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Paiutes, Mormons, and Mericats: A History of Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument

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**Paiutes, Mormons, and Mericats:
A History of Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument**

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Table of Contents

Introduction [to come]

Chapter 1: Paiutes, Mormons, and Scientists: Native Peoples and Newcomers to
1873, p. 4

Chapter 2: Lumber, Grass, and Copper: Parashant in the Regional Mormon
Economy, 1873-1893, p. 69

Chapter 3: Preston Nutter, Miss McMasters, and Ranger Sorenson: Ranching,
Mining, and the Forest Service, 1893-1916, p. 110

Chapter 4: Homesteading in a Harsh Land: Bundyville, Ranching, and the Federal
Role, 1916-1936, p. 175

Chapter 5 [to come]: Federal Management and Ranching, 1936-1966

Conclusion [to come]

Images, p. 210

Appendix, p. 218

Bibliography, p. 225

Overview map, final page

Introduction [to come]

Chapter 1:
Paiutes, Mormons, and Scientists:
Native Peoples and Newcomers to 1873

On September 19, 1870, a group met near Mount Trumbull to discuss the fate of three men who had reportedly died near Mount Dellenbaugh the year before (see overview map). Chuarumpeak, a chief of the Shivwits, was there with several of his people – a group who had raised crops, hunted, gathered, and made their lives in the region for centuries. John Wesley Powell, the explorer and scientist, was there anxious to learn details on how William Dunn and the brothers Oramel and Seneca Howland had died – men who had abandoned Powell’s exploring party on the Colorado River on August 28, 1869, rather than run a particularly treacherous looking set of rapids. Jacob Hamblin, the Mormon explorer and missionary, knew the Native peoples of the area and the landscape

itself better than any other non-Indian, and was there to translate and help with any negotiations.¹

The three men represented separate groups whose fate intertwined in the area that is now Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument and in the broader region.² Euro-Americans wrested control of these lands from Southern Paiutes, not in any dramatic battle, but in a slow process where the fields, wild plants, and wildlife that had traditionally sustained the Paiutes disappeared as Mormons brought in cattle to graze. Hunger, rather than warfare, undermined Paiute control of the land. Yet Shivwits labor would also help sustain new economic uses of the area. Mormons would be the first to exploit the area for livestock, bringing cooperative cattle companies into the Parashant in the 1870s. John Wesley Powell and other non-Mormon Euro-Americans (a group called Gentiles by the Mormons, Mericats by the Paiutes) would transform the area as well. The actions of the federal government for whom he worked would shape use of the area through land laws in years to come, often in unintended ways as cattlemen looked for loopholes in land laws as often as opportunities to benefit from their intent.

¹ Donald Worster, *A River Running West: The Life of John Wesley Powell* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 210-15; Don D. Fowler and Catherine S. Fowler, "John Wesley Powell, Anthropologist," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 37:2 (Spring 1969): 152-72.

² The formal name of the monument created in 2000 is "Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument," sometimes referred to informally as "Parashant National Monument" or simply "Parashant." The reader should be aware that prior to the creation of the monument, the term "Parashant" referred to a much smaller area than the entire monument: the southern part of the Shivwits Plateau roughly from the Grand Wash Cliffs to Parashant Canyon and from Kelly Point to Poverty Mountain, or more specifically the area around Oak Grove and Wild Cat (see foldout map). In this report, the term "Parashant" by itself generally refers to this smaller area. The reader should also note that Parashant has been spelled many different ways through the years (Parashaunt, Parashont, Parashonts, Pahshaunt, etc.) and that these original spelling are preserved within quotations throughout the report. The area took its name from a Shivwits Paiute family that lived in the area historically. The family name means "elk or large deer." ("Frequently Asked Questions," Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument, <http://www.nps.gov/para/faqs.htm>, accessed July 2009).

By the 1890s, non-Mormon cattlemen would come to rival Mormon cattlemen in working the area.

These three men, along with several other Shivwits, and members of Powell's party, started their conversation with a peace pipe, although Powell found the buckskin-wrapped object "exceedingly repulsive" and engaged in "very earnest conversation" so none would notice as he quietly passed it along without smoking.³ Although Shivwits had encountered many whites since Mormons first came to southern Utah and northern Arizona in the 1850s, Hamblin had a difficult time explaining the purpose of Powell's travels. He had not come with an immediate purpose of settlement or resource exploitation, rather he wanted to understand broadly the Native peoples and terrain of the area. His efforts fit into the same broad process of exploration and settlement as did Hamblin's; but his immediate goals were much more abstract.

Soon Hamblin, who spoke the Shivwits language, began to make inquiries about the three missing men. Powell, who had some knowledge of the closely related Ute language, was likely able to loosely follow the conversation. In Powell's words:

Mr. Hamblin fell into conversation with one of the men and held him until the others had left, and then learned more of the particulars of the death of the three men. They came upon the Indian village almost starved and exhausted with fatigue. They were supplied with food and put on their way to the settlements. Shortly after they had left, an Indian from the east side of the Colorado arrived at their village and told them about a number of miners having killed a squaw in drunken brawl, and no doubt these were the men; no person had ever come down the canyon; that was impossible; they were trying to hide their guilt. In this way he worked

³ John Wesley Powell, *The Exploration of the Colorado River and its Canyons* (New York: Dover, 1961), 321.

them into a great rage. They followed, surrounded the men in ambush, and filled them full of arrows.⁴

Dunn and the Howlands were likely the first whites to venture near Mount Dellenbaugh. While Euro-Americans had long been familiar with other parts of the American West and had created growing settlements throughout the region, the Shivwits Plateau had received little attention. The Grand Canyon to the south meant that most of the area was not on the way to anywhere else. The lack of water made it a difficult place to establish permanent settlements. Yet in the decades to come this area would be transformed as well, as newcomers found ways to exploit the resources it did offer: grass, lumber, and copper.

Four major themes intertwine in the history of Parashant: economic networks, the state, religion, and the environment. Shivwits people gained subsistence from the wide varieties of plants and animals that inhabited the Arizona Strip, as well as relying on local and regional networks of trade. Hamblin and Powell represent two of the dominant forces that would shape the experience Euro-American conquest of Shivwits country: religion and the state. Hamblin had come west as part of a religious migration and Powell as a government scientist. But both men were part of a process of dispossessing Native peoples of these lands and of tying the environment of the Arizona Strip into regional and national economic networks. Hamblin used his explorations to tell Mormons the best routes through the Arizona Strip to southern Arizona. Powell used his findings to lobby for careful consideration of specific environmental conditions in distributing land to white settlers. Limiting such projects was the

⁴ Powell, *Exploration*, 323.

environment of the Arizona Strip itself, and especially the lack of water. This stubborn environmental fact assured it would never know dense Euro-American settlement – “out home” later homesteaders would call it, a term that eloquently captures how this place could be both remote from the comforts of large towns and cities, yet be familiar and appreciated by those who struggled to live there.⁵ Though small towns would spring up for a time in and near the future monument, at Grand Gulch and Bundyville, the harsh environment would keep it a lonely landscape, home to more cattle than people.

Ecology and Geology

At that Mount Trumbull meeting, no one knew the landscape of the area more intimately than the Shivwits who were present. Their lives depended on a deep knowledge of the water sources, plants, animals, and travel routes of their homeland. We cannot know with precision the ecology of the area before white settlement. Yet a description of its current ecology provides a sense of the diversity of landscapes within the current monument. The area that is now Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument may be divided into a number of distinct zones defined by vegetation types and topographic barriers – zones that have shaped human uses of the area for millennia. It is shaped most basically by its geology, lying at the dramatic intersection between the Basin and Range Province to the west and the Colorado Plateau to the east.⁶ Farthest to the west is Mohave

⁵ Nellie Iverson Cox, *A Harsh Land and Proud: Saga of the “Arizona Strip”* (Las Vegas, Nevada: Cox Printing Company, 1982), 201-2.

⁶ Shannon Kelly, “Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument,” in John D. Grahame and Thomas D. Sisk, “Canyons, Cultures and Environmental Change: An Introduction to the Land-use

Scrub Desert of the Grand Wash Basin between the Grand Wash Cliffs and the Nevada border. This ecosystem has elevations from 1,600 feet to 3,300 feet, with seven to eleven inches of precipitation a year and mean temperatures in the eighties in the summer and the forties in the winter. Creosotebush, all-scale, brittlebush, desert holly, white burrobush and Joshua tree predominate. A variety of cacti thrive as well: Engelmann hedgehog, mohave prickly pear, silver cholla, beavertail cactus, and the many-headed barrel cactus.⁷

The Grand Wash Cliffs divide the Grand Wash trough to the west from the Shivwits plateau to the east. Formerly dominated by grasslands, the plateau now has a mix of pinyon-juniper woodlands and sagebrush shrubs. It ranges from 4,400 to 7,000 feet in elevation with nine to fifteen inches of precipitation a year, mean summer temperatures in the sixties or seventies and mean winter temperatures in the thirties or forties.⁸ The Parashant Canyon and Hurricane Ridge separate the Shivwits Plateau to the west and the Uinkaret plateau to the east. On the Uinkaret, grassland and sagebrush ecosystems surround Mount Logan and Mount Trumbull.

On the Shivwits and Uinkarets plateau a variety of ecosystems exists. Grasslands are common at 4,000 to 5,000 feet of elevation – areas with five to twelve inches of rain annually and associated with blue grama, galleta grass,

History of the Colorado Plateau” 2002 [accessed April 2009, http://cpluhna.nau.edu/Places/grand_canyon_parashant.htm].

⁷ Bureau of Land Management, “Shivwits Grazing Management” (Phoenix, Arizona: Bureau of Land Management, Arizona State Office), 1979. On the area’s ecology, see Martin R. Rose, “Present and Past Environmental Conditions,” in Jeffrey H. Altschul and Helen C. Fairley, “Man, Models and Management: An Overview of the Archaeology of the Arizona Strip and the Management of its Cultural Resources” (US Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management, 1989), 7-52.

⁸ BLM, “Shivwits Grazing Management.”

squirreltail, Indian ricegrass, crested wheatgrass, and Russian wildrye. Sagebrush zones are found from 3,000 to 8,000 feet in areas with eight to sixteen inches of rain annually and include big sagebrush, sandsage, fringed sage, black sagebrush, Begelow sage, squirreltrail, Junegrass, western wheatgrass, blue grama, galleta grass, ephedra, cliffrose, and flourwing saltbush. Pinyon-juniper zones are found from 4,500 to 8,000 feet in areas with ten to twenty inches of rain annually and are associated with pinyon, juniper, sagebrush, cliffrose, blue grama, galleta grass, Indian ricegrass, squirreltrail, and ring muhly.⁹

At upper elevations throughout the eastern portions of the monument are conifer forests, in the vicinity of Horse Valley, Mount Logan, and Mount Trumbull. Throughout the Arizona Strip, Ponderosa pine are found at lower elevations, and Douglas-fir, white fir, and aspen at higher elevations and on north-facing slopes.¹⁰ Conifer zones are found from 6,000 to 8,000 feet in areas with fifteen to twenty-five inches of rain annually and are associated with ponderosa pine, cliffrose, blue grama, Arizona fescue, bitterbrush, and sagebrush.¹¹

These diverse plant communities support a variety of animal life, from roadrunners, jackrabbits, desert tortoises, rattlesnakes, quail, and ground squirrels, to coyotes, deer, and mountain lion. Deer range throughout the Shivwits Plateau and Mount Trumbull area, favoring ponderosa pine, pinyon-juniper, and sagebrush zones. Bighorn sheep occurred throughout the area historically. However, competition and diseases from domestic sheep, combined with hunting, led to their decline, although as recently as the 1970s bighorns were seen near

⁹ BLM, "Shivwits Grazing Management" 47.

¹⁰ Rose, 34.

¹¹ BLM "Shivwits Grazing Management," 47.

Pigeon Canyon and Grand Wash Cliffs. Pronghorns disappeared from the area in the early twentieth century, due to hunting and competition from livestock; but began to return in the 1970s, primarily north of the current monument in the Hurricane Valley. The most prevalent predator is the coyote, which occurs throughout the monument; other carnivores are mountain lions, bobcats, gray foxes, and kit foxes. By one account, the last wolves on the Arizona Strip were seen in the 1940s. The area supports many small mammals from bats to jackrabbits and cottontails.¹²

The hundreds of birds that inhabit the monument range from roadrunners in the deserts to quail in uplands to ravens and jays, with pinyon-juniper zones supporting the greatest number of birds. Twenty-five species of raptors inhabit the Shivwits and Grand Wash areas. Amphibians and waterfowl favor the limited sites near springs and seeps. Migratory waterfowl make use of stock reservoirs and frogs make use of springs. Reptiles range from snakes to salamander to desert tortoises.¹³

Above all, the area is defined by the lack of water. No fish are native to the million acres of the monument.¹⁴ While torrents of water flow year round in the Colorado River to the south, the Virgin River to the northwest, and the Kanab River to the northeast, water only flows in a trickle near springs within the monument. Water has fundamentally shaped how humans lived in the area.

¹² BLM, "Shivwits Grazing Management," 57-64; BLM "Draft Environmental Statement Vermilion Grazing" (Phoenix, Arizona: Bureau of Land Management, Arizona State Office, 1979), 2-15 to 2-22; Paul G. Sneed, "The Feasibility of Gray Wolf Reintroduction to the Grand Canyon Ecoregion," *Endangered Species Update* 18:4 (2001): 153.

¹³ BLM, "Shivwits Grazing Management," 65-67.

¹⁴ BLM, "Shivwits Grazing Management," 67-71; BLM, "Draft Environmental Statement Vermilion Grazing," 2-25.

Native people concentrated their pueblos within striking distance of springs.

Conflicts among cattle ranchers focused above all else on access to water.

Populations grew during relatively moist eras – the eleventh century and the 1920s. Yet the lack of water has generally made the area more suited for seasonal visits.

Early Native Peoples

Humans have long made use of the land that is now Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument. The scattered archeological evidence of their lives dots the landscape and provides a rich source of information about the ancient human history of the area. Their lives were shaped by the natural environment. They undoubtedly knew every seep and gully, the annual cycles of the plants -- especially those that could nourish -- the daily and annual movements of animals, and places to find water that could refresh a thirsty traveller or sustain a farmer's field. Native peoples, in turn, shaped that environment by directing water, raising crops, hunting, gathering, and by burning to encourage plant growth. It is unclear, however, when humans first visited what is now the monument. The North American megafauna that Native people hunted before the mass extinction around 7000 B.C.E. roamed the Arizona Strip as well. But precise evidence of early hunting within the monument is lacking.¹⁵ While a number of paleoindian sites have been discovered in southeastern Utah, the Arizona Strip has yielded only

¹⁵ Helen Fairley, "Prehistory," in Jeffrey H. Altschul and Helen C. Fairley, "Man, Models and Management: An Overview of the Archaeology of the Arizona Strip and the Management of its Cultural Resources" (US Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management, 1989), 89. In this historic resources study, I employ the abbreviations B.C.E. (before the common era) and C.E. (common era) rather than B.C. (before Christ) and A.D. (Anno Domini).

scattered projectile points at its paleoindian sites, leaving it a matter of conjecture how often ancient people hunted in the area.¹⁶

Throughout the human history of the area, people have used detailed knowledge of the land, its flora and fauna, along with an evolving toolkit to make use of the area's many resources. As human plans and environmental constraints interacted, sometimes new technologies allowed a more intense use of the land; at other times, climatic changes made life there all but impossible. Relying primarily on Helen Fairley's account of the early history of the Arizona Strip generally, we can establish a general outline of the area's history with special emphasis on the areas that are now part of the national monument. During the Archaic Period (7000-300 B.C.E.), scholars describe a desert culture in the Great Basin generally, including "coiled and twined basketry, slab milling stones and cobble manos, rabbit fur blankets, snares, nets, atlatls and spears" and the use of a wide variety of plants and animals.¹⁷ The Arizona Strip specifically has evidence of projectile points from the Archaic Period.

Scholars describe several discrete periods within the broader Archaic Period. The Early Archaic Period stretched from 7000 to 4250 B.C.E. Pinto points discovered on the Shivwits Plateau suggest the presence of hunters in the monument during this period.¹⁸ The drier climate of 5000 to 3000 B.C.E. may have reduced human populations on the Arizona Strip. These climatic changes perhaps explain the sparse evidence on the Arizona Strip generally in the Middle

¹⁶ Susan J. Wells, "The Shivwits Plateau Survey: Archeology at Lake Mead National Recreation Area" Publications in Anthropology 56 (Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1991), 24.

¹⁷ Fairley, "Prehistory," 90.

¹⁸ Fairley, "Prehistory," 91-94.

Archaic Period (4250 to 2650 B.C.E.), whose toolkit was characterized by distinctive types of side-notched points. The characteristic lanceolate, eared, and gypsum projectile points of the Late Archaic Period (2650 to 300 B.C.E.) are relatively abundant on the Arizona Strip generally. These sites include evidence from near the monument. A buried roasting point dated to roughly the 1365 B.C.E., along with associated Elko projectile points, at the mouth of Whitmore Canyon indicate that people were roasting food – perhaps yucca or pinyon nuts they had gathered nearby.¹⁹

The Formative Period from 300 B.C.E. to 1250 C.E. is referred to by some as the Puebloan or Anasazi period. The preceramic Puebloan culture of the Basketmaker II Period (300 B.C.E. to 400 C.E.) was characterized generally by corn and squash agriculture, and “its extensive array of sandals, coiled baskets, rabbit fur blankets, human hair cordage, fiber and hide bags, dart foreshafts, atlatls, snares, nets, and other paraphernalia common to hunter gatherers.”²⁰ The Puebloan presence is more clear in the eastern Arizona Strip than in the western Arizona Strip. Yet some archeological evidence points to people near the current monument in this period. Square-toed multiple-warp sandals and S-curved sticks found in a Heaton Cave northeast of Mount Trumbull, indicate that Puebloans were hunting rabbits in the vicinity. Pit structures discovered in the Tuweep Valley dated to 320 C.E. or earlier indicate people had dug homes there and

¹⁹ Fairley, 89-98; Wells, 24.

²⁰ Fairley, “Prehistory,” 108.

erected these characteristic structures.²¹ Little is known of Puebloan trade networks in this era, although they may have traded for salt.²²

Puebloan people acquired ceramics, trough metates, and the bow and arrow during the Basketmaker III Period (400 to 800 C.E.) – a period where evidence of human activity within the monument becomes more clear. They began to manufacture “plain gray sand-tempered pottery, occasionally decorated with black carbon print,” living in settlements typically characterized by “one to five pithouses and several extramural cists.” The presence of pottery and trough metates points to generally more settled agricultural communities in this era. Pottery provided people better ways to store grain and changed cooking techniques. Architecture of this period was similar to that of Basketmaker II involving pit structures, many with interior benches along the walls, and nearby burial chambers. Researchers found “pithouses with associated plain gray ceramics” at the Little Jug site south of Mount Trumbull associated with carbon dates of A.D. 10 plus or minus 410 years.²³ Archeologists have identified several Basketmaker III sites on the Shivwits Plateau, but disagree as to whether they represent temporary hunter-gatherer sites or more permanent agricultural settlements.²⁴ While some have argued that Basketmaker III Pueblos favored lowlands and valleys over uplands, other have suggested the opposite, leading

²¹ Fairley, “Prehistory,” 109.

²² Fairley, “Prehistory,” 111-12.

²³ Fairley, “Prehistory,” 112.

²⁴ Fairley, “Prehistory,” 114.

Fairley to argue that further research is needed on the Shivwits Plateau in order to clarify this issue.²⁵

The Pueblo I Period (800 to 1000 C.E.) had considerable continuity with the Archaic Period with subtle changes, however, in “ceramics, site layouts, and architectural patterns.”²⁶ More evidence for extensive trade networks emerged in this period, indicating that Native peoples from surrounding areas were trading their ceramic wares across the Colorado River into the Kanab and eastern Grand Canyon region.²⁷ The principal population centers on the Arizona Strip in this period were along the lower Virgin River, Pipe Spring, and Shinarump Bench, yet scattered artifacts have been discovered in the monument on the lower slope of Mount Trumbull and on the Shivwits Plateau.²⁸ The Shivwits Plateau sites, at least, “appear to represent short term occupation or specialized activities, rather than habitations.”²⁹ The exact subsistence patterns of peoples in the era are a matter of debate. They may have followed a seasonal pattern of movement with heavy reliance on horticulture, moving to the uplands in the winter and lowlands in the summers. Although these movement patterns may seem counter-intuitive, “spring green and seed plants, such as Indian rice grass . . . , could be harvested in the lowlands prior to maturation of the early summer crop, while pinyon nuts, berries and other late maturing foods could be gathered in conjunction with the early fall upland harvest.”³⁰ Jeanne Swarthout has proposed an alternate model

²⁵ Fairley, “Prehistory,” 117.

²⁶ Fairley, “Prehistory,” 119.

²⁷ Fairley, “Prehistory,” 119.

²⁸ Fairley, “Prehistory,” 120.

²⁹ Fairley, “Prehistory,” 120.

³⁰ Fairley, “Prehistory,” 121.

of transhumance. It may be that “nonstructural sites with abundant sherd and lithics, groundstone, and charcoal –stained soil” on the Shivwits Plateau may represent “the remains of seasonal (later summer fall) hunting and gathering base camps.” This evidence points to an alternative model of migration involving “hunting and gathering in the desert canyon environments in the spring, farming in the river valleys during the summer, and hunting and gathering in the uplands during the fall and winter.”³¹ Information on trade in this era is limited, although there is circumstantial evidence for ceramics in the Lost City region originating near Mount Trumbull. “Salt, turquoise, shell, mesquite beans, and cotton or other agricultural product are some of the most likely items traded to the inhabitants of the Mount Trumbull area in exchange for this commodity.”³²

The most intensive period of human presence in the current monument was the Pueblo II Period (900-1150 C.E.). With two known pueblo communities of ten to fifteen buildings (and likely others still undiscovered), the density of use seems to surpass any other period of Native or Euro-American use within what is now the monument, with the possible exception of the Grand Gulch Mine in its heyday (1870s to 1910s). Within the monument, as throughout the Arizona Strip, this era presents the greatest concentration of artifacts. Fairley notes the expansion of agriculture to all arable area, including areas around Mount Trumbull.³³ Improved climatic conditions during this period seem to have favored dry farming. Increased rainfall from 1050 to 1150, along with the introduction of new strains of corns, allowed people to expand into previously

³¹ Fairley, “Prehistory,” 121.

³² Fairley, “Prehistory,” 127.

³³ Fairley, “Prehistory,” 130.

unused uplands such as the Shivwits plateau and areas around Mt Trumbull. The introduction of cotton may have led to new use of lowlands as well.³⁴

Around Kelly Peninsula, archeologist Susan J. Wells found a proliferation of Pueblo II sites: fifty-four sites with Pueblo II components in all. The location of sites are often near pinyon-juniper landscapes. People likely subsisted on crops, pinyon nuts, cactus fruits, yucca, grasses, and agave. The many features Wells found that attest to the variety of activities were: lithic scatters, projectile points, bifaces, ground stones, grinding slicks, roasting pits, ceramics, water control features, terraces, masonry, and rock pavements.³⁵ The sites tend to be near water, although the two pueblos are two to three miles from water today. Twelve of these sites appear to be formal habitation sites, whether seasonal or year-round. Notably, Wells found that most of the sites with multiple structures were located near arable land, providing one piece of evidence for farming. Both pueblos were roughly C-shaped, located on hills, and facing southeast. The one near Yellow John Mountain had thirteen to fifteen rooms ranging from 3 x 3 meters to 6 x 8 meters. It likely had four to six courses of basalt stones in walls with a height of 1.5 to 2 meters. The pueblo near Waring Ranch had fourteen rooms ranging from 2 x 2 meters to 3 x 7 meters.³⁶ She also found two agricultural sites, including one site near Green Spring with rock features, water control features, ceramics, chipped stone, and ground stone. Glimpses of the

³⁴ Fairley, "Prehistory," 129-39.

³⁵ Wells, 147.

³⁶ Fairley, "Prehistory," 68.

Puebloans' spiritual life are portrayed as well with rock art near Dinner Pocket with "[a]nthropomorphic, zoomorphic, geometric and abstract designs."³⁷

Much less archeological evidence is available from the Pueblo III Period (1150-1200 C.E.). Some scholars suggest that most Arizona Strip Puebloan sites were abandoned by 1150.³⁸ The rapid decline in the population of Puebloan peoples in the southwest generally has been a major subject of scholarly research and debate for decades. Most scholars argue that climate change, perhaps exacerbated by overexploitation, led to vast population declines.³⁹ If Puebloans were abandoning sites for weather-related reasons in this era, they might well have abandoned the poorly watered regions of the Shivwits Plateau first.

By most accounts, Southern Paiutes entered the Arizona Strip toward the beginning of the "Late Prehistoric" period (1200-1600). Wells suggests that Southern Paiutes entered the area between 1150 and 1200; Euler around 1300.⁴⁰ One survey points to the presence of Paiutes within the current monument around 1285.⁴¹ In her survey of the Kelly Peninsula area, Wells only found Paiute components in six sites, all of which had Puebloan artifacts as well. She found the following indications of Paiute presence: "Desert Side-Notched and Cottonwood Triangular projectile points, Southern Paiute ceramics and Jeddito Yellow Ware sherds."⁴² Earlier studies had also pointed to scattered Paiute campsites on the Shivwits Plateau.⁴³ While the area had nothing like the intensive

³⁷ Wells, 81, 86.

³⁸ Fairley, "Prehistory," 139.

³⁹ Fairley, "Prehistory," 141.

⁴⁰ Wells, 26; Fairley, "Prehistory," 141.

⁴¹ Fairley, "Prehistory," 147.

⁴² Wells, 26.

⁴³ Fairley, "Prehistory," 147.

use it had known in the eleventh and twelfth century, it still sustained the lives of those who made it their home.

Southern Paiutes and The Spanish

While European conquest of the Americas would eventually shatter the world of the Southern Paiutes, the first centuries after the arrival of European soldiers, missionaries, explorers, and settlers brought little change to the lives of people on the Arizona Strip. Starting in the seventeenth century, the peoples living on Grand Wash, the Shivwits Plateau, and Uinkaret Plateau likely gradually learned about the Spanish living in New Mexico. Spanish governor Don Pedro de Peralta founded Santa Fe as the capital of New Mexico in 1610 in order to consolidate Spanish power in the northern regions of the empire.⁴⁴ The new city some 350 miles east-southeast of the Shivwits Plateau only gradually came to shape the life of Southern Paiutes. They may have heard something of the dramatic conflicts between Pueblo peoples and the Spanish, of the Pueblo revolt against the Spanish in 1680 and the Spanish reconquest of the pueblo missions by 1696.⁴⁵ Yet any direct trade was limited. In her analysis of archeological evidence of Southern Paiute sites on the Shivwits Plateau, Susan Wells found no evidence of Spanish artifacts.⁴⁶

It would be 166 years from the founding of Santa Fe until Spanish explorers set foot on the Shivwits Plateau. The effort to link Santa Fe to the new

⁴⁴ Maria E. Montoya, "Santa Fe, New Mexico," in Howard Lamar, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 1021-22.

⁴⁵ Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 12-13.

⁴⁶ Wells, 26.

settlement of San Diego, California, would finally bring Spanish-American explorers near the current monument. As Spain sought to counter Russians colonizing down the Pacific Coast, Father Junípera Serra had founded San Diego in 1769.⁴⁷ On Monday, July 29, 1776, a group of ten Spanish and Indian people set out from Santa Fe to trace a route to San Diego.⁴⁸ The party included Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, commissary visitor of the Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul in New Mexico; Fray Francisco Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, missionary of the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zuñi; Don Juan Pedro Cisneros, chief magistrate of the Pueblo de Zuñi; Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, retired captain of militia and citizen of Santa Fe; Don Joaquín, citizen of Santa Fe; Lorenzo Olivares of La Villa del Paso; Andrés Muñiz, Ute interpreter; Lucrecio Muñiz (Andrés' brother); Simón Lucero (servant to Don Pedro Cisneros); and Juan de Aguilar.⁴⁹ The party was in territory fairly well known to Andrés Muñiz and perhaps other expedition members until they left the North Fork of the Gunnison (in west central Colorado). Here they engaged two Lagunas, or Timpanogos, who served as guides and led them West through what is now Utah. On October 5, their guide left them after an argument, near the current town of Blackrock, Utah. The party then processed south looking for a place to cross the Colorado.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Joseph J. Hill, "The Old Spanish Trail: A Study of Spanish and Mexican Trade and Exploration Northwest from New Mexico to the Great Basin and California," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 4:3 (August 1921): 449.

⁴⁸ Eleanor B. Adams, "Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez and Fray Silvestre de Escalante," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (Winter 1976): 40-58.

⁴⁹ Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 3-4.

⁵⁰ Hill, "Old Spanish Trail."

On Wednesday, October 16, they started up Hurricane Wash. Here they met a group of Shivwits (“Parussis”) who had strings of turquoise and “varicolored conch shell” to trade and who farmed “on the banks of El Río del Pilar and live downstream for a long distance.” At this point, the fathers had nothing left to trade. But for the advice of these Shivwits, the padres and their men would have continued south and become the first Europeans to enter the current monument that day. The Shivwits told them they were two days travel from the Colorado River and described that route (through the current monument) and the Grand Canyon in the following terms: “we could not go by the route we intended because there were no water sources, nor could we cross the river by this route for its being very much boxed in and very deep, and having extremely tall rocks and cliffs along both sides, and finally that between here and the river there was very bad terrain.”⁵¹ Despite this warning, the travellers persisted in their desire to head south, suspecting that these Indians were Hopis and were trying to prevent them from meeting the Havasupai (“Cosninas”). Ultimately, however, they felt it better not to reveal their suspicions and instead to head east as the Shivwits advised them. The Shivwits were in fact telling the truth, although they revealed their mistrust of the Spanish in other ways: they secretly gave squash to the expedition’s Native servants while giving none to the padres. On the Shivwits’ advice, the group went up Rock Canyon, but found it impassable. They camped that night in Cottonwood Wash, with nothing to eat and contemplated that they would soon have to kill a horse to eat.

⁵¹ Escalante, 82.

On Thursday, October 17, they headed south through Hurricane Wash with Hurricane Cliff to the East. They tried to gather some edible greens, but found only a few. In searching for any scraps of food in their luggage, the padres found the squash the servants had obtained from the Shivwits and hidden the day before. They mixed the squash with “brown sugarloaf” to feed the expedition. Their route closely followed the later Mormon trail from St. George to Mount Trumbull. They ascended Hurricane Cliff that day and camped near its ridge some seventeen miles north of the current monument. Still they regretted not having headed straight south to the Colorado. Escalante noted, “We were very sorry for having changed direction because, according to the latitude in which we were, we could have reached the river very quickly by going south.”⁵² At this camp, the Shivwits who had accompanied them since the previous day abandoned them.

On October 18, Friday, they continued eastward and soon noted “five Indians peering at us from a [small] but high mesa.”⁵³ These Uinkarets demonstrated “great fear” and refused to come down. Escalante described the scene, as the man who likely had never seen a white person before approached them: “At each step we took, as we came closer to him, he wanted to take off. We let him know that he did not have to be afraid, that we loved him like a son and wanted to talk with him. And so he waited for us, making a thousand

⁵² Escalante, 84.

⁵³ Escalante, 84. Fray Angelico Chavez translates the phrase “una mesa corta pero alta” as “short but high mesa.” However, “small but high” seems a more reasonable translation. Spanish text accessed at Jarom McDonald, ed., “Derrotero y diario” [available at <http://www.mith2.umd.edu/eada/gateway/diario/diario.html>, accessed June 2009].

gestures to show he feared us very much.”⁵⁴ The man had bows and arrows. At the padres’ urging, he brought the other men with him as well. Joaquín the Laguna talked with the Uinkarets at length and finally relieved their fears. They passed through Seven Knolls area about nine miles north of the monument (twelve miles north of Mount Trumbull) and descended through Black Canyon. In exchange for a piece of cloth, a Uinkaret showed them where water could be found.⁵⁵ That night they camped at the mouth of Bobcat Canyon about three miles northeast of the current monument border. Escalante reported the Uinkarets were “greatly pleased” with the woolens. On learning the travellers had no food, they offered food from their nearby adobe houses. From their stores, the Uinkarets brought back “a small quantity of wild sheep meat, dried cactus prickly pear done into cakes, and seeds from wild plants.”⁵⁶

On the 19th, Saturday, about twenty of these Uinkaret Indians came to the camp bringing “cactus pear in cakes or dough, and several pouches of seeds from different plants” to trade. The padres suggested they would buy “meat, piñon nuts, and more cactus pear”; the Uinkarets responded by returning with more seeds and cactus pears, but not meat. One of the Indians was a Mescalero Apache who “differed from these Indians in his dislike of seeing us around here.” The padres’ journal provides a summary of subsistence practices in the area at a time when Spanish influence was minimal:

⁵⁴ Escalante, 85.

⁵⁵ David E. Miller, *The Route of the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition, 1776-77: A Report of Trail Research* . . . ([S.l.]: Dominguez-Escalante State/Federal Bicentennial Committee, 1976); Escalante, 79-86.

⁵⁶ Escalante, 86.

They told us that they called themselves Yubuincariri [Uinkaret], that they did not plant maize, that the only foods were those seeds, cactus pears, the piñon nuts—of which they gather very few, judging from the little they had—and whatever jackrabbits, coneys, and wild sheep they hunted, adding that on this side [of the Colorado] only the Parussis [Shivwits] planted maize and squash, but that on the other side, just across the river, there were the Ancamuchis (whom we understood to be the Cosninas [Havasupai]), and that these planted a lot of maize.⁵⁷

The Uinkarets claimed not to have heard of the Spaniards of Monterey, although the Shivwits had heard of Father Francesco Garcés, who had explored the Havasu Canyon that same year.⁵⁸ The Spanish failed to convince any of the Uinkarets to accompany them to the river and the Uinkarets all left. The group of explorers left the Arizona Strip entering present-day Utah on November 2, crossing the Colorado at what came to known as the Crossing of the Fathers on November 7 and reached Santa Fe on January 2, 1777.⁵⁹

In the years following the Dominguez-Escalante mission, Spanish traders continued to trade across the Colorado, especially for slaves.⁶⁰ Joseph J. Hill finds evidence that the Spanish were trading with the Ute as far away as the Utah Lake region. The Spanish had a trading mission to Sevier region in 1813, in which they traded for skins and refused to buy slaves. Although the Spanish continued to support their missions in California, no Spanish would travel from Santa Fe to the California coast until Antonio Armijo travelled the route in 1829-

⁵⁷ Escalante, 87.

⁵⁸ Melvin T. Smith, "The Colorado River: Its History in the Lower Canyons Area" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1972), 30-31.

⁵⁹ Helen Fairley, "History," in Jeffrey H. Altschul and Helen C. Fairley, "Man, Models and Management: An Overview of the Archaeology of the Arizona Strip and the Management of its Cultural Resources" (US Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management, 1989), 153-57.

⁶⁰ Joseph J. Hill, "The Old Spanish Trail: A Study of Spanish and Mexican Trade and Exploration Northwest from New Mexico to the Great Basin and California," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 4:3 (August, 1921): 444-73.

30.⁶¹ His goal was to bring mules back from California to trade with Missouri traders. Armijo's course took him through what is now southern Utah never entering the Arizona Strip.

U.S. explorers as well largely avoided the area that is now Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument, even as they travelled through the region. In 1823 and again in 1825, Jedediah Smith travelled along the Virgin River through the northwest tip of the Arizona Strip.⁶² In 1826-27, a group of trappers led by Ewing Young and chronicled by James Ohio Pattie travelled eastward along the south rim of the Grand Canyon, if Pattie's account is accepted.⁶³ It is telling that the only Europeans to come close to the current monument in all those years were the Dominguez-Escalante party, who were lost and were on a course to try to cross the Colorado where it lay a mile at the bottom of the Grand Canyon, until a group of Shivwits directed them to the east. Europeans long ignored this area, because it was on the way to nowhere.

While the material culture of Southern Paiutes was little changed by Spanish and Mexican influences before the nineteenth century, their lives were shaped by biological and political influences radiating out from Spanish settlements.⁶⁴ No Europeans are known to have visited what is now the monument before the 1850s and the Europeans that travelled nearby areas did not tarry long. Yet, through disease and slave trade, they shaped the lives of Shivwits

⁶¹ Marc Simmons, "Old Spanish Trail," in *New Encyclopedia of the American West*, 819.

⁶² William H. Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), 114.

⁶³ Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire*, 72; Peplow and Belshaw (Michael Belshaw and Ed Peplow, "Lake Mead Historic Resources Study" [Denver: National Park Service, 1980]) say Pattie went through Shivwits, citing Smith, 54.

⁶⁴ Fairley, "Prehistory," 148.

people. European diseases took an unknown toll.⁶⁵ Few if any epidemic diseases plagued the Native peoples of the Americas before the arrival of Europeans.⁶⁶ Generally having fewer towns and cities than Europe, Asia, and Africa, and fewer domestic animals that could serve as vectors of new diseases, Native people had no immunity to the host of diseases Europeans brought with them: smallpox, measles, whooping cough, and others. People living in scattered bands, such as those who exploited the Shivwits area, were to some extent less vulnerable than inhabitants of dense Pueblos. But they likely suffered as well. Epidemics swept through the Southwest in 1520-24, 1531-33, 1635-38, 1671, and 1780 with unknown effects on Paiutes.⁶⁷

Slavery also affected Southern Paiutes. While forms of slavery had long existed among Native peoples, the Spanish created a new slave market. Santa Fe and the other Spanish missions stood isolated far north of the seat of Spanish power in the Mexico. The Spanish, realizing they could not alienate their Pueblo allies by enslaving them, encouraged New Mexicans to acquire slaves from neighboring peoples, creating a market in slaves that would have repercussions into Southern Paiute country.⁶⁸ Mounted on horses descended from those first brought to the Americas by the Spanish, raiders could dominate those Southern

⁶⁵ Isabel T. Kelly and Catherine S. Fowler, "Southern Paiute," in *Handbook of North American Indians: Great Basin* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 386.

⁶⁶ White, "It's Your Misfortune," 18; Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

⁶⁷ White, "It's Your Misfortune," 20.

⁶⁸ White, "It's Your Misfortune," 13.

Paiutes who never acquired horses. Although some Southern Paiutes acquired horses, the Shivwits appear not to have.⁶⁹

By the early nineteenth century, the outpost of Santa Fe had grown into a large town of 29,000 and Ute and Navajo raiders were known to be taking Southern Paiute captive.⁷⁰ By 1810 and possibly earlier, there were Paiutes in Santa Fe, having arrived almost certainly as slaves.⁷¹ As a remote, harsh zone relatively far from corridors of travel such as the Old Spanish Trail through southern Utah, the region around the Shivwits Plateau may have attracted people trying to avoid slavers. Scholars have suggested that the slave trade may have discouraged Southern Paiutes from occupying ecologically favorable zones.⁷²

Southern Paiutes

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Shivwits and other Southern Paiutes who live on the Arizona Strip gained sustenance and understood life through the lens of a culture they had created and adapted through centuries of living on a changing landscape. Their practices were shaped as well by the transformations the Spanish presence wrought (diseases, slave trade, mounted enemies) and were beginning to be shaped by Mormon settlement as well. As they responded to an environment that changed year to year with variations in rainfall, they also shaped

⁶⁹ Omer C. Stewart, "Culture Elements Distributions: XVIII: Ute-Southern Paiutes," *University of California Anthropological Records* 6:4 (1942), 240-41.

⁷⁰ Kelly and Fowler, "Southern Paiute," 386.

⁷¹ Kelly and Fowler, "Southern Paiute," 386.

⁷² Kelly and Fowler, "Southern Paiute," 386.

that environment, by hunting, by gathering, and most notably through the use of fire to encourage wild seeds and tobacco.⁷³

The Shivwits Paiutes are the group associated with the largest area within the current monument. According to Isabel Kelly, about half of Shivwits country was within the current monument, including most of the territory from the Nevada border to around Mount Trumbull. The Uinkarets' and Moapas' territory included portions of the monument as well. The portion of the monument near Mount Trumbull and east was in Uinkaret country, making up much less than half their total territory. A small portion of the current monument near the Nevada border was in Moapa country.⁷⁴ By considering what Shivwits informants told ethnographer Omer Stewart in the 1930s, we can gain some understanding of the world that was transformed by Mormon settlement. Stewart talked with three Shivwits aged 70 to 92 in 1937 and 1938, informants who were born roughly between 1845 and 1868.⁷⁵

The Shivwits gained their sustenance from agriculture, gathering, and hunting. As with other Southern Paiutes, subsistence was often precarious. Most groups knew marginal foods they could eat in times of starvation.⁷⁶ According to Kelly and Fowler, agriculture was only introduced a few decades before the arrival of whites. Corn and squash were the primary staple crops of Southern Paiutes. The Shivwits also burned plots and scattered seeds they called "ko" (*Chenopodium* sp.). They irrigated by using ditches from springs to their fields,

⁷³ Stewart, 251.

⁷⁴ Kelly and Fowler, "Southern Paiute," 369.

⁷⁵ Stewart, "Culture Element Distributions."

⁷⁶ Kelly and Fowler, 370.

and planted and weeded with straight sticks. They planted maize in rows only in certain moon phases. After harvest, maize was ground on metates and eaten as mush, hominy, dough, or bread. Shivwits also cultivated squash, frijoles, string beans, and sunflowers.⁷⁷ The springs that supported agriculture, as well as hunting and gathering parties, were considered private property and could be inherited. Camps at one of these springs tended to consist of a nuclear family, or several related nuclear families, and sometimes a childless couple or a single man.⁷⁸

In gathering food, the Shivwits made use of in-depth knowledge of the ecosystems of the Shivwits Plateau. They gathered acorns and mesquite pods, which they ground, moistened, and pressed into cakes. They ground seeds of various sorts on metates or in bedrock mortars. The grasslands, which today represent only about 6% of the monument, but were much more extensive historically were an important source for gathering sunflower seeds and grass seeds, which they collected in conical baskets.⁷⁹ Roughly a quarter of the monument today supports pinyon-juniper ecosystems and would have been a rich food source for them. The Shivwits gathered pinyon nuts in plots that individual families owned using straight poles (and later hooked poles), collecting them in conical burden baskets, storing them in bark-lined pits covered with brush, stones and/or bark, grinding them on metates, and cooking them in earth ovens. Desert ecosystems, which represent about a quarter of the monument today, also

⁷⁷ Stewart, 254-256.

⁷⁸ Kelly and Fowler.

⁷⁹ The figure of 6% was obtained by analyzing ecological tables in Bureau of Land Management. "Shivwits Grazing Management" and BLM "Draft Environmental Statement Vermilion Grazing."

contributed to their sustenance. Shivwits ate yucca blossoms and fruit, and used yucca root as soap. They roasted and ate Joshua tree buds. They roasted and ate cactus blossom or fruits. They also ate various tubers, berries, thistles, and mescal.

Shivwits hunted deer and elk using techniques involving driving, waiting in the brush along a trail or near a spring, or behind a stone enclosure, or stalking. It was men only who hunted, with a dance beforehand. Using an aspen leaf, they imitated a fawn's call to attract deer. Hunting individually and often using disguises, they pursued pronghorns, lying in wait by a trail or spring, or running them down. They would also hunt communally using techniques involving chasing pronghorns past other hunters or into a corral. The last pronghorn in the corral would be released. They hunted bighorns ambushing them along trails or near salt licks, or driving them to peaks or past other hunters. As with pronghorns, they hunted sheep using disguises of a sheep head or the entire skin. They hunted rabbits communally, using fire to assemble the hunters, as well as to drive the rabbits into nets.

They hunted eagles, as well, with ownership of nests belonging to the finder and subject to inheritance. They took eaglets out of their nests, or tied their legs if they were too young in order to retrieve them later. The eagles were hunted in part for their feathers, occasionally feathers would be plucked and the animal released. They also hunted adult eagles with bow and arrow. Shivwits also hunted, according to Steward's informants, mountain lions, foxes, badgers, wildcats, porcupines, gophers, woodchucks, rats, mice, young ravens or crows,

young owls, doves, quail, and rattlesnake. They also ate lizard eggs, caterpillars, cicadas, and crickets.

The Shivwits world was much more than a collection of material practices. These practices all existed within the context of broader cultural understandings of how power moved through the cosmos. Shivwits offered part of the game they hunted to the supernatural beings that controlled animals, and observed other ritual practices as well. The first game a boy killed was taboo to himself, his mother and father. Rabbit and big game hearts were taboo to the young.⁸⁰ While women knew the tales that defined Southern Paiute story-telling, it was men who told these tales on winter nights. Some of these tales told how Coyote named the animals that were made out of mud, how through his bungling he created the many languages and many tribes of humans. Others told of how he gave fire to humans and introduced them to agriculture.⁸¹ Through these stories and others, as John Wesley Powell noted, Southern Paiutes transmitted social norms.⁸² Through them, they understood their place in the cosmos.

Jacob Hamblin

Into this world, Euro-Americans inserted themselves directly and forcefully in the mid-nineteenth century. It was at that time, as best we know, that whites first entered the current Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument. The presence of these newcomers stemmed from two very different strains of U.S. expansionism: Mormon migration and government science. Two of the men at

⁸⁰ Stewart, 243-44.

⁸¹ Kelly and Fowler, 385.

⁸² Kelly and Fowler, 386.

the Mount Trumbull meeting in September 1870 exemplified these trends: Jacob Hamblin and John Wesley Powell. Both relied on resources from distant power centers to explore the geographic periphery. Powell got funding from Illinois natural-history organizations and the federal government to fill in the last hole in geographic knowledge of the United States: the Grand Canyon area. He soon turned his attention to learning about the Utes, Paiutes, and other Native peoples as well. Hamblin was “called” to explore southern Utah and northern Arizona, to establish travel routes for migrants, and to create missions to Southern Paiutes and Hopis. Although few material traces remain from this early period of Euro-American exploration in the current monument, the remote landscape itself continues to evoke the peripheral role of the area in the nineteenth century.

Without Mormonism, Euro-Americans would have come to the area later than they did. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints emerged out of the spiritual tumult of the early nineteenth century and the prophetic visions of one man. Joseph Smith came of age during the Second Great Awakening – a period in the early nineteenth when a religious fever swept over New York and the upper Midwest. Western New York became the “burned-over district” swept by fires of religious passion fanned by preachers such as Charles Grandison Finney. Smith was one of many to receive divine visions during this era, and to call their followers to the true faith. Yet the revelations he made public and the church he established would have a success far exceeding those others.

Smith’s family had moved to western New York in 1816, and Smith began receiving revelations around 1820 when he was fourteen. He reported that God

the Father and Jesus Christ appeared to him and called him to restore the true church that existed in the first century of the Christian era. He reported that the angel Moroni later appeared and helped him translate a set of golden tablets from “reformed Egyptian” that linked the biblical stories of the Old and New Testaments to the New World, telling of a lost tribe of Israel that moved to the New World around 600 B.C.E. and of Jesus Christ’s appearance to the peoples of the New World. Smith published his Book of Mormon in 1829-30 and organized the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Seneca County, New York, in 1830.⁸³ While Smith spoke of the church as a restoration of the first-century church, it was thoroughly grounded in the issues that concerned nineteenth-century Americans. It mixed a religious fervor for answers to the doctrinal questions roiling faithful Christians of era, such as “salvation, redemption, sanctification through atonement, infant baptism, the judgment” and others, with an economic perfectionism that sought a more just and egalitarian approach to markets.⁸⁴ It also created a distinctively American form of Christianity that included the Native peoples of North America in the biblical stories of exile, sin, and redemption. Two aspects of Mormonism in particular would shape the future of the Parashant: the project of converting Native peoples to Mormonism, and efforts to establish communitarian economic relations.

The early years of the Mormons were, as historian Leonard Arrington describes them, “a series of hegras, great and small,” leading eventually to the Great Basin of Utah. Joseph Smith and his followers met suspicion and

⁸³ Leonard J. Arrington, “Latter-day Saints,” in Lamar, ed., 621-26.

⁸⁴ Arrington, “Latter-day Saints,” 621.

persecution throughout this era, both because of the economic and political power they wielded as a block and their status as outsiders with strange beliefs. Notably, persistent rumors (eventually verified) that Latter-day Saints advocated polygamy provided fodder for enraged mobs. After forming the church in New York, Smith led his followers to Kirtland Mill, Ohio, where he first put in place the economic communitarianism that would shape Mormon economics again in the 1870s. He called on church members to deed all their property to a common fund. The church later established an outpost in Jackson County, Missouri, whence they fled to the new Mormon town of Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1839.

Among those who converted to Mormonism and came to the rapidly growing town of Nauvoo was Jacob Hamblin in 1844. Born in Ohio in 1819, Hamblin rejected the advice of his father who, he said, “dispsied priestcraft and Superstition Cautiond me about Connecting my Self with eny Sect or party.”⁸⁵ Hamblin’s family had moved to Michigan and later to Wisconsin, where he converted to Mormonism in March of 1842.⁸⁶ Smith, Hamblin, and the thousands of other Mormon converts faced continuing threats. Smith recognized their place in the United States was tenuous and sent scouts out to find a new home in the West. He never reached that new home, however: he was arrested, jailed, and murdered by an angry mob that broke into the jail in 1844.

Two events in the late 1840s were key to the future history of Parashant: the Mormon migration to the West and the Mexican-American War. The first

⁸⁵ Jacob Hamblin, “Record of the life of Jacob Hamblin as recorded by himself” [typed transcription of original], Jacob Hamblin papers, LDS Church Archives.

⁸⁶ Paul Bailey, *Jacob Hamblin, Buckskin Apostle* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1948); Hamblin, “Record.”

event meant that white explorers and cattlemen arrived in Parashant much earlier than they would have otherwise. The murder of their prophet, Joseph Smith, made it even more clear that Mormons would have to find a refuge in the West. Under the leadership of Brigham Young, church members fled Nauvoo in 1846 and began arriving in the Great Salt Lake valley in 1847, continuing to organize migrations in the following years. Along with the thousands of other migrants in those years, Jacob Hamblin arrived in Salt Lake in July 1850.⁸⁷ Within a decade, the Mormons had established hundreds of settlements in Utah and the surrounding territories. These settlements served a variety of purposes: as homes to new immigrants, as protection for the core settlements from the U.S. military or Indian attacks, and as outposts to preach to Native people. Mormons viewed Indians as “Lamanites” – the descendants of the lost tribe of Israel that had migrated to the United States long before the time of Christ, but descendants who had turned away from righteousness and killed the more virtuous, and light-skinned, Nephites. It was a worldview that saw Indian culture as inferior, as did most Euro-Americans, yet one that recognized a greater kinship between whites and Indians than many whites did. Hamblin soon was called to a role as missionary to Native peoples. First dealing with Native peoples in the Tooele Valley (southwest of Salt Lake City), Hamblin quickly gained a reputation as someone who could negotiate with Indians and avoid confrontations. As part of the Indian mission to southern Utah, Jacob Hamblin came with the group that established Fort Harmony in 1854 – located twenty-four miles south of Cedar City and about sixty miles north of Mount Trumbull.

⁸⁷ Hamblin, “Record,” 15.

The Mexican-American War and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo meant that the region was severed from Mexico and incorporated within the United States. Soon after the arrival of the Saints, the treaty made Salt Lake City part of the United States in 1848. The same treaty put Parashant within the nation's boundaries. Within ten years after U.S. acquisition of the area, government explorers were venturing near the future monument; within twenty-one years, they were exploring and surveying the monument itself. Using a small steamer, Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives explored the Colorado in 1857 and 1858 "for the purpose . . . of learning whether it could be used to advantage in the transportation of soldiers and munitions of war on the way to the valley of Salt Lake."⁸⁸ He navigated his steamboat up to Call's Landing (at the foot of Black Canyon), then continued into canyon. Directed by a Mormon man who refused to give his name, they found a landing within Black Canyon. He explored a short distance above Black Canyon in a skiff and also continued overland on the south bank to Havasupai villages, but never set foot within the current monument. Through this voyage, he determined that Black Canyon – some sixty miles below Grand Wash and the current monument -- was the head of navigation on the Colorado. The level of Mormon suspicion at these movements is made clear by the fact that authorities sent a bishop to spy on the exploring party by impersonating a member of a wagon train headed west.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Quoted in Milton R. Hunter, "The Mormons and the Colorado River," *American Historical Review* 44:3 (April 1939): 551.

⁸⁹ Bailey, *Jacob Hamblin*, 180; Worster, 129-31; Pearson H. Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin, Peacemaker* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., [1952]), 135-37; "Exploration of the Colorado River," *Deseret News*, January 27, 1858; "The Mormon Question—How Hostilities Are to be Carried on," *Deseret News*, February 17, 1858 [reprint from St. Louis Intelligencer]; "Remarkable Phenomenon,"

These federal efforts at exploring the Colorado revived Brigham Young's interest in having future migrants use the river – a project he had considered at least as early as 1855. He foresaw migrants travelling through Panama (using the railway across the isthmus established by 1855), up the Pacific coast, then up the Colorado River to the head of navigation.⁹⁰ By the late 1840s, a wagon road was open from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles. In 1857, Mormons explored the river below Las Vegas.⁹¹ Then in 1858, Young sent a party headed by George A. Smith, which explored the Colorado River below its confluence with the Virgin River, hoping to find desirable locations for settlements.⁹²

Mormon interest in the area encompassed not only the movement of migrants, but the conversion of Native peoples. In the late 1850s, Jacob Hamblin undertook a series of missions to the Hopis. These missions had Hamblin repeatedly journeying from southern Utah to the Hopi settlements south of the Colorado, becoming acquainted with the Native peoples and the terrain of the intervening Arizona Strip. As Hamblin reported in his autobiography, “The object of this visit was to learn something of the character and condition of this people, and to take advantage of any opening there might be to preach the gospel to them and do them good.”⁹³

Deseret News, June 9, 1858; “A Brief History of Lieut. Ives’ Exploration of the Colorado,”

Deseret News, July 21, 1858.

⁹⁰ Corbett, 242; James Godson Bleak, “Record of the History of the Settling of Southern Utah,” 89.

⁹¹ Hunter, 549-555.

⁹² Hunter, 552.

⁹³ Jacob Hamblin and James A. Little, *Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of His Personal Experience, As a Frontiersman, Missionary to the Indians and Explorer* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1881), 58.

Hamblin first set out from Santa Clara, in southwestern Utah, for Hopi country in November of 1855, apparently entering what is now Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument – the first non-Indian known to have done so.⁹⁴ He travelled south with Ammon, Sanpitch and three other Utes. On November 19, 1855, the group of six left the Santa Clara. Although the details of the trip are unclear and they turned around before reaching the river, they likely entered portions of Grand Wash within the monument. Although the landmarks are only vaguely described, it seems the party set out to the south from Santa Clara, crossed the Virgin River and likely was making their way through the Grand Wash Valley when they turned around. It is worth quoting in full Hamblin's journal for this period, with its idiosyncratic spelling and grammar intact.

november 14th [1855, Santa Clara:] Amon and other Eutahs arived to buy childrin the Lamanits caled a council. I was invited in a Amon wanted the Piutes to go and bring in childrin and he would buy them they refused and Said I had told them not to Sell their childrin He he asked me if I hd told them that this plased me in a peculier fix I then told thim I had if they did not want to Sell their childrin.

Sunday november the 18.1855. I Started for the Moquich Nacion Amon and his Brother 2 Eutahs travailed a bout 5 hours crosed the Rio Vurgin an and encampt talked Some with Amon the Said a fewe of the Eutahs knew alittle about the Lord his Brother Aripene knew mutch of him he Said he was not mad with me for telling the yaniwants not to Sell thair Childrin to him he wanted good Peas all the time

monday the [19]th travailed 15 mls after we had encampt a Piute came to us he Said the Moquitch was mad at the Piutes they had ben fiting Anon Sent a Piute to meat his Bro Sanpitch to find out if it would do for him to go and traid or not

tuesday [November 20:] 5 mls.

Wenesday [November 21:] 10 ml

thursday [November 22:] 15 mls. clim aroughf rocky mountain enterd a rockn canion hunted a pool of water and encampt for the night

friday [November 23:] kiled 2 Sheep laby Dreamed about comeing home

Saturday [November 24:] felt impressed to go home

⁹⁴ Corbett, 91; Hamblin diary, MS 1951, LDS Church Archives.

Sunday [November 25:] Started arived home about 10 o clock at knight⁹⁵

In all the group travelled about forty-five miles beyond the Virgin River.

Assuming they were aiming to cross the Colorado at Grand Wash, this would place them well inside the current monument.⁹⁶ Assuming they took a similar route to the more fully documented 1862 journey, they may have been about at Cane Springs.

The subsequent missions to the Hopis involved crossing the Colorado east of the Grand Canyon and did not include travel across the current monument. Hamblin undertook his first successful Hopi mission in 1858. This journey took him from Santa Clara east of the current monument through Pipe Spring and then across the Colorado, where he met Chief Tuba. They returned the same way. He undertook his second expedition in 1859, leaving Santa Clara in October and crossing the Colorado near the mouth of the Paria. Neither of these missions met with great success. The third expedition to the Hopis was a more substantial affair, leaving with a year's worth of supplies. In 1860, they crossed the Colorado at Paria, returning by the same route. Their mission was marred by the death of George A. Smith, killed by a group of Navajos stealing his horse.⁹⁷

A more substantial mission through Grand Wash resulted from continuing threats from Navajos. The new route also found favor given the proximity of the new town of St. George, founded in 1861, to the Grand Wash crossing of the

⁹⁵ Jacob Hamblin diary, MS 1951, LDS Church Archives.

⁹⁶ Corbett argues that this was the same route that Hamblin followed in 1862 (p. 208).

⁹⁷ Corbett, 150-96; Leland Hargrave Creer, "The Activities of Jacob Hamblin in the Region of the Colorado," *University of Utah Anthropological Papers* 33, Glen Canyon Series Number 3 (May 1958): 9-15.

Colorado. In the autumn of 1862, Brigham Young directed Hamblin to explore a route to link St. George with potential Arizona settlements south of the Colorado. “I want you to explore a new, easier, safer route, preferably where a road can be built. Try for a new crossing this time – south of St. George. Explore the country in that direction. Keep your guns as handy as your Bibles, Navaho mustn’t stop you this time,” Young told Hamblin.⁹⁸ The expedition of about twenty-five left St. George on November 18, 1862.⁹⁹ This large, well-supplied group left a much more detailed record of its journey through Grand Wash than Hamblin had in 1855. Orson Pratt, a member of the church’s Quorum of Twelve Apostles, listed the mission participants as follows:

Jacob Hamblin of Santa Clara as President; Thales Haskell of Pinto; Jehiels McConnell, William Stewart, and Thomas Walker, of Cedar City; Taylor Crosby, Lucius Fuller, Francis Hamblin, Ira Hatch, Zadak K. Judd, and Joseph Knight, of Santa Clara; Nathan C. Tenney, and John Steele, of Toquerville; Newton Adair of Washington; James Pearce, William P. Lytle, John M. Lytle, with the baggage wagon to the Colorado River; Alexander McIntire of St. George; Isaac Riddle of Pinto with the team and boat to the Colorado, and Benjamin Redd of Harmony.¹⁰⁰

According to Corbett, “Eliza, Sarah, Tutsegavits, Enos and Albert” went along as well.¹⁰¹ Each outfit carried extensive supplies for the journey, as prescribed by Orson Pratt:

Seventy-six pounds of flour or hard bread, 12 pounds of dried beef or bacon, 12 pound of dried beans, 1 lb. of salt, 1 riding animal, 1 pack

⁹⁸ Quoted in Creer, 16.

⁹⁹ C. Gregory Crampton, "Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah and in Adjacent Parts of Arizona and Nevada 1851-1900" ([Salt Lake City?: s.n.]: 1965), 119.

¹⁰⁰ Quoted in Corbett, 206.

¹⁰¹ Creer, 16.

animal with pack saddle, 1 lasso, 1 pair hobbles—for each animal, 1 cup, 1 knife and scabbard, 1 tin plate, 1 revolver or light rifle, both if possible, with at least 12 rounds of ammunition and as much more as convenient, a comfortable supply of blankets, tea, sugar, coffee, molasses, and as many comforts as each person may deem necessary to make himself comfortable.¹⁰²

They brought all that they needed to survive their long journey except water. They travelled through Grand Wash to the Colorado River bringing along a small boat on a wagon, which they used to convey their supplies across the river while they swam their animals.¹⁰³ According to Fairley, the “route apparently led though Dinner Flats, up Black Rock Gulch to Bentley Pass, then down Ide Valley to Grand Wash and along the wash to the river.”¹⁰⁴ After crossing the river, the party continued on to the Coconino Plateau and the Little Colorado, returning to St. George by way of the Crossing of the Fathers.

The Hamblin papers have no diaries for this period, and he provides only the barest details in his later writings. John Steele did, however, produce a sketch map of the journey, showing both the route they took, and a proposed route to the new crossing (later termed Pearce’s Ferry) (see image 1).¹⁰⁵ Since water was key to migrants’ survival, the map carefully noted the location of water sources: from north to south, “Rio Virgen / Kock Spring 22 / Gulch Springs 18 / Cane Springs 3 / 7 Springs / Rio Colorado.” The numbers (except for the one referring to Seven Springs) indicated the distance from the previous spring.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Corbett, 206

¹⁰³ Altschul and Fairley, 164; Bailey, 258; Creer, 16-17; Little and Hamblin, 77.

¹⁰⁴ Fairley, “History,” 164; Crampton, 118.

¹⁰⁵ John Steele, “Map 1863,” MS 15320, LDS Church Archives. On Steele, see Kerry William Bate, “John Steele: Medicine Man, Magician, Mormon Patriarch,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62:1 (Winter 1994): 87-88.

¹⁰⁶ John Steele, Map, 1863, LDS Church Archives.

In 1863, Jacob Hamblin undertook another journey through Grand Wash. His party left St. George on March 18, 1863. They took the same route they had taken the previous year in order to recover the boat and supplies they had cached on the south side of the river. At the river, they constructed a raft to cross over and retrieve the boat, but found the supplies were ruined. Afterwards, they explored the southern shore for a better crossing. In this manner, about five miles upstream they discovered what would come to be known as the Pearce's Ferry crossing.¹⁰⁷ When John Steele produced a map of the 1862 journey, he marked a possible route on the north shore directly to the new crossing.¹⁰⁸ While they were at Pearce's Ferry, Lewis Greeley, the son of Horace Greeley, the editor of the *New York Tribune*, caught up with the party and joined them in their travels. The attention Hamblin paid to this matter shows the significance of the route through Grand Wash to Mormon efforts at colonization. This route had the potential to shorten the distance to the southern colonies; so church officials were keenly interested in the nature of the terrain.

Around this time, Brigham Young appointed Bishop Anson Call to found a settlement that would help link Utah to the Pacific via the Colorado River. In December of 1864, Anson Call and others explored the Colorado River including Grand Wash, in order to locate a good landing.¹⁰⁹ Call's Landing was established at the foot of Black Canyon about fifteen miles upstream from the current site of

¹⁰⁷ Altschul and Fairley, 164; Corbett, 220; Crampton, 119; Hamblin and Little, 81-82.

¹⁰⁸ John Steele, "Map 1863," MS 15320, LDS Church Archives.

¹⁰⁹ *Deseret News*, January 18, 1865.

the Hoover Dam.¹¹⁰ Call's return trip in December 1865 "brought him into Grand Wash, up Pockum Wash, and into St. George from the south."¹¹¹

Mormons again explored the area in 1867. President Erastus Snow, Hamblin and others reached the Colorado at Grand Wash, on April 10, 1867, and explored upstream with a skiff. As Bleak noted in his history, "On Wednesday, 10th of April, President Erastus Snow, Henry W. Miller, Jacob Hamblin, Jesse W. Crosby, James Andrus, Ira Hatch, and David Camron left St. George on a trip to explore down a portion of the Rio Colorado. They took the route south of St. George until they passed the divide between the Rio Virgen and the Colorado; thence down the Grand Wash, some forty miles to its mouth, striking the Colorado at the point where Jacob Hamblin and other Moqui missionaries had crossed the river some time before." While most of the party continued on to St. Thomas, Hamblin, Miller, and Crosby explored the Colorado downstream in a sixteen-foot skiff they had brought from St. George.¹¹² The wagon road through Grand Wash likely shifted from year to year, and Peplow and Belshaw in their 1980 investigation found no sign of the historic wagon road.¹¹³ Few material traces remain of this era when Mormons gradually became acquainted with the western portion of the current monument, not because they found it intrinsically interesting, but because it led them south of the Colorado.

¹¹⁰ Corbett, 135, 259; Hunter, 554.

¹¹¹ Smith, "Colorado River," 380.

¹¹² Bleak, 131; Corbett, 259.

¹¹³ Belshaw and Peplow, 192-94

John Wesley Powell

While Hamblin came West for religious reasons to help build a Zion on earth, John Wesley Powell came as a scientist. He sought first to understand the geology of the West, but he soon became equally interested in its Native peoples. Powell's exploration fit into what historian William Goetzmann has termed the era of Great Surveys, focused on incipient conservation and planning for settlement. Exploration's "purposes, goals, and evaluation of new data," Goetzmann argues, "are to a great extent set by the previous experiences, the values, the kinds and categories of existing knowledge, and the current objectives of the civilized centers from which the explorer sets out on his quest."¹¹⁴ With a lifelong devotion to natural history and science, Powell believed in the broad scientific project of cataloging the world, both its geology and its peoples. His experience with large bureaucracies dated back to his time in the Union army, and he would later argue for a rational organization of settlement policies that took into account detailed knowledge of local environments he knew from his explorations. His goal, in Goetzmann's words, was "the fair, efficient, and socially useful development of the West."¹¹⁵ He brought with him a desire to understand the geology of one of the most dramatic parts of the American landscape – the Grand Canyon – as well as to plan for the settlement of the area.

Hamblin and Powell stand as the two most prominent figures associated with early European exploration of the area that is now Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument. Together, the two men show the diversity of forces shaping

¹¹⁴ Goetzmann, xi.

¹¹⁵ Goetzmann, 350.

the West generally and Parashant specifically at the time. Yet they had much in common as well. Both had an uncommon respect and interest in Native peoples. While both favored white settlement and the elimination of Native culture through assimilation, they also worked against the injustices perpetrated on Native peoples by white traders and Indian agents. Both adhered to optimistic, progressive philosophies that saw the perfectibility of humans – philosophies that reflected the social ideals of the early nineteenth century. Hamblin saw perfectibility through the collective action of Latter-day Saints improving human society in ways that closely blended economic and religious measures. Leonard Arrington has termed Mormon beliefs “a unique coalescence of Jacksonian communitarianism” characterized by several key principles.¹¹⁶ The faithful should gather to create a Zion on earth, made up of a network of carefully organized villages that would “renew” the earth so it would “yield bounteously to the husbandman.” Property would be held by individuals in stewardship for the broader community and the purpose of building Zion – a place that would achieve economic independence from “Babylon” (the sinful outside world) through frugality, unity, cooperation, and a just distribution of resources.

Powell’s secular belief in perfection through collective action was based in part on his admiration of Mormon cooperation, especially in irrigation. He saw the U.S. government organizing irrigation and grazing districts that would allow humans to rationally exploit the land. In Goetzmann’s word, he envisioned “the perfect society, scientifically and rationally organized, with man working in

¹¹⁶ Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), 22-28.

harmony with his environment.”¹¹⁷ He also came to accept ethnologist Henry Lewis Morgan’s model of progress that saw humans advancing from savagery to barbarism to civilization, although he added a fourth step of enlightenment.¹¹⁸ Like Latter-day saints’ visions of progress, his views on government organization of settlement ran counter to an alternative American vision, that of the individualistic “yeoman farmer.” While Powell’s surveys would teach scientists about the landforms of what is now Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument, in the short term his ideas had little effect. His vision of organized grazing and irrigation districts based on detailed surveys of the quality of the land did not come to pass during his working life. They did, however, come to shape later government acts that influenced the monument: the Newlands Reclamation Act of 1902 and the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934.¹¹⁹ Although Hamblin and Powell disagreed about religion, they would come to have a great mutual respect for each other.

Powell was born in Mount Morris, New York, in 1834. His parents, English immigrants who were devote Methodists, moved soon thereafter with their children to Ohio. His father was an itinerant preacher and Wes’s young life brought him in contact with several of the fiery preachers whose passion fueled the religious awakening of the era. Yet from his childhood, Powell found role models not in the preachers he knew, but in naturalists. He became the protégé of retired schoolteacher George Crookham in Jackson, Ohio, going on trips through the countryside learning about the plants and animals and landforms of the Little

¹¹⁷ Goetzmann, 576.

¹¹⁸ Goetzmann, 571.

¹¹⁹ Goetzmann, 576*n*.

Scioto valley.¹²⁰ He demonstrated his interest in exploring at a young age. As he pursued a college education at Illinois College in Jacksonville, at Illinois Institute in Wheaton, and at Oberlin College (moving around because of lack of money and the desire to take natural history classes), he spent each summer exploring. He purchased a skiff and travelled up the Mississippi River to Saint Paul in the summer of 1855, before he went to Illinois College. The next summer, he started in Saint Paul and floated all the way down to New Orleans.¹²¹ At a young age, he developed a detailed knowledge of mollusks and formed contacts with the Illinois Natural History Society.

A staunch opponent of slavery, he joined the army in the Civil War and soon became an officer. At the battle of Shiloh, he was injured and had his lower right arm amputated. After the war, he continued teaching science in Illinois and soon turned his attention to exploring the Rockies, starting with an expedition in 1867 funded by the federal government, the Illinois State Board of Education, the Illinois Industrial University in Urbana, and the Chicago Academy of Sciences. In 1868, Powell set off on his exploration of the Colorado River, making his historic run through the Grand Canyon the following year and beginning his association with the area that is now Parashant National Monument.

Powell may not have been the first person to run the Grand Canyon. It is certainly possible that Native people had run the canyon during their millennia-old association with the area, although there is no indication they had a motivation to do so. In 1867, a prospector named James White claimed to have run the

¹²⁰ Worster, 1-36; Lawrence B. Lee, "John Wesley Powell," in Lamar, ed., 906-8.

¹²¹ Worster, 70-76.

Grand Canyon. Pursued by Utes, he and George Strole (or Stroll) had made a crude raft and set out on the San Juan River, White said, floating into the Colorado and downstream through the canyon. Strole washed overboard and drowned along the way. White turned up half-dead and nearly insane at Callville on the west side of the canyon. But he slowly regained his health and his senses, and told his story. Some have doubted that he could have made the voyage and may simply have started at Grand Wash some sixty miles upstream from Callville. Historian Donald Worster, however, finds White's account of travelling through the canyon clinging to a few logs the most probable explanation for all the evidence surrounding his travels at that time.¹²² White's accidental voyage may usurp Powell's claim to being first, but he provided nothing like the knowledge that the Powell expedition would bring.

With congressional approval to draw military rations, Powell's first Colorado River expedition left Chicago by rail in June of 1868. The group included his wife Emma, a number of college students (Lewis Keplinger, Rhodes Allen, Edmund Poston, Lyle Durley, and Samuel Garman), Henry Wing, a physician, George Vasey, a botanist and physician, and three Protestant ministers (W. H. Daniels, J. W. Healy, and W. C. Wood), twenty-one people in all. The group had neither great experience in the West nor in scientific study. Powell had promised flora and fauna specimens to dozens of schools and colleges in Illinois, and needed this large workforce to fulfill the requests. In winter camp on the White River, Powell began work on a Ute vocabulary, beginning his lifelong association with the Native peoples of the area. In May of 1869, a crew of ten set

¹²² Worster, 132-35.

off from Green River City down the Colorado in three boats. The party consisted of Major Powell, Walter Powell (his brother), Jack Sumner, W. W. “Billy” Hawkins (or Rhodes), William Dunn, two brothers Oramel and Seneca Howland, Andy Hall (the youngest member at eighteen), Frank Goodman, and George Bradley.¹²³

As the discontented party, sometimes near mutiny, made its way through the canyon, rumors of its demise made their way to U.S. newspapers. After they passed Parashant Wash, they came to Granite Spring, where the expedition saw Indian gardens of squash, melons, and corn along the river, from which they stole some squash. Bradley noted the garden was planted with “considerable care.”¹²⁴ On August 27, the crew came upon rapids that gave some members of the expedition pause. The elder of the Howland brothers, Oramel, put it to Powell that they should abandon the river voyage and hike out of the canyon. He said that he, his brother Seneca, as well as William Dunn were prepared to follow that course. The Howlands and Dunn had first taken part in Powell’s 1868 Rocky Mountain exploration, having met Powell in Denver. The Howland brothers were born in Vermont. The elder brother, Oramel, had moved to Denver in 1860, where he worked as a printer and editor, served on the board of trustees of a mining company, and represented a Methodist Sunday school magazine as its business agent. His brother Seneca came out to join him in 1868.¹²⁵ Little else is known about Dunn.

¹²³ Worster, 158-59.

¹²⁴ Worster, 190.

¹²⁵ William Culp Darrah, “The Howland Brothers and William Dunn,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15 (1947): 93-95; Worster, 158.

Powell argued with the three potential deserters. Relying on his estimations of the distance covered and Jacob Hamblin's journal of exploring up to Grand Wash in 1867, Powell insisted they were only a few days from open country. Through the night, the men debated. By one account, Powell had all but decided to abandon the journey, until Andy Hall and Billy Hawkins insisted they intended to continue no matter what. Ultimately, neither side could convince the other. In a tearful good-bye, Powell gave what he thought was a duplicate copy of journals (but turned out to be the only copy), along with a letter to his wife, to the three men. Jack Sumner gave them a watch to give to his sister. The three men hiked out of the canyon on August 28, while Powell with the six remaining men continued the journey downstream with only two of the expedition's three boats.¹²⁶ Powell would never see the men alive again.

It turned out that Powell was right. The two boats ran the dangerous-looking rapids fairly easily. That afternoon, they encountered another dangerous stretch which cost them a sternpost. The next day, however, they came out of the canyon into the open country of Grand Wash.¹²⁷ Continuing down the river, they met a group of Paiutes, then a group of Mormons, who were watching for what they thought would be the debris of their wrecked boats. The bishop of St. Thomas send a wagon with mail and fresh melons. From Grand Wash, they proceeded to St. Thomas, and from there back to Salt Lake City.¹²⁸

Dunn and the Howland brothers met a more mysterious and tragic fate. On hearing from Powell that the men had tried to hike out of the canyon, Mormon

¹²⁶ Powell, *Exploration*, 277-84; Worster, 191-93.

¹²⁷ Powell, *Exploration*, 284.

¹²⁸ Worster, 194; Powell, *Exploration*, 287.

officials became asking local Southern Paiutes what they knew about the men's fate. Jacob Hamblin heard news of the killing within days of the separation.¹²⁹ By September 8th, eleven days after the three men started their climb out of the canyon, stories appeared in the paper attributing the killing to Shivwits.¹³⁰ An article published in the *Deseret News* on September 29 gave the following account:

President Erastus Snow telegraphs from St. George, per Deseret Telegraph line, that after making a thorough investigation through reliable Indians, of facts of the murder of the three men of the Powell expedition, he is satisfied they did not molest a squaw, as the first Indian reported, but that they were killed by an enraged Shebitt, some of whose friends had, a short time previously, been murdered by a party of miners on the other (east) side of the Colorado river.

The Shebitts have since returned to their own country, but the Piedes of Southern Utah, say they (the Shebitts) burned the papers of the expedition the men had with them, after killing them. President Snow concludes his dispatch by saying he will still continue the search.¹³¹

Given the newspaper accounts at the time and Hamblin's and Powell's discussion with the Shivwits the next year, the following explanation of the men's fate is most widely accepted among historians. The three men successfully hiked out of the canyon and entered what is now Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument in the vicinity of Mount Dellenbaugh. On the plateau they encountered a group of Shivwits who brought the men to their camp and gave them food and water to revive them from their difficult climb. The Shivwits,

¹²⁹ Belshaw and Peplow, 57; Corbett, 267

¹³⁰ *Deseret Evening News*, September 8, 1869 [quoted in "Newspaper Reports of the Expedition's End," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15:1,2,3,4 (1947): 140-48.]; "The Powell Expedition," *Deseret News*, September 15, 1869; "Exploration of the Colorado Finished," *Deseret News*, September 22, 1869; "Three of Powell Expedition Killed by Indians," September 15, 1869; "The Murdered Men of the Powell Expedition," *Deseret News*, September 29, 1869; *Cheyenne Leader*, September 18, 1869 [quoted in "Newspaper Reports of the Expedition's End," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15:1,2,3,4 (1947): 140-48]

¹³¹ "The Murdered Men of the Powell Expedition," *Deseret News*, September 29, 1869.

however, had heard that miners had recently killed an Indian woman south of the Colorado, or perhaps they had witnessed the murder themselves. The Shivwits were especially suspicious since they had never seen whites before on that part of the Shivwits plateau and came to believe they were the murderers. They may have been motivated by theft as well. The Shivwits filled the three men full of arrows and burned the papers the men were carrying. Although details of the story vary among the articles published in 1869, these articles generally fit the story Powell would hear in more detail when, with Hamblin acting as translator, he interviewed Shivwits at Mount Trumbull in 1870.

Some writers, however, have posited that Mormons murdered the three men. Jon Krakauer is only the latest of many writers to look at the evidence and suspect Mormon involvement.¹³² Two pieces of evidence helped give rise to this alternative theory. Jack Sumner, who accompanied Powell on his Colorado River expedition, later saw someone with a watch resembling the one he had given the three men and boasting about how he got it. Although he never looked closely at the watch, he felt this, along with rumors he had heard, showed that Mormons had killed the three men.¹³³ In 1980, Professor Wesley P. Larsen discovered a letter written by a Mormon dissident William Leany in 1883, which referred ambiguously to “the day those three were murdered in our ward & the murderer

¹³² Jon Krakauer, *Under the Banner of Heaven: A Story of Violent Faith* (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 235-47; Martha Sonntag Bradley, *A History of Kane County* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah State Historical Society, 1999), 69-70; Darrah, “Howland Brothers,” 93-94.

¹³³ Robert Brewster Stanton, *Colorado River Controversies* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1932), 205-6, 209; Frank M. Barrios, “An Appointment With Death: The Howland-Dunn Tragedy Revisited,” in Michael F. Anderson, “A Gathering of Grand Canyon Historians; Ideas, Arguments, and First-Person Accounts; Proceedings of the Inaugural Grand Canyon History Symposium, January 2002,” Grand Canyon Association, Monograph 13, pp. 145-148; Larsen, 17.

killed to stop the shedding of more blood.”¹³⁴ The theory posits that the three men made their way to Toquerville, where they were murdered by Mormons as gentile spies. It further suggests that the Mormon hierarchy decided to pin the blame on Shivwits Indians, with Jacob Hamblin duplicitously mistranslating the September 1870 meeting at Mount Trumbull in order to fool John Wesley Powell.

Given the fact that the three men’s bodies have never been recovered, it is difficult to disprove definitively the theory of a “well-orchestrated conspiracy directed from above” as Larsen terms it. Much of the arguments on both sides hinge more on historical hunches about likelihood and character than on any clear evidence. Larsen feels it is unlikely Mormons would fail to bring Indians to justice, if they truly believed they had killed white men. Worster trusts Powell’s instinct that his friend Hamblin was telling the truth when he translated. Yet the conspiracy theory has several weak points. Worster feels Powell’s knowledge of Ute would have allowed him to detect any deceptive translations from Paiute to English; Larsen feels Ute and Paiute are too different for that to matter.

Anthropologists come down on Worster’s side of this question. Isabel T. Kelly says that within the Ute-Chemehuevi branch of Plateau Shoshoeans, comprising both Ute and Paiute, “the linguistic relationship is close.”¹³⁵ Edward Sapir says that “It is doubtful if even the geographically extreme Ute-Chemehuevi dialects . .

¹³⁴ Wesley P. Larsen, “The ‘Letter,’ or Were the Powell Men Really Killed by Indians?” *Canyon Legacy: A Journal of the Dan O’Laurie Museum* (1993): 13; Worster, 214; Kerry William Bate, “John Steele: Medicine Man, Magician, Mormon Patriarch,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62:1 (Winter 1994): 87-88.

¹³⁵ Kelly, Isabel T., “Southern Paiute Bands” *American Anthropologist*, New Series 36:4 (October-November 1934): 548.

. are not mutually intelligible with considerable ease.”¹³⁶ The conspiracy theory also does not adequately explain how Mormons convinced Paantung, a Shivwits, to blame the murder on some “‘no sense’ (cat-i-sure) Cherriots” [Shivwits].¹³⁷ Paantung was so suspicious of Mormons he refused to let the Mormon cook accompanying a survey party to the Mount Dellenbaugh area leave camp lest he tell his fellow Mormons about Shivwits country. Larsen and Krakauer made no mention of Paantung. Through the years, most historians have attributed the killings to Shivwits. A great deal of second-hand testimony exists within a few days of the killings that blames the Shivwits Indians, while the evidence pointing to Mormons is based on vague memories written down years after the events described. While there can be no certainty in the absence of bodily evidence and detailed eye-witness accounts, the basic outline of the story published within days of the killings seems to provide the most likely explanation.

The location of the three men’s demise is also the subject of controversy, since no remains have ever been found. The area does provide one intriguing piece of physical evidence. Mack Miller happened upon an inscription when he was working as a fire lookout in the 1960s. As best he knew, he was the first to notice it.¹³⁸ On the basaltic rock near the top of Mount Dellenbaugh, an inscription reads “W. Dunn 1869 Water” with an arrow pointing toward Lake Flat.¹³⁹ One piece of evidence touching on its authenticity is the fact that O. G.

¹³⁶ Edward Sapir, “The Southern Paiute Language,” *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 65:5 (1930), quoted in Kelly, “Southern Paiute Bands,” 548n3.

¹³⁷ Almon Harris Thompson, “The Diary of Almon Harris Thompson,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 7 (1939): 105.

¹³⁸ Belshaw and Peplow, 73-74, 233-34.

¹³⁹ Belshaw and Peplow, 233-35.

Howland, Seneca Howland, and William Dunn had similarly carved their names at the Music Temple in the Grand Canyon.¹⁴⁰ If this inscription is authentic, it may be the oldest tract of Euro-American exploration and settlement in the monument. Yet Almon Harris Thompson visited the area in 1872 and climbed Mount Dellenbaugh, making no mention of an inscription while commenting in detail on the Puebloan ruins there.¹⁴¹ Anthony Ivins spent years working in and around Parashant and apparently never commented on such an inscription. Yet the inscription might not draw the attention of someone not looking for subtle clues. Jon Krakauer cites one further piece of evidence that the party made it to the vicinity of Mount Dellenbaugh. He interviewed a young man named Wynn Isom who reported finding a brass plate inscribed “William Dunn” near Mount Dellenbaugh in 1995.¹⁴²

A number of sites, all in the general vicinity of Mount Dellenbaugh, have been suggested as the place where the three men were killed. The arrow on the inscription points to Lake Flat, beyond which is Log Spring (seven miles north of Mount Dellenbaugh). This is the site to which local lore often attributes the killing, while also suggesting the killer was a Shivwits named Toab who lived in the area into the twentieth century.¹⁴³ Almon Harris Thompson was in the area in 1872. As they camped near Mount Dellenbaugh, he reported that his Shivwits guide Paantung said it was at their campsite that Shivwits had killed Dunn and the

¹⁴⁰ Entry for October 5, 1871, Walter Clement Powell (Charles Kelly, ed.), “Journal of Walter Clement Powell,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 16-17 (1948-1949): 340; Frederick Dellenbaugh, *Romance of the Colorado* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), 287.

¹⁴¹ Thompson, “Diary.”

¹⁴² Krakauer, 236.

¹⁴³ Belshaw and Peplow, 53-74, 182-86.

Howlands. In Belshaw and Peplow's view Thompson's inexact description places the killing "in an unidentifiable location on the peninsula below Ambush Water Pocket."¹⁴⁴ Belshaw and Peplow themselves suggest a different site for the ambush: Penn's Pockets, some five miles southeast of Mount Dellenbaugh.¹⁴⁵

Dellenbaugh suggested the killing took place at Ambush Water-pockets, a site which he visited in 1875.¹⁴⁶ In his *Romance of the Colorado*, he presents the following version of the killing based, he said, on what some "Utes" [Pai-utes] had told Jacob Hamblin. The Pai-utes received the three men at their camp in what is now known as Ambush waterpocket. "During the night some of the band came in from the north and reported certain outrages by miners in that country. It was at once concluded that these whites were the culprits and that they never came down the Colorado as they claimed. In the morning, therefore, a number secreted themselves near the edge of the water-pocket. The trail to the water leads under a basaltic cliff perhaps thirty or forty feet high, as I remember the spot, which I visited about six years later [ca. 1875]. As the unfortunate men turned to come up from filling their canteens, they were shot down from ambush. In consequence I have called this the Ambush water-pocket."¹⁴⁷ None of these descriptions come from eye-witness accounts and no physical evidence of the killings has come to light. So the exact location remains a mystery.

¹⁴⁴ Belshaw and Peplow say that Paantung was not Shivwits and that he indeed displayed an antipathy toward the Shivwits that tends to discredit his account. It is unclear why they argue he is not Shivwits, when Dellenbaugh says that he was Shivwits and, indeed, that the Shivwits had assigned him as a guide for the expedition. Belshaw and Peplow, 72; Frederick Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 253-54.

¹⁴⁵ Belshaw and Peplow, 233.

¹⁴⁶ Dellenbaugh, *Romance*, 226-31.

¹⁴⁷ Dellenbaugh, *Romance*, 229-30.

Powell made no visit to the Shivwits Plateau or Mount Trumbull area during his first journey through the Colorado River in 1869. Notably, he made no effort to rescue the three deserters or to recover their bodies.¹⁴⁸ However, before and after his second trip through the Grand Canyon in 1871, Powell did travel extensively in the area that would later become Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument. This began a period when numerous Euro-American explorers came to learn about the area. During his second expedition, Powell planned to stay longer in the Grand Canyon, making more careful observations, thus necessitating supply points. Because of this, he became more familiar with the uplands. Powell travelled with Brigham Young from Salt Lake City to southern Utah in September, where Young left Powell with Jacob Hamblin. Through Hamblin, Powell met Chuarumpeak, a Kaibab chief, who showed the survey party one path to the Colorado River. From Pipe Spring, they rode to a point south of Mount Trumbull and descended to the Colorado River near Lava Falls Rapid.¹⁴⁹ This journey would have taken them through what is now the current monument and through Grand Canyon National Park. On September 16, Powell asked Chuarumpeak to make inquiries about the death of Dunn and the Howlands.¹⁵⁰ After exploring the route to the river, the party returned to Mount Trumbull, where they smoked a peace pipe and talked with Chuarumpeak and a number of Shivwits, as recounted in the introduction to this chapter.

On September 20, 1870, Powell and Captain Bishop climbed Mount Trumbull. The party rode their horses up through the cedar forest to “cliffs of

¹⁴⁸ Worster, 196.

¹⁴⁹ Worster, 212.

¹⁵⁰ Powell, *Exploration*, 312; Corbett, 293-95.

columnar basalt.” From there, they made their way to the top, working their way through crevices till they reached the summit and could see “thousands of acres of pine lands spread out before us.” Descending the mountain that evening, they caught up with the pack train already headed to Pipe Spring and Kanab.¹⁵¹ His time with the Shivwits served another important purpose. As Goetzmann notes, “In talking with the Shivwits, the Major became fascinated with their culture and their legends. This represented a further heightening of that interest in ethnology that became Powell’s prime interest in later life.”¹⁵² Some of the tales he heard from the Shivwits would make their way into his ethnographies.

After exploring the plateaus in 1870, Powell was ready to run the river again in 1871. Except for Jack Sumner, his crew was entirely different. The total crew numbered eleven. It included Powell, Almon Harris Thompson (his sister’s husband and the Bloomington superintendent of education), Stephen V. Jones, John F. Steward, Francis Bishop, Walter Clement “Clem” Powell (his cousin), Frank Richardson, E. O. Beaman, Frederick Dellenbaugh, Andrew Hattan, and Jack Hillers. They spent their winter camp at Kanab, Utah. In the spring, the expedition undertook a journey across the Uinkaret Plateau to Mount Trumbull. Nellie accompanied the crew on this journey, climbing Mount Trumbull in the spring of 1871.

At the same time that Powell was exploring the area, the Lieutenant George M. Wheeler party (the War Department’s Geographic Survey West of the One Hundredth Meridian) made a much shorter visit to the area 1871. The main

¹⁵¹ Powell, *Exploration*, 323-25; Corbett, 297.

¹⁵² Goetzmann, 554.

part of the expedition travelled north of the current monument through the Virgin River Canyon. However, Lieutenant Daniel W. Lockwood and Lieutenant D. A. Lyle led a land party that passed through St. Thomas Gap, then to Pakoon Springs, then on to the Virgin River and St. George. They returned south following a route through Grand Wash to the river, which the Mormons had "penetrated with wagons some years ago." Lockwood followed Grand Wash to its mouth at the Colorado River, while Lyle took a more easterly route close to that of the future Mormon road. Both groups crossed the river at the future site of Pearce's Ferry.¹⁵³

As the Powell expedition set out to map the Colorado Plateau, they began to become more familiar with the terrain. This expedition resulted in extensive visits to the eastern portions of the current monument. In 1872, the Powell expedition set up its camp near Pipe Spring and began mapping the area. On March 21, 1872, a group including Dellenbaugh and others headed west toward Mount Trumbull. On their way to the mountain, they spotted a band of wild horses. The group included John K. "Jack" Hillers, Professor Thompson, Stephen Jones, Frederick Dellenbaugh, Will Johnson of Kanab, and James Fennemore. Near the base of Mount Trumbull they found water and traces of old Uinkaret wickiups, where they camped. In the morning, Jones and Dellenbaugh rode around the mountain one way, while Professor Thompson and Captain Pardon Dodds rode around in the other direction. Jones and Dellenbaugh encountered a Mr. Whitmore who had a ranch "six miles farther on." Most of the

¹⁵³ Belshaw and Peplow, 37-38; Fairley, "History," 181; Worster, 206, 317-18; Smith, "Colorado River," 380-83; Dale L. Morgan, "Introduction" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 17:1-4 (1949): 1; Goetzmann, 469-78.

party climbed to the top of Mount Trumbull on Monday, March 25, finding they could bring horses all the way to the top. Jones, Hillers, Fennemore, and Dellenbaugh camped the night atop the mountain.¹⁵⁴

They descended the next morning and found a spring in an oak grove, then continued on to Whitmore Ranch on the 27th, where they discussed the region with Whitmore. On the 28th, Johnson and Dellenbaugh climbed Mount Logan to place a signal flag atop it. In early April, snow began to fall heavily and the men decided to continue on to St. George. Mormon cattle ranchers were already making extensive use of the area. As they tried to follow the trail Whitmore had told them of, they found that “there were so many cattle trails we did not get on the right one.”¹⁵⁵ They proceeded north along Hurricane Ridge, and stopped at the Gould’s or Workman’s place. They had seen no Indians in the Uinkaret region. On April 12th, they returned to the area, camping again on April 15th at Oak (Little) Spring, near Mount Trumbull. They again ascended Mount Trumbull and Mount Logan to triangulate from there. They again visited the Whitmore ranch and were given a quart of milk, although the man there had little information on springs on the St. George trail, and then rode out to Black Rock Canyon. After the second voyage through the canyon, in October 1872, Powell returned again to Mount Trumbull, where he again met with local Paiute bands.¹⁵⁶

The survey crew made their way through the Shivwits Plateau in late 1872. In November 1872, the crew set out for the Uinkaret region to continue

¹⁵⁴ Dellenbaugh, *Romance*, 310.; Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 186-190; Beatrice Scheer Smith, “The 1872 Diary and Plant Collections of Ellen Powell Thompson,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62:2 (Spring 1994): 115-16 [entry for March 25, 1872].

¹⁵⁵ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 189.

¹⁵⁶ Worster, 258.

surveying the area.¹⁵⁷ Powell and Dellenbaugh took three members of the Kaibab band, camping at first near Pipe Spring. On Tuesday, November 5, they camped at Witches' Pool near Mount Trumbull. The Paiutes brought some rabbits they had killed to the visitors. One of the Kaibabs, Chuar, complained of noticing Oonupits (spirits) in the area. Powell and Dellenbaugh reconnoitered through the day on Wednesday, and met in the evening Teemaroomtakei, a Uinkaret chief. Teemaroomtakei, his companion, Powell, and Thompson climbed Mount Trumbull on November 7, Thursday. On November 9, the group moved their camp to Oak Spring in order to have a conference with the Shivwits. Powell traded with the Shivwits and obtained a number of items for the Smithsonian Institution. The items reveal something of the material culture of the people then living on the Shivwits Plateau: "bags of food seeds, baskets, spoons made from mountain sheep's horns, balls of compressed cactus fruit from which the juice had been extracted for a kind of wine, rolls of oose-apple pulp, which they ate like bread, etc."¹⁵⁸

On Monday, November 11, Powell, Thompson, and Dellenbaugh climbed Mount Logan to gain a "general survey of the country."¹⁵⁹ According to Dellenbaugh, Powell negotiated with the Shivwits to explore their country. They agreed to give the party guides (Paantung and "Judge"). Not trusting the

¹⁵⁷ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 250.

¹⁵⁸ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 253. According to a description in an adventure story by Justin Dale, "The 'oose apple' grows abundantly, in large clusters, on another species of yucca, and looks temptingly luscious in August, when they ripen, and turn to a rich golden color. They are long in shape, --a little like a cucumber,-- and only the outside is fit to eat." (Justin Dale, "The Camp in the Gulch" in Oliver Optic, et al., "The Great Bonanza" [Boston: Lee & Shephard, 1876], 137. According to the *Dictionary of American Regional English*, oose or oose weed refers to *Yucca glauca* (Frederick Cassidy et al., eds., *Dictionary of American Regional English, I-O* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985], 887).

¹⁵⁹ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 254.

Mormons, however, they insisted that the Mormon cook (Nathan Adams) stay in camp so he could not learn details of the territory to tell his fellow Mormons.¹⁶⁰

On November 12, the party consisting of Thompson, Nathan Adams, Paantung, and “Judge” set out into the Shivwits Plateau. Dellenbaugh described Paantung as a Shivwits and “Judge” as “possibly a Shewits also for all we could tell.”¹⁶¹

Thompson went to the top of Mount Ellen on that day. On the 13th, this party left Oak Spring, travelled down Hurricane Ridge, and crossed canyons and ridges on the Shivwits Plateau, travelling some 22 miles and camping at a place called Salt Spring. On the 14th, they continued on to Mount Dellenbaugh, camping about five miles south-southeast of the mountain. As they travelled, Thompson made careful note of the geology. On the 15th, they moved camp about a mile and a half. Thompson and Paantung went out surveying to the south on a high basalt ridge, from which they could see a garden below. They could also see the point where Dunn and Howlands had left the expedition. As discussed earlier, Paantung indicated to Thompson that some “no sense” Shivwits had killed Dunn and the Howlands where they were camped.

On November 16, Saturday, Paantung and Thompson climbed Mount Dellenbaugh. They found what they described as “the ruins of an old Moqui’s building on the very summit.” The building was round, twenty feet in diameter with walls about five feet high at that time. After dinner that evening they travelled to the northwest and found a stream at which to camp. The Indians continued on to the Shivwits camp. On Sunday, November 17, Paantung and

¹⁶⁰ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*; Thompson, “Diary,” 103-4.

¹⁶¹ Thompson, “Diary,” 104-6; Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 254.

“Judge” came back from the Shivwits camp with Q-ne-tive and another Shivwits captain with whom Thompson talked. They then travelled on to “Grand wash near the old Whitmore Ranch,” where an Indian was staying. On Monday, they continued north to the Virgin River, and then went on to St. George.¹⁶² This journey provides the first written description of the Parashant area, focusing almost exclusively on geology with no discussion of plants or animals.

Thomas Moran, the great landscape painter, also contributed to Powell’s explorations. Like a number of expedition leaders in 1872, Powell had seen Moran’s impressive painting *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* at the Capitol in Washington, D.C., and realized he would be a great asset to the exploring party. Moran, however, declined Powell’s invitation in June of that year, given the press of other work. In 1873, Moran accepted Powell’s invitation and hurried out to Salt Lake City with *New York Times* reporter John E. “Jack” Coleburn. In Salt Lake City, Moran met Brigham Young and all the Mormon elders. As they travelled South, Powell separated from Moran and Coleburn at Fillmore, Utah, in order to interview Southern Paiutes with George W. Ingalls, and prepare a report on their condition and make recommendations about putting them on reservations.¹⁶³ As they journeyed south they took in the impressive landscapes of what would be Zion National Park and the Vermilion Cliffs, then went on to the Powell expedition camp on the Kanab Plateau. Travelling with two mules, the photographer John K. Hillers, “a Mr. Adams, a resident of Kanab,” and a Paiute whom they called “Jim,” the two men set out for Mount Trumbull and the

¹⁶² Belshaw and Peplow, 74.

¹⁶³ “Report of J. W. Powell and G. W. Ingalls,” *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1873, 41-46.

north rim of the Grand Canyon on August 5. They camped at its southern base in a pocket called “Unupits pacavi” (Witches’ Pool), despite the bitter complaints of their Paiute guide about the witches. At the campsite, Moran sketched their camp. Next morning, they continued down the Toroweap to the edge of the Grand Canyon, where Moran made sketches and Hiller took photographs. After two days at the rim, they made their way back to Kanab, where they met Major Powell. From there, they continued their exploration to the Kaibab. The images he brought back of the Grand Canyon would increase his renown, but the sketches made at Mount Trumbull would not receive such fame.¹⁶⁴

Powell’s expedition resulted in detailed geographical reports on the area north of the Grand Canyon. These geological reports were the result of collaboration between Clarence Dutton, his co-worker Grove Karl Gilbert, and John Wesley Powell.¹⁶⁵ They provided American scientists with basic documents for understanding the geology of the area, including what is now the monument.¹⁶⁶ A consideration of Dutton’s introduction to his *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon District* (published 1882) show the geologist’s skill in evoking the drama of the landscape, while also providing a scientific description of its origins. His descriptions include the three major divisions of the current monument. To the east is the Grand Wash, “a broad and deep valley” draining a considerable area. Of the wash, he writes, “No river runs there, but only

¹⁶⁴ “The Colorado Canon,” *New York Times*, September 4, 1873; Thurman Wilkins, *Thomas Moran: Artist of the Mountains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 106-135; Thomas Moran, *Night Thoughts, From Afar: Letters of Thomas Moran to Mary Nimmo Moran* (East Hampton, N.Y.: East Hampton Free Library, 1967), 37-42.

¹⁶⁵ Wallace Stegner, “Introduction,” in Clarence E. Dutton, *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon District* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001), v-vi.

¹⁶⁶ Stegner, “Introduction,” v-xi; Stephen J. Pyne, “Dutton’s Point,” in Dutton, xii-xxv.

occasional deluges of mud, whenever the storms from the southeast are flung against the lofty battlements and break in torrents of winter rain.” Above a “giant escarpment” begins the Shivwits Plateau that makes up most of the monument. The surface of this plateau he says “is diversified by some volcanic masses, and by a few large Permian outliers, capped by basaltic sheets.” The most notable feature on the plateau is Mount Dellenbaugh in the south “a considerable mass of basalts” surrounded by “a large basaltic field.” Dutton then describes the Hurricane Ridge as “one of the most striking and strong geological and topographical features of the region,” leaping up some 1,600 to 1,800 feet. Above and west of the ridge is the Uinkaret Plateau. He describes its southern portion (the portion in the monument with Mount Trumbull and Mount Logan) as “the scene of basaltic eruptions of considerable magnitude.” “The positions of many of the basaltic masses,” he continues, “amid the stupendous scenery of the great chasm and its tributary valleys, are highly impressive and suggestive.”¹⁶⁷

In the body of his text, Dutton focuses on the Uinkaret Plateau as the type of both the Shivwits and the Uinkaret.¹⁶⁸ He describes the Carboniferous strata that form the “the platform of interior spaces” of all the Grand Canyon district, with overlying patches of Permian beds. He describes Mount Trumbull and Mount Logan as consisting of Permian strata capped with basaltic lava caps exposed by the erosion of surrounding strata. The narrative puts readers in the middle of the scene, asking them to stand atop Mount Trumbull, where one can observe some 120 or 130 distinct cinder cones. Dutton describes the Shivwits

¹⁶⁷ Dutton, 11-13.

¹⁶⁸ Dutton, 5, 101-121.

Plateau briefly, terming Diamond Butte a “large remnant of Permian beds overlaid with basalt.”¹⁶⁹ A large portion of the southern portion of the plateau (within the monument) is made up a “Permian strata covered with basalt.”

Dutton collaborated with Powell and Grove Karl Gilbert on the ideas presented in the reports, but the “evocative and literary” style was all his own.¹⁷⁰ In his work, as Wallace Stegner says, “[e]nthusiasm is as much a part of his approach as scientific observation.”¹⁷¹ He puts his readers in the scene, as if “supernumeraries of a survey party.”¹⁷² Three illustrators contributed to the book. Jack Hillers’s photographs do not appear in the volume, but they informed Dutton’s analysis, as well as the illustrations by Thomas Moran and William Henry Holmes. Moran provided the drawings and paintings that illustrate the volume, based on a mix of field observations and Hiller drawings. W. H. Holmes provided illustrations as well, notably capturing the astounding scenery from Point Sublime. The book only contains a few images from the current monument. Plate XX portrays “Mount Trumbull—from Mount Logan,” signed by H. H. Nichols. Plate XXI of “Recent Lava Flow on the Uinkaret” may also be within the monument. Government science brought this area to the attention of a broader public. Yet it would be Mormon economic enterprises that would first enfold the area into Euro-American markets.

¹⁶⁹ Dutton, 107.

¹⁷⁰ Stegner, “Introduction,” vi.

¹⁷¹ Stegner, “Introduction,” vii.

¹⁷² Stegner, “Introduction,” vii.

Euro-Americans first entered the Grand Wash portion of what is now Parashant National Monument in 1855, the Parashant portion in 1869, and the Mount Trumbull portion in 1870. Yet throughout this time, these places were very much Shivwits country and Uinkaret country where newcomers had to accept Native power. When the Shivwits demanded that the Mormon cook, Nathan Adams, not leave camp when travelling through the Parashant area, for instance, Thompson's party had to oblige. They depended on Southern Paiute guides for their knowledge of the terrain. The area was, however, already undergoing a transition. On his travels, Thompson observed a camp of Paiutes near Mount Trumbull "parching grass seed preparatory to grinding," while at Grand Wash, he saw "an Indian there with flour, sugar, and bacon."¹⁷³ Over the next two decades, the grass seeds Southern Paiutes depended on would be consumed by Mormon cattle and they would have to rely on wage labor, begging, and government hand-outs of food to survive.

¹⁷³ Thompson, "Diary," 103, 105.

Chapter 2:

Lumber, Grass, and Copper:

Parashant in the Regional Mormon Economy, 1873-1893

In the winter of 1876, the aging Brigham Young made his final journey to his winter home in St. George and attended the dedication of the impressive new temple there the following April. The seventy-five-year-old Mormon president was in failing health and hoped to have one temple built in the West before he died. He had made the decision to build the St. George temple in 1871, and had exhorted workers to finish the temple as quickly as possible.¹ The dazzling white structure in St. George was a moving religious edifice for the faithful. One traveller marveled, “I cannot describe to you the feeling one experiences, which prompts him intuitively to uncover his head on first looking upon that building.”² It was a sacred place, where rites of marriage and baptism for the living and the dead could be performed. Yet the temple was also powerful testament to the

¹ Douglas D. Alder and Karl F. Brooks, *A History of Washington County A history of Washington County: from isolation to destination* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1996), 61; Young wintered in St. George starting in 1874, per Juanita Brooks, “Early Buildings,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29:3 (July 1961), 246. On Young, see Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Knopf, 1985).

² “Correspondence,” *Deseret News*, April 4, 1877.

wealth and power of Mormons in St. George and to their ability to mobilize resources through their religious-economic system. A broad hinterland contributed to St. George's wealth, including areas currently within the Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument. In the 1870s, timber, grass, and copper from the future monument were sources of wealth for the growing community. The themes of economy, religion, the state, and the environment run deeply throughout the history of the Arizona Strip; yet in the latter nineteenth century the bond among these trends was especially tight. In Mormon thinking of this era, religious, economic, and governmental goals fused within the cooperative ventures that transformed the environment of the Arizona Strip.

Present at the temple's dedication in April 1877 were many Mormons prominent in the church hierarchy and in the cooperative industrial enterprises shaping the region, including the Shivwits Plateau and Mount Trumbull. Erastus Snow and Edwin G. Woolley who helped create the Canaan Cooperative Stock Company were present. Meat to feed workers at Mount Trumbull came from cattle that this cooperative grazed on the Arizona Strip. James G. Bleak, who helped found that St. George United Order, was present. The United Order was an important source of labor for the temple, while the sawmill at Mount Trumbull was operated as a department within the United Order. Erastus Snow and Edwin G. Woolley were also involved in managing the Grand Gulch Mine and the Copper Mountain Mine. As early as 1868, Mormons were investigating the Grand Gulch mine and hoping to exploit its rich lode of copper. Most importantly, Brigham Young was there. It was he who promoted cooperatives

and later United Orders all across Mormon country in an effort to create a Zion on earth. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the area that is now Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument became increasingly integrated into the Mormon economy. The area had long been central to the lives of Southern Paiutes. For Euro-American in this era, no longer did the area merely contain way stations that Euro-Americans explored or travelled through on their way elsewhere. Starting in the 1870s, Mormons began to actively exploit the grass, timber, and copper resources of area.

United Order: Freedom from “Speculators, Bummers, and Dishonest Lawyers”

To understand the role of communitarian economics in Mormon life and especially the sawmill at Mount Trumbull, we must step back and look more broadly at how these practices ran through Mormon history. The history of the United Order reveals how the spiritual and the temporal were tightly fused in the Mormon experience. Indeed, most of the revelations to church leaders in the nineteenth century dealt with economic matters.³ Communitarianism runs throughout the Mormon experience, but Latter-day Saints pursued this ideal most intensely during two relatively brief eras: the 1830s and the 1870s. Even as many non-Mormon Euro-Americans developed an attachment to individualistic capitalism, as historian Leonard Arrington argues, Mormons in Utah preserved a

³ Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), 5.

form of Jacksonian communitarianism rooted in the spirit of the 1830s when the religion was founded.⁴

In February of 1831, as Mormons were moving into Jackson County, Missouri, Joseph Smith made public a revelation about the United Order, also known as the Order of Enoch or the Law of Consecration and Stewardship. It called for church members to “consecrate” all their property (both real and personal) to the church.⁵ In many cases, the property thus consecrated would be put under the “stewardship” of the former owner. However, the church also redistributed property, making it available to poorer church members. The system of stewardship proved difficult to administer and was modified in 1833 to give members formal deeds to the land they worked. As Mormons struggled with the administrative and legal complexities of this economic system, along with the difficult issue of how much property each member deserved, they faced a more pressing challenge when a mob forced them out of their half-built city in July of 1833.⁶

As the Mormons continued to face harassment and moved to a series of new homes in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, they undertook various forms of economic cooperation and socialism. In their new home of Kirtland, Ohio, Mormons established a general store, tannery, printing shop, and sawmill managed by the “Central Board of the United Order” – businesses that floundered

⁴ Arrington, *Great Basin*, 22.

⁵ Angus W. Woodbury, “The Mormon United Order in Utah” (1934, revised 1954), 2; Arrington, *Great Basin*, 7-9.

⁶ Arrington, *Great Basin*, 6-13

on the inability to demand payment from members.⁷ From 1833 to 1836, the community built the Kirtland Temple on a cooperative basis. Mormons were forced to abandon Kirtland as well, most losing their property in the failure of another cooperative venture: the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company. In 1837, the Saints moved to Far West, Missouri, where church members again practiced collective ownership of land and property in a system known as “consecration and stewardship.” Mormons’ final home in the eastern United States was Nauvoo, Illinois. Here Joseph Smith replaced his previous efforts at consecration and stewardship with a less communitarian economic form: the church organized the Nauvoo Agricultural and Manufacturing Society as a joint-stock company. It was also in Nauvoo that the church first established the Tithing Office -- an institution that continues to shape Mormon economics to the present and provided capital for economic activities in Parashant in the 1870s.⁸

In 1846, Mormons began their long trek to Utah. In their new home in Utah, the church did not promote the more radical forms of communitarianism common in its early years in the upper Midwest; yet it continued to advocate the tight association of state, church, and economy. It relied on a set of religious and economic principles that included equality, independence, unity, cooperation, and property as stewardship. While individualistic capitalism gained sway in the East, the notion of property as a right did not have the same appeal in Mormon country. The period beginning in 1868 saw a rebirth of the cooperative ideal in Mormon country, fostered in part by the arrival of European immigrants from regions

⁷ Arrington, *Great Basin*, 12.

⁸ Arrington, *Great Basin*, 13-18.

where the idea was popular. In almost every Mormon community, mercantile cooperatives were established and St. George in southern Utah was no exception. Through these Mormon-controlled stores, the church hoped to minimize trade with non-Mormons. All such trade with the outside world passed through one wholesale cooperative in Salt Lake City: Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution. Mercantile cooperatives were soon followed by industrial cooperatives such as clothing and shoe factories, blacksmith shops, sawmills, furniture shops, etc. Especially common were cooperative livestock herds. In 1869, the church recommended owners pool their livestock in cooperative herds trading individual ownership for stock in the coop. As part of this broader economic trend the Canaan Cooperative Stock Company was founded in St. George in 1870, which would be running cattle at Parashant by 1876.⁹

The church took an even more dramatic step toward communitarian economics with the establishment of the United Order in 1874. The Panic of 1873 showed Mormons their vulnerability to the wider economic trends in the United States and brought renewed interest in developing an economic system based on independence and communitarian values. The idea for a United Order drew upon Joseph Smith's early economic programs in the upper Midwest. It had its more immediate precedent with the mercantile cooperative that Lorenzo Snow established in Brigham City in 1864. Snow had been a student at Oberlin College in Ohio in the mid to late 1830s, some twenty years before John Wesley Powell

⁹ Arrington, *Great Basin*, 293-322.

briefly attended the institution.¹⁰ At Oberlin College, Snow surely learned about Oberlin Colony – a utopian community that operated there from 1833 to the early 1840s on the system of shared property.¹¹ The Brigham City Cooperative Mercantile and Manufacturing Company that Snow created operated largely by paying shareholders and workers in kind rather than in cash, manufacturing and providing a broad array of products from brooms, hats, and furniture to meat, milk, and molasses. By one estimate, the city achieved eighty-five percent self-sufficiency. The system of shared property and economic independence in Brigham City allowed them to weather the Panic of 1873 better than other Mormon communities, attracting the attention of Brigham Young.¹²

St. George would play an especially prominent role in the United Order. Founded in 1861, the city was part of the Mormon efforts to establish cotton production at the outbreak of the civil war and to colonize southern Utah.¹³ Brigham Young had established his winter home in St. George as of 1870. It was as Young travelled south from Salt Lake City to St. George in 1873 that he first outlined his plans for the United Order. In a series of talks, he encouraged the adoption of the new system, tying the economic order into the larger spiritual order. “[I]f we are not disposed to enter into this Order,” Young proclaimed, “the curses of God will come upon the people.”¹⁴ By one account, Young’s attachment to the United Order combining spiritual and temporal concerns

¹⁰ Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Deseret News Company, 1884), 3-5 [available at <http://books.google.com>].

¹¹ James H. Fairchild, *Oberlin: The Colony and the College, 1833-1883* (New York: Garland Pub., 1984); Robert S. Fletcher, “The Government of the Oberlin Colony,” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 20:2 (September 1933): 179-90.

¹² Arrington, *Great Basin*, 323-49.

¹³ Arrington, *Great Basin*, 217.

¹⁴ Quoted in Arrington, *Great Basin*, 327.

stemmed in part from his impatience at the slow progress of the St. George Temple.¹⁵ On January 26, 1874, Young discussed “the principles of organizing labor and individual interests in the order of the Gospel sometimes called the Order of Enoch.”¹⁶ Starting in April 1874, he and a large group including George A. Smith, Erastus Snow, Milo Andrus, and Angus M. Cannon set out from St. George to bring nearby towns toward creating United Orders.¹⁷

Young was conscious that the St. George United Order would be a model for other such entities. The order’s charter laid out the links between the temporal and the spiritual: “to be the friends of God we must become the friends and helpers of each other, in a common bond and brotherhood.”¹⁸ Each member pledged not only their property, but their “time, labor, energy, and ability” to the order. The charter laid out not only economic principles of shared ownership and independence, but also community-building principles to create harmonious relations. One St. George resident captured the enthusiasm of the early months of the United Order and the suspicion of broader U.S. capitalism: “the most of the farming and mechanical interests of the county are organized and working in the ‘United Order’ very successfully, and doubtless to the annoyance of speculators, bummers, and dishonest lawyers, who are scarce here, but this is a good place for industrious people, especially Latter-day Saints. If you doubt, come and see!”¹⁹ From St. George, church authorities spread out to other Southern communities to

¹⁵ Woodbury, 5.

¹⁶ Bleak, quoted in Woodbury, 6.

¹⁷ Woodbury, 10.

¹⁸ Quoted in Arrington, *Great Basin*, 328.

¹⁹ “Correspondence,” *Deseret News*, June 3, 1874 [letter from H. dated May 22, 1874].

create United Orders – the new community of Orderville (seventy miles to the east) had one of the most successful examples.

In September 1874, the St. George United Order was formally established. The subscribers listed in the charter included several men who would be important in the Canaan Cooperative Stock Company and the Mount Trumbull Lumber Company: Robert Gardner, Daniel D. McArthur, James W. Nixon, James G. Bleak, Edwin G. Woolley, Alexander F. McDonald, Eli Whipple, Henry W. Miller, James Gates, Nathaniel Ashby, David H. Cannon, and Edwin D. Woolley, Jr.²⁰ In October 1874, the founding members recorded the property they gave to the order as part of the creation. The contributions of these men show the close connection between the United Order, Mount Trumbull Lumber Company, Canaan Cooperative Stock Company and other Mormon enterprises. Robert Gardner paid to the United Order “By Cash Cr on Mt Trumbull a/c 500.00 and Cap Stock in South Utah Wool Producing Assoc 53.79 553.79.” James W. Nixon gave various assets including produce, lumber, cash, furniture, horses, mules and \$694.50 in capital stock in the Canaan Cooperative Herd. James G. Bleak gave capital stock in Wool Producing Association, St. George Cooperative Mercantile Institution, and \$124.83 in Canaan Stock Herd capital stock. Edwin G. Woolley gave \$100 in Canaan stock; Alexander F. Macdonald \$118.27. In all, \$1037.60 of the \$8,012.40 of initial subscription to the United Order was from the Canaan Cooperative Stock Company.

²⁰ United Order Incorporation Papers, Washington County (Utah) Probation Court, Series 3190, Roll 1, Utah State Archives.

The St. George United Order, like most other united orders, had only a brief life. In Arrington's assessment, the pooling of labor allowed St. George to achieve economies, but "proper use and maintenance of tools and equipment" suffered. Disputes soon arose over the pricing of goods and labor. About half of the orders based on the St. George model failed within a year. Some other cooperatives with less strong demands that members donate all their property lasted longer. In St. George, serious troubles began by August 1874.²¹ In March 1877, the St. George United Order voted to dissolve operations. However, the difficulty of equitably dividing the assets led to a call to continue the order.²² With the death of Brigham Young on August 29, 1877, the main proponent of the United Order was gone. The St. George United Order gradually dissolved through late 1877 and early 1878.

Mount Trumbull Lumber Company

The construction of St. George Temple provided the impetus to create a sawmill at Mount Trumbull. Ultimately a million board feet of lumber would be needed for flooring, walls, windows, doors, and the roof of the stone temple.²³ Most of that lumber came from Mount Trumbull (see overview map). The history of the Mount Trumbull sawmill begins at least as early as 1873. In March of that year, Joseph W. Young had heard rumors that Mount Trumbull afforded good timber and that "Out-side men" would claim it "for the Pioche market" – Pioche

²¹ Woodbury, 14.

²² Woodbury, 17.

²³ On St. George Temple, see Laurel B. Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons: The Architecture of the Millennial Kingdom in the American West* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1978), 163-76 [accessed through Google Books].

being a Nevada town a hundred miles northwest of St. George. Young assembled a group of men to explore the area shortly thereafter.²⁴

In November of 1873, Robert Gardner was helping to organize the “Mount Trumbull Lumbering Company” as its superintendent, with a projected capital of \$100,000 and shares at twenty-five dollars each.²⁵ Gardner’s story provides one example of the church’s ability to use religious faith to mobilize workers for the project. Robert Gardner had converted to Mormonism in Canada around 1844, arriving in Utah in 1847. He and his brother Archie formed a partnership to build mills by 1850 and Robert was called to the Southern Mission in 1861 and became a prominent citizen of St. George.²⁶ When asked by George A. Smith to head the Mount Trumbull mission around 1873, Gardner reportedly replied “Brother Smith, if I were to study my own feelings, I would go on a Mission to China rather than to go out there but I have nothing to say. If you want me to go there, I will go and do the best I can.”²⁷ He soon began managing the operation and moved to Mount Trumbull with his wife and children. The company had reportedly acquired a “steam engines and appurtenances thereof” by 1873 from Bryce and Burgess in Grass Valley and was soon hoping to transport the mill from St. George to Mount Trumbull. By December 1873, a sawmill was on the

²⁴ Although some sources give a date around 1871, the mill seems to have been established around 1873. Fairley gives the date as 1871 (Fairley, “History,” 203); William J. Snow, “Robert Gardner: Typical Frontiersman and Early Utah Pioneer,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 9:3-4 (July, October 1941): 179-83.

²⁵ Letter from “Thistle” to editor, dated November 12, 1873, *Deseret News*, November 26, 1873.

²⁶ William J. Snow, “Robert Gardner: Typical Frontiersman and Early Utah Pioneer,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 9:3-4 (July, October 1941): 179-83.

²⁷ Robert Gardner, Jr., “History of Robert Gardner, Jr.” (1884) [available at Washington County Public Library].

mountain.²⁸ By James W. Nixon, Jr.'s account, those who ran the mill during the temple period were: Mr. Bryce, engineer, Eli Whipple who directed the mill, Samuel Carter who directed logging, and workers including Tom Pierce, John McConnell, and Will Perkins.²⁹ As workers grew into a sizable community at Mount Trumbull, the church organized the area as a church branch with Ebenezer Bryce as president in February of 1874.³⁰

In April of 1874, John W. Young and a party were establishing the route of a road from St. George to Mount Trumbull.³¹ That same month, workers at Mount Trumbull were building “dwelling houses, also tanks, tramways, &c,” including a tank for 10,000 gallons at the large spring (likely Whitmore Spring) and 3,000 gallons at the small spring (likely Oak Spring).³² In May of 1874, an additional saw mill was on its way to Mount Trumbull.³³ Although the lumber company had been formed slightly before the creation of the St. George United Order, it quickly became a part of this broader effort. In July 1874, the Mount Trumbull Lumber Co tendered its mill to the St. George United Order.³⁴ The lumber company was subsequently described as a “department” of the United

²⁸ Letter from “Thistle” to editor dated December 5, 1873, *Deseret News*, December 12, 1873.

²⁹ The company records list a number of workers: Thomas Blentley[?] and wife, W.[?] W. Perkins, Rasmus Jensen, William Simon, Ole Olson, Thomas Pearce, Mosiah Hancock, Harrison Pearce, John Vance, Brig[?] Hall, P. J. Lundberg, [?] W. Perkins, William Perkins, Wm C Steward, John A. McConnell, and Thomas Turner. (folder 3). Nixon lists the following workers: David Park, Will Perkins, Pen Wilbanks, John McCornnel, Fred Blake, Sam Carter, Retta Pierce Hall, Maria Empy Gould, and Millie Pearce. Among those who worked as drivers were: W. A. McCullough, William Hunt, William Ferry, Sam Carter, and Isom Walker.

³⁰ Manuscript History of Mount Trumbull, LR 5842, LDS Church Archives.

³¹ *Deseret News*, April 1, 1874.

³² *Deseret News*, April 29, 1874.

³³ *Deseret News*, June 3, 1874.

³⁴ Robert Gardner to Brigham Young, July 1, 1874, St. George, in Incoming correspondence, Brigham Young Office Files, CR 1234 1, box 35, folder 6, LDS Church Archives.

Order.³⁵ Even as the United Order experience was failing, correspondents from Mount Trumbull put on a good face. In August 1877, members at Mount Trumbull branch of the United Order wrote, “We have a most perfect organization here, and I believe we have actually got a living branch of the United Order.”³⁶

Starting up the mill operation was an enormous project and suffered occasionally from shortage of human and animal labor. Managers had trouble at times motivating the large workforce needed for the project. In September of 1874, A. M. Musser reported that it would take forty men to run the mill “from sun to sun” and that only twelve were available.³⁷ Project managers also reported that some workers were less than enthusiastic. In May 1874, Archibald F. Macdonald reported on the roadwork noting “Laborers scarce and an itching in some to ramble off.”³⁸ In July 1874, company officials tried to rally workers from neighboring counties, Iron and Beaver, but were only able to recruit six from Beaver and two from Iron.³⁹ In July 1876, Erastus Snow visited Mount Trumbull and reported that “sicknesses and insubordination” had caused delays in the work there.⁴⁰ The project also brought Mormons into contact with Native peoples of the Mount Trumbull area, perhaps as laborers as well. Company records reveal

³⁵ Folder 1, Mount Trumbull Lumber Company records, LR 7836 49, LDS Church Archives.

³⁶ *Deseret News*, August 22, 1877.

³⁷ Archibald F. Macdonald to Brigham Young and George A. Smith, May 12, [1874], St. George, in Telegram book, Brigham Young Office Files, CR 1234 1, box 10, folder 2, vol. 18, LDS Church Archives.

³⁸ Archibald F. Macdonald to Brigham Young and George A. Smith, May 12, [1874], St. George, in Telegram book, Brigham Young Office Files, CR 1234 1, box 10, folder 2, vol. 18, LDS Church Archives.

³⁹ Robert Gardner to Brigham Young, July 1, 1874, St. George, in Incoming correspondence, Brigham Young Office Files, CR 1234 1, box 35, folder 6, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁰ Erastus Snow to Brigham Young, July 16, 1876 telegraph, St. George, in Incoming correspondence, Brigham Young Office Files, CR 1234 1, box 42, folder 21, LDS Church Archives.

that Indians received ammunition, provisions, merchandise, and a young horse for unspecified services.⁴¹

As in all Euro-American settlements, the labor of livestock was key to the success of the project. Company records reveal a substantial stock of animals in 1874, including a span of bay horses, two sorrel horses, twenty-five cows, nineteen calves, five oxen, one bull, one yearling calf, and two mules.⁴² This count likely did not include the teams moving lumber between Mount Trumbull and St. George. In May 1874, five big teams were at work hauling lumber.⁴³ The journey from St. George to Mount Trumbull was, according to A. M. Musser, “long and hard” for the drivers and their teams, especially in the winter when feed was scarce.⁴⁴ The lack of water along the trail also made the journey difficult. Brother Whipple noted that the trail was sixty-five miles long, fifty-three miles of it without water, requiring that teams carry their own water.⁴⁵ At times, managers had trouble finding all the draft animals they needed. In September of 1874, work was slowed by a lack of teams to haul lumber.⁴⁶ By December 1874, however, John Harvey of Provo Valley had “thoroughly organized” the teaming department allowing lumber to come in “a little more lively.”⁴⁷

⁴¹ June 28, 1875 and July 26, 1875, folder 3, Mount Trumbull Lumber Company records, LR 7836 49, LDS Church Archives.

⁴² Capital Stock, July 1874, folder 2, Mount Trumbull Lumber Company records, LR 7836 49, LDS Church Archives.

⁴³ *Deseret News*, June 3, 1874.

⁴⁴ Letter from A. M. Musser to Geo. D. Snell, December 31, 1874, box 13, folder 5, Brigham Young Letter Press books.

⁴⁵ A. M. Musser to Brigham Young and George A. Smith, September 20, [1874], St. George, in Telegram book, Brigham Young Office Files, CR 1234 1, box 10, folder 2, volume 18, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁶ *Deseret News*, September 23, 1874.

⁴⁷ *Deseret News*, December 23, 1874.

Scarcity of water also slowed the work. While the importation of sawmill allowed the temple-builders to exploit the area's trees in new ways, nature imposed limits on these projects as it did on all human endeavors in this harsh landscape. As Richard Bentley reported to President George A. Smith: "There is room and timber enough for the mills to run separately, but water is scarce, and we have to build tanks and exercise care to have enough to run the mill and supply hands and teams. The large Spring will fully supply the big mill when a road is made to it."⁴⁸ Robert Gardner reported, "The nearest water to the mill was two miles and it took one man with a team all the time hauling to supply the Mill to keep up steam and for domestic purposes."⁴⁹

The large workforce at Mount Trumbull required many supplies, which project managers carefully noted.⁵⁰ Company records also reveal the tight integration of Mount Trumbull milling into the regional cooperative economy. The nearby Canaan Cooperative Stock Company provided substantial amounts of beef for the operation. Entries show the cooperative providing, for example, 688 pounds of beef on September 29, 1874, 118 pounds of beef on October 22, and 1,900 pounds on November 6.⁵¹ The lumber company, in turn, supplied lumber to the CCSC in 1875.⁵² The St. George Cooperative Store had an important role, as well, providing many supplies including tea, coffee, sugar, allspice, yeast, tobacco, account books, lead pencils, carpenter's pencils, pocket ledger, time

⁴⁸ Richard Bentley to President G[eorge] A. Smith, 9 June 1874, St. George, in Incoming correspondence, Brigham Young Office Files, CR 1234 1, box 35, folder 3, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁹ Gardner, "History."

⁵⁰ Folder 2, Mount Trumbull Lumber Company records, LR 7836 49, LDS Church Archives.

⁵¹ Folder 2, Mount Trumbull Lumber Company records, LR 7836 49, LDS Church Archives.

⁵² Folder 3, Mount Trumbull Lumber Company records, LR 7836 49, LDS Church Archives.

books, bottle ink, paper, denim cloth, thread, blueing, buckskin gloves, shoes, sacks, window glass, rope, brushes, and something called “sand dog screws.”⁵³

Through church tithing, Latter-day Saints helped directly sustain the project. In March 1875, for instance, the Southern Utah Tithing Office provided a number of items: beans, apples, salt, dried plums, corn, sugar, yeast, overalls, flour, cheese, coffee, beef, flannel, mule shoes and nails, hobbles, buckles, skillets, and axes.⁵⁴ As all these commodities and manufactured goods flowing into Mount Trumbull demonstrate, the area had become intimately tied into the regional and national economy in ways it never had before.

All this labor and supplies have left a tangible legacy in St. George. As the temple neared completion in 1876, George Kirkham, Jr., provided a description of the temple, which gives some sense of how the Mount Trumbull lumber was used. “The temple is 141 feet 8 inches long, 93 feet 4 inches wide, and 183 feet high to the top of the spire. It is 84 feet to the top of the parapet walls, which are 7 feet 8 inches thick, including the buttresses,” he wrote. The building contained 17,000 tons of stone. The foundation was made of black volcanic stone, and the walls of red sandstone. The structure had nine floors in the square tower with 202 steps leading up the structure. There were four floors in the main part of the building with a winding staircase having 120 steps. The largest floor was “100 feet 6 inches long, by 79 feet wide” with “36,000 feet of lumber in it.” The building had 64 rooms in all. Two of the largest rooms each had 28 columns, with each column containing 352 pieces of timber. It contained eight outside

⁵³ Accounts, February and March 1875, folder 4, Mount Trumbull Lumber Company records, LR 7836 49, LDS Church Archives.

⁵⁴ Folder 3, Mount Trumbull Lumber Company records, LR 7836 49, LDS Church Archives.

doors and 92 inside doors. It contained 116 outside windows, one of the larger ones containing 65 pieces of timber in the frame. “There is about 400,000 feet of lumber in the floor of the building, including the joists,” Kirkham said.⁵⁵

In May 1877, Warren R. Tenney took charge of the Mount Trumbull operation to bring out the last of the lumber needed, then delivered one of the saw mills to the Mogollon Mountains.⁵⁶ By June 1877, Eli Whipple was superintendent at Mount Trumbull.⁵⁷ It was apparently in June 1878, that James W. Nixon began managing the mill there.⁵⁸ As the United Order began to unravel, he proposed resolving the lumber company’s obligation to the United Order with CCSC stock.⁵⁹ His son (also named James W. Nixon) provided a description of work at the mill around 1879:

The process of logging was as follows: Two yoke of cattle, or oxen, were driven out into the timber to haul the logs which men had chopped and sawed from the large pine trees into lumber lengths, back to the mill. We placed what we called a skid on the top of the wheels at each end of the cart or low wheeled wagon. We extended this chain under the log to be loaded, brought it back over the log and over the wagon to the opposite side of the cart where I would hitch one yoke of those oxen on and by pulling on the chain it would roll the log up on to the cart. After securing this there, with blocks of wood I would roll another and another until I had from three to five saw logs on the cart. Then I would place my chains over the entire load both forward and back and by means of a long oak binding pole I would put a twist in the chain and fasten the load on to the cart. I would then haul it to the mill and unload in a location where they would, by gravity, roll down to the carriage into the mill to be sawed. All this work I did at the age of thirteen and during that and the next two years, I did at various times some of all kinds of work at the mill except

⁵⁵ *Deseret News*, April 26, 1876.

⁵⁶ *Deseret News*, May 2, 1877.

⁵⁷ *Deseret News*, June 27, 1877.

⁵⁸ Letter from Amran, St. George, dated June 16, 1878, *Deseret News*, July 3, 1878. James W. Nixon’s son, by contrast, says that his father was called to manage the mill “around 1876.”

⁵⁹ Letter from James W. Nixon to Joseph Orton, Dec 20, 1879, box 1 folder 1, LR 7836 35, St. George United Order record books, 1870-1903.

the running of the saw (or sawyer)—attending ratchet, offbearing, engineering, hauling away sawdust and piling lumber.⁶⁰

Frederick Blake had worked at the Trumbull mill during the temple construction period, first hauling lumber to St. George then working at the mill itself.⁶¹ By 1880, he had his own mill on Mount Trumbull at a separate location from Nixon's.⁶² The 1885 Mohave County tax rolls reveal that Frederick and Benjamin Blake owned three-quarters of a timber claim in Mount Trumbull (along with O. H. Foster), a saw mill on the mountain worth five hundred dollars, a half interest in Big Spring and Little Spring, one cow, two yoke of oxen, and a "logging truck" (a type of sturdy wagon).⁶³ O. H. Foster also had an interest in the sawmill, while Charles F. Foster and Solon Foster, Jr., had interests in Big Spring and Little Spring and were running cattle in the area. In 1910, Frederick Blake wrote to Preston Nutter noting that he owned one-twelfth of Big Spring, as well as two springs he dug under Point Lookout around 1885.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ "Sketches of the Life of James William Nixon," MS 1629, LDS Church Archives.

⁶¹ Nixon, "Autobiography," 5. Johnny Schmutz interviewed in 1971 at age of 93 gave the following account of the lumber business at Mount Trumbull:

"The mill which sawed lumber for the Temple was located just west of where the pipeline from Nixon Spring empties today. I think they got some lumber there for the tabernacle, too. My grandfather had charge of cutting the timber at one time, and my grandmother Shlappi ran the boarding house. There were five houses near the mill--a big boarding house and four bunk houses.

"The Mormon Church quit everything out there, as soon as they finished building the Temple. James Nixon took over after that. Ben Blake and Frank Petty were the next to saw lumber at Nixon. Blake had a mill over under Point Lookout, and Petty had one south of Nixon Mountain. Then Stouts took over Petty's mill and moved it farther south. A big fire burned some lumber and a cabin there. My brother, Marcell, and Ben Coats operated the Blake sawmill the last time it was run--about 1940, I think it was, and Wickey Gubler before that.

"But in the early days, the land was not owned, and the Forest Service was not in existence. I don't know what the agreement was, but Nixon acquired the lumbering business from the Church." (Cox and Russell, 11)

⁶² *Deseret News*, September 1, 1880.

⁶³ Mohave County Tax Rolls, 1885, Mohave County Museum.

⁶⁴ Letter to Preston Nutter from Frederick Blake, March 7, 1910, box 22, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

Logging continued in the area through the later nineteenth century. Reportedly a fire swept through the area around 1890.⁶⁵ Around 1894, Frank Petty located a sawmill near Mount Logan, a mile west of Oak Spring. In 1897, he advertised his business in the *St. George Union* in the following terms: “The Mt. Trumbull Saw Mill Is now doing good work and all those desiring LUMBER can come and get it, by applying to FRANK PETTY.”⁶⁶ The territory of Arizona, however, confiscated his mill, since he was a trespasser. According to a 1909 report, a small sawmill was at one time located southwest of Moody’s Peak using water from “Trumbull Springs.”⁶⁷ Later, this sawmill was moved to “Log Flats lying between Lava Beds and Mt. Logan” and briefly operated there. A Forest Service agent reported that a sawmill operating at Mount Trumbull around 1900 was confiscated “by a special agent of the General Land Office on account of the timber being cut in trespass and, according to local impressions, also because it was cut in Arizona and sold in Utah.”⁶⁸ Forest ranger Martin L. McAllister noted that much of the timber cut in the nineteenth century was wasted: “In many instances only the butt cut was taken and the balance of the tree left, without lopping the tops.” He recommended further logging operations make better use of the lumber.

⁶⁵ “D.F.S.,” “Report on Trumbull Addition to Dixie National Forest,” February 4, 1909, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

⁶⁶ August 7, 1897, *St. George Union*.

⁶⁷ “D.F.S.,” “Report on Trumbull Addition to Dixie National Forest,” February 4, 1909, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

⁶⁸ Martin L. McAllister, “Report on Arizona Division of the Dixie National Forest,” December 29, 1911, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

Canaan Cooperative Stock Company

The first major cattle operations to make use of the lands that are now Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument were those of the Canaan Cooperative Stock Company, based in St. George. According to board minutes, their Parashant operation based at Oak Grove ranged as far east as Green Spring and Penn's Pocket and as far north as Andrus Spring (see overview map). The company had been formed around 1870 and had its principal ranch between Short Creek and Pipe Spring.⁶⁹ The herd apparently represented the increase from cattle brought south with the area's first Mormon settlers.⁷⁰ This was one of hundreds of cooperatives developed in Mormon settlements in the years after 1868 when Brigham Young encouraged Mormons to pool their economic resources in these types of ventures. The company apparently began to make use of grass and water on the Shivwits Plateau some time before July 1876. In that month, the company forewent an existing claim to the area around "Parashont Springs" acting on a request from Archibald Sullivan and other board members of the St. George Sheep Herd Association (SGSHA) to place their sheep there.⁷¹ The minutes of CCSC contain repeated references to the Parashant Ranch (with various spellings), which was located at Oak Grove.⁷² In July 1876, W. D. Fuller, Richard Bentley, and others explored the Shivwits country and dug two wells near Parashant Springs, finding water seven or eight feet below the surface.⁷³ That

⁶⁹ Alder and Brooks, 98.

⁷⁰ Alder and Brooks, 97.

⁷¹ July 1876, Canaan Cooperative Stock Company (CCSC) Minutes, Utah State Historical Society.

⁷² The minutes never use the term "Oak Grove," but one entry locates this ranch as two and a half miles west of Pine Springs, which points to a location at Oak Grove (January 29, 1881, CCSC Minutes, Utah State Historical Society).

⁷³ CCSC Minutes, Utah State Historical Society.

same month, James Andrus proposed putting in “pumps & water troughs” at the same location. However, in August of 1876, CCSC allowed SGSHA to take over that ranch.

The effect of the cattle operations on Native people’s subsistence would ultimately be devastating. Historian W. Paul Reeve notes that the devastation was far more than material: “It was an intrusion into god-given space and an affront to Paiute identity that was bound up in that space.”⁷⁴ In the 1870s and 1880s, a number of transactions occurred between Mormons and Southern Paiutes, which Mormons interpreted as buying the land and which the Paiutes likely gave a very different meaning. As Reeve asserts, “For the Southern Paiutes, as with most Native Americans, land was not a commodity to be bought or sold, or even possessed in the Anglo-American sense.”⁷⁵ At times, Southern Paiutes obtained money, guns, and cattle from the Mormons using their land around Parashant. However, the surviving documents are instruments between Mormons which simply refer to earlier payments to Indians. They do not reveal, in any sense, the exact terms of the payments or the meaning given through payments by the Southern Paiutes involved. Samuel Adams complained, for instance, that local Indians (likely Shivwits) were very tight-lipped about locations for water and wagon roads around the Grand Gulch Mine, unless they received payment. “They claimed both grass and water as their private property,” he said.⁷⁶ Early records from the Parashant area show other examples of Native peoples apparently

⁷⁴ W. Paul Reeve, *Making Space on the Western Frontier* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 14.

⁷⁵ Reeve, 11

⁷⁶ Eleanor McAllister Hall, “Samuel Lorenzo Adams—Stories of His Life and of His Ancestry” (1970), 25.

obtaining payment for the use of their lands. In March 1877, the CCSC discussed reacquiring Parashant Ranch from the SGSHA. Upon investigation, the board learned in April “that the St George Sheep Herd are willing to turn back to the Company the Parashant and Willow Spring upon condition that the company pay to the St George Sheep Herd the cost of buying the Indian title and making improvements at the Springs.” In May 1877, the CCSC paid the SGSHA forty-five dollars for the Indian title and improvements.

A receipt indicates that use of the area around Penn’s Pocket began with a payment to the Native people (presumably Shivwits) whose land it was. Quoted in full, the receipt says:

Received of James G. Bleak Secretary of St. George Sheep Herd Association Seventy dollars in Capital Stock in Canaan Cooperative Stock Company the same being by me accepted as payment in full of the amount paid by me to the Indians entitled thereto, for their claim interest in, and possession of, what is known as Penn’s Pocket Ranch about two miles S.E. from Green Spring on the Shebits Mountains.
Archibald Sullivan
St George
10th Dec. 1877⁷⁷

Minutes of the CCSC reveal that Archibald Sullivan was a member of the board of directors of the St. George Sheep Herd Association.⁷⁸ Therefore, this receipt seems to indicate he made a payment to Indians on behalf of that association for the use of Penn’s Pocket. CCSC account books note several payment to Indians in meat and possibly in cash during 1872 and 1873, although

⁷⁷ Receipt, box 1, folder 2, St. George Stake Clerk’s Records, 1864-1904, LR 7836 25, LDS Church Archives.

⁷⁸ Entry dated July 29, 1876, Minutes of CCSC, 1875-1880, Utah State Historical Society.

the purpose is not specified.⁷⁹ These entries lend support to the statement of Parashant cowboy James Guerrero, who knew Anthony Ivins: “When they started putting cattle out on the Strip, Tone Ivins said the Indians should have the right to kill some and eat them, since it was their grass that was being eaten, and it was their game that was being frightened away.”⁸⁰

In 1873, Powell and G. W. Ingalls investigated the situation of the Southern Paiutes.⁸¹ They reported that the Shivwits numbered about 180, and the Uinkarets about 60. Of the Paiutes of southern Utah and vicinity, they stated “All the Pai-Utes subsist in part by cultivating the soil, some of them raising the grain and vegetables introduced by white men, others cultivating native seeds. They also collect uncultivated seeds, fruits, and roots. A few of them occasionally work for white men, and they also depend very largely on begging, and are a serious burden to white settlers.”⁸² In line with an ultimate goal of removing Native peoples to reservations, the commissioners suggested that agents visit the different Southern Paiute groups and induce them to locate to the existing Uintah Reservation. It would not be until 1890, however, that a reservation was established.

Around this time, Paiute Indians made repeated complaints that, because of Mormon cattle, they could no longer derive their sustenance from the land.

Cattle ate the grass they relied on for seeds and reduced the amount of wild

⁷⁹ Canaan Co-op Meat Book, box 3, folder 3, LR 7836 35, St. George United Order record books, 1870-1903, LDS Church Archives.

⁸⁰ Guerrero interviewed in 1970, quoted in Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 10.

⁸¹ “Report of J. W. Powell and G. W. Ingalls,” *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1873, 41-46.

⁸² “Report of J. W. Powell and G. W. Ingalls,” *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1873, 41-46.

game.⁸³ As Jacob Hamblin noted in reference to the area around St. George generally, “The great numbers of animals brought into the country by the settlers, soon devoured most of the vegetation that had produced nutritious seeds, on which the Indians had been accustomed to subsist. When, at the proper season of the year, the natives resorted to these places to gather seeds, they found they had been destroyed by cattle.”⁸⁴ Stories retold by Mormon settlers contain many references to the transformations of Arizona Strip ecology in this era, including at Parashant. According to Albert Foremaster’s daughter, “Daddy said that when they first moved to Parashant [in 1880], it was like a meadow everywhere, but over grazing activities has [sic] changed that picture today.”⁸⁵ Historian Helen C. Fairley also finds convincing evidence that the Arizona Strip was “heavily overgrazed during the 1870s.”⁸⁶ By the last decades of the nineteenth century, some Southern Paiutes were reduced to begging from Mormons for food. While some of the Southern Paiutes with horses retaliated against encroachments, the Shivwits never took this course.⁸⁷

Anthony W. Ivins was instrumental in the removal of Southern Paiutes from the Arizona Strip. He believed that Mormons had purchased the Shivwits plateau from the Shivwits Indians and that they should be removed. In 1890, Ivins acquired the Mohave Land and Cattle Company operation and claimed

⁸³ Jacob Hamblin, *Buckskin Apostle* (Los Angeles: Westerlore Press, 1961), 98; Alder and Brooks, 98-99.

⁸⁴ Hamblin and Little, 87-88.

⁸⁵ Florence Foremaster, “History of Albert Charles Foremaster” (1977) [available at Washington County Public Library].

⁸⁶ Helen C. Fairley, “History,” in Jeffrey H. Altschul and Helen C. Fairley, eds., “Man, Models and Management: An Overview of the Archaeology of the Arizona Strip and the Management of its Cultural Resources” (1989), 193.

⁸⁷ Kelly and Fowler, “Southern Paiute,” 387.

“ranching could not be successfully carried on, while the Shevwits remained on the land, the right of which they had sold to others. They became insolent, frequently killed cattle for food, and when remonstrated with replied that the country was theirs.”⁸⁸ In the late 1880s, Ivins obtained a federal appropriation to remove them to a location on the Santa Clara River just west of St. George.⁸⁹ The reservation, however, had little land suitable for agriculture, and most of the Shivwits who located there were forced to seek wage labor elsewhere. The land officially became federal property in 1903.⁹⁰

Southern Paiutes continued to live in the area and to work as wage laborers. Daniel Nelson Pearce remembered, “There were about thirty Indians at Parashaunt when I was a kid” in the 1870s and 1880s.⁹¹ Preston Nutter’s foreman John Pymm referred to hiring an Indian in 1894, and gathering information from Native people about ore deposits and the condition of the Colorado River in 1897, 1900, and 1911.⁹² According to “Spence” Esplin, “When the early people went out, there were Indians. I [have] heard about them whipping and kicking them off of places.”⁹³ Jim and Chloe Bundy remembered a Native woman called Old Curly living in a cave who would come begging food in Bundyville. They also

⁸⁸ Quoted in Martha C. Knack, *Boundaries Between: The Southern Paiutes, 1775-1995* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 131; see also Reeve, 110.

⁸⁹ Kelly and Fowler, “Southern Paiute,” 389.

⁹⁰ Kelly and Fowler, “Southern Paiute,” 389.

⁹¹ Quoted in Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 9.

⁹² Letters from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, December 28, 1894, box 25, folder 1; February 13, 1897, box 25, folder 1; August 18, 1900, box 25, folder 2; July 31, 1911, box 25, folder 12, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁹³ David Spencer “Spence” Esplin, interviewed by Milt Hokanson, February 7, 2005, Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

remember Simon and Toab.⁹⁴ However, Esplin remembered “When we were [living] there, there weren't any Indians unless they worked for somebody.”⁹⁵

The Canaan Cooperative Stock Company was one of many Mormon cattle operations that transformed Southern Paiute lands in the late nineteenth century. In March 1878, James Andrus of the cooperative took 247 head of stock to Parashant Ranch. In October 1879, the CCSC formed a committee consisting of Erastus Snow and Edwin G. Woolley “to employ a suitable man to take charge of the Pahrashant Ranch & run a Dairy there.” At the time, the cooperative was also discussing purchasing other farms near the Parashant Ranch from SGSHA and other organizations. By January of 1880, the CCSC had engaged Albert Foremaster to work at the ranch. A twenty-seven-year old widower, Foremaster was to manage a dairy there, receiving in compensation seven hundred dollars a year, plus half the product of the dairy. He hired his brother Eph to help him with the operation. In addition to cows, they also turned pigs loose to fatten on acorns.⁹⁶ Foremaster married a woman named Ida on May 7, 1880. According to Foremaster’s daughter, it was Eph and Ida who did the work of making butter and cheese, while Albert tended to the cattle. In October 1880, the board discussed taking Durham cattle to Parashant, along with riding horses for use at the ranch.

In March of 1881, the CCSC hired John D. L. Pearce to take charge of the Parashant Ranch, replacing Foremaster. Pearce received a salary of a thousand

⁹⁴ Jim and Chloe Bundy, interviewed by Wally Mathis, March 17, 1970, Utah State Historical Society.

⁹⁵ David Spencer "Spence" Esplin, interviewed by Milt Hokanson, February 7, 2005, Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

⁹⁶ Florence Foremaster, “History of Albert Charles Foremaster” (1977) [available at Washington County Public Library].

dollars a year. The Pearce family was involved with the dairy for a number of years. Daniel Nelson Pearce, the son of Thomas Jefferson Pearce, remembered working on the Parashant dairy in his youth:

I was about fifteen [around 1887], and I would get up before daylight and go out and help my aunt Priscilla run the cows in so we could start to milk them. When we got through, we would carry the milk in tubs to an old house and put it in pans in the cellar, and then skim it in order to make butter from the cream. There were two big churns, which required two persons to run them. After we made the butter, we would salt it real heavy, and my aunt would put up a five-gallon can for several families in St. George. We milked about seventy-five cows twice a day.

We made cheese, too, pressing it with big rocks on the end of a pole. I remember how we'd take a knife and trim the bricks of cheese, and I would eat the trimmings. We hauled it to St. George, by way of Wolfhole.

I would draw water up from the well in a ten-gallon keg to water the cows and horses, using a long pole for a lever, the way we pressed the cheese. We had a big pine log hollowed out to use for a trough.⁹⁷

In June of 1881, Oscar Bentley was sent to Parashant to round up Durham cattle to be turned over to Seegmiller and Woolley. He took ten days and was paid twenty-five dollars for his work. In September 1881, Pearce reported to the board, suggesting a pump and reservoir at Parashant. He also suggested that “lucerne” (alfalfa) and “grain” be cultivated there for the use of the ranch.

Bentley made an inspection of Parashant Ranch in September of 1881. His report provides one of the more detailed glimpses of the ranch from this time. Pearce was milking thirty-seven cows in the dairy. The ranch had a one-roomed house, which Bentley suggested needed flooring and an additional room. He also suggested a milk-house should be built. Some of the laborers there at the time were Indians, who were apparently paid in livestock. During the September

⁹⁷ Cox and Russell, 11-12.

meeting the board agreed to send lumber ten to twelve inches wide for use in flooring the room.

In October of 1881, John M. McFarlane expressed concern to Bentley that CCSC needed to do more to secure its holdings in Arizona. In December 1881, Bentley took McFarlane's advice and suggested that the CCSC "buy Government Land Scrip, half breed scrip and cover such portions of the Parashont Ranch with it as would be most desirable."⁹⁸ In discussing plans to improve Parashant, the board directed Pearce to improve Pine or Andrus Springs, and to make a corral there. At the same time, the board also discussed surveying the land around Parashant Ranch (Oak Grove). The board also directed Pearce to employ Russell Chandler and "some Indian labor to improve the watering places build two rooms and make the other improvements at Parashont Ranch."

In June of 1882, Bentley again inspected Parashant Ranch. He reported the stock looked poorly. Pearce was milking forty cows and was in the process of building a milk house measuring eighteen by twenty feet. Pearce felt some fencing should be done so that potatoes and grain could be raised the following year. In September of 1882, the board was investigating claims that settlers were squatting on cooperative land in Penn's Valley. Pearce confirmed this, but expressed little concern since they were mostly there for farming, not for running stock. Around this time, the board also discussed constructing "a good bull

⁹⁸ This likely refers to scrip issued to Sioux "half-breeds" under the act of July 17, 1854 as payments for tribal lands given up. While the scrip was not originally meant to be transferred, speculators soon began to purchase it and buying half-breed scrip became a means of buying public land far from Sioux lands. (Thomas Donaldson, *The Public Domain* [Washington: Public Lands Commission, 1880], 289; E. Wade Hone, *Land and Property Research in the United States* [Ancestry Publishing, 1997], 206; Henry George, *Our Land and Land Policy, National and State* [San Francisco: White and Bauer, 1871], 19).

fence” at Parashant to enclose ten to twenty acres for farming. The board failed, however, to find anyone to build the fence for less than \$1.25 a rod; so they dropped the matter.

In January of 1883, a wealthy non-Mormon from Salt Lake City, Benjamin F. Saunders, began talking with the board about the possibility of buying Parashant Ranch.⁹⁹ In February of 1883, Pearce was making plans to plant lucerne (alfalfa) and corn in the spring. In April, the board again discussed Saunders’s offer to buy the ranch. The board offered to sell it for two thousand dollars. Saunders inspected the ranch and countered with an offer of fifteen hundred dollars, which the board accepted. In April 1883, the board minutes also include a claim from Pearce for boarding Indians at Parashant. In May 1883, Robert Steer estimated the livestock at Parashant as 800 head of cattle and eight horses.

Saunders assembled holdings from others sources as well. In 1887, Samuel Crozier and James J. Hyde deeded to B. F. Saunders the following properties on the Shivwits Plateau for the sum of sixty-nine dollars: “A certain spring of water on Sewets [Dellenbaugh] Mountain, north of the Colorado River, one sixth interest in Rattlesnake and Garden Springs situate in Hidden Spring Canyon, north of the Colorado River, one half interest in a ranch known as Hidden Springs ranch, north of Colorado river, one third interest in the Wild Cat ranch of Siebeets Mountain about 2 miles north of Parachute ranch north of the

⁹⁹ Fairley, “History,” 193.

Colorado River.”¹⁰⁰ By the 1890s, Saunders would claim springs over a wide area, as far north as Garden Spring (in Hidden Canyon) and as far south as Kelly Springs at the tip of the Kelly Peninsula.¹⁰¹ By one account, he always kept two men at Green Spring and two at Oak Grove to manage his operation.¹⁰²

The arrival of Benjamin F. Saunders marked a transition on the Arizona Strip. While Mormons had dominated the cattle industry up to that point, it was more and more non-Mormon cattle barons that came to control range and water resources from that time forward.¹⁰³ We can construct a portrait of the relatively small Mormon ranching (as well as mining and lumber) operations in the area that is now Parashant National Monument, by considering the 1885 Mohave County tax rolls. The rolls listed at least nineteen different men controlling springs in or near the monument as well as the following firms: the CCSC, Grand Gulch Mining Company, Mohave Stock Company, and the firm of Wooly, Lund and Judd. All told, the tax rolls recorded about 680 cattle, 12 milk cows, and 137 horses in the area that would be the monument – a number that probably seriously underestimated the livestock on the land. The largest operations were the CCSC and Mohave Stock Company, each with two hundred cattle. Some of the smaller operations only had ten or twenty cattle. Most of these operations were involved

¹⁰⁰ Deed from Samuel Crozier and James J. Hyde to B. F. Saunders, dated May 14, 1887, Exhibit C, in R. F. Gery, “Report on Lieu Selections, Etc. within that portion of the state of Arizona Lying North and West of the Colorado River” (Forest Service, 1915).

¹⁰¹ In 1896, he sold to Preston Nutter the following springs: “Oak Grove Springs, Mokiatic Springs, Pine Springs, Yellow John Springs, Garden Springs, Pine Springs [sic], Silman Springs, Green Springs, Kelley Springs, Amos Springs, Penn’s Pocket, and Piten Pockets.” Quit Claim deed from B. F. Saunders to Preston Nutter, August 31, 1896, Exhibit B, Gery, “Report on Lieu Selections.”

¹⁰² Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, August 2, 1898, box 25, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

¹⁰³ Fairley, “History,” 193.

in raising cattle, although the Blakes ran a sawmill and the Grand Gulch mine was after copper.

Although the information from tax rolls is certainly incomplete, it also offers a portraits of the distribution of these operations. The 1885 rolls listed only one claim near the arid Grand Wash basin: Archibald and John Sullivan had an interest in Pockum Pocket Spring north of Pakoon Spring. The rolls note many operations in the rich grasslands of the Shivwits Plateau. Moving from north to south, B. F. Ashby and Joseph McDonald claimed an interest in the Cornmorebats Springs, five miles west of Wolf Hole. Heber Barron, Albert Foremaster, Grand Gulch Mining Company, and Andrew Sorenson claimed an interest in Hidden Springs. The Grand Gulch Mine had an interest in Pigeon Springs. D. L. Hendrix and E. A. Hendrix had interests in Ivanpatch Spring. Willard Larson had a claim near Poverty Point. Activity was particularly concentrated in the area around Parashant on the southern Shivwits Plateau. B. F. Ashby, W. D. Cludester, Albert Foremaster, J. H. Pierce, and Andrew Sorenson claimed interest in the Parashant Ranch. Heber Barron, J. H. Pearce, and J. D. L. Pearce had an interest in the Wild Cat Ranch, two miles north of Parashant. J. H. Pearce and J. D. L. Pearce claimed an interest in Grass Spring, about five miles east of Parashant Ranch. Woolly, Lund and Judd had an interest in Pine Spring, three miles east of Parashant Ranch. Others with claims in the vicinity of Parashant were Vergil Kelly and Mohave Stock Company.

Finally, the rolls reveal a few claims near Mount Trumbull focused more on lumber than on cattle. Frederick and Benjamin Blake owned three-quarters of

a timber claim in Mount Trumbull (along with O. H. Foster), a saw mill on the mountain worth five hundred dollars, a half interest in Big Spring and Little Spring, one cow, two yoke of oxen, and a logging truck.¹⁰⁴ O. H. Foster also had an interest in the sawmill, while Charles F. Foster and Solon Foster, Jr., had interests in Big Spring and Little Spring and were running cattle in the area. In the 1870s and 1880s, the grass, lumber, and copper of the area had been exploited primarily by Mormons from St. George. With the arrival of B. F. Saunders in 1883 and then Preston Nutter in 1893, non-Mormons from Salt Lake City with links to Eastern capital would edge out many of these smaller operations.

Mining: “It is Better for the Saints to Work Them”

The arid hills and gullies of the Arizona Strip were in many ways remote from the centers of power in the United States of 1870s. Yet they contained a mineral that would tie the region to national and global networks of capital and commerce. The copper that had lain in veins under the region for millennia took on great value in the nineteenth century. At least four mines were developed in what would later be the Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument in the 1870s: Grand Gulch mine around 1870, Copper Mountain in 1875, the Savanic and Cunningham mines in 1878.¹⁰⁵ Unlike other regions of the country, the Arizona Strip did not see a gradual transformation from small-scale placer mining

¹⁰⁴ Mohave County Tax Rolls, 1885, Mohave County Museum.

¹⁰⁵ George H. Billingsley, Earle E. Spamer, and Dove Menkes, *Quest for the Pillar of Gold: The Mines and Miners of the Grand Canyon* (Grand Canyon, Arizona: Grand Canyon Association, 1997), 34-40.

in streams to capital intensive hard-rock mining. With no live water, mining there required a major capital investment almost from the start.

Since the eighteenth century, British colonists in eastern North America had mined copper and fashioned it into “a bewildering variety of practical and decorative products, with domestic and industrial kettles, pots and pans, and stills the most important.” Alloyed with zinc to make brass, it also served to make “andirons, bells, cannon, small arms, and molds for pewter castings.” Demand for the useful metal only increased with time. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, its popularity in copper-bottomed stills and vats, in “roofing, flashing, and gutters,” and as sheathing on ships created new markets. The rise of railroads in the 1830s required copper for “boiler plates, tubes, flues, and boxes.” Americans, however, relied heavily on imported copper until the vast copper fields of Michigan opened in 1843.¹⁰⁶ In the 1850s, most copper “continued to go into sheets and sheathing, vats and vessels, and tubing, and into the manufacture of brass.” U.S. consumption grew steadily through the nineteenth century, rising for instance from 4,000 tons in 1840 to 10,564 in 1860. The copper industry got an additional boost in 1869 when the tariff on imported copper was doubled. With the coming of the railroad to northern Utah that same year, it became profitable to mine copper in the region and prospectors were soon exploring the Arizona Strip.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Charles K. Hyde, *Copper for America: The United States Copper Industry from Colonial Times to the 1990s* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 3-4, 7, 11-13, 26, 56.

¹⁰⁷ Hyde; Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-Day Saints* (New York: Knopf, 1979), 174.

In order for the copper to flow out of the Arizona Strip mines, capital and workers had to flow in. Like the cattle industry, mining operations tied the Arizona Strip to Utah and specifically to Salt Lake City much more than it did to Arizona. If the Grand Canyon formed a major barrier to a person on foot, it formed an impossible one to a wagon loaded with tons of ore. The 1870s brought a flurry of efforts to discover copper deposits in what is now the monument.

Grand Gulch Mine

The largest community to form in what is now Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument, since the extensive settlements of Puebloan people in the twelfth century, was at Grand Gulch Mine. This is despite the fact that the site lacks one resource key to human life: water. Nonetheless, the wealth obtainable from copper made it a bustling center of activity off and on from the late 1860s to the 1910s.¹⁰⁸ The mine's first owner, Samuel Lorenzo Adams claimed to have first developed the mine around 1868, packing out "blankets, mining tools, blacksmith tools, and supplies, etc. on mules' back" for two years until looking for a wagon route to develop in 1870.¹⁰⁹ Adams's account does not say whether the road was constructed that year, although he does note that the resulting road was the same one being used in the early twentieth century to haul ore from Grand Gulch to Modena, Utah. A September 1874 reference to "freighting" expenses

¹⁰⁸ J. M. Hill gives a very early date of 1853, which as historian Helen Fairley and others note, seems most unlikely since St. George was not founded until 1861. Fairley, "History," 206-9; Billingsley, 23-25; Milt Hokanson, "Grand Gulch Mine 2008: A History to Date" (St. George, Utah: Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument, 2008), 6.

¹⁰⁹ Eleanor McAllister Hall, "Samuel Lorenzo Adams—Stories of His Life and of His Ancestry" (1970), 25; Hokanson, 8.

from the mine suggest a road was in place by then.¹¹⁰ Mining activity in this era was encouraged when the transcontinental railroad was completed through northern Utah in 1869 providing access to Eastern markets.

George H. Billingsley's research shows that a claim was originally filed in Washington County and moved in 1873 to Mohave County. He notes that the Bentley Mining District, of which Grand Gulch is a part, was formed on June 23, 1873 and that the "[n]ew descriptions were recorded in Mohave County by Richard Bentley, under the names of Samuel Cunningham, Sam O. Crosby, James Pearce, W. E. Dodge, Erastus Snow, Richard Bentley, Samuel Adams, William H. Coranch, Joseph Birch, and B. H. Paddock."¹¹¹ Men prominent in the Mormon church, such as Erastus Snow, pursued the venture. While Mormons had initially feared mining as a dangerous speculative activity that would undermine community values, they soon realized the inevitability of the exploitation of these resources in their new home and set out to pursue these ventures profitably.¹¹² As Erastus Snow argued, "If the mines must be worked, it is better for the saints to work them than for others to do it."¹¹³

Early reports of the mine's success made clear that the Arizona Strip was in many people's mind more a part of Utah than of Arizona. When Richard Bentley arrived in St. George with "three tons of copper ore from the Grand Gulch mine" averaging 45-50% purity in 1874, the *Deseret News* reported, "This mine is considered by men of experience in mining matters one of the best in

¹¹⁰ *Deseret News*, September 2, 1874.

¹¹¹ Billingsley, Spamer, and Menkes, 24.

¹¹² Arrington and Bitton, 173-74.

¹¹³ Quoted in Arrington, *Great Basin*, 242.

Utah."¹¹⁴ News of the mine reached all the way to the president of the church by 1876: "Today we saw, in the office of President Young," reported the *Deseret News*, "a large lump of copper, impregnated with silver, weighing forty pounds, smelted from ore taken from the Grand Gulch mine, forty-eight miles south of St. George; also a miniature, corkscrew, gimlet and spur, made by hand from the same metal, which, owing to the presence of the silver, is quite hard."¹¹⁵

The mine success was not long-lived. By late July 1878, the mine had suffered several collapses.¹¹⁶ This apparently led to several years of inactivity. In July 1881, however, the St. George *Union* proudly announced: "The first shipment of Copper bullion from Samuel L. Adams & Co, of the Grand Gulch Mine, arrived in this city on the 2nd inst. amounting to 1766 pounds of beautifully clear, fine grained, copper bars."¹¹⁷ By 1882, the Jennings family of Salt Lake City had acquired the mine. The new owner Thomas W. Jennings made a trip to Grand Gulch around July 1882, reporting "ten million dollars' worth of ore in sight."¹¹⁸ There seems, however, to have been very little work at the mine from that time until 1900.

Transportation was a consistent problem of the mine. In the early days in the 1870s and 1880s, ore had to be hauled some four hundred miles by horse and wagon to the railhead in northern Utah. This prompted mine owners to set up smelters on site to create bullion. By May 1875, the mine had "one furnace up

¹¹⁴ *Deseret News*, September 2, 1874.

¹¹⁵ *Deseret News*, January 19, 1876.

¹¹⁶ *Deseret News*, July 24, 1878, August 7, 1878.

¹¹⁷ "Local and General," *St. George Union*, July 1881.

¹¹⁸ "Grand Gulch Copper," *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 5, 1882. The Mohave County assessor rolls list William Jennings as the owner in 1884, and Frank Jennings in 1885 (Hokanson, "Grand Gulch," 7). On June 19, 1872, the *Deseret News* reported that "Elder Thomas W. Jennings will travel and preach in the British Isles and on the Continent as he may feel disposed."

and two more in course of erection" (apparently at Grand Gulch itself, although possibly near St. George).¹¹⁹ By May 1878, Messrs. Morris & Evan had constructed a reverberatory furnace at the mine, which was "running and doing excellent work, turning out a splendid article of copper bullion from the rich ore of the mine." Plans were underway to build more furnaces; however, there was no report of their completion before the mine collapse of July 1878 slowed mine work.¹²⁰ In 1881, not one but several "smelters [were] working successfully at the Grand Gulch mine" although the owners complained of the cost of hauling water to the remote location.¹²¹ In 1882, about the time mine work ceased, "The Grand Gulch Smelter [was] still running, occasionally, turning out fine button of pure copper—the largest button cast weighing 633 lbs."¹²² The mine apparently lay dormant for almost two decades thereafter.

Copper Mountain Mine

Like the Grand Gulch Mine, the Copper Mountain Mining Company was owned initially by prominent Mormons from St. George, but was later was dominated by Salt Lake City interests. The mine, also referred to as Copper King Mine, lies in an isolated location about five miles north of the Colorado River to the east of Andrus Canyon. The company apparently first filed incorporation papers in St. George in 1875. In 1881, it placed papers on file in Mohave County with the names of A. P. Hardy, E. G. Woolley, Robert C. Lund, James Andrus, E.

¹¹⁹ *Deseret News*, May 5, 1875.

¹²⁰ *Deseret News*, April 10, 1878, May 22, 1878.

¹²¹ *Deseret News*, May 4, 1881; "Local and General," *St. George Union*, November and December 1881.

¹²² *St. George Union*, June 1882.

D. Wooley, Jr., and Erastus W. Snow. James Andrus served as president, and Edwin G. Wooley as secretary.¹²³

In this era, the Copper Mountain Mine, the Canaan Cooperative Stock Company, and other Mormon entities laid informal claims to various springs that other locals respected.¹²⁴ The mining company worked closely with Canaan Cooperative Stock Company in managing Pine Spring, about three miles east of Oak Grove. The mining company's Andrus and Woolley also served on the board of the cooperative. So, it must have been easy to assemble all the principals when in January of 1881, the cooperative agreed to pay the mining company seventy-five dollars as three years' rent for the use of Pine Spring located "2 ½ miles east of Parashont" and "owned by Copper Mt Mining Company." In May of 1882, the cooperative learned that Pine Spring which they continued to rent was in bad condition, and directed a committee to improve the spring and to put in water troughs in line with their lease from the mining company. That same month, the two entities cooperated in trying to hold on to the spring in the face of location notices posted by Red Cloud Mine Company and Acquilla Nebeker. Nonetheless, the cooperative agreed to lease part of the waters to Nebeker, who apparently had no association with Copper Mountain Mining Company, "for mining and smelting purposes."

The 1885 tax rolls of Mohave County suggest that Copper Mountain may have been processing ore at Pine Spring, even though the mine was located some eleven miles west of the mine as the crow flies and further by trail around Andrus

¹²³ Billingsley, Spamer, and Menkes, 37-38.

¹²⁴ Fairley, "History," 194.

Canyon. The tax records note that “Wooly Lund and Judd” owned “A Complete water jacket Smelter Situate [sic] at Pine Springs three miles east of Parashont Ranch North of Colorado River” valued at two thousand dollars, as well as “Pine Springs and improvements for conveying water to Smelter” valued at \$250.

While the assessor’s record does not refer specifically to Copper Mountain, this entry listing two board members of the mine combined with the cooperative’s references to Copper Mountain Mine’s claims to Pine Spring suggest that the mine was smelting its copper ore at Pine Spring. It may seem somewhat mysterious why the mine would establish a smelter at such a distance from the mine. We should note, however, that even in the early twentieth century, the last seven miles into the mine could only be accomplished by mule train. Therefore, Pine Spring may have been judged the point most accessible by wagon, wherein to establish a smelter – a point to which equipment could be hauled to build the smelter and from which bullion could be freighted. In reference to this smelter (or perhaps a different one owned by the company), a reporter noted in 1901 that Copper Mountain was “an old producer of note and boasted of a \$12,000 smelter several years ago when the red metal did not ‘cut as much ice’ in commercial and manufacturing circles as it does today.”¹²⁵

In 1913, James Andrus recalled, “In the early days of the St George country some very rich ore was mined down on Copper mountain It was a high grade oxide which assayed from 60 to 70 percent in the ore metal The ore also carried a little gold. The main deposit was in the nature of a chimney of high

¹²⁵ *Salt Lake Mining Review*, March 30, 1901.

grade and did not prove extensive.”¹²⁶ However, activity at the mine seems never to have been as intense as that at the Grand Gulch. The Grand Gulch mine received regular attention in the Salt Lake City-based *Deseret News* starting as early as 1874. Copper Mountain, by contrast, received no mention until the early twentieth century.

In a few short decades from 1870s to the 1890s, Mormons had transformed the Shivwits Plateau and the Mount Trumbull area. With cooperatives formed under communitarian ideals, Mormons shaped the environment of the Arizona Strip in ways that very much resembled efforts undertaken elsewhere in the United States with more individualistic capitalism. Cattle and trees grown in the area made their way into St. George markets. Copper made its way to Salt Lake City and beyond. Cattlemen had developed springs, and constructed scattered buildings through the area. Cattle roamed the landscape and had transformed the formerly rich grassland. They consumed the grass of Shivwits country and Uinkaret country to the benefit of Mormon newcomers, bringing hunger to the area’s oldest inhabitants and forcing them to relinquish some of their claim to the land. Native people continued to live in the area, although now they were as likely to work for newcomers as to engage in traditional subsistence. Copper mining had brought complex technology to the Grand Gulch and Copper Mountain area and pulled tons of ore from the earth.

¹²⁶ *Washington County News*, March 26, 1913.

Logging had brought sawmills and workers to the slopes of Mount Trumbull and helped turn living trees into a temple in St. George. In transforming the grass, lumber, and copper of the Arizona Strip into commodities valuable in distant markets, Mormons undermined ancient ways of life and found a way to sustain new communities and undertake ambitious projects in their new home.

Chapter 3:

Preston Nutter, Miss McMasters, and Ranger Sorenson: Ranching, Mining, and the Forest Service, 1893-1916

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, cattlemen, miners, loggers, and forest rangers tied the Arizona Strip more fully into the national economy and national government. While in the 1870s and 1880s, Mormons from St. George had dominated economic activity, people with more distant connections, many of them non-Mormon, now took on greater and greater importance. A cattle baron with funding from Eastern capitalists came to dominate the cattle industry. Mines were no longer owned by St. George people, but by Salt Lake City interests with ties to Eastern capital. The federal government in the form of the Forest Service came to have a greater role in shaping people's lives. So, the themes of economy, religion, the state, and the environment continued to run through the area's history. Yet economic activity now resembled that of most of the rest of the United States, without the particularly Mormon focus on cooperatives. Newcomers, many of the non-

Mormon, took advantage of federal laws and the courts to gain access to springs that were vital to cattle operations. In exploiting the environment of the Arizona Strip, access to distant sources of capital and shrewd use of federal land laws now took on greater importance than the religiously bases sources of capital that had sustained the cooperatives.

Cattle King: Preston Nutter and Local Ranchers

In the 1890s, Preston Nutter became the second non-Mormon cattleman (after B. F. Saunders) to acquire significant holdings in the Arizona Strip. Although he never succeeded in completely pushing aside the Mormon cattlemen with deeper roots in the area, he soon became the biggest owner of cattle and watering places on the Arizona Strip. Nutter was born around 1854 in the portion of Virginia that would become West Virginia during the Civil War. According to his obituary, he never knew his exact age. Orphaned before the age of ten, Nutter came West by working on a government freight train. He worked a variety of other jobs, as a cabin boy on a Mississippi riverboat, on an army supply train, and as a ranch hand. He reportedly decided, however, at the age of eighteen never to work for wages again. He saved enough money from his success at prospecting in Idaho, Colorado, Utah, and Nevada, to buy the livestock that helped establish his cattle empire.

The most dramatic episode of his early life was his role in the Packer tragedy. In 1872, he and a group of men were travelling from Bingham Canyon, Utah, to Colorado to prospect for gold. As snow in mountain passes accumulated,

Nutter and a number of the men abandoned the trip. However, Alfred Packer and four others continued on, eventually becoming trapped in the mountains, where Packer killed his companions and ate their flesh to survive. Nutter's testimony helped lead to the eventual conviction of Packer.¹

Nutter successfully took advantage of the natural resources and legal climate of Utah and the Arizona Strip to amass impressive wealth. These cattle operations need to be understood in the broader context of nineteenth-century industrialization, since they employed strategies common to many business enterprises: reducing risks by diversifying their holdings and using access to capital to eliminate smaller operations.² Yet, they adapted these strategies to particular places by taking advantage of opportunities to acquire land, influencing state land laws, and hiring the lawyers needed to navigate the complex legal environment. They recognized the critical importance of water rights. Nutter, like other such larger operators, balanced risks from flood and drought by having largely dispersed land holdings. Through most of the period when Nutter dominated the Arizona Strip, he also had extensive holdings in northern Utah, closer to his home in Utah. He made it a point to attend business college in San Francisco so he could manage his ambitious plans.

The persistent mismatch between land laws and the realities of cattle grazing defined the experience of settlers west of the hundredth meridian, in the

¹ "Masonic Funeral Scheduled for Last Great Cattle King," *Salt Lake Telegram*, January 28, 1936, box 7, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah; "Colorful Figure of Old West. . .", *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 28, 1936, box 7, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah; Virginia N. Price and John T. Darby, "Preston Nutter: Utah Cattleman, 1886-1936," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 32:3 (Summer 1964), 232-51; "Preston Nutter," Harper Precinct, Duchesne County, Utah, U.S. Census, 1920.

² David Igler, *Industrial Cowboys: Miller and Lux and the Transformation of the Far West, 1850-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 5.

arid West. Ranchers needed much more land than the standard 160-acre homestead would allow. John Wesley Powell had recognized the complexities of climate and terrain when he formulated his plan for distributing Western lands in the *Arid Lands Report*. His plan would have broken out of the rigid grid of the township and range lines and created homesteads fitted to the specifics of terrain and hydrology based on actual surveys. Legislators, however, largely ignored such ideas until the 1930s. Rather, most law lands were adapted to the well-watered eastern lands and made little sense in the arid West. Ranchers developed, instead, a series of “improvisations and expedients” to gain control of water sources and thereby large areas of public land.³

The history of the Arizona Strip illustrates the ability of a wealthy cattle baron with access to Eastern capital to control vast areas of grazing resources. It also shows, however, the tenacity of smaller operations with less capital, but a more profound cultural connection to place, to persist. While Nutter managed to control most of the water sources in the southeastern Arizona Strip (his operation roughly mirrored the current monument), he never succeeded in eliminating competitors altogether. Given the family networks of the Mormon ranchers that linked them more deeply to southern Utah and the Arizona Strip, many of those families still ranch the Arizona Strip (Mathis, Sorenson, Bundy, Foremaster, Esplin, Iverson, and others), while Nutter’s operation left soon after his death.

Like Jacob Hamblin and John Wesley Powell, Nutter was born in the East but eventually came West and shaped the history of what is now Grand Canyon-

³ Paul F. Starrs, *Let the Cowboy Ride: Cattle Ranching in the American West* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 40.

Parashant National Monument. The three men's lives show the variety of reasons for westward migration: religious, economic, political, scientific, and governmental. A consideration of their lives shows both the diversity and unity of Western history. Each man had different reasons for coming West, Hamblin's were primarily religious, Powell's scientific, and Nutter's economic. Yet the lives of each man were shaped not by one force alone, but by the interconnection of those forces. Powell's primary goal in coming West was scientific exploration; yet his career focused on land policy and Indian policy with the goal of the economic transformation of West to allow white migration and settlement. Hamblin's reasons for coming West were primarily religious, but in exploring transportation routes he also laid the groundwork for economic development of the area. Nutter's reasons were primarily economic, yet his success depended on artful use of the courts and of federal laws. He made use of the arcane half-breed scrip provisions of the Lieu Selection Act of 1897 to control springs. He lobbied the Forest Service to remove a portion of Parashant from the Dixie National Forest in 1916, and would later be a supporter of the Taylor Grazing Act in 1934.

Nutter first became acquainted with the Arizona Strip in 1893. Nutter and his New York investors had leased land in the Strawberry Valley, east of Salt Lake City. Nutter contracted with Arizona cattlemen to provide cattle to stock the ranch and headed to Scanlon's Ferry on the Colorado River, east of the present site of Boulder City, Nevada. Finding the ferry much too small for his enormous herd of cattle, he and his men managed to swim 4,652 head of cattle across the swift river in September of 1893. In a remarkable feat of cowboying, they

reportedly lost no cattle and no cowboys during the difficult three-day operation. With cold weather approaching, Nutter decided to winter cattle in the Arizona Strip, an area he had had his eye on for years.⁴ Meeting opposition at first from local cattlemen like B. F. Saunders and Anthony Ivins, Nutter had to hustle to find water and brought in a number of Texas cowboys to help with the operation.

Nutter had to deal with considerably less opposition from Southern Paiutes than the Mormon cattlemen of the 1870s. Nutter benefited from twenty years of grazing on Shivwits lands which had destroyed many of the Paiutes' sources of subsistence, as well as the subsequent removal of Shivwits to a reservation.

While the Mormons that made use of the area's resources in the 1870s made frequent references to their interactions with Paiutes -- payment of beef to them, cash payments made for the use of springs, the hiring of Indians as laborers -- they were much less present by the early twentieth century. Southern Paiutes still made visits to their ancestral homeland on the Shivwits Plateau, but they figure only rarely in Nutter's correspondence and that of his workers. Only a few brief references occur. The Nutter operation employed Indians as drivers at times. In 1894, John Pymm noted "I got an Indian to take the team out to Woolf hole."⁵ They were also a source of potentially useful information. Pymm noted in 1897 that an Indian showed him some interesting rocks and was willing to lead him to the source.⁶ In 1900, Pymm discussed a river crossing that an Indian wanted to

⁴ Virginia N. Price and John T. Darby, "Preston Nutter: Utah Cattleman, 1886-1936," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 32:3 (Summer 1964): 242.

⁵ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, December 28, 1894, box 25, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁶ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, February 13, 1897, box 25, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

take the outfit to.⁷ In 1911, Pymm wrote to Nutter that “Simon Indian said the Colorado was up high.”⁸ Despite these examples of Paiutes’ continued presence in their historic homeland, most of the workers in Parashant were Euro-Americans and most of the profits gained from the region’s grass and water went to Euro-Americans. In the few short decades since the Howlands and Dunn were at the mercy of the Shivwits whose land they entered near Mount Dellenbaugh, effective control had shifted from Paiutes to white newcomers.

Preston Nutter worked on several fronts to obtain access to water. He bought out his competitors, sued them in court, and simply had his men keep other cattlemen’s stock away from water. In 1896, for the sum of three thousand dollars, B. F. Saunders sold Nutter the following properties: “Oak Grove Springs, Mokiatic Springs, Pine Springs, Yellow John Springs, Garden Springs, Pine Springs [sic], Silman Springs, Green Springs, Kelley Springs, Amos Springs, Penn’s Pocket, and Piten Pockets together with all buildings, corrals, fences and two steam pumps and any other and all watering places belonging to the said B. F. Saunders on what is known as the Mohave Ranch” (see overview map).⁹ Another prominent rancher, Anthony W. Ivins had organized his operation at Parashant under his Mohave Land and Cattle Company.¹⁰ Nutter bought out this operation in the mid-1890s, including the ranch described as having a well and tunnel, windmill, pumps, and piping, as well as a “wire fence pasture” and “log house in

⁷ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, August 18, 1900, box 25, folder 2, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁸ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, July 31, 1911, box 25, folder 12, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁹ Quit Claim deed from B. F. Saunders to Preston Nutter, August 31, 1896, Exhibit B, in Gery, “Report on Lieu Selections.”

¹⁰ Michael Belshaw and Ed Peplow, “Lake Mead Historic Resources Study” (Denver: National Park Service, 1980), 80.

Mr Sorensen's pasture adjoining."¹¹ In 1896, Ivins noted that the Mohave company owned two-thirds of the Parashant Ranch, while Andrew Sorenson owned one third. In 1898, Nutter bought out at least some Sorenson's holdings, as well as others owned by a Mr. Foster.¹² Sorenson, however, maintained an interest in the area well into the twentieth century. Heber Barron sold his interest in the Valley Ranch in Mohave County to Nutter in 1894.¹³ In 1899, Nutter paid W. E. Davis fifty dollars for Granite Spring near Poverty Mountain.¹⁴ These efforts allowed Nutter to control most of the springs in a wide area of the western Arizona Strip corresponding to the central portion of today's Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument. He apparently never controlled the principal springs of the Grand Wash basin, however – Tassi and Pakoon.

In addition to buying out cattlemen, Nutter had to contend with sheep operations. Mormon stockmen had brought sheep to Parashant as soon as they brought cattle; yet it was cattle that soon predominated that far south.¹⁵ Prior to 1930 when Ray Esplin bought Santa Fe railroad land, sheep were generally north of Poverty Mountain.¹⁶ Nutter's foreman, John Pymm, kept his boss apprised of sheep, telling him for instance in 1901 of two herds of sheep at Wolf Hole and

¹¹ Letter from A.W. Ivins to Nutter, August 20, 1896, box 22, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

¹² Price and Darby, 244.

¹³ Note signed by Heber Barren, dated May 30, 1894, box 22, folder 8, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

¹⁴ Note signed by W. E. Davis, December 2, 1899, box 22, folder 8, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

¹⁵ July 1876, CCSC Minutes, Utah State Historical Society.

¹⁶ Belshaw and Peplow, 81; David Spencer "Spence" Esplin, interviewed by Milt Hokanson, February 7, 2005, Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

sheep owned by Atkin and Crosby at Poverty Mountain.¹⁷ In 1905, Pymm worried that “thare wont be enny fead atall” at Andrews (also known as Andrus) Spring, because there had “ben sheap thare all winter.”¹⁸ Henry Crosby's brother ran sheep on the south side of Black Rock Mountain as early as 1910. Seven-year-old Henry was left to tend the sheep by himself at times. “I wasn't particularly frightened.” he recalled “I had a lot of sheep to protect me.”¹⁹

Nutter brought in Texas cowhands, such as Ed Johnson, given the opposition he had from local ranchers.²⁰ Locals remembered that he preferred not to hire locals, but often couldn't tell where potential workers were from. “Some of Nutter's men were local, but only if he didn't find out,” said Ward Esplin.²¹ An analysis of his 1918 workforce suggests that many of Nutter's workers were from Utah. Of the thirty-five men whom Nutter paid as workers in the first half of 1918, census data could be found for nineteen of these men. They were all white men born in Utah, with ages spread fairly evenly from late teens to mid-forties, with one sixty-year-old. Four were in their late teens, five in their twenties, six in their thirties, three in their forties, and one was sixty years-old. All thirteen of the men over the age of twenty-one were married or widowed, while all the younger men were single. The four men that worked most regularly for Nutter that year were Frank R. Bentley, 41, Lamar Bleak, 21, Angus M. Cannon, 45, Ephraim Terry, 31, and Roy Whipple, age unknown.

¹⁷ Letters from Pymm to Preston Nutter, February 15, 1901 and March 9, 1901, box 25, folder 3, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

¹⁸ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, April 28, 1905, box 25, folder 6, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

¹⁹ Henry Crosby, interviewed by Doug Alder, October 18, 1995, Dixie State College.

²⁰ Belshaw and Peplow, 91.

²¹ Interview with Ward Esplin, quoted in Belshaw and Peplow, 92.

From 1894 to 1911, John Pymm, a Mormon, worked as Nutter's foreman. He certainly was not an outsider. John Pymm was born around 1862 in Utah to an Irish-born father and Scottish-born mother. He first worked in Parashant country around 1883.²² After Pymm, Nutter had "Bud Milton, then Crawford, [John] Kenney, Frank Bentley and Ferguson" as foremen.²³ Pymm worked as a teamster, stockman, and farmer, and later in life as a worker at the picture show.²⁴ His letters with their idiosyncratic spelling kept Nutter informed of goings-on in Parashant, especially the paramount concern: water. He let him know when the area was "soked up good" and when it was the "dryest time."²⁵ In one typical report, Pymm informed Nutter in August 1900 that "we have had A good storme on the mountain. plenty of watter thare. but it is dry hear thare is watter to the turn of the wash it will last for A month."²⁶

Pymm also kept Nutter up-to-date on relations with other cattlemen, which were always in a state of conflict. Pymm wrote Nutter in 1894, for instance, saying "Old Jim Bud and Brown went to Beaver to get out an indictment Agenast you about those two Stears. but I guess they could not do anything because they dont have anything to say about it."²⁷ Pymm went on to say "I guess when we go to Woolfhole there will be some kicking about what Stears there are there of

²² Gery, "Report on Lieu Selections," 234.

²³ Owen B. Wright, "Background and History of Arizona Strip District," 1972, 10 [available at Washington County Public Library].

²⁴ "John Pymm," Washington County, Utah, U.S. Census, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930.

²⁵ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, January 25, 1901, box 25, folder 2; letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, August 2, 1898, box 25, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²⁶ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, August 18, 1900, box 25, folder 2, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²⁷ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, December 28, 1894, box 25, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

yours, but I guess I can stand them off.”²⁸ Although the letters do not always make clear how these specific conflicts were resolved, they show that Nutter’s power was limited. Even as he became the dominant force on the Strip, the attention his foreman paid to an ongoing series of conflicts shows that he was sensitive to threats from the men he was challenging.

The Preston Nutter cattle operation was run from afar, just like many of the mining operations. Nutter himself lived in Salt Lake City, managing his main ranch near Price, Utah. He travelled regularly to his operation on the Arizona Strip, making for instance five visits in 1918 and eight in 1919, ten days being a typical length for these trips. His trips typically brought him to the railheads at St. Thomas, Nevada, or St. George, Utah. From St. Thomas, he would ride or drive a wagon to Pakoon Springs and thence onto the Shivwits Plateau. From St. George, he would travel first to Wolf Hole and then to points further south. His trips almost always included extensive travelling and investigations on the Shivwits Plateau and occasionally took him over to the Trumbull area as well.

His July 1919 trip to the area gives an example of how Nutter managed his ranching operation on the Arizona Strip. In the arid climate of the Arizona Strip, projects to bring water to animals often occupied more of Nutter’s time than checking on the cattle themselves. On Friday July 11, Nutter arrived at Moapa, Nevada, by train and waited for a shipment of pipe to arrive. On Saturday, he took the train to St. Thomas, Nevada, and spent the night there, some fifty miles west of the Shivwits Plateau. On Sunday, he sent some of his men with two

²⁸ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, December 28, 1894, box 25, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

teams and the load of pipe on the road to Hidden Canyon. The next day, Nutter himself set out to Hidden Canyon, overtaking the teams on the road at Red Rock, and proceeded on with them to Mud Spring. On Tuesday the 15th, they set out for Pakoon Spring and managed to arrive and have dinner at the Whitney Ranch despite “no end of trouble” including a broken hind wheel. They left the ranch after dinner and drove until dark.

On Wednesday, they finally arrived at the mouth of Hidden Canyon by 6:30 PM, where they discovered a flood had destroyed the road into the canyon. On Thursday, Nutter sent one man back to the broken-down wagon to retrieve its load, and started five of his men working on the road into Hidden Canyon. That evening, Nutter headed to Parashant and the next morning had a number of the cowboys in the area of Parashant working to gather steers. On Friday the 18th, Nutter returned to Hidden Canyon and discovered a load of pipe had been covered in mud by a “very hard rain” during his absence. On Sunday, the teamsters started back to St. Thomas and on Monday, Nutter himself left, arriving at Pakoon Spring that day and enjoying a watermelon that Whitney gave him. Nutter arrived in St. Thomas early on Tuesday the 22nd, the teams later that day. On Wednesday, he readied his teams for another trip into Parashant, but he himself headed for Salt Lake. Learning that he would not be able to make the train connection in Moapa, he caught a ride with a man driving North and made it to Salt Lake by Saturday the 26th.

With trips such as these, Nutter maintained his familiarity with the landscape, got to know his workers, monitored their activities, and planned future

developments. These trips linked remote areas on the Arizona Strip to his vast cattle empire. By some accounts, however, these occasional trips were not enough to closely monitor his men, who regularly took calves that should have belonged to Nutter. As Chloe Bundy put it, “his closest workmen were his worst enemies.”²⁹

Nutter pursued both immediate action on the ground and complicated legal strategies to gain effective control of most of the water in the area that is now the monument. In the arcane world of Western water rights, actual legal claims to the water were less important than apparently legal claims backed up with enough men in the field to give his cattle access to water while blocking other cattlemen’s access. Threat of violence was present in these conflicts, although the principal violence was not against people but against cattle or horses who were “choked” – forced to die of thirst by being refused water. In 1900, Pymm wrote Nutter “I would like to chocke willards Cattle and him to” for bringing his cattle to Hidden Spring.³⁰ Spence Esplin remembered, however, that some of the threats from Nutter’s men were less than whole-hearted. “He’d send his men down and talk to us and then they’d go back and say, ‘We threatened them.’ [Then] they’d come down and have dinner and visit with us and go back.”³¹

Nutter laid his primary claim to springs in Parashant on a system known as lieu selection. Although Nutter had bought title to a number of springs in the 1890s from local ranchers, he felt these purchases did not necessarily represent

²⁹ Quoted in Belshaw and Peplow, 92.

³⁰ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, July 24, 1900, box 25, folder 2, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

³¹ Spencer “Spence” Esplin, interviewed by Douglas Alder, interviewed January 22, 1997, Dixie State College.

secure title. After consulting with Judge John C. Bell in Washington, D.C., he decided the best way to obtain the right to these springs would be under the Lieu Selection Act of 1897. He was able to buy scrip from a dealer and apply it to twenty-one separate springs on the Arizona Strip. According to Nutter, "I employed Mr. Fowler, a surveyor of Salt Lake, at the expense of \$10. per day, and expenses, to go to Arizona and survey these locations, describe them by metes and bounds as the law required at that time. I accompanied him. We surveyed each claim and set up corner posts of the four corners of each claim." Nutter then filed these claims in the Land Office in Prescott, Arizona.³² Nutter purchased these rights in the form of half-breed Sioux scrip and began to acquire springs on the strip.³³ Nutter apparently worked with two separate land companies in claiming these springs. Peter M. Collins was the vice-president of the Collins Lands Company of Helena, Montana, which had supplied Nutter the scrip to acquire these lands.³⁴ In 1900, Collins made lieu selections in Nutter's behalf on Antelope Spring, Ivanpatch Spring, Oak Spring, and Big (Whitmore) Spring, as well as Black Rock and Coal Spring.³⁵ Nutter also worked with the land company of C. W. Clarke. Nutter made lieu selections as attorney in fact for C. W. Clarke on the following springs in 1900: Andrews (Andrus) Spring, Cottonwood Spring, Coin Bed Spring, Garden Spring, Green Spring, Hidden Spring, Link Spring, Oak Grove Spring, Parashant Ranch, Penn's Pocket Spring, Pine Spring, Rattlesnake

³² Preston Nutter to Commissioner of General Land Office, May 24, 1915, box 22, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

³³ See footnote 99 on page 96.

³⁴ Letter from Collins Land Company to Preston Nutter, August 23, 1900, box 49, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

³⁵ p. 255; Exhibit CC; Exhibit DD; Lieu Selection No. 4187, August 28, 1908, Exhibit F, in Gery, "Report on Lieu Selections."

Spring, and Wolf Hole.³⁶ Allegedly, Nutter and Fowler went around to all these springs in three days, posted notices and surveyed his land claims. In the years that followed, however, many locals claimed that such a feat would have been impossible given the distances and terrain involved.

Nutter's foreman Pymm kept him apprised of the status of the notices, writing in him on February 1, 1901, saying "the notices I think was all up 30 days. they are all up now except at hidden and link. I haint been to Trumble and Ivanpats dont know how they are thare."³⁷ At least as early as 1908, however, some questioned the validity of Nutter's scrip selections.³⁸ In 1915, the General Land Office undertook a full-fledged investigation, primarily to ascertain the validity of Nutter's water rights. The 1915 lieu selection report by F. R. Gery suggested that Nutter's claims to these lands might not be valid. Testimony from local ranchers such Albert Foremaster, George H. Lytle, Willard Sorensen, Charles M. Walker, and Wallace B. Mathis, and even Nutter's long-time foreman, John Pymm, disputed some or all of Nutter's claims to have posted notices of locations and surveyed the springs he claimed.³⁹ For instance, Charles M. Walker claimed to have seen him leave a notice of location at Ivanpatch, but that Nutter "was not at the spring over one half hour" and that Walker "saw no corners nor any indication that a survey had been made."⁴⁰ Nutter, not surprisingly, felt the report was unfair. "Mr smith, Special Attorney and officials of the Forest Service

³⁶ Exhibit BB, Gery, "Report on Lieu Selections."

³⁷ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, February 1, 1901, box 25, folder 3, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

³⁸ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, December 27, 1908, box 25, folder 9, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

³⁹ Exhibits M, N, O, R, and S, Gery, "Report on Lieu Selections."

⁴⁰ Exhibit P, Gery, "Report on Lieu Selections."

went over all the locations and range where I am interested, talked with people, tried to prejudice them, or took statements from people who are prejudiced, told them my claims are not good.”⁴¹ He denied having a monopoly on the Arizona Strip range, saying there were 20,000 cattle grazing between Hurricane Ridge and the Nevada border, only half of which belonged to him.⁴² Although the 1915 lieu selection report questioned Nutter’s claims, and subsequent government investigations would be equally critical of Nutter, none of these actions forced Nutter to relinquish his substantial water rights.

Mathis Family

During his forty years running cattle on the Arizona Strip, Nutter came into conflict with almost all the important cattlemen in the area. Wallace B. Mathis was one of those that testified against Nutter. Born in Utah around 1878, the son of Swiss immigrants, he began ranching on Parashant around 1905.⁴³ The 1905 Mohave County tax rolls noted he had fifteen stock cattle in Mohave County that year.⁴⁴ He found other ways to make money, besides raising cattle. He drove the stage from St. George to Grand Gulch for a time – a trip that typically took three days.⁴⁵ Mathis knew full well Nutter’s intentions. As he put it in 1928, “Nutter told me he intended to control said range and that we would eventually

⁴¹ Preston Nutter to commissioner, GLO, May 24, 1915, box 22, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁴² Preston Nutter to commissioner, GLO, May 24, 1915, box 22, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁴³ Wallace B. Mathis, Washington County, Utah, U.S. Census, 1920; Wallace "Wally" and Reed Miles Mathis, interviewed by Milt Hokanson, January 24, 2005, Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument; Gery, "Report on Lieu Selections," 235.

⁴⁴ 1905 Assessor’s Rolls, Mohave Museum of History and Arts.

⁴⁵ Wallace "Wally" and Reed Miles Mathis, interviewed by Milt Hokanson, January 24, 2005, Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

get out.”⁴⁶ Mathis knew “every spring and water hole in that section of the country” and was able to continue his ranching operation, despite Nutter’s greater access to capital.⁴⁷ Mathis’s descendants still run cattle on the Arizona Strip today, a reflection of his closer ties to southern Utah and the Arizona Strip. Mathis had his family nearby in St. George and spent much of his time on the range, unlike Nutter who lived in Salt Lake City and only visited a few times a year. Mathis felt his regular presence on the ground gave him a more valid claim on the land than Nutter had. In the words of Nutter’s foreman, Mathis “thinks you [Nutter] cant keep them off your land. he says why dont you half to live on your springs.”⁴⁸

Despite Nutter’s efforts to control the range, Mathis and his sons Carl and Reed managed to continue their operation, as did several other smaller operators. The 1915 tax rolls note Mathis’s half interest in Mociac Well and half interest in Swapp Spring, along with ten saddle horses, 580 range cattle worth \$14,500, and seventy steers worth \$2,100. The 1925 Mohave County tax rolls gave him ownership of Joe-Tin Can Spring and Mociac Spring, along with personal property (presumably cattle) worth \$1,900 in Mohave County.

A detailed portrait of the Mathis family ranching operation emerges in the 1928 land entry file of Carl M. Mathis, Wallace B.’s son, who homesteaded 640

⁴⁶ Testimony of Wallace Mathis, Report on Forest Lieu Selection 013384, dated June 1928, box 52, folder 15, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁴⁷ Report on Forest Lieu Selection 013384, dated June 1928, box 52, folder 15, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁴⁸ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, April 3, 1906, box 25, folder 7, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

acres at Pine Ranch under the Stock Raising Act of 1916.⁴⁹ Carl M. Mathis's claim comprised Section 24, Township 32 North, Range 12 West, in Arizona. He described his operation in 1928 in the following terms. He had "the place improved and fenced and cross fenced so that he is able to make the best use of the grazing possibilities and is able to preserve the feed until it is matured before pasturing it." He kept eight to ten saddle horses, a team of two horses with a wagon, and a milk cow at his ranch. The team not only pulled the wagon to bring supplies, but helped in plowing fields. Each fall, he gathered his cattle and weaned about a hundred calves using his fenced pasture. He also used the pasture when he found among his cattle "a poor animal that needs assistance."

Carl M. Mathis ran the operation with his father and his younger brother, Reed Mathis. Carl and his neighbors provided the following description of the ranch operation. He had resided on the claim since 1917, living there almost year-round since 1923. Carl had established residence on the homestead in 1923, when he resingled and repaired the already existing house. He resided there almost year round, leaving only during the coldest months of winter from mid-December to mid-February, when he lived in St. George making one or two trips out to check on the place. During those years, he cultivated ten to thirty acres in crops including rye, corn, potatoes, wheat, and oats. He was careful not to plough his pasture, noting in his application that "[p]lowing destroys native grasses which is the chief source of feed for stock." He described the homestead as having a four-room house built prior to 1923, located on the southwest quarter of the

⁴⁹ Homestead entry file no. 1021082, issued November 24, 1928, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

northwest quarter of the section. According to Grace Mathis, two rooms of the house were built elsewhere and later moved to Pine Ranch, where two more rooms were added on.⁵⁰ The homestead also had a twenty-five foot timbered well, pump, reservoir, troughs, barn, corrals, saddle house, hen house, hog pen, and root cellar. The ranch had four miles of four-strand barb wire fence, and one mile of timber fence. On occasion, he pumped water from the well to the pastures. Clarence Sturzenegger noted that he had worked on the claim with Mathis since about 1913.

Nay Family

Nutter and his foremen were especially suspicious of the Nays, whose operation centered on Pakoon Spring in Grand Wash, some thirty miles west of the Parashant Ranch. Nutter's foreman made repeated accusations in letters to his boss about the activities of the "Nay gang." The members of the outfit were O. B. Nay and his six sons. O. B. Nay was born in April 1850, in Missouri, and was married to Louise Nay, who was born in 1855 in Utah. Together, they had at least six sons by 1900, ranging in age from twenty-eight to two. From oldest to youngest, they were C. O., H. M., J. M., S. B., C. L., and Ora.⁵¹

It was the Nays (O. B. and H. M.) who put the first recorded claim on Tassi Spring in 1903.⁵² They claimed the area for "mining and milling, ranching

⁵⁰ Grace (Shumway) Mathis, interviewed by Milt Hokanson, February 21, 2006, Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

⁵¹ "O. B. Nay," Mohave County, Arizona, U.S. Census, 1900.

⁵² Belshaw and Peplow, 107.

and stock raising purposes.”⁵³ Their claim referenced the site’s distance to Savanic Mine, possibly indicating they hoped to process Savanic copper ore. The mining plan may also tie into their interest in quartz milling. In 1908, John Nay, along with John Young, were supplying beef to men constructing a quartz mill at Gregs Ferry.⁵⁴ The Nays apparently never built a house at Tassi, making their headquarters at Pakoon instead. The same year they filed a claim at Tassi, the Nay family had plans to build a house at Pakoon.⁵⁵

Although we only have the Nutter outfit’s side of the story, it seems fairly clear from Pymm’s description that among their other activities, the Nays were stealing cattle. Whether they were doing so more than the Nutter outfit or other operations is less clear. What Pymm’s account of the Nay outfit does reveal is the level of suspicion among ranchers on the Strip and ease with which cattle could be stolen in the lonely valleys of the Arizona Strip where no cattleman knew exactly how many cattle he had. Along with shady legal dealings in county courthouses far from the arid hills of the Arizona Strip, efforts to get possession of cattle one did not own were a standard occurrence on the Arizona Strip.

Here is what Pymm has to tell us. In 1902, Pymm suspected the Nays would try to steal some of Nutter's cattle once there was a good snow at which time they would assume Pymm would be gone from the cattle.⁵⁶ Pymm’s concerns grew in 1903 when he heard the "Nay outfit" was planning to build a

⁵³ Quoted in Belshaw and Peplow, 173.

⁵⁴ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, December 9, 1908, box 25, folder 9, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁵⁵ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, January 21, 1903, box 25, folder 5, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁵⁶ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, March 3, 1902, box 25, folder 5, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

house at Pakoon, noting to his boss "we will aft to be on the look out."⁵⁷ The next year, Pymm's suspicions turned to accusations that the Nays had made off with some of Nutter's cattle.⁵⁸ By Pymm's account, the law caught up with the Nays in 1905. The authorities arrested the Nays for stealing cattle and selling their beef, "the old man" was fined fifty dollars in Bunkerville. Pymm was also concerned that year that the Nays were planning to round up wild horses in "our country" (presumably the Parashant area). Pymm wanted the mustangs out of there, but didn't want the Nays to profit from it.⁵⁹ By December of 1905, the Nays had a bunch of horses they were planning to take to Modena.⁶⁰

By 1908, the cattle owners of the Arizona Strip had formed a stock union. Pymm expressed some hope in early 1908 that the new union would help deter the Nays from stealing cattle.⁶¹ By late 1908, however, he was again accusing them of "stealing from all around them" in order to get beef to sell to a nearby quartz mill.⁶² In early 1909, Pymm sent two of his men over to the Nay Ranch to try to find evidence of cattle rustling.⁶³ Despite suspicions, the Nay and Nutter outfits would, on occasion, have relatively cordial encounters. Nutter stopped by the Nay Ranch at least once in his regular travels between St. Thomas and Parashant.

⁵⁷ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, January 21, 1903, box 25, folder 5, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁵⁸ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, May 18, 1904, box 25, folder 5, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁵⁹ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, January 4, 1905, box 25, folder 6, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁶⁰ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, December 1, 1905, box 25, folder 6, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁶¹ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, March 11, 1908, box 25, folder 9, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁶² Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, December 9, 1908, box 25, folder 9, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁶³ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, April 21, 1909, box 25, folder 10, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

In 1918, he provided the following description of the “Whitney or Nay ranch,” which was to the north of Pakoon Spring. “This is a very pretty little place in a Cove in the Mountains mostly fruit. They have probably forty acres under cultivation.”⁶⁴ Nutter also provided a description of Pakoon Spring itself: “Poccoon is a big Spring located in a Sandy desert. It is claimed by Sam Gentry. He has about ten acres under cultivation.”

An incident in 1910 illustrates how the appearance of neighborliness could mix with deep-seated suspicions as cowboys socialized on the Arizona Strip. Pymm had gotten word from Sam Gentry that the Nays had killed four cattle in Hidden Canyon and sold the meat for grain. Pymm also believed the Nays were making plans to visit Parashant country and take ranchers’ saddle horses, along with some mustangs. So, Pymm called for the sheriff to come out to the Nay Ranch, and Pymm and several of his ranch hands headed there as well. According to Nay, “we got thare just in time to spoil thare plans.” Pymm and his men stayed several days at the ranch not explaining their presence: “having A good time with them. trading horses and trying to run rases. they was pretty nervous all the time could not make out what we was thare for.” The sheriff eventually arrived and forced the Nays to produce the hides of the cattle they had sold, hides they had cut the ears off of, raising the sheriff’s suspicions.⁶⁵ The incident apparently did not lead to an arrest; but brought them to the notice of the

⁶⁴ Preston Nutter diary, May 24, 1918, box 1, Book 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah. He described as about ten miles (north) of Pakoon as he was going from Cedar Spring to Pakoon Spring. But since Cedar Spring itself is about ten miles north of Pakoon, the Nay ranch was likely closer to Pakoon.

⁶⁵ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, February 1, 1910, folder 11, box 25, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

sheriff from Kingman who planned to keep a closer eye on them.⁶⁶ Pymm even heard a rumor the Nays were thinking of selling out, because “they have found out that we are watchen them to close.”⁶⁷ In March, Pymm told of plans he and Sam Gentry had to buy out the Nays so they could be rid of them.⁶⁸ Pymm reported the Nays took the next opportunity to retaliate with the authorities, by letting the county assessor know the Nutter outfit had more cattle than they were reporting. “I think they are putting the assor on to us” Pymm noted. “they are mad at us for spoiling thare fun this spring.”⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the Preston Nutter papers have few letters after 1910 and little has come to light about the Nays in the 1910s. Like many other families Nutter came in conflict with, they still own land on the Arizona Strip, while Nutter’s operation is long gone.

Thomas Gardner

Thomas Gardner made use not only of the grass of Parshant, but of its timber, centering his operation around Green Spring, Lake Flat, and Mociac in the first decade of the twentieth century. The presence of a sawmill was useful to the ranchers, allowing them to get lumber for fences, buildings, and reservoirs.

Gardner was born in Utah around 1856, the son of the Robert Gardner who had helped organize the cutting of timber at Mount Trumbull for the St. George

⁶⁶ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, February 10, 1910, folder 11, box 25, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁶⁷ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, February 10, 1910, box 25, folder 11, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁶⁸ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, March 10, 1910, box 25, folder 11, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁶⁹ Letters from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, March 21, 1910 and May 6, 1910, box 25, folder 11, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

Temple.⁷⁰ Thomas was in his late teens and early twenties as the temple was built, and may well had a role in that logging operation alongside his father. By 1912, according to the county records, Gardner owned "3/8 Interest in Buildings, Outbuildings, and all Improvements at 'Green Springs.' Also Well in Parashaunt Mountains, 1/4 Mile East of 'Moquiac Well.' Also Lake Flat. Old Saw Mill on Moquiac Well in Parashaunt Mountains" and four horses, 170 cattle, and 6 bulls.

Gardner started running a saw-mill at Mociac around 1900, having leased the land from Preston Nutter, and also watered cattle there.⁷¹ The mill would operate most summers at least till 1911, producing 50,000 feet board measure (b.m.) annually, far below its capacity, and selling most of its lumber to the Grand Gulch Mine.⁷² Gardner was, however, suspicious of Nutter's land claim and wrote the land office in Prescott in 1906 to check on the land's actual status.⁷³ He also had to deal with John Sturzenegger who had a competing claim to Mociac.⁷⁴ Sturzenegger and Mathis were working to keep Gardner off their water at Green, Lake, and Mociac, even threatening a lawsuit against Gardner.⁷⁵ In April 1909, Sturzenegger and Mathis were refusing water to Gardner for both the mill and his

⁷⁰ "Robert Gardner," Washington County, Utah, U.S. Census, 1870; "Thomas Gardner," Washington County, Utah, U.S. Census, 1910, 1920, and 1930.

⁷¹ Gery, "Report on Lieu Selections," 228; McAllister, "Report on Arizona Division"; letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, October 25, 1907, box 25, folder 8, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁷² McAllister, "Report on Arizona Division"; "Annual Personnel Report, Dixie National Forest, April 1, 1912," box 9, folder 540, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

⁷³ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, March 13, 1906, box 25, folder 7, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁷⁴ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, February 22, 1909, box 25, folder 10, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁷⁵ Letters from John Sturzenegger to Preston Nutter, April 2 1909 and April 5, 1909, box 22, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

cattle.⁷⁶ Sturzenegger wrote to Nutter, “I think from past experience Gardner is trying to play some underhanded Game, to get his cattle & Co. established in the Country.”⁷⁷

At Green Spring, Gardner was able to cooperate with Nutter as well, although not without occasional conflict. By 1901, Gardner was inspecting the timber at Green Spring with plans to install a sawmill there, widen the trail to the spring, and possibly build a reservoir there. Pymm felt it would be good to allow Gardner to get water at the spring, since the wider trail would allow Nutter’s cattle better access as well.⁷⁸ By 1909, however, Pymm lamented he was unable to “choke” Gardner’s cattle, but also seemed to fear the Nutter outfit was on tenuous ground claiming Green Spring. Pymm said, “If it had not started to Rain I would of fixed Gardners Cattle. But I guess we cant do nothing now. If I do I am afraid he will make a talk about the green spring fence then we mite half to throw it open.”⁷⁹ In 1909, Pymm talked to Gardner about keeping his cattle off Green Spring and complained about them using Nutter’s trail, rather than Gardner’s own trail. Gardner, however, made assurances about building a drift fence and putting a hired man at Green Spring to make sure the cattle used the

⁷⁶ Letter from John Sturzenegger to Preston Nutter, April 5, 1909, box 22, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah; letters from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, June 29, 1909 and July 19, 1909, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁷⁷ Letter from John Sturzenegger to Preston Nutter, April 5, 1909, box 22, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁷⁸ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, January 10, 1901, box 25, folder 2, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah; also January 25, 1901.

⁷⁹ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, August 18, 1909, box 25, folder 10, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

right trail.⁸⁰ In 1910, Pymm still complained that Gardner's cattle were using the Nutter trail at Green Spring.⁸¹

Finally, Gardner made improvements at Lake Flat Lake, working with Sorenson. In August of 1909, the two were on the mountain building a levee to make a reservoir, after Sorenson had sold his interest in the lake to Gardner.⁸² Pymm argued that Nutter had claim to the lake, because of the labor his men had put in developing it. "I dont see why you cant hold that lake. as well as some of the springs. I worked thare 6 days. with 6 men and team and furnished verener near all the timber. and kild to Beefs. while they were working."⁸³ The Nutter operation could work with Gardner when needed. Nutter apparently got Gardner off the range not by choking his cattle but by buying him out. He reported in April 1920 he had been negotiating with Gardner and would pay fifty dollars a head for the cattle, which numbered about four hundred.⁸⁴ Gardner is absent from the 1925 tax rolls.

Material Culture of Ranching

Despite the conflicts among the different ranching operations, they all participated in the same material culture, leaving a legacy of corrals, troughs, fences, line cabins, and reservoirs across the landscape. The following summary

⁸⁰ Letters from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, June 29, 1909 and July 19, 1909, box 25, folder 10, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁸¹ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, December 5, 1910, box 25, folder 11, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁸² Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, August 18, 1909, box 25, folder 10, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁸³ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, August 18, 1909, box 25, folder 10, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁸⁴ Nutter diary, April 25, 1920, box 2, book 3; June 2, 1920, box 2, Book 3, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

presents a portrait of improvements at many of the most significant springs in 1915, according to the lieu selection report.

1) Springs in the Grand Wash basin from north to south:

- Black Rock Spring: a pipe laid to irrigate land a mile to the East with ten acres under cultivation.
- Pockum Spring: report provides no information, except that it is claimed by various stockmen.
- White Rock Spring: 225 feet of dykes, 180 feet of fencing, a pole corral 45 by 63 feet, a pole-and-bark cabin.
- Pakoon Spring: has “sufficient water to irrigate 8 or 10 acres, for which purpose it is used.”
- (Tassi Spring is not mentioned in the report).

2) Springs on the Shivwits Plateau roughly from north to south:

- Garden Spring (aka Big Spring): 15’ of piping, a wooden trough 3’ x 8’ x 1’
- Rattlesnake Spring: Water is carried about 30 feet in a 1 ½ inch pipe to a trough 20” x 11’3” x 1’. Fencing that was once here has been moved to Link Spring.
- Hidden Spring: Water is conveyed from spring 300 feet to a trough 3’ x 12’ x 20’. Has a brush corral 65’ in diameter.
- Link Spring: Two seeps about 100 feet apart flow into two reservoirs 8 x 10 feet and 3 x 6 feet. Has a 1 ½ inch pipe leading 500 feet to two troughs 4 x 12 and 2 x 14 feet.
- Coin Bed Spring: Water is conveyed 15 feet through 1 ½ inch pipe to a 8’ x 14” x 10” trough. Has brush corral 100 x 400 feet.
- Poverty Spring: no developments described.
- Sullivan Reservoir: “An artificial reservoir which usually contains water until some time in May of each year.”
- Ivanpough Spring (aka Ivanpatch Spring): 200 feet of tunneling constructed by Foremaster Brothers, 50 feet of 1 ½ inch pipe, 20 feet of wooden fluming, three troughs (3 x 1 ¼ x 12 feet, 1 ½ x 1 ½ x 14 feet, and 1 x 1 ½ x 12 feet), a corral 50 x 150 feet.
- Pigeon Spring: “Water piped about ten feet to a tank by stockmen.”
- Andrus Spring (aka Andrews Spring): 15-foot tunnel with mouth measuring 2 x 5 feet; “two poorly constructed corrals on the tract, each 40 by 60 feet”; water is piped 85 feet in a 1 ½ inch pipe to two troughs (each [18”?] x [12’?] x 20”) in one of the corrals.
- Parashont Ranch (Wild Cat): Water is pumped to a trough 12 feet x 12 feet x 20 inches. Three corrals: 100’ x 800’, 90’ x 200’, and 75’ in diameter. A group of old buildings 28’ x 48’ A 70’ x 100’ foot fence enclosing a house 16’ x 24’ and one story high. Fencing enclosing 400 acres of public land.

- Dan Sill Spring: a trench 3 x 6 x 35 feet, 100 feet of pipe, a pool 18 x 1 x 3 feet, a corral of fallen trees and rocks 85 feet in diameter.
- Gardner Wells: no developments listed
- Pymm Well: “Water developed by means of a well.”
- Pine Spring: It had a well 4 x 5 x 8 ½ feet with three tunnels, one 80 feet, 225 feet of piping, and a demolished corral. Also another well 3 x 4 x 8 feet.
- Lake Flat Lake, p. 24: “Water held by construction of dam by Andrew Sorenson et al. Water is available only until some time in July of some years.”
- Oak Grove Spring: a well 2 x 3 ½ x 12 feet, 100 feet of tunnel (by then caved in), 350 feet of one-inch pipe, a wooden trough 18” x 12’ x 15”, a delapidated log cabin 15 x 21 feet (the former headquarters of B. F. Saunders).
- Tincanebits Spring: no development described.
- Twin Spring: no development described.
- Mociac Spring: water pumped from a 2 x 6 x 12 foot well, two troughs 2 ½ x 2 ½ x 12 feet and 2 x 1 ½ x 15 feet, a 125 foot tunnel, a 90 x 150 foot corral, a second 60 x 60 foot corral. A sawmill is near the spring, as well as a cabin.
- Green Spring: 10 feet of piping, a six-foot circular trough, two corrals, one 100 x 200 feet, the other 100 feet square, and a new Forest Service salt house.
- Penn’s Pocket Spring: several pools, 10 x 15 feet, 5 x 15 feet, 15 x 15 feet, 25 x 25 feet, a newly constructed pole corral 75 x 90 feet (by Nutter).
- Cottonwood Spring: in almost inaccessible canyon; no improvements described.
- Amos Spring: a ten-foot tunnel, two poorly constructed corrals each 40 x 60 feet, 85 feet of 1 ½ pipe, two troughs 18” x 12’ x 20”
- Kelly Spring: no development described

3) *Springs in the Mount Trumbull area:*

- Whitmore or Big Spring: watering flowing 75 feet through a V-shaped wooden trough, two other troughs 15 feet long, a corral 50 x 125 feet and another corral 50 feet in diameter, and a third corral of 4 acres with dilapidated fencing.
- New or Oak Spring (aka Clay Spring): disrepaired improvements including 100 feet of tunneling, 60 feet of 1 ½ inch pipe and a trough 1 x 1 x 12 feet, a corral 50 feet in diameter, and a disrepaired fence.
- Cold Spring: two corrals 50 feet below the spring, one 70 x 70 feet and one 57 x 70 feet, five old troughs no longer in use. A. D. Findlay has a permit to pipe the water 1 ½ miles to a reservoir to water his stock.

Grand Gulch Mine

The Grand Gulch Mine lay dormant from about 1882 to 1899. Early twentieth-century manager W. P. Jennings noted the revival of interest in the mine came from an extension of the railroad and the high price of copper.⁸⁵ While in the 1880s, the mine had to ship ore or bullion some four hundred miles to northern Utah's railhead, by around 1900 the train came to Modena, Utah, only 140 miles from the mine. The mine was also responding to the market. Demand for copper rose more steeply than for other metals in the late nineteenth century with the advent of electricity and the need for copper wires to power lights and machines of all sorts.⁸⁶ When the Grand Gulch mine began operations in the 1870s, electricity as a source of power and lighting was still a curiosity. Electricity was such a rarity in 1878, for instance, that "curious crowds gathered nightly to see" an electric light set up on a street in Boston.⁸⁷ By the late nineteenth century, electrified urban landscapes were common along with the miles of copper wire that made them possible. Electricity and artificial lighting helped define urbanity and modernity in the late nineteenth century, as municipalities lit business districts, turning them into "white ways." Lighting soon became a "general form of advertising" for business and commercial

⁸⁵ W. P. Jennings, "Grand Gulch Copper Mine," *Mining and Scientific Press* 102 (February 18, 1911): 269.

⁸⁶ Logan Hovis and Jeremy Mouat, "Miners, Engineers, and the Transformation of Work in the Western Mining Industry, 1880-1930" *Technology and Culture* 37:3 (July 1996): 435; Copper production went from 30,200 tons in 1880 to 130,000 in 1890 to 303,000 in 1900 to 544,000 in 1910 to 955,000 in 1918 and down to 612,000 in 1920 (Charles K. Hyde, *Copper for America: The United States Copper Industry from Colonial Times to the 1990s* [Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998], 82).

⁸⁷ David E. Nye, *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1999), 176.

districts. Soon, the desire for lighting in private homes spread as well.⁸⁸ Lighting in urban areas and elsewhere required a vast network of mining and metal processing that tied the Shivwits Plateau into the global economy.

The mining operation required not only a market, but capital investment. As the saying goes, “it takes a mine to run a mine.” It was Salt Lake City money that allowed the operation to function. Grand Gulch reopened in 1899, “when Mrs. M. V. Mitchell, formerly of Montana and now of [Salt Lake City], took a bond on the property and operations were begun anew.”⁸⁹ Soon thereafter, one visitor declared it “one of the biggest bonanzas out of doors.”⁹⁰ The Jennings family continued its financial interest in the company as well and T. W. Jennings was manager for three years after mining resumed. In 1902, however, he resigned as president and manager when his fellow investors questioned “the economy of his administration.”⁹¹ From 1902 until 1917, the mine was managed primarily by W. P. Jennings. Around 1906, another investor appeared: William H. McIntyre purchased a large interest in the mine.⁹² Newspaper reports from 1910 listed the principal investors as the Jennings, William H. McIntyre, the Romneys, and the Cutlers.⁹³

From 1899 to 1917, the mine was apparently quite productive. In 1901, the mine reportedly had “three to five tons of immensely rich ore coming to the

⁸⁸ Nye, 178.

⁸⁹ “Good from Grand Gulch,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 7, 1899; “Grand Gulch Shipment,” *Salt Lake Herald*, May 11, 1900.

⁹⁰ “Savanic and Grand Gulch,” *Salt Lake Herald*, February 9, 1901.

⁹¹ “Pulls Out of Grand Gulch,” *Salt Lake Herald*, February 8, 1902.

⁹² “General Items,” *Salt Lake Mining Review*, May 30, 1906.

⁹³ “Grand Gulch Resumes Shipping High-Grade,” *Salt Lake Herald*, June 24, 1910.

surface every day.”⁹⁴ Given the transportation difficulties only the richest ore was shipped in these early years. Shipments from 1900 to 1902 often tested around 48% or 49% copper.⁹⁵ In freighting ore to Modena, teams first travelled north to St. George. In January 1900, for instance, the paper reported that “[e]ight teams left here [St. George] today for Modena with Grand Gulch ore, most of them being six and four horse outfits.”⁹⁶ Unsatisfied with this arrangement, mine managers considered shipping to the south instead. In 1900, plans were underway to build a new road. “A new road from the mine down to the Grand wash, through what is known as Pigeon Wash, was selected under the direction of Mr. [Thomas W.] Jennings. Future ore shipments will come out that way.”⁹⁷ This plan never came to fruition. The mine did, however, take advantage of the railhead moving closer and closer.

By 1905, the mine was shipping to the railhead at Moapa, Nevada, only 70 miles away.⁹⁸ Improved transportation allowed them to ship lesser grade ore. In 1910, for instance, the mine was shipping 50 tons of high-grade ore around 35% copper monthly.⁹⁹ Yet the *Salt Lake Herald* still lamented in 1910 that “the Grand Gulch people are handicapped by the long distance of the mine from railroad.”¹⁰⁰ The paper reported in 1910, “On account of the expense of a 70-mile

⁹⁴ “Savanic and Grand Gulch,” *Salt Lake Herald*, February 9, 1901.

⁹⁵ “Mining Notes,” *Deseret News*, January 3, 1900; *Salt Lake Mining Review*, February 28, 1902; *Salt Lake Mining Review*, November 15, 1902.

⁹⁶ “In Southern Utah,” *Deseret News*, January 1, 1900.

⁹⁷ “Back from Grand Gulch,” *Salt Lake Herald*, March 14, 1900.

⁹⁸ “Grand Gulch Still Shipping,” *Washington County News*, March 26, 1908; “Grand Gulch Shipping to Salt Lake Smelters,” October 26, 1908; “Grand Gulch Resumes Shipping High-Grade,” *Salt Lake Herald*, June 24, 1910.

⁹⁹ “Grand Gulch Mine Shipping Rich Ores,” *Washington County News*, June 30, 1910; “Grand Gulch Mine Ships \$10,000 Ore,” *Salt Lake Herald*, November 12, 1910.

¹⁰⁰ “Grand Gulch Resumes Shipping High-Grade,” *Salt Lake Herald*, June 24, 1910.

wagon haul, over 400 miles railroad haul, and the present low price of copper, ore running less than 20 to 25 per cent copper is not shipped.”¹⁰¹

The 1912 extension of the railhead to St. Thomas, Nevada, about forty-five miles away, shortened the route even further. As W. P. Jennings noted, “The freighting of ore to the railroad is done mostly by the farmers from the adjacent settlements.”¹⁰² For instance, Jim Bundy remembered that he and his father would haul ore for the Grand Gulch mine. The trip from Grand Gulch to St. Thomas took them a week out and back. They used a wagon with a trailer pulled by four or five horses. One of their wagons was a three-and-a-half ton Studebaker.¹⁰³ For part of this time, the mine used a “a large 37-horse power traction engine with a hauling capacity of six tons,” which reportedly made the trip from the mine to St. Thomas much faster than horses could.¹⁰⁴

The mine was, in effect, a small community, mostly of men, but with a few women cooks as well. Payrolls reveal the variety of jobs at the mine. In July 1907, thirty-four men and two women worked at the mine. The payroll lists an engineer, a timberman, a blacksmith, two teamsters, sixteen miners, three muckers, two windlassmen, two cooks, six ore sorters, one shoveler, and one topsanman[?].¹⁰⁵ A series of superintendents managed the mine: Ike Jennings in 1900, John A. Larson and later a Mr. Anderson in 1901, J. P. Rohlfing in 1902, and James Earle in 1906. At least from 1907 to 1918, the superintendent was S.

¹⁰¹ “Returns from Grand Gulch Mining Co.,” *Deseret Evening News*, June 23, 1910.

¹⁰² Jennings, “Grand Gulch Copper Mine,” 269.

¹⁰³ Jim and Chloe Bundy, interviewed by Wally Mathis, March 17, 1970, Utah State Historical Society.

¹⁰⁴ “Grand Gulch Mine in More Rich Ore,” *Washington County News*, May 22, 1913.

¹⁰⁵ Grand Gulch payroll, July 1907, original in possession of Gordon Chappell, copy held at Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

R. Calloway.¹⁰⁶ Newspapers and payroll records show the fluctuating size of the workforce: fourteen workers in February 1900, twenty-five in September 1901, but forty-four in December of that year, thirteen in March 1906, thirty-six in 1907, fifteen to twenty in 1908, fourteen in 1910, and up to sixty in 1917.¹⁰⁷

While the mine had used on-site smelters successfully in the 1870s and 1880s, when the owners resumed operations around 1900 they apparently simply shipped out ore. Still much heavy equipment was needed even without a smelter. In 1901, Jennings sent a “22 horse power gasoline hoist . . . of the Fairbanks-Morse pattern” to the mine, replacing the earlier “Buffalo whim.”¹⁰⁸ That same year, the mine installed a “gallows frame that would do credit to any of the big mines” over the shaft.¹⁰⁹ In 1901 and 1902, different managers talked of building smelters either at the mine or their water source, Pigeon Spring, apparently never doing so.¹¹⁰ By 1908, the mine was “equipped with a fine hoisting plant, a 25-

¹⁰⁶ “Rich Strike in Grand Gulch,” *Deseret News*, December 17, 1900; “Savanic and Grand Gulch,” *Salt Lake Herald*, September 21, 1901; “Grand Gulch Strikes,” *Salt Lake Herald*, October 13, 1901; “With Engineers and Millmen,” *Salt Lake Mining Review*, April 15, 1902; March 1906 payroll, original in possession of Gordon Chappell, copy held at Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument; “The Grand Gulch Mine,” *Salt Lake Mining Review*, January 15, 1911; “Grand Gulch Dividend,” *Salt Lake Mining Review*, September 15, 1917; July 1907 payroll, original in possession of Gordon Chappell, copy held at Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument; Preston Nutter diary, May 25, 1918, box 1, book 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

¹⁰⁷ “Southern Copper Mines,” *Deseret News*, February 14, 1900; “Savanic and Grand Gulch,” September 21, 1901, *Salt Lake Herald*; December 1901 payroll, Grand Gulch file, held at Mohave Museum of History and Arts; Grand Gulch payroll, March 1906, original in possession of Gordon Chappell, copy held at Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument; Grand Gulch payroll, July 1907, original in possession of Gordon Chappell, copy held at Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument; “Grand Gulch shipping to Salt Lake smelters,” *Salt Lake Herald*, October 26, 1908; “Grand Gulch Mine Shipping Rich Ores,” *Washington County News*, June 30, 1910; “Grand Gulch Camp being cleaned up,” *Washington County News*, August 9, 1917.

¹⁰⁸ “Plant for Grand Gulch,” *Deseret Evening News*, July 7, 1901; “Savanic and Grand Gulch,” *Salt Lake Herald*, July 31, 1901.

¹⁰⁹ “Savanic and Grand Gulch,” *Salt Lake Herald*, September 21, 1901.

¹¹⁰ “Grand Gulch Strikes,” *Salt Lake Herald*, October 13, 1901; “Grand Gulch Strike,” *Salt Lake Herald*, November 20, 1902.

horsepower Fairbanks-Morse gasoline engine, air compressor and drills."¹¹¹

Although the mine did not have an operating smelter, it did a great deal of sorting to assure only the highest quality ore was shipped out. Six of the thirty-six employees in 1906 were ore sorters. Much of the machinery still on site today relates to that task.¹¹²

A number of buildings stand today to attest to the large community that once lived here. The site has the ruins of what appear to be office buildings, bunk houses, a water-storage house, and an explosives-storage building. Mohave county tax rolls and other records provide only the most basic information on these structures, as the following survey of selected years reveal. In 1876, the mine had "houses & water improvements" worth four hundred dollars. By 1878, Woolley, Lund & Co. had opened "a commodious Store at [Grand Gulch mine] where they will keep a large stock of Dry Goods, Groceries, and Miners' supplies constantly on hand."¹¹³ In 1885, the mine had buildings worth five hundred dollars. A 1902 article provides a detailed description of a mine "nicely equipped with a gasoline hoist, comfortable office buildings, carpenter, blacksmith and machine shops, and during the past year has added eight claims to the group, besides locating a smelter site at a spring about six miles this side of the mine."¹¹⁴ In 1925, the assessor noted the mine had "Boarding-Bunk & Engine House[s]" worth five hundred dollars. None of these buildings were built for the ages and

¹¹¹ "Dips, Spurs and Angles," *Salt Lake Mining Review*, October 15, 1908.

¹¹² Granch Gulch payroll, July 1907, original in possession of Gordon Chappell, copies held at Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

¹¹³ "Grand Gulch Mine," *St. George Union*, June 14, 1878; *Deseret News*, July 3, 1878.

¹¹⁴ "Pulls out of Grand Gulch," *Salt Lake Herald*, February 8, 1902. In 1905, the mine had buildings worth six hundred dollars. In 1908, an article called the buildings at the mine as "of a most substantial nature." ("Dips, Spurs and Angles," *Salt Lake Mining Review*, October 15, 1908). In 1915, the assessor simply noted they had improvements of all sorts worth a thousand dollars.

were likely incrementally replaced, added on to, or repaired as they became dilapidated. So, no exact chronology can be established.

The mine fit not only into region and national economies, but provided a market for beef and lumber from Parashant. The mine made use of lumber from Parashant in its early days of operation.¹¹⁵ In July 1907, for instance, it bought lumber from Thomas Gardner, beef from Wallace Mathis, John Sturzenegger, and John Pymm, and a horse from Heber Barron.¹¹⁶

In its most productive years, around 1916, the mine was shipping 300 tons a month with grades often testing around 35% copper.¹¹⁷ In 1917, the mine was shipping high-grade ore 30-36% and second-grade ore 15-25%.¹¹⁸ Production ended in 1917 or 1918, when as Billingsley notes, "Bert Snow, accidentally set fire to the mine shaft. . . . The fire spread to the underground timbers, finally burning out the mine."¹¹⁹ The mine was forced to liquidate its assets, while maintaining a skeleton staff on site. Preston Nutter stopped by the mine on February 22, 1919, on his way from Hidden Springs to St. Thomas. He noted that "Mr Callaway Pres Lamb and Mockun[?] Pymm and their lady cook were there" and bought "a bill of goods" that the now defunct mine no longer needed.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ "Funeral Services held in Los Angeles for Thomas H. Gardner," *Washington County News*, February 1, 1940.

¹¹⁶ Receipts from 1907, originals in possession of Gordon Chappell, copies held at Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

¹¹⁷ "Grand Gulch reduces capital," *Salt Lake Mining Review*, July 30, 1916; "Grand Gulch pays dividend," *Salt Lake Mining Review*, September 15, 1916.

¹¹⁸ "Grand Gulch Dividend," *Salt Lake Mining Review*, September 15, 1917.

¹¹⁹ Billingsley, *Quest for the Pillar of Gold*, 25.

¹²⁰ Preston Nutter diary, February 22, 1919, box 1, Book 2, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

Copper Mountain Mine

Investors took a renewed interest in the Copper Mountain mine in the early twentieth century as well. The capital came at first from southern Utah. G. W. Johnson, John Swapp, and Heber Marshall were the owners in 1899.¹²¹ Johnson was a merchant affiliated with the firm of White and Johnson in Tropic, Utah (roughly 90 miles northeast of St. George). Swapp and Marshall also lived near Tropic, Swapp described as a day laborer and Marshall as a peddler in the 1900 census.¹²² Around March 1900, the owners shipped two hundred pounds of ore to Denver where it was assayed as 65% copper with eighteen dollars of silver to the ton. The mine was reportedly shipping ore to St. George in 1900 with Nick Reynolds running the operation.¹²³

Although the Copper Mountain Mine dated back to the 1870s, an 1899 article in the *Panguitch Progress* inexplicably discussed the mine as a new discovery.¹²⁴ It said Johnson, Swapp, and Marshall had discovered ore near the surface and followed the vein underground where it grew in size to about five or six feet in places. By contrast, the *Salt Lake Mining Review* in 1901 referred to Copper Mountain as an “old producer of note.”¹²⁵ Since the evidence suggests

¹²¹ “Copper Mountain Mine,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 7, 1899 [reprint from *Panguitch Progress*]

¹²² In the 1900 census, George W. Johnson is described as a 33-year-old merchant, husband, and father of five living in Coyote Precinct (near Tropic), the son of Illinois- and English-born parents. John A. Swapp is listed as 45-year-old Scottish-American day laborer and father of nine, and Heber S. Marshall as a 42-year-old peddler (son of Irish and English immigrants) and father of six (both living in Tropic).

¹²³ *Deseret News*, March 23, 1900; The 1900 census lists Enoch Reynolds as a 53-year-old husband and father of ten living in Tropic engaged in the mining business.

¹²⁴ “Copper Mountain Mine” *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 7, 1899 [reprint from *Panguitch Progress*]

¹²⁵ *Salt Lake Mining Review*, March 30, 1901.

both articles refer to the same mine, the reason for the erroneous claim it was a new discovery is not entirely clear.

Ownership shifted to Salt Lake City interests in 1901. At the Mohave County courthouse, investors filed papers that year. The company had a capitalization of a million dollars and listed as officers and directors: “C. D. White, president, J. B. Letcher, vice-president; B. T. McMasters, secretary, R. G. Smith, treasurer, E. D. Miller, A. T. Sanford, T. A. Helm, and J. LeGrande.”¹²⁶ While C. D. White was from Beaver City, Jerrod R. Letcher is listed in the 1900 census as court clerk in Salt Lake City. And Miss B. T. McMasters, who was described variously as living in Chicago or New York and as “well-known” in Salt Lake City, soon emerged as the most prominent owner. She was listed as secretary-treasurer on the initial filing in 1901, was the principal contact for the mine in 1907, and was described as the owner from 1915 to 1917, when she made several visits to inspect the mine. Swapp, however, continued to have a role with the mine as well. He was described as an owner in 1911 and 1914.¹²⁷

The mining operations were extensive in the early years of the century, although the work force had dropped to three by 1907. A newspaper provided the following description in 1907: “Office: care of B. T. McMasters, secretary and treasurer, First National Bank Bldg, Chicago, Ills. Organized Jan. 25, 1901, under laws of Utah, with capitalization \$1,000,000, shares \$1 par. Lands 6 claims, area 120 acres, in process of patenting, 25 miles from a railroad, in the Copper Mountain district of Mohave county, Arizona, developed by 4 shafts, deepest

¹²⁶ *Salt Lake Mining Review* February 15, 1901.

¹²⁷ James M. Hill, “The Grand Gulch Mining Region, Mohave County, Arizona,” *USGS Bulletin*, no. 580, (1913): 56; *Washington County News*, December 14, 1911.

200', and a tunnel of 183' with a total circa, 1,500' of underground openings, showing 5 veins of 3" to 30' width, carrying oxide and carbonate ores, with a little chalcocite, giving good assays in copper, with gold values of \$1.20 to \$8.90 per ton. Employs 3 men and plans increasing force."¹²⁸

The mine was sustained through the labor of men and women who ventured out to the remote location to dig in the earth, process the ore, cook food, and do laundry. The mine was superintended by T. A. Helm for a time after it was re-established.¹²⁹ By the end of March 1901, workers had found two new veins at Copper Mountain adding to the two discovered previously.¹³⁰ By April of 1901, Helm was employing twelve workers at the mine. The mine produced both red oxides and copper carbonates. It had plans to install a furnace in 1901.¹³¹

Brigham P. Wulfensten of St. George, the son of Scandinavian immigrants, worked the mining operation at least from 1913 to 1917, becoming superintendent by 1915.¹³² His wife Magdalena Wulfensten regularly came from St. George to the mine as well, as did their children. His work also had him escorting Miss McMasters to the mine, and travelling to Salt Lake City to meet with investors. The mine provided work for many young men and women in the region. Papers referred to twenty-five different workers from the following towns working at "Copper Mountain" in the mid-1910s: Washington, St. George, Leeds, and Bloomington, in Utah, as well as Mesquite and Overton in Nevada. It should

¹²⁸ Horace Jared Stevens and Walter Harvey Weed, *The Copper Handbook* ([n.p.]: Horace J. Stevens, 1907), 324.

¹²⁹ *Salt Lake Mining Review*, March 30, 1901; *Salt Lake Mining Review* April 30, 1901.

¹³⁰ *Salt Lake Mining Review*, March 30, 1901.

¹³¹ *Salt Lake Mining Review* April 30, 1901.

¹³² *Salt Lake Mining Review*, July 15, 1915; *Salt Lake Mining Review*, August 30, 1917.

Wulfensten was born around 1869 in Utah to parents who had immigrated from Scandinavia. By 1910, he was married with five children and working as a farmer.

be noted, however, that some of these may refer to a similarly named mine in Beaver County, Utah.¹³³ Abraham Bundy worked for a time freighting for the mine.¹³⁴

Local residents such as “Pat” Bundy, Reed Mathis, and Laura Gentry remembered Miss McMasters from her visits to inspect the mine each summer in the years around 1917. She would arrive in St. Thomas, hire a surrey to take her to the head of Andrus Canyon, then rent horses from Wally Mathis, Sr.¹³⁵

Harry Howell recalled packing out of Copper Mountain in the following terms:

The road going to Copper Mountain went by way of Pakoon and passed another cow camp called Hidden Father along the trail. Copper Mountain was a good deal further from the railroad than the other mining properties. It took freighters a week longer to make the trip hauling ore from this property.

The road going to Copper Mountain came up on top of the mountain a good deal farther north than the Grand Gulch Trail. The Copper Mountain Mine was down in a deep rugged canyon and the ore was packed out on burros for seven miles to where it was loaded on the freight wagons. At times there was two or three hundred burros in the pack train. It was quite a sight to see them strung out on the trail. The ore from this property was very high grade, as nothing but the best of ore could be shipped hauling it from that distance.¹³⁶

¹³³ From 1913 to 1917 the *Washington County News* listed the following workers going to or returning from Copper Mountain:

- To or from St. George, Utah: Tom Hewit, Ed Schmutz, Chas Mayer, Oliver Stratton, John Duncan, Frank McMullin, Louise Fawcett, Marvel Wulfensten, Robert Worthen, Douglas Lisenbe, Thos. Marlow, Frank Gates, Miner Prisbrey, Vernon Worther, Vernon Church, and Joseph Maloney.
- To or from Washington, Utah: Lot Alexander, Levi Nelson, Peter Neilson, Sr., H. W. Prisbrey,
- To or from Leeds, Utah: George Olson, Mark Miller, Antone Olson.
- To or from Bloomington, Utah: Reuben Larson.
- To or from Mesquite, Nevada: Eugene Barnum.

¹³⁴ Belshaw and Peplow, 2:9.

¹³⁵ Belshaw and Peplow, 2:8.

¹³⁶ Harry E. W. Howell, *Expression of Harry Howell* [private printing], quoted in Belshaw, 2:9.

The mine depended not only on the hard work of men and women in the remote site on Andrus Canyon, it also required owners to search for capital as far away as San Francisco and New York to keep the venture going. In 1902, McMasters headed east on mining business.¹³⁷ The following year, word was afoot of a pending deal to fund exploration at the mine.¹³⁸ In 1905, “Dr. P. A. Franklin, heading a party of capitalists including Robert Devaar and W. Martin Jones of Rochester, New York, E. B. Mitchell, Harrisburg, J. R. Howell, San Francisco, and Miss McMasters, Salt Lake City, passed through [Salt Lake City] en route, via St. George, to the Copper Mountain mine.”¹³⁹ In 1908, S. L. F. McDermott visited the mine to inspect it for an eastern company.¹⁴⁰ In 1911, Swapp brought “S. L. Pearce, a mining engineer of the firm of Pearce and Pearce of Alamos, Mexico, and Los Angeles, Cal.” to Copper Mountain mine where he made a “careful inspection . . . for what purpose the gentleman does not care to state.”¹⁴¹ In 1912, Swapp brought two other potential investors from Los Angeles.¹⁴² By 1913, the paper reported the mine had been leased to Whitehead Brothers, represented by Bishop William Whitehead of Overton, Nevada.¹⁴³

The details of financial arrangements are not clear from these descriptions. It seems that the mine was profitable; but required a better transportation link to realize its full potential. For a time, locals hoped that a new railroad extension could make it easy to get ore out of Copper Mountain as well as the other mines

¹³⁷ *Salt Lake Mining Review*, February 28, 1902.

¹³⁸ *Salt Lake Mining Review*, February 28, 1903.

¹³⁹ “Dr. Franklin for Arizona,” *Salt Lake Herald*, May 12, 1905.

¹⁴⁰ *Washington County News*, May 7, 1908.

¹⁴¹ *Washington County News*, December 14, 1911.

¹⁴² *Washington County News*, May 9, 1912.

¹⁴³ *Washington County News*, March 27, 1913.

in the region – Cunningham, Savanic, and Grand Gulch. In 1910, mines were reportedly stockpiling ore in hopes a railroad would soon pass within sixteen miles of all four mines. But such a line never materialized.¹⁴⁴ Both the Grand Gulch and Copper Mountain appear to have ceased operations in the late 1910s, a time when prices and production declined generally.¹⁴⁵

Dixie National Forest

In the early twentieth century, the United States entered a new era of federal land policy. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the federal government had focused on extinguishing Indian rights to land through military action and treaties, and on distributing land to white settlers.¹⁴⁶ In the early twentieth century, however, the process of distribution slowed and the federal government took on a role in conserving resources. Land frauds perpetrated using the Timber and Stone Act and the efforts of foresters such as Franklin B. Hough and Nathaniel H. Egleston to involve the government in the conservation of forest resources eventually prodded Congress to act.¹⁴⁷ In 1891, Congress passed the Forest Reserve Act and in 1897 the Forest Management Act, establishing the framework for the federal government to set aside forest reserves,

¹⁴⁴ *Salt Lake Mining Review*, December 15, 1910; “Copper Mountain is Rich,” *Washington County News*, March 26, 1908 (reprint from *Kingman Miner*) also discusses hopes for a railroad.

¹⁴⁵ Hyde, 82; Christopher Schmitz, “The Rise of Big Business in the World Copper Industry 1870-1930,” *Economic History Review* 39:3 (August 1986): 409.

¹⁴⁶ White, “*It’s Your Misfortune*,” 143-54.

¹⁴⁷ Gerald W. Williams, *The USDA Forest Service: The First Century* (Washington: USDA Forest Service, 2000), 9-26.

managed initially by the Department of the Interior.¹⁴⁸ President Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot assured the transfer of the forest reserves to the Department of Agriculture in 1905. In that year, the USDA's small Bureau of Forestry became the Forest Service and took on the role of managing these newly transferred forest reserves.¹⁴⁹ Roosevelt and Pinchot also set about establishing a great number of additional forest reserves, changing their names from forest reserves to national forests in 1907. Inspired by progressive-era ideals of efficient management and conservation for use, foresters took on the task of managing grazing and logging on these federal lands.¹⁵⁰

President Theodore Roosevelt created Dixie Forest Reserve by presidential proclamation on September 25, 1905, with 465,920 acres.¹⁵¹ In 1907, the name was changed to Dixie National Forest. Plans emerged in 1908 to add the Parashant and Mount Trumbull districts to Dixie National Forest. According to John Pymm, those promoting the extension hoped to be able to exploit the area's timber.¹⁵² St. George business people apparently felt it would be easier for Utah companies to exploit the Arizona timber, if it was on federal property. The St. George Commercial Club, among others, was preparing to "impress on our senators and representatives in congress the importance of this reserve to the

¹⁴⁸ Harold K. Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service: A History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), 26-28. The act that became known as the Forest Reserve Act passed as a rider to a bill reforming a series of land laws (26 Stat. 1095, March 23, 1891).

¹⁴⁹ Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 63; Steen, 74.

¹⁵⁰ Hays, 2.

¹⁵¹ Dixie National Forest, "The Dixie National Forest: Managing an Alpine Forest in an Arid Setting" (Cedar City: Dixie National Forest, 1987), 62. "Dixie National Forest" [history], box 1, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

¹⁵² Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, January 2, 1908, box 25, folder 9, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

people of this county.”¹⁵³ Others, like John Pymm, opposed the extension. He wrote his boss, Preston Nutter, saying, “I think that is going to be a bad thing for us. can they take anny of our springs from us.”¹⁵⁴ Nonetheless, these districts were added to the forest by proclamation on May 22, 1908.¹⁵⁵ Soon after the new areas were added, supervisor Charles G. Y. Higgins, Forest Inspector W. W. Clark and Willard Sorensen set out to assess the new districts.¹⁵⁶

Dixie National Forest managed large portions of the Shivwits Plateau and the area around Mount Trumbull from 1908 to 1916, along with its much larger lands in Utah. In 1916, the Forest Service greatly reduced the Arizona areas managed by Dixie to a small portion around Mount Trumbull (see figures 2-4). The following men were supervisors of the Dixie National Forest while it administered the Arizona divisions: Charles G. Y. Higgins from December 1906 to June 1908, Columbus I. Huddle from July 1908 to February 1909, James E. Jewell from February 1909 to May 1910, John Raphael from May 1910 to May 1916, and William Mace from July 1916 to February 1926.¹⁵⁷ In 1924, the Mount Trumbull district was transferred to the Kaibab National Forest, where it remained until the 1974 when it was transferred to the BLM Arizona Strip District.¹⁵⁸

Government science shaped forest management, as it had shaped Powell’s expedition. The Forest Service had an ethic of conservation for the highest use.

¹⁵³ “Forest Reserve Main Question,” *Washington County News*, May 28, 1908.

¹⁵⁴ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, February 1908, box 25, folder 9, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

¹⁵⁵ “New Forest Reserve,” *Washington County News*, May 28, 1908.

¹⁵⁶ “New Forest Reserve,” *Washington County News*, May 28, 1908.

¹⁵⁷ “History of the areas now known as the Dixie National Forest. . . ” 1953, box 2, folder 80, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

¹⁵⁸ Bureau of Land Management, “Wilderness Management Plan: Mt. Trumbull-Logan Wilderness” (St. George: BLM Arizona Strip District, 1989), 4.

Key to their management philosophy was careful categorization of the trees that the forest contained. These efforts relied on the scientific methods developed by foresters such as Henry Solon Graves. For instance, the Dixie National Forest sent a newsletter out to its rangers in March 1911 detailing how to engage in the “selection system” which had the goal of maximizing yield by cutting only the mature trees that were not growing rapidly by dividing a stand into age classes. To prepare for the year’s harvests, foresters used their stamping ax to chop off the bark at breast height and then stamp the tree “U.S.” Preferably, they would mark trees in winter so as not to interfere with other work and to leave clear footprints in snow that testified that trees had been examined and deliberately left unmarked. They also sought to maximize the area’s productivity for livestock grazing by poisoning coyotes.¹⁵⁹

Forest management undertook a series of surveys of these new districts. In 1909, the Forest Service prepared a “Report on the Trumbull Addition to the Dixie National Forest.” It noted “a series of foothills covered with a dense growth of stunted cedar and pinon” rising from the Toroweap Valley to Mount Trumbull, describing the mountain itself as covered with yellow pine and making note of the fire that swept through the area around 1890.¹⁶⁰ In September and October 1909, Angus Woodbury engaged in a survey of the Arizona divisions.¹⁶¹ Ranger Martin L. McAllister made a sketch map of the Parashant and Mount

¹⁵⁹ *Dixie Patrolman*, February and March 1911, box 9, folder 517, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

¹⁶⁰ “D.F.S.” “Report on Trumbull Addition to Dixie National Forest,” February 4, 1909, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

¹⁶¹ *Diary*, Angus Woodbury papers, University of Utah.

Trumbull districts around 1910, when he also worked posting the forestry boundaries around these areas.¹⁶²

McAllister prepared reports on Parashant and Trumbull in 1911.¹⁶³ He described the Parashant district as generally covered with pinyon pine and juniper. The “only saw timber” in the district was “22,077,440 ft. of Yellow Pine.”¹⁶⁴ In the Trumbull area, he described the upland portions of the district as covered with juniper, pinyon pine and western yellow pine. The pinyon, he described as, “the finest for this class of timber the writer has ever seen.” He estimated 66,001,920 board feet of yellow pine in the Trumbull district. In 1914, A. C. McCain laid out plans to administer the cutting of timber in the Mount Trumbull area.¹⁶⁵ He proposed that the area could be managed “without much expense,” by dividing the area into blocks marked off at the time they were surveyed. Once operators had purchased the blocks, the area could be managed by “a Ranger visiting the area for a day perhaps not oftener than two to six times a year.”¹⁶⁶

Sawmills

The forest also managed lumber going to two sawmills at Mount Trumbull and one at Parashant in this era. In 1913, two new sawmills were installed at Mount Trumbull – one operated by the Blake Brothers and one operated by John

¹⁶² Memorandum for Forest Supervisor, dated November 8, 1940, box 2, folder 67, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

¹⁶³ McAllister, “Report on Arizona Division.”

¹⁶⁴ McAllister, “Report on Arizona Division.”

¹⁶⁵ Letter from A. C. McCain to E. A. Sherman, dated December 21, 1914, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

¹⁶⁶ Letter from A. C. McCain to E. A. Sherman, dated December 21, 1914, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

H. and Walter Stout.¹⁶⁷ The Forest Service hoped to implement more scientific practices in these harvests. Martin L. McAllister noted that much of the timber cut in the nineteenth century was wasted: “In many instances only the butt cut was taken and the balance of the tree left, without lopping the tops.” He recommended further logging operations make better use of the lumber.¹⁶⁸ At Parashant, A. C. McCain complained that the “Gardner mill on Parashaunt is an old worn out affair,” largely beyond repair.¹⁶⁹ The timber on Parashant did not match that at Trumbull in McCain’s opinion being “badly scattered and of an inferior type or grade.” He was of the opinion that the inferior timber did not justify keeping the area within the forest. He noted, however, that St. George cattlemen might want the area to remain under federal jurisdiction to assure their access and might “use the existence of timber out there and of the old mill as an excuse to prevent the elimination.”¹⁷⁰

Managing Ranching Operations

In addition to managing lumber use, the forest rangers assessed ranchers’ operations and gave them instructions on numbers of stock, salting, water improvements, and fencing. The Forest Service worked in collaboration with local stock organizations in these efforts. The Virgin River Stock association included a number of prominent stockmen associated with Parashant and Mount

¹⁶⁷ Memorandum for Forest Supervisor, dated November 8, 1940, box 2, folder 67, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University; Letter from A. C. McCain to E. A. Sherman, dated December 21, 1914, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

¹⁶⁸ McAllister, “Report on Arizona Division.”

¹⁶⁹ Letter from A. C. McCain to E. A. Sherman, dated December 21, 1914, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

¹⁷⁰ Letter from A. C. McCain to E. A. Sherman, dated December 21, 1914, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

Trumbull as members, including James Andrus, C. F. Foster, Albert Foremaster, and H. T. Atkin.¹⁷¹ At their March 1908 meeting, reportedly, Dixie National Forest “Forest Supervisor C. G. Y. Higgins attended and gave the association information relative to grazing on national reserves, etc.”¹⁷² Although the article makes no reference to Parashant and Mount Trumbull, these two districts were added to the forest two months later and may well have been discussed at the meeting. The “Mount Trumbull and Parishont Cattlemen’s Association” was formed in February 1909, with Henry T. Atkin as president, Charles F. Foster as vice president, and W. B. Mathis as secretary.¹⁷³

In 1909, the Forest Service assessed grazing operations on the Mount Trumbull addition and was highly critical of what it saw: “The evil effects of overgrazing and misusing the range are vividly illustrated by the numerous skeletons of cattle and horses found at or near antelope and clay hole springs.” The report noted that sheep caused substantial damage in the area, “working a dire hardship on the cattlemen.”¹⁷⁴ In 1911, McAllister provided another assessment of grazing near Mount Trumbull.¹⁷⁵ That year, there were “3193 head of cattle and 133 head of horses” grazing in the Mount Trumbull district under thirteen different permittees. The largest permit holder was A. D. Finley holding a permit

¹⁷¹ “Stock Men’s Convention,” *Washington County News*, March 12, 1908. Present at the meeting were James Andrus, C. F. Foster, John Hafen, David Hirschi[?], Reuben Gardner. The following officers were elected: James Andrus, president, David Hirschi, vice-president, David H. Morris, secretary-treasurer, and Reuben Gardner, Thomas Reeve, Ed. R. Frei, and Albert Foremaster, as directors. The group’s executive committee included: C. F. Foster, John Hafen, Roy S. Harris, H. T. Atkin, Geo. F. Whitehead, and J. F. Gates.

¹⁷² “Stock Men’s Convention,” *Washington County News*, March 12, 1908.

¹⁷³ Memorandum for Forest Supervisor, dated November 8, 1940, box 2, folder 67, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

¹⁷⁴ “D.F.S.,” “Report on Trumbull Addition to Dixie National Forest,” February 4, 1909, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

¹⁷⁵ McAllister, “Report on Arizona Division.”

for 1000 head.¹⁷⁶ McAllister said of the area: “As the permanent water is situated on the mountain and within a small radius it is impracticable at present to divide the range into individual allotments and accordingly the stock is allowed to roam over the entire range.” At roundup time, the cowboys drove the cattle into corrals and branded them, typically in May or June. He noted that the stock had overgrazed the mountain badly. McAllister said, “The stockmen interested in this addition would prefer that it remain under Forest supervision and that an addition be made on the east to include Toroweap Valley.” The cattlemen feared that sheepmen would move into the area, if it was not controlled by the Forest Service. McAllister called for more piping of springs off Mount Trumbull to open other grazing areas.

McAllister also assessed Parashant in 1911, noting: “There are at present 4166 head of cattle and 138 head of horses, a total of 4304 head of stock, grazing [in the Parashant district], mostly on an ‘off and on’ permit basis” with a total of eleven permittees.¹⁷⁷ He reported it was “exceedingly difficult to get owners to work with their stock” and predicted “considerable opposition” to managing the area strictly according to Forest Service regulations.

He described the northern parts of the district as “by far a better grazing country,” while the southern areas were “a large tract of brushland, and grassland mixed with it” that generally lacked water. McAllister felt the cattlemen had shown little interest in the area and that it was important for the Forest Service to take over all the water sources not claimed and improve them to put them “to their

¹⁷⁶ McAllister, “Report on Arizona Division.”

¹⁷⁷ McAllister, “Report on Arizona Division.”

highest use.” In line with this, he suggested a dam at Oak Grove, improved trails to Green Springs, cement tanks at Moe Spring and Tincannibuts Spring, and at Oak Spring and Yellow John Spring, and a cement dam and pumps at Penn’s Pocket. He suggested other improvements as well: new drift fences, road repairs, and a telephone line. He recommended extending the boundaries of the district north “to the turn of the Pahshaunt Wash.”

McAllister was especially skeptical of Nutter. Commenting on the dispute between Nutter and the other cattlemen, he noted that Nutter claimed almost all the watering places, but failed to maintain them. He also claimed that Nutter was acquiring many more cattle than the forest limits allowed. “If Mr. Nutter’s claims are allowed, difficulties will arise in an attempt to restrict him in the number of cattle he would graze and in allowing permits to other grazers for stock which must necessarily water at his claims.”¹⁷⁸ For a variety of reasons, McAllister recommended that the area be eliminated from the forest.

As the Forest Service surveyed the area in 1911, it called a meeting: “Of the Mt. Trumbull stockmen the following majority were present: D. H. Morris, James Andrus, George H. Lytle, John Findley, representing A. D. Findley, Hela Seegmiller, Don C. Price, John H. Schmutz, Neils Sandberg, Ephraim Foremaster and C. F. Foster. Of the Pahshaunt stockmen the following minority were present: Thos. H. Gardner, John D. Pymm and Chas. Sullivan, representing Sullivan Bros.”¹⁷⁹ The stockmen wanted the east boundary of the forest extended to regulate grazing in the Toroweap Valley and that it be extended to the north

¹⁷⁸ McAllister, “Report on Arizona Division.”

¹⁷⁹ McAllister, “Report on Arizona Division.”

and west as well. At Parashant, the stockmen wanted the Parashant district extended to the north and west, or an entire elimination of the district. The Parashant sawmill-owner Robert Gardner did not have a strong opinion about continuing the forest, as long as he could keep his mill. However, many felt that they would have trouble using Arizona lumber in Utah, if the lumber was not on federal land.¹⁸⁰

In 1913, the Forest Service held a meeting with stockmen about the awarding of grazing permits. The meeting included seven forest officers and twenty-three stockmen, including James Andrus, Thomas W. Gardner, and Reuben Gardner. T. C. Hoyt reminded the stockmen that grazing was a secondary consideration in national forests, after timber and streams. The hearing addressed particularly the following question: “should the Secretary of Agriculture provide for the grazing of more cattle on the Utah Division of the Dixie National Forest?” The stockmen thought the land could support more cattle than the Forest Service was allowing. Stockmen and forest officers discussed the difficulty in knowing how many cattle they had. Hoyt brought the discussion back to “carrying capacity.” The key measure the stockmen used was the fact that cattle went on the range in poor condition and came off in good condition. However, the participants debated the significance of the cows with calves that came off in poor condition. Hoyt noted that “The Secretary of Agriculture would merely want to

¹⁸⁰ McAllister, “Report on Arizona Division.”

know to what extent he could stock the range and have it continue to be a safe investment.”¹⁸¹

One Forest Service official was highly critical of grazing operations on the Arizona Strip. Homer E. Fenn, chief of grazing for Dixie National Forest, felt that stockowners on the Arizona division were “extremely negligent in the care of their stock,” as he saw no one tending their cattle while he was there. The standard practice, rather, was “to visit the range but twice a year when the spring and fall roundups are made.” The loose management could take a terrible toll on the livestock. “At Ivanpatch Spring, one of the principal watering places, the troughs were completely filled with dead cattle, and many cattle were choking for water.” Fenn claimed that B. F. Saunders had done quite a bit of work improving the springs in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, but that since Preston Nutter took over, little had been done. “[T]he watering facilities on the forest,” he said “are in the last stage of dilapidation.” Not only did this cause the cattle to suffer, it also harmed the range, he said, “since it means improper distribution of the stock.” Cattle apparently congregated around the few available water sources, rather than being more widely distributed at sites that would have had water if properly maintained. The inspector suggested that known water sites should be better developed. Fenn had every confidence in Forest Supervisor Jewell’s ability to work toward this goal; but also suggested that Jewell visit Kaibab National Forest to consult on their water projects.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ Minutes dated January 7, 1913, box 9, folder 526, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

¹⁸² Inspection by Homer E. Fenn, dated July 2, 1909, box 8, folder 468, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

The Forest Service encouraged ranchers to build spring developments and fences to better manage their operations. In 1909, work was underway on a drift fence “along the north boundary of Mt. Trumbull addition from the east rim of Hurricane Wash to the east rim of Toweeep Valley, a distance of approximately 12 miles.” Fenn listed several goals of this new fence. It would prevent unpermitted stock from drifting onto the range. It would keep out wild horses. It would also allow cattle to be grazed all year long and in greater numbers. The deal struck was that the Mt. Trumbull and Parashaunt Cattle Growers’ Association would build the fence, if the Forest Service provided the wire. The estimated cost of the wire shows just how remote a location Mt Trumbull was. The wire would cost five hundred dollars delivered to Modena. The freight from Modena to Mount Trumbull would add three hundred dollars to the cost.¹⁸³

Forest Service Personnel

Mount Trumbull and Parashant were among the most isolated posts on the Dixie National Forest, both about eighty miles from the nearest town (St. George) over very rough roads. In 1909, Homer E. Fenn, chief of grazing for Dixie National Forest, noted the difficulty of hiring rangers at these remote locations.¹⁸⁴ Ranger Angus Woodbury was working at Mount Trumbull and Guard Willard Sorenson was at Parashant, but, Fenn noted, “both are dissatisfied and it is a

¹⁸³ Inspection by Homer E. Fenn, dated July 2, 1909, box 8, folder 468, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

¹⁸⁴ Memorandum for Forest Supervisor, dated November 8, 1940, box 2, folder 67, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

question how long they will remain.”¹⁸⁵ The posts had no telephone service and no regular mail service, requiring rangers to make the arduous trip to St. George to report to their supervisors. Management was made even more difficult at Mount Trumbull by the necessity of hauling hay for the horses along with all the other necessities over the jarring roads.

Born in St. George, on July 11, 1886, Angus Woodbury began working for Dixie National Forest on October 1, 1908, posted initially in Pine Valley, north of St. George.¹⁸⁶ Fenn described Woodbury as a promising young ranger, who with more experience could be “Deputy material” based on “the work he has done in the management of timber sales, and the careful thoughtful manner in which he prepares his reports.”¹⁸⁷ Woodbury’s diary gives some sense of a ranger's life at a remote posting and his encounters with local ranchers. The young ranger married Grace Atkin on January 15, 1909 and on July 9, 1909, the newlyweds moved to the Wild Cat Ranger Station in Parashant. In March of that year, Mit Moody and Willard Sorensen had started work building a “cabin and barn” for the Forest Service at Parashant.¹⁸⁸ The Woodburys arrived to find a ranger station without doors, windows, or furniture, with dead rats in the well and dried-up grass. “Grace was very much disappointed in Wild Cat,” Woodbury wrote. Their first weeks were spent cleaning and finishing the house, with the help of Robert Ashby, and inspecting springs and the sawmill. Later visitors (in 1911 and 1914 respectively)

¹⁸⁵ Inspection Report by H. E. Fenn, dated July 6, 1909, box 8, folder 468, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

¹⁸⁶ Angus Woodbury papers, University of Utah.

¹⁸⁷ Inspection Report by H. E. Fenn, dated July 6, 1909, box 8, folder 468, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

¹⁸⁸ “Improvements on Forest Reserve,” *Washington County News*, March 11, 1909. Helping the two men build the station were: R. G. McQuarrie, Roll Worthen, Alex Macfarlane, Urie Macfarlane, John H. Schmutz and Ed Foster.

would describe the ranger station as “a two-room house, a good barn and corral,” with 400 acres of pasture fenced off and as “a good Station so far as the buildings and improvements are concerned, but the water supply is only from a surface well, and only a little rye hay has been produced.”¹⁸⁹ On July 13, the Woodburys saddled up two horses and travelled east from Green Spring to take in the spectacular view of the Grand Canyon.

Woodbury had to ensure ranchers followed new government regulations and also had to mediate conflicts between ranchers. In late July and early August, for instance, he had long talks with John Pymm and John Sturzenegger, when Pymm accused Sturzenegger of branding too many long-ears (unbranded calves) and selling Nutter’s cattle to the Grand Gulch Mine. On August 2, the ranger wrote John Pymm a letter regarding grazing uses and salting obligations on the newly created forest. As John Pymm later wrote his boss, “the forester sent me some rules to go by. I will send them to you. So you can see what we have got to do about fixing up.”¹⁹⁰ On August 3, the Forest Supervisor Jewell, and A. T. Mitchelson, the Chief of Engineering, come out to inspect the area. The group chased mustangs in Parashant Wash (to what effect he did not say), the first such chase Woodbury was ever on. On the 4th, Woodbury went to the Parashant sawmill to inspect logs for a timber sale. On the 5th, a group including the Woodburys, Jewell, Mitchelson, Willard Sorenson, and Robert Ashby went to Nixon Spring, stopping at Benjamin Blake's ranch on the way. Mitchelson

¹⁸⁹ McAllister, “Report on Arizona Division”; letter from A. C. McCain to E. A. Sherman, December 21, 1914, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

¹⁹⁰ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter dated August 18, 1909, box 25, folder 10, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

determined where to put the Nixon Ranger Station on August 8. The next day Angus and Grace Woodbury went back to Parashant, while the rest of the group returned to St. George.¹⁹¹

On the 10th, Woodbury listened to complaints from Mathis about Gardner's permit to dig a well above Mathis's pond, presumably at Mociac. On the 14th, Woodbury inspected the area Nutter claimed as pasture at Parashant and helped John Pymm survey it. Pymm had talked with Jewell during his visit and learned that Nutter could lease pasture for four cents an acre, but that he could only lease 320 acres. So, Jewell and Pymm agreed that Pymm would lease 320 acres in Nutter's name and 320 in his own name.¹⁹² On August 19, Woodbury travelled to St. George and worked their preparing reports until September 13.

From mid-September to late October, Woodbury worked surveying the boundaries of the Trumbull and Parashant districts. Grace apparently did not accompany him on this trip. He set out from St. George with four horses pulling a wagon of supplies and a team of horses pulling a buckboard. In his work party were Wallace Mathis as teamster and cook, Supervisor Jewell, S. A. "Alex" Macfarlane, and Frederick Blake. On the way to Mount Trumbull, they graded roads while also taking surveying observations. From September 20 to October 14, they ran chains and took points to survey the Mount Trumbull district. In addition, they talked with "cow-punchers" and "some collectors of bugs and botanical specimens," as well as inspecting the lumber that had been brought to

¹⁹¹ Angus Woodbury diaries, box 2, Angus Woodbury papers, University of Utah; "Summary of Dairies of Angus M. Woodbury," folder 64, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

¹⁹² Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, August 18, 1909, box 25, folder 10, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

build the Nixon Ranger Station. They moved camp to Wild Cat on October 15 and began surveying the Parashant district, camping one night with Pymm and his outfit before Pymm headed off with a herd of cattle to Moapa. Working with a slightly different team including Mathis, Elson Morris, Robert Ashby, and Willard Sorenson, Woodbury finishing up his surveying on October 27 and returned to St. George. Woodbury never made it back to Wild Cat before being transferred to the Diamond Valley and Leeds districts of Dixie National Forest on December 1. Woodbury would leave the Forest Service in 1920, eventually obtained his doctorate from the University of California-Berkeley, and become a professor of zoology at the University of Utah. He also developed an interest in the United Order and, in 1934, penned a brief history of the movement.¹⁹³

Willard Sorenson had a longer term association with the Wild Cat Ranger Station and the Parashant District of the Dixie National Forest than Woodbury. He entered the Forest Service in 1908 and by 1911 was an assistant forest ranger with a salary of \$1,100. Of Sorenson, Fenn said “from what I learned I believe he is a hard working conscientious man, trying to do the very best he knows how. He has a great deal of experience in the cattle business, and is well qualified to handle the work on the Parashaunt Division, to which he has been assigned.”¹⁹⁴

In the assessment of forest supervisor John Raphael, Sorenson was conscientious

¹⁹³ Angus M. Woodbury, “The Mormon United Order,” (1934, revised 1954) [available at Utah State Historical Society]; University of Utah Special Collections, “Angus Munn Woodbury Papers: Biographical Sketch” [<http://db3-sql.staff.library.utah.edu/lucene/Manuscripts/null/Ms0176.xml/Bioghist>, accessed April 2009].

¹⁹⁴ Inspection Report by H. E. Fenn, dated July 6, 1909, box 8, folder 468, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

and hard-working, but lacked initiative or the ability to manage others. His limited education made him best suited for remote postings.¹⁹⁵

Sorenson had had extensive experience running cattle in the Parashant area prior to working for the Forest Service. He was born around 1881 in Utah to a Danish immigrant father and Missouri-born mother.¹⁹⁶ Willard, his father Andrew, and Jimmy Sorenson had long run cattle and horses in the Parashant area. Andrew first came into Parashant county, he said, around 1875 and “was a member of the second party of white men to go into that section.”¹⁹⁷ The family ran cattle at Parashant at least as early as 1885. That year, the Mohave County tax rolls credited Andrew Sorenson with the following property on the Arizona Strip: an interest in the Parashant Ranch and one sixth of “Garden and Rattle Snake Springs in hidden spring Canon,” along with twenty head of cattle, twelve horses, and five milk cows. Anthony Ivins reported in 1896 that Sorenson had a one-third interest in Parashant Ranch and its improvements, which included a wind mill, pump, piping, log house, and fencing.¹⁹⁸

The sale from B. F. Saunders to Nutter and the shared interest in Parashant Ranch led to conflicts between the Nutter outfit and the Sorensens. John Pymm made repeated references to the three Sorensens in his letters to his boss, displaying a great deal of suspicion about their motives. In 1898, the Sorensens were complaining that Nutter’s men did not have as large a workforce at

¹⁹⁵ Inspection Report by H. E. Fenn, dated July 6, 1909, box 8, folder 468, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University; 1911 Personnel Report, by John Raphael, box 9, folder 540.

¹⁹⁶ “Andrew Sorenson,” Washington County, Utah, U.S. Census 1880, 1910, and 1920; “Willard Sorenson,” Washington County, Utah, U.S. Census, 1910.

¹⁹⁷ Gery, “Report on Lieu Selections,” 231.

¹⁹⁸ Letter from A. W. Ivins to Preston Nutter, August 20, 1896, box 22, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

Parashant Ranch as Saunders had had to pump water for the horses and cattle. Saunders apparently had always kept two men at Green Spring and two at Oak Grove. Pymm alleged the Sorensens “has been used to having B. F. [Saunders] and [Anthony] Ivins doing his work.” Pymm noted it was not Andrew that complained but “the boys and woomen folks.”¹⁹⁹ In July 1900, Pymm and the Sorensens were arguing about whose cattle should be watering at Parashant Ranch. He said Andrew might be “a little hot,” because Pymm had driven off his cattle, but Pymm said, “I dont care.”²⁰⁰

The conflicts between the Sorensens and Pymm only continued. In 1901, Pymm and the Sorensens were arguing over horses the Sorensens were keeping. According to Pymm, Willard was saying that Pymm “darsent turn their horses out,” but Pymm intended to show them otherwise.²⁰¹ In 1902, Pymm said he thought he should ride with Foremaster and the Sorensens as they gathered cattle, presumably to make sure they did not take any of Nutter’s cattle.²⁰² In Pymm’s opinion, Jimmy had a drinking problem. A drinking party on the ranch that year, for which Jimmy Sorenson provided the wine, led to one man being accidentally and fatally shot.²⁰³ Pymm was somewhat worried about the plan that Jimmy was forming at that time with a few other men of “going in to the uper End of the pasture at Parashaunt and sink A well.” Yet he felt they probably would never get

¹⁹⁹ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, August 2, 1898, John Pymm to Preston Nutter, box 25, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²⁰⁰ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, July 24, 1900, box 25, folder 2, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²⁰¹ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, August 19, 1901, box 25, folder 3, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²⁰² Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, March 24, 1902, box 25, folder 4, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²⁰³ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, [January?] 27, 1902, box 25, folder 4, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

the work done, because “they cant leave the saloon they are drunk every day and night.”²⁰⁴

As with all the other operations, Nutter hoped that the Sorensens would eventually leave Parashant and give Nutter free rein. There was evident disappointment in Pymm’s announcement to Nutter in 1902 that “Sorenson dont intend to leave the country Atall he is buying all the cattle he can get.” Pymm also noted a chill in his relationship with Sorenson: “he never speaks to me now like he used to do.”²⁰⁵

While the Sorensens had frosty relations with the Nutter outfit, they did form alliances with the Foremasters. Pymm noted that in September of 1902, Foremaster and Sorenson had gathered their cattle and taken them to Ivanpats Spring.²⁰⁶ In 1904, Pymm reported that Sorenson had bought an interest in Canyon from Foremaster.²⁰⁷ The 1905 Mohave County tax rolls credited Andrew Sorenson with Twin Springs Ranch and improvements, improvements at Little Wolf Springs, along with three saddle horses, forty stock horses, and twenty stock cattle.

In 1906, Pymm had a scheme to locate forty acres in a way that Sorenson would not know about it.²⁰⁸ In November of 1906, Sorenson had rounded up about a hundred wild horses and Pymm was torn between hoping Sorenson would

²⁰⁴ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, February 3, 1902, box 25, folder 4, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²⁰⁵ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, February 3, 1902, box 25, folder 4, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²⁰⁶ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, September 15, 1902, box 25, folder 4, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²⁰⁷ May 28, [1904?], box 25, folder 5, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²⁰⁸ Letters from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, October 27, 1906 and November 20, 1906, box 25, folder 7, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

continue to round up horses and wishing he would get off the ranch.²⁰⁹ In December of 1906, Sorenson was trying to buy Grass Spring from E. M. Brown; so Pymm went ahead and bought Brown out instead.²¹⁰ In 1908, Pymm felt that Willard Sorenson was responsible for a higher tax assessment on Nutter's and Pymm's cattle.²¹¹ In March of 1908, the Sorensens were making a trail into Green Spring Canyon.²¹² Pymm expressed disgust at the way the Sorensens had gotten a foothold.

I got the watter located and Recorded and Paid taxes on [Green Spring] last summer and worked a little on the trail But I guess that wont amount to anny thing it makes me feal like quitting and let you send some boddy down hear that would kill one or two. we had never aught to let the Sorensens come on to eney of our Plases.²¹³

These conflicts also appeared in Sorenson's role as forest ranger. Pymm expressed some annoyance at the way Willard Sorenson combined his government work with running cattle: "willard is still our ranger. he is doing all Right working for the government and gathren Horses and selling them that is the way he has ben doing."²¹⁴ In June of 1908, Pymm heard that Willard Sorenson was planning to cut down the number of cattle Nutter was allowed to run.²¹⁵ In December 1908, Willard Sorenson and Ranger Moody were looking for Nutter's

²⁰⁹ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, November 20, 1906, box 25, folder 7, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²¹⁰ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, December 15, 1906, box 25, folder 7, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²¹¹ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, December 9, 1908, box 25, folder 9, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²¹² Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, March 30, 1908, box 25, folder 9, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²¹³ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, March 30, 1908, box 25, folder 9, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²¹⁴ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, December 9, 1908, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²¹⁵ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, June 24, 1908, box 25, folder 9, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

corners at Green Spring, but could not find them.²¹⁶ In 1910, Willard Sorenson in his capacity as ranger wrote Nutter and told him he needed to bring salt to Parashant and Green Springs.²¹⁷ However, these conflicts did not preclude working together at times. In September 1915, Ben Sorenson, another of Andrew's sons, was hired to work for Nutter.²¹⁸

In August 1909, Samuel A. Macfarlane was appointed an assistant forest ranger and assigned to Nixon Ranger Station at Mount Trumbull.²¹⁹ Macfarlane was born in St. George in 1883 and spent his childhood in St. George and Juarez, Mexico.²²⁰ "Before entering the Service, he followed ranching, stock handling and mining, all of which fitted him for a good Forest officer," a personnel report noted.²²¹ Less has come to light about his service than that of Woodbury and Sorenson. By 1911, he had a salary of \$1,200.²²² He lived in the Nixon Ranger Station, for which Engineer Mitchelson had selected the site in 1909 and which Martin McAllister (and likely others) had built.²²³ In 1911, McAllister described the Nixon station as "a two-room house, good barn and a fence enclosing 100

²¹⁶ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, December 27, 1908, box 25, folder 9, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²¹⁷ Letter from Willard S. Sorenson to Preston Nutter, August 9, 1910, box 53, folder 11, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²¹⁸ Charles Lamb Account Book, 1915-16, box 25, book 2, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

²¹⁹ Memorandum for Forest Supervisor, dated November 8, 1940, box 2, folder 67, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

²²⁰ "Funeral Services Held for S. A. Macfarlane," *Washington County News*, February 3, 1972.

²²¹ 1911 Personnel Report, by John Raphael, box 9, folder 540, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

²²² 1911 Personnel Report, by John Raphael, box 9, folder 540, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

²²³ Memorandum for Forest Supervisor, dated November 8, 1940, box 2, folder 67, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University; August 8, 1909, Angus Woodbury diaries, box 2, Angus Woodbury papers, University of Utah.

acres.”²²⁴ In 1915, McCain described the ranger station at Nixon as “a well constructed and desirable Ranger Station, with a pasture, small field, house and barn.” He felt the station was poorly located and proposed a new one at the foot of Nixon Mountain with water piped in from Cold Spring. With men like Woodbury, Sorenson, and Macfarlane, the federal government took on a more direct role in managing federal lands on the Arizona Strip, as elsewhere in the United States, and especially the West. With the creation of the Grazing Service in 1934, its merger into the Bureau of Land Management in 1946, and the environmental legislation of the early 1970s, this role would only increase.

Reduction of Dixie National Forest Holdings

Not all of the new Dixie National Forest was actually forested. As early as 1914, the Forest Service was considering reducing or eliminating the Arizona divisions of the forest.²²⁵ A Forest Service official, E. A. Sherman, suggested that the area had been included in Dixie National Forest in the first place to allow the timber to be used in southern Utah.²²⁶ Since grazing was always a secondary activity for the Forest Service generally, Sherman suggested limiting the Arizona sections to those useful for lumber. Cattlemen seem to have been divided on the issue of removing the area from the forest. As early as 1912, Preston Nutter was complaining about having grasslands within the designated forest. “I certainly am not receiving any benefits from it,” he said, “and I do not think anyone else is that

²²⁴ McAllister, “Report on Arizona Division.”

²²⁵ Letter from E. A. Sherman to A. C. McCain, December 14, 1914, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

²²⁶ Letter from E. A. Sherman to A. C. McCain, December 14, 1914, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

has stock there.”²²⁷ “It seems to me,” Nutter wrote,” that it is only working a hardship on myself and other stockmen by compelling us to pay a grazing fee for ranging our stock on land that we have used for years before the reserve was established.”²²⁸ However, cattle owners from St. George who made use of Parashant wanted it to remain in the forest. A. C. McCain worried they would use the lumber there as an excuse to argue for keeping it in the forest.²²⁹ A newspaper account said the reduction was “opposed by the majority of users, who desired the lands remain within the Forest in order that their cattle might graze under Government regulation.”²³⁰

By April 1915, the decision had been made to remove grazing areas from the forest. That month, Angus Woodbury returned to Mount Trumbull in order to “segregate the areas chiefly valuable for Forest purposes” from land “more valuable for grazing or agriculture,” spending most of April in the area.²³¹ Woodbury’s report included a careful assessment of the valuable timber in the area. He reported “25,498 million board feet of yellow pine timber” around the Nixon and Sawmill Mountains. A smaller grove of half a million board feet around Mount Emma was left out of the new borders. As he and his coworkers ran a line along the north end of Nixon Mountain, they noted “juniper and pinon timber with occasional scattering bunches of yellow pine” with sagebrush farther

²²⁷ Letter from Preston Nutter to John Raphael, January 7, 1912, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

²²⁸ Letter from Preston Nutter to John Raphael, January 7, 1912, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

²²⁹ Letter from A. C. McCain to E. A. Sherman, dated December 21, 1914, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

²³⁰ Article dated May 25, 1916, quoted in Memorandum for Forest Supervisor, dated November 8, 1940, box 2, folder 67, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

²³¹ Report on the Boundary Survey of Trumbull Mountain Division, 1915, box 10, folder 617, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University..

to the north. They then ran a line south noting juniper and pinyon slopes of the Toroweap valley to the east and the yellow pine of the Nixon plateau to the west. The effort was to include only the stands of yellow pine, at one point employing a “zig-zag” line to that end. They paid careful attention to avoid “sage flats containing good agricultural lands.” In May 1916, President Woodrow Wilson eliminated Parashant from the Dixie National Forest and greatly reduced the size of the Trumbull holdings, making a wide area available for homesteading.²³² In the fifteen years following, a number of homestead claims would be filed in the Parashant area.

In the period from 1893 to 1916, cattlemen and miners brought the Parashant area more fully into the national economy, even as it remained a remote and arid landscape. Decisions made on the East Coast took on greater import. Preston Nutter’s Eastern investors allowed him to expand his operations. Salt Lake City-based mine operators also secured funding from Chicago and New York firms to pursue their diggings. In Dixie National Forest, the Forest Service brought management ideas developed in Europe and the Eastern United States to the forests of Arizona. As Euro-Americans exploited the environment, the role of the federal government and wide-flung markets increased, as the role of religion declined. Texas cowboys and Mormon cowboys often worked together in the same outfits or mining camps, sometimes with Southern Paiutes as well. What

²³² Memorandum for Forest Supervisor, dated November 8, 1940, box 2, folder 67, Dixie National Forest Papers, Southern Utah University.

they all needed, however, was an intimate knowledge of the land and the ability to find water amid its remote hills and canyons. The lack of this precious resource led to many ongoing disputes. Aridity continued to shape life on the Arizona Strip.

Chapter 4

Homesteading in a Harsh Land:

Bundyville, Ranching, and the Federal Role, 1916-1936

The years between the two World Wars were marked on the Arizona Strip by the optimism that came from the growing dry-land farming movement and the greater than normal rainfalls in the 1920s, following by the difficult years of the Great Depression. A key year was 1916, with the arrival of “Slim” Waring at Parashant and of several families of settlers at Bundyville. In order to acquire homesteads, both Waring and the Bundyville residents took advantage of the passage of the Stock Raising Homestead Act and of the removal of lands from Dixie National Forest, both of which occurred that same year. These newcomers would be prominent ranchers in what is now Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument for decades to come.

The mid-1930s marked the end of one era and the beginning of a new one as the Taylor Grazing Act was passed in 1934 and Preston Nutter died in 1936. In 1936, as well, the Boulder Dam National Recreation Area was formed encompassing what are now the portions of Grand Canyon-Parashant National

Monument administered by the National Park Service. Had Nutter lived, he might have been able to use the Taylor Grazing Act's provisions that favored established ranchers with water rights in order to consolidate his holdings. Instead, his lands were sold off and a variety of operations continued in the area. The ongoing themes of religion, economics, the state, and environment run through this era. The Bundyville residents formed a Mormon community tied to the broader Mormon community of southern Utah and the Arizona Strip. The Stock Raising Homestead Act marked the beginning and the Taylor Grazing Act the end of an era of expanded optimism about establishing farming communities on the Arizona Strip – an era which gave way to one of more closely managed and scattered ranching operations. All these efforts to make wealth from the land showed humans' ability to transform landscapes to conform to their economic and cultural goals, while also showing the constraints that ecological systems and weather imposed on those goals.

The Town of Mount Trumbull (Bundyville)

The only town near what is now Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument was Mount Trumbull, commonly known as Bundyville. It lies just north of the current monument and west of the mountain of the same name. The town has its origins both in the decisions of individual Mormon settlers and in changing federal land policies. In 1916, a group of Bundys, Iversons, and Van Leuven led by Abraham Bundy made the decision to homestead the area

prompted in part by the removal of the area from Dixie National Forest.¹ It was the lure of free land, Chloe Bundy said, that led the settlers to choose the Mount Trumbull area over better watered districts in Utah.² That free land was made possible by the recently passed Stock Raising Homestead Act of 1916, which allowed homesteads of up to 640 acres.

The settlers' optimism about farming an arid climate, as well as the national legislation they relied on were part of the dry-land farming movement of the 1910s and 1920s. Agronomists like Thomas Shaw had begun touting the possibilities of dry-land farming in the early twentieth century.³ The enthusiasm for dry-land farming led to a series of federal land laws, including the Kincaid Act of 1904, the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909, and the Stock Raising Homestead Act of 1916, all characterized by a tendency "to overemphasize the prospects for dry farming and underemphasize the acreage necessary for both dry farming and stock raising."⁴ In one historian's estimation, these laws produced "a legacy of

¹ Nellie I. Cox and Helen Bundy Russell, *Footprints on the Arizona strip: With Accent on "Bundyville"* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon, 1973), 33-34. According to census records, Abraham Bundy was born in Illinois around 1860 (Mount Trumbull, Mohave County, Arizona, U.S. Census, 1920).

² Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 34.

³ Thomas Shaw, *Dry Land Farming* (St. Paul: The Pioneer Company, 1911). Also from this era, F. S. Cooley, *Dry Land Farming and Kindred Topics* ([Mont.?]: Office of Farmers' Institutes, [1908?]); John Andreas Widstoe, *Dry-farming: A System of Agriculture for Countries under a Low Rainfall* (New York: MacMillan, 1913); H. M. Cottrell, *Dry Land Farming . . . the Southwest*. [Chicago, Passenger Traffic Department Rock Island Lines, 1915]; Robert Stewart, *The Nitrogen and Humus Problem in Dry-land Farming* (Logan: Utah Agricultural College Experiment Station, 1910); *Dry Land Agriculture. Papers Read at the Second Annual Meeting of the Cooperative Experiment Association of the Great Plains Area. . .* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1908). Secondary works that treat the dry-land farming movement include Stanford J. Layton, *To No Privileged Class: The Rationalization of Homesteading and Rural Life in the Early Twentieth-Century West* ([Ogden, Utah]: Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, 1988); Benjamin Horace Hibbard, *A History of Public Land Policies* (New York: Peter Smith, 1939), 391-402.

⁴ Lisi Krall, "US Land Policy and the Commodification of Arid Land (1862-1920)," *Journal of Economic Issues* 35:3 (2001): 670.

destroyed vegetative cover, not to mention shattered dreams and abandoned farmhouses."⁵ The ghost town of Bundyville is a testament to this era.

Mount Trumbull was the only the last of a series of homes that Bundys, Iversons, and Van Leuvens found in the early twentieth century. For a time they had lived in Mexico. The Mormon adventure in Mexico had its origins in anti-polygamy laws, which made criminals of Mormons living in plural marriages, as well as in the broader Mormon policy of finding new homes for Mormons in the lands surrounding Utah. The Edmunds Act of 1882 led to the first successful prosecutions of Mormons for polygamy.⁶ The court proceedings led to various strategies for circumventing the laws, including going underground and moving to Mexico or Canada. Jacob Hamblin, for instance, moved back and forth across the Mexican border at the end of his life, dying in 1886. The Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 strengthened anti-polygamy laws, eventually leading the L.D.S. in 1890 to call upon members to abide by laws forbidding polygamy. While not an actual renunciation of polygamy, this declaration helped pave the way for Utah statehood in 1896. The new state's constitution explicitly banned plural marriage.⁷

Mormons started moving to Mexico in large numbers in the 1880s and 1890s. Indeed, Anthony W. Ivins who sold his Parashant holdings to Preston Nutter around 1893 was a key organizer of the move of Mormons to Mexico. Some of his letters to Nutter are on the letterhead of the Mexican Colonization

⁵ Daniel R. Mortensen, "The Deterioration of Forest Grazing Land: A Wider Context for the Effects of World War I," *Journal of Forest History* 22:4 (October 1978): 224-25.

⁶ Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-Day Saints* (New York: Knopf, 1979).

⁷ Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, 244.

and Agricultural Company of Juarez, Chihuahua, of which he was vice president and general manager.⁸ The Bundys went first to Sonora around 1901, settling some seventy miles from the U.S. border.⁹ The Van Leuven family was already there when Abraham Bundy and his family arrived. Not all of these colonists were polygamous. Abraham Bundy was not, while others like Hans Peter Iverson and Isaac Alldredge were. Isaac Alldredge settled in Bundyville with one of his wives Delila; Iverson's wife Hannah with her children settled in Bundyville as well.¹⁰

The Mexican Revolution eventually ended most of the colonization efforts. Around 1910, Abraham Bundy left Mexico to visit his brother Charles in Edwall, Washington (close to Spokane), where he was soon joined by his family. While these Bundys were in Washington state, the settlers in Sonora began facing harassment by fighters on both sides in the Mexican Revolution. The unstable situation led the Bundys, Iversons, and Van Leuven to leave Mexico in 1912.¹¹ On returning to the United States, they settled first near Kaolin, Nevada. Crops grew well there; but the settlers had to pay too much for land and water to get ahead. So they kept their ears open for other opportunities. The opening of former Dixie National Forest lands to homesteading in 1916 prompted the Bundys to investigate two new areas: first the Parashant area which had been removed

⁸Letter from Anthony W. Ivins to Preston Nutter, December 18, 1900, also August 30, 1909, box 22, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁹ Lyman Hafen, *Far from Cactus Flat: The 20th Century Story of a Harsh Land, a Proud Family, and a Lost Son* (St. George, Utah: Arizona Strip Interpretive Association, 2006), 36.

¹⁰ Hafen, *Far from Cactus Flat*, 26; Cox and Russell, 25-32; Verl Alldredge, interviewed by Milt Hokanson, January 25, 2005, Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument; Isaac Alldredge, Mohave County, Arizona, U.S. Census, 1930; Hannah Iverson, Mohave County, Arizona, U.S. Census, 1920; Cox, *Harsh Land*, 7-8.

¹¹ Lyman Hafen, *Far From Cactus Flat*, 37-38.

from the forest altogether; then the Mount Trumbull area where the reserved lands had been greatly reduced.

At Parashant, the Bundys stayed for a time with John Sturzenegger. According to Doretta Bundy, Abraham's daughter-in-law, several men in the party climbed the "highest peak" (presumably Mount Dellenbaugh) to see the surrounding terrain and noted the verdant Hurricane Valley. The Bundys staked their claims in that valley in November 1916 and moved to their new town near Mount Trumbull in 1917.¹² General Land Office records show the role of the Stock Raising Homestead Act in their settlement efforts. Various Bundys proved up claims in area from 1926 to 1939, Iversons from 1920 to 1939, Alldredges in 1931 and 1934, Lafayette Van Leuven in 1936, and other families as well, almost all of them under the authority of the Stock Raising Homestead Act of 1916.¹³ In the years that followed, numerous homestead claims were placed on land near the current monument, while more and more people were placing claims within what is now the monument as well.

The 1920 census provides a portrait of the young town. The two pages of the census record 97 residents, including 21 Bundys, 17 Iversons, and five Van Leuven, but many other names as well: Parker, Franklin, Brink, Sweazea, Ahlstrom, Schulz, Crosby, and others. Men with a longer history in the area, who may not have lived in the town proper, were listed as well: John Sturzenegger,

¹² Cox and Russell, 33-34.

¹³ Abraham Bundy, 480 acres under the Stock Raising Act, 12/31/1930, in T35N R10W, Section 25; Bessie Bundy, 623.55 acres under Stock Raising Act, 4/11/1939, in T35N R9W and T35N R10W; Chester M. Bundy, 640 acres under Stock Raising Act, 1/7/1931, in T35N R10W; James Bundy, 640 acres under Stock Raising Act, 2/6/1929 in T35N R10W; Omer Bundy, 640 acres under Stock Raising Act, 2/6/1929 in T35N R10W; Roy Bundy in 632.39 acres under Stock Raising Act, 9/27/1926 in T35N R9W and T35N R10W; Vivian Bundy 641.8 acres under Stock Raising Act, 1/7/1931 in T35N R10W.

John Kenney, as were some non-Mormon recent arrivals such as Jonathan D. “Slim” Waring and William Shanley. With a few exceptions, the residents’ occupations related to farming and ranching. The exceptions were twenty-four-year old Thelma G. Rose, the school teacher, Enoch Beach and Joseph Beach who worked as trappers, Dexter Parker, as retail merchant, and his wife Gertrude Parker, a cook. Rose and Parker were the only women listed as having occupations, although the women surely had as much work as the men.¹⁴

The 1930 census shows the evolution of Mount Trumbull. It lists 111 people in the district, including 36 Bundys, 15 Iversons, and eight Van Leuven. All the occupations listed related to farming and ranching except a few: assistant postmistress Chloe Bundy; schoolteachers Ina P. Brewer and Elizabeth Jones; Letha Iverson who was a cook at a cafe; Bessie Bundy who worked as a housekeeper; and James and Larson Jones who worked at a meat market. Nine of the residents were listed as born in Mexico (from Chester Bundy and Vansie Alldredge born around 1902 to Nellie Iverson, Bessie Bundy, and Letha Iverson born around 1911), thirty-five in Utah, thirty-three in Arizona (mostly children), nine in Nevada, and the rest elsewhere in the United States.

The town was largely a farming community. Agricultural occupations fell into three categories: farming, stockraising/ranching, and sheep-tending. The farmers listed ranged in age from 38 to 65, while the ranchers listed ranged from 28 to 48. Not surprisingly, farm laborers and ranch laborers (as opposed to

¹⁴ The census listed eighteen-year-old Chester Bundy (born ca. 1902), sixteen-year-old Edna Bundy (ca. 1904), thirteen-year-old Mildred Bundy (ca. 1907), twelve-year-old Genavieve Bundy (ca. 1908), eleven-year-old Ivan Bundy (ca. 1909), nine-year-old Bessie Bundy (ca. 1911), and nine-year-old Letha M. Iverson (born ca. 1911).

owners) were much younger, typically in their teens or twenties. While it is likely many operations bridged the raising of “stock” (presumably cattle), raising sheep, and tending crops, these census designations may provide some sense of individuals’ primary activities.¹⁵ No one was listed explicitly as sheepmen or as ranchers engaged in sheepraising (although stockraising could refer to sheep as well). The census listed only laborers engaged in sheep-herding as flock-tenders and camp-tenders: Vernon Iverson (24), George C. Bundy (15), Ivan Bundy (21), and Clement L. Whipple (39). Other young men who tended sheep were Chester Bundy, Floyd Bundy, and Verl Alldredge.¹⁶

The constant concern of these Bundyville residents as they raised crops, tended livestock, cooked, cleaned, and kept house was water. The news the locals reported to residents of St. George was often about water, whether the ponds were filling up or running dry. Residents took their cattle and sheep away from the area when local ponds dried up.¹⁷ At times, they made do with melting snow. Ina Bundy remembered that her father, Abraham, hauled water from Big Tank thirteen miles to the north.¹⁸ Others loaded barrels at Whitmore Wash to bring water back to Bundyville.¹⁹ Residents hoped their problems would be solved in the early 1940s when plans were laid for a federal project to pipe water from Big

¹⁵ Listed as farmers were Imas[?] Bundy (38), James S. Jones (52), Ella Bundy (65), Lafayette Van Leuven (55), and Cornelius Van Leuven (43), while Eddie L. Jones (18), and Myron L. Jones (16) were farm laborers. Ranchers included: Willard Iverson (43), Edmund F. Zumwald (46), Peter M. Iverson (48), James Bundy (42), Chester M. Bundy (28), while ranch laborers included Floyd Iverson (21), Melvin S. Sheek? (26), Theodore Sheek? (17), and Leland D. Alldredge (16), Eric? J. Winters (21). Auda L. Lovelady, Jr., (19) was a cowboy.

¹⁶ Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 57, 61; Hafen, *Far From Cactus Flat*, 31; Mount Trumbull history, LDS Church Archives.

¹⁷ *Washington County News*, July 6, 1933.

¹⁸ Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 38.

¹⁹ Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 47.

Spring to Bundyville. But the outbreak of World War II put an end to that project.²⁰ Despite the lack of water, Bundyville residents had some success with dryland farming. The residents farmed a great deal in their first years at Bundyville, growing corns, beans, peas, squash, potatoes and wheat. But by the end of the 1920s, few of those crops would grow given the limited rainfall.²¹

Since dryland farming proved difficult around Bundyville, residents turned their attention more and more to running cattle and sheep. These activities took residents regularly into areas that are now part of Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument. The canyons and springs south of Bundyville near the Grand Canyon were well-known to the residents of the small town. Roy Bundy and Roy Whipple were the first Bundyville residents to begin running stock at Frog Spring in Mule Canyon.²² Doretta Bundy remembered her husband Roy gave names to the rock formations around Frog Spring, such as Dinosaur Rock, New Jerusalem, and Rooster's Comb.²³ Her son built "a shanty on a cinder knoll just before you drop off into Blakes" – a canyon close to Mule Canyon.²⁴ Floyd Iverson, P. M. Iverson, Ivan Bundy, Chester Bundy, Cyrus Gifford, and others also travelled the sixteen miles south to Frog Spring to look after cattle.²⁵ Women took their turn tending cattle in these canyons, especially during World War II when many of the men were at war. Doretta Bundy and her daughter Leah were

²⁰ Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 46.

²¹ Sara "Sally" Berry (Hamilton) Bundy, interviewed by Milt Hokanson, January 25, 2005, Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument; Verl Alldredge, interviewed by Milt Hokanson, January 25, 2005, Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument; Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 41.

²² Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 63.

²³ Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 65.

²⁴ Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 65.

²⁵ *Washington County News*, February 15, 1923; April 12, 1923; July 12, 1923; October 18, 1923; Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 63.

among those who tended cattle north of the Grand Canyon.²⁶ Residents headed that way to catch wild horses as well, as W. L. Wharton and son Albert did in 1923.²⁷

Bundyville residents took regular trips to the Grand Canyon as well, following trails that led through the current monument. Sometimes, these trips were for work. Lawrence Iverson was familiar with a number of trails that led to the Grand Canyon, including one down Whitmore Wash, which he would take as he went to the canyon to check on sheep.²⁸ Enoch Beach went to the Colorado River to trap.²⁹ Other trips were for pleasure. Outings to the canyon include one to show the school teachers, Miss Skinner and later Mrs. Goulding, the dramatic chasm.³⁰ Bud Bundy remembered a trip when eight to ten young people spent a week on the river, camping first at Pa's Pocket, then at Blake Canyon, on the way. They returned by way of Mule Canyon.³¹

Mount Trumbull itself lay about ten miles east of the town. A portion of it remained national forest, first within Dixie National Forest (until 1924) then within Kaibab National Forest (until 1974). Bundyville residents would travel to the mountain for work and pleasure. They would gather pine nuts.³² Hunting parties would also travel there: one consisting of young people chaperoned by Mrs. Vearl Iverson got two deer in 1928.³³ Residents travelled regularly to Schultz's sawmill on the mountain, where Fred Schultz, a local sheep owner,

²⁶ Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 70.

²⁷ *Washington County News*, June 14, 1923; June 28, 1923.

²⁸ Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 63.

²⁹ *Washington County News*, February 8, 1923.

³⁰ Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 66.

³¹ Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 70.

³² *Washington County News*, November 8, 1923.

³³ *Washington County News*, October 25, 1928.

allowed residents to use a little spring there.³⁴ Willard Iverson leased land there and grew potatoes.³⁵ They ventured to nearby Nixon Spring, where P. M. Iverson leased land and worked on a pond.³⁶ George Iverson and Pat Bundy visited the Nixon area to trap.³⁷

Visitors also travelled to the mountain for celebrations, especially on the Fourth of July. The whole community would go to the mountain for a celebration, with some of them camping.³⁸ The celebration of 1929 was fraught with worry when three-year-old George Bundy wandered away from the festivities, prompting concerns he might encounter mountain lions or the herds of wild pigs that roamed the mountain. Fortunately, the toddler was found little the worse for wear the next morning.

While Mount Trumbull and the region around Mule Canyon and Blake Canyon were the most regular destinations of Bundyville residents within the current monument, they travelled to its more distant regions as well. While Parashant was farther afield, Bundyville residents, such as James Bundy, travelled there.³⁹ Likewise, residents of Parashant, such as George Weston, Von Sheiks, Lawrence Cline, and Jesse Welch, would visit Bundyville.⁴⁰ While Rowland Esplin had his sheep at Parashant, he visited Bundyville on business.⁴¹ Bundyville residents also worked for the Grand Gulch mine. Jim Bundy

³⁴ Cox and Russell, *Footprints*, 41; *Washington County News*, August 15, 1929.

³⁵ *Washington County News*, September 12, 1929.

³⁶ *Washington County News*, September 23, 1929.

³⁷ *Washington County News*, November 22, 1934.

³⁸ Sara "Sally" Berry (Hamilton) Bundy, interviewed by Milt Hokanson, January 25, 2005, Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument; *Washington County News*, July 6, 1929; *Washington County News*, July 6, 1933.

³⁹ *Washington County News*, October 25, 1923.

⁴⁰ *Washington County News*, October 3, 1929; January 8, 1931.

⁴¹ *Washington County News*, February 9, 1933.

remembered that he and his father would haul ore for the Grand Gulch mine. The trip from Grand Gulch to St. Thomas took them a week out and back. They used a wagon with a trailer pulled by four or five horses. One of their wagons was a three-and-a-half ton Studebaker.⁴² Jim Bundy worked for Preston Nutter from about 1919 to 1927, laying the pipe line in Hidden Canyon, then running the pump there.⁴³ While Bundyville lay just outside what is now Parashant National Monument, its residents knew well the canyons, springs, and hills of the area.

Drought and depression in the 1930s made life even more difficult for Bundyville residents. In 1929, the Mount Trumbull branch of St. George stake of the Latter-day saint church reported that “Many of the people have gone away to make a living at some other reemployment because of . . . the almost entire lack of water.” Mount Trumbull reported it was the worst drought since the founding of the new community in 1916. In April 1933, “ranchers report[ed] a dire need of rain.”⁴⁴ In 1934, the stake report noted, “We now are much in need of water for culinary and stock purposes. Some of the stockmen are inclined to be quite selfish over the use of water for domestic use which is causing bitter feelings. Our future growth and development is being much affected.” In 1936, the branch reported continued difficulties in filling church positions, as families were moving away. By 1937, Mount Trumbull residents were taking advantage of the Latter-day saints’ response to the Great Depression, the “Church Security Program.” In June of that year, they reported “We have organized under the Church Security

⁴² Jim and Chloe Bundy, interviewed by Rita Simpson, March 17, 1970, Utah State Historical Society.

⁴³ Jim and Chloe Bundy, interviewed by Rita Simpson, March 17, 1970, Utah State Historical Society.

⁴⁴ *Washington County News*, April 13, 1933.

Program and have secured some up to date machinery and have planted some two hundred acres of crops.” While the branch reported occasional good crops in the 1930s, the drought clearly discouraged many residents.⁴⁵

Residents also noticed how the landscape was transformed from the 1910s to the 1930s. Chloe Bundy remembered wading in grass up to her knees on a hill near her homestead when they arrived in 1917. Chloe and her husband Jim attributed the decline to “the drought, principally.”⁴⁶ Henry Crosby first visited the Arizona Strip around 1910. Interviewed in 1995, he said “Oh, that country was beautiful - green grass that high - everything. Never seen it since that good.”⁴⁷ He seemed to attribute the decline primarily to weather in saying, “But they used to have better years than we've been havin' for quite a while to where there was an awful lot of cattle out there.” Verl Alldredge said that when his family moved to the Arizona Strip in the early 1920s “the grass out there would hit the stirrups of a horse, all over the valley. They got more cattle [and] more cattle, then the sheep started coming in and they [fairly] well took care of [the] feed [grass.]”⁴⁸ These assessments bear a remarkable resemblance to earlier statements about the Parashant area in the 1880s. For instance, as noted in Chapter Two, Albert Foremaster’s daughter said, “Daddy said that when they first moved to Parashant [in 1880], it was like a meadow everywhere, but over grazing

⁴⁵ LR 5842: Manuscript History of Mount Trumbull, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁶ Jim and Chloe Bundy, interviewed by Wally Mathis, March 17, 1970, Utah State Historical Society.

⁴⁷ Henry Crosby, interviewed by Doug Alder, October 18, 1995, Dixie State College.

⁴⁸ Verl Alldredge, interviewed by Milt Hokanson, January 25, 2005, Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

activities has [sic] changed that picture today.”⁴⁹ It is difficult to know how much of these descriptions to attribute to nostalgia and how much to ecological change. It seems clear, however, that the environment has been greatly transformed.

Tassi Spring

Tassi and the Grand Wash were a world away from Mount Trumbull and figured only rarely in the lives of Bundyville residents. While the Shivwits Plateau and Mount Trumbull had strong ties to Utah, the Grand Wash linked most closely to Nevada. In 1902, Congress withdrew the area around Tassi as part of the planned Boulder Dam project. In 1919, Congress withdrew the entire township in preparation for this project. Despite these withdrawals, ownership claims to Tassi which had no legal standing were sold during these years. The Englestead brothers, who ran sheep in Grand Wash from the teens through the thirties recalled that a man named Ed Thomas had a stone house on the bench above Tassi Spring around 1917. A woman accompanying a government survey in the area that year likewise remembered a man living in a stone house above the embankment under a big cottonwood tree, along with a pasture and a “little alfalfa patch.”⁵⁰ Sam Gentry, who ran a hotel in St. Thomas, Utah, was also running cattle in the area in the teens, having started around 1912. By 1915, he had some 115 cattle, seven bulls, and two horses in Arizona.⁵¹ “In 1922 or 1923, Gentry sold a false Tassi claim (perhaps unknowingly) to George D. Hartman, a former

⁴⁹ Florence Foremaster, “History of Albert Charles Foremaster” (1977) [available at Washington County Public Library].

⁵⁰ Michael Belshaw and Ed Peplow, “Lake Mead Historic Resources Study” (Denver: National Park Service, 1980), 108.

⁵¹ Mohave County assessor’s rolls, Mohave Museum of History and Arts.

cowboy in his employ. . . . After Sam Gentry's death, his widow, Laura Gentry, sold Hartman 350 head of cattle. In 1925, Hartman went broke, and subsequently passed to Laura Gentry the water rights at Tassi Spring to pay off his debt for the cattle."⁵² From 1925 to 1929, Sid and Tyne Hecklethorne operated an illegal still at Tassi and sold moonshine to the Las Vegas market. Hecklethorne also ran sheep in the area.

Ed Yates arrived in the area in 1929 and used the area at Tassi under an informal agreement with Laura Yates. A 1930 "Temporary Withdrawal for Classification" of the entire township 33 reiterated its status as federal land. In 1936, Yates brought 125 head of cattle into the area and cemented the springs there.⁵³ That same year, Yates filed for water rights at Tassi.⁵⁴ A 1936 agreement between the Bureau of Reclamation and the Park Service transferred the area to the National Park Service, as part of the Boulder Dam National Recreation Area. By his own account, Yates built the stone house that still stands at Tassi around 1938.⁵⁵ In 1940, Ed Yates proved up 160 acres at Seven Springs, three miles

⁵² Shaun Provencher, "Tassi Ranch Cultural Landscape Inventory" (Oakland: National Park Service, 2003).

⁵³ Provencher, "Tassi Ranch"; Tassi allotment file, BLM Offices, St. George, Utah.

⁵⁴ Certificate 896, filed March 30, 1936, cited in Letter dated January 24, 1978 from Hydrologist, Western Region to Director, Western Region, National Park Service, Tassi Allotment notebook, LAME.

⁵⁵ This account is based on a 1977 interview with Ed Yates, cited in Belshaw and Peplow, 113. Other accounts of the building exist. According to a report by real estate appraiser, Dean E. Finkbeiner in 1980, the stone house was "built by a man by the name of Oldfield in the late 20's or early 30's." Dean E. Finkbeiner, "An appraisal report of the estimated market rental value of a certain 20-acre parcel, located in Twp. 33N, Ranger 16W, Sec. 13", in L3035, Tassi Spring, James Whitmore file, LAME.) Anita Nay Tom said in 2005 that her father Keith Nay built the house at Tassi (Norman "Norm" and Anita (Nay) Tom, interviewed by Milt Hokanson, February 11, 2005, Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument).

northwest of Tassi, under the Homestead Act of 1862.⁵⁶ In 1941, he built a half-acre reservoir at Tassi.

Preston Nutter

Preston Nutter continued as a major force in cattle-ranching on the Arizona Strip until his death in 1936. Some of his water rights disputes spanned almost his entire time there. What his competitors viewed as one of his most flagrant frauds, never proven in court, was his claim to Mociac Spring -- a controversy that led to a 1928 investigation by the General Land Office. When Nutter made his lieu selections in 1900, he claimed Cottonwood Spring describing it as "Situate in Green Spring Canyon on the southwest side of Shebets Mountain."⁵⁷ He eventually decided, however, he would rather have Mociac Spring than Cottonwood.

Standing in Nutter's way was John Sturzenegger. Born in Switzerland in 1866 and married around 1889, Sturzenegger first took an interest in Parashant country around 1893.⁵⁸ Nutter and Pymm were aware that Sturzenegger claimed Mociac as early as 1906. Pymm's repeated references to the area as Mociac (in various spellings) in his letters from 1906 to 1909 to Nutter make clear Nutter was familiar with that term for the spring. Pymm's letters also reveal that the spring was known as Mociac, while providing no evidence it was called Cottonwood, as Nutter later claimed. In 1906, Pymm informed Nutter that Sturzenegger was

⁵⁶ 160 acres in section 35 of T34N R16W, document no. 072161, September 25, 1940 [available at www.glorerecords.blm.gov].

⁵⁷ Exhibit BB, in Gery, "Report on Lieu Selections."

⁵⁸ Gery, "Report on Lieu Selections," 233; "John Sturzenegger," Washington County, Utah, U.S. Census, 1880, 1900, 1910, and 1920.

“jumping the well to mocakack near oak grove.”⁵⁹ That same year, Nutter seems to have asserted a right to the well that others disputed. Gardner was negotiating with Nutter to use the water and was trying (apparently without success) to see if Nutter had a legal claim to it.⁶⁰ In 1908, Pymm wrote his boss "what are you going to dou about the well at Moack Stuts and Mathus is getting lots of Cattle thare they think they own it all Right."⁶¹ In June 1909, Pymm wrote that “Mathus and Stutes is going to keep [Gardner's cattle] of[f] from there watter at moacak.”⁶² In February 1909, Pymm reported that Sturzenegger was annoyed that Gardner was using Mociac on Nutter’s permission.⁶³

During these years, by Sturzenegger’s account, he established “fences placed around full homestead entry, barns, houses erected of a good substantial nature[,] corrals, and stockyards placed thereon.”⁶⁴ There also seems to have been some collaboration in these years between Sturzenegger and Nutter against Gardner. As Sturzenegger was trying to keep Gardner from getting a place to run a mill and water cattle, Sturzenegger wrote Nutter to say he would "help to discourage aney one from bringing cattle in to this country, & work in harmony with your foreman" to that end.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, March 13, 1906, box 25, folder 7, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁶⁰ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, March 13, 1906, box 25, folder 7, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁶¹ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, December 9, 1908, box 25, folder 9, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁶² Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, June 29, 1909, box 25, folder 10, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁶³ Letter from John Pymm to Preston Nutter, February 22, 1909, box 25, folder 10, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁶⁴ Testimony of John Sturzenegger, April 12, 1927, Report on Forest Lieu Selection 013384 and H. E. 0378113, June 1928, box 52, folder 15, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁶⁵ Letter from John Sturzenegger to Preston Nutter, April 5, 1909, box 22, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

Although Nutter was clearly familiar with the name Mociac, he later claimed that Cottonwood Spring was another name for the spring and that his earlier description of the location was simply in error. Using this logic, he filed “an affidavit of adjustment in the local land office at Phoenix” in January of 1926.” This application claimed that Cottonwood Spring was located not in Green Spring Canyon south of Dellenbaugh Mountain, but rather north of the mountain at what most other ranchers knew as Mociac Spring. It took John Sturzenegger several years to learn that Nutter had made this filing – a fact that gave Nutter an advantage as the statute of limitations on cancelling his 1926 patent was approaching.⁶⁷

The dispute between Nutter and Sturzenegger led to a General Land Office investigation in 1928, when Nutter’s patent threatened to prevent Sturzenegger from filing a homestead claim on the property.⁶⁸ The GLO report makes clear the poor reputation Nutter had among many of the local ranchers. Amid the dry discussions of Nutter’s alleged fraud in affidavits and letters to government officials, local ranchers termed him a “shark,” a “hog,” “ruthless,” “foxy,” and “shrewd.” All the local ranchers interviewed by the GLO inspector F. J. Safley sided with Sturzenegger’s version of events: no one ever called Mociac Spring Cottonwood and Nutter had placed no notice of location there in 1900. Sturzenegger stated his difficulty succinctly: “I haven’t money enough to go to

⁶⁷ *United States v. Preston Nutter*, order dated May 10, 1935, box 52, folder 25, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁶⁸ Report on Forest Lieu Selection 013384, dated June 1928, box 52, folder 15, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

court and fight a man of a million dollars.”⁶⁹ The former Dixie National Forest supervisor T. C. Hoyt called Nutter an utterly “unscrupulous” cattleman who was “pitted against a poor, honest, earnest, hard-working homesteader.”⁷⁰ Local ranchers such as Wallace Mathis and Wallace Blake also backed up Sturzenegger. Even John Pymm who had worked for Nutter in the early twentieth century said Mociac Spring was never called Cottonwood. As Wallace Blake said, “It is difficult to believe that if Nutter’s original location of Cottonwood Spring was in reality Mociac Spring . . . he would have stood idly by and permitted Sturzenegger to have lived continuously on the land for a period of twenty years.” To all these criticisms, Nutter simply said that his original location was “a mistake and should have been described as being in Oak Grove Canyon.”⁷¹

Sturzenegger may have had local sympathy and the facts on his side, yet Nutter had a winning legal strategy. Ultimately, the government lawsuit to remove Nutter’s patent on Mociac was dismissed on technicalities: the statute of limitations had run out and the government did not have standing to bring the suit. Sturzenegger would have had to hire his own lawyer to pursue the case, which he could not afford to do. Nutter managed to maintain his legal claim to Mociac till the end of his life.

Bundyville residents, likewise, viewed Nutter’s water claims with suspicions. Chloe Bundy said that Nutter was always nice and gentlemanly, and

⁶⁹ Letter from Sturzenegger to Carl Hayden, House of Representatives, dated February 7, 1927, box 52, folder 15, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁷⁰ Letter from T. C. Hoyt to GLO Governor Moore, August 20, 1929, box 52, folder 17, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁷¹ Report on Forest Lieu Selection 013384, dated June 1928, box 52, folder 15, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

even employed a number of Bundys (Roy, Chet, and Jim). Yet he also worked to keep their livestock off springs they felt he did not own. They tried to sue Nutter in Kingman court, despite having very little money to pursue that course.⁷²

Jonathan D. "Slim" Waring and Mary Waring

Nutter may have been foxy and shrewd, yet another man was adept at acquiring land as well. During the last two decades of Nutter's life, a young rancher began to rival his importance, especially in the Kelly Peninsula area. Like the Bundyville residents, Jonathan D. "Slim" Waring arrived on the Arizona Strip in 1916 and took advantage of the Stock Raising Homestead Act passed that year. Unlike those settlers, he was not Mormon and had no ties to southern Utah. Waring was born in New Paltz, New York (about seventy-five miles north of New York City in the Hudson River Valley) on September 16, 1892. The belief that Western environments would lead to better health apparently played a role in his decision to leave his home. He admired Theodore Roosevelt and his experience of leaving behind a sickly childhood and youth by heading out to work on a ranch in Montana. A friend of Waring's had health problems and when a doctor advised him to try the dry climate of Arizona, Waring accompanied him to Phoenix in 1912. Waring worked driving stagecoaches, in the Vulture Mine near Wickenburg, and at a ranch near Quartzsite. He and two other men had heard about the mustangs on the Arizona Strip and arrived there in 1916 -- a time when Americans were catching wild horses to break and send to the battlefields of

⁷² Jim and Chloe Bundy, interviewed by Wally Mathis, March 17, 1970, Utah State Historical Society.

Europe. They did not make much of a go at mustang-chasing. However, Waring did file on a homestead in Horse Valley in 1916 under the new Stock Raising Homestead Act. Waring was soon drafted to fight in World War I. A persistent rumor held that Nutter made certain that Waring was drafted in 1917. He was indeed drafted into the army at the Grand Gulch Mine on June 5, 1917, despite claiming an exemption because he had "no one to look after cattle."⁷³ Whether Nutter was to blame or not is not known.⁷⁴

Upon his return, Waring gradually built up his holdings, eventually gaining control of almost the entire Kelly Peninsula by purchasing railroad lands and filing on water claims. In the late 1910s, he bought a few head of cattle, improvements at Penn's Valley, and the brand Kay L from Preston Lamb. He bought improvements in Horse Valley from Bill Shanley in 1920. In 1926, he filed a land patent in Pine Valley.⁷⁵ He proved up his patent for 628.36 acres at Horse Valley in 1928 and established his headquarters there that year.⁷⁶ He also bought up others' homesteads. In 1931, George Howard Pemberton proved up 320 acres in Pine Valley under the Homestead Act of 1862.⁷⁷ In 1933, Jack Spencer had proved up the entirety of section 10 (640 acres) on the Kelly

⁷³ John D. Waring, Draft Registration Card, June 5, 1917 [accessed via HeritageQuest]; Belshaw and Peplow, 115.

⁷⁴ Betty Accomazzo, *Arizona National Ranch Histories of Living Pioneers* (Arizona National Livestock Show: 1982), 81-86; Provencher, "Waring Ranch."

⁷⁵ Shaun Provencher, "Waring Ranch Cultural Landscape Inventory" (Oakland: National Park Service, 2003).

⁷⁶ Shaun Provencher, "Waring Ranch"; Accomazzo, 81-86; Phoenix Land Office, number 060153, GLO website; Nellie Iverson Cox, *A Harsh Land and Proud: Saga of the "Arizona Strip."* (Las Vegas, Nevada: Cox Printing Company, 1982), 183-85.

⁷⁷ Document no. 060474, March 6, 1931, North half of Section 10, T31N R11W [available at www.glorerecords.blm.gov].

Peninsula under the Stock Raising Homestead Act of 1916.⁷⁸ Waring bought out both these homesteaders soon thereafter.⁷⁹ In 1936, William Shanley quit-claimed to the Warings a number of springs with improvements: Horse Valley, Pine Valley, Penn's Pockets, Shanley Tank, Dinner Pockets, Kelley Point, Shanley Spring at Snyder Mine, Pack Rat Spring, New Water Spring, Green Canyon, Horse Spring, Cottonwood Spring, and Suicide Spring.⁸⁰ In 1937, Waring received a “permit to appropriate public waters” at Green Spring.⁸¹ In 1938, Waring purchased some of the remnants of the Nutter estate: Green Springs, Penn’s Pocket, and Kelly Spring.

Waring was married in 1939 to Mary Vanderwalker. In 1940, Jackson Wiggins conveyed the Wild Cat Ranch to Mary Waring, as well as interests in Lower Pigeon Spring and Little Fox Spring.⁸² This included land in section 10, which he had proved up in 1933, as well as land in section 15, the former site of the Wild Cat Ranch Station, which he had purchased at an unknown date. The Warings acquired railroad lands as well. Eventually, they would control twelve sections (7680 acres) of railroad land in four different townships on the Kelly Peninsula.⁸³ Through this process of steadily acquiring land and water rights, Waring was about to outlast Nutter and came to control most of the land on the Kelly Peninsula.

⁷⁸ Document number 062996, T30N R11W, Section 10 [available at www.glorerecords.blm.gov].

⁷⁹ Belshaw and Peplow, 116.

⁸⁰ Waring file, BLM Offices, St. George, Utah.

⁸¹ Provencher, “Waring Ranch.”

⁸² The Wild Cat Ranch land is in sections 10 and 15 of T33N R12W. Base Property Summary 1941, Waring file, BLM Offices, St. George, Utah; Accomazzo.

⁸³ T29N R11W, T30N R11W, T31N R11W, T32N R11W, Waring Ranch Appraisal, 1966, LAME files.

Taylor Grazing Act

Waring's operation and that of all the other ranchers on Parashant would be transformed by the Taylor Grazing Act. In June 1934, the U.S. Congress passed the act in order "to stop injury to the public grazing lands by preventing overgrazing and soil deterioration, to provide for orderly use, improvement and development, to stabilize the livestock industry dependent upon the public range, and for other purposes."⁸⁴ The act was, according to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, "a great forward step in the interests of conservation."⁸⁵ It allowed the creation of grazing districts in which local stock owners and government officials would negotiate and implement range use and improvements. As part of a process of closing the public domain, the act removed all unappropriated public lands from all forms of entry. Government agents would manage grazing using permits for which fees were charged, giving preferences to landowners in the areas being grazed. In explaining the act to Nutter and other interested parties, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes noted both the local and federal role: "It seemed that local needs compatible with the public interest should direct the course of administration under centralized Federal control."⁸⁶

The law moved away from a system that allowed access for all comers toward one of more careful management and restricted use.⁸⁷ These restrictions produced both winners and losers. Sheepmen who did not have access to land

⁸⁴ Quoted in Richard Lowitt, *The New Deal and the West* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 65.

⁸⁵ Quoted in Lowitt, 65.

⁸⁶ Letter from Harold Ickes to Preston Nutter, December 14, 1935, box 58, folder 2, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁸⁷ Lowitt, 65.

rights found it harder to trail their flocks under the new system. Homesteaders without legal control of water also suffered. The determination of Bundyville settlers to make a home even if their homestead had no access to water did not serve them well when it came time to get grazing permits from the new Division of Grazing.⁸⁸ In 1936, the Mount Trumbull Latter-day Saints branch reported, “The Taylor Grazing Act is causing a considerable number of the families to move away causing a shortage of ward members to man the organizations. It seems possible that they may never come back, and if so the Ward may not be able to continue for want of members.”⁸⁹ Although the report did not explain exactly how the act affected Bundyville residents, presumably livestock owners who did not own property in the area or have water rights found it difficult to remain under the new system. Jim and Chloe Bundy felt the Taylor Grazing Act changed the community as well: “that’s what started the trouble,” Jim said.⁹⁰

On July 26, 1935, the first advisory board meeting of the Arizona Strip District was held at Zion National Park and included several cattlemen long associated with Parashant: W. B. Mathis, John H. Schmutz, Fred C. Heaton, and Lindau Foremaster.⁹¹ By March 1936, the new agency approved “172 year-long licenses with 18,890 cattle and horses and 26,482 sheep and goats; 43 winter

⁸⁸ Michael Belshaw, “High, Dry and Lonesome: The Arizona Strip and Its People,” *Journal of Arizona History* 19:4 (1978): 374.

⁸⁹ LR 5842: Manuscript History of Mount Trumbull, LDS Church Archives.

⁹⁰ Jim and Chloe Bundy, interviewed by Wally Mathis, March 17, 1970, Utah State Historical Society, Utah State Historical Society.

⁹¹ Per Owen B. Wright, the entire meeting had “LeRoy Cox, General Chairman, Royal B. Woolley, General Secretary, and the following members: Sheep section – Clarence Lamoreaux, Rudger Atkin, John C. Muller, Alex Findlay, Scott Brown, Cecil Pugh, Charles C. Anderson, leRoy Cox and Earl L. Childers; Cattle section – W. B. Mathis, Harold Reber, John F. Findlay, R. U. Chamberlain, Royal B. Woolley, Dan Judd, John H. Schmutz, Fred C. Heaton and Lindau Foremaster; Goat section – C. Alcorn; Free use – Ensign Griffiths.” Owen B. Wright, “Background and History of Arizona Strip District,” 1972 [available at Washington County Public Library].

licenses with 123 horses and cattle and 31,627 sheep and goats; there were 78 late applications with 9818 cattle and horses and 20,465 sheep and goats.”⁹² The issuing of grazing permits depended on demonstrating access to water sources that had supplied water from June 1929 to June 1934.

Preston Nutter had been a strong proponent of the Taylor Grazing Act, although he did not live long enough to take advantage of its provisions. When a delegation, headed by Oscar Chapman, came to Prescott, Arizona, and met with stock owners to discuss the term of the bill and the proposed grazing service, Nutter had the opportunity to share his views fully.⁹³ He felt grazing lands throughout the West and especially in Utah had been “sheeped to death for years” and that “the Taylor grazing bill is our only salvation.”⁹⁴

Nutter, indeed, favored even much more extensive conservation efforts on the Arizona Strip. He wrote F. R. Carpenter, the new head of the Grazing Service with the suggestion: “I think the entire Strip would make an ideal game preserve.”⁹⁵ He communicated with J. Norwood “Ding” Darling, head of the Biological Survey, as well, saying, “Have always hoped that some day the government would take over this Strip country and make a game preserve of it. . . . Having spent most of my life in the west, naturally I am a lover of the big game

⁹² Wright, “Background.”

⁹³ Virginia N. Price and John T. Darby, “Preston Nutter: Utah Cattleman, 1886-1936,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 32:3 (Summer 1964): 250.

⁹⁴ Letter from Preston Nutter to F. R. Carpenter, Administrator of Grazing, April 25, 1935, box 22, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁹⁵ Letter from Preston Nutter to F. R. Carpenter, Administrator of Grazing, May 17, 1935, box 22, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.; letter from Preston Nutter to J. Norwood Darling, chief U.S. Biological Survey, May 13, 1935, box 22, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

and it has been my despair to see the wild life vanishing.”⁹⁶ Opposition to the wildlife refuge plan came up from sheep men and cattlemen who made use of the Arizona range. They had no water rights there, Nutter said in a letter to the head of the new Grazing Service. Yet the idea of a preserve apparently went nowhere.⁹⁷

“Slim” Waring was in the process of consolidating his ranch holdings when the act was passed and successfully used its provisions to continue his operation. The Taylor Grazing Act used landownership and water rights to help determine eligibility for grazing rights. It was important under its provisions that owners document improvements and water claims. The lands of Mary and “Slim” Waring in Parashant provide an example of this process. The Taylor Grazing Act created the Grazing Service, which became part of the Bureau of Land Management in 1946. BLM records for the Warings list the base water their permits relied upon. These records note that by 1932, Waring was making use of eighteen springs scattered over a wide area in Parashant, ranging across seven townships: Kelly Spring, Kelly Reservoir, South Willow, Willow Springs, Dinner Pockets, Horse Spring, Falls Spring, Suicide Springs, Penn's Pockets, Peters Pockets, Green Spring, Shanley Reservoir, Wiggins Well, Wild Cat, Nutter Well, Nutter Well Parashaunt, Upper Pigeon Spring, Lower Pigeon Spring, and Coyote Spring.⁹⁸ A 1946 list of Waring water claims gives some idea of when springs

⁹⁶ Letter from Preston Nutter to J. Norwood Darling, chief U.S. Biological Survey, May 13, 1935, box 22, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁹⁷ Letter from Preston Nutter to F. R. Carpenter, June 19, 1935, box 22, folder 1, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

⁹⁸ J.D. Waring waters on reclamation lands, 1932 Inspection, Waring file, BLM Offices, St. George, Utah. The seven townships are: T29N R11W, T29N R12W, T30N R11W, T31N R11W, T33N R12W, T33N R13W, T34N R13W.

were improved, although the dates cannot be treated as definitive: Kelly Spring, Penn's Pocket, and Green Springs around 1900, Amos Spring, Shanley Tank, and Pine Valley in 1918, Dinner Pockets in 1920, Pack Rat, Willow, Big Cottonwood, and Suicide in 1925, a separate Dinner Pockets development in 1927, and Kelly Tank in 1937.⁹⁹

The 1930s saw the formalization through negotiations, maps, and fences of grazing practices that had developed informally over the preceding six decades. Range managers mapped each allotment and formally assigned them to ranchers. They also encouraged ranchers to build fences between allotments. For instance, Jackson Wiggins ran cattle in common with Mathis around Little Fox Spring in the 1930s. They also allowed sheepmen, Lundell, Lungren, Wayne Gardner and Esplin to bring their sheep there in emergencies. Around this time, rangeline agreements were established creating the Little Fox allotment around the spring with Mathis on the south, Parashant Well and Pigeon Spring on the east, Lower Grand Wash Ledges on the west, and Lower Pigeon Spring to the north. Slim and Mary Waring acquired Little Fox in the spring in 1940. Most of the sheepmen in the area, except Roland Esplin, were out of business by the 1930s.¹⁰⁰

An agreement dated April 9, 1948, signed by Wayne C. Gardner, Roy Lundgren, Reed Mathis, J. D. Waring, Roland S. Esplin, and Charles H. Esplin shows the type of agreements ranchers negotiated under the Bureau of Land Management, the successor to the Grazing Service. This agreement adjusted the boundaries between range allotments from T34N R14W Section 9 to T34N R13W

⁹⁹ "List of Base Waters 1946," Waring file, BLM Offices, St. George, Utah.

¹⁰⁰ Waring file, BLM Offices, St. George, Utah.

Section 18. It established a line north of which Rolland Esplin, Charles Esplin, and Wayne Gardner would work, south of which Roy Lundgren, W. B. Mathis, and J. D. Waring would work. It also provided certain exceptions: that Rolland Esplin and Wayne Gardner could in emergencies come south of the line with sheep, and that Rolland Esplin and Roy Lundgren could cross the line in trailing to Pakoon.

With the Taylor Grazing Act, the government also took a greater role in managing range improvements on public lands. While ranchers had constructed cabins, sheds, water tanks, pipe lines, fences and other structures since the 1870s on federal land, as well as private land, with the establishment of the Grazing Division, permits and approval were needed to maintain these developments. A 1937 application from W. B. Mathis to the Grazing Division provides an example. The application was "to maintain fences already established and used by the applicant in connection with his livestock operations and also to maintain and clean out reservoirs, spring, pipe lines and corrals that have been used by the applicant in connection with his livestock and described on the back of this application and further described and drawn on the attached mapped sheet."¹⁰¹ The Grazing Service also encouraged fencing to firmly establish the boundaries between allotments. This process did not begin in earnest until about 1950. As late as 1946, Lavar Foremaster remembered, there were still community round-ups.¹⁰² Fencing the range allowed ranchers to improve their stock, making it

¹⁰¹ G and F Ranch file, BLM offices, St. George, Utah.

¹⁰² Lavar Foremaster, interviewed by Milt Hokanson, March 8, 2006, Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

possible, for instance, to bring in Herefords knowing they could maintain the breed by controlling the movement of bulls.¹⁰³

Civilian Conservation Corps

The Grazing Service led to the fencing in of the range. So it is appropriate that the one Civilian Conservation Corps project managed by the Grazing Service known to have taken place in the current monument was a fencing project. In 1933, Roosevelt created the CCC – one of the alphabet soup of agencies the new president established within the first hundred days of his administration to counter unemployment. The agency sought to conserve natural resources, to provide employment for young men, and to improve their character and bodies with hard work in a natural setting.¹⁰⁴ Important in Roosevelt’s thinking was the long-standing idea that American men could achieve true manhood in struggling against nature. Just as prominent historian Frederick Jackson Turner saw the frontier as the place where American identity was formed, just as Franklin’s distant cousin Theodore advocated that men adopt the “strenuous life,” FDR felt that young men working vigorously in a natural setting would not only improve the land, but improve their own spirits. In speaking to Congress on March 21, 1933 – just 17 days after his inauguration – Roosevelt said, “I propose to create a Civilian Conservation Corps to be used in simple work, not interfering with

¹⁰³ Wallace “Wally” and Reed Miles Mathis, interviewed by Milt Hokanson, January 24, 2005, Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument; Cox, *Arizona Strip*, 58.

¹⁰⁴ Neil M. Maher, “A New Deal Body Politic: Landscape, Labor, and the Civilian Conservation Corps,” *Environmental History* 7:3 (July 2002): 435-461. On the CCC, see John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1967).

normal employment, and confining itself to forestry, the prevention of soil erosion, flood control and similar projects. More important, however, than the material gains will be the moral and spiritual value of such work. [...] We can take a vast army of these unemployed out into healthful surroundings."¹⁰⁵ Ten days later, Congress approved the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) Act. Although the agency was officially known as the ECW, Roosevelt had termed it the "Civilian Conservation Corps" in his March 21 message to Congress. People quickly took to referring to it as the CCC, which became the official name in 1937.¹⁰⁶ Much more than a simple program to reduce unemployment, Roosevelt sought to strengthen young men in body and spirit.

Between 1933 and 1942 throughout the United States, over three million young men enrolled in the CCC and headed off to work camps, most of which were racially segregated, accepting either whites, African Americans, or American Indians. Their labor would transform landscapes across the country. The program relied on coordination between four government departments. The Labor Department recruited the young men. The Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture organized the work the men engaged in. Within the Department of the Interior, the National Park Service employed the most CCC's; however, other Interior agencies such as the Bureau of Reclamation and the Grazing Service also set up camps. It was the Grazing Service that would manage the enrollees that worked at Parashant. Within the Department of Agriculture, the Forest Service established the most camps, while the Biological

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in Stan Cohen, *The Tree Army: A Pictorial History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942* (Missoula, Mont.: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1980).

¹⁰⁶ Salmond, 26.

Survey employed CCC's as well. The government quickly realized that only the military possessed the resources and experience needed to transport, house, and feed thousands of young men. Therefore, the War Department was responsible for the boys during their off hours. Each CCC camp had a project superintendent – a representative of one of the technical agencies from the Departments of Agriculture or Interior – as well as a commander, who was a military officer.

By 1935, there were forty-three CCC camps working with the Division of Grazing across the country with 8,600 enrollees and 340 supervisors. According to Ickes, "The activities of the camps include stock-water development, erection of drift fences, corrals, roads and trails, rodent control and the eradication of predatory animals, poison plant and other beneficial activities."¹⁰⁷

CCC Company 2558 was started in St. George in 1935 with boys from Ohio, Kentucky and Indiana -- the states that made up the camp population until 1940 at least. The St. George camp worked under the Grazing Service building the Wolf Hole Road, as well as corrals, roads, bridges, and fences. The camp at Wolf Hole had two caterpillar tractors and keep roads open and saved sheep and cattle during the blizzard of 1936-37.¹⁰⁸ The camp had auxiliary (or spike) camps at Wolf Hole and Parashant. As the company newspaper reported in July 1938, "A few Spike Camps are planned out in the wilds of the Arizona Strip," primarily to focus on road-building.¹⁰⁹ By November 1938, camps were in place at Wolf

¹⁰⁷ Letter from Harold Ickes to Preston Nutter, December 14, 1935, box 58, folder 2, Preston Nutter Papers, University of Utah.

¹⁰⁸ *Daily Star*, April 1940; Spencer "Spence" Esplin, interviewed by Douglas Alder, January 22, 1997, Dixie State College.

¹⁰⁹ *Arizona Strip*, July 20, 1938, Civilian Conservation Corps newsletters, 1935-1941, Utah State Historical Society.

Hole and Parashant (the exact location of the Parashant camp is not known).

According to one account, "The boys working on the Parashaunt Fence project have been working mostly cutting posts because of an error in the fence line survey. After this was corrected they began digging post holes and finished about a mile and a half before the camp was abandoned. This work was being done under the supervision of Mr. Roy Wright."¹¹⁰ The camp closed for the winter that November.

In May of 1939, James Bundy and twelve enrollees reopened the Parashant camp. Thirteen additional men were expected once the camp was readied and equipment arrived to start their project.¹¹¹ In May 1939, a surveying crew was preparing the Mathis steer pasture fence (possibly the fence the Parashant camp was building). The camp paper contained much more good-natured speculation about who was falling in love than any other aspect of camp life. The physical structure of the camp is unclear, except that it had a mess tent.¹¹² By June 1939, McLeary Shimek was working as a foreman directing the Parashant fence line project.¹¹³ By July 1939, the Parashant camp had completed three and five-eighths miles of fence with about one mile more to go.¹¹⁴ Detailed records of the CCC camps in the area have not come to light; so there may well

¹¹⁰ *Arizona Strip*, November 24, 1938 CCC Collection, Utah State Historical Society.

¹¹¹ *Arizona Strip*, May 22, 1939 CCC Collection, Utah State Historical Society.

¹¹² *Arizona Strip*, June 20, 1939 CCC Collection, Utah State Historical Society.

¹¹³ *Arizona Strip*, June 20, 1939 CCC Collection, Utah State Historical Society.

¹¹⁴ *Arizona Strip*, July 20, 1939 CCC Collection, Utah State Historical Society.

have been other CCC projects within the current monument.¹¹⁵ James Bundy was foreman at the St. George CCC Camp in 1938 and 1939 at least.¹¹⁶

The optimism of the dry-land farming movement and the legislation it inspired helped to create the only real town anywhere near the current monument. Yet that optimism was not enough to overcome the lack of water that defined life on the Arizona Strip. While some blamed the Taylor Grazing Act for bringing the death knell to their struggling community, ecological constraints played a larger role. Only in the best years could the land support dry-land farming, and livestock grazing was equally precarious unless stock owners had adequate access to water. During the brief time their town flourished, the Bundys and their neighbors developed a strong attachment to the place they described as “out home” – a place both remote and familiar. This attachment is made clear every year when they gather by the hundreds for the annual Bundyville reunion. Yet after the halcyon days of the 1920s, those who run their cattle in the current monument were based either at isolated ranch houses or in towns more distant from their herds.

¹¹⁵ Fairley, “History,” 212.

¹¹⁶ “Mt. Trumbull,” *Washington County News*, January 5, 1939; “St. George CCC Camp,” *Washington County News*, January 5, 1939.

Chapter 5 [to come]: Federal Management and Ranching, 1936-1966

Conclusion [to come]

Images



Figure 1. John Steele map of 1862 Jacob Hamblin expedition through Grand Wash with North arrow added. Reading from St. George southward the legend says St. Clara / Rio Virgen / Rock Springs 22 / Cedar Mountains / Gulch Springs 18 / Cane Springs 2 / 7 Springs / Crossed the River Wednesday November 26 1862 / 8 miles Grape Vines. Map created in 1863. Note the dotted line which appears to show the alternative route to Pierce Ferry taken in 1863. (source: LDS Church Archives).

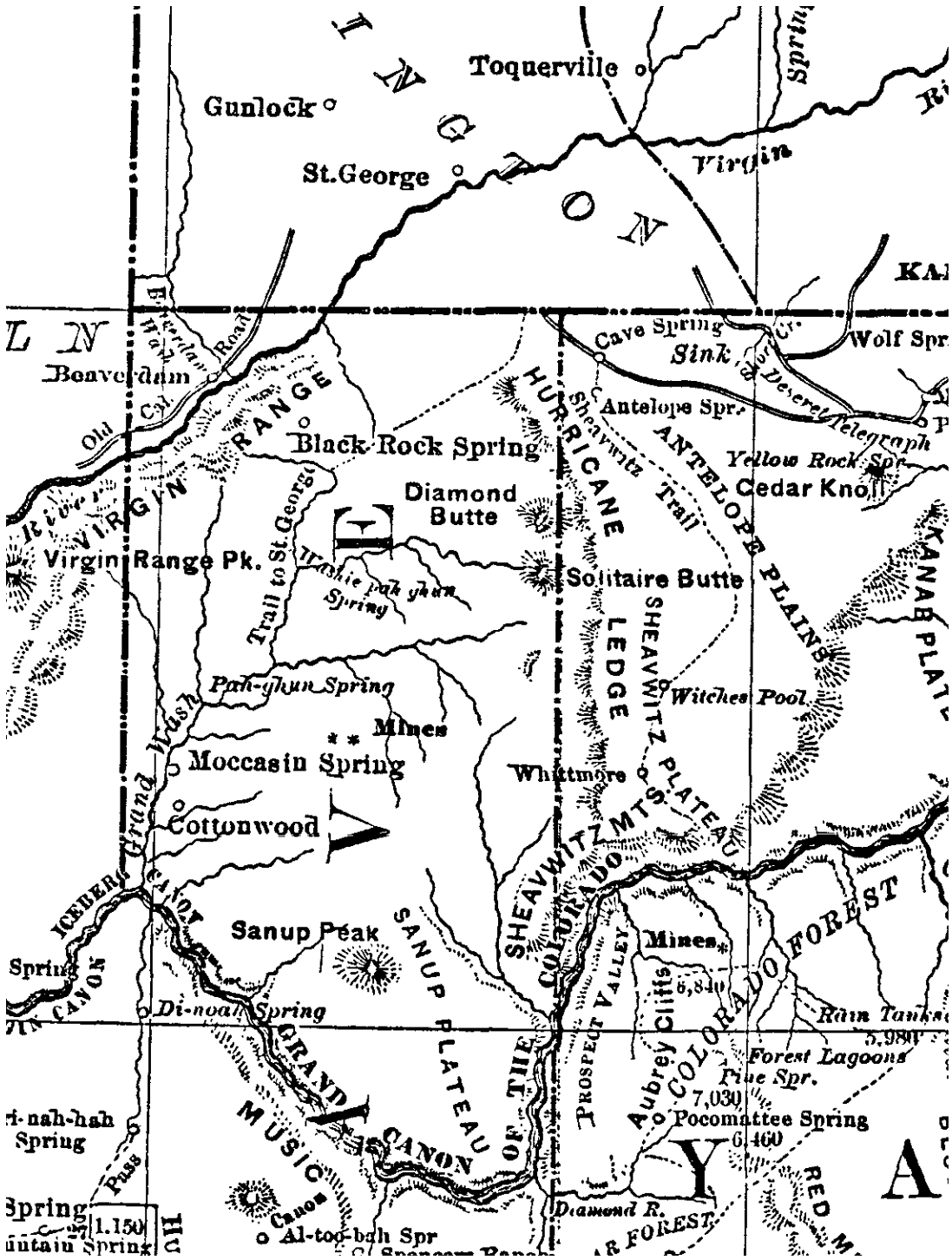


Figure 2) Detail of western Arizona Strip, 1881. (source: Rand McNally, "Arizona," 1881, available at Mohave County Cartographer's Office)

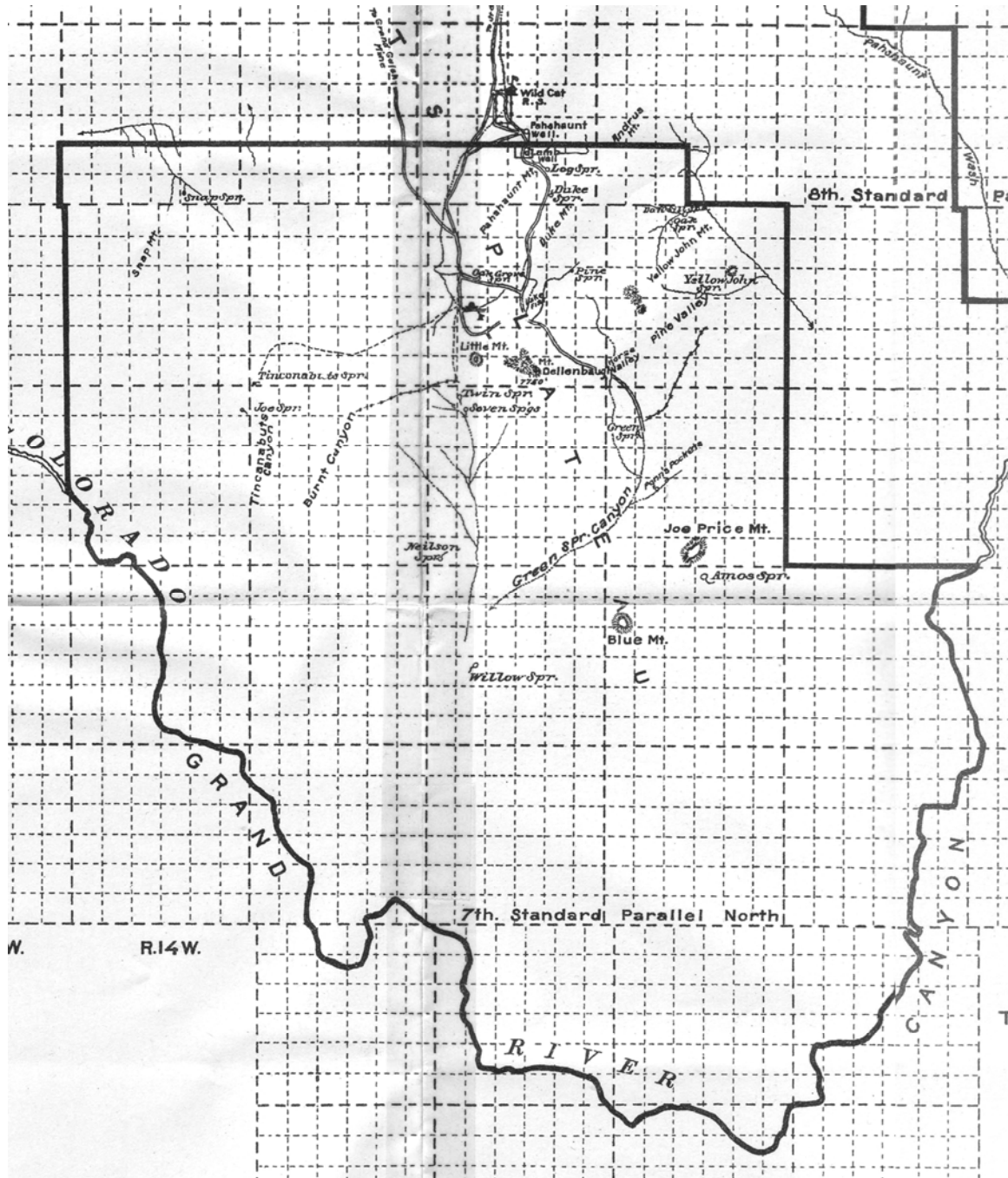


Figure 3) Dixie National Forest Map, 1913. Parashant District. (source: Southern Utah University)

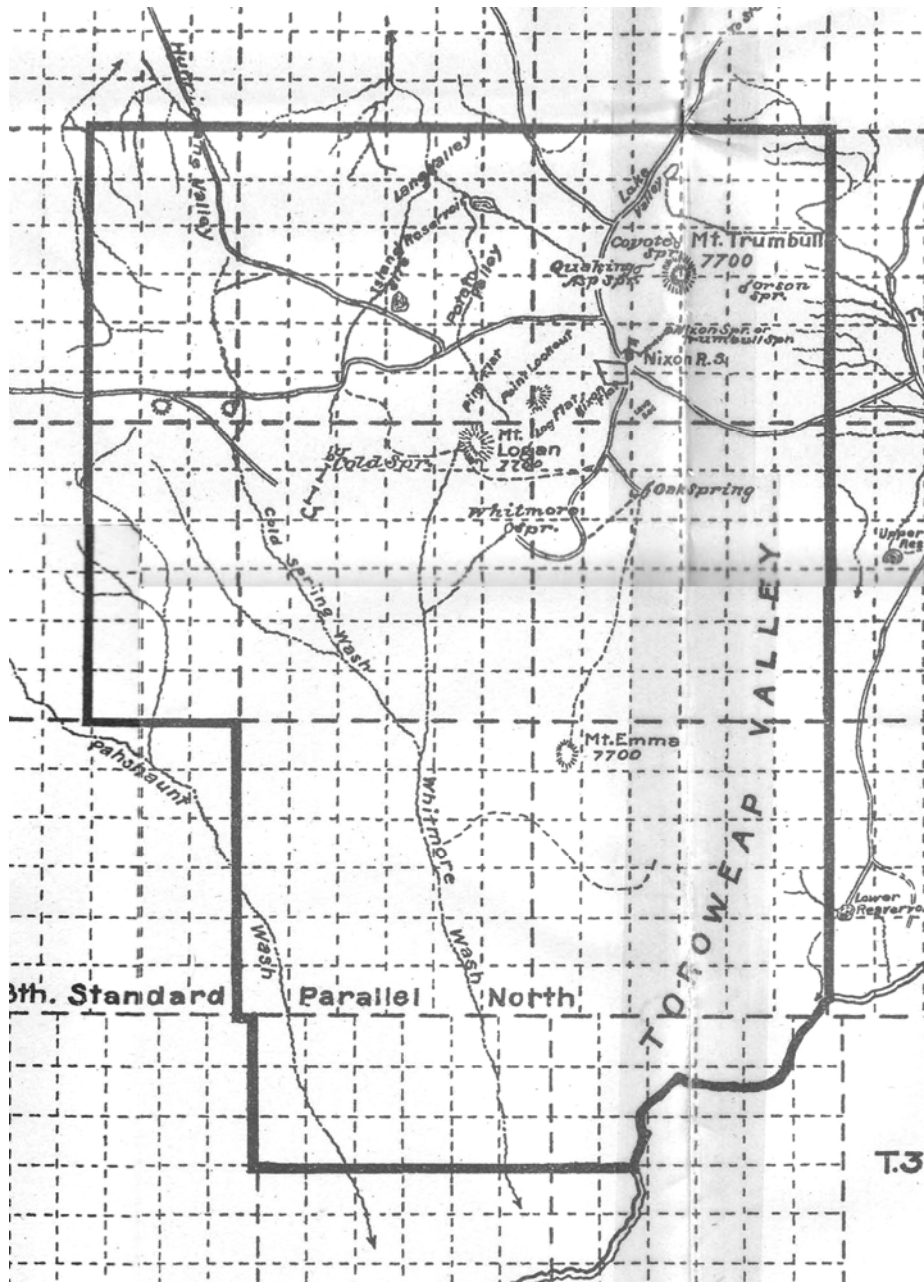


Figure 4) Dixie National Forest map, 1913, Mount Trumbull Division. (source: Southern Utah University)

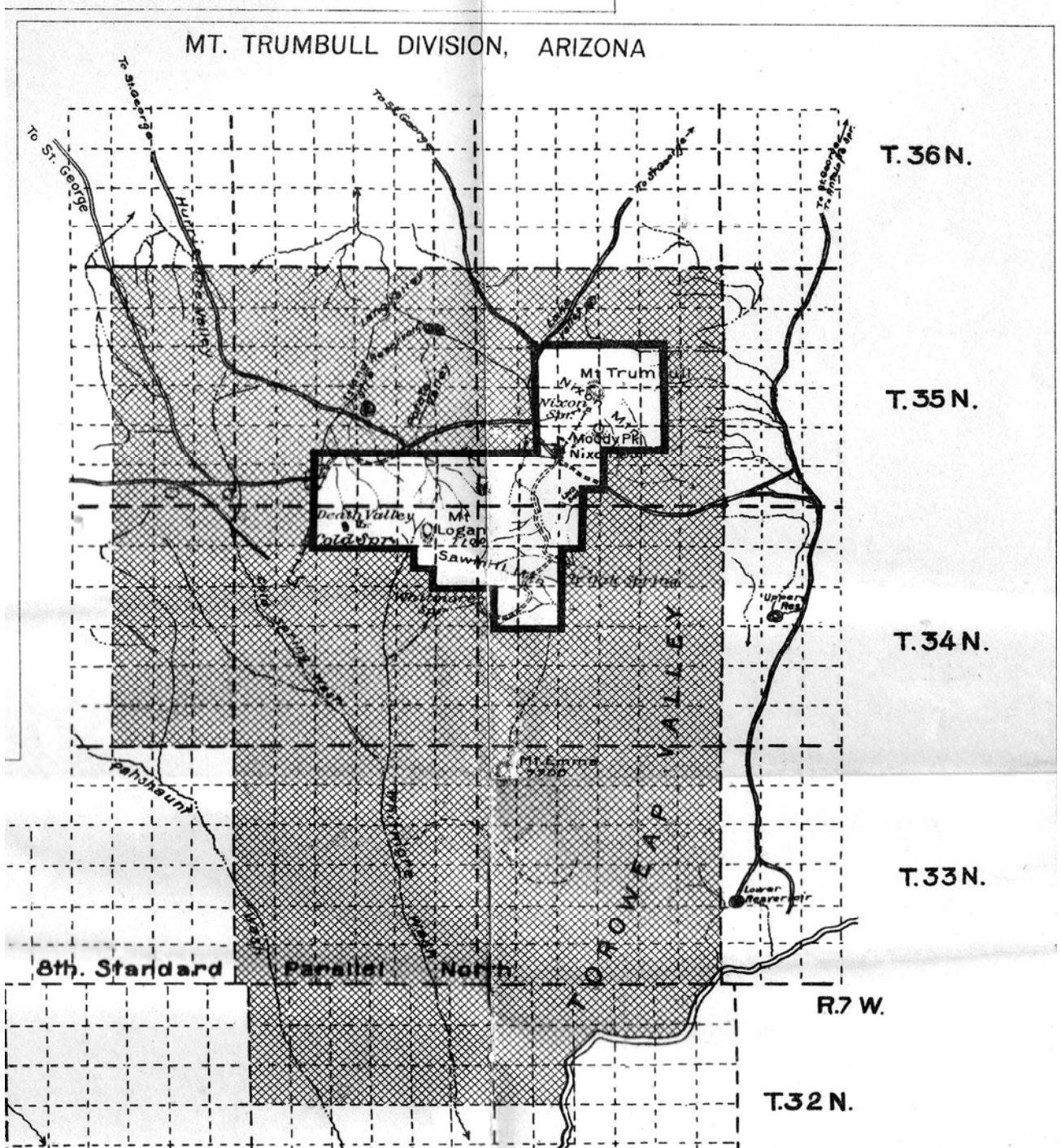


Figure 5) 1916 map of Mount Trumbull division showing its reduction in size.

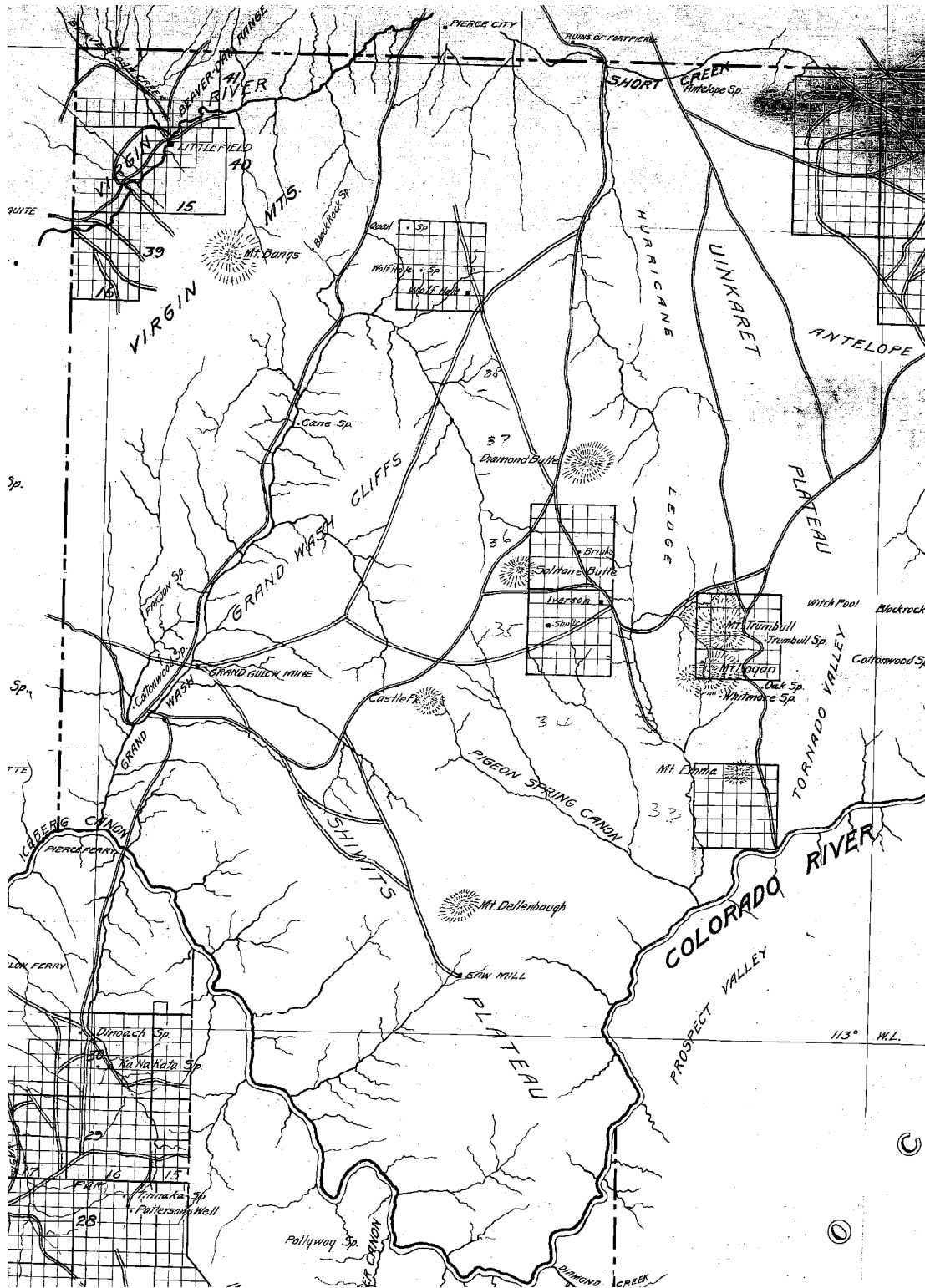


Figure 6) Western Arizona Strip, 1917. (source: "Road Map of Mohave County," 1917, available at Mohave County Cartographer's Office)

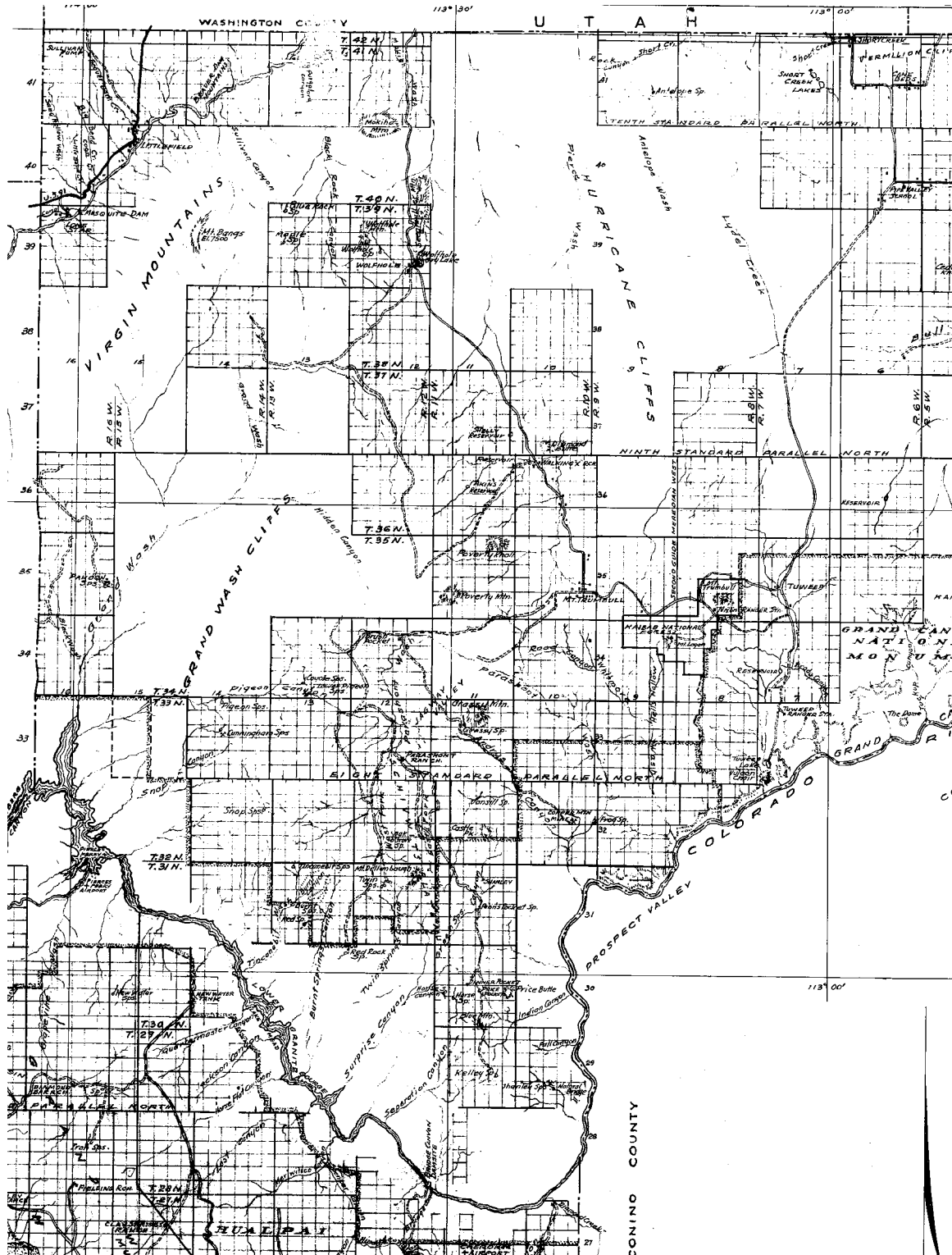


Figure 7) Western Arizona Strip, 1942. (source: John S. Mulligan, "Map of Mohave County," 1942, available at Mohave County Cartographer's Office)

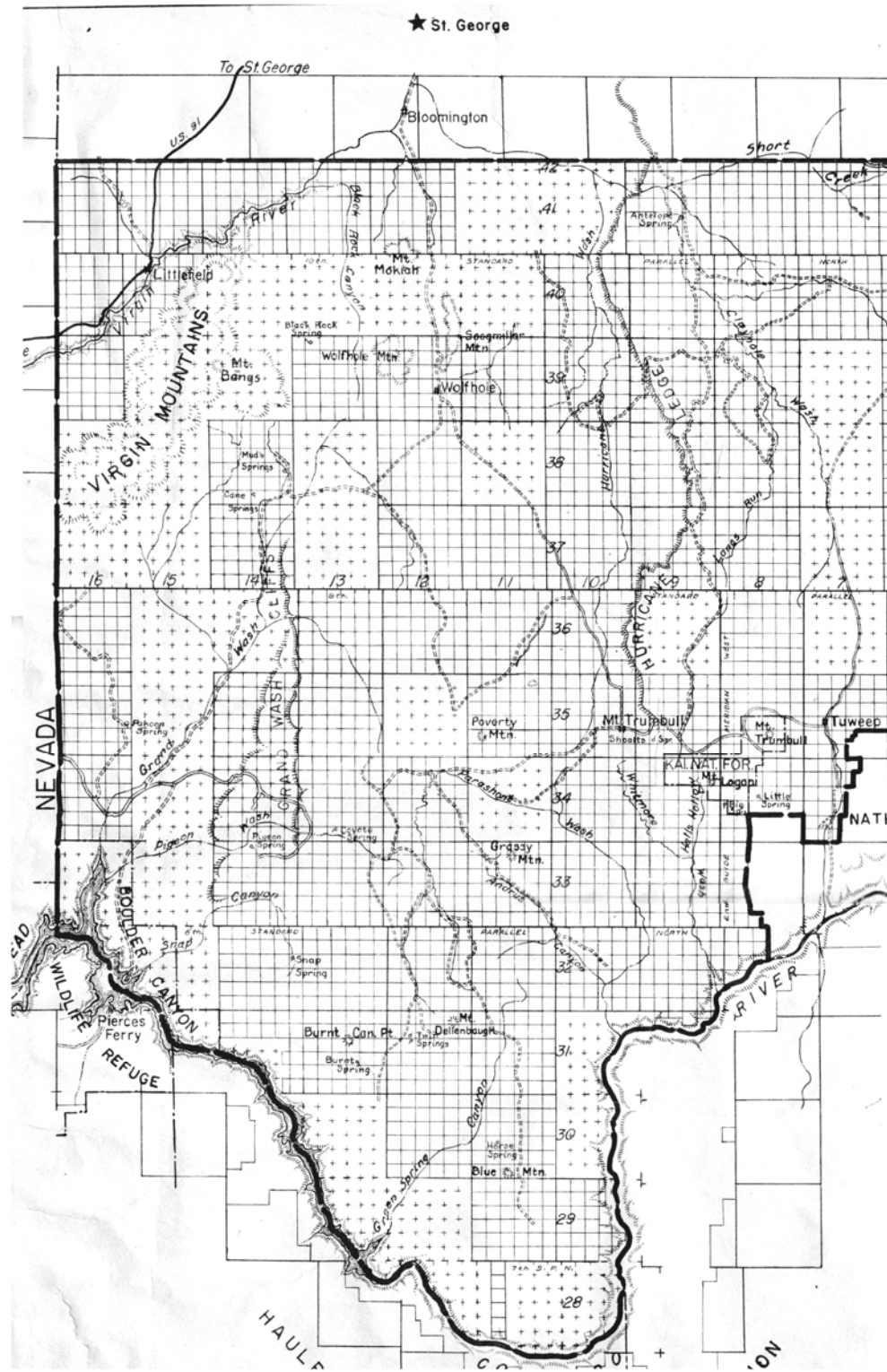


Figure 8) Western Arizona Strip, 1944. (source: Department of Interior Division of Grazing, "Arizona Strip Grazing District No. 1," 1944, available at Mohave Museum of History and Arts)

Appendix A:
Documents on killing of William Dunn, O. G. Howland, and Seneca Howland

Telegram from Washington, Utah, to Erastus Snow, September 7, 1869, 5:15 PM

Powell's three men killed by three She-bits (5 days ago, one Indian's day's journey from Washington) Indian report that they were found in an exhausted state, fed by She-bits, and put on the trail leading to Washington, after which they saw a squaw gathering seed and shot her. Whereupon the She-bits followed up and killed all three. Two of the She-bits who killed the men are in the Washington camp with two of the guns. Indian George has gone to secure what papers and property there is left.¹¹⁷

Article in *Deseret News*, September 8, 1869

We have received a dispatch through the Deseret Telegraph Line from St. George of the murder of three of the men belonging to the Powell exploration expedition. It appears according to the report of a friendly Indian that about five days ago the men were found by peaceable Indians of the Shebett [Shivwit] tribe very hungry. The Shebetts fed them, and put them on the trail leading to Washington in Southern Utah. On their journey they saw a squaw gathering seed, and shot her; whereupon they were followed by three Shebetts and killed. A friendly Indian has been sent out to secure their papers. The telegraph does not give us the names of the men.¹¹⁸

Article in *Cheyenne Leader*, September 18, 1869

Concerning the death of three of his men, Major Powell informs us that these men left him a few days before the completion of his journey down the river, and struck across the country for the Mormon settlements. After his arrival at Salt Lake he received a dispatch from one of the Southern Mormon elders, stating that the dead bodies of three men had been discovered, but the Major does not deem it at all certain that they were his men, and utterly discredits the report that they killed a squaw, as he says they were honorable men and gentlemen. The men were O. G. Howland, formerly of the Denver News, and his brother, and William H. Dunn, an old mountaineer.¹¹⁹

Article in *Deseret News*, September 29, 1869

President Erastus Snow telegraphs from St. George, per Deseret Telegraph line, that after making a thorough investigation through reliable Indians, of facts

¹¹⁷ Bleak's Annals, quoted in Darrah, *Powell of the Colorado*, 145.

¹¹⁸ *Deseret Evening News*, September 8, 1869 [quoted in "Newspaper Reports of the Expedition's End" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15:1,2,3,4 (1947): 140-48.]

¹¹⁹ *Cheyenne Leader*, September 18, 1869 [quoted in "Newspaper Reports of the Expedition's End" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15:1,2,3,4 (1947): 140-48]

of the murder of the three men of the Powell expedition, he is satisfied they did not molest a squaw, as the first Indian reported, but that they were killed by an enraged Shebitt, some of whose friends had, a short time previously, been murdered by a party of miners on the other (east) side of the Colorado river.

The Shebitts have since returned to their own country, but the Piedes of Southern Utah, say they (the Shebitts) burned the papers of the expedition the men had with them, after killing them. President Snow concludes his dispatch by saying he will still continue the search.¹²⁰

Letter written November 11, 1869, and sent to Denver News

St. George, Utah, Nov. 11

W. N. Byers: Your letter received per last mail. In reply I will state that there were three men of the Colorado Exploring Expedition, under Major Powell, killed by Indians about thirty or forty miles from this place. Friendly Indians came in and stated that three white men were found in a perishing condition by the Kibathels, and were brought into their camp, fed and recovered, and sent forward from this place on the regular trail; that on their way they came across a squaw gathering seeds, and that they debauched and shot her. This enraged the tribe, and they were pursued, foully murdered, and left for wolves to eat—not allowing whites even to go and bury them. It has been very well ascertained that the whole of this was a sheer fabrication, and that the Indians wantonly murdered the three men for what they had.

I talked with Major Powell about these men, but did not write down the names. They left the Major and party at the mouth of the Pahsear, a creek emptying into the Colorado, about one hundred miles southeast of this. On account of the danger of passing down the rapids, they chose the dangers of land travel. The Major gave them his firearms and ammunition. The party had little food, so they had to hunt for a living.

Major Powell arrived here in seven or eight days after the three left him, all safe, and was anxious about the others.

I will take all possible measures to obtain all the facts and particulars in the matter, and write you. I don't think the bones have been buried. Some friendly Indians might be induced, by good pay, to go out and gather and bring in the bones if desired. Yours truly, J. E. Johnson.¹²¹

Almon Harris Thompson diary, writing in November 1872

Friday, November 15th. Moved our camp about 1 1/2 miles this morning, then Pa-an-tung and I went some eight miles to south and climbed a high basalt ridge that I have taken from both Layer [Logan?] and Ellen. The basalt is 400 feet thick on the top and apparently the ridge was once an old crater. Is at least 1800 feet above lower terrace of canon. The point south is evidently another crater. Could see a few miles below Garden at point marked S, what I suppose is granite. At 20 is the point where boys left the Major. The upper terrace is much wider on

¹²⁰ "The Murdered Men of the Powell Expedition," *Deseret News*, September 29, 1869.

¹²¹ "The Powell Expedition—Fate of the Howlands and Dunn," *New York Times*, December 3, 1869 [reprint of article from *Denver News*, November 25, 1869]

west than east, no deep canons on east. The cliffs on both sides are much cut and worn. At bend of river the cliffs on south seem lower. The river swings around so that at point marked N. the neck is not more than 1 mile wide. Think the first jump is at least 2000 feet, then slopes to river, then is 2000 more. The cliffs continue to the S.W. about the same height on north, gets lower and lower all the time on south. The plateau seems quite smooth except when cut by canons running to river, and these in a short distance become very deep. The basalt is evidently at least 200 feet deep all over the plateau. I think I can see granite at S. Pa-an-tung says that some "no sense" (cat-i-sure) Cherriots killed three American men where we are camped. At Wimp-u-run-cent, pocket in south branch of canon, to Av-e-ku-net, pocket at point marked DR, Pa-an-tung says a creek comes in where Americans hunted gold. It must be Diamond River. At point S. is Sacramento mining district. It may be that at point B. is the bad rapid where Bradley went over.

Saturday, November 16th. Broke camp at 8:00 A. M. Adams and George took the trail, while Pa-an-tung and I went to Dellenbaugh Mountain, climbed it, and noted barometer. Took bearings, etc. Pa-an-tung did not want Adams to climb the mountain with us. We were within about eight miles of the river when on the mountain, the view same as yesterday except the basalt does not seem to continue as far west. As I thought, the mountain being on its western edge, Mount D. has evidently been the seat of an old outburst. Found the ruins of an old Moqui's building on the very summit. It had evidently been used as a lookout or temple of worship. It was circular in shape, and perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with walls now standing-5 feet high. We descended by the west and struck limestone within 3 miles of the base. Traveled in a N.W. direction around the base of basalt. Came to a spring in a valley, and find Adams and George. The spring had "played out"; not water enough for the horses. After supper we saddled up and traveled until after midnight in a west of north direction for the first half of the way, and were on low ridges of loose rock, mostly basalt, and valleys of limestone. We then entered a canon with a general course a little west of north; limestone walls. Came at last to a spring flowing out of a sandstone stratum. Camped and got something to eat.¹²²

John Wesley Powell writing in 1874 about a meeting in September 1870

Mr. Hamblin fell into conversation with one of the men and held him until the others had left, and then learned more of the particulars of the death of the three men. They came upon the Indian village almost starved and exhausted with fatigue. They were supplied with food and put on their way to the settlements. Shortly after they had left, an Indian from the east side of the Colorado arrived at their village and told them about a number of miners having killed a squaw in drunken brawl, and no doubt these were the men; no person had ever come down the canyon; that was impossible; they were trying to hide their guilt. In this way he worked them into a great rage. They followed, surrounded the men in ambush, and filled them full of arrows.¹²³

¹²² "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 7:1,2,3 (1939): 105-6.

¹²³ Powell, 323.

James A. Little and Jacob Hamblin, writing in 1881 about 1870

Some twelve or fifteen Indians got together the following day, and we called a council to have a good peace talk.

I commenced by explaining to the Indians Professor Powell's business. I endeavored to get them to understand that he did not visit their country for any purpose that would work any evil to them; that he was not hunting gold, silver or other metals; that he would be along the river next season with a party of men, and if they found any of them away from the river in the hills, they must be their friends, and show them places where there was water, if necessary.

They answered that some of their friends from the other side of the river crossed on a raft and told them that Powell's men were miners, and that miners on their side of the river abused their women.

They advised them to kill the three white men who had gone back from the river, for if they found any mines in their country, it would bring great evil among them. The three men were then followed, and killed when asleep.

The Indians further stated that they believed what I told them, and had they been correctly informed about the men, they would not have killed them.¹²⁴

Letter from William Leany, Sr., to John Steele, 1883

You are far from ignorant of those deeds of blood from the day the picket fence was broke on my head to the day those three were murdered in our ward & the murderer killed to stop the shedding of more blood. . . .

The old prophets said of the blood and violence in the city . . . and . . . if that was not fulfilled in the killing (of) three in one room in our ward, please say what it was . . . For all this & much more unrighteous dominion shall we be cast out of the land, unless we arise, cleanse the inside of the platter, & then it will rest from its blood & have its sabbaths, which I, you, and God knows it does not enjoy now. And though I have not hinted at half your points, or half the points on my mind yet, I must close hoping you will be good as to carefully scan & note on the back any faults you find in it. But be assured that I will, God being my helper, clear my skirts of the mobbing, raking, stealing, whoredom, murder, suicide, infanticide, lying, slander & all wickedness & abominations even in high places.¹²⁵

Frederick Dellenbaugh writing in 1903 [he was not part of the 1869 expedition]

They climbed up the mighty cliffs to the summit of the Shewits Plateau, about fifty-five hundred feet, and that it is a hard climb I can testify, for I climbed down and back not far above this point. At length they were out of the canyon, and they must have rejoiced at leaving those gloomy depths behind. Northward

¹²⁴ James A. Little, *Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of his personal experience, as a frontiersman, missionary to the Indians and Explorer* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Office, 1881), 97.

¹²⁵ Quoted in Larsen, 14.

they went, to a large water-pocket, a favourite camping-ground of the Shewits, a basin in the rocky channel of an intermittent stream, discharging into the Colorado. the only story of their fate was obtained from these Utes. Jacob Hamblin of Kanab learned it from some other Utes and afterwards got the story from them. They received the men at their camp and gave them food. During the night some of the band came in from the north and reported certain outrages by miners in that country. It was at once concluded that these whites were the culprits and that they never came down the Colorado as they claimed. In the morning, therefore, a number secreted themselves near the edge of the water-pocket. The trail to the water leads down under a basaltic cliff perhaps thirty or forty feet high, as I remember the spot, which I visited six years later. As the unfortunate men turned to come up from filling their canteens, they were shot down from the ambush. In consequence I have called this the Ambush Water-pocket. The guns, clothing, etc., were appropriated by the Shewits, and I believe it was through one of the watches that the facts first leaked out. I have always had a lurking suspicion that the Shewits were glad of an excuse (if they had one at the time) for killing the men. When I was there they were in an ugly mood and the night before I got to the camp my guide, a Uinkaret, and a good fellow, warned me to be constantly on my guard or they would steal all we had. There were three of us, and probably we were among the first whites to go there. Powell the autumn after the men were killed went to the Uinkaret Mountains, but did not continue over the Shewits Plateau. Thompson went there in 1872.¹²⁶

Jack Sumner, 1907

Before starting, I tried the little "Emma Dean" at the head of the rapid. Here we cached two barometers and a bunch of beaver traps. Everything was probably washed into the river at the next flood, as the rise in the river at that point is very great. We saw drift wood in the cracks of the cliffs seventy feet above the river, and we were then in a pretty high stage of water. We ran a short distance and camped for the night. While we repaired the boats, the boys discussed the conduct and the fate of the three men left above. They all seemed to think the red bellies would surely get them. But I could not believe that the reds would get them, as I had trained Dunn for two years in how to avoid a surprise, and I did not think the red devils would make an open attack on armed men. But I did have some misgiving that they would not escape the double-dyed white devils that infested that part of the country. Grapevine reports convinced me later that that was their fate. . . .

I believe when Major Powell got up into the Mormon settlements he sent out a party to look for our lost men. I heard about two months afterwards, while at Fort Yuma, California, that they brought in the report that the Howland brothers and Dunn came to an Indian camp, shot an Indian, and ravished and shot three squaws, and that the Indians then collected a force and killed all three of the men. But I am positive I saw some years afterwards the silver watch that I had given Howland. I was with some men in a carousal. One of them had a watch and boasted how he came by it. I tried to get hold of it so as to identify it by a certain

¹²⁶ Frederick Dellenbaugh, *The Romance of the Colorado*, 228-30.

screw that I had made and put in myself, but it was spirited away, and I was never afterwards able to get sight of it. Such evidence is not conclusive, but all of it was enough to convince me that the Indians were not at the head of the murder, if they had anything to do with it.¹²⁷

Anthony W. Ivins, 1924

More than twenty years after the Howlands and Dunns were killed, the writer was one day riding alone on the range, a short distance east, and a little north of the Parashont Ranch House. A heavy growth of cedars covered the mesa, it was an ideal place for an ambush. Passing through a dense growth of cedars the horse emerged from a small clearing and stopped. It was evident that someone had long before camped on the spot, dead cedars had been pulled down, a temporary shelter improvised, and a fire built. Like a bolt from the blue the thought came—This is the spot where Powell's men were killed.

In 1923 the writer made a trip to the southern part of the state. Knowing that To-ab had died, and that there was but one living who would be able to give the information desired, he went to the agency [sic] for the purpose of interviewing Old Simon, the only man remaining, who would have personal knowledge of the details of the tragedy. Simon had gone to the mountains to gather pine nuts, so the matter was left with George Brooks, ex-sheriff of Washington county, to acquire if possible, the desired information.

From the story told by Simon, and from other information gleaned from the Indians, it appears that the men, after leaving the Major, at the river, followed an old Indian trail, known to the writer, which reaches the north rim of the Grand Canyon at a point on the east side of Green Spring Canyon, where there is a small dripping spring, known as Kelly's Spring. From this point the trail bears north to Pen's Pocket [sic] and Green Spring. From there it passes north-west, on the north side of the "Butte" (Mount Dellenbaugh), goes over Lake Flat, and turns north, down a canyon, to Pine and Duke Springs, and from there down the Parashont Wash to the head of Hidden Canyon, across Poverty Mountain to Wolf Hole, and on to St. George. Had Powell's men been left unmolested, they undoubtedly would have followed this trail, and reached the settlements in safety.

It appears that when they first met the Shevvit Indians the white men were received with protestations of friendship. After they had passed, a council was held to determine whether they should be permitted to proceed in peace, or should be attacked and killed. The majority of the Indians were in favor of treating the strangers as friends, but To-ab insisted that they be dealt with as enemies. Persuading two young Indians to go with him, he followed the men to the point marked on the accompanying map, a short distance north east of the Parashont Ranch House, which was built many years after, where they attacked them from ambush, and killed them.

It is interesting to know that the point marked by Simon as the spot where the tragedy occurred, is the exact locality where some invisible influence caused

¹²⁷ Robert Brewster Stanton, *Colorado River Controversies* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1932), 205-6, 209.

the writer to stop his horse and reflect, as before stated, and it was at that time that the resolve came to him some day to fix the responsibility for this needless and unjustifiable murder, where he always believed it belonged, on John To-ab, whose character is plainly stamped in the lines of the face shown in the accompanying photograph, which was furnished the writer by the warden of the State Prison.¹²⁸

Jimmy Guerrero

Jimmy Guerrero: I think [Toab] helped to kill them Major Powell people. That what ya looking for?

Wally Mathis, Jr.: I think so. Yeah.

Jimmy Guerrero: Well, I don't know. Tone Ivins wanted me to go out there. I've gotta go. He's dead. But I promised to . . . If I go, I'll go sometime. Right across the knoll where they burned them people, he says I used to couldn't try to ride my horse up over that knoll, he says, I couldn't get them horses more than half way up over it. He said, they was bucking, they was back down . . . I said, did ya beat him and try him. He says, no, I never whip my horses, but, he says, I try to coax 'em up over the knoll, he says, I just couldn't get them over. . . He says, you know, they buried everything that the white man's got . . . And while I was talking to ol' . . . Toab, he used to come there. Oh, he used to come there pert near ever' winter and fool around there. He's eat the guts and the head and things, ya know, we wouldn't ever be eating, ya know. Well, we all fed the ol' bugger and fed him good. Give him plenty of meat and he's settin' there one day and he started telling me about it. And I just can't stand to have people tell me about torturin' thangs, ya know; especially, people. He begins to tell me, he says, I was a little bitty boy. He says, when that happen. He says, they jest cried and begged and cried and begged. Oh, he was tellin' me and laughing all the time. Finally, I says, Goddam you Toab, I says, you was anything but a little boy. I was a little boy. I says, you was a big boy. You was the first one that struck the match in their face. No, no, no, little bishop . . . talk, talk, none talk.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Anthony W. Ivins, "Traveling over Forgotten Trails: A Mystery of the Grand Canyon Solve," *Improvement Era* 27:11 (September 1924): 1023-25

¹²⁹ Jimmy Guerrero, interviewed by Wally Mathis, Jr., quoted in Belshaw and Peplow, 66-67.

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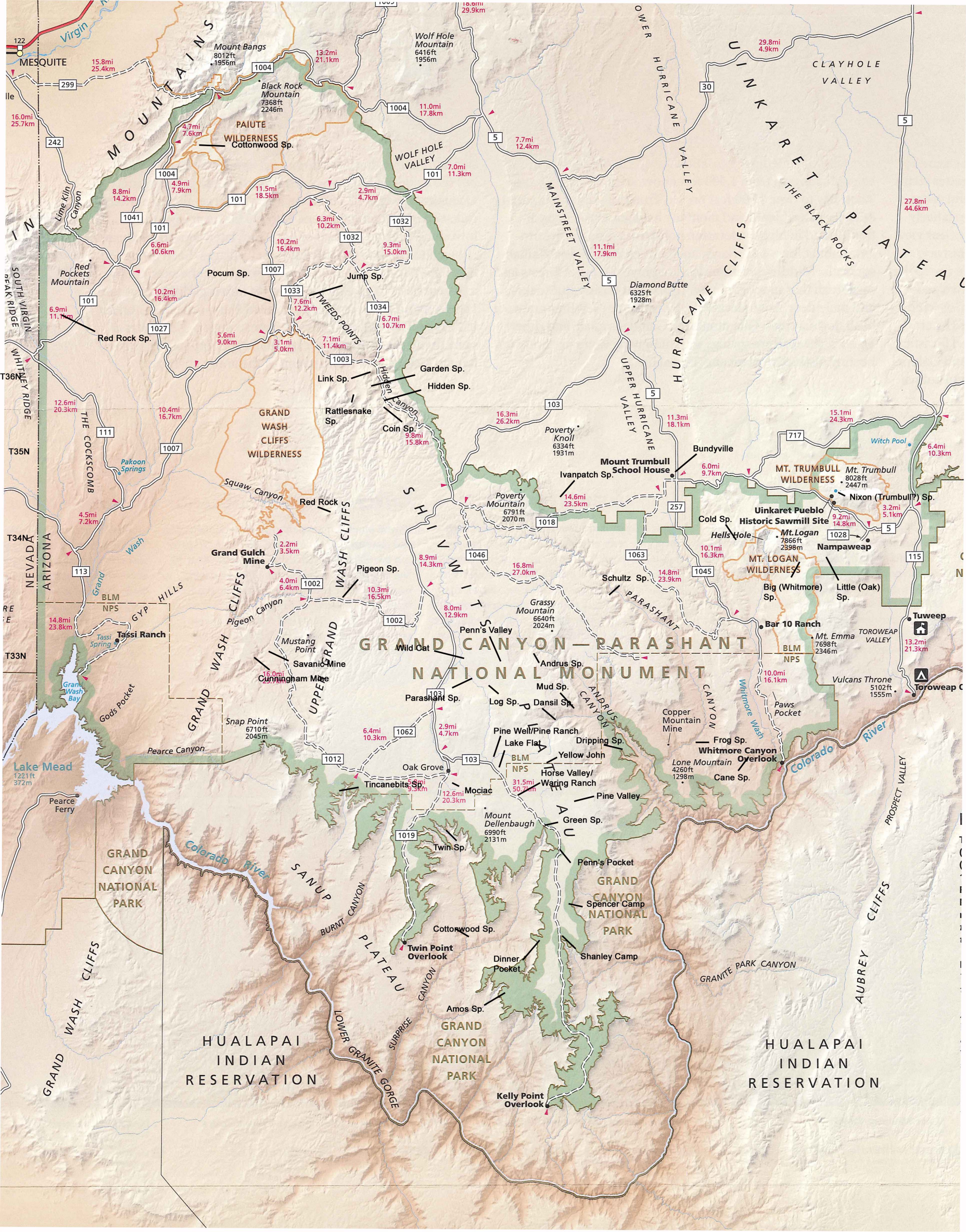
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MESQUITE
15.8mi
25.4km

Virgin
13.2mi
21.1km

Black Rock Mountain
7368ft
2246m

Wolf Hole Mountain
6416ft
1956m

11.0mi
17.8km

7.7mi
12.4km

7.0mi
11.3km

29.8mi
4.9km

27.8mi
44.6km

16.0mi
25.7km

8.8mi
14.2km

4.7mi
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