

1 **The Colorado River**

2 **Introduction**

3 The mean annual precipitation for much of the western United States is less than
4 20 inches and it is far from evenly distributed (Figure 1). John Wesley Powell placed
5 the boundary for dry-land agriculture, that is, agriculture that does not require ir-
6 rigation water, at 20 inches of precipitation per year and noted that much of the
7 US “beyond the 100th meridian” was poorly suited for agriculture without irrigation
8 projects that tap the streamflow resources of the region ([44] and [37]). The principal
9 tributaries of the Colorado River have their headwaters in the mountainous regions
10 of Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico (Figure 2), but much of the Colorado River
11 basin lies in the arid region of the southwestern US.

12 By volume the Colorado River (Figure 2) is far from the largest river in the United
13 States, or even in the West. But as one of the only sources of water in the region,
14 the Colorado River has played a prominent role in development of the arid West over
15 the last century and a half. Efforts to control, divide, and transport the waters of
16 the Colorado River have provoked political conflict and provided an arena for debate
17 about contentious economic, political, and environmental issues ([43]). Over the last
18 century the primary result of these efforts has been to transform the Colorado River
19 into one of the most intensively controlled rivers in the world. The transformation

20 of the Colorado River has paralleled the development of the arid southwest, most
21 strikingly seen in the urban landscapes of Los Angeles, Phoenix and Las Vegas, cities
22 that could not exist in their current form without the Colorado River.

23 **John Wesley Powell and the Surveys of the Col-** 24 **orado River**

25 On May 24, 1869 John Wesley Powell and nine fellow explorers set off from Green
26 River, Wyoming on an expedition down the Colorado River, one of the country's last
27 unmapped regions (Figure 2). The landscape Powell and his crew encountered was
28 unique and inhospitable. An array of canyons, gorges, and mesas surrounds the river
29 on both sides. Although they faced considerable difficulties, the Powell expedition
30 eventually reached the junction of the Colorado and Virgin Rivers, after the arduous
31 journey through the Grand Canyon (Figure 2). Aside from being a remarkable feat
32 of exploration, the 1869 expedition laid the groundwork for a series of comprehensive
33 surveys that finally charted the unknown regions of the West. Powell completed a
34 second expedition down the Colorado River in 1871 - 1872 and continued survey
35 work through 1879. Along with Powell, the Colorado surveys included two of the
36 preeminent geologists of the 19th and early 20th centuries, Clarence Dutton and
37 Grove Karl Gilbert ([31], [33] and [44]).

38 Powell's scientific interests centered on rivers and their relationship to the land-
39 scape. The most striking scientific questions concerning the Colorado River focused on
40 the physical processes that created the spectacular landscapes of gorges and canyons
41 (Figures 3). The artist Thomas Moran accompanied Powell to the Grand Canyon in
42 1873 and this trip provided the material for his painting "Chasm of the Colorado"
43 (Figure 4). Moran would paint the Grand Canyon many times, but never again with

44 the alienating effect of his initial work. Artists of the Rocky Mountain school of paint-
45 ing, like Moran and Albert Bierstadt, presented images of the West that celebrated
46 nature following Ruskin's view that "every painting should speak without ambiguity
47 about the divine order of the universe" ([44]).

48 Powell's conception of nature was different and reflected emerging scientific ideas
49 of the late 19th century. Scientific orthodoxy of the early 19th century held that
50 landscapes like the Grand Canyon were the product of a great flood - the Genesis
51 Flood. This viewpoint is associated with *catastrophism*, the doctrine in geology that
52 the features of Earth's surface, such as mountains, valleys and rivers, were formed
53 by cataclysms - rare and short-lived events. In the late 18th century, James Hutton
54 developed a competing theory for interpreting geological features, *uniformitarianism*,
55 which centers on the notion that processes now at work on and within the Earth
56 have operated with general uniformity through long periods of time and are sufficient
57 to account for all geologic change. Hutton's work was influential in shaping Charles
58 Darwin's ideas on evolutionary biology. One of John Wesley Powell's most important
59 scientific contributions was establishing a firm foundation for uniformitarian interpre-
60 tations of the landscape of the Colorado River.

61 Tectonic processes linked to mountain building, especially folding, faulting and
62 volcanic activity, contributed to the distinctive features of the Colorado River. Pow-
63 ell observed that in certain courses of the Colorado River, the channel had developed
64 across highly resistant strata, while in others the pattern of the river followed weak-

65 nesses imposed by the geologic strata. In some reaches, which Powell termed *conse-*
66 *quent* reaches, the course of the river is a direct consequence of the original slope of
67 the surface upon which it developed. An *antecedent* reach is older than the uplift that
68 it crosses; the stream has been able to maintain its course by eroding downward as
69 the land surface rises; the Grand Canyon is the most dramatic example. A river reach
70 is *superimposed* if it was established on a preexisting surface, now eroded; the course
71 is unrelated to the present underlying geological structure. The processes that Powell
72 and his colleagues put forward for explaining the structure of the Colorado River
73 require long periods of time, millions of years; within decades, scientific orthodoxy in
74 geology had shifted to a uniformitarian perspective.

75 The Colorado Plateau province is a physiographic unit that contains much of the
76 central portion of the Colorado River (Figure 5). It centers on the Four Corners
77 region, marked by the intersecting boundaries of the states of Colorado, Utah, New
78 Mexico and Arizona. Clarence Dutton conceptualized the terrain of the region in
79 terms of a series of elevation breaks which he termed the *Grand Staircase*. The
80 tectonic processes which shaped the Colorado River are vividly expressed through the
81 topographic features of the Grand Staircase (Figure 6).

82 Powell used the notion of *base level* to characterize the elevation below which a
83 stream cannot erode its bed. The ultimate base level of a river is the elevation of the
84 ocean, or interior lake, into which it flows. Fisk's study of base level changes in the
85 Gulf of Mexico on Mississippi River structure and evolution illustrates one area in

86 which the notion has played a central role ([10] and Chapter 1). Powell's conception
87 was broader and includes the role of *local base level* in controlling the processes of
88 erosion and transport of sediment through a river system. The *longitudinal profile*
89 of a river, i.e. the relationship between bed elevation and downstream flow distance,
90 provides a compact summary of the variation of local base level along a river (Figure
91 7).

92 In Powell's journal entries from the 1869 Colorado River expedition prior to en-
93 tering the Grand Canyon, he described the rapids they had already encountered and
94 speculated on what was yet to come - "may be, we shall come to a fall in these
95 canyons we cannot pass, where the walls rise from the water's edge ... and where the
96 water is so swift that we cannot return" ([31]). Luna Leopold took Powell's concerns
97 as the point of departure to examine how the end-member example of the canyons of
98 the Colorado River shed light on general questions about river structure ([23]). For
99 hundreds of miles the Colorado River alternates between flat pools and steep rapids,
100 but there are no waterfalls. A characteristic feature of rivers is to maintain a uni-
101 form profile of water surface elevation in a downstream direction, modulated by an
102 alternation of low-gradient pools and higher gradient riffle or rapid reaches (see also
103 [21]). Even in the exceptional case of the Colorado River gorges, this pattern holds.
104 Leopold wrote: "the river seems encased in a vise so confining and limiting that any
105 freedom of action or movement seems to be foreclosed. In fact, however, the river has
106 nearly all of the characteristics of an unconfined channel, save one, the tendency to

107 move laterally. The Colorado adjusts its depth and velocity by scour and fill of the
108 bed in response to changes in debris load. It formed and maintains bed alternations
109 of deep pool and shallow rapid by the construction of gravel bars. The river profile,
110 except for the alternation of pool and rapid, is smooth and nearly straight” ([23]).

111 The exchange of ideas between biology and geology went both ways. The diffusion
112 of Darwinian ideas into geology promoted the thinking that rivers and other land-
113 forms exhibit a characteristic sequence of evolutionary steps, with the most notable
114 examples being William Morris Davis’s *cycle of erosion* theory of landscape evolution
115 and J. Hoover Mackin’s notion of the *graded stream* ([26]). Although the views of
116 Mackin and Davis were influential, modern thinking has followed G. K. Gilbert’s no-
117 tions of dynamic equilibrium developed from his Colorado River studies of the Henry
118 Mountains ([12]). Gilbert’s ideas of river and landform development have more in
119 common with punctuated equilibrium models of evolution ([7]) than with the 19th
120 and early 20th century ideas that motivated Davis’s cycle of erosion.

121 “The Paroxysmal Precipitation of the Desert”

122 “Sooner or later the cloudburst visits every tract, and when it comes
123 the local drainageway discharges in a few hours more water than is yielded
124 to it by the ordinary precipitation of many years... So far as may be judged
125 from the size of the channels draining small catchment basins, the rare,
126 brief, paroxysmal precipitation of the desert is at least equal while it lasts
127 to the rainfall of the fertile plain.” G. K. Gilbert [1890]

128 Gilbert used the term paroxysmal in its dictionary formulation, “marked by bursts
129 of destructive force or intense activity” (Merriam-Webster Dictionary), to describe
130 the storms that shape the channels of Southwestern US drainage basins. Gilbert’s
131 insights were grounded in observations made during field investigations with the Pow-
132 ell Survey, especially those leading to his landmark studies of the Henry Mountains
133 ([12]) and Lake Bonneville ([13]). Gilbert’s vivid description highlights a central issue
134 concerning rivers in the arid lands of the Colorado River - variability of rainfall in
135 time and space is exceptionally large.

136 Cloudburst floods in the Southwestern US are typically produced by thunder-
137 storms during the *North American Monsoon* season, which peaks during July and
138 August and extends into September (Figure 8). A *monsoon* is a seasonal reversal
139 of the winds and the most prominent is the East Asian Monsoon which transports
140 moist air from the Indian Ocean to the continental region of East Asia. Thermal con-

141 trasts between land and ocean drive all of Earth’s monsoon circulations; their seasonal
142 cycle is controlled by heating of high-elevation mountain regions. The North Amer-
143 ican Monsoon is weaker than the East Asian Monsoon, largely because the Tibetan
144 Plateau is larger and higher than the Mexican Plateau.

145 The increase in thunderstorm frequency during late June and early July in the
146 Southwestern US (Figure 8) is directly tied to the sharp increase in water vapor
147 transport from the Pacific Ocean by way of the Gulf of California ([1] and [16]). The
148 North American Monsoon is characterized by “burst” periods of particularly strong
149 flow of moist air from the Pacific Ocean into the Southwestern US. Thunderstorms
150 that form during burst periods typically move from southwest to northeast; in Figure
151 9, the mean motion of storms that produced flash floods in the Colorado Plateau
152 during the period 1998 - 2015 is shown for a sub-region that contains Fort Pearce
153 Wash and the Virgin River basin. Wind direction from the southwest not only signals
154 the transport of water vapor from the Pacific but also determines the direction that
155 storms will be “steered”.

156 There are striking spatial contrasts in thunderstorm frequency over the Colorado
157 Plateau and these features are strongly linked to terrain (Figure 10). Thunderstorms
158 are most common in high elevation plateau regions. Thunderstorm frequency varies
159 by more than a factor of 5 from the high elevation regions to low elevation regions
160 including Lake Mead and Glen Canyon (see Figure 10 for locations).

161 A “cloudburst” in southern Utah on September 14, 2015 resulted in 20 flash

162 flood fatalities, making it the most deadly natural disaster in Utah history. It is the
163 quintessential example of the storms Gilbert described as the “paroxysmal precipita-
164 tion of the desert”. Of the 20 fatalities, 13 occurred in Hildale, Utah and resulted
165 from flooding in Short Creek (Figure 11). The Short Creek Community was settled
166 in 1913 by a polygamous offshoot of the Mormon Church, the Fundamental Church
167 of the Latter-Day Saints, or FLDS Church. The remote location was selected so that
168 the group could practice plural marriage without interference from state or federal
169 officials. The 13 fatalities from the September 2015 Short Creek flood were women
170 and children from the FLDS Church community.

171 The duration of heavy rainfall over Short Creek was short, more than 10 minutes
172 but less than 20, and catastrophic rainfall was focused on the 5 km^2 Maxwell Canyon
173 tributary of Short Creek (Figure 11). The wave of water that carried three cars and
174 13 people into Short Creek came down the Maxwell Canyon tributary. Rainfall inten-
175 sity decreased rapidly after the storm passed Maxwell Canyon, but extreme rainfall
176 redeveloped as the storm approached the East Fork Virgin River. An additional 7
177 fatalities occurred 20 km north of Hildale when hikers were trapped by floodwaters
178 in Keyhole Canyon in Zion National Park.

179 Keyhole Canyon has an upstream drainage area of 1 km^2 and is located along
180 the lower margin of the East Fork Virgin River drainage basin (Figures 11 and 12).
181 The storm that resulted in 7 flash flood fatalities in Keyhole Canyon at 1 km^2 scale
182 also produced the largest flood peak in the 26 year stream gaging record of the East

183 Fork Virgin River at 890 km^2 (Figure 12). Extreme rainfall in the East Fork Virgin
184 River lasted no more than 20 minutes and was restricted to a small portion of the
185 watershed (Figure 12).

186 Flooding on September 14, 2015 was produced by one of the most intense thun-
187 derstorms in Utah history; the storm produced copious lightning and hail, especially
188 as it passed over the Vermillion Cliffs, which mark the western boundary of Maxwell
189 Canyon (Figures 13 and 14). The storm developed during a monsoon burst period,
190 with strong atmospheric flow from the southwest producing near-record water vapor
191 in southern Utah. Like most monsoon thunderstorms, the storm moved from south-
192 west to northeast, but its storm speed, greater than 50 km h^{-1} , was exceptional.

193 During the critical period of heavy rainfall over Maxwell Canyon (Figure 14), a
194 hail core was located in the northwest portion of the storm, with lines of convective
195 rainfall extending to the east and south of the storm core. The line of convective rain
196 extending south of the storm core was located upwind of Maxwell Canyon. Polari-
197 metric radar measurements point to this portion of the storm as the agent of extreme
198 rainfall rates over Maxwell Canyon, with melting hail and liquid water shed from
199 hail the source of rainfall at the surface. Strong downdrafts associated with negative
200 buoyancy in the north-south oriented convective line contributed to extreme rainfall
201 rates over Maxwell Canyon.

202 The period of extreme rainfall indicated by polarimetric radar measurements was
203 short-lived, forming shortly after 2200 UTC and diminishing after 2216 UTC (Fig-

204 ure 14). Although extreme rainfall decayed rapidly after the storm passed Maxwell
205 Canyon, it redeveloped as the storm approached the East Fork Virgin River and Key-
206 hole Canyon (Figure 15). Like flash flooding in Maxwell Canyon, extreme rainfall
207 over Keyhole Canyon and the East Fork Virgin River was linked to a small region of
208 extreme rainfall rates in close proximity to the hail core of the storm . Multiple pulses
209 of extreme rainfall rates, with weaker rainfall occurring between the rain pulses, char-
210 acterized the storm producing catastrophic flooding in southern Utah on September
211 14, 2015.

212 Peak discharge measurements made by the USGS for the 14 September 2015 flood
213 in Short Creek at a drainage area of 58 km^2 and for the Maxwell Canyon tributary
214 at a drainage area of 5.3 km^2 are both $270 \text{ m}^3 \text{ s}^{-1}$. The Maxwell Canyon flood
215 peak is on the envelope curve of flood peaks for the Colorado Plateau (Figure 16),
216 illustrating the exceptional nature of the September 14, 2015 storm. Envelope curves
217 provide representations of maximum observed discharge as a function of drainage
218 area ([6]) and have provided a framework for examining upper bounds on flood peak
219 distributions, most notably for the Colorado River ([8]).

220 Short Creek is a tributary to Fort Pearce Wash, which joins the Virgin River
221 above Lake Mead (Figure 17). More than 11 hours elapsed before the flood wave
222 from Short Creek reached the outlet of Fort Pearce Wash. During that time the peak
223 discharge decreased from $270 \text{ m}^3 \text{ s}^{-1}$ to less than $50 \text{ m}^3 \text{ s}^{-1}$ (Figure 18). The decrease
224 in discharge from Short Creek to the Fort Pearce Wash gaging station resulted from

225 flood peak attenuation and channel infiltration losses. Decrease in peak discharge
226 from attenuation results principally from expansion of the flood wave onto a broad
227 floodplain. The downstream variation in channel and floodplain size determines the
228 downstream pattern of flood peak attenuation. In arid regions of the Colorado River,
229 many stream channels are dry for much of the year. In these settings infiltration into
230 the channel bed can greatly diminish flood peaks.

231 The record flood peak in Fort Pearce Wash at a drainage area of 3400 km^2 has
232 the same magnitude as the 14 September 2015 storm in Maxwell Canyon at 5 km^2 .
233 The hydrograph for the July 2012 flood (Figure 18) illustrates the common usage
234 of “flash” as a verb for Colorado Plateau rivers. From a dry channel, discharge
235 increased to the $270 \text{ m}^3 \text{ s}^{-1}$ peak in 40 minutes, with a similarly rapid falling limb
236 of the hydrograph. Fort Pearce Wash flashed in response to extreme rainfall rates
237 from a severe thunderstorm that tracked from southwest to northeast through the
238 region from 2200 to 2400 UTC (Figure 18). Like the record flood for the East Fork
239 Virgin River on 14 September 2015, the rapid rise and fall of the Fort Pearce Wash
240 hydrograph for the 16 July 2012 storm was produced by extreme rainfall rates from
241 a monsoon thunderstorm during a short period as it passed over the basin outlet
242 (Figure 18).

243 The flood hydrology of Colorado Plateau watersheds over a wide range of basin
244 scales is dependent on hydrologic response to small areas of intense rainfall and chan-
245 nel infiltration losses over downstream channel segments. There is relatively weak

246 dependence of flood peaks on drainage area. For drainage areas smaller than 10,000
247 km^2 , monsoon thunderstorms are often responsible for record flood peaks, as in Fort
248 Pearce Wash and the East Fork Virgin River.

249 The picture of extreme floods changes in the lower Colorado River. At the Lee's
250 Ferry stream gaging station, which has a drainage area of 290,000 km^2 , the flood of
251 record is $6230 m^3 s^{-1}$ and it occurred on June 18, 1921. Like all major lower Colorado
252 River floods, the June 1921 flood peak was due to rapid snowmelt. The most extreme
253 floods result from a combination of exceptionally large snowpack in mountainous por-
254 tions of the watershed and rapid warming, typically due to warm air surges associated
255 with extratropical cyclones. Rainfall from Fall - Winter extratropical cyclones have
256 produced the extreme flood peaks for watersheds with drainage area ranging from
257 1,000 to 100,000. km^2 . Elements of the climate system that control the occurrence
258 of extreme floods in the Colorado River cover physical processes ranging from the
259 dynamics of monsoon thunderstorms to the tracks of Pacific extratropical cyclones.

260 Gilbert's observations on the "size of channels" in Southwestern US watersheds
261 presaged the *Arroyo Problem*, which developed into one of the great geological puzzles
262 of the 20th century ([14] and [15]). In 1925, Kirk Bryan summarized evidence from
263 the Surveys of the 19th century and early 20th century field studies, concluding that
264 channels throughout the arid Southwest had deepened and widened dramatically in
265 the second half of the 19th century ([19]). Channel elevation of Kanab Creek dropped
266 more than 50 feet near Kanab, Utah - decreases of 60 feet in the Virgin River and

267 50 feet in the Escalante River occurred (see Figure 17 for locations), all during a
268 period of several decades. Explanations for the Arroyo Problem have followed three
269 different paths: 1) land use change, especially the impacts of cattle grazing, 2) internal
270 adjustments of the river system and 3) climate variability.

271 Livestock grazing in the late 19th century severely degraded rangeland, resulting
272 in enhanced soil erosion, runoff and sediment yield. Erosion expanded the drainage
273 network by channelizing flow on hillslopes; elaboration of the drainage network con-
274 centrates and amplifies flood peaks, providing a mechanism for altering channels. The
275 effects of grazing provides, at best, however, only a partial explanation for arroyo cut-
276 ting. Time mismatches between introduction of cattle and arroyo cutting limit the
277 settings in which it could play a role ([15]). An additional problem with cattle grazing
278 arguments is that enhanced erosion should increase floodplain sedimentation, rather
279 than lead to trenching of floodplain sediment.

280 Arguments based on internal adjustments of the river system, which mirror one
281 line of thinking used to examine meander formation and cutoff in the Mississippi River
282 (Chapter 1), explain arroyo cutting as a response to the unique processes involved in
283 sediment transport and erosional processes in the arid lands. High sediment yields
284 oversteepen longitudinal profiles locally, leading to cycles of arroyo cutting and filling.
285 In this view, arroyo systems are characterized by erosional reaches in which *knickpoint*
286 retreat results in channel incision progressing upstream. A knickpoint is a sharp
287 gradient in the longitudinal profile of the river. Downstream aggradation reaches

288 are locations where sediment is deposited. Although geomorphic processes, including
289 knickpoint migration, play a role in arid region rivers, this theory does not address
290 the observation that many channel systems developed arroyos through their entire
291 alluvial valleys, nor does it address the near-synchronous periods of arroyo formation
292 in adjacent, but disjoint watersheds.

293 Explanations based on climatic variability, include the effects of both drought and
294 flood, with the latter playing the more prominent role. Drought weakens vegetation
295 and can make the river system more susceptible to erosion during floods. Drought
296 has been invoked as a contributor to arroyo cutting, but not as a direct agent.

297 Arroyo formation has been directly linked to sequences of floods ([14] and [38]).
298 Kanab Creek provides a striking example - “On August 30, 1882, a terrific flood
299 swept down Kanab Creek Canyon and literally swamped the town. This was followed
300 by similar cloudburst floods each summer until 1886. In that period of 5 years the
301 channel was changed almost beyond the comprehension of even those who saw it. Its
302 depth was increased by 50 feet or more and its width by about 200 feet in places”
303 ([42]). The recent history of flooding in Kanab Creek near Kanab, Utah (drainage
304 area of 503 km^2) has been quiet, with the largest flood peak during the past 40 years
305 not even reaching $100 \text{ m}^3 \text{ s}^{-1}$.

306 Arroyo cutting in the late 19th and early 20th century reversed by the middle of the
307 20th century and most channels in the Colorado Plateau began to fill with sediment
308 ([24]). The *arroyo cycle* pairs trenching of channels with a subsequent period of fill.

309 Climate variability at decadal time scales provides the most consistent explanations
310 for the arroyo cycle; alternating periods of high frequency of extreme floods and low
311 flood frequency, as illustrated by Kanab Creek, are the key climate ingredients.

312 The arroyo cycle was not a unique episode restricted to historical times. Strati-
313 graphic studies of floodplain sediments have uncovered multiple arroyo cycles during
314 the past 10,000 years ([15]). From approximately 1000 years before present to 800
315 years ago, Colorado Plateau channels were filled with sediment. The following 200
316 years included a period of major arroyo cutting, followed by rapid fill. Channels re-
317 mained filled with sediment until the historical period of arroyo formation commenced
318 in the second half of the 19th century.

319 Periods of arroyo cutting are associated with elevated frequency of extreme floods
320 ([14], [39]). These conclusions are based on *paleohydrology* studies in which elements
321 of the hydrologic cycle have been reconstructed from proxy measurements. Tree ring
322 observations have provided tools for reconstructing rainfall variation over multiple
323 centuries. Paleoflood measurements have been based on hydraulic analyses of the
324 sedimentary record of flood deposits ([3]). The broad conclusion of paleohydrology
325 studies is that cycles of drought and flood have characterized climate variability in
326 the Colorado Plateau for millennia.

327 **Rain Follows the Plow: Developing the Colorado** 328 **River**

329 In 1881, Charles Dana Wilber formulated an experiment on the intentional mod-
330 ification of Earth’s climate: “Suppose an army of frontier farmers 50 miles in width,
331 from Manitoba to Texas, could, acting in concert, turn over the prairie sod, and after
332 deep plowing and receiving the rain and moisture, present a new surface of green
333 growing crops instead of dry, hard baked earth covered with sparse buffalo grass”
334 ([40]). What would be the effect on climate? Without resorting to experimentation,
335 Wilber reasoned that “No one can question or doubt the inevitable effect of this
336 cooling condensing surface upon the moisture in the atmosphere as it moves over by
337 the western winds. A reduction of temperature must at once occur, accompanied by
338 the usual phenomena of showers. The chief agency in this transformation is agri-
339 culture. To be more concise, rain follows the plow” ([40]). Wilber, who was more
340 land speculator than climatologist, based his claims largely on climatological analyses
341 made by the Survey of Frederick Hayden. G. K. Gilbert looked skeptically on these
342 claims ([32]) and it was ultimately shown that Hayden’s theory was based on faulty
343 evidence arising from brief climatological fluctuations in rainfall that happened to
344 coincide with settlement.

345 After the Powell expedition of the Colorado River, the question for policymakers
346 and settlers was what could be done with this newly explored land. How could
347 humans make productive use of the inhospitable lands drained by the Colorado?

348 These questions sparked intense national debate in the two decades that followed the
349 Civil War. The gravity of this debate imparted political expectations on the explorers
350 and surveyors, Powell included, whose expert knowledge and experience were called
351 upon to support different visions of the future of the West.

352 Most people involved in the debate over the West in the late nineteenth century
353 accepted the premise that the West should be made habitable for American settlers.
354 In its early stages the struggle to tame the West was fought primarily not on the
355 ground but in the forum of public opinion. Advertising campaigns and enthusiastic
356 promoters promised that Western lands, even the high plateau regions of the Colorado
357 River basin, were incredibly fertile, merely waiting for habitation and cultivation.
358 William Gilpin, a land speculator and onetime governor of the Colorado territory,
359 was one of the chief prophets of this westward expansion. He expounded a vision of
360 the West as the core of a territorial American empire whose natural bounty promised
361 unprecedented power, productivity, prosperity, and unity ([44]). For Gilpin and his
362 colleagues this was not just empty rhetoric: behind their grand vision for the West
363 lay scientific rationales, including Alexander Von Humboldt's theories on geographic
364 determinism in state development ([43]) and the climatological theory that "rain
365 follows the plow".

366 There was little agreement as to how the barren dry lands of the West could be
367 made to support settlement, or what form future development would take. John
368 Wesley Powell laid out his vision of the West in his 1878 "Report on the Lands of

369 the Arid Region of the United States” ([32]). The report was the result of more than
370 a decade’s worth of exploration and surveying of the arid West, a region comprising
371 roughly two-fifths of the contiguous United States whose remarkable environmental
372 diversity was surpassed only by its shared dryness. The Arid Lands Report demon-
373 strated that lands lying to the west of the rough boundary formed by the 20 inch
374 rainfall isohyet (Figure 1) were too dry to permit agriculture without irrigation works.
375 Moreover the available water resources in the West were sufficient to irrigate only a
376 tiny fraction of the available land; in Utah, Powell calculated this irrigable area as
377 only 2.8% of total land.

378 These observations served as the basis for Powell to propose a reform of land law
379 for the West ([32]). Faced with a new type of frontier, Powell maintained that the
380 Homestead Acts and the Jeffersonian ideal of the independent yeoman farmer ([11])
381 that underlay it were unsuitable models for expansion into the West. In his proposed
382 reforms, Powell emphasized (1) dividing available land into three categories of use:
383 arable, pasturage, and timberlands, (2) using irrigation districts, with boundaries
384 delineated by drainage basins, as the characteristic political unit of the West, and (3)
385 fostering a communitarian ethos among settlers. While Powell’s vision of the West
386 was predominantly agricultural, he recognized that high elevation and aridity made
387 large areas of western land unsuitable for farming. Mid-elevation but non-irrigable
388 lands would be cleared, according to Powell’s plan, for use as pasturage, while higher
389 land would be left for timber. Lower elevation river valleys would be home to small

390 communities of farmers working irrigated fields.

391 For Powell, careful management of water resources was the most important issue
392 facing policymakers and settlers due to the aridity of the Western climate. Political,
393 social, and economic structures would have to be adapted to the unique constraints
394 imposed by scarcity of water. They would also have to mesh seamlessly with insti-
395 tutions dedicated to managing water resources. Powell’s solution to these challenges,
396 inspired in part by his observation of Mormon communities, centered on communal
397 management of water resources. For communities to function in this way, they would
398 have to foster a strong sense of civic duty rooted in their particular community. These
399 small towns, predominantly agrarian and pastoralist, would work together, with min-
400 imal government intervention, to build necessary water resource infrastructure. For
401 Powell’s plan to succeed, careful topographic studies were required. Water resources
402 throughout the West would have to be carefully studied in order to assess the irriga-
403 tion potential for different plots of land; only these lands would be open to agrarian
404 settlement.

405 Powell’s vision generated intense criticism from settlers and speculators who wanted
406 to see the West developed immediately and had little interest in Powell’s “pure sci-
407 ence” ([44]). Many disagreed with Powell on more substantive grounds as well, finding
408 his sociopolitical vision of the West too populist and communal, and therefore restric-
409 tive of large-scale free enterprise. These politicians and businessmen understood, like
410 Powell, that settling the arid West required an unprecedented degree of social and po-

411 litical organization. Like Powell, too, they argued that the federal government should
412 be kept at arm's length. Instead of small, self-sufficient communities, however, these
413 politicians and businessmen put forth a vision of the West in which social, economic,
414 and political life was organized around elite industrialists and their capital. This elite
415 sought to exploit the massive natural resources of the West, especially its mineral
416 reserves, using their economic and political capital to establish monopolies, and they
417 did not want to wait for Powell's exhaustive survey work to tell them where to go.

418 Senator William Morris Stewart of Nevada fell squarely into this latter camp, and
419 by opposing Powell's political efforts in Washington the two became bitter enemies.
420 Stewart had become wealthy defending (and investing in) mining interests in the
421 West. In 1864 he parlayed his success in the mines and the courtroom into election
422 to the Senate, where he was instrumental in the passage of an 1872 law that removed
423 obstacles preventing mining operations from developing public lands. Stewart was
424 instrumental in defeating Powell's proposals for development in the arid West. In
425 Congressional hearings and in the press he sought to portray Powell as overly sci-
426 entific and an "un-American" enemy of free enterprise. Powell replied that his fight
427 was against the speculators who wanted to monopolize the irrigable land and water
428 resources of the West in order to establish a "sort of hydraulic feudal system, to
429 which American farmers would be hopelessly subject." ([44]). Ultimately, Stewart
430 and his allies were able to derail Powell's Arid Lands proposals, in part by appealing
431 to lofty ideas of national progress and invoking America's manifest destiny to settle

432 the continent all the way to the Pacific. This rhetoric swept away Powell's scientific
433 concern with adapting Western development to the environment and replaced it with
434 "courage" and "enterprise."

435 Despite industrialist's opposition to Powell's land reform plans, there was broad
436 agreement that continued surveys of the resources of the West were necessary. The
437 United States Geological Survey (USGS) was founded in 1879 by act of Congress.
438 Its stated mission was formulated by Congress as: "classification of the public lands,
439 and examination of the geological structure, mineral resources, and products of the
440 national domain". In effect, the USGS brought under federal control the task of
441 mapping and categorizing the lands of the US, a task that had previously fallen to
442 an ad hoc collection of surveys.

443 Powell had played a central role in creation of the the USGS and served as its
444 second Director; he viewed water as one of the central resources that should be
445 assessed by the USGS. Under his leadership, and spurred by drought in the mid 1880's
446 that sharply affected Midwestern agriculturalists, the USGS began to play a greater
447 role in studying water resources in the West. Powell ordered expansive programs to
448 measure streamflow and map drainage basins with an eye towards irrigation. In 1889
449 the USGS began constructing a network of stream gages that remains in place today.

450 Powell was an ardent supporter of dams as a means of "conserving" the waters of
451 the West. Although the broad vision expressed in Powell's Arid Lands Report was
452 not embraced as a model for development of the western US, his views of "reclaiming"

453 the lands of the western US through water projects were. The Reclamation Act of
454 1902 created the Reclamation Service within the USGS; its mission was to create
455 irrigation projects within the arid regions of the West. President Theodore Roosevelt
456 aggressively championed the reclamation movement and provided necessary political
457 support. Roosevelt, a staunch “conservationist” in contemporary usage, believed
458 that the country’s natural resources should be carefully managed, or conserved, in
459 such a way that they could be sustainably exploited for the benefit of society. The
460 Reclamation Service promised to do this by building dams and irrigation works that
461 would make the arid lands of the West habitable and cultivable.

462 In 1907 the Reclamation Service was reorganized as an independent bureau under
463 the authority of the Department of the Interior. The Reclamation Service’s small-scale
464 projects in the first quarter of the twentieth century were largely unsuccessful, tending
465 to run over cost and behind schedule. It was not until the Boulder Canyon Project in
466 the mid 1920’s that the Reclamation Service, renamed the Bureau of Reclamation in
467 1924, came into its own. Previously restricted to relatively small-scale construction
468 projects, Boulder Dam - soon to be renamed Hoover Dam - helped inaugurate a
469 period in which the Bureau of Reclamation, supported by extensive public funding,
470 built massive dams in the West ([4]).

471 Hoover Dam and the Law of the River

472 *“California’s a garden of Eden, a paradise to live in or see.”*

473 Do Re Mi, *Woody Guthrie, 1940*

474 Behind the Bureau of Reclamation’s rise in the 1920s was a history of changing
475 attitudes towards water management in the first two decades of the twentieth century.
476 Both private investors and the Bureau of Reclamation widened their focus beyond
477 irrigation projects for small farmers to larger projects that sought to manage water
478 resources over larger regions and use them in new ways. Greater ambitions on the
479 part of engineers corresponded to perceptions of growing development opportunities
480 in the arid West - especially in California.

481 Two groups provided critical support for Hoover Dam. The first were agricultur-
482 alists looking to cultivate California’s Imperial Valley; developers had long recognized
483 the agricultural potential of the fertile valleys drained by the lower Colorado River,
484 but a reliable supply of water was needed to create a Garden of Eden in southern
485 California. The second group, Los Angeles developers and politicians, sought to meet
486 the city’s growing water and power needs.

487 In 1896 the privately owned California Development Company began an irriga-
488 tion project in the Imperial Valley. Engineers with the Company began clearing a
489 silted-up former riverbed of the Colorado River, known as the Alamo River, that ran

490 directly through the valley. Within a short time they had cleared the channel and
491 cut an irrigation canal connecting this riverbed to the main stem of the Colorado
492 River. With an irrigation system in place, development in the Imperial Valley pro-
493 ceeded swiftly and profitably, until 1905, when a large flood swept away the control
494 structures at the mouth of the newly created Alamo River. A tremendous volume of
495 water was diverted from the main stem of the Colorado River down the new channel,
496 resulting in severe flooding in the valley, most of which lay below sea level. Although
497 the California Development Company eventually managed to close the channel, the
498 landscape of the Imperial Valley had been profoundly altered. The Salton Sea, Cali-
499 fornia's largest lake, was created by the Colorado's floodwaters and continues to cover
500 roughly five hundred square miles of the Imperial Valley (Figure 19). The California
501 Development Company's failure drove home the point that controlling the flow of the
502 Colorado, especially during times of extreme flooding, was an essential precondition
503 to development.

504 The city of Los Angeles had profited from effective water management in the late
505 nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly under the direction of William
506 Mulholland ([29]), chief of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power. Under
507 Mulholland's controversial leadership, an extensive network of aqueducts and canals
508 was constructed that supplied the growing city with water ([29]). Chief among these
509 was the Owens Valley Aqueduct that imported water from the Owens River in the
510 Sierra Nevada Mountains down to the city. Mulholland planned to expand the water

511 supply from the Owens River through a water supply reservoir on the San Francisquito
512 River. The St. Francis Dam was designed by Mulholland and built by the Los Angeles
513 Water Department (completed in 1926). Its failure on March 12, 1928 resulted in more
514 than 400 fatalities and was one of the worst civil engineering disasters of the 20th
515 century ([29])

516 Even prior to the St. Francis Dam failure, the need for Colorado River water (and
517 power) to support growth of Los Angeles was apparent. During the first two decades
518 of the 20th century, Mulholland and the Los Angeles Water Department aggressively
519 pursued strategies to draw water from the Colorado River. Imperial Valley developers
520 and Los Angeles interests provided the critical mass necessary to gain approval for the
521 construction of a large hydroelectric storage dam on the lower Colorado. Passed by
522 Congress in December 1928, the Boulder Canyon Project Act provided \$177 million
523 for the construction of the dam. Major political hurdles had to be overcome prior to
524 Congressional authorization of the Boulder Canyon Project in 1928. As Powell's 1869
525 expedition clearly demonstrated, the Colorado River was a navigable waterway and
526 it passed through portions of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona and
527 Nevada before a short stretch in California. In the early 1920s, legal barriers stood
528 between southern California and large quantities of Colorado River water.

529 Water law in the West developed separately, and differently, from that of the
530 East. Courts and lawmakers in the East, drawing from English common law, had
531 long recognized *riparian* rights, in other words, the rights of landowners to make

532 reasonable use of water from bodies of water adjoining their property. In the West,
533 by contrast, the *prior appropriation* doctrine held sway. It holds that rights to a
534 quantity of water go to whoever can first demonstrate continuing beneficial use of
535 that water.

536 In 1882 the Colorado Supreme Court heard a dispute over water rights between
537 George Coffin, a farmer from Longmont, Colorado in the St. Vrain River valley,
538 and the farmers of the nearby Left Hand Creek watershed. The Left Hand Creek
539 farmers dug an irrigation ditch and diverted water from St. Vrain Creek across the
540 basin divide to their farms. During an extended drought in 1877, St. Vrain Creek
541 ran dry and Coffin filed suit against his neighbors in Left Hand Creek. What was
542 at stake in this particular case was not simply a dispute between neighbors: it was
543 a fundamental difference between legal principles for establishing water rights. The
544 Left Hand Creek farmers, who appealed to the prior appropriation doctrine, won out
545 over Coffin, whose argument rested on the riparian principle.. By ruling in favor of
546 the Left Hand Creek farmers, the Colorado Supreme Court established a precedent
547 that water law in Colorado, and soon, the West, would rest on the principle of prior
548 appropriation.

549 There are several reasons why prior appropriation has been thought better suited
550 to the West than riparian rights. This can be attributed in part to the comparative
551 scarcity of water in the West, as prior appropriation rights establish more precise
552 water allocations than riparian rights. More importantly, prior appropriation rights

553 facilitate larger and more complex irrigation systems to be built, increasing the po-
554 tential for large-scale agricultural development in arid lands ([43]). The political
555 and economic character of westward expansion also influenced the forms of water
556 law adopted in the West. Through most of the nineteenth century the federal gov-
557 ernment retained ownership of large areas of Western land; in order to give settlers
558 badly needed access to water on federal lands an alternative to riparian rights had
559 to be adopted. Moreover, by supporting the water rights of development projects
560 undertaken by settlers themselves the prior appropriation doctrine also checked the
561 influence of wealthy land speculators from the East who did not develop the land
562 themselves.

563 Seven states came together in 1922 to work out how the Colorado Rivers waters
564 were to be divided among themselves. The agreement they reached, known as the
565 Colorado River Compact, began by dividing the states in question into two groups
566 corresponding to the Upper and Lower reaches of the river (Figure 2). The Upper
567 Basin states included Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and New Mexico, while the Lower
568 Basin was composed of Nevada, Arizona, and California.

569 The key point of contention was that the prosperous Lower Basin states, espe-
570 cially California, were using more water than the relatively undeveloped Upper Basin
571 states and were planning additional water development projects, like Hoover Dam,
572 that would further increase their claim on Colorado River water. Under the prior
573 appropriation doctrine in force everywhere in the West, the Upper Basin states wor-

574 ried that they might be prevented access to the water because of prior downstream
575 claims in the Lower Basin. The Colorado Compact addressed these concerns in 1922
576 by establishing roughly equal water allocations for the Upper and Lower Basins in a
577 hypothetical average year of rainfall. Surplus water beyond the standard allotments
578 was to go to the Lower Basin, but the Compact did not specify how water was to be
579 allocated within each basin, leaving that decision to the involved states themselves.

580 Unsatisfied with the scale of California's claims, Arizona ultimately refused to
581 sign the Colorado Compact. Arizona continued to protest California's water appro-
582 priations (at one point attempting a naval blockade to prevent the construction of
583 Parker Dam, which would permit further water diversion into California). The issue
584 was resolved before the Supreme Court in 1963, at which time Arizona began its own
585 extensive program of hydrologic infrastructure improvement known as the Central
586 Arizona Project.

587 The Colorado Compact helped to resolve gridlock in Washington that had impeded
588 the construction of large water resource projects in the Lower Basin of the Colorado,
589 Hoover Dam in particular. More broadly, by precisely defining water rights and by
590 opening the river and its basins to further development of hydrologic infrastructure
591 the Compact was an important step in the transformation of the Colorado River into
592 one of the most tightly controlled rivers in the world.

593 Aside from privileging Lower Basin states over the Upper Basin, the Colorado
594 Compact and the series of agreements that have followed it have been criticized for

595 excluding Native Americans from all plans to divide water resources. The Colorado
596 Compact reads: “Nothing in this compact shall be construed as affecting the obliga-
597 tions of the United States of America to Indian tribes.” Implicit in this statement was
598 the understanding that Native American tribes, especially the Navajo, had reserved
599 water rights dating back to the late nineteenth century (which therefore have rela-
600 tively high priority according to the prior appropriation doctrine), but that no claims
601 had been formally filed on their behalf. In this manner the Law of the River managed
602 to skirt the question of Native American water rights. Based on the extent of irrigable
603 territory they possess and the decision rendered in *Winters v. United States* (1908),
604 Navajo water entitlement could amount to as much as 2 million acre-feet per year. All
605 parties have long recognized that claims by Native American groups, whether they
606 can be incorporated into the Colorado Compact framework or not, could break apart
607 the water allocation framework ([2]).

608 Construction began on Hoover Dam in 1931 and Lake Mead began to fill on Febru-
609 ary 1, 1935 (Figure 20). Despite a series of labor and workplace safety controversies
610 ([4]), Hoover Dam came to occupy a significant place in the national consciousness as
611 a symbol of American ingenuity in the face of Depression-era adversity. Until 1987,
612 the operations center of Hoover Dam, near Las Vegas, Nevada, was managed by the
613 Los Angeles Department of Water and Power.

614 **Glen Canyon Dam and the Environmental Move-** 615 **ment**

616 Hoover and Glen Canyon are book-end dams. They lie at opposite ends of
617 the Grand Canyon, Hoover downstream, impounding Lake Mead, and Glen Canyon
618 above, impounding Lake Powell (Figure 2). The completion of Hoover Dam in 1935
619 occurred at the beginning of the era of big federal dams; the completion of Glen
620 Canyon in 1963 marks its final phase. Hoover is the iconic structure symbolizing the
621 legacy of the *Conservation Movement* introduced by Theodore Roosevelt. Opposition
622 to Glen Canyon galvanized the environmental movement.

623 While Hoover Dam provided water and power for the Lower Basin states since
624 the mid 1930s - especially for Los Angeles and southern California - the Upper Basin
625 states were relatively underserved by Colorado River water. In the decade following
626 the end of the Second World War, the Bureau of Reclamation turned its attention to
627 the Upper Basin states and ultimately settled on a site in Glen Canyon to construct a
628 large concrete storage dam. Located in northeast Arizona just a few miles south of the
629 border with Utah, it was an extremely remote site (Figure 21). Before construction
630 began, the nearest paved road was thirty miles away. According to the Bureau of
631 Reclamation, the new dam at Glen Canyon would play a number of important roles:
632 it would provide flood control in Arizona, it would create a large reservoir from which
633 irrigation waters would flow, and thanks to a large generating plant it would also
634 produce tremendous amounts of hydropower for the Southwest.

635 Construction began on Glen Canyon Dam in 1956 and in 1963 the concrete struc-
636 ture was finished (Figure 22). Like Hoover Dam, Glen Canyon is a composite arch
637 -gravity dam made of concrete, although Glen Canyon is less thick. Hoover Dam was
638 designed so that dead weight of the dam alone would support the load from a fully
639 filled dam. Glen Canyon relies somewhat on arch action transferring load from the
640 impounded water to the canyon walls; dead weight alone would not provide struc-
641 tural stability for a fully filled reservoir ([4]). It was only a modest innovation. The
642 era of big dam building in the US was marked by conservative engineering design,
643 with deep-seated resistance to innovation in structure and form ([18]). Multiple fac-
644 tors contributed, but the 20th century view of dams as hazards to society was an
645 important one, initially created by the 1889 South Fork Dam failure; the resulting
646 Johnstown Flood on the Conemaugh River in western Pennsylvania killed more than
647 2000 ([27]). The failure of William Mulholland's St. Francis Dam in southern Cal-
648 ifornia on March 12, 1928, resulting in more the 600 fatalities, reinforced the image
649 of big dams as hazards ([17]).

650 The naming of Lake Powell honored the contributions of John Wesley Powell
651 and he was indeed an ardent champion of dams as important elements of water
652 conservation in the west. From its earliest days, the Conservation Movement included
653 two distinct strands - utilitarian and preservationist. Powell's proposals for managing
654 resources of the arid lands and Gifford Pinchot's promotion of forest reserves provide
655 guiding principles for the utilitarian branch of the Conservation Movement. Pinchot's

656 justification for environmental protection was purely utilitarian, “conservation means
657 the greatest good to the greatest number for the longest time.” ([30]).

658 John Muir, founder of the Sierra Club and the philosophical leader of the preserva-
659 tionist branch of the Conservation Movement ([45]), agreed with Powell and Pinchot
660 that natural resources should be protected, but he took the argument for stewardship
661 of the environment further. Muir argued that natural resources should be preserved
662 for their own sake and kept in pristine condition, not exploited. For Muir, heavily
663 influenced by the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, pris-
664 tine nature offered transcendental spiritual experiences. Muir’s last environmental
665 battle, the preservation of Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park, ended in
666 failure. O’Shaughnessy Dam on the Tuolumne River was completed in 1923, inun-
667 dating Hetch Hetchy. Albert Bierstadt’s paintings provide the most vivid images of
668 Hetch Hetchy (see, for example Figure 23). A central issue that the Preservationists
669 and Utilitarians would wrestle with is the use of federal lands, like the portions of
670 Yosemite that are inundated by O’Shaughnessy Dam.

671 Between completion of Hoover and Glen Canyon Dams two manifestos, Aldo
672 Leopold’s *A Sand County Almanac* ([20]) and Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* ([34])
673 shaped the foundations of the environmental movement. Aldo Leopold promoted an
674 environmental land ethic through the simple prescription - “a thing is right when it
675 tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is
676 wrong when it tends otherwise” ([20]). *A Sand County Almanac*, which was published

677 in 1949 a year after Aldo Leopold's death, was completed by his son Luna Leopold and
678 informed the younger Leopold's views of rivers. Luna Leopold expanded the notion of
679 "biotic community" to "hydrologic continuum" and used his father's prescription to
680 assess the role of dams - including Glen Canyon Dam - on the environment of rivers
681 ([25]).

682 John Muir's mantle as head of the Sierra Club and environmental movement, fell
683 to David Brower in the 1950s ([28]). Brower's formulation of conservation goals was
684 absolute - "if you are against a dam, you are for a river" ([28]). Like Muir, he would
685 leave an imprint on the environmental movement, especially through the successful
686 campaign to halt construction of Echo Park Dam in the upper Colorado River basin.
687 The dam would have inundated portions of Dinosaur National Park; dams in national
688 parks had been a line in the sand for environmentalists since Hetch Hetchy. Brower
689 would point to one great failure in his career - Glen Canyon Dam ([28]).

690 Glen Canyon has been termed a "cash register dam", that is, a dam whose pri-
691 mary purpose is to generate revenue to support the broader dam building activities
692 of the Bureau of Reclamation ([28]). Glen Canyon produces revenue by generating
693 hydropower for sale. The generating capacity of Glen Canyon, 1,320 megawatts, is
694 large, but its utility to the regional power grid is not fully reflected in its capacity.
695 Electricity generation from hydropower plants can be rapidly varied simply by chang-
696 ing the releases from the dam through the turbines. Glen Canyon's role within the
697 regional power grid is to meet the peak loading in the system, following the fluctu-

698 ating electrical demand. Larger, less-flexible coal and nuclear power plant provide
699 baseload power.

700 Brower deeply regretted the loss of spectacular canyon landscapes in the area
701 inundated by Lake Powell, a perspective embraced by the preservationist strand of
702 the Conservation Movement. Utilitarian conservationists point to the fact that Lake
703 Powell has become one of the most popular boating and outdoor recreation areas in
704 the country, attracting roughly three million visitors annually. Prior to construction
705 of Glen Canyon Dam, the number of people who had seen Glen Canyon had not
706 increased markedly since Powell's expeditions down the river in the 19th century.
707 Glen Canyon Dam brought the contrasting views of utilitarian and preservationists
708 into sharp relief.

709 Lake Powell began to fill with completion of the dam in 1963 and it took more
710 than 7 years to reach capacity. The mismatch between flow of the Colorado River and
711 storage in Lake Mead and Lake Powell were at the heart of Luna Leopold's critique of
712 Glen Canyon Dam ([22]). He argued that the added storage capacity of Lake Powell
713 did little to augment water supply from Lake Mead, a feature borne out by experiences
714 of the 21st century (as discussed in the following section). Moreover, there was little
715 impact of Glen Canyon on flooding in the lower Colorado below Hoover and irrigation
716 was simply not an option due to the remote and inhospitable terrain.

717 Leopold also asserted that Glen Canyon, and other dams in the Colorado River,
718 had severely disrupted the "hydrologic continuum" of the river. As Worster suggests

719 in Rivers of Empire, “the Colorado of the 21st century has more in common with
720 a concrete irrigation ditch than with the free-flowing river it was a century ago.”
721 ([43]). The river no longer reaches the Gulf of California in any but the wettest of
722 years. More than forty dams control the flow of the Colorado and its tributaries. As
723 a result, the river, which once ran warm and full of sediment, now discharges cold
724 sediment-free water from its reservoirs, which has led to the extinction of most species
725 of native wildlife. Dam control structures allow engineers to precisely set the volume
726 of discharge in the river to maximize power production, effectively turning the river
727 on and off like a faucet. Indeed, below Glen Canyon dam, the flow of the Colorado
728 River is most closely tied to time-of-day electricity demand in Los Angeles (Figure
729 24).

730 **Climate and Water Sustainability for the Arid South-** 731 **west**

732 On 16 August 2013, the Bureau of Reclamation announced that for the first time
733 since Lake Powell filled, releases from Glen Canyon Dam to Lake Mead would be
734 reduced; releases would decrease from 8.2 million acre-feet (MAF) in 2013 to 7.5
735 MAF in 2014. Water storage in Lake Mead and Lake Powell in August 2013 had
736 reached historically low values (Figures 25 - 27). In September 2018, the combined
737 storage of Lake Mead (38% of capacity) and Lake Powell (48% of capacity) remained
738 near record low levels.

739 In a world in which irrigation is a driving force for water management, it is natural
740 to think of water in terms of the requirements for agriculture. In Arizona, where
741 precipitation is extremely low (Figure 1) and the potential for evapotranspiration
742 is particularly high, approximately 60 inches, or 5 feet, per year of irrigation water
743 are needed to grow crops ([5]). Under the Homestead Acts, land was granted in
744 160 acre units (1 acre equals 0.00156 square miles), so a reasonable representation of
745 the irrigation water required for agriculture in Arizona is 5 feet for each acre of land
746 under cultivation, or 5 acre-feet. Water agreements, like the Colorado River Compact,
747 express water rights in units of acre-feet; moreover water managers conceptualize the
748 water system through the lens of water quantity expressed in acre-feet.

749 Time series of annual streamflow of the Colorado River at Lees Ferry from 1895
750 - 2002 show that flow in the Colorado below the site of the Glen Canyon Dam has

751 decreased over the 20th century, principally due to increasing *consumptive use* in the
752 Upper Colorado River basin (Figure 28). The Bureau of Reclamation has computed
753 “naturalized” flows for the Colorado River at Lees Ferry, accounting for the consump-
754 tive withdrawals of water from the river system. The average naturalized flow of the
755 Colorado River at Lees Ferry from 1905 to 2013 is 15.0 MAF annually. During the
756 period from 1905 to 1922, which was used to allocate water under the Colorado River
757 Compact, the mean annual flow of the Colorado River at Lees Ferry was 16.1 MAF.

758 The ratio of the total storage capacity in the Colorado River basin, 60 MAF, to the
759 mean annual streamflow of 15 MAF per year, is 4 years - an exceptionally large value
760 compared with other drainage basin in the US. The Columbia River basin, which has
761 an extensive network of dams (Chapter 4), has a ratio of 0.3 years. The large ratio
762 of storage to inflow generally implies that Colorado River water supply depends on
763 streamflow variability at time scales longer than 1 year; decadal-scale variability in
764 streamflow dictates broad features of water availability. More painfully, recovery from
765 severely depleted reservoir storage generally requires years of elevated streamflow.

766 On the demand side of the ledger, the average annual *consumptive use* for the
767 Colorado River system for the period from 2001 - 2005 was 15.3 MAF. Consumptive
768 use of water refers to water that is removed from the river and not returned - some
769 uses of water, like hydropower production, do not remove water from the system. Irri-
770 gation, municipal water supply and industrial processes are the principal components
771 of consumptive use, but under the Colorado Compact definitions it also includes wa-

772 ter that evaporates from reservoirs in the Colorado River system. The consumptive
773 use by the 7 states party to the Colorado Compact totaled 13.7 MAF from 2001 -
774 2005, with California and Arizona the peak users at 4.7 MAF each. An additional
775 1.6 MAF in consumptive use is evaporation from the reservoirs in the Colorado River
776 system. During the drought years of 2001 - 2004 a consumptive use in the vicinity
777 of 15.3 MAF results in a net depletion of storage in Lake Mead and Lake Powell, as
778 illustrated in Figure 26.

779 Estimates of annual evaporation losses from water supply reservoirs total 0.5 MAF
780 in the upper basin, almost exclusively Lake Powell, and 1.1 MAF from the lower basin,
781 mainly Lake Mead. Evaporation estimates were based on regional estimates of mean
782 annual evaporation from a free water surface (in feet) and the surface area of the
783 lake in acres. Evaporation is one of the most difficult elements of the water cycle to
784 measure and controversy has surrounded assessments of evaporative losses from the
785 Colorado River basin reservoirs.

786 “Beneficial use” of Colorado River water, under the Colorado Compact account-
787 ing rules, is divided into the following classes: irrigated agriculture, municipal and
788 industrial uses, export of water and reservoir evaporation. In a typical year, approx-
789 imately 60% of beneficial use is for irrigation, 15% is for municipal and industrial
790 uses, 10% is for export to Mexico (in the Colorado River) and 15% is for reservoir
791 evaporation. Approximately 30% of Colorado River water is exported outside of the
792 Colorado River basin, with the bulk going to California for irrigation and municipal

793 water supply. By international treaty, 1.8 MAF of Colorado River water is “exported”
794 to Mexico in the Colorado River.

795 The reductions in 2014 releases from Glen Canyon Dam were attributed by the
796 Bureau of Reclamation to the consequences of 14 years of drought in the Colorado
797 River basin. Rainfall during 2012 in the upper Colorado River basin was the lowest
798 in the past 120 years and the previous 12 years experienced below normal rainfall.
799 A sequence of 4 consecutive years beginning in 2000 initiated the period of water
800 shortages in the Colorado basin (Figure 30). The water level at Lake Powell was at
801 near-record low water levels in October 2004 (Figure 31). By August of 2013, storage
802 in Lake Powell was at 45% of capacity and the lake level was below the 2004 minima.

803 In addition to extreme drought, the 120 year period of direct rainfall observa-
804 tions also includes extended periods of elevated precipitation. Perversely, the most
805 extreme period of elevated precipitation occurred during the 10-year period preced-
806 ing the 1922 Colorado Compact agreements. This period was used as the baseline
807 to establish water allocations from the Colorado River. *Paleohydrology* techniques
808 have been developed to estimate precipitation over multiple centuries using tree-ring
809 observations. Rainfall reconstruction using tree ring methods indicate that the 1910
810 - 1920 decade used to allocate water under the Colorado Compact agreements was the
811 wettest during at least the last 500 years ([9] and [41]).

812 Global climate models (GCMs) used for the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate
813 Change (IPCC) Fifth Assessment Report (AR5) predict that the Colorado River basin

814 will become warmer and drier through the 21st century. Predictions of streamflow
815 change in the Colorado River to the middle of the 21st century, in response to changing
816 climate, exhibit large variability but almost uniformly show decreasing streamflow.
817 Climate model projections of decreased precipitation in the Colorado River basin are
818 part of a global-scale change in the hydrological cycle, with the tropics becoming
819 wetter, the subtropics becoming drier, and the higher latitudes trending to wetter
820 conditions ([36]).

821 What is the current mean annual flow of the Colorado River? The 16.1 MAF
822 used for the Colorado River Compact is almost certainly too large. The long-term
823 average of 15 MAF may be too large. Does the “mean” vary over decadal time scales
824 in response to natural variations in climate, such that we are currently operating in a
825 regime with a mean flow that is significantly less than 15 MAF? Is there a systematic
826 shift in climate to a drier state for the Colorado River basin? These questions are
827 central to water management in the southwestern US.

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924 **List of Figures**

925 1 Mean annual precipitation (inches) in the western US based on rain
926 gage observations for the period 1961 - 1990. 53

927 2 The Colorado River basin, the Colorado River basin and its main trib-
928 utaries; the Green River, Gunnison River, San Juan River, Little Col-
929 orado River, Gila River and Virgin River. The Colorado River basin
930 is divided into the Upper Basin (gray) and Lower Basin (beige). Ma-
931 jor dams are shown, including Fontenelle and Flaming Gorge on the
932 Green River, Taylor Park and Aspinall on the Gunnison, Navajo Dam
933 on the San Juan, Glen Canyon, Hoover, Davis and Parker Dams on
934 the mainstem Colorado River. 54

935 3 The Colorado River near Lees Ferry. Glen Canyon Dam and Lake
936 Powell are located upstream (upper right portion of the image; the
937 Grand Canyon, Lake Mead and Hoover Dam are located downstream. 55

938 4 Chasm of the Colorado by Thomas Moran 56

939 5 Map of the Colorado Plateau showing rivers and public lands (map by
940 Stephanie Smith of the Grand Canyon Trust). 57

941 6 Conceptual map of Clarence Dutton’s Grand Staircase within the Col-
942 orado Plateau (map by National Park Service. 58

943 7 Longitudinal profile of the Colorado River from the sources in the Col-
944 orado and Green River (note the two profiles, one for the Green trib-
945 utary and the other for the Colorado tributary) through the Grand
946 Canyon to Mexico. 59

947 8 Boxplots of daily area with CG flash density exceeding 1 km^{-2} (top)
948 and 2 km^{-2} for the Colorado Plateau. 60

949 9 Storm motion vectors for flash-flood producing storms, 1998 - 2015 for
950 a sub-region of the Colorado Plateau, that includes Fort Pearce Wash
951 (and Short Creek), the East Fork Virgin River and North Fork Virgin
952 River (basin boundaries are shown). The location of Short Creek is
953 shown in Figure 10 as a red star. 61

954 10 Mean CG flash density (strikes km^{-2}) for southern Utah, northern
955 Arizona and eastern Nevada. Geographic features are labeled. The
956 red square shows the location of the Short Creek stream gaging station. 62

957	11	Short Creek, Maxwell Canyon and Virgin River study region. Basin boundaries of Maxwell Canyon and Short Creek are shown, along with a partial basin boundary for the East Fork Virgin River (outline is marked by black circle). Keyhole Canyon is also marked by a black circle.	63
958			
959			
960			
961			
962	12	Rainfall rate field at 2245 UTC with basin boundary for East Fork Virgin River and storm tracks of the Hildale storm from 2232 UTC to 2306 UTC . Outlet of the basin is denoted by a red star.	64
963			
964			
965	13	CG lightning flash density contours (CG strikes km^{-2}) on 14 September 2015 storm, with storm .storm tracks (filled circles) from 21:30 to 23:30 UTC. The time interval between track locations are 5 - 6 minutes. Color scale for storm track provides storm intensity in maximum reflectivity. The Maxwell Canyon, Short Creek and E. Fork Virgin River basin boundaries are outlined. KICX radar location is denoted by a black square.	65
966			
967			
968			
969			
970			
971			
972	14	Reflectivity (left), Doppler velocity (middle) and specific differential phase shift (K_{DP} ; right) at 2214, 2218, 2222 and 2227 UTC (from top to bottom) on 14 September 2015 from the Cedar City WSR-88D. Extreme rainfall is tied to regions of elevated K_{DP}	66
973			
974			
975			
976	15	Reflectivity (left), Doppler velocity (middle) and specific differential phase shift (right) at 2236, 2241, 2246 and 2251 UTC (top to bottom) on 14 September 2015 from the Cedar City WSR-88D.	67
977			
978			
979	16	Record flood peaks in the Colorado Plateau of Utah, with the 14 September 2015 peak from Maxwell Canyon shown as a red diamond. The green circles are record flood peaks from USGS stream gaging stations. Flood peaks denoted by black “x” are record flood peaks from Utah, including “miscellaneous” peaks (from [6]). The flood peaks in blue are paleoflood peaks from [8].	68
980			
981			
982			
983			
984			
985	17	Basin boundaries for the Kanab Creek, Paria River, Escalante River, Dirty Devil River and Virgin Rivers basins (outer basins are all outlined in black). Blue Boundaries are for gaged sub-basins. Short Creek, the setting of the 14 September 2015 flood, is a sub-basin of Fort Pearce Wash. Locations of stream gaging stations are denoted by red stars. .	69
986			
987			
988			
989			
990	18	Discharge hydrographs (top) for Fort Pearce Wash on 16-17 July 2012 (blue) and 14-15 September 2015 (black; the storm moved through Short Creek around 22:45 UTC). Rainfall rate field at 2245 UTC on 16 July 2012 (bottom), with the Fort Pearce Wash basin boundary outlined in black; the outlet is denoted by a red star. The Short Creek boundary is outlined in green.	70
991			
992			
993			
994			
995			

996	19	The lower Colorado River, Alamo River and the Salton Sea.	71
997	20	Hoover Dam (see Figure 2 for location).	72
998	21	Lake Powell from space. Entrance to the Grand Canyon is in the upper	
999		left corner of the image.	73
1000	22	Glen Canyon Dam (see Figure 2 for location).	74
1001	23	Hetch Hetchy Valley by Albert Bierstadt (late 19th century; Springfield	
1002		Museum of Fine Art, Massachusetts)	75
1003	24	Time series of discharge in the Colorado below Glen Canyon Dam	
1004		(Lee’s Ferry, Arizona) from 1 - 7 August 2013. Note the pronounced	
1005		diurnal cycle of discharge with minima during the early morning (min-	
1006		imum power demand in the urban areas of the southwest during the	
1007		summer) and peaks in the early evening (during the time of peak power	
1008		demand).	76
1009	25	Changes in the northeastern reaches of Lake Powell are documented	
1010		in this series of natural-color images taken by the Landsat satellites	
1011		for 1999 and 2013. The Colorado River flows in from the east around	
1012		Mille Crag Bend. At the west end of Narrow Canyon, the Dirty Devil	
1013		River joins the lake from the north. At the beginning of the series in	
1014		1999, water levels in Lake Powell were relatively high and the water	
1015		was a clear, dark blue. The sediment-filled Colorado River appeared	
1016		green-brown. In 2013 large expanses of dry canyon floor were visible.	77
1017	26	Combined storage volume (MAF; Million acre-feet	78
1018	27	Monthly time series of Lake Mead pool elevation from 1937 - 2017.	79
1019	28	Annual time series of flow volume (in acre-feet) for the Colorado River	
1020		at Lee’s Ferry. Dashed line is the linear trend for the period. Ver-	
1021		tical bars and shading delineate drought periods as defined using the	
1022		Palmer Drought Severity Index for the climate divisions encompassing	
1023		the upper Colorado River basin.	80
1024	29	Annual time series of “naturalized” flow volume (MAF; million acre-	
1025		feet) for the Colorado River at Lee’s Ferry (source Bureau of Reclama-	
1026		tion). Naturalized flow removes the effects of upstream consumptive	
1027		use. The green line shows the period of record mean annual flow vol-	
1028		ume. The red line shows a 10-year running average flow volume.	81
1029	30	Annual time series of January - November rainfall for the Upper Col-	
1030		orado River basin (blue); time series in red show “smoothed” time	
1031		series of annual rainfall.	82

1032 31 Lake Powell in October 2004. Precipitates along the margin of the
1033 reservoir create a white “bathtub ring” illustrating the high water level
1034 of Lake Powell (boat on the lake provides scale). 83

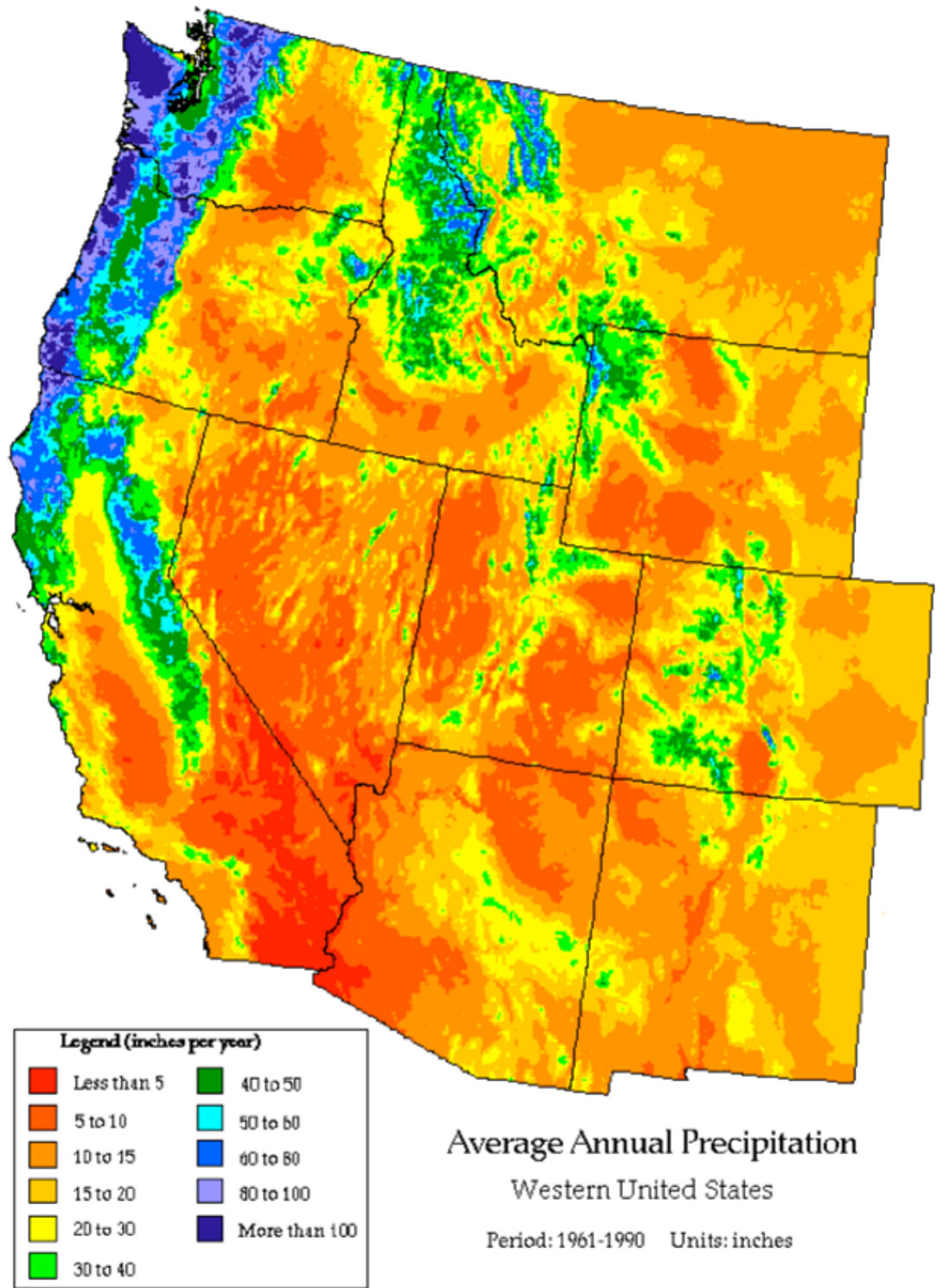


Figure 1: Mean annual precipitation (inches) in the western US based on rain gage observations for the period 1961 - 1990.



Figure 2: The Colorado River basin, the Colorado River basin and its main tributaries; the Green River, Gunnison River, San Juan River, Little Colorado River, Gila River and Virgin River. The Colorado River basin is divided into the Upper Basin (gray) and Lower Basin (beige). Major dams are shown, including Fontenelle and Flaming Gorge on the Green River, Taylor Park and Aspinall on the Gunnison, Navajo Dam on the San Juan, Glen Canyon, Hoover, Davis and Parker Dams on the mainstem Colorado River.



Figure 3: The Colorado River near Lees Ferry. Glen Canyon Dam and Lake Powell are located upstream (upper right portion of the image; the Grand Canyon, Lake Mead and Hoover Dam are located downstream.



Thomas Moran, *Chasm of the Colorado*, 1873-1874, Department of the Interior Museum, Washington, D.C.

Figure 4: Chasm of the Colorado by Thomas Moran

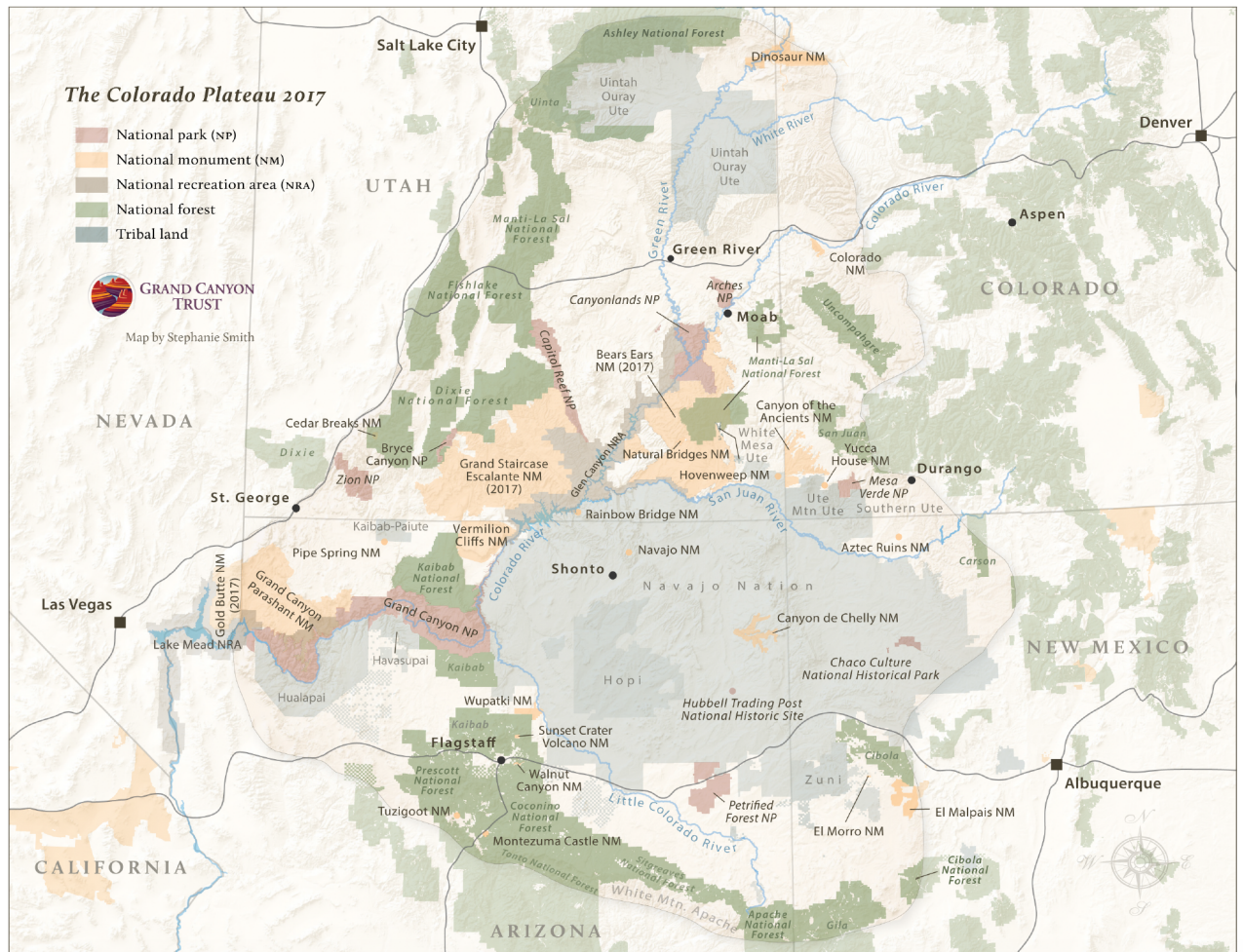


Figure 5: Map of the Colorado Plateau showing rivers and public lands (map by Stephanie Smith of the Grand Canyon Trust).

The Grand Staircase

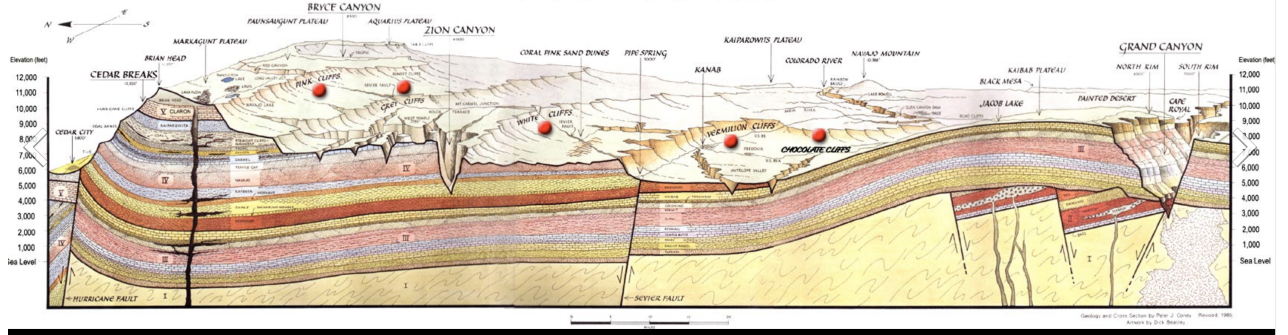


Figure 6: Conceptual map of Clarence Dutton’s Grand Staircase within the Colorado Plateau (map by National Park Service).

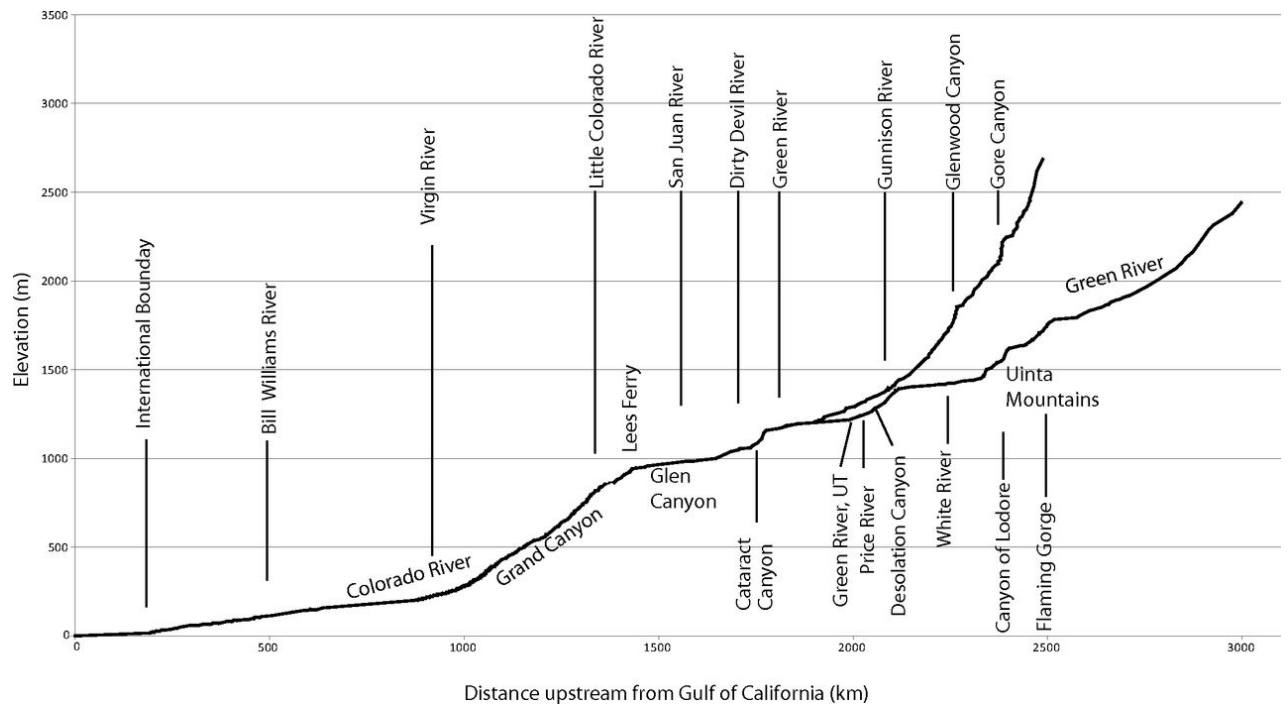


Figure 7: Longitudinal profile of the Colorado River from the sources in the Colorado and Green River (note the two profiles, one for the Green tributary and the other for the Colorado tributary) through the Grand Canyon to Mexico.

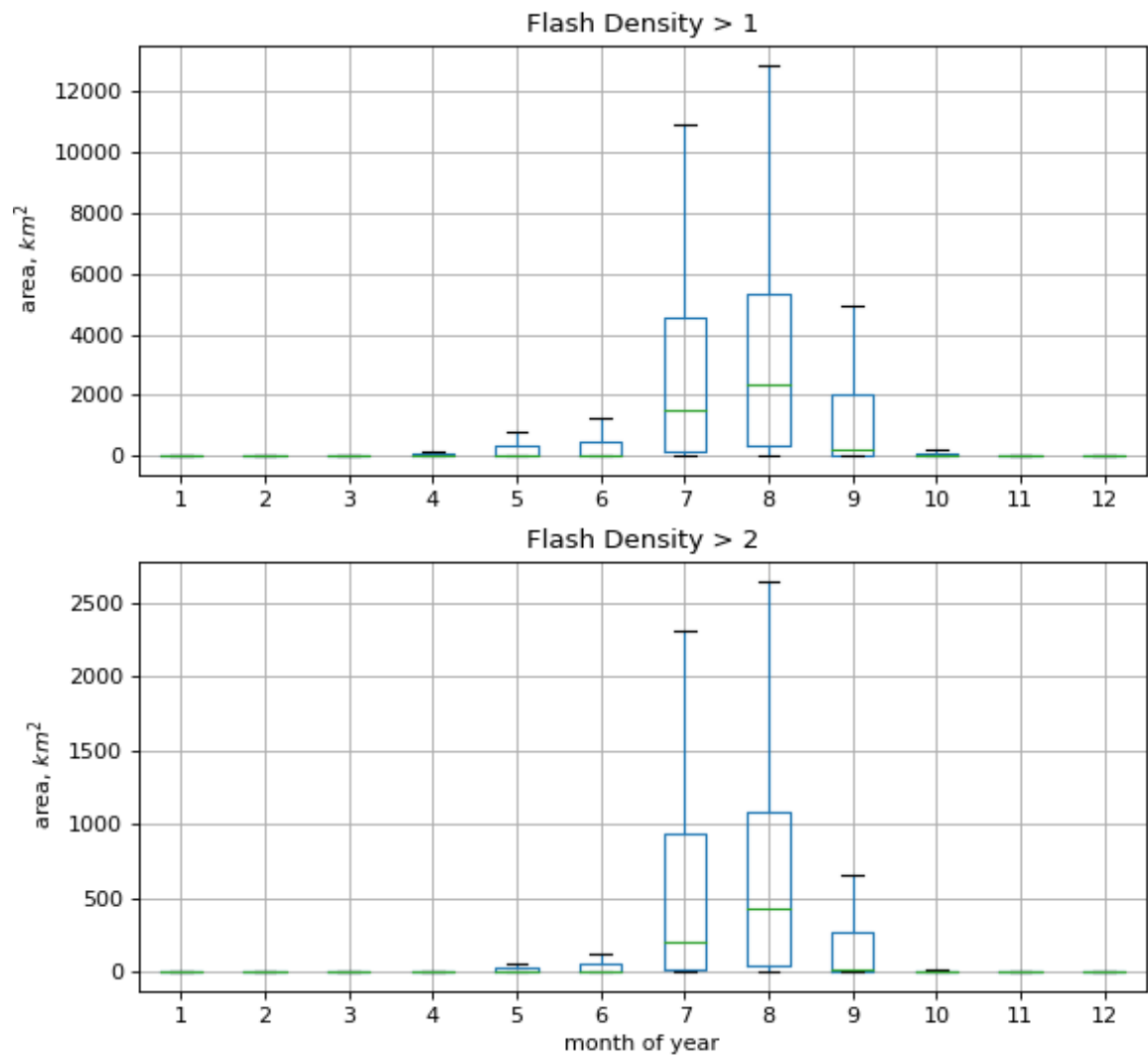


Figure 8: Boxplots of daily area with CG flash density exceeding 1 km^{-2} (top) and 2 km^{-2} for the Colorado Plateau.

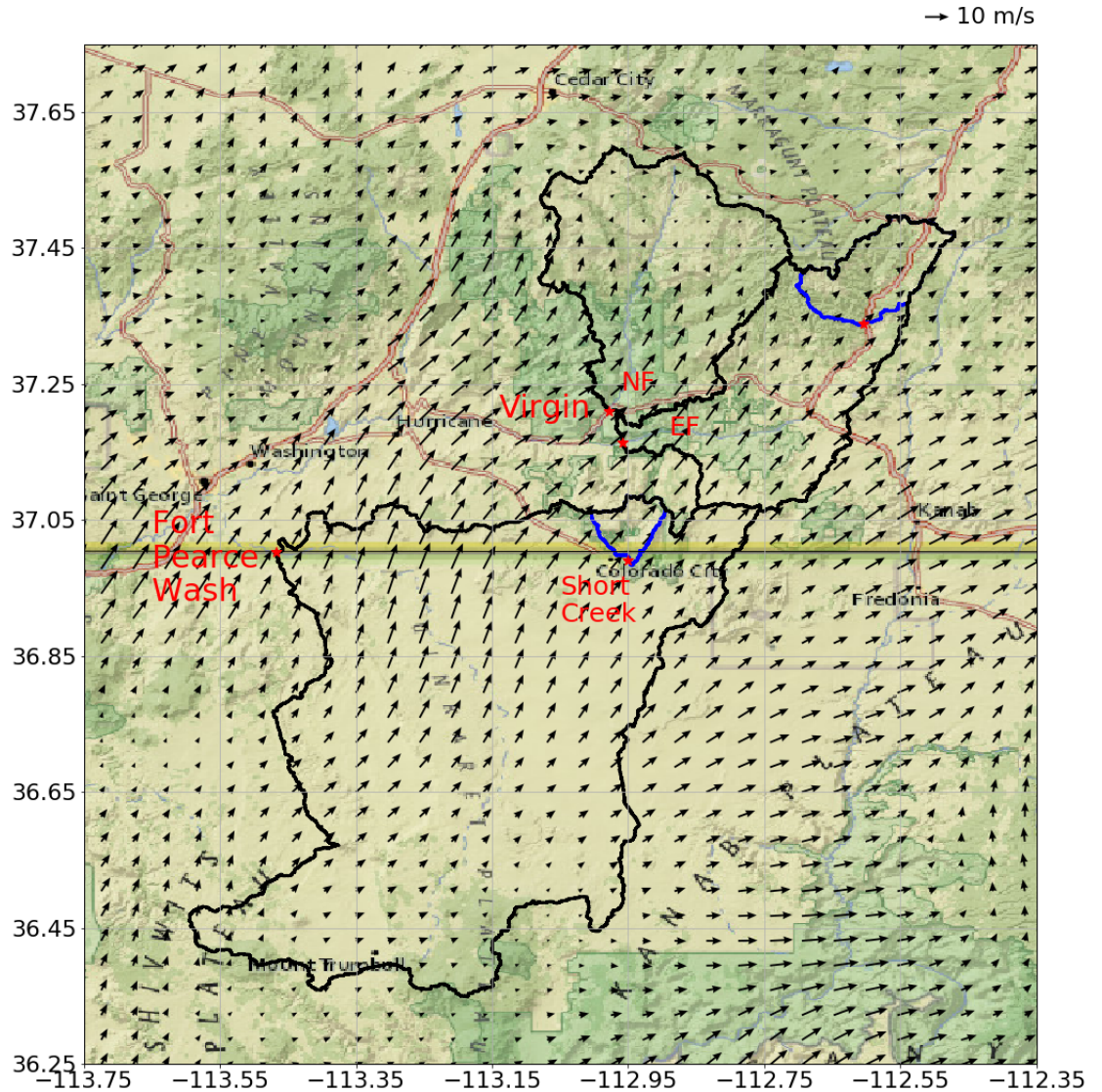


Figure 9: Storm motion vectors for flash-flood producing storms, 1998 - 2015 for a sub-region of the Colorado Plateau, that includes Fort Pearce Wash (and Short Creek), the East Fork Virgin River and North Fork Virgin River (basin boundaries are shown). The location of Short Creek is shown in Figure 10 as a red star.

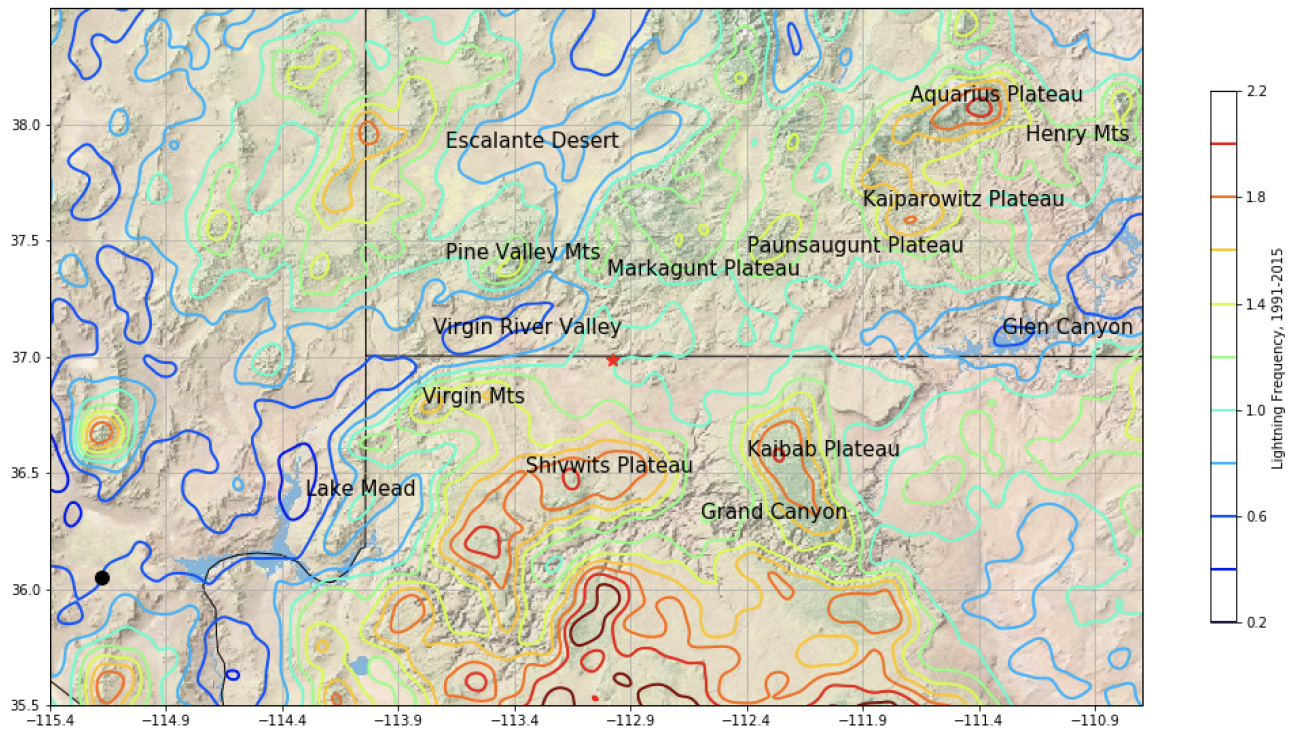


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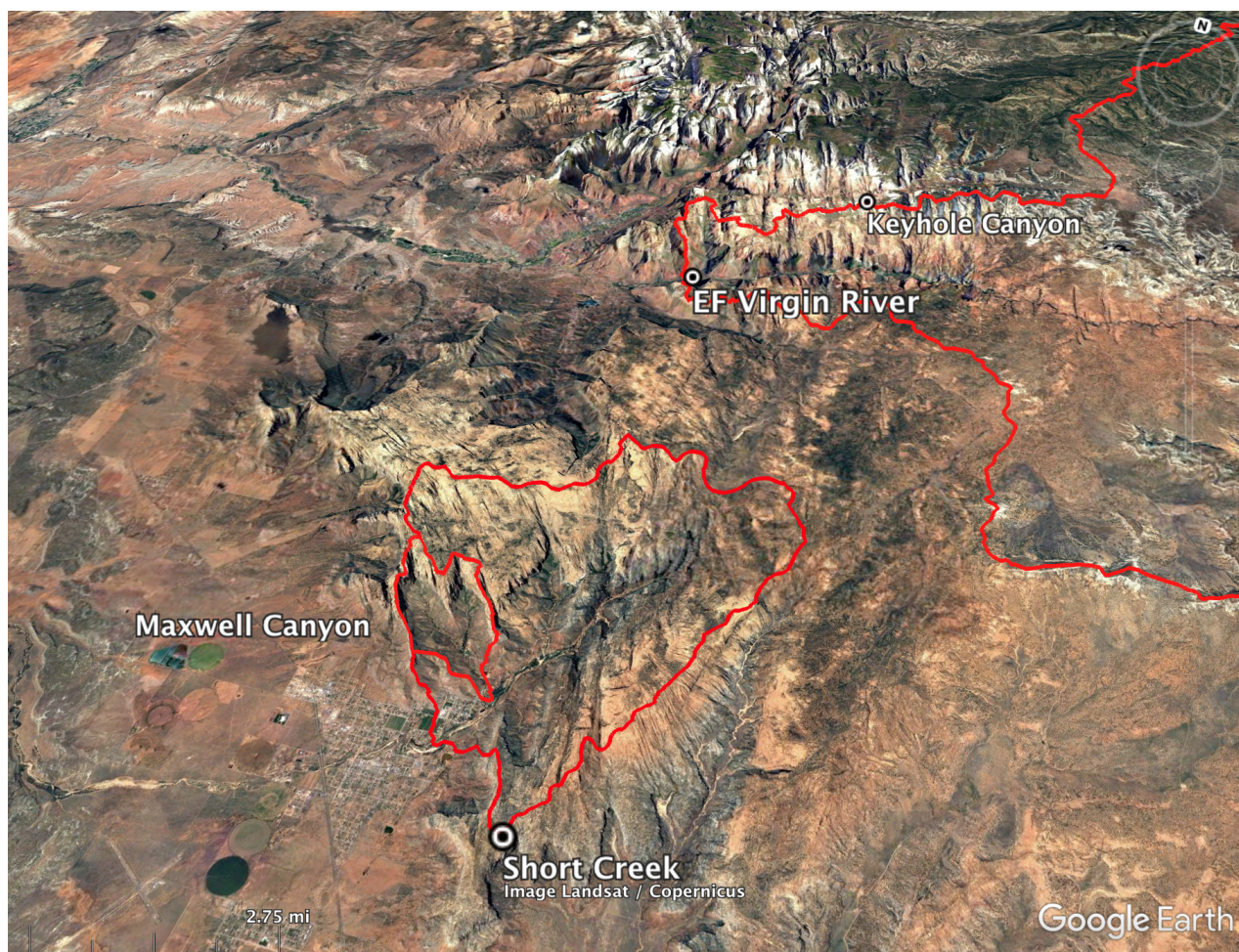


Figure 11: Short Creek, Maxwell Canyon and Virgin River study region. Basin boundaries of Maxwell Canyon and Short Creek are shown, along with a partial basin boundary for the East Fork Virgin River (outline is marked by black circle). Keyhole Canyon is also marked by a black circle.

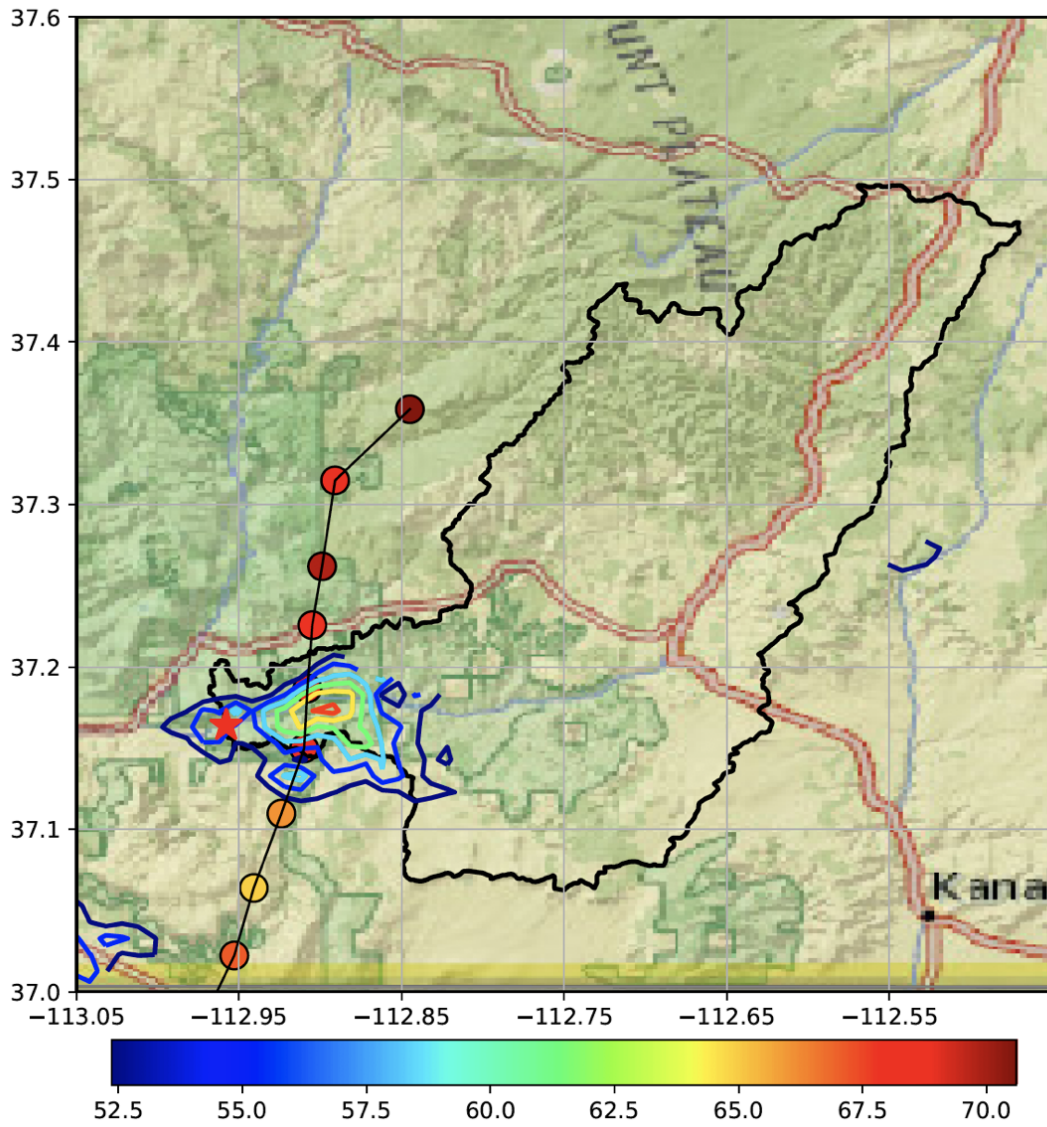


Figure 12: Rainfall rate field at 2245 UTC with basin boundary for East Fork Virgin River and storm tracks of the Hildale storm from 2232 UTC to 2306 UTC . Outlet of the basin is denoted by a red star.

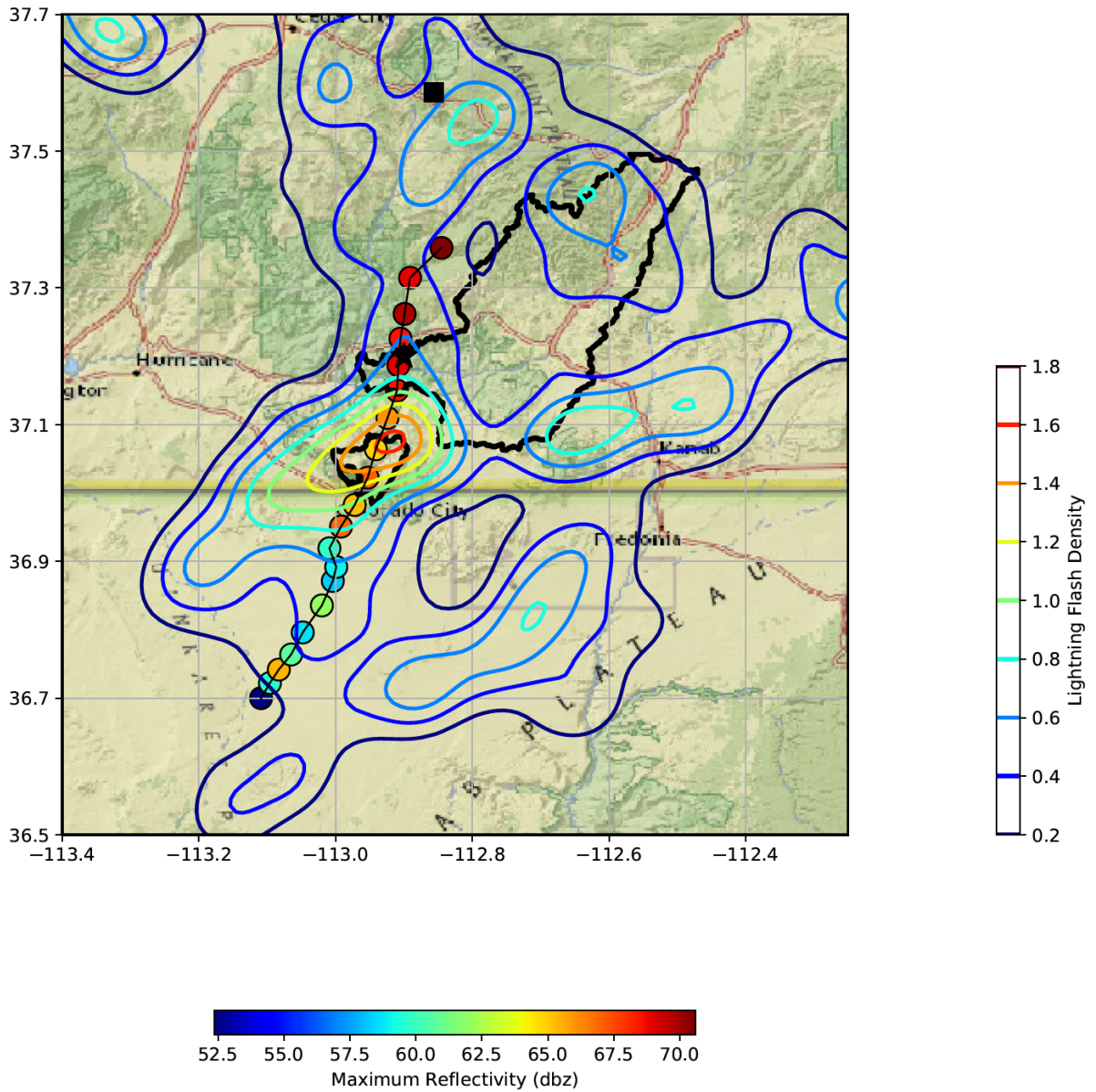


Figure 13: CG lightning flash density contours (CG strikes km^{-2}) on 14 September 2015 storm, with storm .storm tracks (filled circles) from 21:30 to 23:30 UTC. The time interval between track locations are 5 - 6 minutes. Color scale for storm track provides storm intensity in maximum reflectivity. The Maxwell Canyon, Short Creek and E. Fork Virgin River basin boundaries are outlined. KICX radar location is denoted by a black square.

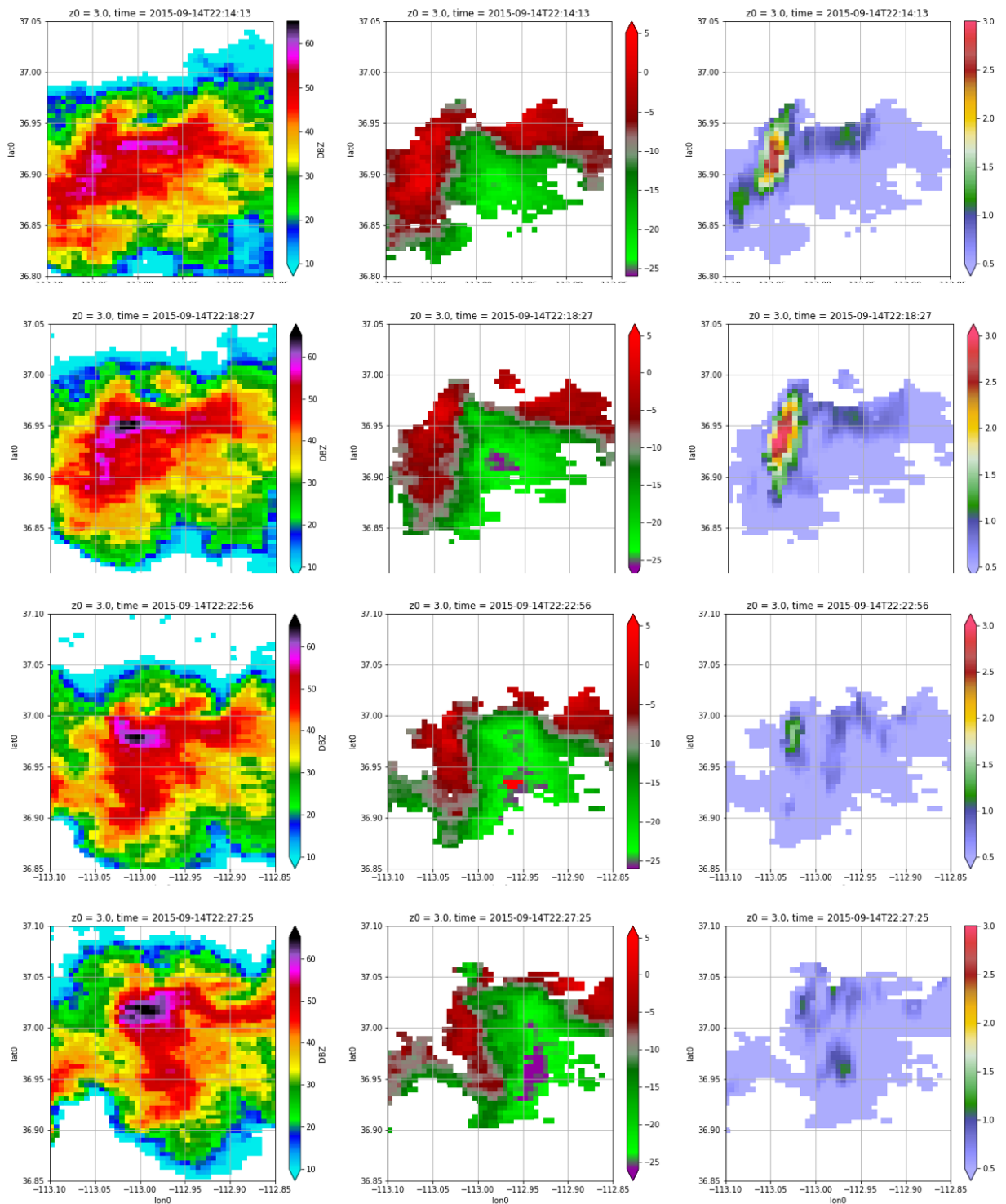


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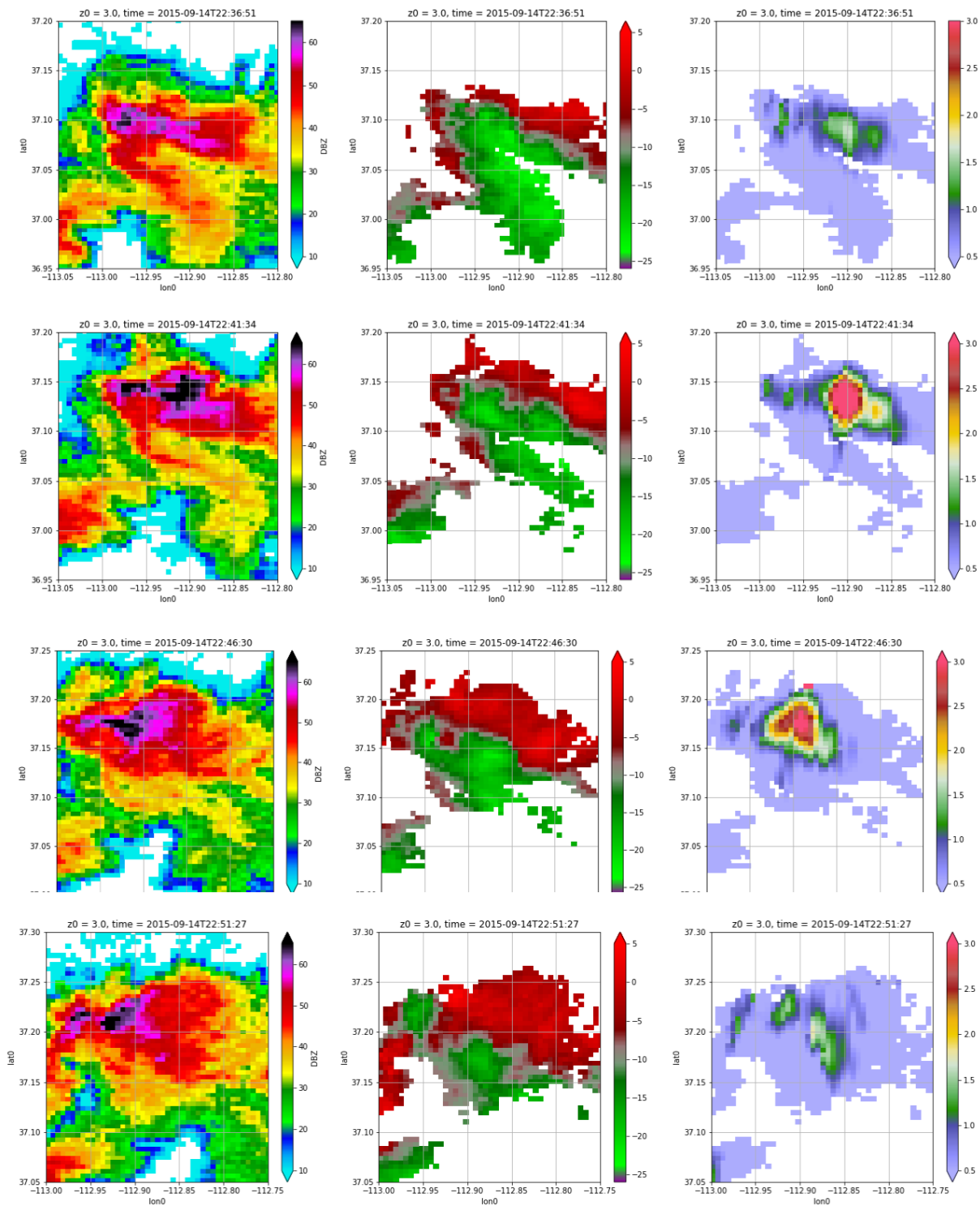


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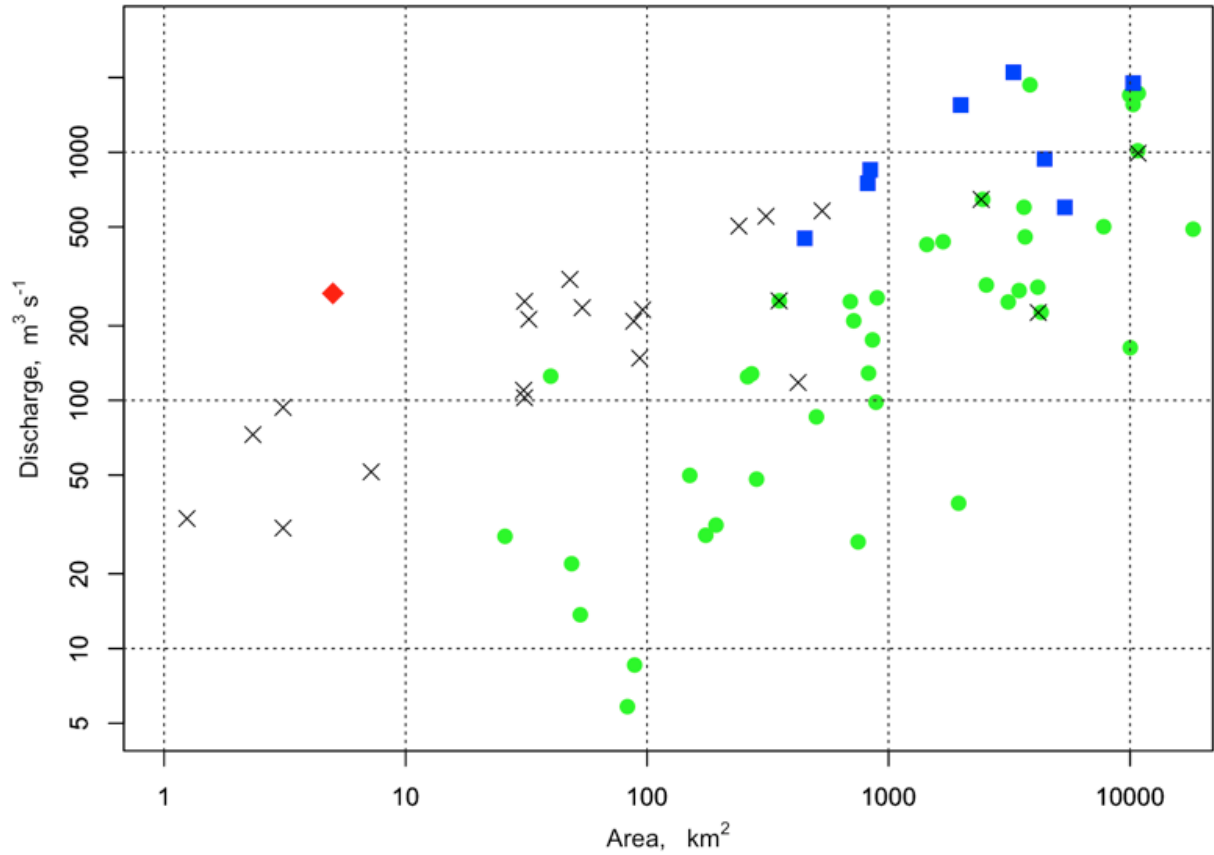


Figure 16: Record flood peaks in the Colorado Plateau of Utah, with the 14 September 2015 peak from Maxwell Canyon shown as a red diamond. The green circles are record flood peaks from USGS stream gaging stations. Flood peaks denoted by black “x” are record flood peaks from Utah, including “miscellaneous” peaks (from [6]). The flood peaks in blue are paleoflood peaks from [8].

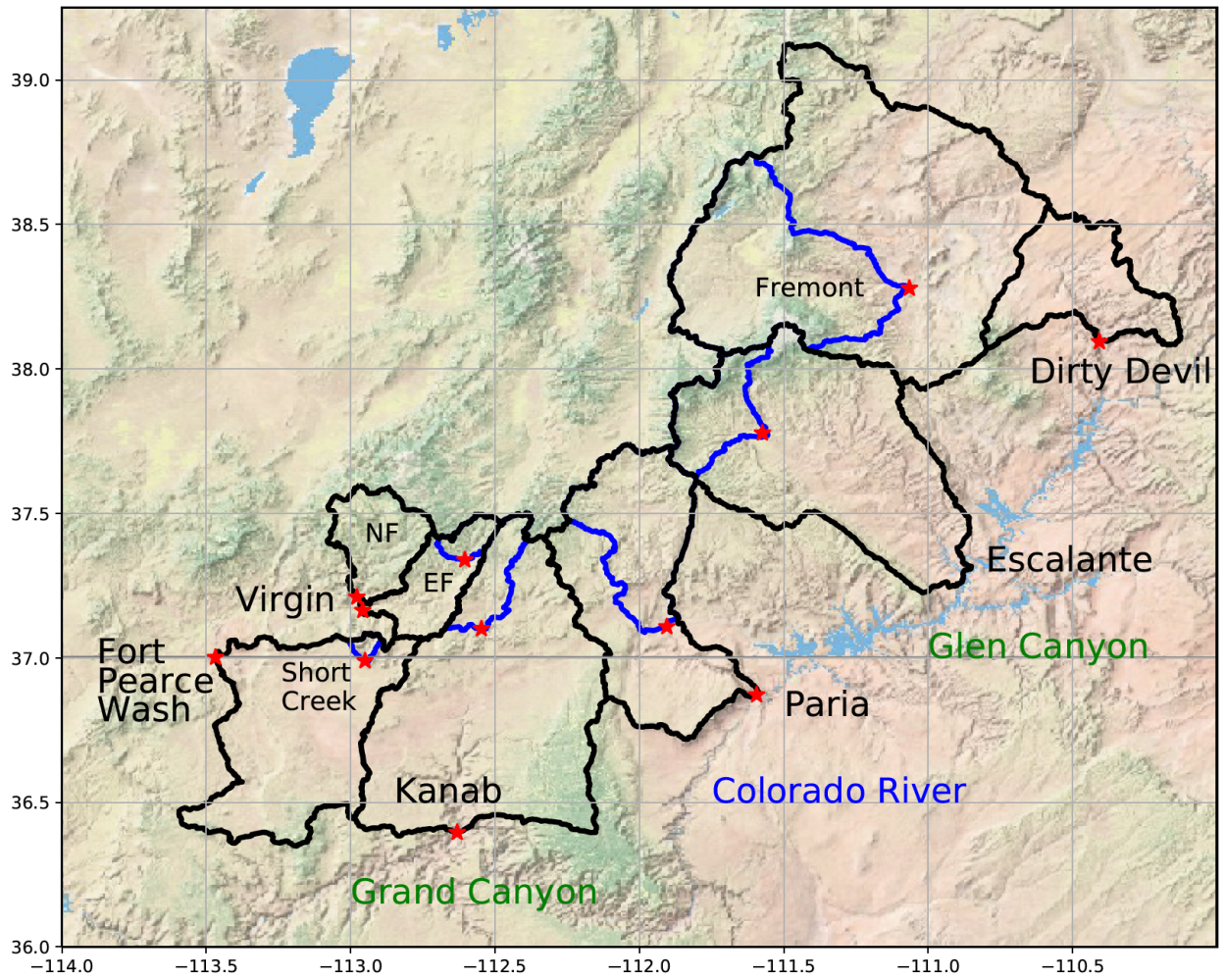


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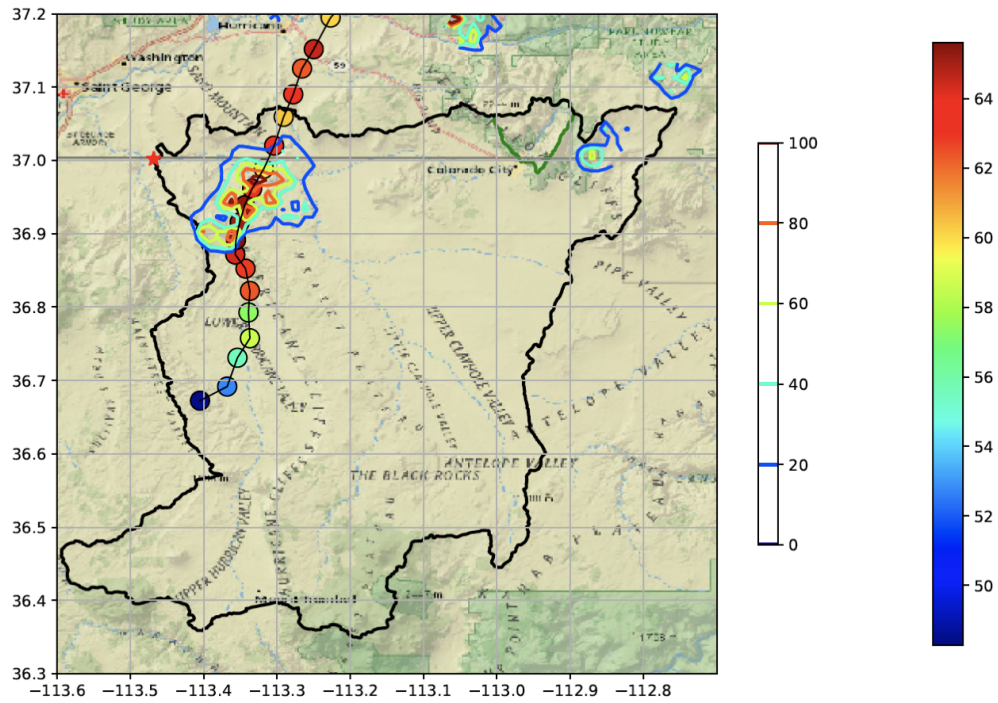
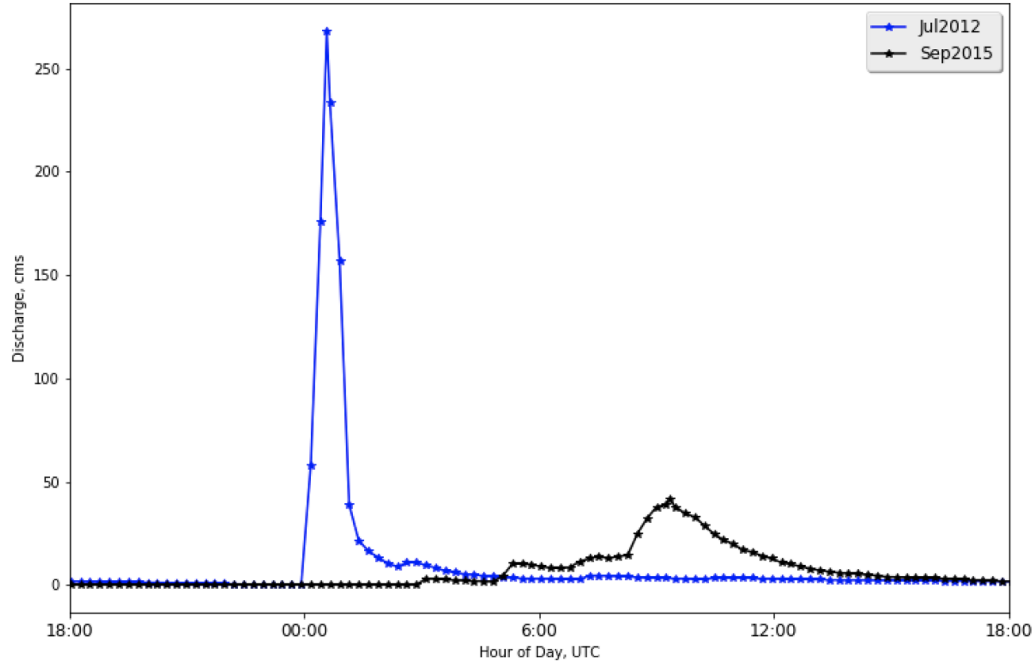


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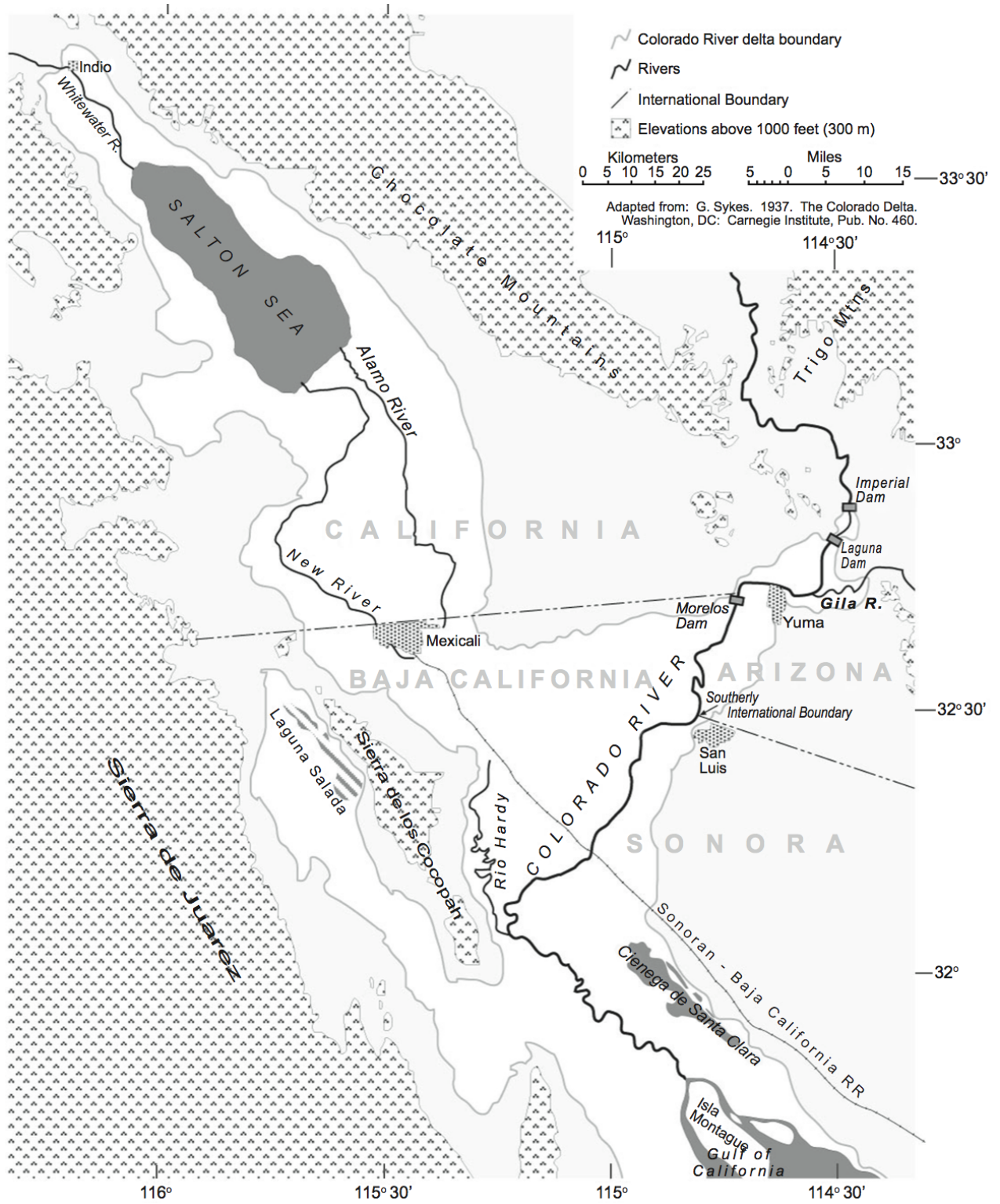


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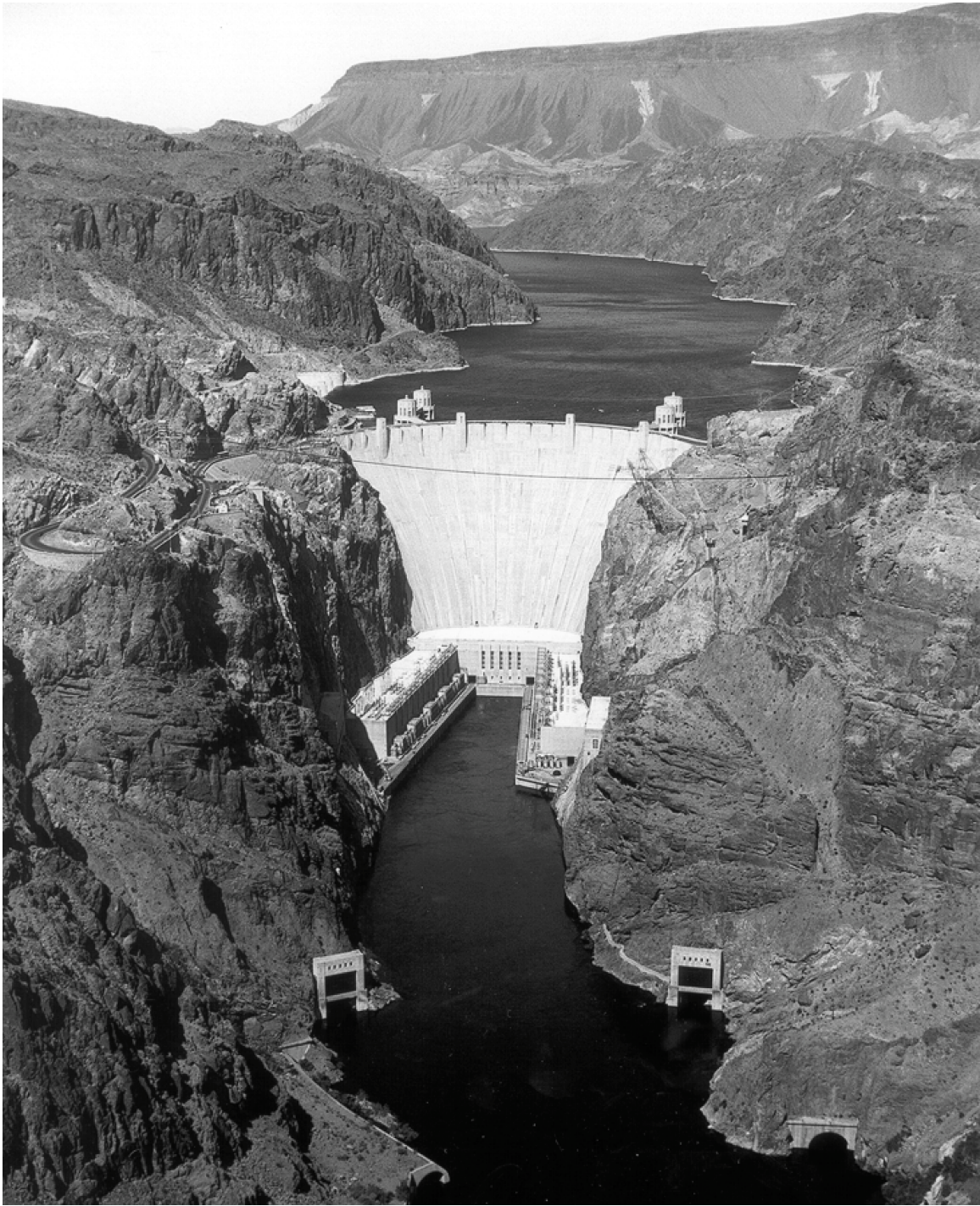


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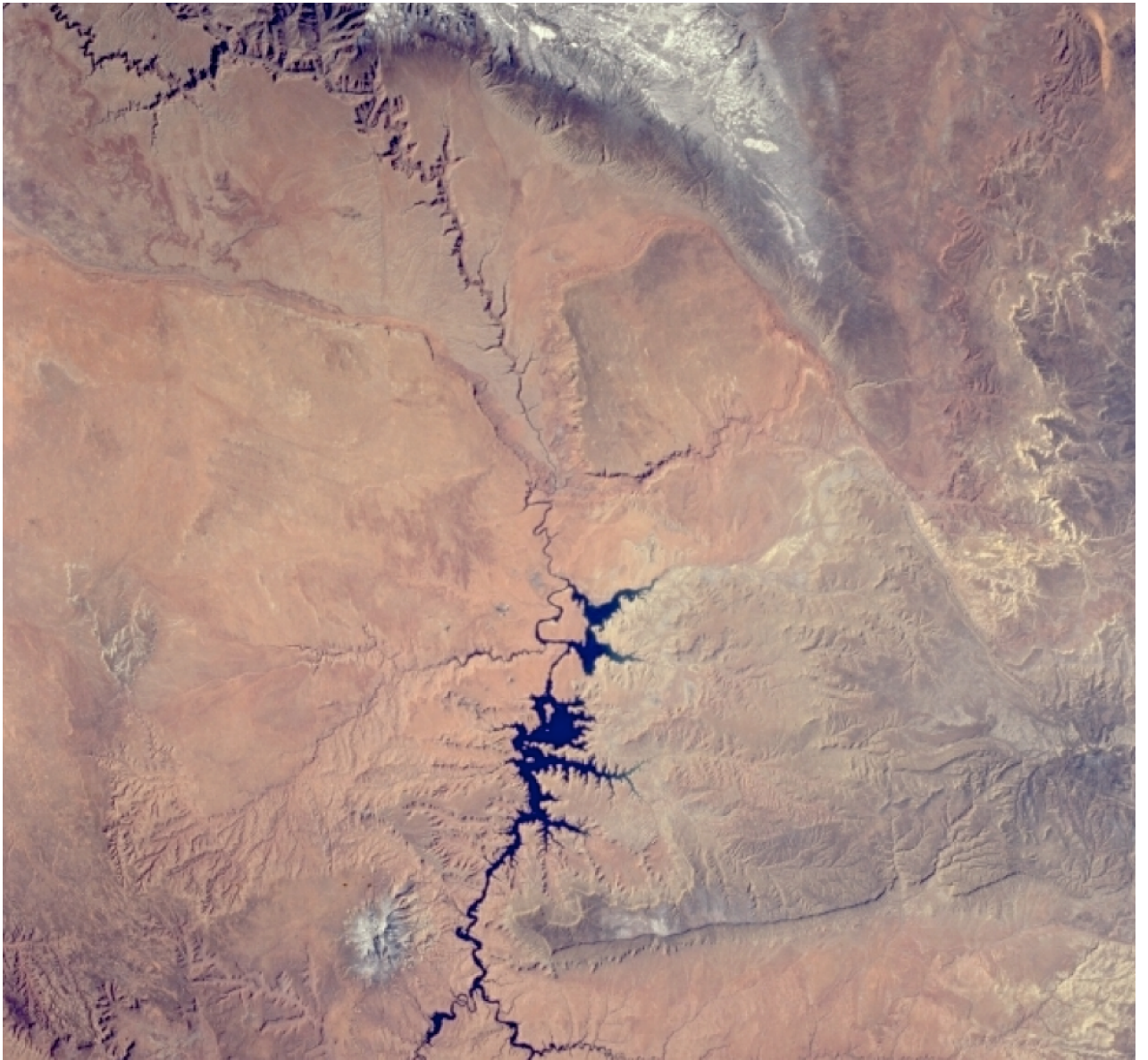


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USGS 09380000 COLORADO RIVER AT LEES FERRY, AZ

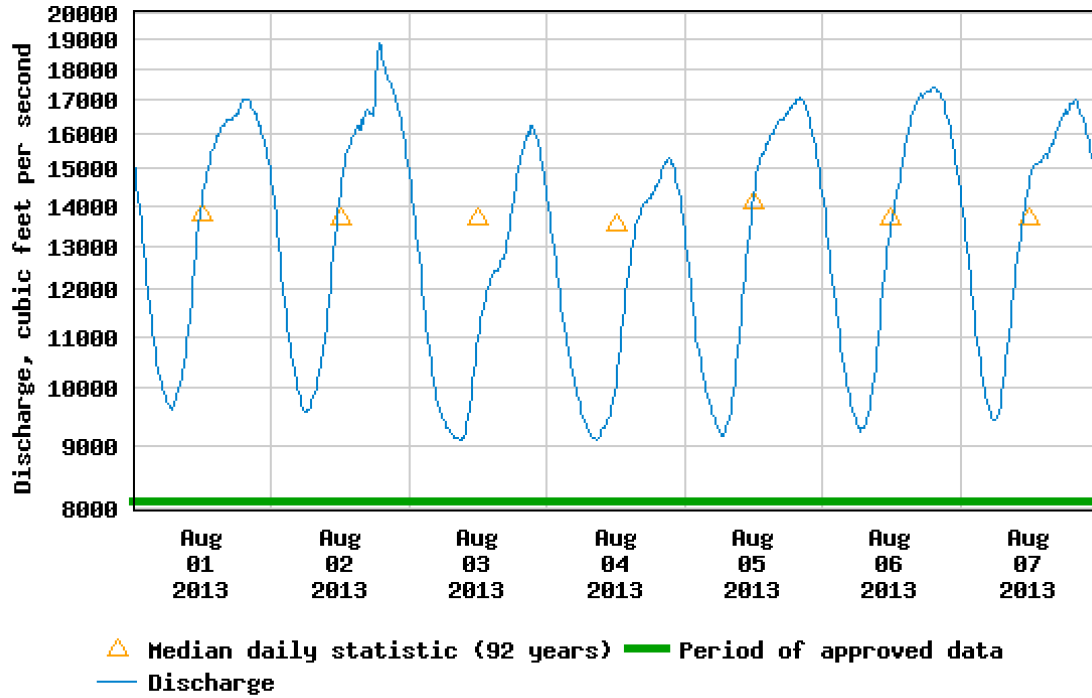
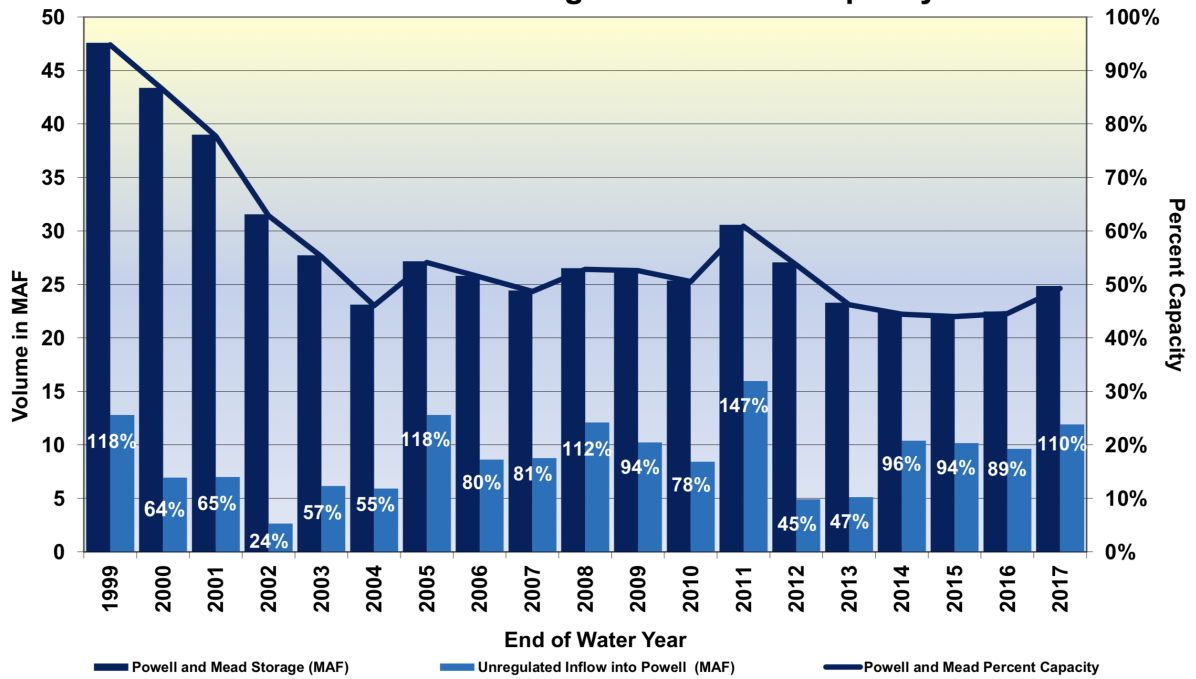


Figure 24: Time series of discharge in the Colorado below Glen Canyon Dam (Lee’s Ferry, Arizona) from 1 - 7 August 2013. Note the pronounced diurnal cycle of discharge with minima during the early morning (minimum power demand in the urban areas of the southwest during the summer) and peaks in the early evening (during the time of peak power demand).



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Unregulated Inflow into Lake Powell Powell-Mead Storage and Percent Capacity



¹ Percentages at the top of the light blue bars represent percent of average unregulated inflow into Lake Powell for a given water year. The percent of average is based on the period of record from 1981-2010.

Figure 26: Combined storage volume (MAF; Million acre-feet for Lake Mead and Lake Powell (left axis) in purple bars; the right axis gives the combined storage volume as a per cent of the total capacity. The blue bars give unregulated Lake Powell inflow (MAF).

Lake Mead End of Month Elevation

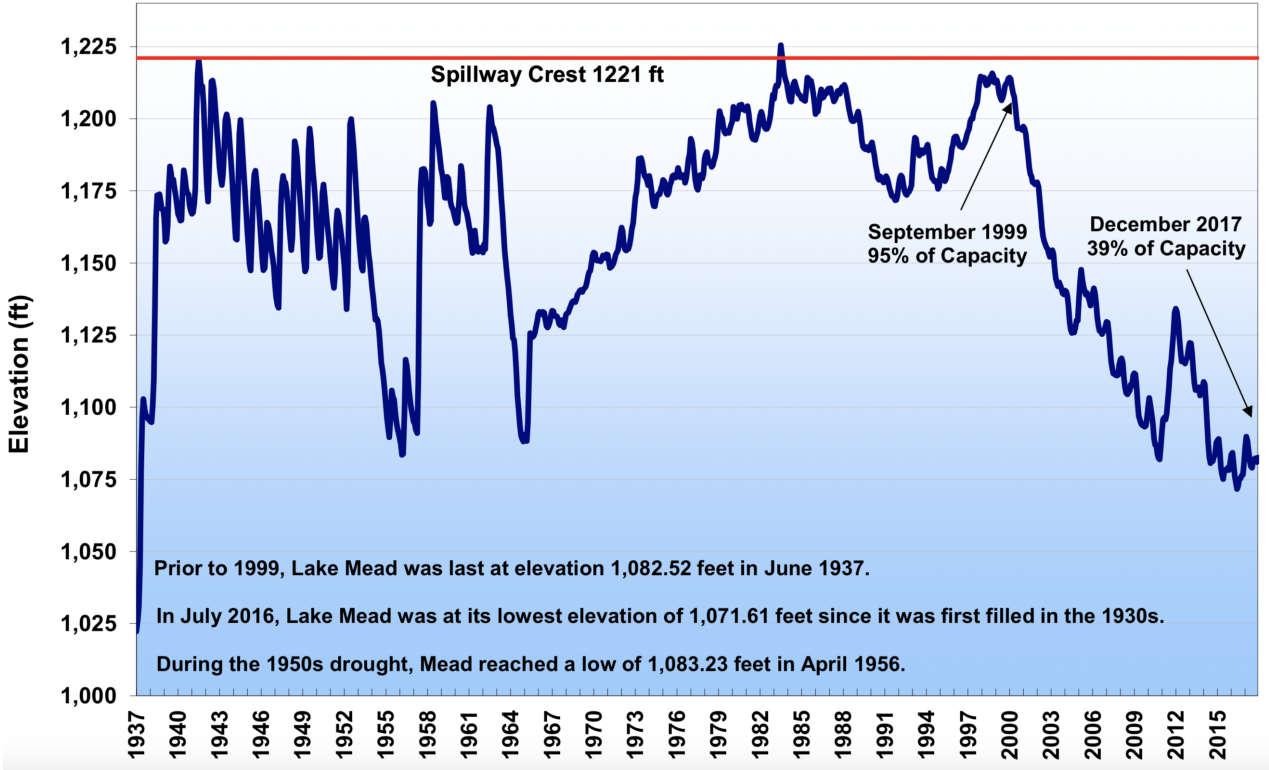


Figure 27: Monthly time series of Lake Mead pool elevation from 1937 - 2017.

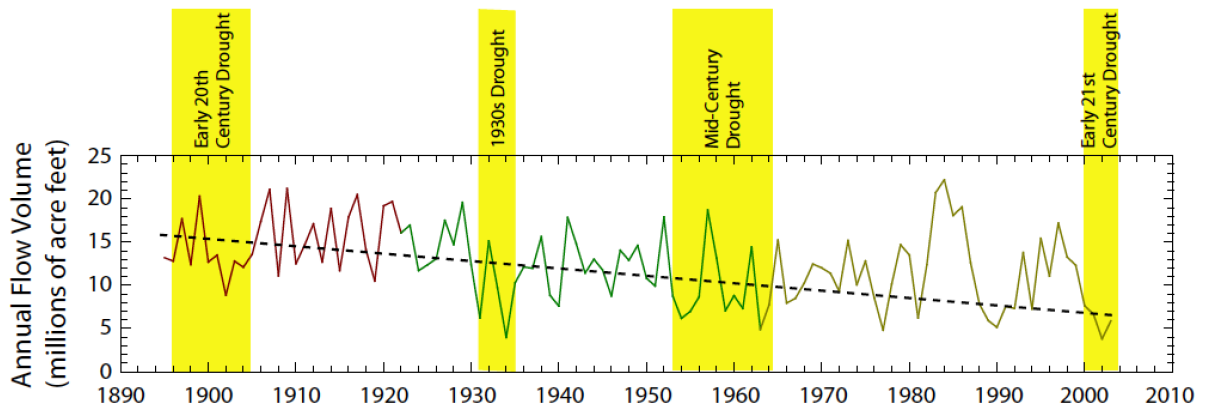


Figure 28: Annual time series of flow volume (in acre-feet) for the Colorado River at Lee’s Ferry. Dashed line is the linear trend for the period. Vertical bars and shading delineate drought periods as defined using the Palmer Drought Severity Index for the climate divisions encompassing the upper Colorado River basin.

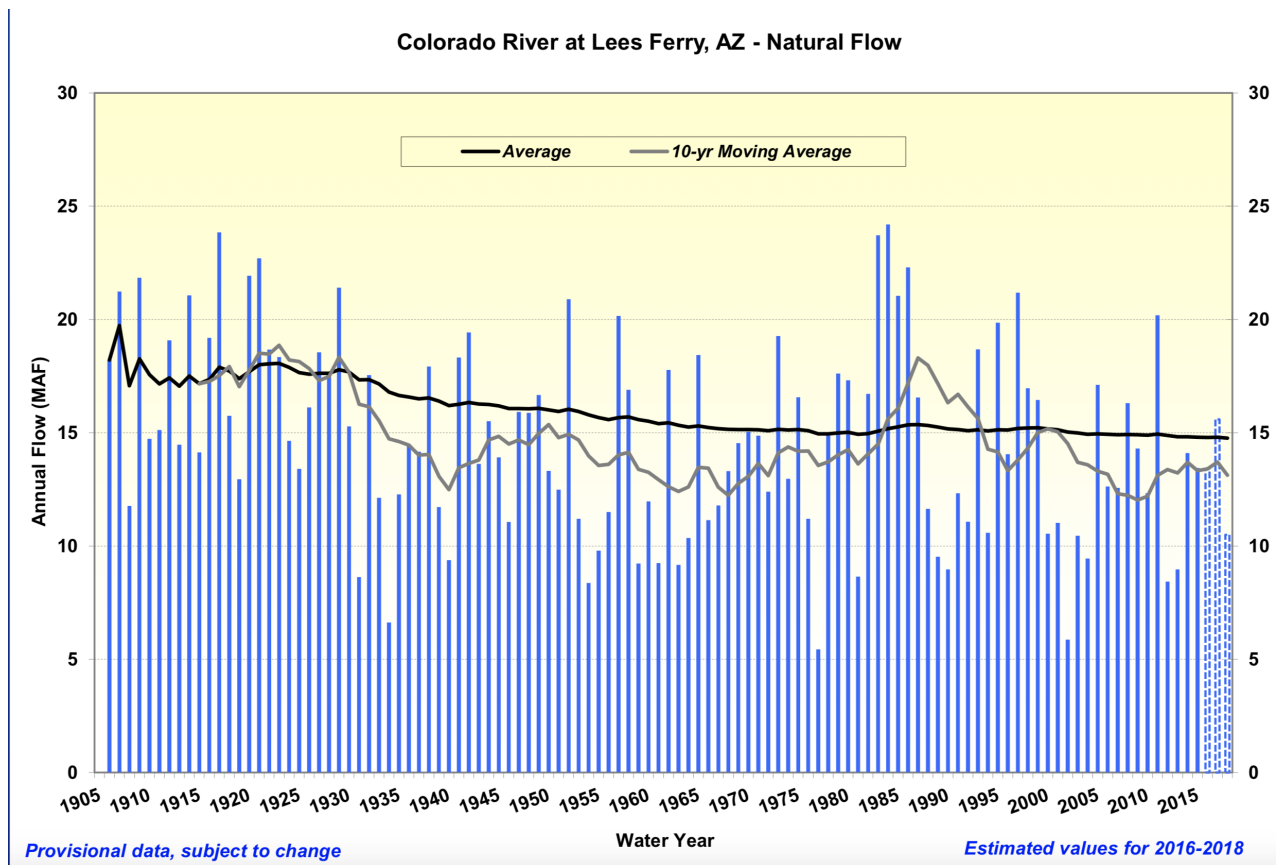
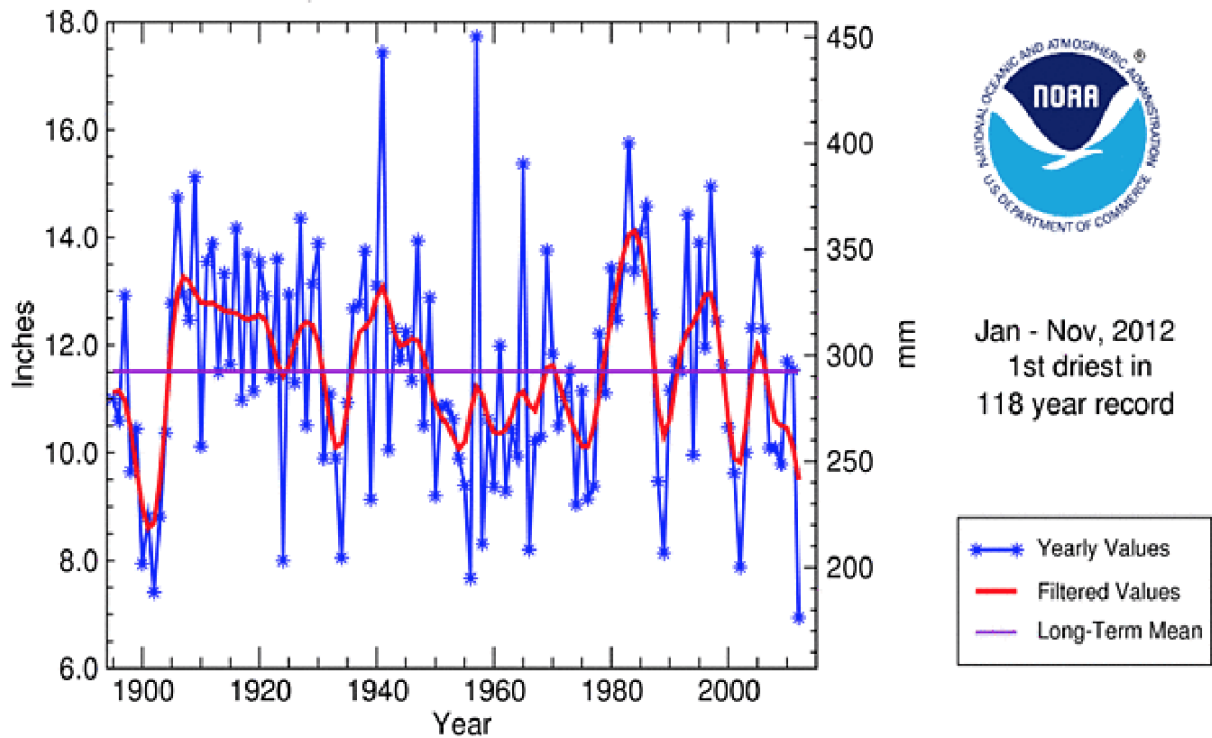


Figure 29: Annual time series of “naturalized” flow volume (MAF; million acre-feet) for the Colorado River at Lee’s Ferry (source Bureau of Reclamation). Naturalized flow removes the effects of upstream consumptive use. The green line shows the period of record mean annual flow volume. The red line shows a 10-year running average flow volume.

Upper Colorado River Basin Precipitation January - November, 1895 - 2012



National Climatic Data Center / NESDIS / NOAA

Figure 30: Annual time series of January - November rainfall for the Upper Colorado River basin (blue); time series in red show “smoothed” time series of annual rainfall.



Figure 31: Lake Powell in October 2004. Precipitates along the margin of the reservoir create a white “bathtub ring” illustrating the high water level of Lake Powell (boat on the lake provides scale).