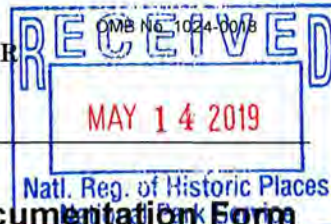


National Park Service



National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information.

☒ New Submission ☐ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic Ranching Resources of the Robbers Roost/Under the Ledge areas within Canyonlands National Park and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area.

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Cattle Industry in the RR/UTL 1870-1974

C. Form Prepared by:

name/title Jack E. Pfertsh and Jonathon C. Horn
 organization Alpine Archaeological Consultants, Inc.
 street & number 900 S. Townsend Ave.
 city or town Montrose state CO zip code 81401
 e-mail jon_horn@alpinearchaeology.com
 telephone 970-249-6761 date June 20, 2017

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

Linburg R. Rowe acting FPO 5/13/2019
 Signature of certifying official Title Date
National Park Service
 State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

[Signature] 6/27/19
 Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

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Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Create a Table of Contents and list the page numbers for each of these sections in the space below.

Provide narrative explanations for each of these sections on continuation sheets. In the header of each section, cite the letter, page number, and name of the multiple property listing. Refer to *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* for additional guidance.

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F. Associated Property Types (Provide description, significance, and registration requirements.)	19
G. Geographical Data	27
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Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 250 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, PO Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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Section number E Page 1**STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS**

Euroamerican involvement with livestock grazing in the Robber's Roost/Under the Ledge (RR/UTL) area stems from westward migration and the search for unclaimed rangeland where settlers could engage in cattle ranching free of the competition that had come to dominate much of the western United States public domain by the late 1800s.¹ Ranchers arrived to the RR/UTL in the late nineteenth century bringing their families and herds of cattle to forge a life for themselves. In doing so, they established a unique cultural identity, a vibrant community, and meaningful and enduring relationships with the land. All of these elements enabled and gave meaning to often laborious, isolating work in the desert, which constantly tested the men and women's mettle, their resolve, and their dedication to a way of life. Families like the Biddlecomes, Tidwells, Chaffins, and Moores established traditions and engaged in a ranching culture that continues to be cherished by local communities and by their descendants, many of whom continue to see this area as their homeland. Furthermore, the style of hardscrabble ranching practiced in the RR/UTL was done despite seemingly insurmountable obstacles in the unforgiving land. For the purpose of this document, only National Park Service (NPS) lands are included in the MPDF boundary, though the historical information and NRHP registration guidelines may be useful in management of ranching sites on lands managed by other jurisdictions.

Environmental Setting

The RR/UTL ranches and ranching facilities are within open and wooded pastures and a vast network of canyons that span three different federal jurisdictions, the Maze District of Canyonlands National Park (established in 1971), the Orange Cliffs Unit of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (established in 1972), and adjacent areas managed by the BLM. The area also includes lands managed by the State of Utah's School and Institutional Trust Lands Administration (SITLA) and private lands. The entire resource area includes parts of Emery, Wayne, and Garfield counties in the State of Utah. The RR/UTL resource boundary corresponds with the historical limits and ranch lands used by the Biddlecome/Ekker, Chaffin, Moore/Franz, and Tidwell families. Much of the project area is bounded by various river corridors. The southern boundary extends from the junction of the Colorado and Dirty Devil rivers and proceeds northwest along the Colorado River for approximately 40 mi. to its confluence with the Green River. The eastern boundary is composed of a stretch of the Green River that extends north from the Colorado River for approximately 30 mi. to Horseshoe Canyon. The eastern boundary extends onto BLM lands prior to the confluence of the Green River and Horseshoe Canyon. The portion of the northern boundary that follows the northern rim of Horseshoe Canyon is also on BLM lands until it reaches the boundary of the Horseshoe Canyon Unit of Canyonlands National Park. The northern boundary roughly corresponds with the northern rim of Horseshoe Canyon, extending in a southwesterly direction to the southern boundary of the Horseshoe Canyon Unit of Canyonlands National Park. The boundary then moves west onto land administered by BLM. The boundary continues in a west-southwestern direction until meeting the Dirty Devil River approximately 10 mi. south of Hanksville, Utah. The western boundary is composed of a 30-mi. length of the Dirty Devil River that extends south to the junction with the Colorado River. In total, the RR/UTL historical ranching landscapes encompass 900 square miles.

¹ The term "Robber's Roost" includes NPS and BLM property and encompasses a large swath of land roughly bounded by the Henry Mountains to the southwest, the Blue Mountains to the southeast, and the Green River and San Rafael River to the east and north (Baker 1965). The Robber's Roost name is a regional designation for the area because its remoteness and ruggedness was an ideal place for outlaws and cattle thieves to disappear into and use as a base of operations. Under the Ledge is also a local descriptive name for the inner canyon country below the Orange Cliffs (Wingate sandstone) that was difficult to access because of its nearly impenetrable canyon rims.

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The landscape within the NPS portion of the RR/UTL falls within Wayne and Garfield counties. It is roughly divided by the Orange Cliffs (Wingate sandstone) uplands to the west and lowlands to the east above the evocatively named Labyrinth and Stillwater canyons of the Green River and Cataract Canyon of the Colorado River. The Green and Colorado rivers, at 3,800–4,000 ft. in elevation, are generally about 1,800–2,000 ft. in elevation below the Orange Cliffs. The uplands, ranging from about 5,500–6,600 ft. in elevation, are more rolling with grasslands and pinyon-juniper forests and include in the southern part Gordon Flats and Hans Flats, where intermittent southwestward-flowing drainages tributary to the Dirty Devil River forming Happy Canyon. Farther north on the uplands is The Spur, a prominent more barren landform, around which Horseshoe Canyon passes to the northwest and Horsethief Canyon passes to the southeast and run northeastward to the Green River. Erosional drainages have carved deep, rocky, steep-sided canyons into the sandstone bedrock capped by the highly resistant Orange Cliffs, including Big Water Canyon, North Trail Canyon, and Millard Canyon. These canyons open onto more gentle terrain that, despite being quite barren in places, provided some grazing opportunities. These open basins and benches include Waterhole Flat, Ernies Country, Land of Standing Rocks, Elaterite Basin, and the Millard Canyon Benches. Prominent buttes and impressive rock formations preside over the landscape, including Gunsight Butte, Teapot Rock, Bagpipe Butte, Elaterite Butte, and Ekker Butte. Drainages have deeply dissected the landscape for the final drop into the Green and Colorado rivers by way of Teapot Canyon, Range Canyon, Water and Shot canyons, Jasper Canyon, the main and South Fork of Horse Canyon, and Deadhorse Canyon. The most dissected and rugged portion of the area is The Maze, which is drained by the South Fork of Horse Canyon and Jasper Canyon and presided over by the Chocolate Drops and Petes Mesa. Although seemingly barren, the canyons contain springs, some localized riparian habitat, and seasonal water from summer monsoon rainfall, though flash flooding is a dangerous hazard. The only route between the uplands and the lowlands through the Orange Cliffs, besides a few steep and rocky trails, is by way of the Flint Trail, a steep and rugged four-wheel-drive road south of Gordon Flats that enters by way of the head of Big Water Canyon. Four-wheel-drive access is also possible from the south from State Highway 95 just north of Hite Crossing of the Colorado River and by way of Poison Springs Road south of Hanksville through Poison Spring Canyon and Hatch Canyon south of the Orange Cliffs.

Ranching-related sites within the Robber's Roost landscape are generally either on mesa tops above the Orange Cliffs or in an area referred to by local ranchers as "Under the Ledge," below the Orange Cliffs. Several Family Use Areas have been defined in the RR/UTL that do not conform to land management agency boundaries, but reflect historic land use and topographic divisions (Figure 1). The northernmost family areas (Biddlecome and Tidwell) are largely on the higher ground above the Orange Cliffs, whereas the Moore family area is "Under the Ledge," east of the Orange Cliffs. The Chaffin grazing area is both on top of the Orange Cliffs and in the lowlands below the cliffs.

Biddlecome/Ekker Ranchland Sub Area

The Biddlecome (later Ekker) family operated in an area east of the Dirty Devil River as well as in and southwest of Horseshoe Canyon. The Biddlecome grazing area includes portions of Antelope Valley, Robber's Roost Flats, Coyote Flat, Twin Corral Flats, The Spur, upper Horseshoe Canyon Basin, and Hans Flats. Also part of the Biddlecome/Ekker grazing area is Gordon Flats—mesa top country southeast of Hans Flats and North Point, a large mesa-top peninsula extending northeast of Hans Flats. This mesa-top range is above the Orange Cliffs and is bounded by Elaterite Basin to the east and Happy Canyon to the west. In contrast to other family areas within the project area, the Biddlecome family largely operated on high ground above 5,000 feet.

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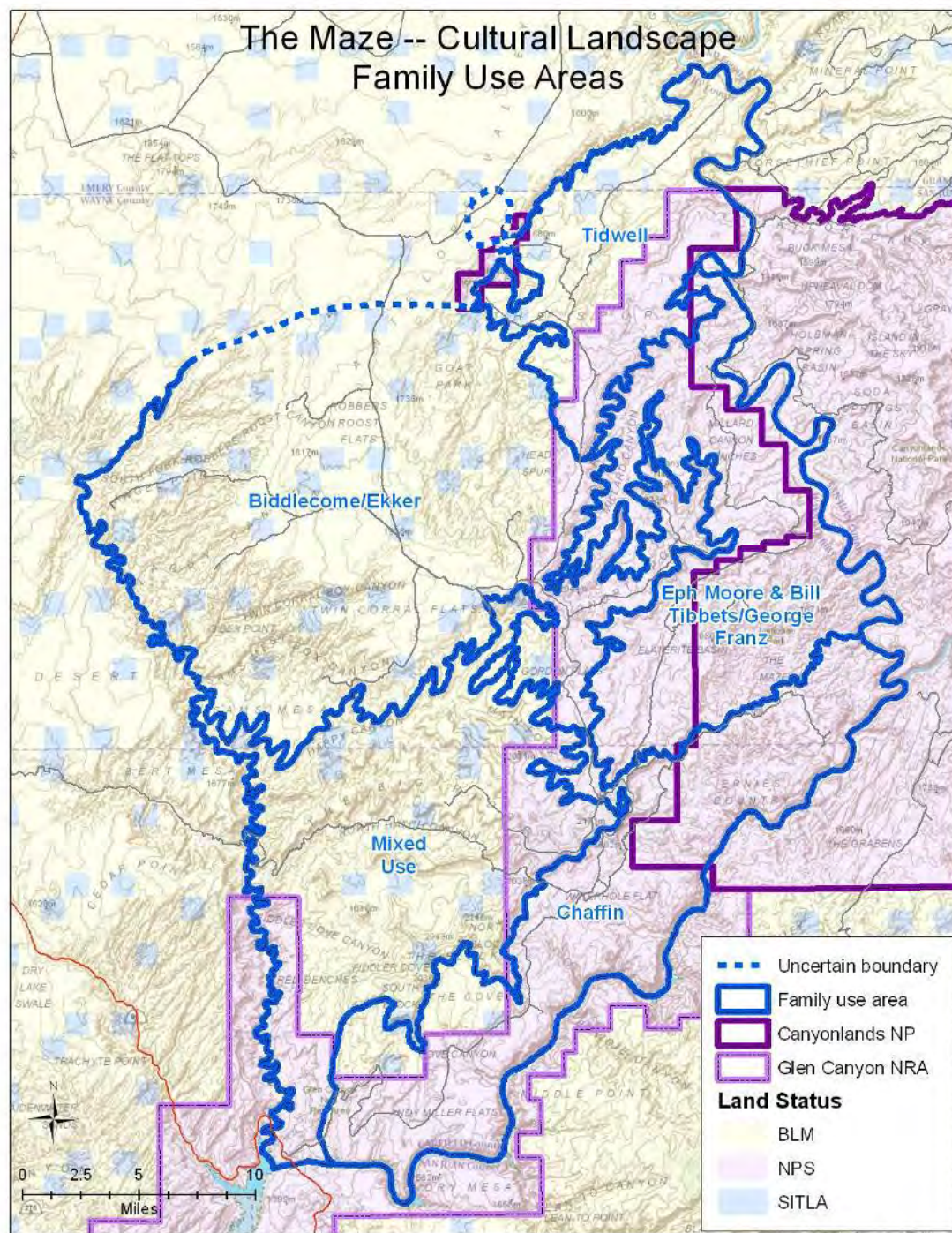
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Figure 1. Ranching family use areas as they relate to NPS and other land management agency lands (National Park Service 2013b).

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A small portion of the Biddlecome/Ekker traditional ranching land falls within the Orange Cliffs Unit of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and the Maze District of Canyonlands National Park with a large portion of additional lands under the jurisdiction of the BLM-RFO. A small percentage of lands within the BLM section are operated by SITLA. Many of the sites noted on BLM lands are still available for use in support of livestock grazing and wild burro management.

Chaffin Ranchland Sub Area

The Chaffin Ranchland is the southernmost family area, with grazing areas partially on top of the Orange Cliffs and partially situated "Under the Ledge" south and east of the Orange Cliffs. The northernmost sites in the Chaffin Ranchland area are on Flint Flat, being part of the high mesa just south of Gordon Flats. Other sites on top of the mesa are on Big Ridge, a peninsula that branches west off Flint Flat. The remaining Chaffin sites are in Ernie's Country, Waterhole Flat, and Cove Canyon, all of which are "Under the Ledge" below the Orange Cliffs. Sites associated with the Chaffin family's ranching activities are in both the Chaffin Ranchland Sub Area and in an area that is considered to be a mixed area that was also used by sheepherders during the period of significance. Like the area used by Biddlecome/Ekker Family, areas traditionally used by the Chaffins now span parts of the BLM-RFO, the Orange Cliffs Unit of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, and the Maze District of Canyonlands National Park.

Moore/Franz/Tibbets Ranchland Sub Area

The Moore/Franz/Tibbets Family Ranchland is the easternmost family grazing section within the project area. The Moore/Franz/Tibbets Ranchland is situated "Under the Ledge" of the Orange Cliffs in Elaterite Basin. During the period of significance, the Moore/Franz/Tibbets area was accessed by trails descending the Orange Cliffs from the west (including the Flint Trail, the North Trail [42WN3131], and the Trail into Millard Canyon[42WN3127]) or by crossing the Green River. The Moore/Franz/Tibbets area is largely within the lowlands of Elaterite Basin, east of the Orange Cliffs. The area includes land under the jurisdiction of multiple NPS park units, including the Orange Cliffs Unit of the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and the Maze District Canyonlands National Park. There are no Moore/Franz Ranch-related sites on BLM land.

Tidwell Ranchland Sub Area

The Tidwell Family Ranchland is the northernmost family grazing section within the resource area. The Tidwell Ranchland is primarily on The Spur, a high mesa peninsula that extends northward from Hans Flats and is bounded on the north by Horseshoe Canyon, on the south by Horsethief Canyon, and is defined on the east by the Green River. The mesa has an elevation range between 5,000 and 6,000 ft. The canyons surrounding The Spur function as largely natural boundaries for cattle grazing in the area. The areas utilized by the Tidwell family include land under the jurisdiction of the BLM-RFO, the Orange Cliffs Unit of the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, and the Horseshoe Canyon Unit of Canyonlands National Park.

Prehistoric and Historic Native American Occupation

The RR/UTL saw nearly 14,000 years of prehistoric occupation. Initial Paleoindian people entered the area early as 12,250 B.C., hunting large, now-extinct big game, such as mammoths. As the climatic conditions shifted from those at the end of the ice age to warmer conditions, Archaic people occupied the area beginning about 7800 B.C. hunting a wider variety of game animals and collecting plant foods for subsistence. The Archaic stage is divided into four periods (Early, Middle, Late, and Terminal) (Matson 1991). Beginning about 1000 B.C. corn and bean agriculture appeared, and the Archaic transitioned to a Formative-stage lifeway represented by the distinctive Anasazi and Fremont traditions, as people became more sedentary and gradually relied heavily on horticulture for subsistence. The Anasazi tradition, generally west and

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south of the Colorado River is divided into the Basketmaker II-III and Pueblo I-III periods (Kidder 1927), though localized manifestations have been given names of their own. The Fremont culture area is generally north of the Colorado River and is recognizable by distinctive ceramic wares, basketry, rock art, and habitations (Adovasio 1974; Madsen 1989; Simms 1990).

Historical records indicate that the Utes were the primary inhabitants of eastern Utah since the early nineteenth century (Callaway et al. 1986). Whether the Ute culture evolved from indigenous groups or emigrated from the Great Basin is currently a topic of debate, but most archaeologists now seem to accept the hypothesis of immigration (Reed 1988). Proponents of the immigration theory generally date the appearance of the Ute or their immediate cultural predecessors between A.D. 1200 and 1400 (Madsen 1975). These early Numic-speaking peoples in Utah and Colorado may have been rather homogeneous in an archaeological sense. Schroeder (1965) posits that the Ute and Southern Paiute were essentially indistinguishable until those in Colorado and eastern Utah integrated the horse into their culture and were influenced by the equestrian aboriginal inhabitants of the Plains. Although Native American use of the area declined with the entry of Euroamericans, the Ute, Southern Paiute, and Navajo remained active in the region through the nineteenth century. In the 1860s, members of the Navajo Tribe hid in the areas around the Henry Mountains and Robber's Roost while the U.S. Army, led by Kit Carson, rounded up their kinsmen from Canyon de Chelley and other places in order to remove them to Fort Sumner. During this period, the Navajo made an effort to be as inconspicuous as possible, so the modern physical evidence of their presence in the area is very limited (Personal communication, Craig Harmon to Paul Wackrow, July 8 and July 26, 2011).

Historic Period Exploration

Spanish settlement of New Mexico beginning in the 1500s led to indirect contact of regional Native American groups with Europeans. The effect of this indirect contact on the local Native Americans is unknown, though disease transmission was likely. Exploration north of New Mexico by Juan Maria de Rivera in 1765 and the Dominguez-Escalante expedition in 1776 stimulated trade with the Ute, but no direct contact with Euroamericans probably took place until the fur trade beginning in the 1820s. It is possible that some Utes in the region had acquired horses by the 1700s, but it probably was not until the fur trade or thereafter that horses had a major impact on the culture of the Native Americans of the RR/UTL area.

Denis Julien, who established a trading post in the Uinta Basin in 1828, was possibly the first European to extensively explore the Green River. Julien left several inscriptions on the cliffs along the Green River dating to the 1830s. Although Mormon pioneers arrived in Salt Lake City in 1847, Euroamerican expansion into southern Utah was limited by harsh terrain and conflict with Native American groups. During the Black Hawk War in the 1860s, many of the small settlements in southern Utah were abandoned. By the 1870s, following the end of hostilities, small numbers of Mormons began to settle along the Fremont River in Wayne County, which combines with Muddy Creek at Hanksville to form the Dirty Devil River. Although threats remained, the second half of the nineteenth century saw a number of exploratory missions to the region. In the 1850s, both John W. Gunnison (with the Pacific Railroad Survey of 1853) and Capt. John N. Macomb (in 1859) explored the region, with Macomb's goal being the identification of the confluence of the Green and Colorado rivers (Madsen 2010; Mehls and Mehls 1986). A number of expeditions into southeastern Utah followed. John Wesley Powell's expeditions in 1869 and 1871-1873 explored the Green and Colorado rivers. F.V. Hayden and George M. Wheeler surveyed most of the Canyonlands region in the 1870s, and from the late 1870s to the early 1880s, Clarence Dutton's U.S. Geological Survey team also explored southeastern Utah. A survey was completed in 1889 along the Colorado River Canyon through Colorado and Utah was organized by Frank M. Brown of the Denver, Colorado Canyon, and Pacific Railroad. The survey was undertaken by Robert Brewster Stanton and Frank C. Kendrick to determine the feasibility of building a railroad from Grand Junction, Colorado to California.

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In the wake of these surveys, the Colorado and Green rivers began being tapped as limited travel routes by the late nineteenth century. As the region along the rivers became settled, the potential for tourism, commerce, and recreation began to be realized. Barges, rowboats, and skiffs were used on the Colorado, Green, and San Juan rivers as early as the 1860s, but it was not until 1891 that a steamboat was put into service on the Colorado River in Canyonlands by B. S. Ross, a Wyoming businessman who planned a luxury hotel and spa at Spanish Bottom, southwest of the confluence of the Green and Colorado rivers. Finding the venture tenuous, Ross leased the boat to William H. Edwards in 1893, who used it for a freighting business on the Colorado River that lasted a single year. F. H. Summerhill, attempted to provide river service between Green River and Moab in 1901, but gave up when his paddle-wheel boat sank above Moab in 1902.

The first truly successful river service by boat was by Edwin Wolverton between 1903 and 1912; he returned in 1918 to provide river service to the Nequoia Oil Company in Elaterite Basin. Another unsuccessful attempt to river transport was by the Green-Grand River and Moab Navigation Company that built a large steamboat in Grand Junction in 1905 and launched it at Green River. After a problem-filled run to and from the confluence of the Green and Colorado rivers, it was reconfigured but was too large to successfully operate on the rivers and removed from service. Thereafter, smaller, paddle-driven barges were put into service, leading to area residents petitioning for federal assistance to improve the river channels for commerce. In 1909, the Army Corp of Engineers inspected the Colorado River from Moab to its confluence with the Green River and advised the government not to expend funds to improve the channel because costs were expected to be astronomical (Firmage 1996).

Development of the Cattle Industry in Southeastern Utah

Euroamerican settlement of Utah corresponded with broader migration movements westward across the United States during the mid-nineteenth century. Soon after Mormon settlers arrived in Salt Lake City in 1847, large numbers of easterners began moving to California with the gold rush of 1849. The cattle industry in Utah benefitted from its geographical location, becoming a major supply point for prospectors destined for the west coast. Those traveling to California often exchanged their livestock for necessary supplies when passing through the Utah Territory. By 1850, over 12,000 head of cattle were in Utah (Walker 1964). Durham, Devon, and Red Poll breeds were the earliest types of beef cattle in Utah, with Herefords not becoming prominent until the 1880s (Murphy 1999).

After initially being practiced in only northern Utah counties, cattle ranching quickly spread across Utah in the 1870s. The growth of ranching in southeastern Utah at the end of the century was largely a result of two different waves of migration. From the west, ranching expanded from established Mormon settlements in western Utah. From the east, ranching operations moved into southeastern Utah from New Mexico and Colorado.

The need to supply mining camps and growing frontier towns unquestionably fostered the livestock industries, but it was not until the end of the Civil War that the demand for red meat soared. Postwar prosperity stimulated beef markets and the population of the West boomed as an incursion of immigrants sought the American dream. Westward expansion also brought thousands of individuals to the western states hoping to find economic stability by acquiring cheap land through the 1862 Homestead Act. With the populace also came the beginnings of railroad transportation systems, which were used to ship beef. The demand for cattle was at a premium and capitalists successful during the American and British Industrial Revolution saw the cattle industry as an investment with a high rate of return—all it took was feed and water and the western states were abundant with both. By the 1870s, livestock from capitalist-backed companies flooded the west and grazed at no cost on the open range of public lands. It was during this time that cattle ranching in the western United States came under the influence of large corporations, often

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financed by English syndicates, such as Prairie Cattle Company and Powder River Cattle Company. In San Juan County, on the eastern side of the Colorado River, settlers brought milk cows and beef cattle in the late nineteenth century. Between 1875 and 1885, the smaller ranching operations were quickly bought out by large cattle companies like the Lacy Cattle Company (originally from Texas) and the Carlisle Cattle Company (an English syndicate) (Sheire 1972). The Harold and Ted Carlisle grew their cattle empire by purchasing local herds and moving cattle into Utah from New Mexico and Colorado. By 1880, over 130,000 head of cattle were in Utah (Walker 1964). Cattle prices were high in the early and middle 1880s, but dropped drastically in the late 1880s. Sheep were introduced on the range in 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 (McPherson 1995). The Carlisle brothers began reducing their holdings in 1892 and had completely sold out by 1910. The demise of the big cattle operations resulted in smaller land holders establishing smaller ranches of their own. Some ranchers were former employees of the large cattle companies and some were new arrivals.

Although the large cattle companies had an impact on the local cattle industry, their presence was short term and only utilized the best rangelands and not the more marginal lands within Canyonlands. As large corporate operations began to fail in the 1890s (largely because of overgrazing), Mormon settlers developed cooperative grazing practices that involved large numbers of farm-based owners, each with small numbers of animals. In addition to Mormon settlers arriving from the north and west, experienced cattlemen came into the region from areas like Kansas and Colorado (Sheire 1972). After their initial settlement, Mormon farmers continued to control the livestock industry by 1910, and ranching and grazing became an important source of income for many families and local communities (McPherson 1995). In both Wayne and Garfield counties, a growing livestock industry in the late nineteenth century propelled settlers in their efforts to establish communities. Many settlers' descriptions of Wayne County, where Joe and Millie Biddlecome settled in 1909, described the abundant native grasses that grew in Rabbit Valley, on Boulder Mountain, and in the more rugged terrain of the Roost, Hans Flats, and The Spur (Murphy 1999; Newell and Talbot 1998). Raising livestock was an important method of subsistence for many families, and finding suitable rangeland was a high priority. Because of the isolation of Robber's Roost, only small ranching families permanently settled in the area, as opposed to corporate or cooperative operations.

Those engaged in smaller operations began using the more accessible lands in the canyons. As land was claimed, the most marginal areas deep in the canyons were taken up by individuals seeking unused or underused lands, such as those found in the RR/UTL. Inevitably, these individuals were the ones who had to work the hardest for the smallest return in the toughest settings on the RR/UTL. 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 deteriorated conditions. Water was a limiting factor in the region. Animals were held at reliable water sources, particularly at springs in the canyons. When sufficient snowfall arrived, which was used by the animals for water, the ranchers allowed their dispersal throughout the available range (Freeman 1958). Through time, stock raisers switched back and forth between cattle and sheep, depending upon the economic market conditions; however, since World War II, the focus has been mostly on cattle. Although stock raisers in less marginal areas hired Navajos, Utes, Hispanics, and Basques as cowboys and sheepherders, those in the RR/UTL were small family operations that evidently could not afford such assistance.

In addition of legitimate ranching enterprises, the remoteness of the RR/UTL was the domain of a growing population of unsavory characters by the early 1870s. The first of these characters was Cap Brown. Brown was a recognized horse thief credited with bringing horses stolen from western Utah into the canyon area, grazing them on Roost Flats, and herding them to Colorado to sell in the mining camps around Telluride where horses were in great demand. According to Pearl Biddlecome Baker, Brown constructed a series of corrals on Twin Corral Flats, near the southernmost breaks of Horseshoe Canyon. Following suit, by the early 1880s, the area became one of several favorite hideouts of Butch Cassidy and the Wild Bunch.

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Robber's Roost was the southernmost hideout on the Outlaw Trail. The Outlaw Trail is assumed to have run for several hundred miles from the Hole-in-the-Wall in southern Wyoming, through Brown's Hole in the northwestern corner of Colorado and northeastern Utah, and southward into the labyrinth of canyons of the Robber's Roost. Butch and his gang continued to use Robber's Roost until the late ninetieth or early twentieth centuries when the infamous outlaws moved on from Wayne County (Murphy 1999).

Local Adaptation of Ranching Culture

Although the extant ranching features in the RR/UTL Ranches may appear to be of generic American origin, the cultural and geographical elements that gave rise to the hardscrabble ranching in the Robber's Roost country are international and varied in nature. Spanish and Mexican immigrants brought a wide variety of ranching techniques and traditions with them that gained footholds across the American West. For example, during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Iberian Spanish, Antillean Spanish, British, and French introduced Old World cattle herding traditions to native groups in the West Indies (e.g., Hispaniola, Jamaica, Cuba, and Puerto Rico). From there, the traditions spread to the Mexican mainland. Spanish herding techniques found traction in Mexico by the early seventeenth century, and by 1848, had spread throughout most of the American Southwest. Cattle ranchers brought to many areas a "cutting edge of Spanish civilization in its surge northward (from Mexico), ultimately allowing substantial Iberian inputs into the herding culture of the American West" (Jordan 1993:123). Meanwhile, British influence in South Carolina in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries produced an equally important source of the herding culture's diffusion in North America (Jordan 1993). The Carolinian system eventually mixed with Mexican coastal herding traditions and gave rise to the Anglo-Texan ranching system that spread from southwestern Louisiana into Texas during the nineteenth century.

In this syncretic herding culture, many of the traditions and techniques found on the range in Robber's Roost are reflected. For example, Mexican equestrian skills and language were central to the Anglo-Texan ranching system and were in constant use at the Roost, The Spur, and Under the Ledge. The utilization of a horse and sophisticated equestrian skills as a tool on the range, which some herding cultures did not use, and the use of roping as a technique for managing a herd all came from Mexico. Reflecting this trend, hardscrabble ranchers' lives in the RR/UTL often revolved around their horses and perfecting their equestrian and roping skills. Words like "lariat," "corral," "remuda," and "tank" were all commonly used by Pearl Baker, Ted Ekker, Ned Chaffin, and A.C. Ekker in their interviews and biographies as they described the daily and seasonal routines of pushing cattle from one pasture to the next and gathering them at the end of the season. These words are of Hispanic and Mexican origin and indicate the diffusion of this particular herding culture. The syncretic quality in cattle ranching by the early twentieth century is demonstrated in the handmade British riding boots with pointed toes, steel shanks, and elevated heels that every hardscrabble rancher wore with pride.

Although the Anglo-Texas system was also characterized by "livestock neglect," which involved stationary pasturing without reserving special winter pastures, this practice was never common in the Roost. The carelessness and neglect typical of the Anglo-Texan system is not represented in families like the Biddlecomes. Rather, their rotational herding systems were more akin to the Midwestern herding system, which was characterized by higher attention paid to the "welfare and quality of the livestock" and a heightened diligence in the regular care of the herd (Jordan 1993: 213, 267). Although their herds certainly ranged over large tracts of land relatively freely, the ranchers herded their cattle to seasonal pastures rather than letting a herd graze a single pasture year-round. Corrals in the Anglo-Texan system were typically built in the old southern style with rails stacked between regularly spaced posts, but occasionally the Mexican "stockade" style was used. This Mexican stockade or palisade form of corral is seen most commonly in the Orange Cliffs area, along with Joe Biddlecome's unique, stacked-cedar design. Branding in the Roost also followed in the Anglo-Texan tradition, which used British block letters rather than the more

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embellished and stylized Spanish versions (Jordan 1993). The diffusion of this Anglo-Texan system across the western Plains through the nineteenth century "...represents one of the most rapid episodes of frontier advance in the Euroamerican occupation of the continent." (Jordan 1993:28) Although the Anglo-Texas system collapsed after a prolonged drought in the early 1870s, a severe winter in 1884–1885, and another devastating drought in 1889–1890, its traces can still be found in what is now Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (Jordan 1993). Qualities of both the Anglo-Texan and Midwestern herding traditions are evident in the cattle ranching that occurred in the RR/UTL country.

Homesteading and Land Acquisition

The 1862 Homestead Act, signed by President Lincoln, permitted acquisition of 160 acres to anyone who lived on and cultivated a plot of land for five years. Although the Homestead Act benefitted and was most suited to those interested in growing crops, 160 acres was far too small to support ranching. In 1916, the Stock Raising Homestead Act, a homesteading law aimed at cattle ranching, increased claimable acreage to 640 and eliminated cultivation requirements. Nonetheless, even with the homesteading legislation, livestock development still depended on public lands to ranch. Due in part to the Dust Bowl crisis resulting in the deteriorated range conditions, the 1934 Taylor Grazing Act attempted to curb overgrazing on public lands. The goals of the Taylor Grazing Act were to "1) stop the degradation of public grazing lands through improper usage, 2) stabilize the range livestock industries, 3) classify lands in order to assure proper use, 4) facilitate land transfers between federal and state governments, 5) establish grazing districts and permits to graze, and 6) facilitate the charging of a 'reasonable' fee for the use of grazing lands" (Roberts and Gardner 1964:294-5). The act regulated ranching within the public domain by specifying that ranchers had to own enough private land to produce the feed that was required during seasons when livestock were not allowed on public land (Roberts and Gardner 1964). Grazing continued to be profitable under the Act, and, in 1964, cattle ranching was the single most important source of income in Wayne County (Cooley 1964).

The western banks of the Green River were some of the most active areas of the Maze during the early settlement period.² The Valentine Family first attempted to settle in Valentine Bottom, east of Anderson Bottom, in 1892, and built a log cabin before abandoning the area after one year. At least seven different families tried to establish farms or ranches at Anderson Bottom during the early 1900s. Anderson Bottom is a fertile stretch of land created by an abandoned meander of the Green River approximately 10 miles north of the Green River's confluence with the Colorado River. The first of these settlers was Albert Isaac Anderson, who spent summers there between 1909 and 1911 (Day 2004). Anderson originally came to the area looking for oil deposits, and later pursued agriculture there. Following Anderson, Henry C. Tasker

² Few level areas of floodplain exist along the of the Green and Colorado rivers where settlement attempts were possible. These were generally sandy areas covered with shrubs and having a few cottonwood trees on their margins. Most of these were most easily accessible from the rivers, but routes to them were developed from the rugged country above to enable livestock access to reliable water. Anderson Bottom was a former meandering channel of the Green River at Bonita Bend in Stillwater Canyon that was vegetated only along the river shore; it is in Wayne County. Upstream of Anderson Bottom in Labyrinth Canyon along the Green River, straddling the Emery County/Wayne County line, is Saddle Horse Bottom. About 3 miles upstream of Saddle Horse Bottom, southeast of The Spur, is Woodruff Bottom, and about 2.5 miles upstream of Woodruff Bottom at the eastern end of the Low Spur is Tidwell Bottom, about 4 miles downstream of the junction of Barrier Horsethief Canyon; both are within Labyrinth Canyon in Emery County. Valentine Bottom is in Wayne County about 4 miles downstream of Anderson Bottom in Stillwater Canyon of the Green River. About 6 miles downstream of Valentine Bottom, also in Wayne County, is Tuxedo Bottom, comprising a narrow strip of vegetated floodplain below the Millard Canyon Benches upstream of Turks Head. Farther downstream, about 6 miles below the confluence of the Green and Colorado rivers is Spanish Bottom, in the southern portion of Wayne County at the head of Cataract Canyon.

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raised livestock in Elaterite Basin. Tasker kept livestock on Anderson Bottom and in Elaterite Basin for approximately three years, from 1912 to 1915 (Kelsey 1992).

From 1909 until 1964, Anderson Bottom was occupied sporadically with various agricultural activities. At its peak (specific dates unknown), 100 acres of land were cultivated in the low-lying area (Day 2004). The Bottom also featured several cabins, irrigation canals, and boat docks on the Colorado River in addition to a storage granary and store. Although portions of the store are still standing, the granary burned down in the 1930s leaving only a rubble foundation.

Ranching and agricultural activities continued at Anderson Bottom in the 1950s. During this time, Ralph Miller attempted to raise cattle and also planted 60 acres of corn in the area. Karl Tangren purchased Miller's lease in 1958 with 212 head of cattle. Tangren blasted a trail into Anderson Bottom, and built a cattle gate at the site that is still visible today (42WN699) (Day 2004). Tangren also grew hay for his cattle in the canyon bottom. During Tangren's ownership, Anderson Bottom was a stop on the annual Friendship Cruise down the Green River. The Friendship Cruise began in 1958 by the Green River and Moab Chamber of Commerce as a way to promote the beauty of the inner canyons of the Green and Colorado rivers. It developed into an annual event known as the Canyon Country River Marathon in 1962 that included a boat race from Green River to Moab with an overnight stay at Anderson Bottom with a dance and a steak dinner in Moab at the end. Tangren carried out some development of Anderson Bottom to facilitate the event and anticipating increased river tourism, including installing a concrete dance floor. He remained at Anderson Bottom until 1965, when the National Park Service took control of the land (Kelsey 1992). The boat race ended in the late 1960s, but pleasure boating of the Friendship Cruise continued. Following the incorporation of the Maze into Canyonlands National Park in 1971, crews working under the direction of the NPS removed or buried many resources associated with previous settlements and recreational development. After a period of cancellations due to low water and declining interest, the Friendship Cruise was taken over as a benefit for the Emery County Sheriff's Posse. The last event was in 2011, but some interest persists and the event may reemerge in future years (Friendship Cruise n.d.).

Oil Industry

Oil exploration began in the region in 1912, with Colonel Charles P. Tasker's construction of the Des Moines well near Elaterite Basin, in the Moore/Franz ranchland. Although the Des Moines well first found signs of oil at a depth of 2,300 feet, work stopped at 2,910 feet. A second well, the Mount Vernon well, was drilled by a different company 6 mi. southwest of the Des Moines well, meeting with the same results. In the 1920s, Texas oil promoter T.C. Conley (Connelly) attracted the Union Oil Company to drill near Elaterite Basin. This operation was later taken over by the Texas Oil Company, which drilled to a depth of 2,200 feet in 1924 (*Salt Lake Mining Review*, September 30, 1927). Additionally, the Nequoia Oil Company used the area as one of their primary drilling locations from 1919 to 1920. Remnants of their operations, including an iron boiler, remain at one of the drill sites in Elaterite Basin (42WN3133) (Day 2004).

Cattle Industry in the RR/UTL 1870-1974

The ranching landscape of the RR/UTL comprises the ranchland of four families (Biddlecome/Ekker, Tidwell, Chaffin, and Moore) with the period of significance beginning in 1870 with Cap Brown reportedly constructing a series of corrals on Twin Corral Flats, near the southernmost breaks of Horseshoe Canyon (Murphy 1999, 182). The period of significance ends in 1974 when Canyonlands National Park began phasing out grazing allotments within the park.

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In the 1890s, J. B. Buhr arrived in the Robber's Roost area from Denver with his two brothers. Buhr came to the area to raise cattle, and started the 3B Ranch hoping the desert air would relieve his asthma. It was Buhr's foreman, Joe Bernard, who supervised the construction of three small troughs and a juniper post-split rail corral at Roost Spring. The juniper was cut from an area near Buhr Pass, west of Robber's Roost. After Bernard quit, Buhr hired Jack Cottrell. Buhr moved his headquarters to Hanksville and then to Granite, with Cottrell staying at Robber's Roost. With the help of Joe Sylvester, Cottrell built a cabin for his family near Robber's Roost Spring. The cabin was built with juniper posts in a stockade method, rather than notching the posts together horizontally in log-cabin fashion due to the short and crooked juniper stock available. The roof was constructed of smaller posts and sheathed in juniper bark. A short stone wall was built on a nearby ledge to make a corral for horses. Cottrell also built a blacksmith shop. Years later, before the Biddlecomes arrived, the cabin was destroyed in a fire started by sheepherders attempting to burn out a rats nest (Baker 1976). Cottrell stayed on at the Roost for about two years before returning to Hanksville. J. B. Buhr then hired Jack Moore to run the ranch. Buhr began to sell his herd in 1898 and left the area in 1900.

Ranchers Joe and Millie Biddlecome originally started ranching on Piñon Mesa, between the La Sal Mountains and the Colorado River. After being forced off that range by local ranchers, the Biddlecomes moved their cattle to the San Rafael Desert, north of Horseshoe Canyon, in 1907. Joe drove his herd to Ferron Mountain in 1908, but soon decided to return to the San Rafael Desert. During this period, a childhood friend of Joe Biddlecome's who was grazing cattle in the Robber's Roost area invited the Biddlecome family and their cattle to the area. The family moved to Robber's Roost in 1909 and, after spending a year at a spring near Bluejohn Canyon, they moved their camp to Crow Seep, southwest of Horseshoe Canyon, to establish their ranching headquarters. They made their home in Hanksville, 45 miles west of Robber's Roost, so Joe could visit the ranch regularly (Baker 1976).

By the time the Biddlecomes arrived at the spring at Robber's Roost, the existing water troughs were badly decayed, so Joe Biddlecome replaced them with three 16-ft.-long fir troughs. Shortly thereafter, the dam for the Twin Corral Pond was constructed. Biddlecome also constructed a trough and small enclosure of "short but heavy logs" at French Spring (42WN37), east of Robber's Roost (Baker 1976:67). Other improvements included a series of brush corrals, similar to those built by Cap Brown, at Gordon Flats (42WN3134), Hans Flats, and on The Spur. In areas where there was not enough timber available for brush corrals, such as those at Crow Seep and Robber's Roost Spring (Roost Spring), Biddlecome built stockade corrals of split rail fencing with posts set in the ground (Baker 1976).

With improvements made to the troughs and the construction of new corrals, the Biddlecomes focused on the ranching enterprise. The general process of herding cattle from one place to the next involved rounding up cattle that were on the flats, driving them to water, and cajoling the herd carefully towards a corral where cattle could be branded, castrated, weaned, or separated depending on the time of year. The bulls, if the family's outfit kept them year round, were always separated from the cows during the summer and were often driven to a different area altogether. Joe Biddlecome bred Hereford cattle, more uncommon during that time, and "...was setting as the norm a big-boned, rangy type instead of the finely bred, small, blocky animal much in demand at the time." Biddlecome's bulls required long legs to travel long distances at the Roost as "...they ranged ten or more miles from water, going in to drink every other day or twice a week, and the water was often in deep canyons" (Baker 1976:105). Different techniques and tricks were used for herding cows, bulls, and pack horses (which were used to maintain the camp). Steers sold as yearlings became the "cash crop," which the families often relied upon. These were delivered to Green River in early June (Baker 1976).

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In 1915, the first house at Robber's Roost Ranch was built, after Millie asserted that she would not move back to Hanksville for the winter. In the matter of one month, Joe built a juniper cabin for his wife, Millie, Pearl, and youngest daughter, Hazel, and they moved in to their new quarters on December 1, 1915 in a snow storm. The 14-x-16-ft. cedar-post cabin was built with a pine-board floor and shingle roof with one window piercing each wall, except the eastern wall in order to avoid the prevailing winds (Baker 1976). The cabin served as the family's home until the late 1920s, when the Biddlecomes built a larger ranch house along with a bunkhouse and garage.

The Biddlecomes raised their two daughters, Pearl and Hazel, at the Robber's Roost Ranch from the late 1910s and into the 1920s. The girls spent their summers on the range "punching" or herding cows from horseback and, as they got older, held their own on the range along with their male counterparts. Joe treated his daughters as cowhands from the very beginning, and they were expected to be involved in every stage of the ranching process, from birthing to weaning, herding, castrating, and branding.

In 1928, Joe Biddlecome died of tonsillitis, leaving his wife, Millie, to run the ranch. Millie soon turned the operation over to her daughter, Pearl, and her first husband, Mel Marsing. After Mel's death in 1929, Pearl continued to operate the Robber's Roost Ranch with her second husband, Slim Baker, until moving to Oregon in 1939. It was during Pearl and Slim Baker's operation that the grazing regulations put forward under the Taylor Grazing Act took effect. However, because they owned both the land and water rights at the Robber's Roost Ranch, the Biddlecomes were able to obtain a permit to graze on public land.

When Pearl and Slim Baker moved to Oregon in 1939, Hazel Biddlecome's husband, Arthur (Art) Ekker, purchased the ranch and renamed it Ekker Ranch. Though little is known about the ranch operations during the early Ekker period, the ranch house and garage built by Joe Biddlecome in the late 1920s were destroyed in a fire in 1947. A year later, in 1948, Art Ekker built a second ranch house to replace the one that had burned down.

Traditional ranching methods, which consisted of a mix of the Anglo-Texan and Midwestern systems employed by Biddlecome, likely continued under the Ekker ownership given the harsh climate of the canyons. Ted Ekker, brother of Art Ekker, recounted how he once helped Art gather cattle from Gordons Flats, French Springs, The Spur, and Hans Flats, put them into the Twin Corrals, weaned the calves, and took the heifers away from their newly weaned calves. There were, of course, different routes taken from one place to the next during the spring, summer, and fall seasons, but the main concern was driving the cattle to water in time, pulling them from "the bog" or quicksand, maintaining brands, managing the timely introduction of bulls to avoid winter calving, and weaning in a prompt manner to give the expectant mothers the opportunity to care for their new calves.

Beginning in 1962, the Ekkers offered tours of the surrounding canyons as a way to supplement their income (Ekker and Negri 1991), though they continued their ranching operations. A map of grazing land in Canyonlands National Park indicates that, in 1970, Art Ekker had a grazing allotment within the Maze District. It was added to the park in 1971.

Art Ekker died in 1978. Following his death, his son, A. C. Ekker, took over the ranch and began tour operations. By 1991, the Ekker Ranch included 160 acres of private land from the original homestead claim along with grazing privileges on 205,000 acres, with one head of cattle for every 450 acres (Ekker and Negri 1991). The operation at Robber's Roost also changed during the 1990s. Instead of raising cattle for beef production, A. C. Ekker ran cattle for sale to rodeos (Negri 1997).

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A. C. Ekker passed away in 2000 and today the 160-acre ranch is owned by the Gleave family of Kingston, Utah. Although the original Biddlecome-Ekker range extended into modern day Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and Canyonlands National Park, today's grazing lease only includes BLM land, as grazing is no longer permitted in Canyonlands National Park. Additionally, portions of the Ekker grazing privileges that extended onto Glen Canyon National Recreation Area were sold to the Grand Canyon Trust in 2000, permanently ending grazing on that land.

Overall, the natural boundaries surrounding Twin Corral Flats and Robber's Roost Flats made it a well-defined range for both the Biddlecome and Ekker families. Happy Canyon acted as the range's southern border and Horseshoe Canyon cut off cattle grazing to the north. The many canyons draining into the Dirty Devil River made up the western border, and steep canyons dropping into Elaterite Basin formed the boundary to the east.

Chaffin Ranching 1919–1947

Louis (Lou) Chaffin was born in Beaver, Utah, in 1874 and became familiar with the Colorado River area while working as a mining supervisor. Lou and his eldest son, Faun Chaffin, came to the Orange Cliffs/Maze District in 1918 to work for Edwin Wolverton's Nequoia Oil Company, bringing a Keystone drilling rig that had been previously used for mining gold in Glen Canyon (Chaffin and Cox 1999). In 1918–1919, Lou and Faun assisted in the construction of the Wolverton Cabin (LCS ID: 010993), built for Nequoia near Flint Seep. Finding no significant amount of oil, the Nequoia Oil Company ceased operations after one year, having drilled at various locations in Elaterite Basin, including near Meat Hook and Big Water Springs. The Chaffins later used the buildings constructed for the Nequoia operation for storage of supplies while cattle ranching in Orange Cliffs.

The Chaffin family traditionally grazed livestock in the southernmost portions of the region, near the northern banks of the Colorado River, including an area known as Waterhole Flat or "Under the Ledge," as well as large portions of Ernies Country. One of the first known ranchers on this land was John Boline, a sheepherder who used the area as winter pasture in the 1890s. During this same time in 1890, an attempt was made to build a hotel and then a sanitarium on the northern banks of the Colorado River at Spanish Bottom. The plans were never carried out (Day 2004).

Despite periodic grazing of the area, the first continuous use of the area occurred in 1919, when the Chaffins began to run cattle on Waterhole Flat, at the base of the Orange Cliffs, after securing a mortgage for seed stock. Due to ongoing public discussion on the development of what would become the Taylor Grazing Act (i.e., restricting grazing on public lands), Louis and his wife, Alice Chaffin, purchased what became the Chaffin Ranch at the mouth of the San Rafael River in 1929. Although their ranch was approximately 40 mi. north of their grazing area at the base of the Orange Cliffs, owning the lands was expected to help secure grazing rights on public land when Taylor Grazing Act regulations came into effect. The Chaffin's grazing area stretched from the junction of the Dirty Devil and Colorado rivers along the northern bank of the Colorado River to the Green River. Of their 11 children, four boys (Faun, Ken, Clell, and Ned) helped with the ranching operations.

To better manage the ranching operation, Chaffin Camp (42GA7641) was set up near the Waterhole Flat area. The camp consisted of a pond/reservoir and improved spring (both built by Faun, Clell, and Ned in 1926), a stockade corral, and camping area for ranchers tending cattle. In addition to their cow camp on Waterhole Flat, they also maintained a home in Green River (Chaffin and Cox 1999).

By the 1930s, the Chaffins ran Durham cattle, Jersey cows, and Herefords as part of their herd. At their peak, the Chaffins ran a total of 450 head of cattle, with 300 of those regularly being taken "Under the

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Ledge" (Negri 1997). Ranchers grazing livestock in Elaterite Basin, Ernies Country, and Waterhole Flat (such as the Chaffins) would typically spend large portions of the spring and summer there before moving their cattle north to Hans Flats through North Trail Canyon in the autumn. Their final destination would typically be the stock yards at Green River (Day 2004).

During their time in the Orange Cliffs/Maze District from 1919 to 1947, the Chaffins made a number of improvements to the land. In addition to the Chaffin Camp, corrals near Land's End and in Cove Canyon were built, troughs and a trail into Cottonwood Spring were constructed (42GA7640), and tubs were installed at Ned's Hole to collect water for ranchers in the area.

In 1935, George Franz, a freight contractor from Green River, ran Civilian Conservation Corps and other government-funded projects in the Orange Cliffs to improve trails and springs. Franz hired Lou Chaffin to lead the work crew, and Chaffin installed troughs at Lou's Spring (42GA7633), Clell's Seep (42GA7634), and Two Pipe Spring on Big Ridge. Improvements were also made on the Devil's Slide Trail, at Smith's Camp, and the Cow Camp Springs as part of these projects (Chaffin and Cox 1999).

Also in 1935, Lou and Alice sold their house (Chaffin Hotel) in Green River and left the San Rafael Ranch entirely to their eldest son, Faun Chaffin, who continued to run the ranch with his wife, Violet, and his brothers. Along with ranching, the family became involved with guiding archeological expeditions, oil explorations, and tourists who wanted to see the region. The Chaffins continued ranching until 1947 when the ranch and grazing permits were sold to sheepherders Leo and Pierre Moynier, Jr. (Chaffin and Cox 1999). The Moynier brothers grazed sheep from 1947 into the 1970s. By 1970, the pair had an allotment of 71,680 acres within the Maze District, which became part of Canyonlands National Park in 1971. The Moynier Brothers likely continued to graze the area until drought hit the region in the mid-1950s (Gaye Ekker to Gary Cox, personal communication 2011).

Both sheep and cattle on the ranchlands of the Orange Cliffs and the Maze typically ate "curly grass" (Galleta Grass - *Hilaria jamesii*), which grows in clumps and can withstand dry climates. When Lou Chaffin first brought livestock to the Orange Cliffs, some grass species on the range were reported to have stood over 2 ft. high. Because the Chaffins stopped grazing cattle in the area, Ned Chaffin observed a decline in the amount of curly grass on the range and an increase in the amount of "cheat grass" (*Bromus tectorum*), citing overgrazing by sheep as a possible cause (Chaffin and Cox 1999).

Franz/Moore/Tibbets Ranching 1919-1939

By 1919, Kenny Allred, Ephraim Moore, and his nephew, Bill Tibbetts, began running cattle in Elaterite Basin and continued grazing along the western side of the Green River through the 1920s. Allred, Moore, and Tibbetts improved the property by building corrals in Horse Canyon (Chaffin and Cox 1999). Their cattle consisted of Navajos and "narrow black long-legged stock" (Chaffin and Cox 2002). In the early 1920s, Bill Tibbetts and Al Portus built a cabin at Cabin Bottom along the western banks of the Green River, approximately 3 mi. south of Valentine Bottom. Although the cabin burned down in 1935, remnants are still visible (Day 2004).

In 1929, Ephraim Moore sold the group's grazing rights (McCourt 2010). George Franz, who also managed local government projects, purchased Allred, Moore, and Tibbetts' cattle and water rights for the area along the western bank of the Green River. Franz later hired Ned and Clell Chaffin to manage his herd and bought bulls from La Sal in order to improve the quality of his stock. Clell stayed at Cabin Bottom while working for Franz, until the cabin was destroyed in a fire. After that, Clell lived in a cabin at Anderson Bottom built by Franz, Lou Chaffin, and Billy Hay. When Franz began moving cattle into the area, over 100

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pinto burros were in Millard Canyon. By the early 1930s, Franz had hunted or removed all of the burros within his range (Chaffin and Cox 1999).

Franz eventually sold his herd in 1939, after the Taylor Grazing Act came into effect. Because Franz did not own any property that could be tied to his ranchland, he was not permitted to graze on public domain land under the new regulations (Chaffin and Cox 1999). After Franz left the area, the Chaffins ran cattle around Elaterite Basin until they sold their water and grazing rights in 1947 (Kelsey 1992).

The use of the area by Franz, Moore, and Tibbets is further documented by brands and inscriptions found on a sandstone ledge and in a rock shelter on the eastern side of Big Water Canyon where it empties into the head of Horse Canyon (42WN3132). The inscriptions were made with light scratch marks, heavy incisions, or charcoal. Some inscriptions are illegible. Brands marked on the walls indicate repeat visits by ranchers moving herds from year to year, but four of the brands—Cross E brand (a “T” forming the back of the “E”), bar X bar (-X-), T4, and cross A bar (A) belonged to Bill Tibbetts, Ephraim Moore, Amy Moore-Tibbets-Allred, and Kenny Allred, respectively.

Bill Tibbetts was the nephew of Ephraim Moore, the stepbrother of Kenny Allred, and the son of Amy Moore-Tibbetts-Allred. He later ran into trouble with the law. He was born in 1898, and was the son of Amy and William Tibbetts (McCourt 2010). William Tibbetts was killed in 1902 by Charles Bothe (Dutch Charlie). William and Dutch Charlie’s wife were both shot because of an alleged affair. It was later determined that Dutch Charlie left his wife without support or food and William offered to provide her a place to stay (*Los Angeles Herald* Vol. XXIX No. 172, March 22, 1902). Amy later married Wilford Ashley Allred. Bill Tibbetts and Alfred did not get along, and Bill later went to live with his grandparents in Moab. He eventually went to work for the Murphy Cattle Company and ran cattle between the Green and Colorado rivers. At the age of 17, Bill was sent to reform school in Ogden for two years after he and another individual stole horses and sold them in Hanksville and Parowan. He later joined the army during WWI and returned to Moab after the war in 1919. Upon his return, he went into the cattle business with his uncle, Ephraim Moore, and his mother, Amy. The group grazed their cattle in the area along the Green River in the vicinity of Elaterite Basin until a drought hit the area in 1923. Because of the scarcity of feed, it was necessary for them to increase their rangelands into already occupied areas between the Green and Colorado rivers. Unfortunately for Bill, other cattle companies did not want outside cattle grazing in the area and brought erroneous charges against him for allegedly killing a calf and stealing cattle. In July 1924, Bill was incarcerated for the charges in Moab. Because of the influence of the cattle ranchers bringing charges against him, it was certain that Bill would not receive a fair trial. As a result, Bill broke out of jail and hid out in the Robber’s Roost area, where he was aided by Ephraim Moore. A manhunt was undertaken to find Bill but was ultimately unsuccessful because of his intimate knowledge of the country and hiding places frequented by previous outlaws. Bill escaped the area in the spring of 1925 by boarding a train in Thompson and riding the rail to Kansas. He continued to support himself with farm work and eventually settled in Oklahoma. While in Oklahoma, Bill became a well-known rodeo cowboy under the alias Jim Lee. Bill married Jewel Agens in 1926, and they later moved to Santa Fe where he remained until the statute of limitations on his alleged crimes ran out. He returned to Moab in 1932 and went into sheepherding. He returned to Santa Fe for a short time only to return in 1938 and settle permanently in Moab. He later became the City Marshall and a Grand County Deputy. He and his wife, Jewel, bought the Horsethief Ranch in 1959 and sold it in 1965. The couple was killed in a traffic accident in 1969 (McCourt 2010). The life that Bill Tibbetts led gave him the distinction of being one of the last of the outlaws of Robber’s Roost.

Tidwell Ranching 1917–1945

Frank Tidwell and Frances Evaline “Eva” Romjue were married March 11, 1895 in Wellington, Utah. The Tidwell Family first came to the Orange Cliffs/Maze District around 1910, collecting wild horses in

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Horseshoe Canyon to sell. They soon transitioned to cattle ranching due to the weak horse market at the time. The Tidwells began running cattle on the remote area known as The Spur in the San Rafael Desert in 1917. The Spur is a long peninsula of land jutting out between Millard Canyon and Horseshoe Canyon. Horsethief Canyon lies to the north and extends all the way to the Green River. The family maintained a residence in Wellington until Frank died of influenza in 1918 (which also claimed the life of their oldest child, Jeffie, in the winter of that same year). After their father's death, the three remaining children (Clyde, Delbert, and Leland) continued to run cattle on The Spur, establishing a residence at a spring they called "Camp Spring" on the eastern side of Horseshoe Canyon, out on the High Spur, the southern portion of The Spur. Initially the camp was no more than a tarp spread across junipers, providing shelter from the elements (Tidwell and Cox 1986).

In 1926 and 1927, the Nequoia Arch Survey was conducted to investigate oil prospects near Horseshoe Canyon and French Spring. T. C. Conley originally brought the survey crew out to the site, with geologist H. W. C. Prommel leading the expedition. Both the Phillips Petroleum Company and the Texas Oil Company drilled in the region because of the information gathered from the Nequoia survey. Prommel set the locations for both companies' wells (Chaffin and Cox 2002).

The Texas Oil Company based their operations near French Spring. A cabin built at the site was used as an office. Phillips Petroleum based their operations southeast of Horseshoe Canyon, within the Tidwell Ranch's range. In 1929, Phillips Oil constructed a road across Horseshoe Canyon to provide access to their drilling site (42WN3122), employing members of the Chaffin, Tidwell, and Ekker families. Although Phillips Oil drilled to a depth of 5,000 ft., the well never produced the quantities of oil needed to be commercially viable, and the well at Horseshoe Canyon was abandoned in 1931 (Negri 1997). The Tidwells acquired the four buildings left by Phillips Oil and salvaged timber from the well's wooden derrick to build sheds and corrals. The three-room dining house was transformed into their home, making it the family's first permanent shelter on the range (Tidwell and Cox 1986). As a final addition to the property, Delbert and Leland Tidwell installed a pump in Horseshoe Canyon in 1938.

At their peak, the Tidwells had over 300 head of cattle. By the time they sold their grazing rights in 1945, the herd was down to 250. Because the Tidwells did not own land—holding only grazing and water rights—they were hit particularly hard by the Taylor Grazing Act. Following passage of the Act, the General Land Office (GLO) attempted to have the Tidwells removed from the land. The dispute eventually went to court, and the Tidwells were allowed to stay because of their water rights (Tidwell and Cox 1986). In 1945, the Tidwell brothers sold their grazing and water rights to the Chuchuru brothers, who grazed sheep on The Spur and in Horseshoe, Horsethief, and Millard canyons.

The Chuchurus built a new pump house in Horseshoe Canyon in 1947, which was removed by the National Park Service in 1997. By 1970, the Chuchuru brothers had a grazing allotment of 6,784 acres within the Maze District, which was added to Canyonlands National Park in 1971. The Chuchurus operated the ranch until 1975 (Tidwell and Cox 1986).

Sheep and Horse Range

Although Hans Flats and the surrounding canyons were used year-round for cattle ranching in the early twentieth century, there is a long tradition of seasonal sheepherding in the area. In the early 1900s, David Randolph Seeley raised both cattle and sheep on the Orange Cliffs area before moving to the San Rafael Desert after 1921. Seeley eventually ran herds of 1,500 cattle and 6,000 sheep (Negri 1997). David's son, Karl, at unknown date, installed 400 water tubs at Cove Spring for his sheep (Chaffin and Cox 1999).

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A number of French and Basque shepherders also moved through the Orange Cliffs area including Frenchman Pete Masset. Masset typically kept his herd "Under the Ledge" throughout the winter, and moved them to the high country near Price, Utah, in the summer (Chaffin and Cox 1999). Herders regularly brought their sheep to the Orange Cliffs area for the winter, where they ate snow for water. Shepherd Henry Dussere had a similar routine, traveling from Price to Happy Canyon and other areas "Under the Ledge." Dussere ran a herd of approximately 3,000 head of sheep, each shearing one to two pounds of wool every year. In addition to Pete Masset and Henry Dussere, shepherders, including Quince Crawford, Hiram Seeley, and Karl Seeley, wintered sheep in the canyons. Between 15,000 and 20,000 head of sheep typically wintered in Waterhole Flat, Ernie Canyon, and The Maze every year. The passing of the Taylor Grazing Act in 1934 initiated a slow decline in the number of sheep allowed to graze in the region, and by 1960, sheepherding was phased out of the region (Ekker and Cox 2010).

Although horses were uncommon in the Orange Cliffs area, at least one herd belonging to Sam Adams was kept in Happy Canyon, probably during the 1920s or 1930s. Unlike cattle and sheep, horses were not actively herded and Adams would chase down the horses individually when they were needed (Chaffin and Cox 1999).

Horses and mules do more damage to ranchland than sheep or cattle because they eat more and travel farther. Both Andy Moore and Joe Biddlecome were known to hunt horses and mules if they came onto their ranchland because of the damage they caused. After Adams left his horses unattended in Happy Canyon for a few years, Faun and Clell Chaffin moved the horses to the Dirty Devil River and out of the Under the Ledge area (Chaffin and Cox 1999).

Canyonlands National Park History

Federal interest in the desert land south of Green River began shortly after the passing of the Taylor Grazing Act in 1934. Originally, the land that is now Canyonlands National Park was considered for inclusion in Escalante National Monument by Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes in 1936. Opposition from local commercial interests eventually doomed this early proposal. In the 1950s, as uranium exploration became a primary economic activity in the region, a number of local figures, including Arches National Monument Supervisor Bates Wilson, began advocating for increased protection of the landscape. After touring the area's canyons with guides Kent Frost and Wilson, Frank Masland, Jr., Chairman of the National Parks Advisory Board, recommended the area to the NPS. In 1959 and 1960, the NPS began field surveys near the confluence of the Green and Colorado rivers. At the same time, the Utah State Parks and Recreation Commission also planned to create a park in what is now the Needles District of Canyonlands (Smith 1991). Bates Wilson led a trip into the Land of Standing Rocks (The Maze) in May 1960 that resulted in the conclusion that the entire Canyon Lands area should be considered for National Park designation (Schmieding 2008:93).

Following the NPS surveys, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall flew over the area in May 1961 and was so overwhelmed by its scenic majesty that he became determined to see it become a National Park. He and other dignitaries toured the region in early July 1961 by boat, jeep, and helicopter. During the trip, at Anderson Bottom, Udall announced his intention to make Canyonlands into a 1,000-square-mile National Park (Schmieding 2008:96-97). Under the National Parks Act of 1916, Canyonlands would be off limits to hunting, lumbering, mineral development, and livestock grazing. Consequently, the move was opposed by a number of petroleum and mining interests, which supported the creation of a multi-use park (Smith 1991).

In August 1961, Utah Congressmen David King and Blaine Peterson introduced legislation calling for the establishment of Canyonlands National Park, with a total area of 300,000 acres, approximately half the size of Udall's original proposal. As a concession to those who opposed the creation of a National Park on the

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grounds that it limited economic activity, Utah Senator Frank Moss included provisions that allowed for livestock grazing and mining on a limited basis. Grazing would be allowed by those who held permits at the time of the bill's enactment. These permits would then be honored for the lifetime of the lessee or, if transferred, expire after 25 years (Smith 1991).

In September 1961, U.S. Senator Wallace F. Bennett, an early opponent of a large park at Canyonlands, introduced a bill proposing three small parks in the region, totaling 11,000 acres. These parks would not be open to grazing or mining, but the surrounding land would be completely available to commercial development (Smith 1991; Schmieding 2008:98).

In February 1962, Senator Moss revised his proposal and made additional concessions for allowing grazing, mining, and oil drilling with the permission of the Secretary of the Interior. The Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands held hearings in both Washington and Utah and received the input of over 100 witnesses. During the hearings, cattlemen objected to the 25-year limit on transferred leasing permits. Ranchers also claimed that grazing sheep and cattle was not hostile to National Park standards (Smith 1991).

In early 1963, Senator Moss again amended the portions of his bill that applied to grazing. Under the new provisions, if the original holder of a grazing lease died, the permit would be given to their immediate heir with lifetime grazing rights. Grazing rights on transferred permits would still end after 25 years. Oil and mineral prospecting would also be phased out after 25 years. In August 1963, the Canyonlands Bill was passed by a unanimous vote in the Senate (Smith 1991).

As the bill to create Canyonlands National Park moved into the House of Representatives, the House changed the grazing regulations within the proposed park. The changes noted that grazing leases could only be renewed for a period not to exceed 10 years. With these changes in place, Canyonlands became a National Park in September 1964. The Maze, along with Horseshoe Canyon, a non-contiguous parcel northwest of the park's boundaries, was added to Canyonlands in 1971.

In 1974, Canyonlands began a 10-year-long phase-out of grazing within the Park. During this period, grazing leases, which affected approximately 80,000 acres, were renewed on an annual basis until they ceased to be issued.

Glen Canyon National Recreation Area History

The NPS began to acquire land in what is now Glen Canyon National Recreation Area in 1965, following the construction of Glen Canyon Dam. The new dam created Lake Powell, and Congress officially established the National Recreation Area in 1972. As a Recreation Area, other uses, such as grazing and mining, were allowed within the Recreation Area boundaries, as long as they were "compatible with fulfilling the recreation mission" (GLCA 1967 Master Plan). Because the Orange Cliffs Unit of Glen Canyon NRA was not near any major recreational development sites, grazing on Glen Canyon land continued under NPS management through grazing permits issued by the BLM in consultation with NPS. As of 2011, the BLM manages the administration and regulation of grazing in Glen Canyon NRA.

In 1999, at the time of the development of a grazing resource component of the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area General Management Plan, 35 grazing allotments encompassing approximately 915,000 acres existed in the Recreation Area. Approximately 138,000 acres of Glen Canyon was not designated for grazing. Around the same time, in the late 1990s, Canyonlands National Park began assisting Glen Canyon in the buyout of grazing rights in the Orange Cliffs Unit. In 2000, a large portion of grazing rights was transferred to the Grand Canyon Trust, and grazing ended within the Orange Cliffs Unit of Glen Canyon

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National Recreation Area, except for the Sewing Machine Allotment. Even before the grazing rights transfer, grazing was allowed in the Sewing Machine Allotment with a BLM lease.

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Section number F Page 20**PROPERTY TYPES AND REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS**

Five property types and subtypes common to the ranching history of the Robbers Roost/Under the Ledge Ranchlands within Canyonlands National Park and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area are categorized by function in this section. Categories have been tailored to conditions and specific site types known to exist in the RR/UTL area.

The following Property Types and Subtypes are developed in this section:

Ranch Headquarters

Main Residence
Bunkhouse
Shed/Outbuilding
Outhouse
Storage Cellar
Granary/Grain Bin

Ranch Support Facilities

Range Camps/Limited Use Areas

Animal Care Elements

Corrals

Ranch Landscape Elements

Trails and Roads
Fence/Barrier
Rock Cairn

Water Development and Control Features

Spring Development and Water Retention Structure

Property Type Descriptions

Property types described herein encompass ranching complexes and individual buildings, structures, and sites associated with Utah's cattle industry, particularly those attributed to the RR/UTL historical ranchlands managed by the NPS. Because of the sparse forage for livestock in the canyon environment, expansive areas surrounding ranching headquarters were utilized for grazing and other ranching activities. In some cases, such as the Biddlecome/Ekker Ranch and the Tidwell Ranch, the ranching headquarters are not on NPS lands, but associated elements of their ranching activities are. Typically, RR/UTL ranchland sites include buildings and structures used for habitation, water development, livestock containment, temporary use areas, and livestock movement. A portion of these sites were originally constructed for oil and uranium exploration in canyon areas and were later repurposed and adapted for use by livestock ranchers. It is possible that repurposed sites may retain sufficient integrity related to their earlier use that they may be significant for their earlier use in addition to their use in Agriculture.

Property Type: Ranch Headquarters

Buildings typically present at ranching headquarters include a main residence, a homestead residence, bunkhouses, outhouses, multi-purpose outbuildings (blacksmith, equipment and storage sheds, and granary), and one or more root cellars. Structures typically found at associated ranching sites include corrals, fences, water development and control features, roads, and stock trails. Also associated are temporary camps, temporary use areas, and rock art inscriptions.

The construction method for the ranch buildings varies depending on the date of construction, function, location, and longevity of use. Typical of early populations in the region, pioneer ranchers in the canyon country began their operations by constructing small, vernacular log buildings and simple dugouts. With the limited number of trees in the region, native sandstone was the most plentiful and readily available building material. Stone masonry was used to build entire buildings and foundations; these were wet laid

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using mud mortar. By the end of the early part of the nineteenth century, Utah's cement industry made concrete available, which quickly became popular for building foundations. With the advent of railroads and improved road systems, milled lumber became more widely accessible to area ranchers. Wood-framed buildings were typically clad with horizontal or vertical boards, board-and-batten, or sheet-metal siding. In some instances, board siding was better protected by covering it with stucco. Sheet metal and wooden shingles were popular roofing materials. Several buildings used by area ranchers were previously built by companies in search of oil and uranium. All are small vernacular buildings constructed of milled lumber and stone masonry. In more isolated locales, local materials were used during the entire period of significance.

Main Residence

Residential structures used by the four ranching families functioned as more than just shelter; they routinely served as the headquarters for the ranches, livestock care bases, and supply points for off-site ranching activities. Unlike their more urban counterparts, the architectural styles of the ranch houses in the resource area did not follow any particular temporal trend and only incorporated a small number of architectural elements. The restrictions faced by each of the families in obtaining and transporting building materials dictated the simple and functional construction of their domiciles. In reality, only the Biddlecome/Ekker ranch house is applicable under this section, because the remaining three ranch houses were already existing buildings that were later reused as residences.

Bunkhouse

With day-to-day operations and maintenance and the need to constantly move livestock to ensure proper forage, it was necessary for the RR/UTL ranches to have reliable labor forces. To house these individuals, bunkhouses were constructed within the ranch complexes. These buildings were often previously constructed cabins that were originally built when a property was homesteaded. In other instances, bunkhouses were constructed in a vernacular style that was typically a simple, rectangular structure with simple characteristics and no exterior ornamentation.

Shed/Outbuilding

For the ongoing function of a ranch, sheds/outbuildings were constructed as they were needed for storage, repair shops, blacksmith shops, and animal care. These buildings were usually designed simply for either specific functions or a host of different functions. Buildings ranged in size from small to large and square to rectangular, were typically one story, and covered with shed-style or low gable roofs. Entrances were often limited to a pedestrian door or double-door equipment access. The number of windows depended on the amount of light needed to illuminate the interior.

Outhouse

Because the RR/UTL area was so isolated, indoor plumbing did not exist, which made outhouses a necessity. Several outhouses likely existed at a ranch complex to accommodate the number of occupants and because shallow soils required frequent relocation. These were small, square, wood-frame buildings with shed-style or gabled roofs commonly built without the benefit of a foundation over an excavated hole. Others were built on rudimentary masonry or concrete-block perimeter foundations. The structures were entered through a single door. The door or side walls often had a cut-out shape to allow light into the interior. Small windows were sometimes incorporated into the upper part of the door or were framed into the walls; however, windows were not common.

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Section number F Page 22*Storage Cellar*

The need for cold storage at ranch complexes was vital for the storage of perishable foods, such as fruits and vegetables, canned goods, and meats. To take advantage of cooler underground temperatures, storage cellars are subterranean or partially subterranean and often excavated into hills or hill slopes. The interior space is rectangular to U-shaped with the open end enclosed by a constructed wall. The interior walls are of milled lumber that functioned to retain the soils around the excavated area. The roofs are flat to slightly gabled and typically made of a deck of milled lumber covered with soil, sometimes with a vent extending through the soil covering. The interior is accessed by a single wood-plank door.

Granary/Grain Bin

Grain/corn storage was used by ranchers in the resource area. Grain or corn was stored as supplemental feed for grazing livestock to aid in weight gain. The supplemental feed was likely given to livestock during the lean grazing months. The need to store grain or corn resulted in the construction of simple, square or rectangular, wood-frame granary structures built on rudimentary, rock perimeter foundations with horizontal wood exterior and interior walls and wood floors. The interior and exterior wall boards and interior wood floor were tightly fitted to keep rodents out. They had shed-style roofs and were entered through a wood-plank door. No windows were framed into the structure.

In later years, prefabricated metal grain bins were purchased as a kit and erected at the ranching headquarters. These bins were cylindrical, galvanized, sheet-metal structures built on masonry perimeter foundations. The roofs were slightly pitched and constructed of overlapping sheet-metal sections crowned with a round, capped vent. The interior was accessed by a single, sheet-metal door with a simple latch.

Property Type: Ranch Support Facilities*Range Camps/Limited Use Areas*

Because of limited and seasonal feed available to livestock in the canyon environment, the need for widespread grazing and livestock monitoring required the establishment of use areas. These included side camps or range camps that were occupied both long and short term and included temporary use areas. One of the known range camps is centered on a building that was previously occupied by an oil exploration company along with the remains of other improvements. Other range camps consist of artifact concentrations, tent locations, and often have an associated corral. Limited-use areas include rock shelters, often with associated historic inscriptions, fire rings, and sparse artifact scatters.

Property Type: Animal Care Elements*Corrals*

Corrals are well represented in the RR/UTL and are constructed in both formal and semiformal manners. The corrals functioned to hold livestock for branding, separating, or medical care. In some documented cases, corrals were also built to keep livestock out of stockpiled supplies or to shelter range camps. Still others functioned for loading livestock onto trailers and trucks for transport. Corrals vary in shape and can be round, square, or rectangular. Formal corrals were built from logs either in a vertical-log stockade style or with stacked horizontal-log rails. Some corrals are free standing, whereas the majority incorporate bedrock outcrops as walls to take advantage of natural enclosures and minimize the quantity of building materials necessary. Semiformal corrals were built from tree branches and brush piled on the ground, often to enclose natural bedrock coves to create holding corrals.

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Section number F Page 23***Property Type: Ranch Landscape Elements******Trails and Roads***

Among the most prolific ranching elements in the RR/UTL are segments or entire lengths of trails. To a lesser degree, roads are part of the historical ranching landscape. Most of the trails are rudimentarily constructed and consist of nothing more than cleared paths with rocks placed along the edges. Others exhibit a higher level of construction including areas blasted through solid rock, stacked or coursed retaining walls, stairs, and fences and barriers of various materials. Primary and secondary access roads were also built. Primary access roads were built for vehicle access to ranch headquarters and also served as arteries into heavily utilized areas to transport livestock and feed and to oversee livestock operations. Secondary roads diverge from primary routes to access key areas within the canyon country, including springs, corrals, and livestock congregation locales. Roads were constructed both by ranchers and by oil and uranium exploration companies. Road construction methods vary from simple worn paths to bulldozer-bladed routes to corridors blasted through bedrock with roadbeds retained by masonry walls and fill.

Fence/Barrier

Only one fence has been documented in the district; however, fences are often features along trails and roads. Fences often served as barriers to direct livestock safely away from cliffs or difficult topography. Some fences are formally constructed of vertical iron pipe posts, horizontal iron pipe rails, strands of barbed wire, woven wire, or wire rope support by posts. Others are expediently constructed of locally obtained logs, branches, and stacked rock.

Rock Cairn

Rock cairns are typically two or more rocks stacked upon each other or in larger groupings that served as markers on the landscape. In ranching contexts, cairns most typically served as markers along trails as way-finding points. No ranching-related cairns have been documented in the district, but it is possible that they exist. Care should be taken in ascribing function and age to cairns, as they are often expedient markers and continue to be added to the landscape by recreational or other visitors. Other possible historic uses of cairns can be as mining claim markers, section line markers, and Native American spiritual shrines (both ancient and current). Modern and on-going cairn building as recreational trail-use markers, New Age spiritual markers, and recreational stone piling by children and adults can cause confusion, as modern cairns can appear identical to historic or prehistoric cairns.

Property Type: Water Development and Control Features***Spring Developments and Water Retention Structures***

Water and feed were the two most important elements for successful livestock raising within the canyon country. Springs within the canyons were critical for livestock survival. Springs were enhanced by ranchers to create reliable sources of water. In the mid-1930s, spring improvements were sometimes funded through federal programs to aid the ranchers. Most of the spring developments piped water directly to livestock-accessible areas using troughs and tanks to maximize water storage, distribution, and retention. Spring developments also include fenced enclosures to prevent animals from damaging water sources. In addition, larger-scale water conservation projects were undertaken in the canyons in an attempt to impound water along creeks and drainages. These consist exclusively of earthen dams.

Significance

Buildings, structures, and sites associated with the historical ranching landscape utilized by the Biddlecome/Ekker, Chaffin, Franz/Moore/Tibbets, and Tidwell may be eligible for listing in the National

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Register of Historic Places (NRHP) under Criteria A, B, C, and D. The Period of Significance extends from 1870 when Cap Brown began making physical improvements to the landscape around Robbers Roost Flats and ends in 1974 when Canyonlands National Park phased-out grazing allotments within its boundaries. Ranching is no longer permitted within Canyonlands National Park and is only allowed in small portions of the Orange Cliffs Unit of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. Outside the MPDF boundary, ranching continues on BLM and private lands.

A single Area of Significance—Agriculture—has been identified for historic ranching in the Robbers Roost/Under the Ledge area. Under Agriculture, the RR/UTL ranches and their dispersed components are locally significant for their pivotal role in the development of the subsistence ranching industry in southeastern Utah west of the Green and Colorado rivers and east of the Dirty Devil River.

General Registration Requirements

To be eligible under Criterion A in the area of Agriculture, a resource must have been used as part of a ranch in the RR/UTL area during the 1870–1974 period of significance. All resources with a strong association to ranching agriculture in the RR/UTL area will be eligible under Criterion A if they retain sufficient integrity. All seven aspects of integrity will be important. Integrity of location is particularly important because resource functions were keyed to the landscape. Because of the remoteness of the area, integrity of setting, feeling, and association with ranching during the period of significance is important and will usually be good because few impacts besides natural deterioration are likely to have taken place. Integrity of design is also important, as the form of the resource will nearly always be indicative of the historic function. Integrity of materials and workmanship are important because they can demonstrate the ingenuity needed to construct functional ranching elements from locally available materials.

To be eligible under Criterion B in the area of Agriculture, a resource must have a close association with an individual who made significant contributions to ranching in the RR/UTL. Critically, the resources must be associated with the area in which the person achieved their significance. Because most of the resources in the RR/UTL are rather generic and simple, it is likely that only a few resources might be found that can satisfy Criterion B. It is possible that hideout locations that can be associated with Bill Tibbetts might qualify. In addition, sites that can be clearly demonstrated to be associated with Butch Cassidy or Cap Brown may qualify, though it is expected that because of the ephemeral nature of the ranching sites in the region, proof of such associations may be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. As a result, integrity of association and location are critical; the other five aspects of integrity are desirable, but not critical.

Although there are a variety of property types that served ranching purposes in the RR/UTL, all eligible resources under Criterion C must retain integrity of character-defining architectural elements. It is not expected that ranching elements will be anything other than functional representations of vernacular architecture, often made from local materials and without ornamentation. In general, ranch headquarters should reflect the hardscrabble ranching that took place during their occupation during the period of significance. Of key importance would be that the ranch headquarters retain its basic historic layout of ranch house, ancillary buildings and structures, and travel routes. The ranch house and outbuildings should retain their basic historic construction elements, including windows, doors, siding, and roof form without significant additions or replacement with materials not in keeping with their original construction. The condition of resources will vary and the presence of doors and windows is not considered critical on ancillary buildings. Additions and alterations that took place during the period of significance may be considered contributing to the significance of a property by demonstrating historical events or trends pertinent to the property. It is possible that outbuildings became outdated resulting in a change in function or the need for additions and that newer buildings or structures were added to a complex, all of which may be considered contributing elements so long as they fall within the period of significance and can be interpreted relative to

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the history of the property. Buildings moved to a site may be considered contributing elements of a site if the move took place during the period of significance. Overall, the historic function of the ranch headquarters should be distinguishable. These same general concepts also apply to Ranch Support Facilities and Animal Care Facilities, which may exist at ranch headquarters or may appear as isolated elements on the landscape. In the cases of isolated Range Camps and Corrals, associated buildings are not likely. Overall, integrity of location, association, and setting are most important, with design, materials, and workmanship remaining quite important; feeling is of least important, but desirable.

To be eligible under Criterion D, a property must demonstrate the potential to yield information important to our understanding of the history of the RR/UTL. Without exception, it is expected that the potential data will be archaeological. As a result, a property eligible under Criterion D does not need to visually represent the historic period. That is, the property does not need to have built elements of importance, but can be entirely archaeological in nature with surficial or buried artifacts or features present in good context that can be properly interpreted. It can be anticipated that archaeological data can better define the age of sites and help in interpreting land-use patterns. In addition, information about diet, product preference, living conditions, technology, site function, site structure, and, possibly, ethnicity can be expected. Integrity of location, association, and materials are critical for the significance of archaeological sites. Integrity of design, setting, workmanship, and feeling are irrelevant.

Specific Registration Requirements

Significance under the area of Agriculture during the 1870–1974 period of significance should be considered for all of the ranching components in the RR/UTL; significance will depend on an individual property to satisfy one or more of the aspects of integrity under one or more of the NRHP significance criteria.

Ranch Headquarters, Subtypes: Main Residence, Bunkhouse, Shed/Outbuilding, Outhouse, Storage Cellar, and Granary/Grain Bin

- Criterion A: Must have functioned as a ranch headquarters in the RR/UTL during the 1870–1974 period of significance. Buildings and other elements must be readily recognizable as a ranch headquarters complex with no or minimal modifications of functions other than ranching. Layout should reflect its historic use as a ranch headquarters with the main residence retaining an accurate in-period appearance. A sufficient number of associated elements must remain for the overall function to be recognizable and interpretable with most retaining accurate in-period appearances.
- Criterion B: Must have a clear and demonstrable association with a person who made a significant contribution to the ranching history of the RR/UTL within the 1870-1974 period of significance.
- Criterion C: Must retain character-defining architectural elements: functional representations of vernacular architecture often of local materials and without ornamentation. A property should retain its basic historic layout of the main residence, auxiliary buildings and structures, and flow of travel. Buildings should retain their basic in-period construction elements with no or few out-of-period replacements, additions, or modifications. No or few out-of-period buildings should have been added to the complexes and these should not overshadow the original components. Buildings brought onto a property during the period of significance for ranching purposes can be considered contributing elements.
- Criterion D: Must be able to provide important data relating to ranching in the RR/UTL during the period of significance.

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Section number F Page 26*Property Type: Ranch Support Facilities: Range Camps/Limited Use Areas*

- Criterion A: Must have functioned as an element of ranching in the RR/UTL during the 1870–1974 period of significance. Elements must be readily recognizable as related to ranching with no or minimal modifications or disturbances. Layout should reflect its historic use and its function should be recognizable and interpretable.
- Criterion B: Must have a clear and demonstrable association with a person who made a significant contribution to the ranching history of the RR/UTL within the 1870-1974 period of significance.
- Criterion C: Architecture of importance is not expected, though could be considered if found and dates to the 1870-1974 period of significance and retains historical integrity with no or minor alteration.
- Criterion D: Must be able to provide important data relating to ranching in the RR/UTL during the period of significance.

Property Type: Animal Care Elements: Corrals

- Criterion A: Must have functioned as a corral for ranching in the RR/UTL during the 1870–1974 period of significance. The corral must be readily recognizable with no or minimal modifications or disturbances, though natural deterioration is expected. Layout should reflect its historic use and its function should be recognizable and interpretable.
- Criterion B: Must have a clear and demonstrable association with a person who made a significant contribution to the ranching history of the RR/UTL.
- Criterion C: Must be of a unique type or construction method that demonstrate the vernacular style of the 1870-1974 period of significance
- Criterion D: Must be able to provide important data relating to ranching in the RR/UTL during the period of significance. Range camps and limited use areas may be found in association that may contain archaeological materials of importance.

Property Type: Ranch Landscape Elements: Trails and Roads and Fence/Barrier

- Criterion A: Must have functioned as a travel route or barrier for ranching in the RR/UTL during the 1870–1974 period of significance. Elements must be readily recognizable as related to ranching with no or minimal modifications or disturbances, though natural deterioration is expected. Layout should reflect its historic use and its function should be recognizable and interpretable.
- Criterion B: Must have a clear and demonstrable association with a person who made a significant contribution to the ranching history of the RR/UTL.
- Criterion C: Trails and roads are typically not considered architectural. Fences or barriers must be of a unique type or construction method that demonstrate the vernacular style of the 1870-1974 period of significance.
- Criterion D: Archaeological deposits are not anticipated with this property type. Roads, trails, and fences typically are not considered archaeological. Range camps and limited use areas may be found in association that may contain archaeological materials of importance.

Property Type: Water Development and Control Features: Spring Developments and Water Retention Structures

- Criterion A: Must have functioned as a spring development or water retention structure for ranching in the RR/UTL during the 1870–1974 period of significance. Elements must be readily recognizable as related to ranching with no or minimal modifications or disturbances, though

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natural deterioration is expected. Layout should reflect its historic use and its function should be recognizable and interpretable.

Criterion B: Must have a clear and demonstrable association with a person who made a significant contribution to the ranching history of the RR/UTL.

Criterion C: Spring developments and water retention facilities are typically not considered architectural.

Criterion D: Archaeological deposits are not anticipated with this property type, though archaeology may be useful in documenting buried elements. Range camps and limited use areas may be found in association that may contain archaeological materials of importance.

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Geographical Data

The Robbers Roost/Under the Ledge area is defined as land encompassed by Canyonlands National Park and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area bound on the east by the Green River, the southeast by the Colorado River, the southwest by the Dirty Devil River, and the west and north by the boundary of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (Figure 2). It also includes the isolated Horseshoe Canyon unit of Canyonlands National Park in the northwestern portion of the area. The area encompasses portions of Wayne and Garfield counties, Utah.

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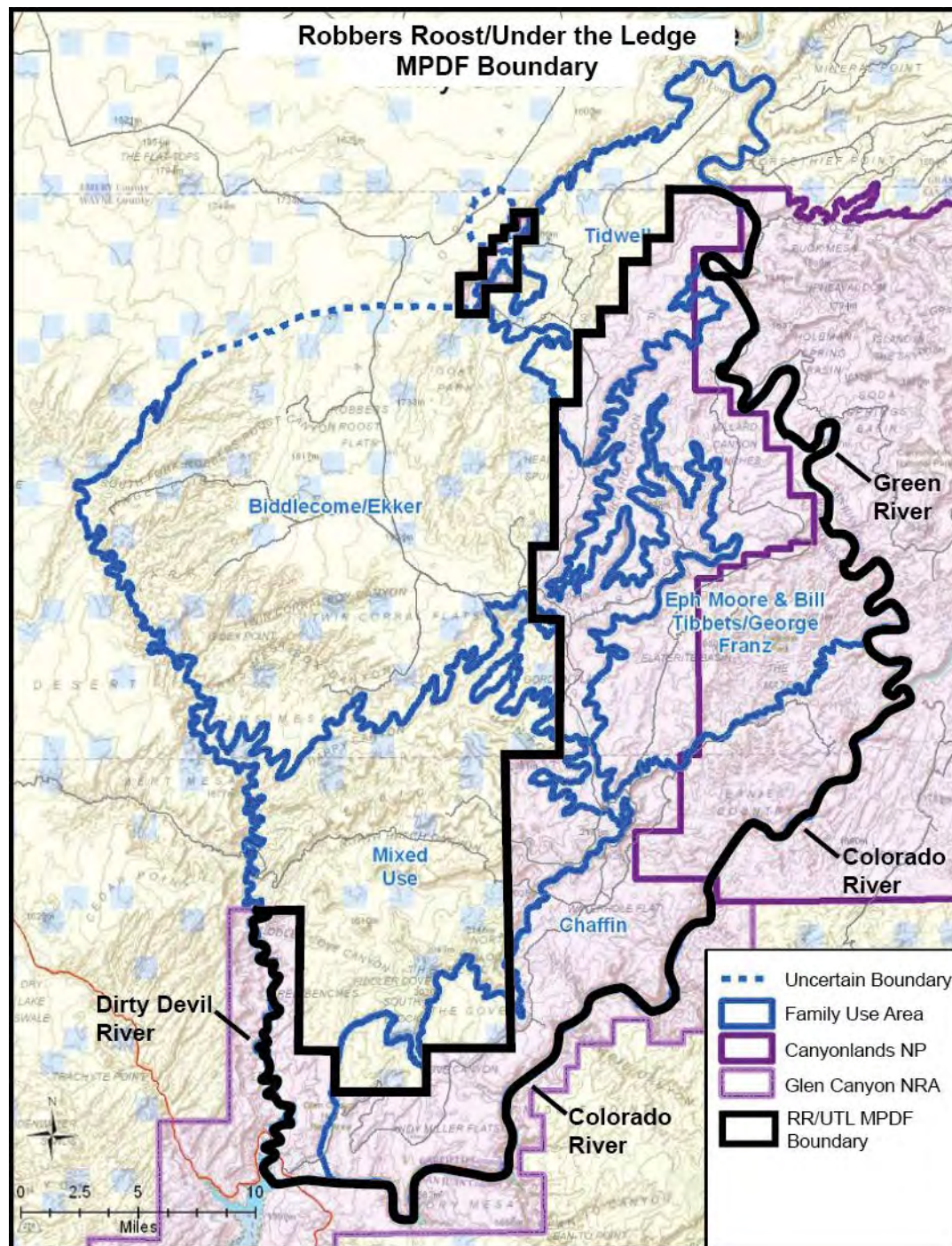
Section number G Page 29

Figure 2. Robbers Roost/Under the Ledge MPDF boundary relative to NPS units and Family Use Areas.

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Section number H Page 30**Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods**

Prior to the completion of the Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF), the NPS completed a Cultural Landscapes Inventory (CLI) of cultural landscapes in the RR/UTL. The CLI documents were completed in 2012 and 2013 by historical preservation intern Paul Wackrow and history intern Avana Andrade (National Park Service 2012, 2013a, b). The purpose of the CLI was to evaluate all landscapes having historical significance that are listed in or eligible for the NRHP or are otherwise managed as cultural resources through a public planning process and in which the NPS has or plans to acquire any legal interest. Moreover, the CLI assists the NPS in its efforts to fulfill the identification and management requirements associated with Section 110(a) of the National Historic Preservation Act, NPS Management Policies (2006), and Director's Order #28: Cultural Resource Management. Through the CLI, each landscape is identified and documented with their location, size, physical development, condition, landscape characteristics, and character-defining features recorded, as well as other valuable information useful to park management. Additionally, the CLI also provides an illustrative site plan that shows major features within the inventory unit. Cultural landscapes become approved CLIs when concurrence with the findings is obtained from the park superintendent and all required data fields are entered into a national database. For those landscapes that are not currently listed in the NRHP and/or do not have adequate documentation; concurrence is required from the State Historic Preservation Officer or the Keeper of the National Register.

The information contained within the CLI is gathered from existing secondary sources found in park libraries and archives and at NPS regional offices and centers, as well as through on-site reconnaissance of the existing landscape. The baseline information collected provides a comprehensive look at the historical development and significance of the landscape, placing it in context of the site's overall significance.

Following the completion of the CLI, 36 cultural landscapes (sites) were identified by the NPS as requiring additional documentation to determine the NRHP significance of these sites. The field inventory for these sites was completed by Alpine Archaeological Consultants, Inc. (Alpine) in April and May 2014. Sites were inventoried and documented by two archaeologists intensively inspecting the site areas and marking artifacts, structures, and objects. Once the site materials were sufficiently identified, site data were fully recorded on appropriate IMACS site forms to Utah State Historic Preservation Office standards. As part of the documentation process, sites were evaluated in order to make recommendations regarding their NRHP eligibility. Criteria that establish eligibility under the National Preservation Act of 1966 (as amended) are published in the United States Government Code of Federal Regulations (36 CFR 60.4). The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and

- (a) that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- (b) that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- (c) that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- (d) that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

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Site documentation also included completing site maps prepared with the aid of a Trimble Global Positioning System (GPS) unit capable of submeter accuracy. Site locations were plotted on a 7.5-minute USGS quadrangle map using the same GPS units. The GPS maps illustrated site boundaries and cultural and topographic features. Post-field historical research and artifact analysis was completed for each of these documented sites in order to place them into a historical context and to determine their period of significance.

For this MPDF, the Statement of Historical Context was broadly written to include the development of the cattle industry in southeastern Utah. The context was also written to focus more specifically on four ranching families known to have utilized the various jurisdictions of the NPS including the Maze District of Canyonlands National Park and the Orange Cliffs Unit of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. In doing so, the MPDF can be applied by the BLM for potential ranching-related sites within their managed lands. It should be noted, that additional sites may also lead to developments of additional property types. The Registration Requirements in this document were based on the National Register criteria for evaluation (outlined above) and should be applied during future site evaluations regardless of the site's landownership. The period of significance determined for ranching-related sites covered in the document begins in 1870 with the earliest livestock-related use of the resource area and continues to 1974 when Canyonlands National Park phased out grazing allotments within its boundaries.

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Section number I Page 32**Major Bibliographic References**

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
EVALUATION/RETURN SHEET

Requested Action: COVER DOCUMENTATION

Multiple Name: Ranching Resources of the Robbers Roost/Under the Ledge areas within Canyonlands NP and Glen Canyon NRA MPS

State & County: ,

Date Received: 5/14/2019 Date of 45th Day: 6/28/2019

Reference number: MC100004108

Reason For Review:

<input type="checkbox"/> Appeal	<input type="checkbox"/> PDIL	<input type="checkbox"/> Text/Data Issue
<input type="checkbox"/> SHPO Request	<input type="checkbox"/> Landscape	<input type="checkbox"/> Photo
<input type="checkbox"/> Waiver	<input type="checkbox"/> National	<input type="checkbox"/> Map/Boundary
<input type="checkbox"/> Resubmission	<input type="checkbox"/> Mobile Resource	<input type="checkbox"/> Period
<input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> TCP	<input type="checkbox"/> Less than 50 years
	<input type="checkbox"/> CLG	

☒ Accept ☐ Return ☐ Reject ☐ Date

Abstract/Summary Comments:

Recommendation/ Criteria

Reviewer Paul Lusignan Discipline Historian

Telephone (202)354-2229 Date

DOCUMENTATION: see attached comments: No see attached SLR: No

If a nomination is returned to the nomination authority, the nomination is no longer under consideration by the National Park Service.



United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
1849 C Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20240



H32(2280)

Memorandum

To: Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places

From: Acting, NPS Federal Preservation Officer *Julie R. Cove*

Subject: Multiple Property Submission for Historic Ranching Resources of the Robbers Roost/Under the Ledge areas within Canyonlands National Park and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Wayne and Garfield Counties, Utah

I am forwarding the Multiple Property Submission for Historic Ranching Resources of the Robbers Roost/Under the Ledge areas within Canyonlands National Park and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. The submission includes the Multiple Property Documentation Form Cover, as well as associated nominations for the Cowboy Rock Shelter Site, and the Chaffin Camp Site. The Park History Program has reviewed the cover document and found it to establish historic contexts through which to evaluate associated nominations, and has found the two nominations eligible at the local level of significance under Criteria A and B (Cowboy Rock Shelter Site) and A, C, and D (Chaffin Camp Site).

The State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) and chief local elected official(s) were sent the documentation on March 5, 2019. Within 45 days, the SHPO supported supported with comments x did not respond. The SHPO signed the nomination on April 26, 2019. Any comments received are included with the documentation.

If you have any questions, please contact Kelly Spradley-Kurowski at 202-354-2266 or kelly_spradley-kurowski@nps.gov.



GARY R. HERBERT
Governor

SPENCER J. COX
Lieutenant Governor

Jill Remington Love
Executive Director
Department of
Heritage & Arts



Brad Westwood
Director



June 4, 2018

SOUTHEAST UTAH GROUP, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
ATTN: LAURA MARTIN
2282 SOUTHWEST RESOURCE BLVD
MOAB, UTAH 84532

Dear Ms. Martin:

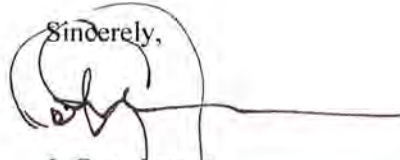
Enclosed please find the signed cover sheets for the Chaffin Camp Site and the Cowboy Rock Shelter Site National Register of Historic Places nomination forms. The nominations, along with the Historic Ranching Resources of the Robbers Roost/Under the Ledge Areas Within Canyonlands National Park and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area multiple property documentation form were reviewed and given positive comment by the Utah State Historic Preservation Review Board and the Utah State Historic Preservation Officer for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places at their meeting on April 26, 2018. Since there is not a signature block for commenting official for the MPDF, no cover sheet is included.

Also, please find enclosed five CD-Rs, one CD for the MPDF (which includes a PDF of the form only), and two other CDs for each of the nominations. One CD contains a PDF version of the final nomination form, scanned signed cover sheet and maps. The other enclosed CD contains TIF image files for the building photographs and figures.

Please forward this package to the National Park Service Federal Preservation Officer (FPO) for review. Once the FPO reviews and signs the enclosed cover sheets they should be forwarded along with the enclosed CDs to the Keeper of the National Register for final review.

If you have any questions regarding the process, please contact me at 801/245-7242 or at coryjensen@utah.gov.

Sincerely,



J. Cory Jensen
National Register Coordinator
Office of Historic Preservation

Enclosures