

JOHN EAGAR  
1823 - 1864

Winn Whiting Smiley

### JOHN EAGAR

John Eagar was among the first Americans to see the United States flag flying in Yerba Buena Square, later called San Francisco. He came to California in 1846, sailing around Cape Horn to the bay of San Francisco. In 1848 he left California, traveling with Mormon Battalion veterans to build a road across the Sierras to Salt Lake Valley, Utah. He died before his three sons moved to Arizona to settle the town of Eagar in Apache County.

John Eagar was a first generation American born to Thomas Eagar, an immigrant from Kerry County, Ireland. Thomas came to America and eventually settled in Auburn, New York where a federal prison was being built. There he met and married Lucy Buell. Together they had eight children. John, the eldest born July 13, 1823, wrote about his family as a young adult.

\* We lived at Auburn about two years. From there my parents moved to the village of Sing Sing which is on the east bank of the Hudson River about 34 miles above New York City. There was a federal prison being built at Sing Sing at that time also. I went to school until I was thirteen years of age, after which I was deprived of that privilege owing to the ill health of my father; the responsibility resting upon me, my father keeping a hotel at the time. About that time I had my leg broken which has more or less affected my career since, though unperceived by any the lameness so slight.



Anyway, father after a long sickness died, June 9, 1841 of consumption, and after that we as a family have been buffeted about and our little property \$3000. seemed to vanish. My mother previous to the death of my father joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Mormon, which she afterwards apostitized from in 1843.[1]

In 1845 at the age of twenty John Eagar was living in New York City and was apprenticed to a printer named Samuel Brannan. Brannan had joined the Mormon church in Ohio. He became a dedicated member when the church wanted him to print a periodical for it. He began printing a folio size paper named first **The Prophet** and later **The Messenger**. Brannan owned a printing press with which he had earlier ventured into the printing business. Eagar was joined by another young man, Edward Kemble, as apprentice.

Genealogy records show that John Eagar was baptized into the Mormon church in July of 1845. Thomas F. O'Dea, in his book, **The Mormons** wrote that, the appearance of the Mormon church was niether unprecedented nor unique in many respects for it was but one of the many religious bodies founded in the region of the Great Lakes in the first half of the nineteenth century. However, the Mormon church was one of the very few begun at that time to survive and become a vital factor in settling the American west. John Eagar and his family as well as Brannan, Edward Kemble and the approximately 235 immigrants that sailed to the bay of San Francisco were to participate in that settlement.

The Mormons were industrious and different, the elect of God as they designated themselves, and seemed to threaten those already established in any area they settled. The practise of polygamy further estranged them from others in the community. In many locations, homes and churches were burned by non-Mormons. The founder of the church, Joseph Smith was murdered. After his death Brigham Young became the organizer who led the Mormon exodus across the plains and mountains to the far west from the gathering place in Illinois and surrounding states.

However to the many church members like John Eagar living on the east coast, Young sent word through correspondence with Brannan that they were to remain there. I would say to the poor in the east that it will be of no use for them to come to Illinois unless they have means sufficient to purchase horses, wagons and tents, etc., for it will be in vain for them to think of starting for the Rocky Mountains without these things and the church at Nauvoo Illinois will have as much as they can do to provide for the poor of that place. [2] There were hundreds on the east coast who were poor and without means to go to the west.

Brannan who at one time had been excommunicated from the church for unauthorized ventures and who had through much humbling of himself become reinstated was pleased when Young asked him to pilot the east coast members of the church to the west. He used every possible means to acquire money for the journey, He had hoped that he could raise money through subscriptions

to the Mormon periodical but the church withdrew its support and the paper could not pay for itself.

Young wrote to Brannan about financing the paper. Do as you think best only do not think to sustain it from tithing. You know the circumstances and whether the subscription list will warrant its continuation. I wish you together with your paper and ten thousand of the brethren were now in California at the Bay of San Francisco and if you can clear yourself and go there do so.[3] This letter from Young gave Brannan the text of a dream that drove him to the west coast to establish a place for all of the church members to congregate.

From then on Brannan spent every moment of his time finding a suitable sailing vessel in which to convey the church members to the west coast. John Eagar and Edward Kemble were left to publish the church paper until the printing office at number 7 Spruce Street had to be cleared of its publishing material to transact the business of the journey to the west.

Brannan was an organizer who planned the journey to the west carefully even though he knew he could transport only a very few of the church members to the west. A satisfactory ship was found, the Brooklyn, that had to be made into a passenger ship because it had been used as a freighter for almost twenty years sailing to California and back. Its captain agreed to transport the members for \$1200. per month. They were to assume all port charges and risks. They could pay most of the money owed the Captain after they arrived in California.

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The hull was made usable for passengers though none of the adults could stand upright in it. Two hundred thirty five people had signed the register, adults paid \$50., children, \$25. plus additional for subsistence. Included on the passenger list was Kemble, Eagar, Eagar's mother and his four youngest brothers and sisters. Stowed among every kind of equipment needed to begin a frontier settlement was the five ton printing press and paper to print a newspaper in California.[4]

Eagar wrote an account of the voyage and the early days of the Mormon settlement in California. The original autobiography has corrections and words crossed out as though he planned it for publication. This version is in the Church Historian's Archives in Salt Lake City, Utah. There is a well transcribed copy of it in the Bancroft Library in Berkeley, California.

The ship Brooklyn, 450 tons burthen, was commanded by Captain Richardson and left New York on February 4, 1846, having on board 235 passengers all of whom were Mormon except Frank Ward. The company was well supplied with implements of husbandry and necessary tools for establishing a new settlement. The second day out the Brooklyn encountered a heavy gale of wind, which occasioned a great deal of suffering among the passengers from sea sickness and being rolled from one side to the other.

March 4 Cape Horn in sight.

We had a quick passage to Cape Horn. Our little children were on deck every day attending school, jumping the rope and engaged in other activities. We had no freezing weather and

at no time was the thermometer in the cabin below 50 degrees. On the deck, at one time it fell about three hours as low as 30 which was accounted for by Captain R. by our passing near an iceberg.

We ran up the cape with a fair wind, then took a west wind and ran up to 60 south latitude in four days, then took a south wind until we had thus made our longitude west of the cape and took a fair wind down the pacific. We experienced, however, a heavy gale from the south, and were unable to continue our course with safety.

Paul Bailey in his book, Samuel Brannan describes the rounding of the cape as a feat of Captain Richardson's skillful seamanship, and the crew as grateful to have put that graveyard of ships behind them. The captain had set out for the island of Valparaiso but was unable to get there, the wind being so fierce they feared they might be blown back to the cape. Instead they landed at the island used as a setting for Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, San Juan Fernandez. Peru who held sovereignty of the island had earlier made it a penal colony but by this time the last settlement had been removed.

Eagar did not write about the ship's crew and its bravery nor did he write of the Captain's intention to land at Valparaiso. He wrote, The first settlement on the island was burnt by the Peruvians several years ago, the fort destroyed, the canoes sunk in the harbor and the convicts carried away. The last settlement was abandoned four years ago, at the time of the



earthquake at Valparaiso when the island sank and rose about fifty feet. We found excellent water and very easy to be obtained, about two rods from the beach, and plenty of firewood easy of access. Goats, hares and pigs abound there. The fruit was figs and peaches. We came to anchor May 4 at 1 p.m. The ship has proved herself to be better than she was represented, and our Captain and First Mate have been good and kind to our company. I believe every book in the library has been read through.

May 9 the company left Juan Fernandez, and reached the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) the 25th of June and anchored in the harbor of Honolulu, the island of King Hamehameha where the company remained eight days to discharge cargo and received wood and water. Bro mineer on going ashore was asked by natives if he was a missionary to which he answered in the affirmative; the native informed him his daughter was in the next room and that he could visit her. Bro Mineer excused himself.

July 3, on leaving Honolulu Comodore Stockton went aboard and inspected the Brooklyn and advised its passengers to procure arms on account of the unsettled state of California. The ship's company accordingly bought condemned muskets at \$3. The company celebrated the 4th of July and were instructed and discharged their arms.

The Texas question was responsible for the war between the United States and Mexico. When in 1845 the U.S annexed the territory the Mexican minister withdrew and war was declared in May of 1846.



Eagar was not unaware of the significance of finding a number of American warships offshore at Honolulu, bristling with guns. It was the fleet of Commodore Stockton and his flagship, Congress. Stockton was planning to seize Yerba Buena in San Francisco Bay. All of California belonged to Mexico until the spring of 1846 when Americans of Sonoma just north of San Francisco Bay revolted from Mexican rule and created the Bear Flag Republic. John Charles Fremont was in the area but he reportedly took no active part in the rebellion, yet when news of the war with Mexico reached California, Stockton and Fremont had all of northern California in American hands and the Bear Flag Republic became a part of the United States.[5]

Eagar's narrative continues, On July 29th (we) arrived in the harbour of San Francisco and landed at Yerba Buena which signifies "good herb" and which the Spaniards used as tea - found twelve or fifteen Spanish houses. Yerba Buena was subsequently named San Francisco. There was one windmill that tried to grind. Captain Sutter who had bought out a Russian post, paid the Russians yearly installments of grain. [6]

For the general benefit of the Brooklyn immigrants who arrived, the Saints formed themselves into a company under the name of Sam Brannan and company. They branched out into the various mechanical and agricultural pursuits necessary for building up a new settlement. They took up city lots and improved the same. When they landed they had three months provisions. The mechanics could get money for their labor. Eight dollars bought a beef ox. There were fifteen or twenty white inhabitants,

American and English who kept stores and bought tallow and hides from the settlers. If any person rode into the country and killed a fat beef all the owner wished was that such a person would hang up the hide and tallow on a tree to be secure from the destruction of animals. A hide was considered a dollar bank note.

Commodore Stockton arrived at Yerba Buena soon after and took possession of the country in the name of the United States planting the American flag on the public square of Yerba Buena. This ends the autobiography of John Eagar.

Commodore John B. Montgomery and the sloop Portsmouth had arrived in San Francisco only a few days before the Brooklyn docked. The weary Mormons, having slipped 10 dead passengers overboard were happy to be on land once again. Two children had been born enroute, one named Atlantic for the ocean on which it was born and the other Pacific for that ocean.

The immigrants were welcomed by the Yerba Buena settlers, especially by the militia stationed there who had taken possession of the territory for the United States. For a while Yerba Buena became predominantly a Mormon town.[7] But the exuberance of being on land once again soon wore off and they had to face the realities of a pioneer life and most difficult, the fact that they owed Captain Richardson for their voyage. Few members had money of their own and Brannan had convinced those who did to pool it for the company. Fortunately, the Mormons were skilled workmen and were willing to labor diligently.

After much haggling Captain Richardson agreed to accept a



cargo of redwood for the debt owed. Immediately a group of able bodied men went to a sawmill on the Sausalito side of the bay near present day Mill Valley to cut and load a sufficient amount of redwood to pay Captain Richardson. The Brooklyn passed out of the lives of its passengers after the debt was paid. Those who had lost loved ones during the voyage had more reason than others to want to forget the ship. It was rumored that the Brooklyn sailed for the Hawaiian Islands, others said she became unseaworthy and never left the bay. It is true that there were hundreds of vessels stranded in the bay during the days of the gold rush.

Before the Mormons left New York Brannan set up a code of conduct for the passengers to follow and he was very insistent on everyone following these rules. He drew up articles of agreement for the adult passengers of the Brooklyn to sign as they drew near their destination. He believed there must be a strong form of government if the Mormons were to get through the initial stages of the landing and the settlement. These articles stated that the members would pay the debt of transportation, labor for the common good for the next three years and give proceeds of that labor to a common fund. If any refused to obey they would be expelled, leaving their goods with the group.

Every member signed the agreement. But grumbling soon began over the clauses favorable to the leader, especially since as food became scarce Brannan insisted more than ever that the members fulfill the three year contract signed aboard the ship. Since Brannan had allowed his wife and mother in law to live



in a cabin aboard the Brooklyn while the others lived in the very short hull and since he set men to work at once building a home for his family while the others lived in tents or in the abandoned Mission Dolores over the hill, the immigrants did not take his authority easily. He excommunicated many including Lucy Eagar. Later he reinstated them but Lucy Eagar who had been accused of misconduct with two of the church leaders on board the ship refused to be readmitted.

Brannan took his case of the signed contract with the passengers to court and the mayor of Yerba Buena ruled in his favor. With this newly won authority Brannan quickly erected two flour mills on Clay Street. Under his direction and with the help of John Eagar and Edward Kemble the press and type which had printed the Mormon periodical paper in New York were set up and the first printing was done in the loft of the Brannan grist mill on the north side of Clay Street. To insure themselves of a definite source of revenue the shop and crew were busy striking off notices, naval proclamations and land municipal deeds as sources of income. The first issue, a three columned sheet did not appear until January 9, 1847-named The California Star.

Lucy and John's brothers and sisters had nothing further to do with the Mormon Church or Brannan. If it is true that Brannan excommunicated Lucy Eagar as Bancroft wrote, we have to assume that she rejoined the church after 1843, since her son wrote that she had apostitized from it. The accusation Brannan levied against her and the church leaders could have been made because of his fear of polygamy being practised on board the Brooklyn.

Lucy was a widow and vulnerable to many accusations from many people. Lucy tried to get another position for her son in fact. John must have favored his mother's attitude toward Brannan at one time because on February 21, 1847, he wrote a letter to Thomas O. Larkin who was serving as naval store keeper at the time. The following is a copy of the letter.

Yerba Buena      February 21st 1847

Thomas O. Larkin

Sir

In the peninsal of the Californian I observed your advertisement for some one who was desirous of obtaining a clerkship and being at present in the copartnership of the firm of S. Brannan and Co. and I wish to leave this firm, in case I can obtain a suitable situation; and if you have not employed one before the reception of this letter, you will please inform me of your terms and condition upon which I might engage.

Yours Most Respectfully

For Reference Apply

John Eagar

To Frank Ward[8]

ⓀThe letter sounds sincere though he may have written it just to please his mother.

Lucy wished very much to remove all of her children from the influence of the Mormon church. Lt. W.A. Bartlett at her request wrote a very flattering recommendation for John, adding his opinion that E's absence; would kill this lying Mormon paper and its editor at once.[9] John Eagar did not get work with Thomas O. Larkin and he was the only Eagar sibling to remain



with the Mormon church, serving in it until he died.

Bancroft wrote that Mrs. E kept a little store in S. F. in '46, also obtaining a lot; but she went to Mont(erey) with her daughters in '47 where one of them taught school. The two daughters married and her son, Thomas became a clerk in Monterey and Los Angeles. Later he was in the lumber business in East Oakland where he married in 1854. In 1859 Thomas was a member of the California State Legislature. The youngest son lived with his mother the major part of his life. She eventually moved from Monterey back to San Francisco where she died December 5, 1888.

John kept in touch with his family through correspondence after he left California. On April 18, 1863 his brother, Thomas wrote to John about a lot the latter owned in San Francisco. The letter was presumably a reply to a request from John to inquire about the ownership of the lot. The problem was concerning the title - the records showed that John had conveyed all title to a C. C. Smith, Esquire, dated October, 1847 acknowledged before Alcalde (Mayor) Hyde.

Thomas wrote, Now from what you state in your letter, I am under the impresssion that this is a forgery, if so it should be attended to as soon as possible....I understand that Smith is dead and upon inquiry I find that character was bad. If you have a title to this property and can maintain it, it would make you easy for the rest of your life, as it must be worth (\$)30,000. John Eagar died within a year and it would seem that he was far too ill to take care of the business transactions before he died. A plan of town of San Francisco in year 1848



shows Eagar as owning a lot on Clay Street in 1846. Bancroft stated that for a time San Francisco became largely a Mormon town and most of the adults held lots in the town.[10]

While Eagar was working in the newspaper office Brannan es-<sup>t</sup>ablished an agricultural settlement called New Hope. He desired to set up an independent colony similar to Sutter' Fort. He bought a whale boat to sail up the San Juaquin River to a spot on the banks of the Stanislaus River where the colony was to be established. He recruited twenty men and their families to go there to plant wheat, vegetables and redtop, a forage crop. The colonists chosen were well seasoned farmers. The site was beautiful, abounding with game and accessible by river for supplies. Everything seemed perfect for a successful enterprise, but Brannan after getting the project off to a good start abandoned it for other enterprises and the settlement failed because of a disagreement among its settlers. Brannan was restless and concerned because he had not heard from Young.

Brannan was having problems in every area now. Edward Kemble had joined Col. Charles Fremont's army, leaving Eagar to handle The California Star alone. Hurriedly Brannan hired another man to help Eagar, E. P. Jones; an especially judicious move since at this time the rival paper at Monterey was making caustic remarks about The California Star. Then confronted with what seemed like a hundred other problems ....in frustration and bitter rage (Brannan) laid definite plans to dissolve the company of Sam Brannan; arranging its assets for public sale, and without waiting to wind up affairs, he made ready for a journey.[11]

Brannan made a journey to talk with Young who was on his way west by land. Brannan wanted the community of New Hope to be the gathering place for all church members in the west. Young had not answered Brannan's letters - letters in which Brannan told of the wonders of California, yet the 29 year old man was secure in his belief that he could convince Young to see California as the perfect place of settlement for the church members.

He began the journey April 16, 1847, crossing the Sierras, passing the shacks of the Donner Party tragedy for whose survivors he had helped raise money. Trudging on, he came to Fort Hall in Oregon Territory where he found a letter from Young which informed him that the place of settlement for the church was to be the Great Salt Lake valley. In the letter Young asked that Brannan aid the members of the Mormon Battalion just mustered out and coming north from Los Angeles.[12]

If Brannan saw the veterans he was to tell them that Salt Lake Valley was the place of settlement for the Mormon Church. Still Brannan did not give up his idea of settling the Mormons in California. He continued on and found Young at the crossing of the Green river near the mouth of the Big Sandy River. Young remained unimpressed by Brannan's description of California, telling him that sage brush land like the Great Basin where the members would have to fight to survive would be the only salvation for the church. Brannan traveled to the place of the settlement with Young and was aghast at the inhospitable land he encountered there.



With much bitterness, Brannan at last gave up his dream of church settlement in California and left the valley. He met Mormon Battalion veterans on his journey home and relayed to them the message Young sent - that they were to remain in California to work and earn money unless they had enough to see them through one year in the Salt Lake Valley. About one half of the number decided to remain and were put to work on Sutter's payroll. [13]

When Brannan came near Sutter's on his return he set up a merchantile partnership with a Charles Smith who had journeyed with him to meet Young. The establishment located near the fort, later was laughingly called **Brannan's Shirttail Store** by Sutter's laborers. In this way both Brannan and the Mormon Battalion veterans were strategically placed for the discovery of gold in January of 1848. Without knowledge of his good luck, Brannan had set up a store near the location of gold findings where he could sell tools and supplies to the thousands of men who would rush to the American River to search for gold. Brannan soon became the richest man in California. Unfortunately he became an alcoholic and eventually died a pauper in southern California.

Rumors of the discovery of gold were ignored by Brannan and others until Charles Smith who was running the store for Brannan informed him that stocks were being paid for in gold flakes. Then Brannan became a believer and he spread the news of the gold discovery over the world through another scheme he had undertaken. He hired toughened Mormon Battalion veterans to carry the mail on horseback from San Francisco to Missouri.



Brannan aided by Eagar and Kemble plus Elbert Jones and Richard Fourcade who filled many rolls in San Francisco as a writer, worked day and night to produce a special publication to commemorate the run of this first mail. The lead article carried the California gold story. The discovery of gold soon made San Francisco a deserted place. The last issue of the California Star came out in June of 1848 after which Eagar joined the Mormon Battalion veterans in the gold field. Within a year Brannan sold the California Star press to Kemble for \$800. and Kemble combined it with the press from Monterey to print a paper in the growing city of Sacramento called the Alta California. [14].

The Mormon Battalion veterans had been on the spot when gold was discovered in January of 1848. A chance discovery led two men to find the richest of all gold discoveries, the famous Mormon Island of the American River. But gold was not the prime goal for these men. Early in the spring of 1848 they had decided to continue their journey to Salt Lake Valley and the rich find on Mormon Island did no more than cause a slight delay in their travels. These men were religious followers who preferred to join their families.

A rendezvous was held in Pleasant Valley of all those interested in going to Salt Lake Valley. The trip initially began from the assembling place in this valley on the American River, July 3, 1848, and ended September 29, 1848, when the last wagon pulled into the Salt Lake Settlement. The party consisted of 45 men and one woman, Melissa Cory, wife of Sargeant Cory who had traveled

the distance from Omaha Nebraska to the far west with the Battalion. The company took with them two small six-pound brass cannons bought from Sutter, 22 wagons, 150-200 horses and approximately 250 cows, calves and oxen. In military fashion the party divided into groups of 10 with a captain in charge of each group, and Lieutenant Thompson was selected as military captain of the entire group. Lt. Thompson had proved himself in his line of duty as a member of the Mormon Battalion.

The following account of the trip across the Sierras has been taken from the journals of Addison Pratt and Azariah Smith.[15]. Since each journalist kept account of his actions and interests and although there is some disagreement in numbers of people and livestock, a fairly detailed account of the entire journey, much of it through unknown country, can be made by combining their writings.

The party broke camp early on the third of July with some apprehension because several days earlier, approximately June 25 Daniel Browett, Ezra H. Allen and Henderson Cox, all veterans of the Mormon Battalion had taken their horses and gone ahead to scout a path to the east. They had not returned.

The group made good time the first day and covering about twenty miles they camped in a valley with abundant feed and water. This valley was named Sly's Park for the Battalion veteran accompanying them, James Sly. They remained there ten days while other scouting parties went east to find a path over the high Sierra Nevada Mountains. The parties were to search for



any message left by the three men and for any signs whatsoever that the men had met with foul play.

While they were resting there, Addison Pratt had a fever... I was lame from the effects of a bruise received falling from a horse that took fright and jumped stiff legged -a trick well known to those who had anything to do with California horses. These trials together with the unfavorable prospect of our journey and the ungovernable disposition of our California teams, made things very unpleasant for John (Eagar) and I, as niether of us were teamsters, he being reared in a printing office and I on the sea, and both unaccustomed to mountain life. Pratt had been on a five year mission to the Tahitian Islands for the Mormon Church. All this served to impress my mind with dark clouds of evil foreboding and it was with no little persuasion that the company kept me from turning back.

While yet in camp we found a young man who was a teamster and who agreed to drive our team (Pratt's and Eagar's team). I was then provided with a horse and appointed to assist in driving the loose cattle as soon as I was physically able to do so. In order to get rid of the ague, I took three tablespoons of common salt dissolved in a gill of hot water. This answered both as an emitic and cathartic, and disagreeable as it was, had the desired effect... This ten day encampment allowed Pratt and Eagar a little respite during which they adjusted themselves to the arduous life they would have to endure the next three months.



On the 11th day the camp moved eastward ten to twelve miles to Leek Valley. This valley like other locations in the general area was first named by the Mormons. Pratt wrote, It was a beautiful valley thus named because of that vegetable growing there (leek vegetable)...containing feed in abundance for our cattle. In fact nothing can exceed in beauty and fertility many of the fine spacious valleys through which we passed crossing the Sierra Nevada Range. As the traveler first reaches the timber at the foot of the mountain he sees a variety of large sized oak, but as he ascends the oak becomes small and dwarf-like and intermixed with dwarfish pine and fir. As he proceeds still further the oak becomes extinct, but the pine, firs and cedars increase, until he, near the top of the range, faces some of the finest timber seen in America. We saw pines that measured more than ten feet in diameter and from two to three hundred feet in height.

Each day a small party of men would go ahead making a road by clearing a path through undergrowth and moving rocks aside so that the wagons weren't constantly breaking down causing delays. On Wednesday, July 19, the party moved through snow banks and arrived at the spot where a scouting party had earlier found what appeared to be a fresh grave site. The grave was opened and found to contain the bodies of the three missing men. Searching around the immediate area, the party found a large spring coming from the mountain side and nearby a camp site. Numerous arrows were found, many broken and bloody, and there were blood stained stones with hair still adhering to

them. Evidently the three men had been attacked and slain at this spot, and after the removal of all clothing, the bodies were dumped one atop the other in the grave site.

The Battalion veterans reburied the bodies in a proper fashion and later covered the graves with stones to keep the wild animals from disinterring their fellow soldiers. They erected a headstone and carved an inscription to their memory on a large spruce tree growing nearby.

Azariah Smith wrote, That evening all livestock were put in a makeshift corral, the cannon were unlimbered and loaded, and every man went to sleep with a loaded gun beside him. While the camp was at evening prayer, the cattle and horses began running wild from one side of the corral to the other, and believing that Indians were trying to run off the herd, Captain Thompson ordered a cannon to be fired to scare them away. At that elevation, the shot echoed around the mountain tops for some time and it added impetus to the stampeding animals in their haste to get away. The Battalion men stayed in that camp for several days trying to recollect all the animals.

After naming the place Tragedy Springs we continued our journey and passed some beautiful mountain lakes which abounded with trout. We also drove over some banks of snow which we judged to be forty feet deep. In our valleys from which the snow had disappeared the young and tender grass was found in abundance, and the flowers, of which there was a great variety were just in blossom. Although it was the latter part of July, it seemed



like April, Azariah Smith wrote. This vegetation looked especially verdant to these men who had recently crossed the arid southwest a few months earlier.

Beginning again with the narrative of Addison Pratt, he wrote We camped near the snow, and the frost during the night was severe enough to freeze over some of the streams. Two wild Indians came into the camp. We took their bows and arrows from them, gave them some supper and placed them under guard until morning, when we gave them breakfast and returned their weapons and they left us seemingly well pleased.

In moving on next morning we descended some steep slopes and came down into a lovely valley which surrounded a beautiful lake. Here we found plenty of grass, and went into camp for two days. While stopping at this place one of the brethren killed a black tailed deer. We also saw large flocks of grey ducks about the lake, but discovered that the lake was partly formed by a beaver dam which had been built across the outlet. Some fifteen or twenty Indians came into our camp bringing with them some beaver skin, quivers, some venison and a preserved buck's head, with horns which they used in decoying when on the chase. Though we had commenced to descend the mountains we were still on the headwaters of the American River. Descending the east slope of the mountains was as difficult as it had been ascending the west side....In going down the mountain on the other side which was very steep, the men had to hold the wagons to prevent them from tipping over. The next



day we descended some of the worst mountains encountered between Sutter's Fort and Salt Lake. Numerous stops were made to repair broken wagons at such places as Red Lake (the source of the Salmon River) Hope Valley and Four Mile Canyon. On Monday, July 13, the air temperature was so low that ice froze to a two inch thickness in a water bucket.

The company moved down and out of the mountains following the Pilot River in daily lengths of 10 to 20 miles. At the head of Pass Canyon the men killed four mountain chickens and two ducks. Near the camp was found lots of flax more than four feet high.

On August 12, they left the Pilot River and going in a northwest direction they encountered the old emigrant road used by thousands of people going west, and the Truckee River near the point where the road crossed over to the St. Mary's or Humboldt River. Midway across this forty five miles of barren, dry land they stopped at the hot springs which John C. Fremont was reputed to have said was several degrees hotter than boiling water. Some of the men in the company made coffee by putting good water in a kettle with coffee and placing it in the spring. The spring water was too sulphuric for man and beast to drink.

Moving up the Humboldt River on Tuesday, August 15, they met a west bound train of sixteen wagons going to California and on Wednesday, August 16, another train of 25 wagons was encountered. On Saturday, August 26, another west bound train was met, and according to one of the brethren in that train,

the Salt Lake settlements were 500 miles to the east. On Tuesday, August 29, they encountered another west bound train of 48 wagons. Finally on Thursday, September 7, the company left the Humboldt River and cut northeast through the mountains. During the entire month long journey up the Humboldt, they had been constantly pestered by Indians shooting their horses and cows with poisoned arrows.

The company camped, on Monday, September 11 in Warm Springs at the Deep Wells. These wells were fed by springs and ranged from one to fifty feet in diameter. The sides of the larger wells were so steep the cattle which fell into them had to be helped out or they would have drowned. Several attempts were made to sound the bottoms but even with the longest lines available no bottom could be found. Around each well was a raised natural lip on which grass and willows grew. Any water that did escape from the well was quickly lost in the nearby soil around it.

Moving on, the company encamped on Goose Creek, a tributary of the Columbia River, and followed it down several days until they came to the rock Gemini (two massive rock formations). They left the Fort Hall road at this point to go east and south toward the Salt Lake settlements. On Monday, September 18, they camped on a high slope from which they caught their first view of the west side of the Great Salt Lake. The company moved eastward at a fairly slow pace, crossing many small streams which sink into the ground soon after leaving the mountainous terrain. On Saturday, September 23, they crossed to the east



bank of the Bear River and here encountered old wagon tracks leading to the Salt Lake settlements. Moving on down the Bear River; they camped at Captain Brown's settlement.

Addison Pratt wrote, The company traveled 20 miles and encamped at Captain Brown's settlement (Ogden River). The brethren left the cannons about ten miles back on the road. Concerning Captain Brown's settlement, Addison Pratt wrote, A few day's travel from here (Deep Wells) brought us to Ogden River, near its junction with the Weber River. In the forks of the two rivers Goodyear's Fort is situated, distant about forty miles from Salt Lake City. This situation was bought by Captain James Brown on his arrival from California, together with the cattle, goats and hogs, etc, and was now keeping a dairy. When we visited the Fort the Captain was away on a visit to the city ; but he had a large family living at the Fort. This James Brown was not the James S. Brown who traveled to California with the Mormon Battalion but the James Brown who led a group of the church members from Puebla, Colorado where they had been sent by Lt. Col. P. St. George Cooke because they were too ill to continue with the Mormon Battalion upon arriving at Santa Fe.

Pratt continued, We remained in camp one day recruiting our teams. Though I inquired after my family I could learn no tidings of them here. But several of the brethren who received the glad news that their families were in the city left on horseback for the city. They tried to persuade me to go with them, but I flatly refused. I had got so used to disappointments during



the past five years that I felt unwilling to take chances at meeting another: for I realized how bad I would feel if I should go ahead with the brethren who would meet their families and not meet my wife and children. So the brethren started without me.

They, John Eagar, Addison Pratt and the others who elected to take a slower pace arrived in the Salt Lake settlement already called Salt Lake City by many, on September 28, 1848. Some of the group did not arrive until September 29. Since all of the company except Pratt and Eagar were Mormon Battalion veterans who had left their families in August of 1848 there were many happy reunions. Thus ended the long arduous journey that had taken them all the way to the west coast of the North American continent and back inland to the Great Basin.

Addison Pratt described in his journal the happy homecoming of a missionary who had been away from his family for five years. His youngest child was afraid of this strange man who came to her and wanted to kiss her. He made friends with her by giving her a wonderful selection of seashells collected in the Tahitian Islands. To these he added sugar plums, raisins and cinnamon. His wife had lost her upper teeth through scurvy suffered during the first winter the Mormons had been driven from their homes in Winter Quarters near Omaha, Nebraska. He said she and the other children looked fine otherwise, having put on a little flesh since he had seen them last.

John Eagar did not have a family to greet him in the city.

He could have been one of the first Brooklyn passengers to arrive there. Many of them remained in California. The exact count of those who came on to the intermountain valley is uncertain.

Salt Lake City had 1700 citizens living in it when the Battalion veterans arrived. The first settlers had come on July 24, 1847. The settlement was laid out by Brigham Young and his committee. A city of 135 ten acre blocks, each divided into eight one and one fourth lots was surveyed. Lots were to have single houses on them twenty feet back from the street. None of the houses were to face each other. The streets were made one hundred and thirty two feet wide with a twenty foot sidewalk on each side. In laying out the city the leaders reserved four ten acre blocks as public squares. On one of them, a committee began building a fort of log cabins in which some of the settlers could spend their first winter. The rest of them wintered in their wagons with lean-tos built along side.

Just as Brannan stocked the Brooklyn with everything necessary to make a self sufficient colony in California, the Mormons under Young's direction brought with them everything necessary to begin a community. Those who arrived first quickly set up grist mills, tanneries and other enterprises necessary to satisfy the settlers most urgent needs.[16]

Through irrigation learned by the Mormon Battalion soldiers as they traveled through the southwest, the arid land of the valley was even more efficiently watered than it had been the first year of the settlement's existence. The leaders quickly



set up an organization, formulating rules and laws governing the use of water just as the native Indians and the Spaniards had done in the southwest.

In spite of careful planning and much hard work the winter of 1848-49 found the members near starvation. Their first year's crop had been largely consumed by crickets and though the seagulls flew in to eat the insects in great numbers much of the crop was destroyed. Many a person could remember how thistles and segoe lillies and animal hides tasted for years afterward. This would have been a lean year for John Eagar along with the others for though the Californians brought gold with them gold is not edible.

Out of necessity Young created a cooperative where all shared alike. He threatened those who were unwilling to sell and share their food; it would be taken away from them by force. No grain was to be used to make alcohol. The livestock was to be commonly held and utilized for the full membership. In this way they all survived - there were no deaths from starvation. The Battalion veterans who had learned to make adobe in the southwest set to work and built an eight foot wall around the settlement. Two hundred fifty cabins were built inside the fort for the settlers were as yet uncertain about the local Indians. Their ethnic composition was of hardy stock drawn from a mingling of early American and Mormon missionary converts from England, Scandanavia and other European countries who came to join them in ever increasing numbers.

John Eagar married Sariah Anna Johnson on July 1, 1849. Sariah was seventeen and had come to the valley by land with her family. John Eagar was twenty six when they married. Sariah's sister who didn't arrive in the settlement until October of 1850 wrote in her diary, We arrived in Salt lake City... and my aunt Sarah went with us to my father's home in Cottonwood (now incorporated within Salt Lake City.) I found my sister, Sariah there married to John Eagar. They had a baby girl six months old and seemed very happy together in their one room log house.<sup>17</sup>

John Eagar soon moved his wife and children to Manti, Utah south of Salt Lake city. He like his father had consumption and he hoped Manti would be a better climate for it. In Manti he found many things to do. He was assessor and collector of taxes, clerk of the court, post master, tithe clerk for the church and even lawyer. His eldest daughter told her children of seeing her father wrap bed clothes around himself to sit up in bed to give a woman a divorce shortly before he died, March 6, 1864.<sup>18</sup>

John Thomas Eagar, the eldest son of Sariah and John Eagar, wrote in his short autobiography that previous to his father's death John Eagar tried to sell his home in Manti because he was determined to move farther south in hope of improving his health and on his death bed he made Sariah promise to take herself and the children to Virgin City in the southwest corner of Utah where her father Joel Hills Johnson and her brothers were living.<sup>19</sup>

Sariah kept her promise by moving the entire family to southern



Utah. Her four eldest children participating in the pattern of Mormon land expansion that became an important policy of church leaders, moved to Arizona within the next few years.

From 1847 when the Mormons first came to Utah until 1849 the church governed the territory, appointing civil servants to care for necessary secular duties wherever they were needed. Recognition of the sovereignty of the United States was always important to Mormons even though they were threatened by citizen mobs or an army. When the Treaty of Hidalgo, signed after the Mexican War, became fact on February 2, 1849, a call was sent out to the citizens of that portion of upper California lying east of the Sierra Nevadas and west of the Rockies for a political convention to meet in Salt Lake City in March, 1849 and a group assembled to draw up a constitution.<sup>20</sup>

The convention adopted a constitution for provisional governing of the State of Deseret which claimed a large region comprising all of present-day Utah, Nevada, small sections of Oregon, Idaho and Wyoming in the north and all of Colorado and New Mexico in the east; over two thirds of what is now Arizona and a large section of California, including the San Bernardino Valley and the port of San Diego which would give the Mormons a seaport for immigrants coming from Europe and the eastern states. The latter area became known as the Mormon Corridor.<sup>21</sup>

With the adoption of the constitution for the State of Deseret, which the new state was called, theocratic rule came to an end though the power of the church was always evident. In 1850 Congress passed a law establishing the Territory of Utah which only included

what is now Utah, Nevada, one third of Colorado and a corner of Wyoming. Half of the appointed territorial positions went to Mormons and the other half to appointed gentile officials. Conflict between the gentile officials and the Mormons began immediately, leading eventually to the Mormon War of 1857.<sup>22</sup>

In the fall of 1850, Joel Hill Johnson, father of Sariah Eagar was sent by Brigham Young to southern Utah to assist in the establishment of communities. He wrote in his autobiography, ~~I~~ I was selected to assist Apostle George A. Smith to form a settlement at (Little Salt Lake), Parowan, a Navajo word meaning clear water. I sent with him my two eldest sons (Sixtus and Nephi) with two teams loaded with provisions, seed, farming tools, iron sawmills, et cetera and laden with necessaries for a new settlement at (Little Salt Lake) Parowan.<sup>23</sup> Parowan is a Navajo word meaning clear water.

The obvious reason for the settlement of southern Utah was that it lay within the Territory of Utah and Brigham Young wanted to settle as much of the original State of Deseret as possible. However the Manifest Destiny attitude that fostered settlement throughout the frontiers of America played its role in the Mormon movement as it turned to the Great Basin. The tragic experience in the Midwest led the Mormons to utilize a self help policy for survival; this attitude of self help fostered a need for territorial expansion where they would be the first claimers. The negative response Brigham Young gave to Brannan's ideas of settling beautiful, bountiful California echoed the feeling



of many church leaders that the Mormons must settle places that no others would want. Such a place was southern Utah where many new settlements were made after the State of Deseret had to be scrapped. Of the ninety five locations settled after 1850 most were in arid southwest Utah.<sup>24</sup>

In 1854 Jacob Hamblin, already celebrated as an apostle to the Indians of Utah territory, was sent to the valley of the Virgin and Santa Clara rivers south of Parowan to teach the Indians how to farm and to keep peace with the natives. In 1853 some foolish immigrants took advantage of the Indians in northern Utah, killing one of them. This and other incidents led to a mistrust of the Mormon settlers and the Indians of southern Utah, though on the whole friendly, began to steal the stock of the Mormons. The Mormons desired the friendship of the Indians for their own safety and because they were regarded as individuals to be proselytized.<sup>25</sup>

The Mormons were not the first Americans to see the Indians as individuals for Christian conversion but their belief in the Book of Mormon whose central message is repentance and the importance of knowledge, set forth for them the task of reconversion of the American Indians whom they believed were descendants of apostate Hebrews who had settled in the new world about 2600 years earlier and who had through sin fallen away from the true church which Christ restored to them on a visit to the new world after his resurrection.<sup>26</sup>

Jacob Hamblin located with other missionaries on the Santa

Clara River where a fort was built about forty miles from present day St. George at the north end of Mountain Meadows. He became the apostle to the Indians of southern Utah and Arizona from that day on. Ammon Tenney who married Sariah Eggar's eldest daughter, Anna, became one of Hamblin's missionary companions. Nephi Johnson, brother of Sariah Eggar, was seventeen when he moved to southern Utah. At age twenty five he participated in a massacre at Mountain Meadows without knowledge before hand of what was going to take place.

Low in the valley, about a mile and a half from Utah State Highway 18, between St. George and Enterprise, a monument stands in a peaceful, lush meadow. The monument tells in a few words what happened and in the 128 years since it took place the horror of the deed has not been completely sorted out.

#### MOUNTAIN MEADOWS

A favorite recruiting place on the old Spanish Trail, (this trail was used by the Mormons going to and from southern California) In this vicinity, September 7 - 11, 1857, occurred one of the most lamentable tragedies in the annals of the West.

A company of about 140 Arkansas and Missouri emigrants led by Captain Charles Fancher, enroute to California, was attacked by white men and Indians. All but 17, being small children, were killed. John D. Lee, who confessed participation as leader, was legally executed here March 23, 1877. Most of the emigrants were buried in their own defense pits.



In the preface to her book, *John Doyle Lee*, Juanita Brooks writes, ....at the age of nineteen, I was teaching school in Mesquite, Nevada. There I became acquainted with Brother Nephi Johnson, a patriarchal old man with a long beard and a kindly face. One afternoon in the spring he entered my schoolroom, walked up the aisle, and seated himself at a desk. Waving with his cane at the startled children he said, "Now you go right on with your work, don't let me disturb you." After the children had been dismissed he told her he wanted her to do some writing for him. "My eyes have witnessed things that my tongue has never uttered, and before I die I want them written down. I want you to do it for me."<sup>27</sup> Nephi had been in hiding for many years in the canyons near Johnson north east of Kanab.

But Miss Brooks was busy with the closing of school and preparation for marriage and it wasn't until word came that Nephi Johnson was dying and was asking for her that she went to hear what he had to say, but by the time she arrived he was too close to death to be able to talk. Miss Brooks had not realized he was at the massacre and when he uttered the words, *Blood, Blood, Blood*, in a way that made her scalp crawl she asked what was troubling him. He probably could have told her the true story of exactly which individuals had killed the emigrants. At the second trial of John D. Lee, he alone was reluctant to place the blame on Lee. Johnson, reputed to be one of the best Paiute Indian interpreters, claimed that he had gone up the side of the hill to catch his horse and saw the massacre from a distance.

Perhaps no one showed less disposition to remember anything than Nephi Johnson....The cross examination of Nephi Johnson continued at great length, during which time it became clear that he would tell nothing to involve any person except Lee and he would tell just enough about him to prove that he killed one woman and might have killed a man.<sup>28</sup>

It seems logical to assume that someone had to be accused of the Mountain Meadow massacre and that John D. Lee alone had been chosen by the church authorities to be sacrificed as an atonement for the deed in order to satisfy the conscience of the Mormon people as well as the laws of the gentile world. Lee who had been in hiding for many years though accused earlier was not shot until twenty years had passed. Men like Nephi Johnson had been coached to make sure no others were implicated for the massacre, and this injustice, though at the time it must have seemed to be the only way to handle the situation, weighed on Johnson's mind as he grew older. He wanted to relieve his conscience before he died, it would seem, and he chose Juanita Brooks to write the confession for him.

The mob action aroused within the perpetrators can be more easily understood if it is remembered that they had only been in the Great Basin ten years and Most who had been called to the south had been with the church through the persecutions of Missouri and Illinois...the Bishop of Parowan had been wounded at the Haun's Mill massacre<sup>29</sup> and survived only because the mob thought he was dead. Others had lost relatives and friends



in that tragedy and longed for an opportunity to avenge them. Their current reading was limited almost entirely to the Deseret News, which was printing in serial form the life of Joseph their prophet, and retelling the suffering many of them knew firsthand. Always the crimes of their enemies were favorite themes for testimony, sermon, and even recreation.<sup>30</sup>

Those disastrous events had been caused by men who looked and sounded just as these emigrants who came through territory the Mormons considered to be theirs because they were the first to settle it. The emigrants were making threats against the Mormons as they traveled and to add to these threats was the knowledge that President James Buchanan had ordered General Sidney Albert Johnston and 2500 troops to march to Utah to assume all government positions and stamp out polygamy. With the army at the eastern door, temporarily stopped by the winter weather, the more imminent danger seemed to be an attack from California. On October 30 (1857), Apostle Wilford Woodruff wrote, "I went up in the evening to the President's office and learned that the California mail had arrived. I heard some letters read. One stated that the government had made arrangements to send light draft boats up the Colorado with men and arms against us at that point."<sup>31</sup> The point or landing place referred to is now covered by Lake Mead.

The reasons given for the massacre can only help to understand the deed though it can never justify it. The Mormons kept a citizen's militia organized wherever they settled. Apostle

George A. Smith wrote to church headquarters in December of 1850, I organized the Iron County (southwestern Utah) militia into four companies, one of horse, 35 in number, rank and file and two of infantry, ranking near the same in number, also one artillery company, twelve in number, forming the whole into a battallion which is known as the Iron County Battalion.<sup>32</sup> This organization was typical of citizen militia over the state and made a ready defense against Indian depredations as well as any other cause needed to preserve the Mormon settlements so that though the Mormons were extremely ill prepared for a battle against Johnston's army they had a nucleus from which to begin to defend themselves. Their overpowering problem in case of having to go to war was lack of supplies. Thomas L. Kane, who had befriended the Mormons many times obtained reprieve for them in Washington and came to Utah to intercede on their behalf with the gentile governor. Fortunately for the Mormons Johnston's army began its march toward Utah so late in the fall that there was little forage for their horses and they found themselves with little food. To add to the deprivation of the marching army, Brigham Young had set into action a scorched earth policy that burned all available food as they drew near Utah territory. These incidents gave Thomas L. Kane, enough time for negotiations that were providential for both the Mormons and the approaching army.

President Buchanan found many reasons for sending the army against the Mormons based on rumors and some facts which the president felt needed to be acted upon but the basic reason



for desiring to stamp out Mormonism in Utah was political and emanated from the gentiles who desired the territorial positions and had problems in relating to the Mormons as they held these positions. Though much anti polygamy energy was aroused among certain factions in the east this practise had little to do with the actions of the president and as is usually the case the military action lay in the political arena.<sup>33</sup>

The year following the massacre, Virgin City, just north of present day St. George, was founded and the place was laid out by Nephi Johnson.<sup>34</sup> The first meeting house was built in 1861. Sariah Eagar's father wrote, In the fall of 1861, I moved my families down the Virgin River (Sariah's mother died before the family came to the west but Johnson had remarried and had other children by 1861). I was then sent by Erastus Snow up North Creek six miles to build a sawmill, which I accomplished and planted out large orchards and vineyards, and made many improvements. At that date the place was called Johnson later it was named Enoch. But when Sariah Eagar joined her father and brothers after the death of John she found most of them living in Virgin City.

Sariah's eldest son wrote that in May, 1864 ...we moved to my Grandfather's house with whom we lived until 1866 when my mother married A.J. Workman. I remained at home a short time after mother married Workman, I then went to live with my uncle Seth Johnson where I stayed about two years and went to live with my uncle Sextus Johnson. In 1870 I went to Kanab, Kane

County, Utah where I made me a home and in January, 1877 I went to St. George Temple where I married Harriet Eliza Bunting<sup>35</sup>

Sariah moved to Hurricane, Utah when she married Jacob Workman.

In 1863 settlers on the upper Virgin River whose land was being washed away made preliminary surveys for irrigating and occupying the lands that came to be called Hurricane. Sariah's brother, Nephi, with Apostle Erastus Snow was coming down a hill in this area, following an old Indian trail with a heavy buggy driven by mules using rope to keep it from tipping. A whirlwind took the top off the buggy. Erastus Snow exclaimed, **Well that was a hurricane, we'll name this Hurricane Hill.**<sup>36</sup> The fault, the terrace and town were named from this event. Sariah lived the remainder of her life here. She lived to be 97 years of age and her home in Hurricane, Utah still stands at 35 South Main Street.

John and Sariah's eldest daughter, Anna, married to Ammon Tenney, was living in Kanab in 1870 when her brother Nephi arrived. Ammon and his father, Nathan Tenney, were herding cattle for the church and John D. Lee as well as taking care of their own ranching chores.<sup>36</sup> Kanab was first settled by Levi Stewart though Jacob Hamblin had lived there and built a fort before he came. Brigham Young visited it in 1870 to see the town laid out with wide streets and large lots for homes as was the custom of these people who had been on hand for the inception of many villages on the frontiers of America. Kanab is located a short distance north of the Arizona border in Kane County,



Utah and about 60 miles east of St. George. The word, Kanab, means willow in the Ute language.

Because of the terrain and water availability, the trail from St. George went first to Pipe Springs within the Arizona boundary then to Kanab on Kanab Creek. Pipe Springs was discovered by the Mormons on Jacob Hamblin's first trip across the Colorado River with a group of missionaries who went to visit the Hopis in October, 1858. It received its name because Jacob Hamblin's brother shot a hole through the bole of a tobacco pipe while the missionaries were camped there.<sup>37</sup> The spring came out of the sandstone, breaking to the surface at this point and creating an oasis in a semiarid country. Prehistoric Basket makers and Pueblo Indians had used the site for hundreds of years as indicated by the broken pottery and arrow heads nearby. Paiutes moved into the area, hunting small game and gathering wild vegetables for food. They migrated in seasonal patterns using the spring as one of their regular camping grounds. The Escalante-Dominguez party- a Spanish exploring group out of Santa Fe in 1776 camped southwest of the spring without seeing the oasis, at least they did not report it though they were camped near Kanab Creek.<sup>38</sup>

Pipe Springs was settled in 1863 by a Dr. James M. Whitmore who owned the place when he and Robert McIntyre were killed by the Indians January 8, 1866. President Brigham Young purchased the claims of the Whitmore estate and in 1870 established the headquarters of a church herd of cattle in charge of Anson P. Winsor. At the spring in late 1870 were erected two sizable

stone buildings; usually known as Winsor Castle, a safe refuge from Indians or outlaws. In 1871 Pipe Springs became a station of the Deseret Telegraph Company extending from Rockville to Kanab, the first in Arizona since a military line from Fort Yuma to Maricopa Wells was not built until 1873.<sup>39</sup> Luella Stewart at age seventeen was the first telegraph operator.

Brigham Young pressed for the settlement of more land desiring to settle along the Little Colorado River that heads in the White Mountains of Arizona. Settlements along the route were needed. In 1871 after conferring with Brigham Young in St. George, four brothers, Joel, Joseph, Benjamin and William Johnson pulled up stakes in the Virgin River Valley and moved their families including grown and married sons to the Spring Canyon Ranch 12 miles east and a bit north of Kanab. Here they discovered numerous springs issuing from the bases of tall red sandstone bluffs, a sparkling creek in the center of the canyon and an excellent stands of grass. The place came to be called Johnson and was used as a gathering place for travelers going to Arizona.<sup>40</sup>

Just as Brigham Young had chosen to settle the uninviting area of the Great Basin so he looked to settle Arizona because it appeared to be an isolated and unfruitful place in the early part of 1870 and this basic idea of settling the lands that others would reject was an important part of the Mormon attitude. But the gorge of the Colorado River must be crossed or hundreds of extra miles traveled around it to arrive at the Little Colorado River, the area which seemed most attractive to the church leaders.



The Colorado River and its tributaries drain nearly all the lands of present Mormon settlement, mainly lying between the Rockies and Sierras. It has a seasonal flow, flooding in the spring and a minimal flow in the summer and fall, and rapids that limit its use for navigation as people who tried soon discovered. Jacob Hamblin tried fording the Colorado River at various places before he decided the best place to cross was at the mouth of the Paria River where it flows into the Colorado River. The terrain of southwest Utah and northwest Arizona is a stepwise series of high plateaus. Rivers have cut deep canyons in the plateaus as well as along their sides. The route traversed from Kanab to the Colorado River crossed a number of plateaus including the Paria Plateau. The Paria River cuts a canyon through the northeast side of the Paria plateau deep enough that the place where it empties into the Colorado river allows travelers to approach the gorge of the river with relative ease. The problem confronting the traveler after crossing the river was to ascend the Echo Cliffs opposite the mouth of the Paria.<sup>41</sup> These cliffs named by Powell's party when a gun shot exploded by one of them echoed hundreds of times, were formidable. To ascend the cliffs on horseback was difficult enough but if wagons were to be used a wagon road needed to be blasted out of the side of the cliffs.

Within five years after Jacob Hamblin first forded the river in 1858 the raiding of the Indians of southern Utah whose natural food source of nuts and seeds had been razed by Mormon settlement

and whose natural game animals had been hunted to extinction, became a problem. Navajo raiding of Mormon stock also increased and became a deterring factor to settlement in Arizona because although half of the Navajos had been rounded up and herded to Fort Sumner Reservation in New Mexico, half of them remained hidden from the U.S. authorities in the mountainous terrain of their Arizona-New Mexico territory. The withdrawal of soldiers from the area to fight the civil war gave the Navajos, who were hungry, the courage to raid the Mormons of their stock again and again.

The troubles with the Indians in Utah were better than in most places though the Mormons developed a "pioneer attitude" toward them in spite of their religious precepts that told them they were bound in conscience to aid in the reconversion of ~~their~~ Indian brothers. They looked down on them because of their widely differing culture. In 1864 Indian thieves had been killed for which the Mormons were blamed and the Navajos were ready to seek revenge which increased the normal fears anglo speaking people felt toward the Indians. Hamblin with other companions went into Navajo territory to assure the Navajos that the killing had been done by gentiles and not Mormons. In 1867 the Black Hawk War took place in Utah but the Mormons participated only when necessary to preseve their livestock and homes because they had been advised by Brigham Young that it was better to feed the Indians than to fight them in spite of the constant raiding.



In October, 1870, Hamblin, Ammon Tenney and John Wesley Powell.<sup>42</sup> attended a meeting of Navajos at Fort Defiance in an attempt to stop the raiding of the settler's stock. A peace treaty was agreed upon with four of the most important chiefs. The Navajos now returned from Fort Sumner seemed more amiable and there were more soldiers in the area to keep their movements under surveillance. Even so it was not until after 1871 that concrete attempts were made to settle south of the Grand Canyon in Arizona and then it was only hardy Mormons like Jacob Hamblin and John D. Lee who felt it would be safe to settle there.

On November 15, 1871, John D. Lee, wrote in his journal, I had a private interview with J. Hamblin. He gave me the pass word to make my way to Lonely Dell by way of the Hogon wells & Join a company & make a crossing of the Colerado River near there. " There is a good place for settlement & you are invited to take it up & occupy it with as Many good Ranches as you want & can secur, that is, if you feel to do so; & I would like to have a small interest point in it ....So if you have a woman that has Faith enough to go with you, take her along & some cows".<sup>43</sup> Lee chose Emma Bachelor to go with him and she named the place Lonely Dell. In this way Lee was ordered to go to the crossing and hold it for the church. Hamblin said he would furnish Lee with provisions, seedlings and all other necessary goods to make a sucessful farm of the ranch at the mouth of the Paria River.

When Lee first moved to the crossing he repaired and used

one of the boats that had been built for John Wesley Powell's Green River-Grand Canyon expedition. Powell's boat had been abandoned by the expedition because it had suffered serious damage from waves and rocks. Lee built one of his own for the ferry in December of 1873. He wrote, About Midnight uncle Tommy Smith (head boat builder) arrived with the gunels [sic] for a Ferry Boat & 1600 feet of lumber for me. On December 23, 1872 he wrote, James Jackson arrived on Horse back with Some Spikes from Jacob Hamblin for the Boat....Two days earlier I wrote Jacob a letter by Some NavaJoes reporting the progress of the boat.

The ferry boat was completed, having framed, floored, corked and pitched it in preparation for a launching on January 11, 1873. About 12 noon we had a Public Dinner on the Bottom of the Ferry Boat....After Dinner we launched the Boat & called her the Colerado & the skiff we named Pahreah...The Colerado is 26 by 8 1/2 feet, strong, A Staunch craft & well constructed & a light Runer. The Party presant all crossed on her to Christen her and take a Pleasure Ride. We crossed over & back twice. Uncle Tommy Smith & Son Robt. Rowed her over & I Steerd. Set down a good Post and fastened her with a cable chain & reached home (the cabin at Lonely Dell) about Dusk. The day cloudy and pleasant. Lee soon used the boat to ferry missionaries across the river on their way to the Little Colorado River area of Arizona.

Lee and Hamblin had been searching the bank opposite Lonely



Dell for a suitable road out of the canyon. Lee wrote, January 30, 1873, ...Bro Smithson (from church headquarters) was in favour of My rout, it being in a much Safer place for a Ferry & to keep the Boats & where the Ferry can be tended from the settlement. Jacob finally concluded it was the best place.

the route Hamblin selected was lower on the river and would require much less effort to ascend the cliffs but it was flooded at least half of the year and thus unsafe as a crossing. As it turned out both crossings were used depending on the flow of the river.

February 25, 1873, Lee wrote, ....Read a dispatch from Pres. B. Young indicating a collony to be Sent to Setle this Season. April 3, 1873, ...approach of Prest. (president of church stake composed of a group of wards) Jos. W. Young, Bishop Bunker & I.C. Haight, with a company of 25 Men to locate & work a waggon Road to & from the Ferry, preparitory to or for a company of 250 Familys which are to follow up & form a Setle[ment] on the Litle Colerado River this present spring....they wished Me to Join them in locating the rout on the Morrow while the company would move up camp to the presant crossing & work out a Road from My House to the presant crossing. The next day the route for the road was found across the river from Lee's cabin and the men decided a road with a fair grade could be built. April 5, 1873, This morning the hands was lined out on the road,...with full energy to push it through...which was about 2 mile in length.

Peterson in his book Take up your Mission,<sup>44</sup> describes the

meaning of the word mission or Call within the Mormon concept. A call from the president of the church or from any member of the church organization who has a higher authority than the person called is given earnest attention. In fact the entire membership of the church can be said to have been called to follow the church tenets and to endure persecution or great discomfort for the sake of the church since every member felt herself or himself to be a chosen person to whom Christ's church had been restored. From the beginning certain individuals were called from the group to go to other parts of the globe to preach the gospel of the Mormon church. Anytime a person was needed to act as head of a certain number of church members he was called by the organization as bishop or councilor or as in the case of women, to be president of the Relief society. This was the manner in which the church organization worked. This method however, did not always work out as the church leaders planned. Sometimes more people answered the call than were asked to go. Also it seemed that men of means were rarely called to leave their homes and businesses, though their sons who might seem promising were often called to go to undesirable places.

As a rule the church leaders decided how many individuals would be needed for the mission and who would be best fitted to go on it. Before a group of settlers with their families were sent to live on the banks of the Little Colorado River, Brigham Young sent what was known as the Arizona Exploring Company to take topographic and drainage notes. John D. Lee ferried



12 men led by Bishop L.W.Roundy.<sup>45</sup> ...I crossed 9 Men & 15 Horses and their Packs. The baggage waggons did not cross till Sund. Morning. the co. then recrossed & spent the Night at My House. Jacob Hamblin and one of his long time missionary companions were among the group. These two men left the group to go to Oraibi, the oldest of the Hopi villages to obtain a guide while the rest of the men worked on a road down to the Moenkopi Wash and thence to the Little Colorado River, stopping at various springs along the way to camp and get water. Upon reaching the river they went upstream, passing Black Falls and Grand Falls. Then they struck a westerly direction to the Rio Verde before turning to cross the San Francisco Mountains still covered with snow. They went back to the Moenkopi Wash and Lee's Ferry, arriving there on February 26, 1873.

Roundy, inspired by the expansionist zeal of Brigham Young allowed his eyes to see not the stark realities of the Little Colorado River but thriving villages fed by the water of the river and its tributaries. He reported the area as a fit place for colonization. Because he knew the deep seated feelings of Brigham Young and other church leaders he closed his eyes to the sand hills of the painted desert, the alkiline soil and the river sometimes in flood, sometimes completely dry. Knowing the strong feelings of Brigham Young and all church leaders that the undesirable places of the earth must be inhabited by God's chosen people he did not condemn nor recommend the area.

So the Little Colorado River area took on increased promise

in the eyes of the determined leaders and within a month another group of 100 missionaries were called to settle it with Horton D. Haight as president of the mission.<sup>46</sup> Nine wagons arrived at the ferry. John D. Lee wrote, By 1 the co. came up & I crossed over 33 head of Horses & two waggons this Eving & waited till the Morrow. On the next day he wrote, To day I finished crossing the co. & receid from them \$46. I charged them .75 for each Horse & \$3. for each waggon, the Luggage & Men thrown in. From this co. we exchanged Meal and Flour & obtained some salt & groceries.

Jacob Hamblin who was among the group who reported to Lee that Brigham Young had told him via a telegram that the company was to explore the Rio Verde, Walnut Grove, near present day Flagstaff and the waters of the Little Colorado. There were those among this group of missionaries however who did not see cities of gold as had the Spaniards in 1540 when they first looked at the villages of the Zuni Indians. Some of this group declared that the mission was poorly organized from the very first day. They criticised the road out of the ferry as being in the worst possible condition and the road to the Little Colorado River no better. They complained that until a decent road was constructed, colonists should not be asked to undertake such a mission. After planting a few acres at Moenkopi they went on to the river and found it to be a dried up little stream surrounded by uninhabitable country. The Little Colorado River has its headwaters on the east slope of the White Mountains



in east-central Arizona, and is quite typical of an arid land stream with a limited catchment area. Free flowing water is found only near the headwaters and the stream remains dry except after heavy rainfall or from a heavy snow-melt causing flash floods which can be very destructive. Haight's group eventually traveled backed to the ferry, making their way down the miserable narrow, knife edge road of the Echo Cliffs to the Colorado River where they began spreading bad news as they traveled to their homes in Utah.

Moenkopi had been used as a village by the Hopis on and off for hundreds of years. When the Mormons first entered the area only a few Hopi families were there. The head of one of the families Hamblin encountered on his many visits was Tuba who became an associate of Hamblin. Tuba acted as a liason for the mission community established there in late 1875 though he was somewhat ostracised from the Hopi communities for doing it.

It was almost three years before the church attempted another colonization but at the end of 1875 two exploring parties were sent out. One was under the leadership of Daniel W. Jones, a spanish speaking convert and with him traveled John Eagar's son-in-law, Ammon Tenney, who also spoke Spanish. Jones reported the Little Colorado area habitable then traveled on to the southern part of the state reaching the present Phoenix-Mesa area before he traveled to El Paso and Chihuahua.<sup>47</sup> Ammon Tenney and another missionary turned northward at the Rio Grande, working their way up through the pueblos then westward to the Zuni village





where they made some converts through the Spanish they spoke.

Another party under the leadership of James S. Brown, one of the Mormon Battalion men, crossed at the ferry and traveled on to Moenkopi where he established a headquarters late in 1875. From there he went out on exploring expeditions for the next two years exploring all of northern Arizona and establishing a road by way of Oraibi though it had long, dry stretches along its route.<sup>48</sup>

Two other mission communities were established near the Zunis in 1876, Savoia (El Cebolla and La Cebollita) Savoita by Ammon Tenney and his father, Nathan Tenney. Early in 1876 four communities were settled midway on the Little Colorado River and in 1877 Woodruff (Tenney's Camp) was established further up river. The same year others were established on Silver Creek, a tributary of the Little Colorado River.<sup>49</sup>

Among the many reasons for the settlement of the Little Colorado River area was a desire to escape from the supreme court of Utah which was beginning to prosecute polygamists in the 1870s. The first federal law against polygamy was passed in 1862 and was called the Anti-Bigamy Act, but it had no teeth in it for enforcement. In 1879 the Supreme Court ruled that religious freedom did not permit misuse of social life or marriage and that since society was built on marriage, the Anti-Bigamy Act of 1862 was constitutional. In 1882 Senator George Edmunds sponsored a bill that disenfranchised polygamists and made plural marriage a crime. Polygamist men fled and Polygamy went underground.

Soon a well traveled road became known to those who took the journey to the Little Colorado River settlements. John Thomas Eagar and his brother Joel used it as early as 1877 but as far as is known neither of them kept a journal as they traveled. However, many journals were kept which was a habit of Mormon missionaries. Joseph Fish, Jesse N. Smith and others were diligent in describing the trip. Joseph Neal Heywood who also diligently kept a journal left for Arizona in the fall after the crops were in and during the months when there was apt to be more water and feed for the stock that must be driven. In November of 1879 he set out with a group of other men to find a better home. Most of the men left their families behind in Utah. Heywood found the trail full of hardships largely emanating from trying to keep his stock together. He left his family at the Caanan Ranch in Upper Kanab where his wife and child were living in a cabin near Prime Coleman who ran the ranch and who was his wife's father.

Upper Kanab is in a high intermontane valley at the headwaters of Kanab Creek about 35 miles north of Kanab and four miles north of present day Alton. Only a few abandoned wooden structures remain there to mark the spot where Heywood, his wife and children and his wife's parents lived, kept a dairy and farmed. Alton was the usual gathering place for families coming from north of the St. George area and on some maps it is referred to as the Alton Amphitheater. The gathering place for emigrants coming from southwestern Utah. St. George, Santa Clara, Pine Valley

and Washington was at the confluence of the Virgin and Santa Clara rivers. The St. George area is a land of extremely colorful cliffs, plateaus, canyons and valleys. The Grand Wash Cliffs extend from northwestern Arizona and meet the Hurricane Cliffs in this area.

On November 15, 1879, Heywood wrote, We - that is, Dave Lee driving the team and myself, A. Swapp and Sam Shumway started with the horses corraling them at Johnson and stopping for the night. Clear and cold.<sup>50</sup> Johnson Ranch, about four miles up canyon from its mouth was located near a fairly good supply of permanent water which, like other streams in this area goes underground before it emerges from the Vermillion Cliffs and empties into Muggins Flat to the south. Small limited springs can sometimes be found at the base of the cliffs or a short distance from ~~it~~ <sup>them</sup>. Navajo Springs (Wells) about ten miles from Johnson and several miles beyond the cliffs, belongs to this type. Johnson was the watering spot where most travelers to Arizona met, spreading out with their livestock in Muggins flat whether coming from the west or the north. Warren Johnson, brother of Sariah Johnson Eagar kept a good supply in his merchantile for travelers on their way to Arizona. On Saturday, November 15, 1879, Heywood wrote, We started early this morning, one of my colts gave out. I put it in the wagon and hauled it. One mare of Dave's slipped (aborted) her colt. We drove till late and camped on the Buckskin mountain (Kaibab Plateau) within 12 miles of House Rock (Valley). Southern Utah and northern



Arizona is commonly called **The Plateau Country**. One of the most distinctive features of such a country is the grand sweep of the panoramas where over great distances prominent features, such as the San Francisco Peaks, Mount Trumbull and Navajo Mountain can be seen as they project above the remarkable flatness of much of the terrain. The aridity of the area, keeps it relatively free of vegetation and makes the rock formations stand out in stark reality. But Heywood constantly plagued with keeping his stock together and his mares from dying had little chance to appreciate these vistas. Years after Heywood wrote this journal, his wife's brother, Evans Coleman, who as an adult had participated in cattle drives from Texas to Fort Apache wrote footnotes in the margin of Heywood's text after it had been typed and edited. Coleman wrote, "Now we are headed for Arizona with that stock. They had a lot of horses. Estimates by people who remember say anywhere from 175 to 300 head. They didn't know themselves what they had. But they must have had 225 head."<sup>51</sup> These Mormon men had learned no more about herding stock than the Mormon Battalion veterans who drove their horses across the Sierras.

On Monday, November 17, 1889, Heywood wrote, This morning my colt was missing, dead I guess. One of Dave's mares slipped her colt, some horses gone. Dave went back after them, we drove the horses to House Rock intending to water and drive on to feed but heard that W. Flake was just ahead of us with a lot of horses and as our horses would not get all the water they

wanted till late we stopped. Bro (William) Maxwell (Mormon Battalion veteran) and family here. I got Sister M(axwell) to bake some bread for us. Dave came in unsuccessful, finding part of the horses but could not drive them. Cold and windy. A traveler could very easily meet his next door neighbor or one of his many Aunts and cousins on this well traveled road, all going to the Little Colorador settlements. Coleman wrote on the back of the typed copy of Heywood's journal that he he would relate Mr. David Lee's account of their inability to handle a trail outfit. `We Utah boys would buy perhaps two or three or more mares out of those Spanish bands of horses that were coming in occasionally from California. There was plenty of range and good grass (in Utah). We would just turn those mares out on our ranges and see that they had plenty of salt and then would locate them without any trouble, they increased pretty fast...we rode all the time and these horses would be seen and perhaps be driven to the corral every few days. We had few if any saddle horses for we would trade them for more mares or cows. ...We just didn't have a saddle animal that knew anything. We just trotted and loped around. We didn't know how to make a horse move.X These men of Utah had no occasion to learn how to use mounts to herd cattle in a drive.

Tuesday, 13. Last night Sam went with Bro Maxwell's hands up on the mountain (Paria Plateau) to keep the work and saddle horses, they brought them down early this morning. We had four mares slip their colts, after we had got started on the road



about two miles we missed one of the horses. I went back after the horse finding him and catching up with the band at the Pools in time to see my best two yr old filley slip her colt. (Jacob's or Rachel's Pool was a catchment of water in the rocks from rain that could not always be counted on for watering) Coleman wrote, "Those horses were hungry when they were turned out of the corral that morning and would, unless held up, want to travel. Well those men first got behind them and drove them, trying to make the drags keep up with the leader. They drove those horses as far the first day as they should have gone in at least two days. It is a wonder they didn't lose those mares that aborted. A mare in foal late in the fall (along about seven or eight months) if excercised till she gets sweaty, is very liable to take lock jaw (tetanus), always fatal.

Heywood, Swapp and Lee combined their stock with William B .Maxwell at his invitation and on November 19, they all drove to Soap Creek and camped. Here they found that about 20 of their stock had died from drinking bad water full of alkali. After watering the stock and horses they drove out to feed between there and the Pools and some of them camped near William Flake's camp where there was forage.. The Kaibab Plateau is the result of an "upwarp" or doming. The elevation is high enough that there is sufficient rainfall to support a good stand of pine trees. It is quite broad amd in places water collects in depressions. Jacob's Lake, on the northern part of the uplift is such a place. Heywood as well as other emigrants did not travel



far enough south to encounter this lake. They remained in the lower elevations to the northeast in the Buckskin Mountains. Upon arriving at the springs in House Rock Valley, Heywood had diarrhea. He failed to mention the inscriptions on the rocks of the cliffs above the springs as most travelers did, possibly because he was ill.

On the 20th, Heywood and Swapp remained camped while the rest drove ahead. They had a sight of the Colorado River from the cliffs that day. It looked like we might jump it, it was so far down, Heywood wrote. On the 23rd they gathered the horses and started late for the Ferry. It must have been 12 o'clock at night before we got to camp, Heywood wrote, We herded the horses on the bank of the river. A fortuitous set of geological circumstances allowed a reasonable crossing of the Colorado River only in the area of Lee's Ferry. The massive east-west trending Vermillion Cliffs (which form the southern and western edge of the Paria Plateau at this point) and the Paria River have <sup>formed</sup> ~~cut~~ a wide terrace on the north bank of the Colorado River. However, the river runs hard against the Echo Cliffs on the opposite bank which made necessary the construction of some sort of road over the lower portion of the cliffs.

Monday, November 24, 1879, Heywood wrote, I with a couple of the boys went after the stock (which had strayed away along the route) getting back about noon. The boys tried to ferry some of the horses. When near the opposite shore the most of them jumped off and swam back. The second time they went all

right. It was decided to try to swim the rest of the horses. We all got ready and started about 12 head, they started well but when about half way turned and came back. Coleman's marginal note here reads: "a wonder they hadn't gone into a mill and drowned every one of them." We tried again and got them started well and they all went across without any loss we believe. The cattle were then tried and after trying till dark about 15 head were got across drowning one cow of J. Clark's. Coleman wrote, "They had no idea of how to swim those cattle and horses. A real cow outfit with a good boss would have formed that herd into the river and gone right ahead. Heywood wrote, We tried to swim the cattle till noon today then gave it up and ferried over about 75 head. The cost was \$.25 per head. I worked part of the time on the boat. We were all tired, yet I sat up and started a letter to Lel (Heywood's wife) and one to father.

There are quite a group of men with Heywood now going to Arizona. Besides Dave Lee, Archie Swapp, and Sam Shumway with whom he started in Johnson, there is the family of William Maxwell, which they met on the Bucksin Mountains (Kaibab Plateau) who proposed to combine with us, Heywood wrote. J. Clark and W. Black are now with the group, both working to get the stock ferried across the river. Coleman wrote, "Now these crossed stock had no place to go. No one to look after them- just turned loose to shift for themselves." Heywood makes no mention in his journal of ascending and descending the dreaded Lee's Backbone which all travelers who crossed the ferry struggled to achieve. During



these crossings he must have been so concerned with the stock that having to double team the wagon in order to ascend the knife edge road and descend with locked brakes on the wagon seemed of little consequence. His wife, Lel, who made the journey with him the next year found the ascent on the narrow, rocky road so frightening that she stopped the wagon and asked her husband to allow her to ride the horse while he drove the wagon. The hubs of the wagon wheels were digging ruts in the cliff as she hugged the dugway. Jesse Smith who made the journey in 1878 wrote, **The ascent was bad and the descent difficult and dangerous, the worst road I ever saw traveled with vehicles.**<sup>52</sup>

Heywood and W.Black went back to gather the horses they had left behind on the next day but did not accomplish the task. That night it rained and snowed a little. The next day Dave and Jim Lee, Will Maxwell, Ether Hancock, another member who had joined the group and Heywood went back after the horses. Maxwell and Black went back to Soap Creek while Heywood and Hancock took the ones they gathered to Navajo Springs getting there late, camping within about a mile and a half of water and near another camp where they got water to drink. Coleman quotes Dave Lee as saying "Say, talk about stockmen, read the ... above entries and weep...Could anyone possibly be so dumb. We didn't have a bit of sense.'

Heywood wrote on November 28, 1879, **This morning we got up in time to eat our breakfast before sunrise. We hunted for our animals to ride but did not find them till late. In the**



meantime the band was scattering. We succeeded in getting some of them watered and started with about all for Bitter Springs. Three mares acting as though they would give out we left on the road. The next day they got part of the horses together once more and took them to water at Navajo Springs. Coleman wrote, "They honestly thought those horses would go on ahead to find water, never dawning on them that an animal would naturally return to the last watering place." Heywood lamented, Oh, how I felt to see the way the horses are going and I powerless to prevent it. They stray in every direction and will not go to water. After driving the horses to Bitter Springs and returning they met Jim Flake who told them they could get very little water at the next camp so they left the horses and bedded down for the night...Bro M(axwell) wanted to start early in the morning with the teams. Clear and cold. Distance from the ferry to Navajo Springs 8 miles. From Navajo Springs to Bitter Springs 9 miles. Coleman wrote "17 miles and five days to make it. How did they keep from losing them all?" December 2, 1879 they got up at daylight. They spent the entire journey from Bitter Springs to Willow Springs going back for lost horses, finding them with their colts nearly dead, despairing of getting the mares to water before they layed down to die.

Not as imposing as the Vermillion Cliffs, the Echo Cliffs are comprised of the same rock types, Navajo Sandstone on top and the Painted Desert and Petrified Forest rocks on the bottom.- Springs emerge at the base of the Navajo Sandstone similar to

those in the Vermillion Cliffs. Navajo Springs, Bitter Springs, Cedar Ridge and Willow Springs were well known to the travelers. The Echo Cliffs, also caused by faults, extend south for approximately 60 miles. Immediately to the west of the base of the Echo Cliffs, also running in a north-south direction, is the Limestone Ridge. The Ridge is of Kaibab Limestone projecting out from under the Cliffs and forming a long series of hogbacks. Potholes in the Ridge would collect water following a rain or snow melt and would serve as collecting basins. The Echo Cliffs gradually diminish in height toward the south until at the Moenkopi Wash, they have all but disappeared. The Chinle Formation becomes thicker though, especially the Painted Desert layers.

On December 6, 1879, they arrived at Moenkopi Wash, 12 miles, keeping their stock together in the best way they knew how but losing many. Heywood wrote, We have traveled nearly south today over the most barren and forbidden country my eyes ever beheld. A great deal of sandy road. Warm and Clear. December 5, 1879, ...We have been skirting the red bluffs traveling in a direction a little east of south up to this point, now we come in sight of a more open country in front looking south is the San Francisco Mnt. December 7, 1879, We got up early, Benny went back after the colt. We got an early start leaving a bucket of water for Benny to give to the colt. No water till we get to the Little Colorado River, 12 miles, we got in to water in time to drive on to feed....The river is very dangerous on account of quick sand and mud holes and a great deal of care is needed with stock.



December 8, 1879, After breakfast we started after the work and saddle horses and while after them we found a mare, a colt and cow in the mud which we pulled out and left. About the time we got the horses together and started, a wind storm blew up making all day (on account of the road being mostly sand) a blinding sand storm, part of the way we could not see the road, it being obliterated by the drifting of the sand. We drove 10 miles. On good feed and at the river for the night. We started with nearly all the horses, missing some. Benny went back after them with success....We drove to Black Falls and camped at a cabin where a Mr. McCuen is stopping with his stock. It is considered safe for stock here and there is plenty of feed.

Black Falls was formed on the Little Colorado River where lavas from volcanic activity moved to the northeast down slope and dammed the river. It was a noted landmark for early day travelers. To the southwest about four miles, the travelers could easily see the ruins of an early-day pueblo village constructed in the early 1100's (Wukoki). Two miles beyond Wukoki is another such archaeological site even more spectacular, Wupatki, which sits on a hill at the foot of Woodhouse Mesa.

Saturday, December 13, 1879, The country from the ferry to this point is very much like the Dixie Country (Southwest Utah) The travelers continue to have stock trouble, losing several more and one of their group named Louis procured some wine from passing peddlers, got drunk and raised a muss, he seemed to



have taken a pique against Lucretia Jane, W. Black's wife and being drunk talked abominably. Bro M. got mad and almost give way to his passion but I was glad to see him finally restrain himself. Louis continued to talk, using the worst kind of language and button-holing everybody till he went to bed, when he got about sober, Heywood wrote. Tuesday, December 17, 1879, Tonight Bro Haycock came into camp from Kanab with a load of fruit trees, bringing a letter from Lel. It stated that that they were better. When Heywood left his family some had been ill.

December 18, 1879. I spent the day in making a hair rope and in making a small one for a cinch. Bro M. is getting uneasy that Dave (Dave had gone back to find horses and obtain flour) had not returned as yet. Heywood was dependent on Dave Lee as they had plans and possessions in common. Heywood has found Dave to be undependable in the past and knows that eventually he will have to strike out on his own when they arrive at Bush Valley (present Alpine in east central Arizona)) which is their destination. On December 20, Dave and co. with the stock come about noon. John Clark having got in with them. We tried to find the (lost) colt, we hauled up yesterday, but the sand was so blinding we barely found our way back to camp. The cabin (McCuen's) was full of persons, but it was bad there, as it being built of logs and not daubed, the sand drifted through. Willard Lee put his tent up but the wind split it wide open, as bad a day as I ever experienced. The sand abated but it was windy enough to be disagreeable.

The Little Colorado River Valley is a long bowl shaped one tending from the southeast to the northwest. To the northeast are the Painted Desert and the Black Mesa areas, and to the southwest is the Mogolloon Rim which marks the edge of the Colorado Plateau. The valley had, in its past geologic history, several times been covered with lake waters often drying completely and leaving behind material with a high carbonate content. Strong winds could easily pick up such materials along with fine sands, thus dust and sand storms were often in progress.

December 22, 1879. They camped at Grand Falls and the next day crossed the river. On the 24th they nooned at the San Francisco Wash, having problems all the way with lost stock and bogged stock. A great deal of sheep is being kept on the river by the Navajos, Heywood wrote. On Christmas Day they were within 16 miles of Brigham City, one of the settlements under the United Order. When the Mormons began their colonization of Arizona, the United Order movement had been underway in Utah for three years. Reduced to its simplest terms it was an effort to seek out grass root social arrangements that would enable the Latter Day Saint society to advance more quickly in Christ-like attributes, maintain the church's separation from the world, and solve a variety of economic problems. It implied a unity of purpose, common effort, and shared returns.<sup>53</sup> The settlements on the Little Colorado seemed to be ready made units for the experiencing of the United Order. In the beginning when there was free public land and the settlers had little in the way of worldly goods

that must be turned over for the use of the whole, the order worked to a certain extent, especially when the early communities lay exposed to to natural disasters, flood and drouth and threats from the native population. These conditions soon passed however and one by one the orders fell into disuse, sometimes with bitter feelings held by those who had contributed more than others to the establishment in the way of farming implements, etc. The orders were still in effect in early 1880 and Heywood wrote, that On New Years Day they drove to Brigham City to water the stock. Heywood did not feel well because of the cold from the snow and rain they encountered. He described Brigham City as a squalid little fort built on a clay flat with the proposed intention of moving down the river about a mile. The houses are built of uncut rock covered with dirt roofs in some instances and others with beams and rafters of cottonwood timber and lumber for a covering....We got to town at dusk finding Maxwell, Benny and others there for a dance which we had an invitation to and accepted after supper. The dance was in the dining hall, a room about 25x50. Some very good music, two fiddlers and an organ accompaniment by a Mrs. Knowles. I got up by invitation and took her place while she was absent, but as she resumed her position I had good reason to judge that she looked upon my assistance as an intrusion which I was not invited to repeat. We were not treated with common courtesy due to guests although the people were a good set.

...There is a good grist mill here belonging to B.City, Sunset



and Joseph City. This place is depending on Sunset for bread. Flour can be bought at Sunset only to supply wants. J. Lee got 400 lbs by paying cash \$24. Plenty of molasses is made here but it holds at high price \$2 a gallon.

January 3, 1879, Heywood separated his stock and goods from the others and before leaving walked over to Sunset where he saw a panther's skin stuffed, a she one and two cubs were killed in the Mogollon Mts. also was told how to dress deer hide; take it fresh and grain it, then grease it till dry, then wash in a strong soap suds and dry after smoking, wash in a weak suds. January 4, 1879, This morning by invitation I ate breakfast at the Sunset big table, bread cheese and sorgum. I understand this place raised large crops of grain, only 11 men to do the work. I walked over to B. City and picked up my things... and then went out to gather the stock expecting to separate mine and M's horses to go on with. Benny and Jack came to help but on acct of their being a foot refused. We camped about 3 miles from B. City. January 5, 1879, We got a tolerable start and traveled 3 miles to Clear Creek turning on good feed....Three Mexicans camped here loaded with salt from St. Johns Valley to go to Prescott. The salt beds are about 45 miles east of St. Johns. January 6, 1879 We drove this side of the river from Breed's store (Winslow) and moved 5 miles and thence to Brackest Slough, 3 miles, a creek a little larger than Clear Creek. The river dries up above here in the summer but these two creeks secure Brigham and Sunset City for water.

Mr French who married Emma Lee (Bachelor, wife of John D. Lee who was executed in 1877) is taking out a ditch for a farm at Breed's store (present Winslow) He says he is told that there is about 5 feet of snow on the summit at Round Valley....Mr. F(lake) speaks disparagingly of Round Valley and Bush Valley on acct of the danger from the severe winters and from the Apaches breaking out (from the reservation) and stealing horses but I hear directly from there that the snow is only about 6 in. deep. The men camped here for a few days.

Emma Bachelor Lee French was a remarkable woman, a woman of great courage, persistence and endurance who adjusted to a hard frontier life and helped to make it better for others. She was the wife Lee chose to flee from the law and maintain Lee's Ferry. She remained there until Lee was executed working the ferry with her children. She sold out to Warren Johnson two years after Lee's death and shortly after married Frank French, moving with him to Snowflake on Silver Creek, but she, her children and her husband were ostracized where ever they went among the Mormons. Eventually they moved to Winslow (Breed's store) where Emma started her own maternity hospital and men from miles away brought their wives in for the birth of their children. She functioned so well in sickness of all kinds that she was called Grandma Doctor French.<sup>54</sup>

Heywood wrote January 9, 1880, Bro Maxwell got 400 lbs of corn and 100 lbs of flour, he saw Lot Smith, (head man of Sunset) and Bro Allen telling them he must depend on Sunset for bread.

Saturday January 10. We had our breakfast by daylight and soon after started with the horses traveling to St. Joseph (Joseph City), 9 miles east and 5 miles southeast to a bend of the river. I called at St. Joseph P.O. and got a letter from father.. Cold, cloudy and a little windy. January 10, 1880, We started in good time missing some horses through Jack's neglect, which I went back after. Bro M. stopped at a store (Holbrook) on the river and sold my cheese, 40 lbs @.25--\$10. While waiting, two colts got in the mud which we pulled out...We drove to Woodruff 25 miles (Tenney's Camp-1877) from St. Joseph. Here we found Bro J. Owens who had left Bush Valley (Alpine) for this place, he speaks well of Bush Valley but too frosty, he thinks. This place (Woodruff) has plenty of land and they are putting a dam in the river. This would have been the third dam as the first two had washed out. It looks better than below. In areas where the river ran over clay beds or hard rocks, the underground water would be forced to the surface and for a short distance, the stream would be present (Woodruff).

January 12, 1880, We started in pretty good time leaving the water which comes from Silver Creek and following the Little Colorado River where we found but little water and that only in holes and not running. We watered the horses this morning but after traveling about 18 miles we found only enough for our use and the animal's use. They moved on through juniper, very scrubby rabbit brush and greasewood. We passed through springs and one ranch, good grass. A fine day. They went up



Concho Creek one and a half miles to a little dry stream. They nooned at Concho the next day. Heywood looked at the Mexicans who lived at Concho, living in dirty little flat-roofed huts made in the most tumble down fashion style and men and women out in their filth sunning themselves. Concho has plenty of grass and I like the location bidding fair for a nice little town if water was plentiful. Concho was first inhabited by the Candelaria family who owned many sheep during the 1860s. The name probably comes from the shell concha. The Mormons who arrived in 1879 after Heywood passed through were a mile up the valley where they tried to farm but found the soil of a putty condition and the water insufficient.<sup>55</sup>

January 15, 1880, We travelled over a volcanic country, hills like volcanoes and valleys between, all covered with grass, but little else, some scrubby cedars (junipers) very scrubby rabbit brush and greasewood. We traveled through springs, good grass, I counted seven kinds. The next day they entered Round Valley from the northwest. Along the fringes of the White Mountains especially in the north and northeast, small volcanic cones and lava fields of recent origin are a common sight. Explosive volcanos also blanketed certain areas with a thick mantle of cinders and ash. Round Valley, ...Like its name it appears round and about 3 miles in diameter, about one half or one third being land fit for cultivation, black soil but excepting that in use covered pretty well with lava rock or black rock. A sea of grass all the time, some snow to be seen on the mountain

but none in the valley and the day being like spring. On January 17, 1880 Heywood was on his way to Bush Valley, the destination for which he had set out.

Round Valley was first inhabited by anglo speaking people in 1869 according to Will Barnes' Arizona Place Names<sup>56</sup>. Seven men came to the valley, one of whom was William R. (Troy) Milligan with supplies for what is now Ft. Apache. Ft. Apache that went through a series of name changes before it was called what it is today was established in 1870. It lay within the heart of what was soon to be the White Mountain Apache Reservation. The seven men who came with supplies from Pueblo, Colorado built the first houses in Round Valley to the west of the valley and the place was called Fort Milligan. By 1872, Mexicans had established their own colony known as Valle Redondo at the north end of the valley. In 1875, Julius Becker came, then his brother came in 1876. In August of that year Julius established a store in the north end of the valley. Soon the place was called Springer-ville in honor of Harry Springer who was an Albuquerque merchant with a branch store in Round Valley.

By the time the Beckers arrived, outlaws, having been run out of Texas, New Mexico and southern Arizona were using the valley as a hideout. It was a haven for a few years for them as they efficiently changed brands on stock stolen from surrounding areas. They were there before the Aztec Cattle Company, formed in the mid 1880s, had bought up 100,000 acres of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad land grant. Of the numbers of cattle the

company brought in the outlaws rustled so many the business locally called the Hash Knife almost went broke. To remain solvent the company was forced to make land and not cattle its business. This created problems for the Mormon<sup>s</sup> many of whom had settled before the land had been surveyed and had physically taken possession of the land without thought of filing for a deed.<sup>57</sup>

Will Barnes, Arizona Place Names lists the first two Mormons to arrive in the valley as Americus V. Greer and Harris Phelps from Texas in 1879. The same year William J. Flake, John Burk and Adam Greenwood came. James McClintock in Mormon Settlements in Arizona states that the first Mormons to come were Jim Skousen, Peter J. Christopherson and James L. Roberson who arrived from St. Joseph in February, 1879.

In the fall of 1877 John Thomas Eagar, his brother Joel and their families, accompanied by three other families set out for Arizona. Ammon Tenny overtook them at Navajo Springs. Together they journeyed on to Tenney's Camp (Woodruff). Though Ammon had left his families in Kanab, his father and brothers, Arthur and Samuel were in Woodruff. They all worked on the first dam in Woodruff to catch the Little Colorado River water for their farms. Unfortunately the dam did not hold and John Thomas and Joel, discouraged, went on to Taylor, a settlement on Silver Creek, then to Fort Milligan. William Walter Eagar joined them at Fort Milligan where they desired to live and make their homes but they soon discovered that the outlaws could make life miserable for them and their families so they moved



south three to four miles in 1879 taking up 60 acres each in and around Water Canyon and present day Eagar.<sup>58</sup> They dug the Eagar ditch<sup>59</sup> (Amity Ditch) to take water out of the Little Colorado River and begin farming in earnest. The homestead law for that area was not passed until 1879, settlers would simply mark their acres by forming a square with four logs and hope no claim jumper came along to contest their ground. By 1890-1892 they had their land surveyed and had proved up on their claims.<sup>60</sup> William Walter was the only one of the three brothers who remained in the town which came to be called Eagar. The others moved away.

When the first Mormons came to Round Valley they immediately set up a church ward approximately where present day Springerville is. It was called Omer and Peter J. Christopherson who served time in the federal penitentiary for being a polygamist along with Ammon Tenney and Charles Kempe was the first bishop. A second ward was established in the upper part of the valley called Amity approximately where Eagar is today.<sup>61</sup> In 1886 the two wards combined to be called Union and the location was present day Eagar. After the three Eagar brothers deeded ten acres of land for a town, a postoffice application was sent in and the town was called Eagarville which was soon shortened to Eagar with Emma Udall as the first postmistress.<sup>62</sup>

Today Eagar is an agrarian Mormon town with irrigation ditches and tall poplar trees along its streets. Its citizens rely on their own livestock, vegetable gardens, fruit orchards and

fields of forage for their livestock to a certain degree. Jobs are available in the offices of the three governmental agencies, federal, state and county. Much of the time work can be found in the Southwestern Milling Company nearby. The town population is small and amounts to about 3500 if all of the citizens who live in outlying areas are counted. It is linked to Springerville, the spatial separation cannot be discerned, though the goals and attitudes between the two places are different. If tourists find their way to Eagar as they have to most of the other White Mountain towns the economy could change for the better overnight.<sup>63</sup>

## Notes

1. Family papers in the possession of Betty Hightower, Snowflake, Arizona.
2. B.F. Roberts. **History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints**, vol. VII. (Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1923) p.515.
3. Ibid. p.444
4. Unless otherwise noted information about Sam Brannan and Mormons in California in the 1840s was taken from Paul Bailey, **Sam Brannan and the California Mormons** (Westernlore Press, Los Angeles, 1942).
5. **Encyclopedia Britannica**, (U.S.A., 1961).
6. John Augustus Sutter was Swiss born and came to America's east coast in 1834, then overland to California in 1838. He was granted land by the Mexican governor in California to develop a strong fort on the Sacramento River that could be used as a Mexican outpost. His successful settlement with its tanneries, mills and cultivated fields called New Helvetia became a rendezvous for many coming to California.
7. Hubert Howe Bancroft, **History of California** vol. V (The History Company Publishers, 1886) p.551
8. The original letter can be found in The Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California. Quoted by permission of The Bancroft Library.
9. Family papers in the possession of Betty Hightower, Snowflake, Arizona.
10. Hubert Howe Bancroft, **History of California** vol. V (The History Company Publishers, 1886) p.677.
11. Paul Bailey, **Sam Brannan and the California Mormons** (Westernlore Press, Los Angeles, 1942) p.84.
12. Thomas F. O'Dea, **The Mormons** (University of Chicago Press, 1957). Five hundred untrained men were recruited from the Mormon camps near Omaha, Nebraska in 1846 to build a wagon road through Mexican territory. Col. Philip St. George Cooke became their military leader at Santa Fe, New Mexico. They arrived in Los Angeles taking that part of California for the United States.
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32. Ibid p. 141

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Wynn Whiting Smiley  
2732 N. Gill Ave  
Tucson Az 85719