

CONTENTS

The Indian Heritage	111-118
Habits and Customs	118-122
Early Explorations	123-130
Early Mormon Settlement	130-138
Pushing south into Dixie	138-150
Settlement of Zion Canyon	150-164
Kane County and Arizona	164-166
Indian Troubles	167-178
Expansion in Kane County	179-184
Zion Canyon	185-189
The Kaibab and North Rim	189-194
Modern Development of Zion, Bryce and North Rim	194-209

ILLUSTRATIONS

Zion Canyon	Frontispiece
The Three Johnson Brothers, Seth, Sixtus and Nephi and Joseph S. Black	p. 148
Washington Cotton Mill (1866-1869)	p. 149
The Zion Cable	p. 161
Bryce Canyon	p. 182
North Rim of the Grand Canyon of Arizona From Bright Angel Point	p. 189
How Earlier Generations Explored the Kaibab	p. 194
The Great White Throne	p. 199
Mountain Window-Zion-Mt. Carmel Tunnel	p. 209

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much of the material used in this study was gathered while the writer was engaged by the National Park Service in Zion Canyon, and he himself participated in many of the events described in the latter pages. The foundation for understanding the historical background, however, was laid during his early life in St. George and the surrounding region. Expressions and opinions have been interpreted largely through that experience.

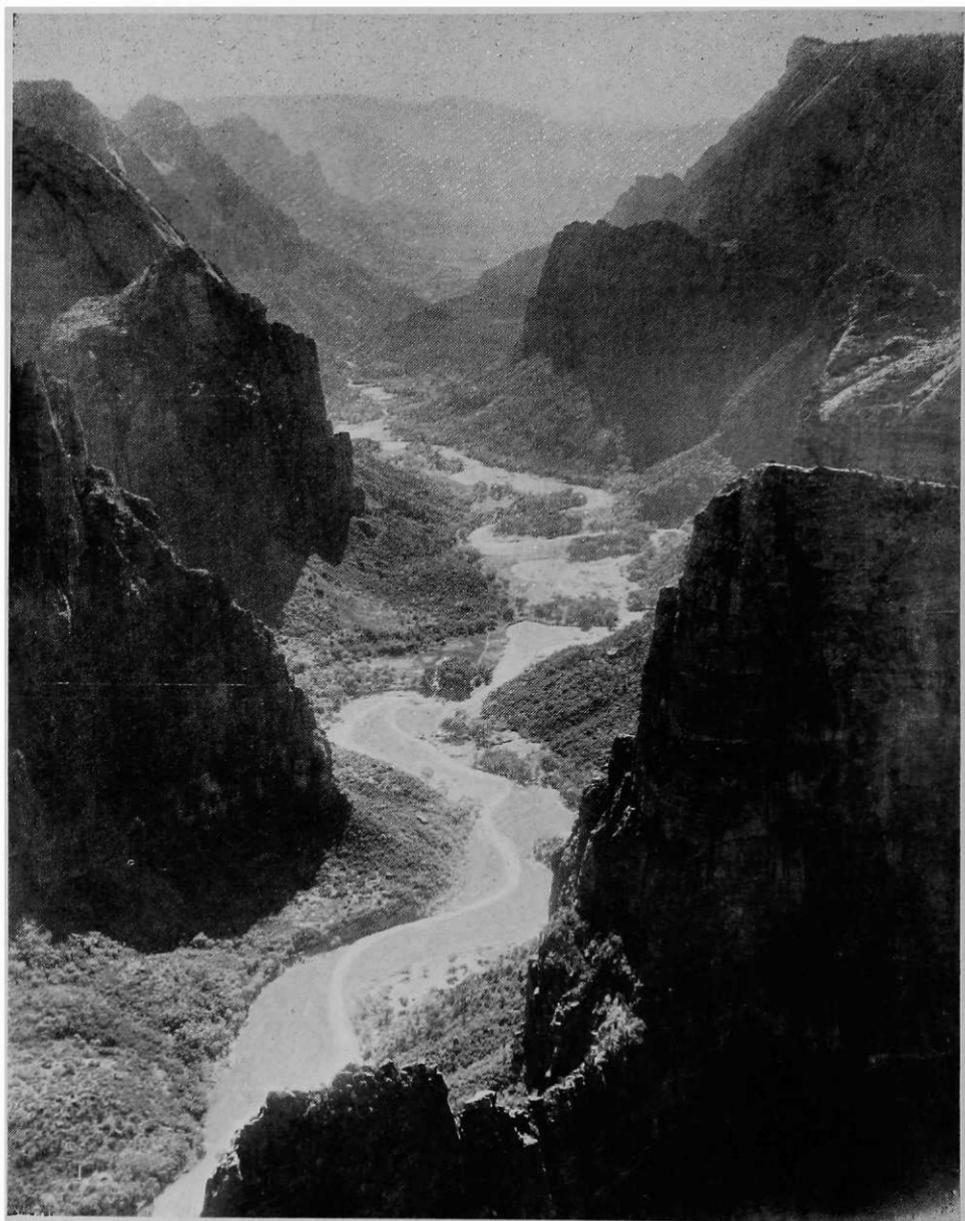
The writer was acquainted with many of the early Dixie settlers, and notes of interviews with some of these have furnished details otherwise unobtainable. Personal letters also have filled in many gaps.

Additional source material has been obtained from the Office of the Adjutant General of Utah, the Salt Lake Public Library, the libraries of the University of Utah and Dixie Junior College, newspaper files, published books, unpublished manuscripts, original journals or extracts, records of the National Park Service, the United States Land Office and in the L. D. S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, the "Journal History," (a collection of extracts from journals and newspapers arranged chronologically) proved to be a fruitful source of information. This was supplemented by access to additional reports, publications and records of the St. George L. D. S. Temple, compiled by James G. Bleak.

The writer is grateful to many for their encouragement, advice, information, pictures, reading and criticism of the manuscript. He is particularly indebted to Dr. H. E. Gregory, Horace M. Albright, Randall L. Jones, D. D. Rust, H. L. Reid, J. W. Thornton, Zaidee Walker Miles, J. Cecil Alter and Miss Marguerite L. Sinclair, Secretary of the Utah State Historical Society. Further assistance came from William W. Seegmiller, Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, Frederick Vining Fisher, Dr. J. K. W. Bracken, Lawrence S. Mariger, Charles B. Petty, William R. Palmer and Mrs. Margery Browne Cottam (granddaughter of Levi Stewart), as well as the following persons who furnished source material through interviews and written notes:

Hyrum Leany, Frank Foster, Joseph S. Snow, Leo A. Snow, St. George; Chauncey G. Parry, Gronway Parry, Randall L. Jones, Richard A. Thorley, Frank Petty, Cedar City; David Hirschi, John Petty, Mary Jane Stout, Hurricane; James Jepson, Thomas Maloney, Virgin; James H. Jennings, Mr. and Mrs. John Dennett, Arley Dalton, Rockville; Oliver D. Gifford, Edwin M. Greene, John Winder, Walter Ruesch, Harold Russell, Springdale; Marion Heap, Zion; Ezra Stevens, Mt. Carmel; William Wallace Adair, Orderville; Nate Adams, Walter Hamblin, Lavina Johnson Farnsworth, Thomas Greenhalgh, Brigham A. Riggs, Kanab; Mr. and Mrs. Peter Munk, Manti; the late Anthony W. Ivins, Edwin G. Woolley, Jr., D. S. Spencer, Howard C. Means, Lewis T. Cannon, Scott P. Stewart, H. S. Kerry, Salt Lake City; Old George (Kaibabit Indian), Moccasin, Arizona; Tony Tillohash, Frank Mustache, Tommy Mayo (Shivwits Indians), Santa Clara.

—Angus M. Woodbury.



ZION CANYON

Discovered in 1858 and declared a National Park in 1919.

Courtesy Union Pacific System.

Utah State Historical Society

State Capitol, Salt Lake City, Utah

Vol. XII

July-October, 1944

Nos. 3-4

A HISTORY OF SOUTHERN UTAH and ITS NATIONAL PARKS

*By Angus M. Woodbury**

The Indian Heritage

Zion Canyon had already been carved half-a-mile deep in the brilliant Navajo sandstone and most of its geological history had passed long before the eyes of man beheld its glory. One of the world's rare beauty spots, lying within Zion National Park in southwestern Utah, it serves as a striking example of the thousands of flaming gorges or red box canyons eroded through millions of years on the edges of the plateaus along the Colorado River in southern Utah and northern Arizona.

Prehistoric man came and left his ruins, relics and pictographs strewn along the floor of the canyon, hidden under sheltering arches and boulders, buried in mounds or etched on the faces

*Angus M. Woodbury was born of pioneer parents in St. George, Utah, July 11, 1886. His early education was obtained in the schools of his native town and Salt Lake City, and he was graduated from Brigham Young Academy, Provo, in 1906. Two years later he joined the U. S. National Forest Service, and in the varied employments of this work, gradually developed the dominant interest of his life, the natural history of the West. For a brief season, 1920-21, he tried stock-breeding on his father's farm at St. George, but soon returned to his major interest, pursued further studies at Dixie College, and was active in the naturalist service of Zion National Park from 1925 to 1933. In 1928 he received his Master's degree from the University of Utah, and in 1931 his doctorate from the University of California. He has been a member of the faculty of the University of Utah since 1927, and has done much to develop and strengthen its biological and zoological departments while keeping in close touch with field work in Southern Utah. He has published numerous monographs and studies dealing with the biota, fauna and flora of the West, and has achieved national recognition for the scientific accuracy of his reportings. His interest in the history of Southern Utah has always been keen, and in 1931 he published in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* (Vol. IV, pp. 35-46) a study entitled "The Route of Jedediah S. Smith in 1826 from the Great Salt Lake." This present work is a summary of data, most of which was accumulated for use in his work as naturalist in Zion Canyon, but which has been checked and elaborated since. In January, 1909, Dr. Woodbury married Grace Atkin, descendant of Charles L. Walker, pioneer St. George wit and poet. Together they make their home in Salt Lake City, and are the parents of six children.

of the cliffs. Myths, legends and traditions played their part in linking the ancient inhabitants with the modern Indians.

In spite of the fact that primitive cliff dwellers used to live in Zion Canyon, the Indians of more recent date appear to have avoided it as a camping ground. There seems to have been something mysterious and foreboding in the gloomy depths of twilight and darkness that appalled these semi-savages. So far as can be determined from both Indians and early white settlers, the natives especially avoided the canyon after sundown. O. D. Gifford, a pioneer of Springdale, says they never camped above its mouth. They would go up the canyon in the daylight but invariably would come back before dark.

E. C. Behunin, who lived in Zion Canyon from 1862 to 1872, says he never saw an Indian come above Springdale, and although his father tried to induce Indians to work for him, they could never be persuaded to venture into the upper part of the canyon. John Dennett, who farmed in Zion for many years after 1875, says the Indians never raised crops in Zion, except the little they did for the white settlers; and that they were very superstitious about the canyon. Other early settlers add the same testimony.

Tony Tillohash, an educated Shivwits Indian, says an Indian would not dare go alone into Zion Canyon. The solitary traveler might be killed without warning. Kai-ne-sava was not the main spirit in the supernatural hierarchy of the Paiute, an honor reserved for the Wolf-god, variously rendered as Shin-na'-way or Sin-na'wava. Rather, Kai-ne-sava was a mysterious being of changeable moods. There was no assurance of his friendship and he had to be propitiated. He might whistle or yell at any moment while remaining invisible. Again, he might reveal himself in the distance in human form and then disappear when approached. His movement might stir up a whirlwind of dust and then trail away into nothing. Sometimes he built fires (lightning) on the West Temple or other places inaccessible to human beings. The smoke from fires on the West Temple could be seen for many miles in every direction. Kai-ne-sava then was sending a message.

He pushed the rocks that fall down in Zion. His mood might be capricious. If so, the Indians must keep out of the way. Then it was no use to hunt, for Kai-ne-sava would frighten the deer before the Indian could get close enough to shoot. Sometimes he would tantalize by taking the form of a big buck deer with spreading antlers, and would hide and jump out in front of the Indians with such great bounds that they could not pierce him with their arrows no matter what their skill. On such days it was better to go home.

Nevertheless, in a friendly mood Kai-ne-sava might be extremely helpful. He could soothe the deer so they were not fright-

ened and lure them where they were easily found. Then the Indians could shoot their arrows with assurance of killing. Such good fortune the Indians did not forget. A bounteous kill they were willing to share with Kai-ne-sava. To show their appreciation, little pieces of meat were laid out here and there for him. When they returned, the meat was always gone, hence Kai-ne-sava must have taken it.

Although Kai-ne-sava was fond of playing pranks, he was often kind and pleasant. This is in marked contrast with another supernatural being who was always at cross purposes and who caused the Indians no end of trouble. This was Wai-no-pits, who lurked in gloomy shadows and was always intent on evil. It was sometimes hard to distinguish between the pranks of Kai-ne-sava and the evil doings of Wai-no-pits. There seems to have been some confusion in the minds of the Indians. The one was to be propitiated, the other avoided.

Wai-no-pits might visit a camp and bring sickness to it. He might cause an accident or waylay the Indians with all sorts of dire calamities. Wherever his presence was suspected it was best to run away.

The Wolf-god (Shin-na'-wav), on the other hand, was the friendly one. There was no fear of him, but he was more distant and less distinctly defined. There were legends connecting him with the past history of the Paiute Indians and his influence was more or less mysterious. While his friendly acts were to be appreciated it was not always possible to distinguish his manifestations from those of Kai-ne-sava.

These supernatural beings, apparently, were not familiar spirits. Never were they directly encountered. Their manifestations were veiled and it was only by signs and implications that they could be interpreted. Anything not clearly comprehended was likely to be interpreted by the Indian as a manifestation of the preternatural. Zion Canyon was full of mystery; it was a place where anything might happen, especially in the shadows and darkness. The fear of Wai-no-pits or of Kai-ne-sava in his austere moods more than offset the assurance of Shin-na-wav or of Kai-ne-sava propitiated. Small wonder the superstitious Indian tried to avoid Zion Canyon, especially when night had fallen in its awesome depths.

The Paiute, himself extremely primitive, contributed not a little to our culture in the way of an early knowledge of geography and routes of travel, place names and a heritage of traditions. Most of the pioneers explored these new regions and traveled new routes largely or partly with the aid of Indian guides or advice. Without such assistance, the explorers many times wandered from the proper route, lost valuable time, and encountered dangers and hardships that could have been avoided. Escalante

tells us in 1776 that with proper Indian guidance he could have covered in three days the Arizona Strip which in his wanderings required ten. Geographical knowledge thus acquired wove itself into our culture through personal contact, writings and maps that have since been passed on from generation to generation.

Many Indian geographical names, anglicized or unchanged, have been perpetuated in our nomenclature; for example, Toquerville, named for Indian chief Toquer, Kaibab (big flat mountain or mountain lying down), Kanarra (also named for an Indian chief), Shunesburg (an abandoned village named for an old Indian who lived there), Parunuweap (canyon with a swift stream of water), Kanab (meaning willow; there were many of them growing there when the town was first settled), and Paria or Pahrea (meaning a settlement and plateau). The name Mukuntuweap, pronounced Mu-koon-tu-weap, without accent, is undoubtedly of Indian origin, but there has been much dispute as to its derivation and application.

Originally applied by Major Powell to both Zion Canyon and the river flowing through it, the name is now restricted to the latter. Some of the early white settlers suggest that it means "the place of the gods" or simply "God's land." This interpretation, however, seems to have no real foundation. Both Indians and whites appear to be in complete agreement that tu-weap means ground, earth, or place. It is the rest of the word which is in doubt. William W. Seegmiller, who is familiar with the Indian language, is of the opinion that it is named for a chief of the Virgin River Indians named Mukun, and therefore simply means the land of Mukun.

Old George of the Kaibab Indians pronounced it Mukoon-tau'-weap, with accent on tau, and said it meant straight canyon. William R. Palmer, also an authority on Paiute lore, concludes that there are two possibilities: one, that it is derived from the Indian word yucca or oose, muk-unk, the whole word muk-unk-o-weap, thus meaning Oose Creek (or since the oose was sometimes used for soap simply Soap Creek); and the other derived from Muk-unt-o-weap, meaning straight canyon. Major Powell (September 12, 1872) says, "The Indians call the canyon through which it [the river] runs, Mu-koon-tu-weap, or Straight Canyon."¹

Several of the better informed Indians on the Shivwits Reservation near Santa Clara did not recognize the word Mukuntuweap. Tommy Mayo pronounced it Huh-cut-u-weap, and said it meant red dirt, red country, or place of red soil. Frank Mustache pronounced it Un-ga-tu-weap and gave its meaning as red dirt.

¹J. W. Powell, *Exploration of the Colorado River of the West* (Washington, D.C., 1875), p. 111. Erroneously reported as September 12, 1870.

Tony Tillohash gave a different version, pronouncing it huh-kon-tu-weap, meaning a big canyon.

The confusion is further increased by suggestions of other names. Frank Mustache says the Indians called Zion Canyon, Un[k]ga-timpe pai-ave, (unka or unga, meaning red, timpe rock, and pai-ave signifying a canyon between mountains, the whole meaning a big, red rock canyon). Several Indians referred to the Canyon as I-u-goon. Nearly all of them agreed that Pahroos was the proper name for the Virgin River, meaning a swift stream of rippling or turbulent water, bounding or foaming over the rocks as it does in Zion Canyon.

The discrepancies are partly explained by the common Indian custom of naming places from some striking local characteristic. Different communities impressed by various facets of a canyon like Zion may have given different names to the same thing. Some, remarking the resemblance of the canyon to an arrow quiver, called it I-u-goon. Those who gathered yucca root for soap may have referred to it as Muk-unk-o-weap. Those who recognized Mukun as a great leader may have used the name Mukuntuweap. Those who looked down from Cedar Mountain into the straight, deep canyon of Zion, probably said Mukuntuweap. Others thinking of the high, red walls could scarcely refrain from using the Indian term, unka or unga, meaning red. Hence we have several variations of Unkatuweap, or even Unga-timpe pai-ave.

The Indians encountered by the early white explorers were Parrusits living in scattered bands along the upper Virgin River and forming one of the dozen or more clans belonging to the Paiute tribe. This tribe occupied the land lying west of the mountains and south of the high plateaus of southern Utah from Pahvant Valley (Millard County) southward to the Colorado River in Arizona and reaching westward into Nevada as far as the mouth of the Virgin River. The Paiute tribe was one of five belonging to the Ute Nation, occupying a vast territory extending to the north and east.

The chief of the Utes, whose headquarters were in central Utah, dominated the whole nation and was at liberty to come and go without restraint throughout his domain and to levy such tribute as he desired. The suffragan chiefs could do the same within their tribal limits. Natural resources belonged to the community and no individual could claim property other than personal effects, such as horses, arms, wickiups and food supplies.

Each tribe had definite boundaries and members of one could not encroach upon the lands of another without permission, else resentment might lead to war. Each clan or community within a tribe also had a definite area claimed as its own, the limits of

which were settled by agreement or war, and were clearly understood. Anyone entering foreign territory to hunt or fish without permission was regarded as an illegal trespasser and it was proper to make war upon him and even to kill him. Frequently the whites got into difficulties by not observing these Indian laws and customs.

When Indians of one group entered the territory of another, it was obligatory for them to go through a fixed ritual to obtain permission to do so. Once this ritual had been fulfilled the visitors were under tribal protection and any loss or injury must be made good by the tribe. Without such promise and protection, anything might happen. In recompense some sort of gift was usually expected.

If, during times of peace, a tribesman injured or killed another, satisfaction had to be rendered to the family, friends or tribe of the victim. It was usually required on the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but occasionally other bargains were made. A slain man's relatives ordinarily demanded the culprit or a relative, even though they sometimes had to be satisfied with a weakling, a cripple, or an aged person of little value to the tribe.

The early settlers of Rockville discovered the weightiness of this Indian law. One day in February, 1869, Tom Flanigan and Sam Green were carrying express from Rockville to Pipe Springs, where they were met at dusk by two Indians. Flanigan, thinking in his excitement that something was amiss, shot one of them. The Indian was badly wounded and died a few days later in spite of all the care given him after he was taken back to Rockville. The Indians demanded that Flanigan surrender to be tortured and killed in satisfaction. This was of course refused. A crowd of Indians gathered and the situation was tense. The affair, however, was finally compromised by delivering to the Indians an ox.

The Paiutes formed a sparse population spread out over a large territory. Depending mostly upon natural foods and but little upon cultivated crops, they were limited in numbers by the scanty resources of this semi-arid or desert region. Their weakness made them a prey to stronger marauding neighbors such as the Navajos. They were so poor they could seldom pay the tax levied by the chief of the Ute nation and usually gave children as slaves in lieu of other tribute. Failing this, they were in danger of having their women and children stolen.

The Paiute tribe had a number of subdivisions or clans loosely held together by the tribal government. There is a difference of opinion about the identity of the tribal chief. William R. Palmer states that the chief was the leader of the strong Com-o-its

clan living in the region of Cedar City.³ There is evidence, however, that the Virgin River Indians (the Parrusits) were dominated by a chief of the band living on the Santa Clara sometimes referred to as the Tonaquintits. Nearly all the historical data of the early settlement of the Virgin River indicate that the Paiutes recognized this leadership and not that of the Com-o-its. Neighboring clans included the Shivwits (Shebits) of the Parashont, the Uinkarets of the Trumbull and the Kaibabits of the Kaibab region, all occupying the "Arizona Strip" north of the Colorado River.

The first historical references to these Indians were given by the Spanish Franciscan, Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante, in October, 1776. On the Pilar River (now Ash Creek), below Toquerville, near its junction with the Virgin River twenty-five miles below Zion Canyon, he tells us that his party found a well-made platform with a large supply of ears of corn and corn husks which had been stored upon it. Nearby on a small flat on the river bank were three small cornfields with very well made irrigation ditches. The stalks of the maize which they had raised that year were still intact. His journal records:

From here down the stream and on the mesa and on both sides for a long distance, according to what we learned, these Indians apply themselves to the cultivation of maize and calabashes. In their own language they are called Parrusis.

The next day, October 15, after meeting some of these Indians, he wrote:

. . . they made us understand that they were called Parrusis . . . and that they were the ones who planted crops on the banks of the Pilar River and lived down stream a long distance.

Still later, on October 19, when he met the Uinkarets Indians north of Mt. Trumbull, Escalante remarked:

They told us that they were called Yubincariri; that they did not plant maize; that their foods were those seeds, tuna,³ pine nuts, which are scarce judging from the few they gave us; and such hares, rabbits and wild

³William R. Palmer, "Pahute Indian Government and Laws," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 35-52.

³The tuna mentioned probably refers to cactus; and the maize and calabashes to corn and squash. The name, Parrusis, equivalent to Parrusits, undoubtedly referred to the Virgin River Indians. It simply means people living on the Par-roos River. Fifty years later, in 1826, Jedediah Strong Smith, found Indians on the Santa Clara Creek raising corn and pumpkins. Maurice Sullivan, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith* (Santa Ana, California, 1934) pp. 27-28.

sheep as they could get by hunting. They added that on this side of the river [Colorado] only the Parrusis planted maize and calabashes.⁴

Habits and Customs

The Parrusits, notwithstanding their primitive agriculture, moved about a great deal within their territory, as the exigencies of the season, the food supply, sanitary conditions, or their relations with other Indians demanded. They occasionally went into the high mountains in summer to hunt or fish but returned at intervals to the valleys to tend the crops. In the fall they went nut gathering among the pinyon pines of the foothills. The winters were usually spent in the valleys.

Their wickiups were made upon a framework of poles lashed together at the top in such way as to leave an opening for smoke to escape. The poles, tied with sinew in the conventional tepee shape, were plied with brush or woven willows and then covered with long strips of juniper bark or with skins of rabbits. At one side an opening was left for an entry-way. The fire was built in the center, leaving space around the sides for eating and sleeping.

Camps were usually located on a mesa, hill or flat, so that water had to be carried some distance from stream or spring. For this purpose, they wove jugs with narrow necks from the limbs of the squawbush and waterproofed them with pitch from the pinyon pine. Sinews were tied to the necks of the jugs for shoulder or head straps. Basketry was competent, but there is no evidence of pottery among them.

Paiute equipment for life was simple. Clothing consisted of a breechclout for the men, and for women a brief skirt hanging from the waist. These were sometimes supplemented by robes hung from the shoulders for warmth, buckskin moccasins for the feet, and ornaments of various kinds, particularly beads and feathers. They had no regular head dress, but often painted themselves with a special red earth which gave them a weird appearance. Breechclouts, skirts and robes were usually made from rabbit skins. In order to have the fur both inside and out, they would take a strip of fur and roll it in a spiral around a sinew or yucca fiber. Many such strips sewed together with sinew thread made a skin cloth from which clothing could be fashioned.

Hunting equipment consisted principally of the bow and arrow, supplemented by stone skinning knives. Their arrows were shafted with feathers and tipped with hard wood or stone points, small ones for birds and small game and larger ones for

⁴Cf. H. S. Auerbach, ed., "Father Escalante's Journal," in *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, pp. 85, 91.

war or big game, all held in place by sinews. The shaft of the arrow was made from a straight limb or from reed cane. Sinew was made by shredding the tendons of deer or other large game. If arrows were to be poisoned, a concoction was made by inducing a rattlesnake to bite into a piece of liver, letting it stand a few days and then mixing it with crushed black widow spiders. Arrow tips dipped in this were considered deadly.

The Paiutes used the rock grinder or metate and mano for grinding such foods as corn, mesquite beans, and the coarse grass seed from which they made bread. The meal was mixed with water to make a batter and was cooked on a hot rock in the fire. The rock was first rubbed with clay to keep the meal from sticking. According to one method, the batter was made thin and poured over the rock in a flat cake. The heat from the rock soon set the batter and the rock was then stood upright close to the fire so the cake would bake on both sides. In the other method, the batter was made thicker and put out on the rock in the form of a conical loaf and coals were heaped around it.

Though the Indians raised corn, squash and beans, they lived principally upon fish, birds, wild game, wild fruits, roots and seeds. The principal game was rabbit and deer but occasionally antelope and mountain sheep supplemented their meager fare, and any sort of smaller game was used when obtainable. Hyrum Leany, who settled in Harrisburg in 1862, relates how the Indians used to go hunting lizards and chipmunks (ta-bats pa-shugi). The boys would tuck the heads under their belts and sometimes would come home with a beltful. The chuckwalla lizards were regarded as delicacies and the Indians had learned the art of removing them from the crevices in which they puff themselves up until their sides are pressed tightly against the rock, thus making it difficult to dislodge them. By puncturing the distended lungs with a sharp hooked stick, they were easily extracted.

To cook a small animal, such as rabbit or chipmunk, the Paiutes laid it in the fire without any preliminary preparation other than the removal of the skin, and the hot coals were raked over it. All parts of the body were eaten and nothing edible was missed. Surplus meat was usually dried.

Among the plants, grass seed was a staple article of diet. It could be gathered in those days almost anywhere, though the grass has largely disappeared since the advent of the white man's horses, cattle and sheep. The fruit of the cactus (tuna or prickly pear) furnished a food mainstay in midsummer. In places where the yant (*Agave*) was found, the young flower stalks were roasted barbecue fashion. This was a delicacy designated as pe-ya-ga-mint, "a sweet food."

Sugar was obtained in small quantities from the water willows and from the reed cane (*Phragmites*) by cutting it when

plant lice had been working on it. As it dried, crystals of sugar appeared. This was gathered by shaking off the crystals and using them as a delicacy.

Among the native fruits gathered in season were the wild grapes and the sour squawberries of the stream banks in the valleys, the little red ookie berries of the semi-alkaline flats, the weump berries (*Berberis fremonti*) of the foothills, the sarvis berries (*Amelanchier*) of the lower mountain slopes and the choke cherries (*Prunus*), strawberries, and raspberries (*Rubus*) of the mountains. Pine nuts obtained from the cones of the pinyon pines were a staple fall crop gathered in large quantities and kept for later use.

It is certain that the Parrusits Indians raised crops by irrigation before the whites appeared among them. Escalante, in 1776, remarked only about corn and squash, but it is believed that they also raised beans and probably melons. Their farms were located on small flats where water could be easily diverted from spring or stream. Farming implements were mainly sticks of various kinds, usually of ash, about three feet long and three or four inches wide toward one end, with the edges sharpened and running to a point. Ditches were hard to make and maintain due to periodic floods. Cultivated areas were usually very small, five acres being the maximum.

An old Kaibabits Indian named George graphically described the farming operations thus: "Kaibab Injuns no raise'm crops. 'nudder Injuns raise'm. No shovel, no hoe. Use'm stick; dig'm ditch; make water come. Dig little hole over here, over there, all around; plant'um corn."

The squaws performed most of the labor in tending the crops. The bucks were the warriors and hunters. Harvesting the corn, carrying water, gathering grass seed, grinding corn meal, making bread, making clothing, all were squaw's work. There may, however, have been a more equal division of work than appears to us now, since the food supply and safety of the home depended much upon the prowess of the hunter and the vigilance of the warrior.

The simple personal equipment and belongings gathered up by an individual during his lifetime were usually buried with him for his spirit journey. Nothing of material value was passed on from generation to generation; each had to depend upon his own efforts. Weaklings, cripples, and the aged had a hard time. If they became burdensome, they were usually abandoned and sometimes burned. St. George cattlemen at Mount Trumbull frustrated an attempted burning as late as the nineties. The Uinkarets had just left camp when the cowboys accidentally stumbled upon it. One wickiup was left standing. The doorway had been fastened, wood and trash had been piled around it and set on fire as

the Indians left. Inside, an old blind Indian named Waterman was nearly suffocated when the cowboys released him. The Indians having abandoned him refused to care for him further and he became a burden on the whites.

At the time of the white settlement of the Virgin River Valley in the 50's and 60's, there were perhaps a thousand Parrusits in various bands along the stream with their principal camping places near Rockville, Virgin City, Toquerville, Washington Fields and Santa Clara. These all appear to have recognized the leadership of Chief Tut-se-gavits, head of the Tonaquint band living on the Santa Clara Creek, and to have been held together under regular tribal control.

G. H. Heap, one of the Argonauts, described the Paiutes in 1853 in the following uncomplimentary paragraphs:

The Pah-Utah Indians are the greatest horse thieves on the continent. Rarely attempting the bold coup-de-main of the Utahs, they dog travelers during their march and follow on their trail like jackals, cutting off any stragglers whom they can surprise and overpower, and pick up such animals as stray from the band or lag behind from fatigue. At night lurking around the camp, and concealing themselves behind rocks and bushes, they communicate with each other by imitating the sounds of birds and animals. They never ride, but use as food the horses and mules that they steal, and, if within arrowshot of one of these animals, a poisoned shaft secures him as their prize. Their arms are bows and arrows tipped with obsidian, and lances sometimes pointed with iron, which they obtain from the wrecks of wagons found along the road. They also use a pronged stick to drag lizards from their holes.

Yearly expeditions are fitted out in New Mexico to trade with the Pah-Utahs for their children and recourse is often had to foul means to force their parents to part with them. So common is it to make a raid for this purpose, that it is considered as no more objectionable than to go on a buffalo or a mustang hunt. One of our men, Jose Galliego [*sic*], who was an old hand at this species of man-hunting, related to us with evident gusto, numerous anecdotes on this subject; and as we approached the village he rode up to Mr. Beale and eagerly proposed to him that we should "charge on it like h—l, kill the mans, and maybe catch some of the little boys and gals."⁶

⁶G. H. Heap, *Central Route to the Pacific, Journal of the Expedition of E. H. Beale and G. H. Heap in 1853* (Washington, D.C., 1854), p. 99.

The coming of the Mormon pioneers gradually upset the Paiute government. The whites frequently settled on Indian camp sites and occupied Indian farming lands. Their domestic livestock ate the grass that formerly supplied the Indians with seed, and crowded out deer and other game upon which they largely subsisted. This interference with their movements and the reduction in the food supply tended eventually to bring the Indians into partial dependence upon the whites.

Within a few years, farm crops and livestock brought to the whites more food and clothing than the Indians had ever dreamed of. No wonder they became beggars in the towns and thieves of cattle and horses on the range. As long as the whites were in the minority, they used to feed the Indians. In the words of John Dennett, an old settler of Rockville, this "gave them an idea of some other kind of food beside grass seed and wild game."

As the whites increased and became strong enough to defy the Indians, the attitude changed from one of fear to that of domination. Although they continued more or less to feed the begging Indians, they soon put a stop to thievery on the range, punishing it in many cases by death. This transition was marked by bitter feeling and even by war between the races. In time, it became increasingly difficult for the Indians to maintain themselves.

Not only was their food supply reduced, but the whites also spread strange maladies among the Indians. Measles and smallpox are known to have been fatal in many cases. When Silver Reef, a mining town of 1500 people, was flourishing in the 70's and 80's it is known that venereal diseases were spread among the Indians. Fatalities from disease and the diminution of food supplies were undoubtedly heavy factors in the drastic reduction of the Indian population. Of the estimated thousand Parrusits living along the Virgin River in the 50's and 60's, there was only one survivor (until his death in June, 1945), an old fellow called Peter Harrison, who lived among the Shivwits Indians on the Santa Clara reservation.

Among the neighbors of the Parrusits there remained in 1933 only about seventy-five Kaibabits on a reservation at Moccasin, Arizona, some fifty Shivwits on a reservation on the Santa Clara Creek, fifty miles to the west; and about fifty Com-o-its in the vicinity of Cedar City. The Uinkarets and several smaller groups are today entirely extinct.

Asked to account for this tragedy, the old Kaibabits Indian George explained it this way: "When white man come, lotsa Injuns here; alla same white man now. Injuns heap yai-quay [meaning lots of them die]; maybe so six, maybe so five, maybe so two in night. Purty soon all gone. White man, he come; raise'm pompoose. Purty soon lotsa white man."

Early Explorations

Zion Canyon was known to the Indians from time immemorial, but its discovery by white men, so far as is known, dates only from the middle of the 19th century. However, the series of explorations in this region which finally led to its discovery cover the period of three quarters of a century beginning in 1776.

In that year a party of Spaniards passed through the region and crossed the Virgin River within twenty miles of Zion Canyon without knowing of its proximity. This was the remarkable expedition led by Fathers Dominguez and Escalante through portions of New Mexico, Colorado, Utah and Arizona. The object of the expedition was two-fold. The Spanish government desired a direct route from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Presidio of Monterey, California, and the priests themselves had dreams of founding new Indian missions in the unexplored territory beyond the Colorado River. The governor of New Mexico furnished provisions, Father Dominguez provided the horses and mules and Father Silvestre Velez de Escalante was the diarist of the party.⁹

The expedition set out July 29, 1776 from Santa Fe, passing through explored territory as far as the Gunnison river in southwestern Colorado, whence it struck out into the unknown. The priests were fortunate in finding a couple of young Ute Indians from Utah Lake, who acted as guides and who led them safely across the Colorado (Grand) and Green Rivers up the Duchesne to its headwaters and across the Wasatch Range to their home on Utah Lake.

Obtaining fresh guides, the party proceeded about two hundred miles into the deserts of southwestern Utah to Black Rock Springs near Milford, heading for the Pacific coast. They had been longer than expected on their journeyings. Fall was rapidly advancing. A snowfall on October 5 dashed their hopes of being able to cross the great Sierras still blocking their path to Monterey. Provisions were getting low and they were a long way from either Monterey or Santa Fe. Casting of lots determined that they should go back home.

Instead of retracing their circuitous route, they determined to take a short cut. They turned southeast, coming out of the desert

⁹Escalante, "Diario," in *Documents para la historia de Mexico* (Mexico City), ser. 2, Vol. 1, p. 37.

Cf. also: H. S. Auerbach, "Father Escalante's Journal, 1776-77" in *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, pp. 1-142; H. L. Bolton, "Escalante in Dixie and the Arizona Strip," *New Mexico Review* (Santa Fe, 1928), Vol. III, No. 1; H. E. Gregory, "Spanish Entradas in Kaiparowits Region," *U. S. Geological Survey Prof. Paper* (Washington, D.C., 1931), p. 164; W. R. Harris, *The Catholic Church in Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1909); Philip Harry, "Brief of Escalante's Journal in *Simpson's Explorations, 1859*, Appendix R. (Washington, D.C., 1860), p. 490.

that now bears Escalante's name, a few miles west of Cedar City. The high mountains to the east forced them southward nearly a hundred miles along the foot of the rough and rugged escarpment known as the Hurricane Fault. This deflected them far from their intended course.

It was on this detour that they discovered the Virgin River and came closest to Zion Canyon. The party left the vicinity of Cedar City, crossed over the rim of the Great Basin at Kanarra and descended Ash Creek, tributary of the Virgin. A short distance below Toquerville they passed the three Indian cornfields with well made irrigation ditches, to which reference has already been made, and reached the Virgin River at the point where Ash Creek and La Verkin Creek joined it. Escalante called Ash Creek the Rio del Pilar. The main stream of the Virgin River above this point he named the Sulphur River because of the hot sulphur springs that flow into the stream about a mile distant from the point where the great Hurricane Fault crosses the river.

The party climbed out of the canyon alongside a volcanic ash cone or crater standing north of the present town of Hurricane. While some of the members of the party probably lingered to investigate the hot sulphur springs, others went ahead across the Hurricane bench and striking some Indian tracks, followed them out of the proper route and found themselves in the midst of an area of red sand dunes several miles in extent, sometimes called the Red Desert. This may be seen from the road approaching Zion from either St. George or Cedar City.

The sand dunes made traveling very difficult and by the time the party had plowed its way through and stood on top of a high bluff overlooking the corrugated valley below, both the horses and men were so tired they could scarcely make their way down the bluff to water at the site of old Fort Pearce. Here they found a desert shrub, the creosote bush (*Hediondilla*) and tamarisk trees (supposed to have been introduced from the old world).

Here their provisions became exhausted, and from then on they had to subsist largely upon horse flesh and such food as they could procure from the Indians. The next morning, as they started on their journey, they met a group of the Parrusits Indians who were living in scattered bands along the Upper Virgin River, forming one of the dozen or more clans belonging to the Paiute tribe, and who warned them that they were headed toward the Grand Canyon at a place where it could not be forded. After much persuasion they agreed to show the explorers a route by which they could climb the Hurricane Fault and proceed eastward toward a ford of the Colorado.

The Indians led them four or five miles up a narrow canyon along a footpath that became so steep and ledgy that the horses

and mules could not follow. Perceiving this, the Indians fled and the party was forced to retrace the rocky trail to the foot and press southward again, crossing the present line into Arizona. They became suspicious that the Indians were purposely misdirecting them.

That night they made a dry camp, and having neither food nor water, both men and animals suffered intensely. Early next day they found water but after traveling about twenty-five miles some of the men were so weak and hungry they had to stop to rest. After ransacking their camp outfit, they found odds and ends enough to satisfy their worst needs.

At this point they found a way to climb the bold face of the Hurricane Fault. Hungry and thirsty, they headed for rough country to the southeast where they found water after about eighteen miles. They also found Indians from whom they procured some food. Again being warned by the Indians of the great impassable Grand Canyon ahead they swung off sharply to the northeast.

Continuing the journey, guided only by the vague directions given by the Indians, the party spent several days during late October and early November in crossing the Arizona Strip and southern Utah before they found a ford of the Colorado, a few miles upstream on the Utah side of the state line, since known as the "Crossing of the Fathers." The hardships of the party in traversing Northeastern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico to get back to Santa Fe, however, are not a part of this story.

The journey lasted from July 29, 1776 to January 2, 1777. It covered a circuitous route through four states and the priests had been pathbreakers in new and unexplored territory. One objective, the route to the Pacific coast, had not been attained, but the other, that of locating sites for missions, had been abundantly fulfilled. Many possibilities were marked along the route, but apparently none gave the Fathers more satisfaction than the prospects among the Parrusits Indians on the Pilar River (now Ash Creek and Virgin River) who were already farmers.

On finding the cornfield and irrigation ditches of the Parrusits, Escalante remarked:

By this we were greatly rejoiced, now because of the hope it gave of being able to take advantage of certain supplies in the future; especially because it was an indication of the application of these people to the cultivation of the soil; and because we found this much done toward reducing them to civilized life and to the faith when the Most High may so dispose, for it is well known how much it costs to bring other Indians to this point, and how diffi-

cult it is to convert them to this labor which is no necessary to enable them to live for the most part in civilized life and in towns.⁷

The Spanish Fathers never fulfilled their dreams of missions beyond the Colorado, but they explored an uncharted area, into which other Spaniards followed. The records, however, are meager and information incomplete about these later expeditions. Two other Spaniards, Mestes in 1805 and Arze and Garcia in 1812-13, seem to have penetrated as far as Utah Lake and perhaps southward, but so far as is known, their trips had little significance⁸

Still later, other Spaniards developed the route from Santa Fe to the Pacific coast which the Fathers had failed to do. Known as the Old Spanish Trail, this passed northwestward from Santa Fe through southwestern Colorado and central Utah and then southwestward to Los Angeles. It crossed Escalante's trail near Cedar City. But before this route was developed, other explorers had opened the way.

After Dominguez and Escalante, the next pathbreakers of importance to enter the region was Jedediah Strong Smith, a trapper and trader bent on expanding his fur business. He was probably the first to finish the task started by Escalante, that of finding a route to the coast, which he traversed in 1826 and again in 1827. Smith's epochal explorations, like Escalante's a half-century earlier, were circuitous in nature and his first trip covered an area now embraced by four states, Utah, Arizona, Nevada and California. The eastern side of his loop overlapped the western side of Escalante's and probably their trails coincided for short distances where they crossed.

Smith belonged to the firm of Smith, Jackson and Sublette, which had purchased General Ashley's fur interests and was trapping through the region southward from Montana through Idaho and Wyoming to northern Utah. The summer camp or rendezvous of the firm was at Bear Lake near the Utah-Idaho line and most of the trapping grounds were to the north and east. Knowing nothing about the region lying south and west of the Great Salt Lake, Smith fitted out a party of about sixteen men to explore and trap the unknown region.

He left the shores of the Great Salt Lake, August 22, 1826, and proceeded south and west to Los Angeles, arriving there late in November. His exact course through Utah has long been a matter of controversy due to a dearth of definite records and his incomplete or poor description of the country through which he traveled. Out of the maze of theoretical routes proposed by dif-

⁷Cf. Auerbach, *loc. cit.*, pp. 85-86.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 5.

ferent writers,⁹ it seems probable that he traveled southward from Utah Lake, reached the Sevier River in the vicinity of Fayette, followed it up to the mouth of Marysvale Canyon, and mistaking Clear Creek for the head of the river (evidently not recognizing the stream coming through Marysvale canyon), passed over the divide at the head of Clear Creek and down by Cove Fort, south along the west foot of the mountains to Beaver River (which he called Lost River), on past the present site of Cedar City to the rim of the Great Basin, thence to Ash Creek along the route Escalante had taken to the Virgin River, down the Virgin to the Colorado River and across the Mojave Desert to the Coast.

Smith called the Virgin the Adams River in compliment to President John Quincy Adams, although it was in territory then claimed by Mexico. At the mouth of Santa Clara Creek, he fell in with a group of Paiute Indians (his printed word is Pa Ulches, probably a misprint for Pa Utches), who wore rabbit skin robes and raised a little corn and pumpkins. He called the Santa Clara, Corn Creek.

On his first trip of 1826, he followed the Virgin River down through the narrows below the mouth of the Santa Clara, a hazardous undertaking since most of the channel is barely wide enough to accommodate the stream. This would have involved much wading of the stream over shifting quicksand, through deep holes and around giant rocks and boulders. On his second trip, a year later, he avoided these narrows by going up Corn Creek (Santa Clara) about twenty five miles, crossing over a pass to the drainage into Beaver Dam Wash which he followed down to the Virgin, rejoining his old route about ten miles below the narrows.¹⁰

These pioneering trips of Smith's not only opened two new routes to the Pacific, westward and southwestward, but his reports of his travels and stories of adventure undoubtedly incited oth-

⁹H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1884-86), pp. 22, 23.

H. M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1935), 2 Vols.

Robert Glass Cleland, *From Wilderness to Empire* (New York, 1944).

H. C. Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations* (Los Angeles, 1918).

T. E. Farish, *History of Arizona*, (Phoenix, Arizona, 1916).

Albert Gallatin, *Synopsis of Indian Tribes* (Worcester, Mass., 1836) map, p. 265.

P. T. Hanna, "California's Debt to Jedediah Strong Smith," in *Touring Topics* (Los Angeles, California, September 1926).

C. H. Merriam, "Earliest Crossings of the Deserts of Utah and Nevada to Southern California; Route of Jedediah S. Smith," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 1923, Vol. 2, pp. 228-237.

J. G. Neihardt, *The Splendid Wayfaring* (New York, 1920).

Maurice Sullivan, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith* (Santa Ana, California, 1934).

A. M. Woodbury, "The Route of Jedediah S. Smith in 1826 from the Great Salt Lake to the Colorado River," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 1931, 4:35-46.

¹⁰From letter of Jedediah Strong Smith, Maurice Sullivan, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith*, pp. 15, 27-28.

ers to follow. One of these was George C. Yount, who was in the mountains with Smith for several months. Smith's stories inflamed in him a desire to visit California. In the fall of 1830, Yount joined a party organized by William Wolfskill at Santa Fe for the purpose of reaching the coast. Coming up through the corner of Colorado and eastern Utah, they reached the Sevier River, probably through Salina Canyon, arrived at the Virgin River and followed it down to the Colorado. The story of this trip was told by Yount in his old age and the details of the route are not precise, but it appears that his party must have attempted to follow Smith's trail.¹¹ It is probable that these explorations had a great deal to do with the development of the Old Spanish Trail, then in its formative stages.¹²

Subsequently, the Old Spanish Trail, became a regular overland route, following the Sevier River nearly to Panguitch, then over the Bear Valley pass to Paragonah, across the desert to the Mountain Meadows, down the Santa Clara past Gunlock, over the divide to Beaver Dam Wash, paralleling the Virgin River, across desert hills to the Muddy River and thence across toward Los Angeles via Las Vegas.

By 1844, when Captain John C. Fremont of the U. S. Army came over the route from the coast to Paragonah, this was a well defined trail, over which annual caravans traveled back and forth from Santa Fe to the coast.¹³ Untold numbers of Spaniards may have traveled the route that Escalante had tried vainly to find, leaving their impress along the way in the Spanish names given to many of the important places, several of which have persisted to this day. The names, Rio Virgen (River of Virgins), Santa Clara Creek and La Verkin Creek, all probably originated with the Spaniards, between the time of Jedediah S. Smith and John C. Fremont.¹⁴

Fremont followed the route from the coast past Las Vegas and encamped on the Muddy River after a fifty to sixty mile jaunt across the parched desert, sixteen hours of uninterrupted traveling

¹¹C. L. Camp, ed., "The Chronicles of George C. Yount," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 1923.

¹²Cf. Herbert S. Auerbach, "Old Trails, Old Forts, Old Trappers and Traders," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, 1941, pp. 13-63.

¹³Cf. J. C. Fremont, *Narrative of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains* (New York, 1846).

¹⁴What is now the Virgin River was called Sulphur Creek by Escalante in 1776. Jedediah S. Smith named it Adams River, to which he adhered in letters written on both trips of 1826 and 1827. This upsets the idea that he named it for Thomas Virgin, a member of his party. George C. Yount, as recorded in 1923 by Charles L. Camp, (*loc. cit.*, p. 10), told of entering the Virgin River valley on a trip in 1830, but this is no assurance that it was so named at that early date. It bore the name of Rio Virgen in 1844 when Fremont passed over the Spanish Trail and doubtless the name was given between 1827 and 1844. In Fremont's time, the Muddy River was called "Rio de Los Angeles," and the Mountain Meadows "las Vegas de Santa Clara" (the Meadows of St. Clara).

without water. The Indians were numerous and insulting, evidently intent upon raiding the camp and stealing anything they could. Horses fatigued and left behind the night before were found butchered the next morning. The party remained in camp all day on May 5, 1844, to let their animals recuperate from the hard trip of the day before. They remained constantly armed and on watch. Fremont called the natives Digger Indians. They fed largely upon lizards and other small animals of the desert. Many of them carried long sticks, hooked at the end for extracting lizards from the rocks.

As Fremont traveled up the Virgin River, the Indians followed stealthily in the rear and quickly cut off any animals that were left behind. While encamped near the present site of Littlefield, Arizona, one of the men, Tabeau, was killed by the Indians when he went back alone a short distance to look for a lost mule. The party that went in search of him found where he had been dragged by the Indians to the edge of the river and thrown in. His horse, saddle, clothing, arms, and the mule had all been taken by the Indians.

The two thousand-foot mountain gorge above Littlefield forced Fremont to leave the Virgin and turn off to the north where he regained the Old Spanish Trail which he had lost in the sands of the desert. Surmounting a pass, he reached the Santa Clara and followed it up to the Mountain Meadows where, he states:

We found an extensive mountain meadow, rich in bunch grass, and fresh with numerous springs of clear water, all refreshing and delightful to look upon. It was, in fact, that las Vegas de Santa Clara, which had been so long represented to us as the terminating point of the desert, and where the annual caravan from California to New Mexico halted and recruited for some weeks. It was a very suitable place to recover from the fatigue and exhaustion of a month's suffering in the hot and sterile desert. The meadow was about a mile wide and some ten miles long, bordered by grassy hills and mountains In passing before the great caravan, we had the advantage of finding more grass, but the disadvantage of finding also the marauding savages, who had gathered down upon the trail, waiting the approach of their prey. . . . At this place we had complete relief from the heat and privations of the desert and some relaxation from the severity of camp duty.¹⁵

After a day of rest (May 13) at the Meadows, Fremont pushed to the northeast across the south end of the Great Basin

¹⁵Fremont, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

until he reached the Little Salt Lake near Paragonah. Here he left the Old Spanish Trail and cut off to the north along the edge of the desert at the western foot of the mountains. On May 20 he met a band of Ute Indians under the leadership of the well known chief, Walker (Wah-kerr), journeying southward to levy the annual toll upon the California caravan. Fremont says, "They were all mounted, armed with rifles, and use their rifles well. . . . They were robbers of a higher order than those of the desert. They conducted their depredations with form and under the color of trade and toll for passing through their country. Instead of attacking and killing, they affect to purchase, taking the horses they like and giving something nominal in return."

Early Mormon Settlement

While trade between California and New Mexico was beating the path of the Old Spanish Trail into a road across southwestern Utah, events elsewhere were leading to the elimination of Spanish influence and the rise of Anglo-Saxon power. The Mexican War ended Spanish domination, but it was the Mormon migrations which were to fill the region with settlements.

In 1847, the Mormons began to move west from the Missouri River to the Great Salt Lake Valley. The precedent of Texas breaking away from Mexico was before them as they traveled across the plains to enter Mexican territory, where they would be free from those who had persecuted them, and where they would be practically isolated from Mexican authority by the barrier of the Grand Canyon. What dreams of empire held their thoughts as they trekked across the plains can only be conjectured.³⁰

Outposts, forts, and settlements were scattered throughout the vast area they hoped to dominate. Western Colorado, southwestern Wyoming, southern Idaho, Utah, Nevada, northern Arizona and southern California were all included in their colonization plans. Strategic points throughout this whole vast empire were to be occupied and controlled. The intervening territory would be filled in later with the great number of converts to the faith pouring in from Europe. The transfer of this entire territory to the United States by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo exercised a restraining influence upon their ambitions and brought them once more under the hand of the Federal government.

During the first few years of settlement, there was little change in governmental organization and the people were for the most part guided and controlled by their religious leaders. In March, 1849, they set up a provisional government for their pro-

³⁰Cf. Franklin D. Daines, "Separatism in Utah, 1847-1870," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1917* (Washington, D.C., 1920).

posed State of Deseret.¹⁷ In 1851, however, Congress carved this western empire into territories, paying no attention to the proposed State and designating its heart as the Territory of Utah (named for the dominant Indian nation of the region, the Utes or Utahs). The Mormon dreams were thus dimmed, but they did not finally die until 1858, when Albert Sydney Johnston's army marched to Utah and completely ended all hopes of an independent political unit. Thereafter, the Mormon attitude gradually changed from one of open opposition to one of conditioned loyalty and the long struggle for statehood began.¹⁸

It was during the period of expansion and occupation that southwestern Utah was generally explored with a view toward settlement. Late in the fall of 1847, a small party under the leadership of Captain Jefferson Hunt pushed to the Pacific coast to secure provisions and livestock, carrying instructions to the Mormon Battalion members mustered out in California to remain there that winter and not to attempt to come to Salt Lake until Spring.¹⁹ The party followed approximately the route of U. S. Highway 91 from Great Salt Lake to Little Salt Lake, Iron County, where it picked up the Old Spanish Trail and followed it to the coast. Hunt's men were the first Mormons to travel the route later known as the Mormon Trail. Where they obtained information to guide them is a question, but it is known that the Mormons were acquainted with Fremont's report of his trip along that route in 1844. There was an important deviation from Fremont's path, however; they went through Scipio Valley and the pass to the east of the Canyon range of mountains, whereas Fremont had gone on the west side. Further details of this trip are lacking.²⁰

The party wintered in California, where negotiations were entered into between Hunt and United States Army officers for raising another battalion of Mormons to garrison posts in California. When Hunt returned to Salt Lake in the spring of 1848, he carried the details with him, but no report of his trip is extant.

¹⁷Dale L. Morgan, "The State of Deseret," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, pp. 67-239.

¹⁸Cf. Leland H. Creer, *Utah and the Nation* (Seattle, Washington, 1929); Robert J. Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah* (Washington, D.C., 1941); Andrew L. Neff, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1940).

¹⁹"L.D.S. Journal History," November 13, 1847 (in files of L.D.S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah).

²⁰There are many references in Mormon records to Fremont's report. Orson Hyde's letter of April 26, 1845, to Church officials in Nauvoo mentions obtaining a copy of Fremont's report and having Stephen A. Douglas frank it to Joseph Smith in Nauvoo. The *Nauvoo Neighbor*, September 24, 1845, devoted four and one-half columns of the front page to discussions of and quotations from this report. The Journal of William Clayton, secretary to Brigham Young, frequently refers to Fremont's report and map. In Volume 11 and 12 of the *Millennial Star*, Orson Pratt makes a number of references to Fremont's report.

On September 17, 1848, while Brigham Young was visiting at Fort Provo, a group of leaders gathered at Hunt's house in the evening to "converse about the southern country and the prospects of settling it. . . . Many questions were asked in regard to routes, traveling, locations, incidents, etc., and the prospects before the Saints caused quite a good feeling."²¹

During the late summer and fall of 1849, hundreds of emigrants on their way to seek gold in California poured into the Salt Lake Valley too late to make the trip westward across the Sierra Nevada Mountains before snow blocked the way. There was little food and the Mormons were not eager to have these people winter with them. The difficulty was solved by the offer of Captain Hunt to pilot them across the southern route.

Altogether there were about 125 wagons and 1,000 head of cattle. The Argonauts were a nondescript lot, everyone intent upon his own personal problems and not actuated by a common ideal as were the Mormons. They caused Hunt a great deal of trouble and even threatened his life over certain details of the trip. Dissensions arose which split the party several times. At last, near the rim of the Great Basin not far from the Mountain Meadows, most of them left him for a supposed cutoff via Walker's Pass in the Sierras. Hunt, in peace, safely piloted the remaining six or seven wagons to the coast. The party taking the cutoff ended in disaster in Death Valley.²² Captain Hunt stayed in California more than a year and returned to Utah early in 1851.

In December, 1849, the General Assembly of the provisional State of Deseret commissioned a company already organized under the leadership of Parley P. Pratt, to explore the south and ascertain its possibilities for sustaining settlements.²³ The expedition of nearly fifty men had left on November 25. They pushed south during the cold weather via the new settlement of Manti. Following the Sevier River to Circleville Canyon, they turned up a defile to the southwest and followed it about twelve miles north of the Spanish Trail over the mountains into the Little Salt Lake Valley, December 21. Two days later they camped on Red Creek (now Paragonah) where they paused to recuperate among the excellent meadows, willows and bunch grass abounding there at that time.

²¹"Journal History," September 17, 1849.

²²"L.D.S. Journal History," September 20 and October 2, 1849; Cf. W. A. Chaffant, *Death Valley* (Stanford University Press, 1939), pp. 17-22; R. G. Cleland, *From Wilderness to Empire* (New York, 1944), pp. 249-255; William Lewis Manly, *Death Valley in '49* (New York, 1924), pp. 201-203.

²³Report of the Southern Exploring Expedition submitted to the Legislative Council of Deseret by Parley P. Pratt, February 9, 1850 (original in L.D.S. Church Historian's Office).

Here it was decided to divide the party, some to guard the recuperating cattle, while twenty of the men with horses and mules were to push the exploration southward. Those who remained moved their camp to Birch Creek (now Parowan) and while waiting explored the surrounding region. Some went up Parowan Canyon where they discovered accessible timber, plaster of paris (gypsum), water lime (limestone) and iron ore.

Between Jan. 2 and 6, 1850, a company of ten men explored west of Little Salt Lake, where they found many Indian pictographs on the rocks. A few miles west of the present site of Cedar City they came upon a "range of hills filled with iron ore of the richest quality—probably 75 per cent." Four Indians visited them and when told that the explorers were Mormons, they said . . . "Captain Walker had told them about us, that we were his friends. They said they were our friends and would not kill our cattle or horses. Walker told them the Mormons raised Shaunt Tickup [lots of food] and they wanted us to come and raise it among them. They said they loved the Mormons. They are very poor and have no horses or skins. They live upon rabbits which are plenty in their valley, now Cedar Valley, and clothe themselves with their skins."²⁴ This party of ten rejoined the camp on January 6.

An exploring party of twenty went south on December 26, reached the rim of the Great Basin at the present site of Kanarra two days later, and then descended Ash Creek, as had Escalante in 1776 and Jedediah Smith in 1826 and 1827. They crossed the black volcanic ridge, probably camping in the vicinity of Pintura. On December 31, 1849, Pratt summarized his impressions:

From the Basin Rim 13 miles of rapid descent brought us to milder climate and first cultivation [Indian]. A mile or so farther brought us to the banks of the Virgin.

The great Wasatch range along which we had traveled our whole journey here terminates in several abrupt promontories [Kolob, La Verkin and Zion]. The country southward for 80 miles showing so signs of water or fertility; . . . a wide expanse of chaotic matter presented itself, huge hills, sandy deserts, cheerless, grassless plains, perpendicular rocks, loose barren clay, dissolving beds of sandstone . . . lying in inconceivable confusion— . . .

January 1, 1850, they continued down the fertile valleys of the Virgin River as far the Santa Clara Creek. Pratt says:

The bottoms now expanded about one mile in width and several miles in length, loose sandy soil, very pleasant for farming, extremely fertile and easily watered and sometimes subject to overflow. No timber in the country

²⁴Loc. cit.

except large cottonwoods along the stream, sufficient for temporary building and fuel. . . .

The country below [to the southwest, where the river cuts through a range of mountains] being of the most unpromising character . . . and our animals almost unable to travel, . . . it was thought imprudent to venture farther. We therefore turned to the north up the Santa Clara. . . . The Indians were . . . well armed with bows and poison arrows and nearly equalling us in numbers. We fed them, sung for them. . . . The chief made us a speech, bidding us welcome to his country. . . . He strongly urged our people to settle with them and raise "tickup" [food]. They returned again next morning, piloted us all day. We saw no appearance of women or children among them. They cultivate small patches only, raise good crops by irrigation. We gave them peas for seed, presents of dried meat. . . .

Following up the Santa Clara, they reached the new wagon road made by Captain Jefferson Hunt and followed it over the divide into the Great Basin, via the Mountain Meadows. Continuing on the Old Spanish Trail eastward, they also discovered the iron ore in the range of hills that the smaller party of ten had found a day or two previously.

Back at the base camp after they arrived, preparations were made for a big celebration on January 8, 1850. Pratt further reported that a liberty pole was erected, and a flag marked with "one star and a great basin was hoisted together with a free soil banner." A dinner was prepared and "all sat down to a most substantial public dinner, being the first celebration of the Peopling of Little Salt Lake Valley, which we hope will be celebrated annually around that Spot, 'till a hundred thousand merry hearts can join in the festival."

The trip home was a hard one. They followed the west base of the mountains, crossing Beaver Creek (Smith's Lost River), where they camped on the night of January 12. It continued to snow so hard that by the time they reached Rock Creek (now Fillmore), they decided (January 20) to winter there. Several, however, pushed on home, arriving about the end of the month.

The information thus brought to Mormon headquarters was encouraging and the early settlement of southern Utah was decided upon. The report of finding large quantities of iron ore west of the present site of Cedar City aroused considerable interest. During the summer of 1850 plans were laid for colonizing the newly created Iron County, the seat to be located at Center Creek, later called Parowan. After harvest in 1850, colonists were called by the Mormon leaders to settle that region. The

"call"²⁶ in this case was published in the *Deseret News* of November 16, 1850, and was a request for those listed to meet at Fort Provo as soon as possible to organize the expedition.

The group formed in mid-December under the leadership of George A. Smith and traveled south for nearly a month during the cold of late December and early January over a wretched road, in many places covered with snow. The leaders arrived at Center Creek on January 13, 1851, and immediately set out to explore the surrounding country. The next day one party explored Parowan Canyon, another party went up Summit Creek Canyon, a third re-explored the Little Salt Lake, a fourth went up Red Creek, while George A. Smith and more than twenty others went on southwestward to the region around Cedar Valley and Iron Springs.

On the way they met Captain Jefferson Hunt returning from California, and invited him to remain with them while his party went on to Center Creek. Around the camp fire on the night of January 15, they discussed the organization of a local government, appointed a committee to nominate the officers needed and decided to hold an election on January 17. Convinced that Center Creek was the proper place to establish their settlement, they held the election there as scheduled, and a pioneer celebration was staged.

John D. Lee describes this event as follows:

At 10 o'clock [a.m.], Thomas S. Smith, one of the judges of election cried three times in an audible voice, declaring that the polls were open and ready to receive votes. . . . At 3 o'clock [p.m.], at the sound of the trumpet, the people assembled around the public dinner, each man and his lady (that is those who had any) in their respective places as follows: The judge was placed at the head, then the gentlemen were seated on his left according to their rank and the ladies on his right facing their partners. Previous to sitting down, President George A. Smith, delivered an oration suitable to the circumstances of the citizens of Iron County in celebrating the day on which law and order was first established in that part of Utah. All the citizens of Iron County then sat down upon the ground around the public dinner spread upon buffalo robes; these were

²⁶"Call"—The Mormons were a peculiarly close-knit harmonious group working cooperatively together. In order to make for efficiency in the social group, each one was expected to do voluntarily and with unquestioning obedience the part assigned by the leaders. Thus individuals were usually "called" to go on missions, to fill an office, to go as a colonist, to work on the temple or any other unusual problem. The "call," at least in the early days, was practically a command.

placed next to the ground with clean and white table cloths on top upon which were spread a variety of the refreshments of life. . . . At 6 o'clock the polls were closed.²⁶

Jefferson Hunt was elected representative. On January 18, after four days "residence" in Iron County, he went on with his party toward Great Salt Lake with his credentials in his pocket.

The settlers immediately set to work building a combined town and fort, making roads to the mountains for timber, clearing land for cultivation, digging irrigation ditches, setting up workshops and mills. On April 10-12, 1851, Parley P. Pratt, on his way to the Pacific Coast, passed through the settlement and found it in a flourishing condition.

By May, coal had been discovered in Cedar Canyon and its value in blacksmithing demonstrated. In the fall, after crops were harvested, a group of settlers moved from Parowan to the present site of Cedar City. The discovery of good coal deposits within a few miles of the iron ore aroused much interest among the Mormon leaders. The prospects for the development of an iron industry invited steps looking toward this. The word was dispatched to their representatives in Europe, Apostles Erastus Snow and Franklin D. Richards, then on missions in England, who organized the Deseret Iron Company in Liverpool in the spring of 1852, for the development of the Utah deposits.²⁷ Steel and iron workers as well as coal miners among the English converts were encouraged to migrate to Utah to help in the iron industry. Snow and Richards returned to Salt Lake City in August, and in November, Snow went south to arrange matters on the spot. By the spring of 1852, two foundries were in operation.

E. H. Beale and G. H. Heap, California bound, passed through the settlements, August 2-4, 1853. Heap gives a vivid picture of that early life.²⁸ His party came by the Sevier River over the Old Spanish Trail to Paragonah, Parowan and Cedar City on its way to the coast. Paragonah had thirty adobe houses arranged in the form of a quadrangle to form a fort. Outside the fort was an area of fifty acres enclosed by a single fence and cultivated in common by the inhabitants, a practice soon discontinued when the lands were divided into individual farms. The Indian War under Chief Walker, which had broken out in July 1853, farther north, had spread southward. Walker and his band had been harassing outlying settlements and stealing cattle

²⁶"Journal History," January 17, 1851.

²⁷Neff, *History of Utah*, pp. 302-310.

²⁸Heap, *Central Route to the Pacific*, p. 95.

and horses. Brigham Young sent one hundred and fifty men into action against him, declared martial law and ordered the people to concentrate in large communities. This order came to Paragonah while Heap was there. He says the inhabitants quickly began to move. Houses were demolished, windows, doors and furniture loaded into wagons, and they were soon on the road to Parowan.

Parowan was similarly organized but was much larger, having a hundred houses and a four hundred-acre field outside the fort. In describing Cedar City, Heap states that it was a place of even greater importance than Parowan, having extensive fields outside the fort abundantly irrigated. He writes:

The inhabitants are principally foreigners, and mostly Englishmen from the coal districts of Great Britain. At the time of our visit, the place was crowded with the people of the surrounding country seeking refuge from the Indians, and its square was blocked up with wagons, furniture, tents, farming implements, etc., in the midst of which were men, women and children, together with every description of cattle, creating a scene of confusion difficult to describe. . . . Mounted men, well armed, patrolled the country, and expresses came in from different quarters, bringing accounts of attacks by Indians on small parties and unprotected farms and houses. In face of these reports, Walker sent a message to Colonel G. A. Smith, military commander at Parowan, telling him that the "Mormons were d—fools for abandoning houses and towns, for he did not intend to molest them there, as it was his intention to confine his depredation to their cattle, and that he advised them to return and mind their crops, for if they neglected them, they would starve and be obliged to leave the country, which was not what he desired, for then there would be no cattle for him to take."²⁹

The Indian war subsided in the spring of 1854 and the people were again free to attend to farming and mining, although, as a matter of fact, they maintained the military organization for many years thereafter, as long as the Indian menace persisted.

Despite their precaution in maintaining a military organization, the Mormons actually preferred a policy of peaceful penetration and directed positive efforts toward that end. They sent missionaries among the Indians, established missions among them, cultivated friendship with those around the settlements and bestowed gifts and goods upon them. It was easier to pene-

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 99.

trate by feeding and friendship than by fighting; moreover, this policy was in line with the teaching of the Book of Mormon that the Indians (there called Lamanites) would be converted and absorbed and would become "a white and delightsome people." This Mormon policy of keeping peace with the Indians smoothed the course of settlement and improved opportunities for expansion.

At first the iron industry showed considerable promise, but technical difficulties and the enormous cost of transportation without railroad facilities prevented its expansion. Jules Remy, a French observer who passed through the settlements in 1855, states that the mines, both iron and coal, were being worked and the foundries were turning out about a ton of pig iron per day. This was obtained from ore yielding 25 to 75 per cent iron.³⁰ With the development of railroads across northern Utah, bringing in iron from elsewhere, the industry in the south languished. It had served, however, to accelerate the settlement of this region, and with its passing the pioneers turned to other occupations, especially to agriculture and stockraising, the foundation of the frontier communities.

Pushing South into Dixie

In the fall of 1851, a party pushed southward from Salt Lake City under the leadership of John D. Lee with the intention of settling on the Virgin or Santa Clara rivers. In this, they were to be disappointed, for actual settlement had to wait upon a preliminary period devoted to missions. Thereafter, during the period of settlement, the Mormons were to maintain contact with the Indians on their southern frontier through the agency of missionaries who were to shoulder the lion's share of the burden of advance exploration, keep in touch with Indian movements and attitudes, designate routes of travel, report areas suitable for agriculture and grazing and act as emissaries to the Indians in times of trouble. This shift in policy is partly explained in a letter from John D. Lee published in the *Deseret News*, Saturday, April 3, 1852:

Mr. Editor:

On the 4th of Nov. I safely reached the city of Parowan, without the loss of an animal or the break of a wagon in the whole company. We then cheerfully went to work with all our might to arrange our affairs and situate our families in this city, that according to

³⁰Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journal of Salt Lake City; Being a Sketch of the History, Religion and Customs of the Mormons* (London, 1861), 2 Vols.; Vol. II, p. 363.

counsel we might leave them comfortable, while we would go and select a site and build a fort for our defense. The brethren that joined our company in Iron County sold out their improvements in full faith of helping to form another settlement south of the waters of the Santa Clara and Rio Virgin.

The severity of the weather and failure of the mill caused a detention of three weeks. The most of our wagons were loaded and ready for a start, when I received a letter from Pres. B. Young, advising us to tarry 'till another season, and thereby strengthen the settlements already planted. The policy was doubtless good, however revolting the disappointment may have been to my feelings; and past experience admonished me that to hearken was better than to sacrifice.

The Kanyons were now blockaded with snow and ice, which rendered the pass to the timber and poles difficult, if accessible at all for wagons. Under these considerations, I felt justified to spend a few days in exploring the country, believing that the time thus occupied, would be more conducive to the spread of the cause of Zion in the mountains, than to sit by the fire-side, reading, or otherwise passing off the time of an inclement season.

Chafing under this restraint, Lee determined to explore the country regardless of Brigham Young's advice, and on January 27, 1852, led a party of twelve men,²¹ with four wagons, thirteen horses and fifteen days' provisions, leaving Parowan for the Virgin River region. He followed the route of the Southern Exploring Expedition down Ash Creek but being burdened with wagons had to be more careful in selecting the details of the route. Near the present site of Pintura he left the wagons. Lee further reports in his letter of that date that:

. . . on foot and horseback [we] traveled down Ash Creek over sand hills the distance of twelve miles which brought us near its junction with the Levearskin River [LaVerkin] . . . Being unable to cross this stream, we ascended one of these mounds, from which we discovered a stream running a SW direction which we supposed to be the Rio Virgin; and from the shape of the country, we concluded that we could take our wagons to it: Feb. 2d. day, though in temperature more like May.

²¹The party included J. D. Lee, Chapman Duncan, John Steele, C. Y. Webb, L. and William Barton, J. and Miles Anderson, B. Jones, Zadock Judd, R. H. Gillespie, J. H. Dunton.

To the Grapevine springs 5 miles; these springs boil up at the foot of a large sand mound and moisten about one acre of land, which is completely interlocked with vines. . . . To the Rio Virgin River 5 miles, mostly over yellow land; this stream is about 2 rods wide and 3 feet deep, narrow bottom, shut in on both sides with low mountains. . . . [About 3 miles above Berry Springs.]

To the Otter creek 3 miles; stream 13 feet wide, 1 deep; abundance of otter and beaver along these streams; as we descended this stream [the Virgin], the bottom continued to widen out, and the amount of timber increases affording land and other facilities sufficient in many places, to warrant small settlements. . . . At the distance of 15 miles from camp we found ourselves in one of the most pleasant, lovely valleys that the mountains afford [Washington and Washington Fields]. It is about 5 miles in diameter. The soil is of a lively alluvial nature; and of a dark chocolate color, and easily irrigated; banks of the stream low. The climate is of a mild temperature; the sun here rises without being hid behind the mountains so that its morning and evening smiles are fully appreciated by the favored vegetation of this valley.

Feb. 3d, the grapevines and cottonwood are almost leaved out; the dock and other early herbs are in bloom. . . . This valley lies rolling to the south with occasional springs of pure water breaking out at the distance of from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 mile from the river, converting that portion of the valley into a rich meadow and vineyard. . . .

Two miles over a small range of mountains brought us in full view of the Santa Clara country and valley. This valley is about the same magnitude as the one already described; . . . beautiful springs, grapevines and meadows not excepted.

The Santa Clara river is 1 rod wide and 20 inches deep, pure, clear water, rich bottoms, though narrow, and heavily timbered for the distance of 30 miles. On this stream we saw about 100 acres of land that had been cultivated by the Paiute Indians principally in corn and squashes. . . . This tribe is numerous and have quite an idea of husbandry. Through the day, we saw three of the natives who appeared frightened and fled at our approach. I called to them in their tongue and told them that we were their friends and would not hurt them; we gave them some bread, and told them to pilot us to their peup-capitan [big chief]; but fearing that six men might slay the nation, they took us some two

miles above their settlement where we met in council with thirteen of their braves, who after an understanding of our business, received us friendly and expressed a desire to have us settle among them and be tue-ge-tickaboo, that is, very friendly. . . .

From the Virgin the six men went up the Santa Clara to the California road and followed it down to the Virgin below the Beaver Dam Mountains. Lee and two others tried to make their way up the river to the mouth of the Santa Clara looking for a short-cut, but were disappointed to find the river flowing through a box canyon which Lee estimated at 4,000 feet in depth (in reality about half that). The trip was a difficult one; it rained incessantly for two days and they were often obliged to wade the river waist deep and were three days without food. They returned to Parowan on February 18. Writing to Brigham Young, March 17, 1852, Lee says:

I am making ready to accompany you on your exploration when you come along. I have been gathering all the information that I could from the Spaniards and Walker [Indian Chief], and have taken a map from them. . . . Sometimes I think I am more anxious about the formation of new settlements south. But when I was there in the forepart of the month of February and saw the trees putting forth their green foliage and the herbs almost in bloom, the rich soil and abundant streams of pure water, . . . where we can raise cotton, flax, hemp, grapes, figs, sweet potatoes, fruits of almost every kind . . . I scarcely could content myself to stay . . . 'till another fall.⁸²

In early June, 1852, the old Indian chief, Quinnarra (Kanarra), requested the Parowan leaders to go over to Panguitch Lake to visit the Indians who had gathered there to the number of a hundred. J.C.L. Smith, John Steele, John D. Lee and three others made the trip, going eighteen miles up Parowan Canyon to the top of the mountain and descending nine miles on the other side. They met the Indians, explored the region around the lake, and garnered much information about the country farther east on the headwaters of the Sevier River, into which the lake drained. This information excited their curiosity and upon returning home from their three-day trip, they immediately organized another party to cover the region to the east beyond the mountains.⁸³

⁸²"L.D.S. Journal History."

⁸³*Deseret News*, August 7, 1852. See also "Journal of Priddy Meeks," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, 1942, p. 187.

This party set out on June 12, 1852 and included the following: J. C. L. Smith, John Steele, John D. Lee, John L. Smith, John Dart, Solomon Chamberlain, Priddy Meeks and F. T. Whitney. They went through Paragonah, up Little Creek Canyon (now Bear Valley route) and down into Panguitch Valley which they considered suitable for a settlement of fifty to one hundred families who could engage in lumbering, as there was excellent timber in the mountains nearby.

Two days' travel up the Sevier River brought them to a place on Mammoth Creek with abundant timber, grass and water, suitable for a small settlement. From here they bent their course southeast to Fox Creek (now Asa Creek), passed through Pleasant Valley (Duck Creek), over a ridge into Strawberry Creek. According to the report of this trip written by J. C. L. Smith and John Steele, they proceeded

. . . thence on to the mountains which lie low and level, so that a team and wagon might be driven any place unto the highest mountains which are entirely covered with pine timber. [The mountains between Midway and Duck Creek east of Cedar Mountain].

We traveled three days among this timber which is of the best quality and clear of underbrush; we then crossed again the divide and came into Skull Cap Valley and creek [now Swains Creek], which is about 10 feet wide and one deep; thence up that 8 or 10 miles, and crossed another ridge to the south, and came to the headwaters of the Levier Skin [sic] [now Long Valley Canyon]; thence down the Levier Sking [sic] about 50 miles. [To upper end of Parunuweap Canyon].

There can be a good wagon road got from the Sevier country to this point. There are plenty of hops, and timber and handsome places for settlements in the narrow but fertile bottom of the stream [undoubtedly Long Valley].

We have now to leave the stream on account of the driftwood and narrowness of the passage down through, and take to the mountains [to the south over Harris Mt. Pass]; here the chance for a wagon road ended and after considerable difficulty and winding around, we arrived upon the Virgin bottoms [now Canebeds] within one day's ride of the Colorado. Here a number of Indians came to us, who told us that Walker had told them of us, and they seemed very much pleased although somewhat afraid at first. Brother J. D. Lee gave them a talk, which pleased them very much, to think that we were not come to kill them.

These Indians are very smart, quick and active, almost naked, with bright intellects. We then proceeded along, followed by our friends, who would not leave us; showed us all the curiosities they could think of, amongst the rest, a weed that will quench the thirst [Bottletopper, *Eriogonum inflatum*].

This is a fine country covered with verdure, although there are no streams at this point, but it has the appearance of raining a good deal. We then got some Indian guides, who brought us to the jerks of the Virgin, Levier Skin [La Verkin] and Ash Creek [probably via Hurricane] where we found a number of Indians raising grain. Their corn was waist high; squashes, beans, potatoes, etc., looked well. They had in cultivation four or five acres; their wheat had got ripe and was out. I looked around to see their tools, but could not see the first tool, only their hands to dig the ditches, make dams, or anything else. The Piute chief made us a speech showing us their destitute situation, without clothes or food. Brother Lee told them we would learn them to work and raise breadstuff, make clothing, etc., at which they were well pleased, and wanted us to come soon and make a settlement among them. This point is some 30 miles above where Brother Lee intends to settle. We then crossed over Ash Creek, took our old trail, and soon arrived at Parowan being gone 12 days—having traveled 336 miles.

Sometime during the fall of 1852, John D. Lee and several others located on Ash Creek, about twenty-five miles south of Cedar City, at a place they called Harmony (near U. S. Highway 91, a few miles north of Ash Creek bridge). John D. Lee wrote to Brigham Young, March 6, 1853, describing the progress as satisfactory:

I have built six houses for my family besides helping on every other building in the fort. . . . In the month of January, in company with Peter Schurtz, I rode over to the Rio Virgen country (or Warm Valley as the Indians call it); we found the climate mild and pleasant. . . . Brother Brigham, If it is not asking too much, please drop me a few lines relative to your feelings of forming settlements south, and the probable time of settling the Warm Valley that I may be ready to meet your expectations. . . . Please make known thy will and with pleasure I will try to obey it.³⁴

³⁴"Journal History."

At the October, 1853 conference in Salt Lake City, a group of fifty families and missionaries under the leadership of Rufus C. Allen (who had been trained in missionary work under Parley P. Pratt in South America) were "called" to strengthen the southern Utah Mission and labor among the Indians. The settlers left immediately but the missionaries delayed until the next spring.

In the meantime, the additional settlers had strengthened Harmony and an Indian school had been established. When the missionaries arrived, May 16, 1854, they found ten Indians in the school.³⁵ Brigham Young visited Harmony on May 19 and while there inquired if a wagon road could be built to the Virgin River. He was given a discouraging reply.

A few days later, a number of the missionaries under Allen, pushed on to the south among the Virgin River Indians.³⁶ On June 5, they descended Ash Creek and encountered a group of Indians near the present site of Toquerville. They made friends with the Indian Chief Toquer (meaning black, probably from the lava rocks) and bargained with him to send a runner to the neighboring Indians to arrange for a meeting with them. They moved on next day and met the other Indians at the present site of the old Washington Fields on the south side of the river.

These Indians were in a surly mood and had hidden their squaws and paposes; hence the Mormons were doubtful of their reception. However, one of them hunted up a hidden papoose and gave him a small pocket mirror which the child showed to the squaws. The trinket so pleased them that they all came out of hiding and quickly made friends with the whites.

The missionaries proceeded thence to the Santa Clara River by way of a trail north of the present site of St. George. Here they made friends with the Indians and laid the foundation for the establishment of a mission. The remainder returned to headquarters at Harmony, but Jacob Hamblin and William Henefer remained for some time on the Santa Clara working with the Indians and visiting others farther upstream. They did not reach Harmony until July.

³⁵The missionaries included the following: Rufus C. Allen, Pres.; Clark Ames, S. F. Atwood, T. D. Brown, clerk, Hyrum Burgess, Prime T. Coleman, Jacob Hamblin, Elnathan Eldridge, Augustus P. Hardy, Thales H. Haskell, William Henefer, Ira Hatch, Benjamin Knell, Samuel Knight, David Lewis, John Lott, John R. Murdock, Robert Richie, Isaac Riddle, Richard Robinson, Lorenzo W. Roundy, and Amos G. Thornton.

³⁶The original missionaries to the Virgin and Santa Clara Valleys in 1854, as reported in "Journal History," were: Jacob Hamblin, Samuel Knight, Ira Hatch, Richard Robinson, Amos G. Thornton, Prime T. Coleman, Benjamin Knell, Thales Haskell, Robert Dixon, Isaac Riddle, Robert Ritchie, David Tullis. Probably several others should be added to this list: Rufus Allen, A. P. Hardy, Nephi Johnson, William Henefer, Ira Hatch and perhaps others.

On June 21, 1854, a party of six under the leadership of David Lewis went west from Harmony to Mountain Meadows, down the Santa Clara and thence back over the mountains. On the trip, they preached to the Indians and baptized one hundred and nineteen into the Mormon Church, advising them thereafter not to steal or fight, but to learn Mormon ways of living. Two Indians were sent as messengers to the Muddy River Indians in Nevada, "To tell them we would come among them if they wanted us."³⁷

The settlers at Harmony found a better location a few miles farther upstream on Ash Creek and during the summer of 1854 moved thither, calling it New Harmony. They built a fort there that fall. The missionaries in the Virgin and Santa Clara valleys found their remoteness inconvenient; accordingly a settlement was made on the Santa Clara where they could live among the Indians, and on December 1, Jacob Hamblin, Thales Haskell, Ira Hatch, Samuel Knight and A. P. Hardy established the nucleus of a permanent colony. Two weeks later Rufus Allen and Hyrum Burgess left Harmony for Tonaquint on the Santa Clara near its junction with the Virgin River where they built three log cabins. The missionaries helped the Indians construct substantial dams and ditches for diverting irrigation water. The first dam across the Santa Clara Creek, built in 1855, was a feat which aroused much enthusiasm among the Indians, five hundred of whom gathered to watch its completion. When the dam (100 feet long and 14 feet high) was finished and the water began to rise and run out, half on one side for the Indians and half on the other for the whites, a great shout of exultation went up from the dusky spectators.

The hard labor and poor nourishment which Jacob Hamblin had endured brought on a spell of sickness. To procure medicines and proper food for him, Gus Hardy went to Parowan. While there, Mrs. Nancy Anderson, a southerner, asked him about the mission of the Santa Clara and learned of the long, warm growing season. Believing that the climate might be suitable for cotton, she gave him a quart of cotton seed which she had brought with her from her old home. The missionaries planted the seed on the Santa Clara and raised a crop during the summer of 1855. This cotton was carded, spun, and woven into cloth by the women at the mission. Some of this cloth was sent to Salt Lake City and aroused no little interest there. Samples of the cloth even found their way into England and were said to compare favorably with cotton grown elsewhere. This was the beginning of cotton culture there, which finally led to the fuller settlement of the "Utah Dixie" along the Virgin River.

³⁷"Journal History," letter of Richard Robinson, July 13, 1854.

much as the iron industry had led to the development of Iron County. Moreover, like the iron industry, it answered a temporary need by supplying clothing when it was impracticable to import cotton.³⁸

A sad mishap occurred at the mission late in 1855, when a young Indian living at the home of Thales Haskell, while examining a gun, accidentally shot the missionary's young wife, Maria Woodbury Haskell. The death, naturally, cast a pall of gloom over the mission.³⁹

The missionaries continued their work with the Indians and gained some ascendancy over them. This served a useful purpose during the next few years in deterring or preventing Indian thievery and attacks on travelers on the Mormon trail along the upper part of the Santa Clara. Jules Remy, about to leave the Santa Clara on his way to the Pacific coast (November 10, 1855) says: "There was a log hut there made by the Mormon missionaries, who occasionally come to this place to teach the natives farming." Here a band of Indians crowded around Remy's camp, causing some alarm. Thinking to impress the Indians, Remy's party indulged in a little target practice and revealed some expert marksmanship. The Indians, not to be outdone, gathered in a line to shoot at a target about a hundred yards distant. At a signal from the chief, the arrows were released in unison and flew to the mark. Remy noticed that even the youngsters were able to hit small birds flying close at hand. The Indians were not intent on injury, but merely on theft, and hoped by their numbers to distract the attention of the whites while they pilfered the camp. The Frenchman, however, proved a match for them.⁴⁰

Another cotton crop matured in 1856. During that year there were further accessions to the missionary colony and a rock fort was built. Though the Indians as a whole were friendly enough, there was always danger lurking and the fort was at least a symbol of safety.

In the spring of 1857, twenty-eight families (160 persons), mostly converts from the South and experienced cotton farmers, were called to go to the Virgin River to undertake cotton culture on a larger scale. They were enthused with the prospect of a warm climate where cotton could be grown and fondly referred to the Virgin Valley as "Utah's Dixie." They arrived May 5, 1857, at the present site of Washington and immediately set to work diverting water for irrigation, clearing land, plowing and planting. Hopes of good crops were doomed, however, for the cotton was almost a complete failure. Some became dis-

³⁸Neff, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-292.

³⁹Cf. Juanita Brooks, ed., "Diary of Thales Haskell," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 1 and 2, pp. 70-98.

⁴⁰Remy and Brenchley, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 388.

couraged with the location and scattered, a few families locating at Tonaquint on the Santa Clara just above its junction with the Virgin.⁴¹

This failure did not kill the idea of raising cotton in Dixie, but further experiments were necessary before the industry could properly expand. In January, 1857, a small company had been fitted out in Salt Lake City under Joseph Horne to establish an experimental cotton farm on the Virgin River. They arrived in early February and located on the Virgin just below its junction with the Santa Clara. Dams and ditches were constructed and land cleared and planted by May 6. The crop was harvested and hauled back to Salt Lake City. The total cost of raising this first crop, including all expenses of the trip to and from Salt Lake City, was \$3.40 per pound. A similar experiment the next season reduced the price per pound to \$1.90.⁴²

In the meantime, other settlers had been looking enviously toward the warm semi-tropical lands of the Virgin Valley. As early as 1854, Brigham Young had inquired about the possibilities of building a road into the valley from Cedar City, but the cost of construction over "the black-ridge" barrier seemed prohibitive. In 1858, with the advice and consent of Isaac C. Haight, bishop of Cedar City, six families moved down Ash Creek and settled Toquerville. These included Joshua T. Willis, John Willis, Samuel Pollock, William Riggs, Josiah Reeves and Willis Young, all of whom had been attracted by the stories of cotton-raising.

The movement had already received considerable impetus and the Mormon leaders desired more information about the possibilities of settlement. Nephi Johnson, a young missionary among the Virgin River Indians, and who had been Indian interpreter for many emigrant parties passing over the Mormon Trail, was called by Brigham Young to explore the Virgin River farther upstream and hunt for suitable places for settlement.

In the fall of 1858 he rode from Cedar City to Toquerville, where he fraternized with the Indians and persuaded them to guide him up the river. They led him over the Hurricane Fault which had hitherto blocked progress of the missionaries upstream. He explored the upper Virgin River and thus was probably the first white man to enter both Parunuweap and Zion Canyons. He says in his autobiography that in September, 1858, he went into the upper Virgin River valley as far as the site of Shunesburg and reported that a settlement could be made where Virgin was later built.⁴³

He does not mention Zion Canyon, but his daughter, Lovina

⁴¹Neff, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 292.

⁴³Original MS in possession of Lovina A. J. Farnsworth, Kanab, Utah.

A. J. Farnsworth⁴⁴ relates that her father often told her of visiting it. According to her account, he followed the Virgin River with his Indian guide and reached Oak Creek, above the present site of Springdale, where the Indian stopped and refused to go any farther. Wai-no-pits, he said, might be found up there in the shadows of the narrow canyon. But the Indian agreed to wait there if Johnson insisted on going on, provided he returned before the sun (tab) went down. It is not known how far Johnson went up the canyon, but later, recalling his experience, he used to say that there were places where the "sun never shone" because the walls were so high and the canyon so narrow. He was gone much longer than he expected, and when he returned, the sun was setting and the Indian had his arm over the horse ready to mount and depart.

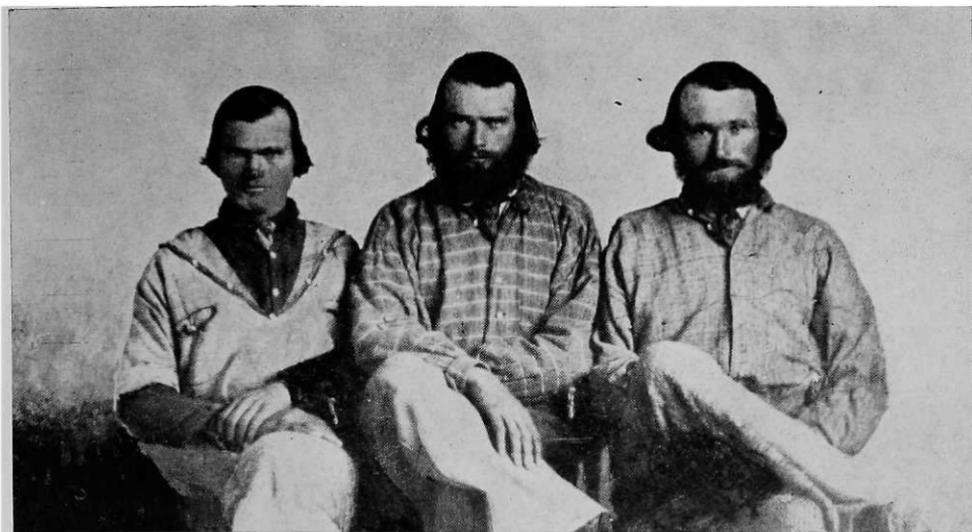
Back at Cedar City, Johnson was sent to found a settlement at Virgin. He gathered a small group together and set out in early December. On the 6th, they began building a road over the Hurricane Fault below Toquerville and drove their wagons into Virgin on the 20th, over a route since known as the "Johnson Twist."

In the fall of 1860, Philip Klingensmith led five other families from Iron County over the Johnson Twist, and passing up the Virgin River selected a spot two or three miles above Grafton where water could be diverted for irrigation, and founded a settlement called Adventure (between Grafton and Rockville).

In 1861, Brigham Young paid his first visit to the Dixie settlements. Leaving Salt Lake City on May 15, he reached Cedar City about the 22nd and followed the Mormon Trail westward to Pinto and the Mountain Meadows, then southward down the Santa Clara Creek. He left the trail where it struck over the hills toward the Beaver Dam Wash, and followed the stream down to the Santa Clara mission, then comprising thirty-four men, thirty houses and two hundred and fifty acres under cultivation. Several orchards and vineyards were already producing apples, peaches, apricots, plums, nectarines, pears, quinces, almonds, figs, English walnuts, gooseberries, currants, and grapes of both Isabella and California Mission varieties. The cotton crop and casaba melons were flourishing.

The next day he drove to Tonaquint at the junction of the Santa Clara and the Virgin. This was the strategic point at which Jedediah Smith's two trips had forked in 1826 and 1827; where Parley P. Pratt's exploring party had turned homeward on January 1, 1850; and where John D. Lee's party on February 3, 1852, had halted in the exploration of the Virgin River. After Brigham Young left Tonaquint, a settlement of twelve families,

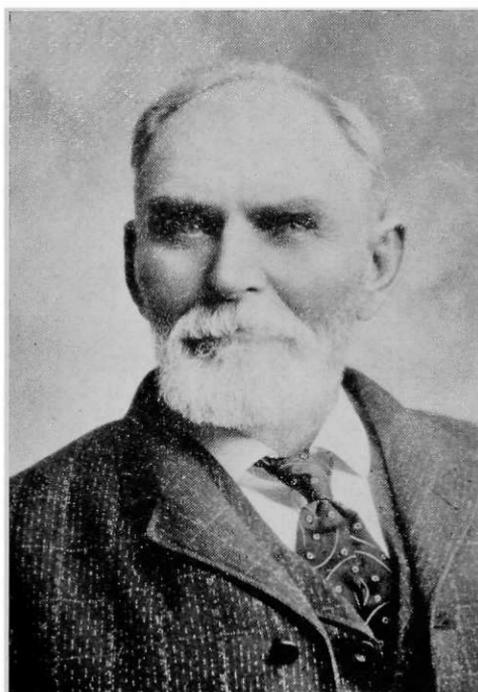
⁴⁴Interview at Kanab, Utah, August 11, 1931.



THE THREE JOHNSON BROTHERS, SETH, SIXTUS AND NEPHI

Nephi was the first white man to discover Zion Canyon (1858). All three were prominent in the development of Southern Utah.

Courtesy of the Johnson Family.



JOSEPH S. BLACK

Early Pioneer of Springdale. Said to be the first to explore the upper area of Zion, in 1861-62. His glowing accounts of the canyon led others to call it "Joseph's Glory."

Courtesy of the Black Family.



WASHINGTON COTTON MILL (1866-1869)

A reminder of the high hopes entertained for Utah's Dixie as a cotton-growing area.

Courtesy Mark Pendleton, Salt Lake City, Utah.

he stopped his carriage near the center of the valley in which St. George was later located. As members of his party crowded around him, he seemed to envision the future. On his left, running north and south, was a black ridge. Three miles to the east was a parallel black ridge. Fronting him two miles to the north was a red sandstone bluff running east and west, down the face of which were streaks of vivid green vegetation marking springs or streams. The Virgin River behind him made the fourth side of the square. According to Bleak, Young prophesied: "There will yet be built between those volcanic ridges a city with spires, towers and steeples; with homes containing many inhabitants."⁴⁵

The party then proceeded up the Virgin River via Washington, Toquerville and Virgin as far as Grafton. From here it retraced its steps to Toquerville and then started homeward via Harmony, Cedar City and Parowan, arriving in Salt Lake City on June 8, 1861.

The Cotton Wave

It was this trip to the Virgin River settlements that convinced Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders of the wisdom of pushing the settlement of Utah's southland. The outbreak of the Civil War may have clinched the argument. When it became apparent that the cotton supply from the southern states would be cut off, the decision to advance the Dixie settlements with a view toward cotton culture was strengthened.

By this time moreover, there was sufficient evidence from settlers and the experimental farm to prove the practicality of cotton as a staple crop. During the summer of 1861, plans were laid for more extensive colonization. Heretofore, the settlements had been outposts of Iron County. Now the region was to come into its own as a separate colony with the central settlement to be located in the valley above Tonaquint, and to be named St. George.

At the general church conference in Salt Lake City on October 6, about three hundred families were "called" to the Dixie Mission to accelerate the cotton industry. Many of these people were abruptly informed of what awaited them when they heard their names read out, but most of them responded with good will. The families were carefully selected in such a way as to insure balanced communities: farmers, businessmen, educators, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, entertainers; all in the proportions needed.⁴⁶

The colonists got under way in November with Apostles

⁴⁵James G. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission" (Ms. in files of Utah State Historical Society).

⁴⁶"Journal History," October 7, 1861.

George A. Smith, Erastus Snow and Orson Pratt, as leaders. Towards the end of the month the vanguard stood at the forks of the road west of Toquerville at the parting of the ways up and down the river. The leaders had already traveled upstream looking over possible locations, going through the settlements of Virgin, Grafton, Adventure and up both forks of the Virgin River into Zion and Parunuweap canyons, investigating the agricultural lands along the way.⁴⁷ How far they went up Zion Canyon is unknown. Erastus Snow later reported that ten miles above Grafton the mountains closed in, leaving but a narrow gorge, through which the east fork of the Virgin forced its way, allowing no room for the passage of man or beast. His factual report indicated no wonder at the marvels he must have beheld. The sense of awe awakened today by such inspiring spectacles of nature's handiwork appears to have been largely lacking in the hard-working pioneers who spent all their energy in wringing a meager existence from the wilderness.

At the forks of the road, the paths divided. A few went upstream with Orson Pratt, but the majority went down, arriving in early December at the site of St. George. Other settlements quickly sprang up along the length of the Virgin Valley wherever water could be diverted for irrigation. Thus the "cotton-wave" ushered many pioneers into the Virgin River valleys and insured the growth of the area.

Settlement of Zion Canyon

The cotton migrations were the prelude to the settlement of Parunuweap and Zion canyons. Because of a disagreement with Erastus Snow, Orson Pratt did not go to St. George, but led his group over the Johnson Twist up the Virgin River to the last outpost at Adventure (the lower end of the present Rockville fields), arriving in late November or early December, 1861. Here he paused long enough to gather information and make plans for settlement.

Coming up the river, Pratt undoubtedly conferred with Nephi Johnson and other settlers at Virgin, Old Grafton and Adventure. Members of the expedition, of course, went scouting for themselves, but the advice of Johnson probably led some of them to decide upon Shunesburg, where on his visit in 1858 he had reported a settlement could be made.

Adventure was a small place with limited prospects for expansion but just above it was a much larger tract of land requiring more extensive irrigation. A townsite was selected on the bench

⁴⁷The scouting party included Apostles George Albert Smith and Erastus Snow, Dr. James M. Whitmore, Horace S. Eldridge, Robert J. Golding and Isaac Stewart.

high above the river, and at a meeting held at Old Grafton on December 13, it was decided to name the new townsite Rockville because of the many boulders along the foot of the hill where it was located.

Of those who went up the river above Adventure, three families stopped at the forks of the Virgin at a place afterward called Northrop, while six continued up the Parunuweap four or five miles to the farm of an old Indian named Shunes. They purchased the land for a trifling consideration, but the price proved to be only the first installment, for the old Indian continued to live in the vicinity for many years, working and begging for food from the whites to add to his native supply of seeds, lizards and wild game.

The settlers were hardly located when a stormy period began. They were digging irrigation ditches and cutting timber for log houses, but were still living in their covered wagons when bad weather set in. Rain started on Christmas day, 1861, and continued for forty days. The Virgin became a raging torrent and, at least twice, great floods washed out the dams, filled the ditches, undermined banks, overflowed the plains and despoiled valuable farm lands. On January 8, the flood inundated the village of Grafton, the water rising suddenly during the night. As the waters swirled around the wagon box home of Nathan Tenney, several men picked it up with his expectant wife in it and carried it to higher ground north of the river, where a son was born. He was named, appropriately enough, Marvelous Flood Tenney.

After the floods subsided Old Grafton was abandoned and a new site was selected on the south bank on a higher bench a little farther upstream. The area was surveyed and laid off in town lots and fields. A new ditch costing \$5,000 was dug within the next year. The new townsite of Rockville was similarly laid off into lots and fields during the summer of 1862, and an irrigation ditch was completed in time for use during 1863. In the meantime the settlers at Adventure continued to cultivate the land irrigated by their first ditch. At the forks of the river at Northrop, a ditch was built by James Lemon and others to irrigate a stretch of land below the junction of the two forks of the streams. At Shunesburg, the town and fields were surveyed and ditches constructed to divert the water from both Shunes Creek and the east fork of the Virgin.

The known settlers in Adventure included the following: Orson Pratt, Dr. S. A. Kenner, John C. Hall, Henry Stocks, William Ashton, and Elijah Newman. Those at Northrop included James Lemon, Isaac Behunin, and probably Joseph Black. The following went to Shunesburg, all of them having come together from San Pete Valley: Oliver DeMille, Hyrum Stevens, Alma Millett, George Petty, Hardin Whitlock and Charlie Klapper.

Whether anyone was located at Springdale at that time is de-

batable. E. C. Behunin says that his father, Isaac, stayed at Northrop until after the flood and then moved to Springdale where others had already located. Nevertheless, it is the impression of several early pioneers of the region that Albert Petty was the first settler of Springdale in the fall or winter of 1862-3. It is related that he took his wife to the spot he had selected beside some large springs and asked her to name it. She called it Springdale. It is probable, however, that the lower Springdale irrigation ditch was taken out early in 1862. It is also probable that Joseph Black came with the main group in 1861 despite his journal date of 1862, written in his old age.⁴⁸ His parents came in 1861 and it is almost certain that he was with them. He is credited by three different sources with being the first to explore Zion Canyon after the settlers arrived, although he says nothing about it.⁴⁹

When Albert Petty came to Shunesburg, he brought with him the rock grinding stones for a grist mill. Not finding a suitable mill site at Shunesburg, he and his son, George, moved to the newly surveyed town of Springdale where they set up the mill that served as a public utility in grinding the coarse flour for the settlers of the upper Virgin.

The fall of 1862 saw another influx of settlers. Another general "call" for 250 men to go south was issued Sunday, October 19, and many others volunteered to go to Dixie. Charles L. Walker describes the incident in his journal:

Sunday, October 19, 1862. . . . Went up to the Bowery. . . . At the close of the meeting, 250 men were called to go to the cotton country. My name was on the list and was read off the stand.

At night I went to a meeting in the Tabernacle of those who had been called. Here I learned a principle that I shan't forget in a while. It showed me that obedience is a great principle in Heaven and on earth. Well, here I have worked for the last seven years, through heat and cold, hunger and adverse circumstances, and at last have a home and a lot with fruit trees just beginning to bear and look pretty. Well, I must leave it and go and do the will of my Father in Heaven . . . and I pray God to give me strength to accomplish that which is required of me.

Monday, October 20, to Wednesday, October 22.

⁴⁸Joseph Black, "Journal," in possession of his son, Peter Black, Delta, Utah.

⁴⁹Interview with E. C. Behunin by J. W. Thornton at Zion Canyon.

Interview with Ezra Stevens, at Mt. Carmel, Utah, August 14, 1933.

Interview with Peter Munk, at Manti, Utah, September 1, 1933.

Not very well. Working around the home and fixing to dispose of my property.⁶⁰

The spirit of "moving south" had been encouraged by the previous year's migration and many had become interested, some because of friends or relatives who had preceded them, others because of crop losses or because they were seeking better places to locate. John Langston, who came to Rockville at this time, says in his journal that he had tired of having his crops eaten up by crickets at Alpine, Utah County, so tried farming at Draper. His crops in 1862 were destroyed by flooding of the Jordan River, so he volunteered and was "called" on the mission to settle Dixie.⁶¹

These recruits enlarged the settlements even to overcrowding. Rockville suddenly expanded by the abandonment of Adventure and the influx of new settlers to a town of nearly thirty families.⁶² Shunesburg increased to fifteen or sixteen and the others in proportion.⁶³ The townsite and fields of early Springdale were surveyed during the fall and winter of 1862-63, and a town of some twenty families was established, with Albert Petty as presiding elder.⁶⁴

⁶⁰Charles L. Walker, "Journal" (copy in the files of the Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah).

⁶¹John Langston, "History of John Langston" (Ms. in files of Utah State Historical Society).

⁶²The settlers of Rockville included the following; beginning at west end on south side of street, Elijah Newman, a wheelwright from Parowan who had operated sawmills in Parowan Canyon and was well acquainted with Cedar Mountain; Mr. Frauschum, a jeweler from Provo; Mr. Scoggins, an Englishman; John C. Hall, a self-educated man from Salt Lake City; George Staples, farmer from Lehi; Albert and Edward Huber from France; Thomas Hall, a tinker from Salt Lake City; Joe and Jim McFate, farmers; Jacob E. and James P. Terry; and Mr. Coombs. On the north side of street beginning at west end, Samuel A. Kenner, doctor and journalist; Henry Jennings from Provo; William H. Carpenter, broom-maker; Hyrum and Ezra Strong, farmers; Henry Stocks from England, ironmonger by trade, who made the first molasses mill rollers in southern Utah and brought the mill to Rockville; William Ashton ("picked on" by the boys); William Crawford from Draper; John Langston from Draper; Daniel Q. Dennett, fifer in Mormon Battalion; Tom Flanigan, who sold out to William L. Draper a month later; and Asa York, carpenter; on land to the north; James Green stayed one summer. (Interview with James Jennings at Rockville, Utah, August 14, 1933).

⁶³In the fall of 1862 the following came to Shunesburg: the mother of young Hyrum Stevens and his three brothers, Amos, Ezra and Charles; two uncles, Henry and Barney Stevens, each with two families; Albert Petty with two families, and John J. Allred. Charlie Klapper soon left and Albert and George Petty and Hardin Whitlock moved over to Springdale during the winter of 1862-63. In the fall of 1863 came James Thaxton and Samuel K. Gifford, a chairmaker.

⁶⁴The first settlers of Springdale included: Isaac Behunin and sons, Albert Petty, George Petty, William Black and three sons, William, George and Joseph; Robert Brown, Newman Brown, Hardin (Howard?) Whitlock, Hyrum Morris, C. G. Averet, Mr. Powell, Mr. Davis, Mr. Norton and Joseph Millett.

With crowded conditions and scanty food supplies, many became discouraged and some left Dixie. Most, however, proved faithful to the "call" and remained to make the settlements permanent.

The settlements were still in a precarious state, the pioneers moving from place to place attempting to find suitable locations, some leaving and others coming, when, in 1864, a church census enumerated 765 persons (129 families), distributed along the upper Virgin River as follows:

	Families	People
Virgin City	56	336
Duncan's Retreat	8	50
Grafton	28	168
Rockville	18	95
Northrop	3	17
Shunesburg	7	45
Springdale	9	54
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	129	765

This indicates a considerable decline in population from the previous year. The settlers had come to Dixie filled with high hopes of raising cotton, had planted that crop to excess in 1862 and 1863 and had failed to raise enough foodstuffs. They were on famine rations during the winter of 1863-64 and were not relieved until summer. Moreover, the difficulties of hauling cotton to the northern settlements and exchanging it for foodstuffs had driven many of the settlers away; some returned to their former homes, while others sought opportunities elsewhere.

Enough cotton was now being grown to create a vexatious problem of marketing. Bleak records that in the spring of 1864, 11,000 pounds were hauled to California and estimated that 16,000 pounds were still in storage. Some was even hauled to the Missouri River where it brought a fair price because of the war shortage. David Bullock and other men from Cedar City, traveling east for poor emigrants, started out loaded with Dixie cotton. It soon became necessary to set up machinery for ginning the cotton and weaving it into cloth. Gins were soon in operation in several places and hand looms and spinning wheels were found in many homes.⁶⁶

In 1865, Brigham Young personally made plans for the construction of a cotton mill at Washington. The building was finished by December, 1866. Later it was sold to a cooperative concern, the Rio Virgin Manufacturing Company, and more up-to-date machinery was installed, making it the most complete factory

⁶⁶James G. Black, *loc. cit.*

in Utah for the processing of cotton and wool. It continued to operate until the close of the century.⁶⁸

Parunuweap Canyon was fully settled almost from the start, but Shunesburg gradually declined until today there are but one or two small farms left. This is due primarily to the ravages of floods which washed away the good agricultural land. On the other hand, tillable land in Zion Canyon was not brought under cultivation for a dozen years or more.

Flat lands suitable for agriculture in Zion were found in two areas along the canyon floor, separated by a mile or more of rocky, steep-sided canyon difficult to travel. The lower area, in which Springdale was located, was a narrow valley less than a mile wide and four or five miles long separated from the Parunuweap fork of the river by a reef of Shinarump Conglomerate, more resistant to erosion than the overlying Chinle shales in which the valley had been cut. The upper area was an old lake bed filled by sediments. It extended from the old blockade in the river below the Court of the Patriarchs that had anciently produced the lake, nearly five miles upstream to the Temple of Sinawava. It was much narrower than the lower unit and the tillable land was scattered in narrow fields along the banks.

Joseph Black seems to have been the first to investigate the upper area, probably in the late fall of 1861 or 1862. The difficulties of reaching the upper part of Zion were too great, however, and he finally located in the lower valley. His descriptions of the canyon were such that the cynical referred to it sometimes as "Joseph's Glory." Nevertheless his stories were listened to and some scoffers remained to pray. E. C. Behunin says:

It was Joseph Black who interested my father in Zion Canyon. Black had made a trip into the canyon before we came here and in talking to my father, he had praised it so highly that my father became interested and moved up into the canyon upon Black's advice and suggestion.

Isaac Behunin had come to Dixie in the fall of 1861 and settled at Northrop until the flood in January, 1862, after which he moved to Springdale and built a home. In addition to farming in Springdale he visited Zion in the summer of 1863 and started some

⁶⁸Neff, *op. cit.*, p. 908.

operations there, building a one-room log cabin not far from where Zion Lodge now stands.⁶⁷

The cabin was a crude shelter used only during the summer, for the Behunins wintered in Springdale. It was built of cottonwood logs and the cracks were chinked with mud. The roof had a ridgepole to which ash and maple sticks were lashed on either side and covered with corn-fodder and dirt. The single room had a door and a window with glass panes. At one side was a fire-place, but the cooking was usually done on a stepstove outside.

The Behunins were real mountaineers, inured to the hardships of their life. To make a wash basin, they cut down a cottonwood tree in the dooryard and scooped out a bowl-like depression in the top of the stump. A hole was bored in the bottom, downward and outward. This was stopped on the outside by a wooden plug. To wash, they dipped fresh water into the bowl.

The family included, in addition to the parents, five sons and one daughter. All except the daughter were confirmed smokers. Indian tobacco grew well in Zion Canyon in those days and at first they could gather their supplies from the wild plants. Indeed, their more censorious neighbors ventured the opinion that the wild tobacco was the inducement that led the Behunins into Zion Canyon. Later they introduced domestic varieties.

The cabin seems to have been completed late in the season after the corn had been harvested. There was no road into Zion Canyon at that time, but a heavy team had hauled in a plow and other necessities. An irrigation ditch was dug and the flats cleared of vines and rosebushes. By the next season several acres were under cultivation, and fruit trees, cane and garden stuff had been planted.

The Behunins also owned fifteen or twenty head of cattle all broken to work, including milk cows. They raised pigs on the surplus corn and did their own butchering and curing. James H. Jennings (born in 1853) tells of watching them slaughter thirteen hogs one day. They filled a shallow pool with water and heated it by dropping into it hot rocks from a nearby bonfire. When the water was near boiling, they dipped the hogs in the pool to scald

⁶⁷There is a difference of opinion as to the location of the cabin. O. D. Gifford placed it about 1/6 mile above the lodge, on a flat since washed away by the river. E. C. Behunin, after an absence of 57 years, placed it near the forks of the road that lead to the lodge and swimming pool. He was evidently mistaken, for his description of the location of his father's farm seems to indicate that Gifford's location is correct. He was certain that the old river meander just north of the lodge (now artificially filled in) was not there in the early days, but the physical evidences before straightening the river and building the permanent road definitely indicate that it was. Heap's farm, which he says was separated from his father's by the river, was above this meander. James H. Jennings, who owned the place afterward, says that Behunin was mistaken. (Interview with James Jennings at Rockville, Utah, August 15, 1933).

them and loosen the hair. The meat was cut up and salted to make old-style home-cured hams, shoulders and bacon.

Mrs. Eunice Munk of Manti, who as a girl of 12 or 14 spent more than a year in Springdale, recalled that in the summer of 1864 the Behunins told her that in Zion Canyon the chickens went to roost soon after sundown, but that the twilight was so long that they would get tired of waiting for darkness and come out again.

Within a few years, other settlers found their way into the canyon. William Heap took up a farm across the river from the Behunins at the mouth of Emerald Pool Canyon and built a log cabin on the west bank of the river north of the Emerald Pool stream. He planted an orchard and raised annual crops such as cane, corn, and garden stuff. John Rolf built his cabins above the Behunins. A polygamist, he needed separate dwellings for his families; one he located near the Behunins; the other on the site of the present grotto camp.

Protection was afforded by buck or rip-gut fences from cliff to river at each end of the farms. These were made of short poles set in the ground and pointed in various directions so as to effectively prevent large animals from breaking through.

Hand plows pulled by horses or oxen were used for turning the soil. Harrows were fashioned of hewn timbers fastened together in a triangle. Sharpened pegs of oak were fixed in holes bored in the framework and turned downward so that they scratched the ground when pulled by a team. The first shovels were short-handled, but later they had what they called "lazy man's shovels," because the handles were longer and a man did not have to bend his back so much when working. The rakes were hand-made of wood with sharp pegs for teeth. Scythe and cradle were seldom used since little hay or grain was raised.

It was about this time that the canyon received its name. The three settlers, hardy mountaineers though they were, nevertheless were of a devout and religious turn of mind. It seems to have been old father Behunin who proposed the name of Zion, to which the others agreed. Isaac Behunin had been with the Mormons ever since they left New York. He had helped build the Temple at Kirtland, Ohio, and had at one time acted as body-guard to the founder of the Church, Joseph Smith. He had been through all the "drivings of the Saints" in Missouri and Illinois and nourished the typically bitter resentment towards the "enemies" who had been responsible for such "atrocities." Here in Zion he felt that at last he had reached a place of safety where he could rest assured of no more harrings and persecutions. No wonder he proposed the name Zion, which implies a resting place. He went even further, maintaining that should the Saints again be harassed by their enemies, this would become their place of refuge.

On one of Brigham Young's visits to Springdale, probably in

1870, he was told of Zion. He inquired how it came to be so named. The explanation, it seems, was not satisfactory to the Mormon leader after a toilsome journey into the canyon and he questioned its propriety, saying that "it was not Zion." Some of his more literal-minded followers thereafter called it "Not Zion."

The first settlers made their way into the canyon on horseback, using the river bed, crossing and recrossing the stream. It soon became necessary, however, to provide other means of transportation. A wagon road was no problem through the flats in both the upper and lower valleys, but the precipitous canyon between was baffling. It is related⁶⁵ that Hyrum Morris, Shunesburg settler, and a companion were the first to enter the upper valley by means other than horseback. They hitched a yoke of oxen to the hind wheels of a wagon and lashed a plow and supplies on it. When they entered the canyon, near the present site of the bridge, they climbed the west bank over the sand bench, down into Birch Creek and thence into the upper Zion Valley. This did not prove to be a practicable route, and no one seems to have followed it. Today one can hardly traverse the route on foot.

The remains of an old cart road which followed the east bank, high up opposite the sand bench, coming out into the upper valley about half a mile above the present Union Pacific garage, may still be traced. This route was used for some years, but was far from satisfactory. Other settlers from the towns below began to cultivate tracts in the upper valley and the timber resources of the canyon made a better road imperative. During the winter of 1864-65, a wagon road⁶⁶ was built up the river bed, crossing the stream many times. This is the road which, with minor improvements, served as the main highway into Zion until the National Park Service built the road that first made it fully accessible to the public. This road in turn served until 1930, when the present well-graded highway was constructed midway between the river and the older road that it replaced.

It was while constructing this first wagon road on January 9, 1865, that George Ayers was killed. A short dugway was being graded on the slope above the river. With no blasting powder, the men were excavating a large boulder, and George Ayers and Orson Taylor had stopped to rest in the shade of the huge stone, rolling cigarettes. Suddenly it began to move. A shout of warning came from Samuel Wittwer and Heber Ayers. Taylor was able to scramble out of the way but Ayers was squarely in its path and it fell directly upon him, crushing and killing him instantly—the first victim of Zion Canyon.

Indian troubles, treated in a later chapter, broke out in the spring of 1866. Martial law was declared and instructions were

⁶⁵Interview with O. D. Gifford at Springdale, Utah, September 6, 1925.

⁶⁶Interview with O. D. Gifford at Springdale, Utah, September 6, 1925.

issued from the military headquarters for the settlers to concentrate in towns of at least 150 families. It was at first decided to gather all the settlers of the Upper Virgin River at Rockville and Toquerville, and later, at Virgin. James Jepson⁹⁰ recalls that his father had just moved his cabin from Virgin to Rockville when the revised decision reached him and he moved back to Virgin again. This was the fifth time the cabin had been moved and his father dryly remarked that it was so used to the process now that all he had to do was throw the logs into the yard and they would fit themselves together.

This concentration order meant the abandonment of all smaller places: Duncan, Grafton, Northrop, Shunesburg, Springdale and Zion. Those who could not buy or rent a house simply dumped their belongings in the shade and set up housekeeping under the trees. Some moved their log houses with them, others made dug-outs and still others built new log houses.

Although the outlying towns had been abandoned, the crops had been planted and had to be tended. Workers went in armed groups of ten, twenty, or thirty to the fields, usually remaining during the week in the more distant places and returning to Rockville on Sunday. In Zion, headquarters were at the Behunin cabin, where eight or ten men usually camped while working the crops. In Springdale, they usually stayed at Albert Petty's home or nearby. Petty himself refused to abandon his ranch and stayed there throughout the Indian scare.

This concentration continued through 1867, but with the close of the "Black Hawk War" and the subsidence of troubles with the Paiutes, there was a general reoccupation of the villages except Long Valley and Kanab, abandoned during the Indian troubles. This occasioned some shifts in the population; some returned to their former homes and lands, some stayed where they were, and a few moved elsewhere. Springdale was reoccupied by Albert Petty and several other families, but it did not regain its former size until about 1874. Shunesburg and Grafton also seem to have lost slightly in population in the reshuffling. To Zion, however, the same settlers, Behunin, Heaps and Rolfs, returned and took up their usual tasks of raising crops and tending livestock.

The following years were prosperous and the settlements were greatly strengthened. Markets were established in northern Utah, at mining camps in southern Nevada, and even in California. Commerce was restricted because of transportation difficulties but it was an important factor in helping to balance needs by exchange of livestock products and cotton for goods the settlers could not produce.

The national financial panic of 1873 gradually worked its

⁹⁰Interview at Hurricane, Utah, August 26, 1933.

paralyzing effects into Utah and spread to the southern Utah colonies. The repercussions were not marked on the Virgin River, but Brigham Young was gravely concerned about the more general conditions in Utah when he came to St. George to spend his second winter there (November, 1873).

During the spring of 1874 he initiated near St. George a communistic movement known as the United Order. An experiment of similar nature had been tried by the Mormons in Missouri more than thirty years earlier. It was an attempt to combine cooperatively the efforts of the Saints, so that all might share the benefits in accordance with their needs. The scheme had been inaugurated in a few communities with encouraging success and it was now proposed to launch it on a large scale.⁶¹ In February, St. George, Price City, and Washington were all organized on this basis. Price City, near St. George, is reported as the first working farm community in which the combined farms were managed as a unit and the farmers lived as one large family. Some of the men were assigned to irrigation, some to raising hay, corn, cane, garden stuff, or other crops according to the estimated needs of the community. Fuel was supplied seasonably by hauling wood from the scrub forests of the hills. The women were assigned as cooks, dish washers, baby tenders, clothes makers, and nurses. In Price and a few other places the settlers ate together, but in most of the communities each family had its own home.

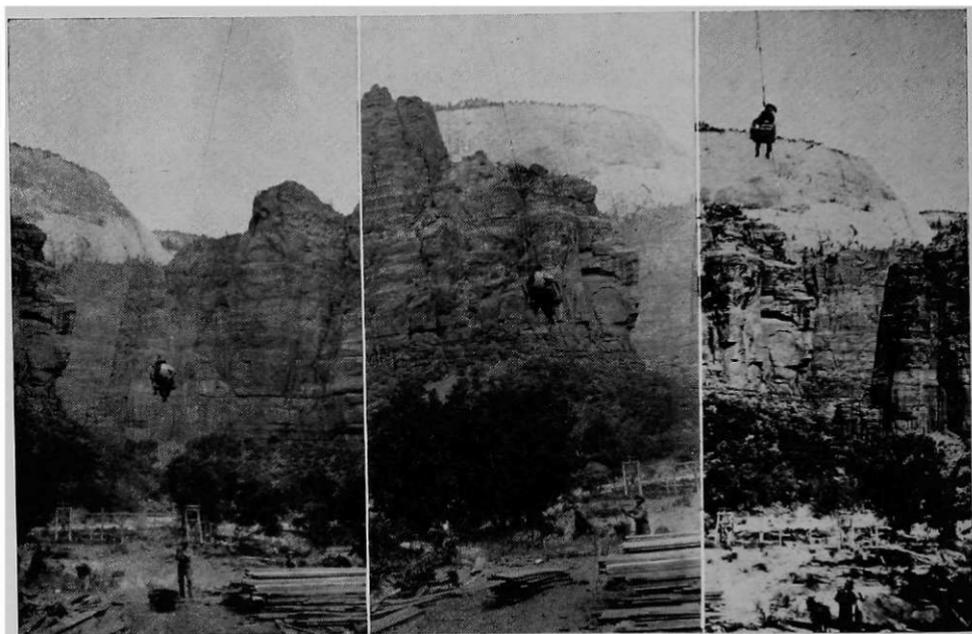
On March 5, Brigham Young visited Virgin and Rockville and organized the United Order. During March and April, nearly all the settlements in Dixie fell in line and a confederation of all the settlements, known as the St. George Stake United Order, was set up to correlate the activities of the individual settlements.

During late April and early May, Brigham Young moved northward to Salt Lake City, initiating the novel movement in many of the towns along the way, including Cedar, Parowan, Beaver, Fillmore and Nephi. Upon reaching Salt Lake City, a general agency to correlate the stake activities, known as the "United Order for all the World," was established.

The movement enjoyed only a brief period of prosperity. The utopian ideal encountered difficulties when it came to the division of benefits. Wages were assigned to each person and the benefits drawn were charged against each family. It was soon alleged that some were drawing more than their wages entitled them to, whereas others were not getting all that they felt they should.

In a few favored communities having access to large natural resources, such as abundant pasturage for livestock, either dairy or range, the produce was more than sufficient to pay the wages assigned and to build up a surplus capital. In most, however,

⁶¹For a detailed account of this experiment, cf. Edward J. Allen, *The Second United Order Among the Mormons* (New York, 1936).



(CABLE) THE ZION CABLE

Used after 1900 for lowering lumber from the forests over a 2700 foot cliff; occasionally served to carry human passengers.

Courtesy D. D. Rust, Provo, Utah.

where agriculture was the chief dependence and products of the farms were insufficient to pay wages, stinting was inevitable. Under such conditions, there was general dissatisfaction with the co-operative scheme and more progressive individuals sought to withdraw.

Many settlements abandoned the experiment at the end of the first season. Such was the case at Rockville, but Shunesburg and Springdale held on for another year, through 1875. A new ditch on higher ground was dug at Springdale at this time and the town was moved to its present location, half a mile north of its old site. This offered opportunity for expansion. The Gifford family from Shunesburg and several families from Rockville came to join the United Order in 1875.

It seems to have been the United Order movement which depopulated Zion Canyon. In 1872, Isaac Behunin, getting old, sold out to William Heap for two hundred bushels of corn, and moved to Mt. Carmel, then beginning to be resettled, where he later died. With the establishment of the United Order in Rockville in 1874, Heap and Rolf joined, turning over their property in Zion to the corporation. With the collapse of the Order in the fall, they withdrew their share of the proceeds and moved to Bear Lake and later to Star Valley, Wyoming.

These families were the last to live regularly in Zion Canyon. Farming, however, was still carried on by settlers living in the village below. Such names as Dennett, Gifford, Petty, Russell, Terry, Dalton, Crawford, Stout and Flanigan, recur as farmers in Zion in the following years. Oliver D. Gifford, long-time bishop of Springdale, related that about 1880 he was farming the land south of the river and west of the Great White Throne at the site of the grotto camp when the Great Red Arch fell out, the rock pulverizing and covering up a spring and large pine trees.

The Cable

Zion, since its discovery, had been regarded as a blind canyon. Even the Indian name, I-oo-goon (canyon like an arrow quiver), reflects this idea. Lee, Smith, Steele and their companions, who left Parowan on June 12, 1852, and explored the head-waters of the Sevier and Virgin, were balked by the Vermillion cliffs nearby, if not in Zion, in contemplating the possibilities of a road from the mountains to the lower valleys.

The early settlers of Rockville, needing timber from the mountains, had explored the probabilities of a road through the canyon without success. James H. Jennings recalls hearing Elijah Newman, an early settler of Rockville, tell that a team could be driven from the head of Parowan Canyon over Cedar Mountain to the rim of Zion Canyon and that he believed that some day a way

would be found through the cliffs so that timber could be hauled down from the mountain.

Brigham Young himself had encouraged the idea on one of his trips to the upper Virgin, probably in 1863. It is related that when the settlers were bewailing the lack of timber for flooring their cabins, he stated in public meeting that the day would come when hundreds of thousands of feet of lumber would be brought down the canyon. The wise ones shook their heads and remarked that their leader had missed it this time.

During the early seventies the mail from St. George to Kanab was routed via Shunesburg. It was lifted over the 1,500 foot cliff at the head of Shunesburg canyon on wires⁸⁹ arranged in such a way that the man at the top bringing the mail from Kanab could exchange with the man below, carrying it down the river. This short-cut saved a day's travel over the road via Pipe Springs and the Arizona Strip.

It was not until the new century had dawned, however, that young David Flanigan, who was but a small boy in the days of the Shunesburg wire-pulley apparatus, conceived the idea of lowering lumber over the cliffs by means of cables. As a lad of 15, in the spring of 1888, he and three other boys hunting on the East Rim of Zion had seen a large grove of yellow pine sawtimber and had stood at the top of the cliff later known as Cable Mountain, where the precipice appeared to reach almost to the floor of the canyon. The problem of lumber remained as acute then as it was in the days of his parents.

Ten years later, needing lumber for himself, he was forced to go to the Trumbull or Kaibab mountains, a trip requiring a full week. The advantage of obtaining lumber nearer home on the rim of Zion thus impressed itself upon him. He advocated the idea of lowering it on a cable but found no supporters. Convinced of the practical wisdom of the idea, he undertook the work alone in 1900. He bought 50,000 feet of wire and stretched it around pulleys and drums at top and bottom making a circular series, half of which had three wires, and half five. The five-ply half was to run around the drum where the weight would be greatest.

After two or three years of experimenting with pulleys and wire tension, he finally perfected his device. To cut the timber, he bought an old saw-mill in the summer or fall of 1904. Thus Flanigan's ingenuity made it possible for vast quantities of lumber to go down Zion Canyon. By Christmas, 1906, two hundred thousand feet of sawed lumber had actually been lowered on his cable.

It was during the summer of 1906 that the writer first visited Zion Canyon. From Orderville he faced a trip by horse to his home in St. George. Rather than retrace his steps by way of

⁸⁹Interview with B. A. Riggs, near Kanab, Utah, August 11, 1931.

Kanab and Pipe Springs, he inquired about the short-cut via Zion and was directed cross-country to the head of the old East Rim trail, which John Winder had recently made barely passable. Belated, he reached the top of the trail at sundown, and familiar as he was with mountaineering, started unhesitatingly on the 3,000 foot descent. Darkness found him well along the trail which grew increasingly hard to follow. About half way down, he met Winder and some cowboys coming up. They described the trail and said they had just lost a pack horse which had rolled over the cliffs below and they had been delayed in retrieving the pack.

A full moon was just coming up over the cliffs at his back, throwing light into the dark recesses along the way. With its help the steep, dangerous places on the trail were negotiated without difficulty. The dead pack horse was found beside the trail and the bottom of the canyon was reached about 11 p.m., when the full moon was shining into the depths of the canyon and towers and temples were illumined with snowy brightness. Camping there, he slept out the night in his saddle blankets under the enchanting witchery of the starry heavens between the brilliant walls that seemed to reach the sky.

In 1906 Flanigan sold out to Alfred P. Stout⁶⁹ and O. D. Gifford. They replaced his wire cable with a heavier twisted rope cable, which served for many years and over which millions of feet of lumber were lowered into the canyon and hauled to the settlements farther downstream. Stout established a shingle mill in Zion Canyon about a quarter of a mile below the cable and near the foot of the northeast corner of the Great White Throne. At first, large cottonwood logs were cut for shingles, but as these proved of inferior quality, yellow pine logs were supplied via cable. The shingle mill was washed away by floods two years later.

A sad accident occurred at the top of the cable on July 28, 1908. A party of young people vacationing on the east rim went over to see the cable operate from the top. Three of them were standing in the box at the edge, directly under the cable, looking into the depths of the canyon, when a bolt of lightning struck the cable, killing Thornton Hepworth, Jr., and stunning Clarinda Langston and Lionel Stout. Miss Langston fell limp on the edge of the box where she was in imminent danger of plummeting down the cliff. Miss Elza Stout, uninjured nearby, rescued her from the precarious position, but before assistance could be rendered him, a second bolt struck the wire and killed Lionel Stout. Miss Langston recovered, but the bodies of the two boys were lowered into the canyon over the cable.

It was more than a year later when people started to "ride the cable." About the middle of September, 1910, soon after Zion

⁶⁹Interview with Mrs. Mary Jane Stout at Hurricane, Utah, August 25, 1933.

had been proclaimed a national monument, some members of Scott P. Stewart's surveying party visited the top of the cable. They were told that a dog had been sent up from below and that he was nearly crazy when he reached the top. Quinby Stewart, a fearless youth, told them that if they would bring some watermelons up to the foot, he would go down on the cable and help eat them. True to his word, when the melons arrived he climbed on a load of lumber ready to be lowered, and holding to the cable, rode safely to the bottom. It was a swift flight of two minutes, and to a young man of his disposition a rousing thrill. Others followed suit, and after eating the melons, rode back to the top in the empty cage.

Riding the cable proved an attraction for those gifted with strong nerves. At a later date, Frank Petty came to operate the sawmill at the top of the cliff. He was a large man, weighing nearly 300 pounds, too heavy to travel comfortably up and down the trails, and the road around the Arizona strip to his home in Rockville being too long for convenience, he took to riding the cable. On one occasion, as he started down, the lumber on which he was riding struck the top of the cliff and loosened the chain holding one end of the load. His son, Frank, operating the brakes at the top, seeing the mishap, applied the brakes just in time to prevent his father from falling down the face of the 1,800 foot declivity. With a few inches of the lumber still clinging to the edge and his father paralyzed with fear and afraid to move for fear of jarring it loose, Frank climbed underneath and re-fastened the chain. With a sigh of relief, he then lowered his father in safety to the bottom.

Kane County and Arizona

Just as the settlement of Iron County had provided a stepping stone to the exploration and settlement of the Virgin River Valley, so in turn, the latter served in like stead in opening up Kane County and the Kaibab National Forest of northern Arizona.

In the fall of 1858, after Albert Sydney Johnston's army had entered Utah, Brigham Young, still doubtful about the future, instructed missionaries under Jacob Hamblin's leadership to cross the Colorado River to the southeast and visit the Moquis or Town Indians with the object of exploring the possibilities of retreating with his people to this region should the difficulties with the army become unbearable.⁶⁴

Accordingly, Jacob Hamblin, one of the leading figures in Utah's southern frontier, left the Santa Clara on October 28, 1858, with a party of twelve, including an Indian guide, a Spanish interpreter, and a Welsh interpreter, the last because of wildly erroneous reports that the Moquis spoke a variant of that tongue. The Indian led them through the Arizona strip via Pipe Springs

⁶⁴Creer, *Utah and the Nation*, 151.

and Kaibab to the old Ute ford where Escalante had crossed eighty-two years earlier. The visit to the Moquis was brief, some of the men returning in November, the others later in the winter. This expedition revealed the general topography between the Virgin and Colorado.

A second missionary expedition to the Moquis was undertaken in the fall of 1859, leaving the Santa Clara headquarters on October 20 and reaching the Moquis on November 6. Hamblin appointed Marion J. Shelton and Thales Haskell to remain there for the winter and returned home with the rest of the party.⁶⁶ Friendship with the Moquis was cultivated by the missionaries, but this seems to have led to difficulties with the Navajo.⁶⁶

When Jacob Hamblin led a third expedition across the Colorado River to reach the Moquis in the fall of 1860, he was met by a band of unfriendly Navajos who would not let the missionaries proceed and debated whether to kill them or let them go home. With the Mormons were several Indians, including two squaws. The Navajos offered to let the party go in peace if they would leave the squaws. This Hamblin refused to do, and an agreement was finally reached whereby the missionaries were allowed to return home in exchange for goods and ammunition.⁶⁷

They camped that night on a table-rock mesa where there was only a narrow passageway which was carefully guarded. Next morning, November 2, 1860, while some were exchanging goods with the Navajos, others took the horses down to water. As they were returning, the saddle horse of George A. Smith, Jr., started off on a side trail and he went after it alone. He found two Indians leading his horse away. The horse was readily turned over and Smith started back to camp. One of the Indians rode up alongside Smith and asked to see his revolver. Suspecting nothing, Smith handed it over. The Indian, after examining it, passed it back to the other Indian a few paces behind, who shot Smith three times. As he fell from his horse, the Indians dismounted and shot three arrows into his back.

The Indians then blockaded the trail to the Moquis towns, forcing the Mormons to retreat, who placed the dying man on a mule and started homeward with the Navajos in hot pursuit. Traveling thus, it was nearly dark before Smith died. His body had to be abandoned as the Navajos seemed unwilling to give up the chase until they had taken his scalp. The balance of the party returned home safely.

Reporting the loss of George A. Smith, Jr., was a sorrowful

⁶⁶Juanita Brooks, "The Journal of Thales Haskell," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII, pp. 69-98.

⁶⁶*Loc. cit.*, p. 81, 95, 96.

⁶⁷Juanita Brooks, ed., "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII, January-April, 1944, p. 42.

duty for Hamblin. The young man's father was deeply shocked, but like a good Saint, consoled himself with the thought that the Lord wished his son taken that way. Brigham Young sent instructions for a company of twenty men to retrieve the remains. Despite the hardships of mid-winter, they gathered up the few bones that were left of Smith's body and returned with them for interment.

Several other trips to the Moquis by different routes resulted in detailed knowledge of northern Arizona and southern Utah. Crossings of the Colorado were explored thoroughly and ferries were established at the south of the Virgin, at the mouth of the Grand Wash (1862) and at the foot of Grand Wash Cliffs about five miles upstream (Pearce's Ferry, 1863). These supplemented the old Ute ford in Glen Canyon. Further exploration did not reveal a more direct route until 1869, when the crossing later known as Lee's Ferry was discovered. These routes were so well explored that no better ones have been discovered since.

Stockmen began to graze their herds of cattle and sheep on the plains of the Arizona strip. Some time prior to 1863, W. B. Maxwell established a ranch at Short Creek; not long after, James M. Whitmore located ranches at Pipe Springs and Moccasin, and Ezra Strong of Rockville settled on Kanab Creek. In the spring of 1864, several ranches were established in the mountains and two settlements were started, one at the present site of Kanab, where a small fort was built, and another housing eight families at Berryville (later Glendale) in the north end of Long Valley. In the fall, Priddy Meeks located in the south end of the valley. He was joined the next spring (1865) by several settlers⁶⁶ from the Virgin River, who brought livestock for the range and nursery stock for orchards. The new settlement was called Winsor (later Mt. Carmel).

In the autumn, with indications of an impending rift between whites and Indians, the Winsor settlers moved to Berryville and helped build a stockade for protection during the winter. In the spring they returned and planted crops, but during the summer settlement was again interrupted by Indian difficulties and had to be abandoned.

⁶⁶These included William J. Jolley, Henry B. M. Jolley, Silas Hoyt and Henry Gardner.

Indian Troubles

The period following early settlement was marked by Indian troubles with both Paiutes and Navajos. These are sometimes called the Navajo raids, and in part were an outgrowth of the "Black Hawk War" which broke out in Sevier Valley, central Utah, in 1865. The whites had brought with them their livestock, which they grazed upon the public domain, turning the cattle and horses loose and herding the sheep. These animals multiplied rapidly and quickly depleted the edible fruits and seeds upon which the Indians subsisted. Indian resentment not unnaturally was inflamed, and with starvation staring them in the face, there was little left for them to do but beg or steal.

The Indians had claimed the lands, the vegetation and the wild game, and although they had given the first white men permission to come, yet so many others had followed, like the proverbial camel's nose, that they were destroying the means of subsistence of the Indians. Not only were seeds and fruits being eaten by the livestock, but game also was getting scarce and hard to find, due largely to encroachment of cattle and sheep which were taking the place of deer upon the range. The white man hunted the Indians' deer so why should not the Indian hunt the white man's cattle? There was some compensation to the Indians, however; they could glean in the grain fields of the settlers and gather waste grain as easily as they could seeds, and pine nut crops were uninjured by the whites.

Gradually, friendly feelings of the Indians for the settlers began to deteriorate. Begging in the settlements and the depredations on the range increased. The Paiutes in some instances aided and abetted the raiding Navajos, but the majority sided with the whites. The Navajos were wont to cross the Colorado, scatter into small bands, make swift raids on the Mormon settlements, gather up horses, cattle and sheep, and flee back across the river before they could be overtaken.

From the beginning a military force had been held in readiness against any emergency. As the southern Utah settlements expanded, improvements in this organization became advisable. In May, 1864, the Iron Military District was recast to include Beaver, Iron, Washington and Kane counties and William H. Dame of Parowan was named adjutant. Nearly all the eligible men were enrolled and companies of fifty were organized in towns wherever that many were available. Companies consisted of five platoons of ten men each, the first platoon of each company often being cavalry, the balance infantry. Three companies made a battalion and about seven battalions made a brigade. The men were occasionally called together for inspection and drill and sometimes these included battalion or brigade reviews. Training was em-

phasized during the Indian troubles between 1865 and 1869. On February 17, 1866, Erastus Snow, the Mormon leader at St. George, was elected Brigadier General and brigade headquarters were transferred from Parowan to St. George.

The Black Hawk War broke out in 1865 and was not settled until 1868. Nearly 3,000 men were enlisted and the cost was over a million dollars and at least seventy lives. This Ute unrest was contagious, and the Paiutes in turn were stirred into sporadic resistance.

Hostilities in the south began late in 1865, when, on December 18, a number of Paiutes raided Kanab and made away with some horses. During that winter Dr. James M. Whitmore and his son-in-law, Robert McIntyre, were herding sheep in the vicinity of Pipe Springs. Soon after the first of the new year, a band of Navajos and Paiutes stole a herd of Whitmore's sheep. The next day the two men went in pursuit and failed to return. This was reported to St. George and a cavalry detachment was organized under Captain David H. Cannon. As his force appeared inadequate, he sent an appeal from Pipe Springs for additional support. D. D. McArthur came from St. George to take charge and brought with him forty-seven men under James Andrus with wagons and supplies for an extended trip designed to drive the Navajos across the Colorado River. When they arrived at Pipe Springs, the snow was two feet deep and no trace of the sheep or men could be found. On January 18, they came upon the tracks of two Paiute Indians following a large steer, tracked them until sundown, and captured the Indians in the act of killing the beef.

After questioning and torture, hanging by the heels and twisting of thumbs, one of the Indians admitted that he had dreamed that Navajos had been there and then revealed the whereabouts of a camp of Indians about ten miles out. A detachment was sent and found that it had been moved another five miles. The militia overtook the camp about sunrise on January 20, killing two Indians and capturing five.

Third degree methods elicited information about the killing of Whitmore and McIntyre. The captives led another detachment to the scene of the killings, where the posse crisscrossed the area on horseback, uncovering the arm of one of the victims in the deep snow. Both bodies had bullet wounds and were riddled with arrows. They had been killed on January 10.

A wagon was sent after the bodies. While the men were recovering the remains the other detachment with the five Indian prisoners arrived. These had in their possession much of the clothing and personal effects of the murdered men. The evidence of guilt seemed conclusive, so the Indians were turned loose and shot as they attempted to run. The Navajos who probably assisted in the killing escaped. The sheep could not be found and it was as-

sumed the Navajos had taken them across the Colorado River. As pursuit was impossible because of the deep snow the party returned home. Charles L. Walker of St. George records in his diary:

They were brought home in a wagon load of snow, frozen stiff and in a good state of preservation. I, with others, washed them and pulled out the arrow points from their bodies and dressed them in their burial robes. Also went to the funeral, which was attended by a large concourse of people.⁶⁹

On February 19, 1866, two days after Erastus Snow was elected Brigadier General, Peter Shurtz, who had built a station at Paria and had kept about twenty Indians around him all winter, reported that he had lost his cattle and wished to move into the settlements. He also reported Navajos camped on Paria River about eight miles below his ranch where the Ute trail reached the stream.

Further information indicated that the Navajos were concentrated east of the Colorado at Cottonwood, intending to raid Kane County in force and that Captain James Andrus with thirty men had gone to Paria to get Peter Shurtz and his family and to reconnoiter. No report of this expedition is available, but a letter written by L. W. Roundy from Kanab on March 9, 1866, tells that Andrus had left Paria fourteen days earlier headed for an Indian camp twelve miles south.⁷⁰ At Kanab, three Indians had attempted to kill Oren Clark in the bottoms near the fort and had started to drive off the livestock. Four men from the fort rushed in pursuit and after dark recovered about thirty head of cattle, but the Indians escaped with about an equal number.

The Indian menace was so serious by this time that Erastus Snow ordered all stock in the region south of St. George and the Virgin River as far east as Kanab removed to the north and west of the lines of settlements so that it would be easier to ward off Navajo attacks. This was a difficult task because the grazing was poor around the settlements and the mountains to the northwest were already filled with livestock.

The threat from the Utes in upper Sevier Valley also became acute. Menacing behavior of the Indians in this area and in the Kanab region led to an order from Utah headquarters to General Erastus Snow (March 15) to send a company of men from Beaver and Iron counties over to the Sevier River to build and man an outpost between Circleville and Panguitch. A company of 76 men led by Captain Silas S. Smith served here from March 21 to November 30, 1866. They established Fort Sanford about ten miles north of Panguitch and assisted settlers at Circleville to move to

⁶⁹Charles L. Walker, "Journal" (Copy in the files of the Utah State Historical Society).

⁷⁰In files of the Adjutant General's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

safety. At Panguitch, they helped the settlers transform the town into a fort.

In the meantime, gathering the livestock from the exposed range was proceeding slowly. A party sent out from Rockville in April to round up the stock in the vicinity of Maxwell's Ranch, found the bodies of two men, a woman, and an Indian, killed a few days before. When the bodies were brought in to Grafton, it was ascertained that they were young Robert Berry, his wife, Isabel, and his brother, Joe, who were coming home to Berryville in Long Valley via the Dixie settlements and the Arizona Strip (a roundabout way, but the only wagon route at the time). They had left the Maxwell Ranch on Short Creek on April 2, 1866 when some Indians (presumably Paiutes), ambushed them.

According to verbal reports, as related by Mrs. John Dennett of Rockville (then a girl living in Long Valley and who pieced her story from Indian and white sources), the Berrys fought for their lives. The Indians shot one of the horses, rendering the wagon useless. In the fighting, one Indian was shot. Joe Berry loosened the other horse and tried to escape but was killed in so doing. The Indians closed in and captured Robert and his wife. They tied Robert to a wheel where he was forced to watch them torture Isabel, who was an expectant mother. They shot arrows into her and laughed at her as she tried to pull them out. Then they shot him full of arrows. Mrs. Dennett said her father always felt that the Berrys had been killed in revenge for some Indians slain by Long Valley men who had found them roasting a beef. At that time three were slain: an Indian, a squaw and a papoose.

When the Berry tragedy was reported in St. George, orders were issued forbidding travel unless in groups large enough to provide adequate safeguards. This led to the declaration of martial law, May 2, 1866, and to the issuance of instructions to concentrate the settlers in fortified places of at least 150 men. Patrols were ordered out in various directions, especially across the trails used by the Navajos in raiding the Mormon country and in contacting the rampaging Utes of Sevier County.

When Silas S. Smith, stationed on the Sevier, heard of the Berry massacre, he found that the Paiute chief at Panguitch had known about it for five days without reporting it to him. Smith at once ordered pickets to bring in all passing Indians for questioning. Friendly Indians responded willingly enough, but when two strange Indians refused, a skirmish resulted in which one was killed and the other wounded.

Smith decided to disarm the local Indians and surrounded one of their camps near Panguitch one morning before daylight and took their arms. Two visiting Indians were missing from the camp so he kept a guard awaiting their arrival. When they came, they showed fight. One of them was killed, whereupon the other surren-

dered. The next day Smith surrounded another camp soon after sunrise, but the natives had already fled. However, in the ensuing melee two more Indians were killed. The arms taken from them included several guns, many new arrows, and a peck of new arrow heads. Some escaped to Panguitch Lake and spread the alarm among the Indians there.

General Snow had a number of chiefs from Panguitch, Parowan, and Red Creek brought to Parowan for conference. He tried to pacify them with arguments and presents but insisted that they must not have arms or ammunition and must have passes in order to travel through the Mormon settlements. This aroused some resentment, but on April 25, 1866, they agreed to leave their weapons at Parowan as a token of friendship. Some of the Indians reported gunfire around Upper Kanab where Col. W. B. Maxwell was on lookout for Navajos.

With the declaration of martial law and the order to concentrate settlers in large towns, the outlying ranchers and people from the smaller villages began to move into Toquerville, Virgin and Rockville. In June, General Snow decided to abandon Long Valley. Mrs. John Dennett, who made the trek as a girl, recalled the line of wagons leaving Long Valley with armed guards in front and rear. While crossing the sand hills between there and Kanab, a small boy was run over and killed. A halt was made while the child was buried in the sand, but the exigencies of the situation forbade longer delay and the weeping mother was hastily torn from the fresh grave.

The settlers' train passed Kanab to the left and pushed on toward Pipe Springs. Near the mouth of Cottonwood Canyon (June 27) they ran into an ambush of Indians who, for some unexplained reason, failed to attack. J. M. Higbee reports⁷¹ that they called to the Indians to come in and talk or be shot. They came in and talked. According to Mrs. Dennett, there were seven or nine Indians taken into Pipe Springs for a council of war. The wagons were driven into a large circle, as was customary in times of danger, the Indians inside the circle in the center of the group of whites. Higbee says the Indians were told that if any more were found along the route of the caravan they would be shot. Mrs. Dennett adds that some of the Indians had guns and clothes belonging to the Berry boys, which greatly enraged a brother of the dead men, who pleaded to be allowed to revenge his kin. After this, no more Indians were seen on the trip.

In the late summer of 1866, Captain James Andrus⁷² was

⁷¹Letter of J. M. Higbee to W. H. Dame, July 10, 1866. Adjutant General's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁷²Report of expedition by Franklin B. Woolley for James Andrus, September 18, 1866, at St. George, to Brigadier General Erastus Snow, Adjutant General's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

ordered to investigate Indian routes crossing the Colorado River in the rough country between the Kaibab and the mouth of the Green River. A group of men was mustered into service from the Virgin River settlements at Gould's Ranch, twenty-six miles east of St. George, August 16, and moved on to Pipe Springs two days later, where final preparations were made. On the 21st, forty-six mounted men, each equipped with a rifle and two pistols, and with a pack horse bearing forty days' rations for each pair, started northeast toward the rough country. They went via abandoned Kanab and Scutumpah to the Paria River six miles above Paria settlement where they met another contingent of their party. Two days later, Joseph Fish with eighteen men arrived from Iron county. They located the Ute trail which passed down the Paria to the Colorado. Elijah Everett, sent back with some of the surplus animals, was killed by Indians in the hills west of Paria.

On August 29, the main party went northeast through the hills south of the Aquarius Plateau into a valley where they found wild potatoes growing (hence named Potato Valley, now Escalante Valley). They climbed the Plateau and looked off into the wild country stretching to the mouth of the Green River. Convinced that there was no use in going farther, they retraced their march on September 2, traveled to the northwest corner of the plateau, descended to the Sevier River Valley and reached Circleville. They had been pathbreakers from Paria to this point. From here they returned via Parowan and Cedar City.

The settlements were now prepared for attack. An Indian raid was made on John D. Lee's ranch near Beaver on October 23, 1866, and in November, General Snow learned that the Navajos were concentrating east of the Colorado for new raids on Kane County. Soon a friendly Paiute reported that the Navajos were nearing Pipe Springs.

The crops planted in Long Valley had been left in the care of friendly Paiutes when the settlers left. In the fall, the Berry boys and others went back to harvest the best crop that had yet been grown there. It took several trips to haul the produce to the Dixie settlements. During their last trip, Snow received a report of an attack of sixteen Navajos on three white men at Maxwell's Ranch, in which Enoch Dodge was wounded. Snow sent men to Long Valley and instructed A. P. Winsor to throw an intercepting force between the settlements and the fords of the Colorado, to recover lost stock and find out whether the raiders were Navajos or Paiutes. He was promised that other men would be held in readiness if needed.

While this force was on the road, the Long Valley party started home with a wagon train. On October 31, when the teams were spread out doubling up Elephant hall, about nine miles south of Mt. Carmel, Indians attacked near the summit and shot Hyrum Stevens.

The pioneers abandoned the train and left everything in the hands of the Indians. Stevens was taken with the others on horseback (with a man behind to hold him in place) around the head of Zion Canyon on a three-day trip over the Old Indian Trail and down over Kolob to Virgin. He survived the ordeal and returned to his home at Rockville, where he lived to a ripe old age.

When a rescue party under Captain Sixtus E. Johnson arrived a week later, November 5, they found the wagons unattended, tongues broken and contents scattered. The Indians had taken five yoke of oxen, eleven horses and everything they could carry, including harness, flour and wheat. Four Paiutes, however, had pursued the Navajos and recaptured the cattle and harness.

Finding the teamsters gone, Johnson gathered up the livestock that had scattered back along the way to Long Valley. Then a second rescue party under Major Russell from Rockville arrived with the Paiutes who had retrieved the harness and cattle. They took the caravan into Virgin, arriving November 11.

On November 26, Major John Steele reported signal fires on the mountain south of Virgin City and General Snow issued an order to establish posts at the mouth of (Black) Rock Canyon sixteen miles southeast of St. George and near Gould's Ranch, eight miles south of Virgin City.⁷⁸ The men at these posts were to serve as guards as well as herders of livestock and were to build stone quarters; the "house to be covered with stone flagging or earth in a manner that it cannot be fired from the outside, with but one door and that heavy and strongly barred, so that one or two men, well armed, may defend themselves against any number of Indians."

Despite these precautions, the Navajos scattered in small bands, easily passed through the military posts, and hid in the mountains north of St. George. On the evening of December 28, word reached Harrisburg from local Paiutes that some Navajos had killed and dried three beeves between Grapevine Springs and Toquerville. Captain J. D. L. Pearce, with fifteen men from Washington, at once took up their trail along Harrisburg Creek toward Pine Valley Mountain but failed to overtake them.

In the meantime, on December 28, near Pine Valley, Cyrus Hancock saw three Indians skulking on the range and called to them. The Indians proved hostile and tried to capture him. One seized his horse's bit and another tried to shoot him with an arrow. He slid off his horse and ran toward Pine Valley, the Indians in pursuit. One of them shot him in the arm with an arrow. He stumbled and fell as they yelled in triumph, but he regained his footing and outran them into the valley. These Indians were thought to have been hiding around the town for two or three days, quietly

⁷⁸Order No. 16, November 29, 1866, by General Erastus Snow, Adjutant General's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

gathering stock. As soon as discovered, they left with about thirty horses and passed down the Black Ridge between St. George and Middleton on the night of December 28, gathering more horses at both places and hastening southwest via Fort Pearce Wash.

Col. D. D. McArthur immediately ordered out all available cavalry in pursuit of the thieves, who had an entire day's start. An expedition of thirty men headed by Lt. Copelan followed the Indian trail from the Washington Fields past Fort Pearce, through Black Rock Canyon and out toward Pipe Springs where it met another detachment returning from an Indian encounter.

Captains J. D. L. Pearce and James Andrus were at Harrisburg on the evening of December 29, when an express carrying instructions to Colonel Winsor at Rockville arrived. Upon reading the instructions they started for Rockville and arrived at dawn. Thirty men gathered and pushed on to Maxwell's ranch where they arrived that evening. After resting an hour, they hastened on to Cedar Ridge and five miles southeast of Pipe Springs. Sixtus E. Johnson spotted the smoke of Indian fires curling up in the distance, about half a mile from the place where Whitmore and McIntyre had been killed. The men slipped into a wash and kept out of sight until within gunshot of the Indians, when they made a dash to get between them and their horses. Firing opened and the Indians took to the rocks. The skirmish lasted nearly an hour and covered a rough area half a mile wide and three miles long. The thirteen Navajos in the band refused to yield even when cornered, and several died fighting. During the fray an arrow aimed at Captain Andrus struck his horse in the forehead, saving the rider. One mortally wounded Indian continued to shoot until he fainted. Another, wounded in both legs, fired until his arrows were spent and then kept twanging his bow as if shooting as long as the fray lasted.

When all was quiet the whites gathered together and found that none was injured. Two Indians who had escaped came out on a hill some distance away where they felt safe and slapped their seats in derision and yelled "Squaw! Squaw!" in defiance. A man named Warren, from Pine Valley, who had an extra long range breechloading gun took a chance shot and brought one of them down. The other fled.

Of the thirteen Indians, four were killed, seven wounded and two escaped, only one on horseback. Three horses were lost, but the balance and the thirteen cattle were recovered and brought back. Copelan's party returned on January 1, 1867 but Pearce and Andrus tarried two or three days longer. General Snow was in Salt Lake City at the time and his responsibility fell largely upon Captain J. D. L. Pearce and Adjutant Henry Eyring, his assistant.

The concentration in the larger towns and the military control of the movements of people in the region tended to reduce the danger to the settlers. Tension with the local Paiute Indians was

gradually eased, although the Navajo raids continued for several years. Jacob Hamblin, Utah's "Leatherstocking," played an important role in quieting the Paiutes. In the fall of 1867, he was instructed to keep in touch with the Indians and do his best to pacify them. He went to Kanab, where he helped them plant corn and vegetables and had peace parleys with them, urging the Paiutes to cooperate in preventing Navajo raids by watching the fords of the Colorado and the trails leading to the settlements.

In November, 1868, a band of about thirty Navajos crossed the river on foot on a marauding expedition. They divided into squads of two or three and worked at night in different quarters so rapidly as to baffle the pickets. They got away with some stock, although twenty-seven horses were recovered from them on the 25th at Black Canyon, by Andrus and his command.

Notice of their presence came on November 22 from Henry Jennings to Erastus Snow at St. George. The next day local Indians reported tracks around St. George, and General Snow ordered the livestock along the Virgin gathered together and herded under armed guard. He placed pickets along the river for fifteen miles and sent Col. J. D. L. Pearce with a company of cavalry to guard the rough country passes from Black Rock Canyon (25 miles southeast of St. George) to Pipe Springs. Two days later, word came from Washington that the Navajos had made off with a band of horses via Black Rock Canyon. On the night of the 26th, a party of these Indians with about twenty horses eluded the guards not far from Pipe Springs and made their way eastward. A detachment under Captain Willis Copelan started in pursuit. He chased the Navajos and was about to overtake them, but before he attacked, some friendly Paiutes encountered the Navajos, gave battle and killed two. They recovered the horses and willingly turned them over to Copelan on his arrival. The Paiutes were rewarded with suitable presents.

By December 1, 1868 Pearce concluded that the Navajos had decamped, and started home, moving from Pipe Springs to Cedar Ridge. On that same day, however, Erastus Snow received word from J. W. Young on the Muddy River in Nevada, sixty miles below St. George, that the Navajos had run off with eighteen horses and mules. Snow sent word to Pearce to be on his guard. A posse of whites and Paiutes set out in pursuit from Mesquite. The Indians overtook the Navajos and recovered eleven of the horses.

The messenger carrying this news reached Col. Pearce at Cedar Ridge at 4 a.m., December 2, and at daybreak scouts were sent out. Captain Freeman found their trail and started after them with several men, being joined by Captain Copelan. They sighted the Navajos' dust, but could not overtake them and the chase had to be abandoned.

A raid in February 1869 caused such concern that another expedition (February 25 to March 12) of thirty-six men, under the leadership of Captain Willis Copelan was sent out to deal with it⁴. As usual, the Navajos struck swiftly and fled before the expedition arrived. At Pipe Springs, Copelan watched the passes, hunted the surrounding region for the raiders and found they had gone east. On March 1, with twenty men he started in pursuit of the raiders. About eight miles out he struck a trail where the Indians had been driving about fifty head of cattle. During the next five days he followed the trail around the north end of Buckskin Mountain (Kaibab) across Paria and Warm Springs Creek to the old Ute ford on the Colorado River. Finding the quarry had escaped, he returned home, arriving at St. George March 12.

During the fall, fresh raids by the Navajos created yet another scare. A band raided settlements north of St. George and drove off stock. This time Colonel James Andrus was detailed to lead a foray against the marauders. He started up the Virgin River gathering fourteen recruits. Then he went to Pipe Springs where he received word that another band of Navajos had raided near Pinto. He hastened toward Pinto to intercept them, passing via Kanab and Scutumpah. Near Paria, he found a trail where some Navajos had escaped with an estimated eighty head of livestock. Here Andrus learned that the Paiutes had attacked and wounded a Navajo in a running fight, and that other raiders were on the way back from Pinto.

Andrus and his men waited until November 10 and finding no signs of the Indians, started home. The detachment had not gone far when they encountered a fresh Navajo trail made by an estimated twelve horses and two men. They caught up with the Indians early the next day just as they were passing into a narrow gorge of the Paria canyon. There were actually eight Indians with twelve horses, traveling leisurely. Under the detachment's fire, two Navajos fell; the rest disappeared into the narrows. A few minutes later they re-appeared on the canyon cliffs on both sides of Andrus' force. Bullets from the Indian rifles soon convinced Andrus that discretion was the better part of valor and he retired.

The Navajos were adroit raiders. In rounding up stock they would often camouflage themselves with bush foliage, crawling past the unsuspecting guards to stampede the herd. Or they would skin a young steer, leaving hoofs and horns in place and throw the hide over a brace of Indians, who would steal to the corral under cover of darkness, let down the bars, and quietly drive the stock away.

These raids were costly. Not only did the settlers live in con-

⁴Copy of the journal of a scouting expedition against marauding Navajo Indians, February 25 to March 12, 1869 by Edwin G. Woolley, Adjutant, filed in Adjutant General's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

stant fear, but a heavy toll of livestock, estimated in 1869 at 1200 horses and cattle, was taken. Men had to be continually on the alert and peaceful pursuits were interrupted to furnish posses to chase the Indians. When Major J. W. Powell of the U. S. Geological Survey was exploring the Kanab region in 1870, he expressed grave concern about the losses the Mormon settlers were suffering because of the raids.⁷⁶ In October, Jacob Hamblin decided to accompany Major Powell on a peace mission to the Navajos when the latter was leaving to return to Washington, D.C.⁷⁶ They reached Fort Defiance in eastern Arizona at a time when 6,000 Navajos were gathered there for their annual allotments from the Federal government.

All the Navajo chiefs but one were present and met in council to consider Hamblin's proposal. Powell introduced Hamblin by saying that he represented the Mormons from the other side of the Colorado River who were helping to pay the taxes from which the annual allotments to the Navajos were made. Hamblin, in turn, pointed to the disastrous consequences of the war and the advantages of peace. Through war the Navajos had lost twenty or thirty men; with peace they could herd their livestock in distant places where forage was good without fear of molestation. He proposed, in place of war, a peaceful settlement of difficulties and trade with the Mormons.

After several days of consultation, peace was agreed upon. The council appointed one of the chiefs, Hastele, who lived near the Colorado River, as negotiator who ended by saying, "We hope we may be able to eat at one table, be warmed by one fire, smoke one pipe and sleep under one blanket." Thus was peace promised, though it was soon again to be put in jeopardy. Hamblin reached Kanab with the good news about December 11, 1870.⁷⁷

Within a few weeks, a group of eighty Navajos arrived at Kanab on a trading expedition. They came on foot and brought all the Navajo blankets they could carry. They scattered among the settlements and traded their blankets for horses and returned well satisfied with the experiment.

Peaceful trading continued until the winter of 1873-74, when a party of four young Navajos was caught in a snowstorm near a ranch in Grass Valley, Sevier County. They made themselves at home at the ranch and even killed a small animal for food. The owner of the ranch, said to be a non-Mormon, learned of their presence and gathered some of his friends to go with him to investigate. At the ranch, they shot and killed three of the Indians and

⁷⁶Cf. J. W. Powell, ed., *The Colorado River* (Washington, D.C., 1875), pp. 128-132.

⁷⁷James Little, ed., *Autobiography of Jacob Hamblin* (Salt Lake City, 1909), p. 106. (Hamblin erroneously dates the peace trip 1871.)

⁷⁸Little, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

wounded the fourth, who escaped and after painful hardships made his way home.⁷⁸

His story inflamed Navajo vengefulness and disquieting reports reached the Mormons of threatened reprisals. Brigham Young asked Hamblin to visit the Navajos again and satisfy them that the Mormons were not involved in the outrage. Bishop Levi Stewart of Kanab, however, tried to dissuade Hamblin and even sent a messenger to induce him to return after he had started, urging that the risk was too great.

Firm in his purpose, Hamblin went his way and met the Navajos east of Moencopi, about January 29, 1874. Hastele, the representative appointed by the Navajos, was not there, but other influential Indians considered Hamblin's statement. The war council was held in a Navajo hogan, to which there was but one entrance opposite Hamblin and his two companions, while two dozen Navajos occupied the space between.

Hamblin's explanation of the killings was at first rejected on the ground that it was he who had invited the Navajos to come into the Mormon country to trade, with the result that three of their good young men now lay on the ground "for the wolves to eat." The interpreter told Hamblin his companions could go home, but he must die. The moment was tense. His companions refused to leave him. Without arousing suspicion, Hamblin passed several revolvers to his friends, saying as he did so, "These are in my way." The men behind unobtrusively readied them in case of emergency. Hamblin reminded the Indians of his many friendly acts, of his willingness to come into their midst to settle the matter, and told them it was not right to kill him for the acts of strangers for whom he was not responsible. The wounded Indian was brought in. A stirring appeal for revenge was made by a young warrior, who demanded that Hamblin be the victim.

The Indians, however, after the excitement subsided, offered to settle for three hundred and fifty horses and cattle. Hamblin deliberately refused. One of them remarked that he would agree after he had been stretched over the hot coals of the fire. The interpreter asked if he were not afraid. "No," he said, "my heart has never known fear. What is there to scare me?" "The Navajos," was their answer, to which he replied that he "was not afraid of his friends." Mollified, the Indians finally agreed to leave the matter to be settled by Hastele after an investigation.

Late that spring, Hastele and his party visited Kanab and were piloted to Sevier Valley where their findings convinced them that the Mormons were innocent. Thus ended the last threat to peaceful relations with the Navajos. Thereafter, both groups traded on good terms largely due to the outstanding bravery and cool judgment of Jacob Hamblin.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 119.

Expansion in Kane County

Re-settlement of Long Valley and Kanab does not seem to have been attempted until 1870, although Kanab and Paria were occupied by missionaries under Jacob Hamblin in 1867 as frontier outposts. At Paria a strong guard house and corral was built and some land was cultivated, beginnings out of which the settlement grew with the accession of several families in 1872 and 1873.

Kanab was similarly restored. The necessity of a fort there was impressed upon the whites by the continued Navajo raids. Five stone masons were sent from St. George in 1869 to construct the fort. They reached Kanab on August 28 and worked until early in September, when John R. Young told them they had finished their mission and could go home.

This building expedition brought new settlers to Kanab, for John Mangum (or Mangram), his brother, James, James Wilkins, and George Ross, moved there soon after. Nate Adams, who visited Kanab in September, 1870, and who moved there March 14, 1871, says the first three were in hiding and that John D. Lee, also in hiding, took up Scutumpah Ranch and explored Lee's Ferry in 1869. Several missionaries were sent to aid Hamblin about the same time. They were fencing and cultivating land when Brigham Young made his first visit to the Kanab country about the 1st of April, 1870. George Albert Smith wrote of this visit:

At Kanab we met Brothers Jacob Hamblin and Jehiel MacConnel [McConnell], and several other missionaries, who were engaged in teaching the Indians how to cultivate the soil and to obtain a living by peaceful pursuits. We were much pleased with the country. . . . As soon as measures shall be taken to prevent the annual raids of the Navajos, this land of Canaan will be re-occupied by the Saints and become a valuable acquisition to our southern settlements.⁷⁹

A pioneer Salt Lake photographer, C. R. Savage, took many pictures along the way, including one of Brigham Young and his party on the Colorado at the mouth of the Virgin, and several of Zion Canyon.

Upon his return to Salt Lake City on April 16, 1870, Brigham Young sent a group of fifty-two people led by Levi Stewart, to re-settle the Kanab country. They went down through the Dixie

⁷⁹"Journal History," Letter dated April 5, 1870.

settlements and reached Pipe Springs on June 1. They remained there and at Moccasin Springs several days while exploring the region.⁸⁰ On the 14th they moved over to Kanab Creek and joined Jacob Hamblin at the old fort, now too small to house so many.

Brigham Young manifested much interest in the success of the colony. He promised Stewart that he would visit him in the fall and asked him to find a more direct route to Kanab from the north that would obviate the long roundabout approach through the Dixie settlements and the Arizona strip. Stewart sent out two expeditions, the second of which found a road from the head of the Sevier River through Upper Kanab and Johnson Wash.

Brigham Young started for Kanab on August 26, 1870. Accompanying him from Parowan was the intrepid explorer and topographer of the U. S. Geological Survey, Major J. W. Powell, who had already made one trip through the Grand Canyon and was returning to make plans for further geological studies and his second trip through the canyon.⁸¹ In attempting to follow Stewart's directions, the party lost its way and wandered into the Paria River valley and thus went many miles out of its direct route. According to Nate Adams,⁸² "old Humpy Indian" guided the company safely into Kanab on the evening of September 9, 1870. While there, a townsite and fields were surveyed east of the fort beyond the path of the canyon winds. Brigham Young returned to Salt Lake City via St. George and the Dixie settlements.

Three months later, on December 14, 1870, six lives were lost in a fire at the fort. These included Bishop Stewart's wife, Margery, and three of his sons.⁸³ Brigham Young made a special trip to Kanab from St. George, where he was wintering, to comfort the bereaved families. Soon after, the settlers began to build their homes on the townsite. Within a few years, the fort was deserted but it was maintained for some time for use in case of emergency. Dellenbaugh, a member of Major J. W. Powell's party, thus describes his visit to Kanab in the early 70's:

. . . Nigger, [a white mule] went along very well and I was in Kanab by three o'clock. The village which had been started only a year or two, was laid out in the characteristic Mormon style, with wide streets and reg-

⁸⁰These included, in addition to Levi Stewart, Moses M. Farnsworth, Allan Frost, Edward A. Noble, John Rider, John Morgan, William Thompson, Edward Cooke, Caleb D. Brinton, Mr. Burt, and families.

⁸¹Letter from A. Milton Musser, September 10, 1870, published in *Deseret News*, and collated in "L.D.S. Journal History."

⁸²Interview at Kanab, Utah, October 21, 1933.

⁸³The Life of Levi Stewart," biographical sketch by his granddaughter, Margery Browne Cottam (copy in files of A. M. Woodbury).

ular lots fenced by wattling willows between stakes. Irrigating ditches ran down each side of every street and from them the water, derived from a creek that came down a canyon back of the town, could be led into any of the lots, each of which was about one quarter of an acre; that is, there were four lots to a block. Fruit trees and vines had been planted and were already beginning to promise near results, while corn, potatoes, etc., gave fine crops. The original place of settlement was a square formed by one-story log houses on three sides and a stockade on the fourth. This was called the fort and was a place of refuge though the danger from Navajo attack seemed to be over and that from any assault by the Paiutes certainly was past. One corner of the fort was made by the walls of the schoolhouse, which was at the same time meeting-house and ball-room. Altogether there were about 100 families in the village. The houses that had been built outside the fort were quite substantially constructed, some of adobe or sun-dried brick. The entire settlement had a thrifty air, as is the case with the Mormons. Not a grog-shop, or gambling saloon, or dance-hall was to be seen; quite in contrast with the usual disgraceful accompaniments of the ordinary frontier towns. A perfectly orderly government existed, headed by a bishop appointed by the church authorities in Salt Lake City, the then incumbent of this office being an excellent man, Bishop Stewart.*

After the Navajo peace settlement many of the places abandoned in 1866 were reoccupied and within a few years further expansion filled most of the remaining areas suitable for settlements or ranches. In Long Valley, Berryville (now Glendale), and Winsor (Mt. Carmel) were revived in 1871. Johnson was settled in the spring of the same year by five brothers, Joel, Benjamin, Joseph, George and William Johnson, on the site of Scutumpah, formerly John D. Lee's ranch. In 1872, Graham, on the headwaters of Kanab Creek (upper Kanab), was reoccupied and the settlers engaged in dairying and lumbering.

The upper reaches of the Paria, however, attracted settlers from the north. Panguitch was re-founded in March, 1871 under George W. Sevy and counted seventy-five families the next year. Joel H. Johnson and George D. Wilson established a saw-mill in 1871 near the present location of Hillsdale, and were soon joined by twenty families, including those of Nephi and Seth Johnson. Other cattlemen located farther up the Sevier, where

*F. S. Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage* (New York, 1908), pp. 166-167.

Meltiar Hatch founded the village bearing his name. Nephi Johnson, discoverer of Zion Canyon, was made bishop of Hillsdale in 1874.

Attention was then focused on the upper Paria. The first settlers, David O. Littlefield and Orley D. Bliss, located near the present site of Cannonville on Christmas Eve, 1874. Early the next day eight other families arrived, who built log houses at a place called Clifton and began farming along the Paria and on Henrieville Creek. Ebenezer Bryce, from Pine Valley, selected a place farther upstream, a mile or two east of the present site of Tropic near the mouth of Bryce Canyon. Bryce used the famous canyon for a cattle range, and thus immortalized his name.

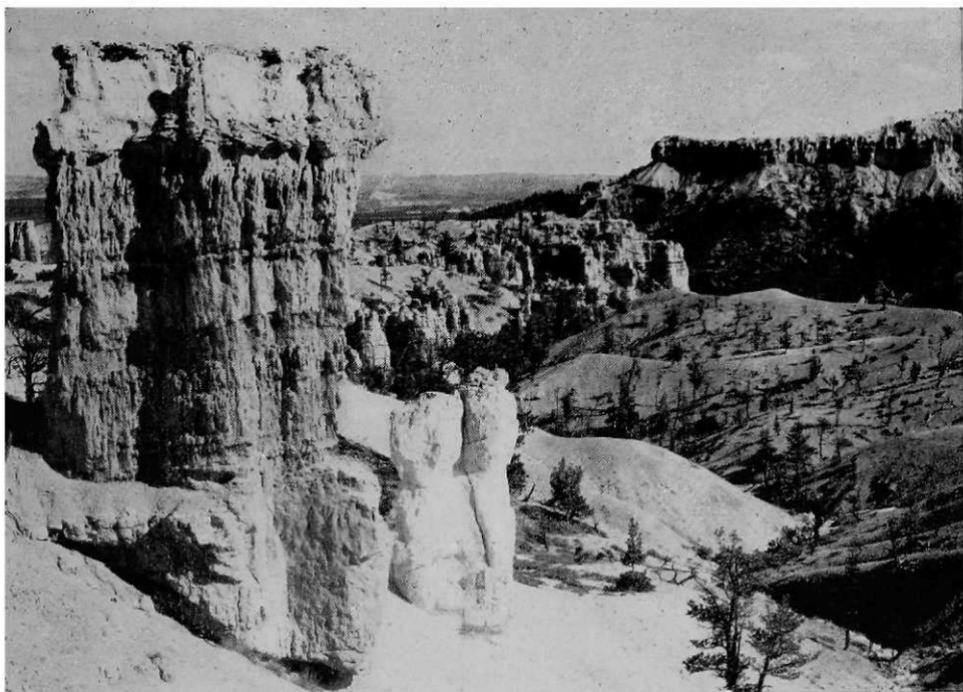
Clifton was not well located and in 1877 some settlers moved to a new townsite called Cannonville, in honor of George Q. Cannon, high Mormon official who had taken a special interest in their affairs. Other settlers moved over to Henrieville Creek to be near their farms, and thus the town of Henrieville (named for James Henrie, president of Panguitch Stake) was born.

In 1879 Daniel Goulding settled near Bryce's ranch. Seeking water for irrigation, he and Bryce devised a scheme to divert water from Pine Creek in the Great Basin by means of a canal over the divide. This they finished, but upkeep was expensive, their crops were poor, and Goulding lost about five hundred fruit trees from drouth. Bryce became discouraged and left for Arizona in 1880 and Goulding moved to Henrieville in 1883. Bryce, unimpressed by the beauty of the canyon, considered it "awful hard to find a cow that was lost" in the intricate maze of its pinnacles.

Seth Johnson and several others located in 1886 on Yellow Creek (Kane County) about three miles southwest of Cannonville and named the settlement Georgetown, in honor of the same man for whom Cannonville was named.

In 1890 the two Ahlstrom brothers built homes on the present site of Tropic and with several others began a second and more ambitious attempt to divert water from the East Fork of Sevier River over the divide into Paria Creek. This time the project succeeded. Tropic townsite was surveyed in 1891 and settlers began to flock there and prepare homes and lands in anticipation of the coming of the water. A fitting celebration was staged on May 23, 1892, when the water was turned into the canal.

By this time, most of the suitable valleys and canyons had been occupied. Erosion, however, caused trouble at Kanab. From 1883 to 1890, floods presumably resulting from overgrazing tore out dams and ditches and gutted the canyons and valleys with deep washes. Water arose in the bottom of the washes and that in Kanab Wash (below Kanab) was diverted about 1886 onto a new townsite just beyond the state line in Arizona, called Fredonia, which later served as a refuge for a number of



BRYCE CANYON (Two Views)

Ebenezzer Bryce, early settler, who gave it his name, thought of it as "an awful place to lose a cow!"

Courtesy U. S. National Park Service.

polygamous wives during the Federal offensive against the practice.⁸⁵

While southern Utah was thus growing, a new movement was developed. In 1879, the Mormon Church leaders called for eighty men from the Southern Mission to establish an outpost for the purpose of "cultivating and maintaining friendly relations with Indians whose homes were near the point where the state of Colorado and the Territories of Utah, New Mexico and Arizona come together." Twenty-five men, including Kumen Jones, went out to investigate routes and locations. They traveled via Lee's Ferry, Tuba City and Monument Valley to the San Juan River as far as Four-Corners, spent about three months exploring the region, and then returned home via a northern route, past the sites of Monticello and Moab.⁸⁶

While they were away, another party set out from Escalante seeking a short-cut to the San Juan country. A route much more direct than that mapped by the first party was reported, apparently on imperfect observation. It was, however, accepted, and by October the party was on its way. It passed through Escalante and reached Forty-mile Spring where it was held up by excessively rough country, while snows in the mountains blocked retreat.

Three scouts were sent ahead to investigate some of the wildest and most rugged scenic areas of America. The three returned in disappointment; one held the route feasible, another positively rejected it, while the third thought it might be possible to get through with special help. Envoys were sent to Salt Lake City to appeal for assistance, which was given in the form of a legislative appropriation for blasting a way through.

It took fifty days to get eighty-two wagons through Hole-in-the-Rock and down to the Colorado River and ninety days to reach Bluff on the San Juan River where the first settlement was made. Three babies were born on the way and the hardships endured form a Western epic.⁸⁷

The story of Orderville has been left for the last. The United Order⁸⁸ was organized at Mt. Carmel, March 20, 1874,

⁸⁵Fredonia—Suggested by Erastus Snow, allegedly from "free" and "dona" (Spanish for lady or woman), thus, "free woman." Actually, the name is simply a variant of "freedom," invented shortly after 1800 by a certain Dr. Charles Mitchell, according to George R. Stewart, *Names on the Land* (New York, 1945), p. 173.

⁸⁶Kumen Jones, "First settlement of San Juan County, Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 1 (January, 1929).

⁸⁷"Journal of Josephine Catherine Chatterly Wood," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, pp. 128-136.

⁸⁸Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion" and Emma Carroll Seegmiller, "Personal Memories of the United Order of Orderville," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, 1939.

by John R. Young, at which time one hundred and nine members were listed. One summer of the United Order was enough for most members. Bishop Bryant Jolley, with his numerous family and relatives, formed the core of the dissenters. To avoid contention, those who wished to continue with the Order sold their holdings and moved in a body two miles above Mt. Carmel where title to all land was vested in the group and where they set up the town Orderville, under the leadership of Howard O. Spencer. The new town was surveyed February 20, 1875.

The first building was a hotel where all ate together in the large dining hall, from July, 1875 to May, 1880. As time passed, living quarters were provided for each family and work was divided into more specialized fields.

During the hey-day of the Order, around 1880, it numbered nearly six hundred adherents and there were some twenty-eight specialized departments of work which included most of the various activities that go to make up a simple community. The Order made great progress and acquired property rapidly. Farming lands were expanded to include areas scattered through Long Valley and at Kanab.

The growing power of the Order created jealousies, but disintegration came from internal dissension. The idea of giving everyone an equal reward regardless of ability or accomplishment tended in many cases to lessen effort and brought charges of laziness and carelessness.

Gradually, more and more individual property was assigned to each home; farmers were given a share of their own produce and livestock and sawmills and freighting were operated under lease or contract. Matters were hastening toward dissolution when, in 1885, polygamy troubles began. Fear that the Federal government might confiscate the goods of the Order forced the final dissolution of most of the property, and farming lands, livestock, ranches, tannery and sawmill, were all sold to members. The woolen mill alone was kept and intermittently operated until 1900. In that year the United Order of Orderville was officially dissolved, twenty-five years after its incorporation.

Zion Canyon

"In an instant, there flashed before us a scene never to be forgotten. In coming time it will, I believe, take rank with a very small number of spectacles each of which will, in its own way, be regarded as the most exquisite of its kind which the world discloses. The scene before us was the Temples and Towers of the Virgin." Thus prophetically wrote Captain Clarence E. Dutton of the U. S. Geological Survey in a report published in the year 1880.

Dutton was following up the geological work begun by Major J. W. Powell ten or twelve years earlier when the latter started out to explore the Colorado River and made his two memorable trips in boats down the river through the Grand Canyon. The geological problems encountered were so extraordinary that Dutton was detailed to further investigation and encountered problems that have engaged the attention of scientists to this day, particularly the eminent geologist, Dr. Herbert E. Gregory.

Following the line of Vermillion Cliffs from Kanab westward, Dutton came to the pass between Eagle Crags and Smithsonian Butte when suddenly, startlingly, there lay before him to the northward the valley of the Virgin River in all its grandeur.

Few have seen Zion as Clarence Dutton saw it. From a high pass, in late afternoon, with the sun on his left, he looked into that vast panorama of the Vermillion Cliffs of Zion and Parunuweap and those flanking the Great West Canyon as well—a twenty-mile stretch in one sweeping view. The setting sun cast shadows that made the turrets and towers stand out in bold relief, while the light reflected from one wall upon another intensified the tints and shades of the reds until they stood out in striking contrast with the vivid green of the vegetation and the higher cliffs. No wonder the cold scientist broke down and described in emotional terms this superb panorama.

Forerunners of Dutton had visited Zion, but none had penned such eloquent praise. Major J. W. Powell and two companions, Stephen V. Jones, one of his topographers, and Joseph W. Young, a Mormon, left Long Valley on September 10, 1872⁸⁹ and started down through the Parunuweap on foot. They came out next day before noon and spent another day visiting Zion Canyon. Of this trip, Powell says of the Parunuweap:

At noon, we are in a canyon 2500 feet deep and we come to a fall where the walls are broken down, and the huge rocks beset the channel, on which we obtain a foothold to reach a level two hundred feet below.

⁸⁹Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

Here the canyon is again wider and we find a floodplain on which we can walk.

Next day of the Mukuntuweap Canyon, he writes:

Entering this, we have to wade up the stream; often the water fills the entire channel, and although we travel many miles, we find no floodplain, talus, or broken piles of rock at the foot of the cliff. The walls have smooth, plain faces, and are everywhere very regular and vertical for a thousand feet or more, where they seem to break in shelving slopes to higher altitudes; and everywhere as we go along, we find springs bursting out at the foot of the walls.⁹⁰

Jack Hillers, a photographer from Powell's party, spent some time during the summer of 1873 taking pictures in Zion Canyon. These are on file in the U. S. Geological Survey Office and have been often used in publications. For a long time, however, this material and Zion Canyon were largely forgotten. The local course of development continued placidly for many years. Only occasionally a hardy traveler, hearing of the beauties of the region, had courage enough to brave the rocky, dusty roads to enjoy the scenic splendors. One was Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, who had accompanied Powell on his second trip down the Grand Canyon. In the summer of 1903 he found his way into Springdale, where he made his headquarters with Bishop O. D. Gifford, visited Zion Canyon, made some oil paintings to be exhibited at the World's Fair in St. Louis the next year, and wrote an article, "A New Valley of Wonders," which appeared in *Scribners' Magazine* for January, 1904. In this article, describing his first view of the West Temple, he wrote:

One hardly knows just how to think of it. Never before has such a naked mountain of rock entered our minds. Without a shred of disguise its transcendent form rises pre-eminent. There is almost nothing to compare to it. Niagara has the beauty of energy; the Grand Canyon of immensity; the Yellowstone of singularity; the Yosemite of altitude; the ocean of power; this Great Temple of eternity—"The Titan fronted blowy steeps, that cradled Time."

Grafton has a situation that must some day make it famous, yet one dreads to think of this land being overrun by the ennuied tourist. But with an altitude of only 3,000 feet, a superb, dry climate, mild winters, magnificent environment, and a supply of delicious fruits it

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 111.

cannot long remain unvisited if a railway ever is built within easy reach.

The Zion pictures at the fair created a great deal of interest. A young Mormon missionary, David Hirschi, who had been reared at Rockville and knew every foot of the Zion country, visited St. Louis on his way home from Europe and found them to be a center of attraction in the Utah section. He was surprised and delighted, but was put on his mettle when he heard skeptics remark that there couldn't be such a place. He informed them that there certainly was, that he knew its every hill and cliff, and to prove it, he pointed to his buckskin shoelace and showed the hill in the picture where he had killed the deer from which they had been made. A great crowd gathered to listen and an interesting discussion followed. Undoubtedly the pictures and magazine article were important factors in arousing a widespread interest in Zion Canyon. The time was approaching when its superlative beauty would be recognized by the national government.

The national conservation program inaugurated by President Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot produced a bill (June 8, 1906) empowering the president to set aside certain lands particularly valuable for scenic, scientific or historic purposes, as national monuments. Many were created during the next few years and among them was the Mukuntuweap National Monument.

During the summer of 1908, Leo A. Snow of St. George, a United States Deputy Surveyor, was detailed to survey in southern Utah, Township 40 South, Range 10 West from Salt Lake City. The party, of which the present writer was a member, in executing the survey covered the upper part of the Zion gorge. Triangulation was used in measuring the gorge from the east to west. When the report and map were submitted that part of the canyon was described as unsurveyable. In his report, Snow stated that from a certain place (now Observation Point):

A view can be had of this canyon surpassed only by a similar view of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. At intervals along the west side of the canyon streams of various sizes rush over the edge of the chasm forming water falls from 800 to 2000 feet high. The stream in the bottom of the canyon appears as a silver ribbon winding its way among the undergrowth and occasionally disappearing from view. In my opinion this canyon should be set apart by the government as a national park.

The report was dispatched to Washington, June 25, 1909. A little more than a month later, July 31, the Acting Secretary of the Interior recommended to the President the creation of the Mukuntuweap National Monument. President Taft signed the proclamation on the same day. This act was primarily a withdrawal from entry—a method of holding land for national purposes and preventing it from passing into private ownership. There was no active administration of the area at first. The farmers still cultivated the land, the stockmen continued to graze their cattle in the canyon and the sawmill owners to lower lumber over the cable. The canyon was still inaccessible to automobiles and the roadway for wagons or buggies was such that few people cared to drive over it for pleasure.

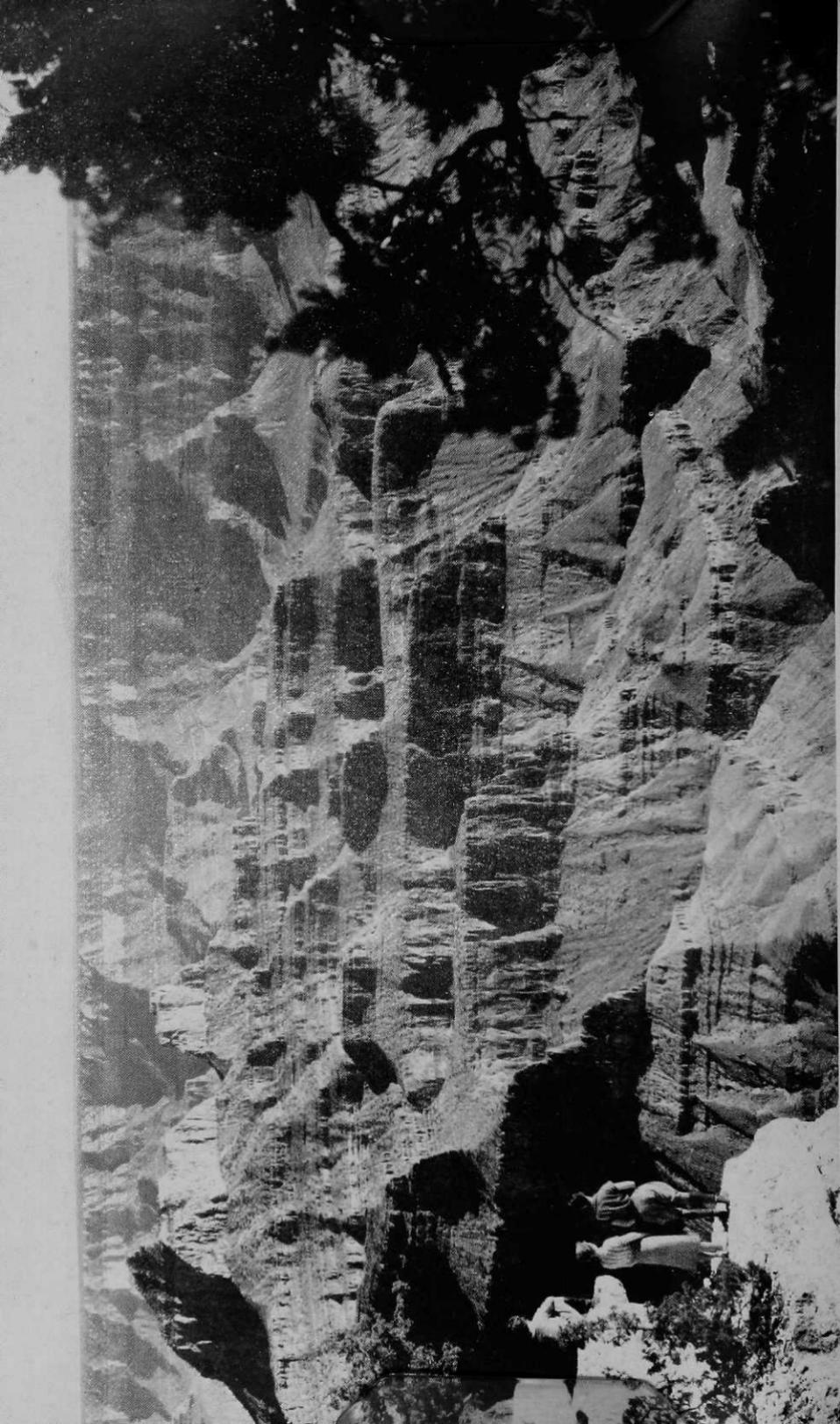
Wesley King, of the Salt Lake Commercial Club, was an early exception. Poor roads could not thwart his desire to see the scenic beauties of which he had heard from E. D. Woolley, a prominent leader of Kane County. He and his wife traveled by train to Marysvale where they obtained a team and buggy and started south. A report of this trip appeared in *The Salt Lake Tribune*, November 12, 1911. King wrote:

We crossed the divide . . . and began our descent into and upon one of the most scenic portions of America. . . . I do not believe there is anything on the globe like the canyon of the Rio Virgin, or to compare with the Vermillion cliffs. . . .

Our admiration for this people was aroused. . . . They can only market such products as can be driven across the mountains, while freighting of goods southward presents obstacles that would baffle the stoutest hearts. Here and over in the Dixie Land to the westward, the people live a simple, healthy life, unspoiled by the world and its vagaries. Children of the soil . . . of one faith and with a singleness of purpose. . . .

We lost our way and our tempers getting over the Sahara bordering Kanab. A lone sheep herder saved us on the second morning out and we floundered into Kanab over twenty-four hours late, just as Uncle "D" Woolley was starting a posse of Indian Scouts after us.

The Kings took Dave Rust for guide and went over to Zion Canyon. On the brink above Rockville, they "hesitated for awhile in an effort to comprehend the grandeur of the 'Great Temple' and its score of lesser temples and towers, brilliant in the glow of the setting sun." King's story continued:



NORTH RIM OF THE GRAND CANYON OF ARIZONA FROM BRIGHT ANGEL POINT

Copyright

Patent

Office

U.S.A.

1917

Union Pacific System

We found the Parunuweap Canyon impassable, so we spent the day in the dark recesses of the Mukuntuweap, speechless with wonderment, except for an occasional "awe" or an "absolutely wonderful." This panorama had a deeper, a more wonderful effect upon us than anything our eyes had ever beheld. . . .

Garfield, Wayne and Kane counties are sparsely settled, and until permanent roads are constructed into them, they will remain so. Washington and Iron counties have great natural resources and wonderful possibilities which will blossom into realities only when the transportation problem has been solved. Each county can do little by itself in road building. It is a state problem and must be worked out by our state officials.

Times, however, were rapidly changing. The automobile was displacing the horse and the demand for good roads for auto traffic was being met by ever larger road appropriations by the state and the nation. However, the opening of the scenic areas of southern Utah and northern Arizona to the touring public is largely a story of highways.

The Kaibab and North Rim

North of the Colorado River and south of the Utah line lies that variegated country known as the Arizona Strip. To the west lie the Parashont and Trumbull Mountains. To the east, the Kaibab Plateau, locally known as the Buckskin Mountains, rears its summit to 10,000 feet in a long level line that stretches southward to the north rim of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River. Information concerning this region began to seep in from outposts during the early 60's. There is little doubt that Whitmore and McIntyre at Pipe Springs, L. W. Roundy at Kanab, and Peter Shurtz near Paria, all knew something about its general characteristics, for it could be observed from all three places.

The expedition led by James Andrus in the spring of 1866 to rescue Peter Shurtz must have explored the region south of Paria. Roundy said the expedition started south from Paria to investigate an Indian smoke and was gone fourteen days (February 23 to March 9), but no further record is available, except that Nate Adams, who moved to Kanab in 1871, stated the expedition went over the Kaibab.

Jacob Hamblin doubtless became well acquainted with the Kaibab after he went to Kanab in 1867 to live among the Indians. John D. Lee took up a ranch at Scutumpah (on the Andrus route of 1866) in 1869, explored the lower Paria, and located the site for a ferry at its mouth (later Lee's Ferry). Lee and Hamblin must have explored a good deal of the region together for they built a six room adobe house with sod roof at Jacob's Pool (lake) in north Kaibab

soon after. When they divided their property a little later, Lee took the ferry and Hamblin the pool and Kane Springs in House-rock Valley.

In 1870, Brigham Young sent a portable steam sawmill to Kanab and Levi Stewart installed it near Scutumpah and the next year moved it to Big Springs on the Kaibab. Many years later, it was moved farther south to Castle or Rigg Springs.

In 1872, Major Powell's party centered its work around the Kaibab. Part of the time, this party camped near the Levi Stewart ranch and sawmill.⁹² At that time Eight-Mile Spring, Jacob's Well (Pool or Lake), Oak Spring, Pine Spring, and Stewart's ranch were all being used as grazing headquarters. During that summer, Powell and a friend of his from Illinois, Professor Harvey C. DeMotte, explored the roof of the Kaibab and bestowed the name DeMotte Park upon the main valley (sometimes called V T Park). In 1873, Thomas Moran, the well-known Western artist who had been commissioned by the Federal government to paint the Grand Canyon, made a trip by mule team from Salt Lake City to the Kaibab, where Major Powell suggested the vantage from which he produced the canvas of the Grand Canyon now hanging in the National Capitol.

The use of the Kaibab for grazing gradually increased. In 1877 the United Order of Orderville acquired most of the holdings on the northern Kaibab and controlled the range for about ten years, after which time lands and stock passed into private ownership.

During the late 80's, John W. Young (son of the Mormon leader), representing the Mormon Church in England, conceived a grandiose scheme for interesting English aristocracy in the Kaibab as a private recreation area. He acquired the major holdings there and stocked it with cattle and horses. Dan Seegmiller of Kanab was placed in charge of operations. Young's scheme fell through, but he was not discouraged. He enlarged his plan for making the Kaibab a great hunting ground and center of tourist travel with hotels and lodges for the English nobility. Some interest was shown, and several British sportsmen decided to investigate.

"Buffalo Bill" Cody was in England at the time with his wild west show, and was anxious to dispose of his animals there and recruit his stock in the United States. Young induced him to replenish in the Kaibab and to act as guide for the English representatives. Junius Wells went as Young's agent. The trip was made in the summer of 1891. Dan Seegmiller took wagons to Flagstaff, Arizona, on the railroad, to meet Buffalo Bill and the Englishmen. He had with him Bill Crosby, Nate and Orza Adams and

⁹²Herbert E. Gregory, ed., "Diary of A. H. Thompson," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, 1939, pp. 89, 92.

Brig Young (son of John W. Young). They returned via Lee's Ferry to Houserock Valley and the Kaibab.

The party included Junius Wells, Buffalo Bill and his crack rifle-shot, John Baker and the Englishmen, Major McKinnon, Lord Ingram and Lord Milmey. They were entertained by the local cattlemen, including Anthony W. Ivins, E. D. Woolley, Ed Lamb, Jr., Walter Hamblin, Alex Cram, Ebenezer Brown and Al Huntington. The British agents, however, decided the Kaibab was too far away and too hard to reach. The party went out through Kanab where the presence of English lords and Buffalo Bill proved almost too much for the inhabitants.

The failure of the deal left John W. Young in difficulties. To clear the situation, the Kaibab Land and Cattle Company was organized and money borrowed from New York bankers. A little later, Cannon, Grant and Company of Salt Lake City took over the mortgage and Anthony W. Ivins became field manager. By skillful husbandry, Ivins redeemed the mortgage and tax sale. In 1896 he moved to Mexico and the Kaibab holdings and property were sold to Murdock and Fotheringham of Beaver, who soon sold out to the B. F. Saunders cattle outfit. He in turn, later sold to the Grand Canyon Cattle Company (E. J. Marshall Co.), still in control at the time the Kaibab National Forest was established (1908). It had been set aside as a national forest reserve in 1893.

Dan Seegmiller's close association with the Kaibab and North Rim impressed him with its outstanding importance as a national vacation-land, a view shared by many. He continued, as long as he lived, to advertise its merits. About 1896, three years before his death, he drove a white top buggy from Kanab to Milford, picked up a New York party and escorted it over the Kaibab to the North Rim and back. After his partner's death, E. D. Woolley began taking parties into the Kaibab and North Rim. He was the most prominent man of the Kanab region and logically the one to take the lead in its development from the north side of the Colorado River.

Despite his zealous interest, difficulties of transportation, poor roads, distance from the railroad, slow method of travel, all conspired to prevent significant development. Woolley finally conceived the idea of making a trail from the South Rim (rail terminal) across the Grand Canyon via Bright Angel Creek. For this purpose, he organized the Grand Canyon Transportation Company. The members included himself, T. C. Hoyt, Thomas Chamberlain, Jim Emett, E. S. Clark, and later (1906) D. D. Rust. A permit was obtained from Arizona to construct a toll trail across the canyon. Governmental regulations forbade tolls, however, and they had to limit their revenue to charges for transportation and guide services.

E. D. Woolley and Jim Emett began the trail in 1901. It proved

an expensive undertaking and in 1908 Jesse Knight invested \$5,000 to help it along. A cable car was installed for crossing the river. The car was suspended from the cable track by pulleys and pulled back and forth by a propeller cable wound on drums. This route proved to be an important inlet to the North Rim and Kaibab. The total traffic, however, was relatively small and remained so until better transportation facilities became available.

One of the chief events of those days was an expedition engineered by E. D. Woolley in September, 1905, in which a party consisting of Senator Reed Smoot, T. C. Hoyt, E. D. Woolley, E. G. Woolley (nephew), Graham McDonald, James Clove, Lewis T. Cannon and Congressman Joseph Howell traveled leisurely by team from Salt Lake City through the state, holding political rallies as they went. At Kanab (September 26), schools were dismissed and a gala holiday declared. The expedition moved on to the Kaibab and North Rim where the distinguished visitors enjoyed the scenery and hunted deer on Greenland Peninsula. The trip provided conspicuous advertising for the Grand Canyon.

On November 28, 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt established the Grand Canyon National Game Preserve and thereafter deer were protected and predatory animals hunted. Government hunters of the U. S. Biological survey were employed for that purpose from 1906 to 1923. During that period, more than eight hundred cougars, thirty wolves, nearly five thousand coyotes and more than five hundred bobcats were removed.

One of the interesting characters among these hunters was "Uncle" Jim Owen, who with his hounds took about six hundred cougars from the Kaibab and one hundred and thirty from regions to the north and west. He had previously been a member of the Jesse James gang and when intoxicated was a man to be avoided. At El Tovar, one night, he took a dislike to the clerk, tried to shoot him, and filled the room so full of holes it cost the party \$100 to settle the damages.

D. D. Rust was a school teacher at Fredonia during the winter of 1905-6. During the following summer, he joined the Grand Canyon Transportation Company and was employed for many years thereafter as a guide for tourist parties. Zane Grey, the famous Western novelist, came in April, 1907, and Rust took him over to the North Rim to hunt mountain lions (cougars). Zane was then a tenderfoot who slept with a six-shooter under his pillow, a practice he abandoned as he became hardened. He returned later in the season to hunt with Col. C. J. Jones (Buffalo Jones), Grant Wallace, a journalist, and Jim Emett, local cattleman. On this hunt, Wallace captured alive the big king lion of Bright Angel Canyon. Incidentally, Zane Grey built his novel *The Heritage of the Desert* around Emett's trial at Flagstaff in April, 1907. Emett,

whose headquarters were at Lee's Ferry, had been accused of rustling by the B. F. Saunders' outfit.

On January 11, 1908, the President issued a proclamation creating the Grand Canyon National Monument and separating it from the Kaibab National Forest. During the summer of 1908, Rust took Nathan Galloway, a trapper from the Uintah Basin, from whom he had learned the Canadian method of shooting rapids, into the Markagunt Plateau to hunt grizzly bears.

Buffalo Jones came back again in early August, 1909, with a party of Bostonians to hunt cougars with Jim Owen. After five days, Buffalo Jones bagged a live lion to take home with him. On that day, the hounds struck another cougar trail and led the party backward six or seven miles until the trail got cold. Then it was discovered that "Old Pot," the reliable hound, was missing. They retraced their trail and found him with a "treed" cougar about a half mile in the opposite direction from where they had started. Buffalo Jones went up the tree with a rope and a stick. The lion saw Jones coming and started down the tree toward him. Jones backed down slowly and stopped. The cougar stopped, too, glared at the man and backed up on his limb. Jones crept slowly up again until he could reach the cougar with his stick and poked a noose over the lion's head. When the rope was pulled, the beast jumped the wrong way and crashed through the limbs chewing at the rope. On the ground the dogs pounced on him and Jones roped the hind legs while others manned the rope around the neck. They stretched him out, tied him alive on the back of a burro, and carried him across the Grand Canyon to the railroad. Motion pictures of this hunt were taken by Jones.

It was in June, 1909, that the first automobiles were driven through the Kaibab to the North Rim. This was a stunt engineered by Edwin Gordon Woolley, Jr., of Salt Lake City. With his wife and brother-in-law, D. A. Affleck, he took two autos, a Locomobile and Thomas Flyer, and arrived at Kanab on the fifth day. Here they were joined by E. D. Woolley and Graham McDonald from Kane County. It took three days more to reach the North Rim at Bright Angel. At the time this was a real feat. Gasoline had been distributed in advance by team, ten gallons every thirty miles. They carried with them tools and equipment for car repairs and road making, as well as canvas for use in sand and extra water for overheated engines. They had to remove high road centers, fill up washes, level off sideling dugways and cut timber falls out of the wagon roads. Indians came to Kaibab from miles around to see their first "devil wagons," which they were loath to believe could run. At the end of the trip, it was found that nine new tires valued at \$80 each had been worn out. These were exhibited by the U.S. Rubber Company to demonstrate the wonderful performance of their product.

The advent of automobiles on the Kaibab and North Rim opened up new vistas of development. Woolley began to envision the time when the construction of good roads would permit easy access to visitors and when the scenic features of the Grand Canyon and the deer herds of the Kaibab would attract attention and induce many to come. His vision was to be realized before many years had passed.

Modern Development of Zion, Bryce and North Rim

At the beginning of the second decade of the 20th century, a few individuals here and there in the state were beginning to grasp the potentialities of southern Utah as a scenic mecca. Throughout the United States, agitation for better roads gained ground as the automobile assumed a larger place in our national consciousness. The first transcontinental auto trip was made about 1900 and much difficulty was experienced in finding passable routes. The old pioneer wagon roads, disused since the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, had fallen into disrepair and were obliterated or washed by erosion in many of the desert and mountainous areas so that they were often forgotten and nearly impassable.

After the first trip, however, other autoists quickly followed and there was a loud demand for logs and guide materials during the next decade—a demand which leading Utah newspapers attempted to supply. The first quarter of the century may be characterized as transitional from wagon and train to automobile. Roads had to be redesigned on the basis of alignment instead of grade control and reconstructed into highways, destined to become not only supplemental feeders of railroads but also competitors.

This movement led to the establishment in 1909 of the Utah State Road Commission, empowered to develop state roads and with the avowed intention to build a two million dollar highway through the entire state from Logan to St. George. It took several years for this program to reach southern Utah and by that time road building was beginning to be affected by modern methods of highway construction.

Occasional trips into the scenic southland continued, some primarily for enjoyment, others for publicity or promotional purposes, all of which served to focus public attention more and more on the area. Public pressure was brought to bear not only on the road commission, but also on the governor and eventually on the Federal government.

Governor William Spry of Utah (1908-1916) made at least three trips into the region (1912, 1913, 1916). During September, 1912, he visited the Dixie Fruit Festival at St. George, then



HOW EARLIER GENERATIONS EXPLORED THE KAIBAB
White-top buggies, pack train and the first automobile driven by E. G. Woolley and party, 1909.

Courtesy D. D. Rust, Provo, Utah.

went to Kanab and northward through the State prospecting the route now followed by highway 89.

During the following winter, a group of convicts from the Utah State Penitentiary was put to work building roads in Washington County between Cedar City and Toquerville. They improved the bad roads of the time, but the route was poorly chosen and was replaced several years later by a well-planned highway. The convicts continued to be employed in Washington County for several winters.

During the summer of 1913, E. D. Woolley and others urged the State Road Commission to take over the task of building an auto road southward from Salina to the state line on the route to North Rim. That fall, the U. S. Forest Service started construction of a permanent boulevard (?) from Jacob's Lake to North Rim with a total allotment of \$2750! The result was a road which when compared with highways of today, illustrates the revolutionary changes in standards of road making.

In July and August, 1913, ex-President Theodore Roosevelt took a party into the Kaibab from South Rim and spent three weeks hunting lions. They captured three and took one alive across the canyon. Roosevelt reported the trip in an article in the *Outlook*.⁹²

During that same summer, J. Cecil Alter, director of the U. S. Weather Bureau at Salt Lake City and editor of this Quarterly, made a leisurely trip southward with his wife and two companions in a white top spring wagon, via Marysvale, Panguitch, Kanab and Jacob's Lake to the Kaibab, North Rim and over the Cable Crossing to El Tovar. Returning, he traveled via Ryan, Pipe Springs and Rockville to Zion, then out via Toquerville, Parowan, Circleville and Marysvale. He reported the interesting aspects of his trip in *The Salt Lake Tribune* on August 31, 1913, and January 4, 1914. The enthusiasm of the *Tribune* was aroused and the paper sponsored a "pathfinder" tour under the leadership of W. D. Rishel to log the road to Grand Canyon. It left Salt Lake City on September 6, visited the canyon and paused a day at Kanab on the return trip.

On the occasion of Governor Spry's first visit to Zion in October, 1913, the people along the Virgin River declared a holiday and accompanied his party almost en masse into Zion, where a picnic was enjoyed at the foot of the cable. To thrill the governor, a man was lifted to the top of the cliffs on the cable and brought back a few minutes later. The party rode horseback into the Narrows and was much impressed by the experience. Governor Spry was thoroughly convinced of the importance of

⁹²"Cougar Hunting on the Rim of the Grand Canyon," *The Outlook* (London, England, October 4, 1913), pp. 259-266.

national recognition and thereafter earnestly pressed for its realization.

From Rockville, the party took spring buggies for Kanab with extra teams to negotiate the hills. The idea behind the trip seems to have been to investigate the possibilities of tourist travel from some point on the Salt Lake Route Railroad to Zion and Grand Canyon. Douglas White, writing in *The Arrowhead* for July 1917, said that as a result of this visit, Governor Spry "decided that the highway division of his administration should accomplish the construction of a highway to the border of the National Monument."

By 1914, the local people of Dixie no less than the governor, were awakening to the scenic potentialities of their homeland. It had taken five years to sell the idea of Zion Canyon as a national mecca to the people living near it. The Grand Canyon Highway Association was organized with David Hirschi as president, and a five-county (Washington, Kane, Iron, and Beaver in Utah and Coconino in Arizona) road convention was called for July in Hurricane. Up to this time no auto had yet been driven from Toquerville to Zion Canyon.

The first problem was to make the roads passable by removing high centers, reducing grades and filling washes. A campaign was launched locally to secure subscriptions for road improvement. Hurricane pledged \$2,000, La Verkin \$500, Toquerville \$1,500 and Cedar City \$1,200. During the winter the road from Toquerville to Hurricane and the dugway up the Hurricane Fault to the east toward Kanab were improved.

In 1916, political pressure had reached Washington. Senator Reed Smoot responded and planned to ask for federal assistance in road making. This dovetailed with a national movement which culminated that year in the first federal aid road act. Smoot called upon the Department of the Interior for information concerning the Mukuntuweap National Monument. Horace M. Albright, a youthful assistant to Secretary Franklin K. Lane, furnished the data. Senator Smoot inserted in a deficiency appropriation an item reading as follows:

For a proportionate share of the amount required to construct an inter-state wagon road or highway through the Mukuntuweap National Monument, Utah, approximately fifteen miles for the fiscal year 1917, \$15,000. [Approved September 8, 1916. 39 Stat. 801-818].

The U. S. National Park Service was authorized by Congressional Act of August 25, 1916, but it was not actually established until May, 1917. Ever since the passage of the National

Monument Act of June 8, 1906, national monuments had been accumulating without adequate supervision. The need for an agency to handle national parks and national monuments was becoming urgent. The bill, as passed, created the National Park Service "To promote and regulate the use of the Federal Areas known as National Parks, Monuments and Reservations by such means and measures as conform to the fundamental purposes of said parks, monuments and reservations, which purpose is to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein, and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

Albright had joined Secretary Lane's staff in 1913 and had been assigned to deal with the parks and monuments. When the National Park Service was established, Stephen T. Mather of California was appointed director, April 19, 1917 and Albright was named his assistant. Because of illness, Mather did not assume his duties until March, 1918, and Albright served as acting director.

In the meantime, *The Salt Lake Tribune* had sent another auto pathfinding tour led by W. D. Rishel to the Grand Canyon, starting August 6, 1916. It reached Kanab in two days and spent three more going to North Rim and back to Kanab. From here, it headed for Hurricane and Zion. At Pipe Springs, the cavalcade met a railroad party in a large White bus going to North Rim (August 13). This party included representatives of the Union Pacific and the Oregon Short Line railroads, together with those of other travel agencies. The expedition shortly preceded the consolidation of the two railway systems represented, and the agents were scouting the possibilities for railroad traffic in the region. They had left the railroad at Lund by bus and traveled via Hurricane to Pipe Springs where they met Rishel's jaded eight-car cavalcade.

The next day they drove through the Kaibab to Bright Angel Point on the North Rim; spent the following day sight-seeing and then drove back to Kanab, Hurricane and Rockville (August 16), where they held a meeting in the evening. The youngsters of Rockville saw their first auto bus and many of them had a ride. As on Governor Spry's first visit to Rockville (October 12, 1913), the local people took a holiday and many accompanied the party next day into Zion Canyon. After visiting in the canyon until noon, the party drove to St. George where they enjoyed a feast of Dixie fruit. The next day they held a meeting in Cedar City and then returned to the railroad at Lund.

D. S. Spencer, Union Pacific Railroad Passenger Agent, informed the writer that the trip had been sponsored by the railroads and that Governor Spry and Road Commissioner Lunt had

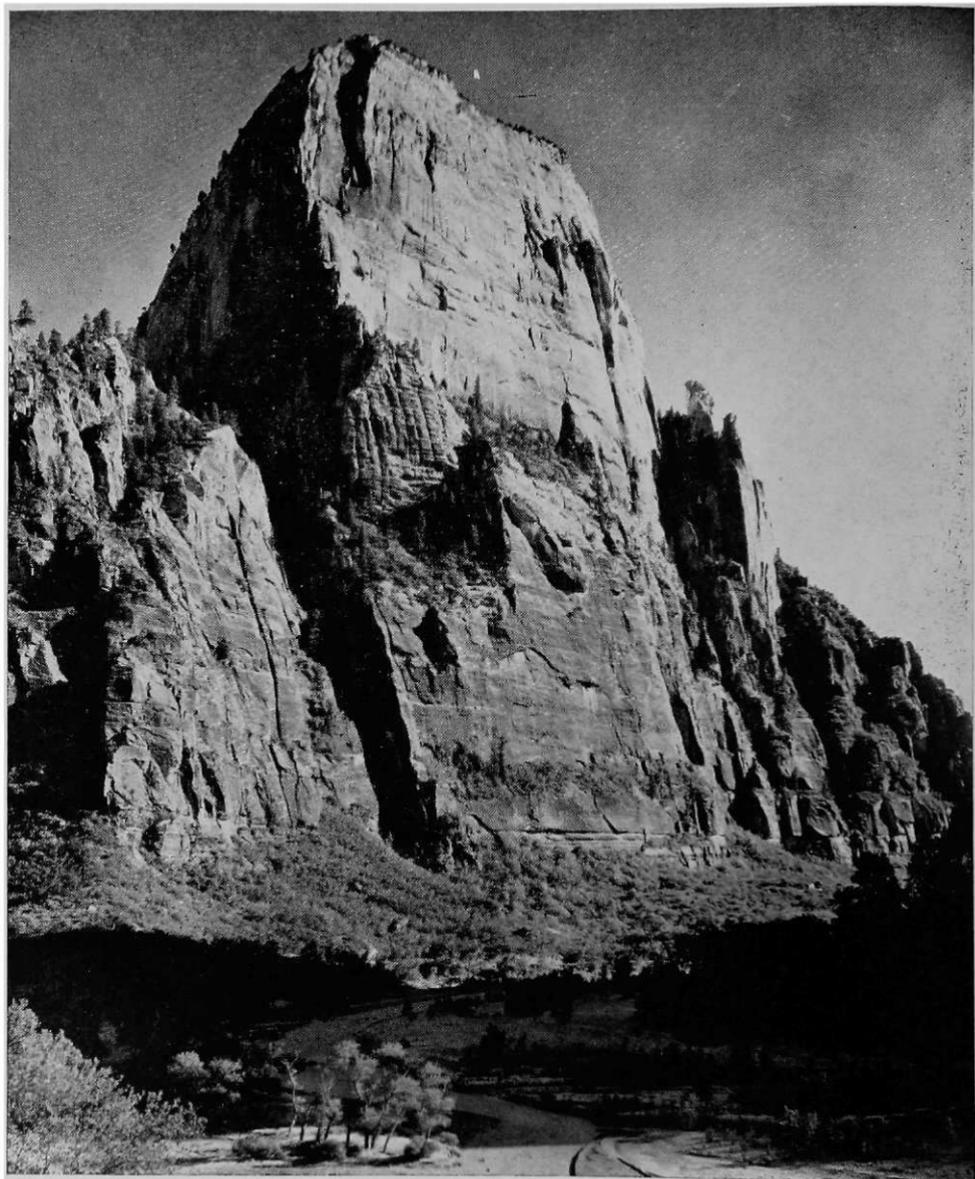
been induced to go along for consultation on road development. Governor Spry promised all possible support if the railroads would undertake tourist traffic development. Spencer further explained that the Union Pacific had profited from the experience of Edward H. Harriman, the noted railroad capitalist, who had built a spur to West Yellowstone, thereby greatly increasing his long-haul traffic to San Francisco. Carl R. Gray, Harriman's successor as president of the Union Pacific, recognized similar possibilities in tourist traffic to Zion and Grand Canyon.

Sometime that fall, Douglas White designated the route from Los Angeles to Salt Lake via Las Vegas, St. George and Cedar City, now generally traversed by Highway 91, as the Arrowhead Route. The next year, Charles H. Bigelow of Los Angeles, was instrumental in organizing the Arrowhead Trail Association with J. H. Manderfield of Salt Lake City as president, and Joseph S. Snow of St. George, vice-president. It functioned for many years to promote road development.

Frederick Vining Fisher, a Methodist minister of Ogden, Utah, came to Salt Lake City in 1915 to lecture and show slides of California to advertise the Panama Pacific International Exposition. He had ministered in Ogden for some years prior to 1912, but his attention had never been called to Zion Canyon. One day at lunch at the University of Utah, a student said to him, "Mr. Fisher, your pictures last night were fine, but you have not seen the best." Surprised, Fisher then wormed the story of Zion Canyon out of the lad. He was at once eager to visit the canyon, and in September, 1916, while traveling to St. George with Apostle Anthony W. Ivins, of the Latter-day Saints Church, to attend a local conference, visited the scenic area, took pictures and made slides which he thereafter used in lectures throughout the country.

Afterwards, Fisher induced Warren Cox, hotel proprietor of St. George, to take him to the Grand Canyon at the lower end of Toroweap Valley, Mt. Trumbull, where he took interesting pictures. Then, as Fisher recalls, Cox dared him "to cross the untrod wilderness one hundred miles" to Kaibab and North Rim. After they had explored the Kaibab with its endless herds, they camped with Jim Owens, U. S. Government hunter, for three days, vacationing and taking pictures. From North Rim, they went to Cedar City where they met Ivins, who in the meantime had obtained a team from his Enterprise ranch and who took Fisher up Cedar Canyon to Cedar Breaks where more pictures were taken. Upon returning to Cedar City, Cox accompanied Fisher to Rockville where he left him.

Bishop David Hirschi's son, Claud, took Fisher and a friend, Bingham, up Zion Canyon where Fisher got the greatest thrill



THE GREAT WHITE THRONE

So named by Frederick Vining Fisher, one of Zion's first enthusiasts. It measures some 2200 feet from base to summit.

Courtesy U. S. National Park Service.

of his life. They decided to name the scenic points as they went along. Three peaks that Hirschi thought looked like Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, they called the *Three Patriarchs*. The boys of the party stopped at the big loop in the river and looked at the pillars of rock on the inside point. When Fisher asked why they were delaying the boys replied they were waiting for an organist to play the *Great Organ*. They coined several other names not now in use, but after reaching the Narrows and starting back, Hirschi espied a great white precipice gleaming in the afternoon sun, framed by the pass between Angels Landing and the Great Organ. He said, "Oh, Doctor, look quick, what is that?" Overwhelmed, Fisher replied, "Never have I seen such a sight before. It is by all odds America's masterpiece. Boys, I have looked for this mountain all my life but I never expected to find it in this world. This mountain is the Great White Throne."⁸⁸

The money appropriated September 8, 1916, for a wagon road in Zion had to be spent before July 1, 1917. An engineer, W. O. Tufts, was dispatched from Washington, D.C. to look into the matter. After preliminary exploration, a survey was made, plans outlined, material procured and workmen engaged. By November 1, construction on the road was begun, starting at the boundary and working up the canyon. About the same time, convicts were building a road from La Verkin to Springdale. By the summer of 1917, a passable road led into Zion Canyon.

Douglas White, zealous promotor of Utah's scenic riches, urged Albright to come west and visit Zion Canyon with him in the summer of 1917. In September, he met him in Los Angeles and they went to Lund, Utah, by train and over to Cedar City by auto, where they met Road Commissioner Henry W. Lunt and Mr. R. A. Thorley, a Cedar City stockman. The next morning Albright, White and Thorley, in a touring car driven by Chauncey Parry, started south over the "perfectly terrible roads" and reached the Wylie Camp in Zion in the afternoon. At Rockville, they met David Hirschi, bishop of the village. The next day, in the words of Albright:

We went as far up Mukuntuweap Canyon as possible. We watched the cable operate from the rim of Zion to the floor. We hiked through to the Narrows and back again. That night we saw a full moon light up the canyon and the next morning I was up early enough to see the sunlight creep down from the top of the domes and spires to the valley floor. I was overwhelmed by the loveliness of the valley and the beauty of the canyon walls and was sure that the area was of national park caliber.

⁸⁸Letter of Frederick Vining Fisher to the writer, September 22, 1933.

Albright faced two troublesome local problems: elimination of grazing in the canyon and keeping narrow-tired wagons off the new road. He conferred with Bishop Hirschi, who suggested a conference with the local people concerned. At the conference, Albright recorded:

. . . cooperation of the local people was cheerfully extended, and the orders were issued soon after and were generally obeyed, with the result that the grazing was stopped and the shrubs and wild flowers in the canyon began to come back. I shall always remember with keenest delight my early association with those good Mormon people, who, without knowing what a national park was, cooperated so fully in executing orders that brought them real hardship.⁶⁴

After the contractors finished the Zion road, equipment and other government property was left in care of Walter Ruesch of Springdale, whose home had been used as headquarters by Tufts. Albright interviewed Ruesch and retained him in charge. This led to Ruesch's appointment as first custodian of the Monument and later as first acting superintendent of the Park. Albright enjoyed recounting his first introduction to Ruesch by Bishop Hirschi, who told him "what a fine character Mr. Ruesch was and how hard he worked, but cautioned me that he had one terrible habit. Over and over again he emphasized the habit. Finally, almost terror-stricken, I asked him what the bad habit was, and he said, 'He swears.'"

When Horace Albright and Douglas White left Zion, they called upon the new Governor (Simon Bamberger), whom they asked to continue the convict labor on the road from Cedar City to Zion. The story goes that the Governor had driven over this road and found it pretty rough. Besides, the dugway up the Hurricane Fault had cost much more than he had expected. The proposals of White and Albright aroused his wrath. Jumping to his feet, the Governor pounded his desk and shouted, "I build no more roads to rocks!" As a matter of fact, road improvement was interrupted for the time being; World War I was on and interest lagged, not to be revived until 1920, when it was nearly time for a new governor to take over the state administration.

From Salt Lake City Albright wired Director Mather, who was still in California and had not yet assumed office, urging him to visit southern Utah, and giving him a glowing account of what he had seen. Mather did not reply at once but later wrote

⁶⁴Memorandum of Horace M. Albright, August 4, 1933, in files of A. M. Woodbury.

that he thought Albright must have fallen into the hands of some chamber of commerce directors or had been given some very potent drink, for he had never heard of such a country and found it difficult to believe it existed.

During the next winter in Washington, D.C., Albright toyed with the idea of changing the name of the monument from Mukuntuweap to Zion and was urged to do so by Douglas White. Secretary Lane approved and the Utah congressional delegation concurred. Albright prepared a proclamation changing the name and enlarging the monument to one hundred and twenty square miles, which President Wilson signed March 18, 1918.

Other Utah scenic areas, including Cedar Breaks, Bryce Canyon and Wayne Wonderland, all profited by the publicity accorded Zion and the Grand Canyon. S. A. Halterman of Parowan, Utah, took the first automobile to Cedar Breaks via the wagon road in Parowan Canyon. In 1920, he piloted Senator Smoot and others over the same route to see the Breaks. By 1921, he was planning regular weekly trips for tourists during the summer. Iron County spent about \$12,000 that year to improve the road.

On August 25, 1918, Oliver J. Grimes of Salt Lake City, published an article in *The Salt Lake Tribune*, describing "Utah's New Wonderland, Bryce's Canyon," which stimulated additional interest in southern Utah's scenic wonderland. During that summer, LeRoy Jeffers, an eastern writer, visited Bryce Canyon and published an article entitled, "The Temple of the Gods in Utah" in the *Scientific American* of October 5, 1918. He approached Bryce from North Rim of Grand Canyon, from which he says, "we made a rapid run through the yellow pine and aspen forest of the Kaibab Plateau—crossed the burning sands of the Kanab which nestles verdantly among the vermilion cliffs of southern Utah. We had come eighty to eighty-five miles before sundown and were ready for a similar trip to Panguitch on the following day." He gave directions for reaching Bryce via Marysvale and Panguitch; described the wonders of the scenery and published four pictures.

When Albright read the article, he recalled that he had heard of Bryce Canyon when he was at Zion and made inquiries about the feasibility of establishing it as a national monument. He was temporarily blocked because it was a part of a national forest. However, it was placed on the agenda for later consideration. Albright later made up his mind that Bryce Canyon belonged in the National Park System, but Director Mather did not at first agree and toyed with the idea of a system of state parks to supplement the national system. Bryce, he considered, would make a keystone around which other state parks could be clustered. However, when the Utah governor and state legislature rejected his

view and insisted that Bryce Canyon, Cedar Breaks and Wayne Wonderland were of national park caliber, he yielded and when later he saw these marvels, was delighted that he had done so.

Cedar City was preparing to cope with the growing traffic. It was apparent that the town was the strategic point for those wishing to visit southern Utah via the railroad and auxiliary bus lines. Randall L. Jones returned to his native Cedar City in 1912 as an architect, and drew plans for a modern hotel, later called El Escalante. The local chamber of commerce backed him and work was started in 1918. It was, however, a major undertaking for a small community and was not completed for several years. His wide travel experience and his realization of the necessity of good highways as well as good hotels in the development of scenic attractions, made him the logical choice at a later date as liaison officer for the Union Pacific Railroad.

Mather and Albright were both in the West during the summer of 1919, but neither had opportunity to visit southern Utah. However, Albright had conferred with Senator Smoot several times on the question of creating Zion Canyon a national park. Mather finally yielded to their persuasion even though he had not yet seen it. Albright went ahead with plans, drafted legislation, prepared reports and presented arguments to the congressional committees. Boundary lines of the park were based upon information furnished by Richard A. Thorley of Cedar City and Leo A. Snow of St. George.

Smoot had previously introduced a bill in the Senate (S. B. 8282) to change the name of Mukuntuweap National Monument to Little Zion National Park, but no action was taken. On May 20, 1919, he introduced another bill (S. B. 425, Vol. 58:9640) to establish the Zion National Park in the State of Utah. It passed the Senate a month later and was sent to the House Committee on Public Lands the next day. It was reported in the House, August 26, after which amendments delayed its passage until October 6. The bill was finally signed in the House, November 15, and in the Senate, November 19, 1919, and sent to the President, who signed it that same day.

Mather was in Denver at the time of its passage, attending a conference of national park superintendents, at which Walter Ruesch was also present as custodian of Zion National Monument. When word reached him, Mather immediately decided to make his long delayed visit to Zion. His enthusiasm was immediate and thereafter he gave personal attention to its affairs.

The dedication took place, September 15, 1920, in the presence of a large assembly. St. George and Cedar City bands furnished music. Speakers included Director Mather, Senator Reed Smoot, ex-Governor William Spry, C. Clarence Neslen, mayor of Salt Lake City, and Heber J. Grant, president of the Mormon

Church, representing Governor Simon Bamberger. Mather reviewed the history of the Park, Mayor Neslen foretold its future, and other speakers promised support for its development.

Travel into Zion was slowly increasing. The number of people entering in 1920 nearly doubled that of the previous year (from 1914 to 3692). By 1930 it had increased to more than 55,000 and for a decade thereafter registered proportionate gains. Governor Bamberger in 1920 sent Randall Jones to Denver as Utah's delegate to the Park-to-Park Highway conference, where plans were laid to coordinate the local movements for good roads into a park-to park system.

Among the interesting parties that came in 1921 was a tour sponsored by the *Brooklyn Eagle*, which took in the scenic loop to Bryce Canyon as a side trip. Mather came again, bringing with him Emerson Hough, eminent novelist, and Edmund Heller, naturalist. During that year a road passable for autos was built from Cedar City up Cedar Canyon to the Breaks, but it was excessively steep and dangerous.

In response to pressure from Utah to undertake development of the scenic south, in 1921 Carl R. Gray, president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, determined to investigate personally the agricultural possibilities of contributing areas. His party left Lund and examined the farming areas around Cedar, Parowan and Fillmore and interviewed farmers and livestock men. Mr. Gray was favorably impressed with the stability of the communities and the quality of the people. As a result, a railroad spur was built to Fillmore a year later.

The following summer Gray and his party made the rounds of the scenic areas. The Union Pacific was preparing to take over the Salt Lake Route and was further investigating the resources of the area. According to Randall Jones, Gray offered to buy the El Escalante Hotel in Cedar City and the next year a spur of the railroad was run from Lund to Cedar City, justified on the basis of anticipated traffic from livestock, agriculture, iron ore and tourist travel.

With a rail-head at Cedar City, June 27, 1923, the Union Pacific organized a subsidiary Utah Parks Company, took over the El Escalante Hotel, set up a large bus station at Cedar City, purchased the Wylie tourist camp interests in Zion Canyon and the Parry transportation route from Cedar City to Zion. In 1917 under National Park permit to the National Park Transportation and Camping Company, W. W. Wylie, who formerly operated in Yellowstone Park, had set up a tent camp in Zion Canyon and North Rim in cooperation with two of the Parry Brothers, Gronway and Chauncey, who had undertaken to provide transportation for visitors. The Parry Brothers closed in 1918 at the time of World War I, resumed business in 1920 and worked out a ten-day round

trip for visitors from Cedar City via Zion, Kaibab, North Rim, Bryce and Panguitch back to Cedar City. This round trip with variations was maintained until 1923, when the Utah Parks Company acquired part, and in 1927, all of the Parry and Wylie interests.

Southern Utah scenic attractions were spotlighted with the visit of President Warren G. Harding to Zion Canyon, June 27, 1923, en route across country toward Alaska, a journey from which the President was not to return alive. The report of his trip was spread throughout the nation. Everything had been planned in advance. A group of seventy-five local Paiute Indians in gaudy attire was conspicuously at hand. The party was transferred from the station to twenty-four automobiles and started south over the newly smoothed earth and gravel roads leading to Zion Canyon. The caravan, including the cars of many local leaders, stretched out at least five miles and the dust much farther.

A stop was made at Anderson's Ranch where the best of the Dixie peaches and other fruits were sampled. At Toquerville hundreds had congregated to honor the first President of the United States to visit their section of the country. Harding spoke from a flag-draped platform and then the procession went on, passed through Rockville, where the streets were lined with on-lookers, to Springdale where it was welcomed by a fife and drum corps led by John Dennett and O. D. Gifford playing many of the tunes they had once used to welcome Brigham Young on his journeys.

At the entrance to the Park, they were welcomed by mounted rangers and by an orchestra and chorus from Dixie College at St. George. At the Wylie Camp, they were cheered by five hundred local people and tourists and serenaded by the college musicians during lunch. After the meal, the caravan proceeded to the end of the road at the Grotto campground, and twenty-four men, including the President, went horseback two miles farther to the foot of the cable. The caravan then retraced its route to Cedar City, where in the evening, both President and Mrs. Harding gave short talks to the assembled multitude before bidding farewell and boarding their train. The trip had been unmarred by trouble of any kind and seemed to have been immensely enjoyed.

Before leaving Washington, President Harding had signed a proclamation making Bryce Canyon a national monument, but had left it under the direction of the U. S. Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture. The transfer to the Department of Interior was to come later. The Forest Service went ahead with plans for its development.

By 1923, passable auto roads reached Zion, Kaibab, North Rim, Bryce Canyon, and Cedar Breaks, but some of the routes were circuitous and it required a great deal of extra travel to

make the loop. Thus the road from La Verkin to Zion had to be retraced in order to go from Hurricane to Pipe Springs, while to reach Cedar Breaks a special side trip was necessary from either Parowan or Cedar City, and to get back to Cedar City from Bryce required a routing through Panguitch and Paragonah. Popular demand was growing for shorter and more direct routes as well as for better roads.

During Governor Bamberger's administration, (1917-1921), a bond issue of \$6,000,000 was earmarked to build a concrete highway south to St. George, but funds were exhausted before Provo was reached. Under Governor Charles R. Mabey (1921-1925), gravel roads were stressed in place of the more expensive concrete, and a gasoline tax to replace state and county road taxes was enacted into law, but the road to St. George had never been completed. A solution was proposed in 1924 at a meeting attended by G. G. Armstrong, Lafayette Hanchett, A. W. Ivins, George A. Smith, W. J. Halloran and Randall Jones, altruistic Utah citizens. The scheme proposed that each of the southern counties be given a quota of \$5,000 and Salt Lake City, \$10,000, to be raised through the chambers of commerce. This money was used by the State Road Commission to match federal funds for building the road over the black ridge between Ash Creek and Pintura in Washington County.

Federal aid for roads had been available since 1916, but complications between state and federal rights and prerogatives delayed cooperation. By 1923, the Federal Bureau of Public Roads and the State Road Commission were both studying the problem of linking the scenic points of southern Utah and northern Arizona. B. J. Finch of the Bureau of Public Roads and Howard C. Means, Utah State Road Engineer, investigated the possibilities of a short-cut from Zion eastward toward Mt. Carmel or Kanab. In early June, 1923, they arrived at Orderville and rode horseback with two local guides along the east rim of Zion seeking a possible outlet. From study of topographic sheets, they had already conceived a possible route up Parunuweap Canyon. Failing here, they drove around to Zion Canyon via Kanab, Pipe Springs and Hurricane. Walter Ruesch, acting Superintendent of Zion, suggested that they confer with John Winder, the man best acquainted with the "lay of the land" who already had ideas on the subject.

In 1880, when only ten years old, Winder had climbed the old Indian trail out of Zion where he later (1896) built the first East Rim Trail. He remembered that "old man Newman" of Rockville had always contended that timber could be brought down from Cedar Mountain if a road could be bored through the cliffs of Zion. Winder had explored every outlet and was convinced that there was only one possibility: a road up Pine

Creek to the cliff and a tunnel opening in the Great Arch and coming out into the canyon above the cliff.

Means and Finch found Winder running logs down the cable. He immediately suggested the Pine Creek route and tunnel. The next day, the three men studied Pine Creek and the possible route up to the Arch. Winder then took them horseback to his ranch on the East Rim, via East Rim Trail. They walked down Pine Creek afoot to the top of the cliff. Encountering difficulties of grade and outlet at the top, they studied alternative possibilities and finally evolved the route now followed by the present road and tunnel.

The Salt Lake Tribune (June 25 and 26, 1923) published a sensational report of their investigations, but there was much skepticism in and out of official circles. In the end, however, the Pine Creek route was finally selected because it traversed the National Park, where federal funds would be available without being matched by the state.

Congressman Louis C. Crampton of Michigan, chairman of the House Committee for the National Park Service, took a personal interest in the route and tunnel and sponsored the appropriations that made it possible. During the planning and construction of this superb highway, which was to become an attraction second only to the canyon itself, Crampton made several trips to the park to watch its progress.

Since it was realized that the Pine Creek route would be years in building, several short-cuts were provided. A road connecting Cedar Breaks with Highway 89 on the summit between Hatch and Glendale was opened in 1923 so that parties making the loop could return to Cedar City via Cedar Breaks instead of Panquitch and Paragonah. In 1924, another cutoff was made from Rockville to the plains leading to Pipe Springs, thus eliminating the long trip down river to Hurricane and back. This road was partly financed by a contribution of \$5,000 from Stephen T. Mather.

In the Park itself, a road was surveyed from the cable up-canyon and was finished to the Temple of Sinawava in the spring of 1925. From that point on to the Narrows where the walls close in to leave room only for the river, a foot path, one mile in length, was constructed. Simultaneously three other trails were constructed: one to the West Rim, one to the top of Lady Mountain (Mount Zion) and one along the east bench under the cliffs from Wylie Grove in both directions. The next year, a trail to the top of Angel Landing was constructed and two suspension bridges across the river were installed and the trails opened to Emerald Pool.

When the Utah Parks Company took over the Wylie camp in Zion, it was planned to construct a large hotel, but Director

Mather firmly refused permission. He finally agreed to the lodge and cabin system, now serving the Park tourists. El Escalante Hotel in Cedar City was ready by the season of 1924. New accommodations were under construction in Bryce Canyon and Cedar Breaks. Reports from elated visitors, improvement of roads and accommodations and consistent advertising all resulted in vastly increased travel. The tourist traffic jumped from 8400 in 1924 to 16,817 in 1925. About half that number visited North Rim and presumably Bryce and Cedar Breaks. The tide was in full flow. For the season of 1925 new tourist busses with demountable tops for viewing the spectacular canyon walls were purchased. Busses, however, served only a small part of the traveling public, for America was on wheels and the roads were now such that auto traffic could roll in easily. The Grotto Campground was enlarged, equipped, and supplied with water. The survey of the Pine Creek road and tunnel was completed and Wayne Wonderland was dedicated.

Richard Evans was borrowed from the U.S. Geological Survey and served as acting superintendent during the tourist season for two years, while Walter Ruesch remained in charge during the balance of the year. Two permanent park rangers assisted Ruesch, Donald J. Jolley, appointed August 1, 1920, and Harold Russell, who had worked summers from 1920 to 1923 and who received permanent appointment in October of the latter year. All three were closely associated with developments and improvements in the canyon. In 1927, E. T. Scoyen was appointed permanent superintendent.

The Nature Guide Service in Yosemite and Yellowstone had proved so successful that it was decided to extend such services to other parks. It was initiated in Zion by the writer, June 19, 1925, and continued to mid-September. There was no precedent to follow, but the work gradually grew through succeeding summers into the Naturalist Service. During the next five summers, museum collections of natural history specimens, pioneer relics, and library books gradually accumulated and a museum was established in 1928. Information concerning the history, flora, fauna and geology of the canyon was collated. Lectures at the camp ground, at the Lodge, and the guided trips along the Narrows trail were developed and pictures and lantern slides were shown. In 1929, a mimeographed publication, the *Zion-Bryce Nature Notes*, was undertaken and a Natural History Association was organized to handle publications.

In 1926, daily bus service was established from Cedar City around the loop to Zion, North Rim and Bryce. The East and West Rim trails were reconstructed with better grades and locations. The West Rim Trail was dedicated at a ceremony held

at the time of the visit of Crown Prince Gustavus and Princess Louise of Sweden, on July 11. A new road was constructed between Rockville and the Park boundary and the proposed Parunuweap road was surveyed.

In 1927, the Utah Parks Company took over the Wylie Camps at North Rim and the bus service from the Parry Brothers, and a lodge and cabins were constructed on the brink of North Rim at Bright Angel Point, so arranged that the Great View into Grand Canyon could be seen from the windows. This was completed in 1928.

In the meantime, Bryce Canyon was being developed by the Utah Parks Company under the direction of the Forest Service, in the expectation that eventually it would be transferred to the Park Service. The lodge and cabins were built some distance from the rim so that the beauties of the canyon could be preserved to best advantage. When Mather yielded to pressure to allow Bryce Canyon to become a national park if all private holdings were eliminated, Congress passed a bill, June 7, 1924, providing for the establishment of a Utah National Park upon the fulfillment of Mather's conditions. The principal difficulty was that the State of Utah owned a section of land at a strategic point on the rim of the canyon. It took four years to fulfill the conditions, and before they were arranged Congress passed a revised bill, February 25, 1928, nearly doubling the size of the area and changing its name to Bryce Canyon.

When it became certain that the conditions would be fulfilled, the Union Pacific arranged for a large excursion (September 14-17, 1928). The party included: Carl R. Gray, president of the railroad; Stephen T. Mather, Director of the U. S. National Park Service, and Horace M. Albright, his assistant; Henry H. Blood, Chairman of the Utah State Road Commission (later Governor of Utah, 1933-1941); Congressmen Don B. Colton from Utah, and Philip D. Swing of California; Mayor John F. Bowman of Salt Lake City; Charles F. Burke, U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Thomas H. McDonald, Chief of the U. S. Bureau of Public Roads; Heber J. Grant, President of the Mormon Church, and his counselor, Anthony W. Ivins; representatives of the press, chambers of commerce and other organizations, and a host of lesser officials and advisers, including the writer.

After spending the first night in Zion, the party journeyed via Pipe Springs to the Kaibab and North Rim, where on September 15, 1928, the new Kaibab Trail and the Grand Canyon Lodge were dedicated. The next day the visitors reached Bryce Canyon where similar services were held in the evening. Congressman Don B. Colton formally presented deeds of the private land to Director Mather, who declared that the conditions having been fulfilled, Bryce Canyon had become a National Park.



VIEW FROM ONE OF THE GALLERIES OF THE FAMOUS
ZION-MT. CARMEL TUNNEL

From *UTAH—A Guide To The State*, compiled by the
Utah WPA Writers' Project, sponsored by Utah Institute
of Fine Arts.

Thus the great scenic areas of southern Utah had finally been established as national parks and monuments, adequate roads and travel accommodations had been provided, and efforts had been made to give the casual tourist a deeper appreciation of the natural treasures at his disposal. Within the next few years many of the immediate projects for facilitating travel through the Park area were completed. The bridge across the Marble Gorge of Grand Canyon, a few miles below Lee's Ferry, was dedicated June 15, 1929.

The next year saw the official opening of the Zion-Mt. Carmel highway, one of the most spectacular engineering feats in the history of road-building. From the canyon floor the road turns to the east up Pine Creek Canyon and spirals upward on a four-mile roadway to a tunnel paralleling the face of the vertical cliffs for 5,613 feet. Five galleries cut from the tunnel to the canyon wall offer the motorist vantage points for viewing the awe-inspiring scenery. Construction within the National Park cost \$2,000,000; from the Park to Mt. Carmel a state and federal project, also cut in great part from solid rock, cost in excess of \$500,000. Still later the road up the floor of Zion from the checking station on the main highway was reconstructed and made a modern oil-surfaced highway. Thereafter, until America's entry into World War II, each summer brought greater throngs of visitors into the wonderland.

At long last the nation had awakened to the greatness of the gift nature had bestowed upon it, and in future years unnumbered generations will come to marvel at the wonders of the country which is southern Utah and at the austere majesty of the Great White Throne—generations free from the dread and superstition that made primitive races fear its unimagined heights no less than its long shadows and dazzling brilliance in the sun.

Symbol of God's handiwork this central and most magnificent of Zion's features still hears the distant footfall of Spanish padre and American frontiersmen passing unwittingly by its dooryard; it is mindful of the day when the first Mormon pioneer lifted uncomprehending eyes to the solitude of its summit, and of that other day when religious fervor called it Zion, the dwelling place of peace. Men have come, cutting their trails, building their roads, roofing their shelters, dreaming their dreams. The human tide around its base has ebbed and flowed, according to human wont, but it remains serene, aloof, alone. It will be so a thousand years from now.

INDEX

A

- Adams,
 Nate, 179, 180, 189, 190
 Orza, 190
 River, 127, 128
 Adventure, Utah settlement, 148, 150,
 151, 153
 Affleck, D. A., 193
Agave, (yont), food, 119
 Agriculture, 138, 148
 Indian, 117, 118
 Ahlstrom, brothers, 182
 Albright, Horace M., 196-197, 199, 201,
 208
 Allen, Rufus C., 144, 145
 Allred, John J., 153
 Alpine, Utah, 153
 Alter, J. Cecil, 195
Amelanchier, (sarvis berries), 120
 Ames, Clark, 144
 Anderson,
 J., 139
 Miles, 139
 Mrs. Nancy, 145
 Anderson's Ranch, 204
 Andrus, James, aids against Indians,
 168, 169, 171, 174-176
 rescue expedition, 189
 Animals, predatory, hunted, 192
 Argonauts, 132
 Armstrong, G. G., 205
 Arrows, 118, 119, 121
 Arizona, Northern,
 colonized, 166
 explored, 164-166
 Strip, 189
 Army, Johnston's, marches to Utah,
 131, 164
 Arrowhead Route, 198
 Trail Association, 198
 Asa Creek, 142
 Ash Creek, 117, 124, 127, 133, 139
 Ashley, General (Wm. H.), 126
 Ashton, Williams, 151, 153
 Atkin, Grace, 111
 Atwood, S. F., 144
 Auerbach, H. S., 123, 128
 Automobile roads to Southern Utah
 Parks, 204, 205
 Averet, C. G., 153
 Ayers,
 George, 158
 Huber, 158

B

- Baker, John, 191
 Bamberger, Governor Simon, 200, 203,
 205
 Bancroft, H. H., 127
 Barton,
 L., 139
 William, 139
 Battalion, Mormon, 153
 Beale, E. H., 121, 136
 Bear Valley, 128
 route, 142
 Bears, grizzly, 193
 Beaver, 140
 County protected by militia, 167
 Creek, 134
 Dam Wash, 127, 128
 River, 127
 Behunin,
 E. C., 112, 152, 155, 159
 Isaac, 151, 155-157, 161
Berberis fremonti, (weump berries),
 120
 Berry,
 Isabel, 170
 Joe, 170
 Robert, 170
 Berryville, Utah, 166, 181
 Bigelow, Charles H., 198
 Big Springs, 190
 Birch Creek, 133
 Black, George, 153
 "Black Hawk War," 159, 167
 Black,
 Joseph, 151, 152, 153
 explores Zion, 155
 Peter, 152
 Rock Canyon, 175
 Rock Springs, 123
 William, 153
 William, Jr., 153
 Bleak, James G., 149
 Bliss, Orley D., 182
 Blood, Henry H., 208
 Bolton, H. L., 123
 Bows and arrows, 118, 119, 121
 Bowman, John F., 208
 Bread meal, 119
 Brenchley, Julius, 138
 Bright Angel Point, Grand Canyon,
 197, 208
 Brinton, Caleb D., 180
 Brooks, Juanita, 146, 165

- Brown,
 Newman, 153
 Robert, 153
 T. D., 144
 Bryce Canyon, 201, 202
 bus service to, 207
 dedicated, 208
 lodge and cabins built, 207, 208
 made National Monument, 204
 modern development of, 194-209
 named, 182
 publicized, 194
 Bryce, Ebenezer, 182
 Buckskin Mountains, 189
 Bullock, David, 154
 Burgess, Hyrum, 144, 145
 Burial customs, Indian, 120
 Burke, Charles F., 208
- C
- Cabin, log in Zion Canyon, 155, 156
 Cable car across Colorado River, 192
 Cable, in Zion Canyon, 161-164
 mail, 162
 Mountain, 163
 Cactus, food, 117, 119
 "Call," the, 135
 Camp, Charles L., 128
 Canebeds, 142
 Cannon,
 David H., 168
 George Q., 182
 Grant and Company, 191
 Lewis T., 192
 Cannonville, Utah, 182
 Canyons (see names of)
 Carpenter, William H., 153
 Castle Springs, 190
 Cattle ranches, 166
 Cattle, stolen, 167-179
 Cedar Breaks, 201, 203, 207
 Cedar Canyon, 136
 Cedar City, Utah, 127, 136, 160
 described, 137
 prepares for tourists, 202
 railroad built to, 203
 Toquerville road, 195
 Cedar Valley, 135
 Celebration, 134
 pioneer, 135
 Census of Southern Utah communities,
 154
 Center Creek, 134
 Chaffant, W. A., 132
 Chamberlain,
 Solomon, 142
 Thomas, 191
 Chinle shales, 155
 Chittenden, H. M., 127
 Circleville Canyon, 132
 Clark,
 E. S., 191
 Oren, 169
 Clayton, William, 131
 Clear Creek, 127
 Cleland, Robert Glass, 127, 132
 Clifton, Utah, 182
 Cloth, cotton made, 145-147
 Clove, James, 192
 Coal industry, 136
 Cody "Buffalo Bill," 190, 191
 Cooke, Edward, 180
 Coleman, Prime T., 144
 Colorado River, 127
 crossed by cable car, 192
 crossings established, 166
 Colton, Don B., 208
 Communication in Zion Canyon, 161
 Com-o-it Indian tribe, 116, 117
 Conservation program instituted, 187
 Convicts build road, 195
 Copelan, Willis, 174-176
 Corn, 143
 Corn Creek, 127
 Cottam, Margery Brown, 180
 Cotton,
 grown, 145-150
 mill, 154
 wave, 149-150
 Cougers killed, 192
 "Court of the Patriarchs," Zion Can-
 yon, 155
 Cove Fort, 127
 Cox, Warren, 198
 Coyotes killed, 192
 Cram, Alex, 191
 Campton, Louis C., 206
 Crawford,
 family, 161
 William, 153
 Crickets eat crops, 153
 Crosby, Bill, 190
 Crops, 148
 Indian, 120
 "Crossing of the Fathers," 125
- D
- Daines, Franklin D., 130
 Dale, H. H., 127
 Dalton family, 161
 Dame, William H., 167
 Dams, 145
 Dart, John, 142
 Death Valley, disaster in, 132

- Dellenbaugh, Frederick S., 180, 186
 DeMille, Oliver, 151
 DeMotte, Harvey C., 190
 Park, 190
 Dennet, Daniel Q., 153
 Dennett,
 family, 161
 John, 99, 112, 122, 204
 Mrs. John, 170, 171
 Deseret, Iron Company, 136
 State of proposed, 131
 Disease brought to Indians, 122
 Ditches, 145, 151
 Dixie, 137-150, 152
 Fruit Festival, 194
 Dixon, Robert, 144
 Dodge, Enoch, 172
 Dominguez, Father, 123
 Douglas, Stephen A., 131
 Draper, Utah, 153
 Draper, William L., 153
 Duck Creek, 142
 Duncan,
 Chapman, 139
 Retreat, Utah, census 1864, 154
 Utah, abandoned, 159
 Dunton, J. H., 139
 Dutton, Capt. Clarence E., 185
- E
- Eight-Mile Spring, 190
 Eldridge,
 Elnathan, 144
 Horace S., 150
 Election, pioneer, 135
 El Escalante Hotel, 202, 207
 Emerald Pool Canyon, (Zion), 157,
 206
 Emmet, Jim, 191, 192
 Emigrants, gold, 132
 English aristocracy urged to use Kai-
 bab for sport, 190, 191
Erigonum inflatum, 143
 Erosion at Kanab, 182
 Escalante,
 Desert, 124
 expedition, 123-126
 Fray Silvestre Velez de, excerpt
 from journal of, 114, 117, 118,
 120, 123-126, 128
 Valley, 172
 Evans, Richard, 207
 Everett,
 Edward, 133
 Elijah, 172
- Expedition,
 against Indians, 174-176
 to Zion Canyon, early, 123
 Explorations of Southern Utah,
 early, 123-130
 Mormon, 130-149
 Eyring, Henry, 174
- F
- Fair, World's at St. Louis, Zion pic-
 tures at, 186, 187
 Famine in "Dixie," 154
 Farish, T. E., 127
 Farm implements, pioneer, 157
 Farming, community, 160
 Farms,
 Indian, 117-120, 140, 141, 143
 of Zion Canyon, 155
 Farnsworth,
 Lovina, 147
 Moses M., 180
 Ferries established on Virgin River,
 166
 Fifer of Mormon Battalion, 153
 Fillmore,
 railroad to, 203
 Utah, 134
 Financial, panic, effect on Utah, 159
 Finch, B. J., 205, 206
 Fire at Kanab fort, 180
 Fish, Joseph, 172
 Fisher, Frederick Vining, 198
 Flag raised, Mormon, 134
 Flanigan,
 David, 163
 family, 161
 Tom, 116, 153
 Floods, 151, 153, 182
 Forest, Kaibab National, 189-194
 Fort, 145
 at Kanab, 180, 181
 Pearce, 124
 Sanford, 169
 Forts, built in Kane County, 179
 Fox Creek, 142
 Frauschum, Mr., 153
 Fredonia, Arizona, 182, 183
 Freeman, Capt., 175
 Fremont, Capt. John C.,
 explorations of, 128-130
 report of, 131
 Frost, Allen, 180
 Fruit orchards, 148
- G
- Gallatin, Albert, 127
 Galliego, Jose, 121

- Galloway, Nathan, 193
 Game,
 conservation of, 192
 Indian, 119
 Garcia, Arzo, Expedition, 126
 Gardner, Henry, 166
 Georgetown, Utah, 182
 Gifford,
 family, 161
 Oliver D., 112, 156, 161, 186, 204
 Samuel K., 153
 Gillespie, R. H., 139
 Glen Canyon Ford, 166
 Glendale, Utah, 166, 181
 Golding, Robert J., 150
 Gould, Samuel, 133
 Goulding, Daniel, 182
 Gould's Ranch, 172
 Grafton, Utah, 151, 154, 159
 Graham, Utah, 181
 Grapes, wild, 120
 Grapevine Springs, 140
 Grand Canyon,
 Cattle Company, 191
 Highway Association, 196
 Transportation Company, 191
 Grand Canyon of the Colorado, 124, 125
 artist assigned by U. S. Government, to paint, 190
 auto pathfinding trip to, 193, 195, 197
 bridge in, 209
 bus service to, 207
 Jacob's Lake Highway, 195
 Lodge dedicated, 208
 modern development of, 194-209
 National Game Preserve, 192
 Monument established, 193
 North Rim, early history of, 189-194
 publicized, 194
 surveyed, 185
 trail built across, 191, 192
 visited by J. C. Alter, 195
 West Rim Trail, 207
 Grand Wash Cliffs, 166
 Grant, Heber J., 202, 208
 Gray, Carl R., 198, 203, 208
 Grazing,
 in the Kaibab, 190
 in Zion Canyon stopped, 200
 Great Organ, Zion Canyon, 199
 Great Red Arch, Zion Canyon, 161
 Great White Throne, Zion Canyon, 161, 163, 199, 209
 Green,
 Sam, 116
 James, 153
 Greenland Peninsula, 192
 Gregory, Dr. Herbert E., 123, 185, 190
 Grey, Zane, 192
 Grimes, Oliver J., 201
 Grist mill, 152
 Grotto campground, Zion Canyon, 204, 207
 Guards against Indians, 173
 Guide, tourist, 192
 Gunnison River, 123
 Gustavus, Crown Prince, 208
 Gypsum, 133
- ## H
- Haight, Isaac C., 133, 147
 Hall,
 John C., 151, 153
 Thomas, 153
 Halloran, W. J., 205
 Halterman, S. A., 201
 Hamblin, Jacob, 144, 145, 164-165
 aids against Indians, 175
 holds peace conference with Navajos, 177-179
 in Kaibab region, 189
 missionary among, Indians, 179
 Hamblin, Walter, 191
 Hanchett, Lafayette, 205
 Hancock, Cyrus, 173, 174
 Hanna, P. T., 127
 Harding, President Warren G., visits Southern Utah Parks, 204
 Hardy, Augustus P., 144, 145
 Harmony, Utah, 143
 Harriman, Edward H., 198
 Harris,
 Mountain Pass, 142
 W. R., 123
 Harrison, Peter (Indian), 122
 Harrows, 157
 Harry, Philip, 123
 Haskell,
 Maria Woodbury, 146
 Thales H., 144, 146, 165
 Hastele, (Indian), 177
 Hatch,
 Ira, 144, 145
 Meltair, 182
 Utah, 182
 Heap,
 G. H., 121, 136
 William, 157
 Heap's farm, 156
Hediondilla, (creosote bush), 124
 Heller, Edmund, 203
 Henefer, William, 144

- Henrie, James, 182
 Henrieville,
 Creek, 182
 Utah, 182
 Hepworth, Thornton, Jr., 163
 Hewlett, Sylvester, 133
 Higbee, J. M., 171
 Highway 89 prospected, 194
 Highway 91; 196, 198
 Logan to St. George, 194
 Highways built to Southern Utah
 Parks, 194-209
 Hillers, Jack, 186
 Hillsdale, Utah, 181
 Hirschi,
 Claud, 198
 David, 186-187, 196
 Hogs slaughtered, 156
 Hole-in-the-Rock, 183
 Horne, Joseph, 147
 Horses stolen, 121, 167-179
 Hotel El Escalante, 202, 207
 Hough, Emerson, 203
 Houserock Valley, 191
 Houses, adobe, 136, 189, 190
 Howell, Joseph, 192
 Hoyt,
 Silas, 166
 T. C., 191, 192
 Huber,
 Albert, 153
 Edward, 153
 Hunt, Capt. Jefferson, expedition, 131,
 132, 135, 136
 Hunting, 192, 193, 195
 Indian, 118, 119
 in the Kaibab, 190-193
 Huntington, Al, 191
 Hurricane,
 Fault, 124
 Utah, road convention at, 196
 Hyde, Orson, 131
- I
- Implements, Indian farming, 120
 Indian,
 baskets, 118
 burial customs, 120
 camps, 118
 chief, 121
 contribution to present culture, 113
 cooking, 119
 depredations, 129, 159, 165-179
 force concentration of pioneers,
 159
 food, 117-120
 grinder, 119
 law, 116
 moccasins, 118
 myths, 112, 113
 ornaments, 118
 pictographs, 133
 raids, 166-179
 robes, 118
 school, 144
 squaws—work of, 120
 sugar, 119, 120
 superstitions re: Zion Canyon,
 112-113, 148
 trading expedition, 177
 treatment of the infirm, 120, 121
 tribes, extinct, 122
 water jugs, 118
 weapons, 118, 119, 121
 Indians,
 baptized, 145
 disarmed, 171
 Ingram, Lord, 191
 Iron Company, Deseret, 136
 Iron,
 County, colonized, 134
 protected by militia, 167
 industry, 135, 139
 Military District, 167
 Springs, 135
 ore, 133, 134
 Irrigation, 182
 Indian, 120
 I-u-goon, derivation of word, 115
 Ivins, Anthony W., 191, 198, 205, 208
- J
- Jacob's Lake, 189
 Pool, 189
 Jeffers, LeRoy, 201
 Jepson, James, 159
 Jennings,
 Henry, 175
 James H., 153, 156, 161
 Johnson,
 Benjamin, 181
 George, 181
 Joel H., 181
 Joseph, 181
 Nephi, 144, 147, 150, 151, 182
 Seth, 181, 182
 Sixtus E., 173
 "Twist," 148
 Utah, 181
 William, 181
 Johnston's Army, 131, 164
 Jolley,
 Bryant, 184
 Donald J., 207

- Henry B. M., 166
William J., 166
- Jones,
Col. C. J., (Buffalo Jones)
(Buffalo Bill) 139, 192, 193
Kumen, 183
Randall L., 202, 203, 205
Stephen V., 185
- Jordan River, 153
Judd, Zadock, 139
- K
- Kaibab,
Indian derivation of name, 114
Land and Cattle Company, 191
National Forest, 164, 189-194
 buggy driven to, 191
 established, 191
 stocked with cattle and horses, 190
 used by English aristocracy, 190,
 191
Plateau, 189
tribe, (Indian), 117
- Kaibab Indians, survivors of, 122
- Kai-ne-sava, Indian spirit, 112, 113
- Kanab,
Creek, 166
 fort, 180, 181
 Indian derivation of name, 114
 Trail, dedicated, 208
 Utah, 166, 180, 181
 erosion at, 182
 raided by Indians, 168, 169
 region explored, 177
 resettled, 179, 180
 Wash, 182
- Kanarra,
 Indian chief, 141
 source of name, 114
 Utah, 133
- Kane County,
 expanded, 179-182
 explored and settled, 164-166
 protected by militia, 167
- Kane Springs, 189
- Kenner, Dr. S. A., 151, 153
- King, Wesley, 188
- Klapper, Charlie, 151, 153
- Klingensmith, Philip, 148
- Knell, Benjamin, 144
- Knight,
 Jesse, 192
 Samuel, 144, 145
- Knives, skinning, 118
- Kolob Promontory, 133
- L
- Lady Mountain, Zion Canyon, 206
- Lakes, (see names)
- Lamb, Ed., Jr., 191
- Lances, Indian, 121
- Lane, Franklin K., 196
- Langston,
 Clarinda, 163
 John, 153
- LaVerkin Creek, 124, 128
 promontory, 133
- Leany, Hyrum, 119
- Lee,
 John D., 135, 148, 179
 in Kaibab region, 189
 leads exploration of Virgin River,
 139-141
 leads southern settlement, 137-144
 ranch, 181
 raided, 172
 settles at Ash Creek, 143
- Lee's Ferry, Arizona, 166
- Lemon, James, 151
- Levearskin (LaVerkin) River, 139
- Lewis, David, 145
- Liberty pole, 134
- Limestone, 133
- Lion, mountain, captured, 192, 195
- Little, James, 177
- Littlefield, David O., 182
- Little Salt Lake, 135
- Livestock,
 in Kaibab Forest, 190, 191
 stolen by Indians, 166-179
- Logan-St. George highway, 194
- Long Valley, 142, 166
 abandoned, 171, 172
 Canyon, 142
 Utah, 179, 181
- Louise, Princess, 208
- Lost River, 127
- Lott, John, 144
- Lumber transported, 161-164
- Lumbering, 142
- Lunt, Henry W., 197-199
- M
- Mail cable, 162
- Maise, 117, 118
- Mammoth Creek, 142
- Manderfield, J. H., 198
- Mangum, John (Mangram), 179
- Manly, William Lewis, 132
- Manti, Utah, 132
- Marble Gorge Bridge of the Grand
 Canyon of Arizona, 209

- Marysvale Canyon, 127
 Marshall, E. J., Co., 191
 Massacre, 170
 Mather, Stephen T., 197, 202, 206, 208
 Maxwell, W. B., 166, 171
 Maxwell's ranch raided, 172
 Mabe, Charles R., 205
 Mayo, Tommy (Indian), 114
 McArthur, D. D., 174
 McConnell, Jehiel, 179
 McDonald,
 Graham, 192, 193
 Thomas, 208
 McFate,
 Jim, 153
 Joe, 153
 McKinnon, Major, 191
 McIntyre, Robert, 168-169, 189
 Means, Howard C., 205, 206
 Measles among the Indians, 122
 Meeks, Priddy, 142, 166
 Merriam, C. H., 127
 Mestes Expedition, 126
 Mexican War, 130
 Mill,
 cotton, 154
 flour, 152
 molasses, 153
 saw, 181
 steam, 190
 shingle, 163
 Military posts established in Southern Utah, 173
 Militia,
 in Southern Utah, organized against Indians, 137, 167-176
 Millard County, 115
 Millett,
 Alma, 151
 Joseph, 153
 Milme, Lord, 191
 Minerals, iron, 133
 Mission sites located by Escalante, 125, 126
 Missionaries, Mormon, 144-149
 Missionary expedition,
 between the Virgin and Colorado Rivers, 164-166
 Mitchell, Dr. Charles, 182
 Moccasin, Arizona, 166
 Springs, 180
 Moencopi, 178
 Molasses mill, 153
 Monument, National,
 Act, 187
 Zion Canyon made, 164
 Monuments, National, 187, 191, 193
 Moqui Indians, mission to, 164-166
 Mojave Desert, 127
 Moran, Thomas, 190
 Morgan,
 Dale L., 131
 John, 180
 Mormon,
 Battalion, 131, 153
 missionaries among Indians, 144-149, 179
 policy re: Indians, 137
 settlement, early, 130-151
 Trail, 131
 Mormons,
 colonize Southern Utah, 135
 effect of upon Paiute government, 122
 explore Southern Utah, 130-149
 Morris, Hyrum, 153, 158
 Mountain Meadows, 128
 visited by Fremont, 129
 Mountains, (see names of)
 Mt. Carmel,
 Highway, 209
 Utah, 166, 181
 Mount Zion, 206
 Muddy River, 128
 Mukuntuweap, (see Zion Canyon)
 Munk,
 Mrs. Eunice, 157
 Peter, 152
 Murdock,
 and Fotheringham, Beaver, Utah, 191
 John R., 144
 Museum at Zion Canyon, 207
 Musser, Milton A., 180
 Mustache, Frank, (Indian), 114, 115
- N
- Names, place, in Zion, 199
 National Monument Law, 187
 National Monuments, 191, 193
 Zion Canyon made, 187
 National Park Transportation and Camping Company, 203
 Naturalist Service, 207
 Navajo Indian,
 depredations, 167-179
 hold peace conference, 177
 raids, 166-179
 Navajo Indians unfriendly to missionaries, 165
 Neff, Andrew L., 131
 Neihardt, J. G., 127
 Neslen, C. Clarence, 202
 New Harmony, Utah, 145
 Newman, Elijah, 151, 153, 161

- Noble, Edward A., 180
 North Rim of the Grand Canyon of the
 Colorado,
 early history of, 189-194
 Highway in, 195
 Northrop, Utah, 151, 154, 159

O

- Oak Creek, 148
 Oak Spring, 190
 Observation Point, Zion Canyon, 187
 Occupations, pioneer, 138
 Old Grafton, Utah, abandoned, 151
 Old Spanish Trail, established, 126,
 128
 Ookie berries, 120
 Orderville, Utah, 183
 Otter Creek, 140
 Otters, 140
 Owen, Jim "Uncle," 192, 198

P

- Pah-Utah Indians (Paiute), 121
 Pahvant Valley, 115
 Paiute Indians,
 cultivation, 140, 141
 depredations, 167-179
 legends, 113
 Mormon effect upon, 122
 territory occupied by, 113, 114
 mode of life, 115, 116
 Palmer, William R., 114, 116, 117
 Panguitch Lake, 141
 Utah, 128
 fortified, 170
 re-settled, 181
 Valley, 142
 Paragonah, Utah, 128, 132, 136
 Parashont Mountains, 189
 Parks, Southern Utah, history of, 184-
 209
 Park-to-Park Highway conference, 203
 Paria, (Pahrea)
 Indian derivation of name, 114
 River, Lee's Ferry at, 189
 Utah, 114, 179
 Parowan,
 Canyon, 135, 141
 Utah, 134, 137, 171
 Par-roos River, Indians of, 117
 Parrusit Indians, 117, 118
 Parrusit Indians,
 habits and customs, 115-122
 survivor of, 122
 Parunuweap Canyon, 147
 Indian derivation of name, 114
 settlement, 155
- Parry,
 Chauncey, 199, 203
 Gronway, 203
 Pathfinder tour to Grand Canyon, 195,
 197
 Peace council, Navajo, 177
 Pearce, J. D. L., 173-175
 Pearce's Ferry, 166
 Pendleton, Mark A., 184
 Peopling of Little Salt Lake Valley,
 celebration, 134
 Petty,
 Albert, 152, 153, 159
 Frank, 164
 Frank, Jr., 164
 George, 151
 Photographer, pioneer, 179
 of Zion, (Major J. W. Powell's
 Exploration Party), 186
Phragmites (Indian sugar), 119, 120
 Pilar River, 117
 Pinchot, Gifford, 187
 Pine Creek route road, 206
 Pine nuts, 120
 Pine Spring, 190
 Pioneer,
 farm instruments, 157
 occupations, 138
 wagon raided by Indians, 172, 173
 Pipe Springs, Arizona, 166, 180
 council of war at, 171
 Place names,
 Indian, 114, 115
 in Zion Canyon, 199
 Spanish, 128
 Pleasant Valley, 142
 Plows, hand, 157
 Pollock, Samuel, 147
 Polygamy, 183
 Potato Valley, (Escalante), 172
 Powell, Maj. J. W., 114, 177, 180, 185,
 186, 190
 Pratt,
 Orson, 131, 150, 151
 Parley P., 132, 136, 144, 148
 exploration of Southern Utah,
 133-134
 Prunus, (choke cherries), 120

Q

- Quinnarra, Indian chief, 141

R

- Railroads,
 built in Southern Utah, 203
 developed in Northern Utah, 138

- Railroad officials visit National Parks, 197
- Red Creek, 132, 135
- Red Desert, 124
- Reeves, Josiah, 147
- Remy, Jules, 138, 146
- Richards, Franklin D., 136
- Richie, Robert, 144
- Riddle, Isaac, 144
- Rider, John, 180
- Rigg Springs, 190
- Riggs,
 - B. A., 162
 - William, 147
- "Rio de Los Angeles," 128
- Rio del Pilar (Ash Creek), 124
- Rio Virgin Manufacturing Company, 154
- Rishel, W. D., 195, 197
- Rivers, (see names)
- Road,
 - Commission, Utah State established, 194
 - Commissioner, Utah State, 199
 - concrete, 205
 - convention, 196
 - through Zion Canyon, 158, 162
 - wagon, 134, 194
- Roads,
 - to Southern Utah Parks, 204, 205
 - constructed, 194-209
 - Federal aid for, 204, 205
- Robinson, Richard, 144-145
- Rock Creek, 134
- Rockville, Utah, 116, 151, 153, 154, 171
- Rolf, John, 157, 159, 161
- Roosevelt, President Theodore
 - enacts National Monument Act, 187
 - in Grand Canyon, 195
- Ross, George, 179
- Roundy, Lorenzo W., 144, 169, 189
- Rubus, (raspberries), 120
- Ruesch, Walter, 200, 202, 205, 207
- Russell,
 - family, 161
 - Harold, 207
 - Major, 173
- Rust, David D., 188, 191, 192, 193
- S
- Salina Canyon, 128
- Salt Lake Tribune sponsors auto path-finding tour to Southern Parks, 195, 197
- San Juan,
 - County explored, 183
 - River settlements, 183
- Santa Clara Creek, 127, 133
- dam, 145
- Santa Clara,
 - Indian Reservation, 122
 - Mission, 148
 - River, 128, 140
 - route used by Jedediah S. Smith, 127
 - Valley, 140
- Saunders, B. F., 191
- Savage, C. R., (pioneer photographer), 179
- Sawmill, 164, 181, 190
- Scoyen, E. T., 207
- Scutumpah, Utah, 181
- Seegmiller,
 - Carol, 184
 - Dan., 190, 191
 - Emma, 184
 - William W., 114
- Sevier River, 127, 128, 132, 141
- country raided, 169
- Sevy, George W., 181
- Sheep stolen, 167
- Shelton, Marion J., 165
- Shin-na'waw (Indian Spirit), 112, 113
- Shingle mill, 163
- Shivwits Indians, 112, 117
- survivors of, 122
- "Shunes" (Indian), 151
- Shunesburg, Utah, 150, 151, 153-155, 159
- derivation of name, 114
- Shurtz, Peter, 143, 169, 189
- Silver Reef, Utah, 122
- Skins, used for clothing, 118
- Skull Cap Valley, 142
- Slavery, Indian, 121
- Smith,
 - George A., 135, 150, 205
 - visits Kanab, 179
 - George Albert, Jr., 165
 - J. C. L., 141
 - Jedediah Strong, 117, 128, 148
 - expedition, 126, 127
 - John L., 142
 - Joseph, 131, 157
 - Silas S., 169, 170
 - Thomas S., 135
- Smoot, Reed, 192, 196, 202
- Snow,
 - Erastus, 136, 150, 167
 - General of Militia, 173, 175
 - Joseph S., 198
 - Leo A., 187, 202
- Soap Creek, 114
- Southern Utah,

- and Arizona Parks linked by road, 204, 205
 colonized by Mormons, 135
 early explorations of, 123-130
 early Mormon settlement in, 130-151
 Indians, 111-123
 martial law declared in, 170
 Parks, history of, 184-209
 Parley P. Pratt's exploration of, 133-134
 roads constructed in, 194, 209
 settlements, abandoned, 159
- Spanish Fathers' explorations, 123-126
 Spanish place names, 128
 Spanish Trail, Old, established, 126, 128
- Spencer, D. S., 197
 Spencer, Howard O., 184
 Springdale, Utah, 151, 153, 154, 159, 161
 Springs, hot sulphur, 124
 Spry, Governor William, 194, 197, 198, 202
 Squashes, 117, 143
 Staples, George, 153
 State of Deseret proposed, 131
 Steele, John, 139, 141, 173
 Stevens,
 Amos, 153
 Barney, 153
 Charles, 153
 Ezra, 152, 153
 Henry, 153
 Hyrum, 151, 153, 172
- Stewart,
 George R., 182
 Isaac, 150
 Levi, 178-180
 ranch and sawmill, 190
 Margery, 180
 Quinby, 164
 Scott P., surveying party, 164
- St. George, Utah, settled, 149
 Dixie Fruit Festival at, 194
 —Logan Highway, 194
- Stockraising, 138
 Stocks, Henry, 151, 153
 Stout,
 Alfred P., 163
 Eliza, 163
 family, 161
 Lionel, 163
 Mrs. Mary Jane, 163
- Strawberry Creek, 142
 Strong,
 Ezra, 153, 166
- Hyrum, 153
 Sullivan, Maurice, 117, 127
 Sulphur Creek, 128
 River, 124
 Summit Creek Canyon, 135
 Surveying,
 expedition to Zion Canyon, 187
 party in Zion Canyon, 164
 Swains Creek, 142
 Swing, Phillip D., 208
- T
- Tamarisk trees, 124
 Taylor, Orson, 158
 "Temple of Sinawava", Zion Canyon, 155, 206
 "Temples and Towers of the Virgin", Zion Canyon, 185
 Tenney, Nathan, 151
 Terry,
 family, (John R.) 161
 Jacob E., 153
 James P., 153
 Thaxton, James, 153
 Thompson, William, 180
 Thorley, Richard A., 199, 202
 Thornton,
 Amos G., 144
 J. W., 152
Three Patriarchs, Zion Canyon, 199
 Tillohash, Tony, (Indian) 112, 115
 Tobacco, wild, 156
 Tonaquint, Utah, 145, 147, 148
 Tonaquintit Indians, 117
 Toquer, Chief, 144
 Toquerville,
 source of name, 114
 Utah, settled, 147
 settlers, move to, 171
 —Cedar City road, 195
- Tourist busses, 207
 guide, 192
 travel in Parks, 207
- Trail built across Grand Canyon of the Colorado, 191, 192
 Mormon, 131
 Old Spanish, established, 126, 128
- Trails in Zion Canyon, 206
 Trappers, 126, 128
 Transportation to Zion Canyon, mode of, 158
 Travel in Parks, 207
 Tropic, Utah, 182
 Trumbull Mountains, 189
 Tufts, W. O., 199
 Tullis, David, 144
 Tunnel in Zion Road, 206
 Tut-se-gavits, Indian chief, 121

U

- Uinkarets Indians, 117, 122
 Union Pacific Railroad, 197, 198
 excursion to Bryce Canyon, 208
 expands in Southern Utah, 203
 United Order, for all the world, 158
 United Order,
 Beaver, Utah, 160
 Cedar City, Utah, 160
 Fillmore, Utah, 160
 Mt. Carmel, Utah, 183
 Nephi, Utah, 160
 Orderville, Utah, 183
 Parowan, Utah, 160
 Price City, Utah, 160
 Rockville, Utah, 160
 St. George Stake, 160
 Springdale, Utah, 161
 Virgin, Utah, 160
 Washington, Utah, 160
 Ungatuweep, (derivation of word) 114, 115
 U. S. Biological Survey, hunters for, 192
 Forest Service builds road, 195
 Geological Survey of Grand Canyon of the Colorado and Zion, 184, 185
 National Park Service established, 196
 "Utah Dixie" developed, 145-147-150
 Utah Lake, 123, 127
 Utah,
 Parks company, 203, 206, 208
 National Park, 208
 Southern, explored by Mormons, 130-149
 State Penitentiary, 195
 State Road Commission established, 194
 Ute ford, Glen Canyon, 166
 Indians, 130
 depredations, 167-169
 organization of Ute Nations, 115

V

- "V. T. Park," 190
 Vermillion cliffs, Zion Canyon, 161
 Virgin City, Utah, 154, 171
 Virgin River,
 Indian name for, 114
 Spanish name for, 128
 discovered by Escalante, 124, 127
 explored, 133, 139-141, 147
 ferries established on, 166
 guards placed on, 175
 Indians, 117

route taken by Fremont, 128, 129
 traveled by Jedediah S. Smith, 127
 used for irrigation, 151

- Virgin,
 Thomas, 128
 Utah, 147

W

- Wadsworth, William, 133
 Wagon roads in disrepair, 194
 Wagon trains raided by Indians, 172, 173
 Wai-no-pits, Indian spirit, 113
 Walker, Charles L., 111, 152
 diary of, 168-169
 Chief, 130
 War, 136, 137
 Wallace, Grant, 192
 War,
 Black Hawk, 159, 166, 167
 Indian, 136, 137, 159, 166, 167
 Mexican, 130
 Warm Valley, 143
 Wasatch Mountains crossed by Escalante, 123
 Wash basin, pioneer, 156
 Washington,
 County, protected by Militia, 167
 roads built in, 195
 Fields, 140
 Utah, 154
 Wayne Wonderland, 201, 207
 Weather, 133, 139
 Webb, C. Y., 139
 Wells, Junius, 190
 West Rim Trail, 207
 West Temple, Zion Canyon, 186
 Weump berries, 120
 White, Douglas, 196, 198, 199
 Whitlock, Hardin, 151, 153
 Whitmore, Dr. James M., 150, 166, 168, 169, 189
 Whitney, F. T., 142
 Wickiups, 118
 Wilkins, James, 179
 Willis, Joshua T., 147
 Wilson,
 George D., 181
 Pres. Woodrow, 201
 Winder, John, 163, 205, 206
 Winsor, A. P., 172
 Utah, 166, 181
 Wittwer, Samuel, 158
 Wolf-god, (Indian spirit), 112, 113
 Wolfskill, William, 128
 Wolves killed, 192
 Woodbury, Dr. Angus M., sketch, 111, 127

Woolley,

- E. D., 188, 191-193
- Edwin G., 176, 192, 193
- Franklin B., 171

Wylie,

- Camp, 199, 204
- Grove, Zion Canyon, 206
- W. W., 203

Y

York, Asa, 153

- Young, Brigham, 131, 147, 148, 157, 158, 160, 179-181, 191
 - John R., 184
 - John W., 175, 190
 - Willis, 147

Yount, George C., 128

Yubincariri Indians, 117

Z

"Zion—Bryce Nature Notes", 207

Zion Canyon (see Mukuntuweap)

- abandoned, 159
- agricultural development of, 155
- cable, 161-164
- dedicated, 202
- early history of, 185-209
- first passable road to, 199
- first settler in, 155, 156
- first white man to enter, 147, 158
- first white man to explore, 152
- geological formation of, 155

- grazing stopped in, 200
- highway constructed in, 205-209
- horse and buggy trip through, 188
- Indian name for, 114, 115, 161
- Indian superstitions re: 112-113
- last families to live in, 161
- lodge and cabins built in, 155, 156, 206, 207
- mail service, 161, 162
- modern development of, 194-209
- Mt. Carmel Highway, 209
- museum, 207
- named, 158
- name changed, 201, 202
- National Monument, 187
- Naturalist Service, 207
- paintings exhibited at World's Fair, 186, 187
- promontory, 133
- publicized, 194
- roads in, 158, 162, 188, 189, 196, 199, 200, 205, 207
- scenic points named, 199
- settlements of, 150-161
- superintendents and rangers appointed, 207
- surveyed, 164, 187
- trails built in, 206
- travel increases, 203
- visited by Brigham Young, 157, 158
- visited by Governor Spry, 195, 196
- visited by railroad officials, 197