

Elders, labor on the plant more encouraging than th
Bro. Nebeker says:

"The native brethren h
some of late in their hab
their appearance. We h
thirty to sixty of them wor
the last six months, and so
very heavy work, and, with
they have fulfilled their a
men. Our meetings are ve
ed by those living near by,
congregation is increasing
in appearance. Twelve have
our number recently by a
farm. We are now near do
this season, and have taken
hundred tons of sugar and
of molasses, already. The
been shipped to and sold in
which has kept us all very
winter. We have also cult
larged our crop so that we
pect for twice the amount o
son that we had last season.
mence grinding in Octob
mode of employing and w
tives differs very much from
the planters, and the resul
plish more and with less
this we have attracted the at
bers, and many congratula
cess, and say that 'Morr
applied to a cane field is no
mules we grind with look b
we commenced, and they g
except to be turned into th
not at work. I expect to
June with a few tons of sug
for home. I think from wh
we can furnish our friends
than they can get it else
Harmon, a son of Jesse E
Lake City, called on me the
is now in Honolulu; his f
would like to hear from him

CASTELLO'S CIRCUS AND
Dan Castello's Circus and
this city for the north early
of the fourth instant, having
its stay here, six evening pe

SAILING OF MISSIONARIES. By letter
from Elder Wm. H. Miles, dated the 29th
ult., we learn that on that day the following
trained missionaries left New York on
board the steamer City of Washington:
A. P. Dewey, Lot Smith, Geo. H. Peter-
son, Geo. H. Barton, and J. Q. Knowlton.
They were well and in excellent spirits.

REPENTANT INDIANS. Brother Dimick
B. Huntington reached this city from San-
pete on Monday evening, and brings with
him a good report of the Indians. He met
and had a talk with about 120 of them at
Fort Ephraim, about noon last Saturday.
President Orson Hyde, and Bishops John-
son and Peterson, and a good number of
the brethren were present during the pow-
wow. "Black Hawk" brought the crowd
in, among whom was Tain-a-ris, a Ship-
er-cek Chief, the one who is known as the
rider of the white horse, who has commit-
ted most of the murders during the Indian
disturbances South, and is regarded as
being a much worse man than "Black
Hawk" himself. Five of the principal
men spoke on the occasion, expressing
themselves very humbly and penitently
over their past bad deeds, and asking what
they must do to be saved. "Black Hawk"
said that for four years they had had no
heart, but now they had got heart, eyes
and ears, and could both see and hear.
They agreed to protect the settlers, and
give them warning when mischief was
threatened by marauding Indians, and also
agreed to bring in all Indians they could
who are still marauding and bent on mis-
chief. "Black Hawk" recommended that
a telegram be sent to Qunn-ar-row, at Paro-
wan, for him to send out his own sons to
bring in the wicked Indians who commit-
ted the recent depredations in that neighbor-
hood. During the conversation the Indians
wanted to know who was making bad
medicine and killing all the rabbits in the
valley, as they are dying off in great num-
bers. Bro. Huntington informed them it
was a disease among them.

The Major says he never saw such crops
before in Sannete Valley.

Wed. July 19

Vol 18. Decent News weekly

P. 276

July 1273

STORY OF UTAH'S BIGGEST INDIAN WAR

[SPECIAL TO THE DESERET NEWS.] **By Telegraph.**

Thirty-four years ago this summer, the southern counties of Utah were the scene of a long and bloody struggle with the Indians. "The Black Hawk war" as it came to be known, left many a sad memory in Sanpete, Millard and Sevier counties, and the annual reunions of the veterans of that war, one of which is now being held at Provo resort, are made the occasion of an exchange of reminiscences as thrilling as any to be found in the pages of history or fiction.

In those early days, when the settlements were small, few, and far between, when the settlers were engaged in what appeared to be a death-struggle with nature, a perpetual wrestle with the unclaimed deserts of Utah, for food enough to subsist upon, when the people toiled late and early for their daily bread—then came the war with the Utes, the Piedes and the Navajoes—fierce tribes of the desert plateau. Black Hawk, the grim chieftain whose name sent a thrill of horror among the unprotected families of the frontier—he was the revengeful spirit who for years caused untold suffering and sorrow in many a home of Utah in the early days.

THE WAR BEGINS.

The Black Hawk war began in 1865 and while the Deseret Telegraph line was building the conflict raged in some parts of the Territory already traversed by that line. The immediate cause of the war was the drunken act of a resident of Sanpete county. On the 9th of April, 1865, a man at Manti insulted an Indian chief and rudely pulled him off his horse. It was this act which precipitated the conflict with the Indians. The conflict was a desultory one but lasted several seasons, and was the occasion of much anxiety, alarm and annoyance, and of some loss of life, besides the loss of property and expenditures necessary to terminate the conflict.

The military authorities at Fort Douglas at this time held that the settlers must take care of themselves, the only duty of the military, as they construed it being to guard the overland mail route.

TREATY OF PEACE

Col. O. Irish, superintendent of Indian affairs, attempted to conciliate such Indians as were friendly. In this he was materially aided by the President Brigham Young, who had great personal influence among the surrounding tribes. In the 8th of June a meeting was held at Spanish Fork, to which the Indian chiefs were invited. Col. Irish, President Young, and Chiefs Kanosh, Sowrette, Sanpitch, and Tabby, made speeches, and a treaty was signed. Fifteen other chiefs attached their signatures on the following day, Sanpitch alone refusing to sign, but he yielded a few days later. The Indians agreed to retire to the Uinta reservation and to give up such title as they claimed to the lands occupied by the settlers. The government, in return promised to protect the Indians, to assist them in laying out farms, etc., and to pay them \$25,000 annually for the first ten years, \$20,000 annually for the next twenty years, and \$16,000 annually for the thirty years thereafter. The Indians were also to be permitted to hunt and fish in their accustomed places. A similar treaty was concluded with the Piede Indians at Pinto, Washington County.

BLACK HAWK'S RAIDS

The raids continued, however, and some of the settlements were entirely

deserted. Several murders were perpetrated and numbers of stock were driven off. Between thirty and forty men, women and children were murdered or killed in open fights with the savages at this time. Black Hawk lost about forty braves in these expeditions of murder and robbery, before he retired for the winter toward the Colorado River, taking with him a good many beeves and horses. Raids near Salina in July resulted in the death of three men—Robinson, Gillespie, and Staley. Gen. Warren S. Snow, at the head of two companies of cavalry, pursued the Indians into the mountains east of Sanpete Valley and killed fourteen of the warriors. The cavalry then pursued the retreating Indians till the men were exhausted and returned. Gen. Snow fought another battle with the Indians near Fish Lake in September, killed seven of them, and put the remainder to go into winter quarters.

On January 8, 1866, the Piute Indians raided Pipe Springs ranch in Arizona, and killed Dr. Whitmore and Robert McIntyre of St. George. The Settlers retaliated by coming upon the Indians and slaying seven of them. Another ranch in the same county was raided by the Navajoes April 2nd and Robert Berry and his wife were slain in their wagon in the course of a running fight, during which one Indian was killed and several wounded.

MILITIA CALLED OUT

Gen. Daniel H. Wells now ordered all the available men of the three counties, Sanpete, Sevier and Iron to be mustered into service as cavalry, and infantry and organized for defense. The hostile band numbered 300 and roved with astonishing celerity. Black Hawk with thirty warriors, intercepted four teams near Glenwood, killing two men. A ten-year-old brother of the herdsman who was killed, was shot with seven arrows and left for dead. "But when his assailants were gone the little hero managed to wade the Sevier river, through water up to his neck and made his way home."—Whitney's History of Utah. Salina had to be abandoned, after the people had lost nearly all their stock.

The treacherous chief, Sanpitch now joined his forces with those of Black Hawk; but in one of his sallies he was taken prisoner. He managed to escape, but was pursued into the mountains and killed with four of his companions. After the killing of two warriors by Hakes and West, the Reds made overtures for peace, and the settlers visited a camp on the Sevier with friendly intentions, but were fired upon. They returned the fire, routing the savages and killing two braves. At Marysval Albert Lewis was killed and several people wounded; the Indians were intercepted and routed with considerable loss. Thomas Jones was killed while on picket guard near Fairview and the people left the smaller settlements in Piute county and gathered at Circleville.

The militia was rapidly organized, the names of Adj. Gen. Jas. Ferguson, Gen. H. B. Clawson, Maj. Gen. Geo. D. Grant succeeded by Col. R. T. Burton, Brigadier Gen. B. Young Jr., Brig. Gen. Lot Smith, Maj. Gen. Aaron Johnson, and Brig. Gens. W. B.

Pace and Albert Thurber, being prominent in the organizations. All the settlements south of Salt Lake City were placed in a state of defense. A company of cavalry under Col. H. P. Kimball and Major J. Clark reached Manti on May 5th and protected the removal of settlers from Sevier into Sanpete another picket post near Salina under Brig. Gen. Pace.

MILLARD COUNTY SUFFERS

Black Hawk suddenly raided Round Valley in Millard county, killing James Ivie and Henry Wright, and running off 300 horsed and cattle. The marauders were intercepted at Gravelly Ford on the Sevier by Gen. Pace, but they drove the stock into Salina canyon and contrived to escape, after losing several of their number. The command at Fountain Green hastened forward, but the number was not great enough to make it safe to follow the Indians beyond Castle Calley. Gen Wells arriving with reinforcements the pursuit of Black Hawk was resumed. It was a long march, beset with extraordinary difficulties. The trail was over rocky ridges, furrowed with almost impassable gorges, and through desolate deserts. When the men could endure the journey no longer, faint from hunger and suffering terribly from thirst, they managed to get back alive out of the desert.

FIGHT IN THISTLE

On June 21 Capt. A.P. Dewey was sent with twenty-two cavalry and thirty-five infantry to establish a post in Thistle Valley, in the north end of Sanpete, the key to attacks from the north. Black Hawk and fifty of his braves made a swoop upon the camp at 10 o'clock on morning, stampeding the animals and killing Charles Brown, but were then repulsed. In the afternoon the chief with one hundred warriors made another assault but was again repulsed, Thomas Snarr being wounded. Two couriers, Roberts and Hamilton, undertook a perilous ride to Twelve Mile Creek, near the Sevier, for reinforcements and returned with Col. Ivie and the Mt. Pleasant cavalry. Major Casper from Moroni and General Snow from Manti also arrived, and the pursuit of the retreating savages was begun. The trail of the red men was plainly marked by the blood from their dead and wounded; for it is their custom to carry off their dead. At the head of Spanish Fork river, Soldier Summit, the Indians scattered.

Most of the northern companies having served from sixty to ninety days, were mustered out. The local organizations then had to perform difficult service, while the scanty crops were being harvested, forage provided and wood stored for the winter. Regular duty was ordered in nearly every part of the Territory; for the tireless Indians ranged in their depredations for 350 miles north and south. Suddenly issuing from the mountains, the savages would burn saw mills, drive off cattle and terrify the smaller settlements, and then disappear into the mountain fastnesses whither the settlers could not continue to follow them. Spanish Fork was raided in May, and Christian Larson, a herder, was killed off. A number of horses were stolen from a camp of friendly Indians in Millard county under Ghief Kanosh, who pursued but did not overtake the thieves.

THE SECOND CAMPAIGN

About the end of July a company of seventy-five men under Major Andrew Burt and Captain W. S. M. Allen was sent southward from Salt Lake City and the Territory was under arms from Cache to St. George. About twenty men of the whites and twice as many of the Indians were killed during the summer's campaign, while the Indians had succeeded in driving off nearly 2,000 head of stock. But Major William Creer

and fifteen men overtook one band of Indians who had stolen 45 horses from Spanish Fork, routed them, and recovered the horses, though he lost two men, Edminston and Dimick, in the battle.

A TERRIBLE EPISODE

On the 23rd of October the ranch on John P. Lee, eight miles southeast of Beaver, was attacked but defended with great heroism. Joseph Lillywhite, and expert marksman, was with him and as they went into the yard at daybreak Lillywhite was shot in the breast by the ambushed foe and staggered back into the house. Lee shot dead the first savage that showed himself and regained the house. The family barricaded the doors and prepared for the death struggle. As the Indians rushed upon the house, Lee shot and killed two more of them, and they set fire to the place and the flames began to roar up and the smoke to pour in as the Indians retired to their hiding places. The youngest child, two and a half years old, was nearly suffocated, but she is living today—Mrs. George Sutherland of Provo. A daughter of 11 years Emma Lee of Salt Lake City, rushed out to the spring close to the house and dipped water, and the flames were extinguished. The youngest son, a boy of 9 years, begged his mother to let him ride down a dangerous gap in the creek, which he might possibly do unobserved, to get help from Beaver. Finally he was permitted to go and with him started the thirteen year old hired girl by a different route. The boy reached his destination in safety and the rescuing party met the girl on their way to the house. The Indians decamped and the family was saved. The eldest daughter, a girl of seventeen, had been given a dagger by her mother with a significant remark in case the Indians should get into the house. She is now Mrs. Mary Black of Piute county. A fourth daughter, aged seven, who witnessed and remembers the affair, is now Mrs. Ellen T. Jakeman of Provo. The boy is now living in California. His name is Charles A. Lee.

GLENWOOD AND RICHFIELD

In the spring of 1867, Black Hawk made a raid on the pastures of Glenwood and Richfield, killing Jens P. Peterson and wife and a Miss Smith, aged fourteen; the militia followed the band and recovered most of the stock; but Richfield was soon abandoned by the settlers as were the other settlements in Piute and Sevier county, as well as some in Iron and Kane counties.

FIGHTING IN SANPETE

A detachment of 72 men, under Capt. O.P. Miles, went from Salt Lake and later came Capt. W.S. Binder and a small company of infantry. Lieut. Adam M. Paul was wounded in the first engagement near Manti, and Later in a long chase of the Indians Louis Lund and Jasper Robertson were wounded, both of the Fairview cavalry under Holbrook. Major John W. Vance and Sergeant Heber Houtz were ambushed and shot to death between Manti and Gunnison.

Paragoonah was raided in June but the marauders were chased and compelled to scatter by Major Smith. At Little Creek.

ESTABLISHED 1850.

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THE DESERET NEWS.

TRUTH AND LIBERTY.

NO 43.

SALT LAKE CITY, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1869.

VOL. XVIII.

Bones of Black Hawk Indian Warrior Now on Exhibition L.D.S. Museum

A Case on the north side of the L.D.S. Church museum is destined to become the center of interest to many a student of early-day Utah history. For resting peacefully in the midst of the very white settlers whom he loved to harass is all that remains of Chief Black Hawk who in the early sixties was dreaded and feared in many a town and settlement of Utah. What are declared to be the bones of the Indian desperado have been brought from their final resting place near Spring Lake Villa and now along with spurs, beads, sleigh bells, ax, bucket, brass buttons and all such comforts which were supposed to accompany him to the Happy Hunting grounds are on display to the eyes of the White trespassers whom he so resented.

Before placing the skeleton on exhibit Benjamin Goddard, in charge of the museum, has made every possible effort to prove their authenticity and has obtained a mass of evidence which seems to prove unquestionably that none other but the famous chief reposes in the museum. Mr. Goddard has not only secured the affidavits of the persons who exhumed the remains, but of early settlers near Spring Villa who knew the chief and saw his funeral cortege pass up the mountain a little to the east of the Utah county town. There are also a number of interesting photographs shoeing the place where the body was found, and of the region where Black Hawk started on his last journey.

Severely Wounded

Utah historians and Black Hawk veterans declare that chief black Hawk died at spring Lake Villa, a small settlement situated between Payson and Santaquin, Utah county, in 1870. The old chief is declared to have been severely wounded in the fight at Gravelly ford on the Sevier river some three or four years before. He was assisting one of his wounded braves to his horse when sited by one of the settlers during the battle. The white man not being able to see the chief shot through the horse which shielded him and wounded him severely. He still seems to have taken an active part in the war on the white settlers after this mishap and actually before his death gained permission to visit every town and village from Cedar City on the south to Payson on the north to make peace with the people he had he had harassed. According to stories told by Indian war veterans he had caused so much misery to the settlers during his raids on the Utah towns and was so hated and feared that a number of heroes are declared to have arisen about the state who claim the honor of killing him. The old chief, however, it seems, died in his wigwam near spring Lake Villa and was buried in the nearby foothills immediately south and east.

The story of the Black Hawk war in Utah chiefly culled from the declarations of Black Hawk war veterans is one of the pitiful last stand taken by the Red men to save the land of their fathers from the inroads of the pale face. It was also a story of the heartbreaking fight of the early day settlers to establish their small homesteads in the western wilderness

Local historians declare the war started aout 1864 when a small band of Indians camped near Gunnisoni, Sanpete county, had a siege of smallpox and began to blame the settlers for it threatening to kill them and steal their horses and cattle.

Matters grew worse and worse until Col. Reddick N. Allred and a company of cavalry started in pursuit of the Red men. Then came ambuscades in the rugged foothills near Fish lake and Grand river, depredations near Gunnisoni, Fairview, Spanish Fork canyon, Ephraim, Red lake Glenwood, Circleville, Pipe Springs, Salina, Moroni, Marysville, Scipio, Thistle valley, Diamond Fork, Lees ranch, Rock lake, Spring City, Warm creek, the Indians attacking lonely settlers up and down the center of the state as far as St. George and even spreading their reign of terror over the Wasatch county.

Women and children were tortured, carried away, homes devastated, ranchers murdered, and all sorts of Indian deviltry committed under the expert leadership of Chief Black Hawk. This continued practically until the fall of 1872 when the Red men at last acknowledged the ruling hand of their white brothers. During this period various commanders in charge of local militia and federal troops took a hand in quelling the Red men and Brigham Young worked earnestly to bring about some sort of a satisfactory adjustment between the warring tribes and the settlers.

Mr. Goddard has painstakingly gathered the following information from old newspaper files and has supplemented the clippings with the affidavits of persons who know of the burial and finding of the remains of the famous old chief.

Account of Death

Black Hawk, the noted Indian chief, was born a Spring Lake Villa, a few miles south of Payson in Utah county. Numerous accounts have been published of his death but from the files of The News, it is evident that he died at his old home in spring Lake, Sept. 26, 1870. The following paragraph appeared in The Deseret News on Oct. 6. 1870:

"Black Hawk."

October 5th 1870

We have received the following dispatch per the Deseret Telegraph Line:

"Payson, September 27, Black Hawk died at the Indian camp, 3 miles south of here, last night, John Spencer, interpreter."

From Spring Lake Villa, September 27, 1870, the following account reached The News:

"I hasten to tell you that Black Hawk the Indian desperado is dead. He has been living here in camp with his brother, "Mountain," together with Joe, and has been for some days. We knew he was sick but did not think of so sudden demise. This morning before sun-up the Indian wail was heard in their camp, and soon was seen an Indian squaw with tow horses heavily packed on their way to the foot of the mountains. Stopping at a small ravine within sight of our door, they killed one of the horses and proceeded to put away the body of the great Black Hawk. This is the place of his birth, and here he commenced his desperadoism and here he came back to die.

"Showone, a friendly Indian, the head of the camp about here, died at Goshen a few days since. Queant, another good Indian lies in camp about ready to die. Really our Indian neighbors are fast passing away.

"Indian Joe, the present head of the



Indians about here is here telling me about the death of Black Hawk. He wishes the Mormons to know that Black Hawk is now dead and that he died in his camp .B.F. Johnson."

At that time , B.F. Johnson was presiding elder and subsequently bishop at Spring Lake Villa, Utah county.

Makes Affidavit.

The following statement also will be of great interest in this connection:

Provo City, Utah, July 7th 1919.

To whom it may concern:

The latter part of September or first part of October about 1870 my parents and their family were living in Spring Lake Villa, Utah county, state of Utah.

Several of us young people would visit the Indian camp on the north west of the little village and at this place, "Old Black Hawk" was brought in a very sick condition. The Sunday before Black Hawk's death, several of us young people visited his camp and heard him moaning and saw him lying on his bed. During the week he died, I, with others, stood on the main street of spring Lake Villa, Utah, and saw old Black Hawk's body tied across his horse in the funeral procession, there being about eight horses rode by Indians, some in front of Black Hawk's horse and some following. This procession followed a drag trail up the mountain a little east and south of Spring Lake villa, to where his remains were buried. About one week later, several of the Indians came to our home two of the squaws had their heads shaved, some of the Indians said they were Black Hawk's squaws and their "heap big chief" was dead.

(Signed) CHANA E. HALES

Signed in presence of Ben H. Bullock.

Locate Grave

Some years ago Bishop B.H. Bullock of Provo and friends were in the vicinity of this old grave and felt impressed to secure, if possible, the remains. After careful search they found the old resting place of Black Hawk; his remains were unearthed together with what remained of his old bridle, especially the rosettes which were so well known to the old settlers during the lifetime of this noted chief. The remains were carefully stored away for some time and later presented to the L.D.S. Church Museum on temple block.

More Affidavits.

The following affidavits have also been added to the record:

Santaquin, Utah County; Utah

September 6th 1919.

To Whom it may concern:

During the year 1917 Bishop Ben Bullock was telling several men who were working at the Syndicate mine on the mountain east of Santaquin, Utah, and a little east of south of Spring Lake Villa, Utah, that the remains of "Old Black Hawk," Indian, were buried some place near the tunnel that we were working in and one day while I was prospecting on the surface of the property I noticed in a slide of quartzite rock a place that looked like the rock had been moved and a small mound built. I reported this to Bishop Bullock and then he, with Lars Olson and myself, started removing the rock and found the skeleton with beads, bridle silver rosettes, spurs, saddle, sleigh bells, ax, bucket, cup, parts of an old soldier coat with buttons on and several trinkets among them a china pipe.

Later it was reported by those that knew the Indian that we had found his grave the things we had taken from the grave with the skeleton were "Old Black Hawk's" LOUISE N. PACE.

Provo City, Utah,

August, 26, 1919.

To Whom It May Concern:

In 1911 I became interested in what is known as the "Syndicate mine," located on Santaquin mountain, a little southeast of Spring Lake villa. Several of the old settlers of Spring Lake knew that old "Black Hawk" has been buried on the mountain near where we were working this property. At my leisure moments I would hunt for the spot where "Black Hawk" was buried, and one day, one of the miners, William E. Croft, reported that he had found what he supposed to be "Black Hawk's" grave. This started an investigation and Mr. Croft along with Lars L. Olsen and myself uncovered the remains of "Black Hawk," which were buried in a large quartzite slide. Three feet of rock were taken from the skeleton, and upon uncovering it, we found the remains in a sitting posture. The first article we saw was a china pip, which was laying upon the top of his head. Then we discovered the saddle, the remains of the skeleton, portions of his horse's bridle that had been buried with him; sleigh bells, ax, bucket, beads, part of an old soldier coat with the brass buttons still intact. All of these we removed very carefully, and for safety deposited them with the Spanish Fork Co-op, where they were exhibited for several days. Subsequently at the suggestion of Commander J. M. Westwood, I secured these remains and conveyed them to the L.D.S. church museum on the temple block suggesting that they should be placed on exhibition there and preserved. — Ben H. Bullock

BLACK HAWK WAR IN UTAH

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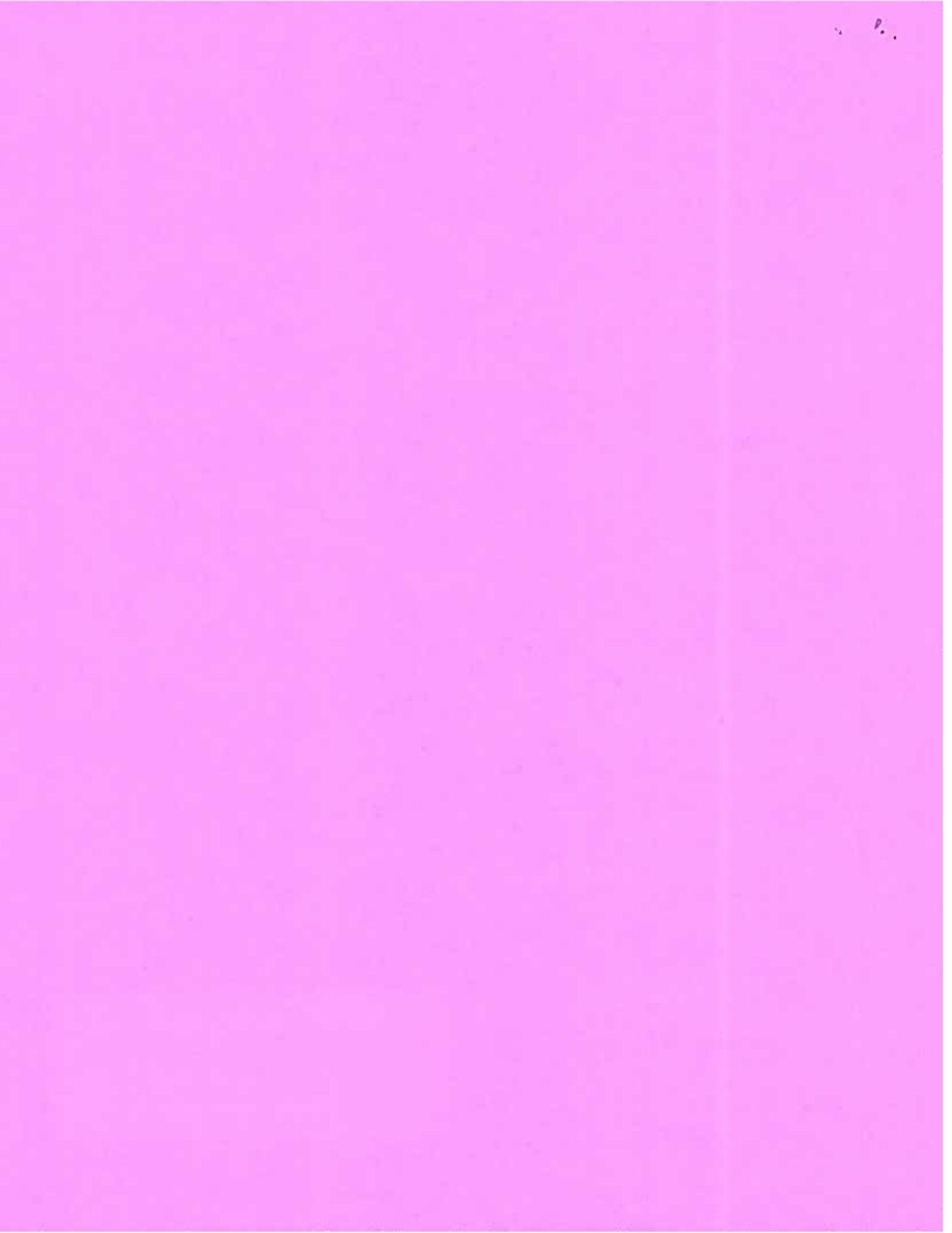
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Although better known for fighting Indians—successfully at the Battle of the Washita, unsuccessfully at the Battle of the Little Bighorn—Lt. Col. George Custer sometimes talked to them, as seen in Charles Schreyvogel's *Custer's Demand*, and sometimes cursed what they had done to his fellow soldiers (see P. 38). Cover art: Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American Art, Tulsa, Okla.

22 Dirty Doings of Bill Doolin and his Gang

by Roger Myers

A onetime member of the Dalton Gang, Bill Doolin recruited an even wilder bunch of outlaws to help him continue his criminal pursuits in Indian Territory and Kansas.

30 The Sidewheeler That Saved Texas

by Carmen Goldthwaite

Earlier she had carried furs on the Missouri, but now, in 1836, *Yellow Stone* was a cotton packet on the Brazos and about to play a vital role in Texas' fight for independence.

38 Custer, Kidder and Tragedy at Beaver Creek

by Jeff Broome

Second Lieutenant Lyman Kidder set out on June 29, 1867, to bring orders to Lt. Col. George Custer in the field, but hundreds of Sioux warriors and Cheyenne Dog Soldiers stood in the young officer's path.

48 The Grey Fox: Stage and Train Robber Bill Miner

by John Boessenecker

Although he spent most of his long criminal career in prison, Ezra Allen "Bill" Miner managed to rob eight stagecoaches and five trains while maintaining a good sense of humor, ready wit and disarming charm.

6 Editorial

8 Letters

10 Guns of the West

by Allen P. Bristow

The pudgy, large-caliber British Bulldogs and the many cheaper imitation Bulldogs were popular with Westerners who wanted a revolver for the pocket.

12 Westerners

by Charles M. Robinson III

When French Chargé d'Affaires Jean Du Bois came to the Republic of Texas, he brought with him a self-bestowed title of "count" and more character flaws than the residents of Austin could count.

14 Western Lore

by Iron Thunderhorse

In the shaping of America, the Algonquian family of nations made many contributions to democracy, law, warfare, trade, ecology and medicine.

16 Gunfighters and Lawmen

by Allen P. Bristow

In Inyo County in successive years, two sheriffs died in the line of duty.

20 Warriors and Chiefs

by Robert L. Foster

Ute Chief Black Hawk had the support of other Utah tribes for a while when he waged war against Mormon settlers.

56 Reviews

by Sierra Adare

An interview with Robert Barr Smith, author of *The Last Hurrah of the James-Younger Gang*. Plus four reviews in brief.

60 Artists West

by Tom Jenkins

Robert McGinnis brilliantly mixes the reality of the Old West with his imaginative sense of what could have happened.

69 Events Roundup

73 Wild West General Store

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Beginning in 1865, Ute Chief Black Hawk went to war against the Mormon settlers of Utah Territory.

By Robert L. Foster



The Fort Pearce Historic Site, 12 miles from St. George, Utah, features the remains of one of the forts built by Mormon settlers in southwestern Utah Territory during the Black Hawk War (Robert L. Foster).

IN LATE MARCH 1866, settlers in Kanaraville, Utah Territory, about 35 miles north of St. George, sternly warned Robert M. Berry, 25, his wife Isabelle, 20, and his brother Joseph S. Berry, 23, that Ute Chief Black Hawk and his warriors were on the warpath. The Berrys had just buried their little girl in Kanaraville and were preparing to depart. Although the chief's exact whereabouts were unknown, the citizens said that, for safety reasons, the Berrys should not head for home in Berryville (now Glendale, in Long Valley) until other travelers came along. Black Hawk had stirred up the Paiutes, Piedes, Navajos, Hopis, Shoshonis and Goshutes in a loose confederation to drive the white men out of Utah Territory, an area claimed by the Indians for ages.

The Berrys did not feel like waiting. They had been to Spanish Fork on business and were tired and depressed after burying their little girl, who had sickened and died. Anxious to hitch their team of fast horses to their light wagon the big, brawny Berry brothers were armed and confident that they could handle any local Paiute Indians who might come along. Black Hawk was last reported at least 150 miles to the east, so the Berrys were not worried about him. They set out south from Kanaraville in the morning.

On April 2, 1866, when Robert, Isabelle and Joseph Berry stopped at noon at Short Creek (now Colorado City, Ariz., about 12 miles west of Pipe Springs National Monument), some 30 Navajos, Utes and Paiutes attacked. The Indians had been stealthily following the trio for more than 125 miles. Details of the attack will never be known. The Berrys apparently attempted to escape in their lightweight wagon but could not outrun the well-mounted Indians. At some point they had stopped and fought desperately for their lives—but in vain. Their bodies were found a few days later by two other Berrys, John and William. Joseph was found lying face down in the wagon box, with his leg bandaged. No doubt he had been wounded while the trio

were trying to flee. Isabelle was lying on the ground nearby, shot through the head with a six-shooter. Robert's body was astride the wagon tongue with his head leaning into the wagon. The Indians involved later admitted that Robert Berry had been a "heap brave fighter." Nearby was the body of Navajo Subchief Spanshanks, brother of Bar-boncito, one of the Navajo Nation's main chiefs. The bodies of Robert, Isabelle and Joseph Berry were taken to the small town of Grafton, along the Virgin River, and buried in April 1866, in a small cemetery about seven miles west of what would be the main entrance to Zion National Park. (Grafton, now a ghost town, was used as a backdrop in the 1969 movie *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*.)

The Berrys were not the first Utah Territory settlers killed in the so-called Black Hawk War (not to be confused with the 1832 Black Hawk War in Illinois led by a Sauk Indian with the same name). Chief Black Hawk had begun raiding and killing settlers in the spring of 1865. Trouble between Indians and Brigham Young's Mormon settlers had actually begun upon the latter's arrival back in 1847, but the only previous significant conflict was the Walker War of 1852-53. Ute Chief Walkara, called Walker by the Utah

settlers, had fought to protect his "empire" of Indian bands but had been defeated. An uneven peace had settled over Utah Territory until Chief Black Hawk went to war.

Black Hawk knew the Utahns would never call on the U.S. Army for help. He'd lived among the Utahns, spoke their language, attended their church and even scouted for them from time to time. The Utahns called him "the friendly chief." They would keep the Black Hawk War out of the papers and take care of fighting the hostile Indians themselves—thus, it became more or less a secret war.

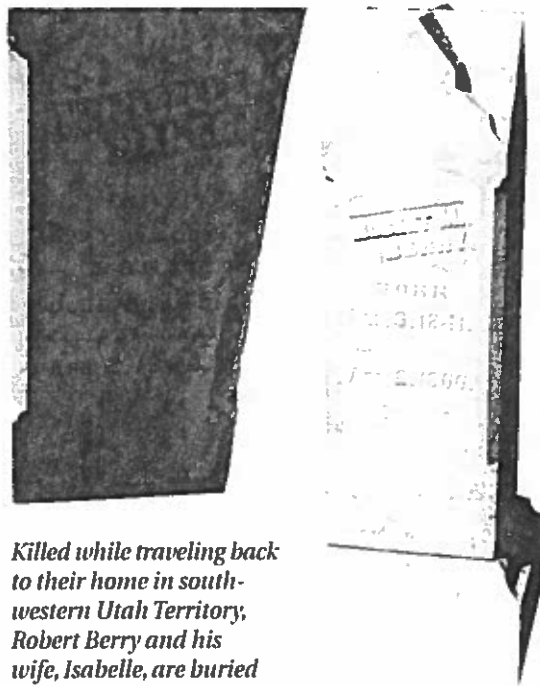
The settlers had seen enough of federal troops, who had invaded Utah Territory in 1857 and stayed on until 1861. Utahns breathed a sigh of relief as 2,500 soldiers marched east to fight in the Civil War. But their joy was short lived. In 1862, Colonel Patrick E. Connor arrived with a volunteer army made up of the 3rd California Infantry and 2nd California Cavalry, and began construction of Camp Douglas, three miles east of Salt Lake City. Connor, who disliked Mormon Utahns, quickly made it known that he would not aid or assist them in fighting against any Utah Indians, unless the Indians were to attack telegraph lines, stagecoaches or the U.S. Mail. Shrewd Black Hawk ordered his warriors to leave those things strictly alone during their raiding. All there was to stop them was the Utah Territorial Militia, more commonly called the Nauvoo Legion.

Black Hawk had no fear of the Nauvoo Legion. These militiamen had little training and were scattered all over the remote Utah frontier. By contrast, Black Hawk and his warriors, according to Legionnaire Andrew Neff, were experts at guerrilla warfare. From 1865 to 1867 terror reigned in central and southern Utah Territory as Black Hawk's marauders raided remote towns in lightning-quick attacks, killing settlers and taking their livestock by the hundreds. Farmers couldn't work in their fields, and herds of cattle were guarded night and day by men of the Nauvoo Legion. Black Hawk and his fierce raiders forced the abandonment of 25 settlements in five counties for nearly three years.

As well known and feared by the Utahns as Black Hawk was, he remains somewhat mysterious to this day. No authenticated photos or sketches exist. The only written records available about this dynamic Ute leader were written by white men, and the stories contradict each other. Some describe him as a tall man about 6 feet 2

inches, while others put him about 5 feet 6 inches. Some accounts say he was a Paiute, but he was almost certainly a relative of Ute Chief Walkara. Various journals mention him as being present whenever Walkara was in council with white men, and some sources suggest they were brothers, cousins or even father and son. Most likely Black Hawk was a Timpanogats (also spelled Timpanogas), a western Ute band, and was born at Spring Lake (in what would become Utah) about 1825.

The best description of Black Hawk comes from Captain James H. Simpson, a U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engi-



Killed while traveling back to their home in southwestern Utah Territory, Robert Berry and his wife, Isabelle, are buried in a cemetery in Grafton, now a ghost town (Photos: Robert L. Foster).

neers explorer. In 1859, Simpson, who was leading a team of artists, photographers and scientists across the Utah and Nevada deserts, showed Black Hawk some hospitality: "Gave him dinner and some tobacco," Simpson noted. "Had a sketch of him taken [this has never been found]. He wears his hair tied up at the temples and carries a buckskin pouch and powder-horn; a bow and quiver swung on this right side; wears a pink American checkered shirt, buckskin leggings and moccasins, and a blanket around his loins; an old black silk handkerchief is tied about his neck. He has one huge iron spur on his right heel, and rides a sorrel pony. His height is 5 feet 7½ inches; has a stout frame; age probably 35; carries a rifle. His bow is 3 feet long, and is made of sheep's horn; arrow 25 inches long, feathered, and barbed with iron. His countenance is ordi-

narily sardonic; but lights up in conversations, and shows as much intelligence as Indians do ordinarily."

On April 5, 1865, the same day Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox, a meeting took place in the small community of Manti, Utah Territory, about 125 miles south of Salt Lake City. Settlers and Ute Indian leaders, including Black Hawk, met informally on horseback to discuss a problem of Indians killing settlers' cattle. The winter of 1864-65 had been particularly severe, and Ute Indians wintering near Manti were hungry. John Lowry, an interpreter employed by the U.S. Indian Office, had called the meeting a few weeks earlier, upon discovering that the Indians had butchered 15 head of the settlers' cattle.

The Utes hoped the matter could be settled amicably and even brought a good horse as a present to show their good faith. Jake Arapeen, a hotheaded Ute subchief and Indian spokesman, argued bitterly with the highly agitated Lowry over the indignities, real or imagined, heaped on the Indians. At that point Black Hawk jumped into the conversation and sided with Arapeen, who eventually set an arrow to his bow to shoot Lowry. Lowry grabbed him by the hair and yanked him from his horse, and the two scuffled on the ground until separated by peace-minded parties from both sides. An infuriated Lowry mounted his horse and rode home to get his pistol. The entire Ute delegation rode out of town, Black Hawk and Arapeen hurling threats over their shoulders. The Manti men then rounded up all the cattle in the nearby hills and brought them to town so the Indians wouldn't steal or kill them, as they had been doing for months. On April 10, 1865, a small party of mounted, unarmed white men rode east to Twelve Mile Creek to gather stock. Soon Ute warriors led by Black Hawk galloped down from the timber, firing as they came. The Manti men, despite the earlier trouble, thought the Indians were just trying to scare them. But when the bullets whistled close to their heads, the settlers jerked their horses around and galloped back to Manti as fast as they could. Peter Ludvigen didn't make it. A bullet struck him in the back of the head, and he toppled from his horse. The others reached town safely and alerted their friends and neighbors that the Indians were on the warpath. Mounted armed men, along with a wagon, hurried

Continued on page 70

up the canyon to recover Ludvigen's body. Peter Munk reported: "All clothing except the socks had been removed and Indians had cut a strip of flesh from the back. This the Indians roasted and each taken a bite, a sure sign of war." The body was placed in the wagon box and brought back to Manti for burial. The Black Hawk War had begun.

That same evening two Mormon men—Elijah B. Ward, a prominent mountaineer and skilled Ute interpreter, and James Andersen—were killed and scalped by Indians in Salina Canyon, and a big herd of cattle owned by Salina settlers was stolen. Early the following morning, Colonel Reddick Allred and 84 other armed Utah militiamen started up the canyon to bring back the two bodies and recover the stolen cattle. Legionnaire Andrew Madsen left an account of what happened next: "About ten miles east of Salina the canyon was very narrow and we were compelled to travel in single file. Here Indians in great numbers were waiting and hiding in ambush and without any notice or warn-

Because of Black Hawk's success in 1866, many other Indians came in from the south and the east to attack the white settlers in Utah.

ing volley after volley was poured upon us by the redskins from behind the trees and bushes. A hard fight ensued and we were compelled to retreat into a clear opening. During the encounter Jens Sorensen of Ephraim and William Kearn of Gunnison were killed. The following day their bodies were taken to Salina by the company."

Legionnaires from all the nearby settlements quickly gathered and pursued the ambushers for two weeks without any luck. The Indians crossed the Colorado River and got away. During the remainder of the spring and through the summer, Indians hit isolated farms and ranches in raids. On May 25, 1865, four miles north of Fairview, shepherd Jens Larsen was killed. The following day in Thistle Valley, Indians murdered John Given, his wife and four children and mutilated their bodies. The next day a company of militia went to Thistle and recovered the bodies. On May 29 Indians raided Fairview and killed David Hadlock Jones, who had been a member of the Mormon Battalion during the Mexican War. On July 15, Robert Gillespie and Anthony Robinson were killed by the In-

dians in Sevier County. Three days later the militia surprised a party of hostile Indians in Grass Valley, killing 12 of them and routing the rest. But the Indian pressure did not let up. On July 26 they raided Glenwood, in Sevier County, wounding several settlers, killing horses and stealing cattle.

On October 17, 1865, Chief Black Hawk led a band of Indians in a raid on the Ephraim area. They killed Martin Peterson Kuhre and his wife Elizabeth in a field south of town, and drove 100 cattle toward the mountains. En route, in the canyon, they attacked and killed William Thorpe, Benjamin Black, William T. Hite and Soren N. Jespersen. The Indians used Jespersen's own ax to cut off his legs and mutilate his body.

In 1866, there were more Indian raids and more militia activity. Because of Black Hawk's success, other Indians came in from the south and the east in great numbers. Now Paiutes, Pies, Navajos, Hopis and Jicarilla Apaches became involved in the killing and mutilating of white settlers. Northern militia units were sent south to assist the settlers, and several forts (such as Fort Pearce) were built as a refuge from

the roving bands of Indians. Nearly all the settlements in Sevier and Kane counties were abandoned.

In one of the more notable raids, on June 10, 1866, Black Hawk and his men

swooped down on the town of Scipio, stealing 350 cattle and 75 horses and driving them southeast through Scipio Gap. Twenty Legionnaires led by Brig. Gen. William B. Pace took off after them, unaware that the Indians had set up an ambush to foil pursuers. On June 11 at Gravelly Ford, on the Sevier River near the present-day town of Vermillion, the Legionnaires caught up with the Indians but soon found the enemy had them outnumbered 3-to-1. An Indian mounted on a beautiful white stallion, taken earlier from slain settler James Ivie, fired at the militiamen while sweeping past them again and again. General Pace ordered his men to kill this "White Horse Chief." They got the stallion, which went down at full gallop. But its body served its rider as a barrier, and the brave Indian kept firing at the Legionnaires. Finally a sharpshooter hit the warrior in the stomach and all the Legionnaires cheered as the Indian retreated on foot. They had little else to cheer about and soon retreated, leaving the Indians in possession of Gravelly Ford. Although the Legionnaires didn't know it, the "White Horse Chief" was in fact Black

Hawk himself, and the chief never recovered from the terrible stomach wound.

As Pace's Legionnaires were withdrawing, they noticed horsemen in the distance, but couldn't determine who they were—so they concluded they must be Indians. In fact, the horsemen were more Legionnaires from Fillmore, Utah Territory, galloping as fast as they could to help, but Pace and his men galloped in the opposite direction. This missed opportunity to recover the stolen cattle and horses and deal the Indians a terrible blow has been called the Nauvoo Legion's greatest blunder of the Black Hawk War.

Utah settler George Peacock reported that "following the Gravelly Ford fiasco, during the summer and fall of 1866, the Indians made several attempts at driving off stock, but the people, having placed themselves in a more safe and guarded position...[were hardly] effected by the Indians. Strong guards were kept day and night and whenever the Indians prowled about they find the herds strongly guarded and themselves badly pursued."

Black Hawk's followers pulled off a major central Utah raid in the fall of 1866, when they struck Manti and took 200 cattle, mostly expensive work oxen. One hundred Legionnaires galloped in hot pursuit, but as usual the Indians eluded them. By the end of the year, Black Hawk's war was mainly with the settlers in Sanpete and Sevier counties and not with Utahns generally. The Utes wanted desperately to capture Nauvoo Legion Brig. Gen. Warren Snow and slowly torture him to death. They blamed General Snow for all their problems in Utah Territory.

The first raid of the 1867 season took place on March 20, at Glenwood (160 miles south of Salt Lake). Hearing that General Snow would be there to do some trading with his friends, the Utes surrounded the town, all set to kill everyone. But some children accidentally discovered the Utes, and the townspeople grabbed their guns and fought off the Indians. Frustrated, the Utes attacked a Danish couple, accompanied by a 16-year-old American girl, traveling from Richfield to Glenwood. The Indians beat Jens Petersen's face with his own wooden shoes before torturing him to death. His wife, Caroline, and the girl, Mary Smith, were cut up in a most brutal manner.

In the spring of 1867 hundreds of Legionnaires from counties north of Sevier and Sanpete were dispatched south to protect settlers from Black Hawk's raiders. No major raids occurred. Black Hawk and his men attacked the town of Parowan but were forced to flee in full retreat. On

August 19, 1868, Colonel Franklin H. Head, Utah's superintendent of Indian Affairs, negotiated a peace treaty with Black Hawk's subchiefs and followers. But sporadic and isolated raiding still occurred until 1872. More than 75 settlers died in the Black Hawk War and several times that many Indians. The total cost to Utah's settlers for livestock lost, wages paid to Legionnaires, and 25 settlements abandoned was estimated at \$1,535,000. Some 4,700 Legionnaires (including the author's great-grandfather, Benjamin Franklin Barney) were called to duty during this war.

Settler Mary Gobel wrote in her journal: "In the fall of 1870 Black Hawk and six warriors, en route to Salt Lake, stopped in Salt Creek Canyon (just east of Nephi, Utah) at my husband's campfire. He and my son were herding our sheep. They fed Black Hawk and his men. Black Hawk told them: 'You need not be afraid any more. I am sick of blood. Look at me! The great chief Brigham Young told me if I shed the Mormons' blood I would wither and die. I am going up to see the great chief, Brigham, once more and then I am going to the place where I was born to die.' He was a living skeleton, wasting away to almost nothing. He knew it was because he killed the white man."

Indeed, Black Hawk had little time left. He was reportedly afflicted with syphilis and tuberculosis and was still tormented by the stomach wound he had received at the Battle of Gravelly Ford back in 1867. On September 26, 1870, back in the place he was born, Spring Lake, Utah Territory, Black Hawk died. The next day Spring Lake resident Benjamin F. Johnson wrote the following to the editor of *The Deseret News*: "Dear Sir: I hasten to tell you that Black Hawk, the Indian desperado, is dead. He has been living here in camp with his brother Mountain....We knew he was sick....This morning, before sun up, the Indian wail was heard in their camp, and soon was seen one Indian squaw with two horses heavily packed, on their way towards the foot of the mountain. Stopping at a small ravine within sight of our door, they killed one of the horses and proceeded to put away the body of the great Black Hawk. This is the place of his birth. Here he commenced his depredations, and here he came to die." On May 4, 1996, Black Hawk's remains were reinterred in a new grave at a small LDS [Latter-day Saints, or Mormon] Church cemetery in Spring Lake. The new grave was blessed in a traditional Ute ceremony by a Ute medicine man, a great-great-grand-nephew of Chief Black Hawk. ww

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HOME ITEMS.

THEATRICAL.—On Tuesday evening Jocrisse the Juggler was presented for the first time, and was well received. Mr. and Miss Couldock appearing as Jocrisse and Julie. The plot is simple, yet in its construction and development much skill is manifested and the piece contains a great deal that is interesting and affecting, mingled with considerable dry humor. It was well played, and was followed with the farce of Sarah's Young Man, which made much mirth. On Thursday evening the Willow Song was repeated. Of the manner in which it was performed there could be but one opinion. As Luke Fielding Mr. Couldock is admitted to be without a rival; and the other characters were rendered in a style that would be difficult to excel.

Miss Olive was announced for a song and dance, but indisposition prevented her from appearing, and Miss Sault volunteered to make a "first appearance" in a sailor's horn pipe, which she executed in a style to astonish the audience for its ease and agility.

The new seasonal play of Waiting for the Verdict was well performed and well received on Saturday evening. It is not a production of any literary merit, but it elucidates a simple story of life in a well-developed plot, with very good dramatic situations and some sensational scenes. None of the characters stand out as well defined and clearly delineated pictures of life; they are rather sketchy; yet there is much of nature and of life in their careful delineation. Mr. Couldock played Jonathan, one of those bits of character acting in which he shines pre-eminently. Miss Couldock's Martha was powerfully and pathetically rendered. Mr. McKen-zie's Jasper showed numerous real touches of nature which reach the heart and evoke sympathy. Mr. Lindsay, Miss Adams, Miss Alexander, Messrs. Caine, Margetts, Thompson, Teasdale, Mathen, Hardie, Graham, Kelly, all, indeed, sustained their respective characters admirably.

Big Cottonwood.—Sunday morning in company with Elder Edward Stevenson, home-missionary, we started for Cottonwood, and after a very pleasant drive arrived in time for meeting, when Bishop Brinton kindly received us. A very interesting meeting followed, which was characterized by much of the Holy Spirit being felt by the congregation. After the meeting we enjoyed the hospitality of the Bishop, passing the new meeting-house, on the way to his residence, which is in course of erection, and which, when completed, will be a very creditable building. In the afternoon elder Levi Stewart treated us to a "paper" of grasshopper or locust eggs, which are to be found there in any desired or undesired quantity; and if they do not hatch this fall, then the early vegetation of next year will be a tender morsel to the young insects before they get wings, for there will be plenty of them. The locusts have done much more damage at Big Cottonwood than in the city. Trees are stripped entirely bare, not a trace of foliage to be seen in places, clover, grass, small grain, corn, carrots and other things have been taken indiscriminately. In

EASTERN MAILS.—The mails are being brought through at present with more regularity and certainty than heretofore, though there is still a vast amount of back mail matter that has not yet been brought in. We wish to see the current mails here in scheduled time, and the back mails brought in, that there may be a clear thing made of it; now that the way is confessedly open. The fact that a part of the back mail is being received proves that all can be brought, if the desire is entertained and the energy manifested to do it. Let us have the mails now as they become due; and bring in the back mail matter right away.

BLACK HAWK.—We had the pleasure of meeting Superintendent Head on Wednesday evening, who had arrived from Uinta Reservation, where he had met and had a talk with the notorious Black Hawk, who came there with his family, unattended by his warriors. Black Hawk said he has 28 lodges under his sole control, and that he is assisted by 3 Elk Mountain chiefs, who have each 10 or 12 lodges with them. These Indians are scattered along the settlements, he avers, from the north of Sanpete County to the southern settlements, watching opportunities to make raids. He expressed a desire for peace; said he could control and would be answerable for his band; and believed he could get the others with him, as they all looked to him as the head chief. He would try and get them all together at some point, perhaps Uinta, to have a talk with Col. Head; but it would take some time to do this, as they are so scattered. As an earnest of his sincerity, he stated that he had made a covenant, when he commenced to fight, that he would not have his hair cut; and he had talked strong of Tabby and Kan-osh who had their cut like white men; but now that he was going to have peace, he wished to have it cut, and requested the Superintendent to shorten his locks for him, which was done after finding that he was anxious to have it so. The savage was saucy at the opening of their interview, but finally toned down, and talked reasonable before they got through.

KILLED BY INDIANS, near Springtown, Sanpete County, James Meek, aged 69 years. He formerly lived at Carlisle and Manchester, England, and had been a consistent member of the Church nearly 30 years. He left England in 1832, arrived in Utah the following year and was one of the earliest settlers in Springtown.

Also Dr. Andrew Johnson, aged 53 years. Dr. Johnson was from Sweden, arrived in Utah last year, and was much respected. He left a wife and two children.

These brethren were buried with military honors.

FROM CACHE.—We had the pleasure of a call from Elder Wm. H. Shearman on Friday morning, from Logan, Cache Valley. He informs us that the "grasshoppers," or locusts, have about all left, after having done a great amount of damage, which, however, was most severe on oats and barley. It is believed that, with economy, there will be sufficient breadstuffs in the county to supply the wants of the people, though some have lost all their crops by the ra-

WOOL CARDING.—At Pres. H. carding machines, near Panguitch Ward, wool will be carded internationally and well. No person need of their rolls long after the wool is in the carding machines, as within hours after it is delivered they will take away.

DEPARTURE OF MAILS.—The time of the eastern mails is changed to 10 a.m. The public will please note this.

SOAP.—Mr. Tarbet announces a soap for sale; and inquires for soap.

WOOD.—This article of fuel is in this office; fetch it along.

OBITUARY.

BOUNTIFUL.

Editor "Deseret News."—It was but on Sunday last that one of this place were assembled for a funeral oration, delivered by El Holbrook, on the death of Elder A. who recently died on Laramie Pl. returning home from a three years' England to which he was appointed. And yesterday we were called to death, in the 24th year of her age, Agnes Call, daughter of Col. Chester of Brigham City, and wife of bro. Call, the only surviving brother of the late Call. She was the daughter of Zion's daughter Nauvoo, and it was her blessing that as it is known by God's people, the day Saints. Her mind was never by error nor mystified by delusive truths of heaven enlightened it, the of God fortified it, while the heaven of the Holy Spirit gave to it that joyed only by the faithful; therefore was glorious, and she has gone forth in the morning of the first to live for ever with the just.

Remarks, suitable to the occasion, by Bishop John Stoker and Elders Chester Loveland and John T. whom spoke as men of God, whose enlightened by the Spirit of truth, marks were full of consolation to the full of precious promises to the will serve to dry the mourners' the weary traveler take comfort in his life's path that leads to glory lives.

That we may ever be reconciled penations of our God and live keeping with His laws is the sincerest prayer.

Yours respectfully,

WILLIAM T.

A WORD TO THE BOYS.

Come, boys, and listen a few to your uncle. You have not at an age when you must begin about doing something for. The first piece of advice I have is, to do everything well while undertake. There is but little your being too particular in respect. A boy who is careful in straight line on his slate will likely to make a straight line in life. There is no position which you will not be called

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THE HISTORY OF SPANISH FORK

native but to repair the road and make it passable at their own expense or let it remain unused during the remainder of the season. They very wisely resolved to 'mend their ways' and being prompted thereto by Bishop Thurber, who took the lead in the matter, they went to work en masse, and after building several dams and raising embankments to confine the water within its natural and original channels, they made a good and substantial road across the bottoms, much better, it is reported, than it was before the flood. There is now no serious obstruction to travel southward on the east side of Utah Lake, beyond the Timpanogos, as a temporary bridge has been constructed across Hobble Creek by the citizens of Springville."

Further Troubles With the Indians.—Following the close of the Walker War and the treaty with Chief Walker in 1854, the Indians were comparatively peaceful for about nine years, and the settlers of Spanish Fork began to feel a sense of security which comes from periods of peace and quietness.

The Indians, however, were not satisfied with conditions, and viewed with resentment the growth of the white settlements throughout

THE HISTORY OF SPANISH FORK

the Territory. They expressed the feeling on divers occasions that the whites were catching the Indians' fish, killing the Indians' deer and rabbits; the white man's horses and cattle were eating the Indians' grass, and generally crowding the Indians out of their hunting grounds, which they felt, undoubtedly with some justification, were theirs. They formed the habit during the early 60's of making requisition upon the herds and flocks of the settlers for cattle or sheep in payment of the grass and game used by the whites. They would come to the Bishop and demand certain animals, which were usually given them.

The more warlike of the Indians, however, were not content even with this, and during 1863 and 1864 raided a number of settlements throughout Utah.

Early on the morning of April 15, 1863, two companies of soldiers with a small cannon marched into Spanish Fork canyon and surprised a band of marauding Indians about a mile above the mouth of the canyon. Three Indians were killed and two wounded, and three of the soldiers were wounded, one of them, Lieutenant Peel, dying the same evening at Springville of his wounds.

THE HISTORY OF SPANISH FORK

The Given Massacre.—On May 26, 1865, John Given and his family, consisting of Mrs. Given, their son, John, aged 19, and their daughters, Mary, Annie, and Martha, aged respectively, 9, 5, and 3 years, were attacked in their home in Thistle Valley, near Indianola, and all were killed. Charles Leah and Charles Browne, two young men of Spanish Fork, were living with the Given family, and on the night in question were sleeping in a wagon box at one end of the willow hut in which the family made their home. When they saw the Indians, the young men seized their guns and made their escape by running into the willows along the creek and wading down the stream.

A Treaty of Peace.—Shortly after the massacre of the Given family, Col. O. H. Irish, superintendent of Indian affairs in Utah, President Brigham Young, members of the Council of the Twelve and other civic and church leaders, on June 8th, 1865, effected a treaty of peace with a number of Indian chiefs at the Indian Farm at Spanish Fork. Among the chiefs who were present on this occasion were the old chief, Sowiette, who had always shown a good feeling toward the white men, Kanosh, Saupitch, and

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Tabby. Saupitch was not kindly disposed toward the treaty and argued against it, but persuasion and presents brought him to the proper point of view, and he finally attached his signature, which consisted of a cross, as was the case with all the other chiefs except Kanosh, who prided himself upon his ability to write his name.

The treaty stipulated that the Indians were to withdraw from Utah Valley within one year's time and take up their residence upon the government reservation in Uintah county. They were not to molest the whites in any way nor to go to war with other tribes except in self-defence. In return for their living up to the conditions of the treaty, they were to have \$25,000 per year distributed among them for the first ten years; \$20,000 annually for the next twenty years, and \$15,000 annually for the next thirty years. They were to have the protection of the government; farms were to be laid out for them, grist and lumber mills built, schools established and maintained, to which the children could be sent to acquire the learning of the whites.

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Some of the chiefs may have kept the treaty they made with the whites in 1865, but Sanpitch, who was reluctant about signing, went on the warpath early the following spring, but was captured at Nephi with seven others and incarcerated in the Nephi jail. They escaped one night, however, and after a flight of three or four days, Sanpitch was killed in the mountains west of Moroni by a posse who were seeking to rearrest him.

The Black Hawk War.—Black Hawk, another chief of the Utes, waged war so successfully against the settlers for the three years 1865, 1866, and 1867, that the Indian troubles of that time are called the Black Hawk War. During this period the pioneers passed through their most trying times, so far as troubles with the Indians were concerned.

Most of the depredations of the Black Hawk War were committed in San Pete and Sevier counties and men were sent from Spanish Fork and the other settlements to aid the inhabitants of that section.

Locally, however, the people were not free from trouble with the redskins. The murder of the Given family in Thistle valley is an example

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in point. On the 16th of May, 1866, a party of Indians came down from the mountains east of Spanish Fork and killed Christian Larsen, who was herding cattle on the east bench. They drove off nearly two hundred head of horses from the vicinity.

Diamond Fork Battle.—On the night of June 25th, 1866, a band of Indians raided Spanish Fork and stole some horses and cattle from William Berry's pasture, also taking some from a pasture at Springville. The alarm was given in the morning by a patrol who had been standing guard that night, but because of the extent of the territory which they were forced to cover, had not seen the Indians.

A posse of sixteen men, including William Creer, Albert Dimmick, Warren E. Davis, John Koyle, George Ainge, Alma C. Davis, William Jex, Llewelyn Jones, William J. Thomas, Morgan Hughes, Joshua Brockbank, Leven Simmons, Ephraim Caffell, John Robertson, Adamson Shepherd and James Wiley Thomas, was organized, and under the command of William Creer, set out after the redskins to recover the stolen stock if possible.

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The trail of the Indians led toward Springville, and thence up Maple Canyon to the east. The posse, following cautiously, came upon the smoldering remains of a camp fire and knew they were close upon the enemy. Following the trail carefully, lest they fall into an ambush, they passed over the mountain into Diamond Fork. About half way down this canyon they came upon the Indians, who apparently were not worrying about their pursuers, as they had unsaddled their horses, turned them out to graze, and were in the act of slaughtering one of the stolen cattle when the posse came in sight.

They immediately seized their weapons and took to the brush. As the whites were poorly equipped, two of them being without guns, and were outnumbered two to one by the savages, the posse found themselves in a dangerous position. They tackled their job with stout hearts, however, bent upon recovering the stolen property, and started down the canyon with a view to cutting off the escape of the Indians in that direction. As they drew opposite the position of the Indians, they were fired upon, one of the bullets striking the shoulder of the horse ridden

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by George Ainge. A short time later, Albert Dimmick, who had walked to the top of a hill to reconnoiter, was struck in the abdomen by a bullet from the gun of an Indian who had crawled near, and was mortally wounded. After an exchange of shots lasting an hour or more, a party of men from Springville arrived on the scene and engaged the Indians. No sooner had they arrived, however, than one of their number, John Edmundson, was shot from his horse and killed. His body was not recovered until late the following day, and was found scalped and with one hand cut off at the wrist. The arrival of the Springville men turned the tide of battle in favor of the whites, and the Indians were soon seen departing from the field, crossing the divide into Soldier Fork to the south.

Everything possible was done to relieve the sufferings of Dimmick. A litter was made and he was carried all the way back to Spanish Fork by his comrades, where after suffering for three days, he died.

Thirty-eight head of cattle and thirteen head of horses and mules were recovered, as well as a considerable amount of camp equipment owned

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ed by the Indians, which they had left behind in their retreat.

The Indians were commanded by Chief Mountain. It was afterward ascertained from the Indians that four of their party were killed, and about the same number wounded in the fight.

Black Hawk, the Indian chief who caused the settlers of Central Utah so much trouble during the years 1865-67, died at Spring Lake, a small town just south of Payson, in 1870. His bones were later uncovered by the action of the elements and were taken to the Desert Museum in Salt Lake, after being displayed in the Spanish Fork Co-op. store window for a time.

Following is a list of men who took part in the Indian Wars during the early history of Spanish Fork. The list has been compiled from all available sources, but may not be complete:

George Ainge, Charles H. Browne, Isaac Bowers, William H. Babcock, Albert Babcock, Joshua Brockbank, David D. Boyack, John Banks, Robert M. Boyack, A. R. M. Beck, Joseph-Boyack, Benjamin Buchanan, William Banks, John W. Berry, Willard Orson Creer, William Creer, Ephraim Caffell, William Chris-

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holm, Joseph Chambers, Matthew Caldwell, Warren E. Davis, Albert Dimmick, Alma C. Davis, Ephraim Dimmick, Andrew A. Dahle, Evan Evanson, Martin Farr, Franklin Farr, John F. Gay, Moses Brigham Gay, William H. Gay, George Gull, George G. Hales, Jesse Payton Holt, John H. Houghton, Morgan Hughes, S. Moroni Hicks, Charles H. Hales, George A. Hicks, Silas Hillman, Benjamin Isaac, Llewelyn Jones, William Jex, John Jones, John Koyle, William Lewis, Eli B. K. Ferguson, D. Alma Losee, Charles W. Leah, Thomas Lloyd, John G. Morgan, James Miller, Robert McKell, William McKee, Stephen Markham, Hugh Moore, Thomas C. Martell, Charles Monk, Henry McGonigle, Bartel Nielsen, William F. Pace, John Robertson, John Rockhill, James Robertson, August Swenson, William A. Stoker, Andrew Shepherd, Leven Simmons, Hyrum Sterling, Matthew Simmons, Ed. P. Thomas, William J. Thomas, James W. Thomas.

¹⁰Journal History, 20 July 1849.

¹¹Ibid., 24–25 July 1849.

¹²Constitution of the State of Iowa, Adopted in Convention, May 18, 1846, 29th Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. 384, 10 June 1846.

¹³The exact boundaries are "commencing at the 33 degree of North Latitude where it crosses the 108 degree of Longitude, West of Greenwich; thence running South and West 10, and down the main channel of the Gila River, on the Northern line of Mexico, and on the Northern boundary of Lower California to the Pacific Ocean; thence along the coast North West 10 to 118 degrees 30 minutes of West Longitude; thence North to where said line intersects the dividing ridge of the Sierra Nevada Mountains; thence North along the summit of the Sierra Nevada Mountains to the dividing range of mountains that separates the waters flowing into the Columbia River, from the waters running into the Great Basin; thence Easterly, along the dividing range of mountains that separates said waters flowing into the Columbia River on the north, from the waters flowing into the Great Basin on the south, to the summit of the Wind River chain of Mountains, thence South East and South, by the dividing range of mountains that separate the waters flowing into the Gulf of Mexico from the waters flowing into the Gulf of California, to the place of beginning, as set forth in a map drawn by Charles Preuss, and published by order of the Senate of the United States, in 1848."

¹⁴Constitution of the State of Deseret, 15.

¹⁵Actually some small blank notes had been printed in the valley in January 1849 on a small greeting card press made by Truman O. Angell, which was not large enough to do book printing. The Ramage press that ultimately printed the *Deseret News* was purchased in Boston by W. W. Phelps and brought to Winter Quarters in November 1847. It remained there unassembled and crated until April 1849, when it was transported to the valley by Howard Egan. Egan arrived in the valley on 7 August. The press was unpacked by Brigham H. Young, Brigham Young's nephew, in September 1849, about the same time *Constitution of the State of Deseret* was being printed in Kanesville.

¹⁶Journal History, 5 April 1849, 5–8; 15 October 1849; and 16 November 1849, *Millennial Star* 11:52. *Frontier Guardian*, 7 February 1849, 2; Douglas C. McMurtry, "The First Printing at Council Bluffs," *Annals of Iowa* 18 (1931): 2–11. John Gooch, twenty-four years old at the time Hyde employed him, had been a member of the Boston Branch of the LDS church and a printer there four years earlier. He compiled and printed the tract *Death of the Prophets Joseph and Hyrum Smith* (Boston, 1844).

¹⁷Metville, *Highlights in Mormon Political History*, 20–37.

¹⁸Journal History, 3 September 1849.

¹⁹Metville, *Highlights in Mormon Political History*, 65.

²⁰Journal History, 26 November 1849.

²¹Ibid., 21 March 1850. The Senate and House printings of the memorial and constitution are, respectively, 31st Cong., 1st sess., S. Misc. Doc. 10; and 31st Cong., 1st sess., H. Misc. Doc. 18. The House subsequently rejected Babbitt's petition (see 31st Cong., 1st sess., H. Rep. No. 219, 4 April 1850). "Grand accounts of Bernhisel's activities in Washington are found in Morgan, "State of Deseret," 113–32, and Metville, *Highlights in Mormon Political History*, 64–99. A standard work on the Compromise of 1850 is Holman Hamilton, *Prologue to Conflict* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1964).

²²Journal History, 21 March 1850. Thomas Hart Benton also objected to the name *Deseret*. When formed in 1850, Utah Territory retained the western and eastern boundaries of Deseret, but the north boundary was set at the 42d parallel, and the southern boundary was raised to the 37th parallel. "Journal History, 27 March 1850.

²³Ibid., 12, 16 September, and 2 October 1850. Buffington declined the appointment as chief justice. In his place Lemuel G. Brandebury of Pennsylvania went to Utah as the first chief justice.

²⁴This ordinance, together with eight others passed between 24 February and 24 November, was printed just after the first of the year in a four-page folded sheet entitled *Ordinances, Passed by the Legislative Council of Great Salt Lake City, and Ordered to Be Printed*. The passages of the first two of these ordinances by the Council of Fifty on 24 February and 17 March 1849 is recorded in *Lee Diaries* 1:94–96, 102.

²⁵Morgan, "State of Deseret," 83–113, gives a detailed summary of the legislatures of the state of Deseret. See also *Stow Diary* 2:358–406. Several Salt Lake imprints were produced by the activities of the provisional state of Deseret. Two ordinances passed by the Council of Fifty and fourteen passed by the first legislative session are printed, together with the constitution, in a thirty-four-page pamphlet bearing the caption title *Constitution of the State of Deseret*. The ordinances passed by the third legislative session are printed in an eighty-page book entitled *Ordinances Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Deseret*. Other imprints include a four-page petition concerning education entitled *To the General Assembly of the State of Deseret*, dated at end 8 February 1850; a twelve-page speech of Willard Richards on education, Address: Willard Richards, Secretary of State, *To the Chancellor and Regents of the University of the State of Deseret*, Delivered in the Bowers, at Great Salt Lake City, in Presence of His Excellency, Governor Young, April 17th, 1850; and a three-page message of Brigham Young, Governor's Message, Deseret, December 2, 1850. *To the Senators and Representatives of the State of Deseret*.

²⁶Sec. for example, Poll, *Utah's History*, 157.

²⁷Bernhisel to B. Young, 21, 27 March 1850, Journal History.

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Toward a Reconstruction of Mormon and Indian Relations, 1847–1877

Ronald W. Walker

There are reminiscent stories about the last days of the Ute chief Black Hawk. Tormented by his several years' warpath and pillage, the physically broken warrior toured central and southern Utah asking forgiveness. At times, his rite bordered on self-flagellation. Tonsured at his request as an act of penance, he spoke of his obvious decline and of Brigham Young's dark prophecy that those who opposed the Saints would inevitably wither. Would the settlers, he asked, absolve him?

At first I set the tableau aside. While aware of Black Hawk's conciliatory last travels, I thought stories of maledictions and penance were too pat and after the fact. But as my research continued, primary sources confirmed their outline. My experience, with a figure and episode of more than ordinary importance, suggests the incomplete and tentative nature of studies of Native Americans in the Brigham Young era. To be sure, much has been done. Consult the catalog of any large Utah or Mormon repository, and you will find an abundance of articles on Native Americans.² But the work is episodic and often uneven. At best scholars have illuminated perspectives rather than panoramas. Just to cite a few examples, we still wait for major studies of the Walker and Tintic wars—not to mention Utah Indian wars in general. We have neither monograph nor book on the Utah militia. With two or three exceptions, Indian biography, tribal surveys, and ecohistories have not been undertaken, at least in depth. Brigham Young's Indian dealing, his role as ex officio superintendent of Indian affairs, his directives relating to the Gunnison and Mountain Meadows massacres, and his ongoing relationship with Saint and Indian all require further study. Also needed are surveys dealing with government agents and policy, pertinent law, trading and commerce, the overlooked events of the last decade of Brigham Young's leadership, and Mormon-Indian relations, especially at the daily level of ordinary settlers and tribesmen. Above all, we need summary and synthesis.

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The length of this laundry list is surprising on at least two counts. Since mid-twentieth century, Mormon history has been a fruitful enterprise. Scores of increasingly sophisticated articles and books arrive each year, yet with short shift rendered to Indian studies. In contrast, one need only scan the *Western Historical Quarterly's* articles and reviews to document that at the same time western and national historians have given dramatic and leading attention to the topic.

Is this disparity simply another indication of Mormon peculiarity and relative isolation? Western and national historians who have written on the Native Americans during the last several decades were influenced by a post-Vietnam, New Frontier legacy. Much of their writing is antiarmy, antiwar, and pro-environment, with an equal revulsion for colonization and racism.¹ Of course there have been broader currents. But even the more balanced treatments betray a climate of opinion, like twentieth-century historiography generally, that exults in cultural diversity and has little patience with ideology and absolute values.²

Perhaps this is the reason why Mormon historians have largely allowed Native American studies to pass them by. Whatever its reputation in some quarters, the tenor of Mormon studies, at least from a national perspective, has been bland and conservative. We have been more prone to introspection than to challenge and protest. This inward tendency in turn has limited our attention to cultures different from our own.

But the most inhibiting factor to the study of Mormon-Indian relations probably lies in the usual historical interpretation of the Mormon experience with the Native American. Since pioneer times, Mormons have seen their acts toward the Indian as kindly and well meaning, and the majority of Mormon historians when crafting an occasional chapter or article have spoken with this viewpoint. They liked what they saw, or at least unconsciously accepted the cultural assumptions of which they were a part. This tendency has led to what might be described as the traditional view of Mormon-Indian relations. Begun by Hubert Howe Bancroft, Orson F. Whitney, and B. H. Roberts, it has continued in our own time with such scholars as Juanita Brooks. In an early article that had a wider implication than her apparent focus, Brooks examined the pioneer practice of taking Indian children into white homes. While she was not at all sure of the long-lasting success of the program, her conclusions were otherwise warmly supportive of both Brigham Young and his outlying settlers. Brooks's article had another importance. In examining this early

attempt at acculturation, she provided an early though seldom followed example of Mormon-Indian people's history.³

Charles E. Dibble's treatment of the Mormon mission to the Shoshoni was an equally important early survey. Dibble presaged later writing by placing the Mormon advance into the "land of the Shoshoni" within the cultural context of both white and red man. On one hand, like Brooks he acknowledged the Mormons' "special view of their own mission and the mission of the Indian." But he also traced Mormon success and failure within the Shoshoni's own cultural patterns.⁴ Subsequent writers have also pursued the theme of Mormon missions. David L. Bigler treated the ill-fated Fort Limhi, Idaho, settlement among the Bannocks.⁵ L. A. Fleming studied the Muddy River settlements in present-day southeastern Nevada, while Charles S. Peterson documented the Mormons' proselyting efforts with the Hopi.⁶ Though none of these pieces has the explicit sympathy of Brooks's article, none bears acrimony. They are content to tell their story within the framework of established interpretation: The Mormon-Indian frontier, while never without tension and even conflict, was nevertheless characterized by the Mormons' good intentions.⁷

The dean of Mormon historians, Leonard J. Arrington, also offered a supportive view. Writing several chapters on Indians while working on larger topics, Arrington, and in one case his coauthor Davis Bitton, updated the long-standing consensus. Arrington provided a broader survey of Brigham Young's policy, from the initial pioneer adjuration to "fort up" to later techniques aimed at assimilating Utah's Native Americans into Anglo society. In describing Mormon policy Arrington used words like "cooperation," "conciliation," "patience," and "forbearance." Yet he also acknowledged the tension between the Mormons' kindly Indian dealing and the requirements inherent in their large-scale colonization on Native American lands:

Brigham's Indian policy did not encompass respect or recognition for the values and outlook of their culture; he cannot fairly be portrayed as enlightened in a sense that would satisfy the militant Native Americans of today. Nonetheless, viewed in the nineteenth-century context, when ruthless exploitation and genocide were all too common, Brigham displayed moderation and a willingness to share.⁸

In sharp contrast to the views of the traditional historians, beginning in the late 1970s a competing version of events has emerged. Like the revisionists outside Utah and no doubt inspired by them, these younger historians approach the topic from what they feel was the Indian or at least a non-Mormon point of view.

Instead of cooperation on the Mormon-Indian frontier, they sense conflict. They see less philanthropy in Mormon dealing than cant. They look mostly in vain for anything praiseworthy or even unusual about the Mormon-Indian experience. Utah and the Intermountain West were largely the same old American refrain: two cultures sharply in conflict with the weaker left without rights, lands, or dignity.

The products of this newer approach are neither numerous nor comprehensive. No one has attempted even the limited overview undertaken by Arrington. One of the more active revisionists is Floyd A. O'Neil, director of the American West Center at the University of Utah. O'Neil began his study with a still unpublished Ph.D. dissertation on the Ute nation, followed some years later by an article on Mormon frontiersman George Washington Bean, which deals less with Bean than with Mormon-Indian relations in general. O'Neil also coauthored with Stanford J. Layton an interpretation of Brigham Young as Indian superintendent.¹¹

The latter study is representative of the new approach. O'Neil and Layton see the Mormons' land hunger as voracious, their motives suspect, and their effect on the Indians "devastating." Brigham Young in turn is viewed, especially in his dealings with Washington-appointed territorial officials, as arbitrary and ultimately ineffectual. The authors, however, concede some Mormon peculiarity: "Mormonism's stormy midwestern experience, its New England heritage, its scriptural base, and its schizophrenic view of government in the nineteenth century combined to create its own script that was acted out on the Utah stage."¹² It is, however, clearly an unpleasant drama, without much attractiveness insofar as the Mormon actors go.

Several articles by other scholars have continued the strain. Howard A. Christy argues that "hostility and bloodshed, as much as benevolence and conciliation, characterized Mormon-Indian relations in Utah before 1852." In point of fact, the former categorizes dominate Christy's survey. Centering his attention on Brigham Young and the Mormons' "Fort Utah" settlement near present-day Provo, Christy concludes that the Mormons held themselves to be culturally superior (indeed like the Indians themselves), took their lands, and at least during the period of survey failed to ameliorate Indian conditions by a policy of benevolence. According to Christy, the result was not unique. Like Native Americans elsewhere, Indians in Utah were not civilized, but destroyed.¹³

Others find equal harshness. Albert Winkler focuses on Mormon violence during the Black Hawk War that culminated in the killing of imprisoned Paiute men, women, and children at

Circleville, Utah, "the largest massacre," Winkler believes, "Indians in Utah's history."¹⁴ R. Warren Metcalf's view of the Black Hawk War is similar, holding that "the settlers first exproiated . . . [Indian] lands and then, when they resisted or became nuisance, the government removed them. The Black Hawk War may thus be seen as the hostile phase of this familiar pattern. Perhaps Eugene Campbell's *Establishing Zion* provides the full statement of the new school. Devoting two of his nineteen chapters to the subject, Campbell summarizes previous findings. First, argues for Mormon inconsistency. While the settlers' scriptural injunctions and good intentions might impel them to found Indian missions, their treatment of the Native American was beset by harsh encounters. Emphasizing tension, conflict, and the similarity of Mormon ways to the broader American experience, Campbell holds that Mormon colonization was disastrous for the Native American.¹⁶

The challenge of the revisionists met with surprising passivity. Only Lawrence G. Coates, a professor of history at Rice College, rose to the traditionalists' defense. Frankly acknowledging the Saints' ways were not always those of Brigham Young, Coates maintains that President Young's relations "with the Indians were more than pious expressions of good will or statements of empty dreams, hopes, and visions." If this argument was intended as a riposte to O'Neil and Layton, Coates appears equal willing to take on Christy, insisting that Brigham Young's actions "more than simple deeds of kindness or acts of violence," were "blend of his social-religious-humanitarian philosophy and practical measures that he thought necessary for establishing the Mormon kingdom of God on earth."¹⁷

The debate over Mormon Indian policy embraces some of the issues—and problems—of the larger, national discussion. Certainly some of the revisionists evince a higher appreciation, tolerance, of Indian culture and viewpoint. Environmental issues are also at times manifest, with at least several of the revisionists treating the Indian as something of a model or at least a successful ecologist. But if new perspectives are provided, there is also lamentable downside. Too often revisionist passion hinders thorough and balanced analysis. Indeed, some of the young authors only reverse the roles of previous heroes and villains creating fresh stereotypes in their wake.

Of course not all historical writing of the topic fits neatly in the two categories. A second article by Howard Christy mixes elements of both. Christy describes the passive defensive tactics successfully employed by Mormon leaders during the Walker War.

arguing that such a strategy was unprecedented in Mormon-Indian dealing and perhaps "unique in the general western [United States] experience." But he is not prepared to abandon the thesis of conflict. Were not the leadership's defensive tactics during the war an admission of its earlier failure with the "mailed fist"? Moreover, Christy chooses to accentuate the rank-and-file's resistance to the tactic. Didn't this document the "average" Mormon's hostility to the red man?¹⁸

Other writers have stood outside the polar tensions of Native American and Mormon studies. Gustive O. Larson narrates the circumstances of the important 1865 Spanish Fork treaty. In exchange for the promise of long-term annuities, the negotiated but unratified treaty tried to extinguish Ute land titles.¹⁹ Thomas G. Alexander's study of relations with the Interior Department places Mormon and Utah Indian matters into a wider, national scope, while Beverly Beeton's review of the Utah Indian farms, 1850-62, provides useful detail without the usual advocacy.²⁰ Finally, Beverly P. Smaby broadens the interpretive categories in her study of Mormons and Indians in the Great Basin. Less interested in sorting out blame than in understanding events, Smaby uses an ecological framework uniting geography, social organization, demography, and cultural values to describe the Mormon and Native American tension. Her "resource utilization" model finds two cultures radically at odds, with the Saints guilty not so much of blood and carnage as of excessive optimism and naiveté: "The Mormons, so inventive in solving problems of their own continued existence, were unable to appreciate the Indian ecological system; hence they were not in a position to supply any plan for change which grew from the concerns of Indian culture."²¹

Where do Mormon-Indian studies go from here? How can the varying historiographical perspectives be used to reconstruct a new and perhaps holistic design? A national perspective reminds us of the usual Hegelian process inherent in such controversies. In the national Native American literature, the advocacy of the 1960s and 1970s replaced the established *thesis*, and in turn the new *antithesis* has given way to *synthesis*. Recent works by Robert Berkhofer, Henry Warner Bowden, William Hagan, Clyde A. Milner, and Francis Paul Prucha have blurred polarities by suggesting the commonsense proposition that no race monopolizes good and evil. This new mood, perhaps a reflection of the cultural relativism of our own time, avoids the imposition of personal values, eschews ideological tirade for attempted balance, respects opposing cultures, and speaks softly, dispassionately, and when judging

human motive even ambiguously.²² Certainly these are not unworthy goals or themes.

The job must commence by expanding and homogenizing sources. Perhaps because of the daunting task before them, few scholars have mastered basic Mormon, Utah, and Bureau of Indian Affairs materials. For instance, the readily available *Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* contains an unusually rich lode of Indian resources, unfortunately concealed by a thoroughly unusable index on the topic.²³ The LDS Church Archives contain over one hundred diaries touching pioneer-Indian activity. Even more crucial, the Native American materials in the Brigham Young correspondence, largely favorable to the traditional view, have been the sole domain of Leonard Arrington and Lawrence Coates; no one else came knocking even when these materials were readily available.²⁴ Equally underused are the important Utah militia papers housed mainly at the Utah State Archives. Historians have made better use of the extensive but sometimes anti-Mormon Bureau of Indian Affairs letters and memoranda, but hardly in a comprehensive way. The best Native American work has dipped into a variety of these Mormon and non-Mormon sources. More often, selective research has produced selective conclusions.

Moreover, we must do a better job at understanding the Native American. Roy Harvey Pearce's observation is to the point: "White Americans in talking about the Indians have usually been talking to themselves about themselves."²⁵ Historians are not without knowledge of the Utah tribes.²⁶ But their reliance on traditional written sources has inhibited penetration and understanding. Even surviving Indian statements are inevitably strained through white perception, and as a result European cultural concepts have often been applied to the Indian in a rough and heavy-handed manner.

Examples of our ignorance are not difficult to find. Basic questions such as Indian population and mortality can be posed but not readily answered. Most surveys place Utah's indigenous population at the arrival of the Mormons somewhere between twelve thousand and thirty-five thousand, a not insignificant margin of error. It is significant, however, that recent national historians and demographers speak with one voice in posting much higher population estimates for the North American aborigines—in some cases estimates have risen by a factor of more than nine.²⁷ The implications of the higher calculations, even if only partially applicable to the Great Basin, are suggestive. White man's diseases—typhoid, diphtheria, colds, gonorrhea, influenza,

chicken pox, whooping cough, tuberculosis, yellow fever, scarlet fever, strep infections, and especially measles, smallpox, and syphilis—wreaked terrible havoc.²⁸ One mountain man thought the decline in Indian population began two decades prior to the coming of large-scale white migration and settlement. Thereafter it continued apace or accelerated.²⁹

Indian disease and decline suggest important questions. Was the struggle for game and land as great as some have thought? A diminished Indian population may have sustained itself at former and even higher levels despite a narrowing resource base, at least in the short run. At least some Indians, such as Kanosh, reported an improved living standard a decade after the Mormons began to move onto their lands.³⁰ Does the virulence of European disease account for what seems the rapid decline in Indian folk healing—and perhaps other traditional beliefs as well?³¹ The shaman-healer must have been seen as utterly impotent before the new scourges. Finally, we need to assess the role of disease as a factor in Indian behavior, both in inciting and moderating it. Disoriented and confused Indians at times blamed Mormon devilry for sickness within their tribes.³² On the other hand, members of Black Hawk's band testified to the role of infirmity and death in bringing their warfare to an end.³³

More needs to be known of other matters besides disease patterns. Historians too often have spoken cavalierly about Indian political organization, suggesting a unity or homogeneity that never existed. Some have generalized unwisely, citing the state-ments or behavior of one Indian or group and applying it indiscriminately to others. Utah Indian structure was diffuse, fluid, and local. Scores of petty bands, often with only nominal or temporary chiefs, pursued their own interests, sometimes mercurnially and contradictorily and often contrary to the behavior of their neighboring tribesmen. Of course within the larger tribes there were what white men saw as "grand chiefs." But even imposing leaders such as Washakee, Sowiette, Tabby, Wakara, and Arapcen complained of their inability to impose consistent discipline. Symptomatic of the problem, Wakara, by virtue of his supposed suzerainty, gained a long-lasting eponym during "Walker War," though he at times refused responsibility for the conflict and was out of the territory during its final stages.³⁴

The subtribes and tribes reacted differently to the garnut of the white man's ways. Some responded favorably, at least initially, to the idea of Indian farms, having practiced a rudimentary agriculture prior to the Mormon settlement. Others saw farming as "squaw's work," beneath contempt. Arapcen, Kanosh, and Tutsigobot took

to Mormon preachments and became in their own way preachers themselves. Relatively isolated from the Saints in the Uinta Basin, Sowiette and Tabby were more resistant to the Mormon message. The latter chiefs, however, were not opposed to the new reservation at Uinta (for them there was no uprooting), but many others resisted leaving their forefathers' lands and graves. These diffuse and centrifugal tendencies were especially apparent in the Utes' wars with the white men. From the initial "Battle Creek" engagement near present-day Pleasant Grove, Utah, in 1849 to the culminating Black Hawk War a decade and a half later, there was no unified Indian response, with warriors invariably fewer in number than the peacemakers, fence sitters, and informers. The Mormons never lacked for allies.

The cleavages widened at the intertribal level. Shoshonis, Utes, and Paiutes bore a strong animosity for one another. One week after their arrival, the advance party of the Mormons watched a wild fight between a Shoshoni and a Ute, which eventually ended in the latter's death. "The Shoshonis appeared to be displeased because the brethren had traded with the Utes," a pioneer record summarized the substance of the difficulty.³⁵ The Mormons would find tribal rivalry endemic. Like Indians elsewhere, the Shoshonis and Utes each regarded themselves as "the people" and probably feared their immemorial red enemies more than the white intruder.

Behind the inter- and intratribal rivalries, of course, lay people—individual men and women with personality and feeling, not simply a faceless, blurred historical concept or conglomeration. Certainly we know enough of the early chiefs to begin assigning character. There was the sterling and magisterial Sowiette, bearing the wisdom of old age, consistently seeking peace; Wakara, quick-witted and clever, volatile, light on his feet; Kanosh, the "white man's friend"; Big Elk, brave, cool, determined as he defended his well-chosen ramparts during the Fort Utah conflict; or Squash, angry, manipulating, given to trickery. Together, even using white man's records, their collective portrait is not unsatisfactory. Certainly they were not passive. Taken as a group, the Indian leaders seem able, thoughtful, and, within the measure of their society, honorable. Generally their first impulse—and often their second and third as well—was toward peace. Concerned about their leadership responsibility, most wanted what was best for their followers and seemingly recognized quite early that their nomadic ways must eventually be put aside. The trick, given the deep longings of their culture, was in the doing.

What does this suggest about the writing of Indian history? We must seek new interpretive concepts. We must write carefully with an eye to the particular, but above all must be conscious and respectful of another culture. "If we are going to tell the whole story of Indian-white relations," Wilbur Jacobs has written, "we must make an all-out attempt to picture the clash of cultures so that there will be an understanding of both cultures, not just one. Thus, to give more attention to the Indian side is not necessarily to plead for the Indian point of view."³⁶

Fortunately there are helpful existing disciplines. Too long have the historian, the ethnologist, and the psychological anthropologist pursued their own ways. Ethnography can help make sense of the abundant clues of Indian culture in the written sources. For instance, the records often speak of the "brother" relationship of the major Ute leaders.³⁷ Are not at least some of these references to the cross-cousin marriages widely found in American aborigine culture elsewhere? Similarly, the ethnologist can bring understanding of tribal organization and functioning, ecological and social relationships, and the Native American's changing economic system.³⁸

Finally, the rich Indian belief and religious system begs for research, with its guardian spirits, spells, dreams, shamans, and burial rites. While Joseph G. Jorgensen has explored Ute deprivation, religion, and shifting culture, much remains to be done.³⁹ For many Great Basin Indians, the 1870s were filled with religious awakening, millennial expectation, reasserted cultural pride, Mormon conversion, and deep visionary quest—all at the time the inaugurated reservation movement seemed to place Indian culture at great risk. From the retrospect of the twentieth century, these developments may have an application beyond Mormon and Indian studies. The religious awakening of the 1870s parallels in many ways the widely documented Third World "cargo-cult religions" of our own time and may provide a case study of a people's religious adaptation to the shock of deep-felt culture change.

If we need to understand the Native American better, the same is true for the Mormon. Despite reams of previous study, in some ways Brigham Young and his followers remain as shrouded in mystery as their Native American counterparts. The problem involves both facts and interpretation. As indicated previously, the field has only been partially cultivated. But as important as further research may be, the challenging and perhaps irreducible problem lies with methods and explication.

The strong sense of advocacy afflicting both Mormon and Indian studies will likely continue. But there are interpretive

approaches that may narrow the differences and bring more understanding. First, Mormon Indian policy must be placed within its wider culture. To an outsider looking in, some of the current arguments must appear strangely skewed. Brigham Young's 1850 letter urging Indian removal and the extinction of Indian land titles, often cited as an indictment, becomes more understandable within the context of national practice.⁴⁰ Usually titles were cleared prior to or as soon after settlement as possible, but the Mormon advance into Mexican territory, the ambiguity of Indian land rights conveyed in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and the slowness of the federal government to clarify them left both Mormon and non-Mormon territorial leaders deeply troubled.⁴¹

Other examples of equally narrow interpretation can be cited. For their part, Mormons have not been quick to show that many of their pioneer practices, whether the charity of the Relief Society women in making Indian clothing or Mormon attempts to promote Indian agriculture, education, and conversion, fit into the altruistic practices of the time.⁴² Moreover, the Mormons shared long-term goals with their broader society. Like eastern reformers, they wanted Indian assimilation, which scholars now sense was probably beyond anyone's grasp. In a passage that might have been written by a historian detailing the Mormon-Indian experience, Clyde Milner has observed: "The assimilationist program often assumed a simplistic correlation between the acceptance of white ways and the establishment of economic prosperity. With the habits of civilization were to come the habits of husbandry and vice versa. Cultural assimilation and agricultural development were to go hand in hand."⁴³ The flaw of course lay in the strength and resiliency of Indian culture, which white Americans, in their ethnocentrism, were not quick to perceive.⁴⁴

Mormon experience was like experience elsewhere in another respect. Those most prone to humanity and generosity toward the Indians were often removed from daily, intimate contact with them, whether Gilded Age liberals, enlightened military commanders, or reform-minded churchmen.⁴⁵ In the case of the Saints, the incidence of misbehavior and culpability seemed to grow with each concentric circle radiating from Brigham Young and the Mormon leadership. The gap between the ideal and the real left the Mormon prophet despairing: "If the inhabitants of this Territory, my brethren, had never condescended to reduce themselves to the practices of the Indian—(as a few of them have) to their low, degraded condition, and in some cases even lower, there never would have been any trouble between us and our red neighbors."⁴⁶ Or consider Young's letter to Arapaeen during the Tintic War:

I feel just as well with you as I ever did. I sometimes think that if we could get a valley a way off alone and could get all the Mormons that want to fight Indians and won't hear, and all the Indians that want to fight and won't listen to good talk such as you give them and let them fight till they were satisfied that it would be the means of making a good peace.⁴⁷

One need not probe too deeply to sense the tension between Brigham and some of his followers. While many attempted to adhere to his policy of conciliation, no doubt others bridled at his counsel. A few responded publicly. One correspondent spoke of the heavy demands the Indians made on the settlers and called for a "firm" policy of discipline. In a thinly veiled allusion to the Mormon leader, he wrote, "Should hostilities ensue, whilst we wish our leaders to be prudent, wise men, we would rather choloise those who have learned other military tactics than the extreme of officers to the rear in time of danger and well away to the front on the retreat."⁴⁸

Was there something unique or unusual in the Mormons' Indian experience after all? One suspects from the impressionistic evidence before us that there is a story waiting to be told. We do know from the work of Arrington, Coates, and Christy that especially after 1850 Brigham Young preached a conciliatory policy, which at least in the Walker War resulted in a defensive, almost pacifistic stance.⁴⁹ He was as cautious during the Black Hawk difficulty, reminding Orson Hyde, who directed Mormon affairs at the seat of the conflict in Sanpete County:

Our past experience with the Indian tribes with which we have come in contact has led us to adopt as a maxim that it is cheaper to feed Indians than to fight them. The correctness of this maxim is especially forced upon us when we consider the great risk the brethren run of losing their lives in endeavoring to whip or kill the marauders. The loss of the life of even one faithful man is something too valuable to be put in the scale against any number of these Indians. . . .

The plan we now propose to adopt is to stop fighting altogether, and as soon as possible establish communication with the disaffected Indians and endeavor to make peace with them by means of presents.⁵⁰

President Young's new policy did not bring a quick end to the conflict. With depredations continuing, he moved a half year later to quiet growing white animosity. Calling a meeting of the Saints at Springville, he touched first on the comments of a previous speaker: "Brother [Ezra T.] Benson expressed himself as though some of the brethren felt like wiping out the Lamanites [Indians] in these regions, root and branch. The evil passions that arise in our

hearts would prompt us to do this, but we must bring them into subjection to the law of Christ." He then asked the Saints to forgive past depredations and allow malefactors to resume a place in their communities:

When they come to live in your vicinity again, let them come in peace. . . . Do we wish to do right? . . . Then let the Lamanites come back to their homes, where they were born and brought up. This is the land that they and their fathers have walked over and called their own; and they have just as good a right to call it theirs to-day as any people have to call any land their own. . . .

. . . We should now use the Indians kindly, and deal with them so gently that we will win their hearts and affections to us more strongly than before; and the much good that has been done them, and the many kindnesses that have been shown them, will come up before them, and they will see that we are their friends.⁵¹

Other evidence can be suggested beside Brigham Young's sermonizing. In the aftermath of the Spanish Fork treaty, O. H. Irish acknowledged Brigham's sway. "He has pursued so kind and conciliatory a policy with the Indians," he reported to his Washington superiors, "that it has given him great influence over them."⁵² Even an antagonistic observer, Agent Garland Hurt, acknowledged the scale of Mormon Indian subsidies. He complained, in fact, that they had become too great a burden on the Mormon rank and file.⁵³ Following the Indian incursions into Sanpete County in 1872, Camp Douglas commander Lieutenant Colonel Henry Morrow was impressed with the Saints' self-control. The Indians had become "arrogant, domineering, and dictatorial," entering homes, demanding specially prepared food, requisitioning livestock. "I think I may say with truthfulness," Morrow reported, "that there is not another American community in the nation which would have endured half the outrages these people endured, before rising up as one man to drive out the savage invaders at the point of the bayonet."⁵⁴ While the question is yet to be fully treated, we may tentatively posit that the scope and duration of the Mormons' conciliatory policy may have been unusual, perhaps exceptional.

This hypothesis does not set aside the primary assumption of the revisionist school. Tension and strife were endemic in Mormon-Indian affairs, with Indian land rights usually at the center of things. The Mormons pursued an uneven land policy, sometimes taking refuge in the scriptural injunction that the land belonged to no man—neither Indian, Mormon, Mexican, nor American. It was the Lord's and for everyone to share.⁵⁵ On other occasions, they struck deals, securing occupancy in lieu of services or goods. Sometimes they simply settled, taking much of the ground but

reserving parcels for Indian use. In several instances, driven to desperation by Indian depredations, they offered to buy large tracts from Wakara and others. More generally they asserted the clearing of Indian titles was a federal government responsibility. Through the several permutations of their policy, they generally upheld an Indian moral right. Young claimed his followers had never settled on Indian ground without permission, and until titles could be established the Mormons bore an obligation to provide the original occupants compensating food and assistance.⁵⁶

If Mormon motives and policies were mixed, so were those of the Native Americans. As elsewhere in the nation, Utah's Indians perceived cultural and economic advantages to white settlement. Trading their skins and labor, they secured from the Mormons horses, guns, ammunition, and learning into white man's ways. While often beneficial to both parties, the arrangement sometimes brought tension. Brigham Young admitted that while the Native Americans had "universally solicited" Mormon settlement, their hospitality could sour: "If they in some few instances should happen to be refused a piece of bread, or a beef ox when it could not be spared, they might anger up a moment, or wish to force presents, complain that this was their land and wish us to leave."⁵⁷

For President Young's part, he believed the ensuing tension was less than in other frontier settlements.⁵⁸ That proposition is yet to be demonstrated. But it seems reasonable to conclude that the Mormon-Indian frontier had elements of both *conflict* and *cooperation*, and that when interpreting the Mormon-Indian experience, historians would do well to set aside polarities for models of human complexity and diversity. The breadth of data cannot be encompassed otherwise.

An illustration will conclude the point. During the pioneer era, soldiers, forty-niners, Gentile settlers, and territorial officials each charged the Mormons with Indian "tampering," that is, controlling the Indians for their own purposes independent of national policy.⁵⁹ That charge, which had truth to it, is hardly consistent with the revisionists' stress on unalloyed conflict. Would embattled and hostile Indians have been pliable to Mormon influence? Why did Bureau of Indian Affairs agents fear a Mormon and Indian alliance and consistently report many of the Indians' pro-Mormon sympathies?

This leads to a final element in the proposed new synthesis. The new Indian history needs to place the Native American into the texture of pioneer life, and it is here that the revisionists' emphasis on conflict has particularly been ill serving. Too often the Utah Indian has appeared in our histories simply as a barrier to white

man's civilization. We have emphasized wars and warriors instead of painting the broader landscape of everyday life. Sometimes the record seems expunged, as though a censor's scissors had been at work. Historians for example have typically described the Salt Lake Valley upon the pioneers' arrival as an uninhabited no-man's land, a Ute-Shoshoni march. Yet Brigham Young remembered three hundred Indians periodically camped at their Warm Springs traditional camp, with additional clans to the south and east.⁶⁰ Accounts of the inaugural Pioneer Day celebration of 1849 say little about the Native American, though one of its purposes was Indian pacification, and Wakara and two hundred of his tribesmen ate the Saints' bounty.⁶¹ Despite the paucity of detail in contemporary accounts, after the initial stage of settlement Indians became part of the warp and woof of most Mormon communities, coming and going, interacting with the settlers. This was also true during the first decade after the establishment of the Uinta reservation, when contrary to some narratives the bulk of the Indians remained with the whites on their ancestral lands.

Much of this daily, common detail can be reconstructed from diaries. The neglected Works Progress Administration historical records, for example, provide fascinating glimpses. "The Ute Indians were always around," remembered one respondent on early Round Valley life.⁶² Hannah McFarlane Bingham recalled the arrival of a thirty-six member Indian camp on a sand ridge east of Ogden. Only eight years old, she played with the Indian children until her brother accidentally stepped on an Indian child's foot. The child's frightened cries brought "two old buck Indians" wielding a butcher knife. "Her brother ran home, ducked under the bed, very much frightened. Her father had to give them flour and sugar to pacify them. Mrs. Bingham never played with the Indian children again."⁶³

This kind of detail suggests the intimacy between the two peoples—but also the cultural gap that divided them. Their religious dealings demonstrated as much. Particularly in the early 1850s, the Mormons actively evangelized the Indians, baptizing many and ordaining prominent chiefs to the Mormon priesthood. But probably not until the 1870s did the Indians demonstrate much Mormon identity. Then, hundreds voluntarily submitted to baptism or rebaptism. To the Mormons it seemed the scriptural fulfillment that "a nation will be born in a day."⁶⁴

During this period the Mormons accelerated their program of "civilizing," establishing Indian farms in the Malad and Thistle valleys and another in the west desert. But a decade later Church President John Taylor acknowledged the failure of the Mormons to

deal effectively with their red brethren: "It has been too much the habit in many places to have the Indians to take care of themselves in religious matters," he observed. "They have been baptized and confirmed and then left to do as they please."⁶⁵

By the end of Brigham Young's presidency, from the Mormon perspective there were successes as well as failures. President Young's policy had neutralized the primary chiefs and primary clans; most Utah Indian hostility during his thirty-year administration had been localized and spasmodic. The wholesale carnage of many other communities had been avoided. Probably the majority of Utah's Native Americans were at least nominal Mormons. Yet, unfortunately, there was also distress. Government Indian Agents reported the decline of the never-too-strong chiefly power. Disease had wreaked havoc, while the social diseases of alcoholism, gambling, and prostitution were widespread.⁶⁶

During the winter of 1870, the *Deseret News* provided a telling vignette, noting that no fewer than five Indians had been seen walking State Road intoxicated: "Three of the five were inclined to mischief; one drew a pistol and the other two drew their butcher knives, and a fight among the three seemed imminent. The pistol was fired, but instead of fighting they sat down and commenced gambling for whisky."⁶⁷

The incident told of the times—and of what increasingly would occur. In reconstructing Utah's pioneer-Indian relations, we may speak of the need for greater understanding for both the Indian and the Mormon. We may hope that future studies will smooth the sharp contours of past writing and bring newer interpretive categories that will endow the protagonists with greater complexity and humanity. But the story will remain more unpleasant than we might wish. Despite the good intentions of many red men and whites, two opposing and unyoked cultures had clashed, and with disease playing a major role the result became predictable and tragic.

NOTES

¹Mary Goble Poy, "Reminiscences," in *Treasures of Pioneer History*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1952-57), 4:208; *Deseret News*, 21 August 1867, 7, 9 July and 22 December 1869; and *Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 25 May 1869, Library-Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives); see also n. 23 below.

²David J. Whitaker, "Mormons and Native Americans: A Historical and Bibliographical Introduction," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Winter 1985): 33-64, offers a fine bibliographic introduction to the topic. While one of the purposes of this article is to discuss recent historical writing on Utah's Native Americans, readers should also be aware of Peter Conditson, *Indian Depredations in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Skeiton Publishing Co., 1919). Conditson's work is anecdotal, fragmentary, and carries the cultural biases of the time, yet it remains the beginning point for nineteenth-century Mormon-Indian research, particularly for military matters.

³I am thinking especially of such authors as Cecil Eby, "The Black Disrespectful Affair," *The Black Hawk War* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973); Charles Hamilton, ed., *Cry of the Thunderbird: The American Indian's Own Story* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972); Robert F. Heizer, ed., *The Destruction of California Indians* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Peregrine Smith, 1974); Wilbur R. Jacobs, "The Indian and the Frontier in American History—A Need for Revision," *Western Historical Quarterly* 4 (January 1973): 43-56; Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Carl of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975); Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Indian in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975); and Donald E. Worcester, ed., *Forced Tongues and Broken Treaties* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1975).

⁴My generalization, of course, is sweeping, but the general mood is detached. The best of the recent books include Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1978); Henry Warner Bowden, *American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); William T. Hagan, *United States-Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1976); William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984); Clyde A. Milner II, *With Good Intentions: Quaker Work among the Pawnees, Ojibwa and Omaha in the 1870s* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982); Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1885-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976); Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984); Bernard W. Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973); and Robert A. Tennert, Jr., *Alternative to Extinction: Federal Indian Policy and the Beginnings of the Reservation System, 1846-1851* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975).

⁵Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (January-April 1944): 1-48. See also Juanita Brooks, "Indian Sketches from the Journal of T. D. Brown and Jacob Hamblin," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (October 1961): 347-60.

⁶Charles E. Dibble, "The Mormon Mission to the Shoshoni Indians," *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (January 1947): 64.

⁷David L. Bigler, "The Crisis at Fort Limhi, 1858," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Spring 1967): 121-36.

⁸L. A. Fleming, "The Settlements on the Muddy, 1865 to 1871: 'A Godforsaken Place,'" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Spring 1967): 147-72; Charles S. Peterson, "The Hopi and the Mormons, 1858-1873," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1971): 179-94. See also Charles S. Peterson, "Jacob Hamblin, Apostle to the Lamanites, and the Indian Mission," *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975): 21-34. In this category might also be placed the preliminary and more conversational Coulson and Geneva Wright, "Indian-White Relations in the Uintah Basin," *Utah Humanities Review* 2 (October 1948): 319-45.

⁹Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Knopf, 1985), 222. See also Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Knopf, 1979), 145-60; and Leonard J. Arrington, "The Mormons and the Indians: A Review and Evaluation," *Record* (Friends of the Library, Washington State University, Pullman) 31 (1970): 5-29.

¹⁰Floyd A. O'Neil, "The Nation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1973); "The Mormons, the Indians, and George Washington Bean," in Clyde A. Milner II and Floyd A. O'Neil, eds., *Churchmen and the Western Indians, 1820-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 77-107; Floyd A. O'Neil and Stanford J. Layton, "Of Pride and Politics: Brigham Young as Indian Superintendent," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 1978): 236-50.

¹¹O'Neil and Layton, "Of Pride and Politics," 237.

¹²Howard A. Christy, "Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah, 1847-52," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 1978): 217.

¹⁰Albert Winkler, "The Circleville Massacre: A Brutal Incident in Utah's Black Hawk War," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 55 (Winter 1987): 4.

¹¹R. Warren Metcalf, "A Precarious Balance: The Northern Utes and the Black Hawk War," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 57 (Winter 1989): 25. For Metcalf's larger study, see "A Reappraisal of Utah's Black Hawk War" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1989); Carlton Culme, *Utah's Black Hawk War: Lore and Reminiscences of Participants* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1973), was first published as a 1930 newspaper serialization. While conveying incident and detail, it of course does not partake in the currents and crosscurrents of present-day writing.

¹²Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847-1860* (Salt Lake City: Signature, 1988), 94, 100. While the focus is not on Mormon-Indian relations, Brigham D. Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), and Madsen, *Chief Paravello: The White Plume* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986), in passing describe Mormon conduct as confrontational.

¹³Lawrence G. Coates, "Brigham Young and Mormon Indian Policies: The Formative Period, 1830-1851," *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 428. See also Lawrence G. Coates, "Mormons and Social Change among the Shoshoni, 1833-1900," *Idaho Yesterday* 15 (Winter 1972): 2-11; Lawrence G. Coates, "George Catlin, Brigham Young, and the Plains Indians," *BYU Studies* 17 (Autumn 1976): 114-18; and Lawrence G. Coates, "Refugees Meet: The Mormons and Indians in Iowa," *BYU Studies* 21 (Fall 1981): 491-514.

¹⁴Howard A. Christy, "The Walker War: Defense and Conciliation as Strategy," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Fall 1979): 419.

¹⁵Quastie O. Larson, "Utah's Dream: The Ute Treaty—Spanish Fork, 1863," *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 361-81.

¹⁶Thomas G. Alexander, *A Clash of Interests: Interior Department and Mountain West, 1863-96* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1977), esp. chap. 4. Beverly Beeton, "Teach Them to Till the Soil: An Experiment with Indian Farms, 1850-1862," *American Indian* 3 (Winter 1977-78): 299-320.

¹⁷Beverly P. Smaby, "The Mormons and the Indians: Conflicting Ecological Systems in the Great Basin," *American Studies* 16 (Spring 1975): 46.

¹⁸See n. 4 for full information on the following: Berthoff, *White Man's Indian*; Bowden, *American Indians and Christian Missions*; Hagan, *United States Comanche Relations*; Milner, *With Good Intentions*; Puchta, *American Indian Policy in Crisis and Great Failure*.

¹⁹The Journal History is a huge, multivolume, chronological scrapbook of Mormon miscellany, drawing on diaries, newspapers, personal and official letters, and other LDS church records. Microfilm copies of the collection are lodged in principal Mormon and Utah repositories, including the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University.

²⁰Once open to research, the Brigham Young Collection largely has been inaccessible to scholars without the special permission of the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

²¹Cited in Brian W. Dippie, review of Stan Steiner, *The Vanishing White Man*, in *Western Historical Quarterly* 8 (October 1977): 470.

²²For a sampling of recent writing on the Mormon region's tribes during the pioneer period, see the special issue of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1971), which includes articles by James B. Allen and Ted J. Warner, "The Goshute Indians in Pioneer Utah," 162-77; Robert W. Delaney, "The Southern Ute a Century Ago," 114-27; Catherine S. and Dan D. Fowler, "Western Shoshonis," 93-113; and Floyd A. O'Neil, "The Reluctant Suzzurany: The Uimah and Ouray Reservation," 129-44. See also Fred A. Connel, *History of the Northern Ute People*, eds. Kathryn L. McKay and Floyd A. O'Neil (Salt Lake City: Uimah Ouray Ute Tribe, 1982); Joseph G. Jorgensen, *The Sun Dance Religion: Power for the Powerless* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972); Julian H. Steward, *Aboriginal and Historic Groups of the Ute Indians of Utah: An Analysis with Supplement* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974); Ormer C. Stewart, "Ute Indians: Before and after White Contact," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34 (Winter 1966): 38-61; Ormer C. Stewart, "Tribal Distributions in the Great Basin," in Warren L. d'Azavedo et al., eds., *The Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin*, 1964 (Reno, Nev.: Desert Research Institute, 1966), 167-237; Gregory C. Thompson, "The Unwanted Indians: The Southern Utes in Southeastern Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (Spring 1981): 189-203; S. Lyman Tyler, "The Indians in Utah Territory," in *Utah's History*, ed. Richard D. Poll et al. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 357-68.

²³Wilbur R. Jacobs, "The Indian and the Frontier in American History—A Need for Revision," *Western Historical Quarterly* 4 (January 1973): 45. Quite another question is the effect of Western disease on native fauna. Several Indians spoke of the decline of the range after the coming of the mountain men, a generalization or two prior to Mormon immigration.

²⁴Ibid., 46 n. 27. Scholars debate whether some venereal diseases, including syphilis, may have been present in the Americas prior to the coming of the Europeans.

²⁵Jacob Fomey, "Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," 29 September 1859, in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: George W. Bowman, 1860), 362-63.

²⁶*Deseret News*, 24 August 1854, 27 May 1855, and 1 June 1856.

²⁷See J. J. Critchlow to E. P. Smith, 10 August 1873, *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81*, Utah Superintendent, 1869-1880 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1958 [hereafter cited as Indian Affairs Letters, 1824-81]).

²⁸Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1858, LDS Church Archives, 712.

²⁹John Wesley Powell and G. W. Ingalls, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1873), 47, 56.

³⁰Brigham Young came to believe him. "Allow me to say a word in behalf of Walker," he was reported saying in one of his sermons. "I tell this congregation and the world, that 'Indian Walker,' as he is called, has not been at the foundation of the difficulties we have had. He has had nothing to do with them." (*Deseret News*, 11 May 1854).

³¹*Journal History*, 31 July 1847, 1. Also see the Howard Egan and Wilford Woodruff journals, LDS Church Archives, for the same date.

³²Jacobs, "The Indian and the Frontier," 43 n. 27.

³³Using these references, Conway B. Some has posited a Ute family dynasty of fifteen members, reported saying in one of his sermons. "I tell this congregation and the world, that 'Indian Walker,' as he is called, has not been at the foundation of the difficulties we have had. He has had nothing to do with them." (*Deseret News*, 11 May 1854).

³⁴For a stimulating review of possibilities, see Calvin Martin, "Ethnohistory: A Better Way to Write Indian History," *Western Historical Quarterly* 9 (January 1978): 41-56.

³⁵See Jorgensen, *Sun Dance Religion*.

³⁶Agent Presidency to John M. Bernhisel, 20 November 1850, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives. See also Brigham Young Manuscript History, same date, 108.

³⁷"Petition of Governor [Alfred Cumming] and Judges . . . to A. B. Greenwood," *Journal History*, 1 November 1860; and John Dawson, Governor's Message, *Journal History*, 10 December 1861, 11. The language of the former (p. 1) is instructive: "It is believed that this Territory presents the only instance of the organization of a Territorial Government by Congress,—the country thrown open to settlement without measures being first adopted to extinguish the Indian title. The result has been repeated and almost constant depredations by the Indians upon the settlers, the destruction of whole fields of grain, stealing and driving away stock, and, in many instances, the most wanton and cruel murder of peaceful and unoffending citizens." As late as immediately prior to the negotiation of the 1865 Spanish Fork Treaty, the government was unwilling to recognize fully the Indian title. Agent O. H. Irish was instructed to differentiate between "Indian title" and "Indian occupancy" (see William P. Dole to O. H. Irish, 28 March 1865, in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865* [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865], 148-49).

³⁸See, for instance, Bowden, *American Indians and Christian Missions*; William G. McLoughlin, *Cherished and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984); Milner, *With Good Intentions*; Francis Paul Puchta, *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the 'Friends of the Indian', 1880-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973); John Upton Terrill, *The Arrow and the Cross: A History of the American Indian and the Missionaries* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Capra Press, 1979); Gerald Thompson, *The Army and the Navajo: The Boyce Redondo Reservation Experiment, 1863-1869* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976). For a treatment of Mormon charity, see Richard L. Jensen, "Forgotten Relief Societies, 1844-67," *Dialogue* 16 (Spring 1983): 105-25.

³⁹Clyde A. Milner II, "Off the White Road: Seven Nebraska Indian Societies in the 1870s—A Statistical Analysis of Assimilation, Population, and Prosperity," *Western Historical Quarterly* 12 (January 1981): 37.

⁴⁰Francis Paul Puchta, *Great Father*, treats this theme at length.

⁴¹See Robert H. Keller, *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983); Robert Winslow Martello, *The Reformers and the American Indian* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971). For literature on the "reformist" generals, see John W. Bailey, *Pacifying the Plains: General Alfred Terry and the Decline of the Sioux, 1866-1890* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979); Richard N. Ellis, *General Pope and U.S. Indian Policy* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970); and Richard N. Ellis, "The Humanitarian Generals," *Western Historical Quarterly* 3 (April 1972): 169-78.

⁴²Brigham Young, Remarks, 6 April 1854, in *Deseret News*, 11 May 1854.

⁴³March 1856, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁴Thomas Memmott to the Salt Lake Herald, 10 July 1872.

⁴⁵Arctington, *Brigham Young American Mors*, 210-22; Coates, "Brigham Young and Mormon Indian Policies," and Christy, "Walker War."

⁴⁶Brigham Young to Orson Hyde, 1 October 1865, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁷Brigham Young, "Remarks" (at Springville, 28 July 1866), *Deseret News*, 16 August 1866. Given at the height of the war, this is one of Young's most conciliatory, pacifist statements.

⁴⁸O. H. Irish to William P. Dole, 29 June 1865, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), 150.

⁴⁹Garland Hunt to J. M. Elliot, 4 October 1856, Indian Affairs Letters, 1824-81. Mormons were not hesitant in noting their heavy Indian tax. While such sentiment could be cited at length,

see "Excursion to Fillmore" (a report of the tour of John M. Bernhisel and Daniel H. Wells), 29 August 1855, *Deseret News*; and Edward Hunter, Bishops' Meeting, 29 November 1877, *Journal History*, same date.

¹¹Henry A. Morrow, Lt. Col. U. S. Army, Commanding, to George W. Dodge, 7 September 1872, in *Deseret News*, 25 September 1872.

¹²Pp. 24:1, 1 Cor. 10:26. For an example of such Mormon use, see Brigham Young to Washilee, 1 May 1855, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

¹³Brigham Young to John M. Bernhisel, 27 May 1856, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives. "We have never in a single instance driven off the Indians from their land," Young claimed, "of this you are well aware."

¹⁴Brigham Young to John M. Bernhisel, 27 May 1856, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

¹⁵Brigham Young, sermon at Logan, Utah, 9 September 1866, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

¹⁶For the briefest sampling of evidence, see Anthony Elhier to *Deseret News*, 2 July 1863, and the following in Indian Affairs Letters, 1824-81: E. J. Stepike to George W. Manypenny, 5 April 1855; Garland Hunt to Manypenny, 2 May 1855; Henry Martin to William P. Dole, 2 September 1861; John W. Dawson to C. B. Smith, 26 October 1861; O. H. Irish to William P. Dole, 8 September 1864.

¹⁷Brigham Young, remarks, *Deseret News*, 15 April 1871.

¹⁸Thomas L. Kane, "The Mormons: A Discourse Delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," in *Journal History*, 26 March 1850.

¹⁹Interview of Moses L. Burdick, "Works Progress Administration Utah Historical Records Survey, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter cited as WPA Records).

²⁰Interview with Hannah McFarlane Brigham, "WPA Records.

²¹Edward Hunter, Record of Bishops Meetings, Reports of Wards, Ordinations, Instructions, and General Proceedings of the Bishops and Lesser Priesthood, 2 February 1875 to 27 November 1879, LDS Church Archives. For a contemporary report of some of the conversions, see *Deseret News*, 30 October 1874.

²²John Taylor and George Q. Cannon to Jesse W. Crosby, Jr., 11 December 1885, John Taylor Papers, LDS Church Archives.

²³See, for instance, in Indian Affairs Letters, 1824-81: Benjamin Davies to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 20 January 1861; G. W. Dodge to Francis Walker, 18 March 1872; J. J. Critchlow to H. R. Cleern, 15 March 1873; J. W. Powell and G. W. Ingalls to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 25 July 1873.

²⁴*Deseret News*, 26 February 1870.

The Rise and Decline of Mormon San Bernardino

Edward Leo Lyman

From the beginning of what was to be the Latter-day Saint settlement at San Bernardino, the spirit of cooperation and harmony was strikingly prevalent, outstanding even among Mormon pioneers noted for success in planting new colonies through the mutual efforts of their members. Yet while the first three years of the community were notable examples of success and cooperation, the last three years the Mormons dominated there present a contrary picture of growing disenchantment and rising antagonisms. The purpose of this essay is to suggest an explanation of why the successful Mormon community of San Bernardino so rapidly disintegrated.

In 1849, Apostles Amasa M. Lyman and Charles C. Rich were sent to California with a specific charge to determine "the expediency or not of holding an influence in the country."¹ Since Brigham Young and his associates had vivid recollections of Mormon inability to live harmoniously among non-Mormon neighbors, this was probably aimed at retaining or regaining influence with Church members in California. After associating with Mormon brethren in the mining camps and elsewhere for much of a year, Elder Lyman wrote to Brigham Young that "to strike hands with a man having the Spirit of God is a rare treat in California," meaning that there were but few, in his judgment, who had maintained their full commitment to the faith after coming into contact with what he termed "the poison of gold."

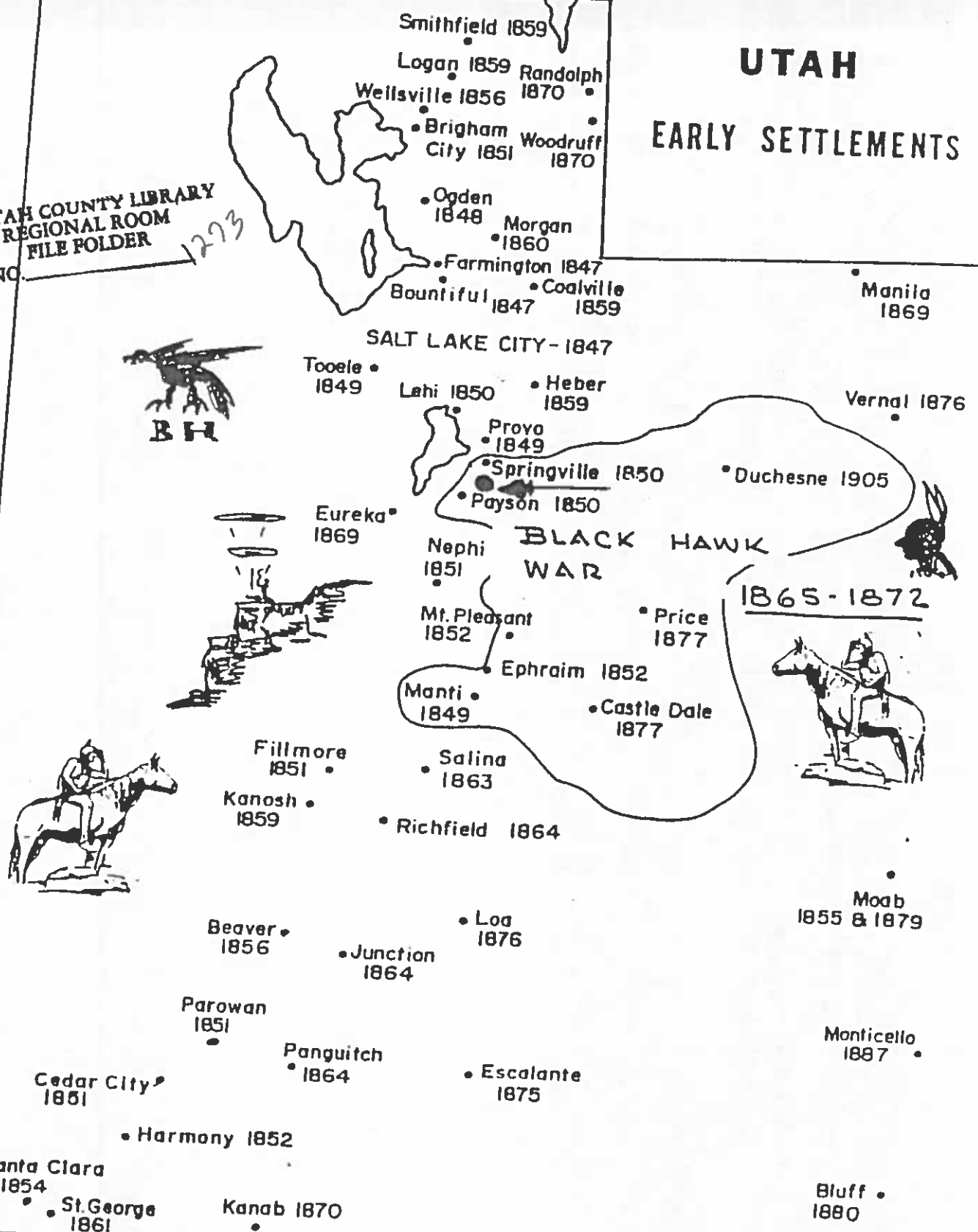
Nevertheless, Elder Lyman advised that after careful consideration it was his conclusion "that the interests of the church required a resting place in the region." He specified Southern California, which his associate, Elder Rich, had recently described in detail as the only place available with the advantages they were seeking. One of these advantages may well have been distance from

Edward Leo Lyman is social science department chairman at Victor Valley College, Victorville, California. He is currently writing a book-length social history of the San Bernardino Mormon community in the 1850s. This essay is a revised version of an essay that originally appeared in *Southern California Quarterly* 65 (Winter 1983): 321-39. It is reprinted here by permission.

UTAH

EARLY SETTLEMENTS

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Still, this is a well-written and carefully researched study. It broadens our understanding of Indian education and confirms that even off-reservation boarding schools—the crown jewels of the system—were hardly the stuff of lofty cultural transformation.

CLYDE ELLIS
Elon College, North Carolina

Utah's Black Hawk War. By John Alton Peterson. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998. xi + 432 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$50.95, cloth; \$19.95, paper.)

Not as well known as its eastern counterpart, the Utah Black Hawk War disposessed the Northern Utes of most of their territory west of the Rockies. From early 1865 to late 1867 Antonga Black Hawk, a Timpanogos Ute, was the paramount leader of Indians who attacked Mormon settlements and livestock herds, forcing the abandonment of many villages in southern and central Utah. Some Utes continued to raid after he capitulated, but hostilities finally ended in 1872. The war was the last major Ute attempt to resist expanding Mormon settlement, which by the mid-1860s substantially reduced Indian access to resources and brought widespread starvation and disease. Peterson sees the conflict as an anomaly in America's Indian wars because of the almost two decades that Utes and Mormons had been neighbors and, more convincingly, because of the effect on the war of the triangle of hostility between Mormons, Indians, and gentiles (non-Mormons), especially federal officials. For differing reasons, both federal officials and Mormon leaders kept the conflict out of the national spotlight and the national army out of the conflict. The local militia known as the Nauvoo Legion, which had no federal or territorial legal basis, conducted the campaign.

Peterson effectively portrays the Utes, especially Black Hawk, as equally important actors in this triangle. Tecumseh-like, Black Hawk sought and partially achieved a broad intertribal coalition of Utes, Paiutes, Shoshones, Gosiutes, and Navajos, some of whom were traditional enemies. It is difficult, however, to measure how far Black Hawk's influence and authority extended. The loose, nonauthoritarian character of Ute social organization certainly limited him, and the available documentation of his actions is colored by Mormon perceptions of him as a mas-termind and by inadequate understanding of the porous social boundaries among Ute bands and other Basin tribes. Still, a strength of Peterson's account is his careful and convincing reconstruction of a biography of Black Hawk, who until now has been a bit of a phantom. That reflects Peterson's extensive and impressive research in Mormon and other sources. Occasionally, however, one wishes he would have further tempered conclusions drawn from these naturally biased documents with closer attention to ethnographic research on Utes and neighboring tribes. Thereby, he might have avoided a few problems, such as a rather distorted portrait of Ute religion and a claim that Shoshones did not live in Utah most of the year.

This fine history illuminates more than just another conflict between Indians and whites in the West. It adds significantly to our understanding not only of Ute history but of subjects as wide-ranging as Mormon-federal relations, Navajo history during the Long Walk period, and the 1870s Ghost Dance. The most ambiguous character in the narrative is Brigham Young, whose erratic and ambivalent efforts to establish a distinctive Indian policy tying Utes and other Indians to the Latter-day Saint kingdom were finally undermined by the war.

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UTE INDIAN

Warrior buried on land he loved

Bones of courageous Black Hawk had been stored in museum.

By Sharon M. Haddock
Deseret News staff writer

SPRING LAKE, Utah County — A Ute warrior of color and courage, Black Hawk was laid to rest Saturday beneath the mountain he loved in a community he protected, after a century and a quarter of displacement.

He was surrounded by family, descendants of his brother "Mountain" and residents of Spring Lake who welcomed him back "home" as a part of the town's heritage and as a friend.

Known as "Chief Black Hawk" — although Ute tribes didn't have designated chiefs — the man buried in the simple pine box in the town park of Spring Lake has a fascinating and oft-disputed history.

He originally befriended the Mormon settlers moving into the area, even lived with a non-Indian family in Salt Lake City for a time after being taken prisoner in a battle in Pleasant Grove.

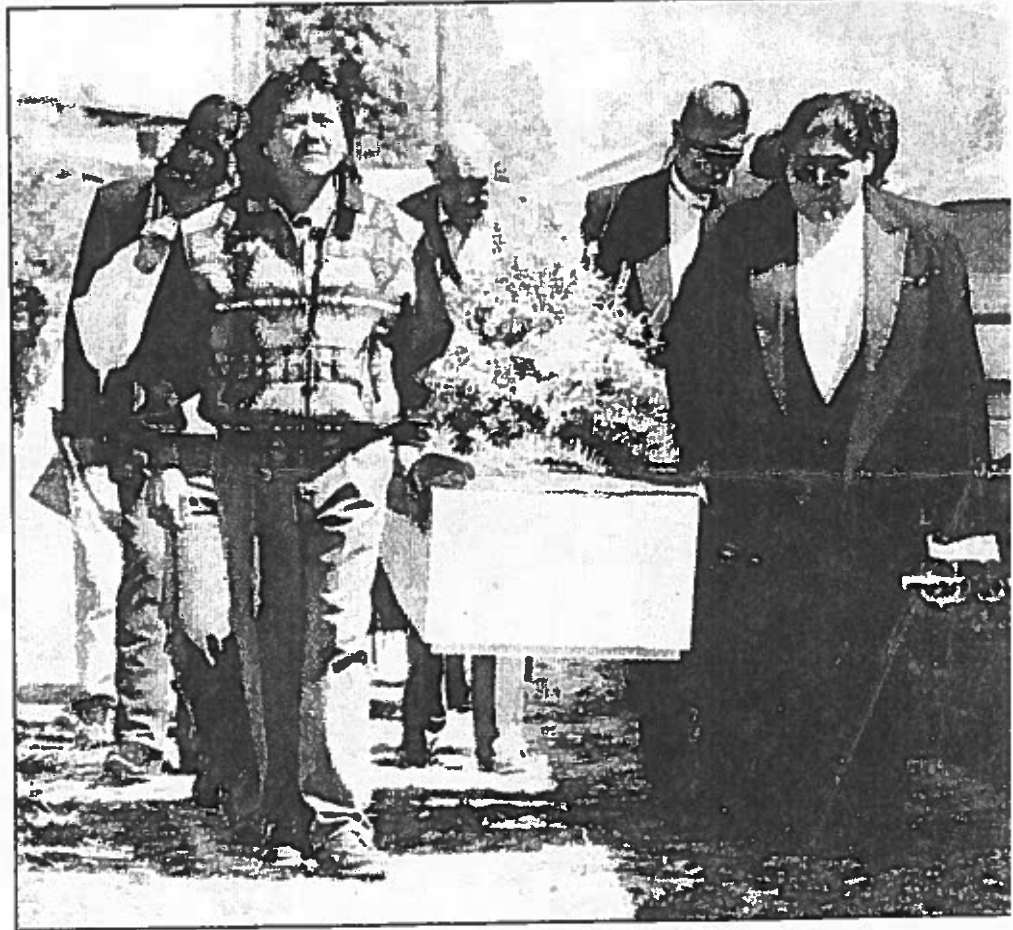
But as he watched his people go hungry as the game disappeared and agonized over the suffering they endured at the hands of more and more white people, he became a feared and cunning foe, raiding cattle and stealing food to help feed Indians in five states in two years of skirmishes and bloodshed.

"Any food Black Hawk took, he gave away," said Charmaine Thompson, U.S. Forest Service heritage program leader. "He was a very careful, excellent warrior, very powerful and strong, who suffered a lot of hardship and hunger, who had a wife and a family and the hopes and dreams that go with that."

"It's actually a real person we're laying to rest here. It's part of us, part of you," said Wayne Gardner, a member of the Ute tribe.

A pine bough, sage and berry bush bouquet graced the casket, tied with strips of red, white, yellow and white cotton cloth. Casket bearers gripped rope handles and lowered the box into the earth with rope.

John Peterson, historian and author of a book about the Black Hawk era, said Black Hawk — or Antongeur as he was known to his people — was the greatest single leader



Distant relatives act as pallbearers at the reburial of Chief Black Hawk at Spring Lake.

of resistance to the white expansion through Utah.

"His is a story of agony, he was the father of the hungry child," said Peterson. "His were desperate acts with the welfare of his people in mind."

Peterson explained that Black Hawk's attitude changed after he was sent in as a scout to assess damage done to the Indians after two days of fighting in the Provo River bottoms. He found a brave known as Old Elk frozen and many dead. In Black Hawk's presence, Old Elk's head was severed and those of several of the nearby braves and "sent back east for study."

Peterson said that incident changed Black

Hawk and for the next 15 months he plagued the white settlements, even forcing back the expansion for a time.

"He displayed extraordinary regionalism fighting his war on two fronts," said Peterson, who noted the Black Hawk Wars were "secret wars" because Brigham Young did not want the United States militia to become involved. Therefore Black Hawk's name is not listed among those of other Indian patriots.

He eventually died on Sept. 26, 1870, of tuberculosis and from complications born a gunshot wound to the stomach. His wife buried him on the mountain above Spring

Please see **BLACK HAWK** on

over

BLACK HAWK

Continued from B1

Lake dressed in a blue military jacket along with his prized possessions, a faded Eagle feather, a decorative bridle for his horse (and his horse), a set of sleigh bells, a spur, a clay pipe, an ax, a cup, a bucket and beaded clothing.

Miners dug his body up in 1911 and stored his remains with a local physician who eventually persuaded them to donate Black Hawk's bones to the LDS Church Museum of History.

They've remained in the possession of church museums until a Pleasant Grove boy decided to find out why Black Hawk's grave site wasn't registered with the Forest Service, which now owns the area where he was buried.

Shane Armstrong took on the double task of determining where Black Hawk's remains were for his Eagle project and getting an answer to his original question about the grave registration. He chased

information until the bones were located at the BYU Museum of Peoples and Culture. He contacted the Forest Service.

Thompson then took on the task of working through the paperwork to get Black Hawk returned to his people.

Armstrong said he never expected to be taking part in a burial service for the ancient warrior. "I wanted to do something for my Eagle that would be a challenge and believe me, it was a challenge," he said.

"He was a very brave guy," said Armstrong. "I know a lot more about him now."

Thompson said the reburial in Spring Lake is "just the right thing to do. This is land where he would have walked and hunted. It feels very good to me to be here. This serendipitous journey began on this mountain and now gives him a chance to rest permanently and securely in a place that will not be disturbed."

Peterson added, "Today he returns to this sky, to this wind and to this soil."

CHIEF BLACKHAWK

About 1835 - Sept 26, 1870

Ron Zeeman

Wayne Gardner

Tom Appah

John A. Peterson

Shane Armstrong

Mountain Family

Wayne Gardner

Margaret Cornpeach

Sarah Reede

Conducting

Flute Prelude

Opening Prayer

Tribute

Tribute

Family Presentation

Flute Solo

Tribute

Sign Language

"Colors of the Wind"

Remarks

Remarks

In his native Ute language

Flute

Ute Graveside Dedication

Charmaine Thompson

Richard Mountain

Wayne Gardner

Doug Appah

PALLBEARERS

Christopher Mountain

Doug Appah

Richard Mountain Jr.

Eric Appah

Jerrold Mountain

Mike Appah

Eddison Lyman

Terry Appah

net with 3" afternoon

Oct 19, 1917

Where Was Chief Black Hawk Buried?

Some time ago what was purported to be the skeleton of Black Hawk, the noted renegade chief, was dug up on the mountain above Springville by William Croft. His saddle, a large quantity of bead work, a pipe, a pair of silver bridle rosettes, sleigh bells and other trinkets, found with the remains would indicate a person of distinction.

Wm H Spainhower of Santaquin says he can well remember the night Black Hawk was buried and the parade through the streets of Spring Lake, and the remains were buried on the mountains where they were found.

The editor of the Springville Independent well remembers seeing the noted chief at his father's house in the spring of 1868. He had been a visitor there many times before the war. Later, at Provo he was present at a "pow-wow" with Brigham Young and others with Blackhawk and Tabby present. Lyman S Wood acted as interpreter.

The warrior was in poor health, hollow chested and he coughed incessantly. Some time after that his death was reported and that he had been buried near Spring Lake. It was also reported and has been generally understood that Black Hawk was born under a certain tree in the south end of this valley and that he returned to that identical spot to die.

Now comes R S Collett, of Roosevelt Utah county, and denies that Black Hawk's bones have been found at Spring Lake, but that the old chief's skeleton is at present in Washington D C. He submits the following proof:

"In 1867 Capt Pardon Dodds was made agent over the Uintah Indians. In 1868, Capt Dodds informs the writer he rounded up the Indians of the basin and enumerated 4,500 of them. In July or August of that year a little band of Utes from Saupete brought Black Hawk to the reservation suffering from a bullet wound. The captain tells how for two weeks the "Medicine men" made the night hideous in their endeavors to save the life of their leader. But the chief died and was buried under the supervision of Capt Dodds who attests to this fact.

'When Major Powell made his

descent of Green River in 1873 he remained on the reservation for some time and expressed a wish for an Indian skeleton to add to his collection. Capt Dodds informs me personally that he supervised the disinterment of the body of Black Hawk, turned it over to Maj Powell and the same was taken to Washington by the major.

'In 1888 Capt Dodds made a visit to Washington. At this time the writer was collecting the local history of the Uintah basin. On his return Mr Dodds gave me the above story, and further affirmed that the skeleton now mounted at the Smithsonian Institute is the veritable bones of Utah's noted Indian warrior. Capt Dodds is still living at Vernal and will be able to substantiate these facts.'

2,000 See Chief Reburied

BY ROBERT KIRBY

SPECIAL TO THE TRIBUNE

SPRING LAKE — Nearly a century after his bones were dug up by local miners, Chief Black Hawk was reburied on a bluff overlooking the valley where he was born.

Six Ute men, among them several related to Black Hawk, carried the man known in Ute as "An-Tonga," to his final resting place on Saturday.

"This is a great day," said Richard Mountain, a fifth-generation descendant of Black Hawk's brother Mountain. "Our family is very happy."

Born in Spring Lake around 1830, Black Hawk returned to the area to die in 1870. Suffering from tuberculosis and a gunshot wound suffered in battle, the chief wanted to end his days in the shadows of the mountains where he lived much of his life.

None of Black Hawk's children survived to adulthood.

The miners who dug up Black Hawk gave his remains to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The bones and the artifacts buried with them eventually found their way to Brigham Young University which turned them over to the family in accordance with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1991. His family agreed to bury Black Hawk in the land he loved.

"I grew up with the story of Black Hawk. He was a part of Spring Lake and now he's home where he belongs."

VIOLA COWAN
Spring Lake resident

Although intended as a small family ceremony with a few government and church officials present, more than 2,000 non-Utes packed the small park to witness the homecoming of a man they consider "family" as well.

"I'm glad I lived to see this day," said 87-year-old Viola Cowan of Spring Lake. "I grew up with the story of Black Hawk. He was a part of Spring Lake and now he's home where he belongs."

The ceremony marked the final chapter in the story of an American Indian who some historians consider the equal of Geronimo and Sitting Bull. A skilled politician, tribal leader and military strategist, Black Hawk virtually paralyzed white expansion in much of Utah from 1865-67, with small clashes continuing until 1872.

The period became known as the Black Hawk War.

Fearful that news of the war would prompt the federal government to send troops to Utah, Mormon church leader Brigham Young suppressed in-

formation to the extent that Black Hawk's role in state history was never appropriately documented.

Eagle Scout Shane Armstrong, fascinated by tales of Black Hawk, researched the chief's history. His growing interest, which included a trip to the original grave site high in the mountains overlooking Spring Lake, eventually brought the Mountain family, the Uinta National Forest and Brigham Young University together.

"I learned a lot about Utah's history," Armstrong said, adding that it isn't just a white or Mormon history.

John A. Peterson, author of *An-Tonga's Agony: Mormons, Indians and Gentiles, and Utah's Black Hawk War*, to be published this year by University of Utah Press, spoke at the burial ceremony.

Peterson said the Black Hawk War was the biggest white-Indian confrontation in the state's history and rivaled the coming of the railroad, Johnston's Army and the Mountain Meadow Massacre in terms of impact on early Utah.

Initially a friend of the Mormons, Black Hawk turned to warfare when he saw his people mistreated by the whites. Knowing that direct confrontation would be disastrous for the Utes, Black Hawk led his warriors in a guerrilla-style war that stripped settlers of their livestock and forced them to abandon entire communities for safety in forts.

The number of non-Utes who showed up to pay their respects on Saturday was both encouraging and ironic to Peterson. He said the war wouldn't have happened if early white settlers had listened to their leaders.

"If the early Mormons had listened to Brigham Young and left the Indians alone, the Black Hawk War would have never been fought."

Charmaine Thompson, Heritage Leader for the Uinta National Forest, agrees that war was forced on Black Hawk.

Although no photograph of Black Hawk is known to exist, a clear picture of the Ute leader is beginning to emerge under the scrutiny of historians like Thompson.

A study of the artifacts buried with An-Tonga indicates that he did not profit personally from his war with the whites, that he was widely traveled and that he was physically powerful.

Thompson pointed out the fact that Black Hawk was not buried with any weapons and that the settlers of Spring Lake welcomed him back when he returned to die.

"We find in his death, a man of peace," Thompson said.

S F. Dup

Folder 1273

over the banks, and in the river bottoms southeast of town the water reached from bluff to bluff. One bridge over the river south of town withstood the torrent, but it was completely covered with water, and the water cut deep channels in the road. There were no funds available for road repairs when the water receded so the people had to make the necessary repairs themselves. During the high "ferry of sorts." In addition to the damage done to the road and to the farm lands, one person lost his life. Alma Dimmick, 15, was drowned in the flood waters.

The scarcity of lumber and wood for fuel as well as for building was always a problem. A subscription list was circulated in Spanish Fork offering a premium to anyone finding coal within twenty miles of the city and in such a location that a good road could be built to it. The amount of \$1300 was obtained. Many with picks and shovels went to the mountains to look for coal, and a report came in that coal had been found in the first canyon south of Hobble Creek. The subscribers were to own the rights to the coal.

William W. Rockhill reported to the Deseret News that the Indians in the area did not seem as numerous as usual, "consequence of finding no comfort from the Indian Farm."

The Spanish wall (made out of mud or adobes) or fence built from Spanish Fork to Dry Creek at Springville to keep the cattle in the foothills and out of the farmer's fields was deteriorating badly. The field committee made every effort to keep the stock out of the grain, but with the wall in such poor shape it was impossible. Silas Jones was president of the committee and David Bowen was secretary.

Spanish Fork was growing, and as a consequence more schools were needed. The city was divided into two school districts with the division line being Fourth North. This necessitated the building of a school on the north side. The new school was built on the corner of the Bowen Block on Fourth North between First and Second East. It was called the White Schoolhouse because it was whitewashed on the outside, and it was the first schoolhouse in Spanish Fork to be built with a shingle roof. Trustees of the first district were Cyrus Snell, Levan Simmons, and Thomas C. Martell; of the second district they were John A. Lewis, Adolphus Babcock, and Thomas Gay.

cast their votes for the establishing of a state constitution. Three hearty cheers for the "state of Deseret" were part of the program.

1863

Little had been done towards a permanent solution to the problems generated by Indians and whites living close together and the resulting destitution of the Indians. Although the Indian farms had proved to be failures and were practically in ruins, provisions had still not been made to move the Indians to the Uintah Basin as had been proposed in 1861 by President Lincoln, and there would be serious altercations before that move would finally be made. A forerunner of the trouble to come was a skirmish between Indians and soldiers which took place in Spanish Fork Canyon on April 16, 1863. Albert K. Thurber reported: "Night before last or early yesterday morning, the troops--two companies or more, with a howitzer--marched into Spanish Fork Canyon and came upon a body of Indians between the two bridges, one mile about the mouth of the canyon, on the south side of the river." A struggle took place in heavy rain. At first it was reported that three Indians were killed and two wounded. Thurber later amended this to four Indians killed and two wounded. Three of the soldiers were wounded, and one, Lt. Peel, died at Springville later.

A correspondent to the Deseret News reported another fight on Sunday afternoon, April 5, in which a squad of soldiers and a small band of Indians were involved near Spanish Fork. The battle lasted for two hours and two Indians were wounded. The Indians were claimed to be a small band that had always lived in the Spanish Fork area and were generally considered well-behaved and civil.

The Indians in the area were apparently on the move. About fifty warriors passed through Provo on their way to Fort Bridger. Another band had gone up Hobble Creek Canyon and was reported stealing cattle there and on the Spanish Fork Bench. Brigadier General Aaron Johnson of the Peteetneet Military District went to Gosheen to form a militia for protection against the Indians.

The fence built from Spanish Fork to Springville was also causing problems. The Springville land owners failed to keep up their portion of the wall, so it was proposed by

felt that they had a right to them to sustain their lives. But the white men looked upon these acts as thievery of their private property. During the winter of 1864-65, a small band of Ute Indians was camped near Gunnison. They had contracted smallpox which resulted in a number of deaths, and since they believed the whites to be responsible for these misfortunes, they threatened to burn the settlers' homes and steal their livestock.



Indian Brave

The settlers of Sanpete County invited the chiefs of the band to meet with them in Manti on April 9, 1865, for the purpose of talking over their differences. It was hoped that the result of such a conference would bring peace between the two races. Many of the Utes were in favor of the pipe of peace, but young Chief Yene-wood wanted war. He went about in the meeting mumbling and making demonstrations, and trying to persuade the other Indians against peace.

John Lowry insisted that Yene-wood be quiet. A quarrel followed in which Lowry, anticipating an arrow, dragged the hot-blooded young native from his horse and gave him a thrashing. Indian Joe quickly jumped on a horse and rode to the Indians' camp to notify his people of what had taken place. The Indians now felt that they had sufficient cause to declare open war upon the whites.

THE HOSTILITIES BEGIN

At the outbreak of the Black Hawk War, before any warning could be given, the Indians hastily retreated from the vicinity of Manti and headed for Salina Canyon. There they came upon Barney Ward and James Anderson, who had been sent into the mountains to bring in the stock. The Indians killed them and drove the stock to their mountain strongholds. A young man named Ludvigsen was also killed by the raiders near Twelve-Mile Creek.

Alarmed by these bloody tragedies, a militia under Colonel R. N. Allred started in pursuit of the Indians, but found that they had taken refuge in the mountains. The Colonel hesitated

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in following them, but he had about eighty men with him, most of whom were so anxious to fight they could not be restrained. The Colonel did what he could to control them, but they broke away and started into the canyon.

The Colonel decided to follow and again try to check his troops, but at a point near the alum beds, about twelve miles up the canyon, the Indians had prepared an ambush behind cedars, rocks and steep banks.

Suddenly they fired at the straggling column of men, killing William Kearns instantly. Another young man was shot from his horse and had to be left to the scalping knives of the red men. The result of this was an immediate retreat. The white men were at a great disadvantage; they did not understand the type of warfare used by the redskins. Had the troops awaited instructions from President Young, the lives of these two victims could have been saved, for the president strongly advised the settlers not to follow the Indians into the mountains, but to keep a good and proper guard in the settlements and prevent raids, if possible, by closely guarding the homes.

The year 1866 opened peacefully for the inhabitants. For two or three months the people diligently pursued their labors of building or planting and cultivating their farms. Then, on April 13, 1866, the hostile Indians made a raid on Salina. They swept the range of all cattle and horses, and also took two horse teams belonging to Glenwood. Two boys herding sheep nearby were attacked; one was severely wounded, the other lad was never found, dead or alive.

The prospects of a continuing Indian war began to crop out on all sides. General Pace began to plan for a serious campaign but as the citizens of Sevier could not raise crops and fight Indians at the same time, they were seriously handicapped. The people in general were allowed to follow their daily routines, except those who were assigned duties as home guards. Troops were ordered from Utah district on ninety days' service, and the Church furnished forage and food supplies as far as possible.

About this time, the people of Glenwood, living so near the rough hills on the east, were considered to be too much exposed for proper security, and on April 20 they moved the women and children to Richfield for greater safety. The next day, Captain Elias Pearson, with sixteen men, was sent to protect the people at Marysvale, but they were ambushed, with terrible results. Albert Lewis, a most able Richfield executive, was killed instantly. Christian Christensen was mortally wounded, but lived for twenty-one days. Nicolene Bertelsen, who was engaged

to him, insisted on a wedding despite the fact that she knew her sweetheart would succumb.

The people of Richfield, aware of their lack of arms and ammunition, sent Sheriff Nathaniel Hanchet north with about sixty head of their surplus cattle to sell for the required articles. The party went by way of Scipio in Round Valley for greater security from the Indians. The journey was made without incident and the party returned with eighteen rifles, eleven revolvers and 140 pounds of ammunition.

For several months the Indians were very active, committing depredations in Sanpete and Utah counties as well as keeping Sevier County in constant agitation. Reinforcements were to be sent to General Pace from Salt Lake City with 100 men.

In the meantime, Chief Black Hawk and the White Horse Chief named Tanaritz, led one hundred Indians in a raid on Round Valley in Millard County. As the Indians made their way back into the Sevier district, General Pace attempted to head them off at Gravelly Ford. He had only twenty-seven cavalry men with him at the time, but sent to Sanpete for more. The general managed to hold the hostiles for four or five hours, but his reinforcements were so long in coming that the Indians were able to take to the hills on each side of the company and compel them to fall back quite a distance. The chiefs themselves took possession of the isolated ridge just northwest of the ford. With a few of their warriors, they were able to drive the general's party back so far that the main body of Indians could escape into the east mountains with all their bounty. During this skirmish, both chiefs were wounded by some of the long-range guns carried by the general's party. After exchanging shots for several hours, and seeing no reinforcements in sight, the general reluctantly withdrew and fell back to Gunnison. They waited there for thirty hours before Colonel Kimball and a party of select troops arrived.

On June 23, 1866, General D. H. Wells met with the people of Richfield. Having been to Circleville, where he advised the settlers to abandon that outpost, he now advised the people of Sevier and Monroe to move their women and children to Richfield. The move was made amid much dissatisfaction, and many remained but a few weeks. As winter approached, the Indians retired to distant regions and the settlers once again enjoyed a respite from the conflict.

The reopening of hostilities in the spring of 1867 is one of the most dramatic stories of these times. Quiet had prevailed for several months, though it was known that the Indians would soon make their way northward, and that trouble could be ex-

pected at any time. However, since no Indians had as yet been encountered, the people had somewhat relaxed their restrictions on travel between settlements. Stores were very few and stocks scanty, and Warren S. Snow had brought a load of merchandise to Glenwood to trade for stock and produce. Jens Peter Peterson and his wife were badly in need of some articles which they knew could be obtained from Mr. Snow, so they decided to venture the five-mile trip.

Early in the morning of March 21, 1867, they and their daughter Mary set out in a buggy. They thought by starting so early in the morning there would be no danger, but at this time in the spring the roads were bad and they were unable to travel as fast as they expected. When they reached the Black Ridge east of Sevier River, they suddenly came upon a party of Indians gathering stock along the river bottoms. Before the Petersons could flee or defend themselves, they were attacked. All the travelers were killed and their bodies treated in a most cruel and horrible way. Both women had been stripped and horribly mutilated. Mr. Peterson had been shot and beaten about the head and face, besides being scalped.

At the time of the attack, Ole P. Borg, a Richfield boy, was on his way to the meadows to look for cattle. At sunrise he heard shooting. He knew the Petersons had set out for Glenwood, so he immediately ran for town to give the alarm. About halfway to the settlement he was overtaken by a man on horseback who had been at the river. He gave the first alarm and Major Higgins beat the drum. When Borg arrived at the fort, a company of men had already started for the scene, but of course they arrived too late to render any assistance.

This tragedy seemed to convince the people that residence in the settlement was impossible as long as the Indian war continued. A decision to leave was made in April 1867, when President Young sent word to vacate all towns. Homes, crops and physical improvements, as well as large machinery, had to be left standing.

About two hundred teams arrived from Sanpete County to assist the people in their move. Cattle were branded and sheep were marked in haste. The little procession presented a real pageant as they slowly moved along the rough roads leading north.

The Black Hawk War cost the territory of Utah \$121,037 in cash, besides a great loss of property suffered by the settlers. At least seventy white people lost their lives and equally as many, if not more, natives died. More than three thousand Utah men were called into military service during the course of the con-

flict. The brunt of this struggle was borne by the settlers of Sanpete, Sevier, Kane, Piute, Iron and Washington counties, and some effect was felt in Millard and other counties. In 1909, the Utah State legislature appropriated \$50,000 for the Black Hawk War veterans.⁷

THE BLACK HAWK WAR

It is said that Black Hawk was tall and stately and had a power over his men that few trained generals have shown. In cases where decisions had to be made, his were made quickly, and while the pioneers were planning ways and means to prevent a war, Black Hawk was attending their meetings and learning of cattle round-ups that he might imitate in his raids. All the time he maintained that the Indians were justified in stealing, for it was a case of steal or starve.

Stories have been told of Black Hawk visiting in the homes of the pioneers. He would play ball and other games with the young boys. Many of the early settlers considered him a "good Indian." He and his families enjoyed the hospitality of the pioneers of Sanpete and Sevier and other counties many times. But he was a born fighter, with an impulsive and unforgiving spirit that led him on his depredations in Utah. While he did not forget a personal kindness, neither did he forget or forgive a personal injury.

The fundamental cause of the war was the constant usurping of the red men's hunting grounds by the settlers. Sanpete and Sevier counties were fast becoming a granary, and the Indians saw their hunting grounds going into the hands of white men. Under the best conditions, the problem of supplying food for themselves was difficult for the natives. This problem was greatly increased when the settlers took the land. The main Indian leader, of course, was Black Hawk, but Sanpitch, Yene-wood and other chiefs cooperated with him in his depredations.

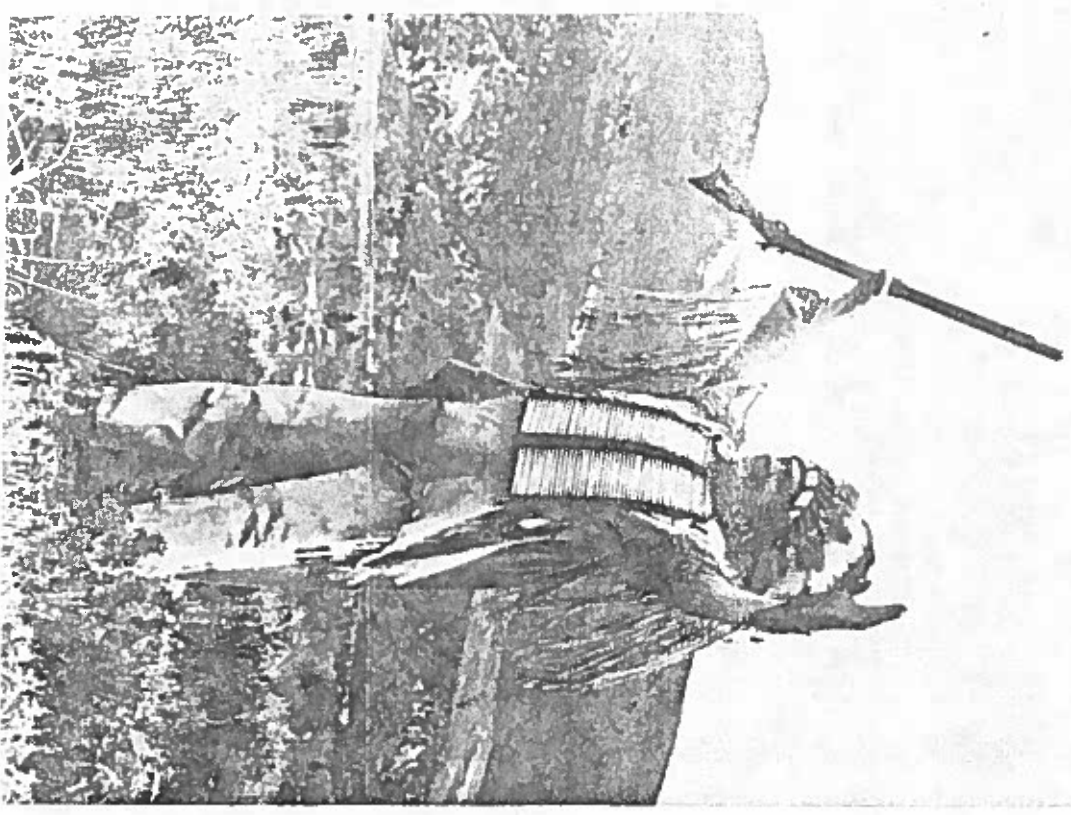
The war had its beginning in Sanpete County. Hungry Indians in that area occasionally killed straying cattle. They

*from the D.V.
Lesson Manual
1986-87*

Kamm
Chapman

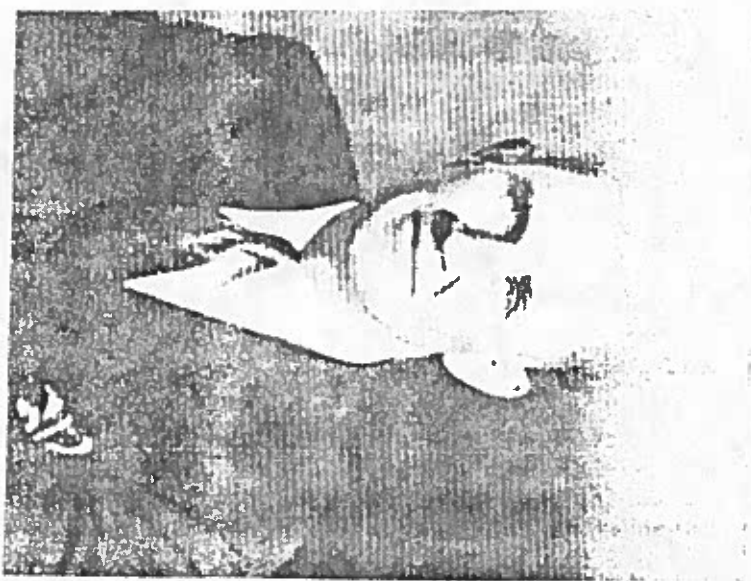
BLACK HAWK

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1865 ---- 1965

FOREWORD



J. N. Simpson

It is with mingled emotions and profound respect for the courageous settlers of Sanpete County, that the City of Moroni sends forth these pages, while affectionately dedicating them to the forefathers of Moroni, and to the descendants of the Lamanites who were here before them.

We appreciate the response to our plea for pictures and story material for our brochure. It demonstrates a profound interest in the trying times of early Moroni, and deep appreciation for the countless efforts of those who visioned a great future for the Valley of the Sanpich. We regret, however, that we were unable to obtain more pictures and information relative to the early settlers of Moroni, and especially the first American settlers, the Lamanites.

May the coming generations keep the spirit of the Black Hawk, and may they also in honor of our inspired fathers, so much could be done to honor them. Too little has been said to praise them.

—J. N. SIMPSON

PROGRAM

FOR MORONI BLACK HAWK ENCAMPMENT

Programs from cities south of Springville will be given each day at 10 a.m., 2 p.m., and at 7 p.m.

TUESDAY, JUNE 29 — Spring City at 2 p.m.; Ephraim at 7 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30 — Fairview at 10 a.m., Moroni at 2 p.m. and Spanish Fork at 7 p.m.

THURSDAY, JULY 1 — Wales at 10 a.m., Santaquin at 2 p.m., and Nephi at 7 p.m.

FRIDAY, JULY 2 — Mt. Pleasant at 10 a.m., Sterling at 2 p.m., and Levan at 7 p.m.

SATURDAY, JULY 3 — Gunnison at 10 a.m., Quarter Horse Races at 2 p.m. and Payson program at 7 p.m.

SUNDAY, JULY 4 — Musical program presented by Fountain Green Choir.

MONDAY, JULY 5 — Posting of Colors by Scouts at 5 a.m.; a Chuck Wagon Breakfast at 8 a.m.; Parade at 10 a.m., and Quarter Horse Races at 2 p.m. Chuck Wagon Breakfast will also be served July 3rd and 4th under auspices of American Legion.

Street dancing night of July 3 and 5. Turkey Banquet July 2 from 4 to 6 p.m. Cater Sale by MIA girls each day. Baseball games as scheduled.

DEFIANT TITMUN

J. N. SIMPSON

*They called it lonesome land,
This place of rock and sand.
With mountain peaks that touch the sky,
Man settled there and wondered why,
And yet he stayed to till the soil . . .*

This was the home of Chief Saupitch. This was the home of Yenc-wood, Atropine, Sowait, Tabones, and Ankawakets, and many more. This was the battlefield of the notorious Black Hawk! Here men fought and died, and for their valor and intrepid courage they were praised and criticized and defied. Here a homeless people found sanctuary.

Near the northern border of a long and fertile valley, a weary people who had known disappointments and persecution, bravely shouldered their burdens and sank the first roots of a new community.



William Draper, Jr.
First Mayor of Moroni

A native to man's fight for survival were instrumental in his pilgrimage to the Western World, and these same circumstances, once he was established on the far shores of a vast and desolate land, moved him west again, undauntedly facing the mysteries of a great continent which, in 1507, Vesputci had called America.

Today there are no distant horizons, and there is no new land to conquer. Technology is the master and man must bow before its might. Unlike the early days of Sanpete County, man's theoretical knowledge of industry has enslaved him. He has reached that distant horizon and his adventurous spirit has been subdued and confined. He can expand only within the confines of a world made small by automation, and there engage in outlaw aggression against his kind.

It is all history now, this pilgrimage toward that distant horizon. Driven from their homes and farms by mobs of indignant and impatient men who murdered their leaders, burned their homes and stole the land, a brave and determined people became the aggressors as they moved westward.

The story of this great pilgrimage is a sad one. Many graves marked the trail while hardships and privations were offset by determination and desperation. Like the Hebrews of the Semitic races, they must find sanctuary. Regardless of the costs, they must bring their people home!

The story of our brave pioneers has been told and retold. There is so little to add. Home at last was in a brush-covered valley dotted here and there with lakes. Home was in the valley beyond and far to the south. Home was where a wary and hopeful people settled to till the soil, direct the rivers, and nurture and train their young. From the great Salt Lake to the winding river of the Sevier, the white man put his plow to the soil, while from a hilltop, from the shadows of the forest and the towering sage, the natives of this great land watched with mingled fear and apprehension!

The destiny of the native was written in the long and jagged furrows cut in the rich soil. It was in the many cabins which seemed to spring up over night. It was in the crack of a rifle and the bleaching bones of the deer and buffalo. While the native watched, other wagons came from the place of the rising sun and new settlements began taking root. The seriousness of the invasion is slowly being borne in upon him. He stands on an eminence to look out over the land which has been his birthright, and the birthright of many before him. His brutal materialism must not pervert this thing which is taking place!

Even with a clear and understanding conception of the difficulties facing the pioneers, we must not console ourselves with misconceptions. We cannot say that the invasion of the Western World was entirely justified, any more than we can today condone the subjugation of one nation by another. We cannot condemn a savage people because they took up crude weapons to protect and preserve what was rightfully theirs.

Vesputci wrote to Indian friends that a new world had been found, disputing some of the ancients that there was no continent below the equator, and in Waldseemul's edition of Patermy Geographicaly, the new continent was called America. Later, the inappropriate name of "Indian" was given the American native by Columbus who thought he had reached the Indies, and since that time the name has been used to designate the native of America. So to differentiate between the "white" and the "brown" American, we must continue to recognize him as Indian, although the name is not appropriate.

The true American is now the Vanishing American. The blood of a strong people is blending into the blood of many nations, and the lineage is becoming weak. A mighty nation has bowed before advancing civilization. A mighty nation has bowed before the code of the white man, capitulated under force of superior weapons. The story of this American native must be told along with that of the invader.

Even though very few of the North American Indians had reached that stage of civilization characterized by forms of book learning, those of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coast tribes hadn't made even a feeble attempt to discard their savagery and ancient customs and improve their destitute conditions. Science and students of history maintain that at one time long ago there was a people inhabiting the present territory of Utah with a developed form of Government and some industrial life. This, of course, applies to the Cliff Dwellers of some remote age. It is quite evident that none of this ancient civilization found its way into the generation of the American Indian as we know him.

In summarizing the Indian problems in Sanpete County, let us remember that the Indian was receptive to advancing civilization, and that to further the introduction of man's then scanty technology, Chief Walker (Walkara) and Chief Sawette, with several members of their respective tribes, met with President Brigham Young and asked that colonizers be sent to Sanpete, named after a brother of Chief Walker, and teach the Indians the simple fundamentals of home building, and soil cultivation. Sanpete was described as a "good land with much water." President Young complied and a party with Chief Walker as guide was sent out to investigate.

What, then, caused Chief Walker to do a sudden and complete reverse and wage unrelenting war against the whites? In all friendliness he had asked for help and had graciously received it. He was intelligent enough to know that a better standard of living must be imposed upon his people if they were to survive, and why, even though he had been branded as a treacherous trouble-making Indian, did he try so hard to promote trouble between the Indian and the white man?

Did Walker come to suddenly realize that even though he had summoned the pilgrimage of the white man into Sanpete and Sevier, the very fact that he had done this thing was to eventually deprive the Indian of meat and free passage through the valley? Did he suddenly come to realize that the gate was now open and conse-

nently the white man would take advantage of his benevolence and by force of number and superior weapons, subdue his people and starve them into slavery?

The Walker War started in 1853 with the entire population of Saints in Sanpete numbering 765, scattered through several settlements. It was a war to the Indians' liking, to hit and run, to kill and run, to suddenly attack unguarded and guarded cattle and run them into the hills where many were never recovered. An actual count of cattle stolen by the Indians came one to wonder how the Saints survived and continued to build up their herds.

Men and women were killed and their bodies mutilated, and in retaliation the white man killed and executed, and the bloody war went on, until Arripipe, a brother of Walker and known to the Indians as Sigeerouch, made some gestures of friendship, and when Walker died at Meadow Creek in Millard County in 1855, Arripipe, who had actually begun the grim work of exterminating the whites, became chief, and professing his love for the Mormon people, he decided the entire county over to Brigham Young, trustee in trust for the Mormon Church.

But the seed of war and discontentment had been planted by Walker and through the years Indian deprecations continued, yet, despite the dangers and the ever-increasing threats of the red man, new settlements began springing up through the county, and it was this constant usurping of the Indians' hunting ground by the settlers which brought on the Black Hawk War in 1862, and for three years Central and Southern Utah was again aflame with war.

Sincerity in any undertaking can go only as deep as circumstances will permit, and when starvation faced the Indian, demands on the settlers were made, and it began to appear that the white man was doomed to pay a high rate of interest for the country he had acquired through treaty. The settlers made a sincere attempt to avoid war by giving food and clothing to the Indians, but it wasn't enough and when discontentment and envy brought on increasing annoyances, the settlers of Sanpete invited the chiefs to meet with them at Nanti, April 9, 1865, for the purpose of discussing their problems, and even though every measure possible was taken to relieve the tension, open hostility seemed inevitable! Then when a resident of Nanti, fired by liquor it is said, became angry with a young chief, by the name of Yene-wood who really wanted war with the Saints, and yanked the Indian from his horse and then proceeded to give him a sound thrashing because of his antagonistic behavior, the tribe felt that they had sufficient cause to declare open hostilities against the settlers!

The leader of this second conflict with the settlers was a young chief by the name of Phact Hawk, and under him, ready and willing to do his bidding, was Yene-wood, and an old friend of the settlers, Sigeerich!

Then followed years of hardship, privation and death for both sides, and even though Brigham Young's wise defense policy was carried out, that "you must put yourselves and your animals in such a condition that the Indian will be deprived of all opportunity of

taking life and stealing cattle!" the settlers of Sanpete during the first summer of the war, lost over 2,000 head of cattle!

At Moroni, a fort had been built, with a bastion overlooking the countryside where a constant guard was kept. This struggle for existence had smothered the wanton destruction of life, and we mean it in relation to human life. Why should the red man be parsimonious about life which is cheap and without value? The continual brutality was, of a sorry degenerative in its affect. Those of the settlers who had lived in comparative ignorance of the brutality of man, were to be shocked into reality. Some knew life only in its intellectual phases, and the law of tooth and fang was a challenge they were unprepared to meet.

There are many stories to illustrate the hardships endured by the settlers during those years of war. Some are inclined to treat the war lightly and compare it with the organized conflicts of today. We cannot make comparisons. The settlers were few and the Indians many, and as we have pointed out, the balance of power was in organization and superior weapons. For both sides it was a conflict of desperation and necessity.

There was no safety! Death lurked in the brush land, behind every tree, in the canyons, and near the fields of labor! Death was a screaming red man who suddenly left his place of ambush to kill, scalp and hack the bodies of his victims! It was his way of impressing his enemy! He was far from being nicely conscientious and he did not hesitate for consideration of right or expediency! The red man had no scruples!

*Like a shadow in the forest,
Like a shadow on the hill,
Creeping through the overglade
Beside a quiet stream!
We've awakened to your battle cry,
We've awakened to your screams,
Oh, Red Man!
King of forest and of plain
Brought by wind and sun and rain
When will we hear your screams again,
Oh, Red Man.*

Chief Sanpetich, standing on an eminence overlooking his valley, raises his hand to his followers:

"Walker is dead! He lies in the Meadow Creek land and Arripipe will give the valley to the Mormons. He is as an old man! He will be as Sovietti! He will give it to the Mormons and there will be no place for Sanpetich and his people! I will not be as Sovietti and Arripipe! I will break the word of Arripipe because it is not my word! I will fight and many braves will fight with me!"

The great Sanpetich had spoken! In all the great land of the Sanpetich and the Sevier there was no peace, there was no safety! Men died at their work! Men and women died in the fields and their bodies were mutilated! Men were scalped alive and left to suffer and die! Cattle were stolen and driven away to distant

and the Indian lived well during the cold winter months while the white man suffered.

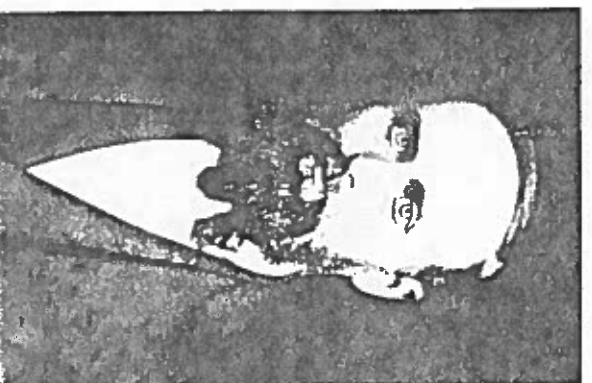
More guards were posted to watch over the cattle, and now so much time was spent doing guard duty that the fields were neglected. A new and more serious problem presented itself. Starvation faced many of the settlers, and in some of the smaller communities, conditions became so unbearable that the people were ordered to move to the larger settlements and the protection of the forest!

Many times the big drum sounded at the fort, calling the men to action! The peace of night was often broken by false alarms, yet each alarm could not be disregarded and the men faithfully stood guard. Indian treachery was proverbial, and to drop one's guard for even a short time was to invite serious trouble. By day some of the men would work in the fields while others stood guard. The grim task of keeping the settlements alive against the cunning, treacherous red man and his disregard for human life had developed into a war of nerves. Men from Moroni were often ordered to other parts of the valley, as well as Sevier Valley, to assist in open battle, or to strengthen a garrison. Anxious mothers and wives spent many hours watching the trails for a son or husband's return. Some never came back alive. Many stories relative to hardships suffered during those three years of blood and death have never been told . . . and never will be told!

Personal and written records of this conflict with the Indians are few, and many of what we have are incomplete, and to depend on one's memory in repeating certain incidents in detail, is to fail, in some cases, to give the situation full value, or, on the other hand, through inherent feelings, one may be prompted to emotionalize, and in so doing give the wrong impression.

All stories printed here are true so far as records are correct, and those drawn from memory are accounts made vivid by their importance, and the horror and the comedy and the laughter and the tears that make them memorable. Having first-hand knowledge of the bitter struggle waged against a treacherous foe, the hardships endured through bitter winters when the food supplies became dangerously low, and the brave battles against insects and disease, I can speak as the son of pioneer parents who saw it all right from the beginning. Before his illness, Father recounted much of the struggle endured by a brave and strong people, and Mothers' wonderful world of retrospect was indeed as interesting, and as tearful, and as joyful as any adventure story written. Those who have so graciously contributed to these pages will be quoted, and through some of this testimony is sure to be debated, we stand to be corrected by our peers, and these attesting to their own version or testimony.

One of the interesting incidents relative to the actual fighting is contained in a contribution by Callie O. Morley, grandmother of Jens Christian Nelson, commonly known as "Cooper" Nelson, who was first lieutenant under Erasmus Curtis and again under Lars Swenssen. Mrs. Morley has been interested in this task of preserving records of the war, and the incident related here is from her grandfather's journal and is dated April 16th, 1866.



1st Lt. Jens C. (Cooper) Nelson

wave of public sentiment rising against the atrocities committed by the Indians, the prisoners at Manti became frightened, and on the night of April 14th, fearing that they would be put to death in retaliation for the Salina killings, they broke jail and attempted to escape into the hills!

The guard at Manti pursued the Indians, killing three within the city limits. The records do not show how many Indians were in the jail at Manti at that time, but it is a well established fact that there were more than five. Mrs. Morley's account, taken from her grandfather's journal starts from there.

"It was Sunday when word came to Moroni that the Indians had broken jail at Manti and were heading in our direction. My company was ordered out to intercept them. We traveled north, and at Warner Snow's mill at Fountain Green we saw ten Indians moving along a high ridge, we also saw Warner Snow and another man coming to meet the Indians from the opposite direction. When Snow and his companion suddenly took another course, we went up the canyon until we found the Indian tracks in the snow. We followed these tracks through the drifts until darkness came and it began to rain. We returned to Snow's Mill.

"When morning came, I and five companions resumed the search. Following the tracks we at last found one of the Indians, who, on realizing that he was to be captured, was trying to kill himself by pounding his head against a tree. We assisted him. Reaching the summit, we saw five Indians moving down the opposite side. One of the men, Louie Christensen shot and wounded one of them. Christensen and I were alone when we at last reached the wounded man.

The adventure started with the brutal killing of Doctor Whitmer and a son of John M. Meedy at Washington, Kane County. In this bold and atrocious raid, all cattle that could be found on the range were driven away by the Indians. General Warren S. Snow started for the scene of hostilities and at Nephi he arrested five renegade Indians on the charge that they had taken part in the outlaw raids. These prisoners were taken to Manti and placed in jail until further evidence could be obtained against them. With them were two important chiefs, Saupitch and Ankawakets.

On April 2nd three persons were killed at Salina and many head of cattle driven away, and now with a strong and general

now with a strong and general head of cattle driven away, and now with a strong and general

"It was decided that I should remain with the wounded man while Lauritz scouted for the others. Evidently another Indian had been watching from the shelter of a high rock, and as I looked up he threw a large rock at my head! I turned and fired at the Indian just as the rock crashed into my neck. I went down and rolled into a ravine. Lucky for me, Lauritz returned just in time to see the Indian bending over me, ready to finish his job. Lauritz shot and killed the Indian just in time."

Nelson reports that other men joined them at about that time and the rest of the Indians were accounted for, that is all except Sampitch who, it is said, was shot and killed by Fountain Green men several days later while hiding in a cave. On reaching Nephi, the weary men were taken back to Fountain Green by wagon and camp. They arrived home that Tuesday.

In 1867 Nelson was lieutenant under Swensen. They had then about fifteen men on horseback with a number of foot soldiers (guards) and his time was well taken up with the military duties assigned.

The account of the killings and the long trek over the snow-covered mountains west and north of Moroni is also included in the contributions of Mrs. Celia Morley Ritchie, daughter of the famous soldier, Lauritz Christensen.

One hundred years ago, 1965, a great statesman said of the Civil War: "Fondly do we hope . . . fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war shall quickly pass away. Yet if God wills that it shall continue, until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until, every drop of blood drawn by the lash, shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, 'so it still must be said, the judgment of the Lord is true and righteous altogether!'"

In a wild and untamed country, a faithful and God-fearing people prayed that the scourge of war would pass away. Strong, work-hardened men humbled themselves in their rustic places of worship, and with one calloused hand gripping a rifle, they fondled the pages of God's word with the other. The savage prayed to the same God, but the prayers of both could not, and were not answered fully. The drops of blood drawn by the arrow were paid by many drawn by the gun.

The people of the Moroni Fort were oppressed with nightmare! Brutality had followed on the heels of brutality, and cold-blooded cruelty had driven the Indian to one depredation after another. There was no end to fear! There was no assurance that the fort would not be overrun completely. More and more now the Indian was arming himself with rifles and was becoming as good a marksman as the white man. Added by an unprincipled trafficker in the instruments of death, commonly known as a gun-runner, and through theft and bribe, the Indian was becoming more and more the white man's equal on the battle field. The arrow and the lance had entered that category of obsolescence.



Captain Lauritz Christensen

"On approaching a thick cluster of brush, one of the men, William Synce, evidently seeing a movement in the brush, shouted to father, 'For God's sake, Lauritz, get out of there!'"

At the warning, Father turned to run for cover, and as he did so he tripped and fell just as the Indians opened fire! The shots passed over him as he rolled into a shallow depression, and there, quite safe for the moment, he planned his strategy. Raising a hat on the end of his gun, Father drew the fire of the hidden Indians, and when the hat was riddled and disappeared, the enemy, thinking they had their man, became careless and exposed themselves, thereby drawing the fire of the soldiers. There is no record of how many were killed in the skirmish that followed. Some escaped."

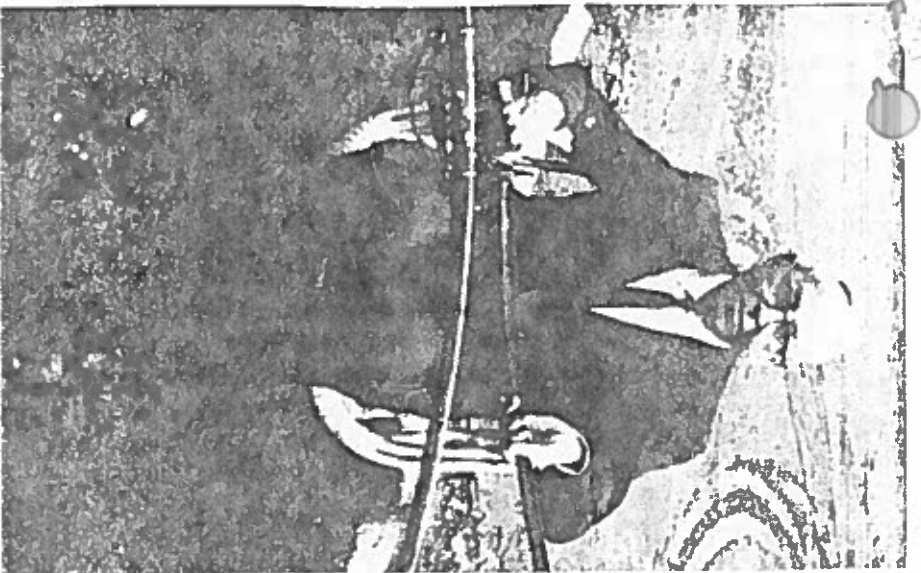
Mr. Christensen told the family many stories of the war, Mrs. Ritchie says. During those years when entertainment was found in the home and a family spent the long winter evenings within the confines of their small respective world, they came to know the problems and the pleasures of each other, and how to respect them. Hero worship was naturally a part of nearly every red-blooded American, and in the Lauritz Christensen family it was a part of their respect for this man who had dedicated himself to the cause of pioneering and the welfare of an oppressed people.

Mrs. Ritchie touched briefly on the episode of the Indian hunt related by Mrs. Morley. During this hunt through the snow-covered mountains, Christensen captured a young Indian brave who was more frightened and exhausted than he was willing to fight, and, moved by the pleading look, and the fact that his prisoner was but a boy, Christensen allowed him to go free, saying nothing about

In the summary of events submitted by Celia Morley Ritchie, daughter of Lauritz Christensen, is the following:

"At the early age of twenty, father was made captain of his company. I do not recall the name of the company. Besides other duties, this company did much hunting, and it was one of these hunting trips that my father nearly lost his life! But for the timely warning of one of his companions, he surely would have been killed!"

"Evidently the Indians had been watching the movement of the men, as a very good ambush had been set up, and had not Father drawn the fire of the Indians, no doubt many, if not all, of his men would have been killed!"



Vernie Jensen

Holds sword used by his father in Black Hawk War. Andrew L. Jensen joined Minute Men at age 16.

the incident until years later when an Indian visited the Christensen home for the purpose of thanking and shaking the hand of the "good white man" for sparing his life.

To better understand the conditions in Sanpete and Sevier Counties during the Indian War, we must keep a picture of the situation well established in our minds. While these counties were sparsely settled, with slow or no communication, the commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1875, estimated the number of tribesmen in Utah Territory at 12,000. This is not quite clear, however, as the census of 1870 shows almost the exact figure, notwithstanding the fact that during those fifteen years some twenty thousand had been transferred to border states. Utah Indian superintendents of the

sities reported they had under their jurisdiction about 19,000. I think this figure is in error.

One may argue that there weren't enough fighting Indians in Utah Territory at the time of the Black Hawk trouble to engage in a prolonged war, but we must remember that the early Indian tribes of Utah Territory were composed of roving bands from other tribes, so it is most difficult to estimate how many warriors composed the warring bands.

We must not minimize conditions during this war. We must picture a great, silent, brush-covered valley with narrow trails winding from one settlement to another. Imagine if you can, the danger lurking along these lonesome trails and wagon roads. Picture yourself behind a plodding ox team, or horses, on your way to Provo or Salt Lake City, or even to Manti. It took days and weeks to make the trip, and all the time the danger was there! Death was in the thicket beside the road! Death was watching from a hillside or near a watering place! Death was there, cold and brutal and without sympathy and without reason! Sometimes life assumed a sordid value, and each message received . . . days and even weeks late, of course, telling of new Indian depredations, certainly had a tendency to sicken the soul to this brutal materialism!

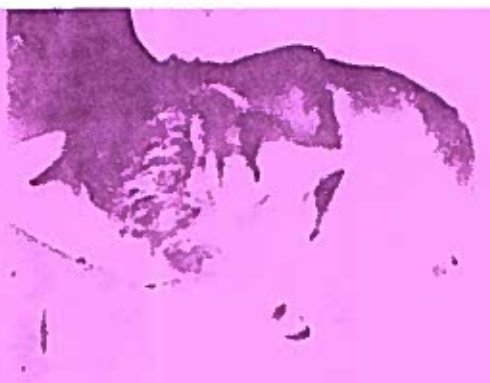
Peter Ludvigsen was killed while collecting stock on Twelve-Mile Creek! Elijah B. Ward and James Anderson were killed and scalped at Salina. Col. R. N. Alfred and 84 men defeated by Indians in Salina Canyon! Jens Sorensen and William Kearns killed by Indians! Jen Larsen killed at Fairview! John Given, his wife and four children killed near Thistle! David Jones killed at Fairview! General Snow and two men wounded in battle at Fish Lake! Morton P. Kehr and wife, Elizabeth Petersen, William Thorpe, Soren N. Jespersen, Benjamin J. Black, and William T. Hill killed at Ephraim! Indians raided the settlement of Circleville killing three men!

Indians again raided Salina killing three people! In this engagement a man was wounded and all the cattle were driven away. Later that month the settlers of Salina moved to Sanpete. Thomas Jones killed and another man wounded at Fairview! Albert Lewis killed at Maryswale! Andrew Petersen killed at Fairview.

The gruesome list goes on and on! This small but brave group of fighters in Sanpete County surely did not minimize their dangers! The battle in Salina Canyon brings us to the story of Little Soldier!

Andrew A. Jensen emigrated to Moroni in 1863. In 1865 he joined the Minute Men and served under Captain John W. Irons and Erasmus Curtis. He took part in many engagements against the Indians and was in the tragic battle in Salina Canyon where the Minute Men were defeated!

In their hasty retreat down the canyon, it was each man for himself, and when Jensen waited to assist a companion who had lost his horse in battle, the two became separated from the main body and were the last to leave the canyon alive. Jensen often wondered how he and his companion managed to get out of the canyon alive and with their scalps. He was informed years later by an Indian who took part in the battle, that the ambushed Indians could have



Andrew A. Jensen
"Little Soldier"

soon many friends among the settlers. There was, of course, that particular faction among the whites who persistently maintained that all Indians were unfriendly, lazy, and were not, under any consideration to be trusted. My father often spoke of this man and had great respect for him.

One might the alarm sounded and every man able to handle a gun was soon dressed and ready for battle! The attack was on the west end of the fort, which was a point midway between the present Rio Grande Depot and the residence of Mrs. Son C. Nielsen and David Preston. As I understand it, there was a gate in this corner of the fort.

Father said the men came running down the hill ready to take their places at the wall, when a single shot near the crest of the hill and within the fort caused most of the men to pause and turn expecting to see Indians climbing over the south wall. It was nothing like that! Some one with a keen sense of hatred for the friendly Indian had shot him while he ran to do battle against his people! He fell when he was about half way down the hill and was buried near there. For a long time a large rock marked the corner of the Nielsen residence, and it was claimed by some that it also marked the grave of this friendly Indian. This was never confirmed. I heard my father repeat the story several times, and each time during the telling I saw a grimace shadow his face as though the memory of it stirred his abhorrence of the act, cowardly that it was. The man who shot this Indian was later identified and punished.

The battle that night, starting at the fort, ended in the hills north of town. I was never told how many Indians were killed! There is also the story of the show-off mark man who demonstrated his ability with the rifle by shooting an Indian off a high

easily killed the two men, but spared them because Jensen was such a young and little soldier!

Later, Jensen was nicknamed Little Soldier by which he was known until his death. Little Soldier Canyon was named in his memory.

A friendly Indian, whose

name I do not recall, lived with the settlers within the fort at Moriwi. He had done some scouting for the Minute Men, and had volunteered much information about the warring tribes. Some of his information had proven to be of immense value to the defenders of the fort and the friendly man had

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rock in the mountains west of Moriwi. Because some Indians were not enemies, this inhuman demonstration was frowned upon by his companions, and his ability won not the slightest bit of acclaim.

To add names to some of these incidents would be to justify the resentment of those clinging family ties. It is not my intention to incite the displeasures of any one by opening old wounds. There is nothing to be gained.

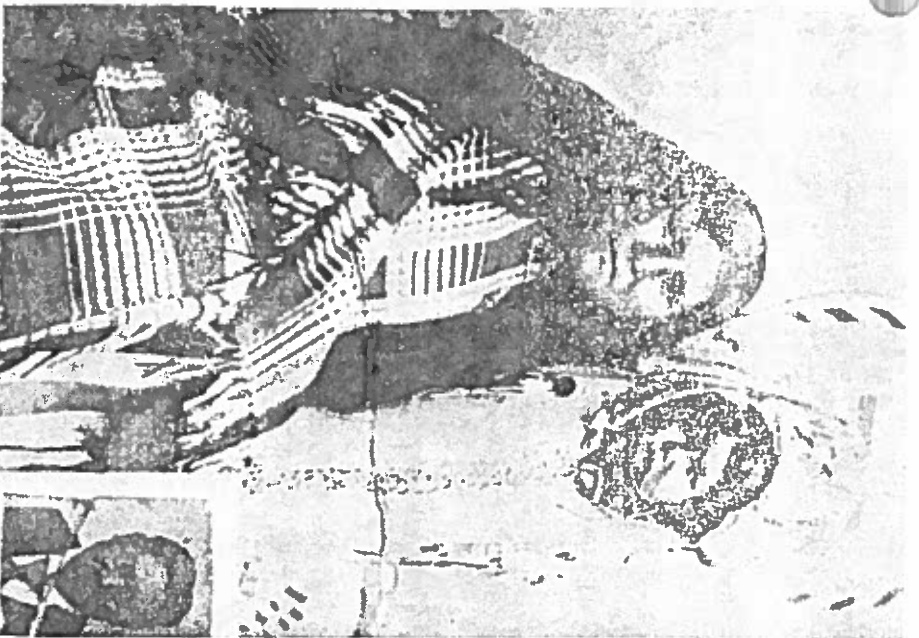
Public sentiment was stirred deeply by another incident which plainly demonstrated that all rash acts committed could not be attributed to a savage and lawless people who killed and mutilated simply because their code of ethics for generations back had endorsed brutality and crude methods of impressing their enemies with their superiority. Some white men also were capable of acts which under no consideration could be excused under the guise of ignorance or racial custom. True, a war of survival was in progress, and since the Neolithic Age, man in his condemnation of his kind had spent his wrath against the weak and the strong alike, against the old and the young, and the large and the small. Depredations disguised by the evil cloak of justification have warped the minds of men, and the gods of war have decreed them just.

On a sunny afternoon, two young squaws, fishing from the banks of Silver Creek, one mile west of the Moriwi Fort, were discovered by white men, ravished and killed and their violated bodies left on the banks of the quiet stream to be claimed later by their people.

Who metes out justice in the name of justice and takes upon himself the name of avenger, to inflict upon the innocent his creed of licentious debauchery? Intellectually these men were children, inhabiting the physical forms of adults. There is much unimpeachable testimony in favor of the Indian, which has been branded as sentimentalism and cast aside. To disregard it is to gain a distorted picture of an era in Sanpete history which we prize and respect, but only to the extent that our convictions are justified.

The horrors of the Black Hawk War in Sanpete and Sevier Counties through generations of telling, established a hereditary instinct of hatred which is unreasonable in many cases, and lacking adequate foundation in others. As in all wars, large and small, sentiment rules in some cases, and patriotism in all cases, and the horrors created through lust, anger, and the common instinct to kill, are segregated, some to be minimized, others to be nurtured by the imagination until they are somewhat out of proportion.

The somewhat touching story of James Onump is one of the exceptions in the history of Sanpete and the Black Hawk War. Those of us who were partly acquainted with conditions following the peace with the Indians, will never forget Jim Onump. A gentleman Indian, who with black horse and buggy, wearing a white duster, and with celluloid cuffs and collar and the characteristic black hat, came calling on his friends in Moriwi. Two large hunting dogs, with legs, as President Lincoln once said, long enough to reach the ground, massive and stout, yet tireless, trotted along beside the buggy, pointed noses almost touching ground and seemingly oblivious to everything around them.



Indian Jim (James Onump) and family

The record of "Indian Jim" shows James Onump born near the present site of Freedom, to the Indian, Tabbons. The exact date of his birth is unknown.

Friendly to the whites he did much scouting during the war and later joined the Church, and while living at Indianola, was ordained as a teacher to the Indians by John Murray. Later he was set apart as head teacher and as "Assistant Father" to the Lamanites by Stake President Henry Beal.

Indian Jim always attended church on Sunday, and quite often was called to pray. In this he would raise both hands above his head and say the opening words in his broken English, and then continue his prayer in his native tongue. Even though all could not understand what he said, everyone seemed to feel the reverence and the sincerity with which the prayer was uttered.

Being well acquainted with my parents, Jim always stopped at our home when in Monrovi, and a place was set for him at the



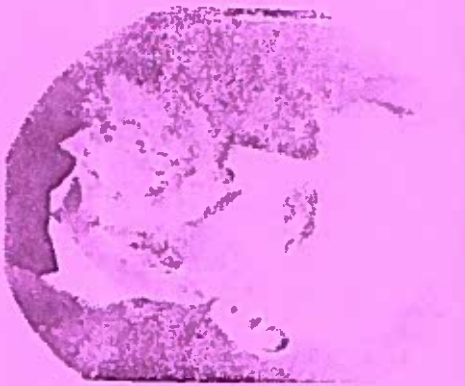
Wives of William L. Draper, Ellen, Fanny, and Ann

table. When tired, he rested on a day cot in our living room. I can picture him now, lying flat on his back, sleeping quietly with slim brown hands folded across his chest. He never rested in any other position. When he departed for home he always took bread, or some other food with him.

After the death of his wife, Phoebe, Jim left Indianola and returned to Freedom, where, later, he remarried. His second wife was unhappy among the whites, and one day while on his way to his fruit farm west of Monrovi, Mozart Larsen saw what he thought was an Indian hiding in the brush. Investigating, he found Jim's wife with their very young baby. She was running away from Jim and returning to her home in Grass Valley. She pleaded with Mozart not to tell Jim. She was unhappy with the whites, she said, and longed to return to her people. Evidently she walked back to Grass Valley, carrying her two-month-old daughter. Some years later, at Salina, Mozart met an Indian girl who proved to be Jim Onump's daughter. She had learned that Mozart was from her father's country, North Saupete.

From Ona Anderson's history of Indian Jim:

"I will relate a personal experience our family had with Indian Jim to show the true character of this noble red man. In May of 1926, my mother was taken seriously ill and rushed to Salt Lake City. Father went with her, leaving us children alone. Jim called one day, and as it had been Mother's custom to give him something, I placed a loaf of bread in a sack and handed it to him. He asked me where my mother was. I tried to explain to him that she was very sick and had gone away to a hospital. He then handed the bread to me and in his broken English told me that papoose not give things away when squaw not at home.



Captain J. W. Irons



2nd Lt. Parley Draper

"Because he was greatly upset about Mother, Jim went to the home of Bishop Davis to ask about her. They told him she was very sick, and he listened closely while they tried to explain her condition. Then he said, 'Maybe so die?' Mrs. Davis said, 'Yes, Jim, maybe so die?' After a thoughtful moment, Jim said simply, 'No go now!'"

"Early the next morning Jim returned and told us in his broken English, 'Jim pray! Jim pray all night! Pray to Great Spirit to make good squaw better, and when light come in east, Great Spirit tell Jim squaw alright!'"

"Mother did recover and spent many years with her family."

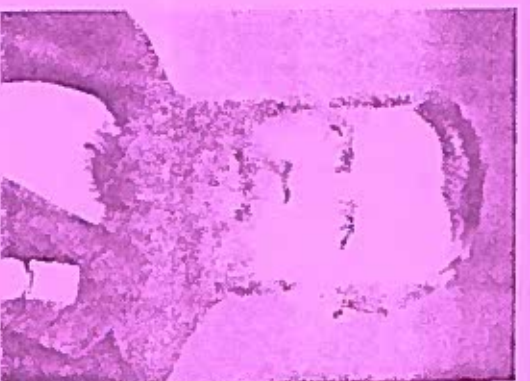
In a small cabin north and west of Wales, Indian Jim settled down to quietly spend his remaining years. Just beyond, near the spring in the Great Basin, his parents were buried. Indian superstition may be a part of the legend which climaxed the last days of Jim's life, but superstition or not, the word of this honest and faithful Indian cannot be taken lightly.

Jim said that one night while resting in his cabin, he saw a very bright light enter through the window and circle his cabin. This happened several times, and to the understanding Indian it was an omen not to be disregarded.

"Maybe pretty soon Jim die!" he said. "Maybe pretty soon!"

Soon after that, Jim's cabin burned to the ground and he was taken to a home in Fairview. He didn't live long after that. Perhaps too soon forgotten, away from the mountains he loved, away from the places where life had begun for him, and life had ended for his parents, a faithful friend of the white man in North Snake Valley, and his goodbye in what reserved way he had, and in his aloneness went his way.

They took Jim back to his home for burial. Some one erected a cross on his grave and printed on it, "Indian Jim."



Captain Lars Swensen



2nd Lt. John Blackham

By 1866 and 1867, the Black Hawk War had reached such proportions that many of the outlying settlements became untenable and the people were forced to move to the larger forts. President Brigham Young counseled that people collect in bodies of not less than 150 as a protection against raids!

By order of Brigham Young, Fountain Green and Wales moved to Moroni. The cabins from Fountain Green were placed in the southeast corner while Wales occupied the west side. It was agreed at this time that the fort should have twelve men on horseback to guard and take care of the stock at all times. A foot guard was also maintained. Moroni was taxed over \$6000.00 to maintain the guard.

The killings went on!

James Ivie and a boy were killed at Round Valley and all the stock driven away! Col. W. B. Pace and company battled the Indians for three hours at Gravelly Ford on the Sevier. Jonathan Edmisten of Manti was killed at Spanish Fork. Indians raided Glenwood killing Jens Peter Petersen and wife and Mary Smith. Richfield and Glenwood settlements were abandoned with the people moving to Sanpete. Lewis Lund was killed at Fountain Green. Robert Robertson was wounded. James Meeks and Andrew Johansen were killed at Spring City. Indians raided Fairview killing James Miller and son and drove away eighteen head of horses.

The graveness list grew longer each day, and each day conditions in the valley became more unbearable. Would the settlers eventually be forced to move on? Move on to where? Would they be forced at last under fire of the red man, to pack their few belongings and follow the trail west again? No! This was home. This was the valley of promise. This was the land of beginning.



MORONI BALL CLUB

again. The soil was deep and rich, and Sanpich River would be the life blood of great fields of grain. That had been the promise. This would be the granary of Utah. Someday, despite the hardships, golden ripe grain would ripple where the sage had been. Where the purple sage had concealed the warring red man, there would be farms and barns, and cattle would feed on the lush grass, and the soft stillness of night would come without the dangers of war. And it came to pass.

Despite the dangers still lurking in the shadows of brush and cedars, other settlers entered the valley of the Sanpich. Into the very battle ground of the great Black Hawk came more determined men, brave men who knew that home was somewhere in this long valley of fertile brush land, and standing by, watching, the American who had known this as home, now realized that he must back away. No longer would there be killings in the fields and forests! No longer would he drive the fattened cattle of the white man into the mountains to be slaughtered by his hungry people.

This was the day of changes, and he knew it all too well. With smothered anger and wounded pride, he would lay down his weapons and learn the ways of the white man. He must now stand silently by and watch each village grow. Farms would be built on the farms, and eventually the great walls of the fort would be torn away. Now there would be many more to hunt the game and take the fish from the streams. He would be governed by white men's laws, and violators of their decrees would be punished.



Sergeant George P. Simpson

saw signs which told him that they were being followed by Indians. He said nothing to his neighbor, however, and they started to gather their load before his companion became aware that they were not alone!

"By gad, George," he said, "I believe there's Indians around here!"

Father said nothing, but as soon as it became apparent that his companion was nervous, the hidden Indians began firing over their heads! Some of the shots came close, must too close for Father's companion, who, without further comment, took off on a dead run toward town.

From their place of concealment, the Indians, laughing all the while, continued to shoot in the direction of the fleeing man, some of their shots coming uncomfortably close! When he was well out of range, they again turned their attention to father who was still going about loading his wagon.

Shot after shot was fired over his head and into the ground near him, but Father stored his ground and paid them no attention. He was quite aware that had it been their intention to kill him, it would have been accomplished with the first shot!

Finishing his load, Father drove away, the jacks and cartcall of the hidden marksmen sounding from their place of concealment. Almost daily the Indians came to the fort, or to the house now being built on the farms, to make demands for food and clothing. Some of them were discourteous in their demands, while others seemingly able to realize that they would be forced to pay respect to their superiors, and live in accordance with regulations, were respectful and thankful.

Up to this time, along the mountain trails east and across the plains states, the hostile attitude of the Banamoks, the Shoshons, the Snake Indians, and the Utais, had rendered the emigrant route

Peare, then, came reluctantly to the same and Service. The Indians' defiance was manifested by scattered acts of violence. Here and there cattle were stolen and the whites fired on. After Nick Hezlet was killed by Indians at Twelve Mile Creek, General Morrow and command entered Sanpich to force them on their reservation. Even then complete surrender was difficult to come by.

An incident experienced by my father will help to illustrate this point.

One day, accompanied by a neighbor, he went into the north hills after wood. Just after they had left the town proper, Father



Dyche Barber Shop—one of first in Moriame

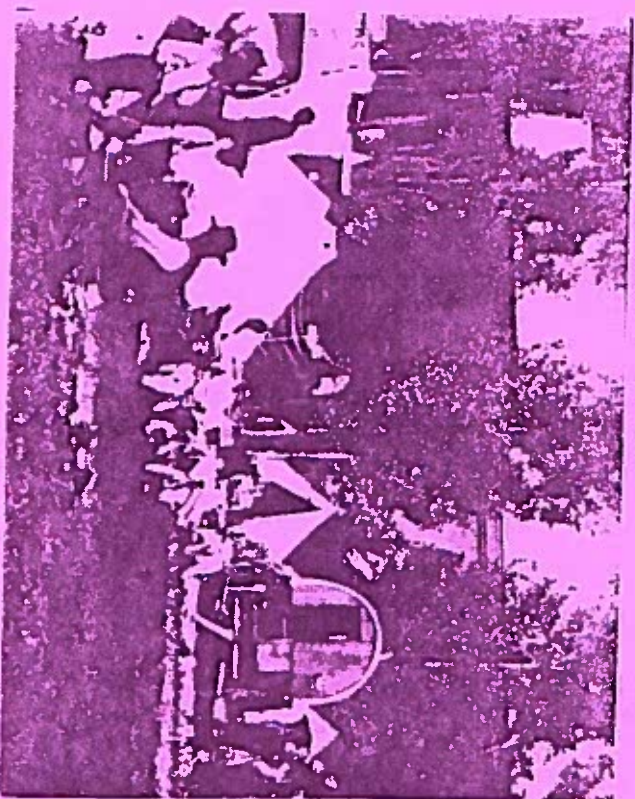
extremely dangerous. Through 1857, '58, and '59, the trail west had been red with the blood of the white man. With the majority of the Plains tribes becoming the allies of the powerful Bannocks, the situation along the Overland had become so dangerous that plans had actually been considered to discontinue the route.

With the arrival of Col. Connor in Salt Lake City, with his infantry and cavalry, along with a force of Nevada volunteers, the situation immediately improved, and long trains started moving westward again. It was this show of power, along with the collapse of Indian resistance through the plains states and as far west as Salt Lake City, which spelled defeat for the tribes under Black Hawk.

The West, which had been a land of danger, adventure, and remote possibilities, would now be a land of peace. A peace dictated and by the power of superior weapons and the force of numbers, meted, and while ignoring the possibilities would be progenital conception and independent action, a government would expand while pretending that all races, savage and otherwise, were equally qualified to adjust themselves to this sudden change, and the white man's standard of living.



BLACK HAWK ENCAMPMENT



DRAPER ENCAMPMENT AT MT. PLEASANT



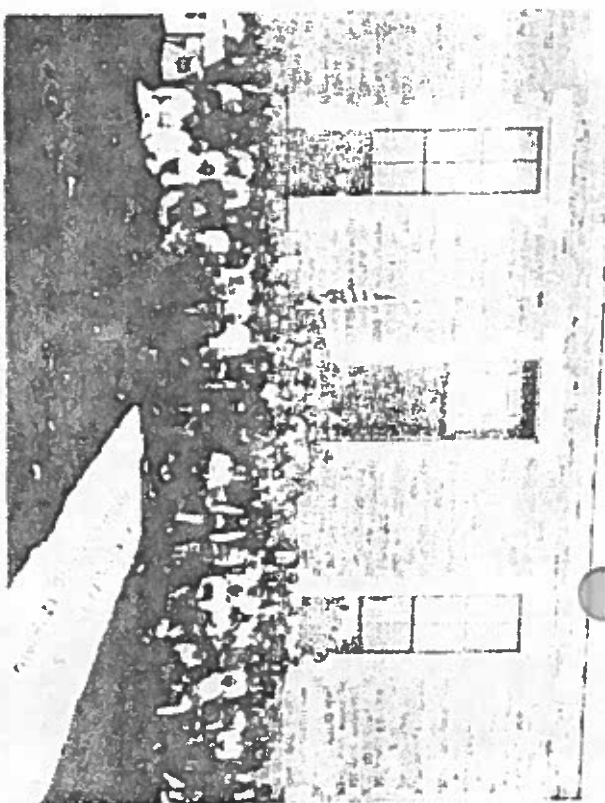
EARLY SHEARING PEN

Suddenly the Indian had been plunged into a radical and sudden change of social conditions, and a state of confusion while he wandered without purpose or destination. Now there were radical changes which he had never had cause to think about. . . . The indiscriminate slaughter of the buffalo, and the wanton destruction of other animals which had provided him with sustenance, is almost too horrible to review. The inconsiderate hunter had appeared from many parts of the west and the plains states, knowing that buffalo meat had a market value, and that the hides were in great demand, and day after day the big wagons tumbled across the Indians' hunting ground, hundreds of them each day with each wagon hauling an average of 100 hides. Later, the meat lost its value and only the hides were taken.

Bleached bones and decaying meat dotted the plains and the ridges. What had been food for the Indian, was but waste for the white man. From the cows was taken the hump, the tongue, the backstrap, the tenderloin and the hindquarters. From the bulls nothing was taken but the tongue. It was a fact that some hunters would get as many as forty to fifty bull tongues in one day. The hides were sold for about \$1.50 each, the meat for thirteen cents a pound, with the tongues bringing about \$9.00 per dozen!

Buffalo Bill alone, and by actual count, killed 4280 buffalo. The meat was sold to the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

Can we condemn, even those of the remotest intellect for taking exception to such as this? Black Hawk had great power and ruled over his people with a master hand. Of commanding appearance, fearless in battle, and intelligent enough to know that suffering and want is the obvious where much is taken away and nothing returned, was considered a good Indian by the whites, but was also known as a man who ever forgave a personal injury, or an injustice to his people.

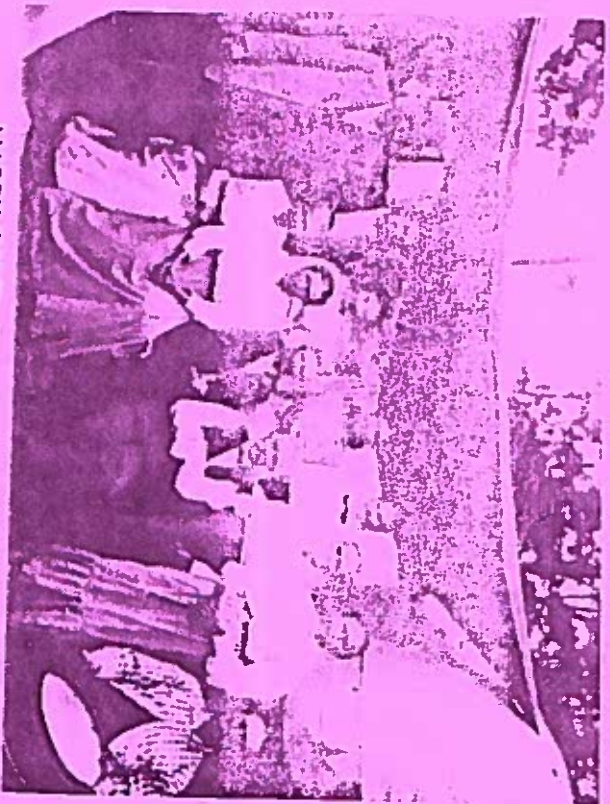


VETERAN ENCAMPMENT—Moroni, August 12, 1914

As a friend of the whites, he enjoyed visiting the settlers and manifesting his friendship in various ways, but as an enemy, after his pride had been sorely wounded by an act of violence perpetrated by a white man, he became known for his cruelty and the terror he spread throughout Saulte, Sevier, and Millard Counties. The white man had taken over the hunting grounds of his people, depriving them of food and clothing. In the face of flagrant aggression, what better excuse would he need to throw the braves under his command into battle in an attempt to force back those creeping trains of covered wagons that were violating his creeds and privileges! Even as Walker and Sappitch and Arapene had tried to stem the tide of whites flowing into the long valley of the Sappitch and the Sevier! Even as Washakie was fighting to retain his country along the great Bear River to the north! Even as the great Osceola had fought to retain what was rightfully his many years before!

The records show that Black Hawk's last battle was fought at Fillmore in 1866. In that fight, at Gravelly Ford on the Sevier, Black Hawk received a wound from which he never recovered. He died in his wigwam at Spring Lake in 1870, and was buried on a hillside overlooking Saultagwin.

Of all cheap things, life was the cheapest. Nature has given it into the world with a lavish hand, and man in his greed has all too often ignored its value. So easy to take away, so impossible to give back. Many lives had been taken under the waving lance of a great and powerful, but extremely cruel chief. As in other parts of America, the American had been defeated!



HARDY CAMP—Encampment of August 5, 1910

The nomadic tendencies of the Indian now dwarfed what desires he had of settling in a given place, there to educate his young while he strived for a better standard of living. Even though the Ute was considered a wandering tribe, it is believed that no other tribe possessed stronger home ties, yet, with the close of the war, he took to the open road, touching village after village where he begged for food and clothing.

Many came to Moenab and made their camp near the Church's tithing barns across the road from my home. Here they were given rounds of the town asking for food and clothing. As a curious kid, I often went as close to their camp as I dared to watch them in their simple customs. I have often seen a squaw sit absolutely motionless for an hour or more, waiting for a gopher to thrust his head above ground. When he did show at last, she struck with the speed of lightning and there was meat in the pot for supper. Once, an Indian boy, slightly older than myself, with whom I had tried to be friendly, snatched a pitch fork from a bundle of hay and came at me. I did a lightning reverse and spinned for home, the sharp times pricking at my posterior until I reached the safety of my own yard.

Very often the squaws were demanding and rude. Melba Morley tells of an incident she experienced which is quite illustrative of the attitude some of the squaws had. In a short prefatory statement she expresses her fear of the Indian, and at that time, I think, the majority of the people felt some discomfort when these caravans would come to town and camp, sometimes for a week or more.



BLACK HAWK ENCAMPMENT—about 1903

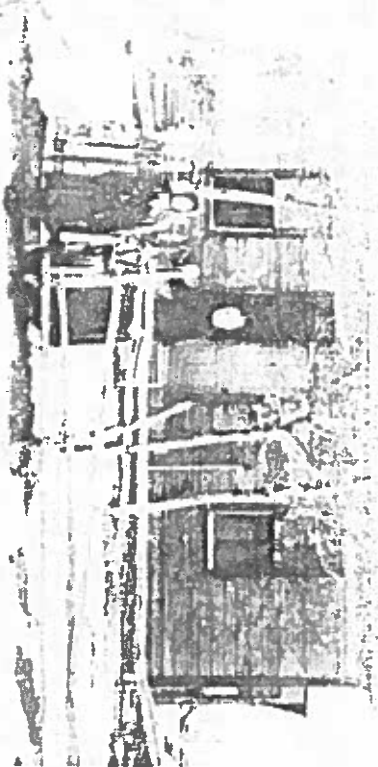
"One warm summer evening as I was going about my work in my kitchen, I suddenly had a strange feeling that I was being watched, and looking around I was terrified to see an Indian squaw and her daughter standing in the doorway! They hadn't given any warning of their presence but had entered my kitchen very quietly while I was at my work! In my sudden fright I hardly knew what to do.

"As was the custom of the townspeople when the Indians came calling, I gave them flour and bread and thought that they would go on their way. But they did not. Then I knew that the squaw wanted something else, and finally, after much gesticulating on her part, she made me to understand that she wanted the dress I was wearing!

"I had just finished sewing the dress and liked it very much, so I tried to substitute another one from my wardrobe, but she sternly refused it. So I did what any other frightened woman would do, I suppose. I removed the dress and gave it to her. She departed satisfied."

An Indian buck once took a strong liking to a very fine rifle a Moenab man was carrying, and demanded that he make some sort of trade, or give him the gun outright. The man refused and the Indian became very angry. The incident could have had serious affects on the peace of Moenab, had not the mild-mannered settler shouldered his fine rifle and walked away.

Once a demanding squaw drew a knife on a housewife and backed her against the wall. Her action proved to be mostly bluff,



EARLY HOME IN MORONI—Mrs. Amos Bradley and daughter

however. The housewife had been reluctant to part with something valuable, such as the rifle, and sister Mella's dress.

An Indian boy was born at Ephraim, April 12, 1835, and when seven months old was adopted by a white couple, Mr. and Mrs. George Hill. They named him Zenos, and he took the name of Hill. All the child knew of his parents was that they were full-blooded Indians and belonged to a friendly tribe.

Zenos grew up with the whites and attended school, finishing his education at the Brigham Young Academy at Provo. With the outbreak of the war, Zenos volunteered his services to the settlers of Sanpete County, and young as he was, served as a scout.

Zenos W. Hill was a man to be respected. Immediately after the United States entered World War I, Zenos reported for duty, but of course, was turned away because of his age. He then petitioned the government to send him to the Mexican border for guard duty. This was also refused him. I recall the grim seriousness of his demeanor as he told the story to me and several companions. There just didn't seem to be a place in the plan of things for this brave and very true American.

He proudly wore the bronze medal and red ribbon of the Black Hawk War Veterans and never missed the encampments of the thinning army of Indian fighters! Zenos W. Hill, a respected citizen of Fountain Green for many years, died at the age of 85.

The fighting blood runs red and hot in the veins of the true American. Silent, proud, and determined, they lined the halls of the induction centers at the call to arms when World War II cast its ominous shadows over the land. In from the reservations, down from the high Sacramentos, down from their useful mountain



MORONI HARMONICA BAND

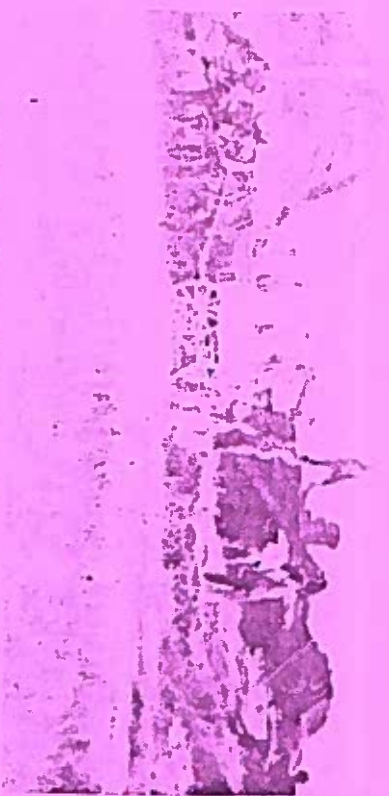
homes, and in from the plains beyond, came Apache and Navajo to answer the call. Duga-Chloe-Bekis, Yahatchi medicine man, expressing his contempt for dictators, tried to enlist in the Air Force at the age of 80! Two young Apaches rode forty miles in a blinding blizzard to answer the call! It was said that not a single Apache was rejected because of physical defects. On registration day 4579 Navajos signed for the service!

"If trouble come, we all fight!" said Pete Price, medicine man. We salute the lineage of Geronimo and the many brave warriors before him!

For many years, the veterans of the Black Hawk War have gathered to honor the living who saw action in the trying times of expansion, and to praise the dead, young and old, who saw cause to invade a primitive land and lay the foundation for a mighty empire. Now those veterans are gone, and the color and pagentry of their reunions have been dimmed by time and social change.

Some of us can look back with quickening emotions perhaps, to the days of the campgrounds, the flickering fires, and perhaps, if we listen closely, we can still hear the cheerful conversation, the laughter and the songs of a contented people who knew that their work had been well done. It was ever thus at these encampments when a life-loving people, so thankful for their blessings and the plain and common things, associated as only our pioneers knew how. The shrill laughter of the women as they gathered to renew old acquaintances, and the steady drone of male voices around the fire where stories of the war were told and retold again. Somewhere a group would be singing, with a mixture of voices so musically concordant that one could actually feel their radiant hospitality.

EARLY-DAY THRESHING JOB—Mozart Larson Farm



Those of us who are fortunate enough to have a clear recollection of these circumstances, and the close association which meant so much to those people who traveled many miles in their covered wagons to participate in the re-living of the more pleasurable events of the past, must say in all sincerity that their lives were full. They labored, and loved, and worshiped, and in those darkest hours when it seemed that human endurance had at last reached its limit, they were able, in some way, to command a little more strength, and a little more faith.

The first Black Hawk Encampment I attended was held in Maple Canyon when I was a very small boy. I recall most vividly the long journey over roads that were narrow and rocky. Our rumbling camp wagon seemed to find every rock and rut while we children peered from beneath the canvas at the dim and shadowy forms of the canyon as they moved slowly by.

It was quite dark when we reached the camp grounds, but we found plenty of activity there. There were many Indians in full war dress, and I recall how frightened I was, and how Mother's protective arms and kindly words dispelled my fears. All evening the warguns continued to roll in.

Those wonderful days of games, music, and programs, together with the appetizing meals Mother cooked over an open fire, have been scraped probably on my mind, and I recall how reluctant we all were to bid old friends and new friends goodbye when it came

~~time to leave the canyon.~~ Now when I return there, I spend a few
~~revelent minutes in retrospect as I call to remembrance that colorful~~
~~in appearance.~~

[illegible]

That is our story. It is a very old story. One hundred years ago the smog of war cast its ominous shadows over a town and struggling people in North Sonpete Valley, and death came in many shocking and hideous ways to a people who had endured many hardships, and who would be called upon to endure many more.

So little has been remembered of this terrible war, and so much forgotten. A small portion of a colorful era has been preserved in picture form, but these, too, are very few. We can honor posthumously the valiant deeds of our courageous forefathers, and in so doing pay respect also to the descendants of the I manies, who rightfully fought to retain his heritage.

The scars of war have healed, and the grieving is no more. To the brave Americans of this era of struggle and hardships, we pay homage.

David Mervin

Alana: Douglas Smith
Dannny Setjo

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er loss than the blankets and other gifts are worth. The Par-vants had planted quite a breadth of grain at their late home that looked well at the time they left.

"BLACK HAWK" IN THE CITY.—Major Dymock B. Huntington, Indian Interpreter, informs us that, on the evening of Friday last, he had a visit from the notorious Chief, "Black Hawk," who has been the prime mover in the Indian disturbances for the last few years in the southern portion of this Territory. "Black Hawk" said he was sent by the Pi-edes, who live on Gunnison's trail and the Spanish trail, west of Green River. They want peace, and "Black Hawk" said he would have them all,—men, women, and children in Gunnison in one moon, so that the Indian Superintendent, Col. Head, and he, Dymock, might go and have a talk with them. He says they will not want to come to Gunnison, because they have nothing but horses they have stolen from the "Mormons" to ride on; they would rather meet a distance from the settlement. However, as "Black Hawk" has kept his promise to keep the peace, given two years ago, it is very likely that he will bring them. The Pi-edes see what presents the Shib-er-eh Indians, living north of Spanish trail and west of Green River, have got by being peaceful, and they are anxious to reap similar benefits themselves.

"Black Hawk" says Tab-by-Uner has lately stolen six horses from the vicinity of Payson and taken them East to trade them off; and he thinks more vigilance is necessary in that neighborhood.

FATAL RAILWAY ACCIDENT.—We much regret having to record an accident on the railroad, yesterday, at Devil's Gate, which resulted in the instant death of So-co Rockwood, an Indian, the adopted son of Brother Rockwood, the Warden of the Utah Penitentiary. The deceased was in the employ of Mr. W. Spofford, and, yesterday morning, he and other hands were sent a

superior to any made here before. The piece was altered at several points, and the performance before the spectators. The scene played so well, and was applauded with "Peachblossom" more of it than here, and clearly she has considerable success in her performance, last evening in saying will become a Lake public.

Miss Lockhart in fine style; "Sixth Ward" excessively late; "Judas" rendered by their excellent and hypocrisy.

Mr. Wheatley his reputation tonight. In this chance for the in every part of the land, and giving the performance vain with any.

To-night the repeated; the Saturday even

THIRD JURY case of the and others who Russell came were not going to pass

TERRITORY readers will day's issue in the Assembly "Prescribing the Executive

lettered.

but never

a bottle so as to or other to our operat- place the e height: it; also. l. Now the wa- the bot- nize. ur, also, fire; the om heat- o expan- renk the Scient

nan and ed. The tem, and order for l that it surveyed hen said married: xolained dge,—" proceed, the and said in saying if I ain't

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Order of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution
Washington, D. C.

Eric Larson
530 East 7th South
Orem, Utah

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1967
FBI - OREM

FROM SAVAGE FILES A
VERY RARE PHOTO OF CHF.
BLACK HAWK, TAKEN IN
1867 BY BRADY ASST.
AT HEIGHT OF HIS WAR
DECLARATIONS.

Black Hawk War

318

Utah Historical Quarterly

1867. "They were cut up and mangled in a most brutal manner."⁶⁴

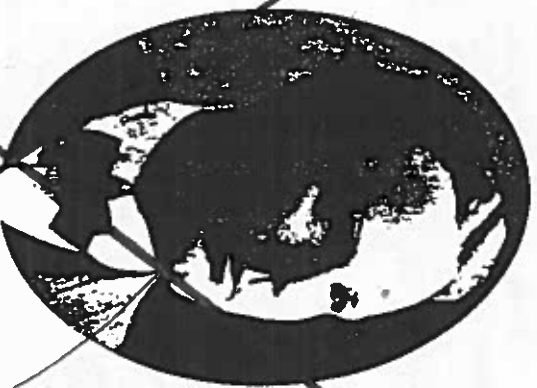
The vacating of communities by the whites has been considered a great Indian achievement. At least nine abandoned settlements were in the areas of Ute operations.⁶⁵ These towns, maintained during the first year of the war, probably could have been preserved since the Utes were not waging a war in which taking and holding land played a major role. The decision to evacuate was part of an effort to consolidate forces and make defense more efficient. Although the Indians often fled on towns during attacks as a diversion, which certainly caused the whites to fear for their safety, no town was ever besieged.

The abandoned areas were of little immediate value to the Indians in controlling central Utah. In the short term, abandonment deprived the raiders of resources because the removal of stock eliminated a potential food source for the Utes. Moreover, the return of game animals to these ecologically damaged areas would have taken years. The remaining towns were consolidated, and each had a militia unit of at least 150 men. The decision to abandon small, exposed burgs early in the summer of 1866 was a master stroke by white officials and may be considered the turning point in the war.

The Utes were masters of hit-and-run tactics. Using terrain, timing, and their small numbers effectively, they always struck unseen and, early in the war, raided white communities almost at will. When pursued they kept their adversaries at bay through effective delaying actions and avoided heavy casualties by disengaging when necessary. But limited manpower kept the Utes from pressing their advantages. Most of the raids followed a similar pattern; however, the Indians were innovative and varied their tactics as needed to meet differing challenges from the whites. The warriors showed skill in harassing their adversaries and remained at large through three campaigning seasons. Nevertheless, a lengthy war of attrition was a hopeless undertaking. Inevitably, the Utes themselves were worn down and relinquished uncontested control of their ancestral lands to the whites.

⁶⁴ H. H. Kearnes to George A. Smith, March 30, 1867, *Journal History*. "There was one man, his name was James P. Peterson, aged 30 years, and his wife Caroline A. Peterson, aged 27 years, also, a girl named Mary Smith aged 16 years. The man had been shot and considerably mangled, the woman was scalped and cut up in a most brutal manner, a portion of the lower part of her body was cut out and laid upon her face; the girl was also scalped and badly cut up, with a stick run up through her breasts into her private."

⁶⁵ *Fruitland Green, Fairview, Moonah, Salina, Ririefield, Glenwood, Monaca, Maryvale, and Circle*. If the small hamlets like the "Wing" settlement near modern Bluff were included the number would increase.



*Padley P. Christensen,
Country of author.*

The Making of an Insurgent: Padley P. Christensen and Utah Republicanism, 1900-1912

BY JOHN R. SHULTO

IN NOVEMBER 1920 AMERICANS OVERWHELMINGLY ELECTED Warren G. Harding, the genial senator from Ohio who promised a "Return to

Mr. Shulto is an artist and professor of History at Weber State University, Ogden.

because they were skillful in moving and in fighting at night. The militia often posted nocturnal guards to warn of Indian movements. At "about two o'clock in the morning," the night after the fight at Thistle Valley, Edwin Woolley, Jr., was on "picket guard" and "heard the clatter of horses hoofs on the trail" as the Utes passed. Fritz Leonard Johnson related the fear and confusion of being stationed in the darkness. Once he "panicked" when he saw an object. He "was sure it was an Indian crawling on all fours." He fired but was too frightened to go out and examine it. In daylight he learned he had shot a badger.⁵⁶

An ambush on April 22, 1866, showed how skillfully the Indians used the darkness. Aided by a bright moon 21 white men pursued a war party and found some stolen cattle near the fort of Marysvale. They decided to enter the town before moving against the Indians. The Utes, foreseeing this, hid in rabbit brush along the road. Then they took advantage of the psychological moment when the whites, feeling relieved to be entering the town, let down their guard. The warriors fired into their backs when they were about twenty-five yards from the fort. Two men were killed and two were wounded, while all the Indians escaped.⁵⁷

But night operations could be thwarted. In the evening of July 21, 1867, Joseph Fish of Parowan saw Indians seize some cattle. Bravely, Fish rode into the group, learning their number ("about thirty") and the direction they were heading. He left, gathered "eleven of the boys," and intercepted the raiders at the mouth of Little Creek Canyon. The whites

charged the herd full speed, firing whenever we could hear or see anyone. We gave a terrific yell which stampeded the herd, and the Indians took to the hills as quickly as possible without hardly stopping to return our fire.

The warriors tried again that night to steal cattle, but the militia was reinforced and drove off the Utes once more.⁵⁸

Such aggressive action by the whites often succeeded in foiling the Indians late in the war by forcing the Utes to leave the stock and flee. Yet the Utes' resourcefulness allowed them to escape with few ca-

⁵⁶ Woolley, "Autobiography," Johnson, "Father's Account."

⁵⁷ Gaultier, *Indian Dependence*, pp. 193-98. The men who were killed were Albert Lewis and Christian Christensen.

⁵⁸ Fish, *Diaries*, July 21, 1867.

sualties. When 12 warriors seized cattle near Fountain Green on June 3, 1867, they were pursued by 45 militiamen. The raiders delayed these whites until militia reinforcements arrived. Then,

Finding themselves hard pressed they killed and wounded all the cattle, mounted fresh animals, driving only horses before them, and reaching the canon [and before] had we came up We pursued the Indians about three miles into the mountains, finding that their picked horses were unable to compete with the fresh horses the Indians had just mounted, they gave up the chase.⁵⁹

The war's length and cost led to excesses by both sides. The whites killed noncombatants, including women and children, on several occasions as did the Utes.⁶⁰ But corpse mutilation was also a factor in how the Indians waged war. The warriors occasionally took the scalps of their victims and in other ways defaced their bodies. This was probably done for cultural reasons. Many Indians believed that damage to the remains of their enemies meant that these foes would be unable to use a complete body against them in the afterlife.

Of the 46 whites killed by Utes only a few were mutilated. After the ambush at Salina Canyon on April 12, 1865, the corpse of William Kearnes was found leaning against a rock with willows woven around it, presumably to keep wolves away. Kearnes was probably recognized as a former friend by the Utes and so his remains were protected. The body of Jens Sorensen found nearby was "horribly mutilated," but it is uncertain whether the damage was done by animals or Indians.⁶¹

When Soren N. Jespersen was killed on October 17, 1865, near Ephraim, N. O. Anderson said, "it appeared that he had been fearfully tortured while yet alive." Charles Whitlock (as corrected by Ezra Shoemaker) reported the condition of Jespersen's body: "His hands and feet were chopped off and also the upper part of his head."⁶² After the engagement at Diamond Fork on June 26, 1866, the body of John Edmundson was found. The Indians had "scalped him and also cut off one hand."⁶³ The most extensive brutality was inflicted on the corpses of three whites killed near Glenwood on March 21,

⁵⁹ R. N. Albert to Fallon, *Deseret News*, June 12, 1867; *Deseret News*, June 16, 1867.
⁶⁰ For a discussion of such incidents in the early part of the war see Whitaker, "Chickadee," pp. 1-21.

⁶¹ Gaultier, *Indian Dependence*, p. 197.

⁶² N. O. Anderson as cited in Gaultier, *Indian Dependence*, p. 178; and Charles Whitlock corrected by Ezra Shoemaker as cited in *Ibid.*, p. 173.

⁶³ Richardson as cited in Birchhall, "Autobiography." See also William Currey to George A. Smith March 16, 1866, *Journal History*.

The ambush was so well laid that one white survivor deemed their escape "providential" and stated that there could have been a "massacre equal to that of General Custer's."³²

The achievement was noteworthy. The only reports citing numbers of Indian raiders for the year of 1865 give the figures of 16 or 17. If this was the total force at the ambush, the Utes were outnumbered about five to one. This makes the rout of the whites and the threat of their annihilation most impressive feats.

An exception to the pattern of raiding communities to take cattle was the attack on the militia garrison at Thistle Valley (modern Indianola) on June 24, 1865. Militia posts had been established at several locations to provide rapid support in emergencies, and the position at Thistle Valley was designed to protect communications between Sanpete and Utah valleys. The garrison presented a threat to Indian movements in the area and was a promising target for attack. Charles Brown, out in the open when the Indians struck, was killed.³³ While some warriors stole the militia's horse herd, a group of 28 kept the garrison at bay by rushing the camp, firing their rifles as they came. The whites rallied and stopped the Utes with a volley.

Taking the horses immobilized the whites. To leave the camp as infantry, outnumbered and unsupported, was to invite disaster. The militia sent two men for help to Mount Pleasant about nineteen miles away and tried to maintain their position until relief came. At first the Utes stayed in the trees, making the whites think they had left, but later renewed their attacks.

The Utes rode around the encampment, shooting from under their mounts using the bodies of the horses for protection, while others crawled towards the whites' position. They hid in the grass and tried to pick off members of the militia, but their effectiveness was reduced by the fire directed at them. Between Indian forays the whites fortified their camp. They tried to create a solid perimeter by digging trenches and dropping the wagon wheels into them, thus lowering the vehicles. The remaining six horses were tied in the gaps. Each of these animals was wounded in the fight.

The ordeal lasted up to nine hours before aid from Mount Pleasant

³² Joshua W. Sylvester as cited in Gaudreault, *Indian Dependence*, pp. 135-36, 136-37. Austin Kearns as cited in ibid., pp. 135-36, and Madden, "Technology and History." The quotes not credited to Madden are by Sylvester.

³³ This Charles Brown was not the Charles Brown who was present on May 26, 1865, in Thistle Valley where all its members of the Brown family were killed by Indians. See Brown as cited in Gaudreault, *Indian Dependence*, pp. 141-45.



Painting of First Ute show beyond spread of some early settlements. USIA collection.

ant and Fairview arrived near dusk. The Utes withdrew after a brief attempt to turn back the relieving party. The besieged whites, low on ammunition, feared the Indians would get the upper hand after dark. The next morning the militia followed the trail of the renegades to Soldier Summit where "the Indians, resorted to their old tactics of separation and scattering in all directions and further chase had to be abandoned."³⁴

The fight at Thistle Valley was another close call for the whites in which a desperate situation nearly turned into a disaster. After immobilizing the militia by taking the horse herd, the Indians were free to engage and disengage as they desired. Their forays had induced the whites to use up their ammunition, leaving the Utes in a favorable position to destroy the garrison after dark. Moreover, the stealing of horses proved a double boon to the Utes by giving them more mounts and an additional source of food.³⁵

The whites at Thistle Valley justifiably feared the Utes after dark.

³⁴ The quote is from Fairview. Brown as cited in Gaudreault, *Indian Dependence*, pp. 209-11. See also Henry Barker, "Ambushes," and Albert Dwyer, "Journal." This Charles Brown is Brown, William, Jr. "Ambushes," Special Collections, University of Utah, and H. P. Kimball to Allen Wells, June 21, 1866, Utah Wildlife Records.

³⁵ Smith, *Phonology*, p. 32.

canyon with a relatively large stream. This made them vulnerable to surprise attacks from the high ground often found nearby. Despite extensive efforts that included manned observation points, reconnaissance, and the interrogation of available Indians, the whites were never forewarned of a raid.⁴⁷

The April 13, 1866, attack on Salina is an example of a large raid. Advancing with about 50 or 60 warriors, one group on foot, the other mounted, the Utes came out of the hills east of town. The men on horseback rode directly toward the settlement and then swept around it. This feat delayed action by the whites because they feared for the town's safety. Without effective opposition, the renegades rounded up the livestock and hit any convenient target outside the community. They killed a man named Johnson from Fairview and young Chris Nielsen, whose brother Emil, was wounded. The warriors intercepted three wagons, took their teams, and plundered them, making as much use of their contents as time allowed:

The Indians helped themselves to the contents of the wagons, feasted on the rations of the teamsters, strewed the wheat on the ground, allowing their horses to eat what they wanted, and trampled the remains under their feet; they also stripped the covers from the wagons.⁴⁸

The whites were unable to rally fast enough to prevent the initial seizing of cattle, but the militia did resist the taking of stock up Salina Canyon. The resulting skirmish lasted for hours. The whites were hampered in fighting because "ammunition [sic] was scarce." The Utes used 8 or 10" men to drive off the stock while their remaining number kept the whites at bay. One militiaman was shot through the ankle and one horse of a white was killed.

Perhaps to demoralize or intimidate the whites, the Utes taunted them. "While others made light of the people White Horse Chief with others stood on a hill and called to us to come and get our cows as the children would soon cry for milk." This challenge attracted some inconsequential fire on the "Chief," and the renegades made good their escape with the cattle.⁴⁹ The Utes used skirmishes and ambushes to

⁴⁷ For the efforts by Ephraim see *Ephraim's First One Hundred Years*, pp. 12-13. But the town was raided at least three times in the war; see *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15, and *Candlestick, Indian Depredations*, pp. 160-76, 220, 287-88.

⁴⁸ 11-11 Kearney to George A. Smith, April 15, 1866, *Journal History*.

⁴⁹ Peter Baunman, Jr., "The Search," 1318 *Church Archives*, 11-11 Kearney to George A. Smith, April 15, 1866, in the *Journal History and Denver News*, April 24, 1866, and Emil Nielsen as cited in *Candlestick, Indian Depredations*, pp. 165-66.

defeat effective pursuit. At times a lone warrior could keep the whites at bay. At Clavelly Ford on June 11, 1866, "a solitary Indian" held off a group of

white cavalrymen, fully fifty strong. . . . [by] riding in an oblong circle, and firing as he reached the point nearest the enemy. [He] rebounded his rifle while on the horse's neck and turning was ready for another shot.⁵⁰

At times the Indians took great care in setting ambushes. In 1867 the whites of Glenwood who were building a fort outside the town came in the mornings to work on it. The Indians noticed this routine and occupied the edifice in the night of March 29. They "built breast-works of rocks in such places as they could not be readily observed" on high ground on the route between Glenwood and the fort. This was the only direct route because of

an extensive [but] swamp which closes up to the mountains, for a considerable distance before crossing this point. . . . Thus fortified they were prepared at the fort, to receive with the instruments of death the unsuspecting workmen as they should come to resume their labors on that structure; and when once there, their retreat was completely cut off by the fortified ambuscade on the point.

But this clever trap was never closed because the Utes revealed their position on March 30 by firing on two men checking on stock.⁵¹

An effective ambush was sprung on April 12, 1865, when 81 whites pursued a war party up Salina Canyon. When they passed a narrow point a shot rang out, probably as a signal to start firing, and a fusillade followed. The militia was caught in a crossfire by the Utes who shot from above, hidden behind rocks, trees, and bushes. Andrew Madsen described their heavy rate of fire as "volley after volley." Some warriors tried to secure the only avenue of escape but were felled by a few whites who had fled the ambush and were in position to keep them from closing the trap.

An Indian on horseback was seen swinging his hands, probably to get his men to advance. Some whites fired on him, and he fell from his mount. In the following half the militia retreated to a ridge down the canyon to "Tank" the Indians. This move failed to turn the tide, and the whites left the scene suffering two killed and two wounded.

⁵⁰ Gibbs, "Black Hawk's Last Ride," p. 107.

⁵¹ 11-11 Kearney to George A. Smith, March 30, 1867, *Journal History*.



The warrior with dog and arrows was photographed ca. 1873 by J. K. Hiltner.

an arrow wound (Charles Whitlock, Miles Edgar Johnson said Indians "crawled in and occupied the grove" by his house near Altoni at night in July 1865. When the dog made a "fuss" the intruders tried to kill it. Johnson heard the thump of arrows hitting the cabin and later "found the back of our house all feathered out with Indian arrows which were shot at our dog." All of them missed.³¹

Scaling cattle was the main purpose of nearly all the attacks, and the warriors showed they were often desperate for food. Black Hawk stated the purpose of the October 17, 1865, raid on Ephraim to Sorren

³¹ L. C. Larson as cited in *Confessions, Indian Depredations*, pp. 172-76. Larson was in the wagon, Johnson, "Zamudigraphy."

A. Sorrensen. Three whites had been killed nearby, but Black Hawk befriended Sorrensen because his mother "would frequently invite him to eat with us, and would give him almost anything he asked for." Black Hawk told Sorrensen the object of the raid was "to get some cattle."³² After the fight at Diamond Fork John Robertson noted the Indians "had killed a beef and bivouacked with some of it and hung the rest out to dry" even though they were being pursued by the militia. In the night of April 21, 1866, Indians stole some sheep near Altoni but were so hungry they had herded one before leaving.³³

Reconnaissance probably provided the most information on the white settlements. Fritz Johnson saw "something moving . . . like a badger crawling across a gully." He "waited and there was another creature crawling in the same direction as the other one had disappeared to." "Now I knew they were Indians," he reported, and they were "evidently scouting."³⁴

Early in the war Utes may have received information from informers. The fear of this and the possibility of seemingly friendly Indians actually being hostile led a few whites to take harsh measures against them, including incarceration and killing. As a result, many Indians fled the area of military activities. On May 5, 1867, Daniel H. Wells reported, "there are no Indians to be seen in Sanpete and Juab Valleys."³⁵ This made it impossible for spies to send information to the hostile Indians at that point in the war.

The raiders made effective use of terrain to hide their movements and to discourage pursuit. Andrew Madsen reported that the Indians after "their attacks . . . were repeatedly . . . retreating to the mountains." The high country of central Utah was well known to the Utes. According to Madsen,

numerous Paw-Woos were held by the various Indian Tribes and their camp fires could be seen upon the mountain sides, where they engaged in singing and dancing. At times their hideous sounds could be heard in the valleys below.³⁶

With the availability of water a prime consideration in locating white settlements, many communities were situated at the mouth of a

³² N. O. Anderson as cited in *Confessions, Indian Depredations*, p. 172. The first quote is directly from Sorrensen in Anderson's account. The second is Anderson's paraphrasing of Sorrensen's report.

³³ Robertson as cited in Rhinbold, "Zamudigraphy," *Confessions, Indian Depredations*, p. 193.

³⁴ Fritz Leonard Johnson, "Father's Account of the Black Hawk War," Utah State Historical Society.

³⁵ Daniel H. Wells to Editor, *Deseret News*, May 5, 1867, *Journal History*.

³⁶ Andrew Madsen, "Theory and Geography," Special Collections, University of Utah.

The casualties in the Black Hawk War were low on both sides, which was consistent with most Indian wars. The killing of whites by Indians was extensively reported in the *Deseret News*. From this and other sources a list of 46 whites believed to have been killed by Utes has been compiled. Of these victims 11 were women and children.³¹

Many Indians apparently remained tranquil during the war and bypassed opportunities to plunder and kill. Early in 1868 when Ute raiders were still operating, Miles Edgar Johnson traveled up Salt Creek Canyon to Sanpete Valley. He stated later, "all I could see was Indians every where." They looked at him, "laughing and jeering," but being peaceful, left him unharmed.³²

It is unknown how the Utes obtained their weapons, but they possessed various implements of war. The peaceful Indians Johnson observed at the top the canyon were "armed with guns, tomahawks, and bows and arrows." As distance weapons, firearms and bows and arrows had the greatest military value. The Utes had a diversity of rifles but most often used single-shot, muzzle-loading weapons that were reloaded after each shot.

The firearms of the Indians were often superior to those used by the whites. John Robertson reported that at Diamond Fork the Utes had a large number of "long range Enfield rifles," better guns than the militia possessed. One warrior had a Henry rifle, a lever-action repeater. Christian Larsen said that this man, during the Circleville raid in November 1865, kept the whites at bay using this weapon. Andrew Christian Nielson stated that in the October 1865 raid on Ephraim, "We had very few guns and what we had were of inferior material" and "The Indians had better guns than we did."³³

The Indians also had enough ammunition to use it unnecessarily. During the June 1867 raid on Fountain Green, for example, skirmishers left behind engaged the whites for "two hours." When the warriors realized they would fail to take all the livestock, they shot the animals.³⁴ In the night of July 21-22, 1867, a war party failed to steal stock near Parowan. Before leaving, "several of them got favorable po-

³¹ Coffretson, *Indian Depredations*, Supplement, pp. 12-13. This is found in the 1969 edition. Also listed are the names of whites killed by Paiutes.

³² Miles Edgar Johnson, "Autobiography," Special Collections, BYU.

³³ John Robertson as cited in Beinhart, "Autobiography"; Christian Larsen, "Biographical Sketch," LDS Church Archives; Andrew Christian Nielson, "Interview," as cited in Kane B. Carter, ed., *Our Pioneer Heritage*, vol. 11 (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1968), pp. 298-41.

³⁴ R. N. Alfred to Editor, *Deseret News*, June 12 and 19, 1867; and H. B. Kearns to Brother Smith, June 9, 1867, Journal History. The quote is from Alfred's letter.

sitions at the mouth of the canyon and kept up a constant fire all the latter part of the night."³⁵ It is unlikely the Utes would have squandered their ammunition had they none to spare.

The warriors could produce heavy rates of fire relative to their weapons. On September 21, 1865, men of the Sanpete militia were ambushed near Red Lake. The Indians overshot their enemies, but the rounds hit the lake behind them so rapidly the water seemed to "boil."³⁶ On July 22, 1867, some men of Parowan were also ambushed. The warriors fired from only "40 yards" away so fast the shots seemed to come "like hail."³⁷ Fire coordination by the Utes was often loose by contemporary standards. When the Indians opened fire to start an engagement, this fusillade was often described as a "volley" or a "crash," but there is little indication that fire was synchronized afterwards.³⁸

The bows used by the warriors were powerful, lethal, and could be fired rapidly. Peter Coffretson found an ox killed by Indian arrows that had penetrated its side to half of the shaft. The arrows were roughly 22 to 24 inches long. Seventeen-year-old Elizabeth Peterson was killed by an arrow near Ephraim on October 17, 1865. The tip went completely through her chest, protruding from the opposite side.³⁹ The bow's limitations included a restricted range and variable accuracy and effectiveness. Additionally, the relatively silent bow and arrow gave little psychological boost to the user—compared to the loud report of rifles—since noisy weapons tend to intensify emotions in battle. In the Salina raid of April 13, 1866, Emil Nielson, a boy of eleven, was hit in the right arm and left side by arrows. He fell and his attacker, a "little Indian boy," tried to kill him by shooting arrows into his head. Emil was hit three times, but no shot penetrated his skull. A more effective use of arrows would have killed him.⁴⁰

Near Ephraim on October 17, 1865, Yencowood (fake Arapaceo) chased three whites fleeing in a wagon. Shooting at close range, he "emptied his pistol . . . and also shot several arrows . . . none of which took effect" until a snail in the road slowed the wagon. Only then did

³⁵ Fish Blakes, July 21, 1867.

³⁶ Coffretson, *Indian Depredations*, p. 168.

³⁷ Fish Blakes, July 22, 1867.

³⁸ See N. O. Anderson as cited in Coffretson, *Indian Depredations*, p. 171, for "volley" being used.

³⁹ Coffretson, *Indian Depredations*, p. 146. Martin Risher interviews as cited in Ephraim's First One Hundred Years, p. 15 for information on the length of arrows see Smith, *Autobiography*, p. 169.

⁴⁰ Emil Nielson as cited in Coffretson, *Indian Depredations*, p. 186; and H. B. Kearns to George Albert Smith, April 13, 1866, Journal History. The quote is from Kearns.

dered in August 1867, and he clearly acted as their spokesman following the conflict. He probably acted as a war chief for many of the warriors and exercised considerable influence until he was incapacitated by wounds or illness. Presumably, he consulted with the council which, no doubt, affected his decisions, but most of the leadership was likely provided by him. It may also be surmised that cultural factors kept the Indians relatively obedient to authority. It is further likely that when the Utes used such tactics as dividing and re-assembling their forces in operations during the war they were simply employing a method commonly used in hunting.

Other cultural traits honed skills that were used in war. Men had shooting matches with bows and arrows. They shot at a target of woven willows thrown into the air, or a ring of peeled willow thrown uphill was shot at as it rolled down. Men also raced each other on foot and on horseback.¹¹

The feats of the Utes can be understood only when their numbers are considered. For 1865 reports of Indian numbers are available only for the October 17 raid on Ephraim. One white observer gave the figure of 16 warriors, another 17.¹² There is some indication Black Hawk visited the Elk Mountain Utes of eastern Utah in the winter of 1865-66 to gain allies or recruits for the war.¹³ This may account for their increased numbers in 1866.



Black Hawk. USNM collection.

¹¹ Smith, *Northwest*, p. 232.

¹² An unnamed informant of the town told Martin Kohler that "when we came out of the canyon, chief in Ephraim's first one hundred towns (Ephraim, Ut.) (Confidential Book Examination, 1951), p. 15. From Uter Silbert Kohler's parents, L. C. Larson was with a group attacked by "about thirteen" Indians south of the town, according to his account in *Confessions, Indian Dependence*, pp. 174-75.

¹³ F. H. Hread to D. Canby, June 21, 1866, Utah Superintendent's Office. Tally told Hread that Black Hawk had secured "recruits" from the Elk Mountain Utes and planned to attack the weaker elements in Sangre Valley.

Reports by whites in Salina regarding the April 13, 1866, attack enumerated "about 60" and "60 or 65" Indians, and the *Davenport News* claimed a total of 50 warriors were involved.¹⁴ When the militia garrison at Thistle Valley (Indianola) was struck on June 24, H. P. Knibball in Ephraim "received an express from Captain Dewey in Thistle valley stating that . . . about 25 or thirty Indians attacked." In his diary Albert Dewey noted that "28 mounted" warriors had struck but indicated another force was present.¹⁵ Two participants gave the number of warriors at the June 26 fight at Diamond Fork as "about 36" and "25 to 30." Walter Barney told Lewis Barney he saw 15 to 20 Indians trying to steal cattle near Alma (modern Monroe)—probably in the spring of 1866, and Christian J. Larson said he was chased on August 13 by 15 or 20 Indians.¹⁶

There were several large raids in 1867, but the Utes often attacked in small groups as well. In the March strike on Glenwood, H. Kearns said that "25 Indians" were observed but another group participated unseen by the whites. On June 1 William Henry Adams "saw and counted" 10 Indians in a raid near Mountain Cañon, while Red-dick N. Alfred claimed there were 12 Utes in this attack.¹⁷ Cannon was hit on June 2 by "7 or 8 Indians."¹⁸ By examining footprints, settlers figured that John Hay was killed on September 4 by three Indians near Fayette.¹⁹ On July 21 Joseph Fish of Parowan helped thwart a night attack by what he believed to be 30 Indians. The next day "saddled horses . . . about 50 in all" were captured but the warriors escaped.²⁰ Assuming one rider per horse, about 50 Utes had participated in that raid.

In August 1867 Black Hawk surrendered at the Uintah Reservation. He came without his men but gave information on those still at

¹⁴ Peter Remington, Jr., "The Sketch," LDS Church Archives, said "about 60" were involved. Peter Remington, Sr., as cited in ibid., said "60 or 65." William McFadden in the *Davenport News*, printed on April 24, 1866, said "30 mounted Indians and about 20 on foot." H. H. Kearns, *Confessions*, to George A. Smith, April 15, 1866, *Journal History*, said "30 Indians" were in the attack.

¹⁵ H. P. Knibball to Gen. Wells, June 24, 1866, Utah Archives; Albert Dewey, "Journal," June 24, 1866, LDS Archives.

¹⁶ John Robertson as cited in Knibball, "Autobiography," said 95; William Carter to Editor, *Davenport News*, July 1, 1866; *Davenport News*, July 12, 1866.

¹⁷ Lewis Barney, "Autobiography," Utah State Historical Society Collections, Salt Lake City; Christian J. Larson, "Autobiography," Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo; Barney provided no date for the incident. In the context of the account makes the year 1866 most likely.

¹⁸ H. Kearns to George A. Smith, March 30, 1867, *Journal History*; William Henry Adams, "Autobiography," LDS Church Archives; Reddick N. Alfred to Editor, *Davenport News*, June 12, 1867.

¹⁹ William B. Pace to H. H. Wells, September 5, 1867, *Davenport News*, September 11, 1867; Captain W. L. Blodier to Major General Breton, September 7, 1867, *Davenport News*, September 16, 1867.

²⁰ Joseph Fish, *Diaries*, July 21 and 22, 1867, Special Collections, BYU.

Hunger among the Indians was brought about by the severe ecological damage of white settlement and the resulting competition for limited resources, as outlined by Brigham Young at Springville in July 1866:

[We] occupy the land where they used to hunt the rabbit . . . and the antelope were in these valleys in large herds when we first came here. When we came here, they could catch fish in great abundance in the lake in the season thereof, and live upon them pretty much through the summer. But now their game has gone, and they are left to starve.⁶

This situation was intensified by severe winter weather, as reported by O.H. Irish, superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah, on April 1, 1866:

we have had a most inclement winter, five months of almost continuous [sic] winter storms in the valleys and up in the mountains and no visible prospect of a change for the better yet. Indians that starved out about the middle of February on a hunt to see if they could not support themselves were driven back by one of the most severe snow storms that ever occurred in this country and they have not been able to move off yet and have to be assisted here. The settlers have lost at least one half of their cattle and the Indians who were away from the immediate vicinity have lost nearly all of their horses.

On April 28 Irish reported daily storms during the first twenty days of the month and stated some Utes had begun hostilities by stealing cattle and killing whites in Sanpete Valley.⁷

Hunger persisted in 1866. The new superintendent of Indian Affairs, F. H. Head, reported that the Indians of the "Uinta" reservation had not been fed during the previous harsh winter. They were in a condition of "starvation and nakedness." Tabby, "the head chief," told Head he and "all his warriors were on their way to join the hostile Indians" when provisions arrived. Head concluded, "the Indians are extremely poor, and like other people, will starve before they will starve."⁸

As expected, culture greatly influenced how the Utes made war. Marvin K. Opler described the Utes as "expedient" warriors who raided for food rather "than any desire . . . to win prestige by rash displays of valor . . . there were no war honors institutionalized in the culture." The Utes were careful to avoid casualties and were so "op-

The Ute Mode of War in the Conflict of 1865-68

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posed to any foolhardy shedding of blood, that a war leader who proved his incompetence by severe loss of men risked a flogging at the hands of resentful warriors." Opler simply concluded that "standing fights were avoided whenever possible." These cultural traits, evident throughout the war, help to explain why the Utes were effective warriors who knew how to avoid heavy casualties.

John Wesley Powell visited the Utes during the winter of 1868-69 shortly after the war and at several other times. His observations give contemporary ethnological insights into how the Utes made war. He apparently visited the band led by Black Hawk and called them the "Shib-critches" on this occasion. Leadership in the Ute "tribes" was provided by an "Executive Chief, and a chief of the Council, and sometimes a War Chief though usually the War Chief and Executive Chief are one." The executive chief or war chief directed the march of the group and usually organized the hunting parties. At times the group would split up to facilitate better hunting and would later reassemble. The executive chief or war chief had great influence but usually executed the will of the "important" men of the group called the council to which all matters of importance were submitted. After an informal discussion on questions such as movements and hunting, the chief of the council gave his opinion, which was considered the final decision on the matter. Of course the war chief was the man who led the Utes to war:

The War Chief is some man who has signalized himself in battle and often has no authority though revered for his bravery and prowess, but if he is also considered a man of good judgment he is expected to lead the braves in battle, to plan an attack or defense.

The control such leaders had over their men was largely based on "a profound sense of the duty of obedience to leaders and superiors." This sense of duty was so profound it often allowed for a leader of "ability" to implement disciplinary action, including taking "life at his will."⁹

Precisely how such cultural traits affected the Utes in the Black Hawk War is uncertain. However, certain assumptions may be made. Black Hawk claimed leadership for the warring Utes when he surren-

⁶ Brigham Young, "Remarks," July 28, 1866, *Journal History*.

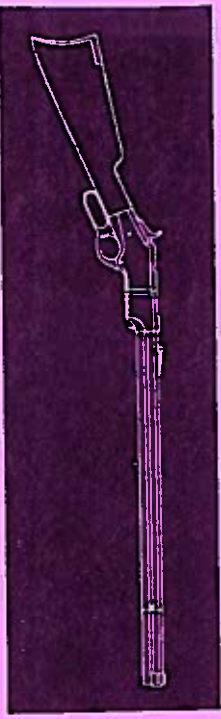
⁷ O. H. Irish to William F. Dole, April 1 and 20, 1866, Utah Superintendency.

⁸ F. H. Head to D. Canby, June 21 and September 20, 1866, Utah Superintendency.

⁹ Marvin K. Opler, "The Southern Ute of Colorado," *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, Ralph Linton, ed. (New York: Appleton, 1930), p. 162. Smith said these traits were also true of the Northern Utes. Anne A. Smith, *Ethnology of the Southern Ute* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1974), p. 19.

¹⁰ John Wesley Powell papers, Anthropology Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

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Henry rifle. Often Indians had better firearms than whites.

The Ute Mode of War in the Conflict of 1865-68

BY ALBERT WINKLER

THE UTE MODE OF WAR HAS BEEN INADEQUATELY treated in studies of the Black Hawk War to date, and much of the large body of helpful reminiscences and letters relating to the war has been overlooked. This article will examine Ute warfare, relying on these little-used sources to better understand why and how the Utes operated as they did.¹ The Paiutes also fought in the war but are not part of this study. These groups were discernible from the Utes because they lived farther south, had far fewer horses, and were unable to strike from horseback with the numbers of the Utes.

The Utes campaigned very effectively in the war. Along with the Paiutes they inflicted heavy damage on the whites. During 1865-67 the Indians caused an estimated \$1,500,000 in losses. By that time the

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¹ Collections of value include the letters found in the *Diary of Alonzo*, Journal History of the LDS Church, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City; Utah Mills Records, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City; and Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81, Utah Superintendent's National Archives, Washington, D.C. Other materials of value are found in various repositories in Utah and Washington. D.C. Peter Christensen, *Indian Expeditions in Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1919), presents some sources handily in print, but it should be used with caution because of inaccuracies.

whites had abandoned entire sections of southern and central Utah, suffered scores of casualties, and lost hundreds of cows and horses, and much of Utah had been terrorized for nearly three years. This was accomplished by a few score warriors facing an estimated 2,500 militiamen under arms during 1866 alone.²

Contemporaries found much to praise in the Ute mode of war. Following the fight at Diamond Fork up Spanish Fork Canyon on June 26, 1866, Josiah Robertson, a white participant, spoke of the Utes' "superior discipline of over 1,000 years of practical training in the strictest, unvariable treacherous strategic discipline known to man." John Wesley Powell and G. W. Ingalls visited the Utes after the war and said they were "well mounted, . . . a wild, daring people, and very skillful in border warfare."³

The causes of the war influenced the manner in which it was fought. After the war Black Hawk spoke at a number of towns, trying to be reconciled with the whites. At Fillmore he outlined the grievances that had led to hostilities: "The white invaders had taken possession of the hunting and fishing grounds of his ancestors," some of them were insolent, and there were incidents of "whipping and occasional killing . . . [of] his warriors." He also said at least one local raid "was forced by the starvation of his people."⁴ Of these reasons, hunger had the greatest military impact because the main object of most of the raids was to take cattle for food.

On this or another visit to Fillmore, Josiah Rogerson interviewed the chief, speaking in the "Kanoosh and 'PI-ELD' Indian language." Black Hawk said:

He was a dreamer every night, and Visionary from his boyhood as he repeatedly told me, and that the spirits of his dead ancestors had come to him in his dreams for years, and told him to "Go ahead and fight-fight, kill-kill, Mormon cattle his cattle."⁵

These revelations were certainly attractive to a proud and hungry man.

² Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Cannon & Sons, 1892-1901), 2:299-301. The total militia force in Utah in 1867 was listed as 12,021, including 2,925 regular Whitney dependents, p. 301.

³ John Robertson, as cited in George Washington Bushnell, "Autobiography," Special Collections, University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City; John Wesley Powell and G. W. Ingalls, *Up the Ute*, (Salt Lake City: U.S. Government, 1896), 1st ser. (1875-76), House Ex. Doc. no. 157, p. 3.

⁴ Josiah F. Gibbs, "Black Hawk's Last Words—1866," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 4 (1931): 108. Gibbs was probably at the meeting.

⁵ Josiah Rogerson, "The Fighting of the Black Hawk War in Utah," LDS Church Archives.

From
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000. Work was at once begun, a good foundation laid, and the wall started, but on President Young's next visit, he told the people the building was too small and, consequently work was discontinued for the time being. March 4th, a grand celebration was held in Salt Lake City, celebrating the reinauguration of President Lincoln, and a number of people throughout the county attended. On Saturday, April 5th, upon learning of the assassination of President Lincoln, all business houses in Salt Lake City were closed and the communities were in mourning.

Black Hawk War

During the past years, the Indians had committed many unfriendly acts; they had stolen the settlers' horses and had killed and stolen their cattle. The Indians camped south of Manti, when in the presence of the colonists, were quarrelsome, insulting, and threatening, indicating a desire for some excuse for war. During the winter of 1863 and 1864, a small band of Indians camping near Gunnison had contracted the Smallpox and a number of them had died. The Indians, being naturally superstitious and having many traditions, seemingly thought the white people were the cause of their misfortune and many threats to kill the settlers and steal their cattle were made by them. The Indians had killed some cattle belonging to John Lowry. After trying to get the affair settled, a meeting was set for April 9th, and a council, consisting of a number of the prominent colonists and Indians, was held at Jerome Kempton's place in Manti. For awhile it seemed all would be settled peacefully, but a young Indian Chief, Yene-wood, also known as Jake Arropine, whose father had died during the winter, could not be quieted and kept agitating the other Indians. Lowry demanded that he should keep quiet. During the argument someone called out to Lowry to look out as Yene-wood was getting his arrows. Lowry then went to the Indian, and in the skirmish that followed, pulled him off his horse. When Yene-wood struck Lowry, others interfered. With the evident desire of the Indians for open hostilities, this was all that was needed, and whether or not this was the real and only cause of the Black

Hawk War, as many conflicting stories have been told, is not known. However, Indian Joe, at once mounted his horse and swiftly rode to an Indian camp at Shumway Springs near Moroni and evidently told the Indians camped there what had happened, for there was much excitement. Runners were at once sent to the distant Indian camps, and almost all the Indian camps were moved to the mountains. The Indian Chief, Black Hawk, gathered his warriors for a conflict. The day after the Lowry affair, a small party of men from Manti were sent out to gather the cattle, as they had been told that the Indians were going to take them. Near Twelve Mile Creek (Mayfield), the party was fired upon by Chief Black Hawk and other Indians, and young Peter Ludvigson was killed. The Indians continued to move towards the south. That same evening, Elijah B. Ward, a prominent mountaineer, who had greatly assisted President Brigham Young in interpreting the Indian language, and James Anderson were killed by the Indians in Salina Canyon. They had both been shot with bullets and arrows, and the condition of their bodies suggested they had been tortured; they had been scalped and most of their clothing had been taken. Word was received in Mount Pleasant that the Indians were committing depredations on the Sevier River by killing people and driving away stock belonging to the settlers. A call was made for Mount Pleasant to send twenty-three men to the defense of the inhabitants of Sevier Valley. A few days later, a group of well-armed men responded to the call, according to Andrew Madsen's Journal, "A party of about twenty men, John Ivie, Dolph Bennett (R. N.), Orange Seeley, George Frandsen, Christian Jensen, Alma Zabriskie, Peter Fredricksen, N. Peter Madsen, Mortin Rasmussen, myself and others, with three baggage wagons driven by Rasmus Frandsen, Jacob Christensen and Peter Y. Jensen, started out at daybreak. At our arrival at Manti, we were told what had transpired at Salina Canyon and of the killing of Ward and Anderson. We were ordered to hurry on at once. We arrived in Salina early in the evening where we were joined by a number of men from other settlements. Preparations were made during the night, and early the following morning, Colonel Reddick Allred with eighty-four armed men started up Salina Canyon in pursuit of the Indians. About ten miles east of Salina,

where the canyon was very narrow, we were compelled to travel in single file. Here the Indians were in ambush waiting, and suddenly, with out any warning, from behind trees, bushes, and rocks. volley after volley were poured upon us by the Red Skins. We were panic stricken and compelled to retreat into a clear opening, pursued by the Indians who had all the advantages. During the encounter, Jens Sorensen, of Ephraim, and William Kearns, of Gunnison, were killed. It is a wonder we were not all killed. The bodies lay in the mountains for two days; then it was reported an Indian, the Chief Sanpitch, came in the night and said it would be safe to get the bodies. The bodies were then taken to Salina. Sorensen's body had been terribly mutilated."

May 23rd, trouble began in the north end of the county, four miles north of North Bend (Fairview). The Indians killed Jens Larsen, a herder from North Bend, and drove away a large herd of North Bend and Mount Pleasant cattle. The next day, John Givens, his wife, and four children were murdered, and their bodies badly mutilated at Thistle Valley, by Indians, who, after gathering up the axes, guns, and flour, etc., and brutally tomahawking a dozen or so calves that were coralled, drove about a hundred and fifty or so head of cattle into the mountains.

The day following, a group of men drove to Thistle Valley and got the bodies of the Givens family, bringing them to North Bend for burial. The massacre of the Givens family was one of the most horrible deeds committed during the Black Hawk War. On May 29th, the Indians made an attack on the settlers three miles north of North Bend, killing David Hancock Jones, a former member of the Mormon Battalion. In the evening after the killing of Jones, a company from Mount Pleasant and North Bend, under the command of Major George Farnsworth, started in pursuit of the Indians, but they returned two days afterwards without locating them.

Peter Gottfredson's *Indian Depredations in Utah*, states, "Comrade James M. Allred says that ten persons killed by the Indians are buried in the Fairview Cemetery. John Givens, his wife, and four children, Thomas Jones, David H. Jones, Jens Larsen and Nathan Stewart."

In different localities throughout the country, the Indians were murdering the people and stealing the cattle. It was felt some steps must be taken to establish peace. Colonel C. H. Irish, the Indian agent in Utah, after repeated talks with the Indians had called upon President Brigham Young to assist him in making a treaty, and the personal influence of President Young aided a great deal in bringing one about. The Indians worked in different groups and under different chiefs.

A meeting consisting of President Young, Elders John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, F. D. Richards, Mayor Smoot, Bishop Hunter, J. C. Little, D. J. Ross, R. T. Burton, Marshal Gibbs, Captain J. R. Winder and a number of others from Salt Lake City, and the following Bishops: Harrington of American Fork, Miller and Colonel Pace of Provo, Aaron Johnson of Springville, G. W. Wilking of Spanish Fork, Fairbanks of Payson, A. Moffit and Colonel W. S. Snow of Manti; and a number of people from the surrounding settlements and the Indian Chiefs, Sowiette, Kanosh, Tabby, Toquone, Sanpitch, with other Indian chiefs; a large number of Indian braves and with Colonel Irish, representing the United States Government, was held at the Spanish Fork Indian farm, June 7th. After talks by President Young, Colonel Irish and by Indian Chiefs with Didmick B. Huntington and George W. Bean as interpreters; a treaty was reached in a few days. It was signed by Chief Tabby, Chief Kanosh, then an old man, Chief Sowiette, also an old man, Sanpitch, Toquone, and other less noted chiefs, fifteen in all. Chief Sanpitch, however, had held off, but after a couple of days of sulking, he had relented and signed the treaty. Kanosh, a friend of the "pale face" was the only Indian who could sign his name—and seemed rather proud of the fact.

Under date of July 5, 1865, the following letter written by David Candland was published in the *Deseret News*. "We have erected a bowery 100 x 80 feet. Our crops look rather scant, short in straw and thin on the ground. We have now a mail in our town and you can form no idea of how pleased we are, how much we go on Mr. George W. Bean, the contractor. How much we feel to say Amen to every enterprise that aims to give joy and peace and disseminate intelligence among mankind. We are anx-

ious now for the wire and the rail and for the speed and proper development of our own dear Utah." Copied from Andrew Madsen's Journal: "At this time, David Candland was a very active man in the community."

Early in July, President Young, in order to investigate the Indian situations, toured Sanpete County. He, in company with Apostle John Taylor, George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff, arrived in Mount Pleasant July 13th. Coming by way of Nephi, they were accompanied by the Nephi Brass Band, and were welcomed on the outskirts of Mount Pleasant by throngs of people. A meeting, at which Woodruff, Smith and Taylor addressed the people was held in the forenoon. The afternoon meeting was given over to President Young, who said in part, "If you want your children to be like yourself, if you want them to increase in wisdom, intelligence and good behavior, give them a pattern in yourself. Mothers, if you want your children to possess Christian meekness and lead a virtuous life, show them a pattern with your own life. Fathers, if you want your wives and children to respect you, respect yourself. If you want them to be good, be good and righteous in all your actions."

July 30th, the Sunday School was organized, Joseph Stanford was president. George Farnsworth, Edward Cliff, Jeremiah Page, Anthon H. Lund, Sisters Charlotte Hyde, Susan Holly, Anderson, Janet McArthur, teachers. It was commenced August 6th, with 150 scholars. George Farnsworth had taught Sunday School in the old bowery as early as 1860.

In May 1865, Carl Christian Anthon Christensen, (C. C. A.) and Svend Larsen were called from Mount Pleasant to fulfill missions in Scandinavia.

During this season, the first imported threshing machine was brought to Mount Pleasant. It was manufactured in Buffalo, New York, and was called a Pitts. It was shipped up the Lawrence River and by way of South America and around to San Francisco in a sail vessel and from there it was hauled over land by Alma Bennett and others, being several months on the way. It had been ordered by C. W. Anderson, Hans Y. Simpson, N. Peter Madsen, Rasmus Frandsen, and Andrew Madsen.

July 15th, General W. S. Snow was put in command of the Sanpete Militia. Three companies were at once organized at Mount Pleasant, with the following officers: Fredrick Nielsen, Captain of Company A, he, however, resigned and Lauritz Larsen succeeded him; Company B, with Jacob Christensen, Captain, and Andrew Madsen, First Lieutenant. The Home guard, called the Silver Greys, consisted of older men with John Tidwell as Captain. While the organization of the Militia was being effected throughout the country, word had been received that Anthony Robinson, of Monroe, and Robert Gillispie, of Mount Pleasant, had been killed by the Indians near Salina. Fred J. Keisel, who later became mayor of Ogden, was Indian Agent in Sanpete County and he wisely withheld ammunitions from the Indians.

The settlers procured bars of lead, which were melted in special heavy vessels, and poured into bullet moulds, making bullets to fit certain guns used. These, with gun powder carried in a powder horn, was the usual ammunition. That ammunition was very valuable is shown in the following quotation from Gottfredson's *Indian Depredations in Utah* in a statement made by Josiah Sylvester. "I was out of ammunition and was informed that Elijah B. Ward had been seen moulding bullets for his pistol, which was the size I wanted. Someone went with me to get them. It was dark and we had no light. As Ward's corpse was laid out on a trunk or chest, we had to raise him up, while I searched for the bullets until I found them."

The news of the double murder of Robinson and Gillispie aroused the people of Sanpete, and General Snow with about 100 men were soon on the march. There were twenty-eight men from Mount Pleasant, among them Captain Ivie, Orange Seeley, Joseph Gledhill, Jefferson Tidwell, William Stevensen, and Neils Madsen. In a valley east of Salina, this military expedition surrounded a number of Indians who commenced shooting, but the men made a charge on them and twelve Indians were killed. It is said only two escaped. The militia found the tracks of the Indians who had driven off the stock that had been stolen.

The officers now divided their men into three companies, some remained in Salina as guards, some with Colonel Allred moved north to secure more men from the settlements and to start over

the mountain in pursuit of the Indians. Copied from Andrew Madsen's Journal: "Orange Seeley, N. P. Madsen, Alma Zabriskie, myself, and others from Mount Pleasant were in Snow's Company. As soon as possible, we started on the trip, trying to secure the cattle from the Indians. We camped the first night at the head of Salina Canyon. Then went down the canyon into a large valley (now Emery County). We did most of our travelling at night in order to avoid the attention of the Indians. We crossed a large creek and journeyed over Buck Horn Flat where we were joined by Allred and his company who had taken the trail to the north. We camped on the Price River that night and the following morning we moved on south and east to Green River by day light. We did not see any Indians but could see where they had driven the cattle through the river. Here the company stopped for breakfast. On the other side of the river we could see fresh wichuips made of green trees. The river was too high to ford. Dolph Bennett, of Mount Pleasant, John Sanders, of Fairview, and Jens Larsen of Epraim, were chosen as advance guards to swim across to investigate. John Sanders very nearly drowned, but was rescued by Bennett. The advance men, upon reaching the other shore found a great many fresh tracks of the Indians, and called back to tell of their find. After scouting about a short time, they returned across the river to the balance of the company. Most of the company wanted to follow the tracks, but upon taking inventory of their supplies, which now consisted of cracker crumbs only, the officers decided on account of the jaded condition of the horses and the lack of supplies, to give up the chase and return home. Years later, Chief Jake Arropine told that the Indians were in hiding among the bushes and trees and could easily have shot and killed the advance men and others had they wanted to; when asked why they had not done so, he said that they had intended to fire when all the men were across or crossing and had gotten into the river, 'then the water would have been red.' We started our homeward journey across the mountains, over rough trails, through canyons and deep washes, by way of the place called 'Hole in the Rocks.' We were two days and a half without food, with the exception of a spoonful of cracker crumbs dished out to each man for a meal. While we saw no Indians, we were inter-

rupted now and again by wild beasts of the mountains. In Rock Canyon, on the other side of the mountain, we were met by a party from home who brought provisions to us, they, in attempting to reach us had been delayed by losing their way in the mountains. There was much rejoicing the following morning when we pitched our camp in Ephraim, having been gone about two weeks."

At a general election for county and territorial offices, August 1, 1865, 502 votes were cast in Mount Pleasant.

Andrew Madsen's Journal states, "At a special meeting held at Manti, August 6th, attended by Bishops of the various settlements and several of the military authorities, it was decided to have a standing Army in Sanpete County and that the men doing Military duty should be paid. The system of paying the men was by assessment upon the settlers. My portion was \$75.00 a year. Some of the men could not fit themselves out and we were ordered to let them have such articles as they could use, and receive credit for them. Besides the above assessment, I furnished them a horse, bridle and saddle, kept it on hand for them, along with one Ballard rifle and one cap and ball revolver. Others did likewise. John Ivie was appointed commander of the northern settlements in Sanpete Valley and twenty-two men were called from Mount Pleasant."

On the evening of August 7th, a party was held in honor of the boys who had just returned from the hard and dangerous expedition to Green River in pursuit of the Indians, and the women of Mount Pleasant showed their good feeling and gratitude by a most liberal contribution of eatables. The following day, the brethren who had been selected to serve in the standing Army left Mount Pleasant, armed and equipped for an Indian encounter. They were temporarily stationed in the hay field in order to be ready at a moment's notice and at the same time have an opportunity to cut their hay. Soon after, they were sent north to the upper end of Sanpete Valley to prevent the enemy from making a raid from that direction. At various times during the three years of their enlistment, they were called out for encampments and inspections, which were held at Chester, Ephraim and Manti. The Home guards remained at home and were called out by the call of the bugle to answer to roll call; some were detailed for guards each day.

It was learned that the Indians intended to attack Circleville settlement. General Snow, with a company, at once moved south and on the 21st reached the neighborhood of Fish Lake. Here a band of Indians had concealed themselves among the bushes, etc. In order to get a view of the country and surroundings, General Snow and Colonel Ivie went ahead of the company. They were suddenly fired upon by the Indians, who were in ambush waiting, and General Snow was wounded in the shoulder. The company then retreated into an opening and made a stand and fought the Indians until nightfall. Orson Taylor, of Richfield, and George Frandsen, of Mount Pleasant, were wounded and it was reported that fourteen Indians had been killed. The company during the night marched to Grass Valley and made camp, and the next day marched to Glenwood, where they separated and returned to their homes.

A letter was received from President Brigham Young October 3rd, in which he told the people to make peace with the Indians, as it was cheaper to feed them than to fight them; consequently the minute men were disbanded. October 17th, a band of Indians led by the great Indian Chief Black Hawk made a raid on Ephraim. Many of the people were out in the fields and others were in the mountains. A covered buggy coming from Manti at about this time was fired upon and many shots exchanged.

The following statement made by L. C. Larsen of Mayfield was written to Niels C. Anderson of Ephraim and is recorded in Gottfredson's *Indian Depredations in Utah*. "I was on my way from Circleville, loaded with grain and headed for Salt Lake City to purchase firearms and ammunition. At Manti I met Andrew Whitlock who was there from Ephraim for a doctor lady, Maria Snow. As I had not been at Ephraim for about two years and had not met our comrade, Mr. Whitlock, before this period, he asked me to ride with him from Manti to Ephraim and have Louis Thompson drive my team, to which I consented.

"On stepping into Whitlock's rig. I informed Thompson that there was a gun and pistol placed under the quilt in the wagon. These I carried with me because several people had been killed by Indians during the summer, south and north.

"We first saw the Indians when we were approximately two and a half miles south of Ephraim; they were first seen by us east of the road, south of the so-called Guard Knoll. At first sight we mistook them for some of the boys out scouting, but all at once they made a dash towards us at full speed. Upon reaching the old Willow Creek ditch they leaped it without checking, whereupon I made the remark: 'They are Indians and are riding very recklessly.' Whitlock (familiarly known as Cap), answered that he thought perhaps it was the Chief Sanpitch bringing the Indians down to make peace, as that had been talked of. Lady Snow, speaking in the Danish language, remarked that they were going to hurt us, but Whitlock replied: 'If we try to run, they will head us off.' The Indians crossed the road about seventy-five yards ahead of us and about thirteen of them formed a quarter circle about thirty yards from the road on the west. As we were passing them they leveled their guns on us and fired. They wounded one of the horses which died as soon as we stopped at Chas. Whitlock's place at Ephraim. As soon as they leveled their guns on us, Lady Snow placed her head in her lap, which position she held until we reached town. Our team was a pair of trained racing horses, and as soon as the Indians raised their guns on us the team was on full speed. Chief Yene-wood was the only one who overtook us; he was on the left (west) side of the road and leveled his pistol on me within three feet or less, whereupon I leaped over the dashboard on to the tongue where I sat for a distance of a mile or more, during which he emptied his pistol at us and also shot several arrows at us, none of which took effect until we reached a swale with a ditch in the bottom where the team slacked speed. Then an arrow took effect under Whitlock's left shoulder on a slant toward the back, six inches deep. On hearing him groan, I jumped back into the seat and took the lines and whip, saying, 'You are hit with an arrow, shall I pull it out?' He answered, 'Yes, if you can.' I did so, when we had reached a point where Soren Sorensen now lives at Ephraim. The swale referred to is the one in Peter Greaves' land, where the old county road used to be. On account of the excitement I cannot remember if the arrow was hard to pull out of his shoulder. However, I got

it out, but Brother Whitlock still feels the effect of the wound so he informed me the last time I saw him."

Andrew Whitlock was nineteen years of age at this time, and suffered from the effects of the wound the rest of his life. The arrow removed from his shoulder was kept by members of the family. Years after the experience, while Mr. Whitlock was at the reservation, he met the Indian who had shot him. The Indian for a time had avoided Mr. Whitlock, but later became a devoted friend.

Just after this attack, the Indians went in the field west of Ephraim, attacked and killed Morton Pedersen Kuhre and his wife, Elizabeth, and a sister-in-law, leaving a boy about two years old, who was later found by his mother's dead body. The Indians then gathered up the cow herd, consisting of about two hundred head, and made their way back into the mountains. This same day in the nearby mountains, they attacked and killed William Thorpe, Benjamin J. Black, William T. Haight and Soren N. Jespersen. When the body of Jespersen was found, it appeared he had made a vigorous fight for life and had been fearfully tortured while alive. The Indians had cut off his legs and badly mutilated his body with Jespersen's own axe. One of the legs was never found. None of the Indians were killed, and having made good their many raids upon cattle, they drove the herd away into unsettled parts, where no doubt they furnished the Indians an abundant supply of meat for the winter.

The seven persons killed were buried in the old cemetery north of Ephraim. October 18th, when the news of the raid at Ephraim was received in Mount Pleasant, a meeting was called for that night where a strong guard was appointed and the following arrangements were made: "That each company of fifty men should stand guard twenty-four hours and use the Social Hall as a guard house." During the night between the 19th and 20th the two brethren on guard supposed they saw two Indians jump over a nearby fence. They gave the alarm and in a few minutes every man who had a gun was prepared to meet the enemy; this incident proved they were alert and ready to respond. At a meeting held November 1st, agreeable to Elder Orson Hyde's counsel, the guard at Mount Pleasant was reduced to ten men every

twenty-four hours. On that day also, the following were called as missionaries to settle on the Muddy, at that time thought to be in Utah but later survey showed it in Nevada. John L. Ivie, Paul Stark, Peter Nielsen, C. P. Larsen, James Christensen (Harbro), George Meyrick, Bent Hansen, Mortin Rasmussen, Soren Jacobsen, and Hyrum Winters.

During the fall of the year President Brigham Young proposed, in order to get quick communication throughout the settlements, the building of telegraph lines throughout the territory. Several thousand dollars were subscribed by the people of Sanpete. Armed guards were placed along the line in the canyon in order to protect the laborers from the Indians, while the line was being constructed. Copied from Andrew Madsen's Journal: "My brother Mads and myself subscribed for stock and paid for same by bringing poles from the canyon, which we distributed and erected on the divide between Fountain Green and Nephi; others did likewise."

On the 28th day of November the news was brought to Mount Pleasant that Black Hawk, with a party of Indians, had attacked Circleville, driving away the cattle herd belonging to the settlement and two men had been killed. Twenty-five Mount Pleasant men were appointed to hold themselves in readiness to march south on short notice.

Chief Sanpitch Captured

Throughout Utah the winter of 1865 had been very cold, and at the beginning of 1866 another rather hard winter had set in, which for the time being stopped further Indian depredations. However, after a short lull of peace and quietness had been enjoyed during the winter months, difficulties with the Indians again arose. The Indians of Sanpete and Sevier Counties proved to be very treacherous. Chief Sanpitch, who had been so reluctant to sign the peace treaty of June the year previous, had been quick to violate his pledge and had joined in depredations planned by renegade chiefs. It became definite that some rigid policy towards the Indians must be pursued, to defeat the Indians and

force them to terms of peace. The militia at Nephi captured Chief Sanpitch and Aukewakits with eight other Indians, and March 10th word was received by General Snow at Mount Pleasant to furnish twelve armed men in order that the Indians might be brought to Sanpete County as prisoners. The men were furnished promptly, who with the militia from other settlements, took the Indians to Manti where they were held as prisoners. Concerning the expedition, R. N. Bennett stated: "Not all Indians were bad. There were many good ones living near Nephi and in Utah County, but on account of so many renegades, as they were called, it was hard to tell the good from the bad. So naturally, we were suspicious of all. In the spring of 1866 old Chief Kanosh sent word to the effect that a lot of Indians, who had stolen cattle, etc., were camped in Nephi Hills. This was told to officers Snow and Allred. Jake, a son of Kanosh, had been raised among the white people and Kanosh said if the Mormons wanted him to, he would send him to pick out the renegades or bad Indians. The outcome was they secured a bunch of those who had killed, and started with them to Manti to be tried and put in jail. However, on the way we had some trouble. At daybreak we heard the dogs barking. We were camped in a flat. Jake called to the other Indians in a tone that made the mountains echo and told them to keep still or be killed. The Indians were unruly and in the skirmish one was killed. They held court at Manti. Jake gave evidence against the Indians; four were condemned to be killed and the rest put in jail. A bunch of white men were detailed or drafted to get rid of the four."

March 20th, orders were again received at Mount Pleasant for men, this time for ten to go to an Indian camp in Salt Creek Canyon, near Nephi. They at once responded and they, with others from other settlements, captured four Indians who had been with Chief Black Hawk at Ephraim the year previous, when so many depredations were committed. According to orders, the captives were shot and killed in a ditch below Nephi. The men were away from Mount Pleasant on this expedition three days. April 15th, a call was made by the church for men to go east for immigrants. The following men, Hans Brotherson, Charlie Hampshire, George Tuft, Christian Petersen (Peel), Neils Jensen,

Hans Scholft, Fredrick Petersen, Neils L. Lund, August Mynear, Oscar Barton, Don Carlos Seeley, and Jorgen Hansen, with Lyman Peters as night guard, were fitted out by the colonists and left Mount Pleasant April 19th with eleven wagons and 44 oxen for Salt Lake City, where they joined with others. The entire company leaving Salt Lake City consisted of 456 teamsters, 49 mounted guard, 89 horses, 134 mules, 304 oxen, and 397 wagons. On October 20th they returned with a company of immigrants who were chiefly from Scandinavia. This company consisted of a part of Abner Lowry's company. On the journey crossing the plains, George Farnsworth had rendered efficient service in waiting on the cholera patients as he was the only man with the company who was acquainted with the disease. Fifty-six persons died on the plains, leaving Farnsworth in charge of fifty-three orphans, whom he brought to Utah. They were distributed among the saints who applied for them.

On April 18th, Indian Chief Sanpitch and other Indians, broke jail at Manti. A posse was at once in close pursuit and three Indians were killed within the city limits. R. N. Bennett, Peter Miller, Niels Madsen, Peter Christopherson and others, started in pursuit of the remainder of the party.

They were joined by a group of men from Moroni and other places. Concerning this, we quote R. N. Bennett: "George Tucker was my captain in the fore part of 1866. In the spring we captured nine Black Hawk Indians in the mountains east of Nephi, and put them in the county jail at Manti. About April 14th they broke jail, three of them being killed while trying to escape, and others went so far north as Fountain Green, then called Uinta, going into the mountains on the west. On April 18th, Chief Sanpitch was killed in Birch Creek Canyon, southwest of Fountain Green. Captain George Nielsen, Captain Amasa Tucker, myself and others followed the rest until dark that night. The next morning Captain George Tucker, Captain Amasa Tucker and myself were detailed to take up the tracks, again following them, overtaking them and killing one Indian about six miles from Fountain Green. He being the one who had killed David Jones. (David H. Jones was killed near Fairview, May 9, 1865.) We followed on over the big mountains southeast of Nephi, overtaking another

Indian about five miles farther on, and killing him, continued the chase about three or four miles into the foothills of Juab we killed another. (This was an Indian called Tankwitch.) I had a hand to hand fight with this one, he having a big butcher knife and I a pistol. Kill or be killed, I finally got him. Not long after this we were sent to surround a camp of Black Hawk warriors in Juab Valley, northeast of Nephi, and we captured a number of them, killing five."

April 29th, Thomas Jones and William Avery, while on picket guard near Fairview, were attacked by the Indians; Jones was killed and Avery was wounded. William Zabriskie, Elias Cox and others went in pursuit of the savages and while they saw them, they were unable to overtake them.

After the Indian raid at Salina April 20th, Mount Pleasant received orders to organize twenty-five minute men at once, to be in readiness to rescue the stock in case the Indians should make an attack on the herd. They were likewise ordered to organize the remainder of the town in four parts, each division to attend to roll call at least once a day. The horses kept for service were ordered to be kept where they could be had at once in case of a raid. The men required were immediately mustered into service and placed in command of John L. Ivie. This cavalry company was called to act as picket guards for the settlement and consequently went out every day, scouting in the hills and cedars and around the settlement. When the beating of the drum was heard, fear spread through the colony, people congregated, and the minute men quickly assembled, prepared to combat the enemy and protect the settlement. April 21st, the people at Salina having through Indian raids, lost all, abandoned their homes, most of them going into Sanpete County.

April 28th, the following letter was received by Bishop William S. Seeley:

"Spring City, April 27th Midnight

"Major Seeley:

"We have just received an express from the central station that the Indians attacked Alma Sunday night. No particulars of the attack. The men from Richfield and Glenwood pursued the Indians and at the corner of Marysvale field, were fired upon

by the Indians, killing Alfred Lewis and wounding three other men. They then pursued the Indians up the canyon leading to Grass Valley. The Indians attacked the settlers of Circleville, taking twenty-five head of cattle, two mules and two horses. The men were at once in pursuit of them and followed them up into the canyon, but could do nothing as the Indians had secured positions and it would not be safe to attack them. We learned also, that the Indians had fired upon two of our men at Bear Creek above Circleville, wounding one slightly. The other man shot and killed one Indian and wounded another. Allred, of Circleville, took two bucks, six squaws, and six papooses, tying them hand and foot, and on the 22nd they broke the cords that bound them and sprung upon the guards. The guards fired upon them, killing all but four papooses. I think we will have to take the field and order men to be on hand. You will prepare at once, without delay, in case of a forward move. Captain Ivie will take charge of the men. I have suggested to the General the impropriety of drawing our men from here while we are menaced by the Indians from Spanish Fork Canyon. We shall make no draft upon Fairview. We shall want them to be prepared in case of an attack. Please copy and forward to Major Larsen of Fairview.

"Yours truly,

(Signed) "COL. R. N. ALLRED."

Col. Allred learned from the Indians at Circleville, whom they had imprisoned there, that the Utes, Pledes, Pauvans, and Navajo Indians had all joined together, supplying themselves with ammunition to assist Black Hawk in his bloody work of depredations and massacres of white settlers. It was also later learned that those who were wounded at Richfield were John P. Petersen, Jens Mortensen and Neils Christensen; Christensen died three weeks later; all were from Richfield.

On May 4th, President Orson Hyde visited Mount Pleasant and read to the people a proclamation from the First Presidency, addressed to the people of Sanpete, Sevier, Piute and other settlements which were not safe from the Indians. The Presidency begged the people to be of good cheer, and advised that all settlements that had not over 150 families should move to larger settle-

ments. They should arm themselves. The stock should be guarded so that the Indians would not be able to steal any more. If the Indians desired peace and came into the settlements, they should be treated with kindness, for if a peaceable Indian was killed it was just as much murder as if it had been a white man.

Quoting R. N. Bennett: "David Candland was sent with the epistle for the people of Fairview to move to Mount Pleasant, the people of Fountain Green to Moroni, and the people of Spring City to move to Ephraim. John L. Ivie and myself were sent as Candland's body guards. After these families had moved, the minute men of Mount Pleasant and other settlements had to go as guards for the men while they did their work."

Soon after President Hyde's visit, the people of Mount Pleasant sent teams to Fairview to help the people move. The move of the people to Mount Pleasant took place in one day. They were located within the fort, and with families outside the fort. During the time they were living at Mount Pleasant, men went to Fairview to build a fort for their protection and in August, when the work was completed, they were prepared to return. President Hyde came to Mount Pleasant and held a meeting with the citizens of Fairview, and released Andrew Petersen, the acting bishop, and ordained Amasa Tucker, of Mount Pleasant, to act in his stead.

In Mount Pleasant, it was now found necessary, in order to protect the cattle, to erect a fort. Some, today, claim this was never completed, yet we find recorded in Andrew Madsen's Journal, "On June 4th. the wall was commenced, and the fort, the same size as the one erected in 1859, was completed on June 19th." The walls enclosed the block consisting of a little more than five acres, lying directly north of the old fort. (This block is now known as the North Sanpete High School Block.) Andrew Rolph states that the east, north and west walls were the same height as those of the old fort, but that the south wall was only about half as high, and there was a gate in the center of it. In due time four herders, who were paid so much a head for herding the cattle, had been appointed. The tingling of the many cowbells was a familiar sound as the herd was taken out at seven o'clock every morning. One man was assigned as gate keeper, and after the cattle were accounted for and claimed by the owners, the gate was locked.

Horses for the guards were always on hand. He further states that the first break in this fort wall was made near the northeast corner by Thomas Fuller, who used the rocks to wall up a ditch which passed in front of his mother, Mrs. Sarah Scoville's, place, which was opposite on the north side of the street.

General Daniel H. Wells and escort visited Mount Pleasant June 19th, and gave the people timely advice in regards to protecting themselves against the Indians.

The minute men were often called to scout about without finding the enemies. The country was sparsely settled, the raids day and night of so frequent occurrence, the scanty crops must be harvested, the wood must be hauled, and other preparations for winter be made, so that it was impossible for men to attend to their farms and stock and other duties, and fight the Indians day and night without some assistance.

Previous to this, Colonel O. H. Irish had called on General Doty asking Military assistance from Fort Douglas, but had been informed by the commander at the fort that the settlers must take care of themselves.

The people of Salt Lake and Utah Counties, learning the real condition with their friends in the south, made preparations for re-enforcing of the military power. A little later Captain P. W. Conover, with fifty men from Utah County, reported to General Snow for orders. Colonel Heber P. Kimball, having a company of fifty men from Salt Lake County, reached Manti. Colonel E. B. Page took command of the forces under Captain Conover, and with such an additional force the citizens felt secure and proceeded to their daily duties in comparative safety. The Indians kept away from the troops but managed to continue their depredations.

June 20th, Indians under Chief Black Hawk made a raid on the stock of Scipio. During the skirmish Henry Wright and James R. Ivie, the father of Colonel J. L. Ivie, were killed. It will be remembered that in 1859 James R. Ivie had been chosen at Ephraim as leader for the company of pioneers who settled Mount Pleasant, and that he faithfully filled that position until W. S. Seeley was chosen bishop of the colony. A short time after the killing of Mr. Ivie, a son of Ivie, in retaliation for the killing of

his father, killed a friendly Indian. This enraged the Indians and they entered more vigorously in the bloody work of massacre among the white settlers.

Captain Kimball's company, under command of Captain A. P. Dewey, was stationed at Thistle Valley. Sunday, June 24th, Captain Dewey sent out two companies of scouts, four in each company, one company going north and the other south. Two of those who were going south had stopped at the warm springs on the west side of the valley. The members of the camp were not aware that Indians were at that time scattered through the cedars and ravines surrounding the camp. However, Homer Roberts and John Hambleton, being at the spring, saw them. Roberts succeeded in evading the Indians and took the report to Mount Pleasant and Fairview. Charles Brown, of Draper, and a companion who were in the cedars, also seeing the Indians, made their way towards camp. Brown was shot in the back and, upon falling, the Indians shot him with arrows. Some of the company at camp, seeing him fall, rushed out and brought him to camp where he expired. The Indians immediately surrounded the camp, which consisted of six baggage wagons that had been placed along with a wall of wood built around the camp for their protection. This enabled the company to keep out of sight of the Indians. However, the Indians shot into the camp, wounding Thomas Snaar of Salt Lake City. When the news of the attack reached Mount Pleasant, Colonel John L. Ivie and his company were in Pleasant Creek Canyon. At about 2 p. m., upon hearing three shots fired followed by five more, which they knew to be a signal, immediately left the stock they were helping to gather and rode down to the mouth of the canyon about four miles east of Mount Pleasant, where the message was delivered to them. They were ordered to get to the scene as quickly as their horses could carry them.

A cavalry consisting of about eighteen or twenty men, including Colonel Ivie, George Tucker, Orange Seely, R. N. Bennett (Dolph), Martin Aldrich, Aaron Oman, Niels Madsen, and Peter Fredricksen started with great speed for Dewey's camp, at Fairview, others joined them.

They arrived in Thistle Valley about one hour before sundown, just in time to save the whole camp from being massacred. After a hard skirmish, the company succeeded in routing the Indians. Some Indians were killed and many wounded as they fled into the mountains; the Indians, as was their custom, taking their dead and wounded with them. A chase was taken up; after following them to Soldiers Summit at the head of Spanish Fork Canyon, the Indians resorted to their old tactics, that of separating and going in all directions, and the men were compelled to return. During the skirmish in Thistle Valley, Orange Seely and Dolph Bennett, seeing an Indian leave his horse and sneak into the wash towards camp, captured the horse, saddle, bridle, a buckskin jacket and a long lasso rope. Seely kept the horse for some time as a trophy of war. All horses, excepting five or six head of saddle horses were missing. These were hitched by the rescuing party to the wagons and the camp was moved to a more protected location, where Indianola now stands. The body of Charles Brown was taken to Mount Pleasant for burial.

R. N. Bennett made the following statement concerning the attack: "June 24, 1866, Black Hawk warriors attacked Captain Peter Dewey's company at Thistle Valley, killing one man, Charles Brown, of Draper, and wounding Thomas Snaar, and driving off twenty or more head of horses. John L. Ivie, Orange Seely, George Tucker, myself and others went to recover the horses. We followed Black Hawk and his band nearly to the head of Spanish Fork River, going a distance of about forty or fifty miles, then following down the Spanish Fork River, to about where Thistle Junction now is. During this engagement three or four Indians were killed, and a number wounded."

Three days after the attack on Captain Dewey's camp, the red skins raided Spanish Fork and killed John Edmonston, of Manti, and wounded another man, and drove away the stock. Settlers of Spanish Fork and Springville combined their forces and pursued the Indians up the canyon as far as they dared, securing most of the cattle. The Indians continued on into Sanpete, then into Sevier County, and caught the unprotected points as places for attacks. They kept on the mountain when near Manti, or in the vicinity of the troops, thus avoiding engagements. About

July 1st, General Y. Kimball Wells, obeying the instructions of President Brigham Young, issued an order for the abandonment of the settlements in Piute County, and the colonists moved to Sanpete County, most of them locating at Ephraim.

July 12th, Captain Bigler, with sixty men from Davis County reached Manti, relieving the troops from Salt Lake County. The new men soon had an opportunity for a conflict with the savages for on the 27th, the Indians made a night raid on the cattle of Ephraim and Manti, driving away about 150 head of cattle. General Snow and Captain Bigler, with their commands, pursued the thieves into Castle Valley, but did not succeed in recovering the cattle, nor were they able to capture any Indians. This successful raid no doubt gave the Red Men enough beef for the winter. Few people had trouble with the Indians until the following spring. They managed to keep at a safe distance from the troops, enjoying the fruit of their many raids during the summer, and making their plans for the spring.

R. N. Bennett states: "About September 1866, the Black Hawk Indians drove off a herd of cattle. John L. Ivie, Orange Seely, myself and others, were with the company that followed them over the mountains east of Ephraim, via Joe's Valley, from there down Cotton Wood Canyon, on to Huntington River, where the town of Lawrence now stands, a distance of about seventy-five miles. Then we came back to the Cotton Wood River, and there camped and patrolled the valley two days, searching for Indians. We were gone from home about ten days."

From Orson F. Whitney's *The Making of a State*, the following is taken: "In the autumn of 1861, the Pacific Telegraph line, which for several months had been approaching from the east and west, was completed to Salt Lake City. On the 17th of October, the operator connected with the eastern route and announced that the line was open. The first use of the wire was tended to ex-Governor Young. His dispatch, dated the 18th, was sent to J. H. Wade, President of the Pacific Telegraph Company, at Cleveland, contained these words: 'Utah has not seceded, but is firm for the Constitution and laws of our once happy country, and is warmly interested in the useful enterprises as the one so far completed.' President Wade replied, 'I have the honor to

acknowledge the receipt of your message of last evening, which was in every way gratifying, not only in the announcement of the completion of the Pacific Telegraph to your enterprising and prosperous city, but that yours, the first message to pass over the line, should express so unmistakably the patriotism and Union-loving sentiment of yourself and people.' "

At that time it cost \$7.50 to send a ten word message to New York. On the 28th of December, 1866, the Deseret Telegraph Line was opened to Manti. From Whitney's *History of Utah* is quoted, "The project of covering Utah with a net work of electrical wires was born at least as early as 1861, the year that witnessed the completion of the Overland Telegraph Line. In November 1865, a letter sent to all Bishops along the proposed line from Richland (Rich) County to St. George, Washington County, instructions were given for getting out poles, collecting money and making provisions for the service. Sixty-five wagons, in charge of Captain Horton D. Hate, reached Salt Lake City on the 16th of October with wire insulators, etc. The wires being laid where poles had already been erected to receive them. By the middle of January 1867, five hundred miles had been laid at a cost of \$150 per mile. Each mile required 320 miles of wire costing 35c a pound. This first circuit of the local line extended from Cache Valley in the north, to Dixie in the south, with a branch line running through Sanpete Valley."

When the building of the Deseret Telegraph Line was in progress, President Brigham Young called a number of young men to learn telegraphy. Anthon H. Lund was among those called; on his return to Mount Pleasant, he built a Telegraph office, and when the Deseret Telegraph Line was extended through the southern settlements, he took position as operator and also conducted a daguerreotype photograph gallery. This place became a popular gathering place for the young people of the community. The telegraph office and photograph gallery was built on the west side of State Street about one-fourth block south between Main and First South. This site was purchased from Andrew Beckstrom by Anthon H. Lund, who paid a large clock in part payment for same. About this time, John Knudsen Sr. also purchased his city lot, giving their choice feather bed in payment. During the past

several years, a number of people had made and sold some furniture. Paul Dehlin at this time had installed a large water wheel in the stream on the north side of Main Street between Third and Fourth West, and here he made chairs, tables, cradles, and other necessary furniture. Furniture was also made and sold by James Olson, and perhaps others.

Indian Difficulties

In the year 1867, the Indian difficulties became very serious in different localities. The Black Hawk warriors started out with more vigor, and the destruction then became more serious than ever before. It seemed the Indians, with a determination to massacre all the white people, came in great numbers from the south and the east. The Militia was sent from the north, to assist southern settlements in their struggle in combatting them. No longer was it the bow and arrow; ammunition was smuggled to the Indians, who also traded freely the stolen cattle and horses to the immigrants who were enroute to California, thereby obtaining fire arms.

During the first warm days of March, when the settlers of Richfield were contemplating their farm work, the Indians dashed through the town towards Glenwood, where they attacked a family travelling with ox team, murdering Jens Peter Petersen, his wife, (Charlotte Amalia) and Mary Smith, all of Richfield. The citizens of Glenwood made a vigorous fight, but the Indians were victorious and succeeded in getting possession of about one hundred head of stock which they drove into the mountains.

April 1st, President Young counselled the settlers to abandon their homes and move north into older and stronger towns for safety. Teams were sent from Sanpete and a company of minute men assisted in moving the inhabitants to Sanpete Valley. The move was made about May 1st, and nearly all the settlements on the Sevier and those in Kane County were deserted.

April 30th, Daniel H. Wells visited Mount Pleasant and spoke to the people about the necessity of building a wall around the town. This wall was partly built on Fourth East.

It was originally intended to build a wall twelve feet high, but as the trouble with the Indians grew less serious, the wall was never completed.

Andrew Rolph states that to build this wall, people were organized in companies with captains. Mortin Rasmussen, he remembers, was captain over one group. The wall was constructed on a straight line, for about three blocks on the east side of Fourth East. Orin Clark's house, about southeast of the corner of intersection of Main and Fourth East was east or outside of the wall. North of Main, the wall ran about a block north, then northwest one block, and ended there. Svend Larsen's and Jim Walker's houses, about southeast of the corner of intersection of Fourth East and Main, and the house on the northeast corner of intersection of First North and Third East was west, or inside of the wall. The rocks from this wall were later used to wall up cellars all about the city. R. N. Bennett stated that a bastile was started in this wall but not completed.

During the year of 1867, the tithing hay was stacked in the north side of Bishop Seely's lot, on the west side of State Street, corner of First South.

As wealth was then counted, Mortin Rasmussen, who owned home and land, two pair of mules, a team of horses, kept one horse in readiness for the Minute men, and had two good wagons, was considered one of the wealthy men of the community.

The first frame barn built in Mount Pleasant was erected this year by Justus Wellington Seely, north side of street between Fourth and Fifth West on Main. Abraham Day had the contract, and Amasa Scoville and Alma Bennett were the carpenters.

General Snow was released from his command, and General W. B. Page was placed in charge of the entire Military District of Sanpete, then comprising all of southeastern Utah. A new policy was inaugurated, all the stock of several settlements was placed under strong guard day and night. This foiled the Indians in their stealing operations and checked their ravages for a time.

June 1st, the Indians attacked the cattle herd at Fountain Green, killing Louis Lund and wounding Jasper Robinson, two of the herders, and drove away about two hundred head of cattle and

horses. Most of the stock, however, was rescued, but the Indians succeeded in getting away with about forty head of the horses.

The next day, while returning home from the military drill at Manti, to headquarters at Gunnison, a troop was fired upon by Indians in ambush near Twelve Mile Creek. Major John W. Vance, of Alpine, and Sergeant Heber Haultz were killed, the others of the party narrowly escaping. Indians made their escape, taking with them about fifty head of cattle belonging to the people of Gunnison.

Grasshopper Invasion

Copied from Andrew Madsen's Journal: "The year 1867 promised to be a prosperous year and conditions were favorable for large crops in Mount Pleasant, but in the midst of our trouble with the savages, another enemy appeared on the scene. During the month of June, grasshoppers, in great numbers, came flying into our fields, moving on through the field, working their way of destruction and destroying most all crops as they advanced, leaving the land and garden spots as barren as the road bed. They were so numerous, that when flying they would darken the rays of the sun. Chickens, turkeys and all poultry were moved to the fields and assisted very much in reducing the number of grasshoppers. Trenches were dug ahead of the marching army, where they fell in great numbers and were buried by the millions. Another system was adopted, that of spreading straw ahead of them where they would seek refuge at night. The straw was then burned. Many were destroyed that way. But they were so great in number, their power of destruction continued on until nearly all our crops were destroyed and little saved. It was due only to the economy and conservation of the settlers during the years previous, having foresight to lay aside a portion of their crops for such emergencies, that they were prepared and did not suffer hunger."

From Levi Edgar Young's *The Founding of Utah*, referring to general conditions in Utah, is copied:

"During the long period of Indian wars, the people suffered from want of food, clothing, and shelter. Infants could not always be given proper care, and the mortality was very great. Mothers naturally did everything they could and approached their trials and sorrows unafraid. Little children had scanty clothing, and one child did not have a pair of shoes on for three years. Every bushel of wheat and corn had to be carefully harbored from the Indian raids, and when a beef was killed, the people shared the meat. It was a time when all shared alike, and there was consequently developed a spirit of kindness toward all people. If one family had food, they gladly shared with their neighbors."

August 30th, a raid was made by the Indians west of Spring City. James Meeks was killed and Andrew Johansen and William Blain wounded, Johansen dying from the wounds received. The Indians started for the mountains with the cattle herd, but they were so hotly pursued by the herders and guards that they left most of the cattle, securing only a few head.

The Militia, having been authorized to kill every Indian buck who came on their trail and to spare only the squaws and papooses, the settlers were determined to have peace at the cost of the extermination of every Indian throughout the land. The Indians were pushed so vigorously and the cattle guarded so closely, that many of the red skins were compelled to make their retreat to unsettled parts, and depredations were not so numerous for the time being.

In Gottfredson's *Indian Depredations in Utah* we read. "The *Deseret News* of August 28, 1867, published an account of an interview which Superintendent Head, of Indian affairs, who had just returned from Uintah Reservation, where he had met and had a talk with the notorious chief, Black Hawk, who came there with his family, unattended by his braves. Black Hawk said he had twenty-eight lodges under his sole control, and that he was assisted by three Elk Mountain chiefs who each had ten or twelve lodges with them. These Indians were scattered all along the valleys from the north of Sanpete County to the southern settlements watching opportunities to make raids. Nevertheless, he expressed a personal desire for peace and said that inasmuch as the others

looked to him as head chief, he thought he could influence them to bury the hatchet and perhaps consent to a conference with Superintendent Head in the near future. He declared he had made a covenant when he commenced to fight that he would not have his hair cut, and that he had found much fault with Tabby and Kanosh, who had had theirs cut like the white men. Now that he was willing to make peace, however, he expressed a desire that the Superintendent shear his locks for him, which Colonel Head very kindly did."

In October, a number of people of Mount Pleasant attended the Semi-Annual L. D. S. conference held in Salt Lake City. It was the first held in the great Tabernacle, which at that time was not yet completed. During this conference, 163 families were called to strengthen the settlements in southern Utah, and the Saints were requested to assist liberally during the coming year towards the immigration of immigrants.

November 1, 1867, the first issue of the *Deseret Evening News* was issued and several people in Mount Pleasant received copies.

Under date of March 12, 1868, the following letter written by David Candland, was published in the *Deseret News*:

"The progressive is a feature of this new fledged city in the agricultural, mechanical and spiritual. An important area of land is about to be taken up west and south of the city, which will give to our marriageable young men land so as to lay the foundation of a home for them and the help-mates they may choose. The yellow fever of the Sweetwater or of Marysvale is not strikingly manifest here, because the land movement has forestalled it. Bona fide homes are better than the miner's camp.

"Mechanically, we are progressing. Your enterprising agent has now a splendid shingle and saw mill. Lath and picket are to be added, and soon our town will have a decent array of fencing, nor is he satisfied, but has resolved on a woolen mill, to which we say hurrah, for our town! Other solid improvements are going on, and we must not omit to mention a famous brass band of fifteen instruments which is a feature of this young town.

"Spiritually, we are alive. As an evidence, we have raised \$4000 for the emigration, and we are not yet broke, although we have been heavily taxed in various ways in common with the

rest of Sanpete. Last Sunday, our Bishop sent out some of our young Elders, two and two, to preach in the several wards of this city, and success has marked the project; they are brought to a proper bearing; the people are benefited; and thus spiritual good is accomplished.

"A great scope of country will be put under cultivation for ourselves and the poor for whom we have subscribed, and for as many more, if they will only come. As we believe, more folks, more trades, more independence, and more grain preserved, in our town.

"An eight foot vein of coal of excellent quality has been developed at Fairview, four miles from town, regular Sanpete coal. This will open the Spanish Fork Canyon road to a certainty. The discoverers are practical colliers, and intend to sell cheap. Utah country can rejoice, for the abundance is great, and the price will be small. Ah, sir! if we only had a railroad down the canyon to Goshen depot, then we would hustle the coal to your city at such figures for the blacksmith and others as would make them all rejoice. As a city, we are interested in our near neighbors' welfare, as we are bound to prosper in their prosperity.

"A Sunday School grows in importance, and so do our five day schools. The demand for a high school is beginning to loom, and also for the appliances needed, maps, charts, globes and a thorough teacher. Nor must I forget to mention that the 'News' has taken a new start since you took the chair; (I don't call it the 'easy chair'), and when the opening spring opens the granary doors, and the tons of millions of promised grass-hoppers shall have been undeveloped, and the sun shines that will thaw out the frozen feeling of dread or famine, they, the liberal-hearted will respond to your call for help; broad acres will be sown, and strong belief in the promise of the rainbow will be evidenced. God will give us seed-time and harvest, for we have helped marvellously as a people, to gather the poor, and we sow not for ourselves alone, but for Him and His people and His insect tribes. To Him we look for the promised blessing of the former and latter rains.

"In these days of XXX's, I must not omit to mention the superiority of the Mount Pleasant flouring mill, now thoroughly

renovated, with improved machinery, and the finest bolting cloth. The enterprising owners mean your tyros shall test the quality. Nor can we pass our fine blacksmith shops, among whom George Farnsworth as a shoer stands 'A number one.' "

Leaders Meet with Indians

In March, a meeting consisting of President Hyde, the Bishops of all towns in Sanpete County, Bishop Bryan, of Nephi, Indian Chief Joe and three other noted Indian warriors, was held in Mount Pleasant; an interpreter from Nephi was also present. Chief Joe made a speech favoring peace, saying that Tabby and Black Hawk also desired peace. Many heated words passed between the Bishops and the Indians, yet a friendly spirit prevailed. Finally, upon the promise that the Indians would see that their tribe would not molest the settlers in the future, it was decided to give them 1000 pounds of flour, and a man was appointed to take it to their camp near Santaquin.

The settlers then began to move south to take possession of their homes which they had been compelled to abandon the previous year. The promise made by the Indians was like the usual Indian pledge, soon broken, after they had received the goods. Saturday, April 4th, Bishop Fredrick Olson's company of settlers, moving south, were attacked by Indians near Rocky Ford on the Sevier River between Salina and Richfield, killing Axel Justensen and Charles Wilson, and wounding a number of others. May 7th, an attack was made on the settlers at Scipio, the Indians succeeding in driving away the stock. A short time later, a raid was made at Ephraim, the Indians driving away the cattle, but the settlers gave chase and the Indians were compelled to retreat into the mountains, leaving the cattle.

The Indian camp fires could be seen on the mountain side, where the savages engaged in song and dance, and numerous Pow Wows were held by various tribes; at times the hideous sounds could be heard in the valleys below. They were mostly unsuccessful in their attacks and were repeatedly driven back into the mountains, where they were in safety, as it was not safe for the white people to follow them there.

At a pow wow held in Strawberry Valley August 15th, Colonel Head, the superintendent of Indian affairs, succeeded in forming a treaty with chieftains of Indian bands. Black Hawk, it is said, had kept his pledge as given the previous year and now had lent his personal influence in forming the treaty. Young warriors were slow to consent and boasted of their cunningness in deeds of blood shed. The treaty was signed and was generally observed, although peace was not entirely restored for sometime later.

Shortly after the signing of this treaty, a band of Indians made a raid at Fairview settlement, at which time a number of horses were driven away.

In May, Apostle George A. Smith and Joseph F. Smith visited the people in Sanpete Valley.

May 13, 1868, Edward Cresswell, four year, nine months old son of Edward and Eliza Cliff was drowned in the old Pleasant Creek channel, First West and First North, and on the 27th. Joseph Fredrick, two year, five months old son of John Fredrick and Ida Fehser was drowned in the same channel, near Main Street, on Third East.

Six Men Drown

In the spring of this year, 1868, a number of men from Mt. Pleasant and elsewhere were called by the Church to go to the terminus of the Union Pacific Railroad to bring immigrants to Utah. The railroad had this year been completed as far westward as Cheyenne, Wyoming. In response to the call, the following left Mt. Pleasant: Moroni Seely, Christian P. Jensen, Hyrum Seely, Christian Madsen, John C. Johnson, Conderset Rowe, Andrew J. Syndergaard, Joseph Caldwell, Thomas Fuller, and others, with William S. Seely as captain, Phillip Hurst as assistant, and Jens Christian Nybello as night guard. In Salt Lake, on the 15th of June, they joined with other Church teams. All was well, until they reached Green River, where they found it necessary to ferry the loaded wagons with the cattle across the stream. On June 26th, while crossing at Robinson's Ferry, the cattle stampeded and men and cattle were swept overboard; six men were drowned. Niels Christopherson and Peter Smith, of Manti, Thomas Yeats, of

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interesting and affecting.
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rendered; Mr. McKen-
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pective characters ad-

Sunday morning in com-
Stevenson, home-mis-
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ton kindly received us.

fessedly open. The fact that a part of the back
mail is being received proves that all can be
brought, if the desire is entertained and the en-
ergy manifested to do it. Let us have the mails
now as they become due; and bring in the back
mail matter right away.

BLACK HAWK.—We had the pleasure of meet-
ing Superintendent Head on Wednesday even-
ing, who had arrived from Uinta Reservation,
where he had met and had a talk with the no-
torious Black Hawk, who came there with his
family, unattended by his warriors. Black
Hawk said he has 28 lodges under his sole con-
trol; and that he is assisted by 3 Elk Mountain
chiefs, who have each 10 or 12 lodges with them.
These Indians are scattered along the settle-
ments, he avers, from the north of Sanpete
County to the southern settlements, watching
opportunities to make raids. He expressed a
desire for peace; said he could control and
would be answerable for his band; and believed
he could get the others with him, as they all
looked to him as the head chief. He would try
and get them all together at some point, per-
haps Uinta, to have a talk with Col. Head; but
it would take some time to do this, as they are
so scattered. As an earnest of his sincerity, he
stated that he had made a covenant, when he
commenced to fight, that he would not have his
hair cut, and he had talked strong of Tabby and
Kan-osh who had theirs cut like white men;
but now that he was going to have peace, he
wished to have it cut, and requested the Super-
intendent to shorten his locks for him, which
was done after finding that he was anxious to
have it so. The savage was saucy at the opening
of their interview, but finally toned down, and
talked reasonable before they got through.

KILLED BY INDIANS, near Springtown, San-
pete County, James Meek, aged 69 years. He
formerly lived at Carlisle and Manchester, Eng-
land, and had been a consistent member of the

pledged department. According to Prof. J. L. Barker, head of the modern language department, an effort will be made after the close of the coming year to secure the services of a regular instructor for the Scandinavian tongue.

Another new course in the modern language department to be started this year will be a one-year course in Italian. Aside from a number of students who have indicated that they will enter such a class, numbers of local vocalists who are preparing for professional careers have signified their intention of taking advantage of this opportunity.

Kearns Estate Now Holds Entire Control Salt Lake Tribune

By order of Judge J. F. Tobin, of the probate division of the Third district court, the sale of two blocks of stock in the Tribune Publishing company was confirmed Friday afternoon. The stock in question was held by the Keith interests, and the order was entered on a petition of Elta Keith Eskridge and the Bankers' Trust company, executors of the Keith estate.

The two blocks, of 500 shares each, were sold to Thomas F. Kearns and Mrs. Jennie J. Kearns, for \$150,000 for each block, the total consideration amounting to \$300,000 and representing half interest in the company. The half interest is held by the estate.

Gets Divorce Decree, Wife Left Him to Go Back to Former Husband

On a showing that within three weeks after their marriage Bertha A. M. Bode became indifferent to Fritz Bode and soon after left him for her former husband, Bode was given an interlocutory decree of divorce Friday afternoon. Bode testified with tears in his eyes that his wife's indifference dated from the time of a visit from her former husband, and that one day he went home to find the house locked. Neighbors told him that his wife had taken away her things, and when he gained entrance to the house he said he found a note saying she had gone to Grantsville and would not be back.

Charles Billmeyer was awarded a decree in his suit for divorce from Mary F. Billmeyer. He testified that his wife had made him a target for dishes, a hat rack and other things, and that one time she threatened to cut up her wedding ring with a butcher knife. When he interfered she threatened him with the same weapon, he said.

On the ground that her husband, an employee of a local hotel, had bestowed his attentions upon a chambermaid at the hostelry, Olivia Rileton was awarded a decree of divorce from William Rileton.

Physicians For Clinic

That we were working in and one day while I was prospecting on the surface of the property I noticed in a slide of quartzite rock a place that looked like the rock had been moved and a small mound built. I reported this to Bishop Bullock and then he, with Lars Olson and myself, started removing the rock and found the skeleton with beads, bridle, bridle silver rosettes, spurs, saddle, sleigh bells, ax, bucket, cup, parts of an old soldier coat with buttons on and several trinkets, among them a china pipe. Later it was reported by those that knew the Indian that we had found his grave and the things we had taken from the grave with the skeleton were "Old Black Hawk's."

WILLIAM E. CROFF.

Springville, Utah County, Utah,
August 23, 1919.

To Whom It May Concern:

In the fall of the year 1870 I was in Spanish Fork, Utah county, Utah, this being my place of residence at that time and "Old Black Hawk" the noted war Indian came to my home and I cooked the last meal he ever ate in Spanish Fork, Utah, before he died at Spring Lake Villa, Utah county, Utah. I remember his looks very well, his head and face were shaped more like that of a white man than an Indian, and his teeth were in a very good condition.

I remember the silver rosettes, the bridle bit, his spurs, sleigh bells and things in general that he had when coming among the white settlers before his death and bear testimony that the silver rosettes the bridle bit, bells and spurs that Bishop Ben H. Bullock had in his possession were what I saw in the possession of "Old Black Hawk" and also testify that the skull and the teeth in the jaws of the skull are "Black Hawk's."

LOUISE N. PAGE.

Provo City, Utah,
August 26, 1919.

To Whom It May Concern:

In 1911 I became interested in what is known as the "Syndicate mine," located on Santaquin mountain, a little southeast of Spring Lake Villa. Several of the old settlers of Spring Lake knew that old "Black Hawk" has been buried on the mountain near where we were working this property. At my leisure moments I would hunt for the spot where "Black Hawk" was buried, and one day, one of the miners, William E. Croff, reported that he had found what he supposed to be "Black Hawk's" grave. This started an investigation and Mr. Croff along with Lars L. Olson and myself uncovered the remains of "Black Hawk," which were buried in a large quartzite slide. Three feet of rock were taken from the skeleton, and upon uncovering it, we found the remains in a sitting posture. The first article we saw was a china pipe, which was laying upon the top of his head. Then we discovered the saddle, the remains of the skeleton, portions of his horse's bridle that had been buried with him; sleigh bells, ax, bucket, beads, part of an old soldier coat with the brass buttons still intact. All of these we removed very carefully, and for safety deposited them with the Spanish Fork Co-op, where they were exhibited for several days.

Subsequently at the suggestion of Commander J. M. Westwood, I secured these remains and conveyed them to



ELDER HAROLD WILLIAM HO.

A farewell testimonial will be given in the Sugar House ward chapel, ray evening, Sept. 26, at 8 o'clock in honor of Elder Harold William Ho prior to his departure on a mission to the Northwestern States. A miscellaneous program, in which music be especially featured, will be followed by dancing.

The following are scheduled to part in the program: Ward choir, Hansen, Miss Venna Hansen, Miss of Prof. Geo. E. Skelton, Helen Frederickson, Swanson, A. William Lund, Mrs. Edna Anderson Nelson, Prof. Geo. E. Skelton, Prof. H. G. Smurthwaite, the Missionary and A. R. Curtis.

Missionary Farewell For Wm. Clarence Silver



WILLIAM CLARENCE SILVER.

Bones of Black Hawk Indian Warrior Now on Exhibition L. D. S. Museum

**Benjamin Goddard Takes
Precaution to Verify Dis-
covery of Grave of Indian
Chief by Affidavits Be-
fore Placing Skeleton in
Institution.**

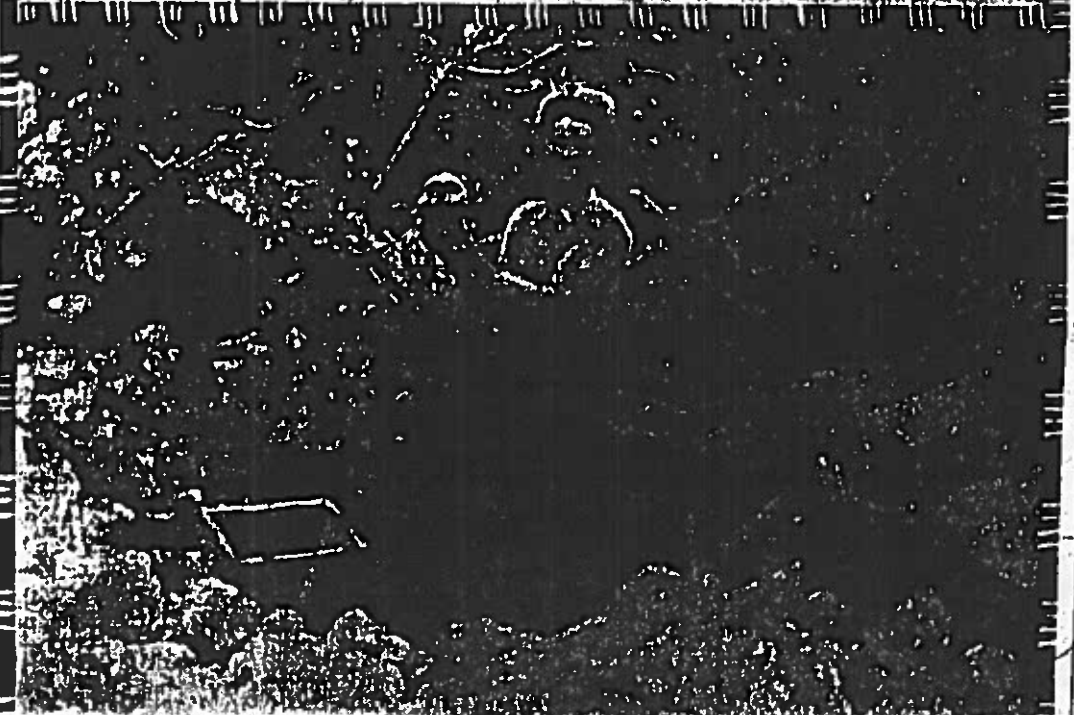
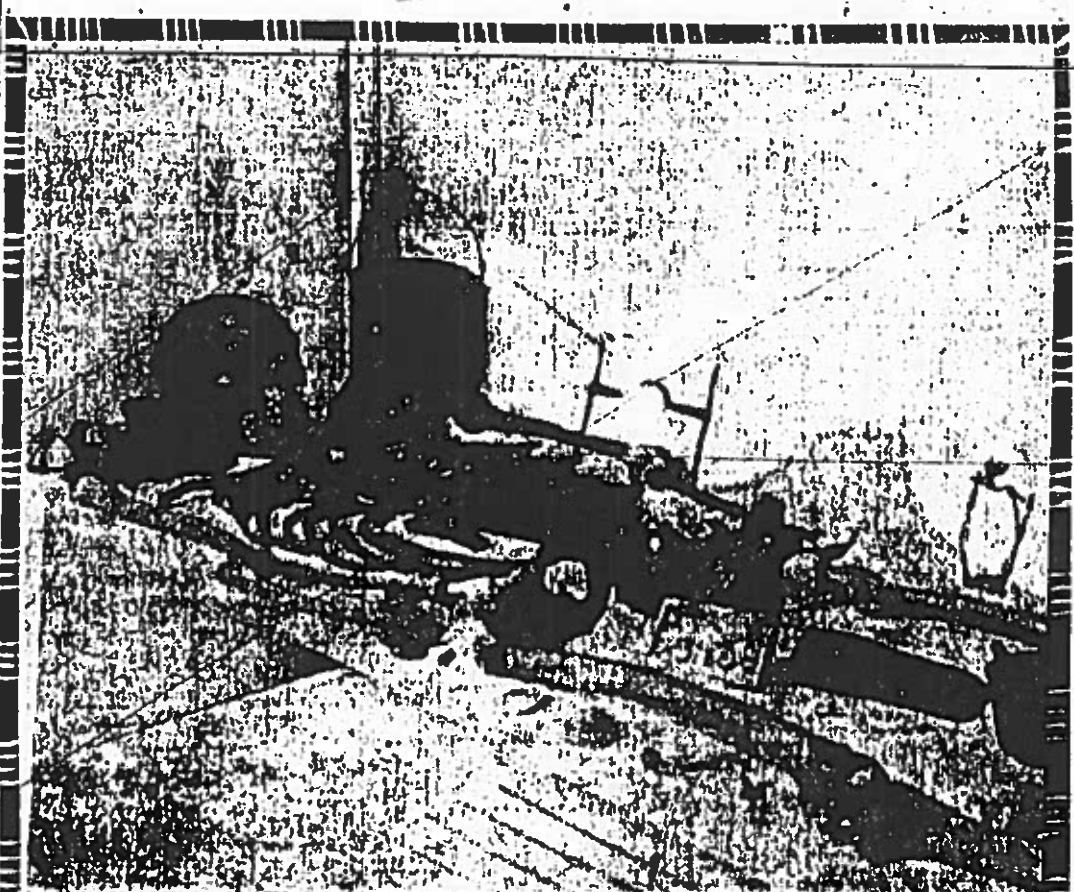
A CARE on the north side of the L. D. S. Church museum is destined to become the center of interest to many a student of early-day Utah history. For resting peacefully in the midst of the very white settlers whom he loved to harass is all that remains of Chief Black Hawk who in the early sixties was dreaded and feared in many a town and settlement of Utah. What are declared to be the bones of the Indian desperado have been brought from their final resting place near Spring Lake Villa and now along with spurs, beads, sleighbells, ax, bucket, brass buttons and all such comforts which were supposed to accompany him in the happy hunting grounds are on display to the eyes of the white trespassers whom he so much resented.

Before placing the skeleton on exhibit Benjamin Goddard, in charge of the museum, has made every possible effort to prove their authenticity and has obtained a mass of evidence which seems to prove unquestionably that none other but the famous chief reposes in the museum. Mr. Goddard has not only secured the affidavits of the persons who exhumed the remains, but of early settlers near Spring Villa who knew the chief and saw his funeral cortege pass up the mountain a little to the east of the Utah county town. There are also a number of interesting photographs showing the place where the body was found, and of the region where Black Hawk started on his last journey.

Severely Wounded.

Utah historians and Black Hawk veterans declare that Chief Black Hawk died at Spring Lake Villa, a small settlement situated between Payson and Bantaquin, Utah county, in 1876. The old chief is declared to have been severely wounded in the fight at Gravelly Ford on the Beaver river some three or four years before. He was assisting one of his wounded braves to his horse when aided by one of the settlers during a battle. The white man not being able to see the chief shot through the horse which shielded him and wounded him severely. He still seems to have taken an active part in the war on the white settlers after this mishap and actually before his death gained permission to visit every town and village from Cedar City on the south to Payson on the north to make peace with the people he had harassed. According to stories told by Indian war veterans he had caused so much misery to the settlers during his raids on the Utah towns and was so hated and feared that a number of heroes are declared to have arisen about the state who claim the honor of killing him. The old chief, however, it seems, died in his wigwam near Spring Lake Villa and was buried in the nearby foothills immediately south and east.

The story of the Black Hawk war in Utah chiefly culled from the de-



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The story of the Black Hawk war in Utah chiefly culled from the declarations of Black Hawk war veterans is one of the pitiful last stands taken by the Red men to save the land of their fathers from the inroads of the pale face. It was also a story of the heartbreaking fight of the early day settlers to establish their small homesteads in the western wilderness.

Local historians declare the war started about 1864 when a small band of Indians camped near Gunnison, Sanpete county, had a siege of smallpox and began to blame the settlers for it threatening to kill them and steal their horses and cattle. Matters grew worse and worse until Col. Reddick N. Alfred and a company of cavalry started in pursuit of the Red men. Then came ambushes in the rugged foot hills near Fish lake and Grand river, depredations near Gunnison, Fairview, Spanish Fork canyon, Ephraim, Red lake, Glenwood, Circleville, Pipe Springs, Salina, Moroni, Marysville, Scipio, Thistle valley, Diamond, Fork, Lees ranch, Rock lake, Spring City, Warm creek, the Indians attacking lonely settlers up and down the center of the state as far as St. George and even spreading their reign of terror over the Wasatch county.

Women and children were tortured, carried away, homes devastated, ranchers murdered, and all sorts of Indian deviltry committed under the expert leadership of Chief Black Hawk. This continued practically until the fall of 1872 when the Red men at last acknowledged the ruling hand of their white brothers. During this period various commanders in charge of local militia and federal troops took a hand in quelling the Red men and Brigham Young worked earnestly to bring about some sort of a satisfactory adjustment between the warring tribes and the settlers.

Mr. Goddard has painstakingly gathered the following information from old newspaper files and has supplemented the clippings with the affidavits of persons who know of the burial and finding of the remains of the famous old chief.

Account of Death.

Black Hawk, the noted Indian chief, was born at Spring Lake Villa, a few miles south of Payson in Utah county. Numerous accounts have been published of his death but from the files of The News, it is evident that he died at his old home in Spring Lake, Sept. 26, 1870. The following paragraph appeared in The Deseret News on Oct. 6, 1870:

"Black Hawk."

October 8th, 1870.

We have received the following dispatch per the Deseret Telegraph line: "Payson, September 27, Black Hawk died at the Indian camp, 3 miles south of here, last night. John Spencer, interpreter."

From Spring Lake Villa, September 27, 1870, the following account reached The News:

"I hasten to tell you that Black



At Top—Skeleton of Black Hawk. Unusually tall stature, with spurs, beads, bridle bit, rattles, ax, bucket and other articles found in grave.

In Center—William E. Croff unearthing remains of Black Hawk.

At Bottom—Spring Lake Villa. Cross in picture on mountainside shows where Black Hawk's body was buried.

Hawk the Indian desperado is dead. He has been living here in camp with his brother, "Mountain," together with Joe, and has been for some days. We knew he was sick but did not think of an sudden demise. This morning before sun-up the Indian wall was heard in their camp, and soon was seen an Indian squaw with two horses heavily packed on their way to the foot of the mountains. Stopping at a

small ravine within sight of our door, they killed one of the horses and proceeded to put away the body of the great Black Hawk. This is the place of his birth, and here he commenced his desperadoism and here he came back to die.

"Show me, a friendly Indian, the head of the camp about here, died at Ooshen a few days since. Quaint, another good Indian lies in camp about

ready to die. Really our Indian neighbors are fast passing away.

"Indian Joe, the present head of the Indians about here is here telling me about the death of Black Hawk. He wishes the Mormons to know that Black Hawk is now dead and that he died in his camp. B. F. Johnson."

At that time, B. F. Johnson was

(Continued on page seven.)

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SPECIAL FEATURES AT ANNUAL CONVENTION ENSIGN STAKE M. I. A.

The annual convention of the Mutual Improvement Association of Ensign stake will be held tomorrow at the Bishop's building with sessions at 9 o'clock and 10:30 a. m. and at 2 p. m. The first session will be a testimony meeting and will be presided over by John D. Giles, stake superintendent of the Y. M. M. I. A. The 10:30 session will be a general meeting, following the program outlined by the general boards, and will be presided over by Mrs. Eva M. James, first counselor in the presidency of the Y. L. M. I. A. In the absence of Mrs. Hattie W. Saville, stake president, who will be unable to attend owing to illness. At 2 p. m. the sessions will be separate and will be devoted by each association to a consideration of its own problems.

The ninety-sixth anniversary of the appearance of the angel Moroni to Joseph Smith on the Hill Cumorah, occurring tomorrow, the special music for the morning sessions will be appropriate to the occasion. The musical program will be under the direction of Prof. Henry E. Giles, stake chorister of Ensign stake, who will be assisted by Prof. W. C. Clive, violinist. At the afternoon session of the Y. L. M. I. A. Miss Ruth Edwards will render a solo and a trio consisting of Miriam Jacobson, Clifton Jacobson and Douglas Strang will furnish an instrumental number. There will be no evening session of the convention. Representatives of the general boards who will attend the convention are Mrs. Martha H. Tingey of the Y. L. M. I. A. and Messrs. Thomas Hull, O. J. P. Widtsoe and George J. Cannon of the Y. M. M. I. A.

U. of U. to Introduce Course in Norwegian

The beginning of work in the Scandinavian languages and literature at the University of Utah will be featured this season. A class in Norwegian will be taught.

Several attempts have been made by instructors in the modern language department at the university to institute a course in Scandinavian, in response to a desire for such instruction voiced by numbers of students and interested citizens. The late Prof. Torild Arnoldson had in mind the work as long as 10 years ago, but until this year it was found to be impracticable.

Although it will be impossible to install this year a regular Scandinavian department, which would include instruction in all of the Scandinavian tongues as well as histories of Scandinavia, Prof. O. J. P. Widtsoe, head of the English department, has been secured to teach a class in Norwegian during the coming year. This beginning, it is hoped, will lead into a full fledged department. According to Prof. J. L. Barker, head of the modern language department, an effort will be made after the close of the coming year to secure the services of a regular instructor for the Scandinavian tongues.

Another new course in the modern language department to be started this year will be a one-year course in Italian. Aside from a number of students who have indicated that they will enter such a class, numbers of

BONES OF BLACK HAWK WARRIOR AT MUSEUM

(Continued from page one).

presiding elder and subsequently bishop at Spring Lake Villa, Utah county.

Makes Affidavit.

The following statement also will be of great interest in this connection: Provo City, Utah, July 7th, 1919.

To whom it may concern:

The latter part of September or first part of October about 1870 my parents and their family were living in Spring Lake Villa, Utah county, state of Utah.

Several of us young people would visit the Indian camp on the northwest of the little village and at this place, "Old Black Hawk" was brought in a very sick condition. The Sunday before Black Hawk's death, several of us young people visited his camp and heard him moaning and saw him lying on his bed. During the week he died, I, with others, stood on the main street of Spring Lake Villa, Utah, and saw old Black Hawk's body lie across his horse in the funeral procession, there being about eight horses rode by Indians, some in front of Black Hawk's horse and some following.

This procession followed a drag trail up the mountain a little east of south of Spring Lake Villa, to where his remains were buried. About one week later, several of the Indians came to our home—two of the squaws had their heads shaved, some of the Indians said they were Black Hawk's squaws and their "heap big chief" was dead.

(Signed) CHIANA F. HALEY.
Signed in presence of Ben H. Bullock.

Locate Grave.

Some years ago Bishop R. H. Bullock of Provo and friends were in the vicinity of this old grave and felt impressed to secure, if possible, the remains. After careful search they found the old resting place of Black Hawk; his remains were unearthed together with what remained of his old bridle, especially the rosettes which were so well known to the old settlers during the lifetime of this noted chief. The remains were carefully stored away for some time and later presented to the L. D. S. Church Museum on temple block.

More Affidavits.

The following affidavits have also been added to the record: Santaquin, Utah County, Utah, September 6th, 1919.

To Whom It May Concern:

During the year 1917 Bishop Ben Bullock was telling several men who were working at the Syndicate mine on the mountain east of Santaquin, Utah, and a little east of south of Spring Lake Villa, Utah, that the remains of "Old Black Hawk," Indian, were buried some place near the tunnel that we were working in and one day while I was prospecting on the surface of the property I noticed in a slide of quartzite rock a place that looked like the rock had been moved and a small mound built. I reported this to Bishop Bullock and then he, with Lars Olson and myself, started removing the rock and found the skeleton with beads, bridle, silver rosettes, spurs, saddle, sleigh bells, ax, bucket, cup, parts of an old soldier coat with buttons on and several trinkets, among them a china pipe.

SEVERAL BRIDGES ON PRICE-EMERY HIGHWAY DAMAGED

Repair and replacement of several bridges along the Price-Emery highway, damaged or washed out by recent cloudbursts, is immediately necessary, according to State Road Engineer Ira R. Browning, if the farmers are to have facilities for moving this year's crops to market. Mr. Browning says that his department has sent a communication to B. J. Finch, government road engineer at Ogden, apprising him of the situation and presenting the need for immediate action, the highway being a state-federal project.

Affairs connected with construction on the road from Price to Castle Gate, Mr. Browning says, have become somewhat muddled. This is a post road paving project, to be constructed jointly by the state and federal governments. Officials of the city of Price are laying a wooden water pipe line from their town to Colton and they have selected the state road route for that purpose. That region of the state is subject to very low temperatures, the road engineer says, and wood pipe is always liable to leakage. Such a combination is likely to result disastrously to any road under which it is laid, it is declared by Mr. Browning, and there is no prospect that the paving will be laid unless the city officials of Price recede from their present purpose of laying the pipe line along that highway. Notification of this situation has been sent to Price officials, Mr. Browning says.

Gratifying progress is being made in the work on the road from Castle Gate to Duchesne and on that from the head of Willow creek to Salt Lake City, by way of Colton and Soldier Summit. It is reported by the engineer. A gang of men is also at work on the road between Thistle and Red Narrows, where grading and widening is being done.

Conditions respecting the roads in the southeastern part of Utah were reported to the governor and individual members of the road commission upon return from an inspection trip of State Road Engineer Ira R. Browning, A. Frickstad, senior engineer of the bureau of roads in the federal department of agriculture, and B. M. Towle, district federal engineer.

Farewell Party For Harold William Hoare



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Commissioners of Indian War Records

190

Cause & origin of Walker Indian War in territory of
Utah in the year 1853.

Having been requested by state commander J. M. Westwood of
the U. S. A. to write up the cause of the Walker War.
Myself a resident of Springville at that time & being well
acquainted with James Drie, who was the principal actor in the
drama that caused the war, I submit the following as told to
me by Drie at the time and on several occasions since the war
Walker, the ^{new} chief of the Ute Nation, with his braves and their
families were camped on Spring Creek about one half mile north
of the town of Springville all at peace with the white settlers spending
their time fishing & hunting and trading and buying from the people
James Drie at that time had built a cabin and was living in it
with his wife and one child about half a mile north and west of
where the Indians were camped. In the forenoon of July 18th 1853
one Indian and squaw came into Drie cabin. The squaw had
three large trout which she wanted to trade to Mrs Drie for some
flour. Flour being very scarce at that time, Mrs Drie called
her husband in to get his views on a trade of that kind, Drie
being at work digging a well. When he saw the trout he said
"They look mighty good to me" and that ~~story~~ Drie might give

three pints of flour for them if the squaw would trade that way. He then went out of the cabin to resume his work. Just after Irie left two more Indians came into the cabin, one of which seemed to be the hus band or had some kind of a claim on the squaw that had closed the trade with Mrs Irie. When this Indian saw the three trout and the small amount of flour received in exchange he became enraged and began beating the squaw. Knocking her down kicking and stomping her in a brutal manner. While this assault was being committed Mrs Irie ran and called her hus band. Mr Irie came to the cabin and the Indian was still beating the squaw. He took hold of the Indian and pulled him away the squaw lying prostrate on the floor, Irie trying to push the Indian out of the cabin. When the Indian came in he left his gun standing by the door and as Irie pushed him out he grabbed his gun and tried to get in position to shoot Irie. Irie got hold of the muzzle of the gun and in the struggle the gun was broken; the Indian retaining the stock and Irie the barrel. When the gun broke Irie broke struck the Indian a hard blow on the head with the barrel of the gun the Indian fell to the ground apparently dead but did not die untill some hours later. The other Indian that came to the cabin the same time drew his bow and arrow and shot Irie, the arrow passing through the shoulder of Irie buckskin hunting shirt. At this Irie struck this Indian a violent blow and he fell unconscious by the side of the prostrate body of the other Indian. Just as Irie got through with this second Indian the squaw that he had been trying to protect came out of the cabin door with a stick of wood in her hand which she had

picked up by the side of the fire in the cabin with it she struck Eric a blow in the face cutting a deep gash in his upper lip the scar showing plainly from that time until his death.

Eric again used the gun-barrel to defend himself and struck the squaw she fell unconscious by the side of the prostrate bodies of the two Indians. At this stage in the drama Joseph Kelley one of the foremost settlers of Springville came upon the scene and seeing the three Indians lying apparently dead. Eric told Kelley what had taken place. Kelley took a bucket of water that was in the cabin and poured it on the Indians trying to restore them then sent the Indian that first came to the cabin with the squaw for another bucket of water to try and restore the Indians to life; this Indian having taken no active part in the trouble Kelley told Eric to take his wife and child and go into town before the Indian camp was notified of the trouble which he did.

The Indian that Kelley sent after the water went to the Indian camp and told of what had taken place at the Eric cabin the news of the trouble soon spread through the camp and the white settlement. Intense excitement reigned both in the Indian camp and white settlement. Bishop Aaron Johnson who was chief magistrate in all civil and military affairs took immediate steps to protect the settlement. Ordered Salmuel Carley and Camp Infantry to be mustered in and be ready at call. All the other male citizens over 16 years of age were enrolled as a home guard. Johnson with his interpreters tried every thing in their power to settle the trouble with chief Walker, by offering ponies, beef, flour and blankets but Walker refused to settle only by giving up Eric to be tried by the Indians which Johnson refused to do. Walker then broke camp and went to Payson joined his

brother another Indian chief together they went up Payson
canon killing Ellic Teel who was on guard at the outskirts of
Payson saying, "the war would last untill the white people were
all exterminated." The Indians then went into the mountains
east of Sanpete valley and left their families in a place of safety.
The Indians returning in war paint raiding the settlements of
Utah, juab, Sanpete, Millard and Iron counties during the
summer and fall. The last engagement being at the south end
of Utah Lake, generally spoken of as the Snake Valley Battle which
lasted about 3 hours the troops taking the Indian camp.
9 Indians killed some of the troops and horses shot but none
mortally. This engagement took place in October 1853. Some
Indians and their families came down Hobble Creek canon to
Springville a short time after saying the war was over. A short
time after Caldwell Cavalry and Parry's Infantry were released
from duty having served during the entire war a period of 91 days
from July 18 to Oct. 15 - 1853. The treaty of peace was signed by
Walker May 1854 at his camp on Chicken Creek juab Co.
Walker ^{died 1856} and was buried by his tribe with the highest honors
that could be given him as the most noted war chief of the nation.

Geo. McKenzie

George McKenzie was grandfather of H. M. Grosbeck, as was James Barnett Cole my grandfather.
They were in the Blackhawk War together in 1853. They also went to rescue the handcart
saints of 1856 in which my grandmother, Lucy Ward, was traveling. Brother H. M. Grosbeck
kindly furnished me with these records.

Ruby M. F. Hall

Core Creek, U. T.

Dec. 22nd '69.

J. E. Tourtellotte. - Sup. Int.
Ind. Affs Salt Lake.

Dear Sir,

I
embrace the first opportunity to drop you a few lines. Upon receiving your answer to my dispatch from Beaver, I started immediately to Black Hawk's Camp. I found him encamped five miles from Cedar City, Iron County, U. T., I made arrangements to accompany him to Uintah. He wished to travel through the settlements as far north as Spanish Fork, but now thinks he will

not go farther than Fillmore.
We will be there on Sunday
the 26th inst. He desires to
see you, as he has some matters
which he considers of importance
to consult you about. viz: The
disposition of the Land and
the gathering of his people
upon Reservations. He does
not properly understand these
questions and wishes to be
advised. He wishes to go by mail
(or Coach) and wishes me to ac-
company him. This, if done,
will have to be at the Gov. expense
and will cost \$64. If you wish
him to come please dispatch by
telegraph to Fillmore, address
to me. If not we will remain
there a few days, and if you
have any instructions for me
or any mail matter to send
to Uinta, I shall be pleased to

it is addressed to
care of Mr. J. Sheldon
Fillmore
N.Y.

With sentiments
of High regard
I have the honor
to be your Obedt.
Srvt.
Mr. J. Sheldon

I will inform you
in Fillmore in regard to
whereabouts and dispositions
of Indians in southern
portion of this Territory
M.S.

1315
Fillmore, Utah.
Dec. 29; 1869.

Shelton, M. J.

Repts refusal to an-
swer dispatch.

Black Hawk & his band.

Pah Utes.

Dispatch from.
Brigham Young.

Recd. Jan 3^d

Frontier Times

Companion Magazine to TRUE WEST—All Stories True

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SPRING, 25c

THE LAST HUNT

Dramatic Death Knell to the Indian Way of Life

THE BLACK HAWK WAR

Lost Badger Mine

The Little Killer of Big Bend

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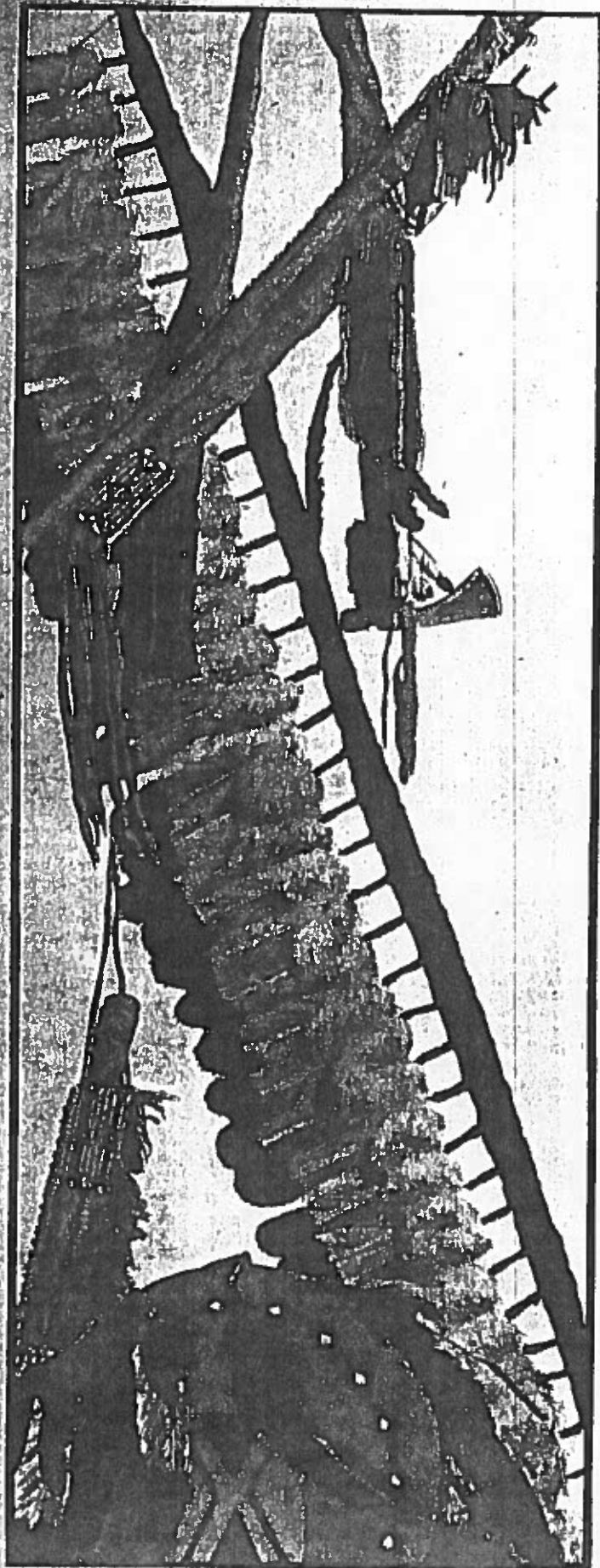
16

ADDITIONAL
PAGES!

STILL 25c

ARIZONA HELL HOLE!

Brutal, Barbarous, Dreadful, Inhumane — that
was the old Arizona Territorial Prison at Yuma



SHUT up, you damned redskin, and listen to me!"

John Lowry staggered drunkenly to his feet, his face livid with rage. For several hours he, with Archibald Buchanan and a handful of white settlers had listened to the angry voice of Yene-wood, the sullen young chief of the Southern Utes. For the past hour, the young chief had ridden his horse about the clearing, shouting:

"The 'Mericat's sickness has killed my people! The children, the young men and women, the elders—even my father, have died from the curse of the 'Mericans! There is but one way to stop it. We will kill the 'Mericans and eat 'Mericat beef!"

Suddenly Lowry yelled at him to "Shut up!" Yene-wood pulled his horse to a stop, his face twisted in uncontrollable anger. His arm moved quickly to his shoulder.

"Lowry, look out!" someone yelled, "He's going to shoot!" But before the angry young chief could put an arrow to his bow, Lowry had seized him by the throat and pulled him to the ground. Drunkenly, he slapped the face of the young chief, cursing him wildly. The white settlers, fearing Lowry's anger, pulled him from the prostrate chief. Yene-wood mounted his horse, and waving to his braves, he rode off to find Black Hawk.

Black Hawk, the War Chief of the Utes, this morning of April 9, 1865, sat in the small rock church at Mantle, Utah. The sunlight slanting through the windows lay lightly on his handsome face, but his thoughts lay in darkest shadows. His mind was not on the Mormon Sacrament Service, but wandered, like his glance, toward the clearing south of the settlement, where Yene-wood was holding parley with the whites. Yene-wood had suggested Black Hawk, too, attend the parley, but he refused. It was not yet time to make his move. He had grown to manhood among these white men who smiled at him in friendship and called him "good Indian." It was not yet time. True, more and more white men moved into the valleys of his people, pushing them further and further from their hunting grounds, and now they had brought the scourge of smallpox which fell upon his people. For this his heart burned in anger, but still he smiled upon his "white brothers." The first move must be theirs. The provocation must come from the whites, not from his own people, and if he knew Yene-wood



Returning to his camp later in the day he found the men in a furor of anger. Yene-wood was giving vent to his rage, and Black Hawk smiled. The time had come. The provocation had been made, so he spoke to his people. Swiftly the word spread through the Ute nation. Black Hawk's friendship with the whites was ended, and it was time they felt the red man's wrath.

Almost overnight the war party was assembled. Black Hawk called his men about him. The squaws, the children, the old men and all the camp equipment vanished silently into the mountains to the east. Now he was ready!

THE mountains of central Utah are not the jagged, massive peaks of southern Utah, sparsely covered with vegetation and noted for their primitive beauty, but are green and lush with growth. It was here the settlers pastured their cattle, and it was here, as the sun brushed the mountain tops on the morning of April 10, that Black Hawk made his first move. He would not kill the whites unless necessary, but deprive

them of their cattle, burn their field. Starvation would do the rest. But word had filtered into the Manti settlement, and as dawn crept upon the mountains the settlers sped into the mountains to bring the cattle to safety in the fort, but their speed was not great enough. Riding out of the canyons Black Hawk's men fell upon the settlers with vengeance, and Peter Ludvigsen fell to the ground, mortally wounded, the first victim of the Black Hawk War.

Terror ran through the tiny Manti settlement, and Archibald Buchanan, a member of the original parley party with Yencowood was prevailed upon to make peace. Buchanan immediately went in search of old Chief White-Eye, whose authority was powerful among the Utes. The chief's terms: "Give us John Lowry and we will make peace once again with the whites. It was he who disgraced our people, and it is he who should settle the matter." Buchanan returned to the settlement, knowing that peace was now impossible.

The Black Hawk band moved quickly to the south, making camp in the mountains east of the village of Salina. Here in a broad and pleasant valley, divided by a mountain stream, they met Barney Ward and James Anderson of Salina, who knew nothing of the Indian uprising. Both men were quickly taken captive, tortured, shot with arrows and bullets, and finally scalped.

On April 11, Colonel Reddick N. Allred, of the Sanpete Militia, mustered his men at Fort Gunnison, and moved toward Salina where more men joined the troops. Picking their way through the brush- and bramble-filled canyons, they set out in search of Black Hawk's band, which was now firmly encamped in the mountains to the east.

On the following morning, as they moved up a narrow canyon, they were fired upon from ambush, and the militia fled in confusion. Two men were killed and two more wounded. Coming from their hiding place, the Indians looked upon the faces of the dead men, and a wail of anguish floated up the mountain sides. Here in death, lay a friend, a white man who had always taken their side, who had always been honest with them. Gently, they placed the body upon a rock and wove a willow covering to protect the body from the wolves, the body of a "friend," who, that morning, had sworn he would "have an Indian scalp before the day was through, or



Black Hawk, War Chief of the Utes.

three girls, Mary, nine; Annie, five; and Martha, three; lay naked in the wagon box, each with a deep tomahawk gash in the head. John Given lay on the floor of the shanty, shot through the heart.

The months wore slowly on, as more settlers suffered torture and death at the hands of Black Hawk and his men. In desperation, Colonel O. H. Irish, superintendent of Indian affairs in Utah, called upon the military authorities at Fort Douglas in Salt Lake for assistance. His request was promptly refused. He was informed that the duty of the California Volunteers stationed at Fort Douglas was to protect the Overland Mail Route, and that was all.

Finding no help here, Colonel Irish, accompanied by President Brigham Young of the Mormon Church set out to make a treaty with the chiefs who were still friendly with the white settlers. Kanosh, Tabby, Sow-ok-soo-bot, and Sanpitch were called into conference, and all but Sanpitch signed the treaty. Sanpitch rode off in a rage to make a closer alliance with Black Hawk.

In July of 1865, Anthony Robinson, on his way to Monroe from the flour mill in Manti, was killed and scalped. The Indians took what flour they could carry, and poured the remainder over the scalped and mutilated body of the white man. The night before, Robert Gillespie had been killed near

By J. A. CHRISTENSEN

Black Hawk, War Chief of the Utes, was cutting a bloody swath until a true shot slowed him down considerable

Illustrated by Joe Grandoo

die trying." Finishing their task, the Indians turned to the other body and methodically hacked and mutilated it beyond description. Such was the working of the Indian mind.

DURING the trying weeks that followed, Black Hawk and his men split into separate bands, harassing the white settlers throughout Sanpete, Sevier, and Utah Counties. Several men were tortured and killed, and hundreds of head of cattle were stolen, the calves being hacked with knives across the back legs, so as not to follow and thereby slow the herds.

On the morning of May 26, just before sunrise, a band of Utes attacked a wagon in Thistle Canyon, Utah County. John Given, his wife, and four children were killed and scalped before they could prepare to defend themselves. When word of this arrived at Fairview, the closest settlement, a group of twenty men set out for the camp. They found Mrs. Given, stripped and lying on her back a short way from a little shanty by the wagon. John Given, Jr., the nineteen-year-old son, lay on the floor of the shanty, shot in the breast. The

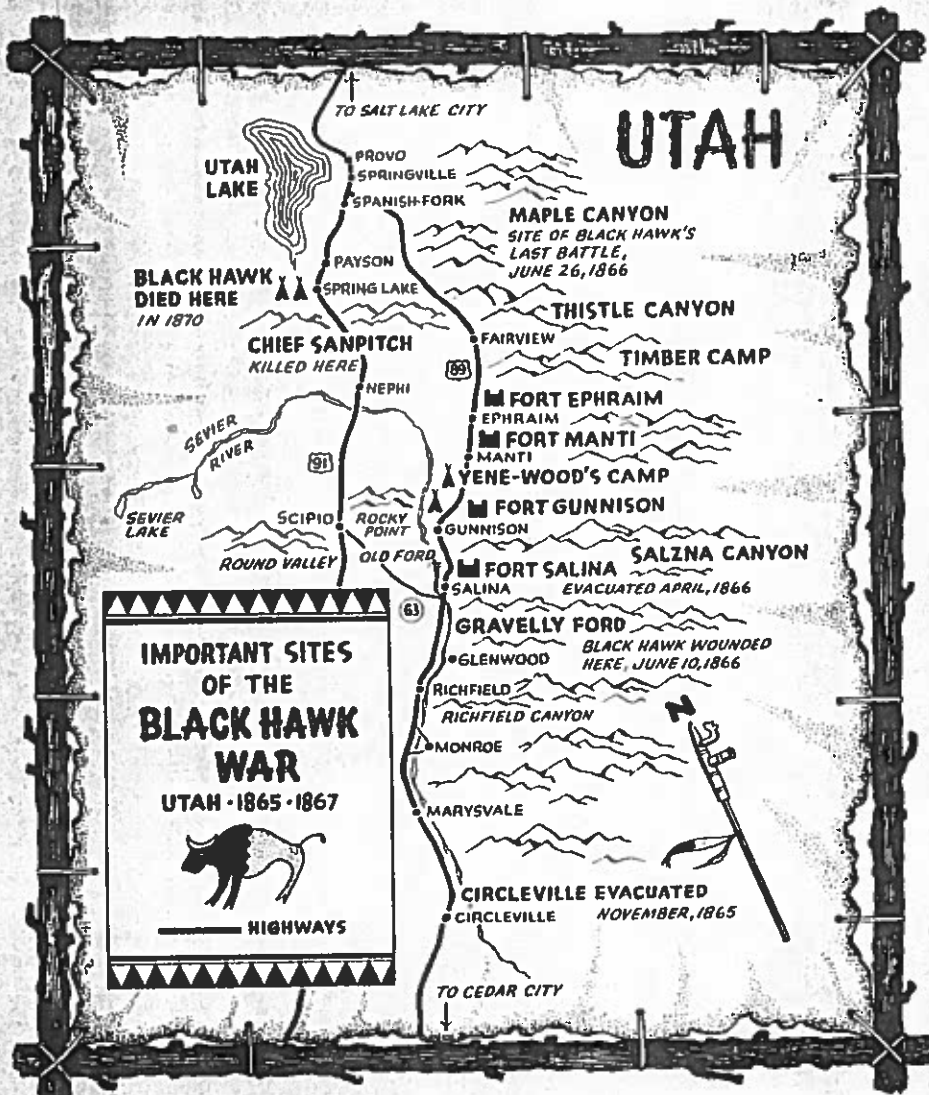
the same spot, felled by a bullet in the back. These two atrocities so incensed the people of Sanpete that a hundred men answered the call of General Warren S. Snow, of the Sanpete Militia, to put an end to this ruthless massacre. Moving to Glenwood, east of Richfield, the troops came upon the encampment of the Indians responsible for the death of Robinson and Gillispie. Furiously, the militia fired into the camp, and one volley was enough to rout the Indians. So great was the hatred of the white men, at this point, that a number of squaws and papooses, with the band, were shot.

On October 17, a group of men from Fort Ephraim, venturing into the canyon for wood, were alarmed at seeing a young man suddenly burst from the underbrush and run screaming toward them. The Indians had ambushed part of the militia, he shouted. The militia had indeed been ambushed and scattered. Most of the men reached Fort Ephraim safely, after joining a timber crew in the canyon, and running off through the brush. One of the timber men, fifty-year-old Boren N. Jespersen, was the only one captured by the Indians. Being deaf, he was unable to hear when the wailing was shouted. Jespersen's hands, feet, and the upper part of his head were cut off before he was finally put to death.

ON the next morning, Chief Yene-wood attacked a wagon train from Manti. Riding about the wagons, he fired over the heads of the occupants, then rode toward a small buggy where he shot one of the men in the back with an arrow. Moving west the same day, he joined Black Hawk, who made a surprise attack on a farm west of Fort Ephraim, killing a young farmer, his wife, and hired girl. Another farmer in the same field was left unharmed because of an earlier friendship with Black Hawk. In this particular raid, seven settlers were killed and two wounded.

In the long, agonizing, and fearful months which followed through the winter of 1865-66, ten more settlers met death at the hands of Black Hawk, who by now was termed, "a disaffected renegade of lowly station who flouted acknowledged tribal leadership and gathered around him malcontents—various roving bands (initiating) independent marauding enterprises." Renegade or not, his methods were exacting a great toll in life and hardships, and strange were the tales told about him and his deeds around the pioneer fires.

One of the early settlers, Emil Nielson, recalled, "In April of 1866, I was helping to herd the Salina cowherd while the men were employed building a fort. We were on the west side of the Sevier River northwest of town distant about two miles, near the old wagon ford. My brother, older than I, was with me. We had been talking about Indians, and he said that if the Indians came after him he would run and jump into the river. We saw the Indians on the east side of the river, but did not know they were Indians; they had attacked the three teams from Glenwood just before we saw them. They came over the river after the cowherd. When we saw the Indians coming, Chris, my brother, ran to the river and was evidently killed there. He was never found. But one foot with the shoe on was found down the river during the summer. An Indian came after me and shot at me with arrows; the first arrow hit my right arm, and the next went into my left side. I was running and fell. The Indian



Map by Lowell Butler

then took off my hat and shot an arrow into my head and pulled it out three times. I thought if I could make the Indians think I was dead, he might leave me. I lay there from about ten o'clock in the morning till near sundown. I dared not get up, fearing that the Indians might be near and see me and come and finish me. When I got up, I went to look for my brother, but could not find him. I then waded the river, the water being above my waist, and I started for home. On the way I met a man by the name of Hansen, and when I reached the edge of town, I met my father who picked me up and carried me home. I carried the arrow spike in my side for two weeks before it could be taken out. The old doctor lady, Maria Snow, of Manti, put poultices on the wounds and it drew out the spike. I was eleven years old."

During the months which followed, Fort Salina was abandoned and the people moved north to Fort Gunnison. Most of the stock at Salina had been lost to the Indians, and the people were constantly harassed by Black Hawk and his men. The guard was doubled at Fort Gunnison and a "picket guard" was stationed on the Rocky Point west of the fort to warn the settlers, by lighting huge fires and beating a drum, that the Indians were approaching. One great trouble which was always present with

the settlers was the scarcity of weapons for defense. It was necessary to go to Salt Lake City, 130 miles away, to purchase guns and ammunition, and since there was little money or produce, the livestock had to go for barter. Some families sent their last cow. Even when the guns were obtained they were of poor quality. As one man remarked at the time, "I traded a good steer for a poor rifle."

GOOD news suddenly reached the communities to the south with word that Chief Sanpitch and a number of his men had been taken prisoner and placed in the jail at Fort Manti. Two days later, they broke free and escaped into the hills, with the exception of one Indian who lay on a rock pile with his throat cut, and another who lay a short distance away with his bowels and breast shot away. Sanpitch eluded his pursuers for six days but on April 18 he was found hiding some twenty-five miles north of Fort Manti, and was promptly put to death.

By sunset of the next day, the world looked no more upon the faces of any of the escaped prisoners. Three were shot, and the fourth joined his comrades in the "happy hunting grounds" with a slit throat. By this time nervous minds

(Continued on page 46)

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camp slept the sleep of utter exhaustion and gorged stomachs.

But before the sun sent his first rays over the Coteau du Missouri, the women were working over the carcasses, skinning knives flashing as they began the big job of readying 3,000 carcasses for winter meat.

All that day the women kept at the task of butchering and smoking the meat, and while they worked, the hunters continued to hunt down smaller remnants of the herd and kill them by the same methods. By mid-afternoon the smell of souring meat and bloated guts had begun to mix with the smell of freshly-spilled blood. By the time the campfires began to show through the gathering dusk, the entire prairie reeked with decay and death.

THE third day found the warriors resting and eating, while the women and children labored over the tremendous piles of meat that taxed the drying racks. Many families had gone east on the trail back to the agency, with all their horses and dogs pulling travois loaded with piles of the sun-blackened dried buffalo. But for every family that had loaded its winter's meat supply and headed back for the reservation, there was a young buck out on the loose. Full of buffalo meat and the stories of the warriors, these young bucks roamed out far and wide, continuing the slaughter by any means possible.

Finding the buffalo too scattered to make slaughter feasible, they lit huge grass fires to drive the herds down to the breaks of the Cedar and the Cannonball.

On October 27, the *Dickinson Press* reported that "The Sioux are out on a thieving raid, stealing hides and ponies from the white hunters, burning all the country over outside and thus driving the buffalo onto the reservation."

By the last day of October, the herd had been wiped out, to all intents and purposes. However, the main band of the Sioux had all gone back to the Standing Rock—and only the white hunters continued to seek out solitary animals far to the north of the Cedar. Blackfeet from the west moved in and took care of a small band of twenty-seven animals that moved west of the Black Hills and into Wyoming flat land.

Travellers through the region which is now Adams, Grant, Hettinger, and Sioux Counties, North Dakota, in early November of 1883 told of travelling for days through a prairie strewn with decaying carcasses—strewn with the bones of 4,000-5,000 animals—a prairie where the coyotes gorged themselves to the bursting point and then lay sleeping near the stinking piles of guts, too full to run from the travellers' approach.

In the spring of 1884, a group of Indian children found a yearling bull in a flat on the river bottom. With the daring of children, they attacked him with their play bows and tiny spears. By sheer weight of numbers they killed him. When he sank to earth, his body a pincushion of children's toys—there died the last remaining member of the countless millions that had once made up the herd of the Great Plains.

It took several years for the truth to sink in—the hide hunters set out that spring of 1884 the same as always. But they couldn't find enough buffalo to eat, let alone get rich off the hides. In that great area which forms Nebraska, the two Dakotas, Minnesota and East-

Mountain Montana, the last hunt had been completed. Pie made his last stand in the summer of 1882 on the grasslands of The Cedar and the Cannonball!



Gravelly Ford on the Sevier River. Here Black Hawk was wounded.

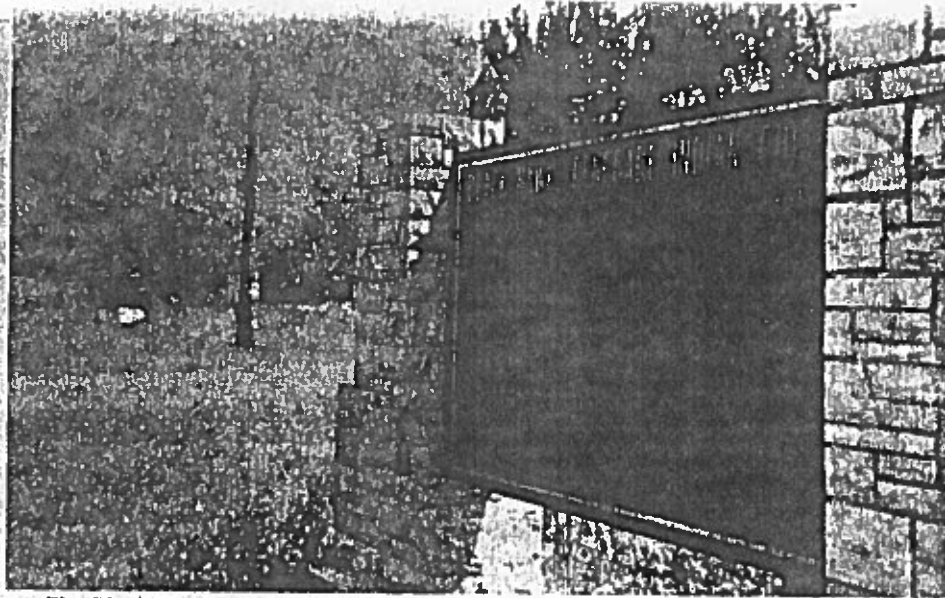
The Black Hawk War

(Continued from page 34)

and empty stomachs brought a ruthlessness to the whites which almost equalled that of the Indians. More whites during the year were killed, more cattle stolen, and the efforts of the people were of little use against the bitter onslaught of Black Hawk. On April 21, two men were ambushed in southern Sevier County. One of the men lived for twenty-one days, and was married to his betrothed on his death-bed.

During the days that followed several more men were killed and mutilated. Then on June 10, 1866, word was received at Fort Gunnison that Black Hawk's men had made a raid on Round Valley to the west and were moving toward the mountains east of Salina with a herd of cattle. In a forced march, General William B. Fane of the Utah Militia moved his men south of Salina where they encountered the Indians attempting to cross Gravelly Ford in the Sevier River. The militia was fired upon from ambush. At this point Fane ordered a cross fire which routed the Indians, but by now another band moved in from the west, one group remaining with the cattle on the west bank, the other group of seventy-five or eighty, crossing to the east bank.

Retreating to higher ground, the whites used the crest of the hill above the river as a breastwork. The Indians immediately surrounded the hill and began to close in. Firing orders were changed by Fane, the militia firing by platoons which worked with great effectiveness. The Indians, thus surprised, began to circle the hill, firing upon the whites from any point of vantage. One of the best vantage points was a wash which cut into the side of the mountain, and offered efficient covering for the circling Indians. Sliding down the wash, under cover of the overhanging sagebrush, James Snow reached the mouth of the wash, and began firing upon the surrounding braves. Through the dust, he caught sight of one Indian helping another onto a wounded horse. The horse stood between the Indian and Snow, but gauging the position of the feet and legs



The Black Hawk marker erected near the spot of the chief's death. He is believed to be buried in the nearby foothills.

of the standing Indian, Snow fired in the region of the Indian's heart. The horse fell dead, and the Indian, gravely wounded was picked up by two braves who sped off through the dust and gathering gloom into the mountain vastness.

It was not until long after the battle was over that the militia and Snow found that the bullet had found a rich mark in the body of Black Hawk. In the meantime, Snow, a full 600 yards from the militia found himself pursued by three angry braves. Turning, he tried to make his way up the mountain, and as he did his sabre caught between his legs and threw him to the ground. Luckily, four of his comrades came to his aid and saved him.

ON June 26, 1866, a band of Indians came down Maple Canyon in Utah County, "and made a foray into the valley... and drove off some fifty horses and twenty head of cattle into Maple Canyon." Colonel Bromley, now in charge of the militia, was summoned, as well as Colonel Creer with a troop from Spanish Fork. The Spanish Fork troop had already entered the canyon when the group under Colonel Bromley arrived. Bromley's men "rode rapidly after them, mile after mile, until they had crossed the divide and descended the steep trail into the head of Diamond Fork, but could see nothing of the Spanish Fork troopers. There were three young madcaps in the squad that day, who kept riding ahead in their anxiety to find the Indians. When the party came within a half mile of the spot where the skirmish took place, the three boys who were still ahead rode up on a knoll and gave a whoop, for a little way in advance they could see Creer's men under a clump of trees and firing over towards the south side of the broad flat canyon."

With a yell the boys advanced, the rear group following. As the three boys neared the Creer party they were suddenly fired upon by Indians who were attempting to flank the Spanish Fork boys. The Springville boys dismounted and advanced towards Creer's men. The Spanish Fork boys had been shooting it out for an hour, and one, Al Dimmick was fatally wounded and lay upon a bed of leaves.

With a sudden long range volley from the whites, the Indians took to their horses and scattered into the mountains. The troopers moved into the Indian camp, stripped it, and began their trip

home. Of the three boys who had been in front of the Springville contingent, two were safe, but the third, whose horse bolted when the Indians fired, was found dead sometime later. Returning to the battle site the next day, a group of the troopers, under Colonel Creer, found the boy's mangled body about three-fourths of a mile north of the battleground. "He had been stripped of his shirt, his right hand was severed at the wrist, his scalp torn off, and the savage foe had shot him twice through the heart, the muzzle of the weapon being held so close that the body was powder burned." When the boys returned to town they brought with them a bloodstained horse—the animal supposedly had been ridden by Black Hawk the day before.

Word began to filter into the communities that it was true. Black Hawk had been the rider who left his blood upon the horse. The settlers breathed a sigh of relief, believing this was the end of Black Hawk, but this was not so. His men continued to harass the settlers, but Black Hawk was no longer at their head.

SUDDENLY in the summer of 1867, Black Hawk, alone, with only his family at his side, appeared on the Uintah Reservation. His once tall and stately body was racked with tuberculosis, and the after-effects of the wounds he had received, but even as he asked for peace, he was still the proud war chief of the Utes. One thing more he asked, beside the promise of peace, that he might speak to those whom he had harmed. This permission was granted, and ill as he was, the once great chief, accompanied by a band of seven or eight warriors, visited every town and village from Cedar City to the south to Payson on the north—wherever his men had raided and killed, he went. Standing alone before the people, he told them that he was going home to die, but his last great wish was to make peace with those who had once been his friends.

And so he left, this proud and arrogant man, to return to his own people for the last time. It was in the winter of 1869-70 that the moaning wail rose to cling to mountain walls, and echo the song "Black Hawk is dead," and among the echoing cliffs, among the rushing streams and whispering pines, he was secretly laid to rest, in the center of the land he loved so dearly, the land he fought for so savagely, a land which still echoes his name.

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FRED McGUIRE/The Daily Herald

Sentiment in stone: Descendants of Chief Black Hawk pay tribute to their ancestor at the new grave and monument dedicated to him at Spring Lake Park.

Chief Blackhawk's legacy now set in stone

*Descendants gather
to pay tribute at
new monument*

By ALEXANDER STOCKS
The Daily Herald

SPRING LAKE — Perhaps American Indians and Anglo Americans will always be looking at the world from opposite sides of the fence.

In some accounts, including history books, the legendary Chief Blackhawk goes from town to town — from St. George to Payson — standing up in church meetings and asking forgiveness of those whose towns he ravaged.

And then, some of his relatives say it didn't happen that way at all. That's not the way Blackhawk's son told the stories, they say. He was too proud for that, they explain, even



Chief discovery: Darwin Starks of Santaquin looks at a picture of Chief Blackhawk with his son, Matthew, during the unveiling of the new Chief Blackhawk monument in Spring Lake.

though the destined leader, born with the name Antonguer, was a peace-loving man.

War over land
The Blackhawk War, they believe, was a result of his

people being forced from the land in the present Spring Lake area where they were living in harmony among themselves.

But differences aside, people from both cultures gathered yesterday to honor Ute war chief and his new burial site.

On a breezy hillside above the pastoral, glistening Spring Lake — on land owned by a local LDS Stake and next to a pavilion — the new monument and accompanying memorial gravestone were dedicated Blackhawk's family.

Traditional rites

The traditional ceremony using smoke to symbolize deceased person's spirit, took place after many of the guests had left following a memorial program.

See MONUMENT

MONUMENT

Continued from C1

During the program, stories were told, a poem read and traditional Indian dances and songs performed.

Book on Blackhawk

John Peterson, who is finishing a book, "Antonga's Agony: Mormons, Indians and Gentiles and Utah's Black Hawk War," told of his great-great grandfather, Warren S. Snow.

Brigham Young assigned Snow, a Brigadier General and commander of the San Pete Military District, to implement his Indian policy.

Snow and Blackhawk were archenemies and were wanted dead by each other's supporters, Peterson said.

Eventually Blackhawk sought out Snow in his home-

town of Maniti and asked for peace, Peterson said, before he began his multi-town repentance journey. He was dying of tuberculosis.

Because he believed Brigham Young was a shaman, he had taken his advice and set out with a telegram from the LDS prophet secured in a leather pouch around his neck.

He wanted to set things right between the two peoples, the historian and University of Utah professor said.

Spirit of reconciliation

Several speakers emphasized that Blackhawk epitomized the spirit of reconciliation, not that of differences.

Blackhawk's great-great nephew, Richard Mountain, expressed appreciation for all of the help his family has received in making the reburial

possible. Mountain said being able to bury Blackhawk's bones means an end to the restlessness of his ancestor's spirit and allows him to rest peacefully in the next world.

"This confines his spirit ... He's truthfully in his place of home," he said. Mountain and his family live on a reservation in Fort Duchesne. He and two sisters are the only living relatives of Blackhawk.

The revered chief died and was buried in the nearby mountains on Sept. 29, 1870. Four decades later, his remains were dug up by miners, who gave them to a museum in Salt Lake City.

Long journey home

The Forest Service and Brigham Young University got involved in 1990 under the Native American Grave

Repatriation and Protection Act when archaeologist Charmaine Thompson found out he had originally been buried on public land, which opened up a whole new set of burial rights.

Marva Loy Eggett of the Spring Lake Historical Society made the arrangements to have the burial carried out on the site chosen by Blackhawk's family.

The plaque on the headstone begins with a tribute: "Grandfather"—Once again, you return to this valley/ You roamed 'in peace./ These valleys were plentiful with food, water / These mountains were home to you as well ... / Once again you see your home as you rest ... / Your long journey at last fulfilled as you / Return back to mother earth / Rest in peace, "Grandfather""

Geography of Utah

Black Hawk war

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Utah's Black Hawk War was the longest American Indian-White man conflict that happened in the territory of Utah. Thanks to the August, September and October 1934 editions of the *Deseret News* who, according to Carlton Culmsee in his book *Utah's Black Hawk War*, Culmsee stated concerning the collection of the war data, "The *News* supplied photographs of pioneer leaders and of some Indians to supplement the pictures and maps I obtained. So credit must go to the newspaper for sponsorship, for gathering much material and for original publication..." Furthermore, data was collected by Peter Gottfredson and by Black Hawk War veterans who would conduct annual "encampments" with programs of personal experiences and eulogies of departed heroes; without these events we could not better understand the raiding trails most used by Indian war parties and white militiamen.

From the Bear Lake area in the extreme northeast corner of the state begins Highway 89. If you lay a Utah map out and trace this route this will show you the axis of Black Hawk's war. Beginning in Thistle in Spanish Fork Canyon, follow 89 down the long valleys with connection canyon to the mesa country at the southern end of the state. It's a squirming sort of axis that trends north to south with a slight bend toward the west. It lies in a trough between mountains that give the state a stony double backbone. This is a comprising figure of over 600 miles from Bear Lake to Page, from high mountain regions to desert. Northern Utah descendants of Indian war veterans may suggest that the axis should start no farther south than the northern termination of Cache Valley.

Although the Black Hawk War is commonly regarded as having commenced in central Utah, in Sanpete County, in 1865, his most famous battle was fought in southern Idaho. The Bannock Indian Nation and the Shoshone Indian Nation of peoples in Utah ranged through the northern part of the state during 1863. Even though these two nations lived in the northern part of the state along Black Hawk's route, it was the Ute Indian Nation of warriors who were Black Hawk's leading men. The Utes had more land at that time than the Bannock and Shoshone Nation in the Utah region and the banning together to fight seemed logical. The Navajos are said to have provided a considerable number of warriors from their nation at one stage of the Black Hawk War.

After a severe battle at Bear Lake in 1865, the Indians absorbing the highest fatality rate, the Black Hawk War spread out to the east and west of the '89' transit route. The war thus turned from a pre-war stage to full battle. The Bear Lake incident brought home to the Indian that there just might be a possibility the White man would win the future battles in Utah and their land as they knew it with its agriculture and mineral rights may not remain as they now knew it. Up to now the two cultures had been fighting for what they both though they owned. Now the bloodiest part of the battles would begin for both sides.

The war axis can be likened to a capital T with Spanish Fork Canyon making the horizontal member. That canyon was a thoroughfare for both Indian war parties and white militiamen for it linked both Thistle Valley and Utah Valley with the Duchesne-Uintah country.

There were two passes only over the high Bear Lake area, unlike the canyons in the Uintah, Nephi, Sevier River areas which contained many passes and routes of travel. One pass that both the Indian and White militiamen used now carries state road 20 over Bear Lake which has a pass elevation of 7,805 feet.

From the T shape of Spanish Fork Canyon one of the most well worn trails the Indians used was that of the northeast to east land spread of the Duchesne and Uintah location. After some war years the paths between Spanish Fork Canyon and the Strawberry region seemed to be the most populated as Indians would meet with other Indians on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation. Eventually 9 regions of settlements and communities of

Summit, Wasatch, Sanpete, Sevier, Piute, Beaver, Iron, Kane and Washington were advised to leave and make large groups at the strong, more populated forts by Brigham Young. The Uintah Reservation where the Ute nation was supposed to go from central Utah when federal laws in the 1860's extinguished their rights which they possessed or believed they possessed in agricultural and mineral lands in the center of the state. The Uintah Reservation once laid in a land region from the Wasatch Mountains on the west to Green River on the east, thus occupying most of the Uintah Basin.

When the war broke out the White man knew nothing of the territory of St. George, Dixie, Wasatch, Aquarius, Paunsaugnut and the Fish Lake land sites. With this advantage the Indian could follow the White militia who were supposed to be hunting the Indian, without the White militia ever being aware of what was going on. The country was so huge and vast it would take more militia than the organization could afford to spare, who were protecting the forts and settlements. Black Hawk's War was rather successful and militarily was an act of history, but Black Hawk veterans began to dwindle fast after FDR's War on Depression began. The Black Hawk War ended in 1872.

History of Black Hawk's return to Spring Lake for final burial

Black Hawk was born in the early 1830's, and grew up in what became known as Spring Lake Villa at the south end of Utah Valley. He had watched Mormon settlers arrive 20 years earlier, and had spent his youth working in their fields with them. But by the late 1850's he felt crowded out of his home, and left Spring Lake. He was also watching his people become increasingly displaced and hungry.

By 1865 his frustration led him to begin a two-year long series of skirmishes and raids on Mormon settlements in central Utah that became known as the Black Hawk War. However, never did he or his men raid Spring Lake itself, as he honored his associations with the people there.

Ailing and discouraged, Black Hawk returned to Spring Lake in 1870 to spend his last days. The residents there let him come home, as an acknowledgment of his protection of their property during the war.

When he died on September 26, 1870, his wives carried his remains far up the mountain behind the town and buried him in a place they hoped no one would disturb. However, this peace did not last long, because in 1911 local miners dug the famous

man up. They found he had been buried with his most cherished personal items, that included a clay pipe, a spur, sleigh bells, copper bracelets, beaded clothing, an axe, bridle, cup and bucket.

Thereafter, Black Hawk's remains were stored in a nearby town until a local physician persuaded the men who dug him up to donate his remains to the L.D.S. Church Museum at Temple Square, the only museum of note in the state at that time.

Part of the donation process included an effort by both the original discoverers and the museum curator to prove that the body was indeed Black Hawk. They secured statements from various older local people verifying that they remembered Black Hawk owning the items recovered with the remains. Black Hawk was exhibited at the museum for a number of years, which was typical of that period's fascination with the remains of famous people. They were taken off exhibit in the 1960's and stored there until their transfer to the Museum of Peoples and Cultures at BYU, in preparation for reburial.

The return of Black Hawk to his family was prompted by the Native American Graves

Protection and Repatriation Act, signed into law in 1991. This act created a process for returning human remains and associated grave goods from public land or in museums with federal funding to appropriate family members or tribes for reburial.

Since Black Hawk was first buried on land that later became part of the Uinta National Forest, both BYU and the Forest Service took the lead in the process of returning Black Hawk.

The first step in this process was doing a genealogy of Black Hawk

using early Ute reservation records. Although none of Black Hawk's children survived the disease and starvation of that era, his brother Mountain did have a child who survived. So, Black Hawk's family lives on in the form of Richard Mountain and his sisters Arlene M. Appah and Sylvia M. Cornpeach.

Once contacted about the existence and condition of Black Hawk's remains, the family registered an official claim upon Black Hawk in October 1995 that was acknowledged by the Uinta-Ute Tribe, and unchallenged by any other Tribes or individuals. This left the Mountain family free to decide where, when, and how, they would rebury their great-great-uncle.

During this same time, citizens from Spring Lake acted upon a

BLACK HAWK

continued from page 11

life-long fascination they carried for Black Hawk, and had independently proposed that Black Hawk be reburied in their town as a Centennial project. Their timing was exactly right, since the Mountians wanted very much to return Black Hawk to the place he considered home.

Both groups met for the first time in the winter of 1996, and made the plan to both rebury Black Hawk, and to create places for a monument to eventually be placed on his grave at the Spring Lake Park. Now Black Hawk returns to Spring Lake as an acknowledged part of Utah's history, to receive the respect he did not receive when he was originally buried at his home.

UBS May 7, 1996

became so serious that they felt compelled to appeal for aid to Governor Brigham Young and the legislature, which was still in session at Salt Lake City. Captain Peter W. Conover, in charge of military affairs at the fort, and Miles Weaver carried the message of their anxious fellow settlers to headquarters.

Governor Young, upon receiving the message, found himself in a somewhat peculiar position. That the beleaguered settlers must be relieved at once was evident, not only for their own sakes but for that of other settlements already forming or in prospect in the south. But how best to relieve them was the question. The thought of more fighting and bloodshed was most repugnant to him. Not for worlds would the Mormon leader have the sons of Laman think that he and his people came among them for that purpose. "Feed them, not fight them" was his lifelong motto and policy toward the red men. Besides, how would the authorities at Washington, by whom the petition of Deseret for statehood was then being considered, regard the opening of warfare by the Mormons upon these dusky wards of the government?

Fortunately, there was a government officer on the grounds—Captain Howard Stansbury. It was evident that all conciliatory efforts had failed and that force must be employed if they were to put an end to the aggressions of the Indians. When asked by Governor Young his opinion of the matter, Captain Stansbury answered, "In my judgment the contemplated expedition against these marauders is a measure not only of good policy, but one of absolute necessity and self-preservation."

He approved of not only taking action against the aggressive Indians, but at Governor Young's request, permitted Lieutenant Howland to accompany the expedition as its adjutant, and contributed arms, ammunition, tents and camp equipage for the soldiers. Dr. Blake, of the Stansbury party, acted as surgeon for the expedition.

The party set out early in February, 1850. The weather was extremely cold, with frozen and hard-crusted snow over a foot deep in the valleys. Progress was therefore very difficult. Captain Grant's cavalry, after marching all night, arrived at Provo River on the morning of February 8. Such a march was deemed necessary in order to take the Indians unaware and secure an advantageous position. The militia found the settlers in their fort on the south side of the stream with the Indians strongly entrenched in the willows and timber of the river bottom a mile or two above. They were protected not only by the riverbank, but by a breastwork built of cottonwood trees which they had felled. Near their stronghold stood a double log house facing the river.

Located immediately opposite the Indian fortification, it belonged to one of the settlers who had been forced to take refuge with his family at the fort. The house was now held by the Indians who, during the battle, kept up a continuous fire upon the attacking party from its windows and crevices as well as from their stockade.

Captain Conover, commander at the fort, united his men with Captain Grant's, and the main forces then proceeded to occupy a position near a deserted building about a half-mile southwest of the log house used by the Indians. The Indians were led by Chiefs Elk and Ope-Carry. The latter desired peace, and had come out to talk with Dimick B. Huntington when Elk and his warriors opened fire, thus beginning the battle.

The engagement lasted two days, during which time an almost incessant fusillade was kept up between the white assailants and the dusky defenders. Artillery was also employed against the red men, but with little effect. However, a squaw was killed by a chain shot during the progress of the fight. The Indians would make frequent sorties, delivering their fire and then returning to cover. They would thrust their gun barrels through the snow lying deep upon the banks above them, and momentarily raise their heads high enough to take aim, then discharge their broadsides at the besiegers. They fought so stubbornly that all efforts to dislodge them proved futile for a time. They killed Joseph Higbee and wounded several others of the attacking force.

Finally, in the afternoon of the second day, Captain Grant, whose policy had been to expose his men as little as possible, determined to capture the log house at all hazards. He therefore ordered Lieutenant William H. Kimball, with fifteen picked men, to charge the house and take it. Kimball and his men proceeded up the river until they were directly opposite the log house, which now stood between them and the stream. They then turned to the left, facing the rear of the house, and the leader gave the word to charge. Dashing forward through a ravine that for some moments hid them from view, the horsemen emerged upon the flat and were within a few rods of the house, in the act of crossing a small slough, when a roaring volley from the log citadel met them. Isham Flynn was wounded and the charge was momentarily checked. Several swept on, however, and the Indians, hastily vacating the house, fled to their entrenchments.

The first two troopers to gain the house were Lot Smith and Robert R. Burton, who, riding around to the front of the building, entered the passage between the two compartments. Bullets

whizzed past them, splintering the woodwork all around, but both they and their horses were soon under shelter. A moment later, their companions gathered to the rear of the house, and none too soon, for the Indians recovered from their surprise and began pouring their volleys into the ranks of cavalry and upon the captured building. Half the horses were instantly killed but their riders escaped miraculously. Between the volleys, Lieutenant Kimball, Ephraim K. Hanks and others darted around the corner of the house and gained the inside, while others waited until an opening had been made in the rear.

To support the cavalry charge, Captain Grant ordered forward a small detachment of infantry. These men, ten in number, were a portion of Captain Conover's command and were led by Jabez B. Nowlin. On reaching the loghouse, with saw and ax they effected an entrance at the rear. Some who went around the corner into the passage were fired upon by the Indians, Nowlin being wounded in the nose.

The services of a surgeon were now in demand. Seeing that something was wrong, Captain Grant requested Hiram B. Clawson, General Wells's aide, to ride to the house and ascertain what was needed. He did so, performing the hazardous feat successfully, though bullets sung past him as he rode. His friends at the house saw him coming and by redoubling their volleys drew most of the Indians' fire in their direction. Upon returning, Colonel Clawson reported that surgical aid was required for the wounded at once. He and his cousin, Steven Kinsey, a surgeon, then rode back to the building.

Meantime, Lieutenant Howland, with something of the integrity of a Cortez, had conceived the idea of a movable battery to operate against the Indian stockade. His idea was at once acted upon. A barricade of planks, in the shape of a V, was constructed and placed upon runners, blankets being hung loosely on the inside to stop the force of the balls that penetrated the timber. The outside was covered with brush and boughs to conceal the true character of the improvised battery. This pointed barricade, behind which quite a number of men could take shelter and deliver their fire without being much exposed, was pushed towards the Indian stronghold. Like Macbeth, when Birnam Wood, or what he took to be a forest, came toward Dunsinane, the Indians were thoroughly alarmed at the approach of this strange object, and, divining its purpose, made up their minds to retreat.

Accordingly, that evening they opened a furious fire upon the position held by the troops, and withdrew under cover of the darkness. The log house had previously been vacated by Kim-

ball's men, a circumstance which enabled the Indians to depart unobserved, after helping themselves to a supply of horsemeat from the dead cavalry animals lying nearby.

General Wells, who had been sent for to take charge of further operations, arrived next morning, but while preparing to attack the Indians it was discovered that they had gone. One party, the smaller band, had retreated in the direction of Rock Canyon, a rough and difficult gorge a little northeast of Provo, while the main party had fled southward in the direction of Spanish Fork. A dead squaw—the one killed by a cannon shot—was found in the Indian encampment along with two or three warriors who were dead or dying. Elk, the chief, subsequently died of wounds received during the battle. His being wounded had probably disheartened the Indians and caused the retreat quite as much as Lieutenant Howland's battery. The lieutenant had returned to Salt Lake City after the second day's skirmish. Some of the more friendly Indians had deserted their group before the fighting began, taking refuge with the white families in the fort.

Detailing certain men to garrison the stockade and others to pursue the Rock Canyon refugees, General Wells, with the main body of the cavalry, set out to follow the trail of the Indians who had gone southward. Short skirmishes occurred at Spanish Fork and Pe-teet-neet (Payson), and eventually, on February 11, the Indians were overtaken near Table Mountain, at the south end of Utah Lake, where another battle ensued. Most of the fighting took place on the ice, which was very slippery, making it extremely difficult for the horses to keep their feet. The Indians, after being shot at, would fall as if dead, and then, as their pursuers drew near, rise up and fire. They killed several horses in this manner, but none of the cavalrymen were hurt.

When night came on, the soldiers were forced to take refuge on the bleak mountainside in wickiups vacated by the Indians, and a bitter night it was. As these primitive shelters swarmed with vermin, the result may readily be imagined.

On returning to Fort Utah, General Wells found that Major Lytle and Captain Lamereux had joined forces and had pursued the other band of Indians up Rock Canyon. The fate of these red men was similar to that of their fellows at Table Mountain. The total Indian loss was about forty, more than half the number of warriors engaged. Efforts were made to civilize the squaws and paposes who were captured, but as a rule without avail. They lived in the white settlements during the winter, but in the spring again sought their native mountains.

A treaty of peace was entered into between the settlers and the Indians, and the latter now agreed to be friendly and molest their white neighbors no longer. The lawless red men were now aware that the newcomers to their valleys would not tolerate insubordination and unruliness.⁴

THE SHOSHONE—CHEYENNE BATTLE

Two white children witnessed an instance of savage warfare between a village of Shoshones and a war party of Cheyennes in the summer of 1863. Mary R. Jessop related the following: "I was about nine years old in the summer of 1863 and was the constant companion of my older brother, Stephen, in herding the cows and sheep, and in fishing and trapping for rabbits and birds. We did not worry much about Indians, but one day a band of Shoshones came from the south and camped on the south side of the river on a meadow that belonged to my father. My brother and I climbed a high cottonwood tree so we could look across the river into the Indian camp where there seemed to be great excitement. Tepees were put up, and the men and boys prepared their spears, bows, and arrows and a few guns as if for a fight. There was a great deal of shouting and giving of orders. Soon we saw another band of Indians riding down the hillside. These were Cheyennes, all painted for war and wearing war bonnets.

"They spread out in a line and came dashing up to attack the Shoshones. Some of the latter mounted horses, but others fought on foot. Some of the women fought, too, but most of the women and children ran screaming into the bushes and a few waded to our side of the river and hid near our tree. The battle was decided when the Cheyenne chief was shot and fell from his horse, his war bonnet trailing in the dust.

"The Shoshones first took his body, but it was taken from them by his tribesmen, though not before his scalp had been taken. The Cheyennes then retreated and carried their dead and wounded along the trail to the south.

"My brother and I then slipped down from the tree and ran home. Our parents scolded us for leaving home and forbade us leaving to go near the Indian camp. However, that night we could hear the Indian women crying and mourning for their dead and wounded and could hear the warriors give their victory songs, so we stealthily left the house and crept again to the river. We crossed it and walked among the tepees. Against one of the lodges we saw a willow pole ten feet long. On its top was a string of scalps, still bloody. While we stood looking at them, we heard a noise behind us and saw a big Indian was near. He pointed toward Huntville and said 'Pike-away' which means 'get out.'

We got out in a hurry and remained at home in safety. We believed that this band had recently attacked an emigrant train, as they had with them two white children, one about five years old and the other a babe in arms. My mother tried to buy them from the Indian squaws, but they refused her offer. After several weeks the Shoshones moved camp and left our settlement."

OTHER INDIAN WARS IN UTAH

THE TOOEELE WAR

The pioneers of Tooele County had their share of trouble with the Indians, in common with other settlers of Utah. In the spring of 1851, a party of emigrants on their way to California were robbed of their horses. While trying to recover the animals, one of their number was shot and killed by the Indians. Porter Rockwell was sent from military headquarters in Salt Lake City to take direction of affairs. He considered it wise to make another effort to obtain the animals, but they were not recovered, and five Indian prisoners were killed by the militiamen in self-defense.

Soon after these events, about one hundred head of cattle were stolen from a herd kept by Charles White near Black Rock. The Indians drove them past the present site of Grantsville, through Skull Valley, and into the mountains to the west. They were pursued by fourteen men under Captain William McBride. However, since the Indians were too numerous for the white men, an express was sent to Salt Lake City for assistance.

General James Ferguson and Colonels George D. Grant and William H. Kimball went out from the city with forty men, then were joined by ten more from Tooele, and the entire group went after the marauders. After considerable scouting and several attempts to surprise bands of Indians, a camp was discovered in a canyon up the side of a mountain. The camp was approached as near as possible without their presence being discovered, then the command was given to make a rush upon it, every man to do the best he could. The best mounted were upon the Indians before they could get away, and nine of the warriors were killed. Several expeditions from Salt Lake City afterwards assisted in the defense of the settlements in Tooele County.

In 1865, General Connor's command was used to protect the Overland mail coach on the road from Stockton west, where Indians had committed some depredations, and detachments guarded all stations. On one occasion, a guard of two or three men was killed at what was then known as Bunt Station, near the town of Clifton. At one time, thirty men were stationed at

Government Creek for sixty days. A little west of the creek, Captain A. Smith attacked a band of Indians and killed nine of them. The outbreak ended as usual; the Indians wasted away, and a miserable remnant was glad to make peace on any terms.

THE WALKER WAR

Chief Walker, the acknowledged chief of the Utes, was feared among the different tribes of Indians as well as among the white settlers. History records his birth about the year 1815, and his birthplace was on the banks of Spanish Fork River in Utah County where his tribe was camped. The Indian name given him had the meaning of "Brass."

Walker went to California in about 1847, taking with him a group of Piede prisoners. He had frightened the Piedades into giving him their children. These he took to California to trade for horses. He made the trade, started for home, and then called a council. The braves then returned and stole many animals. The Spaniards pursued Walker's band and recovered some of the stock, offering a large reward for those that Walker had managed to get away with.

Early in the history of Salt Lake City, Chief Walker invited the pioneers to settle in Sanpete County to build permanent white settlements, and for the first few years he seemed to be their friend. The following incident, however, shows how easily his anger was aroused.

The Incident That Fired the War

"Having been requested to relate the cause of the Walker War, and being well acquainted with James Ivie, who was the principal actor in the drama that caused the war, I, George McKenzie, submit the following, as told to me by Ivie at the time.

"Walker, the war chief of the Ute nation, with his braves and their families, were camped on Spring Creek about one mile north of the present town of Springville. At peace with the white settlers, they were spending their time fishing and hunting, trading and begging from the people. James Ivie at that time had built a cabin and was living in it with his wife and one child about a half-mile north and west of where the Indians were camped.

"In the forenoon of July 17, 1853, an Indian and squaw came into Ivie's cabin. The squaw had three large trout which she wanted to trade to Mrs. Ivie for some flour. Flour being very scarce at that time, Mrs. Ivie called her husband in to get his view on a trade of that kind. When he saw the trout, James said, 'They look mighty good to me,' and suggested that Mrs. Ivie give

three pints of flour for the three fish, if the squaw would trade that way. He then went on with his work.

"Soon, two more Indians came into the cabin, one of whom seemed to be the husband, or had some kind of claim on the squaw who had closed the trade with Mrs. Ivie. When this Indian saw the three trout, and the small amount of flour received in exchange, he became enraged and began beating the squaw, knocking her down, kicking and stomping on her in a brutal manner.

"While this assault was being committed, Mrs. Ivie called her husband, who came and tried to push the native out of the cabin, whereupon the Indian grabbed his own gun and attempted to get in a position to shoot Ivie. But Ivie got hold of the muzzle and, in the struggle, the gun was broken. Ivie then dealt a hard blow to the Indian's head with the barrel of the gun. The Indian fell to the ground. He died some hours later.

"The other Indian, who had accompanied the first one, now drew his bow and arrow and shot Ivie, the arrow passing through the shoulder of Ivie's buckskin shirt. At this, Ivie struck the second Indian a violent blow and he fell unconscious by the side of the first Indian. Just as Ivie got through with the second Indian, the squaw that he had been trying to protect came out of the cabin with a stick of wood in her hand and struck Ivie a blow in the face, cutting a deep gash in his upper lip. Ivie again used the gun barrel to defend himself, and struck the squaw. She fell unconscious beside the prostrate bodies of the two Indians.

"At this stage in the drama, Joseph Kelly of Springville came upon the scene and, while looking at the three Indians lying apparently dead, he was told what had taken place. Kelly took a bucket of water and poured it on the Indians, trying to restore them.

"Kelly then told Ivie to take his wife and child into town before the Indian camp was notified of the trouble, which he did. This was fortunate, for the news soon spread, and excitement reigned, both in the Indian camp and the settlement. Bishop Aaron Johnson, who was chief magistrate in all civil and military affairs in Springville, took immediate steps to protect the town. He ordered Caldwell's cavalry and Parry's infantry to be ready for action at call. All the other male citizens over sixteen years of age were enrolled as a home guard. Johnson, with his interpreter, William Smith, tried everything in their power to settle the trouble with Chief Walker by offering ponies, beef, flour and blankets, but Walker refused to settle unless Ivie was given up to be tried by the Indians, which Johnson refused.

"The next day, Walker broke camp and went to Payson, joined his brother, Arrapeen, another Indian chief, and together they went into Payson Canyon, where they killed Alexander Keele, saying that the war would last until all the white people were exterminated. The Indians then went into the mountains east of Sanpete Valley, leaving their families in a place of safety."⁵

The warriors soon returned in war paint, and raided the settlements of Utah, Juab, Sanpete, Millard and Iron counties.

CONDITIONS IN SANPETE COUNTY

At Manti in the early summer of 1853, while most of the able-bodied men were away (some working at Hambleton), Chief Walker and a band of painted warriors demanded that Charles Shumway and others, against whom Walker had grievances, be delivered to them that they might be tortured and put to death. When this demand was refused, Walker threatened to massacre all the people then in camp, mostly women, children and elderly men.

Preparations were made to resist the attack, however, and the aged Chief Sowiette pleaded with his people to let the white men alone. His policy of peace prevailed temporarily, but Chief Walker, humiliated at what he termed cowardice, mounted his pony and rode off to the mountains to hide, no doubt thinking that Sowiette's followers would come to him.

He and his followers remained surly, holding frequent powwows in the mountains. On the 18th day of June, Arrapeen, a brother of Chief Walker, who was enraged at being caught stealing cattle, killed Alexander Keele, a guard at Payson. This act, it is said, further kindled the flames of the noted Walker War which lasted for three years.

On July 9, a band of bloodthirsty Indians fired upon guards at the Hambleton and Potter sawmill, but were forced back. Before this they had made many attempts to take the stock belonging to the Hambleton settlement. At one time they tried to take stock out of the corral, but it was well guarded. The Indians had crawled in the bed of the creek until they were opposite the corral, which stood on a bend of the stream. They then jumped out and attempted to stampede the cattle, but the guards discovered the raiders in time and forced the Indians to flee.

During the night of July 19, the Indians again attempted to raid the corralled cattle, but were fired upon by guards. When two of the Indians were killed, the others retreated, carrying their dead comrades, but leaving behind them a gun and a blood-

covered blanket. The next day, in a raid upon the cattle at Manti, several head were stolen.

At Springville, after the Indians had wounded William Jolly, the people became alarmed, and organized at once in order to protect their homes and families. Captain P. W. Conover, with a company of fifty men, was sent from Provo to assist the settlers at Hambleton, and on July 23 the troops met the Indians at the Hambleton and Potter mill, where a fierce and bloody battle followed, resulting in the death of six warriors. The others fled to the mountains. The few settlers at Hambleton were not considered strong enough to protect themselves, so the following morning, with their families, cattle, and provisions, they were moved to Allred's Settlement about six miles to the south, where fifteen families resided in a fort that had been built in 1852. Behind them, their weapons, homes, the sawmill and lumber at the mouth of the canyon were burned and destroyed by the raging Indians.

But the red men were not finished. (On Sunday, August 2, they attacked Allred's Settlement; they rounded up all the cattle, leaving only a few calves that had been corralled, and drove them towards the mountains. The herders were fired upon and forced to flee to the fort for protection, while the Indians, with loud shrieks and yells and waving their arms and red blankets, rode away.

A posse, at once organized for the purpose of recovering their cattle and horses, was soon on the trail of the Indians. When the posse neared the herd, a number of the Indians turned and rushed back toward the fort as if to attack the wives and children left there, and the posse was compelled to protect them. When they neared the fort, the Indians fled towards the mountains, joining those of their tribe who were pushing on with the stolen cattle. Two of the herding ponies escaped from the band and returned to the fort. This gave the settlers a means of communication with Manti, the only place from which they could hope to obtain help.

When news of the fight reached Manti, drums were beat and the cattle were rounded up at once. Sentries were posted at all important points, while hasty preparations were made to send relief to Allred's Settlement. A number of good wagons drawn by oxen, accompanied by teamsters and twelve mounted guards, left as soon as possible, arriving at the little settlement at daylight. The settlers were then taken to Manti and given quarters in the fort. From there, with the aid of the militia, some of them returned to their farms at Hambleton. On January 6, 1854, Allred's Settlement was burned by the Indians. The entire

population of Sanpete County at that time was 765 men, women and children, all of whom remained fortified at Manti until the spring of 1854.

—Hilda Longdorf

In the meantime, after hastily gathering about 150 men, Colonel Peter W. Conover arrived in Payson. Troops proceeded to Sanpete County, where some of the men were left at each settlement to protect it. On July 25, 1854, Colonel George A. Smith was given command of all the militia in the territory south of Salt Lake, with instructions to take prompt and thorough action for the defense and safety of the various settlements. The policy Governor Young advised was to gather all the inhabitants into forts, corral their stock, and surround the fortification with armed guards. No acts of retaliation or offensive warfare upon the Indians was to be permitted; on the contrary, a conciliatory course towards them was to be maintained.

At the same time, vigilant watch was to be kept, and such Indians as were caught attempting to steal or kill were to be punished. These instructions Colonel Smith executed with his usual fidelity, and though it entailed much labor upon the settlers to put themselves in a proper state of defense, the wisdom of the policy, evident at the outset, was speedily confirmed. Those who failed to follow the instruction suffered heavily from the raids of the Indians.

On August 10, Lieutenant R. Burns and a company of ten men were attacked by Indians at Mona, Juab County. Isaac Duffin was wounded and one Indian was killed. On August 22, Colonel George A. Smith arrived in Salt Lake City from Iron County. He reported that the southern settlements were in an excellent state. As a means of defense, and as an example to other settlements during this period, the authorities at Salt Lake City decided to build a Spanish wall around the town. Although it was never completed, many outlying communities built similar walls for protection.

Skirmishes continued to take place throughout the state, but the most serious one occurred north of Fillmore, where Captain Gunnison and his party were killed. These events led to the calling of the militia into companies, for the purpose of defending the lives and property of the pioneers, who, through their plan of colonization, were forced to build their settlements on Indian grounds. The Indians claimed the territory due to right of possession through many centuries. Although unlettered in the ways of modern civilization, they were, in a way, a powerful people.

In 1854, President Young spent some time with Chief Walker, at which time they entered into a treaty of peace at

Chicken Creek, Juab County, ending the Walker War. Nineteen white persons and many Indians had been killed, a number of small settlements had been broken up, and the settlers had been forced to move into larger towns. Chief Walker, who died January 29, 1855, was succeeded by his brother Arrapeen.

THE TINTIC WAR

In the year 1856 part of the Ute Indians became hostile, and a sufficient number of them went on the warpath to make it expensive and annoying to the settlers. The Indians were stealing cattle and horses in Utah and Cedar valleys. A sub-chief of the Utes named Tintic was the ringleader of the hostile Indians, some of whom dwell in a valley subsequently called Tintic, and others in Cedar Valley. Both of these valleys lie west of Utah Lake. In February 1856, when two herdsmen, Henry Moran and Washington (or William) Carson did not return when expected, the citizens feared for their safety and the men were thought to have been slain by the Indians.

Deputy Marshal Thomas S. Johnson went to Provo and enlisted a posse of about ten men. Armed with writs of arrest issued by Judge Drummond in Utah County, the group set out for Cedar Valley to apprehend the murderers. The posse started from Provo and went by way of Lehi, where they camped the first night. Colonel Conover accompanied the posse as far as Lehi, at which point he left for Salt Lake City to seek advice from Governor Brigham Young.

The posse proceeded into Cedar Valley. While Johnson, with part of the men, went to the north settlement, ten men were detached to go to the south fort, afterwards known as Camp Floyd. One division of the posse was under command of Deputy Marshall George Parish. The posse stayed at Cedar Fort during the night, and on the following morning sent interpreter John Clark to the Indian camp, about a mile southwest of the fort, to talk to Chief Tintic and his followers. He went to the Chiefs tent where several Indians were present.

Tintic treated the matter with contempt and spoke vile things of President Young. The Indians were talking of keeping Clark there until dark, planning that when he started away, they would kill him. Clark, of course, understood them. He had on an overcoat and carried two revolvers under it on his belt. He had walked to the camp and as he was fast on foot, he intended to dodge around as he ran. Thus, if they fired at him, they would not be likely to hit him; so he said afterward. While they were talking, a squaw on the outside called out, "Mommoms coming!"

The Indians, while in conversation, had stripped, put on their war paints and prepared for a fight; they had their spears set up against the tent, handy to get at. When the company arrived, Deputy Sheriff Parish got off his horse and came into the tent, walked up to Tintic, caught him by the hair with one hand, and with a revolver in the other, said, "Tintic, you are my prisoner." When Tintic grabbed the pistol with one hand and jumped, the pistol went off and shot him through the hand. He broke loose and went through the back of the tent, then firing commenced. Tintic's brother, Battest, aimed his rifle at George Parish and fired, but the gun barrel was knocked aside and the bullet missed its mark. One of Parish's friends then drew his revolver and shot Battest through the head, killing him instantly.

A general fight followed, in which one member of the posse, George Carson, was mortally wounded; one squaw and three or four Indians were killed, and several more wounded. At this juncture, John Clark, the interpreter, ran back into the tent and got two guns and four or five bows and quivers of arrows, ran out, untied Tintic's and his brother's horses, jumped onto Tintic's horse and led the other. He laid down on the horse as he rode away, with bullets whistling by him, and thus he escaped without injury.

All of them went back to the fort. A messenger was sent to notify Deputy Marshal Tom Johnson, who came immediately with the remainder of the posse. That night, the Indians killed two boys by the name of Henry Moran and Washington (or William) Carson, who were herding sheep on the west side of Utah Lake.

The next morning, the posse followed the trail of the Indians, who had left during the night, and found them camped in the cedars on the side of a mountain on the east side of Rush Valley. A parley was held, but the Indians refused to surrender, and fired upon the posse. It being late in the evening, the deputy marshal deemed it wise to return to the fort with the intention to pursue the next day; but in the morning they found the Indian camp broken up and the Indians going in a direction where they would be overtaken by Colonel Conover's company. The posse gave up the pursuit, turned attention to the security of the settlements, and in searching for the other two men, Moran and Carson, young Hunsaker, a thirteen-year-old boy, found them where the Indians had killed them.

In the meantime, Governor Young had given orders to Colonel Peter W. Conover to raise a company of the Utah County Militia, pursue the Indians and recover the Hunsaker herd of stock, which had been driven off after the Indians killed the

herdsmen. Accordingly, Colonel Conover, with eighty men, crossed Utah Lake on ice and took the trail of the Indians where they crossed the mountains.

The company pursued all day, camping that night in Tintic Valley just out of the mouth of the canyon. On the second day the pursuing party came so close to the Indians in the lower end of Tintic Valley that the red men took fright and left the stock behind, except for a few saddle horses. The expedition returned with the stock.

Bishop Nephi Packard noted: "While at the fort, the citizens brought in the bodies of Moran and Carson, frozen stiff. Their bodies had been mutilated, and when they were thawed out with warm water for the purpose of dressing them, it created a stench which together with the sight of their mutilated bodies, made him sick. They were buried there."⁶

THE BLACK HAWK WAR

It is said that Black Hawk was tall and stately and had a power over his men that few trained generals have shown. In cases where decisions had to be made, his were made quickly, and while the pioneers were planning ways and means to prevent a war, Black Hawk was attending their meetings and learning of cattle round-ups that he might imitate in his raids. All the time he maintained that the Indians were justified in stealing, for it was a case of steal or starve.

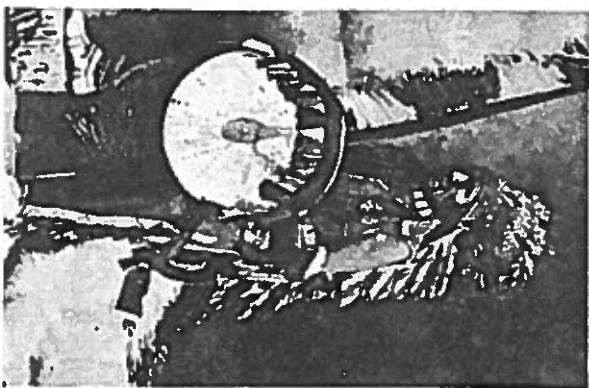
Stories have been told of Black Hawk visiting in the homes of the pioneers. He would play ball and other games with the young boys. Many of the early settlers considered him a "good Indian." He and his families enjoyed the hospitality of the pioneers of Sanpete and Sevier and other counties many times. But he was a born fighter, with an impulsive and unforgiving spirit that led him on his depredations in Utah. While he did not forget a personal kindness, neither did he forget or forgive a personal injury.

The fundamental cause of the war was the constant usurping of the red men's hunting grounds by the settlers. Sanpete and Sevier counties were fast becoming a granary, and the Indians saw their hunting grounds going into the hands of white men. Under the best conditions, the problem of supplying food for themselves was difficult for the natives. This problem was greatly increased when the settlers took the land. The main Indian leader, of course, was Black Hawk, but Sarpitch, Yene-wood and other chiefs cooperated with him in his depredations.

The war had its beginning in Sanpete County. Hungry Indians in that area occasionally killed straying cattle. They

felt that they had a right to them to sustain their lives. But the white men looked upon these acts as thievery of their private property. During the winter of 1864-65, a small band of Ute Indians was camped near Gunnison. They had contracted smallpox which resulted in a number of deaths, and since they believed the whites to be responsible for these misfortunes, they threatened to burn the settlers' homes and steal their livestock.

The settlers of Sanpete County invited the chiefs of the band to meet with them in Manti on April 9, 1865, for the purpose of talking over their differences. It was hoped that the result of such a conference would bring peace between the two races. Many of the Utes were in favor of the pipe of peace, but young Chief Yene-wood wanted war. He went about in the meeting mumbling and making demonstrations, and trying to persuade the other Indians against peace.



Indian Brave

quickly jumped on a horse and rode to the Indians' camp to notify his people of what had taken place. The Indians now felt that they had sufficient cause to declare open war upon the whites.

THE HOSTILITIES BEGIN

At the outbreak of the Black Hawk War, before any warning could be given, the Indians hastily retreated from the vicinity of Manti and headed for Salina Canyon. There they came upon Barney Ward and James Anderson, who had been sent into the mountains to bring in the stock. The Indians killed them and drove the stock to their mountain strongholds. A young man named Ludvigsen was also killed by the raiders near Twelve-Mile Creek.

Alarmed by these bloody tragedies, a militia under Colonel R. N. Allred started in pursuit of the Indians, but found that they had taken refuge in the mountains. The Colonel hesitated

in following them, but he had about eighty men with him, most of whom were so anxious to fight they could not be restrained. The Colonel did what he could to control them, but they broke away and started into the canyon.

The Colonel decided to follow and again try to check his troops, but at a point near the alum beds, about twelve miles up the canyon, the Indians had prepared an ambush behind cedars, rocks and steep banks.

Suddenly they fired at the straggling column of men, killing William Kearns instantly. Another young man was shot from his horse and had to be left to the scalping knives of the red men. The result of this was an immediate retreat. The white men were at a great disadvantage; they did not understand the type of warfare used by the redskins. Had the troops awaited instructions from President Young, the lives of these two victims could have been saved, for the president strongly advised the settlers not to follow the Indians into the mountains, but to keep a good and proper guard in the settlements and prevent raids, if possible, by closely guarding the homes.

The year 1866 opened peacefully for the inhabitants. For two or three months the people diligently pursued their labors of building or planting and cultivating their farms. Then, on April 13, 1866, the hostile Indians made a raid on Salina. They swept the range of all cattle and horses, and also took two horse teams belonging to Glenwood. Two boys herding sheep nearby were attacked; one was severely wounded, the other lad was never found, dead or alive.

The prospects of a continuing Indian war began to crop out on all sides. General Pace began to plan for a serious campaign, but as the citizens of Sevier could not raise crops and fight Indians at the same time, they were seriously handicapped. The people in general were allowed to follow their daily routines, except those who were assigned duties as home guards. Troops were ordered from Utah district on ninety days' service, and the Church furnished forage and food supplies as far as possible.

About this time, the people of Glenwood, living so near the rough hills on the east, were considered to be too much exposed for proper security, and on April 20 they moved the women and children to Richfield for greater safety. The next day, Captain Elias Pearson, with sixteen men, was sent to protect the people at Marysvale, but they were ambushed, with terrible results. Albert Lewis, a most able Richfield executive, was killed instantly. Christian Christensen was mortally wounded, but lived for twenty-one days. Nicolene Bertelsen, who was engaged

to him, insisted on a wedding despite the fact that she knew her sweetheart would succumb.

The people of Richfield, aware of their lack of arms and ammunition, sent Sheriff Nathaniel Hanchet north with about sixty head of their surplus cattle to sell for the required articles. The party went by way of Scipio in Round Valley for greater security from the Indians. The journey was made without incident and the party returned with eighteen rifles, eleven revolvers and 140 pounds of ammunition.

For several months the Indians were very active, committing depredations in Sanpete and Utah counties as well as keeping Sevier County in constant agitation. Reinforcements were to be sent to General Pace from Salt Lake City with 100 men.

In the meantime, Chief Black Hawk and the White Horse Chief named Tanaritz, led one hundred Indians in a raid on Round Valley in Millard County. As the Indians made their way back into the Sevier district, General Pace attempted to head them off at Gravelly Ford. He had only twenty-seven cavalry men with him at the time, but sent to Sanpete for more. The general managed to hold the hostiles for four or five hours, but his reinforcements were so long in coming that the Indians were able to take to the hills on each side of the company and compel them to fall back quite a distance. The chiefs themselves took possession of the isolated ridge just northwest of the ford. With a few of their warriors, they were able to drive the general's party back so far that the main body of Indians could escape into the east mountains with all their bounty. During this skirmish, both chiefs were wounded by some of the long-range guns carried by the general's party. After exchanging shots for several hours, and seeing no reinforcements in sight, the general reluctantly withdrew and fell back to Gunnison. They waited there for thirty hours before Colonel Kimball and a party of select troops arrived.

On June 23, 1866, General D. H. Wells met with the people of Richfield. Having been to Circleville, where he advised the settlers to abandon that outpost, he now advised the people of Sevier and Monroe to move their women and children to Richfield. The move was made amid much dissatisfaction, and many remained but a few weeks. As winter approached, the Indians retired to distant regions and the settlers once again enjoyed a respite from the conflict.

The reopening of hostilities in the spring of 1867 is one of the most dramatic stories of these times. Quiet had prevailed for several months, though it was known that the Indians would soon make their way northward, and that trouble could be ex-

pected at any time. However, since no Indians had as yet been encountered, the people had somewhat relaxed their restrictions on travel between settlements. Stores were very few and stocks scanty, and Warren S. Snow had brought a load of merchandise to Glenwood to trade for stock and produce. Jens Peter Peterson and his wife were badly in need of some articles which they knew could be obtained from Mr. Snow, so they decided to venture the five-mile trip.

Early in the morning of March 21, 1867, they and their daughter Mary set out in a buggy. They thought by starting so early in the morning there would be no danger, but at this time in the spring the roads were bad and they were unable to travel as fast as they expected. When they reached the Black Ridge east of Sevier River, they suddenly came upon a party of Indians gathering stock along the river bottoms. Before the Petersons could flee or defend themselves, they were attacked. All the travelers were killed and their bodies treated in a most cruel and horrible way. Both women had been stripped and horribly mutilated. Mr. Peterson had been shot and beaten about the head and face, besides being scalped.

At the time of the attack, Ole P. Borg, a Richfield boy, was on his way to the meadows to look for cattle. At sunrise he heard shooting. He knew the Petersons had set out for Glenwood, so he immediately ran for town to give the alarm. About halfway to the settlement he was overtaken by a man on horseback who had been at the river. He gave the first alarm and Major Higgins beat the drum. When Borg arrived at the fort, a company of men had already started for the scene, but of course they arrived too late to render any assistance.

This tragedy seemed to convince the people that residence in the settlement was impossible as long as the Indian war continued. A decision to leave was made in April 1867, when President Young sent word to vacate all towns. Homes, crops and physical improvements, as well as large machinery, had to be left standing.

About two hundred teams arrived from Sanpete County to assist the people in their move. Cattle were branded and sheep were marked in haste. The little procession presented a real pungent as they slowly moved along the rough roads leading north.

The Black Hawk War cost the territory of Utah \$121,037 in cash, besides a great loss of property suffered by the settlers. At least seventy white people lost their lives and equally as many, if not more, natives died. More than three thousand Utah men were called into military service during the course of the con-

flict. The brunt of this struggle was borne by the settlers of Sanpete, Sevier, Kane, Piute, Iron and Washington counties, and some effect was felt in Millard and other counties. In 1909, the Utah State legislature appropriated \$50,000 for the Black Hawk War veterans.⁷

INDIAN ATROCITIES IN SOUTHERN UTAH

All the sparsely populated settlements in southern Utah and northern Arizona were sorely menaced by the Indians in the 1860s and '70s. At every provocation, the red men raided the settlement of the whites and drove off many horses and cattle. One of several such incidents recorded by Dr. Angus M. Woodbury states that in February 1866, Peter Shurtz, who had built a station at Paria and had kept about twenty Indians around him all winter, reported that he had lost his cattle and wished to move into the settlements. He said that Navajos were camped on the Paria River about eight miles below his ranch and that they were concentrating east of the Colorado River, intending to raid Kane County in force. Woodbury also reported that at Kanab in March of that year, three Indians had attempted to kill Oren Clark in the river bottoms near the fort, and had started to drive off livestock, but that four men from the fort had gone in pursuit and recovered about thirty head of the cattle.

President Young, realizing the danger to the people in this section of the country, ordered the pioneers in the new settlements to leave their homes and move to the larger settlements. Those who had settled in Upper Kanab were advised to go to Kanab and help strengthen the defenses there. The families of Lorenzo, Jared, and Myron Roundy, Walter and William Smith, Charles Partridge and William Ford obeyed this order. Malinda Roundy gives an account of a tragedy which occurred about this time.

"Some of the Roundy brothers and John D. Parker had gone north for possessions they had left behind. Parker arrived in Kanab on January 3, 1866. He had nooned that day at Pipe Spring with Dr. James Whitmore, and his herder named McIntyre. Five days later, these two men were killed by Navajo Indians. The news of this murder was written by a boy herder who had escaped and was taken to Kanab by a trusted Piute Indian. Lorenzo Roundy asked for volunteers to carry a report of the tragedy to President Erastus Snow in St. George. Byron Roundy and Oren Clark volunteered.

"The two men left Kanab on horseback and rode all night, reaching St. George safely. A posse of the local militia, commanded by Colonel Daniel McArthur, set out to recover the

bodies. A heavy snow had fallen and it was extremely cold when the company arrived at Pipe Spring. Neither ranchers nor Indians were in sight, and the recent snow had obliterated all tracks.

"After searching for several days, James Andrus found two Indians, an elderly man and a boy, engaged in dressing a beef they had recently killed. They said that the white men had been shot by Navajos and consented to guide the posse to the bodies, as well as to the camp of the Navajos.

"The men divided into two companies—one commanded by McArthur, the other by Andrus. The older Indian led McArthur out on the desert east of Pipe Springs, and the boy led Andrus south to Kanab Gulch. The murderers were found in the gulch, camped about twelve miles from Pipe Springs. They resisted the whites and in the conflict that followed, nine Indians were killed.

"The posse continued their search for the bodies of the murdered men. A horse's hoof of one of the searchers brushed snow from a man's hand. A little digging uncovered the body of Whitmore. McIntyre's body was found a short distance away. They had been shot with both bullets and arrows. McIntyre's body had many wounds. The Indian boy told the men that this was because he had fought desperately for his life. The remains of the two men were packed in snow and taken to St. George for burial.

"The [Indian] leader Patnish was greatly feared by the people of Kanab, and he remained a menace for several years. The people were constantly prepared for his unwelcome visits, as he and his several stalwart sons, who usually accompanied him, were reputed to be highly dangerous. Fortunately, guardsmen from the Dixie settlements were stationed at Kanab. They guarded the fort night and day, but the Indians continued to steal cattle, horses and sheep.

"On the first day of March, word was received from President Young asking the settlers to leave Kanab and go to Winsor where they would be safer. There the people planted crops, which were growing nicely when the call came from President Young in June, 1866, for them to return to their homes in Dixie. But prior to this call, another tragedy occurred. In April, two Berry brothers, Joseph and Robert, who had settled in Long Valley but had returned to their former homes in Kanarra, were coming back to their new home when they were attacked by Indians at Cedar Knoll near Short Creek and were killed, as was Isabella, the wife of Robert. The three, who were in a wagon, had tried to escape by running their horses across the country, but the

Indians cut them off. An arrow hit one of the horses under the collar and caused the animal so much pain that it reared and bucked, giving the Indians an opportunity to surround the wagon. The victims fought bravely, but were overpowered."

According to the article on this period of southern Utah history, a half-breed Indian boy carried the news of the death scene. He had found Joseph leaning between the back wheel and the wagon bed, and Robert and his wife lying on the ground. The bodies were taken to Grafton for burial.

It was news of this incident that caused President Young to order the people of Long Valley to leave. He sent word to Cedar to have a militia formed to escort the people to Dixie. And when the tragedy was reported in St. George, orders were issued forbidding the people to travel unless they went in large companies able to safeguard themselves from attacks by the Indians. They were told to concentrate in fortified places where there were at least 150 men. Patrols were ordered out in various directions, especially across the trails used by the Navajos.

During the winter of 1866, Jacob Hamblin, who had done so much to safeguard the settlers from the depredations of the red men, was ill, and it was feared by his friends that he was going to die. He worried about the serious situation of his people and the determination of the Indians to expel them from the land. He prayed earnestly that he might recover and be able to carry on this work as peacemaker so that the purposes of his Church leaders could be carried out. But at that time, all the communities in Kane County, as well as the ranches, had to be deserted.⁸

INDIANS OF BEAVER COUNTY

The Indian Raid on Lee's Ranch

On October 27, 1866, a majority of the men of Beaver assembled to construct a roof on the stake meetinghouse. The first rafter had just been hoisted when James Anderson came galloping madly toward the building. A small boy was behind him on the horse. He shouted the news that the Indians had raided Lee's Ranch and had set the house on fire.

It was learned that after much coaxing by the two children of the family, Charles, eight, and an older sister, Jane, were put through a rear window to take the news to town. Crawling a few feet, they were soon concealed by a willow growth on the bank of the creek and then made their way for half a mile down the stream. Coming to a fork in the trail, Charles decided to take the trail over the hill and Jane was to continue down the creek.

In this way it was hoped that one of them would get safely through. Charley arrived first and gave the news to James Anderson. The girl came in a short time later.

The captain of our cavalry being absent, I, as lieutenant, gave orders for the cavalry boys to get horses and necessary outfits and assemble on the square as soon as possible. Mounted on a mule, I reached the place of meeting first, and after waiting awhile, John R. Murdock, who was a lieutenant colonel in the northern section of the Iron County Military District, gave consent for me to start. I was to meet James Anderson at his home two miles south. When I arrived there he was not yet ready, so I proceeded on alone, knowing that he would soon overtake me.

The first man to catch up with me was George Tracy, an old soldier of the southern army of the rebellion. Next came William Allred, a noted Indian fighter. We were by now about two hundred yards from the house. Tracy rode to the back door and called to the folks inside. As Mrs. Lee opened the door she said, "When we heard horses coming we thought the Indians were attacking again, but when Mr. Tracy spoke we knew they were white men."

The night passed peacefully until nearly daylight, when the dogs began barking and making a fuss. Joseph Lillywhite, with gun in hand, stepped out of the back door. He at once saw an Indian's head above a rock about a hundred yards away. As he raised his gun, the Indian fired and shot him through the shoulder. He dropped his gun and fell to the ground. I pulled him into the house but had no time to recover the gun.

As we barred the door, the Indians placed guns against it and fired. Failing to open it this way, they tried all windows and doors without success. They then began to beg us to let them in and promised not to hurt us. Still meeting with no success, they tried to pry the front door open with a pitchfork. It opened enough for Mr. Lee to fire his revolver. The Indian dropped the fork and ran. During this time, another Indian was working on a window with a spade. Mr. Lee let go a charge of buckshot. There was quiet for a short time, but they were soon back with sagebrush and set the house afire, then threw fire onto the roof, but it only rolled off because of the steep pitch. The Indians then tied bundles, set them afire and tried to hold them on the roof with forks. This time they succeeded in igniting the roof. All this time, others were shooting through doors and windows.

Smoke became so thick in the house that Mr. Lee tried to make an opening in the roof with a crowbar, a difficult task, as the roof was of heavy lumber battened with heavy slabs pinned to strong stringers with oak pegs. After an opening was made

large enough, he succeeded in putting the fire out with water, milk and vinegar, the only available liquids.

The Indians were eventually driven away, but it was found that they had driven all the cattle out of the corral, so the next afternoon a body of men followed the trail east for thirty-five miles, then decided it was useless to continue on and so remained at the Circleville Blockhouse overnight.

Early the next morning, they traced tracks to the cellar where bloodstains on a pile of straw were evidence of a wounded Indian. A short time later, the body of an Indian was found under a cedar tree a hundred yards away. Evidence of a new Indian grave at the head of Coyote Canyon convinced us that all three shots by Mr. Lee had taken effect. —Gideon A. Murdock⁹

A NAVAJO INCIDENT

On an unrecorded date in 1878, a group of Ute Indians were camped on the Minesville divide. About noon, seven Navajo Indians rode into their camp. They were dressed in beautiful beaded jumpers, gloves and moccasins, all ready for a war dance. But they had been riding all night and were tired and sleepy, so they lay down for a snooze.

In the Ute company was a papoose who thought it would be fun to tickle old Posey's ear, and after he dozed off, she tickled it with a feather. Posey awakened with a start and told the little girl to "go away—vamoose!" But she stayed on, and as soon as his eyes closed, the feather began again. Posey jumped to a sitting posture and shoved her away, saying "Get out; vamoose!" But she only laughed, and when his heavy eyelids dropped again, the tickling started again.

Now genuinely angry, Posey shoved her away and told her if she didn't quit, he'd shoot her. His gun lay close by with plenty of cartridges in the magazine, but there were none in the chamber ready to shoot. When he again went to sleep, the little girl decided to take a look at the gun, and before she laid it down, she released a cartridge; it was now all set to shoot. When the feather again began to annoy him, he picked up his gun and, thinking it was not loaded, he decided he'd give her a good scare. But what a sorry sight was the poor little leaser; her last bit of fun had snuffed out her happy little soul.

The Navajo was thoroughly astounded, for he knew his gun was not loaded. But the Utes flew into a rage and sent off runners to Parowan as fast as horses could fly. They were after the Iron County Sheriff, Hugh L. Adams, whom they lovingly called Cap Adams, as he had always befriended them. He'd make it

When they finally found the sheriff, they demanded that the Navajo be shot by sundown the next day. Sheriff Adams rounded up a posse and started out to contact the Navajos. He took Edward Ward along as Indian interpreter, and a good one he was. On their way down to the Gap, they found the Navajos at Mannas Johnson's farm. They were barricaded in the tall brush with their guns in a stack as they circled round and round the Indian who had shot the child. It took the sheriff from ten o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon to persuade them to come with him. He told them he would protect them and that the Indian would be given a fair trial.

They were gone so long that Mother sent her young brother down the valley to see if they'd killed her husband. The Navajos finally consented to come to town, where the "culprit" was put in jail for safekeeping until they could send to the Indian Reservation for the Indian agent for a trial. He was finally acquitted.

When the Utes came to complain, Mother fixed them some supper. Old Squint started to pour a bottle of jamaica ginger in his milk, but Dad took it away, grabbed him by the shoulders and sat him down so hard that he never tried it again. Dad told him he wouldn't stand for that kind of work.¹⁰

OUTLAWS

There were many obstacles to be surmounted in some areas of the West before they were suitable for settlement, law and order being one of the foremost. Although there were probably fewer renegades than were listed in the entertainment media, the West suffered a period of great lawlessness from 1866 to the late 1880s. Such outlaws as the Jameses, Youngers, Daltons and others, made life miserable for the honest citizens. Sadly, the "macho" men were regarded as heroes, while in reality they were mostly thieves whose lifespan rarely reached more than thirty years. Therefore, one of the first needs of the people in establishing frontier settlements was a substantial government.

Since the founders of Utah were practically all Mormons during the first years in the Great Basin, it was natural for them to be governed by the Church. So it was that the first government in Utah was a church government in which Mormon officials had jurisdiction over the affairs of the people, and the Latter-day Saint teachings were the standards by which the settlers must live.

Before Brigham Young and his associates left the Salt Lake Valley for Winter Quarters in August, 1847, they organized the pioneers who were to remain in the valley into a stake of Zion. A stake is a group of churches and a high council were appointed. John


Logan



DAUGHTERS OF UTAH PIONEERS
LESSON FOR FEBRUARY, 1987

The Lawless Ones
Special Collection

Folder 1273

HE ARRIVAL OF white men in America upset the lives and customs of the natives, causing them to make new adjustments. It was natural for the Indians to fight when they saw their hunting grounds being turned into farms and fields. They loved to fish and hunt as their ancestors had done for generations; in fact, they knew no other way of making a living. Therefore, they looked upon the arrival of the whites as an invasion of their rights.

In the colonization plan of the Mormon pioneers, new settlers were sent out with the admonition to deal justly with the Indians; they were to persuade rather than fight or drive them. But many of the Indian braves bitterly resented the coming of the white man, and continually urged their tribes to harass the settlers by stealing their cattle, frightening the women and children, and making demands on the colonists that were not acceptable.

Companies traveling to make new settlements were met with demands for food, clothing, horses and implements. The new arrivals also had to deal with the door-to-door begging by Indian men, women and children. Many times the settlers were forced to take firm measures against them in order to build homes and produce crops.

The white man's advance upon Indian lands, and the red man's rebellion, together with the latter's uncivilized way of living, led to the Indian wars and lawlessness in Deseret.

UTAH INDIANS

When the white settlers arrived in the Great Basin the Ute Indians occupied the east and central portion of the territory

and what is now the western portion of Colorado. They made their homes in the Utah valleys as far north as the Great Salt Lake and as far south as San Juan County. There were eight main bands, each of which moved about to some extent. Yet between the various bands there was as definite an agreement as to which hunting grounds belonged to each as there was later among the white colonists regarding the private ownership of property.

"Paute country extended across southern Utah from the eastern part of San Juan County westward, including much of southern Nevada. Their main districts, however, were along the Virgin, Santa Clara and Muddy rivers, and bordering along the north bank of the Colorado. They separated the Utes from the Navajos, Apaches, and Moquis on the south. The Paiutes were never as strongly unified in bands as were the Utes. They were broken up into fragmentary groups, each with its own chief, recognizing no general leadership.

"To the west and north of Utah Lake and throughout northern Utah lived the Shoshone. The Gosiutes resided in the desert region of western Millard, Juab and Tooele counties. Other tribes of Shoshone lived in Box Elder, Cache and Rich counties. In addition to these permanent residents, bands of transient mounted Shoshone from Wyoming and Idaho spent part of their time in northern Utah, Washakie's band from western Wyoming being the most famous of these."¹

The first winter spent by the pioneers in Salt Lake Valley was a quiet one. The surrounding tribes of Indians, although at war with each other, were on their good behavior, as far as the newcomers were concerned. During such wars among the Indians, the victorious parties scalped all of the warriors they captured or killed. Their custom was to hang these scalps on scalp-poles, which they took great pride in exhibiting. The brave that could show the greatest number of scalps was considered the greatest Indian of them all.

Young women and children often were held as slaves, and sometimes were treated in the most cruel manner. The red men were not long in learning that the Saints were a tenderhearted people and could not witness such scenes without sympathizing with those who were being tortured. Among the first accounts given by the pioneers of such barbaric treatment of slaves is one found in Mary Ellen Kimball's journal of 1847. The following is a brief extract:

"A number of Indians were camped near the Hot Springs north of the Fort. They had with them a little girl who had been captured from another tribe, and they offered to trade her for a

rifle. Firearms were scarce with the pioneers, and besides it was not good policy to arm these cruel savages who might at any time turn on those who had armed them. The Indians finally began to torture the little girl, at the same time declaring that they would kill her unless the rifle was forthcoming. One of the pioneer boys, Charles Decker, whose heart was wrung by witnessing such cruelty, very reluctantly parted with his only gun. He took the little girl home and gave her to his sister, Clara D. Young. They named her Sally, and she lived in the family of President Young until she had grown to womanhood. Ultimately, she married a noble and friendly Pauvante chief named Kanosh, made him a good wife, and did much towards civilizing him. He joined the Church and died a faithful Latter-day Saint."

John R. Young, referring to the same incident, stated, "Soon after we moved onto our city lot in the fall of 1847, a band of Indians camped near us. Early one morning we were excited at hearing their shrill, blood-curdling war whoop, mingled occasionally with sharp cries of pain. Father sent me to the fort for help. Charley Decker and Barney Ward (the interpreter) and others hurried to the camp.



Sally Kanosh

stuck into her wounds. She was faint with hunger and snatched from head to foot with blood and ashes.

"After being scrubbed and clothed, she was given to President Brigham Young and became as one of his family. They named her Sally, and her memory has been perpetuated by the *Courtship of Kanosh*, a *Pioneer Indian Love Story*, written by Susa Young Gates.

"It was Wanship's band. Some of his braves had just returned from the warpath. In a fight with Little Wolf's band, they lost two men, but had succeeded in taking two girls prisoners. One of these they had killed and were torturing the other. To save her life, Charley Decker bought her and took her to our house to be washed and clothed. She was the saddest looking piece of humanity I have ever seen. They had shingled her head with butcher knives and firebrands. All the fleshy parts of her body, legs and arms, had been hacked with knives, then firebrands had been

"But Susa gave us only the courtship, while the ending of Sally's life, as related by a man from Kanosh, was as tragic as her childhood days had been thrilling. After she married Kanosh, several years of her life passed pleasantly in the white man's house he built for her. Then her Indian husband took to himself another wife, who became jealous of Sally and perhaps hated her also for her white man's ways. One day, when they were in a secluded place digging segoes, the new wife murdered Sally and buried the body in a gully.

"When Kanosh missed her, he took her track and followed it as faithfully as a bloodhound could have done, and was not long in finding the grave. In his grief, he seized the murderers and would have burned her at the stake had not white men interfered. In due time the Indian woman confessed her guilt and, in harmony with Indian justice, offered to expiate her crime by starving herself to death. The offer was accepted and on a lone hill in sight of the village, a wickiup was constructed of dry timber. Taking a jug of water, the woman walked silently toward her grave. Like the rejected swan, alone, unloved, in low tones she sang her own sad requiem until her voice was hushed in death. One night, when the evening beacon fire was not seen by the villages, a runner was dispatched to fire the wickiup and retribution was complete.

"When Sally's funeral took place, over a hundred vehicles followed the remains to her last resting place, and beautiful floral wreaths covered the casket, for Sally had been widely loved among the white settlers for her gentle ways."²

THE FIRST INDIAN BATTLE IN UTAH

FEBRUARY 28, 1849

When a report reached Salt Lake City that renegade Indians were molesting the settlers, a company of thirty or forty men under Captain John Scott left Salt Lake City February 18, 1849, in pursuit of some Indians who had been killing cattle and running off horses from Willow Creek (Draper) and other places. The company proceeded to Utah Valley, where they met Little Chief and his band of Timpanogos Utes on the Provo River and were told where the thieving Indians were encamped. The company left the river in the night, taking with them as guide Little Chief's son, who led them over the Provo Bench toward Battle Creek north of the base of the mountains. From that eminence they could see the fires of the Indians, who were encamped on a creek that ran in the midst of willows and dense brushwood.

The company was then divided into four smaller bodies and posted north, south, east and west of the Indians, who, when they

awoke in the morning, found themselves besieged. The red men packed up their baggage and tried in every way to escape. They then commenced to fight by shooting arrows and firing guns. This small predatory band consisted of two lodges under Kone and Blue-Shirt and numbered seventeen souls in all, including four men. The squaws and children were secured, fed and warmed.

After a fitful fight three or four hours long, the four men, who took every advantage of the brush for cover, were killed. None of the brethren were injured. The skins of fifteen cattle, which the Indians had killed, were found nearby.

During the fight, Stick-in-the-Head and his band of Timpanogos Utes arrived ready for a fight and took position on an elevation. From there they vainly called to the besieged Indians and urged them to come that way. The company returned to Great Salt Lake March 6. The squaws and children of the slain Indians were taken to the city, and, after being fed, joined the other Indians. From this episode the creek on which the fight took place was named Battle Creek. It was the first battle to take place between the Mormon pioneers and the Indians in the territory of Utah.³

CONDITIONS WORSEN

It has been said that the Utah Indians never sought revenge for any of their number killed while stealing or making an attack, but the Battle Creek skirmish couldn't help but strain relations between the settlers and their Indian neighbors, who continued their petty depredations, becoming bolder and more insolent daily. The settlers at Fort Utah (Provo) occasionally fired their cannon, to warn the redskins that they were mindful of their misdeeds and were prepared to maintain their rights. But the Indians were not awed by sound and smoke; their nefarious practices went on, evidently to provoke a conflict. Stock continued to be taken from the herds, and all efforts to recover stolen property were stoutly resisted. The Indians finally began firing on the settlers as they issued from their fort, and at last the stockade was virtually in a state of siege.

No longer was it arrows only that fell around them; bullets whizzed past their ears, for the Indians were now well supplied with firearms and ammunition obtained in exchange for horses, mostly from California emigrants who had passed through the country.

THE BATTLE AT FORT UTAH

The inhabitants of Fort Utah patiently bore their annoyances and losses until the spring of 1850, when affairs

was a farmer and also hauled iron ore from the Eureka mines and cut ties for the railroad to earn extra money for his family.

Besides taking care of her home and family Alice Jones worked in many of the church organizations, teaching Primary for about 20 years. She also did sewing for many people and in her later years made braided rugs to help pass the time away.

Twelve children were born to the Jones but eight of them died while very young. The four who reached maturity are Peter (deceased) Mary Larson, Heber, and Etha Holman.

Zachariah Jones died Aug. 8, 1931 and his wife died July 22, 1941.

UINTAH COUNTY LIBRARY
REGIONAL ROOM
FILE FOLDER
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LARSON

James Larson was born in Malmo, Sweden, June 13, 1845. When 17, he and his brother crossed the ocean, a trip of six

weeks. He left Wyoming, Nebraska, in a train of 50 oxen-drawn wagons and 400 people for Utah. Captain William B. Preston in charge, they arrived in Salt Lake on Sep. 15, 1864. He walked the entire distance.

He fought in the Black Hawk War, after which he came to Santaquin to live in 1866. He married Johanna



Bourkerson, Oct. 12, 1872. She had crossed the ocean on the same ship and walked. She lived in Sanpete, then Salt Lake, finally coming to Santaquin 1866. Five children were born to them, three still living. Albert N., James R., John B., Ernest O. Larson, and Bertha Larson Johnson.

Two have passed away: Albert N. and John B.

James followed the mining industry at Alta and Tintic for years, also did farming. He was a lover of flowers and shrubbery, remembering those of his native land.

He died Feb. 5, 1927, was followed shortly by his wife who met death in an accident Aug. 29, 1930. Both lived an

That section forty-seven hundred and forty-five, title fifty-seven of the Revised Statutes of the United States is hereby amended to read as follows:

Sec. 4745.—Any pledge, mortgage, sale, assignment, or transfer of any right, claim, or interest in any pension which has been, or may hereafter be, granted, shall be void and of no effect, and any person who shall pledge, or receive as a pledge, mortgage, sale, assignment or transfer of any right, claim, or interest in any pension, or pension certificate, which has been, or may hereafter be granted or issued, or who shall hold the same as collateral security for any debt, or promise, or upon any pretext of such security, or promise, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars and the costs of the prosecution; and any person who shall retain the certificate of a pensioner and refuse to surrender the same upon the demand of the Commissioner of Pensions, or a United States pension agent, or any other person, authorized by the Commissioner of Pensions, or the pensioner, to receive the same shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars and the costs of the prosecution.

Approved February 28, 1883.

No. 11,581

PENSION CERTIFICATE OF

James Larson alias Jens Larsen

MONTHLY

PAYABLE QUARTERLY

BY THE

DISBURSING CLERK,

BUREAU OF PENSIONS.

Group 3

PB

Clerk.

INDIAN WARS.

No. 11,581

Act of March 4, 1917.

Original

United States of America



BUREAU OF PENSIONS

It is hereby certified *That in conformity with the laws of*
the United States James Larson, alias Jens Larsen
who was a Private, Captain Henry Skidmore's Company, Utah
Militia Infantry, Black Hawk War

is entitled to a pension
at the rate of Twenty dollars per month,
to commence March 4, 1917

Given at the Department of the Interior this
thirty-first day of March
one thousand nine hundred and twenty-three
and of the Independence of the United States
of America the one hundred and forty-seventh

Countersigned,

Washington Gardner
Commissioner of Pensions.

Hubert Work
Secretary of the Interior.

CERTIFICATE DIVISION

INDIAN WARS.

3-645

NOTICE OF ISSUE AND FEES
TO CLAIMANTS

Act of March 4, 1917.

PB

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

BUREAU OF PENSIONS

Washington, D. C.,

APR 11 1928

James Larson
Box 17,
Santaquin, Utah

Sir:

Herewith is transmitted a certificate No. 11,581, for original
pension, issued in your favor.

No one is _____ recognized as attorney in this case
and no fee _____, is payable by the Disbursing Clerk
for the payment of pensions.

You should not pay any fee yourself to any person for services as agent or attorney in the
prosecution of this claim.

Group 3

Very respectfully,

Wm. H. Vandervoort

Wm. H. Vandervoort
Commissioner.

The act of July 4, 1894, provides that the fee for the prosecution of a pension claim shall be \$10 only, unless a larger fee, not exceeding \$25, is agreed upon under a special written contract. The fee will be paid to the attorney, or other person entitled thereto, out of the pension allowed. Should the attorney or other person demand or receive for his services any greater compensation, he would subject himself to the penalties provided in the statute, as follows:
Any agent or attorney or other person instrumental in prosecuting any claim for pension or bounty land who shall directly or indirectly contract for, demand, or receive or retain any greater compensation for his services or instrumentality in prosecuting a claim for pension or bounty land than is herein provided, or for payment thereof at any other time or in any other manner than is herein provided, or who shall wrongfully withhold from a pensioner or claimant the whole or any part of the pension or claim allowed and due such pensioner or claimant, or the land warrant issued to any such claimant, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall, for every such offense, be fined not exceeding \$500, or imprisonment at hard labor not exceeding two years, or both, in the discretion of the court.

APR 4 1923

The enclosed check pays your pension to and regular payments will be made to you every month thereafter by mailing a check to your last known address for which you need not execute a voucher; the form of endorsement on the back of the check, which explains itself, being all that is needed.

In the event you change your address, you should notify me at once, and no change will be made unless you give your Certificate number.

CHECK WILL NOT BE SENT IN CARE OF ANOTHER PERSON, A FIRM, OR CORPORATION.

(A-2)

E. E. MILLER,
Disbursing Clerk

IN REPLY REFER TO

Invalid Division
I. S. O. 13249

James Larson

Cart. Henry Skidmore's Co.

Utah Mill Inf

3-1865

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

BUREAU OF PENSIONS

WASHINGTON

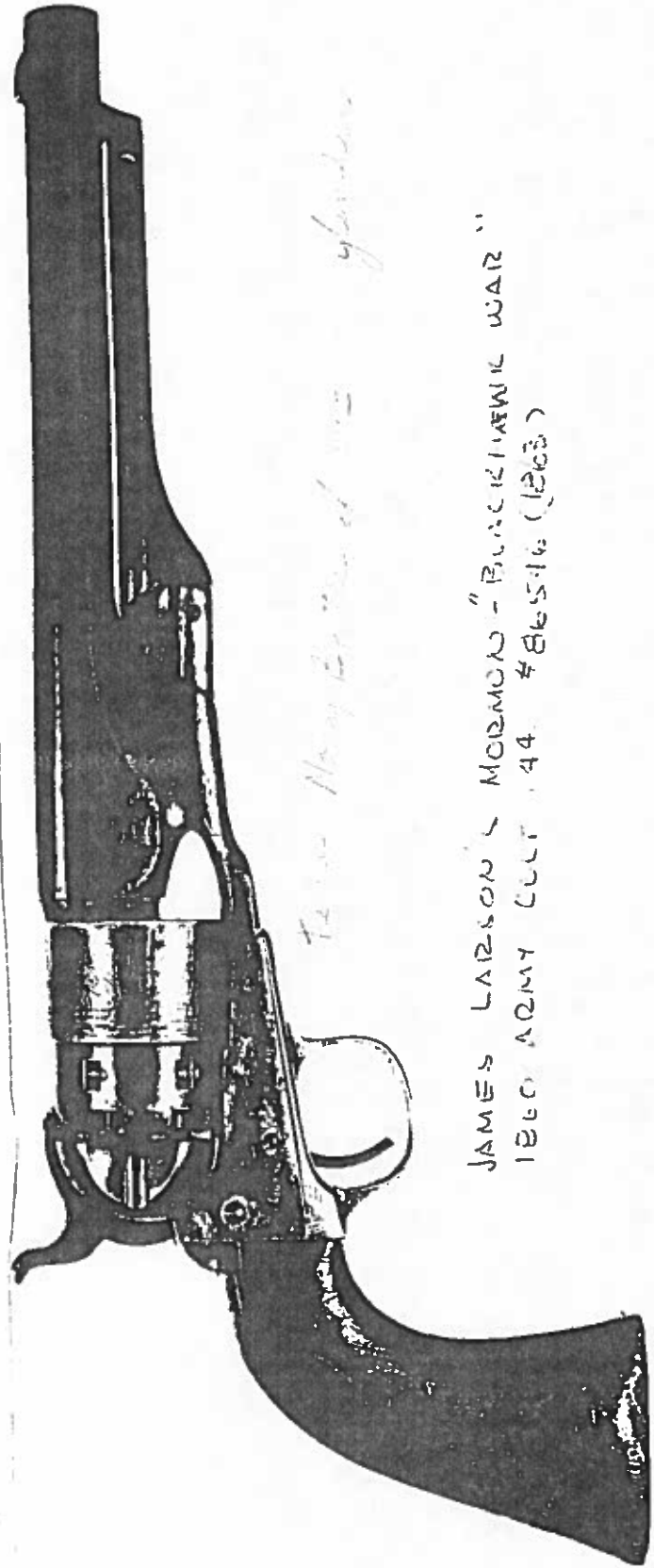
February 24, 1923.

Mr. James Larson,
Box 17,
Sentaquin, Utah.

JAMES LARSON
3312 Army Ave
St. Louis, Mo
225-0705

Recessed

2000 2000 2000 2000



Smith & Wesson Model 100 .38 Smith & Wesson & Co.

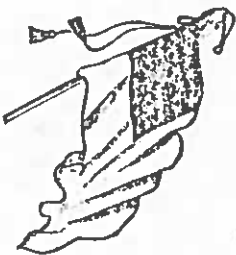
JAMES LARSON - "BLACK & WHITE WAR"
1860 ARMY CULT 44 #86516 (1263)

Match

Certificate of Citizenship

United States of America,

Territory of Utah, -55.



BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the 11th day of May in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighty five, James Wallace late of Merced in the Kingdom of Scotland at present of Utah County in the Territory aforesaid, appeared in the Third Judicial District Court of the United States, in and for Utah Territory, and applied to the said Court to be admitted to become a CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, pursuant to the directions and requirements of the several Acts of Congress in relation thereto.

And the said James Wallace having thereupon produced to the Court such evidence, made such declaration and renunciation, and taken such oath as are by the said Acts required; thereupon it was ordered by the said Court, that the said James Wallace be admitted, and he was accordingly admitted by the said Court to be a CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

In Testimony Whereof, the Seal of the said Court is herunto affixed, this twenty first day of May in the year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighty five and in the year of our Independence the One Hundred and sixty sixth

Clerk.

By

W. G. McManis

Deputy Clerk

—BY THE COURT—

That section forty-seven hundred and forty-five, title fifty-seven of the Revised Statutes of the United States is hereby amended to read as follows:

Sec. 4745.—Any pledge, mortgage, sale, assignment, or transfer of any right, claim, or interest in any pension which has been, or may hereafter be, granted, shall be void and of no effect, and any person who shall pledge, or receive as a pledge, mortgage, sale, assignment or transfer of any right, claim, or interest in any pension, or pension certificate, which has been, or may hereafter be granted or issued, or who shall hold the same as collateral security for any debt, or promise, or upon any pretext of such security, or promise, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars and the costs of the prosecution; and any person who shall retain the certificate of a pensioner and refuse to surrender the same upon the demand of the Commissioner of Pensions, or a United States pension agent, or any other person, authorized by the Commissioner of Pensions, or the pensioner, to receive the same shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars and the costs of the prosecution.

Approved February 28, 1883.

No. 11,581

PENSION CERTIFICATE OF

James Larson alias Jens Larsen

MONTHLY

PAYABLE QUARTERLY

BY THE

DISBURSING CLERK,

BUREAU OF PENSIONS.

Group 3

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Clerk.

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Smithsonian, Dec 1994 v25 n9 p20(3)**The object at hand.** (1868 treaty with the Utes) (Column) *Beth Py-Lieberman*.

Explore

Brief Summary: The National Portrait Gallery contains a photographic portrait of the participants in treaty talks between the US government and the Ute tribe of the Colorado Territory. The Ute leader was Chief Ouray, who negotiated a substantial land settlement, but the treaty did not last.

Full Text: COPYRIGHT Smithsonian Institution 1994 The object at hand is a photograph. It hangs in the Smithsonian's National Portrait Gallery, and it was taken in February 1868 at Mathew Brady's photography gallery on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C.

Nine of the pictured men represented the U.S. Government. Eight were chiefs of the Ute tribe, who had come to town to negotiate a hopeful and historic treaty between the Colorado Utes and the United States. The man who, more than any other, was responsible for the treaty on the Utes' side was a controversial chief named Ouray. Fourth from the right, clad in a beaded buckskin shirt and trousers, his thumbs tucked firmly in his waistband, Ouray looks very much a leader. At age 35, he was soon to retain from the government 15 million acres, roughly a third of what was then the Colorado Territory.

That came to roughly 4,500 acres for each Ute man, woman and child--an uncommonly large expanse in those days of reservation making. As Ouray understood it, the treaty terms were to endure "as long as grass grows and water runs." Predictably, the treaty did not last that long. All the land, and even more, had previously belonged to the Utes without need of government agreement or approval. Given the westward course of Thomas Jefferson's coast-to-coast "Empire of Democracy," tragedy inevitably followed.

No one knows for sure the origin of the stocky-framed nomadic Utes. For more than a thousand years they and their forebears occupied most of what is now Colorado, the eastern half of Utah, and northern New Mexico--some of the most beautiful landscape on the continent. They were hunter-gatherers whose god was the Sun. They regarded Earth as a living creature; to till the soil was to them sacrilege.

In the 17th century, Spanish conquistadors coming up from Mexico brought changes and challenge. Also horses. By the start of the 19th century the Utes in Colorado had grouped themselves into a loose confederation made up of seven tribal bands. Ute children sometimes went to Spanish settlement schools at Taos and Santa Fe.

Born near Taos about 1833, Ouray was one of these. His mother was from the Uncompahgre band; she married a Jicarilla Apache who had been adopted into her tribe. After her death, Ouray's father remarried and joined the Uncompahgres in Colorado, leaving Ouray with a Spanish family; he was schooled by Catholic friars. In 1846, when the U.S. Army swept through the region on its way to the Mexican War, he was impressed by its size and strength. The experience doubtless encouraged his later determination to keep peace between Indians and whites.

At age 17, Ouray quit Taos for Colorado to join his father. He soon distinguished himself as a warrior, hunter and tactician. At about the age of 27 he became a subchief of the Uncompahgre. His knowledge of Spanish and English made him valuable to Indian agents who served the government in Washington, and in 1861 he was given a yearly salary of \$500--as interpreter and negotiator. He also became a good friend of Indian agent Kit Carson. In 1859 gold was discovered in Colorado, and Carson and Ouray knew that Ute country would soon be overrun by white men. They decided that the Utes should seek a treaty to define and protect Ute territory before it was too late.

By 1868, when the Ute delegation set off with Carson to the nation's capital to discuss a treaty, it was Ouray whom President Andrew Johnson (and not the Utes) appointed as the official leader of the Ute tribe. Many Utes were infuriated by his appointment. He was regarded as a friend to Indian and white alike, but whenever he worked for Washington, he got a stipend, so resentment grew along with his fame as a negotiator.

The issue in 1868 for the Utes was setting definite boundaries to their lands and keeping whites from trespassing--as well as guarantees that they would receive enough federal assistance to complete a change of lifestyle. Ouray made clear that U.S. law would have to protect Indians as well as whites, not merely assert that whites could not trespass on Ute land. In return he pledged, rather unrealistically, that the Utes would give up nomadic life and try to live peacefully as farmers and ranchers.

"The agreement an Indian makes to a U.S. treaty," Ouray told bureaucrats at the bargaining table in Washington, "is like the agreement a buffalo makes with his hunter when pierced with arrows. All he can do is lie down and give in." But he didn't give in. As a result, the Utes found themselves guaranteed 15 million acres free of trespass and secured from crime "forever," in addition to an allowance for provisions of up to \$60,000 per year for 30 years. Each Ute family was to receive "one gentle American cow and five head of sheep."

As the treaty was being drawn up, Ouray coaxed additional concessions from Washington and promises from the Utes. Indian agents were hired and fired, a schoolhouse was built, as were a few bumpy roads. But many treaty promises were never met. More white settlers began trespassing on Ute lands, too, but for three years, because of Ouray's work, a potentially explosive situation was contained.

When more gold and silver were discovered on Ute lands in the San Juan Mountains, the flow of settlers became a flood. They wanted to know why "a small band of dirty nomads" should hold so much land. "An Indian has no more right to stand in the way of civilization and progress than a wolf or bear," editorialized the Boulder News.

Ute tempers flared as well. Ouray became convinced that the only workable way out was to sell off the ore-rich land that whites were clamoring for and try to prosper on the remaining 12 million acres. On September 13, 1873, he finally got the Utes to cede the San Juans to silver-hungry settlers in return for another \$25,000.

Meanwhile a handful of Utes who regarded Ouray as a traitor in the pay of the U.S. Government began plotting his murder. He rapidly sought them out and killed most of them for what he saw as acts of treason.

Colorado became a state in 1876. From 1870 to 1880 its white population more than quadrupled, from 39,000 to 194,000--and so did anti-Indian sentiment. Colorado's new governor, Frederick Pitkin, was elected on a Utes-must-go platform. An editorial in the Denver Tribune warned Ouray's white admirers back in Washington that out West, Eastern prejudices "in favor of the Indians [must] give way before the strong disgust inspired by closer acquaintance."

Enter now one Nathan Meeker, lately appointed to the White River Agency on the Ute reservation. Meeker, an exnewspaperman who had founded a cooperative-farming utopia outside Denver, was both unrealistic and pigheaded. He set out on a crash program to turn his part of the Ute reservation into a modern farming community overnight.

As a site for planting, he chose the winter pasture of the Utes' greatly prized horses, doing his best to convince the Indians that they could never be good farmers as long as they had thousands of horses to care for. One fateful day he called in a hot-tempered young Ute subchief named Johnson and told him, "You have too many ponies, you had better shoot some of them." Johnson promptly picked Meeker up and tossed him out of his own office. Meeker was hurt very little, but he instantly fired off a telegraph message to Washington requesting troops. Arrests and dire punishment would be the result, he told the Utes.

Out from Fort Steele in Wyoming, 200 miles away, came Maj. Thomas Thornburgh, along with 178 men and 33 supply wagons. On September 26, 1879, Thornburgh's men were met well north of the reservation by five representatives of the White River band. All was calm on the reservation, they told Thornburgh; no need to come farther. The Utes were afraid that the troops would make good on Meeker's wild threats. But Thornburgh kept coming anyway.

Next came messengers from Meeker saying that all the help he needed was Thornburgh plus five soldiers for "a peace council." The major and his whole force were finally met at the edge of the reservation and warned that if any troops crossed Milk Creek onto Indian land, there would be a fight. Again Thornburgh pressed forward. When he was still miles from Meeker but well inside the reservation, a fight broke out, Utes and soldiers firing a barrage of arrows and bullets.

Thornburgh was quickly killed. His surrounded troops could only dig in defensively. During a six-day siege, 13 soldiers and 37 Utes died. At about the same time, 20 Utes surprised Meeker at his agency, killed him and eight other white men and took his wife, two other women and two children hostage.

Ouray was hunting when the news reached him. The whites were to blame, he knew. They had entered the reservation, violating the treaty's "no trespass" clause. But unlike many of his people, he also understood that the killings and abductions would be punished, and that politicians in Denver had been given a perfect excuse to close the reservation and send the Utes away.

Ouray promptly called on the White River Utes to lay down their arms. They complied. After some weeks in hiding, the 20 kidnappers also surrendered when Ouray offered an ultimatum: bring in the hostages, or all the other Ute bands would come and get them.

This was a bold bluff, but the hostages were duly delivered up. At first it seemed that all might yet go well. "We were well treated at Ouray's house," wrote Flora Price, one of the captives. "Mrs. Ouray wept for our hardships."

But the women, including Mrs. Meeker, said they had been raped. On January 16, 1880, Ouray traveled to Washington to testify before Congress. Tired and ailing, he defended the Utes as best he could. Urging that only the Utes who committed the crimes be punished, he noted that Meeker had pushed the Indians too hard, that whites had trespassed on Ute lands and that there had been many occasions when these trespassers had shot at the Utes.

No one was impressed. The whole Ute confederation was forced to pay reparations for the crimes of a guilty few. As the result of a new and punitive agreement, most of the Utes were deprived of their ancestral lands and gradually dispersed to different reservations. In just 22 years Ouray's 1868 treaty had been undone. Dispirited, he went home to Colorado, where he died only two weeks after his return. The following year, the 1,458 men, women and children of the Uncompahgre band packed up their belongings and began the long walk to a

left under the guard of a part of the troops, while the others in squads trailed the hills in every direction in search of traces of the missing man. After a toilsome search and just about sundown, his mangled body was found three-fourths of a mile north of the battle ground. He had been stripped of his shirt, his right hand was severed at the wrist, his scalp torn off, and the savage foe had shot him twice through the heart, the muzzle of the weapon being held so close that the body was powder-burned. A signal gun was fired to notify the searchers that the hunt was ended, and all gathered quickly to their horses. When the boys came in they brought some stolen stock, among which was a horse belonging to William Smith with blood stains upon the withers and down the front leg. The animal supposedly had been ridden by the war-chief the previous day. The dead man was placed upon this horse by Thomas Dallin and then came a discussion as to whether the company should return home via Spanish Fork Canyon, there being a good wagon road all the way, or take the trail back through Maple Canyon. It was eventually decided to take the back trail and the bugle sounded the advance. At this juncture the horse with the dead rider began to buck and rear and plunge in fearful manner and could not be quieted. It was held a moment while the body could be removed and strapped upon the back of "Old Beck," a family mare belonging to William Mendenhall, and Richard Mendenhall mounted the refractory broncho and the march homeward was commenced, and was finished at 3 a. m. The dead man was placed upon a bier in front of the old hall when the now-thoroughly fatigued rough riders went to rest.

Hardly had their tired heads sunk upon the pillows when the signal, (three quick flashes) was made at the mouth of Spanish Fork Canyon and seen by the guard in the tower, and the bell from its iron throat rang out, "Come, Come, Come! Quick! Quick! Quick!" A few of the tired riders rallied, also some of the citizens in wagons, drove like Jehu to the mouth of Spanish Fork Canyon and surprised the guard there by their sudden war-like appearance. The guard said they had seen Indians appear some distance up the canyon and had made one light (be on your guard); but as it had been only a flash, and fearing the lookout hadn't seen it, another handful of brush had been thrown on the fire, which only emitted a faint flash, when a larger amount had been put upon the embers and a satisfactory blaze kindled. The watchmen had seen all three of the flashes and acted accordingly. After scouring the vicinity of the mouth of the canyon where fresh Indian signs were plainly seen, the cavalcade returned home. Thus ended three very exciting days. Some of the boys had been forty-eight hours in the saddle almost without food or sleep.

The Diamond fight was the most successful engagement of the war in this: that the Indians were thoroughly whipped, their entire camp equipment falling into the hands of the victors, who also brought back

some of the horses and all of the cattle except those killed. A report came from Duchesne not long afterwards, that the dusky marauders had eight killed and wounded, and that Black Hawk was the rider who left his blood-stains upon the captured horse.

On the day after the return of the expedition, Dimmick and Edmundson were buried with military honors. Thus ended the fight on the Diamond, which was also the end of the Indian hostilities in our vicinity.

MEN OF INDIAN WARS

Dimick B. Huntington, a major in the Utah Militia, took a prominent part as interpreter in peace arrangements of a lot of the skirmishes between Indians and whites, most important of which was the Black Hawk war. He spent 20 years acting as interpreter in the employ of the U. S. Government, and during this time he compiled a vocabulary of the Ute dialect, and collected traditions and legends of the Indians.

Lyman S. Wood, came in contact with Indians almost daily and became well acquainted with their character and habits, and well-versed in their language. He was connected with Indian affairs during the early years and probably understood the traditions and peculiarities of the Lamanites as well as any person in the state.

Stephen C. Perry, was one of the messengers to make overtures of peace to the hostiles of Walker's band, encamped at Payson Canyon, and narrowly escaped losing his scalp at the hands of the blood-thirsty savages at that critical time.

Amos Warren, took an active part in all the early Indian Wars and his services were valuable at times as an Indian interpreter, whose dialect he could speak like a native.

James Mendenhall, could converse in the Ute dialect and often interceded in skirmishes between Indians and whites.

William Bramall, had charge of the commissary department and kept a record of the Black Hawk war. He also had charge of outfitting the men and looking after families at home.

Others who served as warriors or as members of the home guard in various Indian wars were: William Mendenhall, Cyrus Sanford, William Clegg, Davis Clark, Nephi Packard, Edwin Lee, William M. Bromley, George Harrison, Frederick Weight, Noah T. Guyman, L. J. Whitney, Edwin Lucius Whiting, Alexander Robertson, Esther Blanchard, Moses Childs and Walter Bird.

In 1866 an expedition was sent to Sanpete to help in the Black Hawk war, and those in the first contingent were: Richard Westwood, J. T. Lisbonce, Fred Singleton, George Richardson, Moroni Fuller, Allen Lambson, Jesse Riblin, Henry Jennings, Samuel Gully, Walter Wheeler, William L. Johnson, Thomas Brown, Daniel Alleman, and Samuel Tew. In the second contingent were: F. P. Whitmore, Amos S. Warren, F. Beardsall, George Harrison, J. M. Westwood, T. A. Brown, Albert Harmer, Edwin Lee, Elial Curtis, Samuel Bulkley, M. D. Childs, Robert

Memories of the War - 1873

Squash-Head levied this tribute because his brother had died in his absence, and the white men had buried the corpse without the usual accompaniment of arrows, tomahawks, horse and blanket which were supposed to assist him in reaching the "Happy Hunting Grounds." His threats caused a posse to be sent out to effect his capture. He was surprised and arrested in the Tintic region, and brought to Springville, where he was detained a couple of days before being taken to Salt Lake City for trial.

The posse encamped in Bishop Johnson's enclosure, where their meals were supplied by the Bishop's family. The front room was used as a kind of military prison, while the men stood guard outside. Squash-Head—whose name was very appropriate as he had a very large head, round as a squash, and adorned by a huge mouth in which a set of teeth gleamed, a set a chimpanzee might have been proud of—was ironed with a ball and chain upon his ankles and wrists. On the second morning of his detention, while the guards were eating breakfast preparatory to starting for the capital with their prisoner, old Squash-Head settled his case by severing his jugular vein with a sharp broad knife which had been given him with his breakfast. He fell forward upon the hearth, his chains clanking so loudly as to attract the attention of his solitary guard standing near by. It was darkly hinted at the time that some white person had done the bloody deed, but every indication pointed to the fact that the Indian, who feared hanging as a just punishment for his crimes, had been the means of his own taking off. The wrath of the other Indians was cooled down by supplying them liberally with melons, potatoes and other edibles. As a matter of fact, they were glad to be rid of him, as he was feared by the entire band.

Black Hawk War — In the spring of 1866 the Black Hawk war broke out, which kept our settlement in a ferment of excitement for two years.

Early in May a courier came dashing into town saying that some of our people had been shot at near the forks of the canyon. Immediately the old bell rang out the alarm, accompanied by the bass and kettle drums. A rush was made to the meeting house to hear the news. A posse was soon formed under the direction of Bishop Johnson, who was the ranking military officer. Guns and ammunition were quickly prepared and soon twenty men were off for the scene of disturbance, some on horse-back and some in wagons, with Captain F. P. Whitmore, who was in command. The scene of the shooting was soon reached, but no dead were found. All the afternoon the mountains were searched for the red marauders, but only a few signs were discovered. About sundown the tired scouts, now re-enforced to thirty in number, gathered at Levi Curtis' ranch, where a council of war was held. The conclusion was that the redskins had concealed themselves during the day and after dark would probably take the old Indian trail along the side of the mountain, up the Bartholomew Canyon, across Thornton's bench

and down into the main canyon near the mouth of Berryport, and proceed over into Strawberry valley and thus escape. Figuring on this as a certainty, it was decided that when it became dark, ten of the most intrepid men would silently make their way up to Berryport to intercept the savages by ambush. Volunteers were called for and ten responded. Captain Whitmore led the way. Slowly and stealthily the little band followed the road up the canyon. There was no sound except the rush of the water over its winding way, the occasional howl of a wolf, or the scream of a night bird, suddenly disturbed on its perch by the passing scouts. About 10 o'clock at night the place of ambush was reached. It seemed fitted by nature for a place to surprise an enemy. On the north was the bare side hill where the trail came down into the canyon, while five or six rods away were some large clumps of willows whose deep shadows entirely concealed the persons beneath their branches, from which point the trail could be plainly seen. The party was divided into couples for guard duty, when it was discovered that one of the men was missing. He had been seen last by one of the boys while crossing Whitmore creek. It was concluded that he would come in shortly or that he had returned to the Curtis ranch. Two guards were mounted with instructions to quietly awaken the squad, if they should see the Indians coming along the trail. The remainder lay down upon their blankets to slumber, expecting surely to be called before morning to pour a volley into the on-coming redmen. Some time before the first guard was relieved, the youthful Indian hunters were brought to their knees by a fusillade of shots and a blood-curdling yell from the guard: "My God, boys, quick! Here they come!" Every man felt as though there were a thousand of the enemy in sight, for a moment, but they were as steady as veterans, with guns leveled at the darkened trail. In a moment all was as silent as the grave, not an enemy in sight, and it was thought they had taken to cover and would be heard from later. After a moment of awful suspense, the guard explained in whispers, that they had seen a band of five or six Indians appear on the trail about fifty yards away, and had concluded, after a short consultation, to fire into them, which would also awaken their comrades. Nothing was seen or heard, however, but a more vigilant watch was kept until morning.

When daylight came the trail was examined, but the trail being very hard at this point, no tracks were discernible, and whether there had been Indians present, or whether the "bogey man" took possession of the imagination of the youthful guards, was never known. However, the actual experience of the boys was as real as though the enemy had been in sight. The trailers descended the canyon to the ranch in the early morning and found the missing scout eating breakfast with the boys. He had stopped to get a drink and becoming frightened turned around in the windings of the ford, had come out on the wrong side of the creek, and being thus bewildered, did not realize that he was going

down the canyon until he found himself at his former starting place. Provisions had been forwarded to the party the evening previous, and the boys had killed a stray sheep from which the tired and hungry boys, who had not tasted food since the morning before, made a splendid meal. Then they started for home, looking carefully for signs all the way. At the first bridge fresh moccasin tracks were discovered, crossing the road, toward the Union Bench and thence up the Spanish Fork Canyon.

Once during the summer, Indians were seen through a glass hovering about Kolob, and as there was stock in that vicinity, a platoon of minute men was hastily summoned and sent to scale the heights and capture the braves, kill them or drive them away. As the boys left, Bishop Johnson said, "Bring their scalps." The boys went up and brought the stock safely down without "raising any hair," for not an Indian was seen, though some of the boys declared that they had seen moccasin tracks.

All summer and autumn parties went for wood, thirty or forty in number, well armed, as a protection against their wily foe. Pickets were stationed at the mouth of the canyon and lookouts in the tower to see the fire signals agreed upon. Often in the night the old bell awakened the people from their slumbers, indicating that the painted warrior was hovering near. A company of minute men was organized under command of Captain Jesse Steele, that camped in the tithing yard for six months. The company of minute men was well mounted and armed, and slept upon their weapons every night, ready to answer the call of the bell or martial drum or fife. Each day a squad was detailed to go out with the cow herd which was driven upon the Union Bench. The pickets patrolled the foothills all day to look out for the enemy, and in case of a signal from the canyon to rush the cattle home in short order. A detail was made each morning to cut forage in the city pasture for the horses' feed at night. At dusk the minute men assembled at the barracks for roll call, after which they lay down to sleep under the shade of the apple trees, with the greensward for a couch.

During the summer a requisition was sent from General Wells to General Johnson for a contingent from Springville to go into Sanpete County to help defend the settlers from the attacks of the Indians. It was in Sanpete and Sevier valleys where the Indians made their most formidable attacks. About forty of our stalwarts were called for this important service. All who could not outfit themselves were assisted by the members of the ward. William Bramall aided as commissary, and most of the supplies were sent through his orders. He, Colonel Bromley, and Thomas Child did much arduous and praiseworthy work in raising and forwarding supplies to the front and assisting the families of the home soldiers.

At three different times during the summer did some of the Springville boys distinguish themselves by being under fire and hearing the

blood-curdling warwhoops of the painted heathen. William Tunbridge, W. L. Johnson, then a lad of sixteen, and W. I. Hall, were at the fight at Gravelly Ford, under General Pace, where the former was shot through the leg.

On the evening of June 10th, four soldiers, J. H. Noakes, Uel Stewart, Eliel Curtis of Springville, and Moroni Manwill of Payson, were carrying dispatches from Gunnison to Glenwood. It rained on them nearly all the way and traveling was bad, consequently it was late when they arrived at Glenwood, where they found but one person; namely, Artemus Millet. They stayed with him over night, as their horses were jaded. Leaving the dispatches with Millet, they started back to their company, and arrived at the ridge that runs down to the river at Rock Fork, about half a mile south of the Gravelly Ford. When they got onto the ridge, they saw the Indians in the act of driving the stock across the river at Gravelly Ford, but could not see the company of militia under Pace. Noakes said, "This is no place for us; if we go on, the Indians will get us." As they turned to go back to Glenwood, the Indians saw them, and about sixteen of them gave chase. Three of the men were mounted on good horses, but Curtis was riding a small mustang that they called Tom Thumb. The boys put spurs to their horses and made the best time possible, while the savages steadily gained on the mustang. Seeing this, the boys told Curtis to spur forward, and they would drop behind and check the reds. The boys turned in their saddles several times and fired a volley which checked the pursuers. Then they again overtook their comrade and stayed with him until their copper-colored warriors came close. Then the three again halted and checked the enemy until their friend was a sufficient distance in advance, when they again swept forward. This maneuver was made several times, and the ride made in safety. During the five-mile race Noakes shot one Indian off his horse and Stewart shot a horse.

Battle in Diamond Fork—A band of Indians came down Maple Canyon in Utah County, June 26, 1866, and made a foray into the valley as far as Roundy's pasture, drove off some fifty horses and twenty head of cattle into Maple Canyon. H. M. Dougall and J. F. Deal had been the mounted videttes the previous day and had patrolled the country between Hobbie Creek and Spanish Fork Canyon, camping with the squad over night at the first bridge in the former canyon. As they rode into town early the next morning they met Bishop Johnson, who asked them if they had seen any Indians. Their reply was "No, no sign of Indians. Everything is all right." The Bishop replied, "No, everything is not all right; the Indians came down Maple Canyon last night and took a herd of cattle from Markham's pasture at Spanish Fork, and some horses from Roundy's pasture. Go tell Colonel Bromley to come quickly." Bromley was summoned. The old bell spoke, the drums beat, and in twenty minutes several of the mounted minute men were on the public square, armed and ready to go. It was about 9 a. m. and a dispatch had been

sent to Colonel Creer of Spanish Fork to meet the Springville squad at the mouth of Maple Canyon, and all proceed under the command of Creer on the trail of the hostiles. Alma Spafford, H. O. Crandall, T. L. Mendenhall, J. A. Grosbeck, John Edmundson, Loren Dibble, D. C. Johnson and an old soldier by the name of Gillespie, and Wiley Thomas of Spanish Fork composed the posse. The other members of the minute company were in the fields and could not be reached in time. A gallop of thirty minutes brought the young troopers to the mouth of the canyon, but by the indications, Creer's men had arrived first and gone up the canyon. Our boys rode rapidly after them mile after mile, until they had crossed the divide and descended the steep trail into the head of Diamond Fork, but could see nothing of the Spanish Fork troopers. There were three young madcaps in the squad that day, who kept riding ahead in their anxiety to find the Indians. When the party came within a half mile of the spot where the skirmish took place, the three boys who were still ahead, rode up on a knoll and gave a whoop, for a little way in advance they could see Creer's men under a clump of trees and firing over towards the south side of the broad, flat canyon. With a yell the advance guard charged toward their white friends, followed by the boys in the rear. Just as the three madcaps got within a hundred yards of the party they were suddenly fired upon by a number of Indians, who at that moment were in the act of flanking the Spanish Fork boys. They had found their Indians, but instead of engaging them in a hand combat, Dibble turned to the right and came back to the main body; Grosbeck was unhorsed by the breaking of his saddle girth, but clung to the halter strap as his horse circled to the left and came back to his comrades in the rear. Edmundson kept straight ahead and to the left of the Spanish Forkers, until he was lost to view by the intervening brush.

"The Springville boys quickly dismounted, and leaving their horses with one of the men, advanced cautiously toward Creer's command. At this juncture several Indians were seen to retreat hastily from their position on the south and disappear in the thickets which hedged Diamond Creek. The Spanish Fork boys had been in their position for an hour and had seen some warm work. Al Dimmick was fatally wounded and lay upon a bed of leaves in the shade. In a few moments an Indian appeared upon the bluff, and by his excited gestures seemed to be haranguing his men. Some shots were exchanged, but the effect was not known, as both sides were lying low.

Presently Colonel Creer selected five long-range rifles and began volley firing at the chief, some 800 yards distant, and at about the fifth volley the Indian fell upon the neck of his horse, which ran behind the hill and out of sight. The Indians were then seen scampering over the ridge, and were variously estimated at from twenty to fifty. All was quiet for the next half hour, and a careful scout was made, but no sign of the enemy was visible and it was concluded that they had

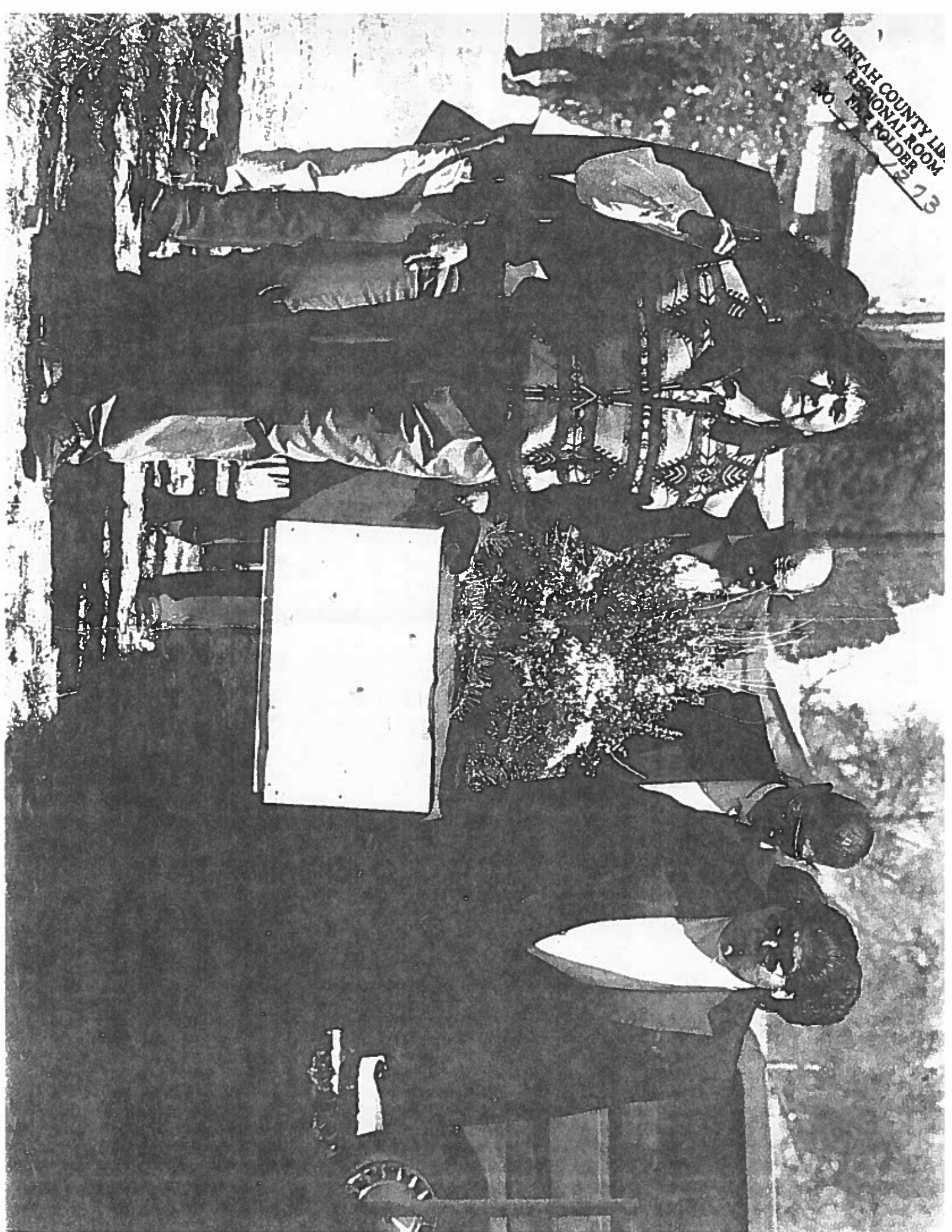
drawn off with their dead and wounded and would renew the attack after night-fall. Feeling sure of a night attack, a courier was sent to town for help. The man who volunteered to undertake this perilous task was the old veteran, Gillespie. It was 4 p. m. when he departed and he reached town about 7 p. m., with the news of the fight, the extreme peril of the white men and that Edmundson was missing. The town bell, in quick sharp tones brought the minute men from their quarters, and by 8 p. m. they had started under the direction of the scout to relieve their companions from their extreme peril.

In the meantime the Indian camp, which had been abandoned at the beginning of the attack by the whites with all it contained, was relieved by the Spanish Fork contingent, of the butcher knives, new hats, bridles and lariats which the enemy had left in his flight. One man had nine new army hats, and the others each had some trophy. Poor Dimmick was tenderly placed upon a litter and just after sunset the party started on their return, expecting at any moment to hear the crack of the deadly rifle and the piercing war-whoop. They were compelled to carry their wounded comrade, who groaned in agony at every step. At times he entreated his bearers to kill him and end his sufferings. Tireless, the troops ascended the eastern slope of the mountain out of the Diamond, winding up the precipitous and hazardous mountain trail. The front and rear guards kept keenly on the alert, in order to prevent an ambush. About midnight the pass was reached and the descent upon the home side of the mountain began. Near the summit the relief party was met, and not until then did the returning party realize that it was safe. Still slowly the homeward journey was continued, and completed just at daybreak.

In front of the old hall they were met by Bishop Johnson, who praised the boys for their good work, told them to get a few hours sleep and at the call of the bell to assemble for the purpose of returning to the scene of the fight to search for Edmundson, who had not returned. It was thought he had escaped and would perhaps reach home through some of the canyon passes. Alas! vain hopes! the poor boy lay upon the lonely hillside cold in death, with the moon shining on his upturned face.

At 7 a. m. the loud alarm bell called the weary troopers from their blankets, and in a very few moments they were on the march, under the command of Captain Steele. At the mouth of Maple Canyon they found Colonel Creer with his company. This morning they had deemed it advisable to wait for the Springville contingent. Under command of Colonel Creer the party proceeded to the scene of the combat of the previous day. They found the camp intact, the enemy not having returned for his camp equipage. There were seventeen saddles by actual count, and other trappings used by native riders, but no other appearance of an enemy. The day before, the hostiles had killed two or three beavers, and large filches of juicy steaks still hung upon the rocks and

UTAH COUNTY LIB
REGIONAL ROOM
NO. 12 FOLDER 73



Remains of Ute Chief Black Hawk to Be Reburied

BY MARK HAVNES

THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE

Saturday in the Utah County town of Spring Lake, the remains of Black Hawk, one of the Ute people's most famous leaders, will be laid to rest in a simple pine ket near the mountain they re exhumed from 85 years ago.

Black Hawk — whose Ute name is An-Tonga — led the central tribe in an uprising against Mormon settlers in southern Utah from 1865 to 1867 with sporadic violence continuing until 1872.

Yesterday morning's reburial is being carried out at the request of Black Hawk's relatives, now living in Fort Duchesne in Uintah County, under provision of the 1981 American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1991, which allows relatives or tribes to claim to the remains of deceased ancestors, many of which lie in museums.

Spring Lake resident Marva Eggett, the ceremony will be a momentous event in the town of residents where Black Hawk was originally buried after his death, probably of tuberculosis, in 1870. It is believed he was born sometime in the early 1830s. It's extremely exciting," Eggett said Tuesday of the electric news of the reburial has

generated in the town. "It's a great moment in history and hard to believe it's really happening. It must be timing the way everything has fallen into place."

The reburial became a project of Eggett, an instructor at Utah Valley State College in Orem, while on a field trip with her students to the Vernal area to study the Ute culture.

The name Black Hawk came up. Eggett said it is a name she has heard discussed during her 28 years in Spring Lake.

Eggett contacted Charmaine Thompson, who is Heritage Program Leader for the Uinta National Forest, about her plan. Thompson in turn contacted Black Hawk's relatives, who agreed to have the remains' reburied in Spring Lake's new town park.

The Forest Service is involved because the original burial site the remains were removed from is on national forest land, said Thompson.

Saturday's ceremonies will include traditional songs and prayers for Black Hawk and likely will include flute players and dancers.

The reinterment, Thompson said Tuesday, is an example of how the Indian Repatriation Act of 1991 has started picking up

steam.

"We are in the process of reburying remains currently at Brigham Young University," says Thompson, including the remains of four Utes and those of prehistoric inhabitants of the area dating back about 6,000 years.

Thompson says state and federal laws make it a crime to desecrate an Indian grave site on public and private lands. Many of the remains now in museums were found during earlier scientific excavations or people just stumbling upon them and then turned them over to museums.

Kaysville resident John A. Peterson, whose book *An-Tonga's Agony: Utah's Black Hawk War* will be published this year by the University of Utah Press, says Black Hawk, a member of the Timpanogos band of Utes, initially got along well with the settlers, many of whom belonged to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, as they spread into the traditional hunting and gathering areas of the Utes.

But his relationship with the Mormons began to deteriorate as more settlers contributed to the demise of game in the area.

Black Hawk began to see his people starve and increasingly abused at the hands of the settlers.

By the late 1850s, Black Hawk let the Utah Valley and by 1865 was head of a resistance movement against the settlers.

"The Black Hawk War wasn't just a war out of nowhere," said Peterson. "It was led by an Indian who had lived with the Mormons, interacted with them and in essence was representative of the whole [Ute] society and what happened to its people."

Peterson, who holds a doctorate in history, said the guerrilla tactics used by the Utes were similar to ones used by the Ute chief Wapaka, also known as Chief Walker, who waged an earlier war against settlers.

The most successful tactics used by the Utes were stealing cattle and horses, then driving them through Colorado to northern New Mexico where they would be sold to other Indians. On these trips the Ute cause was spread among other tribes, including the Navajo, who were invited to join the resistance.

For a while, Black Hawk's War put a crimp in Mormon expansion as new settlements, especially along the Sevier River, were evacuated to forts Brigham Young ordered built, said Peterson. Richfield and Spring City were two towns evacuated and some of the

forts in which settlers took refuge still standing are Old Cove Fort and Fort Deseret in Millard County and Fort Pierce near St. George.

Before some settlers evacuated, according to Peterson, they dismantled their houses and buried the logs so they would not be burned by the Utes.

Peterson says Brigham Young urged Mormons to treat the Indians with respect, taking the approach it is better to feed them than fight them. But Mormons on the front lines continued to abuse and berate the Utes.

Black Hawk made peace with the settlers in 1867 after being wounded in the stomach during a skirmish on the banks of the Sevier River. When he died, Black Hawk's wives buried the chief under rocks on a mountain next to Spring Lake along with some of the chief's possessions that included a cup, buckel, bridle, saddle, spurs, sleigh bells, an ax and a pipe.

The bones were dug up in 1911 by miners and eventually were turned over to the LDS church museum in Salt Lake City, where they remained until last year when they were transferred to BYU's Museum of People and Culture.

Salt Lake Tribune staff writer Harold Schindler contributed to this report.

Utah
Basin 9/12/95
Standard

UINTAH COUNTY
REGIONAL
FILE FOLDER
NO. 1273

Remains of Ute leader discovered by Boy Scout

The remains of Ute Indian Chief Black Hawk were kept in the basement of the LDS Historical Department, but nobody remembered them until a Payson Boy Scout started looking.

Shane Armstrong, now 14, began looking into the life of Black Hawk in 1993 for his Eagle Scout Project. His goal was to have the chief's remains registered with the US Forest Service.

"I thought it was weird that no one had records on him," Armstrong said.

Neither the LDS Historical Department nor the Brigham Young University museum could tell Armstrong where Black Hawk's remains rested. Each referred him to the other several times.

But after several months of Armstrong's repeated phone calls, the historical department finally located the remains in July 1994 and turned them over to BYU.

Black Hawk led his Ute Tribe in a war against Mormon settlers, who claimed part of the Ute territory as their own in the early 1850s. The war, which lasted from 1865 to 1868, cost the lives of 46 settlers and nearly \$1.5 million in

damage. The Ute deaths were not recorded.

Black Hawk died in 1870 and was buried in the mountains behind Spring Lake in Utah County. For 41 years, his grave, only a few miles from his birthplace, was left undisturbed.

Then in 1911, men working at the Syndicate Mine near Santaquin located the grave and removed Black Hawk's remains.

No one knows what happened next, but somehow the remains ended up in the Mormon Church's historical department.

The department had Black Hawk's remains for about 60 to 70 years, said Steve Olsen, manager of operations for the LDS Historical Society. The chief's remains were in a protected environment, he said.

Betsy Chapoose, director of the Cultural Rights Protection Department of the Ute tribe, said the tribe is working with the Ute National Forest Service and wants

Black Hawks reburied as close to the original burial site as possible.

"I think sometimes you just have to take it in stride and say 'We're going to right what's been wronged,'" she said.

Remains of Ute warrior Black Hawk laid to rest

The remains of Black Hawk, one of the Ute tribe's most famous leaders, was laid to rest last Saturday in the Utah County town of Spring Lake in a simple pine casket near the mountain they were exhumed from 85 years ago.

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UINTAH COUNTY
REGIONAL ROOM
FILE FOLDER
NO. 1273

Uintah
Basin
Standard 5/7/96

Val 1827
July 19, 1867
son, Geo. H. Barton, and J. Q. Knowlton.
They were well and in excellent spirits.

OLDER 1223
REPENTANT INDIANS.—Brother Dimick B. Huntington reached this city from Sanpeto on Monday evening, and brings with him a good report of the Indians. He met and had a talk with about 120 of them at Fort Ephraim, about noon last Saturday. President Orson Hyde, and Bishops Johnson and Peterson, and a good number of the brethren were present during the *pow-wow*. "Black Hawk" brought the crowd in, among whom was Tam-a-rits," a Shiber-ech Chief, the one who is known as the rider of the white horse, who has committed most of the murders during the Indian disturbances South, and is regarded as being a much worse man than "Black Hawk" himself. Five of the principal men spoke on the occasion, expressing themselves very humbly and penitently over their past bad deeds, and asking what they must do to be saved. "Black Hawk" said that for four years they had had no heart, but now they had got heart, eyes and ears, and could both see and hear. They agreed to protect the settlers, and give them warning when mischief was threatened by marauding Indians, and also agreed to bring in all Indians they could who are still marauding and bent on mischief. "Black Hawk" recommended that a telegram be sent to Qunn-ar-row, at Parowan, for him to send out his own sons to bring in the wicked Indians who committed the recent depredations in that neighborhood. During the conversation the Indians wanted to know who was making bad medicine and killing all the rabbits in the valley, as they are dying off in great numbers. Bro. Huntington informed them it was a disease among them.

The Major says he never saw such crops before in Sanpeto Valley.

WARNING TO ALL.—The sudden death of Miss Paul, an account of which appeared in

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