



PROJECT MUSE®

Notes

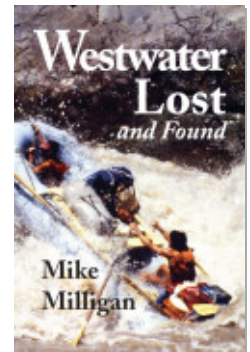
Published by

Milligan, Mike.

Westwater Lost and Found.

1 ed. Utah State University Press, 2004.

Project MUSE. <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/9269>.



➔ For additional information about this book

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/9269>

Notes

Preface

1. Michael D. Milligan, “Westwater,” *Canyon Legacy* 12 (winter 1991): 25–27. “Westwater’s Violent Beginnings & Colorado River Sites,” *Canyon Legacy* 42 (summer 2001): 20–28.
2. Ruth M. (Bryson) Grennie, letter to author, 30 January 1989.

1

First Touched by Man: Beginnings

1. Doug Wheat, *The Floater’s Guide to Colorado* (Billings, Montana: Falcon Press Publishing, 1983).
2. Peter Ratcliffe to John L. J. Hart, 6 November 1966. John L. J. Hart, Westwater papers, in author’s possession. Peter Ratcliffe reported finding a small spring with a “garden hose sized flow” in Little Hole. Other known springs have been reported in the region near Marble Canyon and Bitter Creek.
3. Barnes wrote: “[A] considerable percentage of the rock art within the general Anasazi and Fremont cultural regions cannot be assigned with certainty to those cultures. It is even difficult at times to distinguish historic from prehistoric rock art, unless obviously historic subject matter is depicted, such as horses or firearms.” F.A. Barnes, *Canyon Country Prehistoric Rock Art*, (Salt Lake City: Wasatch Publishers, Inc., 1982), 58.
4. Some Barrier Canyon pictographs in Middle Canyon are the same style, though not as extensive, as those found at Sego Canyon near Thompson, Utah. Middle Canyon has periodically been referred to as Westwater Canyon. A third Westwater Canyon, in San Juan County, has likely been the source of rumors of an archaeological dig across the river from the Westwater ranger station. The archaeological dig of the Anasazi Westwater Ruin occurred during the late 1970s at that canyon near Blanding, Utah.
5. Tammy Stone, *The Prehistory of Colorado and Adjacent Areas*, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999): 31–34. Two separate Paleo-Indian periods, the Clovis and Folsom, were discovered in New Mexico.

- The primary distinction between these periods is the points that Paleo-Indians used for hunting animals. The larger Clovis fluted points were most likely attached to spears and used for hunting large megafauna, including the mammoth, and later the Folsom points were used on ancient bison and smaller animals, after the mammoth and the larger megafauna became extinct.
6. D. May, "Mammoths on the Colorado Plateau," *Canyon Legacy* 4 (winter 1989): 27–28. The closest proximity to Westwater where mammoth remains have been found is forty miles downstream at Professor Valley near Moab. Mammoths were grassland animals and likely would not have been in Westwater Canyon, except possibly at the boaters launch site, where they would have access to the Colorado River.
 7. Terry Tempest Williams, foreword to *Exploring the Fremont*, by David B. Madsen (Salt Lake City: Utah Museum of Natural History, 1989), ix.
 8. Madsen, *Exploring the Fremont*, 42. Examples found on a Colorado River tributary are the artifacts from the Bull Creek sites between Hanksville and the foot of the Henry Mountains.
 9. *Ibid.*, 22. Such distinctive groups of Fremont Indians are not accepted by all archeologists and are only presented here to focus on a possible type that may have hunted through the Westwater region.
 10. Stone, *Prehistory of Colorado*, 126.
 11. Jan Pettit, *Utes: The Mountain People* (Boulder: Johnson Printing, 1990), 5. In addition, Dr. Omer C. Stewart wrote: "One problem may be phrased as the conflict between evidence for permanent settlement versus that for migration. Modern linguists like to trace migrations, and sometimes appear to me to invent them out of thin air. Archeologists also favor migration as an explanation whenever markedly different traits of culture appear in an area or disappear from it. On the other hand ethnologists find strong support for the theory that populations prefer to remain living within a narrow region of familiarity and usually move from their homeland only under very great pressure or temptation. The ecologists support the stationary bias with the evidence that great stability and long occupation of any area is necessary for the aborigines to acquire the great personal knowledge of all the natural resources available within each particular zone. Folklore, musicology, and physical anthropology support the theory of little geographic movement for the Ute." He added that their folklore in particular "strongly implies that the Ute have always lived where they now live." Omer C. Stewart, "Ute Indians: Before and after White Contact," *Utah State Historical Quarterly* 34 (winter 1966): 38–61.
 12. Pettit, *Utes*, 14.
 13. Ted J. Warner, ed., and Fray Ángelico Chavez, trans., *The Dominguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition Through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), 36.
 14. Richard A. Firmage, *A History of Grand County Utah Centennial County History Series* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Grand County, 1996), 52.

15. Faun McConkey Tanner, *The Far Country: A Regional History of Moab and La Sal, Utah* (Salt Lake City: Olympos Publishing Company, 1976), 45–61.
16. See, for example, the Hayden Survey's reports on "troublesome Indians" in the La Sal and Blue Mountains. F. V. Hayden, *Ninth Annual Report of the United States, Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, Embracing Colorado and Parts of Adjacent Territories: 1875* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1877).
17. The event was instigated in the spring of 1881 when cowboys Dick May and John Thurman were killed by Indians near the Big Bend of the Dolores River. A posse of volunteers trailed approximately one hundred Ute Indians to the La Sal Mountains where the major fight occurred. After the confrontation most of the Ute Indians made their way to a reservation at Dolores, Colorado. There, two Utes were implicated in the killings and were incarcerated. None of the other Indians were identified. Some sources suspect they were renegade Utes who had killed Indian agent Nathan C. Meeker and twenty-nine others in Colorado and fled the reservation. Meeker incited the tragedy leading up to his own death by trying to force the Utes to become "civilized" by learning farming. Against their wishes he invited civilians onto the reservation to plow under the White River Utes' favorite horse pasture and race track. Meeker's death would eventually be used as a political excuse to remove nearly all of the Utes from Colorado and place them on what became the Uintah and Ouray Reservation in Utah. Rusty Salmon and Robert S. McPherson, "Cowboys, Indians, and Conflict: The Pinhook Draw Fight, 1881," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 69 (Winter 2001): 4–28. Tanner, *The Far Country*, 115–46.
18. Regarding the site, author and guide Dennis Slifer wrote: "There is always some uncertainty and conjecture, especially in that part of Utah where there seems to be some overlap of influences from Fremont, Barrier Canyon, Anasazi, and perhaps other groups." He agreed that Barrier Canyon and Ute styles are represented at the site but other styles are not as clear. The site includes several ghostly Barrier Canyon anthropomorphic figures with a couple of small petroglyphs over them: two anthropomorphic stick figures and bear tracks. Nearby is a rock covered with petroglyphs that show an individual possibly with an atlatl in his hand. One panel that is separated from the other rock art has three large chalky circular shapes; the middle circle has a dark skeletal figure in its center, while the other two circles possibly are shields. There are numerous pictographs of hand prints and horses. Approximately a half mile from this site is the historical Antoine Robidoux inscription. Of the site Slifer wrote, "It's a fascinating site, with rock art spanning from archaic times [Barrier Canyon] through Fremont & Anasazi up to historic times [Ute and Robidoux]." Dennis Slifer, letter to author, 29 January 2003. See also Dennis Slifer, *Guide to Rock Art of the Utah Region: Sites with Public Access*. (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 2000).
19. An example would be Ferdinand Vandeverve Hayden. Hayden surveyed much of the West including Colorado and parts of Nevada, Idaho,

- Montana, Wyoming, and Utah. Utah was a territory in 1875 and 1876 when the Hayden Survey was in eastern Utah surveying the Grand County region including Westwater. During the 1860s and 1870s there were four major surveys in the West headed by Major John Wesley Powell, Clarence Rivers King, Lieutenant George Montague Wheeler, and Hayden. The surveys were not coordinated at that time to produce the same results, but most of them included gathering information about the region, including fossils, geology, flora, fauna and Indian artifacts. When the United States Geological Survey (USGS) was established on March 3, 1879, to combine efforts and coordinate future surveys, the contest for heading it was between F. V. Hayden and Clarence King. Hayden was the favorite, but some strategic politicking got the job for King, who would head the USGS until 1881 then resign. His successor was Major John Wesley Powell. Mike Foster, *Strange Genius: The Life of Ferdinand Vanderveer Hayden* (Niwot, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1994). Wallace Stegner, *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: The Exploration of the Grand Canyon and the Second Opening of the West* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1954).
20. Cliff dwellers refers to the Indians whose ruins are found along cliffs such as the Anasazi at Mesa Verde.
 21. “Westwater Items,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 4 August 1927.
 22. F. A. Barnes and Michaelene Pendleton, *Canyon Country Prehistoric Indians: Their Cultures, Ruins, Artifacts and Rock Art* (Salt Lake City: Wasatch Publishers, 1979), 24–28.
 23. In 1940, when the caves were originally sampled as potential digs, Jim Luster owned considerable acreage across the river from the Westwater landing and extending south to the Little Dolores River.
 24. H.M. Worthington, Robert Lister, Norton H. Nickerson, and Ding Hou, “Archeological Investigations on the Uncompahgre Plateau at Glade Park,” *Canyon Legacy* 42 (summer 2001): 2–6.
 25. A comparison of the maize in Luster Cave dated it prior to A.D. 1000 because it contained Eastern and Mexican influences similar to those found in other excavations in western Colorado and eastern Utah. *Ibid.*, 4.
 26. John L. Malin, telephone conversation with author, 3 June 1991.
 27. Ila (Malin) Reay, telephone conversation with author, 16 July 2003.
 28. Nina Bowen, “Boats in the Desert, Part I,” *Utah Rock Art: Papers of the Eighteenth Annual Symposium* (Salt Lake City: Utah Rock Art Research Association, 1998), 1–8. See also Jesse E. Warner, “Boats in the Desert, Part II,” 9–28, in the same volume. There are, of course, other possible interpretations of these images.
 29. The author described her interpretation further: “The artist has used rock incorporation to enhance the ‘ran into the rock’ part of the story. The portion of the rock face that bulges out to play the part of the boulder in the water has been enhanced with pigment.” Bowen, “Boats in the Desert,” 1.
 30. Although the interpretation of rock art is highly controversial and speculative, some of LaVan Martineau’s observations are intriguing. He does not recognize the animals at Little Hole as bighorn sheep, but instead, as a

- universal quadruped or goat symbol that may depict action or direction. At Little Hole the string of quadrupeds face upward in the direction of the only exit from the canyon. Another interpretation is that they represent migrations. LaVan Martineau, *The Rocks Begin To Speak* (Las Vegas: KC Publications, 1973), 47–67.
31. F.A. Barnes, *Canyonlands National Park: Early History and First Descriptions* (Moab: Canyon Country Publications, 1988), 11. See also G. Clell Jacobs, “The Phantom Pathfinder: Juan Maria Antonio de Rivera and His Expedition,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 60 (summer 1992). Although the diary was discovered in 1969, it remained unknown until it was rediscovered in 1975 or 1976 .
 32. Jacobs, “The Phantom Pathfinder,” 209.
 33. *Ibid.*, 202.
 34. *Ibid.*, 219.
 35. David H. Coyner, *The Lost Trappers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).
 36. Charles Kelly, “Antoine Robidoux,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 6 (October 1933): 115–16.
 37. The document is believed to have been written by Otis “Dock” Marston because his handwritten notes are on it, and the structure of the document favors his style. Unidentified document in the author’s possession is likely a copy of an original from the Otis R. “Dock” Marston papers at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
 38. Thelma S. Guild and Harvey L. Carter, *Kit Carson: A Pattern for Heroes* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 60–61.
 39. LeRoy R. Hafen, “Colonel Loring’s Expedition Across Colorado in 1858,” *Colorado Magazine* 23 (March 1946), 49–76.
 40. Nee Ring Pennington, interview by Linelle Wagner, Westwater, Utah, May 1982. Virginia McConnell Simmons wrote that in “west-central Colorado the Colorado River was an obstacle to those who needed to cross it, but a few fords, known to Indians, could be found above Westwater Canyon, at Grand Junction, and near DeBeque.” *The Ute Indians of Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2000), 5–6.
 41. Ken Reyher, *Antoine Robidoux and Fort Uncompahgre* (Ouray, Colorado: Western Reflections, 1998), 7.
 42. *Ibid.*, 40.
 43. *Ibid.*, 53.
 44. John Hoffman, *Arches National Park: An Illustrated Guide and History* (San Diego, California: Western Recreational Publications 1982), 57.
 45. Kelly, “Antoine Robidoux,” 115–16. In a letter to the author dated 14 January 2001, noted Western inscription authority James Knipmeyer expressed his opinion that “the word in question is spelled ‘WIYTE.’ Yes, there is some flaking of the rock through the ‘Y,’ but it is NOT an ‘N.’ It looks nothing like any of the other ‘Ns’ in the inscription.” Still, the inscription leaves some unanswered questions.
 46. James Knipmeyer, “The Denis Julien Inscriptions,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 64 (winter 1996): 54.

47. Ibid., 68–69.
48. Lloyd M. Pierson, “Rollin J. Reeves and the Boundary Between Utah and Colorado,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 66 (spring 1998): 112.
49. Thomas G. Alexander and Leonard J. Arrington, “Camp in the Sagebrush: Camp Floyd, Utah, 1858–1861,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34 (spring 1966): 3–21. The “Utah War” was an alleged insurrection of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) against the authority of the United States Government. Utah was a territory governed by the Mormon prophet Brigham Young when Johnston’s army approached it under orders of President James Buchanan in 1857. Brigham Young outfitted 1,100 volunteers to defend against Johnson’s army. Far less than a full-blown war, the Mormons harassed the army by cutting them off from their supplies and delaying their approach to Salt Lake City, sufficiently that the army did not enter the valley until the following year.
50. Hafen, “Colonel Loring’s Expedition,” 49–76. Colonel A. S. Johnson’s difficulty entering the territory in 1857 most likely prompted the federal government to explore and improve access to the Mormon stronghold.
51. In a letter to the author dated 7 December 2000, Lloyd M. Pierson wrote that the “maps made by the Hayden Expedition in 1874 and 1875 show the wagon road touching the Colorado River at McGraw Bottom just above Dewey, again at the Cisco Pump House and at Westwater or the mouth of Bitter Creek.”
52. Firmage, *Grand County*, 69–70.
53. A brief history provided by the 1875 Hayden Survey reads: “The region, we might say, was entirely unexplored. Gunnison, in 1853, passed just north of it, and although he puts a portion on his map, it was outside of his line of march, and it is therefore necessarily incorrect. Along his line of travel his map is very correct. Captain Macomb in 1859 traveled across the extreme southwestern corner of the district just beyond the point we reached in our work.” Hayden, *Ninth Annual Report*, 36.
54. Ibid. 335. The 1876 Hayden party included Henry Gannett, topographer; Dr. A. C. Peale, geologist; J. E. Mushbach, topographical assistant; two packers; and a cook.
55. The Hayden Survey of 1875 included Granite and Little Dolores Creeks in its observations. Seemingly impressed with the discovery of “Archean (Precambrian) Rock” it provided quite a few observations of the entire region and recognized the metamorphic rock was not localized. Following the detailed observation of the Little Dolores Creek that empties into the Colorado River, the survey said of that river: “Grand (Colorado) River appears to be entirely in the red beds.” Ibid., 66. This would suggest the canyon was observed from a distance and only the Wingate Sandstone could be seen.
56. Gannett described where the survey party separated from the river when its “course changes abruptly soon after entering this cañon (Ruby) [immediately upstream of Westwater] to southwest and then to south-southwest, which it holds as far as the mouth of the Dolores.” He said, “There are but three or four places between the head of this cañon and

the mouth of the Dolores where the river can be reached.” Ibid., 336, 345, 347–49. According to Lloyd M. Pierson, the Salt Lake wagon trail is the same one referred to earlier having been built by Colonel Loring. Pierson to author, 7 December 2000.

2

Westwater Town: A Trip in Time

1. Memorandum from archaeologist Richard E. Fike to Monticello, Utah district manager dated 27 June 1973. The memorandum includes site inventories and brief histories of the Wild Horse Cabin and Outlaw Cave in Westwater Canyon. The information is not for public use and resides with the Moab Bureau of Land Management (BLM).
2. Owen Madox Malin, interview by Marianna Allred (Hopkins), Dave Minor of the BLM, and Blake Hopkins, tape recording, 23 April 1978, Bureau of Land Management, Moab.
3. Memorandum from Richard E. Fike. Malin’s story is somewhat confirmed by Richard Fike’s description of finding “tin can fragments.”
4. “Westwater Items,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 27 July 1922.
5. “New Gold Field,” *Grand Junction News*, 3 February 1894.
6. The San Juan gold rush of the early 1890s was caused when a trader Jonathan P. Williams showed some coal samples he obtained near the confluence of the San Juan and Colorado Rivers to some entrepreneurs and railroad men. Later miscommunication characterized the coal as gold. Estimates of miners traveling through San Juan County between 1892 and 1893 searching for the placer gold range from seven hundred to five thousand. Robert S. McPherson, *A History of San Juan County: In the Palm of Time*, Utah Centennial County History Series (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and San Juan County Commission, 1995): 241–67.
7. “New Gold Field,” *Grand Junction News*, 3 February 1894.
8. The steel spring bed was called a rocker. I have not been able to confirm how it worked.
9. During a Westwater cleanup on September 22, 2001, an engine was retrieved from the Colorado River near Wild Horse camp, was delivered to BLM ranger Alvin Halliday. Although the make has not been identified, estimates of the age of the engine date somewhere in the mid-1920s. See “Westwater Canyon, ‘Taking Care of Business,’ Pictures of Westwater Cleanup Sept. 22, 2001.” <http://home.mesastate.edu/~jerry/guide/westwater.htm>
10. “Westwater News,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 2 December 1920.
11. “Westwater Boomings,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 27 November 1897.
12. Ibid.
13. *Moab Grand Valley Times*, “Westwater Items,” 15 April 1898.
14. *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 17 March 1899.
15. Thirty years later the federal government and Utah would face each other again, only this time it would be over jurisdiction of river beds. The ownership of river beds would be determined in the courts based upon the

navigability of the Colorado, Green, and San Juan Rivers. The river bed case determined that where the rivers were navigable, the river beds belonged to the state of Utah. Those riverbeds such as Westwater and Cataract Canyon were determined to not be navigable and controlled by the federal government.

16. “Editorial Notes,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 29 November 1901.
17. “Westwater Items,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 1 May 1903.
18. “Westwater News,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 23 November 1917. Although there were reports of copper mining at Little Hole, two separate exploratory river trips into Westwater Canyon in 1998 and 2000 included geologists who did not discover any evidence of copper at Little Hole.
19. Beatrix Simpson, “Westwater on the Grand,” *The Railroad Red Book* (Denver: Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, 1916 & 1917), 254–55. *The Railroad Red Book* was a monthly publication of the D&RGW RR that included train schedules. The entire article and a photograph appeared on the front page of Moab’s *Grand Valley Times* on February 9, 1917, under the heading “Westwater’s Resources Set Forth in Graphic Terms by Beatrix Simpson.”
20. Jesse Gruver, telephone conversation with author, 15 March 1987. The *Moab Grand Valley Times* of January 12, 1900, reported: “A bad wreck occurred to a passenger train on the R.G.W. RR near Westwater, in which fireman Ryan was killed. It was caused by a land slide striking the train, turning the engine over in to Grand river and nearly burying the cars.” A similar incident was reported in the same paper on December 5, 1902, when a “bad wreck” occurred two miles east of Westwater. The west-bound passenger train ran into a pile of rock slide debris that threw all of the cars off the track except the real Pullman. The engine was totally demolished. Fireman E.G. Biddle was killed, and two other railroad employees were injured. Flash flooding and rock slides throughout Ruby Canyon prompted the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad to relocate the tracks through that canyon in 1927. The *Times-Independent* on March 24, 1927, reported that “the new track will be sufficiently removed from the bluffs that danger from rolling rocks will be negligible.” The Utah Construction Company was hired to move eleven miles of the track away from the bluffs.
21. John L. Malin, letter to author, 29 March 1987.
22. Helen J. Stiles, “Down The Colorado In 1889,” *Colorado Magazine* 41 (summer 1964), 225–46.
23. Charles Kendrick in 1889 is the only known source to refer to Westwater Ranch as the Box X Ranch. Newspaper sources from 1892 through 1894 referred to it as the Bar X Ranch. There is a canyon in the Book Cliffs by this name, and Harry McDonald referred to the Bar X Bottom in the vicinity of McDonald Creek in Ruby Canyon.
24. Jackson Thode, letter to author, 2 October 1987. See also Lloyd M. Pierson and Lyle E. Jamison, “The Denver and Rio Grande Narrow Gauge Railroad Across Grand County 1883–1890,” *Canyon Legacy* 42 (summer 2001): 14–18.

25. R. C. Farewell, *Rio Grande Secret Places Volume Two: Ruby Canyon and the Desert* (Boulder, Colorado: Johnson Printing, 1999).
26. Marianna Allred Hopkins recalled that when she interviewed Owen Malin in 1978, he said at “one time they were looking to make Westwater the county seat.” Marianna Allred Hopkins and Blake Hopkins, interview by author, undated (mid-1980s), Salt Lake City, Utah.
27. “Report about Grand County and its Resources,” *Salt Lake City Daily Tribune*, 27 December 1909.
28. Some early residents of Westwater who arrived during the 1890s were Charles C. Brock, Captain Wilson E. Davis, J. R. Williams, Walter V. Champlain, Edward Price, Charles H. Hallett, Leroy Harris, Simon Mercer, George D. Grant, John and Thomas Brandon, Daniel H. Snyder, Harvey Edward Herbert, Commadore Perry Bryson, John May, Robert and Florence Fuller, Joe Harris, Frank D. Darrow, and George H. Darrow.
29. “Mrs. Florence Fuller, Cattlewoman, Is Dead,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 6 February 1930.
30. Thode, letter to author, 2 October 1987.
31. “Another Shooting at Westwater,” *Provo Daily Enquirer*, 12 March 1894.
32. The importance of irrigation planning for the arid lands of the West was mostly ignored until it was recognized nationally in 1888 after several years of drought. Major John Wesley Powell was responsible for the United States Geological Survey (USGS) becoming involved with surveying arid lands for irrigation planning. As early as 1878 he suggested cooperative irrigation measures that included building dams to protect valuable water resources. Much of his insight developed from his time spent in Utah observing the irrigation methods used by the Mormons during his surveys there between 1869 and 1872. Congress did not side with him until major droughts during the late 1880s produced evidence of the need for irrigation planning to sustain populations in the arid west. By 1890 politics interfered with Powell’s irrigation surveys because they prevented homesteading until the areas near water resources were surveyed. Lacking foresight and feeling public pressure Congress repealed this protection of the lands in favor of opening them up to premature development. Defeated, Powell resigned from the USGS in 1894, but his insight regarding planning for arid lands would resurface in 1934 during a drought that affected most of the United States agriculture and livestock industries. Wallace Stegner, *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: The Exploration of the Grand Canyon and the Second Opening of the West* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1954).
33. “Westwater Items,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 15 April 1898.
34. “Are You Looking for a Home,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 16 December 1898.
35. “Editorial Notes,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 15 September 1905.
36. “Will Raise Alfalfa at Westwater on Big Scale,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 17 February 1911.
37. T.C. Henry had a history of speculative land development and irrigation enterprises that he enticed investors to partially fund, and he raised additional capital by issuing bonds. In Colorado a case was brought against

- Henry by the Travelers Insurance Company of Hartford Connecticut accusing him of mismanaging money he was charged with. The company had invested with him from 1880 to 1884 when it became aware of “irregularities” in his business. They claimed that he had previously had done much the same thing in Kansas. Early in the process the courts were siding with Henry, but the insurance company was vehement about pursuing its contention as far as possible. “That Colorado Case: The Travelers and Its Discredited Correspondent,” *Grand Junction News*, 5 April 1890: 9.
38. “Westwater Property Sold to Satisfy Judgement,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 6 October 1911.
 39. Westwater celebrated a new beginning to its economy with a party at Martin’s home. “Westwater Celebrates Wiping Out of Debt,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 28 September 1917.
 40. Swansea was a copper rich mining district about thirty miles from Parker, Arizona. The copper was first discovered around 1862 but did not get mined heavily until after 1904 when the Arizona & California Railroad began constructing a line from Wickenburg to Parker. Swansea’s name came from the birthplace of George Mitchell, one of the principal promoters of the Clara Consolidated Gold and Copper Mining Company that began mining camps there in 1907. Swansea reached its productive peak in 1910 and by 1937 it was a ghost town. BLM Arizona Lake Havasu Field Office—Swansea Historic Townsite, <http://www.az.blm.gov/info.swansea.html>. Doug Duncan. Swansea, Arizona, *Utah Adventure Magazine and Guide*, <http://www.utahadventure.com>.
 41. Simpson, “Westwater,” 254–55. Beatrix Simpson was an early correspondent for the *Grand Valley Times* and claimed to have run the Westwater post office and store from about 1914 until 1922. Her husband, Owen L. Simpson, had partial ownership of the Westwater and Cisco Mercantile Companies that had holdings in both towns and on the Little Dolores.
 42. Charles L. Schmalz, “Sugar Beets in Cache Valley: An Amalgamation of Agriculture and Industry,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 57 (fall 1989): 370–88.
 43. *Ibid.*
 44. “Big Ranch Sells for Over \$60,000: Largest Real Estate Transaction in History of County—Provo Men are the Purchasers,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 14 February 1919.
 45. “Westwater Items,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 2 December 1920.
 46. Owen Malin’s son Dean said “the original railbed went quite close to Westwater and a gravesite where about 35 Chinese workers were buried.” Dean Malin, letter to author, 10 June 1987. John Malin did not recall the Chinese graveyard but speculated it was not true in a letter to the author, 9 August 1987.
 47. Dean Malin, letter to author, 10 June 1987.
 48. “Westwater Items,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 29 September 1927.
 49. “Westwater Items,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 20 July 1922.
 50. John L. Malin, letter to author, 29 March 1987.
 51. Greta Galyean, telephone conversation with author, 30 September 1991.

52. Greta Galyean, letter to author, 26 November 1991.
53. "Notice to Sheepmen," *Moab Times-Independent*, 24 March 1932.
54. "John C. Hardison Dies At Home In Westwater," *Moab Times-Independent*, 8 July 1943.
55. "Westwater Items," *Moab Times-Independent*, 29 June 1922.
56. "Westwater Items," *Moab Times-Independent*, 4 August 1927.
57. "Westwater News," *Moab Times-Independent*, 21 October 1920.
58. "Westwater News," *Moab Times-Independent*, 23 November 1922.
59. "Newsy Notes From Town of Cisco," *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 28 February 1913.
60. "Westwater Items," *Moab Times-Independent*, 28 September 1922.
61. "Railroad Man Retires," *Moab Times-Independent*, 1 January 1925.
62. "New Westwater Route Will Shorten Midland Trail," *Moab Times-Independent*, 31 March 1921.
63. "Favor Road By Way of Westwater Town," *Moab Times-Independent*, 24 March 1923.
64. "Westwater Events," *Moab Times-Independent*, 28 March 1929.
65. "Westwater Events," *Moab Times-Independent*, 30 May 1929.
66. "Road Westwater to State Line is Closed," *Moab Times-Independent*, 17 July 1930.
67. Brian Q. Cannon, "Struggle against Great Odds: Challenges in Utah's Marginal Agricultural Areas, 1925–1939," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (fall 1986): 308–27.
68. Ibid.
69. U.S. Department of the Interior, Geological Survey, Utah District, *Colorado River near Cisco Utah. Discharge, in cubic feet per second, water years 1931 and 1934.*
70. Leonard J. Arrington, "Utah's Great Drought of 1934," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (summer 1986): 245–65.
71. Thode, letter to author, 2 October 1987.
72. "Post Office to Close at Westwater," *Moab Times-Independent*, 28 January 1954.

3

Gunslingers and Bad Guys

1. *Grand Junction News*, 24 August 1889.
2. *Salt Lake Herald*, 13 September 1892.
3. *Provo Daily Enquirer*, 22 December 1892.
4. Stiles, "Down the Colorado," 235.
5. Jean Westwood, "Richard Dallin Westwood: Sheriff and Ferryman of Early Grand County," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 55 (winter 1987): 66–86.
6. Several spellings of Mueller's name occurred during the trials, including Miller and Muler.
7. Several spellings of Dussel's name occurred during the trials, including Ducel, Dusell, Dousel, and Dusel.

8. “The Davis Trial at Provo,” *Salt Lake City Daily Tribune*, 20 December 1892.
9. “The Westwater Tragedy: Captain Davis on Trial for Killing Three Men,” *Salt Lake Herald*, 20 December 1892.
10. “Horrible Slaughter: One Man Meets Three and Kills Them All,” *Grand Junction News*, 27 August 1892.
11. “Sheriff of Grand Cited to Appear for Contempt,” *Provo Daily Enquirer*, 21 January 1895.
12. *Ibid.*
13. “Novel Defense to Be Made for Davis,” *Salt Lake City Daily Tribune*, 3 February 1914.
14. “Forged Paper Stained Red?” *Los Angeles Daily Times*, 3 February 1914.
15. “Heart Is Poisoned and Skull Broken,” *Los Angeles Daily Times*, 22 January 1914.
16. “Forged Paper Stained Red?” *Los Angeles Daily Times*, 3 February 1914.
17. “Spill Contents before Jurors,” *Los Angeles Daily Times*, 14 May 1914.
18. “Davis Confesses He’s Killed Three Men,” *Los Angeles Daily Times*, 24 January 1914.
19. “Is Nearly Ended: Defendants Are on the Stand,” *Provo Daily Enquirer*, 5 April 1894. “Westwater Tragedy: Frank Grant’s Vivid Recital of His Brother’s Death,” *Salt Lake Herald*, 5 April 1894.
20. Prior to August 17, 1892, a C. H. Hallett reportedly arrived at Grand Junction with an unusual piece of gold that he found among Indian ruins in the Henry Mountains. The dates between his testimony at the Captain Davis trial and the report from Grand Junction either indicate a contradiction or would indicate he was jockeying between Westwater and Grand Junction, possibly checking out land ownership in the Westwater vicinity. “The Henry Mountains: A Rich Mineral Country. Gold, Silver, Copper Etc.,” *Grand Junction News*, 17 August 1892.
21. “Shot Him From Ambush: Cowardly Assassination of Royal Grant at West Water,” *Salt Lake Herald*, 27 February 1894.
22. Newspapers alternately refer to him as James W., John W., and Jack during the trial. Court records listed him as James H. Smith.
23. “From the Garden City,” *Salt Lake Herald*, 28 February 1894.
24. “Another Shooting at Westwater,” *Provo Daily Enquirer*, 12 March 1894.
25. “Latest Rumor of Homicide: It Was Said to Be at Westwater, but Is a Fake,” *Salt Lake City Daily Tribune*, 13 March 1894, “Nobody Hurt,” *Grand Junction News*, 17 March 1894.
26. “A Murder Trial: Will Be Commenced at Provo Today,” *Salt Lake Herald*, 3 April 1894.
27. “To Save His Own Life, Davis Tells Why He Killed Three Men,” *Salt Lake City Daily Tribune*, 26 September 1894.
28. “A Mixed Verdict at Provo,” *Salt Lake City Daily Tribune*, 7 April 1894.
29. John L. Malin, letters to author, 29 March 1987 and 3 December 1987, and telephone conversation with author, 3 June 1991.
30. Lena M. Urquhart, *Roll Call: The Violent and Lawless* (Denver: Golden Bell Press): 52–55.

31. “Possemen Still on the Alert,” *Grand Junction Daily Sentinel*, 28 May 1928.
32. “Lamar Robbery Killer Made Headquarters Here Very Recently,” *Grand Junction Daily Sentinel*, 19 August 1929.
33. In a 2000 summer/fall exhibit at the Finney County Historical Museum in Garden City, Kansas, there was among numerous items and artifacts related to the Fleagle Gang, a display of Dr. Weininger’s car window with Jake Fleagle’s finger print still visible on it. According to a 1997 article titled “Positive I.D.” in the museum’s publication *Sequoyan*, the window was part of the Chicago World’s Fair in 1930 and was used in training classes at the FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C. See also Hal O. Kesler, *Lamar, Colorado—Its First Hundred Years 1886–1986* (Shawnee Mission, Kansas: Kes-Print, 1986), 117–21.
34. “Trap Brings Capture of Bank Bandit,” *Salt Lake Tribune* 15 October 1930.
35. “Mexican Kills Fellow Countryman With Axe,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 4 December 1919.
36. John L. Malin, telephone conversation, 3 June 1991.
37. “Finds Killing Was Justified,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 29 November 1912.
38. “Westwater Events,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 7 March, 21 March 1929.

4

Cattle versus Sheep

1. Stiles, “Down the Colorado,” 235. As indicated previously most references during the late 1890s referred to this ranch as the Bar X Ranch.
2. “Charles R. Sieber Killed!” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 29 August 1902.
3. Ibid.
4. “Joe Harris Acquitted,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 14 October 1904.
5. John L. Malin, letter to author, 29 March 1987.
6. Dave Fishell, letter to author, 7 September 1987.
7. “Joseph Pace on Trial,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 12 November 1909.
8. *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 25 May 1906.
9. “Joe Harris Shot Dead,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 8 October 1909.
10. Fishell, letter, 7 September 1987.
11. “Jury Acquits Joseph Pace,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 19 November 1909.
12. John L. Malin letter, 29 March 1987.
13. “S. A. Taylor Loses Sheep,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 28 May 1909.
14. “Not Killed by Cattlemen,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 13 March 1908.
15. “Westwater Notes,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 28 March 1919.
16. “Trouble Starts at Westwater,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 9 December 1920. “Six Sheepmen to Face Trial,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 16 December 1920.
17. Walker D. Wyman and John D. Hart, “The Legend of Charlie Glass, Negro Cowboy on the Colorado-Utah Range,” Utah State Historical Society. A

- less complete version of this essay was published in *Colorado Magazine* 46 (winter 1969): 40–54.
18. “Range War Ends in Death at Cisco Today,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 24 February 1921.
 19. “Charles Glass Is Cleared of Murder Charge,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 1 December 1921.
 20. “Fence Law Wins in Cisco Precinct,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 6 November 1930.
 21. Colorado Congressman Ed Taylor wrote the Taylor Grazing Act. The act was intended to allow governmental management of the previously unregulated public lands by establishing grazing districts with limited stock allowances. Grazing fees would be collected for the livestock and used toward range improvements. “In this manner the over-grazing and erosion resulting from the abuse of the range will be prevented.” “Taylor Grazing Bill Passed by Congress,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 21 June 1934. Cattlemen felt that the act favored sheepmen, and in 1950 the Grand County stockmen created an organization to investigate range conflicts and finance a campaign to protect their grazing rights. “It was the contention of the group that the BLM, during its administration of the Taylor Act during the past 14 years, has failed to give proper consideration to the rights of resident ranchers and stockmen and now proposes to perpetuate policies which will be ruinous to the rights of resident stockmen as well as to the economic well being of the local tax structure” “Stockmen Organize to Wage Fight for Range Rights,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 23 November 1950.
 22. Wyman and Hart, “The Legend of Charlie Glass.” “Charles Glass, Well Known Cowboy Dies in Car Wreck,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 25 February 1937.

5

Rocks, Dams, and Hideouts: Entering the Canyon

1. Wil Bussard, “Westwater Canyon: A Geologist’s River Guide, With a Focus on Precambrian Rocks,” *The Confluence* (winter 1999): 21–28. I have not located any material specifically written on the geology of Westwater Canyon other than Wil Bussard’s articles in *The Confluence*.
2. Wil Bussard to author, 25 January 2001. Additionally, Bussard wrote: “Precambrian rocks in nearby areas depict some of the surface activity in the region during this time. The Grand Canyon supergroup dates from 1.25 to 0.8 billion years (more recent than the Precambrian rocks in Westwater and within the missing unconformity at Westwater) and contains marine and continental sedimentary rocks as well as volcanic lava flow deposits. These rest unconformably on Vishnu Schist and Zoroaster granite, rocks which are very similar to the Precambrian of Westwater. In the San Juan Mountains of southwest Colorado, the older Precambrian (1.7 billion years) consist of granites, schist, and gneisses which were

- derived from volcanic and sedimentary rocks. These rocks are in part similar to those of Westwater Canyon. The Uncompahgre formation (1.4 billion years old), also in the San Juan Mountains, is a series of quartzites and phyllites which were originally beach sands and oceanic black shales.”
3. Ibid. In his letter Wil Bussard provided a summary of the Precambrian rocks in Westwater: “(1) Sedimentary rocks were laid down and cut by shallow basalt dike intrusions prior to 1.7 b. y. [billion years]. (2) Mountain building and burial of 1. continued to depth of 10–20 kilometers, where metamorphism and recrystallization occurred (metamorphism resets the radiometric clock to the date of the metamorphism). (3) Granite intruded this deep crust as mountain building and continental accretion continued. (4) Uplift and erosion continued and created the Great Unconformity across most of the western USA. (5) The Ancestral Rockies arose, beginning about 300 million years ago and stretched from SE Oklahoma to the Salt Lake UT. The Uncompahgre uplift pushed up the crust at Westwater and adjacent areas, creating the Paradox Basin to the southwest. The deposits on top of the present day Precambrian were eroded and deposited as the Cutler formation, SW of the uplift. (6) More deposition across the region of sedimentary rocks with minor ash layers occurred throughout Mesozoic time. (7) rejuvenation of the uplift in Late cretaceous accompanied the laramide orogeny to the west. (8) Erosion.”
 4. During the 1950s an explosion of recreational boating took place along the western rivers partly due to surplus neoprene boats from World War II. The boats were safer and could carry more passengers than the wooden boats of the past. The boom began with commercial river companies. Gradually more and more noncommercial recreational boaters took to the rivers.
 5. Kim Crumbo, “Granite Canyon, Wilderness on the Colorado,” *National Parks & Conservation Magazine* (October 1973): 22–24.
 6. United States Department of the Interior, Geological Survey, Utah District, *1913 through 1988 cubic feet per second, Colorado River near Cisco Utah*.
 7. “J.N. Corbin Returned,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 31 October 1902.
 8. U.S. Reclamation Service, *Colorado: Grand River Project*, 2d Rept., 58th Congress, 2d Session, H. Doc. 57, no. 44, 1903–1904, 210–50.
 9. The proposed dam in Westwater Canyon was abandoned because it was “impracticable to construct a gravity canal from Grand River to irrigate lands in Utah, or west of the Excelsior divide. Pumping must be resorted to, and the large amount of water and the great height through which it must be lifted will require the installation of an expensive pumping plant at the Excelsior divide and a costly dam and power plant in the canyon of Grand River for furnishing the necessary power.” Ibid., 247. Several proposals existed at the time to irrigate Grand Valley and eastern Utah along the Colorado River. The most practical proposition was for irrigation water to be pumped from Palisades, Colorado, and diverted to Orchard Mesa canals in Grand Valley

10. An 1894 survey conducted by Frank E. Baxter during June and July does not show any geography southeast of the mouth of Westwater Canyon.
11. As noted in chapter 1, Hayden's crews surveyed considerable portions of eastern Utah territory in 1875. They may have bypassed the area that appears blank on the Baxter map.
12. C. H. Dane, "Geology of the Salt Valley Anticline and Adjacent Areas Grand County," *Geological Survey Bulletin* 863 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1935).
13. Jody Baily and Robert S. McPherson, "Practically Free from the Taint of the Bootlegger': A Closer Look at Prohibition in Southeastern Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 57 (spring 1989): 152.
14. "Officers Raid Still: Two Men Arrested," *Moab Times-Independent*, 25 December 1930. The description given for the island was that it was located about a mile southeast of the town of Westwater. Both men were fined \$200 each or sentenced to four months in the county jail. Elwood's son John Malin referred, in correspondence with the author, to an island south of Bitter Creek on the Colorado River as "Moonshine Island."
15. "Deputy Grabs Two Stills in the Cisco Country," *Moab Times-Independent*, 2 December 1926. Deputy Sheriff H. E. Herbert of Westwater had been watching the stills for several weeks, and when nobody showed up to work them, he decided he was discovered so he took them apart and took the evidence to Moab.
16. "Moonshiner Gets Speedy Action: Is Pinched, Taken 48 Miles to Nearest Court, and Fined \$150, All in One Day: Monte in Toils Also," *Moab Times-Independent*, 10 August 1922.
17. "Sheriff Makes Big Booze Haul Near Cisco," *Moab Times-Independent*, 29 March 1928.
18. John L. Malin, letter to author, 9 August 1987.
19. Owen Maddox Malin, interview, 23 April 1978.
20. Dusty Simmons Carpenter of Tag-A-Long Tours first brought this to my attention during the 1998 Colorado Plateau River Guides (CPRG) interpretive Westwater trip.
21. "Is He Innocent: The History of a Crime, John L. Campbell a Victim of Circumstances," Grand Junction *Grand Valley Sentinel*, 18 July 1891; Florence McCarty, "A Rancher's Last Ride: Down the Road to Silverton Someone Waited—and He Wasn't a Friend," *Frontier Times* (May 1977), 19, 41.
22. McCarty, "A Rancher's Last Ride," 41.
23. *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 2 June 1905.
24. The following week Grand Junction sheriff Cramer was scolded by the newspapers for not capturing the horse thieves. It read further, "There is little doubt but what there is an organized band of horse-thieves in Eastern Utah who are plying a profitable business, and are hiding in the desert." *Grand Junction News*, 21 July 1888. One year later the horse thieves had not been identified and caught. On August 24, 1889, the *Grand Junction News* reported that there "is a regularly organized band

- of horse and cattle thieves who plunder the country for hundreds of miles around and secrete their stolen property in this rendezvous . . . Horses and cattle have disappeared from this section from time to time for several years and they now number several hundred.”
25. John L. Malin, telephone conversation, 3 June 1991.
 26. Roscoe Hallett, or his older brother Charles V, was likely responsible for the information Ray Rose provided about the canyon because their father had died sometime before 1910. One source claimed Charles H. Hallett had spent some time in prison. He was not listed on the 1900 census with his family at Westwater, and by 1910 his wife was listed as a widow on the Cisco census.
 27. Harold H. Leich diary, 17 August 1933, University of Utah Special Collections.
 28. “River Mystery Deepens As Sheriff Shoots Rapids but Fails to Discover Human Bones,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 12 April 1956.
 29. Jimmy Walker, telephone conversation with author, 2 April 1989.
 30. “University Students ‘Shoot’ Dangerous Colorado River Rapids,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 23 March 1950
 31. “Malin Letter Clears Up Lot of Mystery of Cave History,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 24 May 1956.
 32. In 1963 when kayaker Joe M. Lacy made the first known kayak descent of Westwater Canyon, he took photographs of the event and listed the names that the group gave to the rapids, noting their locations. Possibly an important clue to the ownership of Outlaw Cave prior to John Warren is a name Lacy gave it: “L. D. Hummel Cave.” During a taped interview by the author on 11 October 2001, Joe Lacy said he did not recall where the name came from or even having seen the cave. Lacy’s list of photographic slides includes one of the L. D. Hummel Cave after the Little Dolores River, although the slide itself is missing. Coincidentally, the *Moab Grand Valley Times* on May 1, 1903, reported: “There were some parties in last week who went up on the Little Dolores to look at the claims and prospects up there. Edmans & Hommell have also taken some very fine samples of ore from their copper claims at this place and have had a proposition of forming a stock company to develop their property and that looks good for Westwater.” A logical conclusion would be that Edmans and Hommell [Hummel] duped John Warren into buying the rights to their cave and that the L. D. Hummel name came from one of the 1903 letters Lacy’s party may have seen there.
 33. “Malin Letter Clears Up Lot of Mystery of Cave History,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 24 May 1956.
 34. “University Students ‘Shoot’ Dangerous Colorado River Rapids,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 23 March 1950.
 35. “River Mystery Deepens As Sheriff Shoots Rapids but Fails to Discover Human Bones,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 12 April 1956.
 36. Walter Kirschbaum, letter to John L. J. Hart, 27 June 1964. John L. J. Hart, Westwater papers, in author’s possession.
 37. Memorandum from Richard E. Fike.

6

The River Runners: Entering the Gorge

1. Ellsworth L. Kolb handwritten notes, unpublished manuscript, Kolb Collection, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University. “E.L. Kolb and His Companion Make Long River Trip,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 25 August 1916.
2. Lewis R. Freeman, *The Colorado River: Yesterday, To-Day and To-Morrow* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1923): 204.
3. Ibid, 219–20.
4. Ellsworth L. Kolb, *Through the Grand Canyon from Wyoming to Mexico* (New York: Macmillan, 1937).
5. William C. Suran, *With the Wings of an Angel: A Biography of Ellsworth and Emery Kolb, Photographers of Grand Canyon* (The Author, 1991), chap. 7, <http://www.grand-canyon.az.us/kolb/07.html>.
6. Ibid.
7. “To Explore Canon of Gunnison,” *Denver Times*, 2 March 1915, clipping, Otis “Dock” Marston papers, Huntington Library.
8. Ellsworth L. Kolb, “Experiences with Western Slope Rivers and Canyons,” unpublished manuscript, Kolb Collection, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff.
9. “Noted Explorer Braves Dangers of River Canyon,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 18 August 1916.
10. Whirlpool Rapid was renamed Skull Rapid after an incident that took place on March 25, 1956. Double Pitch Rapid is likely Funnel Falls. Kolb’s original notes indicated that Double Pitch Rapid could only be observed from an overhanging ledge. He described the dangerous rapid as being short with a ten-foot fall and continuous rapids afterwards. Apparently, there was a route into and out of the gorge following Double Pitch because Loper hiked out, leaving more rapids for Kolb the next day. Dee Holladay, of Holiday River Expeditions, and Kyler Carpenter, of the BLM, have observed that there are a couple of places where Loper could have climbed the northern Precambrian cliffs to the top, including immediately after Funnel Falls.
11. Otis “Dock” Marston notes, 27 November 1948. Otis R. “Dock” Marston papers, Huntington Library.
12. Kolb, “Western Slope Rivers and Canyons.”
13. Ellsworth L. Kolb handwritten notes, unpublished manuscript, Kolb Collection, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University.
14. Pearl Baker, *Trail on the Water*. (Boulder: Pruett Publishing, 1969).
15. Frank E. Dean was born in Marshalltown, Iowa, on September 9, 1884. His first experience with photography came at the age of ten when he washed glass plates in the Latour Gallery. The plates were formerly used to produce photographic negatives. To recover from health problems Dean moved west, and at the age of eighteen he settled in Gunnison, Colorado, where he opened a photography studio in 1882. In 1887 he briefly established another photography studio in Grand Junction taking portraits in

a tent. A snowstorm collapsed the tent, and he returned to Gunnison. In 1900, Dean moved his family to Grand Junction and established a photographic studio on Fifth and Rood streets. He received numerous accolades and awards for his photographic work and was referred to as the “dean of Colorado cameramen” in *Who’s Who in American Portrait Photography*. After more than sixty years of photographing the western slope Frank Dean died on September 16, 1947. Biography of Frank Dean, compiled by Craig Simons and Adam McBride, Frank Dean biography file, Museum of Western Colorado Research Library.

If Dean kept copies of the photographs he made in Westwater Canyon, they have not been located. Some of Dean’s photographs were donated to the Museum of Western Colorado, the *Grand Junction Daily Sentinel*, and the Colorado Historical Society. Unfortunately, a large number of his glass negatives from his earlier photographic work was destroyed in 1964. That year his former photography studio on Fifth and Rood was demolished and replaced by the Valley Federal building in Grand Junction. During the demolition of the old building a power shovel plunged into the basement and destroyed hundreds of glass negatives that were unknowingly concealed there for years. The workers after discovering the treasure put what they could salvage on the sidewalk to protect it as they continued their work. No museum existed in Grand Junction at the time so some of the negatives were taken to the dumps, but fifteen cases were preserved. Frank Dean’s photographs are considered important historical documents of Western Colorado. “Ancient photos provide rare glimpse of city’s past,” *Grand Junction Daily Sentinel*, 14 November 1974.

Of the experience in Westwater Canyon, Dean said “never again, and if Kolb wants some one to take his picture next time he will have to get some one else, not him. The life is entirely too strenuous.” *Grand Junction Daily Sentinel*, 28 September 1916.

16. “Trip thru Westwater Canon Was Like Tickling Dynamite with a Lighted Match—Wow!” *Grand Junction Daily News*, 28 September 1916.
17. The following books briefly address Kendrick’s survey: Robert Brewster Stanton, *Down the Colorado*, edited by Dwight L. Smith, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965); Dwight L. Smith and C. Gregory Crampton, eds., *The Colorado River Survey: Robert B. Stanton and the Denver, Colorado Canyon and Pacific Railroad* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1987).
18. Stiles, “Down The Colorado,” 235.
19. Both Stanton, *Down the Colorado*, and Smith and Crampton, *The Colorado River Survey*, include biographical details of Stanton’s survey experiences on the Colorado River.
20. State of Utah, Department of the Attorney General, Records of Colorado River Case 1929–1931, microfilm, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, and digital images by the University of Utah, <http://www.lib.utah.edu/digital/crc/index.html>. Elmer Kane testified that he came down the Grand River by boat from Grand Junction. However, the court’s synopsis of his testimony said they boated from Cisco.

21. Ibid.
22. *Glenwood Springs Avalanche*, 11 August 1897. Notice was given that “Drs. Miller & Babcock’s office will be closed until the first week in September.”
23. *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 27 August 1897
24. “They Have Felt The Thrill,” *Glenwood Springs Avalanche*, 28 August 1897.
25. The notes are not entirely legible. A comment at the bottom of Marston’s note reads “(probably pictures).” I formerly thought the note read “probably fiction” until I discovered that the dentist local newspaper, the *Glenwood Springs Avalanche*, confirmed on 14 September 1897 that, “They took a great many pictures, which when arranged will make a never-ending source of entertainment.”
26. Walter Everett Mendenhall testimony in the Records of Colorado River Case, Utah State Historical Society.
27. Raymond C. Seitz testimony in the Records of Colorado River Case, Utah State Historical Society.
28. Ibid. Parenthesis added by author comparing Seitz’s mileage to Bill Belknap, Buzz Belknap, and Loie Belknap Evans, *Belknap’s Revised Waterproof Canyonlands River Guide*. Evergreen, Colorado: Westwater Books, 1996.
29. “Westwater People Fear Man Has Been Drowned,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 2 June 1916.
30. “River Mystery Deepens As Sheriff Shoots Rapids but Fails to Discover Human Bones”, *Moab Times-Independent*, 12 April 1956.
31. “Westwater News,” *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 30 June 1916.
32. “Ignorant of Canyons Perils, He Shoots Rapids,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 3 November 1921.
33. Jesse L. Nussbaum to Otis R. Marston, 6 September 1955, Otis R. “Dock” Marston papers, Huntington Library.
34. “Beaver Trappers Called Off, Game Commissioner Says,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 3 March 1927.
35. Clyde Eddy, *Down the World’s Most Dangerous River* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1929).
36. John Galloway testimony in the Records of Colorado River Case, Utah State Historical Society.
37. Parley Galloway testimony in the Records of Colorado River Case, Utah State Historical Society.
38. Owen Maddox Malin, interview, 23 April 1978.
39. Hyrum H. Turner testimony in the Records of Colorado River Case, Utah State Historical Society.
40. “Fined For Illegal Trapping of Beavers,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 1 December 1927.
41. A.P. Drew, interview by Otis “Dock” Marston, 12 October 1959, Otis R. “Dock” Marston papers, Huntington Library.
42. Harold H. Leich, “Rapids and Riffles,” unpublished manuscript, Otis R. “Dock” Marston papers, Huntington Library.

43. John Weisheit brought this boater to my attention. Because A. P. Drew claimed to have boated Westwater he is entered in this log. However, it is highly unlikely he went through the canyon because the only section in Ruby Canyon that can be considered hazardous is at Black Rocks which is no comparison to Westwater Canyon.
44. “Canoeist Will Continue Trip Down Colorado: Beppo Saeckler Arrives And Will Repair Craft; Enroute to Pacific Coast,” *Grand Junction Daily Sentinel*, 26 June 1930.
45. Ibid.
46. “He Decided To Hike Around River Rapids,” *Grand Junction Daily Sentinel*, 22 June 1930; “Canoeist Will Continue Trip Down Colorado: Beppo Saeckler Arrives And Will Repair Craft; Enroute to Pacific Coast,” *Grand Junction Daily Sentinel*, 26 June 1930.
47. “Champion Canoeist Is Due in Moab This Week,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 26 June 1930.
48. Leich, “Rapids and Riffles”. Harold H. Leich kept a very descriptive diary of his Colorado River trip. He intended to publish his experiences and produced several drafts of his manuscript, which hasn’t been published. A copy of Leich’s diary and several copies of Leich’s draft manuscripts were recently donated to the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, by his sons, Harold M. and Jeffrey R. Leich. I have chosen from Leich’s diary and drafts the renditions that best describe his experiences with Westwater Canyon.
49. Harold H. Leich, “Alone on the Colorado,” Harold H. Leich papers, Special Collections, University of Utah, copy in author’s possession.
50. In 1927 Clyde Eddy recruited college men and guide Parley Galloway to run the Colorado River beginning at Green River, Utah, and ending at Needles, California. The river was run at a higher water level than had previously been attempted. Eddy, *Down the World’s Most Dangerous River*.
51. Leich came across the name *Rob Roy* for his boat after reading from a journal by John MacGregor (1825–1892). MacGregor did extensive river and lake travel throughout Europe and the Near East during the 1860s and 1870s. He is credited with inspiring a canoe fad that followed throughout Europe and America and eventually included kayaking. MacGregor had at least five canoes he named *Rob Roy*, after his ancestor, Scottish national hero Robert Roy MacGregor (1671–1734). MacGregor attracted crowds and international attention in the “Rob Roy”. Nicknamed the “Chaplain of the Canoe,” MacGregor would hand out religious pamphlets to the crowds along his routes. He wrote several books about his travels and donated their proceeds to charities. J. MacGregor, *A Thousand Miles in the Rob Roy Canoe* (1866; rpt., Murray, Utah: Dixon-Price Publishing, 2000). Leich claimed the prototype foldboat he purchased for the Colorado River trip was fashioned after MacGregor’s.
52. Harold H. Leich, “Shipwrecked in Cataract Canyon,” *Salt Lake City Deseret News Magazine*, 13 February 1949.
53. Leich, diary, Special Collections, University of Utah. I tried to locate Malin’s copy of Kolb’s book without success. According to Elwood’s son

- John L. Malin and daughter Ila B. Reay, the book likely was destroyed in the mid-1930s when the Malin home near the railroad station burned down.
54. Leich, “Alone on the Colorado.”
 55. Ibid.
 56. Leich, diary.
 57. Ibid.
 58. Hal Leich to Otis “Dock” Marston, 24 January 1957. The best description of his condition came from Clive Meacham in a letter to Barbara Ekker, 9 February 1960. Both letters are in the Otis “Dock” Marston papers at the Huntington Library. Harold H. Leich gave an account of his experience in “Shipwrecked in Cataract Canyon,” *Salt Lake City Deseret News Magazine*, 13 February 1949.
 59. “USGS Measuring Colorado River Water,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 10 October 1946.
 60. In 1838 Elzada Urseba Clover and Lois Jotter were the first women to pass through the Grand Canyon by boat. Roy Webb, *Call of the Colorado* (Moscow: University of Idaho Press), 133. Clover and Jotter would be included in the first 100 persons to go through that canyon. Barry Goldwater, *Delightful Journey* (Tempe: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1970), 190–91.
 61. David Lavender, *River Runners of the Grand Canyon* (Grand Canyon Natural History Association, 1985), 97.
 62. Don and Mary Harris, interview by Brad Dimock and Lew Steiger, 9 February 1993, <http://www.gcr.org/bgr/6-3/riverwater.htm>.
 63. Pearl Baker, *Trail on the Water* (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Company, 1969), introduction, 103–104. Bert Loper loved the Colorado River. He came into the region during the 1890s searching for gold and remained active on the Green and Colorado Rivers until his death in the Grand Canyon in 1949. Though he desired to transit the Grand Canyon as early as 1908, each attempt was thwarted by unusual circumstances until the 1939 trip with Don Harris that culminated in the fulfillment of his elusive dreams. According to Baker, Loper was in the Veteran’s Hospital with a severe heart condition.
 64. Of Bert Loper, Don Harris said, “I learned more about the tricks of the river and studying the currents and things from Bert Loper than I did from anybody else.” Harris mentioned further that even at his age of nearly seventy-years old Loper was powerful and had “a knack with oars that I’ve seen seldom equaled.” An experience they had at Badger Creek Rapid in 1938 expresses the spirit of river running that Bert Loper embodied. When the party stopped to look the rapid over, Don said to Bert, “You think we can run it?” Loper replied: “Sure we can run it! It’s just a matter of how we’re going to run it.” From that point on “Don Harris never asked ‘Can we run it?’ He just asked, ‘How’re we going to run it?’” Don and Mary Harris, interview.
 65. Don and Mary Harris, interview.

66. Don Harris, letter to author, 18 March 1984, and undated telephone conversation, spring 1987. The deer hunting incident is covered in chapter eight of this volume.
67. Otis “Dock” Marston, interview by Jay M. Haywood and John F. Hoffman, 28 May 1976, Utah State Historical Society.
68. Paul Geerlings, “Rub-a-Dub-Dub, Six Men in a Tub,” *Salt Lake Tribune Magazine*, 30 April 1950.
69. Paul Geerlings, telephone conversation with author, 31 October 2000. See also Ronald L. Ives, “Bert Loper—The Last Chapter,” *Journal of Arizona History* 17 (spring 1976): 49–54.
70. Paul Geerlings, “Rub-a-Dub-Dub.”
71. Martin also described the party as “fearless, but dumb.” Bruce D. Martin, letter to author, 26 July 1991.
72. Ibid.
73. Dick and Margaret Durrance, telephone conversation with author, 4 September 1991.
74. Ibid.
75. “Six Foldboaters Rescued from Colorado River Near Westwater,” Grand Junction *Grand Valley Sentinel*, 28 September 1950.
76. Pres Walker, 3 November 1950. Otis “Dock” Marston papers, Huntington Library. The quote is typewritten alongside newspaper articles of the event. It likely came from correspondence between Walker and Marston.
77. Webb, *Call of the Colorado*, 141.
78. William J. Davis, letter to Pete Sparkes, 16 April 1956, Otis R. “Dock” Marston papers, Huntington Library.
79. J. Frank Wright, letter to author, 13 November 1988.
80. James P. Rigg, Jr., letter to Otis Marston, 23 June 1951, Otis R. “Dock” Marston papers, Huntington Library. Previous to this letter Rigg had been aloof and not responsive to Marston. Subsequently, Rigg wrote a biting letter to Marston on 20 August 1951, among other things disputing Marston’s criticism of the cataract boats they were using and his opinion of Norm Nevills, who had died in a plane crash two years earlier.
81. Jim Rigg, telephone interview by John L. J. Hart, 25 June 1958. John L.J. Hart, Westwater papers, in author’s possession.
82. Wright, letter, 13 November 1988.
83. “Chicagoan and Daughter Shoot Westwater Rapids,” *Moab Times-Independent*, 14 June 1951.
84. Davis to Sparkes, 16 April 1956.
85. Charles Bolte, letter to Otis (Dock) Marston, undated. Otis R. “Dock” Marston papers, Huntington Library.
86. Diary of Charles Bolte, 1954, 7–8 May 1954. Otis R. “Dock” Marston papers, Box 20(36), Huntington Library. This item is reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
87. Harry L. Aleson papers, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.
88. Marston wrote that by 1938 Separation Rapid was “subdued” by Lake Mead, thus burying two of the most difficult rapids on all of the Colorado

- River. Otis “Dock” Marston, “Separation Marks: Notes on the ‘Worst Rapid’ in the Grand Canyon.” *Journal of Arizona History* 17 (spring 1976): 1–20.
89. The Smokey Knowlton Family, *River Love the Colorado River* (Garden Grove, CA: Litho Graphics, 1985).
 90. Ed Hudson, journal entries, 23 May to 2 June 1955, Otis “Dock” Marston papers, Box 95(16), Huntington Library. This item is reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
 91. Joe M. Lacy, interview by author, 11 October 2001. Walter Kirschbaum incorrectly dated this trip August 24 and 25, 1962. Kirschbaum, letter to John L. J. Hart, 27 June 1964. John L. J. Hart, Westwater papers, in author’s possession.
 92. Lacy, interview.
 93. Joe M. Lacy’s list of color slides he took in Westwater gives the following rapid names in order: Reassurance, Half-Shot, Little Dolores, Surprise, First Star, Luscious (Funnel), Big Hole (Skull), Delicious, One More Time, and Fat Lip.
 94. Lacy, interview.
 95. Webb, *Call of the Colorado*, 118–19. During a telephone conversation with the author on 17 July 2001, Ulrich Martins claimed to be the second to successfully kayak all of the rapids of the Grand Canyon. He was introduced to whitewater boating by Kirschbaum in Germany, where they were in the same kayak club.
 96. Walter Kirschbaum, letter to John L. J. Hart, 18 June 1964. John L. J. Hart, Westwater papers, in author’s possession.
 97. Kirschbaum, letter to Hart.
 98. *Ibid.*
 99. Dee Holladay, interview by author, 10 September 1982.
 100. Bob Rigg, telephone interview by John L. J. Hart, 24 June 1958. John L.J. Hart, Westwater papers, in author’s possession.

7

Skull Rapid

1. John L. Malin to author, 29 March 1987.
2. Otis “Dock” Marston, interview by Jay M. Haymond and John F. Hoffman, 61.
3. There is some confusion on the date of the discovery. Newspapers reported the skeleton was discovered on Sunday, 25 March 1956. Les Jones’s scroll map indicates their camp at Skull was on Friday, 23 March 1956. Roger Green recalled the event occurred over a weekend. I’m assuming the party arrived at Westwater the evening of March 23 and that the boating accident occurred the next day.
4. The Granite (Westwater) Canyon scroll map in author’s possession was produced in 1963. It is nine and one-half inches wide and follows the Colorado River from Horsethief Canyon to Moab using USGS surveys for the landmarks. It includes Les Jones’s personal notations and graphics for

- camps and rapids. The map rolls out like a scroll for river travelers to use in place of cumbersome USGS maps.
5. Webb, *Call of the Colorado*, 84–85.
 6. Marston interview, 28 May 1976, 109.
 7. Funnel Falls had not been named at this time. Based upon Roger Green's description of the rapid, I showed him a photo of it, and he confirmed this was the rapid that the raft flipped in. Roger Green, interview by author, 8 November 1986. Dee Holladay confirmed that Les Jones told him during a trip they made together in 1965 that the boat flipped at Funnel Falls. It was Dee's first experience in Westwater, and he recalled Jones had their boat stop at Funnel Falls and Skull Rapid and told them the story of finding a skull. Dee Holladay, telephone interview with author, April 2003. On 2 April 2003, during a telephone conversation with the author, Les Jones denied that the rapid they flipped in was Funnel Falls. He said the rapid was smaller than Funnel but confirmed that the accident occurred after Outlaw Cave.
 8. Klaus claimed an upset occurred in the canoe as well. He wrote: "I was following the raft in Les Jones' rowing canoe, and shortly after the raft upset, I had my first experience of tipping over in a rapid. I had heard Les' instructions, and had gone over them in my mind many times, and therefore was able to make my way to the upstream end of the canoe, right it, clamber back inside, bail the water out of the flooded compartment, and pull it up on the rocks, which, of course, I could not do when the compartment was still full of water. The 'first-time shakes' (shock) did not set in until later, and I had some trouble hiding my shaking hands." Klaus Axman, letter to author, 2 July 2001. Les said the raft flipped because Rulon Briggs, a heavy man, was positioned wrong in the boat.
 9. The stranded boater who panicked has not been identified. Les Jones thought everyone but he and Klaus had tried to escape the canyon by scaling the nearly sheer eastern cliff just above Skull. Les Jones, telephone conversation with author, 2 April 2003.
 10. Axman described his experience with the rocky campsite. "As I remember, it was supposed to have been a one-day trip, so there were no sleeping bags. There was no level ground. The only shelter was a rock overhang, where boulders had dropped from the ceiling. We crouched as best we could between those boulders and tried to doze. I don't know about the others, nobody complained about being cold that I recall. I, however could not stop shaking—possibly the remnants of the shock I had experienced during the day. I have tried to forget the 'camping' aspect of the trip." Axman, letter.
 11. The rapid was tagged as early as 1916 by regional cattlemen as Whirlpool or Big Whirlpool Rapid. This name eventually was replaced by names such as Cisco Bend Rapid and Skull Rapid. Les Jones said that he once heard the rapid referred to as "Dead Horse Rapid," which would correlate with numerous wild horse stories within the canyon. Les Jones, telephone conversation with author, 20 February 1984.

12. J. W. Powell, *The Exploration of the Colorado River and Its Canyons* (New York: Dover Publications, 1961), 247.
13. Les Jones's scroll map indicates frost from 6 P.M. to 8 A.M. at Skull Rapid. As noted, the accident probably happened on Saturday, March 24, and they escaped the canyon on March 25.
14. Roger Green, interview, 8 November 1986.
15. "Skeleton Parts Pose Mystery After Discovery Near River", *Moab Times-Independent*, 29 March 1956.
16. Jimmy Walker, telephone conversation with author, 2 April 1989.
17. John L. Malin, letter to author, 9 August 1987.
18. "Sheriff Recovers Human Bones Near Westwater," *Moab Times-Independent*, 17 July 1975.
19. Ray Grass, "Westwater: Wild rapids and History!" *Deseret News*, 20 June 1974, Sports and Outdoors section. Roger Green gave a copy of this article to the author following our interview at his home in 1986.

8

The Memorial

1. John L.J. Hart, "Westwater Canyon by Boat and on Foot," *Trail and Timberline* no. 544 (April 1964): 63–68.
2. Kim Crumbo, "Westwater Lost," *Utah State University College of Natural Resources News* 1 (March 1975).
3. "Cisco News," *Grand Junction Daily Sentinel*, 9 May 1928.
4. After Ellsworth Kolb assumed Bert Loper died in Double Pitch Rapid, he said he "climbed up to the trail to go to camp, which he knew was a few miles further on."
5. Louise Sherrill and Michele Reaume, "The Memorial at Cisco," *The Confluence* 4 (summer 1997): 25–27.
6. During an interview with the author in the mid-1980s Dee Holladay revealed that after the accident Don Harris went into the canyon with Rex Christensen looking for signs of the other three hunters. While in the canyon, Rex pointed out where the accident occurred at Big Hummer Rapid. Dee Holladay said that they "evidently went over that big rock when it's covered, about left of center of the rapid. It's a bigger hole there than what it looks from upstream." Dee Holladay has called this rapid Hunters Rapid, after the lost deer hunters.
7. "Lost Party's Gear Seen Along River," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 19 November 1970.
8. "Hunting Trio Lost in Turbulent River," *Moab Times-Independent*, 19 November 1970.
9. Don Harris, telephone conversation with author, spring 1987.
10. "Drowning Victim's Body Recovered Near Dewey," *Moab Times-Independent*, 27 May 1971.
11. "Second Body Recovered," *Moab Times-Independent*, 3 June 1971.
12. Eddy, *Dangerous River*, 2.

13. "Body of C. R. Sherill Found 15 Months after Accident 7 Miles above Dewey," *Moab Times-Independent*, 2 March 1972.
14. Newspapers reported Miller floated ten to twelve miles below Westwater Ranch. This would indicate he floated through the canyon, taking out at the Big Hole or Big Horn camp area.
15. "Two Survive Ordeal: Man's Body Sought in River," *Grand Junction Daily Sentinel*, 1 August 1955.
16. "Skeleton Parts Pose Mystery After Discovery Near River," *Moab Times-Independent*, 29 March 1956.
17. P. T. Reilly, "How Deadly is Big Red?" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 37 (spring 1969): 244–60.
18. Stiles, "Down the Colorado," 235.
19. "Westwater People Fear Man Has Been Drowned: Paul Adams, Swiss Carpenter, Starts Down Grand River Canyon in Row Boat," *Moab Grand Valley Times*, 2 June 1916.
20. "Death Canon of Grand River at Last Conquered by Daring Party Led by Kolb and Bert Loper," newspaper clipping (n.p.), 28 September 1916, Otis R. "Dock" Marston papers, Huntington Library.
21. Roscoe Hallett of Cisco told Harold Leich that several years after Kolb and Loper successfully boated Westwater Canyon, "two men and a woman tried the canyon in a larger boat and came to grief at the same place, where the woman was drowned in the whirlpool." No documentation of the incident has been found in the Moab or Grand Junction newspapers. Former Westwater residents John Malin and Jesse Gruver both had heard of the incident but did not recall when it occurred during conversations with the author. Harold H. Leich, "Rapids and Ripples," Otis R. "Dock" Marston papers, the Huntington Library.
22. "California Man Missing On Colorado River," *Moab Times-Independent*, 25 July 1968.
23. "Body of Drowning Victim Recovered from Colo. river," *Moab Times-Independent*, 20 May 1982.
24. "Westwater Canyon Claims Another Drowning Victim," *Moab Times-Independent*, 1 July 1982.
25. "Westwater Canyon claimed 2 lives in rafting accidents Aug. 31st," *Moab Times-Independent*, 8 September 1983.
26. The May 22, 1999 edition of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, "Grand: State of the State," reported the death of William Ticknor on 25 May 1999. See also "Man drowns in Westwater rafting accident," *Moab Times-Independent*, 7 October 1999, regarding the death of Max Christopher Turner.

Epilogue

1. "Trip Thru Westwater Canon Was Like Tickling Dynamite with a Lighted Match—Wow!" *Grand Junction Daily Sentinel*, 29 September 1916.