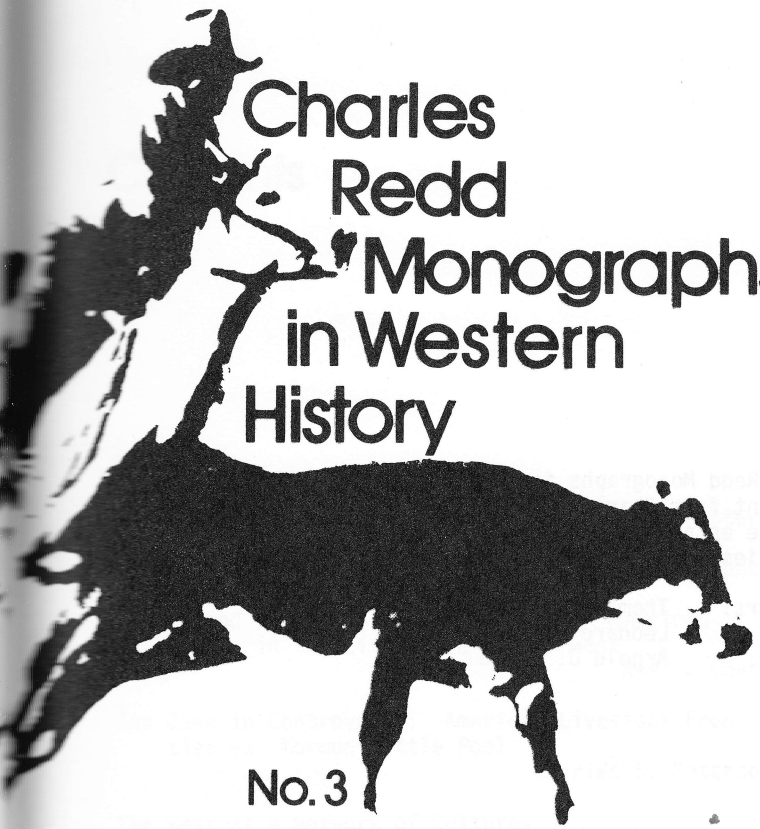

Charles Redd Monographs in Western History

No. 3

Thomas G. Alexander, editor

Essays on the American West, 1972-1973

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Essays on the American West, 1972-1973

Introduction

The essays in this collection were presented as part of the Charles Redd Lectures on the American West at Brigham Young University during 1972-73. Dealing with various aspects of Western development, the articles form an important contribution to the literature of the American West. By an interdisciplinary approach which includes literature and anthropology as well as history, fresh insights are offered to both the professional historian and the history buff.

When Money Made the Mare Go: The Day of the Western Livery Stable

Clark C. Spence

A professor of history at the University of Illinois, Clark Spence is well known for his prize-winning work, British Investments and the American Mining Frontier, 1860-1901, and his more recent Mining Engineers and the American West: The Lace-boot Brigade, 1849-1933. As a former president of the Western History Association, Professor Spence has been involved in pushing out the frontier of Western historical writing.

In the essay included in this collection, he has moved from the mining frontier to study the livery stable operators, a group of people who were omnipresent in the American West but who were taken so much for granted that no one has yet seen fit to interpret their activities. Nevertheless, as Professor Spence shows, their contribution was so great that the West would certainly have been much different without the services they performed.

Much of the history of the American West has been written in terms of the gaudy and spectacular--in terms of Wells Fargo detectives, calloused gunfighters, powdered madams, or slick gamblers sporting stickpins big as locomotive headlights. Too often the colorful and atypical have dominated our views of the West, at the expense of the meat-and-potatoes side of its development. It is ironic, I think, that we know more about Baby Doe, or that buck-toothed juvenile delinquent, Billy the Kid, or that likeable old liar, Buffalo Bill Cody, than we do about hundreds of thousands of nameless "little" men and women who were much more instrumental in peopling the West. How little we know, for example, of the day-to-day life and labor of the ten-day miner, sweating in the bowels of the earth for three dollars a day, of the freight handlers and stevedores on

the foggy docks of San Francisco, or of weary waitresses and dishwashers in grubby restaurants scattered from Tucson to Seattle.

Livery stable keepers and their hired hands are another example of the overlooked, the ignored, in Western history. An important institution in its time, the livery stable itself is all but forgotten, save for an occasional and usually distorted reminder. Old-timers who lived through the horse-and-buggy era may retain some nostalgic memories; we and our children know the cruel stereotype presented in Anna Sewell's Black Beauty, the Uncle Tom's Cabin of the horse world; certainly we are familiar with it as the setting for the classic Western brawl, whether with fists or with guns, in the best tradition of that early Tombstone livery stable, the O.K. Corral. But in a historical sense, we actually know very little about it, its operation, or those connected with it.

Apart from such dubious examples as bandit queen Belle Starr, the father of movie actor Bruce Cabot, and the grandfather of Robert Redford, a more recent star,[1] livery stable keepers made few demands on fame: their names did not appear in Who's Who in America; the index to the twenty-two volumes of the Dictionary of American Biography has categories for burglar, hostess, and lock expert, but none for liveryman or stableman. Mundane, unsightly, and an affront to the olfactory nerves, the livery stable (and with it its personnel) was taken for granted. It blended softly into the historic landscape. When it passed from the scene, it died quietly, without much comment or remorse. Let me here attempt to erect at least a simple monument.

The law defined a livery stable as "a place where horses or vehicles are kept or boarded, or let for hire."[2] In its day it was an integral part of every Western town, mentioned in even cursory descriptions. "There is not a town, with, I may say, a population of one thousand inhabitants in the State of Texas, that is without one, if not two first-class livery stables," noted a southwestern visitor in 1892. A few years later, San Francisco, well known for its excellent transportation system, was represented as having "upwards of one hundred and fifty well-appointed and well-managed livery stables"; and even the park at Yosemite was portrayed as "the usual gathering of stores, hotels, livery stables for the horses and ponies needed for the excursions, and curiosity dealers' shops."[3]

As ubiquitous as the service station of a later era (in 1890, 379 men were engaged in livery work in Denver, compared with 281 bartenders and 375 physicians and surgeons),[4] the livery stable fulfilled a number of functions. To it came local citizens and out-of-towners alike to hire horses and vehicles of all types. To it came those who wanted a carriage or sleigh for a parade, a Sunday school picnic, a jaunt to the

LIVERY STABLE KEEPERS IN SELECTED STATES AND TERRITORIES, 1860-1920[5]

AREA	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
Arizona			38	44	76	114	19
California	433	457	626	1,124	1,083	1,268	237
Colorado	7		189	455	452	525	162
Dakota			84				
Idaho			19	66	148	271	108
Kansas	35	174	642	1,295	1,211	1,148	217
Montana			40	135	214	300	162
Nebraska	12	55	288	1,066	1,007	941	268
Nevada	15	62	68	43	52	89	14
New Mexico			15	55	46	129	33
North Dakota				119	285	484	250
Oklahoma				61	343	1,106	326
Oregon	18	66	96	240	297	449	122
South Dakota				280	355	523	176
Texas	39	74	288	769	1,095	1,273	246
Utah			18	69	75	94	20
Washington	3		52	306	297	559	107
Wyoming			5	34	72	114	50
Total USA	5,361	8,504	14,213	26,757	33,680	34,795	11,168

beach, a fair, or a nearby circus. To it came the young blades not yet able to afford their own, to hire fancy buggies fitted with polished shafts, leather dashboards, and gleaming brass trim--the accepted instrument of courtship and nuptial negotiations.[6] To it came well-to-do wives and ladies of more leisure and less virtue, tempted by assurances of smart but gentle teams and especially nice carriages.[7] And an important part of the livery stable business came from the drummer--the traveling salesman. "Special Accommodations for Commercial Men" or "Special Rates to Commercial Travellers" were common promises.[8] "Special rates" often meant providing a rig--usually a team and canvas-topped spring wagon to carry heavy sample cases--and a driver at the same price as the rig alone (which was higher than charges to local customers); for liverymen learned by experience that "with a driver of their own aboard the team was less likely to come trotting home with nothing much but the buggy pole."[9]

Western livery keepers naturally sought to exploit nature's wonders. Thus, in the late 1860s, "Colorado Charley" Utter's Pioneer Livery, Feed and Sale Stable at Georgetown not only

made up pack trains and provisioned teamsters and animals but also provided saddle horses and escorted sightseers into the inner parks of the Rockies.[10] Others quickly discovered that money could be made by locating a supply of saddle horses strategically at Coulterville in California, where bone-shaken stagecoach travelers heading for Yosemite welcomed a change in mode of conveyance.[11] In the eighties, Ogden livery stables promised first-class accommodations into the mountains to all tourist resorts, while J. B. McCauslin of the Provo Livery and Feed Stables (corner of Centre and H Streets) advertised "Convenient Rigs for Picnic Parties and Camping in the Canyons."[12] In Arizona, of course, Flagstaff livery keepers profited greatly from trade to the Grand Canyon, and a little farther east at Holbrook, Smith & Smith thought in even more grandiose terms: "Teams for any old place," they announced.[13]

Most livery stables catered also to special occasions. As one in Omaha declared:

> Up-to-date Carriages, Coupés and Broughams
> for weddings, Receptions and all Occasions
> where an Elegant Equipage is Essential:
> Hearses and Carriages for Funerals.[14]

In larger cities this meant carriages for theater parties or Sunday calling; in more isolated areas it might mean hauling all comers to the grand Confederate veterans' reunion in Limestone County, Texas.[15] The hearse was normally supplied by the livery stable in most Western towns, at a cost of from $15 to $20.[16] Somber black was not the only color. "A Child's White Hearse just added," announced a Montana livery firm in 1889.[17] Indeed, some--like Bowen and Hubbard's Palace Livery and Undertaking Company of Bisbee--combined the livery and mortuary functions, and a few converted their livery stables entirely to the undertaking business.[18] Vestiges of this early union linger on in the "livery fee," as some funeral directors still label the charge for hearse rental.

The hire of horses and vehicles was not, of course, the only province of the Western livery stable. Often it sold or traded saddles and harness and offered hay, grain, or even wood and coal in retail or wholesale lots. It was a convenient place where horses might be left for others; it housed and boarded not only horses and mules but sometimes cattle, hogs, or even the hounds from traveling Uncle Tom's Cabin shows; frequently it was designated as the town pound for stray livestock; sometimes the livery keeper assumed the obligation of maintaining the town's fire horses and of providing a driver for them;[19] and it was a place where vehicles could be stored for a night or for a year. Here the local physician might keep

a closed buggy; here were sheltered hotel hacks, the local bus, the bakery wagon, and the town water cart. Special occasions brought an influx of horses and vehicles. Cowboys in town to celebrate payday left their ponies (and often their artillery), for some cow outfits forbade them to leave their mounts tied to a post or a tree while they went carousing.[20] Public dances usually filled the stables until late. Said an early observer:

> Along toward the hours of morning, after the dancing and love-making and boozing had had full swing, the Beau Brummels returned for their teams, stopped in the little cooped up office, spat upon the floor, took another swig of liquor, rehearsed their smutty, dirty stories, tried to steal a better whip, and then departed.[21]

Because ordinary livery stables often tended to be too expensive for the average cowpoke or sod buster, cheap wagon yards were also popular throughout the West. The "Horse Restaurant" run by an ex-Confederate in El Paso in the 1890s was typical. It was built around a small corner building, a high fence enclosing the yard, with sheds on two sides for horses. Some provided a dormitory room for teamsters, but many merely gave space for wagons and camping in the corral, although patrons could, if they chose, bring their own feed for their animals. Cheapness was the important factor, as one customer noted:

> I can't say that I was much impressed with the comfort afforded; but then, what can one expect for 15 cents, which was all I was paying for myself and pony.[22]

Regardless of the level of their operations, most livery keepers were involved in horse trading. Indeed, some, like J. J. Mosser's Livery, Sale and Boarding Stable in San Francisco, put most of their emphasis on that activity, if advertising is a fair indication:

> Horses Bought and Sold on Commission. A large stock of Driving and Work Horses constantly on hand. Stable and Corral for Horses Consigned from the Country, and Freight Paid on Consignments. Hay, Grain and Feed at Wholesale and Retail.[23]

But even where their main accent was on rentals and housing, most liverymen sought to improve their stock by "trading up." Some broke wild horses for sale, and the majority were ever

alert to unload failing animals for something better. Often they came up against the professional horse trader, a man described as "long on cuss words, short on baths," who, with his wagons, racing stock, and broken-down plugs, might linger several days. Horse swapping was truly frontier and well-nigh legendary. Witness the story of the two grizzled veterans who met.

"Trade you hosses sight unseen," said one.

"Done," replied the other, and they shook on it.

"Well, I got you that time," said the first. "My horse is dead."

"Hmph," said the second. "So's mine. And I took the shoes off."[24]

Perhaps not all livery keepers were as versatile as Joe McBride of Bremond, Texas, who is described as having been "banker, mule dealer, liveryman, brewer's agent, ice distributor, Justice of the Peace,"[25] but many simultaneously conducted other businesses, kindred or unrelated. Some served as veterinarians--at least until Western legislatures began to require formal training and licensing; one in Wyoming was in charge of pasturing the local milk cows during the summer; another held the contract to haul the mail to the nearest railroad stop.[26] Often they owned stores, saloons, or hotels in conjunction with their stables.[27] One in Logan also ran the opera house, another a roller-skating rink, still another a billiard hall.[28] Some engaged in brickmaking, retailed tan bark, or managed a real estate agency or a telephone company on the side; and a substantial number were farm or ranch owners raising everything from almonds to pigs and thoroughbred horses.[29]

Especially noticeable was the link between the livery business on the one hand and local transfer, freighting, or stagecoaching on the other. Perhaps seeking a more sedentary life, men often moved from coaching or freighting into livery stable enterprises.[30] Others, like Upton Barnard in Texas, also provided a downtown passenger, baggage, and delivery service, although at one point in his career Barnard agreed with his competitor to abandon busing in exchange for a monopoly of the local funeral trade.[31] Opposite the opera house in Salt Lake City, Mulloy & Paul had established by 1884 their "Livery and Transfer Stables and Omnibus Line, complete with telephone service to the hotels"; here they competed with Grant Brothers Livery and Transfer Company, a veteran firm, which ran forty-passenger coaches about the city.[32] And where railroads were slow to push their branch lines, livery and stagecoach enterprises were combined. In addition to its stables in Phoenix, for example, the Arizona Consolidated Stage and Livery Company ran a line of coaches between there and Prescott and between Casa Grande and Florence, while Merrill's livery at Solomonsville

ran the daily stage between that Arizona town and Coronado.[33]

Using the police power of the Constitution, states and territories and municipal corporations licensed livery stables and regulated their location, construction, and operation. But this was a loose jurisdiction, with licensing sometimes imposed as much by local liverymen who sought to limit their competition as by question of public welfare.[34] Although a few in the wake of advancing railroads were made of canvas, most were of frame construction, usually "trying to look big" with the false fronts so typical of Western architecture--what one traveler called "Queen Anne in front and Crazy Jane behind."[35] Most were two-story, boxlike structures, with oversized doors to let carriages onto the ramp leading to the main floor. Stalls lined the sides or the rear, with openings leading down from the hayloft above. Some were as small as 30 by 70 feet; others, like Sam Barkley's Tucson stable, the largest in the city, measured 102 by 185 feet. Including the inevitable corral behind, it was not unusual for a livery stable to take up an entire block.[36]

Often on the first floor there were oat bins, a corn crib, and a well--or perhaps even tap water--all of which invited visitors. The watering trough was the "Newport of ratdom," according to one who knew the business: ". . . fat rats, lean rats, long-tailed rats, gray rats, baby rats, sick rats, squealing rats, rats, rats, rats, rats. . . ."[37] Sometimes there were drunks, sleeping it off in the hay, or tramps, although some livery keepers blamed transients for setting fires and others believed that horses would not eat hay after it had been slept on by the unwashed. With great glee, Texas stable hands stripped and scrubbed hoboes before bedding them down.[38] The fear of fire was not unwarranted: wooden buildings filled with hay made a highly combustible combination. Inventors countered with automatic systems for releasing stable doors in case of a blaze, but these were costly and came too late for real use in the livery age.[39] And under the roof also was kept the medley of vehicles for hire--from buckboards to surreys; from buggies, Democrats, and cutters to the inevitable hearse--not to mention those stored by local citizens.

Usually just inside the door was the small, cubbyhole office, fitted with a desk, a chair or two, a lumpy cot and a lantern for the attendant on night duty, and a potbellied stove, strategically set in the midst of what amounted to a huge spittoon full of ashes. Whips, buffalo robes, or perhaps sleighbells hung on the wall. Likely there would be a picture of Smuggler or the great Maud S.; possibly a tin sign extolling Spindle's Spavin Cure; and maybe a standard motto:

Whip light,
Drive slow.
Pay cash
Before you go.[40]

Everywhere was the mingled smell of liniment, horses, hay, and harness--and in the two-by-four office, tobacco. And here in the cool evenings sat the "ancient board of strategy," as someone called them--the local loafers, with pipes, chaws, and cards,

> mulling over the latest community scandal, solving the affairs of state, passing upon the beauties and defects of women, critically commenting upon the latest pugilistic prowess of John L. Sullivan.[41]

Here were refought the Civil War and countless skirmishes with bears and devilish redskins; here fascinated young lads could learn about life "in a fine, free, Rabelaisian manner," to use the words of Louis Bromfield.[42] In good weather this forum for leisure moved out front, where passing women plucked up their skirts and swept by disdainfully as the town ne'er-do-wells took aim at the cracks in the sidewalk.

Although occasionally a man went into business with only one horse, as did a Californian in 1853, and in Texas at least one livery stable changed hands--goodwill and all--in an all-night poker game,[43] these were unusual circumstances. Many liverymen did start small, in debt or with limited assets, and gradually built up their holdings. A few moved their livery stock and vehicles west from the Corn Belt; more transferred capital from freighting, stagecoaching, or ranching.[44] But with horses costing $100-125, carriages $300-350, and harness $60-70, even a small operation of half a dozen horses and a few rigs represented at least a modest outlay, and a going concern of ten times that magnitude--not a large enterprise in a city--meant a considerable investment.[45]

Livery stable proprietors themselves were male, white, and native-born. Novelists like to endow poor orphan girls, struggling to earn an honest living, with modest little stables, but in actual life this seldom happened. In 1870, of 8,504 livery keepers in the entire nation, only eleven were women, and of those only one was west of the Mississippi.[46] With time, the number rose considerably, but not the proportion.[47] If blacks, Indians, or even Mexican-Americans were connected with the business, they were generally hostlers--stable hands--not proprietors.

Some livery keepers drifted from town to town "like a leaf in the wind," as Texan Upton Barnard characterized himself.

They leased, bought, and sold businesses and entered into monopolistic, price-fixing, or trade-sharing agreements with their competitors like any other small businessman of their day. They operated almost entirely alone or as partners, almost never as incorporated firms; and while a few did amass substantial wealth and move into more impressive banking or propertied circles, probably most never went beyond the local livery scene.[48]

The livery stable was the natural habitat of the retired cowboy. Many a scrawny, bowlegged old cowpoke, boots run down at the heels, eked out his last good years there or behind a bar somewhere until the automobile and the Eighteenth Amendment set him adrift again. More than one liveryman had previously retired from active range life because of a shooting scrape, because he had once "filled some of his neighbors with buckshot," as was said of one in El Paso. Cowboys frequently worked in off-season or in dull time in a livery stable, and it was a setting tailor-made for the puncher smitten by matrimony, when his bride rejected the loneliness of ranch life.[49]

Stable hands turned over rapidly, and their employers lamented the constant need to break in new ones, usually green farm boys, although the only qualification necessary, it was said, was "the ability to sweep floors, roll a wheelbarrow, and holler 'whoa.'"[50] Runaway lads, down-and-outers seeking a few days' work, perhaps a Black stranded from a passing circus--all sought and usually found employment and could earn from fifteen to twenty dollars a month, often with board and with a bed in the loft.[51] Here a Colorado homesteader might work until ready to file his claim, or a dutiful son might labor to pay off the mortgage on the family farm back in Illinois.[52]

As a livery stable "chambermaid," the stable hand cared for the horses and maintained all kinds of rigs. He fed, watered, and curried the animals--and once in a while was kicked into oblivion for his trouble.[53] He washed and oiled carriages and buggies and sometimes painted or varnished, though vehicles were usually refinished professionally.[54] He hitched up the rigs and sent them out, unhitched and put them away when they returned, often late at night. Sometimes he delivered traps to their owners or was called upon to drive the doctor to a distant farm on a bad night. He unloaded hay and grain and inevitably he wheeled manure--mountains of it--to the buzz of clouds of bluebottle flies. Count five tons of manure per horse per year to understand the magnitude of this problem in the city, where companies conducted a major business contracting for, processing, and shipping this livery by-product for fertilizer.[55] But even with its incessant shoveling, livery stable routine often gave leisure time when the night man, especially, could read or tilt his chair back against the wall, feet on the rounds, and talk by the hour to the hangers-on.[56] Winter was

generally a slack season, when owners laid off stable hands and sold the poorer horses or put them out for their keep.[57]

Livery operators charged what the market would bear, which meant high prices where feed and competition were scarce. Young Herman Reinhart's livery fees in the Boise Basin in the 1860s sound like those from Mark Twain's tale of the Genuine Mexican Plug: at Placerville Reinhart paid $12 a night for hay and stabling of his four horses; at Idaho City he was charged $4 per horse, plus 25 cents a pound for barley.[58] In more established areas, prices were more reasonable: at the Black Hawk Livery Stable in San Diego in 1869, $12 would stable four horses, with hay and grain, for three days.[59] On the Coast during the seventies, $1.00 per head per day was normal for stabling and feeding; hiring a "horse at night" ran $1.25; a horse and buggy, $2.50; and a team and carriage as high as $5.00. Rates in a small town with good railroad access might be less--perhaps 75 cents per horse per night or from 10 to 25 cents for a noon stall and hay for a team.[60] But prices varied so from place to place and from year to year that "normalcy" becomes an elusive term.

Foreign visitors generally agreed that Western livery service was good and comparatively cheap.[61] They were impressed by the spirit of accommodation which brought one livery keeper out of retirement to drive the Duke of Sutherland to Yosemite in 1881 and which prompted another to leave his stable and drive a French baron from the Black Hills of Dakota to the railroad in Nebraska, several hundred miles away.[62] But some thought American livery animals "imperfectly broken" and "overly spirited" or, at the other extreme, "possessed of a wild and uncontrollable desire to move slowly." An Englishman on a scenic ride in California in the early 1870s found that his hired horse had a mind of its own and would travel but one route: "No persuasion of whip or spur would make him deviate from the nearest and best way to the Geysers."[63] A woman in Los Angeles in 1888 was promised "a spirited team and a driver who knew the country." Instead, the liveryman gave her a driver who lost his way repeatedly and a team, one of which "came broken-winded and very lame and the other [which] could hardly keep on its legs."[64]

Such experiences no doubt prompted customer demands for a price readjustment. One assumes, too, that when Calamity Jane hired a horse from a Cheyenne stable to drive to nearby Fort Russell, then, having indulged "in frequent and liberal potations," kept driving until she reached Fort Laramie, ninety miles away, it was the livery keeper who asked for a reassessment of fees.[65]

Cash business was always desirable but not always possible. During the winter months cowboys sometimes built up large livery bills, but they had a reputation for paying up, for, according

to one of them, they "considered a barn bill almost a sacred responsibility in caring for a pet saddle horse."[66] Not all customers were so trustworthy. One livery owner recounted how a young female telephone operator switched stables and never paid the $7.50 she owed him, how he had to impound the horse of a local broker who ignored his bill, and how he collected his $2.50 fee from a drummer only by accosting him as the drummer was about to board an outgoing train.[67]

Sometimes there were disputes over the amount of the bill. One involved a young newspaperman who received cut rates in exchange for putting his own horse up when he came into the stable at night. When he offered a final settlement in advertising, not cash, these special arrangements dissolved. At Albuquerque in 1880 a young man bargained for a rig and driver to take him out to his railroad survey crew for $7.50. When the destination was reached, the driver now demanded $10.00. Argument availing nothing, a raw-boned Irish mule skinner in the party took over. Placing the $7.50 on the seat beside the driver, the Irishman spoke a few words to him "hot enough to wither cactus within a radius of twenty feet," according to an onlooker, then "hit the nigh horse with a neck yoke he had been carrying and gave a blood-curdling Tipperary yell at the same time. . . . The buckboard soon disappeared over the hills."[68]

Liability posed another ticklish set of problems. The livery keeper was liable if he failed to exercise ordinary care in safeguarding horses and rigs entrusted to his keep. He was not a common carrier, but if he rented out a vehicle defective because of his own or his employee's negligence, if he provided a known runaway team or a careless driver, he might also be held responsible for personal injuries resulting.[69] On the other hand, while laws gave the proprietor a lien upon horses left with him,[70] this provided no insurance against injury to animals or rigs by his customers. But in some cases at least, customers were assessed minor breakage fees and they paid all or a substantial part of the replacement cost for smashed up vehicles. Once, while his own wife was recuperating from an operation, cowboy-detective Charlie Siringo took a young lady on a Christmas sleigh ride at Tuscarora, Nevada, renting a spanking new cutter from the local livery stable. The team ran away, the sled overturned, and the two had to trudge five miles back to town past "pieces of the sleigh scattered all along the road." Worse yet, Siringo had to pay fifty dollars for the experience.[71] At Uvalde, Texas, a long-term customer replaced at full value a livery horse that died from eating green corn; and no doubt that proprietor was more fortunate than one in Dakota, from whom a drunken cowboy hired a pony and rode it through the ice on the Missouri to the death of both.[72]

Liverymen were not unacquainted with theft. More than one drummer took off with horse and rig, perhaps to leave them later at another stable, perhaps not. Detectives who traced down two men who failed to return a span of bays and a top-rig buggy to Brown and Marr's Denver stable found that the two were murderers as well as thieves.[73] An old-time cowboy recalled how he had once gotten liquored up and sold his own saddle horse to a liveryman in a little town near El Paso. Then, beset by remorse, he stole the animal back and skipped across the border. Later he sought to justify his action:

> Now if you know just how livery-stable horses were treated by the men who hired them, you'd understand just how drunk and desperate I must have been to put this grand animal in their cruel and careless establishment.[74]

In the tradition of poor Black Beauty, livery stables from an early date acquired bad reputations in this respect. The problem of the "horse killer" was a common one and a difficult one to meet. Some customers neglected to water the horse, ran it on a full stomach, or tied it for hours in the blazing sun. Some simply drove too fast too far, and there were always a few who lashed the animal without mercy. Just as they refused to let their horses for use in raging blizzards, responsible livery keepers declined to deal with known sadists of this sort, but they could not know all of their customers. One liveryman in Texas kept a special horse for such contingencies: if whipped, the horse stopped; if whipped again, he backed up; and as a last resort he tried to overturn the buggy and its driver.[75]

Within the community, the livery keeper was not always on the same level of respectability as the owner of the local dry goods emporium or drugstore. Western egalitarianism to the contrary notwithstanding, he and his hostlers were not high on the social scale. A Texas schoolmaster, whom an overzealous pupil had threatened with a knife, gives some perspective on this point. "Only once before in all my experience has a schoolboy tried to use a knife," he told his class. "Remember this! Today he is working in a livery stable!"[76]

Because of its "noxious odors," as the courts called them, its incessant flies and vermin, and its noise of profanity and of stamping hoofs on wooden planks, the livery stable was often relegated by city ordinance to the nether regions of the small community.[77] And because it was a setting for local undesirables--the town pug, racetrack touts, bootleggers, and cockfighters--it was sometimes assigned to even more distant regions by straightlaced churchmen and the mothers of growing boys.

Shrewd liverymen believed that directly or indirectly saloons

added some $100 a month to their business. Many a buggy was stabled overnight, when old man Jones went home too drunk to remember he had driven it to town; many a night old man Smith had to be liveried home because he was in no shape to navigate.[78] In dry areas, the livery stable usually played a role in the liquor traffic. Men left their teams there in one town while they went by rail to the next community for their snakebite medicine, leaving the stableman after their return to pick up their empty bottles by the bushel.[79] Salty William Allen White recalls how El Dorado, Kansas--swept by the winds of prohibition about 1881--managed to preserve some moisture. In the livery stable on South Main, White says,

> in a rank-smelling empty box stall in a tub of ice, covered by a gunny sack, one could go on a hot day and get a bottle of beer, or fish a black bottle of red liquor out of the hay in the manger and leave the price in the feedbox.[80]

The well bred and the maternal often condemned the livery stable for other of its sins. Tramps and drunks slept there, and who knew what other undesirables? It was the site of rowdiness, occasional fistfights, perhaps even gunplay, though Gunsmoke or the O.K. Corral were hardly typical. A few liverymen were known to operate on the rim of the law, willing to accept money to keep their eyes and mouths closed.[81] And in an era when genteel ladies spoke of "gentlemen cows" rather than bulls, livery stables that provided stud service sometimes found themselves under siege. The town mothers of William Allen White's El Dorado were successful in getting the stallion moved out of the town stable in the 1870s, but the gesture was a futile one. Already the damage had been done, said White, and "the Knowledge of good and evil came to us, even as to the Pair in the Garden."[82]

In the end, the livery stable was a victim of technological advance: it went the way of the ox yoke and the coal oil lamp. Optimists at the end of the nineteenth century believed the horse destined to endure forever. "Bicycles and automobiles are fads of the moment," they said, "while the love of the horse is rooted in something which is immutable." No crank-operated, fume-belching combination of leather and steel could possibly provide the feeling of strength and oneness that went with horsemanship.[83] As late as 1910, ardent champions still argued that Old Dobbin would "continue to be the willing and economical servant and the admiration of man long after those who are now predicting his downfall have passed away"; contrary to popular thought, they insisted, the encroachment of motor cars had had little impact on the number of horse-drawn commercial vehicles

in most Western cities.[84] But even then the death knell was sounding: in 1911, when Appler's General Directory listed fourteen livery stables in San Antonio, the same source showed twenty-four automobile dealers in the city.[85]

And the demise came with hardly a whimper--in a cloud of exhaust smoke, as it were. One bewildered proprieter put a gun to his head and died with his business, but farsighted liverymen sold out early; soon everywhere they began to close their doors or paint over their signs. A few of the more prosperous sought to replace their rental rigs with automobiles, but because of poor roads, a scarcity of mechanics, high repair and maintenance costs, few of these early forerunners of Hertz and Avis survived their first year of operation.[86] Many stables did convert, not to car rental, but to automotive garages and repair shops, as the raucous internal combustion engine drove its four-footed predecessor from the road, a change confirmed tacitly in 1918, when the magazine The American Blacksmith modified its name to become The American Blacksmith, Auto & Tractor Shop. By that time, a veteran liveryman like Upton Barnard was running a hotel and the Briscoe auto dealership in Waco, although many of his cohorts found work as salesmen or law enforcement officers.[87] An era had come to a close.

But contemporaries and later historians hardly noticed. The livery stable was taken for granted: it was unexciting and few missed its ammonia smell, which some had insisted was beneficial to the tubercular. It became a standard prop of pulp writers, movie and TV directors, and the builders of re-created Western villages; but almost nobody recorded what it was really like or that it was a valuable link in small town and city transportation systems or that one of its legacies was a body of livery law, upon which are built modern interpretations for garages, parking lots, and car rentals.

Yet in the long run, the livery stable was important--important as one of many strands making up the fabric of Western history. When the final chapters of the history of the West are written, let them give their due to the great leaders--to Jim Bridger, Brigham Young, Leland Stanford, Chief Joseph, and the others--but let them also recognize the role of the unspectacular, of the hundreds of thousands of "dirty people with no names."[88] Let historians turn awhile from the Wyatt Earps and the George Armstrong Custers or even from the romantic prospector and cowboy to examine the wide variety of unheralded people and callings that made up the strong but complex woof and warp of Western development. Let our history include liverymen as well as cavalrymen, cooks as well as crooks, hashslingers as well as gunslingers. They also built the West.

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3. "Rux," Through the Mill or Rambles in Texas (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1892), p. 28; Doxey's Guide to San Francisco and the Pleasure Resorts of California (San Francisco: William Doxey, 1897), p. 92; Sir William Howard Russell, Hesperothen: Notes from the West, 2 vols. (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1882), 2: 32. For other contemporary descriptions see Charles Nordhoff, Northern California, Oregon, and the Sandwich Islands (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1874), p. 181; John K. Rollinson, Pony Trails in Wyoming (Caldwell: Caxton Printers, 1941), p. 168. Barnard's Livery Stable Days is one of the few available reminiscences by an old liveryman. For secondary accounts of a general nature see Chet Shafer, "The Old Livery Stable," The Saturday Evening Post 199 (5 February 1927): 20-21, 158; and Lewis Atherton, Main Street on the Middle Border (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1966), pp. 34-41, the latter a brief, but valuable treatment.

4. Eleventh Report of the United States Census Bureau, 1: 660-61.

5. Compiled from Reports of the United States Census Bureau, 1860-1920 inclusive. Figures for the number of livery stable keepers in the territories are not broken down for 1860 and 1870: the report of 1860 says that there were 65 in the territories at that time; that of 1870 gives 183 as the number then. Figures for 1910 and 1920 do not include a new category--"Foremen of Livery and Transfer Companies"--listed for the first time in 1910.

6. Barnard, Livery Stable Days, p. 150; Harris Newmark, Sixty Years in Southern California (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1916), p. 429; Atherton, Main Street on the Middle Border, p. 38.

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12. Robert W. Sloan, ed. and comp., Utah Gazetteer and Directory of Logan, Ogden, Provo and Salt Lake Cities, for 1884 (Salt Lake City: Sloan & Dunbar, 1884), pp. 375, 419.

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17. Ibid., 14 September 1889.

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Texas Press, 1962), pp. 116, 129, 181, 183; Atherton, Main Street on the Middle Border, p. 41; Rollinson, Pony Trails in Wyoming, pp. 94, 99-100; Barnard, Livery Stable Days, pp. 44, 97; Northern Pacific Coast Directory, 1888-89 (San Francisco: Niles-Rentschler Directory Co., 1888), p. 43.

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25. Barnard, Livery Stable Days, p. 176.

26. Ibid., pp. 126-27, 133; Rollinson, Pony Trails in Wyoming, pp. 94, 99-100, 217.

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Standard Genealogical Publishing Company, 1901), pp. 426, 662; History of Santa Barbara County, California, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men and Pioneers (Oakland: Thompson & West, 1883), p. 310; Warren Ormsby, "Peeling the Tanoak," Forest History, 15 (January 1972): 7.

30. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, pp. 383, 394; A Volume of Memoirs and Genealogy of Representative Citizens of Northern California, pp. 442, 661-62.

31. Barnard, Livery Stable Days, pp. 59, 95-96, 104.

32. Sloan, Utah Gazetteer and Directory of Logan, Ogden, Provo and Salt Lake Cities, for 1884, p. 549; The Knutsford (Salt Lake City, 1891 [?]), see back of front cover. Enterprising hack drivers had their regular stands in front of major hotels but also retained an order slate at important livery stables (Newmark, Sixty Years in Southern California, p. 389).

33. Portrait and Biographical Record of Arizona, p. 551; Arizona Business Directory. . . 1905-1906, p. 371.

34. Liverymen were required to procure licenses in California as early as 1854 (Illustrated History of Plumas, Lassen & Sierra Counties, with California from 1513 to 1850 [San Francisco: Fariss & Smith, 1882], p. 205). In 1867 or 1868, Herman Reinhart hired horses from the Shaw brothers, Mormons who kept a store in Salt Lake City, but "had to promise to keep it secret, as the livery stable keepers would have prosecuted them for doing livery business without a license" (Nunis, The Golden Frontier, p. 280). A livery stable was not a nuisance per se, but municipalities had the right to license and tax livery vehicles and to restrict stables to certain areas. In Denver, "no candle factory, rendering establishment, soap factory, livery stable, or stable for the boarding of horses" could exist in the city without a permit from the council. If a majority of owners of lots in a block protested, no permit could be issued. No stable was to be located in a block or opposite a block in which was a school (Phillips v. City of Denver, Colorado Reports, 19 [1893]: 180-81; State of Missouri ex rel Russell v. Beattie, Missouri Appeal Reports, 16 [1884]: 131-49; City of St. Louis v. Russell, Missouri Reports, 116 [1893]: 248-59; Des Moines v. Bolton, Iowa Reports, 128 [1905]: 108-14; Templeton v. Williams, Oregon Reports, 59 [1911]: 161, 163).

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40. Shafer, "The Old Livery Stable," 21.

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42. Louis Bromfield, The Farm (New York: Harper & Bros., 1946), p. 219.

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44. Illustrated History of Plumas, Lassen & Sierra Counties, with California from 1513 to 1850, p. 503; Barnard, Livery Stable Days, p. 43; Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, pp. 383, 394; A Volume of Memoirs and Genealogy of Representative Citizens of Northern California, pp. 442, 661-62; [Gideon] Anthony Hamilton to Frank Dexter, San Francisco, 11 January 1881, Gideon Anthony Hamilton mss., Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

45. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, pp. 335, 558, 1086, 1379; "The Automobile in Use Today," The American Monthly Review of Reviews, 20 (August 1899): 199; Barnard, Livery Stable Days, pp. 35, 95.

46. The sole woman was in Kansas. Ninth Report of the United States Census Bureau, 1870, 1: 674, 676, 734. For a literary version of the poor but honest livery woman see Alice French, Stories of a Western Town (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), p. 61.

47. Figures in subsequent census reports were as follows: 1880--of 14,213 livery keepers in the country, 33 were women, of which 1 lived in California, 1 in Colorado, and 5 in Nebraska; 1890--of a total of 26,757 livery keepers, 47 were women (California 4, Kansas 3, Texas, Utah, and Washington 1 each; 1900--of a total of 33,680, 190 were women (California 10, Kansas 10, Colorado 5, Texas 6, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, and Nebraska 1 each); 1910--of a total of 34,795, 183 were women (California 7, Nebraska 3, North Dakota, Oklahoma, and Texas 2 each, and Idaho, Nevada, and Montana 1 each (Tenth Report of the United States Census Bureau, 1880, 1: 792; Eleventh Report of the United States Census Bureau, 1890, 1: 304, 307, 313, 331, 336, 337; Twelfth Report of the United States Census Bureau, 1900, 2, pt. 2: 505, 512, 522, 532, 533, 542; Thirteenth Report of the United States Census Bureau, 1910, 4: 104, 105, 118, 119, 132, 133, 146, 147).

48. Barnard, Livery Stable Days, pp. 75-76, 95-96, 104, 119, 121, 134; Barron v. Collenbaugh, Iowa Reports, 114 (1901): 71; Northwestern Reporter (1901), 86: 53-54. For examples of those of more than average success, see Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, p. 806; Luther B. Hill, A History of the State of Oklahoma (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1910), 2: 235; A Volume of Memoirs and Genealogy of Representative Citizens of Northern California, pp. 143-45; Walter A. Wyckoff, A Day with a Tramp (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), pp. 50, 54.

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51. Bob Kennon (as told to Ramon Adams), From the Pecos to the Powder: A Cowboy's Autobiography (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. 27; Walter A. Wyckoff, The Workers: An Experiment in Reality (The West) (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898), pp. 325, 330; Ralph D. Blumfield, Home Town (London, n.d.), pp. 37-38.

52. Hal Borland, High, Wide and Lonesome (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1956), p. 39; Wyckoff, The Workers, p. 328.

53. A Volume of Memoirs and Genealogy of Representative Citizens of Northern California, p. 375.

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64. Mrs. E. H. Carbutt, Five Months' Fine Weather in Canada, Western U.S., and Mexico (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1889), p. 122.

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66. Kennon, From the Pecos to the Powder, pp. 172-73.

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68. E. W. Howe, Plain People (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1929), pp. 68-69; Henry Allen Tice, Early Railroad Days in New Mexico (Santa Fe: Stagecoach Press, 1965), pp. 34-35.

69. For cases involving the liveryman's liability over rigs and animals trusted to his care, see McPherrin v. Jennings, Iowa Reports, 66 (1885): 622-28; Northwestern Reporter (1885), pp. 242-45; Hunter v. Ricke Bros., Iowa Reports, 127 (1905): 108-12; Northwestern Reporter (1905), p. 826. For cases and comments on his liability for accidents which befell customers using his horses and vehicles, see Moulton v. Aldrich, Kansas Reports, 28 (1882): 214-24; Oglesby v. Smith, Missouri Appeal Reports, 38 (1889): 67-72; Erickson v. Barber, Iowa Reports, 83 (1891): 367-73; Northwestern Reporter (1891), pp. 838-40; Siegrist, et al. v. Arnot, Missouri Appeal Reports, 10 (1881): 197-210; Missouri Reports, 86 (1885): 200-201; Radel Co. v. Borches, Southwestern Reporter, 145 (1912): 155-58; Humphrey, Following the Prairie Frontier, pp. 150-53.

70. By state and territorial statute, the livery keeper caring for the animals of another had a lien on them for his charges, though he lost this right if he periodically allowed the owner to use his livestock. For samples of cases involving liens, see Cardinal v. Edwards, Nevada Reports, 5 (1869): 37-41; Johnson v. Perry, California Reports, 53 (1879): 351-54; Welsh v. Barnes, North Dakota Reports, 5 (1895): 277; Lowe, et al. v. Woods, et al., Pacific Reporter, 34 (1893): 959.

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72. Barnard, Livery Stable Days, p. 107; Ike Blasingame, Dakota Cowboy (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958), p. 57.

73. Barnard, Livery Stable Days, pp. 47-48; David J. Cook, Hands Up; or, Twenty Years of Detective Life in the Mountains and on the Plains (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 76-77, 85-86. For a customer to abscond with a rig and horses was not uncommon. (See People v. Jackson, California Reports, 138 [1903]: 462-66; Lewis v. State, Texas Criminal Reports, 48 [1905]: 309-14.)

74. Kennon, From the Pecos to the Powder, pp. 41-43.

75. Barnard, Livery Stable Days, p. 54; Borland, High, Wide and Lonesome, p. 205.

76. Barnard, Livery Stable Days, p. 36. One late nineteenth century traveler noted the mixture of class at Colorado Springs, where "one may rub shoulders at the charming little clubs with an Oxford-bred livery-stable keeper or a Harvard graduate who had turned his energies toward the selling of milk" (James F. Muirhead, America: The Land of Contrasts [London and New York: John Lane, 1898], p. 213). At the other extreme, a traveler in California was amused by a livery stable sign which spelled feed "feede"--"the schoolmaster being abroad," he said (Walter M. Fisher, The Californians [London: Macmillan, 1876], p. 16).

77. See Phillips v. City of Denver, Colorado Reports, 19 (1893): 180-81; Pacific Reporter, 34 (1893): 902; Burditt, et al. v. Swenson, Texas Reports, 17 (1856): 489-506; Templeton v. Williams, Oregon Reports, 59 (1911): 161-63; Pacific Reporter, 116 (1911): 1062.

78. Barnard, Livery Stable Days, pp. 125, 126.

79. Nichols, Forty Years of Rural Journalism in Iowa, p. 24. Of the dry town of Greeley, Colorado, Bill Nye commented on the many "dead soldiers" in the hotel washroom, including the "fat little bottle with the odor of gin and livery stable" (Edgar Wilson Nye, Baled Hay [Chicago: W. B. Conkey Co., 1892], p. 18.

80. The Autobiography of William Allen White (New York: Macmillan, 1946), pp. 114, 123-24.

81. Crawford, The West of the Texas Kid, pp. 77-78.

82. The Autobiography of William Allen White, p. 40.

83. H. T. P., "The Return of the Horse," Bookman, 13 (1901).

84. The Blacksmith and Wheelwright, 62 (September 1910): 333; ibid. 69 (February 1914): 67. See also The American Blacksmith, 13 (April 1914): 160-61.

85. Jules A. Appler's General Directory and Blue Book of Greater San Antonio, 1911 (San Antonio: Jules A. Appler, 1911), pp. 1028, 1050, 1054.

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87. Barnard, Livery Stable Days, pp. 150-51, 153-54, 182-86. For this conversion, see also Albert Blumenthal, Small-Town Stuff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), p. 383; The American Blacksmith, 18 (September 1919): 300-301; State Historical & Natural Society of Colorado, History of Colorado (Denver: Linderman Co., 1927), 4: 218.

88. For a plea for study of nonelites as well as elites, see Jesse Lemisch, "The American Revolution Bicentennial and the Papers of Great White Men," AHA Newsletter, 9 (November 1971): 7-21.

Heroes and Villains, Virtue and Vice: American Values in the Literature of the West

Neal Lambert

Associate professor of English at Brigham Young University, Neal E. Lambert earned his bachelor's and doctor's degrees at the University of Utah. A native of Fillmore, Utah, and a Westerner by birth and inclination, his article "Saints, Sinners, and Scribes: A Look at the Mormons in Fiction," won the first annual Morris Rosenblatt award of the Utah State Historical Society as the best article published in 1968 in the Utah Historical Quarterly. Here Professor Lambert considers the relationship between natural law, statute law, and human conscience in the literature of the American West.

Almost certainly the title of this essay will be bothersome to some. Take, for instance, that last word, West. The geographer, if he wishes, can well point to some obvious natural boundaries, put his finger down, and say, "There. Everything between that river and that ocean is the American West." And we might say, "That's just fine." Or the historian can write his dates on the chalkboard and say, "There. The American West began in 1803 and it was finished by 1890." And though more hesitantly, we might still say, "All right," recognizing that here the word West is being used as another term for frontier, which, in one sense at least, did not exist after 1890. But already we are beginning to see and sense that, at least in the mind of America, West is not a single idea but a cluster of ideas, a collection of intellectual constructs that cannot be strictly limited either by dates on a calendar or by lines on a map.

What, then, do I mean by West? For now let us work with this: The West is not so much a place on the map or a period in history as it is a place in the imagination, not limited by strict definitions of actual territories or times. It is, above all, an imaginative situation: man alone or in small groups working out the problems of his own humanity in the context of a landscape that is vast, unsettled, and uncivilized. That the West of the imagination has a relationship to the West of history is

obvious. But in its highest significance, the truths of this West are not the truths of history but the truths of the human heart. And hopefully we would allow to the imaginative writer who turns to the materials of frontier America the same freedoms we allow to Hawthorne when he turns to the materials of puritan America, holding the Western writer no less responsible for the artistic integrity of what he does. Thus we do not read Western literature to find out what happened in the rendezvous of 1837 or the Johnson County war of 1892. We read it because of what it may reveal about us all as human beings, because it expresses and explores some of the fundamental problems of man, because it helps us understand something more of the comedy and tragedy of human existence. Not that such matters of high seriousness are always clearly and carefully delineated. They are too often only suggestions in a work that is otherwise satisfied with a quick chase and a simplistic resolution. But the peculiar situations of the American West nevertheless hold our national attention in such a way as to suggest that such meanings are truly there.

Now let us consider those first words: heroes and villains. One might well think that those two words represent separate categories in the mind of the West, but that isn't so. Indeed, any listing of typical American heroes will almost always include some Western outlaw. If the West does suggest anything to us about our national heroes it is that we often like them with just a bit of villainy in them, at least some sort of outlawry. For every sheriff that it has recognized, our Western mythology has elevated a half dozen outlaws. What our catalogs of Western heroes tell us, in short, is that we have been fascinated with "badmen"--with outlaws. We write relatively little about Pat Garrett the sheriff, but we have produced literally thousands of titles about Billy the Kid.

But why? Why do we maintain this interest in the Western outlaw? Why do we make heroes out of badmen? Is it just a perverted literary taste? Or is it something deeper? The dime store bookshelf would certainly suggest that our Western literary tastes are not very discriminating. We consume hundreds of outlaw novels that are nothing more than 175 pages of melodrama and mindless violence. Or more significantly, perhaps our interest in the outlaw is a residual manifestation of our puritan heritage, and we read about Western badmen simply because we see confirmed in them our cultural fears that man in the natural state is, in reality, sinful and depraved. Or perhaps our fascination with the outlaw stems from the fact that goodness is, after all, rather dull, and outlaws have more exciting things to do. My own boyhood recollections suggest that it was much more interesting to wear the mask and gallop down the trail on my stick horse than it was to sit around the "bank" waiting for the robbery to take place.

All of these answers may be partially true. We do have perverted readers and writers, and our puritan heritage does loom

large, but the real explanation is, I think, more complex than even these answers. We respond to outlaws and badmen because we see figured forth in them, however faintly, the outlines of some of our own deepest concerns. We have, in other words, taken the term outlaw and infused it with some of our own legal complexities and moral ambiguities, our struggles with freedom and responsibility, right and wrong, good and evil.

Thus we find ourselves trying to carry on a discussion in a terrible semantic tangle. We find ourselves now talking about good badmen and bad badmen, about good outlaws such as Shane, the hero of Jack Schaefer's book, and bad outlaws such as Wilson, the villainous man Shane virtuously kills. So the West furnishes us with Trusty Knaves, to use the title of a well-known book; it gives us "honest thieves" and "men of no great virtue who had honor in their hearts."

The ambiguity that we are involved with here derives primarily from our difficulties with the word outlaw. In the West, when was a man outside of the law, and exactly what law was he outside of? Those who speak of trusty knaves or honest thieves or virtuous scoundrels are obviously talking about two different sets of moral and legal principles. In a fine study of this problem, Don D. Walker suggests at least four different conceptions of law:

> Several kinds of law, or several different conceptions of law, could be found in the mind of the West. Few Westerners were likely to claim existence outside all law since inherent in the mind itself was an awareness of natural law. A hundred different interpretations might be given of this law, but without being metaphysical most Westerners would agree on its ontological reality. A more sociological law was the living law, the complex of mores or customs which pervaded and controlled a culture. And finally there was the positive law, the common law inherited, perhaps loosely, in legal tradition and the civil law formulated in the statutes of the nation, states, and territories. A special version of the positive law, a sort of cabalistic refinement of it, was what some called lawyer's law, a technical legality contrived for the fleecing of the innocents.
>
> Thus some kind of natural law could be said to pervade even the most unsettled of regions since even the most solitary of men might bear it with him. But the living law required at least a minimum of human community, and statutory law required a sense of political boundaries and

> an acceptance of the instruments of legal administration. A man might hold himself beyond all statutory claim, in which case he was outlaw in one sense. Or he might reject statutory law by an appeal to common law or by the further appeal to natural law, in which case he was outlaw in a different sense, an outlaw by moral or legal distinctions rather than by spatial or geographical limits.[1]

With all these different kinds of law before us, we can perhaps see better how a man might be outside of law on one level but still consider himself within his "natural rights" on another, how he might be in violation of one kind of law, but rise to heroic significance in maintaining another. But if such reliance on one's own sense of right leads to a primitivistic self-reliance, it is not always a comfortable or uncomplicated situation. In the most fully realized efforts, the Western hero-outlaw might find himself caught between generalized moral and legal judgments and individual existential ones, between a sincere appeal to the light of natural law and the dark questionings of his own limited understanding.

With this general background, let us turn at this point to some examples from the literature to explore ways in which these ideas of law and morality might appear in some of the characters of the West. I would like to touch on different protagonists from three significant Western novels. The first is the squatter, Ishmael Bush, in James Fenimore Cooper's novel The Prairie, published in 1827. Next a pair of figures (who in many ways function as one), the narrator and the heroic cowboy in Owen Wister's The Virginian, published in 1902. And finally the moralizing storekeeper, Arthur Davies, from Walter Van Tilburg Clark's The Oxbow Incident, published in 1940. Ishmael, though not a savage, is an outlaw; the Virginian is, at least for the episode I wish to examine, outside what he would call a corrupt civil law; and Davies argues eloquently to maintain his position inside all law. All of these people are directly involved in an extralegal hanging, a lynching, and all of them attempt to justify their actions by an appeal to what they hope are transcendent moral laws. But all find that on the difficult level of life and death such justification is not easy.

First, then, to Ishmael Bush, a man who was, for Cooper, the prototype of the American frontiersman, a man living on the verge of savagery, free from any sort of social restraint or legal imperative:

> Ishmael Bush had passed the whole of a life of more than fifty years on the skirts of society. He boasted that he had never dwelt where he might not safely fell every tree he could view from his own threshold; that the law had rarely been known to enter his clearing; and that his ears had never willingly admitted the sound of a church bell. His exertions seldom exceeded his wants, which were peculiar to his class, and rarely failed of being supplied.[2]

What law Bush does follow becomes plain as he discourses with Natty Bumpo over property rights on the open prairies. Bush says,

> "I have come, old man, into these districts, because I found the law sitting too tight upon me, and am not over fond of neighbors who can't settle a dispute without troubling a justice and twelve men; but I didn't come to be robbed of my plunder, and then to say thank'ee to the man who did it!"
>
> "He who ventures far into the prairie must abide by the ways of its owners."
>
> "Owners!" echoed the squatter, "I am as rightful an owner of the land I stand on, as any governor of the States! Can you tell me, stranger, where the law or the reason is to be found, which says that one man shall have a section or a town, or perhaps a county to his use, and another have to beg for earth to make his grave in? This is not nature, and I deny that it is law."[3]

So at least in the sense of civil statutes and legal codes, Bush is thoroughly outside the law. In fact we discover later in the novel that Bush is actually fleeing civil justice. He is essentially an outlaw.

But the course of events in the novel thrusts Bush into a difficulty he cannot easily resolve with his quick appeals to natural law. Having discovered that his own brother-in-law has murdered his (Ishmael's) oldest son, Ishmael finds himself in the role of judge and administrator of justice. Isolated on the prairies, Bush is forced to decide the fate of another human being. In sympathetic agony, Esther, Bush's wife, cries out, "Oh! Ishmael, we pushed the matter far! Had little been said, who would have been the wiser? Our consciences might

then have been quiet."[4] But there is no retreating from the "dreary business" at hand. Interestingly, support in what Ishmael says must be done comes not from Blackstone but from the Bible: "There are many awful passages in these pages, Ishmael," Esther says, as she reads at her husband's request, "and some there are that teach the rules of punishment."[5] With this as support, Ishmael pronounces the sentence, "You have slain my first-born, and according to the laws of God and man you must die!"[6] Paradoxically, this man, who acknowledged no law but his own natural sense, is now forced to administer a law and a moral code that is dark and almost frightening in its mysterious and inexorable workings.

The sentence is carried out in a remarkable way by the murderer's own hand. At his own request, he is left bound and standing on a shelf of rock, the noose around his neck and the rope tied to an overhanging limb. The family drives away in the wagons to make camp some distance from the place of execution. Later that night Ishmael, a changed man in a changed world, starts back toward the tree and the ledge:

> For the first time, in a life of so much wild adventure, Ishmael felt a keen sense of solitude. The naked prairies began to assume the forms of illimitable and dreary wastes, and the rushing of the wind sounded like the whisperings of the dead. It was not long before he thought a shriek was borne past him on a blast. It did not sound like a call from earth, but it swept frightfully through the upper air mingled with the hoarse accompaniment of the wind. The teeth of the squatter were compressed, and his huge hand grasped the rifle, as if it would crush the metal. Then came a lull, a fresher blast, and a cry of horror that seemed to have been uttered at the very portals of his ears. A sort of echo burst involuntarily from his own lips, as men shout under unnatural excitement, and throwing his rifle across his shoulder, he proceeded towards the rock with the strides of a giant.[7]

A little further on he finds his wife already rushing toward those cries. Together they arrive at the trees to find the execution completed:

> The moon broke from behind a mass of clouds, and the eye of the woman was enabled to follow the finger of Ishmael. It pointed to a human

> form swinging in the wind, beneath the ragged and shining arm of the willow. Esther bent her head and veiled her eyes from the sight. But Ishmael drew nigher, and long contemplated his work in awe, though not in compunction. The leaves of the sacred book were scattered on the ground, and even a fragment of the shelf had been displaced by the kidnapper in his agony. But all was now in the stillness of death. The grim and convulsed countenance of the victim was at times brought full into the light of the moon, and again as the wind lulled, the fatal rope drew a dark line across its bright disk. The squatter raised his rifle with extreme care, and fired. The cord was cut and the body came lumbering to the earth, a heavy and insensible mass.[8]

These are remarkable passages, vivid and immediate in their rendering of the natural landscape and the activities of the characters. Anyone who has struggled through Cooper's usual literary circumlocutions and his stylized renderings comes to such passages with a sense of relief. But I would hope the reader would come with a sense of appreciation as well. Indeed, the changing of one or two peculiarly nineteenth-century words would give the passages a remarkably "modern" feeling. The peculiar vividness of these scenes is not easily accounted for. I do not think that Cooper is merely painting an adequate background for a hanging, however appropriate the idea of wind and storm and moon might be. He could do that, but it was usually in the stylized manner of the Hudson River school. This has a sensory immediacy that transcends the pictorial. This is more than a mere adjunct to the action. The effect of these scenes is to cause us to know Ishmael Bush's mind in a way that is at once more subtle and more powerful than could be articulated either in Cooper's own psychological terminology or in the vocabulary he provides for Bush. And what we sense is a mind almost crushed by the terrible burden of its own moral solitude. If Bush proceeds in these events out of a sense of the necessity of what must be done, he seems less than convinced that any atonement has been effected. What he sees--or, better still, what we see through the immediacy of his senses--is a darker, more mysterious world of nature than this man of the frontier had ever known before. We see him struggle in his newly discovered, dim, and primitive moral world with the dilemma of being forced to act like God but having to live as a man.

But Ishmael Bush is, for all his significance as a literary figure, a relatively inarticulate man. He cannot discuss the sophisticated moral anthropology with which he has to deal. One might expect, then, that with a sophisticated protagonist in a similar situation the human complexities might be better explored. This is at least the situation in Owen Wister's The Virginian.

One of the major episodes in the book shows the Virginian in pursuit of a gang of cattle thieves. Two of them are captured and under the Virginian's direction duly hanged. The death of the thieves is complicated, however, by the fact that one of them is Steve, a longtime friend of the Virginian. Into this morally complex situation rides the narrator, the Virginian's friend and a thoroughly civilized Easterner. Arriving the day before the execution, the narrator is forced to sit through the ordinary yet awful course of usual events:

> Twice through the hours the thieves shifted their position with clumsy sounds, exchanging muffled words with their guard. So, often, had I heard other companions move and mutter in the darkness and lie down again. It was the very naturalness and usualness of every fact of the night,--the stable straw, the rain outside, my familiar blankets, the cool visits of the wind,--and with all this the thought of Steve chewing and the man in the gray flannel shirt, that made the hours unearthly and strung me tight with suspense. And at last I heard some one get up and begin to dress. In a little while I saw light suddenly through my closed eyelids, and then darkness shut again abruptly upon them. They had swung in a lantern and found me by mistake. I was the only one they did not wish to rouse. Moving and quiet talking set up around me, and they began to go out of the stable. At the gleams of new daylight which they let in, my thoughts went to the clump of cottonwoods, and I lay still with hands and feet growing steadily cold. Now it was going to happen. I wondered how they would do it; one instance had been described to me by a witness, but that was done from a bridge, and there had been but a single victim. This morning, would one have to wait and see the other go through with it first?[9]

As the preparations continue, the narrator hears the cowboys talking to the rustlers as they are given their last meal:

> "You don't eat any breakfast, Ed."
> "Brace up, Ed. Look at Steve, how hardy he eats!"
> But Ed, it seemed, wanted no breakfast. And the tin dishes rattled as they were gathered and taken to be packed.
> "Drink this coffee, anyway," another urged; "you'll feel warmer."
> These words almost made it seem like my own execution. My whole body turned cold in company with the prisoner's, and as if with a clank the situation tightened throughout my senses.
> "I reckon if every one's ready we'll start." It was the Virginian's voice once more, and different from the rest. I heard them rise at his bidding, and I put the blanket over my head. I felt their tread as they walked out, passing my stall. The straw that was half under me and half out in the stable was stirred as by something heavy dragged or half lifted along over it. "Look out, you're hurting Ed's arm," one said to another, as the steps with tangled sounds passed slowly out. I heard another among those who followed say, "Poor Ed couldn't swallow his coffee." Outside they began getting on their horses; and next their hoofs grew distant, until all was silence round the stable except the dull, even falling of the rain.[10]

Again I have quoted at length because of the remarkable nature of these passages. They are striking, not because of what they say, for the description and commentary of the narrator are simple: we do not find here the philosophical discussion that the situation might have called forth. Rather these passages impress us because of the literary technique which Wister has adopted, and which in itself may constitute a more telling commentary on the moral and legal complexities of the situation than any overt discussion might have given. These passages are remarkable because of the consciousness through which Wister reveals the details of this episode. It is this particular mind that makes us vividly aware of the complexities. By the position and sensitivities of this narrator, Wister puts us at once inside and outside the action. Our narrator is in the scene, conveying to us detailed impressions of what happens.

But he is also outside the action. He is not one of the posse; he is separated by culture, sophistication, and sensitivity from the simple legality of the lynching and is thus able not only to convey the events but to react--in a sense, to judge. And it is in such reaction that the difficult ambivalence of Wister's own attitude toward the subject matter is figured forth.

Wister, both as a man of high standing in the world and as a lawyer himself, believed in law as a means to social order. Thus, in one respect he might well be in agreement with what the posse was doing, for it was in the name of law and order that the hanging was to be carried out. This is the basis for the explanation that Judge Henry makes, a few chapters later in the book, to Miss Molly Wood as he argues the rightness of what her husband-to-be, the Virginian, has done:

> "We are in a very bad way, and we are trying to make that way a little better until civilization can reach us. At present we lie beyond its pale. The courts, or rather the juries, into whose hands we have put the law, are not dealing the law. They are withered hands, or rather they are imitation hands made for show, with no life in them, no grip. They cannot hold a cattle-thief. And so when your ordinary citizen sees this, and sees that he has placed justice in a dead hand, he must take justice back into his own hands where it was once at the beginning of all things. Call this primitive, if you will. But so far from being a defiance of the law, it is an assertion of it--the fundamental assertion of self-governing men, upon whom our whole social fabric is based. There is your principle, Miss Wood, as I see it."[11]

But even as we listen to the judge we recognize that the argument is vacuous and unconvincing, and we begin to suspect that while as a man of high social station Wister may have been willing to give simple assent to lynching, as a human being he felt in these events the workings of a far more mysterious and profound moral world than the one he knew as a lawyer. In this darker world the superfluities are stripped away, and life is reduced to fundamentals.

So the scene of the hanging is itself rendered in the simplest of terms: food, rest, rain, the passage of time, the smell of coffee and straw, the sounds of boots and voices--the elemental stuff of human existence. But all the while, we must remind ourselves, our awareness of these things comes through

the senses of a man who is pretending to sleep, a blanket literally and symbolically drawn over his head. In that is the difficulty rendered. He can neither condemn nor justify, and we watch as he struggles in his own mind to define the relationship between the natural processes around him and the natural law that dictates the death of Steve. How deep this struggle goes is indicated by the remarkable sensitivity and emotional involvement of the narrator himself: "[The] words almost made it seem like my own execution. My whole body turned cold in company with the prisoner's, and as if with a clank the situation tightened throughout my senses."[12]

The terrible moral burden of what is done is at least partially figured forth in the two rather strange chapters that follow: "The Cottonwoods" and "Superstition Trail." Strange dreams, mysterious footprints, and messages follow the two men as they ride away from the place of death. They try to be jocular and masculine, but a sense of guilt and mystery plagues them and comes back to haunt them in an unnatural way that neither man can understand. As in Cooper, the natural landscape becomes dark and forboding as the Virginian searches the natural experiences of his own past to find answers to the frightening specters that haunt his imagination and threaten to become real. "I'll be pretty near glad to get out of these mountains," the Virginian says at one point. "They're most too big." And if the mountains are big, they are no larger than the questions with which the reader comes away from these chapters. If the action is, on one level, clearly logical and rational, it is, on a more serious level, darkly mysterious and incomprehensible, even to the participants themselves. But the mystery of the law that is suggested here is never satisfactorily realized within the novel itself. Instead Wister is content to let the issues turn on the fact of Steve's not telling the Virginian good-bye at the hanging, and the discovery two days later of a scribbled farewell message from the victim. The note is supposed to resolve the difficulties of the events and make the darkened world in which the story moves light and simple once again, but the reader recognizes that the answers cannot be that simple. Wister was well on his way to some significant commentary on the nature of good and evil in the legal complexities of our world, but he did not quite get there.

It is the Ox-Box Incident which, of the three books considered here, provides the fullest imaginative treatment of this profound problem. In the representation of good and evil, in the questions about law, justice, and human responsibility, this book becomes a remarkable commentary on the human condition.

The incident around which Clark's novel turns is a mistaken lynching carried out by a mob of angry men venting their long-sustained resentment against the unimpeded rustling of their

cattle. As the course of sad events builds and swells from Canby's Saloon and the small Nevada town to the Ox-Box meadows where the hanging takes place, we follow the action through the consciousness of Art Croft, a cowboy who with his companion, Gil Carter, has been swept up, though unwillingly, into the action of the posse. As the angry crowd forms at Canby's Saloon, there is considerable vacillation over what must be done. The men sway back and forth between the vengeful voice of the enraged Jeff Farnley, agitating for immediate and violent action, and the moderating pleas of Arthur Davies, the stooped but eloquent storekeeper who argues for the code of civilized law developed over the years out of a realization of ultimate right and wrong:

> "Law is more than the words that put it on the books; law is more than any decisions that may be made from it; law is more than the particular code of it stated at any one time or in any one place or nation; more than any man, lawyer or judge, sheriff or jailer, who may represent it. True law, the code of justice, the essence of our sensations of right and wrong, is the conscience of society. It has taken thousands of years to develop, and it is the greatest, the most distinguishing quality which has evolved with mankind. None of man's temples, none of his religions, none of his weapons, his tools, his arts, his sciences, nothing else he has grown to, is so great a thing as his justice, his sense of justice. The true law is something in itself; it is the spirit of the moral nature of man; it is an existence apart, like God, and as worthy of worship as God. If we can touch God at all, where do we touch him save in the conscience? And what is the conscience of any man save his little fragment of the conscience of all men in all time?"[13]

But before Davies can persuade them, the crowd is taken over by the subtle manipulation of the rancher Tetley, and the men ride to capture the supposed rustler and murderers.

If Davies represents one view of man and of justice, there are other views expressed in the novel. Gerald Tetley, son of the rancher, sees the actions of the men in the posse as a confirmation of the fact that law and justice are not ontological entities. In an outpouring filled with bitterness and cynicism he tells Art Croft that man is an animal of the worst kind, that the noble virtues we talk of are not virtues at all

but simply means for the stronger to control the weak, that the only law which holds is the law of the pack:

> "Think I'm stretching it, do you?" he asked furiously. "Well, I'm not. It's too nice a way of putting it, if anything. All any of us really want any more is power. We'd buck the pack if we dared. We don't, so we use it; we trick it to help us in our own little killings. We've mastered the horses and cattle. Now we want to master each other, make cattle of men. Kill them to feed ourselves. The smaller the pack the more we get."[14]

Though Gerald Tetley's statements might be passed off as the outgrowth of a personal agony, the actions of the men make these ideas seem painfully true, even to the point that the reader himself begins to believe their validity.

But in the pathos and tragedy of the mistaken hanging we are brought back once again to acknowledge the existence of the dark but nevertheless real moral world into which both Ishmael Bush and the Virginian and his friend unexpectedly stumbled. For Gerald Tetley is humanly bankrupt. And in the end of the novel when Art Croft rides off, it is not with the burden of Gerald's message weighing on his mind; it is rather the press of Davies' moral insights that loads him down.

And that brings us to the man who is for any discussion of law and the meaning of law one of the most interesting figures of Western literature, Arthur Davies. He cannot escape the thought that by virtue of what he knows, not only about the nature of law in general but about the innocence of the three victims in particular, he must assume the burden of guilt for what happens:

> "I knew those men were innocent. I knew it as surely as I do now. And I knew Tetley could be stopped. I knew in that moment you were all ready to be turned. And I was glad I didn't have a gun. . . . I've thought of all the excuses. I told myself I was the emissary of peace and truth, and that I must go as such; that I couldn't even wear the symbol of violence. I was righteous and heroic and calm and reasonable."
>
> He paused, and I could feel the bed shaking under his hands.
>
> "All a great, cowardly lie," he said violently. "All pose; empty, gutless pretense.

> All the time the truth was I didn't take a gun because I didn't want it to come to a showdown."[15]

In a sense Davies seems to be begging Art, his listener, to assure him that the only possible answer to the intended extralegal hanging was to resort to an extralegal act of violence himself, an act which for Davies would be morally reprehensible if not impossible. And Art helpfully assures the floundering Davies by explaining that the violent means which Davies abhors would never have worked anyway. "You'd have had to kill him," Art says. And Davies replies, "And I couldn't have done that." For a man who has been the prophet of the divinity of civil law, no such action would be tenable.

But in the process of delineating the painful yet tolerable lesser dilemma, Davies runs straight onto the sword of a more devastating tragedy:

> I shook my head. "No," I said, "you were right in the first place. He was frozen onto that hanging. You'd have had to hit him over the head to bring him out of it."
>
> "I hold to that," he said, like he was really hanging on hard to something. "I hold to that."
>
> And after a moment, "That he couldn't have been moved, that there was for him no realization of sin."[16]

This is Davies' straw, his hold on an existence that is, if painful, at least morally possible. His assurance is based on the conviction that Tetley had no feelings, that he had no realization of sin. But it is just at this point, just as he is saved from overwhelming guilt, that the full weight of the tragedy falls on Davies. Gil Carter comes into the room to announce that Tetley has committed suicide, thus confirming that moral persuasion might have worked because the rancher Tetley did, after all, have feelings. In devastating innocence Gil says, "Who would have thought the old bastard had that much feeling left in him?"[17] So Davies' assurance is destroyed. His thought that the gun was, after all, unnecessary was true. All that was required was one overt act of moral courage, but Davies had let the moment pass and was thus destroyed by the high demands of his moral universe. In Davies we see now more clearly the awful responsibility hinted at in the dark cries of Ishmael Bush and the mystical gropings of the Virginian.

But what fascinates us about all of these figures, indeed about the situation of the West itself, is that we see reflected

some of our own deepest concerns. For certainly in the perplexed turnings of our own rational attempts to find a logic behind our lives, we have been forced to acknowledge the limits of our perceptions. Man does have limits. And one of the remarkable notes that comes from this literature that is supposed to celebrate lawlessness and freedom is the confirmation of those limits. For however far our heroes go, in the end they discover that their world is limited, not just by space and time but by morality as well. Not that justice and right and wrong are always clearly known and easily dispensed or embodied. Anyone assuming such might find himself as guilty as the men of Clark's posse. More often, man finds himself obeying a set of moral imperatives which are not only compelling but painful and mysterious. That he might rebel in the agony of his situation is to be expected, but when he assumes to operate beyond these imperatives, when he becomes not only a social but a natural and moral anarch, he deprives himself more and more of those qualities which distinguish human endeavor from animal life. He becomes more and more the creature Gerald Tetley described. But on the other hand, by accepting the mystery of that which he cannot comprehend, by willingly--if painfully--assuming the burden of his actions, man often achieves his highest dignity.

We frequently hear these days hymning in our ears an echo of a phrase which was sounded well over one hundred years ago, just as our modern age was getting underway, and which has come to be the theme of our twentieth-century malaise:

> . . . the world, which seems
> To lie before us like a land of dreams,
> So various, so beautiful, so new,
> Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
> Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain.[18]

But these were not the assumptions by which our national experiment began.

I need not quote here the opening lines of our Declaration of Independence, but let me repeat some other words by the same man who wrote that piece: "Nature hath implanted in our breasts a love of others, a sense of duty to them, a moral instinct in short which prompts us irresistibly to feel and to succor their distresses."[19] However unfashionable such ideas may be, they are, I think, viable in our time. And if America does seem to have forgotten these notions, that literature which comes from our frontier experience may well serve to remind us of these old virtues once again, to persuade us that man, though finite, is not an alien in this world, and that, however poor he may sometimes seem, he is, after all, a figure of remarkable power, dignity, and significance.

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San Juan in Controversy: American Livestock Frontier vs. Mormon Cattle Pool

Charles S. Peterson

Best known in the field of Western history for his service as director of the Utah State Historical Society, Charles S. Peterson is professor of history and director of Man and His Bread Museum at Utah State University. His book on Mormon settlement in the Little Colorado region of northern Arizona has recently been published by University of Arizona Press, with the soft-cover edition by Brigham Young University Press.

In this study, Professor Peterson, whose former occupation as a dairyman in southeastern Utah gives him a personal connection with the region, has reinterpreted the conflict between the American cattle frontier and a group of Mormon settlers. In his view, superior organization, not endurance in the face of natural adversity, allowed the Mormons to emerge victorious.

In the years after 1880, Utah's San Juan was settled by Mormons of the Hole-in-the-Rock mission and by Gentile cattlemen. While the big cattle outfits flourished during the first six or eight years of the 1880s, they faded into quick eclipse during the 1890s and passed entirely from the scene by 1914.

It has been said that the recessional of San Juan's great cattle barons was the result of drought and bad markets. According to this line of reasoning, Mormons who were less profit-oriented tightened their belts and hung on.[1]

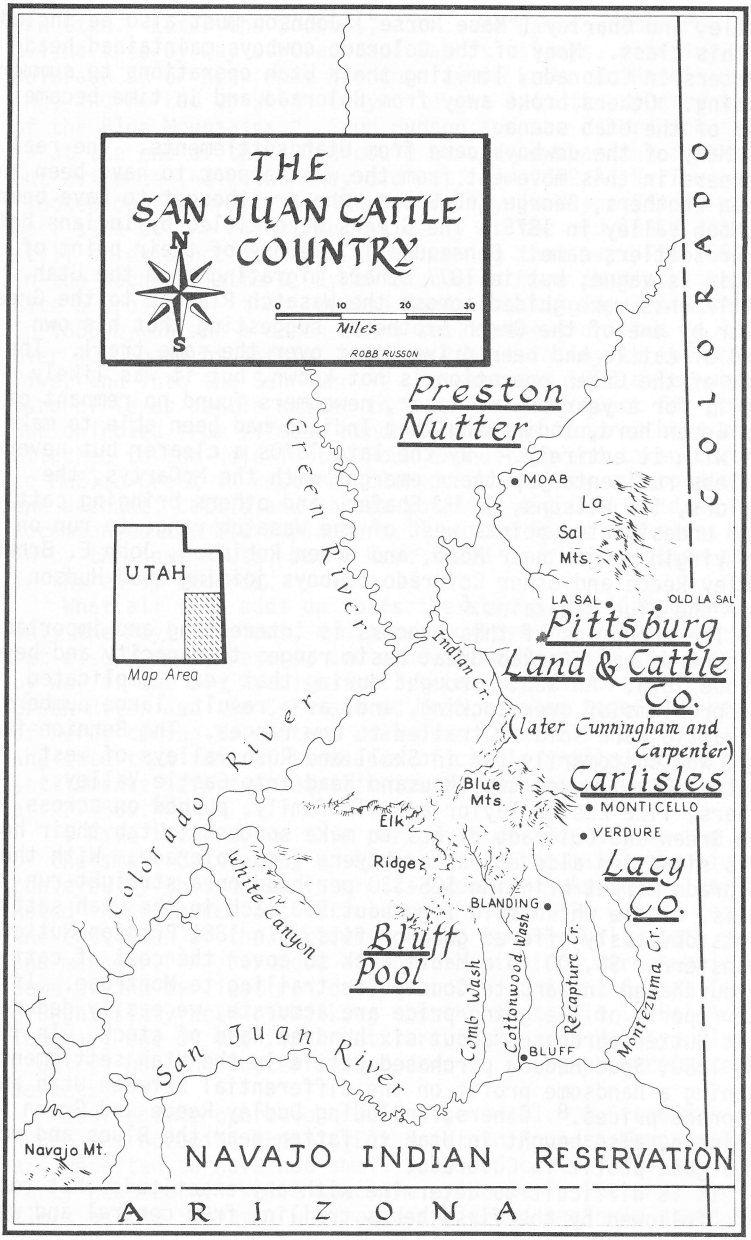
This interpretation may be sound as far as it goes, but in reality the rapid passing of the great cattle outfits appears to have been the result of more complex forces. One important contributing factor was the confrontation of two diverse livestock systems and their attendant social patterns. In the short run, cooperative management and village society enabled the Mormons to offset the disadvantages of a belated entry into the livestock business and between 1885 and 1887 to emerge as a

major element in southeast Utah's grazing industry. To accomplish this, Mormons effectively barred Gentile access to summer ranges that were the key to overall grazing capacity in a desert country and seized water rights previously used and claimed by the big cow outfits. Mormon competition also enabled the Bluff settlers to prosper, to build great stone houses that would do grace to a South Temple or a Nob Hill, and to boast with some degree of realism that Bluff was the richest town per capita west of the Mississippi. The significance of this Mormon prosperity is the more impelling when it is borne in mind that during these same years the big Gentile operators first turned to sheep and then trailed the remnants of their stock from the country or sold out to Mormon groups.

To better understand the meaning of cattle barons and Bluff Pool in confrontation, the following pages will trace first the movement of the cattle frontier from Colorado and other areas into southeast Utah; second, the emergence of the Bluff Pool; and finally the early steps by which the pool first established the Mormon right to stay on in the country and then picked off its former competitors.

Small stockmen, whom I have chosen to call cowboys, were the first to penetrate Utah's extreme southeast. Beginning in the mid-1870s, they came, washing ahead of the main tide of colonization like foam driven by the waves. They were a breed apart, not refugees from the law in the sense that some riders for the big companies would be at a later period, but nevertheless an aggressive, independent, and adventurous set. Many of them might be termed drifters, having moved from place to place about the West. Characteristic was Tom Ray, who in 1877 became the first settler at what is now Old La Sal. Ray and his family had pioneered in Tennessee and had moved to California in the early seventies, back to Mount Pleasant in Utah, and finally to La Sal.[2] Another rolling stone was Preston Nutter. Born in Virginia in 1850, he worked as a cabin boy on the Mississippi River, joined a wagon train for the West when he was thirteen, and--coming by way of Nevada, San Francisco, Idaho, the mines of Colorado's San Juan District, San Diego, and a profitable freighting business in western Colorado--arrived with a growing herd of cattle in the Thompson-Cisco country north of the La Sal Mountains in 1883.[3]

The small stockmen came from everywhere. Many, like Nutter, or like "Spud" (his real name was Joshua B.) Hudson, who moved two thousand cattle onto the Blue, or Abajo, Mountains in 1879, came from Colorado--Nutter from Montrose and Hudson from the "Picket Wire," near Trinidad.[4] Some, like the O'Donnel brothers, merely followed herds from the Dolores Valley or elsewhere along Colorado's southwest border. Al Nunn, who is said to have crossed the Colorado line near Paiute Spring with twelve hundred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OLD LA SAL
Pittsburg
Land & Cattle
Co.
(later Cunningham and
Carpenter)
Indian Cr.
Colorado River
Blue
Mts.
Carlisles
MONTICELLO
VERDURE
Elk
Ridge
White Canyon
Lacy
Co.
BLANDING
Bluff
Pool
Comb Wash
Cottonwood Wash
Recapture Cr.
Montezuma Cr.
BLUFF
San Juan River
Navajo Mt.
NAVAJO INDIAN RESERVATION
ARIZONA

cattle, and Charley ("Race Horse") Johnson must also be included in this class. Many of the Colorado cowboys maintained headquarters in Colorado, limiting their Utah operations to summer grazing. Others broke away from Colorado and in time became part of the Utah scene.

Many of the cowboys came from Utah settlements. The real pioneers in this movement from the west appear to have been the Green brothers, George and Silas, who are thought to have been in Moab Valley in 1875. The Greens were killed by Indians before other settlers came. Consequently, memory of their point of origin is vague; but in 1877 others migrating from the Utah settlements were guided across the Wasatch Plateau to the Green River by one of the Green brothers, suggesting that his own herd of cattle had been driven east over the same trail. The size of the Green operation is not known, but it was likely small; for a year or two later, newcomers found no remnant of the Green herd, indicating that Indians had been able to make off with it entirely.[5] By the late 1870s a clearer but nevertheless rudimentary pattern emerges with the McCartys, the Taylors, the Wilsons, J. H. Shafer, and others bringing cattle from undesignated points west of the Wasatch range to run on the virgin ranges near Moab, and Green Robinson, John E. Brown, Dudley Reece and other Colorado cowboys joining Spud Hudson near the Blue Mountains.[6]

The economics of this process is interesting and important. Utah herds had stocked Great Basin ranges to capacity and beyond before 1879. An acute drought during that year complicated the problems of overstocking, and, as a result, large numbers of cattle were sold or trailed to new ranges. The Bennion family, who customarily ran in Skull and Rush valleys of west central Utah, moved two thousand head into Castle Valley.[7] Others, like Lester Taylor and his family, pushed on across the Green and Colorado rivers to make southeast Utah their homes. This situation also attracted buyers from Colorado. With the Colorado market bringing $25-$30 per head on a straight-run basis, cattle which sold for about $10 each in the Utah settlements obviously offered good profits. In 1881 Preston Nutter transferred $6,100 to a Manti bank to cover the cost of cattle he purchased in Sanpete County for trailing to Montrose. If the reports of the going price are accurate, we easily deduce that Nutter purchased about six hundred head of stock. In 1879 and 1880, Spud Hudson purchased cattle in the Utah settlements, turning a handsome profit on the differential between Utah and Colorado prices.[8] Others, including Dudley Reece and Green Robinson, also bought in Utah to fatten near the Blues and sell at a good profit in Colorado.

It is difficult to determine with any exactitude what routes were followed by the first herds trailing from central and west-

ern Utah. Later the Scorups, J. A. and James, came from the Salina area by way of Grass and Rabbit valleys, crossing the Colorado at or near what had come to be known as Hite's Crossing, and worked up White Canyon to get into the country back of the Blue Mountains.[9] Spud Hudson and the others who trailed in at the end of the 1870s could have done what the Scorups did, but evidence indicates they did not. In 1882 A. K. Thurber "looked out" a trail from Rabbit Valley in Wayne County to the west side of the river, but as early as the mid-1880s there is still no evidence of large herds coming that way. In 1884 Hole-in-the-Rocker Platte D. Lyman blundered more than explored to Hite's Crossing--it was called Dandy Crossing by Bluff settlers. In 1886 Lyman and a dozen other small owners drifted "a little over 1000 head of cattle" through Rabbit Valley to the Colorado River and into the San Juan.[10] As early as 1880 a leg-weary herd of Texas cattle which, in a far-ranging quest for grass, had dwindled from fifteen hundred to eight hundred head were attached to the Hole-in-the-Rock expedition and taken through to McElmo Creek in western Colorado by Tom Box. According to one account, cattle and horses totaling eighteen hundred head accompanied the Bluff pioneers.[11] Other herds doubtless came in by the same route, but I have found no clear mention of them in the early records.

What all this adds up to is the strong likelihood that not only the Rays, Taylors, and other cowboys who ran on the La Sals but also Hudson, Peters, and other Blue Mountain graziers came by way of the Old Spanish Trail, crossing the Green River at Green River and the Colorado at Moab. Taken together, references of herds coming to eastern Utah over this well-marked trail indicate that tens of thousands of cattle trailed out from the settlements before an equilibrium in numbers staunched the flow after 1885.[12]

I have referred to this period of development as the time of the small cattlemen, or cowboys. In the main, the picture conveyed by this nomenclature is accurate. As Don Walker has noted in his excellent article on the Carlisle Cattle Company, the cattlemen of the earliest period were "usually both owner and manager."[13] For most of them, beginnings were humble. Some of the earliest ran dairy herds. It is said that Tom Ray brought sixty head of Milking Shorthorns to Old La Sal in 1877. Tom May, one of the first settlers in Paradox Valley, also ran a dairy, hauling butter salted down in whiskey barrels to Durango markets.[14]

Beef cattle operations were also small. A Frenchman and a Negro who occupied the old Elk Mountain Fort at Moab in 1877 are reported to have had small herds of cattle, perhaps about forty head each. While specific evidence is lacking, such settlers as the Silveys, who moved again and again in quest of

ranges not overrun by the big outfits, must have had relatively small herds.

And there were also the true cowboys, men who owned few or no cows, who jobbed around for their board and a few dollars. Many of these came and went from Durango and other Colorado towns. Often unemployed and broke, they holed up at remote camps, waiting out off seasons and becoming easy prey for get-rich schemes, including stock rustling. Indicative of their life-style is Jordan Bean's report that fifteen cowboys spent the winter of 1880-81 at Burnt Cabin Springs, near the Utah border, where they broke up about May 1, drifting out to find jobs as the spring roundups began.[15]

On the other hand, this early period was not entirely dominated by small stockmen and cowboys. If we may accept as valid the breezy tallies of old-timers upon whom the count depends, there were a dozen or more stockmen with more than a thousand head of cattle. Spud Hudson, who first claimed what was later Carlisle Ranch, brought in two thousand head in 1879. The following year he "made a number of trips to the settlements, returning each trip with larger herds of cattle."[16] The Taylors had three thousand. Between them, Philander Maxwell and Billie McCarty boasted two thousand head, while a Mr. Peters, whose first name has apparently escaped a generation of historians, ran two thousand cattle from his headquarters at the spring that now bears his name. Even horse herds were counted in heroic figures. Hundreds of head are said to have been trailed in behind the Bluff settlers during the winter of 1880. The following summer Joshua Alderson and John Thurmond brought in fifteen hundred horses from Nevada and Oregon.[17] Later, wild horses ran in great numbers, as is evidenced by the fact that the Scorup brothers slaughtered as many as seven hundred head in a single hunt in their effort to free grazing lands for cattle.[18] Spared the terrors of forest permits, and virtually beyond the count of county assessor L. H. Redd (who began to ride the country in 1881 in an attempt to build the tax roles), cattlemen enjoyed a time when an enthusiastic if not overly accurate count could be tolerated.[19] But even discounting a strong predilection for exaggeration among the old-timers, some aggressive and fortunate men quickly built herds of substantial numbers.

The day when the small stockman was dominant in southeast Utah was over almost before it began. The kind of profits that enabled Spud Hudson to turn successive herds of cattle into gain during 1879 and 1880 did not go unnoticed. Furthermore, big companies financed from the money marts of America and Great Britain were hard on the heels of the cowboy ranchers in their quest for investment opportunity. In the years after 1883, the prime ranges around what later became the La Sal National Forest were taken over by big operations, and the smaller ranchers were

forced into progressively more remote corners. The movement of the small outfit to less attractive spots may be traced by a couple of examples. Green Robinson and John E. Brown, who ran on the Blues until 1883, sold their cattle and claims to the Carlisles. Buying more stock in the Utah settlements, Robinson set up operations at Coyote--now La Sal--taking John E. Brown in with him. Almost immediately the Pittsburgh Cattle Company (PCC) bought out Robinson there. Little more is seen of him, but John E. Brown then moved to Indian Creek, where he located a ranch in 1887.[20] The Silvey family is another case in point. Selling their La Sal interests to the PCC in 1887, they moved first to the east end of Lisbon Valley, running cattle in a remote canyon fourteen miles above Paradox Valley and four miles from the Dolores River before moving in 1889 to Hatch Point, near present-day Canyonlands National Park. Finding good grazing but poor water, the Silveys pulled back to Hatch Ranch in Dry Valley the following year, and by 1895 were at Rattle Snake Flats southwest of La Sal.[21]

While it oversimplifies the situation, it may be said that southeast Utah was divided into five great cattle provinces during the years after 1883. Tucked in and around these great outfits were smaller operators, some of whom ran respectable ranches themselves and a few of whom succeeded to claims upon the great provinces as the years and changing fortune made opportunity.

What I have called the great provinces developed along a simple geographic pattern. Beginning in the north near the Denver and Rio Grand Railway tracks, they extended south to the San Juan River, where they turned west and north again to take in the region behind the Blue Mountains. On the extreme north to the Colorado River was an area dominated first by Preston Nutter; the south slopes of the La Sal Mountains were held by the Pittsburgh Cattle Company; Dry Valley and the north and east drainages of the Blue Mountains were the domain of the Carlisle Company; South Montezuma Creek was the preserve of the L C, or Lacy, Cattle Company; and the Bluff Mormons operated south and west of the Blue Mountains. The genesis of each of these subdivisions and the competition between Mormons and Gentiles will be traced briefly in the paragraphs that follow.[22]

After dabbling in the grazing business during the early 1880s, Preston Nutter moved into the triangle between Thompson's Springs, Cisco, and Hill Creek in 1886-87. Unlike several of the other cattle giants, Nutter was not backed by corporate financing; but by astute trading, skilled management of livestock, and more than a little luck, he worked toward a goal of twenty thousand cattle.[23] In 1888 he entered a partnership with Ed Sands and Tom Wheeler, forming the Grand Cattle Company. The following year Nutter bought out his partners and, securing

contracts to supply beef for the army and Indian agencies at Fort Duchesne, pushed his operations farther into the Book Cliffs area. But as much the rugged individualist as Preston Nutter was, even he fell prey to corporate blandishments and in 1893 joined New York businessmen in forming the Strawberry Cattle Company. To avoid a conflict of interest, he sold his Grand County operation to the Webster City Cattle Company, which subsequently ran in the country north of the Colorado River.[24]

A few years before Nutter moved on to the vast ranges north of the Colorado River, the Pittsburgh Cattle Company took over the south La Sals and north end of Dry Valley. Organized in 1884 by a group of Pennsylvania financiers, the PCC sent Charles H. Ogden and James Blood to the La Sal area, where they bought the cattle and ranches of Green Robinson, the Maxwells, and the Ray and McCarty families. Consummating these transactions in 1885, the PCC held most of the claims and improvements at La Sal and Coyote. Green Robinson's Cross H brand was taken over by the company. In 1887 J. M. Cunningham was brought in as manager and Thomas B. Carpenter as ranch foreman. They proved to be a particularly effective team and together ran the operation for many years.

The PCC seems to have been more politically inclined than any of the other San Juan cattle corporations. This was particularly true with reference to the question of the removal of the Southern Utes to San Juan County. The company not only supported the Indian Rights Association in its opposition to Ute removal but lobbied in its own right with powerful friends in Colorado and the East.

There is evidence that the PCC ran cattle in both Colorado and Utah and that it may have handled twenty thousand head, although tax rolls for San Juan County suggest a figure not more than one quarter that amount.[25]

In 1895 Cunningham and Carpenter, joined by Fred N. Prewer, organized the La Sal Cattle Company to buy the PCC stock and ranches. During this same year, ranch headquarters were changed from La Sal to Coyote. Because the post office was moved from the former town to Coyote without changing its name, the latter town came in time to be known as La Sal and the older town was called Old La Sal, Pine Lodge, or merely "the other ranch." A ditch cut high on the east slope of the mountain drew water from La Sal Creek to the flats below Coyote, permitting the development of several hundred acres of prime farmland. In 1896 Fred Prewer oversaw the planting of an orchard and a grove of cottonwoods and the construction of a large ranch house which sat a half-turn out of line with the world but dominated the ranch then as it does now.[26] Below the ranch house was a dirt-roofed bunkhouse. And demonstrating that survival demanded

change, even from the big outfits, "Chihuahua," a row of cabins used by Mexican sheepherders, lay east across the main ditch from the bunkhouse.[27]

In 1898 Prewer left the company. Thereafter it was known as Cunningham and Carpenter. Capable in their management, these two men diversified to sheep, acquired ranges in the Book Cliffs and on the east slope of the Rockies near Denver, and otherwise showed evidence of steady growth. After being a dominant force in the north end of San Juan County for over fifteen years, they began to sell out in September of 1914. The first sale involved Book Cliffs interests amounting to "nearly 10,000 acres and several thousand head of cattle and sheep," which were sold to the Taylor brothers of Moab for a reported $100,000.[28] Temporarily justifying their action by reporting that the Book Cliffs operation had been too distant from their La Sal headquarters to permit efficient operation, they made their real intent apparent in November when they sold their remaining interests to a group of Mormons for $230,000.[29]

The largest and in many ways the most exciting of the corporate outfits was the Kansas and New Mexico Land and Cattle Company or, as it was known in southeast Utah, the Carlisle Company, or simply the Carlisles. Funded at $720,000 by British capital, a good share of which was their own, two brothers from England, Harold and Edmund S. Carlisle--who were purportedly of noble lineage--paid $210,000, or an average of $30 per head, for seven thousand cattle running on the Blue Mountains and belonging to Spud Hudson, Green Robinson, Dudley Reece, and Peters. They took over the Blue Mountain and Dry Valley range of these same men and adapted the "three bars" on the left hip brand that Peters had used by separating the bars and placing one on the left hip, one on the side and one on the shoulder to become the "Hip-Side and Shoulder" company of Judge Fred Keller's famous Blue Mountain ballad.[30] In addition to its Utah holdings, the Carlisle Company had sizeable herds in New Mexico and four hundred head in Kansas.[31]

The Carlisles' Blue Mountain operation began big and grew quickly. A few statistics will suffice to indicate its magnitude. As early as 1884 they were reported to have eleven thousand head ready for market. In 1885 their cowboys branded fifty-three hundred calves, and in one grand roundup bunched ten thousand head from the sandy flats and dry gulches of Dry Valley alone. The early 1890s saw extended drought and sheep bring reductions in cattle numbers, and the Ute invasion of Dry Valley in the winter of 1894-95 is said to have resulted in the loss of fifty percent of the stock wintering in that locality; yet when the Carlisles bowed to changing times and sold their cattle in 1896, they still gathered thirty thousand head of cows. It seems likely that during peak years their herds

numbered substantially more than this figure.[32]

As Don Walker notes: "At the level of man to cow in the new cattle empire, it was still old-time know-how, mostly Texas, that handled things."[33] The first Carlisle foreman, John Mosely, apparently came with them from Kansas. More important in the tradition of the country was foreman Mack Goode, an old Texas cowboy, whose crew was composed mainly of Texans. Frank Silvey, who rode with Goode during the mid-eighties, recalled that the regular Carlisle crew was comprised of about a dozen men during the Goode period. Much better known throughout the southeast than Goode, and perhaps than even the Carlisles themselves, was William E., or Latigo, Gordon, son of Mrs. Harold Carlisle by an earlier marriage, and longtime foreman of the operation. Gordon, who came near being the complete product of his times and environment, was a colorful and effective figure. He rode and brawled with the rowdiest of his cowboys, dealt shrewdly as local manager when the Carlisles came to spend less time in Utah, made the transition from cattle to sheep, and married a Mormon girl and stayed on in the country after the Carlisles sold out.

When they first came to southeast Utah, the Carlisles established their headquarters at Paiute Spring, near the Colorado border. Their Paiute Spring buildings were still standing in 1888 when the Southern Ute Commission surveyed San Juan County, but the company had long since moved into Spud Hudson's old Double Cabins Spring headquarters, six miles north of present Monticello, and built up a good home ranch, consisting of barns, corrals, bunk cabins, and hundreds of acres of irrigated fields.[34] About 1887 they built a large frame house, which came to be known as the "White House," and fenced vast areas of the public domain, including several sections just north of Monticello.[35] This enclosure cut off the road between the south and north ends of the county, and a running controversy between the Carlisles and the traveling community ensued, which saw the fence cut, gates left down, and stock driven out on the one hand and threats and bully tactics, including several shooting incidents, on the other. In 1891 the question was eased when the San Juan county court directed Harold Carlisle to open the county road. When Carlisle complained, the court relented, ordering a new right-of-way surveyed around the east fence of the Carlisle claim and accepting Carlisle's guarantee to respect it.[36]

From its headquarters ranch, the Carlisle Company dominated a wide range, including Vega Creek and other north and east drainages of the Blues and extending east into Colorado and north deep into Dry Valley. F. A. Hammond--who, as the guiding spirit of a Mormon drive to force the cattlemen out of the country, had occasion to look carefully at the various opera-

tions--reported that the Carlisles claimed all "these mountain streams" and had "some 80 to 60 miles for stock range."[37]

Actually the Kansas and New Mexico Land and Cattle Company does not appear to have owned one acre of ground. The fact that both Edmund and Harold were English nationals complicated their plans to secure land title. Nevertheless they applied the standard "rubber forty" operating technique of the time, and in 1885 Edmund S. Carlisle and close confidants among their employees entered desert claims to about fourteen key spots which would enable them to control the water sources and consequently the country served by this water. Several of the Carlisle claims were subsequently judged invalid because claimants had failed to meet the time requirements of the law for reclaiming the land from its desert condition. It was later decided that Mrs. Esther E. Carlisle, rather than Edmund, had filed on the single entry actually under the Carlisle name and that the status of other claims was questionable because they were on unsurveyed ground. At least 4,920 acres were entered, none of which appears to have been proved up on.[38]

For a few years after selling their cattle, the Carlisles operated as a sheep outfit. In 1911 their sheep and range rights were sold to a company consisting of Henry Dalton, John E. Adams, Hyrum Perkins, and L. H. Redd for $90,000.[39]

The L C, or Lacy, Company adjoined the Carlisle ranch on the south. The history of the L C Company is even more fragmentary and vague than that of the PCC or the Carlisles, but some tentative information may be advanced. The company's Utah headquarters was at the junction of Recapture and Johnson creeks, with line cabins near present-day Verdure. The area of its customary range was the southeast slope of the Blue Mountains, including the South Montezuma, Devil Canyon, and Bulldog Canyon drainages and extended south and east along Montezuma Creek onto McCracken Mesa. For a time in the late 1880s the L C tried to push its western bounds south along Recapture Creek. Mormons from Bluff were also moving toward Recapture grazing grounds, and as a result a confrontation ensued.

Arriving in Utah about 1880, the Lacy Company was usually acknowledged to be one of the largest outfits in the San Juan but was always considered smaller than the Carlisle ranch. One report from the mid-1890s pegged its numbers at ten thousand head.[40] On the other hand, Al Scorup reported that when the L C Company went out of business about 1896 it sold a number of cattle locally and still drove some twenty-two thousand head to Dolores. It will be recalled that the Carlisles drove thirty thousand to Albuquerque at the same time.[41]

More than most of San Juan's cattle companies, the L C was dogged with violence. Its original owner, I. W. Lacy, was

killed at Fort Lewis in a brawl. Thereafter the operation was handled by his wife's brothers, the Brumleys, under whom the bloodletting continued. In 1884 and again in 1887 altercations with the Indians led to the killing of L C employees. In 1886 two drifting riders, who had taken advantage of temporary refuge offered by L C foreman Bill Ball, ambushed and mortally wounded Ball to steal several head of L C horses. A few years later George Brooks, nephew to I. W. Lacy (who succeeded Ball as foreman), was killed by Indians at the Big Bend of the Dolores River. Thereafter the L C brand and livestock were traded to a Dr. South of Trinidad, Colorado, and Bob Hott took over its Utah management. As the company passed from the Lacy family hands the chain of bad luck was evidently broken, as no more killings were recorded.[42]

I find no evidence that the L C undertook to establish legal rights to any of its land. Its improvements were not extensive, as is evidenced in a report prepared by F. A. Hammond for the Ute commissioners listing its holdings at $2,600, a sum nevertheless ranking it as the third largest concern in the county after the Carlisles and the Bluff Pool.[43]

By 1885 big cattle companies were in control of most of southeast Utah. The only area not fully claimed was the region south and west of the Blue Mountains, which was tenuously held by Bluff City Mormons. Efforts to make the Mormon farming village pattern function in Utah's San Juan had failed, and Bluff settlers had come near giving up the effort. With the problems inherent in the San Juan River's unsuitability for farm villages still unsolved, Mormon settlement was confronted by tremendous pressures from the encroaching livestock frontier during the middle 1880s. That the Mormons did not collapse and withdraw entirely was due in large measure to a shift in emphasis from the farm village to cooperative livestock production and to the person of Francis A. Hammond, who as president of the San Juan Stake was instrumental in putting together a policy implementing this shift. In the years after 1885 the Mormons took the offensive, mounting a program of their own that led to a confrontation which was in many ways like the characteristic competition of squatter and cattle baron. In other ways it was the meeting of two livestock frontiers: Mormon livestock pool on the one hand and the big cow outfit of the general frontier on the other.

In the short run, the Mormon offensive enabled Bluff settlers to exclude interlopers from the region south and west of the Blue Mountains and to strengthen San Juan Mormons by the establishment of Monticello and Verdure and, later, Blanding. The long-term effects of Mormon competition were two-fold. In the first place, the Mormon pool system was modified as it impinged upon the more general livestock frontier. Secondly, this adap-

tation led to ultimate Mormon dominance of southeast Utah's livestock industry, as is evidenced in the fact that the great names in the twentieth century have been Redd Ranches and Scorup-Somerville rather than Carlisles or Cunningham and Carpenter.

With failure of the Mormon effort to colonize southeast Utah a very real possibility, Francis A. Hammond was called to preside over the San Juan Stake in 1885. The announcement of his appointment preceded him; in an action of questionable legality but of major significance to Mormon control of San Juan, he was elected to the San Juan county court in the August election of 1885, thus giving him an important political position several months before he left his home in Huntsville.[44] With his large family and five hundred head of cattle in tow, he made his way almost the full length of the territory during the fall of that year. Fortunately he kept an extensive diary not only of the trip but of his doings during the critical years of Bluff's confrontation with the livestock frontier. Apparent even before he arrived at Bluff was his determination to encourage involvement in the cattle industry. He talked of it as he traveled, observed ranges, and expressed concern when non-Mormons indicated interest in the country.

Once in Bluff, Hammond discovered that the Saints had waited almost too long to initiate the shift to livestock. By his reckoning there were 100,000 head of cattle in San Juan County--inevitably they were crowding into Bluff's ranges.[45] On 17 December 1885, a few days before his cattle arrived, Hammond learned that "10,000 sheep were making for Recapture"--a pasture he hoped to utilize for his own cattle. The Navajos, too, were moving across the river onto Bluff herd grounds but were easily dealt with by a few men delegated to push them back.

Far more threatening was the expansive conduct of Bluff's nearest neighbors on the northeast, the L C Company. George Brooks first visited Hammond, announcing his intent to drive a large herd to Elk Ridge, and then turned six hundred head loose in the vicinity of Bluff.[46] Adding insult to injury, Colorado cowboys wanted Mormons to guide them in search of range on Elk Ridge and, when they were dissatisfied with that area, to the country around Lake Pahgarit,[47] on the old Hole-in-the-Rock road west of Bluff.

On 16 January 1886, Hammond initiated the first step of his offensive by organizing the so-called Bluff Pool. On the nineteenth, pool members established "a guard on our eastern border along the White Mesa for 100 days." Two men were to maintain a constant vigil against invasion, with pool members providing ten days' herding for every fifty head of stock.[48] Taking advantage of connections in the north, the Bluff Pool also petitioned the territorial legislature for a tax on all stock passing into Utah from Colorado.[49] Finally letters were written

inviting Mormon stockmen to "come immediately and help us stock up the range."[50] In response to these invitations, Platte D. Lyman and about a dozen other western Utah stockmen drove cattle to ranges east of the Colorado River late that year.[51]

The growing emphasis upon cattle and the fact that outside herds were threatening to break Bluff's claim upon the area forced Mormons to expand onto the last virgin summer ranges in southeast Utah during 1886. They had recognized the grazing potential of "the summit of the Elk Mountains" as early as 1883, but, because their own needs had not been pressing, let the Elks remain essentially in the hands of the Indians who hunted and ran their ponies and goats there.[52] In this case as in so many others, Mormon friendship with the Paiutes paid off. In the years before 1886, the Paiutes had dominated the Elks--in essence holding it for the Mormons. In a treaty arrived at sometime before 1 March 1886, Mormons were given exclusive right to range their cattle there. By the end of the year Hammond could report that Bluff Pool cattle numbering two thousand head had pastured safely on the Elks--"the first stock ever ranged there."[53]

But this breakthrough did not go unprotested. Indeed, the Durango cowboys who had toured the Elks looking for grasslands in February returned to Colorado in a huff, where they reported that they

> had talked with the Mormon leaders at Bluff and [were] informed that they were not welcome to locate there. The Mormons had made a treaty with the Pi-Utes and one of the provisions was that no white men should locate stock in that region.

In an ominous afterthought, they noted that Mancos Jim and other Indian renegades were in Bluff, being "fed by the Mormons."[54] Accused of "banding together with Indians to keep the cattlemen out from the Elks," Hammond replied that "the report of Mormon-Indian collusion was false."[55] He also wrote to the Durango newspaper in which the report had appeared, and in a neat bit of double-talk denied that "range hunters were informed a treaty existed" but "plead guilty" to

> making a treaty with Indians who claim Elk Mountains as their hunting ground--with the understanding that we were to put our stock there without being molested. We have paid them in part and expect to pay them more, knowing that it is cheaper to pay them a little for their undisputed claim than to attempt to

> drive them out and thus place ourselves at their mercy.[56]

Recognizing that a confrontation over grazing rights was imminent, the Carlisles had moved to improve their claims even before Hammond arrived, making entry during 1885.[57] By the end of 1886 they had also fenced the home ranch and other key properties.[58] While the Lacy Company did not bother to make legal entries, George Brooks kept the pressure on; by February of 1887 L C cattle accounted for a large portion of the "4000 owned by outsiders now on range near Bluff." Brooks, who was demanding grazing for an additional thousand, met with Hammond in a futile attempt to work out a range division that would satisfy both parties.[59]

Moreover, by the winter of 1886-87 threats were coming from other directions. At the end of December, six thousand sheep were loosed almost literally in the backyards of Bluff settlers. Later in the year a Mr. Gahleger located two thousand head of Texas "stock in the Comb Wash in the heart of our Winter Range."[60] In the words of Albert Lyman, who recalls the advent of the Texans, they came,

> [a] great bawling herd, a mile long . . . straggling down the river through Bluff--yellow cattle, white, black, brindle; all of them starving and hollow from the long trail; all of them coyote-like in form, little better in size. And horns! such a river of horns as you might see in a nightmare--horns reaching out and up, out and up again in fantastic corkscrews.[61]

Gahleger, who was not above trafficking in the tension created by the arrival of his Texas steers, offered half interest to the Bluff settlers. Ignoring the poor quality of his stock, he asked $18,000, a price far beyond Bluff's ability to pay, and indicated half interest had already been sold to Mr. Ried, county treasurer for La Plata County.[62] Within a few days of this contact, Hammond learned that another Texas herd numbering a thousand head was approaching the Elk Ridge range by way of Indian Creek. Gahleger's Texas outfit established headquarters at the Rincon west of Bluff and, ignoring Mormon claims to prior rights, wintered in Comb Wash and Grand Gulch and summered on the Elks, from which the company took its ELK brand and name.

For Bluff, which had concluded it could not survive as a farming community, the spring of 1887 was a time of decision. Hammond and his coreligionists met this challenge with a vigorous and almost ruthless self-interest that well justified the name

"Bluff Tigers" by which they began to be known.[63] While San Juan history accords him little credit, F. A. Hammond appears to have been not only the catalyst that pushed the Mormons into the livestock business but also the force behind an extraordinary drive in 1887-88 which in the short run kept the Mormon toehold upon the country and in the long run had more than a little to do with the fact that the great names in San Juan livestock are Mormon and Utah in background and not Gentile and Colorado.

The 1887 campaign saw the Mormons shift into a full offensive. Springs and crossings were claimed, and Indians were maneuvered to Mormon advantage. Ranches were taken up, improvements built, and a number of new villages were planned and settlement initiated.

The first step in this campaign had been launched in January of 1886 when the Bluff Pool was organized. Unity in the pool as well as in the Church itself was essential. In an effort to achieve this, a few individuals were either replaced or brought into line. Joseph Barton and the Hyde brothers were sharply reprimanded when they refused to cease their vengeful conduct toward the Navajos after Amasa Barton's murder in the summer of 1887. With Hammond's backing, Jens Nielson, the bishop of Bluff, "began to prune up the ward," and several Church members were dropped or otherwise reproved.[64] But of more significance to the success of the campaign, Hammond faced down an effort on the part of L. H. Redd--perhaps the most willful and self-directed member of the pool and certainly one of its most successful men--to break the pool's joint marketing agreement.[65]

Working to bring discipline to the pool, Hammond had laid out his strategy early in 1887. Amasa and Joseph Barton were called to Moquise Crossing or the Rincon, a major Colorado River crossing for Navajos with sheep.[66] John Allen and Thales Haskell were directed to locate Indian farms in the heads of Allen and Cottonwood Canyons, and the Paiutes were encouraged to take up residence there, thus hindering access of outside cattle herds to Elk Ridge through these routes.[67] Of great significance were calls to settle three new towns. Joshua Stevens was designated to head a settlement in the head of Indian Creek on the north slope of the Blues. Frederick I. Jones was called to lead groups to Monticello and Verdure.

Much of this effort came to naught. Amasa Barton was killed, forcing abandonment of the Rincon. Before the year's end, Gahleger's Texas cattle moved into the vacuum left by this failure. Joshua Stevens failed to hold the Indian Creek-North Cottonwood access to Elk Ridge as planned but planted a ranch at Mormon Pasture on the north slope of the Blues, giving a point of Mormon control high on the mountain.[68] Under Mormon prodding the Paiutes moved into Allen and Cottonwood canyons,

establishing camps that became more or less permanent, and in the process raised an obstacle to the drift of unwanted cattle up this natural avenue to the mountain; but it is difficult to assess the effect this had upon grazing development.

In moving to Monticello and Verdure, Mormons threw the gauntlet directly in the face of the Lacy and Carlisle corporations. Other less critical points were let slip, while every effort was made to crowd into the very front yards of the greatest cow outfits in the country. The L C and the Carlisles had claimed and used all the land the Mormons took up, and the Carlisles had filed on all the waters flowing in these various branches of Montezuma Creek. Ignoring such rights as these claims gave, F. I. Jones and his coworkers laid out a town, fields, and ditches at Monticello and established two dairies, a sawmill, and small farms along Verdure Creek. The sites for these developments were chosen in March of 1887 and the claims occupied and worked by the Mormons during that entire season. Perkins, Nielson, and Jones, in their Saga of San Juan, are of the opinion that the pioneers withdrew after establishing the claims in March of 1887; but this is clearly in error, as the Hammond diary makes repeated reference to the activities of F. I. Jones at Monticello and N. A. Decker at Verdure during the entire summer.[69]

Recognizing that they were moving onto land previously claimed, the Mormons expected trouble. In this they were not disappointed, as frictions developed immediately and persisted for many years. However, on the whole, the Mormon invasion and conquest was accomplished with little real trouble. In part this was due to the conduct of the Carlisle brothers, who were restrained and even friendly in their opposition. They conferred frequently with Hammond and clearly preferred lawyers to six-shooters. Much top-level negotiating took place around Durango, as both Hammond and the Carlisles spent most of their time in Colorado during the summers of 1887 and 1888. A lawyer named Prewit represented the Carlisles; a Mr. Rupell--whose advice was "keep possession"--represented the Mormons.[70] Carlisle restraint may have been related to the fact that they had been thoroughly chastened in a New Mexico controversy the year before when three herders who invaded the Carlisle range were killed. New Mexico's governor got involved, revealing a very negative attitude toward the Carlisles personally and cattlemen generally. Perhaps the "'hurrah outfit,' reckless, and . . . irresponsible" brand he had given them stayed their recklessness in Utah.[71]

Critical confrontation with Carlisle and L C cowboys was averted during the summer of 1887 when the Navajos and Paiutes both turned to hostile action, killing Barton at the Rincon and an L C rider not far from Verdure. The tense times which ensued

served the Mormons well. With cattlemen and Mormons alike requesting protection, two detachments of troops came from Fort Lewis. One was stationed at the mouth of Recapture Wash, on the San Juan River; the other at Soldier Spring, 1 1/2 miles south of Monticello. Because fear of the Indians was high and federal troops were camped only a stone's throw away, the Mormons proceeded with their expansion unmolested during 1887. Without the Indian hostilities, an entirely different chapter might have been written in the history of southeast Utah.[72]

Not surprisingly, water rights quickly became the issue upon which success or failure turned. The Carlisles had filed on all the water in Montezuma Creek--or, put more accurately, their agents had. As it proved, the two men who filed on North Montezuma Creek had become disaffected and were willing to deal with Hammond, who appears to have acquired their claims, thus establishing what in the long run proved a valid right to about half the Montezuma runoff.[73] In the water controversy, Mormon control of the county court, which also sat as a "Water Commission," proved useful to the settlers of Monticello and Verdure. Composed entirely of Mormons, the "Water Commission," which awarded title and adjudicated disputes, naturally did not offer much hope for settlement favorable to the Carlisles. Nevertheless, Edmund S. Carlisle requested a hearing in November of 1887 but failed to show up as scheduled. The following summer the "Water Commission" awarded certificates to F. I. Jones and others and to N. A. Decker and others for all the waters of the North and South forks of North Montezuma Creek. The Carlisles then appealed to the Territorial Water Commission and got an injunction forbidding Monticello's use of North Fork water. After much litigation, a settlement was reached which can only be regarded as a defeat for the Carlisles, as it gave the interlopers half the water of Montezuma Creek.

Controversy was not limited to the courts. Heavily armed ditch riders stalked stiff-legged up and down the ditches. Cows were run off or killed. Bells were taken from milk cows, and, when padlocks were put on the bells, cows' heads were cut off, enabling cowboys to take both padlocks and bells. According to Henry Honaker, who rode for the Carlisles as a young man:

> The foreman [once] took me to a swale and pointed to a pile of bones bleaching in the sun. "See what happens to Mormon cattle when they come on our range," he said with oath, "there was 300 head in that bunch."[74]

Old-timers think the foreman exaggerated, but the incident does indicate the attitude that prevailed. While the real challenge to the Mormon invasion came in the form of water litigation,

cowboys continued for years to harass settlers at Monticello. A killing or so grew from it--lamentable, of course, in the highest degree--but the cowboy harassment had its humorous side and is responsible for some of Utah's richest frontier traditions.[75]

In 1886 or shortly thereafter, the Bluff Pool had turned to buying out invaders. Two New Mexico sheepmen--Daniel and McAllister--brought "their huge herd of sheep" to Bluff in the winter of 1884-85.[76] Protests were lodged, but nothing was done until the winter of 1886-87 when the Bluff Pool borrowed money from a Durango bank and purchased the herd, thus removing this outside threat.[77] The Texas cattle were also bought out. Run locally by a Mr. Crosby, their nuisance value led the Bluff stockmen to purchase the entire herd, probably in 1888. Thereafter L. H. Redd, H. J. Nielson, and others managed the so-called Elk Cattle Company for the pool.[78]

By these methods the Bluff Pool held its rights to the south side of the Blue and Elk Mountains and spread into surrounding areas as years passed. The settlers of Bluff and the other San Juan villages had in a symbolic way come through a second Hole-in-the-Rock. In following the farm village pattern, they had gone at things wrong as surely as they had taken the wrong trail to San Juan in 1879-80. But they made the shifts to cattle and later to sheep, met the competition on the ranges, and prospered. Their success spelled doom for Texans, the L C Company, the Carlisles, and, in 1914, the successors of the Old Pittsburgh Company. As failing competition permitted the luxury of individualism, the pool itself was abandoned in 1897; but the stand taken by F. A. Hammond and the Bluff Pool in the years after 1886, rather than drought or even changing times, was the major cause of the great cow outfits' recessional in southeast Utah.

REFERENCES

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2. Frank Silvey, History and Settlement of Northern San Juan County (n.d.), p. 6.

3. Virginia N. Price and John T. Darby, "Preston Nutter: Utah Cattleman, 1886-1936," Utah Historical Quarterly, 32 (1964): 236.

4. Modern maps use the name Abajo Mountains, but in this study I have chosen the Blue Mountains designation because it was used during the period about which I am writing and persists in local usage in southeast Utah.

5. "Personal Diary of Oliver Huntington," as quoted in Faun McConkie Tanner, A History of Moab, Utah (1937), p. 27.

6. Cornelia A. Perkins, Marian G. Nielson, and Lenora B. Jones, Saga of San Juan (1968), p. 90; and Silvey, pp. 6-7.

7. The Bennions summered near Fish Lake and wintered on Ferron Creek. Glynn Bennion, "The Story of a Pioneer-day Cattle Venture" (typescript, present writer's possession).

8. Silvey, p. 7; Price and Darby, "Preston Nutter," 236.

9. Stena Scorup, J. A. Scorup, A Utah Cattleman (1944), p. 28; and Neal Lambert, "Al Scorup: Cattleman of the Canyons," Utah Historical Quarterly, 32 (1964): 301-20.

10. "Journal of Platte D. Lyman," pp. 64, 73. Typed copy at Utah State Historical Society.

11. "Reminiscences of George W. Decker," in David E. Miller, Hole-in-the-Rock (1959), pp. 201.

12. It is interesting to recall that the Spanish as well as Indian renegades had driven herds of horses and mules numbering into the thousands from California to New Mexico during the 1830s. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the first herds of cattle and sheep to be driven over the route by Anglo-Americans were the sheep belonging to a Mr. McClanahan and his partner, Mr. Crockett, the "the fine herd of cattle" of the Burwell brothers which were driven to the California markets in the wake of the Gunnison exploration in 1853. The Gunnison diary does not record how many sheep and cattle were in these herds but does indicate that they came through in good shape. Lt. E. G. Beckwith, Report of Exploration of a Route for the Pacific Railroad near the 38th and 39th Parallels of Latitude . . ., House Document 129, (n.d.), pp. 6, 75.

13. Don D. Walker, "The Carlisles: Cattle Barons of the Upper Basin," Utah Historical Quarterly, 32 (1964):270.

14. Silvey, p. 2.

15. E. C. McMechen, ed., "Jordan Bean's Story and the Castle Valley Indian Fight," Colorado Magazine, 20 (1943):10.

16. Silvey, p. 7.

17. A. M. Rogers, "A True Narrative of an Indian Fight," Cliffdwellers' Echo, April 1912, mimeographed quarterly in 1911 and 1912 by the La Sal National Forest. A full run of this interesting publication is found in the Region IV papers of the Forest Service, Record Group 95, National Archives.

18. Lambert, 307.

19. Perkins, Nielson, and Jones, p. 179.

20. Silvey, p. 36.

21. Ibid.; and Silvey, "When San Juan County Was Given to the Southern Ute Indians" (typescript, Utah State Historical Society).

22. Others, including the Scorups and Cooper and Martin, later ran large herds in the canyon country west and north of the Blue Mountains and Elk Ridge but do not appear to have been sufficiently developed in the mid-1880s to merit inclusion here.

23. Price and Darby, 236.

24. Ibid., 242; and Walker D. Wyman and John D. Hart, "The Legend of Charlie Glass," Colorado Magazine, 46 (1969):40-54.

25. Minutes of San Juan County Court, 1880-1900, 27 July 1892, p. 127.

26. Perkins, Nielson, and Jones, p. 181.

27. John Riis, Ranger Trails (1937), p. 6.

28. Grand Valley Times, 4 September 1914.

29. Ibid., 27 November 1914; also Perkins, Nielson, and Jones, p. 182; and "Historical Information, La Sal National Forest," a manuscript history included among the Manti-La Sal National Forest historical records, Price, Utah, p. 55.

30. One verse of Judge Killer's song runs:

For the brand LC I ride
With Sleeper Calves on the side
I'll own Hip-Side and Shoulder
When I grow older
Zippatara don't tan my hide.

31. Walker, 271; Durango Daily Herald, 31 May 1883; and Silvey, History and Settlement of Northern San Juan County, p. 35.

32. Franklin D. Day, "The Cattle Industry of San Juan County" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958), p. 37.

33. Walker, 274.

34. U.S. Senate, Report of Ute Commission of 1888, Executive Document 67, 50th Cong., 2d Sess., 1889, p. 17.

35. "Francis A. Hammond Journal," 4 March 1887 and 22 March 1888. Original in the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

36. Minutes of San Juan County Court, 1880-1900, 30 December 1891.

37. "Francis A. Hammond Journal," 17 March 1887.

38. Childs to William F. Vilas, Secretary of the Interior, 15 November 1888, Report of Ute Commission of 1888, 72.

39. "Historical Information, La Sal National Forest," p. 52; and Amasa Jay Redd, ed., Lemuel Hardison Redd, Jr., 1856-1923, Pioneer-Leader-Builder (1967), p. 50.

40. Silvey, History and Settlement of Northern San Juan County, p. 47.

41. Franklin D. Day, p. 37, quotes Scorup on these figures. Reports in the "Historical Information, La Sal National Forest" raise question as to both the date and ownership involved in this sale. Indeed, it suggests the 22,000 head were sold in 1892-93 and may have been made up of Bluff Pool cattle as well as L C stock.

42. Perkins, Nielson, and Jones, pp. 70-71, 90; and Walker, 283.

43. Report of Ute Commission of 1888, p. 84. It should be noted that Hammond did not figure the Pittsburgh Company holdings in his report.

44. "Francis A. Hammond Journal," 8 December 1885.

45. Ibid., 17 December 1885.

46. Ibid., 27 January, 7, 11, and 23 February 1886.

47. Mormons had been running in the vicinity of Lake Pahgarit for several years, some with substantial herds; "Journal of Platte D. Lyman," p. 70.

48. "Francis A. Hammond Journal," 16 and 19 January 1886.

49. Ibid., 27 January 1886.

50. Ibid., 11 February 1886.

51. "Journal of Platte D. Lyman," p. 97.

52. Ibid., p. 64.

53. Deseret News, 29 December 1886.

54. Idea, 6 March 1886.

55. "Francis A. Hammond Journal," 17 March 1886.

56. Idea, 19 April 1886. Among the Mormon claims to grazing rights on the Elks was J. F. Adams's story that he bought the range from a petty Navajo chieftain named Kigalia, who "was located at the spring now known as Kigalia, when the Bluff people took their cattle to the mountain in 1890. The Indians were very much concerned and told the whites to move on. Mr. Adams unpacked, cooked dinner and invited the Indians to eat. Adams then traded Kigalia a pony and a piece of beef for the land on the South Elk Mountain." See "Historical Information, La Sal National Forest," p. 51.

57. Report of Ute Commission of 1888, p. 72.

58. "Francis A. Hammond Journal," 4 March 1887.

59. Ibid., 27 February 1886.

60. Ibid., 27 October 1887.

61. Albert R. Lyman, "The Fort on the Firing Line," Improvement Era, 52 (1949):820.

62. "Francis A. Hammond Journal," 29 October 1887.

63. Riis, p. 51.

64. "Francis A. Hammond Journal," 18 and 19 July 1887.

65. Ibid., 10 March 1887.

66. Ibid., 28 February 1887.

67. Ibid., 28 February and 15 March 1887.

68. Stevens, his brother Alma, and Brigham Young, Jr., organized a cattle company in October and for several years wintered between Elk Ridge and the Colorado and used Mormon Pasture as summer headquarters. See D. L. Guadelock File, U-Adjustment, Manti-La Sal National Forest Records, Record Group 95, Denver Records Center.

69. "Francis A. Hammond Journal," summer 1887.

70. Ibid., 17 May 1887 and 23 April 1888.

71. Walker, 279-81.

72. "Francis A. Hammond Journal," July and August 1887.

73. Ibid., 9 August 1887 and 26 April 1888.

74. Perkins, Nielson, and Jones, 106.

75. See Walker; Perkins, Nielson, and Jones; and Albert R. Lyman, Indians and Outlaws: Settling of the San Juan Frontier (1962).

76. Perkins, Nielson, and Jones, p. 77.

77. Deseret News, 8 December 1886; and Redd, pp. 39, 42.

78. Minutes of San Juan County Court, 1880-1900, 26 July 1894 and 25 October 1897, pp. 169, 249-50. The Texas cattle were of poor quality, and many of them reverted to total wildness in the canyon breaks of southeast Utah. Texas renegades, as they were known, were later run down and roped one by one and literally dragged to market by the Scorup brothers and other hard-riding cowboys. See Karl Young, "Wild Cows of the San Juan," Utah Historical Quarterly, 32 (1964):252-67.

The West as a Network of Cultures

John L. Sorenson

With a varied background in both academic and industrial circles, John L. Sorenson, professor of anthropology and sociology at Brigham Young University, is in an excellent position to examine the American West. Beginning with data which came to his attention during the work on his Ph.D. degree at UCLA, Professor Sorenson has here applied the concept of culture to an understanding of the interaction of various groups in the American West. His suggestion that intercultural contacts are facilitated through people who stand astride two or more cultural groups should provide insight for future investigation of the Westerner.

"Culture," as that concept is commonly used by anthropologists, has limited utility in an analysis of the American West after the coming of the white men to this territory. The term normally refers to the customary patterns for living which characterize a specific, readily distinguishable people. Yet English-speaking Americans have overwhelmingly dominated events since 1850, and no division of this white majority into separate "peoples" has proved useful. The Mormons have most often been suggested as having a distinct culture; however, most objective observers conclude that they are, if anything, excessively oriented to the broad American cultural pattern. Certainly since the Manifesto and statehood for Utah, the Latter-day Saints have vaunted and demonstrated their American cultural stance more than their peculiarity. If they do not bear a distinct overall culture, probably no English-speaking Westerners do.

A meaning for the term culture which is increasingly popular promises to be more useful in treating complex societies than the conventional meaning. The newer usage holds culture to consist of shared ideas, conceptual designs, premises, or

standards for interpreting the world and deciding what to do about living in it. One recent phrasing of this position speaks of sets of persons who perceive aspects of the world in rather similar terms as "perceptual groups."[1] When persons constituting a perceptual group explicitly recognize that they share a pattern of views with others, they constitute an "identity group" and may be said to share a "culture."

In the narrower sense, the Mormons clearly constitute an identity group and share a culture. Their perceptions about life and the world are notably distinct and manifest themselves in a number of unique forms of behavior. Catholics likewise constitute an identity group. By the same logic so do medical doctors, as well as college students, cowboys, prostitutes, coal miners, politicians, and rock musicians. To be sure, not all cowboys share all their views, yet there is some irreducible minimum of ideas held in common among all to whom this social label usefully applies. In this light, complex societies appear as mosaics, and each mosaic element is like a peephole through which persons peer at the world from a common vantage point.

Moreover, every individual belongs to multiple identity groups; we all see the world in a variety of ways. For example, the kaleidoscope through which I look at life involves my identification in part with other males, other Mormons, other Americans, other anthropologists, and so on. In a certain context I emphasize one or another of these perceptual facets. While I may temporarily allow one of them to dominate the others, I must maintain my other positions in readiness so that I can view, interpret, and act in other contexts as they arise in the future.

The result of each of us occupying multiple perceptual positions is that we connect into a variety of perceptual communities. Each person's set of connections is different. The social result is a network of identity and perceptual groups tied together by the linkages of shared memberships.

Using the perceptual network approach, we discover that certain groups, roles, and persons stand out as key junctions binding different identity groups and their cultures into stable relationships. These what might be called middleman positions in the network are probably prerequisite to stability. In their absence, differences in interpretation of what is happening in the world may be irreconcilable and frequently lead to conflict. The position of these intermediaries between perceptual stances seems so crucial that detecting and describing them becomes a matter of prime concern in any analysis of a social network.

To examine the American West, or any other complex societal setting, from the perspective of how its personnel form cultural

or perceptual networks presents us with new insights into the whole system of behavior. I shall illustrate this by discussing a series of situations, both historical and contemporary, where the scheme just outlined directs our attention to new facts and deeper understanding about the development and present condition of the West.

THE AMERICAN FORK NETWORK

The study of urbanization and industrialization in American Fork, Utah, which concerned changes resulting largely from the construction of the Geneva steel plant just before World War II, first directed my attention to the network of cultures in modern society.[2] The community had first been studied as a Mormon agricultural village in the late 1920s by sociologist Lowry Nelson.[3] When my work was done nearly thirty years later, the place had become a town with a population of about 7,500. Industrial employment, especially at the steel plant eight miles distant, had replaced agriculture as the dominant economic activity. One of the most striking social changes was the increased degree of external concern and communication. Between the time of Nelson's study and mine, American Fork's people clearly had become participants in a much wider sociocultural network.

In describing the town, I shall use the present tense (the "ethnographic present"), even though the conditions reported may subsequently have changed.

American Fork is divided along a number of lines. One of the obvious ones is church membership. Several minority congregations--the Presbyterian Community Church, Assembly of God, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Catholic--coexist with the Latter-day Saints. How do these identity groups with their differing views of the world articulate with each other?

Certain informal groupings play a relating role--the neighborhood for example. A few Mormon and Community Church members may visit and share views which relate to that small portion of life which neighbors find it appropriate to discuss, but much of the crucial communication which allows the two groups to cope with each other takes place in certain formal settings. Notable is the Rotary Club, where the presence of the Community Church minister, along with a Mormon majority (including the stake presidency), takes place in a setting where behavior is controlled for neutrality. Community business and professional leaders can say, "Yes, I know the minister. We're in Rotary together. He's a nice fellow." Now the sharing of perceptions directly derived from membership in Rotary may be relatively minor, but they are reinforced by other, more important,

sharings. Any participant in Rotary will normally also be part of the perceptual group which is "civic-minded." Other groupings to which Rotary members are likely to belong include upper prestige rank, the literate, the white-collar sector, noncommuters (with a consequent exaggerated sense of local loyalty), home-owners, and so on. All told, the shared perceptions which are implicit in such a grouping far exceed in significance and breadth those which joining Rotary make explicit. Thus the presence of the Presbyterian Community minister in the group signals to all concerned: he is one of us in notable ways. The Assembly of God minister, a milkman, is not a Rotary member, and his set of perception patterns differs markedly from those who join the civic club. (Incidentally, the Community Church as solid citizens are as un- or misinformed about the Assembly of God people as are the Mormons. Both lack and apparently do not need significant articulation with the small, powerless pentecostal group.)

Bridges across the church chasm are also built by association of representatives of the Community and LDS members in scouting, the PTA, women's clubs, and other organized groups within the town. In each case certain ideas are shared, values espoused, and action patterns demonstrated which allow the groups to understand and predict each other's intentions and actions.

The political structure constitutes another bridge between religious identity groups. In the 1950s, the first post-Geneva non-Mormon candidate for the city council had been defeated soundly, but subsequently one was elected and all segments of the community then accommodated to that fact. The concerns and emphases of local government then became another context within which major identity groups encountered each other.

The Geneva Steel works itself involves a set of cultures of its own. The nearly six hundred employees residing in American Fork spend a major portion of each working day in a setting where the view of the world differs markedly from that which they encounter among many of their neighbors at home. Initially, numbers of supervisors and experts from eastern or midwestern states were brought in by U.S. Steel to staff the plant. Subsequently native Utahns brought up through the employment hierarchy at the plant itself came to occupy supervisory positions. Nonsupervisory employees have been largely local from the first. In either case the concerns with technical expertise, management routines, orientation to company aims, and the counterconcerns of the unions heavily color the perceptions of employees. Attitudes toward time, supervision and leadership in social organization, and money and goods are among those which steel company employees take home with them at night into the older conceptual sets in American Fork.

Roles which serve to connect the community to the wider

world are notably developed. Technological contacts with Salt Lake City and beyond--through sales representatives, wholesalers, and buyers--are frequent and, of course, are channeled mainly through corporations. Three of every hundred residents belong to a scientific or professional association. Most of them are national groups (e.g., the American Society of Metallurgical Engineers). Politically, both formal and informal contacts outward are significant. A prominent Democratic legislator has been a leader in the state senate for many years, while a prominent businessman and banker, who was also a GOP organizational leader, served as state treasurer. A local attorney, whose clients include businesses in the Salt Lake Valley, maintains his own network of contacts, political and otherwise, including membership in the Riverside Country Club, where important ties are knit which bind together identity groups in the Provo area. The superintendent of the State Training School, which is in American Fork, provides another articulating point, this time with state government. The LDS stake president, who is also the representative of the Church-owned insurance company in the county, maintains an American Fork tradition of having a special communication channel to Church headquarters. Many other connections of similar extent could be mentioned. Yet this sort of articulation is not wholly new. Leonard Harrington, American Fork's first mayor, justice, and postmaster, was also for many years both bishop and territorial legislator and spent a great deal of his time in Salt Lake City.

Through the mechanism provided by multiple membership in identity groups, ideas spread from element to element in the society. What a schoolteacher learns as a college student shapes his viewpoint as a Sunday school teacher and later as a bishop. The industrial executive brings to his management circle part of his Indiana WASP background and Masonic affiliation which have shaped his cognitive map. The city councilman almost inescapably carries his Mormon sense of pragmatism and "honoring authority" into the operation of city government. The retired military man may speak compulsively about the threat to the American way of life as he tries to busy himself selling real estate.

As we look historically at the development of this one community, we detect significant trends about the identity and perception groups found there. A century ago, a much more homogeneous and simpler world existed for American Forkers. Most men were farmers, virtually all were Mormons, and distinctions in education, wealth, and rank were few. Gentiles had another thought world, it is true, but few of them affected directly the life in this village. Travelers on their way through had little effect because they did not stay long.

Gentile miners intruded into American Fork canyon early, but contacts with them were marginal and did not persist. The mayor of American Fork in 1894 was not Mormon, although his wife was; he might be thought of as a kind of political Uncle Tom, convenient to have around during a tense time of transition but varying only moderately from the community norm in perceptual terms. Secularization of political life and the schools at the turn of the century brought in important new views via new linkages to the outside world (the public library dates from 1922). The growing commercial economy in the early 1900s provided still other novel inputs. World War I, prohibition, and the Great Depression betokened still further importation of perceptual variants. And the 25 percent of the population unemployed or receiving government relief in 1940 were clearly involved in cultural worlds quite unknown to their pioneer ancestors. World War II and Geneva Steel only compounded an already complex situation.

Our look at American Fork teaches another significant lesson. It shows how a vigorous, adaptable identity group incorporates new perception patterns in such a way that their novelty is mitigated and their potential for subversion is avoided. One of the clearest instances reported in my American Fork material involves the instituting of the Cub Scout program:

> In 1948 a "newcomer" in the Presbyterian Community Church organized the first Cub den in town. Mormons had no sympathy with the plan then, because it competed with their Primary Association. No change took place locally until around 1956 when headquarters of the LDS Church in Salt Lake City came out with a plan which had bishops call cubmasters, den mothers and the whole coterie of Cub Scouting helpers. Within two years there were dozens of dens in town, including the then more-or-less submerged few of the Community Church.[4]

In a parallel instance, an informant explained the co-opting process:

> Community (semi-pro) baseball was very popular here a few years ago. . . . The city came to the stake and asked if we would support selling tickets on a family entertainment basis. We said we would support the project if there was no Sunday baseball. They agreed.[5]

The innovation was implemented with no damage done to local Mormon culture.

This practice of co-opting innovations into its program is, of course, characteristic of the Mormon Church. Beyond the local scene, this is illustrated by the recent use of psychological and psychiatric counseling in the Church, whereas such procedures are condemned when they occur in the framework of a secular world view.

The procedure is old, however. The Gold Mission of 1849, which sent selected Saints to California to prospect in order to increase the supply of gold dust needed for a medium of exchange in Deseret, followed immediately on the heels of severe condemnation of Latter-day Saints who had "deserted" to the gold rush haunts. It was not the act but the conception of the act--its place in the Mormon view of things--which was condemned on the one hand but approved on the other. I suppose that in the same spirit, if someone could provide a suitable positive rationale in terms of Mormon beliefs, the MIA would be able, in a very few years, to incorporate rock music into its program without much of a flurry. Dynamic, adaptable identity groups seem able to incorporate novelty in their scheme of things without shattering the form of their current perceptual system. This process of cultural adaptation occurred frequently in the West, it appears, and Dr. Mark Leone considers it one of the hallmarks of Mormonism.[6]

From examining the American Fork case, three generalizations begin to take form:

1. In early pioneer times identity groups were few in number, and no major cleavages separated them.
2. The integration of the community and of the whole Mormon area into national life in the last hundred years has been accompanied by, and largely accomplished through, the multiplication of perceptual groupings.
3. A common mechanism of defense against the threat of subversion of an identity group's world view is to co-opt innovations, incorporating them into the existing system in nondisruptive ways.

Let us now proceed to examine situations other than American Fork to see if these generalizations hold up and whether further principles may appear.

THE ESCALANTE NETWORK

The data provided by Lowry Nelson on Escalante, Utah, for 1923 and also for 1950 allow us to see instructive changes in that network. In the earliest period of the settlement of that remote community, only a single identity group existed.[7] In

1923, when Nelson was there, certain changes had occurred which began to diffuse the consensus. The necessities of marketing had, of course, already engaged the stockmen's concerns with the outside commercial world. Sheepmen's and cattlemen's associations had been formed to deal with the Forest Service, the government agency which controlled access to the vital ranges for livestock. The average family head's concerns were with producing forage crops for his livestock to supplement use of the mountain rangelands used during the summer. All such farmers tended to be concerned with the same problems and to find similar solutions to them. They thus constituted an identity group. While not all in the village were cattlemen, enough were that a clear community focus continued to prevail, as shown by the fact that compared with 135 "farmers and stock raisers" (and 10 "common laborers") there were no more than four people in any other line of work ("store clerks"). There were incipient perceptual group differences, but they were distinctly minor.

By 1950, Nelson described the village's technology in these terms:

> Escalante no longer grew, ground, processed, or made many of the things it needed in daily life. The flour mill was no more. Home baking was by no means universal. . . . Even fresh vegetables from California were now brought in during the winter. Trucks bearing oil and gasoline, bakery and dairy products, radio and ranges, furniture and hardware, and a thousand other items, daily began to pound the new highway which connects Escalante with the Great Society.[8]

The orientation to a cash economy with the importation of a large volume of goods had turned the attention of the people of Escalante to ideas and perceptions which they held in common with other participants in the dominant American pattern with its emphasis on modern technology. Appropriate guidance as to how one should perceive the world in congruence with the American orientation came via the schools, the daily metropolitan newspaper, radio, travel, and numerous other channels. The CCC camp in the vicinity during the Depression, the effects of World War II on individuals and the ecomony, and the proliferation of federal governmental programs all added significantly to the changes in thought-ways. In place of the former relative homogeneity in social and economic terms, now only five families had sheep as against fifty-four families in 1923. The nonspecific category "common laborers" had increased fivefold. A

sizable category of retired persons had arisen, and Nelson reported of them that "those on old age assistance were almost a class by themselves."[9] In fact, the amount received in Escalante from federal, state, and county welfare funds was at approximately the same level as that from productive agriculture, while employment by government units brought in more dollars than either of the other categories.

The fragmentation of the economy led to social cleavages. Nelson sensed in 1950 the "lack of . . . a sense of identification,"[10] whereas the sense of community had been marked in 1923.

The changes noted are explainable in terms of the rise of new perceptual groupings. Where a fairly uniform perceptual view prevailed in 1923, by 1950 most people had reoriented their models to accommodate the new circles of interaction in which they had become involved. An employee of the Forest Service or Soil Conservation Service inevitably holds ideas which differ drastically from those who still run cattle on the range. The pensioners display conceptions wholly distinct from either of the other groups. Despite continuing similarities, such as rural, Mormon, and white, the differences had become notable.

We also note in Escalante how these perceptual differences get a toehold in a homogeneous community. Here intrusive ways of thinking did not enter the system through immigrants, as happened to some extent in American Fork in the wake of Geneva Steel. Most of the people ever born in Escalante have moved out to other places; immigration does not occur. Instead we see certain individuals on the margins of the major identity groups scrambling in a difficult setting to find a niche for themselves. It was obviously not the successful stockmen who seized upon government pensions so anxiously, but the marginal people, who lost their shirts in 1932 when the Depression knocked the bottom out of the livestock market, or else those who never owned sufficient animals and land rights to get established in the economic mainstream.

To return to American Fork, the same observation holds. It has been people operating on the margin of successful society who have done most of the shifting in perceptions there. The long lines of job applicants, whose number surprised contractors when they began to build the steel plant, clearly did not consist of those already holding jobs. They came instead from the 100,000 persons not then being supported by the productive economy of Utah. Equally, the tavern habitués in town are those with less than satisfying family life and jobs, not from the solid citizens who confidently ride on the back of established institutions. The same point holds as far as church affiliation goes. I noted in 1958 regarding the few

who affiliated with the Jehovah's Witnesses:

> The Jehovah's Witnesses personnel are not representative of any large segment of the population. They tend to be older persons, widows, or other marginal people without any well-defined status in the community. An opinion given by one Mormon informant, which seems to have a measure of truth to it, is: "Some of my relatives joined the JW's (smiling). The less said about that the better. Most of them were neglected for so long--or at least they thought so--that now they are real flattered to be active and take a leading part in their church."[11]

We may now add a fourth point to our list of generalizations about cultural networks:

4. New perception frameworks begin in the minds and behavior of persons who are already marginal to established cultures.

These observations about cultures and the perceptions they represent seem to have utility in providing us with new understanding about what has happened to part of the West in our times. Let us next take the scheme back into historical material on early Utah life to see how it instructs us there.

EARLY UTAH NETWORKS

If anything is clear about the intentions of the Mormon leaders when they settled in the Great Basin, it is that they aimed to make their people culturally autonomous. In the terminology of this paper, they wished to build and maintain an identity group with such firm perceptual boundaries around it that intruding subversive ideas could not find a foothold. The objective was beautifully summarized in a statement attributed to Brigham Young:

> We do not intend to have any trade or commerce with the Gentile world. For as long as we buy from them, we are in a degree dependent on them. The Kingdom of God cannot rise independent of the Gentile nations until we produce, manufacture and make every object of use, convenience or necessity among our own people. . . . I am determined to cut every thread of this

> kind and live free and independent, untrammeled by any of their detestable customs and practices.[12]

Circumstances combined, however, to undermine this policy virtually from the beginning of the settlement of the Saints in Utah. The initial integrated world view which prevailed among the Mormon immigrants throughout the whole territory slowly eroded under the impact of new, rival modes of perception, just as we have seen happen in pristine American Fork and Escalante. Forty-niners, gentile merchants and bankers, the U.S. military, miners, the railroad, appointees to political office, and other influences from the outside progressively introduced new perceptual systems. Conflict between the starkly contrasting cultures developed on an epic scale. This conflict, however, was allayed, as time went on, through the rise of mediating perceptual groups. Eventually a fairly stable accommodation was reached, after the Mormons agreed to modify their culture to bring it more nearly into congruence with the general American cultural premises.

This sequence of unity, clash, the rise of variants, and eventual accommodation appears in microcosm as well as in overall Utah history. Consider a series of examples.

When Johnston's Army approached the Salt Lake Valley, the perceptions of the Mormons regarding what would happen were highly inflamed. Memories of the hate and violence of Missouri and Nauvoo certainly colored their interpretation of the approach of the armed force. The Saints saw the threat of extermination, or at best oppression, in their future. Furthermore, the freedom and autonomy they had so recently found were threatened. From their point of view, key values were in the balance. A decisive moment was at hand, and they acted with vigor, although perhaps not with prudence, in what they saw as a potentially disastrous situation. On the opposite hand, the military commanders and troops considered themselves to be about an unpleasant but necessary task of punishing rebels. We might suppose that they were as convinced that their assignment was necessary as were American soldiers in Vietnam in the late 1960s, who were taught to perceive "Charlie" as a vile Communist who might end up among Oriental Red hordes occupying Disneyland if not got rid of immediately. The Mormons were made to look to the soldiers as threatening as the Communists of our generation or the Huns of the First World War were to American soldiers. Here were two interpretations of the West in patent conflict--apparently irreconcilable.

But at least two additional perception systems were at play as well, complicating the situation. The Utah gentiles read the situation in their own light. Their perception involved

moral revulsion at the system of Mormon practice and power, which they rejected or failed to understand. This was an interpretation of the aims of the approaching army not quite the same as those of either the Mormons or the army itself and was colored by avarice at the prospects of power and money which could fall to them in the coming showdown. The fourth system was in Washington, where pictures of the political geography of slavery, lucrative contracts for support of the army, a flagrant Mormon challenge to civilized morals, loyalty and secession, and patronage prospects all circled endlessly.

Every event, every report, every fragment of information or speculation must have been screened, sifted, and interpreted by each of these groups and others, through unique perception systems having little in common with each other. Was there rebellion? Was there lustful exploitation of hapless immigrant women? Was old Brigham a despotic kind of Mohammed? On the other hand, would the soldiers rape Mormon women? Would the Missourians in uniform carry out the old threats against God's chosen people? No two groups interpreted the situation within the same framework. Different cultures were at play in a hopelessly muddled situation.

In the face of conflicting cultures, accommodative mechanisms arose. That unusual man, Colonel Thomas L. Kane, tried to bridge the chasm in one way. Governor Alfred Cumming, with a perception of the situation which the military officers condemned heartily, played another marginal role by trying to build some kind of picture which would help him salvage a desperate situation to his advantage (like a pensioner in Escalante?). Later, after the troops were at Camp Floyd, some marginal Mormons rather quickly interpreted their presence in ways at variance with the major identity groups. Some Utah females came to see the soldiers as simply soldiers, with uniforms and money and more color about them than the local boys. Some businessmen saw the chance for profits, either for their own pockets or for the sake of the Kingdom. While in July 1858 the Saints were counseled by their leaders not to sell their grain, three months later, when advantages to the whole territory could be seen in doing so, new counsel advised: "There is no sin in selling grain to the army." As Leonard J. Arrington sketches the picture, Mormon villagers quickly built up trade with the post at highly remunerative rates. In fact, wards and settlements were advised to trade through officially recognized associations, committees, and agents according to a fixed price list. Besides, several hundred Mormons found employment at the camp, and the Church benefited enormously from contracts to supply goods and from sales of army surplus.[13]

It is clear that marginal opportunists broke the difficult ground of accommodation first; then the rest followed. They

found that the army folk were not as bad as they had feared, although still a threat to morals. The military forces likewise discovered that the Mormons were not the ogres they had been pictured, though still rather contemptible. Slowly some of the frictions were reduced as the identity groups modified their perception frameworks to take peaceable, and sometimes even profitable, account of those formerly seen starkly as enemies.

We see the same process at work as the miners come into conflict with the Mormons. To be sure, the seriousness of the conflict may have been less, but keen antagonism and misunderstanding were surely there. The marginal agents who synthesized the two positions were again merchants and traders. Ignoring the miners' concern with wealth and frontier sin while discounting the expressed Mormon concern about the evils of seeking gold, these agents dealt both ways. In Arrington's words:

> Attracted by the generous prices offered at the mining camps for flour, salt, dried fruits, and butter, merchants and traders--both Mormon and Gentile--scoured the countryside for wanted products. . . .
>
> The church did not encourage this trade, of course, because of the dangers of depleting the food supply and because of general objections to building a trading economy. But the trade took place, nevertheless, and the church's chief function was to organize the farmers in such a way as to assure them the highest possible price for their produce.[14]

Priesthood-controlled conventions were held to set prices and govern this trade. In 1866 the convention pattern was replaced with the Utah Produce Company, a Church-promoted, privately financed company which attempted organized disposal of Utah's domestic surplus at remunerative prices. We should note in addition that many Mormons--again of the more marginal variety, so that we do not hear much of them--worked in the mines and still do. The miners' perception system thus came to be mixed with the Mormon, agrarian, and other interpretations and constituted a bridge, such that mining was never again seen as quite the stark threat to the Church system which at first it had seemed.

It is useful to consider two other examples of networks in action: the Godbeites, or New Movement; and the opening of Utah to domestic capitalism in the 1890s. The Godbeites may be viewed as a marginal perception group which tried seriously to accommodate Mormon culture with that of Utah and American Gentiles.[15] In this case the accommodation foundered, probably

because too much was tried too soon, and the New Movement collapsed. Some of the Godbeite proposals for change in the Church later became reality, but the movement diverged too far outside the Mormon system of perception at that time and place. They were like the Saints who went to California for gold without Brigham Young's authorization--a little ahead of their time and too impatient to work out the necessary accommodation to the existing culture.

The unleashing of Mormon capitalism in the 1890s illustrates clearly the articulation of cultures. The former emphasis on cooperative enterprise was changing in the 1880s and early 1890s, not only among those Mormons infected with the American free enterprise spirit, who seem to have been many at the time, but even at the level of the Church hierarchy. The seeds of reinterpretation can be seen in a retrospective statement of President Joseph F. Smith:

> We saw that we had reached a point in our history where there was not a single enterprise of a public character that was calculated to give employment to our people. The railroads had gone into the hands of the outsiders . . . and instead of their pursuing a wise policy, they abandoned the course that had been pursued by their predecessors, and discharged the Mormon people from their service. . . . We began to feel that there was a responsibility resting upon us which required something to be done, in a small way at least, in the direction of giving employment to our people.[16]

It was only a few more steps until full-fledged justification of private capitalistic enterprise on the part of Mormons was enunciated. The earlier conflict of cultures eased as marginal personnel demonstrated that desirable results lay in a course of change and that the dangers to the existing world view were acceptable.

And now to come full circle. When the plan to construct a steel plant in central Utah was revealed in 1940, Mormon Church leaders, both general and local, expressed concern about the probable intrusion of disruptive social and moral elements into the area. They saw the proposal in terms of a conflict of cultures. Later, through consultation with appropriate leaders, the project's planners allayed those fears somewhat by revealing their intention to use local labor to the maximum extent possible. That changed the situation. Here was a partial answer to the nagging problem of unemployment in

Utah. Utah and American Fork enthusiasm rose, approvals were expressed over the plans, and a wait-and-see attitude prevailed. The actual development of bridging perceptual groups may be inferred from what has already been said about what took place in American Fork. The conflicts were overrated. Initial reaction was overdone. Geneva is now seen as having been very valuable, overall, to Utah's development. And as a result of Geneva and other modernization, the Church in American Fork has multiplied its wards by four and the vigor of its activity by at least two.

So it appears that there is a repetitive process of (1) cultural conflict, (2) the development of mediative roles and groups who reinterpret the systems of conflicting perception in a pragmatic way, and (3) eventual accommodation and stability. The process has characterized the Utah scene for over a century.

THE REST OF THE WEST

Our consideration has so far encompassed only Utah and the Mormon area. The framework applies equally well elsewhere. Take the recent past in neighboring areas, for example.

The events of the middle 1960s in Watts, California, featured deep differences in perspective between the black community there and the neighboring white middle-class areas of Los Angeles. The cultural chasm across which the two identity groups looked at each other yawned so wide that the would-be sharers of perceptions trying to bridge it proved impotent. In the wake of the violent riots, however, information about the perceptual maps of each side diffused more widely and effectively. Substantial numbers of groups and persons undertook a wide range of efforts at reconciliation, many of which in effect aimed to develop cultural sharing. Fortunately the violence has not been repeated.

A structurally similar situation prevailed between many students and persons and groups in the wider society at the time of the campus troubles of the sixties, particularly at Berkeley. In retrospect it is perfectly clear that major cultural differences separated the antagonists. Some hard-core ideologists, conservative on the one hand and radical on the other, have continued to maintain perceptual systems so tightly bounded and autonomous that they are still unable to make the adaptive changes that most have. Reconciliation between the opposed factions came about in large measure due to shifts in perceptions initiated and mediated by administrators and students not comfortable in either polarized camp.

The examples could, of course, be multiplied: the Tijerina incident in New Mexico, the Indians at Alcatraz, the Okies and

the established farmers in central California in the thirties, and the sheepmen and the cultivators throughout the area. Even at an early date parallels spring to mind, such as the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 against the Spaniards.

This discussion does not pretend to have found and applied a magic key to unlock the mysteries of history and social process. The intent has been only to show how one framework can open new understanding to us. There must be dozens of additional frameworks or models waiting to be applied in a parallel manner. If you suppose, as I do, that there is no single causal key to history, then it becomes logical to examine a multiplicity of explanations. When we examine a piece of sculpture in a suitable setting, each angle from which we view it and each change in lighting reveals facets and tones we had not known were there before. To see the West as a series of situations in which cultural differences are mediated by atypical persons and groups seems to have value.

The attention of students of life in the West might well be directed to using this scheme to examine anew other familiar situations. For example, who are or were the marginal mediators? What kind of persons occupy such roles? One thinks of Major Charles H. Hemstead, an atypical Gentile lawyer defending Brigham Young in court in 1871. Then there was Chief Justice John F. Kinney, a demonstrated friend of the Mormons at some cost to himself. William S. Godbe himself could well be studied in this light. Mediators who fail may instruct us as well as those who succeed. In fact, might not the whole category of "jack Mormons" be rethought as constituting perceptually marginal persons? What view of Utah, the Mormons, and the West do we get when we see things as jack Mormons saw them?

Further new light might be shed on complex society by using the frame of reference supplied by the cultural network. For example, one could well look at settings in which more than two cultures coexisted. The Harvard Values Study Project comes to mind with its examination of five identity groups in New Mexico which were compared at length with each other. What happens when more than two conflicting stances enter the game? Are new rules operative then?

Finally, some consideration could well be given to measuring the rigidity of cultures. How much openness to change causes a culture to lose its very form and integrity? How much is the minimum flexibility which a perceptual group must display to keep from being shattered by the impact of newly impinging systems of thought?[17] A look at the future of present identity groups in this light could be exciting.

At first glance, anthropology seems to have little to contribute to the study of the mainstream of development in the American West. Yet the broad, holistic approach characteristic

of the discipline holds promise. By modifying traditional concepts, such as the concept of culture, we are able to retain the advantage of the wide perspective while developing more useful tools for analysis. In this paper, culture has been defined as the set of ways of perceiving and interpreting the world which a group shares. We have found that these differing perception patterns frequently bring groups into conflict. Thereafter a process of accommodation takes place mediated by persons or groups whose particular culture bridges the gap between the starkly antagonistic views of the major opposing groups. To see the past and the present as a network of overlapping conceptual worlds in constant process of adaptation contributes to a deeper understanding of some of the most significant events and settings which engage societies.

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Silver Reef: Fact and Folklore

Juanita Brooks

Best known for her work on John D. Lee and the Mountain Meadows Massacre, Mrs. Brooks has published extensively on Utah and the Mormons. A native of southwestern Nevada and long-time resident of St. George, Utah, she was organizer of the Historical Records Survey for Utah during the 1930s. Here she has captured the flavor of a "Dixie Boomtown" (her words) in stories from that phase of Utah's frontier development.

BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF SOUTHERN UTAH AND SILVER REEF TO 1877

1847 (July 24)	The first Mormon emigrants arrive in Salt Lake Valley.
1847-57	Towns and cities are established in the Salt Lake Valley and the whole area surrounding it, with villages south from Provo along the California road to Harmony.
1850	Missionaries are sent to the Indian tribes in all areas, more especially to southern Utah.
1850	Settlers at Santa Clara, Tonaquint, and other southern points experiment with raising cotton and other tropical and semitropical fruits and plants.
1857	Spring. A company is sent to Washington to raise cotton.
1857	The territorial legislature convenes at the new capitol in Fillmore, with the building almost completed.
1857 (Jan. 5)	Judge W. W. Drummond and his black servant Cato are arrested for assault with intent to

kill. Their intended victim was Levi Abrams. The judge is a prisoner in his own court and is subjected to such humiliation that he returns to Washington, D.C., to report to the president.

1857 (July 24) Word comes of an approaching army, on its way to put down the rebellion in Utah. President B. Young says: "They shall not come here!" Zion girds for battle and calls missionaries and settlers in Nevada and California to come home to help defend their homeland.

1857 (Sept. 11) A company of emigrants en route to California is massacred at Mountain Meadows in southern Utah.

1857 (Oct. 19) The army is stopped in its tracks by a blizzard that freezes most of its horses and cattle. It is forced to make winter quarters and is unable to travel until the next June. In the meantime, wise counselors are able to settle the differences without bloodshed.

1861 (Nov.) Three hundred families are called to settle St. George, to be the business and cultural center of the south. A Swiss company is sent to Santa Clara to raise grapes for wine; a cotton factory is to be built in Washington County.

1874 The St. George Tabernacle and the courthouse are finished; work on the temple is progressing. St. George has many homes, some of them quite imposing. Silver is discovered at the Reef.

1877 John D. Lee is executed on March 28; the St. George Temple is dedicated on April 6; Brigham Young dies on August 28. Silver Reef reaches the peak of its prosperity in 1877.

INTRODUCTION

The story of Silver Reef is most interesting because it nullifies all the established theories that silver ore is never found in a sandstone formation. Upon this point the experts were united. Silver just wasn't found in sandstone, not anywhere. Then, suddenly, here it was in tremendous amounts!

Patriarch George E. Miles and my own grandfather, Dudley

Leavitt, though miles and years apart, expressed essentially the same idea: "God placed that ore in the place where his people would find it in their hour of need. Where else in the whole world has silver been found in sandstone in such plentiful quantity? The Lord put it there for us!"

Said Grandpa Dudley Leavitt: "The silver has been there all the time, but the Lord had blinded their eyes and they didn't see it. Now, in our time of need, he has opened their eyes and helped them to get it into circulation, that his children might get the means with which to build up his kingdom upon the earth."

Many folk tales have grown out of the discovery of this rich lode; researchers have taken time to follow the details and verify them, strange as some of them are.

First to recognize silver here was John Kemple. He had come from Montana, bringing a band of horses. He headquartered at the Orson Adams home in Leeds and did some prospecting, staking out several claims. Because of his encouragement, several others staked claims, among them two women. Again the authorities counseled the people to leave the mining to the Gentiles; so they did nothing. When John Kemple returned in the winter of 1870-71, he again became an active prospector and established the Harrisburg Mining District.

Most common of the tales attached to the discovery of silver in sandstone is the Grindstone Story, which has now been researched in minute detail: who mined it, who shaped it, who hauled it, who broke it. The villain in the story is an assayer in Pioche, "Metaliferous Murphy," who found pay dirt in every sample brought in. Never would he say, "Look, man, there's just nothing here worth going back to." No, indeed. Every sample was a winner. In an informal "jam session," the boys decided to trick him. They would take a sample that they all knew was worthless, and if he tried to say that it was not they'd lynch him.

Looking about, they found a peddler from Leeds, who, along with his cargo of dried fruit and molasses, carried a couple of grindstones, one of which had been broken. Just the thing! They prepared the broken fragment and took it to Murphy.

Just as they expected, he reported an extra high quantity of silver. How they hooted! They had him now, the bum! Silver in a broken grindstone!

They didn't hang him as they had threatened to do, but they did take him to the edge of town and set him on his way, peppering bullets at his feet to make him step up lively--though not until he learned where that grindstone came from. If he went to Leeds, we have never learned of his staking any mines.

The third discovery was made in June 1875, when William Tecumseh Barbee saw silver ore melted and laid bare where Joe

McCleaves's heavily loaded wagon skidded on a hill. By August he had twenty-two claims working. In April 1876 he shipped 32-1/2 tons of ore to Pioche, Nevada, which netted him from $350 to $750 a ton--ore so near the surface that it was just like digging potatoes. Barbee gave the mine area his own middle name, Tecumseh Hill, and the valley below, where he hoped to establish the future city, Bonanza Flat. He had this area surveyed and marked into lots for sale.

In the meantime, business in Pioche, Nevada, was slow; mines closed down, and mills were not running. When news of this rich strike reached there, the exodus started at once. First to act was Hyman Jacobs, who had been running a general merchandise store. He quickly boxed up his stock of goods, took his store down in sections, loaded two large wagons, and was on his way. Arriving at Bonanza Flat, he inquired as to the price of lots and immediately decided to move on. He was not interested in real estate; he only wanted a place to set up a store, and since no one else had yet erected one, he decided to pull to the north some three miles and set up camp near the rocky ridge. He put his store together again, stocked his shelves, and painted a large sign, "THE SILVER REEF."

Barbee's first blurb was effective enough to start every Nevada miner to take notice. James G. Bleak copied it in his record on 6 October 1876:

> As mining interests have been increasing steadily for the last year and a half in the vicinity of Leeds, Washington County, Utah, this month the town of "Silver Reef" has been located.
>
> At that time it was written up as follows:
>
> Our town is laid out in a beautiful plateau, sloping South and East to the Virgen River, some five miles distant. We are two miles from Leeds and seven from Toquerville.
>
> Our soil is granite, with boulders plentifully strewed around; water clear and delicious and atmosphere bracing, healthful, and pure and of such temperature that one need not necessarily lose a day from labour in a whole year; snow is seldom seen in winter, and rain is all too scarce.
>
> Our embryo city contains a population well towards a thousand, representing all the various helps in mining, merchandising, and mechanical and other pursuits, as well as professional men. Our stores, shops, and markets offer nearly every article desired; and that too at prices more

> reasonably low than is usual in mining camps. As to the value and extent of our mines, we have no doubt or hesitancy; but time and capital are necessary to make this the lively business camp it certainly will be ere long, for we have ores sufficient for a dozen mills for time indefinite.

The Salt Lake Herald for 24 November 1876, quoting from J. E. Johnson on October 18, said:

> It has never been our lot to see brought together so many hundreds of mining population as free from poverty and dissoluteness. All seem able to pay their way, to have business and go after it with a will, and the camp as a whole seemed more a community of gentlemen than a camp of rough miners; in fact, a great part of the mining population is sinew and muscles of the laboring and trading men of Pioche, now nearly deserted.

During November and December 1876, fifty or more buildings, cheaply built but full of merchandise, were erected in Silver Reef, going up at the rate of two or three a day.

At Silver Reef the newcomers scorned the surveyed lots in the valley and followed Hyman Jacobs to the higher elevations, selecting their locations in a first-come-first-served pattern. They cooperated to make lumber sidewalks the length of both sides of the street and "paved" the center with the rocks already upon it, crushing some, moving and leveling and chinking them in tightly, so that the street was easily traveled. Most of the citizens had come from Pioche, now almost a ghost town. They came by wagon, buggy, and cart, by burro train, horseback, muleback, and at least one afoot, pushing his belongings before him in a large wheelbarrow.

Delamar also contributed to the crowd, as did Eureka and other northern mining towns. Many of the businessmen were Mormons with vision.

Having realized $23,000 from the ore he had shipped to the Pioche mill, Barbee immediately moved the mills to the Reef and shipped the silver in bars, four by four inches square and two feet long. Two bars would be fitted into a made-to-size bag of heavy canvas reinforced with leather, with leather handles for lifting its weight. Such cumbersome, heavy loads, totally without value until the silver had been minted into coins, entailed small danger of theft. Thieves could wait until it came through the last mill in dollars and dimes, with halves and

quarters between. There was time then to stage a holdup.

By 1877 Silver Reef challenged St. George in population and outstripped it in business transactions. It now boasted the following:

6 saloons	1 furniture store	1 billiard hall
5 restaurants	1 hardware store	2 breweries
5 general merchandise stores	2 butchers	Masonic hall
	3 bakers	Odd Fellows hall
2 drugstores	3 shoe shops	Catholic church
2 meat markets	1 cabinet shop	hospital
4 assay offices	3 Chinese laundries	citizen's hall
1 lodging house	2 painters	jail
2 barber shops	1 bank	Wells Fargo office
		post office

All the finest buildings of Silver Reef were constructed through these boom years, 1876 to 1880. The most imposing and largest of all was the Harrison House, built well to the north and slightly off the business center. It boasted sleeping quarters for at least fifty men on the second floor and in the attics. On the main floor were the dining rooms and kitchen, a large parlor and amusement room, with an immense grand piano and an Orchestrone, an organ playing perforated rolls, operated by a crank. A few small gambling devices were also available. At the back, a small yard enclosed in a high latticed fence guaranteed privacy and discouraged theft. This house was the pride of the city.

The John Rice home, which was built during this same period, is one of the two which still stand much as they were when they were completed. It is of brick, with a shingle roof and excellent lumber in the window and door frames, floors, and cabinets. The entrance is beautified by a cut-stone facing around the door and cut-stone steps, all handworked. The one thing that is different is that it has no windows along the north side or front--not even a transom over the door. On the south, the ground falls away steeply, so that no one could possibly get a killing aim through the high windows there. Local rumor had it that John Rice had killed a man at Pioche, and he was afraid that one of the family would try to get revenge.

The last remaining building, and the finest of all, is the Wells Fargo Bank, of stone--just the ordinary red rock of the area in the long, windowless sides and back, but all cut and stippled stone, beautifully worked, in the front. Large double doors, mostly glass, admit the light during the day. They were covered after hours by two-layer sheet-iron doors, which now are always open. The building itself is well preserved.

George Brooks, Sr., my husband's father, did this work on contract, and to his descendants it is one of the finest of all the many monuments he has left to his memory in Dixie.

Pictures of Silver Reef taken during these years show the buildings wall to wall on both sides of this one main street. The Harrison House, the City Civic Center, the Catholic church, and the schoolhouse were set out and away from this area, as was Chinatown.

THE CATHOLICS AT SILVER REEF

Since many of the miners, especially those from Ireland, were Catholics, the leadership sent Father Lawrence Scanlan to officiate here. In his early thirties, and newly ordained on 28 June 1878, he arrived in camp the following December, on horseback, his immediate necessities in duffle bags, and other freight to come by wagon. He put up at first at the Harrison House and took his meals there at Mrs. Grimes's kitchen, where the boy from Dixie, George E. Miles, also boarded.

Father Scanlan lost no time but set out at once to build a church. His enthusiasm was catching; his flock gave him good support, and some non-Catholic miners contributed to the cause; so the building advanced rapidly.

But it could not be finished before it was needed. Father Scanlan sought out the Mormon leadership in St. George, who offered him the use of their new stone tabernacle for High Mass. More than that, John M. MacFarlane would train his choir to present the music and to do it in Latin. Sunday, 25 May 1879, was a red-letter day for Mormons as well as for Catholics, for this beautiful building was so appropriate, and the experience of sharing it so new.

Before another year had passed, Father Scanlan not only had his church finished but also had built a hospital, a little back of and at the side of the church. Both buildings were of lumber, but the hospital was built over a stone half basement which housed five Sisters of Mercy who had come to work here. They conducted a kindergarten for children, serving as many as seventy-five preschool-age little folks, as well as some of school age, for whom they held reading classes. They also gave free music lessons on the piano to anyone who showed interest and aptitude.

In 1879 Father Scanlan felt that they needed a bell for their church. He started the fund-raising campaign by giving illustrated lectures on the Holy Land and other areas of Europe, charging one dollar a ticket. By the close of the year 1879 they had the belfry finished and a four-hundred-pound bell installed, 27 December 1879. By that time they also had a fine choir of their own.

PROBLEMS AND PROGRESS

Silver Reef was never incorporated as an official town with a mayor and other officers; yet the people carried out many policies for their common good. It was a town of working men, most of them without their families, although at one time it was reported that there were seventy-five school-age children. The business houses that lined the street on both sides usually had living quarters for the owner in the rear. Some homes were built along the ditch, or off a way toward the east from the main street.

To the west, around the point of a hill, was Chinatown; north of this were the horse barns. The citizen's hall, used for all public purposes--meetings, dramas, dances--was also to the west; the Catholic church was to the east, where also were most of the homes.

Many of the miners who were here without families built little shelters on the hills near the metal-bearing reef. These were dugouts about six by ten, with a willow and sod roof and a bench of earth upon which to put the bedroll. These men could buy their groceries, prepare their bacon and eggs and coffee, and take their clothes to the laundry. On a visit to the area in 1957, Arthur Bruhn, George E. Miles, and I, with the help of two ten-year-old boys, located more than a dozen such summer shelters in one area.

Mark A. Pendleton, who spent his early years here, wrote his impressions:

> To a boy from a quiet village, Silver Reef, with its brightly lighted saloons and stores and ceaseless activity, was a never ending delight. Peddlers and freighters were constantly coming and going. Wagons loaded with ore and others loaded with cordwood were ever on the move to the mills where the stamps pounded the ore to powder. Hundreds of miners were on the trails mornings and evenings on their way to or from the mines. . . . These men, Americans, Cornishmen, Irishmen, fine specimens of manhood, after ten hours of toil in the mines, emerged from their cabins dressed in the best that money could buy and walked the streets with the air of kings. China Town, with its queer inhabitants and strange tongue, its unusual merchandise and Oriental coloring, was a source of wonder.

The first, and perhaps the most disastrous, fire in Silver Reef was on 31 May 1879, when the Harrison House burned to the

ground. With it went several other buildings, among them the post office with the mail. This caused the citizens to be concerned, eager for some united group action. Already smaller groups had sought out each other and formed organizations: the Masons, the Odd Fellows, and the Ancient Order of United World Workmen. Each of these had built a meeting place, where their members could gather for various activities.

Now they all wanted a citizen's hall, large enough to accommodate an audience of five hundred people or more, and suited for meetings, theaters, and social dances, with a storage room and a reading room attached. Civic-minded citizens canvased the business districts and the home areas, with the result that a very fine building, called the Citizen's Civic Center, was erected.

Later a public schoolhouse was built, also financed by private contribution, large enough to accommodate about a hundred students. This building was eventually moved to Leeds, where it is still in use.

Another fire or two in the Chinese section, perhaps set by an incendiary, led the group to try some plan of organization. (The Chinese had no women with them, and it angered some of the boys that there should be white girls in the Chinese quarters, as there were at both times fires broke out.) This resulted in a protest meeting at which the whites agreed upon severe penalties for this practice. Perhaps I should add that the Harrison House was rebuilt, the second as large and fine as the first, boasting rooms for fifty men. It was pictured in the center of the advertising page of 1886.

The 1880 census is not a true picture of Silver Reef at its peak, but there were few people there in 1870, and by 1890 only 177 remained. Nor do I wish to go into detail in the study of the 1880 records; I need only a man's birthplace, occupation, and age. The total population numbered 1,112. All are listed as belonging to the white race except thirty-six Chinese, one Indian, and one Black.

Now, to me an Indian meant one of the local Utah Indians, but it seems that this one was different. Listen to Pendleton's story:

> Uncle Manuel, a Peruvian Indian, manufacturer and dispenser of ice cream, was a familiar figure at the race track and on the streets. His temperamental thin horse was known far and near. Uncle Manuel, dressed in white cap, black blouse, white pants, and yellow sash, blew his trumpet as he advanced, leading the horse attached to a white-covered cart. The horse often balked, not because his load was heavy, but from pure

cussedness. It is related that once neither beating nor stratagem changed his "stand pat" attitude. Manuel, in exasperation, gathered some brush and paper and started a fire under him. The horse did step forward, but again became contrary-minded when the blaze was under the cart. Manuel frantically extinguished the fire, hastily detached the cart from the horse, got into the shafts himself, and beat it for the race track.

While I have heard of building a fire under a stubborn burro to move it, I did not know that the practice originated here.

Still another Indian became a well-known figure in Silver Reef folklore. He was called Indian Jack, and for Michael Quirk from Ireland he was bad luck:

> Mike Quirk ran a saloon at the Reef. He sent home for his young brother Tim to come out; he might do janitor work and generally help around the bar.
>
> Now Mike himself was a large, fine-looking young man, quick-witted and jolly--a man everyone liked. Tim, on the other hand, was small at twelve years of age and retarded.
>
> One quiet day Mike went out to lunch, leaving Tim to finish his work and watch the place for an hour.
>
> Indian Jack, seeing his chance, and being consumed with a great thirst, came in and showed Tim a check worth "A lot-a-money. See! Five dollar!" And he held out a handsome "check" with green pictures and writing.
>
> Now Tim could not read, but the pictures and the black numbers looked convincing. So he made the trade: three bottles of liquor and two silver dollars from the cash box.
>
> When Mike returned he knew that he might be in trouble, for it was against the law to sell liquor to Indians.
>
> Before sundown Indian Jack's yells, whoops, and howls filled the air. His companions had lassoed him and tied him to a large boulder until he should sober up.
>
> Tim was arrested for selling liquor to an Indian; his fine was fifty dollars.
>
> Mike was much disturbed. Here he was "chated" by a blasted Indian out of five dollars, and

then fined fifty dollars for being "chated." A strange country, America. A heathen Indian, a Jewish Judge, and a Mormon lawyer (Tony Ivins) had not only robbed him of his money, but had brought shame and ridicule upon him. A strange land, America.

The check that Tim had accepted was made out on the BANK OF GOOD-WILL, and entitled the holder to Three hundred and sixty-five Days of Happiness.

There were evidently three Quirk brothers at the Reef, as this announcement in the Silver Reef Miner for 17 March 1882 will show:

> The Quirk Brothers have just received a handsome Antisell Upright Piano from San Francisco. The affable Bart will hammer the ivories, and hereafter entertain the public nightly with choice musical selections.

As for the one black in the census returns, I assume that he was "Nigger Johnson," of whom George Miles spoke a number of times:

> We called him Nigger Johnson, and he was one of the biggest, blackest men I ever saw. He was tall and strong, but he was gentle--very gentle. He was the male nurse at the hospital, helping to bring in the accident cases or the sick, or sometimes, even the dead-drunk to sober up.
>
> He could set a broken limb or massage an aching back, or persuade a child to take its medicine. As I got better acquainted with him, I thought he was one of the finest persons I had ever met. And he was a gentleman. I ate at the same table with him, and I know that he was a Good Samaritan to many people.

Perhaps the most influential man in Silver Reef was John N. Louder, who was postmaster for a time and editor of the Silver Reef Miner for nearly four years. The paper was largely advertisements, which he juggled about, placing them in different parts of the paper without changing the wording, reporting a little national news, and occasionally filling in with doggerel verse or short, pithy statements. For the election year of 1882, he reported the mass meetings of the Liberal party, of which he

where two shot each other. Two gamblers across the table from each other shot each other in a dispute as to which was cheating. Outside the courthouse, one man asked another to remove his hat and said he would meet him at the end of the case. They shot each other at close range and fell with their heels almost touching. In another case, Tom Forrest killed Mike Corbis for firing him and was in turn hanged in St. George by a posse of Mike's friends.

One man was shot by his mistress in a fit of jealous rage. He seemed to have no money--no bank account, no safety vault. Years later, when the camp was abandoned, Peter Anderson purchased his house and found the money hidden in the foundation. How much? One guess is as good as another, and Brother Anderson thought that was his own business.

But why trouble about these? Consider some of the characters there who were great human beings.

"Honest" John Cassidy treated all men with respect. His word was as good as his bond. He defended the underdog and contributed liberally to every public betterment.

Col. Enos A. Wall financed the Mandarin who came back with tea chests in which to ship home to China the bodies of his people who were buried at Silver Reef and who himself would accompany the chests and see that the contents were appropriately buried in their own home soil. By the strength of his character, Colonel Wall prevented a public hanging, after the boys had a rope all ready.

FOLKLORE AT SILVER REEF

The Frog Story

One of the bits of folklore is that of the frog which, after forty million years or so pressed flat in a sandstone ledge, was released by a dynamite blast and was immediately, on coming in contact with the air, restored to life. But it was hanging by one foot, which predicament it protested in a series of shrieks. The miners, thinking it to be a demon or his wife, fled--all but Bob Campbell, who feared neither God, man, nor devil. He went to investigate and found a slab which had burst along a seam, still hanging, and in it this frog. Bob released it and brought it out to show to his friends, but it did not live long after coming into the light and air. It was taken to John H. Cassidy's saloon, where it was put on display as the first known example of suspended animation, or a restoration of life after countless centuries.

Entertainment in Silver Reef

At one time the St. George Dramatic Association took the play East Lynne to the Reef, where it played to a packed house each night.

So realistic was it, and so well presented, that a grizzled miner, tears running down his cheeks, leaped up in the last act and pled with all the impressive words he knew: "Forgive her, man! Forgive her!!!"

On another occasion, when a number was being rendered and the name of the game seemed to have slipped the mind of the actor, a man in the audience stood to prompt him: "That's 'mumble-peg,' Sir! That's 'mumble-peg!'"

The Devil's Money

This story was told by Will Brooks, who claimed that it could be substantiated by Church records, but basically it was a family story.

Bob Lund and George Brooks, Sr., had married sisters, Rozilla and Cornelia Branch. Their husbands were at the Reef together, Bob running a grocery store and George doing the stonework on the Wells Fargo building.

Bob Lund liked to gamble a bit, and one night he had amazing good luck: he came out with $30,000 in cash. Watching the games was Tom Judd, an official in the Mormon Church. At the close of the night's play, the three men walked away together: Tom Judd, George Brooks, and Bob Lund. Immediately Judd began to lecture Bob.

"Brother Lund," he said, "I want you to quit this gambling. You've had a good streak tonight, but if you keep on you'll lose your shirt. You've got a good business here; you can make good money at that. But this is the devil's money, and it will not do you a bit of good. Now I want you to give me this devil's money and let me put it doing the Lord's work. We need money at the LaVerkin project, for the ditching and for grading and buying the trees. We aim to plant peaches, cherries, almonds, and pecans there. Also grapes. You let me take this devil's money and put it to work for the Lord, and in the end you will suffer no loss."

"You promise this in the name of the Lord?"

"I do."

So Bob handed over the money bag, stopped gambling, and had a very good business while the mines ran.

And with the devil's money, Tom Judd and others made a great success at the LaVerkin project. They also stretched it to the grape farm on the Mesquite Flat, where their Thompson seedless raisin grapes took first place at the Chicago World's Fair.

Bob Lund remained at Silver Reef until the mines closed down, then went to call on Tom Judd.

"Tom," he said, "I want my thirty thousand dollars. The railroad is having its terminal at Modina, and I want to go there and set up a receiving station. With a small hotel and boarding house, a warehouse to store the goods, and teams to deliver them, I believe I can do a good business. But I will need my thirty thousand dollars."

"Come in to the bank tomorrow morning, and I'll have it ready," Tom said.

So Bob Lund took his devil's money, returned in full without a cent of interest and not a line on paper, and invested it as he had planned. He ran a successful business at Modina, but his first firm rule among his employees was: "We have NO gambling here. The first to do it walks. All the gambling that is done in this place, I'll do myself."

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D. Tapes

Much of the most colorful folklore of Silver Reef is contained in tapes made by Patriarch George E. Miles, who lived at Silver Reef for the ten busiest years of the camp. At age fourteen he started as delivery boy for the Woolley, Lund, & Judd Store and remained until they went out of business there, when he returned to St. George.

He not only delivered groceries, but his wagon was used as a hearse to haul all the dead to the burial ground: murder victims, those who died of illness or accident, and even one dog. He was most interested in the burial rites of the Chinese who died at the Reef, and described in detail their customs.

His descriptions of the horse racing, the shooting matches, the contests in running and jumping, and the various programs ring true.

Tapes in the hands of Walter J. Miles, 225 S. 2nd E., St. George, contain much of the patriarch's early life and are being used in writing his biography. Mrs. Jessie K. Empy, also of St. George, has a tape made by George E. Miles. Probably the longest and best was given to Prof. Glen Turner of Brigham Young University. It is eloquent of conditions at Silver Reef.

E. Photographs

For those interested in Silver Reef, the Utah State Historical Society has recently acquired an amazing and valuable collection of pictures of the area.

Brigham Young's Outer Cordon -- A Reappraisal

Eugene E. Campbell

The author of a number of works on Utah and the Mormons, including, "The Mormon Gold-Mining Mission of 1849," "Authority Conflicts in the Mormon Battalion," and "The Mormons and the Donner Party," all published in Brigham Young University Studies, Professor Campbell is a noted authority on Utah and Mormon history. He is a professor of history and former chairman of that department at Brigham Young University, and for many years he was a director in the LDS Church's Institute of Religion system. In the study presented here, Professor Campbell takes issue with the commonly held belief that the outer cordon of settlements was a part of Brigham Young's plan for creating an intermountain kingdom. Though unsure whether it was a "millennial mistake or historian's pipe-dream," he presents considerable evidence that it was not part of a "planned empire." The article is also being published in the Utah Historical Quarterly.

Several more exciting titles were considered in the preparation of this paper. An early favorite was "Brigham Young's Outer Cordon:* Planned Empire, Millennial Mistake, or Historian's Pipe-dream?" A more moderate caption ended with " . . . Outposts of a Planned Empire or Haphazard Colonizing Failure?" But after hours of contemplation, the term "reappraisal" seemed safer and easier to defend.

All this is simply an introduction to the thesis of this paper, namely, that the idea of an outer circle of colonies

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*Cordon is defined simply as "an extended line as of men, ships, forts, etc."

being established by Brigham Young and the other Mormon leaders for the purpose of controlling the trails leading into the Great Basin and securing a huge empire within the area encircled by the colonies is a concept of questionable validity. A second concept closely associated with the first, that this colonizing program failed because of the invasion of Utah by the U.S. Army in 1857-58, is similarly inaccurate.

It is my contention that the so-called "outer cordon" colonies were established for a variety of reasons other than the encirclement concept and that most had failed or were in the process of failing by the time of the approach of the army. If it was a planned empire, it was conceived on a small scale, executed in a haphazard manner, and abandoned without the usual heroic efforts that characterized Mormon enterprise. It just doesn't seem like Brigham Young's style.

ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPT

There is no question concerning Brigham Young's desire to create a Mormon empire in the Great Basin region. Four days after his arrival in Salt Lake Valley, he stated that "he intended to have every hole and corner from the Bay of San Francisco known to us."[1] Later, in March 1849, he wrote, "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 to settlement and to acquiring a seaport."[2] The extensive territory included within the boundaries of the State of Deseret in 1849 is ample evidence of the plans to acquire control over an area where "scores of thousands will join us in our secluded retreat."[3]

It is also apparent that colonies were established at San Bernardino, Fort Supply, Fort Bridger, Fort Limhi, Las Vegas, Elk Mountain, and Carson Valley--all far from the headquarters in Salt Lake Valley. With such developments it seemed logical to assume that these outlying colonies were established to secure the region for further Mormon colonization. And so the "outer cordon" concept was developed.

Andrew Love Neff was the first to use the term. Earlier writers of Utah history, such as Whitney, Roberts, and Levi Edgar Young, mention the founding of the colonies but do not assert that the colonies were part of a plan to encircle and control the Great Basin region. Neff, however, was very explicit on this point when he wrote:

> Significant expansion movements between 1851 and 1857 disclose the ambition of the Mormon Church to appropriate all the advantageous agricultural regions and key points

ringing the central desert and to secure and control for the protection and accommodation of the inner group all the strategic points along the line of advance into the Intermountain regions.

The dream of an outer cordon of settlements became measurably realized with the founding of the San Bernardino colony, the Carson Valley mission, the Elk Mountain experiment, the Limhi mission, the settlement of Las Vegas, the establishment of Fort Supply, and the purchase of Fort Bridger. These key positions constituted a nucleus for a chain of settlements to bridge the caravans of Saints, and to keep down Indian uprisings.

Clearly it was the hope and expectation of the empire-building genius of the Church to strive at the occupation of the entire Intermountain region. These movements, then, were not born of the spontaneous and unrelated action of individuals, seeking their personal fortune and exercising individual prerogative, but rather were the carefully thought-out designs of the astute leaders. Efforts to colonize in these remote localities occasioned serious inconvenience and discomfort, and called for a high sense of duty and allegiance to secure the necessary membership for the execution of the project.

Especially does this out-lying cordon of settlements and posts, strategically placed, admirably reflect the plan and design to dominate and control the destiny of the empire between the Sierras and the Rockies. The sagacity manifested in the conception and comprehension of these vital projects bespeaks the ability and talent of Mormon leadership. The irresistibleness of purpose, the thoroughness and deliberateness with which the leaders planned their respective moves command admiration.[4]

Milton R. Hunter, who published an article entitled "The Mormon Corridor" in 1939 and his important book, Brigham Young, the Colonizer, in 1940, must be considered as a possible originator of the concept of encirclement for control, although he does not use the terms inner and outer cordons. But since Neff's work had been completed several years earlier, it seems

THE "OUTER CORDON" COLONIES
OREGON
Ft. Limhi
Ft. Bridger
Ft. Supply
Carson Valley
UTAH TERR.
CALIFORNIA
Elk Mountain
Las Vegas
San Bernardino
NEW MEXICO TERR.
Ft Benton
Ft Union
Ft Hall
Ft Laramie
JOHNSON'S
NEW MILITARY MAP
OF THE
UNITED STATES
State of Deseret
Territory of Utah

more likely that Hunter accepted the concept and helped to popularize it when he wrote:

> After establishing "Deseret," Brigham Young strengthened the weak spots in its geographic outline by building Fort Supply and Fort Bridger in Wyoming as controls over the eastern entrance to the Basin and as stations on the Mormon trail where the immigrating Saints could replenish their exhausted supplies preparatory to the last 125 miles of difficult mountain and canyon traveling. Carson Valley, Nevada, at the foot of the passes over the Sierra, was settled by Mormons. It served as a midway station between Salt Lake City and San Francisco on the northern route to the sea. Colonists were also sent to Moab, Grand Valley, at an opening in the southeastern boundary; others were dispatched far northward of the Mormon empire to the Salmon River in what was then Oregon and is now Idaho; and over 400 Saints settled at San Bernardino, California in 1851. Thus within eight years after arriving in the Great Basin, Brigham Young had his commonwealth surrounded with control settlements.
>
> The fact that Governor Young established San Bernardino, California in 1851, Las Vegas, Nevada (Territory of New Mexico) in 1855, and Limhi on the Salmon River in Idaho (Oregon Territory) in 1855--all founded outside Utah after Congress had reduced the size of the "State of Deseret"--is evidence that he intended not to be thwarted in his plans to control by colonization as expansive a country as possible in the Great West. But this control he intended to achieve through a legitimate, peaceable method of land settlement.[5]

It should be noted that Hunter used the term control settlements and stressed the fact that this had been accomplished within eight years after the arrival of the Mormons in the Great Basin.

More recent writers of Utah history, including Gustive O. Larson, David Miller, Everett Cooley, and Leonard Arrington, have apparently taken the outer cordon concept as an established fact. For example, Arrington wrote the following:

> Mormon colonization during the years 1847-57 went through two phases. The first phase was the founding of what has been called "the inner cordon of settlements." In addition to the settlement of the Salt Lake and Weber valleys in 1847 and 1848, colonies were founded in Utah, Tooele, and Sanpete valleys in 1849; Box Elder, Pahvant, Juab, and Parowan valleys in 1851; and Cache Valley in 1856. Settlements in all of these "valleys" multiplied with additional immigration throughout the 1850's. The second phase was an expansion beyond the immediately available cultivatable valleys with a view to ringing the commonwealth with colonies located at strategic points of interception--all of them far distant from the central bastion. Carson Valley, Nevada, was settled during the years 1849-1851; San Bernardino, California in 1851; Las Vegas, Nevada in 1855; Moab, in southeastern Utah in 1855; Fort Supply and Fort Bridger, Wyoming in 1853 and 1856; and Limhi, on the Salmon River in northern Idaho in 1855. The area encompassed within this outer cordon embraced almost a sixth of the present area of the United States. It was 1,000 miles from north to south, and 800 miles from east to west.[6]

In these accounts it has been assumed that since these colonies were established in strategic locations far distant from the initial settlement, and since it is known that the Mormon leaders planned to control and dominate this huge area, these colonies were part of a master plan to secure the region by forming an outer cordon of control settlements. However, a detailed study of the origin and development of each of these colonies reveals no such plan. On the contrary, they were established for a variety of different reasons and with varying degrees of Church approval and support. One of the colonies survived for less than three months without any real attempt to save it. Those that survived until the coming of Johnston's Army were abandoned without any real need. In Neff's words, the army afforded "a legitimate excuse for the abandonment of obviously failing endeavors."

An interesting parallel may be found in the case of Andrew Jackson and so-called Jacksonian Democracy. Regarded by many as the first great champion of democracy in the United States, Jackson has given his name to the movement which greatly increased

the involvement and interest of the common people in politics. After all, he was the first of our presidents to be born in poverty and to fulfill the American dream by gaining the presidency. And didn't he stand for the people against the Bank of the U.S., which favored the aristocratic few against the many? Yet when historian Thomas P. Abernathy made a careful study of Tennessee politics during this period, he found Jackson consistently on the side of wealth and privilege. Abernathy wrote:

> Not only was Jackson not a consistent politician, he was not even a real leader of democracy. He had no part whatever in the promotion of the liberal movement which was progressing in his own state. . . . His advisors and friends were conservatives of the old school who opposed rather than assisted the new movement.[7]

In conclusion, Abernathy wrote, "Jackson never really championed the cause of the people, he only invited them to champion his." Other studies, such as Edward Pessen's analysis of the New York working man's vote and Bray Hammond's study of the Bank episode, bear out this conclusion. A more detailed analysis of the concept by Lee Benson revealed that the term Jacksonian Democracy was misleading and assumed a strong causal relationship "between Andrew Jackson's real or symbolic role in politics, and the progress of movements dedicated to equalitarian and humanitarian ideals or objectives." "No matter how the concept is defined," wrote Benson, "as I read the source materials and analyze the data, its underlying assumptions are . . . untenable."[8]

The point of the comparison is that it is dangerous to make assumptions, even in such obvious situations as Andrew Jackson, the democrat, and Brigham Young, the colonizer. Detailed studies using primary sources must form the basis of historical conclusions.

THE SALMON RIVER MISSION

The most obvious exception to any kind of a planned cordon of colonies around the Great Basin is Fort Limhi, established by the Salmon River missionaries in 1855. It was almost 400 miles north of Salt Lake City and well beyond the boundaries of the Great Basin. It did not command any trail leading to or from the region and therefore was not in a strategic location. It just doesn't fit any of the outer cordon concept requirements.

One of my graduate students, John D. Nash, became interested

in the subject when he visited the site of Fort Limhi and read the inscription on the historical marker which quoted Brigham Young as saying, "Go into the Salmon River Country, Oregon Territory. Many tribes converge upon that area to fish and hunt. Choose an appropriate location and found a mission. Teach them the arts of husbandry and peace according to our Gospel plan."[9] He wondered why President Young had chosen such an uninviting, out-of-the-way place. In the course of his detailed study of the colony, Mr. Nash discovered that when Brigham Young had visited the settlement in May 1857 he had criticized them for going so far north. President Young asserted that they should have stopped at a point near the Blackfoot River, just north of Fort Hall, and settled there so as to be nearer their brethren in Salt Lake City. When President Young returned to Salt Lake City, he carried a bleak impression of Fort Limhi and in a public sermon criticized the general locale as well as the exact location. He said that Limhi Valley made other bleak valleys such as Malad look beautiful in comparison.

Puzzled by the apparent contradiction in Brigham Young's call as recorded on the monument and his reaction to the location after visiting it, Mr. Nash wrote to one of the leading historians in Idaho asking if he knew the documentary source for the quote on the marker. He was informed that there was no such statement in Brigham Young's journal but that "the statement attributed to Brigham Young was written by me in the manner of 'poetic licence' for placement upon a plaque at the Salmon River monument. I think it conforms nicely with the spirit and intent of the mission call."[10] A wonderful quote, but very misleading. One is led to say, "If you can't trust a historian, whom can you trust?"

The truth of the matter seems to be that the twenty-seven missionaries were called as a part of a larger Indian missionary program in the spring conference of the Mormon Church, 1855. One group of missionaries had already been called to the Santa Clara region in October 1853 and had set out on their mission in April 1854. In the 1855 conference, groups of missionaries were called to Las Vegas, Elk Mountain (Moab), and Millard County, near the present Utah-Nevada border,[11] as well as the Limhi group, whose original destination was apparently given in rather general terms, such as "the Rocky Mountains." John V. Bluth, who wrote the first significant history of the mission, maintained that they were instructed "to settle among the Flathead, Bannock or Shoshone Indians, or anywhere the tribes would receive them."[12]

The Fort Hall region would have been a logical stopping place if a "control colony" had been planned on the Oregon Trail. However, when they arrived at Fort Hall, they apparently came under the influence of Neil McArthur, ex-Hudson's Bay

Company man, who had spent the previous winter on the Salmon River and who recommended the valley as an excellent place for missionary work among the Indians.

It was only after spending the winter in the region that the missionaries sought permission to return to Salt Lake for their families with the intent to colonize the valley. There is strong evidence that President Young made the decision to make it a permanent colony after his visit in May 1857. He promised to send more settlers and encouraged the building of a new settlement two miles from the fort. Fields were divided into individual plots, whereas previously the missionaries had cultivated a common field.

The principal problem concerning the Salmon River Mission, as well as the other Indian missions, is the reason for their establishment. Was their only purpose to convert and civilize the Indians, or was this activity only preliminary to the colonizing program? There is conflicting testimony on the subject, especially as participants wrote their memoirs and gave their understanding of the motivation behind the mission. Brigham Young's clear-cut instructions to the Southern Indian missionaries in 1854 may add some light to the problem. He said:

> You are not sent to farm, build nice houses and fence fine fields, not to help the white men but to save red ones, learn their language, and this you can do more effectively by living among them as well as writing out a list of words, go with them where they go, live with them, and teach them as you can, and being thus with them all the time, you will soon be able to teach them in their own language.[13]

It seems reasonable to believe that such instructions were given to other missionaries sent out at the same time.

The colony continued to survive, despite considerable discouragement, until unexpected events led to its abandonment. The approach of the U.S. Army and the Mormon resistance to it led to widespread apprehension among the whites in the Limhi region, and these attitudes had their impact on the Indians. The burning of the government supply trains by Mormon raiders led to fear that Mormons in the Limhi region might engage in similar activity. One group of mountaineers reported that the Limhi Mormons were in high spirits over these activities and were saying that Brigham Young would save the republic and would be made president of the United States.

Relationships with the Indians deteriorated until on 25 February 1858 an estimated two hundred Indians made a raid on the fort, driving off the cattle and killing and wounding some

of the defenders. Messengers were sent to Salt Lake City for help, but they were instructed to abandon the colony. One hundred and fifty men were sent to rescue the colonists, which they did on March 23. The exodus began immediately and the Salmon River Mission came to an end. It certainly wasn't part of a carefully planned empire.

ELK MOUNTAIN

The other Indian missions had somewhat similar experiences. Forty men were called during the 1855 April Conference to begin the Elk Mountain Mission among the Indians at the Colorado River crossing where the city of Moab, Utah, is now located. Following parts of the Old Spanish Trail, as well as Gunnison's route, the missionaries finally reached the Green River, where they met some Indians. President Billings told them that "our business was to learn [sic] them the principles of the gospel and to raise grain."[14]

They had difficulty getting their cattle across the Green River in a little boat which President Billings had brought along as his wagon box. Billings wrote, "We worked nearly two days in trying to swim our cattle and only got twenty-five over. [They had 65 oxen, 16 cows, 2 bulls, and 1 calf.] We then took two at a time and towed them over with the boat, many of them would not swim a stroke, and some swam back."[15]

One large, fat ox broke its leg, which O. B. Huntington thought was a good thing because they needed beef. After a twenty-day journey, the group reached the Colorado River and, after selecting a place for a fort, held a meeting and then retired to the river and were rebaptized.

They experienced some opposition on the part of the Indians, who couldn't understand why they were building a fort if they intended to be friendly. A few days later, the Ute chief, Arapeen, came into their camp carrying mail for the missionaries. He also preached, speaking first the Ute and then the Navajo language. Other Indians spoke in favor of the Mormons, and within a week, fourteen males and one female were baptized, each being given a new name, such as Nephi, Lehi, Samuel, or Joseph, at that time.

An August 19 letter from Brigham Young to President Billings instructed the missionaries to travel and live with the Indians, except for a few to defend the fort. This message, which is similar to that given to the Southern Utah Indian missionaries, was read to the Indians and made a favorable impression on them.

Despite their success in baptizing many of the natives, the missionaries were unable to convince them that they should not steal. By September 20, President Billings reported that

the Indians had taken all the beets, part of the turnips, part of the potatoes, all the squash, and all the melons. The corn had already been cut and hauled into the fort in an effort to save it. Three days later some Indians attacked the fort, ultimately killing three missionaries, wounding President Billings, and setting fire to the missionaries' winter supply of hay and corn. The decision was made to abandon the mission, and after some harrowing experiences the survivors made their way to the Mormon settlements. The mission had lasted just three months, and no attempts were made by the Church leaders to reorganize or reclaim it. Such an effort hardly seems like a plan "to control the only other accessible entrance to the Great Basin country, that via Denver and New Mexico, along the route of the Old Spanish Trail," as asserted by Neff.[16]

LAS VEGAS

The 1855 April Conference missionary call included the names of thirty men chosen to establish an Indian mission at Las Vegas Springs. This was certainly a strategic location on the route to Southern California and would be a logical part of a plan to "have a continued line of stations and places of refreshment"[17] between Salt Lake City and San Bernardino. Yet San Bernardino had been founded in 1851, and no effort had been made to establish such a colony. George Washington Bean said that he understood the purpose of the mission was to "teach those wild Piede Indians the blessings of peace and industry and honesty and kindred principles."[18]

Isaac Haight, president of the Cedar City Stake, after visiting with the missionaries en route to Las Vegas, wrote to Erastus Snow:

> From the knowledge that I have of most of the men who compose that mission, I feel sanguine that much good will be done to better the condition of these poor and degraded sons of the desert, not only their temporary condition, by teaching them how to plow, plant, sow, etc., and raise their own living without depending upon the precarious means of subsisting on the little game that exists in the sterile regions, and of killing the cattle and horses of travelers, but also in their spiritual condition, by delivering them from the gross superstition of their fathers and bringing them to a knowledge of the covenants that the Lord made with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, with Lehi, Nephi, and Moroni.[19]

This would seem to indicate that the work with the Indians seemed to be uppermost in the missionaries' minds, or at least this was what impressed President Haight.

En route they met President Rufus Allen and four members of the Southern Utah Indian Mission who had been sent to explore the Colorado and were waiting at the Muddy River for the missionaries in order to cross the desert with them. Bean reported that members of Allen's group were baptizing Indians by the scores and hundreds and giving them new names, such as Thomas, Rufus, and Isaac.[20]

After arriving at the springs and choosing a location for a fort, the men built a bowery and held their first Sabbath meeting. President Bringhurst said that he hoped that the elders would feel the responsibility of their mission and would remember "to set an example before the Lamanites of sobriety and industry and in short, everything requisite to civilize and enlighten the degraded sons of promise."[21]

The failure at Elk Mountain led Brigham Young to write to the Las Vegas missionaries, counseling them to be patient with the Indians and asserting that he would prefer abandoning the mission than to pursue "such a course as will lead to angry and hostile feelings at every little annoyance caused by their folly, theft, etc."[22] This does not sound like instructions he would send to a group sent to colonize and hold a strategic location.

The Church leaders decided to strengthen the mission by sending twenty-nine additional men who were called at a special conference, 24 February 1856. The circumstances leading to the call were related by Heber C. Kimball in a letter to his son William. He wrote:

> There has [sic] been courts in session here for weeks and weeks, and I suppose that one hundred and fifty or two hundred of the brethren have been hanging around; with the council house filled to the brim. This scenery continuing for a long time, one day brother Brigham sent Thomas Bullock to take their names, for the purpose of giving them missions, if they had not anything to do of any more importance. So brother Brigham counseled me to make a selection--for Los [sic] Vegas some thirty . . . another company of forty eight to go to Green River . . . thirty five or so to Salmon River. . . . These are all good men but they need to learn a lesson.[23]

In addition to the calling of somewhat reluctant missionaries, life at Las Vegas was further complicated by the arrival

of some lead-mining missionaries under Nathaniel V. Jones. Jurisdictional disputes between Jones and Bringhurst broke the spirit of the mission and finally led to the disfellowshipping of President Bringhurst. The miners were successful in smelting only about 9,000 pounds of lead, being handicapped by lack of water and food, by threatening Indians, and by the presence of some substance in the ore that made it very hard. Mr. Grundy, the smelter, suspected that the substance was silver, which suspicions were verified later when the rich Potosi Silver Mines were discovered in the region.

The mining missionaries started for home on 18 February 1857, and the Indian missionaries were informed that they were free to return home on February 23. Some stayed on until September, when it was decided that the "mission should be dropped on account of the thieving disposition of the Indians."[24]

While it is true that the latter two Indian missions were located at strategic places, the evidence seems to be that they were so located because of the presence of Indians rather than because of the desire of Mormon leaders to control travel to and from the Great Basin. The missionaries built forts and planted crops in order to survive, but when the missions failed the colonies were abandoned.

Why the sudden outburst of missionary activity among the Indians? The usual answer is that the Walker War shocked the Mormon leaders into the realization that a greater effort needed to be made to civilize the Indians, resulting in the appointment of Indian farmers and Indian missionaries. While this may be true, there were other factors that may have contributed to these proselyting missions.

The year 1853 was not only the year of the Walker War but also the time of the dedication of the cornerstone of the Salt Lake Temple, which set off a wave of millennial fervor that carried over into the Mormon Reformation of 1855-56, the Utah War, and even the Civil War. One aspect of this millennial concept was expressed by Orson Pratt when he said:

> The Latter-day Saints in these mountains can never have the privilege of going back to Jackson County and building up that city which is to be called the new Jerusalem . . . until quite a large portion of the remnants of Joseph [the Indians] go back with us.[25]

Mormons believed that the conversion of the Indians would be a sign of the impending Millennium and that the native would play a vital role in assisting the Saints to redeem the Center Stake and in building the temple and the city of the New Jerusalem before the Lord's return.[26] It may be that the plan for

the Great Basin Empire was diminished by the millennial fervor of the middle 1850s in Utah.

But these Indian missions had not been instituted until 1855. What about the older colonies, such as Carson Valley, San Bernardino, and the Green River colonies at Fort Bridger and Fort Supply? Do they fit the "outer cordon" concept?

CARSON VALLEY MISSION

Situated near the eastern slopes of the massive Sierra Nevada, at the east end of the principal passes that led through the mountains to the Sacramento River Valley, Carson Valley was in a strategic position to control travel to and from that part of the Great Basin. Mormons had been through the region regularly, beginning with Samuel Brannan and Capt. James Brown, who rode through the area in August 1847 accompanied by eight or nine companions. Brown's group was the first to make a round trip through the valley, when they returned with the mustering-out pay for the sick detachments of the Mormon Battalion. Returning members of the Battalion visited the valley in September 1847, while others came through the area in the early summer, 1848.

Despite this regular contact with Carson Valley and its strategic location, especially after the discovery of gold just over the mountains in California, the Mormon Church leaders made no effort to colonize the region. It was included within the boundaries of the proposed State of Deseret and was part of the area designated as Utah territory in 1850, but the Mormon leaders made no effort to acquire or control the area. During the summer of 1850, a small trading post known as Mormon Station was established on the Carson River where the city of Genoa, Nevada, is located. But the name Mormon Station was misleading, because it is doubtful that any of the seven partners who established the post were active Mormons; and if they were, they had left the Salt Lake region against the wishes of Brigham Young. The seven men who founded the post were part of a group of eighty men who left for the California goldfields in April 1850, with Abner Blackburn as guide. Blackburn had been with Captain Brown in 1847 and had gone back to the goldfields with his brother, Thomas, in 1849. It seems likely that he was a Mormon--at least his parents were, and he was a member of the Mormon Battalion. However, he was out of harmony with Brigham Young's policy and was certainly not acting for the Church when he helped to establish Mormon Station.

When trade dwindled, the partnership dissolved, with some going to California, while the two Blackburns and Hampton Beattie decided to go to Salt Lake City by way of Fort Hall,

driving the horses they had acquired at Mormon Station. They arrived in Salt Lake City late in October 1850 and spread the word about the attractiveness of Carson Valley, including Abner Blackburn's story that there was gold in the area. This information interested Mormon merchants John and Enoch Reese, who made plans to set up a trading post in the valley. Arriving at Mormon Station in June 1851, Reese bought out a Mr. Moore, who had acquired it from the seven partners a few months earlier.

John Reese prospered but became apprehensive when he heard that the Mormon leaders planned to set up a civil government in the region. Thereupon Reese actively promoted the annexation of the valley by California.

The lack of Mormon influence in the area may be seen in a letter printed in the Deseret News in July 1853 by a Mormon visitor, Edwin D. Wooley, who reported:

> It is the most God-forsaken place that ever I was in, and as to Mormonism, I can't find it here. If the name remains, the Spirit has fled. I have my doubts whether Mormonism can exist in the country as far as I have been.[27]

It wasn't until 1855 that the Mormon leaders showed any active interest in Carson Valley, and by that time it was too late for Mormons to become the original settlers, since numerous non-Mormons had occupied the area. Carson County had been created in January 1854 by the Utah territorial legislature but was attached to Millard County for "election revenue and judicial purposes."[28] The act authorized Brigham Young to appoint a probate judge, and on 17 January 1855 he wrote to Orson Hyde, asking him to take the position and to serve as ecclesiastical leader of the Mormon community as well.

Hyde, accompanied by ten colonizing missionaries, arrived at Mormon Station in June 1855 and was very favorably impressed by the Reese establishment. He wrote to Brigham Young that "this country has been neglected quite long enough if Utah wishes to hold it. It is a great and valuable country."[29]

It was Hyde who was responsible for the Mormon effort to colonize the valley. He also recommended the establishment of a strong settlement in Ruby Valley as a halfway base which would enable the Mormons to control the area. He also recommended the exploration of the valleys to the north and east.

Hyde indicated that he felt that someone like him should stay in the valley through the winter, and he agreed to do so if Brigham Young would send him a wife. He wrote:

> But if I do stay, I want a wife with me. Either Marinder or Mary Ann or someone else,

> say sister Paschall--I will leave it to you to determine. . . . If you think it not wisdom for anyone to come to me from the Lake, may I get one here if I can find one to suit. . .?
>
> The chances to get a wife here are not very many even if a man wanted to get one in this country. Women are scarce here and good ones are are scarcer still![30]

One of Orson Hyde's wives, Mary Ann, joined him in Genoa for the winter and helped him to establish a homestead. Later, he proposed to leave Mary Ann "here with her sister, having taken up a good ranch that will do for both, and not knowing what my future destiny may be."[31]

Hyde also established a mill and became involved in other economic enterprises, both for himself and in behalf of the Church. He became convinced that the only way the Mormons could survive in the region was to gain a balance of power politically, and he urged Brigham Young to send colonizing missionaries to achieve control. Young responded with the call of about a hundred missionaries and their families in April Conference, 1856. The colonizing groups, numbering approximately 250, left for Carson Valley in the middle of May and most had reached their destination by July 2. Their arrival increased the apprehensions of the non-Mormon settlers who had already expressed their opposition to Mormon dominance by petitioning that the region be annexed to California. Matters became worse when the Mormon officials became involved in trying to help John Reese collect debts from the non-Mormons and were resisted by force of arms. Hyde felt that Reese's claims were questionable and urged him to cease litigation. When Reese continued to "refuse counsel," he was excommunicated from the Church.

Hyde seemed to have learned little from his past experience with Mormon-gentile antagonisms. On October 16 he wrote to Brigham Young:

> The old citizens, that is a portion of them have become highly mobocratic. They are going to regulate all matters. They are going to lynch the assessor and collector till he pays back any taxes that he may have collected and costs that have been paid in any law case must be refunded. No man that is a Mormon can live who has more than one wife, everything must be regulated; and to this end they are said to be enlisting the Indians. They already have

from six to ten, and they say they intend to bring 300. This is the talk.[32]

Hyde's solution was for the Mormon leader to send more men, but when he received a letter authorizing him to appoint a new probate judge and to return to Salt Lake City, he quickly settled his affairs and left the valley on 6 November 1856, never to return.

His successor, Chester Loveland, was instructed in a letter sent 3 January 1857 to be "wise and prudent" and was counseled to try to live in peace and without contention; but if that was impossible, the missionaries should dispose of their property and return to Salt Lake City. President Young made it clear that he did not intend to send any more missionaries to the region.[33]

A period of uncertainty followed, filled with rumors that the mission would be called home soon. A letter sent on June 3 by Brigham Young informed Chester Loveland that "you were not and are not recalled from your mission, only as in all places and at all times if there be any who would rather not stay, let them return to this place."[34] The letter was not received until August, and by September 5 the missionaries received word that they were all recalled because of the approach of the U.S. Army.

So ended the Carson Valley Mission. It seems obvious that it does not fit the "outer cordon" concept. It was not colonized initially by the Mormon leaders, despite their knowledge of its strategic location. The Church became involved only when the political situation obligated it to act. Orson Hyde was responsible for the effort to gain control of the county in 1856. The people were opposed to Mormon control before Hyde was appointed, and they became more antagonistic when missionaries were sent to hold the region.

It appears that President Young was ill-advised to try to take over the region after it was already inhabited, and that he recognized his mistake when he heard of the violent resistance to actions of elected Mormon officials. He counseled wisdom and prudence which would lead to peaceful relations or withdrawal of the mission, and refused to strengthen the colony by sending more missionaries. If it was a part of an "outer cordon" plan, it was characterized by a late start and a weak finish.

SAN BERNARDINO

The San Bernardino colony seems to fit both the "Mormon corridor" and "outer cordon" concepts. It was to be the terminal

point of a line of settlements leading to the Pacific Coast and would be in a strategic location to control the southwestern route leading into the Great Basin.

The founders of the colony, Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich, had been sent to California in 1849 to look after the interests of the Church there. Lyman had been in California several months when Rich arrived with a letter from Brigham Young instructing the two apostles to investigate Sam Brannan, collect tithes, receive donations for the perpetual emigration fund, and

> take into consideration the propriety or impropriety of continuing to hold an influence in western California by our people remaining in the region, and if so, to gather them into healthy locations in communities together, that they might be able to act in concert and receive instructions with facility; otherwise, to gather up all that are worth saving and return to the valley with all speed.[35]

Elder Lyman was also instructed to obtain all information possible in relation to good locations for a chain of settlements from Salt Lake to the Pacific Coast.

After spending several weeks contacting members in the goldfields, Lyman reported to the First Presidency that "the only suitable place for a colony of the brethren is in the southern part of the state."[36]

Historian Andrew Jensen stated that Brigham Young had received many suggestions as to the desirability of establishing a colony in Southern California, had resisted because he desired all the Saints to gather in the valleys of the Rocky Mountains, but finally yielded the point and waived his objections. On 23 February 1851, a number of missionaries were called to various missions, including Lyman and Rich to Southern California.[37]

In his journal, President Young recorded a number of reasons for such a colony:

> Elders Amasa M. Lyman and C. C. Rich, with some twenty others, having received my approbation in going to Southern California, were instructed by letter to select a site for a city or station, as a nucleus for a settlement, near Cajon Pass, in the route already commenced from this place to the Pacific; to gather around them the Saints in California; to search out the best route, and establish as far as possible the best location for stations between Iron County and California, in view of a mail route to the

> Pacific; to cultivate grapes, sugar cane, cotton, and other desirable fruits and products; to obtain information concerning the Tehuantepec route, or any other across the isthmus, or the passage around the Cape Horn, with a view to the gathering of the Saints from Europe; to plant the standard of salvation in every country and kingdom, city and village, on the Pacific and the world over, as fast as God should give the ability.[38]

The colony got off to a bad start, as far as Brigham Young was concerned, when the colonists gathered at Peeteneet Creek (Payson) in preparation for the journey. President Young, who came to bid farewell to approximately twenty pioneers, was so upset when he found 437 "Saints running to California, chiefly after the God of this world" that he was unable to address them.[39]

Disappointment awaited them in California, for when Lyman and Rich arrived at Isaac Williams's Chino Ranch, which had been offered for sale at a very reasonable price, they found that Williams had changed his mind and refused to sell. In desperation, they finally agreed to pay the Lugo brothers $77,500 for the Rancho del San Bernardino. They traveled to contact the Mormons in the goldfields to secure a down payment, and agreed to pay an extremely high rate of interest on the balance. This burden of dept plagued the apostles for the next six years until they were recalled by Brigham Young and succeeded in passing the burden to Ebenezer Hanks.

Despite the inauspicious beginning and the heavy indebtedness, the community prospered, attracting many of the group that had migrated to San Francisco with Sam Brannan, as well as men of the Mormon Battalion and a few from the goldfields. By 1856 it was estimated to have a population of over 3,000, which made it the second largest Mormon colony, exceeded only by Salt Lake City, and considerably larger than Ogden or Provo.[40] Judge Benjamin Hayes, a non-Mormon from Los Angeles, visited the settlement in 1854 and gave the following report:

> This city continues to flourish steadily. It is certainly one of the best, if not the very best tract of land in California; well-wooded, with abundance of water, and the soil adapted to every species of culture. This year the wheat was raised in a common field, amounting to near 4,000 acres, and averaging thirty-two bushels to the acre. They have a fine flouring mill in operation and the streams from the mountains

might turn the machinery of the largest manufacturing town in the whole world. This rancho alone would comfortably sustain 100,000 souls and the neighboring ranchos as many more. At least one hundred new buildings have been put up within the last four months, principally adobe--some of them very fine. We noticed particularly the mansion of President Lyman and the new hotel of our excellent host, Bishop Crosby. Already about two-thirds of the city lots have been sold. There is a great demand for mechanics, particularly carpenters, whose wages are $3.00 per day. Very soon they expect to begin building with brick.[41]

Despite this prosperity, Brigham Young continued to discourage Utah Saints from going to California. In a letter to John Eldridge of Fillmore in July 1854, President Young said, "If it so be that nothing else can satisfy your feelings but to go to San Bernardino, why go--and do the best you can, and do not complain if you see the day that you wish to return to this country more, and are less able than now."[42]

In March 1855 Brigham Young made one attempt to relieve the brethren of the burden of debt by trying to organize a cattle drive in Utah, as described in the following circular:

CIRCULAR

To the presidents, Bishops, their Counselors, and all the brethren in the Various Branches of the Church in the Vallies of the Mountains:

DEAR BRETHREN

Having received information concerning the situation of our brethren, AMASA LYMAN, CHARLES C. RICH, and those who located with them at San Bernardino, in relation to their circumstances as regards paying for, and securing the title to that place, we feel to lay the matter before you, and ask your aid therein.

They purchased the ranch when times were considered good, and agreed to pay therefore seventy-seven thousand dollars, some fifty-two thousand of which has been paid including the interest--leaving a balance of thirty-eight thousand which has to be paid the ensuing season, or they will lose the place together with all they have paid.

> Owing to the scarcity of money in that country, and the hardness of the times, our brethren have no prospect of being able to meet this debt in time to save the ranch, we have, therefore assumed to help them raise the required amount.
>
> It is to this end that we address this circular to you, that we may receive your assistance to accomplish this object.
>
> We propose to drive sufficient cattle to California in order to obtain the means that we cannot raise in this Territory, and make up the deficiency the brethren of the ranch cannot supply; and we wish the brethren to let us have money, cows and oxen as they can spare, either on tithing or as a loan until the property of the ranch be made available to refund it.
>
> It is required of all the aforesaid authorities to collect and forward to the Trustee in Trust.[43]

Apparently there was little positive response to this request, for there is no record of such a drive being made or of any follow-up on the project by President Young. The debt remained, as evidenced by the call at the June Conference in San Bernardino of elders to go "to every county in California and preach the Gospel and to raise $35,000, the amount yet due on the mortgage."[44]

By this time the colony was suffering from other problems, which became so serious that Brigham called his apostles home and wrote the colony off as a failure several months before he became aware of the approach of the United States Army. These difficulties included the loss, by a California court ruling, of over half of the land purchased; troubles with squatters on the land they retained; apostasy within the ranks, primarily because of the theocratic political practices; difficulties in their relationship with the Indians; and anti-Mormon sentiment in the region because of polygamy, among other things.

Brigham Young, in addressing the 1857 April Conference of the Church in Salt Lake City, gave his estimate of the situation as follows:

> We are in the happiest situation of any people in the world. We inhabit the very land in which we can live in peace; and there is no other place on earth that the Saints can now live without being molested. Suppose for instance, that you go to California. Bros. Charles C. Rich and

> Amasa Lyman went and made a settlement in Southern California, and many were anxious that the whole church should go there. If we had gone there, this would have been about the last year any of the Saints could stay there. They would have been driven from their homes. Were he here to tell you the true situation of that place, he would tell you that Hell reigns there, and it is just about time for himself and every true Saint to leave the land.[45]

Before making this prediction, President Young had informed Lyman and Rich that they had been called to serve the Church in Europe and were required to wind up their affairs in San Bernardino. No leader was sent to replace them, and a few months later, when word was received of the approach of the U.S. Army, orders were sent to "forward the Saints to the valleys as soon as possible," thus ending the official Church connection with the colony.

This was a particularly tragic loss to the Church, because a considerable number of the colonists refused to obey the call and an estimated five percent of those who did obey the Church leaders returned to San Bernardino within a year or two, including Stake President Seeley. These people were regarded as "apostates," and no effort was made to reclaim them.

The colony fits the "outer cordon" concept as to location, but there was something strange about Brigham Young's relationship to it. He was apprehensive about the project in the beginning and approved it against his better judgment. When it began to fail, his conference address seemed to have an "I told you so" attitude in it. It would not be fair to say that he wanted it to fail; but he did not give it financial support, he never visited it (even though it was the largest Mormon settlement outside of Salt Lake City), and he recalled both of the leaders at the same time without replacing them. If he had any real plans for including Southern California in his empire, he must have abandoned them long before the coming of Johnston's Army made it seem mandatory. Perhaps he finally realized that Mormonism required isolation or dominion in order to survive.

FORT BRIDGER AND FORT SUPPLY

The acquisition of Fort Bridger and the building of Fort Supply seem to fit the "outer cordon" concept more clearly than any of the other colonies, with the possible exception of San Bernardino, but even this case presents some problems.

Hunter's assertion that "after establishing Deseret, Brigham Young strengthened the weak spots in the geographic

outline by building Ft. Supply and Ft. Bridger in Wyoming as controls over the eastern entrance to the Great Basin"[46] is of very questionable validity for two reasons: first, Fort Bridger was not built by the Mormons but acquired by purchase after a Mormon posse had forced Bridger from his domain; and, second, Fort Supply was built only as an emergency measure because of mountain men who were occupying Fort Bridger and refused to give up the post when the Mormon colonizers arrived.

Fort Bridger, on Black's Fork, the third outpost the old mountaineer had been involved in, was built in 1843 in partnership with Louis Vasquez. Chittenden maintained that it was the first trading post built beyond the Mississippi for the convenience of emigrants and was second only to Fort Laramie in importance as a stopping place on the Oregon trail.[47]

It became very important to the Mormons when they determined to settle in Salt Lake Valley and chose to follow the Hastings Cut-off in order to get there. Fort Bridger was the take-off point--exactly one hundred miles from Salt Lake Valley. During the decade from 1847 until it was destroyed in 1857, Mormon immigrants stopped at the post.

Mormon relations with Bridger, though friendly at first, began to deteriorate early when Brigham Young became convinced that Bridger was stirring up the Indians against the Mormons and was violating the law by selling arms, ammunition, and liquor to them. These difficulties culminated in the attempted arrest of Bridger by a Mormon posse of 150 men, which arrived at the post early in September 1853 only to find Bridger gone. He returned in November, made a survey of his claims (which later were filed in both Salt Lake City and Washington, D.C.), and then moved his family to settle in Jackson County, Missouri.

In an apparent attempt to consolidate their gains in the Fort Bridger area, the Mormon leaders called Orson Hyde as leader to establish a permanent settlement at Fort Bridger, with the aid of thirty-nine other missionaries. They organized themselves as the Green River Mission in January 1854 and set out for Fort Bridger under the direction of Capt. John Nebeker. Orson Hyde remained in Salt Lake City in order to recruit an additional company of fifty-three men, which left Salt Lake City just three days after the first company had arrived at Fort Bridger. Finding Fort Bridger occupied by about a dozen angry mountain men, and learning that there were others in the vicinity, the missionaries decided not to try to settle in an occupied region and wandered through the snow about twelve miles southwest of Fort Bridger, where weather conditions forced them to stop at Willow Creek. They were joined there by the second group, and together they built Fort Supply. Apparently the location was not too attractive, for Hosea Stout stated:

> It is the most forbidding and godforsaken place I have ever seen for an attempt to be made for a settlement and judging from the altitude I have no hesitancy in predicting that it will yet prove a total failure but the brethren here have done a great deal of labor. . . . Elder Hyde seems to have an invincible repugnance to Fort Supply.[48]

However, despite the questionable location and the difficulty of raising crops at such a high altitude, the Mormon leaders tried to secure the post by calling more families to the settlement. About twenty-five families responded, arriving during the last part of April 1856.

Shortly after the founding of Fort Supply, Orson Hyde followed Brigham Young's instructions by organizing part of his company to do missionary work among the Indians. The young men among the colonists were instructed to marry the native girls, if the Indians would permit it, and to choose the young daughters of the chief and leading men.[49] Very few followed this counsel, however. The missionaries had some success, for during the July 24 celebration some converted Indians marched in the parade bearing the banner "We are becoming white and delightsome." But there is the usual story of thieving and malicious destruction of Mormon crops. Isaac Bullock summed it up when he wrote:

> I wish much you would say whether a city would be better at Fort Supply or a fort? Also give us your suggestions as to the proper size. Most of the brethren seem to prefer a city, but to your council [sic] I am sure they will yield a willing obedience.[50]

Plans were made to change Fort Supply into a permanent colony, and a site was laid out in June 1857 some three miles north of the fort, thus being closer to Fort Bridger. Some fifteen or sixteen houses were built by late summer of 1857, but the project was ended by the coming of Johnston's Army.

In the meantime, Lewis Robinson, acting for the Church, had reached an agreement with Bridger and Vasquez for the purchase of Fort Bridger and completed the transaction on 3 August 1855. After purchasing the post and occupying it, the Mormon leaders did try to control the route into the Great Basin by directing non-Mormon groups to the several shortcuts to Fort Hall, hoping to use the limited supplies at the fort for the benefit of immigrant groups. They were also interested in the Indians and made considerable headway in their efforts

with the Shoshone under the leadership of Washakee. Robinson wrote:

> As a matter of course they were very hungry. I killed a beef for them and gave them some flour and other things. They were anxious to have me meet them at Plat River at the mouth of Sweetwater to trade this coming winter. They say next year they are coming to the valley with their big chief to see the President.[51]

When news of the approaching army was received, Brigham Young was of the opinion that it wouldn't get past Fort Laramie before winter set in, and so informed the people at Forts Bridger and Supply. However, by 16 September 1857 the missionaries were advised that part of the army was at Hams Fork and must not be permitted to come any farther. Less than two weeks later the families were sent to Salt Lake City, and on 3 October 1857 both Fort Bridger and Fort Supply were set on fire by the Mormon colonists and the Green River settlements came to an end.

The occupation of Bridger had been motivated by a desire to control the area as well as to serve as a base for Mormon immigration and missionary work among the Indians and as a way station for transportation and communication enterprises between Salt Lake City and the Missouri River. Missionary work among the Indians seemed as important a motivation as control of a strategic area. Most important, however, was the fort's usefulness, for the short period of Mormon occupation, as a resting and supply station for the steady stream of Mormon immigrants, before the last hundred-mile trek through the Wasatch Mountains to the Mormon Zion.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Was there such a thing as an outer cordon of colonies? The colonies were there, of course, but did they form an outer line of a planned empire? Were they designed to be outposts guarding the entrances to a vast region to be inhabited only by the Mormons? The detailed analysis of each of these colonies reveals no such plan, and even if such a plan existed secretly in the minds of the Mormon leaders the execution was extremely ineffective. There can be little doubt that they hoped to gain control over the vast region when they first entered the Great Basin. Statements by Brigham Young and other leaders reveal such desires, and the boundaries of the State of Deseret confirm the hope. But all of the colonies listed as part of the outer cordon were established after the State of Deseret had

been rejected by Congress and the greatly reduced Territory of Utah created. San Bernardino, the earliest of the colonies, was within the boundaries of the State of Deseret and could have been part of such a plan. But the failure of Brigham Young to support the colony, his early decision to recall the leaders, and his "I told you so" attitude in 1857 bring the whole concept under suspicion.

The Green River settlements, Fort Supply and Fort Bridger, seem to fit the concept of the outer cordon, but the execution of the plan seems very weak indeed. Fort Bridger would have to be the key post in an "outer cordon" plan because it commanded the entrance to the Great Basin Empire most likely to be used by non-Mormons moving westward. Yet the first colonizers let themselves be frightened off by a handful of mountain men and settled in an unattractive spot where they spent their entire effort trying to establish an agricultural base and attempting to convert the Indians.

Carson Valley, also a very strategic spot in any outer cordon plan, did not receive official Mormon attention until political troubles required action. This attempt to gain control by calling missionaries to colonize the region came too late to be effective and was based on the personal feelings and ambitions of Orson Hyde. It created the same type of antagonism that the Mormons had experienced in Missouri and Illinois and would have been withdrawn even if the approach of the U.S. Army had not made it seem imperative.

The Indian missions appear to have been designed primarily for the purpose of converting the natives. Fort Limhi's location could be explained only on such a basis, but it gradually became a colonizing venture and might have become a permanent settlement if the "Utah War" had not occurred. Its location certainly makes a distortion in any outer line of colonies, however.

The Elk Mountain Mission occupied a strategic spot, but the brief attempt to locate there without any follow-up rules out any serious plan to control the area. Las Vegas too was a strategic location, and one wonders why the Mormons left it, despite the mining failure and Indian backsliding and antagonism. The failure to establish a permanent colony there brings into question the whole "Mormon corridor" concept. The fact that the missionaries were recalled before the coming of the U.S. Army casts a cloud of doubt over the empire concept. It was so important to an empire scheme as an oasis in the desert and a halfway station on the California trail that it should have been colonized no matter what the cost. But minor difficulties with the Indians and personality clashes in the leadership led to the abandonment of the project. Hardly a serious effort to establish and hold a most strategic spot.

My conclusion of the matter must be that the outer cordon concept, while it may have been part of an early dream on the part of the Mormon leaders, was executed only in the minds of historians. It is a historical assumption without a careful investigation of the facts.

But was there something of a millennial mistake also? Were the Indian missions organized because of a sense of impending doom and judgment? These are hard questions with no easy answers. There seemed to be perfectly practical reasons for sending missionaries to convert and "civilize" the Indians. The Walker War must have enhanced the desire for peaceful relations with the native inhabitants. Religious and humanitarian feelings must have prompted the leaders and missionaries to try to help their "benighted brethren." But why the all-out effort right at this time? Was there a millennial fervor pervading the atmosphere?

The dedication of the cornerstone of the Salt Lake Temple in 1853 did result in millennial prophesying, and the Reformation beginning in 1855 had a millennial emphasis. It is quite possible that the preaching was more an attempt to stimulate righteous living than an actual warning of the impending Millennium. Orson Pratt's statement in May 1855 concerning Christ's second coming, to the effect that he would give it as his opinion based on revelations that "this event is nearer than this people are aware of,"[52] does not seem too explicit.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study may seem like sort of a tempest in a teapot. What does it matter whether Brigham Young's outer cordon was a planned empire that failed or a dream that was never really tried, even though usually reliable historians have asserted that it was? What difference does it make? Perhaps not much in the eternal scheme of things, but it is an exercise in historical criticism and points up the need for a careful examination of every historical concept that forms the basis for our opinions, feelings, and judgments if we want those attitudes to be based upon truth or at least upon a closer approach to the truth.

It may also help us to see Brigham Young, the colonizer, in a different light. He was also a man with his dreams and visions, who was forced to modify or abandon them when confronted with the realities of geography, politics, lack of resources, personality conflicts and limitations, and the opposition of other forces. It may be that the failure of most of his outer colonies, along with the Utah War, which justified his recalling those that were still functioning, was a blessing

in disguise. It gave him the opportunity to make a new start in colonizing the regions nearer to the headquarters and establishing his Mormon empire on a more sound and realistic foundation, which was able to survive and grow despite overwhelming opposition. Certainly his great record of colonizing achievement will survive this study of a few failures.

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2. "Journal History of the Church," 9 March 1847, LDS Archives.

3. Ibid., 6 April 1850.

4. Andrew Love Neff, History of Utah, 1847 to 1869 (Salt Lake City, 1940), pp. 217-18. Neff seems to be the originator of this concept, although there is some problem in identifying this responsibility because of Leland H. Creer's role as editor and annotator of History of Utah, published four years after Neff's death. Creer credits Neff with most of the material in the book, including the first eight chapters, which were based on Neff's doctoral dissertation, written at the University of California in 1918. However, the outer cordon concept is found in chapter 12, which Creer lists as one that included "some material of his own research." An examination of Creer's later publication, The Founding of an Empire: The Exploration and Colonization of Utah, 1776-1856 (Salt Lake City, 1947), reveals that Creer has included the outer cordon concept but has not elaborated on it to the extent found in Neff's work.

5. Milton R. Hunter, Brigham Young, the Colonizer, 3rd ed. (Independence, Mo., 1945), pp. 66-67. The puzzling thing about Hunter's attitude is that he was aware of the failure at Elk Mountain and of the fact that the Church had nothing to do with the settlement of Carson Valley until 1855, and yet he still fosters the outer cordon concept.

6. Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900 (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 84-85.

7. Thomas P. Abernathy, "Andrew Jackson and the New Democracy," in Jacksonian Democracy, ed. by James L. Bugg, Jr. (New York, 1962), pp. 60-61.

8. Lee Benson, "The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy," in Eight Issues in American History, ed. by David Potter and Curtis Grant (Glenview, Ill., 1966), pp. 55-56.

9. Copied from the front plaque of the monument at Fort Limhi, Idaho.

10. Letter to John D. Nash, 25 July 1966. Copy in author's possession. Mr. Nash's article on "The Salmon River Mission of 1855," published in Idaho Yesterdays (Spring 1967), is the source of much of the information on Fort Limhi.

11. Missionaries were also assigned to tribes in what is now Oklahoma, and the colonizing missionaries in Carson Valley and Fort Bridger were instructed to do missionary work among the Indians. An expedition was sent to the White Pine area, near the present Utah-Nevada border, but no attempt was made to establish a mission there.

12. John V. Bluth, "The Salmon River Mission," Improvement Era, 3 (September and October 1900):803.

13. Juanita Brooks, ed., Journal of the Southern Indian Mission: Diary of Thomas D. Brown (Logan, 1972), pp. 29-30. It should be noted that the missionaries at Limhi, Elk Mountain, and Las Vegas felt compelled to build forts and fence in their fields in order to survive and that these actions led to antagonism on the part of the Indians. It may also have led to the idea that these missions were intended to be colonies.

14. Alfred N. Billings Diary, p. 3, holograph, Brigham Young University Library, Provo.

15. Deseret News, 1 August 1855.

16. Neff, History of Utah, p. 236.

17. Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, 15 July 1851.

18. Flora D. B. Horne, comp., Autobiography of George Washington Bean and His Family Records (Salt Lake City, 1945), p. 115.

19. Wesley R. Law, "Mormon Indian Missions--1855" (MS thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959), p. 43.

20. Horne, Autobiography of George Washington Bean, p. 118.

21. Law, "Mormon Indian Missions," p. 46.

22. Ibid., pp. 55-56.

23. Ibid., p. 61. One of the complaints of the Godbeites in 1868 was the Church policy of calling people on missions to punish or discipline them.

24. Law, "Mormon Indian Missions," p. 79.

25. Orson Pratt, 7 February 1875, in Journal of Discourses, 26 vols. (Liverpool, 1854-86), 17:301.

26. Louis Reinwand, "An Interpretive Study of Mormon Millennialism during the Nineteenth Century" (MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971), p. 43.

27. Deseret News, 30 July 1853.

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29. Hyde to Young, 19 June 1855, in Page, "Orson Hyde and the Carson Valley Mission, 1855-57," p. 36.

30. Ibid., p. 44.

31. Ibid., p. 64.

32. Ibid., p. 90.

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36. "Journal History of the Church," 30 September 1849, LDS Archives.

37. Andrew Jenson, "Introduction to the Journal History of the San Bernardino Mission," vol. 1, manuscript, LDS Archives.

38. "History of Brigham Young," 23 March 1851, manuscript, LDS Archives.

39. Ibid.

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41. Joseph S. Wood, "The Mormon Settlement in San Bernardino, 1857" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1967), p. 116.

42. Brigham Young Letter File No. 1, July 1854, pp. 468-69, manuscript, LDS Archives.

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47. Hiram M. Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West (New York, 1935), p. 475.

48. Frederick Ross Gowans, "A History of Fort Bridger from 1841-1858" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1972), p. 111.

49. Ibid., p. 125.

50. Ibid., p. 118.

51. Ibid., p. 172.

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. . . it is almost incredible the number of Indians in this quarter. . .

Peter Skene Ogden Discovered Indians

David E. Miller

Best known for his work on Western exploration and colonization, Professor Miller, who with his son edited the 1827-29 Ogden journals, here examines the information on Indians from Ogden's journals. This data is especially important because of the recent controversy over the Indians' population of United States before white colonization. Wilbur Jacobs and others have argued that the numbers historians and anthropologists heretofore believed to have lived in the area have been far underestimated. Interestingly enough, evidence supplied by Ogden is inconclusive. Although he frequently mentions large numbers of Indians, only on rare occasions does he supply "exact" figures or estimates of numbers found in any location. Just what would be considered "numberous" to a couple of dozen trappers is left open for speculation. Ogden explored the areas along river courses which by their nature ought to have been most populated and found a high death rate, especially among the children, and particularly during the long, hard winters. Since the region in which Ogden first contacted Indians included parts of the states of Oregon, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, and California, his journals provide an important source for a demographic study of the native Americans.

PROLOGUE

On 29 November 1847 Marcus Whitman, his wife Narcissa, ten additional white men, and four children were murdered in cold blood by Cayuse Indians at Waiilatpu--the Whitman mission, located on the Walla Walla River in southeastern Washington. Forty-seven persons, including thirty-four children, eight

women, and five men were also taken captive. The whole Northwest was horrified--terrified--as the story of this atrocity spread like wildfire to every settlement of the Far West.

News of the massacre reached Fort Vancouver on December 6, exactly a week after the bloody deed had been committed. At that time Peter Skene Ogden was chief factor--top ranking officer--for Hudson's Bay Company at the fort. His many years of experience in dealing with the natives had taught Ogden what treatment likely awaited the hostages. Every effort must be exerted to free them.

Realizing the importance of prompt action, Ogden wasted no time in making preparations. December 7 found him en route to the mission, where he arrived on December 19. Five days later he had assembled various Indian chiefs and had convinced them that all captives must be released. Within a few days he was escorting the rescued people downstream toward Fort Vancouver and Oregon City.

This incident, coming near the end of his colorful career, demonstrates not only that Ogden had learned how to deal effectively with Indians but that he had also gained the respect of the natives. He was perhaps the only man in the West who had the ability to bring that bloody affair to an end without further loss of life.

By the time of the Whitman massacre Ogden had learned a great deal about the great Northwest and the Indians who lived there. Much of his knowledge and experience had grown during his active years as leader of the Snake Country Expeditions, 1824-30. Company policy required the expedition leader to keep a daily journal of the brigade's activities; Ogden fulfilled that assignment as capably as he did the other tasks associated with his job. It is from his journals that information for the present report is taken.[1]

INTRODUCTION

Peter Skene Ogden's journals covering his four Snake Country Expeditions provide a great deal of information, significant to the history of the Far West. In 1825 and again in 1828-29 his brigades brought him into northern Utah. His excellent daily journals covering those expeditions (plus the 1824-25 journal and map of his chief clerk, William Kittson) give us the earliest eyewitness written descriptions of northern Utah. Certainly Ogden and his men and women were not the first whites known to have penetrated the northern part of the Beehive State, but none of the earlier visitors kept a journal--at least none has yet turned up. Thus the Ogden and Kittson journals are as important to northern Utah as the Vélez de Escalante journal is to the eastern, central, and southern portions of the state.

In addition to descriptions of the daily progress and activities of a huge fur brigade--Ogden's 1824-25 expedition numbered 131 people (including 35 women) with 250 horses--the journals contain the earliest use of the word cache in relation to fur deposits in the valley that now bears that name, the earliest mention of pelicans, seagulls, and crickets (later to become interestingly associated with Mormon history), and positive proof that Ogden and his men were the first whites to enter the valley that now bears his name--the Liberty, Eden, Pineview, and Huntsville area, not North Ogden or Ogden City. Ogden called Ogden valley New Hole, and the stream that waters and drains it New River, both of which soon took their discoverer's name. Incidentally, just before crossing the forty-second parallel Ogden also identified the 1824-25 American campsite at present Franklin, Idaho, from which James Bridger probably conducted his exploration to discover Great Salt Lake.

Ogden's 1826-27 brigade struck a western course from Oregon's Malheur Lake (which long bore the name of "Sylvaille's Lake," in honor of Antoine Sylvaille, one of Ogden's men) to reach and name Pit River in northeastern California, having explored and described the Klamath Lake and river area en route. During the same expedition Ogden also sighted and named Mount Shasta.

In 1828-29, at the head of his fourth Snake Country Expedition, after having led the brigade through southeastern Oregon via the east base of Steens Mountain (where he also explored the Alvord Desert), Ogden crossed the forty-second parallel into present Nevada near the present site of Denio and went on to reach Humboldt River at its big bend just north of present Winnemucca, having discovered and explored Quinn River en route.

During that season he and his men explored and trapped the Humboldt and all its tributaries.

Having reaped a rich harvest of furs on the Humboldt in 1828-29, Ogden's last Snake Country expedition (1829-30) struck a southward course from the Humboldt Sink in search of additional beaver streams, which the brigade's leader felt must surely be located in that unexplored region. Because a tragic accident at the Dalles of the Columbia in July 1830 resulted in the loss of the journal covering that expedition (as well as the drowning of a dozen persons), details of it are lacking. But letters and other incidental references indicate that the British brigade explored Walker River and Lake and Owens River and Lake and penetrated as far south as the Mojave River (and possibly even to the Gulf of California) before returning to Fort Nez Perces by way of the Great Valley of California, Pit River, and Malheur Lake.

Thus the Ogden journals provide the earliest written eyewitness descriptions not only of northern Utah but also of northern Nevada, southern Oregon, and parts of northern California.

It is from the Ogden journals that we finally get a true and detailed account of the Anglo-American competition for control of the whole "Oregon Country," much of which was somewhat shrouded in mystery prior to the publication of these records. Of special importance is information dealing with the famous British-American clash of 1825--when the "cold fur war" nearly exploded into a hot shooting war. Until the first Ogden journal was published in 1950, not even the most astute historians had guessed that the fracas had occurred so far south--at present Mountain Green, on Weber River, appropriately labeled Deserter Point on William Kittson's map.

Truly, Peter Skene Ogden was one of the West's most widely traveled trapper-explorers. His major assignment was to "ruin" the area as far as beaver supply was concerned and by so doing discourage American trappers from penetrating into the Pacific Northwest then in joint Anglo-American occupation. Although Ogden was not in harmony with this "scortched stream" Hudson's Bay policy, as that company's chief trader he did his best to carry it out.

In addition to all of his other contributions, Ogden "discovered" numerous widely scattered Indian tribes. His journals contain the earliest descriptions of many of them and provide interesting details regarding their ways of life.

OGDEN'S INDIAN RELATIONS

During Ogden's long years of experience as a "Northwester" and later as a partner in Hudson's Bay Company he was almost constantly in contact with Indians of various tribes. Some he came to trust, others he despised, and still others he respected and feared. Ogden appreciated the fact that the Flatheads[2] were especially friendly and generally eager for trade. There is evidence that his wife, Julia, was of that tribe. In the introduction to Traits of American Indian Life and Character, Ogden, after briefly describing Indians in general, simply asserts:

> If the author can be said to have any preference for one of these swarthy clans before another, it is possibly for the chivalrous "Flatheads" who "have never been known to shed the blood of a whiteman" and are as brave as the "Crows" and "Blackfeet," their hereditary enemies.[3]

Since his company relied heavily on Indian trade, Ogden naturally recorded favorable reports about the friendly Flatheads.

The Nez Perces[4] and Cayuse[5] supplied most of the horses for the various Snake Country expeditions. When we realize that

each trapper required at least four horses to successfully pursue his trade, we appreciate likewise the importance of maintaining favorable and peaceful relations with those tribes. Hudson's Bay's friendly relations with those Indians had already been well established before Ogden took command of the Snake Country brigades, and he certainly did everything necessary to maintain that relationship.

It was his dealings with other tribes--such as Snakes and Blackfeet--that prompted Ogden ultimately to record a rather bitter denunciation of Indians in general. He came to despise the Snakes for their slothful, thieving habits; he half respected and feared the Blackfeet for their cunning, bravery, and warlike tendencies. In denouncing these warlike tribes, Ogden wrote this graphic description:

> To surprise the weary traveller in the security of his sleep, to attack a camp in some luckless moment when discipline is for a moment relaxed; or least of all, to rob the armed traders and trappers of their stray pack-horses, these predatory bands will follow them through wood and revine for weary days and nights, lurking with untiring patience in the bushes, like beasts of prey or peering from the crevices of the rocks till the yell of their sudden onset renders concealment no longer possible or necessary.[6]

In reporting clashes between white trappers and Indians, Ogden was most perturbed if such a fight resulted in the loss of life on the part of the whites. To him, white men were always more than a match for the natives, and it was simply disgraceful to come out second best in any encounter. Typical is his 23 May 1825 report of Etienne Provost's losses at the hands of treacherous Snake Indians in the fall of 1824, which resulted in the death of seven Americans and only one Indian.

As leader of the Snake Country Expeditions, Ogden was almost constantly in the heart of Indian country. The Blackfeet confederacy (including the Blackfeet, Piegan, and Blood tribes) ranged from Alberta, Canada, southward through western Montana and into Idaho.[7] Blackfoot Hill (presently Ferry Butte), located on the east bank of Snake River immediately south of the mouth of Blackfoot River, marked the theoretical southern boundary of Blackfeet lands but did not prevent war and raiding parties from penetrating the country to the south to wage war on the Snake tribes and hopefully catch American and British trappers off guard. The Blackfeet also ranged westward to the Big and Little Wood rivers and the Malad--constituting a constant

threat to anyone, white or red, who might become careless by neglecting to properly guard the camp at night or by wandering too far from his companions during the day. Ogden's brigade often felt their sting and on several occasions lost horses and other equipment as well as three men and one woman to their cunning attacks.

The Snake[8] tribes occupied the whole Snake River Valley (downstream from Blackfoot Hill) and all its tributaries as far west as the present Idaho-Oregon boundary and even extended westward into southern Oregon. Since Ogden spent more time in Snake territory than in any other, he, quite naturally, wrote more about them than about any other tribe. The Snakes also ranged southward into Cache Valley and along the southern Malad River, which empties into the Bear near present Bear River City.

In south central Oregon, Ogden encountered the Klamath Indians along the river and lakes of the same name, camps of the Shastan family group on the upper tributaries of Rogue River, and Modoc and Pit River Indians in northern California.[9]

In northern Nevada and southeastern Oregon he found hordes of Paiutes and/or Snakes--especially in the vicinity of Malheur and Harney lakes[10] and along the Humboldt and Quinn rivers. Traveling southward from the Humboldt Sink in 1829, Ogden also dealt with the Paiutes[11] on the Owens River and the Mojave Indians further south, although his descriptions of them are very meager because of the loss of his journals covering that 1829-30 expedition.

Only once (in the spring of 1825) did Ogden's brigade penetrate into the Utes' lands. Of special interest is William Kittson's citation of May 22: "Here we are situated on the borders of the Utas lands, indians belonging to the Spaniards. They are, as we are told mostly all Christians, and three of them whom our men saw, bore the Cross to their necks made of Brass and Silver."

Treacherous Blackfeet

Ogden's attitude toward the hostile Blackfeet and their confederates grew quite naturally out of his numerous encounters with them over the years. His first Snake Country Expedition was slightly more than a month old when the brigade suffered its first major loss--18 horses--to a raiding party of that confederacy. The incident occurred near the site of present Armstead, Montana. Although Ogden had constantly warned the trappers about the importance of posting a night guard at all times, the men had grown careless--just what the skulking natives were waiting for. However, Ogden saw in this first loss a possible long-range benefit: "It will tend to have a good

effect as the freemen will be more inclined to watch at night." Realizing that the loss of livestock could cripple any trapping brigade, and also realizing that horses were the most prized item the whites possessed, Ogden was constantly concerned--often doubling the night watch during stormy weather or when Indians had been seen near the camp. But in spite of all vigilance, the natives frequently managed to make off with a few horses, traps, and other gear.

Much more important than the loss of horses and other equipment was the murder of trappers at the hands of the stealthy red men.

Ogden's first loss of a man to the cunning Blackfeet occurred on 8 April 1825, at a point some five miles south of Blackfoot Hill (inside the present Fort Hall Indian Reservation). On that occasion Antoine Benoit, while tending his traps, was surprised by a small band of Blackfeet raiders, who immediately surrounded and overpowered him. Two days later, when the man's body was recovered, Ogden reported that the corpse "was naked, the scalp taken a ball in the body, one in the head, and three stabs with a knife from the wounds he received he could not have suffered long." Benoit's body was buried in a beaver dam. On his next expedition (3 April 1826), Ogden again returned to the site and camped "not more than two miles from Benoit's grave." Two years later (17 April 1828), the brigade of that year camped within a hundred yards of the grave site.

The fact that Ogden repeatedly mentioned the tragic incident and repeatedly returned to the grave indicates his concern for the welfare of his men and his constant concern about the hostile Blackfeet. It also demonstrates that in spite of dangers, the brigade leader was willing to return again and again to the danger zone because of the rich harvest of furs and the abundant supply of buffalo and other wild game usually to be taken there.

Ogden did not lose another man to the Blackfeet until 14 May 1828. On that occasion, while trapping on Blackfoot River, Louis LaValle was surprised and killed by a Blackfeet raiding party. His body was recovered, "naked but not scalped," some fifteen miles upstream from the point where Blackfoot River flows into the Snake. Ogden wrote that the company had lost "a most industrious and first rate trapper. He has unfortunately left a wife and three children, in a manner destitute. It is certainly most galling to the feelings of all, who are doomed to seek their bread in this country, that these villains commit so many murders without it being in our power to retaliate in kind."

Two other members of the 1827-28 brigade were also lost to the Blackfeet. An unidentified member of the party, sent from Ogden's Snake River camp with dispatches for a contingent of

absent trappers, was never seen again. Ogden was finally induced to report: "I consequently conclude he is dead." The other casualty was a woman, the wife of one of the trappers, killed by a marauding Blackfeet band on Sickly (Malad) River.

Those are the only personnel losses to the Blackfeet sustained by Ogden during his Snake Country experiences. However, he did report that Michel Bourdon (the man who had discovered and named Bear River and headed the first known white expedition into Cache Valley in 1819) had been killed (together with five companions) by the Blackfeet in 1823.

After the 1825 Benoit killing, Ogden laid down some strict security rules: (1) no was was to begin setting traps until the evening camp was established; (2) no one was to go to his traps before sunrise; (3) no man was to sleep away from camp; (4) all traps in the rear were to be raised before the camp moved on. But, as has been noted, loss of additional lives and property did occur in spite of security measures. Horses were always being sought by the hostiles. On April 24, just eleven days after the tighter security measures had gone into effect, the British camp (then on the upper waters of Portneuf River) was surprised and raided, with the loss of several horses, some being shot by the raiding party.

A person might expect that Ogden's initial disastrous experiences with the Blackfeet would have induced the British leader to stay clear of their lands in the future. But this was certainly not the case. After the Anglo-American clash on Weber River, 23-25 May 1825, Ogden retreated northward to the Snake. The lure of furs soon led him back to the upper waters of the Missouri--Blackfeet confederacy country, where he was almost certain to encounter hostile parties. He did not have long to wait. On September 5, fearing for the safety of some absent trappers, Ogden noted that "150 Lodges of villians are . . . nigh to us and our numbers so few & beavers scarce."

Two days later, the absent men drifted into camp to report an ambush which had resulted in heavy property loss--but no loss of life. Ogden's journal entry not only reports details of the incident but also gives vent to his deep-seated bitter feelings toward members of the Blackfeet federation:

> Here I am now in Consequence of this affair with not half the Traps we require not an inch of Tobacco & no less than eighteen Horses [lost], although I have taken every Precaution I could possibly device against these rascals alas all in Vain. . . . Cursed Country, I wish to God all these Villains were burning in Hell if there be such a place.

On numerous other occasions, Ogden found time to record similar feelings toward the cunning Blackfeet.

Northern Paiutes or Western Shoshones

For the most part, Ogden's 1826-27 expedition operated in country quite removed from Snake River drainage--primarily in southern Oregon and briefly in northern California. His first near disastrous encounter with Indians happened on October 6 on the Crooked River of Oregon, shortly after the brigade had left Fort Nez Perces. On that occasion the natives set fire to the tall, dry grass within ten yards of the British camp, in an obvious attempt to destroy property and hopefully to steal some horses in the confusion and impede the brigade's forward motion. Supported by a brisk wind, the plan nearly succeeded. Of this incident Ogden bitterly recorded in his journal: "If ever Indians deserved to be punished they certainly do they were well treated and fed by us and in return they attempted to destroy us."

A few days later, on Silvies River, in the vicinity of present Burns, Oregon, two of his party were seriously wounded in a fight with local natives. Although regretting the injury to his men, Ogden's account of the affair indicates that the trappers had precipitated the fight by attempting to punish the natives too severely for stealing horses. It was mid-October 1827. Caught with the goods, the natives agreed to return the stolen property and also to pay damages. But the two trappers were not satisfied. Seizing this opportunity to punish the guilty natives, the trappers immediately attacked them with whips. In the ensuing fight one Indian was killed, both trappers were severely wounded, and their guns, horses, and other supplies and equipment fell into enemy hands. In reporting the incident Ogden's main concern seems to have been the effect this Indian "victory" might have on future relations with the natives.

After following Silvies River southward to its discharge in present Malheur Lake, the brigade circled the north shore of that body and the adjacent Harney Lake, where they found hordes of Indians whom Ogden considered to be Snakes but were possibly a branch of the northern Paiutes. Ogden's November 2 journal entry states that

> it is almost incredible the number of Indians in this quarter we cannot go ten yards in any direction without finding their Huts generally made of worm wood or grass and of a size to contain from 6 to eight persons and I am fully of opinion there is no Indian Nation so numerous as they

> are in all North America--in this alone I include the upper and lower Snakes--the latter are as yet as wild as the animals of the plains and so far have not acquired any information or knowledge from Indian Traders and in their present state of ignorance would be fit subjects for the Missonary Society who could bend, twist, and turn them in any form they pleased, what a fine field for the above Society and probably in all North America one equal to it at least with the same advantages is not to be found--from the poverty of the Country they certainly lead a most wandering life.

An elderly woman informed the brigade leader that the severity of the previous winter had led the starving tribe to resort to cannibalism. Her tale of privation prompted Ogden to write:

> Miserable unfortunate creatures to what sufferings and cruel privations are you not doom'd to endure but the allmighty has so ordained it what an example is this for us, when we are as at present for instance without Beaver and reduced to one meal a day how loudly and grieviously do we complain, but in truth how unjustly and without cause when I consider the Snakes suffring compared to our ours.

Klamath and Rogue River Tribes

From Harney Lake the brigade struck a westerly course and by the end of November had reached the Klamath lakes and river region. Having traveled through rather desolate country, devoid of wild game, the men were in a state of virtual starvation and welcomed the chance to obtain some fish and dogs from the Klamath Indians. Dogs were chiefly sought, and the trappers were soon able to trade for an adequate supply. Ogden's journal records the following transactions: December 3, one dog; December 5, forty dogs; December 6, forty-six dogs; December 7, eleven dogs; December 8, forty-six dogs; December 9, four dogs. That day Ogden reported that many men were sick from eating too much dog meat: "They have been fasting for some time but on obtaining food moderation was lost sight of, in fact Canadians cannot withstand temptation and the consequence is--this day they are suffering." They were simply living too high off the dog!

But illness did not put an end to the dog business: on December 12, fifteen more dogs were obtained by trade; December 13, nine dogs. Ogden reports that by eating two meals of dog a day they had consumed almost all of the animals by Christmas. However, in January a second Indian camp produced additional animals: January 12, sixteen dogs; January 13, ten dogs; January 14, two dogs; January 19, four dogs. By that time the whole dog population had been obtained, and Ogden was able to report that not one of the animals was left in the Indian camp. The trading price for dogs was also reported: four rings per dog; four buttons per dog; four thimbles per dog; one scalper for two dogs.

Obviously the Klamath Indians, although evidently unaccustomed to white men, were willing--even eager--to trade. But, says Ogden on 3 December 1826, "two years intimacy with the Whites will make them like all other Indian villains, this was the case with the Snakes when first discovered by the Traders and in fact with any tribe I am acquainted with."

Ogden was surprised to see the kinds of dwellings occupied by the Klamath tribe. The village was composed

> of 20 Tents and strange as it may appear built on the water and surrounded on all sides by water and from its depth impossable to approach them on foot or on Horseback but with Canoes with which they are well provided--their Tents are well constructed for defence being built of large Logs in form and shape of Block Houses. The foundation of these Tents are made with Stone and gravel and made solid by piles sunk about six feet deep indeed the construction of their Tents evince great ingenuity.

As the Ogden brigade advanced downstream along the Klamath River and among the numerous lakes of the region, they approached another notable village which Ogden described with its occupants:

> We reached the Indian Villiage a few Huts but of a very large size square made and flat at the top composed of earth and roots the dore at the top and the Snake and inmates go in and out by the same door at the top they are well constructed for defence against arrows but are not proof against Balls, in course of the day about 200 of them collected about our Camp, they appear to live in dread of enemies constantly waring their Arms, their dress appears rather strange--their Leggins being made of reeds also their shoes of the same well adapted for snow but would not

answer in the Summer season--there is scarcely a differance in the dress of the men & women the latter are very ordinary while the former are generally fine stout looking men. We succeeded in trading at a cheap rate 40 Dogs and some small Fish not more than two inches in length and far from being good.

Again on December 11 Ogden's journal set down some characteristics of the Klamath Indians' life style, including their treatment of the dead:

> We saw five Huts of Indians who had collected round their Huts no small quantity of Small Fish for their winter store. These Fish are taken with a Basket or scoop net made of Willows, both ends are pointed and the middle open and wide, from the stock they have collected it appears in the Winter season they take none. . . . happy race whose wants are so few and live happy and contented with such miserable food. . . . in my travels last year I observed the Snakes did not bury their dead and the same remark holds good with the Clammette Nation and what not onely surprised me but what appeared most strange was to see within ten yards of one of their Huts three Skulls and within nearly as short a distance of another Hut I saw two nor did they appear of a very old date, this is as it ought to be the living and dead remain together and acts as a warning to them that sooner or later they must also die, had we constantly the same remaining before us probably our sins would be less in number than they now are but again it would soon fail of having any affect for we would soon come familiar and lay no stress on Skulls.

Farther downstream--near the present Oregon-California boundary:

> Six Indians paid us a visit from their Blankets being made of the Feather of Ducks and Geese no doubt in the Fall and Spring there be vast quantities in this quarter it cannot be otherwise there being so many Lakes and the Country low altho on both sides of us the mountains are very high one in particular high above all others pointed and well covered with Snow [Mount Shasta].

. . . . . .
we saw a Camp of Indians in all Men and Women containing 60 . . . they had all Blankets made of Feathers and from a distance had rather a strange appearance, they are certainly entitled to some credit in devising such warm Coverings.

From the Klamath River the brigade turned to the west, crossed the divide onto Applegate River--a tributary of Rogue River--southeast of present Grants Pass. On 9 February 1827 Ogden penned a lengthy epistle, growing out of an apparent eagerness of the natives to direct the company to beaver-bearing streams. Ogden was skeptical and noted that when the Snake tribes were first contacted they had seemed eager to point to beaver-bearing streams. But that had all changed:

> At present they will do all in their power to lead you astray and why so for they stand not in the least awe of Trados or Trappers indeed they entertain a most contemptible opinion of all Trados they have seen and well may they for from the numerous murders and thefts they have committed not one example has been made of them, I wish to God the same power and support the East India Company enjoy were granted to us Indians in general give us no credit for our humanity towards them, but atribute our not revenging the murders of our men to cowardice and consequently whenever an opportunity offers of murdering or stealing they allow it not to pass, this we have now had many convincing proofs and untill a new system be adopted it will always remain so, altho it may appear so to those who reside at a distance free from the anxiety and care than an Indian Trador or Conductor of Trappers is subject to.

The journalist then recorded one of his most bitter denunciations of Hudson's Bay Indian policy and went on to suggest a very extreme change in that policy:

> I am of opinion if on first discovering a strange Tribe a dozen of them were shot it would be the means of preserving many lives which in the course of four or five years are lost by Indians had this plan been adopted when the Snakes were first discovered they would not be so daring as they now are nor would they have murdered upwards of 40 men as they have done and the same is the

> case with all Indians. Scripture gives us a right to retaliate in kind on all those who murder and why not also if we have means of preventing them why not put our means in execution and the sooner such a plan be adopted the better, why allow ourselves to be butchered, our property stolen by such vile wretches who are not deserving to be numbered amongst the living the sooner ded the better and then Trappers would make hunts and Trados become rich men--but untill then we may drag on miserable and wretched existance.

Two days later Ogden had occasion to comment on one case of successful surgery and Indian medicine in general:

> Amongst our visitors this day there was one who had onely one arm on questioning him how he lost the other he informed us he had been severely wounded in many parts of it in battle and the wounds would not heal but were constantly running and were most painfull and of no service to him where he cut it off I examined it and he affected amputation about three inches below the socket or armpit and with his Knife made of flint stone and his Axe made also of flint stone, in performing this he must have suffered considerable pain it is now three years since it is well heal'd this he affected with roots and is free from pain this Indian may be about 30 years of age and of a slender frame, this if it were related amongst the wise men in distant Countries would subject the word of the narrative to be doubted as almost incredible but how many wonderfull cures do the Indians not perform that are little known to the World and if they were would be credited but such things are and no doubt wisely ordained so by Him.

The journal also records a different type of home being used by the natives of that region and other items related to their culture. On February 20 some of his trappers reported the natives to be

> most numerous and most friendly their Villiages built in the manner as the Indians of the Coast with Ceador Plank sufficiently large to contain from 20 to 30 Families and on every point where it was possable to reach the River did they see

> Villiages they have fine large Canoes resembling the Chinook and various trading articles such as Knives Axes and Tea Kettles the latter most numerous no doubt obtain'd from some American Ship.

Ogden described these natives as being more like wild animals than human beings, "and certainly in their present state would be fit subjects for the Missionary Society and the sooner the better."

Toward the end of March 1827 some of Ogden's men reported a rather peculiar and needless show of foolish bravery on the part of an Indian youth who attacked a large grizzly bear which the hunters had wounded:

> The Indian requested the lone of a small axe with his Bow & Arrows stripping himself naked altho we did all we could to prevent him rushed on the Bear but paid dearly for his rashness and from the wounds he received it is not supposed he will recover, he has received considerable injury in the Head and shoulder also the loss of one Eye which was actually torn out, a more frightfull looking being they never beheld.

Since most of the Indians Ogden had encountered did not bury their dead, he seemed pleased to report a variation observed among the Rogue River natives,

> who come as near to our mode of intering their dead as they do their Graves are sunk from five to six feet deep the Body carefully wrapt in Deer Skins and at the Head and Feet square Planks are erected the Head as is almost invariably the plan with all Indians placed towards the East.

Ogden considered the country in the vicinity of Grants Pass to be one of the most fertile and promising regions he had ever visited and was surprised to find that the Indians lived in a state of poverty:

> Strange that these miserable wretches should have been placed in so fine a Country and suffer as they do to procure food from morning till night fair or foul weather Men Women & Children are these wretches dying in the plains many that I saw to day were reduced to Skin and Bone and from the number of new Graves I have seen

> lately I am of opinion starvation has been the cause of their death. . . . a reward is said to await the deserving it is to be hoped at the great day from their suffrings in this World they may be found to merit it; if not our Chance is not great.
> . . . . . .
> Since I have been here I have observed the Natives from the dawn of day untill late in the evening employed in digging Roots and the greter part of the night is spent in pounding and preparing their food nor do they appear to collect more than a sufficiency in one days labour than one meal wretched and forlorn beings and amidst all their sufferings they also live in dread of enemies but with the exception of their Scalpes I see nothing they have that can attempt an Indian to travel a mile in quest of them.

Pit River Indians

From the Grants Pass region, Ogden directed his course to the southeast in search of additional, as yet unknown, beaver streams. Early in May 1827 the brigade crossed from present-day Oregon to reach Pit River in northeastern California. Ogden gave the stream its present name; his May 7 and 10 journal entries explain why:

> Altho the Trappers were warn'd to avoid the Indian paths along the banks of the River from the number of deep Pits that they had made for entrapping Wolves and Deer still three fell in with their Horses two escaped fortunately without injury but the third was kill'd a serious loss to his master, at the bottom of the Pits a number of stakes are driven, the Natives inform us at times they kill a number of Animals, some of them are nearly thirty feet deep.
> . . . . . .
> It is almost incredible the number of Pits the Indians have made along the River on both sides of the track as well as in it they are certainly deserving of praise for their industry but from our not seeing the track of an Animal I am not of opinion their labour is rewarded

> from the number of Pits so as to warn others who may chance to travel in this quarter I have nam'd this River Pit River.

From Pit River the expedition returned again to Harney and Malheur lakes and eventually back to Fort Nez Perces over familiar ground.

Thieving Snakes

During his various Snake Country Expeditions, Ogden spent more time with the Snake Indians than with any other tribe. After his first contact with them in 1825 he returned again and again to their lands and waters. A favorite winter campsite was the east bank of Snake River lying between the mouth of Portneuf River and Blackfoot Hill. Over the years, as his expeditions spent more and more time in Snake lands, Ogden naturally became better acquainted with that tribe than with any other. Naturally his journals also contain more information about them than about any other Indians. By 1827-28 Ogden had formed some very definite (mostly unfavorable) opinions regarding them and faithfully recorded those views in his journals.

Early in 1826, while traveling eastward along Snake River, the Snake Country brigade encountered numerous bands of Snakes, and Ogden took time to write about them and some of their customs. On February 26 he determined to satisfy a nagging curiosity by entering a Snake "hut" to determine if rumors were true that the natives ate ants and grasshoppers:

> To my surprise I found it was the case, for in one of their Dishes not of a small size was filled with ants and on enquiring in what manner they collected them in the morning early before the thaw commences, the Locusts they collect in summer and store up for their winter, in eating they give the preference to the former being oily the latter not, on this food if such it may be called these poor wretches drag out an existance for nearly four months in the Year, few or no children are to be seen among them, we have now seen upwards of 30 families and only three children among them so from this before many years not many will be living and ants and Locusts will again encrease.

A month later the brigade fell in with a huge camp of

> not less than 400 heads and nearly double that number of horses all loaded with Buffalo Meat, this camp is now bound for sickly [Malad] River to work roots[.] At the salmon season will all resort to the falls [of Snake River] and in the Fall will return to winter at the Buffalo and this is the life they lead year after year the Blackfeet Tribe however are fast diminishing their numbers and before many years all will be killed.

The following day another Snake camp of some two hundred tents was encountered. These Indians had in their possession an American flag--indicating rather close ties with the Americans, since they also had numerous trinkets and sixty guns--but were short on ammunition.

Two days later Ogden recorded additional information about this huge camp:

> I had not the most distant Idea that the Snake Tribe were half so numerous so far we have not seen any of the Plain Snakes so called from their living on Buffalo those we have seen are known by the name of lower snakes and their Lands being the different Forks we passed on our way up the South Branch one half of their Tribe seldom go to the Buffalo or to any Establishment, but the Plain Snakes said to be a 1000 men go annually to the Spanish settlements not only with the view of Trade but to steal Horses. From what I can see of the Lower Snakes I would not hesitate to say their numbers are not less than 1500 men independant of women and Childdren, they are far from being too well provided in horses but it cannot be otherwise as the Black Feet steal great numbers from them, however they retaliate in Kind on the Plain Snakes whenever opportunity offers, the two camps we have now seen may have about 150 Guns.

These references to Snake buffalo-hunting expeditions and their annual horse-trading and/or stealing forays to the Spanish settlements portray a picture of an aggressive, mobile society that regularly ranged far from home base. The Spanish settlements--supposedly Taos and Santa Fe--were five hundred miles away.

Other journal entries testify to the wide-range trading habits of the Snakes. On 3 May 1825, at the site of present

Franklin, Idaho, a party of that tribe informed the British leader that they were on a trading expedition for "shells with another nation some distance from this." Four lodges of the tribe joined and camped with the Ogden brigade for their own safety--probably in fear of marauding Blackfeet. Since the shell-trading expedition was certainly not heading northward into hostile Blackfeet country, it can possibly be assumed that they had contact with some coastal tribe.

Three years later, on the Humboldt River (near the site of present-day Elko), Ogden learned that Snake Indians were in communication with the Paiutes of the Humboldt. On his 1826-27 expedition Ogden found members of the Snake tribe on the upper Deschutes River near present Lapine, Oregon, as well as on Silvies River in the Burns, Oregon, region. All of this led the journalist to faithfully record: "It is almost incredible the extent of country this nation can be found in."

It is obvious from his numerous journal entries that the brigade leader had learned how to deal effectively with the Snakes--when to punish a skulking native for theft or other insolence; when to reward for good behavior; on what terms to trade for beaver and other pelts. Through long experience he had learned to recognize an influential chief, and he carried presents of various kinds to help insure smooth relations with the proper tribal leaders.

Upon the brigade's arrival at the intended winter camp on Snake River, December 1827, the British found the place virtually overpopulated by an estimated fifteen hundred Indians. After taking note of all the circumstances, Ogden decided that Horse, the Snake chief, must be kept on friendly terms. Said he: "Being obliged to winter in company or near them, I was induced to make him the following presents: 1 calico shirt, 2 scalpers . . . 1 wolf axe, 23 flints . . ." In return the Snakes traded fifteen beaver and some otter skins at a reasonable rate, "then took their departure but not without committing some petty thefts."

On the trail, constant watch (often unsuccessful) had to be maintained to prevent the theft of horses and traps. Likewise, at the winter camp on Snake River, literally surrounded by natives, Ogden's men were forced to keep a constant vigil, as hundreds of Indians regularly prowled through the British camp in search of food and/or any item they could lay hands on. The severe winter weather of 1827-28--the worst ever experienced during the era of the Snake brigades--caught the natives as well as the whites in its grip and intensified the tensions between the two groups as man and beast struggled for survival.

As snow piled up and bitter cold winds swept the country, Snake River froze completely over, making trapping impossible and thus deleting one important source of food (beaver) for the starving Snakes as well as for the white trappers. Horses also

felt the bite of winter and gradually deteriorated into a near helpless condition, being too weak to "dig" for grass and having to rely on the bark of willows for sustenance. As the winter advanced, Ogden occasionally expressed fear that none of the animals would survive and (as more and more frozen carcasses substantiated his anxiety) speculated on the difficulties his brigade would experience in any attempt to return to Fort Nez Perces by boat. He was already acquainted with the rugged canyons, rapids, and waterfalls found in generous abundance on the lower Snake.

Under these circumstances, Ogden was especially galled at the Indian habit of occasionally "borrowing" horses to run buffalo. Chief Horse promised faithfully that the borrowed animals would be returned in due time. But the British leader knew only too well that buffalo running was work almost too strenuous even for horses in good condition. As a result, he was forced to keep a close guard and send men in search of animals that disappeared from his camp in spite of all precautions.

American trappers, wintering close by, were also having difficulty with the "thieving" Indians and even went so far as to suggest a war of extermination against the Snakes. Ogden's journal (22 January 1828) faithfully reports their proposal for joint American-British action and his reaction to it:

> The Americans appear and are most willing to declare war against them, and a Short time since requested to Know, if they did in the Spring, if I would assist, to This I replied if I found myself in Company with them at the time I would not Stand idle, I am certainly most willing to commence, but Situated as I am and not Knowing the opinion of the Concern, it is rather a delicate point to decide on, but as an Individual acting for myself I will not hesitate to Say I would most willingly Sacrifice a year and even two to exterminate the whole Snake Tribe, Women and Children excepted, and in So doing I am of opinion could fully Justify myself before God and man, but I full well know, those who live at a distance are of a different opinion, and the only reply I Should make to them is, Gentlemen, come, endure and Suffer as we have done and Judge for yourselves, if forebearance and Submission has not been Carried too far, even beyond the bounds ordained by Scripture, and Surely this is the only Guide that a Christian should follow.

Ogden further asserted that if all the Snakes were to suddenly die, nobody would miss them.

Evidently the long chain of depredations committed by his people caused considerable embarrassment to Chief Horse, who on 24 January 1828 had a long conversation with Ogden regarding some actions of his tribe. According to the journal entry, the chief denounced his people

> as a Band of Villains, and Said he would be pleased to hear we had Killed them all. This may be all very well, but were it to happen I think he would call for quarter and that, before one fourth were destroyed[;] he would no doubt have no objections to See those not friendly to him Killed.

Ogden regretted that company policy prevented him from taking strong disciplinary measures, noting that English laws provided severe punishment--even death--for offenses which the Indians with whom he was forced to deal could commit with impunity. On rare occasions the British leader found it necessary to punish a native for cause, as his 20 February 1828 journal entry testifies:

> . . . upwards of 100 Starving Snakes in the Camp most insolent and Troublesome for food So much So, that I was under the necessity of chastising one Severely.

The nature of the punishment is left to the imagination of the reader.

Because necessity forced him more often than not to attempt to keep the Indians in line by simply threatening punishment, Ogden was convinced that he and his fellows would surely lose the respect of the red men and thus endanger the safety of his outfit unless more vigorous punishments could be meted out.

During all his troubles and complaints, Ogden never forgot his primary reasons for being in the area: to obtain as many beaver pelts as possible and at the same time outmaneuver the Americans who were there for the same purpose. As a result, in spite of his oft-expressed dislike for the Snakes, he was constantly attempting to continue satisfactory trade relations with them. He even suggested a willingness to go against policy, if necessary, to secure skins from the natives and at the same time prevent the Americans from obtaining them.

He would even resort to the use of liquor as a weapon! It is almost shocking to find Ogden confessing this fact to his journal on 25 January 1828. The incident leading to this entry is an interesting one. During the bitter winter the Americans made numerous attempts to beat through the deep snows to their

bases on Bear Lake and in Cache Valley. At the same time Ogden did everything in his power to prevent their going and rejoiced regularly at their many failures. What he feared most was that his competitors would reach their bases and return with adequate trade goods for use in bartering with the Indians. "I principally dread their returning with liquor," wrote Ogden, ". . . it would be most advantageous to them but the reverse to me. I know not their intentions but had I the same opportunity or the same advantage they have, long since I would have had a good stock of liquor here, and every beaver in the [Snake] camp would be mine."

Through the years Ogden came to recognize that the Snakes had not learned any particular magic that would enable them to get along in a country they had occupied longer than anyone could remember. On the contrary, he found them too lazy and shiftless to provide for themselves, "beggardly wretches going from lodge to lodge requesting everything they see." As the bitter winter got under way in earnest, Ogden was not surprised when Chief Horse informed him "that they had already lost ten horses from the severity of the weather" and were in danger of starvation. He may have been surprised when the Chief requested him to "cause a change" in the weather. The British leader reacted in this way: "Poor creature, little is he aware of my influence of conducting the business above--had I any, long since for my own comfort and interest I Should have made use of it, but alas, I have none." This was on 13 December 1827. A couple of weeks later (December 26), as the cold storm intensified,

> the Snake Chief came again to request [me] to intercede for fair weather; I gave him hopes he informed me ten of their Horses had died last night, altho I cannot regret their loss, they being Such Villains. Still I hope they will not retaliate on us.

In spite of his oft-expressed dislike for the Snakes, Ogden not only constantly sought to trade with them but often employed them as guides, relied on them as sources of information, and trusted them to carry important dispatches. He seemed confident that he could tell a "good" Indian from a "bad" one.

On 9 July 1827, while trapping on the Malheur River near present Vale, Ogden made an interesting notation about Indian crafts:

> We pass'd an old Camp of Snakes upwards of fifty Huts they appear to have remained here the greater part of the winter for I observe for two miles beyond their Camp they had peel'd

the Bark of the Worm Wood it is with this they manufacture their Scoop Nets their lines and Ropes for their Horses and it answers well almost equal to those manufactured with Hemp.

Paiutes of the Humboldt

The 1828-29 expedition was quite significant, since the brigade traveled southward from the upper reaches of the South Fork of Malheur River through what is now southeastern Oregon and into present Nevada. En route the company encountered countless Indians who had never before seen white men. Ogden's journal reports almost unbelievable numbers of natives in the present Alvord Desert along the east base of Steens Mountain, hordes of them living along Quinn River (Ogden's "River of the Lakes") and along the whole length of the Humboldt. Natives were also numerous on the south fork of the Owyhee and in the Malad Valley of southern Idaho.

Indians encountered along the east base of Steens Mountain (in southeastern Oregon) indicated by signs that if the British continued in the same direction they were traveling, a four days' march would bring the brigade to a stream well stocked with beaver. This was the kind of news Ogden wanted to hear. Most of the natives fled to the hills as the British approached, but three of their stray ponies were taken for food.

As the expedition reached Quinn River, the trappers surprised and captured a man who had obviously never seen white men before. Ogden tried to communicate with the captive but failed completely, stating: "A more ignorant stupid brute I never saw neither could we make him understand our meaning by signs." In disgust, Ogden gave the poor fellow a looking glass and released him. The terrified man bounded away and soon disappeared. As the company advanced eastward along Quinn River (4 November 1828), Ogden found the Indians most numerous, "and their chief subsistence appears to be grass roots and wild fowl. They are certainly in a wild state flying in all directions, no doubt we are the first whites they have seen, and suppose we have come with no good intentions." Ogden explored the Quinn to its source, where the present Fort McDermitt Indian Reservation is now located.

East of the Santa Rose Range, on the Little Humboldt, Ogden found the "natives . . . most numerous again . . . the banks of the River are lined with their Huts and of a large size." Again and again the journal refers to Indian huts in the Humboldt region but nowhere provides any further description. Once on the Humboldt, Ogden again recorded: "It is almost indescribable how numerous the Natives are in this quarter."

A typical journal entry is that of November 19:

> At our present encampment [near Battle Mountain, Nevada] no less than fifty tents in the afternoon upwards of 150 Indians paid us a visit, poor miserable looking wretches with scarcely any covering, and the greater part without bows or arrows or any weapons of any defence. The only thing I could observe that does them credit their being fat and in good condition.

Ogden was disgusted to note that the Indians were wasting good beaver pelts to make moccasins. Almost more serious than this unwarranted waste of good pelts was the fact that the constant hunting by the natives had tended to make the beaver very wild, adding greatly to the difficulty in catching them. These notations were made as the British advanced up the Humboldt.

The journal quite regularly reports the "annoying" fact that natives managed to steal traps much as their relatives on the Snake had done. In fact, the brigade was ultimately reduced to a total of fifty traps--far too few for effective trapping. On November 15, in an attempt to prevent further trap thefts, Ogden took the liberty of treating ten Indians "pretty roughly, at the same time gave them to understand if they did not cease from stealing we would shoot all we saw. They promised fair. It is almost indescribable how numerous the natives are in this quarter."

Ogden regretted that there seemed to be "no leading man amongst [them] nor any who has any influence to recover stolen property." It will be recalled that on Snake River he had won the friendship and cooperation of Chief Horse, who attempted to keep the Indians in some sort of order. That there seemed to be no such chief among the Humboldt Indians is interesting information about their apparent lack of a tribal government.

The British trappers found the Indians of the Upper Humboldt generally friendly and willing to trade, but the large numbers living on the lower part of the stream--toward its sink--demonstrated a very unfriendly nature.

Although a notation on Ogden's 1829 map asserts that the brigade was actually attacked by a force of 280 hostiles, the daily journal entries indicate that, although his brigade was dangerously threatened, Ogden's careful handling of the situation prevented an actual outbreak of hostilities except for isolated attacks on single trappers.

The lengthy journal entries for May 30 and 31 are devoted almost entirely to the local natives: "The hills are covered" with them. "More daring and bold Indians seldom or ever have I seen." Individual trappers narrowly escaped ambush as the

natives surprised them at their work. When some two hundred members of a war party headed toward the British camp, Ogden went out to meet them for a talk, not wishing to risk battle against such overwhelming numbers and not willing to permit any Indians inside the camp. He soon learned that "their language was different from any I have yet heard." But one of the natives understood and spoke "a few words of Snake," which enabled the rival parties to communicate. Presents were exchanged, and the meeting ended on a friendly note. Nevertheless, a very close watch was kept during the following days and nights.

Ogden had found that the Indians of the lower Humboldt had definitely established communication with those of the Sacramento Valley and the Pacific Coast. Some portions of the loot lost by Jedediah Smith the previous year on the Umpqua were among their possessions. These items had obviously been obtained through intertribal trade. The natives had also displayed some fine fish which they had brought from a "large river" some eight days distant. Was this the Sacramento River? Ogden was disappointed to learn that the stream was reportedly devoid of beaver, but he was happy to obtain some of the fish to supplement his diet.

The journals contain other intriguing bits of information. As Joseph Paul became deathly sick (in the vicinity of present Beowawe, Nevada) and seemed to realize that he would not likely recover, the dying man "requested us in an act of chairty to put an end to his suffering by throwing him in the River." But, continues Ogden, "this mode although practiced by the Snake Indians and other tribes will not answer for Christians." Did Ogden temporarily regret that he was hampered by Christian morals?

Indian Wives of the Trappers

Although the whites (including Ogden) married Indian women, who traveled with the brigades and performed invaluable services, such as tending camp and preparing skins for transport, Ogden seldom mentions them in his own journals. (This does not imply discrimination; Ogden seldom mentions individual trappers by name.) He never mentions his own wife, who certainly accompanied him on some of the expeditions. The women are just taken for granted as part of the life pattern of a trapping expedition. Obviously, Ogden did not consider these Indian wives in the same way as other Indian women, or as Indians at all. When he occasionally refers to them he uses either the term women or wives. Neither does he make any distinction between wives of his Indian trappers and wives of the whites. But because they were Indians they deserve brief mention here.

Wives are mentioned only when some special incident specifically involved one of them, such as loss of horses or death of a trapper that threatened to leave a woman more or less destitute and in danger of becoming a burden on the rest of the brigade. An excellent example is Ogden's 24 May 1828 entry, which reports the death of Louis LeVaile at the hands of a Blackfeet plundering party. After heaping praise on the "industrious and first rate trapper," Ogden continues with the disturbing fact that "he has unfortunately left a wife and three children, in a manner destitute."

Other incidents involving women in a way that affected the whole camp received mention in the journals. An occasional birth of a baby delayed the forward progress for a day--there were three babies born during Ogden's first Snake Country brigade; each was properly noted. More spectacular was a murder and suicide involving an Indian trapper and his wife. This grizzly affair grew out of a quarrel which ended when the man shot his wife, then turned the gun on himself. Reported Ogden: "All this was far from being pleasant, the cries of the women & children all night was truly distressing." The camp was appropriately named "Suicide or Murder Encampment." That incident occurred on 12 January 1825 just north of Gibbon Pass. The brigade had been under way only three weeks. The following July 30 the wife of an Indian guide committed suicide by hanging, an incident that caused considerable confusion and excitement in camp.

If a woman somehow became separated from the company or failed to arrive at the evening camp, Ogden was concerned--especially if that woman had under her care one or more of the brigade's horses loaded with packs of furs and/or company equipment. Such was the case when two men, who had been left on the Humboldt to await Joseph Paul's death and attend to his burial, overtook the main camp on 1 January 1829 minus one woman and her two children. Ogden's recorded concern centered around the fact that "one pack of beaver, 9 traps and horses" were thus supposedly lost. Four days later the journal writer was most happy to report that the missing woman "with all her property" was found and escorted into camp. Ogden had been "most anxious and uneasy about her" and evidently paid a reward to the local Indians who had escorted her safely to the fold.

The most celebrated tradition regarding Ogden's Indian wife is not taken from his journals but has come down to us through the fertile memory (and imagination) of Joseph Meek. According to Meek, some American trappers under Thomas Fitzpatrick arrived at Ogden's Hole (which he erroneously identifies as the present site of Ogden City) in 1830 and found Ogden and his brigade already on the ground. Bitter rivalry between the two groups led to harsh words and nearly boiled over into a shooting war. During the fracas (according to Meek's account), a company

horse carrying Ogden's young child (who was slung from the saddle in a special carrying device) bolted and galloped into the American camp. Wasting no time at all, Mrs. Ogden bravely strode into the rival camp and secured the runaway horse and its precious cargo. Noting a second horse laden with valuable packs of beaver pelts, Mrs. Ogden also returned it to the British camp. The Americans were so surprised at this audacious move that they simply stood by and watched with amazement.

Joseph Meek did not claim to have been present to witness this act of bravery but had picked up the story somewhere along the trail. And, as too often is the case, the facts had become garbled in the telling. Ogden makes no references to such an incident.

This famous "incident" could not have happened in 1830 or at the site of present-day Ogden City. At the reported time of this brave deed, Ogden was traveling northward through the upper end of the Sacramento Valley of California on his return trip toward Fort Nez Perces. That season (1829-30) had taken his expedition southward from the Humboldt Sink at least as far as the Mojave River. He returned from that trek via the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys and from the north end of the latter steered a direct course to the fort. He made no side trip to Utah.

If this incident occurred at all (and it likely did), it must have occurred at the present site of Mountain Green, on Weber River (William Kittson's "Deserter Point"), during the last week of May 1825. That was the only explosive confrontation between any of Ogden's expeditions and rival American trappers, at which time the "cold" fur war almost boiled over into a "hot" war. Even though Ogden does not mention his wife's heroic action as part of that exciting fracas, it could have happened during the furor without his knowledge. It could not have happened anywhere else or at any other time.

EPILOGUE

After his return from the 1829-30 expedition, Ogden was relieved of the Snake Country command and John Work was assigned to take his place. Ogden was given duty in the regions north of the Columbia--present Washington and British Columbia. As far as we know, he kept no journal of his activities there. However, in 1853 there appeared in London a book titled Traits of American-Indian Life and Character, by a Fur Trapper. Incidents reported in that small volume indicate that Ogden either was the author of it or at least had furnished the information for some unknown writer. It is usually attributed to Ogden because of some details reported (such as the tragic July 1830 disaster at the Dalles) which could not have been known or related by any other man. As its title suggests, that

book contains some interesting accounts of native customs not included in the present report.

In 1835 Ogden became chief factor at Fort Vancouver and was serving in that capacity at the time of the 1847 Whitman massacre.

After retiring from active service, Ogden retired to a home in Oregon City, Oregon, where he died 27 September 1854. He was sixty years old.

One interesting story related to the subject of the present report has come to us from Ogden's later years. Dr. John McLoughlin approached Ogden with a proposal that he and his Indian wife, Julia, really should get properly married. To this Ogden replied with a flat "No!" The act of standing before a minister and going through a ceremony would certainly not make him any more married than he already was. Many happy years of life together and the numerous children born to the couple ought to be proof enough!

REFERENCES

1. Ogden journals have all been published by the Hudson's Bay Record Society in London under the following titles:

Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1824-25 and 1825-26, vol. 13 (1950). (Included is William Kittson's Snake Country Journal, 1824-25.)

Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journal, 1826-27, vol. 23 (1961). (Included is A. R. McLeod's Journal South of the Columbia, 1826.)

Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1827-1829, vol. 28 (1971). (Supported by a University of Utah research grant, David E. Miller and his son David H. Miller did the fieldwork and prepared maps, introduction, and annotations for this volume.)

In 1951 David E. Miller (through the Utah State Historical Society) obtained permission from the Hudson's Bay Record Society to edit and republish those parts of the 1824-25 journals that describe Ogden's expedition into Utah that season. (Fieldwork was supported by a University of Utah research grant.) The result was two articles subsequently published in the Utah Historical Quarterly under these titles: "Peter Skene Ogden's Journal of his Expedition to Utah, 1825" (April 1952) and "William Kittson's Journal Covering Peter Skene Ogden's 1824-25 Snake Country Expeditions" (April 1954).

Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations in this report are from those journals, with dates cited in most cases. The various quotations are not further identified by footnotes.

2. Some 3,000 Flatheads currently reside in Montana, with headquarters at Dixon.

3. Introduction to Traits of American Indian Life and Character (London, 1853).

4. Nez Perces were encountered by Lewis and Clark during their famous expedition of 1804-5. Probably the best-known member of that tribe was Chief Joseph. Some 1,500 Nez Perces now live mostly in Idaho.

5. Currently the Cayuse, some 650, reside on the Umatilla Reservation in Oregon.

Ogden makes several notations of the salmon-fishing activities of the numerous Indians found along the Columbia and its tributaries. In fact, at the Dalles in July 1830 it was to avoid the stench of the salmon-fishing and curing activities that prompted him to direct his party downstream for a more favorable spot to eat lunch. Ogden decided to walk along the bank to the lower site, while the rest of his party continued by boat. That boat was caught in a whirlpool and all hands except one man were lost--along with a valuable cargo, including journals of the 1829-30 expedition. Ogden stood helplessly by to witness the tragic event.

6. Introduction to Traits of American-Indian Life and Character.

7. Ogden sometimes wrote of Blood, Piegan, and Blackfeet Indians but usually considered them all one hostile group. Today some six thousand descendants of this confederacy live on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana.

8. Ogden wrote of the Plains Snakes, who had developed a custom of making regular forays into the buffalo country and the lower Snake River and extending westward into present Oregon. Today the Snakes are known as Shoshones, with the major concentration of some four thousand located on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. The second largest group, consisting of approximately three thousand Shoshones and a small number of Bannocks, is found at the Fort Hall Reservation. The Goshutes of western Utah are also Shoshones.

9. The Klamath Indians are no longer legally recognized as a tribe, although approximately two thousand of them still live in Klamath and Lake counties, Oregon.

The Modocs occupied the lower Klamath Lake country and extended eastward as far as Goose Lake in northeastern California. The Modocs and Pit River Indians are considered part of the Shastan Family Group that extended southward into the upper end of the Sacramento Valley and northward to Rogue River during the fur trade era.

10. Although Ogden considered the Indians of this region to be Snakes, current Indian experts do not agree with this: some consider the Harney Lake natives to have been western Snakes (Shoshones); others insist that they were northern Paiutes.

11. Paiutes of the area explored by Ogden are now located at the Fort McDermitt, Duck Valley, South Fork, Walker River, and Fallon reservations, with colonies at Fallon, Lovelock, Winnemucca, Battle Mountain, and Elko, Nevada.