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THE COLORADO RIVER: ITS HISTORY IN
THE LOWER CANYON AREA

A Dissertation
Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Melvin T. Smith
August 1972

8

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This dissertation, by Melvin T. Smith, is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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THE COLORADO RIVER: ITS HISTORY IN

THE LOWER CANYONS AREA

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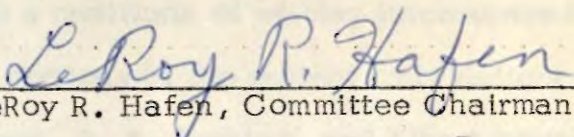
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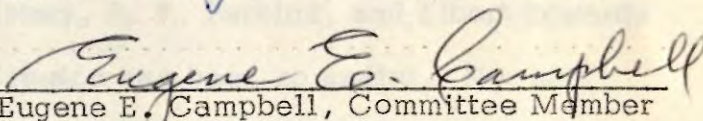
ABSTRACT

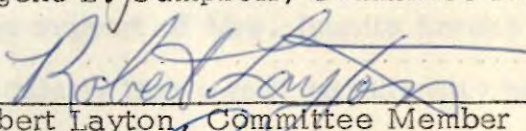
While much has been written about the Colorado River, little scholarly study has been expended on the region of its lower canyons. This project reviews the major primary resources dealing with its history from the aboriginals to the twentieth century. Successive claims were laid to the region by the Indians who yet survive; by the Spaniards who came and left; by the Mexicans and American trappers and traders who explored and exploited its streams' resources; and by the Mormons, the Military and the Miners whose tenure continues into the present.

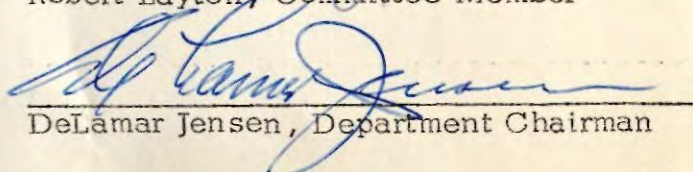
Common needs for efficient transportation produced numerous attempts to navigate the river. Success was moderate. Only when those labors (especially of government officials) produced facts about the river's peculiarities, did long-range programs emerge that eventually could control and contain the Colorado. This study reviews major undertakings with marginal means, often with more failures than successes. Yet it provides insights into both the programs and the reasons for them, of the individuals and institutions involved.

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To research and write a paper such as this has required the cooperation and assistance of many individuals and institutions. While it is impractical to note them definitively some minimal crediting must be made.

First of all, the able and exemplary role of my committee--Dr. Robert Layton, Dr. DeLamar Jensen, Dr. Eugene Campbell, and Dr. LeRoy R. Hafen, Chairman, especially, has not only kept the paper within bounds, but has also given to the project pleasant and rewarding dimensions.

Mention must also be made of the willing cooperation extended by personnel at the research resources located at Brigham Young University, the L. D. S. Church Historian's Office, University of Nevada-Las Vegas, Lost City Museum, Mojave Pioneer Museum, Grand Canyon-South Rim, National Park Service Headquarters at Boulder City, and the Utah State Historical Society.

Sincere thanks are extended to a multitude of willing interviewees, whose essential cooperation made portions of the project truly delightful. Special note goes to Murl Emery, R. F. Perkins, and Elbert Edwards whose intimate knowledge of the region has been so useful. Nor can the very important behind-the-scene support of Mrs. Juanita Brooks be unnoted. It is through people particularly that a regional identity has emerged.

Without the kind and committed services of able typists, this researcher's efforts would have remained, if not without form and void, at least illegible to most readers. Particular thanks to Helen Mathison for her many extra hours of effort. Finally, thanks for a patient but persistent family support that allowed the time and energy needed to complete the work; and, in fact, just may be its raison d'etre. The writer alone bears the burden of the paper's shortcomings.

1. THE COVE, COLOMBIA, THE MOUNTAIN, THE REGION	1
THE COVE	1
COLOMBIA FROM AERIAL	1
THE REGION	12
THE MOUNTAIN	12
SUMMARY	21
2. NAMING THE RIVER - COLOMBIA	22
INDIAN NAMES FOR THE RIVER	23
INDIAN NAMES FOR THE MOUNTAIN	25
EARLY SPANISH NAMES	26
SPANISH SPANISH NAMES	29
THE CANTON MOUNTAIN	30
AMERICAN NAMES FOR THE COLOMBIA	30
NAMING THE RIVER - DISCUSSION	31
3. THE INDIANS & LASTING STRANGE	32
EARLY EARLY COLOMBIA	32
AMERICAN INDIANS	33
THE INDIANS	43

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	x

Chapter

1. THE GREAT COLORADO: THE BASIN , THE REGION , THE RIVER	1
COLORADO RIVER BASIN	1
THE REGION	12
THE RIVER	15
SUMMARY	22
2. NAMING THE RIVER: COLORADO	23
INDIAN NAMES FOR THE RIVER	23
INDIAN NAMES FOR TRIBUTARIES	25
EARLY SPANISH NAMES	26
LATER SPANISH NAMES	29
THE GARCES PERIOD	30
AMERICAN NAMES FOR THE COLORADO	33
NAMING THE RIVER - CONCLUSION	36
3. THE INDIANS: A LASTING HERITAGE	38
EARLY DESERT CULTURES	38
ANASAZI INDIANS	39
PUEBLO INDIANS	40

Chapter

Page

PATAYAN - COHONINA	43
NORTHERN INDIANS - PAIUTE	44
EARLY INDIAN HERITAGE	45
THE HOPI	46
THE NAVAJOES	48
THE UTES	49
SLAVE TRADE	50
MORMONS AND INDIAN SLAVERY	51
PAIUTES	51
MORMONS AND PAIUTES	54
PAIUTE RESERVATIONS	56
THE PAI	57
THE MOJAVE	59
CHEMEHUEVE	63
SUMMARY	64
4. THE SPANIARDS: THREE CENTURIES OF CLAIMS	65
EARLY EXPLORATIONS	65
CORONADO'S EXPEDITIONS	67
THE ONATE PERIOD	71
THE JESUITS	75
THE FRANCISCANS	78
LATER SPANIARDS	90
5. THE AMERICANS: TRAPPERS AND TRADERS	92
EXPLORERS	92

Chapter

Page

THE TRAPPERS	94
THE TRADERS	121
THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL	133
SUMMARY	138
6. THE COLORADO: EXPLORING THE RIVER	139
THE MEXICAN WAR PERIOD	139
THE MORMON WAR PERIOD	146
POST CIVIL WAR EXPLORATION	163
OTHER SURVEYS	178
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	181
7. 35TH PARALLEL ROUTE: WAGON ROADS AND RAILROADS	183
EARLY EXPLORATIONS	183
TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD SURVEYS	186
THE 35TH PARALLEL ROUTE	189
A WAGON ROAD	200
TRAVELERS ON THE 35TH PARALLEL ROUTE	207
THE MILITARY AMONG THE MOJAVE	213
TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD	225
OTHER RAILROADS	229
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	237
8. THE MORMONS: NAVIGATION AND SETTLEMENT	239
EARLY MORMON INTEREST	240
THE MORMON WAR	248
THE CIVIL WAR YEARS: 1858-1864	261

Chapter

Page

THE COLORADO LANDING	266
CALLVILLE AFTER JULY 1865	296
SETTLEMENTS	301
CONCLUSION	314
9. NAVIGATION OF THE COLORADO RIVER: SUPPLY LINE TO THE MILITARY AND MINERS.	320
THE MILITARY AND THE COLORADO RIVER	321
MINING AND THE COLORADO RIVER	338
STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANIES.	343
COLORADO RIVER IMPROVEMENTS	364
END OF COLORADO RIVER NAVIGATION	370
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	372
10. THE COLORADO CROSSINGS: GRAND TO BLACK CANYONS.	374
THE PEARCE FERRY AREA	375
PEARCE'S FERRY	383
HUALAPAI VALLEY CROSSINGS	405
RIO VIRGIN CONFLUENCE	411
JUNCTION CITY	412
STONE'S FERRY	420
DANIEL BONELLI	423
RIOVILLE	425
END OF BONELLI FERRY	435
CASHMAN'S FERRY.	437
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	438

Chapter

Page

11.	THE COLORADO CROSSINGS: BLACK CANYON TO THE NEEDLES	440
	WILLOW BEACH	441
	EL DORADO	442
	EL DORADO FERRY.	448
	SEARCHLIGHT FERRY	451
	SEARCHLIGHT	454
	MOJAVE VALLEY CROSSINGS.	458
	MOJAVE FERRY.	462
	HARDYVILLE	465
	SUMMARY	472
12.	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	474
	THE INDIANS	474
	THE SPANIARDS	476
	EARLY TERRITORIAL POLITICS	477
	COLORADO RIVER NAVIGATION	480
	TERRITORIAL POLITICS.	482
	1870'S - THREE MORE DECADES	487
	CONCLUSION	489
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	491
	APPENDIX.	512

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure		Page
1.	Map: The Colorado River Basin	2
2.	Map: Plateaus North of Colorado River	8
3.	Map: Ranges and Valleys of Lower Canyons	13
4.	Map: Topographical Detail of Area	17
5.	Map: Indians	41
6.	Picture: Callville Landing - Looking West.	280
7.	Picture: Callville Landing - Looking Upstream	280
8.	Map: Colorado River Crossings - Upper	376
9.	Picture: Pearce's Ferry.	404
10.	Picture: Gregg's Ferry	404
11.	Picture: Brigham Young at Colorado River	418
12.	Picture: Bonelli Ferry	427
13.	Picture: Daniel Bonelli Home	427
14.	Map: Colorado River Crossings - Lower	444
15.	Picture: Steamer <u>Gila</u> at El Dorado.	449
16.	Picture: Downstream from El Dorado Landing	449
17.	Picture: Searchlight Cable Ferry	457
18.	Picture: Searchlight Cable Ferry	457
19.	Map: Fort Mojave and Ferry.	464
20.	Picture: Site of Hardyville	467
21.	Picture: Ferrying at Needles, California.	467
22.	Map: George M. Wheeler Survey, 1871.	512

THE GREAT COLORADO: THE BASIN, THE REGION, THE RIVER

Not the largest,¹ but second longest of the major drainage systems of the United States, the Colorado River possesses unique and distinctive features which, apart from the story of its exploration, justify the title Frederick S. Dellenbaugh chose for his book--The Romance of the Colorado River. One cannot understand its history, in the lower canyons region, without some basic geographic awareness. This chapter reviews the river's drainage system, its geographic setting, and its actual course through the lower canyons area.

Colorado River Basin

The drainage basin of this river is located between longitude 106° on the east where it begins in the Colorado Rockies, and longitude 115° where the sluggish silt-laden stream glides through desert deltas in Mexico to discharge itself into the "Sea of Cortez." Some of the water disemboguing at 31° 53' north latitude has traveled from the high peaks of the Wind River Mountains of Wyoming, birthplace of the Green, near 43° 15' north latitude.² The basin's overall dimensions range approxi-

¹Daniel B. Luten, "The Use and Misuse of a River," The American West, IV (May 1967), 50-51. The Colorado's mean annual flow has been set at 15 million acre-feet at Lee's Ferry and about 18 million acre-feet per annum; by comparison the Congo has 1,000 million, the Mississippi 440 million, the Columbia 184 million, and the Yukon 130 million.

²George Wharton James, In & Around the Grand Canyon: The Grand Canyon of the Colorado River in Arizona (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1908), p. 2.



Figure 1

mately 900 miles north and south and vary in width east to west from about 300 miles in the northern portions to near 500 miles in the south.³ This great river has tributaries reaching into seven western states, descends 14,000 feet in its long 1,400 mile course to the sea, and drains a vast basin of 157 million acres, or nearly 244,000 square miles,⁴ of which all but 2,000 square miles are in the United States, the remainder being in Mexico.⁵

The eastern and northern boundary of the basin is established by the Continental Divide in the Rocky Mountains; the Wasatch-Uinta Ranges of Utah and the Nevada and California deserts bound its western side, while minor ranges and vast deserts in Sonora mark it on the south. However, the region is hardly the three-dimensioned block depicted in the above statistics. In fact, the Colorado River and its tributaries, both large and small, disciplined by geologic reality and charged by the energies of moisture, gravity and wind, have, as master sculptors, not only carved this block into a region of phenomenal escarpments, cliffs, mesas, painted deserts, and grand canyons--exposing the beginning and the end--but have also, as great conveyor belts, carried away the debris of continuous, ageless erosion.⁶

³Michael W. Straus, Commissioner, Bureau of Reclamation, The Colorado River: A Comprehensive Report on the Development of the Water Resources of the Colorado River Basin for Irrigation, Power Production, and other Beneficial Uses in Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming (Washington: Department of Interior, 1946), pp. 31-41.

⁴Luten, p. 47.

⁵Straus, p. 31.

⁶Charles B. Hunt, Physiography of the United States (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1967), p. 98. Hunt notes that running water transports sediment in solution, in suspension, and as

Because of the billions of tons of silt emptied by the Colorado River into its delta, the Gulf of California has been pushed southward leaving the Salton Sea as a reminder of its former extension into the Imperial Valley. These agelong deposits of upland soils have been expensive contributions from the bare rocks of the plateaus of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona to the fertile valleys of California.⁷

Geology. All geologic ages are represented in the rock formations found in the basin. Numerous periods of deposition and erosion, and major faulting have played their part in the present structure of both mountains and plateaus. Ancient seas and sands settled in the basin countless times, depositing beds of limestone, sandstone, and shale, only to have crustal forces of the earth elevate the region and again unleash the erosive forces that caused streams to cut deep, narrow canyons through mountains, into uplifts, and across flat-topped mesas.⁸ As a phenomenon of erosion, the Grand Canyon is unique only because its area has been arched several thousand feet higher than the surround-

bed load. He gives the following figures by which to measure it:

<u>Stream velocity</u>	<u>Size of sediment transported</u>
1/6 mph	clay
1/3 mph	fine sand
1 mph	gravel up to pea size
2 mph	gravel up to thumb size
3 mph	gravel up to hen's egg size

⁷Luten, p. 51. Luten asserts that sediment burden of the Colorado is 0.5 percent by volume. Half a hundredth of 15 million acre-feet of water each year is 75 thousand acre-feet of sediment. See also Frank Waters, The Colorado (New York: Rhinehart and Company, Inc., 1946), p. 123, who estimates the river sediment load through the Grand Canyon averages one million tons of sand every day, enough to fill 80,000 railroad cars.

⁸Hunt, p. 283. See also Wallace W. Atwood, The Physiographic Provinces of North America (San Francisco: Ginn and Company, 1940), pp. 369-370.

ing country to permit greater erosion.⁹ These uplifts also engendered the volcanic eruptions that left debris covering large sections of this basin.

South and west of the Colorado Plateau, the mountain ranges are composed of very old rocks, since the younger sedimentary formations have eroded away. These ranges trend north and south, corresponding to the faulting prevalent throughout the Great Basin.¹⁰ Many of these mountains are partially buried beneath the alluvial gravels that have been washed from their slopes and deposited in the broad, flat valleys between the ranges.¹¹

Climate. Climatologically the Colorado River Basin is a study in 12 contrasts and extremes caused by both altitude and latitude differences. High peaks of the Rockies are snow-capped ten months of the year, yet true desert conditions characterize the southern regions of Arizona. Temperatures in the basin range from 50° below zero to 130° above zero. The short, warm summers and long cold winters of the north, often with a blanket of snow over much of the area, contrast with the south's hot summers and mild winters where freezing temperatures are rare. High velocity winds whip across these plateaus.

⁹Waters, p. 123. Waters indicates that the river has gouged out of the Grand Canyon alone over 350 cubic miles of rock and debris.

¹⁰Hunt, p. 31. Hunt remarks that between the Colorado Plateau and the Sierra Nevada Mountains lies a highly faulted area which consists of elongated mountain ranges and intervening valleys.

¹¹Straus, p. 39. These characteristics are particularly significant to the region being emphasized in this study.

¹²Hunt, p. 106. This authority states that a thousand feet of altitude is roughly equivalent to 250 miles of latitude.

Precipitation further exemplified contrasts. Rainfall amounts to only 2.5 inches along the Sonoran borders, but reaches forty inches or more in the high altitudes of the headwaters. However, the entire basin tends to aridity. Ninety percent of the moisture that falls evaporates and only ten percent actually becomes stream flow.¹³ The principal rainy season in the south is during the summer months, while in the north most precipitation is in the form of winter snow and spring rains.¹⁴ As might be expected, the growing season ranges from a continuous season in the south to fewer than eighty days in the high valleys of the north.

With these contrasts of temperatures and moisture, one finds great variety in both desert and alpine flora. The higher areas support coverings of pine, spruce, and fir trees that, along with scrub oak and other brush, act as cover to conserve the moisture that falls on the high slopes. The more arid regions of the south and west have only a variety of grasses, desert shrubs and cacti. As the sandy, slickrock regions have little or no ground cover, they are subject to violent flash flooding during summer thunder storms.¹⁵ Here the erosive forces of wind and water have produced the rugged, vertically receding escarpments and canyons typical of the Colorado Basin topography.¹⁶

Drainage and Water Supply. The tributaries of the upper Colorado River Basin, flowing from the high peaks and plateaus of Wyoming, Utah,

¹³ Straus, p. 55.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁵ Hunt, pp. 290-291.

¹⁶ Atwood, p. 407.

Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico, collect an average annual stream flow of 16,270,000 acre feet, measured at Lee's Ferry.¹⁷ The Little Colorado discharges an additional 338,000 acre feet at the upper end of the Grand Canyon.¹⁸ Historically the Little Colorado River was extremely important to travelers as it provided natural grades for traffic as well as an all important water supply.

The 280-mile section of river between Lee's Ferry and the Grand Wash Cliffs adds only limited amounts of water to the Colorado River, and it was very difficult to cross. North of the 6,000 foot grand chasm, a series of giant cliffs retreat northward--the Chocolate (several hundred feet high), the Vermilion (1,400 to 2,000 feet high), the White (1,000 feet high), and the Pink (800 feet high). This section is the home of such famous landmarks as Grand Canyon, Zion's National Park, Bryce's Canyon and Cedar Breaks.¹⁹

The east-west structure also shows a series of giant steps in the

¹⁷Straus, pp. 34, 36, and 55-56. The total annual flow of the Colorado measured at Lee's Ferry is approximately 16,270,000 acre-feet. Under virgin flow the extremes range from as little as 5,500,000 acre-feet to as much as 25,000,000 acre-feet. In second-feet this would mean a rate between 4,000 and about 50,000. Mr. Murl Emery tells of seeing a flood on the river as high as 225,000 second-feet and of finding debris in the canyons near El Dorado that indicate floods at some time as high as 265,000 second-feet. See also Hunt, pp. 71, 73. He notes that "The discharge of large streams may be expressed in acre-feet per unit of time. Discharge may also be expressed in gallons per minute or cubic feet per second. The cubic feet per second is the discharge of water in a channel of rectangular cross section one foot wide and one foot deep at an average velocity of one foot per second.

One cubic foot = 7.48 gallons

One second foot = 7.48 gallons per second

448.8 gallons per minute

1.98 acre-feet per day

725 acre-feet per year

¹⁸Straus, p. 55.

¹⁹Atwood, pp. 367-368.

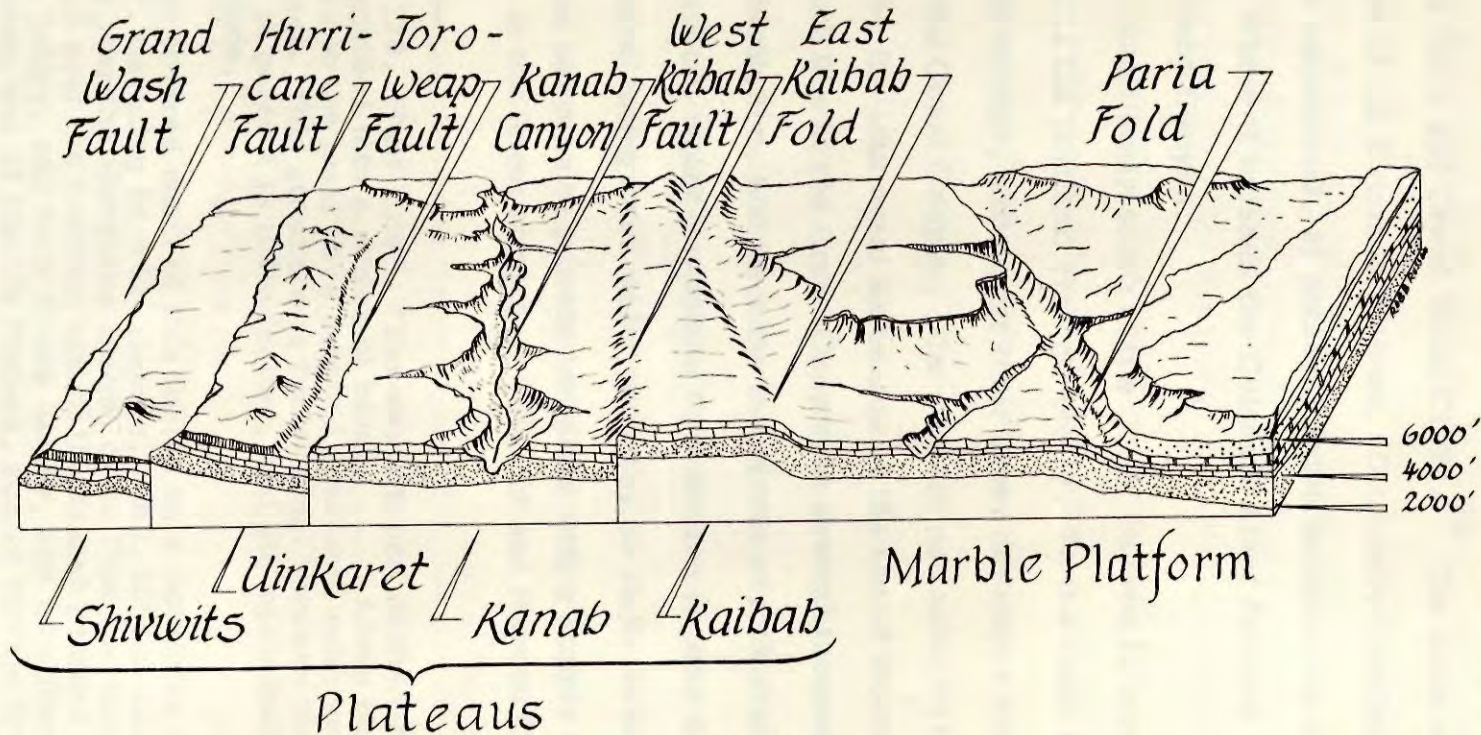


Figure 2

PLATEAUS NORTH OF COLORADO RIVER

northerly trending monoclinal fold of the Kiabab Plateau, and the Sevier Fault, Hurricane Fault and Grand Wash Cliffs.²⁰ The latter also forms the western edge of the Colorado Plateau. Originally displaced about 7,000 feet, this escarpment, at present, drops between one and four thousand feet. Where it crosses the Colorado River denotes the western end of the Grand Canyon.

The region immediately south of the Grand Canyon is less faulted and eroded than is the northern area generally. To the north lie open ridges and broad valleys, except for their lower drainages directly contiguous to the Grand Canyon. The western perimeter of this region is also marked by the southward extension of the Grand Wash Cliffs.²¹ Because the South Rim of the Grand Canyon is several thousand feet lower than the North Rim, and because the strata of rock drain away from the canyon face, water throughout this section is very scarce. Aside from isolated springs and water pockets, no major streams flow through the upper canyons to provide travelers with a supply of water. Havasu Creek, in the lower portion of Cataract and Havasu Canyons,

²⁰Hunt, p. 279. Hunt notes, "The western part of the Grand Canyon section is divided into a series of blocks . . . Along each of these faults the blocks to the west have dropped downward relative to the blocks to the east. This structure is transitional between the Colorado Plateau, which in general is little faulted, and the much faulted Basin and Range Province."

²¹This writer covered much of this region on a motorbike during the summer of 1967, traveling from St. George, Utah, to Hurricane where the road climbs over the Hurricane Ledge, on to Pipe Springs, to Johnson Wash and up over the northern end of the Kiabab Plateau into Long Valley, Coyote Valley, and Rock House Valley, and from there to Lee's Ferry at the eastern end of Marble Plateau, across Navajo Bridge and on to Cameron, Arizona, and thence to the South Rim. Finally, leaving Grand Canyon National Park, he crossed through the region described above enroute to Havasu Canyon. At present dirt roads run through the region, but water is scarce and is stored in "tanks" for the livestock ranging there.

is an oasis to its inhabitants, but a rather inaccessible waterhole for travelers through the area.²² Down river additional small streams flow into the Colorado. However, the stream flow of the river increases only 400,000 acre-feet at the mouth of Grand Canyon.²³

In the 200-mile section below the Grand Wash Cliffs, only the Virgin River adds much water to the turbid Colorado. This stream and its tributaries head far to the east before flowing west and south to cut the fantastic canyons of Zion's Park, including a sharp canyon through the Hurricane fault into Virgin Basin. Farther west, the silt-laden river filed its way through the Beaver Dam Mountains to escape from the Colorado Plateau.

Below these "narrows" the Virgin continues its placid trip. At Littlefield, Arizona, Beaver Dam Springs provides excellent water for travelers, but adds little to the main stream flow. For the next thirty miles, the river deposits silt on its stream bed making travel along it very difficult.²⁴ Meadow Valley Wash joins the Muddy River from the

²²At present a good dirt road reaches the trail from Peach Springs, Arizona, and travelers into the canyon may either hike or be transported via Indian Pony down an improved trail into the beautiful land of Havasu.

²³Straus, p. 55. This report uses the virgin flow (virgin flow denotes stream flow before any kind of water diversion has occurred) records kept for several years. On page 282 of this same report the increase from Lee's Ferry to Bright Angel is estimated at 406,000 acre-feet and from there to Boulder Dam at 404,000 acre-feet (this for the period 1923-45), which was considered about 85% of normal flow; hence the "average" flow would exceed 1,060,000 acre-feet, for the whole section. Hunt, p. 303, argues from the conservationist's position that the Colorado River just above the Little Colorado junction has currently only 14,400,000 acre-feet flowing and at the mouth of the Grand Canyon the flow averages only 13,000,000 acre-feet, a major decrease in spite of the additional waters from these other streams.

²⁴Because of deep dry gulches north and south of the river, in this section travelers were forced to travel along the stream bed, where frequent crossing of the river was imperative and hazardous.

northwest near Moapa, Nevada. The Muddy flows into the Virgin twenty-five miles above its confluence with the Colorado.²⁵ Finally Vegas Wash empties into the Colorado River above Hoover Dam, bringing the Colorado's flow at Hoover Dam to 17,300,000 acre feet annually.²⁶

In the remaining 400 miles only two major streams empty into the Colorado River, the Bill Williams, formed by the joining of the Big Sandy and the Santa Maria rivers and the Gila, which drains from the high mountains of eastern Arizona and western New Mexico and the lava plateau of the Mogollon Rim. And although the average annual flow of the Gila River below Phoenix, Arizona, is 2,282,000 acre-feet, only about 1,270,000 acre-feet reaches the Colorado River.²⁷ Although the 17,330,000 acre-feet average annual flow, measured at Hoover Dam, receives 150,000 acre-feet above the Gila junction and 1,270,000 acre-feet from the Gila, at the international boundary, the stream flow amounts to only 17,720,000 acre-feet annually. Thus, the increases below Black Canyon and Hoover Dam only approximate the losses.²⁸ It should be noted also, that this lower section of the river is one of major silt and sand deposition.

Stream flow in the Colorado River varied more than five hundred percent from year to year. Of even greater consequence, however, to this study is the stream's seasonal variation which has been as great

²⁵Straus, p. 36. Today the Virgin and Muddy Rivers both enter Lake Mead independently.

²⁶Ibid., p. 55. The average annual stream flow of the Virgin at Littlefield, Arizona, is 310,000 acre-feet.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 38-39, 56.

²⁸Ibid., p. 283.

as 1,000 to 1,200 percent,²⁹ with a low of less than 4,000 second-feet in the winter season to more than 50,000 second-feet during the floods of summer. In addition, even seasonal variations experience intermittent extremes, especially with flash flooding during summer.

The Region

The lower canyons region as defined in this study consists of area near the Colorado River extending from the Grand Wash Cliffs on the east to the Bill Williams River on the south, lying in northwestern Arizona, southeastern Nevada, eastern California, and southwestern Utah. Overall, the area extends about 125 miles east and west and 250 miles north and south.

Within this area lie several north-south trending ranges, often segmented and broken. The first, bounding the area to the east, are the Grand Wash Cliffs which mark the rugged transition zone between the Colorado Plateau and the Great Basin.

The second range begins as the Virgin Mountains and segments into rugged hills and peaks near the Colorado River. To the south it continues as the White Hills and Cerbat Mountains and the Hualapai Mountains. Between these two ranges the Grand Wash on the north and Hualapai Wash, and smaller ones, on the south drain to the river.

The third major range is highly segmented in the north consisting of Mormon Mountains, the Muddy Mountains, and the lava peaks north of the Colorado River. South of the river, the rugged Black Mountains extend nearly 100 miles to Sacramento Wash. The ranges further south

²⁹J. B. Lippencott, "Reconnaissance of Colorado River above Needles, Cal.," First Annual Report of the Reclamation Service (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 120. See also Luten, pp. 52-53.



Figure 3

bound both the Colorado and Bill Williams streams. These parallel ranges are separated by the Virgin and Muddy rivers on the north, which provided a route with water to travelers to the Colorado, and by Detrital Valley (believed by some to have been the old bed of the Colorado River) extending south as a gradual incline from the river. The drainage pattern of this valley breaks near Chloride, Arizona, changing from north to south.

The next major range includes mountains north of Las Vegas, River Mountain, which was a factor in turning the Colorado River southward, and the El Dorado and Dead Mountains further south. Between this set of ranges sits Las Vegas Valley and Wash to the north. The Colorado itself flowed south through the general depression several hundred miles to the Gulf of California.³⁰ Further west lie Paiute Wash and El Dorado Valley, which were bounded to their west by another series of ranges and peaks.

All these ranges and valleys were important factors in the area's history. While travel through the valleys was usually possible, the shortage of water made such traffic difficult. The ranges often could be crossed only at several major passes which in time were mapped and used. The rugged nature of the terrain and the aridity of the area gave to the water courses an increased importance. However, quicksands and vertical canyon walls also made travel along them hazardous and in some places impossible. For these and other reasons, the Colorado River itself became vitally important to travel.

³⁰F. C. Schrader, "Mineral Deposits of the Cerbat Range, Black Mountains, and Grand Wash Cliffs, Mojave County, Arizona," U. S. Geological Survey Bulletin No. 397, p. 19. See also Willis T. Lee, "Geologic Reconnaissance of a part of Western Arizona," U. S. Geological Survey Bulletin No. 352, p. 13. These works have been used extensively for geological data.

The River

A series of block faults descending in elevation to the west from the Grand Canyon gave the river the momentum needed to cut its way across these valleys and through these ranges. Its actual course was determined by several features: the mountains, especially where they abutted or blocked the river; the detrital-filled valleys where greater erosion by the stream produced a wider canyon area; and the outwash from the numerous washes that placed obstructions in the river's channel causing rapids, rocks, and gravel bars. As all of these factors affected river navigation or attempts at river navigation, a detailed description follows, moving down stream from the Grand Canyon.

To Vegas Wash. After cutting through the 3,500-foot Grand Wash Cliffs, the Colorado River flows northwest toward the mouth of the Grand Wash. The erosion of Snap and Pierce washes on the north and Grapevine Wash on the south widens the river valley considerably. About a mile and a half below the mouth of the canyon are small rapids and "Old Ute Crossing."

Three miles down stream the outwash of Grapevine Wash produced a major rapids above which Pearce's Ferry was located. Four miles below the debris from Grand Wash formed another major rapids above which some crossings were made; however, the steep banks on Wheeler Ridge made ascent on the south side almost impossible.³¹

Turning southwest, the Colorado River flowed over a small rapids about two miles downstream and entered the entrenched 1,000-foot walls

³¹ Lee, p. 30.

of Iceberg Canyon cut through one of the Virgin Ranges.³² Immediately below this canyon a series of large boulders deflected the river against the north bank. In low water they became a small island.

Next the river flowed into Hualapai Valley, where the canyon widened to permit limited farming along the southern banks. Downstream the debris from Hualapai Wash formed another large rapids, above which Gregg and Scanlon ferries were built.

Below these rapids the Colorado River swung west between Hiller Mountain and the White Hills, cutting Virgin Canyon, whose steep walls rose sharply from 1,000 to 1,500 feet above the river. Wheeler named it Virgin Canyon "as this is our first canon [sic] upon entirely new ground . . ."³³ The river crossed several small rapids in the canyon, then flowed northwest past several unusual formations--Cathedral Rock, Temple Bar, Delmar Butte, Hobo Point, Campanile, and Napoleon's Tomb, into the softer formations and widened valley of the Detrital and Virgin drainages.³⁴ Below Virgin Canyon the river also crossed two fairly large rapids--one at four-mile point caused by Wild Burrow Wash on the north, and a second six miles down stream, caused by Trail Rapids Wash on the south.

³² George M. Wheeler, Report Upon the Geographical and Geological Explorations and Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian, 6 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), vol. 1, pp. 161-162. He notes: "In the vicinity of the Old Ute Crossing, near the foot of the Grand Canyon, the river widens and the rapids are more shallow. This is the best point yet noted for fording, still in the lowest waters swimming would be necessary, and at high water doubtless the swift current would prohibit this method even." The name Iceberg relates to the shape of rock formations in the canyon.

³³ Wheeler, p. 161.

³⁴ Daniel Bonelli is given credit for naming many of these formations. See Joe Perkins, "Taped Interview," (August 1963), National Park Service Headquarters, Boulder City, Nevada. Lt. Wheeler mentioned Notre Dame



Figure 4. Topographical Detail - Lower Canyons Area (with permission of Erwin Raiz)

Beyond these rapids the river flowed placidly to the confluence of the Virgin, where Bonelli's Ferry was located on the east bank of the Virgin and north bank of the Colorado rivers.

The Colorado continued smoothly in a westerly direction for several miles beyond the Virgin confluence. Two miles downstream, on the north bank, was the famous "Salt Well" and a mile beyond, Stone's Ferry, which probably got its name from its founder or from the rocks at the crossing. The large rapids downstream formed by the outwash of Detrital Wash was mainly responsible for the slow current of the Colorado River through this section.

Boulder Wash from the north formed another small rapids at the head of Boulder Canyon. At this point the Colorado River cut west through the Black Mountains for more than five miles. The walls in this canyon rose over 2,000 feet above the river and a trip through it was an awesome experience, especially for the inexperienced canyon runners. Reverse Rapids and other smaller rapids formed several obstructions within the canyon, but according to reports these were generally well covered, even in low water.³⁵

Below Boulder Canyon the river valley again widened into the drainages of Callville, West End, and Las Vegas washes. The landing at Callville was built on the west side of Callville Wash in a semi-circular valley on the north bank of the Colorado River.

From this point, the Colorado River flowed west six miles, crossing

Rock, Dome Rock and the Cloister in his report of 1871. Wheeler, p.161.

³⁵Lippencott, pp. 108-111. Lippencott reported on his trip in 1902 that water depth in the canyon ranged between "14 and 20" feet even when the stream flow was only 4,000 second-feet.

several minor rapids as its channel narrowed and turned south. Just beyond this great bend Las Vegas Wash emptied into the river from the west.³⁶ Downstream a short distance the debris of Las Vegas Wash formed another small rapids, near which Cashman's Ferry was located in the 1930's.

Black Canyon. Black Canyon is the grand daddy of all the canyons in this section, being eighteen miles long with steep, perpendicular walls, varying in height from 1,000 feet to more than 2,000 feet above the river. This grand sight caused some travelers to fear that the sky would be shut out entirely. Black Canyon had several major rapids. Wheeler noted a "considerable" rapids at the head of the canyon;³⁷ in addition there was Horseshoe Rapids close to the upper end; Violent Rapids near the middle; and Roaring Rapids, so named because of the noise it made, in the lower portions.³⁸ Three miles above the mouth of Black Canyon lay Papoose Rapids, and a mile farther down stream the famous Explorer Rock which stopped the Ives expedition in 1858. Black Canyon proved to be a major obstacle both to traffic on the river in this section, and to overland crossings east and west as well.

Below Black Canyon. Two miles below Black Canyon, El Dorado

³⁶ Las Vegas Wash usually had a small stream of water emptying into the river and was the only stream that flowed into the Colorado from the west.

³⁷ Wheeler, p. 160.

³⁸ Wheeler, pp. 158-159. See also Lippencott, p. 110. Roaring Rapids was apparently known as Ring Bolt Rapids as well, because of a ring set in the wall as an anchor to "wench" boats past the rapids. See Ralph B. Simmons, Boulder Dam and the Great Southwest (Los Angeles: The Pacific Publisher, 1936), pp. 35-37.

Canyon reached the river from the west, forming a good landing and a crossing. The outwash from the canyon accumulated below as the two-mile long Hatteras sandbar. Downstream lay four and six mile rapids, the latter a particularly difficult one to navigate.³⁹ A few miles farther south, Round Island divided the Colorado into two channels making the river quite shallow. Below this island the river entered "Painted Canyon,"⁴⁰ and then flowed into Cottonwood Valley past Cottonwood Island.⁴¹ Again the river divided. At the island's upper end both ferry crossings and fording were possible and in time became the approximate location of Searchlight Ferry. However, crossing the gravel bars at the upper end was difficult for steamers during low water.

Below the island, the streams rejoined and flowed into Pyramid Canyon which was approximately eight miles long and 300 feet deep, but steep-walled and rugged.⁴² There were rapids at the lower end of Pyramid Canyon just above Mt. Newberry. Immediately to the south sat Bullhead Rock,⁴³ which marked the beginning of the Mohave Valley, about

³⁹Lt. S. W. Roessler, "Improvement of Colorado River. . . ." Messages and Documents - War Department 1885-1886, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886), vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 2369. The report indicates it was the major obstruction between the Gulf and El Dorado Canyon considered to be the high point of navigation.

⁴⁰Wheeler, p. 157.

⁴¹Cottonwood Valley got its name from Cottonwood Island, five miles long by one-fourth to one-half mile wide. It was covered with cottonwood trees used for timber, fuel and horse feed.

⁴²Schrader, pp. 26-27.

⁴³Murl Emery, "Personal Interview," (March 22, 1968), Nelson, Nevada, indicated that because of the backwater there, bullhead fishing was superb, hence the name. However, Lt. Ives used the term, Bullhead, in his 1858 report. See Lt. Joseph C. Ives, Report Upon the Colorado River of the West . . . 1857 and 1858 (Washington: Government

fifteen miles wide and thirty-five miles long. After the river entered Mojave Valley, it encountered a gravel bar upstream from the site of Hardyville, located on the east bank of the river. Pest House Rapids, about four miles downstream, was a major navigation problem. At this point, a cobble ridge crossed the river forming a usable ford but producing a difficult obstruction to navigation.⁴⁴ At the southern end of the Mojave Valley, the "Needles," a hard, sharp-pinnacled mass of eruptive rock, a flank of the Mojave Mountains, sat across the river.

At this point the Colorado River has cut Mojave Canyon, an eight-mile gash, through the range. Below the canyon, Bill Williams River joins the Colorado from the east. On its north bank was the location of Aubry Landing, used by miners and the military. Four miles south, the river turns abruptly west into a narrow rock gorge,⁴⁵ then continues on south to the Gulf of California.

Beyond this point south, the course of the river concerns this study only indirectly. Landings were established at several locations-- Empire Flats above Parker; Ehrenberg, 111 miles above Yuma, Castle Dome Landing, twenty-eight miles above Yuma; and, finally, Yuma itself. All of these locations served the interior as supply depots, when they could be reached along the river. River traffic to these points was much more extensive than to landings up river.

Printing Office, 1861), p. 75 says the formation on one side looked "like the head of a bull."

⁴⁴A. H. Payson, "Examination and Survey of the Colorado of the West . . .," 46th Cong., 2nd Sess., House Exec. Doc., vol. 4, no. 1, pt. 2, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 1779 and 1784. The rapid was a major navigation hazard. See also Roessler, p. 2371.

⁴⁵Lee, p. 43.

Summary

The distance from the Grand Wash Cliffs to the mouth of Black Canyon is approximately seventy-five miles, from Black Canyon to Yuma another 344 miles, and from Yuma to the Gulf of California another seventy-five miles, by river. The Colorado flowed 117 feet above sea level at Yuma, 425 feet at the "Needles," 593 feet at El Dorado Canyon, and at least 993 feet at the mouth of the Grand Canyon. The rate of fall for the Colorado River through the Grand Canyon was about eight feet per mile, the rate for the next section averaged three and two-tenths feet per mile to the head of Black Canyon, and five feet per mile if calculated to the mouth of Black Canyon. Below Black Canyon, however, it was slightly over one and two-tenths feet per mile. Because of this, the stream began to deposit the heavy silt load it carried.

Although the lower section of the Colorado River generally was considered navigable, several major problems existed--there were numerous rapids and boulders in the channel; there were many shifting sand bars; and in some instances channel changes, so that each trip on the river was virtually a new experience. Only the most skilled river captains could successfully haze their steamboats laden with supplies up river. These facts help explain, to a great extent, the navigation difficulties of the Colorado River.

The area and the river discussed in this study lay in between. The river was never fully navigable all of the time. It was capricious and undependable. Yet it was in fact the artery of life, so needed in a rough, desert region, but so disappointing. Its early history is the story of major undertakings with minor means, a story with less success than failure.

NAMING THE RIVER: COLORADO

The naming of the Great Colorado River of the West is an interesting story. The appropriate cognomen--Colorado (color rojo or reddish color) was given it by the Spaniards because its waters are so colored much of the year. One tributary gave its name to the parent stream; however, "Colorado" designated one of the two major tributaries only after an act of Congress in the twentieth century made such a change. The sequence and evolution of these names reflect the conditions and directions of discovery and exploration.

Indian Names for Colorado River

Indian names for the river are quite numerous; however, only after the white man's contact with them do we have a record. Their terms for both the Colorado and the other streams of this region applied to the locale of the tribe generally and reflected its concept of the river and area.

As early as 1540, the Hopi Indians referred to the Colorado as the "Great River." The Navajo spoke of it as "Poketto," and the Havasupai as "Hakoti."¹ For the Paiutes of southern Utah, the Grand Canyon section of the Colorado was simply "PahawEEP (water down deep in the

¹ George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), p. 214. See also Edwin Corle, Listen Bright Angel (New York: Ruel, Sloan, and Pearce, 1946), pp. 37-38, and J. Donald Hughes, The Story of Man at the Grand Canyon (Grand Canyon: Grand Canyon Natural History Association, 1967), pp. 26-27.

earth)."² Yet in the Moapa Valley, this same tribe spoke of the Colorado as "Pah-Gaiv (mighty water)."³ Farther south, the Mojaves, who lived along its banks, called the river "Ahamcave (along the water)."⁴ The Yuma Indians downstream spoke of it as "Javil or Hah-Weal" and the Pima, living on the Gila River, referred to it as buqui aquimuti,⁵ or, as Padre Sedelmayer records it, "buqui aumuri, or Rio Colorado." Sedelmayer also records that the Cocomaricopas called it "Gritetho or Rio Grande." Then he adds: "But those living beyond this region give this name to the Gila since they have never seen the Colorado."⁶ As late as 1849, Lt. A. M. Whipple reported: "Learned from Pablo many words of the Yuma language. Rio Colorado is in their tongue Hah withl-cha cohut--meaning, as in Spanish, red river. Rio Gila they call Hah qua see ethl--meaning Salt river."⁷

²William R. Palmer, "Indian Names in Utah Geography," Utah Historical Quarterly, I (January, 1928), 21.

³George Perkins, Pioneers of the Western Desert, Romance and Tragedy Along the Old Spanish Trail, or Mormon Trail, and Historical Events of the Great West. (Los Angeles: Wetzell Publishing Company, Inc., 1947), p. 23. Mr. Perkins knew the Paiute language well.

⁴Llewellyn Barrackman, "Personal Interview," (March 22, 1968), Needles, California. Mr. Barrackman was, at that date, Chairman of the Mojave Tribal Council.

⁵Elliot Coues, ed., On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés, . . . 1775-1776, 2 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900), vol. I, p. 144, footnote 53: "Colorado is said to be the Spanish translation of the Piman buqui aquimuti. . . ."

⁶Peter M. Dunne, translator, Jacobo Sedelmayer, Missionary, Frontiersman, Explorer in Arizona and Sonora, Four Original Manuscript Narratives, 1744-1751. (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1955), p. 28.

⁷Amiel Weeks Whipple, The Whipple Report: Journal of an Expedition from San Diego, California to the Rio Colorado, from September 11 to December 11, 1849. . . . notes and introduction by E. I. Edwards (Los

Indian Names for Tributaries

Indian names for some of the Colorado tributaries have also come down to us. For example, the Shoshone and Ute Indians referred to the Green River as the Bitter Root River "because of the great abundance in its valley of one of their favorite roots."⁸ Yet the Crow Indians called the same stream "Seeds-ke-dee-agie or Prairie Hen River."⁹ The Paiutes spoke of the Virgin River as "Pahrouse or Pah-Roosh," and of the Santa Clara as "Tonaquint."¹⁰ It is probable that the Paiute name for the Beaver Dam was "Pautch Creek."¹¹ In addition, the Paiute term for mesquite bean (Moudy), of which there were many along the Muddy River, may have been the origin of that stream's name, although Perry Liston reported the Indians in 1857 spoke of it as "ma-pat," meaning muddy water.¹² Certainly the Paiute word "Moa-pah, meaning water valley,"

Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1961), p. 71. See also his Indian vocabulary, p. 83.

Ha-withl or ha-weel = River

Ha-quá-se-eel = Rio Gila

Ha-weel-cha-whoot = Rio Colorado

⁸John C. Fremont, Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-1844, (Washington: Gales and Seaton Printers, 1845), p. 129.

⁹Ibid. See also Maurice S. Sullivan, The Travels of Jedediah Smith (Santa Ana: The Fine Arts Press, 1934), p. 75.

¹⁰Thomas D. Brown, "Journal of the Southern Indian Missions," (Typescript: Dixie College Library, St. George, Utah), p. 54. See also letter reporting the visit of Brigham Young to the southern settlements in the Deseret News (October 1, 1862).

¹¹Sullivan, Jedediah Smith, p. 75.

¹²Arabell Lee Hafner, comp., 100 Years on the Muddy (Springville, Utah: Art City Publishing Company, 1967), p. 26. The authority quoted is George Perkins. See also Commodore Perry Liston, "Autobiographical Sketch," (Typescript: Washington County Library, St. George, Utah).

is the source of the term Moapa Valley through which the Muddy flows.¹³ Farther south the Bill Williams River was known as "Hah-cu-cha-pah" by the Paiutes and as "Hah-weal-ha-mook" by the Yumas.¹⁴

Although much of the Indians' knowledge of the region was passed on to the white men when they came, many of the specific details were lost. Cabeza de Vaca mentioned a "great river to the west," probably the Rio Sinaloa of northern Mexico.¹⁵ In 1540, Hernando de Alarcon asked an Indian Chief living near the Colorado to draw him a map of that river indicating where the peoples lived. This the chief did, but unfortunately, neither this record nor many other such early Indian facts about the river have been preserved.¹⁶

Early Spanish Names

Spanish explorations produced several names before the term "Colorado" became the permanent title for the main river. In 1539, Ulloa reported that his party sailed up the coast of the Sea of Cortes "until we came to the great current of the white and red sea."¹⁷ Although he did not name the river, that color designation did persist. The following year, three of Coronado's expeditions reached the river. First, Hernando de Alarcon, discoverer of the river, reported to the Viceroy Mendoza: "The river should be named Buena Guia, it being the Emblem of your

¹³ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁴ Coues, II, p. 422. Coues quotes Lt. Whipple as his authority for these names. See Whipple, Report. . . , pp. 83-84.

¹⁵ Corle, pp. 37-38. DeVaca's date was about 1536.

¹⁶ Hammond and Rey, Coronado . . . , p. 153.

¹⁷ Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations. . . (Glasgow: James MacLehore and Sons, 1904), vol. 9, p. 225.

Lordship."¹⁸ Richard Hakluyt translated the passage "Rio de Buena Guia, because this is your Lordship's Devise."¹⁹

Later that same year, the Melchoir Diaz party arrived at the river looking for Alarcon's ships. Diaz referred to the Colorado as the "Tizon or Firebrand" River because the Indians carried lighted torches close to their bodies to keep them warm.²⁰ Obregon's account elaborated on this fact: "They called this great river the Tizon because the natives cross it, in spite of its width, on great rafts made of agave. On this they cross paddling with their feet and carrying a lighted torch in their hands in order to keep fire on both sides."²¹ Lewis R. Freeman, himself a student of the river, argued that firebrands served to keep off the mosquitoes, since the weather was sufficiently mild not to need the fires for heat.²² However, Padre Kino reported that the Indians threw the firebrands away as soon as the sun warmed them up.²³ Padre Sedelmayr saw the Indians still making such use of the torches in 1744, as did Lt. Sitgreave in November 1851.²⁴ Apparently "warmth" was the primary purpose of the torches.

¹⁸Hammond and Rey, Coronado . . . , p. 150.

¹⁹Hakluyt, p. 312.

²⁰Hammond and Rey, Coronado . . . , p. 211.

²¹George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey, ed., Obregon's History of Sixteenth Century Explorations in Western America (Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Company, 1928), pp. 22-23.

²²Lewis R. Freeman, The Colorado River, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1936), p. 18.

²³Herbert E. Bolton, Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706 (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1952), p. 272. See also Herbert E. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoirs of Pimeria Alta, 2 vols. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919), vol. 2, p. 244.

²⁴Dunne, Sedelmayr . . . , p. 29; and Lorenzo Sitgreave, Report of

The third Coronado party, led by Don García Lopex de Cardenas, crossed the Little Colorado River, probably his "Rio Del Lino,"²⁵ before sighting the Hopi's "Great River" in the area of the Grand Canyon. Casteneda, the historian for the Coronado expedition, identified this river as the "Firebrand River or Tizon River" of Melchior Diaz.²⁶ In his narrative, Obregon notes: "It is firmly believed that the Tizon River . . . has its source or bed in this canyon."²⁷

Yet in spite of these major discoveries, during the next few decades the Colorado River was known by Spaniards generally as the "Rio Grande or Rio Grande del Norte."²⁸ Padre Kino identified it as "the true Rio del Norte of the Ancients" on his 1701 map.²⁹ He also commented that the Francis Drake expedition (1579) mistakenly identified the Gila River as the "Tizon River" and the Colorado as "del Coral." The latter mistake may have been associated with the concept of the mythical "Straits of Anian" supposedly lying somewhere to the north and to Drake's belief that California was an island.³⁰

an Expedition Down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers (Washington: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), p. 18.

²⁵Coues, vol. 2, p. 355. Rio del Lano is translated as the Flax River and was shown on many maps as such.

²⁶Hammond and Rey, Coronado . . . , p. 215.

²⁷Hammond and Rey, Oregon's History . . . , p. 22.

²⁸Bernard DeVoto, The Course of Empire (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946), p. 39.

²⁹Bolton, Spanish Exploration . . . , vol. 2, p. 444.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 445. Kino, of course, was aware of these errors. See also p. 454.

Later Spanish Names

With the beginning of the seventeenth century another phase of Spanish exploration began. Part of the time religious designations were applied to the geographic features of this region. Juan de Onate's exploration of 1604 is particularly significant. After crossing a river flowing from southeast to northwest, he named it Rio Colorado "from the redness of its waters."³¹ This is the first time the term is applied to this drainage area. Onate seemed aware that the Little Colorado was a tributary of the main stream which he called "Buena Esperanza (Good Hope)" or "Rio Grande de Buena Esperanza." Padre Francisco Escobar explains the title: "because of reaching it on the day of the Expectation or Hope of the most blessed delivery of the Virgin Mary, our Lady."³² Perhaps Onate did not at first recognize the Colorado as the main river, yet he does identify it as the "Rio del Tizon" of an earlier time. The Bill Williams River he termed "San Andreas" and the Gila "Rio del Nombre de Jesus."³³

Nearly a century passed after the Onate expedition before Spanish interest in the river was renewed. Padre Eusebio Kino's concern led him to explore the region between 1699 and 1702. He became, in time, the foremost student of the region and referred to the River as the "Rio Colorado" and "Rio del Norte."³⁴ On occasion Kino spoke of the Colorado as

³¹ Coues, vol. 2, p. 476. This was the Little Colorado River.

³² George Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., Don Juan De Onate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953), part 2, p. 1016.

³³ Ibid., pp. 1016-1021.

³⁴ Bolton, Spanish Exploration . . ., p. 450. See also Bolton, Kino's . . . Memoirs . . ., vol. 2, p. 251.

"Rio de los Matires" "perhaps commemorating the three Holy Martyrs of Japan as they were styled. . . ." ³⁵

Kino's successor, Padre Jacob Sedelmayr also used the term "Rio Colorado" when speaking of the main river. He noted the relationship of the color of the water to the name Colorado: "The Indians tell me that during March and April the waters run red, because perhaps during that season the rain falls over a red terrain. There is a great deal of such soil." ³⁶ Elliot Coues, however, quoting Padre Garces as his authority, states that the name Colorado applied "not, as some think, because its waters be always reddened, but it is because, the whole region (territorio) being colored." ³⁷ Sedelmayr's "Rio Azul (Blue River)" was probably the Bill Williams River. ³⁸

The Garces Period

After Father Francisco Garces entered the area, the term Colorado began to have general usage among the Spaniards. Some students, in fact, claim that Garces named the river; ³⁹ however, this is not correct. Nevertheless, he was familiar with much of the river's past history and made extensive use of the term "Colorado," yet on occasions he spoke of it as the "Tizon River." ⁴⁰ Garces also named several tributaries to the Colorado while seeking a route from Mojave Valley to the Hopi

³⁵ Coues, vol. 1, p. 144. See also Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, The Romance of the Colorado River . . . (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902), p. 82.

³⁶ Dunne, p. 27. ³⁷ Coues, vol. 2, p. 431. ³⁸ Ibid., p. 420.

³⁹ Joseph Wood Krutch, "The Eye of the Beholder," The American West, IV (May 1967), 19.

⁴⁰ Coues, vol. 2, p. 477. See also Frank Waters, The Colorado (New York: Rhinehart and Company, 1946), p. 156.

villages. In his trip eastward in 1776, he descended into Cataract-Havasu Canyon onto a stream known as "Rio Jabesua" but called it "Rio de San Antonio."⁴¹ The Grand Canyon he designated "Puerto de Bucareli,"⁴² and the Little Colorado he named "Rio San Pedro de Jaque-sila" sometimes shortened to "Rio San Pedro."⁴³ Traveling down the Colorado River, after his return to the Mojave Villages, Garces passed the Bill Williams River which he called "Rio de Santa Maria," a name still applied to its upper tributary. The Gila became "Rio de la Asuncion."⁴⁴

Contemporaries of Garces were also exploring farther north. In the 1760's Fray Alonzo de Posadas had reached the Green River, called "Rio Buena Ventura."⁴⁵ More significant were the explorations of the Dominguez-Escalante party of 1776. Their map maker, Don Bernardo Miera, left a detailed account of their river designations. The San Juan was called the "Rio de Nabajoo," the Grand River "Rio de San Rafael." They apparently accepted the term "Rio de San Buena Ventura" for the Green River.⁴⁶ The Colorado River itself, above the San Juan, Miera designated the "Rio de los Zaguaganas;" however, farther downstream it is shown as the "Rio Colorado."⁴⁷ The Virgin River is titled "Rio Sulfuero de las

⁴¹Ibid., p. 336. ⁴²Ibid., p. 348. ⁴³Ibid., p. 357.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 418-419. (Rio Santa Maria was used on Pedro Font's map.)

⁴⁵Waters, p. 155.

⁴⁶Herbert S. Auerbach, "Father Escalante's Route," Utah Historical Quarterly, IX (January-April, 1941), 75. Mr. Auerbach raises an interesting question regarding the name for the Green River, noting that the party crossed the Sierra Verde (Green Mountain) just before descending to the river.

⁴⁷Herbert E. Bolton, Pageant in the Wilderness: The Story of the

Piramides," and what is probably meant to be the Little Colorado River is marked "Rio de los Coninas."⁴⁸

These titles gained greater acceptance among map makers than among the Spanish traders. The Arza-Garcia expedition of 1813 spoke of the Colorado River as the "Rio Grande" (as distinguished from the "Rio Grande del Norte," which was the New Mexico and Texas River."⁴⁹ Even as late as 1829, the Armijo Expedition spoke of the river at the Crossing of the Fathers as both "Rio Grande" and "Colorado." From Armijo's Diary" one may conclude that the river was "Rio Grande" in New Mexico and "Colorado" in California. However, Armijo did not accept the earlier "Sulfuro" designation for the Virgin River, which he reached at Stinking Canyon, possibly near the Sulphur Warm Springs in the Virgin River south of LaVerkin, Utah. Rather, he called it the "Severo River."⁵⁰ LeRoy Hafen suggests that the original term Severo did apply to the Virgin River, but later efforts to identify that stream and the present Sevier River near their headwaters produce a reversal in the names. In any case, after this Old Spanish Trail traffic the Virgin became known as

Escalante Expedition into the Interior Basin, 1776 (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1950). See map in back of book.

⁴⁸

Bolton, Pageant . . . , p. 96 and map. The Sulphur Springs near Hurricane, Utah no doubt produced the name given the Virgin River.

⁴⁹

Joseph J. Hill, "Spanish and Mexican Trade Northwest from New Mexico into the Great Basin, 1765-1853," Utah Historical Quarterly, III (January 1930), 19.

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LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., The Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles . . . (Glendale: The Arthur T. Clark Company, 1954), p. 160. Antonio Armijo's "Diary" reads: "December 5, 1829-- 'At the edge of the Mesa of the Colorado . . .'" And on the 6th his party crossed at the "Rio Grande Crossing of the Fathers." See also pp. 163-168.

"Rio de la Virgen,"⁵¹ and the Muddy River as "El Rio Atascoso" (Spanish for boggy, or more literally miry place where traffic sticks fast).⁵² Las Vegas Wash was called "Ojo del Gaetan (Galleta Grass)."⁵³

The American Names for the Colorado and Tributaries

The Spaniards left their imprint and passed on to the Americans much of their knowledge of the area. The "Gringos" accepted many of the Spanish names. As early as 1805, William Clark learned from an old Snake Indian in "Idaho" of the area southward and of what Clark believed to be the location of "the river Apostles (San Juan) and Colorado, and that . . . [the Indian's route] was to the Vermillion Sea or Gulph of California."⁵⁴ Zebulon Pike also made mention of the Spanish Colorado River of the West in his journal of 1806.⁵⁵

When William Ashley reached the Green River in 1824, he called it by its Crow Indian name, "Seeds-ske-dee-agie," but he also used such

⁵¹Bolton, Pageant . . . , p. 96. Bolton maintains that the term comes from the Spanish name for the "Virgin Mary." See also LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., Central Route to the Pacific by Gwinn Harris Heap . . . (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1957), pp. 236-237.

⁵²James H. McClintock, Mormon Settlement in Arizona . . . (Phoenix: Manufacturing Stationers Inc., 1921), p. 102. McClintock uses as his authority for these terms, a map made by W. M. Eddy in 1853. Apparently the "Crossing" at the Muddy was difficult, since the water was generally clear. See also Stephen Bonsal, Edward Fitzgerald Beale, a Pioneer in the Path of Empire, 1822-1903. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), p. 153.

⁵³Ibid. See also Fremont, p. 174. Fremont interprets the Spanish term "Las Vegas" to signify fertile or marshy plains. See Bonsal, p. 155.

⁵⁴Dale L. Morgan, "Utah Before the Mormons," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXXVI (Winter, 1968), 13. Morgan quotes from Clark's Journal.

⁵⁵Milo M. Quaife, ed., The Southwestern Expedition of Zebulon M. Pike, (Chicago: R. R. Donelley and Sons Company, 1925), see map. See LeRoy R. Hafen, "How Colorado Got It's Name," Empire Magazine, Denver Post (January 4, 1959).

terms as Rio Verde and Green River. In fact, some authors credit him with naming it "Green" in honor of "one of his associates in St. Louis." In 1857, Daniel Potts used the term "Leichadu" in referring to the same stream.⁵⁶

Jed Smith called the Colorado River "Seeds Skeeden" when he crossed it at the Virgin River confluence in 1826. The Virgin he named "Adams" to honor President John Quincy Adams. For Smith, the Santa Clara became "Corn Creek" because of the Indian fields along it, and in 1827 he referred to Beaver Dams as Pautch Creek.⁵⁷ Fremont, in 1844, identified the spot only as a "grove of cottonwoods at the mouth of a fork"; however, by the 1840's it was known as Beaver Dam,⁵⁸ likely so named by Addison Pratt. American trappers from the Santa Fe area used both "Colorado" and "Red River," when referring to the Colorado itself.⁵⁹

The history of the tributaries of the Colorado River is equally ambiguous. The term "Adams" did not outlive Jed Smith's naming, and because

⁵⁶Herbert S. Auerbach, "Old Trails, Old Forts, Old Trappers and Traders," Utah Historical Quarterly, IX (April, 1941), 54. "The Rio Colorado of the West, or the Spanish River, or the Seedskeedee, (or Siskadee or Seeds Skeeden River--Indian for Prairie Hen) was in the early twenties renamed by Ashley, the Green River, reputedly in honor of one of his associates in St. Louis." See also Dellenbaugh, Romance . . . , p. 102. See also "Letter of Daniel T. Potts to Robert Potts, July 8, 1827," as quoted in Dale Morgan, The West of William H. Ashley, (Denver: The Old West Publishing Co., 1964), pp. 167-168.

⁵⁷Sullivan, pp. 28 and 120-123.

⁵⁸Fremont, p. 268. See also LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, "Addison Pratt's Diary," in Journals of the Forty-Niners, Salt Lake City to Los Angeles, (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1954), pp. 83-84.

⁵⁹James Ohio Pattie, The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie (New York: J. B. Lippencott Company, 1962), p. 83. The writer used a current edition; however, the original was edited by Timothy Flint and published in Cincinnati by John H. Wood in 1831.

today the river is spelled Virgin rather than Virgen, some have concluded that the final spelling came from Thomas Virgin, one of Jed Smith's trappers wounded at the Mojave Massacre in 1827, rather than from the Spanish Rio Virgen. However, this writer agrees with H. E. Bolton and A. Karl Larson that "Virgin" is merely an anglicized version of the Spanish "Virgen" as spelled in Fremont's report of 1844.⁶⁰

Apparently the term "Muddy" was already in use by 1826 or was begun at that time, for an accounts "record" from Jed Smith's first trip is dated "Muddy River, Oct. 1st, 1826."⁶¹ Yet in 1844 Fremont called this same stream "Rio de los Angeles (river of the Angels)--a branch of the Rio Virgen (river of the Virgin)."⁶² Nevertheless, Kit Carson, who was with Fremont on this trip, used the term "Muddy Creek" when making a report of his own 1847 trip. Still Lt. Beale used the Spanish term "Rio Atascoso," explaining the name meant muddy, referring to the "miry nature of its banks and bed."⁶³ Joseph W. Young gives another clue about the name for the stream in a letter to the Deseret News, June 19, 1868: "The

⁶⁰ Bolton, Pageant . . . , p. 96. A Karl Larson, himself a thorough student of Utah's Dixie, agrees with Bolton, believing that "La Verkin" is simply an incorrect pronunciation of the Spanish La Virgen. A. Karl Larson, "Personal Interview," (March 17, 1968), St. George, Utah. Also see Fremont, pp. 266 and 270, and Hafen and Hafen, Central Route . . . , pp. 236-237.

⁶¹ Hafen and Hafen, Old Spanish Trail . . . , p. 117. The original records are in a collection of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis, Missouri. See also Harrison Dale, The Ashley-Smith Explorations and Discovery or a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829 (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1918), p. 193.

⁶² Fremont, Report . . . , p. 266.

⁶³ Hafen and Hafen, Old Spanish Trail . . . , p. 314. The editors quote from M. M. Quaife, ed., Kit Carson's Autobiography (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1935), p. 121-122, ". . . continued my journey to California. At Muddy Creek, a tributary of the Virgin River . . ." See Bonsal, p. 153.

stream has it's [sic] name from the fact of there being a low alkali swamp on the east side of the creek where the California Road crosses, which is bad to cross in wet weather, but the creek is clear and very good water."⁶⁴

Finally, the name Bill Williams River may have been given that stream as early as 1840. Lt. Sitgreave speaks of a small stream called by trappers Bill Williams Fork in 1851. Later the name was shortened merely to Williams River, but recent maps have used the more complete name.⁶⁵

Naming the River - Conclusion

A final note of interest on naming of the Colorado River concerns the "Grand" or what today is known as the Colorado River above its confluence with the Green. Early maps followed Escalante's names--Baron Von Humboldt on his map of Mexico in 1804, Zebulon Pike showing his western tour in 1810, and the Arrowsmith map of 1814. In 1836 Warren A. Ferris published a map in which he called the south fork of the stream (present Gunnison) Grand River and the north fork Blue River. John C. Fremont's map of his 1842-1844 travels labels the north fork as the Grand River and does not title the other fork. R. B. Sage's map of 1846 shows only one stream and Captain Stansbury, in 1850, labeled only the Grand River. For his survey in 1853, Captain J. W. Gunnison used the Ferris

⁶⁴See also Andrew Jensen, comp., "Manuscript History of the Muddy River Mission," (File: L.D.S. Church Historian's Office). See also L. A. Fleming, "The Settlements on the Muddy, 1865 to 1871--'A God Forsaken Place,'" Utah Historical Quarterly, XXXV (Spring, 1967), 148-149.

⁶⁵Coues, vol. 2, pp. 420-421, footnote 5. Coues believes the river was named for mountain man and trapper Old Bill Williams. See also Sitgreaves, "Report . . . ," p. 13.

labels, but after his massacre, the south branch which he had labeled Grand became known as the Gunnison River. And by 1860 most maps showed the two forks as the Grand and Gunnison rivers and continued to do so until the Colorado General Assembly passed a law on March 24, 1921, changing the name of the Grand River to Colorado River. The United States Congress, by Joint Resolution, ratified the change on July 25, 1921.⁶⁶ Since that time the State of Colorado has had a Colorado River and this great river has been the "Colorado" from its headwaters in Rocky Mountain National Park to the Gulf of California.

⁶⁶Hafen, "How Colorado Got Its Name," and unpublished notes of Dr. LeRoy R. Hafen. These sources were used for the above information.

THE INDIANS: A LASTING HERITAGE

Just how long the Indians and their ancestors have lived around and along the Colorado River is disputed; nevertheless, most authorities agree that this whole desert region has been occupied off and on for centuries.¹ Although this chapter briefly reviews that history, it is mainly concerned with the recent, historic occupation.

Early Desert Cultures

The early peoples, classified as Desert Culture and as Early Basketmaker, had many common characteristics: all were stone age Indian; all developed the processes of making implements, weaving baskets and sandals, and eventually of making pottery; all were a cave and brush-shelter people except for those who moved into the Pueblo stage of building; all depended on a primitive agriculture of gathering and of farming small plots to provide the vital margin for progress. In at least two instances, however, complex irrigation systems such as the Hohokam on the Gila River and the Lost City Indians on the Muddy River² were

¹M. R. Harrington, "Ancient Tribes of the Boulder Dam Country," reprinted by Lost City Museum, Overton, Nevada, from an article written by Mr. Harrington while Curator of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California, p. 2. Mr. Harrington places the date of the "material" found in Gypsum Caves near Las Vegas, Nevada at 23,800 years ago.

²Harrington, p. 5. Harrington quotes old Mormon settlers who told him they had found traces of former ditches when breaking new ground in the area; see also Byron Cummings, First Inhabitants of Arizona and the Southwest (Tucson: Cummings Publication Council, 1953), pp. 76-79, and two maps between pp. 76-77, for information about the great Hohokam system.

developed. At first, these peoples had survived on diets of wild plants and animals peculiar to their locality, and only later added corn, beans, squash and other domesticated plants.³

Anasazi Indians

Later Indians of the Southwest frequently are divided into four general classifications--Hohokam in the south, Anasazi in the north, Mogollon in the center, and Patayan "for the ancient peoples who dwelt along the Colorado River"⁴ in the west. Only two of these groups concern us much, the Anasazi (Old Pueblo People), and the Patayan, since neither the Hohokam nor the Mogollon had a very direct impact on the area under study.

The Anasazi, in the more advanced stage of "Basketmakers," a name taken from their "most common material attribute,"⁵ introduced beans and new varieties of corn, and constructed pit houses after about 500 A.D. A classic example of this culture is the Lost City Indians near Overton, Nevada.⁶ A single settlement extended along the Muddy River for thirty miles. One large house of this "city" consisted of

³Cummings, p. ix.

⁴Ibid., pp. vii-viii. "Hohokam is the term used by the Pima and Papago Indians to designate the early ancient people of the Gila drainage area; Anasazi is the name given by the Navajo Indians to represent the spirits of the old pueblo people who occupied the caves and mesas of the San Juan; Mogollon is taken from the name of the rim that separates the plateau from the lower semi-desert country of southern Arizona; and Patayan is a word that refers to the ancient people who dwelt along the Colorado River."

⁵Robert C. Euler, "The Canyon Dwellers," The American West, IV (May, 1967), 24-25.

⁶Charles Avery Amsden, Prehistoric Southwesterners from Basket-maker to Pueblo (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1949). Mr. Amsden discusses the difficulty of exact classification of these people.

nearly a hundred rooms built on the surface of the ground rather than partially sunken as had been the earlier practice. With a minimum of effort these Indians used the waters of the Muddy River to grow corn, beans, squash, gourds, and even cotton.⁷ They also gathered seeds, hunted, mined salt, turquoise and paint materials. The complexity of their culture included the weaving and dyeing of cotton clothes, the use of shell and turquoise beads, and the making of pipes and weapons. Remnants of their pottery indicate their extensive exploration of the area, due in part to the trade they carried on in salt and shells.⁸ However, even before 800 A.D. their decline had begun; and by 900 A.D. the Pueblo culture succeeding them disappeared. Why they left and where they went is disputed. Possibly a stronger enemy tribe threatened them, or malaria and yellow fever, prevalent along the swampy river, decimated their ranks. Some suggest that they migrated eastward across the Colorado River to become the Hopi Indians, whose own traditions suggest this possibility.⁹

Pueblo Indians

During the same period south and east of the Colorado River, the Basketmakers gave way to the flourishing Pueblo Culture which relied on an economic base that combined hunting and gathering with a corn, bean, and squash agriculture. These Indians later added cotton; and by the middle of the eleventh century had constructed masonry buildings

⁷Harrington, p. 5.

⁸Albert H. Schroeder, "The Archeological Excavations at Willow Beach, Arizona, 1950," (Manuscript: Lake Mead National Recreation Area, Boulder City, Nevada, September, 1952), p. 3.

⁹Harrington, pp. 5-10 ff.

INDIANS

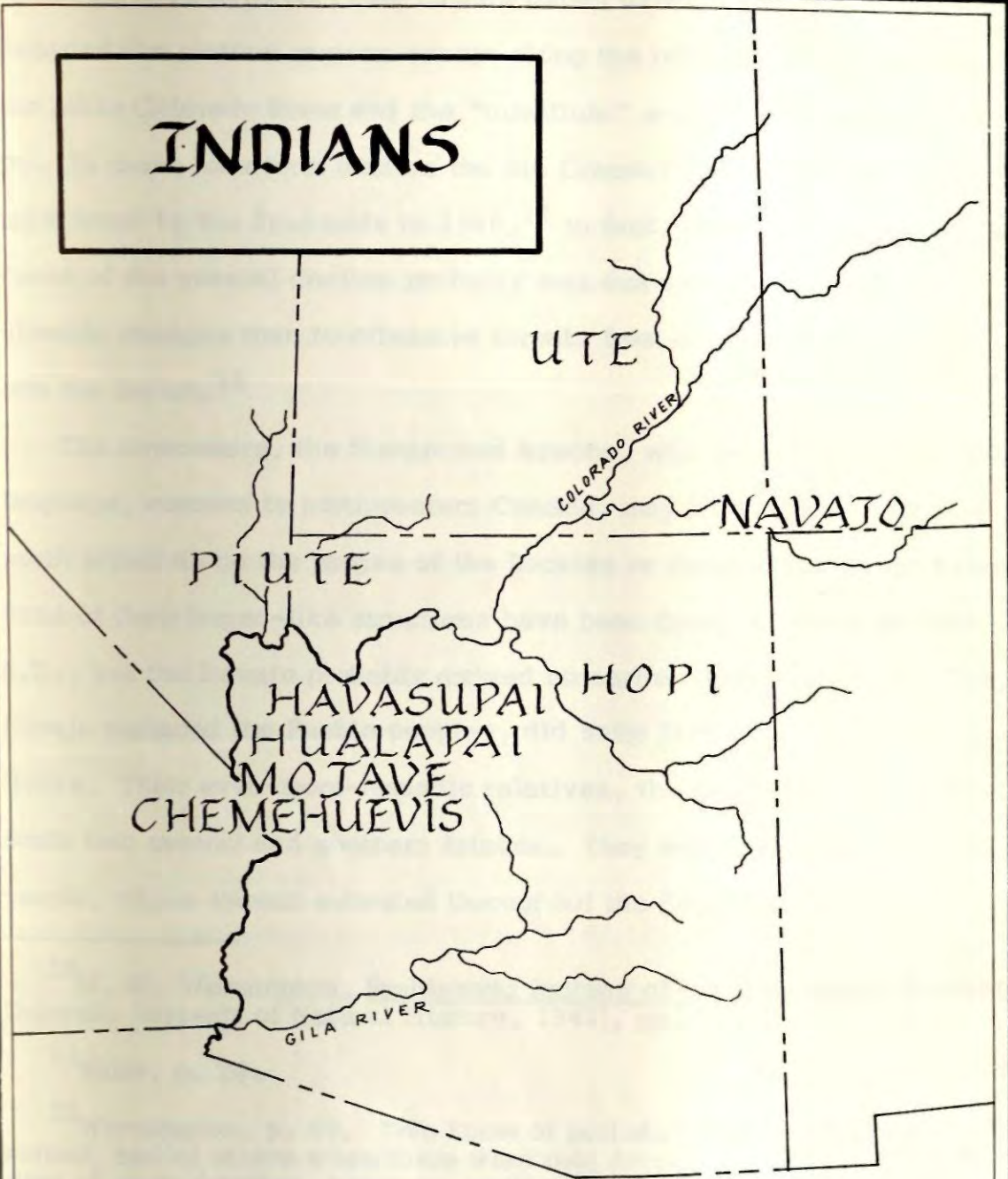


Figure 5

typified by the Chaco and Mesa Verde ruins in the four corners region.¹⁰ By 1200 A.D., however, this culture began to decline. The Indians deserted the plateau regions except along the reliable water courses of the Little Colorado River and the "infallible" springs of the Hopi country. In these locations (and on the Rio Grande) Pueblo Indians persisted until found by the Spaniards in 1540,¹¹ in fact, until the present. The cause of the general decline probably was due more to long range climatic changes than to offensive threats from other Indians moving into the region.¹²

The newcomers, the Navajo and Apache, who spoke the Athabaskan language, common to northwestern Canada, may have made their way south either along the ranges of the Rockies or through the Great Basin. Some of their hogan-like structures have been dated as early as 1100 A.D., but the Navajo probably arrived no earlier than 1200 A.D. The Navajo replaced the Pueblo peoples, did some farming, and tended their flocks. Their even-more-nomadic relatives, the Apaches, moved farther south into central and southern Arizona. They were a fierce, warlike people, whose impact extended throughout the Southwest.¹³

¹⁰H. M. Wormington, Prehistoric Indians of the Southwest (Denver: Colorado Museum of Natural History, 1947), pp. 76-80.

¹¹Euler, p. 26.

¹²Wormington, p. 80. "We know of periods when rainfall was below normal, and of others when there were real droughts. Most of these were of short duration, however, until the disastrous period between 1276 and 1299 when there was practically no rain, and the Southwest suffered an extremely severe drought."

¹³Harold Sterling Gladwin, A History of the Ancient Southwest (Portland, Main: The Bond Wheelwright Company, 1957), p. 216.

Patayan

Indians have lived along the Colorado River from time immemorial. Both the very early Gypsum Cave Culture and Desert Culture peoples had expanded into much of the region.¹⁴ However, archeological data from this early period is limited because few material remains have been found, mainly because until the construction of Boulder Dam the flooding Colorado regularly covered what limited artifacts had been left.¹⁵ Although these peoples made no baskets "worthy of the name," they did make a brown utility ware pottery.¹⁶ The main center of this Patayan tribe seems to have been in the Colorado River valleys below Black Canyon.¹⁷ This area became the home of the Mojave Indians, who farmed the lowlands by waiting until the spring rise of the Colorado flooded and subsided. Then in the moist, fertile soil they planted their corn, beans and squash which matured with little further attention.¹⁸

Cohonina

A second group, the Cohonina, flourished in the area south of the Grand Canyon between the Little Colorado River on the east and the Grand Wash Cliffs on the west, from 700 to 1100 A.D. These people hunted less than their Pueblo neighbors and adopted a veneer of their

¹⁴Wormington, p. 22.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 167. The writer interviewed Murl Emery, March 22, 1968, Nelson, Nevada, at which time he told me that since the flooding was stopped many Indian artifacts had been found and there were a lot of them there. He has spent over fifty years along this part of the river and known it as well, if not better, than any other person today.

¹⁶Harrington, p. 13.

¹⁷Wormington, P. 167.

¹⁸Harrington, p. 13.

culture, but their pottery was markedly inferior and they lived in both deep and very shallow pit houses with walls made of timber.¹⁹

About 1150 A.D. these Indians disappeared as a cultural group, either to become the Havasupai and Hualapai, as some archeologists suggest, or else they were driven out by the Cerbat or Pai who moved into the region from the southern deserts along the Colorado River.²⁰ Many of these newcomers farmed plots of land near small springs, but most relied on hunting and gathering for a food supply. Their homes were rock shelters and wickiups. Nevertheless, their way of life proved exceptionally stable.²¹

Northern Indians - Paiute

North of the Colorado River, mainly in northwestern Arizona, a semi-nomadic non-pueblo people appeared about 1150 to 1200 A.D. and replaced the older Pueblo culture; in fact, they may have been a cause in its decline. These Southern Paiutes were a branch of the "Shoshoni Speakers" along with the Ute, Gosiute and other sub-groups. All of them retained many of the habits and customs of the earlier Desert Culture.²² Frequently they wandered in small bands over the West's

¹⁹Wormington, p. 168.

²⁰Euler, p. 27. Mr. Euler notes that some archeologists believe that both the Havasupai and the Walapai are descendents of the Cerbat people. See page 69. Pai is the name given by the Havasupai and the Walapai for themselves when they were combined, or the combined name for them.

²¹Ibid., p. 26. Today these Indians would be the Hualapai and Havasupai. It is of interest to note that the term Patayan, applied to this Colorado River people, is a Walapai word meaning "the old people." See Wormington, p. 167.

²²Jesse D. Jennings, "Early Man in Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXVIII (January, 1960), 21.

most difficult environment "devoting their lives to sheer survival."²³ These lowly "diggers" lived on roots, tubers, seeds, insects, rodents, lizards and what larger game they could secure, the blacktailed jack rabbit being particularly important to them. Clothing was limited to bark and skin, homes to caves and brush huts.

Although generally very poor, some variations existed. The Southern Paiute early made a brown pottery, had milling stones, and were able to adapt to the desert and canyon environment sufficiently well to survive the coming of the white men centuries later.²⁴ The Utes, located farther north and east, maintained a much higher standard of living. And with the acquisition of the horse and the "overlay of Plain's Indian traits" they ranged freely throughout the region, a terror to foe and relative alike.²⁵

Early Indian Heritage

The Indians of these early periods left not only a cultural heritage to their historic progeny, but also a great knowledge of both the land and other Indians. Trade was extensive. Schroeder suggests that prehistoric Indians used Willow Beach, on the Colorado River, as a major campsite because trade and travel between the high plateau of the Arizona Strip and the Mojave Desert of southern California was channeled by geographical factors to where that good camp site happened to be available.²⁶

²³Ibid., p. 21.

²⁴Euler, p. 70.

²⁵Jennings, pp. 23-26.

²⁶Schroeder, p. 1. Schroeder notes the various types of pottery discovered and suggests a route from Willow Beach, where the Colorado

Salt, a common, universal need, forced trade. Several significant supplies have been identified: one at the confluence of the Little Colorado and the Colorado rivers, used by the Hopi;²⁷ a second salt mountain on the Virgin River used by Indians in that area;²⁸ and finally, a salt mine near Amboy, California, later used by the Mojave Indians.²⁹ Shells, beads, pottery, and other material possessions were also traded. This desert country belonged to these peoples.

The coming of the white man signaled gradual modification of the culture more than immediate changes. The Indians met all their conquerers and survived most of them. They adapted to new masters when made to do so, but submitted only when that force became sufficient to confine them to reservations, often (too often) on poor lands, too poor to be of value to the victors.

The Hopi

The Hopi met the Spaniard as early as 1540, and adopted a few features of Spanish culture--fruit trees, sheep and new vegetables, but little of his religion or way of life (as Padre Garces learned in 1776).³⁰

River was crossed, east over the Black Mountains, probably through Household Pass into Detrital Valley, and down it to the Virgin River crossing. When the Shoshonean peoples moved into the north and the Mojave moved into the south, this route was changed.

²⁷Amsden, p. 80.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Llewellyn Barrackman, Chairman, Fort Mojave Tribal Council, "Personal Interview," (March 21, 1968), Needles, California. This mine was about 74 miles west of the Mojave Indians on the Colorado River.

³⁰Elliot Coues, ed., On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer, the Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garces . . . 1775-1776, 2 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900), vol. 2, 361-91.

Even as late as 1848, Hopi life was given to the precarious task of survival through secure, cautious, conservative routines. Life for these people was work and prayer, as it had been for centuries. For instance, the corn harvest was divided into three parts: one for seed, another for food, and the third for emergencies "when lack of rain or storms or enemies destroyed the crops."³¹ Closely tied to the harvest was the "Hopi Snake Dance" with which the Indians sought to satisfy the "gods" and secure themselves against disasters.³² The Hopi way of life appeared so sufficient that all Christian missionaries found strong resistance to their "messages of salvation."³³

By virtue of location as an outpost on the 35th parallel route, the Hopi Indians played a prominent roll in early exploration of this section. They guided the Spaniards, succored the trappers and traders, and supplied convoys passing through. Later resistance to white encroachments led to their being assigned a reservation in 1867-1868 with the Navajo. In 1870 they received their own agency. They were again placed under the Navajo Agency in 1883, however, as a distinct unit.³⁴

³¹Edward Everett Dale, The Indians of the Southwest: A Century of Development Under the United States (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949), p. 17.

³²George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, ed., Obregon's History of Sixteenth Century Explorations in Western America (Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Company, 1928), pp. 296-97.

³³Coues, vol. 2, pp. 361-391 for an account of the efforts of Padre Garces in 1776, and Pearson H. Corbet, Jacob Hamblin, the Peacemaker (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1952), p. 309. Hamblin directed the Mormon effort to convert the Hopi.

³⁴Dale, p. 130. These people even today retain many of their early cultural patterns. A visit to several of their villages during the summer of 1967 by the writer, convinced him of the durability of their way of life.

The Navajoes

The nomadic Navajo, with a long history of exploitation by white men--slavers, trappers, and soldiers, nevertheless more readily accepted their new masters' ways than did the Hopi. They adopted portions of his religion, acquired his crops and flocks, and mounted his horses, with which to become a threat to Indians and whites alike. Troubles with the Spaniards and Mexicans were common.³⁵ The Mexican War brought only a change of masters. Colonel Kearny counselled with Navajo chiefs (1846) to explain the United States' policy to them, but Navajo harassment continued.³⁶ After the Civil War began, Colonel Kit Carson was ordered to break the Navajo resistance. To do this he invaded Canyon de Chelly, inflicting heavy damage on their homes, fields, and flocks. He ordered them to Fort Sumner at Bosque Redondo. They finally complied and were retained as prisoners until 1867-1868, when they were returned to their own country.³⁷

Being short of livestock and supplies, they resorted to raiding when "necessary." A common victim was the Mormon settlers in southern Utah who continued to have problems with them even after the signing of the treaty of Fort Defiance in 1870.³⁸ Mormons attempted to stop

³⁵Hubert Howe Bancroft, The History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1540-1887 (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890), p. 280. The Navajo figured prominently in the slave trade both as victims and as suppliers of slaves from their "victims."

³⁶Bancroft, Arizona . . . , pp. 418-433. Colonel Alexander Doniphan (1846) and Colonel John W. Washington (1849) both led expeditions into Navajo strongholds. Colonel D. S. Miles invaded their country with over 300 men in 1858, but the peace promised was of short duration.

³⁷Dale, pp. 55, 116-117.

³⁸Major John Wesley Powell and Jacob Hamblin played significant roles in that treaty. See Corbet, pp. 299-311.

the Navajo raids by building several posts or forts at major Colorado River crossings. The settlement at Lee's Ferry served that purpose for a time as did another "camp" near the "Crossing of the Fathers."³⁹

A treaty signed June 1, 1868, had provided the Navajo with a large reservation in their old home lands. By the mid 1870's they began to accept reservation life.⁴⁰

The Utes

The Ute tribes, although located primarily in east-central Utah and western Colorado, still had an important influence on this area. They were great travelers and soon adopted many of the Spaniard's ways, including his horses. Padre Garces heard of the "Yutas" from the "Yavapais" while enroute to "Moqui" in 1776, and of the "roads" leading into the "Yutas" lands.⁴¹ Later the famous "Crossing of the Fathers" or that approximate spot was referred to as "Ute Ford."⁴² Also at the west end of the Grand Canyon, Lt. Wheeler identified another "Old Ute

³⁹Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, ed., A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876 (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1955), vol. 2, pp. 175-185.

⁴⁰Dale, p. 61. Trouble with the Navajo ended about this time, except for isolated incidents.

⁴¹Coues, vol. 2, pp. 331-332. Garces records: "I found the place of descent . . . (from Oraibi) and soon lost myself again, taking the road that goes to the Yutas who live north of Moqui and are enemies of this pueblo of Oraibe and of the Moqui concave." Mr. Coues believes the route referred to led to Lee's Ferry.

⁴²Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, The Romance of the Colorado River . . . (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902), p. 216. Commenting on Major Powell's expedition, he adds: "For 149 miles the easy waters of Glen Canyon bore them along, and by August 4th they had passed the Crossing of the Fathers, or Ute Ford, as it was called in that country before its identification as the point where Escalante crossed . . ."

Crossing,"⁴³ which along with the Ute Ford and Lee's Ferry were used extensively by both the Utes and the Navajo for trading and raiding across the Colorado.

Slave Trade

Both the Navajoes and Utes were involved in a "slave trade traffic" with Spanish and Mexican slavers. All were the terror of the lowly Paiutes whom they captured and sold. Spanish officials had tried to stop the trade as early as 1778,⁴⁴ but apparently without success, for the Arze-Garcia expedition of 1813 was probably in Utah on such an errand. Slaving was common along the Old Spanish Trail, since the Paiute groups--Shivwits, Piedes, Uinkarets, and Goshiutes--made good domestics. Besides, slaves could be captured enroute to California for markets there, then more obtained on the return trip for New Mexico and Mexico.⁴⁵ During the 1830's and 1840's the Navajo and the Utes, especially Chief Walkara, allied with Mexicans and Americans and raided all the way to California for slaves, but more especially for horses.

⁴³Lt. George M. Wheeler, Report Upon Geographical and Geological Explorations and Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian, 6 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), vol. 1, p. 162.

⁴⁴Lynn R. Bailey, Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1966), pp. 140-146.

⁴⁵Daniel V. Jones, Forty Years Among the Indians, a True Yet Thrilling Narrative of the Author's Experiences Among the Natives (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1960), pp. 47-48. Jones comments: "These New Mexicans were a venturesome people . . . making annual trips, commencing with a few goods, trading on their way with either Navajoes or Utes . . . for horses, which they sold very cheap always retaining the best ones, [poor horses were] traded to the poorer Indians for children . . . This trading was continued into Lower California, where the children bought on the down trip would be traded . . . for other horses, goods or cash . . . All children bought on the return trip would be taken

Mormons and Indian Slavery

Shocked by this barbarous practice of slavery, Brigham Young issued an order in 1851 to "end slavery at once." His authority was tested in the arrest of Pedro Leon and party that fall. Leon was charged with slaving, tried before Zerubbabel Snow of the First District Court, found guilty, fined \$50.00, and expelled from the territory on foot.⁴⁶ To replace the lost Mexican market, Walkara and the Utes resorted to brutality to open a trade with the Mormons. Subsequently the Utah Legislature passed a bill legalizing "Indian Slavery" in Utah Territory as a type of apprenticeship.⁴⁷ With the death of the great Ute Chief, slavery gradually disappeared.⁴⁸ Later in 1866 the Utes were given the Uinta Reservation. After the late 1860's they caused little trouble in southwestern Utah.⁴⁹

Paiutes

North of the Colorado River the raided-upon-relatives of the Utes, the Paiutes, claimed the plateaus and valleys of southwestern Utah, northern Arizona and southeastern Nevada. As economic conditions would not support major tribes, some 1,000 to 1,500 "Paiute" Indians

back to New Mexico and then sold, boys fetching on an average \$100, girls from \$150 to \$200."

⁴⁶Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George F. Cannon and Sons, 1893), vol. 1, pp. 510-511. See also Bailey, pp. 154-157.

⁴⁷William J. Snow, "Utah Indians and Spanish Slave Trade," Utah Historical Quarterly, II (July, 1929), 24-25. Walkara and others were known to kill children if Mormons refused to buy them.

⁴⁸Bailey, p. 161. When Chief Walkara died January 29, 1855, he had two squaws killed and buried with him, two live Piede children, and fifteen horses, and wanted two Mormons also placed in his grave.

⁴⁹Dale, pp. 66-76.

dispersed themselves over this extended territory in about a dozen weak colonies. They all spoke the same language, even though such sub-groups as the Shivwits on the Santa Clara River, the Uintkarits near Mt. Trumbull, the Parrusits on the Virgin River, and the "Chamo-wevie" south of Las Vegas, Nevada, could be identified independently.⁵⁰

As a general rule the Paiutes were extremely poor. Padre Garces heard of the "Payuchas" across the Colorado, but he did not visit them.⁵¹ However, the Dominguez-Escalante party traveled among them. The "Parussi" on Ash Creek had ditches to irrigate their "maize and calabashes," but they were one of the more prosperous groups. The Yubuincariris (Uintkarits) near Mt. Trumbull were seed gatherers and hunters, only.⁵² In 1826, Jed Smith found Indian corn fields on the Santa Clara, patches of agriculture along the Virgin and Muddy rivers, and a lone Paiute farmer at the junction of the Virgin and Colorado rivers.⁵³ Antonio Armijo reported on his 1829-30 trip from Santa Fe to California: "The gentiles of the Payuche nation inhabit the vicinity of the above mentioned river [Colorado]; their living quarters are jacales, and they live on grass seeds, hares and rabbits, using the skins of the

⁵⁰William R. Palmer, "Utah Indians Past and Present," Utah Historical Quarterly, I (April, 1928), 44-52. A major student of the Paiute Indians, Mr. Palmer discusses their location in detail. He also notes the disappearance of two Paiute groups completely, the Uintkarits and the Ytimpabichis. The term Chamo-wevie was generally applied to all Indians in southern Nevada, but has a current spelling--Chemehuevis.

⁵¹Coues, vol. 2, pp. 405-406. This account given in 1776.

⁵²Herbert E. Bolton, Pageant in the Wilderness: The Story of the Escalante Expedition to the Interior Basin, 1776 (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1950), pp. 95 and 103.

⁵³Maurice S. Sullivan, The Travels of Jedediah Smith (Santa Ana: The Fine Arts Press, 1934), pp. 38 and 75. Smith called Santa Clara Corn Creek. In 1827, the Paiute farmer was still on the Colorado.

latter to cover a small part of their body." He noted several groups, specifically, one of which had "pierced noses."⁵⁴

From the Muddy River in May 1844, Fremont commented on the Paiutes that they were bare footed, nearly naked, their hair tied up in a knot. Each man had a bow and a quiver of 30 or 40 arrows, with two or three ready for instant use. Fremont thought them little above animals in appearance and behavior.⁵⁵ One Indian, who appeared to be the chief, threatened Fremont's party and later killed one of his men who left the main party to recover a mule. Untended animals fell victims to these Indians.⁵⁶

Later travelers also commented on the poverty of the Paiutes. Mr. Carvalho's description of May 1854, is apt: "They are the most degraded and lowest in the scale of human beings . . . I have often observed them with lizards, snakes, and other reptiles . . . perfectly

⁵⁴LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, Old Spanish Trail . . ., (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1954), p. 157. The above is quoted from Armijo's preliminary report, June 5, 1830. The account continues: "These follow various other nations inhabiting these lands: The Narices Aguierados [Pierced Noses], so-called because they pierce their noses with a bird's shank; the Garroteras, dexterous in handling a four-edged garrote [stick]; the Ayatas, dressed in buckskin, they cultivate fields, the Ayatas dressed like the preceding ones; the Tularenos, who have knowledge of horses and horsemanship and are in the immediate vicinity of California."

⁵⁵John C. Fremont, Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-1844 (Washington: Gales and Seaton, Printers, 1845), p.267. He states: "In these Indians I was forcibly struck by an expression of countenance resembling that in a beast of prey, and all their actions are those of wild animals. Joined to the restless motion of the eye, there is a want of mind--an absence of thought--and an action wholly by impulse, strongly expressed, and which constantly recalls the similarity."

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 268-269. Tabeau, had gone back to retrieve a tired mule and was ambushed and murdered by the Indians. Fremont commented: "No vestage of what belonged to him could be found, except a fragment of his horse equipment. Horse, gun, clothes--all became prey of these Arabs of the New World."

nude . . . thieves." He notes further that "Indians of the Muddy River are a little higher in scale of civilization. In one of the villages I found corn and wheat under excellent cultivation, the women grinding it between stones."⁵⁷ But for most of them, life was a marginal struggle. To compensate for their destitute conditions, the Paiutes often sold their children to whites and Indians.⁵⁸ They were feared by travelers because they sought "every opportunity to waylay and massacre small parties or stragglers from larger ones."⁵⁹

Mormons and Paiutes

Mormons had particular commitments to the Indians. They established the Santa Clara Mission in 1854 and the Las Vegas Mission in 1855 to convert the "Lamanite," to Mormonism from his poor ways. This economic betterment would, hopefully, achieve two ends: pacification of the route to the Pacific and friendly alliances with the Mormons.⁶⁰ The Las Vegas Mission was abandoned in 1858, in part because of the

⁵⁷Solomon M. Carvalho, Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954), pp. 289-290.

⁵⁸Jones, pp. 47-48.

⁵⁹Walter Van Dyke, "Overland to Los Angeles, by the Salt Lake Route in 1849," Historical Society of Southern California, III (1894), 79-80.

⁶⁰Lt. Whipple noted this "peculiar" arrangement in 1854. See Lt. A. M. Whipple, Reports of Exploration and Surveys, to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economic Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, 1853-4 (Washington: A. O. P. Nichols, Printer, 1856), p. 129. Lt. Sylvester Mowry noted the Mormon missionaries on the Santa Clara, Muddy and Virgin Rivers and at Las Vegas in June, 1855. He believed these "alliances" were a potential danger to the United States. See Lynn R. Bailey, ed., "Lt. Sylvester Mowry's Report on His March in 1855 from Salt Lake City to Fort Tejon," Arizona and the West, VII (Winter, 1965), 341-43.

fear of Johnston's Army, but also because the Indians had not responded "permanently" to baptism and conversion.⁶¹ With the influx of settlers into southwestern Utah, the Indians in the Virgin Valley were, in time, tamed, and to some extent, integrated into the Mormon economy.⁶²

When the Mormons returned to southern Nevada in 1865, their relations with the Indians were generally peaceful; however, in 1866, the general Indian unrest spread among the Paiutes also. Raids on Mormon stock, pulling up of their grain, and other harassment were met with united action by the settlers. Posses retrieved most of the lost property. A council was later called consisting of Indian Chiefs and Mormon leaders. The Indian promised peace. However, it was mainly the influx of additional settlers that caused the Indians to become quiescent.⁶³ When the Mormons abandoned the region in 1871, the Indians took over many of the farms, and were headquartered near West Point. Wheeler reported: "[The Indians] . . . show their appreciation of this act of compulsory generosity on the part of the Mormons

⁶¹Andrew Jensen, ed., "The History of the Las Vegas Mission," Nevada State Historical Society Papers, 1925-1926, vol. 5 (Reno: Nevada State Historical Society, 1926), p. 262. Mormon activity among these Indians was often as much "diplomatic" as "dogmatic." Indian raids on the mail carriers and freighters continued into the 1860's. See "Letter of Andrew S. Gibbons to George A. Smith from Vegas Springs, June 15, 1858," (File, "L.D.S. Church Historian's Office). Gibbons details such an event.

⁶²Wheeler, p. 75. Lt. Lockwood reported on his trip to St. George: "The Indians at Saint George are quiet and peaceable, many of them working regularly for the Mormons. Long and continued association with the whites has accomplished this perfect change in their character. It was observed, however, that the converts had generally been raised from infancy away from immediate contact with their own people."

⁶³James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission, Book B, (Typescript: Dixie College Library, St. George, Utah), 200-250 ff.

by increased impudence (were that possible) to the people passing near them."⁶⁴

Paiutes Reservations

The life of the Paiute Indian was hard. Even with sympathetic Mormon treatment, many of these Indians died. Their numbers decreased dramatically. In the Muddy Valley they declined from "500 lodges to about 150 souls."⁶⁵ The Uinkarets and the Ytimpabichis disappeared completely in the St. George, Utah, area.⁶⁶

Indian policy suffered in Utah because of the antagonism between Mormons and the government. Often the Paiutes were the victims. As early as 1865 a small irrigated reserve had been established on Corn Creek, but not until 1873 was the Moapa Reservation set aside for Paiutes in Moapa Valley.⁶⁷ Still, in 1873, travelers reported: "the Paiutes down that way besiege every passing white man, and with lank and forlorn countenances, demand to know where their agent is."⁶⁸ As many of the Paiute Indians worked for farmers and ranchers throughout

⁶⁴Wheeler, p. 66

⁶⁵David F. Myrick, ed., Reproduction of Thompson and West's History of Nevada, 1881, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1958), p. 491. The information contained in this history probably came from Daniel Bonelli, since the book recognizes his "assistance" in its compilation. The account states: "The aboriginal Pah-Ute inhabitants of this region have declined from 500 lodges to about 150 souls, during the past two decades just elapsed [1860-1880]."

⁶⁶Palmer, pp. 44-47.

⁶⁷Dale, pp. 72 and 142. Some of the land on "Corn Creek" later became the Shivwit Indian Reservation.

⁶⁸"Pioche Notes," Deseret News, (June 18, 1873). The Indians further complained that "they never knew their agent and were given only the most putrid portions of flabby and stinking salt pork."

the area, the number actually on the Moapa Reservation continued to decline until after 1900.

The poor Paiutes had to know their country well. White explorers depended on this knowledge to locate trails, waterholes, and passes through this desolate region.⁶⁹ But the Paiute lost to the more powerful ways of the white men. Too few, too late made the adjustment. The rationale: "Indians eat grass seeds and wild game, white man's cow eat grass; no more seeds, no more game; Indians eat white man's cow!"⁷⁰ But perhaps only Paiute rationale.

The Pai

In the canyons and on the plateaus south of the Colorado River, the descendants of the earlier "Pai," lived in small bands, hunted game, gathered seeds and hid from their enemies. Padre Garces had met them as early as 1776.⁷¹ They were little influenced by the white men. The transient trappers were soon gone. Later travelers, both government

⁶⁹ John Wesley Powell, The Exploration of the Colorado River and Its Canyons (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1961), pp. 315-317. This explorer observes: "It is curious now to observe the knowledge of our Indians. There is not a trail but what they know; every gulch and every rock seems familiar. I have prided myself on being able to grasp and retain in my mind the topography of a country; but these Indians put me to shame. My knowledge is only general, embracing the more important features of a region, that remains as a map engraved on my mind; but theirs is particular. They know every rock and every ledge, every gulch and canyon, and just where to wind among these to find a pass; and their knowledge is unerring. They cannot describe a country to you, but they can tell you all the particulars of a route."

⁷⁰ Angus M. Woodbury, A History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1950), p. 122.

⁷¹ Coues, vol. 2, pp. 314-315.

and civilian, were raided and robbed when possible.⁷² Only when the miners, ranchers and railroad invaded their domain did the Walapai (Hualapai) and Havasupai need to change much. Then, living in so close an equilibrium with nature, any change produced by the white man's presence became a threat to their poor ways.⁷³ In 1866, when their chief, Wauba Yuba, was killed by a white man, the Walapai retaliated. Their resistance brought military intervention. In 1874 they were moved onto the Mojave Reservation where they stayed less than two years before moving back to their own area. Attempts to re-settle them finally succeeded.⁷⁴ The Walapai received their Peach Springs Reserve between 1881 and 1883. Their kin, the Havasupai, claimed Cataract Creek between 1880 and 1882. The agency governing the two tribes was finally separated in 1896.⁷⁵

The "Pai" Indians generally remained south of the river, although on occasion they crossed the Colorado to trade and raid.⁷⁶ They usually

⁷²Captain Lorenzo Sitgreave, Report of an Expedition Down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers . . . (Washington: Robert Armstrong Public Printer, 1853), pp. 14-15. Details of these activities will be given in later chapters.

⁷³Lt. Joseph C. Ives, Report Upon the Colorado River of the West, Explored in 1857 and 1858 . . . (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1861), p. 98. Ives notes particularly the contract between these people and the Mojaves who had so impressed him.

⁷⁴A. E. Robinson, The Basket Weavers of Arizona (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954), pp. 114-115.

⁷⁵Dale, p. 117. The Havasupai have long lived in their canyon retreat. Garces reported them first in 1776. Until recently their lives had been little influenced by the outside world.

⁷⁶Bleak, Book B, p. 71. Settlers in the Muddy area reported visits from the Walapai. See also Wheeler, p. 160. He reports: ". . . at a point in sight of Callville, an Indian trail, supposed to lead into the Hualapais country, is noted. One of the boat men [Mojave] says that the Hualapais and Pah-utes cross the river at this point and interchange commodities."

maintained good relations with the Mojave on their west,⁷⁷ sometimes fought the Paiutes who crossed the Colorado; however, their main enemy was the Yavapai to the south with whom they were frequently at war.⁷⁸

These Indians had memorized the location of all springs and water pockets in their area. Newcomers who crossed with their help did well; those who attempted to cross without their guidance all suffered severely from a shortage of water, at least until after the government surveys had located routes for them.

The Mojaves

The Mojave Indians lived better than most of their neighbors. They settled along the Colorado River between Black Canyon on the north and the Needles on the south. The seasonal flooding of the river permitted them to raise crops--beans, corn, pumpkins and some melons and wheat (later) with little effort other than planting after the subsiding of the high waters. They supplemented this basic diet with fish and mesquite and mescrew beans.⁷⁹ A physically superior people, they proved well able to defend themselves and were at home both in and on the Colorado River.⁸⁰ Even though permanently located, their tribal structure was

⁷⁷Murl Emery, "Personal Interview," (March 22, 1968), Nelson, Nevada. As a young man, Mr. Emery was told the story by the Indians that the Mojave and Walapai agreed to a boundary between their lands in the area of El Dorado Canyon. In the overlapping region the Mojave agreed not to kill rabbits and the Hualapai would not catch fish. Emery called it their "conservation program."

⁷⁸Robinson, p. 115.

⁷⁹Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, 2 vols. (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, Inc., 1965), vol. 1, p. 920.

⁸⁰James Ohio Pattie, The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1962), p. 84. " . . . I have seen

quite decentralized, with great importance attached to the family unit. Lt. Ives learned of five major chiefs and several sub-chiefs while among them in 1854 and 1858.⁸¹

Mojave contact with the white man was intermittent. Alarcon may have met some of them in 1540. Probably Onate's men saw Mojaves in 1604, and perhaps Padre Sedelmayer in 1744.⁸² But not until Padre Francisco Garces' visit in 1776 did they learn much of the Spaniards. They received Garces kindly, guided him to California, over their well-known trade routes, returned him to their villages on the Colorado, and sent him eastward to visit the Moqui.⁸³ He was impressed by their fine physiques, good health and hospitality. The Mojave continued to have limited contact with the Spanish, at least while trading in California, and apparently were involved in an unfortunate disaster at San Benueto in May 1819, in which some Indians and Spaniards were killed.⁸⁴ Relations with the Spaniards were strained afterwards.

American contacts began a half-century later. Jed Smith in 1826 was treated very well, but Santa Fe trappers later that trapping season

women, when swimming in the river with their children, towing them after them by a sling, which they held in their mouth. The little things neither suffered nor complained, but floated behind their mothers like ducks."

⁸¹Ives, pp. 67, 71. Ives identified Chiefs Jose and Cairook, and sub-Chief Ireteba. He also noted the apparent significance of the "marriage ties."

⁸²Hazel Emery Mills, "Father Sedelmayer, S. J., A Forgotten Chapter in Arizona Missionary History," Arizona Historical Review, VII (January, 1936), 8.

⁸³Coues, vol. 1, pp. 216-236. Garces designated these Indians as the Amajaves.

⁸⁴Hubert H. Bancroft, Native Races . . . (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890), vol. 19, pp. 332-33.

killed several Mojave Indians, and the next year Smith lost most of his party to Mojave treachery.⁸⁵ Other trapping and trading parties followed. Then came the government explorers. Lt. Sitgreave reached their villages in early November 1851. He found them friendly, generally, with plenty of "pumpkin, beans, corn, and a little wheat" for trade. The only livestock they had was a few poor horses. Both the men and women were nearly naked and they still used "firebrands" to warm themselves. Their lodges, he recorded: "are rectangular, formed of upright posts imbedded in the ground and rudely thatched on top and three sides." Sitgreave viewed the Mojaves with caution, yet had a little trouble with them.⁸⁶

When A. M. Whipple arrived in early 1854, he found the Mojave chiefs very cooperative. Trade with them was rewarding. His party obtained wheat, beans, maize, pumpkins and squash in abundance. These supplies were stored in cylindrical graneries nearby their houses. He also reported on their recreation--target shooting and a hoop and pole game. Discipline for stealing was severe. One small boy was forced to return some trinkets and reprimanded with the epithet: "Oh, you Cuchan," which was probably equivalent to being called a "communist" today.⁸⁷ Their homes he described as "30 or 40 feet square" with wicker walls

⁸⁵ Sullivan, pp. 76, and 115-123.

⁸⁶ Sitgreave, p. 19. Dr. Woodhouse was hit in the fleshy part of the leg by an arrow.

⁸⁷ Grant Foreman, ed., A Pathfinder in the Southwest (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), pp. 231-237. Whipple's account stated: "A hoop is 6 inches in diameter is chased across a level forty-pace long field and contestants try to throw their poles through the rolling hoop." The Cuchans were enemies of the Mojaves.

and a place for a small fire within. The roof seemed to be a favorite place to sleep, weather permitting.⁸⁸

Some three years later Lt. Beale discovered signs of hostility when he reached their valley with his camel caravan. The Mojaves feared intrusion into their private domain, where they had been isolated for many generations. Nevertheless, Beale traded with them for corn, meal and pinole. The Indians ate the ten mules and two horses which drowned while Beale was crossing his expedition over the river.⁸⁹

Ives praised them for their support in 1858, particularly Chief Ireteba, who guided Ives' party eastward.⁹⁰ Although Mormons tried to convert these Indians, and to form an alliance with them (in case of a government invasion via the Colorado River route), they met with little success in either case.⁹¹

In 1858 and 1859 the Mojaves became militant, massacring several members of an immigrant train as it approached the Colorado River from the east. This uprising led to the establishment of "Camp Colorado" by Colonel William Hoffman in April 1859. Major Lewis Armistead commanded

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 239.

⁸⁹ Lewis Burt Lesley, Uncle Sam's Camels . . . (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), pp. 114-115.

⁹⁰ Ives, pp. 94-99. Ives had a pack train brought up river by Lt. Tipton to the Mojave villages. After his river exploration Ives explored overland to Fort Defiance.

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 88-89. See also "Letter of Llewellyn Harris from Hackberry, Arizona Territory," in The St. George Union (January 1883), vol. 2, no. 2. Harris had gone among the Mojaves in December 1882 as a missionary. He met Chief Asket but had little "missionary" success, yet claimed the Mojaves wanted Mormons to come among them. See also Arthur Woodward, Feud on the Colorado (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1955), p. 103.

"Fort Mojave" until the post was abandoned in 1861. It was reoccupied in May 1863 and became a more permanent post.⁹² The Mojaves later cut wood, worked in the mines, and on various river projects.

In time the government "possessed" the Mojave lands without benefit of treaty. In 1865, the Colorado River Reservation was set up and modified through additional government action in 1873, 1874, and 1876. Irrigation projects and government schools helped in time to improve the Mojaves' economic conditions.⁹³

Chemehuevi

The Chemehuevi lived at the confluence of the Bill Williams and the Colorado, and in the Chemehuevi Valley on the west side of the river. They were Shoshonean, smaller than either the Yuma, on the south, or the Mojave on the north, with whom they generally had close relations, except for a short war in 1867.⁹⁴ They farmed nearby and lived along the river much as the Mojave did, but had a looser tribal structure and wandered around a great deal. They also resorted to "knavery" more often. Yet they were seldom warlike.

Lt. Whipple met them in February 1854. They had grain and vegetables for sale and had to swim the Colorado River from the west side to the east to trade; however, little trading was done, much to the disappointment of the Chemehuevis.⁹⁵

⁹² Ralph P. Bieber, ed., Frontier Life in the Army, 1854-1861, by Eugene Bandel, translated by Olha Bandel and Richard Jente, in Southwest Historical Series (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1932), vol. 2, pp. 248-278.

⁹³ Hodges, vol. 1, p. 921.

⁹⁴ Robinson, pp. 138 and 141.

⁹⁵ Foreman, pp. 232-34. Whipple was waiting to trade with the Mojave Indians.

In 1903 they were assigned to the Colorado River Reservation with the Mojaves. In 1907 they received the Chemehuevi Reservation (32,000 acres), but the irrigable land later was inundated by Parker Dam, so they today live off their reservation with the Mojave.⁹⁶

Summary

Most of the Indians of this region survived the rigors of their harsh homeland and the threat from the white men. The Indians are still there today, although mainly on reservations. Their knowledge of the region was minute, their contribution to exploration vital, and their impact on its history permanent.

⁹⁶Robinson, pp. 140-141.

THE SPANIARDS: THREE CENTURIES OF CLAIMS

With Cortes' conquest of Mexico in 1521, the exploration of the Colorado Basin became inevitable. Motivated by a desire for glory for Spain and self, by commissions to convert the Indians, and by prospects of great wealth, Spaniards soon sought "Otra Mexico," and very early claimed large areas for Spain, which were held for three hundred years. The Spanish imprint is still seen on much of the American Southwest, including the Colorado River area.

Early Explorations

Cortes. Hernando Cortes sponsored many explorations. During the 1520's he sent several expeditions north to look for wealth and the "straits" that were supposed to link the Atlantic Ocean with the "South Sea."¹ With limited successes, opposition to Governor Cortes increased so that when Jimenez discovered Baja California in 1533, Cortes decided to lead his own expedition to colonize Puerto de la Pas, in 1535. During his absence from Mexico, he was replaced as governor by Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza.² In an effort to recoup, Cortes borrowed money and

¹J. Bayard Morris, ed., 5 Letters of Cortes to the Emporor (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1962), pp. 269-276. Cortes reported to the King: "Even if no strait be discovered it is impossible but that many great and rich lands will be opened up by which your Majesty will be well served."

²William H. Prescott, History of the Conquest of Mexico, and History of the Conquest of Peru (New York: The Modern Library, 1960), pp. 672-673. Cortes' wife persuaded the new Viceroy to send out a rescue ship for Cortes and his men.

pawned his wife's jewels to finance one last expedition in 1539. This time, Francisco de Ulloa sailed to the upper end of the "Sea of Cortes"³ to become the "discoverer" of a great river drainage and to determine that California was peninsular.⁴ One of Ulloa's ships returned to report; the other two rounded Baja California and with their leader were lost. Cortes did not find another Mexico, but his expedition did discover another great river.

Mendoza. Vicery Mendoza's interest had been fired by the reports of the nomadic Cabeza de Vaca party in 1536.⁵ De Vaca had heard of the "South Sea" and of a great river to the west (probably Rio Sinaloa) although he probably got no further west than New Mexico.⁶ He also told stories of great wealth and great cities of Cibola. To verify these

³Herbert E. Bolton, Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706 (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1907), pp. 4-6. Bolton estimates Ulloa reached as far north as 29° 56' north latitude.

⁴Richard Hakluyt, The Principles of Navigation . . . (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1904), vol. 9, p. 225. In his report to the Viceroy, Ulloa commented in his letter: "We sailed up the right hand coast until we came to the great current of the white and red sea; and here (as I have said) we knew not the secret of this current, whether it was caused by a river or a strait." Evidently Viceroy Mendoza was convinced it was a river, since he ordered Alarcon to explore it the following year.

⁵George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), pp. 3 and 111. The party of four consisted of Cabeza de Vaca, Castillo Maldonado, Estavanico a slave, and Dorantes.

⁶Bolton, Spanish Exploration . . . , p. 111. DeVaca's knowledge of this area was second hand from the Indians. The route of DeVaca, who was first into this region, is still a matter of dispute. A reason for doubt is shown from the following: Ogden Standard Examiner (October 10, 1938). "Roaring Colorado River Explored in 1534 by Spaniard, Modern Expedition Discovers." Phoenix, Oct. 10: "Convinced that he holds proof that white men explored the canyons of the raging Colorado river as early as 1534, Dr. R. G. Razier, Utah Copper company physician . . . believes, lies in photographs taken in the canyon."

"rumors" and to gain additional data, Mendoza sent Fray Marcos de Niza, with Estavanico as guide, north from Culican "300 leagues" to Cibola.⁷

Governor Coronado also sent another small expedition northwest from Culican, but it found little of note.⁸

The report of Fray Marcos was quite different. Estavanico had been killed by Indians, probably in New Mexico or Arizona, which forced the ever-cautious Marcos to turn back with, at best, a glimpse of Acoma (Hawikah) that grew into the legend of the "Seven Cities of Cibola" by the time he reported to Mendoza.⁹ In any instance, his report was convincing enough that the following year, Viceroy Mendoza launched a major effort to the north--the Coronado Expeditions.

Coronado's Expeditions

Alarcon. With three ships, the San Gabriel, San Pedro, and Santa Catalina, Hernando de Alarcon directed his portion of the expedition up the "Sea of Cortes." His instructions from the Viceroy had been to seek to contact Coronado or Diaz by landing at ports along the way up the Gulf, and to supply the land parties. If for some reason he could not do this, he was to sail up the river at the head of the Gulf as far as possible so as to gain a general knowledge of the area, to locate mineral deposits,

⁷Hammond and Rey, Coronado . . . , p. 60. The Viceroy told Marcos to learn of the seacoast "both of the North and South seas, for it may be the land narrows and that a sea inlet reaches to the interior of the land." Estavanico was a negro slave in the DeVaca Party.

⁸Ibid., p. 199.

⁹Ibid., pp. 63-82. Apparently Marcos was personally insecure and not well adapted for an explorer's role. His inquiry of Cibola produced few concrete facts. Estavanico was killed because of his involvement with the Indian women.

and to propose sites for outposts.¹⁰ From the head of the gulf, Alarcon reported: "Here we found a mighty river with such furious current that we could scarcely sail against it."¹¹

After enlisting Indians to pull his ships upstream and off sandbars, Alarcon proceeded upriver. Through contact with the Indians, he learned of the various tribes living along the river and heard about the "source" of the river far inland.¹² Just how far up stream he went is not certain. He claimed the distance as "55 leagues" in his first trip and "85 leagues" on the second "to some very high mountains along which the river flowed in a narrow canyon."¹³ Unable to contact Melchoir Diaz or to send an expedition overland to Coronado,¹⁴ Alarcon left a note for Diaz hidden

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 119-120.

¹¹Ibid., p. 126.

¹²Ibid., p. 138. One of the chiefs identified "23 language groups on the river." Alarcon also asked the Chief to mark the river source for him and the Indians' location, which he did, but he did not preserve that data. See also Hakluyt, vol. 9, pp. 316-317. "Of these I sought to understand what people dwelt upward upon the banks of the river, which gave me knowledge of many people, and told me that the River went farre [sic] more up into the land than I had yet seene, but that they knew not the head thereof, because it was very far into the country and that many other rivers fell into the same."

¹³Ibid., p. 153. Just how far Alarcon went up the river is debated: Elliot Coues, ed., On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer, the Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés . . . 1775-1776, 2 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900), vol. 1, p. 266, allowed him up "to the Needles, and thus to the Mojaves." Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, The Romance of the Colorado River . . . (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902), p. 27, maintains that the total distance was 85 leagues or 233-3/4 miles (two and three-quarters miles to the league) or 100 miles beyond the Gila junction. Frank Waters, The Colorado (New York: Rhinehart & Company, Inc., 1946), pp. 144-145, believes the same. However, Lewis R. Freeman, The Colorado River, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow (New York: Dodd, Meade, and Company, 1936), p. 16, disputes this distance adding that to return in two days would have meant 50 miles per day, which would have been too much on the Colorado River.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 147.

along the river.¹⁵ He then returned to Mexico to report, having discovered and named a large river (Buena Guia) that extended far into the interior, and having learned that it had many streams flowing into it and that numerous Indian tribes lived along both its banks.

Diaz. Following Coronado's instructions, Melchoir Diaz proceeded to the "Valley of Senora (Sonora)" and with twenty-five men explored overland to the "Tizon River" some 150 leagues to the north and west,¹⁶ where he located Alarcon's message. Learning of Alarcon's return, Diaz chose to travel up river for five or six days seeking a place to cross,¹⁷ which required the assistance of the Indians. As their behavior caused Diaz and his men to become suspicious, they tortured one of the Indians until he confessed the planned treachery. The informant was then killed and the Indians "ambushed" and driven away from the river, while a safe crossing was made.¹⁸ Diaz continued his exploration to the west among the "sand dunes and lava beds" but because of the lack of water returned after four or five days. It was while returning that he was wounded and

¹⁵George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., Obregon's History of Sixteenth Century Explorations in Western America (Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Company, 1928), p. 22. ". . . In August and September, 1540, he had aid and assistance for Coronado's party. . . . [He] set up a cross in a large cave and at the foot of it buried a bottle with letters and instructions concerning the voyage and discovery which he had made."

¹⁶Hammond and Rey, Coronado . . . , p. 210. Diaz traveled to the land of "giants" who were "very strong."

¹⁷Dellenbaugh, pp. 30-31. Dellenbaugh believes Diaz went up river as far as the Chocolate Mountains where he crossed the river, but since he did not find Alarcon's "cross," he may not have gone as far as Alarcon.

¹⁸Hammond and Rey, Coronado . . . , p. 211. The Indians had planned to attack the Spaniards when part of them were over the river, part in the river and part yet to cross. The Spaniards "crossed on rafts by turns with the horses swimming along the side."

later died.¹⁹ His party then recrossed the river and made its way overland back to Sonora and to Coronado's group in New Mexico. Diaz had learned something of the direction of the river flow, of the land to the west, of the peninsularity of California, but added little to Alarcon's knowledge generally.

Cardenas. Further exploration occurred as an extension of Coronado's own expedition. After hearing rumors of "Tucano (Hopi Villages),"²⁰ Coronado sent Pedro de Tobar to "Tusayan" to investigate. Here Tobar learned of a "large river," and that "several days down the river there were people with very large bodies."²¹ As a result of Tobar's report, Coronado commissioned Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas and twelve men to explore this river. They retraced the course to Zuni where they were guided west by the Indians, probably along the course of the Little Colorado River, to the Hopi villages, down Moenkopi Wash to Cameron, Arizona and across the Little Colorado at that point, then north of the San Francisco Mountains to the edge of the Grand Canyon near Desert View.²² This party was impressed by the high mountains,

¹⁹Ibid., p. 232. See also p. 287. Diaz threw his spear at a dog and was gored in the groin by the shaft as his horse raced past it.

²⁰Ibid., p. 175.

²¹Ibid., p. 215. This could have had reference to the Mojave Indians, as the men were very large.

²²J. Donald Hughes, "Spanish Explorers of the Grand Canyon," The Western Explorer, III (August, 1964), 34-40. See also map on p. 36. Mr. Hughes worked for the Park Service and made a rather intensive study of this problem. The actual route is still disputed, but Hughes' arguments accord well with the country itself. Mr. Dellenbaugh, Romance . . . , p. 33, believes Cardenas went west from the Moki towns, not from Tusayan, to the Grand Canyon. George Wharton James, argues for Marble Canyon in his The Grand Canyon of Arizona, . . . (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1919), p. 197. Lewis Freeman places the view between the "mouth of Diamond Creek and Kanab Canyon" which is

the cold and snow, and by the great abyss. Although they could see the river, their most nimble men could not descend to it even with three days of effort.²³

Because of many hazards, including a shortage of water, the expedition did not explore farther, but returned to report to Coronado. Their efforts had opened a part of the 35th parallel route along the Little Colorado River, and they had established Spanish contact with the Hopi to the west. Further, they concluded that the river in the Grand Canyon was indeed the "Tizon" that disembogued into the Sea of Cortes.²⁴

Coronado and his men had discovered the Great Colorado River and two of its tributaries--the Gila and the Little Colorado. They also learned much about the Indians living in this region.

The Onate Period

Espejo. Spanish interest in the New Mexico area never died entirely. Several expeditions headed north over a very hazardous route during the next decades.²⁵ In 1581 Rodriquez and Lopez ventured north

even farther west (see Freeman, p. 21-22). Frank Waters, p. 147 also brings the Spaniards to the Grand Canyon. Elliot Coues believes they reached the point Garces struck in 1776 after leaving Havasu Canyon. Coues, vol. 2, p. 350.

²³Hammond and Rey, Coronado . . . , p. 216. Although the river looked only a fathom across from the top, the Indians told Cardenas it was at least a half league. Pablo de Melgosa, Juan Galeros and a companion tried for three days to get to the water, but without success.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 288. The expedition historian Castenada, in reporting, noted that the "river flows from the northeast and turns southwest, so it can not fail to be the one reached by Melchior Diaz." See also Hammond and Rey, Obregon's History . . . , p. 22. "It is firmly believed that the Tizon river, which enters the bay of the South Sea and which they say has a mouth three quarters league wide, has its source or bed in this canyon."

²⁵Hammond and Rey, Obregon's History . . . , p. 242. Obregon reports on the Francisco de Ibarra expedition to Northern Mexico in 1565:

as far as Acoma and Zuni. The following year Antonio de Espejo led a major trading expedition that took him to Zuni and Moqui where he heard of Pedro de Tobar's earlier visit and of a "lake of gold" and other wealth in the provinces to the west.²⁶ After trading for "4,000 blankets," Espejo traveled west for "forty-five leagues" to discover rich ores and stake his claims.²⁷ He probably followed along the Little Colorado and then crossed onto the Mogollon Rim south of the San Francisco Mountains going as far west as Prescott, Arizona, area and the headwaters of the Bill Williams River before retracing his steps back to Zuni and Mexico.²⁸ Espejo discovered both the trade and mineral wealth of the region, and opened the Spanish route west beyond his predecessors. The course he took south of the San Francisco Mountains was very important, since along this route the supply of water was adequate.

Onate. Permitted to head a colonization effort to the Rio Grande del Norte in 1598, Don Juan de Onate began, soon after his arrival, to explore the area's resources. In October of that year, he toured westward to Zuni and Moqui.²⁹ The following year he sent Captain Marcos

"Here we were reduced to such a state that we were forced to eat the leaves of the thorny prickly pear, bitter amaranths, old and dirty leather straps, shoes, hides, wild agave plants and horseflesh roasted in barbecue style. As our horses were giving out we bled them frequently and consumed the blood which was wasted through fatigue and full of matter."

²⁶ Bolton, Spanish Exploration . . . , p. 185.

²⁷ Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890), p. 346.

²⁸ Bolton, Spanish Exploration . . . , pp. 187-188. Bolton believes they reached the area mentioned above. While there the Indians told them of a "very large river [which] was more than eight leagues in width and flowed towards the North Sea." Possibly such a report could have been a distorted concept of the Colorado River.

²⁹ Bancroft, Arizona . . . , p. 138.

Farfan de los Gordos to locate and claim the "Espejo Mines." Farfan traveled west from the Moqui, probably along the Little Colorado River, then south of the San Francisco Mountains to the headwaters of the Verde and San Francisco rivers and as far west as the Bill Williams River, over much the same route Espejo traveled earlier. From Indians, Farfan heard of a large river to the west, probably the Colorado, and of the sea (salt water) into which it flowed.³⁰ He returned to report to Onate.

That same year Vincente de Zaldivar was also sent west, yet did not get beyond the "impossible" mountains.³¹ Then in 1604-1605, Onate himself led his most important expedition. His route followed Farfan's across the Little Colorado to the Rio San Antonio and Rio Sacramento, probably headwaters of the Rio Verde.³² He continued west to the Bill Williams River, which he followed until he reached the "Rio Buena Esperanza" or Colorado. At this point he sent Captain Marques up river to visit with some Indians, possibly the Mojaves.³³ When Marques returned Onate continued down the left bank of the Colorado, across Gila all the way to the Gulf of California, where he arrived January 23, 1605.

Onate had found many Indians on the eastern bank of the river, and saw signs of many others on the west side. He believed the river to be

³⁰ Bolton, Spanish Exploration . . . , pp. 239-245. Farfan staked his claims and asked the Indians about three rivers. He was told by a map that they joined and passed through a gorge where the river became "wide and copious," that the climate was mild with no snow, and the river went to the "salty water." The shells they had came from the salt water 80 to 90 leagues away, or a 30-day trip.

³¹ Ibid., p. 205.

³² Bolton, Spanish Exploration . . . , pp. 268-270.

³³ Ibid., p. 271.

navigable and noted a good harbor at the gulf.³⁴ He also reported evidence of silver and tin. The Indians told him that it was only four days to the sea across the river, that the gulf tended north-northwest behind the mountain range (which caused Onate to conclude again that California was an island), and that the source of the river was to "the northwest near the sea."³⁵ Onate returned to New Mexico via his outward route and left a record of his discovery in "Inscription Rock" west of Zuni.³⁶

Spanish contacts with the western provinces of New Mexico continued until the Pope Revolt in 1628³⁷ when all Spaniards there were either killed by the Indians or driven south. With the reconquest of New Mexico between 1680-1692, intercourse was re-established with these western Indians, although it remained limited and intermittent for the next few decades.³⁸

³⁴George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, ed., Don Juan de Onate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953), part 2, pp. 1016-1017.

³⁵*Ibid.*, part 2, pp. 1023-1024. See Frederick Webb Hodge, George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., Fray Alonso de Benavide's Revised Memorial of 1634 . . . (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945), p. 61. Escobar is quoted as saying: "Arriving at a latitude of 36°, they discovered the Sea of California at a marvelous harbor, an ample and very safe haven for many vessels. Here they saw proof that the North and South Seas came together there."

³⁶Coues, vol. 2, pp. 478-479. Lt. J. H. Simpson recorded the data in 1851: "Paso por aqui el adelantado don [Juan de Onate] del descubrimiento de la Mar del Sur] 16 de abril ao 1606." Translated: "Passed by here the adelantado Don Juan de Onate from the discovery of the Sea of the South, 16 of April year 1606." The date 1606 is an obvious mistake, as it was 1605.

³⁷Waters, p. 153. Fray Jimenez and 57 soldiers traveled 15 leagues west of Hopi villages and then turned back in 1621. Dellenbaugh, Romance . . ., p. 80, maintains that Zaldivar and Jimenez went to the "Moki" and on to Marble Canyon in 1618.

³⁸Bancroft, Arizona . . ., pp. 200-222. Vargas had retaken Zuni

The Jesuits

Kino. In the south, because of the colonization efforts of the Jesuits in Baja California, and because of the tenacious dedication of one Padre Eusibio Kino, the Colorado River was "rediscovered" before the end of the 17th century. Padre Kino was desirous of establishing missions to convert the Indians and of finding an overland route to Baja California to supply its missions from his "rancherias" on the San Pedro River. He heard of blue shells traded by the Indians of the region and having known of their origin from his experiences in Baja California, concluded that California could not be an island.³⁹ With permission from the Viceroy, Kino began several expeditions down the Gila, finally arriving at the Colorado River in 1700. Although he met Indians from both sides of the river on this first trip, he himself did not cross. The following year, however, he traveled down stream some distance, crossed,⁴⁰ and explored to the southwest for several days until he was convinced of the peninsularity of California. His inquiries about

by 1690. Most of the tribes had submitted by 1700, but neither the Zuni nor Hopi were completely submissive to the Spanish, and generally tried to retain their own ways.

³⁹ Herbert E. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoirs of Pimeria Alta, 2 vols. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919), vol. 1, p. 333. Bolton notes that Kino believed California was a peninsula when he first came to the West Indies, about 1676, but changed his mind upon reading Onate's reports and obtaining other "evidences."

⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 250-251, 312, and 316-317. Kino tells of his crossing the Rio del Norte: "In order that I might not wet my feet, I accepted the large basket which they wished me to cross, and placing it and fastening it upon the raft, I seated myself in it and crossed very comfortably . . ." Bolton places the point of crossing at "about Old Colonia Lerdo" near the abandoned railroad station named Ramon Pass. See Herbert E. Bolton, Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer (New York: The Macmillan Company), p. 470.

overland routes to California produced little data.⁴¹ He then returned to recross the river at the same place. The following year (1702), Kino followed the Colorado along its eastern bank all the way to the gulf,⁴² which expedition ended his explorations in this area.

Except for his travels down the Gila River, Padre Kino actually explored little new territory; however, his efforts were very significant because he redetermined that California was a peninsula, which knowledge presented the possibility of land colonization of both Baja and Alta California.⁴³ In addition, he converted numerous Indians and saw additional potential for many missions along both the Gila and Colorado rivers. Kino advised establishing posts on these fertile streams as a means of pacifying both the "Moqui" and Apache tribes.⁴⁴ He believed that the Colorado could be used as an avenue of trade from Moqui to the gulf,⁴⁵ and although his knowledge of the area was limited, he recorded quite correctly that "this Colorado River, which is the Rio del Norte of the Ancients, carries so much water, it must be that it comes from a high and remote land as is the case with other large-volumed rivers."⁴⁶

⁴¹Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 317-318.

⁴²Ibid., vol. 2, p. 342.

⁴³Ibid., vol. 2, p. 455. Kino wrote of the possibility of " . . . in the same way we shall be able to have by the northwest and west a convenient land route to Asia. . . ." This route would have been from the Rio Grande down the Gila, across the Colorado to California and to Asia.

⁴⁴Ibid., vol. 1, p. 53.

⁴⁵Ibid., vol 2, pp. 252-253. Kino mistook the Little Colorado, "ten leagues" from the Moqui villages, for the Colorado itself, but his general knowledge of the area was good.

⁴⁶Bolton, Spanish Exploration . . . , p. 450.

Sedelmayr. Kino's Jesuit successors continued his efforts to Christianize the Indians and explore the region. Padre Valerde reported in 1716:

The Rio Colorado, at the north of this Pimeria, according to what we know here, almost always runs from the east to the west. . . . We do not know at what latitude lies the source nor from which branches it is formed; for some give its source the Sierras of the Great Teguayo, and others Gran Quivira. . . ."⁴⁷

Sea expeditions in 1721 and 1746 checked again on the peninsularity of California.⁴⁸

In 1743, Padre Keller from Pimeria Alta attempted an overland trip to the Moqui, but was stopped by the Apaches' hostilities. As a result, Padre Sedelmayr was assigned to make the trip the following season. He left Tubutama for Moqui in October 1744 and traveled down the Gila drainage to Casa Grande, visited the Pima Villages and received promises from these Indians that they would guide him to his destination; however, they "reneged," but added that when the Moqui came to trade they would tell them of his intended visit. Sedelmayr continued down the Gila to the Agua Caliente River and then turned northwest to the Rio Azul (Blue River) which was probably the Bill Williams River, and followed it to the Colorado. Here he met a number of Indians, likely Chemehueves and

⁴⁷Rufus K. Wyllys, ed., "Padre Luis Velarde's Relacion of Pimeria Alta, 1716," New Mexico Historical Review, VI (April, 1931), 115.

⁴⁸Peter N. Dunne, trans. Jacobo Sedelmayr, Missionary, Frontiersman, Explorer in Arizona and Sonora: Four Original Manuscript Narratives, 1744-1751 (Tucson: Arizona Pioneer's Historical Society, 1955), p. 51. The author notes that Juan de Ugarte reached the northern end of the Gulf of California in a sloop in 1721 and that Fernando Consag repeated the experiment in 1746-1747. He also led some expeditions inland from the gulf. See also M. D. Krmpotic, The Life and Works of the Reverend Ferdinand Kinsak [Consag], S.J., 1703-1759, An Early Missionary to California (Boston: The Stratford Company Publishers, 1923), pp. 4, 8, and maps of exploration.

Mojaves. He did not cross the river, although he noted the ease with which the Indians swam in the Colorado. He returned down stream along the east bank to the Gila and home.⁴⁹ He then went on to Mexico and argued for the establishment of missions along these rivers giving the following reasons: (1) they would open the way to the Moqui, (2) they would extend the frontier to the Colorado River keeping other European nations out, (3) they would be used to supply Baja California and permit northward expansion from there, and (4) they would permit Spaniards to determine the mineral wealth of the region--gold, silver, copper, and mercury.⁵⁰ Later Sedelmayr was assigned to investigate possibilities for settlements and to go to the mouth of the Colorado River to determine (again) the peninsularity of California. He made this trip in 1750, and then returned southeast through the desert to Sonora, rather than retracing his route along the Gila River.⁵¹ However, before these long-range plans could be carried out, the Jesuits were recalled from Mexico in 1767.

The Franciscans

The Franciscans expanded the work of the Jesuits with settlements in California and on the Colorado River. They also sought to connect

⁴⁹Hazel Emery Mills, "Father Sedelmayr, S. J., a Forgotten Chapter in Arizona Missionary History," Arizona Historical Review, VII (January 1936), 7-8.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 9-10. Apparently Sedelmayr's report eventually aroused interest in the mineral possibilities in this area.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 11. Because of the Indian hostilities, the Padres were limited in their explorations. Sedelmayr took a "large escort" on his 1750 expedition. His return route would have been close to that of Diaz in 1540.

and supply their far flung outposts with supply routes along the Gila and across the California desert in the south, and a Santa Fe to Monterey road via the Moqui (Hopi) and Mojaves, or a circuitous trail farther north through Utah, which became, in time, the famous Old Spanish Trail. A major purpose in all these efforts was pacification of the Indians.

Garces. Padre Francisco Garces, heir to the Jesuits in upper Sonora, made many "entradas" north, to the Colorado River, to California and to the Moqui. He first arrived at the Colorado River August 8, 1771,⁵² where he crossed the river on a raft propelled by the Yuma Indians. He explored the area to the west and south toward the mouth of the river, then returned and re-crossed the river "in the same place."⁵³

The Padre's interest in the area continued. He returned in 1774, with Captain Anza, who that year opened a new route to California across the desert. Garces, however, remained at the river until September teaching the Indians Christianity, and seeking information from them about a route from the Moqui to Monterey.⁵⁴ Late the following year, Garces returned to the Colorado River with Captain Anza, again enroute to California. Garces' instructions were to pacify the Apache and to find a route from either Sonora or Moqui to Monterey. This time Garces crossed the Colorado with the main party;⁵⁵ however, he and Padre Thomas Eisarc stayed at the river with the Yuman Chief, Palma.

⁵²Coues, vol. 1, p. xiii. See also pp. 30-31. Garces had reached the Gila in 1768 and again in 1770.

⁵³Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 8, 35-36.

⁵⁴Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 44-48. Garces had been instructed by the Vice-roy, The Most Excellent Senior Don Fr. Antonio Marie Bucareli y Vrsua, to make these observations.

⁵⁵Ibid., vol. 1, p. 151. Crossing the river was difficult even with

Leaving Padre Tomas at the Gila "rancheria," Garces traveled south along the west bank far enough to taste the salt water of the Gulf of California. He then returned to rejoin Eisarc.⁵⁶ Garces met many Indians, but his visit with the Yabapais Tejua (Yavapai or Mojave Apache) proved most informative. He quizzed them thoroughly about traveling to the Moqui, with whom they traded. Garces then concluded to go up the river himself to "seek a route from Moqui to Monterey."⁵⁷

Saying goodbye to Padre Tomas on February 14, 1776, Garces, with Indian guides, headed north, traveling up the west side of the Colorado to Chimney Rock, the San Bernardino Range and the Chocolate Mountains, usually keeping about "one day" from the river, because of the hostility that existed between the Jamajabs (Mojaves) and the Jalchedunes. Garces plead "peace" among all the Indians and for their acceptance of the Spaniards.⁵⁸

Beyond Halfway Mountain he returned to the river, then continued north to the Riverside Mountains, where he first contacted the Cheme-chets (Chemehuevis) Indians, who welcomed him and told him of their other homes on a river north of the Colorado "where they sow."⁵⁹ He continued north through the Chemehuevi and Sacramento ranges into the Mojave Valley where (February 28, 1776) he met the Mojave Indians.

the assistance of the Yuma Indians who knew where they could ford. Pedro Font describes Padre Garces' crossing: "Three Yumas took Padre Garces over on their shoulders, two by his head and one at his feet, stretched out stiff, face upward, like a corpse." He added: "I crossed on horseback, and as I was sick, with my head dizzy, three naked servants went with me, one in front, leading the horse, and one on each side to keep me from falling off."

⁵⁶Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 190-200.

⁵⁷Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 208-210.

⁵⁸Ibid., vol. 1, p. 217.

⁵⁹Ibid., vol. 1, p. 221.

They were very solicitous of him and crossed the river from their main villages on the east bank to visit with him. He was impressed with their hospitality and general robustness. They apparently wore no clothes even in rather cold weather. Garces believed he was the first Spaniard they had ever seen.⁶⁰

Garces immediately inquired about the route to San Gabriel (Monterey), familiar to the Mojave because they traded across the desert to California, and under Mojave guidance started his trip the first of March. He followed a route generally west to Paiute Springs, Cedar Springs, Rock Springs, Marl Springs, into Soda Lake and then up the Mojave River to the mountains.⁶¹ Garces finally had to kill one of the horses for food. His party also met Mojave Indians returning across the desert with no supplies, only their trade items, primarily shells. His Mojave guides proudly informed him that "Mojaves could travel four days in that land without any food."⁶² Soon afterwards, his party crossed south of Cajon Pass into San Bernardino Valley and continued northwest to San Gabriel Mission.⁶³

Garces did not receive the warm welcome he expected from Don Fernando Xavier Rivera y Moncada, who not only refused to help him, but also closed the route to trade "traffic," and tried to have all Indians who

⁶⁰Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 219-221.

⁶¹Ibid., vol. 1, p. 243. Garces was undoubtedly the first white man to see the Mojave River, which he named Rio de los Matires. See also LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., Old Spanish Trail Santa Fe to Los Angeles . . . (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1954), pp. 75-79.

⁶²Ibid., vol. 1, p. 237. It is obvious that the Mojave knew this trail well and used it extensively.

⁶³Hafen and Hafen, Old Spanish Trail . . . , p. 78.

came over it imprisoned. Garces disagreed strenuously with such a policy since he felt the route was needed and in harmony with his instructions from the Viceroy. In addition, the Mojaves had behaved honorably with him.⁶⁴ Finding there was little he could do, Garces began his return.

After visiting Indians in Tulare region and Kern River country, Garces reached the Mojave River and retraced his route to the Colorado River. Here he was received with great joy by the Mojaves. They also had two letters for him: one from Padre Tomas Eisarc and the other from Captain Anza. Both advised him to return.⁶⁵ Anza had received Garces' letter, written from the San Gabriel Mission, regarding his trip to Moqui; however, when Anza returned to the Colorado River, he and Pedro Font concluded that Garces had probably been killed by the Jalchedunes. Consequently, Anza instructed one of his men to go up river and either find Garces and bring him back, or if in fact he were dead, return the Padre's outfits.⁶⁶

At first Garces planned to return as Anza advised, but the Jaqualapais (Walapais) feared reprisals from the Mojave, once Garces left, even though the letter had promised peace. So the Padre left his servant Sebastian with the Mojaves to guard his outfit, and set out alone with the Jaqualapais for Moqui. When Anza's man arrived, he convinced Sebastian that he should leave and return to Yuma with him thus abandoning the wandering Padre entirely.⁶⁷

⁶⁴Coues, vol. 1, pp. 252-266. ⁶⁵Ibid., vol. 1, p. 308.

⁶⁶Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 308-310. Coues quotes from Pedro Font's Diary, expressing their joy at finding Eisarc safe, at which time they also heard of Garces trip.

⁶⁷Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 310-312. Such abandonment may have been

On June 4, Garces crossed the Colorado River near what became Fort Mohave and traveled east over the Sierra de Santiago through Gold Road or Sitgreave Pass onto Meadow Creek (Aguajae de San Pacific) and on into Sacramento Valley. Here he met some Jaquallapais and camped near Kingman, Arizona, where there was plenty of water. He continued east through Railroad Pass (Arroyo), then turned northeast to a dry camp beyond Siera Morena.⁶⁸ On June 10 his party located a small stream in Truxton Wash (Arroyo de San Bernibe). At this point a Moqui man and his wife offered to take him directly to the Moqui; which offer he declined because he was desirous of visiting the Havasu.

His party continued northeast to Peach Springs (Posos de San Basilio) and on into the Red Hills (Aubrey Cliffs), to Pine Springs, then into Cataract Canyon. Farther down this canyon he located a ladder, which he descended; however, the Indians had to take his horses and bring them and the mule down a more easterly route.⁶⁹ The Havasu Indians

fatal to most men, but the Padre was particularly adapted to this life. Pedro Font wrote of him earlier: "Padre Garces is so fit to get along with Indians, and go about among them, that he seems just like an Indian himself. He shows in everything the coolness of the Indian; he squats cross-legged in a circle with them, or at night around the fire, for two or three hours or even longer, all absorbed, forgetting aught else, discoursing to them with great serenity and deliberation; and though the food of the Indians is as nasty and disgusting as their dirty selves, the Padre eats it with great gusto, and says that it is appetising and very nice. In fine, God has created him, I am sure, totally on purpose to hunt up these unhappy, ignorant and boorish people." (Coues, vol. 1, p. 172).

⁶⁸Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 320-321. Coues argues that the water obtained for the party by an Indian woman came from Peacock Springs in the Peacock Mountains rather than Isabel Springs in the Cerbats.

⁶⁹Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 336-338. The descent into this canyon was difficult. Garces recorded, "... on one side is a lofty cliff, on the other a horrible abyss. This difficult road passed, there presented itself another and a worse one which obliged us to leave, I my mule and they their horses, in order that we might climb down a ladder of wood."

had livestock, some probably stolen from the Spaniards as they were branded, and lush gardens irrigated from Rio Jabesua. Garces spent several days among them and then departed eastward on June 25.

Back on top of the plateau, Garces could see the Grand Canyon (his Puerto de Bucareli) which he recognized as the course of the Colorado River. He proceeded eastward, north of Red Butte, south of the snow peaks of the Bill Williams Mountain and San Francisco Peaks, to reach the Little Colorado--(Rio San Pedro) near Cameron, Arizona, and Moencopi Wash. From this point he continued up the Wash to Moencopi and then east to Oraibi, reaching that Hopi village on July 2, 1776.⁷⁰

Garces soon discovered that Spaniards were unwelcome among the Hopi. They refused to give him a place to stay or anything to eat. The chiefs had regained control from earlier Spanish priests completely, even though Father Silvestre Escalante had been there the year before. The following day three Zuni Indians offered to take him to Zuni, but as his Yavapai guides would not go to Zuni and could not stay in Oraibi alone, Garces had to forgo his trip to Zuni, for he needed the Yavapai to guide him back to the Mojave. The Oraibi Indians advised him to go to another village to get something to eat, but those villages rejected him also. So on the morning of July 4, he began his return.⁷¹

⁷⁰Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 350-359 and 366-367. The hostility Garces found had a long history. Padre Escalante had been there the year previous, and may have been a factor in their unfriendly posture toward Garces. See also A. B. Thomas, ed., Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan de Anza of New Mexico, 1777-1787 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), pp. 150-153. Thomas quotes a letter from Escalante to Mendinueta, October 28, 1775.

⁷¹Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 361-391.

Garces soon became lost in the valleys and fields around Oraibi. Friendly Moqui and his Yavapai guides, who finally caught up with him, helped him locate his return trail. He crossed the Ute route that, supposedly, led across the river.⁷² By July 5 he was at the Little Colorado and by the ninth at the Jabesua (Havasui) where he stayed for six days. Those Indians wanted him to remain with them, but he departed southward. His route back to the Mojave paralleled his earlier trek, but was probably farther to the north across Hualapai Valley to the Cerbats, since he spoke of the Colorado River and of its canyons "closing up." Continuing west, he crossed Black Mountain (Sierra Santiago) either through Secret Pass or Union Pass and arrived at the Colorado near what became Hardyville or Camp Mojave,⁷³ having successfully opened a route from Santa Fe to Monterey. He had not, however, followed the "best" Indian route.

Because Sabastian had already gone, Garces moved down river "unguided," traveling along the east bank of the river past the Bill Williams River (August 6, 1776) where he noted the Indian farms of the Jalchedunes. He later crossed the Colorado to the California side then back to the Arizona side and finally back to the California side before reaching the Yumas. When he arrived at Yuma he learned that Eixarc had already gone back to Mexico with Font and Anza.⁷⁴

⁷²Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 392-393. This road may have led to the Old Ute Ford at the Crossing of the Fathers, but Coues believed it to lead to Lee's Ferry. Some scholars place it even further west.

⁷³Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 410-413. This latter portion of his route is more difficult to determine, but generally fits the description suggested above.

⁷⁴Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 415-430. Garces reported on the excessive heat at that time of year.

A Route: Padre Garces had explored through very difficult country with little aid from the Spanish government, and with limited aid from his servants. He made the trip across this inhospitable land by relying upon the Indians for directions and for assistance. He did not find the "final" route, but he explored "one" and heard of others from the Indians, including trails across the Colorado River to the Yutas and the Paluches. He knew much about the Colorado River, its current and seasonal flow. He realized that its source must be above the area he had reached, since he crossed no large rivers flowing into it. He heard of the two streams uniting at the land of the Yutas, which may have been the Grand and Green rivers. Garces suggested the importance of the river for settlements to provide a place of supply for traffic through the area, for domestication of the Indians and their conversion to Christianity. He viewed the river as a haven from Apaches and their allies, who dared not cross the river, not knowing how to swim.⁷⁵

But Garces' hopes did not accord with the realities of the time, however correct his vision may have been. In time he began his settlements on the Colorado River, but they were not sufficiently durable to survive the hostility that arose among the Indians of the region. In 1781, Garces was clubbed to death by the Yuma Indians he had befriended.⁷⁶ His

⁷⁵Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 453-356 and 492-495. Garces, as later western expansionists, envisioned trade routes, settlements, missions, all bringing glory to God and to Spain.

⁷⁶Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 18-22. Two settlements (Puerto de la Purisima Concepcion and San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer) were established near the Colorado-Gila junction in 1780, rather mongrel arrangements of Presidio, Mission, Pueblo. The behavior of the soldiers worked against the examples of the Padres, and with the arrival of additional soldiers of Captain Fernando Xavier de Rivera y Mondada in June 1781 from California, the Indians became very hostile. The storm burst on Tuesday, July 17, 1781. At "Concepcion" Garces was saying Mass. He and Padre Barranche survived the first onslaught but were killed also on 19th, two of some fifty victims.

death was a loss to the Franciscans, to Spain, and to the Indians of the Colorado River. The peacemaker had died violently. Another of Spain's many-headed programs failed.

Escalante. Garces was not alone in his search for a route from Mexico to California. In June 1775, Padre Silvestre Valez de Escalante visited the "Moquinos" for eight days and learned of their hostility, and that the route from there to Monterey included: "More than one hundred leagues of impassable road . . . " across the Colorado River. Consequently, Escalante recommended a circuitous, northern route to the "Payuchis" who could act as guides on to Monterey.⁷⁷

By the first of July 1776, Escalante, Father Francisco Antanasio Dominguez, with Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, map maker, and party were preparing to leave Santa Fe for Monterey.⁷⁸ Their actual departure came on the 29th. They pursued a course north and west to the Grand River, then to the Green and made their way west to the area of Spanish Fork, Utah and Utah Lake, their Lake Timpanogas. The "Lagunas" told Miera of a "broad and navigable river flowing westward from Great Salt Lake, and Don Bernardo assumed this to be Onate's "Rio del Tizon." Miera proposed vast settlements in the region and "dreamed of sailing down the river to California."⁷⁹

⁷⁷Thomas, pp. 156-158. Escalante was a more militant "pacifier and explorer" than Garces.

⁷⁸Herbert E. Bolton, Pageant in the Wilderness . . . (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1950), p. 11. In addition to the above, the party consisted of Don Pedro Cisneros, Don Joaquin Lain, Lorenzo Alivares, Lucrecio and Andrea Muniz, Juan de Aguilar, and Simon Lucero.

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 72-73. Miera envisioned a "New Empire" the size of Mexico City and saw it as a central supply source for settlements as far away as California. This "river flowing west" theory persisted until American surveys mapped the region in the 1840's.

The party continued south and west across the Sevier River hoping to find a route leading to Monterey. By October 8, the weather had turned cold, snow blanketed the area, and it appeared they were not getting any closer to their objective. So the party "cast lots" and determined not to pursue the course to California but to return to New Mexico.⁸⁰ Their route took them west of Cedar City and on south to Ash Creek which they followed to its junction with the Virgin River (Rio Sulfero). In this area, they traded with the Indians and noted their gardens. As they were unable to obtain guides who knew where they could cross the Colorado River, they continued south, west of the Hurricane Fault to the "Yubuincariris" near Mt. Trumbull. A Mescalero Apache among them reported he had come over the river, but refused to act as guide. The Indians had already heard of Garces' trip,⁸¹ but could give little precise information on fords across the river.

The party swung eastward over the "cliffs" into Antelope Valley below Pipe Springs, then northeast through Kimball Valley. But without an Indian guide they fared poorly. They swung south onto the Kiabab Plateau, and reached the Colorado near the mouth of the Paria at Lee's Ferry. Two men swam across the Colorado to reconnoiter, but lost their clothes in the river and had to return. They also constructed a raft of drift wood on which Escalante tried three times to cross, but

⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 195-196. Bolton suggests that the Padres merely used the device of "casting lots" to give authority to their decision to return to Santa Fe. Those in the party concerned with the economics of trade were more desirous of continuing west, especially Miera and Lain.

⁸¹Ibid., pp. 211-213.

the winds blew it back to shore.⁸² Short supplies forced them to kill a horse for food.

The party then continued east, being assured by the Indians of a shallow ford. At Wahweap Creek, Juan Domingo crossed the river on foot and Lucrecio Muniz followed with a horse to determine whether there was a way out of the canyon on the south side of the river. Domingo returned the following day, but Muniz persisted in his reconnaissance. However, the main party moved east, believing there was a better ford somewhere. Andres Domingo remained at the crossing to await his brother, but when he did not return, rejoined the main party. The Senizaro then went back to find Muniz and the two men caught up with the main party that evening.⁸³

By November 7 they arrived at the crossing, but had to cut steps in the rocks to take the animals down to the river. The ford was finally located by a man wading across, he being followed by the men on horses. They crossed their party without serious mishap. Escalante commented: "The ford of the river is very good and here it must be a mile wide." He was also aware that they had earlier detoured to the Colorado River unnecessarily at Paria and Wahweap, which "good guides" could have helped them avoid. They named the place "La Purisma Conception de la Virgen." Historians call it "The Crossing of the Fathers."⁸⁴

⁸²Ibid., pp. 218-220. The two swimmers may have been Felipe and Juan Domingo. Escalante and servants attempted to cross on the raft.

⁸³Ibid., pp. 221-224. Two men had crossed the Colorado at Wahweap, one with a horse; whether the Senizaro crossed also is not noted. Apparently the horse was also brought back although the ascent of the north bank was extremely steep.

⁸⁴Ibid., pp. 224-226. The Crossing had been used by the Indians

The party then joyfully continued its trek to Santa Fe, via Oraibi, Zuni, Acoma, and Isleta, reaching home January 1, 1777, six months from the time of their departure. They had not opened a route to Monterey, but they had discovered a way around the "Great Abyss" which route later became the first leg of the Old Spanish Trail. They also located the important, if not major, "Crossing of the Fathers." The party learned much of the geography and of the Indians of the region. Miera's map is significant despite its many errors. Their hopes for major settlements in the valleys of Utah were not realized until the Mormons came, as Spain's glory was waning by 1776. Both Escalante and Garces found their visions and aspirations frustrated by the weakness and division of the Spanish government. They pioneered well, but there were few prepared to build upon their efforts.⁸⁵

Later Spaniards

Spanish interest continued, but the Padres' influence declined. Don Juan de Anza, Governor of New Mexico between 1777 and 1779, proposed an expedition to and across the Colorado River to discover a route to California and to find whatever other resources, especially minerals, might abound in the area.⁸⁶ Anza proposed to provide stock for the expedition, gifts and trinkets for trade and "Canoas" to cross the

for generations, but the Padres were the first white men to use it. The "steps" they cut were visible until the area was submerged under Lake Powell.

⁸⁵ Ted Warner, "Frontier Defense . . . , " New Mexico Historical Quarterly, LXI (January 1966), 5-17. Warner covers the policies in detail pointing out numerous weaknesses in the general defense posture. Against such ineptness, the Padres had little chance of success.

⁸⁶ Thomas, p. 67.

Colorado River.⁸⁷ His report indicates he knew a great deal about the area in general.

Other Spaniards traded with the Utah Indians--Manuel Mestas in 1805,⁸⁸ and the Mauricio Arze and Lagos Garcia in 1813.⁸⁹ This latter party came for slaves, as well as trade. The slave trade persisted into the 1840's, even after Mexican independence. The early Americans found evidence on the "Lower Colorado" that the Spaniards were there before them.⁹⁰

The Spaniards came early and remained a long time. They gave names to much of the area, including the Rio Colorado itself. They influenced most of the Indians, their impact on some was permanent. But Spain's own decay did not foster dominion in this rugged, marginal area. The routes between New Mexico and California were developed before the settlements in between became permanent. With mining in southern Arizona and fur trading along the tributaries of the Colorado, a new era opened, but that became the "story" of Mexicans and Americans who possessed the land the Spaniards had known so long. It is through them that the Spanish heritage has survived.

⁸⁷ Donald Rowland, "A Project for Exploration Presented by Juan Bautista de Anza," Arizona Historical Review, VII (April 1936), 14-15. Anza argues for his project by mentioning wealth to be found, missions established, conversion of Indians, etc. Two or three carpenters would build the canoes.

⁸⁸ Joseph J. Hill, "Spanish and Mexican Exploration and Trade Northwest from New Mexico into the Great Basin, 1765-1853," Utah Historical Quarterly III (January 1930), 16. Hill gives evidence of extensive traffic between the Spaniards and Utah Indians.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁹⁰ Maurice Sullivan, The Travels of Jedediah Smith (Santa Ana: The Fine Arts Press, 1934), pp. 76, 115-123. One of Smith's guides was a Mexican named Francisco, who did not reveal the treacherous trap the Mojaves had set for them in 1827, while crossing the Colorado River.

THE AMERICANS: TRAPPERS AND TRADERS

The Spaniards' knowledge of the Colorado River and the lower canyons passed in bits to their successors, the Mexicans and the Americans. In general, however, Americans learned of the Colorado River when they trapped along its tributaries and the main stream. By 1830 they knew most of it well. Eventually these explorers would correct nearly all of the errors held by the Spaniards and Mexicans.

Political revolutions brought great changes to the Southwest. Mexican independence in 1821 prospered trade between St. Louis and Santa Fe, and between that community and Los Angeles. As a result, both Mexicans, and then Americans, blazed caravan trails through the arid deserts to trade and return.¹ Before long California lured trappers to become traders and then settlers. As early as 1830 homeseekers began to follow the newly opened trails to "El Dorado." Then the Mexican War (1846) brought American political control. In all these actions, the American trappers played vital roles.

Explorers

Exploration. As Thomas Jefferson had long been interested in the Rocky Mountain West, even before the purchase of Louisiana in 1803,

¹LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., The Old Spanish Trail. . . . (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1954). This excellent volume recounts in detail the opening of the routes between New Mexico and California, giving particular emphasis to the Old Spanish Trail, which played a significant part in the early southwest development.

he soon sent several official expeditions to gather information on the new region. From them, Americans began to gather their first official data on the Rio Colorado of the West. One of the first reports came from the Lewis and Clark Expedition. William Clark learned from an old Snake Indian in what became the State of Idaho that the region to the southwest was a dry desert, that to the south rivers flowed into the "Vermillion Sea or gulph of California." Clark identified these two streams as the "Apostles and Collerado."²

A second report came from Zebulon Pike, who explored directly into the southwest in 1806. He reported with favor on the Colorado River, having seen Spanish maps at Father Ambrosio's residence while in captivity. Pike reported the Colorado to be 1,000 miles long, its tributaries heading to the north and west of the Rio del Norte (Rio Grande), and that it was navigable for at least 300 miles from its mouth. Pike then spoke about its significance to the development of the Southwest, comparing it with the Mississippi River and the Gulf of California to the Gulf of Mexico. Pike also proposed a transcontinental route up the Arkansas River, across a 200-mile land portage to the Colorado's navigable waters, then down that river to the gulf. He had obtained the general picture of the river held by the Spaniards, which included the myth of the large river flowing west from "Lago Timpanogos," to the Pacific Ocean near San Francisco.³ In spite of the wide publicity finally

²Rueben Gold Thwaites, ed., Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, 3 vols. (New York: Antiquarian Press, Ltd., 1959), vol. 2, p. 382. The "Apostles" River was probably the San Juan River, although at one time the Spaniards had such a name for the Gila--Rio de los Apostles.

³Donald Jackson, ed., The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), vol. 1, p. 403.

given Pike's report, it seems apparent that few American trappers knew of it; at least few report having knowledge of its existence.

The Trappers

Fur Trade North. The rush for the Rocky Mountain furs came early and with it knowledge of the Colorado and its tributaries. One of Lewis and Clark's men, John Colter, remained behind to trap the upper tributaries of the Missouri in 1806. Some scholars believe he was the first American to reach the drainages of the Green and Colorado rivers,⁴ but Andrew Henry, who may have reached the Green in 1810, probably was the first.⁵

In any instance, it is certain that the westward-bound Astorians, led by Wilson Price Hunt, did cross the Green River in northwestern Wyoming in 1811. The following year, Robert Stuart led his party up the Snake, then east across the Green River to South Pass and on to St. Louis, which they reached early in 1813.⁶ It should also be noted that the British trappers may have reached the Green River from the northwest as early as 1818.

and vol. 2, pp. 25-26, 48-49, and 174. Pike identified such rivers as the Gila, San Rafael, Dolores, and Los Anamos or Nabajoa.

⁴Frank Waters, The Colorado (New York: Rinehardt and Company, Inc., 1946), p. 176. See Dale Morgan, Jed Smith (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1953), p. 93.

⁵Robert Glass Cleland, This Reckless Breed of Men, the Trappers and Fur Traders of the Southwest (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), p. 60. See also Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, The Romance of the Colorado River (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902), p. 107.

⁶See Dale Morgan, ed., The West of William H. Ashley . . . (Denver: The Old West Publishing Company, 1964), p. xxxviii. Morgan indicates that Hunt knew that the Green River was a part of the Colorado drainage. See also Washington Irving, Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprize beyond the Rocky Mountains, edited by Edgeley W. Todd (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964).

Certainly they were there in 1820, 1821 and 1823.⁷

As trapping the Missouri River drainages proved extremely dangerous, the fur trade of Manuel Lisa and Andrew Henry gave way to new entrepreneurs and new methods. William H. Ashley and Andrew Henry traded their keel boats for pack trains, and opened a new phase in western trapping. Their request for "100 enterprising young men" attracted many who were to become giants among the mountain men.

Fur Trade South. American trappers soon learned about the Colorado River. As early as 1809, they penetrated the Spanish domain illegally in search of furs. One report tells of a party of trappers on the headwaters of the Arkansas River who were attacked by Indians and all but three killed. Two of the survivors, Samuel Spencer and James Workman, supposedly made their way west to the Colorado River where they joined a Spanish caravan enroute to California. These men later returned to Santa Fe. However, this incident lacks certain documentation. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that David Coyner, in reporting the incident in his book (1847) gave the length of the Colorado River as 1200 miles; he reported that it flowed over 800 rapids and falls; and that it was navigable for 200 miles upstream from the Gulf of California.⁸

Others followed, such as the A. P. Chouteau and Julius De Mun

⁷ LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1965), vol. 1, p. 55. See also Dale Morgan, Ashley, . . . p. xlviii. These Britishers found many furs on the Snake, Bear and Green rivers.

⁸ See David H. Coyner, The Lost Trappers, edited with introduction by David J. Weber (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970), pp. 165-169. One of the supporters of this thesis is Gustive O. Larson, Outline History of Utah and the Mormons (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1958), p. 12. See footnote in which Larson refers to Louis Houck, History of Missouri (Chicago: 1908), vol. 3, p. 93.

expeditions of 1816-1818.⁹ A second party planned to travel from the Colorado territory to the Columbia River. However, they turned back because they could not find a pass through the Rocky Mountains.¹⁰ Nevertheless, interest in such a route continued. In 1820, John R. Bell proposed an exploring expedition to open a central overland route, but his project was rejected,¹¹ even though his plan was quite sound.

Later fur trapping shifted even farther south with Mexican independence in 1821 and the opening of the Santa Fe Trail. Thomas James and others reported that there was a "wealth of furs among the Navajoes and Utes west of the mountains to the Gulf of California."¹²

South 1824. The first expeditions to the Colorado River drainages came soon after. James Baird's men tried to trap to the "Gulf of California" in 1823.¹³ John Albert Rowland may have reached the Green River before 1824 and again that year.¹⁴ By February 1824, the Young-Slover-

⁹Hafen, Mountain Men, vol 1, p. 62.

¹⁰Morgan, Ashley, p. xlvi.

¹¹Ibid., p. xlix. Bell had a plan to take forty-one men up the Red River to its source, cross northwest through the interior of the continent to the Pacific Ocean, north to the Columbia River, and then return to the headwaters of the Missouri and explore southward towards the Platte River. He estimated the cost of the trip at \$12,319.50.

¹²Thomas James, Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans, edited by A. P. Nasatir (New York: J. B. Lippencott Company, 1962), pp. 90-91.

¹³David S. Weber, The Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540-1846 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), p. 61. This book is an exceptionally significant addition to the Southwest fur trade history.

¹⁴Los Angeles Daily Herald (October 15, 1873). See also Charles L. Camp, ed., George C. Yount and His Chronicles of the West (Denver: Old West Publishing Company, 1966), p. 8. See also Franklin, Missouri Intelligencer (April 19, 1825).

Wolfskill party was in the San Juan River area. T. L. Smith and a large group trapped north onto the Gunnison River. Smith and Maurice LeDuc reportedly crossed the San Juan River into Navajo and Hopi country later that same year.¹⁵ William Huddart with fourteen men had reached the Green River by August 1824. Nine of his group ascended the river, while the remainder was joined by Antoine Robioux and party of four. Finally, William Becknell, of Santa Fe Trail note, arrived at the Green River in November. To determine the exact routes of these men is impossible. The fact of importance is that they had begun to know the region well.¹⁶

No doubt the most far-ranging trapping expedition from New Mexico that season was led by Etienne Provost and his partner LeClerc. Leaving Taos they headed for the Green River, where they apparently intended to trap and explore. Four men outfitted a canoe and headed down river from the crossing, thus becoming the first trappers on record to navigate that branch of the Colorado River. Because of the desolate nature of the area and shortage of game, they abandoned the river after a few days and returned.¹⁷

Provost then continued west through the Uintah Basin, across the Wasatch range and into Utah Valley. He may have moved north on the

¹⁵Sardis W. Templeton, The Lame Captain, the Life and Adventures of Pegleg Smith (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1965), p. 50. See also Weber, p. 72.

¹⁶Franklin, Missouri Intelligencer (June 25, 1825). See also Hafen, Mountain Men, vol. 1, p. 66. See also Weber, pp. 70-71.

¹⁷Morgan, Ashley, p. 112 ff. Morgan traces in some detail the activities of the various trapping parties in the area and indicates that Ashley covered some of the same "river" explored by the previous party. See also Weber, pp. 74-75.

Jordan River far enough to have seen the Great Salt Lake. However, while camped near "Lagos Timpanogos," Provost and his party fell victims of Indian treachery. Eight trappers were massacred.¹⁸ Provost and another survivor returned east, rejoined the main party to winter at the mouth of the White River. These men were trapping the general area during the spring of 1825, when they met the intrepid William H. Ashley bullboating on the Green.

North 1825. Ashley, Henry, and their men, within a few years, had explored most of the intermountain region all the way west to the Pacific Ocean. Their first party to reach the Green River was led by Jed Smith, who crossed through South Pass in March 1824.¹⁹ The following season Jed Smith wintered in the Northwest with the British. In the spring, he followed Peter Skene Ogden south onto the Bear River. Smith then began to move east toward the Green in expectation of the summer's rendezvous. Ogden continued south through Cache Valley and on to Mountain Green where he encountered a multitude of trappers. Two more parties were there. One was led by John Weber and a second by John Gardiner, who promptly challenged Ogden's right to be in the area.²⁰ To complicate

¹⁸Ibid. See also Hafen, Mountain Men, vol. 1, p. 67, for an account of the massacre in Utah Valley. If Provost or his men actually saw the Great Salt Lake in the fall of 1824, their discovery would have preceded Jim Bridger. See also Weber, p. 76. The actual location of the "massacre" is still contended; however, there is much support for Hafen's Jordan River location.

¹⁹Dale L. Morgan, Jed Smith and the Opening of the West (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1952), pp. 90-95 and 112-114.

²⁰E. E. Rich, ed., Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1824-1825 and 1825-1826 (London: 1950), pp. 50 and 233. Ogden was not to be intimidated, although the American's prices did seduce some of his free trappers.

the problem, a contingent of the Provost-LeClerc party from Mexican Territory was there also. Thus the fur business became, momentarily, an international issue and proved to be the harbinger of eventual possession by the Americans. When Ashley's men moved east to rendezvous, they had claimed an area that was not theirs, but they knew of its fur trapping potential. The questions about its geography they would answer later.

Ashley. In late 1824 William H. Ashley applied for and obtained a permit to trade with the Snake Indians "at the junction of the Buena-ventura and the Colorado River of the West."²¹ Ashley's first interest was furs, but he also desired to resolve the riddle of the Rocky Mountain rivers. Loaded with supplies, he headed overland from St. Louis, reaching the Green River April 19, 1825. Immediately he undertook his objectives. Three groups were dispatched to trap into the regions nearby. However, Ashley, with seven men, planned to float and trap down river, locate a rendezvous site, and determine the relationship of the "Shetskedee" to the Colorado and the Buenaventura.

Ashley's river expedition was epic. In a buffalo hide bull boat,²² laden with supplies, he and his men pushed off April 24, 1825. Because the boat was overloaded, the party stopped the following day, killed

²¹"Licenses to Trade with the Indians," 19th Cong., 1st Sess., (Serial 136), House Misc. Doc.

²²Morgan, Ashley, pp. 106-107. See also Harrison Clifford Dale, The Ashley-Smith Exploration and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829 (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1941), pp. 135-137. The size of the bullboats is uncertain, but Dale estimates they were about twelve feet by thirty feet with a twenty-inch draught. Although not very maneuverable, they were rugged and held together remarkably well.

four buffalo, constructed another boat and continued their trip. At Henry's Fork they cached the rendezvous supplies and then plunged into the "slit cut into the Uintah Mountain." They almost lost their lives as they dashed over rapids and up-ended at Ashley Falls, but finally they emerged in the park-like area of Brown's Hole where the river was less severe. Continuing downstream they reached Ashley's Fork of the Green and camped May 16, 1825.²³

Here they met two of the Provost-LeClerc trappers who related their river experience of the previous fall. Ashley then shifted from bull-boats to dugout canoes to continue his exploration. Sending three men to hunt, he sailed downstream. At Minnie Maude Creek, however, he abandoned the river expedition. His men returned upstream, while he set off on foot to obtain horses from the Indians or from the trappers so that he could transport himself, his men, and their furs to Henry's Fork for the rendezvous. As soon as he purchased a few horses from the Utes and more from Provost's party, Ashley headed north and arrived at the rendezvous site, July 1, 1825.²⁴

Ashley's expedition proved a great success. Both he and his trappers had made good catches. In addition, he had explored a major segment of the Green River and had satisfied himself it was not the Buena-ventura, which supposedly flowed west into the Pacific Ocean. Rather it was a major tributary of the Colorado itself. No doubt Ashley heard

²³ Ibid., pp. 100-111. This trip through the canyons was truly remarkable, since they were covering unknown rivers and had very bulky boats with which to maneuver.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 112-129. Ashley's efforts to keep his trappers in the mountains, thus avoiding the long trip back to St. Louis, proved very successful. The rendezvous was used for the next fifteen or sixteen years.

about the Great Salt Lake and "rumors" of yet two other mystery rivers flowing westward from it or nearby. However, that exploration he would leave to his successors.²⁵

North 1826. In 1825-1826, Jed Smith wintered on the lower Bear River where he hoped to obtain first-hand data on the Great Salt Lake and the mysterious rivers. In the spring of 1826, he drifted north and west around the Salt Lake toward William Clark's "Multnomah." At the west end of the lake he assigned four men to circumnavigate Great Salt Lake and report. With only a bullboat for transportation, they experienced great difficulty, eventually returning with uncertain information, some claiming that a river did flow out of the lake.²⁶ This misinformation became a later factor of importance to Jed Smith on his return from California in 1827. Smith soon discovered there was no "Multnomah River," either and returned to Cache Valley for the summer rendezvous.

That summer General Ashley also decided to sell his interest in the Missouri Fur Company to Jed Smith and two partners, David E. Jackson and William Sublette.²⁷ The new proprietors took stock of their situation. As they were to pay the balance due Ashley at the 1827 rendezvous, their next season's trapping had to be good and any new trapping areas would be highly desirable. Secondly, the pack trip to St. Louis was expensive and time consuming. A river route to the Pacific Ocean would

²⁵Ibid., p. 141, and Dale, p. 147.

²⁶Morgan, Jed Smith, pp. 175-185, and Morgan, Ashley, pp. The men who made the trip have been identified as James Clyman, Louis Vasquez, Black Harris and Henry G. Fraeb. Other reports supported the belief that the Buenaventura did flow west toward San Francisco.

²⁷Morgan, Jed Smith, pp. 185-192. Jedediah Smith, David E. Jackson, and William Sublette had established themselves in the fur trade as mountain men and trappers.

be a real asset. It was decided that Jackson and Sublette would transport the furs to Missouri, then trap the known regions the following season, while Jed Smith, who had already exposed the Multinomah myth,²⁸ would trap south of the Great Salt Lake and west to California. His 1826-1827 trip would prove heroic and informative.

South 1826. Interest in the lower Colorado River drainages increased. Several large American expeditions, including Augustus Storrs, Sylvestre Pratte, Ewing Young and independents, arrived in New Mexico (fall, 1825) to trap. They had to obtain permits from the Mexican Governor, Antonio Narbano, which they did with little difficulty. However, when Antonio Armijo replaced Narbano during the winter, many of the trappers found later in the spring that their permits had been revoked. Nevertheless, with permits or not, the several parties set out. One headed north and west as far as Utah Valley, retracing the Provost LeClerc route. Another, including James Ohio Pattie, left Santa Fe in September for Socorro where it was joined by seven other men. They moved west to the copper mines at Santa Rita, then on to the San Francisco and lower Gila River drainages where trapping was very good. However, early in 1826 they were attacked by Indians and forced to cache their furs and return to the Santa Rita mines.²⁹ Thomas L. Smith led a

²⁸ Clark's Multnomah River may have been an allusion to the Humboldt River, which did in time become a major route for California-bound emigrants.

²⁹ James Ohio Pattie, The Personal Narrative of James Ohio Pattie of Kentucky, ed. by Timothy Flint, in Reuben Thwaites, Early Western Travels, 1748-1846 (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), pp. 1-99. Pattie's narrative has been the subject of controversy, but it is a first-hand account and seems to be fairly accurate, although it exaggerates his role. See also Weber, pp. 95-97.

small trapping party onto the Gila, but the Apaches drove them back.³⁰

A contingent of Ewing Young's expedition, led by William Wolfskill, also trapped onto the Gila. They, too, were attacked and lost their supplies and furs to the Indians.

Other parties were also in the area, but did not trap along the Gila. All who did encountered Indian hostilities. They also took a rich harvest of furs, and the Americans were not to be denied. The next season would see scores of trappers heading west along the Gila and onto the Colorado River.

Lt. Hardy. Not all interest in the Colorado River in 1826 was confined to the trappers. Armed with data about the general conditions of the American West Coast and the Gulf of California from Arrowsmith's "Nautical Almanac," Lt. R. W. H. Hardy, of the British Royal Navy, sailed his small schooner Bruja up the Gulf of California. He reached the Colorado River by July 20, 1826. However, when he attempted to sail upstream, he found the tides, the tidal bore and the river currents so contrary that the Bruja was, on several occasions, grounded, sometimes for days, until the tide lifted her free. During these delays, Hardy explored the various channels in the delta trying to determine the actual "main course" of the river. What he believed to be one of the "channels" later became known as Hardy's channel.

How far up river he progressed is difficult to determine with accuracy. His maps indicate that he knew of the confluence of the Gila and the Colorado, but he shows them both emptying into the estuary of the gulf

³⁰Templeton, p. 50. Accompanying Smith were Marlow (who may have been his friend Maurice LeDuc), S. Stone, Alexander K. Branch, and Milton Sublette.

rather than joining up-river some seventy-five miles. Nevertheless, Hardy's venture was daring and did become a basis for later explorations.³¹

To what degree his expedition was known, either by the contemporary trappers or by later travelers through the region, is uncertain. It appears, though, that neither the trappers on the Gila River nor those in the Great Salt Lake area knew he was at the mouth of the Colorado, even though the idea of shipping furs down the river was not new to them.

Jed Smith 1826-1827. When Jed Smith bid his partners goodbye and struck south from the Cache Valley rendezvous with fifteen men August 22, 1826,³² he set out on a major exploring expedition. His route led through Salt Lake Valley into Utah Valley, south to the Ashley (Sevier) River which they ascended into Sevier Valley as far south as Clear Creek. At this juncture, the party turned west through the mountains to the area of Cove Fort. Again they swung south and west onto Lost (Beaver) River. Proceeding on south beyond the Little Salt Lake (Parowan) area, they reached Ash Creek, the upper drainage of the Virgin, which they followed through the Black Ridge to Adam's (Virgin) River. Here they headed down

³¹ Lt. R. W. H. Hardy, Travels in the Interior of Mexico (London: 1829), as quoted in Godfrey Sykes, The Colorado Delta (Washington: U. S. Department of the Interior, 1937), pp. 13-14 and maps following these pages. Lt. George Derby, in his official exploration in 1849-1850 did have access to Hardy's account.

³² Morgan, Jed Smith, p. 195. Smith's men have been identified through the allotment of supplies, as recorded in Harrison G. Roger's Journal: Arthur Black, Robert Evans, Daniel Ferguson, John Gaiter, Silas Gobel, John Hanna, Abraham Laplant, Manuel Lazarus, Martin McCoy, Peter Ranne (Negro), James Reed, John Reubascan, and John Wilson. It is probable that Manuel Eustavan and one Neppasang were also on the trip, at least for part of the journey, and in Smith's employ at the time.

stream to Corn (Santa Clara) Creek. At this point, Smith listened with interest to reports of salt caves farther down the Virgin, salt being an item of importance to the trappers.³³

Pursuing a course down river, the party soon found itself in the "Narrows" of the Virgin, hampered by boulders and quicksand. Smith and his men were happy to emerge below the Beaver Dam Mountains at Pautch (Beaver Dam) Creek. Staying near the river, they reached the confluence of the Muddy, October 1, 1826. A few miles below, they found the Salt Mountains and cave where they obtained salt before continuing south to the Virgin's junction with the Colorado, which Smith identified as the "Sheskedee." The lone claimant of the region was a "Pautch" Indian farmer.

The expedition faced a major decision at this point. Smith could have stayed on the north bank of the Colorado and worked his way around the river's great bend and south, as later travelers did. However, he elected to cross, perhaps because of the Indian farmer on the south bank of the Colorado.³⁴ The actual point of crossing is indefinite. Bonelli Ferry later crossed from the east bank of the Virgin River and two or three miles down stream the earlier Stones Ferry was located, where, in low water, rocks were visible in the river and Indians were reported to have crossed on them. In any case, the expedition crossed, swimming their animals and ferrying their supplies.

³³ Maurice S. Sullivan, The Travels of Jedediah Smith (Santa Ana: The Fine Arts Press, 1934), pp. 70-75. One item of particular interest to Smith was the marble pipes possessed by the Indians, a trade item from the West Coast.

³⁴ It seems to this writer that Smith's account as reported may be in error, since farm land on the south bank of the Colorado at this location was very limited.

Once on the south bank, Smith chose to stay along the river rather than ascend the natural course of Detrital Wash. He soon found himself encanyoned, first in Boulder Canyon, which he may have passed through along the river, and then in lesser canyons in the drainages across from Callville and Vegas washes. At Fortification Mountain and Black Canyon, his party ran into extreme problems. The rocks bruised the animals, the heat consumed their limited water supply, and the precipitous canyon walls kept them from the river which they could see flowing below them. This section of the trip cost Smith many of his fifty horses and emaciated both the animals and his men.

Eventually they reached the river, possibly at Willow Beach, but more probably south of Black Canyon at El Dorado. Here they met some Indians who guided them south on the Colorado's east bank past Cottonwood Island and Pyramid Canyon into Mojave Valley to the main Mojave villages, where they arrived badly in need of succor.³⁵

Traditionally, the Mojaves had viewed all strangers with suspicion. However, for Jed Smith and his men, they proved most helpful. From them the trappers learned of their trail into California. They also obtained supplies and fresh horses, probably stolen from the missions in California. In addition, the Indians helped ferry their supplies over the river on their reed rafts.³⁶

By this time Smith knew of the relationship of the Green River to the Colorado, and that the latter emptied into the Gulf of California several

³⁵ Sullivan, pp. 75-76. The area of the Colorado River described above is extremely rugged, lava-covered, steep, devoid of water, and in the summer and fall, extremely hot.

³⁶ Sullivan, pp. 76-78. See also Morgan, Jed Smith, pp. 193-200.

hundred miles to the south. Yet it is doubtful that he expected to use the river to ship furs to the Pacific Coast, for he had yet to reach California and explore its fur wealth and rivers.

Bidding their hosts farewell, the trappers pushed west from spring to spring to the Inconstant (Mojave) River, and from there crossed the mountains into California, where they were kindly received by the padres.³⁷ However, having neither visa nor trapping permit, Smith ran into trouble with the Mexican officials, and received permission to retrace his steps and leave. In spite of these instructions, Smith retraced only as far east as the mountains, then swung north into San Joaquin Valley and moved on to the Stanislaus River where he located his trappers for the winter.

Being anxious to reach the summer rendezvous by July 1, 1827, Smith tried early in the spring to cross the Sierras. Deep snows blocked the passes. Leaving most of his men in California, Smith, with Silas Gobel and Richard Evans, later climbed the Sierras with seven horses and two mules and as many supplies as they could carry. This time they got through. However, their troubles had only started. By June 22, 1827, they had pushed across the Nevada desert to the Utah border. Supplies exhausted, all but two of their animals dead, and themselves emaciated, they nevertheless dragged themselves from spring to spring to the Jordan River. Crossing the river, the party struggled on, and with the aid of friendly Indians arrived at the Bear Lake rendezvous, July 3, 1827.³⁸

³⁷ Smith's route west from the Colorado River followed much the same course as Padre Garces' in 1776, as also the later trip of Lt. A. M. Whipple in 1854.

³⁸ Morgan, Jed Smith, pp. 203-236, and Sullivan, pp. 79-113 and 19-27. Smith's own account of the last portion of the trip is given in the latter publication.

Another of the Jackson-Sublette expeditions had early in 1827 swung south as far as Rabbit (Sevier) River, and followed it west to Sevier Lake. The party then turned east to the headwaters of the Sevier, crossed over the "snowy mountains" to another river [Fremont?] before heading north through the Ute nation to rejoin the main party.³⁹

As a result of the year's travel, the trappers knew there was no westward-flowing river -- Buenaventura or otherwise. Smith had discovered the lower Colorado River and a route to California. He also knew he could not take a large party across the "salt desert" at that season of the year. On his return to California he would pursue an old route, but it would be a new venture.⁴⁰

South 1827. In the fall of 1826, the American trappers again moved west, with three major objectives: to retrieve their caches and recover what supplies they could, to punish the Indians, and to trap for beaver. These goals forced tenuous and temporary alliances among the independent trapping parties that led them into the lower Colorado River canyons.⁴¹

When Sylvestre Pratte's party returned to their furs cached on the Gila River, they discovered the caches had been broken into and ruined. Soon after this, the Pattie contingent of Pratte's party joined another

³⁹ Morgan, Ashley, pp. 167-168. Morgan quotes the full text of Daniel Potts' letter to Dr. Lukens of Philadelphia, July 8, 1827, written from the rendezvous at Bear Lake. Potts gives an interesting account of the trip.

⁴⁰ Dale, p. 227.

⁴¹ Weber, pp. 119-120. Several of the companies were led by Rowland, Young, Robidoux, Williams-St. Vrain, and Pratte.

small party led by Migel Robideau. Together they trapped along the Gila to the "Papawar [Papago] Indian villages." Except for young Pattie and a companion, the trappers accepted the generous hospitality of the Indians and that night fell victims of their treachery. The Indians attacked, killing all the men in their camp except Robidoux, who, though wounded, fought his way clear. The following day (January 28, 1827), the survivors, Robidoux, Pattie and companion, began a retreat back up river.⁴²

Soon after hearing of the attack on his trapping party, Ewing Young had begun to lay his plans for the fall hunt. With thirty men, including Kit Carson, Young headed for the Gila, intent on trapping for furs and punishing the Indians. He was later joined by Thomas L. Smith with a small party of men. Before long they were challenged by the same Indians who had robbed the trappers the previous season. However, anticipating an attack, the trappers avoided another ambush. When the Indians attacked, the trappers opened fire, killing several.⁴³ The Americans were pleased to find some of their lost possessions among the Indian camp. These they recovered and divided among the men before pushing west onto the Gila where they met Robidoux, Pattie, and companion.

⁴²Pattie, pp. 90-120. Without question this was one of the major trapper losses in the Southwest. It should be noted that there is some question about the exactness of the dates Pattie gives. Pattie is off a year in his dating, according to Dr. LeRoy R. Hafen, Old Spanish Trail, pp. 124-125. Hafen notes that Pattie reported he had heard of Sylvestre Pratte's death in January 1827. However, it would have been January 1828, since Pratte died in the fall of 1827. See also Weber, p. 123.

⁴³Camp, Yount . . . , pp. 10-11 and 31-33. George Yount had great praise for Smith's courage. The number of Indians killed has been estimated as between 110 (Pattie), a great number (Yount) and fifteen (Carson), which is probably the most accurate account.

Apparently at least four trapping parties had at this juncture joined to trap the Colorado River⁴⁴--Ewing Young; George C. Yount, probably closely associated with Young's expedition; Pratte's party, including James Ohio Pattie; and Thomas L. Smith. There may have been others.

When the trappers reached the Colorado River,⁴⁵ George Yount's men built dugout canoes "after the manner of the Indians in the area," and used them to trap up stream at least part of the way. Thus they were the first Americans to "sail" on the river in this area. By March 6, 1826, they had passed the Bill Williams River, "a stream flowing from the east."

Soon after the trappers encountered the Mojave Indians and new problems. At first the Mojave wanted to trade. Several trappers tore old shirts into strips, so great was the Mojave demand for cloth. But hostility developed. Still, even though the trappers were contentious and poorly organized,⁴⁶ they had sufficient numbers to defend against the Mojaves. However, when the Mojave chief claimed their furs, since they had been trapped in his river, and asked payment from the trappers, conflict came. Pattie states the Mojaves first attacked March 7, but were repulsed. A few days later the Indians attacked a second time and several were killed. The following day the chief appeared on horseback, and from a safe distance motioned the trappers

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 37.

⁴⁵Pattie, pp. 130-131. Pattie calls the Colorado the Red River. He states they arrived at it February 26, 1826; however, the error of date has already been noted, as it should have been 1827. Yount's dugouts probably carried the first Americans to navigate the lower Colorado River.

⁴⁶Sullivan, p. 29. Jed Smith learned something of their troubles when he reached their villages in late summer.

to depart. Cautiously they moved on.⁴⁷ This hostile exchange sowed the seeds of treachery Jed Smith would reap a few months later.

The trappers already had a good harvest of furs. At this point they had two decisions to make--whether or not to continue trapping for a while longer, and, once that was decided, to determine how to return their furs to Santa Fe, hundreds of desert miles away. Making this choice further fragmented the trappers' alliances. Young and Yount soon began their return, but the Patties and T. L. Smith continued.

It appears no serious thought was given by the trappers to transporting their furs down the Colorado River to the Gulf or directly overland to California. No doubt there was some discussion of the latter route. Reports later claimed that Richard Campbell had reached California that season.⁴⁸ Kit Carson alluded to his going to California then also as a part of Young's expedition.⁴⁹ In support of a California trip that season, it should be noted also that Jed Smith met other Americans in California on his second trip (1827). However, claims on such a trip lack solid validation.

Just where the trappers split up is uncertain. It appears that many

⁴⁷ Camp, Yount . . . , pp. 37-39. Camp indicates some trade was conducted. See also Pattie, pp. 132-133. Pattie recalls the intercourse being mainly hostile. Pattie's "Coweras" might have been the Cheme-huevis Cahualas north of the Mojave villages.

⁴⁸ Capt. Lorenzo Sitgreaves, Report of an Expedition Down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers (Washington: Robert Armstrong Public Printers, 1853), pp. 1-21. Campbell's description of his crossing the Colorado River is believed by most scholars to fit the junction of the Gila and Colorado. It seems to this writer, his description might apply to the Little Colorado and Lee's Ferry on the Colorado. See also Templeton, pp. 61-62.

⁴⁹ M. M. Quaife, ed., Kit Carson's Autobiography (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), pp. 13-18. Carson's reference was probably to a later (1829) expedition.

of them continued up the Colorado, probably as far as the mouth of Black Canyon, where they swung northeast to the Virgin River confluence.

Somewhere in this area, George Yount supposedly picked up a few gold nuggets, which led in time to one story about a "Lost Dutchman Mine."⁵⁰

Apparently somewhere above the Mojave villages, Ewing Young began his return to New Mexico. Yount remained with the Pattie and Smith parties for a short time, but then also moved east, rejoining Young. Their actual route is uncertain, but it appears they were near what later became known as the 35th parallel route. Probably they were too far north to catch the major water sources. The men suffered intensely, having to kill pack animals for food before reaching Zuni. The Indians provided them food and supplies. Without this help, they probably would have perished.⁵¹ George Yount attributed the Christian behavior of the Hopi to the missionary work of old Bill Williams, claiming he had spent some time with them before 1827.⁵²

By the time these trappers reached their destination, Santa Fe, they had explored and trapped the main Colorado River from the Gila junction to above the Mojave villages, and they had opened a route across northern Arizona, difficult as it might be. But further, they had raised the

⁵⁰ Templeton, pp. 63-65. Templeton identifies George Yount as the Dutchman in this find of gold. It appears there was some fact in the report, since prospecting parties reached the area only a couple of years later.

⁵¹ Camp, Yount . . . , pp. 38-39. See also Templeton, p. 66. The latter writer elaborates in greater detail on these experiences.

⁵² Ibid., pp. 9 and 57. It appears a S. W. or J. or Old Bill or even an Isaac Williams did receive a permit to trap the Sonora with thirty-five men. Whether or not this Williams was Old Bill, it is certain that Old Bill Williams knew the region well and spent much time in Northern Arizona, where a river and mountain now bear his name. Camp questions that Old Bill converted the Hopi. See also Weber, p. 120.

ire of the Mojave Indians to whom later travelers through the area would give an accounting.

It is important to pick up again the travels of the two other trapping parties at the Colorado River near the Virgin confluence. To trace routes of the Smith and Pattie expeditions with close certainty is impossible; however, certain facts can be substantiated. Both groups eventually returned to New Mexico. Both traveled long distances and endured many hardships. And finally, each eventually went its own way.

To begin with, they apparently continued together up the Colorado on its south bank into the Grand Canyon itself.⁵³ On Spencer Creek three men from the Pattie party left the main body and were murdered and mutilated, probably by the Yavapai; the foul deed was discovered two days later, March 27, 1827. After burying the remains, the trappers turned down river retracing their route out of the canyon, where the parties may have divided, with the Pattie group crossing the Colorado near what became Pearce's Ferry. From that point they could have swung west into the Grand Wash, north a few miles and then climbed the Grand Wash Cliffs onto the Shivwit Plateau. Other authorities maintain that both parties remained on the south side of the river until they reached the Virgin confluence, then crossed. Since they were concerned with trapping, this latter water route seems more likely.⁵⁴

⁵³ Clifton B. Kroeber, ed., "The Route of James O. Pattie on the Colorado in 1826," with comments by Robert C. Euler and A. H. Schroeder. Arizona and the West, VI (Summer, 1964), 119-136. The actual route of the parties in this area is difficult to follow. Euler agrees with Kroeber's itinerary to the vicinity of Black Canyon. Kroeber believes that the murder of the three trappers in Cataract Canyon was by Havasupai. Euler believes the most likely culprits were the Yavapai on Spencer Creek.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-133. See also Templeton, pp. 59-63. One of the men with Smith was named Stone. It is quite unlikely that Stone's Ferry was named for him, but as yet this writer has found no satisfactory account of its naming.

Once over the river, they moved up the Virgin hunting for furs. After a day or two the Pattie group swung east (if they indeed had not crossed above Grand Wash earlier) through St. Thomas Gap into the Grand Wash drainage, and then onto the Shivwit Plateau, where they pursued an easterly course past Mt. Trumbull and over the Buckskin Mountains. Very likely in one of these locations they were caught in an eighteen-inch snow fall in April.

Another alternative route for the Pattie expedition would have kept them on the South Rim of the Grand Canyon as far east as Kanab Creek, where they may have crossed the Colorado River and climbed out on the North Rim. However, this route seems unlikely in view of several facts: the difficulty of getting to the Colorado River from the South Rim, the purpose for crossing at that point, and the sudden return to the Colorado after crossing the Buckskin Mountains. This writer admits Pattie's account is sketchy, but believes the party crossed near the Virgin River and then moved east, north of the Colorado. Then they returned to the river, which they could have done at Lee's Ferry on the Paria, or even as far east as the Crossing of the Fathers. The trappers continued east and north onto the San Juan, over the continental divide, and farther north, before eventually returning to Santa Fe for the 1827-1828 trapping season.⁵⁵ Their trip was a fantastic example of trapper exploration. They had traversed much of the lower Colorado, paralleled the Grand

⁵⁵Pattie, pp. 137-140. Pattie's account is difficult to follow through this area. He speaks of the Colorado River being clear where they crossed, yet this was unlikely at either Lee's Ferry or the Crossing of the Fathers at that time of year; yet relative to what it would have been below Grand Canyon and especially the Virgin confluence, it may have appeared clear. Pattie claims his group trapped north as far as Yellowstone River before returning south.

Canyon, and crossed the river at several points. No doubt they knew more than they told.

With four other men--Branch, Stone and two Mexicans--T. L. Smith pushed up the Virgin River. Their route is uncertain, but it probably held close to the river. Jed Smith reported the Indian settlements on "Corn Creek" had been burned when he saw them in the summer of 1827,⁵⁶ an action attributed to this group. T. L. Smith may have gone up the Virgin River to Zion's Canyon, but probably swung north before getting that far east. Whatever his route, he later crossed onto the Sevier River and followed it north, trying to make his way back to Taos.⁵⁷ With help from the Ute Indians they finally made their way back to New Mexico. Learning of the new governor's policy, Smith was able to bribe the Alcalde, save his furs and eventually sell them in St. Louis.⁵⁸ Theirs had been a difficult trip, but Smith and his men acquired an intimate knowledge of much of the area. He would use that and his friendship with the Utes later on.

With the return of Young, Yount, Smith and Pattie to New Mexico, the 1826-1827 trapping season on the Colorado River came to a close. It had been an eventful year. In one sense, the Americans had opened a new area, but in the larger sense it became less opened than before their coming, as Jed Smith was soon to discover.

⁵⁶Dale, p. 227. Jed Smith picked up these evidences of white men in the area and of their misuse of the Indian.

⁵⁷Dale, p. 227. The tracks Smith saw were probably made by T. L. Smith's group, not the trappers from the north reported earlier.

⁵⁸Templeton, pp. 63-67.

Jed Smith 1827. Jed Smith waited only a few days before beginning his return trip to California. This time he knew where he was going and generally what to expect when he got there. Anticipating a rich fur harvest, he was willing to risk opposition from the Mexicans and, besides, he already had one company of men in Northern California.

With eighteen men and two Indian women,⁵⁹ he headed south, July 13, 1827. When he reached the Sevier River, the Indians reported the visit of the southern trappers. He and his men also saw the tracks of the pack animals made in the spring mud. Farther south at Corn Creek, evidences of burned Indian villages were seen. Smith then turned up the Santa Clara and over the pass (now U. S. Highway 91) of the Beaver Dam Mountain to avoid the quicksand and rocks of the Virgin Narrows. At the salt caves he again replenished his stock before continuing south to the Colorado, where he met the old Pautch farmer again.⁶⁰

This time Smith turned south up Detrital Wash after crossing the river. This natural grade led him to the Black Mountain which he crossed and descended to the river below Black Canyon. The following day, probably August 15, 1827, the party reached the main Mojave villages.⁶¹

The trappers had no reason to be suspicious. The Mojaves appeared friendly, traded with them, and told of the visit of trappers from the south earlier in the season. They also reported that the trappers had quarreled. What they did not reveal was their own fight with them. After three days

⁵⁹ Morgan, Jed Smith, p. 236. The trappers have been identified as Henry Brown, William Campbell, David Cunningham, Thomas Daws, Francois Deromme, Isaac Galbraith, Polette Labross (a mulatto), Joseph Lapoint, Toussaint Marechal (or Marrishall), Greg Ortago (a Spaniard), Joseph Palmer, John B. Ratelle, John Relle, Robiseau, Charles Swift, John Turner and Thomas Virgin. See also Dale, p. 226.

⁶⁰ Sullivan, pp. 117-118.

⁶¹ Morgan, Jed Smith, pp. 237-239.

rest, Smith was ready to cross the river. The Mojave volunteered to carry supplies over on their rafts.

To cross the river, the trappers divided into three groups, some on the east bank, others in the river, and a few on the west side. While thus separated the Mojave ambush was sprung. Ten of the trappers were killed and the two women captured.⁶² Thomas Virgin was wounded.

With a lull in the attack, Smith took stock of their plight. Escape might be possible for the survivors if they took only their rifles, fifteen pounds of dried meat and the few supplies they could carry. As they had lost all their animals to the Indians, Smith and his men threw the heavy goods into the river, left other supplies to decoy and delay the Indians, and set out. On the west bank the men were pursued by the Indians and had to retreat to a grove of cottonwoods next to the river, where they hurriedly put up fortifications. Being greatly outnumbered, the men viewed their position with alarm, but Smith assured them they would escape. Several of the Indians approached ahead of the others. Smith ordered his best marksmen to fire at them. Two fell dead and a third was wounded. The Mojaves immediately retreated.⁶³

Jed Smith knew his only chance of escape lay ahead, across the desert to California. Under cover of night, he led his men west, trying to retrace his earlier route. He later obtained two horses from some Paiutes and two more from some Shoshoneans. Eventually he reached the

⁶²Ibid., p. 240. Brown, Campbell, Cunningham, Deromme, Gobel, Labross, Ortogo, Ratelle, Relle and Robiseau met an untimely death on August 18, 1827 at the hand of the Mojaves. See also Dale, pp. 228-229, who says nine were killed and the Indians had trappers on an island as well as both banks. Sullivan speaks of Jed's group landing on a sandbar [island?]. Sullivan, p. 118.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 240-242. Smith admits that he doubted their chances against the Mojaves and concluded to try for California.

San Gabriel Mission with his men. Due to harassment from the Mexican officials, Smith had difficulty moving his men north to join his other trappers and eventually leave California.

Smith and his men were later attacked on the Uncompagne in Oregon. This time only Smith, two men with him, and Arthur Black survived. Jed Smith never recouped these tragedies.⁶⁴ He left the mountains two years later.

It must be noted that this intrepid young trapper explored two routes between Great Salt Lake and California, both of which would be used extensively later. His ventures on the lower Colorado River set a pattern of events to follow. No traveler could fully trust the Mojave Indians again, nor would the Indians ever be free of the transient American going through or looking for wealth in their domain. The end for Jed Smith came in 1831 on the Cimmaron cut-off of the Santa Fe Trail.

Colorado River 1827-1828. By the fall of 1827 trappers were again anxious to trap the Colorado. This season's expeditions would reach from the Gulf of California into the Grand Canyon. The lower river's resources and hazards would be well known.

George C. Yount organized one party of twenty-four trappers and headed west along the Gila. At the Pima and Maricopa villages the party received a friendly welcome from apparently repentant Indians. Conflicts arose among the trappers that eventually caused them to separate, Yount retained fifteen men, and the two Patties with six other trappers formed the second group.⁶⁵

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 250-268. Morgan reviews Smith's trials in detail.

⁶⁵Pattie, pp. 182-189.

The Pattie party decided to build canoes at the Colorado River and trap the river clean as they floated south to its mouth. Trapping proved excellent; however, the trip was not without its hazards, as the trappers were nearly drowned when the tidal "bore" sped up river.⁶⁶ Upon reaching the gulf, they decided to cache their furs and cross the desert to California. They were not welcomed by the Mexicans, but rather imprisoned. Later some of the party returned to the Colorado to lift their "cache" only to find the furs ruined. The Patties traveled to Mexico where Sylvester died. James then returned to the States where his remarkable "Narrative" was published. His record of the "Red River" is important.

George Yount also led his men to the Gulf of California; however, they were disappointed with their fur take, perhaps because the men on the river were ahead of them or because trapping the large stream without canoes was very difficult. In any case, the Yount party immediately retraced its route to the Gila junction. Yount was impressed with the Colorado River generally and reported the river "to be susceptible of navigation" which would be an important factor in developing the abundant minerals he noticed in the area.⁶⁷

The trappers then moved up river, taking furs as they went. A few days later, they met a Mojave chief, Carga Muchachas, who tried to ingratiate himself with the trappers, even though admitting to killing some

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 191-194. Pattie mentions that the Indians along the bank appeared to be aware of their impending danger but were unsuccessful in communicating the threat until after it struck them during the night. This phenomenon is mentioned by many early travelers. The tide from the Gulf rushed into the mouth of the river, sending a wall of water up river for many miles.

⁶⁷ Camp, Yount . . . , p. 46. Yount uses the term "El Dorado" when referring to the area.

of Jed Smith's party. In fact, one of the lures he held out to the trappers was a captured squaw. Being suspicious, Yount refused the chief's bait, continued north around the Mojave villages, to the Virgin confluence, where he crossed the Colorado River. His major objective north of the Colorado was to obtain salt in the caves below the Muddy. The men then returned south perhaps as far as the Mojave villages or even the Bill Williams River. The chief still persisted in his temptation, and became angry when they again refused.

Yount's party then moved east. Some of his men ventured into the lower end of the Grand Canyon to retrieve the furs lost a year earlier at the "Burr Massacre," on Spencer Creek. One of Yount's men claimed he had been there the year before.⁶⁸ They found nothing.

Climbing out of the canyon, the trappers made their way east, around the San Francisco Mountains to the Little Colorado River. Yount mentions the falls in the river. They spent ten days among the Hopi to recover. Yount reported ecstatically on the "Christian" hospitality of these Indians. In time they reached Santa Fe with their furs.⁶⁹

The Yount and the Pattie groups were trapping parties primarily. Yount's expedition especially explored the lower Colorado River. It is likely that in 1828, they knew more about the lower canyons area than any other Americans.

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 48-52. The Yount party captured an Indian man and wife who appeared extremely frightened. The trappers believed them to have been involved in the massacre of the previous year.

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 53-57.

The Traders

Trapping in the lower Colorado Canyon area remained profitable for nearly a decade and a half. Some years were better than others. However, after 1828 the attraction for trade in California increased. One could trade furs and slaves for livestock and goods. One could also simply raid and steal from the Californian, a practice participated in by both mountain men and Indians.

Pegleg Smith. Thomas L. Smith trapped into the Colorado Rockies in the fall of 1827, where he was wounded, requiring him to amputate his leg above the ankle.⁷⁰ His survival was due in part to his Ute squaw and friends on the Green River, with whom he remained until the spring of 1829. He then went to Taos to make a business deal with his old friend Ceran St. Vrain to market mules and horses. Some writers believe Smith had gone to California as early as 1826 and made a second foray there in 1828 along a route west from the Ute encampment on the Green, down the Virgin and along the north and west bank of the Colorado. However, both of these expeditions are doubtful.⁷¹

More likely Smith's first trip to California came in the spring of 1829 with a group of ninety-two Ute braves. They successfully trapped the Sevier and Virgin rivers, and perhaps a portion of the Colorado. It is

⁷⁰Templeton, pp. 75-80. An early morning ambush dropped the bold, boisterous Smith. The shattered foot and ankle were cut off, arteries tied, and bandages applied--all with the help of Smith. Remarkably, he survived.

⁷¹Alfred Glen Humphreys, "The Expeditions, Trading, and Life of Thomas L. (Pegleg) Smith," (M. A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, (1964), pp. 45-47. Generally Humphrey's date and route are challenged by most scholars of Pegleg Smith. The trip of 1826 did not occur, and the one claimed to have been in 1828 was probably in 1829.

possible that this group reached Las Vegas Spring, then Cottonwood Springs in the Charleston Mountain before heading southwest into California.⁷²

Perhaps Pegleg Smith's original intentions were to sell the furs and buy horses and mules, but once in California he and his braves, likely led by Chief Walkara, carefully rounded up 400 head of good stock and hastily retreated along their trail. The Californians came in hot pursuit, but were ambushed, their saddle horses stolen, and left to walk home.⁷³ The raiders returned and eventually sold horses as far east as the Cimmaron River. More important, they began a decade and a half of profitable harassment of the Californians.⁷⁴

Smith returned again in late 1830 or early 1831 via the Gila route then northwest from the Colorado River into California.⁷⁵ Later, allied with Chief Walkara, Jim Beckwourth,⁷⁶ Old Bill Williams, and others,

⁷²Templeton, p. 91. Templeton suggests the above route; however, Dr. LeRoy Hafen does not speak as positively about it, although he notes that Smith did trap successfully in the area of the Santa Clara and Virgin River and then go on to California. (See Hafen and Hafen, Old Spanish Trail, p. 134.) It seems probable that Smith's party stayed on the north and west side of the Colorado River, never crossing it. They returned along a similar route.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 95. The author is cautious about attaching this story to the first raid. See also Paul Bailey, Walkara, Hawk of the Mountain (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1954), pp. 40-42. Walkara became notorious for his horse raiding expertise. See also Conway B. Sonne, World of Walkara (San Antonio: The Publishing House of the Southwest, 1962), pp. 29-49.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p. 210. Maurice LeDuc, a long-time friend, accompanied Smith on this trip. They supposedly picked up some gold nuggets in the desert on this trip, but could never locate the spot later.

⁷⁶Delmont R. Oswald, "James P. Beckwourth," in LeRoy R. Hafen's Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West (Glendale: The Arthur A. Clark Company, 1969), vol. 6, pp. 50-52.

Smith continued his raiding. In the spring of 1840 Smith and Walkara rounded up about 3,000 horses and mules from California ranches and headed east. Hotly pursued and overtaken at Amargosa Springs, the raiders lost much of their loot, but escaped with some stock and their lives. This was the last big raid. In 1841 Smith was in California again, but this time bought his stock and returned east via the Gila River route.⁷⁷

These trappers-turned-raiders knew the region of the lower canyon well. They tended to travel its periphery only, en route to and from California during their exciting ventures.

Peter Skene Ogden 1829-1830. Reports of the furs on the Colorado River and in California attracted the Hudson's Bay Company trappers also. In August 1829 Peter Skene Ogden left Fort Vancouver to "discover" Smith's route to California."⁷⁸ Ogden led his men south onto the Humboldt and along it to its sink. His route from that point is debated. Some writers bring him east and south into Utah near Sevier Lake, then onto the Virgin and down it to the Colorado, and finally along the north and west bank of the Colorado River to the Mojave villages.⁷⁹ Other

⁷⁷ Templeton, pp. 118, 140, 154 ff. See also Bailey, Walkara, pp. 40-42.

⁷⁸ J. J. Warner, "Reminiscences of Early California from 1831 to 1846," Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California, VII (1907-1908), 182-183. Warner indicates that Ogden had come into Tulare Valley in the winter of 1828-1829 on Jed Smith's first trail. But a year later he entered the great California Valley at the extreme southeast. His latter facts are probably correct. Ogden had been in Nevada in 1828-1829, but probably did not get into California that year.

⁷⁹ See Ted Warner, "Peter Skene Ogden and the Fur Trade of the Great Northwest," (M. A. Thesis: Brigham Young University, 1958). Warner suggests such a route and is supported in it to a great extent by Hafen's Old Spanish Trail, pp. 137-139. For further documentation see also John

authors disagree, arguing that Ogden continued south from the Humboldt in Western Nevada onto the Walker River and Lake, and then south to Owens River and Lake, past Bishop, California to the Mojave River and then east to the Mojave villages, or even farther south.⁸⁰ Gloria Cline argues for such a route, but does not explain what the "South West Branch of the Collarado" was. Yet the desolate country Ogden spoke of would fit the area of western Nevada and eastern California.

Those who propose a trail down the Virgin ignore the statement regarding the "desolate land" which does not describe the Virgin River route in late winter or early spring. Ogden may have come in from the western portion of Nevada to Las Vegas Wash (southwest branch of the Colorado), which at that season of the year usually runs a small stream of water and does discharge into the Colorado from the west. Ogden also reported he was attacked by a group of Indians in this desolate area who shot arrows into his horses. Ogden returned fire, killing several Indians. After three days, he reached the Indians along the Colorado River which he took to be the same that had ambushed Jed Smith.⁸¹

From this point, there are again questions about Ogden's route. One

Scaglione, ed., "Ogden's Report of His 1829-1830 Expedition," California Historical Society Quarterly, XXVIII (June 1949), 117-124. Ogden was delayed until October at Fort Nez Perces.

⁸⁰

Gloria B. Cline, Exploring the Great Basin (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963). See map on p. 103 and pp. 126-127. One of the weakest points in Cline's proposed route is the meaning of the phrase, "we reached the South West Branch of the Rio Collarado." She gives no explanation. If the Mojave River had flowed to the Colorado, her track would seem defensible. The Virgin River could be called the Southwest Branch.

⁸¹

Alice Bay Maloney, "Peter Skene Ogden's Trapping Expedition to the Gulf of California, 1829-1830," California Historical Society Quarterly, XIX (December 1940), 310-312. William Clark's map helps to identify Ogden's location, facing the Moapi (Mojave) Indians.

author suggests that he turned west onto the Mojave River and entered California by that route.⁸² Other evidence suggests he continued down river, trapping as he went, all the way to the Gulf of California. Finding furs sparse, he retraced his steps up river (one author brings him back to the Mojave villages) and then west.⁸³ Probably Ogden turned northwest in the vicinity of the Gila confluence to enter California from the southeast.⁸⁴ Ogden avoided the Mexican officials, met American trappers as he headed north enroute to the Columbia River. Whatever his actual route, Ogden's party explored little new territory. He found the Colorado River over-trapped in 1829-1830. California held for him at that time only limited attraction. Ogden would allow the Americans and Mexicans to have the Southwest.

Ewing Young 1829-1831. A third trapping-trading party headed for California in August 1829. Ewing Young took his thirty-six men north from Santa Fe before turning west onto the Zuni, the Salt and Verde rivers to trap. Trapping proved excellent, but harassment by the Indians made it difficult. Young decided to send one-half of his party back to Taos with the furs;⁸⁵ with the remaining twenty men, including Kit Carson, Young headed for California.

⁸² Hafen and Hafen, Old Spanish Trail, pp. 137-139.

⁸³ Cleland, p. 138.

⁸⁴ Maloney, p. 309. Ogden reports: "I was not successful in my last year's trapping as the preceding, although I extended my trails by far greater distance to the Gulph of California, but found beaver scarce, and unfortunately below the main fall of the Col. [Columbia] my own boat was engulfed in a whirlpool and 9 men drowned."

⁸⁵ Joseph J. Hill, "Ewing Young in the Fur Trade of the Far Southwest, 1822-1834," Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, XXIV (March 1923), 22-23. The Indians who attacked were probably Yavapai. How many men

Anticipating problems, as they had been through the area in 1827, the party filled the skins of three deer with water. Nevertheless they suffered intensely before reaching Truxton Springs.⁸⁶ The party remained at that water hole two days recuperating. However, being short of supplies, they pushed on toward the Colorado River, which they reached four days later again in extreme need. Their route is uncertain. Some writers move them west and south from Truxton to the Mojave villages; however, such a route should not have required four days, even for the unfamiliar traveler. Nor does it explain Kit Carson's claim that the party reached the river below the great canyon.⁸⁷ It also seems unlikely that they reached the Colorado at the mouth of the Grand Canyon either, although it was later reported that they had seen fresh "tracks" on the Virgin River [either Pegleg Smith's party or Ogden's] and followed them into California.⁸⁸

Some discussion of possible routes is necessary. The "great" canyon could have been Black Canyon. To cross directly below it would have

went with Young is disputed. See Kenneth L. Holmes, Ewing Young, Master Trapper (Portland: Binfords and Mort, Publishers, 1967), p. 46. Quoting a report by Young to the Mexican authorities, Holmes establishes the one-half figure. Others claim there were only eighteen men left. See Weber, pp. 142-143.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 23. On an early Arizona map there was a Young Spring located about fifteen miles northeast of Truxton. See also Charles L. Camp, "Kit Carson in California," California Historical Quarterly, I (October 1922), 113.

⁸⁷Quaife, Kit Carson, p. 12. Carson states they struck the "Colorado of the west below the Great Canon [sic]."

⁸⁸Warner, Reminiscences, p. 184, indicates that Ewing Young's party found Ogden's trail on the Virgin River and followed it into California. However, there seems ample evidence that this report was erroneous. If Young did follow Ogden's trail, it would have been on the Mojave. Or he may have seen Pegleg Smith's tracks on the Virgin or Mojave River and followed them into California.

been relatively simple since El Dorado Ferry was later established there; or Young's party could have continued down river several miles to Cottonwood Valley where a crossing would not have been difficult. Secondly, the Mojaves, from whom the men purchased a mare heavy with foal,⁸⁹ were relatively friendly, a condition less likely had the party struck the main villages in Mojave Valley. Thirdly, from the crossing they struck a southwest course to the Mojave River, hardly possible from the main villages.⁹⁰

In addition, since there remains some confusion on portions of Ogden's routes especially, the "South West Branch of the Collorado" (interpreted by some to be the Virgin River) may have been the Mojave River. Ogden reported he reached that river in February 1830.⁹¹ Pegleg Smith was definitely ahead of that schedule. His route on the Virgin would likely have been covered by Ogden if indeed Ogden was on the Virgin River, so it is unlikely that Young's party could have followed Smith's trail into California from the Virgin. If the "Virgin" here noted were in fact the Mojave River, then Young's group could have followed Smith's route on the latter portion of their trip. Young and his men later discovered Ogden trapping in California. It seems apparent that Ogden was ahead of him, meaning Ogden had reached not only the Colorado earlier in 1830 than Young did, but also California.⁹²

Young had expected to sell and trade his furs in California, but, as

⁸⁹Quaife, Kit Carson, pp. 10-14.

⁹⁰Hafen and Hafen, Old Spanish Trail, pp. 132-134.

⁹¹Scaglione, p. 120.

⁹²Camp, Yount . . . , pp. 114-115. See also Quaife, Kit Carson . . . , pp. 12-13, and Hill, "Ewing Young . . . ," pp. 23-24, 27.

he had very few, he returned to the Colorado River near the Mojave villages (a nine-day trip), trapped to the Gulf of California, crossed the Colorado and trapped back to the Gila River. At this point he and his men intercepted a large herd of stolen Mexican horses, which they took, killing a few mares for meat and keeping the rest.⁹³ Young then headed for the Santa Rita Mines. Meeting his friend, Robert McKnight, Young cached his furs, continued on to Santa Fe for a permit and later sold furs "Amounting to two thousand pounds of beaver--several hundred dollars for all,"⁹⁴ a good season after all.

That fall Young again trapped west to the Colorado River, down to the Gulf, where he crossed and then headed for California via the Mojave River. He, David Jackson and David Waldo, purchased several hundred mules and horses, returned to the Gila Crossing, where they had difficulty getting their stock over. Eventually Jackson sold the animals in Santa Fe.⁹⁵ Young returned to California, then made his last trip to trap the Colorado River during the winter of 1833-1834. The rest of his life he spent in Oregon.⁹⁶

Young's expeditions to the Colorado demonstrate particularly well how trapping and trading expeditions were combined, and how the lower Colorado River played a prominent part in it.

⁹³Holmes, p. 58. This horse herd proved a real windfall for Young, whose trapping into California had been very poor.

⁹⁴Quaife, Kit Carson, pp. 19-21.

⁹⁵Holmes, pp. 74-75. See also Hill, "Ewing Young . . .," pp. 28-32, and Cleland, p. 236.

⁹⁶Holmes, pp. 92-93.

The Area 1830's - 1840's. Many expeditions reached into this region during the next decade and a half. A contingent of the Joseph R. Walker California expedition (1833-1834) including Old Bill Williams and Joe Meeks were reported to have returned via the Mojave villages in 1834,⁹⁷ where they trapped down the Colorado to the Gila, then back up river to the Bill Williams. Here they met Henry Fraeb and Jean Baptiste Gervais, partners with Jim Bridger in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company.⁹⁸ Later Joe Walker himself spent much time in the northern Arizona area. Another frequent visitor was Old Bill Williams, who was reported by Antoine Leroux to be on the river named for him, in 1837. Williams also joined with Pegleg Smith and Walkara in raids to California.⁹⁹

Another important explorer to the area was Antoine Leroux who claimed he built skin canoes at the mouth of the Virgin River in January 1837, and floated down river to where timber was found, probably in Cottonwood Valley, at which place seven wooden canoes were constructed to replace the earlier ones. The trappers floated down stream to the gulf. If Leroux's account is correct, and his later claims of the river's navigability for light steamers to the mouth of the Virgin River, suggest it is, then his party was the first by more than twenty years to sail on the river from as far north as Vegas Wash and by twenty-seven years from as far east as

⁹⁷ Irving, pp. 291-296.

⁹⁸ Francis Fuller Victor, The Rivers of the West (Hartford: L. W. Bliss and Company, 1870), pp. 258-260.

⁹⁹ Ardis M. Walker, "Joseph R. Walker," in LeRoy R. Hafen's Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1969), vol. 5, pp. 370-375. See also Alpheus H. Favour, Old Bill Williams, Mountain Man (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), p. 125. It is probably because of Leroux's report to Sigreave that the stream and mountain were named for Williams.

the Rio Virgin.¹⁰⁰

By 1840, with the exception of the Grand Canyon itself, the trappers had become well acquainted with the Colorado River and its tributaries. One account records that Louis Ambrois and Jose Jessum tried, in 1831, to canoe down the Green but had to abandon it and climb the canyon walls to safety. Dennis Julien apparently spent a great deal of time along the Colorado and in some of its upper canyons during the 1830's. Dates of 1836 and 1837 are commonly found.¹⁰¹ One venture by Joe Meek and party led to an attempt in 1837-1838 to travel down the Green River through the canyon on the ice. Apparently they did follow the Green some 100 miles before leaving it at the Uintah River. Their destination had been the Gulf of California.¹⁰² No doubt one of the most unusual expeditions to trap the Colorado came in 1841-1842, a story related by a teen-aged Indian maiden, Catherine.¹⁰³

Indian Trappers. A large party of Indians--Nez Perces, Shoshone and perhaps Utes, and a few white men, left Pierce's Hole, Wyoming, in

¹⁰⁰ See Daily Alta California (May 31, 1857) for an account by Antoine Leroux of his trip. The concept current in 1857 was of navigability as far as the Virgin River. Even in the low water of January, Leroux reported water depths of 3-1/2 to 4-foot minimums with few obstructions. The impact of this expedition will be reviewed in a later chapter.

¹⁰¹ Daily Alta California (June 28, 1858). The report on Ambrois and Jessup was made nearly twenty-seven years after the fact, but their trip certainly is probable. See also Otis Dock Marston, "Dennis Julien," in LeRoy R. Hafen's Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1969), vol. 7, pp. 170-190. Marston indicates that Julien had penetrated into Glen and other canyons very early.

¹⁰² See Walker, "Joseph R. Walker," p. 372, and Victor, p. 260.

¹⁰³ See Winona Adams, ed., "An Indian Girl's Story of a Trading Expedition to the Southwest About 1841," Historical Reprints Sources of Northwest History, No. 11 (Missoula: State University of Montana, 1930). The account given here parallels the original account quite closely.

the spring of 1841, to travel south as far as the Gulf of California and then return the following season. Their route took them past Fort Bridger, "a little wooden home" on the Green River, over the mountains into Great Salt Lake Valley, onto the Sevier River where three Indian children were captured. Later these were traded to Mexicans enroute to California.

The expedition moved south to the Virgin River, to the "mountain of salt below the Muddy's confluence,"¹⁰⁴ and on to the Colorado. Here they killed two horses and made skin boats for crossing. Then under the guidance of "Emanuel" they continued south and west to the Colorado River below Black Canyon. Their guide elected to travel at night to avoid the heat and because he used the stars to find his directions.

At the Colorado they found the Indians friendly generally and beaver in good supply. Yet there was trouble. A few half-breeds in the group, claiming to have lost some traps, ambushed an Indian village along the river. Catherine records:

The trappers were enraged. My father's traps were never touched; he often found the Indians guarding his traps. He used to give the Indians all the beaver meat he and I did not consume. . . . My father was invited to join in the bloody affair, but he refused. . . . Early the next morning before breakfast the party took to their arms. There was one low cliff which overlooked the Indian camp and the river. Behind the top of it unseen riflemen lay. The first shot fired was at an old grey-headed savage who was quietly taking his breakfast facing the sun in the door of his little home. He was struck on the back of the knee and as he sat the ball followed and shattered to pieces his thigh bone. He fell backward and looked toward the cliff. His mates at first laughed seeing him fall, whereupon the old man with anguish in his face said, "Why laugh you at

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 11. Catherine comments on the caves in the top of the cliffs, and also of a "stream of excellent fresh water that ran within steps of that cliff." It seems likely she is mistaken, unless within steps of the cliff could refer to the Virgin River, but it is hardly a "stream of excellent water," or perhaps she refers to Roger's Spring up on the bench west of the cliffs a few miles.

me? Look, they are killing us." They looked. The cry of alarm was out and high, and as the startled Indians stood out to learn and look more, the riflemen fired. Yells of woe from men, women and children filled the place. The dead and wounded lay there. The active ran to the river. Men, women and children plunged in and swam, but they were picked off by these cruel marksmen. The women made every effort to swim and save their children. Women who had one or two children made by terrible labor a safe landing with them on the other side, but those who had three and four children could not get over and gradually sank with them, going faithful to death to what was their only solace and delight in that lonely valley.

Watching the fire I noticed one woman just as she landed on the other side fall dead from a bullet that entered her back. Two men too I saw drop on the other side, hit there by our unerring game rifles. One of the men swam until he found bottom and as he walked out he was hit. He staggered, walked and fell dead. The other staggered from the river about 20 paces and fell dead. Sometimes the Indians dove and came up only with their mouths to breathe when these fatal rifles found their heads and they sank forever. The trappers after this work went into the deserted camp, pillaged everything they liked in it and killed the old Indian who was first hit in the knee. They then came back perfectly unconcerned and smoked and jested over the success of their revenge. . . .¹⁰⁵

Following this massacre, the party continued down river to the Gulf of California and then returned to the Gila junction. At this point, Catherine refers to "our master, Pegleg Smith." He probably had joined them on the lower Colorado.¹⁰⁶ The party then swung up the Gila onto the San Francisco River. Their route led them near the San Francisco Mountains and into the "painted desert." From that point they continued north to the Colorado and crossed, again with a skin boat, at either Lee's Ferry or the Crossing of the Fathers. On the north side they met some "Spaniards" from California led by a "young and very tall American." Even though the

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 13. This atrocity as described, is particularly cruel and may be a young girl's reflections on such brutality.

¹⁰⁶ Templeton, p. 156. The author states that Pegleg Smith had purchased mules and horses in California which he crossed at the Gila junction about the date suggested by the Indian girl, Catherine.

"Spaniards" had a number of Indian slaves, the trapping party traveled with them for a few days until they reached their outgoing trail, perhaps on the Virgin River, and then headed north, arriving at their destination in the "fifth month" of 1842.¹⁰⁷

Although the route of this party is difficult to follow specifically, it can be given with some certainty. The expedition reveals the attraction of the lower canyons for trapping beaver, the inter-mixing of various parties--trappers, whites and Indians, traders, Mexicans and Americans--that were passing through the area at the time. It tells also of the treachery the resident Indians were victims of.

The Old Spanish Trail

Trappers had opened the trade routes to California from New Mexico, but the Mexican and American traders became the ones to develop the "Old Spanish Trail" and to exploit the trade. Several routes were attempted before a permanent one was established. This work is concerned only with the exploratory stages, since the trail, in time, reached only the periphery of the lower canyons of the Colorado. Several developments will be noted.

Armijo Expedition 1829-1830. A well-organized party of sixty men under Antonio Armijo left Abiqui November 7, 1829, enroute to California. Their course led them up Choma Valley then into Largo Canyon and the San Juan River which they finally crossed near the "four corners" area. In Chinle Creek, a Navajo guide was obtained who led them across Piaute Creek and to the Colorado River at the "Crossing of the Fathers," by

¹⁰⁷Adams, pp. 14-16.

December 6, 1829.¹⁰⁸ Without mishap they crossed the Colorado, followed up the rock ledges in the "steps of the Fathers" and continued west on Paria Creek, then into Johnson Wash, followed down it to Kanab Creek in the vicinity of Fredonia, Arizona. The party continued west below the red ledges and struck the Virgin River (Stinking Water River)¹⁰⁹ near Hurricane, Utah. Their actual route is uncertain, but possibly they followed below the red ledges into the Short Creek area and then either swung west down the draw over the Hurricane Cliffs, or northwest, descending to the Virgin River in the area of Rockville, Utah, and then northwest over the Hurricane fault. At Santa Clara Creek, they apparently turned up stream and followed Jed Smith's 1827 route over the Beaver Dam Mountains before returning to the Virgin near Beaver Dams.

From this point, on December 25, a reconnaissance party was dispatched, part of which rejoined them near the confluence of the Virgin and Colorado rivers. The main route lay down the Virgin to the Colorado and then along the north bank. The traders may have bypassed Boulder Canyon on the Colorado by turning up Boulder Wash, either into Echo Wash to the north, or west into Callville Wash. A possible alternative route would have been up Echo Wash above the junction of the Virgin River, into the upper end of Callville Wash, along a route similar to that followed by Anson Call, in 1864. From this wash, they could easily have paralleled the river west through West-end Wash and into Vegas Wash.

¹⁰⁸

Hafen and Hafen, Old Spanish Trail, pp. 165-170. This definitive account provides much of the information used for this expedition and the Old Spanish Trail generally. Some exception is made on the geography of the Armijo route between the Crossing of the Fathers and Las Vegas Wash.

¹⁰⁹ This term is valid for the Virgin River. Even today a traveler in the area of LaVerkin and Hurricane, Utah, can catch a whiff of sulphur wafting up from mineral springs. Father Escalante referred to the Virgin as Rio Del Sulfero.

At Vegas Wash they met their bold guide, Rafel Rivera, who had already been on the Mojave River and west to the Amargosa River.¹¹⁰ With Rivera's assurances, Armijo by-passed the Mojave villages and pushed southwest across the lower end of Vegas valley to Cottonwood Spring, then onto the Amargosa River, down it to Salt Creek, then to Bitter Springs and finally onto the Mojave. From this point, water was assured, although Armijo's Diary records the killing of pack animals for food. Armijo continued on into San Gabriel Mission near Los Angeles, where he conducted a brisk trade. The woolen goods from New Mexico found a ready market. This remarkable trip opened a new era.¹¹¹

The Armijo party returned to Santa Fe in three groups. The first followed the original route generally, but with a few short cuts. They made the trip in forty days, or about half the time required for the outward journey. A second party returned via Sonora. Armijo, himself, helped drive the stock, which required fifty-six day. He reached Santa Fe about April 24, 1830. New Mexicans were proud of his venture and Jose Antonio Chaves, minister of the Interior and Foreign Relations, sent a copy of his diary to government officials in Mexico.

A second "official" caravan, of thirty men, was led west by Antonio

¹¹⁰ Joseph J. Hill, "Old Spanish Trail," Historic American Historical Review IV (August 1921), pp. 444-473. Hill notes that Rivera reported finding the ford on the Colorado River that he had used the year before in going to Sonora. Hill believes he was enroute to Sonora from California, not New Mexico in such a trip. It may have been that Rivera in his exploration traveled south along the Colorado as far as the Mojave villages, then swung west to the Mojave River, then north and east to the Amargosa River and back to the Colorado at Vegas Wash.

¹¹¹ Hafen and Hafen, Old Spanish Trail, pp. 156-165. The Hafens quote the Armijo Diary in its entirety. Though brief, it covers the whole outward trip. The route west is generally that indicated by the Hafens.

Santi-Estevan. He left January 16, 1831. However, no record of his trip is extant, but it was noted that a party of "thirty" from New Mexico had arrived in Los Angeles for trade in April of that year.¹¹² For the next decade and a half, annual pack trains made the trip to trade New Mexican woolens and sheep for California's horses and mules.

Although Armijo had opened a pack route across the Colorado at the "Crossing of the Fathers," and although such a route was much shorter than what became the "Old Spanish Trail," the ruggedness of the terrain and the shortage of water worked against its becoming an important route for trade between these two centers. However, in bypassing the Mojave villages on the Colorado River, Armijo anticipated the eventual Vegas Springs route across the desert.

Wolfskill-Yount Expedition 1830-1831. A second major development for the Old Spanish Trail came with the Wolfskill-Yount Expedition. This party of trappers and traders left Santa Fe for California late in September 1830.¹¹³ Their route led them north to the Grand River, across it to the Green, where they met the Ute Indians.¹¹⁴ The party continued west through Castle Dale, to the Sevier River,¹¹⁵ and then west over the

¹¹²Ibid., pp. 171-172.

¹¹³There has been some difficulty in determining the members of the expedition since, to date, no record of the trip has been discovered. Camp suggests the following list (see Yount. . . , p. 260): Zacharias Ham, Franco de Fourri, Bautista Saint Germain, Zebedia Branch, Bautista Guerra, John Lewis, Alexander Branch, David Keller, Love Hardisty, Martin Cooper, Lewis Burton, Samuel Shields, John Rhea, Jose Urchuleta, Glass Greago, and Manual Mandragon. See also Iris Higbie Wilson, William Wolfskill, 1798-1866 Frontier Trapper to California Ranchero (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1965), pp. 62-64.

¹¹⁴Wilson, pp. 72-76.

¹¹⁵Camp, Yount . . . , pp. 86-87 and 262. It appears that the Revere River referred to by Yount would have been the Severe.

Wasatch Range near Paragonah. Here they swung south to the Virgin River, which members described as a paradise, and on which they rested a few days before continuing southwest.¹¹⁶ At the Salt Caves below the Muddy, they loaded up an abundance of salt, part of which was later cached, and some of which was sent to Boston via Cape Horn.¹¹⁷

Continuing down the Virgin to the Colorado River, the party turned west, keeping the Colorado on its left. When they reached the "big bend," they swung south all the way to the Mojave villages, and lay over for a couple of days, trading and recuperating. Perhaps because Wolfskill and Yount had a small swivel gun mounted on one of the pack mules, they did not have any trouble with the Mojaves.¹¹⁸

Leaving the villages, they headed west for the Mojave River. They were able to reach Lugo Ranch by February 5, 1831. The party had had a rough trip, but arrived without serious mishap. The basic "Old Spanish Trail" had been traversed. Later travelers would develop shortcuts, one from the vicinity of Cedar City, Utah into the Mountain Meadows and the Santa Clara River, over the mountains to the Beaver Dams; and a second from the Virgin River west of Bunkerville, Nevada over the Mormon Mesa to the Muddy, and from there a journey of about fifty miles to Vegas Springs.¹¹⁹

During the next fifteen or sixteen years, a great many caravans regularly crossed along this route. They soon bypassed the Colorado River entirely, taking instead the Vegas Springs shortcut to the north.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 90-91.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 92.

¹¹⁸ Hafen and Hafen, Old Spanish Trail, pp. 139-154.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 153-154.

With this change, the Mojave Indians and the lower canyons region of the Coloardo River began to play less significant roles.

Settlers. In 1837, the trails to California began carrying settlers to the new land. One of the first groups to take wagons and supplies over the Old Spanish Trail was William Pope and Isaac Slover. John Wolfskill traversed the route with them that same year. But the first major expedition came with the William Workman-John Rowand party in 1841. Because of the pressures from the Mexican government in New Mexico, these people elected to move to California and arrived there via the northern route in 1842. As with most of the traffic by 1841, they bypassed the lower canyons of the Coloardo.¹²⁰

Summary

A new era had come by the 1840's. The Americans and Mexicans had thoroughly explored the Southwest. They had trapped its streams and opened its trails. They, with many others, were attracted to California. In 1846, the Mexican War brought new political control. The discovery of California gold two years later brought new demands for better, shorter, and safer routes. The government surveyors soon followed. The trappers and traders would show them where to go.

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 199.

THE COLORADO: EXPLORING THE RIVER

The Indians, the Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans knew a great deal about the Colorado River before any official exploration was undertaken. Their story has been discussed. This chapter traces the transfer of this earlier knowledge into more official and permanent records. With government-directed expeditions, the Southwest, the Colorado River, and its lower canyon regions became well known and mapped. This story will be treated in three major periods--that associated with the Mexican War and subsequent gold rush to California; that related quite directly to military operations in the Rocky Mountain West, especially the Mormon War; and later post Civil War explorations concerned primarily with the region and the river's navigation limitations.

The Mexican War Period

Official government interest in the Colorado River began before 1846. An early explorer, John C. Fremont, wrote on August 16, 1843, that the descent of the Green and Colorado was

but little known, and that little derived from vague reports. Three hundred miles of its lower part, as it approaches the gulf of California, is reported to be smooth and tranquil; but its upper part is manifestly broken into many falls and rapids. From many descriptions of trappers, it is probable that in its foaming course among its lofty precipices it presents many scenes of wild grandeur; and though offering many temptations, and often discussed, no trappers have been found bold enough to undertake a voyage which has so certain a prospect of a fatal termination.

Fremont's California expedition had been undertaken to solve the mysteries of the Great Basin. As he traveled over portions of the Old Spanish

Trail near Las Vegas Springs in 1844, he noted his proximity to the Colorado River but made no attempt to explore it.¹

The Mexican War Brought more direct American interest in the Colorado River. United States troops marching to California submitted official reports. It should be noted that mountain men were guiding both groups.

Stephen W. Kearny. The first expedition to cross the Colorado was led by General Stephen W. Kearny late in 1846. The report of Lt. W. H. Emery is most revealing. Emery speculated that the Colorado River was navigable from the Gulf of California to the mouth of the Gila at all seasons of the year.² He also predicted that this confluence would become "a seat of wealth and importance, [with] most of the mineral and fur regions of a vast extant of country being drained by these two rivers." Further, one of his men, Francisco, reported the Colorado "remained about the same for seven days travel up river" until it reached a "canyon impassible for horses or canoes."³

¹John C. Fremont, Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-44 (Washington: Gales and Seaton Printers, 1845), pp. 3, 119, 249-270. One of Fremont's goals in 1843 was to obtain data on the Rio Colorado; however, he could find few trappers who were "sufficiently familiar with the region." Fremont's guides included Thomas Fitzpatrick, Alexis Goday, Kit Carson, and Joseph R. Walker.

²Lt. Col. W. H. Emery, Extract From Report of a Military Reconnaissance Made in 1846 and 1847. . . . (Washington: Beverly Tucker Printers, 1855), pp. 6, 17-20. Emery was aware of Lt. R. W. H. Hardy's 1826 report. Kearny employed Kit Carson and Thomas Fitzpatrick.

³Ibid., pp. 17 and 20. See also Captain A. R. Johnston, "Journal of Captain A. R. Johnston, First Dragoon," 30th Cong., 1st Sess., House Exec. Doc. No. 41, pp. 609-610. Johnston also believed the Colorado and Gila to be navigable, and that the area might "one day fill a large space in the world's history." An interesting aside by Emery concluded that the area would thrive better under Mexican peonage than under southern slavery, since the former was more economical.

Philip St. George Cooke. The second expedition to reach the Colorado was commanded by Colonel Philip St. George Cooke. He and the Mormon Battalion had been assigned to open a wagon route south of the Gila. About sixty miles above the Gila's mouth Cooke's men made two pontoon boats from the flatbeds of wagons. However, "the experiment failed signally owing to the shallowness of the water."⁴ Nevertheless, the empty "beds" were floated down stream to the Colorado where they were used for ferrying wagons and supplies across the river, January 7-11, 1847.

Cooke commented that the "river is said to be navigable by steamboats for 350 miles." He also mentioned the big canyons upstream. He viewed the prospects for agriculture in the region as very good.⁵ Members of the Mormon Battalion reported that the river valley was "wide and fertile."⁶ In consequence of these and other reports, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, provided that "the vessels and citizens of the United States would have free and uninterrupted passage by the Gulf of California, and by the River Colorado."⁷

⁴Ralph P. Bieber, ed., Exploring Southwestern Trails, 1846-1854 by Philip St. George Cooke, William Henry Chase Whiting, and Francois Xavier Aubry, in Southwest Historical Series, vol. 7 (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1938), pp. 185-187. Cooke tells of sealing the wagon beds with pitch to make them water worthy. Cooke's several guides included Antoine Leroux, Toussaint Charbonneau, and Pauline Weaver.

⁵Bieber, Cooke . . . , p. 198-201. Cooke crossed several days ahead of his main company. His report on the river compared it with the Mississippi and included a statement supporting the raising of sugar cane.

⁶"Journal of Robert S. Bliss, with the Mormon Battalion," Utah Historical Quarterly, IV (July 1931), 83. See also "Extracts from the Journal of Henry W. Bigler," Utah Historical Quarterly, V (April 1932), 53.

⁷George P. Hammond, ed., The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,

California Gold Rush. The news of gold caused thousands of emigrants to rush to California. Early in 1848, the need for good ferry services and supplies at the Gila-Colorado crossing became obvious. The military from California and the Pacific Command attempted as early as the summer of 1850 to provide help to the travelers. In November, Major Samuel P. Heintzelman led three companies of infantry from San Diego to establish what was to become Fort Yuma. The soldiers could control the Indians, but they could bring in few supplies. As land freight routes were already overloaded and expensive, and as the post could be maintained only with adequate supply lines, other action was demanded.

Lt. George Derby. The U. S. Government commissioned Lt. George Derby, U.S.N., to take the 120-ton schooner Invincible and explore the Colorado River. His instructions were to

fix by observations and deductions as far as possible all of the points about the head of the Gulf of California important to the navigation of the Colorado. You will record the soundings when they may have been procured, especially at the entrance of the river and in its course upward. You will ascertain as far as practicable the rise and fall of the tide, and the time of high water at the full and change of the moon at the mouth of the river. Likewise record the character and topography of the country at the head of the gulf and river, as far as falls within your observation, and make a sketch of all the coast and shores in that neighborhood; and procure all such other information as may be of use to the service and the public generally.

Derby left California, October 11, 1850, using Lt. Hardy's report as his guide. By December 23, 1850, he steamed into the hazardous Colorado Delta. Because of the tidal bore in the estuary and the difficulty of navigating the river, Derby soon anchored the Invincible and explored

February Second, 1848 (Berkeley: The Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1949), pp. 12 and 31. See especially Article VI, p. 33. Land access along the banks of the Colorado River within Mexico was not granted to the Americans.

up river at least twenty-seven miles with his long boat. He also sent word to Major Heintzelman that he had supplies for the fort.⁸ From these reconnaissances, Derby produced a good account of the river's delta.

Major Heintzelman. From Fort Yuma, Heintzelman came to know the lower Colorado River area well. As soon as he received word of Lt. Derby, he left camp "in a surf boat," with five men, January 12, 1851, and met the Invincible's boat on the morning of the 14th. His men also made their own survey of the river. After meeting with Derby, Heintzelman's crew pushed back up river. The round trip took twelve hard days. Heintzelman then sent wagons overland seventy-five miles to bring in the freight, even though traveling along the banks of the Colorado River was a breach of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Through the efforts of Derby and Heintzelman, the Colorado River had been explored from Fort Yuma to its mouth and a water supply route had been confirmed. Heintzelman subsequently proposed supplying the new fort with a steamboat from a store ship anchored at the mouth of the Colorado.⁹

A few months later Heintzelman took his soldiers up river more than 150 miles, this time against the Indians. Of it Heintzelman recorded:

that the navigation of the Colorado above the junction of the Gila, for about a hundred miles, is better than below the junction, and far superior to the Ohio. There was at no place in the channel less than six feet of water. The lands on the river bottoms are excellent. This may ultimately be found the best route to the Great Salt Lake, and should the southern route be

⁸George H. Derby, Topographical Reports (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1933), pp. 61-62; and Geoffrey Sykes, The Colorado Delta (Washington: U. S. Department of Interior Report, 1937), p. 19. "Letter of Major Samuel P. Heintzelman to Major Emory," San Francisco Daily Herald, (October 22, 1851).

⁹Ibid.

selected for a railroad, the iron could be introduced by this river.¹⁰

This report focused attention up river.

William Manly. The California Gold Rush also produced river runners further north. William L. Manly came west during the summer of 1849, as a driver of an ox team. When he reached the crossing of the Green River in Wyoming, he and six companions decided to float down the river to California. They believed this to be not only a better and easier route, but also one whereby they could avoid confrontation with the Mormons.

Loading their limited supplies in an old ferry boat, they headed down river, delighted with the adventure and bright prospects. However, once the canyons were reached, conditions changed. The party discovered evidence of the earlier expedition of William H. Ashley, 1825. Soon after this their boat was pinned against a rock, so the men constructed three dugout canoes to continue their trip. A few days later they discovered a camp with a record of another party who had preceded them on the river. This group elected to go overland to Salt Lake City and advised anyone else to do the same.¹¹ Undaunted, the adventurers continued, but the rapids in the river overturned two canoes and all heavy supplies in them were lost.

¹⁰"Letter of General A. E. Hitchcock, October 29, 1852," 32nd Cong., 2nd Sess., House Exec. Doc. No. 12 (Serial 674), pt. II, p. 31.

¹¹Mile M. Quaife, ed., Death Valley in '49 by William L. Manly (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1927), pp. 84-85, 89, 95. The river party consisted of William L. Manly, M. S. McMahon, Charles Hazelrig, Joseph Hazelrig, Richard Field, Alfred Walton, and John Rogers. Obviously they knew little about the Green and Colorado rivers or they would not have attempted such a trip. Manly gives Ashley's date as 1824. The second party's identity remains unknown.

Upon reaching the Uintah Basin, the men discovered the camp of Chief Walker, who advised them of the hazards on the river below. Posing as "Mormonee," they were treated kindly by the Ute chief, who gave them directions for reaching Salt Lake City overland. Five of the party headed west. However, McMahon and Fields elected to chance the river rather than the "uncertain route" given by the Indians; later, they also returned overland to Utah.¹²

Official Exploration. In 1849 Captain J. H. Simpson was sent to explore the area north and west of Santa Fe in order to subdue the Navajo Indians; and, although he talked with trappers about it, he did not go to the river itself.

In 1851, Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves, guided by Antoine Leroux, reached the Colorado along the 35th Parallel route. Originally he had intended "to explore the river upward to the great canyon, and determine accurately the mouth of the Rio Virgin. . .";¹³ but, being short of supplies, the expedition followed down the east bank of the Colorado then crossed to Fort Yuma above the junction of the Gila. Sitgreaves noted that "the river is obstructed by shifting sandbars, rendering its navigation difficult, if not impossible, except during a high stage of the water."¹⁴ This report proved to be correct in essence, though Sitgreaves did not himself navigate the stream.

¹²Ibid., pp. 86-125.

¹³Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves, Report of an Expedition Down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers . . . (Washington: Armstrong Public Printers, 1853), p. 17. Sitgreaves did not explore up river.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 21. See also Daily Alta California (May 31, 1857), for Leroux's account of his 1837 trip through the lower canyons.

Lt. Whipple. During the summer of 1853, F. X. Aubry crossed the Colorado below Black Canyon enroute to Santa Fe, New Mexico. He believed that the river was "well-adapted to navigation."¹⁵ The impact of his report, however, was overshadowed by that of Lt. A. M. Whipple, who traversed similar terrain for a transcontinental railroad survey (1853-1854). Of the Colorado River, Whipple recorded it was "500 yards wide and of a strong current," where he crossed above the Needles, and, though reportedly free of rapids, it did have them but probably was navigable for light vessels at least to the Mojave villages.¹⁶ Whipple's report added little information on the river's navigability.

The Mormon War Period

Mormons 1855-1856. The Mormon leaders followed the government explorations of the southwest and particularly the Colorado River, with close attention. They had considered using it as an emigrant route to Zion even before 1850.¹⁷ Actual Mormon exploration of the river was undertaken in connection with missionary work to the Indians, and their move to control the corridor to California from southern Utah.

In June 1855 the Las Vegas Mission was established.¹⁸ At the same

¹⁵F. X. Aubry, "Aubry's Journal from California to New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Quarterly, VII (January 1932), p. 16. Bieber, Francois Xavier Aubry, pp. 353-383. Aubry's survey was not government sponsored.

¹⁶Lt. Amiel M. Whipple, Reports of Exploration and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, 1853-1854 (Washington: A. O. P. Nichols, Printer, 1856), Part I, pp. 116-125 and Part II, p. 41.

¹⁷Brigham Young had early sought a southwest sea outlet. The Mormons' renewed interests in the river often followed upon government survey reports.

¹⁸Andrew Jensen, compiler, "The History of the Las Vegas Mission,"

time Rufus C. Allan, President of the Southern Indian Mission, arrived at Vegas with instructions from Brigham Young to explore the "Colorado below its nearest point from Las Vegas and get the soundings of the river and see if it were navigable for boats."¹⁹

Taking five men from his own group and asking for two of the "missionaries,"²⁰ Allan left Vegas June 18, traveled down Vegas Wash south-east in a "country much broken and red, having the appearance of a volcanic country,"²¹ and passed by Sunrise and Frenchman Mountains and Lava Butte. Likely they traveled east as far as Gypsum Wash before turning south to the river. Thomas D. Brown reported the Colorado was about "1/4 mile wide, the water a light grey color, and some drift wood floating on it." Turning downstream, they passed the Vegas Wash confluence, where they noted Indian wheat stubble and saw several Indians. A few miles below "the rocks closed up," (the head of Black Canyon), so the party camped for the night. The river's current was swift and smooth, and, in their judgment, navigable, although driftwood indicated earlier floods had raised the stream's level fifteen to thirty feet higher than its current level.

Nevada State Historical Society Papers, 1925-1926 (Reno: Nevada State Historical Society, 1926), pp. 119-284. Bringhurst's party arrived June 14, 1855. Allan's party came about the same time. See also Stanley W. Paher, Las Vegas: As It Began, As It Grew (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1971), especially chapter 2.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 133.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 133-134. Two missionaries who volunteered to go were Sylvester Hulet and George Bean. The original exploring party consisted of Rufus C. Allan, head of the expedition; Thomas D. Brown, historian; Isaac C. Riddle, Thales Haskell, James Allred, and Peter Shirts. See Thomas D. Brown, Journal of the Southern Indian Mission (Typescript: Brigham Young University Library), n.p. Brown's account is followed closely in reporting the trip.

²¹ Brown, n.p.

On the 19th, the expedition moved west into the lava formations of the El Dorado Mountains. Their Indian guide claimed he could lead them to water and eventually to the river, but they found some ledges impassable to the horses. Their guide took them to another spring about one-half mile away. Here they found better water but limited grass. They spent two days in this region, and on the night of the 20th stopped at a spring probably in upper El Dorado Canyon. Their guide wanted them to visit the "Tatts" [Mojave Indians] a short distance down the river, but Allan concluded to return to Vegas as directly as possible. The following day, June 21, they headed north and east across the barren rocks. Crossing over "a divide" (probably Railroad Pass), they saw Vegas Springs in the distance. The party pushed ahead to a nearer spring, where they remained overnight, returning to Las Vegas the next day, June 22.²²

This trip during the heat of summer had been difficult, although the men had traveled only about 60 miles. They reported the river was probably navigable downstream from their point of contact with it above Vegas Wash. The Indians assured them there were no "rapids" below, although George Bean reported seeing rapids in Black Canyon. However, none of the Mormons actually explored on the river. Bean, who had been on the expedition and who remained at the Las Vegas Mission, reported later: "We found the river and the stream, but no boat or anything on the river to make one of."²³ Bean later wrote about plans to build a steamer

²² Ibid. Brown indicated their metal stirrups also became too hot for their moccasined feet. His directions are off 90°. When he gives a heading northeast, it really was southeast, etc., an error with which he was consistent throughout his report. George Bean claims they had gone as far south as El Dorado Canyon. See Flora D. B. Horne. Autobiography of George W. Bean and his family record (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1945), p. 120.

²³ "Letters of George W. Bean to George A. Smith," Deseret News

and sail down river to visit friends and convert the Indians.²⁴

The Las Vegas missionaries later took a census of the Indians and the area's resources. To fulfill this assignment, William Bringham left Vegas January 30, 1856 with several men to explore the Colorado River. Their Indian guide, Chief Joshua, led them along Vegas Wash to the Colorado, then up river "about 10 miles" to the canyon [Boulder Canyon] where they turned left possibly up Callville Wash into rough country that brought them to the Virgin River ten miles below its confluence with the Muddy River. They followed up this stream to the California Trail and returned to Vegas February 6, 1856. Their exploration gave evidence of major navigation obstacles in Boulder Canyon.²⁵

By this time the Mormons had explored the areas near the Colorado but had never been on the river itself. Their 1855-1856 reports to Brigham Young on the navigability of the river were not optimistic.

Mormons 1857-1858. Reports of a military invasion of Utah, via the Colorado in 1857, caused Mormon leaders to look again at the river. In late 1857 Ira Hatch and Dudley Leavitt were sent as Indian "missionaries" to the Mojaves. Their route took them south from Las Vegas as far as Cottonwood Valley. They made no direct report on the river's

(July 25, 1855). His letter had been written soon after the expedition and was then released to the paper by George A. Smith.

²⁴ "Letter of George W. Bean to George A. Smith," Deseret News, (October 1, 1855).

²⁵ Jensen, "Las Vegas," pp. 201-202. This expedition may have influenced the Mormons to build a landing at Callville later. Members of the expedition included William Bringham, George W. Bean, Ariot L. Hale, William C. A. Smoot, Albert Miles, Sylvester Hulet, William C. Mitchell and William Foster.

navigability.²⁶ Nor did Jacob Hamblin, who intercepted Lt. Joseph C. Ives' river expedition, in March 1858. However, a third expedition led by Apostle Amasa M. Lyman, in April-May 1858, had the express purpose of exploration, first of all to determine how far up river steamers could go and, secondly, to locate a defensive site. Lyman conceded the river was navigable at least as far as El Dorado Canyon. He led his own party down river on the west bank to the Mojave villages, picking a site in Pyramid Canyon, at which an invading army could be stopped if necessary.²⁷ Whatever new information these expeditions may have brought was soon superseded by the official exploration made by Lt. Ives during the same period of time.

Lt. Sylvester Mowry 1855. A series of events began in 1855 that led eventually to the 1857-1858 Ives' Expedition. Lt. Sylvester Mowry had wintered in Salt Lake City during 1854-1855. Because of attentions paid to Brigham Young's daughter-in-law, Mowry's departure had been "encouraged."²⁸ Subsequently he led an expedition south from Salt Lake City. At Las Vegas he visited with the Mormon missionaries about their planned exploration of the Colorado River. Upon his arrival at Fort Tejon, in California, Mowry recommended a government expedition, led by him-

²⁶ Jacob Hamblin, Journals, Number 34 (Typescript: Utah State Historical Society), pp. 30-32.

²⁷ Melvin T. Smith, "Colorado River Exploration and the Mormon War," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXXVIII (Summer 1970), 212-221. See also Amasa Lyman Journal, Number 16 (Typescript: Utah State Historical Society), pp. 111-112.

²⁸ Lynn R. Bailey, ed., "Lt. Sylvester Mowry's Report on his march in 1855 from Salt Lake City to Fort Tejon," Arizona and the West, VII (Winter 1965), 330-337. The young lady's husband was absent on a mission for the L.D.S. Church.

self, both to explore the Colorado to its high point of navigation, and to survey a wagon road to Salt Lake City.²⁹ Though Mowry's request was not granted, that September Captain T. J. Cramm, Department of the Pacific, did request \$10,000 for a survey.

George A. Johnson 1856-1858. Interest in a river survey was not lost upon George A. Johnson, who had two steamers operating on the lower river. In 1856 he managed an interview with Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, and requested \$50,000 to undertake his exploration. Major Robert Allan, Department of the Army, Pacific Command, contacted Johnson in the spring of 1857, asking the charge for use of a steamer on such an expedition. Johnson quoted a figure of \$3,500 per month. Apparently the Army considered the amount too high. At least Johnson did not get the assignment.³⁰

In the meantime, Lt. Edward F. Beale, enroute to California with his camels, reached the Colorado River near the "Needles." He had intended to explore down river to Fort Yuma, but because of Indian unrest decided it was too hazardous.³¹

Miffed at being left out officially, George Johnson decided to explore up river on his own. He could still be first anyway. The Mormon War scare and Indian unrest allowed him to enlist Lt. James White and a company of sixteen soldiers from Fort Yuma as escorts. Sixteen civilians,

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 338-339.

³⁰ Arthur Woodward, Feud on the Colorado (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1955), pp. 61-62. Johnson expected a contract and made arrangements for the expedition.

³¹ Lewis Burt Lesley, Uncle Sam's Camels (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), pp. 123, 261-262.

trappers, and mountain men, including Pauline Weaver who knew the area well, also went along.³² Johnson's strategy was simple. While Lt. Ives was preparing his boat at the mouth of the Colorado River, a Yuma Indian was sent up river to the Mojave villages, from which he floated downstream, noting sandbars and other potential navigational hazards. With his side-wheeler, General Jesep, Captain Johnson steamed from Fort Yuma, December 31, 1857.

Lt. White describes their trip and the river. At low water, the steam was at least 2-1/2 to 3-feet deep, with only a few rapids which higher waters would cover completely. Shifting sands were something else, but Captain Johnson's skills moved the steamer past these obstacles with a minimum of delay. White continued with his report:

The river, from our point of departure, winds through the Valley in which stands Fort Yuma, for about 35 miles. To this succeed canons [sic] and vallies in the following order, The canon terminating the Fort Yuma valley, extends for 32 miles. Next is a valley extending for 145 miles; . . . The canon which closes this valley, extends for 27 miles. It contains the mouth of the small tributary known as "Bill Williams Fork." Where this tributary enters the Colorado, it is now but a mere brook, not more than three or four feet broad. . . .

Next succeeds a short and narrow valley, occupied by the Chimmewaywas. It contains a considerable portion of cotton wood, willow and mesquite: extends for about 12 miles along the winding river, and back from its banks from 4 to 8 miles. A canon closes this valley and extends for about 10 miles. It contains no wood. To this succeeds a valley extending for 60 miles along the river and back from its banks, from 10 to 15 miles. This is almost exclusively occupied by the Mohaves and contains the 3 great mass [sic] of that people. In it is the road crossing lately followed by Mr. Beale. One mile below this crossing the Colorado first touches the soil of California. The country of the Hualyopais begins in the upper part of this valley. The valley contains but little wood

³² Woodward, pp. 79-81. Lt. William A. Winder was in command at the post and assigned Lt. White to the expedition. White's report is a major source of information about the trip.

in the lower half of it; but in the upper part, it is quite plentiful. A canon closes this and extends for 7 miles. This marks the end of our route, by steamer. Just at the entrance of the valley succeeding this canon, we found a succession of three rapids, which would have required a day for us to overcome; inasmuch as we had no capstan, and would have been compelled to resort to less expeditious means of hauling over. Our provisions were now too much reduced to allow of further progress, but wishing to learn as much as practicable of the valley we were approaching, we went, with a small boat and a party on land, about five miles above where the steamer lay. This brought us to the border of the bottom lands of the valley. It appeared to extend up the river, about 10 miles, and was probably some three miles wide. A good growth of cottonwood was visible.

Though brief, White's account gives a generally accurate picture of the river for "320 miles above the mouth of the Gila."³³ Johnson claimed later to have reached El Dorado Canyon, but, obviously, from White's account the steamer stopped in Pyramid Canyon with the land party going only into Cottonwood Valley.

On his return, Johnson passed Ives's Explorer a few days up river from Fort Yuma. The honor of being first was Johnson's. It was unfortunate that his General Jesep hit a snag about thirty-five miles above the fort and sank ignominiously. Too bad, also, White's report received so little attention. Perhaps the immediate appearance and thoroughness of Ives' report made it seem a less vital document.³⁴

Lt. Joseph C. Ives 1857-1858. The official assignment to explore the lower Colorado River was given to Lt. Joseph C. Ives in June of 1857. His particular objectives were to determine the high point of navigation above the Gulf of California, to evaluate the river's feasibility as a supply

³³Ibid., pp. 98-101. White apparently took some measurements as he gives the high point of navigation as 35° 11'.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 93-94. Woodward feels that the Ives' expedition has been overrated and acclaimed, and suggests that Lt. James White's report was "lost" for a purpose.

route to proposed military posts in New Mexico and Utah Territories,³⁵ and, finally, to determine its possible utility for transporting troops into Utah in consequence of the "Mormon War."³⁶ On each of these objectives Lt. Ives reported in detail.

Claiming that charter services of steamers already on the river were too expensive,³⁷ Ives had a sternwheel steamer built in Philadelphia, tested it on the Delaware River, dismantled and shipped it to San Francisco, where he began to assemble his expedition.³⁸ The lieutenant selected some very able assistants, including Dr. J. S. Newberry, F. W. Egloffstein, and Mr. Baldwin Mollhausen. He divided his contingent into four groups. Newberry sailed to San Diego, obtained mules, and pushed overland to Fort Yuma. A second contingent under P. H. Taylor debarked at San Pedro, picked up livestock, and moved east to Yuma via Fort Tejon. Lt. John Tipton and twenty-five men of the 3rd Artillery were already at the fort. Finally, Ives, A. J. Carroll, the engineer, and eight men sailed aboard the Monterey under Captain Walsh for the mouth of the Colorado

³⁵ Joseph C. Ives, Report Upon the Colorado River of the West, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), pp. 5-6, 21.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 39. News of the Mormon unrest reached Ives' expedition via newspapers and letters given him by Captain Wilcox who passed the Explorer December 31, 1857, just after the steamer got underway. See also "Letter of A. A. Humphreys to Joseph C. Ives," (November 18, 1857), copies in L. S., B. E. S. 48 and quoted in William T. Goetzmann. "The Topographical Engineers and the Western Movement." The Westerners (New York: New York Possee Brand Book, No. 4, 1958), Pt. 3, p. 382. The Mormon conflict had a definite impact on Ives' exploration of the river.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 50. Seventy thousand dollars was appropriated for the project.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 21-22. Having received his command in June 1851, Ives placed an order to Reaney, Neafie and Company of Philadelphia for a steamer. By August 15 it was tested, and then a few days later shipped west via the Isthmus of Panama. It arrived in San Francisco October 1, 1857.

River, which they reached November 29, 1857.³⁹

At this point the Monterey encountered the hazards of the Colorado Delta, the high spring tides and river bore. With some difficulty, she was grounded in a side gully and supplies for Ives unloaded near Robinson's Landing. Two weeks later the neap tides refloated the vessel. Captain Walsh unloaded the remaining cargo for Fort Yuma, and prepared to set sail. A week later he left.

Ives' crew commenced immediately, upon arrival, to assemble their steamer. Drift wood was collected, a pit dug in which a trestle was built, and work begun. The trial run of the Explorer on the Delaware had revealed structural weakness amidships due to the heavy vibration of the machinery. Consequently, Engineer Carroll bolted lumber scantling to the exterior hull to strengthen it. The work of assembling the steamer proceeded with all haste, as it was imperative that they be ready for the new high tides the last of the month. Christmas Day a head of steam was gotten up and preparations made to get underway. Captain Robert Robinson arrived December 29, 1857. The tide peaked about midnight and the Explorer was officially launched. Excess supplies were stored in the long boats towed along side as the party headed up river.⁴⁰

Travel on the river was difficult and slow. The steamer stopped at

³⁹Ibid., pp. 21-25. Included in the expedition personnel were J. S. Newberry, physician and Natural History; F. W. Egloffstein, Topographer; P. H. Taylor, Astronomical assistant; C. K. Booker, Meteorologist; Mr. Baldwin Mollhausen, artist and collector of Natural History; A. J. Carroll, engineer; Captain A. H. Robinson as pilot; and Lt. John Tipton, in charge of military escort. Other members of the expedition are not named.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 26-37. Ives described in some detail the delta region, the weather, the Cocopa Indians, water fowl and general conditions. They began their trip up river December 30, 1857.

night and whenever wood was needed. Being anxious to meet the "express" to California, Ives left the Explorer for an overland horseback ride. His horse proved obstinate to a fault, requiring eight hours for the twenty-seven mile trip. Ives consequently missed the mail carriers, but was able to meet with his men and make final plans for the expedition. When the Explorer arrived, Ives had only to add a few supplies and make minor repairs.⁴¹

The General Jesep was already up river when the official expedition left Fort Yuma January 11, 1858. To the delight of the Indians, the amusement of the soldiers of the Fort, and the embarrassment of the explorers, the steamer ran aground on a sandbar a mile above camp and required about five hours to be extricated.⁴² However, they proceeded up river slowly, taking careful soundings, recording the flora and fauna and geology of the area. The evidences of mineral wealth were noted. By the 23rd they had reached Chimney Peak, and shortly thereafter Halfway Mountain.⁴³

The Yuma Indians, and later the Chemehuevis, who knew the river, soon sensed where the Explorer would have troubles. Engineer Carroll learned to read their clustering on the bank as a sign of trouble ahead. Cautiously the steamer paddled up river into Monument Canyon, past Bill

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 38-44. Ives reached Fort Yuma about January 5, 1858. His description of his trip from the Explorer to the white settler's place and subsequent horseback ride is classic. The steamer was delayed with a broken rudder but reached Fort Yuma by January 9, 1858. The river flow, apparently, was unusually low.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 45-46. Ives' party consisted of twenty-four men and two Yumas Mariano and Capitan. The Explorer was particularly awkward because of the scantling bolted on the outside.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 47-55. On January 23, Captain Johnson, beginning his return, was ferrying Lt. E. F. Beale's outfits across the Colorado River in Mojave Valley.

Williams Fork.⁴⁴ Continuing up river into Chemehuevis Valley, Ives met an old Chemehuevis friend and traded for supplies.⁴⁵ At the northern end of that valley they passed a series of rapids before entering Mojave Canyon, in which the Needles were located. This formation formed the lower end of Mojave Valley, where the party camped February 9, 1858.⁴⁶

When the expedition reached Mojave Valley, Ives re-established contact with former acquaintances and traded for corn and beans. Chief Cairook allowed him the guide services of his friend Ireteba. Both Indians had been with Whipple's party four years earlier. The Mojave Indians were generally friendly, and Ives attempted to maintain a good workable relationship with them.⁴⁷

The river through Mojave Valley proved quite navigable in spite of a shifting stream bed and a series of three shoals where islands divided the stream. Continuing up river February 24, the Explorer paddled across the rapids, past Bullhead Rock and into Pyramid Canyon. At its upper end a series of rapids were encountered. In the crew's first attempt to ascend them, the tow line broke and the Explorer swung down through the

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 56-58. Ives had been with Lt. A. M. Whipple in 1854 when he reached the Colorado River via Bill Williams Fork. At that time it was a sizeable stream of thirty feet width; hence, Ives had difficulty identifying it from the river.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 58-59. Ives was short of supplies as his progress up river was slower than he planned. He was expecting Lt. Tipton to meet him with the pack train in Mojave Valley on his return down stream from the high point of navigation. Ives describes in some detail the Indians along the river.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 59-64.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 65-74. Ives reported favorably on the Mojaves. To build good relations with the river Indians, Ives dealt honestly and openly with them. He even introduced new vegetable seeds among them.

rocks and came to rest below. On the second try they were successful in overcoming the obstacle that had turned back George Johnson's General Iesep a month earlier.

The steamer pushed on into Cottonwood Valley, steamed north over small rapids, through Painted Canyon, to stop at Round Island. Ives believed he was entering wholly new territory and gave names to major landmarks along the river.⁴⁸ As they continued up river their guide, Ireteba, claimed the steamer could not pass through Black Canyon. When the boat struck "Explorer Rock" Ireteba's judgment of the high point of navigation seemed confirmed. Once the degree of damage to the Explorer's hull was ascertained, the steamer was moved down stream to a sandbar for repairs, which were completed in a few days.

At this juncture Ives reviewed his situation. Although Ireteba was concerned about reports of "bad Pai-Utes" and Mormons and an ambuscade, Ives still decided to ascend the canyon in the skiff. Ireteba returned to the Mojave villages for information on Lt. Tipton and the pack train. Ives also noted their shortage of salt and the tasteless diet of beans and cornbread they had.⁴⁹

Lt. Ives, Captain Robinson and the mate, rowed up stream through the canyon. The steep, deep walls almost shut out the sky. Several major rapids were noted, including Roaring Rapids. The first night was spent in the canyon. They reached the upper end the second day. At this

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 75-84. Several names that persisted are Bullhead Rock, Pyramid Canyon, Cottonwood Valley, Mount Newberry, Mount Davis, Painted Canyon, and Round Island. Ives' details of the river are easily followed.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 82-84. Ironically one of the finest sources of salt lay a few miles to the northeast along the Virgin River. A few days later an Indian brought them some of this fine crystal salt.

point Ives climbed the mountains to look around, noting the Great Bend of the Colorado River, Fortification Rock, and the general low country lying northwest toward the Mormon Road. He was unable from his vantage point to identify the mouth of the Virgin River.

The following day the party proceeded up river to Vegas Wash,⁵⁰ but identified it as the Virgin River. Ives concluded further river reconnaissance was unnecessary and began his return trip. The thirty-miles to the mouth of Black Canyon were covered in only a few hours. He immediately inquired of the pack train, but had to wait one day before Ireteba returned with a report. In the meantime, he sent a reconnaissance party, guided by Nah-vah-roo-pah, west to locate the Mormon Road. Ives then steamed down river, intercepted one of the Mormons in the area,⁵¹ and met his pack train. The Mojaves had become concerned about the military's presence among them, but Ives managed to calm their feelings with presents and by leaving the river and their valley.⁵² The Explorer steamed down river, and Ives headed east overland.

Ives' report is important. Its detail and mapping were the best and most thorough to date. His prediction that the mouth of Black Canyon was the high point of navigation was only partially correct, as steamers did paddle up the Colorado not only to Callville but to Bonelli Ferry at the Virgin River confluence. However, for George A. Johnson, who beat Ives in exploring up river, the high point of navigation remained below Pyramid

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 85-90. Ives believed the Virgin River entered the Colorado from the northwest near the Great Bend; thus, when he discovered Vegas Wash, he supposed it to be the Virgin. Ives also named Roaring Rapids and Fortification Rock.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 90, and Smith, pp. 218-221.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 90-92. Ives proved effective as a diplomat. The Military-Mormon-Indian conflict was a delicate one to handle.

Canyon for many years. Ives also foresaw the potential for mineral development in the area.

Other circumstances influenced the impact of Ives' report. The Mormon War crisis was soon over. Freight and soldiers did come up river, but not for Utah, rather for posts along the Colorado and in Arizona territory.

Later Explorations. Several factors influenced later explorations of the Colorado River. First of all, the open hostilities in Mojave Valley brought in a military post in 1859. Secondly, mining along the Colorado River and in the area increased, and with both of these new factors came a demand for supplies and water freighting. Thirdly, the Civil War outbreak shifted the nation's focus and resources away from the west and further river expeditions. However, interest in exploration continued.

In late 1862 Jacob Hamblin and party on his fourth trip to the Hopi Indians traveled south from St. George to the Grand Wash and there crossed the Colorado. A year later he again (March 1863) crossed at approximately the same spot; however, this time Hamblin had a skiff and actually rowed up river from Grand Wash to the area of Pearce's Ferry (later), where others in their party reported a better crossing. Theirs was the first boat on that two-or-three mile section of river.⁵³ To date no record has been produced of other up river explorations before the spring of 1864.

One explorer, Samuel Adams, later claimed to have traveled to Callville area in the spring of 1864, built a raft, and floated down river three

⁵³ See James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission, Book A (Typescript: Utah State Historical Society), pp. 100-101.

hundred miles. However, no contemporary accounts verify this trip.⁵⁴

A reporter to the Daily Alta California wrote under date of March 10, 1864 from El Dorado Canyon that "There has been a small steamer pass through Black Canyon above here."⁵⁵ He identified neither the steamer nor the distance traveled. A likely prospect for such a trip would have been George A. Johnson, but no record confirms this assumption.

A month later, April 27, 1864, another account in the same paper reported that "Messrs. Butterfield and Perry passed here [Fort Mojave] a few days ago up river to explore in a small boat." Apparently they intended to go upstream 200 or 300 miles. It would seem likely that Perry was, in fact, James Ferry, who, the article notes, "had been on the Virgin River before."⁵⁶ A second report under date of June 12, 1864 told of their exploration. The river was reported navigable for 180 miles above Fort Mojave, and they claimed to have been up river some 250 miles and had discovered sources of timber, a vein of coal crossing the river, and salt.⁵⁷

Apparently the group undertook a second expedition in June 1864. Leaving El Dorado, they rowed upstream to Vegas Wash, then another

⁵⁴Samuel Adams, "Exploring the Colorado River and Its Tributaries," 41st Cong., 3rd Sess., House Misc. Doc. No. 12, pp. 1-3. There is no question that Adams was a major promoter of Colorado River navigation, but some of his "exploits" want confirmation, including his 1864 raft ride. See also Odie B. Fault, "The Steamboat War that opened Arizona," Arizoniana V (Winter 1964), 1-9. If Adam's trip was a fact, it still merely duplicated the 1837 feat of Antoine Leroux.

⁵⁵Daily Alta California (April 6, 1864).

⁵⁶Daily Alta California (May 14, 1864).

⁵⁷Daily Alta California (July 4, 1864). Apparently the salt mountains on the Virgin River were located and timber on the Kiabab or even Mt. Trumbull area.

twelve miles to Circle Valley (Callville). They continued up river into the Grand Canyon. From Indians they heard that the junction of the Green and Grand rivers was only 140 miles away, which was not a bad estimate.⁵⁸

It is probable that the O. D. Gass party of three men (1864) was the second James Ferry expedition and included William Cowan or a Mr. Butterfield, and an Indian. George M. Wheeler talked with Gass about his trip in 1869.⁵⁹ The suggestion is that they ascended in a small skiff on the river, not along its banks. If so, they were the first known explorers between the Virgin River confluence and the inside of the Grand Canyon from either direction.⁶⁰ These men also concluded that Circle Valley below Boulder Canyon was the feasible high point of navigation. However, limited publicity was given to their efforts and no official recognition. Mormon interest was renewed in June 1864. Jacob

⁵⁸ Daily Alta California (August 6, 1864). This second trip apparently was more thorough and conclusive.

⁵⁹ George M. Wheeler, Report Upon Geographical and Geological Surveys, Principally in Nevada and Arizona, 6 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), vol. 1, pp. 151, 163. It is difficult to confirm the makeup of Gass's party in 1864.

⁶⁰ For those in this expedition, see Daily Alta California, (May 14, 1864) and (July 4, 1869); see also Wheeler, p. 163. Wheeler comments, on October 9, "During the day a monument on the north shore was passed, in which was found a memorandum signed by '4' men, one of whom was O. D. Gass, of Las Vegas Ranch, Nevada, who had ascended to this point in 1864." See also Otis "Dock" Marston, "Early Travel on the Green and Colorado Rivers," The Smoke Signal, No. 21 (Fall 1969), 233. Marston places leadership with James Ferry and identifies markers nineteen miles inside the Grand Canyon. The fourth member of the party, he claims, was an Indian, not a Mr. Cowan. Further grouping is suggested by George W. Brimhall's correspondence, "Letter to George A. Smith, (December 10, 1865)," (File: L.D.S. Church Historian's Office), in which he reports his own arrival at the Colorado River in June 1865, where he met three men, Mr. Parry [James Ferry], Mr. Cass [O. D. Gass], and Mr. Cowan.

Hamblin was commissioned to locate a good road from St. George to the high point of navigation, assumed to be near the mouth of the Virgin.⁶¹ However, no record of such a trip has been found. Late in 1864 Jacob Hamblin and others had tried to navigate the Virgin River from St. George to the Colorado in the "Virgin Adventurer," but found navigation difficult most of the time and completely impossible once the "narrows" were reached. Only such a perennial optimist as Hamblin would still believe the feat tenable even in high water.⁶²

Post Civil War Exploration

After the war interest in the Colorado River increased. Samuel Adams claimed to have returned overland from the Columbia to the Callville Landing during the summer of 1866, to have gone above, and then floated through Boulder Canyon down river some 400 miles. There again seems to be a want of documentation to Adam's claims.⁶³ Colonel James Rusling reported talking with Montana miners at Fort Yuma who claimed they had, in the fall of 1866, floated from the Muddy River into the Virgin and onto the Colorado en route to southern Arizona. They claimed the river was open all the way.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Bleak, Book A, pp. 146-147. June 11, 1864 the High Council selected Jacob Hamblin, Isaac Duffin, David H. Cannon, and Leonard H. Conger, but apparently they did not go. Later the assignment was given to Hamblin, Angus M. and David Cannon.

⁶² "Letter of Daniel Bonelli," Deseret News (March 1865). At the narrows most of the water ran into the ground to emerge below in large springs. The men had to abandon the river and return home afoot.

⁶³ Adams, p. 3.

⁶⁴ See also "Report of Colonel James F. Rusling from Fort Yuma," (May 16, 1867), 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., House Exec. Doc. No. 166, pp. 6-7.

Because of the waning interest in the Callville project, L. D. S. Church leaders in St. George proposed another expedition from St. George to the Colorado River at Grand Wash and down stream to Call's Landing. In April a sixteen-foot skiff was launched, manned by Jacob Hamblin, Henry W. Miller and Jesse W. Crosby. The men first rowed up river a mile and a half before turning down stream. They reported in detail on the river, noting rapids over which the skiff was guided with lariat ropes, also a large canyon below Grand Wash and another through the Virgin Range. They spent their first night at Tower Rock. The confluence of the Virgin River was reached the next morning. The following day they floated through Boulder Canyon. To them the deep cut was awesome. They landed at Callville below, for them the high point of navigation. Though not the first explorers to traverse this section of the river, they were the first ones to report details about it.⁶⁵

James White. Perhaps the river's strangest story and still most controversial one relates to the disemboquement by the river of James White at Call's Landing. White's story adds little to an understanding of the lower canyon area of the Colorado River; but, as a part of the overall exploration of the river, it is significant. His activities will be reviewed briefly.

Several facts seem to be agreed upon; namely, James White, a Captain Charles Baker and George Strole were prospectors in Colorado during

⁶⁵ Albert E. Miller, Immortal Pioneers, Founders of St. George, Utah (St. George: Privately published, 1946), pp. 67-70. Miller identifies the members of the expedition--Erastus Snow, Henry W. Miller, Jacob Hamblin, Jesse W. Crosby, James Andrus, Ira Hatch, and David Cameron. Those who did not go on the river traveled overland to St. Thomas. The river runners returned to St. Thomas after landing at Callville. See also Deseret News (July 3, 1867). John Wesley Powell had access to this report before his own trip in 1869.

the summer of 1867. They traveled down the San Juan and Colorado rivers until they reached a small but impassible canyon. Here Baker was killed, White and Strole, with limited supplies, retreated down the canyon to the river where they built a raft, and in the evening embarked on the river (August 24, 1867). They floated several days on smooth water, but the remainder of the trip was over a series of rapids and falls, in one of which Strole was drowned. On the next to last day White met Indians who gave him some food. The following day, September 7 (the fourteenth of his trip), White arrived, emaciated and near death on a log raft at Callville.⁶⁶

What really happened? Some writers discredit White simply as a bold liar. This is too simple a solution. Robert Brewster Stanton begins White's trip at Pearce's Ferry, while Edwin Corle moves the start up river to Spencer or Diamond creeks. Lingenfelter, who has had access to the most recent geographic data, offers a plausible compromise. He believes the massacre occurred on Navajo Creek which emptied into the Colorado River in Glen Canyon. White and Strole began their trip in Glen Canyon. Down river thirteen miles they came to the Paria, not the Green River, on the right. About forty miles below they passed the Little Colorado, not the San Juan. On the fourth day they would have reached Hance and Sockdologer Rapid where Strole drowned. The stream coming in below was Bright Angel (on the right), not the Little Colorado River,

⁶⁶Richard E. Lingenfelter, First Through the Canyon (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1958). See copy of James White's letter, pp. 32 ff. See also Robert Brewster Stanton, Colorado River Controversies, ed. by James M. Chalfont (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1932). In general J. W. Powell, F. S. Dellenbaugh, the Kolbs and most river runners claimed White could not have made such a trip through the Grand Canyon on a log raft. Lingenfelter's version is given in this paper as the most probable one.

as White had been told. The series of rapids through the Grand Canyon were topped by Separation which has a greater rate of fall than any other, dropping fifteen feet in less than 1,000 feet running. White then passed out of the canyon, meeting Indians first near Gregg's Ferry and later at the Virgin River confluence before reaching Callville, battered but alive, having covered, if in fact this were his route, 357 miles on the Colorado River through its most rugged area. Fantastic voyage indeed.⁶⁷

Finally, it should be noted, that today's foremost authority on the Colorado River, Otis "Dock" Marston, does not believe White's story. He places his embarking on the Colorado River below the Grand Wash Cliffs, and the trip to Callville the extent of his river run. The bold story, he says, was part concoction and part suggestion from his listeners.⁶⁸

White's trip attracted attention to the Colorado River, but produced little scientific knowledge. John Wesley Powell heard about him while in Colorado in 1868 preparing for his own expedition the following year. Powell elected to discount White's story completely. Certainly his own was almost as remarkable and of far greater consequence to understanding the Great Colorado.

67

This writer defers to Lingenfelter's scholarship. Positive proof is impossible. But James White on the Colorado River cannot be ignored. In an interview with Emery Kolb (Grand Canyon, June 1967), the writer was told by Kolb that "If White went through the canyon on a log raft, then I have never been on the river." See Lingenfelter, pp. 67-111, particularly.

68

Marston, "Early Travel . . . , " pp. 233-234. Marston suggests White could have killed Captain Charles Baker himself; then he and George Strole made their way to the Grand Wash cliffs, built a raft from which Strole was washed and drowned.

Up River Exploration. One of the first up river exploration proposals came from Colonel R. B. Marcy as early as 1853. Ives began that survey, reaching Vegas Wash in 1858. Marcy in 1866 again recommended the use of small row boats which "would not be hazardous if the direction of travel were upstream." His proposed expedition was not funded.⁶⁹ Another proposal came in November 1866, when Colonel James F. Rusling reported to Secretary of War William W. Belknap on the merits of the Colorado-Callville-Salt Lake City route. Using no less an authority than Kit Carson, Rusling claimed the river was navigable to the Rio Virgin. And, he added: "Should I continue in the service, I would like no better duty than to ascend the Colorado from its mouth upward and explore all these rivers [Green, Grand, San Juan] to the head of navigation."⁷⁰

In May 1867 he wrote from Fort Yuma about people who reportedly had gone into the big canyon. Later at Prescott he met Colonel Carter, Secretary of Arizona Territory, who claimed he was going to pole up river with ten or twelve men in two small boats, past Callville and the mouth of the Rio Virgin, "and pass through the alleged Big Canyon, if possible, to the junction of the Green, Grand and San Juan Rivers above."⁷¹ Carter believed the Colorado no more difficult a stream than the Tennessee River. Apparently, his expedition was cancelled. But the concept of up river exploration was not. It awaited Lt. George M. Wheeler in 1872. In the meantime, other explorers were busy on the Colorado's upper tributaries.

⁶⁹R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border . . . (New York: Harpers and Brothers, Publisher, 1866), pp. 280-282.

⁷⁰See "Report of Colonel James F. Rusling," (November 5, 1866) Camp Douglas, Utah, 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., House Exec. Doc. No. 166, pp. 1-5.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, "Report from Fort Yuma," (May 16, 1867), pp. 6-7.

John Wesley Powell. Powell's story has been told well by many writers.⁷² It was he who effectively explored and opened the Colorado River canyons, although other people had been on most of the river before, especially if James White's story can be believed. Even as late as the spring and summer of 1868 trappers and miners were on the river. Powell found wreckage of an expedition in the Green River canyons, likely the boats of Jesse Ewing, H. M. Hook and party who left Green River, Wyoming in 1868 to prospect in the regions below. Their probable fate was drowning.⁷³

Powell himself had been west in 1867 and again in 1868 to gather geologic data and study the feasibility of a Colorado River expedition. In October 1868 he camped on the White River in Colorado to collect what information he could for the next year's trip. With preparations completed, Captain Powell and nine companions launched their four boats from Green River, Wyoming on May 24, 1869.⁷⁴ They had supplies for

⁷² See John Wesley Powell, The Exploration of the Colorado River and its Canyons (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1961); Frederick G. Dellenbaugh, The Romance of the Colorado River (Beverly Hills: Rio Grande Press, 1962); and William Culp Darrah, Powell of the Colorado (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951). There are many other excellent works on both Powell and his exploration. Reference should be made to Wallace Stegner, Beyond the Hundredth Meridian . . . (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Co., 1962), and the Utah Historical Quarterly, XV, which is dedicated to Powell's expeditions.

⁷³ See Juanita Brooks, "A Report on the History and Uses of the Green River . . ." (St. George: Unpublished Article in possession of author, [1966]). Apparently the party left Green River in the spring of 1868, then lost their lives in rapids between Flaming Gorge and Brown's Hole. H. M. Hook's widow offered \$1,000 reward for information about her husband. The account was reported by T. S. Hoy of Brown's Hole in 1918. See also Powell, Exploration . . . , p. 200.

⁷⁴ The members of the party were John Wesley Powell, Walter H. Powell, O. G. Howland, Seneca Howland, William Dunn, William Rhodes Hawkins, Andrew Hall, Frank Goodman, John C. Sumner, and George Y. Bradley. Three of the boats were made of oak, twenty-one feet long,

ten months. However, loss of the "No Name," and frequent upsetting of the crafts caused a critical shortage by mid-August, so that the trip through the canyon became not only a race into the unknown, but also a race against time.

Only brief details of the trip will be recounted here.⁷⁵ At the Uinta Agency Frank Goodman left the expedition. However, Powell's party continued down river to the junction of the Green and Grand into the canyons of the Colorado. Powell believed there were only two crossings between that junction and the mouth of the Grand Canyon--at the Paria (Lee's Ferry) and at Kanab Creek. Crisis after crisis was surmounted until the party reached Separation Rapids at the lower end of the Grand Canyon.

On August 28, 1869 three men--the Howland Brothers, Seneca and O. G., and William Dunn--decided they would go no further. Instead they climbed the north rim to the plateau, where they were killed by the Shivwit Indians, probably by old "To-ab." Powell had given them a copy of the report in case the river expedition did not make it.⁷⁶ This was destroyed also.

four feet wide, and twenty-two inches deep--"Maid of the Canyon," "Kitty Clyde's Sister," and "No-Name." The J. W. Powell boat, "Emma Dean," made of white pine, was only sixteen feet long. See Powell, Exploration . . . , p. 229.

⁷⁵ Naming the canyons' rapids and streams was done mainly by Powell on this expedition. Later explorations, of course, added more titles for the surrounding area.

⁷⁶ See Powell, Exploration . . . , pp. 278-279. Powell tried to persuade the men to remain on the river, but they were adamant. Supplies were divided, weapons shared and farewells spoken, before the river party "shot" Separation Rapids successfully. Ironically, it was the last serious obstruction the expedition had to face. See also Hoffman Birney, Zealots of Zion (Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Company, 1931), p. 308-309. Birney records that the Shivwits reported to Anthony W. Ives that

Meanwhile, Powell's party ran the rapids successfully in two boats, having left the Emma Dean tied to shore. Immediately, they went into camp below, hoping the three men would follow. As this did not happen, they continued down stream in their two boats. Powell records under date of August 29, 1869

. . . At twelve o'clock we emerge from the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. We are in a valley now, and low mountains are seen in the distance, coming to the river. We recognize this as the Grand Wash.⁷⁷

The crisis was over, success and the Virgin River were only a few miles away.

Powell reports very little about the Colorado River between the Grand Canyon and the Virgin River, except to note the rapids were less severe and that the country was "opening up." They also met a few Paiute Indians along the river. When they reached the Virgin (August 30, 1869), they were surprised but pleased to find Joseph Asay and his sons fishing in the Colorado River. Asay cooked fish and squash for them and sent a Paiute messenger to St. Thomas where their mail had collected.⁷⁸ He

old To-ab or "Rattlesnake" was the Indian who killed the three white men. This account was given only after To-ab died. Powell, with Jacob Hamblin, visited the Shivwits in 1870 and obtained some information about their deaths from the Indians. See also Deseret News (September 7, 8, and 15, 1869). It has been suggested that the Powell men may have been victims of the Mormons, especially, men who had been involved in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. This question is asked by Otis (Dock) Marston, "Personal Interview," (October 14, 1971), Santa Fe, New Mexico. However, this writer finds no evidence to support this claim. Levan Martineau, who married a great granddaughter of To-ab, reported that Shivwit tradition maintains the Shivwits did kill the three men. See Letter to the author (October 25, 1971), personal file, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁷⁷ Powell, Exploration . . . , pp. 280-284. Powell acknowledged the Mormon exploration (1867) from Grand Wash to Callville.

⁷⁸ See Utah Historical Quarterly, XV (1947), 70-71 for account by George Y. Bradley, pp. 122-124 for account by John C. Sumner. See also

returned the following day with a report that mail and melons were on the way.

On September 1, 1869 four of the party--Sumner, Bradley, Hawkins, and Hall, pushed the boats back into the river and floated down stream to Fort Mojave. Sumner describes the area somewhat, but the expedition did not add any new information on this portion of the river.⁷⁹ Eventually some of the men reached the Gulf of California.

What can be said of Major Powell's venture? It removed the unknown from the canyons of the Colorado. The mystery and attraction would continue, as well as the river's exploration. But Powell began, with this trip, a systematic study and survey of the west. He would re-run part of the river later and begin surveys of the Colorado Plateau in 1871-1872. It was not he who would survey the lower canyons region, but his work generated later and more thorough projects. "Powell of the Colorado" is certainly no misnomer.

Samuel Adams. At this point, mention must be made of a parallel, if abortive, venture during the summer of 1869. Samuel Adams decided to explore the river from Breckenridge, Colorado near the Continental Divide to the lower canyons. With two boats and three men in addition to himself, Adams began his descent of the Blue River, a tributary of the Grand, on July 12, 1869. Two other boats and another eight men traveled

Powell, Exploration . . . , pp. 284-287. Those men who completed the trip through to the Virgin River were John W. Powell, Walter H. Powell, John C. Sumner, George Y. Bradley, Andrew Hall, and William R. Hawkins.

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 122-124. John C. Sumner was generally not optimistic about developing the river.

overland twelve miles before entering the river.⁸⁰ With wild abandon, as Adams recounts it, they plunged downstream suffering numerous mishaps and hardships. They reached the Grand River July 23. Here they remained a week before continuing their trip with only two boats, part of the crew having abandoned the project. August 3, they entered "Grand Canyon" of the Grand where one boat was wrecked and later lost. On the 7th Adams reported the loss of their remaining boat.⁸¹

Subsequently Adams and the two men who remained with him, Twible and Lillis, built a series of three rafts to continue their exploration, August 10, 11 and 14 respectfully. After wrecking the last one, and convinced that further exploration was useless if not impossible at that time, and believing he had discovered "the principal fall of water between the point where he started on the mountains, ten thousand feet above the sea, and the Pacific coast,"⁸² Adams abandoned his explorations. The venture had been daring, but of little consequence. His appeals for funds later were unproductive also.⁸³ But his effort was a part of the romance that was the Colorado River.

⁸⁰ See Samuel Adams, "Report of Captain Samuel Adams to the War Department," Washington, D. C. (November 1, 1869), 41st Cong., 3rd Sess., House Misc. Doc. No. 12, pp. 5-20, and especially pp. 5-10. Some of his party were Messrs. George N. Day, Daniel Twible, O'Connor, James Lillis, M. Waddle, and W. Lovell.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 8. "August 7, . . . Our first boat was lost at the mouth of Rocky Canyon; the second one mile from the mouth of Cave Canyon; the third one mile from the head of Grand Canyon; and the fourth one mile below this."

⁸² Ibid., pp. 8-10.

⁸³ See 44th Cong., 1st Sess., House Report No. 512, p. 103, and 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Report No. 624, pp. 1-7. Adam's successes were indirect. He did finally help promote expanded steamnavigation on the lower Colorado.

George M. Wheeler 1869 Preliminary Survey. The year 1869 also brought exploration in the lower canyons area. Lt. George M. Wheeler's commission for a preliminary survey was determined in part by General A. A. Humphrey's desire to retain for the Army Corps of Topographical Engineers their traditional exploring roles, then being encroached upon by Powell, Hayden and King.⁸⁴ Wheeler was instructed to make a survey of the region, noting the conditions of the Indians, possible wagon and railroad routes, especially to military posts in Utah and Idaho, mineral resources, and the area's general topography.

Wheeler began his project with a series of survey reconnaissances that took him and his party, in the fall of 1869, from San Francisco to Camp Halleck, Nevada, where he outfitted and began his work. His route extended south to Pioche, into Clover Valley, into Meadow Valley Wash and along it to the Muddy settlements where a few needed supplies were purchased from Mormons in September 1869. As they convinced Wheeler that a wagon could not be taken along the north and west bank of the Colorado River,⁸⁵ he headed south to the Virgin with pack outfits, then down it, beyond the Salt Mountain to the Colorado River, where he

⁸⁴ George M. Wheeler, Preliminary Report Concerning Exploration and Survey Principally in Nevada and Arizona . . . (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 11. See also Ferdinand V. Hayden, "Annual Report of F. V. Hayden," in each of the twelve Annual Reports of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868-1883); Clarence King, Professional Papers of the Engineering Department, United States Army, No. 18 (Seven volumes plus Atlas); and John Wesley Powell, "Survey of the Colorado River of the West," 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., House Misc. Doc. No. 173 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872); John Wesley Powell, Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879); and John Wesley Powell, Report of Explorations in 1873, 43rd Cong., 1st Sess., House Misc. Doc. No. 300 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875).

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-14. Wheeler not only had pack animals but several wagons to help in transporting supplies.

noted two small huts occupied by two Mormons engaged in fishing. The party swung west along the river, keeping as close to the river as possible; however, Boulder Canyon forced them back some distance. By October 3 they had reached Callville. With supplies from Vegas, the party continued south into El Dorado Canyon, where they remained at the mines for a brief time, before returning north via Las Vegas, Pahrnagat, Ely, and Halleck Station. Wheeler returned to San Francisco November 28.⁸⁶

The expedition had made a preliminary survey of a 24,000 square mile area. Several mining districts were reported on. As to the Colorado River, Wheeler concluded it could be navigated with a powerful stern wheeler up river beyond the Virgin confluence to the area of Grand Wash. It could be reached overland or crossed below Black Canyon from the north or west in the El Dorado area, at the Vegas Wash-Callville section, near the Virgin confluence, and at what he called the "old Santa Fe Crossing," above Grand Wash. Wheeler did not like the Colorado. From El Dorado he complained: "When we looked back upon it for the last time no sense was touched, save that of relief." Yet he sensed its importance to the area's development. In finalizing his report, he recommended an up river survey from the Virgin River. He also noted the desirability of a railroad into northern Arizona via the Virgin River. For a second railroad route, he recommended a crossing at Grand Wash, then south to the proposed 35th route.⁸⁷ His plans were later altered extensively, but not abandoned entirely.

⁸⁶Ibid., pp. 8-14.

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 10-17. Wheeler's report was only reconnaissance for a more detailed survey to be conducted later.

George M. Wheeler 1871. Interest in knowing the American West and tapping its resources led to a series of topographical surveys designed to map the entire nation. The Powell, the King, and the Wheeler surveys were the major projects and lasted for several decades. It was, however, the work of George M. Wheeler, more than the others, that directly concerned the lower regions of the Colorado River. A major venture was his river survey. Wheeler launched his expedition from Fort Mojave, where three boats had been freighted up river. He arrived overland from Cottonwood Springs September 12, 1871 with twenty men but still needed a number of Mojave Indians to assist him.⁸⁸ With help from Major R. H. Pond, post commander, Captain Asquit and thirteen other Mojaves were enlisted to help. With three (or four) boats and the post's barge, the explorers got underway September 16, 1871. They expected to meet their overland expeditions near the mouth of Grand Canyon about October 5. The eventual destination of the river expedition was Diamond Creek.

Their reports indicate successful rowing, occasional sailing, and increasingly frequent cordelling of the craft as they proceeded up river. Black Canyon was reached September 20, and Vegas Wash above the Canyon on the 24th. Wheeler was impressed with the canyon but not overawed as Ives' report suggests one would be.

Progress up river beyond Callville (then abandoned) and through

88

George M. Wheeler, Report Upon United States Geographical Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), vol. 1, pp. 154-156. Wheeler identifies the party members as himself; P. W. Hamel, topographer; G. K. Gilbert, geologist; Dr. W. J. Hoffman, naturalist; T. H. O'Sullivan, photographer; E. M. Richardson, artist; Frank Hecox, barometer assistant; and F. W. Loring, general assistant; plus six boatmen, six enlisted men (one sergeant and five privates); and Mojave Chief Captain Asquit and thirteen Mojaves including Maimrum.

Boulder Canyon was steady. Below the Virgin confluence, the salt well was examined. Two settlers establishing a ferry were met at the Virgin.⁸⁹ The expedition continued up stream into Virgin Canyon, so named according to Wheeler, because it was new territory for them. Beyond it, they met a few isolated Pah-Utes who were farming a space of ground along the river's north bank. The next obstacle was Iceberg Canyon, with severe rapids at its head. Above it near Grand Wash contact with Lt. Lockwood's land party was made October 4.

The next day goods were ferried over in the boats near what became the site of Pearce's Ferry. On October 6 the livestock were swum across, with the loss of one horse, which the Indians ate, and sickened from, but recovered shortly, perhaps responding to the chantings of a Pah-Ute Medicine Man.⁹⁰ Lt. Lockwood was instructed to go to Truxton Springs and send a party to the Colorado River at Diamond Creek. Other parties were to remain at Truxton Springs to recruit the animals. Wheeler decided to leave the barge at the "Old Ute Crossing," a few miles up river, in charge of Sergeant Eisenbise, one soldier, Chief Asquit, and three other Mojave Indians. This action was a reserve precaution. In case the up river thrust had to be abandoned, the party could retreat downstream to the barge and return to Camp Mojave.⁹¹

With three boats the main part of the expedition continued. Rapids became more severe. On the 9th they passed the markers placed by James

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 156-161. Wheeler does not identify the "settlers."

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 162-163. Wheeler notes the Indians were "lazy" and threatened several times to abandon the expedition. He has been criticized for his treatment of the Mojaves.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 163. See map in appendix.

Ferry and O. D. Gass in 1864. As Wheeler had talked with Gass, he expected to get that far up river; however, he knew of no one who had gone beyond that point.

Difficulties increased. On the 11th one boat got away, was swamped and both supplies and records lost. The next day part of the crew turned back in the battered boat with instructions to leave the river when they reached the barge and travel south overland to Truxton Springs. The remaining two boat crews pulled and portaged up stream. With supplies short and distances and river conditions uncertain, morale sank low. Wheeler considered abandoning the river when the terrain suggested an ascent of the canyon walls was feasible. Finally, a compromise solution was undertaken on October 19. Two men, Hecox and Roberts, were assigned to climb the plateau and hike to Diamond Creek, where supplies were believed to be, while the river party proceeded up stream. Later that same day they picked up a "floated message" from Hecox, assuring them of the nearness of Diamond Creek, where they arrived in the evening, tired but grateful.⁹² The jaded crews feasted themselves before returning down river to the barge and on to Fort Mojave, a five-day trip in contrast to their thirty-three day ascent. Wheeler, with some of his party, traveled overland, eventually returning to San Francisco via Fort Yuma and San Diego.

Several observations need to be made regarding Wheeler's expedition. First of all, it was a daring and difficult venture. Foolish, some claim, even ridiculous, since Powell and others had been over the same area earlier. However, Wheeler's was the first ascent and it was the most

⁹²Ibid., pp. 164-170.

carefully reported expedition for the Grand Canyon to Vegas Wash portions of the Colorado at that time. Yet, Wheeler contributed little in a practical way of useful data on the Colorado River. He claimed its high point of navigation to be at the old Ute Crossing below the Grand Canyon; while, in fact, steamers got only to the Virgin River area. Of significance, Wheeler's men did use the route and the crossing associated later with Pearce's Ferry above Grand Wash. Finally, his report provided historical data not recorded in other sources. Tragically, much of the data was lost, as three men with his expedition were killed enroute back to civilization.⁹³

Other Surveys

Area Reports. Wheeler's assignments included not only his river venture but the task of providing excellent topographic maps of the area as well, as these documents were considered essential to successful military field operation. That part of Wheeler's 1871 Survey associated with the lower Colorado River area will be reviewed briefly.

At the time Wheeler left Camp Independence for Fort Mohave (1871), he also commissioned Lt. Daniel W. Lockwood to supervise three land expeditions east and north to the area around St. George. One was to travel northeast to Clover Valley and Mountain Meadows before swinging

⁹³Richard A. Bartlett, Great Surveys of the American West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), pp. 345-349. Timothy O. Sullivan, who photographed the trip, lost most of his negatives while returning east. Frederick Loring, journalist; William Salmon; and P. W. Hamel were killed by Indians who attacked the stage they had boarded at Wickenburg, Arizona. Later Wheeler learned who was involved through the good services of Malmum, one of the Mojaves on the trip and a good friend of Loring. (See also Wheeler Geographical Reports, p. 35).

south to meet the main party at St. George.⁹⁴ Lockwood himself moved the main company east to Las Vegas and on to the Muddy Crossing by the 20th of September. At this point, Lockwood dispatched a small detail southeast along the Muddy to St. Thomas, then abandoned, from which they traveled east through St. Thomas Gap, to Pah-Koon Springs, then northeast over the Virgin River to rejoin Lockwood and party near Beaver Dams.

Lockwood continued to St. George to make a reconnaissance of the area. Then, on October 1, 1871, they left for the Colorado River. Heading southwest from St. George, they retraced the route used by Jacob Hamblin and other Mormons enroute to the Grand Wash. At Pah-Koon Springs, Lt. Lyle was instructed to "lay over," while Lt. Lockwood pushed down the Grand Wash for the river, reaching it the night of October 3. The next day he met the river party. A messenger was dispatched to Lt. Lyle who arrived on the 5th in time to ferry his supplies over the river that same day.

After a day's recruiting, Lt. Lockwood pushed south past Tin-na-kah Springs to Truxton Springs, where he obtained supplies before leading a relief party to meet Wheeler at the mouth of Diamond Creek, October 20. By the 22nd, he had returned to Truxton. From there, the land parties moved east toward Prescott. Lt. Lyle traveled south onto the Santa Maria River and Camp Date Creek area before working eastward to rejoin the main party at Prescott. The 1871 expedition had been completed.⁹⁵

⁹⁴Wheeler, Preliminary Surveys . . . 1871, pp. 65-76. F. R. Simon-ton was placed in command of the small topographical party. Lt. D. A. Lyle was second in command to Lt. Lockwood.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, see the "Report" of Lt. Daniel W. Lockwood and Lt. D. A. Lyle also included in Wheeler's documents, pp. 64-76 and 76-88 respectively.

It may be observed that Wheeler's efforts, though well coordinated, were not careful, scientific surveys. His 1869-1871 effort was primarily reconnaissance and route discovery. Even so, several major contributions were made.

Lt. Lockwood identified the Grand Wash Cliffs, though he did not so name them. Lockwood also concluded correctly that the "Buckskin Mountains" did not lie immediately to the east of the Grand Wash.⁹⁶ While Wheeler found no major solutions to the area's problems--Indians, miners, transportation, and freighting needs--his maps became in time the working tools for those who did subdue the area.

Wheeler's 1871 survey was expanded. In 1872 he again traveled into the area, going from the Grand Canyon along the north bank of the Colorado River west to the Virgin River. In 1876 Lt. Eric Bergland explored up Sacramento and Detrital washes to obtain readings on the river at the Virgin confluence.⁹⁷ By 1879, Wheeler's surveys were finished, if not complete.

Between 1879 and 1923 the lower Colorado area continued under surveillance. The Army Corps of Engineers conducted several detailed surveys of the river before 1914.⁹⁸ Early studies considered channel

⁹⁶ Ibid., see Lockwood's "Report," pp. 66-67.

⁹⁷ Wheeler, Geographical Surveys . . . , p. 679.

⁹⁸ See "Army Engineers Annual Report, Lt. A. H. Payson, 1878-1879," House Exec. Doc., vol. 4 (1879-1880), 46th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 1773-1785; and Messages and Documents War Department (1885-1886), vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 363 and vol. 2, pt. 3, pp. 2365-2373; and (1886-1887), vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 357, and vol. 2, pt. 3, pp. 1929-1932; and (1887-1888), vol. 2, pt. 325, and vol. 2, pt. 3, p. 2449; and (1889-1890), vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 349, and vol. 2, pt. 4, pp. 2480-2482; and (1891-1892), vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 393, and vol. 2, pt. 5, pp. 2974-2976; and (1896), vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 388-389,

improvement to facilitate navigation between the Needles and El Dorado Canyon. Several surveys sought specific information--mining districts, geologic data, and finally, reclamation. By 1923 reclamation's role emerged the dominant one. The area was officially well known.⁹⁹

Summary and Conclusion

The first explorers of the Colorado River did not leave good records. Only when the United States Government, for several reasons, developed an interest in the river, did careful documentation begin. Early reports came from military and exploring expeditions who crossed it or passed near its water courses. Their reports were helpful.

Official exploration began in 1849-1850 with Lt. George Derby's trip to the Delta. By the time Lt. Ives steamed up river, George Johnson had already reached into Pyramid Canyon. Yet, Lt. Ives left the superior report.

The expansion of mining and Mormon freight needs led adventurers up river after the Civil War into the Grand Canyon. James Ferry, Jacob Hamblin and party, James White, all preceded the John Wesley Powell trip in 1869. His record, however, became the more important one. With him, the river was explored. Nevertheless, Lt. George M. Wheeler poled and pushed boats up river to Diamond Creek in 1871, a final thrust at the high point of navigation. This venture became his springboard for a

and vol. 2, pt. 5, pp. 3186-3187; and (1897) vol. 2, pt. 4, pp. 3338-3340. See also 56th Cong., 2nd Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 67, pp. 1-7; and 58th Cong., 2nd Sess., House Misc. Doc. No. 1141, pp. 105 and map.

99

J. B. Lippencott, "Reconnaissance of Colorado River above Needles, California," First Annual Report of Reclamation Service (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), pp. 107-129. The role of the Bureau of Reclamation is a distinct story.

systematic survey of the whole region.

Exploration of the Colorado was fragmented. The optimism voiced by many, of its becoming the Mississippi of the West, gave way to more realistic appraisals by later explorers. It was only when the facts of exploration finally filtered in and were analyzed, that the region's future became less uncertain.

35TH PARALLEL ROUTE: WAGON ROADS AND RAILROADS

The Indians on the Colorado River had little difficulty traveling from one place to another. Mojave traders who ventured into California made the long treks with a minimum of food and water, under conditions few of their white successors on the route could endure. Indians to the east of the Colorado River knew of trails to other tribes. It was this Indian intimacy with the land that Spanish explorers utilized so effectively.

The early American trappers were less dependent upon the Indian for guidance and at first less successful. However, they soon learned much about the lower Colorado Canyons area. Yet it was only with the government surveys that the 35th Parallel route became effectively useful. This chapter traces that story from 1846 and the California migration, through the transcontinental railroad surveys, the wagon roads, the military and mining supply lines, and finally to the construction of the transcontinental railroads and trunk lines. With them the Colorado was bridged, the land penetrated, and the aboriginals subdued. The railroads also dammed the river's traffic; the steamers' demise followed predictably.

Early Explorations

The conquest of New Mexico brought to the United States Government the Indian problems of the New Mexico settlers. Almost immediately the military, with trapper guides, began to explore the area and assess its resources and problems. Our concern lies with those expeditions discovering routes to and through the lower Colorado River region.

Lt. J. H. Simpson. Strained relations between the Navajoes and the settlers persisted in spite of American peace offers. As a result of these conflicts, Lt. J. H. Simpson was sent in 1849 to explore the area north and west from Santa Fe. Before setting out, Simpson talked with trappers "who represent that the Colorado is deeply encanyoned from its mouth upwards [so as] to make a wagon route the direction proposed [down the Zuni west to its confluence with the Rio Coloardo] impracticable."¹ One trapper, Richard Campbell, later claimed to have traveled along the Zuni River en route to California in 1827. His Zuni was believed by many to be the Gila; however, his description suggests a route along the Little Colorado River, with a crossing of the Colorado near Lee's Ferry, not the Gila junction. This was a pack train route primarily.² Carravaho, Simpson's guide, claimed to have been down the "Zuni" to the Colorado and said "There was a good wagon route all the way to the Colorado."³ Simpson did not reach the Colorado; but his report recommended additional exploration, as such a route would shorten the distance from Santa Fe to San Francisco by about 300 miles.⁴

¹See Lt. James H. Simpson, Report of an Expedition into the Navajo Country in 1849 (Washington: Printed at the Union Office, 1850), p. 137. Lt. Simpson commanded a force of 400 men. His reconnaissance party had only sixty men.

²Ibid. Simpson's report on Campbell's trip reflects the hearsay of that time, much of it no doubt knowledgeable, but probably garbled.

³Averam B. Bender, Government Explorations, Other Than Railroad Surveys in the Far Southwest, 1848-1860 (St. Louis: Washington University, 1932), pp. 10-11.

⁴William Turrentine Jackson, Wagon Roads West: A Study of Federal Surveys . . . 1846-1869 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), pp. 28-29.

Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves. Simpson's report produced another expedition. Although originally assigned to Lt. R. B. Marcy, the job was given to Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves in 1851. He was prepared to leave Santa Fe by September 24, 1851.⁵ His assignment was to

pursue the Zuni to its junction with the Colorado, determine its course and character, particularly in reference to its navigable properties and to the character of its adjacent land and productions. The junction of the Zuni and Colorado will be accurately determined. You will then pursue the Colorado to its junction with the Gulf of California, taking those observations which will enable you accurately to delineate its course.⁶

With Antoine Leroux as guide, Sitgreaves pushed west, down the Zuni, onto the Little Colorado, which he followed to its lower falls, near Cameron, Arizona. He then swung west, north of the San Francisco Mountains across the plateaus to the headwaters of the Bill Williams River, where he turned north and west toward the Colorado, crossing the Black Mountains through Union Pass. His party reached the river November 5, 1851, north of the Mojave villages. The explorers continued down river on its east bank, arriving at Fort Yuma by the end of the month. A shortage of supplies and additional reports caused Sitgreaves not to follow the river to the Gulf of California.⁷

Several observations can be made about his explorations. First of all, the area through which Sitgreaves traveled was extremely dry,

⁵ Bender, Explorations . . . , p. 14. Sitgreaves' contingent consisted of Lt. John G. Parke, Dr. S. W. Woodhouse, R. H. Kern, Antoine Leroux, five American and ten Mexican packers, thirty pack mules and a flock of sheep. He also received a thirty-man escort commanded by Major Henry L. Kendrick.

⁶ Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves, Report of an Expedition Down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers. . . . (Washington: Armstrong Public Printers, 1853), p. 4.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 4-20. Sitgreaves' report is brief but informative. He did not go to the Gulf of California because other exploration (Heintzelman) had preceded him.

especially late in the fall of the year. Even with Antoine Leroux to guide the party, finding water was very difficult. On one occasion they were three days and nights without water. Secondly, they found the Indians in Northwestern Arizona wild and generally hostile, another factor adding to their troubles. Thirdly, because of limited supplies, which trade with the Indians relieved little, the stock and men suffered severely.⁸ Finally, though Sitgreaves had originally intended "to explore the river upward to the great canyon, and determine accurately the mouth of the Rio Virgin . . . , " he had to forego those plans.⁹

It would be easy to classify Sitgreaves' expedition a failure. Yet it must be remembered that he conducted it under difficult conditions. His was the first official exploration along the 35th Parallely. It was a careful reconnaissance of a hitherto forbidding and imperfectly-known country. His report and a map of the area were built on later.¹⁰ In time part of his route was used for wagons and a railroad.¹¹

Transcontinental Railroad Surveys

Asa Whitney and others had been advocating a transcontinental railroad, with limited success. The steady rush of emigrants to California to harvest record crops of gold bullion increased the pressure for a transcontinental railroad which eventually reached the halls of the United States Congress. It was hoped that careful, objective studies could be made

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁰William H. Goetzman, Exploration of Empire (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1966), p. 246. Goetzman commends Sitgreaves' work, noting that the Santa Fe Railroad later laid its line close to his survey.

¹¹Grant Foreman, "Antoine Leroux, New Mexico Guide," New Mexico Historical Review, XVI (October 1941), 369, 375. Antoine Leroux maintained it was the very best route for a railroad.

from which the best route would be selected. Senator William M. Gwin of California pled for prompt action, having in mind a route from San Francisco east via Walker's Pass, the Colorado River, the Zuni villages and Santa Fe, then east to the Mississippi River. Thomas Hart Benton argued strongly for the "Central Route" through Missouri. Senator Rush pled for a southern route through Texas. Quickly the transcontinental railroad became a political football. Nevertheless, before the end of the 1853 session, Congress responded to the public interest by appropriating several hundred thousand dollars for a number of surveys to ascertain "the most practicable and economical route" for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean.

Secretary of War Jefferson Davis chose four routes to be surveyed:

- (1) the Northern or Whitney route between the 47th and 49th Parallels;
- (2) the Central, or Benton Route, between the 38th and 39th degree;
- (3) the Albuquerque or Gwin Route on the 35th latitude; and (4) the extreme Southern Route, on the 32nd Parallel. Several additional surveys were later commissioned, some of which concern this study; however, the 35th route will receive primary attention.

The Central Route. In 1848-1849 John C. Fremont attempted, almost disastrously, to prove the feasibility of the Central Route with a winter expedition.¹² Later, to push his interests, Senator Benton solicited testimonies from both Fremont and from Antoine Leroux.¹³

¹² See William Brandon, The Men and the Mountain: Fremont's Fourth Expedition (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1955), for an excellent treatment of this expedition.

¹³ See LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., Central Route to the Pacific by Gwinn Harris Heap . . . (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1957), pp. 28-35. Leroux's "Report" is given in its entirety.

John C. Fremont left Missouri late in September 1853 on his Benton-promoted survey. His party nearly starved and froze to death in the Wasatch Mountains east of Paragonah, Utah, but were rescued by the Mormons. Soon afterward Fremont, with a few men, pushed west to California, cutting off the "elbow" of the Old Spanish Trail. His report had limited importance. Interest in the Central Route persisted, but its many obstacles proved sufficient to delay its development.¹⁶

The 35th Parallel Route

Joseph R. Walker. Anxious to influence the choice of a railroad route, Californians marshalled the testimonies of as knowledgeable and influential citizens as possible. One such witness was Joseph Reddeford Walker, mountain man and explorer, who knew Northern Arizona and California well. In 1850 he, with eight men, traveled from California to New Mexico via the Zuni villages. The following year he was again in New Mexico to purchase sheep, which were subsequently driven to California.¹⁷

One cannot determine for certain from Walker's statements that he had traveled through the area he later proposed as a railroad route; yet,

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 83-263. The Hafens include Heap's report in its entirety. Their thorough footnoting is most helpful.

¹⁷ Pat Adler and Walt Wheelock, Walker's R. R. Routes-1853 (Glendale: La Siesta Press, 1965), pp. 17-19. Walker's knowledge of the region would not have been limited to these two trips. Nor is it certain what route he followed in traveling from "Walker Pass" to "Zuni." See also Lt. A. M. Whipple, Reports of Exploration and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, 1853-1854, (Washington: A. O. P. Nichols, Printer, 1856), vol. 3, p. 48. Whipple reports from Albuquerque that a "Mr. Anthony Thomas very kindly has made for us a sketch, from memory, of Mr. Walker's route in 1851, upon which extraordinary difficulties were encountered."

it seems probable that he did cover portions of it at least. In any case, Walker recommended a railroad line be built east from San Francisco through Walker's Pass, southeast onto portions of the Old Spanish Trail to Las Vegas, northeast to the Muddy River, then south and east to the Virgin River and across the Colorado River. The actual point of crossing is also uncertain. The Detrital Wash to the south of the Virgin confluence offered an excellent ascent away from the river. Yet the width of the Colorado at this point would have made bridging a major problem.

Walker's "Report" further suggests that

about fifteen miles on the Virgin River, below the mouth of the Muddy, the Virgin might be crossed: and by following a course a little north of east, the Colorado might be crossed where it canyons to a depth of from one thousand to three thousand feet deep. The sides of this canyon are formed of rock, and at the narrowest places is probably from four hundred to six hundred feet across.¹⁸

Walker's route is uncertain. Near the mouth of the Virgin River there is no such canyon. Boulder Canyon to the west and downstream best fits his description; however, Walker recommends an upstream crossing north and east. A logical route would have been to follow the Virgin River to near its confluence, then along the north bank of the Colorado to cross at Virgin Canyon. Yet the topography of the area simply does not warrant this route; besides, the direction of the above route would have been southeast, not northeast.

Another possibility would have been a crossing of the Virgin immediately below the Muddy confluence, with an easterly track through St. Thomas Gap to Grand Wash, down it to near the Colorado with a bridging

¹⁸Ibid., p. 31. Walker's report states: "From this, the route will follow this point, crossing the Colorado River and taking an easterly direction over a plain a little rising towards the east. . . ." See also map on pp. 24-25.

of that river at the upper end of Iceberg Canyon, whose walls were more precipitous than those in Virgin Canyon, but hardly equal to Walker's description.¹⁹ His report likely was compiled from memory, not from field survey documents.

Once across the river, Walker proposed an ascent of the Grand Wash Cliffs, onto the Colorado Plateau, to him no apparent obstacle. The route then continued east to the "Little Red River," to the Zuni villages and the Rio Del Norte for a crossing below the Puerco River junction.²⁰

Walker also suggested a second route for this railroad. After crossing Walker's Pass, the alternate route would detour south onto the Mojave River, follow east down its course to the Colorado, to cross near the Needles and then continue east to connect with his first recommended route on the western portions of the Colorado Plateau.²¹ It is of interest to note that Senator Gwin's proposal for a railroad followed closely that given by J. R. Walker. Very likely Walker influenced the Senator's selection; however, Gwin used primarily R. H. Kern and Lt. Sitgreaves as his authorities.

It is obvious again that Walker's knowledge of the Colorado River area is general. Yet portions of this latter route did in time have railroad tracks laid on or near it. In addition, Walker's assessment of the "land and resources" has merit. He notes the proximity of timber in the Nevada Mountains and near Flagstaff in Arizona, the Salt Mountain on the Muddy,

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 33-34. Walker's report continues with a description of the route onto the tablelands to the east, etc.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 31-33.

²¹Ibid., pp. 31-32. See also map, pp. 24-25. Walker is mistaken about the Mojave River flowing east into the Colorado River; however, the general grade was there.

grazing lands on the Colorado Plateau, and the dearth of fuel east along the Little Colorado River. The California Committee on Public Lands had some solid foundations for its recommendations.²²

F. X. Aubry. It is not surprising that California produced its own explorers to survey a route for a railroad; nor is it surprising that one of the first and most adacious explorers was none other than Francois X. Aubry, who sought to locate his own route from Los Angeles to Santa Fe. Taking a pack party of eighteen men with him,²³ Aubry left early in July 1853. By the 10th the group crossed Tejon Pass. They continued east to the Mojave River, to follow this intermittent water course east and northeast. At Soda Lake they turned northeast "to avoid a region of sand hills that lies to the right, and directly between us and the Great Colorado."²⁴ Persisting on such a course, Aubry reached what must have been El Dorado Canyon by July 22 "where we found good grass, water and game in abundance, and struck the great Colorado of the West."²⁵

²²Ibid., pp. 33-34 and 35-37. Adler and Wheelock's book covers other dimensions of Walker's railroad recommendations. It appears their own knowledge of the lower Colorado River area is not intimate. While Walker was obviously promoting his home town of Gilroy and his "Pass," he was not without support.

²³Francois X. Aubry, "Aubry's Journey from California to New Mexico" New Mexico Historical Quarterly VII (January 1932), 12, 16. See also Ralph P. Bieber, Diaries of Francois Xavier Aubry, 1853-1854, in Exploring Southwest Trails 1846-1854, vol. 7 (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1938), pp. 353-383. Aubry identifies his party as "twelve Americans and six Mexicans." Also "Messrs. Tully of Santa Fe, and Abner Adair of Independence, have joined us for a pleasure trip. We use pack animals entirely, having neither wagon nor carriage." Names given later are Dick Williams, Peter Prudon, Mr. Hendry, Francisco Guzman, and Baskerville.

²⁴Ibid., p. 12. Aubry indicates the presence of game, timber and grass, but water was limited.

²⁵Ibid., p. 13. No other canyon leads as directly to the Colorado as "El Dorado." Their course would tend to put them in that locale. Yet

Aubry's men soon built a raft of driftwood, cut by beaver, and commenced to ferry goods over and swim the horses. The presence of Mojave Indians caused the men to work with haste and Aubry to proceed with caution. Five days were used in crossing the river and recruiting the animals. About one mile east of the crossing a Mexican boy discovered signs of gold, which also detained the party.²⁶ They did not leave the river until July 30.

Their course led them east and north probably toward the Cerbat Mountains where a small "stream" was observed and mistakenly believed to flow northwest to the Colorado.²⁷ Aubry then swung southeast around the mountain and continued east and southeast generally, passing north of Bill Williams Mountain and then south of the San Francisco peaks. To the east they crossed a tributary of the Little Colorado; however, their southeast course eventually took them onto the Gila River drainages.

By September 4 they had reached the upper tributaries of the Little Colorado, after extreme hardships that included persistent Indian harassment and one major encounter, with twelve men wounded. They barely

Aubry claims to have gone up river five miles from the point they struck the Colorado. If this were true, they were probably further south than El Dorado Canyon.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 13-14. The high water marks noted by Aubry's party were fifteen feet above the stream. Aubry believed most maps placed the Colorado 150 miles too far east. He noted also an abundance of beaver and rattlesnakes. It should be noted that gold was discovered in the El Dorado area a few years later. Two of Aubry's men became sick also.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 15-16. Aubry classifies the stream as the Rio Grande de los Apaches of the Mexicans or the Little Red River of the Americans. Aubry's journal places him only fifteen-twenty miles east and north of the Colorado River, where no river exists. Further south lay the Bill Williams River; however, the northwest direction and name Little Red River suggest the Little Colorado, which lay to the east many miles. Perhaps the explanation lies in Aubry's being confused in his recording of the trip and the longitude of the main Colorado River.

survived to reach the Zuni pueblo on the 6th of September, where they were revived and returned to civilization.²⁸

Aubry had made a remarkable and difficult trip. In his report he recommended the "Albuquerque or middle route" as better than the Gila route. He suggested a course from the Sierra Nevadas, north and east to fifteen miles west of the Colorado, then east across the river for another seventy-five miles, thence southeast 200 miles, thence northeast for fifteen miles, then to the Little Colorado River and easterly to Zuni. His was not the route selected later for the railroad. Nevertheless, Aubry's experience revealed the area's hazards--shortage of water and feed and the hostility of the Indians. Proper mapping would soon reduce the problem of obtaining water, but the Indian threat remained for years to come.

Nor was Aubry himself satisfied with his one survey. The following July he again led a large party (sixty men) from California to New Mexico, this time hauling a boat on a wagon to the Colorado River, which they reached at their previous crossing point July 30, 1854. With the boat, an accident-free crossing was made in ten hours. They explored along the river for some distance before heading east and south.²⁹ Aubry's account is difficult to follow. He talks of striking the Colorado again "where it turns south." This spot could hardly have been at Vegas Wash above Black Canyon (the Great Bend). It also seems unlikely that they would have continued south from El Dorado as far as Hardy's Landing

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 24-26. Aubry details their trials and hardships. Only tough men could have survived.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 28. See also . . . Beiber, Aubry Diaries, pp. 378-380. The party explored the river for fifty miles looking for the "best" crossing.

below Pyramid Canyon where the Colorado again turns south.³⁰

Turning east, they reached the plateau area, crossed Whipple's 1853 trail, then continued east, this time striking the Little Colorado near Cameron, Arizona. They followed the river's course southeastward to reach Aubry's earlier route. Apparently, on this second trip, Aubry took a wagon east to New Mexico, which would have been the first one over the 35th Parallel in that direction.³¹ The second trip was less hazardous, but also less significant, since it followed the official expeditions of both Lt. Whipple and Lt. Williamson.

Lt. R. S. Williamson. The official transcontinental railroad survey was approached from California by Lt. R. S. Williamson.³² His general assignment was to survey possible passes through the Sierra Mountains and coastal ranges. A specific task was to determine a route from the Gila River junction into California, probably by way of the Mojave River, or if not from the Gila, from a point further north on the Colorado River. Responding to this assignment, Williamson followed the Mojave east and north to its "sink," Soda Lake. Pushing beyond, he concluded there was no outlet from the lakes to the Colorado River. Here also he struck the Old Spanish-Mormon-California Trail. This led him to conclude that additional exploration in the northeasterly direction was unnecessary.

While he was correct in his evaluation of the Mojave drainages, it

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 28-29

³¹ Ibid., pp. 29-31.

³² Lt. R. S. Williamson, Report of Exploration in California for Railroad Routes, in Reports of Explorations and Surveys . . . 1853-1854, (Washington: Beverley Tucker, Printer, 1856), vol. 5, pp. 7-8. Williamson's party included W. P. Blake, Lt. J. G. Parke, Isaac W. Smith, A. L. Heermann, Charles Koppel, Charles Preuss, and Lt. George Stoneman and escort. The planning began in May and the party took to the field about July 8, 1853 from Benicia, California.

seems obvious Williamson did not understand the 35th Parallel route to the Colorado from the Mojave River. He commented with feeling: "To attempt to reach the river would have been madness."³³ After returning to San Bernardino and Warner's Ranch, Lt. Williamson did, however, explore a southern route to the Colorado River at Fort Yuma. Williamson's work had a direct impact on the railroad survey along the 35th Parallel, since Lt. Whipple in 1854, upon reaching the Sierra Nevada ranges, deferred to his earlier surveys.³⁴

Lt. Amiel M. Whipple. Whipple's expedition is most significant to this study, since it crossed the lower canyons of the Colorado. Whipple reported in detail on this region. After receiving his orders in May 1853, he began to assemble his personnel for the 35th Parallel survey³⁵ at Fort Smith early in July. The early portions of Whipple's Report need no review in this paper. When the party reached Albuquerque early in November, it reviewed as thoroughly as possible the knowledge of the region west. Reports were generally negative. Whipple enlisted the services of both Jose Manuel Saavedra and Antoine Leroux as guides, since both had been

³³Ibid., p. 34. Of course the Colorado River had been reached before on that route.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 35-39. See also Goetzman, p. 288.

³⁵Grant Foreman, ed., A Pathfinder in the Southwest, . . . (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), pp. 10 and 147-279 especially. Part of Whipple's command and escort was under Lt. Joseph C. Ives, who later was to lead his own major expedition to the Colorado. Another was led by Lt. D. S. Stanley. In addition, Whipple had a highly competent staff of twelve men to assist him, including H. B. Mollhausen, topographer and artist; J. M. Bigelow, botonist; Jules Marcois, geologist; C. B. R. Kennerly, naturalist; A. H. Campbell, engineer; Hugh Campbell, astronomer; William White, surveyor; George Gibson Garner, secretary; N. H. Hutton, engineer; John P. Shelburne, assistant meteorological observer; Thomas J. Parke, astronomer; and Walter Jones, assistant surveyor. See also Whipple, part I, pp. 5-47.

in the area before. Whipple had access to Sitgreaves' report.³⁶ He also visited with a Mr. Antone Thomas, who knew of Joe Walker's 1851 trip, and a Mr. Tully, a companion of F. X. Aubry, regarding their California-to-New Mexico trip earlier in the year.

After completing preparations, Whipple moved his main party west from Albuquerque past the famous "Inscription Rock." Continuing west, the party struck the Rio Puerco, then pushed on to the head waters of the Little Colorado River. After following the course of this stream several days, Whipple headed directly for the San Francisco Mountains, but was forced back to the Little Colorado water course by Canyon Diablo. He decided to stay south of the San Francisco peaks and explore a new route west to Bill Williams Mountain rather than follow Sitgreaves' 1851 trail. From Bill Williams Mountain they headed west and northwest into the Big Sandy Arroyo. They surveyed down stream to the Santa Maria, then proceeded west down the Bill Williams River to the Colorado.³⁷

Whipple chose this southern route because of Sitgreaves' difficulty in locating water further north, and because of his report of the Bill Williams flowing into the Colorado River. Whipple also calculated that the grade to the Colorado River via the northern route, as recommended by his guide Leroux, was too steep. Saavedra, his other guide, had suggested the more southerly route. Soon, however, due to the narrowness of the canyon, Whipple had to abandon several of his wagons (February 14, 1854). He reached the Colorado River by the 20th. Here he turned up stream, but the roughness of the terrain forced him to abandon more

³⁶ Whipple, part I, p. 48. Antoine Leroux had been Sitgreaves' guide.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 83-100. Whipple credits Walker with naming the Big Sandy.

wagons. Here, also, the explorers met a few Mojave Indians. Later the Chemehuevis flocked to them to barter; however, Whipple traded little, hoping to do better in negotiations with the Mojaves. Whipple noted the fine fields of both the Chemehuevis and Mojave Indians.

Detouring east around the "Needles," which appeared a good place for a bridge across the river, Whipple descended into Mojave Valley, where the main body of the Mojave Indians lived. The Indians found in Whipple a sympathetic reporter. His account speaks highly of their qualities. Apparently this regard was mutual, as the Mojave helped transfer his party over the Colorado, which at this point was reported to be "500 feet wide." The Mojaves, with their "light rush rafts," proved equal to the task.³⁸

Whipple then obtained the services of "Cairook," and "Irebeta," Mojave sub-chiefs, to guide him west to the "Mormon-California" road. The Indians led them along an old Indian trail, but the instrument wagon could not always keep this route, although the grade generally appeared excellent. The expedition passed Marl Springs March 7, 1854 and arrived at Soda Lake the following day. By the 10th they had discovered Lt. Williamson's trail further up the Mojave River, and a few days later reached the "Mormon Road." At this point the Mojave guides returned to their homes on the Colorado. Careful inquiry convinced Whipple that the "bed" of the Mojave River offered a gradual ascent from the Colorado to the Sierras.³⁹ When Whipple learned that Williamson had already explored

³⁸Ibid., pp. 100-117. Although Whipple had an "Indian Rubber Pontoon Boat" to move his supplies over the Colorado River, he found himself in trouble because of the swift current of the river. With the Mojave help, the party got over safely. See also Foreman, Pathfinder . . . pp. 230-235.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 120-136.

many of the Sierra passes, he halted his exploration and headed for Los Angeles to report.⁴⁰

In summary, it can be said that Whipple gave an excellent account of the Indians of the region, particularly those inhabiting the lower canyons area, along the Colorado River. He included two maps showing the location of various streams and tribes.⁴¹ He also found the Yavapai of Northern Arizona to be generally hostile, but not, in his opinion, an insurmountable obstacle to the building of the railroad. Incidental to his observations of the Indian, Whipple noted when he reached the Mormon-California road, which was a few months after the massacre of J. W. Gunnison and party, that the Mormons were "at peace with the Pah-Utahs," which Whipple felt to be a contradiction of political allegiances. He commented: "that although it may be in accordance with the system of the Mexican government, it is a new system in ours, for one state or territory to be at peace with a band of Indians known to be hostile to, or at war with, the rest."⁴²

Whipple did not see the Grand Canyon of the Colorado or even Black Canyon, but he gave a generally optimistic report about both the river's navigability and the area's agricultural potentials. He suggested that cane, cotton and rice could be grown. He added: "No doubt that valley of the Colorado is destined, at some future day, to be divided into plantations

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 129-130. They reached Los Angeles March 24, 1854. See also Foreman, Pathfinder . . . , pp. 245-283.

⁴¹Whipple, part I, pp. 16-18. Whipple's Indian information came from his 1849 trip from San Diego to the Colorado River, but because of its relevance he included it in his report in 1854.

⁴²Whipple, part I, p. 129. Gunnison's small party had been massacred near Delta, Utah, a retaliatory action by the Indians who had had one of their tribe killed by a passing emigrant train a few days before.

supporting a numerous population." He saw the Mojave Valley as a major production unit under the Mojave Indians themselves.⁴³

Finally, Whipple felt a railroad and/or a wagon road could be built along the 35th Parallel. Water and fuel were adequate, generally. He even proposed the floating of logs and ties down the Little Colorado into the Colorado River, to be retrieved where the railroad would cross the Colorado River near the Needles. The fate of the transcontinental railroads underwent several evolutions before the 35th Parallel lines were built. Whipple's survey, however, remained basic to that final project.⁴⁴

Whipple had taken several wagons nearly to the Colorado River with at least his instrument wagon being pulled all the way to California. This would have been the first wagon from Albuquerque or at least Zuni west over the 35th Parallel line to the Mormon Road at the Mojave River. The following summer, 1854, F. X. Aubry brought the first wagon east paralleling major portions of Whipple's route. Even so, the wagon road was yet to be born.

A Wagon Road

While politics played havoc with the building of a transcontinental railroad, the demand for some means to transport passengers and supplies overland continued to grow. Consequently, the federal government sought to open wagon and stage routes west. Several surveys were sent out during the latter part of the 1850's. Two had importance to the lower canyons area of the Colorado River.

⁴³Whipple, part I, pp. 18-19. Whipple's report gives details on the size of the Colorado and Bill Williams rivers.

⁴⁴Whipple, part I, pp. 29-30. The railroad did not follow Whipple's route down the Bill Williams River Canyon, but rather stayed to the north and west.

The first was conducted as a part of Colonel E. J. Steptoe's command in Utah Territory. In the early summer of 1855, Lt. Sylvester Mowry led an expedition south from Great Salt Lake City through Las Vegas to Los Angeles. His report recommended annual liaison by the government with the Pauite Indians along the Virgin and Muddy Rivers, and his interest in Colorado River navigation strengthened earlier suggestions for such an expedition.

The second venture, however, passed along the 35th Parallel, to cross the Colorado River in Mojave Valley. Its impact was significant, for while it is true that earlier surveys had opened a route on the 35th Parallel, details for a wagon road had not been provided. That was Beale's primary assignment.

Lt. Edward F. Beale, 1857-1858. Lt. Beale had been to California over the central route in 1853. He was intimately conscious of the struggle for a transcontinental railroad route. He was also personally aware of the hazards associated with travel in the American Southwest. As a student of military history and methods, he had gained some insight into the use of camels by the Arabs. His own sympathies led to their experimental use in conjunction with his assignment in 1857 to explore a "Wagon Road" along the 35th Parallel route from Fort Defiance in western New Mexico to the Colorado River.⁴⁵

In July 1857, Beale proceeded to San Antonio, Texas, to pick up his camels and make preparations for his trip west. Later at Zuni, he

⁴⁵ Lewis Burt Lesley, Uncle Sam's Camels (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), pp. 1-19. The need for supply lines in the arid southwest tested American ingenuity. Secretary of War Jefferson Davis "bought" the camel experiment, which Lt. Edward F. Beale led.

assembled his final outfit--mules, twenty-five camels, 350 sheep for food, camel drivers, a military escort, heavy wagons and ambulances loaded with supplies.⁴⁶

On August 31, 1857, the party got underway. Their route paralleled Sitgreaves' and Whipple's surveys onto the Little Colorado, which was followed for some distance before the party swung north and west to the base of the San Francisco Mountains. Like Whipple, Beale passed them to the south and continued west, passing north of the Bill Williams Range. After crossing the head water drainage of the Verde, he swung northwest to Water Springs, approaching Sitgreaves' 1851 route. In this area Beale found a shortage of water and a difficult route. With the camels to carry water, Beale and a few men explored ahead for four days, before locating water. However, because of difficulties, Beale finally sent four of his wagons back to Fort Defiance, keeping only seven, including two ambulances.⁴⁷

He continued through the arid area with a captured Indian as a guide, to "Frank Murray's Peak," where he first saw the Colorado. At this point Beale swung southwest past the Cervats into Gold Road Pass through the Black Range to the Colorado River.⁴⁸ Beale reported ecstatically on the performance of his camels. He believed them extremely useful and efficient, and claimed, probably with exaggeration, that nearly all the company felt the same way. On occasion Beale had used the camels to carry water to supply the mules. The dromedary seemed to survive four days

⁴⁶ Bender, Explorations . . . , p. 65. Beale's was the first major "wagon" expedition over the route.

⁴⁷ Lesley, p. 105.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 107-113 and 230-233. See also E. F. Beale map of 1857 route.

without water quite well.

Reaching the river on October 18, Beale began the "questionable" task of crossing the river. To ferry his wagons and supplies, the Lieutenant had brought India rubber boats, which proved adequate. However, several mules and horses were drowned while being swum across the stream. Beale had been warned that the camels could not swim; however, confident they could, he hazed a strong male camel into the water, which as soon as "he found himself out of his depth struck off without hesitation for the opposite shore, swimming high and with perfect ease."⁴⁹ The others were crossed without incident.

Originally Beale had planned to send an expedition to explore down river to Fort Yuma in the rubber boats. But, because of the Mojave Indians' hostility, he decided against the side trip.⁵⁰ Beale continued west to the Mojave River, along Whipple's route, then turned northwest to Fort Tejon, where he arrived the first part of November.

Beale felt his venture had been extremely successful. He had opened a wagon route from New Mexico to California along the 35th Parallel, marking water sources and river crossings carefully. He had also proven the camels to be capable beasts of burden in the southwestern deserts. Perhaps Beale's most original contribution came in locating a route from the Bill Williams Mountain to the Colorado River via Peach and Truxton springs, through Railroad Pass as suggested by Lt. Whipple. However,

⁴⁹ "Narrative of Lt. Beale's Wagon Road Expedition to the Colorado River," The Deseret News (March 24, 1858). The Mormons reported with interest the success of Beale's expedition, noting road conditions, water sources, etc.

⁵⁰ Lesley, pp. 115-116. Apparently May Stacey, Ham Bell and Ab were to make the trip to Fort Yuma. Although they were agreeable to the assignment, they were apprehensive because of the Indians' attitude. See also

this route lacked adequate water sources and feed during the summer months.

Determined to test the camels as fully as possible, Beale left most of them to winter in the Sierras. Then, about the first of January 1858, he commenced his return trip. On January 23, Beale reached the Colorado River near the Needles with twenty men and fourteen camels; and, coincidentally, intercepted Captain George A. Johnson, who was returning from his exploration of the Colorado River. Johnson landed on the west bank, loaded Beale's outfits aboard his General Jesep and crossed them to the east side before heading down river again. Beale commented on the unusual happening.

Once east of the river, Beale discovered his wagon tracks had already become a well-beaten trail covered with "horse, mule, moccasin, and barefoot" tracks. Beale returned on approximately his westbound course but made several observations that would improve and shorten the road. He reached New Mexico the latter part of February 1858. Beale proudly proclaimed the road to be a year-round route west. In this he was technically correct. Perhaps he underestimated the threat from the Indians of the area, though he did urge the establishment of a fort at the Colorado River.⁵¹ Several subsequent events, however, intervened before his recommendation found fruition.

Stephen Bonsal, Edward Fitzgerald Beale, a Pioneer in the Path of Empire, 1822-1903 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), p. 213. See also Jackson, p. 249. One of Beale's biggest headaches seemed to be the inadequacies of his guide, Leco.

⁵¹Bender, Explorations . . . , pp. 65-66. Beale and his men were operating under tense conditions, including the national issues of State Rights and Slavery, and the local Mormon "Rebellion." See also Lesley, p. 143.

Lt. Joseph C. Ives, 1857-1858. The demand for supply lines into the Rocky Mountain interior continued to build. By the summer of 1857, funds requested for the exploration of the Colorado River, were allotted by the Congress to the Army Corps of Engineers and Lt. Joseph C. Ives. Ives was a logical choice inasmuch as the expedition had both river and overland exploration projects, and Ives had been through the area with Lt. A. M. Whipple in 1853-1854.

As originally planned, Ives' expedition was to determine the navigability of the Colorado, and to explore overland to Fort Defiance, New Mexico, from the Colorado River. When Ives moved upstream in his Explorer, he instructed Lt. John Tipton to bring the pack train to Mojave Valley. At this point in his return trip, Ives took Dr. J. S. Newberry, Mr. F. W. Egloffstein, Mr. Baldwin Mullhausen, Lt. Tipton, and an escort of twenty soldiers, to travel overland to Fort Defiance. On March 23, 1858 they headed east, through Gold Road Pass in the Black Mountains,⁵² around the Cerbats through Railroad Pass into Hualpais Indian country. Under guidance of Ireteba and other Mojave Indians, the party continued north and east.

Ives was anxious to discover something of the Colorado River and the "Great Canyon." To do this, he needed Hualpais Indian guides. Ireteba finally succeeded in employing two of them, who led the party northeast toward the Grand Canyon, descending through a maze of canyons into Diamond Canyon and on to the Colorado River. Ives, Newberry and party were impressed with the grandeur of the scene.

⁵² Joseph C. Ives, Report Upon the Colorado River of the West (New York: Da Capo Press, 1960), p. 92. Ives believed both Beale, in 1857, and Sitgreaves in 1851, had used this pass; however, Sitgreaves is believed to have crossed farther north at Union Pass. It was Ives who named Sitgreaves Pass (Gold Road Pass today).

When they began their return by a second route, they were temporarily abandoned by the Hualpais and became lost. Fortunately, their guides returned to locate a spring of water for them. At this point, Ireteba and his two Mojave friends returned to their homes anxious to get out of Hualpais country. That night the guides deserted a second time.

The party continued its explorations and inadvertently came upon Havasupai or Cataract Canyon; in fact, they found the very spot described by Padre Garces in 1776, ladder, descent and all.⁵³ Here they met their first Yampai [Havasupai?] and continued their exploration. The next day the party returned to their camp, having sat out in a dark canyon all night. From that camp they pushed south and east toward Mt. Floyd, where water was located after three days without any. At this point, they also intercepted Lt. Whipple's route and continued east along it to the Little Colorado (Flax) River.

As Ives desired to visit the Hopi villages before going to Fort Defiance, he sent Lt. Tipton ahead to the fort, with part of the men and the more jaded mules. Ives then swung northeast to the villages. The Indians received them well and provided them with trade goods. They also reported that to the north three or four days was a great river. Being anxious to see the Colorado in this area, Ives pushed north beyond Oraibe, but had to turn back because of a lack of supplies and water and because his mules were giving out on him.

After a few days the party left for Fort Defiance, guided by a Navajo and several "Moqui." Ives was impressed with the Navajoes. His party

⁵³Ives, pp. 108-131. The record given by Ives, parallels Garces' earlier description. Mr. Egloffstein descended the old ladder, which gave way under his weight. Only with ingenuity was he extricated. The men did not go down into Havasu Canyon.

reached the fort on May 22, 1858, only a short time before hostilities broke out between the Navajoes and the United States. Later, Ives' party returned to Santa Fe to complete his assignment and report.⁵⁴

Several conclusions can be drawn about this expedition. Ives had led his party through the scenic, dry, arid region south of the Grand Canyon. He believed a railroad could extend west to the Colorado River through "Railroad Pass." Ives' was the first official expedition into the Grand Canyon, at Diamond Creek. Dr. Newberry's report on the geological uplift of the Colorado Plateau began to explain the cause of the erosion and canyons of the Colorado River.⁵⁵ Ives also rediscovered the Havasupai in Cataract Canyon, and his reports on the "Moqui" are revealing. He did not know much about the Colorado River's upper course, yet he was undoubtedly the foremost explorer of the Colorado River region in 1858. Ives did not find a better wagon road along the 35th Parallel. It was Lt. Beale who would pursue that goal.

Travelers on the 35th Parallel Route

Lt. Beale had reported on his successful expedition early in 1858. He claimed the road was already experiencing extensive traffic east of the Colorado River. Yet much of this use was either Indian or incidental. Nevertheless, interest in the route was keen and merchants in Santa Fe and Albuquerque were anxious to promote its use. At least four wagon trains were to attempt it during the summer of 1858.

The first train consisted of eleven families and thirty-five "hands"

⁵⁴Ives, pp. 111-131. Ives gives an interesting report of his trip.

⁵⁵Goetzman, pp. 388-389. Neither Newberry nor Egloffstein understood the "super imposition" of the Colorado River, a concept which followed from their uplift theory, however.

from Iowa with about 400 head of cattle and thirty-five horses and mules.⁵⁶ The parties traveled together as two companies most of the way, camping together, but keeping their stock separated. They reached Albuquerque, New Mexico, with little difficulty. At this time some dispute arose as to the better route on into California. John Udell and others argued for the southern route along the Gila River, while Mr. L. J. Rose and Mr. Gillum Bailey, in charge of the two companies, favored the new Beale route. However, sufficient opposition was evident that the new road would be taken only with the services of an experienced guide. Mr. E. M. Saavedra, who had been with both the Whipple and Beale expeditions, was given \$500 to lead the train, of which amount, \$180.00, was raised by merchants of Albuquerque.⁵⁷

The party proceeded west along Beale's road, noting major landmarks, and had little difficulty until the first of July, when a limited water supply caused them to split again into two traveling parties, with the Rose Company going ahead of the Bailey Company. By this time they were west of the San Francisco Mountains, entering the drier portion of the route and

⁵⁶ Robert G. Cleland, The Cattle of a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850-1880 (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1951), pp. 264-273. Cleland has reprinted a letter from L. J. Rose from Albuquerque, New Mexico, upon his return from the massacre on the Colorado River, in which Rose gives details of the trip. Rose identifies the two companies as follows: First, "Joel Hedgespeth, Thos. Hedgespeth, G. Bailey, Wright Bailey, J. Holland Bailey, John Udell and their families and about eighteen hands." The second, "Messrs. Betner, Alpha Brown, S. M. Jones, L. J. Rose and families and about seventeen hands."

⁵⁷ John Udell, Journal of John Udell . . . containing account of the Massacre of a Portion of His Party by the Mojave Indians, in 1859 [sic] (Los Angeles: N. A. Kovach, 1946), pp. 1-13. Udell's Journal was first published in 1868. He was sixty-three, his wife sixty-four years of age, and this was his fourth trip across the continent to California. He apparently opposed the Beale route but was overridden by others. The influence of the Albuquerque merchants is not to be discounted either.

also the territory of the "Cosninos" or Hualapai Indians. The Indians began to harrass them, wounding and killing some of their animals. At Peach Springs (Beale's Hemp-hill Spring), they lost their first stock. However, they pushed ahead, sometimes traveling at night to minimize the effects of the heat and shortage of water. By August 25 they had reached the "Colorado Mountains" [Black Mountains] just east of the river.⁵⁸

Since water was scarce and the animals near exhaustion, the Rose Company (except for a Mr. Bentner, and his family, who were to follow as soon as possible), pushed ahead. The Bailey Company remained east of the mountain with their wagons and families, guarded by the "older men." However, their "hands" took the stock to the river to recruit strength for crossing the mountain while the men were building a raft to ferry their goods across the river.⁵⁹

By the evening of August 27 the Rose Company reached the crest of the Black Mountains where they could see the Colorado. Their stock were thirsty and weak from two days' toil without water. But, encouraged by the sight of the river, the party decided to travel all night to arrive at water as soon as possible. Enroute they were met by Mojave Indians, who bartered melons and beans to the hungry emigrants.

They did not reach the river until about 11:00 a.m. on the 28th, later than they expected. By this time the number of Indians had increased to more than fifty. Their insolence and boldness also grew, even to the point

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 20-25. Although with good guidance, water through this portion of the area could be had, it was limited for large trains especially.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 24-27. Udell indicates that the Bailey party had sufficient water at Mountain Spring, but grass was scarce. They expected no major problems from the Indians.

of killing some of the stock and feasting on it while the alarmed but fatigued emigrants watched.

Somewhat recruited the next morning, the train began to tighten up its watch and sought a place to cross the river. About noon on the 29th, they were visited by one of the chiefs to whom they complained about the treatment they had received. He harangued his braves, was entertained and left. A second chief came with comparable behavior and treatment. Near 4:00 p.m. the emigrants moved down river about a mile to where the crossing was expected. They had a good camp--shade, water and feed for their stock.⁶⁰ They were somewhat apprehensive but not alarmed.

The morning of August 30 saw the emigrants refreshed, yet more concerned. Only two Indians had been noted before 10:00 o'clock. Then their guide Saavedra reported many Indians were seen crossing the river to the east side. And the Bentner family had not yet arrived.⁶¹ After lunch, Rose detailed two men to go back along the route to find them.

Within a half hour after the departure of these two scouts, about 250 Indians attacked the wagon train, rushing to within "fifteen feet of our wagons."⁶² Since the emigrants had become very suspicious they were not surprised by the attack. Their guns drove off the attackers, killing and wounding a number. However, the Indians captured most of their stock

⁶⁰ Cleland, pp. 267-269. Rose indicates the Indians missed their best opportunity for a massacre which existed immediately upon the arrival of the emigrants near the river, when they were disorganized, fatigued, and careless.

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 269-270. Apparently, Bentner, having mules, had either come to the river, recruited his animals, and then gone back to get his wagon and family; or, more likely, he had remained at Mountain Spring until his mules recovered sufficiently to make the crossing of the mountain. He desired to rejoin Rose's company and be there when they crossed the river.

⁶² Ibid., p. 270.

except a few head near the camp. Eleven emigrants were wounded, but only Mr. Alpha Brown was killed. Later he was buried in the Colorado River. Soon after this, the two scouts returned with a report that they had discovered the mutilated body of Bentner's oldest daughter. The camp witnessed an Indian across the river shaking scalps at them, and so concluded the family had all been massacred.⁶³ A consultation was held. It was decided that they did not have sufficient strength to recover the stolen stock. With cattle to pull only one wagon and mules for Rose's carriage, the emigrants loaded up and retreated back across the mountains, reaching the Bailey company with their sad story August 31, 1858.⁶⁴

Their tragic condition allowed little time for lament. Immediately they began to wend their way back along the trail, under continued harrassment from the Hualapai Indians. They soon received the happy intelligence that that the Bradford Caves party, consisting of friends they knew in Iowa, was only a few miles away.⁶⁵ The two companies soon met. The latter had lost stock to the "Cosninos" Indians. With news of the massacre,

⁶³Ibid., p. 270. See also Udell, pp. 25-27. Udell blames Rose for a kind of bullheaded leadership that produced many of their problems. No doubt mistakes were made which Udell, who had traveled across the country before, felt could have been avoided, had his experience been utilized. Rose, however, not Udell, was charged with making the decisions. Some reports claim that three men, two women and four children were killed in this massacre, most of them with the Bentner family. See also Philip J. Avillo, Jr., "Fort Mojave, Outpost on the Upper Colorado," The Journal of Arizona History, XI (Summer 1970), pp. 77-78.

⁶⁴Udell, pp. 44-47. See also Cleland, p. 271. The sorrow and crisis was not restricted to the advance company, since much of the stock from the Bailey Company was also lost. Udell had only his pony left. Rose states that of their original 400 cattle, they had saved only seventeen, and of thirty-seven horses and mules only ten remained.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 47-49. Udell identifies John Hamilton and his son-in-law John Miller as well as the party's leader, Mr. Caves. Fortunately for Udell, the Hamiltons of the group were close and generous friends. See also Cleland, p. 271. Rose identifies the Caves, Jordan, Perkins and Davis families and "about thirty men."

they elected to go back also. The return trip was very hard for the families.

Continuing east, past Peach Springs, they met a third train from Illinois near Indian Spring, in charge of T. O. and E. O. Smith. It was well equipped, with forty-one hands and no women and children.⁶⁶ With this combined strength (now 118 men), some members desired to turn back west, attack the Mojaves, retrieve what goods they could and march on to California. However, the vote favored a return to New Mexico. The Smith train generously shared its wagons and supplies with the less fortunate.

On the 20th of September about twenty of the younger men decided on a 200-mile detour south to the mail route along the Gila River. A few days later three returned, tired and emaciated. It was feared the remainder had been killed by the Indians; however, in about a week the others rejoined the main train badly in need of food. Their return relieved considerable anxiety.⁶⁷

Shortly after these men had headed south, the returning emigrants met a fourth train from Missouri led by Washington Peck. It also turned back. Because of the large numbers of people and their limited supplies, the companies faced many problems. Only because the later trains shared their goods with the earlier ones, was disaster avoided. By the end of October the first of emigrants began arriving in Albuquerque where they were taken care of.⁶⁸ By early November they were all back.

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 51-53. Udell states this company from Decatur, Illinois consisted of forty-three men with 500 head of stock.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 53-57. Apparently the men got separated and were continually threatened by the Indians.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 57-58. See also Cleland, p. 272. Both men acclaim the

Even though the 35th Parallel had seen a great deal of emigrant traffic in 1858, none of it had gone beyond the Colorado River. Beale's wagon road was not yet complete. It needed at least two things--a better road in many areas with improved water holes, and emigrant protection from the Indians. Both of these would be forthcoming in 1859.

In the meantime, many of the emigrants swung south, going to California on the Gila route, where the Butterfield (Oxbow) Overland Stage Line had begun operation in 1858. Some returned east, and at least the Udells and their friends, the Hedgespeths, wintered in New Mexico, then traveled the 35th Parallel in company with Beale during the summer of 1859.⁶⁹

The Military Among the Mojave

Word of the attack on the emigrant train soon reached the military command of California. General Newman S. Clarke immediately recommended a punitive expedition be sent to the Colorado.⁷⁰ His plan was soon reinforced by an order from the War Department under date of December 1, 1858. Lt. Colonel William Hoffman was placed in command of the expedition. His first action was to select a company of fifty dragoons and six foot soldiers for a reconnaissance mission, while his other troops (four companies) were making preparation for the trip. Leaving Benicia,

kindnesses of the Smith Company, who not only shared their wagons and supplies but later killed their stock as they were needed for food.

⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 59-79.

⁷⁰ Ralph B. Beiber, ed., Frontier Life in the Army, 1854-1861, by Eugene Bandell (Translated by Olha Bandell and Richard Jente) in South-west Historical Series, (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1932), vol. 2, p. 248, hereafter cited as Beiber, "Bandell." Sergeant Bandell was one of the soldiers in the expedition. See also 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Senate Exec. Doc. No. 2, pt. 2, pp. 370-417 for a complete review of official correspondence.

California on December 26, 1858, he followed the California Trail west from Fort Banning over Cajon Pass onto the Mojave River, down it to Soda Lake and west along Beale's route to "Beaver Lake" [?] on the Colorado River north of the Mojave villages,⁷¹ where the troops arrived January 7, 1859. Hoffman, upon contact with the Indians, assumed a cautious posture, commanding Lt. A. B. Chapman to prepare defenses.

Soon a few "Pai-utes" came into camp, reporting that their villages were located down stream and that the Mojaves were yet farther away. Later a few Mojave Indians appeared, strong and impressive but not openly hostile. The soldiers, however, remained suspicious and forced the Indians from camp at night and posted an alert guard. The following day Hoffman explored down river a few miles and discovered the rough terrain on the benches west of the river. This condition forced him into the brush near the river. Cutting his way through portions of this, he again sought high ground to reconnoiter. Concluding that the terrain down river was even more hazardous, he retraced his steps to his original campsite, and then explored north a couple of miles. He decided his best location was still his first camp. However, he reported he could see a good sight for a fort across the river which could support at least two companies. When the Indians commenced coming into camp in increasing numbers and with greater boldness, a neavy guard was posted the second night. Later when several Mojave Indians sought to run past the guard and refused to halt, a guard fired, killing one. All the camp was awakened and kept under arms during the night.

⁷¹See "Letter of W. Hoffman to Adjutant General, January 16, 1859," Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 2, part 2, pp. 389-392. Beaver Lake apparently was one of the river meanders then filled with water.

On January 9, Hoffman concluded he must retreat. The Indians began to fire arrows into camp. Hoffman loaded his wagon, packed his animals, and headed them west along the trail, while he and troops prepared to skirmish with some three hundred or more Mojaves who stalked them. As the Indians moved forward, the soldiers opened fire, killing or wounding ten or twelve Indians. This fusilage stopped the attack and the dragoons began an orderly retreat. Again the Indians moved forward menacingly, but were dispersed with a few scattered shots from the soldiers.⁷²

The expedition returned to Camp Banning by January 19, 1859. Hoffman, convinced that a major force was needed to punish and overpower the Indians, suggested a force of men sufficient to advance on both sides of the river at once. He also rejected the 35th Parallel route as a supply line, recommending instead that men and material be transported to Fort Yuma and then be moved north up river into Mojave country. He even discouraged use of the route by emigrants.

As a result of his recommendations, seven companies of troops were ordered east. Five traveled to the mouth of the Colorado River on the steamer Uncle Sam (February 27, 1859), where they and their supplies were transferred to the General Jesep and Colorado river boats for transport to Fort Yuma, which they reached in early March. The two companies from Camp Banning had already arrived across the desert on foot.⁷³

The entire command left Fort Yuma March 26 for the Mojave Territory. On April 5, they transferred from the west to the east bank of the Colorado River, using the General Jesep, which was accompanying them, as a ferry boat. In spite of river navigational support, the trip was unpleasant and

⁷²Ibid., p. 392.

⁷³Beiber, Bandell, p. 61.

difficult. They finally reached "Beale's Crossing" about April 20, 1859, where they met the Mojaves and observed the remains of the emigrants' burned wagons. The Indians appeared somewhat subdued.

Why the changed attitude is uncertain. Likely the presence of 700 soldiers was a major factor. However, another influence could have been Lt. E. F. Beale's partner, S. A. Bishop, who had contacted them about April 10. Bishop knew that Lt. Beale (second trip) planned to carry only sufficient supplies for his roadbuilding expedition to reach the Colorado River, where he expected to meet Colonel Hoffman with additional supplies. But when Hoffman returned to California after his January reconnoitering, Bishop apparently concluded Hoffman would not be at the river with supplies for Lt. Beale at the appointed date. Consequently Bishop, with an expedition of forty men, packed supplies on mules and camels and pushed across the desert to the Colorado in the fore part of April. Here they were met by "1,000 warriors"; however, as Bishop reported it, they were not only able to defend themselves but rout the Indians as well, killing "two out of every three aimed at." Leaving most of his men behind, Bishop and a small contingent pushed ahead. Again they were attacked, so Bishop returned to the river. He then picked up the mail from the mail agent and, with Ali Hadji, mounted camels and pushed ahead to join Beale, whom they met three days west of the San Francisco Mountains, April 18, 1859.⁷⁴

Whatever the cause, it was subdued Mojave Indians who received Hoffman's soldiers. Immediately Hoffman put his men to work preparing "Camp Colorado" for defense and called for a council. The chiefs

⁷⁴Edward F. Beale, "Wagon Road--Fort Smith to Colorado River," House Ex. Doc. No. 42, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 44-45. Bishop's account seems exaggerated, although he obviously had passed through the area in April; and it is a fact that Beale had earlier sent his clerk, F. C. Kerlin, to California via El Paso with a request for supplies.

responded promptly and were given the terms of peace: (1) the Indians should not oppose the building of a fort; (2) one hostage from each of the six clans would be surrendered and held for six months; (3) the chief who had led the attack on Hoffman's dragoons would be turned over for trial; and (4) three Indians involved in the emigrant massacre were to be surrendered.⁷⁵

The terms of the treaty were severe but the Indians accepted them. Hoffman then proceeded to put things in order for his departure. Part of his men were sent down river on the General Jesep, which had been late in arriving, having struck a sandbar down river a few miles. Hoffman himself planned to travel overland with another group to Camp Banning. To Major Lewis A. Armistead fell the command of the new fort, with two companies of Infantry ("F" and "I" 6th Infantry) and a detachment of the Third Artillery. The others left April 26.

Armistead continued to fortify his new post, as an influx of emigrants was expected during the summer. The post's name was soon changed to Fort Mojave. Generally, the Indians proved peaceful; however, in late July several mail carriers were killed about two and one-half miles below the fort. Armistead concluded to punish the Mojave and led an expedition west across the river on August 2, to destroy one of their "rancherias." A few days later his troops attacked the enemy (August 5, 1859) about twelve miles down stream, killing twenty-three Mojave Indians. Again a restless peace was restored.

After that a contingent of troops remained at the fort until May 28, 1861, when they were recalled because of the Civil War conflicts.

⁷⁵Hoffman, "Letter," pp. 400-403. See also Beiber, Bandell, pp. 276-277.

Almost two years later, May 19, 1863, a company of California volunteers re-established the Fort as a part of General James H. Carlestone's reconquest effort, and because a number of emigrants and mail carriers, trying to use the 35th route had again been harassed by the Indians.

This military interlude is significant.⁷⁶ Not only did it alter the Mojave and Hualpai isolation, but it brought white men and their interests into the area, which later meant mining. It did not at once open a major wagon route for freighters, since the best supply line was found to be the Colorado River. It was this subsequent subsidy to river navigation that proved to be very consequential. Beale's wagon road would be used, but to carry supplies from the Colorado River inland more than as an emigrant route to California.⁷⁷

Lt. Edward F. Beale, 1859. After Lt. Beale returned east in 1858, he continued to promote a wagon route along the 35th Parallel from Fort Smith, Arkansas to Santa Fe, Fort Defiance, and on west to California. In 1858 Congress allocated one-half million dollars for road building, of which the 35th Parallel route received its share. Needless to add, Lt. Beale excitedly prepared for the actual construction of the road. His work between Fort Smith and Santa Fe moved ahead on schedule. The need between Albuquerque and the Colorado River was for sufficient improvements to his road so that wagons could be taken along the 35th Parallel route all the way to California. His expedition began in the

⁷⁶Bieber, Bandell, pp. 281-282. See also "Armistead," 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Senate Exec. Doc. No. 2, pt. 2, pp. 405-407. See also Avillo, pp. 76-84 for a good account of the fort's history.

⁷⁷"Report," 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Senate Exec. Doc. No. 2, pt. 2, pp. 403-404. General Clark reported up river freight costs were \$300.00 a ton, overland \$600.00 per ton.

late fall of 1858 and reached Albuquerque by March 1859. He then pushed west with his road crews, taking several large six-mule-team wagons along to carry supplies and equipment (3,500 pounds per wagon) and to test the road. Some California-bound emigrants also joined the expedition.

Construction progressed rapidly. By mid-April they had built roads beyond the San Francisco Mountains. On the 18th Beale was delightfully surprised to see Ali Hadji, one of his camel drivers, and S. A. Bishop, his partner, who had accompanied him west with his camels the year before. They arrived in his camp from the west riding camels. Bishop reported that they had fought and defeated the Mojave at the Colorado River. Beale transferred the mail he was carrying to the camels, as Bishop was to return back across the Colorado and would reach California ahead of Beale's expedition. Besides, Beale was delighted to have his camels carry the route's first mail.⁷⁸

The road crews continued to work west. New water supplies were discovered, making the western portion of the road less hazardous. By April 25 they had reached Truxton's Springs. The Hualpai Indians continued to harass them. They reached the "Colorado Mountains" by April 29. With a contingent of men, Beale crossed them the following day prepared to fight the Mojave Indians. To their surprise, and disappointment, they met four white men before getting a chance to shoot any Indians. These soldiers were a part of Major Armistead's command.

⁷⁸ Beale, "Wagon Road," pp. 40-45. No report is given of the camels' return across the Colorado River, nor Bishop's contact with either the Indians or the military. Likely, however, by the time he arrived at the river the soldiers were engaged in building Camp Colorado.

The hunt was called off, as there was no need to fight.⁷⁹

As Beale's previous cache of supplies had been "raised by the soldiers," he was obligated to go to California to replenish his stores. He left his crews to finish construction of a wagon road across the Colorado Mountain [Black Mountain], to the river, which they did. He returned with supplies by June 26, 1859, crossed the flooding Colorado and began his trip east along his wagon road, with which Beale was generally pleased. However, he did make a few modifications to the route and located some extra water holes. His report boasted plenty of feed and water at intervals no greater than twenty-five miles. With rapid marches the party reached Albuquerque on July 29, establishing an impressive record.⁸⁰

Beale's wagon road had become a fact, at least as far as the Colorado River. Still he recognized the need for further improvements and submitted a request to Congress for \$200,000 additional dollars. These were never allotted. Nor was Beale's wagon road ever to become a major emigrant route to California. Several factors were significant. First of all, the Indian hostility continued to pose a threat to poorly prepared or small emigrant parties. Mail carriers who did use this shorter route were attacked in spite of the soldiers at Fort Mojave. Secondly, the government subsidized mail and passenger Butterfield Stage Line had begun effective operations on the southern route along

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 49. Beale noted the intense desire of his men to meet and fight the Mojave Indians. No doubt their attitudes were affected by the continued harassment received during the last portion of the route. Also the emigrants' reports of the previous year's massacre and Bishop's account of his own fight had stirred their ire as well.

⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 50-58.

the Gila River. Finally, the Civil War injected national problems that overshadowed the building of overland wagon roads to California. Beale's report contributed much to the chartering of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, which was built eventually. In the meantime, neither congressional delay nor national crises removed the need for improved traffic routes across northern Arizona; consequently, it is not surprising that several routes were tried during the 1860's.

Jacob Hamblin's Road. One of the earliest surveys resulted from the movement of the Mormons into Arizona both to explore for lands and to convert the Hopi Indians. Jacob Hamblin made several trips from southern Utah across the Colorado River, beginning in 1858. In 1862, he was directed by Brigham Young to swing south, by a route west of the Grand Canyon. Taking a small skiff on a wagon's running gears, Hamblin's party pushed southwest following the well-known route into Grand Wash, then turned down the wash to the Colorado River, where with the aid of the skiff they crossed. Getting out of the river on the south was difficult. After caching the skiff, the party proceeded in a southeasterly direction to near and then parallel to Beale's road, but not on it. When they reached the Hopi villages, Hamblin left several missionaries among the Indians and took three Hopi back with him to Utah and an eventual visit with Brigham Young in Salt Lake City.⁸¹

In March of 1863, Hamblin was detailed to return the Indians to

⁸¹Jacob Hamblin, Journals (Typescript: Utah State Historical Society). See also James H. McClintock, Mormon Settlement in Arizona . . . (Phoenix: The Manufacturing Stationers, 1921), pp. 68-69. There were several men in the party. Thales Haskell, J. McConnel and Ira Hatch were left at the Hopi village until Hamblin returned the following year.

their homeland. His route was again southwest from St. George to the Grand Wash; however, on this occasion he and William Hamblin rowed up stream to a crossing located by others in the party. At this juncture they were also joined by Lewis Greeley, nephew to the more famous Horace Greeley.⁸² Once on the south bank Hamblin's party moved south and east up the wash eight miles, camping at Grass Springs. On the 27th they continued up the same draw another fifteen miles to a second spring, turned east and camped at Milkweed Spring. Apparently their route lay east of the 1862 course for they struck the Havasupai Indian retreat in Cataract Canyon, visited earlier by Ives and Padre Garces. The party then continued east to the Little Colorado and the Hopi villages, where they delivered their guests. Their missionary companions were pleased to see them.⁸³

With little delay the Mormons began their return to St. George; however, their route lay west across the Little Colorado River to Leroux Spring and Beale's Wagon Road which they followed to Peach Springs before turning north to the Colorado River via Grass Springs. They recrossed the Colorado above Grand Wash May 9, 1863 and retraced their route home.⁸⁴ It should be noted that little traffic used this western route into Arizona until after 1876, when Hamblin was again commissioned to survey a route to the Colorado where Harrison Pearce was to

⁸² McClintock, p. 69. See also Thomas D. Brown, Journal of Southern Indian Mission (Typescript; Utah State Historical Society), pp. 142-143. Brown indicates the crossing was made March 26, 1863.

⁸³ Brown, pp. 144-145. The missionaries had spent most of their time getting food and studying the "Deseret Alphabet," supposedly a perfect language associated with the pure language of Adam and Eve.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 152.

operate a ferry boat. From that point the route moved south up Grapevine Pass into Hualpai Wash to Mineral Springs, Truxton Springs and Beale's route east to the Little Colorado settlements. Even then comparatively few Mormons used this route, as most settlers on the Little Colorado crossed at Lee's Ferry east of Marble Canyon.

Wagon Roads. Other roads were built to get wherever travelers wished to go. The mines and military posts were major attractions. Roads ran from railheads or, in the lower canyons areas, from river landings to these sites. Two such lines concern us first. One left El Dorado Landing and climbed north and west to reach the Mormon-California road by which freight was shipped not only to the mines in southern Nevada, but also to the Mormon settlements of Utah. In conjunction with use of this route, Captain George Price conducted a road survey during the summer of 1864, to open what he claimed was an excellent route from Fort Douglas (Salt Lake City) southwest to the Muddy River and on to Las Vegas and El Dorado.⁸⁵

A second route was proposed by James Ferry in 1864 from Circle Valley (Callville) on the Colorado River northeast to the Virgin River. His road followed the river beyond the confluence of the Muddy and "Virgin Hill" before joining the regular Mormon-California Trail. This road became the route selected by Anson Call later that year.

Hardyville Road. Of more direct importance, however, to Colorado River freighting in the lower canyons area were routes near the 35th

⁸⁵See "Report on Captain George Price," Daily Union Vidette (July 25, 1864) and a second article (August 27, 1864). Price led his survey party from Fort Douglas to El Dorado and Fort Mojave.

Parallel. One of these was opened by the enterprising young William H. Hardy in 1864, whose landing was located about seven miles above Fort Mojave, Hardy's stop became the high point freight depot for the miners in northwestern Arizona. He also opened a toll road from Hardyville through Union Pass to Prescott. The road carried a great deal of freight, but according to Hardy, made him little money. Travel over it was also extremely hazardous, due to the constant raiding and ambuscades by the hostile Indians. An improved road from Ehrenberg caused Hardy's business to decline during the 1870's. With the coming of the railroad, Hardyville itself soon became a ghost town.⁸⁶ All other landings on the Colorado River from LaPaz on the south to Bonelli Ferry up river also became freighting depots of consequence, depending on the needs of the area. Each had a road of sorts leading from them to the mines and other settlements.

Toll Roads. Under charter from the Arizona Territorial Legislature several toll roads were authorized: the Mojave and Prescott Toll Road (November 3, 1864), the Hualapai Indian and Prescott Toll Road, and the Santa Maria Toll Road. While maintained by toll road companies, these lines were used and protected by the military. They reached Prescott along portions of what became the Santa Fe Railroad lines with branch roads extending to the forts and to the various landings on the river.⁸⁷ It is probable that Hardy's Toll Road ran into these "official

⁸⁶ John L. Riggs, "William H. Hardy: Merchant of the Upper Colorado," Journal of Arizona History, VI (Winter 1965), 180-182. Ehrenberg downriver began its boom in 1870. The railroad reached the river August 10, 1883.

⁸⁷ Rufus Kay Wyllys, Arizona: The History of a Frontier State

ones" which may explain his problems in obtaining damage claims from the Territory of Arizona on several occasions. Important as these roads were, they did not satisfy the needs of the area completely.

Transcontinental Railroad

The transcontinental railroad interest along the 35th Parallel resurfaced in 1866 at which time congress granted a charter to the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad to build its line as far west as the Colorado River.

The Palmer Survey. In consequence of this action, the Union Pacific Railway Company (Eastern Division), commissioned William J. Palmer to manage a series of surveys along the 35th and 32nd Parallels. Only that part of the 35th route west of Albuquerque concerns us in detail. The survey itself was conducted by Colonel William H. Greenwood. The route surveyed followed closely on Whipple's and Beale's routes, and gave detailed attention to grades, bridges, passes, costs, etc. By November 1867 it was at the Little Colorado River. The survey teams continued west, south of the San Francisco Mountains, across Val de Chino and Abrey Valley. At this point they selected a route generally westward via Peach Springs, then turned southwest to Truxton Springs through Railroad Pass to the area of Kingman, Arizona. Their route turned down Sacramento Wash south of the Black Mountains, then north along the river for a crossing just above the Needles. Alternate routes to the Colorado were considered, but given secondary ratings. Across the river the recommended route extended to San Gorgonio Pass or other

(Phoenix: Hobson & Hess, 1950), pp. 189-191. Other landings opened in addition to Hardy's were at LaPaz, Aubry, and Mojave City.

feasible crossing through the Sierras.⁸⁸

The Whipple dilemma of how to reach the river from the plateau had been resolved with the new route near Kingman, Arizona instead of the Bill Williams' canyon. The resources of this new area were also considered extensive and exploitable. The laying of the rails awaited the politician's and financier's decisions and negotiations.

While the transcontinental railroad story itself is not a part of this study, a brief account of the building of Arizona's northern line is necessary, because its presence had an irreversible impact on the lower canyons area as related to the Colorado River itself. This chapter has already discussed the numerous surveys of the 35th Parallel route, all of which to a greater or lesser degree helped stage the final laying of tracts in the 1880's. The Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroad companies completed the nation's first transcontinental line in May 1869. Even before the last spike was driven, plans were underway for several other routes. One other than the 35th Parallel route needs discussion in this chapter also.

The 32nd Parallel Route. In 1858 the Butterfield Stage Lines opened the Oxbow Stage route from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to San Francisco. The Civil War had disrupted traffic, but shortly thereafter plans developed

⁸⁸General William J. Palmer, Report of Surveys Across the Continent in 1867-68 on the Thirty-Fifth and Thirty-Second Parallels. . . . (Philadelphia: W. B. Selheimer, Printer, 1869), pp. 1-34. See also William A. Bell, New Tracks in North American (London: Chapman and Hall, 1870), pp. 400-430. Bell's account is interestingly informative but from secondary sources. Most of the survey on the portion of the route that concerns this study was directed by Colonel William H. Greenwood who had three parties in the field, commanded by J. Imbrie Miller, H. R. Holbrook and Howard Schuyler. One member of the survey party was a Dr. Parry who published his interviews of James White's Colorado River trip.

for a railroad along the same route. Two powerful forces later fought for control.

In March 1871 Congress issued a charter to the Texas and Pacific Railroad with a grant to build its line to the Colorado River. However, financial difficulties associated with the panic of 1873 bankrupted their plans. In the meantime the Southern Pacific Railroad pushed its plans for a line east from Southern California, via San Geronimo Pass, to the Colorado River at Yuma, where the railroad arrived May 23, 1877. Still no bridge could be built nor any railroad tracks laid in Arizona until Congress granted the Southern Pacific Railroad a permit to cross the Yuma Reservation (October 1877). This action allowed them to push their lines through Arizona to connect with the Texas-Pacific lines east of El Paso late in 1881.⁸⁹ With its completion, Arizona and the Colorado River had a transcontinental railroad and the Colorado River had its first bridge. Thereafter much of the freight shifted to this new, efficient supply line, and river freighting via the Gulf of California declined sharply.⁹⁰

The Atlantic and Pacific Railroad. A number of factors came to bear on the railroaders between the time Congress chartered the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad in 1866, and the time the line was finally joined via a

⁸⁹Wylls, pp. 274-275. See also Robert Edgar Riegel, The Story of Western Railroads (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1926), pp. 178-184. Riegel's book gives an excellent general picture of western railroading. In April 1877 General Irvin McDowell granted permission to the Southern Pacific to build across the reservation. Four months later Texas and Pacific were granted similar rights, but almost immediately the War Department revoked both permits. Even so the Southern Pacific built a bridge and began to lay track. By October 1877 their permit was re-granted.

⁹⁰The first railroad bridge was built first in 1877 but was washed out a couple of times before a permanent bridge was finished.

bridge at Needles in 1884. Of major consequence, was the Central and Southern Pacific Railroad's desire not only for competitive national freight lines but also for control of the only good Colorado River crossings, ports of entry to California from the east, at Yuma and Needles. These they secured.

Chartered in 1866, the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad appeared to have a good route to the Pacific from Springfield, Missouri, at least as far west as Needles and the Colorado River via Albuquerque and the 35th Parallel across northern Arizona. From the river on west several options were considered. However, before construction was begun, several proprietorial modifications occurred.

One of the first major routes into the Intermountain West had been the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, a product of expansive evolution itself. It followed with interest the projects of the Atlantic and Pacific, which in the early 1870's purchased the whole St. Louis, Missouri system to gain a headquarters at that city. The Panic of 1873 placed the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad in bankruptcy. It was sold and reorganized in 1876 as part of the St. Louis and San Francisco system, which, needing money, sold one-half of its Atlantic and Pacific stock to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad in 1880. With this acquisition, the line posed a real challenge to Southern Pacific Railroad's monopoly in the southwest. In reaction, the Southern Pacific Railroad first of all built a branch line to the Colorado River at Needles in 1880, thus securing its control of the crossing of the Colorado. Next it acquired the other fifty percent of the Atlantic and Pacific stock.

At first it appeared that the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad

was willing to accept this apparent blockage. However, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad and St. Louis and San Francisco stock holders of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad commenced in 1880 to build west from Albuquerque, reaching Winslow, Arizona by late 1881. In August 1883 the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad lines reached the Colorado River east of Needles. All that separated it from the rival tracks of the Southern Pacific Railroad was the river. An agreement was finally negotiated that permitted a bridge to be built in 1884. Later the Southern Pacific Railroad's Mohave to Needles tracks were purchased. On August 20, 1884, traffic began to move through the area on these lines. By November 14, 1885, the Santa Fe Railroad's own California line from San Diego to Barstow was completed, giving it a route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific. The 35th Parallel's transcontinental railroad had become a fact.⁹¹ Its impact on both developments in northern Arizona and to Colorado River economics was significant. The river's freighting role declined even more.

Other Railroads

Railroading and the Colorado River was not limited to transcontinental lines only. The problem of the best route, of tapping the natural resources of the nation's hinterlands, of opening up potential developments--agricultural, mineral, etc. --posed real and gigantic challenges. Dreamers and engineers arrived to give an accounting. Although no early

⁹¹Wylls, pp. 275-277. See also Riegel, pp. 112-118, and 187-191. These railroad developments are outlined only. To pressure the Southern Pacific to negotiate, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad built a Pacific line south through Sonora in Mexico. It later obtained trackage into San Francisco as well as further south.

routes actually reached the Colorado River, their story is a part of the region's history.

Nevada Routes.⁹² With the coming of the Central Pacific Railroad to Nevada, speculators looked for north-south lines to tap the water route of the Colorado River and counter the railroad's monopolistically high freight rates to Nevada's mines. One of the first projects was the Carson and Colorado Railroad Company (May 1868), which projected 400 miles of track southwest down the Walker River, then southeast to the Colorado River near the Callville area. However, as construction progressed, the railroaders detoured west at Montgomery Pass into California, a more attractive route at the time.

A second "paper" railroad was the Humboldt and Colorado Railroad, proposed in late May 1868. Although its certificate conferred a fifty-year life on it, its tracks were never laid. Plans projected a route from the "gravelly ford" of the Humboldt north to connect with the Columbia River and south to reach the Colorado River, thus having connections with points north and south and east and west. However, nothing was done with the plans.

A third route, the Eureka and Colorado Railroad, was chartered in 1881. The proposed route was to reach to the Colorado River near Callville. Again the plans far exceeded the railroad track laid.

A Southern Railroad. As early as 1864 the Mormons contemplated

⁹²For information on Nevada Railroads see David F. Myrick, Railroads of Nevada and Eastern California, 2 vols. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1962-63), especially volume two which deals with the southern lines. See also Myron Angel, ed., History of Nevada 1881 . . . with introduction by David F. Myrick. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1958), pp. 272-291.

a railroad from Salt Lake City south through the settlements of Utah, into Nevada and to the Colorado River at Callville. Numerous proposals and variations were considered, but again the projects died aborning.⁹³ In 1869 Mormon Church leaders made plans to tap the Union Pacific Railroad lines at Ogden. Calling for support from the "Elders of Israel," Brigham Young launched the Utah Central Railroad in May of that year. The line to Salt Lake City was completed early in 1870. The lines south of Salt Lake were laid by the Utah Southern Railroad. Lehi was reached later in 1872. An extension was planned to go as far south as St. George.⁹⁴

Mormon Apostle George A. Smith, long in charge of the Southern settlements, suggested three routes from Juab County, still the railhead as late as 1874. His first route led south into lower Sevier Valley near Delta, west into Nevada near Panacca, down Meadow Valley to the Muddy River, south onto the Virgin to cross the Colorado River at its confluence, then to swing east to ascend the plateau. From that point the line would continue east, but west of San Francisco Mountains, and would turn south to Prescott and points south to connect with "the Southern Pacific Railroad," [not yet built]. An alternate second route would have swung east from Nephi into Sevier Valley, south to Panguitch, beyond Kanab onto the "Buckskin Mountains" where the Grand Canyon could be crossed

⁹³ See reports of these promotional efforts as recorded in The Daily Union Vidette (November 3, 1866), (December 10, 1866), and (March 12, 1867).

⁹⁴ See Leonard Arrington, The Great Basin Kingdom . . . (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 228-231.

(according to John Wesley Powell, so Smith claimed) with a suspension bridge. Once across, the line would stay east of the San Francisco Mountains and on south.

The third route would follow the second to near Panguitch, then cross the Wasatch Range via Fremont Pass into Little Salt Lake Valley, then continue southwest to Mountain Meadows, the Santa Clara River, and St. George. The route on to the Colorado would be south and west into the Grand Wash (Wheeler's 1871 route) and down it to the Colorado River. Once on the other side, the line would ascend the plateau and follow the course eastward as suggested earlier.⁹⁵ His plans, though visionary and grandiose, reflect the need for good freight lines and the use of railroads to get them. However, Smith's proposals paled into insignificance, both because his own death never allowed him to promote them and because others had even greater dreams.

Railroad for a River. The Colorado River fascinates many people. Dreamers hoped to tap its vast resources, while engineers mulled the practicalities of various projects. One of the most unusual proposals called for a railroad extending from Grand Junction Colorado, down the Grand River into the Great Colorado River, along its water course through the Grand Canyon, the lower canyons area to the Gulf of California, with a seaport on the Pacific Ocean at that point, and another at San Diego, to be reached by a spur overland. Who first conceived the notion is uncertain. One of its earliest spokesmen seems to have been

⁹⁵ See "Letter of George A. Smith from St. George, Utah, December 2, 1874," Daily Union Vedette (October 9, 1875). It is obvious from this letter that George A. Smith's knowledge of railroading and the geography of northern Arizona was quite superficial.

Mr. S. S. Harper from Arizona. When he met Denver businessman and promoter Frank M. Brown in the late 1880's, the dream began to gain substance. Soliciting financial support from friends, Brown organized the Denver, Colorado Canyon, and Pacific Railroad Company March 25, 1889. Three days later he had his survey underway. Directed by State Engineer Frank C. Kendrick and Assistant Thomas P. Rigney, the survey crew launched its barge on the Grand River at Grand Junction and carefully recorded a railroad route to the Green River.⁹⁶ At that point, the party headed up the Green River, reaching the railroad crossing about the middle of May.

In the meantime, Brown continued his promotion of the river survey. Robert B. Stanton was appointed chief engineer. He arrived at the Green River crossing May 23, ready to begin work. With five skiffs and Kendrick's boat, the new crews, including President Brown, headed down river the following day.⁹⁷ They quickly reached the confluence of the Green and Grand, where their own survey began. From that point, work progressed steadily.

⁹⁶ See Robert Brewster Stanton, Down the Colorado, edited by Dwight L. Smith (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965); Dwight L. Smith, "The Engineer and the Canyon," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXVIII (July 1960), 262-263; Dwight L. Smith, "Robert B. Stanton's Plans for the Far Southwest," Arizona and the West, IV (Winter 1962), 369-380; and O. Dock Marston, "Water-level Rails along the Colorado River," The Colorado Magazine, XLVI (Fall 1969), 287-303. These sources are the most current and authoritative. The party on the Grand River consisted of Engineer Frank C. Kendrick and Thomas P. Rigney, his assistant, and crew members George Cost, Charles Brock, and Frank Knox. President Frank M. Brown accompanied them to the river but then returned to Denver.

⁹⁷ Marston, "Water-level Rails . . .," pp. 292-293. The crew consisted of Brown and Stanton, Ethan Allan Reynolds, J. Neville Hughes, William Heitor Bush, Edward Coe, Charles W. Potter, George A. Southerland, Peter M. Hansbrough, E. W. Terry, T. P. Rigney, Henry C.

Originally, they had anticipated a six-month project, but problems arose to modify their schedule. Finally, above Dandy (Hite) Crossing, the party divided with most of the crew going ahead to obtain supplies, while Stanton remained behind to carry on the survey. When supplies arrived, the survey was once again pushed forward through Glen Canyon to Lee's Ferry where additional supplies were obtained. Brown's two "guests" also left at this point.

Returning to the river, the men entered Marble Canyon to continue as rapidly as possible. On July 9, 1889, Brown's boat overturned and he was drowned.⁹⁸ The final blow to the survey came when two more men, Hansbrough and Richards, were drowned five days later.⁹⁹ With these problems facing him, Stanton elected to climb out of Marble Canyon, return to Lee's Ferry and finally to Denver, but with a promise to return.

Stanton soon took charge of the project. By December 10, 1889, he was back on the river to continue the survey, launching the second party from Crescent Creek Canyon.¹⁰⁰ They reached Lee's Ferry for

Richards, and George Washington Gibson. Their six boats were the "Brown (Black) Betty," "Colorado," "Denver," "Ward," "Mary," and "Mason," made of pine and cedar. They proved inadequately built for the rough river trip.

⁹⁸ See Stanton, pp. 76-81.

⁹⁹ Marston, "Water-level Rails . . ." pp. 298-299. The men lost were Peter M. Hansbrough and Henry C. Richards. They were drowned on July 14.

¹⁰⁰ Stanton, pp. 96-101. Stanton had special boats made for the second trip, and a supply of life preservers. He had three boats-- "The Bonnie Jean," manned by Harry McDonald, Langdon Gibson, Elmer Kane and R. B. Stanton; "The Water Lily" manned by John Hislop, F. A. Nims, Reginald Travers and W. H. Edwards; and "The Sweet Marie," operated by A. B. Twining, H. G. Ballard, L. S. Brown, and James Hogue.

Christmas dinner. Again Marble Canyon became a disaster area. Nims, the photographer, broke his leg and had to be carried out.¹⁰¹ However, Stanton continued the survey, getting supplies at Kanab Creek and Diamond Creek while progressing through the Grand Canyon.

By March 17, 1890, they had completed that portion of the river. The survey in the lower canyons area sped along without mishap. On April 9 they were at Fort Mojave. By the 26th of the month they had reached tide waters. Four days later the expedition was officially disbanded.¹⁰² Later, Stanton would survey a line to San Diego also.

What can be said of this adventure? It was a disaster in terms of lives lost. These men, however, were the first groups to run the whole river after Powell's 1869 expedition. And, though a dream, the railroad was not devoid of feasibility even though it would have been expensive. Stanton recognized the expenses involved, but also claimed the dividends would be forthcoming. First of all, coal was in high demand in California. The Colorado route would tap major resources, especially with a trunk line from the Virgin River confluence northeast into the coal and even iron fields of Utah. Other branch lines would run from the Colorado River at Yuma to San Diego, and at Vegas Wash to San Francisco.

Secondly, as a tourist attraction, the route had no parallel. It would be open all year with few obstacles. Also closely connected to this traffic was the freight which would be generated in the areas

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 114-124. F. A. Nims was nursed back to health at Lee's Ferry.

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 212-225.

through which the railroad passed--not only minerals, but also agriculture, and lumber. The railroad would in fact become a life line. Stanton believed such a railroad would prove to be one of the most effective of all the transcontinental railroad routes.

To accept Stanton's glowing reports requires his visionary posture. The railroad did not prove practicable. That it would have brought new and stable economic life to this area is not denied. However, the economic bases for its development were too insecure to generate the risk capital for such a dream.¹⁰³ The river never got its railroad.

San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad. The Old Spanish Trail route, used later by Mormon and other freighters, had to wait many years for its railroad. The Utah Southern Extension was built as far south as Milford by 1880. It was some time before the southern route reached into Nevada or near the Colorado River. It appeared at one time that the Union Pacific Railroad would build during the 1890's. Some grade was made, but only after 1900 when Senator William B. Clark and others pushed their San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad Company tracks through the area did the railroad come (1905), and with it the Las Vegas area began to develop.

Senator Clark also built a number of trunk lines. Mention is made of the St. Thomas Branch, started in 1911 and finished by March 1912. It did not get to the Colorado River, but it did reach the settlements on the Muddy River.¹⁰⁴ Another trunk line, Quartette Mining Company's

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp. 224-227. See also Smith, "Plans for Southwest," pp. 369-380. Smith suggests that Stanton's plans were not without merit, though the cost of implementation would have been great.

¹⁰⁴ Myrick, Railroads . . . , vol. 2, p. 662. Eventually the Union

sixteen-mile railroad from Searchlight east to the Colorado, was completed in 1902. Searchlight boomed for several years. However, the line to the river was idle by 1906. Searchlight next negotiated for a railroad from the main Los Angeles-Salt Lake lines. In 1907 the Barnwell and Searchlight Railway completed its tracks. Rails were also laid to Nelson. The Quartette Mining Company built a second line to the Colorado River in 1906-1907.¹⁰⁵ These routes related directly to the mining in the area and demonstrated the problems of freighting on the Colorado River.

Another track reached the river near the Needles, coming southwest from Oatman, Arizona. With the early 1900 boom of the Leland Mine, consideration was given to building a mill on the Colorado River and shipping ore to it. However, an alternate plan was adopted. The ore was delivered to Milltown about four miles from the river and water pumped from the river to the mill. Narrow guage tracks reached from the Colorado River to Milltown and then to the mines. This was the Mohave and Milltown Railway. Its life span was short. Major washouts in 1904 put it into receivership after less than a year's run. It never recovered, even with a new mining boom ten years later.¹⁰⁶

Summary and Conclusion

The regions of the lower Colorado River presented several problems

Pacific Railroad gained control of these lines.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 848-854. The narrow guage company lines served to move the heavy ore from the mines to their mill locations.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., Railroads . . . , vol. 2, pp. 854-857. These old tracks were "picked" up in 1912.

to traffic. For those people going to California it offered a shorter, but inhospitable route. For the miner it presented tantalizing promises of wealth, exploitable only with effective freighting. For the military the area was a limbo to be crossed or a hell to be searched for hostile Indians, where they depended upon freight lines for their own sustenance. Given these conditions, the development of wagon roads and railroads is quite understandable.

The earliest explorations provided information. The earliest attempts to use the roads were premature and disastrous. Wagon freighting was never very successful. The railroad offered a better and more competitive option. When it finally came the region had, in effect, been conquered. Roads and railroads brought new life to the area. Towns sprang up and lived, some for a short time only. But railroads more than anything else also brought death to river navigation, a story to be told in another chapter.

THE MORMONS: NAVIGATION AND SETTLEMENT

This chapter assesses the Mormon interest in the lower Colorado River and canyons area. That discussion, however, needs to be prefaced by several general observations. First of all, for the Mormon leaders, their move to the mountains, it was hoped, would bring the saints both isolation and insulation from their enemies. Secondly, and antagonistic to the first hope, was the need for import supply lines. This point, however, was attenuated in part, at least for Mormons, by their belief that God could bless His earth for His chosen faithful.¹ This tenet had its impact on colonization and settlement policies, frequently allowing priority to certain sites, not because they had inherent resources but because it was believed they could be made to bloom and because possession of strategic spots brought surety to the saints.² Finally, Mormons had their own version of "Manifest Destiny," holding that Zion was all of North and South America.³ All of these

¹See Leonard Arrington, The Great Basin Kingdom . . . (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 26. The Mormons believed that God could bless the land literally as they believed He blessed them.

²This point is not to be overemphasized, because decision-making for the Mormon leaders also involved a complexity of factors.

³Charles S. Peterson, Settlement of the Little Colorado, 1873-1900: A Study of the Processes and Institutions of Mormon Expansion (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Utah, 1967), pp. 11-12. Peterson traces this concept's expression in southern colonization thrusts not only into Arizona but also into Mexico as well. The correspondence of Brigham Young and Colonel Thomas L. Kane are primary sources of his documentation.

factors encouraged Mormon consideration of the Colorado River. However, in the final analysis, they had to have supplies in order to settle and survive. Their interest in the Colorado River focused on this factor most of all.

Early Mormon Interest

While in exodus from Nauvoo in 1846, but not yet certain of their eventual destination, Mormons in Iowa sought to know the West and ferret out settlement sites wherever these might be found. The writings of John C. Fremont and conversations with Father DeSmet proved major resources. Colonel Thomas L. Kane, friend, visited the church leaders at Council Bluffs, Iowa. Reporting their discussions, Kane postulated a Colorado River location.⁴ The Mormons knew very little about the Colorado River at that time. Their first first-hand reports came from Mormon Battalion men who recorded in November 1846 that the lower river at Yuma was "wide and fertile."⁵

Immediately the Mormons undertook to explore their new homeland. Routes to California, both north and south of Great Salt Lake, had been

⁴"A Letter from Thomas L. Kane to Horace Greeley--being an abstract of the Original Description which induced M[ormon]s to settle in the Basin," in Oscar O. Winther, ed., The Private Papers and Diary of Thomas Leiper Kane, a Friend of the Mormons, (San Francisco: Gelber-Lilienthal, Inc., 1937), p. 7. Kane gives something of the Mormon background and then adds: "More probably they may wander down the valley to the swift Colorado of the West, the escheated domain of a race passed away whose tale is told upon its banks by the ruins of their cities, sepulchers and temples. To this course there are temptations, which I will not detail here. . . ."

⁵"Journal of Robert S. Bliss, with the Mormon Battalion," Utah Historical Quarterly, IV (July 1931), 83. See also "Extracts from the Journal of Henry W. Bigler," Utah Historical Quarterly, V (April 1932), 53.

opened earlier. But the first Mormon thrust to the southwest came in November 1847 when Jefferson Hunt led a party to San Bernardino and Los Angeles south along the Old Spanish Trail.⁶ They returned over the same route the following spring with several hundred head of stock, many of which perished on the way. This venture began the flow of traffic on what later became known as the Mormon-California Road.⁷

A Sea Port. Very early in their valley history, Mormon leaders looked southwest for a sea port. Supportive of such a program, Brigham Young proposed settlements along the emigration routes. In early 1849, he told the Utah Valley settlers that more knowledge of the area might lead to a sea port at the head of the Gulf of California or elsewhere on the Pacific Ocean.⁸ At about the same time Mormon leaders sought far reaching boundaries for their State of Deseret, claiming most of the Colorado River drainages and the area west to the Pacific Ocean. Their proposal would have given them two sea ports, one near San Diego and

⁶Pauline Udall Smith, Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion (Salt Lake City: Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr. Foundation, 1958), pp. 131-135.

⁷Ray M. Reeder, The Mormon Trail: A History of the Salt Lake to Los Angeles Route (Ph. D. Dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1966). Dr. Reeder covers this story in depth.

⁸L. D. S. Journal History, (March 9, 1849). Brigham Young stated: "If, on a more thorough knowledge of the country, we can find a practical wagon route up the Arkansas or up the Rio Grande, it will avoid the winter and contact with the apostates and gentiles that swarm at New Orleans, Saint Louis, and Upper Missouri; or, if we find a practical sea port at the head of the Gulf of California, or elsewhere on the Pacific, and can find a practical route across the Isthmuses of Central America, it will perhaps facilitate the emigration from Europe to these valleys. . . . We are about to establish a colony of about thirty families in Utah Valley, about fifty miles south. We hope soon to explore the valleys three hundred miles south, and also the country as far as the Gulf of California, with a view of settlement and a seaport."

a second at the mouth of the Colorado River.⁹ However, the United States Congress rejected the grandiose dream in favor of the smaller Utah Territory.¹⁰

Southwest Corridor. Government action in 1850, however, did not proscribe the Mormon move to establish a corridor of settlements to the southwest and into California. Late in 1850, George A. Smith led colonists to Parowan. The following summer Charles C. Rich and Amasa M. Lyman settled Saints at San Bernardino, their California outpost.¹¹ Upon hearing of Lt. George Derby's survey of the Colorado Delta, the First Presidency advised the brethren in California to be on the alert for any information about the Colorado River.¹² In fact, government surveys became a kind of barometer for Mormon interest

⁹George P. Hammond, ed., The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February Second, 1848 (Berkeley: The Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1949), Article VI. See also the provision for similar rights in the Gadsen Purchase Treaty, 1853, Article IV, as recorded in Hazel Emery Mills, "The Arizona Fleet," American Neptune, I (1941), 260.

¹⁰Andrew Love Neff, History of Utah (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), p. 806. The Territory of Utah was created in 1850. Later portions of the original territory were filched for other states--Nevada, Wyoming, and Colorado, which acquired statehood prior to Utah.

¹¹Reeder, p. 243, indicates that most of the freight bound for Utah was landed at San Pedro; however, travelers used other ports generally.

¹²L.D.S. Journal History (October 23, 1851). The Church Presidency wrote to Lyman and Rich: "We learn that there are some surveys making from the mouth of the Colorado to the mouth of the Gila, and upwards, and some trading posts, or settlers in that vicinity, but we have not particulars enough to form a just estimate of the practicability of navigating the Colorado above the Gila or of making settlements in that vicinity. If light steamers can pass up the Colorado opposite our southern settlements, or the southeast portion of Utah territory, we want to know it, together with all other information which can be obtained respecting facilities for passing the saints from any part of the world, up said river; and wish you to be on the alert for any such information, and give us all the news you can get every mail."

in the river. Brigham Young, in his "Fifth Epistle," suggested the possible re-routing of immigration, via the Panama Route to ports on the Colorado River or in California.¹³

Reports of Lt. A. M. Whipple's Transcontinental Surveys were not lost upon them either. The Deseret News (May 11, 1854) carried the War Department's account of Whipple's Survey. It also reported Senator Gwin's promises to build a railroad to the Colorado River at Yuma. D. M. Thomas suggested that the new route could furnish Salt Lake with goods, shipping them up the Colorado to the mouth of the Virgin, "to which navigation is said to be good."¹⁴

Las Vegas Mission. By 1855 Brigham Young had several reasons to found the Vegas Mission. First of all, Mormon missionaries were already in Utah's Dixie at Santa Clara. Secondly, Las Vegas would provide an important desert station along his southwest corridor and would help implement the Mormon policy of converting and civilizing the Indians. And, if these ends were realized, then the southwest route would permit year-round freighting to Utah. Without question, a winter route was needed.

With these objectives in mind, church leaders called thirty men to "missionize" Las Vegas in April 1855. Under William Bringham's leadership, they were to establish a fort and mail station at Vegas

¹³Brigham Young, "Fifth General Epistle," Millennial Star XIII (December 10, 1851), 209.

¹⁴Deseret News (December 14, 1854). This apparently is the first time the Mormons identified the Virgin River as the Colorado's high point of navigation. Apparently many Californians were excited by the proposal to build a large city at the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers.

Spring, pacify, and, if possible, convert the Indians, and become a permanent Mormon post along the California Road. Bringham moved his party south, reaching the Muddy River by June 10 and Las Vegas on the 15th.¹⁵

The missionaries immediately began to establish themselves, building a bowery for public and religious meetings. Land was soon subdivided into lots and small fields. Before long the fort walls were under construction and in time the 150-foot by 150-foot adobe fortification was completed. Several two-story homes were constructed along the inside walls. Other projects included fencing, irrigation ditches and bridges. However, at best the farming was marginal due to the heat, minerals in the soil, and Indian recalcitrance.¹⁶

Attempts to convert the Indians were numerous, and many submitted to baptism; but conversion was often incomplete and temporary at best.¹⁷

Internal problems plagued the brethren, who sought to do all things

¹⁵ Andrew Jensen, compiler, "The History of the Las Vegas Mission," Nevada State Historical Society Papers, 1925-26, V (Reno: Nevada State Historical Society, 1926), 119-285. The men who were called at the April 1855 conference, included James S. Allred, George W. Bean, James A. Bean, William Bringham, William Burston, Sidney Carter, Benjamin Cluff, Joseph C. Clawes, William S. Covert, Edward Cuthbert, James Dickenson, William Follett, William Foster, Ariot L. Hale, William Hamblin, Benjamin R. Hulse, Richard James, William P. Jones, Jr., Albert Knapp, William Maxwell, Joseph Milam, Ira S. Miles, Artimas Millet, Amasa E. Miriam, William C. Mitchell, Jr., William Nixon, Stephen C. Perry, Thomas E. Ricks, William C. A. Smoot, George G. Snyder, John W. Turner, and William Vance. There was some turnover in missionaries at Las Vegas during the two and one-half years the mission was kept open.

¹⁶ Thomas D. Brown, "Journal for the Southern Indian Mission," (Typescript, Utah State Historical Society), pp. 120-25.

¹⁷ Jensen, pp. 278-280, Deseret News (June 15, 1858).

as directed by the priesthood.¹⁸ Many men chafed under Bringham's strong methods. Several missionaries who went home did not return. Others came with wives and children, and although it was hoped that the Saints and Indians could get along, the white children were occasionally punished for playing with the Indian children.¹⁹ By 1858 the Indians had become openly hostile.

Other problems also worked against the new colony. Poor communications made it hard for lines of authority to be clearly defined. When Nathaniel V. Jones arrived in 1856 to mine lead, he found discontent and limited cooperation. His report to Brigham Young was not favorable. Subsequently, Bringham was released and went to California.

Lead mining was not successful either, requiring great effort for limited results. The expenditure was justified by the supporters because of the impending "invasion" by Johnston's Army.²⁰ But even before this threat Brigham Young had, in 1857, released those missionaries who wished to return home. During 1858 Jacob Hamblin and the Southern Indian missionaries kept the Vegas post officially active a little longer. However, even they had abandoned it by September

¹⁸Jensen, pp. 170-244. Trying to build a school illustrates the complexity of the social life of these settlers. Whether to tax, how much, whom, etc. See pp. 253-255.

¹⁹Jensen, p. 249. Bringham is reported to have advised the brethren to keep their children from "trifling with the Indians . . . even if they had to break their necks." Bringham was one who had had several stock butchered by the Indians.

²⁰Jensen, pp. 270-276. This venture simply had too many obstacles. Its injection into the Las Vegas missionary program was disastrous. See also Nevada Writers Project, Nevada (Portland: Binford and Mort, 1940), pp. 185-186. It is estimated that about 9,000 pounds of lead were smelted at this time.

1858.²¹ After that date the vacated fort was visited by Mormons and gentiles, traveling through the area. Apparently Albert Knapp, a Mormon, laid claim to the old fort, then sold it to his brother, William Knapp, in 1860. William, however, found life too dangerous and lonely. He sold to Octavius D. Gass soon after. Gass persuaded other settlers to join him. Before long he had the water and land right on the Las Vegas ranch for himself, which he operated for several years.²² Apparently he tried to sell out unsuccessfully in 1868.²³

In 1882 the ranch was acquired by Archibald Stewart who lived there until his death. His wife continued to expand her holdings and remained at the ranch until 1929, although the Stewart ranch was sold in 1902. When the San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad project was started, Senator William B. Clark became the new proprietor. When Las Vegas, the town, was born, the old ranch began to die.²⁴

The Las Vegas Mission never realized its primary objectives. It did not become a permanent station on the Southwest Corridor. Few Indians became loyal Mormons, although, for the Mormons at least,

²¹Jensen, p. 281. Some missionaries had been working in and around the area during the fall of 1857 and summer of 1858 who were not attached to the Vegas Mission. By early 1858, it was, in effect, permanently abandoned.

²²See Sam P. Davis, History of Nevada (Reno: The Elms Publishing Co., 1913), vol. 1, 219. See also Stanley W. Paher, Las Vegas: As it Began, As it Grew (Las Vegas: Nevada Publishers, 1971) for a good account of the fort's later history.

²³See Francis Leavitt, "The Influence of the Mormon people in the settlement of the Clark County," (M. A. Thesis, University of Nevada, 1934), p. 63. See also Jensen, p. 284 for reference to Our Dixie Times (April 15, 1868). Nevada Writers Project, p. 186.

²⁴Paher, chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5. Some remnants of the old fort are still visible in North Las Vegas today.

important temporary Indian alliances were formed. Finally, through the mission's focus on Colorado River navigation, the venture left a more permanent imprint.

Incidental to the Las Vegas Mission was the report of Lt. Sylvestre Mowry who reached Las Vegas in 1855 soon after the missionaries. He became interested in Colorado River navigation.²⁵ Undoubtedly responding to Lt. Mowry's report, Captain T. J. Cram, Chief of the Topographical Engineers, Department of the Pacific, submitted a request (September 1855) for \$10,000.00 for a survey of the Colorado River. This proposal was followed by a recommendation from Captain Rufus Ingalls in November that the United States Government use the Colorado River to freight supplies into Salt Lake City.²⁶ Mormon leaders were sensitive to these official reports. Governor Brigham Young raised the Colorado River issue with the Territorial Legislature December 11, 1855:

It has been proposed to open new channels of communication with this Territory from the east through the tributaries of the Missouri, and from the south by way of the Colorado.

²⁵Lynn R. Bailey, ed., "Lt. Sylvester Mowry's Report on his March in 1855 from Salt Lake City to Fort Tejon," Arizona and the West, VII (Winter 1865), 329-245.

²⁶Neff, pp. 805-806. Cram's survey was to be made "with a view to ascertain its [the Colorado's] capacity for steamer navigation, for the transportation of supplies for the troops from the Great Salt Lake Country." Under date of November 22, 1855, Ingalls records: "The Colorado River at its great bend, nearest to the line of the Basin, is only 25 miles from Las Vegas, a recent settlement of the Mormons. From this point to Fillmore, the capital and center of the Territory, is only some 350 miles, and 150 more to Great Salt Lake City. It is a regular descent from the southern rim of the Basin to Great Salt Lake City. Now if the Colorado be navigable to the point referred to (and persons entitled to confidence say it is), the Mormons might introduce their supplies, and send off their surplus products by the Gulf of California; and when there is wealth and enterprise enough, they might connect the Great Salt Lake City with the Colorado by a railroad."

Doubtless boats, built expressly for the purpose, will be able to approach our settlements many hundred miles nearer than at present.²⁷

No immediate Mormon action followed. Yet, by the summer of 1857, Lt. Joseph C. Ives' survey of the river had been authorized. This project and other events brought a new focus to the Colorado River.

The Mormon War

The threat of invasion caused Mormons to re-evaluate their positions on both the corridor into California with its several outposts, and on the Colorado River as an inland route to Zion. Several factors affected the Mormons' approach to the lower canyons area during this time.

Mormon Indian Policy. Mormon Indian policy is revealed in the events of these "war" years. First of all, Mormons believed the Indians to be descendants of Book of Mormon peoples, of the House of Israel, and consequently a "chosen people." Their mission, a very real one, was to bring them the gospel. Supportive of this objective, Brigham Young proposed feeding the Indians rather than fighting them. This policy was designed to foster conversion, but also to create alliances with the tribes that claimed and possessed much of the intermountain territory. Many such alliances were consummated early in the 1850's. Mormon Indian policy had its genesis at church headquarters and never deferred to any general national policy.²⁸ Development during the 1850's brought a new focus and urgency to the Church's general policy.

²⁷ Neff, p. 314.

²⁸ Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Under the Dixie Sun. . . (Panquitch: Garfield County News, 1950), pp. 22-23

With the Pahvant massacre of John W. Gunnison and survey crew in late 1853,²⁹ the Mormons were publicly blamed for this action, though entirely innocent. Nevertheless, their own Indian policies surfaced at this time to foster some federal antagonism. Lt. A. M. Whipple in early 1854 was surprised to learn that Mormons were at peace with the Paiutes, while the government, in effect, has been at war with them since the Gunnison Massacre.³⁰ The problem later became more general. Lt. Mowry (1855) believed that Indians on the Santa Clara, Virgin and Muddy rivers would fight with the Mormons, should any open conflict occur. He recommended counter efforts and alliances by the federal government.³¹

The Mormons had established their Southern Indian Mission at Fort Harmony early in 1852, with John D. Lee as a primary spokesman. Rufus C. Allen was made Mission President. Under his direction, Jacob Hamblin and other missionaries located at Santa Clara in 1854. The Las Vegas Mission in 1855 represented further expansion. Bringhurst's party met Rufus Allen's missionaries on the Muddy River

²⁹Lt. E. G. Beckwith, Report of Explorations for a Route for the Pacific Railroad, Captain John W. Gunnison, Topographical Engineers, near the 38th and 39th Parallels. . . . (Washington: Beverley Tucker, Printer, 1855), pp. 10 and 70-77. Gunnison's small party was attacked by Indians on the lower Sevier in retaliation for loss of one of their men at the hands of an emigrant train a few days earlier. Lt. Beckwith succeeded to the command.

³⁰A. M. Whipple, Reports of Explorations and Surveys, to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean . . . in 1853-4 (Washington: A. O. P. Nichols, Printer, 1856), pt. 1, p. 129.

³¹Bailey, pp. 329-345.

June 11, 1855, where they had already baptized 230 Indians.³² Missionary work, with its constant and intimate contact with the Indians, continued. Normally, problems likely would have been few, but such an arrangement in extenuating circumstances was disastrous.

Mountain Meadows Massacre. Word that an Army was coming to suppress a "rebellion" in Utah in 1857, had a direct impact on both Mormon Indian policy and Mormon interest in the Colorado River. Having been mobbed in Missouri and Illinois, the Saints prepared all means to defend themselves. Incidental to that defense was a strengthening of Indian alliances generally. Brigham Young enlisted his foremost Indian negotiator, Jacob Hamblin, to arouse Indian support and to marshal their services, if needed, against the invading enemy.³³

Other factors contributed to a volatile situation in 1857--the hostility and poor judgment of members of the wagon trains themselves, Mormon fear of subterfuge and invasion from California, Mormon emotionalism associated with the revivalism of 1856, the Indian unrest produced by hostile acts toward them by the emigrants, and the ambiguity that the Mormon alliances to destroy their common enemies produced.³⁴

³² See footnote 17, and Jensen, p. 131.

³³ See Juanita Brooks, The Mountain Meadows Massacre (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), for a scholarly review of the events associated with Mountain Meadows, including Indian policy. Hamblin was placed in charge of the Indian Mission on August 4, 1857.

³⁴ Brooks, pp. 15-30. See also Melvin T. Smith, "Colorado River Exploration and the Mormon War," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXXVIII (Summer 1970), 210-217. See also Albert Carrington, editor, "Expedition against Utah," Deseret News, (October 7, 1857). The editorial recounts the past persecutions of the Mormons and their loyalty to the

Early in September, while the Arkansas emigrants camped in Mountain Meadows to recruit their stock before venturing onto the desert, they were attacked first by the hostile Indian, with later Mormon direction, and finally direct Mormon participation. The September 11, 1857 massacre of all adult members of the wagon trains still blights both Utah and Mormon history.

Its affect on the lower Colorado River area concerns this paper directly. Jacob Hamblin was immediately assigned the task of attenuating the negative impact as much as possible. First of all, the children who survived were to be taken care of; secondly, other wagon trains going to California were to be given escort by Hamblin so that no other disasters might occur;³⁵ and finally, Indian alliances were to be expanded.

The Ives Expedition. With news of the expedition, the Mormons were worried, and justifiably so. An invading army continued to move toward Utah from the east. Rumors that ran rampant in California, of a retaliatory invasion against the Mormons from the south, appeared to have some substance. Captain A. A. Humphreys had ordered Lt. Joseph

the United States. It continues with commentary on their subduing of the wilderness and treatment of the Indians. Carrington obviously felt that all Departments of the General Government "were being used against them." He had apparently heard of Lt. Ives' planned expedition and with sarcasm suggests "that the department take early steps for chartering the Great Eastern Steamer, since its immense size would afford ample accomodation for the transportation of large numbers of men and vast stores of munitions for the invation of fellow citizens. . . ."

³⁵ Many Mormons in the southwest had understood the policy to be one of extermination of all Gentiles. Only with sound logic and backing from Brigham Young did Hamblin avoid a second planned ambush on the Muddy River, early in October, 1857. See Brooks, Mountain Meadows, p. 22.

C. Ives (December 1857) to test the river's feasibility as a troop and supply route into Utah.³⁶ Also related to these plans, in the minds of the Mormons, were the surveys and camel caravan activities of Lt. E. F. Beale, who crossed the Colorado River going west in late October 1857.³⁷

Responding to these and other factors, the Mormon strategy for the southwest area evolved. First of all, the outposts in California and at Las Vegas were abandoned and Saints returned to Utah.³⁸ Secondly, expeditions were sent out to locate mountain and desert retreats into which the saints could flee if it became necessary to do so.³⁹ Mormons also expanded their Indian contacts along the lower Virgin and Colorado rivers. Early in 1858 the Indians near Fort Yuma reported the Mormons had been among the "upper tribes" seeking an alliance and feared they would invade downriver before long.⁴⁰ In

³⁶ Joseph C. Ives, Report Upon the Colorado River of the West (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1861), pp. 39-40. See also "Letter of A. A. Humphreys, Captain Topographical Engineers, to Lt. Joseph C. Ives (November 18, 1857), copies in L. S., B. E. S. 48 and in William T. Goetzman, "The Topographical Engineers and the Western Movement," The Westerners (New York: New York Posse Brand Book, No. 4, 1958), pt. 3, p. 382.

³⁷ Lewis Burt Lesley, Uncle Sam's Camels. . . . (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), pp. 129, 261-262.

³⁸ Brooks, Mountain Meadows, pp. 25-27. Brigham Young called back colonies from western Nevada and Idaho as well.

³⁹ Juanita Brooks, "A Place of Refuge," Nevada Historical Society Quarterly XIV (Spring 1971), 13-26.

⁴⁰ Ives, p. 44. Under date of January 9, 1858 Ives records:

At present they [the Yuma Indians] are in a state of much excitement. There is a settlement of Mormons not far from the Colorado, a few hundred miles above, and it is rumored that some of that people have been among the upper tribes of Indians,

response, Lt. James Winder, commander of the fort, sent Lt. James White and sixteen troopers with the George A. Johnson's exploring party, to learn about the Mormons' activities among the Indians.⁴¹

Jacob Hamblin and his missionaries continued to escort wagon trains through to California and to assist saints returning to Utah, who kept them apprised of rumors there. Their scouts among the Indians also reported on Ives' and White's activities on the Colorado River, all of which worried the Mormons. Claiming that the Mojave Indians wanted them to preach to them, Jacob Hamblin sent two of his most able young missionaries, Ira Hatch and Dudley Leavitt, from Las Vegas to the Colorado tribes in December of 1857. They proceeded south into Cottonwood Valley, guided by their Piute friends. When they reached the Mojaves, the Piutes warned Hatch and Leavitt of Mojave hostility and advised them to return without further contact. Yet, confident of their mission, they approached the chief, whereupon the Indians imprisoned them, held a council and pronounced a death sentence. Learning of this, Hatch pled for a chance to pray to the Great Spirit before being executed. His impassioned appeal, translated by the Paiutes for the Mojave Chief, so touched him that the men were allowed to escape and return to Las Vegas. In the meantime, Hamblin

telling them of their difficulties with other whites and endeavoring to secure an alliance. There is an impression among these Indians that the Mormons contemplate, before long, descending the Colorado, which corresponds with a rumor brought from the east by the latest mail of a projected movement into Sonora.

See also Arthur Woodward: Feud on the Colorado (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1955), p. 79-80.

⁴¹Woodward, p. 79-80.

fretted for their safety, having been told they were dead. They later reported their activities in detail.⁴²

On the Colorado River Lt. James White and Captain Johnson talked with the Indians of Cottonwood Valley who reported two Mormons had been among them seeking their help in case of trouble.⁴³ White recommended the government supply the Mojave with tools for farming to keep their good will and tried to allay the Indians' fears about government invasion up river.

A second development caused increased alarm among the Mormons. Hamblin told Amasa M. Lyman of the threatened "invasion" on the Colorado River as reported to him by his scouts. Lyman then proceeded to California, where he met Major George Blake returning from escorting Lt. Beale to the Colorado River. Blake reported (January 31, 1858) that:

The expedition to explore the Colorado River had been perfectly successful, that there was [sic] three steamers [Johnson had two and Ives had one] on the river, that another 5 feet draught was to be placed on it in a short time, that they had arrived within 70 miles of the mouth of the Virgin and that they expected to be able to reach the mouth with vessels of that way [weight?]. He also hinted that 3000 men w[ould] be sent up that way.⁴⁴

Lyman began his return with his family as soon as possible. Near Las Vegas he was overtaken by Colonel Thomas L. Kane. Together they

⁴² Jacob Hamblin, Journals, 1854, 1858, 1869, 1874, (Typescript: Utah State Historical Society), pp. 28-30. A Paiute Indian boy told Hamblin where Leavitt and Hatch were hidden near Las Vegas Springs.

⁴³ Woodward, pp. 80-83.

⁴⁴ Amasa M. Lyman, Journal Number 16, (Typescript: Utah State Historical Society), pp. 95-105. Lyman was aware of developments on the Colorado River as he had visited with Jacob Hamblin en route to California earlier in the month. See "Letter of Amasa M. Lyman to Brigham Young, January 17, 1858," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office).

continued, stopping on the Muddy long enough to formulate a treaty with the Paiutes and the United States government, Kane being the official spokesman with Ira Hatch and Thales Haskell acting as interpreters.⁴⁵ Through this treaty the Mormons shored up their own alliances and the Paiutes were thus bound twice to be on the side of the saints. Lyman and Kane pushed on to Salt Lake City.

Lyman's report to Hamblin soon caused new Mormon activity on the Colorado. Again claiming the Mojave wanted them to come and preach, Jacob Hamblin selected three companions for a trip to the river,⁴⁶ to determine the facts about an invading army and to secure Mojave support against the invaders.

Leaving the Muddy River on March 4, the missionaries proceeded to Las Vegas and enlisted Vegas Chief Pat Sarump as guide and ally. On the 12th they headed southeast, reaching the Colorado River near Cottonwood Valley three days later. At the same time Lt. Ives was returning down river in his Explorer. His scouts reported four horses' tracks along the river bank. Ives conjectured they belonged to the Las Vegas Mormons.⁴⁷ On the 16th the Indian scouts pointed out the Explorer to the Mormons.

⁴⁵ Albert L. Zobell, Jr., "Thomas L. Kane: Ambassador to the Mormons," (M. A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1944), pp. 66-67. Zobell comments on this unique scene. Mormon Apostle, Colonel Kane, Mormon missionaries and Paiute Indians. Translation occurred not only from the missionaries to the Indians but from Kane's fluent English to the missionaries as well.

⁴⁶ Hamblin, Journal, pp. 34-35. Hamblin maintained that four men went with him--Dudley Leavitt, Ira Hatch, Thales Haskell and Samuel Knight. It appears that Ira Hatch remained at the Muddy River and did not make the trip.

⁴⁷ Ives, pp. 85-87. Ives appears unaware of the Mormon's abandonment of their Las Vegas settlement as he makes constant reference to it.

Thales Haskell was chosen to spy out the expedition first-hand. To do so he "hallowed" the steamer from the west bank and asked to come aboard. Ives sent a skiff to pick him up. Hamblin, Knight and Leavitt remained hidden, so they hoped, in the underbrush, praying for Haskell's safety and success.

On board ship, the exchange began. Haskell attempted to hide his identity, but was recognized as a "Mormon Bishop," by some of Ives' men. He was told about the river's navigability and that Ives' expedition was not an invading army but an exploring party only. Ives proceeded to interrogate Haskell about Mormon activities, and was assured they would not interfere with his explorations, as they were fully occupied in the north and east. The next morning cordial but suspicious goodbyes were exchanged.⁴⁸ Once on shore Haskell reestablished contact with Hamblin. They concluded the expedition was more than exploration, as the Indians told them of an Army coming up river.

Since traveling with four horses would be begging discovery, Hamblin sent Knight and Leavitt back to Las Vegas with the horses while he and Haskell proceeded south on foot, in spite of their Indian friends' warnings of the Mojave hostility. Later in the day they saw soldiers along the river, and that evening witnessed the firing of rockets by Ives and the pack train. Hamblin believed Ives knew they were still in the area and was signaling to his troops. That night Hamblin was warned in a dream to return. When he met Leavitt and Knight, he learned they

⁴⁸Ives, pp. 88-89. The Lieutenant assessed correctly Haskell's purposes. The meeting generally was friendly. See also Albert E. Smith, Thales Hastings Haskell (Salt Lake City: privately published, 1963), pp. 28-29. Haskell's venture was not without hazard for him; however, his courage has frequent confirmation.

had talked with Ives' reconnoitering party. Hamblin, certain their secret had been discovered, returned to southern Utah filled with apprehension.⁴⁹

Lt. Ives also noted a different attitude among the Mojave Indians. Their former friendly demeanor changed to apprehension and hostility. His scouts claimed the Mormons had asked the Indians to burn the grass and to keep the troops from coming in to take over their lands. Learning of this, Ives assured Ireteba and Cairook that his stay was temporary.⁵⁰

Amasa M. Lyman Exploration. In March 1858 the Mormons still considered a Colorado River invasion a serious possibility. Amasa Lyman and Colonel Kane had reported to Brigham Young late in February. By the 8th of March, Lyman was returning south commissioned to lead a major scouting expedition to the river. He reported to Brigham Young:

I expect to start next Monday from Cedar City with a company of twenty men to examine the Colorado Country and visit the Iats and other Indians in the country. Bro. Hamlin [sic] has already preceded me with some of the missionaries. . . .⁵¹

Lyman selected nineteen men with good outfits to go with him.⁵² He

⁴⁹

Hamblin, Journal, pp. 35-36. Ives in fact was signaling to Lt. Tipton who was down river. His purpose was to learn of Tipton's whereabouts, not to report on the Mormons.

⁵⁰

Ives, pp. 88-89. Ives' relations the Mojave Indians were generally very successful.

⁵¹

"Letter of Amasa M. Lyman to Brigham Young, March 25, 1858," (File; L.D.S. Church Historian's Office). Lyman gives no details on Hamblin's trip to the Colorado.

⁵²

Lyman, Journal, pp. 111-112. The men were Amasa Lyman, Robert Clift, Ira Hatch, Freeman Tanner, John D. Holladay, David H. Holladay, Marion Lyman, Henry G. Boyle, Walter E. Dodge, William G. Warren, Marchs L. Shepherd, Cunningham Mathews, Howard T. Mills, Henry Jennings, Fred T. Perris, Taylor Crosby, Norman Taylor, Harvey Clark, and William H. Sherman.

assured Young they would go as rapidly as they could and were in agreement with his "line of policy" as indicated in his March 21 address to the saints; namely, that they would move to the south if necessary rather than submit to the army.⁵³ This factor gave the expedition a new extension.

Leaving Cedar City on March 31, the party hurried to Santa Clara and there talked with Jacob Hamblin and enlisted the services of Ira Hatch, Indian missionary, as interpreter and guide. They reached Las Vegas by the 10th of April. Two days later they moved southeast through Railroad Pass into the dry lake of El Dorado Valley and up the slope where they camped. On the 13th they continued east and south, reaching the river below Black Canyon.

Keeping above the river bluffs, the party pushed south along the west bank. Lyman noted carefully the terrain along the river. On the 15th they met the first "Iats."⁵⁴ The day following the Mojave Chief, Oat-sens-a-wantz, came to their camp. Apparently he was on a war patrol against the Apaches, but proved friendly and well mannered in the Mormon camp.

As the travelers proceeded south they noted Cottonwood Island, some ten miles long. The following day they passed through Pyramid Canyon, where Lyman

noticed one place in particular, about 10 ms from our camp this morning, which affords excellent facilities for commanding the river, as the channel is, at this point, on this

⁵³ "Letter of Amasa M. Lyman to Brigham Young, March 31, 1858," (File: L.D.S. Church Historian's Office).

⁵⁴ The name Iatts is also spelled Iyatts, Iats, and Hyatts, and in all instances is the Mormon name for the Mojave Indians.

[west] side of the stream, and the adjacent rocks and ravines afford protection and shelter for a great number of men.⁵⁵

The lovely setting of Mojave Valley and the comely Indians so impressed the explorers, they elected to spend Sunday visiting with them. According to Lyman, Chief Oat-sens-a-wantz wanted the Mormons to live with them.

Finding no evidence of a pending invasion, Lyman elected to look for a site the saints could settle in should the move from Salt Lake City be necessary. Obtaining a Mojave guide, the party turned west along the government road, toward Kingston Spring. Their first day's travel was about twenty-two miles to springs, where they camped. The next day, April 20, they continued west to Pleasant Springs, where limited water was found. On the 21st they crossed a large valley, noted a surveyor's stake to the west, and then camped at Saline Springs southwest of a large dry lake. The next day they took a northwest course along the base of a mountain, locating Corn Spring, named because of a patch of corn nearby, believed to be about eighteen miles east of Kingston Springs. On the 24th they headed for the lead mines, camping at Sulphur Spring. Their Indian guide left them at this point to return to the Colorado. The next morning some of their mules had back tracked a few miles. In the process of retrieving them, Harvey Clark was kicked severely. A small detail was left to help him, while Ira Harch proceeded to lead a moonlight march to the mines, which were reached on the 26th. Lyman sent for a wagon to help bring Clark in.

⁵⁵Lyman, Journal, p. 30.

Because water was inadequate at the mines, the party continued east to Cottonwood Springs. At this point they learned that Jacob Hamblin was coming with a wagon. However, Clark was by this time able to ride his mule quite well. Lyman's party then proceeded to the Vegas fort and on to the settlements in southern Utah.⁵⁶

By the time his report was made, the "Mormon War" was over, and the Colorado River was no longer a point of high concern for the Mormons. Yet it had been an important interlude. Out of the Mormon War the Colorado Indians were contacted, Mormon missionary and military policy revealed, and the river area between Vegas Wash and Mojave Valley explored. Surprisingly later Mormon accounts still lacked precise detail on this portion of the Colorado River.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 23-39. Lyman's Journal is used as the primary source and his narrative followed fairly closely. His detailed report of travels to the west and north toward Kingston and return to Las Vegas are difficult to follow with certainty.

⁵⁷ See the Deseret News (July 21, 1858):

. . . about 20 miles above Fort Yuma, a company of three or four Americans have made a ditch to bring water from the Colorado to irrigate a farm of 1000 acres . . . to supply Fort Yuma. . . . At a distance of 335 miles above Fort Yuma [344 miles] is the great canyon of the Colorado, where the river runs for 22 miles, through a narrow gully with perpendicular rocky sides, varying from 400 to 800 feet in height. In this canyon there are numerous rocks and furious rapids, and high up on its sides, 40 or 50 feet above low water mark may be seen here and there the trunks of large trees, and other drift wood. The mouth of this canyon is the head of navigation, at least for boats on the lower part of the river. The body of water is large at the canyon and perhaps the river may be navigable above it. But that is a point not yet determined. . . .

The article continues with some of the same errors as Ives' report:

Two miles above the head of the canyon [Black Canyon] the Virgin River approaches the Colorado, but when the water is low, sinks before reaching it. The water of the Virjen [sic] is clear but brackish. Lt. Ives ascended the banks of the Virjen [sic] a short distance. Country so bare that mules could not travel it even if there were food furnished.

The Civil War Years: 1858-1864

Although the Mormons left the lower canyons of the Colorado River after peace came, several policies portended future interest in the region and in the river's development. First of all, the Mormon missionaries retained their contacts with the Indians in the Virgin-Muddy River areas. Secondly, Mormons continued freighting supplies into Zion via the Mormon-California Road. Mormon migrations along the route declined, but use of the route, as a freight line, increased with the needs of the territory's growing population.⁵⁸

Furthermore, by 1857, Washington, Southern Utah's first "Cotton settlement," had been established. The feasibility of cotton production was tested at some length during the next four seasons--1858-1861. The conclusion: that the climate and soil could produce good cotton.⁵⁹ As a result, Brigham Young called several hundred families to Utah's Dixie in the fall of 1861. Cotton production expanded. This action committed the church to making the southern settlements a major project. Their cotton crop had to be marketed somewhere. Because it was a cash crop it required that the settlers import food stuffs and equipment for those production needs.⁶⁰ Two factors follow from this focus of settlements. Supply routes had to be, and freight moved either to Salt Lake

⁵⁸ Reeder. Reeder's study details the freighting patterns of the Mormon California Trail.

⁵⁹ Andrew Karl Larson, I Was Called to Dixie (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1964). Larson's account is one of the best on the Dixie story.

⁶⁰ Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, pp. 131, 139, 195, 206, 216, and 220-21. St. George was projected, in time, as the major southern entrepot for Zion. See also Leonard Arrington, "Inland to Zion," Arizona and the West VIII (Autumn 1966), 239-50. See also "Letter of Brigham Young, December 5, 1864," Millennial Star XXVII (January 21, 1865), 41.

City or to California during the 1861-1864 period. Secondly, the policy of home manufacture was expanded. However, the economic feasibility for a functioning cotton factory in Utah's Dixie depended on the expanded production of cotton, which expansion required more land, which could best be obtained south and west along the Virgin River toward its junction with the Colorado River. Thus, a new Mormon thrust toward the Colorado began with the Dixie Cotton Mission in 1857, but particularly with the serious expansion undertaken in the fall of 1861.⁶¹

The national scene also set the stage for new Mormon policies relating to the Colorado River. Many Mormons, including the leaders, viewed the holocaust of civil war as a kind of divine judgment upon the wicked.⁶² It also presented practical problems for the saints. Emigrants found it difficult to migrate to Zion. Many were routed through Canada during the 1863 and 1864 seasons. New consideration was given to the use of Pacific ports and the Colorado River route.⁶³ Indian uprisings on the Great Plains had been extensive during 1863-1864 and affected not only Mormon emigrants, but also threatened the freight lines from the east which were so vital to supplying the Mormons' expanding needs. Millions of dollars worth of supplies had come into Utah during

⁶¹Larson, Dixie, See also Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 220.

⁶²Doctrine and Covenants, Section 87.

⁶³See "Letter of Brigham Young to Daniel H. Wells, October 19, 1864," Millennial Star XXVI (December 17, 1864), 812-15. General instructions were sent to the mission presidents directing the saints to go through Canada or possibly via a Pacific port. See also "Letter of George Q. Cannon to Daniel H. Wells and Brigham Young, Jr., December 4, 1864," Millennial Star XXVII (February 4, 1865), 78. He adds: "The president is evidently much impressed with the importance of communication being opened by that route [Colorado River], as he thinks we cannot depend upon the eastern route much longer."

1864 with great profit to many prominent Mormon merchants.⁶⁴

Conditions in the fall of 1864 did not harbinger improvements in the East for 1865. The Civil War dragged on; the Indian hostility continued; and immediate prospects for building a transcontinental railroad all produced pessimism. Other factors complicated the problems for the Mormon leaders. By 1864 there was mining within their areas and peripheral to their settlements, especially in the southwest. Mineral discoveries in southwestern Nevada meshed with the Mormon expansion of its Cotton Mission. For both interests, freighting routes and control of the lands, would become consequential.⁶⁵

Finally, California freighting to Utah became an increasingly influential force, because of the Civil War. Many supplies were purchased from California firms. However, problems still existed for freight lines to Zion. The more direct routes across central and northern Nevada had high mountains with snow-bound passes during the winter. To the south, the Mormon-California Road, an all-season route, had major drawbacks. Feed and water along certain portions of the road were limited. In addition the Virgin Hill leading from the Virgin River onto the Mormon Mesa (near Bunkerville, Nevada today) was extremely hazardous and difficult to negotiate.⁶⁶

⁶⁴William Jennings and Horace S. Eldridge both made sizable profits that season (1864). See Edward W. Tullidge, "Biographies," in History of Salt Lake City (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1886), pp. 65-82.

⁶⁵See especially James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission, Book A (Typescript: Utah Historical Society), pp. 147-151 ff. See Daily Union Vidette issues for 1864-1865 particularly.

⁶⁶Nearly all early travelers over the road commented on the "Virgin Hill." See Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, A Journey to Salt Lake City, 2 vols, (London: W. Jeffs, 1861), vol. 2, pp. 403-406.

To overcome these problems, merchants viewed with increasing interest developments along and on the Colorado River. River freight reached Mojave Valley in 1859. Mining brought boats to El Dorado, Nevada a few years later. By early 1864, a major thrust for expanded use of the river began. William Hardy established Hardyville, while Samuel Adams and California merchants fought for their share of the river business, with particular focus on the Utah trade.⁶⁷

Supplimental to this river action, General Patrick Connor sent Lt. George F. Price south from Fort Douglas to survey a shorter road to Fort Mojave. His route deviated from the main Mormon road at Mountain Meadows to swing west into Clover Valley, Nevada, south into Meadow Valley to the Muddy River, to Las Vegas, then south and east to El Dorado and down river to Fort Mojave. He reported optimistically on the route's merits.⁶⁸

This thrust to the southwest received extensive coverage in the Daily Union Vidette during the summer and fall of 1864, undoubtedly

⁶⁷See Daily Alta California (July 7, 1861), and the San Francisco Evening Bulletin (January 16, 1864). One of the earliest companies to propose freighting to Salt Lake City via the Colorado River (1861) included R. E. Raimond of San Francisco and Jefferson Hunt and Ebenezer Hanks of Salt Lake City. By 1864, the freighting project focused on a steamship line and supply route.

⁶⁸See "Report of Lt. Price," Daily Union Vidette (July 25, 1864), and (August 27, 1864). It appears that Price was overly optimistic about the route since he had had serious difficulties, having to leave some of his men and mules on the Muddy to recruit before returning. Price claimed his problems stemmed from poor stock, not the route. See also Bleak, Book A, pp. 147-148. Erastus Snow reported meeting the military reconnaissance party at Clover Valley. Price's route would have come north from El Dorado to Las Vegas Creek, thence to the Muddy River and to Mountain Meadows. See also Lyman C. Pederson, "The History of Fort Douglas, Utah," (Ph. D. Dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1967), pp. 182-185.

reflecting the personal interests of General Connor for better roads to and from the mines and for better supply lines generally. Other Salt Lake City papers also became involved. The Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (August 27, 1864) reported James Ferry's location of a landing at Circle Valley below Boulder Canyon and above Vegas Wash. One of the new landing's merits lay in a freight route along the Virgin River which would avoid the terrible "Virgin Hill."⁶⁹ Colorado River freighting and new routes for Salt Lake City suppliers were constantly being reviewed in the fall of 1864.

Utah's Dixie 1864. Particular focus must next be directed to the southern settlements in 1864. Conditions were bad. Dams washed out, leaving crops unmaturing to wither and die. Many settlers left; others threatened to. People were hungry and discouraged because so much energy was expended to grow cotton which, even if it was harvested, still had to be marketed and exchanged for food stuffs. This action required freighting and added to the people's hardships. One reaction to this dilemma led the St. George High Council to recommend exploration of a route to the Colorado River in June 1864.⁷⁰

The colony's need for supplemental support was obvious to Brigham Young as he toured the communities during the late summer. Later Apostle Erastus Snow, spokesman and leader of the Dixie saints, pled their cause before the brethren in the councils of the October conference.

⁶⁹ Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (August 27, 1864).

⁷⁰ Bleak, Book A, p. 147. The explorers were to have been Jacob Hamblin, Isaac Duffin, David H. Cannon, and Leonard Conger.

Something had to be done or Dixie would die.⁷¹ Also something had to be done or possible resources in settlement sites, freighting routes, and control of the southwest area might be lost to gentile merchants and miners. In this setting church leaders met for the October conference, 1864.

The Colorado Landing

The 1864 movement by Mormons to the Colorado River was motivated by several factors--the Callville Landing, control of the lower Virgin River area, and acreage on which to grow cotton. These demand some discussion in depth. All were designed to provide economic relief and help to the colonists in the southwest. The conference took action.

October Conference. First of all, in the morning session, Erastus Snow presented the dire needs of the people "in the cotton district of our territory," effectively. President Heber C. Kimball next requested help for the settlers, which was "supported unanimously."⁷² The kind of help was not delineated. There was only a reference to strengthening the southern settlements. Yet the issue of navigation of the river soon surfaced.

In response to the vote, Brigham Young stated that if the conference wanted, he would go himself to the settlements, and if he went,

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 154-162. See Millennial Star XXVI (December 10, 1864), 814. Brigham Young reached the settlements in late summer. See also Arrington, "Inland . . .," p. 242. Arrington sees the lobby pressure from the southern saints as significant to the decision-making processes.

⁷²"Conference Reports, October 8, 1864," Millennial Star XXVI (December 3, 1864), 768-769.

many others would follow, and he would soon have steamboats passing up the Colorado River.⁷³ He alluded to use of the new route for emigrating the saints to Zion because problems in "our once happy nation" would demand it.⁷⁴

By the afternoon session, the brethren had selected 100 men of wealth as missionaries to the cotton country, "among them a goodly number of the oldest and most responsible citizens of Great Salt Lake," who were to assist the settlements by going themselves or by sending substitutes.⁷⁵ Apparently their names were read to the conference and

⁷³ Ibid., p. 769. "President Brigham Young said he would feel justified in going to live in the south, if the conference should decide that he should go there, but if he went there, he would create no little stir, for many would go with him, and he would soon have steamboats passing up the Colorado."

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 770. Brigham continued: "There are men on this stand that saw the present situation of our once happy nation as well as they do now. I do not wish to say much, but I wish you to remember that the river Colorado is not far from our southern settlements, only 125 miles from St. George. The issue of a new supply route for the saints was discussed later also. See "Letter of Brigham Young, December 5, 1864," Millennial Star, XXVII (January 21, 1865), 41, in which he states "I indulge the hope, however, that before long the way will be open for our emigration to come by the Colorado River, and that steamboat owners will be willing to charter their vessels to carry our people. . . ." In the interim, he gave instructions for emigration via Canada. See also "Letter of George Q. Cannon to Daniel H. Wells and Brigham Young, Jr., December 7, 1864," Millennial Star, XXVII (February 4, 1865), 78. Cannon believed that the new route would be opened that winter and that supplies for the territory would come by that route for the next year. He adds: "The President is evidently much impressed with the importance of communication being opened by that route, as he thinks we cannot depend upon the eastern route much longer." See also "Letter of Wilford Woodruff, January 16, 1865," Millennial Star, XXVII (April 8, 1865), 211. Woodruff warned: "A great exertion is being made to open a channel for our trade and emigration via the Colorado, as the indication is, that our eastern route will be closed up."

⁷⁵ "Conference Report, October 8, 1864," Salt Lake Daily Telegraph, "In the afternoon names of a number of persons were presented as missionaries to the cotton country--among them a goodly number of the

approved. Specific assignments were made later. The conference concluded on October 10.⁷⁶ Erastus Snow and George A. Smith spent the rest of the month enroute south counseling those called to go and explaining the needs of the southern mission.

Meetings. Apparently the first meeting of the "missionaries" themselves was held October 31 in the Historian's Office. This session was well attended, including dignitaries such as Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball. The meeting produced two significant developments--first of all, a company was formed--The Deseret Mercantile Association. Stock of 1000 dollars a share was issued and fifteen shares sold immediately to prominent merchants such as Horace S. Eldredge, who was elected president of the Association, William Jennings, William Godbe, Hiram Clawson and Brigham Young, either for himself or as Trustee in Trust for the Church. They agreed to build a warehouse at the head of navigation on the Colorado River, and

oldest and most responsible citizens of Great Salt Lake." See also Millennial Star, XXVI (November 26, 1864), 762. See also "Letter of Heber C. Kimball to Sons, November 20, 1864," Millennial Star, XXVII (February 4, 1865), 77. Kimball writes: "At conference we selected 110 men who had the most property to continue the settlement in the cotton regions, by going themselves or sending substitutes, and to build storehouses on the Colorado as our goods and people will probably after this come that way." Kimball sets the number at 110 rather than 100, and his letter indicates that the "selection" was made at the conference, rather than before.

⁷⁶ "Conference Report," p. 771. See also letter of Brigham Young, Jr., Millennial Star XXVI (December 17, 1864), 815, in which President Young says, "It is our intention to immediately select brethren and send them down to the head of navigation on the Colorado River. . . ." It is of interest to note that Horace S. Eldredge and William Jennings were both members of the Council of Fifty. The Colorado River Project was a "quest for empire" and serious enterprise to counter the eastern confusion. See Klaus J. Hansen, Quest for Empire . . . (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967).

suggested a "cargo of goods" to prove the route, and planned to meet again November 4 at Jennings' new Eagle Emporium.⁷⁷

It appears the Deseret Mercantile Association met on November 4 as scheduled, though no direct account has come to light.⁷⁸ The "citizens" met again November 8, 1864 at City Hall, at which time Anson Call was officially assigned to select a site for a warehouse and superintend the building of a road thereto.⁷⁹ Call told the group he planned to be in St. George by November 28.

In the meantime, when Erastus Snow returned to St. George, he reported to the saints that help was to be given the settlements including navigation of the Colorado River. He also met two men from Hardy's Landing who addressed the saints at St. George and solicited their trade. Some orders for supplies were placed.

⁷⁷ Salt Lake Daily Telegraph, (November 2, 1864). The paper gives a good report of the first meeting. See also "Journal History," (October 31, 1864). Also at the meeting were John Taylor, George A. Smith, Franklin D. Richards, and George Q. Cannon.

⁷⁸ See Deseret News (November 16, 1864). The News reported the meeting of the "missionaries on the 8th of November," and indicated that business was conducted including the reading of the "minutes of the two previous meetings of the Deseret Mercantile Association," which would have been the original meeting on October 31, and again on November 4. See also the report in Millennial Star, XXVI (December 31, 1864), 839. The extract from the Deseret News appears to be November 10; however, the "Weekly" came out only on the 9th and then the 16th. A perusal of the paper located it in the latter edition. The Salt Lake Daily Telegraph gives a more thorough report under date of November 9, 1864.

⁷⁹ Salt Lake Daily Telegraph, (November 9, 1864). See Life and Record of Anson Call (Typescript: Utah State Historical Society), p. 71, in which Call states he was called to this assignment, under date of November 1. Perhaps the October 31 meeting was more explicit in making assignments than our records show, or Call may have met with the Deseret Mercantile Association on the 4th and been assigned by them at that time; however, evidence suggests that the official action came in accord with the data given above.

Early in November Snow also proposed sending a few men to make further exploration on the Colorado for the purpose of finding a road to the head of navigation, visiting Hardy's Landing and securing what arrangements for commerce with them as could be made.⁸⁰ Mormons in St. George were pleased and overly optimistic, understanding that St. George was to become a major metropolis through which freight and saints would pass enroute to the centers of Zion.⁸¹

Call's Exploration. Anson Call left Salt Lake City in a light wagon November 15, 1864 to explore a route and sites for settlements. Nine days later he reached St. George. He immediately recruited the services of Jacob Hamblin, his son Lyman, James Davids, Angus M. Cannon, and James Whitmore. With only pack and riding animals,

⁸⁰ "Letter of Erastus Snow to Brigham Young, November 7, 1864," (File: L.D.S. Church Historian's Office). See also Bleak, Book A, p. 162. These men-- Jacob Hamblin, James M. Whitmore, Angus M. Cannon, and David H. Cannon--did not go. Their expedition joined Call's later.

⁸¹ Charles L. Walker, Diary of Charles Lowell Walker, (Typescript: Dixie College Library, St. George, Utah), under date of November 9, 1864:

Next Monday [November 14th] a company of men under Jacob Hamblin start for the Colorado River to locate a road from there to this place, also to make a landing in the vicinity of Hardy's Landing so that the Saints can come this way as the troubles in the Eastern States render it unsafe to travel by the old route. Br. Brigham has ordered the migration to come by way of Panama across the isthmus, thence up the coast of California to the mouth of the Colorado River. The Saints will travel this route in the winter season as it is too hot and sticky in summer. If this plan succeeds well, St. George will become a large and flourishing city, in fulfillment of the words of Br. Brigham.

There were some immediate benefits to the Dixie saints and a little trade did go from Hardy's Landing to St. George during the winter of 1864-65. See Deseret News (April 23, 1865), for a report by Richard Bentley.

they left on the 25th for Santa Clara, continued up that stream for about nine miles, crossed the Beaver Dam Mountains on a route parallel to present U. S. Highway 91. Upon reaching Beaver Dams November 27, they concluded that fifty families could live there.⁸² The men continued along the Virgin River on the 28th for 22 miles. The following day they made only eight miles to the "Virgin Hill," where an Indian guide was obtained. On December 1 they crossed the mesa to the Muddy River where another settlement site (200-300 families) was designated.

In these areas they visited with the Indians who showed great regard for Hamblin and claimed they would like the Mormons to settle among them. Their route continued south to the Virgin and Muddy confluence and then along the Virgin River for another 12 miles to a wash, which they called "Echo." Their route next turned west up Echo Wash for 13 miles, across the summit into Callville Wash and southwest to the river ten miles distant "below the narrows above the mouth of Black [Boulder] Canyon." Call immediately selected a site for a warehouse one-quarter mile below the wash on the north bank of the river. He believed that water might be taken out upriver a mile above the landing to irrigate some 200 acres of land. Call noted the barrenness of the region through which they had passed but failed to identify new water sources.

Having located his landing December 2, 1864, Call proceeded west along the river to Vegas Wash. He reported to his stockholders in Salt

⁸²Anson Call, "Exploration of the Colorado, 1864--Report of Anson Call," Deseret News (January 18, 1865). He also sent earlier, but shorter reports to the News under dates of January 2 and 16. The exploration account follows Call's report quite closely. Only Indian Thomas lived at Beaver Dams.

Lake City, by mail, as soon as he reached Vegas Springs. Call also noted the mesquite wood along Vegas Wash. He then made his way south to Hardyville to order supplies for constructing the warehouse.⁸³

Call's route from Vegas followed the earlier one traveled by Hamblin's party, through Railroad Pass into El Dorado Canyon and down the river, passing Cottonwood Island "well supplied with wood," to Hardy's Landing below Pyramid Canyon. Here they hailed Hardy's agent who rowed to the west bank to ferry them across to the landing which was "in our judgment, a poor selection for a town site."⁸⁴

The party remained in the area from December 9 to 12, taking a ride down river to visit Camp Mojave. They also witnessed the launching of Hardy's Barge "Arizona." As Hardy himself was absent in Prescott, they placed a sizable order with his agent, with delivery of goods scheduled at the "landing site" for January 10, 1865.⁸⁵

⁸³Ibid. Call's report on the wood supply is important. See "Letter of Anson Call to H. S. Eldredge, Vegas Springs, Arizona," Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (January 2, 1865). Call's letter was left for the California-Salt Lake City mails.

⁸⁴Ibid. . . . Call reported that Hardy located his landing in February 1864. His main building was 100 feet by eighty feet and twelve feet high, of coarse Spanish adobies. The building was divided into store, warehouse, billiard room, dining saloon, kitchen, etc. and floored with red tiles. He also had a blacksmith shop, a tinsmith shop, and carpenter shop, together with several dwelling houses, all of which were very creditable buildings. They obtained good water in a twenty-five foot well. Mineral wealth was extensive in the area. Perhaps Call got a few ideas for his own "landing" from his observations at Hardy's.

⁸⁵See also "Letter of Brigham Young to Daniel H. Wells and Brigham Young, Jr., January 12, 1865," Millennial Star, XXVII (April 1, 1865), 206. Brigham Young gives a rather thorough report of Call's travels and then adds:

Brother Call purchased many articles at Hardy's, which he needed for the warehouse he was authorized to erect at the

Returning to the west side of the Colorado River, the Mormons headed north, probably on a route parallel to their earlier one to beyond the El Dorado Mountains, at which point apparently they swung east to the Great Bend of the Colorado and the Vegas Wash confluence. They continued upriver to the landing site, reaching it on December 17. Call and crew "surveyed" forty lots, 100 feet square, and laid out the warehouse. James David and Lyman Hamblin were left at the site to dig the foundation for the warehouse.

The following day the main group began its return, going upstream "for seven miles," which would have been along Boulder Canyon, perhaps even near its head, where by turning up a draw they found a small spring by which broom corn and a melon vine were still growing. Likely this route led them north and east the following day, up the wash and across the divide into Echo Canyon. They continued to the Virgin River, camping below the Salt Mountain. They again reported the junction of the Muddy and Virgin rivers was a good settlement site.

At this point the explorers turned east, crossed the river, traveled up a wash six miles to a small spring (Red Bluff Spring) and then another

head of navigation, which Mr. Hardy's agent promised to deliver by the 10th of January.

See also Salt Lake Daily Telegraph, January 25, 1865; and the Daily Alta California, whose correspondent wrote from La Paz, December 31, 1864:

With regard to the Utah trade we have encouraging news. We hear from Hardyville (Colorado River), that the Mormons have come down to the river, and have commenced building their warehouses at the landing at the head of navigation, and that they also visited Hardyville, purchasing goods, including some fine teas, to the value of \$3,000.

These orders probably included merchandise for St. George also.

twenty miles through St. Thomas Gap to "Mocassin Springs on Jacob Morgin's southern trail." This was likely Pakoon Springs and Jacob Morgin, someone's misquote for Jacob Hamblin.⁸⁶ This route continued up Grand Wash to the "high mountains south of St. George" and then into the city December 24, 1864. The explorers were pleased with their new route, claiming there was no distance over twenty-five miles without adequate water and good feed, a significant fact, since a good freight road would be vital to the success of the landing. They believed this latter route could be put in good condition for as little as \$6,000.⁸⁷

Anson Call wrote to the Deseret Mercantile Association officers about both his expedition and his current efforts to locate "laborers, mechanics, supplies, and everything necessary to facilitate the erection of a warehouse without delay." Correctly Call seemed to sense the need for immediate action and to have the landing ready for the coming season.⁸⁸

⁸⁶See Call, "Report . . . ," where Call got the name is hard to fathom. There apparently was some reference to such a character by Hubert Howe Bancroft. The Native Races, in The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, Publisher, 1883), IV, 713-714. Bancroft quotes the New York Tribune (October 15, 1867); however, a reference of this date likely refers back to Call's earlier report. Jacob Hamblin had been through the region enroute to the Colorado River both in 1862 and in 1863.

⁸⁷Call, "Report" See also Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (January 16, 1865) which carried both Call's "Report" and a letter from Dr. Whitmore who was on the trip. Their return route followed in part one surveyed by Lt. George M. Wheeler's crew in 1869, and by Jacob Hamblin, in 1876, to Pearce's Ferry. The western portion became a main freight line from the mines to the railhead at St. Thomas. Apparently, it was never used for Callville.

⁸⁸Call, "Report. . . ." Immediate use of the landing proved to be a critical factor in its success or failure.

The Deseret Mercantile Association. In the meantime supportive action was being carried out in Salt Lake City. Settlers were readied and sent. More directly related to the success of the landing were those actions which made possible the financing of the project--road building, construction of the warehouse, and the providing of freighters prepared to haul goods north to the settlements. Less directly a financial subsidy but equally as fundamental to the project's success was the placing of orders for freight to be shipped via the river to Callville.

The first meeting of the Deseret Mercantile Association had been October 31, 1864. Their plans called for a warehouse, roads and settlements. No doubt the use of their own steamers was discussed, but if so, actions seem to have been deferred. The original stock was subscribed to prominent merchants and by Brigham Young, probably for the church, since Anson Call's title was not only Agent for the Deseret Mercantile Association but also "Trustee-in-Trust, in and for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." It appears the church held controlling stock.⁸⁹ Apparently \$15,000 were subscribed at the first meeting. George A. Smith gives a figure of \$20,000 at \$500 per share, while Brigham Young quotes a \$16,000 amount.⁹⁰ Perhaps the discrepancy is a fact of time or of the optimism of the reporters.

⁸⁹ See Milton R. Hunter, "Mormons and the Colorado," American Historical Review XLIV (April 1939), 553. Hunter claims the L. D. S. Church held controlling interest in the stock. See also "Journal History," (December 17, 1864).

⁹⁰ See "Letter of George A. Smith to Daniel H. Wells, November 17, 1864," Millennial Star, XXVII (January 14, 1865), 29. "Our merchants have formed a company for building a warehouse at the head of navigation on the Colorado. Some \$20,000 have been subscribed in shares of \$500 each." See also "Letter of Brigham Young to Daniel H. Wells and

Anson Call had reported to the Association his intent to order supplies at Hardyville, probably \$3,000 worth. He indicated supplies could be obtained more cheaply there than in Salt Lake City and that whatever help was sent from Salt Lake City should be "in the shape of money."⁹¹ In his report to Eldredge from St. George, Call asked for more help. He described the size of the warehouse planned which he expected to cost between "20 and 30 thousand dollars."⁹² Call proceeded to collect as many laborers as he could and made plans to return immediately to commence work on the warehouse.

In Salt Lake City, enthusiasm increased. The assignment of William Godbe and William Jennings to the task of outfitting builders was viewed as a good omen. They contacted James McGraw, Isaac Hunter and Thomas Howell, stone masons, who loaded their wagons with "tools, merchandise and supplies," in preparation for the trip. The men left Salt Lake City on December 14 and reached St. George by

Brigham Young, Jr., November 18, 1864," Millennial Star, XXVII (January 7, 1865), 14. He comments: "About \$16,000 worth of stock has been taken in the warehouse. . . ." See also James Liethead, "Autobiography," in Heart Throbs of the West, (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1946), vol. 7, p. 467. Liethead says: "I was told that it (the warehouse) cost the company \$18,000 by one of the members." Liethead may be referring to a later "cost" to be discussed in more depth in this chapter.

⁹¹ See Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (January 25, 1865), wherein a "Report " from Mr. Knight of the Daily Alta California is given. He is pleased with the Mormon's visit to Hardyville and indicates a purchase order was placed amounting to \$3,000. See also "Letter of Anson Call to H. S. Eldredge, Vegas Springs, Arizona, December 3, 1864," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office). See also Daily Alta California (December 26, 1864) in which William Hardy records the Mormon visits, purchase of supplies and his intent to deliver goods to their landing. Hardy believed Mormons had plans for "steamers" also. See Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (February 4, 1865).

⁹² "Letter of Anson Call to Horace S. Eldredge, St. George, Utah, December 26, 1864," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Library).

the 30th.⁹³ Call had left St. George with Hosea Stout, Andrew Gibbons and "four laborers" three days before. On the 28th they were joined by the first of the settlers, who then traveled with them and helped build the road. At the Virgin Hill Call pushed ahead to reach the landing as soon as possible. They soon met Hamblin and Davids, who, being short of supplies, had left the landing site. The party proceeded to the landing, making some road improvements as it went. Once there the men commenced burning lime and collecting rock.⁹⁴

The McGraw Party left St. George about January 3, having added another stone mason, Elisha Averett, and nine tenders. They followed Call's route but still had to do considerable road building. By January 13 they were at the Colorado River.⁹⁵

William Hardy arrived the next day with supplies in his fifty-foot barge "Arizona" [?] poled up river from Hardyville. His success was considered a good sign. Some of the men rode the river in his barge. Hardy appeared enthused and interested in the new project, selecting two lots on which he said he "should at once commence business in the mercantile line." He reported five steamers on the river below which

⁹³ Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (December 2, 1864) and (March 7, 1865). James McGraw made his report upon his return north after building the warehouse.

⁹⁴ "Letter of Anson Call to President of the Deseret Mercantile Association," Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (March 18, 1865).

⁹⁵ Ibid., see also "McGraw" Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (March 7, 1865). Call gives the date of arrival as the 13th, while McGraw remembered it as the 17th. Since William Hardy's arrival coincided with that of the stone masons, the 13th appears to be the correct date. See "Letter of William Hardy to Thos. [Horace S.] Eldredge, President of the Deseret Mercantile Association, January 15, 1865," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Library).

could reach the landing during eight months of the year.⁹⁶ After a two-day visit, Hardy headed down river. Call and his surveyor, Mr. Holbrook, who had arrived with the masons, resurveyed the Callville townsite.

Building a Warehouse. Construction of the warehouse began immediately. Anson Call supervised the task, although the masonry work was contracted to Isaac Hunter and Thomas Howell. Call reported that

On the ground we found lime rock, black rock, and sandstone, suitable for corners, caps, etc. and sand of the best quality. Water was fetched from the river by Indians and much other work was done by them, while the building was being erected, for which they were paid.⁹⁷

On January 13, 1865 "some twenty-five hands commenced excavating, stone cutting, etc." The corner stones were laid two days later. The structure itself was to be 30 feet by 75 feet with two-foot walls twelve feet high. Adjoining the main warehouse was an office 18 feet by 34 feet with two apartments. Work proceeded with dispatch. The walls of one office were soon completed and a temporary roof placed over it which gave the men living quarters and limited facilities for storing merchandise when it was delivered at the landing. The masonry

⁹⁶ Ibid., McGraw reported the barge was 60 feet long, not 50 feet. Hardy's report indicated the landing was a good one. See also Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (March 7, 1865).

⁹⁷ Salt Lake Daily Telegraph, (March 18, 1865). Call notes that the Indians, who were willing to work and encouraged to work by their chiefs, were used extensively. He added: "I may say, however, they need watching." See also "Letter of Isaac Hunter to Bishop A. H. Raleigh," Deseret News, (February 28, 1865). Hunter indicated the excellent conditions for their work since the sand excavated for foundations could be used to make mortar for the walls. He estimated a work time of about 25 or 26 days.

work on the warehouse was completed in 27 days.⁹⁸ Call planned a low pitch roof for the warehouse made with felt and with lumber; however, no roof was constructed until the summer of 1866. Elisha Everett was left to complete the stone work on the offices, and John King, with two helpers, one of which appears to have been Walton Phelps, was assigned to prepare the warehouse for a floor (tile or flagstone) and a roof. When Call and the crews left the landing February 18, 1865 to return north, all hands were generally optimistic. Steamers from the river below were expected soon.⁹⁹

Promotion of River Navigation. As noted earlier, church leaders apprised their mission presidents of the new venture on the Colorado River and its implications for moving freight and emigrants to Zion. Brigham Young counselled Daniel H. Wells and his son, Brigham, in October 1864, that "should it be adopted, it will doubtless be in January and February; but this is a matter we shall not act upon at present."¹⁰⁰

Under date of December 23, 1864, Brigham Young wrote to J. F. Kinney, Territorial Delegate in Washington, D. C., reporting their venture on the Colorado and its potential implications. Seeking a kind of government subsidy for the project, Young added: "To do us justice, Congress should grant us about two degrees on one side or the other

⁹⁸Ibid. The masonry work was good since the walls were still standing in 1934 when the waters of Lake Mead covered them.

⁹⁹Ibid. See also Leithead, p. 467.

¹⁰⁰"Letter of Brigham Young to Daniel H. Wells, and Brigham Young, Jr., October 19, 1864," Millennial Star XXVI (December 17, 1864), 815.



Figure 6. Callville - looking west (courtesy Utah State Historical Society)



Figure 7. Callville Warehouse - looking east, upstream (courtesy Utah State Historical Society)

side of that river, to the Gulf of California, or to the boundary of the United States in that direction. This addition to our territory would give us an outlet on the western ocean as we need."¹⁰¹

Judge Kinney tried to get a bill before the House of Representatives but was blocked by the Nevada senators and the delegate from Arizona. By March 5, 1865, Congress adjourned and the proposed bill died. However, the idea of boundary moving did not, and eventually came back to haunt Brigham Young. The potential problem was not lost on Judge Kinney.¹⁰²

On December 11, 1864 Territorial Governor James D. Doty asked the Territorial Legislature "to unite with me in a memorial to Congress to add to Utah, for temporary purposes of government, that portion of the Territory of Arizona, which is situated north and west of the Colorado River."¹⁰³ Such action would have given Utah jurisdiction of a route to the river and of the lands along the Muddy and Virgin rivers on which Mormons were settling.

In his annual "Governor's Message for the State of Deseret," in January 1865, Brigham Young noted the river project, the reasons for

¹⁰¹"Letter of Brigham Young to Judge J. F. Kinney, Washington, D. C., December 23, 1864 (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office). Brigham's thrust was old; the specifics for a sea outlet only were new.

¹⁰²"Letter of Judge J. F. Kinney to Brigham Young from Washington, D. C., February 23, 1865," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office). He stated:

This bill gave me much trouble. I did not care so much for the 'strip' of land as I did for the precedent it would establish in opening the way for clipping off Utah, particularly as a Senator informed me the other day that the Nevada Senators moved in the Senate that the object was to absorb Utah. . . .

¹⁰³"Message of James Duane Doty, Governor," Deseret News (December 14, 1864).

it, the present developments and the anticipated dividends."¹⁰⁴ A year later in December 1865, the Territorial Governor again pled for Colorado River freighting; this, however, was his last plea.¹⁰⁵

Plans were made to freight supplies and to emigrate saints via Callville. Both William Jennings and Brigham Young placed orders in late 1864 with California merchants for delivery of goods up the river as soon as possible. On November 28, 1864 Brigham Young asked his agent in San Francisco, Dwight Eveleth, about a pile driver. In response to Eveleth's report, Young ordered a 1200-pound driver with 500 pounds of bracings, etc. to be shipped up the Colorado River as far as possible.¹⁰⁶ Some of Jennings' merchandise may have been loaded on the Esmeralda late in 1864. His second order left San Francisco aboard the Isabel March 23, 1865 and was transferred to the Cocopah at the mouth of the Colorado River in early April. On the 10th of that month Brigham Young wrote to William S. Godbe, asking him to check on the cost "of five hundred miles of no. 9 telegraph wire and insulators . . . shipped to the mouth of the Colorado River . . ."¹⁰⁷ Very likely other merchandise was also ordered via the Colorado route.

¹⁰⁴"Brigham Young's State of Deseret Governor's Message," Deseret News, (January 25, 1865).

¹⁰⁵Deseret News (December 14, 1865). Governor Charles Durke asked that the Legislature petition Congress for \$500,000 for a better road from the Missouri River and for \$50,000 to improve the road to the Colorado River. The priorities are obvious.

¹⁰⁶See "Letter of Brigham Young to Dwight Eveleth, November 28, 1864," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office), and *ibid.*, (December 23, 1864).

¹⁰⁷"Brigham Young to William S. Godbe, April 10, 1865," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office).

Mention needs to be made at this point of an additional economic support for this project, which was really a part of the Church's overall drive for self-sufficiency and reached beyond the confines of Utah Territory. Mormon leaders instructed their agents to buy a large Hawaiian plantation where "members" could produce cotton, sugar cane and other products which could be exported to San Francisco and to Utah via the Colorado River.¹⁰⁸ Some of their produce did reach Utah later; however, not up the Colorado River. Nor did either Brigham Young's or William Jennings' merchandise reach Utah by way of Callville.

Freight to Callville. While Call's crews were constructing the landing, no direct word had been received in Salt Lake City during February regarding their activities. Questions were raised. The Daily Telegraph (February 16, 1865), quoted a report from the Wilmington Journal in California arguing against such a route. On March 1 the same publication remarked

108

See Arrington, "Inland to Zion," p. 245. Arrington discusses this aspect of the venture, noting that even "self-sufficiency on a world-wide scale was involved in the Colorado Project." See also "Letter of Brigham Young to Daniel H. Wells and Brigham Young, Jr., October 19, 1864," Millennial Star, XXVI (December 17, 1864), 815. Young reported: "By a letter from Joseph F. Smith, recently received from the Sandwich Islands we learn that a friendly chief there--he owned the land on which the natives gathered and where Gibson has been operating--has offered the brethren a good tract of land, suitable for a plantation and settlement, on the Island of Hawaii, consisting of 15,000 acres, for \$3,000. I have written to brother Joseph F. that, if the land be as good and as suitable for a plantation and settlement as represented, to close for it, and draw on me for the amount." See also editorial in Deseret News (March 8, 1865), by Albert Carrington. He agrees that the route will get a "fair and thorough trial," and that the "prospect of commercial benefit is greatly enhanced by the flattering success . . . attending Elders Hammond's and Hebecker's operations on the Sandwich Islands from which sugar and long staple cotton can be brought. . . ."

We have tried recently to learn something of the doings of some folks on the Colorado, . . . but we find members of the Deseret Mercantile Association quite as destitute of information as we are. What are you doing down there . . . ? If we are going to have the Colorado a practical route this year, let us know--if a fizzle, say so.

It was in answer to this editorial that James McGraw made his report on March 7, which he concluded with

Upon the whole, it is my opinion that something will be done in that direction--and "no fizzle."

Call's own report reached the public eleven days later.¹⁰⁹

By the summer of 1864 three steamship companies had five steamers plying the Colorado competing for the river freight.¹¹⁰ Such an arrangement would appear ideal for the Mormons, as the increased number of "steamers" on the Colorado caused the companies to compete for the Salt Lake trade, a sizable business at the time. These companies' promotional propoganda had helped lead the Mormons to Callville in the first place.¹¹¹ However, the heated competition on the Colorado River did not prove an asset to the saints.

It appears that in December 1864 Sam Adams had talked Captain Thomas E. Trueworthy of the Union Line Company into taking his

¹⁰⁹ Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (March 7, 1865), and (March 18, 1865). See also Deseret News (March 8, 1865).

¹¹⁰ The three companies were the Colorado Steam Navigation Company, controlled by George A. Johnson who had three steamers--Cocopah, Colorado, and Mojave; the Union Line promoted by Samuel Adams and California merchants, with their steamer, Esmeralda, captained by James Trueworthy; and, finally, the Philadelphia Company, a mining firm, located at El Dorado, which put the Nina Tilden into service. Several barges were also towed by steamers or propelled by muscle.

¹¹¹ Francis H. Leavitt, "Steam Navigation on the Colorado River," California Historical Society Quarterly, XXII (March 1943), 15.

Esmeralda up river with freight. They reached La Paz about December 28, 1864. It may be that Call actually sent an agent down river to ask one of the companies to "try the new landing" as Adams insinuated later.¹¹² More likely news of the Mormon venture flowed down river as a consequence of Call's visit to Hardyville. In any case, it had been this news of Mormon interest that motivated Sam Adams' experiment. William Hardy was ready to make a barge delivery of goods from his own landing, which he left on January 2. He reached Callville January 14. Two days later he returned down river with his crew. Adams and Trueworthy, trying to move up river, may have talked with him. They reported many sabotage attempts to their project--fouling of boilers, logs thrown into the river ahead of the steamer, and firewood destroyed. Hardy, in conjunction with the George A. Johnson Steam Navigation Company, was blamed for these actions. Be that as it may, the Esmeralda, during January and February, 1865, slowly paddled upstream beyond Hardyville and Bullhead Rock, heading for Callville.

When work was nearly completed at the landing, Call decided to return to his home in Davis County, which trip began February 18. When he left he was expecting supplies to arrive soon and left three men to receive them. About the same date Brigham Young wrote to Erastus Snow at St. George, asking him to have Call check on the pile driver he had

¹¹² See "Report of Captain Samuel Adams," 41st Cong., 3rd Sess., House Misc. Doc. No. 12, pp. 1-5. See also "Letter of Samuel Adams," Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (March 27, 1865). He had written the letter on the 24th of the month.

ordered earlier.¹¹³

Soon after this date, the Esmeralda steamed into Black Canyon, successfully navigated past "Explorer Rock" and upstream several miles to beyond "Roaring Rapids." At this point, claimed Adams, they met persons from Callville who reported that the Mormons had abandoned the landing and no one was there to receive or purchase their goods. As a result, Captain Trueworthy concluded to turn around and take his steamer and barge back to El Dorado Landing.¹¹⁴

Who made such a report is not known. Certainly Call's men did not. Perhaps those men left at the landing were absent temporarily and passersby, innocently or maliciously, concluded and reported the "abandonment." In any case, something turned the Esmeralda back when within about twenty-eight miles of success. This "turnabout" became critical because the landing remained yet unproven.

From El Dorado, Adams and Trueworthy made their way overland to Salt Lake City. Whether they talked with Brigham Young is not certain. On April 10, 1865 Brigham Young did place an order for the telegraph wire mentioned earlier. Adams and Trueworthy began to promote their interest in developing Colorado River freighting, asking Brigham Young for use of a "hall." A public meeting was held in the Fourteenth Ward meetinghouse April 13, 1865.¹¹⁵ Many people attended and offered

¹¹³ "Brigham Young to Erastus Snow, February 21, 1865," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office).

¹¹⁴ Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (March 27, 1867).

¹¹⁵ Ibid., see also "Brigham Young to Sam Adams, April 12, 1865," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office). Young suggested they use either the "13th or 14th Ward meetinghouses or the lower story of the Council House."

enthusiastic support, short of finances. But, apparently the Callville project had peaked, for Judge Elias Smith observed casually and clairvoyantly

that prophetic powers were not particularly necessary to enable businessmen to see that, should the navigation of the Colorado prove a present failure, the 'Iron Horse' would soon be moving across the plains, and add to the comfort and convenience of all citizens of the Pacific Slope.¹¹⁶

At this point, mention must be made of a trip Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball had planned to make to the southern settlements in April 1865, including a visit to the Colorado Landing. Under date of January 31, 1865 Young wrote to William H. Dame asking for three teams to take him and Heber C. Kimball from Parowan south through the settlements to the Colorado River. As early as March 2, 1865 he wrote to both Dame and Erastus Snow cancelling the trip, until September, because of the late storms. Perhaps Call's report to Brigham Young, which no doubt was oral, could have had more impact on the change of plans than did the weather, since Call had just made the trip himself. With the end of the Civil War, it had also become apparent that the routes from the east would be open during the 1865 season. The Daily Telegraph, under dates of February 12, 1865 and March 12, 1865, asked who would freight the first goods from the states. All these factors must have been weighed by Young. In any instance, the on-the-spot inspection and blessing by the Church President did not occur at that time. Had Young made the trip, the whole story might have been

¹¹⁶Millennial Star, XXVII (June 10, 1865), 365-366. Judge Smith was chairman of the meeting. See also Daily Telegraph (April 16, 1865).

different.¹¹⁷

Although it seems incredible that such could be the case, there is no indication that Anson Call saw Adams or Trueworthy, although his home was only a few miles north of Salt Lake City. Call reported he reached Salt Lake soon after the first of March, where he remained until at least mid-April before returning south with his wife, Mary Bowen. Adams and Trueworthy must have been in Salt Lake City as early as March 24. Call and they could have been "nearby" for several weeks at least. Direct exchange between them should have been fruitful. From Salt Lake City, Adams returned to San Francisco and Trueworthy to his steamer at El Dorado. The first attempt at Callville had failed.

While north, Call no doubt talked with the Deseret Mercantile Association stockholders, who likely placed orders for goods for the landing, some of which may have been the felt, pitch and lumber for the warehouse roof. Perhaps William Jennings' order for goods shipped from San Francisco March 23, 1865 was a direct product of such an exchange. Perhaps also Call visited with Brigham Young who certainly would have reminded him to look for his "pile driver." The Deseret News under date of April 5, 1865 promised its readers the Deseret Mercantile Association merchants would give the river a fair test that

¹¹⁷ See "Letter of Brigham Young to William H. Dame, January 31, 1865," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office); "Letter of Brigham Young to William H. Dame, March 2, 1865," Deseret News (April 5, 1865). It seems likely that Call's report would have encouraged a visit unless Call had encountered very bad weather and indicated no inspection was needed at that time.

season. According to Richard Bentley several cargoes of freight for the saints had already landed at Hardyville and been hauled to St. George, with good results for the community generally.¹¹⁸

When he returned south, Call reported to Erastus Snow in St. George (Snow asked him to check on Brigham's pile driver).¹¹⁹ Call and his wife reached the Colorado May 9 with several head of horses. They remained at the landing more than a month. Undoubtedly some minor building was done, corrals, etc., and exploring, while they waited for the steamer Cocopah, which had merchandise for the landing--William Jennings' orders--and, Call hoped, the pitch, felt, and lumber for the warehouse roof.¹²⁰

However, soon after his arrival, Call learned

that the steamer Couperpau [Cocopah] Commander Robinson arrived within 9 or 10 miles of El Dorado Canyon which is twenty-five miles south of this place. And turned back leaving the freight for the El Dorado Canyon on Cottonwood Island, . . . Our freight was unloaded at Hardys on the west bank without any protection from the weather or the Indians.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ See Duane D. Call, "Anson Call and his contribution toward Latter-day Saint Colonization," (M. S. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1856), p. 131. Call was trying to keep his farm producing as well as manage the landing. Deseret News (April 23, 1865), Bentley noted the inflationary impact on St. George of the river venture. William E. Branch built a hotel in anticipation of the influx of emigrants.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., see also "Young to Snow, February 21, 1865," and "Erastus Snow to Brigham Young, May 8, 1865," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office).

¹²⁰ Millennial Star, XXVII (August 12, 1865), 507-508. "Anson Call to George A. Smith, May 24, 1865, Callville, Arizona," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office). Call's exploration took him as far upriver as Boulder Canyon.

¹²¹ "Call to George A. Smith, May 24, 1865." See also San Francisco Evening Bulletin (July 8, 1865). Just how Call came by his information is speculative. The writer's best judgment is expressed in the text.

How Call learned these facts is undertermined, but apparently he went to El Dorado Canyon with King and Phelps, at least, where he heard of Captain Robinson's turning back. According to Call's information

Mr. Ferry [James Ferry] and other parties inquired of the captain why he did not deliver the goods at the place of destination.

And the answer was, "This is the head of navigation, here take something to drink."¹²²

In Call's opinion, William Hardy was the culprit who wanted to keep all trade, including the expanding Mormon business, at his own facilities. Call sent Phelps and King to the landing at Hardyville, where they saw "our freight piled up on the beach close to the water, in danger of being swept away."¹²³ Jennings' teams arrived at El Dorado for the freight but had to be turned away empty.¹²⁴

Again the second attempt to reach Callville proved a major fiasco and a disaster for the Mormon Colorado River project. Call returned to the landing awaiting other developments, one of which was a visit from George W. Brimhall and family and perhaps other saints assigned to go to Callville. Early in June, Call sent a message to the settlers on the Muddy, asking that Brimhall hurry to the landing since he was "lonesome."¹²⁵ Brimhall's story will be told later; however, other developments inject themselves into the Callville project, which probably assured the immediate end of direct Mormon support.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³San Francisco Evening Bulletin (July 8, 1865).

¹²⁴Ibid. James Linforth was Jennings' agent in San Francisco and kept in touch with him by wire.

¹²⁵"George W. Brimhall to George A. Smith, December 10, 1865," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office).

Ferry and Cowan. Just when Call first met James Ferry is uncertain. It will be recalled that early in 1864 Ferry had proposed a landing in Circle Valley (Callville Wash), with a road to the Virgin River, avoiding the difficult Virgin Hill.¹²⁶ When Call reached the Colorado River, in December 1864, he followed closely the route proposed by Ferry and, without further exploration, declared the spot an acceptable landing site.¹²⁷ Obviously both Call and Ferry favored the new landing.

That Ferry and associates had anything to do with turning back the Esmeralda in March 1865 seems unlikely. It was Ferry who had questioned Captain Robinson about taking the Cocopah's cargo to Callville in May, which he instead landed down river at Hardyville. Ferry's interest in the new landing is obvious. Aside from his early exploration, he, in conjunction with William Cowan and O. D. Gass, made plans to use the area near Callville. Under date of May 5, 1865, James Ferry witnessed W. A. Cowan's pre-emption claim on what seems to be the Callville landing site "about 10 or 12 miles above Vegas Wash."¹²⁸

It will be recalled Call returned to the landing May 9. He apparently traveled to El Dorado Canyon himself soon after, probably because of his concern for the landing site and for the expected freight. At El Dorado he must have met Ferry and Cowan and from them learned not only of the cargo down river, but possibly of Cowan's pre-emption filing on the landing. At least Call himself filed a claim under date of

¹²⁶ Salt Lake Daily Telegraph, (August 27, 1864).

¹²⁷ Call, "Report . . ."

¹²⁸ "Pre-emption Claim of W. Cowan," Mojave County Misc. Documents, Book 1, p. 11, Recorder's Office, Kingman, Arizona.

May 16, 1865 on 160 acres, not at the landing itself in "Round Valley," but about one mile above Callville. . . ."129

Call then returned to the landing. However, perhaps for obvious reasons, when he wrote to George A. Smith May 24 he did not mention any pre-emption claims or filings, only the delay of the cargo. Perhaps also it was due to this new knowledge that Call decided to leave the landing early in June, although life there in the heat of summer with little feed for his horses would have been reason enough. Besides, supplies for the landing never came.

George W. Brimhall. Quite coincidentally the explorations of Brimhall inter-meshed with the Call-Ferry-Cowan mutual interest in the Colorado landing. It appears that George A. Smith, of the L. D. S. First Presidency and member charged with overseership of the southern colonies, called George W. Brimhall in March 1865 to take his family from Spanish Fork, Utah to the head of navigation on the Colorado River, primarily to determine if in fact the route was usable for emigration into Zion.

In response, Brimhall loaded a wife and six children, the oldest George H., twelve, into a wagon drawn by two yoke of oxen and headed south. Stormy spring weather hampered their advance as far as Cedar City. South of Black Ridge the sands of Grapevine Springs introduced them to the difficulties of desert travel. At St. George, Brimhall "counselled" with Erastus Snow and then continued.

¹²⁹"Pre-emption claim of A. Call," Mojave County Misc. Documents, Book 1, p. 10, Recorder's Office, Kingman, Arizona.

By the time the party reached Beaver Dams, the Virgin River was so high with spring runoff they struck over the Mesa to reach the river again near the Mesquite and Bunkerville area. In climbing onto the Mesa, Brimhall reported they used ten yoke of oxen on each wagon. The women and children traveling on foot presented a pathetic picture of pioneer trials. At the Muddy settlements, the family found conditions better. At least they had good water.

After consultation with Thomas S. Smith, in charge of the St. Thomas colony, Brimhall decided to push onto the Colorado landing. Smith provided the family an Indian guide "Peet" and his fourteen-year old son; Elijah Elmore, a good friend, agreed to go also. Leaving the Muddy, they proceeded down along the Virgin River, whose waters had receded and were now quite brackish. Their route crossed the river several times. After two days, they reached the "sink of the Virgin" and turned right up a canyon, likely Echo Wash, and camped at "Poison Springs" on the third night. (Perhaps this is today's Bitter Springs in Echo Wash.)

At this time Anson Call with his wife and two men (John King and Walton Phelps likely) "hove into sight." They had six horses, but only one in shape to travel. After holding a "council," Call told Brimhall he had "better return." Call camped down the Wash below Brimhall. The next morning Brimhall discovered his sick oxen and asked aid of Call. Elijah Elmore reported Call had lost three horses during the night. Two more were sick so he could not help, but had to save himself. Under these conditions, Brimhall sent "Peet" to the Muddy for aid and began to work his way back as best he could. A team of fresh oxen met him

on the Virgin and helped him in.¹³⁰

After recouperating for a couple of weeks, Brimhall again decided to try to reach the river. This time he took only Elijah Elmore and Elmore's fourteen-year-old son. Their light wagon was pulled by a stout team of four-year-old horses. Still the trip was difficult, particularly as they climbed over the drainage divide from Echo Wash into Callville Wash, which they followed to the river.¹³¹

To their surprise, the Mormons discovered three gentiles at the landing--"Fary [James Ferry], Cass [O. D. Gass] and [William A.] Cowan." Brimhall commented further

They treated us well. Ferry owns by prehemption [sic] the landing and all adjoining mineral lands, Corwin and Cass the Salt Mountains up the Virgin to the mouth of the Muddy, according to the Laws of Arizona. They shoed [sic] me the law and monuments proving their certificates [sic] of possession. . . .¹³²

Brimhall and Elsnore explored along the river a short distance. Overall, they believed the region to be totally devoid of redeeming features. In Brimhall's words: "What could induce any living intelligence to try to inhabit it for a single week."¹³³ The Mormons rounded

¹³⁰"Brimhall to Smith," and George W. Brimhall. Workers of Utah (Provo: Privately published, 1889), pp. 45-49. These two accounts are parallel. Brimhall's report written twenty-five years after the fact has a great deal more elaboration. In the latter report he tells of George H. Brimhall's running ahead to obtain water for the destitute family.

¹³¹Ibid.

¹³²"Brimhall to Smith." This bit of information is most revealing, for the Mormons had no clear claim to their own landing.

¹³³Brimhall, Workers . . . , p. 50. Obviously Brimhall did not like the area. He later returned to his home and asked to be released from the "call."

up their horses and commenced the climb from the river. The heat was terrific, but they returned safely to the Muddy.

No account is given of their report to the Muddy settlers, but certainly the account could not have been optimistic. For Brimhall, his course of action was certain--to leave the "Burnt Country" and return nearer the leaders of the Church to raise his family. Back in Spanish Fork, he reported officially to George A. Smith in December 1865, and asked for a release from his call, which apparently was granted.¹³⁴

Several observations at this point are pertinent. Ferry and Cowan had pre-empted "Circle Valley" or Call's Landing. No doubt Ferry wanted the landing built and used as much as Call and the Mormons, but for himself to control. For Brimhall, the loss of the landing would have been no loss at all.

Apparently Call did not report the other claims, at least not publicly. Only in the written report of George W. Brimhall to George A. Smith, December 1865 is the development suggested. No doubt other church leaders were apprised of the condition which had its impact on the Mormon Church's reduced commitment to use the Colorado River route. For the Mormons, their official project had, in effect, ended by July 1865. Later Mormon interest would be local and particular, not general. The Gentiles would soon be the primary promoters of Colorado River navigation. As a competitive potential to other routes, it would arouse occasional Mormon interest, but no longer would it be the primary business of the Church. The Deseret Mercantile Association

¹³⁴"Brimhall to Smith."

apparently dissolved soon after also.

Callville After July 1865

Promotion of Colorado River navigation and use of Callville continued both in the California and Utah papers. The Semi-Weekly Telegraph was cautiously suspicious of the sale of Pacific and Colorado Steam Navigation Company stocks.¹³⁵ By August 13 the Deseret News ran an ad for James Linforth, commission merchant, who was proposing shipments by way of the Colorado River.¹³⁶ Beginning the last of November, the same paper carried a series of ads for the Pacific and Colorado Steam Navigation Company regularly until June 1866.¹³⁷ The Daily Union Vidette became the major promotional paper for Callville in Utah.

Callville had been claimed by Ferry, Gass and Cowan. Visitors to the landing were infrequent during the summer and fall of 1865. Nevertheless occasional travelers did arrive and Callville was viewed as a place of sufficient permanence to have one of its leading citizens, Octavius D. Gass, elected to represent Pah-ute County in the House of Representatives of the 1865 Arizona Territorial Legislature, a fete he repeated from the same place in 1866.¹³⁸ Jacob Hamblin and James Whitmore, who visited Callville in December 1865, reported "little business." By the end of 1865 most of the effort for navigation to

¹³⁵ Semi-Weekly Telegraph (August 8, 1865)

¹³⁶ Deseret News (August 13, 1865).

¹³⁷ Deseret News (November 30, 1865), and later editions.

¹³⁸ James H. McClintock, Mormon Settlements in Arizona. . . . (Phoenix: Manufacturing Stationers, Inc., 1921), p. 124. Gass moved to Las Vegas in 1867, but again went to the Legislature in 1868.

Callville came from the merchants in Salt Lake City, the mining interest there, and the California merchants who hoped to garner some of the lucrative Mormon trade, which, during the period was in excess of \$2,000,000 a year.¹³⁹

By spring of 1866, plans progressed for opening the warehouse. Henry F. Dibblee, agent for R. G. Sneath, a San Francisco merchant, notified the Deseret News of his departure for Callville in April 1866. The News encouraged the venture.¹⁴⁰ In May representatives of Pah-ute County, Arizona met at Callville and organized Pah-ute County. Nevada miners were anxious to have that freight route opened to them both for supplies and as an ore outlet. Goods were expected at Callville as early as June 1, 1866. One report suggests a two stamp mill was delivered at Call's Landing as early as August 1866, which, if true, would have been before the arrival of the "first steamer." It is possible another barge was "poled" to the landing.¹⁴¹

Just when the warehouse was finished and roofed is uncertain. James Lietthead, who arrived on the Muddy in the spring of 1866, reported he and Andrew S. Gibbons helped roof the warehouse, which like was during the summer of 1866. The flat roof was made of a cloth

¹³⁹ See Jensen, p. 282. The Mormons traveled south to Cottonwood Island visiting with the Indians. See "Letter from Fort Mojave" to Daily Union Vidette, October 6, 1865. "The Mormon trade, which has formerly been from the Eastern States, will soon be changed to San Francisco and is worth, including freight, \$2,000,000 annually, which will be transported up this river."

¹⁴⁰ Deseret News (April 26, 1866). Brigham Young's blessing was also given the project by the News.

¹⁴¹ See J. Ross Browne, Reports on Mineral Resources of the United States, (August 8, 1866).

prepared for the purpose with a coating of "some kind of pitch" over it. Andrew Gibbons stated the Indians were asked to look out for the "steamer." One evening they reported excitedly having located "steamer tracks." Closer inspection led to the discovery of a stray camel in the area.¹⁴² Other visitors to the landing were not uncommon.

H. F. Dibblee wrote to the News under date of July 11 that although the steamer had not arrived, Callville had received a post office¹⁴³ (apparently Henry Dibblee was the Post Master),¹⁴⁴ with mail deliveries on Wednesday as a part of the St. George, Callville, Fort Mojave, Los Angeles run.

Meanwhile, the indefatigable Sam Adams had contracted Captain Robert T. Rogers to deliver at the land goods for R. G. Sneath of San Francisco. As word of the steamer's approach reached the landing, excitement increased. Finally, on the 8th of October 1866, the Esmeralda steamed to Callville with a barge and over 100 tons of goods. The landing had been proven. The participants celebrated with cannon booms and "other demonstrations."¹⁴⁵ With supplies in a warehouse and a H. F. Dibblee as caretaker, Callville had become a supply depot.

¹⁴²

Kate B. Carter, Heart Throbs of the West, (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1946), vol. 7, pp. 465-468. See also Helen Bay Gibbons, Saint and Savage. . . . (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1865), p. 134.

¹⁴³

Deseret News (August 2, 1866).

¹⁴⁴

R. E. Lingenfelter, First Through the Grand Canyon, (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1958), p. 23. See also Deseret News (August 2, 1866).

¹⁴⁵

See Daily Alta California (October 25, 1866). In a note from Callville to the paper via Salt Lake City, the date of arrival is given as October 8, 1866. This harmonizes with Samuel Adams "Letter to George Q. Cannon and C. Mirkley from the head of Roaring Rapids, Arizona."

Sneath hoped to sell supplies to the Mormons, but found little market due to their dire poverty.

Yet, Callville itself had some activity. James W. Parker's mail riders reached the station twice weekly on the St. George to Hardyville and return runs. Some produce moved to the mines, but slowly. By January 1867 most of the freight still sat in the warehouse. At this time Octavius D. Gass exercised his legislative influence, getting troopers from Camp El Dorado sent there.

Orders were signed January 3, 1867. A sergeant and nine men arrived January 25, guided by E. L. W. Gillman.¹⁴⁶ Life at Callville for the soldiers was hard and boring. Supplies and replacements traveled overland to the post, usually manned by about eighteen men. By March 1867 one man had already deserted. On April 20 Jeff Hartman was killed by one of the soldiers.

It was about this time, also, that the Mormon river explorers, Hamblin, Crosby, and Miller, rowed to the landing from the Grand Wash. R. G. Sneath was anxious to move his supplies. In May 1867 most of them were purchased by the Salt Lake merchants, Horace Eldredge and Hiram Clawson. The first freight wagons left Callville May 22 and reached Salt Lake City June 19. A second train of ten wagons arrived in late August and a final one in early September. It was soon after this that California merchants solicited a supporting letter from Anson Call as they tried to promote use of the landing.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ See Dennis G. Casebier, Camp El Dorado, Arizona Territory . . . (Tempe: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1970) for details on the military ventures in the area.

¹⁴⁷ Daily Union Vidette (November 23, 1867).

With Dibblee's departure, O. D. Gass was named postmaster October 18, 1867.

In late July 1867 James Ferry, who was left in charge of the landing, ordered potatoes and produce from the Mormon settlers on the Muddy River, to be shipped downriver for El Dorado miners. Captain L. C. Wilburn arrived late in August with his barge "El Dorado" but had to wait. Then because no produce came, he loaded his barge with lime and rock salt. It was at this juncture that James White floated into Callville landing, where he remained, nursed to health by Ferry, and worked for a time as a mail carrier.¹⁴⁸

Altogether, six of the troopers stationed at Callville deserted. With the freight shipped out, the post was slated for abandonment. However, Gass again prevailed and troops remained through March 1868. In April 1868 when Inspector General Charles A. Whittier visited Callville, he found no white men there; the mail mules were being cared for by Indians. The post was officially closed May 9, 1868.¹⁴⁹ Apparently some time during 1868 James Ferry transferred his interests in the landing to Jim Hinton. His main income had derived from trade, the mails, catching driftwood, selling salt, lime to the miners, and supplies to the military. With the military gone, Callville died quickly. Even the mail station was abandoned and the post office officially closed June 15, 1869.

In June 1869 three "horse thieves" fled from the sheriff in St. George

¹⁴⁸ Lingenfelter, p. 23.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. Casebier's work is exceptional on the military history.

and made their way to Callville where they tried to cross the Colorado River on a raft made from the warehouse doors. In midstream the raft disintegrated, dumping the men into the river. By extreme exertion they reached the opposite shore, but without food or clothing. As they tried to wend their way south to Fort Mojave, they were discovered by the mail carrier who "threw them what provisions he had," and reported their whereabouts to the military. A rescue was made, bringing in three badly sunburned and emaciated men.¹⁵⁰

Various uses were made of the warehouse and offices for years, but only by the occasional visitor and later miners. With the reclamation project that produced Boulder Dam, Callville was inundated. Murl Emery reported an old man, who called himself Anson Call, visited him in 1935 at Lake Mead and asked to see the ruins of Callville. Via boat Emery took Anson B. Call, Jr., to see his father's handywork, which at that date had water rising all around it.¹⁵¹ Callville's demise was more dramatic than its history.

Settlements

Perhaps it would have been well to treat the Muddy River settlements concurrent with the Callville landing; however, the settlements, although conceived originally as an integral part of the navigation, became projects in and of themselves. The story will be treated briefly, including the call of saints, the settlements' original purposes

¹⁵⁰ Deseret News (June 23, 1869). One of the correspondents from St. George, who signed himself as "Cactus" sent the story to the News under date of June 5, 1869.

¹⁵¹ Murl Emery "Personal Interview," (March 22, 1968), Nelson, Nevada.

purposes as an emigrant corridor, and as cotton lands; and their function as proprietorial control of the region, and later abandonment.

Erastus Snow always viewed the Colorado River landing as a project secondary to the Cotton Mission, a kind of supplemental effort. Originally the "call" went to one hundred prominent and wealthy men who were either to go south themselves or finance substitutes to go. Brigham Young promptly (October 19, 1864) sent letters to the various bishops, asking them to "inquire in your ward and ascertain how many there are among them who would like to go down to the mouth of the Rio Virgen at the head of navigation of the Colorado and form a settlement there. . . ." ¹⁵² On October 30 many "missionaries" met at the Historian's offices in Salt Lake City. "A determination was evinced to make settlements as near the point of debarkation as possible." Anson Call was counselled to locate at least two sites for settlements between St. George and the Colorado River, which he did--Beaver Dams (50 families) and the Muddy River (200-300 families). It was further agreed that "the missionaries now ready to start, were not expected to be hindered or retarded in their arrangements by any further movement in the city." ¹⁵³

The missionaries' next meeting was held November 8, 1864. At this time Colonel Thomas S. Smith and Captain Henry W. Miller, of Farmington, were selected to "superintend the making of two settlements" to give protection and support to travel and whatever else is necessary to

¹⁵² "Letter of Brigham Young to Bishop C. W. West, October 19, 1864," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office).

¹⁵³ Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (November 9, 1864).

accomplishing the object now sought."¹⁵⁴ They planned to depart as soon as possible. Thomas Smith left Salt Lake with fifteen men and four women in early December, reaching St. George about Christmas time, where he talked with Erastus Snow. On December 28, 1864, he overtook Anson Call, enroute to the Colorado River to build his warehouse.

Smith joined Call. They traveled together, building road as they went, until near the Muddy River. At this juncture Call left and Smith's party tried to improve the road up the hill from the river onto Mormon Mesa, a project with limited success only. Call soon returned from the landing with Mr. Holbrook to survey the new settlement, named St. Thomas, located south and west of the Muddy's confluence with the Virgin Rivers. The new colonists commenced at once to clear land, build shelters and plant crops.

Henry W. Miller had collected his party and proceeded to St. George behind Smith, where he was advised by Erastus Snow to settle at the Beaver Dams. Thus, early in 1865, the two new settlements were established. Call reported on his return from the river, February 20-22, 1865, that Smith had a good number of settlers at the Muddy plowing and planting, and that Henry Miller, "with a small company," was busy clearing land and they were pleased with their prospects.¹⁵⁵

As early as mid-January, 1865, Brigham Young expressed a new concern. In a letter to Daniel H. Wells and Brigham Young, Jr., he wrote:

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., and Deseret News (November 16, 1864).

¹⁵⁵ Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (March 18, 1865).

There is considerable interest being felt by persons who have heard of our intended operation on the Colorado and by others who have anticipated that the river would yet be an inlet and outlet for our traffic; and they are beginning to crowd in and occupy the land. We contemplate sending two or three hundred families down there, to locate on the most eligible spots, as we have no wish to see outside parties come in and take possession of the best places, and reap the fruits of our toil.¹⁵⁶

Many missionaries wrote directly to President Young for counsel about the call. A few he answered directly. For example, Young told Nathan K. Knight, of Beaver County:

You are at liberty to go down to the Colorado. The health of yourself and family might be improved by your removal to a warmer climate. But it might be better for you to go down first and get a little start, set out an orchard and get something ready before your family goes down so that you may have some provisions to sustain them.¹⁵⁷

In most instances his answer was addressed to them through their bishop:

Dear Brother:

We have received the names of several persons who have volunteered from your ward to go to the Colorado. These brethren had better arrange for some persons of their number to go down south on their behalf, and select and secure some land, and put in grain, etc., right away, that they may have something provided to sustain their families when they shall go down. When they reach St. George, they should report to Bro. Erastus Snow, who will counsel them as to where they shall settle, I remain your Brother, Brigham Young.¹⁵⁸

When Young heard of Anson Call's report to Horace S. Eldredge, early in March 1865, he became even more alarmed about the "gentiles"

¹⁵⁶ "Letter of Brigham Young to Daniel H. Wells and Brigham Young, Jr., January 12, 1865," Millennial Star XXVII (April 1, 1865), 206.

¹⁵⁷ "Letter of Brigham Young to Nathan K. Knight, January 19, 1865," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office).

¹⁵⁸ "Letters of Brigham Young to various bishops, February 2, to March 13th, 1865," (Brigham Young Letter File; L. D. S. Church Historian's Office).

incursions into the new area. Under date of March 2, 1865 he wrote to both William H. Dame and Erastus Snow. To Dame he said, "We are desirous of having every eligible spot on the Muddy, Las Vegas and the Colorado taken up by our brethren. . . ." He asked Dame to encourage the brethren to "go down to that country."¹⁵⁹

To Snow he identified the source of his concern, Call's report, in which Call told that William H. Hardy had selected two lots at Callville on which to do business. Young counselled Snow

Steps should be taken, by sending the brethren down to take up lots and have them properly recorded, to prevent such persons from getting a foothold at any of those places, and where they have succeeded in getting land, some compromise, not too unreasonable, should be made with them to have them give up their locations. I should be pleased if you will attend to this matter as soon as possible. There should also be enough brethren sent down from St. George to the Muddy, and secure all the land there that can be of any service, to us, so that these stragglers who are drifting about that country and thinking to speculate out of our operations and toil, may be forestalled. . . .¹⁶⁰

At the April (1865) conference in Salt Lake City, Erastus Snow reminded the "brethren" that support of the Cotton Mission had been limited even though "persons have helped with a warehouse."¹⁶¹ When he returned to Dixie, Snow made a tour of the lower Virgin River settlements, including both Beaver Dams and the Muddy, after which he reported to Brigham Young on April 26, 1865 that everything was going well enough and that there was no need "to draft men to occupy that country . . . yet."¹⁶² Snow noted there were thirty-five men at the

¹⁵⁹"Letter of Brigham Young to William H. Dame," op. cit.

¹⁶⁰"Letter of Brigham Young to Erastus Snow," op. cit.

¹⁶¹Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (April 2, 1865).

¹⁶²"Letter of Erastus Snow to Brigham Young, May 8, 1865," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office).

Muddy, but he did not give an exact number at Beaver Dams.

By mid-summer 1865 the point of focus had shifted from the Colorado River landing to the settlements and the production of cotton. By mid-July the Union Pacific Railroad was also laying track on a trans-continental railroad. Somewhat ironically, the second major Mormon expansion of its cotton settlements came after the end of the Civil War and after promising evidence of new and better freight lines to Zion.

Cotton Settlements. In spite of these harbingers of improved contact with supply sources, Brigham Young sought to reinforce the Southern settlements even more. By late May 1865 Warren Foote reached the Muddy to settle St. Joseph north of St. Thomas along the east bank of the Muddy River,¹⁶³ on the site recommended to him by Erastus Snow. Actually St. Joseph had several locations during its early history. Logandale today is near its old site. Another settlement sprang up nearby, downstream, Simonsville, founded by Orawell Simons who located his grist mill there. The town of West Point, now Moapa, was settled by 1868. Overton, to become the valley's most important town, was founded in 1869.¹⁶⁴

Several young men sought to locate up the valley nearer the headwaters of the river; however, Brigham Young counselled against it, threatening to send them home for disobedience.¹⁶⁵ Aside from the

¹⁶³L. S. Fleming, "The Settlements on the Muddy, 1865-1871, A God Forsaken Place," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXXV (Spring, 1867), 157. See also Bleak, Book A, pp. 175-176.

¹⁶⁴Larson, pp. 141-143.

¹⁶⁵See "Letter of Brigham Young to Bishop Gardiner," quoted in

problems of cooperation and harmony, was the more threatening one of Indian raids.

Finally, as suggested by Brigham Young, an expedition explored to the Virgin River's junction of the Colorado in the summer of 1868 and there located the town of Junction City.¹⁶⁶ The original plans were far more auspicious than the town's actual existence. Nevertheless, Joseph Asay and company moved to the confluence early in 1869 to "catch firewood and camel back fish," which they did with some success. Very likely Asay's task was also to act as ferryman, although he apparently had only a skiff to work with. When John Wesley Powell arrived via the Grand Canyon August 30, 1869, he found Mormons there fishing.¹⁶⁷ In February 1870 Brigham Young and party also visited Junction City, but found little to impress them.¹⁶⁸ During 1870 Asay

Bleak, Book A, p. 258. See also "Letter of Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, July 29, 1868." Joseph Young believed the young men, if allowed to settle the upper valley of the Muddy, would soon "tire of it" and return to the better location downstream.

¹⁶⁶ "Letter of Joseph W. Young to Editor, Deseret News, St. Thomas, August 15, 1868," Deseret News (September 1868). Young described the area, mentions the possibility of 1,000 acres being farmed west of the Virgin River. Some in the party, which included John R. Young and Major Samuel Miles, Bishops of St. Thomas and St. Joseph, wanted to name it Montezuma, but Young believed the name "too heavy for so weak a child."

¹⁶⁷ John W. Powell, Exploration of the Colorado River and its Canyons (New York: Dover Publishing Co., 1961), p. 286. See also Arabell Lee Hafner, 100 Years on the Muddy (Springville: Art City Publishing Co., 1867), pp. 363, and Deseret News (February 12, 1869).

¹⁶⁸ "Letter of George A. Smith to Deseret News, St. Thomas, March 19, 1870," Deseret News (April 13, 1870). Young's tour was to include a trip across the Colorado River to explore for more land, but because of his general dislike for the area and Andrew S. Gibbon's report on the area south, he cancelled it. See Andrew Jensen, ed., "Manuscript History of the Muddy River Mission," (Manuscript file: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office). See also Deseret Evening News (March 23, 1870) for telegram from A. M. Musser.

enlisted "gentile" support to "man" the settlement, since the Schwartz family had been released and had abandoned him. This "uncounselled behavior" almost lost Asay his membership, but he believed the Indian troubles too threatening to ignore. When the vote to abandon the Muddy came, Asay voted no, but left anyway. Junction City died.

The Muddy Colonies. The settlements on the lower Virgin River followed much the same pattern as in other Mormon colonies. As their story has been told well in several other accounts, only a summary review will be given in this work.¹⁶⁹

By the fall of 1865, reports were generally optimistic, although it was evident to Henry Eyring that "the settlements of the Muddy would have to import at least one-half of their breadstuffs to last until another harvest. During 1866, new settlers filtered in, to reinforce their numbers. Many who had become discouraged had left; others sickened and were released, while many worked only seasonally, returning north during the hottest parts of the year. Daniel Bonelli recognized the inadequacy in such a commitment to "make the desert bloom," asking that the saints do what had to be done to accomplish their task of making canals and domestic improvements.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ See Larson, I Was Called . . ., pp. 140-155, for one of the most balanced accounts. Hafner's 100 Years on the Muddy, pp. 75-851, provides intimate detail on the settlements, the early colonists, their families and then brings the story into the second settlements in the 1880's, and from that time to the present. Another good brief report is A. L. Fleming's article in the Utah Historical Quarterly noted earlier. Basic to any such study is Francis Leavitt's M. A. Thesis: "The Influence of the Mormon People in the Settlement of Clark County."

¹⁷⁰ "Letter of Daniel Bonelli," Deseret News (March 16, 1870).

Erastus Snow complained that most of the original "wealthy" missionaries had not gone south nor had they sent substitutes. Further, many of those sent were provided with only the barest of necessities. In consequence, of these problems, one hundred and fifty-eight new calls were issued at the October 1865 conference. Missionaries came and went to the Muddy until it was abandoned in 1871.

Several problems persisted and almost overwhelmed them. At Beaver Dams floods late in 1867 washed out most of the new vineyards and cropland. Daniel Bonelli quipped that he would move himself to St. Thomas now that most of his vineyard had been carried "gratis" to the Colorado.¹⁷¹ Millersburg (Beaver Dams) was abandoned. At St. Thomas and St. Joseph problems with water were of a different kind. Swamps absorbed the usable supplies while winds blew sand into the newly dug ditches to dry up their croplands.

Perhaps the most constant hazard came from the Indians. After the outbreaks of hostilities (Black Hawk War) in 1865, in Sevier Valley, the trouble spread south and west. During the 1865-1870 period the settlers were under continual threat to their livestock and crops. For these people the loss of crops and stock meant even greater hardships. No margin of surplus could be obtained. Mere survival seemed a miracle to many.¹⁷² The Indians raided from across the Colorado River as far east as Lee's Ferry and Crossing of the Fathers. Others used the "Ute Crossing" above Pearce's Ferry east of Grand Wash. Some reached the Muddy

¹⁷¹"Letter of Daniel Bonelli to George A. Smith," Deseret News (January 29, 1868).

¹⁷²Bleak, Book A, pp. 369-370.

from across the Colorado at the confluence of the Virgin River as well. In all cases they sapped the energies and resources of the people.

To counter this threat a general policy was inaugurated of sending scouting parties to near the crossings of the Colorado to intercept the raiders, preferably before their forays, but if not at least as they returned with the stock. Harrison Pearce was assigned to scout the Grand Wash area and Joseph Asay and associates kept a look out at the Virgin River confluence.¹⁷³ As late as the fall of 1870 there were reports of Indian troubles. About the same time, Jacob Hamblin and John Wesley Powell, negotiated a peace agreement with the Navajo, which relieved the pressure on the settlements.¹⁷⁴ This action also opened up the Lee's Ferry route into Arizona, which may have been a factor in the Mormon leader's decision to "release" the Muddy missionaries. Any future southern thrust could be by way of Lee's Ferry. Many of the colonists moved to Long Valley above Kanab in 1871.¹⁷⁵

Another persistent and unresolved problem for the settlers was transportation. Originally the settlements were to serve as way-stations for the emigrants and freighters. However, Callville did not flourish. The "saints" did sell some salt to the mines down river by hauling it to Callville. Some of their produce was marketed overland at El Dorado. But in the main markets were too removed to be of dependable value to them.

¹⁷³Fleming, p. 161. See also "Letter of Erastus Snow to Thomas S. Smith, June 12, 1866," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office).

¹⁷⁴Peterson, pp. 11-12, and Powell, pp. 286-288.

¹⁷⁵Ibid. A number of these same saints later moved to the Big Horn Basin in Wyoming, 1901-1903.

With the building of the Cotton Factory in Washington, they hoped for a nearby market for their cotton. The factory was slow in getting underway, roads to St. George were almost impassible anytime and completely so during flood time. Travelers from St. George to St. Thomas often crossed the quicksand stream of the Virgin, as many as thirty-five times. The new route north of the Virgin River was never very good, though somewhat shorter.¹⁷⁶ Only infrequent use was made of the St. Thomas Gap-Grand Wash route proposed by Anson Call. In a nutshell, the problem of transportation kept those settlers in virtual isolation. By late 1869-1870, their conditions were quite desperate. James Liethead, Bishop at St. Thomas, wrote under date of December 1, 1870, asking for the bartering of cotton for supplies in St. George, adding:

We will freight our goods down, and deliver the cotton at the factory. I make this offer because we are destitute of such articles (shoes, clothing, shovels, spades, etc.), and our cotton is all our dependence to get them.¹⁷⁷

Political Problems. Whether the Mormons would have remained, without the additional burden of double taxation and doubtful political influence, is academic. When the settlements were first made, the region was believed to be a part of Utah and Arizona. Mormons early did not want to identify with the State of Nevada especially. Between 1865 and 1869 Callville and the lower Virgin settlements were represented in the Arizona Territorial Legislature. O. D. Gass, Royal J. Cutler and Andrew S. Gibbons were duly elected as the people's

¹⁷⁶ Larson, pp. 152-154.

¹⁷⁷ Larson, I Was Called . . . , pp. 148-149, and Bleak, Book B, pp. 70-72.

representatives. The Mormon concern increased sufficiently that in Great Salt Lake City, February 15, 1869, the Utah Territorial Legislature met and organized the area as Rio Virgin County, with Joseph W. Young appointed as probate judge. He held his first court April 3, 1869. Royal Cutler served as Clerk, with Elijah Billingsly, Benjamin K. Bullock and George Leavitt as selectmen. St. Joseph was chosen as the county seat. Taxes were assessed for 1869, and later paid to Utah.¹⁷⁸ When Isaac James and Captain Monroe completed their survey line in the summer of 1870, the colonies were found to be thirty miles inside Nevada.¹⁷⁹

What to do? Brigham Young had visited the settlements during March 1870. He was not impressed. Nevertheless, until the Nevada tax officials began to seek enforcement of the law to collect not only current taxes, but those not paid or more correctly paid to Utah or Arizona, and demanded payment in gold rather than kind, Young was prompted to action. In cooperation with Erastus Snow, George A. Smith, President Young sent a letter to James Leithead, commending the saints for their struggles, for their loyalty and efforts under extreme hardship. He sent Richard Bentley and Joseph W. Young to supervise the report. Meetings were held at which the letter was discussed. Young would grant releases if the majority voted to leave; however, he also cautioned against small numbers remaining behind alone in the area. The vote was about 123 to five in favor of the move.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸Jensen, "Muddy Mission . . ."

¹⁷⁹Ibid., and Fleming, pp. 169-171, and Larson, I was Called . . . , pp. 149-152.

¹⁸⁰Hafner, pp. 80-81. The minutes of the meetings are reproduced in this work.

The following day (about December 24, 1870), a petition was sent to the Nevada Legislature explaining their dilemma. They were agrarian peoples to whom gold was practically unknown; they had tamed the desert with no state help, and they wanted the "honorable body to abate all taxes assessed against us" by the authorities of Lincoln County. They also asked for a new Las Vegas County. A petition was also sent to the federal government.¹⁸¹

What happened thereafter did not please the Mormons. Court orders were obtained and arrests made. In consequence of this policy, the settlers moved, most of them departing before February 1, 1871. Notably Daniel Bonelli remained with his family. Thus the 1865-1871 Mormon venture to the Colorado River terminated. The five year period was evaluated by one pioneer with, "Well, I guess we gained experience." Charity indeed!

The Interim. Abandonment of the Muddy by the Mormon settlers did not mean that all activity there stopped. Daniel Bonelli remained with his family at St. Thomas and later expanded to operate a ferry at the mouth of the Virgin River. Mr. Isaac Jennings purchased much of the expected 1871 crop at bargain prices. Bonelli, Mr. Paddock, Isaac Cox and others helped him with his harvest. Other Mormons returned that spring to harvest what grain they could also. One of these was DeLaun Mills Cox who succeeded in obtaining several hundred bushels of wheat, which he hauled to St. George.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ Larson, pp. 151-152.

¹⁸² Susie Wilson "History of DeLaun Mills Cox," (Typescript: Utah State Historical Society). Cox records that one of the wagons, filled

In addition, miners in surrounding areas continued to need food stuffs. Under date of February 19, 1873, the Deseret News included a report from Pioche, Nevada, that "parties in from Muddy Valley, 125 miles south of here, report the new grass from six to eight inches high, wheat and barley three to four inches, and preparations being made to set out vegetables." Apparently, the Muddy Valley helped supply the miners.

By 1877, the Mormons began to return officially. Edward Bunker established the town of Bunkerville in 1877. Within two years several families were located at Mesquite Flat. By 1880, the lower Muddy again had Mormons returning to reclaim old and develop old, lost homesteads. One of the first of these was Elizabeth Whitmore. Within three years, the Mormons again controlled the area. Many came later, often in the role of the devout saint practicing polygamy, and in several instances living in the United Order.¹⁸³

Conclusion

The Mormon interest in the Colorado began early and expanded and modified in focus as the objectives of the church leaders changed, and as additional information became available. The Mormons wanted, and from their perspective, needed an outlet on the Pacific, unrealistic politically as such a proposal might have been. Their corridor policy which contemplated possible use of the Colorado was evaluated and approached rationally. Their own surveys, 1855-1856, discouraged

with loose grain, while making a steep rocky ascent, shook the tailgate free and spilled several bushels on the ground.

¹⁸³ "Letter of Jesse W. Crosby," Deseret News, (June 15, 1887). Crosby at the time had been visiting the saints at Overton and St. Thomas.

their plans for development of the river at that time.

The Mormon War and Lt. J. C. Ives' survey thrust the Mormons into the area again, but this time their attention and intentions were temporary. When the crisis passed, Mormon concern declined immediately, though it did not disappear. Again their involvement and their evaluation was systematic, if somewhat segmented, because of their limited resources. Yet it is not difficult to understand why they looked at the Colorado River carefully.

However, the 1864-1871 venture is much more complex and much less coherent. Several factors are identifiable and need comment. First of all, cotton culture on the lower Virgin River drainages was feasible. In 1861, with the open conflict between North and South, to propose cotton production not only was in harmony with the general Mormon policy of economic self-sufficiency, but also had potential for competitive pricing given the condition of war time. To propose major expansion of the Cotton Mission in the fall of 1864 seems less justifiable. True, the increased production would support a local cotton factory, yet Brigham Young's cotton factory was not begun until the summer of 1865, after the Civil War had ended. In 1864, the southern colonies needed help; considering the 1864 expansion overall as a kind of church sponsored public works program, gives real merit to the project, in theory at least. However, this central subsidy, to be effective would have had to inject into the southern colonies some surplus from the north. Wealth and wealthy missionaries moving to the southern colonies were rare. Not only that, these settlements were still asked to bear their share of general programs such as the perpetual

Emigration Fund, thus negating much of the "work projects" effect.

The new settlements on the lower Virgin and Muddy rivers raised cotton. Many farmers raised good crops; yet, overall the experiment was only marginally productive at best. Hampered by Indian unrest, the colonist frequently suffered. No certain policy could be enforced, and the "feed them first" mandate of Brigham Young did not stop even local unrest let alone prohibit the raiding of the marauding Navajoes from across the Colorado.

But given success in these areas, control of Indians and cotton production, the saints still had to market their produce in order to purchase tools, household goods, and too often, even the necessities of life. There were no good roads to reach the distant markets. Even delivery of cotton to the Washington Factory was a hazardous, arduous and unproductive undertaking. Originally, of course, the settlement plans anticipated successful navigation of the Colorado River to within forty or fifty miles of the lower towns. If this supply route had opened up, and if Mormon freight and emigrants had been routed into Zion via the Colorado River, then the project could have done what it was originally conceived to do. However, to play that role, the river would have had to been navigable as hoped, and goods and souls sent over the route to pay for the development of the facilities--roads, landings, bridges, way-stations, etc.

In fact, though, the Colorado River was not a dependable year-round route. Its cantankerous rampages could not be predicted nor controlled at that time. But the Mormons, like others of the time, could not be expected to know all these problems. To err in that judgment is understandable, for they had much company.

Even so, had the river proven to be effectively usable, there were still several other factors unresolved that likely would have caused the freight-to-Callville venture to fail. Mormon merchants were closely tied to their business connections and suppliers in the East. Brigham Young claimed this was a major reason the Mormon project had not succeeded.¹⁸⁴ The major reasons given for needing the new route proved invalid. By early February 1865, the Indian problem was sufficiently resolved that freight was expected across the plains during the forthcoming season. By mid-April the Civil War was over. The dissolution of the nation did not occur. By mid-July the Union Pacific Railroad began laying railroad tracks for the transcontinental railroad. In addition, Mormon economic policy had by 1865-1866 focused upon internal cohesion that proved highly antagonistic to the gentile merchants,¹⁸⁵ some of whom were, along with California merchants and speculators, hoping to promote greater freighting on the Colorado River. Thus, when gentile interest through the merchants and miners became greatest, Mormon policy, at least from the center of Zion, not only did not support their promotion of the river's navigation, but tended to reject and discredit them. Locally any help could be interpreted as a God-send. Both the Muddy River projects and Callville had to have good roads to succeed. Neither did. Thus it is difficult not to be critical of those who proposed with inadequate planning.

Beyond these problems, however, lay what was perhaps the pivotal

¹⁸⁴ Pederson, pp. 189.

¹⁸⁵ Arrington, Great Basin . . . , pp. 248, 255-256.

factor of the failure. Anson Call and the Mormons actually located and built their warehouse on a site pre-empted by William A. Cowan and James Ferry. When George W. Brimhall visited the newly built warehouse in June 1865, Ferry, Gass and Cowan convinced him of the validity of their claims. No wonder, given all other conditions, the Mormon move for navigation of the Colorado River ended so abruptly. The leaders' judgment had no doubt been biased by gentile promotion, by fear of others pre-empting lands and key locations on the borders of Zion. It is well that Brigham Young, the colonizer, passed other tests.

Finally, the political disassociation from Utah and the threatened tax burdens of Nevada were real problems for the Mormon people, but hardly would these have been insolvable obstacles had other phases of the Muddy and Callville programs succeeded. For most of the "cotton missionaries," their release in 1871 was the only relief they received, and true, "they had gotten some experience."

Mormon interest in the Colorado River did not cease with their abandonment of the Muddy River in 1871. Mention has been made of later settlements. In addition, beginning in the mid-1870's, Mormon migrations southward into Arizona again focused attention on the Colorado River, but this time on its crossings especially. During the 1880's the polygamy prosecutions pushed the Mormons further onto the peripheries of Zion. Rumors and plans projected major settlements as far distant as Mexico, one location being Sonora. When Daniel Bonelli learned of these prospects he made the following proposal from Rioville, Nevada to President John Taylor, January 24, 1885:

Hearing of the probability of considerable emigration from Utah to the Gulf coast at the mouth of the Colorado and

other portions of Arizona and Mexico, I take the liberty to call your attention to the fact that my place here at the mouth of the Rio Virgen is admitted by all parties to have the best ferry over the Colorado for all stages of water and all seasons, as well as the most practicable roads for all kinds of teams. . . . This is the acknowledged head of navigation, on the Colorado, steamers coming here every season in high water. . . . A boat can now go at any time from my house to any part of the gulf coast, and I am certain that any extensive scheme of settlement there would have to come sooner or later to the use of shipping on this river.¹⁸⁶

With Bonelli's proposal the Mormon focus on the Colorado River had made a complete circle. Both he and they were hoping for prospects in river navigation that did not find fruition.

¹⁸⁶"Letter of Daniel Bonelli to John Taylor, January 24, 1885," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office).

NAVIGATION OF THE COLORADO RIVER:
SUPPLY LINE TO THE MILITARY AND MINERS

The Colorado River had no ordinary history. It was not an eastern river; rather, it was a stream fed from the high ranges of the Rockies that subsequently drained toward the Pacific Ocean through high plateaus and desert ranges and valleys to discharge its silt-saturated waters into the Gulf of California. Seasonally as well as annually it was erratic. One learned of it not by reference to other rivers, but by direct observation. But, however observed, it flowed in an arid land, as an artery of life that seemed to beg exploitation by American entrepreneurs. Tackle the task they did, yet it was only under heavy economic subsidy that the lower canyon region could afford the luxury of river transportation.

This chapter discusses that story. The initial navigation projects associated with Fort Yuma and crossing, the up river expansion for Fort Mojave and inland military posts constitute one major phase of the story. Another relates to the coming of the miners and mining with the extensive needs for equipment and supplies and outlets for their production. To provide those needed services, several steamer companies were organized, trade expanded into Southern Nevada and Utah, and river surveys for channel improvement and control undertaken. River navigation also left its marks in landings on the river, in roads between landings and markets, and in pockets of agricultural production and mining that lived with and outlived the navigation period.

The Military and the Coloardo River

Several factors brought the United States troops and State Militia to the Coloardo River. Initially, their contacts were made en route from the states to California during the Mexican War. Subsequently they participated in numerous exploring expeditions that touched and crossed the stream. But in the main troops moved to the river because the Americans began to encroach upon the long tenured domain of the Indians who held tenaciously and jealously to their territory.

Yuma Crossing. The early (1848) discovery of California gold put tremendous pressure on western trails. The Gila route was no exception. Between 1848 and 1851 it is estimated that over 150,000 gold seekers needed ferry services across the Colorado at the mouth of the Gila River. As early as mid-1848 the gold rush migration from Mexico had begun. In November of that year a contingent of American dragoons reached the mouth of the Gila, built a cottonwood log and keg ferry boat in order to cross, and then continued on to California. Later Lt. Cave Couts was sent back (1849) with a small company to protect and aid the hordes of emigrants. Soon after establishing Camp Calhoon on the west bank, he had a ferry barge in service.¹ Hundreds used it.

That October a man named Howard, traveling with Charles E. Pancoast, is reported to have built two boats 200 miles up the Gila and floated downstream with supplies and his wife and new baby. Some accounts indicate that these two barges, not Couts', were the first at

¹Douglas D. Martin, Yuma Crossing, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954), pp. 128-133. Martin details this early history very well.

the crossing.² Soon after this, Lt. Coutts apparently abandoned his fort and ferry to return to California. Mexicans were reported running the ferry in December 1849.

The next ferryman to establish himself was a Mr. Able B. Lincoln in January 1850. He found the business very lucrative, but expensive to run, and dangerous,³ especially when John Glanton, a renegade, and his crew arrived and forced themselves into his business.

The Yuma Indians had also been ferrying emigrants across the Colorado with an old boat left them by a "General" Patterson,⁴ when he emigrated to California. John Glanton and his men abused the Indians, who later set upon them, massacring everyone except three men out cutting willow stakes. These three escaped overland to California.⁵

News of the massacre produced immediate reactions. Several adventurers set out to capture the lucrative trade at the ferry. One group pushed through the desert to the Colorado, but were "bluffed out" by the Yumas and straggled back to San Diego. A second group, consisting of George A. Johnson, Louis F. Jaeger and other partners, purchased tools

² Ibid., pp. 134-35. The Howard story is most unusual, especially their navigation of the Gila. Given high waters, possible in October, they may have been able to float down river some distance.

³ See "Letter of A. Lincoln to Parents (April 1850)," as quoted in Martin, pp. 140-141. The "dangerous life" likely alludes to Glanton and his men as well as the Yuma Indians.

⁴ Arthur Woodward, Feud on the Colorado (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1955), p. 24.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 22-24. See also Francis Hale Leavitt, "Steam Navigation on the Colorado River," California Historical Society Quarterly, XXII (March 1943), 1-2. The survivors were William Carr, Joseph A. Anderson and Marcus L. Webster.

and supplies and headed for the ferry where they arrived July 10, 1850. Although challenged by the Yumas, they established a stockade and within a month had a barge in operation. A second larger one was constructed later.⁶

Establishing Fort Yuma. A second development was a cry for revenge. Consequently, General J. C. Morehead marshalled sixty recruits to go and punish the Indians. By the time he reached the river, the crisis was over and the troops returned in November.⁷ The need for troops at the ferry remained obvious. On October 23, Major Samuel P. Heintzelman left San Diego with three companies of infantry to secure the crossing. He reached the river by early December and set up camp on a hill on the west bank of the Colorado. His site became Fort Yuma.⁸ Heintzelman received his first water-borne supplies from Lt. Derby. However, the bulk of the goods were freighted overland in wagons.

Major Heintzelman returned to San Diego in the spring of 1851 and left Lt. Thomas W. Sweeney in command, but because of supply problems the post was abandoned again December 6, 1851.⁹ Major Heintzelman was determined to establish a fort. He returned with men and supplies in February 1852. Lt. Sweeney arrived by March 25. To help cope with the Indian problems, Heintzelman launched several

⁶Woodward, pp. 35-37. See also Leavitt, p. 2.

⁷Martin, pp. 150-151.

⁸Woodward, pp. 39-41.

⁹Woodward, pp. 41-43. See also Leavitt, pp. 3-4.

expeditions against the Yuma, one of which took him up river for some 100 miles. That October 1852 Heintzelman reported the Indians were under control. Fort Yuma and the military presence on the Colorado River were facts.

Supplying Fort Yuma. The problem of supplies for the fort increased. George A. Johnson had sold his interest in the ferry in 1850 to Major Heintzelman, and then returned to California to pursue a contract to supply the fort via the river. By October 1851 he had that assignment. Later when Captain A. H. Wilcox sailed the Sierra Nevada to the mouth of the Colorado by February 17, 1852, Johnson and associates constructed two flat boats to pole the freight up river. On the first trip one of the barges was swamped and its cargo lost. It was soon discovered that the soldiers used up supplies about as fast as the crews could make deliveries. Nevertheless, a water supply route had been opened.¹⁰

In July 1852 a new contract was given to Captain James Turnbull, who was paid \$120.00 per ton for his first cargo delivered at Fort Yuma via the river and \$50.00 per ton thereafter. Fortified with such an arrangement, Turnbull loaded a dismantled river steamer and supplies on the Capacity, under command of Captain Driscoll, and set sail from San Francisco August 2, 1852.¹¹ Apparently they reached the river before the end of the month, where Turnbull began to assemble his steamer. By the first

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 6-7. Leavitt, pp. 5-6. The two flat bottomed barges were fifty feet by eighteen feet. The Sierra Nevada sailed from San Francisco January 24, 1852.

¹¹Daily Alta California (August 2, 1852).

of November the Colorado's first steamboat was ready. Turnbull's Uncle Sam was a sidewheeler driven by a 20-25 horsepower steam engine mounted in a 65 foot by 15 foot hull that drew about three feet of water and carried between thirty-five and forty tons of freight.¹²

Once the steamer was tested, Turnbull immediately loaded supplies aboard and headed upriver. The Uncle Sam docked at Fort Yuma on December 3, 1852. It was indeed a day to celebrate. Lt. Sweeney recalled the celebration included short excursions up the Colorado and Gila Rivers.¹³ Steamer navigation of the Colorado River had become a fact.

Turnbull delivered a second cargo, reaching the fort by December 25, and a third by January 20. By March 1853 the round trip was consuming only about twelve days, but even so the Capacity's cargo was not yet discharged after seven months at the river. Nor were the fort's freight needs being met. Overland freighting had to continue.¹⁴ Consequently, James Turnbull returned to California, purchased a more powerful steam engine, loaded it aboard the Schooner General Patterson and returned to the Colorado River in May 1853.¹⁵ Much to his disappointment, he learned the Uncle Sam had sunk, while being cleaned at

¹²Leavitt, p. 5

¹³Lt. Thomas W. Sweeney, "Journal," Military Occupation of California, 1849-53, "published in Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States (January-February 1909), and (March-April 1909), hereafter referred to as Sweeney.

¹⁴Leavitt, p. 5.

¹⁵All the schooners were sailing vessels. Steamboat delivery to the Colorado River would come later.

Ankum's Ferry about six miles down stream from Fort Yuma.¹⁶ This loss was a major set back. Turnbull returned to San Francisco to recoup support, but was not successful. The pioneer freighter's career on the Colorado had closed.

George A. Johnson. Having been involved in the establishment of the ferry at Yuma and in opening river freighting to the fort, it is not surprising that Johnson would negotiate a contract "to supply Fort Yuma by sea and river."¹⁷ With Turnbull's setback, Johnson was in an excellent position to make his move. He contacted Major Robert Allen, Chief Quartermaster of the Pacific Coast, about supplying the fort. He also organized the George A. Johnson Company in 1853 with Benjamin M. Hartshorne, and Captain A. H. Wilcox as partners.¹⁸ In October they sailed from San Francisco on the General Veil with supplies and Johnson's steamer. At the mouth of the Colorado River, the new company assembled the General Jesup, a 108 foot by 28 foot side wheeler which could carry sixty tons with only two and one-half foot draught, tested her and commenced freighting supplies up river.

¹⁶Leavitt, p. 6. See also Woodward, p. 58. Ankum's Ferry later was known as Jaeger's Ferry. It was reported that a hole had been bored in the bottom of the hull to let in water for cleaning. Inadvertently, the boat had sunk and was carried downstream by the current. Turnbull later claimed the Uncle Sam had hit a snag and sank, possibly on June 23, 1853. See also San Diego Herald (July 9, 1853).

¹⁷Woodward, pp. 40, 58. Mr. Woodward has made a definitive study of the lower Colorado River navigation during its early period. He uses the Life of George A. Johnson (typescript), California State Library, Sacramento, and "The Steamer General Jesup," Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers IX (June 1932), 108-118, in his book.

¹⁸Leavitt, p. 6. See also Hazel Emery Mills, "The Arizona Fleet," American Neptune I (1941), 256.

The new steamer performed remarkably well. By April 1854 Captain Johnson was back in San Francisco reporting the schooner's entire cargo had been delivered at the fort and that the General Jesup was tied up at Yuma awaiting the arrival of other supply ships.¹⁹ It was the George A. Johnson Company which first made freighting on the Colorado River successful.

Even a boiler explosion in January 1854, though a set back, did not stop river freighting for long. By December 1854 the steamer was in use again.²⁰ In 1855 the Johnson Company constructed the steamer Colorado, a 120 foot stern wheeler, the river's first. This kind of propulsion allowed greater maneuverability and when necessary aided in cutting across sand bars in the river.²¹

Once the river steamers proved their ability to freight supplies up river, freight overland decreased. During 1855 at least five sailing vessels delivered goods to the Colorado. Many of them were United States Naval vessels. But whatever the obstacles, freighting on the river had become a fact. With this permanency of supply lines, privately owned vessels began to replace the naval ships. By the 1860's most of the freight was carried in private ships.²²

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 7. See also San Francisco Daily Alta California (December 14, 1854).

²¹ Ibid. See also San Francisco Daily Alta California (December 25, 1855). The Colorado I has been described as one of the fastest boats ever put on the river. Her machinery was later put in the Colorado II.

²² Ibid. See also Mills, pp. 256-257. The naval vessels included the Invincible, Capacity, Monterey, General Patterson, Humboldt, General Veil and Sierra Nevada.

Until 1856 nearly all freight landed on the Colorado River stopped at Fort Yuma (five schooners in 1856). By this date George A. Johnson was "King of the River." His two steamboats plied the muddy Colorado successfully, meeting the needs of the post. He recognized and was alert to the increasing interest for freight via the Colorado River to other regions as well. He hoped not only to capitalize on any expanded traffic but to monopolize the river as a freight route as well. Perhaps Johnson more realistically than anyone else of his time recognized the very marginal nature of Colorado River freighting.

During the summer of 1857 a customs office was established at Fort Yuma, and the War Department allotted \$70,000 to Joseph C. Ives for exploration.²³ Ives elected to use a steamer of his own building rather than negotiate for the use of one of the Johnson Company's steamboats. In consequence, Ives and Johnson feuded about the exploration. Johnson steamed up river ahead of Ives by more than a month, reaching the upper end of Mojave Valley. Unfortunately, the General Jesup hit a snag eighteen miles above Yuma and sank, hardly a glorious ending for the historic little steamer. Later she was refloated and used until the summer of 1859.²⁴ Persistently Ives steamed his Explorer up river more than thirty miles beyond Johnson's high point. Ives and Johnson should be called the first river freighters. Some supplies were given to the Indians. However, the freighting project would await other conditions,

²³Lt. Joseph C. Ives, Report Upon the Colorado River of the West in 1857 and 1858, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1861).

²⁴Mills, pp. 259-261. When the Cocopah was placed in operation, the General Jesup's machinery was salvaged and sent to San Francisco.

which came soon after Lt. E. F. Beale's 1857-1858 survey and report declared a good emigrant road existed from Albuquerque to the Colorado River.

Fort Mojave. The Mojave Indians had long claimed that area of the Colorado through which the 35th Parallel route passed. To the south and north the Chemehuevis and other Piutes were similarly disposed. The river "invasion" associated with Ives' exploration and the Mormon War had been disquieting, but only temporary. More serious were the prospects of a permanent migrant road into their domain. By late 1858 there was open hostility.

The need for a fort to protect emigrants had been recognized earlier, but not until the wagon trains from Iowa and Illinois were attacked in the fall of 1858, was cause sufficient to prompt military action. When news of the "massacre" reached California and filtered east, the Army responded. Up river freight followed. Colonel William Hoffman chartered the Uncle Sam to transport 350 troops, and 200 mules, later unloaded at San Diego, and 300 tons of freight to the mouth of the Colorado River. Thus this Uncle Sam, not to be mistaken for Turnbull's earlier river boat, became the first steamer to navigate to the mouth of the river. Steamers were able to make the trips consistently between twenty and thirty days, while sailing vessels had required up to sixty days on occasions. Steamers could also carry a thousand tons of freight while the schooners were loaded with 200-300 tons.²⁵

²⁵Leavitt, p. 10. See Mills, p. 257, and Ralph P. Bieber, ed. Frontier Life in the Army, 1854-1861, by Eugene Bandell, in Southwest Historical Series, vol. II (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1932), p. 268-275.

When the Uncle Sam arrived at the head of the Gulf February 27, 1859, the river was alive with activity. Three schooners, the Flying Dart, the Raymond and Monterey, were at anchor as also the Mexican barge Carmelita, all doing trade on the river. The steamboats General Jesup and Colorado were engaged in hauling freight and troops up river. Perhaps the Explorer was also in use; however, what little data exists would suggest she was only used to haul fire wood.²⁶

With his command collected and his supplies at Fort Yuma, Colonel Hoffman, on March 27, 1859, began his ascent of the Colorado River, accompanied by the steamer General Jesup. By the 21st they were in Mojave land, where Hoffman immediately called for a Council of Peace. After selecting a site, Camp Colorado, on the east bench above the river, Lt. Armistead remained behind to build the fort. While Hoffman led four companies west from the river to Benicia in California, two other companies embarked on the General Jesup for Fort Yuma. With this military expedition the first supplies from the Gulf of California were freighted inland more than 350 miles.

In response to this new military thrust, the George A. Johnson Company put a new steamer Cocopah, a 140-foot stern wheeler, into service and then retired the "wounded" General Jesup. Johnson also built a minor shipyard at Port Isabel; however, his main docks were located, and repair work was done, at the landing near Yuma, known then as Colorado City. Here his workers built new boats, repaired old ones,

²⁶Ibid., pp. 9-10. See also Woodward, pp. 116-118, and 147-148. See Bieber, pp. 268-269. The Explorer was returned down river and sold at auction to the George A. Johnston Company, who found her of limited use. In 1864 she was finally "hailed" to Pilot Knob where her hull lay partially buried for years.

and kept the freighters in good repair for their work on the river.²⁷ The company also adopted a new name--Colorado Steam Navigation Company. Again, the military's needs became the company's main subsidy. Overland freight routes made overland freight rates poor competition for the river steamers.

Military Freight. The Colorado River became a major supply route to the various military posts in Western Arizona, Southern Nevada, and Eastern California. Their freight needs affected river traffic, landing locations, and freight roads inland. Fort Mojave was the most important, but it was only one of several in the area.

Fort Mojave. Established April 19, 1859, Fort Mojave became the token of authority in the area. Its commander, Major Armistead, engaged in several skirmishes with the Mojaves during the summer of 1859. However, in general, life was quiet, hot and boring at the fort. The post was burned and abandoned in May 1861 with the coming of the Civil War. Two years later, the California volunteers returned to re-garrison the fort. Their supplies were shipped up river on the Mojave, with Captain Polhamus in charge. Disappointed with their new home, the soldiers sought several diversions, including prospecting. They also patrolled the road west from the river toward Camp Cady, and north and south along the river. By 1865 the Mojave Indians had accepted domestication and were given a 128,000 acre reservation along the river. The only other Indian troubles for soldiers at the fort occurred east near Beale's Springs in 1867. The post served as a debarkation point and

²⁷Mills, p. 259. See also Leavitt, p. 11.

supply depot until Mojave City, Hardyville and landings up river were built. When the railroad tracks reached Needles most of the river freighting to the fort ended.²⁸

Arizona Forts. Though not closely tied to the Colorado River itself, Fort Whipple, first located as early as December 1863, did play its role in the northern Arizona development. A road from Hardyville to Prescott, the Territorial Capital, tied it to the Colorado River. Its goods were usually, though not always, freighted from the Yuma landing. This important post remained active until 1898 and was finally abandoned in 1913.²⁹

Another post in the area receiving supplies via the Colorado River was Camp Lincoln, later known as Camp Verde. Established in 1864, it played an important role in the area southwest of Prescott until its abandonment in 1890.³⁰

Camp Date Creek was also established in 1864 by the California Volunteers. It was given up by the army in 1874.³¹ To the northeast of Fort Whipple sat Camp Hualapai, used between 1869-1873 to protect

²⁸ Philip J. Aivillo, Jr., "Fort Mojave, Outpost on the Upper Colorado," The Journal of Arizona History XI (Summer 1970), pp. 77-100. See also Ray Brandes, Frontier Military Posts of Arizona (Globe: Dale Stuart King, 1960), pp. 56-58, and Ray Brandes, "A Guide to the History of U. S. Army Installations in Arizona, 1849-1886," Arizona and the West I (Spring 1959), 42-65. Fort Mojave had a post office and was the headquarters for the area.

²⁹ Brandes, Military Posts, 75-79.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-72.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29. See also Frank C. Lockwood, Pioneer Days in Arizona . . . (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), p. 94.

the roads into Prescott.³² Three other camps in the northwest region need brief mention also--Camp Willow Grove (1867-1869) between Camp Beale's Spring (1871-1874) on the Hardyville to Prescott Road, and Camp Rawlins (1870) to the south. All of these posts were established temporarily as particular Indian problems arose.³³

Along the river itself, in addition to forts Yuma and Mojave, a few temporary posts were set up also. Camp Lincoln, near LaPaz, was manned for a short time during the summer of 1864 as mining activity increased in the area. Four years later Camp Colorado was located on the east bank of the river about forty miles north of LaPaz (1868-1871). It was considered a temporary subpost of Fort Yuma and had only very primitive facilities. Three years later in 1874 troops were located at the nearby abandoned town of LaPaz, where they remained for about seventeen months. These posts were supplied directly from river steamers.³⁴

Nevada Posts. The military's jurisdiction also extended into Nevada for very similar purposes, protection of miners and travelers. Several posts have particular interest for this period. One, the old Mormon Fort at Las Vegas, was not occupied by the military during the Civil War, although orders were issued (December 23, 1861) by General

³²Ibid., pp. 45-46. This fort figures very indirectly with the Colorado River but is another example of the military presence and impact. See also Lockwood, p. 96.

³³Ibid., pp. 14, 59 and 61. Fort Mojave and Fort Whipple were the base posts for these outlying establishments.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 26 and 47. See also Brandes, "U. S. Army Installations . . .," p. 63.

Carleton for troops to locate at "Fort Baker" (Las Vegas) to protect the overland traffic during the Civil War. In fact, however, these orders were a deceptive ploy as part of Carleton's plan to move against the Confederate forces in Arizona and New Mexico with his California volunteers.³⁵ However, during 1867-1869 soldiers often stayed at O. D. Gass's ranch, both on duty and for rest periods.

In early January 1867 a platoon of ten men arrived at El Dorado Canyon, and located on the west bank of the Colorado River. Their assignment was to protect miners and freighters in the area. Later other soldiers were sent to the camp. However, because the troops "suffered extensively," the soldiers were withdrawn August 24, 1867, with only an intermittent guard maintained in the area after that date.³⁶ Some of the men sent to Camp El Dorado were also stationed at Callville during 1867-1868.

California Posts. Other Fort Mojave troops had escort duty between Camp Cady on the Mojave River and the Colorado River. Occasional camps were established at the water holes along the route, one of the more significant being Rock Springs Camp.³⁷ Most of their base supplies came up river.

³⁵ George Ruhlen, "Early Nevada," Nevada Historical Society Quarterly, VII (Fall, Winter, 1864, 1865), 9-10. See also George Ruhlen, "Carleton's Empty Fort," Nevada Historical Society Quarterly, II (Spring 1959), 68-75.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 25, and Brandes, "U. S. Installations," p. 58. See also Dennis G. Casebier, Camp El Dorado, Arizona Territory, . . . (Tempe: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1970), pp. 2-11 and 23-27.

³⁷ Ibid., and Ruhlen, "Carleton's Empty Fort," pp. 68-75.

The Military and Utah. Although no forts in Utah received significant amount of freight via the Colorado River, that route was on several occasions under serious consideration. Lt. Mowry's recommendations in 1855 and Lt. Ives' explorations, 1857-1858, had specific focus on Utah. By 1864 several factors combined to create new and active interest in the Salt Lake Route. The military supply lines across the plains in 1863-1864 faced serious problems. In 1864 military freight already reached up river as far as Fort Mojave. Freight to a new high point of navigation was under investigation. Finally, Colonel Patrick G. Connor, commander of Fort Douglas near Salt Lake City, was interested in promoting both gentile infiltration into Mormondom and mining in Utah (which he viewed as complimentary objectives).³⁸

In consequence of these objectives Captain George F. Price was sent to survey a road from Fort Crittenden to Fillmore, south to Beaver, Cedar, Mountain Meadows, Santa Clara River, Virgin and Muddy rivers, Las Vegas Springs, and El Dorado Canyon. His actual route took him to Lewis and Rock Springs before terminating at Fort Mojave on June 16. Price reported the road excellent even though he lost seventy head of stock on the trip. He believed steamers could deliver goods at least to El Dorado Canyon and possibly farther.³⁹

³⁸ Lyman C. Pederson, "History of Fort Douglas, Utah," (Ph. D. Dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1967). For his discussion of the Colorado River, see pp. 184-185 and 189.

³⁹ George F. Price, "Report - Salt Lake and Fort Mojave Wagon Road Expedition, June 22, 1864," In The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), vol. L, pt. 1, pp. 355-360. Price gives an excellent description of his route and the area. He found the lower desert in June terribly inhospitable as had Rufus Allen before him

Military Life Along the River. Life for the soldier at these forts was not pleasant particularly during the summer months. The intense heat, mosquitoes, and poor food, especially for the patrols, was noted regularly by travelers in the area. It was common during the 1860's and 1870's for soldiers being rotated into and from the area to travel by steamer on the river. The non-commissioned trooper often rode in a barge towed behind. The price of a ticket from San Francisco to Fort Mojave via barge in the 1870's was \$40.00; on the steamer itself it was \$20.00 more.

Delays were common, schedules uncertain. Travelers sought to survive as best they could and to find entertainment and relief from the monotony with fishing, hunting water fowl, card games, gambling, etc. One of the most colorful descriptions of river travel comes from the wife of a young lieutenant who accompanied her husband to Arizona for a tour of duty in 1874.⁴⁰

We had staterooms, but could not remain in them long at a time, on account of the intense heat. I had never felt such heat, and no one else ever had or has since. The days were interminable. We wandered around the boat, first forward, then aft, to find a cool spot. We hung up our canteens (covered with flannel and dipped in water), where they would swing in the shade, thereby obtaining water which was a trifle cooler than the air. There was no ice, . . .

and as did George W. Brimhall the following summer. Price blamed his stock losses on the poor beginning condition of his animals, not on the route. See also Daily Union Vidette (July 25, 1864), and Salt Lake Daily Telegraph (August 27, 1864).

⁴⁰ Martha Summerhays, Vanished Arizona, Recollections of the Army Life of a New England Woman (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1960), p.28. Martha Summerhays was married to Lt. John Summerhays who had seen prior service in the Civil War. In 1874 his tour of duty took them into Arizona. Their trip down the coast of California was on the steamer Newbern. At the mouth of the Colorado River, they transferred to the steamboat Gila, with many of the men and supplies being carried on her sister ship Cocopah.

[The] dining-room was hot! The metal handles of the knives were uncomfortably warm to the touch; and even the wooden arms of the chairs felt as if they were slowly igniting. . . .

At sundown the boat put her nose up to the bank and tied up for the night. The soldiers left the barges and went into camp on shore, to cook their suppers and to sleep. . . .

At twilight some of the soldiers came on board and laid our mattresses side by side on the after deck. Pajamas and loose gowns were soon in evidence, but nother mattered, . . . Rank also mattered not; Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkins and his wife lay down to rest, with the captains and lieutenants and their wives, wherever their respective strikers had placed their mattresses. . . .

But even this short respite from the glare of the sun was soon to end; for before the crack of dawn, or, as it seemed to us, shortly after midnight, came such a clatter with the fires and the high-pressure engine and the sparks, and what all they did in that wild and reckless land, that further rest was impossible, and we betook ourselves with our mattresses to the staterooms, for another attempt at sleep, which, however meant only failure, as the sun rose incredibly early on that river, and we were glad to take a hasty sponge from a basin of rather thick looking river water, and go again out on deck, where we could always get a cup of black coffee from the Chinaman.

And thus began another day of intolerable glare and heat. . . .

At last, on the 8th of September, we arrived at Camp Mojave, on the right bank of the river; a low, square enclosure, on the low level of the flat land near the river. It seemed an age since we had left Yuma and twice an age since we had left the mouth of the river. But it was only eighteen days in all, and Captain Mellon remarked: "A quick trip!" and congratulated us on the good luck we had in not being detained on the sandbars. "Great Heavens," I thought, "if that is what they call a quick trip!" But I do not know just what I thought, for those eighteen days on the Great Colorado in midsummer, had burned themselves into my memory, and I made an inward vow⁴¹ that nothing would ever force me into such a situation again.

Peace with the Indians was sporadic and long in coming to Arizona.

The Mojaves submitted to reservation restrictions as early as 1865. But other tribes remained restless and often openly hostile. Yet the Hualapai,

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 28-34. The Summerhays were later (1875-1876) stationed at Ehrenberg for a tour of duty.

Yampai, Havasupai, Chemehuevis and Paiutes all finally accepted the white man's dominion. Some of this change occurred before the railroads reached the river; most of it happened after. With these new supply routes, not only was the river needed less, but fewer troops could serve a larger area. The era of the military on the Colorado River was coming to a close. The 1890's saw its end.

Nevertheless, the military left a permanent imprint, not just because they came and conquered, but because their coming furnished the subsidy that opened and expanded river freighting. And, in a very real sense, the U. S. Army subsidized both the exploration of the area, and much of the early and detailed prospecting that uncovered rich ores in Arizona and Nevada. The California volunteers were ever active. It would be in these attempts to exploit the mineral wealth of the lower canyon's area that Colorado River freighting would be pushed to its zenith during the 1860's, 1870's and into the 1880's. The mining story will be considered next.

Mining and the Colorado River

Interest in the minerals of the Colorado River lower canyons area began with the early Indians. Several references were made to mineral wealth by the Spaniards. In fact, as late as 1882, a party of Mexicans arrived at El Dorado Canyon possessed of an old map which they claimed had recently come into their custody. By following it, they ended up at the mines then already in operation.

The American trappers were alert to possible finds of gold and silver. George C. Yount has been credited by some with discovering several gold nuggets in the lower canyons area in 1827-1828. Pegleg Smith

later led expeditions into the area prospecting in 1829 and perhaps as late as 1854. However, Indian hostilities made prospecting alone or in small groups hazardous at best.

By 1855, the Mormons knew of the lead mines west of Las Vegas, which later became the Potosi Silver Mines. However, mining along the lower Colorado remained sporadic until after the discovery of significant placer beds on the Gila River, some eighteen miles upriver from its confluence with the Colorado. The troops at Fort Yuma extended protection to the prospectors.

In 1858 Fort Mojave was built 300 miles upriver. This new military post opened a new era for the upper regions. Just when gold and silver were first "rediscovered" is difficult to determine accurately, since prospecting was continual if intermittent. As early as 1861 the mines in El Dorado Canyon had been discovered.⁴² But the upriver thrust came with the discovery of new placer lodes near Ehrenberg and LaPaz in 1862. With this news the rush was on. Miners soon spread off the river to surrounding areas.⁴³ As many of these mining camps affected freighting on the Colorado River, either directly or indirectly, a brief review of those tied to the Colorado River will be given.

Yuma County Landings. First named Mineral City, Ehrenberg was laid out by Herman Ehrenberg at least as early as 1863. In 1867 a new

⁴²John M. Townley, "Early Developments of El Dorado Canyon and Searchlight Mining Districts," Nevada Historical Society Quarterly, XI (Spring 1968), 9-11. Townley accepts the account as told by Mr. John Powers, a well-known and respected miner living in the area at that time.

⁴³Henry G. Alsberg, Arizona: The Grand Canyon State (New York: Hasting House Publishers, c. 1940), p. 88.

townsite was resurveyed. By the 1870's it became an important debarkation point for freight going inland from the Colorado River as far as Prescott and Fort Whipple. This activity supported a population of 500 people for a time. The coming of the railroad brought about decline.⁴⁴

About seven miles upriver was the port of LaPaz. Pauline Weaver is credited with having led prospectors there and discovered gold in 1862. These placers were rich and extensive. For about seven years business was good, with LaPaz's population reaching as many as 1,500 people. It was also important as a freight depot to supply inland areas, but less so than Ehrenberg. Until 1870, it served as Yuma County seat. Then the Colorado River shifted its course away from the town and placer mining gave out, LaPaz declined, with many people moving down river to Ehrenberg.⁴⁵

Mohave County Landings and Mining Towns. Though not one of the earliest landings upriver, Aubrey, located just below the confluence of the Bill Williams River (about two miles upstream from Parker Dam), became an important depot for mines in that area and further east. The landing was located in 1864, but never grew very large. The Daily Alta California reported (June 11, 1866) that 150 people lived in brush and tule huts there. The post office established in 1866 remained for two decades, but Aubrey's decline had begun before 1870.⁴⁶

⁴⁴

James E. Sherman and Barbara H. Sherman, Ghost Towns of Arizona (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), p. 50. See also Summerhays, pp. 104-106 and 107-111.

⁴⁵

Ibid., p. 90 and Sharlot M. Hall, First Citizen of Prescott Pauline Weaver, Trapper and Mountain Man, with introduction by Alpheus H. Favor (No place: Privately published, N.D.), pp. 7-19. Hall maintains Weaver learned of the Colorado River placers from the Indians.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 11.

River landings tended to shift with the mining needs. One such temporary landing, Liverpool, supplied the Signal Mines in the 1870's. Upriver, Topock later became Mellon the site of the bridge for the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad. Further upriver was Fort Mojave. Mojave City was located about one mile north of the fort, built and laid out primarily by the California volunteers. The town enjoyed a brief boom between its founding and 1869 when the Indian Reservation boundary lines absorbed it. It had served briefly as an important supply depot, not alone for the military, but for inland Arizona as well.⁴⁷

A major landing for that portion of the river was established by William H. Hardy early in 1864, and was considered for some time the practical high point of navigation. It was the debarkation point for many of the mines in the Cerbats, Mineral Park, and Kingman area. Hardy originally had a government contract to supply the Army at Fort Whipple. Freight also left the river at Hardy's landing for points in Nevada and Utah. In 1872 fire gutted most of the buildings at the landing. Another fire the following year was also reported. The town was partially rebuilt; but was doomed once the railroad reached the Needles below.⁴⁸

Upriver near the present site of Davis Dam, Captain Isaac Polhamus built a landing in 1881, from which freight moved toward Kingman and points east through Union Pass rather than Gold Road Pass. His landing replaced Hardy's and served the mines in northwestern Arizona until the

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 11.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 74. See also John L. Riggs, "William H. Hardy: Merchant of the Upper Colorado," Journal of Arizona History, VI (Winter 1965), 177-187.

Atlantic and Pacific Railroad reached Hackberry and Kingman in 1883.⁴⁹

Mining in northwestern Arizona continued to be important well into the twentieth century. The 1890's and first decades of the 1900's saw new mines opened up near the White Hills, Gold Basin and Lost Basin districts between the Cerbats and the Colorado to the north. Placer mining along the Colorado was constant.

Nevada Landings and Mines. The Potosi, Paranagut, Panaca, and Pioche mines all had an indirect impact on the Colorado River freighting. The era of the 1860's saw them flourish, with Pioche's boom extending into the 1870's. But they did not depend on the river. Their use of it was for their convenience.

At El Dorado Canyon conditions were quite different.⁵⁰ By 1862 news of the rich fields reached California and other points. Within a year a five stamp mill was in operation on the west bank of the Colorado. However, because of the hostility of the Indians, production was nearly stopped. This obstacle proved temporary, as thousands of dollars poured into the area from eastern sources. The Philadelphia Company placed its own steamer, Nina Tilden, on the river in 1864. For nearly two decades the mines boomed, relying on the river for supplies and export of ores. The later upriver traffic to Callville and especially to Rioville at the mouth of the Virgin River was tied directly to supplying the mills with salt, and the miners and livestock with produce. El Dorado Canyon also

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 125. Polhamus was one of the river's most colorful characters.

⁵⁰ Don Ashbaugh, Nevada's Turbulent Yesterday . . . a Study in Ghost Towns (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1963), pp. 40-55. See also Stanley W. Paher, Nevada Ghost Towns and Mining Camps (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1970), pp. 276-280.

became a significant post office and mail station.

With the discovery of gold in Searchlight and the coming of the railroad, El Dorado's milling shifted away from the river. The town of Nelson was revived in 1905. At first a narrow guage railroad reached from the El Dorado Mines to the mills at the river. Later it was relocated to run from the mines to Searchlight.

Summary. Mining was without question the vital economic source that expanded the use of the Colorado River as a freight line. Freight prices on the river remained high, but not so prohibitively high as freight sent overland. A trip from Yuma to El Dorado Canyon in the late 1870's cost about \$45.00. Freight was \$75.00 to \$90.00 per ton, when it could be delivered. The 1860's saw such demand that the George A. Johnson Company could not supply them. Other freighters challenged its monopoly for a short-lived but exciting river freight fued.

Steam Navigation Companies

George A. Johnson Company. Organized to freight supplies to Fort Yuma in 1853, this company by 1860 had expanded up river to Fort Mojave. George Johnson, H. H. Wilcox, and Benjamin M. Hartshorne were the main stockholders at the time. Their Yuma superintendent was Henry Steven, John Dow their bookkeeper, and David Neahr their chief engineer. They freighted from the mouth of the river with three steamers: Colorado I replaced by Colorado II in 1862, Mojave built in 1863, and Cocopah put in operation as early as 1859. The General Jesup, their first steamer, had been de-commissioned by the 1860's. The Explorer gave only limited service.⁵¹

⁵¹E. D. Tuttle, "The River Colorado," Arizona Historical Review I (July 1928), pp. 54-55. Tuttle's memory may not always serve him

Recognizing the need for expansion, the George A. Johnson Company incorporated at San Francisco as the Colorado Steam Navigation Company in 1864, for \$500,000. They not only had operating lines, working steamers and experienced crewmen, but had obtained the government contracts for the military depots along the river. This multiple advantage was difficult to challenge. Nor was the Colorado Steam Navigation Company inclined to relinquish its position. But the challenge came as the gold boom at LaPaz and upriver, at El Dorado Canyon, increased the demand for better freight service. Sam Adams, who apparently was at LaPaz working mineral claims in 1863,⁵² became aware of the freight needs upriver and traveled to San Francisco late in the year to promote Colorado River freighting.⁵³ Focus on the Utah trade increased. Note was made of the amount of overland California to Utah freight.⁵⁴ William Hardy advertised in the Daily Union Vidette for Salt Lake business, assuring readers that freight could be delivered to his landing for \$100.00 per ton. Hardy worked closely with the Colorado Steam Navigation Company.⁵⁵ Colonel Patrick E. Connor and the Vidette continued to ask for Salt Lake City freight via the Colorado River.⁵⁶

accurately even though he was involved directly in the river freighting. See also Mills, p. 260.

⁵² "Capt. Samuel Adam's Report," 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Report No. 624, p. 3.

⁵³ See Daily Alta California for the period, especially (December 13, 1863).

⁵⁴ Daily Alta California (January 16, 1864), and (April 2, 1864).

⁵⁵ Daily Union Vidette (April 9, 1864). Hardy told of his warehouse and \$60,000 road to Prescott.

⁵⁶ Daily Union Vidette (July 25, 1864).

New Companies. Meanwhile in California, merchants, probably responding to Samuel Adam's report, who claimed he represented the people of Arizona, met January 8, 1864 to organize and investigate. A committee was appointed with Caleb S. Hobbs as chairman, and Samuel Adams, James S. Hatstead, John N. Risdon, William R. Wadsworth, and J. B. Chevalier as members.⁵⁷ At a second meeting the following week, they agreed that the Colorado Steam Navigation Company was monopolistic and that about 1200 tons of freight were at the mouth of the river exposed to storms and waiting delivery.

In consequence of these findings the "New Union Line" was organized with Thomas E. Trueworthy the major stockholder. He was asked to move his steamer Esmeralda from the Sacramento River to the Colorado. This he agreed to do within seventy-five days. On February 17 he sent the schooner Victoria to the Colorado with 400,000 feet of lumber.⁵⁸ The Esmeralda, with Captain Trueworthy in command, followed shortly, reaching the mouth of the river in March. The Daily Alta California began March 11, 1864 to carry ads for the "New Union Line," confirming that Colorado's second steamship company was in business freighting from San Francisco to various points along the lower river. Immediately the freighting picture on the Colorado River began to change. Freight surpluses were soon delivered. By mid-year insufficient orders for cargo caused delays and postponement of scheduled ship departures from San Francisco. In spite of this, the Philadelphia Mining Company of El Dorado Canyon proceeded to place its own steam boat on the river.

⁵⁷San Francisco Evening Bulletin (January 16, 1864).

⁵⁸See Yuma Arizona Sentinel (September 28, 1878). Leavitt, p. 14, notes this citation. That seems like a lot of lumber.

In July, with the schooner Victoria at the head of the Gulf of California, Captain Paddy Gorman put the Nina Tilden to work freighting upriver. Thus by August 1864 three companies had five steamers on the river competing for the area's business, a dramatic change in conditions in less than six months.⁵⁹

El Dorado Canyon. Which steamer first freighted goods to El Dorado remains uncertain. One report suggested a steamer reached the new mining area in April 1863. However, the site reached was in fact Fort Mojave.⁶⁰ Another report, March 10, 1864, suggested that a small steamer had not only reached that spot but had steamed upriver through Black Canyon.⁶¹ Again documentation is inadequate, although upriver exploration was being undertaken at the time by James Ferry and others.⁶² The Daily Alta California reported in August 1864 that the "first shipment of freight by water from this city [San Francisco] to El Dorado Canyon, on the Colorado was made Thursday last by Mr. F. S. Alling, superintendent of the Hidalgo Mining Company." The schooner Alice was to connect with the Esmeralda for upriver delivery. No report of this delivery to El Dorado has been found. Most likely the goods were deposited

⁵⁹Leavitt, pp. 14-15, and Daily Telegraph (August 27, 1864). The Philadelphia Mining Company reported the sailing of the Sarah to connect with the Nina Tilden; the Union Line reported the Alice would connect with the Esmeralda; while the Colorado Steam Navigation Company employed the Storm Cloud to supply their Colorado, Mojave and Cocopah.

⁶⁰Ashbaugh, pp. 48-49. Ashbaugh refers to an account quoting letters from James M. Sanford at El Dorado Canyon to John Brown in San Bernardino (December 20, 1862), (April 12, 1863), and (May 17, 1863).

⁶¹Daily Alta California (April 6, 1864).

⁶²*Ibid.*, (May 14, 1864) and (July 4, 1864), and Daily Telegraph (August 27, 1864).

at either Hardyville or Fort Mojave to be freighted overland.⁶³ It seems likely that the Nina Tilden would have attempted to reach the El Dorado mines. Again no certain evidence of a late summer, early fall, delivery (1864) by this steamer to the Philadelphia Mining Company has been uncovered.

The Utah Trade. By the fall of 1864 the scene on the Colorado River had changed from freight surplus to steamer surplus. A second major modification came as Mormon leaders began to move more settlers south and to establish a landing and warehouse at the high point of navigation on the Colorado River. These actions by the Mormons led George A. Johnson and William Hardy to undertake two kinds of activity. Both Johnson and Hardy wrote letters to the Mormon Church leaders bidding for their trade; Hardy to St. George and Johnson to Salt Lake City.⁶⁴ Secondly, in early November, they left Hardy's Landing aboard Johnson's Cocopah to explore upriver. They had hoped to get through Black Canyon, perhaps as far as the Virgin River, but apparently went no further than El Dorado Canyon; however, Johnson believed a small, powerful boat could go higher. The Cocopah may not have been the first steamer to freight to El Dorado Canyon, but current documentation suggest it was.⁶⁵

⁶³ Daily Telegraph (August 27, 1864).

⁶⁴ James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission, Book A (Typescript: Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City), pp. 160-162. Hardy's letter was received on November 4, 1864. See also George A. Johnson, "To L.D.S. Church," (File: Church Historian's Office). Johnson's freight charges would have been \$16.00 per ton from San Francisco to the Gulf of California and \$65.00 in coin a ton to El Dorado Canyon for several hundred tons.

⁶⁵ Daily Telegraph (November 7, 1864) and (February 4, 1865).

The first attempt by steamers to reach Callville failed. The new Union Line claimed they were badly sabotaged by the Johnson Company. They were unable to get insurance for their upriver trip. Supplies of wood were hard to come by, and on occasion logs were floated into the river ahead of the steamer, and the steamer untied from its moorings and set adrift. No doubt there was opposition, but no doubt also the story grew with Adam's report.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Captain Trueworthy was prepared to guarantee delivery of goods at Callville in a quantity not less than 100 tons, for one-third the overland freight costs, or less than \$100.00 per ton.⁶⁷

Mormons in Salt Lake City received the news from Adams and Trueworthy with mixed emotions. After their meeting it was resolved

that this meeting sustain Captains Trueworthy and Adams in their enterprise of opening the navigation of the Colorado River to Callville, and that we deprecate any attempts, such as have been represented here, to bar the navigation of that river to that company or any other association, and thereby prevent the free intercourse of the citizens of Utah with the Pacific Coast.⁶⁸

Opposition continued. Citizens of Sacramento and of Wilmington, California did not want the Colorado route opened since a great deal of the overland freight passed through their communities. The Wilmington Journal (January 28, 1865) declared that the undependable waterway would never replace the land route as long as feed could be found. The

⁶⁶See "Communication from Captain Samuel Adams Relative to the Exploration of the Colorado River and its Tributaries," 41st Cong., 3rd Sess., House Misc. Doc., No. 12, pp. 1-3 and 10-11. See also 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Report No. 624, pp. 3-4. Adams reports in the Daily Telegraph (March 27, 1865) do not emphasize the same degree of sabotage that later accounts give.

⁶⁷See Daily Telegraph (March 27, 1865) and Daily Union Vidette (March 28, 1865).

⁶⁸Daily Telegraph (April 16, 1865).

Sacramento Bee argued for completion of the railroad and use of the Sacramento River in preference to the Colorado River. It then editorialized the following warning:

The commercial affairs of Utah are well managed. They are managed by one man-shrewd and far-seeing, and a close calculator as to profit and loss. This Colorado navigating experiment is his. He had established a town on the banks of that stream, with the direct object of securing the trade of its entire valley. The success of this "paying" nature of the enterprise once made plain, how long would this merchant prince, or governor, or prophet continue to make his purchases in San Francisco? How long ere he would purchase by the cargo in Hong Kong, in Liverpool, in New York, and ship direct to the mouth of the Colorado, whence his mosquito fleet of steamers would spread his wares and merchandise for an empire?

A word to the wise is sufficient.⁶⁹

Pacific and Colorado Steam Navigation Company. On the Colorado River the new companies had found it difficult to compete with "the old company," and decided to merge in June 1865, forming one company.⁷⁰ They incorporated for \$200,000 with 4,000 shares at \$50.00 each. Other assets included the Nina Tilden, Esmeralda, and the Schooner Victoria. They promptly began selling stocks. When their circular reached Salt Lake City, it was viewed as speculation even by the Vidette.⁷¹ However, the editors were anxious for the project to succeed. A month later the Semi-Weekly Telegraph (August 13, 1865) assured its readers that prominent and honest men were stockholders in the new company.

Promotion of the Utah trade continued. In September the Deseret News began running ads for James Linforth, agent for the Pacific and Colorado Steam Navigation Company. He gave as references William

⁶⁹Daily Telegraph (May 11, 1865).

⁷⁰See Leavitt, p. 15.

⁷¹Daily Union Vidette (July 13, 1865).

Jennings, Walker Brothers, and Cronyn and Clayton, merchants of Salt Lake City.⁷² The Vidette also encouraged use of the Colorado River, noting that the mines at Pahrnatagat continued promising and a Callville to Salt Lake City road would be helpful to them also. In October three wagons left Pahrnatagat loaded with ore for Callville, where they expected to meet a steamer, which did not come.⁷³ The Deseret News plead for proof of the "practicability" of the route in their November 30, 1865 edition. The Pacific and Colorado Steam Navigation Company assured the people they would deliver freight which could be ordered through their agent, R. C. Eldredge. These ads continued to be run in the News until September 1866. However, business to Callville would have to wait, for even El Dorado Canyon was in a decline by late 1865.⁷⁴

Nevertheless, the Callville project had not been abandoned. Sam Adams continued his promotions in California. The R. G. Sneath Company of San Francisco, a major stockholder in the Pacific and Colorado Steam Navigation Company, agreed to send goods to Utah via the Colorado River in March 1866. Henry F. Dibblee notified the Deseret News on April 26 that he was enroute to Callville to receive the cargo expected at the landing about June 1. However, the heavy spring runoffs delayed Captain Robert T. Rogers, in command of the Esmeralda, at Yuma until after July 1. Mr. R. McEllroy and Lt. Semmonds passed through Callville enroute to Pahrnatagat about July 1 and visited with Mr. Dibblee who knew

⁷² Deseret News (September 13, 1865).

⁷³ Daily Union Vidette (October 6, 1865) and (November 1, 1865).

⁷⁴ Daily Alta California (December 23, 1865). Part of the trouble at El Dorado concerned freighting, but an even greater hazard was associated with the Indian hostilities.

where the Esmeralda was stopped.⁷⁵ On the eleventh Dibblee wrote to the Deseret News, indicating that he expected delivery of goods soon, and "it was hot."⁷⁶ On July 10 Sam Adams called at the Daily Union Vidette offices to report on the successes of the steamers on the Colorado.⁷⁷ Apparently Adams, who had been on the Columbia River seeking financial support, traveled to Salt Lake City where he learned of Captain Roger's plans. He then proceeded to the area of Callville, built a drift-wood raft and floated down river until he intercepted the Esmeralda at LaPaz,⁷⁸ where Adams came on board.

Progress was slow for the steamer which was towing a large barge. Not until September 30 did Captain Rogers ascend the difficult Roaring Rapids of Black Canyon, considered one of the most serious obstacles in the river. By October 4 the steamer lay only six miles below Callville taking on wood.⁷⁹ Once this task was completed, the Esmeralda returned downstream eight miles to get her barge and continued upriver. On October 8 the landing was reached. Sam Adams and the Pacific and Colorado Steam Navigation Company had succeeded in delivering goods for R. G. Sneath to the "Mormon Landing." It was a big day. George W. Gillmore sent the news to K. C. Eldredge, the company's agent in Salt Lake City. The barge was left at the landing and its cargo unloaded in the warehouses and later hauled to destinations as far away as Salt Lake

⁷⁵ Daily Union Vidette (July 9, 1866).

⁷⁶ Deseret News (August 2, 1866).

⁷⁷ Daily Union Vidette (July 11, 1866).

⁷⁸ Adams "Report . . ."

⁷⁹ Sam Adams, "Letter to George D. Cannon and C. Mirkley, September 30, 1866," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office). The letter has an October 4 postscript added.

City. Captain Rogers soon headed the Esmeralda down stream. By the 14th he was at Hardy's Landing. Rogers recommended a more powerful steamer for use on the upper river, which he believed could make the trip "in ten days."⁸⁰

Obviously the trip to Callville was not an unqualified success. There were definite problems. The Vidette asked that a railroad be run south along portions of the California road, perhaps as a trunk line of the Central Pacific Railroad. The editors argued not only for the economic benefits but hoped also outside contact would "break down all narrow prejudices, uproot errors, however plausible, and bring prosperity and enlightenment and liberty to the people."⁸¹

Colonel James F. Rusling, inspector for The Quartermaster's Department, who was at Fort Douglas on November 6, 1866, suggested that the Callville route was the best one to that city as it required overland transport of not more than about 400 miles and the true high point of navigation might reduce that distance another 100 to 150 miles. Cost of freight via the river would be no more than fourteen cents a pound as compared to the freight wagons' eighteen cents a pound from eastern sources. Salt Lake merchants endorsed the new route even though, according to Brigham Young, they were "wed to the eastern merchants." Rusling believed the route would bring civilization not only to the river areas but to communities along the way as well, thereby helping to get rid of the one remaining "relic of barbarism." He also sensed that Brigham Young was not "pushing the route" because he feared a consequent influx of gentiles within his

⁸⁰ Daily Alta California (September 24, 1867), (October 25, 1866), and (November 16, 1866).

⁸¹ Daily Union Vidette (November 3, 1866) and (December 10, 1866).

domain.⁸² As far as cost for freighting, Sam Adams assured Rusling a \$2,000.00 project would clear the river of serious obstacles, except, of course, for the Colorado Steam Navigation Company. Rusling ended with a plea for use of the river that winter to freight supplies to both Camp Douglas and Fort Bridger.⁸³

The approaching transcontinental railroad was another factor affecting Colorado River freighting plans. When the early winter snows closed some of the passes in the Sierras (1867), thus delaying the Central Pacific Railroad crews, the Vidette took the occasion to advocate again a trunk line via Callville where all season transport was feasible.⁸⁴

In May Colonel Rusling reported again from Fort Yuma. He still favored use of the river route, but believed Sam Adams had been too hard on the Colorado Steam Navigation Company. William Hardy had told him that his landing was really the practical high point of navigation, which Rusling did not accept. He believed the government should contract with the Colorado Steam Navigation Company, since the Pacific and Colorado Steam Navigation Company's boats were "laid up" below Yuma. If the bids from this firm were too high, the government could buy its own boats, and with the savings made by freighting on the new route, pay for them in one season. Besides, threat of government competition would likely force the Colorado Steam Navigation Company into line.⁸⁵

82

Colonel James F. Rusling, "Letter from the Secretary of War relative to the carriage and freight to Salt Lake City by the Colorado River." 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 166, pp. 1-5.

83

Ibid.

84

Daily Union Vidette (March 12, 1867).

85

Rusling, pp. 6-8. Rusling's account makes a number of important observations including the kinds of boats to be used on the river.

No other steamer reached Callville in 1866 or 1867, although several barges may have been poled up from El Dorado Canyon late in 1866 and during 1867. Not only did the barges deliver supplies, but they also hauled produce, salt and lime back to the miners. Such a project led Captain Welburn upriver with his barge, El Dorado. He apparently left the landing at El Dorado Canyon about August 18, 1867 and arrived at Callville a few days later. After waiting ten days for supplies from the Muddy, Welburn decided to load his barge with six tons of salt and two of lime for the mills and return to El Dorado. On the afternoon of September 8, 1867 he and James Ferry discovered the emaciated James White floating downstream on a log raft. Welburn returned to El Dorado September 9 with freight and White's story.⁸⁶

Decline of Pacific and Colorado Steam Navigation Company. A number of factors caused this company to come on hard times. It had not succeeded in opening an effective trade route into Utah, nor had it been able to break the Colorado Steam Navigation Company's hold on the government contracts on the Colorado River. Overall they had forced prices down and had improved steamer service, which by 1867 was reaching El Dorado Canyon consistently. The Colorado Steam Navigation Company persisted in its attacks on the new company. By late 1866 they were involved in litigation which kept Trueworthy and Adams in San Francisco or elsewhere seeking assistance.⁸⁷ Before September 15, 1867, at least the Esmeralda had been attached for outstanding debts.

However, the company was not willing to concede defeat yet. R. G.

⁸⁶ Daily Alta California (September 24, 1867).

⁸⁷ Daily Alta California (April 7, 1867).

Sneath, president of the Chamber of Commerce in San Francisco, reported on his 1866 venture wherein he had sent \$37,000.00 worth of goods to Callville, paid freight amounting to \$31,000.00 and still turned a good profit.⁸⁸ Captain Rogers was also asked to report on the trip. He believed the river to be one which small powerful steamers could navigate successfully.⁸⁹

After a Chamber of Commerce meeting on September 30, Mr. Sneath asked merchants interested in the Utah trade and Colorado River route to meet with him. Apparently about fifty did so. They discussed the river trade and believed it should continue in spite of the progress of the railroad. One possibility lay with the Mormons who could do their own off-season land freighting at little expense to themselves and none to the merchants.

The company's financial conditions indicated creditors held their boats worth \$50,000.00 to \$60,000.00. They needed another \$60,000.00 to get steamers in operation. It was suggested that they buy out the Colorado Steam Navigation Company so that they would control the river. A subscription committee was appointed, consisting of John G. Bray, J. W. Stowe, Albert Dibblee, Ira P. Rankin, and R. G. Sneath, to sell stock for the new "Colorado Navigation Company."⁹⁰

The merchants met again the following day and reviewed their objectives and possible assets, especially the Mormon trade in the southwest

⁸⁸ Daily Alta California (September 28, 1867).

⁸⁹ Daily Alta California (September 24, 1866), Daily Union Vidette (November 4, 1867).

⁹⁰ San Francisco Bulletin (September 30, 1867). Francis Leavitt suggested the company's new name may have been Arizona Navigation Company. See Leavitt, p. 19.

including the cotton crop on the Muddy River.⁹¹ The route, they recalled, had been tested; other cargos had been solicited, but because their ships were "attached," they could not respond. To raise the new money was very important and urgent.⁹² A report on October 4 indicated stock sales were progressing satisfactorily with San Francisco merchants.⁹³

The merchants met again on October 15, at which time a committee of three, Robert B. Swain, W. W. Montague, D. W. C. Rise, was assigned to make a general study and report. A week later, they submitted a detailed review, which included data on the climate and Colorado drainages, fairly accurate, though brief. Callville was considered a year-round route. There was sufficient driftwood for fuel. The route had not been exploited earlier simply because other freight patterns evolved before its merits were known. Towns along the river and freight line would also benefit because of cheaper and more quickly delivered freight and because contact with outsiders would break down narrowness, etc.⁹⁴ The Daily Alta California ran ads asking for stock subscriptions October 23 and 24, 1866.

The project was also promoted beyond California. The New York Tribune encouraged the Colorado project, no doubt because of New York

⁹¹ San Francisco Bulletin (October 1, 1867). See also (October 15, 1867) in which exaggerated estimates of Mormon freight, cotton especially, were presented. One factor the merchants overlooked was the cotton factory being built at Washington, which would pre-empt a California market.

⁹² Daily Union Vidette (October 10, 1867). The Vidette ran a series of reports from the California papers in this edition.

⁹³ Daily Alta California (October 4, 1867).

⁹⁴ San Francisco Bulletin (October 22, 1867) as quoted in Millennial Star XXIX (December 1867), 806-808.

interests in mining in the Nevada area particularly.⁹⁵ The papers reported Captain Rogers' testimony favoring the route which he had navigated the year before.⁹⁶ In addition, California merchants solicited a letter from Anson Call (October 27, 1867), who assured readers that the route was feasible and profitable and that the coming railroad would have little impact on it.⁹⁷

Yet despite these promotional efforts, the committee had raised only \$22,000.00 by November 8, 1867. Problems persisted for the merchants and their new "Arizona Navigation Company." Within a few months, the company sold its interests in the Esmeralda and Nina Tilden to their rival, the Colorado Steam Navigation Company. This sale marked the end of nearly four years of competition. With proper justification, the Territorial Legislature of Arizona and the California State Legislature passed resolutions commending the major promoters, Samuel Adams and Thomas E. Trueworthy.⁹⁸ Only with the coming of the railroads in 1877 would Johnson's company face a new challenge.

Colorado Steam Navigation Company to 1877. As other studies have reviewed the activities of George A. Johnson's Company very well, a brief summary here will be adequate. Being well entrenched on the Colorado River, Johnson was not anxious to relinquish any advantages to the later freighters. Even while the influx of new steamers and barges was over-

⁹⁵ New York Tribune (September 30, 1867). Daily Union Vidette (November 23, 1867).

⁹⁶ Woodward, pp. 118-119. Woodward quotes from the San Diego Union (April 24, 1877), and (May 6, 1877).

⁹⁷ Daily Union Vidette (November 23, 1867).

⁹⁸ Leavitt, pp. 19 and 25.

loading the steamer supply, the Colorado Steam Navigation Company built another steamer, the Cocopah II (1865), to replace the worn out Cocopah I. Later they also added Gila, considered one of the river's fastest and finest steamers (1872), and the Mojave II (1876), a two stacker to replace the well used Mojave I. They also purchased the Nina Tilden and Esmeralda, which not only gave them monopolistic control, but adequate steamer capacity to serve both the mines and the military well, until the coming of the Southern Pacific Railroad to Yuma in 1877,⁹⁹ at which time the Colorado Steam Navigation Company was bought out by the railroad in April 1877. The properties transferred included the company's river fleet, Cocopah, Gila, Colorado and Mojave.

One constant complaint by both travelers on and merchants who received freight via the river was the uncertainty of scheduling. Numerous obstacles presented problems. First of all, the schooners carrying freight from San Francisco generally, or San Diego occasionally, found sailing south along the California coast and up the Gulf a hazardous and unpredictable trip. To overcome this problem, ocean steamers were employed. However, in general, the military vessels and private merchant ships which arrived at the Colorado River before 1869 were schooners or brigs, the number increasing from two per year in 1852 to ten in 1859, nineteen in 1864, twenty-four in 1866, and nineteen in both 1868 and 1869.¹⁰⁰ It was in 1871 that the Colorado Steam Navigation Company purchased

⁹⁹ Francis H. Leavitt, "Steam Navigation on the Colorado River," California Historical Society Quarterly XXII (June 1943), 151-174. This volume continues his article and details river developments of the 1870's and 1880's.

¹⁰⁰ Los Angeles Star (April 2, 1859), Leavitt, pp. 167-174. A rather complete and specific list is included in Leavitt's work.

the Newbern, a steamer, for freighting duty. That year the new vessel made eight regularly scheduled runs carrying cargos up to a thousand tons rather than the normal schooner load of 300 to 600 tons.¹⁰¹ In 1873 the company purchased the steamer Montana, which was lost, by burning, three years later. To replace her, the Idaho, another steamer, was added in 1877. Those ships could make the trip in twenty to thirty days. With this fleet and rights to the Mexican and Gulf trade acquired from the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, the service improved greatly.

A second problem, especially for the inexperienced sailor, was the tidal bore. This phenomenon proved disastrous to ships not prepared for it. Several were lost or battered when this wall of water rushed upriver on them. George Johnson and associates early learned to live with the problem. They constructed a "dry dock" near Fort Isabel to build boats in. The dry dock would be opened at high tide (twenty feet common and thirty feet not unusual), the craft floated in, the gates closed and water drained out, work done, gates opened with new high tide, and the new or repaired vessel would float back into service. Another dock was built at Yuma also.¹⁰²

Finally, freighting on the river itself required experienced captains and crews. Sand bars shifted constantly; the river's water level fluctuated with fickle abandon. Captain Jack Mellon claimed, perhaps partially in jest, to have been on one sand bar over fifty days.¹⁰³ But this was extreme. The steamers had an alert linesman who sounded for

¹⁰¹
Ibid.

¹⁰²
Leavitt, pp. 160-161, and Mills, pp. 255-257. The Explorer was one of the bore's victims.

¹⁰³
Summerhays, pp. 52-53.

the captain regularly. The stern wheelers needed only eighteen to thirty inches of water for navigation, especially after the practice of using barges was introduced by Captain Trueworthy in 1864. The barge was towed astern, not too far, as it must follow the channel also. When a passage around a bar was not feasible, the Captain would turn his steamer, stern end, upriver and allow the paddle wheels to churn a channel across the sand. In the case of the barges, they were short-hauled so that the churning wake of the steamer would help them ride over the obstruction.¹⁰⁴

Supplying fuel for the steamer was important. Indians and other laborers were employed, cutting cord wood which was stacked near the river at about twenty-five mile intervals. The laborers received \$2.50 per cut cord. Finding fuel was sometimes difficult, especially where steamers were competing with mills for the available supply. Some reports suggest Piute Indians went upriver as far as the Grand Canyon and even Mt. Trumbull near Toroweap to cut wood, pitch it into the river, and float it downstream.¹⁰⁵ Drift wood was the major fuel source.

Perhaps the most delightful report on river freighting problems was given by J. Ross Browne in 1864. With good humor he wrote:

The Colorado was lower than any of the residents at Fort Yuma had ever before known it. It could scarcely fall any lower without going entirely through its own bottom. A more capricious river does not exist. Formerly it ran through the desert to the north-west, but for some reason or other it changed its course, and now it runs about three feet above the level of the desert. As a navigable stream it possesses some advantages during the dry season; boats can seldom sink in it; and for the matter of channels it has an unusual variety. The main channel shifts so often that the most skillful pilot always knows where

¹⁰⁴ Leavitt, p. 160.

¹⁰⁵ Clarence A. Bundy, "Personal Interview," (March 20, 1968), Washington, Utah. Bundy grew up near Mount Trumble.

it is not to be found by pursuing the course of his last trip. The little steamer which plies between the fort and the mouth of the river, distant one hundred miles, could not make the round trip in less than two weeks, owing to shoals and shifting bars. Up to LaPaz and Fort Mojave the navigation was still worse. Twenty or thirty days up and down was considered a fair trip. The miners in that region were suffering for supplies, although six hundred tons of freight lay at the embarcadero awaiting transportation. I mention this as a hint to the delegate soon to be elected to Congress from Arizona. If he can prevail upon that liberal body to grant half a million of dollars toward plugging up or calking the bottom of the river so that it won't leak, or procuring rain by joint resolution, he will forever after merit the suffrages of his fellow-citizens.¹⁰⁶

As experienced pilots learned the Colorado, they were able to manage their steamers quite well. A round trip from Yuma to Fort Mojave and return generally took from eight to fifteen days. Yet, in August 1873, the round trip was made in seventy-two hours with a barge in tow, a distance of 232 miles.¹⁰⁷

Some of the more famous captains and men who left their mark on the Colorado River's history are George A. Johnson, A. H. Wilcox, founders of the Colorado Steam Navigation Company; D. C. Robinson, Charles Overman, Isaac Polhamus, Steve Thorn, A. D. Johnson, and others for the Colorado Steam Navigation Company. Their rivals and successors included Thomas E. Trueworthy, Robert T. Rogers, Paddy Gorman, and, perhaps the river's most famous captain, John A. (Jack) Mellon.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ J. Ross Brown, A Tour Through Arizona 1864 . . . (Tuscon: Arizona Silhouettes, 1951), p. 57.

¹⁰⁷ Leavitt, p. 161, and Mills, p. 269.

¹⁰⁸ Leavitt, p. 159. See also Tuttle, p. 64. Tuttle's list adds the names of D. J. Colson, Henry Stevens, John Dow, Chas. H. Brimley, James A. Finley, D. W. Weeden, Frank Townsend, Joe Godfrey, Ben Christie, Charlie LeRoy, John A. Dorrington, Louis J. F. Jager, David Neahr, McAfee, Manny, Law, etc. Not all were river captains, however.

Upriver freighting, particularly above Fort Mojave and especially Hardyville, was more difficult, less frequent and less constant. While steamers to Fort Mojave were generally scheduled for twice a month, El Dorado was usually limited to visits once a month during five or six months of the year. However, there was a facet of upriver navigation that went beyond El Dorado itself, not so much to freight supplies upriver, as to freight salt and produce downriver.

Daniel Bonelli had established himself at what was in effect the real high point of navigation on the Colorado River--the confluence of the Virgin and Colorado. His was not a freight depot for incoming goods. Most of his business was with the El Dorado miners and mills. Apparently the Southwester, a fifty-six foot sloop, made the trip occasionally from El Dorado to Rioville to pick up eighteen tons of salt. Often, however, Jack Mellon coaxed the Gila up through Black and Boulder canyons with a barge in tow. This he did for several years. His skill with the steamer became legendary. One account records:

Mellon was usually the captain who took the boats to El Dorado Canyon, a side canyon on the California bank of the river, fifty miles above Hardyville. The rich El Dorado Canyon mines shipped in a large part of their supplies by steamboat, but because of low water and the rapids in the canyons the boats could only make the run about five months out of the year. Even more infrequent were the trips above El Dorado Canyon, and Mellon apparently was the only captain to navigate the Colorado between El Dorado Canyon and Virgin River. For a few years during the early eighties he was employed by the Southwestern Mining Company of El Dorado Canyon to haul down salt from their salt mines on the Virgin. So Mellon took both the Gila and the Mohave on many runs through some of the grandest scenery on the continent, through the great canyons where a steamboat looked as out of place as it would down the shaft of a mine. The Captain said that in the narrow Black Canyon, now blocked by Boulder Dam, his boat was shaded all day from the sun by the two thousand foot perpendicular walls. From this canyon the steamboat emerged again into open country at Vegas Wash and passed the Mormon ghost town of Callville, today covered by the water of Lake Mead. Then the boat entered Devil's Gate or Boulder Canyon. The

Devil's Gate at the end of the canyon looked like a tunnel to the inexperienced, but a sharp turn to port and then to starboard brought the boat into the mesa country of the Virgin River. It took seventeen hours to steam the seventy-five miles from El Dorado Canyon to the Virgin unless the boat had to be heaved over the swift rapids by lines, when it took from six to eight hours more. But on the down trip the Captain was not troubled by slow time. His 170-foot boat raced down the rapids, shaved by huge boulders and canyon walls, and drew up panting at El Dorado Canyon two hours and forty minutes out from the mouth of the Virgin. The 60-foot iron-plated sloop that Mellon sailed between the Canyon and the Virgin did not have as good luck as the steamboats. Once the Captain entrusted her to a Swede sailer, and she met her end on one of the canyon walls at Short and Dirty Rapids in extreme high water. A few months later when Mellon passed the spot on a steamboat, there forty feet above the river he saw the remains of his sloop wrapped around a pinnacle of rock.¹⁰⁹

Only the most experienced pilots could navigate the upper canyons successfully. "Explorer Rock" in Black Canyon never proved a major hazard, but two other rapids were serious, Roaring Rapids so named for obvious reasons, and Ring Bolt Rapids named with similar clarity. A large iron ring was set into the rock wall so that a line could be threaded through it and back to the capstan on the steamer. Thus, with the paddle wheel pushing a stern and the capstan tugging before, the steamer could ease its way over the rapids without mishap. For downstream passage of these swift rapids, the process was reversed, with the steamer descending stern first.¹¹⁰ But navigation remained marginal and seasonal at best. These uncertainties very early produced recommendations for and offers to improve the river.

¹⁰⁹Mills, pp. 272-273. See also John Mellon's account of freighting El Dorado Canyon to the Virgin River in History of Arizona Territory (San Francisco: 1884), pp. 317-331, and Phoenix Arizona Gazette (April 10, 1895).

¹¹⁰Woodward, p. 104.

Colorado River Improvements

Early. The first navigators on the river noted the problems. Most, however, recommended adaptation to the circumstances, since financial backing was inadequate to change the river. Lt. George Derby at the "Delta" analyzed many basic problems for the lower river in 1850. George A. Johnson and Lt. James L. White noted navigational problems as they steamed upriver ahead of Ives in 1858. When Ives reported his survey in 1858, he gave specific recommendations on uses for the river and the kinds of craft to be used--sixteen inch draft, powerful steamwheeler, with a flat bottom and water tight hull. Such a boat he believed could be purchased and used to deliver army freight upriver to Mojave Valley for about \$30.00 per ton. Ives also recommended specific channel courses, and approaches to rapids, but did not propose channel improvements per se.

The 1860's. With the promotion of river freighting during the 1860's, business rivalry produced several recommendations for improving the river. By 1864 the Callville area was generally recognized as a reasonable place for a landing. After William Hardy poled a barge to Callville, he wrote to Horace S. Eldredge offering to clear the rocks from the river between his place and the landing for \$500.00.¹¹¹ The George A. Johnson Company sought a large government subsidy to improve the river, but Hardy believed no more than \$50,000.00 could be expended advantageously. Later the Arizona Territorial Legislature memorialized the United States Congress for \$150,000.00, \$50,000.00 of which would be spent for work

¹¹¹"Letter to Thos. [Horace S.] Eldredge, January 15, 1865," (File: Church Historian's Office).

between Fort Yuma and Fort Mojave, and \$100,000.00 upriver from Mojave. Although this grant was never made, it became a point of attack on the Colorado Steam Navigation Company by Samuel Adams. Adams reported they had asked for as much as \$25,000.00, but believed he and Captain Trueworthy could clear the channel of obstructions for \$2,000.00-\$3,000.00. Trueworthy recommended shallower draft, more powerful steamers, not necessarily channel improvement.¹¹² Again no expenditure of consequence was made.

Colonel Rusling did not ask for channel improvements in either his Fort Douglas or Fort Yuma "Reports."¹¹³ In 1871 George M. Wheeler concluded the "absolute high point of navigation" to be the lower end of the Grand Canyon. Wheeler recognized that extensive expenditures would have to be made to make that route functional.¹¹⁴

Freight on the river peaked during the 1870's. The arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad at Yuma in 1877 removed the need for steamer freight on the lower river, but upriver traffic continued, unabated, except where overland routes from the new transcontinental railroad were shorter and better.

River traffic to El Dorado Canyon continued. It also led freighters to Rioville. The first one arrived in 1879, captained by Jack Mellon. He continued to make runs regularly during high water until 1887--

¹¹² Adams, "Communication," (1870), pp. 11-13, and Daily Alta California (October 28, 1867).

¹¹³ Rusling, op. cit.

¹¹⁴ George M. Wheeler, Report Upon Geographical and Geological Explorations and Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), vol. 1, pp. 169-170.

thirty-nine in all, nineteen with his sloop the Southwester (1880-1881), and the balance between 1879 and 1887 in the Gila and possibly the Mojave.¹¹⁵ Pressure built to improve the quality and extent of the service for upriver clientel. Those people relying on the steamers for supplies realized how capricious the river was. In consequence, they seasonally petitioned for river improvement.

Army Surveys. In 1878 the first of several surveys made by the Army Corps of Engineers was conducted by Lt. A. H. Payson during December of 1878 and January of 1879. His was the most thorough and comprehensive study of any conducted during the next four decades.

Payson arrived at Yuma December 4 with his crew and took the steamer Cocopah to Fort Mojave where it arrived the 18th. The survey began at that point and progressed up river into Black Canyon as far as "Roaring Rapids." Payson noted the rate and flow of the current, the river fall per mile, and those rapids which posed navigational difficulties. These he surveyed in detail, making several recommendations for dredging, diking and blasting to ensure controlled channelization of the stream. His estimate for the cost of this work between Fort Mojave and El Dorado was \$85,235.00, with an additional \$12,034.00 for work immediately below.¹¹⁶

Because of the unstable nature of the river channel, because of the limited demand for freight upriver from Mojave which Lt. C. A. Stewart

¹¹⁵James J. Meyler, "Report of Examination of the Colorado River," 56th Cong., 2nd Sess., House Exec. Doc., No. 67, pp. 2-4.

¹¹⁶A. H. Payson, "Examination and Survey of the Colorado of the West . . ." 46th Cong., 2nd Sess., House Exec. Doc., vol. 4, No. 1, pt. 2, vol. 2, pt. 2, appendix JJ, pp. 1773-1785.

adjudged to be about 600 cords of firewood per year, and Payson at 2,864 tons of freight in the preceding nineteen months, most of which went only as far as Hardyville, and because the prospects for railroad traffic were improving, both Payson and Stewart hesitated to recommend maximum programs. Payson confined his recommendations for improvement to a few gravel bars at the Mojave Indian Agency, at Aubrey, Empire Flat, and at the barriers.¹¹⁷ Little was done for several years, and then only after the railroad reached the Needles in 1883.

In 1884 Lt. S.W. Roessler quickly resurveyed the region between Mojave and El Dorado. With the appropriation of \$25,000.00 that had been granted in July of that year, Roessler hired a large barge with derrick and steam-capstan and a crew of about thirty men. Roessler selected several places for improvement--Hatteras Bar, Six Mile Rapid, and Mojave Crossing. Captain J. A. Mellon agreed to help him. A steamer towed the barge to Mojave and from there the barge capstanned its way to El Dorado in early February 1885. Because of delays and the extensive work needed at Hatteras below El Dorado, Roessler decided to move down river to Six Mile Rapids where large boulders were cleared, opening a 200-foot wide channel, which reportedly saved the Gila from ruin that season.

On March 3 the barge shifted down stream twenty-eight miles to Mojave Crossing where the river divided into two channels. The crew proceeded to close the western channel, a project which required eleven days to complete. On the 18th the barge moved upriver a mile and one-half to Boulder Rapid and spent eight days widening a channel there.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

On the 26th the crew tied up at Hardyville, the season's work ended, their expenditures had amounted to nearly \$16,000.00.

Several recommendations were made for additional improvements the following season.¹¹⁸ Between November 1885 and March 1886 another \$9,000.00 was expended to deepen the channel through the Mojave Crossing and through Hatteras Bar. Explorer Rock was also blasted off to make it one foot below low water rather than its ordinary one foot above low water. Channels were widened near Bull's Head and Boulder Rapid. The work was done by a crew of twenty-six men. At Pest House Rapid a side channel was closed. This action, supposedly, gave El Dorado a five rather than three-month freighting season.¹¹⁹

The following year, for lack of funds, no additional work was done. Even the equipment was disposed of.¹²⁰ In 1889 Major W. H. H. Benyaurd submitted a brief report that showed limited freighting on the river, with two steamers carrying the bulk of it--Gila and Mojave. Occasionally a trip was made to the Virgin River for salt. He did not recommend further improvements.¹²¹ His full report was sent to General Thomas L. Casey

¹¹⁸ Lt. S. W. Roessler, "Improvement of Colorado River, . . ." Mes-
sages and Documents--War Department, 1885-1886, (Washington:
Government Printing Office, 1885), vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 2365-2373.

¹¹⁹ "Report on Improvement of Colorado River," Messages and Docu-
ments--War Department, 1886-1887, (Washington: Government Printing
Office, 1886), vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 1929-1932.

¹²⁰ "Improvement of Colorado River," Messages and Documents--War
Department, 1887-1888, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887),
vol. 2, pt. 3, p. 2449.

¹²¹ Major W. H. H. Benyaurd, "Report on Examination of Colorado
River, 1888," Messages and Documents--War Department, 1888-1889,
(Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), vol. 2 pt. 4, pp.
2481-2482.

in October 1890. He summarized succinctly: "In my opinion the Colorado River is not worthy of improvement by the general government."¹²²

In 1895 Lt. Charles L. Potter examined the river again; his plans called for passage up river to Rioville, but he got only to Mojave and floated down river in a skiff from there. At that time a steamer reached Fort Mojave about once a month. In consequence of what he observed and learned, Potter did not recommend any improvements.¹²³ The following year Major Charles E. L. B. Davis submitted a summary account, but recommended no action on the river.¹²⁴

A thorough review came in 1900 from Captain James J. Meyler who had not only received previous survey data, but also submitted the report of his assistant engineer, L. D. Easton, who entrained to Kingman, Arizona, and traveled overland to Temple Bar above Rioville, then proceeded downstream to El Dorado Canyon in a skiff, making careful observations. He also had the services of Captain Mellon who traveled with him and reviewed the river's history. Meyler did not think that portion of the river worthy of improvement.¹²⁵ Two years later Captain Edgar Jadwin submitted an evaluation of the same stretch of river and did not believe it warranted improvements since northern Arizona sites

¹²² Major W. H. H. Benyaurd, "Report," Messages and Documents--War Department, 1891-1892, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), vol. 2, pt. 5, pp. 2974, 2976.

¹²³ Lt. Charles L. Potter, "Report," Army Engineers Reports 1896, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), pt. 5, pp. 3186-3187.

¹²⁴ Major Charles E. B. L. Davis, "Report . . ." Army Engineers Reports 1897, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), pt. 4, pp. 3339-3340.

¹²⁵ Captain James J. Meyler, "Preliminary Examination of the Colorado River between El Dorado Canyon and Rioville, Nev.," 56th Cong., 2nd Sess., House Misc. Doc. No. 67, pp. 1-7. This report is one of the best for this particular portion of the river.

could then be reached from Kingman and a railroad through the Las Vegas area was projected. Jadwin also ran the river in a skiff with Captain Mellon.¹²⁶

By the turn of the century a new federal agency became concerned with the Colorado River. J. B. Lippencott floated down river from Gregg's Ferry to Needles, California in September 1902, making a survey for the Bureau of Reclamation. This was only its beginning. In time it would gain mastery of the river.

Finally, in 1914 the Army Corps of Engineers again reviewed the navigation history of the lower canyons of the Colorado River. Although in 1902 three small new steam navigation companies were noted operating on the lower river, twelve years later Major R. R. Raymond reported: "There being practically no river-borne commerce, no terminals exist. No water-power developments are known to be practicable which might be combined with an improvement for navigation."¹²⁷ For the Army, its river improvement role in the Colorado's lower canyons had been completed.

End of Colorado River Navigation

The Colorado River freight and navigation story has already been told. With the coming of the railroad to Yuma in 1877, a period of thirty year's decline began. The Southern Pacific Railroad purchased the "Arizona Fleet" and operated it between Yuma and Fort Mojave and up

¹²⁶ Captain Edgar Jadwin, "Examination of the Colorado River between El Dorado Canyon and Rioville, Nev.," 58th Cong., 2nd Sess., House Misc. Doc. No. 237, pp. 1-4.

¹²⁷ Major R. R. Raymond, "Preliminary Examination of the Colorado River, Cal. and Ariz.," 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess., House Misc. Doc. No. 1141, pp. 1-5.

river to El Dorado. The arrival of another transcontinental railroad at Needles again diminished freighting on the river. In spite of attempts at and recommendations for river improvements, traffic on the river declined steadily during the 1880's.

By 1890 only the Gila and Mojave II remained of the "fleet." In 1899 the Gila, the last survivor, was remodeled at Yuma and renamed the Cochan. The same year the St. Vallier was launched at Needles. By 1903 these two steamers were moving very little freight. With the coming of the twentieth century, only small companies were still attempting to carry river freight. Most of it was local. The Searchlight, one of the last steamers on the river, was owned and operated by Charles M. Smith. The Katie Lloyd was owned and operated by Captain David Lloyd. At least three other small steamers--the Retta, Electra, and Silas J. Lewis--also saw limited service along the lower river.¹²⁸ And, according to the Las Vegas Age (February 6, 1906), a new boat "Good Luck" had just been launched on the Colorado River east of Las Vegas. It was built by H. M. Smales [sp. ?] at the foot of Vegas Wash and "will navigate the turbulent Colorado, carrying passengers up to the mines."

The first decade of the twentieth century saw the surveying and building of dams on the Colorado, including Boulder Dam. With them, river navigation ended, life on the lower river changed, flood waters were impounded and controlled, river beds flooded, and other portions of the river no longer subjected to seasonal floodings. Consequently, even the flora and fauna of the lower canyon changed. And with these changes has come a new interest in boating on the Colorado.

¹²⁸Leavitt, pp. 162-164. Leavitt's work remains one of the best general treatments of Colorado River navigation.

Summary and Conclusion

The story of the navigation of the Colorado River focused on two primary movers--the military and the miners. Because of its location, the river at first was primarily an obstacle to cross, an oasis in the wilderness along which the Indians had lived for centuries. They challenged the emigrants, which brought the military into their homeland. The military demanded supplies. In a hostile environment, the Colorado River afforded a better route for freight and supplies, however marginal its use was at times, than the alternatives of overland supply lines before the railroad. Where sizable quantities of freight were involved, river traffic was economical.

The military not only protected the transients, it also provided security and personnel for mining operations in the river's proximities. With the mines, freight along the river boomed. During the 1860's the challenge of entrepreneurship waxed hot, with three companies vying for the trade. They sought northern markets, but captured little of them. The river war was short. The old company emerged the victor.

Only the railroads during the following decade could compete. With their coming, the decline became inevitable and was never stemmed by the various schemes proposed, whether channel improvement, new boats, barges, or other devices. Three decades later, navigation was local and restricted. The transition to the Bureau of Reclamation objectives came naturally, and eventually changed the whole area of the lower canyons of the Colorado River.

Perhaps several conclusions follow from a review of this navigation story. First, the Colorado River, though generally viewed as similar to the Sacramento, the Missouri and Mississippi, was distinct. Its

drainage patterns were different, its fluctuations were capricious, its lower reaches were in an arid and then inhospitable land, and its ocean port lay both in a foreign country and was subject to natural phenomena that militated against its successful development. Those who came to utilize the Colorado learned to live within its limits. Their experience helped open a new age in the arid west.

Secondly, the river proved an artery of life into the mineral rich pockets of Arizona, Nevada and California. It served the needs of those pioneers better than any other means available to them before the coming of the railroad. It helped to open up and develop these portions of these states.

Finally, had the river been less difficult or had the plans of visionaries and engineers had sufficient support to assure success, the story of the lower canyons of the Colorado River since that time might have been quite different. However, because the area lacked political influence, its dreamers' dreams could not be realized, at least not until California began to work for miracles with other uses for the water. In its time, Colorado River navigation was not only an exciting chapter in southwestern history, but an important one also.

THE COLORADO CROSSINGS: GRAND TO BLACK CANYONS

A study of the crossings of the Colorado along this portion of the river warrants a brief review of the geography of the area. Beginning on the east with the Grand Wash Cliffs, lie three major ranges of mountains and hills trending north and south, between which are broad detrital filled valleys. Beyond Las Vegas Wash on the west a fourth range sets just west of the "trough" of the Colorado River. In general these ranges are formed by a series of block faults descending westward. This decreasing elevation has provided the momentum that permitted the river to cut canyons across the interceding ranges: a small one, Iceberg Canyon, below Grand Wash and Wheeler Ridge, and large ones--Virgin Canyon, through the Virgin-White Hills, and Boulder Canyon, cut through the Black Mountains.

Only small patches of bottom land along the river in the valley areas have been farmed. Most of the valleys themselves provided relatively smooth, though sandy, road beds. In Grand Wash severe erosion made its banks sharp and often hard to cross. Springs dotted the area, some major ones in the Grand Wash, and Gold Hills areas on the north, but in lesser numbers to the south. A few were located near the Grand Wash cliffs in Grapevine Wash, but in the broad open Hualapai and Detrital valleys water was scarce. Further south at the Cerbats and beyond, the water supply improved but was generally restricted to major springs.

All of these factors influenced the aboriginal occupation of the area. Only the Virgin-Muddy River area supported significant population centers,

and this same pattern followed with the arrival of the Mormons in the 1860's. A few Indians farmed near some of the larger springs throughout the area, but only Las Vegas Springs supported a colony.

Navigation on the Colorado River altered these settlement patterns slightly. The greatest change came with the discovery of minerals in the hills nearby, for with mining came thousands of emigrants. Some stayed as settlers; many merely looked and passed on through. For both, the river was a factor of importance.

Finally, because the encanyoned Colorado east of the Grand Wash Cliffs was almost impossible to cross for nearly 200 miles, and then only at Lee's Ferry or further east, travelers heading south from Utah into Arizona had to take either the Lee's Ferry or the Crossing of the Father's Route or swing southwest to one of the crossings to be reviewed in this chapter. Pearce, Gregg or Scanlon, and Bonelli were the major crossings at which ferry boats were operated. The stories of these crossings will be told beginning at the Grand Canyon and proceeding down river to the west.

The Pearce Ferry Area

Old Ute Crossing. A Number of factors support a belief that this route had been used by the Indians for a long time. First of all, it was the first crossing below the Big Canyon. About one and one-half to two miles down stream from the "Grand Wash Cliffs" a "dike" cuts across the river. This site was called the "Old Ute Crossing" by Lt. Wheeler in 1871,¹ and is also referred to similarly by the Mormons. However,

¹Lt. George M. Wheeler, Report upon Geographical and Geological Explorations and Surveys west of the One Hundredth Meridian, 6 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), vol. 1, p. 162.



Figure 8

the ford was apparently usable only at low water.² At other times the horses would have had to swim.³

The first white men to reach the site probably were in the James Ohio Pattie-Pegleg Smith expeditions in the spring of 1827. It seems likely that their route then led them to near the Old Ute Crossing, where they may have crossed; however, most of the early recorded travel in the area crossed down river at the Virgin confluence.

During the 1860's some of the Navajo and possibly the Utah Indians used the Old Ute Crossing, while raiding the settlements on the lower Virgin River. They travelled west from their homelands south of the Grand Canyon to cross at this point. Although a marginal crossing, it did allow the raiders to avoid Mormon sentries and military might in the St. George area, which they would have confronted at either the Crossing of the Fathers or Lee's Ferry.⁴

Grand Wash Crossing. However ironical it may seem, it is conceivable that Jacob Hamblin opened this "raiding route" to the Indians. More likely, however, they had known of its existence for generations. Nevertheless, in the fall of 1862, Hamblin and his "Hopi missionaries" traveled that route in response to instructions from Brigham Young "to explore a new, easier and safer route, preferably where a road can be built. [They were to] Try a new crossing this time--south of St. George."⁵ Although planned in August, the twenty-five man expedition

²James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission, Book A (Typescript: Utah State Historical Society), p. 203.

³Wheeler, p. 162.

⁴Bleak, Book A, p. 203.

⁵James A. Little, Jacob Hamblin . . . 2nd ed., (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1909), p. 83.

did not leave St. George until November 17, 1862. Each man was to take a saddle horse and pack animal and sufficient supplies and munitions for the trip. Several Indians went along, including Eliza and Jacob's adopted Indian son Albert.⁶ Isaac Riddle hauled a small skiff on the running gears of a wagon to the mouth of the Grand Wash. This wagon and team, in effect, opened the first "road" to the river, however primitive it may have been.⁷ The Grand Wash afforded an easy access to the Colorado.

Once at the river, the men loaded their supplies into the skiff and ferried them over the river. Andrew Gibbons stripped to the waist to help swim the animals across. On the south bank the boat and extra supplies were cached, in anticipation of the return trip. This was the first recorded crossing of the river in this area. However, the steep slope of Wheeler Ridge on the south side made their exodus from the river dangerous and difficult. Once out of the river, they continued their journey, taking a southeasterly course to Deep Springs, at which point their Indian guides abandoned them. Being able to see the San Francisco Mountains in the distance, they pushed on, suffering so severely for want of water that eight horses perished. Yet they finally reached the Little Colorado River and the Moqui villages. With this trip, Hamblin and some of his party became the first white men to circle the Grand Canyon.

⁶ See Pearson H. Corbett, Jacob Hamblin, the Peacemaker (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1962), p. 206, and Paul Bailey, Jacob Hamblin, Buckskin Apostle (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1948), p. 251. Bailey suggested the route held certain fears for some of the St. George Indians, fears related to the Grand Canyon itself. The men were set apart for their missions by Elders Erastus Snow and Orson Pratt.

⁷ Little, p. 83. A team of horses was used to pull the wagon. It apparently returned to St. George once the party crossed the river.

Because of difficulties, the return trip was along the Ute Ford-Crossing of the Father's route. Hamblin took four Hopi Indians with him at the time, three of whom were eventually taken to Salt Lake City for a visit with Brigham Young.⁸ By March 1863 Hamblin was back in St. George with the three Hopi visitors and instructions from Brigham Young to pursue "their missionary labors" with vigor. It was suggested that Hamblin recruit 100 tried and true men as pioneers to the colonizing movement, "who would, in effect, act as a protecting and training force among the Hopi," which it was hoped would lead to their conversion to Mormonism.⁹

Hamblin had only a small party of six men to accompany the four Hopi to their homeland. Apparently he retraced his route to the Grand Wash, where a log raft was constructed of driftwood for crossing the river. The boat was uncovered and found to be in good shape; however, the supplies had spoiled. Hamblin and Andrew Gibbons returned in the skiff to take the party over; however, reports reached them that a better crossing had been discovered upriver a few miles. Consequently, they rowed the skiff upstream above the rapids to the site that became Pearce's Ferry. Access to the new crossing from the north was up Pigeon Wash to Snap Canyon, down it several miles, then east across the ridge into Pearce Wash and up along the river to the crossing. This site allowed a smooth crossing and an easy ascent from the river up Grapevine Wash. Their crossing is the first recorded use of Pearce's Ferry.

⁸ Charles S. Peterson, "The Hopis and the Mormons, 1858-1873," Utah Historical Quarterly XXXIX (Spring 1971), 179-193.

⁹ Leland H. Creer, "The Activities of Jacob Hamblin in the Region of the Colorado," Anthropological Papers No. 33 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1958), pp. 16-17. See also Peterson, p. 192.

At the crossing Lewis Greeley, a nephew of the more famous Horace Greeley, presented himself to Jacob Hamblin and asked to join the party. His letter of "introduction" from Erastus Snow was sufficient credential for Hamblin.

What happened to the boat is not reported, but likely it was cached again before the party left. On this second trip Hamblin kept to the left of his first route, which led him to discoverer the "Eden" of the Hava-supai in "Cataract" Canyon. Pushing east and south, his party finally reached the Little Colorado River. On April 11, 1863, they delivered their Hopi charges at Oraibe.¹⁰

Their return began on the 15th. Anxious to discover a usable road, Hamblin swung south of his easterly routes until he struck Beale's road. This he followed west to the vicinity of Peach Springs, at which point the group turned north to Jacob's Seep Springs. That evening, May 6, Indians stole several of their horses. Unable to recover them, the party pushed on to the river, crossed in the skiff, and headed home. In Grand Wash, they found themselves without water, until a mule pawed a hole in the sand. Further digging produced water, which Hamblin later referred to as "White Springs." They arrived in St. George May 13.¹¹

Other records of travel in the region are scant, but apparently little use was made of the "ferry" during the next few years. O. D. Gass and James Ferry may have been there early in 1864. Anson Call's return trip, December 1865, brought him into Grand Wash, up Pockum Wash, and into St. George from the south. Three years later Erastus Snow explored a

¹⁰Little, pp. 81-85.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 86-87.

road south from St. George, up Mokiatic Canyon to the Wolf Hole area and west into Grand Wash probably down Pockum Canyon.¹² His party took a wagon and a sixteen-foot skiff. They reported that a good road could easily be constructed along the seventy-eight mile route "all the way to the Colorado, there being but little sand and good grass and water."¹³

Once at the river the skiff was launched at the mouth of Grand Wash. Jacob Hamblin, Henry Miller and Jesse Crosby first rowed up river a few miles before swinging downstream to explore the river as far west as Callville.

River Expeditions. Exploration of the Colorado River brought other people into the Pearce Ferry area. No doubt James White arrived there on his log raft the fore part of September 1867. In fact, some writers believe he began his controversial trip at about that spot. Within two years John Wesley Powell's party finally swept out of the Grand Canyon on August 29, 1869. He reported their elation as they soon recognized the Grand Wash area. Of more direct consequence to the establishment of the "Ferry" were the 1869 and 1871 surveys of the area by Lt. George M. Wheeler. In 1869 Lt. Wheeler reported that navigation might be possible as far as the "Santa Fe or Spanish Crossing" just below the Grand Canyon.¹⁴ Wheeler also suggested that crossing as one of the

¹²Bleak, Book A, pp. 243-244. Members of the expedition were Erastus Snow, Henry W. Miller, Jacob Hamblin, Jesse W. Crosby, James Andrus, Ira Hatch and David Cameron.

¹³Ibid. Apparently the area along the Grand Wash did have good grass coverage at the time and in the spring was adequate.

¹⁴Lt. George M. Wheeler, Preliminary Report of the General Features of the Military Reconnaissance through Southern Nevada (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 7-9. Andrew Gibbons and Ira Hatch were his primary informants.

few places the river could be reached by north-south traffic between Nevada and Arizona, although his first preference lay with the Virgin River route.¹⁵

Two years later Wheeler expanded his survey of the area. He sent Lt. Daniel W. Lockwood and Lt. D. A. Lyle on reconnaissance east from the Muddy River settlements to the St. George area. Their trip took them through St. Thomas Gap to Pakoon Springs and onto the Virgin River and then to St. George. They returned south to the Grand Wash and the crossing below the Grand Canyon. Both Lyle and Lockwood reported on the Mormon "roads" in the area. One led through St. Thomas Gap, where Mormons had crossed "with their light wagons."¹⁶ A second led down the Grand Wash which the "Mormons penetrated with wagons some years ago."¹⁷

While Lockwood followed the Grand Wash to near its mouth and up the river to the crossing, Lyle arrived the next day from Pakoon Springs but kept to the left of Lockwood's route paralleling more closely the later Mormon road to Pearce's Ferry.¹⁸ In the meantime, Wheeler's river party reached the rendezvous site below the old Santa Fe crossing.

The 5th and 6th of October were spent in crossing. Wheeler reported:

About 4 o'clock the command begins to file down to the river bank and is brought across the river as fast as the different parties come up. All boats are brought into requisition and the concentrated force quickly completed the crossing. The entire expedition is safe on the southern side of this turbid, unmanageable stream; and thus the greatest and most extraordinary

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁶ Wheeler, Geographical . . . , vol. 1, p. 85.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 86. This no doubt would have been in 1862 and 1867.

¹⁸ Ibid.

obstacles of the season are successfully passed.¹⁹

The following morning his record continued: "All the animals are brought across this morning by swimming against a fierce current with a single loss."²⁰ A day later Wheeler's party passed the old Ute Crossing up-river. Wheeler noted that "near the foot of the Grand Canyon, the river widens and rapids are more shallow. This is the best point yet for fording, still in the lowest of waters swimming would be necessary, and at high water doubtless the swift current would prohibit this method even."²¹

Wheeler's land parties headed south up a broad wash, probably Grapevine Wash, onto the edge of the plateau, then continued south past Dinbah, Tin-ah-Kah, At-too-bah Springs to the Beale Road at Truston Springs. Wheeler's maps of the area are very useful.

Wheeler learned a great deal from the season's reconnaissance. As a result of this new information, he recommended the St. George to "Old Ute Crossing" route as a feasible one for a railroad from that area to Prescott, Arizona. However, no follow-up came directly, though interest in it increased during the 1870's. Wheeler's full report was some time coming to the public's attention.

Pearce's Ferry

In the meantime, interest in the river crossing increased. Several factors were involved. Mining increased in northern Arizona and southern

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 162.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., p. 163. See also Mack E. Miller, "Personal Interview," (March 23, 1968), Temple Bar, Arizona. Mr. Miller told the writer he was aware of this "dike" across the Colorado near its mouth.

Nevada and Utah. With the discovery of new gold finds in the Wallapai District, Arizona, Al Huntington and Cy Hancock, who had recently located some "rich placer mines, with plenty of wood and water," decided to "construct a ferry across the Colorado at the mouth of Grand Gulch." Their partner, B. L. Duncan, expected to "soon run a line of buckboards between Mineral Park and Pioche."²² This project was never completed, although the talked-of road created new interest.

The Mormons. The second factor leading to the development of Pearce's Ferry was the migration of Mormons to northern Arizona, southern Arizona and Mexico. The resolution of the Indian problems early in 1870 opened northern Arizona to Mormon colonists. Brigham Young, advised by no less a figure than Thomas L. Kane, projected these migrations as early as 1873. The first ventures were by way of Lee's Ferry east of the Grand Canyon. However, the first colonies did not endure.²³ In 1875 explorers ventured farther to the south. In 1876 a new settlement thrust was made. While most saints still travelled the older Lee's Ferry route to the Little Colorado River, Brigham Young commanded that a new road to the southwest be explored. His instructions to Jacob Hamblin were: "to look out as good a tract for a wagon road as you have time to do, without stopping to go to the right or left. . . ."²⁴

²²

See Deseret News (August 23, 1876). The News excerpts its data from the Wallapai Enterprise (July 21, 1876) and (July 28, 1876).

²³

Charles S. Peterson, Settlements on the Little Colorado River . . . (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1967), pp. 2-15.

²⁴

Corbett, pp. 392-393. Corbett quotes a letter from Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, Erastus Snow and Brigham Young, Jr., to Jacob Hamblin dated December 1, 1876. Hamblin's party likely did not leave on the 13th, but later, about the 16th.

Selecting five companions, Hamblin left St. George about mid-December, following a route "a little east of our former one, in order to strike the new crossing of the Colorado River."²⁵ Brigham Young's instructions touched on other pertinent points. Hamblin's party could also "be of some use to Brother (Harrison) Pearce, who is building a ferry boat at the Colorado for crossing people, and make him acquainted with the initial points for locating a road which will be beneficial to him." After reaching the Colorado River, the party "remained at the river two days, and assisted Brother Harrison Pierce [sic] in the construction of a skiff with which we conveyed our luggage across."²⁶

Hamblin's ultimate objective was Sunset Crossing of the Little Colorado River and a new road to it, and then location of the choice settlement spots as per President Young's admonition. Consequently, once safely over the river, Hamblin's party headed southeast into "Wallapi Valley," where a seep of water was discovered. The next night the party made a dry camp, but the following day discovered Mr. Stevens, a miner in the area, who not only supplied them with water, but advised them on a route that led to the old Beale Road. This they reached the next day and followed eastward to their destination.²⁷

Meanwhile, Harrison Pearce, who, with his son, John D. L. Pearce, had been called "to establish a ferry on the Colorado River," continued

²⁵Creer, p. 30. Just how many men were with Hamblin is uncertain. Five men, however, are named: Wilford Halliday, James Crosby, Calvin Kelsey, Samuel Alger, and Hyrum Williams. No doubt others went with them at least to the Colorado River. See Corbett, p. 392.

²⁶See "Letter to Jacob Hamblin," in Corbett, pp. 392-393.

²⁷Little, pp. 136-138. Hamblin's report in later years indicated his location of water and help from strangers was a kind of divine blessing upon his group.

to prepare the crossing for use.²⁸ How large and effective their skiff was is uncertain, but apparently it could handle wagons and general supplies, but not livestock. At first, at least, it was propelled by oar power only.

Other men were called to help "improve" a road to the river from St. George. Some tithing script (\$214.54) was expended on the "Colorado Road account during the winter of 1876."²⁹ To whom this fund was paid remains a mystery, but apparently road work was done in the canyons leading onto the plateau south of St. George. Perhaps the better known route led up Mokiatic Canyon along a "dugway" to Coyote or Wolf Hole and Black Rock. A secondary route kept to the west up Bentley's Draw, bypassing Mokiatic and Wolf Hole. A report to the Deseret News under date of January 24, 1877, proclaimed that "the new road to the Colorado, via Grand Wash, is nearly completed, which will save at least 100 miles of distance to the new settlements in Arizona. Quite a few families are waiting to try the new road."

Having finished their business on the Little Colorado River, Hamblin's crew began its return to St. George, planning to retrace its outward route along which supplies had been cached. However, near the San Francisco Mountains a two-day snow storm stopped them and forced them to retreat southward as far as Fort Apache, where supplies were obtained. They then renewed their return trek, reaching the river after the middle of February 1877.

²⁸ "Letter of Harrison Pearce to John Taylor, December 10, 1882," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office).

²⁹ "Letter of James G. Bleak to President John Taylor, April 2, 1878," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office).

Hamblin makes no mention of seeing the Pearces or anyone else at the ferry. His report indicated that "the flour and meat we had left there had been used." Obtaining some wheat, possibly from the Pearces, the party continued on into St. George,³⁰ where Jacob reported to Brigham Young. The Deseret News carried a summary account assuring readers that the route was one of the best natural roads Hamblin had seen with plenty of grass and water and no sand. The paper also noted a side benefit to using the route; namely, "the southern missionaries can visit the temple on their way and perchance minister for themselves and their dead."³¹ Hamblin's report was overly optimistic as would shortly be proven.

Pearce Ferry 1877. Several families began to assemble in St. George soon after the first of the year, in preparation for their trips to Arizona. Earlier emigrants had used Lee's Ferry and the Stone Ferry route; those leaving St. George in early March were asked to go by way of the new ferry west of the Grand Canyon. Their assignment was "to explore a road to the river," meaning a shorter road than that which led into the Grand Wash. A Mr. [Richard?] Bentley and a Mr. [?] Cunningham were sent along as "guides and surveyors."

The expedition consisted of ten wagons, thirty-five head of horses and mules and thirty cattle. At least twenty-six people joined the party--consisting of the John Hunt family (ten), Mannasseh Blackburn (one), Henry Tanner and wife (two), Edwin Westover family (five), Lycurgus

³⁰ Corbett, p. 396.

³¹ Deseret News (February 28, 1877). This report to the News is signed "Abram."

Westover family (five), and John Bushman family (three).³² Several families got underway from St. George on March 4. The John Hunt family and others reached Mokiatic Springs about twelve miles distance that evening and camped. John Bushman arrived at the spring the next day, then tried to climb up the dugway to the top of the plateau but was stalled and had to carry his supplies up hill to camp for the night. On the 6th the Hunts caught up with the Westovers and Blackburn. Bushman later joined the advanced parties. On March 7 they reached Coyote (Wolf) Holes about nine miles from Mokiatic. The following day they continued another twenty miles to Hidden (Sink) Springs over generally good road through timber, cedar and pine, most of the day. The last four miles of road into the canyon were steep and rocky. At this point the whole expedition finally assembled.

It was decided that John Hunt with Bentley and Cunningham should proceed to the southwest to explore. Their route anticipated descent of the Grand Wash Cliffs in Pigeon Canyon; however, when they returned March 11, they reported the route, though more direct, was impassible. As wagons had the day before gone up the canyon another four miles, they had to turn around and retrace their route for nearly ten miles to Pockum Pockets (also called Pahgrim Pockets) near Cane Springs where the stock was watered on the 13th. By this time they had entered the desert regions of the Grand Wash drainage.

The following day the travelers found water near "Peep Pockets"

³²See John Bushman, "Diary, 1877," and John Bushman, "Journal," (Typescript: Utah Historical Society Library); see May Hunt Larson, "Our Move From Utah," which includes the day to day journal account of her sister Ida, (Typescript: Utah Historical Society Library); see also George S. Tanner, "History of Henry M. Tanner," (Typescript: Utah Historical Society Library).

about two and one-half miles from the road. They watered their animals and proceeded on to a dry camp. No more water was reached until the following evening which was probably in the Grand Wash at Willow Springs. Here the thirsty stock, some without water for fifty-four hours, found a good supply, though grass was scarce. The next day they pushed on to Tasha (Tassi) Springs where good water and some feed was located. While they lay over on the 17th, a "co-op beef" was killed and divided among the families. May Hunt reported the presence of two Indians at the spring and how delighted she was to see human habitation in such desolation.

As they left Tasha on the 18th they hoped to reach the Colorado River before dark. The ascent up Pigeon Wash was fairly easy but the drive down Snap Wash was sandy and over the worst road some of them had ever driven. John Hunt broke his plow, hung on the side of his wagon, as he passed a large rock. The ascent to the ridge between Snap and Pearce Wash was steep, requiring double and tripple teams for nearly a mile. Harrison Pearce came out from the river to meet them but, because of their delays, they camped on the hill in sight of the Colorado two miles from the ferry. May Hunt lamented that such a vast quantity of water was so poorly distributed.

The next morning they continued to the river and began to cross, using Pearce's skiff for their wagons and supplies, most of which were crossed over that day. Apparently the experience was generally pleasant. That evening the party was treated to a moonlight boat ride by Pearce with seranades by the Hunt girls. One report suggests Father Pearce became so enthralled the party nearly drifted over the rapids.

On the 20th the stock was crossed. This task proved very difficult. The accounts do not emphasize the same solutions. One report states that Lycurgus Westover rode his horse into the river to lead the loose stock across, but the strong current swept him from his mare into the river. Fortunately he caught hold of her tail. However, the mare swam back to the near side, bringing the stock with her. Some animals finally swam the river, but only after they had been driven to the water's edge carefully and then frightened across by an Indian and others shouting and waving blankets. Apparently other stock was pulled across the stream with the boat, while some were actually hauled across in the skiff. Henry Tanner's mare, "Mag," swam the river many times during the crossing, pulling the skiff and driving stock. In all thirty-five horses and mules and thirty cattle crossed. Apparently two additional wagons arrived at the ferry at the time "to help us make road." They probably did not go on to Arizona.

Once across the river, the settlers found that no road had been built through that region. Leaving the river on the 21st, they traveled about six miles to a small spring and camped. The next day they moved about sixteen miles to water, probably Grass Springs. Not all of the wagons made it that night. On the 23rd the remaining wagons arrived and all lay by the rest of the day. On the 24th they continued south to a small spring east of and above Hualapai Valley, where they remained over the 25th of March. The following day they proceeded one and one-half miles to Iron Springs.

At this point it was decided major road work was needed for a descent into Hualapai Valley. So the next few days were spent on road

construction. Before the first of April it was decided that because of the limited water resources ahead, it would be wise for the party to divide into three companies and travel in sequence. One group consisted of the Bushmans and Blackburn, a second was the Westovers, and the last was the Hunts and Tanners, who left Iron Springs on April 1, at least two days behind Bushman. They found water on the 2nd, four miles off the road. The next day they pushed thirty-five miles across Hualapai Valley to Mr. Stevens' ranch, which was reached about noon on the 4th. At Hackberry they discovered a "little mining company" and water. A short distance beyond they discovered Beale's Road and followed it east to the Little Colorado. At Fort Valley, near Flagstaff, about April 13, the companies rejoined each other. They had reached their destination by the 27th.³³

Their trip was not without several losses in livestock. Travel was slow over poor roads with limited water and inadequate grass for many miles. They did not recommend the route and gave the lie to Jacob Hamblin's report of "one patch of grass all the way."³⁴ Other reports do not indicate any use of Pearce's Ferry for Mormon migration during the rest of the 1877 season, at least not by settlers going to the Little Colorado River.

Pearce Ferry 1878-1882. Several factors caused Pearce's Ferry to be used very little. First of all, the route to northern Arizona via Lee's

³³ Ibid. The story of this trip is taken from these documents.

³⁴ Deseret News (February 28, 1877).

Ferry was shorter and over a better road. Secondly, travelers to southern Arizona could use both the Lee's Ferry route and an alternate western route crossing at the confluence of the Virgin and Colorado rivers. Finally, the road to the river at Pearce's Ferry was very poor.

Little traffic followed the 1877 migrants that same year, and perhaps none in 1878. Yet by late 1879 at least, Mormon emigrants to southern Arizona were again using the road. One major party left St. George in the late fall of 1879. David P. Kimball reported on their trip. He apparently found the road acceptable and advised others to use it. His instructions and directions in a letter to the Deseret News were very specific. He sent the following itinerary: "Revised distances of route from St. George, Utah to Mesa City, Maricopa County, Arizona":³⁵

St. George, Utah, to Mesa City,
Maricopa Co., Arizona:

	Miles
From St. George to Mocase	
Springs,	12
To Wolf Hole Springs,	11
" Kane Springs,	14
" Black Willow Springs,	
(carry water)	28
" Tahshari Springs, (via	
(Mesa)	10
" Colorado River, (Pierce	
Ferry)	12
" Running Creek, (heavy	
grade and sand)	8
" Grass Springs, (heavy,	
carry water)	14
" Iron Springs,	6
" Granite Springs (via	
Granite Pass)	8
" Hackberry Springs, (good	
road, carry water)	35
" Cottonwood Creek, (carry	
water)	24

³⁵Deseret News (March 24, 1880).

	Miles
To "Willows" or Imases	
Ranche	5
" Lookout Springs,	6
" Fort Rock,	4
" Muddy,	9
" Weilders, (Anvil Rock)	9
" Oaks and Willows,	8
" Walnut Creek, (settle- ment)	12
" Cross Hotel, (William- son's Valley)	12
" Phil McDonald's Ranche,	4
" Tonto Springs	10
" Dixon's Ranche, Skull Valley,	10
" Upper Kirkland Valley,	10
" People's Valley,	7
" Antelope Hill,	9
" Wickenburg,	18
" Seymour,	10
" Aquafria, (Ouh, wah, fre, a,)	18
" Phoenix	20
" Hayden's Ferry,	9
" Mesa City,	8
Salt Lake City to St. George,	
350 miles.	
Total,	725

It will be noted that this route followed closely the Little Colorado settlers' route of 1877 as far as Hackberry, Arizona. Apparently several groups used this route as a result of the positive report sent in by David Kimball. The people in St. George were also anxious to promote use of Pearce's Ferry, since the emigrants would purchase supplies, trade for stock and other items.

In the fall of 1880 several families arrived in St. George enroute to Arizona. Two men, Bishop N. R. Tuttle and John W. Tate from Tooele County, were responding to a call to settle on the Little Colorado River. By October 21 they were in St. George where Tuttle left his wife and

Tate his mother. Being somewhat undecided about a route, they had expected to go by way of Lee's Ferry. However, after much persuading and negotiating with Erastus Snow and James G. Bleak, they decided to haul 600 feet of lumber to the Colorado River to build a boat. As each was traveling with a wagon and good outfit, they were able to take on the additional load. Their pay was in tithing script and cotton factory credit.

A large group from Cache Valley, including a carpenter with plans for building the ferry, had left two days earlier, headed for the Salt River Country. On the 30th Tuttle and Tate loaded the lumber and set out. Their course took them through Price City and then up Bentley's Pass rather than Mokiatic Canyon used by the Cache Company. Their ascent was very difficult. They located the camp fires of the other company that evening. Tuttle rode over to visit the next morning and found that these people had been six days traveling twenty-three miles from St. George up Mokiatic Canyon.³⁶

Both groups went to Wolf Hole for water. Tate and Tuttle continued to travel ahead of the larger party. Their route took them to Pockum Pockets and Cane Springs. On November 2 their horses went back to Wolf Hole where Tate retrieved them and returned. On the 6th they reached Grand Wash above Black Willow Springs. They were surprised to find two squaws at these water holes gathering a few squashes. From that location they headed for Tassi Springs, but had difficulty

³⁶

See John W. Tate, "Journal," (Typescript: Utah State Historical Society). Tate's Journal is excellent. He includes a travel itinerary at this point in his journal, possibly based on David P. Kimball's, which the Cache Company may have been using for a guide.

locating the right road. However, on the 9th they arrived, watered and fed their stock. There were five or six Indian families living there at the time.

Their route led them up Pigeon Wash four miles where they camped. The following day they drove down the rough Snap Canyon, over the hill, to the Colorado River. At the river they located a small flat boat, weathered and cracked from exposure. By using some of the pine gum traded to them by a squaw at Tassi Springs, they were able to calk it into use. They were pleased with the general location for a ferry crossing but had to wait until the carpenter arrived with the boat plans before beginning construction of the ferry.

On the night of the 10th, a miner reached the south bank with his burro and outfit. He had heard word in Hackberry via a letter from President Alexander F. McDonald of the Salt River, Arizona, settlements, that a company of Mormons would be at the Colorado crossing on that date. The next morning as Tate crossed in the boat, he talked with him, and hauled his supplies across the river.

The Cache Company did not arrive until the 12th. Construction was begun the following day by Tuttle and Chancy Rogers. Two pontoon boats three feet by ten feet by fourteen inches deep were constructed and planked together. Onto this ferry the wagons were rolled and secured. With ropes tied on the opposite bank, the men pulled the ferry across the stream. A trial run was made on the 14th. The next morning the board had swollen and warped, but repairs were soon made and the wagons ferried safely.

It was hoped that the animals could be forced to swim, but the first attempts were fruitless. Finally, a rope was put on one animal, the lead rope held by a man in the boat and the horse led across the river. The remaining loose stock were hazed into the water, in hopes that they would follow. However, on two tries only, the two horses being led swam across. On a third attempt, the horse in tow refused to swim, and once out of his wading depth reared back. In the excitement the lead rope was thrown out to give the animal his head to allow him to swim out. However, this fine horse simply sank into the waters of the Colorado and disappeared.

Loss of a prize horse prompted the party to try a new course of action. Tate and others traveled up river some distance looking for a "ford." When they reached what appeared to be one (likely Old Ute Crossing), Tate tried several times to swim his horse across but was carried down stream without success. They finally decided to build a stall on the ferry boat and haul the stock over, a method which worked well.

During these activities, a man arrived from St. George, November 16, being assured there was a ferry in operation at the river. They crossed his outfit for \$2.00. The next day a few wagons were also crossed, but high winds caused delay. After the moon came up that evening, the remainder were taken across. Tate and Tuttle had been at the river more than a week. Before departing, the men secured the flat boat on the north bank and the new ferry boat on the south one.

On the 18th the two men bid goodbye to their Cache Valley friends and moved on south. A Mr. Standage gave them a letter to mail at

Hackberry, asking the Salt River saints to send them some grain.

The first night was spent at Grass Springs where they located a young Indian who guided them over Granite Pass the next day. However, the descent into Hualapai Valley proved almost disastrous. As their delay extended into the second day, Tuttle took the stock back to Iron Spring for water. At this point Standage, from the Cache Company, came up to reconnoiter the "dugway." He refused to try it and turned more directly south into the broad valley nearer the river. Tate and Tuttle pushed on to Hackberry and made inquiries about the road to the Little Colorado. They were advised against using the Old Beale Road. Instead they elected to travel further south, then swing north through Prescott which they reached December 1, 1880. On the 6th they met travelers from Lee's Ferry going to the Salt River coutry. Three days later Tuttle and Tate reached their destination.

These men were some of the few to use the route for migration to the Little Colorado. Tate observed, correctly, that the road was a poor one, that ferry service was uncertain even though the location appeared to be a good one. Once they had crossed, the ferry was no longer in operation, for, although the boats were there, the ropes belonged to their parties and were taken along. Without them to tow the ferry, there was, in effect, no ferry.³⁷

Pearce Ferry 1881. Nevertheless, at least two companies appear

³⁷ Ibid. Tate's Journal gives real insight into the problems of travel over the route and use of the ferry. He felt it unwise to tell people there was a ferry in operation when, in fact, at best it was only an occasional thing.

to have used it the following season. On January 10, 1881, the J. E. Stevens, Swenn Neilson and Peter Nasstrom families and others left St. George for the crossing which they reached after "a pleasant trip." At the river they encountered a few problems. The supplies, wagons and stock were ferried over without mishap until "the last load, which consisted of two large oxen that walked into the little boat reluctantly."

As the boat was pushed from the shore, the frightened oxen sat back on their haunches, putting too much weight in the aft of the boat. In spite of the pulling by the two Piute Indians, the craft continued to sink. The boatmen untied the oxen as the craft went down and allowed them to "paddle their own canoe" back to shore. The Indians, being unable to "tow" the submerged craft, jumped overboard and swam ashore. This action left Stevens and Nielson on the boat. They tried to row the water-logged craft ashore but were caught in the tug of the rapids below. Nasstrom arrived in the skiff to rescue Nielson, who got in with him. A tow rope was thrown to them and they glided swiftly to the opposite bank though their boat also filled with water. However, Stevens soon found himself heading into the "bite of the falls" where he rode the bucking ferry to calmer water below, fortunately without serious mishap. There he landed the boat. With help the ferry was pulled upstream and the oxen crossed successfully. J. E. Stevens concluded his letter: "Another day fixed matters all right and our little party left the Colorado River with a realizing conviction that 'distance lends enchantment to the view.'"³⁸ His letter was written from Hackberry. Their destination

³⁸Deseret News (March 23, 1881).

seems to have been the Salt River Valley.

One of Pearce Ferry's strong points for travelers to the Salt River area was a shorter, more direct route, which, once water holes were identified, proved quite serviceable. Competition led "promoters of the route, including Harrison Pearce, to recommend that road." However, during the summer of 1882, a company from "Milford and Frisco" of at least seven people tried the route, leaving St. George in June. They reported Pearce himself had asked them to use his crossing. Eighteen miles from St. George, they had one of their horses roll down a steep precipice, skinning him quite badly. They reached the river safely only to discover it was in flood and that "Mr. Pierce [sic] will not take use over on any condition." Their only recourse was to retrace their trail several miles, then turn west through St. Thomas Gap to the Virgin River and continue down the river to "Stone's Ferry" at Rioville where they were cordially treated and crossed. Their road south through Mineral Park eventually joined the one from Pearce's Ferry below Hackberry. Needless to add, they praised this latter route in their report to the Silver Reef Miner.³⁹

The significance of this re-routing was not lost upon Daniel Bonelli at Rioville. In a letter to the same paper a week later, he impuned the judgment of those persons sending people through a desert region when they could not assure them ferry services upon reaching the river. According to Ferryman Bonelli, other parties had also had to traipse from Pearce's Ferry to his own when high waters prohibited a crossing

³⁹Silver Reef Miner (July 15, 1882).

at the former site.⁴⁰ No doubt these reports worked to the disadvantage of the Pearce Ferry promoters. Anyway, business was fairly slow by that December when Harrison Pearce asked to be released. The coming of the railroads and other roads further diminished his business.⁴¹

Harrison Pearce. In December 1882 Harrison Pearce reported to John Taylor that he had been working at the Ferry for six years trying to make it go. Evidently he built a stone shed or home, where he lived while at the river. At least the ruins seen on the south bank are acclaimed to have been his home. His daughter Mary Ann reported in later life that she had lived at the ferry with her father as a young girl. Life there was very lonely. They lived on supplies brought in, with some supplementation from roots and cactus, fish and occasional produce from a small Indian farm upriver. She and her father passed some time "panning gold" on the river sands above the crossing.⁴²

Having been a participant in the Mountain Meadows Massacre twenty years before, Pearce was at times threatened with prosecution. His situation at the west end of the Grand Canyon was similar in several ways to that of John D. Lee located to the east at the mouth of the Paria. Pearce, however, was never brought to trial. Apparently he did not remain

⁴⁰ Silver Reef Miner (July 22, 1882).

⁴¹ Deseret News (April 2, 1884). A Joseph Argyle wrote to the News of his trip to Taylor, Arizona in February 1884. They had gone via the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad through Colorado, New Mexico and into Arizona.

⁴² Mary Ann Pearce Atkin, "Typewritten Interview," in possession of Mrs. Joseph Sadovich, Henderson, Nevada.

at the ferry much in 1879 or 1880, but during the summer of 1881 Pearce obtained enough credit from Woolley, Lund and Judd, St. George merchants, to build a larger ferry boat.⁴³ James W. Nixon, a young man working on the Arizona Strip at the time, reported that he helped haul two loads of lumber from Mount Trumbull to the ferry with a Mr. Leavitt. No doubt this was used in building the new ferry.⁴⁴ Whatever happened to the ferry built by Tuttle and Rogers in November 1880 is not known, but, unattended, it could easily have washed away.

During his entire six years at the river, Pearce's business remained marginal at best. The purpose of his letter to President John Taylor was to ask for a release from his "call." He also asked that his \$1200.00 debt to "Woolley, Lund and Judd be paid" and his tithing account settled to "my satisfaction." He estimated the ferry was worth \$3,000.00, and with slight improvement the road would allow a good business. His son James, who had settled in Taylor, Arizona, was in St. George to take him home with him "where he can make my declining years a little more easy and comfortable." Pearce hoped his release could be effected by the first of March 1883, as he wanted to make a crop the following season.⁴⁵ Apparently, he was released soon after. The founder of Pearce Ferry died at St. George in 1885.

⁴³ "Letter of Harrison Pearce to John Taylor, St. George, December 10, 1882," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office).

⁴⁴ James W. Nixon, Journal, (Typescript: Dixie College Library, St. George, Utah).

⁴⁵ "Pearce to Taylor."

Pearce Ferry - after 1883. Records give scant data on the ferry during the next decade. Reports suggest an occasional use by travelers through the area. No doubt some local traffic attempted to use it also. Rancher, Charlie Sullivan of St. George, claimed he visited the ferry in about 1885 with his father, Joseph John Sullivan. There was a boat in operation at the place then. Stockmen continued to use it to move their animals across the river.⁴⁶ Reed Mathis, another native of the region, reported that ranchers often gathered stray stock, wild burros and horses, and pushed them across the river to get them off their ranges. These animals were forced to swim.⁴⁷

But in the main, the upper ferry gave way to competition down river. With the establishment of Mesquite and Bunkerville in 1877 and the resettlement of St. Thomas and St. Joseph a few years later, the traffic patterns were shifted further west. Bonelli's ferry always ran. And, as mining discoveries opened up in the intervening areas, another ferry was located at the end of Hualapai Valley.

When Robert B. Stanton emerged from the Grand Canyon on March 17, 1890, making his railroad survey, he found Pearce Ferry abandoned but the road and house still plainly visible.⁴⁸ A report in 1902 by J. B. Lippencott ignored the ferry, since he began his survey of the river

⁴⁶ Charlie Sullivan, "Personal Interview," (March 19, 1968), St. George, Utah.

⁴⁷ Mack E. Miller, "Personal Interview," (March 23, 1968), Temple Bar, Arizona.

⁴⁸ See Robert Brewster Stanton, Field Notes, vols. A, B, C, D., 1889-1890, (Microfilm copy No. 249, Utah State Historical Society), pp. 73-74.

downstream at Scanlan's Ferry.⁴⁹ In 1909, Julius F. Stone, apparently mistaken, noted the mouth of the Grand Wash and then "Pierce's Ferry which has been abandoned."⁵⁰ About three years later the Kolb Brothers reached the area on their trip through the Grand Canyon. They reported: "An abandoned road and ferry showed that this had once been a well-traveled route."⁵¹ Judge Ora Grunninger claimed he had taken the Pearce Ferry route to Las Vegas from Kingman after 1900, which may have been in 1916, since a ferry was then in operation there.⁵² E. C. LaRue took a picture of the site in 1923 (see picture p. 404).

But interest in the ferry waned. Neither Lewis Freeman nor Clyde Eddy make mention of it in their 1923 and 1927 reports, respectively. Plans for a major reclamation project at Black Canyon renewed interest in the old ferry. Murl Emery stated his father, Pop Emery, reopened the ferry in 1932, with a Buick engine to drive a twenty-six foot boat that could carry sixteen people, and operated it until about 1938.⁵³ Rancher

⁴⁹ J. B. Lippencott, "Reconnaissance of the Colorado River above Needles, California." First Annual Report of Reclamation Service, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), pp. 108-109.

⁵⁰ Julius F. Stone, Canyon Country . . . (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1932), pp. 103-104. It seems likely that Stone reported the location of Pearce's Ferry incorrectly, although the abandoned ferry below Grand Wash, which he called Pierce Ferry could have been Gregg's Ferry, abandoned.

⁵¹ Ellsworth L. Kolb, Through the Grand Canyon from Wyoming to Mexico (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1914), p. 273. A "well-traveled road" is subject to interpretation.

⁵² Judge Ora Grunninger "Personal Interview," (March 23, 1968), Kingman, Arizona. See also Mohave County Miner (June 16, 1916).

⁵³ Murl Emery, "Personal Interview," (March 22, 1968), Nelson, Nevada.



Figure 9. Pearce's Ferry - upstream view by E. C. LaRue
October 15, 1923 (courtesy National Archives)



Figure 10. Gregg's Ferry, Tom Smith in boat, c. 1923
(courtesy Mojave Museum of History and Arts)

Rutger Atkin crossed cattle over Emery's Ferry in 1934. He also took sheep into Arizona, lambd them, and returned that fall. The Emerys also ran excursions up into the Grand Canyon. Their main objective was to claim damages when the waters of Lake Mead put them out of business.⁵⁴

A CCC Camp was located near Pearce's Ferry during the late 1930's. By 1938 the waters had covered the site and Pearce's Ferry became history. However, when the lake's water level recedes, the crossing is still visible though now covered with a heavy coat of silt.⁵⁵

Pearce Ferry had a long and interesting history but must be considered primarily as a product of the area's geography and the Mormon colonization policies. Beyond the latter factor, it had little sustained use.

Hualapai Valley Crossings

Located down river from Pearce's Ferry, Grand Wash formed rapids at the head of Iceberg Canyon. Below the canyon the river valley broadened into Hualapai Valley which drained from the south generally. The outwash of this valley formed rapids at the lower end, above Virgin Canyon. In this region were located two ferries. Because of the valley springs along the river, some farming was possible. Both Indians and white men located at this spot, known generally as Scanlon's and/or Gregg's ferry.

⁵⁴ Rutger B. Atkin "Personal Interview," (June 1, 1967), St. George, Utah, and Emery, op. cit.

⁵⁵ The writer visited the site in June 1967 from the north side.

Early Traffic to the Area. The Indians had long claimed the area. The first recorded white visitors were likely the Pattie-Smith trappers in 1827. Who next reached the spot is not known. Likely, O. D. Gass, James Ferry and party passed it in 1864. The Mormon explorers sailed by it in April 1867 but mentioned only a few areas with small patches of land that could be farmed.⁵⁶ When James White floated through the area early in September he met Indians, probably near this spot, and traded for some food. Two years later the Powell expedition came through and also reported Indians in the general area.

The earliest north-south traffic did not reach this spot. However, as mining and settlements expanded on both sides of the river, the advantages of a shorter route were sought. A ferry was finally built in 1881, probably in part due to the inadequate services of Pearce's Ferry. Still, in 1882, some travelers who were turned away at Pearce's went all the way to Bonelli's Ferry at the Virgin River. By the mid-eighties most traffic into the Grand Wash area probably swung west as it neared the Colorado to descend to the river at Scanlon's Ferry. A second route from the Gold Hills led directly south down "Scanlon Dugway." This was a later and a more precarious route. On the south an easy ascent was made from the river into Hualapai Wash for travel to the White Hills or points south.⁵⁷

Mike Scanlon Ferry. Mike Scanlon, a prospector in the White Hills,

⁵⁶ Deseret News (July 3, 1867).

⁵⁷ Walter Iverson, "Personal Interview," (March 19, 1968), Washington, Utah.

set up his ranch and ferry in 1881. It seems likely that Scanlon traveled to the river for water and saw the potential for a small farm and a ferry. For several years he hauled water into the White Hills and sold it. His home site supported extensive irrigated gardening including such fruits as grapes, pomegranates, figs and even dates. In later years it proved a pleasant stop for river runners. Scanlon also prospected in the area and built the dugway down the north bank to the Colorado River.⁵⁸

Documentation on the ferry's use is very inadequate since no major migrations passed that way. A man and his family reached the ferry in about 1885. They had a big outfit (wagon) with ten head of horses. Scanlon crossed them to the north bank without mishap. At this point they proceeded north, likely via the Grand Wash route. In any instance, a few days later they camped at Pakoon Springs to recruit their teams. While there the horses ran off with a wild bunch, leaving the party stranded. The man left his family at Pakoon and walked all the way to Price City south of St. George, where he contacted J. J. Sullivan. Upon learning of his plight, Sullivan took teams out and hauled him in.⁵⁹ It is likely that other less dramatic uses were made of the crossing, particularly by the migrating miners.

⁵⁸ Will C. Barnes, Arizona Place Names (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1960), pp. 211 and 222. See also Walter L. Averett, Directory of Southern Nevada Place Names (Las Vegas: Private Printing, 1962), pp. 16 and 34. See also copy of "Pop Emery's Notes, August 23, 1950, El Dorado," in writer's files.

⁵⁹ Charlie Sullivan, "Personal Interview," (March 19, 1968), St. George, Utah.

Stanton 1890. Moving down river with his railroad survey in March, 1890, Robert B. Stanton noted his progress beyond Pearce's Ferry and the Grand Wash into Iceberg Canyon. When they reached Scanlon's Ferry, Stanton took pictures and recorded in his field notes that they landed on the left bank: "Here at Scanlon's Ferry it is open and flat. Scanlon has a fine irrigated garden."⁶⁰ Stanton's plans projected connecting all these points along the river together with his railroad.⁶¹

Nutter's Cattle 1890. Perhaps the most unusual crossing of the Colorado River in that area came during the fall of 1890. Preston Nutter had purchased some 5,000 head of cattle in Arizona and wanted to move them onto the ranges of Nevada and Utah and the Arizona Strip. He finally decided the best place to cross the river was near Scanlon Ferry. Some of the cowboys arrived there about the 5th of September but had to wait until the 15th before Nutter and the main crew showed up.

To cross the river, a ford was looked for, but was difficult to find. The cowboys jumped their horses into the river, often off steep banks, seeking a place where the steers could cross. Finally, a spot near the ferry was located and the crossing began. After about 2,200 head had been swum and waded over, seven young cowboys began pushing them north and west, apparently through the area of St. Thomas Gap, toward the Virgin River. Because of the heat and lack of water the cowboys

⁶⁰ Stanton, Field Notes, pp. 73-74.

⁶¹ Ibid.

suffered a great deal and many cattle died.⁶²

Eventually Nutter's cattle were moved farther north. For many years he controlled much of the Arizona Strip. Later he moved further north into the Uintah Basin where headquarters were developed on Nine-Mile near Price, Utah.

White Hills. During the 1890's the White Hills, in Arizona a few miles to the south, boomed with mining activities. The need for supplies expanded. Much foodstuffs, produced on the Virgin and Muddy rivers to the north, were transported south along the Virgin River to cross at Bonelli's Ferry; however, some of the "Mormons" from Mesquite and Bunkerville apparently chose to use the more direct route via Grand Wash or through Gold Hills and Scanlon's Ferry.

Mike Scanlon sold his ferry in about 1900 to Tom Gregg, who had been operating a sister ferry up river a couple of miles. At that time he removed to the Scanlon facility.⁶³ Gregg traveled to Bonelli's Ferry to get his mail. J. B. Lippencott, surveying for the Bureau of Reclamation, reported in 1902, a small farm nearby on which vegetables and other produce were raised. The location was about three miles above the Walapai Dam Site. Lippencott had hauled a fourteen-foot boat the sixty miles to the river, where it was launched. He then proceeded downstream to the Needles. A road led from the river north up the dugway to Gold Butte. To the south, there were both the White Hills-

⁶² Mrs. S. L. Whipple, "The Life of John Lytle Whipple," (Type-script: Dixie College Library, St. George, Utah), pp. 2-6.

⁶³ Barnes, p. 211.

Hackberry road and another that turned west to Chloride about sixty miles away.⁶⁴

In January 1909 the Burt Mill and Company of Logan, Nevada put in a mill near Scanlon Ferry to work some of the placers. They offered laborers \$2.00 per day to work on the mill, which at that time, even with board and room, was not too attractive.⁶⁵ Other mining ventures along the Colorado River continued intermittently.

Shortly after the Julius F. Stone River expedition left the Grand Canyon, November 15, 1909, at Grand Wash, Stone attempted to shoot a bobcat. His report continues: "Then we came to Pierce's Ferry which was abandoned." It is likely that Pierce's Ferry was either passed unnoticed and the abandoned ferry that he noticed below Grand Wash was Scanlon's, or he was mistaken in his location of Grand Wash. Later that day they did meet a Mr. Cox, "who kindly supplies us with sugar and baking powder." He and several others had been working the gravel, but the others had left and he was soon to abandon the project. (This short-lived history of mining projects was typical of the river's placer sands.)⁶⁶

The Kolb Brothers reached Scanlon Ferry early in January 1912. They reported the ferry was in charge of a cornishman [Tom Gregg] who also had as "pretty a little ranch as one could expect to find in such an unlikely place. A purling stream of water, piped from somewhere up in the

⁶⁴Lippencott, Report, p. 108.

⁶⁵Washington County News (January 14, 1909).

⁶⁶Stone, p. 103.

hills, had caused the transformation." The ranches had a great variety of livestock, some dates and figs, but attempts at growing oranges had failed. He readily sold them supplies he produced. They departed the following morning.⁶⁷

Use of the ferry declined. Some ranchers or occasional travelers used it. About 1917 Slim Waring crossed the river into the area to begin his ranching operations.⁶⁸ Travelers on the river in the 1920's had little to say about it.⁶⁹ When the waters of Lake Mead backed up, the ferry was covered completely. Its history had ended.

The Rio Virgin Confluence

The Indians had not only lived long in the Muddy-Virgin River Valleys, but also left extensive ruins confirming that occupancy. Some of their major prehistoric trade routes, for salt certainly, and probably for other goods, appear to have come into the area near the Virgin River's junction with the Colorado. Excavation of that site, undertaken as archeological salvage before Boulder Dam was built, revealed long and rather sophisticated occupation. Both George Perkins and Joe Perkins record their involvement in the digging with Mr. Harrington.⁷⁰ It is

⁶⁷ Kolb, pp. 273-274. Kolb reports they ate two-thirds of a jar of honey before getting away from the landing.

⁶⁸ Miller, "Interview."

⁶⁹ See Lewis R. Freeman, The Colorado River: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1936), pp. 212-213, and Clyde Eddy, Danger River . . . (London: Skeffington and Sons, Ltd., 1928), pp. 262-263.

⁷⁰ Joe Perkins "Taped Interview," (National Park Service Headquarters, Boulder, Nevada).

suggested that Daniel Bonelli used some of the stones from the Indian ruins to construct his own home there.

The first historic report of the region comes from Jed Smith in late summer 1826. Smith noted a lone Piute farmer across the Colorado (south bank). Smith's party also were the first known white men to use the crossing. They likely built driftwood rafts for transporting supplies, but swam their horses across. A few months later (March 1827) the Pattie-Pegleg Smith parties trapped into the area and may have crossed the Colorado River at this point also, making a south to north crossing. They made no mention of the Piute farmer. The following August Jed Smith returned with a second party of men also enroute to California, and again mentioned the Indian farmer. Once on the south side Smith followed up Detrital Wash which was to become the major route into or from the crossing on the south.

Several other expeditions may have crossed nearby or passed fairly close to the landing as migrations from Santa Fe, New Mexico to Los Angeles got underway. As early as 1853 Joseph Walker suggested it as a possible route for a railroad. Lt. George M. Wheeler reaffirmed the value of such a route eighteen years later. River exploration in the 1860's brought a number of venturers to the area. Old trappers proclaimed the Virgin River to be the high point of navigation on the Colorado River.

Junction City

Mormons had built Callville early in 1865 and also established several small communities along the lower Virgin and Muddy rivers the same year. By 1869 Callville was defunct, but other settlements had

sprung up. Indian hostilities persisted, with some raids coming from across the Colorado River. Perhaps in part to stop those raiders, the Mormons decided to establish a town at the mouth of the Virgin. However, a more important factor in their expansion south was related to securing control of the route being used by migrants into Arizona from Nevada and visa versa. Their immediate action may have been prompted by an article written by Legh Freeman, publisher of the Frontier Index.

It appears Freeman and his party had been traveling from points north when they arrived in St. George about the middle of January 1868. He was impressed with the Mormon communities and their successful settlement programs. Apparently he had rather extensive discussions with some of the "brethren," since he was aware of their interest in the "Moqui" Indians and of their doctrines in general. Taking the date of his discussions and the setting of the lower Virgin River, perhaps influenced even by direct exchanges with Muddy Mormons, Freeman waved exuberant about the potential for a city at the mouth of the Virgin River.

For him Mormonism was the practical application of the reform principles of free Masonry. The Moqui Indians were the noble descendants of the Aztecs and Montezuma. Both peoples--Mormons and Moqui--being sedentary and agrarian, were capable of living together in harmony. At the confluence of the Virgin and Colorado Rivers the City of "Freemansburg" should be built "for the purpose of freeing the enslaved millions of the eastern world." Freeman continued proposing a publication, the "American Libertarian," to spread "this gospel of freedom" to the

world's "down trodden people," with an aim "to induce the worthy people of Radicaldom and Niggerdom, to leave their present scenes of starvation and colonize the richest portions of . . . [the southwest]". Legh Freeman could see steamers and railroads bringing "the great Rocky Mountain trade . . . to and from this point."⁷¹

How much impact the article had on Mormon leaders is uncertain. The Mormons' impact on "Legh" is evident. Such a promotional notion would at least cause a stir. In any instance, by August 1868, Joseph W. Young, John R. Young and Bishops of St. Thomas and St. Joseph had explored down the Virgin to the Colorado River. Joseph Young reported an excellent town site "Just below the confluence of the two rivers . . ." However, water for irrigation would have to be brought by ditch from the Virgin River four miles higher up to reach the bench fifty feet above the water level at the mouth of the river. A few hundred acres along the river's bottom lands would be easier to develop, but subject to flooding in high water. Young expected the site to be very productive "if a trade should spring up on the lower Colorado. . . ." The explorers "surveyed the town site and plotted it, raised a liberty pole, and christened the place Junction City, believing Montezuma too heavy a name."⁷² Perhaps the "Montezuma" was a token consideration of Legh Freeman's input earlier in the year.

⁷¹ Deseret Evening News (March 17, 1868), the article is printed from the Frontier Index and signed only Legh. However, Legh Freeman was the paper's publisher and the name for the town, Freemansburgh, is highly suggestive of a last name for the author.

⁷² Deseret News (August 29, 1868). It appears Warren Foote, Erastus Snow, Joseph W. Young and Samuel Miles were in the group.

Shortly after Jacob Gates, one of the seven Presidents of Seventy at St. George, and Joseph W. Young were asked to "select suitable persons . . ." to locate a town near the mouth of the Rio Virgin.⁷³ On February 8, 1869, Joseph W. Young took seven men with him to begin the actual settlement. Joseph Asay was one of these seven. They also took a boat and seine and "tools for making water ditches and building cabins."⁷⁴ D. G. Brian reported a few days later that the men were "busy leveling--others are putting in grain and seeds. Bro. Asay and company are busy fishing; the fish are abundant and consist of salmon, pickerel, and a kind of humpbacked sucker."⁷⁵

A persistent problem for the travelers in the area was the poor roads. Travel along the Virgin River required frequent crossings. Such was true of the road south from St. Thomas to Junction City. [Elijah] Elmore reported to the Deseret News (May 9, 1869): "It may be interesting to some of your readers to know that Bro. Joseph Asay and myself have found a tolerable fair road to Junction City without having to cross the Virgin River. A little labor would make it a good road."

During the summer of 1869 it appears that only Joseph Asay and sons remained at the river fishing and gathering drift wood for fuel.

⁷³See Pearson Stan Corbett, "A History of the Muddy Mission," (M. A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968), p. 85. Corbett's work provides a good general treatment, but is wanting in exactness and detail.

⁷⁴Deseret News (March 3, 1869).

⁷⁵Deseret News (February 12, 1869).

Possibly other men were there part of the time. When John Wesley Powell's expedition arrived on the evening of August 30, 1869, he reported meeting Mr. Asa and his sons (three men and a boy), the first white men they had seen since the Duchesne Agency.

Immediately the Asays began "cooking all they could for us of fish, squashes, etc., and," says George Y. Bradley, "we ate until I a.m. . . . too full for utterance."⁷⁶ The following day James Leithead and Andrew Gibbons arrived with mail and melons. The feast and talk lasted into the night. September 1 the Powells returned with the Mormons to St. Thomas enroute to Salt Lake City while his crew headed on down the Colorado.⁷⁷ Only three weeks later Lt. George M. Wheeler reported that "two Mormon fishermen inhabit a little hut, and catch a few fish from the river. . . ."⁷⁸

Later that season Joseph Asay's wife and at least six sons joined him at Junction City. The Swartze family was also called to settle there to "keep outsiders from taking possession." By January 1870 a band of hungry Indians located near the mouth of the river were posing a serious problem to the Mormons. Swartze reacted by going to St. Thomas to ask Bishop Leithead for a release. He reported that they had to feed the

⁷⁶ See Journals of the Powell Expedition in Utah Historical Quarterly XV, pp. 26, 72 and 122-123.

⁷⁷ Ibid. See also James Leithead, Journal, (Typescript: Brigham Young University Library). Andrew Gibbons and Leithead took supplies to Powell. Later Leithead complained that Powell gave Brigham Young credit for the foods.

⁷⁸ Wheeler, Preliminary, p. 8. Wheeler noted the success of the Powell expedition.

Indians to keep them quiet but they had little food. Their teams could hardly get grass to eat.

Swartze reported that Asay had asked "three Gentiles to go down and engage in fishing" as his partners, a rather modest arrangement in view of his exposed position. Leithead reacted by condemning Asay in a letter to James G. Bleak. He added: "I think that Bro. Asay has told them some big tale about a main thoroughfare crossing the river at that point and that there can be money made in establishing a ferry, etc." Leithead indicated further the expenses already involved in the Mormon effort to "hold that place." He did not believe the few gentiles could control the Virgin River and raise crops. But he concluded with: "the country is swarming with stragglers watching for all such chances. If they are let alone, others will flock to them and away goes another town site on the Colorado."⁷⁹ Leithead asked for a prompt answer. Erastus Snow replied, asking that they hold the area until Brigham Young arrived in March.

Perhaps in response to Leithead's plea and at least to answer it, Brigham Young, then visiting in St. George, decided to make the trip to the Muddy settlements in company with George A. Smith, Erastus Snow, several wives, C. R. Savage and others. The Muddy saints had known of his coming and of his desire to visit the Colorado River, to explore settlement sites to the south. Leithead said: "Word was sent us, could we furnish a flatboat capable to carry wagon and team, or would he have

⁷⁹"Letter of James Leithead to James G. Bleak, January 23, 1870," (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office).



Figure 11. Brigham Young and party, Junction City, Colorado River, February 1870 (courtesy Utah State Historical Society)

to bring one along." Since there was no timber nearby teams were sent sixty miles for timber which was whip-sawed when it arrived. A cottonwood sappling was trimmed to make the gunnels. The flat boat was constructed, then dismantled, hauled the twenty-five miles to the Colorado, then reassembled, caulked and readied for the President.⁸⁰

On March 17 "President Young and party made a pleasure excursion to the mouth of the Rio Virgin." They were generally disappointed when they saw how small the Colorado River was. Because of his disappointment with the whole area, Brigham Young did not use the twenty-six foot by ten foot "good speciman of flatboat architecture," to ferry over the river. He said the "Gentiles" could have the area. Mr. C. R. Savage took pictures of the picnickers. Brother Asay's oxen had kept the grass gleaned clean.⁸¹ George A. Smith suggested the Junction City site could best be irrigated with windmills. The following day the party returned.⁸² This visit scheduled the end for Junction City. That fall a vote was called for, to determine the fate of all the Muddy-Virgin colonies. The overwhelming reaction was to abandon them. Apparently Joseph Asay voted against the move, but decided to follow the saints when they left in February 1871. Perhaps the Mormons, and Asay most of all, sensed the potential that was there at Junction City. But major Mormon objectives no longer needed to "hold the area." Peace had come

⁸⁰ Liethead, p. 9.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Deseret News (April 13, 1870).

with the Navajo to the east and taxes had come in Nevada. Both were forces to move the settlers to Utah.

Stone's Ferry

Several factors are difficult to determine accurately regarding the ferry service at the mouth of the Virgin River. Without question Joseph Asay did some ferrying between 1869 and 1870 with the small skiff taken down by the original settlers in January 1869 and perhaps with the larger "barge" constructed by James Leithead and others for Brigham Young to cross his outfits over on the occasion of his visit there in March 1870. Just when Asay and Swartze left the site is not known, but their ferry services had been used and the need for such accommodations established. Nor is the fate of the skiff and barge known. It is possible they were dismantled and the lumber used for other purposes by the settlers as they prepared to leave the valley early in 1871, or they may have been abandoned or lost to the capricious Colorado River; or, more likely, sold to "Gentiles" frequenting the area. However, these are only suppositions.

The first definite data about Stone's Ferry comes from Lt. Wheeler in September 1871, who records on the 29th: "Camp No. 13, near mouth of Virgin River. . . . Two settlers are found who have just arrived for the purpose of establishing a ferry to aid prospectors en route to the Hualapais Mines, in Arizona."⁸³ It is suggested that one man was James (Jim) Thompson who was operating the ferry during the early

⁸³Wheeler, Geological . . . , vol. 1, p. 160.

1870's.⁸⁴ The other may have been a man by the name of Stone⁸⁵ for whom it was named. Again this is a supposition but likely correct, since the name Stone was well known both in publications and on maps in the 1870's and into the 1880's.⁸⁶ In any case, business expanded. The Pioche Daily Record (June 9, 1875) noted that "Thompson is building a ferry boat at Stone's Crossing of the Colorado so that travelers will have no difficulty in the future crossing that stream." He also mined and hauled salt to a barge at his crossing. That same year the Army engineers also sent Captain Bergman to measure the Colorado's stream flow (18,410 cubic feet per second) at Stone's Ferry. At least one major crossing was also made in the fall of 1875. Henry Fountain Ashurst, who inherited his father's band of sheep, drove them from Red Bluff, California to the Virgin River to cross into Arizona at Stone's Ferry. With his family, he moved south onto the Big Sandy River. The following spring they located a ranch south of what is now Williams, Arizona.⁸⁷

A party of migrating Mormons reached "Stone's Ferry" January 31, 1877. They were ferried across without mishap or complaint except for the charges--apparently about \$10.00 per wagon. As there were

⁸⁴ Barnes, pp. 203-204.

⁸⁵ Barnes, p. 224. Barnes states categorically that "A man named Stone established this ferry."

⁸⁶ Richard J. Hinton, Handbook to Arizona . . . (Tucson: The Arizona Silhouette, 1954), pp. 372 and xlv.

⁸⁷ George F. Sparks, Introductory Remarks to "Three years of the Diary of Henry Fountain Ashurst, 1910-1913," Arizona and the West, III (Spring 1961), 8.

twenty-two or twenty-four outfits, the day's take for the ferryman was very good. The Joseph McRae family apparently bore much of the cost, giving up "one wagon, some horses, and a little money."⁸⁸ The party consisted of eighty-three people including the families of Daniel W. Jones, Dan P. Jones, Philemon C. Merrill, Dudley J. Merrill, Thomas Merrill, Adelbert Merrill, Henry C. Rogers, George Steele, Thomas Biggs, Ross R. Rogers, John D. Brady, Joseph McRae, Isaac Turley, and Austin O. Williams. They had left Santa Clara January 17, 1877, crossed over the Beaver Dam Mountains and continued south and west along the Virgin. Under the able guidance of frontiersman Daniel W. Jones, they arrived at the ferry in good shape and good time. Their route, once across the Colorado River, led them south and east up Detrital Wash to Mountain Springs where they had to buy water, on to Mineral Park, to Hualapai Valley, Anvil Rock and south to the Salt River where they settled. Theirs was the nucleus for the town of Mesa.⁸⁹ Lee Newman recalled later in his life that his family had crossed the ferry with stock from Austin, Nevada in 1877 also.⁹⁰

It was during this period that Thompson sold out to Daniel Bonelli. With him came a new era.

⁸⁸

W. Earl Merrill, One Hundred Steps Down Mesa's Past (Mesa: Lofgreen Printing Company, 1970), pp. 16-18. Merrill's account is perhaps the most detailed. He refers to both James H. McClintock, Mormon Settlements in Arizona (Phoenix: Manufacturing Stationers, Inc., 1921), pp. 203-204, and Daniel V. Jones, Forty Years Among the Indians. . . . (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1960), pp. 290-292. All accounts identify the location as Stone's Ferry.

⁸⁹

Ibid.

⁹⁰

See story in Las Vegas Sun (June 10, 1947).

Daniel Bonelli

No other person can claim as great a part of the Colorado River's history in this portion as pioneer Daniel Bonelli. Born in Bussorg, Switzerland in 1836, he and his family joined the Mormon Church when Daniel was a young man. He served as a missionary for the L.D.S. Church to his own people for a couple of years before immigrating to "Zion" in 1859. His route to America was via England. Here the family joined other converts also sailing to America. While on board ship Bonelli met Ann Haigh, an English girl about two years his senior. They were married soon after landing in the United States.

Immediately they proceeded to Utah where Daniel helped his father with a weaving business and also served as a secretary for Brigham Young. Bonelli was well educated, speaking and writing English, Italian, German and French. In the fall of 1861 he was selected to lead a colony of Swiss saints to Santa Clara to produce wine and other products. They traveled with such merriment as to attract the attention of settlements along the way; their brass band being a special attraction.

The new settlers were victims of the heavy floods at Santa Clara and on the Virgin River that winter, 1861-1862. Bonelli maintained a regular correspondence with church headquarters in Salt Lake City, noting developments and problems particularly the summer shortage of water on the Santa Clara River. With the Mormon thrust toward the Colorado River in 1865, Bonelli joined Henry W. Miller and moved his family to Millersburg in 1865. He soon re-established his vineyards and gardens at the new location.

His letters present an unusually clear and thorough picture of the area. Being of a scientific disposition, Bonelli pursued a renaissance span of interests from mining to meteorology and from vine culture to cotton production. In late December 1867 another flood destroyed his homesteads in Beaver Dam Wash. With a kind of stoic resolution he wrote: "Young orchards and vineyards . . . have taken passage toward the Pacific. The rich alluvial land on which they stood melted away before the roaring tide of turbid water. . . ." ⁹¹ Bonelli himself moved to St. Thomas soon after.

At his third home in "Dixie," Bonelli again planted his orchards and vineyards and preached the development of the area including steam navigation of the river or a railroad into the region. He believed that seasonal missionaries who returned north during the summer could not tame the desert. He pushed hard for consistent, systematic development of the settlements, apparently sensing the insecurity of many of the settlers. He built an adobe home for his family at St. Thomas, which remained standing until desolved by the rising waters of Lake Mead in the 1930's.

Bonelli believed in the area's potential. When the Mormon settlers voted to leave in December 1870, the Bonelli family concluded they had already moved too much. They would not go. Their fourth child was born February 1, 1871. Bonelli declared that he had not left the Mormon Church; it had left him. In August 1871 he wrote the Lincoln

⁹¹Deseret News (January 29, 1968).

County Commissioners reporting on the Mormon move and lamenting their loss to the State of Nevada.

Bonelli became southern Nevada's first citizen, producing grapes and wine, garden produce and grain. He watched carefully the expansion of mining in the area and marketed his produce where he could. Bonelli soon discovered two major economic needs for that region: (1) a good ferry to cross transients over the Colorado River, and (2) foodstuff, feed and salt for the miners and mines in the area. Bonelli's vision led him to focus on the mouth of the Virgin River where crops and stock could be grown and to which barges and steamers could come for produce and salt, and where supplies also could be crossed for the northern Arizona markets. Daniel Bonelli expanded his St. Thomas holdings to locate a second, and for himself at least, a dominant home-
stead at Rioville on the Colorado River.⁹²

Rioville

When Bonelli purchased Stone's Ferry he did not rely upon Mormon traffic for the major portion of his business. The miners and their needs provided more permanent prospects. Thus, soon after establishing himself at the Colorado River, Bonelli moved the ferry boat up river to the east side of the Virgin River. He also built a crude cabin from drift wood logs. With this Bonelli was in business. Later Bonelli added to his buildings at Rioville. M. R. Harrington provides an excellent description:

⁹² Joe Perkins, "Taped Interview."

The ranch-house in particular was Bonelli's pride and joy. It was a large stone structure on a terrace overlooking the hurrying waters of the Colorado, on the Nevada side just above the mouth of the Virgin. Along the east and south sides ran a high porch, formed by an extension of the flat roof, and supported by wooden pillars. Inside were six good-sized rooms, five of them warmed by fireplaces, and there was a large storeroom or cellar running back into the hill against which the house was built. The roof was supported by heavy, hand-hewed beams, concealed from below with painted canvas, tacked on to form the ceiling of the rooms. Upon the beams lay planks, and on these again was spread adobe clay, extra thick as a protection against the heat of the desert sun in summer. Around the edge of the roof ran a fancy railing and a hand-cut decorative cornice, such as are sometimes seen on Spanish-California haciendas.

The various other buildings, log and adobe, on the place furnished quarters to the white ranch-hands and visitors, with the necessary granaries, storerooms, a blacksmith shop and a gristmill run by burro power. There were several corrals, and the Indian ranch hands had a camp of their own a little way up the Virgin River.⁹³

Travelers to the crossing spoke of the fine home and small ranch Bonelli had. With water from the Virgin River he grew alfalfa hay which was sold to the miners. In addition, he raised garden produce, especially melons, and fruits, including grapes from which also he made wine. He also milked a few cows and sold the milk. Eventually he had several hundred stock on his ranch and was able to market beef as far away as El Dorado, most of which was trailed overland.⁹⁴

The ferry itself underwent several modifications during Bonelli's

⁹³ M. R. Harrington, "History goes under the Dam," (February 1936), pp. 1-2 (File: L. D. S. Church Historian's Office).

⁹⁴ Joe Perkins, "Taped Interview." Perkins reported his trip from Bonelli's Landing to El Dorado at the age of twelve, probably in about 1886. He helped drive cattle to market.



Figure 12. Bonelli Ferry - looking upstream, Stanton Survey 1890 (courtesy National Archives)

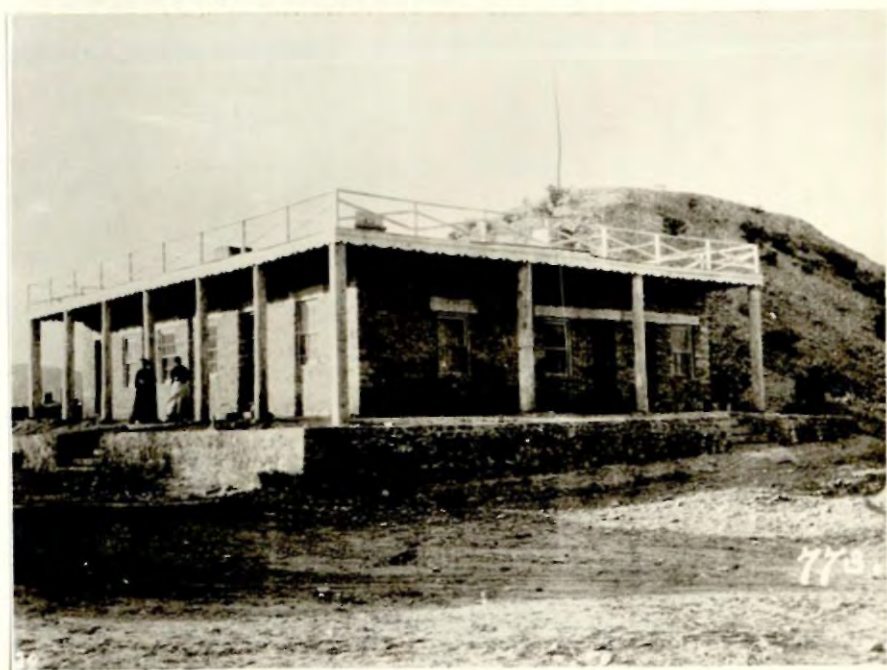


Figure 13. Daniel Bonelli Home, Rioville Stanton Survey 1890 (courtesy National Archives)

operation of it. From the north the road from St. Thomas came down the west side of the Virgin River to near Echo Wash where a crossing was made and continued to Bonelli's ranch.⁹⁵ The road then descended to the river a little east of the house itself. Bonelli often employed Indians to pull the boat up river two or three hundred yards so that they could row across the river and strike the south bank above the steep gravel banks of Detrital Wash. The exit on the south, even so, was often steep and difficult. Nelson Pearce who worked at the ferry in about 1895 indicated that one of Bonelli's boats was big enough to hold two four-horse outfits side by side; however, the picture of the boat taken by Robert B. Stanton in 1890 shows a much smaller one. Pearce also recalled the color of the two rivers at their confluence--the yellowish Colorado and the reddish Virgin which flowed together with little blending for some distance down river. Later Bonelli apparently had a cable tied to the banks so that men could pull the craft across the river.⁹⁶

Ferry fees varied somewhat over the years. However, Bonelli established some rather standard prices--\$3.00 per team, \$1.00 for a man on a horse, \$4.00 for a four-horse outfit, and fifty cents for loose stock. Many travelers swam their stock, especially at low water, unless an animal was particularly valuable. On one occasion a traveler

⁹⁵R. F. Perkins, "Personal Interview," (March 21, 1968), Overton, Nevada.

⁹⁶Nelson Pearce, "Personal Interview," (March 14, 1968), St. George, Utah. See also Walter Iverson, "Personal Interview," (March 19, 1968), Washington, Utah. See also Washington Leavitt, "Personal Interview," (March 21, 1868), Mesquite, Nevada.

with a fine saddle horse believed Bonelli's price too high so attempted to swim the animal over the river. The strong currents pulled the horse under and he drowned.⁹⁷

An unusual event occurred at the ferry about 1900. Apparently a traveling circus had been performing throughout southern Nevada and decided to cross at Bonelli's en route to the mining towns of northern Arizona. Bonelli moved them across without mishap by about ten o'clock in the morning. When asked his charges for the services, Bonelli quoted a figure of \$50.00. The circus people offered to pay but claimed they had only a \$1,000.00 bill. Bonelli double checked with them about smaller change, but they maintained that was all they had, apparently thinking the ferryman could not change such a large bill which would allow them a free crossing. However, Bonelli took the bill, crossed the river with his boats to get change, which he had. But he left them waiting on the other side for twenty-four hours before he recrossed with their money.⁹⁸ Bonelli's reputation for honesty and efficiency was widespread.

By the 1880's Rioville was well established. Mention has been made already of travelers re-routed from Pearce's Ferry because of high water. Following close behind that group was the Joseph E. Johnson party consisting of "eleven wagons and multitudinous belongings." Bonelli crossed them on July 6 and 7, 1882, also without problems. In his plea to the Silver Reef paper Bonelli asked for responsible direction from Mr.

⁹⁷Joe Perkins, "Taped Interview."

⁹⁸Leavitt, "Interview."

Mr. Pearce and the people at St. George.⁹⁹

About this same time (November 2, 1881) a post office was established at Rioville with Daniel Bonelli as postmaster. It remained open officially until June 30, 1906. When the salvage excavations were made before building Boulder Dam, the workers located bundles of letters in Bonelli's house, many of them addressed to miners by family members who hoped to locate relatives there. The post office served not only Bonelli's family but Mike Scanlon and Tom Gregg up river and miners who were working various digs and placers nearby. It also acted as a way station for the Star Route mails going to and from Pioche, St. Thomas, El Dorado Canyon, Hackberry, White Hills and other northern Arizona towns. Several young men served as riders on these routes-- James Nixon, Walter Iverson, Edward Kelsey, Ben Jones, and others. They often stopped at Bonelli's at night. Across the Colorado River the desert travel south was hot, dry, and perilous. James Nixon recorded that en route to El Dorado he would often go to sleep while riding his horse.¹⁰⁰ At the end of the line, the rider would rest two or three days before heading back to his home base. Ben Jones was killed by Indians while carrying mail. At first mail service was erratic and weekly. Later it increased to three times a week for most service.

In addition to the mails, a stage line, of sorts, was operated by Henry (Harry) Gentry from St. Thomas north to Pioche and other posts

⁹⁹ Silver Reef Miner (July 22, 1882). See also The St. George Union (June 1882).

¹⁰⁰ Nixon, p. 25.

of Nevada and Utah, and south to cross at Bonelli's Ferry to continue on to White Hills, Chloride and Hackberry in Arizona. The general route was identified as early as 1877, with the distance from the mouth of the Virgin to Prescott calculated at 203 miles.¹⁰¹ Service did not extend that far when the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad reached Kingman. After that supplies from the south also fed northward to the mining towns.

Freight was also hauled through this area. By 1880 the Mormons had not only established two new colonies at Bunkerville and Mesquite, Nevada, but a few families were beginning to return to St. Thomas and other Muddy River settlements abandoned about ten years earlier. These settlers soon were producing abundantly and looked to the mining towns of northern Arizona for their markets. With the boom of the White Hills during the 1890's, hundreds of tons of produce crossed the river at Bonelli's en route to the miners.

Albert Hafen and Henry Leavitt both freighted across the Colorado River. Problems were constant and with fresh produce, time was of the essence. Washington Leavitt of Mesquite, Nevada, reports he arrived at Bonelli's Ferry about 1895 with a load of ripe peaches. Because he had been delayed by quicksand in the Virgin River and because the weather was very hot, he discovered his peaches were perishing. Bonelli recognized his dilemma and gave him \$50.00 for them. When asked by his wife Ann why he had done it, Bonelli said because he cared. Ann's retort supposedly was: "Yes, but just how much do you care."

¹⁰¹Hinton, pp. xxxviii and 372-374.

At least Leavitt was one grateful lad.¹⁰² The trip to White Hills became an ordinary experience for these settlers.

As late as 1902, When J. B. Lippencott arrived at Bonelli Ferry, he was able to obtain freight rates for supplies shipped in from Chloride, Arizona--sixty-five miles for \$20.00 a ton. Bonelli and his sons, particularly Frank (Benjamin Franklin) also hauled salt from the Salt Mountain as far south and east as the Chloride, Hackberry area, and later all the way to New Mexico for the stockmen, sometimes selling a whole outfit--salt, teams and all.¹⁰³

Bonelli Ferry - River Landing. Trappers and other early explorers had claimed the Colorado River was navigable at least upstream as far as the Virgin River. Talk of navigation as far as the Virgin persisted among the Muddy Mormons until their departure in 1871. Jim Thompson barged salt from Stone's Ferry in 1875. This abundance of crystal salt along the Virgin River became an important resource. Bonelli, ever alert to minerals and to mining developments in the region, recognized its value to the mills at El Dorado. He early began hauling salt to the river for the mills below, a market that continued for years, and was expanded when other settlers returned to the abandoned settlements.

The salt was blasted loose with powder and hauled away. In some cases it was simply suspended to the running gears with ropes to minimize the load for the teams. In other instances it was loaded into a box

¹⁰²Leavitt, "Interview."

¹⁰³Miller, "Interview," and Ora Grunninger, "Personal Interview," (March 23, 1968), Kingman, Arizona.

bed. Salt was hauled as far north as St. George and Silver Reef. Crossing the quicksand was hazardous. When a team got stuck a second team would be hitched on the front to help. If this tactic was inadequate, a chain was sometimes hitched to the upper part of the rear wheel and pulled on lever-like to break the wagon loose from the quicksand. In some instances, loads of salt had to be unloaded completely, carried to shore by hand and re-loaded, bad enough with one crossing, disastrous with thirty-five or more. But salt would always sell, hence the poor pioneers persisted. Their sentiments evolved the "Salt Song" sung by teamsters and others alike:

"Salt"

The folks in this country's light hearted and gay;
 They haul the heavy salt to get some store pay,
 And when they come to get it, they had none at all,
 And then at such prices they swore they wouldn't haul.

Hoorah! Horay!
 They're hauling salt yet,
 And if they stick to it,
 They'll come out in debt.

They break down their wagons or else they'll get stuck
 Or mire their horses and have some bad luck
 etc. . . . ¹⁰⁴

Bonelli continually tried to secure his claims to the Salt Mountain, ¹⁰⁵
 and was so engaged shortly before his death in 1903. But other business

¹⁰⁴ Perkins, "Taped Interview." Perkins sings this "song" on the tape. See also Arthur Hughes, "Personal Interview," (March 21, 1968), Mesquite, Nevada.

¹⁰⁵ "W. S. Mills to Daniel Bonelli, October 21, 1891." This letter is in the Southwest Mining Company letter book in the possession of Elbert Edwards, Boulder City, Nevada.

was important to river freighting also. Bonelli supplied produce, especially hay, down river to El Dorado Canyon. His accounts with the Southwest Mining Company indicate the company was a major market.¹⁰⁶ As fuel was also needed down river both for the mills and for steamers on the river, Bonelli caught drift wood from the river, hired Indians to cut it up, and then sold it for a profit.

All of these activities together supported limited navigation of the upper river, mainly between 1880 and 1887. The steamer Gila and a small powered sloop Southwester frequented the landing during those years. Jack Mellon is credited with most of the trade, although Captain Polhamus may have brought the Gila there on one trip. Arthur Hughes recalled seeing a steamer at the landing loading salt and hay.¹⁰⁷

Daniel Bonelli, Ann, and their children lived at Rioville for many years. Travelers on the river met them. W. H. Edwards reported in 1890 that Bonelli had a family there and that Jack Mellon came there with a steamer for salt.¹⁰⁸ Stanton observed with interest Bonelli's place and was pleased with his interest in a railroad to the area.¹⁰⁹ In 1902 J. B. Lippencott obtained meteorological data from Bonelli, who had operated a volunteer meteorological station for years.

¹⁰⁶"W. S. Mills to Daniel Bonelli, October 24, 1891." Ibid.

¹⁰⁷Hughes, "Interview."

¹⁰⁸William Hiram Edwards, "Notes," pp. 47 and 98 (File: Grand Canyon National Park Library, South Rim, Arizona).

¹⁰⁹Stanton, Field Notes, p. 94.

The End of Bonelli Ferry

Bonelli was regarded as a true pioneer by his peers. He was generally reported to be kind, generous, and honest. He seemed to get along well with the Indians, although one Piute named Mouse did go on the rampage from Bonelli's ranch. Since the story is well reported elsewhere, it merits only brief review here. Mouse was fired by Bonelli, went to Hackberry to work, later shot several men in the area of Colorado River before being hunted and cornered by both whites and Indians and then killed.¹¹⁰

By 1900 business at the ferry had slowed and river freight had disappeared. Bonelli leased the ferry and farm for one year. As the lessee did poorly with it, Bonelli ran it again in 1902. But the water supply, in the Virgin River used by other settlements, had become inadequate to raise good crops and vineyards. And so Bonelli leased it again the following year. That November Daniel Bonelli traveled to Pioche, Nevada to file on his salt claims. While returning he had a stroke, from which he never fully recovered. December 20, 1903, he died. In accord with his wishes he was buried behind his home near the Colorado River.

Bonelli's son Frank ran the ferry for a short time. The large barge was washed down river in 1904 and lost. On June 30, 1906, Rioville post office closed officially. Frank Bonelli and his mother moved away, first to St. Thomas, and later to Arizona. Ann Haigh Bonelli died at

¹¹⁰George R. Perkins, "On the Trail of A Renegade Pahute," (Unpublished article: Nevada Historical Society Library, Reno, Nevada).

Kingman in her son George's home March 19, 1911. Although the Bonellis had left, their imprint remained, both at the crossing and in the names of other landmarks along the river.¹¹¹

When Julius F. Stone passed the Virgin River November 16, 1909, he recorded:

Bonelli's Ferry above the mouth of the Virgin River had also been abandoned. No one is living in the house once occupied by those who attended the crossing.¹¹²

A little over three years later the Kolb Brothers (January 1913) noted:

A large flat-topped, adobe [rock] building, apparently deserted stood off at one side of the stream.¹¹³

Reclamation surveys followed shortly, with some excavation of the Indian ruins nearby. Bonelli's grave¹¹⁴ was moved before Lake Mead covered the crossing completely. Now hundreds of feet under water, Bonelli's Ferry is recalled only as Bonelli's Landing, a spot on the south shore of the lake. But on a clear night one can still see the stars hang from the black sky and at least emphathize with Daniel Bonelli and understand why his home had a flat roof on which they could sleep, and why his wife Ann believed the stars were forces to shape men's destinies.

Daniel Bonelli as a pioneer is an enigma, too much a renaissance

¹¹¹ Mrs. Lynn (Pearl) Whitmore, "Daniel and Ann Bonelli," (Unpublished article written by a granddaughter, Overton, Nevada).

¹¹² Stone, p. 104.

¹¹³ Kolb, p. 275.

¹¹⁴ Emery, "Interview." Emery reports he obtained the bell at Bonelli's ranch house.

man to be so far removed from the heartbeat of society. His life is a story yet to be told properly.

It was not the demise of Bonelli's Ferry that brought new forces into the area, rather the reverse was true. Reclamation became the big thrust for the region soon after the turn of the century. Eventually Boulder Dam (Hoover Dam) would be built to change the whole setting. However, some of that transition is relevant to this study.

Below Rioville there was no other crossing of consequence north of El Dorado Canyon. Occasional crossings were made by venturesome travelers above and at Callville, but only infrequently and under the most hazardous conditions. In 1869, two horse thieves tore the doors from the Callville warehouse to "ferry" across, but nearly drowned in the attempt. Some miners and travelers used the old landing for shelter and a camp site, but not as a crossing. With mining of placer lodes on the river, boats and skiffs were more common which allowed crossing at many spots.

Cashman's Ferry

Another ferry was established down river from Callville just above the head of Black Canyon. Ora Grunninger believed the ferry was established as early as 1915, but seems to have remembered incorrectly.¹¹⁵ More likely it was built in 1930 as a part of the reclamation effort. Jim Cashman built the ferry with a partner, Paul Schwartz, who

¹¹⁵ Grunninger, "Interview." He said there was a small building on the Nevada side when he crossed.

operated it before and during the construction of Hoover Dam.

The access roads into the ferry from the Arizona side were crooked and rough. Those on the Nevada side were less hazardous. The ferry itself operated by a cable with a double drum hoist mounted on the ferry, which supplied the power. It was used until the dam was completed.¹¹⁶ Like the others, it was inundated with the rising waters of Lake Mead.

Summary and Conclusion

The geography of the region caused the Colorado River to be a major obstacle to north-south traffic from Utah and Nevada into Arizona. The Grand Canyon area to the east and the desert to the west, coerced travelers to find crossings along the east-west course of the stream between the Grand Wash cliffs and the Great Bend. Three major sites were located and used for several decades--Pearce's Ferry, Scanlon or Gregg's Ferry, and Bonelli Ferry. The forces that prompted them were Mormon migration and mining generally. Pearce Ferry depended on the former effort almost entirely and ebbed and flowed with those migrations.

Scanlon's Ferry, with a unit of self-sufficiency, survived the other two, but never carried major migrations, excepting Nutter's cattle, perhaps. Mainly, it came to be and existed to meet the miners' needs. When mines were abandoned or when railroad routes reached nearer than horse-drawn freighters from the Virgin River, the ferry was no longer needed.

¹¹⁶ Emery, "Interview." See also "Letter to the writer c. April 1, 1968."

Finally, Bonelli's Ferry, the most natural route, because it was at the mouth of the Virgin River, was something beyond the other two. Part of it was location, part the factor of navigation and nearby salt and produce, and part Daniel Bonelli himself, who saw the potential and who stayed to exploit it. When he died so did the ferry. Except for him, both the ferry masters and those who used it were transients going somewhere across the Colorado.

By the mid-1880's the railroads had reached the suppliers of northern Arizona. By 1909, the railroad touched Las Vegas. North-south travel then was limited to local travel almost exclusively. But the major changes came as men sought to tame the river itself. Its ram-bunctious excapades in 1905-1906 caused Californians to cry for controls. In time reclamation came and Boulder Dam, and Lake Mead. With them there, ferries became only a memory.

THE COLORADO CROSSINGS: BLACK CANYON TO THE NEEDLES

When compared with the crossings above Black Canyon, the crossings in this portion of the river reveal several contrasts. First of all, the large formation of River Bed Mountain has forced the Colorado River to change its general westerly direction, ninety degrees to flow south. Also, rather than cutting across the basin ranges and valleys, the stream flowed in one of those depressions. Further, the rate of fall per mile decreased markedly with increased deposition of the stream load. As a consequence, sand bars and shoals were more in evidence in this lower river area.

Several other contracts are observed. Traffic through the area above Black Canyon traveled north and south, usually between the mines and settlements of Southern Nevada and Arizona. While much of the traffic crossing the river below Black Canyon related to the mining centers of Northern Arizona and Southern Nevada, there was major traffic also east and west to and from California. Certain phases of this travel have already been reviewed.

The general region of the Colorado River was desert, both above and below Black Canyon. However, the upper region did have the Virgin River as a main artery of travel into the area and to the Colorado River at Bonelli Ferry. Below Black Canyon only springs provided water

along access routes. The region was hot, dry, and sandy. Of course, Northern Arizona was served by both sets of crossings. Finally, the availability of steamboats to the lower crossings made them accessible to additional clientele and allowed occasional crossings of the river in the area quite independent of the established ferries at El Dorado Canyon, at Cottonwood Island (Searchlight), at Hardyville, and at Fort Mojave or Beale's Crossing.

The use of ferries in the lower portion was associated generally with permanent or semi-permanent establishments, whether mining or military. It is the purpose of this chapter to focus on the history of these crossings, not on the posts or communities themselves. The analysis will follow downstream from Black Canyon.

Willow Beach

Since the Colorado River had long been inhabited by the Indians, they were obviously the first ones to determine the best places for crossings. Apparently from pre-historic times, one of the earliest trade routes from the Virgin-Muddy River settlements to the Southwest, crossed through Black Canyon at what today is Willow Beach. Recent excavation has identified trade goods coming from as far away as the Pacific Ocean.¹ This crossing was likely restricted to human traffic only.

In 1826 Jed Smith's expedition found itself entrapped in the maze

¹Ruth Simpson, "Mark Raymond Harrington: Father of Nevada Archeology," Nevada Historical Society Quarterly, VIII (Fall-Winter 1965), 12 and 19.

of canyons and lava flows as they moved south on the east bank of Black Canyon. It may be that his party obtained water at Willow Beach; however, this is speculation since Smith's description is not sufficiently clear to justify any certain conclusion. Other travelers did reach into Black Canyon both overland and on the river. Lt. Wheeler, on the latter course, suggests Willow Beach, especially from the east, as a likely point of approach.²

Nevertheless, no major crossings were made at this point, although placer miners for years used the area as a wintering spot. A permanent settlement of sorts was finally established after the Boulder Dam project got underway. About 1932 Al Jergason started his development as soon as the road from the east was opened. Here he maintained a boat to retrieve lumber lost at the construction site. His boat, the Iola, became the "freighter" of his day.³ Today a major fish hatchery is maintained at the site.

El Dorado

The name El Dorado may come from the home location, El Dorado County, California, of some of the original locators of the mineral claims in the area.⁴ They, however, were not the first ones to reach

² George M. Wheeler, Report Upon Geographical and Geological Explorations and Surveys, West of the One Hundredth Meridian, 6 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), vol. 1, pp. 158-159. Wheeler mentions a game trail coming to river.

³ Murl Emery, "Personal Interview," (March 22, 1968), Nelson, Nevada.

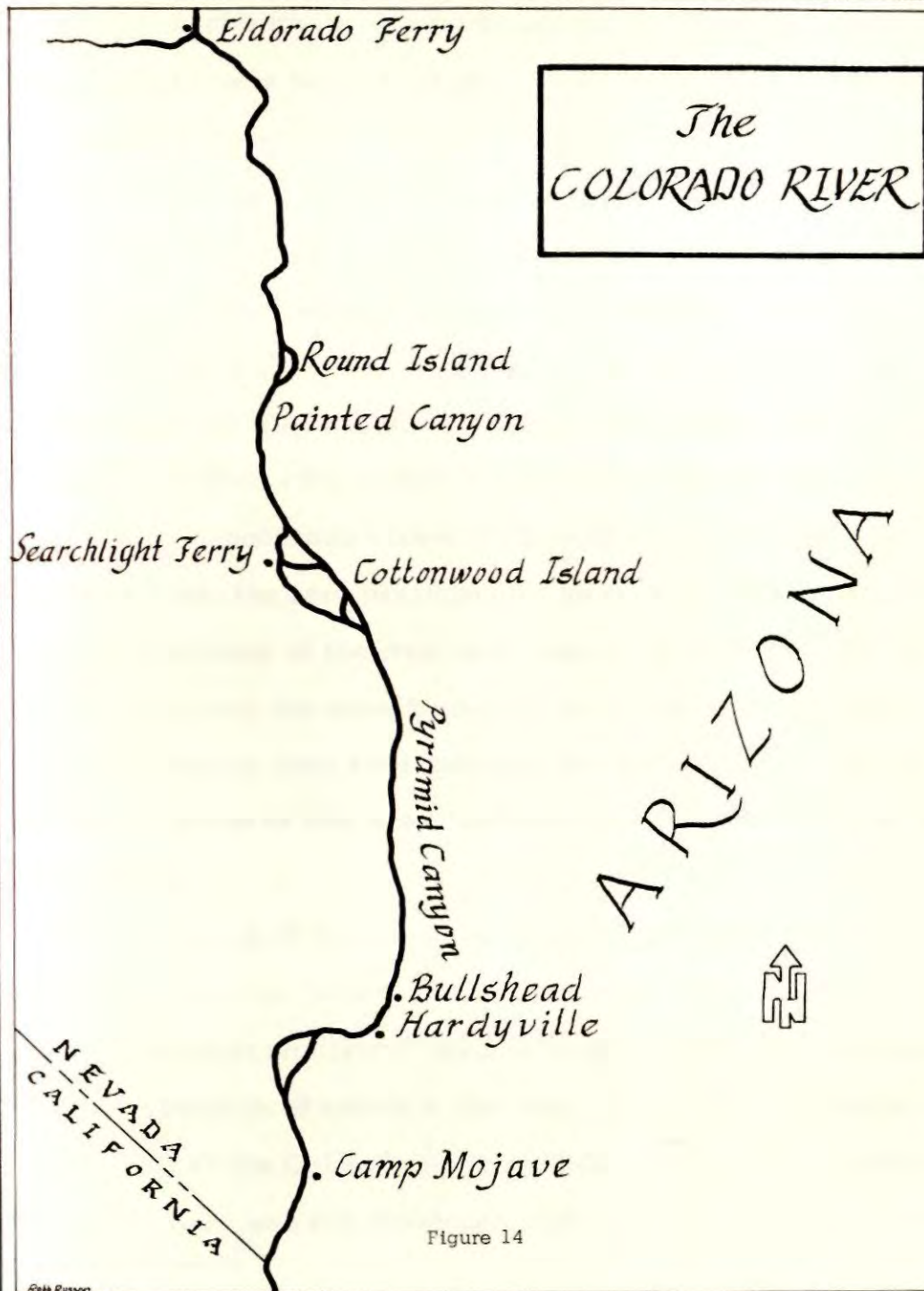
⁴ See Los Angeles Star (February 15, 1862), and (November 1, 1862). George A. Johnson claimed he named the canyon in 1858; however, he

the region. While it is possible that Spaniards may have pushed up river into the mineral rich regions before 1821, to date no document has confirmed this fact. The tradition that a group of Mexicans, following directions on an old map, discovered in a church in Mexico, arrived at the Techatticup Mine in the spring of 1882, lends support to such a conclusion, but is itself a story subject to verification.⁵

The earliest recorded non-Indian visitors were very like the Jed Smith party in 1826 who may have reached the river on the east bank. Other trappers no doubt visited the area in 1827 and 1828, but no record of a crossing has been found. In 1829 Ewing Young, with Kit Carson, and others traveled through Northwestern Arizona en route to California. Carson reported crossing the river below the "Big Canyon." With the opening of the Old Spanish Trail, other traders also passed through the area. However, no crossing is recorded before 1853. At that time Francis X. Aubrey came from California surveying his own route for a railroad to Santa Fe. It appears he may have crossed near El Dorado Canyon. The following year he brought a wagon with him. If, in fact, he did cross at this location, his boat would have been the first "ferry" at the river.

was not even there at that date. See also Dennis S. Casebier, Camp El Dorado, Arizona Territory, Soldiers, Steamboats, and Miners, on the Colorado River (Tempe: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1970), pp. 17 and 93.

⁵ Don Ashbaugh, Nevada's Turbulent Yesterday - A Study in Ghost Towns (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1963), pp. 48-56. See also John M. Townley, "Early Development of El Dorado Canyon and Searchlight Mining Districts," Nevada Historical Society Quarterly XI (Spring 1968), 9-10.



Mormon explorers in 1855 no doubt reached the upper drainages of El Dorado Canyon but did not get to the river that June. George W. Bean states he traveled to El Dorado while at the Las Vegas Mission between 1855-1856.⁶ Jacob Hamblin and missionaries probably reached the Colorado River near El Dorado in March 1858 en route to spy on Ives' Explorer. Ives himself stopped at El Dorado to repair his damaged craft. Later in April Amasa M. Lyman's party made its way down El Dorado Canyon to the Colorado River, at which point Piute Jim swam over and back across the stream while holding onto a log. However, none of these expeditions viewed or used the location as a "crossing." Most traffic into the area continued for several years to use the route along the west bank of the river or to stay in El Dorado Valley west of the mountains until far enough south to cross the river in Mojave Valley. Lt. George Price in May 1864 followed the latter route, while Anson Call, in December of that year, stayed close along the river to cross at Hardyville.

The problem at El Dorado as at other points below Black Canyon included not only the immediate obstacle of crossing the stream itself, but also the larger problem of descent to and ascent from the river, a change in elevation of nearly 3,000 feet. While the geographic logic of a crossing of the Colorado River at El Dorado Canyon is readily apparent, a ferry was not developed until the mines were discovered in

⁶ Flora Deanna Bean Horne, compiler, Autobiography of George W. Bean and His Family Record (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1945), p. 119.

the canyon and sufficient population accumulated to create demands for services with other communities.

Who first located claims in the area is still debated.⁷ Possibly soldiers from Camp Mojave were the first in 1859. Permanent claims were staked two years later by John Moss and Joseph Good. During the next few years El Dorado experienced a brief boom, acquiring a population of ninety by 1864 and prospects for four towns. The first ore was shipped in June 1864 and a second large load in December 1865. However, Indian troubles, inadequate protection, and isolation caused a temporary abandonment in 1866.⁸

To cope with the problem, soldiers were sent to establish Camp El Dorado in January 1867. When they reached their destination only three citizens were there to welcome them. One, Postmaster Frank S. Alling, appointed January 17, 1865, had just recently returned from a promotional venture to California.

During 1867-1869 bi-weekly mail reached El Dorado from St. George, via St. Thomas and Callville, on its way to Los Angeles. In 1869 Callville was abandoned entirely and the troops recalled from El Dorado. When the Mormons abandoned the Muddy settlements in early 1871, the mails moved through Las Vegas and south, by-passing El Dorado for some time. The El Dorado Post Office was temporarily abandoned but was re-established in 1879 and remained active until 1907.

⁷Ashbaugh, pp. 48-49.

⁸Casebier, pp. 17-21. See also Townley, pp. 13-15.

About 1870 the El Dorado Mining District was organized and a second boom began. A ten stamp mill was soon operating on the bank of the Colorado River. The Techatticup and other mines in the canyon provided great wealth with more than \$3,000,000.00 mined by 1879.⁹ Yet the cost of supplies--food, feed, fuel, and material--escalated. During the 1870's and 1880's most of these goods were provided by up river steamer, although the erratic Colorado made delivery uncertain and expensive.¹⁰ Some supplies were delivered overland during the late 1870's and 1880's, from the Muddy River settlers.¹¹ Wood, salt, and farm produce also came from Daniel Bonelli, located at the mouth of the Virgin River.

The turbulent, even violent history of El Dorado is of secondary importance to this study. John Nash acquired control of major properties in 1870, and soon sought to eliminate his partners, which led to several shootings. Senator George Hearst made large investments in El Dorado in 1872. Later the Minneapolis Company (South Western Mining Company) controlled most of the best mines and put a fifteen stamp mill in production where it remained in operation until the 1890's. When

⁹Townley, pp. 1-15.

¹⁰David F. Myrick, ed., Reproduction of Thompson and West's History of Nevada, 1881. . . (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1958), pp. 489-490. One estimate set wood at \$10.00 per cord delivered and freight via the river (1881) from the railroad at Yuma at \$80.00 per ton. By this date more than 600 locations had been filed.

¹¹See Myron W. Abbott, Diary, (Typescript: Utah State Historical Society), vol. 2, pp. 35-38.

¹²See copy of "Letter book of Southwestern Mining Company," (Utah

water was found near what became the town of Nelson, Nevada, mills were located nearer the mines rather than at the river. Then, with the boom in Searchlight after 1898, the mills were moved there. Later a narrow gauge railroad reached from the Searchlight mines to the river. The boom for El Dorado had passed.

El Dorado Ferry

The outwash of El Dorado Canyon created a large gravel-sandbar in the river immediately downstream and slowed the current at the ferry site. Steamers found some difficulty in negotiating the bar in low water. Most of the freight came to El Dorado Canyon up river during the 1870-1895 period; however, some freight did move overland. Harry Gentry freighted salt, hay, and other produce from Riverville in the 1890's. Daniel Bonelli would ferry the produce to the south bank of the Colorado at Detrital Wash (W. S. Mills, manager of the Southwest Mining Company, thought his \$2.50 per ton ferriage free to the lower landing too expensive). From that point Gentry freighted the goods south, up Detrital Wash, across the Black Mountains to the east bank of the Colorado River. At this point Indians were hired for \$2.00 per day to move the salt and goods over the river in the "Boat," at a cost to the company of approximately fifty cents per ton.¹³ Gentry also freighted

State Historical Society), original in possession of Elbert Edwards, Boulder City, Nevada.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 342-343 and 359-360. Bonelli and Mills apparently were both astute bargainers as the correspondence indicates. The letters are dated in March 1892.



Figure 15. El Dorado Landing - Steamer Gila and Barge, Stanton Survey 1890 (courtesy National Archives)



Figure 16. El Dorado Ferry - looking downstream Stanton Survey 1890 (courtesy National Archives)

supplies from Kingman, Arizona to El Dorado, no doubt via a similar pass across Black Mountains.

During the 1880's and 1890's the mails also moved to El Dorado via Bonelli Ferry. Edward Bunker was the regular mail carrier for several years. James Abbott in 1887 traveled from Rioville to El Dorado to where a small shack was located on the east bank and picked up mail from Mineral Park. With a boat he then ferried himself and mail across. The following day he returned to the east bank and back to Rioville. Mail was also sent directly to Mineral Park and the White Hills. Abbott reported meeting Albert Frehner, the mail carrier from that location.¹⁴ When Abbott reached the Colorado River, Daniel Bonelli ferried him and his horse over the river. After eating a lunch, Abbott saddled up another horse and returned to St. Thomas and Bunkerville. Walter Iverson reported delivering mail about 1900 from Bonelli Ferry to the White Hills and El Dorado, using a route similar to Abbott's.¹⁵

The maintenance and operation of El Dorado Ferry was sporadic and uncertain, being affected by the mineral prospects in the area very directly. This was particularly true after the mid 1890's. When J. B. Lippencott passed the site in 1902, he noted the mill sites but made no further commentary. Jeanne Elizabeth Wier reported her visit to El Dorado in July 1908, to collect Nevada history. It was not occupied.

¹⁴ "Life Sketch of James Smith Abbott, 1868-1929," Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries, vol. 14 (Typescript: Brigham Young University Library), pp. 13-16.

¹⁵ Walter Iverson, "Personal Interview," (March 29, 1968), Washington, Utah.

However, Harry Bauer of Las Vegas crossed the ferry in about 1908.¹⁶ Julius Stone purchased some supplies at El Dorado in 1909. Murl Emery reported bringing a dredge from the White Hills of Arizona to Nelson, Nevada in 1910 and crossing it at El Dorado Ferry.¹⁷

A report in the Mojave County Miner (1916) noted a ferry in operation at El Dorado Canyon; nevertheless, the ferry had limited use. Finally, in 1919 a major flood washed out the ferry carrying the barge three miles down river and piled it up on the sunken gold dredge. Murl Emery recalls the event in these words:

This was no cause for sorrow. It would keep the El Dorado ferryman from starving and give us (dad and I) some more business, and it did, possibly one car, maybe a team and wagon, horse and rider more to us a week.¹⁸

This flood apparently ended the El Dorado Ferry's story. Within little more than a decade traffic would be routed across Boulder Dam. In the meantime the Searchlight Ferry picked up most of the traffic. Today El Dorado Canyon leads down to Lake Mojave. En route one passes the old mines and mills, and site of Camp El Dorado. The rugged, inhospitable character of the area remains visible. The ferry is underwater, but the setting that caused it to be can still be seen and understood.

Searchlight Ferry

Below El Dorado Canyon the Colorado continued on a winding course

¹⁶ Murl Emery, "Personal Interview," (February 16, 1972), Nelson, Nevada.

¹⁷ Emery, (1968).

¹⁸ Murl Emery, "Letter to writer," (c. January 15, 1972).

over several minor rapids and sand bars, divided its waters around Round Island, before passing into Painted Canyon that marked the upper limits of Cottonwood Valley. The valley itself extended south about ten miles. Rapids at the upper end of Pyramid Canyon marked its lower limits. The low Searchlight hills on the west and Union Pass in the Black Mountains to the east permitted crossings through this valley in several places.

The Indians not only crossed the river in this valley but established permanent homes in the area, farming both Cottonwood Island (several miles long) and the low valley floors nearby which were inundated seasonally with the muddy runoff. Likely the first American visitor was Jed Smith, although he did not identify the island in 1826. Trappers the following season made no mention of Cottonwood Valley either.

It is possible that Ewing Young's 1829 expedition to California provided the first instance of a crossing in this vicinity. Their account mentions Indian villages and Indians from whom they purchased supplies. These facts, along with their southwesterly course from the river to California, both suggest such a location rather than one at El Dorado Canyon. Many other trappers and traders passed by the area en route to California, but no regular crossing was established.

It is likely that F. X. Aubrey's crossings in both 1853 and 1854 were in this area, although scholarship to date suggests his vehicles were ferried upstream near El Dorado. Even the Mormons who trekked into the area in the 1855-1858 interim passed by without crossing or at least leaving a record of it. However, the 1858 meeting between Lt.

Joseph C. Ives (who at night usually secured his Explorer on the east bank) and the Mormons who were traveling along the west bank constituted, in effect, a crossing and the first official ferrying in Cottonwood Valley. Lt. Ives' maps of the area provide excellent, early detail.

As mining developed along the Colorado River in the 1860's, Cottonwood Valley became a site of greater consequence since it was one of the only areas close by where feed and fuel in any quantity could be obtained. Indians and other hired hands were sent there to chop wood for the mines and the steamers. Stock were also swum to the island where they were herded until needed either for work or for food.¹⁹ This practice worked well except when high water flooded most of the island. On one particular occasion the troops stationed at El Dorado lost all of their wild cattle which apparently either drowned or were stolen by Indians.²⁰

At first small huts were built on the island for the herdes. By 1864 the land was filed upon and more permanent ranches were established. These places supplied expensive but badly needed garden produce to the miners along the river. Because of this intensive use of the island its native foliage all disappeared, especially after the big flood of 1906. Murl Emery remembers the island in the 1920's as a large overgrown sand bar.²¹ Union Pass on the east offered a route through the Black Mountains for traffic to and from the river. However, it appears only

¹⁹Daily Alta California (January 16, 1863).

²⁰Casebier, pp. 26, 49 and 32; Emery (January 1972).

²¹Emery, (1972).

incidental crossings were made during the 1860's and 1870's. One source suggests a ferry may have been in operation as early as 1871, managed by U. E. Dolittle.²² Yet, just when the first ferry was established remains in doubt. Army engineers in 1879 noted the gravel ridge upstream from the upper end of Cottonwood Island where, in low water, fording was possible, but gave no suggestion of a ferry. It is likely that demands for ferry services came after the mining activities in Chloride, Cerbat, and Mineral Springs increased, and particularly after the Searchlight mining interest started in 1897.

Searchlight

The community of Searchlight, located about thirteen miles west of the Colorado River in the Searchlight Hills, began to boom by 1898 and reached its peak by 1907. As early needs for water could only be supplied at the Colorado River, the Quartette Mill was located there in 1900.²³ However, as mine shafts penetrated into the hills, large local supplies were discovered allowing milling near the mines by 1906.²⁴

The Searchlight boom began to decline after 1910, but underwent some rejuvenation during the 1930's and 1940's. From a maximum population estimated as high as 10,000 people, the small community

²²Will C. Barnes, Arizona Place Names (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1960), p. 226.

²³Stanley Paher, Nevada Ghost Towns and Mining Camps (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1970), pp. 280-284. A twelve to fifteen-mile narrow gauge railroad connected the mines to the Colorado River by 1900.

²⁴Townley, pp. 23-25. The mill was moved to Searchlight in 1906.

stabilized at near 1,000 or less for several decades.²⁵ The railroad through Southern Nevada provided freight services soon after 1905 and by 1908 a branch line jutted into Searchlight itself.

A demand arose for traffic between the Chloride area of Arizona and Searchlight. The Mojave Daily Miner reported November 18, 1916 that the ferry on the Colorado River below Searchlight was in operation. It was forty-two feet by sixteen feet and drew only eight inches of water. It could carry three cars, although one was an ordinary load. The boat, gasoline driven without a cable, was owned by Macready and Hadley of Searchlight. The access roads were proclaimed good. Travel time from Kingman to Searchlight, four hours, and to Las Vegas, seven hours. This proprietorship was apparently short-lived, as the following year Jim Cashman was operating a power ferry at the upper end of Cottonwood Island. The ferry boat, Arivada, appears to have been the Hadley and Macready barge. It was powered by an automobile engine mounted on deck. Murl Emery and his father managed the ferry for Cashman. Landings on the east bank were made at the Halun Ranch and on the Nevada side wherever sand bars and steep banks would allow. The ferry originally was situated about three miles below the present Cottonwood Cove landing just above Cottonwood Island. Later it was moved up river about three and one-half miles to the lower end of Painted Canyon to avoid the problem created by sandbars.²⁶

²⁵ Ernest Sandquist, "Personal Interview," (December 30, 1967), Searchlight, Nevada.

²⁶ Emery, (1968). See also "Letter to author," (March 7, 1972).

Wilford Babcock, long time resident of Kingman, Arizona, reported that from Chloride outfits often made crossings at Searchlight Ferry. Usually the horses were swum across and the wagons or buggies carried on the ferry.²⁷ Cars were also ferried over during this period of time. Governor Campbell of Arizona crossed the Colorado at this location with his car during his 1920 circumnavigation of the Grand Canyon.²⁸

Soon after 1920 Cashman moved his ferry down river to tri-state--California, Nevada, and Arizona. This move had an impact on the town of Chloride. They wanted a ferry and so sought bidders. When none came forward, they built their own awkward "Miss Chloride," which was powered by two old automobile engines. However, this venture failed due to the shallow channel and sandbars. Later the county built another ferry at the lower end of Painted Canyon, about three miles up river from "Miss Chloride."²⁹

Sometime in the later 1920's a Mr. William (Bill) Brown built an aerial cable tramway down river at Cottonwood Island to carry both freight (ore) and vehicles. It was powered by a Model "A" Ford engine, and remained in operation for several years. In 1930 Mary Remsen North

²⁷ Wilford Babcock, "Personal Interview," (March 23, 1968), Kingman, Arizona.

²⁸ James H. McClintock, Mormon Settlements in Arizona. . . . (Phoenix: Manufacturing Stationers, Inc., 1921), pp. 69 and 97. McClintock writes about crossings at Cottonwood Island.

²⁹ Emery, (January 1972).



Figure 17. Searchlight Cable Ferry c. 1930 (courtesy Lake Mohave Recreation Area)

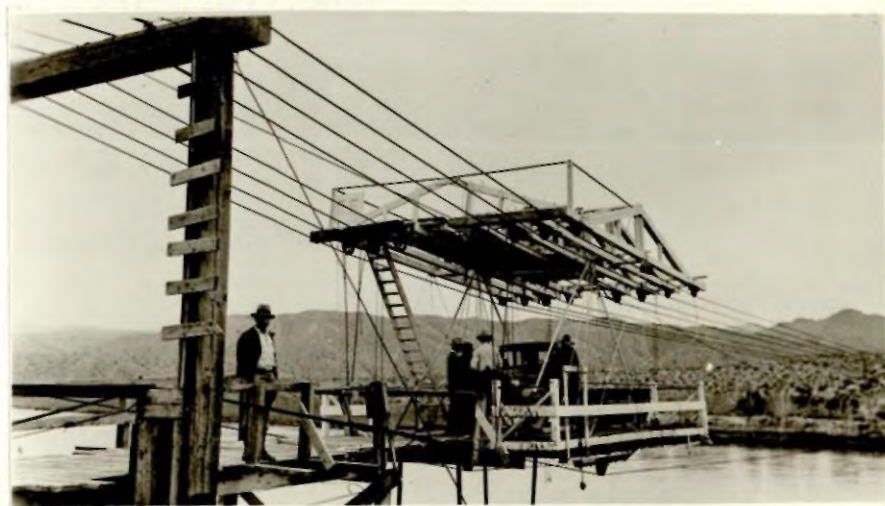


Figure 18. Searchlight 1930's (courtesy Mrs. Jake Dieleman)

noted under date of February 16, 1930 that her river party passed Brown's Ferry "where there is a ferry boat for travel on the Chloride-Searchlight road."³⁰

Once Hoover Dam was completed, opening the new highway between Nevada and Arizona, the need for the Searchlight Ferry services diminished. The ferry may have been abandoned by 1934, although one oldtimer suggests a date as late as 1936.³¹ Since Searchlight mining was, in the 1930's, undergoing a rejuvenation, the need may have been great enough to keep it going for a couple of years on a limited basis. In time it was abandoned. When Davis Dam was built downstream at Pyramid Canyon the waters of the Colorado River rose over the ferry, Cottonwood Island, and the lower lands to form Mojave Lake. The history of Searchlight Ferry ended, and its traffic moved to the new road at David Dam, to cross the Colorado River.

Mojave Valley Crossings

The rugged area of Pyramid Canyon formed the lower end of Cottonwood Valley. It also divided that area from the larger Mojave Valley, and further south, which extended twenty-five miles down river to the Needles.

This valley had long been lived in by the Mojave Indians who had for generations crossed the Colorado River to trade on the Pacific coast

³⁰ Mary Remsen North, Down the Colorado (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, Inc., 1930), pp. 18-21.

³¹ Sandquist, (1967).

and at points in between. Their claim on the valley as a homeland antedated the discovery of the Colorado River by Alarcon who, some suggest, may have sailed upstream this far. It is certain the Spaniards reached the general area by 1600 with the Onate expedition. It followed naturally that once the Spaniards had claimed by settlement, the areas of California, that overland routes would be sought and established. Though not the first trail blazer to California, Padre Garces in 1776 opened his own route via the Mojave Villages. When he returned from California, Garces crossed the river and continued east to Havasu and Oraibe. His return trek brought him back to Mojave Valley. The logic of the route had been confirmed. It is probable that the New Mexico Spaniards and Mexicans retained some of this information about the Mojave route, and it is certain that the Californians did.

The first Americans to cross the river in Mojave Valley were Jed Smith and his trappers in 1826. Much in need of succor and assistance, they received both from the Indians who helped them cross. Early in 1827 the Mojaves had a serious confrontation with New Mexico trappers that kindled their anger against the white men. Jed Smith's second party, in August 1827, was ambushed while crossing the river. The survivors walked to California.

As trade between New Mexico and Los Angeles increased, new routes were tried. Several trails along the 35th Parallel route were found to be too short of water and too full of hostile Hualapai Indians to be useful. Ewing Young's party in 1829 may have been as far south

as Mojave Valley, though it seems unlikely. Other California traders ventured further north, either through central Utah (Old Spanish Trail) or through the "Crossing of the Fathers" (Glen Canyon). On each route they reached the Colorado via the Virgin River further upstream. From that point they proceeded west and south. The first traders went to the Mojave Villages before heading west across the desert. Better and shorter routes via Las Vegas Springs were located that by-passed not only the Mojave Villages, but also the lower Colorado River itself.

Later several government expeditions focused on the area of the 35th Parallel. The first explorers into the Mojave Valley were led by Captain Sitgreaves in 1851. He did not cross the river at this point. In February 1854 Lt. A. M. Whipple reached the Colorado River in Mojave Valley. Aided by the Mojave Indians, Whipple ferried his carriage across about twelve miles above the Needles. Most crossings were made several miles up river.

Pressure from and freight demands to military posts in the intermountain area produced additional surveys. Testing camels and surveying a wagon road, Lt. E. F. Beale reached Mojave Valley in October 1857. While some writers place his crossing of the river near the site of Hardyville, it seems likely that Ives' report and map is generally correct, locating "Beale's Crossing" at near $35^{\circ} 5'$ north latitude, a few miles above the California boundary line.³² At the Colorado River

³² See Elliot Coues, ed., On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer - The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garces. . . , 2 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900), vol. 1, p. 228, and Lt. Joseph C. Ives, Exploration of the Colorado River of the West (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1861), see maps.

Beale ferried his supplies and wagons across on India rubber rafts and Mojave reed rafts. His camels were forced to swim. Beale's crossing established a generally preferred location for the ferry as well as the road into and away from the river.

Concurrent with Beale's efforts was the river and overland surveys of Lt. J. C. Ives. A consequence of the latter's efforts was George A. Johnson's General Jesep expedition in January 1858. Johnson operated the first power ferry there. On January 23, the General Jesep met Lt. Beale and ferried Beale's outfit across the river from west to east. Two months later Lt. Ives and Mormons were in the valley; Ives exploring, the Mormons scouting. No doubt Ives on this occasion also ferried men and goods across the Colorado. When his river surveying was completed, Ives left the Mojave Valley to explore a better overland route to the east.

Lt. Beale reported that his road east of the river was already in use in January 1858. Later that summer several emigrant companies followed his road west but found travel hazardous. The stop at the Colorado River and ferrying preparations proved disastrous. The massacre brought military reconnaissance in early January 1859 and the establishment of a fort on the east bank of the river by April. Supplies for the troops were brought up river on the General Jesep which was also used to ferry the soldiers and their outfits across the Colorado River. However, this ferrying resource was only temporary as the steamer soon returned down river. Nevertheless the presence of the soldiers with small boats, meant in effect the establishment of a ferry for themselves, for the

mail carriers, and for other travelers who ventured along the 35th Parallel route. Lt. Beale discovered the military at Fort Mojave when he arrived in April 1859 with his wagons. Beale crossed the river near the fort and continued his trip to California for supplies while his men improved the road through the Black Mountains. Later reports indicated that "Beale's Crossing" was difficult; yet two men could cross supplies in a small boat and "lead" the swimming stock behind with little trouble. The same 1859 account reported that there was a "gentleman there now about to establish a ferry."³³

Mojave Ferry

Beale's Crossing appears to have been the approximate location of the government ferry, about three and one-half miles up river from the California boundary line. However, as the river's course shifted frequently the exact mileage varied. In any case, the ferry was situated just north and west of the post itself. When it began operation is not known. E. Gilbert reported that he had crossed at that location with the help of Major Armistead's "boat and hands to man it" on May 10, 1859 with the Kansas City and Stocton mails,³⁴ which was within a month after the establishment of the post. When Lt. Beale crossed in August the following year with fourteen men, forty head of animals and two wagons, three of his animals were lost,³⁵ confirming the hazards

³³ Los Angeles Southern Vineyard (June 24, 1859).

³⁴ Ibid., (July 12, 1859).

³⁵ Los Angeles Star (September 29, 1860).

of the river, in high water at least, and the problems for swimming animals.

In 1861 Camp Mojave was abandoned temporarily, eliminating both the military protection and ferrying service. It seems likely that the Mojave Indians may have provided some ferriage during this period of time. At least the Alta correspondent reported from El Dorado in April 1863 that

the Mohave tribe of Indians under Chief 'Sicahote' occupy the west side of the river [at Fort Mojave], and own two canoes and a flat boat, which they use in ferrying travellers over the river. The rates of toll are fifty cents for footmen, one dollar for an animal, and four dollars for wagons.

The same report indicated some difficulty in making change, as the chief viewed the large silver dollars as more valuable than smaller gold pieces. The ferry location may have been called locally "Irataba."³⁶

Even before this time, however, and likely in June or July of 1862, one of the first entrepreneurs, John Brown,³⁷ built a ferry in response to the increased number of miners and the mining interest along the Colorado River. By March 1863 he was reported to be doing a good business.³⁸ The re-establishment of Fort Mojave the same year added to the demands for Brown's ferry service.

His success was not without challenge, apparently from "some

³⁶Daily Alta California (June 12, 1863).

³⁷Los Angeles Semi-weekly Southern News (July 23, 1862). See also "The Diary of John Brown, 1862," in Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California, VIII (1927), 360-364.

³⁸Ashbaugh, pp. 48-49.

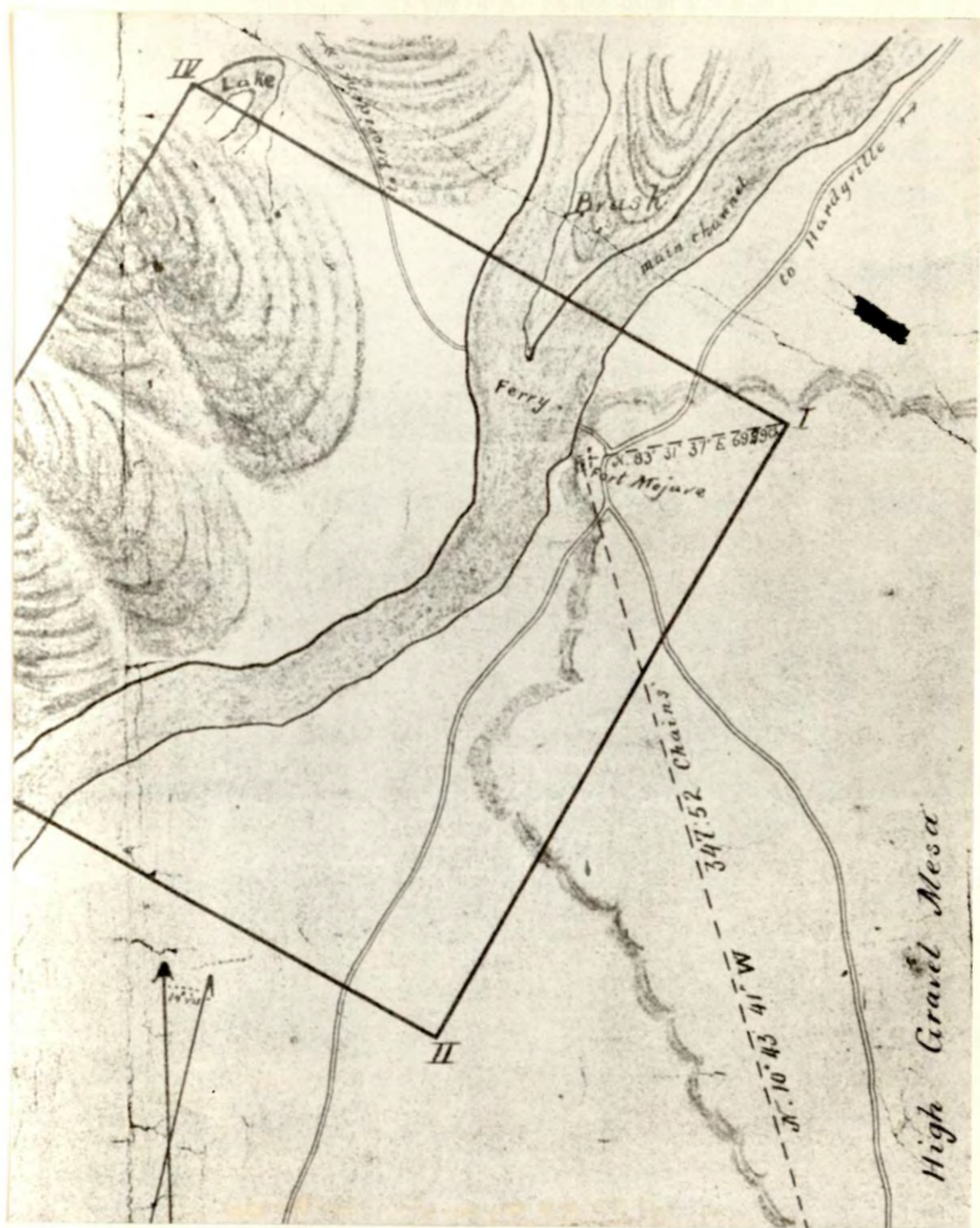


Figure 19. Map Fort Mojave c. 1870 (courtesy Mojave Museum of History and Arts)

speculating lieutenant." He requested the District Judge Benjamin Hayes to petition the commanding officer at Camp Drum, California, for special considerations. In his letter Hayes commended Brown's devotion to the Union, and to serving the public during the recent "bad times."³⁹ The appeal was successful. General R. C. Drum instructed the commanding officer at Fort Mojave under date of June 24, 1863, to permit John Brown "to have exclusive rights of ferriage," within the limits of the military reserves.⁴⁰ Under date of February 17, 1864, this privilege was revoked and transferred to Samuel Todd, and no person other than Todd was "to have a ferry on any part of the government military reservation at Fort Mojave." His ferry location was at first apparently the same as Brown's.⁴¹

Hardyville

This monopoly, however, did not extend beyond the military reserves. The increased demand for ferry services with new mining and military ventures brought others into the area. One of the most enterprising of these was William H. Hardy who arrived early in 1864. Instead of locating near the fort, Hardy in February 1864 moved up river

³⁹"Letters of Benjamin Hayes to Col. Ferris Forman," (June 16, 1863). Letter received at Camp Drum and Drum Barracks, California, 1863-1866, RG-393, National Archives.

⁴⁰"Letter of R. C. Drum to Commanding Office, Fort Mojave, N. M.," (June 24, 1863). Letters received Fort Mojave, A. T. Box 4, RG-393, National Archives.

⁴¹"Letter of Richard D. Drum to Captain Charles Atchisson," (February 17, 1864), Ibid.

about six or seven miles to a location which had several advantages.⁴² First of all, it was closer to Union Pass through the Black Mountains along which freight was hauled to Mineral Park and as far away as Prescott. Secondly, Hardyville appeared to be the high point of navigation on the river, located just at the bend of the river two miles below Bullhead, and below Pyramid Canyon. Miners traveling up river or travelers coming south used this landing. And thirdly, the site was a good one usable the year around, "the channel being confined by high gravel banks on either side."⁴³

Hardy immediately set about to build a storehouse and living quarters assisted by "fifteen whites and forty Indians." When J. B. Winston returned to Los Angeles in April 1864, he reported that

Mr. Hardy has opened and constructed a road from his landing, . . . to a point on the Los Angeles and Fort Mojave road, fifteen miles this side of the fort. His ferry is a rope ferry and has a good boat, and travelers cross without any delay or trouble.⁴⁴

Winston continued his account of Hardy's attempt to open a road eastward to the pine forests of the Sacramento District."⁴⁵ This route

⁴² Daily Alta California, (March 26, 1864). Bernice Hulet suggests that the location was named for a nephew, Wooten Hardy; however, this seems unlikely, since newspaper accounts mention only William H. Hardy. Wooten was associated with the area later, however. See Gene Hammond Gaddis, "Hardyville, Arizona Territory," (Unpublished manuscript, Mohave Pioneer Historical Museum, Kingman, Arizona, 1961).

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Daily Alta California, (April 22, 1864).

⁴⁵ Ibid.



Figure 20. Hardyville Site - looking east E. C. LaRue
c. 1922 (courtesy National Archives)



Figure 21, Ferrying - Colorado River at Needles,
California c. 1920 (courtesy Mojave Museum of
History and Arts)

became, in time, Hardy's "Hardyville to Prescott Toll Road," which remained a poor road for years. A competing "Mojave to Prescott Toll Road" was incorporated November 2, 1864.⁴⁶

Hardy recognized the needs of the area both in his ferry building and his freighting. To supplement the latter, he improved his buildings at the landing and launched his own "barge," a fete witnessed by Anson Call in December 1864. Part of Hardy's success may have resulted from a reduced challenge from Samuel Todd at the Mojave Ferry downstream. Apparently Todd, along with discharged service men and other miners, moved from the fort to set up Mojave City, "situated a mile north of the Fort, on a bluff mesa, overlooking the river," where he operated a ferry and "speculated on town lots." The trading post did a lively business with both the miners and the Indians.⁴⁷

With two ferries operating in Mojave Valley, travelers were able to cross the river with good service generally; however, not without some hazards. Reports of drownings and loss of supplies in the river reached the papers.⁴⁸ A semi-weekly stage began crossings at Hardyville during the late 1860's. On one occasion the driver, James Tuttle, was

⁴⁶ Arizona Highways, (May 1962), p. 2.

⁴⁷ Daily Alta California (January 15, 1865). The newspaper account is dated Hardyville, Arizona, November 25, 1864.

⁴⁸ See Los Angeles News (July 24, 1866). Jesse Gabbart was drowned while crossing his teams and wagon. See also Major Henry M. Robert, "Extracts from the Journal, U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, California and Arizona, 1867-1868," privately owned. Typed copy in file of writer, and "Letter of Captain S. B. M. Young to Lieutenant S. D. Stevenson," (January 6, 1868), Fort Mojave, A. T. Letters received, Box 1 RF-393, National Archives.

accidentally shot and killed, when a passenger fired his pistol to arouse the ferryman across the river.⁴⁹ Even soldiers did not escape drowning.⁵⁰ The loss of animals in the river was frequent, since many people preferred to swim them rather than pay the ferry fee.⁵¹

One of the continual problems for the ferries was the landings against the banks, which were often eroded away with the rising waters at flood time. This action made it necessary for the ferrymen to cut the banks down to allow wagons, stages, or even loose stock to climb from the barge to the banks. Major Henry M. Roberts reported one such problem at Mojave Ferry. In loading wagons onto the barge, there was danger of damaging the boat. On one occasion "a six mile team and wagon was lost by striking the boat with the rear wheels while the brake was on, thereby loosening the boat. The weight of the wagon pulled itself and team into the river."⁵²

Use of Hardy's Ferry expanded as freight for the miners, and even the Mormons, landed there early in 1865. The California Stage continued to make irregular runs during the 1870's. Hardyville's population reached about seventy people by 1870. Two years later it became, for

⁴⁹Los Angeles Semi-Weekly News (May 17, 1867).

⁵⁰"Extracts from the Muster Roll of Company 'D' 9th Infantry Regiment for the 2-month period ending June 30, 1868," RG-94, National Archives.

⁵¹"Letter of Captain M. H. Stacey to Camp Mojave, A. T.," (August 1, 1869), copy in writer's files.

⁵²See Roberts, "Extracts. . . ."

a while, Mohave County seat.⁵³ A fire in 1872 burned many of the buildings, which were then rebuilt. Hardy's ferry was considered fairly dependable. John Clark evidently crossed 3,000 head of sheep at this spot in 1875 as he moved his flock from California to Northwestern Arizona. Records indicate nearly 40,000 head were crossed at Hardy's ferry during that decade.⁵⁴

Hardyville had nearly one hundred inhabitants by 1878 and a semi-weekly mail from Prescott and Mineral Park. During these years Hardy made a lot of money both at the ferry and in the mines. He apparently was feared by the Indians because of his outwitting them.⁵⁵ But the ferry faced a new threat with the coming of the railroad. Hardy apparently abandoned his site in August 1882 and took his large barge and wire rope to establish a new ferry near the crossing of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad bridge. His services there were important but short lived.⁵⁶ Hardy remained interested in the area and later moved to Kingman where he resided until about 1900. At that time he moved to California. Hardyville became a ghost town during the 1890's. A mill was located nearby after 1900, but the town and ferry had ceased to be.

⁵³Gaddis.

⁵⁴Bert Haskett, "A History of the Sheep Industry in Arizona," Arizona Historical Review VII (July 1936), 21-22.

⁵⁵Gaddis. It is claimed that Hardy left some flour or sugar laced with heavy portions of strychnine that the Indians recovered and ate, from which many died.

⁵⁶Daily Alta California (August 10, 1882).

William H. Hardy had, however, during nearly two decades, provided important services and collected his dues in money and public esteem.

At Fort Mojave, and Mojave City, the military freight kept the ferry alive longer. During the 1860's and 1870's Hardy had competed for the military contracts. At least in 1867 he was effective in his competition as the following data show:⁵⁷

Amounts paid by the U. S. Army for Ferriage at Mojave City and Hardyville during the last six months of 1867.

Month (1867)	Location	Amount
July	Wm. H. Hardy (Hardyville)	\$284.80
	(Mojave City)	?
August	Wm. H. Hardy (Hardyville)	\$447.34
August	James Wilson (Mojave City)	\$531.33
September	Wm. H. Hardy (Hardyville)	\$ 34.00
September	James Wilson (Mojave City)	\$136.50
October	Wm. H. Hardy (Hardyville)	\$ 16.00
October	James Wilson (Mojave City)	\$210.00
November	Wm. H. Hardy (Hardyville)	\$151.34
November	James Wilson (Mojave City)	\$199.30

The Mojave Ferry also moved non-military personnel and goods.

Thousands of stock crossed here also during the 1870's.⁵⁸ The coming of the railroad affected this crossing; however, at approximately the same time the Mojave and Hualapai Indians were placed on reservations in the area. This action retained the area as a place for government

⁵⁷ "Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General," RG-92, National Archives.

⁵⁸ Rufus K. Wyllys, Arizona: the History of a Frontier State (Phoenix: Hobron & Hess, 1950), pp. 244, 252.

supplying. Most supplies came on the railroad. The railroad bridge provided a general ferry service to non-railroad traffic also. But some ferrying persisted. James Cashman moved his Arivada down river from Searchlight Ferry to Tri-State near the California boundary in about 1920. It was operated by Murl Emery and his father. The ferry was used by the miners to cross the river from Arizona (where prohibition law enforcement was a fact) into Nevada, where prohibition laws were not enforced. The cheaper "goodies" in Nevada provided Jim Cashman with an active clientele.⁵⁹ When the automobile bridge was constructed, the ferry service ended entirely. Later river reclamation projects changed it all.

Summary

The need for the services provided by the several ferries below Black Canyon and above the Needles began earlier and remained more constant than it did above Black Canyon. As a whole, the ferries were tied very closely to the military and mining interests and varied as fortunes in these fields fluctuated. The transcontinental railroad came early in the 1880's. Its impact was great. With the coming of the reclamation surveys, the future of the ferries was predictable. Once the dams were built a new age arrived--a new road, a new ecology along the lower river, a new economy and way of life. Highways penetrated to the river to replace the freight lines. Today tourists enjoy the climate of the lower Colorado River unthreatened by its former inhospitability.

⁵⁹Emery, "Letter . . ."

It is hard to recall the roles played earlier by the El Dorado, Searchlight, Hardyville, and Mojave ferries. Theirs was a way of life in another era entirely.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The distinctive character of the lower canyons area and the peculiar nature of the Colorado River itself combined to make the region a land "in between": in between the Colorado plateau and the deep encanyoned course of the river and its tributaries; in between a stream navigable seasonally at least in its lower reaches and partially navigable above, and hopefully navigable beyond Black Canyon and the Virgin River to the western limits of the Grand Canyon; in between the Mississippi River and the settlements of the western frontier as it moved toward the Pacific Ocean and the Pacific states of Washington, Oregon, and particularly California; even in between politically--California on the west and south, Nevada and Utah west and north, and Arizona to the south and east. All of these areas claimed all or portions of the lower canyons region at one time or another. For all of these political entities the area was their periphery, their border, their distant boundary. The geography of the region forced them all to attempt fancy political footwork to confirm their claims. This chapter will not only review the political resolution of that geographic phenomena, but will also provide a conclusion to the study.

The Indians

The aboriginal peoples had claimed and had occupied the land along this portion of the Colorado River. Their political arrangements were

closely tied to family and clans with chiefs and sub-chiefs exercising the greatest authority in the larger settlements such as the Mojaves in Mojave Valley. The Chemehuevis and their Piute relatives in Southern Nevada were less organized, less sedentary, more inclined to nomadic pursuits of trading, hunting and raiding. The Hualapai of Northwestern Arizona had a very loose political identity and were often found as single families or small clans clustered around the springs and small streams in that section. The Havasupai found collective security in the sedentary seclusion of Cataract Canyon. For all these native peoples, their political arrangements reflected their very marginal accommodation to the arid area or a degree of affluence known by those few who claimed the most fertile spots.

Other larger tribes, located peripherally, also wielded their impact in the area; the Hopi sitting atop the mesas moved only incidentally; the nomadic Navajo occasionally traded and raided into the area affecting both the aboriginals and the white men. The Utes harassed the Piutes of Utah and Nevada, particularly during the 1830's and 1840's when their forays led them through the area into California and back into New Mexico. Their influence was permanent. The poor raided Paiutes lost both their leaders and their scarce savings that might have allowed them some little progress. What the Utes began, the white men continued.

With the exception of the Mojave Indians, no tribe of Indians was able to pose a major obstacle to the white man's occupation. That they could and did harass the traveler is obvious, but their claim upon the

land was tenuous at best; they were constantly threatened by invasion and always dependent upon a harmony with nature where limited flora and fauna and primitive technology dictated the narrow limits of their survival. Yet the Indians knew their land intimately, and what is represented geographically were facts of life to them.

The Spaniards

With their earliest explorations to the Colorado River, the Spaniards discovered some of its peculiarities: the tidal bore in its delta, its heavy load of silt which indicated a vast interior from which it must drain, and its great canyon. All of these discoveries came by 1541. For the Spaniards the area was foreboding; and, although evidences of "minerals" were noted, they did not expect to find cities of gold. Their early ventures were prompted primarily by their quest for converts, and not for the mining potentials noted by Onate in his 1598-1605 expeditions. It was the Jesuits who missionized southern Arizona, reaching the lower Colorado River about 1700. The Franciscans tried, from New Mexico, to confirm their claims on Oraibe but met with continual hostility. When the new California settlements were made after 1769, the pressure for new and better supply routes led Spanish officials to sponsor three expeditions, two of which crossed through the lower canyons area--Garces along the 35th Parallel and Domingues-Escalante precursing the Old Spanish Trail. Both of these expeditions, as well as Anza along the Gila route, anticipated later developments. Subsequent to these discoveries and because Spain had neither powerful political nor adequate

economic resources, her dominion in the area was delayed, and then never came.

After 1821 Mexico claimed New Mexico and California. Claim was one thing; control quite another. Even before Mexican independence Americans ventured into the area's peripheries. Between 1821 and 1846, they thoroughly explored its resources and exploited its wealth of furs. In 1846 none knew the lower canyons area better than American trappers and traders. They had learned from the Mexicans, from the Indians, and from traversing the land. Their knowledge was not lost to history.

Early Territorial Politics

The Mexican War brought the region under American command in 1846 and began a new era, yet not one without challenge. In July 1847 the Mormons settled the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. Their subsequent exploration, expansion, and claims led them southwest toward the Colorado River and California. Official United States jurisdiction came in February 1848. However, territorial status waited. Again the Mormons acted, this time in March 1849, with a proposal for a State of Deseret with boundaries on the Colorado and the Pacific. Congress rejected their move, and in the Compromise of 1850 accepted California's Colorado River boundary and established New Mexico and Utah territories with an adjoining boundary along 37° north latitude. This official action was the first of several affecting the area's political equilibrium.

The 1850's. During the decade of the 1850's, three major forces superimposed a dominion on the natives to a greater or lesser degree.

Government officials, first surveyors and later the military, came to locate roads, railroads, and to explore the river--Sitgreaves, Heintzelman, Whipple, Beale, Ives and Wheeler. Through them the trappers' record gained permanence. Through their records the early history of the area is told in detail. Their road making and mapping destroyed the insulation and isolation of the natives, particularly the Mojaves along the Colorado River. Consequently, travelers came and, subsequently, the military moved in to protect them from the angry Indians. And with the military presence, the lower canyon region received its first major economic subsidy which fostered interest in and development of steam navigation on the Colorado River.

The second major force was the Mormons. Needing new routes inland to Zion for their Saints and supplies, they had pushed settlements into California. Indian harassment, a Book of Mormon mandate, and fear of the outside world led them to establish a mission at Las Vegas, to form alliances via conversion wherever possible with the Indians on the Virgin and Muddy rivers and along the Colorado River, and to explore its navigability. Their activities in the region during the 1850's peaked as a result of the "Mormon War" threat with its tragedy at Mountain Meadows, and the political instability and martial law of threatened invasion. Springtime peace negotiation in 1858 caused a prompt disinterest in the lower canyons area.

Less influential, but nevertheless begun in the late 1850's, and to become in time the major factor in the area, were the miners and mining interests. The discoveries of gold and silver along the river,

in the mountains near by and even hundreds of miles away, produced demands for goods that caused suppliers to look toward the Colorado River as a freight line. That stage was set for action by 1860, but the play was delayed and altered because of the national crisis of the Civil War.

The 1860's. The same three major forces retained interests in the lower Colorado River, but for slightly varied reasons. The military abandoned Fort Mojave soon after the Civil War began, but returned again in 1863. Their dominion was sporadic, but continuous for several decades. The new soldiers also brought an increased interest in and expansion of the mining potentials. Many volunteers staked claims and discovered gold. Through these men, California gained an ascendant interest in the general area.

The Civil War also affected the Mormon concern for the region. With their eastern routes harassed and their California supply sources uncertain, the Mormons restressed their belief in independence and self-sufficiency. A particular focus of that policy was the establishment of their Dixie settlements and Cotton Mission in southwestern Utah. This thrust returned them again to the area of the lower Colorado.

Finally, the successes of the miners at LaPaz, El Dorado, and other mines in Northwestern Arizona and Southern Nevada created an influx of people and resources into the region that produced two major developments. One economic and a second one political. Both activities came to involve the military, the miners and their interests, and the Mormons.

Colorado River Navigation

Exploration of the Colorado River both preceded and followed the development of navigation on the lower river. The military subsidy brought steamers into Mojave Valley by 1859. By 1863 the mines in the region had begun to produce sufficient wealth to create a new subsidy. Various entrepreneurs, but particularly George A. Johnson, capitalized on that new economic resource. The year 1864 became a high point in the river's navigation history. There was the direct interest of the miners; there was the secondary interest of the military, many of whom as individuals had primary interests in mining. Their military salaries were, in effect, a kind of federal grant with which they explored and exploited the area's mineral wealth.

Beyond this, the military, if not officially, at least indirectly felt a need for overseership of the Mormons and sought several non-military means to break the bonds that bound the saints so completely to Brigham Young. This interest was particularly keen at Fort Douglas, Utah Territory. As a result, talk of river navigation, and exploration, of both the river and the wagon routes to Salt Lake City, were undertaken, actions of course which were not lost upon the Mormons.

For the saints the early 1860's and particularly the 1863-1864 years portended major problems. In the south the settlements suffered greatly and needed reinforcement. To the east supply lines were disrupted and a sense of national doom was felt. Beyond this the Mormon's own version of manifest destiny caused them to look southward for the expansion of Zion which, given the other conditions of 1864-1865, meant claim to

the territory along the Colorado River. Late in 1864 they made their move.

Major navigation efforts preceded the Mormon involvement. Their successes depended upon both the competence of businessmen and the steamer captains, and the extensive demand for freight lines into the intermountain region. Even with these positive elements, the prospects for constant dependable water freight were slim. The Colorado River was for those people unpredictable and uncontrollable. Beyond that the area itself was arid. Given these obstacles the ventures did quite well. The need for supply lines affected all peoples in the intermountain west. On the Colorado River several major interests found common need and sought common opportunity; however, at no time did they reach common objectives. The struggle for control of a potentially lucrative route was intense. In the end the Colorado River Steam Navigation Company of George A. Johnson emerged dominant. Its most potent competitor, the railroad, came later.

Both the immediate needs and the ulterior objectives of the miners and the military submit to a logical rationale in their promotion of Colorado River navigation. This is less true for the Mormons. That they also needed freight lines was true, but that the Colorado River would provide less uncertain ones proved incorrect. Their original primary objective of a warehouse and landing at the high point of navigation on the river to achieve this, was soon changed to a more permanent one of claim to the land and control of the access routes into their domain. Had the Mormons, possibly, or the government more likely, been able

to see the tenuous nature of Colorado River navigation in the 1860's, and had some major resources been allocated for that purpose, it is possible that such a supply line into the intermountain West might have become operationally competitive. For the Mormons, their best option (given the vision of hindsight) would have been a landing at the Virgin River confluence rather than Callville. Such a location, though more difficult to reach, would have overcome the terribly difficult climb from the river over its bordering mountains no matter where freight was landed down river. And a freight road along the Virgin River would at least have avoided the worst portions of the California Trail and have had a dependable water supply; and had it become a major supply line, a good road could have been built and maintained.

A second potential for Colorado River freighting into Nevada and Utah lay in building a railroad to the river, a project more probable for the government than the Mormons. The area in fact needed a regional effort, which in the 1860's was not to be. In fact, the political forces tended to segment rather than reinforce that kind of effort.

Territorial Politics

In addition to developments within the lower canyons area itself that affected the area's politics were these influences stemming from the national government. The Civil War created a great need for gold and silver recently discovered in major quantities in northern Nevada. Secondly, the Republican Party needed loyal support for itself and the Union in the West especially where such stable wealth existed.

Consequently, in March 1861, the National Congress established the Territory of Nevada, carved from the western portion of Utah Territory. It was bounded on the south by 37° north latitude and on the east by longitude 116° .¹ The subdivision had begun.

Utah protested mightily, but these actions availed little. In July 1862 the Congress again moved Nevada's eastern boundary eastward another 1° (sixty miles), where it remained until 1866. The State's Nye County then claimed jurisdiction of that southeastern area.

In the meantime Arizona Territory was created from the western half of New Mexico Territory, February 24, 1863. Its northern boundaries remained at 37° north latitude. Meeting in May 1864, the first Arizona Territorial Legislature designated its northwestern area Mojave County. Other major political action came later the same year with statehood for Nevada October 31, 1864. This new status gave her great advantage in later national negotiations.

At the same time Utah Mormons moved south to settle the Muddy-Virgin river valleys, then a political vacuum. Portions of Utah's Dixie were obviously in Mojave County, Arizona, which fact did not accommodate to some of the church leaders' objectives for settling the area in the first place.

Not content to squatters' claim to the disputed territory, Brigham Young wrote to Judge Kinney, Utah's Territorial delegate, telling him to ask that the land south and west of Utah's Dixie be given to Utah

¹Donald Bufkin, "The Lost County of Pah-Ute," Journal of Arizona History (Summer 1964), pp. 219-240.

Territory. In this he was supported by Utah's Territorial Legislature. Young, however, also sought a strip of land bordering on one bank or the other of the Colorado River south at least to the Mexican border. James W. Nye and William M. Stewart, Nevada's senators, refused and blocked Brigham's maneuver. In time they would make their own recommendations.

Believing there was great potential for Colorado River navigation, the second Arizona Territorial Legislature met December 22, 1865 and created Pah-Ute County from the northern half of Mojave County. Its bounds were a south line running east and west through Roaring Rapids in Black Canyon and a north line at 37° north latitude extending from $113^{\circ} 20'$ on the east to the California border. Callville became the county seat. Sensing also the threat to their own territorial boundaries, the Arizona Legislature on December 28, 1865 asked Congress to fix the lines with surveys.

Challenge continued. The Nevada State Legislature in February 1866 created Lincoln County from Nye County's eastern section, perhaps in anticipation of soon-to-follow national action. For by May 5, 1866 Senators Nye and Stewart had succeeded not only in getting federal approval to have Nevada's eastern border moved another sixty miles into Utah (114°), but also to acquire that area between the 37° north latitude and the Colorado River. This land became Nevada's southern tip. In order for the decision to become official, Nevada's legislature had to ratify the action, which it did the following January (1867).

In the meantime representatives from El Dorado, Las Vegas, and the Muddy settlements met at Callville in May 1866 to officially organize Pah-Ute County, Arizona. Later that year Octavius D. Gass was sent to represent Pah-Ute County at the Third Arizona Territorial Legislature which met in Prescott. And about this time Lincoln County, Nevada, also began to claim the new territory as its own. In January it became official.

Confusion continued to increase. In August of 1867 Nevada's surveyor general reported that southern Lincoln County residents (mainly Mormons) refused to pay taxes to Nevada. In October 1867 O. D. Gass, along with Mormon, Royal J. Cutler, were sent again to represent Pah-Ute County residents at the fourth Arizona Territorial Legislature at Prescott. Not until July 1868 did the U. S. Congress fund an official survey to determine with certainty where the boundary lines belonged. But even then there were additional delays. Many of the Muddy River Mormons, who had at first claimed they were a part of Utah Territory, now maintained they were in Arizona. O. D. Gass and Mormon Andrew Gibbons were sent as Pah-Ute County's last representatives to the Fifth Arizona Territorial Legislature. As that body was meeting in Tucson, Gass and Gibbons had several hundred miles to go. Embarking from Callville in a fourteen-foot skiff, November 1, 1868, they rowed down river to Yuma where they caught a stage to Tucson. Although they were a few days late, their arrival was noted and the role of the river and the hope of Pah-Ute County duly noted. However, there was little the Arizona Legislature could do about the

actions of the National Congress.²

As the year 1869 began, not only did Pah-Ute County, Arizona Territory, claim the disputed area, but also Lincoln County, Nevada. To complicate matters even more, and to seek some salvage for the beleaguered saints, Utah's Territorial Legislature in December 1868, had created Rio Virgin County, Utah Territory, an area of only 100 square miles in fact, but intended to encompass the area west and south from Washington County.³ St. Joseph on the Muddy River was designated as the county seat; Roy J. Cutler was the County Clerk. Thus these settlers were then faced with three options (or three liabilities) when it came to county government and payment of taxes.

Several factors finally brought the political issues to a head. In February 1869 Nevada established a new law requiring taxes in coin. Hit with this additional disadvantage, Mormons sought relief elsewhere. Brigham Young visited the lower settlements in March 1870. He was disappointed with what he saw. The government survey also showed that the settlements were in fact in Nevada. Nevada tax collectors came and threatened court action when the Mormons refused to pay back taxes, some of which had already been paid to Arizona and Utah; or to pay current ones in coin. The Mormons moved to action. In December 1870 Brigham Young gave releases to all who wished to leave. Votes were taken in the several towns, with only a few electing to

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. This is a major work on Pah-Ute County that includes some excellent maps. See also A. Karl Larson, I Was Called to Dixie (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1961), pp. 149-155.

remain in Nevada. Before February 1871 the exodus had begun. And Rio Virgin County, Pah-Ute County, Lincoln County--Utah Territory, Arizona Territory, Nevada lost its first colonists. It would be nearly a decade before many would return. In February also the Sixth Territorial Legislature of Arizona repealed the act that created Pah-Ute County. It had become part of Nevada forever.⁴ (The area's last change of boundary was yet to come when the railroad came to Las Vegas after the turn of the century. Through the influence of Senator William Clark and others, southern Nevada became its own county July 1, 1909. It was named appropriately Clark County.)

1870's

The decade of the 1870's was quite different. The Mormons had gone, the military had moved south and east into Arizona, and major mining settlements had boomed to dominate the region.

Three More Decades

The next thirty years saw many major changes in the lower canyons area. Perhaps the most notable was the coming of the railroads which became the major competitor of the river freighters. Their coming caused the last river steamers to service points in between. Some reached as far up river as Bonelli Ferry during the 1880's and 1890's. But with the railroad, the river's navigation story began to end. Government surveys did not support, by and large, major expenditures

⁴Stanley H. Paher, Las Vegas - as it began - as it grew (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1971), pp. 105-112.

to make the stream more navigable. They did, however, record detail of the region that became the basic data for documentation and dam building in the twentieth century.

Secondly, major mining developments near the river and nearby received supplies for a time from the river but soon took advantage of the more certain and convenient railroad services. The mining communities, however, stimulated several new ferries along the Colorado River as well as supported long established ones in Mojave Valley. Ferries below Black Canyon at El Dorado and in Cottonwood Valley were tied almost exclusively to the mining traffic until well into the twentieth century.

Above Black Canyon the ferries at Riville (Bonelli), at Gregg's or Scanlon's, and at Pearce's, all carried miners and other transients traveling north and southwest of the Grand Canyon. Gregg's ferry and farm remained in use into the 1920's. Pearce's Ferry had limited usage primarily by the Mormons migrating into Arizona and Mexico. Many Mormons also crossed at Daniel Bonelli's, but his was a more permanent and complex operation. Besides that it had Bonelli himself, a personality and pioneer of unusual sophistication. He had a great love for the area and vision to see its potential. Mormon settlers returned to Southern Nevada in 1877 and soon after opened new settlements and reclaimed old ones. The mixed economy of agriculture and mining benefited both elements.

Finally, the Indians were placed on reservations as wards of the United States Government, causing for most of them a complete break

with their traditional pattern of living. With this move also, they had lost their land and their environment.

Conclusion

The area's future lay not with the Indian nor his way of life, though fortunately some important efforts at discovering, preserving, and perpetuating it have been and are being made. Nor did the miners retain their brief ascendancy, although ghost towns, mine shafts, and slag heaps dot the ranges throughout as reminders of their heyday. The Mormon farmers proved durable but became fewer in numbers and less influential in the region as a whole.

The military left; however, the United States Government did not. Through its several agencies the area and the people were surveyed and studied. These scientific surveys and analyses of John Wesley Powell, George M. Wheeler, and others not only focused attention on an unusually beautiful area, but also on a different kind of river. It was, in fact, not effectively navigable most of the time over most of its length. It could not compete with the railroads as a supply line, grandiose schemes notwithstanding. But water in an arid land is a resource--that is, controllable water is. The 1905-1906 floods, the Bureau of Reclamation surveys in the early 1900's, and the water needs of Southern California, particularly, produced new possibilities for cooperation and planning, and with it, control of the Rio Colorado of the West. Boulder Dam was the first. Parker and Davis came later. With them the lower canyon area has a new history--The Age of

Reclamation--no doubt more stable physically and economically, but hardly as romantic as its centuries-old story of man's struggle to survive in a marginal environment.

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