Trails and Roads, and the Settlement of Long Valley, Utah

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Preface

My intent when I began writing this history was to write a brief account about the location and historical significance of the Elephant Trail that was used in the settlement of the communities in Long Valley located in southern Utah. The Trail was little known but had played a very significant role in the settlement of Long Valley and it was important to me because it passes through our small family ranch and its use has been a part of our ranch operation.

As I began the project, I discovered a wealth of related information on other parts of the extended trail and other trails used by the pioneers and others who preceded them. I also discovered that some parts of the trail were unknown. There was information from the journals and other histories of some pioneers telling of their challenges and struggles as they came to settle. There was information about the challenges and struggles of the Native Americans and their dealings with the pioneers who came and permanently occupied the land where they had lived and from which they had obtained their subsistence for centuries. As I added what I considered the most relevant parts of this information and also some of the events in the process of settling the communities located there and the continuing development of these communities—including the essential role of the development of roads and the process by which they were accomplished—the scope of my efforts was significantly broadened and has produced this history.

I first published this book in 2017 and printed only a few copies in connection with The Warren Foote 200th Birthday Celebration. I later decided to add some additional information that I had found along with some editorial changes.

In its preparation, I have endeavored to fully document all of the information I have included and the conclusions I have drawn. In doing so I have received much help and made new friends and colleagues and strengthened my relationship with old ones. I began this work twenty or more years ago, and some who have provided me with the greatest insights and shared with me personal information drawn from their memories—some of which they had not recorded—have now passed on. I am personally very grateful for their willingness to share their knowledge with me and allow me to use it, and in this way to help preserve it and to more fully complete the history.

They include Dr. Douglas D. Alder, historian and former president of Dixie State College (now Dixie State University), retired, St. George, Utah; Phillip Hepworth, deceased, Washington City, Utah; Lavoid Leavitt, deceased, St. George, Utah; J. L. Crawford, deceased, St. George, Utah; Victor Hall, deceased, Hurricane, Utah; Spencer J. Reber, geologist, deceased, St. George, Utah; Lenny Brinkerhoff, Virgin, Utah; James Holland, Geologist/Hydrologist, Kanab Field Office, Bureau of Land Management, Department of Interior, Kanab, Utah; Louis Pratt Jr., Kane County GIS/Transportation Specialist, retired, Kanab, Utah; Larry Judd, Cadastral Surveyor, Bureau of Land Management, retired, Eagle Point, Oregon. Daniel B. Alberts, GIS Specialist, Kanab Field Office, Bureau of Land Management, U.S. Department of Interior, deceased, Kanab, Utah; Mark Habbeshaw, Kane County Commissioner, retired, Kanab, Utah; Tracy Glover, Kane County Sheriff, Kanab, Utah; Larry Esplin, rancher, deceased, Orderville, Utah and Mack Esplin, rancher, Orderville, Utah.

Early in my research for the book I was helped financially in determining the location and history of the Pioneer Trail from St. George to Long Valley by the Division of State History (Utah State Historical Society) and the Utah Humanities Council through small grants that they provided; the Division of State History to produce and install historic markers on the trail and the Humanities Council to acquaint the public with the role of the trail in the settlement and subsequent development of the area through town meetings. These two projects were sponsored by the Red Rock Chapter, the local chapter of the Sons of Utah Pioneers where I was a member. The Kane County Commission and the Kanab Field Office, Bureau of Land Management (BLM) also supported my efforts by providing information including old maps and by developing new maps, and by aerial photographing parts of the trail. The support of all of these agencies and the personal interest shown by those I worked with in this undertaking were significant and very much appreciated and several of them are included in the above list of contributors.

I also recognize and thank others who have provided essential help in the preparation of this little book for publication. Four of our daughters: Ronda Griffin, Rebecca Packer, Roxan Fitzgerald, and Rosemary Alasti have proofread parts or all of some of the drafts of the book as it was being written, and Ronda has done more specific

proofing and editing of the book as I have revised it in its final form; they have all made valuable suggestions. A grandson, Jared Fitzgerald, has provided essential computer help, including the formatting of the final draft. Paul and JaNel VanDenBerghe also proofed and edited the book. I am grateful to my wife, Blanche, who has supported me with patience and encouragement during the twenty years that I have spent working my way through the book (too often setting it aside in favor of other projects including histories) as she has done with all that I have attempted to do during our seventy-one years of marriage.

I sincerely thank them all.
—Warren C. Foote

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Introduction

The initial attempt to settle Long Valley, Utah, located on the north rim of the Virgin River Basin, was made in the spring of 1864 when a handful of pioneers from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints led by the Berry Brothers began the settlement of Berryville north in the Valley, and an even smaller group started the settlement of Winsor to the south in 1865. The vanguard of this latter group was Priddy Meeks who moved there with his family in the fall of 1864. These early attempts to settle Long Valley had to be abandoned in 1866, along with other nearby communities such as Panguitch to the north and Kanab to the south, because of Native American uprisings that resulted, in part, because of the Black Hawk War occurring farther north. These early settlements were part of the colonization of the Great Basin by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as it extended over the Basin rim to the south.

Other pioneers of the same faith had been called to the Muddy Mission by their Church president, Brigham Young, to establish settlements in what later became known as the Moapa Valley in southern Nevada. They were released from their efforts to settle there in late 1870 and moved almost en-masse to Long Valley in the early spring of 1871. Also, many of the original settlers of Long Valley returned at about the same time. It was then that permanent settlement or resettlement occurred.

The trail to Long Valley began for many of its settlers in Nauvoo with the expulsion of the members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from Illinois in 1846. For others who were converted to the faith and gathered with the Saints during succeeding years, the journey began as far away as England, Wales, Ireland, and Denmark. But for all of them, the final portion of the trail unavoidably led from what was becoming known as Utah's Dixie, in the southwest corner of the Utah Territory, over faults and other geological foldings and upheavals, through seemingly bottomless sand, across water and wind-carved sandstone escarpments and canyons before finally arriving at their destination.

From the pioneer outpost of Short Creek, approximately forty miles east of St. George, the first established and main trail to Long

Valley was by way of the Elephant Trail or The Elephant. Although the trail is marked by physical landmarks bearing the names of Elephant Butte, Elephant Gap, Elephant Cove, and Elephant Hill, the origin of the name remains elusive. From Short Creek, now Colorado City, the trail goes north past the town of Cane Beds through relentless sand and over and around sandstone ledges before reaching the East Fork of the Virgin River in Parunuweap Canyon and finally northeast up the river to Long Valley. The sand and the ledges posed a formidable and unrelenting barrier, and alternate routes that were developed did little if anything to lessen the challenge.

Long Valley, which has also been known as Parunuweap Valley and Berry Valley, was described by those who first visited it as being about fifteen miles long and from less than one-quarter to three-quarters of a mile wide and containing an estimated 1300 acres of farmland. The East Fork of the Virgin River flowed through the Valley, providing water to irrigate the tillable land. It was judged to be suitable for growing grain, vegetables, and fruit. Early explorers had identified sites where small settlements could be established, but the primary interest in Long Valley and the surrounding area was for the production of livestock: primarily sheep, cattle, and horses.

Geological Factors

Southwestern Utah, including Long Valley, is a unique spot on the landscape of the southwestern North American Continent where geological forces have combined to cause folding and faulting and, with the eroding forces of wind and water, produced a profusion of contradicting formations.[1] Unavoidably, the trails to Long Valley had to pass through, over, or around these twisted features of the landscape, which seriously limited access for its settlement and hampered its development for over half a century.

The first of these forces resulted in compression when North America collided with the East Pacific plate of the earth's crust along the west coast as long as two hundred million years ago and continued for as long as one hundred and twenty million years. This caused folding and thrust faulting across western North America. One such fold is the Virgin Anticline which extends from about three miles south of St. George northeastward beyond Cedar City. The anticline can be observed about one mile east of the junction of Interstate Highway 15 and State Highway 9, about eight miles north of St. George. Southwest from this point, the crest of the anticline fold has eroded away, leaving the two remaining ridges or flanks visible on either side; the one on the southeast controlling the direction of flow of the Virgin River, and the one on the northeast influencing the location of the old Highway 91 and Interstate 15.

A second force that helped shape the landforms of the larger area of southwestern Utah is that of extension caused by pressures and shifting within the earth. This force was exerted, starting twenty to fifteen million years ago and resulting in the breaking and pulling apart of the earth's crust to form large faults running north and south, causing relative displacement where the area west of the fault is lower, from a few feet to several thousand feet. Subsequent earthquakes have resulted from more recent movements or slippages along these fault lines.

Also, as a result of these internal forces, magma pushed through the earth's crust to form lava flows that covered the lower elevations of existing sandstone formed from wind or water sediment, filling in the lower levels which, after subsequent erosion of the softer,

exposed higher levels of sandstone by water and wind, exposed the lava beds that now exist as hills and escarpments. These lava flows also formed laccoliths where they were intruded between layers of sandstone to push the surface of the earth upward, as is the case with Pine Valley Mountain.

In the area from St. George to Long Valley, there are three major faults. The first is the Washington Fault located along the eastern side of Washington City. The second fault, the Hurricane Fault, is the largest of the three, extending from the North Rim of the Grand Canyon at Toroweap Valley past Hurricane to a point north beyond Cedar City. This fault resulted in a displacement of as much as ten thousand feet in some places and provided a major barrier to travel to points east from Dixie. The third major fault, located the farthest east, is the Sevier Fault. It is visible at Pipe Spring in Arizona and continues mostly northward to form the east boundary of the Coral Pink Sand Dunes and Yellowjacket Canyon. It then continues north to help form the southern wall of much of Long Valley. The north side of Long Valley is formed from the straight Cliffs, which were formed during the early to mid-Cretaceous Period, some 80 to 90 million years ago. The East Fork of the Virgin River carved the Parunuweap Canyon out of the Navajo Sandstone Formation as it flowed west from the Sevier Fault before converging near the town of Rockville with the North Fork of the Virgin River flowing through Zion National Park.

As a result of the relative displacement along the Sevier Fault line, the west side is one thousand or more feet lower than the east side. This can be seen by viewing the Temple Cap and White Cliffs of the Navajo Sandstone formation that has helped shape Long Valley and Parunuweap Canyon to the southwest. The magnitude of the displacement can be seen by comparing the easily identified, dark brown Temple Cap at the top of the Navajo Sandstone Formation on the cliffs east and southeast of the Mt. Carmel Junction to white sandstone outcroppings identifiable with the Temple Cap formation which is visible approximately one-half mile southwest of the Mt. Carmel Junction forming a small part of the west bank of the river, which represent similar points on the east and west side of the fault. As Parunuweap Canyon deepens to the

southwest, the Temple Cap can be seen on both of its walls. All of these geological foldings and shiftings, with the continued erosion of wind and water, produced unrelenting challenges to travel and other aspects of the settlement of Long Valley as well as other habitable plains and valleys they formed (see Figure 1).

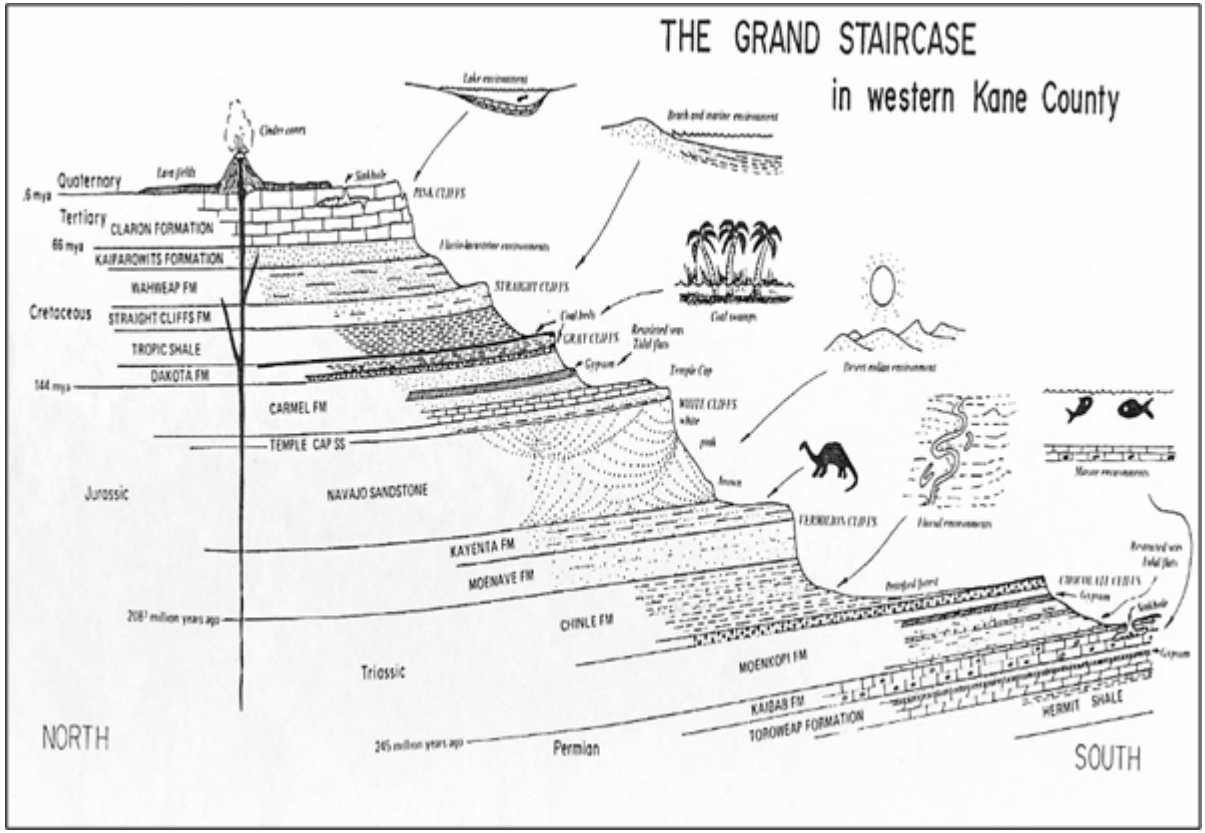

Figure 1. Diagrammatic cross section of the Grand Staircase in western Kane County. Source: Courtesy of Utah Geological Survey (Figure 7, Bulletin 124), 1989.

Spanish Impact

The Colorado River and some of its tributaries, including parts of the Virgin River Basin, were known to the Spaniards nearly three hundred years before it was discovered by the men who came to trap for furs and to explore and blaze trails forming links to Santa Fe, New Mexico, California, and The Great Salt Lake and beyond. During that time, the Spanish clergymen and French, English, and American explorers and traders made and left their mark on the land and on the Native Americans who inhabited it and contributed to the preparation for others who followed and, finally, for the pioneers who would permanently settle there.[2]

In 1539, Francisco de Ulloa, traveling by sea, discovered the Colorado River where it empties into the Gulf of Lower California. By the following year, the Colorado River area was being explored, probably reaching as far north as the Virgin River. In addition to following the Colorado River, the area was explored using overland routes from Sonora.

There were many explorers who contributed to the development and use of overland trails as exploration progressed into and through the Great Basin and on to California. The first of these trails was the Old Spanish Trail with its branches or alternative routes. This historic trail began with the travels and explorations of Juan Maria de Rivera in 1765 for trade with the Yutas or Ute Native Americans.[3] The Trail started in Santa Fe and initially ended in the Great Basin, but as it was developed and used, it was extended to California and consisted of several alternative routes. Generally, the course of the trail was from Santa Fe northwest to the San Juan River and north to the Dolores River, continuing northwest along the Delores to a point that was near the present Utah border and then overland across the Grand and Green Rivers. The trail continued to the Price River, along its course and west to the Sevier River and the Great Basin[4] (see Figures 2 and 5).

According to a more detailed interpretation of the part of the Old Spanish Trail that passes through present-day southwestern Utah, it goes through the Wasatch Pass down Salt Canyon to Salina, along the Sevier River near Richfield to Junction, through Red

Canyon to Paragonah and Cedar City, on to Mountain Meadow, then southerly to the Santa Clara River and its confluence with the Virgin River and along the Virgin River to Arizona.[5]

About sixty-five years after Rivera's first exploration, Antonio Armijo, in 1829, developed a southern route that went from the Santa Clara River east along the present-day Utah-Arizona border, similar in many of its parts to the trail that had been blazed much earlier by Father Escalante and traveled by others, past present-day Pipe Spring and Fredonia, Arizona, Kanab, Utah, and continuing east across the Colorado River and south to Santa Fe.[6] This became known as the Southern, or Armijo Route, of the Old Spanish Trail. This southern route, in particular, brought those who traveled it in contact with the Virgin River Basin and the Arizona Strip leaving their influence there with the Native Americans and taking with them knowledge of the unique aspects of the area.

The best documented Spanish exploration, with records describing their travel through the Virgin River Basin and the Arizona Strip, was that by the two Franciscan friars, Fathers Silvestre Velez de Escalante and Francisco Atanasio Dominguez conducted in 1776–1777[7] (see Figures 3 and 5). Their primary objectives were to find a more direct overland route from Santa Fe, New Mexico to Monterey, California, and to make friends with the Native Americans they met along the way and to share with them their gospel of Christianity. They failed in their first objective but succeeded in the latter two, especially in establishing friendly relationships with the Native Americans. They left Santa Fe on July 29, 1776, and after almost two months of travel reached the present site of Spanish Fork, Utah. They continued south and then more westerly to the Sevier River, which they called the Rio Santa Ysabel.[8]

From there, they followed the river south to Sevier Lake (Laguna de Miera)[9] to Beaver River (Rio del Texador)[10] and Beaver Mountain. By this time, they were threatened with winter and low supplies and so abandoned their effort to reach California' Instead they decided to search for a shorter route on their return journey to Santa Fe. They took a more southerly direction through Cedar Valley (Valle de San Jose)[11] to Ash Creek (Rio del Pilar)[12] near

present-day New Harmony which they followed to its confluence with the Virgin River (Rio de Les Piramides Sulfureo),[13] just south of present-day LaVerkin and downstream from the entry of the hot sulfur springs which explains the name. The party noted the change in elevation, climate, and vegetation.

They found their way over the Hurricane Fault south of the present-day highway, probably by the same route later known as the Temple Road,[14] and continued east past what is now Colorado City (originally named Short Creek when it was first settled), Pipe Spring and Fredonia, Arizona. This section of their trail may have been similar to a portion of the present-day highway 59 and of a trail followed by the pioneers in their settling of Kanab and possibly some that settled in Long Valley. After passing near the site of present-day Fredonia, Arizona, the Escalante party passed by the site of present-day Kanab, Utah,[15] and traveled on to the Colorado River. After experiencing great difficulty, they found a trail to the river and crossed at what was to become known, appropriately, as the "Crossing of the Fathers" and, from there, on back to Santa Fe.[16]

Of importance to the settlement of southern Utah, in addition to describing their route of travel and related physiography, the Escalante party took opportunities to become acquainted with the different tribes or bands of Native Americans and to befriend them, introducing them to Christianity and to some of the White Man's culture and ways. They mentioned several groups of Native Americans in the part of their travels relating to the Virgin River drainage. One of these was the bearded Native Americans that they met on the Sevier River and further south.[17] They mentioned obtaining information from another group of Native Americans as they traveled through the area of Cedar Valley that gave them directions and limited guide service to another band located on Ash Creek. These people raised corn, and the priests were able to partially replenish their food supply.[18] As they were traveling east of present-day Kanab in search of the Colorado River, they found another band of Native Americans that gave them directions to the Colorado River.[19] In each of their encounters, they worked to establish trust and friendship with the Native Americans, they gained information and they traded, and they always taught them the

good news of Christianity. All of which, when properly built upon later by explorers and trappers would be of value to each in turn including the pioneers who would come to permanently settle and build their homes there.

Figure 2. Routes of the old Spanish Trail with its routes and branches. Source: Old Spanish National Historic Trail. National Park Service.

Figure 3. Map of the Dominguez and Escalante Exposition, 1776-1777. Source: A. Chavez and T. Warner, *The Domiguez and Escalante Journal.* Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1995.

The Mountain Men

Fifty years after Father Escalante's party explored northwest from Santa Fe, traveling as near to Long Valley as present-day Pipe Spring, Arizona, and Kanab, Utah, Jedediah Strong Smith made his historic exploration southwest from the Salt Lake Valley to the Colorado River and on to the Pacific Coast, accomplishing what the Escalante party failed to do. Smith's primary purpose, however, was to explore the area and determine its usefulness to his newly formed fur company. He was an associate and exploring companion of William Henry Ashley from whom he, in partnership with David E. Jackson and William L. Sublette, had just recently purchased the Rocky Mountain Fur Company.[20] He began his exploration in August of 1826 and reported it the following July in a letter to General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.[21]

Smith's report was brief and vague, particularly when referring to some key landmarks of parts of his travels that might have involved areas of special interest to this history. For example, it would be useful to know specifically where he left the Ashley River, later named the Sevier River, and the area through which he traveled until he joined and followed the Adams River, later named the Virgin River. Because of his lack of clarity, particularly in this part of his travel, several routes have been proposed, which has resulted in considerable controversy.[22]

According to a route proposed by Angus M. Woodbury in 1931,[23] Smith traveled from the headwater of the Sevier River over a mountain to the headwaters of the East Fork of the Virgin River, which he followed southwest until it entered Parunuweap Canyon. He left the Virgin River and Parunuweap Canyon to the south and continued southwest, and then west, and joined the Virgin River again in the area of present Hurricane or LaVerkin and following it until it joined the Colorado River. This route would have taken him through Long Valley and along part of the Elephant Trail, the major trail accessing Long Valley from the southwest (see Figure 4).

However, using additional information from a second trip that Smith made the following year (1827)[24] showed that Smith's route followed Clear Creek, south of present-day Richfield and continued

in a westerly direction to present-day Cove Fort, instead of traveling on south to the headwaters of the Sevier River and on to the East Fork of the Virgin River as Woodbury had proposed. Accordingly, from Cove Fort Smith traveled south to Beaver Creek, which Sullivan considered to be Smith's Lost Creek which he mentioned in his second trip. The route then continued south to Ash Creek and followed it to where it emptied into the Virgin River near present-day LaVerkin (see Figure 5). Smith continued to follow the Virgin to where it emptied into the Colorado River, which he called the Seedskeeder (or Seeds Skeeden), to the Buenaventura (Green River), learning later that it was the Colorado River, rather than the Green River, that emptied into the Gulf of California farther south.[25]

In 1830, William Wolfskill and George C. Yount followed the route marked by Smith on a trip returning to the Salt Lake Valley which added little, if any, information to that already gained from the two trips of Jedediah Smith.[26] Also in 1826, the same year that Jedediah Smith was exploring from the Salt Lake Valley to the north, other mountain men coming from Santa Fe reached the Colorado at about the point of confluence from the Gila River. These included the parties of Ewing Young, James Ohio Pattie, and Thomas Smith. They trapped upriver, some with dug-out canoes patterned after those used by Native Americans. Some of them may well have traveled as far as the Virgin River and possibly explored parts of it, while others returned to Santa Fe.[27]

Although Jedediah Smith and other explorers who followed shortly after him apparently did not travel through Long Valley or along the Elephant Trail, the explorations of these mountain men, and particularly the singular contributions of Jedediah Smith, added much to the knowledge of a part of the southeast portion and rim of the Great Basin and of the Virgin River drainage, including Long Valley, and opened the way for increased travel and use of the area. They gained and shared information about the groups or bands of Native Americans with whom they met and traded. All of this contributed to the knowledge and success of this area's permanent settlement, including those in Utah Territory's Dixie that began in 1854,[28] and in Long Valley in 1864.[29]

More than a decade after Jedediah Smith's explorations, Captain John Charles Fremont was commissioned by the U. S. Government to explore and map and catalog a large part of the West.[30] In this effort, he made a major contribution to the knowledge of that vast area: its lands and their resources, the Native People, and existing routes and new ones that he forged. His explorations included a part of the Virgin River Basin. In the spring of 1844, he followed the Old Spanish Trail from Los Angeles to the rim of the Great Basin.[31] From there, Fremont traveled northeast until he reached the Rio de Los Angeles, or Muddy Creek, a tributary of the Virgin River, and then to the Virgin itself which he described as "a deep, rapid, turbid stream which, roaming swiftly through a desert country." They traveled on to Mountain Meadows and, farther on, reported reaching a point on a dividing ridge where the waters of the Virgin River and its tributaries flowed south through the Virgin River Basin to the Colorado River, and where the water of the Sevier River flowed north into the Great Basin. From here they traveled to the Sevier River and reached it near present-day Delta. From there, they traveled on to Utah Lake.

Figure 4. This map shows two proposed routes of Jedediah Smith on his journey from the Salt Lake Valley to the Colorado River in 1826-1827. The dashed line shows the route proposed by Angus M. Woodbury that went through what is now Long Valley, Utah. However, another route proposed later by Maurice S. Sullivan and also George R. Brooks (see Endnote 24) provides information showing that both of these routes are incorrect. Source: Angus M. Woodbury (see Endnote 23).

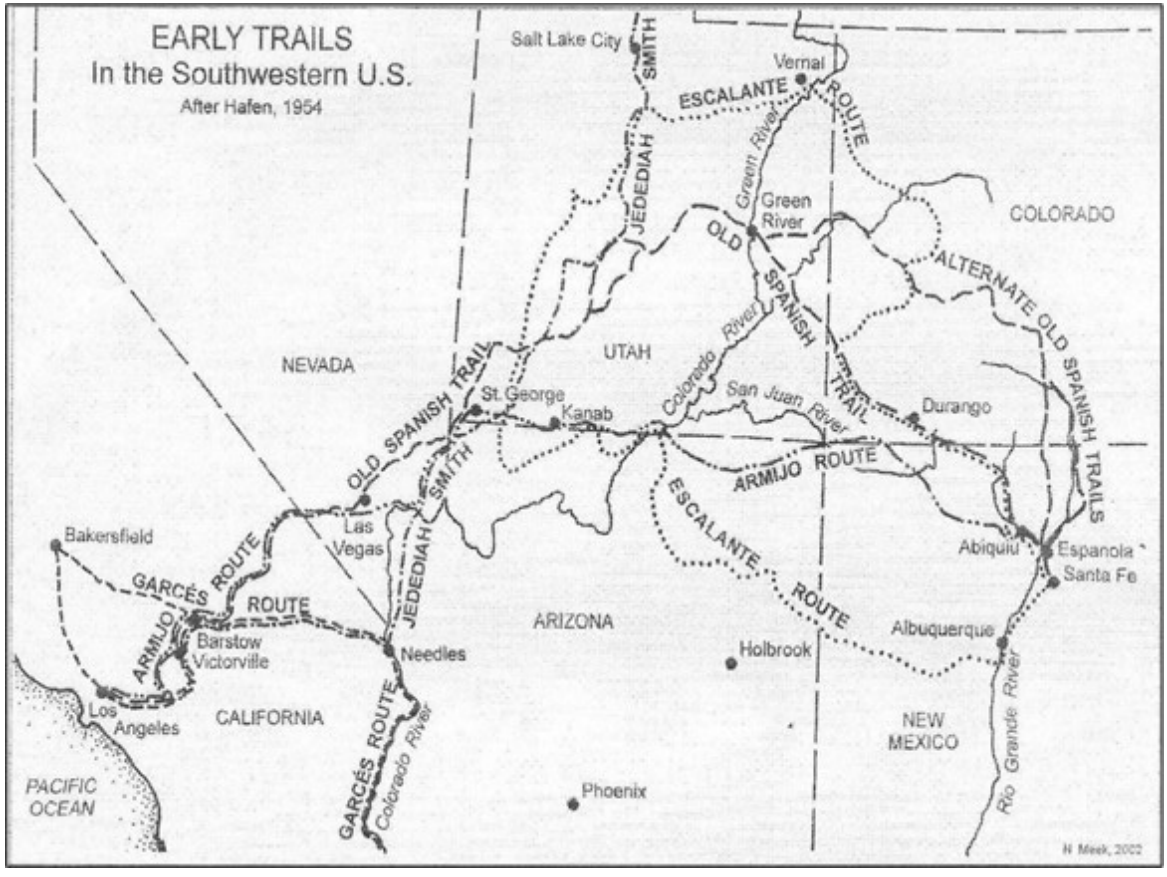
EARLY TRAILS
In the Southwestern U.S.
After Hafen, 1954
Salt Lake City
SMITH
JEDEDIAH
Vernal
ESCALANTE
ROUTE
Green River
Green River
COLORADO
OLD SPANISH TRAIL
ALTERNATE OLD SPANISH TRAILS
NEVADA
UTAH
Colorado River
St. George
Kanab
San Juan River
Durango
ARMIJO ROUTE
Bakersfield
Las Vegas
Abiquiu
Espanola
Santa Fe
GARCÉS ROUTE
ARMIJO ROUTE
Barstow
Victorville
Needles
ARIZONA
Albuquerque
Holbrook
Los Angeles
CALIFORNIA
NEW MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
Phoenix
Rio Grande River
N Meek, 2002

Figure 5. A Composite of routes of early trails in the southwestern United States: the old Spanish Trail, route of Dominguez and Escalante, route of Antonio Armijo, and route of Jedediah Smith. Source: Edward Leo Lyman. *The Overland Journey from Utah to California.* Reno and Los Angeles: University of Nevada Press. The map is adapted from LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen. *Old Spanish Trail, Santa Fe to Los Angeles, The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875*, vol.1 (see bibliography). The route shown for Jedediah Smith is that proposed by Maurice S. Sullivan. *The Travels of Jedediah Smith; A Documentary Outline, Including His Journa*l (see bibliography).

Exploration by Pioneers Who Came to Settle

In 1846–47, William Bailey Maxwell and two other men who had served in the Mormon Battalion (a group of about 500 members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints who joined the United States Army in 1846, during the Mexican-American War) and were discharged at San Bernardino, California, decided to look for a new or shorter route to their destination of Salt Lake City.[32] Their route took them through Long Valley. The few sentences in the brief account that relates to that part of their journey include the following: "They followed the Little Colorado to the Colorado River which they crossed. They found deep snow on the Kaibab Mountains and had difficulty in crossing that range of mountains. They traveled northward by way of the present site of Richfield, Orderville, and Manti." Although Maxwell passed through Long Valley because it was part of what he considered to be a shorter route to Salt Lake City, he appeared to have become interested in the area as a place to live because he returned and helped settle what later became Short Creek, Arizona, and later helped settle Long Valley.

Parley P. Pratt, with a small group of men sent by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, explored southern Utah in 1849–1850, crossing over the southern rim of the Great Basin into the Virgin River Basin. They crossed the Black Ridge, south of Cedar Valley and explored the Dixie area but did not travel to Long Valley.[33]

In the summer of 1852, a small group of men made two short expeditions from the newly settled community of Parowan, north in Cedar Valley. In the first, they circled north, east, and south of Parowan; the second expedition was extended to a larger area that included Long Valley. Both included parts of Cedar Mountain. In a letter to the Deseret Weekly News,[34] John C. L. Smith and John Steele reported both trips, and Priddy Meeks reported the second trip in his journal.[35] Early in June, John C. L. Smith, John Steele, and John D. Lee traveled from Parowan over the mountains to the east (now Cedar Mountain) to Panguitch Lake to meet with Native American Chief Quinnarrah, or Kanarra, and a gathering of Native

Americans. In doing so, they also explored some of the areas of the headwaters of the Sevier River draining to the north.

A few days after their return from this trek, these same men, accompanied by John L. Smith, John Dart, Solomon Chamberlain, Priddy Meeks, and Francis T. Whitney, made their second expedition. They left Parowan and traveled northeast through Paragonah, up Little Creek Canyon, across Bear Valley, and down into Panguitch Valley. There and at Fox Creek, known now as Asay Creek, they noted locations suitable for establishing small settlements. After further exploration of the headwaters of the Sevier River, they crossed over the divide to the south to the headwaters of the "Rio Virgin" (East Fork of the Virgin River). This would be the location where Angus Woodbury proposed that Jedediah Smith and his party reached the Virgin River in 1826. In Smith and Steele's account this is mistakenly referred to as the Levier Skin River, which later is clarified when a stream by that name is referred to again as converging with Ash Creek and the Virgin River, and apparently is the LaVerkin Creek. They followed the East Fork of the Virgin River as it flowed southwest through Long Valley. Speaking of Long Valley Smith and Steele noted, "There can be a good wagon road got from the Sevier country to this point." Concerning the suitability for settlement in Long Valley, they recorded, "There are plenty of hops, and timber and handsome places for settlements in the narrow but fertile bottom of the stream."

The party continued southwest down the river into Parunuweap Canyon toward the settlements of Virgin and Toquerville. Smith's account continues, "We now have to leave the stream because of the driftwood and the narrowness of the passage down through, and take to the mountains: here the chance for a wagon road ended." This describes the Elephant Hill portion of the Elephant Trail as it leaves the East Fork of the Virgin River and Parunuweap Canyon and continues southwest. The only other possible way out of Parunuweap Canyon by horse to the south is the Steep Trail located a few miles farther west.

Two other members of the group, Priddy Meeks and John D. Lee, also describe some of the events of the trip.[36] Meeks records the portion of their travels on their return home that involved

Parunuweap Canyon, as follows: "[We] went on down through Long Valley into Parunuweap Canyon to what is called The Elephant, where the creek is closed upon by impassable high rocks on each side. We passed on down the bed of the creek we suppose six miles before a chance appeared for us to leave the creek which we gladly embraced." This would of necessity have been to the north because there are no places available to exit the Canyon on the south. Meeks continued, "We then took a west course and went some seven or eight miles and came to an insurmountable crevice." According to the account in Meek's journal, they scouted for several days, suffering from thirst, and with divine help, found water and their way out and made their way back home.

The account was written by Meeks years after the trip was made, and some of the names used, such as those referring to The Elephant and Long Valley, may have been given to the area after the event he described actually occurred. Nevertheless, these accounts clearly describe the challenge of access from the southwest that lay ahead for those who would come that way some twelve years later in the first attempt to settle Long Valley.

In the fall of 1858, Jesse N. Smith was assigned by George A. Smith, an official of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "…to take charge of a company to explore the headwaters of the Rio Virgin [East Fork of the Virgin River] in search of a place where cotton would grow."[37] Although this account is short it provides the most detail of their travel from Long Valley to Dixie which is of greatest interest in this history. Beginning in the Parowan area, Jesse N. Smith's company "…took [their] way up the South Fork of Center Creek in Parowan Canyon" and followed a route similar to the one John C. L. Smith used in his exploration six years earlier. They traveled in a generally easterly direction to the headwaters of the Sevier River, "crossed a low divide and descended to the headspring of the south [east] branch of the Rio Virgin," and entered Long Valley. He described Long Valley in very general terms.

They stopped at a small cave where they found the names and dates of some of John C. L. Smith's company chiseled in the rock and "cut our own in the soft rock with a brad awl." This cave is easily identified and is verified by the name of at least one member

of the 1858 exploring party inscribed in it (see Figure 18). As the 1858 party continued their journey, "the canyon becoming very narrow, crooked and difficult; … The course of the stream being westerly we turned out on the left hand or south side of the canyon and endeavored to travel along an elevated plateau parallel with the stream. The plateau was frequently cut across by deep cuts in the soft red sandstone, making down to the river." This describes the Elephant Hill where he exited Parunuweap Canyon and the part of the Elephant Trail located there with the same exit, and only exit available, from Parunuweap Canyon used by the John C. L. Smith party in 1852, as they made their way to the communities of Toquerville and Washington.

Jesse N. Smith and a member of his party returned to the river on foot and followed it until "we came to a large cut or run coming in from the south which we followed up and joined our party." This access from the plateau on the south of Parunuweap Canyon to the East Fork of the Virgin River at the bottom of the Canyon, which can only be used by walking or riding horses, was used later by the settlers of Long Valley for access to water from the East Fork of the Virgin River for livestock grazing on the plateau above mentioned by Smith which became known as the Elephant Cove. Jesse N. Smith's exploring group continued in a generally southwesterly direction (which appeared to be west of a part of a trail that became known as the Elephant Trail), and finally arrived at what later became known as Short Creek and later, present-day Colorado City, Arizona. From there they traveled west to Willow Creek, continued to Gould's Ranch, then north to the Virgin River and on northwest to Toquerville.

Jesse N. Smith received word "…that the Rio Virgin Mission… was suspended for the present." A record of a report of the suitability of Long Valley for growing cotton has not been found.

Also in 1858, Brigham Young, President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, called for a group under the leadership of Jacob Hamblin to cross the Colorado River to the southeast to scout the area and establish contact with the Moquis Tribe located there.[38] They left from Santa Clara and traveled across the Arizona Strip by way of Pipe Spring and the Kaibab Mountain

to the Crossing of The Fathers on the Colorado River. This first trip across the Colorado River was followed up with two additional trips for the same purpose. Both of these trips were also led by Jacob Hamblin; the second was in 1859, and the third in 1860. Although these trips had no direct bearing on the settlement of Long Valley, they extended the knowledge of the larger area including the Arizona Strip where the Long Valley settlers later grazed some of their livestock and the Native Americans that occupied it. During the last trip in 1860, the party had an encounter with a band of Navajo who refused to let them pass, and one member of the party, George A. Smith, Jr. was killed.

As settlements or stations were established, such as at Short Creek and Pipe Spring on the Arizona Strip and north of the Arizona strip in Utah at Kanab and in Long Valley, the Navajos who lived south of the Colorado River would cross the Colorado and intimidate the friendlier Paiutes and drive off unguarded livestock. In doing this, they also, in some cases, encouraged the Paiutes to hostility toward the white settlers and contributed to the Native American uprising that followed a few years later.[39]

The First Attempt to Settle Long Valley—And Its Abandonment

There are references that indicate that Brigham Young sent a group to further investigate sites to settle in southern Utah Territory including Long Valley, in 1861. Records also indicate that this group included John and William Berry and Priddy Meeks and that they visited Long Valley again in 1862[40] and were prominent in its settlement. John and William Berry were members of the larger Berry family, previously from Spanish Fork, Utah, before moving to Kanarraville south of Cedar City. Priddy Meeks, a self-taught herbalist and healer, was a member of the group that had traveled through Long Valley a decade earlier.

Records of the settlement of Long Valley described it "as a canyon from 100 yards to three-fourths of a mile wide, and about fifteen miles in length through which the East Fork of the Virgin River flowed. The valley contains about thirteen hundred acres of tillable land and scarcely enough water in the river to irrigate it."[41] Some of the settlers writing of Long Valley expressed its promised productivity as follows: "[It] was a paradise for livestock grazing."; "…the waving expanses of grass dragged against the saddle stirrups."[42] "… it was verdant with grass, growing up to the horses' bellies."[43]

The Berry family, which included the four Berry Brothers, John, William, Robert, and Joseph, their mother, the wives of William and Robert, and others from settlements in the Dixie area came to Long Valley with their families in the spring of 1864 and became the first white people to settle there.[44] They chose an area north in the Valley that they named Berryville. Others who were part of this first settlement were reported to include Joseph Hopkins from Virgin, Moses and John Harris and David Aldridge from Harrisburg, James B. Maxwell from Eagle Valley, and George Spencer from St. George. Other early settlers included Hosea Stout, Charles Griffin, James Bryant, John Brimhall, John Henderson, Sam Westline, Hyrum Stevens, Silas Hoyt, Alma and Solomon Angel, George Oler, Royal Cutler, Jefferson Wright, and James Brinkerhoff. Those with families brought them with them. Allen Joseph Stout and his

family came to Long Valley in late July and settled about one and one-half miles north of Berryville.[45]

Priddy Meeks, a polygamist, and his second wife, Mary Jane McCleve, and family followed the Berry group to settle Berryville in the fall of 1864. During that fall or at least by the following spring, he had moved his family about six miles south of Berryville where they were living in a dugout in the side of the hill just east of where the Muddy Creek, from the north, joins the East Fork of the Virgin River. On December 9, 1864, their fifth child was born, the first white baby born in Long Valley.[46] The next spring, with additional settlers, the town of Winsor was formed, just east of where the Meeks Family had spent the winter, and later became the present site of Mt. Carmel. The settlement was named for Anson P. Winsor, who was the bishop in Grafton and also presided over the settlers who were members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Long Valley. H. B. M. Jolley and William Jolley and other members of the extended Jolley family, and Henry Gardner and Silas Hoyt and their families were also among the first settlers of Winsor.[47] Silas Hoyt is mentioned as helping settle both locations. These initial settlements were short-lived because of Native American uprisings.

A report was made of a tour by Apostle Erastus Snow of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and a small party of those who had made the settlements located east from Dixie to Kanab and Long Valley and on north to Panguitch. The report indicates which settlements were visited and the number of families associated with some of them.[48]The trip was made in the spring of 1865 during the first year of the settlements in Long Valley. The group left St. George on May 28 and went by way of Toquerville and Virgin City to Short Creek and William Bailey Maxwell's Ranch. From here, they traveled to Pipe Spring where they were joined by Bishop Anson P. Winsor, James Whitmore, and Maxwell. They traveled on to Kanab on the evening of May 31, where they found six families. The report mentions that, "The past year they had successfully raised wheat, corn and potatoes and also some little cotton." On June 1, John W. Berry and John Harris joined the group and took them to Long Valley, where "… they found some twenty-

eight families scattered along the stream [East Fork of the Virgin River] for a distance of fifteen miles." These families would have included the inhabitants of Winsor and Berryville and settlers farther north such as Allen Joseph Stout. Apostle Snow's party then continued north over the divide from the headwaters of the East Fork of the Virgin River to the headwaters of the Sevier and on to Panguitch, where there were some seventy families. From here, they went to Paragonah by way of Bear Valley.

In addition to recording the number of families and their locations, this trip also provides important information about the existence of roads in these areas at this early stage of settlement. It confirms that the road over the Hurricane Fault was the Johnson Twist Road (from Toquerville to Virgin) and also that a road existed north from Long Valley to Panguitch and continued north from Panguitch and then west across Bear Valley and south to Paragonah. Unfortunately, the route taken from Kanab to Long Valley was not mentioned.

Long Valley was home to the Paiutes with as many as 200 living in the area.[49] The Paiutes had given the pioneers permission to settle there and were generally friendly but held claim to wild game and the areas they grazed. As the settlers increased, their number of livestock increased, which competed with wild game for feed, and the settlers would have killed the deer for food. The Native Americans showed concern and felt that they could kill some of the settler's livestock for food. An apparent policy of the United Order in Orderville was to compensate the Native Americas for any deer that members of the Order killed.[50]

The Navajo, from the south across the Colorado River, raided the settlements and encouraged the Paiutes, sometimes successfully, to do the same. The Black Hawk War waged by the Utes had spread to present-day Sevier County to the north encouraging the Paiutes to participate in the uprisings.[51] These combined activities precipitated Native American raids in Long Valley, Kanab, and the Arizona Strip, resulting in the loss of livestock and other food and goods and the killing of some of the settlers:[52] James M. Whitmore and Robert McIntyre were killed near Pipe Spring in early January 1866, and three members of the Berry family, Robert and Joseph

and Robert's wife Isabella were killed three months later on April 2, just east of Short Creek, present-day Colorado City, Arizona (see Figure 6).

Militias were organized to protect the settlements, and the people at Winsor joined with those at Berryville and completed building a stockade, or fort, at Berryville for their mutual protection.[53] During this period, some of the Paiutes remained friendly and were trustworthy, and when the settlers were finally forced to leave their communities in the summer of 1866, these friendly Paiutes cared for their crops until they could return briefly in the fall and attempt to harvest them. After two years, the settlements of Berryville and Winsor in Long Valley together with those of Kanab to the south and Panguitch to the North were abandoned—their houses left uninhabited and their fields largely uncared for.

Figure 6. The prominent hill in this photograph is Berry Knoll and identifies the general area where Robert and Joseph Berry and Robert's wife Isabella were massacred by Indians on April 2, 1866. The actual site of the tragedy occurred west of the knoll. It is assumed that they were killed while attempting to get to the knoll where they would be better able to defend themselves. Source: Photograph courtesy author.

The Muddy Mission Settlers Move to Long Valley

The communities in the Muddy Mission in southern Nevada (now Moapa Valley) were settled beginning in 1864 when Brigham Young called families to settle there for the purposes of growing cotton, to expand the colonization of the Utah Territory, to have an established presence there if the navigation of the Colorado River proved possible and feasible, and to work with the local Native Americans[54] These settlements were abandoned in March of 1871 by all of their settlers except one family. Colonization in the Muddy Mission was one of the most difficult of any such efforts by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints pioneers because of the physical and climatic environment, problems with the Native Americans, and isolation from markets and other settlements, but the pioneers were overcoming these challenges. An unforeseen situation with which they could not comply, brought about by a change in territory or state boundaries placed the Muddy Mission settlements in the state of Nevada, which then demanded that they pay current and back taxes on their property as well as a poll tax; additionally, some of these payments had to be in gold. The settlers completely lacked resources to do this; the value of their efforts was in the improvements they had made in the productivity of their property, in the land they farmed, and in their homes.[55]

This demand made it impossible for them to continue their efforts on the Muddy. They had paid their taxes in Utah and some in Arizona, and it was impossible for them to pay the new tax to Nevada, particularly when some was to be paid in gold. After they had appealed to Nevada authorities and the United States Congress for relief and received none, and on the advice of Church President Brigham Young, they voted to abandon their settlements. It was necessary for them to leave before March 15, 1871, or have everything they possessed, including their means of transportation, seized for payment. A Nevada Justice of the Peace served a notice that after that date "The plaintiff will take judgment against you for the aforesaid amount, together with all costs subsequently to the assessment of said taxes and of this action."

President Young suggested that they resettle in Long Valley, Utah Territory, approximately 170 miles to the north. A small group of men was sent to Long Valley to determine its suitability for their resettlement. When it was judged to be such, most of them took this advice, with a few choosing to return to the areas they had left to answer the call to settle the Muddy.[56] The church congregation, or ward, of St. Joseph (those living in St. Joseph and surrounding area), agreed to resettle at the former site of Winsor and the St. Thomas Ward (those living in and around St. Thomas) agreed to resettle Berryville.[57]

Under the conditions imposed upon them, the Muddy settlers were obliged to take only the food and seed they had on hand and what household items, tools, and farm equipment they could haul in their wagons. The "loose stock," those animals not being used for transportation, were sent out of Nevada before the wagon train left. Some of those animals would be used later to replace those initially used to pull the wagons or to ride that became sick, injured, or just worn out before the trip was completed. The settlers forfeited everything else. They left their homes, their vineyards, the irrigation systems that they had installed, and their fields—many covered with mature, unharvested grain. Some of the grain was sold to people who were not members of the mission for one and one-half bushels of wheat per acre which just about equaled the seed required for planting and for which payment was never received.[58] Although the people of Muddy Mission felt that they had been dealt with unjustly by the Nevada officials, they left all that they couldn't take with them, all that they had worked for, some for six or more years, intact for the state of Nevada or whoever would possess it.

Warren Foote summarized his feeling about being forced to abandon their settlements as follows: "I went [to the Muddy Mission] with a full determination to stick to it, and make a pleasant home for my family… I put all of my labor into improvements, and in the fall of 1870, I valued my property in land, vineyards, and houses, etc. at about $3,000.00. For all this property I didn't receive a single cent. Six years of my hard labor was thrown away. I must say this was a great trial to me, to leave my beautiful vineyard, that I had expended so much labor to level and terrace—scraping down

the sand knowls [knolls], and just as we were beginning to enjoy the fruits of our labor to come away and leave it…"[59]

It was a taxing three-to-four-day trip, depending on the condition of the teams and the wagons, to get to St. George.[60] The Virgin River had to be crossed literally dozens of times and there was sand that had to be traveled through. Both of these conditions sapped the strength of the people and their animals, sometimes requiring double teaming to get through. They were ill-prepared for the move, but if they had stayed even to harvest their crops, the state of Nevada would have confiscated everything of worth in an effort to obtain the value of the taxes they had levied, including back taxes that had been assessed as new residences.

At St. George, they used what little resources they had or could obtain to repair or replace their wagons, to obtain better teams, to increase their supplies, and to otherwise prepare for what they knew lay ahead before continuing on to Long Valley. They knew of the route they would have to take. They were aware of the trails that others had made and used. Some of their own numbers had traveled them a few months before, arriving on Christmas day the previous year, to determine the feasibility of their forced move and to gain what firsthand information they could to assist them in their move. A move that many had determined would be their last in their quest for a permanent home.

The Pioneer Trail to Long Valley—From St. George to the Hurricane Fault

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the date and the sequence in which some of the trails leading to Long Valley were developed and used. They would have been used by the Native Americans before they were found and used by others who would come later. General descriptions used in some biographies, collections of anecdotes, and faith-promoting stories are sometimes conflicting and often lack adequate documentation. Some journals and oral histories refer to points on the trails with descriptive information, but few provide the required information to verify the details of the route. Research for this history has produced some of these challenges. Journal entries, often made incidentally when writing about something else, notations accompanying early surveys, and oral histories have provided important information in determining routes of travel, as well as other important and interesting insights into the conditions and challenges that existed and ways in which they were dealt with.

Also, trails and roads and other topographic and physical features were "drawn in" on Original General Land Office Survey Plats, old United States Geological Survey maps, and maps produced from triangulation and topographic surveys to determine the location of points of reference. With advances in technology, including the ability to measure more precisely, discrepancies, errors, or probable errors in the mapped locations of old pioneer roads and trails are found when attempting to compare their locations using newer measurement techniques. These discrepancies are sometimes significant and occur both from differences in the accuracy of locating points of reference and from "drawing in" other details, such as old pioneer trails or roads. These differences sometimes make it difficult to accurately determine old or pioneer routes, and impossible to accurately compare them to the current location of roads and highways.

For these reasons, the location of the pioneer trails and roads shown or described in this history is based on the best information available and are not presented as exact locations in many instances.

They are presented as described in journal entries or other written or oral histories or shown on early surveys or other maps, and in figures using early maps and recent photographs. Finally, the information provided and conclusions drawn from this history will be combined into one map to show the entire route or routes, the pioneers used to travel from St. George to Long Valley.

Many of the communities in southern Utah's Dixie were settled between 1854 and 1861, beginning ten years before attempts were made to settle Long Valley in 1864. They began with Santa Clara, followed by Middleton, Washington, communities on the Upper Virgin, Toquerville, and St. George.[61] During this time, a system of roads or trails had been developed linking the communities from St. George north through Leeds, over the Black Ridge to Harmony, and on to Paragonah, including a branch by way of what later became Anderson Ranch, providing access to Toquerville.[62]

The points of departure from the Dixie area for those who made the initial settlements in Long Valley in 1864 would have been from their homes, largely from the Kanarraville and Fort Harmony area to Harrisburg. The most common point of departure from the Dixie area for those who were on their way from the Muddy Mission to help resettle Long Valley would be St. George. Also, St. George would have been a common destination of the pioneers in their movement to and from their settlements in Long Valley. For these reasons, the historic Pioneer Trail used to settle and resettle Long Valley in 1871 will be traced from there.

In his journal account, Warren Foote, who was traveling from the Muddy (present-day Moapa Valley) in southern Nevada, provides the only reference found concerning this first part of their travel. He mentions that on the first day, they traveled from St. George to Washington.[63] This beginning part of the trail is assumed to be over the hill north from St. George near where the tunnel was later constructed for US Highway 91 and then through Middleton. This was the most common road between these points at that time.[64] This route is substantiated by an 1870 map.[65] Foote's journal continues that from Washington, "I drove a short distance beyond Berry Spring about seven miles from Washington".[66]

There were most likely alternative routes that could have been taken to complete this portion of the journey,[67] but the road almost certainly used by these pioneers is a continuation of the road shown on the map just referred to and also on other maps from St. George to Washington.[68] This road went east from Washington through the southeast flank of the Virgin Anticline across the Virgin River, around a prominent hill, named Shinob-Kiab by the Native Americans, along the southeast side of the Virgin River. Continuing north, it would have skirted east around the short section of gorge through which the Virgin River flowed and on to Berry Spring.

A portion of this road also appears to be described in a journal entry by Stephen V. Jones, a member of Major John Wesley Powell's expedition party, for Tuesday, April 9, 1872.[69] He was located at Ft. Pearce (sometimes spelled Pierce) and recorded, "…wrote a note to Thompson, left it on the wall of the fort and started down the wagon track toward Washington. Followed it to near the river then turned upstream to camp [Berry Spring] getting in at 2:00 P.M…" By 1871, Berry Spring was a common stopover, or campsite, for travelers.[70] There was more than one spring in the area, but Berry Spring was located between present Highway 9 and the south ridge above the Virgin River, approximately two miles east of where the present highway crosses through the southeast flank of the Virgin Anticline and crosses the Virgin River.

At Berry Spring, Warren Foote recorded that "Just at night Bishop [James] Leithead & A.V. Gibbons arrived at the spring with several other wagons. We now formed quite a company. [The next day] we drove to Gould's Ranch."[71]

According to the 1870 map,[72] the only road from Berry Spring east to the Hurricane Fault was by way of Toquerville. The evidence found indicates that it went from Berry Spring along the south side of the Virgin River, crossing it to the north at the point where the Grapevine Wash entered the river from the north. Here it exited through a gap, or opening, in the escarpment that formed a gorge through which the river flowed. The road continued along the north side of the river to near Toquerville. There it joined a road coming south from New Harmony and other points to the north through a

junction, later known as Anderson Ranch, and then went southeast into Toquerville.[73]

The road, known as Johnson Twist (also known as Johnson's Twist and Nephi's Twist), went up over the Hurricane Fault to Virgin and other communities in the Upper Virgin area. This section of road was built by Nephi Johnson, under the direction of Brigham Young, in the fall of 1858 to allow exploration and settlement of the Upper Virgin. The west end of the Johnson's Twist, at the base of the Hurricane Fault, would have joined the road from Toquerville just south of Toquerville (see Figure 7).[74]

A trail also crossed the Virgin River south of Toquerville, where it is joined by LaVerkin Creek and Ash Creek. This crossing was used by Parley P. Pratt and his expedition in the fall of 1848,[75]and also probably by Father Escalante and his expedition three-quarters of a century earlier.[76] It was used by horses only and would not have accommodated wagons. From this crossing, Pratt's party came to the Hurricane Bench, and "After traveling south of the Virgin River most of the day, the party crossed it and camped at or near the present site of Washington."


Toquerville
Johnson Twist Road
SR-9
Virgin

Figure 7. This map provides a sketch (black line) of the approximate location of the Johnson Twist Road up over the lower part of the Hurricane Fault to allow access for the settlement of Virgin and other communities along the Virgin River to the east, known as Upper Virgin. The road is also referred to as Johnson's Twist and Nephi's Twist. Nephi Johnson was assigned by Brigham Young to build the road. The road originated at the top of the ridge or hill from State Road 17 south of Toquerville (upper left corner of the figure) and went southeast to cross the LaVerkin Creek and then up the fault east and on south to Virgin City (lower right corner of the figure). A section of State Road 9 (SR-9) going over this section of the Hurricane Fault is shown curving to the north (from the bottom of the figure). Source: Imagery ©2016 DigitalGlobe, State of Utah, USDA Farm Service Agency, Map Data ©2016 Google. The approximate location of the Johnson Twist Road was provided by Lenny Brinkerhoff, a local resident and historian, from her personal knowledge and oral and written history in her possession.

The Pioneer Trail to Long Valley—Over the Hurricane Fault

Settlement was barred east of the Hurricane Fault until the Johnson Twist Road (also known as Johnson's Twist and Nephi's Twist) was constructed (see Figure 7). As already mentioned, this road was constructed under the supervision of Nephi Johnson in the fall of 1858 and provided the first wagon road over that portion of the Hurricane Fault. It was constructed to allow the settlement of communities, including Virgin City, Grafton, and Rockville along the part of the Virgin River east above the major portion of the Hurricane Fault, which was known as the Upper Virgin. From Grafton, a road was constructed south over the remaining portion of the fault to Big Plain, just east of present-day Apple Valley.[77]

The histories of two pioneers, some of the first settlers of Long Valley, describe the route they used to get over the Hurricane Fault in 1864. In March of that year, Allen Joseph Stout described his route as he traveled from Toquerville, recorded here just as he entered it in his journal.[78] "We passed threw Toker and up the Twist and camped on the Laverkcan bench where there was a little bunch of Grass. Monday the 21st, 1864 we passed on threw Virgin City and Gools [Gould's] Ranch where there was some grass for our stock…. ." This account makes it clear that they passed over the Hurricane Fault by way of Johnson's Twist and that a road also went from Virgin over another and lower part of the Hurricane fault to Gould's (or Gould) ranch.

The history of Priddy Meeks describes the route taken by the Berry brothers in the spring of 1864 as follows:[79] "[They] left Kanarraville and travelled south, then turned west at Toquerville and went up the Twist Road to Grafton. From Grafton they went east, then south over Rockville Hill…." This would have been the same route that other Long Valley settlers used in 1864 and the same one that Meeks would have used when he moved to Long Valley later that fall, and that he would have used when he took the Berry brothers to visit Long Valley as a possible place to settle in 1862.

In attempting to trace the route used by the Muddy Mission pioneers to pass over the Hurricane Fault in 1871, Warren Foote's

journal entry indicates only that from Berry Spring "On the 5th we drove to Gould's Ranch. We had quite a job getting up the Hurricane Hill, but no accidents."[80] This entry mentions Gould's Ranch, which is located near the summit of the Hurricane Fault but does not identify the use of Johnson Twist as part of the route that was used to get there. There are two other references, however, that indicate that these pioneers also traveled over the Hurricane Hill by way of Johnson Twist on their way to Long Valley. Historical notes recording the settlement of Long Valley and the formation of the United Order[81] state that "There was only one place where the summit (Hurricane Hill) could be reached with wagons, and that was barely possible." And in a life sketch of John James Esplin, a Muddy Mission pioneer, this portion of the road is described as follows:[82] "The route they followed on their way out followed along the Virgin River Valley until they reached Rockville east of St. George, then through the desert down to Short Creek…" The reference also stated that "The route also had to make a northern route[up Johnson Twist] to go up through Toquerville."

Another possible place for a wagon trail over the Hurricane Fault was near Fort Pearce,[83] but that could not be the route these pioneers used because it was located east of Washington City and could not fit the route further north already described and referenced to Berry Spring, Upper Virgin, and Gould's Ranch.

Oral history[84] indicates that an old Native American trail existed over the Hurricane Fault in approximately the area east of 200 North in present-day Hurricane and where a portion of the present road (State Road 59) goes over the Fault. Several published and oral reports tell of an incident during the 1860s involving Erastus Snow's buggy (carriage) being let down over the Fault on a trail, presumably at this point, with the help of ropes, and it being caught by a wind that suddenly arose and damaged the top of the buggy. President Snow is reported to have said something like, "Well, that was a hurricane! We'll call this place Hurricane."[85] This resulted in the name of the hill or fault, the town, the irrigation canal and company, as well as other entities, and indicates that a wagon road had not yet been constructed there at that time.

The road over the Hurricane Fault at this location would appear to be a possible alternative to the Johnson Twist Road for use by the Muddy Mission pioneers on their way to Long Valley in the spring of 1871. However, it was not constructed until 1872, verifying that their route over the Hurricane Fault was by way of Johnson's Twist. James G. Bleak[86] recorded that on May 25, 1872, Erastus Snow was returning to St. George from a visit to Kanab and passed down a new road being constructed on a dugway over the Hurricane Ledge. The dugway was more than a mile in length, and no team had passed along it. He came to a point where the road was being blasted through a 25-foot limestone ledge, and the horses had to be taken from the carriage and the carriage "let down by hand." This shows that the alternate road to the Johnson Twist Road over the Hurricane Fault was under construction, but not yet completed, more than a year after the Muddy Mission pioneers made their journey to Long Valley. This provides conclusive evidence that they used the Johnson Twist Road to get over the Hurricane Fault and also strengthens the assumption that the road crossed the Virgin River near Berry Spring and went by way of Toquerville to connect with the Johnson Twist Road.

Two additional, old survey maps have been found that provide further evidence that 1872 was the date of the construction of the road over the Fault from the location of present-day Hurricane. The maps referred to earlier in this history were dated before 1871 and showed no road existed over the Fault at this point.[87] The two additional maps were dated in 1878[88]and 1873[89] and show that by those dates such a road existed. The 1873 map also shows that the new road (1872) over the Hurricane Fault continued west along the south side of the Virgin River, joining the pioneer road used by the Muddy Mission pioneers at Berry Spring and continuing southwest on the southeast side of the Virgin River and crossing it at Washington City. This describes the section of the present State Road 9 from the base of the Hurricane Fault at Hurricane City west across the Hurricane Bench and continuing on to where it crosses the Virgin River near Quail Creek Reservoir, just beyond Berry Spring.

Additional references were found that support the conclusion that Johnson's Twist was the sole road over the Hurricane Fault available to the Long Valley settlers. These references also indicate the formidable barrier the Hurricane Fault posed to all who had to deal with it, and also of the grandeur of the larger area as viewed from the Hurricane Fault. Frederick S. Dellenbaugh[90]and Stephen V. Jones,[91] both members of John Wesley Powell's exploration party, described their travels from Pipe Spring to the Dixie area in the spring of 1872. They went by way of Gould's Ranch and then traveled northeast on the Hurricane Fault. Dellenbaugh recorded, "From Gould's we had a wagon road and following it we were led to the brink of the Hurricane Ledge, where a road had been constructed to the bottom. Before descending we took a final look at the enchanting view opening away to the north and northwest. At our feet was the Virgin Valley with the green fields of Tokerville, …" Jones wrote, "From the top of the hill [Hurricane Cliffs] could be seen Virgin City and Toquerville on the Virgin River." In an endnote in the paper reporting Jones's journal, Herbert E. Gregory,[92] editor, clarifies that at the time of Jones's travel in 1872, the road from Rockville and Grafton over the Hurricane Fault was by way of Virgin City and Toquerville.

The descriptions by Dellenbaugh and Jones of the place where they descended the Hurricane Fault and those of others cited previously, show that the road leading to Gould's Ranch went over the Hurricane Fault by way of Johnson's Twist just south of Toquerville, east over the fault to near Virgin City, and southwest to Gould's Ranch, a road which still exists and in use today. The road from the top of that part of Hurricane Hill to Virgin City and on toward Gould's Ranch is also shown on old survey maps.[93]

Thus, Johnson's Twist provided a road over the Hurricane Fault to Upper Virgin (Virgin and Rockville) for those who settled Long Valley in 1864 and who resettled there in 1871. From there two roads were available over the remaining part of the Hurricane Fault or Mountain. One road continued south to Gould's Ranch from Virgin and on to or near Big Plain, and one went southeast from Rockville to Big Plain. At or near Big Plain, the two roads would

have joined and continued southeast to Short Creek (now Colorado City), Arizona, and the Arizona Strip.

The Pioneer Trail to Long Valley—From the Hurricane Fault to the Arizona Strip

By 1862, William Bailey Maxwell had established a ranch at or near what later became known as Short Creek,[94]and a settlement probably began at Cane Bed Springs a few miles farther east at about the same time. Pipe Spring, twenty miles east of Short Creek, which played a key role in livestock production on the Arizona Strip, became occupied by James M. Whitmore when he built a dugout there in 1863.[95] Trails connecting some or all of these points, beginning in Dixie, would eventually lead to Long Valley or to Kanab.

In his journal, Foote records that from Gould's Ranch, they drove about eight miles to the sheep troughs.[96] He noted that "This is a small spring on the side of the mountain which is conducted in troughs to the base and empties into larger ones for the purpose of watering stock." This spring is located in a small canyon to the south of the present Apple Valley community. Its approximate location is marked by a water storage tank partway up the mountain. The road from Gould's Ranch followed the Gould Wash to Little Plains and Apple Valley.[97] The road that the Muddy Mission pioneers traveled to get to Long Valley has received a series of improvements, including location, and became Highway 59, from Hurricane, joining with or becoming Highway 389 as it entered Arizona and the Arizona Strip at Short Creek (now Colorado City).

Following Foote's journal entries, the pioneer group from St. Thomas in the Muddy Mission traveled east from the Sheep Troughs, or the Troughs as it was also known, intersecting with the road from Grafton and Rockville in the Big Plain area, and crossed into Arizona at Short Creek, a total distance of about ten miles.[98] Meeks and the Berry brothers and others who went to Long Valley in 1864 traveled by way of "Rockville Hill" from Grafton and Rockville to Big Plain.[99] It is assumed, but not known, that the road was in the general location of later-improved roads and present-day Highway 59.

One map[100] shows a road west from Short Creek that follows more closely the mountains to the north. This may suggest that the

road from perhaps as far west as Big Plain was generally closer to the mountains than the current highway as is being assumed. This may be reinforced by Foote's comment about having to pass over endless sandy hills when traveling from Short Creek to Pipe Spring.[101] Small hills or sides of drainages could result from deeper drainages that usually occur closer to the mountains. The road on the map just referred to is shown to exist only for a short distance rather than being continuous, as would be expected if it were the road intersecting at Big Plain. Quite possibly, the road led to a destination such as a ranch not shown on the map or mentioned in available descriptions of the route the pioneers traveled. The pioneer road, or another earlier interim road northeast from Cane Beds toward Cedar Ridge and Pipe Spring, was located farther north than the present-day Arizona Highway 389 and still exists as a dirt road that has some use.[102]

The Pioneer Trail to Long Valley—On to Long Valley

At Short Creek, Foote recorded in his journal, "There are two roads from this place to Long Valley. One by Pipe Spring, and one by what is called the 'Elephant.' It was finally decided to take the Elephant Road as it is much nearer."[103] The Elephant Trail, the route through the area known as The Elephant, from Short Creek or Cane Beds, Arizona, to Long Valley, was the major route and the one used by the first settlers in 1864. This is shown by several references, including a survey map.[104] A history of Priddy Meeks provides some important detail.[105] It states that the members of the Berry family, and other pioneers that were the first to begin the settlement of Long Valley, went "…across the desert country [from Utah's Dixie] through the Short Creek and Cane Beds area in what is now Arizona. Turning north, they followed the [East Fork of the] Virgin River into Long Valley, going by way of the Elephant and the Barracks, apparently south and east of where Priddy and his companions of 1852 had become ledged-up and forced to backtrack. 'The Elephant is a large mountain of heavy sand, through which there is a natural gap. The trail follows through this opening which is called the Elephant Gap. The Barracks is a narrow, rock gorge through which the river flows.'"

Both routes, "the one called the Elephant" and the "one by Pipe Spring", through this part of the country referred to by Foote, were used by those who came from the Muddy and helped resettle Long Valley in 1871. Samuel Claridge, who was a member of the group that used the trail that passed by Pipe Spring, recorded in his journal:[106] "… we came to Winsor Castle [Pipe Spring] where Brother Winsor kept a large herd of cattle for the Church. He was very kind to us. John R. Young was our Captain and took us up a long canyon [Cottonwood Canyon], a much shorter way to Long Valley. We had to make a road for a week or 10 days, then we came to the sand banks which was very hard on our teams." This was the group that came from St. Joseph on the Muddy and settled at the old site of Winsor. They arrived there on March 4, 1871. Claridge's comment about making a road suggests that this was a new or little-used wagon road.

There appears to have been no name attached to the trail that went to Long Valley by way of Pipe Spring. In its description, two prominent parts were mentioned: Cottonwood Canyon and the Sand Ridge. So for descriptive purposes, it will be referred to in this history as the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Trail.

Foote mentioned that while the group that he was in was traveling along the Elephant Trail up the East Fork of the Virgin River through Parunuweap Canyon, "… two young men passed us from Rockville, going to Long Valley. Bishop Liethead sent word by them for the brethren at the lower settlement [originally Winsor and later changed to Mt. Carmel] to send down a few teams to help us up. Bishop Stark and his company (the settlers from St. Joseph in the Muddy Mission) had arrived there about two weeks before, going by way of Pipe Spring and Cottonwood Canon." Also, when returning to Long Valley from St. George with a load of supplies, Warren Foote, in company with Sven Magnus Anderson, traveling the Elephant Trail "about the end of April" in 1871, recorded in his journal that "Bro. H. B. M. Jolley, who was one of the original settlers, passed us moving to Mt. Carmel."[107] These entries indicate that the Elephant Trail was the usual route used by residents of the communities in Dixie to get to Long Valley.

The Elephant Trail went through an area known as "The Elephant" with points bearing that name. It began a few miles east of Short Creek as it separated to the north through Cane Beds from the route that went on to Pipe Spring, Arizona, and to Kanab, Utah, farther to the east. The Elephant Trail was approximately thirty miles in length to where it entered Long Valley, near present-day Mt. Carmel Junction, and joined with a road to the communities in Long Valley. It constituted the most difficult part of the road from Dixie because of the terrain and, especially, the sand over and through which it passed.

Additional alternate routes were subsequently developed but the Elephant Trail was the most used route between Long Valley and the Dixie area for nearly sixty years. The alternate routes included those through Kanab and Kanab Canyon or through Kanab and Johnson Canyon. Both were much longer and more circuitous routes but easier to travel with heavily loaded wagons than the

Elephant Trail. For this reason, it is assumed that they would be used more for transporting heavier loads.

The location of the part of the Elephant Trail from Rosy Canyon to the Elephant Gap has been changed from that used by the pioneers. The route described here is that of the original Elephant Trail.[108] From Cane Beds it continued north through Rosy Canyon to Pine Springs and on north through the "Block Mesas" to Harris Mountain and the White Cliffs of the Navajo Sandstone Formation. The Elephant Butte was the largest of the block mesas and the one farthest south. The area where the trail passed between Harris Mountain on the north and the nearest block mesa (unnamed) on the south was known as the Elephant Gap. In his journal, Foote mentioned that he and his son, David, double-teamed to get their wagons through the deep sand from Pine Spring to the "Divide" which is located near the Elephant Gap. To the north of that point, the water drains to the East Fork of the Virgin River, and to the south, the water drains to the Colorado River.[109] Both drainages ultimately empty into the Colorado River.

A description of specific points of the location of the pioneer Elephant Trail from the Elephant Gap to the Elephant Hill where it descended to the East Fork of the Virgin River in the Parunuweap Canyon has not been found in pioneer journals or other written records except that it passed through the Elephant Cove. However, oral history and physical evidence remaining at least to the mid-1900s, of parts of a trail or road that had existed earlier and assumed to be the Elephant Trail indicates that it was the same or similar to its current location in several places. Therefore in this history, it is assumed that the current trail or road in most of its locations is that of the pioneer Elephant Trail which continued north to Harris Point and then northwest and northeast around Harris Point, the southernmost part of Harris Mountain, and continued northeast through the Elephant Cove. The Elephant Cove is not well defined to the southwest but to the northeast is the area between the White Cliffs to the east and the Parunuweap Canyon to the north. The Trail then turned east across several small canyons or drainages from the White Cliffs to the south, to the Elephant Hill where it descended

north through deep sand to the East Fork of the Virgin River in Parunuweap Canyon.[110]

The distance on the Elephant Trail from Short Creek to Pine Spring was usually traveled in one day, but two days were required by Foote and some others because of the deep sand, the need to double-team their heavy loads, and the poor condition of their teams. The deep sand was a major challenge in traveling the Elephant Trail, particularly with heavy, loaded wagons. To double-team meant to hitch two teams to one wagon to be able to pull it through the sand.

When traveling along the Elephant Trail northeast along the East Fork of the Virgin River, Foote describes making bridges, presumably cutting brush or trees to facilitate crossing the river, which would have had to be crossed many times as they traveled up Parunuweap Canyon: "We made some bridges and succeeded in going up as far as the "Old Barracks." [111]

The Old Barracks, or Barracks, was the location of a temporary campsite, or bivouac, by a military group, the Iron County Militia, which was located there during the spring of 1866 to protect the Long Valley settlers before and as they evacuated their settlements because of the Native American uprising.[112] The following anecdote recorded by Hattie Esplin, a local pioneer historian, provides an explanation of how the Barracks received its name.[113] "When the militia coming from Cedar City to escort the people out of Berryville in 1866 reached the narrow gorge now called the 'Barracks' there arose a dispute among the soldiers, perhaps about the proper route. While this dispute was going on one of the soldiers picked up a piece of charcoal from the campfire and wrote across the cliff nearby 'The Rebel Barracks.' These words written under the overhanging cliff, protected from the elements, remained there for years and the canyon became known as the Barracks."

No information, written or oral, has been found describing the exact location of the militia campsite or "Old Barracks." During a Native American raid on Long Valley pioneers that occurred on Elephant Hill in the fall of 1866, and will be discussed in more detail later in this history, one man, Hyrum Stevens, was wounded. In caring for him and getting him back to his home in Virgin City one

account records that "They were being blocked from going over the trail to Dixie [by the attacking Native Americans] so they went over the Elephant to the Barracks where the others were camped and Hyrum was put in a cave (see endnote 37). This shows as did Foote's journal entry that the Barracks was located northeast of the Elephant Hill. Also, recently documented inscriptions of names of members of the militia with dates corresponding to the period of time the militia was there, suggest a specific location that would have met the requirements of the overhanging cliff but has been modified because parts of the cliff have caved off.[114] It is located approximately two-and-three-quarter miles northeast of the Elephant Hill in Parunuweap Canyon.

From the Barracks, the group of pioneers continued northeast through Parunuweap Canyon into Long Valley. Foote recorded in his journal: "On the 16th [of March] we arrived at our place of destination a little after noon…"[115] This completed the journey of one of the two groups of pioneers moving from the Muddy Mission in southern Nevada to Long Valley, Utah. The Elephant Trail provided the final route of travel for this group, just as it had for the first settlers that came to Long Valley in 1864. Photographs in Figures 8 to 13 and 15 show parts of the Elephant Trail or areas through which it passed from Cane Beds to Long Valley that was traveled by these pioneers.

As mentioned earlier, the other group of pioneers traveling from the Muddy Mission to help resettle Long Valley arrived at its destination of Winsor about two weeks earlier than the group going to Berryville and had used the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Trail to complete the final part of its journey. The southern part of Cottonwood Canyon showing parts of a road that exists there at present and which may also be the location of parts of the pioneer road are shown in Figure 16. The final part of the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Trail where it joins with the Elephant trail at the bottom of Parunuweap Canyon is shown in Figure 15.

Warren Foote described the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Trail in more detail when he used it on a return trip from St. George to Glendale later in 1871.[116] One of his horses "gave out" and he had sent word to his son David in Glendale to bring him a fresh team,

which his son did. This has relevance because it indicates his concern about using a route that he had not traveled before and was reported to be very difficult. About his son's arrival and the trip, he makes the following comments, "We were very glad to see him as I was fearful that my horses would not be able to reach Pipe Spring [from Short Creek] in one day, it being 18 miles and 10 of it rising ground and most of it very sandy, and there is no water short of the Spring. I had never traveled this road before. It is one sand ridge rising one above another, and it seemed like we would never get to the last one, but we did at last about sundown. We stopped here and rested our teams and got our supper. We then started on and reached Pipe Spring late in the night. The next day we drove 13 miles to a very poor spring, called Wolf Spring. We started out very early from here and drove to the head of Cottonwood Canon, and camped at an excellent spring. We drove over the Sand Ridge the next day and camped on the Virgin. Our teams were nearly exhausted. On the following day towards night we reached Glendale."

No information, oral or written, including that from maps, has been found of the location of the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Trail from the head of Cottonwood Canyon to the Sand Ridge. However, it is assumed that it would have continued north along the east side of the Sevier Fault, and likely west of Red Knoll, crossing the Sevier Fault and going over the Sand Ridge at about the same location as subsequent roads, including that of present-day U. S. Highway 89, as it descended into Long Valley.

Failure to find information on the location of this road north of Cottonwood Canyon, or of its continued use following the resettlement of Long Valley, and also because it was not shown on an 1886 map (see Figure 19) strongly indicates that it may have had little use or been abandoned locally before it was used by the St. Joseph settlers from the Muddy Mission when they traveled to Long Valley in 1871. This gains credence by the journal entry of Samuel Claridge, a member of the St. Joseph group, which stated that "We had to make a road for a week or 10 days." The road in Cottonwood Canyon shown in Figure 16 is a private road that is used by property owners of the area. Figure 19, which contains a network of roads that had been developed and were being used following the resettlement

of Long Valley helps verify the continued use of the Elephant Trail and is also supported by other maps.[117]

The upper part of the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Trail as it descended from the Sand Ridge into Long Valley was very difficult to travel because of the deep sand and also because it was steep, but the lower part of the descent as it entered the limestone of the Carmel Strata would have been easier to travel. Available oral history concerning the location of this part of the pioneer road indicates that it followed the small canyon located immediately to the south of present Highway U. S. 89 and turned north along the top of the rim of the ledge through which that canyon cuts as it enters Parunuweap Canyon. The trail continued north for a short distance immediately west of the present highway. It then followed the contour of another drainage west and then south to the bottom of the canyon where it joined the Elephant Trail at a point approximately one mile southwest of where the Elephant Trail joins present-day U. S. Highway 89 near the Mt. Carmel Junction (see Figure 15).[118] This was likely the route of descent used by the road coming to Long Valley from Kanab by way of Three Lakes Canyon, at least when it was first made and for some years after.

Viewing the area from the top of the Sand Ridge an alternate less steep route through the sandy portion of the descent to the north appears possible, which may also shorten the area of deep sand to be crossed and involves going along the side of and through a depression or ancient drainage to the north and then through another small canyon or drainage to the west, possibly connecting to the route already described as it makes its final descent to the bottom of Parunuweap Canyon. However, areas have been excavated to make way for subsequent roads that make it impossible to know how accessible such a route would actually have been, and evidence from any source has not been found indicating that the existence of such a route may have existed. If such a route were possible to the pioneers who struggled for decades to improve that part of the road certainly they would have discovered and used it.

The part of the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Trail just referenced where it enters the bottom of Parunuweap Canyon fits the description provided in the journal of Stephen V. Jones, a member of

the Major John Wesley Powell Expedition in 1871.[119] Also, this is the only place where a wagon road could have been made into Long Valley between the Glendale Bench approximately seven miles to the northeast and the Elephant Hill approximately five miles to the southwest.

The road between Kanab and Long Valley was considered impossible, or nearly impossible, to use with loaded wagons because of the deep sand until as late as 1922. This condition existed beginning just north of Three Lakes as the road passed over "The Sand Hills" or "The Sand" which included over the Sand Ridge as it descended into Long Valley.[120] This condition may have discouraged any effort to use this route for travel by wagon as early as 1870.[121]

As mentioned earlier, the Long Valley settlers were forced to leave their communities during the summer of 1866 because of Native American uprisings, and very little information has been found to indicate how it was organized and carried out, or the route or routes the settlers used. The only routes available would have been the Elephant Trail and the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Trail. The settlers from both Berryville and Winsor had recently completed a fort, or stockade, at Berryville for protection and were reported to have been gathered there, and under those conditions might have left the Valley and may have traveled in one body for purposes of safety.[122]

There are several accounts of the exodus of Long Valley, some did not indicate the route that was used, but most of those that did stated or appeared to infer that they left by way of the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Trail.[123] Two events or conditions provide additional information on some aspects of their relationship with the Native Americans as they made their exit.[124] One was a confrontation between Major John M. Higbee, an officer in the Iron County Militia and members of his detachment with a small group of Native Americans, which indicated that the settlers had military protection. The other was that an agreement had been made with the Navajos to allow the settlers to leave peacefully in exchange for any loose stock left behind, and this report may have also dictated the route the settlers were to take and that they traveled in one body.

Also the settlers could have traveled in one body for added protection.

Some conflicts exist among reports of the exodus concerning the condition of parts of the road reported earlier that would not appear to allow the passage of heavily-loaded wagons and the size of the loads and the description of some details of the route when they left the Valley. One of these apparent conflicts [125] describes the exodus of the pioneers that had settled Winsor that involved some forty or fifty heavily-loaded wagons going over The Sand (which would have included the Sand Ridge) from Long Valley by way of Three Lakes and Kanab—a road that available evidence shows most likely did not exist in 1866. Travel up the Elephant Hill, if the Elephant Trail was used, would have also been very difficult and slow.

Another account[126] suggests that the settlers left in some haste and therefore possibly with less heavily-loaded wagons. The information concerning the exodus is very sketchy and some of it is based on oral history that has passed through one or more persons. Such discrepancies should not be unexpected.

The Elephant Trail was used later that summer when some of the settlers came back to their farms and harvested some of their crops and took them back to where they were living in the Dixie area. They could have also chosen that route when they were forced to abandon their communities a few months earlier, and one reference indicates that the pioneers from Berryville did exit by that route.[127] If this was the case some or most of the settlers from Winsor could have also gone that way because as indicated earlier the settlers in Long Valley had just completed a fort in Berryville. The information found and reported here is conflicting and suggests and appears logical that both the Elephant Trail and the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Trail were used as the residences of Berryville and Winsor were forced to abandon their settlements because of Native American uprisings in the summer of 1866.

These are the trails or roads that were used by the pioneers as they traveled from Dixie to Long Valley to settle and resettle the communities there. The Elephant Trail played the major role in providing the final, and most difficult, part of the journey across the

barrier of sand and ledges stretching from Cane Beds, Arizona, to the northeast part of Parunuweap Canyon in Utah; "a large mountain of heavy sand" known as The Elephant. And it continued to do so for many decades that followed. It took the Muddy Mission Pioneers thirteen days to travel from St. George to Long Valley with their worn-out teams and heavy-loaded wagons. Subsequently, it took three to four days with lighter loads and better teams.[128] Double-teaming remained the rule for heavy-loaded wagons traveling through the Elephant. A map outlining the Historic Dixie – Long Valley Trail as described and documented in this history is shown in Figure 17.

Figure 8. This is an aerial photograph of the Elephant Trail north from Cane Beds, Arizona, as it enters and goes north through Rosy Canyon into Utah (top of figure). Elephant Butte, the largest of the block mesas in the area is shown at the upper left corner of the photograph. Source: The aerial photographs in this history were taken and provided specifically for this history by the Kane County Commission and the Sheriff's Department. Photographs were taken by Deputy Sheriff Tracy Glover.

Figure 9. This aerial photograph shows the Elephant Butte to the left, another unnamed block mesa in the center and the southern-most part of Harris Mountain to the far right. The route of the Pioneer Elephant Trail through this area does not follow the present-day route and neither can be seen in this photograph. The exact location of almost all of the Elephant Trail is not known and is assumed to be similar to the where the trail is located at present. However, information is available to show that the location of the pioneer trail is west of where it is presently located in this area. The pioneer trail continued north from the north end of Rosy Canyon, in Utah, to Pine Spring and continued in the same general direction to the Elephant Gap. The trailhead for the present-day trail is located just north of the highway approximately four miles southwest of the Coral Pink Sand Dunes campground. From the trailhead it goes north and then northwest where it joins with the estimated location of the pioneer trail before passing through the Elephant Gap formed by the unnamed block mesa on the south and Harris Mountain on the north. The Divide on the Elephant Trail is located near the Elephant Gap and is the point where water drains north to the East Fork of the Virgin River and south to the Arizona Strip. Source: Photograph courtesy Sheriff Tracy Glover.

Figure 10. This aerial photograph shows a portion of the Elephant Trail as it passes around the southwest point of Harris Mountain after passing through the Elephant Gap. It is assumed that the route of the pioneer trail is the same or similar to that of the present-day trail, parts of which are shown in the photographs in the remaining figures. The part of the Elephant Cove through which the Elephant Trail passes but is not visible in this photograph can be seen to the north and to the northeast. The top of the cliffs of Parunuweap Canyon can be seen running diagonally through the upper left portion of the photograph. The White Cliffs of the Navajo Sandstone Formation can be seen north of Parunuweap Canyon across the top of the photograph and on the west exposure of Harris Mountain to the center lower right and also near the upper right corner of the photograph. The Elephant Cove is the area or plateau located between the top of Parunuweap Canyon and the White Cliffs or western part of Harris Mountain to the northeast that can be seen on the right of the photograph. Source: Photograph courtesy Sheriff Tracy Glover.

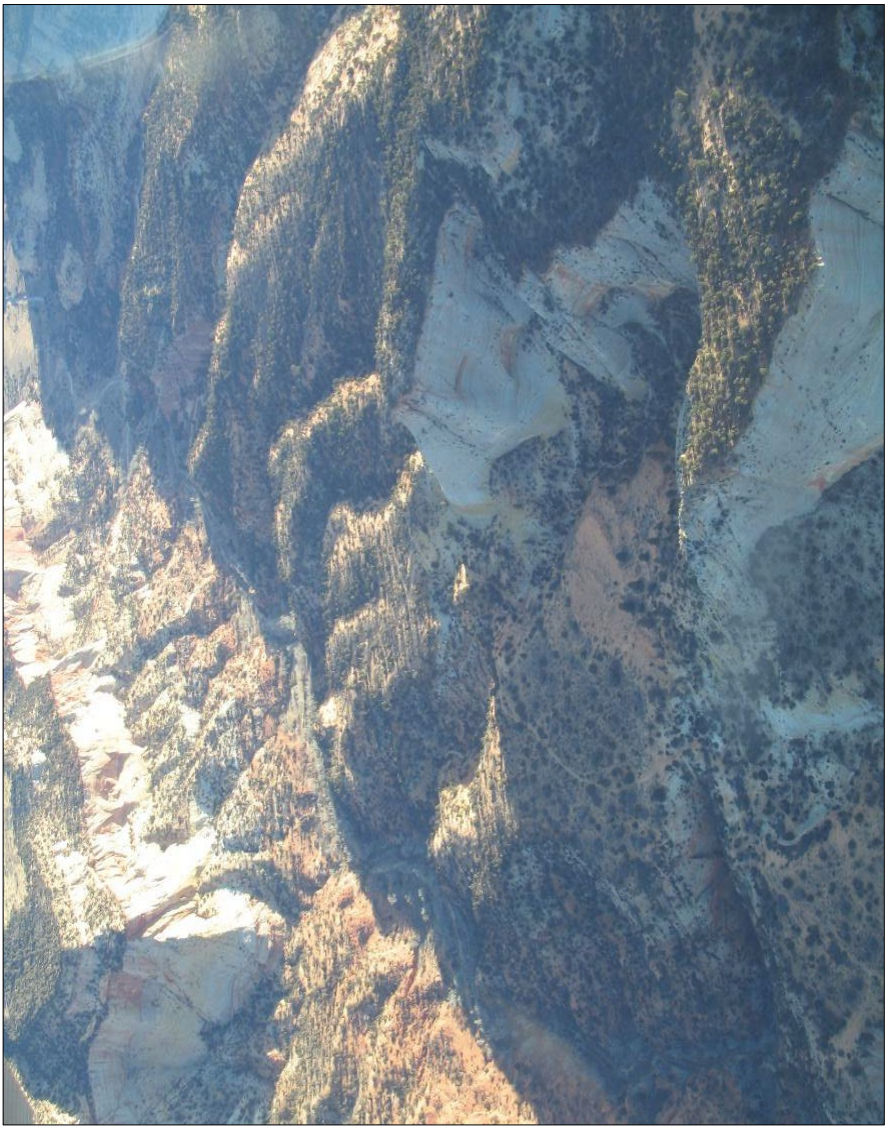

Figure 11. This aerial photograph shows portions of the Elephant Trail northeast of the Elephant Cove as it passes near the southwest rim of Parunuweap Canyon going northeast and crosses small canyons or drainages from the White Cliffs to the south, which form an extension of the Canyon wall. The trail turns north near the base of the east point of the White Cliff marked with a yellow streak near its base and continues north down a sandy ridge to the Elephant Hill and the East Fork of the Virgin River. Parunuweap Canyon can be seen coming from the northeast with the White Cliffs forming its walls especially on the northeast side. Source: Photograph courtesy Sheriff Tracy Glover.

Figure 12. This photograph, taken from the north, shows the Elephant Trail as it descends from the south over and down the Elephant Hill in an S shaped or switch back fashion on the last part of the descent to the East Fork of the Virgin River at the bottom of Parunuweap Canyon. The trail enters into the trees left of center in the photograph and turns to the right and then turns to the left as can be seen farthest to the left and then turning again to the right to reach the bottom of the canyon. The Trail continues along the East Fork of the Virgin River in the bottom of Parunuweap Canyon in a general northeast direction into Long Valley. The Elephant Hill was a major challenge regardless of direction of travel. Unfortunately, the trail and parts of the surrounding environment have been badly abused by a few people driving ATVs who have failed to follow the designated route making it difficult to determine in the photograph the location of what was the original trail, but it still exists there and is most often used. This is the only location in the south wall of Parunuweap Canyon where a wagon road could have been made, between where the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Trail descended to the Parunuweap Canyon floor approximately one mile southwest of modern day Mt. Carmel Junction, and the Pioneer Road going from Rockville (near the southwest entrance to Parunuweap Canyon) to the Big Plain, which passes over a part of the Hurricane Fault. Source: Photograph courtesy author.

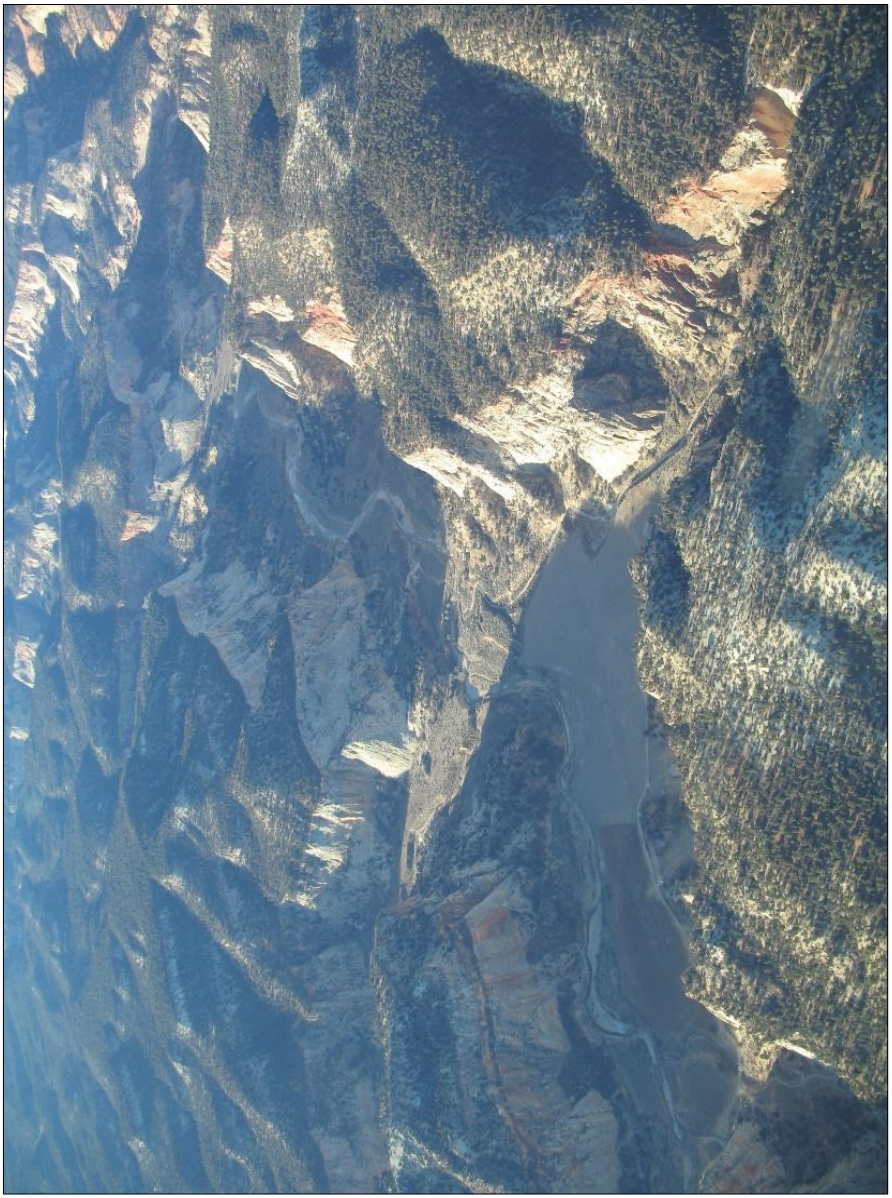

Figure 13. This aerial photograph taken from the north shows a portion of Parunuweap Canyon through which the Elephant Trail passes, and includes the section containing the location of the Old Barracks (center of photograph in the north wall of the canyon, not shown). Note that the White Cliffs form the walls of Parunuweap Canyon. Source: Photograph courtesy Sheriff Tracy Glover.

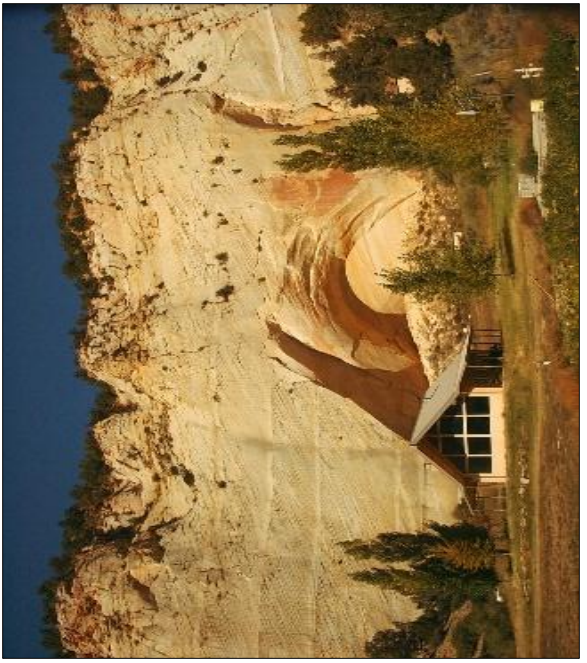

Figure 14. The photographs in this figure are of the area with overhanging cliffs where the Old Barracks was located, according to evidence provided in this history, and where the words " Rebel Barracks" were written in charcoal. The picture to the left shows the overhanging cliff when it was being used for storage of feed for livestock (hay and corn) from the early 1920s to the early 1960s (taken about 1951). Although the area under the cliff had been cleaned out to provide for the storage of livestock feed, the overhanging cliff would have been most likely similar to when the area was being temporarily occupied by the Iron County Militia in the spring and fall of 1866. The picture to the right (taken in the mid 1990s) shows the same area after extensive caving of the cliff had occurred. Source: Photographs courtesy author.

Figure 15. This aerial photograph was taken where Parunuweap Canyon begins to widen to the northeast to form Long Valley (top of figure). Parts of the Elephant Trail can be seen as it follows the East Fork of the Virgin River and joins Highway 89 and continues east along the highway to the top of the photograph toward Glendale. The Mt. Carmel Junction is one-half mile northeast of where the Elephant Trail (Kane County Road 1300) joins Highway 89. The northeast end of the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Trail can also be seen in the photograph. After crossing the Sand Ridge at the top of the Parunuweap Canyon wall it continues northwest on the southern side of Highway 89 as it passes along a small canyon or drainage. It can be seen at the lower right of the photograph as it turns north along the top of the rim of the ledge through which the small canyon cuts as it enters Parunuweap Canyon. The trail continues north for a short distance immediately west of highway 89 and then follows the contour of another drainage west and then south to the bottom of Parunuweap Canyon. At the bottom of the canyon the trail turns west and joins the Elephant Trail. The point where it joins the Elephant Trail can be seen in the edge of the shadow near the bottom center of the photograph. Source: Photograph courtesy Sheriff Tracy Glover.

Figure 16. This aerial photograph shows a part of Cottonwood Canyon through which the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Trail passed. Portions of a private road can be seen, which are possibly the locations of parts of the pioneer trail. The southern part of Cottonwood Canyon is located in Arizona in the Kaibab Indian Reservation. Source: Photograph courtesy Sheriff Tracy Glover.

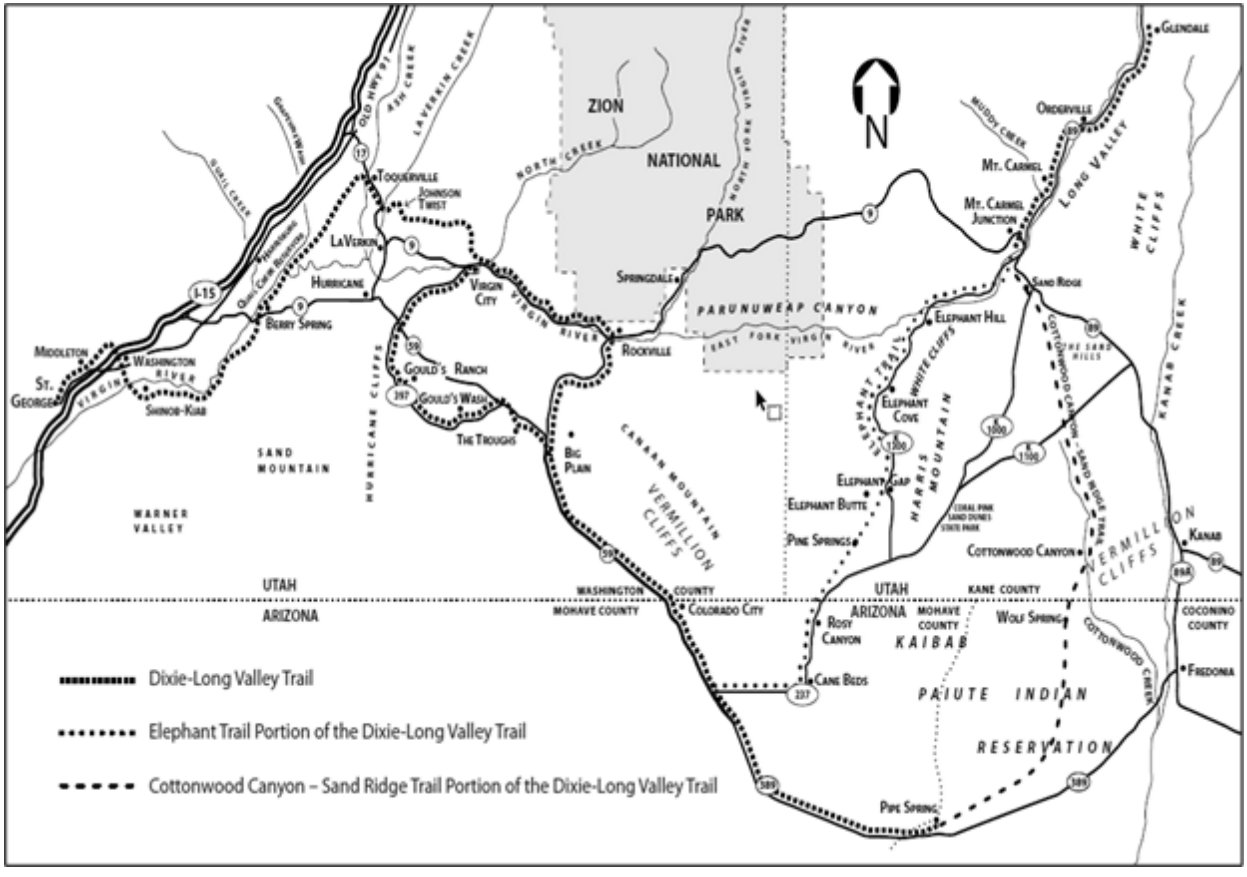
ZION
NATIONAL
PARK
N
GLENDALE
ORDERVILLE
MT. CARMEL
MT. CARMEL JUNCTION
LONG VALLEY
WHITE CLIFFS
KANAB CREEK
SAND RIDGE
ELEPHANT HILL
PARUNUWEAP CANYON
EAST FORK VIRGIN RIVER
ROCKVILLE
SPRINGDALE
VIRGIN RIVER
NORTH FORK VIRGIN RIVER
NORTH CREEK
TOQUERVILLE
JOHNSON TWIST
LAVERKIN CREEK
OLD HWY 91
LA VERKIN
HURRICANE
VIRGIN CITY
BERRY SPRING
I-15
MIDDLETON
ST. GEORGE
WASHINGTON
SHINOB-KIAB
GOULD'S RANCH
GOULD'S WASH
THE TROUGHS
HURRICANE CLIFFS
SAND MOUNTAIN
WARNER VALLEY
BIG PLAIN
CANAAN MOUNTAIN
VERMILLION CLIFFS
ELEPHANT TRAIL
ELEPHANT COVE
ELEPHANT GAP
ELEPHANT BUTTE
PINE SPRINGS
HARRIS MOUNTAIN
CORAL PINK SAND DUNES STATE PARK
COTTONWOOD CANYON
COTTONWOOD CANYON – SAND RIDGE TRAIL
THE SAND PIPES
KANAB
COCONINO COUNTY
FREDONIA
COTTONWOOD CREEK
WOLF SPRING
ROSY CANYON
CANE BEDS
KAIBAB
PAIUTE INDIAN RESERVATION
PIPE SPRING
COLORADO CITY
UTAH
ARIZONA
WASHINGTON COUNTY
MOHAVE COUNTY
KANE COUNTY
Dixie-Long Valley Trail
Elephant Trail Portion of the Dixie-Long Valley Trail
Cottonwood Canyon – Sand Ridge Trail Portion of the Dixie-Long Valley Trail

Figure 17. This is a map of the Pioneer Dixie-Long Valley Trail with its alternate routes that was used by the Pioneers and others to travel from St. George and other areas in Utah's Dixie to Long Valley to begin the settlement in 1864, and also from the Muddy Mission in southern Nevada to permanently resettle in 1871 the communities of Berryville (Glendale) and Winsor (Mt. Carmel). The Elephant Trail, the final portion of the trail, was the only route available to those who came first to settle there and continued as a major route to Long Valley for many years. A major part of the trail continues to be used for ranching and for recreation. Source: The map was developed by the author from information provided in this history and was produced by Interpretive Graphics Signs and Systems, Salt Lake City, Utah.

The Resettlement of Long Valley

As mentioned earlier, two groups of people resettled Long Valley in 1871. One group was part of those who had settled there originally beginning in 1864 and were forced to abandon their homes and land and developments in 1866 because of Native American uprisings. The other group was the settlers from the Muddy Mission in southern Nevada who were in need of a place to rebuild their lives. This second group chose Long Valley largely at the suggestion of Brigham Young, president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and they came as two ecclesiastical units from the communities of St. Thomas and St Joseph. Approximately 200 pioneers from the Muddy Mission arrived in Long Valley first and were joined soon after by about the same number of original settlers.[129] The settlers from St. Joseph stopped at Winsor in the south part of the valley, and those from St. Thomas went to Berryville which was located north in the Valley. Berryville was renamed Glendale because it reminded Bishop Leithead of his home in Scotland, and Winsor was renamed Mt. Carmel because it reminded Joseph W. Young of the country of Mount Carmel in Palestine.[130] Young was an officer in the Church with authority over a larger area, which included Long Valley.

The Church leadership recognized that the original settlers, those who moved there before the Native American uprising, had the right to the land they had occupied and the improvements they had made. They also recognized the severe lack of resources of many of the Muddy Mission settlers caused by being required to abandon their holdings in Nevada. In an effort to help alleviate this condition they asked the original settlers, both those who planned to return to help resettle and those who did not plan to return, to share the land and the developments with the Muddy Mission settlers, either as a gift or by an arrangement beneficial to them. This request was recommended by President Brigham Young and stated in a letter written by Apostle Erastus Snow. The letter together with a form on which they could reply was sent to as many of the original settlers as could be located.[131]

Two journal entries show how the pioneers from St. Thomas immediately began the work of resettling the abandoned community of Berryville. Warren Foote[132] recorded "When we arrived at the old fort which consisted of log cabins built in two parallel lines, with cedar pickets between the cabins, we stopped our train and went and numbered the cabins, and then drew for them. After this was done each man drove to his cabin and took possession." James William Watson[133] described the fort and the way it was occupied by the Muddy Pioneers as follows: "A very crude fort or stockade had been built by the first settlers with two large gates, one on the south part and the other on the north side of the fort. As we drove up to the south gate Brother [Bishop] Leithead called a halt so that he and his counselors Andrew S. Gibbons and Warren Foote, [could] arrange the cabins that formed the fort. They procured charcoal from the fireplaces in the cabins then they numbered the clapboard doors, placed the corresponding numbers in a hat, and as we entered the gate we drew for our cabins. Thus a lesson of fairness and equality was given to us…"

The area had not yet been surveyed so this work was undertaken. The town was planned and laid out, and five-acre fields near the community were surveyed and "drawn for" and then plots or fields in other areas were surveyed, and work began to clear them and get them ready to plant.[134] The fort, or stockade, had been completed by the pioneers living in Winsor and Berryville to provide protection from hostile Native Americans. It was completed in April 1866, just shortly before the settlements were abandoned.[135]

The resettlement of Winsor was undertaken in a similar manner. Samuel Claridge recorded in his journal that when the group that he traveled with from St. Joseph in the Muddy arrived at Winsor (Mt. Carmel), "We went into some of the old houses. My house had three sides and the dirt roof on."[136]

No records have been found indicating disputes among the two groups over ownership of land or improvements at Glendale. One incident of land sale was recorded by Warren Foote, "When we first came to the Valley, two young men came to Glendale wanting to sell a claim of 10 acres. David [Foote, Warren's son] bought it, and gave them his old wagon for it."[137] Everyone appeared to have

worked together in Glendale's resettlement and development, including those who joined the settlement later.

Arrangements between the Muddy Mission and original settlers did not go as well at Mt. Carmel. Samuel Claridge recognized that there were differences and wrote in his journal,[138] "Land claims, of course, had to be settled." More serious differences were recorded by others.

The extended Jolley family, under the leadership of H. B. M. Jolley, contributed very substantially to both the farming and livestock development of the community when it was first settled, as well as to community and church affairs. The following reference was made in its family history about problems of land and other property claims at Mt. Carmel,[139] "Upon their arrival [at Mt. Carmel] a new problem arose. People from the Muddy and Dixie had arrived ahead of them and were in possession of their homes and lands. No little trouble ensued. With the aid of the Church authorities, the interlopers were persuaded to move out. The original settlers took possession and peace was restored. With enthusiasm the dugouts and cabins were renovated for habitation, the cattle were driven onto the range, the land was plowed and planted, and the canals were cleaned out and irrigation began. Soon the community, mostly of the Jolley family, began to hum with industry." This same problem was also mentioned in regard to efforts to establish the United Order in Mt. Carmel.[140]

Thomas Chamberlain, who as a young man moved with his mother from the Muddy Mission to Mt. Carmel and later became a leader in the United Order in Orderville, summarized the situation as follows,[141] "Old settlers came back and demanded and got pay from the already poverty-stricken people [the new settlers from the Muddy Mission] for the land they had deserted. But the people were thrifty and were able to take care of themselves." This dispute was not fully resolved until the Muddy Mission settlers and some others moved about two and one-half miles north and established the United Order in a new community first named Order City and shortly after changed to Orderville.[142]

Although Long Valley provided ideal locations for small communities with arable land and water for gardens, orchards, and

for small farms, its greatest appeal and value was in the use of the larger surrounding area for livestock production. Initially, and continuing for many years, range livestock production was based on sheep before being replaced with cattle; goats were used little if any. This characteristic of Long Valley was an important factor in its selection by the first settlers, including the Berry Family[143] and the Jolley Family.[144] Livestock could graze year-round on the extensive rangelands by seasonal movement and management.

In addition to meat, livestock produced other important products. Principle among these were milk and its products, wool from sheep and its products, and skins or hides and their products. Also, hay, grain, and other produce used for feed, including that grazed by the animals, could be marketed through the livestock.

As in other communities of the times and circumstances, goods and services were often traded or bartered in the place of money, which was not always obtainable. The goods included farm produce such as wheat and flour, milk and other dairy products, vegetables such as potatoes, fruits such as apples, and wool. Services included manual labor and work produced by animals. It was common for the cost of milling to be paid for in wheat or the resulting flour. For example, Warren Foote in Glendale mentions trading flour for furniture, potatoes and corn for molasses, and apples for lumber and labor.[145] Allen Joseph Stout, before moving from Dixie to Long Valley, recorded in his journal of extensive trading of produce he raised for food and other materials that he needed but did not produce.[146]

The settlements in Long Valley struggled to survive, as did all the new settlements. It was especially difficult during the first few years for the settlers of Long Valley, and particularly those who came destitute from the Muddy Mission, to provide the basic needs of food, shelter, and clothing for their families.

During the first year, they struggled against grasshoppers that took much of their young crop in the spring and with frost in late spring and early fall.[147] Irrigation systems had to be re-established and enlarged to provide water to the crops. Gardens were planted to provide vegetables and fields were planted to provide grain, primarily corn and wheat. Orchards, primarily apple, were

established soon after their arrival to minimize the time when production of fruit could begin.

In the move from the Muddy, James Leithead had brought his equipment for grinding grain from the grist mill that he had there and established it in Glendale.[148] It was located on the west side of the East Fork of the Virgin River at the approximate site of Center Street in present-day Glendale. During the interim, which included the first winter, grain was ground by hand, mostly using equipment that had been left by the first settlers.[149] Leithead was also involved in establishing a sawmill north of Glendale and produced lumber from the timber available in the adjoining mountains.[150] The settlers grazed their livestock in the canyons and mountains around their Valley and on the Arizona Strip to the south.

Pioneer Struggles

The sacrifices and struggles experienced, and the faith that were required of the Long Valley settlers and their contemporaries in other locations in the Virgin River Basin and the Great Basin should not be minimized. It was a belief, held individually and collectively, and a faith in themselves and in the worth of what they were doing, and with these a commensurate determination to succeed, that made the difference in their efforts, and through which they did succeed. Through that faith and inexhaustible effort, the Long Valley settlers made their homes in a desert wilderness and carved out a living for their families, and in the process made a place that would be more comfortable and productive for those who would follow them. An awareness of some of the struggles and sacrifices of the early settlers might help provide a better perspective and appreciation as consideration is given to the changes that have occurred in the intervening years and the role they played in providing for them.

The struggles and hardships of some were made worse because they were ill-equipped, even with the bare necessities, when they joined in the efforts to settle, and especially to resettle, Long Valley. This was true of many of those coming from the abandoned Muddy Mission where they left all they had without any compensation. Warren Foote was typical of many of these.[151] Although he had accumulated some wealth while at the Muddy in the development of his home and property with its vineyards, fields, and irrigation system, he and his family left the Muddy with only what they could carry in their wagon and pulled by their team, and the few livestock they owned and could drive. He summarized his situation, in part, and speaking also for others, as follows, "I brought away two old horses, one old wagon and two cows. Neither myself nor family had scarcely any decent clothes to put on." However, in other, perhaps more important, ways, they were well-equipped which is expressed as he continues, "In leaving the Muddy my faith did not fail me. Although I was set very flat with regard to property, having no home, no shelter for my family, and very poorly clothed, I felt that the Lord had not forsaken me, but that He would open up the way before me, in such a manner that we would not suffer. I had proved

Him before, and He had never failed me, for which I praise Him." It was this trust and determination and faith in themselves and in a higher power that in great part provided for their success.

The early settlers had many struggles as they traveled the historic trail from Dixie and made new homes in Long Valley. One such struggle was graphically recorded by Allen Joseph Stout, one of the original settlers in Long Valley, who began his move there from Harrisburg in the summer of 1864.[152] He and his wife were both in poor health. He left his wife and younger children ill and almost destitute and took his oldest son, who was eighteen years old, with him. On March 20, they left Harrisburg with a wagon, a yoke of oxen, two cows, and two calves. They went by way of Johnson's Twist over Hurricane Hill and on to Gould's Ranch, Short Creek, and the Elephant Trail, and arrived in Berryville on March 29.

They scouted south of Berryville for a place to settle but didn't find one to "suit" them. In his own words and way of writing, Stout tells how they proceeded, "So on the 31st of March I went up one and one half miles above Berryville and began to farm. So we labored with all our might at getting a crop in the ground and getting a fence around it. I had located a rich bend of the river of about 30 acres with a large spring rising at the foot of the mountain, and was well situated to irrigate the land below it. I got nine acres of corn, cane and garden stuff in, which grew well, but my health was poor, so that I could do but little. We made 260 rods of fence to close in our crop, and got a cabbin part up…" This was virgin land that was covered with a natural growth of brush and trees that they would have cleared by hand with a grubbing hoe and axe or whatever tools they had. Then, they plowed it and planted it with seed they had brought with them.

They accomplished this in two-and-one-half months and on June 17, he left his son to care for their crop and few livestock and went back to Harrisburg for the rest of his family. Again, in his own words as recorded in his journal, he portrays the sense and sensibility of their struggle as he took his family and started for their new home in Long Valley, "… on the 6th of July 1864, we set out for Long Valley. The weather was hot and we had a hard trip for we had but one wagon, and the children had to walk; but before we got

threw the old wagon broke down, and we left the main part of our load and went in on 2 wheels. We got in on the 14th of July 1864, and found the boy well and the crop dooing well. On the 16th I went back and got the rest of the load and the broken wagon."

They ran out of bread and lived on meat and milk until they could grow their own corn and potatoes and other vegetables. They had no mill "so we pounded and grated our corn. We had a deep snow which lay all winter, but the wether was not very cold, so my wife made close [clothes] to keep us from freezing, and the boys and me done all we could at building and fenseing; and in the spring of 1865, we began to get in a crop and we got 10 acres of grane, potatoes and vegitables, which grew fine. I never saw better wheet nor much better potatoes grow than what we raised this year. So we were blessed of the Lord and our labors prospered and on the 14th of July, 1865 my wife gave birth to another son…"

Relationships between the pioneers and the Native Americans, particularly the Paiutes, were generally friendly. The Native Americans sometimes helped the pioneers and relied on them for food and other needs including protection. As stated earlier, because of conflicts as a result of the Black Hawk War to the north and raids from the Navajos from across the Colorado River, the pioneers in Long Valley and surrounding areas were forced to abandon their communities and move to Dixie for safety. James Whitmore and Robert McIntyre were killed near Pipe Spring in January of 1866, as they tried to recover their sheep stolen by the Native Americans.[153] Three members of the Berry family were massacred on the trail between Short Creek and Cane Beds three months later. There are several accounts of this last event which vary in several of the details[154] but the following account is in general agreement and based on the Berry Family History.[155]

Robert Berry and his wife, Isabelle Hale, and Robert's brother, Joseph, had taken their mother, Amelia Berry, to visit other members of the family in Spanish Fork, where they had lived before moving to southern Utah. In late March, they obtained provisions and seed grain for planting that spring and began their trip home to Berryville in company with other travelers. Their mother stayed in Spanish Fork. They stopped over at Kannaraville where Robert and

Isabelle's young baby, which had become ill, died and was buried. As a result of this delay, it was necessary for them to continue their travel to Berryville alone. On April 2, as they approached a knoll (later named Berry Knoll) east of Short Creek, they were attacked by a band of Native Americans while traveling along a wash. They were armed, and from the evidence available, they apparently held off the Native Americans for some distance as, presumably, they attempted to reach the knoll where they could better defend themselves. One of the horses pulling the wagon was killed, which stopped them. In the ensuing battle all were killed, and Robert and Isabelle, who was pregnant, were tied to the wagon and tortured before being killed and their bodies mutilated. One Native American was also killed.

Their brother William Berry, who was in Berryville became worried about them and went to check on them. He stopped to let his horse rest and graze and knelt in prayer to ask for protection for his family members. As he did, he was shown them, in their mutilated condition and where they were. He immediately set off to find them and on the way found a friendly Native American who was bringing information about their death. William sent him on to Berryville to tell his brother, John and he continued on to Grafton for help. At Grafton, a telegraph was sent to advise authorities of the tragedy. The bodies were taken to Grafton where they were buried.

Whatever the details, it was a gruesome and tragic chapter in southern Utah history. Their deaths, together with the deaths of Whitmore and McIntyre, played a major role in prompting the abandonment of several of the communities in the area, including those in Long Valley and the one at Kanab until the trouble with the Native Americans could be brought under control. The remaining Berry Brothers continued to live in Berryville. The settlers in Long Valley had completed their fort at Berryville as reported by John Berry in the semi-annual conference of the Southern Utah Mission in May 1866.[156] The pioneers planted their crops in Berryville and other parts of the Valley that spring expecting, or at least hoping, to be there to harvest them.

Another encounter between the Native Americans and the Long Valley settlers occurred in the fall of 1866.[157] Some of the Long

Valley settlers had returned in the fall to harvest their crops, after abandoning their communities earlier in the summer, and were returning to Dixie by way of the Elephant Trail with part of their harvest. They had to double-team to get up the steep, sandy Elephant Hill from the Virgin River, and their wagon train was extended further along the trail beyond Elephant Hill. They apparently were not expecting trouble with the Native Americans and in this location were more particularly vulnerable. They were attacked near the top of the hill and overpowered by the Native Americans. Some of the wagons were overturned and their contents including grain scattered and their livestock, including their teams, were chased off or stolen. During the attack, one of the settlers, Hyrum Stevens was wounded, and at least one of the Native Americans was wounded. From the accounts available both Navajos and Paiutes were involved; Stevens recognized at least one of the Paiutes.

The raiding Native Americans took the livestock, harnesses, and other items they could carry or drive and left the grain and other items behind. The grain and other items were recovered about a week later when the militia returned from an attempt to control raids on other settlers. Friendly Paiutes were able to recover some cattle and harnesses from the Navajos. Some of the grain that was spilled from the wagons was reported to have sprouted during several succeeding years.[158] Stevens was shot and seriously wounded while trying to keep his team from being stolen. The Native Americans were blocking the Elephant Trail to the southwest, so he was taken back down Elephant Hill to the East Fork of the Virgin River and up the river to a cave near the Barracks, where they kept him overnight.

A cave that is mentioned previously in this history concerning earlier explorations of the area is located one mile east of the site of the Old Barracks. It is the only cave in the general area and fits the location described. It is large enough to accommodate the small group of men that would have been caring for Stevens. It is also the cave mentioned by Jesse N. Smith and his group when he explored through the area in 1858 and, also, by the group led by John C. L. Smith who stopped there and may have camped there during their exploration of the area in 1852. This is verified by the statement of Jesse N. Smith in his journal that they found the names of some of

the 1852 party inscribed in the cave and that at least some of his group "cut" their names in the wall of the cave. The name of at least one is still present there.[159] (see Figure 18). Considering the occurrence of these events, all evidence indicates that this cave has historic significance.

The next day, the party caring for Stevens started for Virgin City in Dixie where he lived. He was taken by horseback, with William Berry riding behind him to hold him. They continued up the river and then north and west across the North Fork of the Virgin River and camped at Blue Springs on Kolob, and then south down North Creek to Virgin City. The trip took at least two days. A friendly Native American runner had taken word to his wife and others in Virgin. Stevens survived his ordeal.[160] And there are records of other settlers that were killed or wounded in the surrounding area.[161]

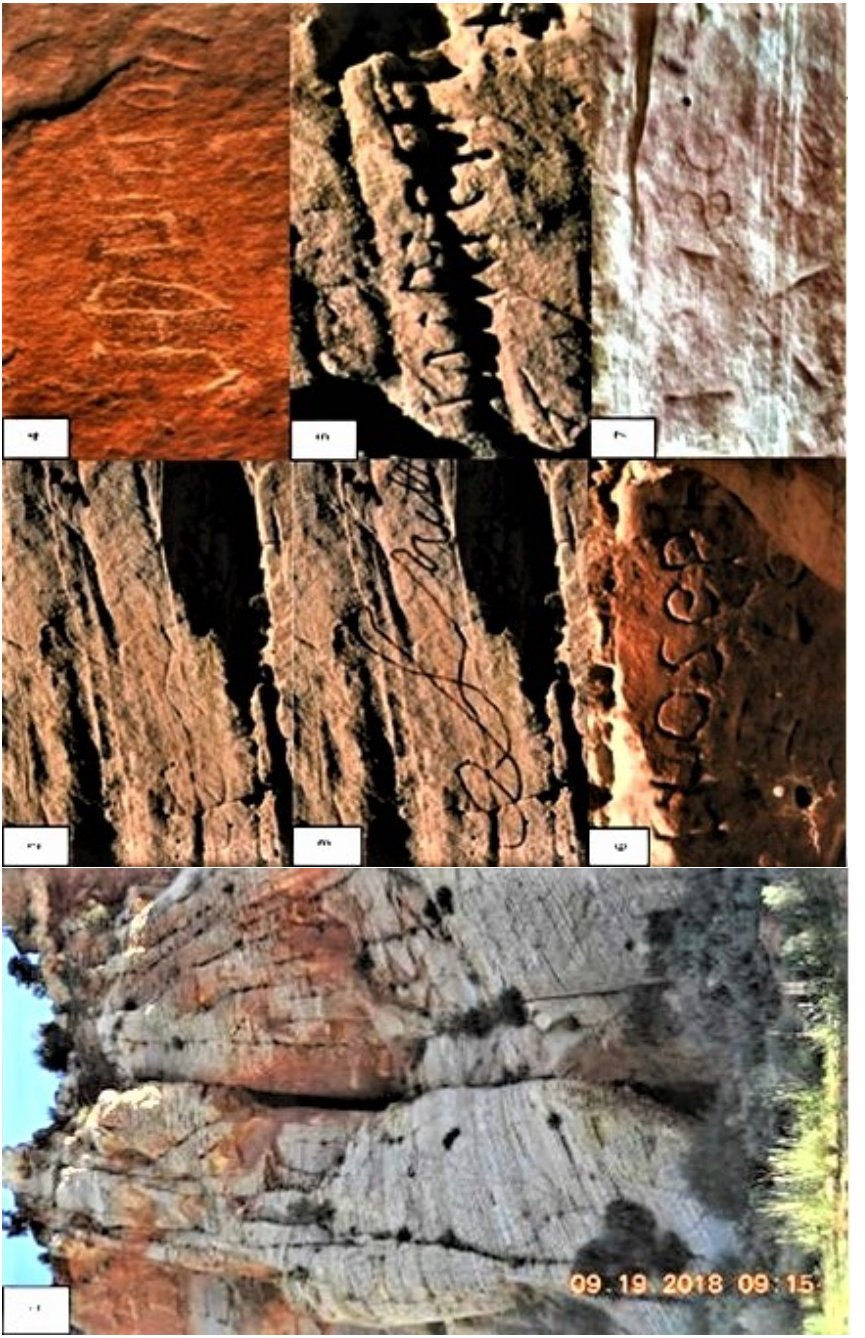
09 19 2018 09:15

Figure 18. Photograph 18-1 shows the entrance to the cave that was visited by early known exploring parties of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: the John C. L. Smith party in 1852 and the Jesse N. Smith party in 1858, as mentioned earlier in this history. Jesse N. Smith mentioned in his journal the presence of names of some members of the 1852 exploring party inscripted in the wall of the cave he visited in 1858 (see endnote 37). The name of Smith was found in the cave (photographs 2 and 3, traced in 3 to show it more clearly) which is the name of at least three men identified in the two parties and so could have belonged to either party or, of course, to neither party. The name of J. H. Dunton (James Harvey Dunton, photograph 4), the two vertical sides of the initial H are formed by the initial J and the letter D in Dunton. Dunton was a member of the 1858 party and his name in the cave verifies that this was the cave visited by that party and also the 1852 party. The two remaining names of Wright and Joseph found in the cave (photographs 5 and 6) could be of men with the 1858 Smith party (because the names of all members of that party are not known) or of men associated with other historic events in this history such as the Iron County Militia, or of no known historic significance. The name Joseph was quite certainly a first name because some of the wall of the cave has been broken off to the right and also below it which took away part of an inscription that followed Joseph and also part of an inscription located below it. James Knipmeyer, credited below, who photographed and interpreted these names, suggested that the partial inscription below Joseph was 1 CO which could be an abbreviation for Iron County Militia which had an encampment at the Barracks one mile west of the cave. Photograph 7 is of the numbers 186 which could originally have been 1866 which was the date of the military encampment just mentioned and would indicate that some of the names were of members of that encampment. Because of the location of the cave and its size, and because it is the only cave in the general area, it is also suggested in this history that this is the cave where Hyrum Stevens was kept overnight as he was being taken to his home in Virgin City after being wounded in an Indian attack on Elephant Hill, approximately four miles to the southwest in 1866. Source of photograph of cave entrance: courtesy author; source of photographs of inscriptions: courtesy James H. Knipmeyer, who has spent more than forty years locating, identifying, photographing, compiling histories, and publishing historic inscriptions in the Colorado River Plateau located in southern Utah and northern Arizona. He has identified and photographed the names in this cave for which he suggests the name Smith Cave; the owners of the Barracks Ranch where the cave is located know it as the Indian Cave.

The challenges and risks of the time included the youth, especially when they were asked to take responsibility that might place them in harm's way. During the Native American uprising in southern Utah young men were sometimes used to carry messages to the different towns in their efforts to protect themselves and their possessions. One of these young men, James H. Jennings, about 13 years of age, lived in Rockville and was assigned to take a dispatch to Jacob Hamblin in Kanab. He describes his experience as follows,[162] "I had to go up a trail over Shonesburg [Shunesburg or Shunesberg] Mountains to get out of there. It was rather late when I left Rockville, so Lieutenant Crawford told me to go to the top of the mountain to the forks of the trail (one trail went to Orderville and the other to Kanab) and to wait there until the moon came up. I got off my horse and unsaddled him and gave him a bag of grain to eat. I hobbled him so he wouldn't run off. Then I laid down on my saddle blankets and went to sleep. When I awoke, my horse was coming toward me with his head high in the air and snorting at every jump. When everything was still I got up and threw the saddle on the horse and jumped on him. He bounded up the side of the mountain to the south and circled around to the trail leading to Kanab. The moon was high in the sky by this time and I was sure every little shadow or movement of any kind was an Indian. I arrived in Kanab just as it was getting light and delivered my dispatch to Mr. Hamblin."

These accounts are examples of some of the more extreme situations that these pioneers had to deal with, but the risks were real, and they had to be worked through during the early years of settlement. Aside from these types of challenges were the ever-present matters of providing the necessities of life for themselves and their families. Their ability to do this was limited to what they were able to bring with them when they came to settle, what they could produce, what they could trade for, borrow, or share to fill their individual and community needs. Within their families, these needs included resources to build a home and to provide food and clothing; in their community, the needs were for worship, education, entertainment, and security. Necessary items were sometimes

available in older, better-established settlements like those in Dixie but money or other resources were often not available to purchase them.

As stated earlier, Priddy Meeks and his family, the first to settle what was initially called Winsor and later Mt. Carmel, spent their first winter in a "dugout" made in a prominent hill in the west part of the community as it was later settled. This way of providing temporary shelter until a cabin or house could be built was not uncommon and provided needed shelter and protection.

Allen Joseph Stout's family ran out of food during their first winter except for meat and milk and lived on that until they could grow their next crop of wheat and potatoes and other vegetables. The Stouts had no mill to grind their corn, so they "pounded and grated it," probably with rocks. Those who resettled Berryville (Glendale) ground their grain with a hand grinder left behind by those who had attempted to settle there earlier until they could establish a grist mill.

During the first year in Glendale, many of the pioneers' corn crops didn't fully mature. After being ground, it was coarse and had a bad taste due to some molding which had occurred while attempts were being made to dry and preserve it but they expressed gratitude to have it. If the pioneers had resources such as wool or other produce they could sell it or trade it for clothing in Dixie and other communities to the north that had developed the industries to produce them. However, some made their clothes from wool produced by their sheep, shearing, washing, cording, and spinning it into thread or yarn and then weaving it into cloth.

These pioneers, like others of their time and circumstances, singly and together met the challenges, the hardships, and the tragedies in whatever form they came and seemed to always "make do" with what they could provide for themselves or manage to do without. This was the reality of pioneer life; they accepted it as such and worked to make each year a little better and their lives a little more comfortable and secure, always willing to help each other and always looking to and planning for the future. This helped provide for the increasing comforts and conveniences for their descendants and others who came to live in their communities. This was the

foundation of their heritage, left to their descendants and anyone else who would accept it: the desire and ability to work, to accept the responsibility to provide for their own, and the will to become self-reliant. These and other traits of industry, integrity, and cooperation continue to be evident in the descendants of many of these pioneers.

Native American-Pioneer Relationship

The Native Americans who inhabited the Great Basin and surrounding areas lived in accordance with governing laws of tradition and custom that had endured from much earlier times and that protected the rights of territories and possessions of the individuals, families, bands, and tribes.[163] This was the territory of the great Ute Nation. Renegade Native Americans sometimes threatened, and corrupt practices sometimes compromised the integrity of its laws, but they were recognized and when properly invoked, provided for the general peace among the tribes and their subgroups. Among other things, these governing laws provided for hospitality and protection of visitors, and it provided for recourse when these laws were violated, which included making war and requiring lives or property to satisfy them.

The pioneers, through lack of understanding and/or neglect, violated these long-established laws and traditions, which resulted in unfortunate and tragic misunderstandings and conflicts. A part of this law was a "guest law", which provided for safe visiting or passage for travelers if proper protocol was followed in announcing themselves to those where they were visiting or whose territory they were traveling through. There was a formal way of doing this in which they declared themselves as friends and placed themselves and their possessions in the care and custody of those whose territory they were in. When properly done, they were accepted, provided hospitality, and afforded protection with the punishment of those who might mistreat them, as well as restitution for possessions stolen or damaged.

This traditional Native American law could and did, on occasion, provide safe passage for settlers and others who learned and abided by it.[164] On one occasion, Jacob Hamblin, who learned well the ways and the laws of the Native Americans, led a group of emigrants through hostile Native American country where he knew attempts were planned to obtain their guns and horses. Hamblin went directly to the Native American camp and invoked the "guest law" and turned all of their belongings over to the Native Americans

for safekeeping. These were all returned the next day, and they were allowed safe passage.

There were incidents where the pioneers were accused of breaking the Native American law. One incident occurred in 1869.[165] Two mail carriers, Tom Flanigan and Sam Green, were traveling from Rockville to Pipe Spring where they met two Native Americans. Flanigan judged them to be hostile and shot and wounded one of them who later died. The Native Americans demanded that he be surrendered to them to be killed as retribution for the killing as provided by their law. This was refused by the settlers and threats were made by the Native Americans. The matter was finally resolved by payment of an ox.

Another incident occurred in 1870 at Iron Spring west of Cedar City.[166] A group of Navajos had been stealing livestock from settlers in Cedar City, and the settlers were attempting to kill or capture those involved. The local Native Americans had been warned to stay close to town so that they would not be mistaken for the thieving and harmed. However, a friendly Native American didn't understand or heed the warning and was killed. According to Native American law, death caused by criminal carelessness required the death of the guilty man or one of his relatives. Such a demand was made, but the settlers refused to submit to the demand. After a threat of war, payment for the death was negotiated and made in beef and horses.

Although the settlements were made with promises of peace and with the intent to benefit the Native Americans, without the full recognition of the Native Americans rights to the land and adequate arrangement to obtain permission to establish permanent settlements by the pioneers, the settlers' actions could be viewed as an unwarranted invasion of their territories. The arrangements when made were not always understood by the Native Americans and seemed, or were, contrary to the Native Americans' law, and it disrupted their way of government and their ability to maintain their culture and to provide for their subsistence.[167] One example of this is when the United Order of Orderville arranged with Chief Quarats for perpetual grazing of its livestock on the Buckskin (Kaibab) Mountains with a single payment of one rifle and some

ammunition.[168] The brief account of this obviously inadequate payment appears to have contained no details of limits of grazing by the United Order or of any rights of use retained by the Native Americans. Such lack of detail most likely resulted in misunderstanding and conflict of use.

Such changes in land use applied to the Paiutes who were affected by the settlers of Short Creek, Pipe Spring, and other points on the Arizona, Strip, as well as Kanab and Long Valley and on north to Panguitch and beyond. The Paiutes or their ancestors had occupied and possessed the lands of their territory and had done so for centuries. The land was theirs or more accurately in their tradition, they belonged to the land. They had inhabited and been friends with the land and lived from what it had provided them. They were interdependent with each other and dependent on the land for all of their needs. They were identified by the areas, or districts, where they lived, and if they were separated from the land or their traditional use of it, it threatened to take away or took away, their identity. In a very real sense, the loss of their land not only compromised their ability to subsist physically in an environment where they were already largely impoverished, but it also compromised their tradition, their culture: who they were.

The pioneers came and took over their springs and their most productive land and built their permanent homes. They plowed and planted their crops and grazed their livestock in the surrounding areas where the Paiutes had their more temporary, nomadic dwellings and produced some of their food, and where the wild animals and the plants upon which Native Americans depended for food grew. In return, the pioneers attempted to share with them their culture and way of life, such as farming methods to increase food production and to improve their hygiene and nutrition. A primary purpose of the pioneers was to help the Native Americans by improving their quality of life and sharing their religious beliefs. Certainly there were instances in the pioneers' sense of fairness and equity that would be difficult for the Paiutes to understand and accept. For example, if Native Americans were caught killing a cow that was loose on land that had traditionally belonged to them and that in some measure had replaced the wild animals they had

traditionally hunted for food and were threatened with punishment, they could have asked, "why not? You have hunted our deer and your cattle have replaced many of our deer on our land and are eating their feed."[169] But in the end, it was the Native Americans' ways that must and did change.

Native American slavery was a common and accepted, albeit a degrading, practice among the Native American tribes and the Mexicans.[170] Prior to and continuing after the coming of the pioneers, the more aggressive Navajos from the south across the Colorado River and the Utes from the north had exploited the less aggressive Paiutes, whose territory extended from as far north as Panguitch and Fish Lake and Kanosh in the summer and south to the Grand Canyon in the winter. These tribes had intimidated and robbed the Paiutes, taking their women and children, or enticing them to sell them to be resold into slavery to the Spaniards or to keep them for their own use.

Over time and in an effort to protect themselves, the Paiutes moved from their more productive areas, such as around Pipe Spring and Moccasin, where they grew food such as squash, corn, and beans, into the less habitable, more desolate areas. Under these conditions, they gave up much of their agrarian ways and became more hunters and gatherers, and as a result they became more deprived and were often severely impoverished.

The pioneers took steps to limit slavery among the Native Americans in the areas where they had contact with them and throughout the territory. Brigham Young, president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and territorial governor, worked ecclesiastically to safeguard those at risk and politically to provide laws to prohibit the practice and to prosecute those who dealt in the slave trade.[171] In the settlements, the pioneers would hide the Native American mothers and their children during raids to protect them from slavery and would sometimes buy the children either from parents willing to sell their children, or from slave traders, to protect them. In some instances, the parents would give a child to a pioneer family. The Native American children would be given the pioneer family name and treated as a part of the family.

There are records of Native American children being reared and living their lives among the pioneers and being highly respected and recognized as equals.[172] One example of the occurrence of both slavery and of an Indian child being raised by a pioneer family in southern Utah, began near the town of Hatch, Utah. During a fight between marauding Navajos and local Paiutes, Blue Blanket, a Paiute, was killed and one of his daughters, Jinnie, was stolen and made a slave among the Navajos south of the Colorado River. She was taken as a wife by one of the Navajos who she later found out was the man who killed her father. She was able to escape and crossed the Colorado at Lee's Ferry and joined her family, who were then at Cedar City. Her mother died, leaving her, two sisters, and a baby brother who was cared for by her aunt. The aunt's husband threatened to kill the baby boy or sell him as a slave so the baby was given or sold to John Harris in Glendale. He grew up as Frank Harris and was treated as a member of the Harris family. He was well respected throughout southern Utah as a cattleman and recognized as one of the best horse riders and ropers. He died and was buried as an old man in Moccasin, Arizona, in 1928.

Kaibab Paiute oral history mentions that there was a practice of pioneer families buying or accepting Native American children and taking them into their families as indentured servants, teaching and caring for them, training them in a trade, usually farming or ranching, and when they were grown they were free to choose how they pursued their lives.[173]

Instances of both friendly and hostile relationships between the Paiutes and the pioneers have been discussed earlier in this history. These opposing relationships indicate an effort, stemming from a perceived need and resistance on the part of both parties, to establish a working, reciprocating relationship of mutual benefit under the different conditions that existed. Most of the Kaibab Paiutes were not aggressive but chose a peaceful relationship with the pioneers, but the Navajos and the Utes showed aggression towards both the Kaibab Paiutes and the pioneers, and in a sense, this contributed to a stronger relationship between the latter two. The Paiutes would sometimes come to the settlements for protection, and they would

also act as lookouts or scouts for the pioneers and warn them of danger from marauding Native Americans.

As previously mentioned, Native American hostilities increased requiring abandonment of the communities from Panguitch through Long Valley and Kanab in the summer of 1866, just two years after they were settled. This was largely due to attacks and stealing by the Navajos and to the Black Hawk War waged by the Utes to the north but involved some of the local Paiutes also. As a result of these hostilities, pioneers were wounded and killed and Native Americans were wounded and killed in retaliation. At the same time, friendly Paiutes took word of these attacks to the families of the pioneers involved and helped protect their property and recovered some of their property that had been stolen.[174]

The Berry brothers were involved in these events and experienced these opposing relationships with the Native Americans.[175] William and John Berry continued in their efforts to work with the Native Americans and to make their home in Berryville after members of their families had been killed. In May John reported in a Church conference in St. George that their fort had been completed at Berryville and mentioned the presence of friendly Native Americans that were helpful to them and attested to their honesty and trustworthiness. William and John Berry were present a few months later when their party was attacked on Elephant Hill.[176] Both friendly and hostile local Paiutes were involved in activities related to this attack. Those that were hostile participated in the attack, and those who were friendly took the news of the attack to the settlers including family members, and also helping to recover stolen animals and equipment such as harnesses. The Navajos were also involved in the attack, and their acts of aggression were a major cause of the hostilities. The Navajos, however, had agreed and honored the agreement, to allow the settlers a safe exodus from the Valley a few months earlier in exchange for their loose livestock.[177]

As the pioneer settlements became permanent, the land that less than two decades earlier and extending back to times immemorial, had been the possession of the Paiutes and their ancestors "The People from which they came," was now in the

possession and use of the pioneers. The Kaibab Paiute Indian Reservation, a small area in northern Arizona bordering Utah, was established as the possession, the homeland, for the Kaibab Paiutes in 1907.[178] It is a little less than sixteen by eighteen miles in size, an area that also includes Pipe Spring National Monument and the small community of Moccasin, Arizona, and adjoining privately owned land, which is not a part of the reservation.

These Native Americans have mostly lost their way of life, and the memory and understanding of their few remaining elders appear to be the primary repository of their traditions and legends: their history and the ways of their forebears. This will all be mostly lost with the passing of the few remaining members of the generation that in some real way possessed it because they were a part of it. This is a great loss, both for the Native Americans and for all others who live in the area or care about their culture and customs. Much could be learned and applied in the care and use of the land from the ancestors of modern-day Kaibab Paiutes, and likely in other ways as well.

Livestock Production and Trails

As shown earlier in this history, the major purpose in settling Long Valley was to provide access to land for extensive grazing of livestock. There were large areas that could be grazed in the winter to the west and south of Long Valley in Utah and on the Arizona Strip, that part of Arizona from the Utah border south to the Colorado River. To the north of Long Valley there was the higher country of Cedar Mountain and east to Alton and on to the Pink Cliffs for summer grazing. Research for this history has shown that these areas were grazed by cattle, sheep, and horses and some about those who owned them in pioneer times but very little was found concerning the details of the grazing practices. Dairy cattle also provided an essential part of livestock production but was done under much more intensive management conditions.[179]

When Long Valley was settled and for the next three-quarters of a century or more, sheep made up the major part of the livestock industry. Groups or herds of sheep consisting of several thousand animals were driven, or "trailed," from one range or grazing area to another to graze as dictated by the season of the year. Largely for management reasons, and an increase in popularity of beef and a decrease in the sheep products of meat and wool, sheep were replaced by cattle. Sheep are now produced only in a few small flocks.

Particularly during the years of the United Order in Orderville, livestock was grazed on the Arizona Strip. Prior to grazing by the United Order, parts of the Arizona Strip were grazed by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and also privately with Pipe Spring, serving as an administrative headquarters. During the United Order, Moccasin served as headquarters for livestock production on the Arizona Strip, and adjoining farmland was used for the production of fruit and vegetables. After the United Order was dissolved private livestock producers who received the ownership or right to graze continued to use it for that purpose. The Arizona Strip continues to be an important part of livestock production for the descendants of those who used it in pioneer times and for others who have acquired ownership.

In early pioneer times and continuing to a lesser extent to the present, livestock, sheep, and cattle, and in some places goats, were driven or "trailed" to all of these areas on a seasonally dictated schedule with trails developed and used as needed. Many of these trails became roads that accommodated wagons to haul supplies to temporary livestock camps, including "sheep wagons," which were camps on wheels. These, or other roads, were developed or used to get to ranches. Over time, trucking or hauling livestock replaced trailing them in many cases, and some roads were improved to provide for that.

In addition to being a road to and from Long Valley, the Elephant Trail served an important role in the movement of livestock from Long Valley to and from the Elephant Cove and other adjoining areas in that part of southern Utah, and to the Arizona Strip, and continues to be used to access some of those areas today.[180] The Steep Trail provided access north from the Elephant Cove into the Parunuweap Canyon through a narrow slot in the canyon wall. It was used then, and to a lesser extent continues today to be used to move livestock across the Parunuweap Canyon, but mainly, it's used to provide access for livestock from the Elephant Cove to the East Fork of the Virgin River, or springs along the river, for water. From the Steep Trail, which ends at the bottom of the Parunuweap Canyon, an unnamed trail, provided, and continues to provide, access up the northern wall of Parunuweap Canyon into country known as Poverty Flat, which is located west of the Meadow Gulch, east of Zion National Park.

Froiseth's Map[181] shows a trail that encompasses these two trails but designates it as a wagon road. No other information, including oral histories, indicates that it was ever used in this way, and its steep terrain with outcropping rocks and deep sand as it descends through a narrow opening in the wall of Parunuweap Canyon is convincing proof that it could not have been traveled with wagons. Another trail, used early on by ranchers and as a route for mail carried to and from the Shunesburg mail drop, separates from the Elephant Trail just west of the Elephant Gap and continues west across the head of Rock Canyon to Broad Hollow and through

Shunes Hollow to the edge of the cliff where the maildrop was located.[182]

The United Order in Long Valley

Significant changes and challenges came to all of the settlements with the completion of the Intercontinental Railroad in 1869, and the economic depression or Panic just four years later in 1873.[183] During the next few years, these two factors robbed the pioneers of much of the market for their produce in the territory as well as beyond—the railroad contributed by shipping in goods of increased variety and at costs with which the settlers could not compete, and the depression was a factor because of the loss of jobs to the mining industry and the collapse of many of the markets.[184] Another situation that has been judged to have an impact on the communities was the action by Congress to diminish the political and economic power of The Church Of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its members.[185]

A combination of these factors resulted in a very real threat to the survival of many of the settlements. To help combat these threats, President Brigham Young developed a plan for economic cooperation that he called the United Order of Enoch[186] or the United Order of Zion.[187] This principle had been introduced into the Church soon after it was organized by its founder and first prophet, Joseph Smith, as The Law of Consecration and Stewardship, and was accepted by the church membership as part of its doctrine.[188]

While in St. George during the winter of 1874, Brigham Young presented his plan for cooperative effort to the struggling settlers as a way to meet the existing economic and social challenges they faced with a stern admonishment that it be adopted.[189] President Young commissioned his nephew, John R. Young, to provide leadership in its establishment in the communities of the region, including those in Long Valley.[190] The communities in the southern Utah Territory were organized into United Orders,[191] but all or nearly all except the one undertaken at Mt. Carmel failed within two years.[192] The one at Mt. Carmel survived only because enough of its members banded together and established a new community with the sole purpose of living the United Order.

These settlers of Mt. Carmel made up mostly of those who had come from St. Joseph on the Muddy, moved about two-and-one-half miles north and resettled[193] and named their community Order City, shortly after to be changed to Orderville.[194] The Cove, an area approximately one mile north of Mt. Carmel, was the first site selected for the new settlement and a survey was made, but before any development began the decision was made to move approximately one and one-half miles farther north where Orderville was established.[195] The community was unique because it was established with the specific purpose of its citizens to form the United Order. They were in abject poverty and were convinced that this type of cooperative effort would make them self-sufficient and equal in opportunity. To this end, the Order that was formed in Mt. Carmel on July 14, 1874, was kept intact by its faithful and determined members and incorporated in their new location as the United Order of Orderville on July 14, 1875.[196]

The United Order was organized as a corporation or stock company, and stock was issued for the value of the properties or other possessions those joining contributed to it. In addition, capital in the corporation could be obtained from labor. The Church did not have ownership in the United Order; all of its property and assets belonged to its stockholders,[197] but leaders of the Church, particularly its president, Brigham Young, who conceived, developed, and actively promoting it as a program of the Church, especially for the financially troubled times they were experiencing. For these reasons and the basic trust the members placed in the Church and its leaders, counsel from the leaders of the Church had a significant influence on its organization and function, and they accepted it and attempted to implement it because they considered it to be a commandment from God.[198]

The United Order in Orderville was initially organized in Mt. Carmel on March 20, 1874.[199] Israel Hoyt was president; Samuel Claridge, first vice president; Thomas Chamberlain, second vice president; William Heaton, Secretary; and Henry B. M. Jolley, treasurer. Within a few months, Jolley withdrew from the Order with his extended family and was replaced as treasurer by Thomas Blackburn. Howard O. Spencer was sent by Brigham Young from

Salt Lake City to help the settlers resolve problems of unrest that were occurring. He was a major force in moving those interested in continuing the United Order and settling Orderville. Further reorganization occurred with Howard O. Spencer becoming President; Bateman H. Williams, first vice president; Thomas Chamberlain, second vice president; David B. Fackerell, secretary; and Thomas Blackburn, treasurer. William Heaton, Robert H. Brown, Israel Hoyt, and Henry W. Esplin were directors. In February 1875, the new settlement was planned and the building began. The next month members of the Order began to move to the new townsite, and by fall the move was mostly completed[200] with a population of 180; by the beginning of 1877, the population had tripled to 543.

The members of the United Order formulated rules outlining the purpose of membership and a code of ethics, and they covenanted, through a ritualism of baptism, to honor them.[201] The system worked; its members prospered and through their organization were self-sufficient.[202] The Order had farming and livestock operations, including extensive sheep and cattle grazing holdings, which were primarily sheep), on Cedar Mountain, East Fork of the Virgin River drainage, and the Arizona Strip, where it had purchased grazing rights from the Native Americans It also had dairies east of Glendale in what became known as Dairy Canyon. Its holdings included stockyards, sawmills, a carpenter shop, a grist mill, a tannery, a shoe and leather shop, a bakery, a woolen mill, and a factory where wool and other fibers were processed and woven into fabrics and made into clothing. The United Order also had holdings in Dixie. It had its own merchants and freighters and freighted much of its own produce to market and purchased and freighted the products needed that it didn't produce back to Orderville. The United Order had its own post office and telegraph line. The total assets of the United Order were reported to have been $21,155 in 1875, $69,562 in 1879, and $79,577 in 1883.[203]

Initially, and for the first seven or eight years, all men and women, were credited with the same rate of pay regardless of the type of work or their ability to work. Young members of the Order were credited at lesser rates depending on age and gender.[204] During

this time the Order prospered, and it attracted new members, some of whom were less committed in their efforts as a part of the whole. Discontent within some of the ways the system was working resulted in a change in the crediting of labor from equal credit for all labor to credit based on skill and, later, to limited stewardship of some of the business enterprises. These changes weakened rather than strengthened the unity in the United Order.[205] In 1885, after counseling with the Church authorities in Salt Lake City, the decision was made to dissolve most of the assets of the Order, and they were auctioned to stockholders who were allowed to bid to the limit of their credits in the corporation.[206]

Some businesses were kept by the Corporation but did not continue in a cooperative effort. These were the sheep enterprise, the tannery, and the woolen factory and were initially leased to private contractors, but later were bought by the remaining stockholders. Those who purchased the sheep and ranch property formed the Orderville Sheep Association which later became the Orderville Co-op. The Orderville United Order Corporation lapsed in 1900, twenty-six years after it was first organized in Mt. Carmel in 1874.[207] The United Order fulfilled its primary purpose of providing economic strength and self-sufficiency to its poverty-stricken members as they survived the challenges inherent in settling a new area and bringing the land into productivity. The United Order also helped its members successfully meet the added challenges brought by the Depression of 1873, the competition of the goods and services resulting from the Intercontinental Railroad, and the political and economic sanctions brought against the Church by the United States Government primarily because of its practice of polygamy.[208] Overall, it functioned as it was organized to do for about eleven years or until about 1885.

The demise of the United Order came about in large measure because of both outside forces as well as forces acting within. The passage by congress of the Edmund Act in 1882 that made plural marriage unlawful was a major factor. Many of the men in the Order, especially its leaders, were living in polygamy and were not willing to give up their families. The government began enforcing this law in early 1885 and they were continually at risk of being arrested.

Many men including leaders of the United Order went into hiding to avoid being identified but some were found and arrested and spent time in prison. Hiding from prosecution and time in prison seriously interrupted the conduct of Order business.[209]

As manufacturing and commerce increased in other parts of the country, including in the Utah Territory, products such as clothing became available at prices and with fashions that took the market away from those produced by the Order. Also, the younger generation in the Order was attracted by the salary and freedom provided by work outside the Order, as well as the variety of clothes available.[210]

In addition to the major external forces challenging the success and continuance of the United Order, there was also a growing discontent among some of the members concerning the terms of the Order and the way it was managed. Those who had led the Order and also its members, the stockholders, who believe in and worked to achieve its purposes for the good of all had done so in a large part because of their conviction that it was a commandment of God given through their Prophet Brigham Young. Apostle Erastus Snow advised them that it was not and never had been a commandment. This had a serious demoralizing effect. Also, Apostle Snow advised a change in the policy of paying or giving equal credits to all adults, to paying based on ability to work and type or skill of work done. Although this was favored by some, the overall effect was to increase the growing discontent among the members of the Order.[211]

The First Presidency and other leaders of the Church counseled with and made recommendations to the leaders of the United Order concerning its management and what was being done right and where mistakes had been made but left the decision of their acceptance and application to its leaders and members. The recommendations were accepted and implemented but not always with the results needed or intended and some seemed to increase the growing discontent.

The major contributing factors resulting in the recommendation of the Church leaders to dissolve the Order was the passage of the Edmunds Act by congress in 1882 and the action of

the federal government to begin to take control of the financial affairs of the Church and the prosecution of its leaders because of their continued practice of polygamy. The Declaration of Grievances and Protest that was submitted to the president of the United States identified the abuses inflicted upon the Church and its members by government officials is provided by James G. Bleak in The Annals of the Southern Utah Mission and identifies the abuses inflicted by the Church and its members by the government during the period particularly following the passage of the Edmunds act. It bears directly on problems facing the United Order. After careful consideration by the leaders of the United Order, the final decision concerning its dissolution was placed before its members and they voted to end it.

The United Order was organized in Mt. Carmel on March 20, 1874, and continued through its move to and establishment at Orderville until 1885 or for about twelve years. Some parts of the United Order continued as an incorporated company until 1900. The United Order provided for the survival of its members during the early years of extreme poverty and equality among its members which were its primary purposes. It continued to grow and expand and it established and demonstrated the potential worth of such a system of living. Its leaders worked tirelessly and effectively to encourage and satisfy the needs of its members working within the objectives and scope of the Order, following the counsel of Church authorities and their own best-combined judgment and with the consent of its members.[212]

Through all of the struggles, successes, and failures of the United Order the full effort and intent of Thomas Chamberlain, Henry W. Esplin and other leaders were to make it succeed.

Travel Between Long Valley and Kanab—Building Permanent Roads

The system of roads connecting Long Valley to Kanab, and on to Dixie to the west and to Panguitch and points beyond to the north, evolved under the pressure of demand for use and as resources for new and improved roads became available. According to early survey maps and history of the area,[213] the road, from Dixie to Kanab after leaving Short Creek, went southeast to Pipe Spring and then northeast to Wolf Spring, following the southern part of the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Road that continued on to Long Valley. From Wolf Spring, the road continued northeasterly, possibly past present-day Six Mile Village in Arizona to Kanab, coinciding in part with the Historic Honeymoon Trail.[214] Information gathered primarily from a map indicates that a branch of the road may have gone by Moccasin Spring.[215] Other roads most likely existed also since roads were sometimes made just by repeated use and with little construction in order to get to a ranch or a spring or to fill some other need.

In April of 1870, while in Kanab, Brigham Young asked Bishop Levi Stewart to find a route from Kanab north to Salt Lake City and other areas to the north that would not require the circuitous trip through the Arizona Strip and Dixie to visit Kanab. This demonstrates the lack of a useable road, or the considered feasibility of developing such over the "Sand" between Kanab and Long Valley, which would be a direct route that would connect at Mt. Carmel with the road going to Panguitch and continuing north. Bishop Stewart identified a route coming south from the head of the Sevier River (from Panguitch) through Upper Kanab and down Johnson Canyon and then west to Kanab.[216] The development of this road as it connected with the road from Panguitch which continued south through Long Valley became a route for freight from Dixie and Kanab to the communities in Long Valley. The road connecting Long Valley directly to communities north in Utah was in use as early as 1865 and also in 1871, the same year that Long Valley was permanently settled.[217] Additional roads were developed in the

1870s, as shown on old survey maps. For example, a more direct, but still long route between Long Valley and Kanab was from the Johnson Canyon road west across the Glendale Bench into Glendale.[218]

A network of roads or trails connecting Long Valley, Kanab, communities in Johnson Canyon, and Upper Kanab had been developed as shown by an 1886 map[219] (see Figure 19), but the condition and use of at least some of these roads are not known. The location of these roads as shown on the 1886 map, are summarized as follows. Beginning from the south (bottom of the map), the road from Pipe Spring, by way of Wolf Spring, entered Utah from the southwest and continued in that direction to Kanab. From Kanab, there were two roads that, with their branches, provided several routes to get to and from the communities in Long Valley. One road went north from Kanab, along Kanab Creek, through Kanab Canyon to Upper Kanab, and continued on north to Panguitch. From this road, three roads branched off to Long Valley. The branch farthest south went past Three Lakes and over The Sand and Sand Ridge intersecting with the Elephant Trail Road southwest of present-day Mt. Carmel Junction and continued north through Long Valley to Panguitch and beyond. The Elephant Trail continued southwest along the East Fork of the Virgin River in Parunuweap Canyon, exiting to the south at Elephant Hill and continuing southwest, intersecting with the road from Dixie near Cane Beds. This road or trail had existed since at least 1864. A second road branched from the road through Kanab Canyon and went west across the Glendale Bench and joined with the road through Long Valley just north of Glendale. The third branch of the road that went from Kanab north through Kanab Canyon to Upper Kanab went west, north of Upper Kanab, and joined the road from Panguitch that went through Long Valley. At that point, the road from Panguitch through Long Valley was separated into two parallel roads which joined to become one again at a location called Ranch (sometimes spelled Ranche).

The second road that helped provide routes to Long Valley from Kanab went east from Kanab to Johnson Canyon and then north through Johnson Canyon and continued north to join the road through Kanab Canyon just south of Upper Kanab, and continued as

a part of the northern branch of that road to join the road from Panguitch. Also, a branch of the road through Johnson Canyon went west and intersected the road through Kanab Canyon and followed the branch of that road over the Glendale Bench that joined the road through Long Valley. These roads had been developed and, to some extent, were being used during the fifteen-year period following the permanent settling of Long Valley.

The parts of the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge trail or road that would be separate from the other roads shown on the 1886 map, such as north through Cottonwood Canyon and continuing past the Red Knoll to the Sand Ridge, are not shown and were assumed to have no longer existed, at least as a public road.

Improved roads for travel among the communities in Kane County, as well as to other communities to the south and the north, were planned and authorized by the Kane County Commission on December 5, 1904, when four roads were defined.[220] The County Commissioners were H. W. Esplin, William Smith, and Jonathan Heaton, Chairman. The minutes of this meeting defined and authorized the roads that were to be constructed or improved to serve the communities in the county and to connect with roads leading to other areas. They read as follows, "State Road No. 1. Shall be as follows: Beginning at the Garfield County line running thence in a southerly direction along the present road via Thomas Greenhalgh's ranch; Gravel Springs; Wilkersons; McDonalds; Flax Lakes; down Four Mile Canyon thence down Kanab Canyon to Kanab thence on to the Arizona line north of Fredonia. State Road No. 2. shall Commence at Grayham McDonald's ranch and run thence in a southwesterly direction down Long Valley via Glendale, Orderville, and Mt Carmel, leaving Long Valley at the present dugway below Mt. Carmel and continuing thence in a southwesterly direction via Cane Beds to Arizona line on road leading to St. George. State Road No. 3 Shall begin [this point left blank] and run in a southeasterly direction via the lower end of Findley's field, Sink Valley & Johnson, thence easterly to Arizona line on road leading to Lee's Ferry. State Road No. 4 (modified to abandon a road from Mt Carmel north along the Muddy Creek to Hay Canyon and on to the Iron County line on Cedar Mountain) runs from Road No. 2 (at Mt.

Carmel) to the top of the dugway below Mt. Carmel, thence in a southeasterly direction via Three Lakes to the mouth of Three Lakes Canyon where road No. 4 shall join road No. 1 and follow thence to Kanab and run thence in an easterly direction joining Route No. 3 below Johnson."

Many modifications occurred in these originally defined roads as a result of politics and other pressures, with politics playing a major role. It was not until 1922, eighteen more years, that an all-seasons, full-service road between Kanab and Long Valley was finally completed. The roads ordered in 1904, or their improvement where roads already existed, and also additional interconnecting roads, were mostly established by 1909, but not all were made serviceable as shown on additional old survey maps.[221] Additional connecting roads, particularly between the roads through Long Valley and Johnson Canyon across the Glendale Bench, and also from the road through Kanab Canyon and Four Mile Canyon provided better, or at least alternative, access to and from Long Valley. A much earlier road from Four Mile Canyon across the Glendale Bench was used for travel of freight wagons to the Valley in 1879.[222]

These improvements provided for better transportation among the communities within the county and also better access to Dixie to the west and Panguitch and other points to the north. From this network, four roads, not identical to the ones previously planned by the Kane County commissioners, can be identified that would appear to have served as primary routes of travel.

One road from the south utilized the southern portion of the Elephant Trail through Rosy Canyon from Cane Beds in Arizona. It continued north past the Sand Dunes, through what later became known as Yellowjacket Canyon, over the Sand Ridge portion of the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Trail into Long Valley, through Long Valley, and connected with the road from Panguitch at the Garfield County line. This road did not include access to Kanab. The portion of this road from the Sand Ridge above the Mt. Carmel dugway south to Cane Beds has the same description as road No. 2 in the Kane County Commissioners 1904 road plan, and one that exists today. The part that is in Utah is present Kane County Road K1000, and the Arizona portion is road Mohave County Road 237.

A second road connected with the road from Fredonia, Arizona, on the south and went north through Kanab, continuing north through Kanab Canyon and Four Mile Canyon, entering Long Valley north of Glendale at McDonald's Ranch, where it connected with the first road to continue north. This did not go through the Long Valley communities and was a major route initially but was replaced later as more direct routes were completed.

A third road went from the second road at the mouth of Kanab Canyon north through Three Lakes Canyon and over the Sand, or Sand Hills, and joined the first road on the Sand Ridge as it descended into Long Valley. This road provided the most direct connection between Kanab and the communities in Long Valley but was the most difficult to use because of the presence of sand. It provided the major route within that part of the county and beyond the county after it was finally made serviceable and is present-day Highway US 89.

A fourth road went east from Kanab to Johnson Canyon, north through Johnson Canyon to Upper Kanab, and turned west to join the road going north through Long Valley to Panguitch. Parts, or all, of these roads going north from Johnson and Kanab Canyons, are described or shown on earlier maps in this history particularly on an 1886 map (see Figure 19). A network of roads was developed early and modified as needed for use.

In May 1910, the minutes of the Kane County Commission recorded discussions of the location of the state road from the Garfield County line south to Kanab.[223] The county commissioners were J. W. Hopkins, Fred G. Carroll, and C.R. Pugh. The road was first proposed to go by way of Johnson Canyon; this was defeated by a two-to-one vote. Next, it was proposed that the road go from Kanab north through Kanab Canyon to the head of Three Mile Hollow and west to Glendale. This proposal was approved by a two-to-one vote. Hopkins and Carroll voted together in both cases. This road was never completed, and there was nothing found in the minutes of the commissioner's meetings of how the work might have progressed, what stopped it, or whether it was ever actually begun.

Five-and-one-half years later the question of roads was still unresolved. In their Kane County Commission meeting on January 3, 1916, the commissioners discussed a notice from the State Road

Commission that the road between Mt. Carmel and Kanab had been designated a state road and asking when the work should begin.[224] No records were found indicating the circumstances under which the site of the road from Kanab to Long Valley had been changed from going through Kanab Canyon to Glendale to the more direct route that went over the Sand to Mt. Carmel. Also, the commissioners decided that work should begin no later than January 15 of that year. However, the construction of this road also failed to proceed as ordered. The answer to both of these points was quite surely the politics being played out between interests primarily in Johnson Canyon and Long Valley.[225]

Six months later on June 12, the decision was made that there would be two roads going north from Kanab, one over the Sand, or Sand Hills, and through Long Valley and one through Johnson Canyon.[226] This was an apparent attempt to satisfy those favoring each of the routes. Those living in Johnson Canyon or with ranching interests there insisted that the county's best interests would be served with a road through Johnson Canyon and that a suitable road could not be built between Kanab and Mt. Carmel. They minimized the importance of the more direct route to the Long Valley residences. Those living in Long Valley insisted that the Kanab-Mt. Carmel route best served the county, emphasizing its importance to them.

By February 1918, the roads had still not been built, and public impatience was exerting its pressures. The county commissioner's meeting of February 11 records that "…the committee appointed at a meeting of the taxpayers to wait upon said Board of County Commissioners relative to the prosecution of the work upon the roads then appeared and was allowed to make an argument in favor of starting work immediately." Consequently, the same day, a letter was written to the State Road Commission requesting "… that road work commence immediately at the following points: At Mt. Carmel town on the Mt. Carmel, Orderville, Glendale road, and at Kanab on the Kanab, Johnson, Alton road; each crew under its State Road Agent for each of the said roads respectively, to construct a good commercial road leading northward toward the Garfield County line; and to continue said work on each of the said roads, as long as the funds now available for road construction in said county will permit, or until each of the said roads are in a first class condition; should there be available

funds after each of the said roads are complete, then the balance of said funds may be used on the sand road between Mt. Carmel and Kanab."

From these statements, it is clear that the citizens of the county had become involved and that they had an immediate influence on the action of the county commission. The letter to the State Road Commission also established the priority of roads to be built and again differed from the most recent plans. At this point in time, the road from Kanab north to Garfield connecting with the road on to Panguitch and points north would go through Johnson Canyon with an improved road from Mt. Carmel north through Long Valley connecting with the road through Johnson Canyon. However, any additional work on the road "over the Sand" between Long Valley and Kanab would be accomplished only if and to the extent that, funds were left after the construction of the other roads had been completed.

By 1921, the proposed roads were still not built, and politics had shifted to where the connecting road through Kane County was now to go from Kanab over the Sand to Mt. Carmel.[227] The road through Johnson Canyon apparently also remained a consideration, at least as a secondary road until January 1922, when the county commissioners decided "… to recommend to the State Road Commission that the road from Alton via Johnson to Kanab be abandoned as a State Road." In its place, a road would be made from Alton to the state road going north from Long Valley.[228]

The three county commissioners made the decisions about the road, but they received pressure from their constituents and were quite surely influenced by their own personal and business interests as well as the public good. Fred G. Carroll, Willis Little, and John Brown served in these positions when the final decisions were made. Carroll was a resident of Long Valley with the responsibility to represent constituents there and with his primary business interests also centered there. Little's primary business interests were associated with Johnson Canyon. These two commissioners were resolute in having the road go through the areas they represented. John Brown. with apparently no vested interest in either area, voted with Carroll.[229] Each of the proposed roads found support among the citizens of Kanab.

Henry Bowman of Kanab was contracted to build the road and recorded some of the factors that influenced the process of determining where the road would be built, as well as the building of the road.[230] Bowman determined how the road could be built when he applied for and received the contract. He maintained that sand provided a good road base. He laid out his plan for each segment to Commissioner Carroll and state road officials and convinced them that it could be done for the $30,000 that was available ($40,000 was the original amount, but $10,000 was diverted to other roads). This involved building a bridge over Kanab Creek and might also have included the bridge over the East Fork of the Virgin River southwest of Mt. Carmel. His plan for the road over the sandy section was to cover it with clay and then a thin surface of gravel. All the work was done with equipment powered by teams of horses, manual labor with pick and shovel, and with dynamite.

After the construction was started, those who opposed the road site, worked through state road commission officials and managed to have it halted.[231] In October 1921, Bowman was asked by the county commissioners to "…immediately tender his resignation ….,"[232] but he kept on working. In the October 21 commission meeting, he was to be informed that road construction costs would no longer be paid, and such a notice was posted.[233] However, he continued the work with the support of Commissioner Carroll and others. He was later officially reinstated, and the work continued until it was completed in 1922. Bowman successfully played his own politics with the Kane County Commissioners and with others, including state road officials, as he insisted on completing the road.[234]

Until these approximately seventeen miles of road was completed, the communities in Long Valley were isolated from Kanab, and travel was restricted for all of the communities in Kane County to outside commerce and other opportunities for economic development. It was often necessary to take loaded wagons from Long Valley north and then east to the road through Johnson Canyon or across the Glendale Bench to connect with the Johnson Canyon road to get to Kanab. The distance of the first route was as much as three times that of the direct route over the Sand Hills.[235] The county seat and the local headquarters for The Church of Jesus Christ of

Latter-day Saints were in Kanab and because of the roads, travel from Long Valley to do business or attend church meetings there was difficult for all and impossible for some.

During the development of roads in Kane County, the section going south to Kanab from the Mt. Carmel Junction to the top of the Sand Ridge, a distance of about three miles, formed a formidable barrier. This section of road was a common part of three roads that came together at the top of the Sand Ridge: the Yellowjacket-Rosy Canyon road from Short Creek and Cane Beds, Arizona; the road through Three Lakes Canyon from Kanab; and the older Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Road.

The evolution of this section of road testifies of the challenges of the area to build roads and is at least partially shown in the remnants of four different approaches used to pass over the canyon wall from the Mt. Carmel Junction. Unfortunately, only very limited information concerning dates and circumstances under which they were built have been found. This lack of information is regrettable and allows only vague assumptions to be made.

The initial location where the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Road, the alternate route to the Elephant Trail used in the settling of Long Valley, left the valley floor to ascend the valley wall is approximately one mile south of two of the three later locations including the present road, US Highway 89, and where the Elephant Trail (Kane County Road 1300) joins Highway 89 (see Figure 15). As it left the valley floor, it conformed to the natural contour of the terrain and appeared to have involved a minimum of construction initially but did not allow improvements to meet future needs.

A road supported by extensive hand-laid rock walls, some of which still exist, extending along and over the lower ledge of the canyon wall a short distance to the north, defines the location of another approach, possibly the one completed in 1922 (see Figure 20). The minutes of a county commission meeting in 1904 shows that a dugway existed south of Mt. Carmel at that time but there is no description of its exact location.[236] Portions of a later road still exist that crossed the East Fork of the Virgin River at the Mt. Carmel Junction at the base of the mountain, east of the present crossing, with

a dugway more closely following the contour of the mountain as it started its ascent.

Major improvements on this segment of the road, including pavement with asphalt, were made in the early 1930s.[237] The year 1934 has recently been established as the period during which the road improvements were being made.[238] These changes greatly improved travel through Kane County and access to the communities in Long Valley and Kanab. Improvements in US Highway 89 between Long Valley and Kanab continue to be made, but the portion of the canyon wall along and over which it passes as it leaves Long Valley still serves as a reminder of the challenges of building a serviceable road between Long Valley and Kanab. So, finally in 1922, fifty-one years after Long Valley was permanently settled, a direct, serviceable road was completed between Mt. Carmel and Kanab, which connected with roads that continued north through Utah and west to Dixie.

In 1925, graveled roads from northern Utah to St. George had not yet been completed.[239] As early as 1916, federal funds were available to develop roads, some of which were to be available to make the scenic attractions of southern Utah and also the Arizona Strip more accessible for tourism. In 1923, plans for a road from Zion to Long Valley or Kanab was begun. Initially, a route through Parunuweap Canyon using information available from "topographical sheets" was considered, but when visited and evaluated, it was rejected, presumably for reasons including the formation of the canyon with its narrow passage and towering vertical cliffs.[240] This route would likely have included a portion of the Elephant Trail near the northeast end of Parunuweap Canyon.

A road through Zion National Park was then considered, and the route known as the Pine Creek route, including a tunnel, was approved, and the Zion-Mt. Carmel Highway (State Road 9) was undertaken and finished in 1930.[241] In 1924, the road from Long Valley Junction over Cedar Mountain to Cedar City was completed.[242]

The communities in Long Valley, and also Kanab, were now much less isolated; they were in a better position to develop a tourist

trade, provide other services outside their area, and receive goods and services previously less available or not available to them.

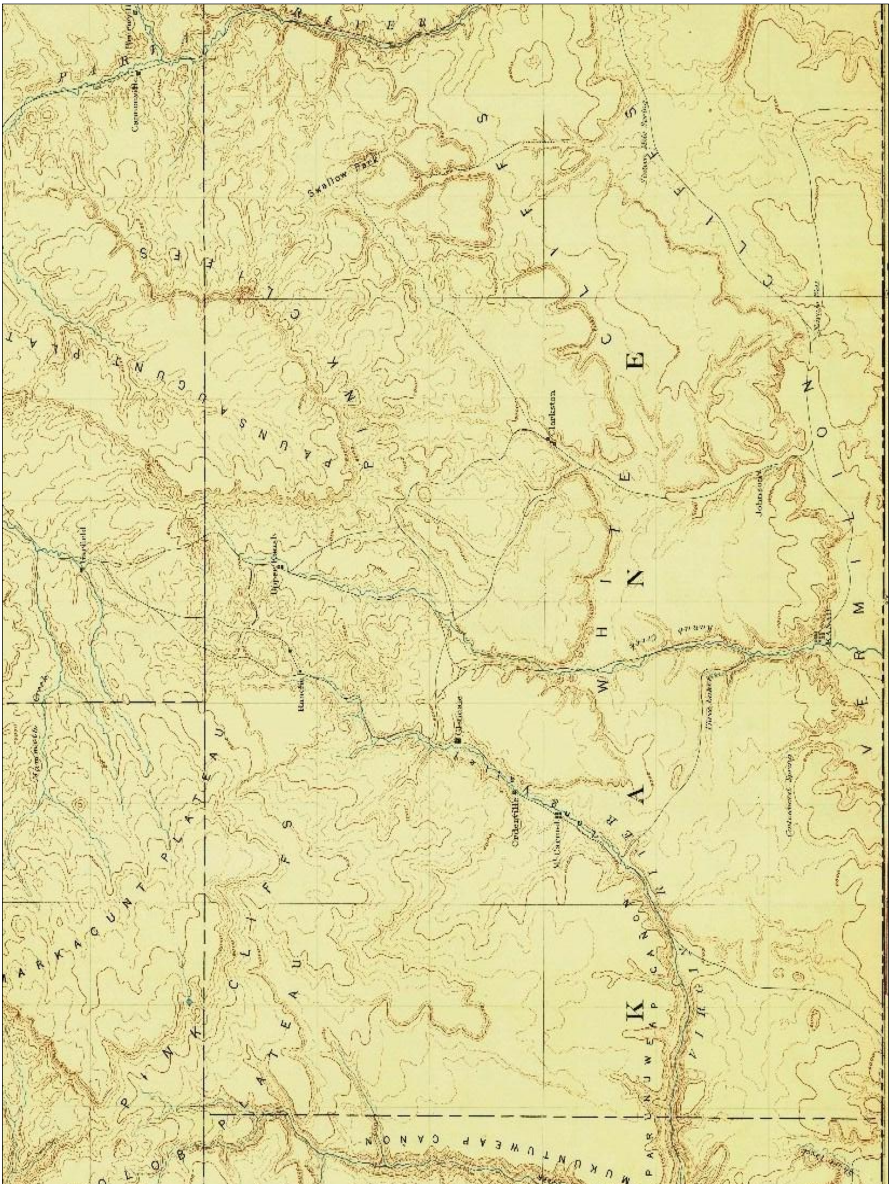
PINK CLIFFS
WHITE CLIFFS
VERMILION CLIFFS
PAUNSAUGUNT PLATEAU
MARKAGUNT PLATEAU
COLOB PLATEAU
MUKUNTUWEAP CANON
PARUNUWEAP CANON
VIRGIN RIVER
KANAB
Swallow Park
Clarkston

Figure 19. Dotted, broken or solid black lines on this map show the roads connecting communities and other areas of Kane County in 1886. These include a road (top of map) coming southwest from Panguitch (Panguitch not shown) to Ranche and continuing in the same direction along the East Fork of the Virgin River through Long Valley and continuing as the Elephant Trail into Parunuweap Canyon, exiting at the Elephant Hill and continuing southwest into Arizona. (There is an error where it goes past the block mesas.) Also, a road (bottom of map) goes northeast from Arizona to Kanab, Utah. From Kanab two roads go north; one through Kanab Canyon to Upper Kanab (located near present-day Alton) with one branch going to Long Valley past Three Lakes and over The Sand or Sand Hills and the Sand Ridge to Mt. Carmel (there is an error in the location of this road from Three Lakes to where it enters Long Valley), and another branch across the Glendale Bench to north of Glendale. The road through Kanab Canyon also continues north from Upper Kanab and connects with the road from Panguitch. The second road from Kanab goes east to Johnson Canyon and then north through Johnson Canyon with a branch going northwest, connecting with the road through Kanab Canyon where it branches to go across the Glendale Bench. A second road branches off farther north from the Johnson Canyon Road and goes southwest to connect with the Kanab Canyon at the same point as the first branch. No road is shown going through Cottonwood Canyon and on to the Sand Ridge, indicating that the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Road was no longer in use. Source: Taken from the U.S.G.S. Historical File, Topographic Division, Utah Kanab Sheet using triangulation and topography by the Powell Survey, edition of January, 1886.

Figure 20. This photograph shows an area of hand-laid rock wall that supported an earlier road through this area between Long Valley and Kanab that went up the side of the canyon southwest of the Mt. Carmel Junction. No information has been found to show when it was built. It would appear to be a major undertaking for that time and possibly was part of the road built by Henry Bowman that was completed in 1922. If that were true, the only earlier route between the Sand Ridge and the bottom of the canyon was likely the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge trail or road shown in Figure 14. The location of a portion of the present highway (Highway 89) can be seen above the site of the older road. Source: Photograph courtesy author.

Development of the Boundary of Kane County

In January 1850, six counties were created in the Provisional State of Deseret. The southernmost county was known as Little Salt Lake Valley and was located north of present-day Cedar City and was initially named Little Salt Lake County. The name may have resulted because of small salt flats located in the area which are remnants of the southern part of Lake Bonneville. Later the same year, the name was changed to Iron County. In December of 1850, the U. S. Congress rejected the Provisional State of Deseret's appeal for recognition and established the Utah Territory with a greatly reduced size. Three months later, Iron County was enlarged to extend to the full width of the territory, south to the southern rim of the Great Basin. In 1852, Washington County was organized and occupied an area the full width of the Utah Territory and between the southern border of Iron County and thirty-seven degrees North Latitude.[243]

On January 16, 1864, Kane County was formed by an act of the Utah Legislature. The county was named in honor of General Thomas L. Kane, a friend of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It occupied all but the westernmost part of the area previously occupied by Washington County. In 1866, Grafton was serving as the seat of Kane County. The county seat was moved to Rockville in 1867 and to Toquerville in 1869.[244] Following the colonization of the area known as San Juan in 1879, San Juan County was formed to include that part of Kane County east of the Colorado River.[245] By 1884, the boundary of Washington County was moved east to include all of the "Dixie" communities including those on the Upper Virgin with the county seat at St George.[246] In 1884, Kanab became the county seat of the newly defined and smaller Kane County but actually began functioning on March 5, 1883.[247]

In 1889, the citizens of Long Valley petitioned for the county seat to be moved to Glendale. This was decided by ballot later the same year, and the move was defeated. The only references that could be found concerning this action were very brief entries in the

Kane County Court [Commission] minutes. The first was in March and mentioned the petition to move as follows, "A petition from the citizens of Long Valley and Ranch asking that the county seat be changed to Glendale and that an election be held to determine said removal was read and on motion an election ordered."[248] The second entry on September 2 reads, "The returns of the election for the removal of the county (seat) were read showing 86 votes cast against removal and 58 for removal."[249]

Geographically, the county was divided into two parts, that of Long Valley including Alton and the communities of Kanab and Johnson Canyon. A brief review of the minutes of the county commission meetings for the first forty years after Kanab became the county seat indicates that both sides of the county were represented on the county commission and also the appointment to such offices as road supervisor, pound keepers, and justices of the peace. Also, the availability of schools and other public services not provided by the county offices were provided throughout the county.

Effects of Settlement on the Environment

A primary reason for the pioneer settlers choosing to settle in Long Valley was its suitability for livestock production.[250] Long Valley was described by some of its settlers "as a paradise for livestock grazing" with "… waving expanses of grass that dragged against the saddle stirrups,"[251] and, "… verdant with grass, growing up to the horses' bellies."[252] These may have been optimistic appraisals. Such conditions are seldom currently seen although some areas of the Valley appear to have that potential if returned to presettlement conditions. Presettlement exploration further described Long Valley in its pristine state with fertile land associated with the river and with "plenty of timber."[253] It was reported to contain about thirteen hundred acres of tillable land and scarcely enough water in the river to irrigate it."[254]

All of these operations—livestock grazing, harvesting of timber, bringing land into cultivation and irrigation—would have affected the environment and made the land more vulnerable to change by the forces of nature. Most of Long Valley is located in the clay-yielding Carmel Shale and Straight Cliffs Formations where there is evidence of river erosion, but it is much less evident than in the southwest end of the valley as it forms the Parunuweap Canyon. Here the displacement caused by the Sevier Fault and river erosion exposes the sandy soil of the Navajo Sandstone formation, which is more subject to erosion and where evidence of river erosion is much greater.

In the first few miles of Parunuweap Canyon, before it is transformed into the narrow canyon with towering cliffs through which the Virgin River flows, and from which it earned its Native American name of Roaring Water or Roaring River Canyon, there are large deposits of clay soil carried down by flooding from Long Valley, and river channels have cut twenty or more feet deep. Historically, the East Fork of the Virgin River and other perennial streams and drainages from Cedar Mountain have been subject to flooding from spring snowmelt and monsoon summer rain. The latter has more often been the cause of the most severe damage from flooding because of the large volumes of floodwater produced,

which have overrun the floodplains and river banks.[255] Some of the changes brought about by settlement would make the land more vulnerable to this and other forces of nature. According to field notes accompanying original surveys of the area in 1921, significant erosion had occurred along the river by that date but when it occurred is not known.[256]

Also, near the same location, an old stream bed just a few feet deep and from about twenty to forty feet wide courses through an area that is estimated to be as much as thirty feet above the current level of the river, demonstrating that during some earlier period of time the river and surrounding area were more stable, and/or the forces of erosion, such as variations in the size of streamflow were much less.[257] In this area and other areas, very large and old cottonwood trees are located along apparent or assumed old stream beds that are twenty or more feet above the present stream beds. Most of these trees are still alive. One tree, not considered to be among the oldest, located at the edge of the East Fork of the Virgin River and destroyed by flooding in 2010, was 130 to 140 years old based on an annual growth ring count. This tree would have dated back to about the time that Long Valley was settled.[258]

In 1885 and also at least since the early 1900s there has been a pattern of annual flooding in Long Valley but only rarely large enough or of a long enough duration to cause recordable damage.[259] However, some heavy flooding was reported to have occurred in Orderville from the East Fork of the Virgin River and its tributaries. Such a flood was reported to occur in August of 1881, as a result of a "Heavy rain-cloudburst of an hour's duration. Town was flooded and 'hundreds of loads of rock and rubbish' were deposited in streets and fields." Another flood was reported in 1885 that caused several thousand dollars' worth of property. And another flood was reported in 1909, when "The river cut away much cropland and destroyed bridges at its height on Aug 31…canyon roads washed out in many places." A flood was also reported in 1880 that damaged the United Order communal eating hall and contributed to the decision to discontinue the practice of communal eating.[260]

Very heavy flooding occurred with very large-scale erosion along the Kanab Creek, including the town of Kanab, during the

five-year period from 1882 through 1886, cutting a channel to a depth of fifty feet and a width of 200 feet, destroying the dam for diversion of irrigation water from Kanab Creek, forming much of the present-day Kanab Creek channel and washing away large acreages of farmland.[261]

Changes in land use such as that introduced by livestock grazing, cultivation, diversion of water for irrigation, other stream changes, and their subsequent management also had their effect on the areas, including the degree of flooding and resulting erosion and deposition. However, according to some studies, these changes in land use and management do not appear to be an important cause of the erosion and deposition of land, as much or most of these changes occurred before the pioneers came to settle. A major cause appears to be historical changes in climate and weather patterns resulting in dry and wet periods that would result in both the flooding pattern and the erodibility of the flood plains and other areas involved.[262]

All wild animal populations of the area would have been affected by the changes in land use brought about by the settlement of Long Valley. Surprisingly few references are made of the presence of wild animals of any kind in the journals kept by the pioneers who settled the Valley. This includes mention of animals that would have been nuisances, such as rodents and rabbits, predators to livestock such as coyotes and mountain lions, or that would have been a source of food such as deer or wild sheep. In one report there is mention of wild game and deer on the Arizona Strip.[263] In narratives of the second Powell expedition down the Colorado River there is mention of an antelope,[264] wolves,[265] two mountain sheep,[266] and a band of wild horses,[267] also on the Arizona Strip. The antelope and the wild horses were seen on or near the Uinkaret Plateau and the wolves were farther east in House Rock Valley.

The grazing of livestock, the production of crops, and areas taken for the development of town sites would have directly affected the native production of plants and animals upon which the Native Americans depended for food and other requirements for sustenance. The Native Americans showed concern that the presence of the pioneers with their livestock was threatening their

source of food in terms of both plants and animals. Animals such as deer, bighorn sheep, mountain lions, coyotes, rabbits, and a variety of rodents were indigenous to all or parts of the area. Some of these provided food and skins for clothing and shelter for the Native Americans.[268]

Long Valley During Its One-and-One-Half Centuries of Settlement

A Brief Summary

Because of both internal and external influences, the United Order in Orderville began to break up beginning as early as 1883. Some families began acquiring private ownership of land owned by the Order and buying the homes they had been living in while in the Order and moving them onto their newly acquired land, or building new homes there.[269] However, some cooperative efforts continued to the end of the century. In 1885, stock in the corporation with a reported value of more than $100,000 was auctioned to its stockholders.[270] Such changes that occurred during this period in the United Order might have resulted in some of the larger stockholders obtaining large land and livestock holdings. The successes of the United Order resulted in the accumulation of wealth such as land, livestock, and related businesses, which have had a long-term, positive effect on all of the communities of Long Valley.

Now, almost one hundred and fifty years after the three communities in Long Valley were permanently settled, they continue as separate entities, although Orderville has annexed the area to the south which includes Mt. Carmel, Mt. Carmel Junction, and other homes included in that area. They continue as very small communities. Their populations have shown some proportionally large fluctuations from 1880 to 1990 with a consistent increase from the year 2000 to estimates for 2015 as shown by U. S. census records. The population of Orderville was 514 in 1880 and reduced to 289 in 1890 which was likely influenced by the termination of the United Order during that time. The population varied from 371 to 439 from 1900 to 1990 with a more consistent increase averaging 577 from 2000 to 2015. The population of Glendale was 338 in 1880, 253 in 1890, 319 in 1900, and varied from 200 to 297 between 1910 and 1990. The population increased to an average of 367 from 2000 to 2015. The number of people living in Mt. Carmel has typically been less than 150, based on the information available.

These very small, but attractive, rural communities are set in a scenic environment with most homes and businesses being well-kept and have continuing adequate, but modest, economies. Their center of commerce is in Orderville, where most of their daily shopping and other service needs can be obtained. Larger, more adequate shopping areas are located in Dixie to the west and in Richfield to the North. A significant proportion of the inhabitants are descendants of those who settled Long Valley and surrounding communities, and they have continued to play a major role in the affairs of their communities. Many of the family names of the settlers have persisted.

Agriculture, principally livestock or animal agriculture, has continued as a primary industry. When Long Valley was settled, and for at least the next three-quarters of a century, sheep made up the major part of the livestock industry. Herds of sheep consisting of several thousand animals were grazed on the ranges surrounding, and for considerable distances, from the Valley. They were driven or "trailed" from one range or grazing area to another, as dictated by the availability of feed and weather conditions, which were determined primarily by the season of the year. Largely because of increased preference for beef and a decrease in the demand of the products of mutton and lamb, and wool by the consumer and advantages of managing cattle to the producer, sheep were replaced by cattle. Sheep are now produced in Long Valley in only a few small flocks. These changes in livestock production have also occurred in a much larger surrounding area.

Most of the ranges where livestock is grazed are public land on which privately owned grazing rights have been acquired and maintained. These large areas are managed by the Bureau of Land Management and the U. S. Forest Service. Many of the grazing rights have been kept within families, some dating back to use by the United Order in Orderville. Use of the grazing rights has become more limited over the years because of access and management practices imposed by the federal government.

The availability and use of trails or roads that were used to access Long Valley during its settlement, and for years after, have changed. Those going through Johnson Canyon and on to Alton, or

across the Glendale Bench, are used primarily for ranching and recreation and are gravel or unimproved. The road from Alton west to the road coming south from Panguitch (U.S. Highway 89) north of Long Valley is an asphalt-paved highway.

The only part of the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Trail that continues to be used by the public is where it descends from the Sand Ridge into Long Valley and is limited to small, all-terrain vehicles for recreation. The southern part that is located in Arizona is in the Kaibab Paiute Indian Reservation and has no public access, and the part located in Cottonwood Canyon is through private property and used for ranching purposes.

The Elephant Trail continues to be used to move and manage livestock for grazing purposes although such use is greatly reduced. It is a public road and, as mentioned earlier, the part going north past the Elephant Butte to the Elephant Gap has been changed. The road, through The Elephant from Rosy Canyon past Elephant Butte, through Elephant Gap, Elephant Cove, and down Elephant Hill into the Parunuweap Canyon and the East Fork of the Virgin River and northeast along several miles of the river remains unimproved. It has become a popular route for hiking, horseback riding, and travel by all-terrain vehicles (ATVs) to view the beauty of the East Fork of the Virgin River and Parunuweap Canyon, to get a unique view of Zion National Park, and to experience the many other beauties of nature in an area that still contains many of its pristine characteristics.

The tourist trade has increased significantly during the last several decades and is an important source of income in the Valley. Much of it is centered at Mt. Carmel Junction but services supporting it are provided throughout Long Valley and consist of lodging, meals, and other travel and recreational needs, as well as guided tours to outlying scenic areas where hiking, horseback riding, and the use of ATV's have become particularly popular. Seasonal sports hunting for mule deer and desert bighorn sheep, and to a lesser extent for large cats such as mountain lions also contribute to the local economy. Southern Utah is a part of the Great Southwestern American Desert and possesses much of its scenic beauty and terrain and is a major reason for the tourist trade.

As tourism has increased and expanded, visits to more outlying scenic areas have become popular. A network of trails and roads, most of them shown on maps, provide access to such areas in almost any direction from Long Valley. Many of them are parts or all of trails and roads discussed earlier in this history, such as those to the east and northeast across the Glendale Bench, parts of Kanab Canyon and Johnson Canyon, and related areas. To the south and southwest, trails and roads provide access to Harris Mountain, Parunuweap Canyon, Elephant Cove, and farther southwest to the old Shunesburg mail drop. The Elephant Trail and roads branching from it, provide access to most of these areas. All of these areas are available to hikers, and most also are accessible to those using all-terrain vehicles (ATVs) or horses. All of these areas and extended areas provide sports hunting for mule deer and bighorn sheep in Parunuweap Canyon and an endless opportunity for photography.

The parts of the Cottonwood Canyon-Sand Ridge Trail that still exist have very little if any public access and thus no public use. There are important archaeological sites in Cottonwood Canyon and also in Parunuweap Canyon and in many other locations.

Other industries, such as logging with sawmills on Cedar Mountain in Utah and in Fredonia, Arizona, have made very significant contributions to the economic well-being of Long Valley and other communities in the past. However, the sawmills were closed when timber from federal forests became unavailable. Government institutions or agencies, such as public schools, the Bureau of Land Management, the Forest Service, and national and state parks and monuments also contribute to the economy of Long Valley.

Many who are born and reared in Long Valley find it necessary to leave to find gainful employment or to pursue professions or vocations not available locally. This has been the case in the past and continues in the present. As with many other rural communities in Utah, most of the residents belong to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and its values and traditions provide the pattern for their way of life as it did for their pioneer forebears. Many of the residents of Long Valley live there because of their ties to family property, tradition, and the rural lifestyle. As mentioned before,

Long Valley is in the heart of the Great Southwestern American Desert, and in many ways its communities epitomize adaptation to the challenges of living there.

The Elephant and the Elephant Trail—The Place and the Name

As shown in this history, The Elephant Trail has served a major role in providing access between Long Valley and Dixie and beyond during its settlement and resettlement and for many additional years. An extensive stretch of seemingly bottomless sand, with related drainages and escarpments, formed a formidable barrier to the pioneers who settled Long Valley. This barrier started at the Hurricane Fault to the west and continued through the southernmost part of southwest Utah including the Parunuweap Canyon and the northern part of the Arizona Strip across the Sevier Fault to the White Cliffs of the Navajo Sandstone Formation northwest of Kanab to Diana's Throne.

For the Elephant Trail, the formidable barrier of sand and terrain, "the large mountain of heavy sand,"[271] began as it passed through Rosy Canyon north of Cane Beds, Arizona, into Utah. It continued north past the Elephant Butte through the Elephant Gap and then northeast around the point of Harris Mountain and through the Elephant Cove and then down the Elephant Hill to the East Fork of the Virgin River at the bottom of Parunuweap Canyon. This was the area that became known as The Elephant. The reality and nature of the challenge to cross the Elephant became known and is recorded as such in histories and in journals that were kept or described orally by those who traveled through it or were told about it beginning probably about 1864, and continued with the settlement and resettlement of Long Valley. It was known also by members of the Powell Expedition in some of their explorations including that of the Parunuweap Canyon as shown by some of their journal entries.

The following examples referred to earlier in this history help define some of the challenges faced by the pioneers on the Elephant Trail. Warren Foote, when he first traveled to Long Valley to help resettle Berryville in the spring of 1871 made these entries in his journal as he and others traveled the Elephant Road or Trail. "There are two roads from this place [Short Creek, Arizona] to Long Valley. One by Pipe Spring, and one by what is called 'The Elephant.' It was finally decided to take the Elephant Road as it is much nearer.

We drove about six miles [from Short Creek] and stopped to noon [eat midday meal] at the mouth of the hollow leading to the Pine Spring about six miles further on where we intended to camp at night. After nooning we started on and found the sand terrible. Our jaded animals could not pull over two rods without resting. We drove about two miles and camped at a place called Seep Spring. [The next day] we concluded to put both spans [teams] on one wagon and take it two or three miles and then come back and bring up the other [double team]. In this way we succeeded to camp at Pine Spring."

Also, in the fall of 1866, after the settlers in Long Valley had been forced to abandon their communities the previous spring because of Native American uprisings, some of them went back and harvested their crops that had matured. On the return, a caravan of several heavily loaded wagons was spread out as they struggled to get their wagons up and over the Elephant Hill, which led out of Parunuweap Canyon. The short account of this excursion, which ended with a Native American attack, stated that "William and John Berry, Joseph Hopkins, John Harris and Hyrum [Stevens] had pulled over the Elephant Hill, a deep sandy hill that they had to double team to get over and had gone down the other side and partway up the next hill when the Berry boys called to Hyrum to come get a team and help him pull up his load up the ridge." In the process the Native Americans attacked; most of the harvested crops they were transporting were destroyed, their teams stolen or scattered, and Hyrum Stevens and a Native American wounded. The point that is relevant and emphasized here is the struggle required to get their wagons over Elephant Hill, including the necessity to double team as a regular part of travel through the area.

The trip by Foote was made in March when there was some snow and the sand would not be as dry as it would be during the summer and fall and therefore travel would be less difficult. "Double-teaming" as a way of pulling the heavily loaded wagons through extended areas of deep sand, including through drainages and over hills, was a common practice when traveling through extensive parts of the approximately thirty-five miles of the

Elephant Trail that stretched from Short Creek in Arizona to the location of present-day Mt. Carmel Junction in Utah.

A question of considerable interest and historical significance, but one that doesn't seem to have ever been addressed is the origin of the name. Why is that particular area called "The Elephant" and why do the trail and landmarks through which it passes bear the name "Elephant?" Nothing has been found in the history of the area or in any of its physical features that provide a reasonable clue as to why the term "Elephant" came into use. The trail would have been used by the Paiutes and other Native Americans that preceded them for centuries before the pioneers of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or other earlier white men, traveled the area. As far as can be determined, the Paiutes had no name for this area or other specific information about it in their oral history. But if they were to give it a name, according to one of the Paiute elders, it would most likely have been something like "must'ta'venee'" which he said means "very sandy" in his native language.

As mentioned earlier, it is possible, but unlikely, that some of the mountain men used the trail some twenty-five years before the area was first explored by pioneers from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1852 and parts of the trail with some of its difficulties described. It would have been necessary for anyone traveling with a wagon, and most likely for anyone riding a horse to or from the Arizona Strip or north or south through the Utah Territory or using the Parunuweap Canyon for any other reason to have used the Elephant Trail. The only other trail leading through the south wall of the Parunuweap Canyon is the Steep Trail, located several miles farther west in the canyon and appears to have not been found or if found not been considered passable by those who explored the region in 1852.

Considering all available information, the area became known as The Elephant between 1864, when the first attempts to settle in Long Valley were undertaken, and 1871, when it was permanently resettled and the name had become commonly or generally known and was being used. By this time the trail or road that went through it was known as the Elephant Trail, and the name was also applied to four landmarks or areas associated with it: the Elephant Butte

which it passed by to its west; the Elephant Gap where it passed between an unnamed block mesa on the south and Harris Mountain on the north; the Elephant Cove, a part of the plateau formed between the White Cliffs of Harris Mountain to the east and the Parunuweap Canyon to the north through which it passed; and the Elephant Hill over and down which it passed as it descended into the Parunuweap Canyon to the East Fork of the Virgin River.

A literature search of the word "elephant" to learn how it might have been used to describe a place, or in some other way that might suggest why it was used to describe this specific area in southern Utah, has produced such terms as "the elephant," "seeing the elephant," "seeking the elephant" and "in search of the elephant."[272]

It turns out that this term has had use and meaning, particularly during certain times and conditions that have existed in the United States as it was developed, and particularly before the Civil War. It was used in the western United States by those traveling the Overland Trail from St. Louis to Oregon or California and by those involved in the Gold Rush in California and as it spread to other areas. John Phillip Reid,[273] both a lawyer and a historian, has written extensively about The Elephant and defines it, referencing the Dictionary of Americanisms,[274] with what he calls an "imprecise" definition as follows: "When a man is disappointed in anything he undertakes, when he has seen enough, when he gets sick and tired of any job he may have set himself about, he has 'seen the elephant.'"

Reid emphasizes "That more often 'to see the elephant' meant to face a particularly severe ordeal, to gain experience by undergoing hardship, to learn the realities of a situation first hand, or to encounter the unbelievable." For example, "To cross the continent by the overland trail was to 'see the elephant.'" Also, this term was of common use to describe the disappointments and hardships of the Gold Rush. Reid further explained that "'seeing the elephant' was a nineteenth-century colloquialism for facing adversity, gaining experience through hardship and for encountering the unknown or unbelievable; that these kinds of experiences became the 'elephants' for those receiving or experiencing them." Others have also written concerning the Elephant in similar ways.[275]

Charles Kelley,[276] who edited and published William Clement Powell's journal, a member of Major John Wesley Powell's expedition of the Colorado River and other areas in 1871 and 1872, made this editorial comment, which adds to and helps verify the above definition: "…to undergo ones full share of hardships" and "…seeing a thing through to the end."

William Clement Powell[277] and Stephen Vandiver Jones,[278] who was also a member of Powell's 1871–1872 expedition, used or referred to "The Elephant" as they wrote in their journals about the trials and futility of the efforts of the men they saw prospecting for gold. Both reported seeing many or a constant stream of men prospecting for gold along the Colorado River. Jones also reports that some were prospecting at the mouth of the Paria and some down in the Kanab Wash and of some who came to prospect at the mouth of Kanab Canyon. The term "Elephant" and its usage and its meaning would have been familiar to local residents, then and from these and other sources most likely earlier. This brings the term "Elephant" and its usage to the local setting being considered.

So this strongly suggests and this history assumes that the term "Elephant" that came to be used to describe or define the hardships and challenges of the Overland Trail and the extremities of the Gold Rush found its way to the sands and ledges of northern Arizona and Southern Utah. To travel through the "terrible sand" and associated terrain of the Elephant Trail, especially for the pioneers with their heavy-loaded, worn-out wagons and "jaded" teams was to "see the Elephant," and "the large mountain of heavy sand" through which much of the trail passed became the main part of "The Elephant." A map in Figure 21 shows the general area considered to be known as The Elephant and the Elephant Trail with other landmarks bearing its name.

Long Valley
Mount Carmel Junction
89
Sand Dunes / Yellowjacket Road
Hancock Road
Coral Pink Sand Dunes
Legend
Pioneer Elephant Trail
Present Elephant Trail
The Elephant
Cliff Line
Stream
Present Day Roads
US or State Highway
County Road
Zion National Park
Parunuweap Canyon
East Fork Virgin River
Cliffs
White
White Cliffs
Harris Mountain
Harris Point
Elephant Hill
Elephant Cove
Elephant Butte
Elephant Gap
Pine Spring
Rosy Canyon
Cane Beds
Utah
Arizona
N
0 0.5 1 2 Miles

Figure 21. This map shows the general area known as The Elephant with the Elephant Trail and other of its features that include the name Elephant: Elephant Butte, Elephant Gap, Elephant Cove and Elephant Hill; and other landmarks and physical features of the general area. Source: Map developed by the author from information provided in this history and produced by Daniel B. Alberts, GIS Specialist, Kanab Field Office, Kanab, Bureau of Land Management, U.S. Department of the Interior, Kanab, Utah

Endnotes

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62 Douglas D. Alder and Karl F. Brooks, *History of Washington County,* 225; William B. Smart and Donna T. Smart, eds, *Over the Rim,* 91. In this account of Parley P. Pratt's exploration of Southern Utah in 1849–50 it is noted that the route from the north, "… through Anderson Ranch, Leeds and Harrisburg became the pioneer Wagon Road." Also, this account states that the same route was the route of that portion of the Arrowhead Highway that connected Salt Lake City with Los Angeles (1910–1920). This later became Highway 91 and still later the general route of Interstate 15.

63 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote,* 218–219.

64 Lavoid Leavitt, J. L. Crawford, Phillip Hepworth, Douglas D. Alder, interviews by author, October 13, 2004.

65 Original General Land Office Surveys, No. 1789, T42S, R15W, SLB&M (1870).

66 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote,* 218–219.

67 Paul Dean Proctor and Morris A. Shirts, *Silver, Sinners and Saints; A History of Old Silver Reef, Utah* (Paulmar, Inc., 1991), 3; William B. Smart and Donna T. Smart, eds., *Over the Rim,* 91; Warren Foote, *Warren Foote,* 218–219; Victor Hall, interview by author, September 14, 2004. More than one road existed and may have been used to travel from Washington to Berry Spring. A road with a distance similar to the estimated distance traveled by Foote followed the old telegraph line from Washington, later becoming the Arrow Head Highway and still later Highway 91. This route would continue north to Quail Creek near Harrisburg and then along

Quail Creek southeast to where it emptied into the Virgin River, across the Virgin to Berry Spring which is almost directly south of where these two streams converge; Phillip Hepworth, interview by author, October 18, 2004. It is also possible that a road existed at the site of present-day Utah Road 9 and that it followed northeast from where it intersects with the present Highway 91. This portion of the road would have crossed over the west rim of Purgatory Hollow (the west flank of the anticline) and also through the east flank of the anticline crossing the Virgin River and continuing on to Berry Spring. However, there is no substantiating evidence that a wagon trail existed over the rim of the purgatory ridge at that time; Lavoid Leavitt, interview by author, October 13, 2004. Another possible route would be a road that went in a more northern direction from Washington crossing the location of the present-day Interstate Highway 15 near Grapevine Springs, (there are two Grapevine Springs, the one just mentioned and one north of Leeds) continuing to near where I-15 is cut through Grapevine Ridge and following a natural folding in the formation to the top of the ridge and continuing north into the old townsite of Harrisburg and then following an intersecting road southeast along Quail Creek to its convergence with the Virgin River and across the river to Berry Spring. This latter alternative is longer than the estimated distance of travel recorded by the pioneer journal entry.

68 Original General Land Office Surveys, No. 1789, T42S, R15W, SLB&M (1870); No. 1788, T42S, R14W, SLB&M (1870); No. 1747, T41S, R14W, SLB&M (1870); No. 1748, T41S, R13W, SLB&M (1870).

69 Stephen Vandiver Jones, "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones, April 21, 1871–December 14, 1872," ed. Herbert E. Gregory, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 16 (1948), 116.

70 Stephen Vandiver Jones, "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 115–116, footnotes 97, 98 state that by 1872 it was an important station on the road from St. George to Kanab: "Berry Springs, on the bank of the Virgin River, opposite the

mouth of Quail Creek was chosen as a winter sheep camp and later as a home site for the 'Berry' brothers, in the late 60s' and in the 'early 70s was the residence of five or six families.' The spring yielded a supply of excellent water, adequate for the irrigation of about three acres of fertile land. In 1872, long before the village of Hurricane had been founded, Berry Springs was an important station on the Kanab-St. George wagon road to Washington and St. George." Jones in his journal in mentioning Berry Springs states, "Came to an old stone stockade built by the Mormons. Nearby is a spring coming out under a ledge of Basaltic rock, the fort about 30 feet above the spring. Called Berry Spring."

71 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote,* 218. A. V. Gibbons is the son of Andrew S. Gibbons who was serving with Warren Foote as counselors to Bishop Leithead.

72 Original General Land Office Surveys, No. 1789, T42S, R15W, SLB&M (1870).

73 Hattie Esplin, "A Noble Pioneer of Long Valley: A life Sketch of John James Esplin," Esplin Family Bulletin (no. 6, July, 1959), 4; William B. Smart and Donna T. Smart, eds., *Over the Rim,* 91; Phillip Hepworth, interview by author, January 26, 2004; Lenny Brinkerhoff, interview by author, May 23, 2016.

74 Douglas D. Alder and Karl F. Brooks, *History of Washington County,* 32.

75 William B. Smart and Donna T. Smart, eds., *Over the Rim*, 93.

76 Leland H. Creer, *The Founding of an Empire*, 20.

77 Douglas D. Alder and Karl F. Brooks, *History of Washington County,* 31–35; Stephen Vandiver Jones, "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," endnote 149 states: "Shunesburg or Shonesburg at the mouth of Parunuweap Canyon was settled in 1861; Rockville the same year, and Grafton in 1859." At the time of Jones's visit (October, 1872) these villages had a combined population of about 300 – irrigation farmers and stockmen. "They were reached by a rough wagon road which led down the Virgin River to Virgin and over the Hurricane Cliffs to Toquerville [Johnson Twist], founded in 1858. From

Rockville, a branch road extended along the river through Springdale (first settlers, 1862) into Zion Canyon and another led from Grafton up the Canyon Walls to Big Plain, where it joined the St. George-Pipe Springs-Kanab Road;" Lenny Brinkerhoff, interview by author, May 23, 2016.

78 Allen Joseph Stout, *Autobiography of Allen Joseph Stout*, 22–23.

79 Dalton R. and Lenora Meeks, *Life and Times of Dr. Priddy Meeks,* 154.

80 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote*, 219.

81 Author unknown, "History of Orderville United Order–1877," 46; Emma Seegmiller Higbee, "The History of the United Order in Orderville," Special Collections, Dixie State University Library, St. George, Utah, (1958), 6. The statement "There was only one place where the summit could be reached with wagons, and that was barely possible" was made or copied by several authors in their histories of Long Valley, but as far as could be determined from the time or estimated time, the histories were written and how they were written the statement was originally made in the document entitled "History of Orderville United Order–1877."

82 Hattie Esplin, "A life Sketch of John James Esplin," 4.

83 Stephen Vandiver Jones, "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 117.

84 Victor Hall, interview by author, May 13, 2004.

85 Andrew Karl Larson, *I was Called to Dixie: The Virgin River Basin, Unique Experiences in Mormon Pioneering* (St. George, Utah; reprinted by Dixie College Foundation, published, 1961), 383 and footnotes 2 and 3.

86 James G. Bleak, *Annals of the Southern Mission,* 260. This reference also records that "…the company started to break a new track from there [Pipe Spring] to St. George…" indicating a new road including "…the newly made long dug-way [more than a mile] down the Hurricane Ledge which was being constructed…" This indicates some change in the road beginning at Pipe Spring.

87 Original General Land Office Surveys, No. 1789, T42S, R15W, SLB&M (1870); No. 1788, T42S, R14W, SLB&M (1870); No. 1747, T41S, R14W, SLB&M (1870); No. 1748, T41S, R13W, SLB&M (1870).

88 Froiseth's New Sectional and Mineral Map of Utah, 1878, B. I. H. Froiseth, (Second edition, revised, Publisher, Salt Lake City, 1878).

89 G. M. Wheeler, Parts of Northern and North Western Arizona and Southern Utah, Sheet number 67, David Rumsey Historical Map Collection (U.S. Washington, 1873).

90 Fredrick S. Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage,* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1908), 190.

91 Herbert E. Gregory, "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 116–117.

92 Herbert E. Gregory, "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 161, footnote 149, 191.

93 Original General Land Office Surveys, No. 1749, T41S, R12W, SLB&M (1877).

94 LeeAnn Barlow, "The Historical Development of Short Creek, Arizona (1862–1925)," Senior Thesis, in Gerald R. Sherratt Library Archives, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, Utah, typescript (1990), 4; Charlotte Maxwell Webb, "William Bailey Maxwell," in Gerald R. Sherratt Library Archives, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, Utah, typescript (no date), 2; Robert W. Olsen, Jr., "Pipe Spring," reprinted from *The Journal of Arizona History* 6 (no. 1, Spring, 1965), 3.

95 LeeAnn Barlow, "The Historical Development of Short Creek, Arizona," 2–3.

96 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote,* 219.

97 Original General Land Office Surveys, No. 1786, T42S, R12W, SLB&M (1877 and 1909).

98 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote,* 219.

99 Dalton R. and Lenora Meeks, *Life and Times of Dr. Priddy Meeks,* 154.

100 E. A. Eckhoff and P. Riecker, compilers, official Map of the Territory of Arizona, compiled from surveys, reconnaissance and other sources, 1880.
101 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote,* 222.
102 Observation by author.
103 Warren Foote, *Autobiography of Warren Foote,* 219.
104 Dalton R. and Lenora Meeks, *Life and Times of Dr. Priddy Meeks,* 154; Allen Joseph Stout, *Autobiography of Allen Joseph Stout*, 22–23; Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County,* 420; LeGrande C. Heaton, "History of the Beginning of Orderville, Utah," transcript (no date), 1; U.S. Geological Survey Map of Long Valley and surrounding area, undated and unnumbered.
105 Dalton R. and Lenora Meeks, *Life and Times of Dr.Priddy Meeks*, 154.
106 S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge*, 115.
107 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote*, 220–221.
108 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote*, 219; Israel Mack Esplin, interview by author, April 22, 2017; E. A. Eckhoff and P. Riecker, compilers, official map of the Territory of Arizona; U.S. Dept. Interior, BLM, Topographic Map, T43S, R9W, T44S, R9W, SLB&M, Kanab, Utah, BLM edition, (1997); U.S.G.S. Map, Historical File, Topographic Division, Utah Kanab Sheet using triangulation and topography by the Powell Survey, edition of January, 1886. These maps show the general location of the Pioneer Elephant Trail including the section from Rosy Canyon to the Block Mesas. From the oral history of Mack Esplin, what he remembers being told, his personal memory, and the location of some physical evidence has helped establish the location where the trail has been changed. His family has grazed livestock on the Arizona Strip and on areas in southern Utah south, east, and northeast of the Block Mesas from the time of the Orderville United Order in the 1870s and continues to graze livestock in much of this same area to the present.
109 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote,* 219.

110 Larry Esplin, interview by author April 28, 2004, oral history and memory of the location of parts of the pioneer road; the author also remembers the location of parts of the pioneer road.

111 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote*, 219.

112 Edward G. Sable and Hellmut H. Doelling, Geological Map of the Barracks Quadrangle Kane County, Utah, 1.

113 Hattie Esplin, handwritten notes, History Notes No. 2, Daughters of Utah Pioneers Library, Orderville, Utah (no date), 27.

114 Author unknown, "Indian Tragedy, Biography of Hyrum Smith Stevens," single page typescript (no date), 1; Warren Foote, *Warren Foote*, 220; Warren C. Foote and Robert Ford, unpublished information (2013). The names of three men inscribed in the cliffs of two side or slot canyons on the north side of Parunuweap Canyon help confirm the location of "The Rebel Barracks" in the Parunuweap Canyon. The side canyon on the west is unnamed on maps but known locally as Fall Canyon with the name John M. [Mount] Higbee and dated May 25, 1866 inscribed on the canyon wall on the north side of the canyon. The other side canyon, located approximately three-tenths of a mile further east, is referred to as Monument Hollow on maps. Inscribed high on opposing canyon walls, separated by only a few feet are the names of John Parry on the west and George W. Bennett on the east, each with the accompanying date of May 25, 1866. Records show that John Higbee and John Parry were both members of the Iron County Militia, and Higbee was a Major who "led a number of military operations during the Black Hawk War of 1866." Records have not yet been found to definitely establish Bennett as a member of the militia, but it is assumed that he was. Located between these two side canyons is an overhanging cliff that fits the description of where the charcoal inscription "The Rebel Barracks" referred to by Hattie Esplin (see endnote 113) could have been written. The area under the cliff where the inscription would have been written was a part of the original farmstead of the Barracks or Foote Ranch where hay and other

feed was stored some sixty years later. Much of the cliff has since caved off, but photographs (see Figure 14) show the appearance of the cliff in 1950 or 1951 before the caving occurred. This site is approximately two and three-quarter miles northeast of Elephant Hill in Parunuweap Canyon. This location appears to fit the distance generally described by Warren Foote (see endnote 111).

115 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote*, 220.

116 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote*, 222.

117 U.S.G.S. Map, Historical File, Topographic Division, Utah, Kanab Sheet, 1866.

118 Larry Esplin, interview by author, April 28, 2004. Mr. Esplin, who grew up and lived most of his life in Long Valley, remembers as a young man being shown the location of the road or trail as it came down into the valley. Parts or all of this route to traverse the Long Valley-Parunuweap Canyon wall has been used from pioneer times to the present for the movement of livestock and would have been the only route possible by wagon. At present, it is part of an all-terrain vehicle trail for recreational activities.

119 Stephen Vandiver Jones, "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 160, footnote 147.

120 Henry Eyring Bowman, "Henry Eyring Bowman," typescript manuscript (no date), 11; Minutes of Board of Kane County Commissioners, January 8, 1922, 284. The original minutes of the County Court or Commission meetings are in Books B, C, and D available in the Kane County Clerk's Office, Kanab, Utah. Page 1 is entitled "Record of the County Court of Kane County, Utah, beginning with the first term of the court held at Kanab." The first term was dated March 5, 1883; Alan Demille, interview by author, December 14, 2004. Mr. Demille was told by Mark Chamberlain, who was a lifelong resident of Orderville, that as a young man he helped haul clay to put on the road up over the Sand Ridge to attempt to build a base for travel with wagons; Roger Chamberlain, interview by author, January 18, 2005. Mr. Chamberlain, who is a lifelong resident of Glendale, remembers accounts told by his

father, Cornell Chamberlain, of clay being hauled up the road to the sandy portion in an effort to build a road base. Demille also remembers hearing accounts of Thomas Chamberlain who helped settle Long Valley. During the early 1900s, he had families both in Long Valley and Kanab and would leave from his farm at The Factory above Glendale early in the morning when it was still dark in a light buggy to travel to Kanab, and would often read while he let his horses choose their pace as they made their way over "the sand" and would arrive in Kanab after it was dark that night.

121 Angus M. Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah," 180. In 1870, Brigham Young, president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, sent Levi Stewart with a group of pioneers to establish a settlement at the fort at Kanab and asked Stewart to find a more direct route to Kanab from Salt Lake City than by way of Dixie and the Arizona Strip. This indicates that the most direct route which would have been by way of Three Lakes Canyon and the Sand Hills and Sand Ridge and on through Long Valley was not considered as a possible route. On a return trip to Kanab, later that year, Brigham Young, accompanied by Major John W. Powell, attempted to follow the more direct route described to him by Bishop Stewart through Upper Kanab and Johnson Canyon. In doing so they became lost and ended up in the Paria River Valley. A local Native American, "Old Humpy Indian," guided them safely to Kanab. They returned north by way of the Arizona Strip and Dixie, the more circuitous but surer route.

122 Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 7 (October, 1939), 142–143.

123 Angus M. Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah," 171; Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order," 142–143; Bryant Manning (B. M.) Jolley and Committee, *Jolley Family Book,*16–17; Allen Joseph Stout, *Autobiography of Allen Joseph Stout,* 23.

124 Angus M. Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah," 171; Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion,"

142; Allen Joseph Stout, *Autobiography of Allen Joseph Stout,* 23–24.

125 Bryant Manning (B. M.) Jolley and Committee, *Jolley Family Book,* 15–16.

126 Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," 143.

127 Author unknown, "Indian Tragedy, Biography of Hyrum Smith Stevens," 1.

128 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote*, 221.

129 S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge,* 115–116; Author unknown, "History of Orderville United Order—1877," 46; Emma Seegmiller Higbee, *The History of the United Order in Orderville*, 8.

130 Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County,* 449; Warren Foote, *Warren Foote*, 220; S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge,* 115.

131 S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge*; 115; Warren Foote. *Warren Foote,* 213; James G. Bleak, *Annals of Southern Mission*, 232–233; Annie Porter Seaman, comp., "Biography of Alvin Franklin Heaton (1860–1910)," Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, Utah (1953), 28; Gustive O. Larsen, *Prelude to the Kingdom, Mormon Desert Conquest* (Francestown, New Hampshire: Marshal Jones Company, 1947), 90–92. Larson and particularly Bleak provide copies of letters with details of a request or recommendation of the first settlers of Long Valley by President Brigham Young to give or sell their holdings in Long Valley to the Muddy Mission pioneers if they are not going to return to help resettle there. In a letter dated January 10, 1871, President George A. Smith indicated that "Letters have been sent by President Erastus Snow to former land owners in Long Valley who left there because of Indian depredations and have since settled at Kanarra and Harmony, asking them if they would like to relocate in Long Valley, and if not, if they would relinquish their claims in favor of the brethren from the Muddy or if not willing to relinquish but wish to sell their claims to state on what terms they would do

so. President Snow suggested that the terms ought to be liberal giving those who had to break up their homes on the Muddy an opportunity to recover from their losses." The following blank [or form] was enclosed with the letters with a place for a signature and date: "Know all men by these presents: that we the undersigned do for and in consideration of the good will which we have for our brethren who are broken up on the Muddy and are seeking homes elsewhere, relinquish all our claims to land, houses, and other improvements formerly owned by us in Long Valley or Berry Valley, and we do hereby give our full free unqualified consent for the brethren from the Muddy to take and occupy our claims in said Long or Berry Valley; the same to be set off to individuals as their bishops may deem best. And we do further covenant and agree that we will never demand pay of these brethren for our claims and improvements in the aforesaid Valley."

132 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote*, 220.

133 James William Watson, "Life Story of James William Watson," Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (no date), 5.

134 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote,* 220, 222; James William Watson, *Life Story of James William Watson,* 6; Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County,* 425.

135 James G. Bleak, *Annals of Southern Mission,* 131

136 S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge,* 115.

137 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote,* 222.

138 S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge*, 115.

139 Bryant Manning (B. M.) Jolley and Committee, *Jolley Family Book,* 20.

140 Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," 144.

141 Thomas Chamberlain, journal entry, single page typescript (no date).

142 Author unknown, "History of Orderville United Order – 1877," 51

143 Dolores Sanders Van Wagoner and Emma Ann Sanders Nelson, "Life History of William Shanks Berry," unpublished manuscript (no date), 1–2.
144 Bryant Manning (B. M.) Jolley and Committee, *Jolley Family Book,* 15.
145 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote,* 211–212, 213, 233, 240. For example on page 233, Foote writes that on the 20th of June 1878, "While I was in St. George working in the Temple, I engaged a secretary [desk for writing] of Bro. Ephraim Wilson. I took some flour down for him to pay for it." And he records that on November 24, 1879 (p. 240), "I bought 13 gal. of molasses [and] paid 4 1/2 bus. Potatoes, 100 lbs corn and 170 lbs flour for the molasses and barrel."
146 Allen Joseph Stout, *Autobiography of Allen Joseph Stout,* 21.
147 James William Watson, "Life Story of James William Watson," 6; Warren Foote, *Warren Foote*, 221–223, 227; Elsie Chamberlain Carroll, ed., *History of Kane County* (Salt Lake City; The Utah Printing Co., 1960), 371.
148 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote*, 227; Elsie Chamberlain Carroll, *History of Kane County*, 371; Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County,* 425.
149 James William Watson, "Life Story of James William Watson," 6; Warren Foote, *Warren Foote*, 227.
150 Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County*, 425.
151 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote,* 216–218.
152 Allen Joseph Stout, *Autobiography of Allen Joseph Stout,* 22–23.
153 Elsie Chamberlain Carroll, *History of Kane County,* 8; Robert W. Olsen, Jr., "Pipe Spring," 4.
154 Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County,* 11; Dolores Sanders Van Wagoner and Emma Ann Sanders Nelson, "Life History of William Shanks Berry," 1–2; LeeAnn Barlow, "The Historical Development of Short Creek," 6–7; W. R. Palmer, "Men You Should Know," Biographical Sketches, Radio Series, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Special Collections, Southern Utah University (1943), 2–4; W. R. Palmer, "Pioneers of Southern Utah," Biographical Sketches, Radio

and Instructor Series, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Special Collections, Southern Utah University (1943–44), 1–2; Gerald Wiley Berry, interview by author, January 27, 2005; Bruce Harris, interview by author, November 6, 2004.

155 Dolores Sanders Van Wagoner and Emma Ann Sanders Nelson, "The Life History of William Shanks Berry," 3.

156 James G. Bleak, *The Annals of the Southern Mission,* 131, 142-143.

157 Author unknown, "Indian Tragedy," 1; Angus M. Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah," 172.

158 Gwen Heaton Sherratt, *Silver in the Sand*, 5.

159 Oliver R. Smith, *The Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith,* 32–33.

160 Author unknown, "Indian Tragedy," 1; Angus M. Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah," 172–173.

161 Angus M. Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah," 171–174.

162 James H. Jennings, Historical Sketch by James H. Jennings, typescript (no date), 3.

163 Benjamin Pikyavit, interview by author, September 20, 2005; William R. Palmer, "Pahute Indian Government and Laws," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (No. 2, 1929), 35–37; Angus M. Woodbury, "History of Southern Utah," 115–116.

164 William R. Palmer, "Pahute Indian Government and Laws," 37.

165 Angus M. Woodbury, "History of Southern Utah," 116.

166 William R. Palmer, "Pahute Indian Government and Laws," 41–42.

167 William R. Palmer, "Pahute Indian Government and Laws," 35; Benjamin Pikyavit, interview by author, September 20, 2005; Don D. Fowler and Catherine S. Fowler, *Anthropology of the Numa, John Wesley Powell's Manuscripts on the Numic Peoples of Western North America, 1868–1880,* Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology (no. 14, City of Washington; Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971), 38–39.

168 Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," 154. The following arrangements were made by the Orderville United Order, "…for a rifle and some ammunition, Chief

Quarats granted to the Order the perpetual right to graze its cattle on Buckskin (Kaibab) Mountain."

169 William R. Palmer, "Pahute Indian Government and Laws," 122, 167.

170 Benjamin Pikavit, interview by author, September 20, 2005; William R. Palmer, "Pahute Indian Government and Laws," 38–39; William J. Snow, "Utah Indians and Spanish Slave Trade," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (no. 3, 1929), 69–73, 79–80, 86–87; Catherine S. and Don D. Fowler, "Notes on the History of the Southern Paiutes and Western Shoshonis," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (1971), 103–105; Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (no.1, 1944), 6–9.

171 Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," 8; William J. Snow, "Utah Indians and Spanish Slave Trade," 71–73, 81–86; William R. Palmer, "Pahute Indian Government and Laws," 38–40; Benjamin Pikyavit, interview by author, 20 September 2005.

172 William R. Palmer, "Pahute Indian Government and Laws," 39–40; Israel Bennion, "Indian Reminiscences," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (no. 2, 1929), 44–45. Both of these articles provide additional important information and meaning about the relationships between the settlers and the Native Americans than has been referenced here.

173 Benjamin Pikyavit, interview by author, September 20, 2005.

174 James G. Bleak, *The Annals of the Southern Mission,* 131, 142-143; Dolores Sanders Van Wagoner and Emma Ann Sanders Nelson, "The Life History of William Shanks Berry", 3; Angus M. Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah," 172–173.

175 Dolores Sanders Van Wagoner and Emma Ann Sanders Nelson, "Life History of William Shanks Berry," 3; Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County,* 11; James G. Bleak, *Annals of the Southern Utah Mission,* 131,143.

176 Author unknown, "Indian Tragedy," 1; Angus M. Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah," 172–173.

177 Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," 142.

178 E. A. Farrow, "The Kaibab Indians," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 3 (1930), 58.

179 Emma Seegmiller Higbee, *The History of the United Order in Orderville*, 29, 33, 43; Robert W. Olsen, Jr., "Pipe Spring," 3; Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County,* 112–115; Von H. Robertson, "The Spirit of the Orderville United Order lives on," unpublished typed manuscript (December, 1981), 11,13; LeGrande C. Heaton, "History of the Beginning of Orderville, Utah," 1; Leonard J. Arrington, "Orderville, Utah: A Pioneer Mormon Experiment," 11–12; Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, Dean L. May, *Building the City of God*, 271; Larry Esplin, interview by author, April 28, 2004; Warren C. Foote, oral history and memory.

180 Larry Esplin, interview by author, April 28, 2004.

181 Froiseth's New Sectional and Mineral Map of Utah, 1878, B. I. H. Froiseth (Second edition, revised, Salt Lake City; B. I. H. Froiseth, 1878).

182 Phillip Hepworth, interview by the author, January 26, 2004.

183 Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Lincoln; University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 323–327; Leonard J. Arrington, "Orderville, Utah: "A Pioneer Mormon Experiment in Economic Organization," Monograph Series, Utah State Agricultural College, 2 (March, 1954), 5; William R. Palmer, "United Orders in Utah, Part II, "*The Improvement Era,"* (January, 1943), 24; L. Dwight Israelsen, *United Orders,* in Encyclopedia of Mormonism, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1992), 1493.

184 L. Dwight Israelsen, *United Orders,* 1493–1494; Mark A. Pendelton, "Orderville United Order of Zion," 143–144; Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* 323–327; Leonard J. Arrington, "Orderville, Utah: A Pioneer Mormon Experiment in Economic Organization," 5; Edward Leo Lyman, "Be Ye One: Commitment in the Orderville United Order," unpublished manuscript, Special Collections, Gerald

R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, Utah, (1974), 2.

185 William R. Palmer, "United Orders in Utah," 86; L. Dwight Israelsen, *United Orders,* 1493–1494; Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," 148–149; James G. Bleak, *The Annals of the Southern Mission,* 620–625. This last reference provides a copy of The Declaration of Grievances and Protest the Church submitted to the president of the United States identifying illegal treatment inflicted upon its members by officials of the government. Many of these acts involved polygamy and were experienced especially by the leaders of the United Order in Orderville and directly interfered with their ability to carry out their responsibilities in the Order.

186 Leonard J. Arrington, "Orderville, Utah: A Pioneer Mormon Experiment," 5; S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge,* 122; L. Dwight Israelsen, *United Orders,* 1493–1494; William R. Palmer, "United Orders in Utah," 24; Author unknown, "History of Orderville United Order – 1877 ," 47.

187 Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," 144.

188 L. Dwight Israelsen, *United Orders,* 1493–1494; Leonard J. Arrington, "Orderville, Utah: A Pioneer Mormon Experiment," 5; William R. Palmer, "United Orders in Utah," 788; James G. Bleak, *The Annals of the Southern Mission,* 310–311.

189 S. George Ellsworth, Samuel Claridge, 122; James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Mission, 212–218.

190 James G. Bleak, *The Annals of the Southern Mission,* 312; S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge*, 122, 124; Kate B. Carter, "Living the United Order in Orderville," *Daughters of Utah Pioneers State Central Company,* Historical Pamphlet (September, 1941), 5.

191 S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge*, 124; James G. Bleak, *The Annals of the Southern Mission,* 312–313; William R. Palmer, "United Orders in Utah," 24.

192 William R. Palmer, "United Orders in Utah," 86; S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge*, 124.

193 Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion." 144.

194 Author unknown, "History of Orderville United Order – 1877 ," 51; Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, Dean L. May, *Building the City of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), 269; Kate B. Carter, "Living the United Order in Orderville," *Daughters of Utah Pioneers State Central Company,* Historical Pamphlet (September, 1941), 8; LeGrande C. Heaton, "History of the Beginning of Orderville, Utah," 1–2; S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge*, 139.

195 S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge*, 134; Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion." 144; Kate B. Carter, "Living the United Order in Orderville," 7–8; Author unknown, single page typescript (no date). The first reference is unclear in its description of where Orderville was finally located, it appears to use two different sources each indicating a different distance but both indicating it was the Cove. The area known as the Cove, which was the first location chosen, and which is still known by that name is about midway between Mt. Carmel and where Orderville was established.

196 Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," 145.

197 William R. Palmer, "United Orders in Utah," 25; Lorene Lamb, "Orderville United Order Centennial Booklet, 1875–1895," Valley High School Business Department, Orderville, Utah (1975), 7.

198 Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," 156–157; William R. Palmer, "United Orders in Utah," 25.

199 S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge*, 124; Author unknown, "History of Orderville United Order – 1877," 47–51; Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," 144–145; S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge*, 131; Von H. Robertson, "The Spirit of the Orderville United Order Lives on," typed manuscript (December, 1981), 3–6; Kate B. Carter, "Living the United Order in Orderville," 5–8.

200 Author unknown, "History of Orderville United Order – 1877," 47–51;

201 Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, Dean L. May, *Building the City of God,* 269; Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," 145–146; Annie Porter Seaman, *Biography of Alvin Franklin Heaton* 1860–1910, 30–31.

202 Kate B. Carter, "Living the United Order in Orderville," 10–17; Von H. Robertson, "The Spirit of the Orderville United Order Lives On," 8–10; Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, Dean L. May, *Building the City of God,* 270–276.

203 Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, Dean L. May, *Building the City of God,* 276.

204 Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," 147; Kate B. Carter, "Living the United Order in Orderville," 28, 41.

205 Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, Dean L. May, *Building the City of God,* 280–289; Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," 155; Kate B. Carter, "Living the United Order in Orderville," 42, 45.

206 Kate B. Carter, "Living the United Order in Orderville," 46–48; Leonard J.Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, Dean L. May, *Building the City of God,* 289–291; Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," 156–158.

207 Kate B. Carter, "Living the United Order in Orderville," 32; Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, Dean L. May, *Building the City of God,* 292.

208 Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints,* 323–327; Edward Leo Lyman, "Be Ye One, " 2; Leonard J. Arrington, "Orderville, Utah: A Pioneer Mormon Experiment in Economic Organization," 5; Mark A. Pendelton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," 143–144; William R. Palmer, "United Orders in Utah," 24; L. Dwight Israelsen, *United Orders,*1493.

209 Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, Dean L. May, *Building the City of God*, 291–292; Edward Leo Lyman, "Be ye one: Commitment in the Orderville United Order," 9.

210 Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, Dean L. May, *Building the City of God*, 291–292; Edward Leo Lyman, "Be ye one: Commitment in the Orderville United Order," 9.

211 Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," 155; Kate B. Carter, "Living the United Order in Orderville," 41–43; Von H. Robertson, "The Spirit of the Orderville United Order," 11–15; Emma Seegmiller Higbee, *The History of the United Order in Orderville*, 67–68, 78–82

212 Mark A. Pendleton, "The Orderville United Order of Zion," 155–159; Kate B. Carter, "Living the United Order in Orderville," 41–44; Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, Dean L. May, *Building the City of God*, 281–294 William R. Palmer, "United Orders in Utah," 24–25, 86–87, 116; Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County,* 307–388; S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge*, 133–151; Emma Carroll Seegmiller, "Personal Memories of the United Order of Orderville, Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly 7 (1939), 160–200; Von H. Robertson, "The Spirit of the Orderville United Order," 4–17; Emma Seegmiller Higbee, *The History of the United Order in Orderville*, 9–114; Author unknown, "History of Orderville United Order - 1877," 47 to end; James G. Bleak, *The Annals of the Southern Mission,* 620–625. Several of these references contain two letters that succinctly set forth the conditions that existed in 1883–84 when the leaders of the United Order were struggling to cope with its problems. The first letter is to Reddick Allred from Thomas Robertson, dated August 18, 1883, outlining the condition of the Order and the purpose and feelings of those who were leading it and their acceptance that it was the will of God. The second letter is to Thomas Chamberlain from the First Presidency of the Church, dated June 2, 1884, in response to a request for counsel on how to proceed with the Order. Most of these references also contain detail of the workings of the Order, day-to-day activities and personal experiences of its members which in some exceed the pages indicated.

213 Original General Land Office Survey, No. 1804, T43S, R6W, SLB&M (1877); Froiseth's New Sectional and Mineral Map

of Utah, 1878; Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County,* 99.

214 U.S. Dept. of Interior, BLM, AZ Strip Visitor Map (4th edition, 2000).

215 E. A. Eckhoff and P. Riecker, compilers, Official Map of the Territory of Arizona.

216 Angus M. Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah," 180.

217 James G. Bleak, *Annals of the Southern Mission,* 190–191; Warren Foote, *Warren Foote,* 224.

218 Original General Land Office Surveys, No. 1755, T41S, R5W, SLB&M (1876); No. 1703, T39S, R6W, SLB&M (1876); No. 1729, T40S, R5W, SLB&M (1876); No. 1730, T40S, R6W, SLB&M (1876); No. 1755, T41S, R5W, SLB&M (1876)

219 U.S.G.S. Historical File, Ed. Div. Topographical Maps, Utah Kanab Sheet, Edition of January, 1886.

220 Minutes of Kane County Commission meeting held December 5, 1904, 67–68.

221 Original General Land Office Surveys, Salt Lake Base and Meridian, Utah, No. 1822, T41N, R9W (1909); No. 1801, T43S, R9W (1909); No. 1802, T43S, R8W (1909); No. 1782, T42S, R7W (1907); No. 1731, T40S, R7W (1895); No.1755A, T41S, R5W (1915); No. 1780B, T42S, R5W, 1897 (1915); No. 1755A, T41S, R5W (1914.

222 Warren Foote, *Warren Foote,* 282. In a journal entry dated November 10, 1879, Foote writes that "John A. Bouton camped last night at the head of four mile kanion on his return from St. George. He came in on horseback for help to bring in his wagon. Snow is about one foot on the hill."

223 Minutes of Kane County Commission meeting, May 11, 1910, 218–220.

224 Minutes of Kane County Commission meeting, January 3, 1916, 82.

225 Henry Eyring Bowman, "Henry Eyring Bowman," 10–12; Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County*, 104–105.

226 Minutes of Kane County Commission meeting, June 12, 1916, and February 24, 1917, 91–92 and 117.

227 Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County,* 104–106; Henry Eyring Bowman, "Henry Eyring Bowman," 11–12.

228 Minutes of Kane County Commission meeting, January 8, 1922, 284.

229 Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County,* 104–106.

230 Henry Eyring Bowman, "Henry Eyring Bowman," 10–12. Bowman states, "Quite a number of wealthy ranchers living in Kanab, reached their ranches via Johnson Canyon. They had a big pull and were very aggressive demanding that all monies be expended on that road. Because of this there had long been friction and jealousy between Kanab and Long Valley towns with a goodly number in Kanab in sympathy with Long Valley."

231 Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County*, 104–106.

232 Minutes of Kane County Commission meeting, October 14, 1921, 250.

233 Minutes of Kane County Commission meeting, October 14, 1921, 251.

234 Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County,* 105; Henry Eyring Bowman, "Henry Eyring Bowman," 11.

235 Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County*, 100, 104.

236 Minutes of Kane County Commission meeting held December 5, 1904, 67–68.

237 Everetta H. Crofts, interview by author, August 23, 2005. Mrs. Crofts was the wife of Harvey Crofts, deceased, who worked for the state road department during the period of time the road would have been paved with asphalt. She remembers the asphalt paving of the road between Long Valley and Kanab being done in the early 1930s but does not remember a more exact date. A search of available literature and numerous inquiries to different offices in the Utah State Department of Transportation has not helped establish a date.

238 Warren C. Foote, unpublished information (2017). A canyon coming from the White Cliffs to the east was filled (dammed off) to provide a crossing for the new road as a part of the Mt. Carmel Dugway that led toward the summit. A tunnel was built through the ledge on the south side of the canyon to

provide for the drainage of water from the canyon into the East Fork of the Virgin River to pass by the fill. Chiseled into the side of the tunnel are the names of three men with the letters CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) who helped make the road improvements and the year 1934 by each name which indicates the year when the tunnel and the road improvements were being made.

239 Angus M. Woodbury, "History of Southern Utah," 205.

240 Angus M. Woodbury, "History of Southern Utah," 205.

241 Angus M. Woodbury, "History of Southern Utah," 206; Douglas D. Alder and Karl F. Brooks, *History of Washington County*, 219.

242 Iron County Commission Minute Book, August 11, 1924, 41, found in Janet Burton Seegmiller, *A History of Iron County* (Salt Lake City, Utah Centennial County History Series, Utah Historical Society, 1996), 385.

243 James B. Allen, "The Evolution of County Boundaries in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (No. 2, 1955), 263–264.

244 James B. Allen, "The Evolution of County Boundaries in Utah," 271; Douglas D. Alder and Karl F. Brooks, *The History of Washington County*, 82–83; Lyman D. Platt and L. Karen Platt, *Grafton: Ghost Town on the Rio Virgin* (St. George, Utah, Tonaquint Press, 1998), 65, 75; Acts, Resolutions and Memorials of the Utah Territory (1863–64).

245 James B. Allen, "The Evolution of County Boundaries in Utah," 274.

246 Douglas D. Alder and Karl F. Brooks, *The History of Washington County,* 82–83.

247 Minutes of Kane County Commission meeting, March 5, 1883, Book B.

248 Minutes of Kane County Commission meeting, 59.

249 Minutes of Kane County Commission meeting, 66.

250 Dolores Sanders Van Wagoner, and Emma Ann Sanders Nelson, "The Life History of William Shanks Berry," 2; Bryant Manning (B. M.) Jolley and Committee, *The Jolley Family Book,* 15.

251 Bryant Manning (B. M.) Jolley and Committee, *The Jolley Family Book,* 15.
252 Gwen Heaton Sherratt, *Silver in the Sand*, 5.
253 John C. L. Smith and John Steele, Letter from Parowan.
254 Author unknown, "History of Orderville United Order – 1877," 46; Kate B. Carter, "Living the United Order in Orderville," 4.
255 Hellmut H. Doelling, Fitzhugh D. Davis, Cynthia J. Brandt, *The Geology of Kane County,* 162–165.
256 Field notes accompanying Original General Land Office Survey, Salt Lake Base and Meridian, Utah, 1985, T41S, R8W (1921).
257 Observation of author.
258 Observation of author.
259 Willard Carroll, in Deseret News, August 31, 1885; Warren C. Foote, Oral history and memory.
260 Hellmut H. Doelling, Fitzhugh D. Davis, Cynthia J. Brandt, "The Geology of Kane County, Utah," 162–165; Lorene Lamb, "Orderville United Order Centennial Booklet," 5; Leonard J. Arrington, "Orderville, Utah: A Pioneer Mormon Experiment in Economic Organization," 39; Willard Carroll in Deseret News, August 31, 1885.
261 Michelle Carlene Summa, "Geology of Kane County, Geologic mapping, alluvial stratigraphy, and optically stimulated luminescence dating of Kanab Creek area, Southern Utah," (Master's Thesis, Utah State University, 2009), 18–20; Adonis F. Robinson, H*istory of Kane County*, 137–140; Hellmut H. Doelling, Fitzhugh D. Davis, Cynthia J. Brandt, *The Geology of Kane County, Utah,* 162–163; Willard Carroll in Deseret News, August 31, 1885, cited by Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, Dean L. May, *Building the City of God*, 293.
262 Michelle Carlene Summa, "Geology of Kane County," 21–24.
263 Angus M. Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah," 167.
264 Fredrick S. Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage*, 190.
265 Fredrick S. Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage*, 160–162.
266 H.E. Gregory, "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 148.

267 Fredrick S. Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon* Voyage, 186.
268 Benjamin Pikyavit, interview by author, September 20, 2005.
269 Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, Dean L. May, *Building the City of God,* 287; Kate B. Carter, "Living the United Order in Orderville," 41.
270 Leonard J. Arrington, "Orderville, Utah: A Pioneer Mormon Experiment in Economic Organization," 37.
271 Adonis F. Robinson, *History of Kane County,* 420.
272 John Phillip Reid, *Law for the Elephant: Property and Social Behavior on the Overland Trail*, (San Marino, California; Huntington Library, 1980) 1 and throughout.
273 John Phillip Reid, *Law for the Elephant,* 1 and throughout; John Phillip Reid*, Policing the Elephant, Crime, Punishment and Social Behavior on the Overland Trail* (San Marino, California; Huntington Library, 1997), 1 and throughout.
274 Mitford M. Mathews, ed., *A Dictionary of Americanisms On Historical Principles*, vol. 1 (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1951), 550.
275 Charles Kelly, ed., "Journal of William Clement Powell, 1850–1883," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* 16–17 (1948–1949), 401–403; Brigham D. Madsen, "The Colony Guard: To California in '49," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 51 (1983), endnote 77; Herbert E. Gregory, "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 114; and other references.
276 Charles Kelly, "Journal of William Clayton Powell," 403, endnote 106.
277 Charles Kelly, "Journal of William Clayton Powell," 401–403.
278 Herbert E. Gregory, "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 114.

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