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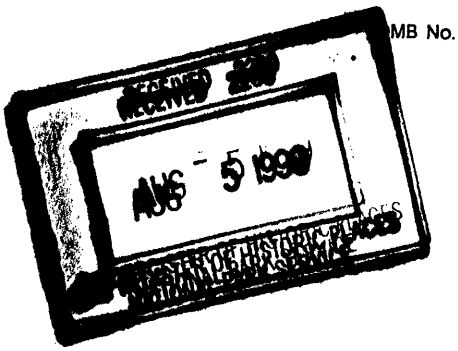

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

__X__ New Submission ____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Capitol Reef National Park Multiple Property Submission

B. Associated Historic Contexts

I. Early Exploration in the Area of Capitol Reef National Park, 1870-1885
II. Mormon Settlement and Agriculture in Capitol Reef National Park, 1880-1946
III. Grazing in Capitol Reef National Park, 1880-1946
IV. Mining in Capitol Reef National Park, 1880-1956
V. National Park Service and Government Development of Capitol Reef National Park, 1937-1946

C. Form Prepared by

name/title compiled by Benjamin Brower; revisions, Historian Kathy McKoy
organization National Park Service, Intermountain Field Area, Colorado Plateau System Support Office date 4/15/96
street & number 12795 W. Alameda P.O. Box 25287 telephone (303) 499-7195
city or town Denver state CO zip code 80225-0287

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 Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (___ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Ronald M Greenberg — 8-4-99
Signature and title of certifying official — Date

National Park Service
Federal agency

[signature] — 8-15-96
Signature and title of commenting official — Date

Utah State Historic Preservation Office
State agency

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.

for [signature] — 9/13/99
Signature of the Keeper — Date

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Page

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Item E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Introduction

Capitol Reef National Park is located in south-central Utah, within portions of Emery, Garfield, Sevier, and Wayne counties, and encompasses 241,904 acres. The park contains a variety of spectacular geological features, including the Waterpocket Fold, with a crest that rises more than 2,000 feet above the surrounding landscape. Other features include at least 15 exposed sedimentary formations; igneous dikes, plugs and sills; a Pleistocene mud slide; gypsum plugs and sinkholes; arches, natural bridges, domes, hogbacks, cuestas, mesas, and fins; and eroded sandstone cliffs.

The park also contains cultural resources relating to both prehistoric and historic times. Prehistoric resources include evidence of the Desert Archaic Culture, dating from about 8,500 to 2,000 years ago. The Fremont people occupied and used areas throughout the Fremont River gorge and Pleasant Creek drainages in the central portion of the park. These areas contain Fremont habitation sites, temporary campsites, and a rich collection of rock art. The Fremont people were the first known to use the area at the junction of the Fremont River and Sulphur Creek. Historic resources relate primarily to exploration, settlement, agriculture, and mining enterprises on the Colorado Plateau. Prehistoric and historic Native American properties currently are not included in this cover document.

Capitol Reef National Park is divided into three districts: the area surrounding Fruita in the Fremont River Valley, and the remote northern and southern districts. Each district experienced its own patterns of development and use by Euroamerican settlers, reflecting the range of conditions found within the present park boundaries. The history of the Fruita area is closely linked to the development of a small Mormon farming community and is, essentially, a history of irrigated agriculture. The remote southern and northern districts, in contrast, have only tenuous associations with cultivated agriculture. Their history is that of ranching, grazing and mining. Different individuals discovered and utilized the range lands and minerals in these districts, producing distinct variations on a common theme of resource exploitation.

Five separate contexts address the history of Capitol Reef National Park since the arrival of Euroamerican settlers in the area in the 1870s. The first context, Early Exploration in the Area of Capitol Reef National Park, 1870-1885, encompasses the activities of the initial Euroamerican exploration of the area up to about 1885. The second context, Mormon Settlement and Agriculture in Capitol Reef National Park, 1880-1946, addresses the activities of the area's earliest permanent Euroamerican settlers, their social organization, and their economic activities. The third context, Grazing in Capitol Reef National Park, 1880-1946, includes the activities and resources associated with one of the most important economic activities conducted in the area. The nomadic character of ranching and

Item E. Statement of Historic Contexts

grazing activities justifies a separate context, distinct from that for Mormon Settlement and Agriculture. The fourth context, Mining in Capitol Reef National Park, 1880-1956, encompasses economic activities that grew in increasing importance during the 1950s Cold War era. The fifth context, National Park Service and Government Development of Capitol Reef National Park, 1937-1946, details the role of the federal government in the creation and development of the present park. Each context is described in the narrative that follows.[1]

Early Exploration in the Area of Capitol Reef National Park, 1870-1885
Available evidence indicates that Euroamerican explorers did not view the area presently included within Capitol Reef National Park until after the American Civil War. Prior to that date a several prominent explorers of the American West, including Father Silvestre Vélez de Escalante and Captain J. W. Gunnison, skirted the fringes of the region, but do not appear to have ventured into the region presently encompassed by Capitol Reef National Park.[2] It has recently been learned, however, that John C. Fremont led a band of men into the area during the winter of 1853-1854 as he searched for a possible railroad route to the Pacific Ocean. Fremont's brief visit to Cathedral Valley (located in the park's North District) was recorded by Solomon Nunes Carvalho on daguerreotype, later duplicated by an engraving.[3]

The forbidding landscape that eventually won the area designation as a national monument, and later as a national park, served as a barrier to Euroamerican and Euroamerican explorers and settlers, although Native Americans, particularly Paiutes, appear to have moved through the region on a fairly regular basis. Non-natives, however, contented themselves with exploring the fringes of the region, where travel was easier and supplies of water more certain. By 1865, the Colorado River, its canyons, tributaries, and plateaus, constituted one of the last unexplored areas in the continental United States. Beginning in 1869, John Wesley Powell led a series of expeditions into the region. These expeditions filled in the last blank expanses on maps of the American West, made major contributions to

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[1] The narrative draws almost exclusively on Patrick W. O'Bannon's *Capitol Reef National Park: A Historic Resource Study* prepared under contract with John Milner Associates, Inc. for the National Park Service in 1992.

[2] Charles Kelly, "History of Capitol Reef National Monument and Vicinity" (25 February 1951), 3-6. Typescript on file at Visitors' Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah. Wallace Stegner, *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1954), 43.

[3] In 1995, with the help of park employee Kent Jackson, researcher Robert Shlaer, of the Museum of New Mexico, was able to identify the location where the company daguerreotype was made.

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Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

the science of geology, laid the groundwork for a major reevaluation of federal land policies, and led to the creation of the Bureau of American Ethnology.[4]

Between the John C. Fremont and John Wesley Powell expeditions, Captain James Andrus led a Mormon military expedition into the area. In 1866, in pursuit of Utes who had harassed Mormon settlements in southwest Utah, Andrus led a party into the plateau country east of the Sevier River. From the slopes of Boulder Mountain, west of the present park boundaries, the Andrus Expedition looked east to the Waterpocket Fold, observing this spectacular buckling of the earth's crust. The view into the forbidding canyons below convinced Andrus "of the utter impracticality of any trail crossing the basin. . ." and the expedition turned west towards home.[5]

In June 1872 a party from John Wesley Powell's second Colorado River expedition passed through the present Capitol Reef National Park. Led by Almon Harris Thompson, the party traversed the present park along Pleasant Creek, traveling from west to east. The previous year this section of the country had proven inaccessible, even to as redoubtable a frontiersman as Mormon scout Jacob Hamblin, who had failed to find a route from Kanab, southwest of the park, to the mouth of the Dirty Devil River, east of the park.[6]

Diaries maintained by Thompson and his assistant, Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, provide some indication of the route the party followed through the park.[7] On June 13, 1872, Thompson led the party down the east slope of Boulder Mountain into "a fine valley with a beautiful stream of water," which they named Pleasant Creek. The party camped in a grove of cottonwoods alongside the stream, which flowed north, and the next day traveled three miles downstream to a Paiute camp, where they inquired about trails to the Dirty Devil [Henry] Mountains. On June 15, 1872, the party left Pleasant Creek and headed southeast, traveling about twelve miles

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[4] Stegner, *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian.*

[5] C. Gregory Crampton, "Military Reconnaissance in Southern Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* 32 (Spring 1964), 155.

[6] Stegner, *Beyond the One Hundredth Meridian,* 138; Almon Harris Thompson, "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," ed. by Herbert E. Gregory, *Utah Historical Quarterly,* 7 (January, April and July 1939), 8.

[7] Thompson, "Diary," 8; Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage: The Narrative of the Second Powell Expedition* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984).

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

through canyons and broken country. By June 17, the party had reached the slopes of Mount Pennell in the Henry Mountains.[8]

Both Thompson's and Dellenbaugh's diaries fail to precisely delineate the party's route, making it impossible to trace their route through Capitol Reef National Park with complete accuracy. It is clear that they passed through the future park between June 13 and June 16, 1872, traveling from west to east along Pleasant Creek and, after leaving the stream, traveling southeast towards the Henry Mountains. A more precise identification of the party's route does not appear possible given the vagueness of the diaries.

Thompson's and Powell's expeditions along the Colorado River excited area prospectors, who believed that the explorers had discovered mineral deposits in the Colorado River canyon country. During the early 1870s, prospectors passed through the canyon country in search of gold and silver. Physical evidence of these undocumented journeys remains visible in Capitol Gorge, where J. A. Call and Walter Bateman carved their names into the south wall of the gorge on September 20, 1871. These are the earliest historic inscriptions located within Capitol Reef National Park. They predate the Thompson party by nearly a year and permanent settlement in the area by nearly a decade.[9]

Mormon settlers bound for the San Juan River drainage in far southeastern Utah passed through the southern portion of the present park in the early 1880s. In 1879 the Mormon church called for a colonizing mission to the San Juan region. The group of settlers who established this mission traveled south from Escalante, crossing the Colorado River at Hole-in-the-Rock, an extraordinarily difficult trail that they carved out of the cliffs, and which entailed lowering wagons and livestock down a forty-five to fifty percent grade. In 1881, a new trail was pioneered to Hall's Crossing, a ferry crossing, operated by Charles Hall and his sons, located upstream from Hole-in-the-Rock. The new trail, known as the Hall's Crossing Trail, passed through the southern portion of Capitol Reef National Park.

The Hall's Crossing Trail proved only slightly less arduous than the Hole-in-the-Rock route. The wagon road ran east from Escalante to the Circle Cliffs, from where it descended into Muley Twist Canyon by means of a side canyon located south of the 1950s Rainy Day Uranium Mine. The trail followed Muley Twist Canyon east through the Waterpocket Fold to Hall's Creek, which led south to the Colorado River crossing at Hall's Crossing. The route ceased to be used on a regular basis

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[8] Thompson, "Diary," 84-85.

[9] Kelly, "History," 8.

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Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

in 1884, when the completion of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad line to Green River, Utah, provided easier access into the San Juan region from the east.[10]

The Pioneer Register is the only eligible property associated with the context of Early Exploration in the Area of Capitol Reef National Park, 1870-1885.

Mormon Settlement and Agriculture in Capitol Reef National Park, 1880-1946

In the decade following the settlement of Salt Lake City, Mormon pioneers established more than one hundred towns in the valleys along the west front of the Wasatch Range. These towns formed a string of settlements, known as the Mormon Corridor, that stretched southwest from Salt Lake City to San Bernardino, California. The process by which these communities were established generally entailed a preliminary exploration by companies appointed, equipped, and supported by the church. Upon the return of the exploring party a colonizing company was appointed to found the settlement, which was expected to pattern its community institutions after those in Salt Lake City. The colonizing companies consisted of "a group of individuals, specially called and directed, working as a unit to found a settlement and develop its resources."[11]

Many of the most far flung settlements were recalled in 1857 as a result of economic hard times and the threat of military action against the Mormon State of Deseret by the United States Army.[12] Few towns in this "outer cordon" were reestablished following the Mormon War.

Many towns along the inner reaches of the Mormon Corridor survived the 1850s and functioned as economic outposts of the major settlements in the Salt Lake City region. Virtually all the communities within the Mormon Corridor played a role in Brigham Young's efforts to render his people economically self-sufficient. Some, such as Cedar City and St. George, Utah, provided specialized goods such as iron and cotton. Others controlled agricultural or grazing land, or functioned as missions to local Native American tribes.[13]

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[10] Glenn C. Sherrill Memorandum to Files (19 March 1988), Hall's Creek Crossing File, Visitor Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah.

[11] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 383; Eugene E. Campbell, "Early Colonization Patterns" in Richard D. Poll, ed., *Utah's History* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 133-152.

[12] For more information on the Mormon, or Utah, War of 1857 see Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 169-195.

[13] Campbell, "Early Colonization Patterns."

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

Permanent settlement of the Capitol Reef National Park area occurred during the late 1870s and early 1880s as Mormon settlers moved into the region from earlier settlements along the Mormon Corridor. The Black Hawk War forced the abandonment of many Mormon settlements in southern Utah during the late 1860s, but at the conclusion of the hostilities Mormon settlers returned to their abandoned homes and villages. The towns of the Sevier Plateau – including Salina, Richfield, and Panguitch – were resettled in the early 1870s.[14]

The high plateaus east of the Sevier River Valley remained largely unsettled until the second half of the 1870s, principally because of continuing conflict with the American Indian inhabitants of the area. In June 1873, Brigham Young ordered a party, led by Albert K. Thurber, to explore the possibility of settling the Fremont River Valley and to negotiate a peace treaty with the Utes who lived in the upper end of Grass Valley. Thurber's party successfully negotiated the treaty and explored the Fremont River Valley as far east as the present site of Bicknell, approximately 20 miles west of the present park boundary.[15]

Thurber's report to Brigham Young did not result in any immediate action by the church president; however, the treaty removed a major bottleneck to the flow of Mormon settlement east from the Sevier Plateau into the Fremont River Valley. Expansion into this area occurred rapidly during the mid-1870s, at least partly because of significant overpopulation pressure upon older communities to the west.[16] The first to enter the region were Mormon cattlemen, who began to drive the cooperatively-held herds of the various Mormon settlements along the Sevier River into the high plateau country east of the river in the mid-1870s. These cattlemen "pointed the way to [the] settlement" of the plateau country.[17] By 1875 Burrville (1873) and Koosharem (1875) had been established along Otter Creek in Grass Valley, between the Sevier and Awapa Plateaus. In June 1874, Alfred K. Thurber, who first encountered the area during his 1873 peace expedition to the Utes, brought the Richfield Cooperative herd into the Fremont River Valley, effectively opening the area to settlement. In 1876, Andrew Allred built the first

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[14] C. Gregory Crampton, "Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah and in Adjacent Parts of Arizona and Nevada, 1851-1900" (1965), 117, 151. Typescript on file at Visitors' Center Library Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah.

[15] Crampton, "Mormon Colonization," 203; Aldus D. Chappell, "The Settlement and Development of Wayne County, Utah to 1900" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1975), 10. On file in Box: History -- General and Surrounding Area, Visitors' Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah.

[16] Chappell, "Settlement and Development," 10; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 354.

[17] Crampton, "Mormon Colonization," 204.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

known permanent home in the Fremont River Valley south of the present site of Fremont.[18]

Between 1876 and 1882 the flow of settlement moved east along the Fremont River Valley. A number of small communities were established during this period, including Fremont (1876), Loa (1878), East Loa (1879), and Thurber (1875). East of Thurber, presently known as Bicknell, the valley narrows and the Fremont River drops into a canyon. Settlement east of Bicknell occurred slightly later than in the broader, better-watered, valley to the west. These western settlements included Teasdale (1878), and the present town of Torrey (1884).[19]

A review of secondary and primary literature suggests that the settlement of the Fremont River Valley differed significantly from the pattern of Mormon colonization that predominated prior to the 1880s. There is little indication that any of the Fremont River settlements resembled the called communities established at the direction of church authorities in Salt Lake City. Rather, the expansion into the Fremont River Valley appears to exemplify the "atomistic family movement" described by Leonard J. Arrington as emblematic of late-nineteenth century Mormon migration.[20]

The lack of direct church involvement in the establishment of the Fremont River Valley towns does not signify an absence of church authority in the region. For many years the church remained the principal social force within the area. Church officials occupied an extremely important position within the community – which included towns throughout the entire valley – resolving disputes over land and water and ministering to the social and moral needs of the settlers. Records suggest, however, that the church did not, in most instances, dictate the places, conditions, and terms of settlement. These decisions were made by individual settlers for personal reasons.[21]

In recent years historians have documented similar patterns of individualism on the part of late-nineteenth century Mormon settlers in other parts of Utah. Wayne

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[18] Ibid., 216-217.

[19] Ibid., 217-218.

[20] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 383.

[21] A review of the index to the *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*, on file at the Utah State Historical Society, reveals only one instance of direct church involvement in the economic affairs of the Fremont River Valley towns. This occurred in 1902, when the Torrey Ward of Wayne Stake received $1,000 to aid in the construction of an irrigation canal. *Journal History* (1 May 1902), 2; (8 May 1902), 2.

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Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

L. Wahlquist notes that the movement to the frontier was frequently a matter of personal choice, rather than a response to a church call. He identifies a surprisingly high rate of mobility among supposedly stable Mormon communities, where less than one-third of the individuals documented in agricultural census schedules reappear in the same community over the twenty-year period from 1860-1880. Wahlquist recognizes the disparity between this view and the traditional image of Mormon colonization and frontier settlement, stating that

> [T]he frequency of individual choice in selecting the home community and lack of persistence stand in sharp contrast to the commonly held notion that families were told where to settle by LDS church leaders and that people stayed and made a go of it no matter how tough things became.[22]

As the Mormon ranchers and farmers pushed eastward along the Fremont River Valley in search of grass and water they found fewer and fewer sites suitable for the establishment of permanent communities. Boulder and Thousand Lake mountains pinched the river valley east of Bicknell, sharply reducing the amount of arable land. The Fremont River had carved a deep canyon in this area, complicating the struggle to bring water to fields and pastures. East of Torrey, the Waterpocket Fold and Capitol Reef offered a nearly impenetrable obstacle to travel and communication.

Despite these obstacles a variety of small settlements were established along the Fremont east of Torrey in the 1880s. Fruita, originally known as Junction because of its location at the confluence of the Fremont River and Sulphur Creek, was located in the heart of what became Capitol Reef National Park. This small farming community proved perhaps the most successful of the communities east of Torrey. Other small settlements, including Aldrich, Giles, Caineville, Elephant, Blue Valley, Clifton, and Hanksville, were established along the banks of the Fremont River east of Capitol Reef. Few of these settlements prospered, and several were abandoned shortly after their founding, when floods washed away fields and irrigation ditches, forcing the settlers to search for more hospitable surroundings.

The Settlement at Fruita

The principal settlement within the boundaries of Capitol Reef National Park was located at the confluence of the Fremont River and Sulphur Creek. Known as Junction prior to 1903, the name was changed to Fruita when a post office was established in the community. A Junction, Utah, already existed in Piute County

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[22] Wayne L. Wahlquist, "A Review of Mormon Settlement Literature," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 45 (1977), 19.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

and the federal government required the residents of the Fremont River settlement to select a new name for their community to avoid confusion.[23]

Fruita typified the small Mormon settlements established in the late 1870s and early 1880s as farmers and ranchers extended their domain east along the Fremont River Valley from the Sevier Plateau and Grass Valley. Fruita, however, differed significantly from the communities on the plateau country to the west, such as Torrey, Bicknell, and Teasdale. Hemmed in by towering red rock cliffs, the Fruita area offered little arable land, but its lower elevation provided a milder climate better suited for agriculture. Fruita developed into an important component of a local economy, which incorporated the plateau towns to the west, the settlements along the Fremont River east of Fruita, and the scattered ranches located throughout the area, and a representative example of the manner in which Mormon cooperative and communal farming practices could wrest a living from a seemingly barren environment.[24]

The history of the settlement of Fruita is not well documented in the written record. Various sources offer conflicting information regarding the date of initial settlement and even the identity of the first settlers. C. Gregory Crampton's "Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah" provides the most comprehensive summary of these accounts.[25]

Secondary sources, including Crampton, generally agree that Franklin W. Young established a squatters' claim at the confluence of the Fremont and Sulphur Creek, circa 1880. Young disposed of his claim rather quickly, selling or transferring his rights to either Samuel Rogers or the brothers Neils and John Johnson.[26] According to the 1880 federal population census, Franklin W. Young lived in Fremont Precinct, Piute County, Utah, with his two wives and eleven children.[27]

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[23] Anne Snow, comp., *Rainbow Views: A History of Wayne County*, (Springville, UT: Art City Publishing Co., 1953), 274.

[24] Fruita is located at 5,400 feet above sea level, 1,000 to 1,500 feet below the towns on the plateaus to the west.

[25] Crampton notes that various sources place the arrival of the area's first settlers between 1878 and 1892. These sources include, Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1941), 274; Gregory and Anderson, "Geographic and Geologic Sketch," 1827-1850; and Snow, *Rainbow Views*, 274. Crampton, "Mormon Colonization," 218-219, 228.

[26] Neils Johnson also appears as "Nels Johnson" in the historic record.

[27] U.S. Census Office, Manuscript Population Census Schedules, Piute County, Utah (1880). Wayne County was created from Piute County in 1892.

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Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

The census data clearly places Young in the Fremont River Valley in 1880, but indicates that he probably did not settle at the future site of Fruita until sometime after 1880.[28]

A. A. Clarke, presumably Alexander A. Clarke, who lived in Fruita from 1900 to 1910, provides the most detailed account of the early years of the settlement at Fruita.[29] Unfortunately, much of this account cannot be verified by a review of extant documentary evidence. Clarke states that Franklin Young located at the site of Fruita "about 1884," and soon sold out to Neils and John Johnson. Gilbert Adams and Cynthia Rogers arrived shortly after Young sold his claim to the Johnsons. According to Clarke, Adams lived on the south side of the Fremont, across the stream from the other settlers. About 1890, Adams sold his property to Joe Smith of Notom. Charles Mulford bought Cynthia Rogers' property, which he later resold to Amasa Pierce. In 1893, Elijah Cutler Behunin, who cut the Blue Dugway through Capitol Gorge in 1883, settled in Junction. Behunin had lived in the area for some time, moving from place to place in search of arable land and attainable water. Another early settler, Leo Holt, also settled in Junction during the 1890s.[30]

The earliest extant documentary evidence, the 1895 government land survey of the area and the Homestead Act applications and final proof papers filed following the completion of this survey, fail to confirm many of the details in Clarke's account. The 1895 plat of the township indicates seven residences, including those of Neils Johnson, Cutler Behunin, Leo Holt, the Youngs, the Pierces, and John Johnson. The plat also indicates a substantial farm occupied by J. Sorenson.[31] The presence of a Young residence on the plat indicates that, if Clarke's account is accurate, Franklin Young continued to live in Junction for as much as fifteen years after selling his claim to Neils and John Johnson. Likewise, the plat suggests that Gilbert Adams and Cynthia Rogers moved from the area prior to 1895.

The final affidavits filed by homestead claimants, along with the testimony of witnesses for the claimants, provide the most accurate information regarding the

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[28] It is possible that Young never actually resided in Fruita and merely laid claim to land at the junction of the Fremont and Sulphur Creek, but the references to a "squatters' claim" suggest that he did, in fact, live on the claim. This evidence tends to support an initial occupation of the property after 1880.

[29] Snow, *Rainbow Views*, 273-276.

[30] Ibid., 274.

[31] A. D. Ferron and A. Jessen, "Map of Township No. 29 South of Range No. 6 East," (21 March 1896). Photocopy of plat on file at Visitor Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

early settlements of the Fruita area. Four individuals filed on, and received title to, homesteads in the Fruita area, laying claim to virtually all the arable land along Sulphur Creek and the Fremont River. Neils Johnson took title to 160 acres at the junction of the two streams in 1897. In 1899, Leo R. Holt received title to 120 acres along the Fremont east of Johnson's land. Elijah Cutler Behunin, took title to 120 acres along Sulphur Creek, upstream from the junction of Sulphur Creek and Fremont River in 1901. Behunin's son, Hyrum S. Behunin, received title to 120 acres located upstream along the Fremont from Johnson's land in 1904.[32]

Neils Johnson received the first title to a homestead in the Fruita area.[33] Johnson stated in his final affidavit that he built a house on his property in 1886, and established his residence on the site in the fall of 1887. Beginning in 1888 he cultivated approximately seventeen acres, seven of which was planted in orchards. He noted that approximately one hundred acres of his claim consisted of hills of no economic value. By 1896, when he filed his final affidavit, Johnson's property included three one-room houses, two constructed of logs and one of lumber, a granary, a corral, and one hundred rods (1,650 feet) of fencing. Johnson noted that his property was most valuable for the production of fruit.[34]

Elijah Cutler Behunin proved up his homestead in 1901. He testified that he had settled on his claim in the winter of 1893. The only period in which he had not lived on the property was during the winter of 1894, when the family moved off the property to allow the children to attend school. Behunin cultivated approximately twelve acres of his claim, four of which was devoted to orchards, beginning in 1895. By 1901 his holdings included a two-room log house, a blacksmith shop, a stable, a corral, and one hundred rods of fencing.[35]

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[32] USA to Nels Johnson, Wayne County Deed Book A:152 (19 April 1897); USA to Leo R. Holt, Wayne County Deed Book A:545 (22 January 1899); USA to Hyrum S. Behunin, Wayne County Deed Book B:39 (12 September 1907). E.C. Behunin's homestead deed has not been located.

[33] The spelling of Johnson's first name varies depending upon the source. Niels and Neils are the most common variations. The "Homestead Proof – Testimony of Claimant" for Johnson notes that "my correct name is Nels Johnson & I am the same person whose name appears in the published notice as Neils Johnson." Homestead Act Final Proof Papers, Nels Johnson, Homestead Application No. 12513, Final Certificate No. 5648, Sections 14, 22, and 23, Township 29 South, Range 6 East, Salt Lake City Land Office (25 January 1897), Record Group 49, National Archives, Suitland, MD.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Homestead Act Final Proof Papers, Elijah Cutler Behunin, Homestead Application No. 12760, Final Certificate No. 7026, Section 15, Township 29 South, Range 6 East, Salt Lake City Land Office (1 June 1901), Record Group 49, National Archives, Suitland, MD.

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Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

Behunin's son, Hyrum, received title to his 120-acre homestead in 1904. Hyrum Behunin testified that he established his residence on the property in February 1895. He left his claim between January and March each year to "earn means of support and to improve his entry." Behunin cultivated thirty-five acres, beginning in 1896. None of this acreage was described as orchards, although Behunin noted that his land was chiefly valuable for farming and raising fruit. By 1904 Behunin's claim was completely fenced and included a lumber house, a corral, a stable, and undefined outhouses.[36]

The last of the four Fruita area homesteaders, Leo R. Holt, did not provide any detailed information in his Homestead Act testimony and affidavits.[37] Genealogical information enables the date that Holt and other settlers depicted on the 1895 plat arrived in Fruita to be determined with some precision. Holt apparently settled in Junction in 1892-1893. He had a child born in Bicknell, then known as Thurber, in 1892 and a child born in Fruita, then known as Junction, in 1893. Amasa E. Pierce settled in the area between 1893 and 1895. His house is depicted on the 1895 plat, but he had a child born in Loa, Utah, in 1893.[38]

The discrepancy between the 1895 plat, which depicts seven families living in the Fruita area, and the fact that only four individuals entered land under the provisions of the Homestead Act, indicates that land records do not necessarily reflect the reality of settlement patterns.[39] Each homestead entry included land already occupied. A review of deeds suggests that the homesteaders sold portions of their property, shortly after obtaining title, to the actual occupants of the property. In January 1898, less than a year after he took title to his 160-acre homestead, Neils Johnson and his wife Mary sold more than thirty-seven acres to

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[36] Homestead Act Final Proof Papers, Hyrum S. Behunin, Homestead Application No. 12761, Final Certificate No. 7746, Section 22, Township 29 South, Range 6 East, Salt Lake City Land Office (29 October 1904), Record Group 49, National Archives, Suitland, MD.

[37] Homestead Act Final Proof Papers, Leo R. Holt, Homestead Application No. 12978, Final Certificate No. 6137, Section 14, Township 29 South, Range 6 East, Salt Lake City Land Office (8 May 1899), Record Group 49, National Archives, Suitland, MD.

[38] Family genealogies for Leo R. Holt, Amasa E. Pierce, and Elijah Cutler Behunin on file at the Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. Land records for Wayne County, Utah document no transactions between Charles Mulford and Amasa Pierce, raising additional questions regarding the accuracy of the Clarke account.

[39] The discrepancies between legal records of land transactions and the physical reality of the use of the properties greatly complicate the study of settlement patterns in Fruita. Analysis of deeds and land transactions can only provide approximate dates for transfers of property, since it is quite apparent, based on oral and other evidence, that new owners frequently assumed control of property months or even years, prior to the time they formalized the transaction, particularly during the first half-century of the community's existence.

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Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

Susannah Pendleton, the wife of Calvin D. Pendleton, who resided on the property at the time of the sale.[40] Similarly, in August 1898 the Johnsons sold more than six acres to Amasa E. Pierce, who lived in Junction at the time of the 1895 survey, and more than twenty-four acres to Johnson's father-in-law, Elijah C. Behunin, who homesteaded 120 acres north and west of Johnson's tract.[41] Within sixteen months of taking title to their 160-acre homestead, the Johnsons had disposed of nearly half (sixty-eight acres) of the property. These sales appear to be an effort to recognize actual settlement patterns rather than an attempt to speculate in land, since the sale prices rarely exceeded $1.25 per acre.

A similar pattern of behavior is evident in the transactions of Leo R. Holt who, in January 1899, nearly six months before he received title to the property, sold more than half his 120-acre homestead. At this time, Holt transferred more than twenty-seven acres to Amasa E. Pierce and over thirty-eight acres to H. J. Wilson.[42]

The intricacies of land ownership and the issue of priority of settlement are perhaps less important than the overall portrait of Fruita revealed by the 1895 plat, the early land transactions, and the Homestead Act affidavits. It is clear that by 1895 at least seven families lived in Fruita. These families undoubtedly cooperated in the construction of the irrigation works necessary to bring water from the Fremont River and Sulphur Creek to their fields and orchards. The Johnson and Behunin Homestead Act final proof documents indicate that the early settlers cultivated small plots during the 1880s and 1890s. Johnson's seventeen cultivated acres, seven of which were devoted to orchards, constituted only slightly more than ten percent of his 160-acre homestead. Elijah Cutler Behunin and his son, Hyrum, cultivated a total of forty-eight acres, with a minimum of four acres in orchard, a total of twenty percent of the acreage they owned.[43]

Fruita's orchards, which included a wide variety of fruit trees, comprised the most unique feature of the local landscape. Tradition holds that Neils Johnson

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[40] Nels and Mary Jane Johnson to Susannah Pendleton, Wayne County Deed Book A:153 (13 January 1898).

[41] Nels and Mary Jane Johnson to Amasa Pierce, Wayne County Deed Book A:566 (29 August 1898); Ferron and Jessen, "Map;" Nels and Mary Jane Johnson to E. C. Behunin, Wayne County Deed Book A:167 (29 August 1898).

[42] Leo R. and Rena Holt to A. E. Pierce, Wayne County Deed Book A:566 (20 January 1899); Leo R. and Rena Holt to H. J. Wilson, Wayne County Deed Book A:543 (20 January 1899).

[43] Nels Johnson Homestead Act Final Proof Papers; Elijah Cutler Behunin Homestead Act Final Proof Papers; Hyrum S. Behunin Homestead Act Final Proof Papers.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

planted the first fruit trees and grape vines shortly after he arrived in the area in 1886. The Homestead Act Final Proof Papers indicate that at least eleven acres of orchard had been planted by 1901. Whether or not these trees were in production at this date is impossible to determine, although it seems likely that they were.[44]

By December 1895, the Junction community had grown large enough to support its own school precinct.[45] The present log schoolhouse appears to date from this period, although the original building had a flat, dirt-covered roof, not the present gabled roof.[46]

The first detailed social portrait of Fruita dates from 1900 and the federal population census of that year. Census enumerators counted seven families in Junction Precinct. The residents included Elijah C. Behunin, Leo R. Holt, and Neils Johnson, three of the area's four homesteaders. The population of Fruita as enumerated by the census totaled forty-six individuals, including fourteen adults and thirty-two children.[47] The census data indicate that the area's population consisted of older, established families and young families just getting their start in life.

The 1900 federal census enumeration of Calvin Pendleton's two wives clearly indicates that at least one of the area's residents practiced polygamy. The economic ramifications of supporting more than one family meant that most men who took multiple wives were older and had achieved at least some degree of economic success or stability. The difficulty inherent in wresting a living from the red rock country of Fruita and Wayne County served to discourage polygamy, but after the 1882 passage of the Edmunds Act, which outlawed "cohabitation," and with increased efforts by federal marshals to enforce the act, a number of polygamists fled to these remote reaches of southern Utah, as well as to Arizona and even into

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[44] Hyrum S. Behunin Homestead Act Final Proof Papers.

[45] In 1892 Piute County was divided into Piute and Wayne Counties. Wayne County quickly moved to establish its own system of school precincts, with the Junction School Precinct organized in December 1895.

[46] Gerry Hoddenbach, "The Historical School" (1978), 1-2. Typescript report on file in Fruita School File, History – Structures Box, Visitors' Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah. Elijah Cutler Behunin, Leo R. Holt, and Amasa E. Pierce, both individually and in various combinations, are generally credited with the construction of the Fruita schoolhouse. All three were among the area's earliest settlers. The present gabled roof represents a circa 1915 remodeling campaign.

[47] U.S. Census Office, Manuscript Population Census Schedules, Wayne County, Utah (1900).

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

Mexico, in attempts to evade the federal law and preserve their religious practices.[48]

Oral tradition holds that the Fruita area sheltered a number of polygamists, who fled into Cohab Canyon when federal marshals entered the area. It is apparent from a review of census records that at least one Fruita resident, as well as settlers farther south on Pleasant Creek, practiced polygamy, but the extent to which they were harassed by federal authorities is unclear. Cohab Canyon appears an unlikely hiding place for a variety of reasons. While the entrance to the hanging canyon is well hidden from the valley floor, the approach to the entrance is exposed, and would leave anyone fleeing into the canyon in view of those below. Explorations and investigation of most of the canyon over a number of years have failed to produce any conclusive physical evidence, such as rock inscriptions, that would lend credence to the popular tradition.[49]

After 1900, land transactions, tax assessment records, and census schedules provide relatively detailed information on the residents of Fruita. In September 1900, Aaron E. Holt, Leo R. Holt's brother, settled on forty acres watered by Sulphur Creek west of Elijah C. Behunin's homestead. In the spring of 1902, Holt diverted water from Sulphur Creek to irrigate his property. During the next twelve years he grew wheat, oats, alfalfa, potatoes, corn, apples, peaches, apricots, and cherries on the land.[50] Holt did not receive title to the property until 1914. He moved from Fruita in May 1917, but did not formally sell his property until December 1939.[51]

Aaron Holt's list of crops is probably representative of the agricultural products grown at Fruita during the early twentieth century. The isolated location of the community necessitated that the residents be self-sufficient, which encouraged the

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[48] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 356-379; Wallace Stegner, *Mormon Country* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 209-226. A review of the U.S. Department of Justice's Marshall's Records at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. failed to reveal any information pertaining to the activities of federal marshall's in the Fruita region.

[49] Stegner, *Mormon Country*, 144.

[50] It is not known whether Holt and Fruita's other residents grew their orchard trees from seed or planted small immature trees which they then nurtured to productive maturity. Photographic evidence suggests that they planted immature trees. The documentary record is silent as to the question of where this nursery stock was acquired.

[51] Aaron E. Holt, Affidavit of Use of Water, Wayne County Deed Book G:393 (14 June 1945); Silas Tanner, Affidavit, Wayne County Deed Book G:393 (15 June 1945); Utah State Patent No. 7586 to Aaron E. Holt, Wayne County Deed Book G:23 (7 January 1914); Aaron E. and Phoebe Holt to R. A. Meeks, Wayne County Deed Book G:24 (18 December 1939).

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

cultivation of basic food crops. However, not all the residents' needs could be met by local production, necessitating some involvement in the region's cash economy. The community's fruit trees and grapevines provided crops that could be sold for cash or bartered for supplies and other items not produced in Fruita.[52]

Fruita's unique location, in a sheltered valley at a lower elevation and with a significantly milder climate than the surrounding area, encouraged the cultivation of fruit trees, which could not be grown successfully at the higher elevations and colder temperatures that characterized other communities in the area. Fruita's residents were thus afforded an opportunity to produce a crop in high demand and low supply on the local market. The orchards provided the community's residents with a unique crop that afforded a degree of economic security. Their fruit was in high demand within the local economy and could be bartered for grain, beef, or other agricultural products, or sold for cash that could be used to purchase goods produced outside the area. The area's orchards represented the community's unique contribution to a local economy that incorporated the farms located outside the plateau towns west of Fruita, the local merchants who imported manufactured goods, and the area's cattle and sheep ranchers.

Aaron Holt's affidavit provides some of the only documentary evidence pertaining to the irrigation practices of Fruita's early settlers. Virtually all agriculture in Fruita required irrigation water from Sulphur Creek or the Fremont River. The exact configuration of the earliest system of headworks, canals, flumes, and ditches is not known. It appears likely, however, that the irrigation system documented by the National Park Service in the 1960s approximates, at least in its general outline, the historic system, since the patterns of land ownership did not vary greatly from those at the turn of the twentieth century.[53] The Fremont River provided the majority of the irrigation water. Water was conveyed to the fields by means of open canals, with flumes along the steep sidehills where canals were impractical. Fruita's farmers used the field-ditch system of irrigation. This system, employed by Mormon settlers in Utah since 1847, entailed flooding fields with water turned out of laterals or head ditches into the upper ends of the fields. This system required little initial preparation of the land and did not

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[52] Oral interviews with local residents clearly indicate that the residents of Fruita sold fruit for cash. Bradford J. Frye, "Guy Pace: Wayne County Rancher," transcript of oral interview conducted 13 February 1991, 26. Transcript on file at Visitor's Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah; Bradford J. Frye, "The Bullards of Floral Ranch," transcript of oral interview conducted 30 January 1991, 23. Transcript on file at Visitor's Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah; Enid Bjarnson, "Interview with Fauntella Adams Bjarnson" (1974), 1, transcript on file at Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[53] U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, "Proposed Measuring Devices for Irrigation System: Capitol Reef National Monument," Drawing No. NM-CR/7117 (3 June 1963). Drawing on file at Visitors' Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah.

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Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

disturb the topsoil. It left the fields free of permanent ditches and levees, but required a substantial amount of labor, since field ditches had to be redug every year.[54]

The labor-intensive nature of field-ditch flooding, the amount of canal and ditch required to deliver water to the fields, the necessity for flumes at some locations, and Mormon tradition all strongly suggest that the early irrigation system at Fruita was constructed cooperatively. The LDS Church held water rights inseparable from land rights. The church exercised authority over the construction of irrigation works and the allocation of water. Headworks and dams were constructed cooperatively, while farmers were responsible for their own canals and ditches. This practice helped farmers avoid incurring debt for large-scale irrigation works and assured that those who worked the land could obtain necessary water immediately. As a social program, however, this system proved expensive, since it encouraged the proliferation of small canals tapping readily available streams. Major construction projects designed to create permanent storage reservoirs, with systematic planning for the allocation of water, did not begin until the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, the Mormon experience with irrigated agriculture provided the model for future refinement of water law throughout the trans-Mississippi West. The presence of a complex irrigation system at Fruita, where seven or eight families cooperated to divert water from two streams at several different points and deliver it to approximately eighty acres of fields and orchards, is eloquent testimony to the power of the Mormon cooperative ideal and to the overriding importance of water within the arid landscape.[55]

The 1910 federal population census enumerates nine families in Fruita, which was part of the Teasdale census precinct. The only Fruita residents who were holdovers from 1900 were Calvin Pendleton and Leo Holt, although Amasa E. Pierce, enumerated in Torrey Precinct in 1910, continued to own property in Fruita and is listed in the census as a fruit farmer, which suggests that he maintained his property in Fruita while shifting his residence to Torrey.[56] Neils Johnson had drowned in the Fremont River in March 1902. Johnson's estate inventory illustrates the marginal economic circumstance of Fruita's early settlers. Johnson's estate, which

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[54] John A. Widstoe, *Principles of Irrigation Practice* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1920), 197-201; Charles H. Brough, *Irrigation in Utah*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, extra vol. 19 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1898), 9-10.

[55] Brough, *Irrigation in Utah*, 12-24; George D. Clyde, "History of Irrigation in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 27 (January 1959), 27-36; John A. Widstoe, "A Century of Irrigation," *Reclamation Era*, 33 (May 1947), 99-102.

[56] U.S. Census Office, Manuscript Population Census Schedules, Wayne County, Utah (1910).

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

consisted of improved land developed as orchards, unimproved land, and two cows, was valued at $840. The estate passed to Johnson's wife, who appears to have left Fruita and married Charles J. Cooper of Torrey, Utah.[57] The Johnson house collapsed and was demolished in the 1920s. Mary Johnson Cooper died in 1912 and her first husband's land passed to her children, William Johnson and Lillie Mae Johnson.[58]

The 1910 census enumerators counted a total of sixty-one people living in Fruita, including nineteen adults and forty-two children. Four of the nine families, as well as absentee owner Amasa Pierce, operated fruit farms. Aaron Holt and Alexander Clarke had garden farms, while Condy Smith's and Charles Mulford's farms were classified as "general farms." Joseph L. Brown, enumerated with his wife and two children, was listed in the census as working in the sheep industry. It is unclear whether he lived in Fruita or was merely enumerated there. Thomas E. Nixon, a fifty-one-year-old widower living with Calvin Pendleton's family, listed his occupation as prospector.[59]

Between 1910 and 1920 a number of properties in Fruita changed hands. In 1912 Jeremiah Mott sold more than eighty-four acres to Michael Valentine "Tine" Oyler, who acquired an additional twenty-eight acres from George M. Carrell in 1916. Joseph Cook sold more than 105 acres to Andrew P. Adams in 1916. In 1919 Calvin Pendleton sold his forty-five-acre tract to Jorgen Jorgensen.[60]

During the 1920s other new families moved into Fruita. Clarence Mulford, Charles E. Mulford's son, pieced together a 145-acre tract, largely part of the original Hyrum S. Behunin homestead, in the early 1920s. Mulford sold this land to the National Park Service in 1962.[61] In 1925 William and Lillie Mae Johnson, Neils

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[57] Probate No. 5, Estate of Nels Johnson (9 April 1902). On file at Wayne County Courthouse, Loa, Utah.

[58] 6th District Court to William Johnson and Lillie Mae Johnson, Wayne County Deed Book E:281 (1 October 1921). Lillie Mae Johnson was born four months after her father's death, in July 1902.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Carrell acquired the land from Amasa E. Pierce in 1914. Amasa E. and Maria A. Pierce to George M. Carrell, Wayne County Deed Book B:629 (10 February 1914); Calvin D. and Hattie N. Pendleton to Jorgen Jorgensen, Wayne County Deed Book D:56 (16 July 1919); Joseph R. and Mary A. Cook to Andrew P. Adams, Wayne County Deed Book C:253 (10 April 1916); Jeremiah and Eliza C. Mott to M. V. Oyler, Wayne County Deed Book B:460 (25 January 1912); George and Agnes Carrell to Michael V. Oyler, Wayne County Deed Book C:173 (11 February 1916).

[61] Henry and Nellie Robison to Clarence Mulford, Wayne County Deed Book D:444 (11 May 1921); Jorgen and Annie Jorgensen to Clarence L. Mulford, Wayne County Deed Book F:51 (30 April 1929); Clarence Mulford Affidavit, Wayne County Water Rights Book A:261 (26 March 1955); Clarence L. and Vera Mulford to U.S.A., Wayne County Deed Book L:197 (31 October 1962).

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Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

Johnson's children and heirs, sold the land they inherited from their father to William Chesnut. The Chesnut family held this property until 1962, when they sold to the National Park Service.[62] In 1926 Alma Chesnut, no relation to the Chesnuts, assembled a 64-acre farm from portions of the old Leo R. Holt homestead. Chesnut's property included the former Holt house. Chesnut sold his property to the National Park Service in 1941, the first private property purchased in Fruita by the federal government.[63] In the early 1930s, Jorgen Jorgensen sold his property to his son-in-law, G. Dewey Gifford. Gifford worked this land until 1969, when he also sold out to the National Park Service.[64]

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s Fruita remained an isolated farming community, supporting fewer than ten families. The community's orchards remained the most distinguishing characteristic of the area, as well as its principal source of economic wealth; however, virtually all of the families in Fruita also grew grain and other food crops for themselves and their livestock. During the 1930s, Fruita's isolation became less pervasive, particularly after non-Mormon outsiders began to settle in the community.

Pleasant Creek Settlements: Floral Ranch and Sleeping Rainbow Ranch

Outside Fruita, only one area within the present boundaries of Capitol Reef National Park was permanently settled during the nineteenth century. Located along the banks of Pleasant Creek, approximately six miles south of Fruita, this settlement never exceeded five or six families, most of whom were related by blood or marriage.

Ephraim K. Hanks settled on Pleasant Creek in April 1883. Born in Ohio, Hanks served in the United States Navy and, upon his return to Ohio, joined the Mormon church with his brother. Hanks volunteered for service in the Mormon Battalion during the Mexican War. After the war he carried mail across the Rockies and the

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[62] William Johnson and Lillie Mae Johnson Edwards to William Chesnut, Wayne County Deed Book E:447 (5 August 1925); William Clarence and Ruby Chesnut to U.S. Government, Wayne County Deed Book L:128 (16 July 1962).

[63] Clarence Mulford to Alma Chestnut, Wayne County Deed Book E:366 (22 July 1926); Elvira and Cora Oyler to Alma Chestnut, Wayne County Deed Book E:522 (20 August 1926); Alma and Emma Chestnut to U.S. Government, Wayne County Deed Book G:129 (10 June 1941).

[64] Jorgen and Annie Jorgensen to Dewey Gifford, Wayne County Deed Book F:377 (16 February 1929); G. Dewey and Nellie J. Gifford to U.S. National Park Service, Wayne County Deed Book O:366 (19 August 1969).

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

Sierra Nevada, and in the late 1850s he helped rescue the members of a Mormon emigrant party trapped in deep snow east of Salt Lake City.[65]

In October 1877, Hanks was called by church leaders to purchase and operate Lee's Ferry on the Colorado River.[66] Instead, following Brigham Young's death, Hanks moved his third wife and family to Burrville, located in Grass Valley west of the Fremont River Valley.[67] Hanks apparently decided that Burrville's climate was too cold for his tastes and, accompanied by his sons, began to scout for a new place to live. Discovering the Pleasant Creek area in 1882, he moved his family to the new site the following year.[68]

Water diverted from Pleasant Creek irrigated fields and an orchard of approximately two-hundred fruit trees. The spring blossoms of the trees gave the property its name, Floral Ranch. In the summer of 1888 Hanks replaced his original one room log house with a four-room frame house on the bench west of Pleasant Creek. This building survived until the early 1940s, when it was destroyed by fire.[69]

In May 1895 government surveyors platted the Floral Ranch area. The official plat indicates at least four residences in addition to that of Ephraim Hanks. Houses noted on the plat include those of J. Giles, T. Foreman, D. Stewart, and S. A. Hanks. S. A. Hanks was one of Ephraim Hanks' sons and J. Giles was married to one of Hanks' daughters. Foreman and Stewart may also have been sons-in-law.[70]

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[65] Homestead Act Final Proof Papers, Thisbe R. Hanks, Homestead Application No. 12494, Final Certificate No. 6406, Sections 20 and 29, Township 30 South, Range 7 East, Salt Lake City Land Office (14 June 1899), Record Group 49, National Archives, Suitland, MD; Sidney Alvarus Hanks and Ephraim K. Hanks, *Scouting for the Mormons on the Great Frontier* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1948);
Ephraim K. Hanks obituary, *The Deseret News* (9 June 1896).

[66] *Journal History* (7 October 1877), 2.

[67] Thisbe Read Hanks was the third of Ephraim Hanks three wives. His first two wives did not accompany him to southern Utah.

[68] Hanks and Hanks, *Scouting for the Mormons*, 228-229; Sidney Alvarus Hanks, *The Tempered Wind: The Life Story of Thisbe Read Hanks* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Times, 1956), 120; Crampton, "Mormon Colonization," 219.

[69] Hanks and Hanks, *Scouting for the Mormons*, 229; Homestead Act Final Proof Papers, Thisbe Read Hanks ; Lenard Brown, "Interview with Charles Kelly (26 May 1969), 25-26. Transcript of oral interview on file at the Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[70] A. D. Ferron and A. Jessen, "Map of Township No. 30 South of Range No. 7 East" (21 March 1896). Photocopy on file at Visitors' Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

The limited amount of water and arable land available at Floral Ranch restricted settlement, and the area never supported more than a few families. Almost all the area's residents were related by blood or marriage to Ephraim Hanks, who died in June 1896.[71] In July 1899 one of Hanks' wives, Thisbe Read Hanks, took title to the 160-acre ranch under the provisions of the Homestead Act. At that date improvements to the property included the four-room frame house, a granary, a stable, corrals, and one hundred rods (1,650 feet) of fencing. Thisbe Hanks claimed that the family had cultivated approximately one hundred acres since 1884, including an orchard of undisclosed size and twenty-five acres of "lucern" [sic].[72]

Floral Ranch remained in the Hanks family until 1916, when J. M. Graham and William M. Richardson, of Ferron in Emery County, purchased the land.[73] The ranch passed through several hands during the 1920s and 1930s, and in 1937 Ezra N. Bullard and David Levi Bullard of Torrey purchased the property. In 1940 they sold to Lurton J. Knee who erected a series of new buildings on a knoll northeast of the original site of the Hanks house and converted the property into a guest ranch. (The frame house originally built by Ephraim K. Hanks was destroyed by fire during the Knees' ownership.) Lurt Knee died in the fall of 1995, and his survivors are in the process of transferring the property over to the NPS.[74]

Photographs from the mid-1930s indicate that Knee demolished virtually all of the buildings and structures that existed prior to his ownership of the Floral Ranch property. By Christmas 1941 Knee had completed construction of a new house atop the knoll northeast of the Hanks house site.[75] The various outbuildings, corrals, stables and other structures presently extant on the property presumably date from the 1940s and are related to Knee's development of the property as a tourist, or

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[71] Obituary of Ephraim K. Hanks, *Deseret News* (9 June 1896).

[72] Homestead Act Final Proof Papers, Thisbe Read Hanks; U.S.A. to Thisbe R. Hanks, Wayne County Deed Book A:205 (26 July 1899).

[73] A. E. and Mattie L. Hanks to J. M. Graham and William L. Richardson, Wayne County Deed Book C:254 (4 September 1916).

[74] Miland and Mary Ann Curtis to Ezra N. Bullard and David Levi Bullard, Wayne County Deed Book F:545 (24 April 1937); Ezra N. and Cora Bullard and David Levi and Golda Bullard to L. J. and M. E. Knee, Wayne County Deed Book G:83 (26 September 1940); Lurton J. and Alice K. Knee to National Park Service, Wayne County Deed Book 126:137 (7 June 1978).

[75] Charles Kelly to J. Roderic Korns (27 December 1941). J. Roderic Korns Manuscript Collection, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

dude, ranch known as Sleeping Rainbow Ranch. Knee and his wife offered their visitors food, lodging, and horse and jeep tours of the surrounding area.

The Knees' activities at Sleeping Rainbow Ranch clearly conform to the definition of dude ranching developed by Lawrence R. Borne. Borne notes that while the origins of dude ranching date to the 1880s it did not attain great importance in Utah.[76] Dude ranching slowly became an increasingly important aspect of the western tourism industry until the years immediately after World War I, when widespread automobile ownership caused a tremendous boom in the number of dude ranches. The Great Depression severely affected the industry, but recovery occurred after 1945, the period in which the Knees most actively developed the Sleeping Rainbow Ranch. Borne states, however, that "the changes brought by the war gradually shoved dude ranches into the background of the burgeoning vacation and recreation business."[77] The Knees maintained the Sleeping Rainbow Ranch as a recreational facility into the 1970s, gradually building additional buildings and structures on the property to accommodate their visitors.

The following individual properties are associated with the context of Mormon Settlement and Agriculture in Capitol Reef National Park, 1880-1946: the Fruita Rural Historic District (individually listed in the National Register on 3/25/97), the Elijah Cutler Behunin Cabin, and Hanks' Dugouts.

Grazing in Capitol Reef National Park, 1880-1946

The Mormon families that settled within the present boundaries of Capitol Reef National Park were principally agriculturalists. They developed irrigated fields and orchards that provided sustenance for themselves and a small surplus that could be bartered or sold on the local market. Most of these families kept a few cattle, sheep, and/or hogs to augment their regular diet and provide an opportunity to earn extra cash. A few, however, such as Ephraim Hanks at Floral Ranch, styled themselves as ranchers rather than farmers. Whether their operations were notably more focused upon grazing than those of other area residents is unclear. Most of the ranchers who grazed sheep and cattle within the present boundaries of Capitol Reef National Park did not live within the area encompassed by the park. During the summer months ranchers maintained their herds on the mountain slopes where grass and water were relatively plentiful and as the cold months of winter approached the herds were driven down out of the mountains to the lower elevations presently located inside the park. This seasonal movement of

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[76] Lawrence R. Borne, *Dude Ranching: A Complete History* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 57. In 1936 Lawrence B. Smith enumerated 356 dude ranches in nine western states and Canada. At that date there were no dude ranches in Utah. Lawrence B. Smith, *Dude Ranches and Ponies* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1936), 265-288.

[77] Borne, *Dude Ranching*, 8.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

animals between the high country and the winter ranges of the park has characterized the grazing industry in the region since its origins.[78]

The grazing industry in the Capitol Reef area dates from the introduction into the area of cooperatively managed Mormon herds from the Sevier Plateau towns during the mid-1870s. These relatively small, pioneer herds roamed freely, unrestricted by fences. The arid nature of the country necessitated grazing animals over large areas. During the late 1870s and early 1880s other cattle entered the region from the east, driven into southeast Utah by Texans and Coloradans.[79]

The influx of cattle into the region resulted in increased competition for limited range and water resources. Prior appropriation of the range, and particularly of scarce water resources, served as a means of securing control over vast areas of the public domain. Maintaining control over an area could only be achieved by continuously grazing the range, since federal law prevented stockmen from obtaining title to the large tracts needed to efficiently graze animals in the arid environment. The government remained committed to settling farmers on 160-acre quarter sections throughout the region, despite the fact that 160 acres was not enough land to successfully graze livestock and far too much irrigated land to manage.[80]

This disjunction between government policy and economic and ecological reality resulted in a "tragedy of the commons," in which individual stockmen, prevented from securing title to their grazing lands, sought to exploit the land's water and grass resources to the utmost.[81] Since stockmen had no legal right to the lands they grazed, which remained part of the public domain and could be appropriated by others, no incentive existed for them to protect and conserve grass and water resources. The chronic pattern of overgrazing that resulted from these conditions

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[78] Snow, *Rainbow Views*, 19-26; Charles S. Peterson, "Grazing in Utah: A Historical Perspective," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 57 (Fall 1989), 300-319.

[79] Don D. Walker, "The Cattle Industry of Utah: 1850-1900, an Historical Profile," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 32 (1964), 185; Charles S. Peterson, "San Juan: A Hundred Years of Cattle, Sheep, and Dry Farms," in Allan Kent Powell, *San Juan County, Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1983), 171-204.

[80] Gary D. Libecap, *Locking up the Range: Federal Land Controls and Grazing* (San Francisco, CA: Pacific Institute for Public Policy Research, 1981), 9.

[81] Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," *Science*, 162 (1968), 1243-1248.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

severely reduced the carrying capacity of the much of the area's rangelands by the 1920s.[82]

Prior to 1896, stockmen drove their herds approximately one hundred miles to the nearest shipping point at Nephi. In 1896, the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad built a branch line into Sevier Valley, cutting the distance from the range to the railhead by approximately fifty percent. In the 1930s, with the construction of improved roads and the widespread adoption of trucks, many of the obstacles experienced in transporting cattle to market were eliminated. Sheep were transported to market in essentially the same fashion as cattle. Before 1908, area sheepmen only sold two-year-old animals, but after that date lambs were also sold for meat. Wool, gathered during spring shearing, was a major commodity throughout this period.[83]

By the early twentieth century overstocking of both winter and summer ranges had resulted in seriously overgrazed rangeland, conditions in which sheep competed more efficiently than cattle.[84] Despite the competitive advantage that sheep offered in an overgrazed environment, sheep herding began to die out as an industry during the years after World War I. The agricultural depression that began in the early 1920s seriously affected the sheep business and the implementation, by the United States Forest Service, of stricter grazing regulations for public lands further hampered the industry by reducing the number of animals permitted to graze on National Forest land. Passage of the Taylor Grazing Act in 1934 further reduced the industry. Sheepherders who did not own enough real property to meet the act's minimum standards for obtaining grazing permits were forced to sell their flocks. Some operators who received permits discovered that, under the restrictions of the act, they were unable to graze enough animals to justify the expense of maintaining a flock.[85]

Labor costs are a significant operating expense for sheepmen, since shepherds must stay with the flocks, which are frequently moved to new pastures, at all times. After World War II the sheep industry experienced a significant labor shortage.

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[82] J. Russell Penny and Marion Clawson, "Administration of Grazing Districts," in Vernon Carstensen, ed., *The Public Lands: Studies in the History of the Public Domain* (Madison: WI, University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), 462; Libecap, *Locking up the Range*, 9-15; N. Keith Roberts and B. Delworth Gardner, "Livestock and the Public Lands," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 32 (1964), 285-300.

[83] Snow, *Rainbow Views*, 25, 57.

[84] Peterson, "Grazing in Utah," 314.

[85] Snow, *Rainbow Views*, 58-59.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

Young men who might have willingly taken up the lonely work of tending the flocks had been exposed to a wider range of opportunities while serving in the military during World War II. Many of these men decided not to tend the flocks after their discharge from the military. Consequently, operators found it increasingly difficult to hire new shepherds to replace older workers who retired or died.[86]

Cattlemen suffered from overgrazing to an even greater degree than sheepmen, since their animals proved less able to extract nourishment from overgrazed range. Overgrazing, drought, and depressed prices pushed many ranchers to the brink of bankruptcy by the early 1930s. Livestock prices fell by fifty percent between 1931 and 1933.[87]

The Taylor Grazing Act, signed into law in 1934, was intended to reclaim overgrazed public lands by issuing permits for the use of the range. Local ranchers who owned property received preference in the issuance of permits, a provision intended to drive nomadic herds off the public domain and reserve the range for local residents. The permits limited the number of stock grazed on the land by individual permit holders. Cattle ranchers, for the most part, supported the Taylor Grazing Act in the hopes that intervention by the federal government would stabilize the rapidly deteriorating industry.[88]

The Taylor Grazing Act established grazing districts under the control of the Department of Interior's Grazing Service. The act marked a major watershed in the history of federal land policy, shifting the emphasis from the disposal of the public domain to its administration by a federal agency.[89] The Grazing Service issued grazing permits to ranchers within the individual districts. Initially, twenty-five percent of the fees collected by the Grazing Service were earmarked for the construction and development of range improvements, including fences, corrals, roads, stockways, and water sources. In 1947 separate improvement fees were instituted to pay for this work.[90] The majority of the corrals, drift fences, and stockways presently extant within Capitol Reef National Park post-date 1934 and the implementation of the Taylor Grazing Act.

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[86] Ibid., 59.

[87] Paul W. Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development* (Washington: GPO, 1968), 607.

[88] Ibid., 611-612; Nethelia King Griffin, "Life in Boulder" (25 December 1938), 1. Typescript on file at Utah State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[89] Libecap, *Locking up the Range*, 3.

[90] Penny and Clawson, "Administration of Grazing Districts," 462-469.

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Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

The following individual properties are associated with the context of Grazing in Capitol Reef National Park, 1880-1946: Lesley Morrell Line Cabin, Cathedral Valley Corral, and Oak Creek Dam.

Mining in Capitol Reef National Park, 1880-1956

Few of the permanent settlers in the area presently encompassed by Capitol Reef National Park engaged in prospecting. The Mormon church discouraged mining, which was presumed to lead to disintegrating moral influences and social losses.[91] Consequently, the earliest mining activity within the park boundaries did not involve the area's permanent settlers.

Perhaps the most significant mining claim within the present boundaries of the park is that known as the Oyler Mine. The Oyler was one of the earliest mining claims filed in the region and occupied center stage during a long-running controversy regarding mining within a National Park Service property.

In November 1901, Thomas M. Pritchett and H. J. McClellan filed a uranium claim, the Nightingale Mining Claim, for land at the mouth of Grand Wash, approximately two miles south of Fruita. In January 1902, a second claim was filed in this area for gold, silver, and copper. Little work appears to have been performed on either claim. Two years later, in January 1904, Thomas E. Nixon, who was enumerated by federal census takers as living with Calvin D. Pendleton in Fruita in 1910, and J. C. Sumner filed a uranium claim at the mouth of Grand Wash. Nixon and Sumner dug two tunnels, each about one hundred feet deep on the claim. Apparently, they removed some ore from these shafts, but the disposition or value of this ore is unknown.[92] Nixon held title to the claim until 1911, when he sold a part interest to Jacob Young and T. J. Jukes. The claim, which included a uranium mill site, lapsed prior to January 1913, when Michael V. Oyler of Fruita filed on it. Between 1913 and 1937 approximately seventy-five separate filings were made on the claim, which became known as the Oyler Tunnel.[93]

A geological report published in 1920 indicates that the region "around the La Sal Mountains, the San Rafael Swell, the Henry Mountains and near Fruita in Rabbit Valley" were the principal sources of uranium in Utah. The report noted, however,

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[91] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 241.

[92] Wayne County Mining Records, Book A, page 346 (19 January 1904); Snow, *Rainbow Views*, 94.

[93] Lenard E. Brown, *Capitol Reef: Historical Survey and Base Map* (n.p.: National Park Service, 1969), 15-16.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

that none of these areas had been commercially exploited.[94] The lack of commercial exploitation is scarcely surprising, given the fact that the principal economic use of uranium during this period was in patent medicines. A cup of water in which a small piece of ore had steeped was considered a cure for many ailments, while wearing a piece of ore in a belt or wrist band was regarded as a cure for rheumatism.[95] The lack of a market did not deter J. R. Hoffman, Willard Christensen, H. O. Barney, and O. V. Oiler [sic] from filing a claim on the Oyler Tunnel in May 1937, shortly before Franklin D. Roosevelt signed a presidential proclamation on August 2, 1937, creating Capitol Reef National Monument, which incorporated the mining claim within its boundaries.[96]

Several inactive mining claims existed within the boundaries of the newly created national monument. In 1941 the National Park Service moved to extinguish these claims, requesting the General Land Office to evaluate the validity of all mining claims within the monument boundaries. In October 1941 the General Land Office issued a report stating that the land within the monument was non-mineral in character and that the various claims within the monument had not produced sufficient quantities of minerals to be considered valid discoveries. Acting upon this report, on November 25, 1941, the commissioner of the General Land Office, Fred W. Johnson, declared all claims within the monument canceled. The General Land Office sent notifications of this action to all claimants and provided thirty days for filing written protests. No protests were filed, and on October 7, 1942, the General Land Office declared the claims, including that on the Oyler Mine, null and void.[97]

The issue of mining claims within the confines of the national monument appeared to be closed, but after World War II, as uranium ceased to be merely a patent medicine additive and became an important strategic mineral, the issue resurfaced. On June 15, 1949, Christensen, Barney, Hoffman, and Oyler appealed the 1942 General Land Office decision canceling their 1937 claim to the Oyler Mine. They contended that minerals were present in sufficient quantity to constitute a valid

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[94] B. S. Butler et al., *The Ore Deposits of Utah*, United States Geological Survey Professional Paper No. 111, (Washington: GPO, 1920), 145, 153.

[95] Snow, *Rainbow Views*, 95; Powell, *San Juan County*, 266-267, 272-273.

[96] Wayne County Mining Records Book E, p. 540 (26 May 1937).

[97] The principal source for the Oyler Mine controversy described below is Brown, *Capitol Reef: Historical Survey*, 18-36. Brown reviewed government documents related to the condemnation of the Oyler Mine at the Federal Records Center, Suitland, MD. John Milner Associates, Inc. has re-reviewed some of these documents, confirming the accuracy of Brown's account.

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Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

discovery. The Bureau of Land Management, successor to the General Land Office, reviewed the case and denied the appeal on the basis that it had not been filed within the thirty-day time limit stipulated in the November 1941 notification to the claimants.

Christensen appealed to the Secretary of the Interior, claiming he had attempted to make an oral appeal and had been rebuffed. The Secretary rejected this argument, for which Christensen had no proof, in March 1950. The claimants next resorted to the courts, filing a suit in the United States District Court for Utah, maintaining that they had not known that their appeal had to be in writing until the spring of 1949. The case was dismissed in August 1950 and a subsequent appeal to the Supreme Court also failed.

The matter might have ended at this point, but in the early 1950s the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) instituted a set of price supports and other incentives designed to encourage the mining and milling of uranium. The artificial price supports touched off a uranium boom across the Colorado Plateau and resurrected the issue of the Oyler Mine yet again.

In February 1951 the AEC wrote to the Secretary of the Interior regarding the "potential importance" of copper-uranium deposits in Capitol Reef National Monument, particularly in the vicinity of the "Oiler [sic] Tunnel." The AEC cited national security as warranting full development of domestic uranium sources and noted that "appropriate work" in the vicinity of the Oyler Mine "might disclose an important uranium deposit." The AEC also called for "thorough prospecting and exploration" of other potential uranium bearing formations in the area.[98]

The Department of the Interior tried to resist the AEC's efforts to open the lands of the national monument, as well as other public land under the protection of the Department, to uranium exploration and mining. The Cold War climate of the times prevailed, however, and in February 1952 a Special Use Permit was signed between the AEC and the National Park Service that opened the monument lands to uranium miners. The permit called for Park Service approval of contracts to remove ore, but permitted the AEC to build the roads, trails, and buildings needed to remove uranium ore. The AEC did, however, agree to remove all buildings, cover all shafts, and pay ten percent of all profits on ore removed from Capitol Reef National Monument to the National Park Service.

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[98] Gordon Dean to Oscar L. Chapman (February 19, 1951). File L3023, CARE, Acc. No. 63A-166, Box 25, Federal Records Center, Suitland, MD. As quoted in Brown, *Capitol Reef: Historical Survey*, 23.

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Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

In May 1951, while the two government agencies negotiated the conditions under which uranium could be mined within the monument, the claimants to the Oyler Mine occupied their claim and prepared to begin mining. No actual mining occurred, but a cat-and-mouse game between Christensen, who wanted to occupy and work his claim, and Park Superintendent Charles Kelly, who was equally determined to stop Christensen, continued over the next six months.

The February 1952 announcement that permits would be issued for uranium mining within Capitol Reef National Monument sparked a flurry of activity. Thirty-seven separate permit applications were filed for the Oyler Mine site, prompting the AEC to withdraw from entry an eighty-acre area that included the mine, pending a decision on how to award permits to competing prospectors.

In February 1953 the AEC issued thirty-five permits for the Capitol Reef area, but continued to withhold permits for the eighty-acre tract that included the Oyler Mine. These explorations proved profoundly disappointing to the AEC. Only five contracts were awarded for the removal of ore, and none of these had resulted in the commercial production of uranium ore. The Oyler Mine, which continued to be withheld by the AEC, appeared to be the only potentially viable source of uranium within the national monument.

In October 1954 Park Superintendent Charles Kelly wrote the Regional Director of the National Park Service and recommended that the agreement between the Park Service and the AEC be terminated, since the mining operations in the monument had failed to produce significant quantities of uranium. The last permits, valid for a one year period, were issued in May 1955 and all prospecting in the monument was supposed to have ceased by May 1956.[99]

The claimants to the Oyler Mine did not intend to be deterred by the cancellation of the permit system. In 1955 they pressed the Park Service for permission to operate the Yellow Joe and Yellow Canary claims, located in 1934 and not canceled by the Park Service in 1941-1942. These claims lay immediately south of the Oyler claim. The Bureau of Land Management initiated proceedings to cancel the two claims, but until this action was completed the claims could be legally exploited.

In June 1955 Christensen and his partners, who no longer included the Oylers, began removing ore from the two claims, which lay below a caprock formation that was destroyed by the mining operations. Work continued throughout the summer, while the Park Service and the Bureau of Land Management labored to cancel the claims. In November 1955 Charles Kelly discovered that ore was being removed from

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[99] If O'Bannon's claim that the Rainy Day Mines operated into the 1960s is true, than mining must have continued in the park during legal wrangling over claims issues.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

the Oyler Mine, which H. O. Matthews, one of the partners in the claims, maintained was really partially contained within the Yellow Joe claim.

In March 1956, the Bureau of Land Management nullified both the Yellow Joe and Yellow Canary claims, effectively shutting down the mining operation.[100] The claimants appealed this decision, but the cancellation of the claim was affirmed by the Secretary of the Interior in May 1958. In June 1958, however, the Oyler claim to the Oyler Mine reappeared in the form of Cora Smith, the daughter of O. V. Oyler. In October 1957 Smith's mother, Olivia Vera Oyler, gave her a quit claim deed to the Oyler Mine claim. Smith argued that since her mother had not been notified of the proceedings against the claim during the 1940s the government's actions against the claim were without merit.

The issue revolved around who actually held the claim to the mine. Apparently, the government notified Olivia Oyler's husband, Michael Valentine Oyler (M. V. Oyler instead of O. V. Oyler) of the nullification action in the 1940s, but since the deed was in Olivia Oyler's name, not her husband's, she could claim not to have been legally notified of the government action. Complications arose when a search of Mormon church records revealed no birth certificate for Olivia Vera Oyler and identified Cora Smith's mother as Elvira Olivia Oyler. Circumstantial evidence indicated that the original claimants included M. V. Oyler, not his wife, and Cora Smith's petition was denied. This episode marked the last attempt to return the Oyler Mine to private ownership. By the end of the 1950s the uranium boom had collapsed and in February 1959 the special use permit issued to the AEC that allowed exploration and development within Capitol Reef National Monument expired.

Uranium mining outside the monument also proved unprofitable, despite the fact that there were far more claims filed outside the boundaries and more actual mining conducted. Mining activity outside the boundaries was not subject to the regulations and stipulations of the 1952 special use permit between the AEC and the National Park Service. Roads were made wherever miners deemed them necessary, and in several instances existing trails were enlarged to accommodate truck traffic.[101] Mining camps were not dismantled when mines closed. The remains of roads, trails, and camps associated with the uranium boom of the 1950s are extant at several locations within the present boundaries of Capitol Reef National Park. Perhaps the most significant of these resources is a group of mine adits, building, and structures located in the Circle Cliffs region of the park's South

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[100] Charles Kelly, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report" (April 1956), Box: Administrative History – Park Management – Charles Kelly, Narrative Reports: 1954-1969, on file at Visitor Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah.

[101] The AEC's upgrading of the Burr Trail from a trail for sheep to a road capable of carrying motor traffic is perhaps the best example of this type of activity.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

District known as the Rainy Day Mine. This claim, filed on in 1954 by Leo D. Jackson, Blaine Albrecht, and Rutherford Tanner operated well into the 1960s and appears, on the basis of the physical evidence, to have been more than a prospecting venture. None of the resources located within the present park boundaries, including the Rainy Day Mine, are associated with major uranium discoveries and none created the attention that the long fight over the Oyler Mine generated.

Similar evidence of the region's lack of commercially viable mineral resources may be found in the isolated roads and trails associated with oil exploration. The most prominent oil-related resource in the present national park is the dirt road that descends from Lower South Desert Overlook across the South Desert north of Jailhouse Rock. This road is little more than a jeep track, and was associated with oil exploration efforts in this area conducted during the 1950s. A similar type of resource may be found in the southern part of the park, where oil crews improved a portion of the nineteenth century Halls Creek Trail to gain access to drilling sites west of the present park boundaries during the 1920s. A government geological report summarized these explorations in 1931, stating that "There have been several oil excitements; in 1921 the Ohio Oil Company drilled a well about a mile west of the northern tip of Wagon Box Mesa, apparently with negative results."[102] The most significant remnants of this activity are the painted names of oil men located on the walls of Lower Muley Twist Canyon. The 1920s dates associated with many of these names, as well as the presence of the oil road in this area, suggest that the names are associated with this brief and unproductive episode in the area's history.

The significant property associated with the context of Mining in Capitol Reef National Park, 1880-1956, is the Oyler Mine.

National Park Service and Government Development of Capitol Reef National Park, 1937-1946

Fruita remained an isolated community, connected to the outside world only by miles of dirt road, well into the twentieth century. During the 1920s, as the automobile increased the mobility of Americans, providing the impetus for an enormous expansion of the tourism and recreation industry, residents of Wayne County, Utah, began to consider the economic benefits of catering to the needs and desires of tourists. In 1919, Mukuntuweap National Monument was reestablished as Zion National Park, Utah's first national park. The scenic beauty of Zion, combined with the cachet of being a national park, was actively promoted by

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[102] Herbert E. Gregory and Raymond C. Moore, *The Kaiparwits Region: A Geographic and Geologic Reconnaissance of Parts of Utah and Arizona*, U.S. Geological Survey Professional Paper No. 164 (Washington: GPO, 1931), 48.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

boosters of southern Utah in an effort to attract tourists and tourist dollars to the region.[103]

Residents of Wayne County witnessed the establishment of a series of national monuments in southern Utah during the first decades of the twentieth century and organized a campaign to obtain a national park in Wayne County. The principal directors of this effort were Joseph Hickman, superintendent of Wayne County's schools in 1919, and Hickman's brother-in-law, E. P. Pectol, the Latter-day Saint bishop in Torrey.[104]

Beginning in 1921, Hickman and Pectol began promoting the scenic wonders of Wayne County and Capitol Reef through a variety of local civic organizations. In 1924, they merged their efforts with those of the Wayne Commercial Club, whose principal goals consisted of improved roads, telephone service, and increased tourism for the county. Local boosters considered improved roads and communication systems one of the principal economic benefits stemming from the creation of a national park in Wayne County.

In 1924, Hickman was elected to the Utah state legislature. His major legislative agenda was establishment of a park in Wayne County. He introduced legislation which resulted in the creation of the State Parks Commission. In 1925 Utah's Governor George H. Dern and other state and local dignitaries visited the proposed Wayne Wonderland State Park to hold ceremonies celebrating its anticipated authorization. As it turned out, the celebration was premature. Hickman died in a drowning accident, ending his legislative efforts, and the park was never authorized nor funded by the state.

With Hickman's death, E. P. Pectol became the principal local force behind the effort to secure a national park for Wayne County. By the 1930s the campaign begun by Hickman and Pectol had become incorporated into a regional drive to promote economic development throughout southern Utah. Tourism, in the view of the business and political leaders leading this effort, offered the best likelihood of injecting money into the moribund local agricultural economy. The establishment of a national park in the Capitol Reef area became a cornerstone of the area's economic development efforts during the 1930s.

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[103] Unless otherwise noted, the source for the following discussion of the creation and history of Capitol Reef National Monument and Capitol Reef National Park is Jonathan Scott Thow, "Capitol Reef: The Forgotten National Park" (M.S. thesis, Utah State University, 1986).

[104] Charles Kelly, "Biographical Sketch of Joseph S. Hickman" (1952), 1. Typescript on file at Visitor Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah.

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Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

In 1931, the Associated Civic Clubs of Southern Utah (ACCSU) began lobbying the National Park Service to designate a national park in the Capitol Reef area. Pectol, elected to the state legislature in 1932, pushed the agenda from Salt Lake City, where the legislature passed a resolution supporting the creation of a national monument in Wayne County. Federal designation would bring national attention to the area and facilitate efforts to build an east-west highway through the region.

Not all Wayne County residents viewed the creation of a national park as a form of economic salvation. Local stockmen actively lobbied against federal designation, which they feared would result in the loss of grazing and water rights. Their opposition delayed the campaign to create a national park throughout the mid-1930s, but on August 2, 1937, after more than a decade of lobbying by local interests, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed a presidential proclamation authorizing the creation of Capitol Reef National Monument under the provisions of the 1906 Antiquities Act.[105]

The struggle to bring tourist dollars into the region did not end with the formal creation of the national monument, which remained accessible only by dirt road. Little activity occurred within the new monument during the late-1930s and, with the onset of World War II the economic largess of the New Deal came to a close, leaving the boosters of Wayne County with a largely untended and neglected 37,711-acre tract of national monument.

The Fruita area experienced some tourism prior to the creation of the national monument. Several of the area's residents erected small tourist cabins on their property as early as 1917, earning a few extra dollars from the handful of visitors who ventured over the dirt roads in search of the area's spectacular scenery.[106] Beginning in the mid-1930s a handful of outsiders took up residence in Fruita, somewhat disrupting the close-knit Mormon community. The first of these outsiders appears to have been Arthur L. "Doc" Ingelsby, a former dentist and operator of a tourist bus operation, who purchased a six-acre tract in the heart of Fruita from William Chesnut in 1936.[107] Ingelsby built a house on the parcel and busied himself by rock hunting and conducting occasional tours of the area. He

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[105] Presidential Proclamation No. 2246 (2 August 1937).

[106] Roger W. Toll to Arno B. Cammerer (13 April 1934), National Park Service Central Classified File: 1933-1949, Box 2062, Record Group 79, National Park Service Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[107] William and Dicey Chesnut to A. L. Ingelsby, Wayne County Deed Book F:512 (29 September 1936); A. L. Ingelsby Photo Collection, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

remained in Fruita until the late 1950s, developing into one of the area's legendary characters.

The most influential of the outsiders to arrive in Fruita during this period was Charles Kelly.[108] Kelly arrived in Fruita in 1941, intending to buy a small orchard and spend his free time writing. In the late 1920s Kelly, a part-owner of a printing company in Salt Lake City, became absorbed in the history of the American West and began publishing a series of books and articles on Utah and western history.

Weeks after Kelly arrived in Fruita the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and the United States entered World War II. The nation's entry into the war increased market demand for foodstuffs, including fresh fruit, inflating the price of farmland throughout the country. Kelly was prevented from buying an orchard in Fruita because of the increase in land prices. For eighteen months Kelly and his wife lived in a cabin on Ingelsby's property. In March 1943, Zion National Park Superintendent Paul Franke, a friend of Kelly's, offered Kelly the position of monument custodian at Capitol Reef. The position offered no salary, but included the use of the former Leo R. Holt House and its associated orchards, which the Park Service had purchased in 1941.[109]

Kelly never succeeded in buying his own land in Fruita. He served as monument custodian throughout the 1940s and in 1950, when the monument was upgraded to active status, he became a full-time ranger. In 1953 his title was upgraded to Superintendent. Kelly served as Superintendent of Capitol Reef National Monument until February 1959.

Some federal development did take place within Capitol Reef National Monument during the late 1930s and early 1940s. In July 1938 the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) established a side camp, designated NM-2, later NP-6, at Chimney Rock, west of Fruita.[110] This camp, an offshoot of the large CCC camp (NP-3) at Bryce

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[108] Frank Swancara, Jr., "Charles Kelly, A Biographical Sketch," *Southwestern Lore*, 24 (1958), 25-30.

[109] Ibid.; Lenard Brown, "Charles Kelly Interview" (26 May 1969). Transcript on file at Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[110] The camp was located at the site of the present Chimney Rock parking lot. Local teenagers burned the abandoned camp, presumably just the frame mess hall, to the ground on Easter Sunday 1947.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

National Park, initially consisted of a foreman and seventeen enrollees housed in tents.[111]

By the end of August 1938 a frame mess hall had been erected at the Capitol Reef side camp.[112] The CCC worked on a number of physical improvements in the new monument, including widening the road south of Fruita, building rock retaining walls, and erecting basket weave dams to prevent erosion.[113] The side camp appears to have operated each year from 1938 to 1941. In 1940 CCC work included construction of a ranger station, a highway bridge across Sulphur Creek, improvements to the Hickman Bridge Trail, and improvements to the Torrey-Fruita road. In 1941, the Corps installed culverts and other improvements on the Capitol Gorge Highway, which extended south of Fruita, through Capitol Gorge, and then east to Caineville.[114] (None of the original CCC camp at Chimney Rock survives. The last remaining building from the camp was destroyed by fire, an act of teen-age vandalism, on April 6, 1947.)

The following properties are associated with the context National Park Service and Government Development of Capitol Reef National Park, 1937-1946: the Ranger Station and CCC Powder Magazine.

Post-World War II Developments, MISSION 66, Creation of Capitol Reef National Park, and Recent Events: 1950-1990

Prior to 1950, when the National Park Service designated Capitol Reef National Monument an active property and appointed Charles Kelly a full-time ranger, Congress did not appropriate funds specifically for the operation and development of the monument. Instead, these activities were funded, at a very low level, out of the Zion National Park budget. In 1950 Congress appropriated $5,000 for the

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[111] John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History* (n.p.: National Park Service, 1985); Superintendent's Monthly Report (10 August 1938), National Park Service Central Classified File: 1933-1949, Box 2062, Record Group 79, National Park Service Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[112] Leon S. Stanley, "Administrative Report for the Month of August 1938, Capitol Reef National Monument, Utah" (31 August 1938) National Park Service Central Classified File: 1933-1949, Box 2062, Record Group 79, National Park Service Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[113] P. P. Patraw, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report" (10 August 1938), National Park Service Central Classified File: 1933-1949, Box 2062, Record Group 79, National Park Service Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[114] Civilian Conservation Corps work within the National Monument is documented by architectural plans and drawings on file at Visitor Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

newly activated monument, a minimal sum that scarcely paid Kelly's salary and operating costs.

During the early 1950s a number of minor improvements were constructed by the Park Service. In June 1950 Kelly's monthly report noted that small fireplaces had been built in the campground and that cottonwood trees were being planted wherever water was available.[115] The introduction of new cottonwood trees marks one of the Park Service's first modifications of the cultural landscape developed by the area's Mormon settlers over the nearly six decades that they had lived in the Fruita area.

Local property owners also contributed to changes in the Fruita area's cultural landscape and built environment. In 1947 work began on the Capitol Reef Lodge, a motel located on property purchased from A. L. Ingelsby by Vincent Rosenberger and George Mason.[116] By May 1950 some of the lodge's rooms were nearing completion.[117]

Improved road connections between the monument and the outside world constituted the highest priority for area residents and Park Service planners during the 1950s. In 1950 the pavement ended at Torrey, eleven miles west of Fruita. A dirt track, partly improved by the CCC in the 1940s, led east to Fruita, then south, through Capitol Gorge, and on to Caineville east of Capitol Reef. Paved roads facilitated the flow of tourists into the monument and, not coincidentally, opened more of the region to uranium prospectors, who were entering the area in significant numbers during this period.

In 1951 state road crews replaced the bridge across the Fremont River at Fruita. This construction work represented the first step in a ten-year campaign to improve the area's road system.[118] By October 1955 the pavement had been extended to Twin Rocks, just inside the monument boundary and about five miles from Fruita.

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[115] Charles Kelly, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report" (June 1950), Box: Administrative History – Park Management – Charles Kelly, Narrative Reports: 1954-1969, on file at Visitor Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah.

[116] A. L. Ingelsby to Vincent Rosenberger and George F. Mason, Wayne County Deed Book G:467 (11 February 1945); A. L. Ingelsby to Vincent Rosenberger and George F. Mason, Wayne County Deed Book H:274 (31 July 1948).

[117] Charles Kelly, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report" (May 1950), Box: Administrative History – Park Management – Charles Kelly, Narrative Reports: 1954-1969, on file at Visitor Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah.

[118] Ibid. (November 1950); ibid. (February 1951); ibid. (March 1951).

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Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

In June 1957 the pavement finally reached Fruita, at last linking the community to the outside world with an all-weather road.[119]

Completion of the paved highway solved the problem of access to Capitol Reef National Monument, a fact clearly reflected in visitation figures. In 1956, prior to the opening of the paved road, 7,500 visitors registered at the entrance station. In 1957, following the opening of the road, visitation increased to 62,500.

Efforts to improve road connections and prevent the mining of uranium within the monument occupied much of Kelly's time during the 1950s. The revision of the monument's Master Plan, first prepared in 1949, represented one of the most important administrative accomplishments of this period. Regarded as incomplete and inaccurate, the 1949 document was revised to reflect current conditions in the monument by December 1952.[120]

In December 1957, a new entrance sign was erected at the west entrance to the monument. Kelly reported that this sign represented the first permanent structure completed with funds appropriated specifically for Capitol Reef.[121]

MISSION 66, a major National Park Service initiative begun in 1955, dramatically transformed the monument, as it did other national parks across the country. In 1956 the National Park Service began to lobby the State Highway Commission for a new road through the monument that would connect with the existing highway system east of Capitol Reef. The Park Service wanted the new road placed along the banks of the Fremont River, rather than following the route of the Blue Dugway through Capitol Gorge or through Pleasant Creek, the Highway Commission's preferred alternative. The infusion of federal highway funds to the project assured that the ultimate decision regarding the location of the road would be in the hands of federal, rather than state, agencies.

In January 1959 work began on the new highway, which would extend from Fruita, along the Fremont to Hanksville, cutting the road distance between the two communities by ten miles. Construction of the highway through the monument necessitated that the Park Service acquire title to private land holdings in the Fruita area. The Park Service had intended to acquire this land slowly over a period of years, but the need to acquire highway right-of-way accelerated the

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[119] Ibid. (March 1955).

[120] Ibid. (December 1952).

[121] Ibid. (December 1957).

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

process. News of the projected highway caused area residents to increase the asking prices for their property, drawing out the acquisition process and in some instances forcing the government to condemn properties through court action. Nevertheless, the new road, designated Utah State Route 24, officially opened in July 1962. Old Route 24, the Capitol Gorge Highway, was turned over to the National Park Service, who blocked Capitol Gorge to vehicle traffic, converting the road to a hiking trail.[122]

Between 1962 and 1965 construction activities at the park conducted under the MISSION 66 improvement program included the development of a 53-site campground (loops A and B), two structures at Capitol Gorge, a water treatment plant, seven employee residences, maintenance shop, and a variety of lesser projects.[123] In January 1966 the Park Service let a contract with the Griffith Construction Company for construction of new visitor center.[124]

In addition to these construction projects, the Park Service also engaged in a significant demolition program as part of MISSION 66. Construction of the new state highway through the monument had initiated a program of land acquisition within the Fruita area by the Park Service. This program continued after completion of the road, and by January 1964 only two private holdings, those of G. Dewey Gifford and Arch Bird, remained.[125] The Park Service viewed the majority of buildings and structures erected by the area's early residents as intrusions in the natural landscape and actively pursued a policy of demolishing these buildings as soon as it obtained title to the property. A detailed description of changes made to the cultural landscape during this period is included in the individual nomination for the Fruita Rural Historic District.

Capitol Reef National Monument, as created by Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1937 presidential proclamation, encompassed slightly less than 38,000 acres in Wayne County. At present, Capitol Reef National Park includes nearly 242,000 acres in

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[122] Thow, "Capitol Reef," 73-89.

[123] Thow, "Capitol Reef," 73-75; William T. Kruegar, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report" (December 1963), Box: Administrative History – Park Management – Charles Kelly, Narrative Reports: 1954-1969, on file at Visitor Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah; ibid (July 1963).

[124] Harry P. Linder, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report" (January 1966), Box: Administrative History – Park Management – Charles Kelly, Narrative Reports: 1954-1969, on file at Visitor Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah.

[125] William T. Krueger, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report" (January 1964), Box: Administrative History – Park Management – Charles Kelly, Narrative Reports: 1954-1969, on file at Visitor Center Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah.

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

four Utah counties. The tremendous expansion in the size of the park created numerous controversies between the National Park Service and local residents.

On January 21, 1969, less than two hours before Richard Nixon was inaugurated as the new President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson signed Presidential Proclamation 3888, adding more than 215,000 acres to Capitol Reef National Monument [126] This action, which followed Dwight D. Eisenhower's addition of approximately 3,000 acres to the monument in July 1958, made Capitol Reef the largest Park Service-managed property in Utah.[127]

Johnson's actions surprised local residents and Utah's congressional delegation. The Monument Superintendent, Robert Heyder, found it difficult to answer questions posed by local residents regarding the effect of the presidential proclamation upon their grazing and mineral rights. Local opposition to the expansion of the monument centered on the threat to grazing and mining interests and the abruptness with which the federal government had acted.[128]

Local ranchers feared that expansion of the monument would prevent their use of traditional winter grazing lands, thereby threatening their economic existence and way of life. In the view of ranchers, the federal action jeopardized the culture that had originally settled the area while benefiting outside interests, particularly tourists and environmentalists.

In late January 1969, Utah's congressional delegation, which had been attempting for several years to upgrade Capitol Reef from a national monument to a national park, introduced legislation calling for the creation of Capitol Reef National Park and Arches National Park at approximately their newly increased sizes. It was hoped that the increased prestige attached to the national park designation would attract more tourists to the area and create a greater economic impact than would two large national monuments, thus somewhat offsetting the negative consequences stemming from the expansion of the monuments' size.

The bill introduced by Senator Frank Moss proposed to eliminate 56,000 acres from Johnson's proposed boundaries and replace that acreage with 29,000 acres then not being used for grazing or mining. This proposal would decrease the size of the

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[126] Johnson's signature also created Marble Canyon National Monument in Arizona, and increased the size of Katmai National Monument in Alaska, and Arches National Monument in Utah. Thow, "Capitol Reef," 117.

[127] Presidential Proclamation No. 3888 (21 January 1969); Presidential Proclamation No. 3249 (2 July 1958).

[128] *Salt Lake Tribune* (21 January 1969); *Richfield* (Utah) *Reaper* (23 January 1969).

Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

proposed park by 17,000 acres, but more importantly, would free up 56,000 acres of land then being used by ranchers and miners. It would leave a park of more than 242,000 acres, in Moss' view an ample size to protect and preserve the scenic and environmental qualities of the area.

Hearings on the Moss Bill became a battle between those who sought to preserve and protect the land and those who desired to use it. A split between local residents became apparent, with ranchers and miners adhering to the banner of commerce, while other businessmen placed their hopes on the prospects of increased tourism. Throughout the summer and fall of 1969 Moss tried to push his bill through the congressional committees, but it died in committee at the end of the session.

Over the next two years, Utah's senators and congressmen continued to work towards creation of a national park with boundaries modified in such a manner as to mollify local ranchers and miners. Finally, on December 18, 1971, President Richard M. Nixon signed the legislation creating Capitol Reef National Park. The park comprised 242,671 acres, only about 10,000 acres less than what Johnson had set aside in 1969.[129]

The legislation authorized ranchers to continue grazing their herds on park land until the expiration of their existing permits and for one period of renewal. Since most permits ran for one or two years many area ranchers faced the imminent loss of their winter grazing lands. In 1972 the National Park Service agreed to extend all permits until 1982, despite the language of the legislation creating the national park.[130]

In the early 1980s, as the date for the expiration of the one year grazing permits neared, Utah's congressional delegation moved to protect the interests of the area's ranchers. In 1982 legislation was passed that extended grazing privileges until 1994 and called upon the National Academy of Sciences to investigate the impact of grazing in Capitol Reef National Park. This legislation was rescinded in 1988. The 1988 legislation allowed ranchers to continue grazing within the park for the lifetime of the original permittee and one immediate heir.

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[129] Public Law 92-207 (18 December 1971).

[130] The length of the permits varied from one to ten years. The law provided a single extension for the length of the original permit, which meant that one year permits would be terminated in two years, while ten-year permits would remain in effect for twenty years. In an effort to make the situation as equitable as possible the Secretary of Interior allowed ten extensions to the holders of one year permits, and only one extension to the holders of ten-year permits.

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Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

At present grazing continues within the park boundaries. Most of this activity occurs in the far southern and northern districts, out of sight of most visitors. The cattle clearly cause some damage to the natural environment of the area, as well as to archeological resources. Since 1988 the Park Service has purchased, on a willing seller basis, almost seventy percent of the park grazing permits, eliminating much of the grazing in the park.

At present, Capitol Reef National Park continues to support many of the activities that characterized the history of the area prior to creation of the national monument in 1937. The Fruita area functions as the heart of the park, with a visitor center, Superintendent's office (the historic Ranger Station), campgrounds, picnic grounds, park employee quarters, and a maintenance yard. A number of temporary buildings surrounding the maintenance yard function as administrative offices. While many of the buildings and structures associated with Fruita's history as an agriculture community are no longer extant, the site still conveys a strong sense of time and place due to the continued pattern of land use. The orchards have been maintained since the Park Service acquired them in the 1960s, and a U-pick operation enables visitors to camp in the valley and pick fruit from the trees.

Cultural resources associated with early Fruita which survive from the historic period and which retain sufficient integrity for listing on the National Register of Historic Places are listed in Item F, Associated Property Types, and are fully described in the individual nomination for the Fruita Rural Historic District.

At Pleasant Creek, south of Fruita, the guest ranch operated since 1940 by Lurt Knee survives intact, but has undergone numerous changes, including the addition of modern buildings. The site of Ephraim K. Hanks' house, as well as the remains of several dugout structures associated with the nineteenth century history of the area, are evident. Eligible resources are also listed in Item F.

The park's southern and northern districts remain remote. Dirt roads provide only limited vehicular access to these areas, which are seen by few park visitors. The historic resources located within these districts are largely associated with grazing and mining (see Item F). Cattle continue to graze within the park boundaries and drift fences, corrals, watering troughs, and line cabins associated with grazing are extant in both the southern and northern districts. The majority of these resources date from the 1950s and 1960s, and virtually all post-date the 1934 Taylor Grazing Act. Extant resources associated with mining also largely date from the mid-twentieth century. The oldest mining-related resources are the remains of the Oyler Mine, south of Fruita. In the outlying districts crude uranium and oil explorations roads may be discerned by the careful observer. The few structures associated with the mid-1950s Rainy Day Uranium Mine were removed

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Statement of Historic Contexts, continued

in 1994 and the mine infilled for purposes of public safety. All that remain are the old roads and cleared areas around the mouth of the adits.

All evaluated park resources which met the National Register criterion for eligibility are listed in the following section.

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Item F, Associated Property Types

F. Associated Property Types

Associated Property Types for Early Exploration in the Area of Capitol Reef National Park, 1870-1885

Associated property type: INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions made by early explorers, prospectors, settlers, and other visitors to the Capitol Reef area are located throughout the park, particularly in areas where a natural passage exists through the Waterpocket Fold. Historic inscriptions are generally carved into soft sandstone, although there are instances of painted inscriptions and, in one case, a name shot into the rock with a firearm. Inscriptions generally occur in clusters, often in close proximity to prehistoric rock art panels. The most extensive concentrations are located at the "Pioneer Register" in Capitol Gorge and along the canyon wall of Pleasant Creek east of Sleeping Rainbow Ranch. Inscriptions are also found near the petroglyph pullout and the Krueger Orchard, north of the Fremont River.

Significance

Inscriptions associated with the early exploration of the Capitol Reef area offer, in many instances, the only evidence for the presence of individuals or groups of individuals within the present park boundaries. The inscriptions document the early presence of prospectors and cattlemen within the area; documentation that has not survived in more customary written sources. These inscriptions thus provide information on the earliest period of Euroamerican exploration and settlement unavailable in other records.

Registration Requirements

A. Physical characteristics, associative qualities, or information potential that this example of the property type must possess to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places:

1) Presence of legible names or inscriptions associated with dates prior to 1885.

B. Aspects of integrity and the degree to which these qualities must be present in an example of this property type to convey its associative, artistic, or informational value, and thus meet criteria considerations necessary to qualify for the National Register:

1) Minimal requirement – inscription should be legible using available or specialized lighting conditions;

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Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

2) Value of the inscriptions is further enhanced when they meet the following conditions:

a) the inscriptions exist in a significant concentration, rather than as an isolated example.

b) the identity of the individual or individuals may be identified from other documentary sources.

c) the inscriptions include information beyond a name and date, such as locational information, messages, or symbols, such as brand markings.

Contributing Resources

1) Pioneer Register: This resource consists of a dense concentration of inscriptions located along both walls of Capitol Gorge. Approximately one hundred historic inscriptions are legible in this location. The inscriptions date as early as 1871, the earliest historic inscriptions yet identified in the park. Approximately twenty-five percent of the inscriptions pre-date 1890.

Associated property type: TRAILS

The routes taken by early explorers and settlers may be identified in several areas of the park. The trails of exploring parties are much more difficult to discern than those of settlers, since the former rarely traveled with teams and wagons. Evidence of historic trails generally consists of wagon ruts and trail improvements such as cuts. This evidence is, in most instances, rather ephemeral.

Significance

Historic trails provide information on the routes followed by early explorers and settlers passing through the Capitol Reef area. These resources may provide information on routes of march that is unavailable from documentary sources.

Registration Requirements

A. Physical characteristics, associative qualities, or information potential that this example of the property type must possess to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places:

1) Discernable physical evidence of a trail, including wheel ruts, or trail improvements.

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Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

B. Aspects of integrity and the degree to which these qualities must be present in an example of this property type to convey its associative, artistic, or informational value, and thus meet criteria considerations necessary to qualify for the National Register:

1) Minimal requirement – enough evidence must survive to convey the sense of a continuous transportation route; isolated wheel ruts do not constitute integrity

2) Value of the trail is further enhanced when it meets the following conditions:

a) the trail is identifiable with a specific expedition or party that is recorded in the documentary record

b) the trail includes information pertaining to the way in which explorers or settlers sought to improve the landscape to facilitate travel

Contributing Resources

At present no historic trails within Capitol Reef National Park have been determined to meet the registration requirements outlined above. The 1872 route of the Thompson party cannot be determined with any degree of accuracy. The Halls Crossing Trail is identifiable, but has lost its ability to testify to its association with the period of early exploration and settlement because its integrity has been compromised by road construction work carried out in the 1920s by Ohio Oil Company crews. If additional context information should be developed on the oil company explorations at some time in the future, the trail's eligibility could be reevaluated.

Associated Property Types Mormon Settlement and Agriculture in the Area of Capitol Reef National Park, 1880-1946

Associated property type: SETTLERS' CABINS

Settlers' cabins reflect the initial effort to establish a permanent Euroamerican presence in the area and to establish a viable economic base. They represent the earliest period of permanent Euroamerican settlement in the Capitol Reef area. This resource type may exist by itself, with or without the outbuildings, fields, orchards, and other secondary resources generally associated with fully developed farmsteads. Because these buildings were constructed as shelter by settlers first arriving on the land, these buildings are generally small in size and simply constructed of readily available local materials. Settlers' cabins were often considered temporary by their builders, who either replaced them with a larger and

Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

more permanent building once the viability of the ranch or farm had been established, or abandoned them if the effort at settlement failed.

Significance

Settlers' cabins provide valuable insight into the manner in which the first permanent European settlers in the Capitol Reef area lived. This resource type may have associations with important historic events, including the initial settlement of Capitol Reef and the advancement of Mormon settlement into the remote regions of southeast Utah. The resource type may also have associations with individuals who played significant roles in the settlement of the area, or who were otherwise significant personages. Settlers' cabins may also have architectural significance as representative examples of a type of architecture. Finally, documented sites of settlers' cabins may yield important information on the daily social and economic life of the region's first permanent Euroamerican settlers.

Registration Requirements

A. Physical characteristics, associative qualities, or information potential that this example of the property type must possess to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places:

1) Building or structure directly associated with settlement prior to 1900.

B. Aspects of integrity and the degree to which these qualities must be present in an example of this property type to convey its associative, artistic, or informational value, and thus meet criteria considerations necessary to qualify for the National Register:

1) Minimal requirement – building must retain its physical integrity

2) Value of the resource is further enhanced when it meets the following conditions:

a) The building has the ability to document the identity of the builder and resident of an archeological site associated with the initial settlement of a portion of the park.

b) The building has a documented connection to an identifiable individual settler or family that settled in the area prior to 1900.

Contributing Resources

1) Behunin, Elijah Cutler, Cabin: This resource consists of a sandstone cabin with a bentonite roof located east of Fruita on the south side of Utah Route 24. The cabin was constructed by Elijah Cutler Behunin ca. 1883 and

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Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

represents one of the earliest extant buildings in Capitol Reef National Park. The building was rehabilitated and partially reconstructed during the 1960s, but it retains a significant amount of historic fabric.

2) Hanks' Dugouts: This resource consists of a series of collapsed dugouts located on the south side of Pleasant Creek just south of the present Sleeping Rainbow Ranch. Documentary evidence indicates that these dugouts were associated with the Hanks family, which settled at Pleasant Creek in the early 1880s. The location of the dugouts is indicated as an occupancy site on the 1895 survey of this area.

Associated property type: FARMSTEADS

A number of farms and orchards were established by Mormon settlers at Fruita during the period from 1885 to 1946. The majority of these agricultural operations concentrated on the production of fruit crops. The owners and operators of these farms built houses, erected barns and other outbuildings, constructed fences, planted orchards and fields, and cooperated with their neighbors in the construction of irrigation systems and other community projects.

Significance

The surviving built and farmed environment associated with these farmsteads is tangible evidence of the important agricultural history of Fruita. The community played an integral role in a broader local economy that included farms and ranches as far away as Hanksville and Loa. Farmsteads reflect the extent of agricultural operations conducted by area residents and provide tangible insights into the social and economic organization of the Fruita community.

Registration Requirements

A. Physical characteristics, associative qualities, or information potential that this example of the property type must possess to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places:

1) A farmstead must include a residence, outbuilding(s), and other resources clearly associated with a historic agricultural operation, such as irrigation ditches, orchards, fields, and/or vegetable gardens.

B. Aspects of integrity and the degree to which these qualities must be present in an example of this property type to convey its associative, artistic, or informational value, and thus meet criteria considerations necessary to qualify for the National Register:

1) Minimal requirement – the elements of the farmstead must possess integrity both individually and collectively

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Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

2) Value of the resource is further enhanced when it meets the following conditions:

a) elements of the farmstead are associated with an early settler

b) the historic landscape associated with the farmstead retains sufficient aspects of historic integrity

Contributing Resources

1) Holt Farm: This resource includes a house, fruit cellar, stone retaining walls, irrigation ditches, grape vineyard, and remnant orchards. The Leo Holt family was one of the first families to settle in Fruita. The homestead application for their farm was filed in 1899. Holt, an experienced carpenter and mason, built most of the structures on the farmstead between circa 1895 and 1913, including the house, which is the oldest extant residence in Fruita. A 1941 NPS maintenance garage is located on the farmstead site. The house was remodeled in 1952 and 1961; the fruit cellar roof was replaced in 1985. Still, as an intact complex, the resource retains much of its original character and strongly communicates an understanding of early settlement in Fruita.

2) Gifford Farm: This resource consists of a house, barn, smokehouse, barnyard, small orchard, and stone walls associated with a single agricultural enterprise in Fruita. The origins of this farm date to the arrival of Calvin D. Pendleton in Fruita in the late 1890s. The stone walls that once enclosed pasture and prevented Pendleton's cattle from wandering onto the top of the mesa west of the farmhouse, date from about 1900. The house, barn, and smokehouse date are believed to have been constructed by Pendleton at an unknown date then sold to Jorgen Jorgensen in 1919. Jorgensen later sold the property to his son-in-law Dewey Gifford in the early 1930s (although the Giffords lived there from 1929). Gifford enlarged the house in 1954. At present, the property most closely reflects the appearance of Gifford's period of residency, which lasted just over forty years.

Associated property type: AGRICULTURAL OUTBUILDINGS AND SUPPORT STRUCTURES

Individual resources closely associated with the agricultural history of the area survive in several instances with substantial integrity. These buildings and structures are contributing resources in Fruita Historic District, reflect the importance of the agricultural economy to the community and are closely associated with the orchards and fields that provided Fruita with its name and the community

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Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

with its economic well-being. Agricultural-related resources include fruit cellars (used to store fruit), implement sheds (used to house farm equipment), the remains of a still (used to convert fruit and grain into alcoholic beverages), and stone retaining walls (used to control the range of livestock).

Significance

Agricultural outbuildings and support structures are directly related to the important farming and orchard activity conducted at Fruita. They reflect the importance of the area's agricultural operations and provide insights into the manner in which these operations were conducted in the past. Some were associated with early dwellings which no longer exist. As part of a cultural landscape, they provide tangible evidence that the valley was occupied and farmed in the past.

Registration Requirements

A. Physical characteristics, associative qualities, or information potential that this example of the property type must possess to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places:

1) Building, structure, or district must be directly associated with agricultural activities

B. Aspects of integrity and the degree to which these qualities must be present in an example of this property type to convey its associative, artistic, or informational value, and thus meet criteria considerations necessary to qualify for the National Register:

1) Minimal requirement – building, structure, or district must retain its physical integrity; a site must be associated with a significant aspect of agricultural activity not represented by an intact building or structure

Contributing Resources

1) Merin Smith Implement Shed: This resource is associated with the fruit farm operated by Merin Smith during the first quarter of the twentieth century. The building served as a storage shed for farm equipment and also housed a small blacksmith shop. The building is a typical example of local sandstone construction with a wooden roof with rolled roofing.

2) Merin Smith Fruit Cellar: This resource is associated with the fruit farm operated by Merin Smith during the first quarter of the twentieth century. The building served as a storage facility for fruit grown in Smith's orchards. The building is partially built into a bank adjacent to Sulphur Creek and is typical of the vernacular,

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Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

utilitarian style outbuildings that existed on most of the area's farms.

3) Fremont River Still Site: This resource consists of the remains of a shelter and a cast-iron stove associated with an illicit distilling operation. Some Fruita residents converted their surplus fruit crop into readily transported alcoholic beverages, which could be sold or bartered throughout the surrounding area, or they bartered fruit for grain to make hard liquor. Rumors of distilling are an important part of the local social history, and this site confirms that such activity did, in fact, take place. This site is the only extant site associated with such activity that has been located in the Fruita area. The site probably dates from the first quarter of the twentieth century.

4) Pendleton Rock Walls: stone walls extending along the length and to the west of the Fremont River were constructed by Calvin Pendleton at the turn of the century to restrict the range of cattle.

Associated property type: COMMUNITY BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

The Mormon settlers at Fruita cooperated in the construction of buildings and structures that served the entire community. This cooperative behavior encompassed both social and economic activity. (The irrigation works that brought water to the fields and orchards represent the area's most significant cooperative enterprises, but these will be addressed as a separate property type.) Examples of communal buildings and structures considered under this property type include school and religious buildings, sanitary facilities, and building projects that exceeded the capacities and capabilities of individual property owners.

Significance

Resources considered under this property type are significant because of their associations with the cooperative and communal aspects of the region's Mormon settlers. These properties embody these important aspects of the Mormon settlement experience. Individual resources may provide information on important aspects of social and economic history and may also represent typical or distinctive types of construction.

Registration Requirements

A. Physical characteristics, associative qualities, or information potential that this example of the property type must possess to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places:

1) A resource must have clear associations with the larger community and must represent a cooperative effort at construction or operation

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Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

B. Aspects of integrity and the degree to which these qualities must be present in an example of this property type to convey its associative, artistic, or informational value, and thus meet criteria considerations necessary to qualify for the National Register:

1) Minimal requirement – the resource must possess integrity as a building or structure

Contributing Resources

1) Fruita Schoolhouse: This individually listed resource represents the cooperative effort of the community to provide for the educational needs of the area's children. The building served a variety of community functions, including school, meeting house, Sunday school, and recreation hall.

2) Sulphur Creek Lime Kiln: This structure was used by the community to produce lime for construction purposes. The structure is not located on privately owned property, and was clearly built and operated, as necessary, by the community at large.

3) Pendleton Lime Kiln: This resource consists of a circular structure built into the side of a small cliff. Although the kiln is located on what was formerly Calvin Pendleton's property, it is believed that it was constructed and operated by the Fruita community for its agricultural and construction needs. The last reported use of the kiln was circa 1930 to produce lime for the construction of a school in the nearby town of Cainville.

Associated property type: RESOURCES ASSOCIATED WITH TRANSPORTATION

Roads which qualify under this property type should conform closely to their historical alignment, retain their historic relationship to the natural and cultural landscape, and convey a overall feeling of an undeveloped, rural road. Rural roads are often narrow and winding, in response to the requirements of their environment. They should be historically associated with the transportation of a region's people and agricultural products. Examples of road resources include roads and their associated features (bridges, retaining walls, culverts).

Significance

The residents of Fruita lived in a remote section of Utah and were very dependent on the small number of unimproved roads, both for social and economic reasons. Wagon roads that connected rural villages frequently evolved over time into vehicular roads, first unpaved, later graveled and seal-coated. As commercial farming became increasingly important to the residents of Fruita, farmers trucked

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Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

fruit and vegetables from their gardens to nearby towns. Roads also provided rural residents access to goods and services unavailable in their own town (such as medical services). Transportation routes were thus essential to rural economies and provided a vital social link between communities.

Registration Requirements

A. Physical characteristics, associative qualities, or information potential that this example of the property type must possess to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places:

1) Roads and their associated features are eligible under Criterion A in the area of transportation if they were important in the local road network and the transportation of goods, raw materials or people within the region.

2) In order to be eligible under Criterion C a road and/or its features must embody distinctive characteristics of type, period or method of construction. Individual features shall not qualify if the road itself does not meet National Register criteria for listing.

B. Aspects of integrity and the degree to which these qualities must be present in an example of this property type to convey its associative or informational value, and thus meet criteria considerations necessary to qualify for the National Register:

1) Minimal requirement – Roads which qualify under this property type must conform closely to their historical alignment, maintain their historic width and grade, retain their historic relationship to the natural and cultural landscape, and convey the overall feeling of an undeveloped, rural road.

2) The significance of the resource is enhanced if it has been in continuous use as a transportation corridor since the historic period.

Contributing Resources

The only transportation-related resource identified as eligible for listing under this property type is the Scenic Drive. The eligibility of the 1920s road overlaying the Halls Crossing Trail could be reevaluated if additional information on oil exploration in the area of the park becomes available.

Associated property type: ORCHARDS, FIELDS, GARDENS, ORNAMENTALS, AND TREES WITH SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

Fruita was a patchwork of fruit orchards, cultivated fields, open pasture, vegetable gardens, groves of nut trees, and small vineyards. Large plots of land

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Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

not planted in orchard were usually planted in alfalfa to enrich the sandy soil. In addition, early settlers and their descendants planted a wide variety of ornamental flowers, shrubs and trees in the immediate vicinity of their homes. Finally, one long-lived tree and its companion have acquired social significance by association with the rural mail delivery system. All of these resources are contributing elements in the Fruita Historic District; no intact examples outside Fruita have been identified.

Significance

The agricultural products generated from use of the land enabled the valley's residents to make a precarious living in an isolated part of the state often besought by drought and/or floods. Fruit yield by orchards was of particular importance to the local economy given that it was difficult to grow at the higher elevations of the surrounding plateau communities. Livestock were grazed in pastures and also played an important part in the economy. Vegetable gardens yielded produce that was both consumed locally and sold to neighboring towns. Ornamental plants added beauty to the homes of early residents, and enhanced the "Eden-like" quality of the valley's farms. The two old cottonwoods knows as the "mail tree" and its companion, are significant as the location of mail delivery to remote Fruita.

Registration requirements

A. Physical characteristics, associative qualities, or information potential that this example of the property type must possess to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places:

1) Agricultural resources must be associated with identifiable agricultural efforts or community life of local people. Documentary evidence should confirm the types of resources grown during the historic period.

2) Ornamental plants must be associated with homes built during Fruita's historic period. Their significance is enhanced by documentation in oral or written record that they were planted historically or are of a type planted historically.

B. Aspects of integrity and the degree to which these qualities must be present in an example of this property type to convey its associative or informational value, and thus meet criteria considerations necessary to qualify for the National Register:

1) Minimal requirement – the resource must possess continuum of agricultural use if such was its intended purpose. As crop rotation is a common agricultural practice, changes in types of trees or in the type of plants

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Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

cultivated are not deemed critical as long as the plants are typical of those cultivated during the historic period.

2) The resource must not have lost its integrity due to developments that are inconsistent with the agricultural use of the land.

3) The resource, if non-agricultural, must remain in its original location in order to retain its associative values.

Contributing Resources

1) Agricultural lands cultivated in Fruita include fruit orchards (primarily peach, apple, cherry, apricot), groves of nut trees (almonds, pecans, walnuts), small vineyards, vegetable gardens, berry patches, cultivated fields, and pastures. (These are all contributing resources in the individually listed Fruita Rural Historic District.)

2) In addition, though of no agricultural value, flowers, shrubs and shade trees planted by early residents may also contribute to the cultural landscape. In the case of Fruita, these ornamentals are often the only physical evidence of early homesteads no longer extant.

3) The Fruita mail tree and its companion contribute to the cultural landscape by their association with historical mail delivery to Fruita.

Associated Property Types for Grazing in Capitol Reef National Park, 1880-1946

Associated property type: IRRIGATION

Agriculture in this region is dependent upon irrigation. The component parts of an irrigation system may include diversion structures, dams, canals, ditches, and flumes. These resources represent the efforts of Euroamerican settlers to control and alter their environment.

Significance

Resources considered under this property type are significant because of their associations with agriculture and the economic development of the area and with the cooperative work tradition characteristic of early Mormon settlement. These resources may also be significant as typical or distinct examples of a type of construction.

Registration Requirements

A. Physical characteristics, associative qualities, or information potential that this example of the property type must possess to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places:

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Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

1) Resources must be associated with an identifiable irrigation effort

B. Aspects of integrity and the degree to which these qualities must be present in an example of this property type to convey its associative, artistic, or informational value, and thus meet criteria considerations necessary to qualify for the National Register:

1) Minimal requirement – the resource must possess integrity as a structure or structures

Contributing Resources

1) Oak Creek Dam: This resource is a reinforced concrete dam erected in 1914 as part of a larger irrigation system providing water to the Sandy Ranch, which is located outside the park boundaries. The dam is the largest irrigation-related structure extant within the park boundaries.

2) the Fruita Irrigation System: The irrigation system consists of a series of diversions, pipelines, flumes, and ditches which supplies water for the agricultural needs of Fruita. The system took form in 1900 as the previous system proved inadequate for the needs of the entire community. Much of the historic system is intact; currently, approximately 50% of the historic ditches remain in use. In spite of some recent changes, this system retains its integrity as a contributing element in the Fruita Rural Historic District

Associated property type: CABINS

Line shacks and cabins provided shelter for cattlemen tending animals in remote locations. The buildings are generally small in size and constructed of logs or other readily available and easily worked materials.

Significance

Line shacks and cabins are closely associated with the cattle industry, one of the region's most important economic activities. The remote locations of these resources testify to the vast geographic areas utilized by cattlemen. These resources may also be significant as typical examples of local vernacular architecture or building traditions.

Registration Requirements

A. Physical characteristics, associative qualities, or information potential that this example of the property type must possess to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places:

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Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

1) Building or structure directly associated with the grazing industry

B. Aspects of integrity and the degree to which these qualities must be present in an example of this property type to convey its associative, artistic, or informational value, and thus meet criteria considerations necessary to qualify for the National Register:

1) Minimal requirement – building must retain its physical integrity

2) Value of the resource is enhanced if the identity of the builder or owner of the resource can be documented

Contributing Resources

1. Lesley Morrell Line Cabin and Corral: This resource consists of a well-built log cabin located in the remote Cathedral Valley region of the park. The cabin was originally built by Paul Christensen in the early 1920s on Thousand Lake Mountain as part of a sawmill operation. It was sold to Lesley Morrell who dismantled, moved and re-erected it on its current site in the early 1930s. A small corral was built adjacent to the cabin. The Morrell family grazed cattle in Cathedral Valley and along Hartnet Draw.

Associated property type: CORRALS

Cattlemen and sheepmen both constructed corrals to hold their animals in one location. Prior to the passage of the Taylor Grazing Act in 1934 few corrals existed within the park boundaries. Cattle and sheep grazed a largely unobstructed open range, tended by herders. The Taylor Grazing Act, and the ensuing creation of grazing districts and grazing allotments, led to the construction of corrals, fences, and loading chutes in many locations. Documentary research indicates that the vast majority of these types of resources presently extant within the park date from the 1950s.

Significance

Extant corrals that pre-date 1934 are rare resources. They are associated with the cattle industry, one of the most important local industries, and reflect the geographic range of the cattlemen. These resources may also be significant as typical examples of local vernacular construction.

Registration Requirements

A. Physical characteristics, associative qualities, or information potential that this example of the property type must possess to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places:

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Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

1) Structure must be more than fifty years of age and must be directly associated with the grazing industry

B. Aspects of integrity and the degree to which these qualities must be present in an example of this property type to convey its associative, artistic, or informational value, and thus meet criteria considerations necessary to qualify for the National Register:

1) Minimal requirement – structure must retain its physical integrity

2) Value of the resource is enhanced if the identity of the builder or owner can be documented

Contributing Resources

1. Cathedral Valley Corral: This corral is located in Cathedral Valley, one of the most remote regions of the park. Oral tradition places its construction date at circa 1900; written sources can only verify that it was built prior to 1934. The builder has not been identified.

Associated Property Type for Mining in Capitol Reef National Park, 1880-1956

Associated property type: MINES

The majority of the extant mines and mining claims located within the present park boundaries are associated with the uranium boom of the 1950s. These properties reflect the rapid expansion of mining that accompanied the implementation of Atomic Energy Commission price supports for uranium. Other mining-related resources within the park reflect the long, and economically unproductive, history of mining within the area. Few of these resources proved economically viable, and most offer eloquent testimony to dreams gone bust.

Significance

Mines and their associated resources are closely associated with efforts to develop a mineral-based industry within southeastern Utah. The general failure of such efforts within the present confines of the park does not diminish the significance of these efforts. Mines may also have significance for their associations with political and policy battles pertaining to mining and the stewardship of public lands. Some mine-related resources may also have significance as typical examples of a type of construction.

Registration Requirements

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Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

A. Physical characteristics, associative qualities, or information potential that this example of the property type must possess to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places:

1) The resource must be directly associated with the mining industry.
2) If the resource is less than 50 years old, or if its period of significance extends into the less-than-50-year period, it must meet the conditions of Criteria Consideration G.

B. Aspects of integrity and the degree to which these qualities must be present in an example of this property type to convey its associative, artistic, or informational value, and thus meet criteria considerations necessary to qualify for the National Register:

1) Minimal requirement – the physical remains of the resource, tunnels, shafts, adits, buildings, or structures, must be clearly discernable

2) Value of the resource is enhanced if the property is well-documented in the historic record

3) Value of the resource is enhanced if the property includes extant buildings and structures associated with the mining operation

Contributing Resource

1. Oyler Mine: This resource consists of two adits and two ruined structures. The property is perhaps the most significant mining-related resource in the park. It is the oldest mining claim in the park and is exceptionally important because it played a central role in the controversy regarding uranium mining within the national monument during the 1950s.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPE FOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AND GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENT, 1937-1946

Associated property type: CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS RESOURCES

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) maintained a small camp within the present park from 1938 to 1941. The CCC engaged in a number of building projects during this period, including road and trail improvements, erosion control projects, and the construction of a ranger station.

Significance
The extant resources associated with this activity reflect the earliest federal efforts to develop Capitol Reef as a unit of the National Park Service. The

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Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

buildings and structures associated with this activity are typical examples of CCC construction and display many attributes of National Park Service designed rustic architecture.

Registration Requirements

A. Physical characteristics, associative qualities, or information potential that this example of the property type must possess to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places:

1) The resource must be directly associated with the construction activities of the Civilian Conservation Corps

B. Aspects of integrity and the degree to which these qualities must be present in an example of this property type to convey its associative, artistic, or informational value, and thus meet criteria considerations necessary to qualify for the National Register:

1) Minimal requirement – the resource must retain its physical integrity

2) Value of the resource is enhanced if it is an example of rustic-style architecture

Contributing Resources

1) Powder Magazine: This resource consists of a stone structure which served as the storage facility for explosives used by the CCC during road construction. The building is a typical example of CCC utilitarian construction and retains a strong degree of integrity.

2) Ranger Station: This rustic style sandstone building was constructed in 1940 by the CCC as the park's contact station.

Associated property type: TRAILS

Recreational trails in parks can develop both informally, by continuous animal and/or human use, and formally, by plan, design, and construction. The only known recreational trail developed by the NPS during the historic period in Capitol Reef National Park is the Hickman Bridge Trail. While some documentation suggests that this trail was at least partially developed prior to the arrival in the park of the Civilian Conservation Corps, the CCC is believed to have made improvements to it between 1938 to 1941.

Significance

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Item F, Associated Property Types, continued

Trails provide access to backcountry areas and to particularly outstanding natural features. Their primary significance is recreational. They are the primary means by which visitors experience the park and its resources, although they may also be important for their design, layout, and/or constructed features (e.g., stairways, retaining walls, pedestrian bridges).

Registration Requirements

A. Physical characteristics, associative qualities, or information potential that this example of the property type must possess to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places:

1) The resource must be associated with NPS development of the recreational facilities during the historic period

B. Aspects of integrity and the degree to which these qualities must be present in an example of this property type to convey its associative, artistic, or informational value, and thus meet criteria considerations necessary to qualify for the National Register:

1) Minimal requirement – the resource must retain its historic alignment, width, and character in order to be eligible under recreation; it may also have significance in an area other than recreation/culture, such as landscape architecture.

Contributing Resources

There are no trails which appear to qualify for listing under this property type; the Hickman Bridge Trail has lost integrity through post-historic modifications.

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Item G, Geographical Dats, Item H, Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

G. Geographical Data

The geographical area covered by this multiple property listing is coterminous with the boundaries of Capitol Reef National Park. The park is located 220 miles south of Salt Lake City in southern Utah and comprises approximately 242,000 acres in four counties.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods.

The survey, identification and evaluation of Capitol Reef National Park's historic resources took place over a four-year period in two separate and distinct stages of work. The first stage involved work under contract; in the second stage, research and documentation was by NPS staff from the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Northwest regional offices. For the initial survey, park historian Brad Frye prepared the list of park resources to be evaluated. The survey and evaluation work was conducted under contract with John Milner Associates, Inc. (JMA) of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The project began in 1990, with Historian Patrick O'Bannon responsible for field research and documentation of the resources. Originally the contract called for preparation of a Survey Report (inventory forms), a Historic Resource Study, and preparation of a National Register Multiple Property Submission, along with individual nominations and Determinations of Eligibility. Due to contractual difficulties, the contract was terminated in 1992 upon receipt of the Historic Resource Study and Survey Report. Below is the methodology used, as described by the contractor, in completing initial research and evaluation of the park's historic resources.

Stage I Methodology

JMA staff initiated the project by holding discussions with park personnel in which the location of the various resources were confirmed. This work permitted the field investigations and documentary research to be conducted simultaneously. Discussions with the park historian indicated that the list of resources to be surveyed included documented and undocumented resources. Further discussions confirmed that several resources included in the initial list either no longer existed or never, in fact, existed. Accordingly, JMA staff modified the basic project methodology to include new historic resources identified during the course of documentary research and field investigations. Nine of the fifty-seven resources surveyed, were not included in the initial list and were identified during the course of the survey.

Initial documentary research was conducted in the Capitol Reef National Park library and archives. The secondary and primary sources available at the park provided considerable information on historic resources within the park and on the development of Wayne County and southern Utah. Particularly valuable for the documentation of the Fruita area were a series of photographs taken from the north

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Item H, Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods, continued

rim of the valley in the 1930s and 1940s. These photographs clearly document the appearance of much of Fruita during the period immediately prior to the establishment of Capitol Reef National Monument in 1937. Subsequent research was conducted at the Wayne County Courthouse in Loa, Utah, where land records, tax records, wills, and probates were examined for the Fruita area; the Utah State Historical Society; the Family History Library in Salt Lake City, where important information regarding the social history of the Fruita area and the connections between the various families residing in the area was discovered; the Bureau of Land Management offices in Salt Lake City, where detailed information on post-1934 range improvements was available; and the National Archives in Washington, D.C., where the affidavits and testimony associated with final homestead proofs are held. National Park Service records were also examined at the National Archives.

JMA staff were accompanied on all field investigations by a member of the park staff who was familiar with the nature and location of the historic resources. Each resource was located on a USGS topographic map and photographed using both black-and-white and color slide film. Field notes and a site map were prepared for each resource.

Upon completion of the field investigations and documentary research JMA prepared a series of historic contexts to be used as a framework for the assessment of potential National Register eligibility for individual resources. The eligibility of individual resources was then determined by examining resources within specific contexts. This assured that similar resources were compared to one another and that all of the manifold aspects of Capitol Reef's history were incorporated into the survey and the proposed National Register nomination. Historic contexts were determined by the major themes associated with the park's history: early exploration, settlement and agriculture, grazing, mining, and park development. Property types were based, by and large, on how properties related to these historic themes.

The context of early exploration is most closely associated with the carved inscriptions known as the Pioneer Register. Located along the walls of a narrow segment of Capitol Gorge, the inscriptions date to as early as 1871 and record the passage of miners, settlers, cowhands, and casual travelers. Approximately twenty-five percent of the inscriptions pre-date 1890, and are thus associated with the period of exploration in this region.

The context of settlement and agriculture applied to two areas of the park, the historic settlement of Fruita and the area of Pleasant Creek, located south of Fruita. Research and fieldwork in Fruita included review of photographs, homestead proofs, tax records, and other documents. JMA's research led them to conclude that the present appearance of Fruita's cultural landscape and built environment differs significantly from its historic appearance and that the landscape failed

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Item H, Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods, continued

to possess sufficient integrity for listing. (More about this evaluation will follow shortly.)

Research and field investigation in the Pleasant Creek area revealed a series of former dugouts that appear to be clearly associated with the Hanks family, the earliest settler in this area and, indeed, the earliest permanent European settler in the entire park. The dugouts were determined potentially eligible and are associated with the Mormon Settlement and Agriculture context. Other resources in the Pleasant Creek area, including the Sleeping Rainbow Ranch, a dude ranch established in the early 1940s, a cave shelter, and carved inscriptions were evaluated as not eligible.

Data pertaining to the context of grazing was found in historic documents which clearly indicated that grazing of cattle and sheep played an important role in the opening of the Capitol Reef region. Local and nomadic grazers used the public domain as early as the 1880s, moving their herds between winter and summer pastures. The majority of the built resources associated with this activity, however, date from the period after passage of the Taylor Grazing Act in 1934. The Taylor Grazing Act established grazing districts and set up a system of grazing fees that were used to fund the construction of range improvements. Review of Bureau of Land Management records in Salt Lake City indicated that the vast majority of corrals, fences, springs, roads, stockways, and other resources associated with the grazing industry post-date 1934. Accordingly, few resources within the park were evaluated eligible for the National Register under this context.

Investigation of the mining context resulted in similar findings. Considerable mineral exploration occurred within the present boundaries of the park. The majority of this activity was associated with oil and gas exploration beginning in the 1920s and uranium exploration in the late 1940s and 1950s. Little of this activity resulted in actual mineral development, and most was limited to the construction of temporary roads and camps. Traces of these resources exist in several locations, but most have either lost their integrity or do not meet National Register eligibility criteria. Perhaps the two best preserved mining-related resources within the park are the Oyler Mine, located south of Fruita at the mouth of grand Wash, and the Rainy Day Uranium Mines located along the Circle Cliffs south of the Burr Trail. The history of the Oyler Mine extends to the early twentieth century, and during the uranium boom of the mid-twentieth century the mine came to symbolize National Park Service efforts to ban mining within the national monument. For these associations the Oyler Mine was evaluated as a potential eligible resource. The Rainy Day Mine, a far larger operation than the Oyler with considerable extant remains, is less than fifty years of age, being established in 1954, does not meet the National Register's age criterion, and thus was evaluated as ineligible.

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Item H, Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods, continued

National Park Service activity within the park that pre-dates 1946 is limited to the work of a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) side camp established near Chimney Rock in 1938. JMA evaluated a number of resources associated with the CCC, including road improvements, trail improvements, flood control dams, a ranger station, and a powder magazine. Those resources with sufficient integrity, or those that exemplify the NPS rustic style of architecture associated with CCC construction activity, were evaluated as potentially eligible for the National Register.

The initial survey by JMA produced one outcome that was unexpected: based on his analysis of the documentation, the researcher concluded that the cultural landscape of Fruita lacked sufficient integrity to meet National Register criteria. While documentation indicated that significant changes to the landscape had taken place since the end of the historic period (particularly after private lands were acquired by the NPS in the 1960s), the park and (old) Rocky Mountain Regional Office believed that JMA may have focussed too intently on the loss of early buildings and structures, and not enough on the large scale landscape elements, or the "bigger picture." This approach led O'Bannon to identify as significant only remnant resources that related to the early community of Fruita. Moreover, no landscape architect with experience in evaluating historic landscapes was involved in the survey work prepared under contract. Finally, the landscape did not appear to have been evaluated according to National Register guidelines as set forth in National Register Bulletin 30, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*. At the park's request, the results of O'Bannon's survey were put on hold until a more thorough survey of the Fruita area could be completed.

Stage II Methodology

In 1992, an NPS interdisciplinary team of a historian (Kathy McKoy) and a historical landscape architect (Cathy Gilbert) conducted additional landscape research and collected field data on historic Fruita. The park's collection of historic photographs, maps, oral histories, planning documents, orchard management records, and other archival materials were utilized during research, in addition to an examination of existing landscape conditions. A Determination of Eligibility (DOE) for the Fruita Rural Historic District was prepared and submitted to the Utah State Historic Preservation Office which concurred with the researchers' evaluation that the district met National Register criteria for listing as a cultural landscape.

Subsequent to the DOE, a Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) for Fruita was prepared with basic data from the DOE being supplemented with additional fieldwork, research, and analysis which formed the basis of recommendations for treatment. In addition, although the DOE for Fruita designated boundaries for the historic district, the additional research undertaken in preparation of the CLR resulted in

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Item H, Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods, continued

a need to make some adjustment to the proposed district's boundaries to include newly-identified resources. Specifically, the boundaries were expanded to include the full extent of the historic irrigation system and the lime kiln on Sulphur Creek, located just west of the visitor center.

Additional historical research for the CLR was conducted at the Denver Service Center's Technical Information Center and the Federal Record Center in Denver, park archives, and the Wayne County Courthouse in Loa, Utah. Superintendents' reports and correspondence were used to expand an understanding of landscape changes undertaken by the park service, and the intent behind those modifications. Oral interviews were conducted with former property owners and residents in an attempt to clarify information found in the historic record. Some data, particularly that which related to historic land use, were occasionally confusing, contradictory, and difficult to reconcile. Discrepancies among official documents, park maintenance records, oral histories, and photographic documentation of Fruita proved most challenging. Where information could not be tracked in the written record, deference was made to the photographic record. While this technique was useful in several cases, it also illustrated major contradictions between the tax records for Fruita and most other sources. Where possible, these discrepancies are noted and explained in the endnotes. In the landscape analysis, the photographic collection and park maintenance records were used as the primary records for documenting landscape resources, including land use.

Existing conditions were documented during a two-week site visit in March 1993. Supplementary data were collected from the park's natural resources database, cultural resources records, and administrative files relating to park operations, visitor services, and recreation. As part of this work, all available data on the orchards and agricultural fields were consolidated and an inventory was compiled. The purpose of the inventory was to verify existing management records and document current status, species composition, acreage, layout, and condition. While part of this study, landscape features and historic resources located outside of the DOE boundaries, were not extensively documented because of time constraints.

The analysis and evaluation incorporated findings from the research portion of the project and documented three components that influenced the cultural and physical context for development of the historic landscape (overall landscape organization, response to natural features, and cultural traditions), and seven additional character-defining features that contribute to the significance of the landscape.

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