A Historical Study of the Exploration of Utah Valley and the Story of Fort Utah

Ray C. Colton
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A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE EXPLORATION OF UTAH VALLEY
AND THE STORY OF FORT UTAH

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University

142328

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Ray C. Colton
1946
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The exploration of Utah Valley and the history of Fort Utah is the story of the conquest and colonization of the American frontier. Discovered in the days of Western expansion, the Valley was identified with the principal factors in the development of the Intermountain West. It heard the chant of the gray robed Franciscan priests, became a favorite haunt of the trail blazing fur trapper and trader, was the site of the ancient rendezvous of the Indian, saw the gold seekers trudge wearily on to California, and with the founding of Fort Utah served as the springboard of Southern Utah Mormon colonization. Today this Fort is the foundation of the modern and beautiful city of Provo, Utah.

During its heyday, Fort Utah was identified with the redman as well as the white; it was the guardian and outpost to the south of Salt Lake of Brigham Young's colonization plan; it was the scene of extensive bartering with the Indian; it was the setting of major peace councils, and it was a base of military operations in protecting those courageous Mormon pioneers as they built an empire from the heart of the American desert.

In narrating the story of the exploration of this Valley and the establishment of this pioneer outpost, it is intended not to portray an isolated fragment of history, although the
main setting will be centered here, but to build another
link in the development and colonization of the Intermountain
West, one of America's last frontiers.

In writing this thesis, a thorough study of all avail-
able source material has been attempted. Published volumes
have been gleaned, pioneer diaries and manuscripts have been
copied and will be quoted, several descendants of Utah pio-
neers and historians have been interviewed. In brief, when-
ever a possibility for any additional information was known,
a thorough investigation was made, and if related to the sub-
ject, was incorporated within this paper.

During this project splendid cooperation has been re-
ceived from most of those contacted. Such helpful assistance
is greatly appreciated. Without this material completion of
this theme would not be possible.

It is hoped by the author that this composition is ac-
curate in facts and interpretations, but the possibility of
error is frankly allowed. Since observers do not see things
alike and memories have often been recorded imperfectly, ap-
parent discrepancies have been found in the surveyed material.
These will be commented on in the following pages, not with
the intention of belittling the commendable research that has
been thus far made, but with the purpose of arriving at a
truer picture of this epoch of Mormon colonization and vital
link in American history.
The entire and complete picture perhaps can never be revealed from sources that are available. Unfortunately, those pioneers of yesterday, like their sons and daughters of today did not all keep accurate and complete records. History is always in the making, and record keeping should always be a major responsibility and obligation of those of the present to future posterity.
CHAPTER II

PHYSIOGEOGRAPHY OF UTAH VALLEY

"Geography lies at the basis of history," quotes Hyrum Schneider from Kant, then continues in his own words:

Physical environment certainly is an important factor in determining the trend of human events in any region. In Utah as elsewhere physical geography has played its part in determining the distribution of population and industrial activities. Soil, climate, water supply and accessibility determined the location of the early settlements . . . . All of these factors are the result of external and internal geologic processes.  

Therefore, in order to treat the subject more adequately and create the proper geographical and geological atmosphere and background for this thesis, it is appropriate to discuss some of Utah Valley's physical attributes and history.

Geography. West of the Wasatch Mountains in the north central part of Utah stretches the beautiful Utah Valley--a half moon in shape. In its west central part is cradled the Utah Lake, occupying an area of more than 100 square miles. This is Utah's Sea of Galilee which is emptied by the Jordan river into America's Dead Sea, the Great Salt Lake. These are remnants of the mightier creation of nature known

today as Lake Bonneville which thousands of years ago pushed its waters toward the north and on to the Pacific Ocean.

Skirting its eastern shore between the lake and the mountains, there is a strip of land approximately 40 miles long, averaging 5 miles wide which gently slopes toward the water. The valley has an altitude around 4,500 feet, and lies between 111 and 112 degrees west longitude, and 40 degrees north latitude. Near the mouth of the Provo River, about two miles west of the center of Provo City, Fort Utah was built. Within a year for need of higher ground the site was changed to what is known today as Sowiette or North Park at Fifth West and Fifth North Streets in Provo.

**Geological history.** The geological processes in Utah Valley and the mountains surrounding it during the earliest eras in the Geological Time Chart—Archeozoic and Proterozoic—it seems, underwent about the same operations of the ages as that of all western parts of America. However, during the Paleozoic era, especially in the Cambrian, in the Mississippian and in the Pennsylvanian periods distinctive changes were made in this region together with other portions of the Great Basin, Utah Valley was covered with an arm of the sea. The Cambrian strata largely of shale, limestone, and dolomite now occur in this section of Utah to the thickness of 2,500 feet. Later on in the Paleozoic era during the
Mississippian period the sea again approached the Utah Valley leaving a deposit of sandstone, limestone and shale of about 5,000 feet. This sedimentation continued through the Pennsylvanian period until there was interbedded shale, quartzite and limestone to the thickness of 20,000 feet. Today small fossil preservation in limestone of the Paleozoic era such as brachiopods, corals, etc., have been found in the mountains bordering the Utah Valley.

Throughout the Mesozoic era and perhaps into the Cenozoic, Utah Valley, as part of the Great Basin was undergoing erosion. The streams of this area flowed east, thus depositing the sediments in what is known as the Plateau province—Eastern Utah and Western Colorado. In the post Cretaceous or early Tertiary time there was a general uplifting of the region, including the Great Basin and Plateau provinces. Accompanying or closely following this uplift there was extensive volcanic activity, and following, and possibly accompanying, the volcanic activity there was a subsidence, during which the Great Basin region broke into a series of blocks, which settled unevenly, producing the

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ridges and the valleys.\(^3\) The resulting faulting affected the whole region between the Sierra Nevada and the Wasatch Mountains. The steep western front of the Wasatch peaks just east of the Utah Valley represents the erosional remnants of the fault.\(^4\)

While these major changes were taking place, the relative uplift of the Plateau province was greater than that of the Great Basin province, or more probably the subsidence in the Basin province was greater than that in the Plateau province. This caused a reversal of the drainage which had previously been from Utah Valley and her sister valleys in the Great Basin to the Plateau region. Streams began to work gradually back by headwater erosion into the Plateau province.\(^5\)

Thus came into being the Provo River, the American Fork River, Hobble Creek, Spanish Fork River, Peteetneet Creek and the other streams of Utah Valley. This process of erosion, however, has been relatively slow. That is why these streams are short in comparison to the Green and the Colorado Rivers in the Plateau section.


\(^5\) B. S. Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
During the Pleistocene period in the Cenozoic era, the upper horizons of which, according to Geologists, furnish the first evidence of human beings on earth, the Great Basin had a moister climate than at present. This has also been called the Ice or the Glacier Age. Numerous lakes came into existence. At the same time the mountains had a number of glaciers and ice caps. The one of Mount Timpanogos today survives from that time. One of the largest of the lakes was Lake Bonneville. The entire Utah Valley lay submerged under hundreds of feet of water. Salt Lake, Utah Lake and others of this region may be regarded as remnants of this mighty inland sea. Deltas and various types of shore deposits and wavecut cliffs were formed.

For thousands of years this lake receded because of evaporation and drainage, each recession is marked by wave-cut benches. Today one can see these shore-line terraces along the mountain sides surrounding the Utah Valley. The highest or Bonneville beach is about 1000 feet above the present level of Utah Lake. The Provo shoreline is about 375 feet lower. This level is indicated by the Provo Bench.

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6 W. J. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 454.


The site of the Upper Campus of the Brigham Young University, which through a curious coincidence, is on the same geological level as the east bench site of the University of Utah in Salt Lake City, and the campus of the Utah State Agricultural College at Logan. The next halt made by this ancient lake is known as the Stansbury level which extends into Provo City. The present level, of course, is the Utah Lake level. In the meantime while Lake Bonneville retreated, the streams reaching back into the snow-capped mountains have fed countless tons of virgin soil to these lake levels, creating soil well adapted to diversified agricultural pursuits.

Again, had it not been for the Wasatch Mountains, Utah Valley and the others to the west of this range would have remained a desert. The wind currents bringing moisture from the Pacific Ocean, in rising over these peaks, are chilled and thereby forced to give up their contents in rain and snow. The thirsty soil rapidly absorbs the rain, but the snows are held back in the mountains until the spring and summer when the water flows from the canyons into the valleys below to be used for irrigation, culinary purposes and in the hydro electric plants furnishing power and light for homes and industry. Thus is seen the natural heritage of those who have lived and are living in the Utah Valley.
CHAPTER III

PRE-MORMON EXPLORATIONS OF UTAH VALLEY

*Each Pathfinder Left His Mark on Utah Valley.* While glancing through an atlas, a geography of Utah Valley, or a history in which the names of its cities, towns, streams, mountains, and lakes are listed, one's interest is aroused as to the source of these names. The Indians, no doubt, conferred the original names on the mountains, streams and lakes. The Spanish missionary substituted with names relative to their religion. Then came the fur trappers and traders who contributed names which they thought were befitting to the localities. United States Government explorers and surveyors left their mark on the nomenclature. Finally, the Mormon colonists entering the Valley, either adopted those names given before or substituted some of their own taken from their religious books, history or prominent leaders. Thus on the map of Utah Valley there is represented an interesting narrative of its different inhabitants, both ancient and modern.

When planning the westward movement from the Central States to the Rocky Mountain area, it appears that an extensive study was made by Mormon leaders of all reports and maps
available. Undoubtedly some of this material concerned the Utah Valley. It is, therefore, the aim of the writer, in this chapter to relate experiences and opinions of some of the "Pathfinders" whose names have been emblazoned on this Valley and whose reports were studied by the Mormons in their preparation for the Westward Move.

Escalante and Dominguez. 1776 represents two great dates in American history. In that year on the Atlantic seaboard the American Colonial Fathers awakened to the destiny of a great nation and gloriously created their first national birthday by declaring on July 4, 1776, their independence from an English despotic king. At the same time across a mighty continent, there was another awakening and birth of freedom. It was during this year within a few days of that first memorable date that another group, much smaller, embarked on a slightly different expedition which also proved to be an event of magnitude. No doubt the second event will never be recognized as an equal with the first in American history, but its greatness can be claimed in the fact that as far as known, it is the first time that white men appeared in and made record of a great area of Western America.

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According to their record, on July 29, 1776, two Franciscan priests, Fray Silvestre Valez De Escalante and Fray Francisco Antanasio Domínguez, accompanied voluntarily by Don Juan Pedro Cisneros, Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, Don Joaquin Lain, Lorenzo Olivares, Lucrecio Muniz, Andres Muniz, Juan de Anguilar and Simon Lucero left Santa Fe, New Mexico, seeking a shorter route to Monterey, California.²

Although it would be interesting to follow the party from day to day, as recorded in Escalante's journal, it is not felt to be expedient in this study to give more than a resume of their journey until they entered Utah Valley.

Leaving Santa Fe, the explorers, it seems, traveled in a general northwest direction through what is now New Mexico and Colorado. Entering Utah they crossed the Green River, called by them San Buenzventure, September 13, 1776, about where Jensen, Utah, is today. They traveled southwest to the forks of the Uintah and Duchesne rivers, and after crossing, turned west and a little north following generally along the Duchesne River. Leaving the latter stream, they went west again, crossing the Strawberry Valley, then southward to Spanish Fork Canyon which they descended. On September 23, 1776, the travelers arrived in Utah Valley.³

³ Ibid., pp. 164-172; W. J. Snow, op. cit., p. 6.
Some historians, including Bancroft, state that Escalante's party continued west to Provo or Timpanogos River and followed it down to the Utah Valley.  

W. R. Harris, however, claims they crossed the divide, descended Soldier Creek to Spanish Fork River and followed the latter stream down Spanish Fork Canyon. To support this view Harris refers to Escalante's description of Utah Valley with its four rivers, and claims the one followed to Utah Valley, Aguas Calientes, must be the Spanish Fork River of today. He contends:

If we are to assume that Escalante did reach Utah Valley, by coming down Provo River, and to which, in that case, he would have given the name Aguas Calientes, it is certainly impossible to see how he could have given names to three streams located to the northwest of Provo River when only two exist.  

Jensen, in further support of this view, states:

It may be cited that Escalante, in his account of his trip down the canyon to Utah Valley, refers to a number of springs of hot water of sulphurous character, which, he says, 'have their rise in an exceedingly lofty mountain, very close to the river on this northern side, and they flow into the river; for this reason we called it the river of Aguas Calientes, (hot water).' The presence of sulphurous hot springs north of the river in Spanish Fork Canyon is a matter of common knowledge, but there is none in Provo Canyon.

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5 W. R. Harris, op. cit., p. 249.

6 J. Marinus Jensen, History of Provo, Utah. (Provo, Utah: Published by the author; Printed by New Century Printing Co. 1924.) p. 19.
In reading the Escalante Journal, it appears the little party was profoundly impressed with Utah Valley and its Indian inhabitants who were described as "very gentle and affable." Through their guide and interpreter, they conversed and visited with the natives, going to their dwelling places which were huts of cane. Of this visit Young says:

Escalante talked to the Indians on Christianity, and explained to them the meaning of the cross. A large number of natives gathered and this meeting is the first incident recorded in our State's history (Utah) of Christian missionaries teaching Christ to the redman.7

The Spaniards referred to the Indians living along the shores of Utah Lake as Timpanois, Timpanogotzis and Laguanas. They claimed that the language used was a form of the Yutas language. These Timpanogotzis Indians were called "Fish Eaters" by the Yutas and the Sabueganas because the former subsisted chiefly on fish.8

After an enjoyable visit of three days the missionaries proceeded south, later deciding, on account of the lateness of the season, lack of provisions, roughness of the country, and a heavy snowstorm to return to Santa Fe instead of pushing on to the Pacific coast. They arrived back in Santa Fe

8 W. R. Harris, op. cit., pp.175-183.
January 2, 1777.

An excellent description of Utah Valley is given by Escalante. To do justice to this record, it would not be right not to quote directly. He vividly narrates as follows:

The 'Valley of Our Lady of Mercy of the Timpanogotzis' (is) surrounded by the peaks of the Sierra; from which flow four rivers, which flow through and water it, until they enter the lake in the middle of it. The plain of the valley extends from southeast to northwest, sixteen Spanish leagues (38.56 miles) ... and from the northeast to southwest ten or twelve leagues; it is all clean land, and with the exception of the marshy places that water it along the shores of the lake, very good for planting. From the four rivers that water it, the first flows from the south, and is the Aguas Calientes (Spanish Fork), in whose broad plains is sufficient cultivable land for two large villages. The second following the first (Hobble Creek), three leagues to the north, and with more water than the first, could maintain one large and two small villages. This river, before entering into the lake is divided into two branches, on whose banks are poplars and large alder trees. We named this river San Nicholas. Three leagues and a half from this to the northwest is a river which runs through large plains of good land for planting (Provo River). It has more water than the two preceding ones; it has larger groves and plenty of good land if irrigated, for two and even three villages. We ... named it the Rio de San Antonio de Padua. To the fourth (American Fork) river, we did not go, although we saw its groves. It is to the northwest of San Antonio, and as we saw it, has on each side of it much level ground. They told us that it had as much water as the others, and so I am satisfied we could establish there some ranches and towns. We named it the river of Santa Ana.

Aside from these rivers, there are in the plain many pools of good water, and several fountains which flow

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9W. R. Harris, op. cit., p. 242.
down from the mountains. From what we have just said about the settlements, let it be understood that we wish to give to each one more land than he really needs, but if each settlement took only one league for cultivation, there would be room in the valley for as many villages of Indians as there are in New Mexico; because, although in the northerly direction we gave to it the above dimensions (though it has more), on the south it also has large spaces of good ground. There is everywhere good and abundant pasturage, and in some parts flax and hemp grow in such abundance that it seems to have been planted.

The climate here is good, and having suffered so much from cold since leaving the river of San Buenaventura (Green River), we found this valley very comfortable both day and night. Aside from all these advantages, in the range that surrounds the valley there is plenty of wood and timber, plenty of shelter, water and grass, to raise herds of cattle and horses; that is, in the northern, northeast, east and southern parts. In the south and southwest it has two other extended valleys, also with abundant grass and sufficient water. To one of these extends the lake. It is six leagues wide and fifteen leagues long; it extends to the northwest, and, as we are told, is connected by a river (Jordan), with a larger lake (Great Salt Lake). This lake of the Timpanogotzis abounds in many kinds of good fish, and in geese and other waterfowl that we had not time to see.10

Spanish-Mexican Traders. As far as is known the Catholic missionaries never returned to the Utah Valley, but a trade route was established and Spanish traders penetrated to the vicinity of the Timpanogos. From the Spanish Archives of New Mexico it is learned Manuel Nestes, a Yuta interpreter, visited the Valley at least once during 1805 where he "reduced them (the Yutes) to peace" and recovered some horses.11

10 W. R. Harris, op. cit., pp. 180-182.

In 1813, in the same archives, there is a record to the effect that Mauricio Arge, and Lagos Garcia conducted a trading expedition to the Timpanogos and the Bearded Yutas. The company remained at the lake of the Timpanogos for three days trading with the Yutas. The Indians wanted to sell slaves, and when the Spaniards refused the Yutas began slaughtering their horses, killing in all eight horses and one mule. The traders collected their horses, guarded them all night and left for Rio Sebero (Sevier River) the next day. Later the Spaniards did purchase slaves, and from then on periodically until after the arrival of the Mormons in Utah there was some trade carried on between the Mexicans and the Indians of Utah Valley in furs and slaves.\(^{12}\)

**Fur Trappers and Traders.** Following closely in the wake of these Spanish-Mexican expeditions were a group of hardy men who perhaps did as much, or more, in pre-Mormon exploration of Utah Valley than any other--these were the fur trappers and traders. Soon after the opening of the Nineteenth Century men of several fur companies and a few private individuals on their own initiative, in their quest for furs and the excitement that the frontier offered, penetrated the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coast. Some of

them reached the Utah Valley and left their imprint on it.

In the year 1825, certain historians, among whom are Bancroft and Chittenden, claim William Ashley of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, led a group of men by way of South Pass and Salt Lake to Utah Lake and there built a fort known as Fort Ashley. Either the next year or in 1827, a six-pound cannon was brought from St. Louis and mounted at the Fort. It was a temporary trading post and stood "near where Provo, Utah, now stands." Dale, on the other hand, contends that "the post seems to have been located near the Great Salt Lake itself rather than on Utah Lake." As proof of this contention he cites the journal of Peter Skeene Ogden published in the Oregon Historical Society Quarterly 11:365-369 which refers to the American post at "Salt Lake" in 1827 and 1828. He also refers to a letter of W. H. Ashley now in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society which infers that J. S. Smith set out on his expedition (which will be referred to later) to the Southwest in August 1826 from Salt Lake. He does, however,


claim that Ashley's men were certainly familiar with the territory around Utah Lake by 1825. 16

Some historians have contended that Utah Lake for a while was called Ashley Lake. Among those are Bancroft who explains, "Utah Lake (was) called for a time Ashley Lake." 17 Apparently this version is at least partially based on the Albert Gallatin map. This man, while preparing a map in 1836 for his "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America," designated Utah as "Ashley Lake." 18

Chittenden challenges the latter claim by saying, "Historians have generally supposed that it was Utah Lake which was temporarily honored with the General's name (Ashley), but this is not the case." In commenting on Ashley's personal travels south of Salt Lake this historian maintains that the explorer "went as far as Sevier Lake, which was then given the name of Ashley Lake." 19

The first definite mention of Utah as the name of the Lake seems to have been suggested by Jedediah Strong Smith, the fur trapper and trader who probably contributed most to the Great Basin conquest and development. In a letter

16 Ibid., pp. 102-103.
17 H. H. Bancroft, op. cit., p. 22.
18 H. C. Dale, op. cit., p. 315.
written to General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, from "Little Lake of Bear River, July 12th, 1827," describing his journey southward he writes:

I started about the 22nd of August 1826, from the Great Salt Lake, with a party of fifteen men, for the purpose of exploring the country s. w. which was entirely unknown to me, and of which I collect no satisfactory information from the Indians who inhabit this country on its n. e. borders.

My general course on leaving the Salt Lake was s. w. and w. passing the Little Uta lake and ascending Ashley's river, which empties into the Little Uta lake. 20

Sullivan aptly describes this visit to Utah Valley in the following paragraph:

The first large encampment of Indians encountered by Captain Smith was that of the Uta Nation on Utah Lake. Proud, equestrian chiefs of a far-roving people greeted Jedediah as a friend and readily made a treaty of alliance with him. With liberality he distributed presents among them, and when he left the women of the chief men were bright with "foofaraw." 21

Dale comments in a footnote that:

Ashley's river is presumably the Sevier, which, however, does not empty into Utah Lake, but into Sevier Lake. Smith's mistake in the matter may be due to the fact that he seems to have reached the Sevier only after passing Utah Lake. 22


22 H. C. Dale, op. cit., p. 183.
Where Provo Got Its Name. There are at least three theories explaining the source of the name Provo. One doubtful story is that Colonel John C. Fremont named the river "Proveau" for a valuable horse purchased from a Frenchman by that name which died and was buried near the stream. A second theory has it that the name Provo is derived from an Indian chief. This story also lacks substantiation. The writer has been unable to find a single mention of such an Indian in all the literature he has reviewed. The third theory and by far the most widely accepted, is that the City, River and Valley of this name were derived from a French Canadian trader and trapper, Etienne Provoet.

From the journal of W. A. Ferris, who joined the Rocky Mountain Fur Company in 1830, entitled "Life in the Rocky Mountains," comes a pathetic experience of Provoet's, claimed by Chittenden to have happened on Provo River near Utah Lake.²³

There is one evil genius among (the Snake or Shoshone Indians), called the "Bad Gocha," (Mauvais Gauche—bad left-handed one) who fell in with a party of trappers, led by a well-known mountaineer, Mr. E. Proveau, on a stream flowing into the Big Lake that now bears his name, several years since. He invited the whites to smoke the calumet of peace with him, but insisted that it was contrary to his medicine to have any metallic (object) near while smoking. Proveau, knowing the superstitious whims of the Indians, did not hesitate to set aside his

arms, and allow his men to follow his example; they then formed a circle by sitting indiscriminately in a ring, and commenced the ceremony; during which, at a preconcerted signal, the Indians fell upon them, and commenced the work of slaughter with their knives, which they had concealed under their robes and blankets. Proveau, a very athletic man, with difficulty, extricated himself from them, and with three or four others, alike fortunate, succeeded in making his escape; the remainder of the party of fifteen were all massacred,—notwithstanding this infernal act, its savage author has been several times in the camp of the whites; but his face not being recognized, he has thus far escaped the death his treacherous murder so richly merits.24

Some historians spell this man's name as "Proveau," others spell it "Provost," including Chittenden, however, Harris maintains that "Provot" is the correct spelling. He bases his claim as to how it is spelled on the record in the administration of the estate of "Etienne Provot" at the St. Louis courthouse. In the obituary notice of the Missouri Republican it was also spelled "Provot." Since the "t" in the French name "Provot" is silent, the name "Provo," as applied to the City, Valley and River today corresponds to the way Provot pronounced his name.25

Fremont in Utah Valley. In the spring of 1839, Provot was employed for an expedition led by a Frenchman named

J. N. Nicollet to map the area between the upper Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Second in command was John C. Fremont, a 26 year old topographical engineer. No doubt, the old trapper told the young engineer much concerning the Rocky Mountain area which Fremont was soon to explore.  

During the next quarter of a century, Fremont's travels took him to many parts of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coast. Returning from his exploration of California in 1843-44, Fremont took the old Spanish Trail to the Rio Virgin and followed the Wasatch Mountains where he reached the shores of Utah Lake on May 25, 1844. Apparently he was very well impressed with Utah Valley as he relates:

We entered a handsome mountain valley covered with fine grass, and directed our course toward a high snowy peak at the foot of which lay the Utah Lake. On our right was a ridge of high mountains, their summits covered with snow .... It (Utah Lake) is a lake of note in this country, under the dominion of the Utahs, who resort to it for fish .... Among these (the tributaries) the principal river is the Timpano (Provo) signifying Rock River—a name which the rocky grandeur of its scenery, obtained for it from the Indians .... Along its eastern shore the lake is bordered by a plain where the soil is generally good, and in greater part fertile, watered by a delta of prettily timbered streams. This would be an excellent locality for stock farms; it is generally covered with good bunch grass and would abundantly produce the ordinary grains.


Fremont seemed to be puzzled at this time (1844) regarding the relationship of Utah Lake and Salt Lake when he wrote, "The Utah is the southern limb of the Great Salt Lake." He also stated in a former paragraph, "But it (Utah) is fresh water, while the other (Salt Lake) is not only salt, but a saturated solution of salt."^28

As stated earlier in this chapter,^29 an extensive study was made by the Mormon leaders of the Intermountain area before the migration to Utah. Undoubtedly, while studying Fremont's reports^30 they were impressed with the above quoted description of Utah Valley.

In 1845, Fremont led another party into Utah Valley. Coming from the East, apparently crossing the Uintah Basin, and reaching its headwaters, traveled down the Timpanogos (Provo) River and reached the Utah Lake on October 10th. He then passed on to Salt Lake. On this trip he must have discovered his previous error, when he, in his discussion of Salt Lake, differentiates by saying, "The upper lake—the Timpanogos—which discharges into this (Salt Lake) by a

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^28 Ibid. p. 38.
^30 "L.D.S. Journal History." (unpublished day to day record of Church History, 1830-to the present, compiled under the direction of the L.D.S. Church Historian. On file at the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah. December 20, 1845.)
stream about thirty-five miles long, is fresh water."

Bridger's Report of Utah Valley. While the first Mormon Pioneer Company camped on Little Sandy Creek in Wyoming, June 28, 1847, they met Jim Bridger. Brigham Young and other leaders questioned Jim about the Intermountain West. Among other sections discussed, he made a favorable report of Utah Valley. William Clayton records Bridger's opinion as follows:

There is no timber on the Utah Lake only on the streams which empty into it. In the outlet of the Utah Lake which runs into the salt lake there is an abundance of blue grass and red and white clover. The Utah tribe of Indians inhabit the region around the Utah Lake and are a bad people. If they catch a man alone, they are sure to rob and abuse him if they don't kill him, but parties of men are in no danger. They are mostly armed with guns. All the valleys abound with persimmons and grapes which will make the best kind of wines. He (Bridger) never saw any grapes on the Utah Lake but there are plenty of cherries and berries of several kinds. He thinks the Utah Lake is the best country in the vicinity of the Salt Lake and the country is still better the farther south we go. There is plenty of timber on all the streams and mountains and abundance of fish in the streams. There is timber all around the Utah Lake and plenty of good grass; not much of the wild sage only in patches. Wild flax grows in most of the valleys and they are the richest lands. The Indians south of the Utah Lake and this side the desert raise corn, wheat and other kinds of grain and produce in abundance. The Utah's abound more on the

31 J. C. Fremont, op. cit., pp. 430-431.
west of the mountains near the salt lake than on the east side, ten to one, but we have no need to fear them for we can drive the whole of them in twenty-four hours, but he (Bridger) would not kill them, he would make slaves of them.  

CHAPTER IV  

INDIANS OF UTAH VALLEY

Long before the white men set foot on the shores of Utah Lake, aborigines made their homes in the surrounding valley. Therefore, a history of Utah Valley and Fort Utah would not be complete without a chapter on the Indians who have inhabited it.

**Archeological and Ethnological Background.** Steward writing for the Bureau of American Ethnology states, "The territory around Great Salt Lake (Utah Lake could likewise be included) have yielded evidence to show that the area was occupied probably for a very long period by simple hunting and gathering people." However, he admits, "At present there is little historical depth (or) . . . archeological evidence of ancient cultures,"¹ in this region. Thus one might conclude as stated early in the previous chapter that "it was an awakening" in the history of the Indians of Utah Valley when the Escalante party arrived.

The Ute or Utah Indians, from which the State, Lake and Valley received their names, an important Shoshonean division, are related linguistically to the Paiute, Chemehuevi,

Kawaiisu and Bannock. They formerly occupied the entire central and western portions of Colorado and the eastern and central parts of Utah, including Utah and Salt Lake Valley. On the south they extended into northwestern New Mexico. They appear to have always been a warlike people and early came into possession of horses, which intensified their aggressive character.  

During the whiteman's contact with this group of Indians, the name has been spelled and referred to by writers in several ways among which are Ute, Utah, Uteah, Yuta, Uta, Euta, Eutaw, Eutah, Uinta, Uintah, Yute, Yutta, Yuhta and Guta.

From the time of Escalante who grouped them in five, an effort has been made by historians and ethnologists to classify these Indians. The writer has considered a number of these, and finds that the one made by Steward is a good representation. He groups them principally as follows: (1) Tumpanogots, Timpenaguchya, Timpany "Tenpenny", Timpanogotzis, Timpanogos or Lagunas; (2) Pahvants, Pavanduts, Pagambachis or Pahvents; (3) Sampits, Sanpuchi, Sampatch, Sampitches, Sanpitches, or Seuvarits; (4) Uinta or Uintah; (5) Yampa or Yam Pah Ute; (6) Sheberetches or Shiberetch.

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(7) Pavogogwunsin or Fish Utes; (8) Tah-bah-wazchi or Elk Mountain Utes and (9) Tampa Ute.\(^3\)

Since it was chiefly the bands of Timpanogos, Uintah, and Sanpitches that roamed the Utah Valley, the remainder of this discussion mainly will be limited to a description of these groups although they were so closely related that it is hard to differentiate.

The early inhabitants on the shores of Utah Lake, have been called by one person Timpanogots (tump, rock + panogo, water mouth, i.e., canyon + ots, people). Another refers to them as Timpanoguchya (water among stones).\(^4\)

**Escalante with the Timpanogotzis.** When Escalante visited Utah Lake in 1776, he called it Timpanogo and the people Lagunas, Timpanoïs or Timpanogotzis.\(^5\) The word Lagunas or lagune is Spanish for lake and does not appear to be a Ute word. The probable explanation of the Padre's use of this word as a tribal name is that the Father did not know the specific Indian nomenclature therefore he called them "Lagunas" meaning the Indians he found at the lake.\(^6\)

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\(^4\) *Loc. cit.*

\(^5\) W. R. Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-182.

Although Escalante does not mention horses at Utah Lake, he met visiting "Timpangotzis" among the Yutas on the San Francisco Javier (probably Gunnison River, Colorado), a journey which probably required horses. The Ute in Western Colorado at that time had horses.

He gives one the impression that the Utah Lake people possessed some organization. Although he describes them as peaceful and gentle, warfare was clearly of some importance. They were described as being poorly clothed, dressing in "buckskin jackets, leggings, moccasins and rabbit skin blankets." They lived in "cane huts" and ate mostly fish, therefore called "Fish Eaters." They also ate some seeds, rabbits and fowl. There were buffalo to the northwest, but the Utes were afraid to hunt them on account of the Comanche.

Further indication of the importance of warfare was the Indians reaction when asked to bring a token as to whether they wanted the missionaries to return or not. On the paintings representing three chiefs the "figure that had the most red color . . . blood . . . represented the big chief," who had wounded the most men in the wars with Comanches, the next

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7 W. R. Harris, op. cit., pp. 146-147.
9 W. R. Harris, op. cit., pp. 167-182.
had less blood and was inferior while the third had no blood and was a civil chief. 10

While at Utah Lake, Escalante met three leaders whom he listed in order of importance: Big Chief Furunianchi, Cuitzapununchi, and Fanchucumsuiviran (which means spokesman) who was not a chief but a brother of the Big Chief, Fichuchi. 11

Fur Trappers and the Ute Indians. Considerable was said in the previous chapter 12 regarding the Fur Trapper and Trader and the Indians of Utah Valley, but additional information can be added with profit.

Sullivan in his history of Jedediah S. Smith portrays a descriptive picture though brief when he says, "And from another direction came desert blackened Utes, squat warriors, but marvelous horsemen." 13

In December 1825 General J. H. Ashley while writing to General Henry Atkinson regarding his trip down the Green River records the following experience in May 1825.

On my way returning to Tewinty river (Tewinty is probably the Uinta River which enters the Green near Ouray, Utah) I met a part of the Wutau tribe of Indians, who appeared very glad to see us and treated us in the most respectful and friendly manner. These people were well dressed in skins, had some guns, out armed generally with bows and arrows and such other instruments of

10 Ibid., p. 179.
11 Ibid., p. 182.
12 Cf. ante., pp. 19-21, 24.
13 W. S. Sullivan, op. cit., p. 65.
war as are common among the Indians of Missouri. Their horses were better than Indian horses generally are east of the mountains and more numerous in proportion to the number of persons ... They informed me (by signs) that all the country known to them from south to west from the Teewinty river was almost destitute of game, that the Indians inhabiting that region subsist principally on roots, fish and horses. The Utes are a part of the original Snake nation of Indians (Utes were frequently confused with the Snakes by early travelers). They have no fixed place of residence, but claim a district of country which (according to them) is about one hundred and fifty miles long by one hundred miles wide, to which their situation at that time was near central. I purchased a few horses of the Utes.14

Ute Indians Contemporary With the Mormons. From what can be learned of the Ute Indians contemporary with the colonization of Utah Valley and the founding of Fort Utah, like many others of the human race, there were good and bad among them. Brigham Young always maintained that it was cheaper to feed them than to fight them. Although there were definitely some vicious ones among them, some of the Indians responded to the kindly treatment of the settlers.

Gottfredson claims:

It was the inherent nature of the Indian to steal, and this brings to my mind an incident told of an Indian who brought a worn out axe to a blacksmith to be fixed, the blacksmith said, I can't fix it, it hasn't any steel in it. "Oh yes," said the Indian, it is all steel, me steal it last night."

Indians could not be depended upon as to their lasting friendship, mostly on account of their thieving

propensity, so it was necessary for the settlers to build forts for protection.\footnote{15 Peter Gottfredson, \textit{History of Indian Depredations in Utah} (Salt Lake City, Utah: Skelton Publishing Co. 1919) p. 6.}

However, one must admit that, in the eyes of the Indian, the white man was taking his hunting, fishing and camping ground. When settling Utah Valley, the pioneers were drawn to places where there was water, wood, streams to fish on, and areas to hunt, as well as to find good farmland. Likewise for years, the Utah Lakeshore near the Provo River had been the rendezvous of the Indian. They loved to fish and hunt and go unhampered as they had done for generations, so naturally they took the coming of the whites as an invasion. They figured stealing and sometimes killing was an economic necessity and retribution. They did not forget or forgive an injury, neither did they forget a personal kindness.

Captain Howard Stansbury of the U. S. Army Topographical Engineers makes the following comment on the Utah Valley Indians as he saw them in 1849-50:

While engaged in the survey of the Utah Valley, we were no little annoyed by numbers of the latter tribe who hung around the camp, crowding around the cook fires, more like hungry dogs than human beings, eagerly watching for the least scrap that might be thrown away, which they devoured with avidity and without the least preparation. The herdsmen also complained that their cattle
were frequently scattered, and that not with standing their utmost vigilance, several of them had unaccountably dis appeared and were lost. One morning, a fine fat ox came into camp with an arrow buried in his side, which perfectly accounted for the disappearance of the others.  

O. D. Huntington, Mormon pioneer, in February 1849, traveled among the Indians in Utah Valley. The following excerpts from his diary are enlightening on their beliefs and customs:

The Indian in his native solitary wilderness is a singular being. . . . They seem to be mere animals in human form, forming the connecting link between animal and human, but many of those low degraded, filthy looking animal like humans, have truly great and politic minds. They only want the means of civilization to develop their true characters . . . .

They believe a great deal in whins and are very superstitious. . . . A watch, electricity, or any power real or imaginary which they cannot administer with their hands nor see the cause or reason of, they call medicine. Every powerful agency, good or bad, is medicine. They think there is a great charm in singing to cure the sick . . . with all the force of lungs and muscles of body. They sometimes rub the part affected creating great friction. Sometimes bury in clay or sand, wash with a paste of certain kinds of clay. They seldom eat when sick.

The most superstitious or religious use a great deal of medicine while well, such as to wash, or paint themselves from head to foot with a certain kind of whitish clay; which they do to prevent sickness, and just before going to hunt to keep the wild beasts from having power over them, or accidents befalling them. . . . One young man would never smoke unless he sat down upon the ground. He would dig up fresh earth and sprinkle between his legs, or if he sat on his legs, just before him; then take fresh dirt, and if not damp enough would spit on it, form it into a round pyramidal form and stand it on the dirt.

sprinkled before him. Then he is ready for smoking. This he does to shield him from the shots of the enemies, and that he may always have good luck when he shoots. He called it "making good medicine" for himself . . . .

God (the Great Spirit) they think is their father and of course has a wife, both of which they call "Pe-o-ap," signifying father and mother . . . . They think He made everything and lives in the sun. Everything but the sun must die. The moon does die often (every old moon). The earth must die at some distant period. They tell about their fathers away back coming out of the great water. Whether they mean Noa or Lehi and his family coming to the continent as the Book of Mormon speaks I cannot tell, but would suppose it was the latter. 17


Since many of the Indians will be mentioned in their connection with Fort Utah in future chapters, only a brief resume of the lives of some of the principal chiefs will be given now.

17 O. B. Huntington, "Diary of O. B. Huntington 1847-1900" (unpublished personal diary, copy in Brigham Young University Library). Part II, pp. 50-51.

Chief Walker, one of the most noted, was born about 1815 on the Spanish Fork River. At times, he was friendly with the whites, smoking the pipe of peace with the Mormon leaders occasionally, but he was notorious in leading his followers in stealing campaigns and war parties. He threatened to massacre the inhabitants of Fort Utah of which more will be said later. He was the principal Indian leader in the war in 1853 and 1854 which was given his name. When he died in 1855, his body was placed in a grave with seven horses and two Pieder Indian prisoners killed for the purpose and one Pieder boy buried alive. His parting message, it is claimed, was to live at peace with the whites.\(^{19}\)

Walker was succeeded by Arapene, his brother. This chief was an orator, but a hard hearted savage. In anger, he burned his wife in a fearful manner with a frying pan handle. Crawling to a white settlement, she was nursed back to health. When the whites refused to pay a high price for a Pieder boy prisoner, on one occasion, Arapene took the child by the feet and dashed his brains out on the ground. Arapene's daughter died with measles. A council was held as to whether to kill one of the white men camped with them or a Pieder prisoner. Finally, two warriors marched the Pieder

\(^{19}\) Gottfredson, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 317-319.
about four rods from the wigwams. It was a pitiful sight for he knew his fate. Both shot. The poor fellow died in anguish and was buried with the girl. This chief, like his brother, later in life made some peace parleys with the whites.  

Tabby, another brother of Walker, much more peaceful than his brothers, is remembered best as the chief during the time the Utes were transferred from Central Utah to the Uintah Reservation. Although being sympathetic with his tribesmen during the Indian troubles of the 1860's, he did try to maintain peace with the whites.  

Kenosh, born in 1821 and died in 1884, was only an occasional visitor in Utah Valley, but known throughout Utah as a peacemaker. His last wife was Sally, an Indian girl raised in Brigham Young's home. He was one of the most civilized of the Indian chiefs, constantly urging friendly relations with the whites.  

Blackhawk after whom the war during 1865-68 was called, was probably as ruthless and notorious as any of the

20 Ibid., pp. 319-320.

21 Kate B. Carter, Heart Throbs of the West (Salt Lake City, Utah: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1939) Volume I. pp. 93-96.

22 Ibid., pp. 91-101.
chiefs who visited Utah Valley. The law of the white man was not his, especially during war when he stirred up strife and hatred among the Indians until his name was known for cruelty and terror throughout the West. He was seriously wounded in the Battle of Gravelly Ford and died as a result in 1869 or 1870. Before death, knowing it was inevitable, he traveled up and down the territory wherever he had wronged people, trying to make peace in order to meet the Great Spirit. 23

Perhaps no other chief is remembered more for his friendliness to the white people of Utah Valley than Sowiette. While the Mormons were entering Utah, it is claimed, Sowiette and Walker were with a large encampment of Utes in Spanish Fork Canyon. At a council held to determine their policy toward these refugees, Sowiette pleaded for peace with these people, while Walker urged their extermination. The older braves agreed with Sowiette while most of the young warriors followed Walker who intimated that Sowiette was a coward. The latter seized a whip and gave Walker a severe flogging. 24

In 1866, Brigham Young sent Dimick B. Huntington alone to the Uintah reservation to plead with Blackhawk for peace. Arriving at the Indian headquarters, and finding the

23 Ibid., pp. 88-90.
Chief not there, he delivered his message but to no avail. A threatening mob gathered around him. Chief Sanpitch's squaw learning just then that her husband had been killed by the Whites in battle shouted "Kill the Mormon." Huntington cocked his pistols and waited. Finally, Soviette, old and blind, entered the circle and said, "You are like coyotes gathered around a sheep ready to eat it. This is a brave man sent from Brigham Young wanting peace. He is your friend." The Indians slunk off, and Huntington got away as quickly as possible.25

Regarding the Utah Valley Indians, the L. D. S. Manuscript History of Provo relates:

The pioneers found about 100 families of Timpanogos or River Utes under Chiefs "Little Chief" and "Stick-in-the-head." The latter name was given that particular chief from the fact that he always wore a stick of mountain mahogany done up in his hair. Each of the streams in Utah Valley were occupied as the home of a separate band of Indians under their respective chiefs whose names were applied to their several bands of Indians and to the streams on whose banks they made their homes. The great chief "Walker" the head of the Ute Nation, and his band lived in and about the Uintah Valley.26


26 "History of Provo" (unpublished manuscript History of Provo; compiled under the direction of the L.D.S. Church Historian. On file in the Church historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.) 1849.
Explorations During 1847. On July 24, 1847, after a courageous march across the plains, the first Mormon pioneer company arrived in Salt Lake Valley. With a keen interest to explore the country which they had chosen to make their homes and the constant urge to prepare for those Latter-Day Saints who were yet to come, the Mormon leaders immediately set out to make a reconnaissance of the surrounding area.

An exploring party left the pioneer camp on July 27, even before the site of the Great Salt Lake City was laid out. They traveled west. It was while on this trip that Orson Pratt, looking southward from a point on Oquirrh Mountain, on July 28, 1847, saw the Utah Lake and Valley. As far as is known he was the first Latter-day Saint to see this Lake and Valley. Quoting his journal under this date he says: "I went upon a rise of ground about 3 miles south of where our company stopped, and I could see Utah Lake, which appeared to be nearly 20 miles distant to the south."

Apparently, he was able to recognize it as Utah Lake, by

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reason of a thorough study of this region by the Mormon leaders before coming west.

About a week later, Jesse C. Little led a scouting party into Utah Valley returning to Salt Lake City, August 5. He reported that there was a fine country east of Utah Lake, the soil being well adapted for cultivation. This virtually confirmed the reports made by Escalante and Fremont quoted earlier in this thesis.

On August 12, 1847, Albert Carrington, with two others, started for Utah Lake, taking with them a boat on wheels. Proceeding to the top of the saddle which divides Utah and Salt Lake Valleys, they viewed the beautiful Utah Valley with its freshwater lake on the west and skirted by a fertile tract of land on the east. After gazing upon that scene, the explorers descended into the Canyon of the Utah Outlet (Jordan Narrows) and launched their boat. Carrington piloted it down the river while one of his companions drove the horses.

In November 1847, Jefferson Hunt, a captain in the Mormon Battalion, left with eighteen men for Los Angeles with

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seed and cattle, traveling over the southern route which brought them through Utah Valley.  

During December, 1847, following the planting of his wheat and rye, Parley P. Pratt led an expedition through Utah Valley and adjacent valleys. In his autobiography he records:

Some time in December, having finished sowing wheat and rye, I started, in company with a Brother Nigbee and others, for Utah Lake with a boat and fish net. We traveled some thirty miles without boat, etc., on an ox wagon, while some of us rode on horseback. This distance brought us to the foot of Utah Lake, a beautiful sheet of fresh water, some thirty-six miles long by fifteen broad. Here we launched our boat and tried the net, being probably the first boat and net ever used on this sheet of water in modern times.

We sailed up and down the lake on its western side for many miles, but had only poor success in fishing. We however, caught a few samples of mountain trout and other fish. After exploring the lake and the valley for a day or two, the company returned home, and a Brother Summers and myself struck westward from the foot of the lake on horseback on an exploring tour. On this tour we discovered and partly explored Cedar Valley... Tooelle Valley... came to the southern extreme of Great Salt Lake and passing around... arrived in Salt Lake City--having devoted nearly one week to our fishing, hunting, exploring expedition.

Activities in Utah Valley During 1848 and the Early Part of 1849. Erecting houses, planting crops, building roads,

4 "History of Provo," (Ms) op. cit., 1847.

etc., kept the settlers in Salt Lake Valley during 1848 too busy to make any definite plans toward colonizing Utah Valley. Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders were absent part of the time, going back to Winter Quarters, Nebraska, and other points in the Central States. However, frequent visits were made by pioneers to Utah Valley in search of grazing lands and to trade with the Indians. One of these, Alexander Williams, soon after his arrival in Salt Lake City in 1848 with his son Thomas S. went "south into Utah Valley to trade with the Indians on the banks of the Provo River; returning to Salt Lake (he) . . . asked President Young's permission to return and colonize on the Provo River."  

On January 6, 1849, the L.D.S. Church Presidency selected Amasa W. Lyman, Orrin F. Rockwell, George D. Grant, Jedediah M. Grant, David Fullmer, John S. Fullmer, Lewis Robinson, Dimick B. Huntington, William Crosby and George W. Boyd in Salt Lake City to go "To Utah Valley to learn its capabilities for a stock range and that when the cattle went, forty or fifty men should go with them." At the same time, "Isaac M. Higbee, John S. Higbee and William Wadsworth (were to) constitute a committee to seek out suitable fishing places in the Utah Lake, establish fisheries and supply the

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Amasa Lyman returned to Salt Lake City January 12 and advised President Young against taking cattle to Utah Valley at that time. Evidently, drawing this conclusion, from the thieving inclination of the Indian inhabitants of that valley.

President Young, however, was not discouraged. The parent colony now numbered about 5,000 souls, and it was sufficiently replenished by immigration to sustain his colonization plan.

During the early part of February 1849, O. B. Huntington, accompanied by Barney Ward and Joseph Mathews, as referred to in the previous chapter, while traveling through the Utah Valley, gives an enlightening description. Quoting from his journal, he says:

We . . . crossed the point of the mountain which separates Salt Lake from Utah Valley near where the Utah outlet or River Jordan passes through the mountain which separates the two valleys. Here the snow though light rendered it difficult of ascending and descending. In the Utah Valley we found it the same as in the Salt Lake Valley at the north and considerable snow and at the south end none at all. 15 miles from crossing the point of the mountain brought us to American Creek or Fork as some call it, emptying into the Utah Lake.

8 Ibid., January 12, 1849.
9 Ibid., February 27, 1849; March 6, 1849.
At this time there was a family who had started for Oregon or California, their team had failed too much when they arrived in Salt Lake Valley late in the fall, to proceed farther that season. They with a few Mormons who had a large herd of cattle and a mountaineer who was part Indian and part Spaniard and could talk either language better than English, had come here to winter. The owners of the cattle for the sake of the excellent feed, and Farbleau the Spaniard and Indian mountaineer for the sake of trading with the natives. The few white men that are in that country carry on a great trade among the natives, of such articles as guns, ammunition, knives, arrowpoints, belts, blankets, tin and sheet iron, kettles, cups and cans, paints, beads and various other articles suiting the Indian taste . . .

We left them then and went on 18 miles and crossed Provo River, the bottom lands of which are covered with large cottonwood, boxelder, ash, oak and maple. Five or six miles from there, south, we came to a small creek which had no name until we stayed there over night and I lost a pair of iron hobbles used for fastening the forefeet of horses together. We called it Hobble Creek and it afterwards went by that name . . . Ten miles the next day brought us to an Indian Village at the extreme south end of the Eutah Valley. 11

Skirmish at Battle Creek. Although not directly involved with the exploration of Utah Valley and the founding of Fort Utah, a description of the skirmish with the Indians at Battle Creek during the early part of March 1849 should help to advance the general theme of this paper.

On February 27, of that year a report reached Salt Lake City that some renegade Indians from Utah Valley had stolen fourteen horses from Orr's herd and several cattle

from Tooele Valley and had taken them to Utah Valley. On March 1, an expedition of thirty-five men under Colonel John Scott left Salt Lake City with orders "to take such measures as would put a final end to depredations in the future." The company proceeded to Utah Valley, traveling in wind and snow, where they met Little Chief and his band of Timpanogos Utes near the mouth of the Provo River. The purpose of the expedition was explained to Little Chief who volunteered the service of his sons to direct the whites. He claimed "they should be killed, for they deserved this punishment according to their own Indian Law." The troops traveled up the Provo River during the night to the mouth of Provo Canyon, then west where the scouts located the Indian Camp, by their fires, on the small stream later called Battle Creek. Today this area is known as Pleasant Grove.

At dawn, March 5, Colonel Scott divided his company into four groups headed by Hosea Stout, Alexander Williams, Judson Stoddard and Dimick B. Huntington with orders to


15 H. Stout, op. cit., pp. 84-91.
surround the Indians.\textsuperscript{16} The Redskins awoke to action and attempted to escape in several directions but found themselves besieged on all sides. Later it was learned that this predatory band of Indians consisted of two lodges under Kone and Blue-Shirt numbering in all about seventeen which included four bucks.\textsuperscript{17}

An effort was made to get the offenders to give themselves up but they sullenly refused. Then they were told by the interpreters to send their squaws and papooses out, but still there was no response.

Finally arrows began to fly. These were answered by guns. O. B. Huntington writes:

Our orders were, every man take care of himself and as many of the enemy as we could, i.e., to fight the enemy in their own way . . . . We were a long time firing, sculking in the brush—looking, peaking and trying to get a shot. We knew nothing of how many there was, but from their crying, howling and mourning and loud talk, supposed there was 15 or 20.\textsuperscript{18}

Hosea Stout relates:

In a few moments one of the Indians was killed and several wounded. They soon took shelter in the creek which had perpendicular banks about 4 feet high, thickly set with willows which so completely shielded them that we could not see them only when they raised up to shoot us. We were about two hours engaged with them.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., pp. 92-93.

\textsuperscript{17} P. Gottfredson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 19.

\textsuperscript{18} O. B. Huntington, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 54.

\textsuperscript{19} H. Stout, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 94.
The four bucks were killed and the battle ended, the squaws and papooses having surrendered in the meantime. None of the whites were injured. Fifteen beef hides, some of which were recognized were found in the Indian camp. 20

Stout continues:

We now returned to our camp where we found Little Chief and several Indians. He said we had done right although he felt like he could cry when he saw what a bad end these men had come to by their dishonesty. 21

Huntington, however, gives a different picture of Little Chief's feelings. He records:

The volleys of our guns rolled down the mountain side and lighted on Little Chief's ears, and seemed to him, with all the horrors of his own death knell. He thought, "Oh my countrymen," those once of his own band are now being hewed down by the magic white men. His heart was filled with pity, although but a few hours previously he had signed their death warrant by sending his men to guide us . . . . The old man howled, cried, moaned, hollowed, screamed, and smote his breast. He blamed himself and cursed the whites. 22

The company returned to their homes on the sixth of March. 23 The squaws and papooses of the slain were taken to Salt Lake City and after being fed were allowed to go to their friends among the other Indians. 24

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21 H. Stout, op. cit., p. 97.
22 O. B. Huntington, op. cit., p. 55.
23 H. Stout, op. cit., p. 98.
Apparently the campaign was a success, but the L.D.S. Church authorities, it seems, did not altogether approve. Regarding this situation Orson F. Whitney concludes:

No doubt they (the Church authorities) regretted the necessity for a military expedition against the savages, and deplored the fatalities attending it, not only from humanitarian considerations, but fearing probably that it would precipitate a general war and unify all the savage bands. Colonel Scott fell under some censure at the time and because of it declined to take part in succeeding Indian campaigns.25

Some Reasons for the Founding of Fort Utah. Since the narrative has now approached the eve of the founding of Fort Utah and the subsequent colonization of other parts of Utah Valley, it is appropriate, by means of a summary, to list some of the reasons which led to its establishment.

The major cause which has been emphasized throughout this chapter was to launch the general colonization plan of the Mormon President Brigham Young and his associate leaders. Being practical men, they were keenly aware of the point made in the second chapter of this thesis that "soil, climate, water, supply and accessability" would be the principal determining factors in the success of a colony established in Utah Valley.26 This was the major objective

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26 Cf. ante. p. 4.
of both the officially called and unofficial expeditions into this valley during 1847, 48, 49. The reports brought back to the parent colony at Salt Lake City, as a whole, were very encouraging.

The Timpanogos or Provo River and other tributaries to the Utah Lake presented an excellent water supply for culinary purposes, irrigation, power for industry, etc. The river and Lake in 1847-49 were well stocked with trout and other edible fish.\textsuperscript{27} The explorers found a heavy growth of large cottonwood, boxelder, ash, oak, and maple growing on the river bottom. On many of the surrounding foothills there was a good growth of juniper (called cedar by the settlers). While farther up on the mountain side and in the canyons there were generous quantities of pine, spruce and fur. On the valley floor, in the canyons and on the hillsides there was an abundance of grass for livestock raising, bunch grass being especially rank. Of course, great fields of high sage brush had to be cleaned, but this, it is claimed, is a sign of fertile soil. Utah Valley, therefore, appeared as one of the choicest spots in the Intermountain West.

\textsuperscript{27} U. J. Bean, \textit{op cit.}, p. 51.
Fort Utah at Its First Site 1849-50 (interior view) from drawing in Stansbury's "Valley of the Great Salt Lake"

Fort Utah at Its First Site 1849-50 (exterior view) from drawing in Stansbury's "Valley of the Great Salt Lake"
CHAPTER VI

THE FOUNDING OF FORT UTAH

Preparation in Salt Lake City. It was now time to put into effect the Mormon colonization plan in Utah Valley. At a council meeting of leading Church authorities held at the home of Heber C. Kimball, March 10, 1849, with President Brigham Young, presiding, it was voted unanimously, "That a colony of thirty men settle in Utah Valley this spring for the purpose of farming and fishing and of instructing the Indians in cultivating the earth and of teaching them civilization." The following names were suggested during this meeting as a nucleus for the colony: John S. Higbee, William Woodworth, Dimick B. Huntington, Samuel W. Ewing, Peter W. Conover (sometimes spelled Cownover), Alexander Williams, Houghton Conover and John Scott.1

During the next few days the Church Officials carefully selected a number of other trusted men, most of whom had families, and added them to the original list.

In the evening of Tuesday, March 13, 1849, the company intending to go to Utah Valley to settle met at President Brigham Young's office to consult and receive instructions. Twenty-nine persons agreed to go. During this

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1 LDS Journal History, op. cit., March 10, 1849.
meeting John S. Higbee was selected as president of the company. Isaac Higbee, his brother, was appointed as first counselor and Dimick B. Huntington as second.  

On Wednesday, March 14, 1849, President Young, with his counselor Heber C. Kimball and other leaders, spent the day at his office "counseling with regard to Utah Valley farming, fencing, etc." 

Enthusiasm for the new colonization project apparently continued to grow during the remainder of the week. "In a council held in Great Salt Lake City, Saturday, March 17, 1849, the names of a company of thirty-three who were going to settle in Utah Valley were read."

In the meantime wagons were being repaired, teams were purchased where necessary and livestock was being rounded up ready to drive. Farm equipment was collected and seed secured. Some tents were made ready, but in most cases the settlers lived in their covered wagons until houses were built. Whenever a trip of this order was made by the Pioneers, it took days to complete the details necessary and secure materials

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2 "History of Utah Stake" (unpublished History of Utah Stake compiled under the direction of the L.D.S. Church Historian; on file at the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah) March 13, 1849.


4 "History of Utah Stake" op. cit., March 17, 1849.
with which to establish a new community.

Finally the wagons were loaded with food, guns, ammunition, the household and farm equipment and other necessary frontier articles. The usual farewells were made, blessings were bestowed and good wishes given.

These departures were eventful and exciting, but seldom did those who remained behind discourage their relatives who were leaving. If a pang of regret was had, it, in most cases, was kept concealed. Such missions as these were considered, by the Mormon Pioneers, as calls through divine inspiration received by their leaders. Some of these early Church members were called to help colonize a number of new communities. After being at one place a few months, or a few years, they would be asked by the Authorities to leave everything they had carved out of grim nature with their bare hands, selling in many cases at a great loss, and go help establish a new settlement. There was no mail system, and the telegraph, telephone, and railroad did not arrive in the West until years after. Messages and occasionally a letter were sent at irregular intervals by men on horseback or covered wagon companies. This was the experience of the Fort Utah Mission.

**Trip to the Timpanogos or Provo River.** About March 29, 1849, the company led by John S. Higbee left Salt Lake
City for the Timpanogos or Provo River. The exact location of the route used cannot be definitely ascertained, but since there had been some travel south through the Utah Valley, even some wagons had gone through prior to this time, it can be accurately assumed that the pioneers followed a fairly well outlined trail.

In all probability, the party traveled south through the Salt Lake Valley and crossed the low saddle at the point of the mountain approximately where Highway 91 is located. Entering Utah Valley, it proceeded on in a southeasterly direction. Some rode horseback, guarding against hostile Indians and driving loose livestock, while others drove teams of oxen and mules. Traveling was slow. As they advanced, no doubt, certain sections of road had to be built or repaired. It took three days to reach their destination.5

There is some discrepancy as to how many made the original trip by those who have written on the history of Provo. J. M. Jensen states: "Some thirty families, numbering 150 souls, set out under Higbee."6 Tullidge makes a similar statement.7

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5 E. W. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 234.
6 J. M. Jensen, op. cit., p. 33.
7 E. W. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 233.
The book "Provo, Pioneer Mormon City," states, "Only six families accompanied the original party." No source material is given, however, for this statement.9

George W. Bean, one of the charter members of the Fort Utah Expedition, on the other hand, records "There were thirty men in our party, but no families were in the group." Later in his journal he adds, "In May of this year of 1849, the settlers brought their families to the Fort, because high water in streams would make it impossible later."10

Peter W. Conover, another member of the original band, relates, "The boys and I . . . built a house; then went back and got all the family."11

John E. Booth in his "History of the Provo Fourth Ward," after telling of the arrival of the original party, concludes with the statement, "Families arrived about two weeks later."12

9 Provo, Pioneer Mormon City, op. cit., p. 45.
10 G. W. Bean, op. cit., p. 46.
These last three contentions which seem to the writer to be more accurate are supported by the following paragraph appearing in the General Epistle sent out by the L.D.S. Church authorities dated April 9, 1849:

About thirty of the brethren have recently gone to Utah Valley about 60 miles south to establish a small colony for agricultural purposes and fishing, hoping thereby to lessen the call for beef which at the present time is rather scarce, at an average of seven to eight cents per pound, but will improve with vegetation.13

The above quotation is also valuable in giving one an insight as to the purpose of the Fort Utah expedition.

By the end of March the company had advanced well into Utah Valley. Quoting Bean again he says, "On March 31st we camped ten miles north of the River Ford."14

The next day on April 1, 1849, the company arrived at the Timpanogos or Frovo River. About two miles before reaching the river they were met by a young Ute Indian named Ang-stewats (red child) "dashing forward at a fast speed, throwing his arms and performing all sorts of wild gesticulations." He stopped within about six rods of the lead team and, according to G. W. Bean, "jumped from his horse, threw his buffalo robe across the path and warned them not to pass that designated point."15

14 G. W. Bean, op. cit., p. 46.
15 Loc. cit.
Another member of the Fort Utah mission writing anonymously of this incident in an article entitled "Pioneer Days and Indians" dated November 1, 1894 and published in "The Daily Enquirer," a Provo newspaper, of November 29, 1894, describes it as follows:

Most of Provo citizens have seen an old Indian named Angatowats (red child). He is still living and plodding about in his second childhood probably. He met us at the place above named, flying on horseback, swift as the wind but single handed and alone apparently. He stopped short about three rods in front of the lead team of the company and got off, and made a mark with his foot across the trail, and then solemnly forbade us from crossing that mark saying as near as we could understand, that death and destruction would be our portion if we attempted it. He promenaded back and forth on horseback for some time, shouting and threatening in a most violent and savage manner, evidently this being his first attempt at achieving notoriety as a war chief, as he was not more than 16 or 17 years of age at the time. Other young fellows joined him and we had quite a time, being hindered two or three hours.16

The Indians, it seemed, had some idea of the intention of the Pioneers to make a settlement at the Timpanogos River and this young brave had volunteered to stop them until an understanding could be reached.

Dimick B. Huntington, the interpreter, stepped forward and talked to the young Indian for considerable time, attempting to show him that the settlers and the Indians might try living together and that the whites would be friends of the Redmen and would help them whenever possible. Huntington was

then made to raise his right hand and swear by the sun that the white people would not drive the Indians away, or take from them any of their rights. 17

G. W. Bean continues his story of this event:

Huntington . . . told . . . our good desires and intentions and that President Young, the Great Mormon Chief, had sent us, and that we would like to be "Too-ege-tik-a-boo"—good friends—with the natives and do them much good if allowed to settle with them. The Little Brave dashed off to report to the tribe, and we slowly moved on. Presently a large party met us with the War Chief at their head and we all stopped and talked the matter over again. The party seemed satisfied and we moved on. 18

The colonists then forded the River about where the lower bridge is now located on the West Drive or Lake View Road and camped on the south side in what was later known as the Old Fort Field. If the present streets of Provo extended west the crossing would be about where Third North and Twenty-first West streets intersect.

John Clark in his journal says: "When we came to the crossing, my team being so easily managed, Colonel Conover asked me to drive in head, which I did, leading the first company across Provo River. 19

17 E. W. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 234.
18 G. W. Bean, op. cit., p. 47.
19 John Clark, "John Clark's Journal" (unpublished journal dictated to Clara C. Henrie, his daughter; copy in possession of Mrs. Clara D. Heindselman, Provo, Utah,) p. 3.
When Was Fort Utah Settled? This has been a paramount question for a number of years. While working on this problem the writer has referred to numerous books, pioneer journals, diaries, records and monuments pertaining to the subject. Likewise several well informed people have been personally consulted among whom are some of the members of the staff of the L.D.S. Church Historian's Office, the presidents of the Provo units of the Sons and Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, the secretary of the Utah Historical Society, J. M. Jensen, and other Provo Historians. The dates suggested vary from "early in March to April 1, 1849." Some admit they do not know for sure.

The writer, therefore, approaches this subject with an open mind, and although a conclusion will be drawn, he admits that this may not be the final word.

E. W. Tullidge relates, "Early in March, 1849, the first colony sent south of Great Salt Lake County set out under John S. Higbee to found Provo City. 20

O. F. Whitney writes, "John S. Higbee . . . at the head of about thirty families . . . set out from Salt Lake City early in March, 1849, to found a settlement on Provo River." 21

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J. M. Jensen states, "After three days' travel, they (the settlers) arrived at the Provo River about March 12, 1849." This is the date placed on the monument near the first site of Fort Utah in the Old Fort Field west of Provo erected by the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, August 30, 1937. It is also the date inscribed on the monument at the Sowiette or North Park in Provo, erected July 24, 1941, by George W. Smith Camp, Sons and Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.

J. E. Booth records, "It was not until the latter part of March, A.D. 1849, that any settlement for the cultivation of the soil and the making of permanent homes was attempted . . . on Provo River." 

George W. Bean was the only member of the original colony of whom the writer can find that kept a day to day journal at the time. Other records such as that of Peter Conover, John S. Rigbee, John Park and John Clark, although being interesting and enlightening, are written in later life or dictated to a daughter or granddaughter. Bean contends that:

On April 1st (1849) my eighteenth birthday, we moved on to within 2½ miles of the Timpanogos River (Provo R.)

22 J. M. Jensen, op. cit., p. 33.
when we were met by a young Indian brave on horseback (who) threw his buffalo robe across our path and warned us not to pass that designated point."

Referring again to the article entitled "Pioneer Days and Indians" published in "The Daily Enquirer," November 27, 1894, it states:

It was on the first day of April, 1849, that those venturesome pioneers toward the South camped on the . . . Timpanogos or Provo River. There were about thirty men and boys in the company. At that time a little incident occurred . . . (which) will serve to show about what we had to meet from the savages (referring to the Antagawats' incident).

The author of this article is not definitely known, but from the personal pronoun "we" it can be safely said that he was one of the original pioneers. Toward the end of the article, he enumerates those of the first company who were still alive at the time the article was written. Among others he lists those who were then living in Provo as follows:

"John and Joseph Clark, James A. Bean, John W. Turner, Nathaniel Williams and Henry J. Wilson." The author of this article is almost sure to have been one of these men. George W. Bean was then living in Sevier County and the writing does not appear to be his style.

24 G. W. Bean, _op. cit._, p. 40.
25 _The Daily Enquirer,_ _op. cit._, November 27, 1894.
26 _Loc. cit._
The L.D.S. Journal history does not reveal the actual date of departure from Salt Lake City or the arrival at the Timpanogos (Provo) River. However, by quoting an earlier citation, "In a council held in Great Salt Lake City, Saturday, March 17, 1849, the names of a company of thirty-three who were going to settle in Utah Valley were read," it can be definitely concluded that the Fort Utah Mission had not left Salt Lake City by that date. Allowing for the usual procedure of organization, preparation for the trip, etc., it seems to the writer to be definite proof that April 1, 1849, the date given by Dean and the anonymous writer as the date of arrival is the logical and more accurate date. Consequently, since the journey took three days, it naturally appears that the company left Salt Lake City March 29, the date given above for the departure.

Building of Fort Utah on its First Site. Two days were spent in exploring the surrounding country and selecting the proper site for a fort to be built. It was finally decided to build on the south side of the Timpanogos or Provo River. The approximate location was about twenty rods south of the River ford, forty rods north of Center Street and

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27 Cf. ante., p. 53.

28 J. W. Dean, op. cit., p. 47.
twenty rods east of West Drive or the Lake View road. This would be about a mile and a half east of Utah Lake and about two miles west of the center of Provo City today.

The spot chosen was located on the banks of a small stream fed by a sparkling spring. This was surrounded by the level valley floor near to the river where water could easily be diverted for irrigation. As described in a previous chapter, these bottom lands were rich with dark fertile soil covered with an abundance of grass for livestock. Along the River there was a heavy growth of cottonwood and boxelder, supplemented with maple and oak; while in the surrounding mountains there was a good supply of juniper and pine.

On April 3, the fort was laid out in a parallelogram running east and west. Here again there is a variance of opinions among the historians and journals. George Bean states it was "about ten by twenty rods." Tullidge's estimate was "about 300 feet long by 150 feet wide," which would be near to Bean's measurement. L.D.S. Journal History

29 J. W. Jensen, op. cit., p. 34.
30 E. W. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 234.
31 G. W. Bean, op. cit., p. 47.
describes it as "about twenty by thirty rods."\(^{33}\) John E. Booth said it covered "a piece of ground about 20 rods by 40 rods."\(^{34}\) Both J. L. Jensen and the book "Provo, Pioneer Mormon City" agree with Booth.

There appears to be two possible answers to this difference of opinion. First, as mentioned in the introductory chapter, "observers do not see things alike and memories have often been recorded imperfectly."\(^{35}\) Also the fact that each description was qualified by the word "about" seems to indicate that no one recorded the exact measurements at the time. Second, there is a possibility that those giving the smaller dimensions were describing the parallelogram of cabins, while those with the larger estimated areas were referring to the distance around the fort covered by the stockade.

After studying the records carefully and the pictures and the photostat of the drawings made at the time which are enclosed in this volume, it seems logical to the writer that twenty rods wide and forty rods long (330' by 660') could be a fairly accurate estimate.

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\(^{34}\) J. E. Booth, op. cit., p. 4.
\(^{35}\) Cf. Ante., p. 2.
The records consulted seem to be generally in accord with each other in describing the erection of the cabins and stockade, although there are a few minor differences. A fourteen-foot stockade, with gates at the east and west end, was built around the area as protection against the Indian depredations. This was accomplished by standing boxelder logs on end almost in a solid wall.

Within the stockade, log cabins were built side by side. Split lumber and dirt was generally used for the roofs. Light was admitted to each cabin by a window on each end. Having no glass, the settlers used coarse cloth as a substitute. The doors facing inward toward the middle of the Fort were made of split lumber or slabs. The floors were made of puncheons (split log or heavy slab with face smooth). Some of the cabins at first just had dirt floors. The chimneys were built on the outside with small rocks from the river held together with clay.

The vacant places between the cabins were filled with pickets embedded close together, with an occasional space left open to permit the colonists to pass out to the stockade. There was a cattle corral attached to the southeast.

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corner of the stockade, opening to the stream; and a guard house erected within the corral. Smaller private corrals were placed behind some of the cabins.

On a mound in the center of the fort in August 1849, there was erected a bastion or platform about thirty feet square and ten or twelve feet high. A six pound cannon was mounted on the top of the platform which commanded the surrounding country, as a protection against Indian attacks. 37

H. R. Hunter claims "the bastion was fifteen feet high" and the cannon was "a twelve pound" model. 38 However, this is such a minor difference that a lengthy discussion is not justified. Since George Bean helped to build the bastion and was later seriously injured by this same cannon, it seems to the writer that Bean is likely to be the more accurate.

The fort was completed in about six weeks, 39 but none too soon as Indian hostilities were shortly to develop. In a letter, which will be referred to later, Brigham Young showed anxiety regarding the completion of the fort at the earliest possible date.

37 G. W. Bean, op. cit., p. 47.

38 H. R. Hunter, Brigham Young, The Colonizer (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Deseret News Press, 1940) p. 214.

The families are brought to the fort. In May, 1849, as soon as the fort was constructed, in fact some of the buildings may not have been entirely completed, the colonists brought their families to the new settlement. The following is a list, given by E. W. Tullidge, in his "History of Provo" of those who composed the first colony:

John S., Isaac, Charlotte, Hannah, Joseph, Emma, Minerva, and Sophia Higbee; John D. Carter; George Day; John, Martha, Merrill, Thomas, Margaret, Wesley, Samuel, John, Luca A., and Joseph Wheeler; John, Julia A., John, Jr., and Elizabeth Blackburn; Dimick E., Lot, Clark, and Clarina Huntington; Samuel, William H., Adeline H., John J., Samuel, Jr., and Anderson S. Swing; James R., Eliza A., William F., John J., Polly Ann, Elizabeth C., Joseph C., Eliza, Isaac T., Benjamin H., Hyrum S., Richard A., Elizabeth, and Lucinda M. Ivis; William A., Sarah and Nancy A. Eaton; Robert and Sarah Egbert; Samuel, Rebecca, Joseph, Riley J., John, Mary, Jane, Ann, Samuel, and Ellen Clark; Miles, Sarah, Franklin E., Christian A., and Franklin E., Jr., Seaver; James, Elizabeth, George W., James A., and Elizabeth Bean; William, Margaret, William E., Harvey, John A. and Parley F. Face; Alexander, Isabella, Epsy Jane, Clinton, Nathaniel G., William A., Archibald and Seth Williams; John, Lucinda, Jane Mary A., Marion and Louise Park; Chauncey, Hannah F., John W., Harriet L., Julie and Henry A. Turner; A. T. and Mary Ann Thomas; Jabez, Anna and Jabez, Jr. Nowland; George, Margaret, Mary and Jeanette Corey; James B., Eliza, Eliza Jr., George and Martha Porter; Thomas, Catherine, Isabelle and Mary Ann Carr; Gilbert, Hannah, Francis, John W., William, Albert and Caleb Laws; Walter and Caroline Parney; Thomas and Sarah Willis; Peter, Abram, Charles, Lucinda, Sarah, John and Catherine Cownover; James, Mary and Elisha Goff; Jeremiah C., Susan, John, Elizabeth and Melinda James; James F. Hiram; Jefferson, Joseph and John Hunt; Chauncey W., J. B. and Lewis A. West; Henry Rollins; George and Eliza Pickup; Elijah E., Catherine and Sarah Holden.  

40 E. W. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 52.  
41 E. W. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 270.
John L. Booth in his "History of the Provo Fourth Ward" adds the following names:

(Doc) John R. Stoddard; Adelbourn Stoddard; James Lathias; ______ Strong; John Orr and family; Houghton and Alpheus Cowanover; Henry Zabriskie; Hannah, Emma, Minerva, Clara and Lottie Carter; Jabez Blackburn and family; and Thomas Willis.42

George W. Bean in his original journal (thus far his autobiography compiled by his daughter Flora Dean Horne has been quoted) states, "There were some additions made to our population during the summer & in the fall when the Indian trouble broke out. We were situated in the fort about as follows." He then drew the sketch reproduced in the photostat enclosed in this thesis43 of the location of the cabins in the first site of Fort Utah. This is the only drawing of this type known to the writer.

According to his drawing the families appear to be as follows:

Alexander Williams (East Gate Keeper), Hulet, Stoddard, Hunt, Race, Bean, Clark, Conover, Egbert, Dayton, Ivie, EZ (Zabriskie), DMr (Huntington), Swing, E Blk (Blackburn), J Blk (Blackburn), Haws, Wheeler, T Willis G Day, J S Nigbee, I Nigbee, Orr, Haws, Eldridge, Parry, Turner, Thomas, Norton, Porter, G O Case, Strong and Mathews.44

43 Cf. post, p. 70.
there were some additions made to
population during the winter, in
fall when the Indian trouble broke out
we were situated in the fort above
as follows.

A Photostatic Copy of the Cabin Location in Fort Utah on
Its First Site from George W. Bean’s Journal, Page 71

The Indians were nervous for reasons unknown,
guns, ammunition, knowing that they were
for their skins. They hoped such a
they had, sometimes Buffalo robes.

It was even an entertaining race generally
once a year to the eastern plains to hunt if

suggesting that much improvement
shelter, making them more
improving the settlers might not grow
law of lands. The writer had that understanding
As the writer said, "In this case the
laws of the Creek Indian people
were not far from settled."

In the late summer of 1830
As one will observe by close observation of the sketch, the names identified as Aldridge and Perry are slightly obliterated making it hard to definitely distinguish them. This identification was given them by Mrs. Horne. 45

There is evidence to believe, however, that there were at least two other families in the fort when the Indian troubles broke out which do not seem to be correlated with the above list. Joseph S. Park, born in Provo in 1852 and living in this city at present, stated in a personal interview with the writer that "My father built one of the cabins in Fort Utah, and my family lived there. It was there that my twin brothers, William and John, were born." His statement is verified by the "Biography of John and Louisa Park," which says: "Here again he built a log cabin in the Fort (Utah), that was erected to protect the people from being wiped out by the Indians." 46

Likewise, it is evident that Jabez Nowland and family were inhabitants of the fort. The records claim that Jabez was shot in the nose during the battle with the Indians at Provo in February, 1850. 47


46 Mary Park Brockbank, "Biographical Sketch of John and Louisa Park" (unpublished family record compiled by Mrs. Brockbank, a daughter; a copy in possession of Joseph S. Park, Provo, Utah) p. 2.

47 E. W. Tulidge, op. cit., p. 239.
CHAPTER VII

LIFE IN FORT UTAH ON ITS FIRST SITE

Agricultural Developments in the New Colony. Of necessity the principal occupation of the Fort Utah colonists in 1849 was agriculture. Before the fort was entirely completed, the settlers, being eager to begin plowing and planting the new soil, laid out the land to the east, west and south of the fort. By the middle of May, besides building the fort, they had plowed, fenced and planted with wheat, rye and corn the greater portion of two hundred and twenty-five acres.

Water for irrigation was taken out of the Provo River about a half mile above the fort. This ditch was constructed under the supervision of James Bean and sons, therefore, it was called the Bean Ditch.1

By this time ten additional families had joined the original group from Salt Lake Valley. The fort field was divided into forty lots, ten acres apiece.2 John S. Higbee records, "as surveyed and drew lots for farming lands."3

1 "History of Provo" (ms) op. cit., 1849.
3 J. S. Higbee, "Notes from John S. Higbee's Journal" (filed by his son John W. Higbee; a copy in possession of J. A. Higbee, Orem, Utah) 1849.
On May 23, there was a severe snow storm, lasting nearly three hours and on the night following the frost was so severe that it destroyed the greater part of the vegetation. However, the settlers were not easily discouraged.

Peter W. Conover relates an interesting agricultural experience of his that summer while farming in his allotment.

I had only about two and one half bushels of wheat, but I sowed that and raised one hundred and forty-seven bushels. I had not had a morsel of bread in my house since the first of April until my crop was raised and threshed. It was the first grain cut in Utah County.

I cut it on the 10th of July. About an hour after it rained as hard . . . as I ever saw it rain. It then cleared up and the sun came out as bright as if it had never rained. I had to let it lay for four days before it was dry enough to thresh. I threshed it on the 20th, with a flail, cleaning it with the wind. Then my sons Abram and Charles took it to Jeff's mill on Mill-creek, forty miles away. It took them two days. When they got home, my family had a feast of bread and it was a feast.

Immediately after getting my wheat off the ground, a heavy rain came causing the wheat to sprout from the stubble. It grew until it was taller than the first crop and it ripened and was a good heavy crop, making two crops in one season from one planting. It was the first crop raised in Utah Valley.

In spite of their hard work, the crops harvested by the settlers that fall were rather meager. Fortunately, due to an abundance of grass near the fort, the well-guarded cattle were in fairly good shape at the end of the season.

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4 E. W. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 234.
furnishing some milk and meat. Food in general was scarce.

"Wheat," according to John Clark, was worth $5.00 a bushel. 6

Sarah Topham Clark's journal states:

It was a winter of hard work and suffering. The food supplies were limited, the flour being weighed out to each family. Sego and thistle roots were eaten; now and then the men brought in a little meat. They also caught fish from the river and lake. 7

Civil and Military Activities During 1849. One of our outstanding features of the Mormon colonization plan was the way the ecclesiastical organization functioned in a community until the proper civil organizations could be completed. It became perfectly regular to enact and administer the laws of the community through the religious officers previous to the granting of city charters by the Territorial Legislature, when the civil government proper came into effect.

With the Branch Presidency or Bishopric functioning in an executive capacity, laws as they were needed, were enacted by a majority vote at a public meeting. This procedure, an example of government by the will and vote of the people, shows the influence of the New England town meetings.

6 John Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

7 Mary C. Singleton, "History of Sarah Topham Clark" (unpublished biography of her mother; copy in possession of Harold C. Clark, Provo, Utah) p. 4.
Many of the colonists were converted to the Mormon Church in the New England States.

Even after the Legislature did make provisions for the setting up of local legal authority in Provo the Bishops' and High Council Courts had a powerful influence on the community. Some illustrations will be given in a later chapter.

John S. Higbee was the first president of the Fort Utah colony. After serving a little over two months, by his own request, he was released and his brother Isaac took his place. John returned to his family in Salt Lake City and later that year was called on an L. D. S. mission to Europe. The following part of a letter written by Brigham Young announced the appointment of Isaac Higbee:

G. S. L. City, May 28, 1849

To Isaac Higbee, president of the settlement in Utah Valley:

Dear Brother: At a council of the Presidency, Twelve and others held in the Recorder's office in this city, last evening, upon the suggestion and request of John S. Higbee to be released from the duties of the presidency of your place, it was unanimously voted that Isaac Higbee should be the president in his stead. You will therefore take due notice of your appointment, choose your counselors and receive the necessary ordination at the earliest convenient opportunity . . . .

(Signed) Brigham Young.

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8 John S. Higbee, op. cit., 1849.
In the winter of 1849 and 1850, when under the State of Deseret, civil machinery was set up to assist the ecclesiastical government already in operation, Governor Young appointed Isaac Higbee to be chief justice of the newly organized Utah County.\textsuperscript{10}

At a mass meeting held on July 2, 1849, according to the "Branch Record,"

The following laws were enacted: for the suppression of gambling with the Indians—that a fine of not less than $25 nor more than $100 shall be enforced upon any person found guilty of the same; and to fine persons for shooting in or near the fort, so as to endanger lives thereby.\textsuperscript{11}

Two days later, on July 4, the colony organized a militia, this being another organic necessity as a protection against the Indians. Jefferson Hunt was elected commander with Peter W. Conover and Robert T. Thomas as lieutenants.\textsuperscript{12} The company consisted of fifteen members of the Mormon Battalion and totaled "sixty able-bodied men, including stalwart youths, some of whom were the best men for this militia service."\textsuperscript{13} The militia drilled daily, was subject to call night or day, and the cannon was fired occasionally to remind

\textsuperscript{10} W. A. Hunter, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 215.

\textsuperscript{11} E. W. Tullidge, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 234.


\textsuperscript{13} E. W. Tullidge, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 235.
the Indians that the fort was well protected.

About the last of August, 1849, a company of emigrants on their way to the California gold fields camped at Fort Utah. Needing a guide Major hunt, who having come to Utah over the southern route from California with a detachment of the Mormon battalion after being discharged, was induced by the emigrants to take them to their destination. Peter W. Conover took his place as commander of the Fort Utah Militia with the rank of captain.14

The coming of the forty-niners was both a blessing and a detriment to the settlement. Purchasing supplies from the settlers brought much needed money into the community, but contributed seriously to the Indian depredations which will be described later in this thesis. Needing fresh horses to continue their journey, these emigrants traded guns and ammunition which supplied the Indians with the means and inducement for hostilities early in 1850.

**Spiritual, Educational, and Recreational Functions.** A spiritual and educational philosophy had been thoroughly instilled within these Mormon converts by their martyred leader Joseph Smith and encouraged by his successors. He claimed "The Glory of God is Intelligence."

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From its inception, there was a constant effort made by its leaders to maintain a motivating spiritual and educational attitude among the members of Fort Utah mission. Even though it taxed their time and strength to eke out a living in this new settlement, the colonists in most cases found time for Divine worship on the Sabbath Day and frequent study of the scriptures. There was an attitude of spiritual equality. Everyone was poor but came to the Church services with the best they had to wear. Oliver B. Huntington, although not one of the Fort Utah expedition, was a frequent visitor to the settlement, being a brother of Dimick, one of the citizens. In describing an early day religious service, he writes:

I saw one Elder called from the congregation into the stand to speak to the people who had neither coat, shoes or socks, and he spoke with much power of the Holy Spirit.\(^{15}\)

Education at home and in the classroom was also encouraged. Soon after the completion of the fort and the arrival of the families, Mary Ann Turner, daughter of Chauncy and Hannah Redfield Turner, began teaching school in one of the little cabins. This was the first official educational institution established in Utah Valley.\(^{16}\) Later when John S.

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\(^{15}\) Oliver B. Huntington, "Early Days in the Territory", *The Young Woman's Journal* 4:475, July 1893.

\(^{16}\) R. T. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
Higbee returned to Salt Lake City, leaving his cabin vacant, George W. Dean taught school therein.17

Early in Mormon history one finds the spiritual, educational and recreational functions closely united. It was found that if the young people were not given recreation properly supervised they would go elsewhere for it where it was not so properly supervised. At Fort Utah time was also taken out for wholesome recreation. Again quoting Huntington:

I went to the dances in private houses where there was no floor, but the ground, and no splendor, but bright, cheerful, honest faces that reflected the intelligence, virtue and Christian zeal of honest souls within. We needed no money then to pay extravagant fiddlers "bills" -- for waxed floors, and a few dollars "clear gain" for some man to put in his pocket to pay for getting up the dance. We could pay for our admission to a party in wheat, flour, oats, corn, potatoes, cabbage, squashes, molasses, beets or anything the people wanted to eat or wear, or they could trade off .... In those days we all "met on a level and parted on a square." We never heard of burglaries, hold-ups, or suicides. We never heard of bankruptcy or gambling in stocks.18

Family Life in Fort Utah. While the little settlement was developing, outwardly in a physical way, it was also growing within. Some marriages were performed and a number of children born before the colony was a year old.

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17 J. E. Booth, op. cit., p. 6.

The records differ as to who was the first couple married at the fort. "The History of Sarah Topham Clark," relates,

It was here at this fort, she (Miss Topham) met Joseph Clark, a member of the Mormon Battalion, who had just returned from San Diego, California. They were married October 17, 1849, by Elder Isaac Higbee, being the first couple married in Provo. 19

John E. Booth substantiates this claim in his record. 20

Robert T. Thomas, however, claims that he and Mary Ann Turner were the first couple married, the ceremony being performed in the fort April 18, 1850. 21 If the dates given in the original journals are both correct, then the Clark wedding has the priority. The marriage of Joseph Clark and Sarah Topham is the first to appear on the Branch Record. 22

It is rather interesting to observe in the journals of some of these good old people that as they dictated the account of their lives, they took pride in being the first to do this or the first to do that. These idiosyncrasies, however, are certainly excusable since, in general, their journals are rich in source material and valuable for historical data in spite of an occasional inconsistency.

19 Mary C. Singleton, op. cit., p. 2.
20 John E. Booth, op. cit., p. 5.
21 R. T. Thomas, op. cit., p. 29.
22 J. M. Jensen, op. cit., p. 41.
There is also a variance of opinion regarding the birth of the children. According to Tullidge, the first white child born at Fort Utah was to the wife of Miles Weaver, and the first male children were twin boys, William and John, to John and Louisa Park.\textsuperscript{23} He is supported in this contention by the "Biography of John Park," written by his daughter, Jane Park Jones, who records:

Here at the old Fort built on Provo River, in the midst of privations, associated with those early days, over a thousand miles from a base of supplies, surround-
ed by warlike Indians, on the 30th of December, 1849, his wife Louisa gave birth to twin boys, William and John, first white boys born in Provo, who became a source of curiosity and amusement to the squaws who visited the Fort.\textsuperscript{24}

J. M. Jensen claims, on the other hand, that G. Oliver Haws, son of Gilbert and Hannah Haws, was born October 8, 1849.\textsuperscript{25}

J. E. Booth maintains:

The first children born, according to the best information obtained, were a daughter to the wife of Jabez Nowlen, and son to Ed. Holden's wife with the chance that the young lady had the lead.\textsuperscript{26}

While there is joy with the new-born, there is sorrow

\textsuperscript{23} E. W. Tullidge, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 270.

\textsuperscript{24} Jane Park Jones, "Biography of John Park" (unpublished Family Record compiled by Mrs. Jones, daughter; copy in possession of Joseph Park, Provo, Utah) p. 2.

\textsuperscript{25} J. M. Jensen, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 42.

\textsuperscript{26} J. E. Booth, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 4.
in death. During the first year at the fort, in consequence of hardships, lack of sufficient food, exposure, etc., a few members of the little colony passed away, giving their lives for a noble cause.

The family relations as a whole at Fort Utah were very congenial, each member doing his or her part. At the break of day the household usually would arise. After breakfast and the morning family prayer, the father would take the boys, into the field, working the new ploughed soil, or go down on the river, or on the hillside for logs, poles, or posts to make an addition to the cabin, build a barn, or pole fence. The cattle had to be carefully herded by day and locked up in the corral at the fort at night. Infant industries sprang up which will be discussed more in detail later. The father and the sons did the work in these primitive mills and factories. There were many tasks confronting these frontiersmen but most of it was cheerfully done.

Meanwhile, in the humble log cabin the mother, assisted by the older girls, would spend her time busily taking care of the babies, washing, ironing, cooking and sewing. Wool was carded, spun and woven into cloth. Soap, tallow candles and other items were made. In fact, each home was a miniature manufacturing establishment. There were almost countless responsibilities in a pioneer home. Both the sons and daughters were taught to work from childhood and in most
cases cheerfully accepted their responsibility.

In the evening, when it was too dark to do more, (there were no eight-hour shifts or time and a half for over-time then) the family would kneel to thank their Creator for his kindness during the day. Hymns were sung in some homes and occasionally one would hear the strains of a musical instrument. A neighbor walking by might hear those inspiring words "Come, Come Ye Saints," "Oh, my Father," or one of the other beautiful family hymns so richly enjoyed by the early Latter-day Saints. Of course, the group was not always in tune, but the beauty of the occasion erased any tone discord that might occur.

Infant industries introduced in the colony. As before stated, farming was the principal original occupation of the Fort Utah settlers, but almost immediately of necessity a few infant industries sprang up.

In the fall of 1849, Samuel Clark built the first tannery and produced the first leather in the Territory. 27 Dark was obtained from pine trees growing in Provo Canyon. The trees were cut and trimmed and the logs floated down the river. Oxen were used to snake them across the sand bars. At the mouth of the canyon, the logs were peeled and loaded onto wagons and hauled to the tannery. Since the Indians were

hostile, a front and rear guard had to be constantly main-
tained.

It took considerable time to prepare the leather, but the demand being so great at first that it was taken from the vats before it was seasoned. The shoes made from this leather were loose and flabby in wet weather, and dry and stiff during a dry season.

Susann Cole Davis, it is claimed, made the first shoes in the new settlement. Most of them were made of buck-skin, as leather was scarce. She used heavy material for the uppers with leather soles. Since there were no nails, wooden pegs were used to fasten them together. When the weather was hot and dry, the pegs shrank and caused a separation of the uppers and lowers. In order to overcome this, the shoes were worn in the ditch until the wood soaked up again. 28

Jehu Blackburn, according to Tullidge, built and put into operation the first saw mill in Utah Valley in 1849. It was located east of the fort. 29 J. W. Jensen in describing this mill states:

It was a rather primitive affair, but was the means of producing much of the lumber used for the houses and simple furniture of the pioneers. It consisted of a

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29 E. W. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 270.
frame work on which logs were placed. Two men operated
the saw, one standing on the frame, above the timber,
the other below.30

It is claimed, however, in the E. S. S. manuscript
history of Provo, that "John Porter and Alexander Williams
built the first sawmill in 1849, and were sawing lumber as
early as the fall of that year.31 The writer is unable to
definitely determine which was first but apparently both
mills operated at Fort Utah in 1849.

These pioneer industries, though primitive, paved
the way for more complex and useful mills and factories to
follow.

Cannon Explodes, Kills Dayton, Injures Bean. On
September 1, 1849, about sundown, a pathetic accident occur-
red at Fort Utah. Some powder had been secured from the
California emigrants camped at the settlement. William Day-
ton, who was supposed to have a knowledge of cannons, and
George J. Bean mounted the bastion in the center of the fort
and proceeded to load the cannon for battle practice. The
first shot went off in good order. The gunners failed to
swab out the bore and insure against remaining sparks. Day-
ton loaded another cartridge of old cotton cloth filled with
14 pounds of the powder into the muzzle of the gun and the

30 E. S. Jensen, op. cit., p. 41.
31 "History of Provo," (ms) op. cit., 1849.
two began remaining in the barrel. Suddenly, there was a disastrous explosion and a deafening roar. Both men were hurled from the bastion striking the ground about thirty feet away.

Dayton was killed outright, his jugular vein being severed by a large splinter. George W. Bean was terribly mangled but still breathing. His left hand was blown off at the wrist, his face, neck, arms, breast and right thigh were severely burned, lacerated and filled with hickory splinters from the ramrod. His eyes were so badly burned that he could not see for twenty days.

Naturally everyone was excited. A stretcher was made and George was carried into the family cabin. There was no surgeon or physician with the colony. It was learned that Captain Stansbury of the U. S. Army Engineers, who had just arrived in Salt Lake Valley, had a doctor with him.

A horse was saddled and Noughton Conover started north about 8 p.m. At Mill Creek, he obtained another horse, then rode on to Centerville where he secured Dr. Blake, the army doctor, and started back. They arrived at the fort the next day about 4 p.m., making the round trip of about 120 miles in 20 hours, a remarkable ride in those days.

The doctor immediately amputated the remaining part
of the arm between the wrist and the elbow, and removed about two hundred splinters from the various parts of his body. After long weeks of convalescing, Bean recovered, but had to go through life without his left hand.\footnote{32}

**Church Authorities Visit; Town Site Selected.** The colonists at Fort Utah were contacted frequently by letter from the L. D. S. Church authorities. Occasionally they were visited personally by the leaders. On July 1, 1849, the settlement was visited by Apostle Parley P. Pratt who preached, counseled, and greatly encouraged the saints.\footnote{33}

On Friday, September 14, 1849, President Brigham Young accompanied by Willard Richards, Heber C. Kimball, and a number of others, left Salt Lake City in three carriages for Fort Utah. The following day, September 15, they arrived at the fort. Elder Thomas Bullock who was with the President writes:

At length we came in sight of the grove, in which lies the fort, when the old pioneer gun belched forth our introduction to the fort. The brethren were collecting their cattle for the night when we arrived. On crossing the island, we saw some very beautiful timber. We then crossed the Krovo river, a fine stream, five rods wide and from 16 to 20 inches deep. On reaching this opposite bank we were met by all the inhabitants 20 minutes to 6 o'clock at the gate of the fort. We drove inside a platform on which the cannon was placed; under

\footnote{32 George W. Bean, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-61.}

\footnote{33 E. W. Tullidge, *op. cit.*, p. 234.}
the platform 4 tables, covered with the good things of the earth were built. We who had just arrived sat down to three tables and partook to our satisfaction. The visiting brethren were scattered in different homes for the night.\textsuperscript{34}

On Sunday, September 16, 1849, President Brigham Young and party met the saints in Fort Utah, the congregation meeting in the shade. Two interesting meetings were held during the day addressed by Franklin D. Richards, Erastus Snow, President Brigham Young and Branch President Isaac Higbee.\textsuperscript{35}

The next morning, September 17, 1849, President Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards and others rode out of Fort Utah in three carriages, accompanied by five men on horse-back to locate a town site. They found a very suitable place, about two miles east of the fort. Here it was decided to build a city, a mile square to be laid off in blocks of four acres each, divided into eight lots of half an acre each, reserving the center block of four acres for a chapel and school house, the streets to be five rods wide. The party then drove up onto the south end of Provo Bench, Heber C. Kimball, Thomas Bullock and President Higbee walking.

\textsuperscript{34} Thomas Bullock in "L. D. S. Journal History" op. cit., September 15, 1849.

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid. September 16, 1849.
In the afternoon the noise of an approaching hail-storm was heard and a general rush was made to prepare for its coming. In a few minutes hail as large as marbles began to fall which nearly covered the ground, broke down the buckwheat, tore the corn leaves to strips and piled up in many places three or four inches deep. This was the most severe storm that had been witnessed at the fort to date.

In the evening the visiting brethren met with some of the leading colonists in Captain Hunt's cabin to converse about the exploration of Southern Utah and the prospects of settling it. Many questions were asked in regard to routes, possibilities of traveling, locations, etc. In general, the prospects for development of Southern Utah looked very encouraging. About nine o'clock the meeting adjourned. A dance was held at the Bigbee cabin which was continued until midnight. 36

On September 19, 1849, President Brigham Young and party left Fort Utah on their return journey to Salt Lake City. 37

At a session of the L. D. S. General Conferences held in Salt Lake City, October 7, 1849, "It was moved that we lay out a city in Utah Valley" (referring to Provo). The motion

36 Ibid., September 17, 1849.
37 Ibid., September 19, 1849.
received unanimous approval of the congregation assembled.38

**Fort Utah, A Base for Exploration and Colonization.**

During the exploration and colonization of Central and Southern Utah, the Mormon leaders used Fort Utah and later Provo as a springboard or base of supplies. Typical of one of these exploration expeditions was the one led by Parley P. Pratt which visited the fort in the latter part of 1849 and the early part of 1850. In November 1849, Parley P. Pratt was commissioned by the Territorial Governor, Brigham Young, and Legislature to raise a fifty-man expedition to explore Southern Utah and ascertain its possibilities and facilities for founding new settlements. Officers were elected by the company with F. P. Pratt, president, W. W. Phelps and David Fullmer, counsellors, and John Brown, captain. Dimick B. Huntington from Fort Utah was a member of the party.39

A description of their journey through Utah Valley is gleaned from the account given by Robert T. Campbell, the clerk of the company, beginning with Sunday, November 25, 1849:

The company traveled to Cedar Grove where they camped at 4 or 5 p.m. about two and one-half miles from the Utah Fort. John Scott arrived in camp. He was after Furbelow, the mountaineer for stealing horses. Robert Campbell accompanied him to Fort Utah where they found

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Farley P. Pratt preaching. J. W. Phelps and David Fullmer also addressed the meeting. A yolk of cattle was bought; also help secured in shape of vegetables, milk, baking, etc. The camp was guarded at night . . .

Tuesday November 27: The main portion of the company reached Provo River, Utah Fort being on the south side, by 11 o'clock and halted one hour. The day was clear. The River was 24 yards wide and 18 inches deep. Timber was plentiful, the water clear and the bottom of the creek rocky. The Fort was composed of 57 log cabins built on 17½ acres of ground, 100 rods from the Provo River.40

Leaving Fort Utah, the company spent about two months in exploring in Southern Utah. In January, 1850, realizing there were only enough supplies for half of the explorers then located in Southern Utah to winter on, Farley P. Pratt divided the company, placing David Fullmer in charge of those remaining, and left with twenty men on horseback for Salt Lake Valley. Heavy snows and freezing weather were encountered by the returning party. The food ran short and part of the horses gave out as they traveled north through Juab Valley. Farley P. Pratt and Chauncey West volunteered to take two of the strongest horses and push on to Fort Utah and send relief back. In the evening of January 28, Farley and his companion arrived at the Fort nearly frozen and starved.41 The remainder of the party moved along slowly being in a pitiful condition. John Brown, who was among them relates, "two were

41 P. P. Pratt, op. cit., p. 412.
frosted and another snowblind." All suffered from exhaustion, lack of food, and extreme cold. ⁴²

Peter Conover heading a relief party end with "two bushel sacks of biscuits and other food," started back for the perishing men. The destitute travelers were located near Peeteeneet Creek (later called Payson) nearly famished and almost frozen to death. ⁴³ They were escorted to the fort where they spent the night. On February 1, 1850, they arrived in Salt Lake City. Pratt had preceded them into the city. ⁴⁴

The survival of Fort Utah during 1849 demonstrated to the Mormon leaders the practicability of colonization of other sections of central and southern Utah. Experiences gained here were profitably used in subsequent settlements.

Consequently, in the fall of 1849 another colony south of Salt Lake City was ventured. In October, Isaac Morley, with a company of 224 people left the Mormon capital, traveling south to establish a settlement in Sanpete Valley, it having been explored the previous summer. They arrived at their site for settlement November 22, 1849. ⁴⁵ As they passed

⁴² John Brown, op. cit., p. 113.
through Utah Valley, they undoubtedly stopped at Fort Utah for a short time, where repairs on equipment were made and vegetables, milk, etc., secured. For years Fort Utah and later Provo was considered as the "first stop" south of Salt Lake City during the colonization of Central and Southern Utah.

Frequently, one finds recorded in the L. D. S. Journal History such statements as, "President Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball and a number of others enroute to Sanpete Valley arrived at Fort Utah, August 1, 1850."

Or again one reads, "Returning from the trip to Sanpete Valley President Brigham Young and party arrived at Fort Utah August 10, 1850."

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46 L. D. S. Journal History, op. cit., August 1, 1850.
47 Ibid. August 10, 1850.
CHAPTER VIII

WAR CLOUDS GATHER AT FORT UTAH

Provo River, an Indian Rendezvous. It will be remem-
bered that in the opening chapter of this thesis, it was
pointed out that the Utah Lake, near the mouth of the Provo
River was a great rendezvous for the redman.¹ Thus, for
many years, especially in the spring when the fish were pass-
ing up the river from the lake, a good portion of the Ute
nation who inhabited the central Utah valleys would gather
on the banks of the Provo. One early writer relates:

It was not uncommon to see 500 lodges of Utah Indians
on and near Provo River at one time. On such occasions
what gay times they would have together. Horse racing
and gambling in many forms, visiting and sparkling, marry-
ing, and divorcing and sometimes a great deal of trading,
both between each other and the whites, especially so in
the year '49. All Indians had to come that year to look
at the white settlers and trade a little with them.²

Skirmish between Little Chief and Wanship. Shortly
after the colonists arrived at Provo River and began construct-
ing Fort Utah, Chief Wanship, head of a Goshute band, from
north of Salt Lake City, with about thirty warriors dashed
into the Ute camp about a mile from the fort at daybreak, and

¹ Cf. ante, p. 1.
killed or crippled several Indians and drove off many of their
horses. The Timpanogos Utes were taken so completely by sur-
prise that they did not offer much resistance.

Little Chief came to the fort, almost in tears, and
demanded that the colonists prove their friendship by helping
to recover the horses belonging to his band. A letter dated
April 13, 1849, from John S. and Isaac Higbee was immediately
dispatched to Brigham Young in Salt Lake City. The First
Presidency of the Church, accordingly, sent men to endeavor
to get the horses back peaceably, but Manship stubbornly re-
fused. 3

Little Chief and his braves then decided to take the
matter in their own hands. Equipping his warriors by trading
with the whites, he, with about forty of his best men, started
north to pay back the visit of Manship and Company. They
were gone about a week and returned crestfallen. A running
battle of about forty miles had taken them from Warm Springs,
north of Salt Lake City to Ogden's Hole in Weber County.
Little Chief and one or two others had been killed, but not
without killing some of the Shoshute band, among whom was
Manship's son.

Apparently this settled their belligerencies, tempo-
arily at least. Chief Stick-in-the-head assumed leadership

of the Timpanogos Utes.  

Indian relations during the Spring and Summer of 1849. As will be recalled in Chapter III of this composition the Mormon leaders were told by Jim Bridger that the Utah tribe of Indians were a "bad people." Since entering the Territory in 1847, Brigham Young, however, had constantly tried to maintain the policy that "it was better and cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them," or, as someone paraphrased it, "it is easier to control the Indians with biscuits than with bullets." The majority of the colonists who settled in Fort Utah were inclined to act in perfect harmony with this policy of Brigham Young.

Soon after the settlers arrived on the Provo River, in spite of the invitation previously extended to the colonists by Chiefs Sowiette and Walker to settle among their tribes and teach them to become civilized, the Utes began to show a spirit of unfriendliness and hostility.

Thomas S. Williams, who returned to Salt Lake City, April 17, 1849, from Fort Bridger reported that "the Chiefs Old Elk and Walker were urging the bands of Ute Indians to join in an attack on the settlement of the Saints in Utah

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5 Cf. ante, p. 25.
Regarding this situation C. F. Whitney contends.

It was believed by Governor Young that Colonel Bridger and other mountaineers were at the bottom of much of the ill-feeling manifested by the red men, and that they were incited to attack the Mormon settlements. The Governor, however, seemed to have confidence in Mr. Vasquez, who had opened a small store in Salt Lake City and whose interests to that extent were identified with those of the settlers.

Under date of April 19, 1849, Dimick B. Huntington wrote the following letter to Brigham Young from Utah Valley.

"We are all well and in prosperous health, and a good spirit prevails through the camp. All goes well with the gentry. Katsowet, an influential Indian, a brother of the one that we killed at Battle Creek, came in yesterday and cut up high swells, brother Hunt will tell about it. I have made him our friend. He says a great deal about Walker coming in soon. A war party has gone today in pursuit of Janship to retake those horses.

We marshalled ourselves yesterday and find twenty muskets in camp and no cartridges. I wish you would send by Captain Hunt twenty rounds apiece for each gun, if you think it best. We will take care of the ammunition; we have but one keg of powder and no cartridges. I think it would be good to have another keg, if you please. We fired the cannon once, and it had good effect. There is quite a number of Indians in this vicinity; they appear very friendly at present, but they are very uncertain. The weather is very warm and the river is rising fast.

(Signed) Dimick B. Huntington 9

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A month later under date of May 18, 1849, Dimick B. Huntington forwarded another letter from Fort Utah to Brigham Young which stated among other things that the Indians were very numerous at the settlement and that they appeared very friendly.¹⁰

The following day, May 19, President Brigham Young answered Huntington's letter urging him and his associates to finish their fort immediately. He advised them to keep continually on their guard and not to admit the Indians inside the stockade unless it were a few at a time and then not when they were armed. President Young further stated that the colonists could not be too cautious nor too well prepared for defense, since they might be deceived by the apparent overkindness of the Indians and at an unguarded moment suffer loss.¹¹

At a council meeting held by the General Authorities of the Mormon Church in Salt Lake City, May 27, 1849, with Brigham Young presiding, it was decided that Alexander Williams and Dimick B. Huntington should have the privilege of trading with the Indians for the community and that all other persons should be prohibited under fine, also that the traders

¹¹ Ibid. May 19, 1849.
should be paid double wages when so engaged. In the latter part of the letter from Brigham Young to Isaac Nigbee, dated May 28, 1849, part of which was quoted in the previous chapter, President Young informed Nigbee of this action of the council and concludes with:

It will be better for our settlement not to be so familiar with the Indians; it makes them bold, impudent and saucy and will become a source of trouble and expense to you. Keep them at a respectful distance all the time, and they will respect you the more for it.

(Signed) Brigham Young

Thus matters moved along at Fort Utah with varying success during the spring and summer of 1849, but in spite of the precautions taken by the leaders to prevent conflicts, open hostilities seemed inevitable. From the apparent reaction of Little Chief and his band of Timpanogos Utes after the skirmish at Battle Creek described in Chapter V of this paper, it appears that these Indians did not seriously condemn the militia but "blood is thicker than water." The relationship between the whites and the redmen could not help but have been strained from then on. The breach in friendship appeared to be getting wider all the time as the year 1849 advanced.

13 Cf. ante, p. 75.
15 Cf. ante, p. 46.
"Old Bishop" Murdered. In the midst of this growing tension between the Fort Utah colonists and the Timpanogos Utes, a tragic circumstance occurred. About the first of August, 1849, three of the settlers, Richard A. Ivie, Y. Rufus Stoddard, and Jerome Zabriskie met an Indian in the field near the fort, called "Old Bishop." He had jokingly been called this name because his appearance and gestures somewhat resembled those of the L. V. J. Presiding Bishop Newell K. Whitney. Ivie claimed the hickory shirt the Indian was wearing was his; stated that it had been stolen, and demanded that it be given up. "Old Bishop" refused to give it up saying that he had bought it. They tried to take it from him by force. He drew his bow and in defense Stoddard shot him through the head, killing him instantly. Deciding to keep it a secret and fearing the results, his body was dragged to the river, weighted with rocks and sunk to the bottom.

Not getting to camp that night, he was soon missed. Parties of Indians searched for him all night, but his body was not found until the next day. It soon "leaked out" as to who were the perpetrators. Immediately there was great excitement among the redmen. They, at first, demanded the murderers which was refused by the whites. They then required compensation in cattle and horses, but the colonists did nothing to satisfy their demands. Shortly after this, horses and cattle of the settlers were found with arrows sticking in
them, and on several occasions persons were shot at while away from the fort. 16

James Woff, one of the colonists stated later:

The men who killed the Indian ripped his bowels open and filled them with stones preparatory to sinking the body. The Indians assert that, annually, on the anniv-
ersary of his death the "Old Bishop" appears on the bank of the river and slowly takes the rocks one by one out of his bowels and throws them into the river, then dis-
appears. Some (white) fishermen have watched in hopes of having an interview with the "Bishop's ghost." 17

Open Warfare Impending. Meanwhile the settlers pre-
pared for defense. The militia drilled daily. As before 
stated, Peter W. Conover was in command with R. T. Thomas 
and G. T. Willis, lieutenants, James Weaver, adjutant, and 
Joseph Clark, sergeant. Guards were posted at night and 
armed herdsmen on horseback kept the stock from being driven 
off during the day. In spite of this vigilance, cattle and 
horses were stolen from time to time by the Indians, and the 
colonists were ordered off the land with serious threats if 
they failed to leave. 18

Open conflict at this time was probably delayed by 
the arrival of the California emigrants mentioned in the 
previous chapter, who camped near the fort for four or five

16 G. W. Bean, op. cit., p. 50; The Daily Enquirer, 
op. cit., November 27, 1844; and the statement made by James 
Bean to Brigham Young, June 12, 1844, quoted in "History of 
Utah Stake," op. cit., January 1850.


18 R. Gottfredsen, op. cit., p. 23.
weeks.19

Under date of October 15, 1849, Isaac Higbee wrote to President Brigham Young from Fort Utah reporting that the Indians had been troublesome for several weeks. The savages had shot at Jabez Nowland, R. T. Thomas and James Ivie, killed two animals belonging to the settlers and stolen some corn. Some of the colonists had told the Indians that they were angry. Consequently, the main body of the Indian encampment marched out of their camp toward the fort and then halted. Three of their number, two of whom were naked and unarmed, with one carrying a stick with feathers tied to it, advanced and met representatives of the colony outside the fort. The Indians then stated they had heard the whites were angry with them, and had come to make peace. A peace council was then held, in which the calumet was passed around. However, the Indians still persisted in stealing, and "were very saucy, annoying, provoking, threatening to kill the men and take the women. 20

President Brigham Young sent the following letter in reply, addressing it to President Isaac Higbee, under date of October 18, 1849:

19*O*F. ante, p. 77.

Dear Brethren:

In reply to your letter of the 15th inst; requesting counsel concerning the Indians, we reply: Take care of your corn, brethren, and grain of all kinds, and pursue the course proposed in our former letters and counsel to you. Stockade your fort and attend to your own affairs, and let the Indians take care of theirs. Let your women and children stay in the fort, and the Indians stay out, but, while you mix with them promiscuously, you must continue to receive such treatment from them which they please to give. This is what we have told you continually and you will find it true.

Let any man or company of men be familiar with Indians and they will be more familiar; and the more familiar, you will find the less influence you will have with them. If you would have dominion over them, for their good which is the duty of the Elders, you must not treat them as your equals. You cannot exalt them by this process. If they are your equals, you cannot raise them up to you.

You have been too familiar with them; your children have mixed promiscuously with them; they have been free in your houses, and some of the brethren have spent too much time in smoking and chatting with them, instead of teaching them to labor. Such a course has encouraged them in idleness and ignorance, the effects of which you begin to feel. You must now rid yourselves of these evils . . . .

A steady and upright and persevering course may yet restore or gain the confidence of the Indians, and you will be safe.

You had better finish your fort, bring all your grain into it and continue to live in it at present. And when the town is laid out, build thereon, as you have means and the way shall open.

May the Lord bless you with wisdom and direct your course in all things, is the prayer of your brother,

(Signed) Brigham Young

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As the year 1849 drew to a close and 1850 began, Indian relations became so critical at Fort Utah that open warfare seemed inevitable. The Utes increased their depredations, becoming bolder and more insolent daily. The colonists would occasionally fire their cannon as a warning, but the Indians were not awed by sound and smoke. Stock continued to be taken from the herds, and all efforts to recover stolen property were stoutly resisted. Finally, the Indians began firing on the settlers as they traveled out of their fort. At last the colony was virtually in a state of siege. No longer was it arrows alone that fell around them but bullets whizzed past their ears.22 The Indians were now well supplied with firearms and ammunition, having secured them, as related in the previous chapter from the California emigrants.

Evidently many of the Indians were anxious to provoke a conflict. Peter W. Conover relates:

In the winter of 1849, the Indians became very troublesome. They would not let us go after our stock, or after wood without shooting at us. We put up with it until February (1850) trying to keep peace with them, but all in vain. They called us old women and cowards, and that we were afraid to fight with them.23

The situation was getting very critical. A letter

was received in Salt Lake City, January 9, 1850, from Alexander Williams and others at the fort, informing Brigham Young that the Indians were stealing horses and cattle and threatening war.\(^\text{24}\)

However, although keenly interested in the future of a new colony, President Young, until the last, vainly attempted to avert war. He replied by letter to this latest dispatch recapitulating the counsel previously given to the settlers. He further stated that there was no necessity for a fight with the Indians if the colonists would act wisely in their contacts with them. He warned the settlers if they killed Indians for stealing they would have to answer for it. He then proposed for their consideration the following pointed questions:

Why should men have the disposition to kill a destitute, naked Indian, who may steal a shirt or a horse and think it no harm when they never think of meting out a like retribution to a white man who steals, although he has been taught better from infancy.\(^\text{25}\)

**Messengers Dispatched to Governor Young.** The inhabitants of Fort Utah again patiently bore their losses and danger for a few days longer, but finally in desperation, on January 31, 1849, Isaac Higbee sent Peter W. Conover and Miles Weaver by express to Salt Lake City to lay the case before


Brigham Young, making the trip in four hours\textsuperscript{26} by horseback, which was an unusual fete, they reported conditions at Fort Utah as extremely perilous. They stated "that the brethren were agreed in asking the privilege of defending themselves and chastising the Indians."\textsuperscript{27}

Governor Young upon receiving the message found himself in a peculiar position. It was definitely evident that the colonists, besieged in the fort, must be relieved at once, not only for their own sakes, but for the future of the proposed colonies in other parts of Utah Valley and Southern Utah. But how was the best way to handle the situation? As stated above the Mormon leader's lifelong policy toward the redmen was "feed them and not fight them."

Again, how would the authorities at Washington by whom the petition of Deseret for statehood was then being considered, act if improperly informed regarding the opening of warfare on these "wards of the Government?" To some, such a thought as this might seem irrelevant. However, a people like the Mormons, whose every act, owing to prejudice existing against them, was liable to be misinterpreted, had to be cautious in every step that was taken.\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{26} P. J. Conover, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{27} L. D. S. Journal History, \textit{op. cit.}, January 31, 1849.
\textsuperscript{28} C. F. Whitney, \textit{op. cit.}, Volume I, p. 425.
Captain Howard Stansbury Consulted. Fortunately in the territory at that time there was a United States Army topographical Engineer Expedition headed by Captain Howard Stansbury, previously referred to, who was a sane, level-headed, unprejudiced, far-seeing man. On February 1, the day following the arrival of the couriers from Fort Utah, Brigham Young, accompanied by Williard Richards, George A. Smith, Daniel H. Wells, George D. Grant and Thomas Bullock, went to Captain Stansbury's headquarters, then located in Salt Lake City, and discussed the situation with him and his aid Lieutenant Gunnison. Then asked by Governor Young what view the government would probably take, the Captain not only warmly approved an expedition against the hostile Indians besieging Fort Utah, but assigned Lieutenant Howland and Dr. Blake to accompany the expedition. He also contributed liberally in army camp equipment, guns and ammunition.

Captain Stansbury's party, during the fall of 1849, had been surveying around Utah Lake where they were also annoyed by the savages. As winter came on, they suspended their labors and returned to Salt Lake City, feeling satisfied that in the existing state of affairs in Utah Valley it would be both difficult and dangerous for them to continue operations.

29 Cf. ante, pp. 33-34.

for the time being, exposed as they would be to the attacks from the Indians, either in the open or in ambush.

In his report to the Federal Government, part of which was quoted in Chapter IV of this thesis,\textsuperscript{31} Captain Stansbury made the following statement regarding the Indian depredations in Utah Valley at this time and the conference with the Mormon leaders:

After the party left Lake Utah for winter quarters in Salt Lake City, the Indians became more insolent, boasting of what they had done—driving off the stock of the inhabitants in the southern settlements, resisting all attempts to recover them, and finally firing upon the people themselves, as they issued from their little stockade to attend to their ordinary occupations. Under these circumstances, the settlers in Utah Valley applied to the supreme government, at Salt Lake City, for counsel as to the proper course of action. The president was at first extremely averse to the adoption of harsh measures; but, after several conciliatory overtures had been resorted to in vain, he very properly determined to put a stop, by force, to further aggressions, which, if not resisted could only end in the total destruction of the colony. Before coming to this decision, the authorities called upon me to consult as to the policy of the measure, and to request the expression of my opinion as to what view the Government of the United States might be expected to take of it. Knowing, as I did, most of the circumstances, and feeling convinced that some action of the kind would ultimately, have to be resorted to, as the forbearance already shown had been only attributed to weakness and cowardice, and had served but to encourage further and bolder outrages, I did not hesitate to say to them that, in my judgment, the contemplated expedition against these savage marauders was a measure not only of good policy, but one of absolute necessity and self-preservation. I knew the leader of the Indians to be a crafty and blood-thirsty savage, who had been already guilty of several

\textsuperscript{31} Cf. ante, pp. 33-34.
murders, and had openly threatened that he would kill every white man that he found alone upon the prairies. In addition to this, I was convinced that the completion of the yet unfinished survey of the Utah Valley, the coming season, must otherwise be attended with serious difficulty, if not actual hazard, and would involve the necessity of a largely increased and armed escort for its protection. Such being the circumstances, the course proposed could not but meet my entire approval.  

**Expeditionary Force Rushed to Fort Utah.** On February 2, 1850, Brigham Young called together a number of prominent military and civic leaders, meeting in the Council house in Salt Lake City. The Indian depredations at Fort Utah were discussed and a decision was reached to subdue them. This decision was endorsed by Captain Howard Stansbury and General Daniel H. Wells, commander of the local militia in the Provisional State of Deseret, who were present. General Wells then made a public call for volunteers.  

The following day, February 3, Captain George D. Grant (of the militia) gathered the first company of about fifty men at the Bowery in Salt Lake City. At that time Captain Stansbury wrote the following letter to President Young:  

> Understanding that your expedition against the Utah Indians is about to start today, I am anxious that you should have the use of everything I have, that may be of advantage to its successful issue. I have already furnished all the arms I have, together with such other things as Captain Grant thought he should want. Should there be anything else which at this late hour may occur to you, I hope you will not hesitate to apply to me for it, and should it be in my power, it shall be at your

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32 Howard Stansbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

disposal. I wish particularly to say, that the services of Dr. Blake and Lieut. Howland are to be entirely without compensation, they being under pay of the Government and I hope that they may prove serviceable to the campaign.34

A second company of fifty volunteers was placed under command of Major Andrew Lytle, gathering at Big Cottonwood Creek, making a total of about one hundred men for the expedition.

Captain Stansbury continuing his report, part of which has already been quoted, to the Federal Government states:

A force of one hundred men was accordingly organized and, upon application of President Young, leave was given to Lieutenant Howland of the Mounted Rifles, then on duty with my command, to accompany the expedition as its adjutant; such assistance also was furnished as it was in my power to afford, consisting of arms, tents, camp-equipage, and ammunition.35

On Wednesday, February 6, Brigham Young, accompanied by Ezra T. Benson and General Daniel H. Wells, traveled to the rendezvous of the militia at Cottonwood, where he addressed them briefly. At 10 a.m. the troops started on their journey south.36

The next day, February 7, the militia continued their march, traveling all night in order to take the Indians unawares and secure an advantageous position. The weather was

34 Ibid. February 4, 1850.
35 Howard Stansbury, op. cit., p. 149.
intensely cold, there being nearly two feet of snow covering the entire Utah Valley. 37

It is interesting to note that among these men serving as subordinate officers and privates were Lot Smith, Robert T. Burton, James Ferguson, and William A. Kimball who later figured prominently in the Utah Militia as generals.

The troops arrived after midnight which would be early in the morning of February 8, 1850. 38 A council of war was held immediately between the Salt Lake militia and the fighting men of Fort Utah under Captain Conover, planning the campaign the next morning. The Salt Lake City men then were distributed throughout the cabins in the fort where they made their quarters during the campaign. They then laid down on their beds on the floor to obtain a few hours rest before the engagement in the morning. 39

Meanwhile, the Indians, continuing their depredations and unaware that reinforcements were on their way to the fort, stole four of Mrs. Hunt's cows out of the corral and killed them. 40 Captain Jefferson Hunt as it will be recalled was away from the fort at this time.

37 Ibid. February 7, 1850.


CHAPTER IX

THE BATTLE OF THE PROVO

War Council held. At dawn on February 8, 1850, the war council, started a few hours earlier, was continued at Fort Utah between the military leaders of the fort and the Salt Lake Militia. It is probable that Lieutenant Howland of the United States Army who had accompanied the troops from Salt Lake City as adjutant met with them also. It was planned to use both militias in surrounding the Indian fortifications, with each military leader given certain responsibilities. Although not revealed in the records, in detail, it can be correctly assumed, during the war council held in the early morning hours when the troops first arrived from Salt Lake Valley and continued at this time, that a military inventory was taken, including a count of the total number of fighting men and the supplies both in arms and food available. Likewise, the contour of the possible battle ground was reviewed and the strength of the enemy evaluated.

A Reconnoiter of the Enemy. The Timpanogos Utes in Utah Valley at this time were under the command of Chiefs Elk—variously referred to as Big Elk, Old Elk, etc.—and

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Ope-Carry or Stick-on-the-Lead. The latter was a superior chief and like Sowiette was inclined to be friendly with the whites, but Big Elk who was brave, cool and determined, standing over six feet high, was the greater warrior. Upon him rested the burden of the responsibility in the fight. There is a variance of opinion as to how many Indians were engaged in the battle. Tullidge records that Big Elk "had under his command in the engagement about seventy warriors."\(^2\) Epsy Jane Williams Face, daughter of Alexander Williams, an officer in the Fort Utah Militia, states, however, that there were "one hundred and ten Indians in number who . . . opened fire on the cavalry."\(^3\) The records of Conover, Thomas, Booth and Whitney do not make an estimate, although all agree that the Indians had a powerful band, possessing arms equal to those of the expedition sent out against them. Their guns and ammunition, as noted above, had been principally supplied by trading their horses to the California emigrants.

The Indians were strongly entrenched in the willow brush and cottonwood timber along the river bottom, on the east side of Provo River about a mile or two above the fort, near the present river bridge on Highway 91. They were protected not only by a six to eight foot riverbank, but also by


\(^3\) Epsy Jane Williams Face, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
a breast-work of cottonwood trees which they had felled. Nearby, and almost directly east, stood a double log cabin facing the river, built by James Bean, who because of Indian hostilities had deserted it and moved back to the fort. The Indians had taken possession of this cabin and had fortified it also.4

Troops Take Their Positions; Last Minute Truce Sought.

About sunrise the troops left the fort. Captain Peter Conover, accompanied by Lieutenant R. T. Thomas, with the major portion of the Fort Utah Infantry (about sixty men according to Conover) crossed the river at the fort and marched up the northwest side to a point opposite the Indian entrenchment from where the attack was made. The stream at this point runs generally in a southwesterly direction. Lieutenant Alexander Williams with a smaller part (about thirty) of the local militia marched up the southeast bank of the river.5

Captain George D. Grant at the same time with his mounted men marched toward the Indian camp, taking with them Dimick B. Huntington, the Fort Utah Indian interpreter. The Salt Lake Militia was likewise divided by Captain Grant with part of the troops going on each side of the river in pursuance of the plan to surround the Indian encampment with


the two forces. 6 A field headquarters was set up near a deserted building about a half a mile down the river from the bean cabin now occupied by the Indians. 7

Arriving near the Indian fortification, Dimick Huntington called out to the Chiefs for a "talk." Stick-on-the-Head came out and talked at length with Huntington. He was inclined for a treaty of peace. Seeing the force that had come against his band, he foresaw doom to his warriors if they persisted in their hostilities and provoked the battle. However, during the parley between him and the interpreter, the influence of Big Elk prevailed with the warriors who opened fire, whereupon Captain Grant ordered his troops to return the fire. The battle was thus begun. 8

First Day’s Assault. The battle during the first day was about an even match. Much of the fighting was done in true frontier manner, "Every man took care of himself and as many of the enemy as he could." 9 Concealed behind their strong fortifications, the Indian warriors kept the militia at bay until evening. The savages would frequently dash forward from their entrenchments, deliver their fire, then quickly

9 O. B. Huntington, op. cit., Part II. p. 54.
retreat. They also made holes through the snow on the bank which was two feet thick, and putting the muzzles of their guns through these novel loop holes, delivered their fire by raising their heads above the bank for a moment to take aim.10

It was from the double log cabin previously mentioned, however, that the Indians were most effective in keeping at bay the militia fighting on the southeast side of the river. The redskins kept up a continuous fire from its windows and crevices.11

Meanwhile, when Captain Conover and his men arrived opposite the Indian fortification across the river, they noticed that some of the Indian horses were between the encampment and the river. Knowing how the Indians depend on their horses in battle, Conover sent R. T. Thomas and Robert Hugout across the river which was full of floating ice to get the horses. Their mission was successful, due in part, perhaps, to the fact that the Indian defenders were at that time focusing their attention on Captain Grant's men on the southeast side. Just as they were coming up the northwest bank, the Indians noticed them and opened fire in that direction. If it had not been for an overhanging limb, Thomas claims he

10 E. W. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 238.
would have been struck by a rifle ball.\textsuperscript{12}

As stated earlier in this chapter much of the fighting in this battle was individually done. To illustrate, Peter Conover relates the following published in "The Daily Enquirer:"

I heard six shots whistle by my head, but I couldn't tell where they came from. One of the bullets came so close that it left a red welt across my cheek. It felt like a hot iron passing over my face. After the sixth shot had been fired, I caught sight of an Indian's head stuck from behind a tree. I fired with the intention of knocking his eye out, but I was a little too quick and hit him on the cheek. He never fired any more after that; the blood blinded him. The Indian was "Fisherman." We became great friends.\textsuperscript{13}

On the other side of the river, one Indian posted in a tree to take and report his observations, was shot and killed by Albert Liles of the Salt Lake men from a considerable distance. Liles asked Lieutenant Howland to loan him his smooth-bore rifle, with which, being a capital marksman, he brought the Indian down.\textsuperscript{14}

Weary with the futile efforts to dislodge the Indians and nearly perishing with the cold, the militia returned to the fort at dark. After supper another Council of War was held among the leaders of the Salt Lake troops and the local militia. Lieutenant Howland of Captain Stansbury's command

\textsuperscript{12} A. T. Thomas, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 27.

\textsuperscript{13} "An Old Veteran," article in \textit{The Daily Enquirer} Provo, Utah. March 26, 1891.

\textsuperscript{14} E. J. Tullidge, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 238.
was also present. It was decided to take the log cabin in which the Indians were located the next day at all costs. Lieutenant Howland, who was experienced in methods of assault, also suggested a movable batteru, which was completed the next day. It was built in the form of an "H", with two inch planks laid up edgewise on the top of the runners. The outside was screened with brush, while inside there were hung, loosely, buffalo robes and blankets to stop the force of the bullets should they penetrate through the timbers.\(^\text{15}\)

So much determination was exhibited by the Indians and such a desperate defense made that it was decided to send to Salt Lake City for General Daniel W. Wells to take personal command which he did, but he didn't arrive until after the second day's engagement.

One small band of Indians, camped on the southwest side of the river near the fort, headed by Ankotowats (Tullidge spells it Antonguer) continued to be friendly with the whites. They came to the fort on February 8, asking peace in return for aid. Peter Conover relates:

> We thought we had better bring them into the fort so they could not telegraph movements to the other Indians. The next morning (February 9) I took ten men, and went over before sunrise and brought them into the fort.\(^\text{16}\)

\(^{15}\) E. W. Tullidge, Loc. cit.

\(^{16}\) P. J. Conover, op. cit., p. 9.
While in the fort they were fed and protected, and at the same time served as scouts for the militia.

The Second Day's Fight; a Turning Point. The battle was resumed the next morning, February 9, without much success at first for the attacking forces, but before the day was over the tide of battle was turned. The battle positions of the previous day were generally taken again, although more of the Fort Utah Militia were dispatched to the southeast bank of the Tonto River.

Lieutenant Alexander Williams led ten of the local infantry through the heavy brush driving up the river from the fort to rout any advance Indian patrol who may have pushed forward from their main entrenchment. This little company suffered heavily from casualties. Williams, himself, was wounded and Joseph Nigbee, the only son of Isaac Nigbee, was killed. 17

That morning before Joseph left the fort he had a strong presentiment of impending danger and remarked about it before leaving the house. His sister Amanda advised him under such feelings not to go, but he replied that even if he knew that he was going to be killed, he would still go, since others would be risking their lives also. When the Indians were encountered, he with others sought protection. He and

17 Epsy Jane Williams race, op. cit., p. 2.
a comrade were concealed behind a fallen log. His partner saw an Indian sniper whose gun was pointed in their direction. Hisbee asked if it would be safe to look over the log. His friend warned against it, but Joseph, weary from the cramped position and intense cold, decided to venture a survey. The moment his head appeared above the log, the redskin fired, the bullet passing through his neck, killing him almost instantly.18

Early in the afternoon, materializing the plan of the previous night of taking the bean cabin at all hazards, Captain Grant ordered Lieutenant William H. Kimball, with fifteen picked cavalrymen, to charge on the cabin to get possession of it and open fire upon the Indian stronghold at close range. Among those who participated in this charge, one of the most spectacular exploits of the campaign, were Lot Smith, Robert T. Burton, James Ferguson, Ephraim H. Hanks, Henry Johnson, Isham Flynn, Orson K. Whitney, John A. Murdock A. J. Pendleton, and Barney Ward.19

The little company of cavalry proceeded up the river bottom until they were nearly opposite the log house. The command was given to charge. Dashing forward through a ravine that for some moments hid them from view, the horse-

18 J. E. Booth, op. cit., p. 7; J. L. Jensen, op. cit., p. 54.
men emerged upon the flat and were within a few rods of the house when a roaring volley from the Indian fortification met them. Isham flynn was wounded and the charge was momentarily checked. The troops dashed on, however, the Indians from the cabin making a flying retreat to the bank of the river, which was about fifty yards west of the house. The first two cavalrymen to reach the cabin were Lot Smith and Robert T. Burton who succeeded in riding their horses into the passage that divided the rooms of the double log house of which they took possession.

The Indians quickly recovering from the surprise of the charge, fired from their entrenchment on the remainder of the detachment with such force that the troopers had to take shelter under the end of the house, but half of their best horses were killed almost immediately. Between the volleys, some of the men darting around the corner of the house, gained the inside, while others waited until an opening was made in the rear.

After the cavalry charge, a small company of Fort Utah Infantry, ten in number, under Jabez B. Rowland, were also ordered to charge on the house to support the cavalry which they heroically did. They took a saw and an axe and reaching the cabin cut an entrance in the rear. Some, however, went around the corner into the passage and were fired on by the savages. Jabez Rowland, being one of them, was shot in the
nose as he rounded the corner.  

Abner Blackburn humorously records that Jabez Lowland had a "very large nose, his wife told him in the morning if he was shot it would be in his nose, and sure enough he was."  

Seeing that something was wrong, Captain Grant requested Hyrum D. Clawson to ride to the cabin and ascertain what was needed. The hazardous feat was successful, and returning, reported a need for surgical aid. He and his cousin, Stephen Kinsey, a surgeon, then rode back to the log house. As they returned, they narrowly escaped being killed, although neither was hurt. One bullet passed near Clawson's head and through Kinsey's hat, and another through Kinsey's trousers.

Meanwhile, after being constructed and transported to the front lines, the moveable battery, which might be called the forerunner of the modern battle tank, went into action. This pointed barricade, behind which quite a number of men could take shelter, and fire without being much exposed, was pushed toward the Indian stronghold. The Indians becoming

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21 Abner Blackburn, quoted in Provo, Pioneer Mormon City, op. cit., p. 57.

thoroughly alarmed at the approach of this strange object were demoralized and in superstitious fear planned to retreat which they did that evening under darkness.  

Artillery was employed against the Indians during the two days, but according to Whitney, since the Indian entrenchment was under the river bank, "most of the balls passed harmlessly over." Tullidge claims, however, that this cannon was effective, sighting as proof that a dead squaw was "found in a wickiup with her legs cut off by a chain-shot." John E. Booth adds: "A cannon was planted... (behind the lines) and brought to bear on the bean house where the Indians were entrenched; one shot going right through it."

An amusing story is told by the settlers regarding this cannon. A Dutchman was the first to fire it and being informed that his shots were going over the wickiups shouted, "By... , poys, elevate it a little lower!" At this point Riley G. Clark of the local militia said, "Give me the cannon!" and his first shot went through a wickiup which was thought to be the one that cut the squaw's legs off.

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25 E. W. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 239.
26 J. E. Booth, op. cit., p. 7.
27 E. W. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 239.
About 5 p.m. most of the Fort Utah Militia and the cavalry on the northwest side of the river were ordered to return to the fort, while those on the southeast side remained for an hour or so longer to support the company in the log cabin. The firing between the Indians and the whites who remained lasted until after 9 p.m.; and so vigorously was it kept up that the whole battle area was illuminated with the flashes of fire.\(^{28}\) Gradually as the night advanced, the firing ceased and the troops limped back to the fort.

While the men were on the battle lines, the women and older children of the fort did heroic work. Typical of this devotion is a description of the activities of Epsy Jane Williams Pace:

I was a young girl at the time this happened. I nursed and took care of the wounded and cooked for eighteen of the Cottonwood Company at home besides our own family and then after 9 p.m. I went to the Bishop's (Isaac Higbee) and cooked for William H. Kimball and his company of 29, also the Bishop's family the night Joseph Higby was killed.\(^{29}\)

\textbf{One Dead and Eighteen Wounded.} During the two days' engagement, there was a total casualty list among the whites of about nineteen.\(^{30}\) As described earlier in the chapter,

\(^{28}\) E. W. Tullidge, \textit{Loc. cit.}

\(^{29}\) Epsy Jane Williams Pace, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 2.

Joseph Highbee was killed,\textsuperscript{31} and eighteen were wounded. Among those wounded both from the Fort Utah and the Salt Lake Valley Militias, as gleaned from the original records,\textsuperscript{32} were Alexander Williams, Isham Flyn, Jabez Howland, Albert Miles, Miles Standly, one of the Ivies, Joseph Orr, Samuel Carn, Alexander Stevens and Samuel Casus.

The dead and wounded, as soon as possible after being injured, were sent to the fort. Here a log cabin belonging to Chauncey Turner was used for a hospital. Dr. Blake of the U. S. Army Topographical engineers who was greatly appreciated by the militia, gave surgical care to the wounded, and Mrs. Hannah Turner acted as nurse.\textsuperscript{33}

While convalescing during the next few weeks the more seriously wounded were confined indoors. As they improved, they made life as pleasant and enjoyable as possible by entertaining themselves with intellectual and recreational activities. Albert Mills, although shot in both legs, would play the "fiddle," while the other cripples who were able would dance.\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{31} Cf. \textit{ante}, pp. 119-120.

\textsuperscript{32} G. W. Bean, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 62; R. T. Thomas, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 27; \textit{The Daily Enquirer, op. cit.}, Nov. 27, 1894; J. E. Booth, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 7.

\textsuperscript{33} E. W. Tullidge, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 240.

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{The Daily Enquirer, op. cit.}, November 27, 1894.
Sunday a Day of Rest; Indian Encampment Deserted.

Since February 10, 1850, the day following the charge of the movable battery, cavalry and infantry, was Sunday, General Daniel H. Wells ordered a day of rest. He had arrived the night before to take personal command.

An Indian scout, one of those friendly Indians who was taken into the fort the previous day, left the settlement early. He returned in a short time and reported that the Indian fortification was vacated. The savages had retired unobserved during the night after the battle, leaving their dead wherever they fell in the snow, but carrying their wounded with them. Kimball's men had finally vacated the cabin late at night. Before their retreat, the redmen had generously supplied themselves with horse meat from those killed in the charge. Besides the dead warriors found in the deserted encampment, a dead squaw was found—the one killed by the cannon—in a nearby wickiup with her legs cut off.

The Indians in their flight had divided, one group going east of the Provo River in the direction of Rock Canyon, while the other, which appeared to be the majority, traveled toward the south end of Utah Lake.

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35 E. W. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 239.
Troops Sent to Intercept the Retreating Indians.

On Monday morning, February 11, General Wells detailed Captain Conover with most of his detachment to remain at the fort. Another company under Major Lytle and Captain Lamoreaux were ordered to follow the trail of the Indian retreat leading up Rock Canyon. Near the mouth of the canyon, some wickiups were found. In one of these was the body of Chief Big Elk who had died from wounds received on the battle field. His being wounded had probably disheartened the Indians as much as Lieutenant Howland's battery and the charge of the cavalry and infantry. Howland had returned to Salt Lake City after the second day's skirmish.

As the troops approached the wickiups, there was a general scattering of the squaws and papooses. Big Elk's squaw, who the colonists claimed was intelligent, and the most beautiful among the Ute Indians, fled and in attempting to climb a precipice, fell, killing herself instantly. Tradition has it that Squaw Peak, northeast of Provo, received its name from this incident.\(^36\)

The troops then pursued the warriors up Rock Canyon where a brief skirmish was fought, but the savages escaped. The militia brought a number of squaws and papooses as prisoners into the fort when they returned. Nothing was known of

this band of escaping warriors until spring when they came
down the Provo River, having gone as far as the Weber River.
According to Tullidge, they were thirteen in number being all
that were left of the Indian braves who engaged in the Provo
battle.37

In the meantime, General Wells and Captain Grant with
the main body of the cavalry set out upon the trail of the
Indians who had gone south. At a point about where Spanish
Fork is located today and again near Payson short skirmishes
occurred. Eventually, the Indians were overtaken near Table
Mountain, at the south end of Utah Lake where, in the ensuing
fight, five were killed and seventeen were taken prisoners.
The next morning, the Indians tried to overpower the
guards and were partially successful in retaking their arms.
The fight was renewed as the Indians fled on the ice across
the lake. It was extremely hard for the cavalry horses to
keep their footing. The Indians, when shot at, would fall as
if dead, and then, as their pursuers would draw near, they
would rise and fire. In this affray, the remaining Indians
were killed, and several of the militia's horses. However,
none of the whites were injured.38

38 O. F. Whitney, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 430; E. W.
Tullidge, op. cit., p. 239.
When the cavalry returned to the lakeshore, it was night and bitterly cold. They took refuge in the wickiups vacated by the Indians on the mountain side, which provided some protection from the extremely cold weather. Not so, however, from the attacks of the vermin left behind by the Indians.\textsuperscript{39}

On the following morning the cavalry returned to fort Utah, bringing with them as prisoners a number of squaws and papooses who were fed and cared for by the colonists. Some of them were later transported to Salt Lake City. An effort was made to educate and train them out as a rule without success. Eventually, most of them sought their native habitants.

There is a difference of opinion regarding the total number of Indian casualties during the engagement. Of those giving estimates Tallidge records that there were only thirteen left out of a total of between seventy and eighty;\textsuperscript{40} Whitney estimates the Indian loss about forty;\textsuperscript{41} Booth sets the Indian dead as low as thirty;\textsuperscript{42} A. T. Thomas' total adds

\textsuperscript{39} J. K. Jensen, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 56.
\textsuperscript{40} E. W. Tallidge, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 240.
\textsuperscript{42} J. E. Booth, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 7.
Indian prisoners at Fort Utah from drawing in Stansbury's "Valley of the Great Salt Lake"

Chief elk and his Squaw from drawing in Stansbury's "Valley of the Great Salt Lake"
up to sixty-two;\textsuperscript{43} while \textit{apsy Jane Williams Race} claimed there were one hundred and one killed.\textsuperscript{44} In the opinion of the writer it was hard for anyone to accurately estimate how many warriors were engaged in the battle. Likewise, it was hard to estimate the total dead. However, all sources agree that most of the Indian warriors in the fight were annihilated.

Following the battle Dr. Blake, the Army surgeon, "cut the heads off the Indians that were killed and brought them to the fort. He had forty or fifty heads," narrated \textit{apsy Jane Williams Race}, "and said after the flesh was off he was going to take them back to Washington."\textsuperscript{45}

\textbf{Abner Blackburn} gives a lively picture of this head-hunting expedition:

a few days after the last battle with the indians a government surgeon wanted James Or and me to take a sley cross over on the ice and secure the indians heads for he wanted to send them to Washington to a medical institution. hired a sley cross over the ice the weather was bitter cold. the surgeon took out his box of instruments and commenced it took him a quarter of an hour to cut off one head, the sun was setting low and freezing cold Jim and me took the job in our own hands we were not going to wait on the surgeons slow motion jerked our knives out and had them all off in a few minutes.

\textsuperscript{43} R. T. Thomas, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 27-28.

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{apsy Jane Williams Race}, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Loc. cit.}
they wear frozen and came of easy in our passion the surgeon stood back and watched us finish the job the surgeon shot some ducks ten or twelve boxed them up guts feathers and all. and told me to bring them down with the Indian heads in a week or two to Salt Lake City. took them down according to agreement the weather turned warm and the ducks wear green with rot. the Indian heads smelt loud drove to his office and told him the ducks wear spoilt he opened the box pulled out a wing smelt it and says they are just right. he settled up and invited me to supper. I was not hungry and declined his offer.46

Peace Farley Field; Troops return to Salt Lake City.

After the battle was over, and the troops had returned to the fort, camp fires were seen on the southwest side of the lake near Table Mountain point. General Wells sent a detachment of twenty-three, mostly young men, to investigate. When they arrived, they found twenty-four Indian warriors, not of the same band as had thus been engaged. However, being of the Ute tribe and having found the dead bodies of the slain frozen on the ice, they were very hostile. One of these warriors, Chief Grocepene, in his wrath, struck Allen Huntington, the interpreter, saying, "Why did you kill my brothers?"47

J. E. Booth refers to him as Lot and relates:

Huntington could have killed him and probably would have done so had nothing depended on it but his own safety, but it was seen that a fight would have resulted in

46 Abner Blackburn, quoted in Provo, Mormon Pioneer City, op. cit., p. 59.

47 W. N. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 240.
many and perhaps all of his comrades being killed. He had the manly courage to take the blows.48

R. T. Thomas relates, however, that after being struck, "I began to cock his pistol to shoot the chief when Joe Blackburn snatched the pistol from him."49 Thomas was a member of the scouting party and witnessed this incident.

In either case, it appears, that another outbreak was narrowly averted which might have resulted in a war of much more serious consequence than the engagement just terminated. The battle just fought was with the Timpanogos Utes, a weaker band of the Utah nation, while these Indians were from the powerful band of Utes headed by Chief Walker.

The savages then inquired contemptuously if they had come to fight why "men were not sent instead of boys." The "boys" soon made the warriors understand, however, that they could fight if a fight was in order.50

After talking for awhile the wrath of the chiefs was appeased. The militia divided their lunch with the Indians, and sitting alternately around the campfire smoked the pipe of peace. Then they all returned to the fort where a Treaty of Peace was made. A large oxen was given to the Indians. Among the warriors were four of the principal Ute chiefs:

48 J. L. Booth, op. cit., pp. 7-3.
49 R. T. Thomas, op. cit., p. 29.
50 E. W. Fullidge, op. cit., p. 240.
Tabby, Sanpitch, Grocepene, three of Walker's brothers, and Antero, cousin of Walker.\textsuperscript{51}

On Tuesday, February 19, 1850, the troops who had fought the Indians in Utah Valley returned to Salt Lake City. The members of the General Assembly of the Provisional State of Deseret welcomed them. Governor Brigham Young addressed the militia, congratulating them on their safe return and response to the call. At the General Assembly, meeting again in the afternoon, General Wells made a verbal report of the battle.\textsuperscript{52}

Captain Howard Stansbury concluding his report regarding the battle to the United States Government in Washington D. C. states:

The expedition was completely successful. The Indians fought very bravely, but were finally routed, some forty of them killed and as many more taken prisoners; the latter consisting principally of women and children, were carried to the city and distributed among the inhabitants for the purpose of weaning them from their savage pursuits, and bringing them up in habits of civilized and Christian life. The experiment, however, did not succeed as was anticipated, most of the prisoners escaping upon the very first opportunity.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{51} L. W. Tullidge, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 240; R. T. Thomas, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 29.

\textsuperscript{52} L. D. S. Journal History, \textit{op. cit.}, February 19, 1850.

\textsuperscript{53} Howard Stansbury, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 149.
CHAPTER X

FORT UTAH ON ITS SECOND SITE

This Thesis, Restricted to the Story of Fort Utah.

At this point in this thesis it is the desire of the writer to make a literary circumscription, or statement of limitation.

Fort Utah was built by the Mormon Pioneers as a protection against the Indians while the colony was in its infancy and served as a home, a civil and military headquarters, and a religious and social nucleus for the new settlement. It lived as long as the hostilities of the red men necessitated that it live.

At first the colonists were over anxious to get on to the new land, and against the advice of the Mormon Church authorities, some of them moved out of the fort prematurely, only to come scampering back when the savages went on the warpath.

However, as the population increased, making their position more secure against attack, and the Indian hostilities decreased, the citizens of the fort moved onto their lots and farms. Provo was thereby built on the foundation of Fort Utah.

Thus, it is intended that the remaining part of this paper be confined and restricted to that part of the early history of Provo which applies to the active life of Fort Utah.
and Fort Utah's part in later Indian depredations.

Fort Utah moved to its Second Site. During the winter of 1849-50, there was a heavy snowfall and a late spring. The battle on the Provo River with the Indians was fought in about two feet of snow on the level as previously mentioned. The experience of the previous summer had likewise proved that the land in the fort field was wetter and colder than that farther east. Therefore, as spring advanced, with approaching high water of the Provo River and the subsequent dampness in the vicinity of the fort, it became definitely evident that Fort Utah had to be moved to higher ground.

Brigham Young, with the leaders of the new colony, had indicated such a change the previous September when, as related in Chapter VII of this paper, they had selected a townsite about two miles east of the fort. The colonists were agreeable then to such a plan, but by the spring of 1850 they were impelled to action.

Meanwhile, due to the immense Mormon emigration to the Intermountain region, Brigham Young was able to send additional colonists at frequent intervals to bolster the new settlement. The colony thus began to develop growing pains which could only be relieved by a larger area into which to

1 J. E. Booth, op. cit., p. 9.
2 Cf. ante, p. 38.
Consequently, in April 1850, the fort was moved with the stockade, cabins, barns, corrals, etc., to a site about two miles east, later known as the Adobe Yard and today known as North or Sowiette Park at the intersection of Fifth West and Fifth North Streets in Provo.

Fort Utah on its second site was built on a similar pattern to that of the first site, which was described in detail in Chapter VI of this thesis. The buildings, however, were more substantial and the stockade more defensible. The enclosure was somewhat larger, covering more than a Provo City block, or 11.28 acres.

The following copy of the Mayor's Deed, although executed a few years later, locates the land occupied by the fort on its second site:

Recorded A. O. Smoot, Mayor of (1) Provo, City, Utah County, Utah Territory, Dated January 22, 1873
Book "B" Page 505 -to-
6-10-1873 Provo City Corporation

Mayor's Deed
Acknowledged same date Before L. John Nuttall, County Recorder for Utah County, Territory of Utah (Seal Affixed) Consideration $17.25

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3 Cf. ante, pp. 66-67.
Conveys:

Commencing 21.60 chains south and 5.10 chains west of the northeast corner of the northwest quarter of Section 1, Township 7 South, Range 2 East of the Salt Lake Meridian; thence east 10.87 chains; thence south 1 degree west 10.46 chains to beginning. Area 11.28 acres.

The said Provo City Corporation having been adjudged the rightful owner and possessor of the said described property.

The foregoing instrument is made and executed by said mayor by virtue of a trust vested in him by an act of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, approved February 17, 1869.

(1) Appears as Abraham O. Smoot, Mayor of Provo City, Utah County, Territory of Utah, in body of deed.4

Utah County Created; Provo City Laid Out. During its first session, in the winter of 1849-50, the General Assembly of the Provisional State of Deseret organized the counties of "Great Salt Lake, Weber, Utah, Tuilla (Tooele), Sanpete, and Little Salt Lake." This act, approved January 31, 1850, while creating these counties, named Provo as the county seat of Utah County.5 Utah County and Provo City thus received their legal births. Apparently, this is the first official use of the name Provo for this future city.

Acting on this legal authority, Brigham Young proceeded

4 Secured for the writer by Walter W. Taylor, local president of Sons of Utah Pioneers, through Curtis Abstract Company, Provo, Utah.

with his plans for building Provo as is recorded in the L.D.S.
Church Manuscript History:

On Saturday, March 23, 1850, President Brigham Young
and Thomas Bullock and William L. Lemon counseling togeth-
er (in Salt Lake City) agreed to lay out a city in Utah
valley called Provo.6

In the summer of 1850, William L. Lemon, a profession-
al surveyor, accordingly came to Fort Utah and with the assist-
ance of Peter Conover, who carried the chain, and others,
surveyed part of what is now the northwest part of Provo City.
They drove their first stake in what was to be the public
square and is now Pioneer Park. One hundred and sixty acres
were laid off into city lots.7

Provo City was incorporated by an act of the General
Assembly of the Provisional State of Deseret February 6,
1851.8

During the spring and summer of 1851, the work of
laying out the city was continued under the direction of And-
rew J. Stewart. As is illustrated by the enclosed early map
of Provo,9 a city plot one mile square, known as Plot A was
surveyed. The quadrangle consisted of an area eleven blocks
each way, running directly north, south, east and west. Each

p. 222.
9 Ibid., p. 141.
PLAN OF
PROVO CITY UTAH
COPIED FROM MAP
IN
HISTORY OF PROVO (MS)
LDS HISTORIAN OFFICE
block was twenty-four rods square and contained eight lots. The blocks were six by twelve rods. Main Street (now Fifth West) running north and south and Center Street running east and west were made eight rods wide and the other streets five rods in width. The plot extended six blocks west of Main Street and five blocks east; six blocks south of Center Street and five blocks north. The public square was to be the center of the city.¹⁰

**Indian Associations, Spring and Early Summer, 1850.** Although certain Indians were still smirking under the defeat in February, 1850, the Indian relations at the fort were fairly peaceful during the spring and early summer. Occasionally, however, one or two Indian desperadoes would create concern.

In a letter written by Isaac Morley from the Sanpete settlement under the date of April 21, 1850, that leader draws attention to the danger threatening the settlers in Fort Utah from hostile Indians who threatened to kill the Mormons and their cattle wherever they could find them. He especially mentioned that the petty Chief Patsowett had been stealing stock.¹¹

¹¹ *L.D.S. Journal History, op. cit.*, April 21, 1850.
Under date of April 28, 1850, President Isaac Nigbee
and Captain Peter W. Conover wrote to General Daniel H. Wells
of Salt Lake City as follows:

I understand that Patconett is in your city or was
last Monday. He and his brothers have been killing cat-
tle since the war with the Indians and threatened to kill
every white man that he can. We have been searching for
him to kill him, but have not found him yet, but we have
found his brother and have killed him. We wish you would
search for him and if he can be found in your valley, kill
him before he can do more mischief.12

This renegade Indian was captured in Salt Lake Valley,
tried for murder of a white man by the name of Baker in San-
pete Valley, and executed April 29, 1850. It is claimed that
this was the Indian who also killed Joseph Nigbee during the
battle on the Provo River.13

During the early part of May 1850, General Daniel H.
Wells visited Fort Utah. On his return trip he reported
that Chief Stick-on-the-Head of the defeated Timpanogos Utes
was in the neighborhood of the fort and had begged hard for
peace.14

Captain Peter W. Conover traveled to Salt Lake City
from Fort Utah on May 17, 1850 and reported that some of the
prominent chiefs of the Utes were gathering in Utah Valley.
He claimed they appeared very friendly and desired to make a
Peace Treaty.15

12 Ibid. April 28, 1850.
13 Ibid. April 29, 1850.
14 Ibid. May 14, 1850.
15 Ibid. May 17, 1850.
Seeing in the invitation of the Indians an opportunity to strengthen the friendship between the colonizers and the redmen in Utah Valley, Brigham Young accompanied by Heber C. Kimball, Thomas Bullock and others, left Salt Lake City, May 20, 1850, for Fort Utah. On route they met Elijah (Barney) Ward and Chief Grospene who informed them that the Indians were anxiously awaiting their arrival. Some of the Indians, they claimed, had come all the way from Mexico to trade. President Young then directed Presiding Bishop Newell K. Whitney to forward two thousand five hundred pounds of flour, meat and other provisions, all the hats and caps that could be obtained and a small quantity of ammunition.16

The next day, May 21, the company arrived at the Provo River which was "booming" with high water. Feeling it was impractical to cross then, the party camped on the northwest side of the river.17

On May 22, several Indians came to the President's camp for breakfast which was cheerfully given them. Leaving camp the company traveled up the river about two miles where the raging stream was ferried by boat. In the afternoon the party arrived safely at Fort Utah. In the evening the Indians, being in a festive spirit, sang, danced and gambled around their

16 Ibid. May 20, 1850.
17 Ibid. May 22, 1850.
camp fires. At one time, forming a semi-circle, they went singing up to the fort. "In this manner they gave the President's party a serenading." Chief Walker and two of his tribesmen were ill with fever that night. Dr. Sprague called on them, gathered some roots and prescribed some medicine. 18

Brigham Young at this time was provoked at some of the colonists for gamling, wrestling, and running horse races with the Indians. He claimed that when doing so, the whites were putting themselves on the level with the redmen. It was observed by the visitors that many of the settlers were scantily supplied due to having divided their provisions with the Indians. 19

At sunrise on May 23, the natives commenced trading at the fort which continued briskly all day. President Young instructed George D. Grant, Lewis Hooison, Ephraim Hanks, and Hiram B. Clawson to do the trading, working through the interpreters Elijah Ward, Dimick B. Huntington and Alexander Williams. Meanwhile the supply wagons from Salt Lake City had arrived on the northwest bank of the river. Under the direction of Daniel H. Wells the goods were transported across the stream by the settlers. 20

18 Ibid. May 22, 1850.
19 Loc. cit.
20 Ibid. May 23, 1850.
On May 24, President Young and party left the settlement, arriving at Salt Lake City on the following day, May 25.\(^{21}\)

It was the policy of the Mormon leaders to censure any of their church members found guilty of wilfully mistreating an Indian. At a special meeting held in the Doyery in Salt Lake City on June 14, 1850, some of the colonists from Utah Valley, accused of unsatisfactory conduct toward the Indians were tried and reprimanded.\(^{22}\)

**Walker Threatens Massacre; Sowiette Counters.** The Indians as a whole remained fairly peaceful toward the colonists of Fort Utah until July 1850. At that time the little colony, weakened by some of its men going away for employment, came dangerously near to being massacred.\(^{23}\)

Chief Walker, feeling flush after a successful raid in California, which netted him and his band a thousand stolen horses, visited Governor Brigham Young for permission to fight the Shoshones or Snake Indians and use some of the young men at Fort Utah in the expedition. The Governor would not listen to it, but counseled the warlike chief to cease fighting and shedding of blood. For this imagined insult, he returned to


\(^{22}\) *Ibid.* June 14, 1850.

Utah Valley in a rage and gathering his band of about two hundred warriors prepared to attack the little fort and massacre its inhabitants. This fervor was encouraged by some of his young warriors who still craved an opportunity for revenge for the killing of Big Elk and his band the previous February. The belligerent savages camped to the east of the fort. Their horses ate all the settlers' crops except those in the Old Fort Field.24

Chief Sowette, with about the same number of braves, was camped near the fort also. When he learned of Walker's treacherous plan, the Old Chief came into the fort personally and warned the colonists of this bloody plot.25 Isaac Higbee, Captain Conover and the other leaders at the fort immediately made preparations to defend themselves. E. J. Tullidge describes this tense situation with the following:

Sowette . . . told Higbee that if he would let him, he would come in with his warriors and defend the fort. Sowette also sternly said to Walker, "When you move you will find me and my men in the fort defending." It was this warning of Sowette alone which Walker knew would be kept that saved the whole Provo Colony from a terrible massacre . . . . The settlers stood with their guns in their hands all night.26


25 Tullidge, Thomas, and Clark claim that Sowette personally talked to Isaac Higbee, while Conover maintains that the Chief warned him first.

Regarding that eventful night, P. W. Conover narrates:

I immediately woke every man in the fort that had a gun, and had every man arm himself and stand guard, so to defend ourselves if they made an attack.27

John Clark gives a vivid picture of the event:

Sowiette seeing that he couldn't reason with Walker, told him if he made the attack . . . he and his braves would fight with the whites . . . . He (then) rushed to the Fort and told Isaac Nigbee to be prepared when Walker and his warriors came. He said he and his warriors would be on the northeast and if Walker made a charge from the south, where he intended to, for them to place their men there and he would defend them . . . .

All night long, Walker and his men howled, whooped and ralied for an attack. Then Sowiette and his men would do the same. Walker . . . then retreated knowing he was no match for the Mormons and half . . . the warriors led by the determined Sowiette. I think it was one of the most anxious nights we passed through. When Walker found Sowiette as determined as himself, he gave up and made peace the following day about noon for some flour and some beef.28

Altogether, in both bands, there were between four and five hundred Indians at Fort Utah that night and probably one-tenth as many whites. Bullets whistled over the fort throughout the night, but no one was hurt.29

Ecclesiastical and Intellectual Progress. In the middle of the new fort there was erected a large building, fifty feet in length which was used for church services, school,

28 John Clark, op. cit., pp. 5-6.
29 J. E. Booth, op. cit., p. 10.
recreational hall and civic center. This building was a project of considerable interest and importance to the new community. When it was completed, President Brigham Young came from Salt Lake City to dedicate it.30

While the colonists were in residence at Fort Utah, the Utah Stake of Zion was organized by President Brigham Young assisted by Heber C. Kimball, March 19, 1851, with Isaac Higbee as president, John Blackburn and Thomas Willis as counsellors.31 While at the fort on March 20, 1851, President Young ordained Elias H. Blackburn to serve as a temporal bishop.32 Isaac Higbee was to take care of the spiritual activities of the community.

As in the fort on its first site all religious services were conducted under the direction of Isaac Higbee and counsellors. In a letter to the Deseret News, President Higbee gives the following interesting weekly program of religious and educational activities held in the schoolhouse at Fort Utah:

On the Sabbath, preaching; Sabbath evening, prayer meeting; Monday evening, singing school; Tuesday evening, lyceum; Wednesday evening, seventies' meeting; Thursday


31 History of Utah Stake, op. cit., March 19, 1851.

prayer meeting; Friday evening, spelling school; and on Saturday evening, the lesser (Aaronic) priesthood; and day school.33

The First Sunday School at Fort Utah was held in the Bowery. L. John Nuttall, William A. Allen and Susan Koper were the officers and teachers.34

School was organized here at the second site of Fort Utah by William Hirst, a non-Mormon and assisted by George W. Bean. Hirst bound for the California gold fields, stopped for a while at the fort and taught school for a living. He proved to be a good educator, but continued on to California in the spring of 1851.35

The school house was also used as a theater. Some of the participants in these entertainments were Bolivar Roberts, William Hirst, Harlow Redfield and a number of the older school students. The productions such as "William Tell," "Lochiel," "Robin Rough-head" were presented and received favorable reception.36 The price of admission was grain, vegetables, molasses, tallow candles or whatever the settlers could use or trade.

33 Isaac rigbee, letter, Deseret News, February 21, 1852.
35 G. W. Bean, op. cit., pp. 64-65.
36 Loc. cit.
Although there was no regular mail route, the first postoffice at the new settlement was known as "Utah Lake," which continued by that name until 1853 when it was legally changed to Provo City. Isaac Bigbee was the first postmaster serving until 1853 when Lucius H. Scovil was appointed to that position. 37

Civil Development; Legal and Ecclesiastical Courts.

As was related earlier in this chapter, Utah and Provo City received their legal birth while the colonists were living in the fort. 38 According to the earliest Utah County Records, dating back to March 3, 1851, Court was held that day in the school house at Fort Utah on a theft case, "State of Deseret vs. Henry Myre. The Grand Jury, composed of Peter Boice, David Canfield, O. Crav, Thomas Wilson, S. Grindall, Ellis Eams, A. R. Rodgers, Peter Conover, James Goff, James Bean, G. C. Case and William Wall found the defendant guilty. The sentence passed was a fine of $300.00 and court costs or three years' labor on public works. 39

County officers using part of the school house in Fort

37 J. S. Booth, op. cit., pp. 16; W. D. Taylor, op. cit., p. 57.

38 Cf. ante, p. 139.

39 "Utah County Clerk's Records" (unpublished records of court proceedings and minutes of official meetings, etc., on file in Utah County Clerk's Office, Provo, Utah, March 3, 1851) Volume 1, pp. 2-4.
Utah as an office on March 1, 1851 were Aaron Johnson, chief justice; William Miller, J. F. Wilkins, associate justices; Isaac Bigbee, clerk and recorder; Alexander Williams, sheriff.\textsuperscript{40}

At the first election of Provo City, conducted at the fort, on April 1, 1851, the following were named: Ellis Dems, mayor; David Canfield, Samuel Clark, William Peace and Harlow Redfield, aldermen; David Cluff, William \& Felf, Chauncy Turner, Ezekiel Kellogg, James A. Ivie, Silberth Laws, Ross R. Rogers, Thomas G. Wilson and Jonathan A. Duke, councilmen. The council then appointed the following officers: George N. Bean, recorder; Gershom C. Case, city marshall; John Redford, assessor; Elijah E. Holden, collector; James Collins, Treasurer, James Bean, supervisor.\textsuperscript{41}

The first session of the Council was held in the school house in Fort Utah April 28, 1851. The first ordinances, in brief, were (1) Each able bodied male citizen over eighteen years should work one day a year on the public roads; (2) Timber cut and allowed to lie more than thirty days without being hauled away became anyone's property who hauled it away; (3) Every land owner was required to make a good substantial fence.\textsuperscript{42}

Meanwhile, as mentioned in Chapter VII in this paper,\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{40}\textit{Ibid.} March 1, 1851, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{41}\textit{J. W. Jensen, op. cit.,} p. 79.

\textsuperscript{42}\textit{Ibid.} pp. 30-31.

\textsuperscript{43}\textit{Sr. ante,} p. 75.
eclesiastical courts had been functioning in the new colony quite effectively. Typical of these was a complaint brought in a Bishop's Court by Samuel Pratt against Thomas Ross for killing a yearling steer. The decision, apparently, accepted by both, was that Ross should give Pratt one half of the steer and keep the other half for wintering it. 44

Part of the minutes of another bishop's trial which were more of a domestic nature read:

The following charges were fully sustained by the Bishop's Court--1st That he struck her with a leg of mutton; 2nd--That he threw butter milk in her face; 3rd--That he threw a hot cake at her and hit her in the face with the same; 4th--That he wrung her nose.

She said, "I will never come back to him again."

Says he, "I don't want her to come back."

The decision was then read--that the charges for abuse has been fully sustained.

Brother William then spoke at some length, showing the consequences of disobedience and the result of separating man and wife and counselled them to be still and speak well of each other. 45

**Industrial Expansion.** While living in the fort on its second site, the settlers began to develop new industrial projects. At the same time those built while in residence at the


45 "Provo Third Ward Bishop's Court Minutes, March 12, 1859" (unpublished records; copy in possession of Bishop Arthur L. Taylor.)
old fort were continued and enlarged.

In the spring and summer of 1850 Isaac Higbee and James A. Smith built a grist mill, which was ready for grinding when the grain was ripe. In the same year Thomas G. Williams opened the first store in the new colony.

Shadrack Holdaway and Alanson Norton in 1851 built and put into operation a carding mill. Since most of the clothing of the Fort Utah pioneers was made from homespun wool, the carding mill proved a valuable addition to the little colony.

All of the cabins on the first site of Fort Utah and the first buildings on its second site were of cottonwood, boxelder or pine logs, but in 1851 several adobe houses were built, Jonathan Hoops being given credit for the first one. During the same year the first lime in this new community was burned by Joseph Lecham.

Population Increased; Colonists Move Out of Fort.

During the spring, summer and fall of 1850 there was a substantial addition to the new colony. In order to take care of the increased population, the settlers had to build an

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46 J. E. Booth, op. cit., p. 16.
47 History of Provo (ms) op. cit., Fall of 1850.
48 J. E. Booth, op. cit., p. 15.
49 E. W. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 270.
50 J. E. Jensen, op. cit., p. 62.
addition to the new colony. In order to take care of the increased population, the settlers had to build an addition to the fort on the south side.51 Among those men with families coming at this time were William M. Wall, Jonathan Duke, David Cluff, David Penrod, John Baum, Ellis Eams, Harlow Redfield, Thomas G. Williams, Lucius W. Scovil, the Bullock family, the Roberts family and Philander Colton and family52 (the writer's great grandfather).

Notwithstanding the danger of Indian attacks and the Mormon leaders' advice to "fort up," the colonists, during 1851 and the early part of 1852 began to move out of the fort and settle on their city lots and farms, the tier of blocks adjoining Main Street (Fifth West) being the first occupied. By the end of 1852 Fort Utah was almost vacant. Some of the settlers scattered as far as the mouth of Provo Canyon.

The extent to which the settlers did spread out is illustrated by the following petition to Brigham Young from those yet living on the townsitc, May 19, 1852:

Of the Church Authorities not one single one lives in the city but Bishop Blackburn is building, so there is prospect of one. Of the city authorities out of fifteen, there are two aldermen and three counselors in the city, and of policemen, five only live in the city out

of fifteen. Post Office among the missing. Your petitioners are desirous for the welfare of this place and feel duty bound to ask you to take into consideration our circumstances, and if it is consistent we would be heartily glad if Bro. Geo. A. Smith would be appointed to take the lead in matters here . . . and we feel disposed to contribute liberally towards building him a house and other improvements.53

President Young accompanied by Apostle George A. Smith and others made a trip to Provo to see for himself how the colony was progressing. At a special Conference held in the Bowery at Provo, July 17, 1852, under the direction of President Brigham Young "the people voted for brother George A. Smith to go and regulate affairs in Utah (County) and preside over them." The following day, July 18, in a Sunday Morning Service, President Smith nominated Isaac Higbee and Dominicus Carter for his counsellors, both received unanimous approval. A high council, selected from the various settlements of Utah County, was also approved.54

At the same meeting Provo was divided into four wards with the following bishops sustained: Jonathan O. Duke, First Ward, southeast section of town; James Bird, Second Ward, southwest; Elias H. Blackburn, Third Ward, northwest; and William M. Wall, Fourth Ward, northeast.55 Apparently, either on the same date or very shortly after, William Fausett was chosen

54 Thomas Bullock, letter, Millennial Star, 14:630, November 27, 1852.
55 Loc. cit.; Elias H. Blackburn, op. cit., pp. 5-6.
as Bishop of the Fifth Ward which included all who lived on the Provo River north of the townsite.\textsuperscript{56}

Later that summer George A. Smith, with one of his families moved to Provo. True to their promise, the citizens presented him with a house which being too large for his family, he in turn deeded it to Provo City for a public building. It became known as the Seminary Building and was located on the west side of Main (Fifth West) Street near the intersection of First North Street.\textsuperscript{57}

\textsuperscript{56} J. E. Booth, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 21.

\textsuperscript{57} Maria D. Taylor, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 35.
CHAPTER XI

FORT UTAH'S PART IN LATER INDIAN DEPREDATIONS

Fort Utah a Military Base. By the close of 1852, Fort Utah was almost deserted. However, it remained in service to a varying degree as a valuable means of protection and an important military base until the close of the major Indian depredations. It served as headquarters, and as an armory, for the Utah County Militia.

During the interval between the battle at Fort Utah in February 1850 and the outbreak of the Walker War in 1853, there were actually no open hostilities, other than the previously related Walker-Sowiette episode in July 1850, between the whites and the redmen in Utah Valley. However, due to a number of causes, which will be discussed later in this chapter, it was necessary to maintain an active, well-trained and fully-armed militia at Provo. Captain Peter W. Conover and other Fort Utah Militia officers with their men were kept on the alert during those years.

As discussed in the previous chapter, contrary to Brigham Young's counselling, the colonists had moved out of the fort prematurely. Indian troubles, quite frequently at first, had forced the settlers back, only to scatter again when the immediate danger was over. President Young remarked

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1 Cf. ante. pp. 154-55.
on one occasion, "that he could not make the people fort up, but Chief Walker could."²

**A Parent Colony to Utah County Towns.** Within two years after the founding of Fort Utah, a number of other growing communities extending for about forty miles, had been established in Utah County. The years 1850-52 saw the establishment of what are known today as Lehi, American Fork, Alpine, Pleasant Grove, Springville, Spanish Fork, Payson, and Santaquin.

These settlements and others formed later, especially those to the south of Fort Utah, grew out, to a great extent, from the Provo colony. Its existence helped to make possible their growth. Even the early settlements of Sanpete and Juab counties, like those in Utah Valley, depended considerably on Fort Utah and subsequently Provo for military protection. Thus, it may be correctly stated that Provo City is not only the County seat but also the parent of Utah County.

**Fort Utah Militia on Reconnoitering Expeditions.** In order to maintain the necessary military protection of these new colonies, expected of it, the Fort Utah militia made several reconnoitering marches. Peter Conover describes one as follows:

² J. E. Booth, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 39.
In June, 1850, I received an order to take some men and reconnoitre the country and see what the Indians were doing. I took twenty-five men and went out to Salt Creek (Juab County) then up the canyon to Rock Springs and camped. Some of the men went and got them some salt. The next morning we started down and came home.  

Perhaps the most important reconnoitering expedition of the Fort Utah Militia, during these years, and one that definitely illustrates the part played by the Provo unit in providing military protection not only for the other Utah County settlements, but for a number of the Central and Southern Utah colonies, was made during the spring and early summer of 1853.

By April 23, 1853, the Indian relations became so serious that Governor Brigham Young, who was then passing through Provo on an inspection tour of the settlements, issued a public proclamation, part of which follows:

I, Brigham Young, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Utah, in order to preserve peace, quell the Indian and secure lives and property . . . hereby order and direct . . . that a small detachment consisting of thirty men (from Provo) under the charge of Captain Wall, proceed south through the entire extent of the settlements, reconnoitering the country and directing the inhabitants to be on guard against any sudden surprise.

The readiness and willingness of the Fort Utah Militia to respond to official call is proved by the fact that approximately forty men were ready to go the following day. On April

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3 F. W. Conover, op. cit., p. 10.

24, 1853, Captain Wall and his cavalrymen left Provo traveling South. The company traveled about five hundred miles, inspecting the military strength of the various settlements, making timely suggestions, consulting with friendly Indians and aiding the critical condition wherever they were needed. They returned to Provo May 11, 1853.  

Incidents Leading to the Walker War. As is the case with nearly all wars, the Walker War had both immediate and remote causes, some major and some minor, some real, and some imaginary. Since this thesis is limited to Fort Utah and the early history of Provo, it is the intention of the writer to likewise limit this portion of the composition generally to those causes relative to the fort and the vicinity of Provo. Since it is also difficult to discuss the causes chronologically, or according to importance, no effort will be made to intentionally place one ahead of the other because of importance.

Perhaps one of the most deep seated of all the causes was Walker and his associate war chiefs' desire to avenge the disasters of his fellow tribesmen during the battle at Fort Utah in February 1850.

Another cause, no doubt, in spite of the aforementioned invitation of Walker for the whitesmen to settle among the redmen

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was the realization that their hunting and fishing grounds were gradually being taken away from them. Again, that inherent desire of the Indians to steal could not be supplanted in a brief period of years by the whiteman's laws respecting property rights.

In the summer of 1853, an incident occurred at Fort Utah which although circumstantial, yet served as a means in the minds of the savages for hostilities against the whites. There were still some colonists living in the fort. On this occasion some Indians were engaged in the common custom of going from cabin to cabin begging for food. When they came to one home, they were met by Mrs. Alfred Young, a strong, fearless woman, who would not allow them to enter. One of the Indians in the rear had a gun with its stock resting on the ground. He raised his foot and with his toe pulled the trigger. The gun was discharged, killing the Indian in front. The shot may have been accidental, but it is thought that its probable purpose was to frighten or kill Mrs. Young. The killing of the Indian was entirely unanticipated. The two savages, who were with the one killed, left for the South shortly after, never to be seen in Provo again. The Indian tribe, as a whole would not believe the story of the killing, but ascribed the deed to the whites. Great excitement prevailed among the redskins who made the night hideous with their yells and firing
of guns. 6

The Spanish-Mexican slave-trading expeditions into Utah Valley, referred to in Chapter III of this thesis, 7 had continued at varied intervals until the advent of the Mormons. Chief Walker and his tribesmen would compel tribute in children from the weaker tribes, principally the Pueblo Indians, and trade them to the Mexicans for firearms, ammunition, etc. Warnings by the Territorial authorities to these slave-traders, who claimed they were licensed by the Governor of New Mexico, which was thought to be forged, but if bona fide would be of no value in Utah Territory, only brought contempt and derision.

Finally, one of these slave-traders, Pedro Leon with his party, was arrested in Manti, convicted in the courts, and ordered to leave the Territory. This, however, did not stop the trouble. Some of the slave traders retaliated by stirring up the Indians, and thereby encouraged the smoldering hatred of Walker and his warriors against the whites. The situation became so serious by April, 1853, that Brigham Young was impelled to issue the proclamation at Provo referred to earlier in this chapter. This gave Captain Wall authority while on the reconnoitering march to arrest and hold in custody until proper trial could be given, any strolling Mexican party

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7 Cf. ante, p. 16-17.
or suspicious person. 8

In all events, it seemed, Chief Walker and his war-
riors were now "spoil for a fight," and if a good excuse
did not present itself, the Chief's fertile imagination was
quite capable of producing one. The final excuse, however,
came in an incident which occurred near Springville on July
17, 1853. A party of Indians had been fishing. One of the
squaws traded Mrs. James Ivie three fish for three pints of
flour. An Indian, apparently her husband, coming into the
cabin at that time, began to beat the squaw for what he thought
was a poor trade. Ivie took the squaw's part, and in the ensu-
ing struggle, the Indian attempted to shoot the whiteman, but
the latter took the Indian's gun and struck him with it. He
later died. Another buck came to the rescue with his bow and
arrow. He was likewise "layed low," but eventually recovered.
Then the squaw turned on her benefactor who was obliged to
strike her also. A third Indian who had witnessed the fight,
fled to the nearby Indian camp. 9

The news spread rapidly. Aaron Johnson, civil and
ecclesiastical leader of Springville, and his associates met
with Chief Walker and his braves and offered almost anything

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9 O. F. Whitney, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 513; P. Gott-
fredsen, op. cit., pp. 43-5.
within reason for retribution. The Indians refused unless
Ivie was turned over to them which in turn was rejected. In-
dians from the large encampment at the mouth of Payson Canyon
then suddenly killed Alexander Keele of Payson in the evening
of July 19, 1853, and the Walker War was on. 10

Fort Utah's Part in the Walker War. The news of this
outbreak reached Provo by express early in the morning of
July 20, 1853. Colonel Peter W. Conover, commander of the
Utah County Militia immediately called out a company of one
hundred and fifty men and started for the relief of Payson.
Upon arriving there, the troops of Springville and Spanish
Fork having previously reached that place, Colonel Conover
called a council of war among the military leaders. 11

It was feared that the Indians would attack the San-
pete settlements, so after leaving a company of infantry at
Payson, the cavalry under Conover pushed vigorously on to San-
pete County. Before leaving, Colonel Conover sent word to
Major Canfield and Captain H. T. Thomas of the Fort Utah Mil-
itia to reinforce Payson which they did with sixty men arriving
after midnight with their company. 12

10 P. Gottfredsen, op. cit., pp. 45-46; O. F. Whitney,
11 E. W. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 244; P. W. Conover,
op. cit., p. 10.
12 P. W. Conover, op. cit., p. 11; H. T. Thomas, op.
cit., p. 31; E. W. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 244.
Reaching Sanpete County, men were left to strengthen each settlement as they passed through the community. At Manti, Indians made a night attack on all four sides of the town at once, but were dispersed. The following day the troops under Conover were divided and secured the country for redskins. One of these detachments, under Lieutenant-Colonel Jabez Howland, encountered twenty or thirty Indians in a canyon. Several of the savages were killed, and the rest escaped.\textsuperscript{13}

Meanwhile, messengers were dispatched to Governor Young at Salt Lake City for instructions, both men being slightly wounded enroute. The answer coming back from General Daniel A. Wells was that the Utah County militia return home immediately to protect their own communities against the Indians. The Provo troopers were gone about two weeks.\textsuperscript{14}

On July 25, 1853, Colonel George A. Smith, then residing at Provo, was given command of all militia in the Territory south of Salt Lake City with instructions to gather all inhabitants into the forts, and a defensive and conciliatory campaign conducted. Those settlers who failed to follow instructions suffered heavily from Indian raids.\textsuperscript{15}


\textsuperscript{14} E. W. Tullidge, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 244; F. W. Conover, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 11.

In May 1854 a Treaty of peace was made between Governor Brigham Young with his aids and Chief Walker, surrounded by his braves, at Chicken Creek, Juab County. Thus ended a conflict which had cost the lives of nineteen white persons and an unknown number of Indians. Scores on both sides had been wounded. There was a property loss estimated at about $200,000.00, and an expenditure of $70,000.00 out of the Territorial treasury. 16

Some of the settlements south of Provo suffered by far more than this community although the following excerpts from the Deseret News illustrate that the settlers here had to be constantly on guard:

On the morning of the 12th inst. (November 1853) near Provo City some Tim-pe-ny Utes killed two head of cattle and drove off a number not yet ascertained. A small party pursued them up Provo Canyon some 12 or 15 miles without any success. 17

Last night between 12 and 1 o'clock, the hands employed in the grist mill of Messrs. Smith and Higbee, were attacked and fired upon by a party of Indians, while pursuing their regular business. None of the persons in the mill were injured—altho' the bullet from the rifle went through the hopper of the smut machine and passed out of the back door. After the Indians fired upon the hands in the mill, they immediately retreated, when some dogs were put upon their trail, and followed them towards Rock Kanyon. After daylight it was discovered that the Indians had mortally wounded four horses, besides several others which may probably recover . . . . This morning Capt. Chesley with a party of men have gone in pursuit of


17 News item in the Deseret News, November 24, 1853.
the Indians to recover, if possible, any cattle or other property which may have been carried off by them.18

Provo Scene of Peace Parley; Weeks Boys murdered. Although the Walker War was officially terminated in May 1854, an Indian outbreak indirectly affecting Provo occurred later that year. On August 8, 1854, two sons of Bishop Allen Weeks of Cedar Fort were treacherously murdered by renegade Indians west of Utah Lake.19 The offenders were eventually captured, tried in a Federal court and executed in Salt Lake City, September 15, 1854.20

Shortly after this Colonel Peter Conover with a company of Fort Utah Militia, accompanied by Dimick B. Huntington, interpreter, were dispatched to Cedar Valley to confer with Chief Batees and his band of Indians. When the Chief was informed that the white men wanted to live in peace with their red brethren and was offered as a token of friendship some beeves, he loudly dissented with an angry demand for "carabines, powder, and barrels." When the whites refused firearms and ammunition, he remained stubborn and belligerent. A brief skirmish developed in which Batees was killed and his son wounded in the leg. The young chief then indicated he was

19 News item in Deseret News, August 17, 1854.
20 Alman W. Babbit quoted in Provo, Mormon Pioneer City, op. cit., p. 80.
Plans for a peace Parley to be held in Provo were carried out on August 12, 1854. Two hundred Indians were present as guests of Provo City. Three beeves were barbecued at the Public Square, now Pioneer Park, and served to the red-men with four barrels of biscuits and a quantity of vegetables. A large amount of clothing contributed by the citizens of Provo was distributed among the Indians also. Following the feast, the pipe of peace was smoked. George W. Bean acted as interpreter.  

Mud Wall Built Around Provo City. The Walker War taught the citizens of Provo a valuable lesson. They did not have to be plead with by their leaders now to "fort up." Chief Walker did that. While the Indians were on the warpath, the colonists were happy to come into the fort. Brigham Young, George A. Smith and other Church and civic leaders realizing, however, that Provo, now grown to where Fort Utah during Indian raids was hard pressed for space, felt that a wall should be built around the city. Consequently, before the Peace Treaty, following the Walker War, was signed, Mayor Evan Greene called the citizens of Provo together en masse on March  

21 J. M. Jensen, op. cit., p. 100.  
7, 1854, to consider building a wall around the city.  

During the meeting, plans were discussed as to how it should be built. Finally, by a majority vote it was decided that every person in the city should build a rod of wall for every lot he or she owned, with the penalty of forfeiting the lot if the assignment was not completed within a reasonable length of time.

It was planned that the wall should run west on Fifth North Street, south on Seventh West Street, east on Sixth South Street and north on University Avenue to complete the enclosure. Those people living on the outside of the quadrangle were instructed to move in.

The records differ somewhat on the dimensions of the wall, varying from five to six feet thick at the base and ten, twelve, or fourteen feet high. All reports seem to agree, however, that there was to be an eighteen inch rock foundation, and that it tapered to a width of two feet thick on top.

This wall, built under the supervision of the bishops,

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23 Evan N. Greene, cited in "History of Provo" (Ms) op. cit., March 7, 1854.
24 Loc. cit.
26 "History of Provo," (Ms) op. cit., March 7, 1854; E. W. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 245; J. M. Jensen, op. cit., p. 104.
27 "History of Provo," (Ms) op. cit., March 7, 1854.
was erected by using six straight poles to the rod, three on each side, set in the ground at the bottom and fastened to the proper width at the top. Planks were then placed at the bottom inside the poles and a mixture of clay and soil found on the outside of the wall was dumped inside the form. As a layer dried, more planks were added until the top was reached.23

At first there was considerable enthusiasm in the construction of the wall, as indicated by the report of Bishop Elias H. Blackburn, who wrote under date of April 20, 1854, that "the city wall is progressing, and all seem willing to lend a helping hand to build it; and carry out the instructions of the President."29 The work continued periodically for about two years during which time the west and south sides and part of the north side were completed. However, as the danger of Indian attacks grew less, the work lagged and eventually was discontinued entirely before it was completed.30

On March 8, 1855, E. H. Blackburn reported the progress on the wall to George A. Smith as follows:

Agreeable to your request, I have examined the city wall of this place, and find it as follows: 59 rods of wall completed; 7 rods, 11 feet high; 20 rods, 10 feet high; 7 rods, 9 feet high; 11 rods, 3 feet high; 17 rods

28 E. H. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 245.
7 feet high; 144 rods, 6 feet high; 15 rods 5 feet; 8 rods 4 feet high; 12 rods, 3 feet high; 151 rods stone foundation laid; total amount, commenced and completed 451 rods, 829 rods remaining, not commenced.

In reporting this progress to the "Deseret News," Elder George A. Smith adds: "I have advised them to wake up a little on the subject."32

The writer while searching for source material has interviewed a number of elderly people living in Provo at present, who remember well as children parts of the "Old Mud Wall." Some of them played around and on top of it.

Tintic War. With the exception of a few minor incidents, one of which was perpetuated by a renegade Indian known as Squash who was "bought off" with an appropriation from the Utah County funds,33 the settlers at Provo had no serious trouble with the Indians during the latter part of 1854 and 1855. However, in February, 1856, a brief campaign known as the Tintic War, broke out in Cedar Valley west of Utah Lake. A band of marauding Ute Indians under Chief Tintic began stealing cattle and horses in Utah and Cedar Valley. They also killed two herdsmen, Henry Moran, and Washington Carson and a thirteen-year old Hunseker boy.34

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31 News item, Deseret News, March 21, 1855.
32 Loc cit.
34 F. Gottfredsen, op. cit., pp. 101-103.
A writ for the arrest of Tintic and his followers was issued by the U. S. District Judge Drummond, then at Irovo, and handed to Tom Johnson, Deputy U. S. Marshall for service. A posse of about forty men, principally from the Fort Utah Militia, was raised and sent to take the Indians into custody. At Lehi, Colonel Peter W. Conover left the party and went on to Salt Lake City to seek advice from Governor Brigham Young, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs.35

The Indian encampment with part of the band was located in Cedar Valley west of Utah Lake where, in an attempt by the posse to capture Tintic and his associates, one white man, four bucks and one squaw were killed, and several on each side were wounded, among whom was the Chief. Tintic and survivors escaped, being protected by darkness. The next morning the posse strengthened by additional men, pursued the fleeing Indians and encountered them camping on the mountain side east of Rush Valley. A parley was held, but the redskins refusing to surrender, fired on the posse. It being late at night, the whites were compelled to return to camp. The following day it was found that the outlaws had scattered into the mountains. The chase was abandoned and attention was directed to the protection of the settlements of this vicinity.36

35 P. Gottfredsen, Loc. cit.
36 Ibid. pp. 102-103.
A few days later while the savages were plundering in another area, John Catlin, John Sinn and a man named Cousins were killed near Kimball Creek, southwest of Utah Lake. 37

Meanwhile, Colonel Conover, acting on instructions from Brigham Young, crossed Utah Lake from Provo on the ice with a cavalry force of about eighty men in pursuit of the other part of Tintic's band who were escaping south along the west side of the lake with a large herd of cattle and horses stolen after killing the herdsmen previously mentioned. The Provo troops trailed the thieves vigorously all day through deep snow, camping in the north end of what is known today as Tintic Valley in sub-zero weather. On the second day, the pursuing party overtook the herd in the southern part of Tintic Valley, the Indians having previously fled into the mountains. The company nearly exhausted from exposure and trailing through the heavy snow, returned with the stock by way of Sevier River to Provo, being gone about five days. 38

The Deseret News of March 5, 1856, published the following: "Tintic, head chief of the disaffected band, and who was wounded in the skirmish near the south fort in Cedar Valley, is reported dead." 39 This brought to a close the Tintic War.

38 P. W. Conover, op. cit., pp. 11-12.
39 News item, Deseret News, March 5, 1856.
Provo Militia, 1856 to the End of the Black Hawk War.
The Tintic conflict ended organized Indian depredations in Utah Valley until the Black Hawk War. However, a large well-trained active militia was maintained at Provo until the close of the Indian wars in the State of Utah. Provo itself did not suffer from later Indian depredations, but more than furnished its quota of men, arms and equipment for the relief of the other settlements. Fort Utah was still used as a headquarters and armory for the troops.

A cannon had been maintained at the fort until this time to assist in the defense of the colony. On July 24, 1856, a second unfortunate experience with a cannon occurred in the settlement. A party of men were firing salutes in commemoration of the Mormon Pioneers entering Salt Lake Valley. After a number of charges had been fired, the gun burst, a piece of which struck William Nixon in the abdomen and killed him instantly.40

On April 25, 1857, in compliance with the Territorial reorganization order, Provo military district assembled and organized into companies of ten and fifties under the supervision of Colonel Peter W. Conover. There were about sixty commissioned officers elected at this time.41

41 Loc. cit.
On July 6, 1857, and again on July 11, additional reorganization took place. Colonel William S. race was placed in command of Utah County military district,42 which, according to Peter W. Conover, totaled a thousand men capable of bearing arms.43

This reorganization of the Utah County Militia was timely effected, for soon afterward news was received of the approach of a United States Army to invade the territory of Utah. It is not the purpose of this thesis to go into detail regarding the "Utah Expedition" but in passing, it is well to mention that the Fort Utah Militia, now identified as the Provo Militia, took an active part in the campaign to check the Army's progress through Echo Canyon and other points along the route; also a large quantity of supplies were furnished by the Provo citizens. In 1858 Provo acted as host for thousands of Latter-day Saints driven from their homes in Salt Lake City as the Army entered Salt Lake Valley. Provo was a temporary headquarters for the Mormon Church during this crisis.44

42 ibid. p. 248.
During the years 1865-68 the Indians of Central and Southern Utah went on the warpath. Chief Black Hawk, notorious for cruelty and terror was the principal leader; therefore, it was given his name. This conflict consisted of a series of Indian depredations and counter attacks by the whites. Although removed somewhat from the theater of this war, the Provo Militia, when called on for assistance immediately responded with men, arms and equipment.

Similar to the causes of the Walker War, discussed earlier in this chapter, this struggle, to a great extent, developed from incidents covering a period of years. The smoldering ill-will between the two races being fanned with each additional clash. It appears, however, that the "match was dropped in the powder keg" at Manti April 9, 1865, when during a Peace Parley, Yenewood, a petty Ute chief, loudly objected to the peaceful overtures of the other Indians. John Lowry, a whiteman demanded that the Chief keep still and let him finish talking. Someone warned, "Look out; he is getting his arrows!" Whereupon Lowry jerked the Indian from his horse. The redskins returned to their camp, from which runners were immediately sent to the other Indian bands.

45 Cf. ante, pp. 161-165.

It was only a matter of time until the red men began plundering on a large scale, thus inaugurating the Black Hawk War.

In the spring of 1836, when the call was made to the northern counties for help, Captain Abram G. Conover led a company of Provo cavalry south, arriving at the battle zone about May 10. A short time later, under the command of General William B. Pace of the Utah County militia, they met the savages led personally by Chief Black Hawk at Gravelly Ford on the Sevier River in a running battle, during which one militiaman was wounded and several Indians reported wounded or killed.47 The Chief received a wound from which he died a few years later.48

More men were sent to Sanpete and Sevier Counties during the summer of 1866. Utah County sent its second company of cavalry in June under Captain Joseph Cluff of Provo, and two more companies in August under Captain Alva Green of American Fork and Caleb News of Provo. All of these companies did credit to themselves in their various assignments.49

Early in 1867 General William B. Pace of Provo was appointed commander of the Sanpete district, one of the major battle grounds. About the same time, Utah County sent another

company of cavalry and one of infantry to the front.\footnote{Ibid. p. 206.} This made at least six companies, of which there is record, from Utah Valley that saw action away from home.

Meanwhile at Provo the remaining militia were kept on the alert. Although no Indian depredations were committed at this city, the savages struck viciously nearby. On May 16, 1866, a party of ten Indians swooped down from the mountains near Spanish Fork, killed Christian Larson, a herdsman. Again on May 26, thirty Indians raided the Spanish Fork pasture, stampeding forty-five horses and cattle. Major Creer and fifteen men overtook the thieves and an hour's skirmish ensued. The marauders fled when reinforcements arrived from Springville, but John Edmiston and Albert Dimick were killed.\footnote{Ibid. pp. 200, 202.}

During 1866-67 several raids were made on livestock in Provo Valley, Wasatch County, and troops were dispatched after the thieves. Captain William Well, formerly of the Fort Utah Militia, was one of the military leaders in that county.\footnote{P. Gottfredsen, op. cit., pp. 248-255.}

In July or August, 1867, Chief Black Hawk, tiring of the bloody strife, came with his family, unattended by warriors, to the Uintah Reservation and announced to Colonel
Head, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, that he wanted to cut his hair as a token of abandoning the war path. However, his sub-chiefs continued making plundering expeditions against the whites until August 19, 1868, when Superintendent Head negotiated a treaty with them. Even this treaty did not entirely restore peace. There was an occasional Indian raid until the summer of 1869. That year seemed to conclude organized Indian depredations in Utah.

The Black Hawk War was the most disastrous to the white population of any of the Utah Indian wars. About seventy white people lost their lives with many more than that wounded. At one time during 1866 there were as many as twenty-five hundred white men under arms. Hundreds of settlers had to leave their homes; in fact, parts of counties had to be abandoned. Expenses for the military operations alone totaled $1,121,037.38, not counting the hundreds of thousands of dollars in livestock and other property that was stolen and plundered.\(^5^4\)

\(^5^3\) O. F. Whitney, op. cit., Vol. 11, pp. 211, 213, 214.

CHAPTER XII

FORT UTAH MEMORIALIZED

Thus concludes a vital era in the story of the conquest and colonization of one part of the American Frontier. The exploration of Utah Valley and the founding of Fort Utah were cornerstones in the building of the Intermountain West. Those who live in this inland empire owe a great deal to those who explored this valley and colonized at Fort Utah.

The Spanish missionary has come and gone; the fur trader will come no more; the redman is confined to his reservation while the Mormon pioneer has passed beyond, but their marks are carved in the foundation stones of this commonwealth, and their lives have gloriously won a place in the hall of fame of one of America's last frontiers.

The dawn of written history in Utah Valley was first inscribed by Escalante and Dominguez. They found the Timpanogos Indians and gave the river and the lake that name by which it was known for nearly three quarters of a century. Of the path-finding trappers and traders, Jedediah S. Smith was the first to apply the name Utah to the lake and valley while Provot is memorialized by the river and the city. Fremont and Bridger's reports of Utah Valley influenced the Mormon leaders as they sought a home in the West. The cause of geographical knowledge owes much to these pre-Mormon trail-blazers.
Then came the Mormon pioneer explorers to Utah Valley who immediately realized its glorious future. Preparations were shortly made to materialize Brigham Young's colonization plans.

It was on the first day of April, 1849, that those venturesome colonists crossed the Timpanogos River, later known as the Provo, and with that ingenuity, thrift and courage characteristic of that hardy band of homebuilders, they soon built Fort Utah which became the foundation of the modern city of Provo. There was a year of struggle, starvation and Indian depredations, and a battle with the redman on the Provo River which tested the strength of this colonial venture, but it lived.

In April, 1850, the second site of the fort was built, only to be threatened by massacre by a blood thirsty savage, Chief Walker, whose rival Chieftain, Sowiette, called his bluff. The fort survived again.

Utah County was born on January 31, 1850; Provo City was laid out and earned its charter February 6, 1851, but Fort Utah still served. It was built for a protection against the Indians while the colony was in its infancy, and it served as a home, a civil and military headquarters and a religious and social nucleus for the new settlement. It lived as long as the hostilities of the Indians necessitated that it live.
When Provo outgrew the old fort in its own right, the citadel, serving as a headquarters and an armory for the militia, played a vital part in protecting the smaller settlements from Indian depredations. Fort Utah, and subsequently Provo, was the parent colony of Utah County and other new communities farther south.

Today, Fort Utah is a sacred memory. When one travels along the West Drive in Provo, past the old fort field or nears the historic cabins at Sowiette Park, there is a hallowed feeling and realization of a mighty heritage from those figures of the past who built this inland empire.

Provo City in 1889 created and set aside the land on the second site of Fort Utah as the Garden Park, later renamed North Park and today known as Sowiette Park. The Sons and Daughters of the Utah Pioneers have reverently erected a beautiful monument at the first site of the fort and another at the second site; while there has been appropriately constructed by them and Provo City the stately Pioneer Museum in memorium at the Park.

Fort Utah has been revered for generations by those who love Western history. Like some beautiful old native song, there is portrayed in her history fond hopes, desires and achievements, that link her, decade by decade, with the past and the present. She has been the priceless subject of many a glorious memory and immortalized story.
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