NPS Form 10-900
(Rev. 10-90)

OMB No. 1024-0018

1234

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

# NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES REGISTRATION FORM

## 1. Name of Property

**historic name:** Lee's Ferry and Lonely Dell Ranch

**other name/site number:** Pahreah Crossing; Lees Ferry; Lee's Ferry Ranch/AZ-C-2-42, AZ-C-2-11

## 2. Location

**street & number:** Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (GLCA), at confluence of Colorado and Paria rivers, near the Utah and Arizona border

**not for publication:** N/A

**vicinity:** x

**city/town:** Marble Canyon

**state:** Arizona **code:** AZ **county:** Coconino **code:** 005 **zip code:** 86036

## 3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this X nomination __ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property X meets __ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant __ nationally X statewide __ locally. ( __ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Ronald M. Greenberg — 9-24-97
Signature of certifying official/Title — Date

USDI National Park Service, Washington
State or Federal agency or bureau

In my opinion, the property ✓ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

James W. Garrison AZ SHPO — 8/28/97
Signature of commenting or other official — Date

Arizona State Historic Preservation Office
State or Federal agency and bureau

## 4. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby certify that this property is:

X entered in the National Register
____ see continuation sheet
____ determined eligible for the National Register
____ see continuation sheet
____ determined not eligible for the National Register
____ see continuation sheet
____ removed from the National Register
____ see continuation sheet
____ other (explain)

Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action

Carl R. Fugazzi — 11/4/97

## 5. Classification

**Ownership of Property:** Public-Federal
**Cotogory of Property:** District
**Number of contributiug resources previouoly listed iu the Nstiousl Rogistor:** 13
**Nomo of rolstod multiplo property listiug:** N/A

| Number of Resources withiu Property | | |
|---|---|---|
| Coutributiug | Noucoutributiug | |
| 2 | 6 | buildiug(s) |
| 6 | 1 | sites |
| 1 | 3 | structures |
| 2 | 0 | objects |
| 11 | 10 | Totsl |

## 6. Function or Use

**Hlstoric Fuustious:** Domestic (single-dwelling); Commerce/Trade; Agriculture; Processing/Extraction; Transportation (road-related)

**Currout Fuuctiou:** Recreation and Culture

## 7. Description

**Arobitecturol Clsesificstiou:**
Other (vernacular)

**Mstorisls:**
**fouudstiou:** sandstone
**walls:** sandstone; wood (log)
**roof:** wood (log); earth
**othor:**

### Narrative Description

*[At Pareah Crossing] the sandy floor was spotted with desert brush, and there was a thin line of yellow-green where bare willows marked the course of the Paria Creek against the eastern bluff. A long isosceles triangle of cliffs was formed by the [Colorado] river with its stone buttress forming the base and two long bluffs coming together far, far to the north -- barren it was as the second day of Creation, yet it seemed that God had tried to make up in color what He had left out in vegetation. . . . Over it all was silence so heavy that it filled all the valley and rolled in tidal waves.* (Juanita Brooks, *Emma Lee*)

Summary: Lee's Ferry/Lonely Dell Ranch[1] is located deep in Glen Canyon, at the confluence of the Colorado and Paria rivers, 100 miles south of Kanab, Utah. The journey between Kanab and Lee's Ferry by way of Cathedral Rock is now made over paved secondary highways in approximately three hours, but once, by wagon, required four to five days of hard travel. The towering cliffs and the constricted canyon bottoms of the Colorado River and its tributary the Paria River dictate the placement of all resources associated with the Lee's Ferry/Lonely Dell Ranch Historic District: buildings roughly parallel the water courses, with those of Lee's Ferry clustered between the high- and low-water crossings and those at nearby Lonely Dell crowded against the west bank of Paria Canyon, leaving the narrow bottomland available for cultivation. Lee's Lookout, a round knob of Shinarump conglomerate, provides a visual vantage point between the two building complexes, from which the ferry man could survey the ranch ¼ mile to the northwest or watch for travelers approaching along the dugway to the south.

**See continuation page**

[1] Lee's Ferry is also referenced as "Lees Ferry" (as, for example, on current topographic maps and the 1976 National Register Nomination of the "Lees Ferry Historic District"). This current (1997) nomination uses the more grammatically and historically correct "Lee's Ferry," a name consistently used in historical sources and more reflective of the site's important association with John D. Lee.

## 8. Statement of Significance

**Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:**

**Applicable National Register Criteria:** A, B, C

**Areas of Significance:** Commerce, Industry, Transportation, Exploration/Settlement, Agriculture, Ethnic Heritage, Architecture

**Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):** N/A

**Period(s) of Significance:** 1872-1928 (Lee's Ferry); 1871-1936 (Lonely Dell Ranch)

**Significant Person(s):** John D. Lee

**Significant Dates:** 1872; 1874; 1877; 1896; 1909

**Cultural Affiliation:** N/A

**Architect/Builder:** John D. Lee; Jacob Hamblin; Warren Johnson

### Narrative Statement of Significance[2]

**Summary:** Lee's Ferry/Lonely Dell Ranch Historic District is eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under criterion A for its association with Mormon settlement (areas of significance: Transportation, Agriculture, Commerce, and Ethnic Heritage) and its association with exploration and development of the Colorado Plateau (areas of significance: Exploration/Settlement and Industry). District resources are also significant examples of pioneer construction, where residents built what they needed with what they had (area of significance: Architecture). Finally, the district is significant for its association with Mormon "Zealot, Pioneer Builder, Scapegoat,"[3] John D. Lee. The district has been evaluated within the context of Mormon settlement of the larger region of "Deseret," defined by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) as including all of Utah, southern Idaho, and Arizona. This expansion beyond the Great Salt Lake Basin was pivotal to the consolidation of Mormon economic and political power and thus to the creation of a western Zion where Mormons were able to withstand attack by non-Mormons and assimilation within non-Mormon culture. Within this regional context, the isolated Lee's Ferry crossing at the Colorado River played a significant role.

Lee was actively involved with Lee's Ferry and Lonely Dell Ranch only from 1871 until 1874, years spent in exile for his role in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. From this event "emanated a complex of tragic feelings that touched the lives of the entire [Mormon] society and for decades placed a limiting and distorted hand on that society's perception of its past."[4] Lee is the individual most associated with the massacre and Lee's Ferry/Lonely Dell Ranch is the place most closely associated with the defining years of his exile, his capture, and his execution; the site best represents Lee's important role in the history of southern Utah and of the LDS Church.

The period of significance for Lonely Dell Ranch extends from 1871, when John D. and Emma Lee initiated sustained agriculture, until 1936 when the Johnson family and the LDS Church terminated involvement and ownership. The period of significance for the Lee's Ferry complex begins with Lee's 1872 crossing of Navajo Indians on the skiff *Nellie Powell* and ends with the last ferry run, in June of 1928. **See continuation page**

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[2] This new historic district excludes land previously listed in the National Register and includes additional land within the Upper Ranch (previously unsurveyed). While the existing Lees Ferry and Lonely Dell Ranch historic districts are not being delisted at this time, they have been amended to include a discussion of the combined historic district and the new boundaries.

[3] Juanita Brooks, *John Doyle Lee. Zealot, Pioneer Builder, Scapegoat* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1993 [second edition]).

[4] Charles S. Peterson, "Introduction," in Juanita Brooks, *Emma Lee* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1993), p. 11.

## 9. Major Bibliographic References

### Archival Collections:

Glen Canyon National Recreation Area Library and Archives, Page, Arizona

Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections and Archives, Flagstaff, Arizona
See continuation page

**Previous documentation on file (NPS):**
___ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ previously listed in the National Register
___ previously determined eligible by the National Register
___ designated a National Historic Landmark
_X_ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _AZ-58_
___ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

**Primary Location of Additional Data:**
_X_ State Historic Preservation Office
___ Other State agency (NPS: Page, AZ and Denver, CO)
_X_ Federal agency
___ Local government
_X_ University (University of Northern Arizona, Cline Library)
___ Other - Specify Repository:

## 10. Geographical Data

**Acreage of Property:** 470

| UTM References: See Continuation Page | Zone | Easting | Northing |
|---|---|---|---|
| | A 12 | 4453600 | 40828200 |

### Verbal Boundary Description

The boundaries incorporate all extant historic resources associated with the upper and original ferry crossing, the Spencer mining operation, and the USGS camp at Colorado River Mile 0. At the south the boundaries follow the north bank of the river; at the east, west and north, they generally follow the 3200' contour, incorporating Lee's Lookout, Lonely Dell Ranch, and the Upper Ranch (to the point-of-diversion on the Paria River). See attached sketch map.

### Boundary Justification

At the formal request of the Navajo Nation, these boundaries exclude all land and significant associated resources on the south bank of the Colorado River (including the upper and lower dugways, rock inscriptions, and the USGS gauging station). With the exception of this artificially imposed limit, boundaries correspond to the historic limits of land use: the Paria and the Colorado rivers provide a physical link between seemingly disparate resources while the walls of Paria and Glen canyons and the limited opportunities for soil deposition or wagon access define the north, east, and west boundaries. Noncontributing resources within these boundaries include the parking lot, comfort station, and boat ramps at the boat launch area, and NPS maintenance yard.

## 11. Form Prepared By

**name/title:** Ann Hubber/Historian
**organization:** Historical Research Associates, Inc. **date:** July 1997
**street & number:** P.O. Box 7086 **telephone:** 406 721-1958
**city or town:** Missoula **state:** MT **zip code:** 59807-7086

### Property Owner

**name/title:** NPS, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area
**street & number:** Post Office Box 1507 **telephone:** 520 608-6275
**city or town:** Page **state:** AZ **zip code:** 86040

**7. Narrative Description, continued**

The river, cliffs, and area isolation also defined construction style and building materials. With the exception only of Warren Johnson's two-story frame farmhouse (no longer extant), district resources were constructed of the prevalent Moenave and Navajo sandstones, of the abundant willow and wiregrass that lined the Paria bottom, of driftwood provided by the Colorado at flood stage, and of the salvaged remains of boats and other equipment abandoned in the isolated canyon bottom. Milled lumber, hauled-in by wagon or milled on site, was used only rarely, and then sparingly. Windows were small and ceilings low in concession to the summer heat. Like the landscape, this reliance on native materials lends a cohesive style to the discontiguous buildings of varied function that compose the district.

**LONELY DELL RANCH (Residential Cluster)**

Extant historic resources at Lonely Dell Ranch include Emma's Cabin and a blacksmith shop, thought to have been constructed by John D. Lee ca. 1873; a stone root cellar, possibly the cellar completed by Lee in January of 1872; the "Picture Window Shack," possibly James Jackson's residence constructed in 1873; a stone bunkhouse constructed in 1916 by the Grand Canyon Bar Z Cattle Company and enlarged in 1936 and 1938 by Leo and Hazel Weaver; and a small cemetery. Landscape components include 36 acres of level soil that extend north and east of the building complex toward the Paria River; grey silt, deposited by eons of flash flood and a century of irrigation, marks the cultivable land as clearly as the flat topography. A red mulberry tree located near the blacksmith shop was most likely planted by Warren Johnson, as fodder for silk worms and for shade. Feeder ditches, many of them stone lined and all of them marked by stone and wood diversion gates, criss-cross the site.

Non-extant historic resources -- identified in primary documents or shown in historic photographs -- include the original Lee stone residence and the Johnson farmhouse (of which only foundation stones remain). The historic barnyard, shown in historic photographs between the farmhouse and the west edge of the canyon mouth, contained two barns, a number of stone and willow cattle feeding sheds, and a network of woven willow/pole fences and corrals. Only foundation ruins remain. The historic Lee and Johnson orchard (located north of the building complex at the south end of the lower fleld), vineyard, and truck garden are also no longer evident.

Post 1974, the National Park Service planted a large orchard of pear, peach, apricot, and plum trees south of the building complex, in an effort to duplicate the historic orchard. The elaborate stone-pier and split rail fence adjacent to the Weaver residence was constructed post 1969, when it replaced a substantial pole and rail fence.[5] Two large settling ponds, located due west of the cemetery, were constructed in 1964.

[5] Lonely Dell Ranch/Weaver residence photograph, 1969, printed in W. L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton, *Lee's Ferry, Desert River Crossing* (Salt Lake City: Cricket Productions, 1992 [2nd edition]), p. 136.

**Emma's Cabin (aka Lee's Cabin or J.D. Lee Ranch House), HS-232, constructed ca. 1873 by John D. Lee. Contributing Building (previously listed as building #7)**

Emma's Cabin is a one-story log building with a simple one-room rectangular floorplan (14'x19'6"), constructed on a sandstone foundation. Logs are joined with a loose dovetail notch (modified to accommodate the logs' irregular shape and size), chinked with small logs, and daubed with mud and straw. Both the north and south ends of the front (east) elevation contain pieces of well-worn and irregularly shaped milled-lumber - reported to have been salvaged from one of Major Powell's boats. Horizontal board-and-batten siding covers the gable ends. Wood shingles cover the side-gable roof. Roof features include a stovepipe at the northeast corner and exposed rafter ends.

A shed-roof porch runs the length of the front (east) elevation. Three symmetrically spaced log posts, 2"x4" rafters, and a pole beam support the shed roof. The pole beam has split at the north end, causing the roof to sag. Sandstone blocks (two courses along the east edge) form the porch floor. A centered board-and-batten door is located within the protective confines of the porch. Additional fenestration includes a board-and-batten double-leaf door offset to the west end of the north elevation; a one-over-one double-hung window centered within the west elevation; and a one-by-one sliding-sash window offset to the east end of the south elevation. Both windows are trimmed with milled-lumber. The doors are untrimmed, set in substantial milled-lumber frames, and are secured with modern strap hinges.

**Interior**

Eight-inch tongue-and-groove planks cover the floor of this one-room cabin. The log walls have been whitewashed and the ceiling is dropped, with milled-lumber planks over the exposed floor joist of the upper-level loft. Doors and windows are trimmed with milled lumber, in a variety of widths. The interior of the front-elevation door has been painted in a traditional Scandinavian heart-and-tulip design, possibly by former resident Samantha Nelson Johnson. Fixed furnishings include a pole ladder to the unfinished loft. Crampton and Rusho report that the loft is a modification dating to the Warren years (within the period of significance).[6]

**Blacksmith Shop, HS-233, constructed ca. 1873 by John D. Lee. Contributing Building (previously listed as building #8)**

The blacksmith shop is a one-story log building rectangular in plan (13'8"x16') and constructed on a sandstone foundation. Logs are V-notched, chinked with poles and daubed with mud and mortar. Some, but not all, of the logs are hewn. The large sill logs appear to be replacements. Wood shingles cover the shallow side-gable roof. Rafter ends are exposed and the gabled ends are finished with vertical boards. Fenestration is limited to a board-and-batten door offset to the north end of the east elevation; a shuttered window opening centered within the north elevation; and a shuttered window opening offset to the north within the west elevation. Wide strap hinges secure the board-and-batten door and both shutters.

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[6] Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*.

**Interior**

The single room is unfinished, with a dirt floor, log walls, and an open ceiling exposing the roof structure. The door and windows are untrimmed. A variety of tools and old window frames litter the floor. The interior appears to be unmodified and contributes to the building's significance.

**Root Cellar (aka Dugout Cellar), HS-234, possibly constructed in 1871 by John D. Lee. Contributing Building (previously listed as building #9)**

The semi-subterranean root-cellar has stacked sandstone walls. The front (south) elevation is the most substantial, approximately ten-courses high. A two-course stone skirt wall provides additional structural support at the rear (north) elevation. Both the east and west (side) elevation walls average only 1' in height. The central portion of the roof structure is flat with sides sloping down to the east and west to join with the short side-elevation walls. A mixture of mud and grasses covers the 2"x12" board and pole roof structure. Roof features include two wood vents. Fenestration is limited to a board-and-batten door located below ground level at the front elevation. Four stone steps provide access.

**Interior**

The root cellar is unfinished save for the extensive wall shelving. The floor is dirt, walls are stone, and the ceiling is open, exposing the 2"x12" plank roof structure and the crooked log center beam. Posts and bracing have been added, at an unknown date, to support the sagging roof. The interior is unmodified and contributes to the building's significance.

**Jackson's Cabin (aka Picture Window Shack or Barn), HS-236, constructed ca. 1873 by James Jackson(?). Contributing Building (previously listed as building #11)**

Of unknown provenance and function, this building has been described as a barn, milk barn, and "picture-window shack." However, door and window size and placement are typical of residential construction. That, and the building's location on the ten acres given to Lee's assistant James Jackson in 1873, suggest that the building may have served as Jackson's cabin. While the large south-facing window is also typical of chicken coops, this use is unlikely given the building's size and distance from the main building complex.

The one-story log building has a rectangular (13'6"x16') footprint and was constructed on a log-sill foundation. The logs, which vary widely in shape and size, are joined with dorsal saddle notches. The walls are chinked with split logs, and are daubed with a mixture of mud and straw. The original shallow-gable juniper-pole roof structure (historically covered with dirt and grass) is now topped with milled-lumber planks, tar paper, and gravel/dirt ballast. Fenestration is limited to the large "picture-window" opening that dominates the south elevation and a door opening centered within the east elevation. The board-and-batten door is propped against an interior wall.

**Interior**

The one-room interior is unfinished, with a dirt floor, log walls, and an open ceiling that reveals the historic juniper-pole roof structure. The interior contributes to the building's significance.

**Grand Canyon Bar Z Cattle Co. bunkhouse (aka Weaver ranch house), HS-235, constructed 1916-1938. Contributing Building (previously listed as building #10)**

The Weaver ranch house was constructed in two primary phases: 1916, when the Grand Canyon Bar Z Cattle Company built the rectangular stone bunkhouse, on an east-to-west axis, and 1936-1938 when Leo and Hazel Weaver constructed a frame north-south wing at the east extreme of the original component, creating a T-shaped footprint. Both components are constructed on a stone foundation and preformed metal panel roofing covers both components of the cross-gable roof.

The south half of the west elevation of the stone component contains an enclosed entry porch. The porch has a gabled roof. The board-and-batten door is offset to the south and is flanked to the north by a screened opening. Screened openings are also located on the south and north elevations of the entry porch. The upper walls and shallow gable end of the porch are wood frame (sided with board-and-batten) suggesting that the entry post-dates bunkhouse construction. Features to the north of the entry, within the west elevation of the primary wall, are limited to a paneled door, painted white.

The long south elevation of the stone component contains a board-and-batten door, sheathed with tongue-and-groove, and flanked to either side by three pair of six-light wood-frame casement windows. Features within the long north elevation of the stone component include a stone chimney shouldered at 4', and tapering upward. A low hatch door to the right of the chimney may access the wood box. A pair of six-light casement windows is located to the left (east) of the chimney and two pair of six-light casement windows are located to the right (west) of the hatch door.

The wood-frame addition was constructed in two phases: first a wood-frame side-gable (east-to-west) "alcove" that projects only slightly beyond the south elevation of the stone component, and, second, the front-gable north-to-south addition. Narrow, white-painted, horizontal lap siding, finished with cornerboards, covers the exterior walls of the addition.

A narrow batten door, with two vertical lights, is set in the south side of the west elevation of the alcove. A single, six-light, fixed-frame window is centered in the alcove's south wall. Features in the alcove north wall (flush with the stone wall of the north elevation) include a two-panel, tongue-and-groove door on the east side and a six-light, fixed-frame window to the west. The doors and window frames/sashes are painted white.

The east elevation of the north-south component contains single six-light, double-hung windows at the extreme north and south sides. A pair of six-light double-hung windows is located off-center to the north. A small, four-light, fixed window is offset to the south. A pair of side-hinged, tongue-and-groove doors, located between the windows on the south side of the elevation, provide access to the cellar. Features on the north and south elevations of the wood-frame addition are limited to a pair of centered, six-light, double-hung windows.

**Interior**

The interior of the stone component contains a kitchen and associated storage rooms, dining room, and living room. These rooms are finished with plaster walls, and have 5½" wooden window trim. The kitchen and storage room ceilings are fiberboard with battens, and the floors are covered with vinyl tile. The interior doors are board-and-batten. The residence is lit with incandescent light fixtures.

In the dining room, the ceiling beams are exposed, with 1"x6" tongue-and groove sheathing between. The floors are 1"x3½" tongue-and-groove. Single, semi-circular, "wagon wheel" pedestals are located along the north and south interior walls. A deep room divider between the dining room and living room contains a large, recessed archway, with low benches on either side of the recessed area. South of the divider, steps lead down to the living room.

The living room floors are 1"x3½" tongue-and-groove, and the beam ceiling is finished with 1"x4" tongue-and-groove sheathing. A large stone fireplace is centered along the north wall. Wrought iron hardware adorns the board-and-batten doors. At the east end of the room, steps lead up to an alcove and entry hall. The small hallway leads to the wood-frame component of the house.

The addition interior contains a bedroom, bath, living room, and kitchen. The walls and ceilings are finished with textured sheetrock. Wooden, 1"x4" boards, flared at the corners, trim the doors and windows. Kitchen and bath finishes include sheet vinyl floors. The bedroom and living room are carpeted.

National Park Service records indicate that the interior finishes date to the Weaver era or to subsequent remodels associated with conversion of the addition to an apartment for park service personnel. The interior postdates the defined period of significance and does not contribute to the building's significance.

**Warren Johnson House Foundation, HS-237. Contributing Site**

The foundation remains of the Warren Johnson house consists of a roughly rectangular arrangement of rocks infilled with silt and sand. The stone foundation wall is higher on the north and west sides.

**Cemetery, 1874-1925. Contributing Site (previously listed)**

Fenced since at least 1966 with chain link yet historically marked only by log barriers, the cemetery contains 20 graves arranged in two rows. Of these, only two have not been identified. James Jackson, four of Permelia and Warren Johnson's children, Price Johnson's infant son, David and Vida Brinkerhoff's infant son, and James Emett and his infant granddaughter (daughter?) Lucy are buried here. Grave markers vary considerably in materials, size, physical condition, and style, from two unmarked graves at the south end of the west row, to the piles of stone over James Jackson and Lucy Emmett's graves, to the elaborate (and modern) engraved marble headstones marking the graves of the Johnson children and of John G. Kitchen (see additional documentation). Passing strangers who died at or near the ferry crossing, yet who are not associated with the historic site, are also buried here.

**Settling Ponds, ca. 1940 - ca. 1980. Noncontributing Structures (2)**
Two large settling ponds located west of the road and the cemetery (constructed in 1964) are counted as noncontributing resources. These large, roughly rectangular holding ponds measure 84'x245'. They have walls of compacted earth and are unlined. A metal pipe in the south pond was used to discharge water into the irrigation ditches in the lower field.

**Irrigation System, 1871-1970. Contributing Structure**
Between 1871 and 1970, various inhabitants of Lonely Dell Ranch have attempted to convey water from Paria Creek to the fields of the main ranch and (after 1882) the upper ranch. These efforts have involved continuous reconstruction and relocation of simple earthen and stone dams and dredging and relocation of clogged ditch courses. As part of the 1920s ditch reconstruction, when the dam was moved to its northernmost point along the Paria, the Johnson brothers moved the ditch to its current location along the 3200' contour at the west base of Paria Canyon; this alignment necessitated construction of a tunnel and of a suspended wooden flume over intermittent drainages and along sections of cliff. Much of the irrigation system evident in the Lonely Dell Ranch lower fields, including a pumping station, settling ponds, and stone-lined diversion ditches, dates to Gus Griffin's ownership (1940-1965). (See section 8 for a more detailed discussion of use and construction of this irrigation system.)

Although no evidence of the dams remain, extant irrigation-system features include evidence of feeder ditches; two sections of wooden flume, suspended by cable along cliffs immediately above the cemetery and just downstream from the point of diversion; and wet-laid sandstone walls (varying in length from 2' to approximately 6') and stone columns. Both the walls and columns supported the wooden flume structure that carried the ditch course over intermittent drainages. The ditch course is no longer capable of carrying water: it has completely silted in and now appears as a raised, 5' wide trail running along the contour line at the base of the west slope of Paria Canyon. A linear line of dead and fallen tamarisk, deprived of their water source, marks the ditch location for much of its length.

Over the years, hikers/visitors developed an impromptu, unsanctioned trail above the flume remains north of the settling ponds. The NPS placed signs at each end of this trail to discourage foot traffic. In June 1997, with the intention of providing visitors easier access up the Paria, and to remove safety hazards, a NPS trail crew removed the modern water pump, sections of historic wooden flume and support cable, and constructed a trail above the flume alignment. The trail averages 3' in width and is defined on its outer edge by retaining boards. Fill was obtained by cutting 1' to 6' into the cliff face. Some flume elements were buried by fill; others, including metal support pieces, cable, and wood planking, were removed. While sufficient sections of flume remain at the northern end of the approximately 100-yard trail cut to identify flume alignment, material, and construction techniques, the trail itself is a visual intrusion on the landscape in the immediate area of the flume alignment. It also adversely affects the integrity of the flume remnants. Despite this modification, the irrigation system as a whole retains sufficient integrity to contribute to the significance of the Lee's Ferry/Lonely Dell Ranch Historic District.

**"UPPER RANCH" (Building Cluster)**
The "Upper Ranch," composed of a middle and upper field, extends two miles up Paria Canyon to the point-of-diversion of the irrigation ditch developed ca. 1930 by the Johnson brothers for the Bar Z cattle company. Additional Paria Canyon resources associated with the Lonely Dell Ranch include the land base, used by both Lee and Johnson as cattle pasture and irrigated field. These large canyon meadows are marked with remnants of fence (both diagonal weave and post and wire), a two-room frame cabin (built ca. 1920 by W. Elmer Johnson and later inhabited by Price Johnson), a corral, a tack shed, a stone hogan, and extensive domestic debris and machinery remnants. "Mother's Rock," to which Price Johnson remembers fleeing with his siblings and his mother, Samantha, in fear of federal agents in search of polygamous families, is also located within the general confines of the Upper Ranch, within the southern-most drainage to enter Paria canyon from the west. This resource has not yet been surveyed and has not been included in the resource count. All resources but the corral pre-date 1955 (based on aerial photographs) and are consistent with the Johnson brothers' historic use of the Upper Ranch through the 1920s and 1930s; they have been evaluated as contributing resources. The corral does not appear in the 1955 aerial photograph and, although it is consistent in function with adjacent resources, has been evaluated as noncontributing. None of the Upper Ranch resources were previously surveyed and the land base, corral, tack shed, two-room cabin, and hogan were not included in the original Lonely Dell Ranch National Register nomination.

**Frame House, constructed ca. 1920. Contributing Building**
The two-room, one-story, rectangular, studs-out, wood-frame house is constructed on milled-lumber sills. Unfinished, horizontal wood boards cover the exterior walls between the framing members. The side-gable roof is finished with wood shingles, and the ends of the log purlins are exposed. Unfinished milled-lumber frames the window and door openings. Both the interior and exterior doors are five-panel style, and are off their hinges. Window glazing has been broken out. The interior walls are open to the exterior wood boards. The ceiling is open to the roof structure, and the floors are unfinished wood planks.

**Tack Shed, construction date unknown (pre 1955). Contributing Building**
The small, one-room shed is located in the middle field of the Upper Ranch. The one-story, rectangular building is constructed on milled-lumber sills and has an intact, shed roof with exposed rafter ends. Unfinished, horizontal wood boards cover the exterior walls. The interior flooring is unfinished wood planks, and the walls and ceiling are open to the framing.

**Corral, construction date unknown (post 1955). Noncontributing Structure**
The simple 4-sided corral, located approximately 20 yards northwest of the tack shed, is constructed of 8"x2" milled-lumber planks secured to juniper and cottonwood posts. A loading chute extends from the south elevation.

**Hogan, construction date unknown (pre 1955). Contributing Site**
The walls of a small, elliptical hogan/root cellar are located at the base of a steep slope in the south end of the upper field, west northwest of the frame cabin. The hogan walls are wet-laid and dry-laid, semi-coursed sandstone slab

masonry, with an entry opening to the east. Domestic debris, including an aluminum washbasin and porcelain-glazed cooking pots, are scattered within and around the building.

**LEE'S FERRY (Building Cluster)**

Lee's Ferry resources extend from the lower ferry site on the north bank of the river (at the head of Paria riffle) to the upper ferry site above the bend in the Colorado, a distance of approximately 1 mile. Extant historic resources between these two points include the Lee's Ferry Post Office; the Lee's Ferry Fort and Trading Post; miscellaneous domestic structures (including a chicken coop, the ruins of a root cellar, and the ruins of two hogans); a Spencer bunkhouse (all that remains of Spencer's multiple-building complex); a 1950s USGS residence; and the scattered stone remains of two cabins and two corrals at the upper ferry site. Additional evidence of historic land use includes etched inscriptions in the stone; the paddlewheel of the *Navajo*; a boiler, the hull of a steamship, and the remarkable Spencer Trail, all associated with the Charles H. Spencer Mining operation; and the remaining vestiges of the heavily traveled wagon roads by which travelers approached the ferry crossing. In addition to these man-made resources, Lee's Lookout (HS-227), a small but prominent knoll located slightly northwest from Lee's Ferry Fort, is an important natural topographic feature. In deference to the river and the confines of the canyon, resources are arranged in a roughly linear pattern. Within this area of historic use, modern resources include a large parking lot, boat launch ramp, modern signage, a comfort station, and the National Park Service maintenance area. These resources have been defined as noncontributing components of the historic district. The Spencer Trail (HS-228), extending outside the canyon bottom, has been excluded from the district.

**Lee's Lookout. Contributing Site**

Lee's Lookout is a round knob of Shinarump conglomerate, approximately 175' high, located northwest of Lee's Ferry Fort. From this vantage point, Lee's Ferry and Lonely Dell Ranch inhabitants could survey the lower Paria canyon (including the ranch) as well as travelers approaching the ferry from the south.

**Lee's Ferry Fort, HS-220, constructed 1874 by crew from St. George Stake, LDS, and modified in 1911 by Charles Spencer. Contributing Building (previously listed as building #1)**

Lee's Ferry Fort is a one-story, two-room, masonry building with a rectangular footprint constructed on a sandstone foundation. The original, east, component was constructed in 1874 in anticipation of conflict with area Navajo Indians. The building was also designed and used (if only briefly) as a trading post and is sometimes referred to as the Lee's Ferry Trading Post. The west half of the building, now in ruins, was constructed by American Placer Mining Corporation (Spencer) crews, for use as a messhall; this use may have been discontinued ca. 1912, following completion of a new cook's house/messhall (no longer extant).[7]

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[7] Toni Carrell, editor, James E. Bradford, and W. L. Rusho, *Submerged Cultural Resources Site Report: Charles H. Spencer's Mining Operation and Paddle Wheel Steamboat* (Santa Fe: Southwest Cultural Resources Center Professional Papers No. 13, 1987), p. 40.

Like the post office (see above), the fort is constructed of randomly coursed sandstone rubble, with small stones filling the interstices between the larger stones. Tinted mud/cement mortar is recessed approximately 1" from the stone face. Four substantial cottonwood beams support the flat roof structure, which is composed of juniper poles topped with mud and straw. Purlin ends are exposed and, in contrast to the post office, extend beyond the exterior stone facing.

The roof and west wall of the west-elevation addition have collapsed. Approximately 1/3 of the south wall of this component, containing a single wood-framed window opening, is intact. Approximately 3/4 of the north wall of the addition remains standing; the wall contains two wood-framed window openings. The west wall of the original east component remains intact and contains a centered doorway.

The south (front) elevation of the original 1874 component contains a patched panel door, at center, and a board-and-batten door, offset to the east. A single window opening, with a splayed frame typical of fort/military-defense construction, is located high in the wall at the east end of the elevation. Both doors and the window have a single limestone lintel. The inscriptions "J. Hislop," E. Kane Aug. 20. 91," and "M. Connick" are etched in three of the larger stones.

East elevation features include the four exposed log purlin ends and a rectangular centered wall chimney flanked to either side by a small window opening. Both openings are framed with long flat stones.

The north elevation of the original component contains two small window openings as per those at the east elevation, and a narrow door opening is currently sealed with vertical boards.

**Interior**

The original (east) component is divided into two interior rooms. All floors are dirt, with stone slabs at the entries. Mud mortar coats the interior walls and the ceilings are unfinished, exposing the substantial log purlins and tightly placed poles of the flat roof structure. The stone window frames are angled, providing a larger opening at the interior than at the exterior. A mortared fireplace, with an open ground-level firebox, is centered within the east elevation of the east room. Upright logs at each side of the firebox support the mantel.

The interior appears to be unmodified and contributes to the building's significance.

**Post Office, HS-221, constructed ca. 1873 by Warren Johnson(?). Contributing Building (previously listed as building #4)**[8]

The post office is a one-story, single room, stone masonry building, rectangular in plan, measuring 18'3"x20'2", with the long axis extending north-south. The shallow-pitch gable roof is constructed with pole, brush, and dirt covering. Rafter ends are exposed.

Exterior walls are composed of uncoursed, random rubble, built with irregularly shaped pieces of sandstone without much regard to courses, the interstices between the larger stones being occupied by small ones. Beds and joints are uneven due to the choice of stone. Walls vary from 21" to 26" in thickness, are two stones wide, with a core of rubble and soil mortar. As part of a 1967 stabilization effort, tinted concrete/mud mortar along the masonry joints was held back an inch or more from the facing so as to give the impression of "dry-wall masonry."

A single main beam or ridge pole of cottonwood, very crooked and bowed, supports the roof structure. The ends are saw cut and flush with the exterior masonry facings. Some 20 to 30 poles ranging from 2" to 8" in diameter, some of them also very crooked and bowed, and laid fairly close together, extend from the ridge pole to rest on the sidewalls. The secondary poles are surmounted by willow and brush, with soil forming the final covering.

Features within the north elevation include a deeply recessed window opening, offset to the west. The south (front) elevation contains a six-light fixed window (recessed) and a board-and-batten door, both splayed. All window jambs and lintels were rebuilt in 1967. There are no features in the east or west elevations.

**Interior**

This one room interior is unfinished save for the mud mortar that coats the interior walls. The ceiling is open to the roof structure of peeled ridge log and juniper poles. The floor is dirt and the door and windows are untrimmed.

The interior appears to be unmodified and contributes to the building's significance.

**Chicken Coop, HS-224, construction date unknown (either by Johnson ca. 1875 or Spencer ca. 1910). Contributing Building (previously listed as building #2)**

The chicken coop is a small ½-story (4') stone building with a square footprint (8'x8') constructed on a stone foundation. Exterior walls are of random coursed uncut sandstone with mud/cement mortar. Of the flat roof structure, only four pole beams remain. Features are limited to a narrow untrimmed doorway centered in the front (east) elevation.

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[8] Building description taken from Roland Richert, NPS Ruins Stabilization Unit, "Ruins Stabilization Report. The Old Post Office, Lee's Ferry, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area," (Globe, Arizona: Southwest Archeological Center, National Park Service), December 26, 1967, Folder 18, Record Group 17516, GLCA Archives, p. 10.

**Interior**
The interior is unfinished, with a dirt floor and stone walls. It contributes to the building's significance.

**Root Cellar (HS-225), construction date unknown (by Johnson ca. 1875 or Spencer ca. 1910). Contributing Site**
Of the historic root cellar, only a scattering of stone (roughly 12'x12') remains. The subterranean interior is infilled with dirt, debris, and weeds. Although in ruins, the root cellar contributes to our understanding of domestic use of the Lee's Ferry site and has been evaluated as a contributing site.

**East and West Hogan ruins, construction date unknown. Contributing Sites (2)**
Longtime area resident Sonny Nockideneh has suggested that the two hogans at Lee's Ferry may have provided temporary housing for Navajos working to maintain the dugway or to run the ferry. This temporary use explains the south-facing doorways: "if the hogan is not used as a permanent home the opening is not as strict, [But] the opening to a permanent home always faces east."[9] Both the east and west hogans are in ruin. The dry-laid random-rubble sandstone walls of the west hogan extend to 1'6" and define a 14'-diameter perimeter; the east hogan walls are 1' high and define an 8' perimeter. The doorways open to the south. Although in ruins, the hogans contribute to our understanding of Navajo use of the Lee's Ferry trading post (a historically significant theme) and have been evaluated as contributing sites.

**Spencer Bunkhouse (aka Old Spencer Cabin or Spencer Building), HS-222, constructed 1910 by Charles Spencer. Contributing Building (previously listed as building #6)**
The bunkhouse is a one-story, single-room, stone masonry building, rectangular in plan, (18'x29') and constructed on a stone foundation. Randomly coursed sandstone rubble, with the largest stones reserved for the corners, compose the exterior walls; construction appears extremely crude in contrast to the adjacent Lee's Ferry Fort. Mud/cement mortar is deeply recessed, giving the appearance of dry-laid stone. Large irregular stones set in heavy concrete mortar form the gable ends; at the west this gable end is inset from the wall face. A concrete bond beam at the top of the wall (upon which roof members bear) appears to be a later addition. Rolled roofing covers the shallow gable roof, which is constructed of milled-lumber rafters and random-width sheathing planks.

North elevation features are limited to a boarded-over doorway, offset to the east. The east elevation contains a wood louvered vent in the gable end and a boarded-over doorway offset to the north. At some point (most likely in conjunction with construction of the interior bathroom), the lower 2' of the door opening was filled with mortared stone to create a window. The wood door jambs remain. The south elevation contains three one-by-one light casement windows with wooden sashes, evenly spaced across the south elevation. The center and east window have been boarded over. The west elevation contains a boarded-over casement window, roughly centered, and a wood louvered vent in the gable end.

[9] Sonny Nockideneh interview with Peggy Froeschauer Nelson, November 1996.

**Interior**

The original floorplan was a single room; fiberboard partition walls added later by the USGS to create a small bathroom on the southeast corner. Floors are concrete and mud mortar covers the stone walls. The fiberboard panels that once formed a dropped ceiling have collapsed exposing the roof structure (and the extensive holes in the roof sheathing). Door and window trim and hardware have been removed. The building was once wired for electricity. Incandescent light fixtures remain in place.

Fiberboard partitions at the north and west divide the bathroom from the main room. The floor is concrete. Although the shower has been removed, the toilet remains.

Interior modifications are limited to the easily reversible application of modern materials. The interior contributes to the building's significance.

**Spencer Boiler, 1910. Contributing Object**

Boilers -- at one point there were four -- were central to Charles Spencer's mining operation: coal-fired steam powered the hydraulic pumps by which Spencer reduced the Chinle shale to slurry. The boiler that remains was constructed by "Nagle Engine and Boiler Works, Erie, PA" and would have been transported to Lee's Ferry by ox- or mule-drawn wagon. Components include the fire box and stack, the steam boiler and stack, and the forty-two 3" steam tubes. The firebox door is missing.

**Spencer Trail, constructed 1911. Excluded from district boundaries.**

Jerry Johnson, an unidentified "other man," Charles Spencer, and Spencer's white mule Pete reportedly constructed the Spencer trail in 1911 as a means of transporting coal from the Warm Creek mines. "They followed that old [Indian] trail and fixed it up so they could get horses up there."[10] Although few coal-laden pack trains utilized the new trail it did provide a welcome alternative to the arduous Dominguez Pass trail. The trail is not maintained, is difficult to locate, and only barely passable as it zigzags across the east canyon rim. Although associated with the historically significant Spencer mining operation, the trail retains too little integrity for listing in the NRHP. It has been excluded from the district boundaries.

[10] Price Johnson in Reilly, "The Johnson Brothers Remember Lee's Ferry," p. 19.

***Charles H. Spencer*, HS-226, constructed 1911 by James Robertson and Herman Rosenfelt of the Robertson-Schultz Co.[11] Contributing Structure. Previously listed as a contributing component of the Lees Ferry Historic District and as an individual resource[12]**

The wreck of the *Charles H. Spencer* lies offshore on a coarse sand and silt bottom. The vessel's hull from stem to stern is substantially intact to the main deck; the superstructure is now gone and clear-cut samson posts indicate salvage of the superstructure prior to the vessel's sinking. The hull is silted in and partially buried. The starboard hull is punctured by a boulder; this is probably the damage that sank the abandoned steamboat. The hull contains much of the machinery and scattered structural elements including remnants of the towing bit, and the intact port and starboard beams of the hull, complete with frames, stubs of the samson posts, the towing bit, the sternwheel guard, rudder, and much of the main deck and guards. Turnbuckles and truss rods from the hogging trusses are also present in the hull, as are the boiler, which has unseated and lies at the bow against the gunwale.

**Upper (Main) Ferry site: (road, cabin, and corral remains), 1873-1927. Contributing Site (1)**

The provenance of these scattered ruins is uncertain. Frank Johnson is reported to have constructed a log house with stone fireplace in 1914; this is most likely the north cabin. From 1873 until approximately 1910, most ferry travelers were accompanied by horses, cattle, mules, and oxen. Stone corrals were almost certainly an early feature at the landing site and would have been continuously maintained and reconstructed. During high water, in the ferryman's absence, and when the boat was under repair, travelers might endure a wait of up to a week before crossing the river. A shelter cabin, constructed of the abundant stone available at the site (like the south cabin) could have been constructed by any number of individuals, at any time in the ferry's long history. The cabin may be that shown in a ca. 1890 photograph of Buffalo Bill Cody "@ Lee's Ferry" (see attached photo #567).

The **west corral** is constructed of dry-laid stone, now 4' high at the highest point. It measures 50'x30' and is set into the hillside where large boulders form much of the north wall. The corral gate, now identified only by a break in the foundation stones, opened to the south, towards the river.

Like the west corral, the **east corral** is constructed of dry-laid stone, 4' high at its highest point. The small oblong corral measures 13'x25'.

The **north cabin** is in ruins, with scattered stone marking the approximate location of the cabin walls (approx. 23'x25'). Extant resources are limited to two rubble-stone fireplaces/chimneys, one centered in the west

[11] Also referenced as "Schultze, Robertson, Schultze," see James P. Delgado, Maritime Historian, and Toni Carrell, Archeologist, "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Hulk of *Charles H. Spencer*," 1989, on file at GLCA, p. 8:4.

[12] Ibid, p. 7:2.

foundation wall and the second centered in the east foundation wall. Long flat stones define the east firebox while the west firebox contains a metal insert.

Only the lower 3'6" of the mud-mortared rubble-stone walls of the small (approx. 10'x12') **south cabin** are extant. The only doorway is centered in the south elevation.

The **historic road** to the Upper Ferry has been obliterated over much of its length. The current paved route past Cathedral Rock generally follows the historic road until it reaches the Colorado River. Here the modern road diverges south from the historic route along the cliff base to more-closely follow the river, taking advantage of a bridge over the Paria rather than the ford, before branching to the various park-service compounds. Along the banks of the river, between Lee's Ferry Fort and the Upper Ferry, the historic road has been washed out by heavy rain and high water and is adversely impacted by heavy foot traffic and by earth-moving activities in the vicinity of the parking lot/boat launch. The road's historic dimensions and construction characteristics are evident only in the immediate vicinity of the north ferry crossing, and again at the south bank where two wagon tracks rise from the river.

**Lower Ferry Site, 1878-1896. Contributing Site**
Abandoned for over 100 years, the lower ferry site is distinguishable only by the faint lines of the access road on the south bank of the river and by the sandy beach and calm water that identify the point as a potential crossing. The National Park Service currently uses the site as an auxiliary boat-launch area for Colorado River raft trips, during times of heavy visitor use and low water.

**USGS Building, HS-223, constructed ca. 1955 by USGS. Noncontributing Building**
The USGS building is a one-story masonry building with a rectangular footprint (16'6"x19'2") constructed on a stone foundation. Coursed sandstone blocks, more regular in shape and size than those found on the adjacent stone buildings, compose the exterior walls. The scored concrete mortar extends to the edge of the stone facing, in contrast to the recessed "dry-wall masonry" construction technique used on the post office, ferry fort, and bunkhouse. Large non-sandstone lintels define the door and window openings. Rolled roofing covers the shallow gable roof.

The front (west elevation) contains a boarded-over door, sharply offset to the north and protected by a shed roof. Two 2"x4" posts support this roof. North elevation features are limited to a pair of two-light metal-frame casement windows, boarded over, and a wood louvered vent in the gable end. The east elevation contains a pair of two-light metal-frame casement windows, offset to the north. The south elevation contains a small boarded-over window and a wood louvered vent in the gable end.

**Interior**
The floorplan consists of a main room, a small storage closet in the southeast corner and a bathroom in the southwest corner. All floors are concrete and all stone bearing walls have been parged with plaster. Fiberboard covers the partition wall between the main room and the bathroom. The fiberboard panels that once formed a dropped ceiling have collapsed, exposing the milled-lumber roof structure. Door and window trim and hardware have been removed. The building was once wired for electricity. Incandescent light fixtures remain in place.

***Navajo* Paddlewheel, 1921. Contributing Object**
The paddlewheel of the *Navajo*, operated by the Southern California Edison Co. during their dam investigations in Glen Canyon, 1921-1923, has deteriorated over the last 75 years. While the metal axle and hubs remain intact, the wooden wheel components now litter the ground, making it difficult for the casual observer to determine its function. The axle is 6' long. Wheels (3) were 8' in diameter and were reinforced with metal straps. Each wheel was bolted to a corresponding hub and 12 spokes (1 3/4"x1") radiate from each hub. None of the spokes are intact. The wheel hubs measure 16" in diameter by 3/4" thick. Geared hubs (one at each end) are 18" in diameter by 5" thick and contain 44 teeth.

**Modern NPS Maintenance Area, constructed ca. 1965 by the National Park Service. Noncontributing Buildings (4)**
The housing/maintenance area is located on the east side of a cul-de-sac along the paved access road north of the Paria River Wilderness Area parking lot. The site consists of four modern, pre-fabricated metal buildings: a large vehicle garage; an office; a large storage building; and a gable-roofed employee housing building. A chain-link fence surrounds two dumpsters and a garbage yard on the east side of the cul-de-sac, southwest of the garage.

**Modern NPS Boat Launching Facilities, constructed 1965-1985 by the National Park Service. Noucontributing Site**
During the 1960s, soon after acquiring legal title to the Lee's Ferry site, the park service constructed a large parking lot and boat ramps along a new paved entry road to the ferry site, just southwest of the post office. Circa 1985, the park service added a modern comfort station to the complex, moved the downstream boat launch facilities to a site slightly more removed from the Lee's Ferry historic buildings, added an upstream boat launch ramp, and enlarged the parking lot.

**Modern NPS Comfort Station, constructed ca. 1985 by the National Park Service. Noncontributing Building**
The modern comfort station is a one-story masonry-frame building with a roughly square floorplan that incorporates men's and women's restrooms.

**Summary Table of Contributing/NonContributing Resources**

| Resource Name | National Register Status | Historic Structure Number | Previously Listed |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Lonely Dell** | | | |
| Emma's Cabin (aka Lee's Cabin or J.D. Lee Ranch House) | Contributing Building | HS-232 | Yes: Lonely Dell Ranch Historic District, May 19, 1978 |
| Blacksmith Shop | Contributing Building | HS-233 | " |
| Warren Johnson House Foundation | Contributing Site | HS-237 | No |
| Root Cellar (aka Dugout Cellar) | Contributing Building | HS-234 | Yes: Lonely Dell Ranch Historic District, May 19, 1978 |
| Bar Z Cattle Co. Bunkhouse/Weaver Ranch House | Contributing Building | HS-235 | " |
| Jackson's Cabin(?) (aka "Picture Window Shack or Barn) | Contributing Building | HS-236 | " |
| Settling Ponds | Noncontributing Structures (2) | N/A | No |
| Ranch Cemetery | Contributing Site | N/A | Yes: Lonely Dell Ranch Historic District, May 19, 1978 |
| Irrigation System | Contributing Structure | N/A | No |
| **Upper Ranch** | | | |
| Two-room Frame Cabin | Contributing Building | N/A | No |
| Tack Shed | Contributing Building | N/A | No |
| Stone Hogan | Contributing Site | N/A | No |
| Corral | Noncontributing Structure | N/A | No |
| **Lee's Ferry** | | | |
| Lee's Lookout | Contributing Site | N/A | No |
| Lee's Ferry Fort | Contributing Building | HS-220 | Yes: Lees Ferry Historic District, May 15, 1976 |
| Post Office | Contributing Building | HS-221 | " |
| Chicken Coop | Contributing Building | HS-224 | " |
| Root Cellar | Contributing Site | HS-225 | No |

| Resource Name | National Register Status | Historic Structure Number | Previously Listed |
|---|---|---|---|
| East Hogan | Contributing Site | N/A | No |
| West Hogan | Contributing Site | N/A | No |
| Spencer Bunkhouse (a.k.a. Old Spencer Cabin or Spencer Building) | Contributing Building | HS-222 | Yes: Lees Ferry District, May 15, 1976 |
| *Charles H. Spencer* | Contributing Structure | N/A | Yes: Lees Ferry District, May 15, 1976; Hulk of *Charles H. Spencer*, submitted 1/31/1989 |
| *Navajo* Paddlewheel | Contributing Object | N/A | No |
| Spencer Boiler | Contributing Object | N/A | No |
| Spencer Trail | Excluded from district boundaries (ineligible) | N/A | No |
| Main Ferry Site (includes ferry landing, and the ruins of two cabins and two stone corrals) | Contributing Site | N/A | Yes: Lees Ferry District, May 15, 1976 |
| Lower Ferry Site | Contributing Site | N/A | " |
| USGS Building | Noncontributing Building | HS-223 | No |
| NPS Comfort Station | Noncontributing Building | N/A | No |
| NPS Parking Area and Launch Ramp | Noncontributing Site | N/A | No |
| NPS Maintenance Area | Noncontributing Buildings (4) | N/A | No |

**8. Statement of Significance, continued**

In contrast to the original National Register nominations, district boundaries have been drawn to include both Lee's Ferry and the Lonely Dell Ranch (located approximately ½ mile to the northwest) within a single historic district. These boundaries reflect the importance of the ranch to the ferry operation: Jacob Hamblin chose the crossing site not only for its accessibility but also for the presence of water and cultivable land from which a ferryman and his family could support themselves. Lonely Dell Ranch made Lee's Ferry possible. During the historical period, the limits of cultivable land and of traversable terrain (rather than formal delineation of legal ownership) defined the limits of land use. These same natural barriers form the boundaries of the historic district.

A variety of resources are found within these boundaries, including those related to mining (extraction/processing) and to the exploratory efforts of the U.S. Geological Survey. These resources have been included as contributing components of the district, linked to the primary areas of significance by their shared dependence upon the river, the means of access and egress, and the sustenance provided by Lonely Dell Ranch.

**Historical Development**

Between its confluence with the Green River in central Utah and its exit from desert canyon to desert plain near Toppock, California, the Colorado River only rarely opens its banks to human access or egress. And, with its long westward run through Glen, Marble, and Grand canyons, the river forms a nearly insurmountable barrier, melding the northern strip of Arizona with its northern neighbor of Utah in geological disregard for political boundaries.[13]

Yet as the Colorado leaves Glen Canyon, at its confluence with the Paria River, the canyon walls fracture to a jumbled staircase of exposed Navajo sandstone and Chinle shale that, for a stretch of almost two miles, allows difficult and dangerous passage. Here the river may by forded and access gained to the southern reaches of the Colorado watershed:

> Geographically our 42nd and Broadway lies exactly in the center of [the Colorado River Basin]. Like Times Square, it has its popular name, Lee's Ferry. For nearly four centuries everybody has eventually showed up here at the confluence of the Colorado and the Paria.[14]

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[13] Leland Hargrave Creer, "Mormon Towns in the Region of the Colorado," *Anthropological Papers*, Department of Anthropology, University of Utah, No. 32 (Glen Canyon Series No. 3), May 1958, p. 24.

[14] Frank Waters quoted in Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 2.

**Fray Dominguez and Fray Escalante**

On October 26, 1776, Spanish priests Francisco Atanasio Dominguez and Silvestre Velez de Escalante camped on the north bank of the Colorado River, just upstream from the mouth of the Paria. The priests and their small entourage had been in search of a northern trail between Santa Fe and the Monterey Mission when they encountered early snow near present-day Cedar City in southern Utah. Deterred, the priests turned eastward, hoping to return to Santa Fe by a direct but unexplored route. From the native Paiutes, Dominguez and Escalante learned of a shallow Colorado ford. Inadvertently traveling south of the rumored crossing, the priests reached what is now known as Lee's Ferry. Here the river proved too deep to ford on horseback, too deep to pole across on crude willow raft, and too swift and wide to swim. Historians W. L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton report that the priests "named their camp 'San Benito' -- a monk's robe of penance -- then added 'Salsipuedes,' which means 'get out if you can.'" Paria River, along which they gratefully escaped the canyon confines, they christened Rio Santa Teresa.[15] Void of all cultural artifacts, Dominguez and Escalante's campsite, stop #8 on the National Park Service Lee's Ferry tour, is recognizable only by Escalante's description of a sheltered place, beside the river, near a high rock.[16]

**Deseret**

In 1847, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS; followers commonly known as "Mormons") President Brigham Young led the Mormon faithful from the grave of their leader Joseph Smith and the ashes of their Illinois homes to a promised land in the isolated Rocky Mountain West. In the shadow of the Wasatch Mountains, at the brink of an inland sea -- arid, alkaline, and inhospitable land "that no one else wanted" -- Young proclaimed "This is the place." Mormon emigrants began to build, to cultivate, and to populate the Kingdom of God.[17]

In March, 1849, Young petitioned Congress to recognize the state of Deseret,[18] bounded on the north by the Columbia River, on the east by the Continental Divide, on the west by the Sierra Nevada, and on the south by the Gila River and the newly defined Mexican border. Though a hostile Congress demurred, substituting instead a territory only half as large, "Deseret remained real for the Mormons" who established a series of strategic outposts from Fort Lemhi (north) to Carson City (east), to San Bernardino (south and west). These posts served multiple purposes: they provided a

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[15] Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 9.

[16] Ibid., p. 134.

[17] D.W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers 55* (June 1965), p. 197; Wallace Stegner, *Mormon Country* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1942), pp. 33-51.

[18] From the Book of Mormon, "meaning honeybee [and] symbolizing the productive industriousness of the ideal society," see Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region," p. 198.

Mormon presence, outlining the boundaries of Deseret; they supported a growing Mormon population; and they established a missionary presence in the traditional homelands of the "Lamanites," a name Mormons applied to American Indians who, according to the Book of Mormon, had fallen from faith and awaited salvation.[19]

In the first decade of expansion Mormons clashed with the federal government over a variety of political, cultural, and religious issues, leading in 1857 to the "Mormon War" during which Colonel Albert Johnston's Army of 2500 federal troops marched on Utah to quell a rumored Mormon rebellion and to depose Young as Territorial Governor. In the climate of panic, anger, and retribution generated by the federal mobilization, southern Utah colonists and their Paiute Indian allies killed all adult (and many children) members of a Gentile emigrant train enroute to California, an event known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre.[20] With the exception of this isolated (and long-unreported) incident, the war was short-lived: "after weeks of tension a compromise was reached by which a garrison of troops was allowed to exhibit the federal presence and power in Mormondom but without any harsh curbing of the local society."[21]

With outlying posts in non-Mormon territory revealed as vulnerable, Mormon leaders turned to "contiguous colonization," spreading outward from the central core of the Salt Lake Basin and adjacent valleys to the contiguous limits of cultivable terrain. Upon settlement of Utah's Dixie (Saint George, Harmony, Panguitch, Cedar City and other southern communities), land south of the Colorado River attracted renewed Mormon attention, as a place to farm and to preach to the resident Hopi.

In 1858, 1859, and 1860 Mormon missionaries led by Jacob Hamblin ventured to Hopi villages located southeast of the Colorado River. In 1859, the party camped at the mouth of Pahreah (Paria) Creek where they found "plenty of water, grass, and cottonwood."[22] On this and subsequent missions Hamblin and his men forded at what is now Lee's Ferry. (Recounting these years Hamblin described an 1869 crossing: "We crossed the Colorado where Lee's Ferry now is. Our luggage went over on rafts made of floatwood fastened together with withes.")[23] As they had an earlier generation of Catholic missionaries, the Hopi received the Mormons with indifference and disdain, refusing to provide either an attentive ear or minimal subsistence.

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[19] Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region," pp. 198-203.

[20] Federal troops did not confirm the massacre until 1859 and the massacre played no role in inciting further armed incidents.

[21] Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region," p. 201. See also N.F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict 1850-1859* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960) for a more complete discussion of the Mormon War.

[22] Thales Haskell (1859), quoted in Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 13.

[23] Hamblin, quoted in Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 17.

Due in part to the negotiated dismissal of Indian Agent W.F.M. Arny (with whom the Navajo had been displeased), to a (brief) Church-imposed hiatus on Mormon settlement in sensitive lands south of the Colorado River, and to the exoneration of the Mormons in the Grass Valley killings, Lee's Ferry Fort was never used as a fortress.[27]

**Lonely Dell**

In January 1870, Jacob Hamblin expanded the size and utility of the Fort Meek encampment when he cleared a patch of land along the creek, dug 1½ mile of irrigation ditch, and planted wheat; the struggle for subsistence in the bottomlands of the Paria had begun.[28] John D. Lee, two of his wives, and eleven of his children arrived at the confluence two years later.

John D. and Aggatha Woolsey Lee converted to Mormonism in 1838, and traveled with the faithful from Missouri, to Illinois, to Salt Lake City. In the intervening years, Lee found favor with Brigham Young and the Apostles, was granted eighteen additional wives, and in July of 1850 accepted the "call" to colonize southern Utah. Here he quickly assumed a position of wealth, respect, and power, and, here, he participated in (many said led) the Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1857.[29]

Lee's biographer Juanita Brooks writes of him:

> He has become one of the most controversial figures in the history of the West, a man around whose name has grown an amazing mass of folklore. In the minds of many he is a fiend incarnate . . . . His family, on the other hand, picture him as a hero-martyr who died to save the good name of his church and assumed in silence the full disgrace of a group crime for which he was not responsible. They insist that, although he participated in the massacre, he did so on the orders of his ecclesiastical and military superiors and under protest. Somewhere between, lies the truth.[30]

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[27] Ibid., pp. 12-17, 37-40.

[28] Ibid., p. 17.

[29] Juanita Brooks, *John Doyle Lee. Zealot, Pioneer Builder, Scapegoat* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1993), passim. Only one in ten Mormon families was polygamous. Of these families, two wives were most common. Historian Robert Hine reports that "Men with large numbers of wives were in the hierarchy of the church or were among the wealthiest Mormons. . . . Sometimes marriages were wholly charitable acts, as when John D. Lee at the age of thirty-five took into his household a woman of forty-eight and later married at one time a widowed mother and her three daughters," see Robert V. Hines, *The American West, An Interpretive History* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1973), p. 231.

[30] Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, p. 12. Excommunicated from the Church in October of 1870, Lee was reinstated posthumously on April 20, 1961, in large part due to new information presented by Brooks in her exhaustive study, *The Mountain Meadow Massacre*, 1950.

The neighboring Navajo were more openly hostile, a response to Mormon and Gentile expansion south and east into traditional Navajo lands. In 1860, Navajo relieved Hamblin and his men of trading goods intended for the Hopi. They also shot and killed Hamblin-party member George Smith, "the first casualty in a conflict with two expanding frontiers."[24] By 1860, the Navajo also found themselves at war with the United States Army. In 1864 the Navajo surrendered to U.S. forces led by Colonel Kit Carson and began the long forced march from their homeland to the Basque Redondo reserve in central New Mexico. Those who escaped the "Long Walk" fled to the northern canyons of the Colorado Plateau, where they again competed with Mormon settlers for limited land and resources.[25]

By 1864, Mormon forays south of the Colorado River had lost much of the missionary intent that had defined the earlier trips: Hamblin and his men traveled to warn the Navajo to stop their theft of Mormon livestock. In October 1869, Hamblin posted guards at Pahreah Crossing to watch for Navajos crossing the river. Guards christened the small outpost (consisting only of a stone building and a corral) "Fort Meeks" in honor of camp leader William Meeks (NPS Lee's Ferry Tour stop #7). Although the camp was disbanded shortly thereafter, Pahreah Crossing remained a strategically important site.

In January 1874, non-Mormons William, Tom, Bill, and George McCarty, members of Butch Cassidy's Wild Bunch, murdered two young Navajo men at Grass Valley, Utah. In return, Navajo leaders threatened war against southern Utah settlers. Hamblin, sent to broker peace, promised reparations of cattle and other livestock. These promises were not met, in part due to the poverty of the southern Utah settlers, in part to Hamblin's conviction that Mormons were not responsible for the crime. As tension escalated, the Mormons abandoned their mission at Moenkopi, in the heart of Navajo country, and constructed a fort/trading post at Paria crossing, from whence they could protect the newly-established ferry (see "Lee's Ferry," below) and establish a friendly center of trade. Historians Crampton and Rusho write:

> Anticipating that the Navajos would come to Lee's Ferry to negotiate, Hamblin was anxious to make the place important to them, not only as a place to talk but as a place of trade. At the May semi-annual Mormon conference, held in 1874 at St. George, Jacob [Hamblin] therefore proposed that a trading post be built at Lee's Ferry. A useful trading post would mean that Navajos would not have to journey into the Utah settlements to trade, which would be easier for the Indians and considerably safer for the villagers. Brigham Young agreed to the suggestion and ordered construction of the post . . . . Although called a trading post, it was also referred to as a fortification.[26]

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[24] Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 14.

[25] Ibid., p. 15.

[26] Ibid., p. 40.

Lee was excommunicated from the Church in October of 1870, as Young simultaneously pledged his support and his faith in Lee's innocence. Lee complained to Young, "I suffered the blame to rest on Me, when it should rest on Persons who's Names that have never been brought out & that if any Man had told to the contrary, his informant had lied like Hell."[31] Instead of a hearing on his excommunication Lee received an unsigned letter: "*Trust no one. Make yourself scarce & keep out of the way.*"[32]

Jacob Hamblin suggested that Lee move to the isolated Pahreah Crossing, promising

> a good place for a settlement and you are invited to take it up and occupy it with as many good ranches as you can secure. So if you have a woman with faith enough to go with you, take her along. . . . There is feed enough on the creek to keep 200 head without putting them on a ranch . . . and I will supply you with all kind of good seeds and fruit trees.[33]

Lee and his five remaining wives prepared for the move from prominence and prosperity to abjuration and poverty.[34] The harvest of 1870 had been a successful one, "Excellent both of vegatables [sic], Fruit & grain"; Lee reluctantly relinquished these fertile fields.[35] Sixth-wife Rachel Woolsey abandoned a large two-story stone home in which she had long entertained Church dignitaries. Seventeenth-wife Emma Bachelor closed the doors on the "new brick mansion" that she and companion wife Ann Gordge had inhabited less than a year, leaving behind "her garden, the arbor with its heavy bunches of grapes, the flowers that always won prizes at the fair." Ann Gordge, although proclaiming her loyalty and love for Lee, ultimately chose to stay behind. She lost not only her home but also her two young children, who legally belonged to their father and who would be raised by Rachel and Emma.[36]

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[31] Lee quoted in Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 29.

[32] Quoted in Ibid.

[33] Lee's journal 11/15/1870, quoted in Creer, "The Mormon Towns," p. 20; also in Brooks, *Emma Lee*, p. 52.

[34] Of Lee's nineteen wives, only seven remained with him in 1870. This number reduced to five when Terressa Morse Chamberlain and Ann Gordge left Lee soon after his excommunication. Three of the remaining five wives stayed in Utah: Sarah Caroline Williams in Panguitch and Mary "Polly" Young and Lavina Young in Skutumpah. Rachel Woolsey and Emma Bachelor followed Lee to Arizona where Emma was established at Lee's Ferry/Lonely Dell Ranch and Rachel at the Pools (House Rock Valley) and, after 1873, at Moenkopi [aka Moenavi] (Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, p. 378; Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 29; Brooks, *Emma Lee*, p. 82).

[35] Lee's journal entry August 15, 1870, quoted in Brooks, *Emma Lee*, p. 46.

[36] Brooks, *Emma Lee*, pp. 24, 46, 56. In 1872, Merabe Emma, age 3, left Lee's Ferry with Rachel. Samuel James, age 4, stayed with Emma.

Rachel, Emma, and the youngest children proceeded by wagon toward the Colorado while Lee, his 13-year-old son Ralph, and friends John Mangum and Tom Adair trailed 57 head of cattle down Paria Canyon to the Colorado. As the canyon widened to the grassy coves and meadows Lee left all but 12 of the cattle, initiating a long history of ranching in the canyon.[37]

The wagon train arrived at Pahreah Crossing in the dark, four days before Christmas 1871. At first light, Emma rose to examine her new home and encountered only sand, scrub brush, and vertical walls of sandstone cliffs that effectively divided her from her past and would define the foreseeable future. "Oh! What a lonely dell!" she is said to have cried. The name endured, signed to Lee's letters and journal entries and, after July 24, 1872, adopted by the U.S. Geological Society and duly noted on U.S. maps. The ranch would also be known as "Lee's Ferry Ranch," in recognition of its important ties to ferry operation.[38]

Heavy northwesterly winds on Christmas Day reminded Lee

> of former storms as the heaps of sand indicated, which I considered a timely warning not to build in this place. So I selected a location a little further down the valley where the N.W. winds would not have so faire [sic] a sweep.[39]

By January 12, 1872 Lee had commenced construction of a stone corral and had completed a willow chicken coop and two rock rooms in the mouth of Paria Canyon. Using Lee's journals, historian Juanita Brooks describes the rooms as "placed in an L-shape design with the openings to the inside and the backs to the south and east, . . . each [with] a fireplace, a flagstone floor, and a slant roof made of poles, willows, and wiregrass from the creek. They were covered with sand."[40] The smaller of the two rooms was later converted to a cellar. Mud and lime mortar covered the interior walls of the larger room, which also featured two small windows and a door. Here, on the 17th of January, Emma gave birth to Frances Dell.[41]

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[37] Ibid. p. 305.

[38] Ibid., p. 57; Creer, "The Mormon Towns," p. 20.

[39] Juanita Brooks, "Lee's Ferry at Lonely Dell," *Utah Historical Quarterly* (Vol. 25, No. 4, October 1957), p. 284.

[40] Brooks, *Emma Lee*, pp. 59-60. The text of the NPS Walking Tour of Lonely Dell Ranch (2nd edition) notes that Emma's Cabin had been constructed by January of 1872. However, historian Juanita Brooks, working with Lee's journals, consistently refers to these first shelters as being of stone construction.

[41] Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, p. 308; Brooks, *Emma Lee*, p. 64.

Through the month of February, Lee and his sons constructed a stone and earthen dam on the Paria, worked to get the water to the land,[42] and prepared the land for planting. On February 22 Lee traveled to the town of Paria, up canyon, "where he traded items secured from the Indians for grape roots, shrubs, and seeds." By March, Lee and his wives had planted "a large patch" of lucerne (alfalfa [English]); a field of wheat; a patch of corn; a vineyard; an orchard of apricot and peach; and a vegetable garden of radishes, onions, parsnips, lettuce, rhubarb, summer squash, beets, onions, beans, melons, and turnips. Cattle grazed in the lower reaches of Paria Canyon, and pigs, chickens, milk cows, and saddle horses inhabited the main yard.[43]

If with little else, Lonely Dell was blessed with a 249-day growing season and winter temperatures that only rarely dropped below freezing: "Throughout the summer they continued to plant, knowing well that corn planted here in mid-July would ripen in October, and that turnips and other root crops would do well all winter."[44]

Sustenance through the coming months tenuously promised, Lee and Rachel left Lonely Dell for the Pools, 26 miles to the north, where Lee had filed a water claim, would run the majority of his stock, and would establish a home for Rachel and her children.[45] Soon after Lee's departure, a flash flood on the Paria took out the dam, flooded the ditch, and threatened the young trees, vines, and vegetables with sustained drought.[46]

Dam failure and silt-filled floods, in June and July and again in October and November, are a constant chorus in the history of Lonely Dell, from Jacob Hamblin's first irrigation effort in 1870 until the installation, 100 years later, of irrigation pumps on the Paria River. In June 1872 Lee began "the Tug of war. A dam 8 foot deep & 7 rods long to make besides heavy repairs on the ditch."[47] A short month later he "found that a much greater freshet than any of the season had been & swept a portion of my dam away & filled up my eregating ditch some 2 feet deep with muck or clamy mudde. To remove its deposit out of the ditch was more than equeal to making a new ditch."[48] The battle resumed in

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[42] While Lee may have reused the course constructed by Hamblin two years before he would have found the ditch clogged with silt and incapable of carrying water.

[43] Brooks, *Emma Lee*, pp. 62, 90; Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, pp. 309-310; Lee quoted in Brooks, "Lee's Ferry at Lonely Dell," p. 286.

[44] H. B. Embach, "Appraisal Report, Property of Denver S. Evans, et al.," February 18, 1966, Folder 12, Record Group 17516, GLCA Archives, p. 4; Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, p. 312.

[45] Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, p. 309.

[46] Brooks, *Emma Lee*, p. 64.

[47] Lee's journal quoted in Brooks, "Lee's Ferry at Lonely Dell," p. 285.

[48] Lee's journal quoted in Brooks, "Lee's Ferry at Lonely Dell," p. 285.

October 1872 (when "the corn was ruined by the drought") and again in the spring of 1873 (when the vines withered) and again in November of 1873 (when "a flash flood, the kind he knew so well, had created such havoc that Emma could do nothing to repair the damage").[49]

Wallace Stegner writes:

> [The Mormon Village] surrounded by its fields was a practical and sound pattern of settlement, almost the only possible pattern of settlement. A man could not by himself build and keep in repair a dam, miles of ditch, and all the laborious extras of irrigation farming. This was a country that could be broken only by the united efforts of all. They worked together or they starved out separately. . . . By revelation and accident and adaptation, the Mormons discovered what the cliff-dwellers had discovered centuries before, that the only way to be a farmer in the Great Basin and on the desert plateaus of the Colorado watershed was to be a group farmer.[50]

At Lonely Dell, John and Emma Lee found water and land enough *"if only there were enough people to control the stream."*[51] In stark contrast to the communalism of Mormon towns and Mormon social covenants, Lonely Dell Ranch was a place to hide, where Emma gave birth, alone, to sixth child Victoria beyond the pale of midwife, doctor, companion wife, or neighbor, and where John D. Lee tried to reap a marginal subsistence, by individual effort.

**"Peripheral Expansions into Alien Lands": Lee's Ferry**[52]

If John and Emma were on their own at Lonely Dell, the full force of Mormon communal effort was soon visible a mere ½ mile to the east at the Colorado River crossing. Agricultural potential along the Little Colorado and points south had been identified by Hamblin in the preceding decade; the Church had now only to select the time, the place, and the names of those "called" to this new mission.[53] In 1873 Brigham Young ordered Lorenzo W. Roundy and twelve others south in a final search for settlement sites. The first colonizing parties were called in 1873 and 1876 (to Snowflake on the Little Colorado), again in 1877 (to Lehi in the Salt River Valley), and in 1878 (to St. David on the San Pedro).

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[49] Brooks, *Emma Lee*, pp. 69, 71, 83.

[50] Stegner, *Mormon Country*, p. 29-33.

[51] Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, p. 314, emphasis added.

[52] Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region," p. 204.

[53] Cultural Geographer D. W. Meinig describes the colonization effort: "The larger body of young persons and newcomers who needed land would be joined to a cadre of experienced pioneers and essential craftsmen carefully seleeted for the task. The Mormon term for such seleetion is'called,' and it was tantamount to an order, though one usually willingly obeyed as a proper duty whatever the personal sacrifice." See Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region," p. 198.

Missions continued apace until 1890. These colonization efforts would depend absolutely on the narrow strip of road leading to the north bank of the Colorado River, the dangerous river crossing, and the arduous south-bank egress over the south canyon wall and on to the high plateau.[54]

On Dec. 26, 1872, one year into exile, while working on his house at the Pools, Lee received a letter from President Young: Church authorities were ready to open the route to emigration to Arizona and wished Lee to operate the crossing. Lee was ecstatic. Once again he had been called to serve and once again he played an integral role in the settlement of the Kingdom: "You shall be remembered for your integrity and interest in the welfare of this people," the letter promised.[55]

Lumber for the first official ferry had been stockpiled at Lonely Dell during the month of December.[56] Construction proceeded at a frenetic pace. Lee put up a blacksmith shop "by building a stone forge and setting up his bellows," and Lee, "Uncle Tommy Smith," and others constructed the inaugural ferry.[57] The gunwhales:

> . . were hewn from timbers on the Kaibab forest. The dimension of these timbers . . . were 40' long, 5" thick, and 42' wide. One end of each of these timbers was securely fastened to the front running gears of a wagon, while the other end was pivoted to the rear running gears. The timbers served the purpose of a reach, a pole with one end fastened to the axle, and the other end extending out behind. A man walked along and by manipulating the pole on turns in the road, the rear wheels were steered along the track made by the front wheels. From these a 40 by 16 ft boat was finished and equipped with large sweeps, or which were operated by men as a propelling force.[58]

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[54] Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region," p. 204.

[55] Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, p. 316.

[56] On January 19, 1872, soon after his arrival at Lonely Dell, Lee was called upon to ferry a band of Navajo across the river. Lee recorded "So I with Samuel and James and my wife Rachael Andora commended to cork an old flat boat and by noon we were ready to cross" (Lee's journal entry January 18, 1972, quoted in Creer, "The Mormon Towns," p. 21). This journal account appears to disprove reports that Lee's first ferry "was constructed by building a raft of driftwood and cottonwood trees which grew near the junction of the Parhreah and Colorado Rivers (Creer, "The Mormon Towns," p. 21). Juanita Brooks and others have hypothesized that the "old flat boat" was the *Nellie Powell* built in 1871 by Major Powell of the U.S. Geological Survey (Brooks, "Lee's Ferry at Lonely Dell," p. 285; Creer, "The Mormon Towns," p. 21fn).

[57] Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, pp. 314-315. No reference has been found to construction of the blacksmith shop (HS-0233), although it has long been interpreted as having been constructed by Lee during his short tenure at the ferry site (1872-1874).

[58] Jeremiah (Jerry) Johnson, "Autobiography" (title assigned by HRA), Folder 14, Record Group 17516, GLCA Archives, p. 1.

On January 11, 1873 they celebrated the *Colorado*'s completion:

> About 12 noon we had a Public Dinner on the Bottom of the Ferry Boat, Just having finished Pitching her preparatory to launching her. . . . After Dinner we launched the Boat & called her the *Colorado* & the skiff we named *Pahreah*. The *Colorado* is 26 x 8½ feet strong A Staunch craft & well constructed & a light Runner. . . . Set down a good Post & fastened her with a cable chain & reached home about Dusk.'"[59]

In April, Joseph W. Young, James Jackson, and 25 other men arrived to improve the access roads and the approaches to and from the river (including construction of a landing, a wharf, and snubbing posts).[60] While Jacob Hamblin recommended a crossing below the confluence with the Paria, Lee argued effectively for a site one mile upriver, protected from the first rapids of Marble Canyon by both distance and a river bend. Although Lee's site would require arduous egress from the south bank it would allow passage all year long, including periods of high water.[61]

Two men -- at least one with experience, the second often the driver in need of crossing -- were required to propel the ferry safely across the current. James Jackson stayed to assist Lee and to assume primary responsibility for the ferry in Lee's frequent absence. Jackson constructed a "little cabin" on ten acres of sandy soil adjoining Lee's claim to the northeast (and bordered to the west by the cemetery), possibly HS-236, now known as the "Picture Window Shack." (Here he resided until his death on March 10, 1874.)[62]

The first company of emigrants arrived on April 22 with 9 wagons and 35 horses. Two days later Lee had them all across at a price of three dollars per wagon and seventy-five cents per horse, payable in freight or produce. A second company, of 15 wagons and 37 animals, arrived May 9, followed May 10 by 12 more wagons, and May 22 by 19 wagons and 62 animals. Mormon settlement of the valleys of the Little Colorado had begun.[63]

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[59] Lee, quoted in Brooks, *Emma Lee*, pp. 69-70. On June 16, 1873, high water tore the ferry from its moorage and sent it down the canyon. John L. Blythe & Smith constructed a replacement ferry that was launched on Oct. 15, 1873. See P. T. Reilly, "Warren Marshall Johnson, Forgotten Saint," n.d., Vol. 2, Record Group 16878, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (GLCA) Archives, p. 8.

[60] Brooks, *Emma Lee*, p. 71.

[61] Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, p. 320; Reilly, "Warren Marshall Johnson, Forgotten Saint," pp. 8-9.

[62] Reilly, "Warren Marshall Johnson, Forgotten Saint," p. 9.

[63] Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, p. 320; Brooks, "Lee's Ferry at Lonely Dell," pp. 288-289.

Once across the river the emigrants faced "Lee's Backbone" and many complained bitterly at the unanticipated danger and hardship of their mission.[64] Located on what is now the Navajo Reservation, outside the proposed boundaries of the Lee's Ferry/Lonely Dell Ranch Historic District, "Lee's Backbone" remains visible as

> a rugged, barely passable means of left-bank egress which surmounted the lower formations of the Echo Monocline. The broad cove south of the crossing is surrounded by strata which follow the natural incline of the fold, and any traveler heading south had to climb the ledge, then make an abrupt descent to reach the rolling plateau and continue his course. . . . The road, which dismayed strong men and struck dread in the hearts of pioneer women, was about two-and-a-half miles long. . . . near the crest of the ledge the road was grubbed out of a narrow shelf; the outer rut no more than a foot or two from a precipitous 500-foot plunge to the rim of the gorge. . . . The [final] descent of 350 feet was made in about four-tenths of a mile.[65]

While traveling Lee's Backbone -- often a full-day affair -- emigrants found ample time to chisel their name and date of passage in the adjacent and (too) abundant rock.

After 1877 many traveled the dugway from Arizona, enroute to the newly dedicated temple at Saint George at which their marriages could be solemnized (and for which the route became known as the Honeymoon Trail). Lee's Backbone was no easier when approached from the south and honeymoon travelers, perhaps less encumbered than the colonists by sense of duty and expectation of sacrifice, were particularly vehement in their complaints regarding the condition of the road.[66]

In the fall of 1878 Church leaders began construction of a replacement to Lee's Backbone -- a quarter-mile long bypass cut from the Shinarump formation and rejoining the Backbone road about half-way up.[67] In addition, the ferry site was moved, at least during the low-water months, to Jacob Hamblin's preferred crossing. Neither of the new alternatives was ideal: "The dugway would be steep, narrow, and expensive since blasting would have to be done, while the [lower] crossing was at the foot of the long rapid and would not be useable in high water.[68]

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[64] See, for example, Brooks, "Lee's Ferry at Lonely Dell," p. 289: "the captain complained at conditions, stating that a company should never have been called until they had a better road to the ferry and better boat. Lee . . . pointed out that all Mormon emigration had been made by people who had pitched in and helped make roads for those that followed."

[65] Reilly, "Warren Marshall Johnson, Forgotten Saint," pp. 12-13.

[66] Ibid., p. 13.

[67] Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 47.

[68] Reilly, "Warren Marshall Johnson, Forgotten Saint," p. 14.

Although not official until completion of the dugway in 1888, the replacement of Lee's Backbone was a fitting one. Lee had been captured by federal troops in Panguitch on November 7, 1874 and arrested for first-degree murder. On March 23, 1877, after two trials -- one in which the Mormon and Gentile jurors split along religious lines, and a second in which Mormon and Gentile jurors were unanimous in their decision to convict -- Lee was executed by firing squad.[69] In January of 1874, Brigham Young had ensured that Emma Lee be given title (squatter's rights) to Lonely Dell Ranch and to the Ferry site.[70] Emma stayed at Lonely Dell for five years after her husband's capture, assisted briefly by Jacob and Lyman Hamblin and, after March 1875, by Warren Johnson and his family.

On May 16, 1879, the Church directed Johnson to assume full control of the ferry operation and supporting ranch; "So, whether she wanted to or not, she must leave."[71]. "For her loss" Emma would be paid 100 head of cattle, tithed by the people of southern Utah and northern Arizona settlements. Assisted by Frank French, whom she would soon marry, and accompanied by her six children (Billy, Ike, Ann, Emma, Dellie, and Victoria) and by Ann Gordge's son Jimmy, Emma crossed at Lee's Ferry and proceeded to the central Arizona communities that she had helped to settle. In Snowflake, Holbrook, and Winslow, the children found "schools, church, dances, picnics" and Emma found a career as midwife and healer. Known as "Doctor Grandma French," she died November 16, 1897 at the age of 61.[72]

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[69] During this second trial, Jacob Hamblin testified against Lee. Lee described this testimony in a letter to Emma:

> Old Jacob Hamblin, the fiend of Hell, testified under oath that I had told him that two young women were found in a thicket . . . by an Indian chief, who brought the girls to me and wanted to know what was to be done with them. That I replied that they was to [sic] old to live and would give evidence and must be killed . . . that I then cut her throat and the Indian killed the other. Such a thing I never heard of before, let along committing the awful deed. The old hypocrite thought that now was his chance to reek his vengeance on me by swearing away my life (Lee to Emma Lee quoted in Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, p. 365).

Hamblin also testified that Lee had always maintained that the massacre was carried out according to orders and that Lee, in trying to restrain the Mormons' Pauite allies, had earned the name of "Yahguats," or crybaby.

[70] Brigham Young and G. A. Smith to John D. Lee, January 28, 1874 (from transcription in Lee's journal), quoted in Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, p. 332. At the time of a 1965 title search appraiser H. B. Embach reported: "There never was fee title to the subject property until it was homesteaded in comparatively recent years. The records of the Phoenix Land Office, disclose the fact that Patent dated May 23, 1932 [was] issued to Jeremiah Johnson [Jerry, son of Warren Johnson]," see "Appraisal Report," p. 2.

[71] Brooks, *Emma Lee*, p. 97. Brooks reports that Emma received only 14 cattle.

[72] Ibid, p. 98.

**Warren Johnson Years, 1875-1895**

Johnson's official notification of service, dated October 11, 1875, "specified he was called to a life's mission at Lee's Ferry to act as ferryman. He also was to preach the gospel to the Lamanites and administer to them."[73] Until 1879, Johnson and his family lived, briefly, in Jackson's abandoned cabin and then at Lee's Ferry Fort (domestic infrastructure, including the chicken house (HS-224) and the root cellar (HS-225) may date to these years.)[74]

Warren Johnson's business with the Navajo appears to have been brisk: Between April 1 and November 1 of 1875, he crossed 522 Indians -- the bulk of Lee's Ferry traffic during 1874-1875. Johnson's descendants remember "quite an extensive business in trading with the Indians. We always tried to keep groceries on hand for them and the other travelers. . . . the Paiutes from Kanab would come down every winter and build their wigwams and tents."[75] (Two hogans, now in ruins, may date to this period of trade when they would have served as temporary residences. Longtime area resident Sonny Nockideneh has also suggested that the two hogans at Lee's Ferry may have provided temporary housing for Navajos working to maintain the dugway or to run the ferry. This temporary use explains the south-facing doorways: "if the hogan is not used as a permanent home the opening is not as strict, [but] the opening to a permanent home always faces east.")[76] Beginning in 1883 with the Glen Canyon gold rush, Johnson also conducted significant trade with itinerant miners who used Lee's Ferry as a mail, supply, and departure point.

Mormon colonization of central Arizona resumed in 1876. Johnson is thought to have constructed the post office (HS-221) circa 1879, after his official appointment as postmaster. The new dugout trail from the upper ferry was completed between 1878 and 1881, as was the new access road at the lower ferry site. In 1881, brother-in-law David Brinkerhoff joined Warren Johnson and his wives Permelia and Samantha at the ranch. Permelia and Samantha each had four children and David and his wife Vina had three.[77] By 1884, Lee's blacksmith shop had been converted to a schoolhouse, presided over by Warren Johnson during the slow winter months, and also served as a meeting house where Johnson held services of the newly formed Pahreah Branch of the Kanab Ward of the LDS Church.[78]

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[73] Reilly, "Warren Marshall Johnson, Forgotten Saint," p. 10.

[74] Ibid., pp. 9, 13.

[75] Ibid., p. 10; Polly A. Judd, "Biography of Permelia and Samantha, Wives of Warren M. Johnson," n.d., Vol. 2, Record Group 16878, GLCA Archives, p. 2.

[76] Sonny Nockideneh interview with Peggy Froeschauer Nelson, November 1996.

[77] Reilly, "Warren Marshall Johnson, Forgotten Saint," p. 15.

[78] Judd, "Biography of Permelia and Samantha, Wives of Warren M. Johnson," p. 3; Kanab State Records, cited in Creer, "The Mormon Towns," p. 23.

(continued...)

In 1882, Johnson and Brinkerhoff cleared land in the first meadow above the main building complex and reconstructed the irrigation system to allow water distribution to a "middle field . . . two or three acres . . . just around the point from the lower ranch, above the cemetery." Warren Johnson's new irrigation ditch diverted from the Paria near the north end of the upper field. The resulting reservoir "wasn't very big . . . they'd have rocks in it, and brush, cottonwood logs and brush and a few loads of shale. . . . A little straw or clover would hold it. And the shale wouldn't wash out like sand." Johnson and his sons planted the middle field to lucerne and, later, corn.[79] "This was the beginning of the Upper Ranch."[80]

The upper field (that "little piece of land up there . . . where the river hits the ledge"), continued to be used as grazing land in continuation of a land-use tradition initiated by Lee.[81]

By circa 1887, Johnson and Brinkerhoff had completed construction of a two-story frame house and two frame barns, banked in the hillside at the western edge of the main building complex. "Emma's cabin" (HS-232) continued to be used, most likely as a home for Johnson's second wife Samantha.[82] The Brinkerhoffs would also have had a private dwelling, possibly Jackson's cabin, or the original stone house constructed by Lee in January 1872. Stock shelters, constructed of woven willow and topped with sod, dotted the barnyard, which was separated from the planted fields by stone and woven-willow fences. Photographs reveal that the cottonwood noted by Hamblin, Lee, and others continued to thrive, providing much-needed shade in the farm yard. Lee's orchard was expanded in "both variety and quantity," with apples and almonds added, and by 1895 totaled six acres.[83]

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[78](...continued)
Rusho and Crampton, in *Lee's Ferry*, report that the blacksmith shop became the schoolhouse. See p. 115. Ferrel G. Spencer, cousin to the Johnson children and son of Lee's Ferry resident Carling Spencer, remembers that "the log cabin [just south of a two-story frame house] was used for a school house and was rather crowded for the fifteen or twenty school children." See Ferrel G. Spencer, "Lees Ferry Experience," n.d., Part I, Accession 213, GLCA Archives, p. 1. This "log cabin" may have been Emma's cabin that, like the blacksmith shop, is just south of the frame-house foundation.

[79] Price Johnson in P. T. Reilly, "The Johnson Brothers Remember Lee's Ferry," Joseph Smith Johnson, Price William Johnson, and Warren Elmer Johnson, sons of ferryman Warren Johnson, interviewed by Reilly May 16, 1974, Colorado City, Arizona, transcription on file at GLCA Archives, pp. 5-6, 27.

[80] Reilly, "Warren Marshall Johnson, Forgotten Saint," p. 16.

[81] Price Johnson in Reilly, "The Johnson Brothers Remember Lee's Ferry," p. 27.

[82] Ibid. Price Johnson was born in Emma's cabin and believed the space to have been his mother's "room" prior to construction of a second house "above," presumably in the Paria canyon.

[83] Reilly, "Warren Marshall Johnson, Forgotten Saint," pp. 16, 21; Price Johnson in Reilly, "The Johnson Brothers Remember Lee's Ferry," p. 40; Excerpts from "A Journal of John A. Widtsoe," September 3-19, 1922, copied by E. M. Reilly,
(continued...)

Like Emma Lee before them, Permelia, Samantha, and Vina made what they could not grow or did not receive as payment in kind for ferry crossings. "Their hands were never idle": Wool, traded from the Navajo, was washed, pulled, carded, and spun into yarn. The women ground corn meal on a small hand mill, braided straw to make hats and rugs, wove the abundant native black willow into "beautiful and useful baskets."[84] Mulberry trees had matured and supported a silk-worm population from which the women wove silk. Fat was stripped from pigs' intestines and boiled with cottonwood ash lye to make soap. The Johnson brothers' memories of wash day were particularly vivid:

> Father had 19 children. . . and there was an enormous amount of clothing to wash. They'd hook up old Moose and Kelly on the wagon, put the tub on, and washboards . . . . They'd go down on the river bottom . . . when the water was clear. . . . Sometimes the water in the [Paria] creek would be muddy and they'd go down on the river where it was clear. They'd gather a bunch of driftwood and make a fire and put the tub on it.[85]

In his years at the ferry, Johnson made concessions to Gentile laws against, and aversion to, polygamy. Diminutive Samantha, when still young (and not pregnant), had been introduced to the accusatory or merely curious as Permelia's oldest daughter. As Samantha matured and her family grew, the subterfuge failed.[86] One of her sons, Price Johnson, remembers times "of excitement" when:

> Mother would take her baby in her arms and the older girls would take me by the arm, and the younger children, and we'd flee up the canyon. . . . Mother and her family would think whenever a stranger would come in, it might be a U.S. Marshall. There was a possibility that he might be in there to snoop around and get father unawares. . . . Mother would take her family and go up the canyon where they had a hiding place and where they could sleep and stay indefinitely as long as a stranger was around. . . . That was Mother's Rock. . .the first side canyon on the left going up.[87]

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[83](...continued)
Folder 15, Record Group 17516, GLCA Archives. John D. Lee's journals contain references to both peaches and apricots. In 1922, Widtsoe reported that "young Price Johnson" provided him with watermelon, mushmellon, apples, and apricots. Johnson, in reference to Lee's Ferry ca. 1910, remembered almonds in bloom in the fall.

[84] Judd, "Biography of Permelia and Samantha, Wives of Warren M. Johnson," p. 2; Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, p. 150.

[85] Reilly, "The Johnson Brothers Remember Lee's Ferry," p. 2.

[86] Reilly, "Warren Marshall Johnson, Forgotten Saint," p. 13.

[87] Price Johnson in Reilly, "The Johnson Brothers Remember Lee's Ferry," p. 1.

In later years, "they built her a house above [in the canyon?] . . . . They built it there on purpose, I think, to let her live up there so she could be out of the way."[88]

On October 6, 1890, eight years after the Edmunds Act established severe federal penalties for polygamy, Mormon President Wilford Woodruff surrendered to federal pressure and issued a manifesto against plural marriage.[89] Soon thereafter, Woodruff advised Johnson to establish two households, preferably in separate states. On April 27, 1891, Samantha and her children left Lee's Ferry for Kanab.[90]

Within days of Samantha's departure, a passing wagon train exposed Permelia's family to diphtheria. Jonathan (age 5), Laura (age 7), Permelia (age 9), and Melinda (age 15) died between May 19 and July 5. The children are buried in the Lonely Dell Ranch cemetery. Although Permelia's grief is unrecorded, Warren Johnson found it "hard indeed . . . to see the hand of God in the death of my children [and especially] after obeying the call of the Priesthood in coming out here and for sixteen years, having one of the hardest missions that was ever the lot of a member of this church to perform."[91]

In the fall of 1895, the Church released Warren and Permelia Johnson from their mission. After 21 years at Lonely Dell and Lee's Ferry they bequeathed to new ferryman James Emett "the finest orchard and vineyard in the country"; an apiary ("producing from twenty to sixty gallons of honey in a season"); thirty-two acres of lucerne; a garden; and 1½ miles of ditch.[92]

Mormon James Emett was 46 years old when he assumed management of Lee's Ferry and Lonely Dell Ranch. His three grown sons and their wives assisted with the myriad tasks, including "carpentry, blacksmithing, leather tanning, stone masonry, or farming."[93] Immediately upon Johnson's departure, Emett arranged with the Church for installation of a track cable across the river, at the original (or high-water) ferry site pioneered by Lee. Two years later, the south-bank access road, comprised of parts of Lee's Backbone and the short dugway completed in 1881 by Warren Johnson, was

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[88] Ibid., p. 5.

[89] Hines, *The American West*, p. 231; Stegner, *Mormon Country*, p. 212.

[90] Reilly, "Warren Marshall Johnson, Forgotten Saint," p. 18.

[91] Warren Johnson to Brother Warren Foote, August 16, 1891, Folder 15, Record Group 17516, GLCA Archives.

[92] Reilly, "Warren Marshall Johnson, Forgotten Saint," p. 20; Judd, "Biography of Permelia and Samantha, Wives of Warren M. Johnson," p. 3. Johnson acquired Emett's Cottonwood Ranch, in trade for the ferry holdings: "land surveys had not been made in this part of the country and property transfers were guided by church authorities." See Reilly, "Warren Marshall Johnson, Forgotten Saint," pp. 20-21.

[93] Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 56.

replaced with a new road constructed by a Richfield, Utah firm under contract with the LDS Church: "The final product wasn't much of a road, being only ten to twelve feet wide, but it served as the main highway for the next thirty years."[94] In retrospect, no one knew why a cable hadn't been attached earlier; the new system was not only safer but spared the ferrymen the task of hauling the ferry up the south bank before the return to the north bank to counteract the distance lost in the first crossing. Of the earlier technique Price Johnson remembered, "we were compelled to remove the crossing about ½ mile above on account of the swiftness of the current, then by means of a rope 100 feet long, we towed the Boat up over ½ mile up both Sides, making the crossimg verry [sic] hard."[95]

Emigrant travel to central Arizona had peaked by 1900 and slowed considerably in the years that followed. Historians W. L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton report "traffic along the historic road and across the ferry was almost entirely local in character. The once-vital link that had served Church interests for so long was no longer needed." In August 1909, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints sold the Lee's Ferry site to the Grand Canyon Bar Z Cattle Company. Emett followed suit a month later, selling Lonely Dell Ranch.[96]

Within two years, the Cattle Company had hired Jeremiah Johnson as ranch manager and had sold the ferry to Coconino County as part of the county road network. The county in turn hired Frank Johnson as ferryman. Warren Johnson's sons returned home: "We liked to fight that old Muddy Creek [Paria River] there."[97]

At the ranch, Jerry was soon joined by his plural wives, his brother Price (and his wives), his cousin Carling Spencer (and his wives), Clive LeBaron (and his wives), and Edner Allred (and his wives). That old muddy creek may not have been the only attraction; Lonely Dell remained a good place to hide.[98]

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[94] Ibid., p. 57. The general alignment of this new road had been laid out by Warren prior to his departure.

[95] Price Johnson in Reilly, "The Johnson Brothers Remember Lee's Ferry," p. 17; Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 56.

[96] Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 60.

[97] Price Johnson in Reilly, "The Johnson Brothers Remember Lee's Ferry," p. 51.

[98] Stegner, *Mormon Country*, p. 213; Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 116. Stegner writes that at Lee's Ferry "a number of men had gone right on adding wives and nobody had bothered to stop them. The Johnson brothers particularly were well-known polygamists. Nobody wanted to stop them. Governor Hunt of Arizona went through [Lee's Ferry] once and somebody told him the farmers were polygamists and ought to be prosecuted. The Governor took one look around and said, "Hell, if I had to live in this place I'd want more than one wife myself.'"

Like their fathers and uncles before them, the "15 or 20" multiple children of these multiple wives attended school and meeting in the "log cabin." By the middle 1920s, "for some reason, they moved the school over into one of those old rock buildings, over where the marina is there now."[99]

In their fight with the Paria, the Johnson brothers reconstructed the dam ½-mile above Warren Johnson's point of diversion. Their new ditch hugged the west edge of the valley, traversed intermittent drainages in raised flumes, proceeded through a rock outcrop by tunnel, and, at two points, skirted the west walls of the canyon by a flume hung 20' above the valley floor.[100] Price Johnson surveyed the ditch course with a spirit level: "the water run down perfect. A perfect job."[101]

Jerry and his family inhabited the main ranch house until its destruction by fire in December, 1926. After 1926, Johnson is presumed to have moved to the stone bunkhouse (HS-235) constructed by the Grand Canyon Bar Z Cattle Company in 1916. Price and his family "had the Upper Place and [were] out of sight more. . . . there's an old cabin still up there . . . The studs are on the outside and never did get covered over. . . the siding's on the inside."[102]

In recognition of his primary responsibility for the ferry, Frank Johnson and his wife lived in a cabin constructed in the shadow of a large cottonwood, at the cable crossing. As they had for generations, the river and adjacent cliffs provided building material:

> He had plenty of material there, driftwood, and that's what he built the cabin out of. At first he just did it for a past-time. He started it - but after he got it finished it was quite an elaborate affair; built out of logs, and he had a fireplace in it.[103]

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[99] Ferrel G. Spencer, "Lees Ferry Experience," n.d., Part I, Accession 213, GLCA Archives, p. 1; Owen Johnson interviewed by Glenn Clark January 16, 1976, Pipe Spring National Monument Oral History Collection, Vol. I, Interview IV, on file at Pipe Spring National Monument.

[100] W. Elmer Johnson and Price Johnson in Reilly, "The Johnson Brothers Remember Lee's Ferry," p. 28.

[101] Price Johnson in Reilly, "The Johnson Brothers Remember Lee's Ferry," p. 28.

[102] Price Johnson in Reilly, "The Johnson Brothers Remember Lee's Ferry," p. 51. Although Price Johnson remembers the cabin as of log construction, he then agrees with P.T. Reilly's description of the cabin as studs-out. Warren Elmer Johnson is reported to have constructed, and first inhabited this cabin.

[103] Ibid.

Despite living at the ferry house, Frank could most often be found at the ranch. Travelers from the north (Utah) posed no problem: they "passed by the house, so [the ferryman] knew when to go to the boat."[104] Those from the south (Arizona) were "a different matter":

> They couldn't see the cars come around the dugway south of the river so he would send a kid or kids up on a point, Lee's lookout near by, who would watch for whatever came along on the south side. . . . He could go from the ranch to the Ferry Boat [in] about the same time it took for the cars to slowly come along the dugway to the boat crossing, on the south side.[105]

The Johnsons remained at Lee's Ferry until 1932, three years after the completion of Navajo Bridge had rendered the ferry obsolete. In 1932, Jerry Johnson received formal patent from the United States government to the legal bounds of Lonely Dell Ranch: "W2NE and the E2NW Section 13, T40N R7E, G & S R.B. & M, Arizona." All prior land transfers had been at the behest and under the authority of the LDS Church and topographic restraints rather than the cadastral survey had defined site boundaries. Johnson sold the land immediately to Church officials who, in 1936, sold it to Leo and Hazel Weaver.[106]

In the first significant deviation in land use since 1870, the Weavers proposed to operate a guest ranch. Modifications associated with the Weavers appear to be limited to 1936 and 1938 frame additions to the stone bunkhouse and an interior remodel "patterned after the Wigwam [resort in Litchfield Park]."[107] Lonely Dell's isolation had served Lee and the Johnsons well; ironically, those most economically dependent on travelers began operation in the years during which Lee's Ferry saw very few. "The enterprise finally failed . . . . It was too isolated."[108]

Subsequent owners tried only to farm, endeavors that involved an expensive battle with the Paria River. Gus Griffin, who owned the ranch between 1940 and 1964, relegated all 36 cultivable acres to watermelon and "every tree you ever heard of that would grow in that country." Griffin "didn't fool around with dams." He put in a pump "in the bank

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[104] Ferrel G. Spencer, "Lees Ferry Experience," n.d., Part I, Accession 213, GLCA Archives, p. 4. Of this access road, Rusho and Crampton write: "until the NPS installed the bridge over the Paria in 1963, the usual route from Lonely Dell Ranch to the upper ferry was diagonally across the fields to a ford of the Paria, then under the low cliff to the Colorado River, and then upstream to the ferry site. The route to the lower or winter ferry site [1882-1896] did not require crossing the Paria (Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 112).

[105] Ferrel G. Spencer, "Lees Ferry Experience," n.d., Part I, Accession 213, GLCA Archives, p. 4.

[106] Embach, "Appraisal Report," p. 3.

[107] P. T. Reilly, to E. Reesman Fryer, June 24, 1986, Folder 15, Record Group 17516, GLCA Archives.

[108] Embach, "Appraisal Report," p. 3.

beyond the cemetery and he got a big pool down there in the Paria. . . . He pumps the water up through about a six-inch neoprene tube." Denver Evans et al., the next owners of record, significantly enlarged Griffin's "big pool" in the Paria, "deepening and enlarging the original reservoir."[109]

In 1965, proposed construction of Marble Canyon Dam threatened to inundate Lee's Ferry and the lower reaches of Lonely Dell. In anticipation of federal purchase, appraiser H. B. Embach surveyed the ranch:

> 36 acres of level land, ready for cropping in the South half of the West half of the Northeast quarter of the subject property, and west of the Paria River. The portion of the property north of the River is rather steep and [illegible] with boulders, not at all susceptible of cultivation. As a matter of fact there appears to be no possibility that more than the land now in cultivation could ever be utilized for that purpose.[110]

Embach determined that the ranch derived its highest possible value as a scenic tourist attraction within Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. The National Park Service purchased the property in 1974 for $300,000.

**Charles H. Spencer and the American Placer Corporation**

In May of 1910, Charles H. Spencer arrived at Lee's Ferry in search of gold hidden in the Chinle shale. Fellow miner A. H. Jones described Spencer as

> a sturdy man of medium build. . . . He was an expert in handling horses and oxen, and used the latter animals to transport ponderous loads over difficult terrain and over long distances. He had small regard for the elements of accounting or business methods, and as a manager, left much to be desired. He has been described as a mining engineer but had no technical education and his knowledge of mining had been largely acquired on his own projects and at the expense of the stockholders in some small companies he had floated and of some Chicago venture capital. As a promotor he was an unqualified success. His western manners and the magnitude of his project and their fabulous possibilities seemed to have an irresistible appeal.[111]

As it had for those who proceeded him, geology dictated Spencer's presence at Lee's Ferry; in a regional anomaly, the Chinle formation is between 1,000 and 1,500 feet thick in the Lee's Ferry area, and much of this soft shale is exposed

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[109] Embach, "Appraisal Report," p. 4.

[110] Embach, "Appraisal Report," p. 4.

[111] A. H. Jones, "Review of Mining Operations on the San Juan and Colorado Rivers Promoted and Conducted by Charles H. Spencer, et al., 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911," 1960, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area Library, Page, Arizona, n.p.

"ris[ing] here to the surface in a violent contortion of the earth's crust."[112] Spencer proposed to convert the Chinle deposit to mud -- using water pumped from the Colorado River -- and to then remove the gold deposits by mercury amalgamation. The process required a large labor supply, heavy equipment, and a steady source of power.

Spencer housed his employees (who included Jerry and Price Johnson) in three stone bunkhouses constructed on the north bank of the Colorado River, just southeast of Lee's Ferry Fort. The fort itself was converted to a messhall through construction of a large addition. Additional infrastructure included a cook's house, second messhall, and a root cellar to the northeast of the ferry fort; and a laboratory, blacksmith shop, and storage shed to the east of the bunkhouses, near the current remains of a boiler (see map, additional documentation). Equipment, including four large boilers, steam-driven pumps, hydraulic monitors, a Lovett pipe dredge, and sufficient milled lumber to construct a flume to the amalgamators, was packed in by mule-train and ox-wagon along the existing wagon roads. First driftwood and then coal fueled the boilers.[113]

Water from the river was pumped to an adjacent cliff, where high-pressure monitors sluiced the shale into the amalgamator. In a separate operation, the Lovett pipe dredge dredged 1,000 cubic feet per day of river-bottom silts, which were also conveyed to the amalgamator.[114] (Two-hundred yards north of the old fort, a scar in the gray Chinle shale testifies to Spencer's hydraulic sluicing operation.[115])

Driftwood proved an inadequate source of power and local coal sources were quickly exhausted. In 1910, Spencer discovered a 5' coal seam along Warm Creek, 40 miles upstream from Lee's Ferry; pack-mule transport over the newly constructed Spencer Trail was inefficient and ineffective and Spencer proceeded to launch the "largest boat ever to be put on the Colorado River."[116] Designed in San Francisco by James Robertson and Herman Rosenfelt of the Robertson-Schultz Co.,[117] the *Charles H. Spencer* was 92' long and 25' abeam. A 110 horse-power marine boiler powered a 12'

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[112] Rusho, "Charlie Spencer and his Wonderful Steamboat," p. 37

[113] Carrell, et al., *Submerged Cultural Resources Site Report: Charles H. Spencer's Mining Operation and Paddle Wheel Steamboat*, pp. 16-29.

[114] W.H. Bradley, quoted in Jones, "Review of Mining Operations on the San Juan and Colorado Rivers," n.p.

[115] Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 77.

[116] W. L. Rusho, "Charlie Spencer and his Wonderful Steamboat," *Arizona Highways*, Vol. XXXVII No. 8, August 1962, pp. 34-35.

[117] Also referenced as "Schultze, Robertson, Schultze." See James P. Delgado, Maritime Historian, and Toni Carrell, Archeologist, "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Hulk of *Charles H. Spencer*," 1989, on file at GLCA, p. 8:4.

stern paddle. These various parts had been manufactured in San Francisco, shipped by rail to Marysvale, Utah, and conveyed by ox-cart to the mouth of Warm Creek, where the boat was assembled.[118]

During the summer of 1911, the *Charles H. Spencer* made an estimated two-and-one-half round trips between Warm Creek and Lee's Ferry, running downstream with a load of coal averaging 5 to 6 tons.[119] By late summer Spencer's operation had begun to falter: the dredged and sluiced silt clogged the amalgamation plates and "the value of the mercury required far exceeded the value of the gold saved. . . . The company has spent $150,000.00 since [June 10, 1910] and has very little to show for it."[120] As chemists failed to identify the problem (identified years later as a surplus of rhenium in the ore), Spencer's financiers pulled their funds and the "loose organization of miners, bull-whackers, boatmen, chemists and engineers fell apart, with the majority receiving nothing but a promise for their pay."[121] (In a goods-for-services trade that they were well familiar with, the Johnson brothers received much of Spencer's abandoned machinery as compensation. The Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (GLCA) Lonely Dell artifact inventory identifies numerous mining relics in the Lonely Dell Ranch blacksmith shop and heavy cable from the Spencer operation supported the irrigation flume constructed by the Johnson brothers in the late 1920s.) The *Charles H. Spencer* sat docked along the north bank of the Colorado River for three years, until 1915 when accumulated driftwood shifted the boat to starboard. At an unknown date, possibly during the flood of 1921, a boulder punctured the hull and the boat sank in the shallow water.[122] The large superstructure was later removed, most likely salvaged for lumber.[123] In 1967, the Bureau of Reclamation, with the approval of the National Park Service, razed the Spencer laboratory, blacksmith shop, and two bunkhouses. Of the historic Spencer buildings, only a bunkhouse (HS-222) remains.[124]

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[118] Rusho, "Charlie Spencer and his Wonderful Steamboat," p. 38.

[119] James P. Delgado, Maritime Historian, and Toni Carrell, Archeologist, "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Hulk of *Charles H. Spencer*," 1989, on file at GLCA, p. 8:6.

[120] W.H. Bradley, journal entry Dec. 20, 1911, quoted in Jones, "Review of Mining Operations on the San Juan and Colorado Rivers," n.p.

[121] Rusho, "Charlie Spencer and his Wonderful Steamboat," p. 39.

[122] James P. Delgado, Maritime Historian, and Toni Carrell, Archeologist, "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Hulk of *Charles H. Spencer*," 1989, on file at GLCA, p. 8:6.

[123] Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 76.

[124] Carrell, et al., *Submerged Cultural Resources Site Report: Charles H. Spencer's Mining Operation and Paddle Wheel Steamboat*, passim.

**Exploration**

Not everybody "who has eventually showed up at the confluence of the Colorado and the Paria" crossed over.[125] Many floated by. In 1869 Major John Wesley Powell, founder of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnography, the U.S. Geological Survey, and inspiration for the U.S. Reclamation Service, camped at Pahreah Crossing prior to his inaugural and historic run of the Grand Canyon.[126] Powell and his men returned the following season, intent on more systematic topographic and ethnographic study, and again stopped at Pahreah Crossing where they constructed the *Cañon Maid*, the first ferry boat. In subsequent expeditions, Powell would use Lee's Ferry as a base camp and supply point, caching boats, gear, and food stuffs at the mouth of Paria Canyon and sharing meals, stories, and information with new residents John D. and Emma Lee.[127]

Lee's Ferry also served as base camp for the Stanton Railroad Survey of 1889. In that year engineer Robert Brewster Stanton and financier Frank M. Brown attempted to survey a water-level rail route through Glen and Grand canyons, preparatory to construction of the Denver, Colorado Canyon, and Pacific Railroad line from Grand Junction, Colorado to the lower Colorado River. The group spent a week at Lee's Ferry while Brown traveled to Kanab to replace supplies lost upstream in Cataract Canyon. On July 9, the group left the safety of Lee's Ferry and proceeded down river. By July 15th, Brown, Peter Hansbrough, and Henry Richards had drowned in two separate accidents. Stanton abandoned the expedition yet returned the following year with better boats and life preservers. Again, the party stopped for a week at Lee's Ferry where they enjoyed a lavish Christmas dinner in front of Lee's Ferry Fort, much of it courtesy of Permelia and Samantha Johnson.[128]

More river runners followed, including the Kolb brothers who, in 1911, took the first motion pictures of Glen, Marble, and Grand canyons (as well as a large number of still images now archived at the University of Northern Arizona's Cline Library). Commercial, recreational whitewater trips through the Grand Canyon began in 1917; then as now Lee's Ferry served as the demarkation point.

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[125] Frank Waters quoted in W. L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton, *Lee's Ferry, Desert River Crossing* (Salt Lake City: Cricket Productions, 1992 [2nd edition]), p. 2.

[126] See Wallace Stegner, *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian. John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1953) for a complete discussion of Powell's exploration of the Colorado River Basin and influence on federal water policy.

[127] Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 20; Brooks, "Lee's Ferry at Lonely Dell," p. 284.

[128] Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, pp. 61-65. See also James Hekkers, "A Visionary's Dream. The Colorado River Railroad Survey," *American History Illustrated*, Vol. XVI, Number 4, July 1981, pp. 30-37.

In 1922, the Bureau of Reclamation and states within the Colorado River watershed signed the Colorado River Compact, by which the river was divided into upper and lower basins and the water (and hydro-electric potential) apportioned accordingly. Lee's Ferry was designated Mile Zero, the division point between the upper and lower basins and the site of the first stream-flow gauging station (extant) from which the 75 million acre-feet-of-water-per-decade promised the lower basin would be measured: "water measurements were first made in August 1921 and have been recorded daily ever since."[129]

Preparatory to enactment of the Colorado River Compact, and to construction of the requisite storage dams, the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) and Southern California Edison (SCE) surveyed the length of the river, also using Lee's Ferry as a base camp. In addition to construction of the gauging station, the USGS converted the abandoned Spencer mining buildings into storage and living quarters for USGS and SCE crews. The abandoned paddlewheel currently located near Spencer Bunkhouse came from the *Navajo*, used from 1921-1923 during the search for a Glen Canyon damsite. The USGS Building (HS-223), constructed ca. 1955, also reflects USGS use of Lee's Ferry.[130]

**The National Park Service, 1963-Present**

Under cooperative agreement with the Bureau of Reclamation, the National Park Service manages the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. Between 1963 and 1965, the NPS constructed: a housing complex and ranger station at Lee's Ferry (outside the historic district boundaries), a maintenance yard directly beneath Lee's Lookout, between Lee's Ferry and Lonely Dell Ranch; a bridge over the Paria; and a new road to Lee's Ferry Fort. As part of this initial development, a large area near the post office and Lee's Ferry Fort was cleared and leveled for a parking lot and boat ramps, an L-shaped berm, approximately 300' in length was also constructed behind the fort to divert water into a natural drainage, and concession trailers (including a "motel" and store) were established between the post office and the shore line. Circa 1985, the NPS reconstructed the boat-launch area, work that included removal of the boat launch docks to a site slightly more removed from the Lee's Ferry historic buildings (west of the original site), construction of a public comfort station, removal of the concessioner trailers, and reconstruction of the road to the maintenance yard. These modern resources have been defined as noncontributing components of the historic district. Interpretive efforts at Lonely Dell Ranch, purchased by the National Park Service in 1974, have included construction of the stone and rail fence near the Bar-Z Cattle Company bunkhouse, "reconstruction" of the historic orchard south of the building complex, and rehabilitation of all extant historic buildings.

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[129] Rusho and Crampton, *Lee's Ferry*, p. 84.

[130] Ibid., p. 133.

**Vernacular Architecture of Lee's Ferry and Lonely Dell Ranch**

Studies on the unique and identifiable attributes of Mormon communities abound, including D. W. Meinig's classic study of "The Mormon Culture Region," Wallace Stegner's essay on Mormon villages in *Mormon Country*, Richard Francaviglia's *The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation and Perception of a Unique Image in the American West*, and Thomas Carter's dissertation "Building Zion: Folk Architecture in the Mormon Settlements of Utah's Sanpete Valley, 1849-1890" (see Section 9: References). These studies share a focus on the communal nature of Mormon settlement and on fealty to the City of Zion as revealed to Joseph Smith.

In its purest form, the City of Zion "lieth four-square, and the length is as great as the breadth."[131] Within this square mile, each block is set four-square with the cardinal directions and contains 10 acres, cut into 20 ½-acre lots, separated by streets 8 rods wide. Each lot contains only one house (set back from the streets 25'), and the tier of blocks down the middle of the plat is half again as wide as the normal ones, to allow for the greater size of public buildings, schools, and churches.[132] While a uniform architectural tradition has long been assumed within the parameters of this carefully delineated City,[133] Carter has instead found a surprising divergence of architectural styles, with Mormon emigrants "often building houses and barns which recalled the traditions of their previous homelands rather than those they encountered in Zion."[134]

Regardless, adherence to the plat of Zion, to an evolved and recognizable "Mormon style," or to the dictates and memories of folk tradition requires communal settlement and the luxury of choice in building materials. Neither were readily available at Lee's Ferry.

At Lee's Ferry, Mormon tradition is evident in the multiple dwellings built to accommodate multiple wives, in the hand-painted door of Scandinavian influence in Emma's Cabin, and in the elaborate and labor-intensive irrigation system that allowed Mormons to subsist where Gentiles would not have tried. Beyond these characteristics, extant resources at Lonely Dell and Lee's Ferry reflect the basic precepts of pioneer construction: function dictated form and distance from supply center dictated the predominant use of native, and of salvaged, materials.

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[131] Book of Ether (from the Book of Mormon), quoted in Stegner, *Mormon Country*, p. 27.

[132] Stegner, *Mormon Country*, p. 29.

[133] See, for example, Richard Francaviglia, *The Mormon Landscape. Existence, Creation, and Perception of a Unique Image in the American West* (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1978) and Leon S. Pitman, "A Survey of Nineteenth Century Folk Housing in the Mormon Culture Region" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1973), as cited in Carter, "Building Zion," p. 8.

[134] Thomas Robert Carter, "Building Zion: Folk Architecture in the Mormon Settlements of Utah's Sanpete Valley, 1849-1890 (Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, Department of Folklore, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, 1984), p. 10.

The rocks exposed at Lee's Ferry are mainly Upper Triassic with the best building material found among the Moenave and Navajo sandstones of the Glen Canyon Group. This stone ranges in color from reddish orange and pink through reddish brown to light brown. It is fine- to medium-grained, and ranges from flat or tabular through lenticular to wedge-shaped crossbedding.[135] Historically, this stone was used in foundations and building walls, to construct corrals, and fencing, and to pave floors. (Stone floors had numerous advantages - they were durable, could be cleaned and, when splashed with water in the heat of the day, acted as a rudimentary swamp cooler.)

Willow (and, less often, wiregrass) was also prevalent and was used to top the pole purlins of roofs, to form the walls of insubstantial structures (such as John D. Lee's first chicken coop), to weave fences, and to make furniture and baskets.

Although cottonwood grew along the banks of both the Colorado and Paria rivers, its shade was too valuable to waste on indiscriminate harvest. Logs used in construction were almost exclusively driftwood: Jacob Hamblin constructed his first ferry (1869) of "floatwood fastened together with withes." John D. Lee constructed Emma's Cabin of driftwood and, for Rachel's cabin at the Pools, he "saved driftwood and logs, which he used to make shingles, using a shingle mill brought from Skutumpah."[136] When Frank Johnson constructed his cabin at the upper ferry, he found "plenty of material there, driftwood, and that's what he built the cabin out of." Evidence of this river harvest is abundant at Lee's Ferry and Lonely Dell, from the mixed wood types and dimensions of the log-bearing buildings, to the bowed purlins in the Lee's Ferry post office and the Lonely Dell root cellar.

The tapered timbers evident on the east and west elevations of Emma's Cabin are reportedly salvaged from a skiff used in one of Major Powell's expeditions. Charles Spencer paid Price Johnson for his labor with abandoned material from the mining operation, including metal cable that Johnson used to secure the irrigation ditch flume. The wood superstructure of the *Charles H. Spencer* was quickly removed from the wreckage and may have been used in the construction of a variety of buildings and structures in the Lee's Ferry vicinity. James Jackson was buried in a coffin fashioned from the front door and table of his cabin.[137] Salvaged and native building materials thus link physically and thematically discontiguous resources. This cohesion is further strengthened by the overriding importance of the geological setting that defines all phases of area history: the breachable canyon, the fordable river, and the cultivable fields.

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[135] Roland Richert, NPS Ruins Stabilization Unit, "Ruins Stabilization Report. The Old Post Office, Lee's Ferry, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area," (Globe, Arizona: Southwest Archeological Center, National Park Service), December 26, 1967, Folder 18, Record Group 17516, GLCA Archives, p. 11.

[136] Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, p. 315.

[137] Reilly, "Warren Marshall Johnson, Forgotten Saint," p. 9.

**Statement of Integrity**

Lee's Ferry and Lonely Dell Ranch are historically associated; neither can be evaluated or interpreted in isolation. Despite this historical association, the integrity of the two primary district components varies. Most importantly, the natural and cultural landscape at Lee's Ferry has lost integrity due to the effects of Glen Canyon Dam construction on the river corridor and of post-1966 park service construction projects. In contrast, the integrity of landscape organization and design is more complete in the vicinity of Lonely Dell Ranch. However, between the two areas there remains a significant linkage of historical resources, which justifies the inclusion of the two areas in a single historic district.

**Lonely Dell Ranch**

The setting of the Lonely Dell landscape has not been adversely affected by park service administrative activities and, for the most part, is intact. The general remoteness of the area, combined with the dramatic quality of the geology and the immense scale of the surrounding landforms, allows the contemporary visitor to experience the uniqueness and seclusion of the ranch. Although the ranch's once productive fields now lie abandoned, their historic agricultural use and scale remains identifiable. The modern orchard also provides a sense of the agricultural pursuits undertaken during the historical period.

In addition, the overall layout and design of the ranch landscape remains evident and intact although there are several resources that are no longer present and many remain unknown due to a lack of historical documentation. The locations of various use areas within the landscape have been identified and might be interpreted to allow visitors to experience how the areas were related to one another with regard to size, distance apart, and how they have changed over time.

Some of the design considerations used in the development of a vernacular landscape often reveal that function rather than aesthetics is the determining factor in overall spatial organization. These considerations might have included factors such as predominant wind direction for selecting sites for barn lots, animal pens, and other odoriferous areas; walking distances to facilities visited one or more times daily (e.g. chicken houses, gardens, and privies); and the availability of shade or shelter for some of the numerous outdoor activities and chores that had to be conducted within a working farmstead or ranch operation.

Even though some of the structures and features of this landscape are no longer standing (such as the barn, corrals, and pens), their foundations remain evident and their locations can be identified spatially within the overall landscape.

Another design feature that has changed over time is the canopy of shade trees in the residential area. Originally these trees were a combination of cottonwood and almond while today they are predominantly elm. Although the species has changed over time the function has remained, namely to provide shade for the residential area. To summarize, the overall organization and design of the landscape has been retained and contributes to the integrity of this resource.

The workmanship apparent in the Lonely Dell Ranch landscape appears to have resulted by a process of trial and error and was dependent upon the availability of materials and skills of the occupants of the ranch. There are a few buildings and structures that date to the identified period of significance and reveal detailed craftsmanship. These include the two log cabins, the stone bunkhouse, the barn, irrigation flume and ditch remnants, and some of the early grave markers in the cemetery.

The workmanship seen in these resources is characterized by an unrefined vernacular approach to design that uses the materials and skills at hand. This element adds a great deal to the richness, character, and integrity of the landscape.

With the exception of some of the buildings within this landscape, the variety of materials used in constructing the built environment during the historical period is unclear. The log cabin exteriors represent original fabric as do the stone bunkhouse and root cellar. However, other features, such as the sandstone slab lining of the irrigation ditch, are undated at this time. It is likely that this addition to the ditches dates to later owners who worked the property after its period of historical significance.

The same is true of other materials seen within the landscape today such as the petrified wood and rail fence and the flagstone walks. Even much of the existing vegetation--including the fruit orchard--postdates the period of significance for this landscape. In other words, there are very few original materials remaining other than those used in the construction of buildings and the irrigation flume (timbers, steel cable). With the exception of plant materials and a variety of fencing styles (including woven willows or stacked-post fencing), the built environment of this landscape does not appear to have been extensive.

The Lonely Dell landscape as a whole possesses integrity of feeling and association. Walking up the hot and dusty road into Paria Canyon with its steep, vertical walled cliffs, one is immediately overwhelmed by the silence and seclusion of the place. The fruit orchard creates a green oasis within this landscape that is naturally characterized by its browns and reds. The orchard also lends a human scale to the setting and is a visual reminder of the need of the former residents of the ranch to be self-sufficient in this isolated and barren environment.

The residential cluster, with its abundant large shade trees, also evokes a sense of the past, of the clustering of human and stockraising activities, and the need to enhance the immediate environment of those activities. The difference between the unshaded access road and the cool of the residential area is readily apparent. The sights, smells, and sounds within this landscape are not obscured by outside modern intrusions. Contemporary visitors to the site can still sense the solitude and isolation of ranch's past.

The ranch's association with the river and the ferry crossing is still evident, although its association with the LDS Church is not readily apparent in the built remains. Miscellaneous "clues" still exist, from the mulberry tree in the residential cluster, to the frame cabin in the Upper Ranch, to the extensive irrigation system typical of Mormon settlement.

**Lee's Ferry**

The integrity of the Lee's Ferry landscape has been adversely impacted by modern park service development, by the removal of much of the Spencer mining camp, and by changes in native vegetation associated with regulated streamflows on the Colorado River.

Five historic Spencer buildings were removed in 1967 following a NPS determination that "the Spencer-period buildings within the Survey-administered area are not the only 'Spencer Buildings' nor the only physical remains of the mining period. . . . The preservation of all Spencer period buildings is unnecessary."[138]

The post-1960 construction of a new primary access road, the NPS maintenance complex, and the boat launch area has destroyed much of the alignment of the original road that ran near the present Lonely Dell orchard, to a Paria River ford, and then along the base of Lee's Lookout to the ferry site. Removal of this historic road has weakened the linkage between the ranch and the ferry site.

Construction of Glen Canyon Dam greatly altered flood peaks on the Colorado River, with extreme daily discharges of 27,000 cubic feet per second (cfs), in contrast to the 200,000 cfs common during pre-dam flood years. This change in stream flow has reduced the suspended-sediment concentration at Lee's Ferry by approximately 200 percent. In turn, these changes in the hydraulic regime have altered the vegetation patterns and landforms at Lee's Ferry: post-dam flood deposits have eroded historic beaches while not simultaneously depositing new silt layers. The river terraces above the former high-water level have also been modified. The absence of scouring floods has allowed many plants (most notably tamarisk but including cattail, brittle bush, Russian thistle, and willow) to become firmly established. The absence of annual flooding has also lowered the ground-water levels in the flood plain, limiting cottonwood growth.[139]

Despite these impacts, the importance of the geographic setting remains readily evident, both in the materials used for construction and in the linear placement of resources along the banks of the river. Historic use also remains evident, in the variety of ferry-related and mining-related resources.

The primary ferry buildings -- Lee's Ferry Fort and the Post Office -- have been the subject of careful NPS restoration to the Secretary of Interior's standards and retain integrity of material, workmanship, and design. Although in poor condition, the root cellar, stone hogans, and Upper Ferry resources contribute to our understanding of historic function, historic use, and spatial organization and have been identified as contributing components of the historic district.

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[138] Daniel S. Beard, Regional Director (Southwest Region), to The Director, NPS, June 20, 1966, on file at GLCA, Cultural Resource Office.

[139] USDI NPS GLCA, "Lees Ferry Upriver Recreation Plan and Environmental Assessment," Draft February 1984, GLCA, Record Group 17516, Folder 3, pp. 21-22.

The Spencer mining camp retains little integrity: all but one of the stone buildings constructed by Spencer have been removed; the Spencer Trail is not maintained and is difficult to traverse; the superstructure of the *Charles H. Spencer* has been removed and the physical characteristics and function of the substructure are not readily discernible. However, Lake Powell inundated most historic mining-related resources in Glen Canyon and the lower reaches of the San Juan River. The Spencer camp at Lee's Ferry should be considered a "last best" example of this historically significant theme. Moreover, the isolated mining-related resources at Lee's Ferry accurately represent the diverse use of the site during the period of significance.

Similarly, the deteriorated paddlewheel of the *Navajo*, when evaluated in isolation, is insufficient to interpret the importance of Lee's Ferry to the U.S. Geological Survey and preceding explorations. However, when evaluated as a component of the larger district, the paddlewheel contributes to our understanding of site use. The USGS building should be reevaluated as a contributing component of the district once it is 50 years old (ca. 2005).

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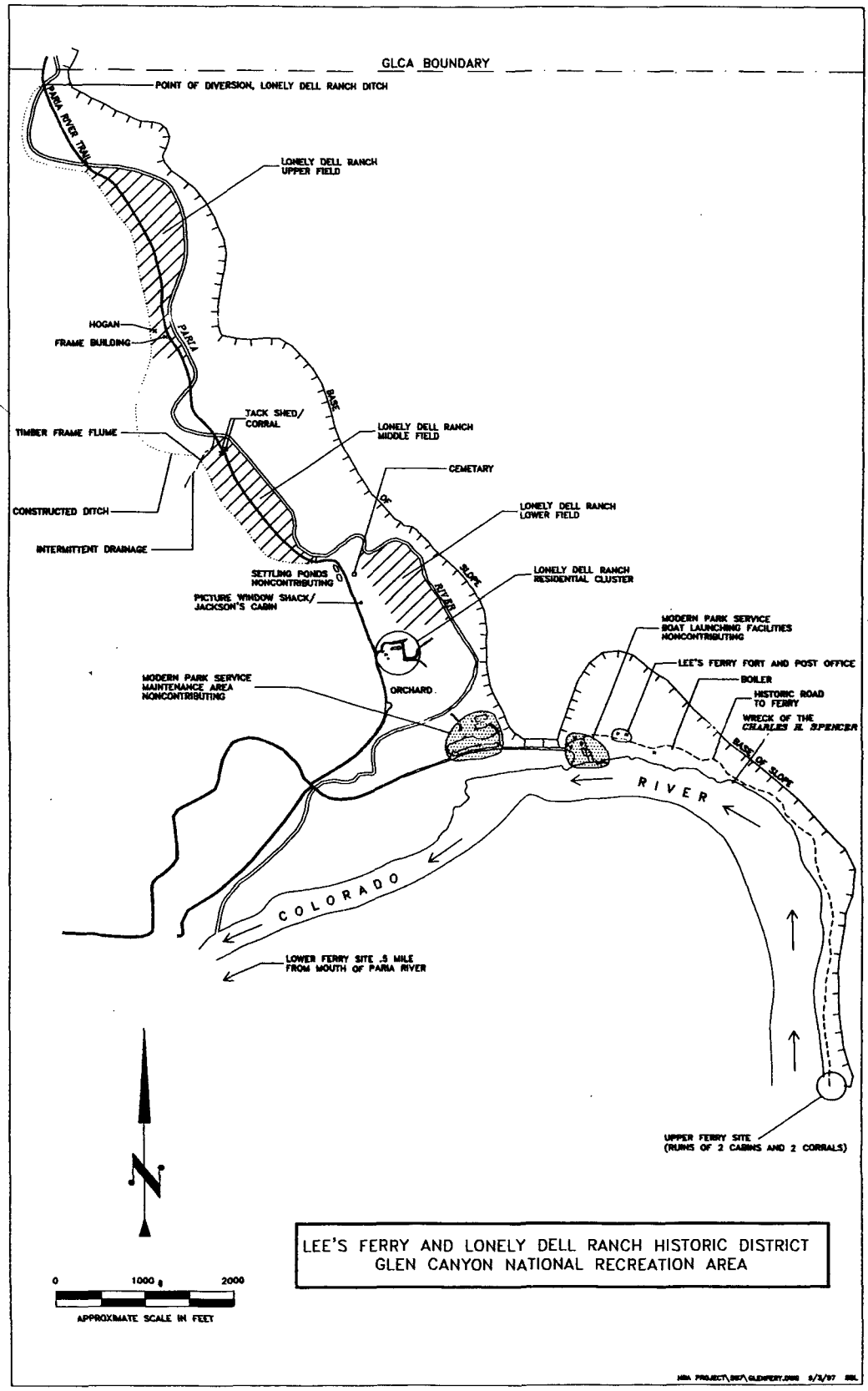
**10. Geographical Data, continued**

UTM References, continued

| POINT | ZONE | EASTING | NORTHING |
|---|---|---|---|
| B | 12 | 4455600 | 40827600 |
| C | 12 | 4460000 | 40822500 |
| D | 12 | 4459100 | 40821500 |
| E | 12 | 4462800 | 40810900 |
| F | 12 | 4466700 | 40809350 |
| G | 12 | 4466100 | 40811000 |
| H | 12 | 4475200 | 40779950 |
| I | 12 | 4477300 | 40803500 |
| J | 12 | 4486500 | 40795100 |
| K | 12 | 4464700 | 40791300 |
| L | 12 | 4470000 | 40799100 |
| M | 12 | 4460800 | 40808700 |
| N | 12 | 4457500 | 40806600 |
| O | 12 | 4459900 | 40809700 |
| P | 12 | 4459400 | 40816900 |

**Additional Documentation:** See attached.




LEE'S FERRY AND LONELY DELL RANCH HISTORIC DISTRICT
GLEN CANYON NATIONAL RECREATION AREA

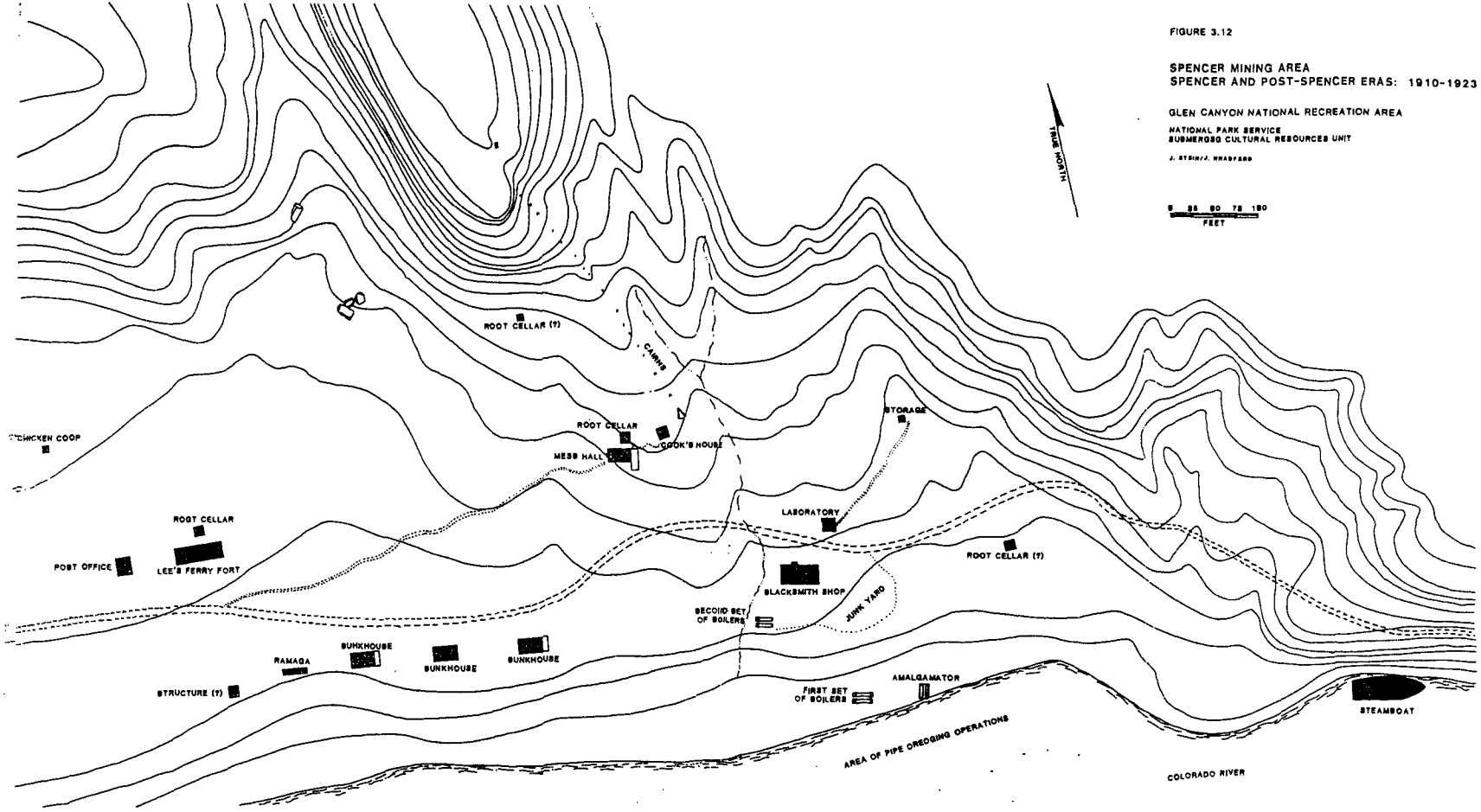
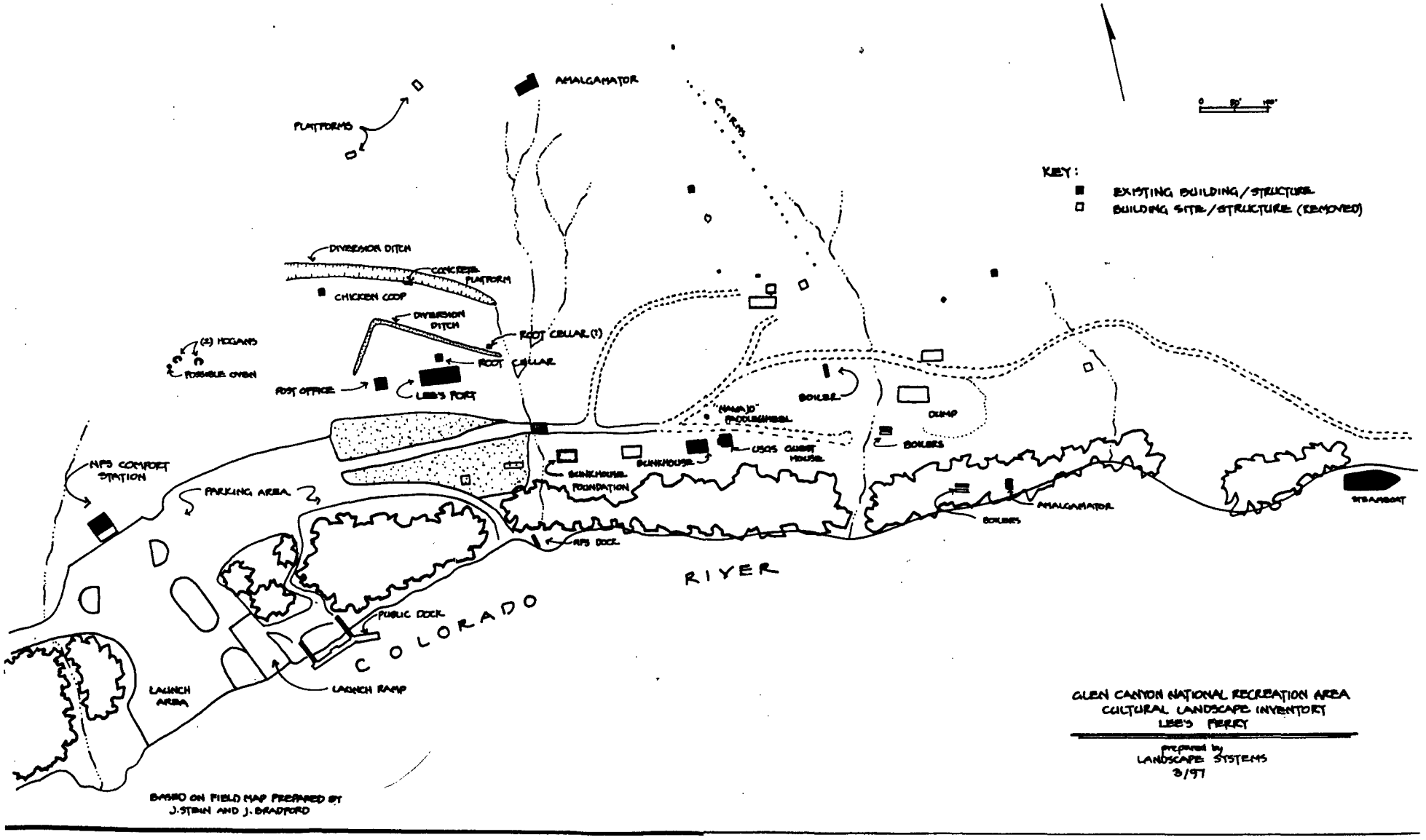



Figure 3.12. Map of the Spencer mining area depicting the location of all major features as they appeared at the end of the Spencer era and with additions from the post-Spencer decade.


AMALGAMATOR
PLATFORMS
CAIRNS
KEY:
EXISTING BUILDING/STRUCTURE
BUILDING SITE/STRUCTURE (REMOVED)
DIVERSION DITCH
CONCRETE PLATFORM
CHICKEN COOP
DIVERSION DITCH
ROOT CELLAR (?)
ROOT CELLAR
(2) HOGANS
POSSIBLE OVEN
POST OFFICE
LEE'S FORT
BOILER
"NAVAJO" (PROBABLE)
DUMP
USGS QUONSET HOUSE
BOILERS
BUNKHOUSE
BUNKHOUSE FOUNDATION
NPS COMFORT STATION
PARKING AREA
AMALGAMATOR
BOILERS
STEAMBOAT
NPS DOCK
RIVER
COLORADO
PUBLIC DOCK
LAUNCH AREA
LAUNCH RAMP
BASED ON FIELD MAP PREPARED BY
J. STEIN AND J. BRADFORD
GLEN CANYON NATIONAL RECREATION AREA
CULTURAL LANDSCAPE INVENTORY
LEE'S FERRY
prepared by
LANDSCAPE SYSTEMS
3/97

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number _____ Page _____

SUPPLEMENTARY LISTING RECORD

NRIS Reference Number: 97001234 Date Listed: 11/4/97

| Lee's Ferry & Lonely Dell Ranch | Coconino | AZ |
|---|---|---|
| Property Name | County | State |

N/A
Multiple Name

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This property is listed in the National Register of Historic Places in accordance with the attached nomination documentation subject to the following exceptions, exclusions, or amendments, notwithstanding the National Park Service certification included in the nomination documentation.

Carl R. Lugaini 11/4/97
for Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

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Amended Items in Nomination:

U. T. M. Coordinates:
Each of the current U.T.M. coordinates has an additional "0" at the end which should be deleted.

This information was confirmed with the National Park Service.

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DISTRIBUTION:
National Register property file
Nominating Authority (without nomination attachment)