

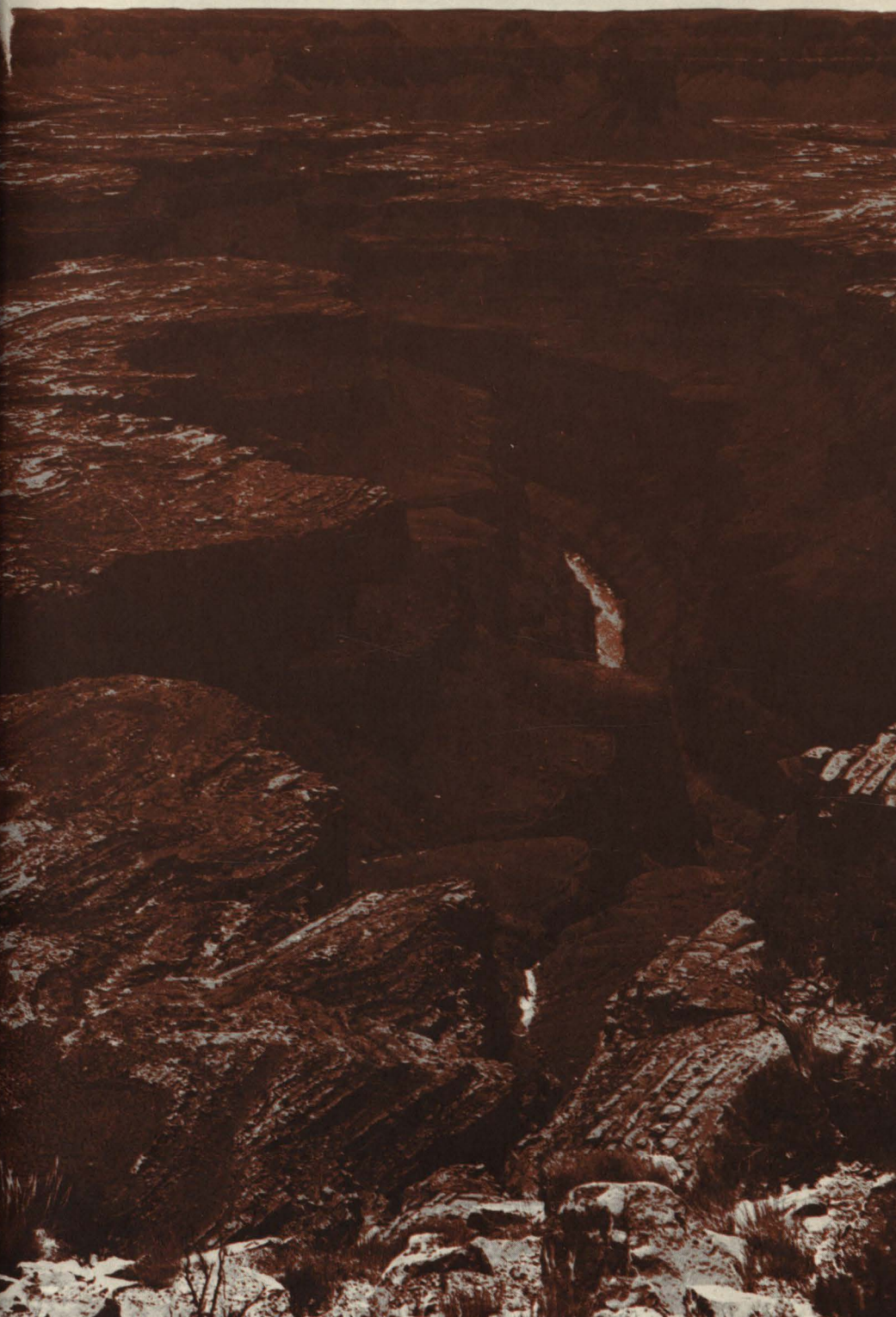
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The Journal of Arizona History



The Journal of Arizona History

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ROADS ACROSS BUCKSKIN MOUNTAIN

by

P. T. Reilly

NEAR THE END OF ITS FIRST DECADE in the Great Basin, the Mormon hierarchy found itself in difficulties. Deseret was occupied by Federal troops and there was considerable doubt that the Saints could continue to thrive with these outsiders in their midst. Church leaders judged that it would be wise to establish an escape route into New Mexico Territory (which then included Arizona) and possibly into Mexico itself. They were influenced also by the waves of new converts from Europe who needed homes and were causing rapid expansion. Soon they had preempted the benches of the Virgin River basin in the southwest corner of the future State of Utah and more land was needed. The territory to the south was a last frontier and would belong to the settlers who got there first. In 1858 Jacob Hamblin headed an expedition to the Hopi mesas, bringing back the first account of the lands beyond the Colorado River and the easiest way to reach them. The great problem was to find a route through the rocky wilderness now known as the Arizona Strip, particularly across the Kaibab Plateau.

Geologists define this feature as the "Kaibab Upwarp" and point out that it is one of half a dozen such deformations on the Colorado Plateau. Indians, recognizing that it was different from the other systems of peaks and intervening ridges, called it "Kaibab" or "Mountain Lying Down."

P. T. Reilly is a man of many talents and interests who has moved from California to Sun City, Arizona, after twenty-five years in management for Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. His major interest as guide, conservationist, photographer and writer is the Grand Canyon and its area. He is now at work on a book about Lee's Ferry.

The upwarp is an elongated blister whose 6000-foot elevation is roughly thirty miles wide and seventy miles long. Much of its crest is over 7000 feet, and the summit is more than 9300 feet above sea level. Dissected on the south by the Colorado River and the sheer walls of Grand Canyon, the great ridge appears to stretch infinitely into the northern horizon. It was an effective barrier to the only feasible crossing of the Colorado for 600 miles.

When Jacob Hamblin returned to the settlements on December 4, 1858, he brought with him some interesting and valuable information. He had a capable guide, a Paiute named Naraguts, who had taken the white men over an ancient route between the Virgin River and Oraibi. He used the mid-mountain trail, a route whose western approach was not distinguished by specific landmarks and thus was difficult to find by anyone not familiar with the area. The men understood enough of the native tongue to learn that the Indians referred to the ridge as "the place where they obtained buckskin." These highlands have abounded with deer since time immemorial and primitive man utilized the animals for food and clothing at least 4000 years ago.¹ The white men translated the Indian phrase into English as Buckskin Mountain, and Andrew S. Gibbons, one of the missionaries, used the name in his journal entry of December 18, 1858 – the first time it was recorded.

Outward bound, Hamblin crossed the ridge and moved eastward. He waded Paria Creek and joined the main trail into central Utah near Wahweap Creek, turning south to ford the Colorado at the Crossing of the Fathers (so named for Father Escalante's visit in 1776), usually called Ute Ford.² On the return trip he came to the conclusion that this route was not only difficult, but had taken him miles out of his way. It was necessary for travelers on foot or on horseback to use the Ute Ford, but he reasoned that if a boat were available at the mouth of Paria Creek, thirty-five miles downstream, the journey could be shortened by several days. Jacob's plan was not tried for six years, and it would be fifteen years before Lee's Ferry was established there, but the idea was good and ultimately the crossing proved to be a vital link in Mormon emigration to the Little Colorado.

Utah

COLORADO

CITY OF
SHORT CREEK


Arizona

● CANE BEDS

PIPE SPRING

ARIZONA STRIP

Kanab
Creek



Snake Gulch

● RYAN

● *Big Spring*

BUCKSKIN
MOUNTAIN

KAIBAB PLATEAU

drawn by Don Bufkin

KANABO

NAVAJO WELL

TILTON ROAD,

ARIZONA ROAD

McDONALD ROAD

PARIA PLATEAU

●HOUSE ROCK SPRING

HOUSE ROCK

**JACOB'S
POOLS**

Alt. 80

JACOB LAKE

CANE RANCH

Colony

ARIZONA

Colorado River

SCALE IN MILES

Little Colorado River

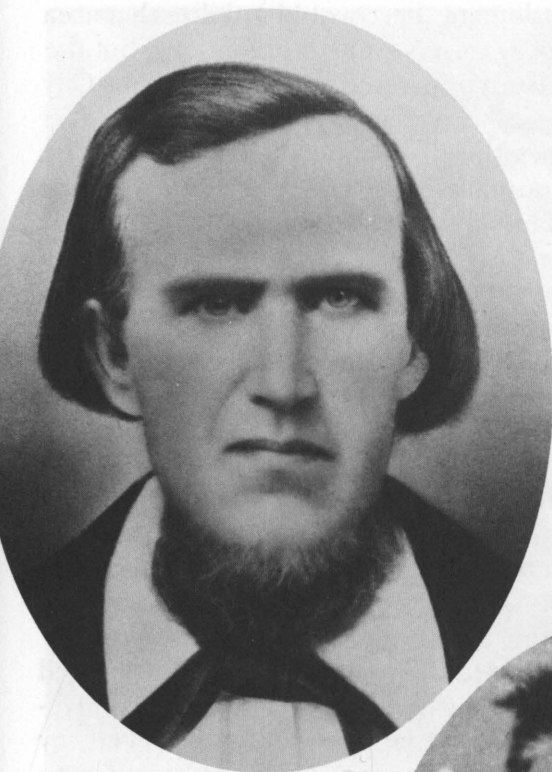
drawn by Don Buckin

Buckskin Mountain was still the great barrier to this shorter route and finding a way across it was a major problem for the Mormons during the next few years.

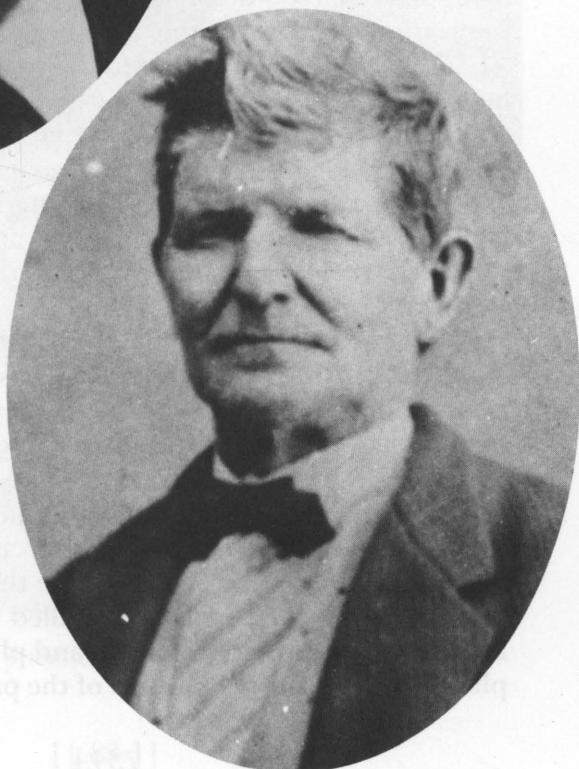
The Indians, of course, had been crossing for centuries, and their aboriginal trails represented more than seasonal pathways between springs or between winter and summer habitats; they were part of a far-flung system which included trans-Colorado River trade routes between the people living on the Hopi mesas and such faraway groups as those based along the Virgin River and others in south-central Utah. In some cases the indigenous footpaths provided the blueprint for Anglo travel and were soon rutted by wheeled vehicles.

Water availability has been the key to human activity on Buckskin Mountain. Meltwater on the high places either evaporates as summer progresses or it filters into fracture-zones of the surface rock to be held in storage and then emerge as gravity-flow springs at lower elevations. These springs sustained the Indian hunters and were no less important to those who superseded them. Meadows, forests and shallow basins containing seasonal ponds of snowmelt are scattered along the higher parts of the mountain. Winter snows are deep and the ample moisture sustains abundant growths of timber and browse. The upper elevations have extensive forests of conifers and aspen, while the intermediate slopes are thick with piñon, juniper and cliffrose.

Access to this rugged land was difficult but it could be reached from several directions. Five major canyons head in the Jacob Lake area, where the highway from Marble Canyon to Kanab and St. George crosses the ridge today, and all were used by travelers prior to 1900. On his first expedition, Hamblin followed a trail up Jacob Canyon. His second expedition, in 1859, was made without a guide and the party, momentarily lost and unable to find the regular trail, ascended the mountain by way of LeFevre Canyon a few miles to the north. The chief results of the traverse were twofold: First, the Saints walled up Cane Spring at the foot of the Vermilion Cliffs on October 26 and named it "Jacob's Pools." Then, on March 4 and 5, 1860, Thales Haskell and Marion Shelton visited the Hopi farms at Moenkopi. They had been urged to do so by Chief Tuba, who



*Jacob Hamblin, pathfinder
on the Strip.*



*John D. Lee, Arizona Strip
homesteader, founder and
operator of Lee's Ferry.*

foresaw that Mormon settlement there would stabilize that area of badly needed farmland against Navajo depredations; but the homesick white men were not impressed at that time. Tuba City would come later.³

To Isaac Riddle goes the distinction of driving the first wagon over Buckskin Mountain. This stalwart had built a small flatboat in support of Hamblin's 1860 expedition to Oraibi. It was loaded on a wagon to be driven to the mouth of Paria Creek, where it would be used to ferry the Colorado. Toil and perseverance brought the wagon to a dry camp at the foot of Buckskin Mountain on October 18. There it was decided that the previous year's route would be more accessible for the wagon than the more difficult climb up Jacob Canyon. Accordingly some of the men took the wagon north a few miles to LeFevre Canyon while the others continued along the trail. The two groups met at the top of the mountain and on the 20th broke a new track down the steep east slope. The descent was described in these words: ". . .went down the East side of the mt. the roufdest road I ever saw a wagon taken."⁴

Enos, the Paiute guide, led them to the spring which would be given the name "House Rock" a decade later. The twelve-mile span between there and Jacob's Pools, as noted by innumerable later travelers, was very sandy. It wore out man and beast and accomplished the thing Buckskin Mountain had not been able to do; it halted the wagon. Isaac Riddle's boat and wagon were left at the Pools and the party proceeded on horseback.

When they reached the mouth of Paria Creek, three of the men built a raft and achieved the first Anglo crossing of the Colorado at this place. Although they reached the opposite bank and ascertained that animals could climb it, they found the shore sealed off by quicksand and the raft rode too low in the water to ferry the equipment. Consequently the attempt to cross there was abandoned and the party ascended the Sand Trail and went on to the Ute Ford, where they crossed at twilight on October 28. A party of Navajos killed George A. Smith, Jr., at Moenkopi Wash on November 2 and plundered Hamblin's supplies and trade goods. The rest of the party hastily retreated the



House Rock, a photo of the primitive shelter taken by Will C. Barnes in July, 1933.

way they had come. They picked up Isaac Riddle's wagon at the Pools but left the boat.

By this time Navajo raiders were becoming a special problem to the Mormons, who were expanding eastward in the Strip and coming closer to Buckskin Mountain. In 1863 James M. Whitmore secured title to 160 acres at Pipe Spring,⁵ an important stopping point west of the mountain, vulnerable to attack. The Indians would slip across the crest, steal as many horses as they could, hustle the animals over Buckskin Mountain by one trail or another and, if the Colorado was found to be frozen over, cross them on the ice at the mouth of Paria Creek. If not, they moved up to the Ute Ford.

After a particularly heavy raid on the community horse herd early in 1864, a well-armed group of Mormons gathered at Pipe Spring to attempt recovery of the stock. Jacob Hamblin was appointed leader, and the very capable James G. Bleak, clerk. Bleak evidently carried a compass because he designated the courses of their various segments by its points and estimated the mileage of each leg, thereby allowing us to reconstruct the route between named points with reasonable accuracy. Thus we can say that by this time the mid-mountain trail which went by way of Jacob and Trail Canyons was well known and frequently traveled.

Bleak not only used the now-accepted place names of Pipe Spring, Buckskin Mountain, and Jacob's Pools, but he called attention to two new ones, Soap Creek and Navajo Spring. After noting on March 18 that the party found the flatboat of the aborted 1860 trip still nearly intact at the wood-scarce Pools, he mentioned "Soap Creek."

Left-bank egress had not been accomplished at the confluence of Paria Creek and the Colorado in 1860, but now a larger raft was built and several crossings achieved on March 20, 21, and 22, 1864.⁶ This was a milestone in Mormon expansion and a forerunner of things to come. The next day the men followed an Indian trail up the steep ledge and down a rocky slope to some greenery at the base of the cliff. They named the water here "Navajo Spring." Both the rough ledge and the spring were destined to become well-known to Mormon pioneers.

In noting that the return trip over Buckskin Mountain was made through deep snow, Bleak said a full day was required to reach the mouth of "Big Canyon." Jacob's name, then, was not attached to this tributary until later.

Doctor Whitmore's ranch was not the only outpost on the Mormon frontier in 1864. The Berry brothers and others had pushed into Long Valley; Moccasin Spring was the water source for the Rhodes and Alexander ranches; Hyrum Strong and a number of other individuals were scattered along the flats of Kanab Creek where a log fort was built on its left bank at the northern edge of the future townsite. Forty miles east of these settlers Peter Shirts lived on a bench of Paria Creek.

But the expansion of wagon tracks was halted early in January of 1866 when raiding Navajos murdered Whitmore and his herder, Robert McIntyre, touching off the southern phase of the Black Hawk War. Outlying ranches were abandoned as the settlers withdrew to the Virgin River hamlets.

Hostility among the Southern Paiutes never reached an intense stage and their need of retaliatory justice appears to have been satisfied by killing the three Berrys on April 2. After this relations improved and in September Ira Hatch led a party of Mormons and local friendly Indians on a goodwill tour of the eastern bands, resulting in the natives' agreeing to share-harvest the crops on the abandoned Long Valley farms.⁷ Jacob Hamblin repeated the visit in the spring and planted more crops. That fall he persuaded some young Paiutes to help him guard the Ute Crossing and thereby prevent Navajo infiltration.⁸

Jacob's guard-duty and peacemaking activities were continued during the winter of 1868-69 and conditions improved to the extent that Kanab's log fort was refurbished in September and was occupied by a force of Mormons and Paiutes.⁹ It is most probable that the water source which came to be known as "Navajo Well," fourteen miles east of Kanab Creek, was shown to Jacob by the Paiutes who aided him in guard duty during the winter of 1869-70.

Jacob's Indian farm on Kanab Creek was successful and early in the spring of 1870 he set up another at the Peter Shirts Ranch on Paria Creek, under William Meeks. This became

known as Fort Meeks and was the original site of Pahreah. By late March a guardhouse and corral had been built, one and a half miles of ditch constructed, and six acres of wheat planted. Eight Paiute men, two women, and six children were at work on the project.¹⁰ Soon a wagon road passing Navajo Well was established between the Kanab and Paria farms, at that time the most remote route on the southeastern frontier.

President Brigham Young, in the spring of 1870, "called" a number of Salt Lake families to make new homes in the south. The settlers arrived that summer to take up temporary quarters in the refurbished fort. The president himself arrived later and selected Kanab townsite on September 10. During this visit he instructed John D. Lee and the newly appointed bishop, Levi Stewart, to install a steam-driven sawmill which was already en route to the outpost. He further requested Lee to move to the area.

Lee chose Skutumpah (now Alton, Utah) for his newest home and set up the sawmill there. The equipment was old and badly worn but some lumber was cut between mill breakdowns, including that for A. P. Winsor's stronghold, known as Winsor Castle, then being erected at Pipe Spring. Lee had little faith that the old machinery could be kept running consistently, and after an extraordinary streak of high production in the spring of 1871, sold his share to his partner's son, John Stewart.¹¹ The new owner moved the mill to Big Spring west of the ridge in May; exploitation of Buckskin Mountain's resources by the white man had begun and the mountain was scarred by its first regularly used road.¹²

When John Wesley Powell's crew landed at the mouth of Paria Creek in October, 1871, they found a well-worn trail between there and Kanab. It followed around the Vermilion Cliffs to Jacob's Pools and House Rock Spring, went northwest across the neck of the valley for almost three miles, then cut west up an open slope. The trail topped out after gaining 1800 feet and turned north over the rolling but steady descent for eleven miles. It then assumed a northwest heading to Navajo Well and from there went west to the mouth of Johnson Canyon and subsequently to Kanab. Less than a mile east of Navajo Well it joined the ruts from Fort Meeks, now becoming known as "Pahreah."¹³

Powell's crew followed this trail and used the watering places as others had done before them. They pulled into camp at House Rock Spring on November 8 and made official this name which someone had facetiously written on a boulder with charcoal.¹⁴ Packer Riley, who had traveled the route several times, brought the men to the base camp near Kanab, and the descriptions in the journals of Walter C. Powell and F. M. Bishop identify the route beyond question.¹⁵

While the Powell men were preparing for the next phase of the survey, the plans of the Saints also were progressing. Several men had been assigned the job of locating and making a road over Buckskin Mountain which would allow wagons to reach the Colorado at the mouth of Paria Creek.

Logically enough, the crew utilized as much of the Pahreah road as possible. Seven miles past Navajo Well they departed from it to ascend a broad, open slope near the north end of the mountain.¹⁶ Their road bore generally southeast for three miles, then headed south climbing steadily for seven miles through piñon and juniper. It intersected the trail between Navajo Well and House Rock Spring, then descended the eastern slope five miles to Coyote Valley. Again the road turned south to cross the divide and lead toward House Rock Spring, a distance of 12.6 miles.¹⁷

At least this was the projected route selected by the so-called "road commission" headed by I. C. Haight, his son-in-law Daniel S. MacFarlane, and John M. Higbee, but their road-building failed to reach the trail intersection.¹⁸

John D. Lee encountered the opposition of the above worthies late in November of 1871 when he endeavored to take sixty-five head of cattle and three wagons over the projected road to his latest refuge on the Colorado River. The road-builders objected to the dust raised by the cattle, so Jacob Hamblin effected a compromise in which Lee was to continue with his cattle on the established road to Pahreah and then drive them down the creek to its mouth.¹⁹ Haight and his companions were to pilot the wagons over the road they had supposedly built and meet Lee at his new homesite.

Lee kept his part of the bargain but the others did not. Aided by John Mangum and Thomas Adair, he drove his cattle where white men had never been. It is approximately fifty miles

from Pahreah to the Colorado River, thirty-two miles of which are bound in an impressive canyon. The "Narrows," a section of four miles, offers no hope of escape should a flash flood occur.²⁰ After eight difficult days Lee and his companions arrived at the river to find no sign of the wagons.

Backtrailing to Skutumpah, Lee found that one of his wives, only six weeks from delivering a baby, had had enough of the new "road" after a mile or so and had returned to Kanab. Another wagon had broken an axle and been left at the scene of the accident where its contents of over a thousand pounds of supplies were ravaged by the wild life. The third wagon had returned to the ranch.

Lee reassembled his outfit and with a brother-in-law and a nineteen-year-old son as adult help, made another run at the mountain. No one knows how much new road was built, how many trees felled, how many rocks moved, but in the waning days of December, 1871, Lee brought three wagons to the place destined to bear his name.

Mormon policy was to dominate the land by controlling the water, and at the end of March, 1872, Lee was directed to stake claims at House Rock Spring and Jacob's Pools. Already prospectors were beginning to swarm into the country, motivated by the publicity accruing from Powell's 1869 traverse of the Colorado. Soon their wagon tracks, along with others, had deepened the Lee ruts and the first road over Buckskin Mountain was established.

A year after Lee had labored to cross the mountain, Thomas Washington Smith arrived at the mouth of the Paria with two large timbers—the gunwales for the first ferryboat capable of crossing a wagon. The twenty-six-foot timbers, specially cut at the Stewart mill, were the longest load to be taken over the rough road up to this time.

Less than a week before the ferry was launched on January 11, 1873, Lee and Smith located a way of egress from the river's left bank. But before the road could be constructed, a twelve-man party headed by Lorenzo W. Roundy arrived to explore the country beyond the river. Their wagons were left with Lee as the explorers crossed with fourteen pack animals.

Roundy's party returned on the 25th and told the fer-

Roads Across Buckskin Mountain

John D. Lee's stick-and-mud house at Jacob's Pools. Lee homesteaded the desolate spot in 1872 under instructions from the Church. Below, Lee's Ferry in operation in September, 1897.



ryman to expect emigrants to Arizona that season. In fact, the emigrants were then on the way and their vanguard arrived on April 22.

Although the Horton D. Haight colonization attempt failed, the pioneer road was established beyond the Colorado River and within three years carried considerable traffic between Utah and the outpost at Moenkopi. When the wagon-trains of the four Arizona companies began crossing the mountain in March, 1876, and streaming into the Territory for permanent settlement, a two-way traffic was set up and the road which had caused John D. Lee so much heartache and travail became an inter-territorial artery known as the "Arizona Road."

Establishment of a post office at Lee's Ferry on April 23, 1879, increased the use of the Indian trail between House Rock Spring and Navajo Well. The mail carriers traveled on horse-back, and the trail from Kanab, by heading southeast to the mountain after it emerged from Pioneer Gap a half mile northeast of Navajo Well, was over ten miles shorter than the road. Before long this became known as the "Mail Trail."

Stockmen from Orderville in southern Utah were responsible for beginning another route over the mountain. The United Order, organized throughout Utah by President Brigham Young in 1874, enlarged home industry into communal enterprises which employed available labor as needed. As the town herds grew, however, ranges expanded. In most instances, the various Orders made little impact and after a year or two the communities drifted back to private enterprise. Operations contracted. Individuals once again controlled ranges, dairies and sawmills. There was just one exception: the United Order at Orderville. In this community communal-minded people, especially those possessing little property, joined in the hope that group endeavor would provide them with more than their individual efforts had been able to do. Orderville's herds extended to distant ranges, ranches were incorporated on shares, and dairies were established wherever there was sufficient water. The meadows of Buckskin Mountain were utilized for a summer range at least by 1877, for that fall the herders emulated the indigenous Paiutes by wintering their animals in House Rock Valley.²¹ Orderville's wagons broke new tracks but this record has not been preserved.

A. P. Winsor and his brother had made a range survey in May, 1872. The superintendent of the Winsor Stock Growing Company now maintained that the road over Buckskin Mountain was much too far north; he claimed that he could ride from Winsor Castle to the summit in forty miles. This was not an exaggeration and on May 22, 1876, Brigham Young, Jr., looked west from the summit and agreed with him. The apostle further noted that his party had traveled in a great arc to reach this place.²²

People in general, including Apostle Erastus Snow who headed Mormon activity in southern Utah, concurred that the road was roundabout, but there was not enough labor on hand to relocate it. The fabulous strike at Silver Reef in 1876 siphoned local manpower as the cash-poor Saints hauled lumber and produce to the boom town. On December 15, 1878, Kanab Stake President L. John Nuttall noted ruefully that half of Kanab's able-bodied men were engaged in such freighting.²³

Action was taken finally during a meeting in Orderville on December 9, 1880, and a leading citizen named John Rider was appointed to locate a new road.²⁴ Rider knew that any cutoff would still have to cross the mountain at its lower north end because most travel took place between October and March when the higher elevations were deep in snow. Therefore he departed from the Pahreah road at the east side of Pioneer Gap a short distance past Navajo Well and headed for the mountain along the Mail Trail, intersecting the older road where it turned east. During the winter of 1880-81 twelve men from Long Valley and Kanab, using four teams, labored to make the route passable for wagons.²⁵

In August of 1881 Erastus Snow, Brigham Young, Jr., and a large party gathered at Navajo Well en route to the Little Colorado settlements. The flats were covered in short order but the brief, steep slope up the mountain proved very difficult. However, the summit was attained. Then instead of descending the old road the wagons turned south, probably following some rough ruts recently cut by the Orderville stockmen. The country was gently rolling, although constantly rising, and the broad hollow which drained the north slope even then was known as Orderville Canyon. Apostle Snow's report was indefinite on how far he traveled south, saying the party descended the

mountain "some 10 or 20 miles south of House Rock."²⁶ Very likely they went to Pleasant Valley, then followed the south trans-mountain trail to Cane Canyon. By heading for Jacob's Pools from this location they bypassed most of the difficult sand between the Pools and House Rock Spring.

Orderville's United Order declined over a period of years and was dissolved in 1885. Its major asset had been its far-ranging herds. At the breakup various individuals took livestock for their equities and continued using the same range. One of these individuals was Fred Tilton, who ran sheep on the north end of Buckskin Mountain. He began using the cutoff which the two apostles had tried in 1881, and by 1890 the road carried Tilton's name and the bulk of the traffic.²⁷ But freighters with heavy loads were still forced to take the longer route.

On May 21, 1886, a tragedy occurred which brought a new name to Buckskin Mountain. Samuel Clevenger and his wife, migrating from Arizona to Utah, had stopped at the customary camping place on top of the mountain where firewood was abundant and water sometimes available in nearby potholes. That night the elderly couple were murdered by their hired man, who continued north the next day with the outfit.²⁸ Travelers later found the hastily buried bodies, and from that time the place has been known as "Deadman's Hollow" or simply "Deadman."

About the time that Fred Tilton resurrected the John Rider route, Lucius "Luke" Fuller, also of Kanab, began grazing his sheep east from the flats adjoining Johnson Wash, about ten miles southeast from town. Fredonia had been founded south of the Utah line in the spring of 1885, partly because of increased anti-polygamy legislation in Congress (which made it desirable for polygamists to have a second home in Arizona) and partly because of the disastrous flood of July 29, 1883. This rekindled private enterprise among both stockmen and lumbermen, and they pushed toward Buckskin Mountain. Lumbermen built a road up LeFevre Canyon (which made the traveling much smoother than Isaac Riddle had found) and established a sawmill at Jacob Lake. Luke Fuller simply followed the LeFevre Canyon road for seven miles out of Fredonia, then angled off to the northeast.²⁹ His route ascended the mountain

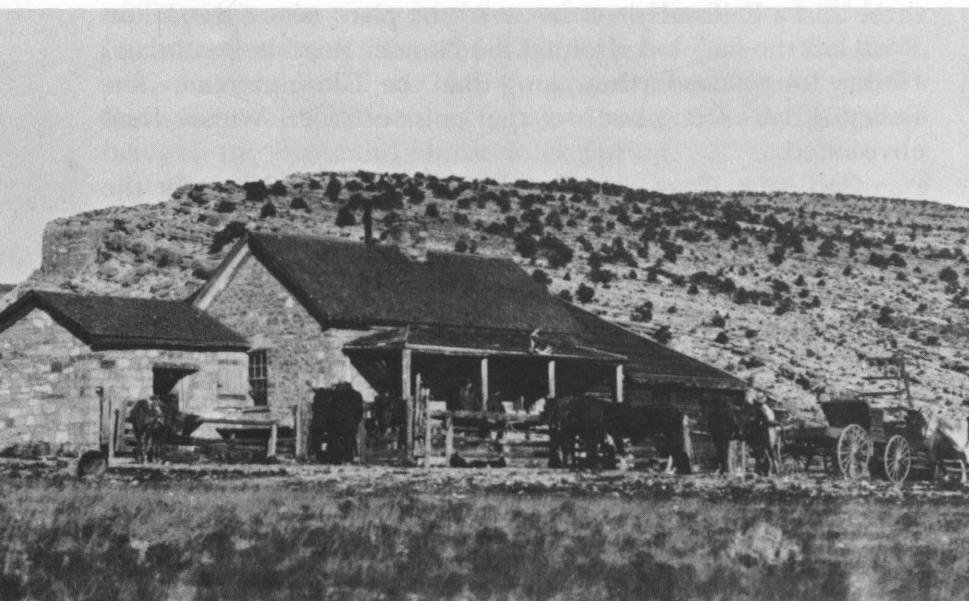
three and a half miles southwest of the place where the Tilton Road left the flat, and it joined the Pioneer Road in Deadman's Hollow four miles farther along than the Tilton junction. The Fuller Road was close to the course A. P. Winsor had envisioned.

Cattlemen Benjamin Franklin Saunders had bought the Parashont Ranch from the Canaan Cooperative Stock Company in 1883, bringing his Bar Z brand into the country. By 1895 he began extending his holdings eastward and in rapid succession acquired Canaan, Cane Beds, and Pipe Spring. In October of that year he obtained control of Big Spring by filing lode claims on the Harris Ranch and the water outlet. On February 24, 1899, his agent purchased the entire range rights from Kanab Canyon to Soap Creek, from the rim of the Grand Canyon to the Utah line. In each instance, lode claims and mill-sites were filed at the major springs, including the seasonal ponds such as Jacob and Lamb Lakes. Saunders' Bar Z was on the march.³⁰

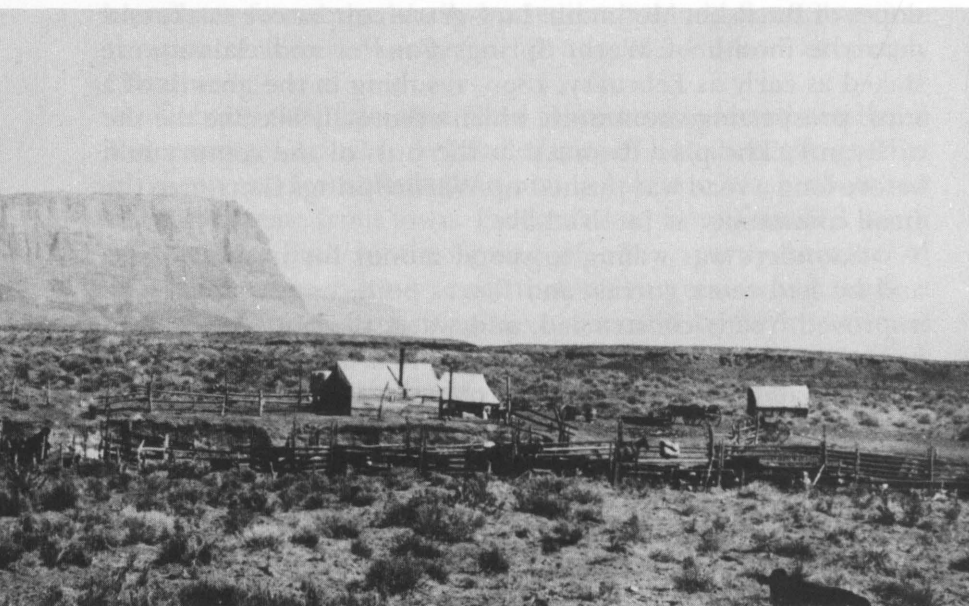
Cattlemen were not the only trail breakers. Motivated by the widely publicized R. B. Stanton boat trip through Grand Canyon in 1889-90, prospectors began swarming over the slopes of Buckskin Mountain. Low-grade copper ore was found near the mouth of Warm Springs Canyon and claims were staked as early as February, 1890, resulting in the growth of a small prospecting community which eventually became the site of Ryan.³¹ The place boomed at the turn of the century and before long a road was pushed up Warm Springs Canyon to the small community at Jacob's Lake.

Saunders was willing to spend money for improvements and he had more corrals and fences built, houses erected or improved, roads constructed, and water developed than had been done since the area was first exploited. Shortly after 1900 a wagon road replaced the Paiute route down part of Trail Canyon, leaving the tributary for a broad spur of the mountain about five miles above House Rock Valley. Charlie Lewis, Bar Z handyman, is said to have located the route and blazed the trees with his hatchet.

On December 2, 1907, E. J. Marshall bought the Bar Z range rights and improvements from Saunders and Haley.



Two scenes in House Rock Valley: the Grand Canyon Cattle Company headquarters above and cattle at a 640-acre valley ranch. Both pictures were taken by Will C. Barnes in 1921.



Marshall kept the Bar Z brand but called his new outfit the "Grand Canyon Cattle Company." His holdings were scattered over much of the Southwest and the empire was guided by General Manager Henry S. Stephenson, an aggressive man who knew the cattle business and was politically astute.

Stephenson saw the weak link of Marshall's setup and purchased the Lee's Ferry equipment and ranch from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on August 18, 1909. James S. Emmett, the last Mormon proprietor of the historic place, quit-claimed his interest on September 11, and thus the Grand Canyon Cattle Company controlled the entire range north of the Colorado River, from the Echo Cliffs to the crest of Buckskin Mountain. Although the company built the road between Jacob Lake and House Rock, and owned the ferry, both were accessible to all.

Stephenson went to work immediately. Coconino County was induced to take over operation of Lee's Ferry on June 17, 1910, and discussions were held with the county supervisors regarding road improvement and the installation of better facilities at the crossing. A. J. Diamond, County Superintendent of Roads, began hauling equipment for the ferry and thus obtained a working knowledge of the roads which he had agreed to maintain.

The conquest of Buckskin Mountain was pretty much completed by the turn of the century, but changes were still to come, brought about by a new means of travel – the horseless carriage. Wagons were still the mainstay of transportation as the twentieth century got under way, but the creaking of animal-drawn vehicles began to be interspersed with the rumble of the gasoline engine. Near the end of the first decade several events occurred whose combined effect accelerated change.

In June, 1909, through the promotion of E. D. Woolley, president of the Kanab Stake from 1884 to 1910, the first automobiles reached the North Rim of the Grand Canyon. A new day was dawning, but it did not exactly come up like thunder because the narrow, high-pressure tires and relatively low clearance of the new vehicles were not designed for the roads of that region. The first "firewagon" reached Lee's Ferry on November 18, 1910.³²



The steep Bar Z road on the eastern slope of Buckskin Mountain. Orson Pratt urges his team on in an effort to help writer Dane Coolidge's auto up the grade. The photo was taken in the 1920s. Below, the old Arizona road as it appears today.



Two dozen automobiles are said to have been at the opening of the new bridge across the Little Colorado in March, 1912, but few ventured far into the inhospitable country beyond. It was generally agreed that roads north of this point were to be used only in necessity. Wagons and buggies, of course, traveled the route frequently.

The year 1912 recorded no car crossing the Colorado at Lee's Ferry. In the next year, however, two barnstorming drivers brought their machines to Kanab and for a fee of fifty cents gave local residents a high-speed round trip to Fredonia. Some of the passengers were experiencing their first ride in an automobile.³³ In 1914 two motorcars traveled from Utah over Buckskin Mountain, crossed Lee's Ferry on August 22 and November 4, and continued on to Flagstaff.³⁴ Between 1919 and 1923 the traffic varied from a low of four cars in 1922 to a high of thirty-five in 1920. The total in 1920 was swelled by the auto caravan of Arizona Governor Thomas E. Campbell, who, as Jacob Hamblin had done fifty-eight years before him, encircled the Grand Canyon. But where Hamblin had made forty miles per day on horseback, Campbell easily made 250 miles per day. In 1924 over 300 cars passed from Utah to Arizona.

Travel was still difficult, especially from the north. The road over Buckskin Mountain was not only rocky and corrugated but unbelievably steep on the eastern slope. When the Marble Gorge Bridge was dedicated on June 14, 1929, an estimated 3000 cars attended the two-day celebration and many of them used this route.³⁵ Groups of men were stationed along the worst places to augment the faltering engines and slipping clutches with muscle power, indicating that little had really changed.³⁶

In 1931, however, the Bureau of Public Roads relocated the route down the mountain's western descent from Jacob Lake, following a longer but more even grade to the valley.³⁷ Isaac Riddle's old track up LeFevre Canyon was relocated to the ridge of that name in 1932-33.³⁸ On July 26, 1935, the entire road was elevated to the status of a state highway.³⁹ By the end of 1937 U.S. Highway 89 had come into being. In 1941 the Bureau of Public Roads, which had improved and maintained

the old stockmen's road between Jacob Lake and the North Rim, designated it as a state route. It is now State Highway 67.

There was one further important development in the history of the pioneer trails. In 1957 the Bureau of Reclamation built a new segment of highway which surmounted the Echo Cliffs from Bitter Springs to Glen Canyon Dam, then under construction. Glen Canyon Bridge was completed early in 1959, allowing the highway from Bitter Springs to meet another which had been built eastward from Kanab. The new segment was designated "U.S. 89" while the portion between Bitter Springs and Fredonia was redesignated "U.S. A89." Thus forty-one miles of pioneer road between House Rock and Bitter Springs was designated "Alternate" while twenty-four miles of the original road between Kanab and the foot of the mountain were brought into the U.S. 89 right-of-way.

Anson P. Winsor's dream had more than come true. An all-weather highway, completed to Fredonia in 1940, crosses Buckskin Mountain near its midpoint, and snowplows quickly remove winter snow. But the route so laboriously hacked out by Haight's road crew and John D. Lee is not identified on official maps, and today it is difficult to distinguish from the many jeep trails broken by stockmen and seasonal hunters. And the Paiute guide Naraguts, who started it all, has no cenotaph erected to his memory. In fact, his name never appeared in the record after 1858.

NOTES

¹Robert C. Euler, "The Canyon Dwellers," *The American West*, Vol. 4 (May, 1967), p. 3.

²Present-day place names will be used throughout for purposes of identification. The basic references for the 1858 expedition to Oraibi include James A. Little, *Jacob Hamblin* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor's Office, LSD Church, 1881), pp. 58-63; Report, Jacob Hamblin to Brigham Young, December 18, 1858, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter HDC), Salt Lake City; "Journal of Andrew S. Gibbons," 1858, HDC. Isabel T. Kelley, *Southern Paiute Ethnography* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), pp. 8-10 and 31, records later Paiute place names.

³"Journal of Thales H. Haskell," *Utah Historical Quarterly* (hereafter *UHQ*), Vol. 12 (January and April, 1944), documents the expedition. The men walled only one of the several pools and therefore named it the singular. Later the place became known as Jacob's Pools or "The Pools." The journalist forgot, as did his editor, that 1860 was a leap year and consequently mis-dated the latter part of the report. The spelling "Kane" is in error.

⁴"Diary of George A. Smith, Jr.," HDC. The eighteen-year-old youth apparently wrote his record through the entry of September 16. Two blank pages follow; then the account resumes from October 10 through November 1 in the hand of Jacob Hamblin.

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The last portion, written in ink, evidently was penned by Hamblin after he returned home, but the account was never completed.

⁵Joint Washington and Kane County Probate Record, 1856–1873.

⁶James G. Bleak, Journal fragment in St. George Stake Memoranda, HDC.

⁷James G. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," Book A, p.4, Dixie College, St. George, Utah.

⁸Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, p. 92.

⁹Letter, Jacob Hamblin and John R. Young to Erastus Snow, dated August 16, 1869, HDC; "Journal of Charles L. Walker," August 28 to September 5, 1869, HDC.

¹⁰Bleak, *Annals*, Book B, p. 141.

¹¹Robert G. Cleland and Juanita Brooks, *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1955), Vol. 2, p. 159.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 175; "John Franklin Brown," multilith in possession of PTR. This tributary was known as "Stewart's Canyon" but it now carries the name "Nail," an Anglicization of Naegle. John C. Naegle and sons had several ranches in the area after 1880. See Will C. Barnes, *Arizona Place Names* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1935), p. 294.

¹³Despite the fact that Powell spelled the name Paria and most maps carry that spelling, natives still use Pahreah. The first post office, established July 26, 1893, listed Pahreah and this spelling was carried until the post office was discontinued on March 1, 1915. "Pahreah" more closely approximates the Paiute and early Mormon pronunciation than the frequently heard word which means "outcast."

¹⁴Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926), p. 160.

¹⁵See "Journal of Walter Clement Powell," *UHQ* Vol. 17 (January, April, July, October, 1949), p. 372; "Journal of F. M. Bishop," *UHQ*, Vol. 15 (January, April, July, October, 1947), p. 209; Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage*, p. 164. The trail is shown opposite p. 246 in the Dellenbaugh reference. The scale of the map, however, is in error and does not agree with Bishop's estimate of traveling eleven miles on the crest to Summit Valley. This estimate looks very good on the USGS topographic map (House Rock Spring Quadrangle), which also shows part of the trail.

¹⁶This road leaves the Pahreah road in Section 19, Township 43, South, Range 3 East. This information is from octogenarian Frank Farnsworth (interview, Kanab, Utah, May 6, 1968). See USGS Buckskin Mountain Quadrangle.

¹⁷See USGS House Rock Spring, Arizona, Quadrangle.

¹⁸Cleland and Brooks, *A Mormon Chronicle*, Vol. 2, p. 179.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 177.

²⁰The author and his wife back-packed Paria Canyon on the centennial anniversary of Lee's feat. One has to duplicate the trip to appreciate the magnitude of Lee's achievement on this cattle drive.

²¹"Diary of Allen Frost," December 1, 1877, Brigham Young University.

²²"Journal of Brigham Young, Jr.," HDC. The airline distance is thirty-four miles.

²³"Journal of L. John Nuttall," Brigham Young University.

²⁴Kanab Stake Historical Record, Book A, HDC.

²⁵Letter, L. John Nuttall to James Leithhead, January 24 [1881], in L. John Nuttall 1881 Letter File, HDC.

²⁶Letter, Erastus Snow and Brigham Young, Jr., to John Taylor, Sunset, Arizona, September 11, 1881, HDC.

²⁷The Tilton Road is incorrectly identified as the "Old Arizona Road" and "Jeep Trail" on the USGS House Rock Spring, Arizona, topographic map. The original Arizona road is not identified. Frank Farnsworth, interview.

²⁸*Arizona Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott), June 1, 18, 22, 1887, July 6, August 13, 1887; *Arizona Weekly Champion* (Flagstaff), February 5, 1887; Kanab Pipeline Records, Decem-

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ber 7, 1886, Kanab City Records. "Reminiscences of Zadok Knapp Judd, Sr.," *UHQ*, Vol. 12 (January-April, 1944), p. 26.

²⁹The Fuller Road is incorrectly identified on the USGS Shinarump and House Rock Spring topographic maps as the "Winter Road." It leaves Highway 89A in the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of S32, T41N, R1W. Obviously it could only be used as a winter road when compared to Jacob Lake, 1250 feet higher, but there was no through road at Jacob Lake until after 1900. Frank Farnsworth, interview.

³⁰Angus M. Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks," *UHQ*, Vol. 12 (July-October, 1944), pp. 111-209.

³¹S. W. Taylor located the Blue Bird claim at Warm Springs on February 5, 1890, per "Record of Mines" Coconino County Courthouse, Flagstaff, transcribed from Yavapai County, Arizona, pp. 197-198. Taylor at the time was field manager for John W. Young's Kaibab Land and Cattle Company.

³²*Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff), December 23, 1910. The printer erred in dating the issue December instead of November.

³³Allie Caffall Harker, interview with PTR, Monterey Park, California, September 3, 1966.

³⁴Ferry Book Record for Coconino County, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson.

³⁵Estimate provided by A. Karl Larson (interview with PTR, St. George, Utah, May 6, 1968), who attended as a member of the Dixie College band. The *Coconino Sun* of June 21, 1929, said that 7000 people attended and 1217 automobiles were counted from one place with others out of sight and parked as far as Paria Creek.

³⁶A. Karl Larson, interview.

³⁷Letter, John C. Chapman, District Engineer, Arizona Highway Department, to PTR, February 8, 1974.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹Jean Burt, Arizona State Library and Archives, interview with PTR, January 22, 1974. See also Motor Vehicle Laws of Arizona, Vol. 3, pp. 18-153.

PHOTOCREDITS: pages 383 and 391 (top), Arizona Historical Society, Tucson; pages 385 and 396, W. C. Barnes Collection, AHS; page 391 (bottom), George Wharton James Collection, Southwest Museum, Pasadena, California (copy in possession of the author); page 398 (top), Lavar Pratt Collection (copy in possession of the author); page 398 (bottom), P. T. Reilly, Sun City, Arizona. The map on page 381 is by Don Bufkin, Tucson.