

**LANDSCAPE-LEVEL HISTORY OF THE
CANYONS OF THE ANCIENTS NATIONAL MONUMENT
MONTEZUMA AND DOLORES COUNTIES, COLORADO**

by

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Introduction

The Canyons of the Ancients National Monument covers approximately 164,000 acres of land in extreme southwestern Colorado administered by the Bureau of Land Management as part of the National Landscape Conservation System (Figure 1). The Monument was established on June 9, 2000 under the authority of the 1906 Antiquities Act in order to protect cultural and natural resources on a landscape level. The area encompassed by the Monument contains the highest density of archaeological sites in the United States. These are primarily prehistoric Anasazi (Ancestral Pueblo) sites, but a large number of sites from earlier and later periods are represented as well. Included are numerous historic sites from a wide variety of activities.

This landscape-level history is being prepared to assist in management planning for the Monument and is a companion document to oral histories that have been collected as part of the same project. The project was carried out by Alpine Archaeological Consultants, Inc. (Alpine) of Montrose, Colorado, under contract to the Bureau of Land Management (Delivery Order No. CAP030371), administered by Laura Kochanski, archaeologist for the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument in Dolores, Colorado. The historical narrative portion of the project was conducted by Jonathon C. Horn of Alpine, and the oral history portion of the project was conducted by Woods Canyon Archaeological Consultants, Inc. of Yellow Jacket, Colorado, under the direction of Jerry Fetterman. The history is intended to provide baseline contextual information by which historic sites in the Monument can be evaluated and considered. It is expected that information provided in this overview will enable historic sites to be better understood in terms of their thematic associations and will assist in the thorough researching of historical sites encountered on the Monument so that they can be understood contextually. This will enable the importance of the historical sites on the Monument to be adequately assessed and their archaeological research values to be better understood. In some cases, the contextual information provided by this document may be all the historical information available by which certain sites can be assessed. In other cases, such as failed land acquisition attempts, the information provided can serve as a springboard from which more detailed research can begin.

Included with this narrative is an assessment of the types of historic sites that can be expected to be present on the Monument divided by historical theme. An assessment is also made of the known historical sites already recorded on the Monument and the adequacy of previous recordings. Management recommendations are made for enhancement of the current historic site database and for the future recording and evaluation of historic sites on the Monument. The historic period of the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument covers nearly 400 years, from the time of initial contact between the Spanish and Native American groups in the early 1600s to the present.

Aboriginal Ute and Initial Contact

The Ute were the primary aboriginal inhabitants of southwestern Colorado, including the area encompassed by the current Canyons of the Ancients National Monument. The Monument area is considered to be within the traditional homeland of the Weeminuche band, which extended from the Dolores River westward through the Abajo (Blue) Mountains into the mesas and canyons of southeastern Utah and south to the San Juan River (Callaway et al. 1986:339). The date of the first direct encounter between Utes and Spanish and the nature of their early interactions are no longer known because the early Spanish records from New Mexico were destroyed during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. There are indications that trade relations had been established well before the uprising. The Muache, Weeminuche, and Uncompahgre Utes may have been in direct contact with the Spaniards by at least the early 1600s, whereas the Western Utes of Utah were probably not in direct contact until the middle 1700s (Callaway et al. 1986:354). It appears that the Ute populations may have been sufficiently dispersed that Old World diseases may have not traveled through Ute groups as quickly or with as much devastation as in more densely populated areas (Malouf and Findlay 1986:504-506).

Figure 1. General location of the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument.

Southern and Eastern Ute bands raided Spanish and Pueblo settlements in New Mexico and Arizona in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; they stole horses from the Spanish and various other goods from the Pueblos (Callaway et al. 1986:354). Early peaceful contact between the Utes and the Spanish were probably restricted to New Mexico. Annual fairs at Taos and Santa Fe were centers of trade with Indians. The Utes were well known for their exceptionally well-prepared deer hides, which they traded with other tribes and with Spanish colonists of New Mexico (Callaway et al. 1986:345). Raids on Spanish settlements by Utes were also frequent events. This raiding and trading resulted in the Ute Indians being well mounted over much of their range, though many Utes continued in a hunting and gathering way of life (Hafen and Hafen 1954:51; Smith 1974). The Ute obtained horses from the Spanish, possibly as early as 1640. By 1776, Utes in Colorado had a highly developed tradition of horse use. The use of the horse for transportation had a remarkable effect on Ute culture. The Ute became mounted raiders, able to expand their range and exploit various resources in an efficient manner. The horse enabled the Ute to travel over the Rocky Mountains and onto the eastern plains where they hunted buffalo and acquired many traits commonly ascribed to equestrian Plains Indian groups, including the use of teepees and their mode of attire (Smith 1974; Callaway et al. 1986:354; Malouf and Findlay 1986:500).

Adoption of an equestrian lifestyle resulted in a more complex society. Extended family groups were replaced by band organizations more suited to rapid mobilization facilitated by horses. The horse enabled the Ute to expand their sphere of influence and interaction, thereby exposing themselves to previously unknown outside cultural influences. Acquisition of the horse resulted in new trade relationships between the Ute and other Indian groups. The most influential interaction was between the Ute and Spanish traders. Most of the early Spanish trading expeditions were unauthorized and are, therefore, virtually undocumented. It is clear, though, that trade was conducted and that European-manufactured goods began to be assimilated into the Ute culture (Malouf and Findlay 1986:500).

Initial Exploration and Early Interactions with the Ute

By right of conquest, most of the present western United States was the domain of the Spanish from the late 1500s until Mexican Independence in 1821. The territory north of the New Mexican settlements was little known until the middle 1700s and officially off limits to the New Mexican citizenry in order to keep peace with the Utes. Despite being illegal to travel in the northern frontier, the opportunities to trade with the Ute and search for mineral wealth were too great a draw. Unauthorized exploration seems to have taken place and word began to filter back to the settlements of gold and silver deposits to the north. Three expeditions by Juan Maria de Rivera were undertaken from 1761 to 1765 to explore the northern frontier and to attempt to verify the rumors of mineral wealth. Much of Rivera's time was spent investigating the La Plata Mountains, but he also traveled northward to at least the confluence of the Gunnison and Uncompahgre rivers near present Delta, Colorado. There is a possibility that Rivera traveled between the Dolores River and the San Juan River by way of Cross Canyon and Montezuma Canyon. It has also been proposed that Rivera reached the Colorado River at Castle Valley near Moab, Utah, during the 1765 expedition, (Barnes 1991; Jacobs 1992). The Rivera expeditions set the stage for the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition of 1776, intended to find a passable route between Santa Fe and Monterey, California. With the knowledge of acquired by the Rivera expeditions, Dominguez and Escalante had some foreknowledge of western Colorado and had guides familiar with some of the route (Malouf and Findlay 1986:501; Smith 1974). For instance, they knew that north of New Mexico they would encounter "Tebehuchis [Tabeguache], Muhachis [Moache] and Sabaguana" Utes (Creer 1947:5; Hafen and Hafen 1954:68). The party was able to easily make their way into southwestern Colorado following the route of what would later become the Spanish Trail. They entered the area by way of present Mancos and followed the Dolores River northward, never actually entering the area of the present Canyons of the Ancients National Monument. It is also interesting to note that they were joined on the Dolores River by two *genizaro* half-breed Indians from Abiquiu (Velez de Escalante 1976). They then crossed the Uncompahgre Plateau into the Uncompahgre Valley and continued

northward across the Colorado River, then westward into Utah. They then cut their journey short and returned to New Mexico through the canyons of southeastern Utah and the Hopi mesas of northern Arizona.

Spanish Trade with the Ute

The knowledge of the northern frontier provided by the Rivera and the Dominguez-Escalante expeditions apparently stimulated expansion of trade with the Ute. In 1775, Governor Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta published a proclamation prohibiting any citizen, *genizaro*, or Indian to trade in Ute territory. Governor Francisco Trebol Navarro reissued the proclamation in 1778, because the initial proclamation had been widely disregarded. According to Navarro, some traders were mistreating the Utes and he was fearful of warfare with the Indians. Exposure to the early traders made the Utes opposed to any attempts at missionization. Infractions of the trade ban were numerous. In 1783, a group of Abiquiu citizens was prosecuted for trading with the Utes. Vicente Serva was tried in 1785 and Cristoval Lovato in 1793 for violating the ban (Weber 1971:26-27; Hafen and Hafen 1954:262).

Rumors abound about Spanish mining in the mountains of Colorado and the discovery of old Spanish mines. An 1891 article in the Rico *Sun* is typical. It describes evidence of drilling in waste rock beneath an obviously collapsed adit encountered in the course of doing initial excavation on the Anaconda and Boss lodes near Rico (Rico *Sun*, December 5, 1891). Other accounts include the discovery of Spanish tools, helmets, and weaponry.

In the early 1800s, Spanish restrictions against trade were apparently slackened, reflecting an official change in policy where trade with Indian groups on New Mexico's northern frontier was seen as a necessity in order to create a buffer against American encroachment. Part of this was an attempt by the Spanish to make the Indians dependent upon them through trade. As part of this new diplomacy, the Spanish began encouraging trade expeditions (Weber 1971:28). As trade with the Utes developed, two major travel routes from New Mexico into Utah became established: the main Spanish Trail and the northern branch of the Spanish Trail. The rapidity of the development of the route is demonstrated by the journey of Manuel Mestas, a 70-year-old *genizaro* that had served the Spanish as an interpreter to the Utes for 50 years, when he traveled to the Utah Lake area in 1805 and recovered stolen horses from the Timpanogos Utes, presumably following the route of the main Spanish Trail (Hafen and Hafen 1954:85; Creer 1947). When Jose Rafael Sarracino spent three months in Ute territory in central Utah in 1811, he found the Indians already in possession of Spanish-made knives, razors, and awls (Weber 1971:25). By 1813, Utes as far away as the Sevier River in central Utah were accustomed to trading with the Spanish (Hafen and Hafen 1954:267; Smith 1974).

The Utes were eager to trade with the Spanish and were particularly interested in procuring horses, though they also obtained other items such as blankets, knives, beads, and agricultural products. The Spanish were equally eager to trade in order to bolster their meager economy. Slaves were most highly desired, but tanned hides, furs, and dried meat were also received from the Utes (Hafen and Hafen 1954:261). As the slave trade became established, Utes began raiding unmounted Western Shoshone, Southern Paiutes, and Gosiutes as far west as southern Nevada to steal women and children to sell to the Spanish in New Mexico for use as domestic servants and shepherds (Callaway et al. 1986:354). In 1812, a Spanish law was passed prohibiting Indian slavery. This did little to curb the trade, and pelts and slaves continued to be the major items of exchange with the Utes (Hafen and Hafen 1954:263-264). Local lore suggests that the Spanish mined on Ute Mountain and that Spanish artifacts have been found on occasion in the McElmo Canyon area, though confirmation is lacking (Kenyon and Kenyon 2004; Jeter 2004).

Mexican Trade and the Fur Trade Era

In 1821, Spain was overthrown and Mexico gained its independence. Remaining restrictions on trade were terminated, and trade with the Ute expanded. Coincident with these events was expansion of the fur trade in the southern Rocky Mountains and the inclusion of numerous Americans in the fur trade. Before the opening of the Santa Fe Trail in the 1820s, New Mexico was rather poor in manufactured items; the items the Spanish and Mexicans had to trade with the Utes were not particularly varied, largely consisting of agricultural products. Consequently, the Utes eagerly welcomed American traders, who had superior trade goods (Weber 1971:27-28). Americans attempted to trap in Spanish territory prior to Mexican Independence, but the number of Americans trapping in the region was certainly small and they were always in danger of arrest. Fred Blackburn reports the initials "WHW" accompanied by an 1819 date along the Animas River. He suggests this may be the initials of William Wolfskill, but Wolfskill is not reported to have entered the area until 1820, when he was captured by the Spanish and held in Santa Fe (Fred Blackburn, personal communication to Jon Horn, August 1, 2004). Fur trade posts that supplied trappers and traded directly with the Indians for hides and furs were set up in the Uncompahgre Valley and in northeastern Utah and Utes were regular participants at the annual trapper rendezvous that began in 1825 and continued for 16 years (Hafen and Hafen 1954:86). As a result of their close association with fur trappers and traders, the Utes became particularly well armed. Fusils, or smoothbore muskets, were the standard trade gun of the major fur trading companies. They decreased in popularity only in the 1860s with the increased sale of shotguns, cheap muzzle-loading rifles, and breech-loading carbines (Malouf and Findlay 1986:505). Fusils were cheap, standard-part rifles that used a .30-caliber ball or shot. The serpent sideplate was the mark of trade guns and was adopted by American and Belgian gun manufacturers. Belgian guns were apparently given out "by the thousands" by the U.S. Government as treaty payments after 1836. Albright percussion rifles were sold by the Mormons to the Indians in the 1850s. A photograph of Ute Indians in New Mexico, possibly taken by John K. Hillers in 1870, shows an 1841 percussion rifle that took .54 caliber paper cartridges and a .50 caliber Springfield rifle made about 1870 that was commonly given as treaty payment (Malouf and Findlay 1986:505).

The increased contact and fur trade was probably the cause of remarkable culture change amount the Ute. According to Malouf and Findlay (1986:504):

...mountain men commonly engaged in trade with Indians, usually for beaver pelts but sometimes for food as well. This doubtless had a profound effect on traditional economies. Goods acquired from Anglo-American fur companies in some cases supplanted elements of aboriginal material culture. Trade also exposed Indians to liquor, which was used by traders to facilitate deals, as well as to firearms. Acquisition of such items probably had an impact akin to that of the horse by helping to undermine ancient patterns of subsistence, social organization, and social control.

During the fur trade period, the Spanish Trail was extended to California. Once the connection was made, annual trade caravans traveled between New Mexico and California. Although the trade caravans seem to have ended with the Mexican-American War, travel on portions of the Spanish Trail continued into the 1850s. The annual trade caravans facilitated trade of sheep, horses, textiles, foodstuffs, and slaves between the two areas. The highly mobile Utes were able to provide both horses and slaves to the Spanish by raiding widely from the eastern plains to California and into New Mexico and Arizona. Intertwined with raiding, Ute prosperity was tied to control of the Utah-Colorado portion of the Spanish Trail (Sprague 1957:68).

The slave trade continued after Mexican independence, mainly by New Mexican traders who would set out with some trade goods, trade these with Utes or Navajos for horses, then trade the horses for slaves as far as California. These slaves would be traded to the Mexican Californians for horses, goods, or cash. Slaves obtained on the way back would be sold in New Mexico (Hafen and

Hafen 1954:268). Horse-mounted Utes took an active role in the slave trade and were depended upon as sources of slaves by traders. These Utes raided adjacent Indian groups that did not have horses, such as the Southern Paiute and Gosiute of Utah and Nevada (Malouf and Findlay 1986:503). Occasionally, fur trappers would engage in the slave trade as well. Antoine Robidoux took several Indian women and young Indians from Utah to New Mexico as slaves in 1842; he also kept several for his own use (Hafen and Hafen 1954:270). Robidoux ran Fort Uncompahgre in western Colorado and Fort Uintah in northeastern Utah. Kit Carson, while acting as a guide for John C. Fremont in 1844, purchased a Southern Paiute boy from the Utes as an apprentice (Malouf and Findlay 1986:507).

U.S. Government Expeditions

Conflict with the Mormons, beginning in 1857, resulting in what has been termed the Mormon War, provided the impetus for the U.S. Government to send exploration expeditions to identify practical routes to reach Utah from a variety of points. The Macomb Expedition was one of these parties. In 1859, the party, under the command of John N. Macomb, was sent out from Santa Fe and followed the Spanish Trail northwestward past the current Monument into Utah. It was noteworthy for its exploration of the canyon country of southeastern Utah, including identifying the location of the confluence of the Colorado and Green Rivers, and for being the first to discover and collect dinosaur bone from the Colorado Plateau. They determined that a route through southeastern Utah to the Mormon settlements was not practical for a wagon road or railroad. They did considerable topographic mapping, and were the first to report large Indian Ruins along the route in southwestern Colorado in the vicinity of the current Monument, including Yellow Jacket Pueblo (Macomb 1876).

In 1874 and 1875, the U.S. Government under the Department of Interior sent a team of surveyors to southwestern Colorado under the direction of Ferdinand V. Hayden. The mission of the expedition was to prepare topographic maps, examine topographic features, describe flora and fauna, and to document the scenery and natural resource potential of the region. The survey took in the current Canyons of the Ancients National Monument. A few features of the area are shown on the map that includes the Monument area including Hovenweep Castle, Battle Rock, a "Burial Place" at the confluence of McElmo Creek and Hovenweep [Yellow Jacket] Canyon, "Indian Farms" in upper McElmo Canyon near where Mud Creek enters from the south, and ruins farther east and south. The route of the Spanish Trail is also depicted on the map that, when scaled to current maps, passes in a southeast to northwest trajectory just northeast of the Monument at the head of Cahone and Cross canyons. When topography shown on the Hayden Survey map is taken into consideration, it is entirely possible that the trail passed slightly farther west and actually entered the Monument near the heads of Cahone and Cross Canyons.

American Incursions and Treaties with the Ute

The discovery of gold at Cherry Creek near Denver in 1858 resulted in a rush to Colorado that brought miners and other settlers into conflict with the Ute. Miners entered the San Juan Mountains at Bakers Park (Silverton) in 1860, but it was not until the early 1870s that a real mining presence was made in southwestern Colorado. The Treaty of 1868 between the Utes and the federal government reserved all of western Colorado for the Ute as their reservation, but did not anticipate the expansion of mining in the following years. Trespasses onto the Ute Reservation were made by miners in the San Juan and La Plata Mountains in the early 1870s that caused considerable conflict with the Ute. To alleviate the problem, the Brunot Treaty of 1873 was negotiated which resulted in the ceding of the San Juan and La Plata Mountains by the Ute. A strip of low-lying land to the south and west of the ceded land remained part of the Ute Reservation; a western strip of land encompassed the area of the current Monument. Further encroachment on the reservation and the culmination of hostilities with the Meeker Massacre at the White River Agency in 1879 led to the

removal of the Northern Utes to reservations in Utah and restriction of the Southern Utes on a narrow strip of reservation land along the southern border of Colorado.

History of the Ute During the Reservation Period

The lands encompassed by the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument were all part of the Ute Reservation until it was ceded by treaty in 1880, following the Meeker Massacre and removal of the White River and Uncompahgre Utes from Colorado and establishment of a diminished reservation for the Southern Utes. The Meeker Massacre resulted in the negotiation of the 1880 treaty with all of the Ute bands in Colorado because the climate in Colorado was such that the removal of all Utes from the state was desired (Kappler 1904:180-186). The removal of the White River Utes from Colorado as punishment for their involvement in the Meeker Massacre was a given. Ouray realized that treaty negotiations would diminish the size of the reservation of the Uncompahgre Utes, but he did not believe they would result in the removal of the band from Colorado. After negotiating the treaty in 1880, Ouray died, leaving the conditions of the treaty open to interpretation by the commission designated to define where the new reservation for the Uncompahgre band would be. It was expected that the new reservation for the Uncompahgre Utes would be at the confluence of the Grand and Gunnison River (present day Grand Junction), but at the suggestion of Otto Mears and without the strong presence of Ouray to say otherwise, this location was bypassed and reservation lands were selected in northeastern Utah at what became the Ouray Reservation, adjacent to the Uintah Reservation. The Uncompahgre band was removed to the reservation in Utah in 1881, and their vacated lands were made available to settlement in 1882 (Kappler 1904:205).

Ignacio, leader of the Southern Utes, had the foresight to distance his group from Ouray and negotiated a reservation in a strip of land along the southern boundary of Colorado. The strip of land was south of the land ceded by the Utes by the Brunot Treaty of 1873 that removed the San Juan Mountains from their domain and was considered to be worthless for Euroamerican settlement (Kappler 1904:151-152). Under the 1880 treaty, the Southern Utes were to have their lands allotted to individual tribal members with the remaining land sold for the benefit of the tribe (Kappler 1904:180-186). Ignacio objected to the plan and desired to retain contiguous land for the Weeminuche band.

As early as 1886, the tribe was interested in exchanging their designated reservation lands along the Colorado border for a reservation in Utah. In 1888, the Secretary of the Interior authorized negotiations for such an exchange to take place, but an agreement was not approved by Congress (Kappler 1904:217). In late 1894, tribal members were told that establishment of a reservation in southeastern Utah was imminent and, in November 1894, 1,100 Utes and their agent, David Day, migrated there. Uproar by cattlemen and ranchers of the region and new information that a new reservation was not approved by the government resulted in the Utes to return to Colorado (McPherson 1995:152; Silvey 1990; Peterson 1975). However, not all of the Utes returned to the reservation in Colorado. Some stayed behind and became assimilated with the Allen Canyon Utes and Paiutes, living in the vicinity of the Hatch Trading Post. Navajo also resided in the area, and there was certainly considerable mixing of the groups. The Allen Canyon Utes reportedly utilized the lower end of the Monument in Bridge Canyon, Yellow Jacket Canyon, Hovenweep Canyon, and Cahone Mesa. A group comprised mainly of Weeminuche Ute also resided in Montezuma Canyon (Knight 2004; McPherson and Yazzie 2004). By the 1920s, the Allen Canyon Utes had become completely isolated from the Utes in Colorado, were restricted to allotments in Montezuma Canyon and Allen Canyon, and had limited access to grazing lands because of federal controls in the 1930s. In the 1950s, the Utes completed legal proceedings that resulted in their receiving compensation for land they had ceded to the U.S. government. This enabled the Allen Canyon and Montezuma Canyon Utes to acquire land near Blanding where they established a community at what is known as the White Mesa Ute Reservation (McPherson 1995:199-200, 212-214; McPherson and Yazzie 2004).

An agreement in 1895 resulted in proceeding with allotment of Southern Ute Reservation lands as stipulated in the 1880 treaty. However, one of the provisions of the agreement was for part of the reservation to be set aside for Indians wanting their own reservation rather than receiving allotments; they were referred to as the “unallocated Utes.” This resulted in the establishment of the Ute Mountain Ute Reservation in 1895, with its agency headquarters at Navajo Springs. Edgar Noland established a trading post there, with the help of Al Wetherill, soon after 1895. Because of a lack of water, the agency at Navajo Springs was quickly abandoned and a new agency was constructed in about 1898 at Towaoc; it is not known if Noland set up another trading post at Towaoc (McNitt 1962:308; Kappler 1904:555, 597; United States Supreme Court 1971). A post office named Navaho Springs was in operation from December 24, 1910 to April 1, 1915, when it was moved to Towaoc (Bauer et al. 1990:104, 142).

The eastern portion of the reservation lands not set aside as the Ute Mountain Ute Reservation was still designated as the Southern Ute Reservation. Once allotments for the Utes living on the Southern Ute Reservation (“allocated Utes”) were established, the remainder of the land was opened for settlement on May 4, 1899. The 374 allotments designated to the Utes amounted to about 60,000 acres of land, leaving 636,000 acres open for entry to other settlers. In addition, the Utes were free to lease their allotted land for farming, ranching, or mineral exploration (Ute Mountain Ute Tribe 1976:51-52; *Grand Valley Times*, May 26 and June 9, 1899).

In 1906, Mesa Verde National Park was established that abutted the Ute Mountain Ute Reservation to the north. When it was realized that the new park failed to encompass the most spectacular of the Anasazi cliff dwellings, efforts were made to extend the park southward onto Ute Mountain Ute Reservation lands. In order to acquire the desired land, F. H. Abbott, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and James McLaughlin, Inspector with the Department of Interior, negotiated a land exchange with the Weeminuche Utes that was signed May 10, 1911. The agreement expanded Mesa Verde National Park about 3.75 miles southward, encompassing 12,760 acres in exchange for 7,840 acres of land vacated from the original configuration of the National Park and 19,520 acres on the north side of the Ute Reservation on the north side of Ute Mountain (Abbott and McLaughlin 1911). The land acquired by the Ute on the north side of Ute Mountain extended down to the south side of McElmo Canyon. Many of the ranchers in McElmo Canyon accustomed to grazing animals on the slopes of Ute Mountain no longer had access to those lands. This event also seems to have terminated cooperative ranching ventures between Utes and ranchers in the McElmo Canyon area (Bridgewater 2004).

Utes may have continued using the Monument area for grazing into the 1930s, but this was probably limited because of grazing by other ranchers in the area. Numerous of these ranchers hired Utes as cowboys and farmers, particularly in McElmo Canyon, where Utes were relied upon for hand labor (Fosnot and Fosnot 2004; Tozer 2004c). Utes still visit the Monument to collect plants and firewood (Tozer 2004a; Bridgewater 2004).

In the early 1920s, the Ute Mountain Ute and Southern Ute Reservations were consolidated, with Ignacio designated as the reservation headquarters and Towaoc designated as a sub-agency. The Bureau of Indian Affairs closed their facilities at Towaoc in 1942, including the hospital and boarding school, leaving a stockman and an assistant as the only government employees. After 1948, no government employees were present at Towaoc. Oil and gas discoveries on Ute Mountain Ute lands in the 1950s and land settlements with the U.S. government provided sources of income to tribal members. On December 29, 1968, the Consolidated Ute Agency was abolished and separate agencies for the Southern Ute and Ute Mountain Ute were established. The Southern Ute agency was at Ignacio and the Ute Mountain Ute agency was at Towaoc (Ute Mountain Ute 1976:17-19).

Navajo Occupation

Traditionally, the homeland of the Navajo is considered to have been south of the San Juan River in New Mexico, Utah, and Arizona. However, prehistorically, this boundary may not have always remained firm and there is some indication that the Navajo were present in southwestern Colorado at times during prehistory. With the adoption of the horse by the Ute, the Navajo clearly seem to have been restricted to lands south of the San Juan River. Difficulties between the U.S. government and the Navajo resulted in a military operation under the direction of Kit Carson in 1863 intended to round up all of the Navajo and send them to Fort Sumner at Bosque Redondo (Roessel 1983:506-511). In an attempt to escape the roundup, many Navajo headed north of the San Juan River into southeastern Utah where they were assisted by Southern Paiutes and Utes of the area. When the Navajo negotiated a treaty in 1868 and were released from their captivity at Bosque Redondo, they headed back to their traditional homelands. However, many of the Navajo that had escaped north of the San Juan River had become established there and had developed ties with the Southern Paiute and Ute through intermarriage, so remained (Benally 2004; Knight 2004). Small family units moved nomadically throughout the region with small herds of cattle and sheep. With the removal of the Northern Utes from western Colorado in 1881 and restriction of the Southern Utes to a small strip of land along the southern border of Colorado following the treaty of 1880, the Navajo were evidently able to extend their range into southwestern Colorado as far east as the Dolores and Mancos areas (Benally 2004). Competition for rangeland with the large cattle companies that occupied the territory at the same time made survival difficult, and gradual settlement of the region by homesteaders further restricted the available range. In 1884, to alleviate some of the stress to the Navajo in southeastern Utah due to range competition, the Navajo Reservation was extended north of the San Juan River in the Aneth area. Part of this was officially returned in 1892, because of conflicts with existing homesteads, but in 1905, the reservation was extended northward (McPherson 1995:129-130). Trading posts along the San Juan River and elsewhere in northern New Mexico and southwestern Colorado created a demand for Navajo blankets and silver jewelry that bolstered the Navajo economy, particularly beginning in the 1890s. It appears that Navajo continued a nomadic existence on lands within the current Monument into the early 1930s. With strict control over grazing lands under the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934, this practice seems to have ceased entirely. In addition to nomadic use of the area, many Navajo worked for larger stock raisers of the area as sheepherders and as seasonal laborers for farmers from the 1890s to at least the 1960s. Navajos were also employed to stake uranium claims and worked as uranium miners (Benally 2004; Fosnot and Fosnot 2004; Tozer 2004c; Connolly 1996:17). While employed in these capacities, Navajos continued to leave their mark on the landscape wherever they camped or resided. To the present day, Navajos continue to visit the Monument to collect ochre and plants for ceremonial purposes and firewood for heating (Benally 2004; Tozer 2004a; Bridgewater 2004a).

Trading Posts

Trading posts were established along the San Juan River in Utah and New Mexico, beginning in 1868, to cater to trade with the Navajo as they returned to lands south of the river from their containment at Fort Sumner. The Navajo established themselves on the south side of the San Juan River and Euroamericans settled on the north side. Although established to focus on trade with the Navajo, Utes of the region also frequented the trading posts. Items acquired from the Navajo included wool, silver work, and blankets, which were transported to Durango and Mancos for shipment by rail for national distribution. Although rugs and jewelry were produced, wool was the primary commodity traded by the Navajo. Severe drought and early frosts in the early 1890s had a drastic impact on the sheep herds of the Navajo, resulting in poor economic conditions for them that reduced their ability to patronize the trading posts. This resulted in a decline in the number of trading posts in business along the San Juan River (McPherson 1994; McNitt 1965). Beginning in the 1890s, in order to bolster the Navajo economy and provide a commodity that could be traded, many trading post operators encouraged production of Navajo rugs with designs that were appealing

to American consumers. Rugs quickly became both a viable tourist trade item and a commodity that gained national demand and helped replace the declining stock raising industry. New varieties of sheep for wool were introduced to enhance the quality of the wool used in the rugs (McPherson 1995:197-199). Relaxation of government regulations and encouragement of Indian arts and crafts, particularly weaving, resulted in a resurgence in trading posts from 1900 to the 1930s. This was further supported by increased tourism in the area creating a demand for native crafts. The Ute did not have a comparable product to stimulate their poor economic situation with the decline of stockraising in the 1890s. Ute beadwork and baskets were not in as high demand as Navajo rugs, so handicrafts did not provide the Ute with much additional income (McPherson 1995:199). A federal program aimed at reducing the quantity of livestock being grazed on the reservations was implemented in the 1920s and 1930s. Once again, the economic base of the Navajo and Ute was undermined. This and improved transportation resulted in a decline in the importance of trading posts (McPherson 1994).

Trading posts in southeastern Utah along the San Juan River, particularly at Aneth, and into northern Arizona relied on railheads in Colorado to move goods to and from their posts. Freighters were continually on the move between the posts and Durango, and, after the completion of the Rio Grande Southern Railroad in 1891, Dolores and Mancos. The principal route utilized for freighting was through McElmo Canyon. It is no wonder that a large number of the settlers in McElmo Canyon were intimately involved in the Indian trade. Included were Stanley Mitchell, Jesse West, James M. Holly, and Billy Meadows.

Oen Edgar (Ed) Noland arrived in Mancos in 1873 and married Callie Mitchell, the daughter of Stanley Mitchell, in 1880 or 1881 (McNitt 1962:308; Miniclier 1994; Wardrip 1993:47). Noland constructed a trading post near Four Corners on the north bank of the San Juan River for trade with both the Ute and Navajo. The post may have been constructed as early as 1882, but was certainly in operation by 1884 or 1885. A second post was constructed on the north side of the San Juan River by Noland and his father-in-law, Stanley Mitchell, at what they called Riverview at the mouth of McElmo Creek. This location later became known as Aneth. The Riverview post was operated by Mitchell. After an incident where Mitchell killed a Navajo, management of the Riverview post was conducted by Pete Guillet, who then bought the post. It was then sold to Guillet's brother-in-law, Sterling Price "Sterl" Thomas, in about 1890. Herm and Pete Guillet then purchased the store of Al and Frank Thompson in Cortez. Callie Noland died in 1895 and Ed Noland sold his trading post at Four Corners to A. J. Ames and Jesse West in 1896. The post was later bought by Joseph Heffernan in 1908 (McNitt 1962:308-309; Wardrip 1993:47). Noland then constructed a large trading post at the new Ute agency at Navajo Springs (Freeman 1958:249; Wardrip 1993:47). When the agency at Navajo Springs was abandoned for a new location at Towaoc; it is not known if Noland set up another trading post there (McNitt 1962:308). After 1900, Noland moved to Mancos and bought the Bauer Mercantile Company in partnership with O. S. Crenshaw (Wardrip 1993:47).

James M. Holly acquired land in McElmo Canyon near the Utah state line in 1894. Holly moved to Aneth in 1899 to operate a trading post. From 1899 to 1905, Holly was alarmed at the difficulties area Navajo were having with white ranchers over grazing lands. Desiring to be of more direct help to the Navajo, he was appointed the Indian agency farmer at Aneth in 1905. He then succeeded in building a riprap barrier along the San Juan River to protect the irrigation headgates of the Navajo farmers and began construction of a road from Aneth to the Four Corners (McPherson 1995:132). The Holly ranch was subsequently owned by John Ismay. He and his wife, Eleanor Heffernan Ismay constructed a trading post there in 1921, which is still in operation (Wardrip 1993:51; Freeman 1958:134-135).

Billy Meadows was an Indian Trader who spent most of his time on Navajo Reservation in Arizona and New Mexico. He had a trading post on the San Juan River at Chinle, Arizona, which was destroyed by a flood about 1910, and a trading post near Fort Defiance, Arizona. Meadows

moved to the lower Montezuma Valley in 1902 and into lower McElmo Canyon in 1913, where he built a new trading post. The post was operated by Andy Hooper. It was owned by Ed Jeters in the 1930s and was last operated by Dick Wilson, when it was known as the Wilson Trading Post (Wallace 1979b:85-86; Wardrip 1993:50).

Hall's Trading post in upper McElmo Canyon was built by Ernest and Pocohantas Cabel Hall. It is not known when the post was established, but seems to have been in operation through at least the 1930s (Wardrip 1993:51). Their daughter, Lillian Ardella Hall, married Luther Veach, a prominent sheep rancher in the McElmo Canyon area (Veach 1979:81-82).

Cattle Industry

Initial use of the land encompassing the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument by Europeans was for cattle grazing. Following the Civil War, large herds of cattle were established in Texas. Expansion of railroad lines westward, beginning with the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869, facilitated the transport of cattle to eastern markets. Seeking economical ways to get their animals to market, cattlemen in Texas began driving their animals northward to railheads that gradually extended southward and westward into Kansas and eastern Colorado. With good market conditions, Texas cattlemen sought additional grazing lands, resulting in their driving large numbers of cattle into southeastern Colorado and New Mexico in the 1870s. In the late 1870s, grazing land in southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah began to be coveted. This was initially tempered by most of southwestern Colorado being Ute Reservation land and by the remoteness of southeastern Utah. Southeastern Utah was expanded into by Mormon cattlemen as early as 1877 with an eye toward selling beef to the mining settlements of the San Juan Mountains. The first to bring large numbers of cattle to the region were Philander Maxwell and Dr. William (Billy) McCarty, who brought 2,000 head of cattle into the Las Sal, Utah area in 1877 (Silvey 1990). In 1868, I. W. Lacy and L. G. Coleman organized the L.C. Cattle Company and moved cattle from Texas to Colfax County, New Mexico in the early 1870s. In 1879, Lacy moved the L. C. Cattle Company to Chaco Canyon and then onto non-Reservation lands in southwestern Colorado. By 1880, they had expanded their range into the Blue Mountains of southeastern Utah, and the company established its headquarters on Recapture Creek (Palmer 1990). Joining the L. C. Cattle Company in southeastern Utah in 1880 was the Kansas-New Mexico Cattle Company, better known as the Carlisle Cattle Company, which brought 7,000 head of cattle from New Mexico. The Carlisle Cattle Company was an English syndicate headed by Edmond and Harold Carlisle. Their northern headquarters was 6 miles from present Monticello and they maintained winter grazing land in northern New Mexico, centered on Gallegos Canyon, resulting in their large herds passing through the Montezuma Valley and town of Mancos twice a year. By 1881, the company had illegally fenced a large amount of the range in the Blue Mountain area. Clearly, cattle and cattlemen encroached on the Ute Reservation in southwestern Colorado at this time, resulting in conflict between the two groups.

With the removal of the Ute from nearly all of western Colorado in late 1881, barriers to expansion of the cattle industry to southwestern Colorado were eliminated and the L. C. and Carlisle Cattle Companies filled the range from Bluff, Utah to the Montezuma Valley of Colorado (Kutac 2001; McNitt 1962:296; McPherson 1995:172; Powell 2003). Nearly instantaneous extension of railroad lines to Durango and through the Uncompahgre Valley facilitated the transport of animals to eastern markets, further enhancing the ranching opportunities of the region.

Mormon settlers in the Bluff area moved to secure their own cattle range in 1886. Francis Hammond, president of the San Juan Stake, organized the Bluff Pool as a cooperative cattle ranching effort designed to out compete outside non-Mormon operations in the area (Powell 2003). He bought a ranch in Mancos to finance an irrigation system on White Mesa to prevent entry there by the L. C. Cattle Company. He then had riders from the Bluff Pool patrol the east side of White Mesa to prevent L. C. Cattle Company cattle from entering. The Bluff Pool petitioned the Utah

Legislature to tax all cattle coming into Utah from Colorado. Despite taxation, the rangelands of southeastern Utah were considered to be inexpensive and cattlemen from Colorado utilized southeastern Utah for winter range. The settlers at Bluff encouraged other Mormons to come to the area in order to fill the range with Mormon cattle. Disputes and conflicts between Mormon and non-Mormon cattlemen continued into the 1890s (McPherson 1995:172-173; Hurst 2003).

The L. C. Cattle Company was probably the most prominent cattle operation to use the land that is currently the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument. Upon entering the region in 1879, the herd was in the charge of Henry Goodman. When I. W. Lacy was killed by Dan Howland at Fort Lewis in 1881, his wife Heddie Brumley Lacy, called upon her brothers, John, Irvin, and Bill Brumley, to help her keep the cattle operation running. They arrived in 1882 and 1883 and moved the headquarters of the operation to Brumley Draw, in the vicinity of present Lewis. Perhaps not coincidentally, Roundup Junction, just south of Lewis and Brumley Draw reportedly was where the large cattle companies of the region sorted their cattle during the annual roundup (Fred Blackburn relating information from informant John Redd of Monticello, Utah, to Jon Horn, August 1, 2004). The cattle headquarters was subsequently moved to the Big Bend of the Dolores (Freeman 1958:143; Wardrip 1993:128). With the arrival of the Brumleys, Goodman went into the cattle business on his own.

Cattle prices were high in the early and middle 1880s, but dropped drastically in the late 1880s. Sheep were introduced on the range in southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah in the middle 1880s by cattle operations as a diversification measure. Severe overgrazing by enormous numbers of cattle and sheep in the 1880s and early 1890s, and a 10-year-long drought culminating in 1896 resulted in starvation of animals on the range in southeastern Utah and, presumably, southwestern Colorado (McPherson 1995:174-176). The Carlisle brothers began reducing their holdings in 1892 and had completely sold out by 1910. The L. C. Cattle Company sold 22,000 animals, between 1891 and 1893, and evidently left the area in 1897 with 10,000 head of cattle. Poor economic and range conditions affected Mormon ranchers as well. In 1895, the sheep portion of the Bluff Pool was sold to L. H. Redd, Jr. and Hanson Bayles. The cattle portion was sold to the Scorup brothers in 1898 (McPherson 1995:149, 172-173; Hurst 2003).

The demise of the large, monopolistic cattle companies of the region provided an opportunity for smaller ranchers to step in and utilize the public domain for grazing into the early 1930s. In addition, construction of the Rio Grande Southern Railroad, in 1890, provided a stimulus for ranching because livestock could be sent to market from the more accessible shipping points of Dolores and Mancos. Many of the cattle ranchers that filled the void left by the large cattle operations were former employees, some were new arrivals. Included were Henry Goodman, John Brumley, Bill Graham, Jim Morrison, Elbert Nunn, George Sam Todd, "Squire" Wallace, James Gawith, Adam Lewy, Ellsworth Porter, James Phillip Belmear, and Bill McCabe (*Dolores News*, November 21, 1883; Dalrymple 2000; Waldrip 1993:128; McCabe 1979a:55-57, 1979b:61-62; Wardrip 1993:270). It appears that Utes were also able to capitalize on the situation to some extent. For instance, Jack House (later the leader of the Ute Mountain Utes) and Frank Pyle ran cattle from Dove Creek to the San Juan River in the early 1900s (McNitt 1962:310).

Grazing in the region continued largely along the pattern that had been established with the initial entry of cattle to the region in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Cattle and sheep were ranged in upland areas, such as the La Plata, San Juan, La Sal, and Blue Mountains during the summer months and then rounded up and trailed to winter ranges at lower elevations as far south as northern New Mexico and the San Juan River of southeastern Utah. The Canyons of the Ancients area was traveled through on the way to winter range farther south or served as winter range itself. Several trails through the Monument allowed for movement of animals to and from the winter range lands. McElmo Canyon was the primary travel route, but was also accessed from the north by four trails originating in the vicinity of Yellow Jacket and a trail down Trail Canyon. Use of the area

remained unregulated until the implementation of the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934. As a result, grazing of the region remained heavy and resulted in continued deteriorated conditions. Water was a limiting factor in the region as well. Animals were held at reliable water sources, particularly at springs in McElmo Canyon, until sufficient snowfall, used by the animals for water, allowed their dispersal throughout the available range (Freeman 1958:112; 132-135). Through time, stock raisers switched back and forth between cattle and sheep, depending upon economic market conditions. Since World War II, the focus has been on cattle. Stock raisers hired Navajos and Utes as cowboys and shearers; some Hispanics and Basques were also hired as shearers, particularly by the Redd Ranches. Many of the Hispanic families that arrived to work as shearers from the 1910s to 1930s still reside in the area (Coffey 2003; McAfee and McAfee 2004; Tozer 2004a; Gardner and Gardner 2004).

Implementation of the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 resulted in the establishment of advisory boards that provided for interaction between federal regulators and local ranchers in the designation of grazing allotments and their regulation. The Colorado District No. 4 Advisory Board was established for the entire southwestern portion of the state; the area later comprising all of the Montrose District of the Bureau of Land Management. Federal grazing lands, at that time, were under the jurisdiction of the Division of Grazing. The advisory boards were comprised of private citizens and representatives of the Division of Grazing. The initial meeting for District 4 was held in Norwood on October 14, 1935. Subsequent meetings in the 1930s and early 1940s were held frequently at various locations throughout the grazing district so as to be convenient for ranchers to attend. With the establishment of the Bureau of Land Management in 1946, which acquired the duties of the Division of Grazing, meetings were held regularly, but less frequently, and only in Durango.

At the time of the first meeting, there seems to have already been some division of grazing lands among the users. The intention of the advisory board was to regulate the number of animals and period of time animals were allowed on grazing lands, to administer range improvements, and to license users of the grazing lands (Colorado Grazing District No. 4 Advisory Board Meeting October 14, 1935; March 23-24, 1936). In order to administer the grazing lands under their jurisdiction, the board called for the collection and preparation of data in regard to the condition and carrying capacity of the grazing lands and to evaluate the commensurate and priority ratings of the various applicants for those grazing lands (Colorado Grazing District No. 4 Advisory Board Meeting March 24, 1936). There was a clear understanding that grazing lands were in poor condition, explained to be the result of recent drought and overgrazing (Colorado Grazing District No. 4 Advisory Board Meeting March 23, 1936; April 13-14, 1936). In order for an applicant for a grazing permit to be considered to have priority or commensurability, it was required that they have a working livestock operation that had been in place in 1932 and 1933, have ranch improvements, and previously had made use of the public domain for which an application was made (Colorado Grazing District No. 4 Advisory Board Meeting, August 3, 1936). A committee was appointed to cooperate with various agencies regarding the protection and care of wildlife; protection of deer and elk winter ranges were planned to result in grazing restrictions (Colorado Grazing District No. 4 Advisory Board Meeting, August 22, 1936).

The first meeting of the Advisory Board recommended temporary grazing licenses for the 1935 and that those licensed should be restricted to customary use with priority given to individuals with demonstrated use for a number of years prior to 1934. Segregation of ranges to prevent overstocking was recommended, as was the establishment of designated stock driveways. Because of the poor condition of the range, drastic action was recommended in limiting the amount of time stock was allowed to graze and to forbid lambing on the public domain (Colorado Grazing District No. 4 Advisory Board Meeting, July 22-24, 1935).

Permittees within the current boundaries of the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument mentioned in the grazing board meeting minutes during the 1930s included Charles E. Blackmer of Cortez (sheep), J. C. and C. M. McClure [McCluer] of Cortez, Martin Silbo, W. R. Veach, Les Gawith (sheep), Walter Hall of Cortez, John Miller, John Ismay, Roy J. Retherford of Lewis, W. G. Rutherford of Lewis, Gladys Morrison, George Dalton and Sons of Monticello, Utah, Wm. E. Ragsdale, Victor C. Huskey, and W. T. Huskey (Colorado Grazing District No. 4 Advisory Board Meeting, August 4, 1936; August 21, 1936; March 30, 1938; December 13, 1938; January 5, 1939; June 21, 1939).

Charles E. Blackmer applied to graze 1,100 head of sheep on Cahone Mesa in Utah and Colorado in 1936; this was in line with his use of the range for the previous 20 years. The Blackmer Ranch was purchased by Alma J. "Japp" Redd in 1936, enabling him to be in line for a transfer of Blackmer's grazing permit. Redd had a large permit area along Lower Yellow Jacket between T. A. Cresto, Wallace Brothers, and Harry Morgan between McElmo and Yellow Jacket Creeks and southwest of Cannon Ball Mesa (Sections 10, 11, 25, and 26, T40N, R15W. Later, Redd acquired Bill Palmer's permit for the Little Cahone area (Sections 20, 21, and 29, T39N, R18W); acquired the permit to graze a large area in the Bridge Canyon area; acquired the permit of Les Gawith for the Moccasin, Yellow Jacket, and Burro canyons area, in addition to other grazing lands to the north of the current Monument (BLM, Sherman and Norman Zwicker file [Burro Point Community 8000 and Burro Individual 8041]). Les Gawith started in the sheep business in 1927 or 1928. He began with 400 sheep and wintered about 1,200 in Utah in 1932 and 1933. He began using the current Monument area for winter grazing in 1934 and used the West Dolores River area for summer range. By 1938, he had about 2,000 sheep (Colorado Grazing District No. 4 Advisory Board Meeting, March 30, 1938). W. G. Rutherford of Lewis began grazing sheep in Squaw and Papoose Canyons in 1931 (Colorado Grazing District No. 4 Advisory Board Meeting, March 30, 1938).

In 1940, grazing permits for 10-year-long periods began to be issued by the Grazing Service, rather than by the advisory board (Colorado Grazing District No. 4 Advisory Board Meeting, February 6-7, 1940; February 8, 1940). Individuals mentioned as grazing within the current Monument boundaries in the 1940s included Theodore J. Rodewald of Ackmen, Roland Schneider of Ackmen, C. W. Ayers of Cahone, Virgil E. Bane of Ackmen, Craig Williams of Dove Creek, Frank L. Royce of Cortez, Boyd Hall of Cortez, Mary Taylor of Cortez, Harold McComb of Cortez, Warren Pyle of Cortez, Gardner Brothers of Dolores, Bill Palmer of Pleasant View, A. H. Bradfield of Cahone, Ray Ismay, Julian Edmonson of Cortez, Ray Ismay, Roy J. Retherford of Lewis, Charles Stiles [Styles] of Cortez, Craig William of Dove Creek, A. C. Watkins of Dove Creek, Harold McComb of Cortez, C. C. Hudgens of Dove Creek, A. C. Elliot of Cortez, Lowell E. Truelson of Cortez, Mrs. J. W. Jordan, George S. Gardner of Dolores, Charles E. Blackmer of Cortez, T. A. Cresto, and W. R. McCabe (Colorado Grazing District No. 4 Advisory Board Meeting, June 22 1940; March 7, 1940; March 7, 1942; November 11-12, 1942; April 3-4, 1944; April 28, 1944; February 16, 1945; November 7, 1945; January 7, 1948). In 1945, Millard Steerman acquired the ranch of R. R. Carpenter and was granted Carpenter's permit to graze on the public domain (Colorado Grazing District No. 4 Advisory Board Meeting, September 21, 1945).

Individuals mentioned as grazing on the present Monument in the early 1950s included John Ismay, Alma Redd, T. A. Cresto, Fred Blackmer, Mr. Baird, and Irma Ruth and W. O. Rutledge (Colorado Grazing District No. 4 Advisory Board Meeting, September 15, 1950; April 22, 1954; April 4, 1955; September 28, 1955).

The minutes of the Grazing District are not very specific as to who was grazing where or for the number of animals and period of time grazing was permitted. Lands in and around the current Canyons of the Ancients National Monument were generally referred to as the "McElmo Unit" in the early grazing records. Some of the allotments were specified geographically and, later, under the

jurisdiction of the Bureau of Land Management, by the permittee's name. In 1999, the allotments were given geographic names.

Currently, 174,108 acres within the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument boundaries are under grazing permits, which accounts for 95 percent of the Monument. Of these 159,696 acres are managed by the Bureau of Land Management, accounting for 97 percent of the land in the Monument under their jurisdiction and 14,412 acres on private land, accounting for 76 percent of the private land within the Monument. None of the National Park Service land in the area is included in grazing permits. There are 28 allotments permitted to 22 individual livestock operations. The permits enable livestock to be grazed on the Monument from November 15 to May 30 of each year. No grazing occurs between June 1 and November 14. Grazing has continued much as it had prior to the establishment of the Monument.

The grazing allotment case files at the Bureau of Land Management office in Dolores contain some historical information pertaining to grazing of the current Monument area since the implementation of the Taylor Grazing Act:

Lower McElmo Allotment

A permit was issued on September 18, 1963 to James H. Cline for what is currently known as the Lower McElmo Allotment. Cline was permitted to graze 1,000 sheep between December 1 and April 15 of each year (BLM, James H. Cline file [Lower McElmo 8011]). Currently, the allotment is utilized by Richard Parry of Foxfire Farms, Inc. (Mike Jensen, Bureau of Land Management, to Jon Horn, September 7, 2004).

Lower Aztec Canyon Allotment

A permit for what is now known as the Lower Aztec Canyon Allotment was issued for seven animals to Boyd Hall on March 19, 1935. The permit transferred to W. R. McCabe in 1940 and then to Vance McCabe in 1961. On October 26, 1994, the permit transferred to Jerry Jones. At that time, the boundary of the permit area was modified and the number of permitted animals increased to 12 (BLM, Jerry and Carol Jones file [Lower Aztec Canyon 8039]).

Aztec Canyon Allotment

Terzo A. Cresto was issued a permit for 63 animals in what is now known as the Aztec Canyon Allotment on December 26, 1956. The permit transferred to G. Steerman on April 25, 1962 and the number of animals was increased to 102. The permit transferred to Johnny Green on March 15, 1979 and then to James A Black on October 26, 1982 (BLM, James A. Black file [Aztec Canyon]).

Yellowjacket Canyon Allotment

What is currently known as the Yellowjacket Canyon Allotment is comprised of several early allotments that transferred from Leslie Gawith to Alma J. Redd on January 15, 1945. Originally 536 animals were permitted in the allotment, which was then reduced to 87 in 1962. This may represent a shift from grazing sheep to cattle. The permit transferred to James H. Fulton on February 18, 1977 and then to Harold A. Mackay on April 21, 1995. Robert P. and Mary J. Johnson acquired the permit on December 4, 1995 (BLM, Robert P. and Mary J. Johnson file [Yellowjacket Canyon 8057]).

Cross Canyon Allotment

The Cross Canyon Allotment is currently permitted to Majors Limited Liability Company, which acquired it from Richard C. Perkins (Mike Jensen, Bureau of Land Management, to Jon Horn, September 7, 2004). The allotment is comprised of the former McClean Basin, Plateau, Little Cahone, Cross Canyon, and Mt. Elliston allotments. The Plateau allotment dates to 1934. F. A. Cline's permit to graze 1,680 animals and W. L. Wallace's permit to graze 254 animals was

transferred to the H. C. Perkins Sheep Company in 1957. The permit transferred to Richard C. Perkins in March 1959. The Little Cahone allotment was originally permitted to Bill Palmer in 1942 for 98 animals. Portions were sold to Gordon and Lisle Adams June 25, 1956 and Alma J. Redd on June 30, 1956. These were then transferred to Perkins on February 27, 1961. The Mt. Elliston allotment was formed from part of Plateau Creek allotment when it transferred from Harold Redd to Perkins on September 6, 1995 (BLM, Richard Perkins file [Cross Canyon and McLean Basin]).

Alkali Allotment

The Alkali Allotment was formed when Richard Perkins transferred 2,422 animal units from the Cross Canyon allotment to John and Margaret Black in 1981 (BLM, Richard Perkins file [Cross Canyon and McLean Basin]).

Trail Canyon and Goodman Allotments

What is currently known as the Trail Canyon and Goodman Allotments date to August 17, 1943 when the area was permitted to R. R. Carpenter. The permit for 220 animals transferred to Millard Steerman in 1945; the number of animals permitted was reduced to 162 in 1962. On April 17, 1978, the permit transferred to Reece and Leslie Malles, who then transferred it to Bill and Roscoe Rose on December 3, 1996 (Colorado Grazing District No. 4 Advisory Board Meeting September 21, 1945; BLM, Rose file [Trail Canyon 8024 and Goodman 8078]).

East McElmo Creek Allotment

George Luther Veach was permitted for 1,300 sheep in 1935 for what is now known as the East McElmo Creek Allotment; he also grazed sheep on the north side of Mesa Verde National Park. In 1945, he acquired the permit of W. E. Hall, enabling him to graze a total of 1,800 sheep between December 1 and April 30. Veach acquired the permit of W. E. Porter in 1950, resulting in his ability to graze 2,200 sheep. The grazing land acquired from Porter was evidently later sold by the government, resulting in a reduction in the number of animals Veach was able to graze. Darrel Veach, G. L. Veach's son, seems to have taken over the allotment, but not in any official way. In 1999, Darrel Veach's sons, Casey and Corey, continued the family's use of the allotment, which was formally permitted to them in 2000 (BLM, Veach file [East McElmo Creek 8033]).

Hamilton Mesa Allotment

The Hamilton Mesa Allotment is currently used by Steve, Tim, and Jay Wallace, sons of W. Wesley Wallace. The Wallaces acquired the permit for the allotment from the Miller family (Mike Jensen, Bureau of Land Management, to Jon Horn, September 7, 2004). John T. Miller first acquired grazing privileges in the area when he bought a ranch in McElmo Canyon from John Ismay in 1938. John T. Miller was the son of I. O. and Eleanor Miller, early residents of Arriola. He married schoolteacher Josephine Smith in 1911 and they had five children. Josephine died of an infection in 1919. Before going into the livestock business, Miller did wheat threshing, worked on the construction of Narraguinnep Reservoir, farmed near Yellow Jacket and Arriola, and worked as a cowboy for other ranchers, including the McClures and Blackmers. (Nix et al. 2004). The allotment later passed to his sons, John H. and Robert E. Miller.

Sandstone Allotment

Roy Retherford received a permit to graze 1,050 sheep and six horses in Sandstone, Mockingbird, and Woods Canyons between December 1 and May 1 in 1936 after having been rejected for a permit in 1935. On October 16, 1940, he purchased the permit of D. M. and C. M. Johnson for 40 cattle and three horses. He then acquired a permit held by a Mr. Womack for 60 animals in December 1942 and the permits of C. M. and J. C. McComb and C. E. Blackmer for 250 cattle on December 26, 1945. Much of his permitted area was transferred to Wesley Wallace in 1976. The

remainder, presently known as the Sandstone Allotment, was transferred to T. Dodd and Glenna Harris in 1988 (BLM, Harris file [Sandstone 8013]).

Burro Point Community and Burro Individual Allotments

A portion of what is currently known as the Burro Point Community and Burro Individual Allotments was permitted to E. A. Porter in 1935, when the area was known as the McElmo Common Allotment. Porter transferred his permit to William, Charles, and Nathan A. Porter in 1938. Another portion of the current allotment was transferred by Martin Silbo to Eldon Zwicker in 1939. By 1957, the area was being grazed by Walter Hall, Nathan A. Porter, and Eldon Zwicker. The portion held by Nathan Porter was acquired by Dwight Wallace in 1960. Eldon and Lila Zwicker obtained the permit to graze the northwestern portion of the Burro Point Community from Alma J. Redd, but the date is unknown; it was probably in the late 1950s or 1960s. Zwicker also seems to have acquired Walter Hall's grazing privileges in the Burro Point Community at about the same time. Eldon Zwicker transferred his permit to Sheldon and Sherman Zwicker, his two oldest sons, in 1970. Eldon Zwicker acquired the grazing privileges of Robert A. Wright in either the Burro Point area or Cannon Ball/Yellow Jacket area in 1973. All of the Zwicker grazing privileges transferred to Sherman Zwicker in 1979 and transferred back to Eldon Zwicker in 1983 (BLM, Sherman and Norman Zwicker file [Burro Point Community 8000 and Burro Individual 8041]). Currently, the Burro Point Community Allotment is permitted to three entities: Sherman and Norman Zwicker; Casey Veach; and Steve, Tim, and Jay Wallace. Casey Veach acquired Sheldon Zwicker's portion of the permit through a base property lease. Steve, Tim, and Jay Wallace acquired the permit for a portion of the Burro Point Community through a base property lease with Jackie Wallace and the permit for the Burro Individual Allotment through a base property lease from Jackie Wallace and Stan Wright (Mike Jensen, Bureau of Land Management, to Jon Horn, September 7, 2004).

Range Improvements

Part of the role of the grazing district advisory board and the Division of Grazing was to administer improvements such as fences and reservoirs to enhance and improve the range. Few projects are documented in the records, however. It is uncertain if this is an indication that few projects were undertaken or if improvements were generally considered to be commonplace and did not merit mention in official records. The only project known to have been constructed during the period of oversight by the Division of Grazing was construction of Little Cahone Lake Reservoir by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) in 1939. The work was conducted for the U.S. Government to provide livestock watering. Work commenced on June 6, 1939 and resulted in the construction of an 8.2-foot-tall dam designed to retain slope runoff in a reservoir with a capacity of 135,401 cubic feet. The reservoir was constructed at a cost of \$1,705 (Montezuma County Clerk's Office, Plat Book 5, Page 20). It appears that the CCC from a Division of Grazing camp near Ackmen conducted a considerable number of range improvements in the area, including stock water developments and construction of corrals (White and White 2003; Harris and Harris 2004; Gardner and Gardner 2004). However, records of these improvements no longer seem to exist.

After the establishment of the Bureau of Land Management, a few more water projects were documented, but these are still few in number. The first was the Redd Ditch, constructed in May 1949 by Alma J. Redd at a cost of \$5,000. The 20,901-foot-long, 1.5-foot-deep, and 3 to 6-foot-wide ditch had its headgate on the south bank of Yellow Jacket Creek near the west quarter corner of Section 30, T36N, R19W (Montezuma County Clerk's Office, Plat Book 6, Page 24). On October 4, 1951, Eldon Zwicker applied for a permit to construct five reservoirs on land he was permitted to graze. Two reservoirs were in Section 28, T36N, R18W, one was in Section 20, T36N, R18W, and one each were in Sections 13 and 24, T36N, R19W (BLM, Sherman and Norman Zwicker file [Burro Point Community 8000 and Burro Individual 8041]; BLM, Range Improvement File, Project No. 230434). A third project was Steerman Reservoir, constructed February 3, 1953 by Millard

Steerman in the southeast quarter of Section 21, T36N, R17W. This was a small stock pond with a capacity of 2 acre feet of water (BLM, Range Improvement File, Project No. 230043). The only other early range improvement that is documented is the chaining in the Burro Point allotment in 1963 and 1968 (BLM, Sherman and Norman Zwicker file [Burro Point Community 8000 and Burro Individual 8041]). Numerous stock water and fencing improvements were made in the 1960s and 1970s, but these are not yet considered to be historic.

Historic Native American Conflicts

Problems with the Ute, Navajo, and Paiute were most pronounced in southeastern Utah, where band and tribal affiliation was often obscure and relinquishment of tribal land sovereignty unsettled. This led not only to conflict between Native Americans and Euroamerican settlers, but between Indian groups with contrasting uses of the land, particularly as the available land base shrank and environmental changes occurred as a result of overgrazing, beginning in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Overgrazing by large cattle companies and herds of Navajo sheep radically changed the ability of the Ute and Paiute, in particular, to conduct their traditional hunting and gathering subsistence. Although the greatest impacts of these changes were felt in southeastern Utah, similar challenges were met by the Ute in the southwestern portion of Colorado, including the Canyons of the Ancients area, where Utes ranged off of their reservation and were able to practice traditional hunting and gathering activities. The example of Jack House teaming with Frank Pyle in the early 1900s, grazing animals in the Dove Creek area prior to agricultural settlement is a reflection of extended use of the public domain by the Ute off of the reservation.

A well-documented altercation between cowboys in southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah and Paiute and Ute Indians took place in 1881, resulting in what has been termed the Pinhook Massacre. On April 30, 1881, R. W. May and Frank Smith went to John Thurman's cabin at what is now known as Burnt Cabin Springs and discovered Dick May and John Thurman had been killed by Indians, the cabin burned down, and the horses they had been caring for driven away. Despite being on the Ute Reservation, Thurman's camp had been used as a wintering place for local cowboys and Thurman had been caring for horses belonging to J. B. Alderson there. The Indians implicated in the murders and destruction were reportedly Paiute, who were joined soon thereafter by Uncompahgre Utes (Daughters of Utah Pioneers 1972:38). Soon after the discovery of the bodies of May and Thurman, a roundup of cattle in the Blue Mountains of Utah began. During the roundup, Mike and Pat O'Donnell, Spud Hudson, Charley Johnson, Louis Paquin, Al Nunn, George West, and Dave Willis were attacked by Indians; one of the attackers was killed. The roundup ceased and men went to the Big Bend of the Dolores (now under McPhee Reservoir) to get volunteers to fight the Indians. Volunteers included Hiram H. Melvin, Tom Click, Billie May, and Jordan Bean from the Big Bend, Dave Willis, Tom Pepper, Jess Seeley, and Hi Barber from Mancos, Marion Cook, Harg Eskridge, and Ike Stockton from Durango, Wiley and H. S. Tartar, T. C. and D. G. Taylor, Tim Jenkins, Billy Parks, Jimmie Heaton, Charley Reynolds, Jimmie Hall, Jack Galloway, Bill Dawson, Mr. Purdy, Ed Summers, Bill Robins, and Tex La Fone, who met at Big Bend on May 31 and headed to the Blue Mountains the next day (Bean 1943:19-20). The Indians were pursued to the La Sal Mountains and a running battle was held across Wilson Mesa and into the Pinhook Valley, where several of the pursuers were killed (Daughters of the Utah Pioneers 1985:11-12; Silvey 1990; Peterson 1975). After having been badly beaten, the cowboys retreated to Spud Hudson's cattle camp at present day Monticello and returned to Big Bend by way of Piute Springs and Cross Canyon (Bean 1943:23-24).

Under the 1880 treaty that resulted in the removal of all but the Southern Utes from Colorado, the Southern Utes were placed on a narrow reservation along Colorado and New Mexico border in late 1881. There was no requirement that the Ute remain on their reservation and Utes could leave the reservation with the permission of the Indian Agent to hunt. Conflicts between Utes and cowboys continued as a result, with cattlemen frequently accusing Utes of killing their cattle for food. Edmund Carlisle, co-owner of the Carlisle Cattle Company complained frequently about

conflicts with Indians in the vicinity of the Blue Mountains in Utah. Troops were sent to the area in June 1884, resulting in an ambush that killed two soldiers at Soldier's Crossing in Montezuma Creek (McPherson and Yazzie 2004). In 1885, a group of Utes camped on Beaver Creek north of Dolores was fired upon by a number of cowboys sure that the Utes were subsisting on their cattle. Only one of the Utes escaped what has since been known as the Beaver Creek Massacre and until recently the identities of the cowboys involved has remained a secret. It is now known that Jim Morrison and James Phillip Belmear, prominent cattlemen that likely ranged their cattle in and around the current Monument, were part of the group involved in the event (Wardrip 1993:270). There were some Ute reprisals on settlers in the area that caused considerable panic in the region. In response, Fort Narraguinnep just east of the Monument was built in 1885 by Jud Pearce, George, Ben and Bert Robinson, John and Sant Bowan, R. B. Dunham, James Moore, John Trimble, Sam Todd, Jack Leslie, and the John Spalding family. Ironically, some of the builders of the small log structure were participants in the massacre (Denham 1942:78; Wardrip 1993:270).

McElmo Canyon was an important thoroughfare between Colorado and Utah, particularly for movement of herds of cattle between winter and summer ranges and with the establishment of trading posts along the San Juan River beginning in the 1880s. As the entire canyon became settled in the 1880s, conflicts between Utes and settlers were frequent. Because of the narrowness of the canyon, settlers were able to fence across it to contain their livestock. As Indians traversed the canyon, they tore fences down or left gates open. In addition, small groups of Utes commonly accosted settlers for food and goods (McPherson 1995:147). In general, however, relationships between the settlers and the Utes was quite good, until some hard feelings developed when expansion of the Ute Reservation on the north side of Ute Mountain displaced some homesteaders and prevented some ranchers from grazing on lands they were accustomed to there.

Pressures mounted to remove the Southern Utes from their reservation and an agreement was made in 1888 to move the Utes to San Juan County, Utah. The cattle companies in southeastern Utah fought the agreement, as did the Indian Rights Association, based in Philadelphia, which lobbied Congress to keep the Southern Utes in Colorado. Despite this, 1,100 Utes and their agent, David Day, moved onto the designated land in southeastern Utah in November 1894 (McPherson and Yazzie 2004). The federal government ordered the Utes to return to their reservation in Colorado. The eastern portion of the reservation was subsequently allotted and opened to outside settlement. The western portion remained intact and became known as the Ute Mountain Ute Reservation. The western portion of the reservation had an agency established at Navajo Springs in 1896. The agency was later moved to Towaoc. The Towaoc area had little to encourage the Ute to congregate there and members of the group continued to range widely between Utah and Colorado.

Initial Permanent Settlement and Agriculture in the Montezuma Valley

Initial settlement of the Montezuma Valley in the vicinity of Cortez was by Porter Mitchell, who established a trading post at a pair of springs on the south side of McElmo Creek in 1882. About the same time, the Harris Brothers of Mancos established a store at Mitchell Springs and a saloon operated by Tom Coppinger was a popular hang-out for cowboys. A post office known as Toltec was established on January 26, 1887 and lasted only until November 21, 1887, having been superseded by the town of Cortez, just to the north (Bauer et al. 1990:142). By 1889, Mitchell Springs had been abandoned and the Mitchells moved into McElmo Canyon (Wardrip 1993:48).

Bringing irrigation water from the Dolores River was the key to settlement of the Montezuma Valley. The Montezuma Valley Water Supply Company was formed in 1885 to bring water to the valley and lay out the town of Cortez. Establishment of the company was the result of James W. Hanna being able to interest outside capitalists in forming a company for the purposes of constructing an irrigation system and becoming a town company. The townsite was laid out in 1886 and a post office was established there on June 21, 1887 (Freeman 1958:66; Bauer et al. 1990:38).

The company completed a 5,400-foot-long tunnel through the divide separating the upper Montezuma Valley from the Dolores River in late 1888. Water was diverted from the Big Bend of the Dolores River, transported through the tunnel, and distributed by canal to the Cortez area beginning in 1889. With irrigation water to the valley assured, settlement of the Cortez area began in earnest. At the same time the tunnel was under construction, the Dolores Number Two Land and Canal Company began construction of the No. 2 Canal for the distribution of water in the northern portion of the Montezuma Valley. Water was obtained from the tunnel intake and transported northwestward through a deep cut into the upper valley and then distributed westward. Narraguinnep Reservoir was constructed for water storage as part of the project. The high cost of construction of both projects resulted in the consolidation of the Montezuma Valley Water Supply Company and the Dolores Number Two Land and Canal Company as the Colorado Consolidated Land & Water Company in 1890. This company was also fraught with financial troubles, but was successful in extending canals and laterals into the valley. By 1894, the company had transferred its holdings to the Montezuma Water and Land Company, which went into receivership and was managed by the receiver until 1907. It was not until 1907 that the Number 2 Canal was completed and able to carry water into the northern portion of the valley. This included the Lone Pine Lateral that terminated at the head of Trail Canyon. Excess water flowed into Trail Canyon. This and water that entered McElmo Creek as irrigation runoff from elsewhere served as a new source of irrigation water that spurred agricultural settlement in McElmo Canyon. The Montezuma Valley Irrigation District was formed by landowners in 1902 with the intention of taking over the water system. In 1907, a plan was finally agreed upon whereby the Empire Construction Company was to take over and improve the system, including the construction of two storage reservoirs in the upper Dolores River area. At the same time, the U Lateral from the No. 2 Canal was completed that brought irrigation water to the Lewis area and stimulated additional settlement in the northernmost part of the valley. Initially the improvements resulted in increased agricultural settlement in the valley, but this stalled in the middle 1910s. Reorganization was undertaken in 1920, resulting in the formation of the Montezuma Valley Irrigation Company as a mutual ditch company backed by the individual irrigators (Freeman 1958:96-101).

In the midst of the difficulties with managing and operating the irrigation system, a scheme was evidently planned, in 1907, to bring additional irrigation water the mesa tops in the Canyons of the Ancients area from the Dolores River. The plan included the construction of two storage reservoirs – John Bull Reservoir and Dunton Reservoir – on the West Dolores River. Water released into the West Dolores River from these reservoirs would then have been taken out from the Dolores River above the town of Dolores and transported by canal above the heads of all of the canyons tributary to McElmo Canyon with laterals extending onto the mesa tops between the canyons (Boyle et al. 1907). This plan never got beyond the planning stages, but shows the degree to which irrigation water in the upper Montezuma Valley was desired.

All of the lands encompassed by the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument were surveyed by the General Land Office between 1881 and 1891 (Table 1). These surveys enabled settlers to file homestead applications for the surveyed lands in order to begin acquiring lands from

Table 1. General Land Office Survey Dates.

Township/Range*	Survey Date	Acceptance Date	Notes
36/16	1881	1881	
36/17	1889	1889	
37/17	1884	1885	Resurveyed 1913-1914; accepted 1917
36/18	1889	1889	
37/18	1884	1885	Resurveyed 1916 and 1923; accepted 1924
38/18	1884	1885	Resurveyed 1915-1916; accepted 1917
39/18	1884	1884	Resurveyed 1916; accepted 1917
35/19	1889	1889	

Township/Range*	Survey Date	Acceptance Date	Notes
36/19	1889	1889	
37/19	1889	1889	Resurveyed 1930; accepted 1932
38/19	1891	1891	Resurveyed 1920; accepted 1922
39/19	1891	1891	Resurveyed 1920; accepted 1922
35/20	1889	1889	Resurveyed 1942 and 1959; accepted 1959
36/20	1889	1889	Resurveyed 1942 and 1959; accepted 1959
37/20	1889	1889	
38/20	1891	1891	
39/20	1891	1891	Resurveyed 1940; accepted 1942

*Township North, Range West, New Mexico P.M.

the public domain. As lands began to be entered upon, problems with the accuracy of many of the initial surveys were evidently noted. In order to rectify these problems, several of the townships were resurveyed.

These surveys show an expectation that the land within the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument were suitable and available for settlement in the 1880s and early 1890s. Some lands were taken up, particularly in McElmo Canyon and on some mesa tops and valley bottoms in and adjacent to the current Monument. However, the majority of lands in the vicinity of the Monument were unirrigable and not in high demand for permanent ranching settlement. It was not until the dry farming era that these lands were seen as suitable for settlement.

Dry Farming

Although irrigation was the stimulus for initial agricultural settlement in the region, it did not account for much of the settlement of the area in and immediately adjacent to the current Canyons of the Ancients National Monument. Dry farming as a theory emerged in the 1890s and began to be experimented with by Utah State Agricultural College near Verdure in 1903 (McPherson 1995:110). The success of the program stimulated dry farming attempts throughout the region. The first attempts at dry farming in the Montezuma Valley were near Lewis in 1909 and 1910. From that time onward, settlers flocked to the area to take up lands not previously thought suitable for farming. The opportunity of becoming self sufficient through farming and acquiring personal property in the process was appealing to a large segment of the American population displaced from other agricultural areas that had been fully settled. Settlers to southwestern Colorado from this period appear to have come largely from Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. Beginning with veterans of the Civil War, veterans were given preferred status in acquiring Homesteads from the public domain. This status seems to have continued with returning World War I veterans, who comprised a large number of the new settlers to the area. There seems to have been a considerable amount of turnover of the properties settled upon with additional settlers coming in from these places to carry on the settlement. During the Depression years of the 1930s, displaced farmers from the Dust Bowl states further swelled the ranks of settlers attempting to make a living dry farming in southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah.

Dry-land farmers were generally quite poor and initially were able to raise only enough food to subsist on. With few tools and no money to buy farm equipment, clearing of land for agriculture was slow and labor intensive. As more land was cleared each year, surpluses began to be raised that enabled improvements in living conditions to be made. As more land was cleared, profits from surplus crops increased, leading to an ability to move away from subsistence crops to commercial crops. Beans and wheat were the crops of choice and have remained so on dry farms of the region. Initially, farm equipment was borrowed or purchased and used cooperatively. Extra money or purchases by trade were made by selling eggs, cream, or surplus food crops (Wardrip 1993; Dicken 1986). With clearing of the land, the planting of agricultural crops, and the elimination of predators,

jackrabbit populations became enormous. To eliminate them, rabbit drives were held as social events in the 1930s accompanied by picnics and visiting (Dicken 1986; Fosnot and Fosnot 2004; Connolly 1996:15). The most important social events for the communities of the area from the 1910s to 1940s were dances held at the local school houses. These were often attended by entire families and provided opportunities for social interaction and entertainment. Dances were probably the most important social venues for young adults and resulted in introductions and courting of couples that frequently led to marriages. Dances also had a darker side that included arguments and fights, and opportunities for drinking during Prohibition.

During Prohibition (1914 to 1933), manufacture of bootleg liquor was a common occurrence in the canyons. Only a few names have come to light regarding this activity, but bootlegging seems to have been a way that some individuals supplemented their farm income. A ready market existed for liquor and it was a regular part of the social scene at dances. A man named Tucker reportedly made bootleg liquor around Hovenweep, Thomas Jackson's father had a still in Cross Canyon, and a man named Kilpatrick had a still west of Cahone. The Dixon brothers were also mentioned as being in the business, "Grandpa" Ernest Ives burned coal from Yellow Jacket Canyon to run a still, and someone evidently had an operation in Woods Canyon (Fosnot and Fosnot 2004; Connolly 1996:17; Harris and Harris 2004; White and White 2003; Young 2004). The remoteness of the area has appealed to its share of disreputable individuals and the smaller canyons have reputedly been hideouts for outlaws throughout history (Dicken 1986; Shear 2003; Springmeyer 2004).

Ranchers and farmers would occasionally round up wild horses for their own use or to sell. Navajos of the area would also catch horses to ride or eat (Benally 2004). Clyde Tozer set traps for wild horses in Wagon Box Canyon or at the toe of the Sleeping Ute Mountain. He used the horses for ranch work (Tozer 1979: 77-78). In order to improve the wild horse herds, ranchers would let stallions loose to breed with the wild mares. The practice of catching wild horses on the Monument continued into the late 1950s (Tozer 2004a; Benally 2004; Springmeyer 2004).

Many settlers relied on hunting of deer for meat, often poaching animals out of necessity (Wardrip 1993; Springmeyer 2004). Trapping coyotes, bobcats, foxes, and an occasional beaver for their furs also brought in extra income. Trapping for recreation and extra income continued for some into the 1970s and early 1980s. Hunting is now more of a recreational activity on the Monument than a necessity (Tozer 2004a; Fosnot and Fosnot 2004; Young 2004; Young and Young 2004). Both farmers and ranchers seem to use the Monument area more for recreational purposes than they did in the past. Previously, the Monument was utilized for resources that supplemented their income or facilitated their survival – such as trapping, hunting, or prospecting. Now, with more spare time, local ranchers and farmers use the Monument for sightseeing, hiking, hunting, and horseback riding.

The completion of McPhee Reservoir as part of the Dolores Project in the 1980s and the extension of canals and ditches to distribute water from the project have changed the complexion of agriculture in the area. Many former dry farms are now challenged to raise crops that cover the costs of irrigation. Consequently, crops in the area are changing, and many former bean and wheat farms are now raising alfalfa.

Conflicts between cattlemen and early dry farmers were a common occurrence. Because the dry farmers were settling on public domain lands previously used extensively by cattle and sheep grazers, some ranchers felt infringed upon and made life as difficult as possible for the "dry nesters." Threats of violence and destruction of property were common tactics. Ranchers would cut the fences of the new settlers and let their animals in to destroy crops. In retaliation, some dry farmers would shoot a trespassing beef and consider it payment for the damage caused. Others were outright aggressive themselves, destroying stock watering locations. Conflicts escalated to the point that federal Marshals were sent to Dove Creek to restore order. As more dry farmers entered the area,

the ranchers gradually gave up their resistance as futile (Dicken 1986; Bertrand et al. n.d.:18; Wardrip 1993; Connolly 1996:15). The settlement of their former grazing land certainly put more pressure on the lands that remained available and probably intensified overgrazing. Ranchers also took steps to acquire lands of their own from the public domain to assure their ability to continue to graze.

Communities

With the coming of irrigation, communities became established at Arriola and Beulah in the late 1880s (Figure 2). Those lands not served by irrigation remained unsettled until the 1910s when the concept of dry farming took hold. Dry farming initially took place adjacent to irrigated lands in a generally northward trajectory that was facilitated by the establishment of community centers where basic amenities could be obtained. The earliest of these was Lewis, established in 1911, followed by Ackmen in 1913, Cahone and Yellow Jacket in 1914, and Dove Creek in 1915. All of these primary communities were along the road north of Cortez leading to Utah that generally followed the route of the Spanish Trail of generations before. Generally, these communities were comprised of a general store with a post office. As land was taken up and the population increased, schools were established that became centers of social activity and provided more of a sense of community. With expansion into even more remote locales, additional communities were added, usually focused upon a school or post office. Included were Goodman Point/Shiloh in 1915, Sylvan in 1916, and Ruin Canyon, Spargo, and Ruin Point in 1920.

Ackmen

Ackmen was the forerunner of Pleasant View. The community was started about 1913 with the expansion of dry land farming (Freeman 1958:147). In 1916, the Hadley Store was built by James and Lura Hadley at the head of Sandstone Canyon, which had been a popular stopping point along the road to Utah, sometimes referred to as Sandstone. A school seems to have been started there in 1917 (Wardrip 1993:433). When the Hadley's applied for a post office, their daughter suggested the name Ackmen. The Ackmen Post Office was established November 5, 1917 and terminated May 31, 1941 (Bauer et al. 1990:9). Ackmen had a newspaper and other businesses in place as of 1920 (Wardrip 1993:433). On January 24, 1923, Alfred Hadley was shot and killed by J. F. Fincher. Hadley was the son of James and Lura Hadley and ran an automobile service garage. Fincher had arrived in Ackmen the previous year to dry farm, and was the proprietor of the town hotel. He had become enraged over rumors of improper relations between his daughter and Hadley, which, subsequently, were found to be false (*Times Independent*, Moab, Utah, January 25, 1923; February 1, 1923). When the route of the state highway between Cortez and Dove Creek was surveyed in 1935, Ackmen was no longer along the main travel route. Consequently, the town of Pleasant View was established along the highway and most businesses moved there. The newspaper, however, was moved to Dove Creek (Freeman 1958:147-148).

Three other schools operated in the vicinity of Ackmen. Hovenweep School was built in 1913 just west of Ackmen; it apparently operated until 1954 (Wardrip 1993:471). Dripping Springs School was on Cahone Mesa between Ruin Canyon and Hovenweep Canyon southwest of Ackmen. It was established in the middle 1920s and closed in the mid-1940s (Wardrip 1993:473). Shelf Rock School, about 4 miles north of Ackmen and 3 miles west of Pleasant View, evidently operated in the 1920s (Wardrip 1993:475).

Arriola

Arriola was established as soon as it was clear that irrigation water would be available in the area from the Montezuma Valley Water Supply Company in the middle 1880s. The Arriola School District was organized in 1887 (Freeman 1958:139-140). Among the first settlers at Arriola were Isac Orlando (I. O.) and Eleanor (Ella) Miller along with their three children. They came to Colorado from Ohio in 1884 and first settled in Hay Gulch near Durango. Miller worked as a stone mason on

Figure 2. Towns, communities, post offices, and schools in the vicinity of the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument.

the Strater Hotel and as a teacher. They filed on land in the Montezuma Valley and then moved to the Arriola area in 1888. The area did not have a name at that time, and the school was simply called District No. 9. I. O. Miller suggested Arriola as a name for the community in honor of where he was born in Stark County, Ohio. I. O. and Eleanor taught school, and Eleanor served as the postmaster for Arriola for a time (Nix et al. 2004). The Arriola Post Office ran from December 18, 1894 to June 15, 1904 and from June 20, 1908 to August 15, 1933 (Bauer et al. 1990:14). Between Arriola and Lewis was the Garret Ridge School. It operated as a grade school from at least 1929 to 1932, then was a two-year high school from 1932 to 1946. The school building was moved to Arriola for extra classroom space in 1948 or 1949 (Wardrip 1993:397-403).

Beulah

Beulah, on Alkali Draw just north of Cortez, was first settled by cattlemen George Longenbaugh and Frank Thomas in 1885. A school district was formed in 1889 or 1890. Later, stock raisers Joe and Dave McClure and Frank Blackmer settled there (Freeman 1958: 104-105,140-141). George Longenbaugh was the cousin of Harry Longabaugh, infamously known as the Sundance Kid. At age 14, Harry Longabaugh moved to the Durango area with his cousin, George, in 1882, where they raised horses. When the family moved to the Cortez area in 1884, Harry came along and found work with the L. C. Cattle Company. It was during this time that Harry Longabaugh met the other members of what became known as the Wild Bunch. Tom McCarty was reportedly a neighbor and Robert Leroy Parker was the older brother of Dan Parker, employed by the Carlisle Cattle Company. Matt Warner (Willard E. Christiansen) supposedly met Longabaugh at horse races in the area; they reportedly met George (Butch) Cassidy at a horse race in Telluride in 1888. Longabaugh was jailed in Sundance, Wyoming and released a month before he, Tom McCarty, and Matt Warner robbed the bank in Telluride on June 24, 1889. They reportedly hid out at the Longenbaugh Ranch at Beulah before departing to Utah (Wommack 2001).

Cahone

Dry farmers began settling in the Cahone area by 1914, with a great influx during the spring of 1916. A post office was established at the Bert Ballenger place, about 1 mile northeast of the present community on May 21, 1916; it closed on November 30, 1917. The post office was reopened on June 12, 1920 and is still in operation, though it has moved from place to place (Freeman 1958:148; Bauer et al. 1990:27). Floyd Johnson established a store at present Cahone in 1921. The post office moved to the Jeff Simmons place 1 mile south of town, but was then moved into the Ballenger Brothers store when it was built in the town. A school was built near the first post office in about 1916; it was moved to the new townsite in 1917 or 1918. Bean production started in the area in 1927 and winter wheat was first grown in 1928 (Freeman 1958:148; Wardrip 1993:594). Nearby, the Cross Canyon School opened in the early 1920s, but was soon abandoned. The Cross Canyon School was reestablished in 1937 and remained open until 1948 (Wardrip 1993:604). Little Grove School, about 2 miles southeast of Cahone was also the center of a small community there (Waldrip 1993:589-592).

Dove Creek

The Dove Creek area was first noted as a good grazing area for cattle and sheep in the 1880s because of its excellent growth of grasses. Dry farming settlement of the Dove Creek area began about 1912 by Phillip M. Mellott, Oscar O. Vaughn, and Bedford F. Hancock. The Stokes brothers constructed a general merchandise store on the land now comprising Dove Creek in 1912-1913, which they sold to P. R. Butt (Dicken 1986; Freeman 1958:150). A post office was established at Dove Creek on January 16, 1915. Homesteading took place in earnest from Dove Creek to Cedar Point on the Utah state line after 1918. The High Hill School was the first school built near Dove Creek; it was a log structure 4 miles to the west constructed in 1919 (Bauer et al. 1990:47; Freeman 1958:151-152). In January 1922, the post office and store was destroyed by a fire that was believed

to be arson (*Grand Valley Times*, January 19, 1922). Dove Creek was made the county seat of Dolores County in 1944; the records were moved from Rico (Freeman 1958:153).

Several schools were in the vicinity of the Monument in the Dove Creek area. Big Valley, about 7 miles southwest of Dove Creek on Bug Point, was served by two schools. The first Big Valley School began operation in the late 1910s or early 1920s. It was replaced by the second Big Valley School in 1939, which operated until 1946 (Wardrip 1993:616-618). Farther out Bug Point in Utah was Urado. Urado was accessible only from Colorado, and had a school and a post office. The school operated from the 1920s to the 1940s (Wardrip 1993:614). The Cedar Point School, near the Utah state line about 8 miles west-southwest of Dove Creek, was built by 1919 and used into the 1950s (Wardrip 1993:619-621).

Lewis

The Lewis area was initially settled when the headquarters of the L. C. Cattle Company was established in Brumley Draw in about 1883. Initially, the cattle operation had been headquartered in Durango, but when L. C. Lacy was shot and killed by Dan Howland at Fort Lewis, his wife, Heddie Brumley Lacy called upon her brothers to assist her in keeping the cattle operation going. John and Irvin Brumley arrived in 1882 and Bill Brumley in 1883. The Brumleys took up land on Brumley Draw as their cattle headquarters in 1883; later they moved their headquarters to the Big Bend of the Dolores River. Because of the presence of the cattle company, the Lewis area was initially referred to as Texas Flats (Freeman 1958:143; Wardrip 1993:128, 406). Agricultural settlement in the vicinity of Lewis began in the early 1890s, when extension of irrigation water appeared imminent through the No. 2 Canal. Unfortunately, the construction of the canal was fraught with difficulties and was not completed until 1907, with water available in the area beginning in 1908 and 1909. The availability of irrigation water resulted in quick resettlement of the area. Once the irrigable lands were taken up, dry land farmers began settling the outlying area. The first experimentation with dry farming in the Upper Montezuma Valley took place north of Lewis in 1909 and 1910. The success of dry farming there spurred settlement of unirrigated lands throughout the region. The U Lateral off of the No. 2 Canal was completed in 1912 or 1913, enabling additional land to be put under irrigation. The town of Lewis began when W. R. Lewis bought the Del Raplee place in 1910, where he opened a store. A post office was established at the store on September 7, 1911. The Lewis School was established in 1910. The school was remodeled several times and used until 1967 (Freeman 1958:142-144; Wardrip 1993:406-414; Bauer et al. 1990:89).

Pleasant View

Pleasant View was established when it was realized that the state highway alignment, surveyed between Cortez and Dove Creek in 1935, would not pass through Ackmen. Most of the businesses in Ackmen moved there, and the Pleasant View post office was established on June 23, 1939. However, the Ackmen newspaper plant was moved to Dove Creek (Freeman 1958:147-148; Bauer et al. 1990:115). Calvin Denton built a new store and established a post office at Pleasant View in 1937; he previously had a bean cleaning and storage operation in Ackmen. The school at Ackmen was not moved to Pleasant View until 1938 (Wardrip 1993:445, 447).

Ruin Canyon, Spargo, and Sylvan

The Ruin Canyon and Spargo post offices were within about 1.5 miles of each other and their names were used to refer to the same community 6 miles west of Pleasant View, generally known as Sylvan. Among the first residents of the area were Roy G. Marr and Daniel V. Marr, who arrived from Kansas in 1915. The Sylvan School was established there in 1916 and a new schoolhouse was constructed in 1917. Sylvan was reportedly named by a Mrs. Long (White and White 2003). The school was enlarged through time and operated until 1954. The first post office established in the area was named Ruin Canyon. It was in operation from September 3, 1920 to July 31, 1928. In 1924, Jesse A. Glore established a homestead nearby and applied for a post office he called Spargo.

The post office began operation on November 17, 1920, but was ordered closed on February 27, 1924 because of its close proximity to the Ruin Canyon post office, where mail was subsequently distributed (Wardrip 1993:461-470; Freeman 1958:278; Bauer et al. 1990:125, 134).

Squaw Point and Segó

A post office was in operation at the Squaw Point community from November 3, 1920 to May 15, 1926 (Bauer et al. 1990:135). The community was 8 miles southwest of Dove Creek, just northwest of the Montezuma County line in Dolores County. Farther out on Squaw Point, about 3 miles south of the Squaw Point post office, was the community of Segó. The Segó school was organized in 1917; it closed in the early 1940s, but reopened for a short time in the early 1950s. A post office was in operation there, named Sago, from July 20, 1922 to December 15, 1925. The school served as a factory to manufacture mattresses for the CCC in the middle 1930s (Wardrip 1993:476, 612-613; Bauer et al. 1990:126). About 1½ miles northeast of the Squaw Point post office was the Shady Grove School; it seems to have been in operation from the 1930s to the 1960s.

Yellow Jacket

Farmers first arrived in the Yellow Jacket area in about 1912. Yellow Jacket farmers were in close proximity to more prosperous irrigated lands, so were able to borrow threshing equipment, enabling them to be the first dry land area to grow wheat and beans. Equipment was used on a community level, and the ability to borrow machinery enabled large tracts of land to be cleared and farmed by about 1920 (Freeman 1958:145-146). The first store at Yellow Jacket was opened in 1914 by Charles W. Merritt, 3 miles west and 0.75 mile south of present store. The Yellow Jacket Post Office was established there on May 5, 1914 (Bauer et al. 1990:155). Matie Bainter bought the store and post office and operated them until 1915. George and Wilhelmina Schaaf built the current Yellow Jacket store building in 1914 and purchased the Bainter store in 1916, resulting in the post office moving to Schaaf's store. Drought in the 1910s resulted in many homesteaders selling out. Terenzio and Anna Gai bought up many of the places and began growing pinto beans (Wardrip 1993:421).

Two schools served the Yellow Jacket area. The Fair View School was built in 1911 or 1912 1.5 miles west of the present Yellow Jacket post office. It was closed between 1927 and 1933 and students attended the nearby Four Corners School. A new schoolhouse was built next to the original school in 1938 that operated until at least 1945 (Freeman 1958:146; Wardrip 1993:422-426). The Four Corners School was about 5 miles southwest of the present Yellow Jacket Post Office, 7 miles west of Lewis. School began being taught there in 1916. A new schoolhouse was built that burned before 1925. After rebuilding, the school seems to have remained in operation until 1956 (Wardrip 1993:429-431).

Goodman Point, Shiloh, and Renaraye

Goodman Point began being settled about 1910, and the community there became known as Shiloh as Texans moved into the area. The first Shiloh School was built in 1911 or 1912 and a new schoolhouse was built at the same location in 1922. The school was also known as the Goodman Point School. It remained open until 1963. The area was served by the Renaraye post office from July 10, 1915 to January 15, 1929. The name was a composite of the first names of residents Rena Cook and Raye Rowley (Wardrip 1993:340-341; Freeman 1958:105; Bauer et al. 1990:120).

McElmo Canyon

McElmo Canyon was a primary travel route for cattle ranchers moving animals from summer and winter ranges. It also became the primary route used by freighters moving goods and supplies to and from Bluff, Utah and trading posts along the San Juan River. It also saw heightened use during the various gold, oil, and gas booms along the San Juan River, in the Aneth area, and in

McElmo Canyon itself. Until the Montezuma Valley began to be irrigated in 1889, McElmo Creek was generally a dry watercourse. This is further suggested by the initial 1881 and 1889 General Land Office (GLO) survey plats for the townships covering McElmo Canyon referring to the drainage as “McElmo Arroyo.” Irrigation runoff was channeled into McElmo Creek turning it into a perennial stream and providing water that could be used to irrigate farmland in the canyon (Freeman 1958:132). The availability of water stimulated permanent settlement in the canyon beginning in about 1891. However, the 1889 GLO Plats show several houses and cabins in the western portion of the canyon. Information about these early entrants is included in Table 2. As oil and gas exploration boomed in the early 1900s, road improvements were made to facilitate the movement of goods and services. To capitalize on the traffic through the canyon, Jim Lamb built a stone building that was used as a stage stop and may have provided overnight accommodations (Bridgewater 2004).

Table 2. Residents in McElmo Canyon as Shown on 1889 GLO plats.

Name	Legal Location	Additional Information
Hamilton	Sec. 31, T36N, R18W	Probably Ezra Hamilton, identified as an early settler of McElmo Canyon (Freeman 1958:135). Land later acquired by Victor N. Ashbaugh as Homestead Entry Patent on September 9, 1913.
Finley	Sec. 31, T36N, R18W	Perhaps Alonzo L. Finley. Land acquired by Victor N. Ashbaugh as Cash Entry Patent on September 11, 1894.
Ellsworth Porter	Sec. 32, T36N, R18W	Land acquired by Porter as Cash Entry Patent on September 11, 1894.
Ulysses G. Carpenter	Sec. 34, T36N, R18W	May have also been known as Grant Porter (Freeman 1958:134). Land acquired by Carpenter as Cash Entry Patent on February 21, 1893.
Stanley Mitchell	Sec. 31, T36N, R17W	Land acquired by Mitchell as Cash Entry Patent on June 11, 1908.
Carson	Sec. 32, T36N, R17W	Land acquired by Norman Hall as Cash Entry Patent on May 31, 1899.
Ada Gifford	Sec. 33, T36N, R17W	Land acquired by Jasper D. Hall as Homestead Entry Patent on June 11, 1900.
William Gifford	Sec. 33, T36N, R17W	Land acquired by James T. Giles as Homestead Entry Patent on June 11, 1900.
John S. Wilson	Sec. 34, T36N, R17W	Land acquired by Wilson as Cash Entry Patent on March 21, 1893.

Two post offices served McElmo Canyon. The McElmo Post Office, run by Harrison Hill, operated from March 11, 1892 to March 15, 1911 (Freeman 1958:135; Bauer et al. 1990: 96). The Moqui Post Office, run by Alexander “Sandy” Tozer, operated from June 18, 1900 to April 15, 1914 (Freeman 1958:135; Bauer et al. 1990:101). McElmo Canyon was served by several schools. The Upper McElmo School was operated at two locations between 1896 and 1942. The McElmo School seems to have been in session at least in the early 1910s. Battle Rock School was established in 1915 and continues to run as a charter school. The Lower McElmo School was established about 1918, moved to a new location in 1938, and closed in 1951 (Wardrip 1993:308-327).

McElmo Canyon was the first area in Montezuma County to begin fruit growing. The first fruit trees were brought to the canyon from Canon City by Jasper and Norman Hall (Freeman 1958:134). The climate was well suited to apples, peaches, pears, plums, and grapes. Peaches from what became known as the “Gold Medal Orchard” won a national award at the 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair (Freeman 1958:106). Growth of the fruit business in the Cortez area was hampered by a small market and a lack of a rail connection to transport produce out of the area. Farmers were reluctant to form cooperatives to market their produce. This failure to find an adequate market was

compounded by insect problems, resulting in farmers switching to hay and feed corn in the 1950s, though some fruit growing continued into the 1970s (Freeman 1958:135; Kenyon and Kenyon 2004). Noah Barnes, who received a Homestead Entry Patent for land at the junction of Trail Canyon and McElmo Canyon in 1900 was renowned for his watermelons (Freeman 1958:134).

Several settlers in the canyon were involved in trading posts at Aneth and along the San Juan River. Included were Stanley Mitchell, Jesse West, Billy Meadows, and James M. Holly (Freeman 1958:133). Holly acquired land in McElmo Canyon near the Utah state line in 1894. He moved to Aneth in 1899 to operate a trading post. From 1899 to 1905, Holly was alarmed at the difficulties area Navajo were having with white ranchers over grazing lands. Desiring to be of more direct help to the Navajo, he was appointed the Indian agency farmer at Aneth in 1905 (McPherson 1995:132). The Holly ranch and adjacent Frank Ottoway ranch were later owned by Fred Taylor, then John Ismay (Freeman 1958:134-135). Ismay and his wife constructed a trading post on the old Holly ranch in 1921; the post is still in operation (Wardrip 1993:51; Freeman 1958:134-135).

Alexander "Sandy" Tozer operated a trading post at Aneth (Holyoke) in 1895, and moved to Zuni before returning to settle in McElmo Canyon in 1898 (Tozer 2004a, 2004b). The Tozers then conducted cattle ranching and farming in the area and still reside in the canyon.

An early settler in McElmo Canyon was Harry Baxstrom. Baxstrom evidently became familiar with the canyon as a freighter between Cortez and Aneth and Bluff. Harry's father, Peter, was responsible for the construction of several of the early stone buildings in Cortez, including the Wilson Building. Harry joined his father in the construction business and was responsible for several of the stone structures in the canyon, including the Meadows and Bauer residences and the old Battle Rock School. Stone was quarried west of Cortez, perhaps near the mouth of McElmo Canyon and from the lower end of Trail Canyon (Baxstrom 2004).

Another interesting character who resided in the canyon was Reverend Howard Ray Antes. Antes was an Indian Missionary and fruit grower. He took over the Jim Giles place [at the mouth of Trail Canyon] and operated the "Gold Medal Orchard." Antes was a Methodist Missionary and established the Navajo Faith Mission at Aneth, which he named when he arrived there in 1895. The community had previously been known as Riverview from 1878 to 1885, Holyoak from 1886 to about 1895, and Guilette for Pete Guilette, who ran a trading post there prior to 1890 (McPherson 1995:18). The mission included a large house, school, and farmland and orchards along the San Juan River by 1904. With Antes' persistence, the federal government was convinced to extend the Navajo Reservation north of the San Juan River, encompassing the Aneth and Montezuma Creek areas, on May 15, 1905. Soon thereafter, Antes came into conflict with Indian Agent, William T. Shelton. After being unsuccessful in having Shelton discredited, Antes sold the Navajo Faith Mission to the government in 1909 and moved to McElmo Canyon (McPherson 1995:127-131; Freeman 1958:133-134).

Sterling Price "Sterl" Thomas also seems to have been active in McElmo Canyon. Price was the editor of the Montezuma Journal in 1889 and took over the operation of the Riverview (Aneth) trading post of the Guilette Brothers in 1890. He was elected County Sheriff in 1893 and on March 20, 1917 was granted a Homestead Entry patent for land southwest of Cortez at the end of the Highline Ditch. He reportedly initiated the guiding of tourists to the Indian ruins in the McElmo Canyon area (Freeman 1958:67, 123, 129, 248; Fred Blackburn, personal communication to Jon Horn, August 1, 2004).

Supplemental Irrigation

Although dry farming proved to be successful, opportunities to use irrigation were seized upon when available water made the projects viable. The earliest of these small projects was the Rock Creek Reservoir and Canal in McElmo Canyon, just south of the Monument. The Rock Creek

Reservoir and Canal Company platted the Rock Creek Reservoir Ditch on December 19, 1904. The headgate was in the northwest quarter of section 36, T36N, R18W and conveyed water to fill Rock Creek Reservoir near Battle Rock. The canal was reportedly 2 feet deep and 4 to 6 feet wide. Construction on the canal began on December 1, 1904 (Montezuma County Clerk's Office, Plat Book 1, Page 8). Rock Creek Reservoir was platted at the same time by the company. It reportedly had a 34-foot-long dam that was constructed beginning December 3, 1904 at a cost of \$8,000. Water from the reservoir was for irrigation of land in parts of Sections 31 and 32, T36N, R18W, Section 6, T35N, R18W, Sections 3 and 4, T35N, R19W, Sections 32 and 33, T36N, R19W, Section 35, T36N, R20W, and Section 2, T35N, R20W (Montezuma County Clerk's Office, Plat Book 1, Page 9). The Rock Creek Reservoir Ditch was extended in 1909 for irrigation of 400 acres of land in Sections 33, 34, and 35, T36N, R18W. The extension was platted by the Lamb Brothers on February 27, 1909 (Montezuma County Clerk's Office, Plat Book 1, Page 42).

On April 17, 1908, John W. Galloway claimed water from Ute Creek, a tributary of McElmo Creek from the south, that he had been using to irrigate portions of Section 31, T36N, R17W and Section 36, T36N, R18W. He reported that he had been using the water for irrigation since about 1896 (Montezuma County Clerk's Office, Plat Book 1, Page 36). Ute Creek was an important tributary of McElmo Canyon and provided the only water in the canyon prior to the flows being supplemented by irrigation runoff (Fred Blackburn, personal communication to Jon Horn, August 1, 2004).

Within the current Monument area, a ditch was platted on the east bank of Trail Canyon by A. J. Brinker on April 10, 1911. The 4,500-foot-long, 1-foot-deep, and 2 to 4-foot-wide ditch conveyed water from Trail Canyon Creek for irrigation of 80 acres in the Sections 14 and 23, T36N, R17W. Work on the ditch was begun on March 17, 1911 (Montezuma County Clerk's Office, Plat Book 2, Page 31).

Later in 1911, Isabell Mitchel, John Galloway, George R. Galloway, James Finnel, Jesse West, and A. J. Tozer platted the Black Dike Ditch in McElmo Canyon, just south of the Monument, to irrigate land above Battle Rock. The ditch had its headgate on the south bank of McElmo Creek in the southeast quarter of Section 32, T36N, R17W. The ditch ran 21,848 feet, was 2 feet deep, and 4 to 8 feet wide. Construction of the ditch began on September 12, 1911 (Montezuma County Clerk's Office, Plat Book 2, Page 52).

The Wood Ditch was platted by E. V. Wood of Reneraye in 1919. The 5,255-foot-long, 1-foot-deep, and 2 to 3-foot-wide ditch had its headgate on the south bank of Yellow Jacket Wash in Section 30, T37N, R18W, within the Monument. It was intended to capture seepage and waste water from the laterals of the No. 2 Ditch of the Montezuma Valley Irrigation Company system. The ditch was surveyed on July 21, 1919 (Montezuma County Clerk's Office, Plat Book 4, Page 17).

Just east of the Monument, C. H. Wilson extended a ditch that originated from the west bank of Alkali Creek near the west quarter corner of Section 31, T36N, R16W that conveyed seepage water from the Montezuma Valley Irrigation Company system into Section 34 north of McElmo Creek. Wilson constructed his ditch in 1919 from an original ditch that had been constructed by Charles Scholles in 1900 to Section 35, (Montezuma County Clerk's Office, Plat Book 4, Page 28).

The General Land Office survey plat for the 1924 resurvey of Township 37 North, Range 18 West shows a ditch on the south side of Yellow Jacket Creek that begins on the east section line of Section 25 and running just over two miles to the west to agricultural fields in the eastern portion of Section 27. A house is shown between the ditch and the creek on the western edge of Section 26. These lands were later acquired by Fred V. Womack in 1940 and John M. Daniel in 1938 and no prior entry on the parcels was officially made. This clearly shows that early residential occupation and agriculture was being carried out there in the early 1920s, but by whom is currently not known.

The outermost expansion of dry farming agricultural was within the current boundaries of the Canyons of the Ancient National Monument. The majority of the attempts were failures that resulted in the land never going out of the public domain. A considerable quantity of land within the Monument was subject to homesteading attempts that failed and were remained in the public domain by way of cancellation or relinquishment.

Roads

Early travel in the region was generally by ways of paths of least resistance. Canyons were frequently used as routes of travel, but more commonly canyons and heavily vegetated areas were avoided as being too steep or difficult to traverse. Two principal travel routes existed in the vicinity of the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument. The first was the generally north-south route of the Spanish Trail. The Spanish Trail in the vicinity of the Monument followed the route taken by the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition in 1776. Soon thereafter, the route taken by Dominguez and Escalante was extended northwestward into Utah, through East Canyon and the Spanish Valley on its way to Utah Lake on the west side of the Wasatch Range, where it turned southeastward and eventually extended as far as southern California. By the time it connected to southern California in the 1820s, the territory it traversed was part of Mexico, so the Spanish Trail name is a bit of a misnomer. From the late 1820s through the 1850s, the route was used for annual trade caravans transporting goods between New Mexico and California. In 1859, the Spanish Trail was the route used by the Macomb Expedition in its reconnaissance in anticipation of military movements against the Mormons. The Macomb Expedition is best known for its exploration of southeastern Utah; their travels took them to an overlook of the confluence of the Colorado and Green Rivers and they were the first to collect dinosaur fossil specimens from the region. In the vicinity of the Monument, the expedition was the first to describe the ruins of Yellow Jacket Pueblo (Macomb 1876).

The route of the Spanish Trail is depicted on the map prepared by the Hayden Expedition during the examination of the region in 1874 and 1875. When scaled to current maps, the route of the trail is shown to pass in a southeast to northwest trajectory just northeast of the Monument at the head of Cahone and Cross canyons. When topography shown on the Hayden Survey map is taken into consideration, it is entirely possible that the trail passed slightly farther west and actually entered the Monument. The route from the southeast would have been by way of a small drainage south of and tributary to Little Cahone Canyon, the lower end of Little Cahone Canyon, across Cahone Canyon, and out of the canyon onto the mesa top to the northwest. About 0.5 mile farther northwest, the route would have entered a small drainage heading northwest into Cross Canyon at its junction with Alkali Canyon, and continued across Cross Canyon, which it exited by way of a drainage continuing to the northwest. Whether this route is topographically feasible is not known. It appears that the junction of Cross Canyon and Alkali Canyon may have provided a reliable source of water known as Ojo Valecito [Vallecito], which means Little Valley Spring.

Until the advent of the automobile, travel from Cortez northwestward into Utah along the general routed of the Spanish Trail was along little more than a wagon track through the sagebrush. Even with agricultural settlement of the region in the 1910s, no formal road improvements were forthcoming until the early 1920s. Existing roads from Moab to Gallup were linked in 1921 to form what was initially termed the Moab to Gallup Highway. Mileage of the route was logged and a map prepared so that it could be used to promote tourism to the region. A key promotional point for the highway was a spur that could be taken from Cortez to Mesa Verde National Park (*Grand Valley Times*, August 18, 1921). A committee was organized, comprised of community leaders from the towns traversed by the route, to promote the road, which was named the "Navajo Trail." The highway was touted as a scenic route that provided a connection between the Pikes Peak Ocean to Ocean Highway (Midland Trail) at Thompson Springs north of Moab, Utah, and the Santa Fe Trail (National Old Trails Highway), which passed through Gallup, New Mexico (*Grand Valley Times*, September 1, 1921). The organization was supported by all of the towns along the route through

their Chamber of Commerces. The principal towns along the route – Moab, Monticello, Mancos, Cortez, and Gallup – committed to and succeeded in raising \$150 each for route-marking signs, which were produced in Cortez and installed in early November 1921 (*Grand Valley Times*, October 20, 1921, November 3, 1921, November 10, 1921). With the route marked, maps and promotional literature were produced for distribution to tourists through automobile associations nationwide. One of the benefits of the route that was promoted was that it was passable throughout the winter and tourists on the Pike's Peak Ocean to Ocean Highway could deviate south along the Navajo Trail to the Santa Fe Trail and travel all the way to California (*Grand Valley Times*, November 10, 1921). Beginning in December 1921, efforts were made to have the Navajo Trail designated as a federal interstate highway, thereby making it eligible to receive federal funds for improvements (*Grand Valley Times*, December 22, 1921; December 29, 1921). By early 1922, the road had been designated as a federal aid project in Colorado with improvement work between Cortez and Dove Creek planned for that summer; similar designation for the Utah portion was made in 1923 (*Grand Valley Times*, February 9, 1922; August 23, 1923, November 8, 1923). In 1925, the route was officially designated U.S. Highway 450 (*Times Independent* [Moab, Utah], November 26, 1925). Federal surveyors laid out a new alignment for the highway that was in a straight line, rather than the circuitous route it had taken that followed land ownership boundaries on section lines (*Times Independent* [Moab, Utah], May 27, 1926). Soon thereafter, the route was graded and surfaced with gravel. The last section of road to be graveled was 15 miles between Shiprock and the Colorado state line in 1930 (*Times Independent* [Moab, Utah], June 26, 1930). However, in the early 1930s, Colorado failed to maintain their section of the highway and travelers had difficulties traversing the route, particularly during the winter months (*Times Independent* [Moab, Utah], December 3, 1931, December 29, 1932). This was remedied a few years later when a more direct route was laid out by the State Highway Department in 1935 and 1936, assisted by laborers from Camp DG-9-C of the Civilian Conservation Corps stationed west of Ackmen, and an oil surface was applied to the whole route in 1936 and 1937 (Freeman 1958:116, 118, 147, 152; Wardrip 1993:436-437). The completed highway was numbered U.S. Highway 666; this designation was changed in 2003 to U.S. Highway 491.

The second principal travel route in the vicinity of the Monument was through McElmo Canyon. This was a natural travel way between the Montezuma Valley and the San Juan River. Although considerable travel had taken place by stock raisers moving cattle and sheep between summer and winter ranges, freighters moving goods to and from the town of Bluff, Utah, and trading posts on the San Juan River, and by local settlers, travel through the canyon was along a relatively unimproved route that followed the path of least resistance. Modifications of the road alignment became necessary with increased water flow in McElmo Creek due to irrigation runoff from the Montezuma Valley. From the early 1900s to the early 1910s, some of these route changes were formally platted (Montezuma County Clerk's Office, Plat Book 3 Pages 18, 57, and 58). Gas and oil exploration along the San Juan River near Bluff and Mexican Hat, Utah in 1909 was the primary impetus for early road improvements in the canyon. Cortez benefited greatly by being the supply base for oil exploration, so the County Commissioners approved expenditures to improve the road through McElmo Canyon. Considerable road construction was done in 1910, but flooding in 1911 resulted in abandonment of much of what had been done and construction began on a new route on the south side of the canyon (Freeman 1958:132, 259, 260, 265). The road in McElmo Canyon was a gravel road until it was paved to the Utah state line in 2002. Prior to being paved, it had been considerably upgraded and well maintained, principally because of its importance in serving the Aneth Oil Field in Utah.

With the advent of gas and oil exploration and prospecting for uranium, a large number of roads were constructed on federal land. Evidently, some of the roads were constructed by the federal government in the late 1940s and 1950s to facilitate the discovery of uranium deposits. Oil and gas roads have been constructed by oil companies to provide access to drilling locations and producing wells.

A third travel route is indicated by the General Land Office (GLO) survey plats for the resurveys of Township 38 North, Ranges 18 and 19 West from 1917 and 1922 for a road to Bluff, Utah originating at Ackmen at an intersection with the main road to Monticello from Dolores and Cortez. The road headed southwest on the mesa between Ruin Canyon and Hovenweep Canyon. The route may mirror that of a road shown on the 1891 GLO plat of Township 38 North, Range 19 West, so may be quite old.

Railroads

Initial settlement and the growth of the Montezuma Valley was facilitated by railroads. In 1881, the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad extended their line from Alamosa to Durango. The following year, this line was extended northward to Silverton to tap the riches of the San Juan Mountains. Also in 1882, the expulsion of the Ute from most of western Colorado enabled the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad to extend a their line to Gunnison westward to Montrose, then northward through Delta and Grand Junction on its way to Salt Lake City, providing the railroad with a transcontinental connection. Having a railroad nearby made it possible for the cattle industry of the region to flourish and stimulated agricultural settlement. Even closer rail service was afforded the region in 1890-1891 with the construction of the Rio Grande Southern Railroad through Dolores and Mancos. Both towns prospered as a result of their rail connection, and the agricultural settlement of the Montezuma Valley was further stimulated, but a railroad extension to Cortez was not forthcoming, though highly desired.

Plans to construct a railroad to Cortez north from Gallup had been proposed in the later 1880s, but the decline of the silver industry associated with the Panic of 1893 put an end to these plans. It was with great anticipation that plans were made in 1913 to construct a railroad between Albuquerque and Salt Lake City through Cortez. Meetings were held in Denver to formalize plans for the railroad with W. K. Palmer of Kansas City. A committee of Cortez men was established, comprised of E. R. Lamb, C. H. Rudy, G. O. Harrison, L. G. Grasse, Charles Hopper, F. M. Goodykoontz, James M. Clark, W. J. Moffitt, and F. L. Miller. Unfortunately, the Albuquerque, Cortez & Salt Lake Railroad never got beyond the planning stage (*Grand Valley Times*, October 17, 1913).

Still, the idea of building a railroad was not dead and promotion of a railroad was again initiated in 1921, but failed to materialize (Freeman 1958:230, 278). Coal and oil of the area were the subject of much interest and a rail line north from the Santa Fe Railroad in New Mexico was promoted for a short time in 1926. The plan was to extend a branch line from the Santa Fe Railroad near Gallup northward through the San Juan Basin and onward through Cortez, terminating at Moab. The prospect of a rail connection again caused considerable excitement in the area, but no firm plans were ever made and the project failed to make headway (*Times Independent* [Moab, Utah], September 9, 1926).

Scientific Investigations

Scientific interest in the Monument area has largely been with its archaeological resources. The Macomb expedition of 1859 was in keeping with government exploration expeditions of the time in that, not only was information being collected for military purposes, but data about the natural and physical characteristics of the areas being traversed were documented. Although the expedition did not detour into the present Monument beyond following the route of the Spanish Trail, they did note the presence of Yellow Jacket Pueblo (Macomb 1876). The Hayden Expedition had a more direct mandate of preparing rather detailed topographic maps of the region and collecting information about its natural and scientific wonders along with some information about the people who resided there. Although they did not explore the Monument area extensively, they did visit Hovenweep Castle and examined the extensive canyon system sufficiently to depict it rather accurately. Lewis Henry Morgan ventured into the region in 1878 and was the first to attempt to

document and interpret the ruins of Mancos Canyon, Yucca House, and Mud Springs with an anthropological perspective (Fred Blackburn, personal communication to Jon Horn, August 1, 2004).

As the lands in and around the current Monument began to be surveyed in preparation for settlement, the prominent Indian ruins of the region were noted. In 1889, the ruins at Goodman Point were brought to the attention of the Secretary of the Interior, John W. Noble, by the Commissioner of the General Land Office. An inspector was sent to the area, who recommended that steps be taken to preserve the ruins. Following the recommendations of both the inspector and the Commissioner of the General Land Office, Noble directed that Section 4 of Township 36 North, Range 17 West be withdrawn from the public domain in order to protect the ruins there “from wrongful removal or destruction” (Noble 1889). This was soon after the excitement of the discovery of Mesa Verde was made public and interest in ruins associated with the “cliff dwellers” was quite high. Still, it is quite remarkable that the withdrawal of land containing the Goodman Point Pueblo was the first time the federal government took official steps to protect archaeological resources on the public domain. The portion of Section 4 with the ruins on it has remained under federal control and is currently part of Hovenweep National Monument. At about this same time, James M. Holly, a trading post operator at Aneth and later resident of McElmo Canyon conducted excavations in what later became Hovenweep National Monument. The Holly Ruin is named for him (Fred Blackburn, personal communication to Jon Horn, August 1, 2004). Interest in Anasazi ruins was widespread and they were recognized as important tourist destinations. To capitalize on this tourism, the Manitou Cliff Dwellers Ruins Company dismantled an Anasazi ruin in McElmo Canyon and transported it to Manitou Springs, where they reassembled the stones into a replica Anasazi cliff dwelling that was opened to the public in 1906. Evidently, Adam Lewy facilitated the purchase of the cliff dwelling for the company (Fred Blackburn, personal communication to Jon Horn, August 1, 2004).

The first professional archaeological survey within the current monument boundaries was carried out by Sylvanus G. Morley, Alfred V. Kidder, and John G. Fletcher for the School of American Archaeology, later known as the School of American Research, in 1907 (Morley 1917; Woodbury 1973). The party was based at the Holly Ranch in McElmo Canyon (Lipe 1996). The following summer, Morley returned and excavated the south pueblo of Cannonball Ruins, the report of which was published later in 1908 (Morley 1908). Not only was this the first professional published excavation report for the McElmo District, it provided important data for the definition of the Anasazi in the northern San Juan region. The survey and excavation were the first professional archaeological projects conducted by Morley and launched his career as a prominent Mayanist (Lipe 1996).

In 1919, Jesse Walter Fewkes conducted a survey of the region focusing on the more spectacular ruins of the area (Fewkes 1919). With this more detailed information and the original recognition of important ruins on the public domain, other parcels of land were withdrawn, together designated as Hovenweep National Monument in 1923. A more comprehensive investigation of the prehistory of the region began in 1928 when the Colorado Historical Society initiated excavations under the direction of Paul S. Martin. Martin worked at many of the most prominent ruins in the area under the auspices of the Colorado Historical Society and the Chicago Field Museum through 1936 (Martin 1936; Tyson 1996). His work at Lowry Ruin stimulated the General Land Office to terminate land entries there and withdraw the site area from the public domain. Lowry Ruin was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1962 (Athearn 1996; Schroeder 1962).

In 1962, National Park Service archaeologist, Albert H. Schroeder, conducted a large survey of lands surrounding some of the Hovenweep National Monument units. Part of this work resulted in the designation of Lowry Ruin as a National Historic Landmark (Schroeder 1962, 1968). Between 1965 and 1971, considerable additional archaeological survey was done by the University of Colorado. Work was supervised by Robert Lister from 1965 to 1969 and by David Breternitz from

1969 to 1971. Several ruins within the current Monument were stabilized by the University of Colorado in the 1970s (Martin et al. 1971; Breternitz 2004). Subsequent surveys between 1974 and 1977 were conducted in the vicinity of the Hovenweep units by San Jose State University (Winter 1975, 1976, 1977; Hammet and Olsen 1984). The majority of cultural resource inventories in the Monument area since 1977 have been by a variety of cultural resource consultants on a project specific basis. The only exception was an inventory conducted by Alpine Archaeological Consultants, Inc. of areas surrounding the Hovenweep Units in 1990 (Greubel 1991). In addition, Fort Lewis College and Crow Canyon Archaeological Center has tested or partly excavated numerous prehistoric sites in the Monument area. Most recently, Woods Canyon Archaeological Consultants of Yellow Jacket have been conducting large block inventories for the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument.

Gas and Oil Exploration

Oil and gas exploration in the Four Corners area began in the early 1900s. Evidently, in late 1908, McElmo Canyon had been identified as an area with good potential for the discovery of oil. Consequently, local individuals began staking claims, with Ezra and Isabella Hambleton staking the first claims on November 15, 1908. It appears that the convention for filing claims for oil and gas claims was unclear for a number of years and the claims were made as placer claims, usually of 160 acres in size. Claims made from 1908 to early 1913 were filed in the Montezuma County Courthouse, so a good idea of where the initial exploration took place is recorded, as are the names of the individuals involved (Appendix A). After January 1, 1913, it appears that interest in staking claims ceased and no further claims were recorded. No other areas in the vicinity of the Monument seem to have been involved in this initial oil and gas excitement. The claims were probably made in the hope that they would be leased and the claimants would benefit not only from the lease, but from whatever oil was discovered.

The first discoveries of oil of any merit in the region were made along the San Juan River at Mexican Hat in 1909, where eight oil rigs were put into production. This and subsequent discoveries in the vicinity of Bluff caused considerable excitement in the Cortez area. The Montezuma Oil & Development Company was organized in 1910 by individuals from Cortez. They intended to acquire oil leases and bring in an oil rig capable of drilling to depths of 5,000 feet. By 1912, this first oil rush to southeastern Utah had ended (McPherson 1995:249-251; Freeman 1958:261).

In 1911, oil exploration began in the Cortez area. The Big Four-San Juan Oil and Development Company brought a drill rig from Pagosa Springs to begin drilling for oil in McElmo Canyon near Battle Rock in 1911. There, the company made the first strike of oil in Montezuma County when it encountered oil at a depth of 150 feet on July 12, 1911. The flow of oil was light and was accompanied by a large quantity of water. Evidently, the find was not viable economically and no other discoveries were made. In 1914, the Big Four oil rig was moved to Disappointment Valley to begin explorations there (Freeman 1958:263-264, 269). About 4 miles south of Cortez, the Mesa Verde Oil & Gas Company began drilling a well in June 1911 that encountered artesian water at 635 feet and a small amount of gas. The company started a second well in October 1911, apparently with no success (Freeman 1958:263-264). The lackluster results in the Cortez area resulted in exploration being focused elsewhere. In February 1913, oil was discovered at the meadows below Farmington, which gave hope to speculators in southwestern Colorado, but no further exploration in the Cortez area seems to have resulted (Freeman 1958:266).

The Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 changed the way that coal, phosphates, oil, gas, oil shale, sodium, sulphur, and potash were managed on federal lands. As a result, these minerals were no longer subject to being claimed in the fashion that precious metals were. This eliminated the filing of mining claims for oil and gas in county courthouses. Instead, leases of lands for oil and gas exploration were recorded with the General Land Office and then with the Bureau of Land Management, after its establishment in 1946 (Appendix B). Leasing of lands within the current

Monument boundaries began in late 1920 and was intensive through 1923. This period of speculation was bolstered by the discovery of oil by the Midwest Oil Company in McElmo Canyon in late 1921. The well had been started by the Midwest Refining Company in 1920 and turned over to the Midwest Oil Company for completion. The excitement caused by the discovery resulted in considerable leasing activity in the McElmo Creek area, as well as on what was termed the "Dove Creek Dome" and in southeastern Utah. The company capped their well after the discovery in order to secure additional leases in the area (*Grand Valley Times*, September 1, 1921; September 8, 1921; September 15, 1921; September 22, 1921). It was expected that the company would resume drilling in 1922. Instead, they pulled the casing from the well and dismantled the drill rig (Freeman 1958:277-278). The company moved to another location in McElmo Canyon where they encountered a good gas deposit at a depth of 4,200 feet on March 25, 1922. It was expected that with deeper drilling that oil would be struck. After drilling several hundred more feet, the bottom of the well was shot with nitroglycerin in order to fracture the stone and, presumably, release underlying oil. Shooting the well failed to produce any oil. The casing was pulled to a depth of 1,900 feet, where a small flow of oil had initially been encountered, and the lower portion of the hole filled with rock in preparation for shooting the well at that level. Evidently, this effort also failed to yield oil in sufficient quantity to be economic (*Grand Valley Times*, April 6, 1922; April 13, 1922; June 1, 1922; June 18, 1922; Freeman 1958:278). In October 1922, the discovery of a producing well in the San Juan Basin, 15 miles west of Farmington, New Mexico, kept hopes high (Freeman 1958:279), but the failure of the most promising discoveries in the immediate area and with no new discoveries being made, few leases were negotiated in 1924 and 1925.

From 1926 through 1928, leasing increased considerably. This coincided with the discovery of oil and gas nearby at Gibson Dome and Cane Creek and exploration of the Lisbon Dome, all in southeastern Utah. These discoveries gave impetus to exploring the Dove Creek Dome, which was probably the focus of much of the leasing (*Times Independent*, Moab, Utah, March 3, 1927). Leases throughout the 1920s were principally to what could be termed local individuals, dominated by people from Durango. Individuals from Silverton, Cortez, Dove Creek, Ackmen, Renaraye, and Ruin Canyon are also well represented. Considerable leasing to individuals from Denver also took place. In addition, leases were made to individuals from Greeley, Fort Collins, Pueblo, Salt Lake City, Casper, Wyoming, and distant states, such as Oklahoma, Kentucky, Idaho, Michigan, Illinois, Washington, and California. Although most of the leasing by local individuals was probably as speculation with hopes that the leases would be acquired by a large oil company, some of the exploration was financed by local speculators. For example, Howard A. Garwood and Charles Milton of Ackmen organized a company, in 1925, that put thousand of acres under lease and planned to drill for oil near Ackmen (Freeman 1958:282).

Beginning in 1928, leases were dominated by individuals from Pueblo; this trend continued into the 1950s. Only three leases were established from 1929 to 1931. From 1932 through 1934, leasing increased somewhat. Even with previous failures, McElmo Canyon continued to be the focus of exploration. A well drilled by Teague & Coon in McElmo Canyon on the Jesse West ranch struck gas accompanied by a small amount of oil at 3,131 feet in late 1934 (Freeman 1958:287-288). Again, the flow was insufficient to be economical. No leases were established in 1935, and just a few leases were put in place from 1936 to 1938. From 1939 through 1942, only one new lease was made, and from 1943 to 1947, leasing was relatively infrequent. Stanolind Co. struck gas with a small amount of oil in McElmo Canyon at a depth of 4,762 feet in the summer of 1944, but abandoned the well later that year (Freeman 1958:295-296).

A major discovery of oil was made 12 miles west of Pleasant View in 1948 (O'Rourke 1992:158), ushering in a resurgence in leasing in the area that has continued vigorously to the present day. The dry ice plant in McElmo Canyon was made possible by the discovery of carbon dioxide encountered in an oil and gas drill hole at a depth of 7,000 feet. In order to take advantage of the discovery, Colorado Carbonics, Inc. was formed in 1949 to investigate the feasibility of utilizing

the gas for the manufacture of dry ice. The gas was piped 4½ miles down the canyon to a convenient place for a plant. Natural gas from a 1,500-foot-deep well nearby was piped 1½ miles down canyon to the plant for power and heating (Freeman 1958:158). The presence of oil in the Aneth area was recognized in 1953. The first producing well was drilled by the Texas Company (Texaco) in early 1956. The discovery resulted in the development of the Aneth Oil Field (McPherson 1995:209). Although in Utah, the Aneth Oil Field is accessed by way of McElmo Canyon and is supplied by businesses in Cortez.

Mining

Mining in and around the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument was principally focused on uranium/vanadium and coal. Although prospecting for uranium and staking of claims was rampant in the Monument in the 1940s and 1950s, actual mining was quite limited. Coal mining also seems to have been on a small scale and rather peripheral. Other mining is alluded to within the Monument (Dicken 2004), but except for uranium/vanadium and coal mining, no specific information is known to say where and when such mining would have occurred or for what minerals. The only non-uranium/vanadium precious metal mining known in the vicinity of the Monument was a single mine at the Black Dike near Battle Rock in McElmo Canyon, dug by Jack Kelly. The mine reportedly yielded small quantities of gold, silver, copper, zinc, lead, vanadium, uranium, and barite. Kelly also reportedly prospected and mined on Ute Mountain. An individual named John Voelter also reportedly did some prospecting in the McElmo Canyon area after World War I (Jeter 2004; Bridgewater 2004; Baxstrom 2004; Kenyon and Kenyon 2004).

Uranium and Vanadium

The advent of the nuclear age brought the canyon lands of southeastern Utah and southwestern Colorado into focus as a primary sources of uranium. Gold and silver mining had been the impetus for settling southwestern Colorado, but those deposits were in the San Juan and La Plata Mountains, well to the east. A small amount of mining took place in the La Sal Mountains of Utah and gold was discovered on the San Juan River in Utah that resulted in a short-lived rush there in 1892 and 1893 (McPherson 1995:126, 135-136).

Uranium was first discovered in 1879 in the Sinbad Valley of Colorado, but was not properly identified until 1898. Radium, found in association with uranium, was much sought after in the late 1890s for medical experiments, principally by French scientists Antoine Henri Becquerel and Pierre and Marie Curie. A mill was established on the Dolores River in San Miguel County to process radium ore. The high price of radium stimulated a mining boom in the Colorado Plateau region of Colorado and Utah focusing on carnotite ore that contained uranium, vanadium, and radium. Carnotite ore from the Colorado Plateau was no longer economically competitive on the world market after 1921 because of an influx of high-grade pitchblende ore from the Belgian Congo. As a result of the plummeting price for radium, most mining and milling of carnotite ceased in Colorado and Utah in 1923 (Amundson 2002:2-4; Chenoweth 1990:20; Hahne 1989).

Despite the collapse of the radium market, vanadium became increasingly sought after beginning in the late 1920s. Union Carbide, the Vanadium Corporation of America, North Continent Mines Company, and the International Vanadium Company acquired carnotite mining claim holdings in Colorado and Utah and constructed vanadium processing mills in the region. Howard Balsley of Moab formed a uranium-buying company in order to acquire uranium ore that was being discarded by vanadium miners in the region. Balsley established warehouses at various places in southeastern Utah and southwestern Colorado, including Dove Creek. Beginning in 1934, he sold his uranium ore to the Vitro Manufacturing Company for use in coloring ceramics and glass (Amundson 2002:5, 7). Vanadium does not seem to have been sought on the Monument, but a uranium/vanadium mine reportedly was operated on the east end of McElmo Canyon between World Wars I and II (Jeter 2004).

In the late 1930s, the principles of radioactivity and the energy potential of nuclear chain reactions began to be understood, including its potential as a fission explosive device. Beginning in 1942, the Bureau of Mines and U.S. Geological Survey combined to conduct secretive core-drilling programs at select locations in the Salt Wash Member of the Morrison formation on the Colorado Plateau. Exploration was reported to be for vanadium, but was actually done to explore for uranium in order to acquire ore for development of the nuclear bomb under the Manhattan Project (Godfrey 1991:31; Carter and Gualtieri 1965:39). Uranium ore for the Manhattan Project was acquired as discarded material from vanadium tailings from mills in Blanding, Utah, Naturita, Durango, Slick Rock, Gateway, and Loma and from the stockpiles held by Howard Balsley (Amundson 2002:8-9).

Following World War II, the Atomic Energy Act was passed to promote the use of nuclear energy for both domestic and defense purposes. It established that fissionable materials would be under the control of the federal government, but promoted exploration for and mining of uranium by the general public. The act also resulted in the government establishing prices for uranium ore and being the sole buyer, refiner, and producer for atomic use (Amundson 2002:19-20). Beginning in 1948, the government began working to expand the uranium industry. The Atomic Energy Commission joined with the U.S. Geological Survey to identify and withdraw public lands where uranium was known to exist and lease them for mining; the present Canyons of the Ancients National Monument was not one of these areas. However, guaranteed prices resulted in citizen prospectors fanning out across the Colorado Plateau in search of uranium deposits that would make them rich. Government-sponsored exploration and purchase continued through 1958 (Amundson 2002:22-23). In 1958, the government determined that supplies of uranium had reached a point where unrestricted exploration and purchase was no longer necessary. Although the quantity of ore sent to processing mills increased through the early 1960s, rampant prospecting and speculation activities ceased (Amundson 2002:106-111).

Exposed in the canyons of the Monument are the geological Summerville formation and Entrada sandstone. The Entrada sandstone evidently was the formation that uranium prospecting focused upon. Although uranium deposits were found within the Monument, mining was of small scale. Rather extensive staking of claims took place as speculative ventures. Some of the claims seem to have been surveyed, but none ever became patented and left the public domain. The vast majority of the claim records for the Monument are in the Montezuma County Courthouse; only one uranium claim seems to have been recorded for the Monument area in the Dolores County Courthouse. Claim records in the Montezuma County Courthouse were examined for the period of March 1953 to March 1955 to get a sense of where uranium prospecting was focused and who was active in the staking of claims (Appendix C). During that two-year period, over 1,600 claims were staked within the Monument. The majority of the activity seems to have been centered on Cross Canyon, though Cannon Ball Mesa, Goodman Point, McClean Basin, Yellow Jacket Canyon, Bridge Canyon, Ruin Canyon, Hovenweep Canyon, Cahone Mesa, Sandstone Canyon, Grave Yard Canyon, Blue Basin, and Cow Canyon are also mentioned. Like the initial phases of oil and gas speculation in the region, many of the individuals that filed Location Certificates for uranium claims were local residents. It also appears that speculators were active in staking claims; these individuals evidently were financed by investors who then had their names attached to a claim. It is difficult to ascertain the mechanisms by which names were attached to claims. Clearly, when individuals from out of state are listed on a claim, they were likely investors only and not participants in the actual staking. Many of the local individuals listed on the Location Certificates may also have been investors only, with no actual on-the-ground participation. The impetus for such rampant speculation was hope that a claim would be leased, then produce a wealth of uranium for which the locators would gain royalties.

The majority of the mining claims in the Monument were filed by individuals. In only a few instances are companies listed. Some of the companies are local entities, such as from Durango or

Grand Junction. One of the more interesting companies involved in uranium exploration in the Monument was the Neese Exploration Company, founded by Urban E. Neese in the early 1950s. Neese was the founder of Tidelands Exploration Company of Houston and Calgary. It provided seismic, gravity, and magnetic surveys worldwide. Neese sold his interest in the company to form the Neese Exploration Company in Houston, which specialized in the collection and processing of gravity data. The company is still in existence as Neese Gravity Meter Exploration Group under the leadership of Urban's son, Robert U. Neese (Neese Gravity Meter Exploration www.gravityservices.com, November 17, 2003). According to Robert U. Neese, his father was a mining engineer, educated at the University of Alaska, and became potential field geophysicist. The company initially focused on gravity survey work for oil exploration throughout the Rocky Mountains. When the uranium boom took place, the company offered claim surveying and conducted core drilling through a subsidiary company named Los Amigos; they also acquired a number of claims. The company had offices in Grand Junction, Cortez, Montrose, Durango and Denver (Personal communication, Robert U. Neese to Jon Horn, November 17, 2003).

Local residents Robert and Francis Young reportedly staked 3,000 uranium claims in the Monument with Danny Dalrymple. They mined what they called the Blue Eagle Mine in Cross Canyon from 1951 to 1960 and kept the Blue Eagle claims until about 1980, when the assessment costs became too expensive for them to keep the claims current. They mined using a Model A Ford engine to run a compressor to power a jackhammer and drill. Ore was blasted loose and taken by wheel barrow to a chute, where it was loaded one ton at a time into a Dodge Power Wagon. Initially, the government paid \$3 per ton for the ore with a \$3 per ton premium; vanadium sold for 23 cents per pound. If the ore had sufficient uranium content, the government would pay to have it shipped to the mill. Consequently, a large quantity of low-grade ore was disposed of. When the government ceased paying the premium, it was no longer profitable to mine the ore. Dalrymple evidently reopened some old mines in the 1970s. Channing Mining Company operated one of the three larger uranium mines in the Cross Canyon area. Numerous smaller operations in the Cross Canyon area were run by Bob Hampton, Fendell Sitton, Ernest Watkins, Tommy Ringwald, Johnny Paycheck, and Bud O'Bannon (Young 2004; Young and Young 2004; Harris and Harris 2004).

Jerry Chaffin did some uranium prospecting in 1948 or 1949 and staked a group of 15 claims in Yellow Jacket Canyon near Lone Pine Canyon. He dug a tunnel 15 feet deep as improvement work and did this every year as assessment work for a while. He only needed one tunnel to hold all 15 claims in the group. Samples taken as the tunnels were dug were sent to the Colorado School of Mines for analysis. The ore was too low grade to be economical to mine, so he gave up his claims. After he quit doing assessment work, the claims may have been restaked by Bob Layton (Chaffin and Chaffin 2004).

Other local individuals known to have done uranium mining on the Monument were Audrey Wayman with her brother, Bob Holland, and his son, Howard Holland, and a man named Sparks, who had a uranium mine in Squaw Canyon (Wayman 2004; Young 2004).

Coal

Four coal leases were granted within the current boundaries of the Monument (Appendix D). The first was granted to Joseph Murphy and Peter Ely of Lewis on May 12, 1923 for land on the northwest side of Yellow Jacket Canyon just north of Dawson Draw; it was terminated on May 11, 1925. A second lease was granted to Jacob M. May and others of Lewis on October 1, 1926 on the southeast side of Yellow Jacket Canyon, nearly opposite that of the Murphy and Ely lease; it was terminated September 30, 1928. On September 27, 1937, Arley C. Short of Cortez obtained a coal lease. On the same date, Harry W. Osborne of Colorado Springs obtained a coal lease. Both of the leases were for land west of Alkali Creek about 2 miles north of McElmo Canyon. Short's lease was terminated on September 26, 1939 and Osborne's lease was terminated on December 17, 1939.

Other coal mines may predate these leases or be in the vicinity of the Monument. Homer Hughes reportedly had a coal mine in Yellow Jacket Canyon on Pat Honaker's place; he hired someone to do the mining (Honaker and Honaker 2004). A coal mine was developed off of the end of Squaw Point by Henry Mars. He could not compete with other mines in Hay Gulch and near Shiprock, so it was never developed beyond a source for local consumption (Dicken 2004). Another coal mine was reportedly present in Hartman Draw (Jeter 2004). Another small coal mine in Yellow Jacket Canyon was reportedly used by "Grandpa" Ives to run a still (Connolly 1996:17). Closer to Cortez are several coal mines in upper McElmo Canyon near Mitchell Springs (Fred Blackburn, personal communication to Jon Horn, August 1, 2004).

Monument Place Names

Several of the place names within the Monument have historical significance that is known. The Hayden Expedition recorded a few place names in and around the current Monument during their mapping of the region in 1874 and 1875. Included are McElmo Creek, Hovenweep Creek, Battle Rock, and Yellow Jacket Spring. These are names with the greatest historical antiquity, though Native Americans certainly have names for places in the Monument that may have greater time depth. The word Hovenweep is clearly of Ute origin. The origin of "McElmo" has been reported to have been named for an individual that died in the canyon. Local residents, Kelly and Gary Wilson, report that McElmo Canyon was named for Thomas McElmel, who came as a miner to the La Plata Mountains in 1872 or 1873 with John Moss; he died in McElmo Canyon and is reportedly buried in Graveyard Canyon (Wilson and Wilson 2004; Fred Blackburn, personal communication to Jon Horn, August 1, 2004). Possibly collaborating this information are stories of a miner by the name of McElmo that died while traveling through the canyon between Utah and the San Juan Mountains. Battle Rock was named for a large battle between the Navajo and the Ute. Castle Rock in McElmo Canyon was named by a woman friend of the Meadows family that thought the rock looked like a castle (Tozer 2004a). However, there are problems in the designation of these two places in that Castle Rock was what was originally referred to as Battle Rock and what is currently called Battle Rock was later referred to as Battle Rock Mountain (Fred Blackburn, personal communication to Jon Horn, August 1, 2004). Other named locations in McElmo Canyon include Fortress Rock, just northeast of Battle Rock, and Turtle Rock, immediately south of Battle Rock, that are labeled on the 1889 General Land Office (GLO) township survey plats of the area. Yellow Jacket Spring, as depicted on the Hayden Survey map, is shown in the vicinity of Little Cahone Canyon rather than in the vicinity of the community of Yellow Jacket or the head of Yellow Jacket Canyon. Likewise, what is depicted on the Hayden Survey map as Hovenweep Creek best corresponds to Yellow Jacket Canyon.

Goodman Point, Goodman Canyon, and Goodman Lake are all named for Henry Goodman, who came to the area in the early 1880s as the foreman of the L. C. Cattle Company. He was later a prominent rancher in his own right, using the Monument area for winter range, beginning in the middle 1880s. Goodman Lake is depicted on the 1889 GLO township plat of the area. Henry Goodman's name is also plotted on the 1884 GLO township plat for Township 39 North, Range 18 West along the Utah Road in Cahone Canyon. The map is clearly inaccurate when compared to current maps with the topography incorrectly depicted and offset nearly one mile to the south. However, the location is shown at the junction of canyons, one of which is labeled Valecito Canyon. It is likely that this junction is that of Alkali Canyon with Cross Canyon and the junction is the point where Ojo Valecito was depicted along the Spanish Trail on the Hayden Expedition map of 1874-1875. Some confirmation of this is a trail shown reaching the same intersection from the southeast that likely is the same as the Spanish Trail. That Henry Goodman's name is attached to the junction, suggests he may have controlled the spring there (Ojo Valecito) as part of his ranching operation.

Bill Graham, an early cattleman in the Dove Creek area, reportedly named Dove Creek, Bug Springs, Secret Springs, and Cedar Point (Ellis 2002). Charles Johnson, son of Charles "Racehorse"

Johnson, was nicknamed “Bug.” It is possible that Bug Point and Bug Springs were named for him (Bankston 1987:109). Trail Canyon was a major thoroughfare for moving cattle in and out of McElmo Canyon and the name dates to the early period of cattle ranching in the area. Other names, such as Ruin Canyon, Cow Canyon, Cahone Canyon, Hackberry Canyon, Bridge Canyon, Spook Canyon, Burro Canyon, Sandstone Canyon, and Cannon Ball Mesa probably were named during the ranching period as well; some of these appear on the GLO township plats of the area. The 1889 GLO plats document Hovenweep Gulch, Yellow Jacket Arroyo or Gulch, Cottonwood Creek, and Montezuma Creek. Some names no longer in use include Mockingbird Gulch for Hovenweep Canyon, and Line Gulch (named for its proximity to the Utah State line) for Bridge Canyon. In addition, the spring at the Goodman Point Group of Hovenweep National Monument is referred to as Juarez Spring on the 1889 township plat of the area. In 1891, the names Ruin Canyon, East Hovenweep Creek, Cross Canyon, East Montezuma Creek, and Cohone [Cahone] Canyon are first noted. Bowdish Canyon was probably named for Peter, George F., or Henry Bowdish; Porter Cove for Ellsworth Porter; Tozer Canyon for A. J. “Sandy” Tozer, Hamilton Mesa for Ezra Hamilton, and Finley Canyon (a southern tributary of McElmo Canyon opposite Tozer Canyon) may have been named for Elonzo L. Finley. The Bowdishes, Porters, Tozers, Hamiltons, and Finleys were all early settlers in McElmo Canyon. Risley Canyon may have been named for Galusha A. Risley, who received a homestead patent for land in Lost Canyon in 1890, and was likely an early cattleman that used the area. Negro Canyon was reportedly named for a black man that settled in the canyon during the dry farming era. Woods Canyon was also reportedly named for an early settler in the canyon, perhaps Gordon Woods (Chaffin and Chaffin 2004).

Historic Settlement Pattern

Initial historic settlement within the current boundaries of the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument was in the early 1890s by cattlemen, Adam Lewy, George F. Bowdish, and Albert and William Prater, for land in the bottom of Yellow Jacket Canyon (Appendix D). Between 1907 and 1912, some lands were entered upon under the Desert Land Act, which required that irrigation water be brought to the land (Appendix D). The majority of these were on land between Alkali Canyon and Trail Canyon and between Woods Canyon and Yellow Jacket Canyon. These entries were probably fueled by the expectation that existing canals would be extended to serve these areas or that the proposed Southwestern Ditch and Reservoir System would actually be built. Additional good grazing land in the canyon bottoms and on the mesa tops seems to have been the reason for a number of acquisitions and attempted acquisitions in the 1910s and 1920s (Appendix D). Also during this period, a considerable number of attempts at settlement for dry farming took place throughout the Monument area, but particularly adjacent to successfully acquired lands outside the Monument. No real pattern can be seen to this agricultural settlement, only that it was extensive. In the 1930s and early 1940s, large tracts of grazing land were acquired along water courses and on mesa tops by stock raisers (Appendix D). It is likely that this activity was in response to the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934, which regulated grazing on the public domain. Most of these acquisitions were through the Stock Raising Homestead Act and allowed for up to 640 acres to be obtained. It is likely that stock raisers saw acquisition in this manner as a way to guarantee winter range within the area regulated under the grazing act; it was also, perhaps, a way to increase a ranch’s land base to qualify under the act for grazing on the public domain. In the 1950s, there seems to have been somewhat of a return-to-the-land movement by returning World War II and Korean War veterans that may account for many of the Homestead Entries during the period (Appendix D). Some of the entries during this period also seem to be attempts at acquiring additional grazing lands, but others may have been earnest attempts at dry farming, several of which were successful.

Expected Site Types Within the Monument Based on the Known History

The history of the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument suggests that a wide array of cultural resource site types should be present within the Monument. These sites can be classified as belonging to one or more of nine historic themes: (1) Historic Native American; (2) Exploration,

Expeditions, and Research; (3) Agriculture; (4) Extractive Industries; (5) Government; (6) Recreation; (7) Maladaptions; (8) Transportation; and (9) Rock Art. These thematic categories are in general keeping with those proposed by Buckles and Buckles (1984) and the National Register of Historic Places.

Historic Native American

Historic Native American sites within the Monument will be largely associated with Ute and Navajo occupations, though some entry into the area by Southern Paiutes cannot be ruled out. It is also possible that historic Puebloan people made pilgrimages to the area and have left shrines or rock art that can be attributed to them. The earliest historic Native American sites in the area will likely be associated with the Ute. Sites from initial contact with Euroamericans into the early 1930s would be expected to be short-term camps associated with resource procurement and grazing. All Ute sites prior to the 1890s will not be connected to Euroamerican settlement, but some sites between the 1890s and 1930s will be tied to agricultural settlement of the region, reflecting employment of Utes as cowboys, sheep herders, and hand laborers at ranches and farms.

The pattern for Navajo sites is expected to be the same, except for the period of initiation was likely in the 1880s, when cession of the land comprising the Monument by the Ute may have provided an opportunity for nomadic Navajos in southeastern Utah to expand their range into Colorado. Like the Ute sites, Navajo sites dating prior to the early 1930s would be expected to be mainly short-term camps associated with resource procurement and animal grazing. From the 1890s to 1930s, some sites will likely be tied to agricultural settlement of the area by Euroamericans, reflecting employment of Navajos as cowboys, sheep herders, and hand laborers.

For both Ute and Navajo, the majority of sites after the early 1930s will be tied to agricultural settlement and employment by Euroamerican farmers and ranchers, but some sites can be expected to be the result of continued use of the Monument for specific resource procurement, such as plants, horses, and firewood. Some sites from the late 1940s to the 1960s may be the result of Utes and Navajos employed to stake uranium claims. Sites associated with the employment of Utes and Navajos on farms may be more complex than Ute and Navajo camps elsewhere because the length of seasonal employment and repeated employment on farms may have resulted in more permanent site features being constructed, resulting in their being recognizable as habitations. These sites would be expected to be concentrated on or in close proximity to lands where land acquisitions from the public domain were attempted or succeeded.

Differentiating Ute and Navajo sites from each other may be difficult, and the methodology and rationale in doing so is an important research avenue. Both Utes and Navajos used sweat lodges and both may have used wickiups and forked-stick hogans. However, morphological differences in features and site layout may exist, as may artifact disposal patterns and artifacts considered to be diagnostic. Historic rock art will contain elements typical of contact with Euroamericans and may include depictions of elongated horses, rifles or pistols, hats, headdresses, buffalo, trains, wagons, and teepees. Typical of Ute rock art are bears and bear paws.

Exploration, Expeditions, and Research

Sites associated with exploration and expeditions are expected to be extremely rare within the Monument. Although the Rivera and the Dominguez-Escalante expeditions may have passed near the Monument, it is doubtful that they actually ventured onto Monument lands and the likelihood of finding evidence of their passage, if they did, is very remote. The Spanish Trail evidently crosses a small portion of the most extreme northeastern portion of the Monument. Anecdotal information at this time suggests that the route of the trail can be identified. The 1874-1875 Hayden Expedition map indicates a water hole along the route, "Ojo Valecito," may be present on the Monument. This further suggests the potential for archaeological remains associated with

use of the trail from the late 1700s to the 1850s to exist. A few artifacts have been found in the area that may be of Spanish origin, but whether they are indicative of Spanish incursions or the result of trade with Native Americans is not known (Kenyon and Kenyon 2004). The Macomb Expedition of 1859 followed the route of the Spanish Trail and may have ventured slightly into the Monument during their passage. The possibility of discovering evidence of the passage of the Macomb Expedition is remote, but remains a possibility along the Spanish Trail corridor. The Hayden Expedition was in southwestern Colorado in 1874 and 1875 making scientific observations and mapping the region. It is evident from the mapping that was done of the current Monument area that they spent sufficient time to portray the topography relatively accurately and to identify some specific places. Consequently, it is possible that campsites of the expedition may be present within the Monument. Because the duration of stay at any one campsite was likely brief, probably only overnight, the possibility of recognizing a Hayden Expedition campsite is unlikely.

Archaeological sites within the Monument were recognized as early as the 1880s as being significant and worthy of some sort of protection through withdrawal of land from settlement. Establishment of Hovenweep National Monument in 1923 was further recognition of the importance of the archaeological sites of the region, and designation of Canyons of the Ancients National Monument is further recognition of those archaeological values. Scientific investigation of the ruins of the area began as early as 1919 with the work of Fewkes, and formal excavations of sites was initiated by Paul S. Martin in the late 1920s. The early investigations took place more than 50 years ago, so are of historic age, and those activities may be considered important as scientific investigations in their own right. That some investigators have thought this to be a possibility is evidenced by the recording of Doc Ives's field camp (5MT6754) from the Fort Lewis College archaeological field school in the 1960s. Although not of historic age, recordation of the site shows that camps associated with scientific investigation of the archaeological sites of the region may be recognizable on the landscape and are, themselves, now becoming part of the archaeological record of the Monument.

Agriculture

The Agriculture theme can be broken down into two basic subthemes: Ranching and Farming. Although the two subthemes are reasonably discrete, ranching often involves farming, such as growing of alfalfa or corn for feed or cutting wild hay, and farmers often raise grazing animals for meat. Consequently, the home bases of these two activities can appear somewhat similar. However, ranching has a larger signature on the landscape in the West because of the practice of grazing on the public domain.

Ranching can be broken into three temporally discrete periods on the Monument. The period of early ranching prior to 1900 was associated with large cattle operations that dominated the open range. The dominion of the large cattle operations was relatively short lived, beginning in the late 1870s, expanding throughout western Colorado in the early 1880s, beginning to break down by the late 1880s and gradually phasing out in the 1890s. In the Monument area, sites associated with this period of ranching would be mainly expected to be short-term seasonal camps occupied during the winter grazing period and camps associated with moving cattle between winter and summer ranges. Repeated use of particularly favored locations might result in some sites being recognizable as habitations, but generally camps would be expected to be dispersed over the landscape and individually ephemeral.

From the middle 1890s to the early 1930s, small stock raisers filled the void left by the departure of the large cattle companies. Some ranchers switched between cattle and sheep, depending on economic conditions. Short-term seasonal camps occupied during the winter are expected to be the predominant site type from the period, but some land acquisitions were made of bottom lands in and adjacent to the Monument by ranchers in order to establish or expand their home ranches where more complex sites can be expected. In some cases, small irrigation

improvements may have been made. It is also possible that some basic range improvements may have been made infrequently on the public domain, such as spring developments and corrals. Still, grazing during this period was on open range, so short-term camps should be ubiquitous across the terrain and not generally tied to land acquisition attempts.

Ranching in the area changed dramatically in the middle 1930s with the implementation of the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 and designation of grazing allotments to specific ranchers. Short-term winter camps dispersed over the landscape from the 1930s to the present would be expected to be associated largely with sheep grazing, as sheep need to be accompanied on the range. Camps associated with both sheep and cattle grazing would also be expected to be found at specific locations, such as corrals and water holes. All of the camps from this time period will be tied directly to individual grazing allotments. More land acquisition attempts were made during this time period to assure winter grazing lands and to expand the landholdings of existing ranches in order to solidify eligibility for grazing permits on federal land. Improvements on these parcels would be expected to be substantial habitations. These will only be found on Monument lands in cases where the land acquisitions failed or successful land acquisitions have been reacquired by the government. During this period, numerous range improvements have taken place to enhance range conditions. The permit system and the assignment of allotments to individuals has been a stimulus for many of these improvements, because the permittees feel ownership for the lands under their use and benefit directly from the improvements. Such enhancements include stock watering ponds, corrals, fences, chaining, and grass seeding.

Farming was a relative latecomer on the Monument in comparison to ranching. Expansion of farming onto what are now Monument lands did not take place until the dry farming took hold on adjacent lands in the 1910s. The vast majority of farming sites on the Monument are the result of unsuccessful land acquisition attempts. These are recognizable as rather simple habitation complexes of only one or a few year's duration, mostly dating to the 1910s to 1930s period, though a few 1940s and early 1950s examples may exist. The importance of these short-term failed farms cannot be overemphasized because the only place where they exist is on public land, they have the ability to provide moment-in-time data about homesteaders, and they provide data sets by which households from a common time period and activity can be compared. Failed farms may exist on private lands as well, but these were usually occupied for longer periods of time and were more likely reoccupied by subsequent owners or tenants. More complex farming operations exist as private inholdings or successful land acquisitions that have been reacquired by the government. These sites may be important as complexes and for architectural characteristics they may contain, but are usually not as important archaeologically because moment-in-time data is difficult to acquire at them as a result of subsequent or continuous occupation obscuring and mixing deposits.

Extractive Industries

Extractive Industries on the Monument can be separated into two types: Mining and Oil and Gas. The historical record indicates that the only mining that has taken place on the Monument has been for coal and for uranium/vanadium. Other minerals may have been sought on the Monument, but documentation of such prospecting has not been found. Coal mining on the Monument and adjacent lands was small scale and may date as early as the 1890s, though records of coal leases only date to the 1920s and 1930s. It is expected that coal mining sites will be typical small-scale operations mined through a portal or as an open cut. Mining equipment or evidence of the type of equipment in use should be in evidence, along with some sort of loading facility. An actual residence associated with the mine is possible, but unlikely.

Uranium/vanadium prospecting and mining on the Monument predominantly took place from the late 1940s to early 1960s, with some minor mining taking place into the 1970s. It is possible that some prospecting and mining of vanadium took place prior to 1923, but this is unlikely. The majority of evidence of the uranium boom in the area will be mining claim markers. Some small

prospect pits may also be found that were dug to comply with the requirement of doing annual assessment work to hold the claims. In a few instances, mainly in Cross Canyon, actual uranium mining took place, with values of vanadium also recovered. These were small operations that will be evidenced by an adit dug into a slope with waste rock below that has been leveled to form a working area for the mine. It is unlikely that any mining equipment is present, but discarded pieces of equipment are likely that will indicate how the mining took place. A loading facility or remnants of one will likely be evident. A short distance away, an explosives magazine may have been cut out of exposed bedrock. A considerable amount of domestic trash is likely to have been deposited, and evidence of an austere residential structure may be present.

Oil and gas exploration has taken place throughout the Monument area. Initial exploration between 1908 and 1913 was focused on McElmo Canyon. McElmo Canyon continued to be a prime area for exploration, but subsequent activity was conducted in the Dove Creek area in the middle 1920s. Large tracts throughout the Monument area were leased from the 1920s to middle 1930s. In 1948, discoveries west of Pleasant View started a new surge in oil and gas exploration throughout the Monument area that has largely gone unabated to the present day.

Early oil and gas exploration from the 1900s to 1930s was done using rather mobile cable drilling rigs powered by steam. Steam engines used in the area were probably fueled with coal, so discarded piles of coal cinders and slag may be good evidence of oil and gas drilling from the period. Also likely to be found are pieces of wire rope, pipe, and anchors driven into the ground used to support wooden derricks or steam engine smoke stacks. Pieces of large-diameter pipe will likely only be found on wells where oil or gas was encountered and casing of a well was undertaken. It is possible that gasoline engines began to be used to power drill rigs beginning in the 1930s. Cable drilling was probably replaced by rotary core drilling by the time the most recent surge of exploration took place, beginning in the late 1940s. Substantially more clearing and leveling of drill pad locations has been the case with the latest phase of oil and gas exploration as well.

Government

The Government theme is one that will most likely be applied secondarily to sites of other themes. For instance, it is likely that the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was active within the Monument boundaries conducting range improvement projects in support of ranching. A stock pond or corral built by the CCC would best fit under Agriculture – Ranching, but the CCC association would also indicate the Government theme would be appropriate. This same scenario might apply to roads classified under Transportation if they were constructed by the Government or if culverts or bridges of CCC construction were features of the road. The Government theme might also be applied if sites in some way reflect government policies, such as the implementation of the Taylor Grazing Act or association with Hovenweep National Monument.

Recreation

The Recreation theme generally includes evidence of such activities as hunting, camping, hiking, picnicking, horseback riding, and bicycling. Judging from the responses of the oral informants for the project, use of the area for recreation has been a relatively new phenomenon, as most of the farmers and ranchers that lived in and around the Monument recreated very little and utilized the Monument area for specific resource procurement. For instance, hunting is typically considered a recreational activity today, but for residents of the area during difficult economic times, hunting was a means of survival. Similarly, recreational looting of archaeological sites of the region may be a relatively new concept, whereas looting in the past may have been a way for a family to make money enough to survive. In general, recreational sites will be ephemeral camps reflecting stays of short duration. Because of their ephemeral nature, the focus of the recreational activity may not be readily apparent.

Maladaptions

Maladaptions are activities considered illegal or counterproductive to society at large. Several activities that took place on the Monument may be considered to fall within this theme. Included are bootlegging, looting of archaeological sites, poaching, and hiding out from the law. Most of these sites may not be readily identifiable from their physical or archaeological remains and may be best identified through oral informants. Bootlegging is very time specific, being tied directly to the period of Prohibition in Colorado from 1914 to 1933. The sites will likely be in rather hidden locations, and any equipment that remains may not be readily visible. Such things as copper tubing and large quantities of jar and bottle fragments to the exclusion of other household-type items may also be an indicator. Campsites of individuals involved in looting archaeological sites may have broken fragments of Anasazi pottery and other prehistoric artifacts that are mixed with historical materials and obviously not in prehistoric context. It is unlikely that outlaw hideouts and poaching camps can be identified with certainty without additional site-specific historical information, some of which is provided in the oral interviews for this project, but they may have characteristics that may help in their identification. It would be expected that hideouts and poaching camps would be situated in hidden settings away from regular travel routes with several possible exits available and may have a corral in association. The camps may not be in very convenient locations and may blend well with the surrounding landscape; campfire locations will be situated so as to enable smoke to disperse and not be noticeable. Artifacts at the camps will not be particularly distinctive and the occupants will not have left inscriptions or graffiti to identify themselves or to mark the spot. Poaching camps will likely date primarily from the 1910s through 1930s time period.

Transportation

The Transportation theme encompasses linear resources identified as roads or trails. Linear transportation resources are frequently difficult to deal with as a cultural resource because they are rather generic, do not often have characteristics that enable their age to be ascertained, and often have seen continual use or have been upgraded so that their historicity is not apparent or lacks integrity. The only transportation route within the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument that has sufficient historical documentation and possible integrity of location to be identified with certainty is the Spanish Trail. Although the route of the trail within the Monument has yet to be documented, oral history and a correlation of the 1874-1875 Hayden survey map with current topography suggests that the route exists and is likely to retain historical integrity.

The canyons of the Monument formed natural travel routes that were certainly used in prehistoric times by historic Native Americans and by early cattle ranchers and travelers. The routes may be accompanied by a variety of associated sites and rock art that shows the general course of travel. However, beyond oral tradition and some general historical references, these routes are impossible to pinpoint with certainty. Consequently, as far as cultural resource management is concerned, the routes cannot be confirmed as entities for which physical remains can be definitely tied to a specific use that can be evaluated for historical integrity or significance.

Roads may have been constructed or improved in the Monument during the 1930s by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), but no documentation has been found yet to ascertain where these may have been. Associated features, such as culverts and bridges, if they exist, may link some roads to the CCC. More recent road construction to facilitate uranium exploration and for gas and oil drilling may be of historic age, but documentation is generally lacking and the roads can be considered background infrastructure. Individually, these recent roads add little to our understanding of history, and their recording will do little more than clutter the database.

Rock Art

Rock art is not so much a theme as it is a type of site; however, it is often difficult to place rock art into a particular thematic category, as the most frequent historic inscription is a name often

accompanied by a date. Historic Native American rock art is discussed somewhat under the Historic Native American section above. It is a distinctive subset of rock art in that it is purely representational and is typically comprised of particular motifs that are frequently recognizable. Historic Euroamerican rock art is usually less well executed than prehistoric or historic Native American rock art. The Painted Hand Petroglyph Panel (5MT13288) is a particularly good example of rock art from multiple cultural periods, from prehistoric times to nearly the present. Included in the panel are typical historic Ute elements: elongated horses with mounted individuals, buffalo, and bear paws. Numerous Euroamerican inscriptions are present that document use of the area from the 1890s through the 1960s; though inscriptions as early as 1878 are reported in McElmo Canyon (Fred Blackburn, personal communication to Jon Horn, August 1, 2004). Some of the names are recognizable cattle ranchers or members of cattle ranching families, frequently including what appear to be brands. Several Hispanic names, some with place names in New Mexico, are likely sheep herders.

Summary of Recorded Historic Sites

Within the Monument, 209 archaeological sites or site components have been recorded of historic age. In 44 instances where a historic component was clearly denoted as a minor element, such as a rock cairn that would have individually been recorded as an isolated find, or where no data on the historic component was recorded, the site has been excluded from this analysis. Many of the remaining 165 sites are multicomponent prehistoric/historic sites for which the historic component may be a minor constituent (Table 3). Where the actual complexity of a historic component is uncertain, the site has been retained. Of the remaining sites, one is listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), 18 have been officially determined to be eligible for listing on the NRHP, 32 have been recommended by the field recorders as NRHP eligible, 12 are officially not eligible for the NRHP, 37 have been recommended as ineligible, 12 have been officially determined to need additional data before an official NRHP determination of eligibility can be made, 16 have been recommended by the recorders as needing additional data, and 16 sites have not been evaluated whatsoever. At the numerous multicomponent sites, it is often unclear if the eligibility determination pertains to both the prehistoric and historic components or was intended to apply just to the prehistoric component. Clarification of eligibility status by temporal component at the multicomponent sites within the Monument is important for future management.

The quality of the recordation of historic sites within the Monument is something else that needs to be taken into consideration when examining the database. Of the 164 historic sites or site components under consideration, only 36 have any dating information attached to them. Three of these indicate dates or date ranges more recent than 50 years ago. The lack of dating information for most of the historic sites indicates an inability to adequately analyze historic artifacts by recorders and/or an absence of research about individual sites and their artifacts. Both of these deficiencies do not permit historic sites or components to be placed in historical context very well, let alone enable them to be evaluated as members of a particular historical theme. The result is an inability to adequately evaluate historic sites or components lacking critical information for significance in terms of the National Register criteria. In general, a lack of concrete data leads to faulty National Register evaluations, usually resulting in evaluations of insignificance.

For the purposes of this analysis, historic sites in the Monument have been divided into eight site types based on information provided by the recorders. They are Camps, Habitations, Mining, Native American, Rock Art, Stockraising, Transportation, and Scientific Investigation. Forty camps have been recorded on the Monument. Camps seem to be a catch-all category for scatters of historic artifacts of small size or complexity that lack associated structural elements. It is often difficult to ascertain a particular thematic association for scatters of this sort, but closer examination of artifacts and features may enable better categorizations to be made. The 37 habitations contain structural elements that indicate long-term residence. In two instances, wells have been recorded at sites, but no other structural remains seem to have been evident. In nearly every other instance

Table 3. Historic Sites Recorded on the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument by Type and Eligibility.

Site No.	Name	Eligibility	Site Type	Date
5MT5148		Officially Eligible	Camp	
5MT10448		Officially Eligible	Camp	
5MT14780		Officially Eligible	Camp	
5MT15131		Officially Eligible	Camp	
5MT15225		Officially Eligible	Camp	
5MT758	Squirreltail Pueblo	Field Eligible	Camp	
5MT2726		Field Eligible	Camp	
5MT2734		Field Eligible	Camp	
5MT3896		Field Eligible	Camp	
5MT4321		Field Eligible	Camp	
5MT7666		Field Eligible	Camp	
5MT7973		Field Eligible	Camp	
5MT8011		Field Eligible	Camp	
5MT8020		Field Eligible	Camp	
5MT8072		Field Eligible	Camp	
5MT16737		Field Eligible	Camp	
5MT9234		Officially Not Eligible	Camp	
5MT11837		Officially Not Eligible	Camp	1966-83
5MT12219		Officially Not Eligible	Camp	
5MT12250		Officially Not Eligible	Camp	1920-60
5MT14980		Officially Not Eligible	Camp	
5MT15058		Officially Not Eligible	Camp	
5MT15257		Officially Not Eligible	Camp	
5MT5696		Field Not Eligible	Camp	
5MT9212		Field Not Eligible	Camp	
5MT2738		Field Not Eligible	Camp	
5MT12575		Field Not Eligible	Camp	
5MT13686		Field Not Eligible	Camp	1910-20
5MT10446		Officially Needs Data	Camp	
5MT11339		Officially Needs Data	Camp	
5MT706		Field Needs Data	Camp	
5MT4203		Field Needs Data	Camp	
5MT4966		Field Needs Data	Camp	

Site No.	Name	Eligibility	Site Type	Date
5MT13260		Field Needs Data	Camp	1993
5MT774		None	Camp	
5MT8209		None	Camp	
5MT8210		None	Camp	
5MT8211		None	Camp	
5MT13323		None	Camp	
5MT13325		None	Camp	
5MT136	Bass Site Complex	Listed on NRHP	Habitation/Homestead	1920-50
5MT4421		Officially Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	1940
5MT11578		Officially Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	1949
5MT12201		Officially Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	1930-40
5MT14605		Officially Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT14661		Officially Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT460		Field Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	1920-30
5MT1201	Helmann Homestead	Field Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	1934
5MT2036		Field Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT3052		Field Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT3822	Finley Ruins	Field Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT4956		Field Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT7088	Big Spring Ruin	Field Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT11006		Field Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	1900-50
5MT12937	Upper Place, Rock House, Uncle Kenneth's Place	Field Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	1924
5MT16702		Field Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT3081		Field Not Eligible	Habitation well	
5MT4921		Field Not Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT4949		Field Not Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT6297		Field Not Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT11300		Field Not Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	1960-70
5MT12576		Field Not Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT16741		Field Not Eligible	Habitation/Homestead	
5DL389	Gordon-Taylor Homestead Trespass	Officially Needs Data	Habitation/Homestead	1920-40
5MT10569		Officially Needs Data	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT10619		Officially Needs Data	Habitation/Homestead	1930-49
5MT14516		Officially Needs Data	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT3097		Field Needs Data	Habitation well	

Site No.	Name	Eligibility	Site Type	Date
5MT2798		Field Needs Data	Habitation/Homestead	1900
5MT4860		Field Needs Data	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT6254	Twin Chimney House	Field Needs Data	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT8282		Field Needs Data	Habitation/Homestead	1920-39
5MT2036		None	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT4087		None	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT4343		None	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT4406		None	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT5015		None	Habitation/Homestead	
5MT8074		Field Eligible	Mining	
5MT16678		Field Eligible	Mining Mine adit	
5MT7981		Field Not Eligible	Mining claim	
5MT12963		Field Not Eligible	Mining claim	
5MT16336		Field Not Eligible	Mining claim	
5MT16675		Field Not Eligible	Mining claim	
5MT478		Officially Eligible	Native American habitation	
5MT12096		Officially Eligible	Native American sweat lodge	1940-70
5MT14501		Officially Eligible	Native American camp	
5MT14519		Officially Eligible	Native American camp	
5MT15327		Officially Eligible	Native American camp	
5MT1988		Field Eligible	Native American sweat lodge	
5MT2736		Field Eligible	Native American sweat lodge	
5MT3094		Field Eligible	Native American camp	
5MT7536		Field Eligible	Native American habitation	
5MT7996		Field Eligible	Native American camp	
5MT8188		Field Eligible	Native American sweat lodge	
5MT8334		Field Eligible	Native American habitation	
5MT9202		Field Eligible	Native American camp	
5MT11237		Field Eligible	Native American sweat lodge	1950
5MT11261		Field Eligible	Native American camp	1915-30
5MT11276		Field Eligible	Native American camp	1915-30
5MT11294		Field Eligible	Native American camp	1915-30
5MT8226		Field Not Eligible	Native American sweat lodge	
5MT9214		Field Not Eligible	Native American sweat lodge	
5MT11089		Field Not Eligible	Native American camp	

Site No.	Name	Eligibility	Site Type	Date
5MT11262		Field Not Eligible	Native American camp	1915-30
5MT11091		Field Not Eligible	Native American sweat lodge	
5DL613		Field Needs Data	Native American sweat lodge	
5MT3086		Field Needs Data	Native American camp	
5MT7755		Field Needs Data	Native American Ramada	
5MT8225		Field Needs Data	Native American sweat lodge	
5MT5821		Officially Needs Data	Native American habitation	
5MT11571		Officially Needs Data	Native American sweat lodge	
5MT11890		Officially Needs Data	Native American camp	
5MT12265		Officially Needs Data	Native American sweat lodge	1950-70
5MT4324		None	Native American sweat lodge	
5MT4398		None	Native American sweat lodge	
5MT1829		Officially Eligible	Rock art	
5MT8985		Officially Eligible	Rock art	
5MT133		Field Eligible	Rock art	1921
5MT134		Field Eligible	Rock art	
5MT264	The Gallery	Field Eligible	Rock art	1886-1969
5MT294	Ismay Rock art Site	Field Eligible	Rock art	
5MT643		Field Eligible	Rock art	
5MT1806	Kiva In The Sky	Field Eligible	Rock art	
5MT2636		Field Eligible	Rock art	
5MT8597	Sand Canyon Panels	Field Eligible	Rock art	1647-1913
5MT13199		Field Eligible	Rock art	
5MT3288	Painted Hand Petroglyph Panel	Field Eligible	Rock art	
5MT14813	Sand Canyon Panels	Field Eligible	Rock art	
5MT13250		Officially Not Eligible	Rock art	
5MT4327		Field Not Eligible	Rock art	
5MT11336		Field Not Eligible	Rock art	
5MT13258		Field Not Eligible	Rock art	
5MT16257		Field Not Eligible	Rock art	
5MT1291		Field Needs Data	Rock art	1938
5MT13201		Field Needs Data	Rock art	
5MT281		None	Rock art	
5MT13308		None	Rock art	1921
5MT1736	Moqui Lake	Officially Eligible	Stockraising stock pond	

Site No.	Name	Eligibility	Site Type	Date
5MT545	Little Cajon Lake	Field Eligible	Stockraising stock pond	
5MT4432		Field Eligible	Stockraising stock pond	
5MT7916		Field Eligible	Stockraising sheep camp	
5MT10304		Field Eligible	Stockraising sheep camp	
5MT12582	Mechanical Rabbit Site	Field Eligible	Stockraising corral	
5MT12940	Malles Reservoir Site	Field Eligible	Stockraising stock pond	1930-60
5MT10454		Officially Not Eligible	Stockraising sheep camp	
5MT10437		Officially Not Eligible	Stockraising stock pond	1930-39
5MT12097	Celsius McElmo Dome #9415a	Officially Not Eligible	Stockraising stock pond	
5MT15247		Officially Not Eligible	Stockraising stock pond	1930-60
5MT3093		Field Not Eligible	Stockraising corral	
5MT4180		Field Not Eligible	Stockraising sheep camp	
5MT7983		Field Not Eligible	Stockraising corral	
5MT8098		Field Not Eligible	Stockraising Line Camp	
5MT9755		Field Not Eligible	Stockraising lambing pen	
5MT8100		Field Not Eligible	Stockraising stock pond	
5MT10995		Field Not Eligible	Stockraising corral	
5MT11286		Field Not Eligible	Stockraising corral	1920
5MT11292		Field Not Eligible	Stockraising corral	1915-30
5MT16420		Field Not Eligible	Stockraising corral	
5DL543		Officially Needs Data	Stockraising corral	
5MT8601	Rockwren Site	Officially Needs Data	Stockraising stock pond	
5MT548		None	Stockraising stock pond	
5MT1287		Field Needs Data	Stockraising corral	1930-39
5MT10416		Field Not Eligible	Transportation road/trail	
5MT11819		Field Not Eligible	Transportation road/trail	1930
5MT6754	Doc Ives' Field Camp	Field Needs Data	Scientific Investigation Camp	

habitations are also described as Homesteads. Such a determination should be based on correlation with historical records that document a site falls on a parcel of land where a homestead attempt occurred. In addition, the artifacts at the site should correlate to the period of time that the homestead is documented to have taken place. If one or both of these criteria are not met, then a habitation site is likely associated with some other historical activity. Only six mining sites have been documented on the Monument. Four of these are mining claim markers, whereas the remaining two seem to have more substantive mining activity represented. In no case is dating information provided, making associations somewhat tenuous, though nearly all mining sites on the Monument are probably associated with uranium exploration. The 32 historic Native American sites have been identified as 13 camps, 14 sweat lodges, four habitations, and one ramada. Spatial distribution of these sites, their temporal periods, and associated artifacts will be critical to make cases for historical associations of importance. The relative quantity of historic sites associated with Native American use on the Monument is remarkable and shows use that is not well documented in the historical record. The 22 rock art sites with historic inscriptions appear to be mainly prehistoric panels to which graffiti has been added. Only five of the rock art sites have associated historic dates indicated by their recorders, though, in at least one case, numerous inscriptions include actual dates. The 25 stockraising sites include 10 stock ponds, nine corrals, four sheep camps, one line camp, and one lambing pen. Only three stock ponds and three corrals have dates ascribed to them. Because corrals and stock ponds are readily recognizable, recorders have done a very good job of associating sites to the historic stockraising theme. Two transportation sites have been recorded in the Monument. Linear features of this sort will have little or no historical documentation on which to fall back upon, so will generally be of little historical importance. Most roads and trails in the Monument are background infrastructure that generally accrued through use or specific need. The only exception may be the Spanish Trail in the far northeastern portion of the Monument. The single Scientific Investigation site documented on the Monument is the camp used by Doc Ives during archaeological work. No date is provided in the documentation, but the site is clearly less than 50 years of age. It is possible that other similar sites may exist on the Monument.

Correlation of Recorded Historic Sites with Historic Data

As summarized above, 165 historic sites or site components have been recorded in the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument. These are classified as 37 Euroamerican habitations, 40 camps, 6 mining claims and adits, 25 stock raising sites (including camps, corrals, stock ponds, and a lambing pen), 22 rock art, 2 transportation sites (trail and road), 1 scientific investigation site, and 32 Native American sites (camps, sweat lodges, habitations, and a ramada). These divisions are based on information provided by the site recorders and do not necessarily correlate well with the historic thematic divisions based on what we now know about the history of the Monument. Further investigation of the recorded historic sites should enable this difference to be rectified.

The highest correlation between previous settlement (relinquished or cancelled land entry or patented inholding) and the presence of a particular site type is for habitation sites (25 of 37 sites; 67.5 percent). It is actually surprising that the correlation is not higher, but this suggests that a rather large amount of settlement on the public domain was for other reasons than land acquisition or perhaps was conducted prior to agricultural settlement of the surrounding area. Camps are slightly more likely to be found on land subject to settlement activities (23 of 40 sites; 57.5 percent). It is possible that some of the camps on lands where settlement activities took place show ancillary activities took place during the period of time settlement was attempted or reflect less intensive use of the land before or after settlement attempts. The third highest correlation is for sites classified as being associated with Native American use (18 of 32 sites; 56.25 percent). For early sites, this may reflect that the land seen as suitable for settlement was also seen as being suitable for use by Native Americans. Use by Native Americans may also be linked to Euroamerican settlement activities, in that Native Americans may have been farm or ranch laborers and made improvements on the land during their tenure. Stockraising sites are expected to be present throughout the Monument area, and a correlation with settlement attempts would not necessarily be expected. The distribution

conforms with general stockraising activities throughout the area with only 11 of 25 sites (44 percent) being on lands where settlement activities took place. Mining, predictably, is largely on lands not subject to settlement attempts (two of six sites; 33.3 percent on lands subject to settlement activities). That any mining activity is evident on land that was subject to settlement attempts may reflect mining that took place either before or after the settlement attempts. Rock art sites would not be expected to be linked to settlement activities. Rather, they should be linked to geologic settings that afforded rock panels suitable for inscriptions. The low percentage of rock art on land subject to settlement attempts (four of 22 sites; 18.2 percent) probably is a reflection of settlement largely taking place in less rugged terrain than would typically afford suitable rock art venues. The number of transportation sites recorded is too low to evaluate for correlation with settlement attempts, but both are on lands not subject to land acquisition. The single Scientific Investigation camp is on land where a land acquisition attempt was made, though there is no correlation between the site type and the attempted land acquisition.

Threats to Historic Sites and Suggested Protective Measures

Little specific information could be gleaned from the site data for the Monument to shed light on threats to historic sites. In general, it is expected that threats to historic sites are essentially the same as would be expected for prehistoric sites in the area. One aspect of the recent inventory of 9,712 acres in the Monument by Woods Canyon (Hovezak et al. 2003) was assessing damage to the archaeological sites they encountered from all sources. Based on their findings, some statements can be made regarding impacts to sites in the Monument, including historical sites. Overall, erosion has the greatest impact on the physical integrity of sites in the Monument. Most of this erosion is simply the nature of the setting and environment of the region and the placement of sites in that setting. However, certain human activities may speed erosion that can be or are currently being compensated for to varying degrees by management. Among these activities are livestock grazing, chaining, vehicle use, recreational visitation, and commercial use. Vandals often target archaeological sites in order to plunder them for items of value. Senseless damage is another form of vandalism, often associated with recreational use. Natural and human-caused disturbances to archaeological sites can be remedied to varying degrees through restrictions, law enforcement, erosion control/stabilization, and exclusion fencing.

Livestock Grazing

As might be expected, livestock grazing has caused rather widespread impacts to the land, but, perhaps surprisingly, these impacts have had low actual impacts to archaeological sites. This is probably because grazing is seasonal, widespread, and not concentrated, suggesting that current management practices are adequate in protecting the land.

Chaining

Chaining may have impacted some sites, but the extent and nature of damage to historic sites is currently unknown. Chaining is not a current management practice on the Monument and has not been undertaken for over 30 years, so cannot be considered a current impact, though the erosion accompanying chaining may have had an effect on some sites that, in some instances, may be ongoing.

Vehicle and Recreational Use

Vehicle use has evidently impacted some sites, but presently is not widespread. As recreational use of the Monument increases, damage by vehicles – particularly off-road vehicles – can be expected to increase and may eventually be a major source of site deterioration. Growing use of the Monument for recreational use, particularly in conjunction with off-road vehicles, is expected to have an increasing impact on sites simply from increased visitation. Damage due to vandalism is also a side-effect of recreation that can be expected to impact archaeological sites. Management of

vehicle and recreational use can be managed somewhat through education, but regulations that restrict or outlaw vehicle access in some areas is the most certain way to lessen impacts to archaeological sites.

Commercial Use

Direct impacts and erosional damage can be expected from commercial use of the Monument, such as gas and oil exploration. At present, the extent to which historic sites have been impacted by commercial use is not known, but is suspected to be low and can be expected to remain low due to current regulatory management practices.

Vandalism

Premeditated vandalism through looting is most often associated with prehistoric sites, but also occurs at historic sites, usually where bottles are suspected to be present. Senseless property destruction is another form of vandalism often associated with casual visitation. Education and reduced access are also measures that can be taken to combat both forms of vandalism, though in some cases increased visitation is a form of self-patrolling that may inhibit the most heinous forms of vandalism, such as site looting. Security patrols and the official presence of personnel also deter vandalism through education and scrutiny. Highly visible sites may be more likely to be the subject to recreational overuse or vandalism. These would be sites with standing architecture or rock art panels. In some instances, historic inscriptions occupy the same panels as prehistoric rock art. Care should be taken that the historic inscriptions are not perceived to be intrusive to otherwise prehistoric panels and are not removed or obliterated. At the same time, education of visitors should ensure that historic inscriptions do not serve as incentive for vandals to add their own graffiti.

Management of Sites and Site Uses

Management of cultural resource sites within the Monument is mandated to follow BLM Manual Guidance 8110.4 that recommends allocating cultural resources to potential uses. Specified uses are Scientific Use, Conservation for Future Use, Traditional Use, Public Use, Experimental Use, and Discharged from Use. The documentation for the majority of the historic sites within the Monument is incomplete or outdated, making it impractical to place sites into specific use categories at this time. It is possible, however, to specify criteria for placement of a site into a particular use category.

Scientific Use

Historic sites that retain integrity of cultural deposits and are considered National Register-eligible under criterion d should be considered for Scientific Use. In addition, some sites may have research values other than archaeological data, such as rock art, which may yield important information relative to styles, cultural meaning, and history.

Conservation for Future Use

Well-preserved historic sites should be considered for Conservation Use. These would most likely be farm or ranch complexes at which the primary structures remain in good condition and have historical architectural integrity. It is also possible that historic Native American habitation sites may also fall into this category if they contain readily recognizable structures and features, such as hogans and sweat lodges, that can be stabilized and maintained.

Traditional Use

No Traditional Use sites of historic age are currently known on the Monument, but both Native American and Euroamerican traditional uses are likely to have taken place there.

Individuals and groups having cultural connections to the Monument should be ensured continued access.

Public Use

Interpretation for public use may be possible for sites with good integrity for all of the historic themes identified for the Monument. Farming and ranching sites with standing architectural elements in good condition would be foremost of the sites suitable for interpretation. Rock art panels may also be easily interpretable, so long as they have been thoroughly documented and steps to prevent vandalism are taken. Sites with archaeological values may be amenable to public use, so long as the data from those sites have been collected or secured. The safety of the public must be taken into consideration, making some historic sites unsuitable for public use. For instance, it may not be wise to encourage visitation to an abandoned uranium mine because of the potential for exposure to radiation.

Experimental Use

Sites set aside for experimental use should be those that contain redundant data that, if lost, would not adversely affect the potential for historical understanding of the region. An example might be the remains of a failed homestead from a particular time period for which numerous other homesteads are known to exist or a rock art panel that has been thoroughly documented and contains inscriptions not considered artistic or unique. In addition, sites considered not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places that would otherwise be classified as Discharged from Use might be suitable for Experimental Use.

Discharged from Use

Sites considered not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places and not selected for Experimental Use can be considered to be in the Discharged from Use category.

Recommendations

The biggest drawback to management of known historic cultural resources in the Monument at the present time is the adequacy of the documentation. Until recently, the quality of recordation of historic resources has generally been low, largely because the focus has been on the more glamorous prehistoric resource base. Consequently, historic resources were overlooked during early inventories, have been recorded as background noise on otherwise prehistoric sites, or have been only cursorily recorded individually. It is recommended that all of the recordations of historic sites or historic components of multicomponent sites be reexamined in detail so that they can be assigned to pertinent themes and their periods of significance be identified. In the process, the site and feature descriptions and recorded artifact data should be examined and a determination made as to whether the site and artifacts have been adequately described and analyzed. If the site and feature descriptions or the artifact information are inadequate, it may be necessary to return to the site and gather the necessary data. It will also be necessary to examine the site maps to determine if a site has been adequately mapped or if a historic component of a multicomponent site has been adequately demarcated. Further examination should be made to ascertain if background historical research has been conducted and if it is adequate. The National Register eligibility of the historic site should then be evaluated relevant to its historical context, thematic association, period of significance, and historical integrity. On multicomponent sites, it is imperative that the historic component is evaluated independently and is clearly separate from the evaluation of prehistoric components.

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APPENDIX A

EARLY OIL AND GAS CLAIMS IN THE VICINITY OF THE CANYONS OF THE ANCIENTS NATIONAL MONUMENT

APPENDIX B

EARLY OIL AND GAS LEASES IN THE CANYONS OF THE ANCIENTS NATIONAL MONUMENT AREA

APPENDIX C

**URANIUM CLAIMS IN THE
CANYONS OF THE ANCIENTS NATIONAL MONUMENT AREA
MARCH 1953 TO MARCH 1955**

APPENDIX D

LAND ENTRY ATTEMPTS, PATENTS, AND COAL LEASES WITHIN THE CANYON OF THE ANCIENTS NATIONAL MONUMENT BOUNDARIES

APPENDIX E

HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL INFORMATION ABOUT INDIVIDUALS