides of the building was laid out on the ground and put together with wooden pegs.¹⁴



With a series of pulleys and other necessary equipment the sides were hoisted into place and fastened with auger holes and pins. Then the corners were wrapped with strips of green rawhide, which when it dried, shrank and held pretty solidly. . . . Each man had a rope ready to pull but relaxed until Bryce gave the signal. From his experience in shipyards, he had memorized a little rhyme used there. He would repeat it, and when he came to a special word it meant "Pull" and all would pull together. The little boys heard it so many times that the rest of their lives they could repeat it.15

Once the walls were up the rafters for the roof were put in place. A small room was created at the north end of the attic for holding prayer meetings. Part of the south wall of this room was left open so that it is still possible today to see the construction of the rafters and the ceiling of the chapel. The rafters are at least eight-by-eight inches square.

After the church structure was completed, the outside walls were covered with shiplap-interlocked wooden planking-and were painted; work then began on the interior. The ground floor was made into two rooms for primary and secondary schools. The second floor was the chapel and originally included a small stage for dramatic performances. The chapel's distinctive rounded ceiling is indeed the hull of an upside-down ship.

As the building was being finished, Ebenezer Bryce was heard to remark of it, "If a flood should come, it would float, and if a wind came strong

enough to blow it over, it still would never crash to pieces."16 The Pine Valley Chapel was completed and dedicated in 1868, standing as an enduring monument to the pioneer craftsmanship of its architect and those who worked with him. In continuous use for more than 150 years, the building is-as a granite marker in front of it proclaims-"one the longest continuously operated chapels of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."17

Mount Trumbull

In the summer of 1872 Bryce partnered with Samuel Burgess to purchase a steam sawmill from Robert Gardner who, in turn, had explored



south of St. George and "found plenty of timber of good quality seventy miles south at Mount Trumbull near the Colorado River."18 Ebenezer tells us that just over a year later, in early fall 1873, he and Burgess19 "received an invitation from the President

of the St. George Stake to move [our] sawmill to Mount Trumbull in Arizona to saw lumber for the St. George Temple."

The reason for requesting the two men to relocate to Mount Trumbull-a difficult seventy-five mile journey southeast of St. George—instead of remaining in Pine Valley, only thirty-five miles away, was that each location featured very different timber. The forests on Mount Trumbull were old-growth ponderosa pine, "ideally suited for rough construction" like



RIGHT: BRYCE CANYON BY ANDRES HARO, UNSPLASH.COM; ENGRAVING BY DEPOSITPHOTOS.COM

Ebenezer Bryce,
his invalid wife,
and their tired
children arrived
... driving a
large flock of
sheep and a few
head of cattle.

framing, where both the strength and length of cut wood were important. The red and white pine forests of Pine Valley, on the other hand, were ideal "for interior finishing," where "finer-grained wood was needed."²⁰

Bryce's Canyon

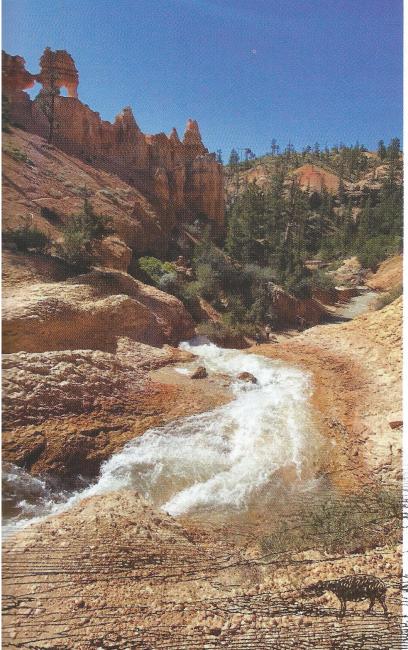
In his autobiography, Ebenezer tells us that the family moved to the "head of the Pahreah (Paria) [River in] Garfield County" in 1876. The family had grown large. The oldest son, Ebenezer Park Bryce, turned twenty-one in February of that year. There were an additional nine children, six of whom were teenagers.

The move was at least in part prompted by concerns for Mary Ann's health. In late 1875 her health failed and she was soon bedridden. It may be that heavy domestic responsibilities contributed to her illness. Family histories record that, for many years, "she did the washing, ironing, and sewing for their large family. There were also candles and soap to be made. She and the older girls would card, spin, and knit wool from their sheep." Ebenezer hoped that the move to a more moderate climate would lead to Mary Ann's recovery. But on their move to Paria, they drove a large and expanded flock

of sheep: Ebenezer had traded their home in Pine Valley for the sheep owned by a man named Henry Slade.²²

Only men of great vision and faith could have settled the area surrounding the head of the Paria River. The comparatively few flat areas were covered with sagebrush and cut with deep ravines from the periodic heavy rains. And the dominant natural feature of the area was an otherworldly red-rock canyon filled with wind-and water-carved pillars called hoodoos. Today when people gaze from the canyon rim, they likely see only the breathtaking beauty of what stretches before them. But having arrived at that rim after driving on smoothly paved roads in an air-conditioned car, they are in an appropriate frame of mind to truly see what lies before them and to marvel at nature's magnificent handiwork.

Ebenezer Bryce, his invalid wife, and their tired children arrived in horse drawn wagons, driving a large flock of sheep and a few head of cattle. While they were likely struck by the canyon's strange beauty, they must also have been aghast at the dearth of arable land and the woefully small creek flowing from

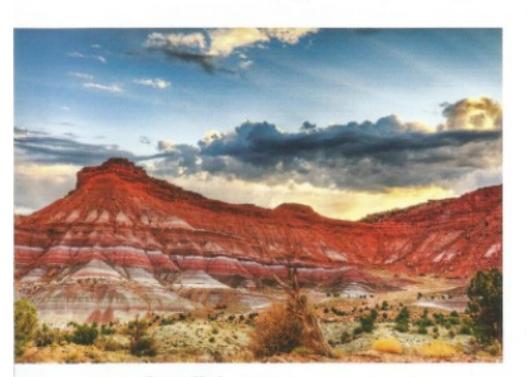




the canyon. Indeed, there is an apocryphal story that Ebenezer, in referring to the canyon and its tantalizing maze of hoodoos, wryly commented, "It's a hell of a place to lose a cow!"²³

The family homestead at Paria is described as being "opposite [from] where the creek from Bryce Canyon joins the Paria River." To ensure adequate water for drinking and a small garden, Ebenezer and two of his sons "went up the creek until they found a series of springs" which they "set about cleaning" to "develop more flow." Because that initial water source was insufficient for any significant farming, Ebenezer "shepherded the digging of a seven-mile-long ditch to take water out of Paria Creek for irrigation purposes." This effort to provide water for his family's needs is at least partial fulfillment of Patriarch John Smith's blessing to Ebenezer: "Thou shalt cause streams to break forth in dry places to give drink to thy people."

Ebenezer and his sons also created a road to stands of timber in the canyon "to obtain logs to build a house [and] fences and [to procure] firewood."²⁶ With Ebenezer's ready permission, settlers in nearby Cannonville (founded in 1874, about eighteen months before the Bryces' arrival at Paria) also took advantage of the road into the canyon, hauling timber and firewood for their own use. In short order, they began referring to the long,



Paria, Utah

Ebenezer Park Bryce

Helen Diana Packer



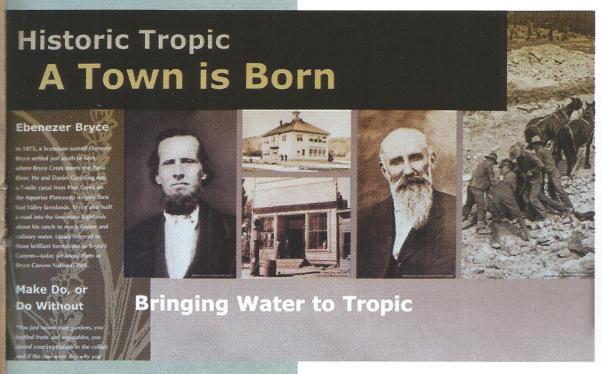


brightly colored landmark as "Bryce's Canyon," later shortened to "Bryce Canyon."

Ebenezer and Mary Ann's oldest son, Ebenezer Park Bryce, was married to Helen Diana Packer in February 1877. Ebenezer and Ebenezer Park built two connected log homes—each with two rooms—that shared a common roof with a hall between them.²⁷ Ebenezer and Mary Ann lived in one home; Ebenezer Park and Helen in the other. There must have been a lot of excitement in those homes on November 30, 1878, because on that day two new babies were born. Ebenezer Nephi Packer Bryce was born to Helen and Ebenezer Park; Heber Brooks Bryce²⁸ was born to Mary Ann and Ebenezer, their eleventh child.

As other settlers trickled into the Cannonville area, they seemed to look to Ebenezer for community leadership. In August 1878 he was elected justice of the peace for the Cannonville Precinct of Iron County.²⁹ He was previously justice of the peace in the Pine Valley Precinct of Washington County.³⁰

In July 1880 Ebenezer sold his farm in the canyon named after him and moved his family to Panguitch, Utah, about twenty-eight miles northwest. His and Mary Ann's twelfth child, a son, was born in September of that year. Ebenezer's autobiography emphasizes that Panguitch was a relatively fertile yet only temporary waystation for the family. Ever mindful of Mary Ann's fragile health, Ebenezer searched for a warmer and yet comfortably arable place to live. In the fall of 1880 Ebenezer sent his son David Andrew to explore possible townsites in New Mexico; sons William Henry and Alma Nephi were sent to Arizona, where David later joined them. David and Alma returned to Panguitch in the summer of 1881 with a positive report, and in Sep-



"On May 23, 1892, at 4:00 p.m., water flowed over a dry canal bed into the parched lands of the northwestern Bryce Valley. In that moment, the town of Tropic was born. For two years, settlers had awaited the completion of the 10-milelong canal that would divert water from the East Fork of the Sevier River, on the Paunsaugunt Plateau. Nearly 40 men helped hand-dig the 8-foot wide, 18-inch deep ditch. Their handiwork continues to bring irrigation water to Tropic today."

-Tropic marker pictured above

tember of that year, Ebenezer, Mary Ann, and all their children and grandchildren moved to Arizona, where Ebenezer and Mary Ann would spend the rest of their lives.

Bryce Canyon National Park³¹

Andrew Janus Hansen and his wife Mary settled in Cannonville in what was by then called

Bryce Valley in July 1886. In 1889 Andrew, with the assistance of William Lewman, surveyed the ditch that Ebenezer and his sons had dug to bring water to their farm. Hansen and Lewman decided that they could create a shorter, more efficient route for the ditch. It was a route that Ebenezer and sons could not have considered because it ran along the base of rocky cliffs where blasting and skillful rock work would be necessary. To finance the new ditch, Hansen and Lewman surveyed a new townsite, laying out sixteen blocks with four lots each. Individual lots were sold to raise funds for the completion of the ditch, and the town became Tropic, Utah. Work continued on the canal until May 1892 when water from the East Fork of the Sevier River was turned into it, and the town held a great celebration. 32

Because town lots in Tropic were available for only \$7.50 each, and because the town now had a good supply of water, it grew to a population of 379 by 1900; by 1920 there were nearly 500 residents. Meanwhile, in 1916 Reuben (Ruby) Syrett and his wife, Clara (Minnie), homesteaded land just northwest of Bryce Canyon. In 1919, having invited friends from Salt Lake

to come and observe the canyon, Ruby and Clara pitched a tent near what became known as Sunset Point from which they served lunch to their guests. When these same friends said they wished they could stay for the night, Ruby set up a few beds under the trees. By the following year Ruby and Clara had created "Tourist Rest," a modest lodge, and the family began



Historic Ruby's Inn

to offer dinner and breakfast. In 1923 they replaced the lodge with Ruby's Inn—constructed not on the canyon's rim but on the Syretts' ranch—which soon became a Bryce Valley institution.³³

During the early 1900s Bryce Canyon became part of the Powell National Forest, administered by the Forest Service, and was managed as an emerging tourist attraction. In 1919 the Utah Legislature passed a joint memorial urging the establishment of Bryce Canyon as a national monument under the name "Temple of the Gods."

In November 1919 Stephen Mather, the

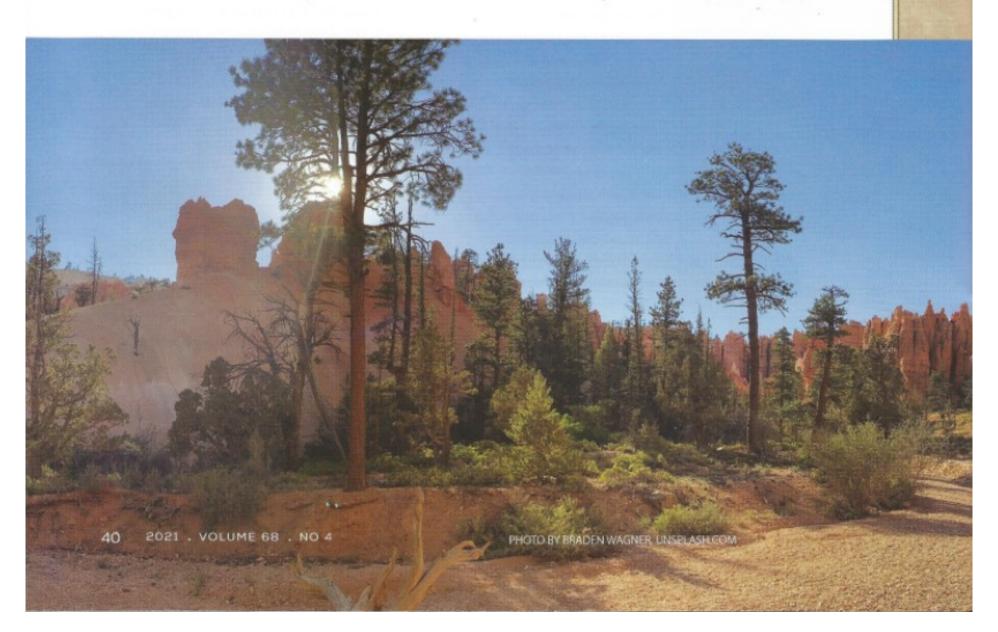


director of the National Park
Service, first saw Bryce Canyon
in the company of several other
prominent men, including Gilbert
Grosvenor of the National Geographic Society.³⁴ Salt Lake City
banker Lafayette Hanchett wrote
that as the group approached the

rim at Bryce Canyon, their driver asked Mather and the others to close their eyes. At the word "open up," Mather fairly gasped at the colorful spectacle—the miracle of Nature unfolded below him; he chortled with glee, saying, "Marvelous; exquisite; nothing like it anywhere. This spot must be opened to all American scenery lovers, not just as a National Monument, but it must have National Park status."

Meanwhile, Senator Reed Smoot was working to establish a national park at Bryce Canyon. As a ranking and influential senator, he could secure passage in the Senate of most bills that he supported. He introduced Senate Bill 668 on December 10, 1923, intended to make Bryce Canyon a national park. The bill passed the Senate without amendments on April 2, 1924.³⁶

As with earlier proposals for new national parks and monuments, the House was less enthusiastic. After extensive debate in the House and political negotiations with the Senate, an amended version of the bill was passed by House members. The amended version of the bill was accepted by Smoot: he undoubtedly realized that he could not secure



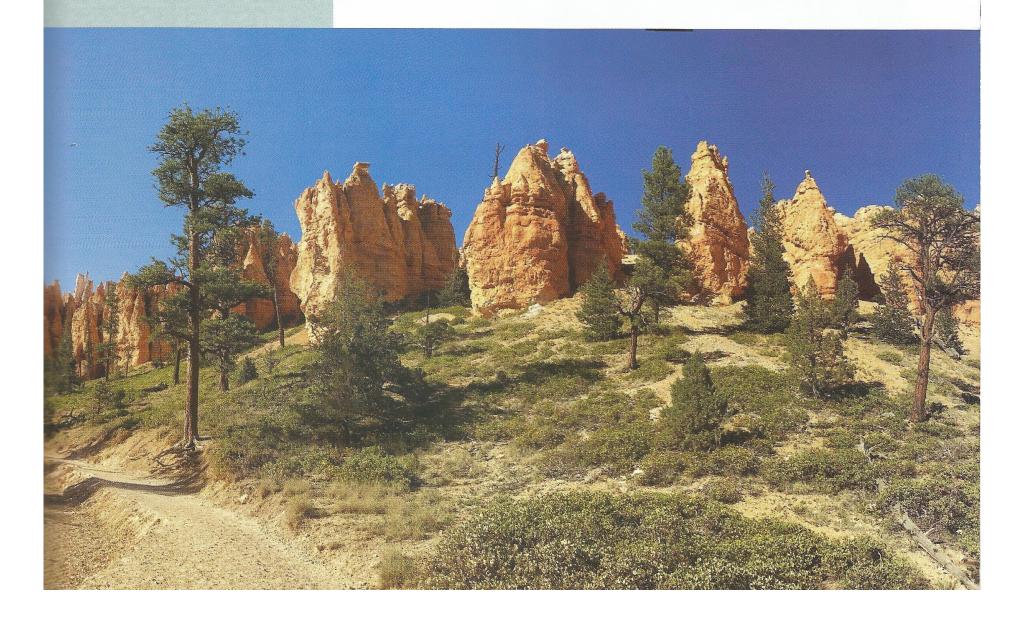
"Marvelous;
exquisite; nothing like it anywhere. This spot
must be opened
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the Park's establishment in any other way. With Smoot's behind-the-scenes negotiations and influence, the House and Senate finally agreed on the amended bill and passed it on December 6, 1927.

But Smoot wasn't entirely satisfied, and Stephen Mather, National Park Service Director, notified the Forest Service that Smoot would immediately introduce legislation to enlarge Bryce's boundaries and change the park's name from Utah National Park to Bryce Canyon National Park.³⁷ This bill was introduced by Smoot on December 9, 1927; it was passed by the Senate without opposition in mid-January 1928 and by the House a month later.³⁸ With Stephen Mather presiding, the National Park Service and Utah officials dedicated Bryce Canyon National Park on Sunday evening, September 16, 1928.³⁹

Gale Rex Bryce is a great-grandson of Ebenezer and Mary Ann Park Bryce

- 1 This history is based on a brief autobiography of Ebenezer Bryce found on *FamilySearch.com* under "Ebenezer Adam Bryce," Library, item 603744, online.
- 2 A. Elnora Bryce, "History of Ebenezer Bryce" (1959), Ebenezer Bryce papers: 1856–1965, folder 10, MS 20984, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.
- 3 Ebenezer Bryce papers: 1856–1965, folder 13, MS 20984, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.
- 4 Utah's Dixie, History, "A Brief History of the Establishment of St. George, Utah," *Utah's Dixie.com*, online.
- 5 Lorenzo Brown Journal, 24 and 26 May 1861, p. 132, online.



6 "Thomas Forsyth," Family Search.org, online.

7 Lorenzo Brown Journal, 5 Feb – 6 Mar 1863, p. 145, online.

8 Lorenzo Brown Journal, 14 and 15 April 1863, 10 May 1863, p. 147, online.

9 Lorenzo Brown Journal, 23 May 1863, p. 148. One of Archibald's mills still stands at Gardner Village in West Jordan, Utah.

10 Lorenzo Brown Journal, 29 Mar 1864, 6 May 1866, 155ff. Lorenzo began asking several months before the actual sale that Ebenezer to sell his share to him; negotiations leading to the final agreement were apparently not always amicable.

11 Bess Snow and E. S. Beckstrom, O Ye Mountains High: The Story of Pine Valley (St. George Heritage Press, 1980), ch. 7, "The Chapel." Snow and Beckstrom were born in Pine Valley in 1903 and 1900, respectively. The book was written from their memories and the memories of other residents of the town; there are no footnotes or references in the text.

12 Mary Phoenix, "The Pine Valley Chapel," History, Washington County Historical Society, WCHSUtah.org, online.

13 Snow and Beckstrom, ch. 7.

14 Snow and Beckstrom, ch. 7; Phoenix.

15 Ibid. Phoenix writes that the hoisting of the sides of the chapel required the strength of every "man, boy, and animal" in town.

16 Pine Chapel Valley, Utah, *Pine Valley Discovered,* St. George Temple Visitors Center Information, online.

17 Ibid.

18 Robert Gardner Jr., "Utah Pioneer— 1847, Written by Himself at St. George, 29 January 1884," in Blaine M. Yorgason, R. A. Schmutz, and D. D. Alder, All That Was Promised (2013), 105–6.

19 The relevant name in Ebenezer's handwritten autobiography has been interpreted as "Samial Bergo," but the writing is unclear. FamilySearch includes a life story of Samuel Burgess (PID# KWV3-SGK) stating that "Samuel and Ebenezer Bryce built the 4th sawmill in the [Pine] valley." The identity of Ebenezer's business partner in Pine Valley is confirmed by Robert Gardner, Jr., in Yorgason, et al., 106.

20 Yorgason, et al., 218.

21 A. Elnora Bryce (1959).

22 This is probably Henry Slade found in FamilySearch.com, online, whose first six (of thirteen) children were born in Pine Valley, Utah.

23 Some of his granddaughters, offended by the story, insisted that Ebenezer never used profanity.

24 Wendell A. Bryce, personal history, edited 1983, FamilySearch.org, "Wendell A. Bryce," Memories/Stories, online.

25 A. Elnora Bryce (1959).26 Ibid.

27 "History of Ebenezer Park Bryce and his wife Helen Diana Packer," FamilySearch.org, "Ebenezer Park Bryce," Memories/Stories, online.

28 Heber Brooks is the author's grandfather. The first ten of Mary Ann and Ebenezer's children were born an average of just over two years apart. However, there were almost six and a half years between numbers ten and eleven, undoubtedly reflecting Mary Ann's poor health during this period.

29 Original Certificate of Justice of the Peace, Ebenezer Bryce papers: 1856–1965, folder 2, MS 20984, Church Archives, Salt Lake City. In 1878, Iron County was a band stretching across the Utah Territory and incorporating all of present-day Iron and Garfield Counties, together with portions of San Juan, Washington, and Kane Counties.

30 Commission issued by George A. Black, Acting Governor of Utah Territory, 23 Feb 1871, series 242, reel 2, volume B, page 369, Name: Ebenezer Bryce, Utah.gov, History/Research, online.

31 Following the first two paragraphs of this section, the remainder of this article was written by Thomas G. Alexander.

32 Linda King Newell and Vivian Linford Talbot, A History of Garfield County (Garfield County Commission, 1998), 201–5, online; Tropic General Plan, privately printed, Tropic, Utah (2020), 6, online; Nicholas Scrattish, "The Modern Discovery, Popularization, and Early Development of Bryce Canyon, Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly, 49.4 (Fall 1981): 351–2.

33 Bryce Canyon and Ruby's Inn History," Rubysinn.com, About Us, online; Scrattish, "Modern Discovery," 358–62. Subsequent paragraphs in the present article were written by Thomas G. Alexander.

34 Stephen T. Mather to Lester D. Freed, 13 Nov 1919, and Mather to Freed, telegram, 14 Nov 1919, RG 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Records, Central Files, 1907–30, Zion, Administration to Miscellaneous, part 3, box 330, entry 6, National Archives II, College Park, Maryland.

35 Lafayette Hanchett, "Stephen T. Mather," typescript, document box 8, folder 2384, Historical Files, Zion National Park.

36 Congressional Record, 68th Congress, first session (1924): 145, 4609, 5405.

37 Stephen T. Mather to Leon F. Kneipp, 6 Dec 1927, box 3, Historical Records, Bryce Canyon National Park.

38 Congressional Record, 70th Congress, first session (1928): 350, 1428, 3277.

39 Cangressional Record, 68th Congress, first session (1924); Reed Smoot, "Diary," Reed Smoot Collection, MSS 1187, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, HBLL, Brigham Young U, 6 Jun 1924; Nicholas Scrattish, Historic Resource Study, Bryce Canyon National Park (1985), Elusive Documents (paper 46), 78, online.

