

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
Department of Anthropology



ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

NUMBER 32

MAY, 1958

(Glen Canyon Series Number 3)

Mormon Towns in the Region of the Colorado

NUMBER 33

MAY, 1958

(Glen Canyon Series Number 4)

The Activities of Jacob Hamblin in the Region
of the Colorado

By LELAND HARGRAVE CREER

ROBERT ANDERSON, *Editor*

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH PRESS

SALT LAKE CITY

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

The University of Utah Anthropological Papers are a medium for reporting to interested scholars and to the people of Utah research in anthropology and allied sciences bearing upon the peoples and cultures of the Great Basin and the West. They include, first, specialized and technical record reports on Great Basin archeology, ethnology, linguistics, and physical anthropology, and second, more general articles on anthropological discoveries, problems and interpretations bearing upon the western regions, from the High Plains to the Pacific Coast, insofar as they are relevant to human and cultural relations in the Great Basin and surrounding areas.

For the duration of the archeological salvage project for the upper Colorado River Basin which the University has undertaken by contract agreement with the National Park Service, reports relating to that research program are being published as a series within a series, bearing numbers in the general sequence of the papers as well as their own identifying numbers.

The Glen Canyon subseries will represent a wider range of the sciences and humanities than the parent series itself. The project provides for studies of the natural history of the Glen Canyon area and its inhabitants so that the relations of the prehistoric cultures and their settings will be understood in depth. As contact with Western peoples and cultures has had a varying effect upon the native Americans and the land, some papers will be concerned with the Colorado in the more recent past. Most of the Glen Canyon publications, however, will be archeological reports.

MORMON TOWNS IN THE REGION
OF THE COLORADO

Leland Hargrave Creer

Number 32 (Glen Canyon Series Number 3)

May, 1958

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
Department of Anthropology
University of Utah

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
1. Introduction	
Mormon Colonization	1
The Colorado Region.	3
2. The Mormon Towns	
Boulder	5
Cannonville.	8
Escalante	10
Hanksville	15
Hite	18
Lee's Ferry	19
Bibliography	25

ILLUSTRATION

Fig. 1, Map, Mormon towns in the region of the Colorado	6
-------------------------------------------------------------------	---

	<u>Page</u>
7. Explorations South of the Colorado	
Emigrant Guide	29
Exploration of the Little Colorado	29
8. Settlement in Arizona: Retrospect	
Hamblin Moves to Arizona	31
Tributes	32
Bibliography	33

ILLUSTRATION

Fig. 1, Map, Expeditions of Jacob Hamblin in the Region of the Colorado	iv
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----



Fig. 1. Expeditions of Jacob Hamblin in the region of the Colorado.

1. INTRODUCTION

Mormon Colonization

Upon their arrival in the Great Basin area, the Mormon leaders immediately planned the exploration of its various valleys with a view to the location of suitable sites for additional settlements, for it was realized that the Great Salt Lake Valley was too limited in resources to meet the needs for an anticipated population of 75,000. As a result, within a decade approximately 100 inner-cordon settlements had been founded (see Hunter, 1914, 361-66, which includes a list of colonies founded under the direction of President Young, and Roberts, 1930, 475-88). These extended from Bear Lake on the north to the Rio Virgin on the south, a distance of 450 miles. The new towns paralleled the Wasatch and other ranges of mountains, nestling close to their western edges as if to escape the western desert. Settlements were closer together in the northern areas but became more scattered as the southern waste lands were reached.

The following were principal inner-cordon settlements, founded within the limits of the present state of Utah: Sessions Settlement (Bountiful) and Farmington in Davis County; Ogden in Weber County, founded in 1848 by Captain James Brown, who purchased the Goodyear Tract for \$1,950; Cedar City, Paragonah and Parowan in Iron County; Fillmore, the designated territorial capital; Scipio, Holden, Kanosh, and Oasis in Millard County; Beaver in Beaver County, founded by the people of Parowan as a convenient stopping place over the monotonous 90 mile stretch northward to Fillmore; Manti and Fort Ephraim in Sanpete County, the former founded as the direct result of a request of Chief Walker, that the Mormons make a settlement among his people; Nephi in Juab County; and Provo, Springville, Spanish Fork, Palmyra, Lehi (Dry Creek), American Fork, Payson and Santaquin in Utah County.

All of these communal settlements had common traits or characteristics. All were typically New England in pattern, -- well organized, carefully planned, cooperative ventures. Practically all were walled in or at least contained a fort for protection.

On August 23, 1853, the ward bishops and members of the city council of Salt Lake City unanimously agreed to build a wall around the city, with a ditch or moat surrounding the wall on the outside. "It was decided to make the wall six feet thick at the bottom, to be carried up with an equal slope on each face to six feet high, where it would be two and a half feet thick; thence to be carried up at that thickness six feet higher, and rounded at the top. The wall, though never completed entirely around the city, was about six miles in extent" (see History of Brigham Young, Ms., 1853, 99-100, and Roberts, 1930, Vol. 4, 53).

The fort at Manti was typical of other Utah forts. "It has a gate on the west side in the center of the wall, and round bastions at the northwest and southwest corners. The wall is eight feet and two feet thick and is set upon a foundation of stone three feet wide. The fort cost 610 days labor for men and boys over sixteen, 85 for boys under sixteen, and 125 days' team work. It was intended to build the tithing store in the center of the fort." (Deseret News, June 27, 1852).

All were laid out with broad streets intersecting at right angles after the example of Great Salt Lake City. The meeting house and the school house, often one and the same, was usually the only public building. The larger centers only afforded the luxury of a store and the grist mill was a later innovation. There were the typical blacksmith and shoe shops; these were not separate establishments, but merely extensions of the artisan's home or property.

Upon arrival in the valley, the immigrant families were either temporarily distributed among the permanent residents or allowed to encamp on selected sites, pending distribution later to other communities. The names of those to be sent as colonists to other towns were announced publicly at the conclusion of religious service. During the October Conference in 1853, for example, "fifty families were designated to go to Iron County; fifty to Fillmore in Millard County; fifty to Tooele County, fifty to Sanpete (County); fifty to Boxelder (County); fifty to Juab (County); while Orson Hyde was sent to make a permanent settlement on the Green River near Fort Bridger" (Neff 1940, 216). Equally important was the policy of distributing the apostles throughout the territory rather than having them all reside at Salt Lake City. Communities thus formed made for a hard life -- "comforts and advantages were few, social life was provincial; on the other hand, life was wholesome and the exigencies of the situation developed to a remarkable degree a very highly integrated system of cooperation" (Creer 1947, 363).

The Mormon Church, which initiated the group settlement plan and the farm village, supported these institutions long after the first frontier period was over. A letter from John Taylor, President of the Church, written in 1882 to Stake President William B. Preston of Logan, Utah, makes it very clear that the Mormon village was more than a protective device against the Indians. "In all cases in making new settlements," Taylor wrote, "the Saints should be advised to gather together in villages, as has been our custom from the time of our earliest settlement in these mountain valleys. The advantages of this plan, instead of carelessly scattering out over a wide extent of country, are many and obvious to those who have a desire to serve the Lord. By this means the people can retain their ecclesiastical organizations, have regular meetings of the quorums of the priesthood, and establish and maintain day and Sunday schools. They can also cooperate for the good of all in financial affairs, building bridges, and other necessary improvements. Further than this they (the villages) are a mutual protection and a source of strength against horse and cattle thieves, land jumpers, etc., and against hostile Indians, should there be any; while their compact organization gives them many advantages of a

social and civic character which might be lost, misapplied or frittered away by spreading out so thinly that inter-communication is difficult, dangerous, inconvenient, and expensive" (John Taylor to William B. Preston in Stegner 1942, 30-1)

And says Stegner by way of comment: "That puts it fairly succinctly. The Mormon village is a social, economic, educational and religious unit, the sort of unit that best met conditions on the frontier and after the frontier had almost passed. . . By revelation and accident and adaptation, the Mormons discovered what the cliff-dwellers had discovered centuries before; that the only way to be a farmer in the Great Basin and on the desert plateaus of the Colorado watershed was to be a group farmer." And Stegner continues: "These are the things that a traveler notices even in a brief visit to the Mormon county. Trees and villages and ward houses, intensive irrigation farming, the constant evidences of cooperative effort. The pattern is not the usual American pattern; in many ways the life and the institutions it has produced are unique. And it is endlessly repetitive -- everywhere in the Mormon country, sometimes hundreds of miles from the center at Salt Lake City, you can see the same things going on in the same kind of ward houses in the same kind of villages on the same nights of the week. You can see the same lush fields and the same characteristic trees (Lombardy poplars), and the same villages perched in the midst of the scrap of cultivable land that supports them, hives in the middle of the clover field" (Stegner 1942, 31-32).

Mormon outposts or the outer-cordon settlements were projected by Brigham Young for the following reasons: (1) accomodation for incoming emigrants; (2) pacification of the aborigines who threatened on occasion to destroy the lines of communication with distant commercial marts; (3) breaking of the long haul between eastern and western travel points through the establishment of convenient supply or resting stations; (4) strategic posts to ward off unfriendly military invasion from without; and (5) expansion through the establishment of key localities through which the spreading of the Gospel might result. The major Mormon outposts were San Bernardino, Yerba Buena (San Francisco) and New Hope, California; Genoa and Las Vegas, Nevada; Fort Lemhi (Salmon River), Idaho; Forts Bridger and Supply, Wyoming; and the Elk Mountain Mission, near Moab, Utah.

The Colorado Region

Perhaps the most inhospitable area in the United States, but most certainly in Utah, is the region of the Colorado. It is a horribly rough country, offering few facilities to sustain life. Even today it is possible to die there of thirst or from having lost one's way. For 1000 miles along the east and southern sides of the state of Utah, from Green River to Boulder Dam, one can cross the Colorado River and plateau at only three places. Speaking of the reconnaissance of this area by Powell and Thompson in 1869 and 1871, Stegner adds: "The stream Thompson tentatively called Potato Creek was a tributary of the Colorado but one that both the 1869 and 1871 river parties entirely missed. Its mouth was not even shown on the map of the United States.

Thompson called it the Escalante after the first white man known to have crossed that wilderness, not quite a hundred years before. The gray-green peaks he thought of as the Dirty Devil Mountains were the last mountain range to go onto the map also; the name they would finally bear was that of Powell's first and most helpful friend in Washington, Joseph Henry." And Stegner continues: "The magnificent Kaiparowits Plateau is a perfect setting for anybody. Wooded clear across its 11,500 foot top, studded with a hundred lakes." Boulder Mountain, extending northward, "offers from any part of its periphery not only the charm of its own mountain scenery and climate, but views to take the breath; southeastward to the Henry Mountains on the edge of the Colorado; southwestward over the desert to the knife-edge of the Kaiparowits; northward across the toothed comb of the Waterpocket Fold to Thousand Lake Mountain climbing from its red base courses to its crest of dark lava and darker spruce" (Stegner 1954, 142-3).

There are few towns in the Kaiparowits -- Boulder, Escalante, Cannonville, Hanksville, Loa, Teasdale, Fremont, Fruita and Torrey - "a handful of hermit villages in a region so vast and primitive that it looks lonely on the map" (Whipple 1945, 90). The first four only, however, have been included in this study and the two Colorado Ferry crossings, Hite and Lee's Ferry have been added. Escalante and Boulder are gateways to Hall's Crossing and Hole-in-the-Rock, Hanksville for Hite or Dandy Crossing, and Cannonville for the Pahreah River and its approaches to Lee's Ferry.

2. THE MORMON TOWNS

Boulder

Boulder, at the base of Boulder Mountain, is probably the most isolated village in Utah. Its nearest neighbors are Escalante and Fremont, 30 miles away, and it is 220 miles from the nearest railroad. East of the town for 120 miles there is no single known white inhabitant. Its elevation is 6670 ft. In 1940 its population numbered 216. The name Boulder was applied because of the numerous, massive, vari-colored boulders which surround the town. The area has "green alfalfa fields, grazing cattle and scattered ranch houses, in amazing contrast to the desert wastes and rocky fastnesses surrounding the country" (Gregory 1941, 240). The tiny town was isolated from the world for years by towering, inhospitable walls of solid rock. Access to the community was made only by mule or pack horses. An early settler "packed in a pick-up truck in pieces, reassembled it and ran it eight years without a license" (Gregory 1941, 240). Even after President Harding, in 1921 had set aside 130 acres for a townsite, no official survey was made and for nearly 10 years thereafter the residents were legally squatters immune from taxation. The difficulty was resolved in 1932 by the Federal Land office in order to allow an applicant to purchase a town lot.

Andrew Jensen, L. D. S. Church Historian, visited Boulder in 1928 and has left us this description: "The Boulder country may consistently be termed an oasis in the desert. The settlement covers a number of small valleys divided by mountain ridges and drained by Boulder Creek and Deer Creek, from which the settlers obtain an abundant supply of water for culinary and irrigation purposes. The settlement is scattered northerly up and down the creeks named for some ten miles. One of its most attractive elevations is the so called Sugar Loaf, a sandstone formation rising about three hundred feet above the floor of the valley. All kinds of grain and hardier fruits can be raised; and three crops of alfalfa are realized by the settlers every year" (Wayne Stake and Ward Records, *passim.*). Yet, due to the nature of the surrounding terrain and the limited scope of its fertility, the country, except for a very limited degree, is unsuited for farming. However, Boulder Valley is excellent grazing country and thousands of cattle and sheep are raised there. And continued Jensen: "Boulder would be a very desirable place to live were it not for the difficulties connected in reaching it. The thirty-five mile road from Escalante is one of the roughest roads imaginable, while that leading northwest toward the Fremont is somewhat better, though much longer. Impossible as it may seem, it is nevertheless a fact that a number of automobiles owned by settlers have been brought over the road from Escalante to Boulder. Such travel by machine has to be made with the assistance of horses or mules which are needed to haul the machines up the steep places and over the roughest parts of the road" (Wayne Stake and Ward Records, *passim.*). Seven years later, however, Boulder's inaccessibility was ended through the construction by the Civilian Conservation Corps of the United States Government of a remarkable road and bridge, the latter called "Hell's Backbone." This was a very dangerous but marvellous piece of work. "It provides for an ever changing view from beginning to end, including the thrilling adventure of

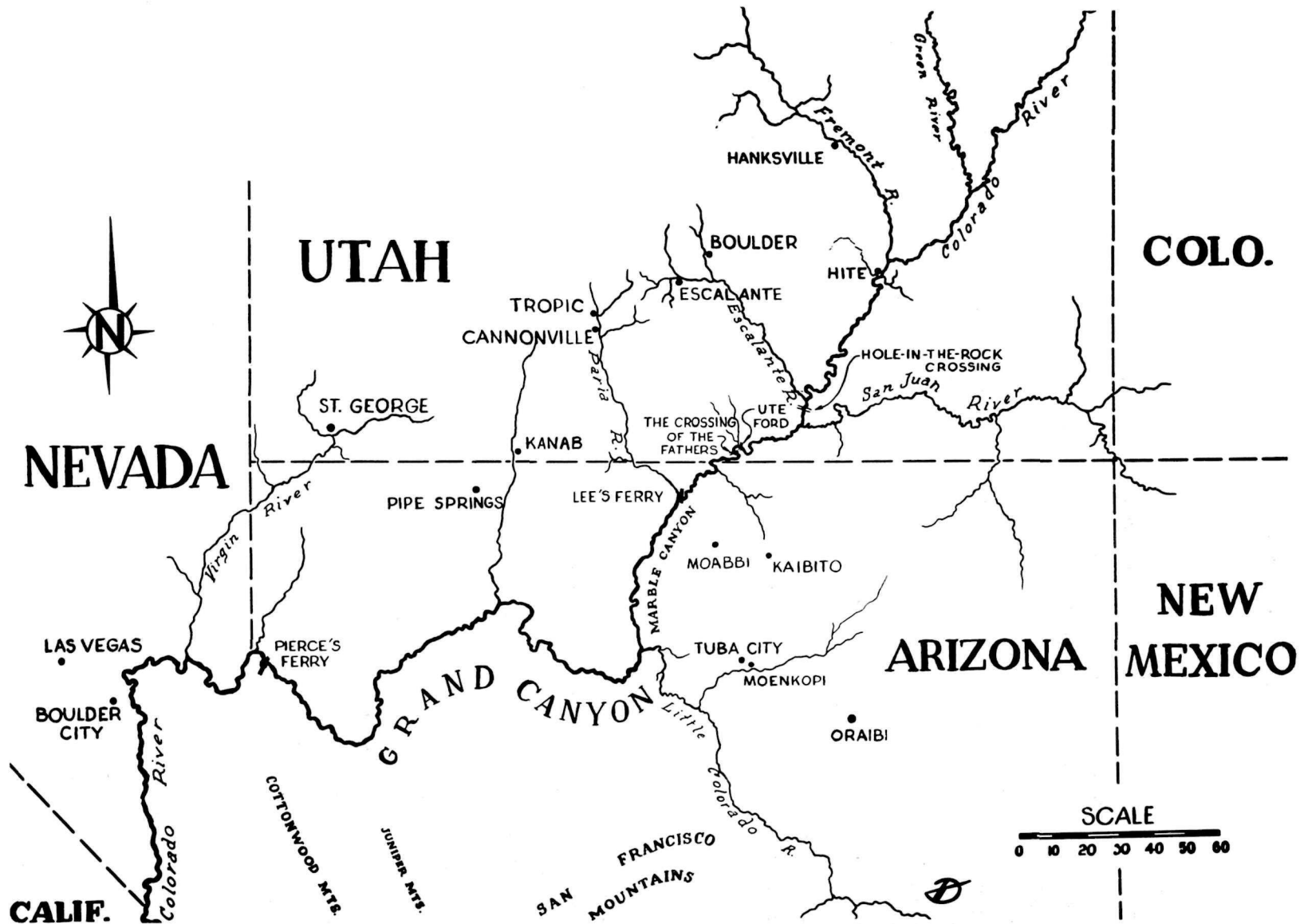


Fig. 1. Mormon towns in the region of the Colorado.

crossing 'Hell's Backbone Bridge', one of the highest in the world. It spans a crevasse on a narrow ridge no wider than the bridge itself, while on both sides one looks over precipitous walls for hundreds of feet to the bottom of 'Death Hollow' on the one side and 'Sand Canyon' on the other" (Rainbow Views, 147-8). The completion of this great engineering project ended Boulder's regime as a pack horse town.

The Boulder Valley was first settled by stockmen from Escalante. Nicoles Johnson and August Anderson went there in 1879 from Richfield with 500 head of cattle. The latter built a circular corral with wings near the barns. "It was built of quaken aspen poles which are soft and decay rapidly, but today (1940) after sixty years part of the old corral still remains and the name 'August Corral' still clings to the flat where it is located" (Rainbow Views, 146). Thousands of cattle came to the valley soon after the original pioneer herdsmen. "Stock was turned loose to fatten and increase, calves were left for their mothers to wean, no losses except through occasional thievery. No fees, no taxes until 1890. John King, the largest cattleman, estimates that 12,000 head of cattle grazed here between 1890 and 1900" (Rainbow Views, 146).

In 1889, Amasa Lyman and John F. Hawes started ranches on Bear Creek, "a stream so clear that it is transparent and the water as soft as rainwater." James C. Peterson from Richfield arrived in 1898 and purchased 140 acres from Willard Brinkerhoff, a Mormon settler who had squatted on the land some time before. Peterson sold some of his property to George Baker and V. E. Bean. Difficulty ensued in 1937 between the sheepmen and cattlemen when federal officials sought to enforce the Taylor Grazing Act, which was designed to reclaim over-grazed public lands with the limitation of livestock and the restricted allotment of range land to individual stockmen. This, of course, proved advantageous to the sheepmen at the expense of the cattlemen and old feuds were renewed in which the latter attempted to force the former off the Wayne County range. The dispute was settled amicably, however, and without resort to gunplay.

The nucleus of an ecclesiastical organization was begun unofficially in 1898 by V. E. Baker, who also organized a Sunday School two years later. On August 16, 1903, Wayne Stake organized Boulder as a branch of Thurber Ward with James C. Peterson as presiding elder. Mutual Improvement Associations were added in 1912 and a Relief Society in 1915. The first public building used also for school purposes was a log cabin built by V. E. Baker in 1900. Via Cottam from Escalante was the first teacher.

Cannonville

Origin of the settlement

Cannonville, on the Pahreah River, was settled in 1876 by James L. Thompson and sons, John, William, and Joseph; Bishop Jonathan Packer and his son, Nephi; John H. Dickson, William H. Henderson, George and John Ingram, Ebenezer Bryce, Waldo Littlefield, Edward Clayton, and Bliss and Morrison Mecham. By the early 80's, 230 people were living there. Picturesque Bryce Canyon is within the limits of Cannonville. Georgetown, a small hamlet just across the line in Kane County, also was incorporated until 1894. As early as 1874 a few isolated pioneer settlers had settled at Clifton, a few miles southward. They had been attracted by a report of an old Indian fighter named James Andrews, who said the area was "well watered, with good soil and a favorable climate, with extensive grazing tracts and plenty of firewood, coal and lumber" (Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days, 115). These pioneers located first near the junction of the Pahreah River and Henrieville Creek. Immediately thereafter, five other isolated communities including Cannonville had been established, all within a radius of 6 miles. Of one of them, it is related in the history of Garfield County, Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days, "The first settlers built about ten log houses in a sort of string town fashion, naming the town Clifton on account of the peculiar formation existing in the immediate neighborhood" (p. 115). But of these five towns, Clifton, Losee, and Georgetown were abandoned, and only Henrieville and Cannonville remain today. An ecclesiastical branch under the jurisdiction of Panguitch Ward with Jonathan T. Packer as bishop was organized in 1877. In the fall of the same year, the entire settlement of Clifton was moved about 2 miles to a more desirable locality. Bishop Packer wrote to the Deseret News, December 5, 1877 (Vol. 27, p. 766): "We have laid out a new town, 1 1/4 miles north of Clifton. We have a splendid townsite. We have changed the name of Clifton to Cannonville. All the people are now comfortably housed. We are surrounded on all sides with timber for building and fencing. There is plenty of coal in sight of our doors and plenty of red and white limestone for building purposes nearby. We have four miles of ditching to bring Pine Creek in, then we will have plenty of water. There are several farms for newcomers close to town. First come, first served."

A few months later the News again recorded (Vol. 27, p. 25): "Cannonville is situated thirty miles southeast of Panguitch in a valley ten miles long and from a half to two miles in width, on the head of Pahreah Creek. Several other small valleys or broad canyons open into this valley, all offering excellent facilities to the farmer and grazier. Packer, the bishop, thinks the farming land and other facilities sufficient for the support of three good towns and he considers it the finest settlement to be had in this region. There is firewood within five miles of the settlement to supply all the inhabitants the place could support in fifty years and thousands of acres of excellent long-leafed and red pine saw timber within from six to twenty miles, growing where a wagon could be drawn into it. Besides this, there is a ten foot coal vein cropping out of the surface within nine miles of the settlement. The winters are very mild. The soil is of a sandy nature and very productive especially for sugar cane and such crops. Carrots were raised there last year two feet long and weighing as much as 4 1/4 pounds each." And a later News item (February 27, 1879) records the following:

"This favorable country is situated about 280 miles from Salt Lake City on the headwaters of Pahreah, which empties into the Colorado sixty-five miles further south at Lee's Ferry. The settlers are desirous to have a number of industrious families come to their county, promising that their reports are not exaggerated and that those who may come will never regret the step they take. We consider it a very promising opportunity for those who are tired of city life or unable to make a good living there to emigrate to a country so favorably situated, and where settlers are all persons of hospitality and fraternal good feeling."

Later History

Subsequent accounts (see report of William Lewman, dated July 27, 1885, and that of Andrew Jensen, June 5, 1891) attest to the prosperity of the Cannonville Saints. Fruit crops, especially, seemed promising. "Apple, peaches, plums were raised with marked success. The peach trees are loaded to their capacity" (Deseret News, Vol. 34, p. 460). A very successful cooperative mercantile institution was established in 1887. "The absence of this institution has long been deplored by our citizens owing to the fact that previous to the organization of our co-op store, we were compelled to travel to the county seat, Panguitch, in order to obtain the necessaries used and continually needed in the household, and in going to Panguitch, which is distant thirty-five miles, we were compelled to travel the noted East fork route in winter time, frequently covered with snow to the depth of two to four feet, thereby endangering the lives of man and beast attempting to cross it" (Deseret News, February 22, 1887). A semiweekly mail service was in operation by 1886.

The village of Georgetown on Yellow Creek was a part of Cannonville until 1894, and Henrieville, 4 miles distant, was likewise incorporated until 1889. The most picturesque settlement in the area, Tropic, is only a few miles from scenic Bryce Canyon. (Ebenezer Bryce, after whom Bryce Canyon was named, is reputed to have replied to a friend upon being asked what impression the gorge made on him, "It's a hell of a place to lose a cow."). It was settled in 1892 by the Ahlstrom brothers, (James, Ole, and John), Bishop A. J. Hansen, David Bott, and the Jolley brothers (Joseph, William, and John). The building of a canal called the Tropic Ditch, in 1892, assured success of the community. Within a year the town and ward were separated from Cannonville (dates of the L. D. S. organizations established at Tropic include: Relief Society, November 11, 1894; Sunday School, January 8, 1893; Mutual Improvement Association, July 8, 1896). The cattle business is Tropic's main industry, but alfalfa, corn and excellent fruits are produced. In 1950, the population of Tropic, then the largest settlement in the Pahreah area, numbered 600, including 230 grade school children. Fine homes, good stores, two cafes, a coal mine, a good hotel, and two good saw mills are established. A combined meeting and school house was erected in 1896 and soon thereafter a four year high school which serves the needs of Henrieville, Cannonville, Georgetown, and Tropic was established.

Escalante

Origin of the settlement

Escalante, named after the explorer, Padre Velez de Escalante, who, however, never came within 150 miles of the site of the town, is one of the most isolated towns in Utah. Yet, of all the communities of the Colorado region described in this report, it is by far the largest and most prosperous. In 1900 its population was approximately 1200. The larger precinct extends northward to the rim of the Aquarius Plateau, westward to the summit of Escalante Mountain on the rim of the Great Basin, east to the Colorado River, and south to the Kane County boundary. The town proper is located on the south side of Escalante Creek, 1 mile above the junction of this stream with Pine Creek; 60 miles southeast of Panguitch, 18 miles north of the Kane County boundary, 35 miles northeast of Henrieville and 60 miles northwest of the nearest point on the Colorado River at Hole-in-the-Rock. The valley in which Escalante is located is about 6 miles long and 3/4 miles wide. Southwardly the valley opens into a desert which extends 60 miles to the Colorado, paralleling Escalante River on the east and the interesting Fifty-Mile Mountains on the west and bisecting the famed Kaiparowits Plateau. The larger region or precinct as distinguished from the town proper of Escalante contains a number of ranches beyond the town limits. Most of these are deserted in the winter when the ranchers move into town.

Says Dr. Herbert E. Gregory (1941, 340) of the Kaiparowits Plateau region: "Without artificial irrigation the food crops of the Kaiparowits region would be those of the cliff dwellers and the Piute-pinon nuts, cactus fruits, and seeds of the ak (wild millet), sunflower, goldenrod, some squash and rarely corn, and when Pongonits, the wind god, dried up the springs and withered the grasses, reliance would be placed on deer, rabbits, badgers, porcupines, rats, mice and lizards. The total population of this vast area is slightly over 2,000 (1940) and thousands contain not a single inhabitant. Cattle and sheep men must range far to sustain themselves on the scant forage and the herds are small."

Escalante is an old fashioned horse town "where everybody rides horses and newsboys deliver papers on horseback". It is one of the few remaining towns "where church officials arbitrate civil problems" (Gregory 1941).

"The larger Kaiparowits region", says Gregory (1941, 340) "is essentially a grazing district, perhaps the largest free range in the United States. The villages and surrounding towns (of which Escalante is the most important) serve as headquarters for sheepmen and cattlemen without whose interests the population of Escalante, Cannonville, Tropic and Henrieville probably would be numbered by a few tens and Boulder might not exist at all." In 1900 there were 15,000 sheep, 4000 head of cattle and 1100 horses in the area comprised by the Escalante ward.

In 1872 it is reported that surveyors Frederick Dellenbaugh and Almon Harris Thompson of the Powell Expedition met a number of Mormons from Panguitch headed by Alma Barney, Arla Bliss, Edward Brinker and Smith Thurston,

who were seeking a settlement in Potato Valley (so called because the explorers found wild potatoes growing there). This area had been first discovered in 1866 by Mormon cavalry in pursuit of Indians during the Black Hawk War. The Powell explorers recommended Potato Valley as a desirable place to settle and the Mormons decided to settle there; however, it was not until three years later, in 1875, that this decision was carried into effect. Alma Barney claims the honor of being the one responsible for changing the townsite from the north to the south side of Escalante Creek and of constructing the first irrigation ditch in the community. He also helped survey the road over Escalante Mountain. This survey was not continued into the new settlement that season (the winter of 1875-76, however, because of inclement weather conditions. "We were forced to return home (to Panguitch) in one of the fiercest snow storms we had ever witnessed, arriving just before Christmas" (Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days, 93).

A most enthusiastic report about the possibilities of Potato Valley as a potential colonizing site was made by a group of Mormon explorers from Beaver, Utah, in February, 1875. These included William J. Flake, Isaac Riddle, Charles D. White, Isaac Turley, and William Hutchings. They reported that at least 1000 acres of arable land was available and that they had discovered a great bed of plaster of paris in the neighboring hills. A number of men from Panguitch hearing this report, decided at once to settle in Potato Valley. These pioneers, among whom were Andrew Peter Schow, George Sevy, David Stevenson, Thomas Heaps, Don Carlos Schurtz, William Avery, and the above mentioned Alma Barney, all from Panguitch, and Isaac Turbow of Panaca, Nevada, formed the nucleus of the Escalante settlement. George Sevy was elected leader of the party and Andrew Schow was appointed first bishop to the ward. The group in two wagons crossed the saddle of Escalante Mountain and entered Potato Valley, June 28, 1875. "The brethren succeeded in descending Escalante Mountain on the east by roughlocking the wheels and a man riding with each hind wheel" (report of Andrew Jensen in Garfield Stake Reports, 1875). They at once made a temporary survey and prepared to build a cabin, each man claiming a quarter section of land in order to secure the claim for other prospective pioneer settlers. They then spent considerable time as heretofore mentioned in surveying a road across Escalante Mountain and returned for the time being to Panguitch.

The townsite of Escalante was divided into 18 5-acre blocks, each subdivided into four lots of 1 1/4 acres each. The early pioneers spent about nine months of the year on nearby ranches located in canyons about the town and near water, where dairy farming became a leading industry. An unsatisfactory feature of Escalante was its inaccessibility. Before the road over the difficult 2700 ft. Escalante Mountain was completed it was necessary to travel the treacherous and devious route through Henrieville and Cannonville to Panguitch and thence northward to Marysvale, the nearest railroad point, 125 miles distant from Escalante. Roads were so bad that it took two weeks to make a trip to Salt Lake City, and even the shorter but more dangerous route over the mountains was impassible during several months of the year (Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days, 93).

Early history

Each of the pioneer families was of necessity a miniature manufacturing center, since the colonists produced their own wool, sheared the sheep, and washed, carded, spun, dyed and knitted the wool into stockings and sundry articles of apparel. They also made their own candles, lye, soap, and rennet for making cheese. The first sawmill was built by Henry J. White in 1877, but until 1877 the people ground their grain for bread in hand coffee mills (Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days, 94). Then in the latter year, James McInelly, Sr., installed a grist mill 2 miles northwest of the town. Coal mining was an important early industry. During the late 70's there were "carpenters, stonemasons, cabinet makers, boot and shoe manufacturers, blacksmiths, and lime and brick masons" (Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days, 94).

The first school house, used also for all public purposes, was a log building, 36 by 18 ft. It was built in 1876. A two story white stone church and tithing office was the second public edifice erected. The Roundy Hall, popularly known as Star Hall, was used for dances and public recreations. Pan-guitch Stake was organized April 23, 1877, and Escalante and its environs created a ward the following May 13 with Andrew Peter Schow as bishop and Edwin Twit-chell and David Adams as counselors. The first Sunday School was organized in 1877 with Josiah Barker as Superintendent (Garfield Stake Records, 1877).

An interesting letter written by one Henry Stokes of Escalante July 31, 1878, describes conditions in Potato Valley at that time. Excerpts follow: "We have an immense quantity of all kinds of timber suitable for different kinds of building purposes; we have also an abundance of quaken aspen and cottonwood, cedar and oak. . . we have mountains of rock suitable for building purposes and it is already quarried. We have also a range of mountains which appears to be chiefly plaster-of-paris rock, many miles in length. . . we have good crops of grain and a great variety of vegetables. We have an extensive range which we consider good. It is called a desert and supposed to be about sixty miles long and extends to the Colorado River; but there is very little water on it and teams generally come into town to get water. Our city lots are fenced and under cultivation, part of them are put out to orchards. Apples, plums and gooseberries are already producing some fruit which is very encouraging to us" (Garfield Stake Records, 1878).

Andrew Jensen, Latter-day Saints Church historian, reports the building of a passable road to the Colorado River by way of Grand Gulch, in 1881. In that same year, Charles Hall built a ferry at the terminus of the road known thereafter as Hall's Crossing (Garfield Stake Records, 1881). The ferry, although subsidized by an apportionment of \$1,000 from the Utah State Legislature, did not pay and was subsequently closed. The Hall's Crossing road was built to direct traffic to the San Juan Mission from the more difficult and inhospitable Hole-in-the-Rock route. (Prof. David E. Miller has written a definitive account of the Hole-in-the-Rock Expedition of 1879, to be published by the University of Utah Press).

A decade later (1891) Andrew Jensen reports: "Escalante Valley is truly an oasis in the desert. The fine orchards and green fields of the settlement in contrast with the surrounding wastes and deserts, at once suggest thrift and modesty on the part of the inhabitants and reveal the blessings of the Almighty, who has crowned the labors of the Saints with success. The supply of water for irrigation purposes has immeasurably increased since 1882. The town of Escalante is about sixty miles east of the settlement of Panguitch, thirty-nine miles north east of the town of Henrieville, twenty miles southeast of where the road crosses the 'saddle' of the Escalante Mountain, eighteen miles north of the boundary line between Garfield and Kane counties, and sixty miles north from the 'Hole-in-the-Rock' . . . the nearest point on the Colorado River where a road (now in disuse) was made by San Juan missionaries a number of years ago. The country lying east of Escalante is barren and desolate, consisting chiefly of broken and rugged sand hills and a formation of red and white sandstone cut up by gulches, box canyons and washes to such an extent that it can only be traveled with the greatest difficulty. Large tracts of it have never been trodden by human feet" (Garfield Stake Records, 1891).

Later history

Since 1923 vast changes have been noted in the economy of Escalante. Lowry Nelson indicates these in his fascinating book, Mormon Village. Thus he says: "In 1923, Escalante seldom ever saw bread from a bakery, or milk from any other source than their own cows; by 1950 trucks were making several deliveries a week from bakeries and creameries more than one hundred miles away." Domestic economy was being superseded by corporate practices. "The great depression of the 30's and World War II of the 40's had an unmistakable imprint upon Escalante. The depression found the livestock men heavily in debt to private banks and loan corporations and when the decline in prices came they were unable to meet their obligations. Thousands of sheep and cattle men were driven from the community by the financial institutions which foreclosed on loans. The drought of 1934 added further to the disaster of the depression. When the economic collapse ushered in the New Deal with its relief policies, Escalante was destined to feel its effect." A C.C.C. camp was established which constructed a 40 mile highway between Escalante and Boulder. "By 1950, electric refrigeration replaced the old ice box and kerosene and gasoline lamps were discarded entirely. This has meant greater dependence upon the outside. By 1950 flour mills were no more. Home baking was no longer universal. Dairy cows were fewer in number. Even fresh vegetables from California were now brought in during the winter" (Nelson 1952, 110-12). Further effects of the depression are thus noted by Nelson: Number of sheep in 1923, 23,000, and in 1950, 7,000; number of cattle in 1923, 9,500, and in 1950, 4,200; number of families owning sheep in 1923, 54, and in 1950, 5; number of families owning cattle in 1923, 87, and in 1950, 58.

A recent report notes the following conditions in Escalante during the current decade: "Today Escalante is a thriving little town with modern facilities of every kind. There are several fine mercantile houses, a good grade school,

a four year high school, a motion-picture show, two lovely churches, an amusement hall, electric lights, a water system, and a wide-awake Lions Club which is boosting the town in every way, and the townsmen are a happy prosperous people" (Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days, 97). Escalante is potentially rich in cattle and sheep and has fine, productive farms. Valuable coal and oil deposits have been discovered. The average growing season of the valley is 130 days (Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days, 93).

Hanksville

One of the dreariest and loneliest sites in Utah is Hanksville in Wayne County. Isolated and secluded, the town during the 80's and 90's was used as a rendezvous for the Robbers' Roost gang, a pack of outlaws which held sway over all southeastern Utah. The people of the community are said to have welcomed the rustlers because they were such good spenders (see Rainbow Views, 300-1, and Kelly 1938, passim). In 1950 the population of the settlement was only 197.

Hanksville is located in Graves Valley which extends 5 miles along the Fremont (Dirty Devil) River. The valley was named after a John Graves, about whom the people of Wayne County have developed a legend. It appears that Graves lived as a hermit for many years in the Fremont Valley and ran a large band of horses. Eventually he was joined by Cass Hite, and the two partners operated out of Mount Pinnell in the Henry Mountains. Meeting with little success, Hite became discouraged and followed down the Colorado River seeking gold until he came to the hamlet that now bears his name. Graves mysteriously faded from history and has since been referred to as the Ghost of Mount Pinnel (Rainbow Views, 298).

Curtis Creek and Hanks' Creek, both tributaries of the Fremont, flowing from the northwest and the south respectively, form a junction near the center of the town. The village is 17 miles northwest of the Henry Mountains, 50 miles west of Blake's Station on the Green River, 50 miles due east of Loa and about 60 miles directly north of the Colorado River. Hanksville became significant in the early twentieth century when Hite Crossing became increasingly used for travel into the San Juan and Colorado countries.

The first settlers in Graves Valley were Ebenezer Hanks and his son and two sons-in-law who left Parowan March 10, 1882, and arrived at Hanksville on April 1. Within a month Hanks succeeded in diverting water from the Fremont River and planting crops which matured well. His son-in-law built the first cabin; about five others were erected before the end of summer. During the year 1883 these pioneers are said to have built three dams in their efforts to control the waters of the Fremont. A few more families came into the valley the following years but some, discouraged, left, leaving about a dozen families there in 1890, when due to the needed market for outlaw trade and Colorado River traffic, the population more than doubled. From 1895 to 1915, following the eclipse of the Robbers' Roost gang, Hanksville became an established supply depot for goods which were furnished to an increasing number of sheep and cattle men who wintered around the Henry Mountains and off toward the Colorado.

Major obstacles deterring the successful settlement of the upper Fremont Valley were the periodic occurrence of drought, and the fluctuating condition of the weather. The December 31, 1932 report of Wayne Stake reveals the following:

"The Saints in Wayne Stake are suffering greatly due to the general depreciation of farm produce and livestock, together with the general crop conditions due to some drought and much cold weather during the summer. There has been a frost every month of the year in Loa, Fremont, Grover, Bicknell and Hanksville. The country has no other source of revenue than that of stock raising and agriculture and about 75% of all the farm lands are under heavy mortgage at the present time, and there seems to be no means of relief for the property owner while others are cared for through the Red Cross, R. F. C. Funds and other ways. Honest men are not able to meet their obligations and are becoming discouraged financially. As far as food is concerned most of the people are not suffering, but those who must meet mortgages and have no sale for their products, are. It appears that few if any stockmen can survive the depression with honor as the indebtedness on their heads will not satisfy the judgments being entered against them."

The outlook was just as bleak and discouraging 10 years later, for the Stake Record for March 31, 1943 says: "The winter of 1942-43 was very dry. No storms at all; all livestock in the range around Hanksville was in very poor condition. Some of the cattlemen have been forced to sell out because of the lack of feed. Sheepmen are very hard pressed because of the poor condition of the range. A lot of stock have eaten the poisonous loco weed which grows in great abundance here." World War II had its toll. "The C. C. C. Camp has been moved from Hanksville, most of the buildings being torn down and trucked out. All the families of Cainsville Branch moved away to take defense jobs or to put their children in school as there were not enough children in town to have a school. The Post Office was taken from Cainsville, leaving a rural delivery service. In Hanksville, so many of the Priesthood went to take defense jobs, and with several families moving away, not enough people are left to carry on the auxiliary work of the Church. No Sacrament meetings were held during the winter" (Wayne Stake Records, March 31, 1943). And a year later: "The families in the ward are very few in number owing to so many of the men and boys away to work and in the armed forces" (Wayne Stake Records, March 31, 1944). The same conditions prevailed in 1956. In August, 1956, the Wayne Stake Records disclose: "The unbroken drought in this area has become extremely serious. Not in the past thirty years has there been anything to compare (with current conditions). Part of the range is devoid of growth of any kind."

The upper Fremont Valley was not well suited for agriculture. The total acreage of good soil was far too limited. However, the country offered excellent though restricted facilities for grazing, especially in the region south and east toward the Green River. Westward and northward the country is a barren desert almost totally devoid of vegetation. The natural growth of the valley is greasewood and rabbit brush. In the county at large the sheep and cattle industries have declined in importance since the 1920's. In 1951 only about 16,000 head of sheep were reported and during the same year about 5000 cattle owned by Wayne County stockmen grazed on the National Forests and about 1150 more on the public domain; a far less imposing record than that of any decade since 1900 (Rainbow Views, 26, 30, 60). The trend seems to be toward fewer range cattle and more of the dairy type.

Wayne County census records for 1945 are revealing. Crops included barley, 91,253 bu.; wheat, 15,076 bu.; oats, 26,374 bu.; alfalfa, 6067 acres; potatoes, 90 acres. Numbers of livestock were: All cattle, 9712; dairy cows, 1132; sheep, 37,843; hogs, 2147. Estimated cash income from the sales was the following: Cattle, \$210,000; sheep, \$250,000; dairy products, \$120,000; poultry and eggs, \$98,446; hogs, \$62,000; fruit, \$20,000; timber, \$130,340. Total land in Wayne County amounted to 1,244,160 acres, and land on which crops were harvested totalled 11,871 acres. Farms numbered 264.

Another great obstacle to the settlement on the upper Fremont is the difficulty of communication, especially through Capitol Wash. Travel over this route until recently had to be limited to horseback or wagon team. Both animals and conveyances had to be in good condition if travellers from the upper towns expected to make the trip in less than two days. "Although persons going through the Wash got a jolting they could never forget, they felt somewhat compensated by the gorgeous scenery which enveloped them. Not until the late twenties was the road improved sufficiently for automobile travel. Many times after that the floods came through making it unfit for car travel until the road was again repaired. On a few occasions travellers were met by floods in the wash and barely escaped the rolling torrent. If their vehicle happened to be a car, it was usually worthless thereafter" (Rainbow Views, 281).

A skeleton Latter-day Saints Church organization was maintained from the very beginning at Hanksville. Without ordination, Ebenezer Hanks officiated as presiding elder and David King as first Sunday School teacher. In 1884, a branch organization was effected under the jurisdiction of Thurber Ward with William Bacon as presiding elder. In 1918, the branch was transferred to the Torrey Ward. Torrey was the most prosperous settlement in the entire Fremont area. In 1919 it contained 225 inhabitants but "contained a store, a sawed log meeting house, a fine rock school house, an amusement hall, and a number of fine residences, nestling in the midst of beautiful orchards and well cultivated farms." It is located west of Capitol Wash about 40 miles west of Hanksville (Wayne Stake Records). Sixteen years later, in 1935, a ward organization was formally created with Glen Peterson as the first bishop (Wayne Stake Records).

Hite

Hite is located near the northeast corner of Garfield County on the banks of the Colorado River near the head of Glen Canyon. It is 50 miles southeast of Hanksville and 43 miles directly west of the Natural Bridges Monument in San Juan County and 162 miles up the Colorado River from Lee's Ferry. The place was named for Cass Hite, a prospector who started a placer mine near here in 1883. During the 80's and 90's, Hite was used as a rendezvous for the Robbers Roost gang, of whom Cass Hite and Butch Cassidy were notorious members. "The gang held sway over all the territory south and east of Hanksville; some people welcomed them in the small settlements, perhaps because the outlaws were good spenders" (Gregory 1941, 349). In 1893, as legend has it, Hite was questioned about gold on the Colorado. "Whether to keep prospectors away from his hideout, or in sincerity, he said the coarse gold had been washed down to the ripples and sand bars at the foot of Navajo Mountain. A gold rush was started, ferries were built, and great dredges were called to the Colorado, where they still lie, twisting and rusting. Finding no gold, disappointed prospectors 'went after' Hite, intending to kill him. The resourceful isolationist went into hiding for two years until the incident blew over" (Gregory 1941, 349). Hite died in 1915. His holdings were owned successively by Fred Gibbons, Frank Lawler, Orin and John Snow of Richfield and the present owner, A. L. Chaffin, who started a homestead at the site in 1934. Part of Chaffin's property was purchased by Aaron Porter in 1947.

In the meantime Chaffin built a ferry across the river. It was run by a Ford car, which drew the cables which were fastened to the cliffs on either side of the river. Hite's Crossing is one of the four, and perhaps the best natural crossing of the Colorado (The other three are Hall's Crossing, Ute Ford and Lee's Ferry. Hite referred to his route as the Dandy Crossing).

Chaffin planted a fine orchard on his homestead and produced excellent peaches, pears, figs, pomegranates, apples, English walnuts and almonds (Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days, 153-54). An improved runway for commercial planes was cleared and a passable road constructed south of Hanksville. A mill for treating uranium and copper ores was recently built on the east side of the Colorado River, opposite Hite. Two additional families, those of Dan Miller and John Pehrson (the latter associated with the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation) came to Hite in 1948. As a result of this accretion, the school board of Garfield County authorized the expenditure of funds to provide for a school for their 10 children. Mrs. Rosa Gerhard became the first teacher (Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days, 155).

Lee's Ferry

John D. Lee moves to Lonely Dell

John D. Lee was excommunicated from the Latter-day Saints Church, October 8, 1870, for his alleged complicity in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, 17 years earlier. "It is strange that Lee himself supplies all the information regarding his excommunication that has thus far come to light," Clelland and Brooks (1955, II, n. , p. 256) remark. "Just one month before this entry (October 8) Lee and President Young were traveling together in southeastern Utah and counseling privately with each other; and at the very time he received word of his excommunication, Lee was on a 'mission' for the church."

Thereafter Lee became a hunted fugitive and fled southward, eventually locating at Lonely Dell, at the mouth of the Pahreah on the Colorado River. (This name is applied to the residence of Lee, and should not be confused with his ranch in the same area. Lee's original cabin was built partly from timbers from Major Powell's boat). However, this decision to move southward probably was determined in a conference a month earlier between Lee and President Brigham Young, while the latter was encamped on the headwaters of Kanab Creek. As reported by Lee, President Young on that occasion "gave me some kind fatherly council. Said he would like to have me gather my wives, sons and daughters around me and settle in any of the places we should select and start the family order, stating that I had passed through a great deal of hardship in my life and now he would like to see me enjoy peace the balance of my days. I replied that my mind led further to a country that I had seen in visions and dreams." To this the President retorted: "You will see that country; it is over the Colorado in the San Francisco Mountain. I repeat, it is my wish and counsel. I suggest to you the propriety of selling out and going south." Lee replied: "By the help of the Lord I will try to make a move in that direction" (Clelland and Brooks 1955, Lee's entry of September 5, 1870).

Later in the fall of 1870, Lee, in preparation for his journey southward, contracted with Jacob Hamblin at Kanab for a supply of household goods and camp equipment and then proceeded toward the Pahreah. His journal entry for November 21, 1870 states: "Drove to Skutumpah Valley, distance 18 miles (and 90 miles from Kanab) and stopped for the night. This is one of the loveliest little valleys in the mountains; abounds on either side with rich luxuriant feed, fine springs, and meadowland with several 1000 acres of choicest farming land, surrounded with beautiful scenery with the alpine tops towering above the evergreen cedars and shrubberies. On the east and west are low rolling ranges, forming the appearance of a plain. At this point I intend locating a portion of my family. All who have passed this way have fallen in love with the location" (Clelland and Brooks 1955, Lee's entry of November 21, 1870). Lee remained at Skutumpah Valley for several months during the year 1871 and operated a saw mill there, but migrated southeast toward the Colorado in December 1871.

While at Skutumpah Valley, Lee conferred with Jacob Hamblin, who tendered him good advice on his proposed plan of settlement at the mouth of the Pahreah. "There is a good place for a settlement, he said, and you are invited to take it up and occupy it with as many good ranches as you want and can secure, and I would like to have a small interest in it and a 1/2 acre of cotton raised and a little milk and mush when I come down there. If you have a woman that has faith enough to go with you, take her along and some cows. How many shall I take? Suit yourself, the more the better. There is feed enough on the creek to keep 200 head without putting them on a ranch and if you get your stock here, you save them from being stolen and I will bring any of your family or effects to you when necessary, and I will supply you with all kinds of good seeds and fruit trees" (Clelland and Brooks 1955, Lee's entry of November 15, 1870).

Legend says that the place selected by John D. Lee on the Colorado was named by his wife Emma. "When they arrived December 21, 1871, she with four young children and a fifth to be born within the month, walked over the rough stretches while her husband tried to make enough of a road to keep the wagon from tipping over. She viewed the valley at the mouth of the Pahreah, a sandy floor dotted with desert brush and walled with cliffs as barren as the second day of Creation and exclaimed, 'Oh, what a lonely dell!' The name stuck, and from that day forth it unofficially headed all letters and diary entries until on July 24, 1872, when Lee wrote that 'Major Powell adopted my name for the place, Lonely Dell, and so ordered it to be printed on the U. S. maps'" (Brooks 1957, 283).

The Colorado River had been crossed before, of course, but not by raft or boat before 1864, when Jacob Hamblin crossed it in this manner. Lee, however, was the first to bring a wagon to the edge of the Colorado and to develop a commercial ferry across the river to Arizona. His first ferry, established in 1872, was constructed by building a raft of driftwood and cottonwood trees which grew near the junction of the Pahreah and Colorado Rivers. This primitive boat was used only for a short time. Later a better boat built of pine obtained from Kaibab forest was used. The timber for the second ferry boat was hauled a distance of 60 miles by oxen. It was necessary to use several new boats subsequently, because of their frailty and hence impracticability in the lashing of the turbulent waters of the Colorado. Frederick S. Dellenbaugh doubts the veracity of the above explanation as to the origin of ferry service and states that one of Major Powell's boats, the Nellie Powell, presented to Lee by the Major in 1872, was the first conveyance used for such purposes.

(Frederick S. Dellenbaugh in a letter to the Church Historian's Office dated June 25, 1934, questions the assertion made that the first ferry was made of driftwood and cottonwood and contends that Powell sold the first boat so used, the Nellie Powell, to which Andrew Jensen replies (July 5, 1934): "We have no hesitation in accepting your statement as to the use that said boat was put in the manipulation of the ferry by John D. Lee; but that need not interfere with the story about Mr. Lee building a raft of driftwood and of cottonwood trees which

was subsequently used by missionary companies called by the L. D. S. Church to Arizona in 1872 and 1875. We are filing your letter and making it a part of manuscript history of Lee's Ferry with the understanding that no conflict exists except that Mr. Lee perhaps had constructed his raft in the spring of 1872, while the Nellie Powell might have been presented shortly after, and that both the raft and the boat named were used simultaneously for ferrying across the river."(See Kanab Stake Records, entries of June 25 and July 5, 1934.)

The operation of Lee's ferry

Lee's first recorded experience as ferryman came on January 19, 1872 when he was accosted by a band of Navaho seeking passage across the river. "So I with Samuel and James and my wife Rachael Andora commenced to cork an old flat boat and by noon we were ready to cross. When we launched the boat, my two sons, Samuel and James, faltered, (and) feared to venture with such a craft. My wife Rachael Andora said she would go over with me and steer. When we reached the opposite side, the natives met us with open arms and friendship. They were heavily loaded with blankets full of cloth, calico, domestics, made-up clothing, linseys, and handkerchiefs. After much difficulty we succeeded in getting them and their baggage over safe. Next were the horses which we failed to swim over, and after two trials and nearly upsetting the boat, a council was then held and six of their number were to cross back and take the horses and cross at the Ute crossing and the remaining nine were to follow the trail on foot by way of the Pahreah settlement. When we recrossed the six, nightfall closed the scene. For the last three hours I worked through fever and ague and when I reached the fire on shore I was so near exhausted that I staggered. One of the natives caught me in his arms and another threw his blankets over me and four of them helped me home" (Clelland and Brooks 1955, Lee's entry of January 18, 1872).

"More important than the ferry business," says Brooks (1957, 285), 'was the task of raising food in the hostile environment. First, last and all the time was the problem of irrigation water. The Pahreah, normally a small, quiet stream, drained a wide area, and rain on its far reaches might bring a flash flood here which would scoop out the dam and fill the ditches." This was the pattern in several instances. The new boat was ready for launching January 11, 1873. A gala celebration was held. Thereafter, attention by necessity was diverted to the completion of adequate wagon roads for the new approaches to the ferry. The first company to pay for use of the new boat arrived on April 22, 1873. "Lee hauled their nine wagons over, and at least thirty-three animals. Here he established the price which was still in use in 1885 -- \$3.00 per wagon and 75¢ per animal, with no charge for people or luggage. From the first company he collected \$46.00, much of which was in flour and salt, meal and groceries" (Brooks 1957, 288). On June 6, 1873, an unfortunate accident temporarily wrecked the fortunes of Lee's ferry and stymied the Arizona migration. A heavy torrential gale blew up from the south and tore the ferry boat loose from her moorings and she "doubtless went over the rapids or sank." This was a great loss to Lee, who after his after his excommunication saw the hand of the Lord in every incident of his life.

Lee's despondency and loneliness at the Dell is illustrated in his soliloquy of July 6, 1872, upon the occasion of a visit of his son, John Willard. The saddened fugitive records in his diary: "When my son saw me he fell on my neck, kissed me and wept for joy. He said, Father I am not happy to be away from you. The thought of your being alone and no one to lean on but God and that too upon a mission and no one to associate with but Aunt Rachael and Emma and their little children, in a desolate wild desert almost one hundred miles from civilized settlements, and all your sons that is of much size upwards of fourteen years of age have left you, it looks to me to be one of the most cruel things in the world, and if my wife will come I am determined to be with you. He said it was the opinion of leading men that I confidentially was sent here for a wise purpose. When he came I was planting corn. He assisted me till noon." (Clelland and Brooks 1955, Lee's entry of July 6, 1872).

Lee's career as ferryman was destined to end abruptly, for in June, 1873 the fugitive fled southward to avoid certain capture. He records in his diary, entry of June 25: "A little after dark my daughter Rachael Andora, Nancy Emily and her little brother John Amasa arrived with an express from my ranch at the Pools (not Jacob's Lake), stating that two messengers came in from Kanab and reported that 600 soldiers and 40 baggage wagons were enroute for the ferry at Lonely Dell with orders to erect a fort and military post at that point. The messenger had said they had made loud threats about what they intended to do -- that they would hang old Lee and every child that had a drop of his blood running in its veins and that they turned in their animals at Kanab on the growing crops. The advice was for me to get out of the way to parts unknown" (Clelland and Brooks 1955, Lee's entry of June 25, 1873). The dejected Lee then laments: "Reader, imagine my feelings to be forced to leave my dearly bought home which I had just reclaimed from a sterile barren desert of sand hills through incessant labor, worn down with cares and fatigue of body... the prospect for the future began to loom up, that a better day was just at hand. When lo, all of a sudden, I was forced to leave my dear family of wives and children who clung around my neck with bitter tears as we parted. My course was southeast... I swam my horse over the foaming Colorado by a skiff and bent my way for the Mowencroppa (Moencopi), there to take my abode with the House of Israel -- Mokies, Orabias (Oraibi), Piutes, and Navajos" (Clelland and Brooks 1955, Lee's entry of June 25, 1873). But Lee was unduly alarmed, because it is now known that the only military force which came south in the summer of 1873 was a small detachment of troops that formed Fort Cameron at Beaver, late in August (see Brooks 1957, n. 1, p. 339).

A little more than a year after this flight, Lee was arrested at Panguitch and taken to Beaver for trial for his alleged participation in the massacre at Mountain Meadows. He was later incarcerated in the Utah territorial penitentiary at Salt Lake City pending a retrial which began again at Beaver, September 13, 1876 and ended in his conviction on September 20. Lee was taken back to the scene of the massacre at Mountain Meadows and there executed by a firing squad on March 23, 1877.

The last interview between President Brigham Young and John D. Lee occurred at Kanara April 8, 1874, seven months before his arrest at Panguitch. Lee writes: "President Young enjoined me to see after the ferry and not let the boat get away. Said that he had been told that I associated with Gentiles and played cards and that I ate and drank with them and that I swore as they did. He was sorry to hear that I was on the backgrounds, that I was once a faithful man and that he could trust me to do anything on earth that was wanted to be done and he hoped that these reports were false. I replied that his informant must have little to do, that so far as my associating, eating, and drinking and playing a game of cards with Gentiles, that I don't deny but as to cursing and going back on the Church, that I deny. The President blessed me and then drove on" (Clelland and Brooks 1955, Lee's entry of April 8, 1874). This entry shows, we believe, Young's concern about Lee's personal welfare despite his apparent belief in Lee's guilt at Mountain Meadows.

Later years at Lonely Dell

After Lee's execution his widow Emma continued to operate the ferry, assisted by Warren M. Johnson. Eventually, she sold her property to the Church, and this organization in turn hired Johnson to operate it. According to James H. McClintoch, Arizona state historian, "Johnson, then an official church agent, gave Emma Lee 100 cows for the ferry, which were contributed by the people of southern Utah and northern Arizona, they receiving tithing credits therefore" (McClintoch 1921, 93). (A serious accident at the ferry which almost cost the life of Jacob Hamblin and resulted in the death of one Lorenzo Roundy, occurred in May, 1876, as reported later by Hamblin in the Deseret News. For details, consult Andrew Jensen, Kanab Stake Records, May, 1876).

A branch organization under the jurisdiction of Kanab Ward was organized at Lee's Ferry in 1884 with Warren Johnson as presiding elder. This position he held for more than 20 years. A year later the name was changed to Pahreah Branch. A Sunday School was organized in 1895. However, an ecclesiastical organization was difficult to maintain, since the obstacles of ferrying trans-river members to scheduled meetings led to the abandonment of most functions. Later the church sold its interests in the historic ferry to the Grand Canyon Cattle Company, which in turn resold it to Coconino County. When the latter transaction was effected, the farm at Lone Dell was purchased by the Johnson boys, sons of Warren. The eldest, Jeremiah, was still occupying the premises in 1930. (Lee's Ferry Branch was reorganized in 1926; the branch was discontinued temporarily six months later when the presiding elder and three alleged wives were excommunicated for polygamous cohabitation. See Kanab State Records, entry of July 26, 1926).

Navaho Bridge

Historic Lee's Ferry ended its colorful career in 1929 with the dedication of beautiful Navaho Bridge on June 14. The dramatic event was reported to the Deseret News the following day. Pertinent extracts follow: "In the silent uncounted centuries of the past the mighty Colorado gorged out the ever growing barrier that has separated the Northwest from the Southwest in probably the most complete isolation that has ever existed between two states of the union. In all of its six hundred miles of sheer canyon walls there has been no means of transportation except over the historic Lee's Ferry and the hazards that accompanied first the entrance to the ferry shores and the crossing of the river itself were such as to discourage all but a few of the most daring from following such a route. From Toppock, California, to Green River, Utah, there has been no conquering of the Great Basin of the Colorado throughout all history until the gigantic bridge near Lee's Ferry was completed and thrown open to traffic. Prior to the construction of the bridge, Arizona was further removed from Utah in point of accessibility than the Mississippi River. Only by a circuitous route southwesterly through California or easterly, then southerly and westerly has Arizona been accessible. From the tourist standpoint the immediate economic importance to these states (Utah, Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, and New Mexico) is of no small significance. First, the bridge will make accessible the north or south rims of the Grand Canyon from opposite brinks. The magnificence of Zion's National Park, the loveliness of Bryce and Cedar Breaks, the graceful beauty of Rainbow Arch and the Natural Bridges of the San Juan are all more closely linked to the Grand Canyon Gorge, the Painted Desert, the Petrified Forest, the Navaho Reservation, the Mesa Verde National Park and the Hopi Mesa Villages" (reported by Brigham Robertson, Deseret News, June 15, 1926).

The bridge itself was no small engineering feat. It is located 130 miles north of Flagstaff, Arizona, the nearest railroad point, 6 miles downstream from Lee's Ferry, and about 70 miles southwest of Kanab, Utah. The cantilever structural steel design was adopted because it was found that the suspension type of bridge was impracticable. Fifteen thousand tons of materials, hauled over atrociously rough roads in trucks were needed. The main span of the bridge is 616 ft. long and its 18 ft. roadbed is 467 ft. above the low water level of the river. Including abutments, the bridge is 834 ft. long. To defray costs of construction, Congress appropriated \$100,000 and Arizona \$285,000.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alter, J. Cecil

- 1932 Utah, The Storied Domain. 3 vols. The American Historical Society, Chicago.

Anderson, Nels

- 1942 Deseret Saints. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe

- 1889 History of Utah. The History Publishing Co., San Francisco.

Brooks, Juanita

- 1957 Lee's Ferry at Lonely Dell. Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 25, No. 4
Salt Lake City.

Clelland, Robert Glass, and Juanita Brooks

- 1955 A Mormon Chronicle. The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876.
2 vols. The Huntington Library, San Marino.

Creer, Leland Hargrave

- 1931 Mormonism. In Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 11,
New York.

- 1947 The Founding of an Empire. Bookcraft Co., Salt Lake City.

Deseret News. Weekly, 1850-1867; daily, 1867-1950. Salt Lake City.

Garfield Stake Records. In Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.

Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days. A History of Garfield County. Daughters of the Utah Pioneers Series. Panguitch, 1949.

Gregory, Herbert E., ed.

- 1941 Utah. Guide to the State. American Guide Series.

Hunter, Milton R.

- 1940 Brigham Young, The Colonizer. Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City.

Jensen, Andrew

- 1901 Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia. 4 vols. Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City.

- 1914 Church Chronology. Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City

Journal History of the Church. 1850-1950. Ms. Historian's Office, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

- Kanab Stake Records. In Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.
- Kelly, Charles
1938 Outlaw Trails. Privately published. Salt Lake City.
- McClintoch, James H.
1921 Mormon Settlement in Arizona. Phoenix.
- Neff, Andrew Love
1940 History of Utah. Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City.
- Nelson, Lowry
1952 Mormon Village. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Rainbow Views. A History of Wayne County. Daughters of the Utah Pioneers Series. Springville, 1951.
- Roberts, Brigham H.
1930 Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Century One. 6 vols. Salt Lake City.
- Stegner, Wallace
1942 Mormon Country. New York
1954 Beyond the Hundredth Meridian. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston.
- Stone, Irving
1956 Men to Match My Mountains. Doubleday and Co., Garden City.
- Wayne Stake Records. In Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.
- Whipple, Maurine
1945 This is the Place: Utah. Knopf, New York.
- Woodbury, Angus
1944 A History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks. Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 12, Nos. 3-4, pp. 1-110. Salt Lake City.

THE ACTIVITIES OF JACOB HAMBLIN
IN THE REGION OF THE COLORADO

Leland Hargrave Creer

Number 33 (Glen Canyon Series Number 3)

May, 1958

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
Department of Anthropology
University of Utah

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
1. Early Life	
Birth and Ancestry	1
From Nauvoo to Salt Lake City	1
Life in Tooele Valley	2
2. The Southern Mission	
Fort Harmony	5
Settlements on the Tonaquint	5
Spanish-Mexican Indian Slave Trade	6
3. Visits to the Moquis	
First Expedition	9
Second Expedition	12
Third Expedition	13
Fourth Expedition	16
Fifth Expedition	17
Sixth Expedition	18
Seventh Expedition	19
4. The Founding of Kanab	20
5. Assistant to Major John Wesley Powell	23
6. Peacemaker Among the Navaho	
Navaho Unrest	25
Treaty of Fort Defiance.	25
Chief Tuba Visits Utah	26
The Grass Valley Massacre	27

1. EARLY LIFE

Birth and Ancestry

Jacob Hamblin, a distinguished Indian missionary and faithful church worker, commonly referred to by his Mormon friends as Apostle to the Indians, by others as Peacemaker, was born April 2, 1819 at Ashtabula County, Ohio. He was the third child of a family of twelve children, eight sons and four daughters, born to Isaiah and Daphne Haynes Hamblin. In 1836, the Hamblin family moved to Spring Prairie, Wisconsin, a few miles northwest of Chicago. Here Jacob and his father filed claims to two farms of 80 acres each. "It was the most delightful country I had ever seen" says Jacob. "It was beautiful, with rolling prairies, groves of timber, numerous springs of pure water, and an occasional lake abounding in fish" (Little, 1909, 9).

In 1842, young Hamblin was converted to Mormonism and baptized a member of that faith, an act which caused severe denunciation by his wife, Lucinda, his father and other relatives. "When my father learned that I had joined the Mormons, he said that he had brought up his children so that none of them would ever be deceived by priestcraft; at the same time he turned from my gate and refused to enter my home" (Little, 1909, 13).

In that same year, 1842, Jacob moved to Nauvoo, Illinois. Here, for a while, he labored as a builder of the Mormon temple. In 1844, Brigham Young, then a leading Mormon authority, called Hamblin into service as a "minute man," or scout whose business it was to ferret out enemies of the church. "Because he was not a Mormon well enough to be suspected," says Bailey, "he could mingle with Gentiles, attend their indignation meetings, and report their every move -- where an apostle or a bishop would likely be shot or flogged on sight. As a spy, his quiet, untalkative manner quickly made him of value to the Saints in their effort to counter every hostile move -- hoping vainly the furor would die away if caution were used, and no incidents provoked. 'You're a wonder,' Brigham praised. 'You should have been an Indian, Jacob. If the Church had a few such listening Indians, it might hope to know from which direction to expect the gale'" (Bailey 1948, 48).

From Nauvoo to Salt Lake City

Jacob Hamblin was among the first to cross the Mississippi River when the Saints were forced to leave Nauvoo during the first week of February, 1846. He was selected to go with the vanguard company whose duty was to select camp sites, choose suitable places for cultivation, and assist the less fortunate in the exodus. He settled his family at a little frontier town called Bloomfield midway across the state of Iowa. On April 11, 1847, he arrived at his father's home near the Missouri River. By this time he had baptized his parents and four brothers into the Mormon Church; all other members of the family had been confirmed members by missionary companions. Lucinda, too, had been baptized, but never really converted and when the journey toward Utah was about to begin, she became hysterical, deserted her

husband and four small children and fled eastward to a Gentile camp. It is said that Jacob pursued his wife and found her at a soldiers' camp in the arms of a drunken officer. He never saw Lucinda again (Bailey 1948, 78).

The Hamblin family, except the faithless Lucinda and Jacob's mother who had died on the Iowa plains in 1847, joined the Aaron Johnson Company and began the long trek to Utah in June, 1850. Travelling along the Platte River, Jacob was impressed visibly by the sight of bleached bones of passing emigrants, all victims of the deadly cholera. "The dead were buried without coffins," he writes, "and with but a slight covering of earth. The wolves had dug up and feasted on their carcasses and their bones lay bleaching in the desert. There were days of travelling in which human skeletons were usually in sight" (Little 1909, 26). The caravan arrived in Salt Lake Valley September 1, 1850 and the Hamblins were at once directed to settle in Tooele Valley.

Life in Tooele Valley

Upon their arrival in the Territory of Utah, the Mormon Church leaders at once planned the exploration of its valleys with a view to the location of suitable sites for additional settlements, for it was realized that the Valley of the Great Salt Lake was too limited in resources to meet the needs of 60,000 additional colonists. The result was that within a decade approximately 100 small settlements had been founded. These extended from the Bear River in the north to the Rio Virgin in the south, a distance of about 450 miles and were located along the western edge of the Wasatch Mountains and other plateaus paralleling this range, as if to escape the frowning, inhospitable desert to the west. All these communal settlements had common traits and characteristics. All were typically New England in pattern, "well organized, carefully planned, cooperative ventures" (Creer 1947, 362). Practically all were walled in or at least contained a larger square with adjoining fort for protection. "The meeting house and the school house, often one and the same, was usually the only public building, mercantile establishments were few and far between. The larger centers alone afforded the luxury of a store" (Creer 1947, 362).

Besides these so-called inner cordon settlements, it was planned to establish outposts at key positions on the outer fringe of the Great Basin. These were designed especially for protection of the enlarged Mormon empire. Other reasons appear to be: establishment of bases in order to more effectively facilitate the migration of the Saints into the Basin area; the building of forts where it was particularly necessary to pacify Indians who threatened lines of communication; the breaking of the long haul of eastern or western travel through the building of conveniently placed supply and resting stations; guaranteed protection against military invasion from without; and finally, religious expansion through the establishment of key localities where the spreading of the Gospel might result (Neff 1940, 217 *et. seq.*). Such outposts included Forts Bridger and Supply, in southwestern Wyoming; Fort Lemhi on the Salmon River in central Idaho; Elk Mountain Mission on the Old Spanish Trail

near Moab; Genoa, Nevada, pivotal point on the important central route across the Sierras to California; Tuba, an old abandoned Spanish pueblo in the Santa Cruz valley, Arizona; and San Bernardino, near Cajon Pass in southern California.

In order to facilitate this program of planned expansion and colonization Brigham Young gave serious thought and attention to the problem of the relationship between the Mormon colonists and the redmen whose lands they had invaded and pre-empted. As a matter of self protection it was necessary to evolve a benevolent Indian policy. "It has been our habit," says Franklin D. Richards (MS 37, 38) "to shoot Indians with tobacco and bread biscuits rather than with powder and lead, and we are most successful with them." Brigham Young in his message to the General Assembly of the State of Deseret in December, 1850, comments: "We spared no time and expense in endeavoring to conciliate the Indians and teach them to leave off their habits of pilfering and plundering and to work like other people. Could they be induced to live peacefully and keep herds of cattle their condition would very naturally be ameliorated, and gradually induce a return to the habits of civilization" (Young 1850, 121). "We expect you to feed and clothe (the Indians) so far as it lies in your power," wrote the President to the Fillmore Saints in 1852. "Never turn them away hungry from your door, teach them the arts of husbandry, bear with them in all patience and long suffering, and never consider their lives as equivalent for petty stealing" (Young 1852, 51, 52).

The application of President Young's benevolent policy among the Indians of Tooele Valley, however, was extremely difficult. The valley offered limited resources and the early colonists were hard pressed to make a substantial living. "During this critical period," says Corbett, "They had very little food to share with the Indians who came so regularly to beg. It is little wonder that the native redmen would steal their cattle and horses and carry off their newly threshed grain at every opportunity. The Indians seemed to have the advantage. It was easy enough for them to watch the settlers from a vantage point by day and steal from them at night" (Corbett 1952, 38-9).

At Tooele Jacob Hamblin had his first direct experience with the Indians. He was elected First Lieutenant of a military company which subsequently made several unsuccessful sorties against the thieving redmen. On one occasion the chief among the Indians, when his party was apprehended, sprang forth and said: "If you shoot, I will; if you do not, I will not." And Jacob said: "Such an influence came over me that I would not have killed one of them for all the cattle in Tooele Valley" (Little 1909, 28). Some of the apprehended braves accompanied Hamblin to Tooele under promise of protection. There the superior officer, despite this pledge, decided to have the Indians shot. Jacob retorted: "I told him I did not care to live after I had seen the Indians whose safety I had guaranteed, murdered, and as it made such little difference with me, if there were any shot, I should be the first. At the same time I placed myself in front of the Indians. This ended the matter and they were set at liberty" (Little 1909). For his courageous, benevolent action Hamblin was warmly congratulated and commended by President Brigham Young.

It was while on one of these peace quests that Jacob found the 12 year old boy, Albert, whom he rescued from an almost certain death. He found the boy living with his deserted mother, who, ill and emaciated, had been left to die in an improvised wickiup. This was in accordance with Indian custom. "Jacob had returned with his saddle bags stuffed with food and blankets. The squaw's face brightened up at the sight of the plunder and she finally consented to give up her son. The boy, Albert, served Jacob long and faithfully as his adopted son" (Little 1909).

Hamblin's characteristic policy of leniency and patience with the Indians made him increasingly unpopular with the settlers, but his reputation as a peace-maker and Indian diplomat was enhanced with Church authorities. To this remarkable convert came the revelation: "If you do not shed the blood of an Indian, no one of them shall ever have power to shed yours." This became his creed. As a deeply religious man he was impressed with the words of the Prophet Joseph Smith, who had preached that the mission of the Church was "to redeem scattered Israel - not to mutilate remnants." Therefore, a path of blood was not the path of peace and righteousness. Understanding and love and not war and hatred were the only sure ways to salvation.

Twenty-three years later, April 14, 1874, Jacob prepared a statement of rules and ways of managing Indians (Little 1909, appendix). This remarkable document was filed at the request of John W. Young of the Southern Mission, then at Kanab, and because it epitomized best his matured philosophy with respect to the Indians, it is inserted herewith:

1. I never talk anything but the truth to them.
2. I think it useless to speak of things that cannot be comprehended.
3. I strive by all means to never let them see me in passion.
4. Under no circumstances show fear; thereby showing to them that I have a sound heart and a straight tongue.
5. Never approach them in an austere manner; nor use more words than are necessary to convey my ideas; nor use a higher tone of voice than to be distinctly heard.
6. Always listen to them when they wish to tell you their grievances, and redress their wrongs, however trifling they may be, if possible. If I cannot, I let them know I have a desire to do so.
7. I never allow them to hear me use obscene language or take any unbecoming course with them.
8. I never submit to any unjust demand, or submit to coercion under any circumstances; thereby showing that I govern and am governed by the rule of right and not might.
9. I have tried to observe the above rules for the past twenty years and it has given me a salutary influence wherever I have met with them.

I believe that if the rules I have mentioned, were generally observed, there would be very little difficulty on our frontiers with the Indians.

2. THE SOUTHERN MISSION

Fort Harmony

In accordance with President Young's benevolent Indian policy, an Indian Mission in southern Utah was established in 1854 with headquarters at Fort Harmony. Hamblin's fine reputation as emissary to the redmen in Tooele Valley made his appointment as one of the missionaries a certainty. According to instructions, the Indians were not only to be placated, but converted to the Mormon faith. "Every class and tribe from Fort Bridger to the Colorado were to have salvation and the redemptive glory of the Gospel" (Bailey 1948, 107 et seq.). Rufus C. Allen was named first president of the mission.

Fort Harmony, the headquarters, had been established during the fall of 1852 by John D. Lee and others. It was located on Ash Creek, about 24 miles south of Cedar City. On March 6, 1853, Lee wrote to President Young: "I have built six houses for my family besides helping on every other building in the fort" (Woodbury 1944, 143). The settlers of Harmony found a better location a few miles further north and during the winter of 1856 removed there, calling the new site New Harmony.

The task of the missionaries was almost insurmountable. Besides the problem of language, they found it difficult to understand the Indian, whose temperament was so vastly different from that of their own. "While their responses to justice and kindness were prompt and immediate, open handed generosity quickly made beggars of them and sudden withdrawal of the bounty turned them into thieves" (Bailey 1948, 107). Furthermore, they were sensitively superstitious and adhered to such practices as the abandonment of their sick and helpless to die of starvation and the sale of their unwanted children to Mexican slave traders.

Settlements on the Tonaquint

Hamblin's first assignment from President Allen was a preaching and exploring journey into the little known country east of Harmony, thence northward to Fish Lake, and south and west into the region of the Tonaquint or Santa Clara. Encamping on the Rio Virgin December 1, 1854, Hamblin records: "The Indians were much pleased to see us and more so when we told them that we had come to live among them and teach them to build houses and raise grain" (Deseret News, April 4, 1855).

Laboring among the Indians in separate communities along the Santa Clara, however, was inconvenient for the missionaries. Accordingly, in December, Jacob Hamblin, Samuel Knight, Ira Hatch, Thales Haskell and A. P. Hardy built three cabins and established the nucleus of a permanent colony. The following day the Indians assisted in the construction of a substantial fort. It was located in an alcove of hills about 1/4 mile north of the present town of Santa Clara. The entrance facing

south was approximately 12 ft. wide with two large wooden doors, on home made hinges, that could be securely bolted inside. A hundred yards from the entrance ran the Santa Clara Creek. The missionaries also helped the Indians construct substantial dams and ditches for diverting irrigation water. The dam across Santa Clara Creek, built in 1855, was 100 ft. long and 14 ft. high (Woodbury 1944, 145).

Despite the hazards and handicaps of pioneering on the Tonaquint (the Paiute name for Santa Clara), such as Indian raids, periodic drouths, disastrous floods, etc., good crops, including cotton, were generally reported. Brigham Young, who visited the settlement in 1861, found there 30 homes and 250 acres under cultivation. "Several orchards and vineyards were already producing apples, peaches, apricots, plums, nectarines, currants, pears, quinces, almonds, figs, English walnuts, gooseberries, and grapes. The cotton crops and casaba melons were flourishing" (Woodbury 1944, 145). The next day the President's party followed down the Santa Clara to the small hamlet of Tonaquint, junction of the Santa Clara and Virgin Rivers. "This was the strategic point," says Woodbury, "where Jedediah Smith's two trips forked in 1826 and 1827; where Parley P. Pratt's 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" (Woodbury 1944, 148). The Tonaquint settlement at that time comprised 12 families.

Spanish-Mexican Indian Slave Trade

The most aggravated problem which engaged the attention of the missionaries of southern Utah was the prosecution of the Spanish-Mexican slave trade. Unscrupulous and unlicensed Spanish and Mexican traders had been accustomed to visit the Great Basin area for the purpose of procuring Indian children, purchased or stolen, for which they exchanged firearms, intoxicating liquors and California horses. The route traversed by these traders subsequently became known as the Old Spanish Trail. It entered Utah near Moab, followed down Salina Canyon and Sevier River to the modern Spry near Panguitch, thence over the Bear Valley Pass to Paragonah, across the desert to Mountain Meadows, down the Santa Clara or Tonaquint past Gunlock, over the divide to Beaver Dam Wash, paralleling the Virgin River, across desert hills to the Muddy River, and thence across the desert toward Los Angeles by way of Las Vegas, Barstow, Cajon Pass, and Mission San Gabriel. Before 1830 the Old Spanish Trail extended only to the Great Basin. After that date it led all the way to California. James Wolfskill, it is believed, was the first to travel over it in its entirety (see Creer 1947, 28-41).

There is evidence that this traffic had continued uninterruptedly since 1805, for in that year a filed letter written by Governor Allencaster of New Mexico refers to this type of trading as being conducted by one Manuel Mestas among the Yutah Indians. Other noted traders of this early period were Mauricio Arze and Lagos Garcia (1813) and Antonio Armijo (1829). Thomas J. Farnham, noted western trader, who visited the Great Basin in 1839, described the practice in his illuminating book, published in London in 1843. Note the following: "These poor creatures

(Paiutes) are hunted in the spring of the year, when weak and helpless, by a certain class of men, and when taken, are fattened, carried to Santa Fe and sold as slaves during their minority. A likely girl in her teens brings oftentimes sixty or eighty pounds. The males are valued less" (Farnham 1843, 248-9).

Similar incidents are recorded by the noted Indian Scout and interpreter, Daniel W. Jones. Writing in 1851, he says: "Thus we found the people of New Mexico were making annual trips, commencing with a few goods, trading on their way with either Navahos or Utes for horses, which they sold very cheap, always retaining the best ones. These used up horses were brought through and traded to the poorer Indians for children. The trading was continued into lower California where the children bought on the down trip would be traded to the Mexican Californians for other horses, goods, or cash. This slave trade gave rise to the civil wars between the native tribes of this country, from Salt Lake down to the tribes of southern Utah. Walker and his band raided on the weak tribes, taking their children prisoners and selling them to the Mexicans. Many of the lower classes inhabiting the southern deserts would sell their own children for a horse and eat the horse. The Mexicans were as fully established and systematic in this trade as ever were the slaves on the sea, and to them it was a very lucrative business" (Jones 1890, 49-53).

William J. Snow cites the journal of James G. Bleak as further evidence of this practice. As a Mormon missionary laboring with Jacob Hamblin among the Indians of southern Utah in 1854, Bleak writes: "The first day (the missionaries) camped on the site of Toquerville and had an interview with the Indian chief, Toquer. They found the band very friendly. The following day the missionaries continued their journey south and camped on the Rio Virgin, opposite the present site of Washington. Here they found another camp of Indians. They were very timid. The women and children secreted themselves in the brush while the men approached the newcomers in a very cautious, hesitating manner, trembling as they shook hands with the whites. The cause of their fear, it was found, arose from the fact that bands of Utes and Mexicans had repeatedly made raids upon them and had taken their children to California and Mexico and sold them for slaves" (James G. Bleak, Journal History of Dixie, p. 20).

On December 17, 1854, Hamblin and his missionary companions met Sanpitch, a Ute chief and brother of Walker, at Santa Clara. The chief announced that he and his followers had come to trade for Indian children and ordered the Mormons forthwith to abandon their settlement on the Tonaquint. Jacob replied that he was there by order of Brigham Young and that he would not leave until that order had been revoked. "We asked Tatsgowits (Paiute chief) whether his people wished us to stay or leave. He said the the water and land were ours and we wish you to stay. Sanpitch then said: 'I was blind at first, it's alright. I wanted to know if you were braves.' He stayed eight days, bought three girls, giving one horse and three guns for them, and many beads. The father and mother of one of them cried much seeing their daughter go, but they had nothing to give her to eat, and the gun, her price, would help then get food. From the oldest girl, aged twelve, as she was carried off, I beheld the tears falling fast and my heart was pained to think that she might become a slave to the Mexicans" (Hamblin, "Early Days in Dixie," Deseret News, April 4, 1855).

Hamblin and Thales Haskell later attempted, though unsuccessfully, to rescue a bride of a Tonaquint brave who had been stolen for slavery purposes. Subsequently he learned the facts of the case. The Pies had stolen the bride from the Tonaquints and the Pies in turn had sold her to Walker's Utes. The Utes had then sold her to the Mexicans, who had taken her across the Colorado.

The Mormons became aware of this traffic in Indian slaves as soon as they entered the Salt Lake Valley. Bancroft records: "During the winter of 1847-48, some Indian children were brought to the old Salt Lake Fort to be sold. At first two were offered but the settlers peremptorily refused to buy them. The Indian in charge said that the children had been captured in war and would be killed at sunset if the white men did not buy them. Thereupon they purchased one of them and the one not sold was shot" (Bancroft 1889). Six years later (1853) Daniel Jones was a witness to the following incident which occurred near Provo, Utah: "Walker's band was in the habit of raiding on the Paiutes and low tribes, taking their children prisoners and selling them. Next year they came up and camped on Provo bench. They had some children for sale. They offered them to the Mormons who declined buying. Arapine, Walker's brother, became enraged, saying the Mormons had stopped the Mexicans from buying their children; they had no right to do so unless they bought them themselves. Several of us were present when he took one of these children and dashed its brains out on the hard ground, after which he threw the body toward us telling us we had no hearts or we would have bought it and saved its life. This was a strange argument, but it was the argument of an outraged savage. I never heard of any successful attempts to buy children afterwards by the Mexicans. If done at all, it was done secretly" (Jones 1890, 53).

But the slave trade did continue at least until 1860, for in that year the Indian agent, Garland H. Hurt, reported: "So vigorously is the slave trade prosecuted that scarcely one-half of the Pieed children are allowed to grow up in the band; and a large majority of those being males this and other practices are tending to depopulate their bands very rapidly."

So profoundly shocked were the Mormon people by the knowledge of these inhuman practices that public opinion forced the Territorial Legislature in January, 1852 to enact legislation prohibiting them. A proclamation by the governor ordered the arrest of all strolling Mexicans engaged in the Indian slave traffic and the law legalized forced apprenticeship of Indian children but "only for the purpose of inducing the brethren to purchase those who would otherwise have been sold or abandoned by their parents." To the law was appended a just and humane scheme of wardship (Bancroft 1889, 475; Creer 1947, 36). (The law is printed in Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Salt Lake City, 1955 edition; in the Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 85-6, and Creer 1947, 36-8).

Jacob Hamblin, with the mandate of the new Church policy as authorization, instructed the missionaries of the Southern Mission to purchase all Indian children whose lives were imperilled by the slave traffic and to endeavor to find decent homes for them among the families of the Saints. Thus, one reads in Jacob Hamblin's Journal (p. 6): "A few days after I returned to Harmony (December, 1854) I bought an Indian boy about six years old. I gave for him a gun, a blanket, and some ammunition. Bro. A. P. Hardy took him to Parowan and let Bro. Gudd have him. Bro. Hardy was offered a horse for him by a Gentile. The boy had been stolen from a small tribe. I bought him that I might let a good man have him and make him useful."

3. VISITS TO THE MOQUIS*

First Expedition

In 1857 Jacob Hamblin was appointed President of the Southern Indian Mission, succeeding Rufus C. Allen, and soon was also chosen Indian sub-agent. Allen had been critical of Hamblin's policy of expansion and had been bitterly critical of his activities on the Tonaquint. Now, with his release, Jacob felt that he was free to evolve plans in realization of his dream of expansion east of the Colorado. Therefore, at a conference of missionaries September 26, 1858, presided over by Hamblin, it was decided to abandon temporarily the missions on the Muddy and at Las Vegas, since the two missionaries there, Haskell and Hatch, had been unable to counteract the bad influence among the Moapariats occasioned by the Mountain Meadows Massacre and the promiscuous marrying of squaws by whites. Instead, it was decided to concentrate attention upon the opening of a mission to the Moquis (Hopi). The Church authorities approved the Moqui project in the autumn of 1858.

Hamblin's companions on this mission were Frederick Hamblin, Dudley Leavitt, Thomas Leavitt, William Hamblin, Samuel Knight, Ira Hatch, Andrew Gibbons, Benjamin Knell, Ammon Tenney (Spanish interpreter), James Davis (Welsh interpreter), and Naraguts, a Paiute Indian guide. Davis had been sent from Salt Lake City to explore the possibility of the Moquis being the descendants of the Welsh hero, Madoc, and speaking an ancient form of the Welsh vernacular, as was popularly believed.

*Editor's Note. Reference here is to the Hopi pueblos. The term Moqui, common in Southwestern histories, was changed officially to Hopi early in this century, largely through the instigation of the ethnologist J. W. Fewkes, who held that the natives disliked the term because of its similarity to their word, moki, dead. The ethnologist and linguist J. P. Harrington finds that Moqui actually was derived from a native tribal name, M'ókwi, once current in the Shoshonean Hopi language as well as the Keresan, via the early Spanish rendering, Moquí. Omission of the dieresis led to a new, objectionable pronunciation, one similar to the Hopi term for dead, or he died. See Harrington, Notes on the Names Moqui and Hopi, American Anthropologist, Vol. 47, 1945, pp. 177-78. Various other writers derive Moqui from Navaho or Zuni.

"For some years," writes Hoffman Birney (1931, 114), "there persisted in America a tradition that certain tribal groups of the American Indian were of Welsh origin, survivors of a party of colonizers headed by Madoc, son of Owen Gwynedd, King of Wales. Madoc was an explorer and returned home from one of his voyages to report that he had discovered a beautiful and fertile country beyond the western ocean. With 3,000 followers in 15 ships he left Wales in 1164 to settle the new lands. He was never heard from again, but several early investigations in American ethnology checked the tradition that the Mandan Indians spoke a corruption of the Welsh tongue, and from time to time there were reports that the lost clansmen of Madoc had been discovered among the Zuni, Navajo, or other southwestern tribes."

William Hamblin and Thomas Leavitt were especially set apart to remain among the Moquis after the original party's return, and Samuel Knight, Benjamin Knell and Andrew Gibbons were to remain among the Navaho "if conditions proved favorable."

The party left Santa Clara, October 28, 1858, travelling south and east. After crossing the Rio Virgin and Cedar Ridge, the third night's camp was made "at a clear spring flowing into and out from a low ridge of tumbled red buttes facing the brilliant-hued mountains running east and west" (Bailey 1948, 196). Broken prehistoric pottery and blackened firepits marked the place as a favorite spot for Indians for centuries. Later this beautiful place became known as Pipe Springs (so-called because a member of the party, William Hamblin, on a wager, shot the bowl of the pipe from the mouth of Ira Hutch at 30 paces).

The fourth night the party reached the foot of the Kaibab, or Buckskin, Mountains. The journey across the lower reaches of the Kaibab, up and over the mighty buttes, cliffs and fissures, taxed the limit of both men and animals. It was a land of beauty and weirdest sort of colorings, but a hostile and cruel land. On November 6, 1858, their pack mules and horses were driven down the narrow and dangerous Ute Trail to the canyon bottom. Next day they reached the Ute Ford, about a mile above the Crossing of the Fathers and after a breathtaking battle with the current, reached the eastern bank November 7.

"The trail beyond the river," says Hamblin, "was not only difficult but sometimes very dangerous" (Little 1909, 63). One of the two animals which carried the provisions ran off. Two men went in pursuit while the main body moved on. The third day from the river the company, hungry and forlorn because of this loss of provisions, came to a place where sheep had been herded, then to a garden under a cliff of rocks. It was watered from a small spring and occupied fine terraces, walled up on three sides. They had reached the land of the Hopi.

Naraguts, the guide, told them that not only were the Hopi hemmed in by the Navaho, but that they were subservient and paid tribute to this haughty tribe. Great precaution was therefore heeded as they traversed their homeland. "As we passed, we saw that onions, peppers and other vegetables, such as we raised in our own gardens at home, had been grown here. On arriving at the summit of the cliff we discovered a squash, which evidently had been left when the crop had been gathered. We appropriated it to our use. It tasted delicious, and we supposed it to

be a better variety than we had known before, but we afterwards found that hunger made it taste sweet" (Little 1909, 645).

Five miles further on, the company reached Oraibi, a Hopi village of about 300 dwellings. The buildings were of rock laid in mortar. The houses were usually three stories high, the second and third set back from the front the width of the one below, so that the roofs of the lower stories had the appearance of terraces. For security, the first story could only be entered by ascending the roof and getting down a ladder into the room below. The town itself stood on a cliff with perpendicular sides and steep ramparts for defense.

With no windows and only entrances by means of ladders, the Moquis' homes were dark and fetid. Hamblin observed that in cleanliness and housekeeping the Moquis were almost as indifferent as the Paiutes. Water was scarce. It was laboriously transported up the cliff from the plains below. "And," says Bailey, "water-lugging was the woman's chore, by means of a shoulder jug of fire baked clay" (Bailey 1948, 203-4).

However, in one respect the Moquis were different, for among their nation both men and women worked. The men tilled their tiny patches of squash and corn. They tended their peach orchards. They grazed their flocks and protected their homes from marauding Navaho. They foraged the mesas for precious firewood, which they carried on the backs of asses from the plains below. The men even assisted the women at the blanket loom. The Hopi were more industrious than the Paiute and more peaceable than the Navaho.

In the days following, Jacob and his associates, escorted by the handsome Chief Tuba, visited Hotevilla, Shipaulovi, Mishongnovi, Walpi, Sichomovi, and Polacca, the other Moqui villages. They were hospitably received wherever they went and everywhere they were afforded the opportunity to preach the true Gospel of Christ as they understood it. The Navaho came and watched curiously the Mormon visitors, but to these clansmen the white man was even more bitterly detested than the Moquis. A word to one of them reaped only the insult of silence or scowling hate. The Moquis were invited to live among the Mormons, but this request they refused. Tuba answered in the name of his people. "Their fathers had given them a tradition that they must not cross the river until the three prophets who in ancient times had taken them into their present country, should appear and lead them forth again. It had been decided after much fury of council that the Mormons were not the prophets" (Bailey 1948, 208).

After replenishing supplies, the explorers returned to Santa Clara. At Pipe Springs, which they reached late in December, they found a foot of snow on the ground. The four missionaries left behind, as planned, soon quit their posts and also returned. Bereft of Hamblin's diplomatic poise and overweening presence, they were eventually driven from the villages. The first expedition to the Moquis had consumed 52 days. Jacob appraised the adventure in these words: "We can shorten the journey four or five days and shun the worst of the road, building a flat boat to cross the river, which I intend to do next fall" (Corbett 1952, 161).

In his report to Brigham Young, Jacob felt encouraged and wrote enthusiastically about the future possibilities of the country. His letter referred particularly to the fine facilities the country afforded for grazing. He said that any number of sheep could be purchased at one dollar a head.

Second Expedition

The second expedition to the Moquis left Santa Clara October 20, 1859. We may recall parenthetically that about the time of the first and second Moqui expeditions, Jacob Hamblin became involved in Mountain Meadows Massacre matters. In his capacity as sub-agent, he at the request of Superintendent Forney succeeded in gathering up the orphaned children pending their shipment to relatives and friends to the East. With George Albert Smith he was commissioned by Brigham Young to visit Governor Cumming and to urge upon him the necessity of an immediate investigation of the tragedy. The governor's attitude is interesting. "In the light of the work we've accomplished in bringing understanding and peace between the good people of Utah and their governor, I can see neither sense nor logic in jeopardizing our work by probing a matter as likely to erupt into hate and prejudice. Both President and Congress are aware of the great blunder in sending an army to quell a revolt which we now know existed only in the minds of anti-Mormons and politicians. In his proclamation of pardon and amnesty the President has not only publicly acknowledged a grave wrong but has leaned over backwards to make amends. Believe me, gentlemen, that is in itself, a tremendous thing. For myself, I've neither power nor desire to go over the President's head in this matter" (Bailey, 1948, 190).

A year later (1859), Hamblin met Cradelbaugh by appointment at Cedar City. The judge was there in the interests of procuring indictments of people involved in the Mountain Meadows affair. Jacob refused to secure the aid of Paiutes as requested to effect the arrest of John D. Lee. His reply is revealing: "What you ask," he said to Cradelbaugh, "is contrary to my instructions from Dr. Forney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah." When Cradelbaugh asked what these instructions were, he calmly replied: "Indians are not in any way to interfere in the affairs of the whites. And they are not to be encouraged to do so" (Journal History of the Church, entry of June 3, 1859).

The following were included in the second expedition: Jacob Hamblin, Thales Haskell, Ira Hatch, Benjamin Knell, Isaac Riddle, James Pearce, Taylor Crosby, John W. Young, and Marion J. Shelton. The latter was commissioned to learn the Moqui language. It was planned this time to haul an ox-cart as far as the Colorado and two yoke of oxen were provided to power it. Benjamin Knell officiated as bull driver. President Young had provided a liberal supply of presents, including spades, shovels, and wood, and these, along with the supplies, were carried in the cart. The river, near the mouth of the Paria, was reached October 31, and an immediate crossing of the river was made, howbeit with considerable difficulty. "Long willows were cut and after considerable coaxing the Indians were started out into the flood, each holding to their length of willow, and all anchored shoreward by the firm grasp

of Elder Pearce. The chain had gotten well out into the river, but then the footing became precarious. The Indians gave up. With many shouts about drowning, with much threshing, they deserted Jacob and Thales and made for shore (Brooks 1944, 77). The next morning the Indians had left camp. A second attempt was successfully made by swimming the horses and mules.

"November 1 and 2, 1859 are memorable days. Jacob's expedition of 1858 had been one of the first since Escalante to cross the Colorado at the Ute crossing about 30 miles up the river, but now they would cross the river near the mouth of the Pahreah, a feat accomplished for the first time by whites" (Corbett 1952, 172).

Oraibi was reached November 6, 1859. Thales Haskell was selected to remain with Marion J. Shelton among the Moquis for a year. Both were excellent linguists. Before leaving Oraibi, Hamblin again attempted to persuade Chief Tuba to migrate with his people to Mormon country, tendering him a personal invitation from Brigham Young to do so. But the chief was not to be swayed. "Until the miraculous appearance of the prophets who had led them to the mesa, there could be no removal. In this manner had the clans settled the issue" (Bailey 1948, 220).

On November 25, the main party reached Santa Clara. The expedition had been absent 35 days. Haskell and Shelton returned the following March. They had spent a terribly lonely four months among the Hopi. As the main company left, Haskell mused: "Slowly and sorrowfully I wended my way back to the village. Such a feeling of utter loneliness I never experienced before, for search the wide world over, I do not believe a more bleak, lonesome, heartsickening place could be found on the earth where human beings dwell" (Corbett 1952, 178). And says Hamblin: "It was solitude that drove them out. And the contentions of the clan chiefs regarding their ancient prophets. Their native religion is very deep. Heathen as it is, it's real to them. The Spanish priests found out how real. After talking with Brother Haskell and Brother Shelton on their return, I'm convinced we'll make little progress with half-hearted measures" (Journal History of the Church, entry of November 30, 1859).

Third Expedition

The first two expeditions to the Hopi had failed. Like the Paiute, the Hopi resisted change. Yet the living habits of these people were far advanced over either the Paiute or the Navaho of the time. Still, the tribe could afford many improvements. The Hopi were firm in their attitude that what was good enough for their fathers was good enough for them. They had their own language, why adopt another? Their resistance to change was predicated upon certain prophesies that needed first to be fulfilled. The Mormon missionaries would have to prove that they were indeed their lost fair-haired prophets who had come back to them in fulfillment of prophesy before any change in their habits or mode of life would be authorized. The thought occurred to Jacob that perhaps the way to reach the Hopi was for the missionaries to live among them at least for a year or two and teach them a way of life by precept and example. The previous visitations had been all too short.

The third expedition, accordingly, was by far the most important and pretentious thus far organized. A year's supply of food, clothing, and other supplies, including gifts for the Indians, were carried on well selected pack horses and mules. An ample supply of ammunition was included. "Each man carried a revolver and a full cartridge belt strapped around his waist" (Corbett 1952, 182). Isaac Riddle constructed a wooden river boat, and after testing it on the shallow waters of the Santa Clara, dismantled and lashed it to mule-pack. Three beeves, corn fattened for the long and difficult trail, were driven along.

By September 15, 1860 plans for the expedition were completed. The company included, besides Jacob Hamblin, Thales Haskell, Ira Hatch, Isaac Riddle, James Pearce, Jehiel McConnell, Amos Thornton, the youthful George Albert Smith, Jr., and two Paiute women, Sarah, the Indian wife of Ira Hatch, and Eliza, the ward and later wife of Jacob Hamblin. A trail-experienced Paiute who was called Enos was added as guide. All appeared optimistic and enthusiastic on the eve of departure in late October except Hamblin. "I felt different from what I had ever previously felt on leaving home," he says. "That something unusual would happen. What it was, I did not know, but I knew that we were to go among the Moquis and stay for one year and that I should do so if I could get there" (Little 1909, 76).

Yet everything seemed promising in the beginning. The boat was reassembled at the Paria Crossing. Valuables and edibles were ferried over with the party and Hatch and Haskell swam the stock across in record time and without a single loss. The boat was cached for the return trip and in blithe spirits the missionaries entered the Navaho country. Then bad luck befell them. After two days travelling, their water supply was exhausted and a spring formerly used was found to be dry. Then into their ranks drove four Navaho who forthwith demanded that the Mormons turn back, threatening to scalp all who refused to do so before they reached the next water hole. Hamblin, however, insisted that the party could not turn back since to do so would mean certain death from thirst. Then other Navaho approached and before long the Mormons found themselves completely encircled. Jacob parleyed with the newcomers. The Navaho finally agreed, after council, to allow the Mormons to proceed providing they left the country at once, leaving the two Indian women behind. These were then hauled out for inspection. Hamblin, of course, refused to surrender the women but agreed to trade the company's entire supply of ammunition in exchange for Navaho goods.

At this point let us follow Hamblin's narrative of events which culminated in the treacherous murder of the youthful George Albert Smith. "The following morning we commenced to exchange articles of trade for blankets. While thus engaged, our animals were taken off the rock to water. Bro. George Albert Smith's horse turned back on a trail which in a short distance led over a hill and out of sight. As he started after it, I told him that he had better not go alone, to which he made an indifferent reply. Something else immediately attracted my attention and he was forgotten until the Navaho in our camp suddenly left. When I learned that he was after his horse, alone and out of sight, I sent two men after him. They went about a mile

and found him lying by the trail with three bullet wounds through the lower part of his body, and four arrow wounds between his shoulders. I mounted a horse and made for the spot and learned that Bro. George A. had found a mounted Indian leading off his horse, and that he took the Indian's horse by the bit, whereupon the stolen horse was readily given up, with which the owner (Smith) started for camp. A few moments later the Indian with a companion accosted Smith, demanded his revolver (which was readily surrendered) and forthwith (treacherously) murdered him. The revolver was found a few feet away from the body" (Little 1909, 72-3).

Jacob and his companions laid the dying Smith on a blanket and carried him toward camp. In the end the missionaries were forced to leave him secreted on the desert where he quickly expired. Then they fled precipitately toward the Colorado. "The thought of carrying the wounded man with his life's blood dripping out of him along the trail, without his having the privilege of dying in peace, combined with the leaving of his body to be devoured by wolves and vultures, seemed almost too much to bear," says the sorrowful Hamblin. And further: "My imagination pictured another scene. South of us in the distance we could see a large fire, around which we presumed the Navaho were having a war dance over the scalp of our brother. Then the thought of carrying the sad news to his father and mother and affectionate sister, all old and valued acquaintances of mine, pierced me like barbed arrows, and caused me the most bitter reflections that I have ever experienced" (Little 1909, 77).

Thanks to the cached boat at the river crossing, the party gained the north side of the Colorado and after nine days of hard travel reached Santa Clara. Hamblin advised President Young and George A. Smith of the tragedy. The Mormon President at once sent Jacob and 20 men back to the Navaho country to recover the body. It was a difficult and arduous trip. "The ford of the Colorado," says Hamblin "was deep and dangerous at any time, but especially when the ice was running. Sometimes there were steep rocks to climb, at other times the trail ran along the almost perpendicular side of deep rock fissures, with short turns, where a misstep might plunge us or our animals hundreds of feet below. Sometimes the precipitous rocks were covered with ice which had to be hacked out with our hatchets before we could feel any surety of a foothold" (Little 1909, 78-9).

Upon arrival at the place where they had left the body two months before, the party found the head and some of the larger bones, wrapped them carefully in improvised sacks and carried them home as best they could. The body was interred at the cemetery in Salt Lake City.

Fourth Expedition

In the early autumn of 1862, Jacob Hamblin conferred with Brigham Young in Salt Lake City with regard to another expedition to the south and east of the Colorado. The success of the St. George colony whetted the President's appetite for further expansion, and he revealed to Jacob his plans especially with regard to the colonization of Arizona. "I want you to explore a new, easier and safer route, preferably where a road can be built. Try for a new crossing this time -- south of St. George. Explore the country in that direction. Keep your guns as handy as your Bibles, Navaho mustn't stop you this time" (Little 1909, 83).

Jacob prepared well for the new venture. He hoped his explorations would eventually take him to the Little Colorado and thence to the Hopi and Navaho country, for he was determined as a missionary to carry the Gospel to them. It was Orson Pratt who announced in the Bowery at St. George the starting date as November 17, 1862 and revealed plans for the commissariat: "Each of the 25 men were to carry 26 pounds of flour or hard bread; 12 pounds of dried beef or bacon, 12 pounds of dried beans, one pound of salt, one riding animal, one pack animal with pack saddle, one lasso; one pair of hobbles for each animal; one cup; one knife and scabbard; one tin plate; one revolver or light rifle, both if possible, with at least 12 rounds of ammunition and as much more as convenient; a comfortable supply of blankets, tea, sugar, coffee, molasses and as many articles as each person may deem necessary to make himself comfortable" (Corbett 1952, 206). Eliza, Sarah, Tutsegavits, Enos and Albert went along, and as many Indian runners and guides as could be bribed to make the hazardous journey. "However, since it was known the crossing would be attempted somewhere south of St. George, knowledge and superstition concerning the great and terrible canyon in that direction was sufficient to discourage any wholesale enlistments from the Indians who feared even to sleep near the canyon's rim lest the evil forces of its awful depths reach up and drag one in" (Bailey 1948, 251).

The river crossing was made a little south of the Grand Canyon. A cache of supplies was made here since the expedition expected to return the same way. "The first day we traveled up a wash for about 30 miles. We then travelled three days through a rough, bushy country, with some scrub cedar and pine timber. The fourth night from the river we camped at a small 'seep' spring. The San Francisco Mountain lay a little to the southeast of us and in sight" (Little 1909, 83). Two days after the party had reached the snow-covered foothills of San Francisco Peak, the explorers were searching for a possible wagon road in the Little Colorado country. They found the prospects "extremely discouraging."

On December 18, 1862 the party reached Oraibi, where they were enthusiastically greeted and hospitably entertained by Chief Tuba. The Hopi had been severely affected by drought since Jacob's last visit two years before. "Twenty-four men and 22 women had perished of starvation in Oraibi alone, and all the populace showed signs of great deprivation" (Bailey 1948, 252).

Hopi dances were ordered on this occasion to induce the gods to bring rain to the beleaguered communities. "Chants droned from the underground kivas. The hard packed village court thudded to the bare feet of the dancers. The little food was freely shared, and Jacob opened his own supplies to his smiling, good friends. Solemnly the missionaries breathed on the corn husks brought by the runners. Just as solemnly did the procession led by Thales Haskell march through Oraibi; the brethren planting their feathered sticks at the prayer ground in true Hopi style and sprinkling the sacred meal provided" (Bailey 1948, 252-3).

The expedition returned by way of the Ute Ford, crossing the river January 1, 1863 and reaching Kanab 10 days later. Thales Haskell, Ira Hatch, and Jahiel McConnell were left at Oraibi to study the Hopi language and Tutsegavits and his squaw departed as missionaries to the land of the Apaches (Journal History of the Church, November 30, 1862). Three Hopi accompanied the return expedition to Utah. (Upon his return Jacob made his report in person to Brigham Young at Salt Lake City. He was accompanied by the three Moqui visitors. To them Brigham expressed the hope of sending 100 missionaries to their nation. The Moquis were dined and feted at the homes of the Mormon President, Wilford Woodruff, George Albert Smith, and other apostles. At the Historian's office an unsuccessful examination was made in a final attempt to prove the probably Welsh descent of the Moquis).

The day Jacob Hamblin left Salt Lake City, February 14, 1863, after the completion of his fourth visit to the Moquis, he was married to Eliza, the Indian girl who had accompanied him on this expedition. However, Eliza soon afterwards repudiated her vows and left the Hamblin household. She later married a Shivwits Indian named Palunkin (see Juanita Brooks, Dudley Leavitt, passim.).

Hamblin had pioneered a new route across the Colorado and to the land of the Hopi and no doubt is entitled to the distinction of being the first white man to circle the Grand Canyon of the Colorado.

Fifth Expedition

This expedition left St. George in March, 1863. It served partly as an official escort to the Hopi visitors who were returning home. In preparation for it Brigham Young instructed Hamblin to recruit 100 "tried and true men as pioneers to the colonizing movement, with its roads and cross river service." But exploration was not the only motive. Conversion to the Gospel was to be vigorously pursued. Brigham wrote: "In the prosecution of the Moqui Mission it is always important that humility and the constant seeking of the Lord to guide, direct and sustain you, should be the first thought and constant desire of the soul" (Journal History of the Church, entry of February 16, 1863).

As in the previous year, the route of the explorers was by way of the Colorado crossing, a little south of the Grand Canyon. They found the boat safe and usable, but weather had ruined the cached supplies. While they were experimenting with a new possible ferry site which they located in a canyon break some 3 miles

upstream and which became known later as Pearce's Ferry, a non-Mormon traveller presented himself with a letter of introduction from Erastus Snow, as Mr. Lewis Greeley, nephew of the celebrated Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune. Being anxious to accompany the expedition, he was added to the party.

Reconnoitering the Colorado River above Pearce's Ferry, the little band of explorers was soon swallowed into the abysmal depths of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. Their entry was through the little known country of the Walapai. These strange and remote aborigines had already learned of Hamblin's fame and he was invited as a friend and brother to their lodges and caves. "In Havasu Canyon he found a tribe who had discovered their own Eden on earth. A land of waterfalls and green beauty, ingeniously irrigated from flowing springs and yet deep within the sheltered fastnesses of the mightiest canyon on earth. To the Havasupai Jacob rendered solemn promise never to reveal to another tribe the manner by which he had reached their village" (Little 1909, 89). The party left the canyon by way of what was said at this point to be the only possible exit, by climbing up the tortuous and dangerous route of the then unknown Topocoba Trail.

On April 12, 1863, the party arrived at Oraibi. Here Jacob found Haskell, Hatch and McConnell who had been left at the Hopi town the year previous, in good health but terribly homesick. The object of the return trip was to sight out a feasible wagon road somewhere in the Little Colorado country. Therefore the explorers on leaving Oraibi, travelled southwestwardly in the general direction of San Francisco Mountain in the vicinity of the present Flagstaff, Arizona. On the north side of the peak, 6 miles west of Le Roux Spring, they discovered the wheel marks of Captain Beale's Road (Little 1909, 91-3). This right-of-way, Jacob realized, was a feasible route for Mormon migration into Arizona.

The expeditions arrived at St. George May 13, 1863 after an absence of 56 days. Hamblin, in summarizing the results of it, says: "We had explored a practicable, though difficult, route for a wagon from St. George to the Little Colorado, had visited the Moqui towns, and explored some of the country around the San Francisco Mountain" (Little 1909, 91-3). In addition, a new ferry site across the Colorado had been discovered.

Sixth Expedition

Early in 1865, Jacob Hamblin and a small party again ventured across the Colorado, this time to recover horses stolen by Navaho. They were unsuccessful in their quest. The friendly Spaneshanks, Navaho chief, had been discarded by his band and replaced by the irascible Peokon, who was disposed to raid at any favorable opportunity. A call upon the friendly Hopi was made and the usual invitation extended them to migrate as a people to Zion. The answer was as before: "The three prophets must appear and tell them what to do" (Little 1909, 97). And anyway, "their priests and medicine men were predicting that the Mormons would migrate, instead, to the Moqui country, their wagons would travel up the Little Colorado and many villages of them would be established in the lands southward" (Bailey 1948, 275). The expedition returned without incident to St. George in November, 1863.

Seventh Expedition

In October, 1869 Hamblin was requested to make another trip to the Hopi to ascertain if possible whether there were other Indians besides the Navaho who were raiding on the Utah border. The expedition comprised 40 men, 30 of whom were Paiute Indians. The explorers crossed the Colorado at Lee's Ferry. "Our luggage went over on rafts made of floatwood, fastened together by withes" (Little 1909, 100). This time the Mormons were received in a less friendly manner by the Hopi, who suspected them of participation in border raids. Because of Navaho hostility, Hamblin urged that the explorers return by way of the Ute Ford, but he was outvoted and the party recrossed at Lee's Ferry. Had the party heeded Jacob's advice, they would have captured the Navaho raiders at that crossing red handed. This was the last of the regularly organized Hopi expeditions.

Upon his return from this expedition, Hamblin met President Young, George Albert Smith and Erastus Snow at Kanab. The President on that occasion instructed Jacob "to do all he could to stop the shedding of blood; not to let the Indians have fire-arms or ammunition if he thought they might use them for killing miners or other travellers; and if it were possible, he desired the people to get along without the killing of any more Navaho" (Little 1909, 103).

4. THE FOUNDING OF KANAB

Over a three year period beginning in 1864, the Indians of southern Utah, especially the Navaho, waged guerilla warfare against the Mormons from Sanpete County as far south as the Colorado. They resented the new program of expansion which had witnessed the successful establishment of such towns as Richfield, Pan-guitch, Circleville, St. George, St. Joseph, Overton, Paria, Leeds and St. Johns. For protection against marauders, a fort was erected on Kanab Creek in 1865 and two years later Hamblin visited this area in his capacity as President of the Southern Mission and as Indian sub-agent in an attempt to negotiate a peace treaty. "I went east 75 miles to the present location of Kanab," he writes. "After gathering around me some of the Indians and planting some corn and vegetables I crossed over the rim of the basin north and travelled down in the valley of the Sevier. I sought out places where the Indians were gathered. I had many talks with them which seem to have had good effect" (Corbett 1952, 259).

Hamblin made a second excursion, this time to the region of the Little Colorado and the Muddy River settlements, for the same purpose and particularly "to explore a portion of the Colorado River enroute to Call's Landing and St. Thomas," for the Church leaders had great expectations in the proposed Colorado River Navigation Project which anticipated the founding of a new water route for emigrants to the Salt Lake Valley. This interesting scheme envisioned the use of passenger and freight vessels to be used on the Colorado as far as the head of navigation determined at Call's Landing. A ship, the Explorer, was dismantled and sent to the mouth of the Colorado for experimental purposes. The scheme, however, died aborning with the building of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 (see Neff 1940, 805-12).

The Hamblin party took the route south of St. George until they passed the divide between the Rio Virgin and the Colorado; thence down the Grand Wash for 40 miles to its mouth, striking the Colorado at a point where Hamblin had previously crossed the river at Pearce's Ferry. From the mouth of the Grand Wash to the mouth of the Virgin it was estimated to be 45 miles. From the mouth of the Virgin they descended the Colorado, passing through Boulder Canyon, so named from the large boulders in the river, and entering a deep gorge from 1200 to 1500 ft. deep, through which they descended for 12 miles to Call's Landing. This was the first time, it is thought, that white men had explored the lower reaches of this route.

In 1869, Hamblin decided to remove to Kanab. It was nearer the seat of Indian difficulties and a better focal point for missionary activities. Furthermore, the site was located at the very portals of the Paria, key route across the Colorado, and stood defiantly astride the Navaho cross-river trail. Says Corbett: "When the Hamblin caravan finally pulled out of the yard at Santa Clara, a number of neighbors who had given them a farewell party three nights before were on hand to say a friendly good-bye. The two loaded wagons, three pack horses, several cows and the older children on foot driving the cattle were to be seen leaving Santa Clara early in September, 1869" (Corbett 1952, 266). The move was vigorously opposed by his two wives, especially Priscilla. She had been unsettled long enough and hated

to give up the fine rock home constructed in 1862 at Santa Clara. (The house still stands). Soon the Hamblins were settled in the unfinished fort. It was three years before Jacob could afford the luxury of a dwelling on the outside. Meanwhile, the fort itself became a busy center of interest and activity. It became the focal point for pioneering missionary work and exploration. It was also a relief center, a trading post for the various Indian camps and was soon to be the base of operations for the United States Geological Survey.

The official designation of the townsite of Kanab, however, awaited the visit of President Young on September 8, 1870. The President on that occasion selected and staked off blocks and building lots, drew the pattern of streets, and designated the sites of public buildings and parks. "The next day Levi Stewart was set apart as bishop of Kanab ward" (Corbett 1952, 290). On Monday, September 12, 1870, Hamblin and Major Powell accompanied President Young on his return to Salt Lake City as far as Toquerville. From there Jacob and the Major explored the country east as far as what later became known as Zion National Park. Upon his return to Kanab, Jacob found John D. Lee awaiting him. Lee, then a hunted refugee, wished to purchase supplies for his new home, named Lonely Dell, at the mouth of the Paria (Brooks 1957). Hamblin said Lee was impatient and brusque in manner, perhaps "because he was aware that I knew so much about the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and that I might be asked to testify if the case came to trial" (Corbett 1952, 329). The hapless Lee had just been excommunicated from the Mormon church.

Hamblin followed Lee and assisted him in getting settled at the ferry (Lee, said Hamblin, was an efficient ferryman). Here Hamblin met a band of Navaho and Paiute Indians, who graciously offered him a tract of land in Rock House Valley southeast of the Buckskin Mountains of the Kaibab Forest. Jacob accepted the gift and subsequently operated a ranch there.

In 1872, Jacob Hamblin was able to move his families from the fort into private homes in Kanab. During that summer the town was alive with activity. "More houses were going up; more government survey parties were coming to establish their headquarters; and Major Powell was planning to reserve a certain section of the region as a reservation for the Paiutes and northern Utes" (Corbett 1952, 325).

The celebrated scientists Major Powell and Frederick S. Dellenbaugh were much impressed with the small but unique village. Mormon customs proved an endless wonder to them. Both were impressed with the town's community spirit. Powell, especially, studies closely the Mormon system of irrigation; the public corral system, which allocated to the town the responsibility of herding and corralling the milk herds and riding stock; and the program of cooperative business and industrial activity. "The world could well profit by transferring its attention from Mormon polygamy to Mormon sociology" he said. (Corbett 1952, 345).

Dellenbaugh was equally impressed. Note his interesting description written in 1872.

Dellenbaugh was equally impressed. Note his interesting description written in 1872. "The village which had been started only a year or two was laid out in characteristic Mormon style with wide streets and regular lots fenced by wattling willows between stakes. Irrigation 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 a quarter of an acre. Fruit trees, shade trees and vines had been planted and were already beginning to promise near results, while corn, potatoes, etc. gave fine crops. The original plan of settlement was a square, formed by one story log houses on three sides and a stockade on the fourth. This was called a fort, and a place of refuge, though the danger from Navajo attacks seemed to be over. One corner of the fort was made by the walls of a schoolhouse, which was at the same time meeting-house and ball-room. Altogether there were about 100 families in the village. The entire settlement had a thrifty air. Not a grog-shop, a gambling saloon, or a dance hall was to be seen; quite in contrast with the usual disgraceful accompaniment of the ordinary frontier towns." And further: "The Gentile town was a plastic hodge-podge of shacks in the midst of a sea of refuse. As pioneers, the Mormons were superior to any class I have ever come in contact with, their idea being homemaking and not skimming the cream off the country with a six-shooter and a whiskey bottle. . . . Jacob's home was simple, but comfortable. He was a poor man for he did his work for the people with little compensation" (Dellenbaugh 1908, 166-8, 174-5).

5. ASSISTANT TO MAJOR JOHN WESLEY POWELL

In 1870 Jacob Hamblin met John Wesley Powell, the intrepid explorer who just the year previously had descended the Colorado River and since then had visited Brigham Young at Salt Lake City to formulate plans for a second and more pretentious examination of that stream. "He wished to employ someone," he said, "who understood the Indian character, to go with him, and President Young had recommended me as a suitable person. He offered me liberal terms, and as I was desirous of seeing the same Indians myself, a satisfactory arrangement was soon made" (Little 1909, 104). Powell had three immediate objectives in mind: (1) to locate several trails by which food supplies could be carried down to the river to replenish the down-river party and thus spare them the near starvation which had plagued the pioneer party of 1869; (2) to learn firsthand from the Indians the true story of the murder of C. G. Howland, Simon Howland, and William Dunn, the three men who had deserted his party; and (3) to visit the several Hopi towns of northeastern Arizona and to observe and compare these people with the Utes he had studied previously (Dellenbaugh 1908, 148).

Hamblin with Powell and two Indian interpreters left Kanab in September, 1870 and arrived at Mt. Trumbull, southwest of Kanab, three days later. After considerable probing, the following facts relative to the murder were learned by Dellenbaugh. "The three victims climbed up the mighty cliffs to the summit of the Shivwits Plateau about 5500 feet. At length they were out of the canyon, and they must have rejoiced at leaving those gloomy depths behind. Northward they went to a large water-pocket, a favorite camping ground of the Shivwits, a basin in the rocky channel of an intermittent stream, discharging into the Colorado. The only story of their fate was obtained from these Utes. Jacob Hamblin of Kanab learned it from some other Utes and afterwards got the story from them. They received the men at their camp and gave them food. During the night some of the band came in from the north and reported certain outrages by miners in that country. It was at once concluded that these whites were the culprits and that they never came down the Colorado as they claimed. In the morning, therefore, a number secreted themselves near the edge of the water-pocket. The trail to the water leads down under a basaltic cliff perhaps 30 or 40 feet high, as I remember the spot, which I visited about six years later (1875). As the unfortunate men turned to come up from filling their canteens, they were shot down from ambush. In consequence I have called this place the Ambush Water-Pocket. The guns, clothing, etc. were appropriated by the Shivwits" (Dellenbaugh 1908, 229-30. See also Bleak, in Annals of the Southern Utah Mission, Ms., p. 14 ff.). Anthony W. Ivins claims that the site of the murder was "a clearing in a dense grove of juniper a short distance east and a little north of the Parashone Ranch House" (Morgan 1947, 94).

As a result of the council at Mt. Trumbull, the Shivwits agreed to permit Major Powell and his men to traverse their lands if it were deemed necessary and to provide food, interpreters and guide service. During the peace parley the Shivwits chief, Kaparats said: "We believe in Neab (Jacob) and look upon you (Powell) as a father. When you are hungry you may have our game. We will give you food when you come to our land. We will show you the springs and you may

drink. We will be friends and when you come we will be glad. You are wise; we have heard you tell strange things. We are ignorant. Last year we killed three white men. Bad men said they were our enemies. They told us great lies. We are mad. It made us big fools. We are very sorry. When white men kill our people, we kill them. Then they kill more of us. It is not good. You are very wise; you have a good heart. We will be friends. Nothing more have I to say" (Corbett 1952, 294-5).

About a month was spent in exploring the Mt. Trumbull region before the party returned to Kanab. Major Powell's confidence in Jacob was demonstrated when he was asked to take charge of the commissary stores of the river expedition operating from Kanab. He was also commissioned to direct the pack teams to the river and to conduct necessary reconnaissances.

On his return east Powell was accompanied by Hamblin as far as Fort Defiance on the Arizona-New Mexico border. There on November 5, 1870, the two men negotiated an important treaty of peace with the restless Navaho (see below). They then repaired to the Hopi villages and negotiated a friendly agreement between the Navaho and the Hopi. Hamblin says of this trip: "We packed lumber on mules over the Kaibab to what is now known as Lee's Ferry. With this we constructed a small boat, in which we conveyed our baggage across. Our animals crossed by swimming" (Little 1909, 317).

On their journey through the dangerous Navaho country, Jacob recorded: "We travelled at night most of the way to preserve our animals from attacks from the Indians. We visited all the Moqui towns, seven in number, and had much interesting talk with the people. Professor Powell took much interest in their festival dances, religious ceremonies and manner of living" (Little 1909, 107. See also Bailey 1948, 317).

Hamblin, accompanied by a small band of Navaho, returned from Fort Defiance to Kanab by way of Lee's Ferry. Here they were met by some of Powell's men, one of whom, Capt. F. M. Bishop, who was present on this occasion, later wrote (February, 1872): "It is amusing to see with what derision the Navaho treat the Paiutes. While the former are as a nation a fine athletic and intelligent lot of men, well dressed and equipped for Indians, the Paiutes are a poor, miserable, dirty, sleepy, ill favored and half naked set of lazy beggars, their clothing consisting for the most part of rabbit skin robes" (Corbett 1952, 251).

6. PEACEMAKER AMONG THE NAVAHO

Navaho Unrest

After the settlement of St. George, 1861, new problems, especially in relation to the Navaho, began to develop. As the expansion program proceeded, the feeling of the redskins toward the whites became more and more indifferent and finally crystallized into actual hostility. Through the launching of an ambitious program of colonization the Indian saw only further evidence of his loss of economic security. The great number of animals brought into the country by the settlers soon devoured most of the vegetation that had produced nutritious seeds on which the Indian had been accustomed to subsist. Then his family starved. For the Indian to survive, the white man must be driven back across the river. Organized raids were sponsored; thieving and pilfering flourished.

Under such circumstances, the Pipe Springs Massacre, resulting in the murder of Dr. James M. Whitmore and his herder, Robert McIntyre, occurred. Hamblin at once organized a posse at St. George which set out for Pipe Springs January 12, 1866, to capture the murderers. At Short Creek, Jacob became desperately ill and was forced to leave the party. Thoroughly frightened, his companions carried him to a deserted cabin of a herder nearby. It was Jacob's suggestion that he be left behind. "He smiled brusquely to allay their fears and promised to start for home in the morning when he felt stronger. 'Just be sure you're right in dealing with these Indians,' he advised. 'Don't be hasty. Be harsh only with whom you know to be guilty'" (Bailey 1948, 276). The renegades were never captured. The Pipe Springs Massacre remained unavenged.

Treaty of Fort Defiance

Jacob was anxious to talk peace with the Navaho, and therefore when the invitation came to accompany Powell to Fort Defiance, he accepted with alacrity. Their destination was reached November 1, 1870. Five days later, an important peace treaty was concluded. Barboneita, one of the Navaho chiefs, spoke as follows: "I look upon Captain Hamblin as a father and am pleased to see him. I will return all stock stolen from his people that I can find. If the stock is not returned it will be because it is killed. It will be well for you to keep a guard, and if parties do go out, find their trail and report to their agent. I heard that there are two crossings (of the Colorado). I cannot promise you immunities from raids; therefore I wish you to keep a guard to assist me in my information in order that I may recover the stock. From this time forth we will be at peace with the Mormons as with the Great Father at Washington. I cannot bear the talk of war" (Corbett 1952, 303).

The Treaty of Fort Defiance was signed before 29 of the leading men of the Navaho nation. In reporting the event Indian agent Bennett says: "The chiefs and good men of the Navaho Indians pledge themselves that no more Navaho will be allowed to go to Utah; and that they will not under any circumstances allow any more depredations to be committed by their people. That if they hear of any party forming for the purpose of making a raid, that they will immediately go to the place and stop them, using force if necessary. They express themselves as extremely anxious to be on friendly terms with the Mormons, and that they have a binding and lasting peace. I am confident that this visit of Captain Hamblin and the tales we have had will be the means of accomplishing great good" (Journal History of the Church, entry of November 5, 1870). Jacob was thrilled as he stood at the door of the compound and watched the chief giving messages to runners to be taken all over the Indian country to notify them of the treaty. After visiting the Hopi villages, where a similar treaty was signed between the Hopi and the Navaho, Hamblin returned to Kanab. He was accompanied by the Hopi chief, Tuba and his wife, Pulaskanimki.

The return trip to Utah was made by way of the Ute Crossing where a cache of goods was left for the Powell expedition. Here he met the major. "Powell was happy again to have a good visit with Jacob and to get from him his journal containing a description of the canyon from Pearce's Ferry to Call's Landing. Before Major Powell took his leave he gave Jacob as a present a leather bag (12 x 15") he called a war bag. In this, Jacob used to carry his letters, writing material and valuables" (Corbett 1952, 322).

Chief Tuba Visits Utah

Hamblin had brought Chief Tuba and his wife to Kanab. "There would be no better way of inducing the Moquis to accept Brigham's invitation to move across the Colorado than to create favor for Mormons and their ways in the hearts of those with tribal influence," he said (Little 1909, 116). A small log house was constructed for the handsome chief. A few days later Tuba met President Young at St. George and was much impressed. The cotton mill at Washington, however, was by far the greatest attraction. "After standing awe-stricken before 360 spindles in motion, he said sorrowfully to Jacob: 'I have no heart to spin with my fingers again'" (Little 1909, 116). President Young made Tuba a present of a suit of clothes. Back again in Kanab, Tuba and his wife faithfully attended church service and were, within a short time, baptized in the waters of Kanab Creek. In July, 1871, the celebrated visitors accompanied Hamblin to Salt Lake City, where Jacob had anticipated meeting Major Powell on his return from the east.

In September, 1872, Hamblin accompanied Tuba back to Oraibi as he had promised to do so. Years later in appreciation for a lasting peace and friendship, the Hopi chief gave the land and spring upon which Tuba City stands to the Mormon pioneers in return for a guaranteed protection from his enemies. "In 1872," Hamblin records, "I explored many places between Lee's Ferry and the

Uintah Valley, assisted in locating a settlement on the Pahreah, in starting a ranch in Rock House Valley, and in building a small boat at Lee's Ferry" (Little 1909, 118).

The Grass Valley Massacre

Within two years the Navaho peace treaty concluded at Fort Defiance appeared destined to failure. The cause of this was the Grass Valley Massacre, the sequence of events of which follows. A party of young Navaho in 1873 went to the east fork of the Sevier River to trade with some Utes in the neighborhood. In Grass Valley they encountered a severe storm and took refuge in a vacant home belonging to a rancher named McCarty. The Navaho, becoming hungry because of the delay, killed a small calf belonging to the rancher, who in turn, without giving the Indians an opportunity of explaining their circumstances, killed three of them and wounded a fourth. The wounded man, after enduring great hardship, made his way across the Colorado River and arrived in due time among his people. Telling the story, he aroused a bitter spirit for retaliation. As the affair had taken place in Mormon country north of the river and the Navaho were not aware that McCarty was, in the Mormon view, a Gentile and an outsider, they attributed the killing to the Mormons.

The outrage created considerable resentment among both Indians and whites. When Brigham Young heard of it and sensed the imminence of war, he urged Jacob Hamblin to visit the Navaho at once and satisfy them that the Mormon people were not in any way implicated in the affair. Jacob, accompanied by two men named Smith, who were brothers and non-Mormons, met the Navaho, already in council of war, near Moencopi in January 1874. The enraged Navaho at first demanded the life of Hamblin. They agreed, however, that his companions could go, provided they surrendered their horses and guns. Then Jacob arose, and in low and sympathetic voice, with the crippled Huck-a-bur as translator, told the sordid details of how Ketchenee's sons had perished in the land west of the Colorado. Emphatically, he denied that Mormons had anything to do with the crime.

"In his lifetime of Indian experience," comments Bailey, "this, without doubt, was one of the weirdest. Two dozen squatting braves, their minds hate-marked as certainly as their faces were daubed with hate-paint, waited quietly for the strange and unholy rites to commence, with one door only and that across the room stuffed to capacity with armed and reckless braves, any escape was a slim possibility" (Bailey 1948, 355-7).

But Hamblin was equal to the crisis. His strategy was to win his case by convincing the Indians of his honesty and integrity. Thus he said: "Long have I had acquaintance with your people. Long have I labored to maintain the peace. I am sorry you think of killing me for a wrong with which I had no part, and my people had no part. I grieve with Ketchenee in the loss of his sons. But when I tell you that it was a stranger who did the deed, I do not lie. I challenge you to prove that Jacob has ever deceived you, that Jacob has ever spoken to you with a forked tongue" (Little 1909, 124-7).

Patiently, Hamblin drew a map of Grass Valley and the Colorado River country, explaining carefully the setting and details of the massacre as he understood them. "Ain't you afraid?" howled a Navaho. "Why should one be afraid of his friends?" Jacob calmly answered. "Are not the Navaho our friends? Are we not theirs? Else, why do we place ourselves in their power?" (Little 1909, 127-8).

This demonstration of courage broke the tension and after further council the Navaho suggested that the Mormons surrender 350 head of cattle in lieu of Hamblin's life. But Jacob, realizing that the good results of his missionary labors of 15 years would be in jeopardy should he accept this proposal, adamantly refused. Instead, he urged the Navaho to send a group of their friends into the Mormon country to trade and learn for themselves the truth about the Mormon people. This retort mollified the Indians and the peace parley was amiably concluded. Jacob's undeviating path of truth and honesty, so characteristic of his entire life, now paid off in rich dividends. This philosophy had not only saved his own life, but freed the Mormon people from a threat of war.

7. EXPLORATIONS SOUTH OF THE COLORADO

Emigrant Guide

Jacob Hamblin's services were constantly requested to guide emigrant parties to California over the Los Angeles and Old Spanish trails. Two such examples occurred in 1857 shortly after the Mountain Meadows Massacre. A company of missionaries under the command of Captain Dukes had left Salt Lake City in September enroute to California, but they were delayed in their journey at Beaver, 250 miles southwest, where they were attacked by Indians. Through the intervention of a detachment of the Iron county militia under Colonel Dame of Parowan, the Indians were pacified and the emigrants were allowed to proceed on their journey. However, when they came to the Muddy River, near Las Vegas, Nevada, a band of 300 Indians attacked, this time driving off several hundred head of their cattle, and threatening to kill every member of the party if a single shot was fired in retaliation. In Cove Creek Valley, enroute to Salt Lake City, Hamblin was apprised of the danger by a group of northbound emigrants. He says: "I procured a horse, left the wagons and rode on day and night. At Cedar City, as I was weary with hard riding and want of sleep, I hurried Samuel Knight and Dudley Leavitt on after the emigrants, while I travelled more slowly. I instructed these men to make every possible effort to save the company and their effects, and to save lives at all hazards. They overtook the Indians 156 miles south of Cedar City on the Muddy in the heart of the Indian country. They found a large body of excited redskins preparing to attack and destroy them. Finding it almost impossible to control the Indians, they compromised the matter. The Indians agreed to take only the loose stock of the company and not meddle with the trains and wagons, and not make any effort to take their lives. The Indians then took the loose stock amounting to 480 head!" (Little 1909, 50). Jacob was alarmed at the terms of the peace offering and determined at once to alter them. Through his personal influence, he convinced the Indians that they should return all stock not already killed. He then advised the emigrants, who had arrived in California, of this agreement and they in turn sent their agent, Mr. Lane, to the Muddy where Hamblin arranged for the repossession of their cattle.

Later in the same autumn, Hamblin successfully piloted a company of non-Mormon merchants through to California. They had been doing business in Salt Lake City and were fleeing from the prospects of difficulty occasioned through the arrival of Johnston's Army (Creer 1929, 194-5).

Exploration of the Little Colorado

The termination of the Navaho difficulty led to the projection of plans for the exploration and settlement of the Little Colorado River country. During the winter of 1873-74, Hamblin was commissioned to find a wagon route from Lee's Ferry to San Francisco Forest. He was successful and, accordingly, the following spring (1874), a company of 100 wagons under the leadership of Isaac C. Haight traversed it with instructions to plan a settlement on the Little Colorado

or on some tributary of the Gila River. Hamblin piloted the first 10 wagons as far as Moencopi. The country beyond that point, however, proved to be very uninviting. The company, therefore, became demoralized and returned forthwith to Utah. The Moencopi Mission was temporarily abandoned. The disappointed Jacob was sent to assist in bringing the small group of settlers away.

In 1874, Hamblin again visited the Hopi villages. He found the people happy and contented, and he informed them that they would soon have Mormon neighbors on the Little Colorado. Returning to Kanab, Jacob reported that there were a number of good springs near Moencopi, most of them small, but each capable of irrigating 50 acres of land, that the territory about San Francisco Mountain had been satisfactorily explored; and that two large, excellent springs of pure water had been found at the southwest base of the peak, which would insure successful emigrant travel by the wagon road there.

On December 1, 1876, Hamblin, at the request of President Young, directed a party in the survey of a wagon road from Pearce's Ferry to Sunset on the Little Colorado, "for," said Young, "our people will want all the choice places where there is water and grass" (Little 1909, 146). He was accompanied by Wilford Halliday, James Crosby, Calvin Kelsey, Samuel Alger, and Hyrum Williams. The party left St. George December 13, taking a route to Pearce's Ferry a little east of the former one "in order to strike the new crossing of the Colorado 5 miles above the old one." At Pearce's Ferry the explorers constructed a skiff in which they conveyed their luggage across the river, but forded the animals. After crossing the river the company travelled east of the former trail and soon reached the Walpi Valley. From there they took a southwest course over a country devoid of water and soon thereafter reached a mining camp occupied by one Mr. Stevenson. Travelling directly eastward from this claim they struck the old road which led them to the settlements on the Little Colorado (Little 1909, 147).

8. SETTLEMENT IN ARIZONA: RETROSPECT

Hamblin Moves to Arizona

Although only in his 57th year, Jacob Hamblin's life among the Indians had been extremely hard and rigorous. Then, too, his many duties necessitated his absence from home almost constantly, and because of this he was forced to neglect his families. He therefore, in 1875, implored the church authorities to release him as President of the Southern Mission. This President Young refused to do and instead in December, 1876 at a conference in St. George, confirmed him as an Apostle to the Lamanites and the following year commissioned him to labor among the settlements of the Little Colorado. "Jacob Hamblin," announced Brigham "was irreplaceable." And, says Bailey in comment: "Hamblin to the Indians was the Sun-Father, one white man whose tongue spoke straight and whose heart toward them was good. To Americans at large, he was Jake Hamblin, slovenly in dress, silent of speech, and 'the damnest man with Indians you ever saw'" (Bailey 1948, 370). On one occasion, he said to his wife, Louise, "I was born a white man. I've always wanted to be a white man. But somehow in the shuffle of life, the Lord made me an Indian." And Louise retorted: "The Lord gave you a heart and a sense of justice big enough to encircle all men. Your love of men has never drawn the color line. In making this Indian of whom you speak, the Lord put a little Hamblin into it. The least we can do is try to be content" (Bailey 1948, 371).

Jacob moved with part of his family from Kanab to Amity, known later as Springerville, Arizona, in 1878. His wagons were well stocked with food, household goods and other supplies. The family crossed the Colorado at Lee's Ferry and then headed south and east through Apache County, Arizona. When they arrived at their future home in Amity in Round Valley near the Arizona-New Mexico border, the excited children called the townsite the top of the world. (Neighboring communities included St. Joseph, Woodruff, Taylor, Alpine and Nutriosio, St. Johns and Snowflake, all in Arizona). His wife Priscilla had accompanied him; Louise remained at Kanab. In 1879, Jacob was named bishop of Amity Ward and First Counselor to Lot Smith in the Arizona Stake of Zion (Journal History of the Church, entry of October 8, 1879). Two years later, 1881, he moved to the little town of Pleasanton, just across the border into New Mexico. For a year (1884) he took refuge in Ascension, a small community in Old Mexico, attempting to evade federal officers who were searching for polygamist violators of the Edmunds Law (1882). He returned to Pleasanton in 1885, a very sick and exhausted man. As a result he contracted malaria. He was taken to the home of his son Lyman at Alpine to recuperate, but after two weeks the restless Jacob insisted on returning to his own home. The trip, however, proved too strenuous for him, and when he arrived at Louise's home, he was taken from his horse desperately ill, shaking violently from chills and fever. Hamblin died August 31, 1886. Two years later his body was taken from Pleasanton and reinterred at Alpine, Arizona. "Peacemaker in the Camp of the Lamanites; Herald of Truth to the House of Israel," is the epitaph inscribed on his monument.

Tributes

An old friend of Hamblin, speaking to his daughter said: "Your father was contented if he had straw for a pillow and a leaf for a covering; contented as though the world's goods could content a man of Jacob's mould -- a man whose philosophy was fashioned of humans, woodlands, and brooks; who had a compassion for broken wings, who recognized greatness in simple things" (Jensen 1901, 100-1). And this was true. Jacob Hamblin probably knew and understood the Indian better than any other western frontiersman. He ate with the redmen, slept with them; he talked their language and helped them to raise their crops. He even took several of them to raise in his own home. In his dealings with them he was undeviatingly honest. He never lied. In fact, his influence over them was so overwhelming that he became recognized as the greatest emissary of peace ever to administer among them. "There is not a word of theological drama in the precepts of this great missionary," says Corbett. "His code of ethics might perfectly well be displayed in every agency or mission station on the Indian reservations of America" (Corbett 1952, 433).

Hoffman Birney pays Hamblin the following tribute: "Jacob Hamblin lived to see peace on the frontiers of Utah. He saw villages and thriving farming communities established along the lonely trails he had followed across the deserts. No more distinctive proponent of Christianity ever lived in America. He was the first of his country men to cross the Grand Canyon and the first to carry the Gospel to the Hopi and the Navaho. His life is an epic of service, as devout, as consecrated as that of Kino, Garces, Marquette, Roger Williams, or Marcus Whitman. He died a poor man but rich in memories of service freely given" (Birney 1931, 132).

Finally, Hamblin's work as an explorer and colonizer is well characterized by Frank Arnold, who writes as follows: "The first man to cross the Colorado River at the eastern end of the 200 mile gorge of Grand Canyon was Jacob Hamblin. He started from Santa Clara in 1858 and had to cross it in order to carry the Gospel to the Hopi Indians. He got the habit and went over nearly every year until his death in 1886, sometimes crossing at the west end of the canyon (Pearce's Ferry) but usually at the east end, either at Lee's Ferry or the Padre Crossing. He was the Pathfinder of northern Arizona, its Daniel Boone or its Peary; and it is thanks to him that Utah (Mormon) settlements are now flourishing in Arizona around the headwaters of the Little Colorado and the Gila, as well as in the Salt River Valley. If you sit on the Canyon Rim and don't think of Jacob Hamblin you are absolutely without piety. You are as bad as a man who visits Mount Vernon and never gives a thought to George Washington or who spends a day at Versailles and does no serious thinking of the vanity and value of kings like Louis XIV" (Arnold 1932, 965).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alter, J. Cecil
1932 Utah, The Storied Domain. 3 vols. The American Historical Society, Chicago.
- Arnold, Frank
1925 Utah Piety on the North Rim of the Grand Canyon. Improvement Era, Vol. 29, p. 965. Salt Lake City.
- Bailey, Paul
1948 Jacob Hamblin, Buckskin Apostle. Westernlore Press, Los Angeles.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe
1889 History of Utah. The History Publishing Co., San Francisco.
- Birney, Hoffman
1931 Zealots of Zion. Penn Publishing Co., Philadelphia.
- Bleak, James G.
1854 Journal History of Dixie. In Annals of the Southern Utah Mission. Historian's Office, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
- Brooks, Juanita, ed.
1944 The Journal of Thales Haskell. Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 12, Nos. 1-2, pp. 68-98. Salt Lake City.
- Clelland, Robert Glass, and Juanita Brooks, eds.
1955 A Mormon Chronicle. The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876. 2 vols. The Huntington Library, San Marino.
- Corbett, Pearson H.
1952 Jacob Hamblin, The Peacemaker. Deseret Book Co., Salt Lake City.
- Creer, Leland Hargrave
1929 Utah and the Nation. University of Washington Press, Seattle.
1947 The Founding of an Empire. Bookcraft Co., Salt Lake City.
- Darrah, William C., ed.
1947 The Colorado River Expedition of 1869. Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 15, Nos. 1-4, Salt Lake City.
- Dellenbaugh, Frederick S.
1904 Romance of the Colorado River. Knickerbocker Press, New York.
1908 Canyon Voyage. Yale University Press, New Haven.

- Farnham, Thomas J.
 1906 Travels in the Great Western Prairies. In Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed.,
Early Western Travels, Vol. 28. Arthur H. Clark Co., Cleveland.
- Gottfriedsen, Peter
 1874 Jacob Hamblin's Narrow Escape after the Grass Valley Affair.
 Privately printed, Salt Lake City.
- Gregory, Herbert E., ed.
 1941 Utah. Guide to the State. American Guide Series.
- Hamblin, Jacob
 1854-74 Journals, 1854, 1858, 1869, 1874. Original in files of Historian's
 Office, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
 1855 Early Days in Dixie. In Deseret News, April 4, 1855, Salt Lake City.
- History of Brigham Young. 1844-1877. A Journal History of the Church as Dictated
 by Brigham Young and His Associate Scribes. Ms. Historian's
 Office, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
- Hunter, Milton R.
 1940 Brigham Young, The Colonizer. Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City.
- Jensen, Andrew
 1901 Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia, Vol. 3. Deseret News
 Press, Salt Lake City.
 1914 Church Chronology. Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City.
- Jones, Daniel Webster
 1890 Forty Years Among the Indians. Juvenile Instruction Office, Church
 of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
- Journal History of the Church, 1850-1866. Ms Historian's Office, Church of Jesus
 Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
- Kelly, Charles, ed.
 1948-49 The Exploration of the Colorado River and the High Plateaus of
 Utah in 1871-72. Utah Historical Quarterly, Vols. 16-17, pp. 1-540.
 Salt Lake City.
- Little, James A.
 1909 Jacob Hamblin. As Narrated by Hamblin to James A. Little. 2d ed.
 Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City.

- Morgan, Dale, ed.
1947 The Powell Expedition of 1869. Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 15,
Nos. 1-4. Salt Lake City.
- Neff, Andrew Love
1940 History of Utah. Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City.
- Roberts, Brigham H.
1930 Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day
Saints. Century One. 6 vols. Salt Lake City.
- Simpson, James H.
1859 Report of Explorations Across the Great Basin of the Territory of
Utah for a Direct Wagon Route from Camp Floyd to Genoa in
Carson Valley. Government Printing Office, Washington.
- Stegner, Wallace
1954 Beyond the Hundredth Meridian. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston.
- Whitney, Orson F.
1893 History of Utah. 4 vols. George F. Cannon and Sons, Salt Lake City.
- Woodbury, Angus M.
1944 A History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks. Utah Historical
Quarterly, Vol. 12, Nos. 3-4, pp. 1-110. Salt Lake City.

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

(Nos. 1 - 9 bound in one volume -- \$3.25)

- No. 1 Prehistoric Exchange in Utah, by Carling Malouf (1939), pp. 1-6, 2 figs.
- No. 2 The Ancient Mexican Writing System, by Charles E. Dibble (1940), pp. 7-28, illus.
- No. 3 The Gosiute Indians, by Carling Malouf (1940), pp. 29-37, 1 fig.
- No. 4 A Brief Description of an Indian Ruin near Shonesburg, Utah, by Elmer R. Smith (1940), pp. 38-42, 2 sketch maps.
- No. 5 The Archaeology of the Deep Creek Region, Utah by Carling Malouf, Charles E. Dibble, and Elmer R. Smith (1940), pp. 43-68, 11 figs.
- No. 6 An Indian Burial, a Barbed Bone "Projectile Point," and Accompanying Artifacts from Bear Lake, Idaho, by Elmer R. Smith (1942), pp. 69-73, 1 pl.
- No. 7 Archaeology of Black Rock 3 Cave, Utah, by Walter D. Enger (1942), pp. 74-94, 8 figs.
- No. 8 Archaeology in the San Juan, by Samuel J. Tobin (1947), pp. 95-108.
- No. 9 An Archaeological Reconnaissance in Washington County, Utah (1949), by Jack R Rudy and Robert D. Stirland.
- No. 10 The Archaeology of Deadman Cave: A Revision, by Elmer R. Smith (1952), 41 pp., 20 figs., \$.50.
- No. 11 Proceedings of the Sixth Plains Archeological Conference (1948) Jesse D. Jennings, Editor (1950, 161 pp., 4 pls., \$1.50.
- No. 12 Archeological Survey of Western Utah, by Jack R Rudy (1953), 190 pp., 62 figs., \$2.25.
- No. 13 In the Beginning: A Navaho Creation Myth, by Stanley A. Fishler (1953), 130 pp., \$1.50.
- No. 14 Archeological Survey of the LaSal Mountain Area, by Alice Hunt (1953), 248 pp., 89 figs., 3 tables, \$2.50.

- No. 15 A Study in Culture Contact and Culture Change: The Whiterock Utes in Transition, by Gottfried O. Lang (1953), 76 pp. , 2 figs. , 6 tables, \$.85.
- No. 16 The Garrison Site, by Dee Calderwood Taylor (1954), 66 pp. , 20 figs. , \$1.25 (Nos. 17-19 bound in one volume -- \$1.00)
- No. 17 Notes on the Utah Utes by Edward A. Palmer, 1866-1877, by R. F. Heizer (1954), 8 pp.
- No. 18 Pine Park Shelter, Washington County, Utah, by Jack R Rudy (1954), 26 pp. , 16 figs.
- No. 19 Human Skeletal Material from Deadman Cave, Utah, by John Buettner-Janusch (1954), 9 pp. , 4 pls.
- No. 20 Archeological Excavations in Beef Basin, Utah, by Jack R Rudy (1955), 63 pp. , 12 pls. , 27 figs. , 12 tables, \$1.50.
- No. 21 Archeological Investigations in Nine Mile Canyon, Utah: a Re-publication, by John Gillin (1955), 45 pp. , 31 figs. , \$1.00.
- No. 22 Archeology of Zion Park, by Albert H. Schroeder (1955), 212 pp. , 22 pls. , 26 figs. , 23 tables, \$2.25.
- No. 23 Ute Rorschach Performances with Notes on Field Methods, by Paul A. Hauck (1955), 18 pp. , \$.50.
- No. 24 Early Man in the Columbia Intermontane Province, by Richard D. Daugherty (1956), 123 pp. , 4 tables, \$1.75.
- No. 25 Archeological Excavations in Iron County, Utah, by Clement W. Meighan and others (1956), 134 pp. , 63 figs. , 20 tables, \$2.25.
- No. 26 Papers of the Third Great Basin Archeological Conference, by Fay-Cooper Cole and others (1956), 96 pp. , 17 figs. , \$1.50.
- No. 27 Danger Cave, by Jesse D. Jennings (1957), 328 pp. , 8 appendices, 266 figs. , 31 tables, \$6.00.
- No. 28 Archeological Survey of the Fremont Area, by James H. Gunnerson (1957), 155 pp. , 30 figs. , 6 tables, \$3.00.
- No. 29 Two Fremont Sites and Their Position in Southwestern Prehistory, by Dee C. Taylor (1957), 171 pp. , 57 figs. , 15 tables, \$3.50.

- No. 30 The Glen Canyon Survey in 1957, by Robert H. Lister (1958), 57 pp. , 24 figs. , including map, 2 tables, \$1.25.
- No. 31 Preliminary Report on Biological Resources of the Glen Canyon Reservoir, prepared by Angus M. Woodbury and staff members of the Division of Biological Sciences, University of Utah (1958) 220 pp. , 11 figs. , \$2.50.
- No. 32 Mormon Towns in the Region of the Colorado, by Leland Hargrave Creer (1958), 26 pp. , 1 fig.
- No. 33 The Activities of Jacob Hamblin in the Region of the Colorado, by Leland Hargrave Creer (1958), 40 pp. , 1 fig. (Nos. 32-33 bound in one volume), \$1.25.

University of Utah Anthropological Papers are published by the
University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City 12, Utah

