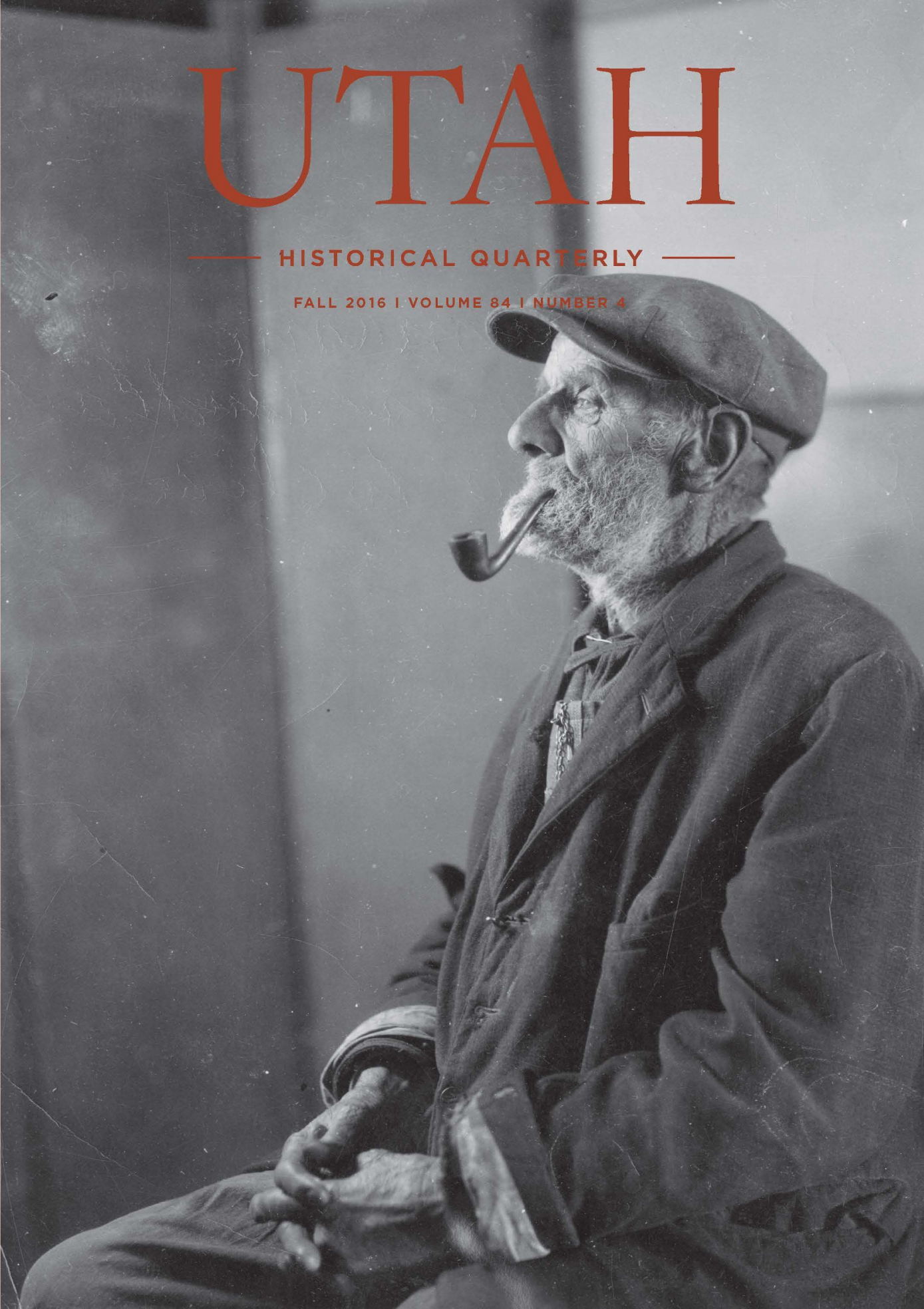
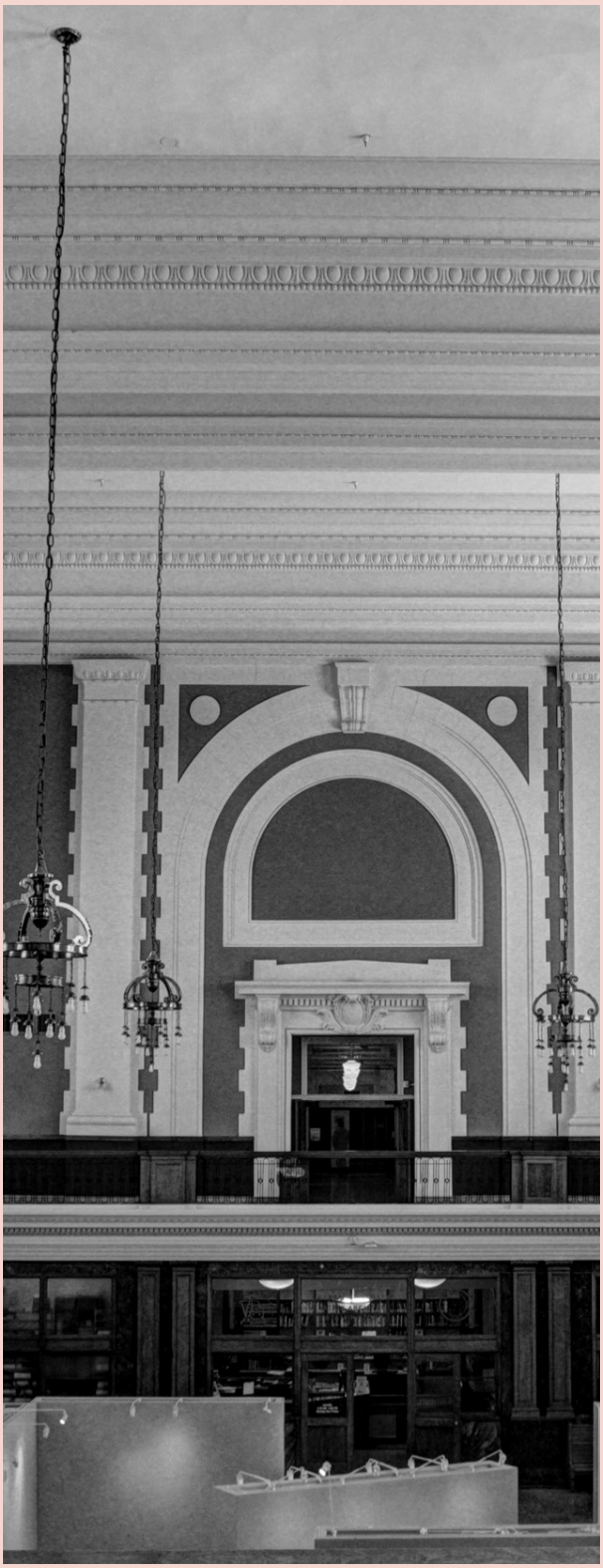
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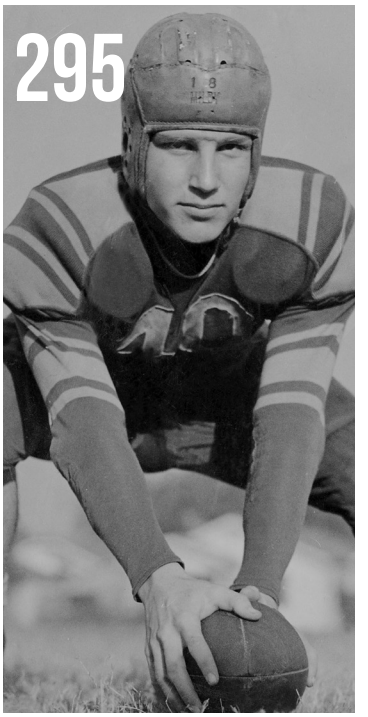
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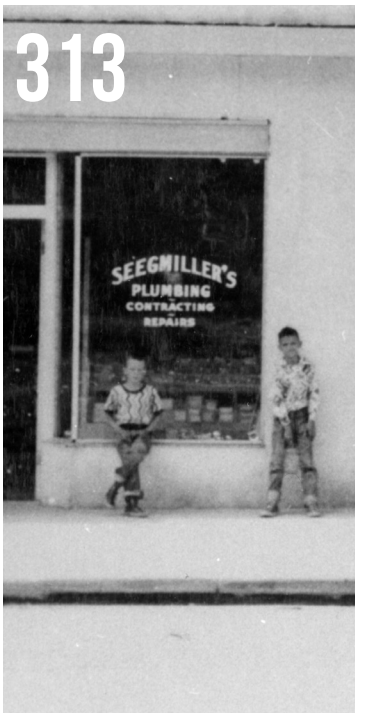
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IN THIS ISSUE

It's often noted that the work of a historian—patching together fragments of information to arrive at an understanding of the past, however limited—is like the work of a detective. Just so, as historians assemble their puzzles of documents, objects, and memories, they ask questions about motivations, about cause and effect, and even about what simply happened. The articles in this issue of *Utah Historical Quarterly*—as they reconsider accepted explanations and ponder how big events can affect personal lives—are full of such inquiries.

Our lead essay draws on Jedediah Smith's record discovered in 1967 and published in 1977—more than two decades after Dale L. Morgan's classic *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West*—to detail the famed 1826 and 1827 southwest expeditions. Smith's travels helped to map *terra incognita*, as other historians have shown, and perhaps explain a puzzling mystery: what happened to the Paiute village first encountered by Smith in 1826 but abandoned upon his return the following year? Edward Leo Lyman's close reading of the record suggests that Jed Smith's narrative is intertwined with those of two of his contemporaries, James Ohio Pattie and Ewing Young. Though Smith is well known by scholars and general readers of the American West, this piece offers a welcome reevaluation of his travels and provides surprising revelations.

In April 1857, Felix Marion Jones traveled with his family as a toddler, from Arkansas to Utah Territory, where his family became victims of the superlative tragedy at Mountain Meadows. Jones survived the massacre but endured loss beyond description: first his parents, then the woman who cared for him after their death, and even his identity. After the federal government returned Jones and his fellow survivors to Arkansas, the boy experienced a difficult childhood. As a teenager, Jones struck out on his own for Texas and eventually had a family of his own. One of his posterity, a favorite grandson named Milam "Mike" Jones, heard F. M.'s memories and, in 2008, passed them on to the historian Will Bagley. This is a story of loss, family, and renewal that spans centuries.

During the hottest years of the Cold War, the U.S. government—especially the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC)—conducted above-ground, atmospheric tests of nuclear weapons at the Nevada Test Site (NTS). Although representatives of the AEC and others soft-pedaled the dangers of these tests, they had devastating effects upon many people and animals living downwind from the NTS. Our third article explores how employees and institutions of the federal government dealt with the consequences of nuclear fallout.

When designated in 1964, Canyonlands National Park was to be "built" in the tradition of Yellowstone or the Grand Canyon—lodges, restaurants, and roads directing visitors to the park's inner sanctum. Within fifteen years the Canyonlands General Management Plan called for a preserved landscape devoid of the easy-access roads planned into the Chesler Park, Grabens, and Needles areas. Our fourth essay details the forces at play—the wartime shortfall in funds, the rise of environmental sensibilities, the ideologies of park superintendents—and the sense of loss experienced by some. The history of Canyonlands is a reminder that all landscapes are products of contingent forces and of contending voices. Even the look and experience of a most dramatic and remote landscape is not inevitable or fixed.



Earliest known image of Jedediah Smith, circa 1835. This sketch is said to have been done from memory by an acquaintance after Smith's death.

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RETHINKING JEDEDIAH S. SMITH'S SOUTHWESTERN EXPEDITIONS

BY EDWARD LEO LYMAN

The first American explorer of central and southern Utah was Jedediah Strong Smith, perhaps responsible more than anyone of his generation for opening the West to settlement. The historian and Smith biographer Dale Morgan wrote that while Smith was not professionally trained like his two admired predecessors, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, and exploration was not his primary purpose, "he saw more of the West than they did." And although "he entered the West when it was still largely an unknown land; when he left the mountains, the whole country had been printed on the living maps of his and his fellow trappers' minds. Scarcely a stream, a valley, a pass or a mountain range but had been named and become known for good or ill." Smith's travels influenced mapmakers, especially John C. Frémont, whose maps and reports informed Mormon settlement in the Great Basin.[1] Yet due to his early death, Smith was little

1 Dale L. Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* (1953; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), 8–9. Dale Morgan and Carl I. Wheat contend that "though no original map drawn by him has yet been located, it has long been known that certain contemporary maps were directly influenced by his efforts, and the recent discovery of what amounts to a direct copy of a map of the West drawn by him near the close of his brief but adventurous career has afforded much new light on his travels and achievements." Wheat had discovered an early map of John C. Frémont's, who had

appreciated until publication of Morgan's biography in 1953 elevated Smith in the pantheon of western figures.[2]

Despite recent interest in Jed Smith and other mountain men, historians and "buffs" have generally ignored the 1977 publication of a year-long journal covering Smith's most important early travels, including exploration of the territory that would became Utah. Except in Edward A. Geary's excellent book, *The Proper Edge of the Sky*, this journal has gone almost unmentioned in Utah histories until fairly recently.[3] The most important study to utilize the journal was a biography of Smith by the Boise State University professor Barton H. Barbour, though this, too, has not received much attention in Utah.[4] This essay seeks to rectify this, reminding and reacquainting readers with the role of a truly important figure in the exploration and thus, indirectly, the settlement of Utah and the West. In particular, I detail Smith's encounter with what was likely the largest band of Southern Paiutes residing in present-day Utah, the Tonequints, along the Santa Clara River. When Smith returned a year later, the village areas were abandoned and only the telling remains of burned wickiups remained. The following recounts the probable series of events involving a brigade of American fur trappers from Taos, New Mexico, that may explain the destroyed Paiute village. James O. Pattie, a member of the Taos trappers, acknowledged attacking that year a Native American band situated somewhere in the greater region. Although no historians have previously suggested this, several of Smith's journal entries lend credence to the possibility that the victims of the attack were likely members of this Tonequint band.

In February 1822 William H. Ashley, the former first Lieutenant Governor of Missouri and founding partner with Andrew Henry of the Missouri Fur Company, placed an advertisement in a St. Louis newspaper offering employment to enterprising young men seeking to make their fortunes trapping beaver in the Rocky Mountains. Smith answered the notice, as did several others who would likewise gain fame in the American fur trade.[5] One of Smith's early notable feats, with Thomas Fitzpatrick, was the more practical rediscovery of South Pass across the Continental Divide in southeastern Wyoming.[6]

Within two years of being hired by Ashley, the twenty-four-year-old New Yorker became a partner in the fur trade company after Henry retired. The next year the Ashley-Smith Company devised the rendezvous system to trade the beaver pelts for essential merchandise and liquor brought from St. Louis by Ashley-sponsored trade caravans. This allowed trappers to stay at their hunting grounds year round. The second of these gatherings was held at Cache Valley, near the future location of Hyrum,

penned notes on many portions of the map—apparently drawn from information indirectly contributed by Jedediah Smith, who had by then been deceased almost twenty years. Experts have since concluded that after Lewis and Clark, Smith was indeed still, in his way, among the first great map makers of the West. See Dale L. Morgan and Carl I. Wheat, *Jedediah Smith and His Maps of the American West* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1954), 2–3.

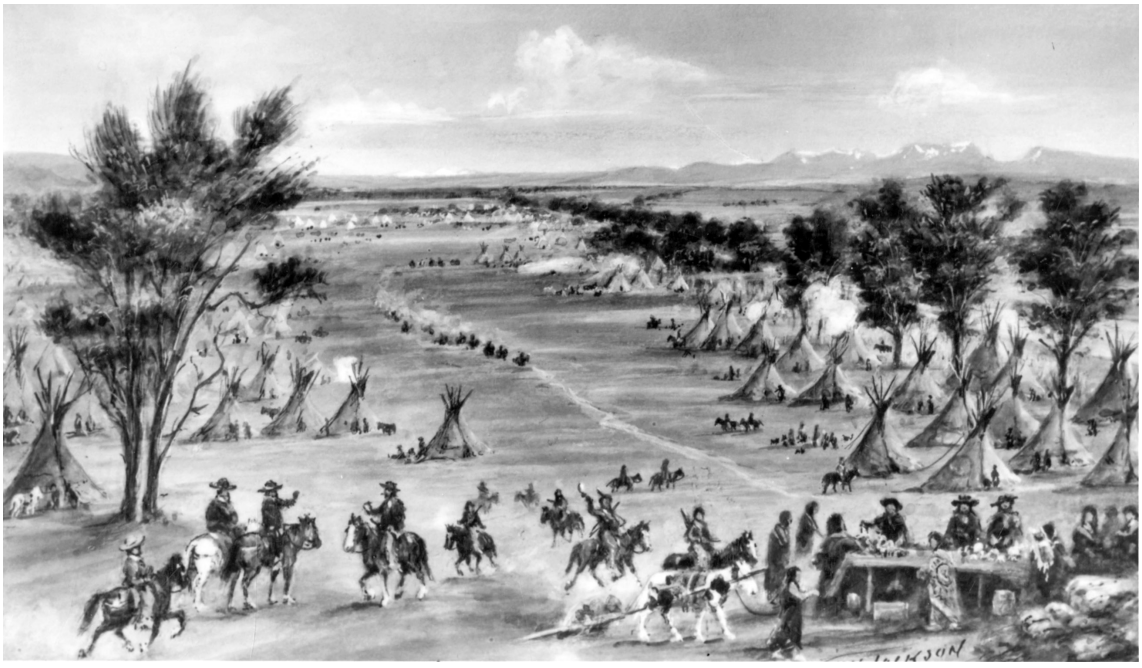
2 Biographies of Smith's contemporaries published in the mid-twentieth century include LeRoy R. Hafen and W. J. Ghent, *Broken Hand: The Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Chief of the Mountain Men* (Denver: Old West Publishing, 1931); Stanley Vestal, *Jim Bridger, Mountain Man: A Biography* (1946; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970); Elinor Wilson, *Jim Beckwourth: Black Mountain Man, War Chief of the Crows, Trader, Trapper, Explorer, Frontiersman, Guide, Scout, Interpreter, Adventurer, and Gaudy Liar* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972); Sardis W. Templeton, *The Lame Captain: The Life and Adventure of Pegleg Smith* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1965); Harvey L. Carter, *"Dear Old Kit": The Historical Christopher Carson* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968).

3 George R. Brooks, ed., *The Southwest Expeditions of Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826–1827* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1977; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 38–78; Edward A. Geary, *The Proper Edge of the Sky: High Plateau Country of Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), 28–32. At a conference of the Missouri Historical Society in 1967, Dale Morgan appealed for citizens to search the attics of St. Louis for the portion of Smith's diary that until then had long been lost to researchers and others. It was found four months later. Not only is this document the key source for this entire piece, it also lends several insights into Smith's motives as an explorer.

4 Barton H. Barbour, *Jedediah Smith: No Ordinary Mountain Man* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009).

5 In Smith's second year of trapping he survived an Indian attack near the confluence of the Grand River with the Missouri, where fifteen of Ashley's other men were killed by Arikara Indians. See Barbour, *Jedediah Smith*, 22–24.

6 Morgan, *Jedediah Smith*, 7, 90–92.



"Trappers Rendezvous," taken from a print of a William Henry Jackson painting. A celebrated photographer, Jackson painted this and nearly one hundred other works in his later years.

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Utah.[7] Just prior to that gathering, Ashley sold his majority share in the company to Smith, David E. Jackson (an experienced company trapper and namesake of Jackson Hole, Wyoming), and William L. Sublette (a foreman of a trapping brigade called a booshway). These new partners took over the firm named Smith, Jackson and Sublette.[8]

On August 7, 1826, one of the last days of the rendezvous, the new partners discussed dividing the forty-two trappers employed by the company into two groups. The larger group, led by Sublette and Jackson, would seek beaver in the Snake River country. The other, led by Jed Smith, would travel southwest into a little-known region in search of new trapping areas. Smith enthusiastically embarked on this expedition, acknowledging that he did not know "what that great and unexplored country might contain" but that he hoped to "find parts of the country as well stocked with Beaver as the waters of the Missouri which was as much as we could reasonably expect." Besides this logical commercial desire, Smith also admitted a personal compulsion: "in taking charge of our southwestern expedition, I followed the bent of my strong inclination to visit this unexplored country and unfold those hidden resources of wealth and bring to light those wonders which I readily imagined a country so extensive might contain." He then added a revealing confession that "I wa[nted] to be the first to view a country on which the eyes of white man had never gazed and to follow the course of rivers that run through a new land."[9]

Smith and his men embarked southward from the rendezvous at Cache Valley in mid-August 1826, making their way past Utah Lake into Spanish Fork Canyon in search of one of the

7 For more on the typical rendezvous system, see Bernard DeVoto, *Across the Wide Missouri* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947).

8 The sales agreement stipulated that the new partners would purchase Ashley's remaining stock of merchandise for $6,000 after Smith's share was deducted. This would be paid in beaver fur at $3.00 per pound.

9 Brooks, *Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith*, 36–37.

primary Ute chiefs, apparently Conmarrowap. When they met somewhere between Diamond Fork and Soldier Summit, Smith inquired about beaver trapping locations and was directed to a place farther east, probably on the White or Price River, which after two days of trapping did not impress the experienced fur hunters.[10] Subsequently, after looking east from a high mountain ridge and not seeing anything promising in the direction of the Green River, they embarked southward through a mountainous portion of later Carbon and Emery Counties and emerged into the western segment of Salina Canyon. At the site of Salina, Sevier County, Smith's fur brigade encountered a group of Native people who fled as Smith and his men came into view. An elderly woman who did not flee[11] told the new arrivals that the Sevier River coursed south to north through the bottom of the adjacent valley and that the local people called themselves Sanpach (Sanpitch Utes).[12] Smith appears to have conflated these Ute band members with the Southern Paiute, whose lands extended from near that point to several hundred miles farther south. The Southern Paiute owned fewer horses than many of the more mobile and aggressive Ute bands. The term horseless Ute later became synonymous with Paiute or for those of mixed Ute and Paiute blood

Smith observed that Paiute timidity and presumed "wildness" was actually a reasonable fear of outsiders stemming from previous Ute and New Mexican slave trader raids in the vicinity.[13] These raiders were notorious for brutally killing and mutilating Paiute men who defended their people. Numerous women and children had been forcibly taken to New Mexico and sold as slaves or indentured servants. Smith noted that each group of families had a stack of combustible material nearby ready to burn in the event of an approach by strangers so that their fellow tribesmen would be warned. Smith reported that the alarm fires spread "over the hills in every direction with the greatest rapidity" and that the same individuals quickly took their possessions and hurried away into the hills for refuge from the perceived danger.[14] This was corroborated in the next decade by Father Pierre Jean de Smet.[15]

According to Smith's account, the Paiutes ate roots—probably a variety of the parsnip or sego lily—that they baked in pits under a bed of coals, then mashed for consumption or storage for winter. They also consumed venison and rabbit meat, as well as other foods. Smith

10 Ibid., 40–47. This is the invaluable diary—rediscovered in 1967 but not published until 1977—that covers the first Smith expedition to the San Joaquin Valley to trap beaver in 1827.

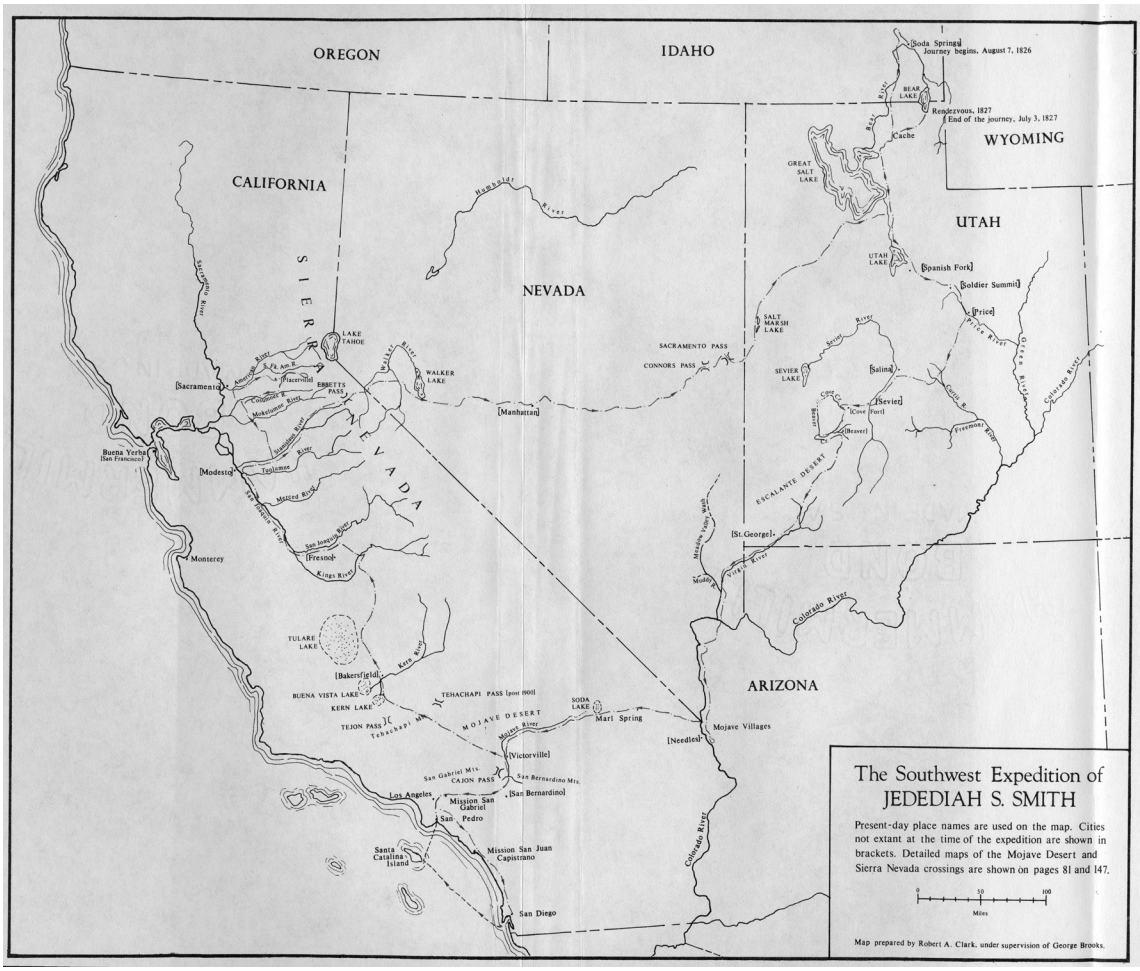
11 Ibid., 47–48. Smith asked the woman to approach their camp, and one of the men offered her a badger, which she cooked. When finished eating, the men offered her other small presents and sent her to inform her people that the visitors were friends who wished to converse with their men.

12 Brooks, *Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith*, 48–49. Smith observed that these Indians were larger than average in stature but "in the mental scale lower than any [he had] yet seen" in the intermountain region. He described their dress as leggings and shirts made of deer, antelope, and mountain sheep skins, also noting that in "appearance and actions they were strongly contrasted with the cleanliness of the [other] Uta's."

13 Ted J. Warner, *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition Through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), 91–107. The diarists noted a dozen times that the Paiutes were timid or cowardly. Antonio Armijo, who followed a portion of their trail over half a century later, stated when he came to one Paiute village near later Pipe Springs, Arizona, that they were "a gentle and cowardly nation." See LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fé to Los Angeles* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1954; reprint Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 158–69.

14 Brooks, *Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith*, 50–53.

15 Father Pierre Jean De Smet, a Jesuit missionary, stated that "since one seldom sees more than two, three or four of them [the Paiutes] at the same time, it is impossible to know how many of them there are. They are so timid that a stranger would have difficulty in approaching them. As soon as they see someone, be he white or Indian, they raise an alarm." He continued that up to four hundred persons might be observed "running to hide in inaccessible rocks at this signal, it may be presumed that they are very numerous." De Smet's estimate, drawn from other eyewitnesses, was probably too high due to years of incursions by slave trade raiders. See Robert C. Euler, *Southern Paiute Ethnohistory in University of Utah Anthropological Papers* no. 78 (April 1966): 45–46, for a full copy of the comments first published in R. J. P. DeSmet, *Voyages aux Montag Rocheuses* (Lille, Paris, 1845), which proves to be most difficult to locate in this country, and Reuben G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846 (*Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1906), vol. 27, "De Smet's Letters and Sketches," 2:165–68. See also Sondra Jones, *Trial of Don Pedro Leo Lujan: The Attack against Indian Slavery and Mexican Traders in Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000), and idem, "'Redeeming' the Indian: The Enslavement of Indian Children in New Mexico and Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 67 (Summer 1999): 220–41.



The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith, published in George R. Brooks, ed., The Southwest Expeditions of Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826–1827.

considered these Indians to be better fed than most commentators have assumed, and he was also more positive about their dress, although he did not consider them nearly as clean as the Utes he had previously encountered. Still, Smith exhibited a certain bias toward these Native peoples; like most of his contemporaries, he favored the Utes and considered the Paiutes to be of inferior intelligence.[16]

The fur trapping party sought beaver pelts in the Sevier where Smith had noted sign of their habitation, but after several days they concluded that their intended prey was scarce and unusually wild. Smith decided to move on. At this juncture the Smith party crossed the western extension of the Wasatch Mountains by way of Clear Creek Canyon and the summit ridge to Cove Creek Canyon. From a high mountain point, after traveling out of the south end of Cove Creek Valley, Smith looked southward and reported "the [Indian] smoke telegraph was seen on the hills [toward later Beaver] during the day as usual."[17] Upon arriving in the vicinity of Beaver, they encountered two Native Americans who remained to observe the brigade members after the rest of their Paiute band had fled. Smith learned little from the frightened men but began the process of establishing friendship by giving the two Paiute men who remained gifts, probably a knife and some glass beads. Once again the brigade tested the river coursing from the relatively high mountains to the east but was not encouraged by the

16 Brooks, *Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith*, 48–49.

17 Ibid., 53.

prospects of trapping in the area, and after two more days the group continued southward.[18]

Smith and his brigade went south along the western foot of the adjacent mountains, following what would become Interstate 15, and struggled down the lava rock-strewn Black Ridge beyond the rim of the Great Basin into far southwestern Utah. Narrowly missing the Parusits band village (later headed by Chief Toquer) on lower Ash Creek by keeping west, they cut southward to the Quail Lake area, after which they followed the Virgin River a short distance. In that vicinity they saw an abandoned corn field, which much surprised them, although had they stayed longer on Ash Creek they would have seen another even better-developed field. The brigade followed the river banks through potential farmland, where in 1854 Mormon explorers would find Paiute cornfields and Native American men and women busily clearing brush and cottonwood trees to plant even more crops. The Mormons would do the same after taming the flood-prone river and sowing the productive Washington and St. George fields.[19]

The group then traveled up the adjoining Santa Clara River tributary a short distance. There, on about September 22, 1826, they spotted several cautious Native Americans and finally encountered one willing to communicate with them. This member of the large Tonequint band of Paiutes offered a rabbit as a token of friendship and after Smith responded with like gestures of cordiality, several other tribesmen appeared and each presented corn ears as tokens of peace. The brigade traded some trinkets and bits of iron, popular for making arrow points and knives. Although they enjoyed antelope meat while crossing Beaver and Iron counties, the trappers had only their own horse meat to eat since passing the Black Ridge.

Smith was particularly impressed with the dam and irrigation ditch adjacent to the Santa Clara River and with the nearby corn and squash fields, more carefully developed than anything he had seen since the Mandan Indian fields on the Missouri River in Dakota Territory approximately a thousand miles away. This aspect of Tonequint and Moapa band Paiute culture was truly impressive in its sophistication compared to virtually any other tribal group in the American West. The visitors, with considerable elation, acquired a good supply of vegetables in trade from their hosts. Smith was so impressed with the clouded green marble (from the Grand Canyon) fashioned into smoking pipe bowls by many of the men that he later sent one to his friend William Clark. Many of the Paiute men wore caps fashioned from the skull hide and fur of antelope or mountain sheep, with the ears still attached, something almost never noted elsewhere in the ethnographic literature regarding these people. Because of previous losses of women and children to slaver attacks, Smith's men saw only male Tonequints on this visit—the others would have been in hiding since the first smoke signal. While most of the trapping party rested, others went southwestward to determine their future travel route.[20]

The chosen route proved to be one of the most difficult in the region, taking the brigade through the Virgin River Gorge of the later Arizona Strip. In at least one place, the men were compelled to unload their horse packs and swim the animals and equipment across the river, which featured a good number of narrow canyons and impressively high rock walls. After exiting the Virgin River Gorge into the Littlefield, Arizona area, the party encountered signs of beaver. The habitable area appeared insufficient for long term productivity, and thus the brigade moved on down the Virgin River.[21]

While visiting other Paiutes in the farming areas of the Moapa band on the Muddy River, Smith and his men encountered two visiting Native Americans whom Smith and his later journal editor George R. Brooks agreed were members of the Mohave tribe, partly because they claimed to reside on the lower Colorado River. These men stated that there were many beaver on the Colorado and adjacent tributary streams and that their people had numerous horses to trade. Along with his wanderlust, this convinced Smith to shift the journey in that direction, even though he had intended to head elsewhere.

18 Ibid., 54.

19 Juanita Brooks, ed., *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission: Diary of Thomas D. Brown* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1972), 52. See also Brooks, *Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith*, 54–55.

20 Brooks, *Southwestern Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith*, 56–64.

21 *San Francisco Bulletin*, October 26, 1866.



This rock inscription, dated 1826 and located in Washington County, Utah, may well have been made by a member of the Smith party and is likely the oldest Euro American marking in the entire region.

After a difficult journey along the Colorado and a brief visit and some trade with the Mohaves in the Needles, California, area, Smith determined that the good beaver trapping areas were actually considerably farther downstream near the Arizona tributaries of the Colorado. He also realized that the availability of horses had been overstated. Accordingly, the Smith brigade and two Desert Serrano Native American guides made their way across the East Mojave Desert westward and headed into the populated portion of Mexican southern California.[22]

Reaching southwestern California, Jed Smith had achieved another great accomplishment: he was the first American to travel overland from the Missouri River to the Pacific Coast of California. Along with his crossing of the entire Great Basin from north to south and trailblazing of the long middle segment of the Old Spanish Trail—linking the two previously explored sections and completing a transcontinental pack mule trade route from the Pacific to the United States—Smith had achieved three of his greatest accomplishments.[23]

22 Brooks, *Southwestern Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith*, 64–65, 72–77.

23 Ibid., 68–72. Smith had blazed the huge middle segment of the subsequently named Old Spanish Trail, linking the two portions blazed exactly a half-century earlier by

The Americans were not made welcome in the Mission San Gabriel–Los Angeles area and had difficulty obtaining permission from Mexican governmental authorities to leave. They finally secured an exit visa by promising to immediately vacate California, which they did not do. Instead, the brigade made its way northwest to the beaver-rich streams of the San Joaquin Valley. Smith left all but two of his men in that great valley to trap, while he traveled toward the Sierra Nevada. After initial difficulty and the loss of two horses, Smith and two of his men, Robert Evans and Silas Goble, successfully crossed the formidable range, the first Americans to have done so. They then crossed the dry expanses of Nevada from west to east and traveled northeast through west-central Utah, traversing the Great Basin for the first time in that direction as well.

Upon reaching the southeastern corner of the Great Salt Lake, the three men encountered the mouth of the Jordan River at flood stage. Since Evans and Goble could not swim, they fashioned a raft and Smith guided them through yet another obstacle. Incredibly, they reached the third annual fur trade rendezvous at Bear Lake, Idaho, just a few days after Smith had promised his partners that he would return after a journey of no less than 1,400 miles.

After holding business meetings with company officials and spending time trapping, Smith recruited another eighteen trappers to follow the same general route to reunite with his men in California. Historians have generally assumed that the party would then travel to the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon, a longtime objective of Jedediah Smith, then back toward the Rockies in time for the 1828 rendezvous. In midsummer, after the trading was completed, Smith, the new recruits, and Goble hurried toward Utah Lake. They encountered more Ute headmen, who told Smith that another party of American trappers from New Mexico had recently traveled through southern Utah.[24]

Because this stopover of other American trappers ultimately proved fateful to Smith's men and a large Utah Paiute band, it is important to discuss in detail this group of rival trappers.[25] Some six months after Smith's first visit to the Colorado River in the autumn of 1826, American-born Ewing Young led a brigade including James Ohio Pattie and other naturalized Mexican citizens towards the Mohave villages from the south. By this time the Mohave people were much more apprehensive about such visitors, illustrated by the crying of some children and women as recorded by Pattie.[26] Pattie's biographer, Richard Batson, has suggested that Mexican officials at Los Angeles, disturbed by Smith's earlier semi-legal incursion into California from the east, had convinced the Mohaves to discourage other trappers from entering the province from that direction. Batson also asserted, with some documentary evidence, that Smith, whose second expedition over the same route would suffer terribly later that year, expressed similar suspicions.[27]

After Ewing Young's brigade passed through the upper Mohave village, it continued upstream several miles and pitched camp. Immediately thereafter, about a hundred Mohaves followed what Pattie described as a "dark and sulky" Indian, presumed to be their chief, into their camp; by sign language, this Indian demanded a horse. When Young refused, the chief indicated through gestures, pointing at the Colorado River and then at the full packs on the horses and mules, that the horse was assumed

fathers Atanasio Domínguez and Sylvestre de Escalante from Santa Fe to Utah Lake, and that of their Franciscan counterpart, Father Francisco Garcés, from Needles, California, to the Pacific Coast. Smith's segment covered well over half the distance.

24 Maurice S. Sullivan, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith: A Documentary Outline, Including His Journal* (Santa Ana, CA: Fine Arts Press, 1934; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 27, containing the 1827–1828 segment of his journal.

25 Sullivan, *Travels of Jedediah Smith*, 29–30; Morgan, *Jedediah Smith*, 239–41. See also William H. Goetzmann, ed., *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1962, a replication of the 1831 unabridged ed.), 85.

26 *David J. Weber, The Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540–1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968, 1970), 92–93, 96–97, 125–26. This might also have been because the Mohaves had heard of the party having previously killed Papago Indians on the Gila River and some of their own people had been killed as well. See also, Goetzmann, *Narrative of James O. Pattie*, 85.

27 Richard Batson, *James Pattie's West: The Dream and the Reality* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 175. Batson argues that the fright of the women and children upon seeing Pattie indicates that someone had been spreading "horror stories among the Mohaves." See Goetzmann, *Narrative of James O. Pattie*, 23.

to be legitimate payment because the visible beaver pelts had been trapped in the Indians' domain. This would have been considered a fair proposition between white bargainers, as the Mohaves doubtless understood.[28] But the Americans firmly refused this proposal. Pattie correctly inferred that the chief meant that the river, its tributaries, and all resources taken therefrom belonged to the Mohave tribe, that they should be paid for the valuable beaver pelts, and that a horse was reasonable compensation.

After the Americans again refused, the chief stood with what was described as "a stern and fierce air," made "a peculiar yell," and "immediately shot one of his arrows into a tree" some distance away. Ewing Young aimed his own rifle and dramatically shot the warning arrow in two, which Pattie said bewildered the angry Indians. After these expressions of hostile intent, the Mohaves withdrew from the campsite area. The chief later reappeared with the same demand and Young ordered him to leave with a harsh tone of voice and demeanor so that the chief could understand his message. As the chief departed, urging his horse to a quick gallop, he thrust a spear through one of the nearby horses, and four trappers promptly shot him.[29]

Awaiting the inevitable attack, the entrenched trappers prepared their main advantage, which was that each of some twenty men had a second rifle or musket loaded and ready for use. When the Mohave finally attacked it was through a huge shower of arrows fired from a surprisingly far distance, inflicting no known casualties. The Mohaves then charged and the trappers fired their first volley from over a hundred yards away. With their secondary firearms, the trappers mounted a countercharge as the Mohaves fled. Pattie claimed that sixteen Native Americans were killed in the battle.[30] There is a reasonably reliable account of the same conflict recorded from Mohave oral tradition that essentially agrees with the chain of events leading to the conflict, including the battle. This part of the account simply states that "some of the Mohaves were killed." There is no way to ascertain which version is more accurate.[31]

When Jed Smith's second brigade visited the same village a few months later, they became the surprised victims of the altered Mohave attitude toward visitors.[32] The conflict with Pattie and his fellow trappers established precedent for subsequent interaction between the Mohave and Euro Americans.[33] Maurice Sullivan, who located and edited the longer known portion of Smith's diary, quoted a segment he called a "brief sketch," wherein Smith charged that "the governor" of California, Jose Maria de Echendia, "had instructed the Muchaba [Mohave] Indians not to let any more Americans pass through the country on any conditions whatever." Sullivan correctly concluded that Smith overreacted by attributing the massacre of his men on the Colorado River to the governor's unfair treatment. Sullivan later pointed to evidence suggesting other possible causes for the tragedy, but the material he included gives some credence to Smith's allegations.[34]

28 Batson, *James Pattie's West*, 175–77; Goetzmann, *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie*, 85–86.

29 Pattie confessed apprehension during the night of a possible arrow attack. No further action came even early next day, giving the trappers time to erect some "hasty fortification." Goetzmann, *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie*, 86.

30 Ibid., 86.

31 Cultural Systems Research, Inc., "Mojave," *Joshua Tree: The Native American Ethnography and Ethnohistory of Joshua Tree National Park—An Overview* (2002), accessed September 9, 2016, nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/jotr/history7.htm. See also A. L. Kroeber and C. B. Kroeber, *A Mohave War Reminiscence, 1854–1880*, University of California Publications in Anthropology, vol. 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 52, which offers little on the subsequent killing of the Smith men but treats general Mohave warfare in the era.

32 Barbour, *Jedediah Smith*, 162–167.

33 As more travelers began to come through their domain, Native Americans in the far West devised methods of exacting payment from those who refused to pay for livestock feed, water, use of trails, and other resources. Many adopted stealing and wounding passing travelers' livestock, and this became the general method of exacting tolls along several travel routes from at least 1848 to the 1860s, including through southern Utah. See Edward Leo Lyman, "Relations Between Native Americans and Anglo-Americans on the Western Half of the Old Spanish Trail, 1825–1870: A Study in Contrasts," *Spanish Traces* 15 (Winter 2009): 15–19.

34 Sullivan, *Travels of Jedediah Smith*, 173, n. 97. The editor's argument against Smith's allegation stated: "No contrary testimony of provocation has come to light [as it did in the even more horrible massacre in the following year in Oregon]. Mexican civil authorities may have sent presents to the Mohaves and asked them not to allow any more aliens [to] pass through their territory; but it is doubtful if they were 'instructed to

Barton H. Barbour has more reasonably suggested that "it seems far more probable that the Mohaves' recent conflicts with other 'American' trappers persuaded them to punish the next ones that came their way." He reinforced this by stating that "a [Mohave] tribal tradition suggests that the violence may have been sparked by disagreements over payment for the Mohaves' assistance," which likely referred to the Mohave claims that they had provided the Americans with good beaver trapping opportunities on the Colorado River.[35] Indeed, when these additional facts are known, it becomes clear that the primary cause of the new animosity was due to the Young-Pattie group's exploitation of fur resources without proper compensation for beaver pelts that the Mohaves reasonably believed belonged to them.

Pattie's account corroborates that of the Mohaves—that after the first exchange of fire, he and his men promptly packed their camp and headed up the Red (Colorado) River.[36] For three nights the trappers remained vigilant, expecting another attack. On the fourth night, March 12, 1827, by Pattie's reckoning, the men were so exhausted that they did not erect their protective fortifications. At eleven o'clock that night the Native Americans unleashed a huge shower of arrows that killed two and wounded two others and escaped with no casualties. Pattie stated that one of the dead had been sleeping at his side and that his own bed bristled with sixteen Mohave arrows. In the morning, the eighteen men pursued their attackers and according to Pattie killed "the greater part of that band" and suspended some of the bodies of the dead from nearby trees.[37]

Thereafter, Pattie's trappers traveled north to relative safety.[38] They returned to their accustomed occupation, trapping beaver, with plenty of sentries on guard. Pattie's account suggests that they did this in the vicinity of present Lake Mead, which even then was so arid that there would have been no vegetation to support beaver. The Grand Canyon to the east, where the trapper's account stated they went, would not have been any better for their purposes if they could have traveled through it, which was impossible. A number of scholars, mainly anthropologists, have attempted to solve the mysteries raised by Pattie's controversial account regarding the expedition. The source is seen as particularly unreliable during this segment of their journey.[39]

According to the admittedly unreliable Pattie narrative, a week after their skirmishes with the Mohave, the group, still on the Colorado, came to a village of what he called Shuena Indians—a group unrecognizable in known literature on Native Americans. Some have speculated, with no known supporting evidence, that this was a Shivwits Paiute village on the northwest rim of the Grand Canyon in extreme northwestern Arizona or westward toward Lake Mead. Pattie stated that as his men approached, the Native

kill all Americans.'" Sullivan continued, arguing that if Mohaves were indeed taking orders from the California authorities, there would have been no stolen horses and truant mission Indians among them. However, other fragments of information within the same documents are more favorable to Smith's viewpoint. Francisco, a Serrano who initially led the Smith expedition into the San Gabriel area, was later sentenced to execution for having piloted Euro Americans into southwestern California. Thomas Virgin, who stayed in southern California to recuperate, was later imprisoned solely for being a part of the Smith party (Sullivan, 29, 47). Both men reported to Smith what they had learned while residing among the governor's subject Californios. Thus some basis existed for his conclusion that the Mohaves had been instructed to "kill all Americans coming from that direction."

35 Barbour, *Jedediah Smith*, 165.

36 The Mohaves' version unaccountably stated that the attacking Americans then headed south, which would have taken them through several other concentrations of hostile Native Americans.

37 Goetzmann, *Narrative of James O. Pattie*, 86–87.

38 As Jedediah Smith and his men struggled down the Colorado the first time, they came to rough hills where the river coursed through a steep ravine. Smith, apprehensive about taking the horses down, had little choice since man and beast desperately needed water. With difficulty all eventually made it to the river and beyond, finding a growth of grass to pasture the horses. Later, Smith noted in his diary that "it was at this place a party from Taos saw my track." George Brooks concluded that according to presently known source materials, this could only refer "to the Ewing Young party which passed north along the Colorado after leaving the Mohave villages in the winter of 1827," probably meaning February or March of that year. See Brooks, *Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith*, 69–70.

39 Clifton B. Kroeber, ed., "The Route of James O. Pattie on the Colorado in 1826: A Reappraisal by A. L. Kroeber," *Arizona and the West* 8 (Winter 1964): 135–36. Robert Euler's important final conclusion included in Kroeber's article stated "it may not at all be possible to analyze the Pattie account in an ethno-historical sense after he left the Mohave villages" (135).

Americans "came out and began to fire arrows upon us. We gave them in return a round of rifle balls." The ruthless Pattie, who had participated in the killing of sixteen Mohaves the previous week, recorded that his men laughed heartily as the Indians tried to dodge the rifle balls, having never before heard the report of a rifle. In the diary account, the victorious trappers then "marched through the village without seeing any inhabitants, except the bodies of those we had killed." Immediately thereafter, Pattie claimed, they divided the party; half of them trapped while the others kept up vigilant guard duty. He stated that trapping in this region was productive.[40]

There is no beaver stream close to the Shivwits domain, including the Colorado River itself in the Grand Canyon gorge. Pattie also stated they encountered snow up to eighteen inches deep. His probable route in April was along the canyon rim, a region devoid of beaver. But just what his route was is not clear; other scholars have judged this segment of Pattie's narrative to be unreliable.[41] It is doubtful that there was ever even one central village on the north rim or elsewhere with any significant population in the entire Shivwits territory. The band was never particularly numerous and their homeland possessed virtually no water sources other than a few invaluable seeps and springs that could not sustain a large population.

Another irreconcilable portion of the account is that just after the battle with the Paiutes, the men observed the river coursing north, "flowing through a rich valley, skirted with high mountains, the summits white with snow."[42] Mount Dellenbaugh, just east of most Shivwits lands, might have had snow in April, but beaver trapping areas on a north-flowing river through a rich valley do not even come close to fitting the topography of that region.[43] Anthropologists have speculated that Pattie's narrative must have occurred along the Colorado River because there seemed to be no other possible explanation for the account.

Smith's diary provides information to support a far more logical—if not yet proven—alternative explanation for these baffling events. According to Smith, at Utah Lake the Utes informed him that such men had traveled through southern Utah: "The Utas had told me of some men that came from this direction [south] last spring and passed through their country on their way to Taos." The members of this group, according to the Utes, had "nearly starved to death."[44] The Smith diary does not describe his second brigade's route for the hundred miles beyond Utah Lake, but it is unlikely that they would have again detoured up Spanish Fork Canyon. They probably followed the west slope of the Wasatch Mountains as Smith, Sublette, and Jackson employee Daniel Potts had done the previous year. Somewhere near the Joseph, Sevier County, area he observed the hoof prints of horses and mules. In Smith's words: "I saw tracks of horses and mules which appeared to have passed in the spring when the ground was soft. These tracks were no doubt made by the party the Indians spoke[n] of [while still among the Utes at Utah Lake]."[45]

The Smith brigade then crossed over the chain of mountains at Clear Creek as their predecessors had the year before. Smith led them into the Beaver, Utah, area to the stream he had named the Lost River. Here, Smith and his men encountered numerous Paiutes, who had almost all fled upon his arrival during his earlier journey. This time, Smith reported "they came to me by dozens. Every little party told me by signs and words so that I could understand them, of the party of white men that had passed there the year [season] before, having left a knife and other articles

40 Goetzmann, *Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie*, 85–88.

41 Kroeber, "Route of James O. Pattie," 120, states that "many of his experiences appear extravagant and erroneous." Robert G. Cleland, *This Reckless Breed of Men: The Trappers and Fur Traders of the Far Southwest* (New York: Knopf, 1950), 186, argues that Pattie's narrative becomes "almost worthless" from where the Mohave conflicts end. Goetzmann's introduction to the Lippincott Keystone edition of Pattie narrative terms his travel route "conjectured," xiii. And Batson, previously cited, stated that during this segment of the account, "the confused geography in this part of the narrative makes it difficult to follow Pattie's wanderings after he left the Mohave villages," 178.

42 Goetzmann, *Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie*, 88.

43 Ibid., 88.

44 Sullivan, *Travels of Jedediah Smith*, 27. Smith reported no other information on this situation, but this is circumstantial evidence of another possible reason for the brutal attack on the Tonequint Paiute village a few weeks earlier.

45 Ibid., 27. These were likely the tracks of shod animals, which Native Americans almost never used.



"Mountain Men," by William Henry Jackson.
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at the [then-abandoned] encampment when the Indians had run away." Smith offered the Paiutes some small presents before continuing on the route.[46] After following the future course of Interstate 15, the group went up the Santa Clara River where the previous year Smith had visited and traded with the Tonequint Paiutes. This time they discovered that the village was abandoned. As the trappers examined the area they found burned-out wickiups; as Smith wrote, "Not an Indian was to be seen, neither was there any appearance of their having been there in the course of the summer. Their little lodges were burned down."[47]

Reconsideration of the actions of the Young-Pattie brigade sheds light on this tragic mystery. We might surmise that Pattie's group continued up the Muddy-Virgin River tributary to the Colorado and headed farther north instead of following the barren and beaver-scarce Colorado River toward the Grand Canyon. These men were primarily fur trappers, preoccupied with finding better beaver-hunting habitat. The Colorado River above the Mohave villages was a very poor location, at least until its junction with the Virgin, since that area was—and is—almost completely desert. On the other hand, the lower Virgin River was fine beaver habitat, as another group of American trappers that included Pegleg Smith and George C. Yount discovered just two years later.[48] The Pattie trappers might have looted, assaulted, and destroyed the village of the Tonequint Paiutes. Pattie even acknowledged in his account that his men had attacked some Native Americans. Hopefully further relevant source materials will eventually be located, but in the meantime, this should be considered the most likely chain

46 Ibid., 27–28.

47 Ibid., 28.

48 *San Francisco Bulletin*, October 26, 1866, a Pegleg Smith obituary. See also Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, 136. They proved so successful, acquiring beaver pelts by midseason, that Smith and a companion were dispatched with full mule packs of pelts to Los Angeles to sell their fur harvest. When the Mormons arrived at the Tonequint lands twenty years later, Thomas D. Brown noted beaver dams situated in the immediate proximity to the main Tonequint village on the Santa Clara. See Brooks, *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission*, 55.

of events— especially with strong corroborating evidence provided by Smith's account.

Farther upstream the adjacent Virgin River curved to the north and coursed through the fertile valley later known as the St. George and Washington Fields, fitting Pattie's narrative of a northern flowing river and a rich fertile valley. Just to the northwest, the often-snow-capped (even in April) Pine Valley Mountains stand prominently against the skyline. This area fits the Pattie narrative's description of landforms far better than any other in the greater region. If the fighting encounter occurred near the Virgin, which is a far more probable location after a week of travel and trapping, it would much more likely have been a fight between the trappers and the Tonequint Paiutes instead of with the Shivwits band. Admittedly, the matter cannot be entirely proven either way, though Smith's diary offers substantial corroborating evidence for the present scenario.[49]

Other pieces of evidence pointing to the Pattie group traveling through Utah into Colorado is that Smith saw horseshoe tracks likely belonging to Pattie on the bank of the Sevier River. Two months earlier Smith had heard from Utes that a group from Taos had passed through the region, and it seems plausible that the tracks belonged to Pattie as he passed through the Wasatch by way of Salina Canyon. This is bolstered by the fact that even in Pattie's narrative the group is said to have traveled to near the confluence of the Green and Colorado rivers. As Joseph J. Hill of the Bancroft Library argued in 1923, the Green River closely fits Pattie's description of "another part of the river [the Green], emptying into the main river [the Colorado] from the north."[50] The party then trapped on this river for two days and encountered a band of Indians—probably Southern Utes but possibly a smaller segment of the "large party of Shoshones" whom they met and quarreled with several days later. It is entirely unlikely that the Western Shoshones (from northern Utah, Idaho, or Wyoming) would have ventured south of the Colorado River anywhere remotely close to Navajo country (then exclusively in New Mexico and Arizona) where the Pattie narrative places some of these events. Since the Shoshones had recently attacked a company of French trappers on the headwaters of the Platte River, probably in the vicinity of Longs Peak, it is more likely that the Green River was the actual location of the route. This is particularly likely since the Pattie group reportedly then traveled in the same direction to Longs Peak.[51]

The second Smith party arrived at the northern Mohave villages in the late summer, probably August 1827, and traded for several days. The Mohave concealed their violent intent and awaited the proper opportunity. That occasion came on the third day of the stopover as nine of the trappers pushed cane grass rafts loaded with goods into the Colorado. The Mohave attacked with their war clubs, quickly killing ten on the east bank, while also attacking Smith and his remaining men in the river. The severely wounded Thomas Virgin, along with the other eight, were able to reach the far bank. The remaining men expected to meet the same fate as their slain companions, given that they only had five rifles between them and some Mohaves were crossing the river. Smith ordered the survivors to gather against the river and gave his best marksmen the guns. When the Mohaves on the west side indicated that they were ready to approach the survivors, the marksmen killed two and wounded one at a long distance, discouraging further attacks. After nightfall, with no horses, the remaining men headed west across the desert with their goods on their backs. They arranged to locate water each day and, in less than a week, reached another "inconstant" stream—the Mojave River.

Following the dry streambed southward, they soon encountered several friendly Paiutes with whom they traded cloth, knives, and beads for two horses, some water containers, and a little food. Continuing down the Mojave—which

49 Kroeber, "Route of James O. Pattie," 129 and n. 21.

50 Joseph J. Hill, "Ewing Young in the Fur Trade of the Far Southwest," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 24 (March 1923): 17–18. Hill wrote that "the Grand-Green confluence [w]as the only neighborhood corresponding to Pattie's descriptions and permitting of the activities that occurred in the vicinity."

51 Lewis R. Freeman, *The Colorado River Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (New York, 1923), cited in Kroeber, "Route of James O. Pattie," 132n29. This source agrees with Hill that Pattie's account best describes this to be the confluence of the Grand and Green rivers, making the Colorado River in the eastern extremity of south-central Utah. See also Goetzmann, *Personal Narrative*, 81–91.

Smith knew would lead the group toward the southern California population center—they finally descended Cajon Pass into the San Bernardino Rancho area, a satellite property of the more distant San Gabriel Mission. Smith knew several of the mission priests, and he allowed several steers to be killed without permission, with most of the meat dried for travel.

Leaving Thomas Virgin with an attendant to recuperate from his wounds, the brigade returned up the Cajon, ignoring the law that all incoming foreigners report to the Mexican government. Upon reaching the top of the pass, they turned west toward the Stanislaus River in the San Joaquin Valley. By September 18, the date Smith had promised to return by, the brigade had rejoined Smith's other trappers. To help with the lack of supplies, a friendly chief and some other members of the Mokelumne Indians provided food; the group still had sufficient traps, gunpowder, and lead. After Smith had reorganized his fur trapping groups, he set out with several Indians for the San Jose Mission, hoping to persuade the priests to assist him with Governor José María de Echeandía.[52]

The governor soon issued a warrant for Smith's arrest, believing the American to have insurrectionary intentions. Arrested and jailed, Smith appealed for prompt attention to his case but waited in discomfort for a month before his first hearing. Fortunately, Echeandía trusted Smith's English translator—William Hartnell—as much as he distrusted Smith. Smith had also engaged four American sea captains willing to back him; they persuaded the governor to let them assume responsibility for Smith until he had left California. This won Smith his freedom, and as soon as the former governor Luis Antonio Argüello approved the route Smith proposed to take upon departure, he was released.

Upon release, Smith sold most of his beaver pelts for a low price and generated $4,000 with which to resupply and acquire some sixty horses, plus mules and cattle. As the time for departure approached Smith selected eighteen men from the remaining employees to accompany him to the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon Country. This journey took from early January to late June 1828, mainly because there was no trail through the wilderness throughout the north, and thus Smith had to blaze the route—another major achievement. Along the trek, he noted that "some of the cedar [redwood] were the noblest trees [he] had ever seen, extremely tall and with trunks measuring 15 feet diameter." This was in the area of what would later become the Jedediah Smith State Park, north of Crescent City, California, near the Oregon border.[53]

Later, faced with crossing the Umpqua River near present-day Reedsport, Oregon, Smith sought a fording place for the cattle they had driven with them to avoid the difficult boggy lands adjacent to the riverbanks. He, two companions, and an Indian guide borrowed a canoe and explored along the river. As Smith departed, he warned the man he left in charge—Rogers—not to allow any Umpqua Indians to enter their camp. There had already been several conflicts with local Native Americans, including one rather serious involving the loss of the last remaining axe, which resulted in severe punishment for the suspected thief. There were also earlier disputes due to trading. However, Rogers did not keep the Indians out of the camp, and on the fateful morning of July 14, 1828, some two hundred Native Americans gathered as the remaining sixteen exhausted trappers slept, cleaned their rifles, or ate breakfast.

The historian Barton Barbour writes that "the [surprise] attack came with lightning speed and staggering ferosity." Fifteen of the trappers were killed quickly in terror and pain. One man, Arthur Black, escaped into the forest and would survive, despite injury.[54] The three river-bound trappers were returning to their camp when a Native American on the riverbank shouted something to their Indian guide, who immediately reached for Smith's rifle and capsized the canoe. The three trappers swam for the opposite shore "amidst a hail of musket balls and arrows." After surveying the campsite from a safe distance and seeing no movement, they escaped toward the Pacific shoreline to the west, then north to Fort Vancouver, the British Hudson Bay Company headquarters at the mouth of the

52 Smith's men had experienced excellent success trapping over the past season, which was evidence their leader had located the kind of hunting grounds he had previously aspired to discover.

53 Morgan, *Jedediah Smith*, 256–65; Barbour, *Jedediah Smith*, 190–224.

54 Barbour, *Jedediah Smith*, 219–26.

Columbia River. Black had gotten there before them. The company chief, Dr. John McLoughlin, and his men assisted Smith in retrieving much of their equipment, horses, and furs from more friendly Native Americans. Most of this was purchased by the British, who also allowed the survivors to remain at the headquarters until the following spring, when Smith and Black reunited with his partners in Idaho. The company had prospered since he had left, but within another year the partners were all prepared to sell their company shares.[55]

At that time, at only thirty-one years old, Jed Smith attempted to retire and purchased a farm in Ohio. He clearly intended to rewrite his diaries for publication and hired a man to copy and edit his maps. He also planned to write a book about his experiences in the West and on the region itself. However, a year later, likely bored with the inaction of retirement, he became involved with a commercial venture hauling freight over the Santa Fe Trail from Missouri to New Mexico. This demonstrated that, in Barbour's words, the retired mountain man's economic security "had not eclipsed his love for exploration." Dale Morgan speculated that, since Smith knew the majority of the West well, such a venture would fill in the last gap in Smith's knowledge of the geography of the region he intended to write about. During this time Smith considered in the future taking a job as a guide to one or more of the government's planned topographic expeditions.[56]

Smith's caravan departed St. Louis on April 10, 1831, with twenty-two mule-pulled freight wagons. About a month later, in dry country, the wagon train came to the Cimarron Cutoff, which if sufficient water could be found would save valuable time getting the goods to market. Naturally, Jed Smith was one of those selected to venture out ahead, along with seasoned mountain man Thomas Fitzpatrick to locate water sources. When they found a depression in the terrain, they decided to dig a well. Smith moved on to investigate farther west. He was last seen through Fitzpatrick's spy glass from about three miles away. According to secondhand information from traders and associates of the Comanche warriors who encountered Smith alone at a waterhole, the warriors surrounded him and, when his horse nervously whirled around, shot him in the back. Still able to shoot, the fearless Smith is said to have killed the Indian chief before himself being killed. His body was never recovered, but eventually his firearms turned up in New Mexico and were obtained by family members. This was a tragic but not unexpected end for one who had spent much of the last eight years in danger. Still, it was a tragedy for the nation to lose one of its greatest explorers when he was so young and had yet to write about what he had discovered. He died at age thirty-two.[57]

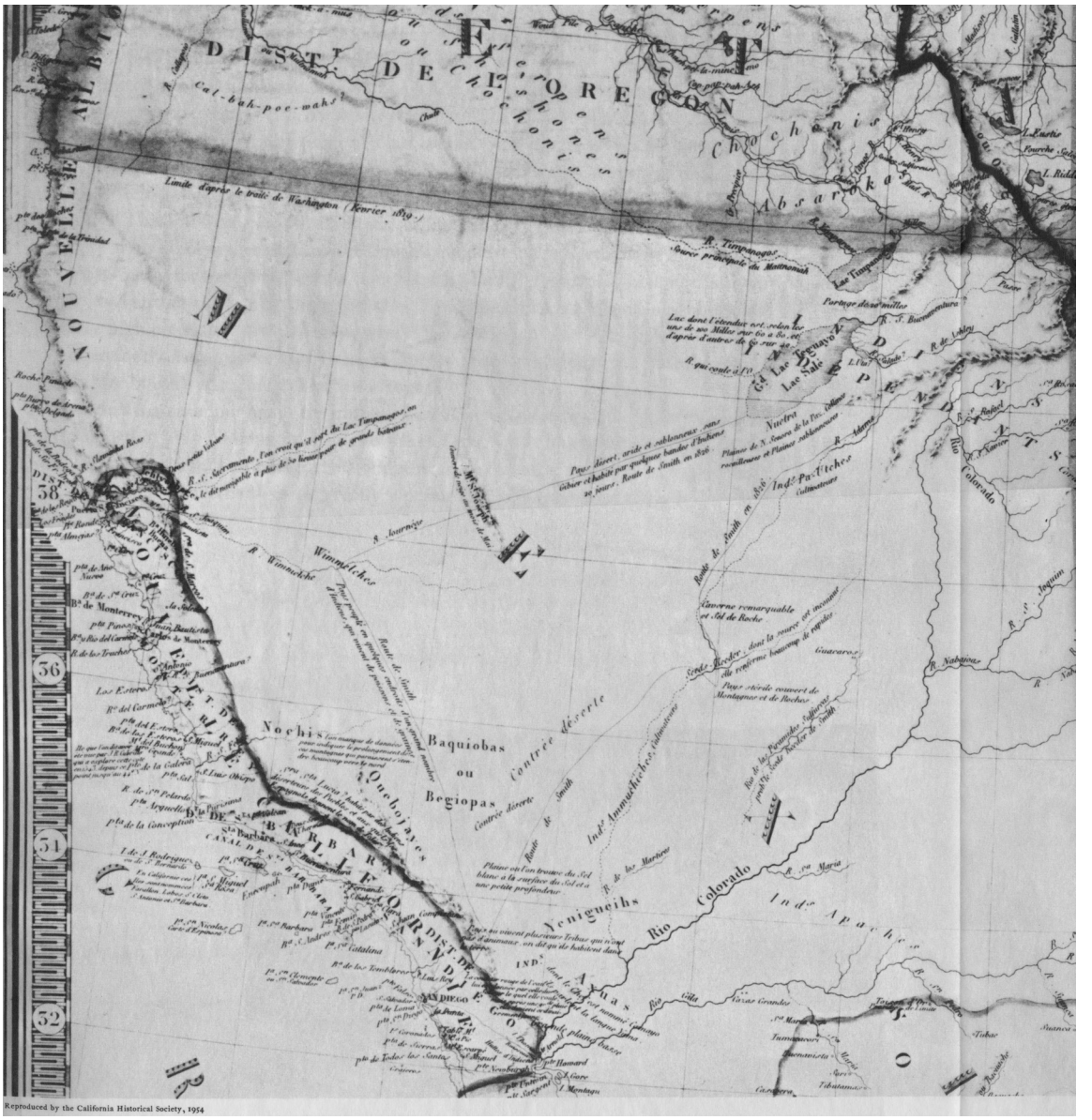
Jedediah S. Smith's two main biographers have emphasized his major accomplishments, yet no one has sufficiently addressed the breadth of knowledge he recorded on the lands and peoples of what would become Utah. When John C. Frémont's main biographer, Allan Nevins, was ready to publish his work, he planned to entitle it "Frémont: The Great Pathfinder." But like many other Americans at that time, he belatedly commenced to discover the extent of Jed Smith's initial discoveries. After the man had been then almost completely forgotten for several generations, Nevins instead titled his work *Frémont: Pathmarker of the West*. This tacitly acknowledged that the expedition's guides, primarily Kit Carson, would have first learned about much of the West from Smith, who had been dead and almost forgotten for most of a century prior to publication of Nevin's biography. Although Smith had prepared his diaries and a map of his travels for publication, he died before completing that project. "It is now clear that had his map of the West been published shortly after it was drawn," surmise Dale Morgan and Carl Wheat, "it would have advanced public understanding and appreciation of this vast and complex area by at least fifteen years, and in some portions by even more." [58]

55 Barbour, *Jedediah Smith*, 241, 247–49; Morgan, *Jedediah Smith*, 320–21. In August 1830, the company dissolved by selling its assets to five fellow trappers, Thomas Fitzpatrick, Jim Bridger, Milton Sublette, Jean Baptiste Gervais, and Henry Fraeb, who organized Rocky Mountain Fur Company. That winter, William Ashley sold the former partners' large stock of furs at Philadelphia for $84,500, before he took out his substantial commission. When the debts were liquidated and all accounts finalized, each of the three partners received at least $17,500.

56 Barbour, *Jedediah Smith*, 252; Morgan, *Jedediah Smith*, 325, 320–21.

57 Barbour, *Jedediah Smith*, 258–59, 267–70.

58 Morgan and Wheat, *Jedediah Smith and His Maps*, 17.



A. H. Brue's 1834 map of the northern reaches of Mexico. This map clearly shows information derived from Jedediah Smith, including Smith's southern route in 1826. It is "noteworthy as the earliest attempt by a cartographer to display Jedediah Smith's actual route on a map," according to Dale L. Morgan and Carl I. Wheat, Jedediah Smith, *18.*

Another aspect of Smith's exploration that deserves more recognition is his role in opening the so-called Old Spanish Trail from Santa Fe to Los Angeles in 1829. Smith blazed the longest part of the trail—from Salina Canyon in east-central Utah through the southwest portion of Utah, Arizona, and Nevada, to Needles, California. LeRoy R. Hafen wrote that prior to Smith, who proved the route to be practicable, "no party would have set out with an organized pack horse train of goods to barter in California" because the route was unknown. As word-of-mouth news of Smith's journey reached the New Mexico province, caravans began to head for California.[59]

Except for a few comments a half century earlier by Padres Dominguez and Escalante, Jedediah Smith was the first Euro American to offer any details regarding the life ways and challenges of

59 Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, 156, 169, 171, 177–92.



Jedediah Smith monument, Frémont Indian State Park.

Utah Southern Paiutes, including insights into the impact of the New Mexican slave trade in their region. His record also helps to resolve the perplexing question of what happened to the Tonequint village on the Santa Clara River first visited by Smith and his men in 1826 but then abandoned the year following. In his travel account, James O. Pattie admitted that he and his men attacked and killed an undetermined number of Native American men somewhere in the Colorado River region, and it seems probable based on Smith's corroborating evidence that Pattie was responsible for destroying the Tonequint village. It was only a temporary abandonment, though; in 1854, when the first Mormon missionaries came to settle on the Santa Clara, the village was again flourishing with up to eight hundred residents. Unfortunately, in the 1860s and 1870s, tragedy returned when the population was devastated by several smallpox epidemics to which few Native Americans had much immunity. Two decades later, the neighboring Shivwits Paiutes were offered and moved to the former Tonequint lands on the Santa Clara.

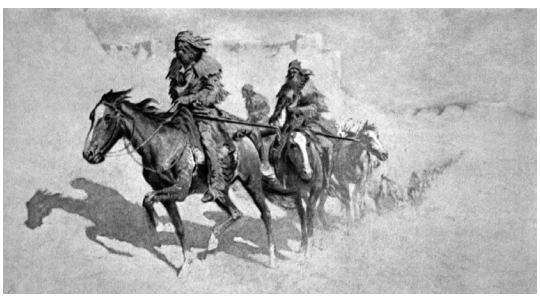
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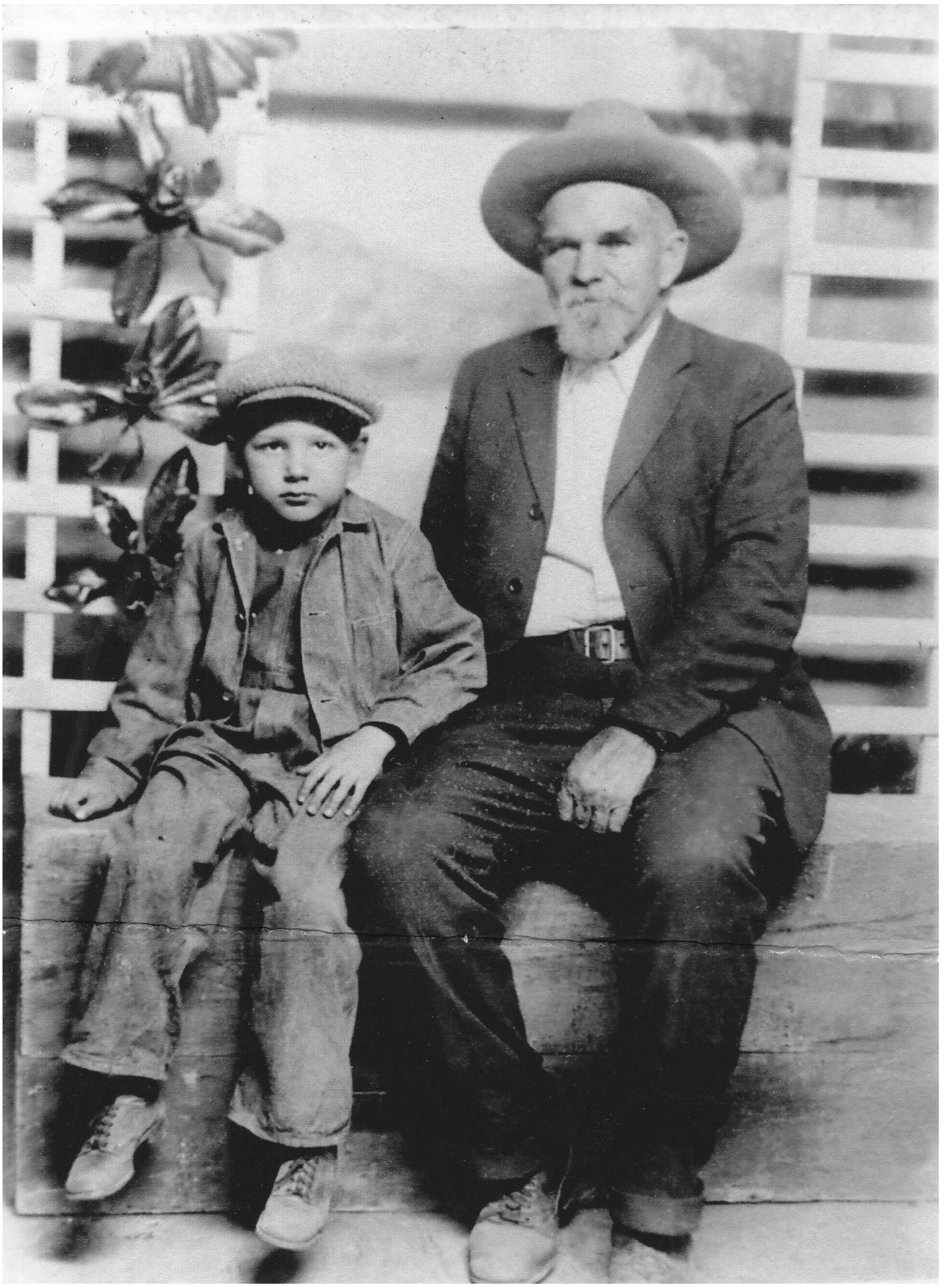
Edward Leo Lyman, a contributor to the Quarterly *for over forty years, taught high school and college history classes in California. For the past dozen years he has been semiretired, residing with his wife, Brenda, and daughter, Genevieve, in Silver Reef, Utah. He continues to research and write western history, while teaching upper-division courses at Dixie State University each semester. He is currently writing a history of the Southern Paiute Tribe.*

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WEB EXTRA

At history.utah.gov/uhqextras, we produce an interactive map—with diary excerpts and images—of Jedediah Smith's southwestern expedition.





An itinerant photographer captured this portrait of Milam Alexander Jones Jr. with his grandfather, F. M. Jones, probably at Granger, Texas, in about 1927.

TOUCHING HISTORY:

A Grandson's Memories of Felix Marion Jones and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows

BY WILL BAGLEY

Living memory is complicated. Careless historians "confuse memory and history," noted Richard White. "History is the enemy of memory. The two stalk each other across the fields of the past, claiming the same terrain." Yet in the jungle of the past, "only memory knows the trails. Historians have to follow cautiously." I recall a mid-1950s afternoon in a humble shanty that stood not fifty yards from our home above an East Mill Creek church. Its ancient resident told the neighborhood kids he had crossed the plains as a child. Historians must handle memory—especially personal memories—as ruthlessly as detectives compare, interrogate, and match their sources against each other, for, as White observed, "Memory can mislead as well as lead." Was my recollection one of the treasures of living memory hidden all around us—or more evidence that our dense and tangled memories are more powerful than history?[1]

Events of the nineteenth century sometimes seem to be impossibly distant, but encounters with remembered history can bring that unfamiliar world into startling focus, raise questions, and provide insights. The last survivor of the 1857 Mountain Meadows Massacre, Sarah Frances Baker Gladden Mitchell, died on October 4, 1947, at the age of 93.[2]

1 Richard White, *Remembering Ahanagran: Storytelling in a Family's Past* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), 4. The unlikely memory of my neighbor was not impossible: Utah's "last living pioneer," Hilda Anderson Erickson, came to Utah in 1866 at age seven and died in 1968.

2 Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley, and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 382n7. Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1950; repr., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), is the classic source. Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets:*

Her descendants joined some four hundred people in September 2007 in southern Utah to commemorate the sesquicentennial of the atrocity. Jerilyn Jones Clayton of Ely, Nevada, a great-granddaughter of Felix Marion Jones, one of the massacre's youngest survivors, attended the commemoration. Her father, Milam Alexander (Mike) Jones Jr., vividly recalled the stories his grandfather, Felix Marion (or F. M.), told him when he had lived with his youngest son's family from 1926 until shortly before his death in 1932. Big Daddy, as his seven children affectionately called Mike Jones, celebrated his eighty-fifth birthday in the Texas hill country in 2008. He had always wanted to share his story with a historian. Jerilyn decided to give him a birthday present—a historian. She helped underwrite my airline ticket to Austin.[3]

This journey led deeper into the story of the children brought back from Utah to Arkansas in 1859 after surviving the most controversial event in Utah's contested history: the merciless massacre of about 120 men, women, and children on September 11, 1857, at Mountain Meadows. Five days after an alleged Indian attack, officers of the Nauvoo Legion, Utah's territorial militia, promised to escort the party to safety, marched them a mile up the wagon road, and then slaughtered the disarmed emigrants. The men involved in the atrocity murdered everyone they thought capable of testifying against them. Their leaders stole all the property of seventeen orphans, some infants and none older than six in 1857.

Two years later federal officers faced a daunting challenge: identify the orphans and match them with relatives and family friends in Arkansas. No survivor proved more problematic than Felix Marion Jones, the child eventually placed with the Jones family but apparently identified on early lists as Elijah, Eligah, Ephraim, and even (in a *New York Times* typo) as Eliza Huff.[4] Many orphans were reunited with relatives, but for some it was never clear if the officials placed them with the *right* family.

When the Jones family left Johnson County, Arkansas, for California in April 1857, Felix Marion was about a year old. His family consisted of his father, John Milam Jones, about 32; his mother, Eloah Angeline Tackitt Jones, about 27; a sister perhaps named Saphronia, age unknown; his uncle Newton, and his widowed grandmother, Cynthia Tackitt, 49, along with five of her children—Marion, Sebron, Matilda, James Milam, and Jones M.—who ranged in age from twelve to twenty. Sebron Tackitt might have had a family of his own. Cynthia's oldest son, Pleasant Tackitt, 25, his wife, Armilda Miller Tackitt, 22, and their sons Emberson Milam, 4, and a boy about Felix's age, William Henry, came too. They camped on the border of Indian Territory to let the grass freshen on the prairies. Fielding Wilburn Jones and Felix W. Jones visited their brothers, as did Francis M. Rowan, who was "well acquainted with the boys, Milam Jones, and Newton Jones particularly." Newton had about thirty dollars and a rifle, Felix W. Jones recalled, while Milam Jones had a shotgun. Their nephew, Fielding Wilburn, spent two or three days camped with them. The Jones brothers drove about sixty beef cattle, and four yoke of first-rate work oxen pulled their heavily laden "large good ox wagon." Perhaps George D. Basham joined the company, which had "a general outfit to make the trip comfortable." George W. Baker's wagons camped nearby.[5]

The Jones clan "constituted one company in family groups," F. M. Rowan swore in 1860. "The Jones boys owned the waggin, oxen and out fit, and the others seemed to be living with them and depending on the Jones boys for their support," he said. The men were well armed and equipped for an overland journey. Rowan estimated the property was worth $1,075.[6]

Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002) builds on Brooks.

3 This article relies on the author's interview notes with the Jones family in Wimberley, Texas, in 2008 and 2009. Milam Alexander Jones Family, box 1, Will Bagley Research Collection, MSS B 1980, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

4 Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, 219, 248.

5 Wilburn and Rowan 1860 Affidavits, in David L. Bigler and Will Bagley, eds., *Innocent Blood: Essential Narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Norman: Arthur H. Clark, 2008), 52–53.

6 Rowan, Deposition, October 24, 1860, Ibid., 51–52. With odd precision, LDS historians calculated that John and Newton Jones owned "known property" worth $814 to $1,215. While not counting "all the emigrants' property," the train was worth $27,240 to $48,102.50. Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*,

The Jones clan joined "Captain Jack" Baker's train at Fort Bridger in July. On October 29, 1857, an eyewitness described meeting "a man named Milan Jones, and a widow named Tacket, who was coming to live with her son in California." He said "the whole company had at least a thousand head of cattle with them. They also had many splendid rifles and guns, and plenty of them."[7]

"The painful intelligence" that "an emigrant train with 130 persons from Arkansas" had been attacked in Utah Territory, "and that all of the emigrants, with the exception of 15 children, were then and there massacred and murdered" reached northwest Arkansas by Christmas 1857. Friends and relatives heard the dead included "Milam Jones and his brother, and his mother-in-law and family, Pleasant Tacket and family," and others, "all of whom were our neighbors, friends and acquaintances." They knew the few children "saved from the dreadful fate of their parents and the rest of their company were delivered over to the custody of the Mormons of Cedar city." The news was correct: seventeen children, including F. M. Jones, were still alive, but all the other members of his family and every member of the company above the age of six years had died at a place called Mountain Meadows. To the grieving survivors, it appeared "that the Mormons are instigating the Indians to hostilities against our citizens" and were "systematically engaged in the infamous work of robbing and murdering peaceful wayfarers and emigrants and resisting the authority and laws of the United States—and in short of rebellion and treason against the general government." Arkansas's largest newspaper asked, "What will the Government do with these Mormons and Indians? Will it not send out enough men to hang all the scoundrels and thieves at once, and give them the same play they give our women and children?"[8]

Upon learning of the atrocity, on December 31, 1857, William C. Mitchell asked Arkansas Senator William Sebastian, chair of the committee on Indian Affairs, to help rescue the rumored survivors. "I must have satisfaction for the inhuman manner in which they have slain my children," Mitchell wrote, "together with two brothers-in-law and seventeen of their children." On March 4, 1858, acting Commissioner Charles Mix directed Dr. Jacob Forney, Utah Territory's second Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and his agents to find the children reported to have survived "the massacre of a train on its way to California, and three hundred miles beyond Salt Lake City."[9]

It took federal officials two years to return the orphans to Arkansas.[10] "On my arrival in this Territory the Indians were in a feverish excitement, and great energy, and almost incessant traveling among them, and presents, were necessary to calm them down," Forney wrote. On June 22, 1858, Jacob Hamblin explained "where the children are": he had one and said "all the children (fifteen) in question are in his immediate neighborhood, in the care of whites." Forney heard the "unfortunate children were for some days among Indians; with considerable effort they were all recovered, bought and otherwise, from Indians."[11] He directed Hamblin to "collect all the children . . . and bring them into your family and have them well taken care of. Clothe them. You will be well compensated for all the trouble you and Mrs. Hamblin will have."[12]

Forney and his agents carried out their orders in spring 1859 but ran into a wall of fear, faith, and fanaticism in southern Utah. On the road, they "made diligent inquiry concerning the massacre of this party of emigrants," but no one had "any knowledge of the massacre, except that they had heard it was done by the Indians," wrote deputy U.S. Marshal William H. Rogers. After collecting thirteen children from Hamblin at Santa Clara, "one at Painter [Pinto]

251–53.

7 P., "Letter from Angel's Camp," *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, November, 1, 1857, 1/3.

8 "Extract from a letter Carroll Co.," *Little Rock Arkansas State Gazette and Democrat*, February 18, 1858, 2/2.

9 U.S. Senate, *The Massacre at Mountain Meadows, and other massacres in Utah Territory*, 36th Congress, 1 Sess., Serial 1033 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1860), 42–44 (hereafter *Massacre*, Serial 1033).

10 For the rescue, see Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, 208–230, 236–42; and Todd Compton, *A Frontier Life: Jacob Hamblin Explorer and Indian Missionary* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2013), 98–116, 150–61.

11 Forney to Mix, June 22, 1858, *Massacre*, Serial 1033, 73, 44.

12 Forney to Hamblin, August 4, 1858, box 26, fd. 09, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, 1839–1877, CR 1234 1, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Creek, and two at Cedar City," Forney headed north. Pahvant leader Kanosh, who had guided Forney from Corn Creek, reported Indians had told him "there were two more children saved from the massacre than Mr. Hamblin had collected." Forney sent Rogers south to investigate. Near Harmony at "a small settlement containing five or six houses," Rogers inquired about the two children, but none of the residents "professed to know anything about any children besides those that Mr. Hamblin had collected. I told them that if the children were in the country at all, every house would be searched if they were not given up." A man from Pocketville (now Virgin), then admitted "his wife had one of the children," who "was very young, and that his wife was very much attached to it." He was anxious to keep him, but Rogers "told him that I had no power to give the child away, and that I would send and get it in a few days." Jacob Hamblin recovered "a bright eyed and rosy cheeked boy, about two years old, [who] must have been an infant when the massacre occurred."[13]

"In each of many nineteenth-century conflicts between the Mormons and their neighbors," the historian David L. Bigler has observed, "one almost always discovers two squarely opposing, mutually exclusive, and highly credible versions."[14] Take, for example, the condition of the recovered children. "No one can depict the glee of these infants when they realized that they were in the custody of what they called 'the Americans,'" John Cradlebaugh recalled. Judge Cradlebaugh was no friend of the Mormons, but his complaint that church leaders reveled "upon the spoils obtained by murder, while seventeen orphan children are turned penniless upon the world" was true.[15]

James Lynch claimed he found the orphans "in a most wretched condition, half starved, half naked, filthy, infested with vermin, and their eyes diseased from the cruel neglect to which they had been exposed."[16] In contrast Jacob Forney was "confident that the children were well cared for whilst in the hands of these people. I found them happy and contented, except those who were sick." He insisted, "when I obtained the children they were in a better condition than children generally in the settlements in which they lived."[17] Rogers supported Forney: "These children were well with the exception of sore eyes, which they all had, and which prevailed at the time as an epidemic in the place."[18] Both perspectives reflect southern Utah's desperate poverty.

It is easy to question the character and motives of the men who rescued the children but hard to dismiss their eyewitness reports, which sometimes bridged the ideological chasm in nineteenth-century Utah. Those involved sought to act in the children's best interests and found the children's hard fate profoundly moving, as did Rachel Hamblin. She could speak of the massacre without a shudder, "but when she told of the 17 orphan children who were brought by *such a crowd* to her own house of one small room there in the darkness of night, two of the children cruelly mangled and the most of them with their parents' blood still wet upon their clothes, and all of them shrieking with terror and grief and anguish, her own mother heart was touched." Captain James Carleton, who thought the "Thugs of India were an inoffensive, moral, law-abiding people" compared to the Mormons, commended "her care and nourishment of the three sisters, and for all she did for the little girl 'about 1 year old who had been shot through one of her arms, below the elbow, by a large ball, breaking both bones and cutting the arm half off.'"[19]

Forney faced a host of problems on his expedition to Mountain Meadows. "Thank God that I am this near home from my southern trip," Forney wrote in a "hasty and imperfect letter"

13 "Statement of Wm. H. Rogers," *Valley Tan*, February 29, 1860, 2/4. John Calvin Miller identified the child as Joseph Miller, youngest son of Joseph and Matilda Miller.

14 Will Bagley, ed., *Confessions of a Revisionist Historian: David L. Bigler on the Mormons and the West* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust and the Marriott Library, 2015), 141.

15 Bigler and Bagley, *Innocent Blood*, 237.

16 James Lynch, "The Mountain Meadows Massacre," *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 31, 1859, 3/3.

17 *Massacre*, Serial 1033, 79, 89.

18 "Statement of Wm. H. Rogers," *Valley Tan*, February 29, 1860, 3/1.

19 James Henry Carleton, *Special Report of the Mountain Meadow Massacre, by J. H. Carleton, Brevet Major, United States Army, Captain, First Dragoons*, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., House Doc. 605, Serial 4377 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 5–6, 17.

dashed off at Spanish Fork. By May 1859 he had collected all the children "that remain of the butchering affair." They seemed "contented and happy, poorly clad, however. I will get them fixed up as soon as possible. All the children are intellectual and good looking, not one mean looking child among them." The four oldest children knew enough about the massacre "to relieve this world of the white hell-hounds, who have disgraced humanity by being mainly instrumental in the murdering at least one hundred and fifteen men, women, and children, under circumstances and manner without a parallel in human history for atrocity."[20]

Mountain Meadows smoldered in the older orphans' memories: some retained "a very vivid impression of much connected with the massacre," wrote rescuer James Lynch.[21] John Calvin Miller recalled being "near his mother when she was killed, and says he pulled arrows from her back until she was dead."[22] If the traumatic details of the massacre remained vivid for some of the children, memories of their past lives did not. Initially, only the three Dunlap sisters and Sophronia Huff could provide their proper names. Christopher Carson "Kit" Fancher, who had lived with John D. Lee's extended family, gave his name as Charles Francher. Forney had "no account" of one three-year-old boy; "those with whom he lived called him William." The oldest boy, John Calvin Miller, could not recall his surname, but Rogers thought it was "Sorrow." As many as eight of the children had no more idea of who they were than the four-year-old girl found at Cedar City who did "not recollect anything about herself." The child identified as Francis Harris or Horne or Mary Frances Hawn, perhaps Sarah Baker, "remember[ed] nothing of her family," while one boy, perhaps Felix Marion Jones, was "too young to remember anything about himself." The orphans could name about fourteen siblings. One of the oldest boys, Emberson Milum Tackitt, recalled living in Johnson County, "but does not know in what State; says it took one week to go from where he lived to his grandfather's and grandmother's."[23]



Nancy Saphrona Huff, whose name was also spelled Saphronia in early news and government reports. Arkansas State Senator William C. Mitchell, who coordinated the rescue of the surviving children, concluded that Saphrona was the child of John Milam and Eloah Tackitt Jones. She is pictured here with her husband, Dallas Cates. She died in 1878 at about the age of twenty-five and lies in the Antioch Cemetery near Perryville, Arkansas.

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Will Bagley Collection

By the time they arrived in Carrolton, Arkansas, in September 1859, almost all the children had been matched with the names history records. Confusion over the identify of two of the orphans continued: William C. Mitchell believed that four-year old F. M. Jones and Nancy Saphronia Huff, age seven, were the children of

20 Forney to General Johnston, May 1, 1859, *Massacre*, Serial 1033, 8.

21 Lynch, "The Mountain Meadows Massacre," *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 31, 1859, 3/3.

22 William Kearny, "List of the Children Saved from the Mountain Meadows Massacre," *Los Angeles Southern Vineyard*, June 3, 1859.

23 Carleton, *Special Report*, 26–27; Forney, May 4, 1859, *Massacre*, Serial 1033, 57–58; Lt. Kearny, "List of the Children," *Los Angeles Southern Vineyard*, June 3, 1859; Rogers, *Valley Tan*, February 29, 1860, 3/1.

John Milam Jones. On April 27, 1860, Mitchell reported that all the children, including Felix Jones, were living "in the care of their relatives and friends in Arkansas except Saphrona Huff who was taken by her grandfather Brown" to Tennessee. On October 11, 1860, however, Mitchell listed "F. M. Jones, 4; male; Sophronia, 7; female; children of J. M. Jones, deceased, of Marion county, Arkansas; reside in Meigs county, Tenn."[24] Much later, a newspaper captured the lingering questions surrounding the children's identity and memories:

> Some of the children were recognized by their relatives and claimed at once. Others could not be clearly identified, as they were so young. The survivors found homes among kindred or the friends of their parents, and each one of them became an object of especial interest to all the people of the surrounding country. The older children were talked to constantly for days about the massacre, and no doubt the little ones learned to believe some of the stories which fancy created where memory failed in trying to recall the details of the tragedy and its consequences.[25]

Determining which one of the seven rescued male orphans became Felix Marion Jones is confusing and perhaps hopeless. The process of elimination seems to point to the child who identified himself as Huff. After a massive effort, LDS church researchers concluded nine-month-old William Twitty Baker "went to live with Cedar City residents Sarah and David Williams," while "Mary Ann and William Stewart took into their home eighteen-month-old Felix Marion Jones." They noted, "Government officials initially misidentified the recovered child as 'Elisha Huff' and, later, 'Ephraim Huff.'" The confusion over this child's first name is even more extensive than indicated. Carleton identified him as William W. Huff, and no source called the child Felix until William Mitchell did so in 1860.[26]

Reasonable deductions do not eliminate other possibilities. Forney identified the four-year-old Elijah William in association with Sophronia Mary Hough, who was actually Nancy Saphrona Huff (later Cates). She may have believed this child was her brother, for Elijah Huff and William Huff both died in the massacre. Even after the children arrived in Arkansas, Felix and Saphrona were taken for brother and sister. John Calvin Miller and Emberson Milam Tackitt, cousins of Felix Marion, could have mistaken him for the younger brothers they both claimed. Perhaps the unidentified children came from families with no other survivors. Among those "known or strongly believed to have perished in the Mountain Meadows Massacre" were Edward and Charity Porter Coker, who had "two children traveling with them."[27] The child identified as Felix Marion could also have been the seventeenth child described by Carleton as "a boy who was but six weeks old at the time of the massacre."[28] The 1860 affidavits taken from Jones family members in Arkansas suggest two unnamed children could have been killed in the massacre. If Eloah Tackitt Jones had been "in the family way," as people delicately put it at the time, when she left Arkansas, she could have given birth on the trail to a son who would have been about six weeks old when the train reached Mountain Meadows.

Table one shows the ambiguity surrounding the identity of the survivors of the overland trail's worst crime. The columns show the names William Mitchell submitted in October 1860, still widely used, and the data Lieutenant William Kearny, son of General Stephen Kearny of Mormon Battalion fame, collected in May 1859. Jacob Forney muddied the already murky waters in August 1859, naming seven boys and eleven girls but no Felix. "John Calvin Sorel; Lewis and Mary Sorel; Ambrose Miram, and William Taggit; Frances Horn; Angeline, Annie, and Sophronia or Mary Huff; Ephraim W. Huff; Charles and Annie Francher; Betsey and Jane Baker; Rebecca, Louisa, and Sarah Dunlap; William (Welch) Baker."[29] When southern Utah fanatics slaughtered everyone they believed could bear

24 Roger V. Logan Jr., "New Light on the Mountain Meadows Caravan," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (Summer 1992): 226, 236–37.

25 "'Children of the Massacre' May Meet in Reunion," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 1893, accessed August 14, 2012, at olivercowdery.com/smithhome/1850s/MMMchild.htm.

26 Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, 219, 248.

27 Ibid., 243, 245.

28 Carleton, *Special Report*, 14.

29 Forney to Greenwood, August 10, 1859, *Massacre*, Serial 1033, 79–80.

TABLE: MOUNTAIN MEADOWS ORPHANS, 1860 AND 1859

Mitchell List, 1860	Kearny List, 1859*
Martha Elizabeth Baker	Betsy. No information obtained
Sarah Frances Baker	Says her name is Frances Harris or Horn
William Twitty Baker	Boy (infant) procured from David Williams, of Cedar City
Rebecca Dunlap	Three sisters, Rebecca
Louisa Dunlap	Three sisters . . . Louisa
Sarah Ann Dunlap	Three sisters . . . Sarah Dunlap
Prudy Angeline Dunlap	Says her name is Prudence Angelina
Georgeann Dunlap	Infant left at Berkbeck's, of Cedar City
Saphrona Huff	Says her name is Sophronia Huff
Christopher Carson Fancher	John D. Lee says his name is Charles Francher
Triphena Fancher	I have no note of the sixteenth
John Calvin Miller	Calvin, 7–8 years. Does not remember surname
Mary Miller	Girl, four years old; brother says name is Mary
Josiah Miller	Infant, six weeks old; found in Pocketville, no information
Felix Jones	Boy; three years old; says name is Elisha W. Huff
Mariam [Milam] Tackett	Ambrose Myram Taget
William Tackett	William Taget, brother of Myram Taget

*Text abbreviated

witness to their crimes and appropriated the wagon train's property, they took more from the surviving children than their mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, cousins, aunts, and uncles: they stole their very identity. They robbed seventeen children, all under age seven, of certain knowledge about who they were. The boy identified as Elisha/Elijah/Eligah/Ephraim/Eliza/William Huff might be Jones, but it is impossible to determine his identity exactly. As he told his grandson, "I didn't think I was Felix Marion Jones. I felt like I was someone else, too big for a Jones."[30]

Six days after his eighty-fifth birthday in February 2008, I met Milam Alexander Jones at the Claytons' fieldstone vacation home near Wimberley, Texas. Advancing age forced the once-powerful athlete to use a walker, and he slowly approached the house's wide back porch, overlooking the rolling hill country and the gorge of the crystalline Blanco River. "I used to be six feet tall," were his first words when he reached the porch. I'm a half-foot shorter, but we stood eye-to-eye. "I'm shrinking," he said.

Mike Jones was still imposing. Big Daddy's long ears hugged the side of his bald head. Like all Texans he had brown eyes, he told me, because "we're all full of bullshit up to here," drawing a line across his forehead. Purple veins stood out from his massive hands, ornamented with knobs and carbuncles and streaked with patches of red and black. His deep, smoky East Texas drawl rumbled along like an ancient truck on a bad road. Mike was wearing a cap with USA on it. Suspenders held up a loose pair of slacks: he had lost eighty pounds in two years due to illness and heart attacks. Despite his troubles, he moved with the determination of a lifelong athlete. His self-deprecating wit was unimpaired. Over the next three days he exhibited remarkable energy and a sharp, clear mind and memory, with an astonishing ability to recall specific dates and details. He was a living archive of the details of Felix Marion Jones's life. This was the story of *two* remarkable Texans, whose lives spanned three centuries.

Mike Jones was a great storyteller with a great story. "I know an 'Old Shoe' is usually a bunch of bull," he wrote in a letter he never sent. "However, I was a constant companion with F. M. in this period of time (1926–1932). In fact,

30 Milam Alexander Jones Family, Bagley Research Collection, p. 22.



Milam Alexander Jones Sr. with his son Junior—Mike—in about 1926.



Lieutenant Milam Alexander "Mike" Jones as a newly commissioned U.S. Army Air Corps pilot in 1942.

I guess I was a bright button, and F. M. taught me to read and write (from the Bible) long before attending school." They started at Genesis and after Exodus skipped to Ruth. "At this point, I'm probably the last person (still alive and kicking)—that actually *talked* to one of the survivors," Mike noted.[31]

Mike was the only son of Margarite and Milam Alexander Jones Sr., Felix Marion Jones's youngest and favorite son. "I was born down the road at San Marcos on February 25, 1923," he wrote. His grandfather called him Mike, Milam Junior, or simply Junior. His father dispatched trains for the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad—the Katy. The railroad's seniority system let workers "bump" younger ones, keeping the family on the move. Mike and his grandfather spent his childhood at different homes in Granger, Smithville, Wichita Falls, Lampasas, and Lockhart, Texas, with a short stint at Parsons, Kansas.[32]

Mike enlisted in the National Guard field artillery in 1938 at age fifteen—"going on 17," as he said. "They didn't care: all they wanted was bodies." With the outbreak of World War II, he transferred into the Army Air Corps and was called up in January 1942. The army sent Jones to officer's training in Oklahoma: one of his proudest memories was graduating first in his class and being selected Cadet Adjutant. After winning his wings, he was commissioned a second lieutenant.

Jones received orders to go overseas twice, but he spent the war training pilots in Texas. He still came close to being killed, but his sharpest memory was flying over the state's vast oil fields, illuminated with the blue flames of flared-off natural gas. "I wonder how many billions of gallons of gas we burned up that way," he said. At war's end, the army offered him a commission. But Jones had married beauty queen Bobbie Maddox during the war and was already the father of two children. He attended Rice University on an athletic scholarship. Jones played center and guard for the football team's 7–2 season in 1946,

31 Milam Alexander Jones to Sally Denton (unsent draft), Jones Papers, copy in author's possession.

32 Milam Senior was born in 1898 and died of a coronary occlusion on Groundhog Day in 1942. His wife, born in 1902, remarried, and though a "German and Rock Hard Presbyterian," became a devout Baptist. "It's pretty hard for a hard-headed German to give up Calvinism," her son remembered. Margarite Jones died in 1968.

which the Owls capped when they defeated the Tennessee Volunteers in the Orange Bowl, 8 to 0, on New Year's Day 1947. General Dwight D. Eisenhower watched Rice's upset victory. Jones was named to the All-American Team.

A Master Mason and devout Baptist, Jones had voted Republican since before Barry Goldwater: his strongly conservative principles and his deep religious faith proved to be lifelong companions. Big Daddy had fifteen living grandchildren and sixteen great-grandchildren by 2008. But old age is a shipwreck that leaves its survivors ancient mariners. Many of his friends "went across the grey river—cancer, heart attacks." Jones outlived his wife and two daughters, who died in 2006 within three weeks of each other. "Maybe the good Lord has something for you to do," his friend John Brigham Young, a Baptist preacher, told him.[33]

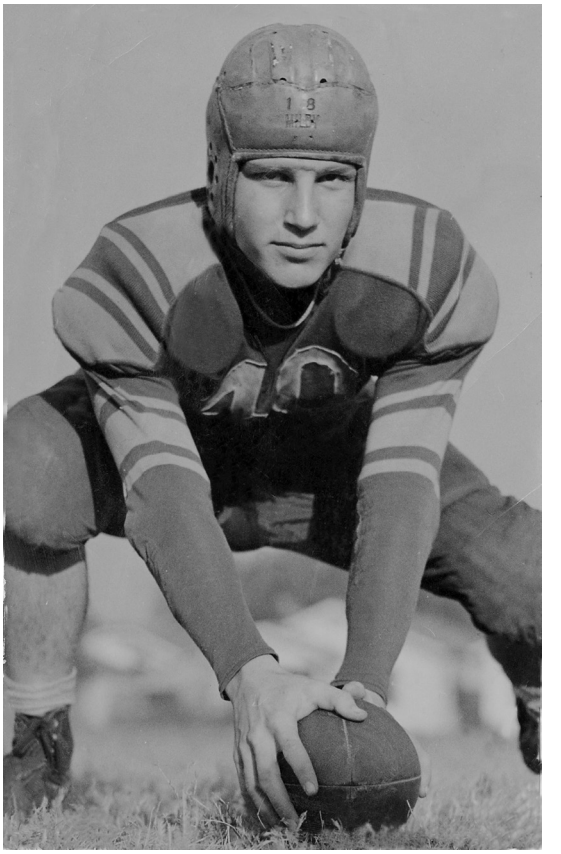
33 Milam Alexander Jones Family, Bagley Research Collection, p. 3.

Mike's earliest memory of F. M. was visiting his farm and ranch—and the goats whose mohair provided an income to many struggling families in the Caliche Hills. "I was probably about three or three and a half. When we moved to Granger in 1926, Grandpa came to live with us: I was three in February, and this was June or July. But I remember going to the ranch before he moved in with us. I didn't know it, but he was selling the goats and leasing the ranch. Grandpa apparently made some pretty good money with the mohair." Mike recalled when his Uncle Edgar drove up to his home in Granger, Texas, in a Model T Ford truck with his grandfather and all his possessions—bedstead, mattress, chifforobe, trunk, and "a few boxes of books and other personal effects. I was three years old but remember his arrival clearly. My Dad had purchased a new reel type lawn mower and was mowing the yard when F. M. and Uncle Edgar arrived."[34]

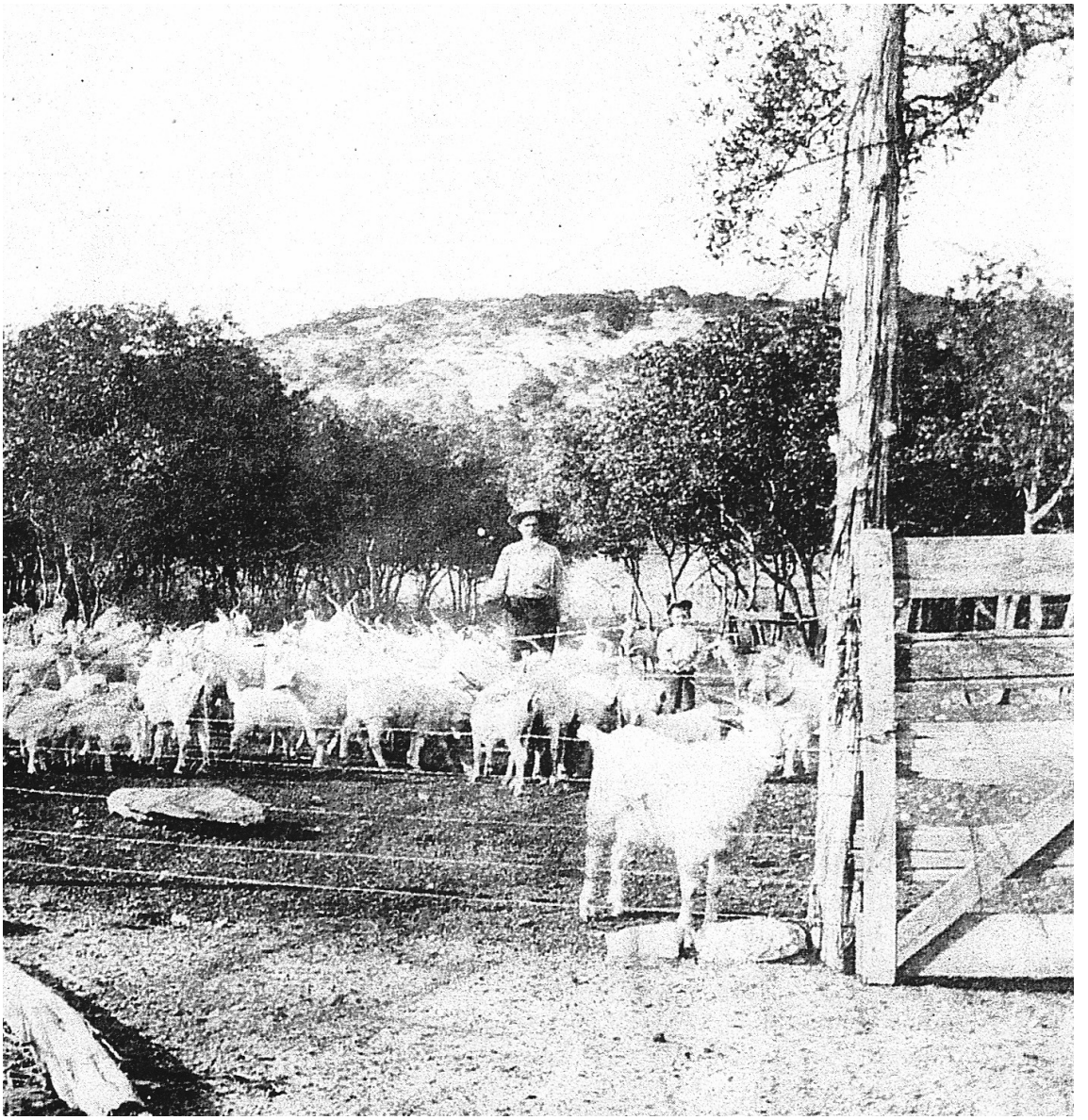
34 Jones to Denton, copy in author's possession.



Lieutenant Milam Alexander "Mike" Jones in the cockpit of his Fairchild PT-19 flight trainer.



Mike Jones played center for the Rice University team that defeated the University of Tennessee Volunteers in the Orange Bowl on New Year's Day 1947.



Felix Marion Jones and his grandson on his goat ranch at Copperas Cove, Texas, April 1926, shortly after F. M. sold the ranch.

"F. M. moved in with us—because I was an only child and so there was room. Uncle Edgar, Uncle Earnest, and younger sister Marjeria all had a house full of children." Mike remembered this was what was expected— "back in those days, people took care of their own."

"When he first moved in with our family at Granger, we had rented a two-story house," Mike said. It was a little much for F. M., who was now about seventy and had rheumatism. The house had another problem: it was haunted. Not long after the family moved to a more convenient home, F. M. saved Milam Junior's life: he had stirred up a swarm of Spanish bees while chasing a pig and they attacked, covering him with welts. Felix Marion used a case of patent elixirs to fill a tub and soak his bee-stung grandson.

From his grandfather's stories, over the years Mike pieced together an understanding of what F. M.'s life was like after his return from

Utah Territory. The young orphan first went to live with a relative, perhaps his uncle Felix W. Jones. That did not last long, and the boy spent the rest of his childhood working for Francis M. Rowan, whose wife Eliza Jane Wilburn was his cousin, being the daughter of his father's sister, Emily Adaline Jones.[35] F. M. didn't talk much about his childhood in Arkansas, Mike recalled. Much of that childhood coincided with the Civil War, which had hard consequences for the people of the Ozarks: Felix Marion only had three days of formal schooling. "So from the Bible he self-educated himself," Mike remembered.

F. M. grew up to be a tall, rangy youth. The Jones clan did not believe he was a Jones at all, rejecting him because he was too tall to be an authentic member of the family. "The problem was the kin folks didn't want to take care of him—cost too much, and good friends didn't want to get involved. So F. M. was very, very shabbily treated," wrote Mike, claiming too that Felix's cousin Eliza Jane hated him. The 1870 census puts Marion Jones, age seventeen, in the home of Frances and Eliza Jane Rowan near Harrison, Arkansas, listing him as a "Survivor of Mrom [sic] Meadows Massacre."[36] Frances disliked and beat his ward, working him like a slave. "I was sitting on a split rail fence and I saw two guys way off in the distance wrestling a couple of steers," his grandfather told Mike. When Frances found F. M. watching the cowpunchers, he horsewhipped him for the last time. "Two days later, I took out for Texas," F. M. said, carrying a short handle single-bit axe, coal oil to sharpen it, a knife, one pair of shoes, and the clothes on his back. Felix Marion Jones was "gone to Texas," heading for relatives who had made a good start in the state's hill country, including his cousin, Bill Jones, who later called Mike "Marion." As Mike recalled when he told the story, "I guess I looked a lot like F. M."

It was the young Felix Marion Jones's first independent venture in the wider world. On his walk to Texas, F. M. took a job splitting rails. Alone in the woods, he missed the log and drove his axe through his boot and foot into the ground. He pulled the blade out, treated the wound with his coal oil, and wrapped his bandana tightly around the shoe. He rested a few days and kept on walking. "Didn't it bleed grandpa?" Mike asked when he heard the story. "Yeah, a little bit, but I tightened it up," F. M. told him. The wound healed.

Historic records confirmed much of what Mike told me. According to his obituary, "F. M. Jones was born in Johnson County, Arkansas, in the fall of 1856: The exact date of his birth is not known, he being a survivor of the Mountain Meadows Massacre of September 1857, in which his parents were killed." He "came to Texas in 1871, living one year in Williamson County. The next year he moved to Bell County, where he lived until 1893." Jones "married Miss Martha Ann Reed, while in Bell County, January 19, 1882, and to this union were born five children," all of whom survived at his death, along with "17 or 18 grandchildren." Jones moved into the Caliche Hills and bought a ranch that later bordered on today's Fort Hood. "For the past several years he has lived with his children, at different places, but still owned his home five miles northwest of Copperas Cove" in the poorest county in Texas.[37] F. M. and Martha lived comfortably on their ranch until 1919 as hard-shell Baptists, the kind that "carries a Bible in one hand and a shotgun in the other," Mike explained.[38]

Almost everything we know about the massacre at Mountain Meadows is what the murderers wanted us to know. "All were killed who could have had any certain memory of the circumstances," wrote the great Mormon historian B. H. Roberts. The emigrants' story must be pieced together from the confessions of their murderers, "told at different times and under varying circumstances; prompted sometimes by self-interest, admissions and confessions alike, made in the hope of escap-

35 Wilma Jones Carvan [?] to Clinton Stewart, May 23, 1995, copy in possession of Jerilyn Jones Clayton, Ely, Nevada.

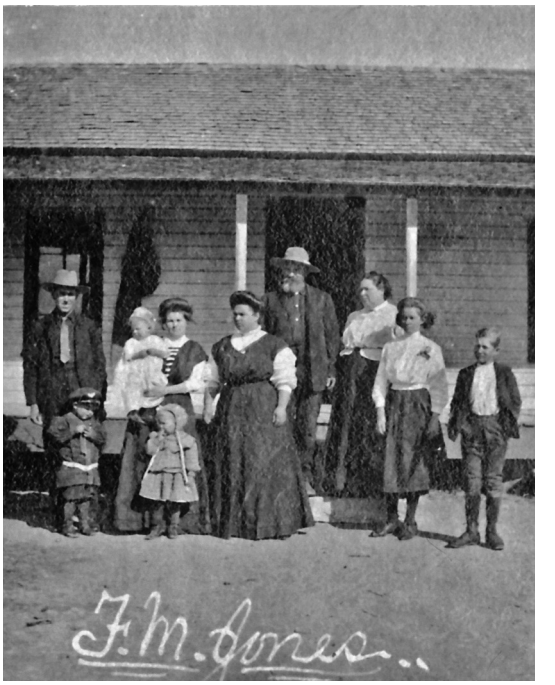
36 1870 U.S. Census, Prairie, Boone County, Arkansas, roll M593_48, family 44, line 4, Marion Jones, digital image, accessed July 28, 2016, ancestry.com.

37 "F. M. Jones Died Thursday Afternoon," *Lampasas (Texas) Record*, June 2, 1932. Mike Jones recalled that F. M. randomly picked December 15 as the date of his birth.

38 Milam Alexander Jones Family, Bagley Research Collection, p. 4.



Felix Marion Jones and Martha Ann Reed Jones about 1885.



F. M. and Martha Ann Reed Jones with some of their family, circa 1909. Their youngest son, Milam Alexander Jones Sr., is probably standing at the right.



F. M. and Martha Ann Reed Jones with their children, Copperas Cove, Texas, 1906. Left to right, Marjorie, Vera, Felix Ernest, Della Jones Farmer (holding Alfred Farmer), James Edgar, Martha Ann Jones, F. M. Jones, Milam Alexander Jones Sr., and Nancy Lavina Jeffrey Reed, who was born in Palo Duro Canyon and said to be of Comanche or Southern Cheyenne heritage.



F. M. with some of his family, 1925. Margarite Jones is holding her son, Milam Alexander Jones Jr., next to her grandmother, Nancy Reed. Standing at the far right is F. M.'s daughter, Marjorie Jones Stewart. Edgar Jones, F. M.'s oldest son, stands in the front row.

ing censure, sometimes in the hope of avoiding the just consequences of participation in the crime; sometimes told in despair; and then again in the bitterness of revenge against some fellow participant who had betrayed the deed of blood."[39] Its problematic sources suggest the atrocity's worst acts and aspects may be lost to history. Most of the guilty parties denied they had anything to do with the slaughter until the first trial of John D. Lee in 1875. During Lee's trials, blatantly self-serving lies and carefully crafted evasions focused on shifting blame to the victims or the hapless Indian freebooters who might (or might not) have been their colleagues in crime.

Historians must reconstruct this event from the testimony of children, murderers, and passers-by, an immense challenge. The best historical evidence is that created closest to an event: such evidence about Mountain Meadows is too often ignored. The earliest newspaper and government reports are not perfect, but historians who disregard them do so at their peril. The recollections of the surviving children, shaded by the passage of time and questionable influences, are problematic, but they are consistent, especially when compared to the murderers' contradictory, self-serving tales long used to tell the story. The children's "tale was so consonant with itself that it cannot be doubted. Innocence has in truth spoken," one 1859 report noted. "Guilt has fled to the mountains."[40]

F. M. Jones heard details of the massacre from the oldest Dunlap sister, Rebecca Dunlap Evins. Mike said she corresponded with F. M. and sent him a "book"—Mike believes it was a printed copy of her recollections. F. M. kept it in his bookcase, along with his copy of *Mormonism Unveiled*, John D. Lee's life and confessions, in which someone wrote next to Lee's portrait, "Look at his eyes." The family still owns the Lee book, but Mike recalled Dunlap's book was last seen in a trunk belonging to Mike's cousin, rodeo rider Alfred "Farmer" Jones. When his sister went to retrieve it after her brother's death, it was gone.[41]

However she passed it on, Rebecca Dunlap told Felix Marion Jones a harrowing story of how he survived at Mountain Meadows. "That poor little oldest girl was really older than they thought—and she saw it all," Mike said. F. M. was with his father; his mother and sister were with the older children on the march from the camp. His mother had her throat cut, Mike recalled F. M. told him.

"Grandpa said, 'I don't know whether I was hit with a spent ball that killed my father or whether he was killed and dropped me and I was hit on the back of the head with a rock or a rifle." The child bled so much that the killers "just threw him in the bushes." He "wasn't picked up until the next morning." Lee's confession, Mike pointed out, spoke of "the children that were saved alive, (sixteen was the number, some say seventeen, I say sixteen)," who were taken to Hamblin's ranch. At the ranch, Becky Dunlap told them that the Jones baby was still on the field: "they went out to bury them [the victims], but they didn't do much burying," Mike said. They found the injured child and brought him to the ranch.[42]

F. M. Jones's recollections of his life in Utah are as suspect as any childhood memory. He retained one vivid recollection: "when the Yankee troops and investigators were coming around," Jones "recalled being taken by Lee's Indians to live with the Paiutes for three or four weeks: The Indian boys were his size. The Paiutes were 'primitive' but made their tools out of bones and ate lizards and made pemmican. Children would travel behind and do donkey work: skinned game and treated the skins. Grandpa recalled the Indians hiding him," Mike said. His grandfather apparently had no recollection of the return trip except for impressions of traveling with one other child. He recalled a wagon ride and another boy, who got off first. "I was under the impression he came back with an older boy."[43]

39 B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 4:139–40.

40 Charles Brewer, "The Massacre at Mountain Meadows, Utah Territory," *Harper's Weekly*, August 13, 1859, 514/1.

41 Milam Alexander Jones Family, Bagley Research Collection, p. 14. J. P. Dunn's *Massacres of the Mountains* (New York: Harper, 1886), 309–10, mentioned Rebecca Dunlap and "T. M. Jones" [*sic*]. For Dunlap's 1897 interview, see Bigler and Bagley, *Innocent Blood*, 427–31.

42 Milam Alexander Jones Family, Bagley Research Collection, p. 7; see also William Bishop, ed., *Mormonism Unveiled; or the Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand, 1877), 243.

43 Milam Alexander Jones Family, Bagley Research



Felix Marion Jones wore this child's linsey-woolsey suit, meticulously sewn by a Utah seamstress, during his return to Arkansas in 1859. Its chain of provenance is unbroken. "We were told that the Indians made the suit," Jerilyn Jones Clayton recalled in 2009. "I didn't believe it because of the fabric, and the stitching was so fine."

In the spring of 1932, Mike came home from school one day after F. M had failed to make his usual visit at recess. "Grandpa sat me down and said, 'Milam Junior, I want you to have the bookcase and the books—and promise me you'll read them.' It wasn't a very large bookcase but it had some valuable books: Shakespeare, history, railroad manuals for brakemen, firemen, conductors—and Weimar Republic bonds," Mike recalled. "He gave me a book that he'd ordered: *Tom Sawyer*. He said, 'Read it!' And as a footnote, I don't know how many times I read it," Mike reported. "I don't have much else to leave you, but I want you to have the suit that I wore back from Utah," F. M. told the boy. "'When daughter gets back I'm going to tell her to put it away and take care of it until you're old enough to take care of it yourself.' Told me he was going back to Lampasas to visit with Edgar and Margie." Edgar arrived in his 1929 Model A Ford to pick up his father. After they had loaded F. M.'s bed, trunk, and chifforobe into the truck, Felix Marion packed up "the Dunlap and Lee books—and his Bible."

Milam Senior explained, "'Well papa I'll be working up Waco and be coming over on weekends to visit and Margarite and Junior are going to come up and stay with [Edgar's] girls.' And that's when Grandpa didn't say much," Mike recalled. "I can't wait till school's out and I can't wait to work on the farm and set those trot lines and sleep in the yard," Mike said. F. M. looked hard at his favorite grandson and said, "'We'll see you soon, but let me tell you goodbye, Milam Junior. Next time you visit me I'll be in my little black box.' And they got in the truck and drove away. F. M. died May 5, 1932. Hypertension. Age 76, would have been 77 in December."[44]

Jacob Forney and his men spent three days at Santa Clara, Utah, while local seamstresses made clothing for the children. On June 28, 1859, Forney loaded the youngest orphans into three light spring wagons supplied by the U.S. Army, "provided with seats, and arranged for the comfort of the children" and sent them east. Forney visited the departing orphans on their way home, camped twelve miles from Salt Lake and "all in fine spirits. Every child has three changes, and some more, of clothing, and also a sufficiency of blankets," he reported. "It has been my constant endeavor, since these children have been in my care, to make them comfortable and happy, and I have furnished them with every appliance to make them so on the journey to the States." Albert Sidney Johnston took "great pleasure" helping Forney "to the full scope of his authority here, and on the road, in your humane efforts to transmit in comfort and safety those children to Leavenworth." He ordered a company of dragoons to escort the children "as far as Fort Kearny, whence their safety will be secured by the commander of that post."[45]

Few sources describe the trek. "Our journey was a very pleasant one with the exception of one night on the North Platte," Frederick Gardiner recalled. Here a "violent storm of thunder and lightening" killed three Mexican herdsmen, who "were burried the next morning."[46] Isaac Nash told a colorful story. "I left the Vally with the Children that old Doc Forney sent out, and had a hell of a time to[o]. There were many apostates going out in the train, one of them little Fred Gardner," who claimed "eight men came to his house to kill him, and all maner of lies." Gardiner told the train Nash was "the man that made the Do Da Song,' so the Soldiers Swore they would hang me. They got the rope ready and Showed it to me . . . but thank God there was a power over them, that protected me and I landed safe in St Louis."[47]

Mining Big Daddy's recollections led to an unexpected treasure. For years I have heard about relics linked to the Mountain Meadows Massacre: swords, revolvers, rifles, bullets, candlesticks, tables and chairs, and even a Vietnamese woman's skull from an Idaho pawnshop. Most of these—notably firearms manufactured

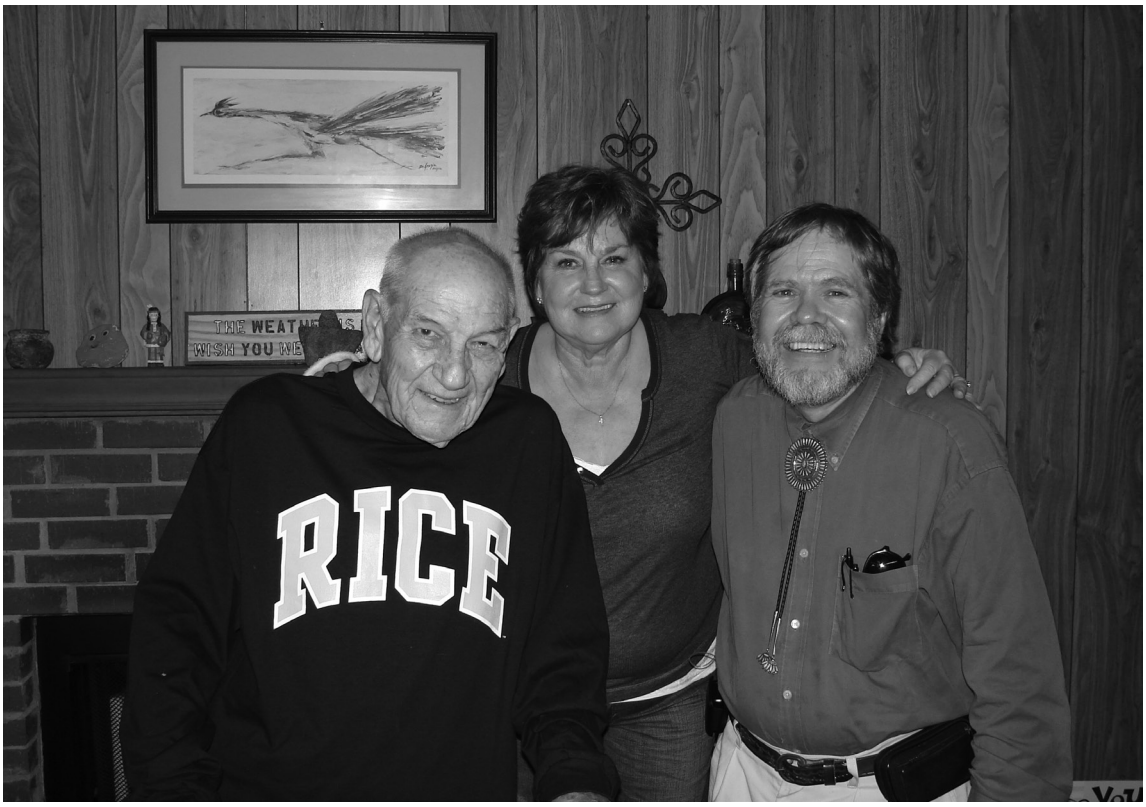
Collection, p. 8. F. M.'s memory might reflect playing with the many Paiute children living around Cedar City.

44 Milam Alexander Jones Family, Bagley Research Collection, p. 11.

45 *Massacre*, Serial 1033, 11, 66.

46 Hugh Garner, ed., *A Mormon Rebel: The Life and Travels of Frederick Gardiner* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust and the Marriott Library, 1993), 115.

47 Isaac B. Nash to Beloved Presidant Young, November 27, 1859, box 27, fd. 03, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, punctuation normalized. "Du Dah," a parody of Stephen Foster's "Camptown Races," promised "By Brigham Young to stand / And if our enemies do appear / We'll sweep them from the land."



Milam Alexander Jones, Jerilyn Jones Clayton, and Will Bagley in February 2008 at the Clayton's vacation home on the Blanco River in Texas.

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Courtesy Robert Clayton

years after 1857—are easily exposed fakes. Only a few buttons, ceramics, and a wagon nut found in a grave in 1999 have been authenticated. Nothing compares with the meticulously hand-stitched two-piece suit of homespun fabric, with a linen warp and a wool weft, made for a young survivor to wear on his return to Arkansas. Though slightly scorched during a house fire, the outfit and its impeccable provenance survived due to the care of Milam Alexander Jones for his grandfather's legacy. He wanted to donate to his alma mater or an appropriate archive. Someday, thanks to the Jones family, we might be able to see our collective past in one of the most remarkable artifacts of America's overland era.[48]

The past constantly disappears: "Milam Alexander 'Big Daddy' Jones, 88, of Wimberley, passed away on Wednesday, Jan. 25, 2012, at Central Texas Medical Center in San Marcos."[49]

"Big Daddy always told me that Grandpa would point to a scar on his head and say, 'This is where they hit me when they hit me on the head and threw me in the bushes and left me for dead,'" Jerilyn Jones Clayton recalled. "They always said it was Mormons dressed as Indians that did it." But she "was told that he was treated nicely by the family that cared for him." Sometimes F. M. got a distant look in his eye when he thought about his past, Mike said. "What I feel is sadness. A little boy was ripped out of his mother's arms—and two years later federal marshals ripped him out of his second mother's arms. She was a Mormon and he loved her," Jerilyn Clayton said recently. "Can you imagine how traumatic that was, to lose two

48 The suit is now in the possession of Big Daddy's oldest son, Milam Robert Jones.

49 "Milam Alexander 'Big Daddy' Jones," *San Marcos (Texas) Record*, January 29, 2012.

mothers? It's a miracle he turned out to be such a fine man."[50]

Before we parted I had a last question for Milam Alexander Jones: What did F. M. think of Mormons? He never recalled F. M. attacking Mormons or complaining about how they treated him. "There may have been a passing remark, but he never dwelt on that subject. He just never outwardly spoke about it in a derogative manner. If he did, it would have gone over my head. Maybe I was too busy trying to learn to read and write," Mike said. "He really never discussed it—but his children did. They took offense at everything and took up the fight against the Mormons, particularly his older two sons. But I never remember F. M. saying point blank, they're a bunch of bastards killing all those people. I never remember him alluding to the Mormons from that perspective. Maybe he had the attitude, it's over and done with. I'm a survivor and they treated me well," Mike concluded. "It's just very hard to believe in America that Christians will kill Christians. Or maybe not Christians—Americans. But then comes the Civil War."[51]

50 Milam Alexander Jones Family, Bagley Research Collection, p. 27.

51 Milam Alexander Jones Family, Bagley Research Collection, p. 7.

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Will Bagley is an independent scholar and fellow of the Utah State Historical Society. This article is based on his May 30, 2009, presentation at St. George to the Mountain Meadows Monument Foundation and the Mountain Meadows Association. He wishes to thank the Milam Alexander Jones family, especially Jerilyn Clayton Jones, for their help, without which this project would not have been possible.

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WEB EXTRA



We spoke with Will Bagley about F. M. Jones, the Jones family, and the process of researching the children who survived the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Listen to our conversation at history.utah.gov/uhqextras.

Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation

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Members of the 11th AB Div. watch an atomic bomb test at Frenchman's Flat in Nevada, November 1951. Two years later in May 1953, shot "Harry" was detonated at the Nevada Test Site, which resulted in a radioactive cloud drifting directly over St. George, Utah.

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Library of Congress

"DAMNED STUPID OLD GUINEA PIGS":

The Cover-Up of the "Dirty" Harry Nuclear Test

BY KATHERINE GOOD

In August 1980, a Congressional document entitled *Forgotten Guinea Pigs* opened with the acknowledgement that the federal government had been "aware" that atmospheric nuclear tests conducted at the Nevada Test Site in the 1950s and1960s posed "health hazards . . . to the people living downwind from the test site." Yet, it continued, "the government failed to provide adequate protection" for those people during the testing. "At the very least," these people—who came to be known as downwinders—deserved to know exactly when and where each test would occur and how to protect themselves. "Absent such notification, and uninformed of the evidence held by the government which suggested that exposure to nuclear fallout was causing harmful effects, the residents of the area merely became guinea pigs in a deadly experiment."[1] "We, as a nation," its writer insisted, "must accept the consequences of our governmental decisions." *Forgotten Guinea Pigs* comes from a body of material documenting a difficult—even shameful—episode in United States history, and it suggests the complexity of the federal government's role in that era.

1 House Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, *The Forgotten Guinea Pigs: A Report on Health Effects of Low-Level Radiation Sustained as a Result of the Nuclear Weapons Testing Program Conducted by the United States Government*, 96th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1980), iii. This opening statement in *Forgotten Guinea Pigs* was written by Rob Eckhardt, who served as chair of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations.

One of the greatest fears of the post–World War II United States became a reality in 1949: the Soviet Union had the atomic bomb. Like American scientists had, Soviet officials set up artificial towns and structures to test the power of their weapon, hoping for success but unsure about the outcome. On a site in Kazakhstan, the Soviet Union detonated its first atomic bomb, code-named First Lightning, in August 1949.[2] This and subsequent Soviet successes alarmed both the U.S. public and government officials, who called on the U.S. to produce stronger, deadlier weapons.

Accordingly, American scientists experimented with new nuclear bombs frequently during the 1950s. Those bombs required tests—which were initially conducted above ground—and on December 18, 1950, President Harry Truman authorized development of the Nevada Test Site outside of Las Vegas, Nevada.[3] Scientists and the Department of Defense recommended the area because it was "sparsely inhabited."[4] Nevertheless, this region *was* inhabited, and the nuclear tests proved to have adverse effects on human and animal health. Some federal agencies knew the tests were dangerous at the time, and yet they continued the tests in the name of national security and the greater good. Furthermore, the federal agencies responsible for the tests, including the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and U.S. Army, failed to provide appropriate precautions for the citizens of the small towns within the region of the test site. Much of the tests' danger came from the fallout of radioactive material, a danger that was downplayed publicly.[5]

Historians have long recognized how Americans voluntarily gave up many personal rights to combat Communism, yet the citizens near the test site did not realize how much physical danger they faced in the fight against the perceived "Red Menace." The residents of St. George, Utah, sometimes dubbed "Fallout City," have told stories of the harm produced by the atomic blasts. Over the years, problems caused by atmospheric fallout—including cancer, birth defects, and agricultural losses—brought nuclear experimentation under intense public scrutiny. For decades, however, the government did not fully acknowledge the harm of the nuclear tests, hoping to preserve public support for nuclear testing and avoid criticism of the government's handling of nuclear fallout. Hence, federal officials chose to suppress information, and they failed to adequately protect those who lived downwind of the Nevada Test Site.

On January 27, 1951, the Nevada Test Site had its christening. The first bomb, Able, detonated at Frenchman Flat. Protocol dictated that no one outside the necessary official participants know of the test until the first flash revealed its existence to nearby residents.[6] Although it was rather small, Able still broke windows, cracked the foundations of homes close to the test site, and sent traces of radiation floating through the air. The AEC had its first challenge of explaining the test's repercussions to the American public. The agency began releasing reports meant to calm the public, promising "adequate assurances of safety" as tests were conducted.[7] Officials were cautious in their statements, knowing that "the meaning words have in a language depends on their usage as much as on the definition you'd like them to have."[8] With one

2 Michael D. Gordin, *Red Cloud at Dawn: Truman, Stalin, and the End of the Atomic Monopoly* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2009).

3 Howard Ball, *Justice Downwind: America's Atomic Testing Program in the 1950s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 29; Terrence R. Fehner and F. G. Gosling, *Battlefield of the Cold War: The Nevada Test Site, Volume I: Atmospheric Nuclear Weapons Testing, 1951–1963* (United States Department of Energy, 2006), 43, accessed December 23, 2014, www.osti.gov/manhattan-project-history/publications/DOENTSAtmospheric.pdf.

4 Barton Hacker, *Elements of Controversy: The Atomic Energy Commission and Radiation Safety in Nuclear Weapons Testing, 1947–1974* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 41.

5 The issues surrounding the effects of the U.S. nuclear testing program have been discussed in a number of books and articles. These include Ball, *Justice Downwind*; John G. Fuller, *The Day We Bombed Utah: America's Most Lethal Secret* (New York: New American Library, 1984); Harvey Wasserman and Norman Solomon, *Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience with Atomic Radiation* (New York: Dell, 1982); Philip L. Fradkin, *Fallout: An American Nuclear Tragedy* (Tucson, AZ, 1989).

6 Janet Burton Seegmiller, *A History of Iron County: Community Above Self* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Iron County Commission, 1998), 143–50; Fehner and Gosling, *Battlefield of the Cold War*, 58; Raye C. Ringholz, *Uranium Frenzy: Saga of the Nuclear West* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002), 30.

7 Ringholz, *Uranium Frenzy*, 37.

8 *Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments: Final Report* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing



Two young boys stand outside St. George businesses, 1950s. The signs on the windows read "Mitchel's Sheet Metal," "Seegmiller's Plumbing," and "Stowell Office and Music Supplies."
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wrong statement, public support for the testing program could drop precipitously. As a result, the AEC did not disclose the potential dangers of fallout to the citizens of Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico, even as the agency carried on with tests of larger bombs.

One of the most intensive rounds of atmospheric testing came out of the Upshot-Knothole series. Spanning from March to June 1953, the set involved eleven atmospheric detonations at the Nevada Test Site. The test on May 19, 1953, proved more dangerous than all the rest. Labeled Harry (and later nicknamed "Dirty Harry"), the bomb generated the largest amount of fallout in a twenty-four-hour period of any atomic detonation in the United States. At thirty-two kilotons, this was no small explosion—in fact, the blast was twice the size of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima—and the resulting radioactive cloud drifted directly over St. George, Utah.[9]

Harry was dropped from a tower around five o'clock on the morning of May 19, 1953. Though weather conditions were supposed to have been ideal for a test, a change in the wind shifted the area of the fallout, which then concentrated on St. George. When AEC officials tested

Office, 1995), Ruth Faden, chair, accessed April 15, 2016, archive.org/stream/advisorycommitte00unit/advisorycommitte00unit_djvu.txt.

9 Richard Miller, *Under the Cloud: The Decades of Nuclear Testing* (London: Free Press, 1986), 159. Measurements taken up through 1958 found a total of 85,000 person-roentgens (a unit of measurement for gamma ray exposure), spanning eight test series. Harry contributed 30,000 alone.

the areas under the fallout path with a Geiger counter, the needle went off the scale, according to the *Deseret News*.[10] Only when St. George's mayor was notified by Frank Butrico, the AEC radiation monitor assigned to the towns, did the townspeople take precautions.[11]

Butrico realized that a problem existed several hours after the blast, at approximately nine in the morning, when his readings reached a dangerously high level.[12] He contacted William Johnson at the Nevada Test Site, who gave him no clear direction for dealing with the situation. At this point, Butrico spoke with the mayor of St. George. As he talked with the mayor, the fallout cloud passed overhead, slowly depositing the peak amount of radiation on the people and animals nearby. By noon, Butrico had followed advice from the Nevada Test Site by showering and changing into clean clothing—advice that, in retrospect, he regretted not sharing with others. That afternoon, the AEC recommended that all 4,500 residents of St. George remain indoors for three hours.[13] In addition to the seek-shelter mandate, the officials quarantined the town and its citizens because of the high amount of radiation; no one was allowed in or out except officials. Some residents reported tasting a metallic flavor in the air from what they later learned was the vaporized tower mechanism that had dropped Harry only hours before.[14]

The day after the test, the *Miami News* reported "there was no damage," a statement that probably referred to building damage.[15] But there was damage. Almost immediately, southern Utahns began experiencing adverse effects from the immense amount of radiation. While initially those who had taken shelter inside a vehicle or a building seemed mostly unharmed, others, particularly people caught outside in the cloud, developed symptoms that included skin burns, hair and fingernail loss, fever, nausea, and diarrhea.[16] The AEC continued to repeat that there was no danger and that residents' emerging health problems were not due to the tests.[17] Butrico was instructed to inform local people that radioactivity levels were "a little above normal, [but] not in the range of being harmful."[18]

10 Glenn Cheney, *They Never Knew: The Victims of Nuclear Testing* (New York: Grolier, 1996), 39; Irene Allen et al. v. United States of America, 588 F. Supp. 247 (D. Utah, 1984), Civ. No. C-79-0515J, scholar.google.com; Fehner and Gosling, *Battlefield of the Cold War*, 105; "AEC Sends Experts to Check Sick Utahns," *Deseret News,* May 20, 1953, 1.

11 "Discussions with Frank Butrico, Monitor at St. George, Utah, May 1953 (Draft 1)," Deposition Held at Nevada Operations Office, U.S. Department of Energy, Las Vegas, Nevada, August 14, 1980, Coordination and Information Center, U.S. Department of Energy, Las Vegas, Nevada, 4; Cheney, *They Never Knew*, 40; "AEC Sends Experts to Check Sick Utahns."

12 Howard Ball, "The Problems and Prospects of Fashioning a Remedy for Radiation Injury Plaintiffs in Federal District Court: Examining *Allen v. United States* 1984," *Utah Law Review*, 1985, no. 2 (June 1985): 276.

13 Accounts of the day vary; on May 20, the day after Harry, the *Deseret News* reported that the AEC had informed residents of the blast beforehand and advised them to stay indoors between 9:30 and 11:00 a.m. See "AEC Sends Experts to Check Sick Utahns." The experts were checking seven uranium miners in Orderville who had symptoms of radiation poisoning. They also had a mission to reassure citizens in the St. George area. For Butrico's testimony, see *Allen* 588 F. Supp.; see also, "A-Blast Cloud Brings Closing of Utah Town," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 19, 1953, 1; R. Jeffrey Smith, "Judge Says Atom Tests Caused Cancer: His Decision Could Result in a Substantial Drain on the Public Treasury and Significantly Influence Other Environmental Litigation," *Science*, New Series 224, no. 4651 (1984): 856. As noted in *Allen* 588 F. Supp. at 376, "those persons responsible for off-site radiation safety were aware that a number of persons in the Nevada/Utah/Arizona area surrounding St. George and Cedar City worked out-of-doors, and faced an increased risk of inhaling 'hot' particles. Yet warnings to stay indoors were sporadic and lasted only a couple of hours. Even when fallout persisted in the area at levels measurably in excess of background, the assumption that inhalation of fallout involved a negligible risk of harm was not tested by direct examination until limited studies during Operation TEAPOT (1955) which were published 3 or 4 years later."

14 Miller, *Under the Cloud*, 175–77.

15 "Final Plans Made to Fire Atomic Shell," *Miami News*, May 20, 1953, 2A. Initially, some people had thought the shockwaves were from an earthquake.

16 Fradkin, *Fallout*, 10; Miller, *Under the Cloud,* 176–77.

17 James Coates and Eleanor Randolph, "Town Counts Dead Years After A-Tests," *Chicago Tribune*, April 2, 1979, 1; Cheney, *They Never Knew*, 44; Fradkin, *Fallout*, 9; Fuller, *The Day We Bombed Utah*, 217; "Witnesses Tell Symptoms After Atomic Utah Tests," *Oxnard (CA) Press-Courier*, September 15, 1982, 3; Miller, *Under the Cloud*, 177.

18 Ball, "Problems and Prospects," 277. According to a documentary discussed in Ball's article, Butrico recalled an AEC briefing for the monitors two days after Dirty Harry. An unnamed official said, "We are getting inquiries, some people have gotten sick—let's cool it—quiet it down. If we don't, there might be repercussions and they might curtail the program which, in the interest of national defense, we can't do."

"...THEY COULD NOT POSSIBLY HAVE BEEN HARMED BY RADIOACTIVE DUST."

AEC officials arrived in southern Utah on May 20, 1953, to reassure residents, in the words of the *Deseret News*, "that they could not possibly have been harmed by radioactive dust."[19] Some people were skeptical of the government's assurances. An editorial in the *Deseret News* complained about the lack of public knowledge, especially during the Upshot-Knothole tests, "except that the AEC reassures us that they have been well within the limits of safety."[20] While southwestern Utahns might have been suspicious, the discrepancies between their experiences and official reassurances from their government would have been confusing. At a May 22 meeting, AEC commissioner Eugene Zuckert seemed sensitive to locals' complaints. "A serious psychological problem has arisen," he said, "and the AEC must be prepared to study an alternate to holding future tests at the Nevada test site. In the present frame of mind of the public, it would take only a single illogical and unforeseeable incident to preclude holding any further tests in the United States."[21]

The AEC responded to concerns with a series of damage control measures, including the release of a film discussing the fallout near St. George. The film, in which actual St. George residents appeared, had a small section entitled "St. George, Utah: Fallout's Nothing to Worry About!"[22] Five days after Harry's detonation, the *New York Times* reported that "up to, and including Tuesday's atomic blast," the amount of radiation was low and had not reached dangerous levels. Federally sponsored studies that occurred after detonation determined that downwind areas, including St. George, were safe for habitation and use. Meanwhile, the AEC was preparing for the next test, slated for May 25 and code named Grable.[23]

However, the dangers of fallout quickly became clear to many southern Utahns, with the deaths and severe injuries of thousands of livestock. During the spring and summer of 1953, almost 4,400 sheep died in the St. George area.[24] The animals experienced sores and burns, and their wool sheared off when the wind kicked up. Many lambs were stillborn or born with defects. As Kern Bulloch, a rancher, later recounted, "The lambs were born with little legs, kind of pot-bellied. As I remember, some of them didn't have any wool, kind of a skin instead of wool. . . . And we just started losing so many lambs that my father . . . just about went crazy. He had never seen anything like it before. Neither had I; neither had anybody else."[25]

The AEC reacted to complaints about the injured animals, in part, with a large research program: veterinarians collected samples from sheep in southern Utah, while scientists at government laboratories in Los Alamos, New Mexico, and Hanford, Washington, tested the effects of radiation on sheep. The studies produced damning results—one veterinarian wrote that "radiation was at least a contributing factor to the loss of these animals"—but the AEC bypassed incriminating evidence found by these veterinarians and scientists assigned to do the research.[26] The agency released a formal report in January 1954 declaring that radioactivity had nothing to do with the livestock deaths that followed the Harry test, citing research conducted by the U.S. Public Health Service and the Bureau of Animal Industry.[27]

Additionally, the AEC instituted a public relations campaign to disassociate Harry from the livestock problems. Years later, one person re-

19 "AEC Sends Experts," May 20, 1953.

20 Cheney, *They Never Knew*, 41.

21 Ibid.; R. Jeffrey Smith, "Scientists Implicated in Atom Test Description," *Science*, New Series 218, no. 4572 (1982): 545.

22 United States Department of Energy, *Atomic Tests in Nevada: The Story of AEC's Continental Proving Ground*, accessed January 5, 2015, archive.org/details/AtomicTestsInNevada.

23 Gladwin Hill, "Atom Test Studies Show Area is Safe," *New York Times*, May 25, 1953, 21.

24 *The Forgotten Guinea Pigs*, 3; R. Jeffery Smith, "Atom Bomb Tests Leave Infamous Legacy," *Science*, New Series 218, no. 4569 (1982): 268.

25 *The Forgotten Guinea Pigs*, vii.

26 Smith, "Scientists Implicated in Atom Test Description," 545; *The Forgotten Guinea Pigs*, 6–8.

27 *The Forgotten Guinea Pigs*, 4.



Norma and Scott Matheson, as depicted in an inlaid wood portrait by Neldon Bullock. Scott Matheson, who served as Utah's governor from 1977 to 1984, spoke out against the troubles visited upon Utahns because of nuclear testing.

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marked that, "even though the Geiger counters went off the scale," officials had informed ranchers that the "sheep died from malnutrition or an unknown combination of factors, none of which were radiation, of course."[28] Stephen Brower, an Iron County agricultural agent, recalled that "by the end of 1954, they had a battery of people coming through telling us that the levels of radiation could not have caused the damage . . . we were just constantly bombarded with expert opinions." Some ranchers brought up the problem with the AEC and were dismissed: Doug Clark, a rancher and a member of the city council, was called a "dumb sheepman" and told he was too stupid to understand any answer that could be given to him after he asked for information about the effects of radiation on the internal organs of sheep.[29]

The agency claimed that other external complications must have caused the livestock deaths, "because the gamma and beta radiation doses were too low to cause any problems."[30] Scott M. Matheson, who witnessed the devastation, remembered that "when the AEC said there was nothing to worry about, we all just shrugged our shoulders. No one really accepted the malnutrition rationale, but we were used to accepting whatever the government said, especially during that very nationalistic period."[31]

Southern Utahns did not entirely shrug their shoulders, however. Members of the Bulloch family joined together in a lawsuit against the federal government in 1955. These ranchers sued the U.S. government for the loss of 1,500 sheep due to Harry's fallout. The case was heard in 1956.[32] The plaintiffs alleged that tests in 1952 and 1953 were "negligently performed, conducted, discharged and executed by the agents of the defendant"—the United States government—which resulted in "specified damages to their sheep herds." Although the Bullochs had heard accounts of three veterinarians assigning radiation as the cause of the animals' deaths, government officials refused to confirm the findings when testifying in court. The government responded again by blaming malnutrition, weather conditions, and similar scapegoats. Judge A. Sherman Christensen's final verdict cited that "the conclusion reached by investigating agencies, with dissents on the part of three of the veterinaries participating, was that certain lesions observed on the sheep and the losses and damages suffered by them were neither caused nor substantially contributed to by radiation."[33]

Thus, with the judge's conclusion that the "great weight of the evidence indicates . . . that the maximum doses to which the Bulloch sheep could have been subjected . . . was well within the permissible maximums," the family lost their case.[34]

28 *Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments*; Smith, "Scientists Implicated in Atom Test Description," 546.

29 *The Forgotten Guinea Pigs*, viii; see also Sarah Alisabeth Fox, *Downwind: A People's History of the Nuclear West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2014), 70.

30 Smith, "Atom Bomb Tests Leave Infamous Legacy," 268.

31 Seegmiller, *History of Iron County*, 145.

32 Wasserman and Solomon, *Killing Our Own*, 64, 79. David C. Bulloch, McRae N. Bulloch, and Kern Bulloch were the plaintiffs.

33 Caroline N. Bulloch et al v. United States of America, 145 F. Supp. 824 (D. Utah 1956), No. C-19-55.

34 Ibid.

By winning this case, the AEC and government officials were also formally cleared of the effects of shots from Upshot-Knothole. Subsequent cases also failed, with varying reasons offered for the deaths of the animals. Twenty-five years after the Bulloch suit, not a single rancher had been compensated for his losses.[35] All told, the ranchers lost the suit, many of their sheep, and substantial sums of money.

In the years following the detonation of Harry, government agencies conducted research on the effects of radiation and continued to release information about dealing with fallout. Researchers sampled milk, soil, fish, crops, and livestock all over the world, trying to find data showing how fallout spreads.[36] By the late 1950s, extra studies were taking place to assess the damage these contaminants could cause to internal systems—how, for instance, a cow might ingest strontium-90 and then pass the radioactive isotope through to its milk.[37] Government officials tended toward assurances of safety, albeit with advice slightly altered for each new blast, neglecting to share conclusions with the public.[38] However, in 1962, Arthur Wolff, acting chief of the Research Branch, Division of Radiological Health, U.S. Public Health Service admitted that the studies were not necessarily comprehensive:

> We know the St. George and Cedar City areas have had several fallout incidents over the past years. I know of at least one incident in the Cedar City area (May 1953) when it can be calculated that the iodine levels in any milk produced in that area would have been comparable to those resulting from the Windscale incident. However, *no one was looking at the internal exposure picture then, and the tacit assumption has been made that no internal hazards ever existed*.[39]

Based on the limited studies, the AEC advised farmers to destroy whatever crops and seeds they had planted before Harry. Yet starting new still meant growing food using fallout-contaminated soil. In 1957, the AEC released a booklet to farmers about keeping their livestock and food supplies safe.[40] The pamphlet noted that fallout was an ever-changing situation and acknowledged that the instructions were likely to evolve as time went on. In the 1960s and 1970s, a few agricultural officials released a series of short informational films that described the effects of fallout on crops and livestock, provided preventative measures, and discussed what to do in case of contamination. *Fallout and Agriculture*, issued by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1960, emphasized that farmers should only harvest after known radiation was gone and that vegetables must be thoroughly cleaned and peeled. The advice in these films was not entirely adequate. A 1970 film described a range of structures that could serve as a shield from fallout, from barns and covered roofs to ravines and highway overpasses. Another film suggested that animals were healthy—even well enough for slaughter—if they seemed to be responsive and alert.[41]

Despite the problems that developed from nuclear testing, less than a week after the detonation of Harry, a few California congressmen who had seen the firing felt that the AEC should relax some of the regulations on the public viewing of nuclear blasts. They argued that allowing

35 Wasserman and Solomon, *Killing Our Own*, 79.

36 U.S. Congress Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, *Summary-Analysis of Hearings on the Nature of Radioactive Fallout and Its Effects on Man*, 85th Cong., 1st Sess., (Washington, 1957), 9.

37 "Cow Contamination by Fall-Out Studied," *New York Times*, April 14, 1959, 6, http://www.proquest.com; see also Scott Kirsch, "Harold Knapp and the Geography of Normal Controversy: Radioiodine in the Historical Environment," *Osiris* 2nd Series, Vol. 19 (2004): 171–72.

38 *Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments*.

39 Quoted in *Allen*, 588f at 375, original emphasis.

40 William M. Blair, "U.S. Offers Farms Atom Raid Advice: Booklet Gives Safety Steps for Families, Livestock, and the Food Supply," *Los Angeles Times*, June 2, 1957, 3.

41 *Fallout and Agriculture*, 16mm film (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1960); *Protect Your Livestock From Radioactive Fallout*, 16mm film, directed by the Extension Service, University of Tennessee and the Comparative Animal Research Laboratory (University of Tennessee: Agricultural Experiment Station, 1970); *Radiation Effects on Farm Animals*, 16mm film, directed by the United States Agricultural Research Service (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1970). See also A. Costandina Titus, "A-Bombs in the Backyard: Southern Nevada Adapts to the Nuclear Age, 1951–1963," in Richard O. Davies and Scott E. Casper, eds., *Of Sagebrush and Slot Machines: This Curious Place Called Nevada,* 2nd ed. (Boston: Pearson, 2007), 166, and Fehner and Gosling, *Battlefield of the Cold War*, 108–110.

citizens to watch the blasts up close might reduce the fear about fallout and nuclear weapons in general. However, Representative Douglas Stringfellow of Utah criticized the AEC's "poor public relations policy" and rejected the idea of opening up tests. Stringfellow warned that the agency was releasing too much information and that responses to fallout problems lagged far behind the complications they caused. A rebuttal came from Representative Joe Holt of California. Holt believed that the viewing plan was helpful and a good idea to "clear away much of the mysticism and eradicate much senseless fear . . . laymen could see an atomic blast without learning vital secret technical data."[42]

Even as some contested the safety of the tests, others, especially in Nevada, capitalized on them by developing an atomic tourism industry.[43] Around the same time, Hollywood came to downwind Utah, subsequently drawing more visitors. In the spring of 1954, roughly a year after Harry's detonation, John Wayne and Susan Hayward were shooting for their new movie, *The Conqueror*. The crew settled in St. George and stayed for three months. Many of the scenes in the film required the use of horses. The animals kicked up immense amounts of sand and dust as they galloped through the arid region, releasing the fallout and breathing it into their lungs.[44]

Meanwhile, Howard Hughes, the producer of *The Conqueror*, was terrified of the effects of fallout. Extremely disease conscious, he petitioned the AEC to be honest about the problems of radioactive contamination. Hughes also tried to lobby politicians, bureaucrats, and scientists to get the tests to stop. He failed, and the tests moved forward. Paul Laxalt, a prominent Nevada politician, later remembered receiving frequent telephone calls from Hughes, who warned "if you continue this, you are going to contaminate your state forever." Nevertheless, the AEC once again prevailed.[45]

Though the evidence is inconclusive, the story of the crew of *The Conqueror* is not a happy one. Dust and debris in the air covered the actors, extras, and equipment during shooting, requiring the crew to use facemasks.[46] At the end of the day, so much dirt was caked into the actors' makeup that some of them were hosed off. After the on-location shooting, Hughes had sand taken to a closed set, to continue the consistency of the film. Unfortunately, the fallout of Harry trapped within the soil was never taken into consideration, leading to disastrous consequences. Of the 220 crew members, ninety-one came down with various cancers, including Wayne and Hayward. Half of those diagnosed lost their lives to the disease.[47] By 1975, of the major crew members, only Wayne was left.[48] He would later die of lung, stomach, and throat cancer in 1979. Shot Harry seemed to affect even those who had only visited the contaminated downwind area briefly. Yet, again, the AEC continued to deny wrongdoing, suggesting that a heavy smoking habit was responsible for Wayne's death. But one official even remarked, out of public earshot, "Please, God, don't let us have killed John Wayne." [49]

The main inquiry into the mysterious concentration of cancers emerging from *The Conqueror* began with Jeanne Gerson, one of the supporting actresses, coming forward to share her experience with the disease. However, historian Dylan Esson argues that the documentation surrounding the effects of filming in St. George were sensationalized theories that attracted the press. Even Gerson originally pursued the possibility of a connection between fallout and her medical hardships because of an article published by the tabloid journalist Peter Brennan. In fact, the main article that investigated the incident and Brennan's claims was published in a 1980 issue of *People Magazine*, a popular publication.[50]

To build their case, the journalists at *People* interviewed cast and crew members, as well as scientists and past AEC officials. In the ar-

42 "Atomic Blast View: Congressmen Would Let Public See More," *Los Angeles Times*, May 26, 1953, 7. Holt and Stringfellow were both Republicans.

43 Titus, "A-Bombs in the Backyard," 169; Fehner and Gosling, *Battlefield of the Cold War*, 80–83.

44 Gerald J. DeGroot, *The Bomb: A Life* (Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 2004), 237.

45 Fradkin, *Fallout*, 145.

46 Miller, *Under the Cloud*, 186.

47 Wasserman and Solomon, *Killing Our Own*, 81.

48 Fuller, *The Day We Bombed Utah*, 213.

49 Wasserman and Solomon, *Killing Our Own*, 81.

50 Dylan Jim Esson, "Did 'Dirty Harry' Kill John Wayne? Media Sensationalism and the Filming of *The Conqueror* in the Wake of Atomic Testing," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 71, no. 3 (2003): 255.

ticle, Dr. Robert Pendleton, the director of radiological health at the University of Utah, remarked that "with these numbers, this case could qualify as an epidemic. . . . In a group this size, you'd expect only 30-some cancers to develop"; he continued by noting that, for more than a year after Harry, hot spots of fallout were widely present.[51] Although captivating, much of the evidence was suspect because the cast and crew were in St. George over a year after Harry and for only a short period, with no new testing taking place while filming. While an anomaly might have occurred, statistically, the cancer numbers are on par with researcher averages: a range of thirty-eight to forty-four percent will develop cancer in their lifetimes; the death rate is between nineteen and twenty-three percent.[52] These numbers coincide with the statistics of the cast and crew, the main difference being the small sample size of only 220 subjects. Thus, in terms of Esson's analysis and in light of inconsistent evidence, there is no definitive answer whether the cast and crew of *The Conqueror* encountered their later health problems from secondary exposure to Harry's fallout.

In contrast, St. George residents did experience significant health problems from their direct, long-term exposure to fallout—an occurrence commented upon in the popular press. Research first published in the magazine *Reporter* showed that in one twenty-four hour period, fifteen residents of St. George experienced "1,260 times more atmospheric contamination than the permissible concentration established for radiation workers."[53] Witnesses at a congressional hearing reported that blindness, sterilization, slight mutations, stillbirths, and skin problems had increased in incidence. Some federal officials downplayed the significance of these health issues by assuring that "recovery from acute radiation effects is analogous to recovery from any other acute injury or infectious process in which damaged tissue is healed and repaired."[54] Yet, according to the *Chicago Tribune*, cancer and leukemia were by far the largest and most-reported concerns, from 1957 through the 1980s.[55] To divert attention away from the facts of harmful radiation, the AEC, followed the advice of the director of the Federal Radiation Council to "select the key scientific consultants whose opinion should be sought in order to substantiate the validity of the conclusions or recommended appropriate modifications."[56]

Surprisingly, in public congressional hearings conducted by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in the spring of 1957, scientists, doctors, and other experts confirmed that major health problems could occur and even supplied limited data supporting the possibility of acute and chronic effects of radiation on humans.[57] However, the testimonies were neither consistent nor easily understandable. These experts frequently downplayed the problems of radiation with statements referencing natural or biological processes. For example, one testimony discussed the strength of the human body to heal itself, even with radiation exposure: "This power of the body to repair itself . . . has important bearing on the amount of radiation that man can withstand without demonstrable evidence of harm."[58] The witness also concluded that, although long-term genetic and physical mutations can occur, few (if any) are caused by radiation directly:

> There are a certain number of mutations

51 *Ibid*.; Karen G. Jackovich and Mark Sennet, "The Children of John Wayne, Susan Hayward and Dick Powell Fear that Fallout Killed Their Parents," *People*, November 10, 1980, 42.

52 American Cancer Society, "Lifetime Risk of Developing or Dying from Cancer," accessed December 18, 2014, cancer.org/cancer/cancerbasics.

53 "Atom Fallout Seen as Peril to Thousands: Writer Calls AEC Tests Inadequate," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 9, 1957, A10; "Thousands in Nevada, Utah Said Exposed to Fallout," *Saskatoon (SK) Star-Phoenix*, May 10, 1957, 2; Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, *Radioactive Fallout from Nuclear Testing at Nevada Test Site, 1950–60*, 105th Cong., 1st sess., October 1, 1997 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1998).

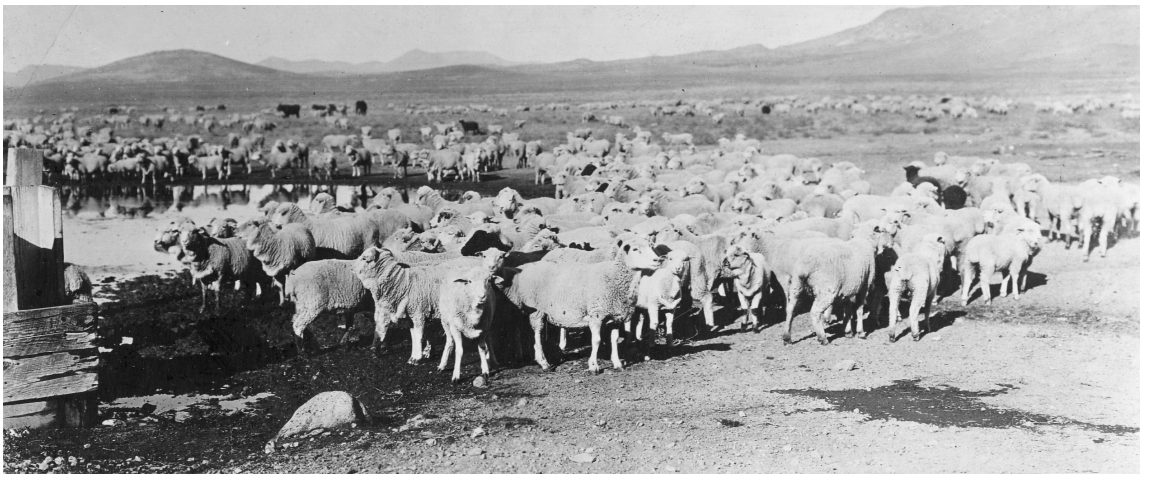
54 Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, *The Nature of Radioactive Fallout and Its Effects on Man – Part 2*, 85th Cong., 1st sess., June 4–June 7, 1957, 1117.

55 Coates and Randolph, "Town Counts Dead."

56 *Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments*; see also Fradkin, *Fallout*, 200–202.

57 Frequently referred to as "acute" problems (e.g., skin burns and radiation sickness) and "chronic" problems (cancer, leukemia, and other mutations of both current and future generations). Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, *Summary-Analysis of Hearings on the Nature of Radioactive Fallout*, 1957, 7.

58 U.S. Congress Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, *The Nature of Radioactive Fallout and Its Effects on Man – Part 1*, 85th Cong., 1st sess., May 27–June 3, 1957, 982.



Sheep on the range in Modena, Iron County, Utah. The dangers of radioactive fallout became apparent as death and deformities afflicted thousands of sheep in the St. George area.
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> that occur . . . quite natural at the present time . . . at that point, how can you tell whether it is due to the inevitable process of genetics and how can you tell when it is due to outside influence? . . . All mutations are not due to radiation . . . contrary to popular opinion, mutations giving rise to conspicuous abnormalities, monstrosities, or freaks are a great rarity even after heavy doses of radiation.[59]

While the hearings were open to the public and available to read, the technical language and conflicting testimonies made it difficult for non-specialists to understand. Shortly after the hearings, the committee released a summary analysis, which also provided conflicting information and, at times, attempted to temper technical language.[60]

The AEC consistently claimed that it had taken the proper precautions, while journalists tried to uncover as much information as possible. The agency was fortunate to have outsiders helping its cause. Some doctors and scientists came out with their own reports, declaring St. George and other downwind towns safe. In 1957, a cancer specialist, Dr. Shields Warren, assured Americans that "the need for continuing nuclear weapons tests outweighs the risk from the fallout radioactivity which comes from these tests."[61] Some citizens accepted these rationales. A Los Angeles priest remarked in 1957 that "if I got [skin cancer] from radiation, it was my own fault. . . . I think the AEC knows what it's doing. When we have enemies like the Russians, we should be prepared."[62]

Such justifications did little to account for the real, even disastrous, effects of nuclear testing in individual lives. Elmer Pickett could name thirteen members of his immediate family who were afflicted with cancer and died from it soon thereafter.[63] When interviewed, many residents recalled their time in St. George and other "virtually uninhabited" downwind towns with anger and disappointment. As the activist Janet Gordon later explained, some southern Utahns felt that they were part of a human ex-

59 Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, *Nature of Radioactive Fallout – Part 2*, 1957, 1066.

60 Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, *Summary-Analysis of Hearings on the Nature of Radioactive Fallout*, 1957, 2; see also Fehner and Gosling, *Battlefield of the Cold War*, 110–111.

61 Warren Unna, "A-Test Need Exceeds Risk, Pathologist Says," *Washington Post and Times Herald*, June 8, 1957, A1. See Kirsch, "Harold Knapp and the Geography of Normal Controversy," 172, for a discussion of the debate amongst scientists regarding fallout and the public.

62 Graham Berry, "Nevadans Charge Fall-Out Danger," *Los Angeles Times*, June 27, 1957, 32.

63 *Bound by the Wind: We're All Downwinders*, VHS, directed by David L. Brown, (Oakland, CA: Video Project, 1993); "Utah Man Now Recalls Test with Anger," *Ellensburg (WA) Daily Record*, April 20, 1979, 8.

periment, insisting that officials had to know the dangers of fallout before Harry:

> [The AEC] had experience in Marshalls, but even if they hadn't had, by 1953 when they did the Upshot-Knothole series, when the sheep were dying by the thousands, when they were putting Geiger counters on them and taking readings, when people were getting sick and their hair was falling out as my brother's did and his horse died, and then of course he later died also with pancreatic cancer at the age of 26, and the sheep that he was tending died; if they hadn't known in advance, they certainly knew by then.[64]

Irma Thomas, a resident of St. George with similar sentiments, was able to name seventeen people afflicted with cancer within a block of her residence, including her daughter; she listed off the multiple diagnoses, from breast and brain cancer to leukemia and Hodgkin's disease. Her frustration was obvious: "Dammit, that's my beautiful young daughter, and that damned stuff did it. . . . We were just damned stupid old guinea pigs."[65]

Lawsuits, mainly from ranchers over their livestock, were unsuccessful in the 1950s and 1960s. Residents affected by cancer, infertility problems, and other ailments did not get compensated until years later, if at all.[66] Not until the early 1980s did downwinders receive a measure of justice. Congressional hearings culminated in the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act of 1981.[67] The act was passed to hold U.S. officials responsible for damages to "certain individuals, certain uranium miners, and to certain sheep herds" from the nuclear tests at the Nevada Test Site.[68] Only when more evidence was published about the dangers of radioactive fallout did judges begin to hear cases and rule against AEC and other government officials. After initially failing in the 1950s, several sheep ranchers were able to bring their cases back up to a joint congressional hearing in 1979, including John Bulloch, who claimed to have lost 2,200 sheep to Dirty Harry.[69] The ranchers had seen the sheep develop white spots on black wool, lose their coats completely, experience severe birth defects, produce stillbirth after stillbirth, and, in many cases, die. Further, the AEC's radiation measurements of the sheep proved to be compromised: the agency had failed to report that the readings were not taken until twenty-five days after Harry's test, when radiation levels would have greatly diminished.[70] Bulloch testified to seeing the flash of the detonation and watching the fallout cloud from Harry drift over the pastures, as well as to the fact that the ranchers had no warning except a few soldiers in a jeep that told them they were in a "hot spot."[71]

A separate trial, *Irene Allen v. the United States*, came before federal Judge Bruce Jenkins in 1979. In the *Allen* case, twenty-four claims of fallout-induced illness served as a "bellwether group" representative of 1,192 plaintiffs. Stewart Udall led the downwinders' legal team, which argued that the AEC had not given the public adequate protection and warning regarding the fallout. Throughout the trial, government officials and the Justice Department continued to obscure evidence about the atmospheric tests. Many of the assertions they made were conflicting and, subsequently, incriminating. Southern Utahns had received mixed signals about the dangers of radiation, and, apparently, AEC officials had suppressed information about data gathered after the nuclear tests. The

64 *Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments*.

65 Coates and Randolph, "Town Counts Dead."

66 Bulloch v. United States, 133 F. Supp. 885 (D. Utah 1955), scholar.google.com; Bulloch v. United States, 145 F. Supp. 824 (D. Utah 1956), scholar.google.com; House Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *The Forgotten Guinea Pigs*. Other cases continued throughout the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, each with a slightly different verdict, most denying downwinders compensation for their losses until the reversal decision in 1982. *The Forgotten Guinea Pigs* outlines in detail what the downwinders were looking for in terms of what they witnessed and what compensation they felt they deserved, as well as the problems caused by the purposeful absence of data about radioactive fallout on the part of the AEC and other officials.

67 *Radiation Exposure Compensation Act of 1981: Part 1*, 97th Cong., 1st sess. (October 27, 1981); *Radiation Exposure Compensation Act of 1981: Part 2*, 97th Cong., 2nd sess. (April 8, 1982).

68 *Radiation Exposure Compensation Act of 1981: Part 1*, I; *Radiation Exposure Compensation Act of 1981: Part 2*, I.

69 "Sheepman Claims Damages," *Ellensburg (WA) Daily Record*, April 20, 1979, 8.

70 Smith, "Atom Bomb Tests Leave Infamous Legacy," 266.

71 "Sheepman Claims Damages."

AEC had told its officials and employees to take serious precaution with tests like Harry. Meanwhile, the public was reassured that "'the body can withstand considerably [large] doses of radiation,'" and press images showed "'scientists dining on experimental meals laced with strontium-90.'"[72]

In October 1982, Sherman Christensen—the same judge who had presided over the failed 1950s lawsuits—ruled that the federal government had deceived the court in 1956, when the original cases of the Nevada and Utah sheep contamination were tried.[73] The judge found that "critical data from the Hanford tests were suppressed when a summary was prepared for public release," and he cited several lawyers and scientists "who had helped perpetrate a fraud upon his court."[74] Dr. Harold Knapp, part of the AEC Fallout Studies Branch from 1962 to 1963, played a key role in the reversal of opinion with his contestation of the 1954 report. He found that the main cause of sheep death was irradiation of the gastrointestinal tract from food ingested during grazing. Similar to the human cases, radiation also affected the thyroid, causing heavy damage.[75] Knapp's efforts brought him appreciation from Utahns, and his work made the difference in the case. However, former AEC agents thought he did a disservice to the country by discussing the events.[76]With Harry, Knapp was stunned that such high levels of radiological pollution could exist in St. George, 135 miles away from the Yucca Flats. The AEC ignored his reports that contaminated milk had exposed thyroids to radiation, causing high levels of cancer and other problems in humans, especially children. Data were scarce and generally unreliable. Important information was left out by scientists, making the samples from St. George essentially useless. Knapp worked around this problem by using a method that used gamma measurements instead of iodine.[77]



Bruce Jenkins, 1962. Jenkins, a U.S. federal court judge, ruled in favor of the claim from atomic fallout victims against the United States Government.

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USHS

Prior to Christensen's ruling, *Allen v. United States* reopened in September 1982, in which the government was accused of negligence and carelessness in the one hundred atmospheric testing rounds from 1951 to 1963 on the Nevada Test Site.[78] The multimillion dollar lawsuit came from twenty-four residents of Utah, Nevada, and Arizona collectively, pushed by downwinder Vonda McKinney. Judge Jenkins presided, as he had in 1979; the federal government wanted him to dismiss the trial, but he refused: "I want a full-blown trial," he responded.[79] Bearing in mind that thirty years had passed, the effects

72 "Negligence Ruling on U.S. Atom Tests Overturned," *New York Times*, April 22, 1987; Smith, "Judge Says Atom Tests Caused Cancer," 853 (qtn.), 856; Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah: The Right Place* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1995), 369–70.

73 Smith, "Atom Bomb Tests Leave Infamous Legacy," 268.

74 Smith, "Scientists Implicated in Atom Test Description," 545; Alexander, *Utah: The Right Place*, 368.

75 Smith, "Scientists Implicated in Atom Test Description," 545.

76 Smith, "Atom Bomb Tests Leave Infamous Legacy," 266.

77 Ibid., 267; Kirsch, "Harold Knapp and the Geography of Normal Controversy," 167–81.

78 William E. Schmidt, "Trial to Open Today in Lawsuit Over Nuclear Fallout," *New York Times*, September 14, 1982, 16A; George Raine, "Widow's Questions Led to Utah Radiation Trial," *New York Times*, October 3, 1982.

79 Raine, "Widow's Question."

of the tests were disputed, and the government defended its stance: the tests had been safe and managed properly. Regardless, during the jury-less trial, witnesses continued to claim that people and animals had suffered since the day Harry was dropped. Hair had fallen out, while burns and rashes turned lethal. Children died from the milk they drank containing radioactive iodine and strontium.[80] Past research, particularly on the sheep flocks, had shown that once the thyroid or gastrointestinal tract absorbed a high enough concentration of radiation, there was little hope of a cure, and survivors could expect only a miserable existence. Knapp's work was again critical, and he agreed with the plaintiffs that AEC officials were "sensitive to criticism and tended to ignore evidence" of the problems of Harry and the other tests. He even argued that if it had rained over St. George that day, half the town would be dead.[81]

After nearly five years in court, in May 1984, the downwinders represented in *Allen* received a promise of relief: Jenkins ruled that government negligence was responsible for causing cancer by exposing citizens to fallout and radioactivity, specifically during the nuclear tests that occurred between 1951 and 1962. In a powerfully written decision based on 7,000 pages of trial transcript and 54,000 pages of exhibits, Jenkins listed the failures of the defendant during the long episode—that the AEC had not adequately warned nearby citizens about the dangers of fallout, monitored exposure, or provided information about how to minimize fallout exposure once a denotation had occurred—punctuating each item with the conclusion that "such failure was negligent." [82]

The legal victories of the early 1980s lasted only briefly. The Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals overturned Christensen's ruling; according to the historian Thomas Alexander, the court's ruling made sense only "because of the conservatism of the court" and because the judge who wrote the opinion "had previously worked for a firm retained as counsel by an agency of the AEC."[83] Likewise, federal attorneys appealed Jenkins's *Allen* decision, and in 1987, the Tenth Circuit overturned the ruling in favor of the downwinders. The rationale behind the reversal was this: the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 had given the AEC the right to conduct experiments in atomic energy. Chief Justice Monroe McKay wrote that "while we have great sympathy for the individual cancer victims who have borne alone the costs of the A.E.C.'s choices, their plight is a matter for Congress." The United States Supreme Court declined to review *Allen* in 1988, and thus the case was closed.[84]

Then in 1990, the federal government acknowledged a limited number of possible effects from nuclear testing with passage of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (RECA) of 1990. The RECA of 1990 presented "an apology and monetary compensation" to a limited number of people who contracted serious diseases through exposure following atmospheric nuclear tests and employment in uranium mining.[85] Eugene Bridges, a downwinder, recalled in a 2004 interview, "It was 1990 before the government finally recognized that there were some people that were affected by the fallout . . . limited to a 200-mile radius of the test site. And it was limited to just certain diseases." Later, under pressure from downwinders and the public, Congress amended the measures to include most of Utah.[86]

The debate and disagreement about the effects of the nuclear tests continued throughout the 1990s. In 1997, another round of congressional hearings occurred concerning the effects of radioactive fallout (especially iodine-131) on the health of Americans. The witnesses at the hearings includ-

80 Schmidt, "Trial to Open Today."

81 "Peril of '53 A-Test Revealed by Expert," *Chicago Tribune*, October 7, 1982, 3.

82 *Allen*, 588 F.; see also, Smith, "Judge Says Atom Tests Caused Cancer," 853, and "Scientists Implicated in Atom Test Description," 545–46.

83 Alexander, *Utah: The Right Place*, 368.

84 "Negligence Ruling Overturned," April 22, 1987; see also, Tim Connor, "Nuclear Workers at Risk," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 46, no. 7 (1990): 27; Fox, *Downwind*; Alexander, *Utah: The Right Place*, 369–70.

85 U.S. Department of Justice, *Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (RECA)*, accessed August 12, 2016, justice.gov/civil/common/reca.html.

86 Zenna Mae Bridges and Eugene Bridges, "Interview with Zenna Mae and Eugene Bridges," interview by Mary Palevsky, June 12, 2004, Nevada Test Site Oral History Project, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, accessed August 12, 2016, digital.library.unlv.edu, 59. Amendments adjusting to new information and data exposed in later cases were added to the 1990 Radiation Exposure Compensation Act in 1999 and 2000: *Radiation Exposure Compensation Act Amendments of 1999*, 106th Cong., 2st sess. (June 26, 2000).

ed several medical and scientific professionals. Richard D. Klausner, director of the National Cancer Institute (NCI), stated that "studies of exposure to I-131 for medical purposes" had not yet "produced conclusive evidence" about the incidence of thyroid cancer. Additionally, Klausner emphasized that the NCI was trying to make the results of a recent study publicly available.[87]

Joseph Lyon, a researcher at the University of Utah, presented a very different story. In testimony before Congress he described how public concern in the 1950s had prompted both Congressional hearings and studies conducted by Ed Weiss about thyroid cancer and leukemia in two southern Utah counties. The thyroid study was compromised, Lyon stated, and it produced no conclusive results. In contrast, by 1964, the leukemia study showed a "threefold excess of cancers" among children under nineteen in the two counties. What happened next was telling: "The thyroid study was published, highlighted, and used to reassure the citizens of Utah of the adverse effects. The leukemia study was buried in the files of HHS after a high level meeting at the White House because of its impact. That study remained virtually ufollowed up and reassurances were offered to the citizens of Utah when officials knew full well that there was a hint."[88]

Without knowing, Lyon and his team replicated Weiss's leukemia study in the late 1970s. Like Weiss, they found that leukemia rates among children in southern Utah had skyrocketed to two and a half times more than average. "That finding," Lyon testified, "created intense controversy, as you can imagine. Efforts to follow up . . . thrust us into a political situation that even the President of the United States at that time was not able to, on his guarantee, to get us funding. It finally took the personal intervention of Orrin Hatch, using a great deal of clout." Lyon's continued work confirmed the increase of cancer among children in southern Utah, and his professional experience confirmed the political difficulty of getting such studies funded and published.[89]

All told, the role and responsibility of the federal government in the saga of the downwinders is complicated, to say the least. On one hand, "the government" comprises many agencies and individuals. Sherman Christensen and Bruce Jenkins, the federal judges who ruled in favor of the downwinders, were government employees.[90] Congressional hearings, published by the Government Printing Office itself, have produced a great deal of material about the terrible effects of the nuclear tests. On the other hand, as increased facts have become publicly available, it has become apparent that the Atomic Energy Commission did pressure its employees to obscure damaging information.[91] The record of government agents in the years and decades following Dirty Harry and other nuclear tests has also been exceedingly checkered. Speaking in 1997, Senator Patty Murray neatly expressed the situation: "The United States government made mistakes in its haste, fear and ignorance. . . . I believe the bottom line is the federal government must accept responsibility for harming its citizens. It must apologize. And it must help these people with medical bills. These things are the very minimum we must do."[92] Elizabeth Catalan, who grew up in St. George and whose father died of leukemia, put it more personally: "I felt used. I felt we were conned. . . . They knew (the dangers) and they did not tell us. I will always live with the apprehension that I will die of cancer some day."[93]

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A diehard Hokie from Albany, New York, Katherine Good graduated from Virginia Tech with a bachelor's degree in History; she returned in 2014 to earn a master's degree, focusing on the history of science and technology. Her current research explores the federal food irradiation programs of the 1950s and 1960s. *Good would like to acknowledge Dr. Mark Barrow for all of his support, encouragement, and "stick-to-it-ivness" throughout the duration of this project.*

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87 Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, *Radioactive Fallout from Nuclear Testing*, 13.

88 Ibid., 17.

89 Ibid., 18.

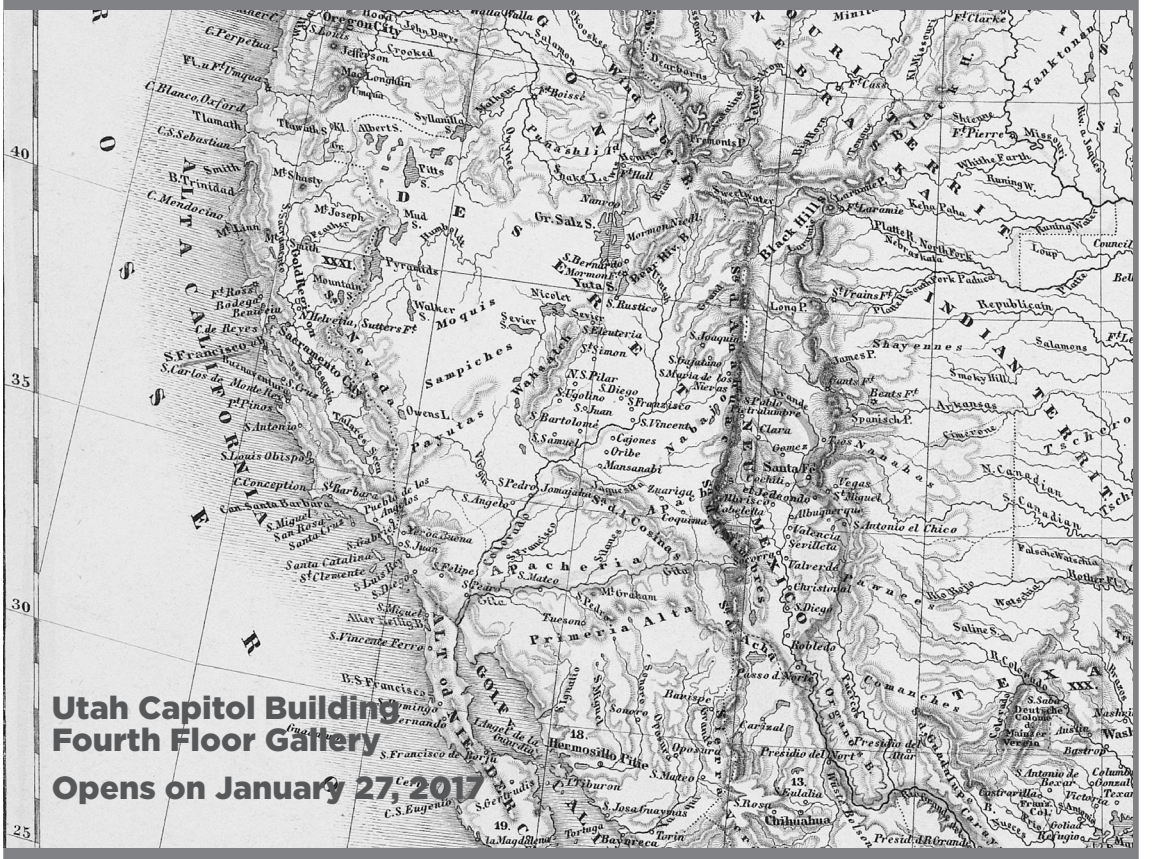
90 Smith, "Atom Bomb Tests Leave Infamous Legacy," 266. Harold Knapp, whose expertise and testimony mattered enormously in the court decisions, was himself a Defense Department employee in the early 1980s.

91 Smith, "Scientists Implicated in Atom Test Decision," 545–47.

92 Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, *Radioactive Fallout From Nuclear*, 5 (qtn.),18–19. Murray's constituents in eastern Washington were negatively affected by other nuclear activity.

93 "Utah Man Now Recalls Test with Anger."

Utah Drawn – An Exhibition of Rare Maps



We are pleased to announce an upcoming exhibition of rare historical maps depicting the region that became the state of Utah from its earliest imaginings by European cartographers through the historical process that produced the modern state's boundaries.

Maps in the exhibition are primarily owned by Salt Lake City businessman Stephen Boulay, with contributions from the Utah State Historical Society, American West Center at the University of Utah, L. Tom Perry Special Collections at Brigham Young University, and the LDS Church History Department.

Selected rare items from public repositories and private collections will only be displayed in the Utah Capitol Building rotunda on January 27, noon to two p.m.

For a preview of these maps, visit the online exhibit produced by the *Utah Historical Quarterly* at history.utah.gov/utahdrawn.



Aerial photo of the Canyonlands region. The confluence of the Colorado and Green Rivers is in the upper left, Big Spring Canyon is the west tributary in the upper right, and the Chesler Park/Grabens region at the heart of the Needles is at the bottom.

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Satellite image from Google

CLOSING THE ROAD TO CHESLER PARK:

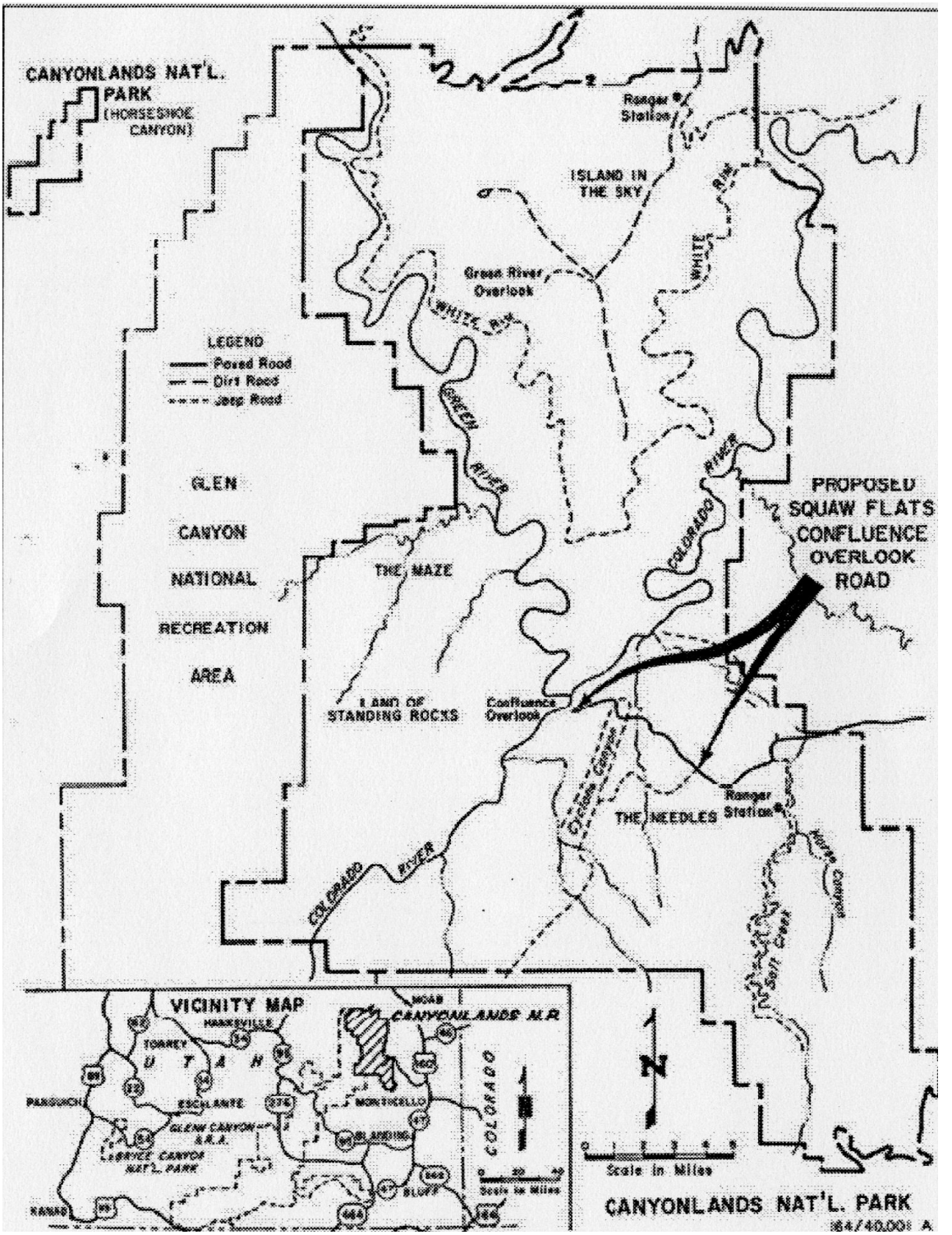
Why Access to Canyonlands National Park Remains Limited

BY CLYDE L. DENIS

Canyonlands National Park, established in 1964, is the largest national park in Utah and was the first new national park formed in the continental United States after World War II. Viewed at the time of its creation as "the Nation's last opportunity to establish a national park of the Yellowstone National Park class—a vast area of scenic wonders and recreational opportunities unduplicated elsewhere on the American Continent or in the world," Canyonlands today is vastly different from Yellowstone in terms of visitor amenities.[1] Its Needles District, for instance, has few paved roads and no lodges and concessions. In particular, the Chesler Park/Grabens region at the heart of the Needles is remote and accessible only to hikers and people with four-wheel-drive vehicles.

The contrast between the road accessibility envisioned at Canyonlands' conception and the eventual lack of development of the park is evident in a comparison of the Canyonlands Master Plan of 1965 with the General Management Plan (GMP) of 1978 (still enforced today). The Master Plan of 1965 proposed five paved roads. The present-day road terminating at Big Spring Canyon ('A' on map on page 332) was to leap the canyon in a graceful bridge, and continue to a juncture. From there, a one-mile paved road would lead to a stunning view overlooking the Green/Colorado River confluence ('B'). South from the juncture, the road would make its way deep into the Grabens area, running through Devils Lane. A

1 U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, *An Act to provide for establishment of the Canyonlands National Park in the State of Utah, and for other purposes,* 88th Cong., 2nd sess., August 17, 1964, 9.



Canyonlands National Park as shown in a 1969 proposal for its expansion that would include the Maze District and Horseshoe Canyon. Congress expanded the park to its current boundaries in November 1971.

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National Park Service

mile or so outside of Chesler Park ('C'), a spur road would climb into Chesler Park, the centerpiece of the Needles District. As a congressional report noted, "the placid parks, particularly Chesler and Virginia, ringed by the bristling forest of fantastic [rock] needles, are outstanding."[2] Once in Chesler Park, a paved road would take visitors around the inner circumference of the park to waiting picnic tables and a view of the impressive Devils Pinnacles and the five-hundred-foot-tall, mile-long central reef of layered white and pink Cedar Mesa sandstone. The main road, outside of Chesler Park, would run south through Beef Basin and its archeological jewels along the east flank of the Abajos to State Route 95, just east of Natural Bridges National Monument between Blanding and Hanksville, Utah. This latter road would be called the Kigalia Parkway ('D').

The rationale for these five roads was clear. The nation's citizens could have access to Chesler Park, and once there, as San Juan County officials insisted, they must have the option of taking the Kigalia Highway loop road, which would enable them to visit and spend money in Monticello and Blanding. However, the GMP of 1978 rejected all of these access roads, simply stating that, "The road [to the] . . . Confluence Overlook [which was key to the Chesler Park road and the Kigalia Highway] will not be completed as previously planned because of excessive construction cost and irreversible environmental damage."[3]

The transformation of Canyonlands' Needles District from the proposed accessible recreation area to a preserved wilderness-like area resulted from the convergence of two events. First, the exorbitant costs of the Vietnam War caused at least a ten-year delay in constructing the access roads into the Needles District. Second, when monies became available for road construction, new superintendents of Canyonlands and their superiors in the National Park Service favored a more aggressive preservation of the natural areas of the park.

A core quandary of Canyonlands' development was eloquently summarized in 1972 by Thomas F. Flynn, acting director of the Park Service: "If the average visitor is denied this [access] he may well ask what is the point in having a park at all."[4] This question was inherent within the divided purpose of the Organic Act of 1916, which established the National Park system to both "conserve the scenery" so that it be "unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations" and "to provide for the enjoyment" of the current generation.[5] Only in 1978 did the nation finally resolve this conundrum with the amendment to the Redwoods National Park Act. This act clarified the Organic Act: "authorized activities . . . shall not be exercised in derogation of the values and purposes for which these various areas have been established." The courts have repeatedly interpreted this amendment to mean that for the Park Service "resource protection [is] the overarching concern," that its "primary management function with respect to wildlife is preservation," and that its purpose is "to leave [its units] unimpaired; this mission had and has precedence over providing means of access, if those means impair the resources, however much access may add to the enjoyment of future generations."[6]

This preservation-focused interpretation of the Park Service mandate, however, was not dominant in the 1950s, or even in the mid-1960s when Canyonlands was formed, even though the Wilderness Preservation Act had just been passed in 1964. The change over time in the Canyonlands roads encapsulates a national shift emphasizing preservation over tourist access.

Canyonlands was conceived in the 1950s, when "providing access" was the talisman of the Park Service, a focus strongly supported by a rapid increase in visitation following World War II

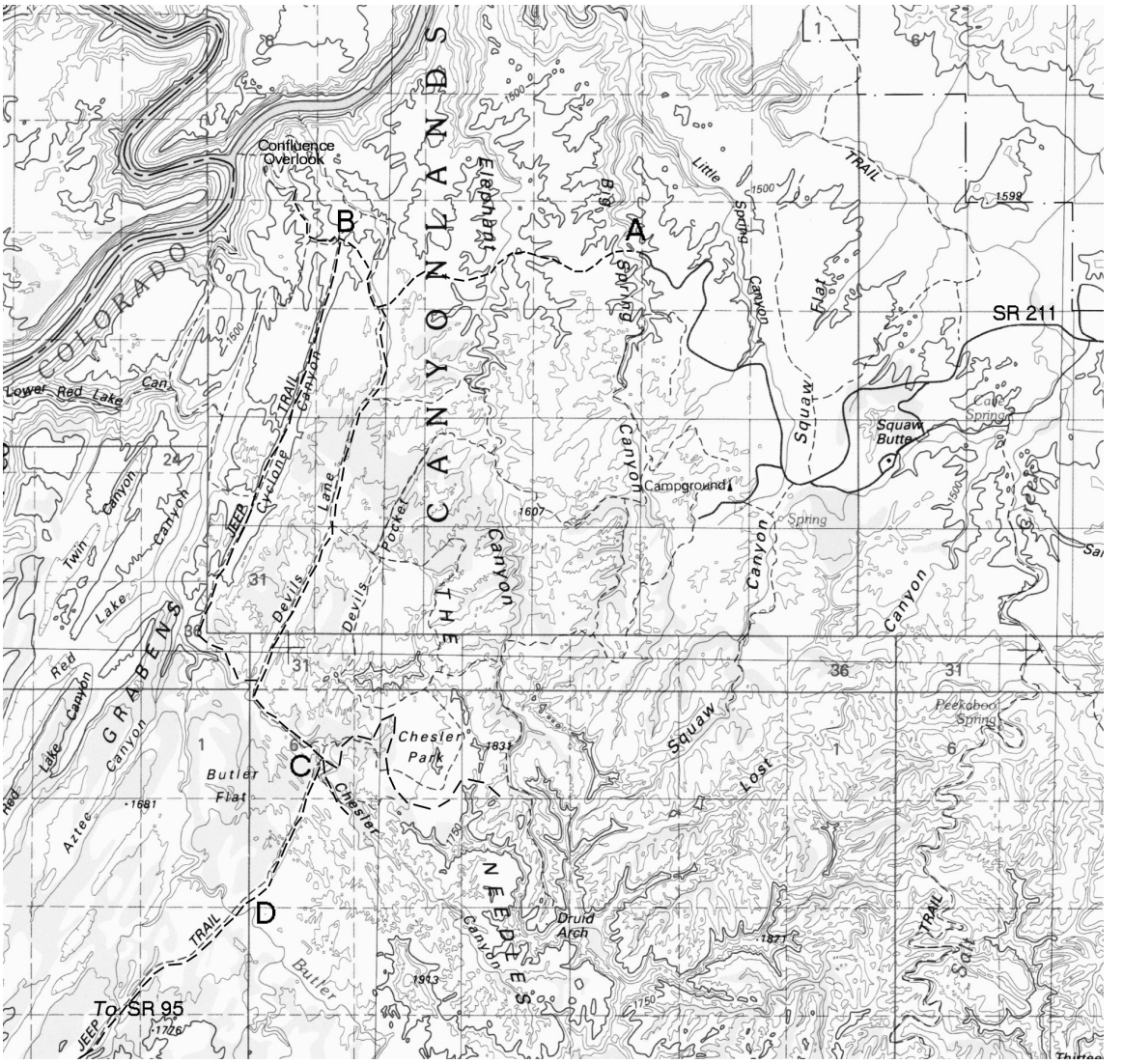
2 U.S. Congress, House, *Canyonlands*, 6.

3 U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Canyonlands General Management Plan," October 1978, U.S. Department of the Interior.

4 Thomas F. Flynn to Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, June 23, 1972, memorandum, fd. 286, CANY 36607, Canyonlands National Park Administrative Collection, Southeast Utah Group Archives, National Park Service, Moab, Utah (hereafter Canyonlands Collection).

5 Lary M. Dilsaver, ed., *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1994), 392.

6 U.S. National Park Service, Environmental Quality Division, *Canyonlands National Park and the Organic Act: Balancing Resource Protection and Visitor Use,* by David A. Watts (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2008), 10–14.



A U.S. Geological Survey map showing planned roads in Canyonlands. The proposed five Needles District roads are indicated with a dashed line emanating from 'A' where the road to Big Spring Canyon currently ends and the bridge was to be built. The junction of the road to the Confluence overlook is labeled with a 'B.' The entry by road to Chesler Park is marked with a 'C.' The Kigalia Parkway south to Beef Basin to State Road 95 is marked with a 'D.'

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U.S. Geological Survey

and the deplorable state of the park infrastructure. Visitors to the parks encountered decrepit park roads, campgrounds, and lodges. According to Reader's Digest in 1955, parks had poor sanitary conditions, with campgrounds "approaching rural slums."[7] Connie Wirth, director of the National Park System, responded with the aggressive Mission 66 program, a ten-year proposal quickly approved by President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Congress to restore and revitalize the parks. Mission 66 sought to protect park resources and at the same time develop them for public use. Critics of Mission 66, however, felt that development was taking precedence, with too many roads and an "urbanized" feel. As the

7 *Reader's Digest* warned prospective visitors to parks: "Your trip is likely to be fraught with discomfort, disappointment, even danger." Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 237.

National Parks Magazine criticized, "'engineering had[s] become more important than preservation,' creating wide, modern roads similar to those found in state highway systems." As was noted about Rocky Mountain National Park, "[i]ronically, Mission 66, by 'modernizing' the Park and by making travel in it more attractive and comfortable, had detracted from the Park's scenic naturalness. . . . [Wide] roads ma[d]e Park travel easier but not necessarily more meaningful."[8] In respect to wilderness, the Park Service maintained that there are "different kinds of wilderness, including . . . accessible wilderness, available with a ten-minute walk from many park roads, or where visitors could 'see, sense, and react to wilderness, often without leaving the roadside.'"[9]

The effort to create Canyonlands involved those with varied interests: those most focused on boosting the economy of southeast Utah both through tourism and the unimpeded use of natural resources—minerals, oil, and grazing; those most focused on a large national park with road access; and those advocating on behalf of scenic preservation.

The local support for some type of Canyonlands park was in response to the series of southeast Utah boom and bust cycles since the late nineteenth century involving free-range cattle, dry farming, and uranium mining.[10] At a hearing on the proposed park, one local said, "Monticello in 1955 was on a boom, jobs were plentiful . . . now, 7 years later, business is poor, jobs are scarce, vacant houses and apartments are numerous. In 1956 I had six men working for me in the plumbing and heating business but now I do not have enough work for myself and there is no other plumber here."[11]

Although many locals desired the creation of several smaller isolated parks (presenting "this image of wilderness, the image of protection") and multiple-use of the other adjacent lands, Democratic Utah Senator Frank E. Moss (in conjunction with Bates Wilson, then superintendent of Arches National Park) walked the delicate and often tortuous line to ensure the creation of a large national park. Senator Moss felt that developing tourism through the creation of national parks would be a long-term and effective means of increasing the economies of southern Utah towns.[12] Moss and his allies in southeast Utah were convinced that "Canyonlands would become the Yellowstone of southeast Utah."[13] As summarized by one San Juan County resident during the congressional hearings on the proposed national park, the locals would benefit greatly from roads and other developments as soon as possible to "build and grow the additional tourist business."[14] Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior in 1962, fueled these hopes by saying, "we have proposed to spend millions of dollars developing this [Canyonlands] like we have developed Grand Canyon, Dinosaur, and all the national parks, . . . with construction of approach roads and judiciously located park roads within the area itself to make the inspirational values accessible for the people of our country."[15] At the birth of

8 Lloyd K. Musselman, *Rocky Mountain National Park Administrative History 1915–1965*, (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1971).

9 Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 185–87.

10 After the free range cattle industry died at the end of the nineteenth century, it was followed by the dry farming experiments of 1910 to 1930 in which San Juan County lost 35 percent of its farms. Clyde L. Denis, "Departure of the Late Nineteenth Century Cattle Companies from Southeastern Utah: A Reassessment," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 80 (Fall 2012): 354–73; Clyde L. Denis, "Fallout from the Demise of the Large Cattle Companies of Late Nineteenth-Century Southeast Utah: The Economic Ascendency of Moab," *Journal of the West* 53 (2014): 43–53. In the late 1950s, the southeast Utah economy plummeted when the Atomic Energy Commission decided that the military had sufficient uranium. From 1960 to 1970, Monticello lost 22 percent of its population, and by the mid-1960s Moab was viewed by non-locals as "a depressed region." Katy Brown, phone interview with the author, May 2014.

11 U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Proposed Canyonlands National Park in Utah: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs*, 87th Cong., 2d sess., March 29–30, 1962, 363.

12 Ibid., 123; Michael Cornfield and Anne Zill, "Frank E. Moss, Democratic Senator of Utah," in *Ralph Nader Congress Project: Citizens Look at Congress* (Grossman Publishers, 1972), 1–11.

13 Glen Alexander, phone interviews with author, 2013–2016.

14 Testimony of James Black, President, Monticello Chamber of Commerce in U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Public Lands, *Proposed Canyonlands National Park in Utah: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Public Lands*, April 25, 1963, 216.

15 U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Public Lands,



In the heart of Canyonland's Needles District, Chesler Park offers stunning views of desert grasslands and sandstone formations. Concerned about the environmental impact of jeep travel, park officials decided to close Chesler to motorized vehicles in the late 1960s.
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Michael Denis

Canyonlands, therefore, people expected road access within the Needles District in the immediate future.

The 1965 Master Plan encoding the access roads in the Needles District was approved by Bates Wilson, the newly appointed superintendent of Canyonlands. Wilson, who had proselytized for Canyonlands protection prior to its formation, now had the duty to implement this plan. However, he had various conflicting interests to contend with. On the one hand, many opposed access roads that would exploit and despoil the land. On the other hand, vehicular access was paramount. As one Moabite and Park Service employee who had never hiked the Chesler Park/Grabens area observed: "Now the panic of fear sets in that man eventually might ruin Canyonlands National Park with modern intervention. Not so." Those "who prefer to thrill at nature's wonders in a less vigorous way will be able to drive their modern cars over smooth paved roads to the colorful fantasy land. Nor should the most ardent wilderness lover begrudge these access roads which will make the sights of Canyonlands available to all Americans. . . . It's too big and too tough to spoil."[16]

Wilson had originally conceived a Canyonlands in which access would be substantially by jeep and hiking; however, his planning documents for Canyonlands throughout the 1960s dealt with construction of multiple sealed roads in the region, and throughout the 1960s he told Moss of such plans.[17] His first assistant super-

Proposed Canyonlands National Park in Utah: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 52–58; Testimony of Max N. Edwards, Assistant Secretary of the Department of the Interior, in U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Public Lands, *Proposed Canyonlands National Park in Utah: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Public Lands*, 38. The Department of Interior's "Canyonlands" brochure of 1962 contains pictures of roads to the Confluence overlook and to and into Chesler Park.

16 Maxene Newell, "It's a Rugged Park," *Times-Independent* (Moab, UT), May 19, 1966, 3.

17 Lloyd M. Pierson, "Looking Back on Canyonlands

intendent, Roger J. Contor, also supported paved roads to Chesler Park. Contor had been brought to Canyonlands to handle the administrative side of the park by George B. Hartzog Jr., the autocratic director of the Park Service from 1964 to 1972. Hartzog saw himself "as seeking a balance between those who wanted parks to provide more roads . . . and those who wanted to protect the natural areas from being overrun by people."[18] Throughout his tenure he fought wilderness designation in national parks by maintaining that "natural environment lands" could have "minimum" facilities such as "one-way motor nature trails" and "informal picnic sites 'for public enjoyment.'"[19] He had instructed Contor to "keep the southeast Utahns happy" in terms of road development. Contor, who later would be considered a strong environmentalist, had not yet developed his environmentalist ethic in the mid-1960s and would not have wanted to cross Hartzog at that stage of his career.[20] As Contor later indicated, "Government employees basically avoid risk. . . . I wanted to be able to retire from the Civil Service."[21] In the 1960s, Contor, Chief Ranger James Randall, and Wilson were all enthusiastic about paving the White Rim road (now a unique and premier jeep and mountain biking route) in the Island in the Sky district in order to provide better access and visitation. This proposal was killed, however, by P. E. Smith of the Park Service's Western Office of Design and Construction (WODC) who maintained that the primitive jeep road was for the few and "not the majority of visitors to the park."[22]

However, not all parts of the original Master Plan were favored. In September 1965, the acting chief of the Southwest Regional Office, which oversaw Canyonlands, commented about the nearly finalized Master Plan: "We agree that care should be taken in locating the loop road [within Chesler Park] to avoid intrusion," to which Canyonlands administrative officer Kent Wintch noted, "Loop road cannot avoid intrusion" and Randall added laconically, "impossible."[23] Early in 1966 Wilson expressed his own doubts: "I awake during the night sometimes in a cold sweat, fearing that we will build a road into Chesler Park that would ruin it!"[24] In September, Wilson indicated to his superiors that the interior paved loop road should be deleted and that the jeep road providing access into Chesler Park should be retained but not paved.[25] Consequently, in his budgets after 1967, Wilson did not include funds for the loop road or paved access road. Yet, the change was not immediate, as even as late as March 1967 Wilson was allowing his landscape architect, Paul Fritz, to spend time surveying Chesler Park for possible road locations.[26]

Wilson soon became concerned about allowing jeep access to Chesler Park at all. In the 1970s Wilson recalled the jeep road and its desecration of Chesler Park: "The jeeps were driving all over, not just on the original paths, killing the cryptogamic soil, creating ruts in all directions."[27] In 1968 Edgar Kleiner and Kimball Harper of University of Utah completed a seminal study of the effects of limited cattle grazing from the 1890s to 1960s on plant type and growth, soil sustainability, and environmental degradation in Chesler Park, as compared to no domestic grazing in Virginia Park. Kleiner's data, which Wilson saw,

National Park Formation," typescript in possession of author; Bates Wilson to Frank E. Moss, January 12, 1971, fd. 673, Canyonlands Collection.

18 Frank P. Sherwood, "George B. Hartzog, Jr.: Protector of the Parks," in *Exemplary Public Administrators: Character and Leadership in Government*, eds. Terry Cooper and Dale Wright (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1992), 147.

19 Craig W. Allin, *The Politics of Wilderness Preservation* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982), 146–47, 150–51; Michael Frome, *Regreening the National Parks* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992), 72.

20 Alexander interviews.

21 Michael E. Fraidenburg, *Intelligent Courage: Natural Resource Careers That Make a Difference* (Malbar, FL: Krieger, 2007), 12.

22 P. E. Smith, Acting Chief, WODC, to Regional Director, South West Region, September 9, 1965, fd. 180, Canyonlands Collection; Superintendent Bates Wilson to Regional Director, Southwest region, September 27, 1965, fd. 180, Canyonlands Collection; Master Plan Brief for Canyonlands National Park, August 4, 1965, fd. 181, Canyonlands Collection; Roger J. Contor to Owen W. Burnham, October 10, 1967, fd. 181, Canyonlands Collection.

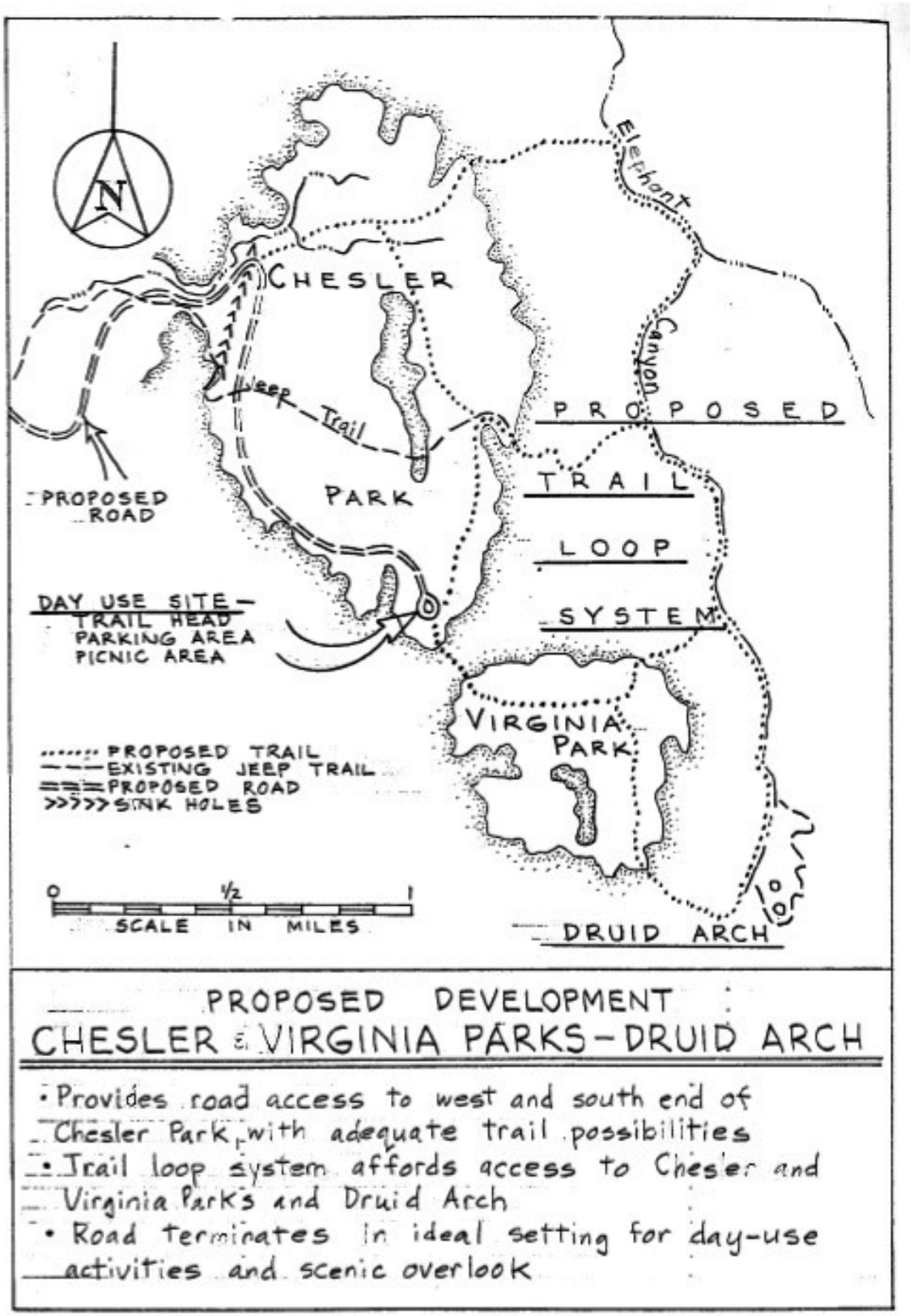
23 Acting Chief, WODC, to Regional Director, Southwest Region, September 9, 1965, comments made September 13, 1965, fd. 180, Canyonlands Collection.

24 C. Sharp, "Differences of Opinion on Routes Develop on Interagency Tour," *Times-Independent*, April 28, 1966. 1.

25 Bates Wilson to Chief, Office of Resource Planning, SCC, September 22, 1966, fd. 180, Canyonlands Collection.

26 Canyonlands Complex Staff Meeting Minutes (CCSMM), March 29, 1967, Folder 42, Canyonlands Collection.

27 Alexander interviews.



Planned loop road into and around Chesler Park from the Canyonlands National Park Master Plan Brief, August 4, 1965.

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Canyonlands Collection

indicated clearly that limited winter cattle use in Chesler Park had caused irredeemable loss of habitat and soils by destroying the cryptobiotic cover, a degradation that might be irreversible.[28] Irresponsible jeep driving off designated paths in Chesler Park had the potential to do more havoc in a shorter time period than had all the intermittent domestic grazing over the last century. While Wilson's road plans in February 1968 still included paving the jeep road to the edge of Chesler Park (supported by his staff, including Contor), by the next month Wilson had requested from his superiors permission to actually close the jeep road to Chesler Park and begin instead construction of the spectacularly narrow Joint Trail that would provide hiking access into Chesler Park.[29] By early 1969, the decision had been made to close jeep travel into Chesler Park, although it still took two years for this to occur. When in October 1969 district ranger David Minor proposed blocking four-wheel-drive access into Chesler Park beginning in November, the then-assistant superintendent Joe Carithers responded that "it was [not] feasible to close the road to Chesler Park at the present time and it would be a question of timing when this would be feasible."[30] Carithers, who had been an aide to Udall and who would become instrumental in establishing preserved areas in Arizona, had been brought into Canyonlands to run "the nuts and bolts of the park," as Bates Wilson "was doing mostly PR work"[31] In April 1971, Wilson and the young ranger Jerry Banta (later to become superintendent of Canyonlands) finally closed the Chesler Park jeep access road.

Given these delays in closing even the rough road into Chesler Park, it is very likely that at least the road running to outside Chesler Park would have been paved had not the Vietnam War escalated just as Canyonlands was created. The siphoning of national monies for the Vietnam War impacted negatively the budgets for all domestic, discretionary funds. Hartzog remembered, "With the exploding growth of the National Park System from 1963–1972 (an average of nine new parks each year), and the escalating costs of the Vietnam War, our operating budget came under increasing pressure."[32] Hartzog's comment is an understatement. The Park Service Capital Improvement Funds (from which road budgets derive) peaked from 1963 to 1965 ($72 million) and then fell precipitously because of the war to a low of $22 million in 1969.[33] Moreover, between 1964 and 1972 the aggressive leadership of Hartzog led to the dramatic expansion of the Park system with the addition of seashores, urban areas, and a litany of historical sites. Given these additions, according to estimates of the Southwest Regional office in July 1965, "one half of our present tentative 1967 programs will have to be scrapped."[34]

One result of the budget crunch was that the entry road to Squaw Flat, which now brings visitors to the Needles Visitor Center, had been scoped out and graded by 1967 but not finished. In fact, in 1967 there was no road budget at all for Canyonlands. Only in 1968 was the $1.8 million finally budgeted to finish the Squaw Flat road; it was finally paved in 1971.

As for the other three proposed access roads, including the Kigalia Highway loop road, Wilson proposed for 1968 to 1970 that $5.3 million dollars be allocated for their construction.[35] None of these monies were obtained in those years, however, because of the Vietnam War. In fact, by 1975, only the short road from Squaw Flat to Big Spring Canyon had been built. When in 1968 the San Juan County commissioners demanded an explanation of why even the road to Squaw Flat—let alone the road to Chesler Park—had yet to be finished, the National Park responded saying they were as keen as ever on finishing these roads. Even Utah Governor Cal-

28 Edgar F. Kleiner to Bates Wilson, May 16, 1968, and Kimball T. Harper to James W. Larson, Acting Deputy Chief Scientist, September 16, 1968, fd. 753, Canyonlands Collection.

29 CCSMM, March 20, April 3, and April 17, 1968, fd. 43, Canyonlands Collection; Bates E. Wilson to the Regional Director, Southwest Region, March 11–26, 1968, fd. 181, Canyonlands Collection.

30 CCSMM, January 20, 1971, fd. 46, Canyonlands Collection; CCSMM, October 1, 1969, fd. 44, Canyonlands Collection.

31 Joseph Carithers, interview by John R. Moore, 1994, Big Bend Oral History Project, University of Texas at El Paso Oral History Institute; Paul L. Allen, "Obituary of Joseph F. Carithers," *Tucson Citizen*, July 4, 2001.

32 George B. Hartzog, Jr., *Battling for the National Parks* (Mt. Kisco, NY: Moyer Bell Limited, 1988), 152.

33 Wirth, *Parks*, 237.

34 George W. Miller to Bates Wilson, July 23, 1965, fd. 243, Canyonlands Collection.

35 Bates Wilson to Regional Director, Southwest Region, January 4, 1967, fd. 243, Canyonlands Collection.

vin L. Rampton, upon his tour of Canyonlands in May 1969, commented that he sympathized with the Park Service for its lack of funds to construct roads.[36]

Around this time, Wilson wrote his superior in the Regional Southwest Office, "the road to the Confluence Overlook holds higher priority than the road [from the south] to the junction west of Chesler Park. The Confluence is a logical destination, and one upon which various offices of the Service agree." Wilson elaborated that engineering and management issues were unresolved concerning Chesler Park. Two weeks later, however, after being called down to the regional office, Wilson wrote to the office that "we enclose revised [roads] for construction towards Chesler Park rather than to the Confluence Overlook. We have embraced construction all the way to Chesler Junction in both cases. . . . In the event of fund shortages, it may be necessary to construct only portions of these [roads]."[37] For budget planning it was summarized: "Assuming that the current freeze on contracting will be relaxed this winter, we hope to contract for another seven to ten miles of construction . . . this coming spring."[38] But the freeze did not end.

After another study team review, Wilson in March 1968 summarized the Canyonlands staff position on access roads: "No through road should be developed." The Squaw Flat road "should end east of Elephant Hill."[39] Wilson indicated that he and the review team "didn't want the country torn up."[40] Instead, the south road should come from "Dugout Ranch southwest and west to Beef Basin, then into the Park from the south, ending in Chesler Canyon south of Chesler Park. No roads should be built into Chesler Park."[41] In May, Director Hartzog officially announced deferment of the proposed Squaw Flat to Chesler Park road on the basis that it "would violate the beauty and serenity of the Canyonlands' country and would be a contradiction of national park purposes." The plan instead was to build "a one-way loop road from the junction of Devils Lane and Chesler Canyon through Devils Lane to the confluence overlook and return[ing] via Cyclone Canyon."[42] This new plan, as Wilson indicated, would provide "for reasonable access" with "very little of the Needles . . . more than two hours' hike from a hard surfaced road. What more can be asked?"[43] Wilson's staff again supported this plan. Contor believed the Cyclone Canyon/Devils Lane paved loop road, which would have destroyed the backcountry isolation of the Grabens region, to be "the best compromise between use and preservation of outstanding feature[s]."[44]

These developments induced San Juan County officials to write to Senator Moss: "It now appears that the radical conservationists who would like to 'lock up' everything have achieved their goals through their lobby and planning in Washington by isolating Chesler and the Confluence from the main entrance and by requiring American people wishing to see Canyonlands to go to dead end roads."[45] Moss quickly responded that Wilson and the Park Service had assured him that the Squaw Flat road to the Confluence was not dead, just placed in second priority to the road from Dugout Ranch. But Moss immediately pushed Hartzog to commit to a new "special study team" to find access to the Needles District that would "not be destructive of the park resources."[46]

In July 1969 the report of that study team (members included Wilson and the assistant director of the Park Service, Gary Everhardt, who later as NPS director would be very supportive of the

36 Canyonlands National Park (Existing) Program Summary, March 1967, fd. 176, Canyonlands Collection; Bates Wilson to Regional Director, Southwest, May 21, 1969, fd. 181, Canyonlands Collection.

37 Bates Wilson to Regional Director, Southwest Region, January 31, 1967, fd. 243, Canyonlands Collection.

38 Roger J. Contor to Owen W. Burnham, October 23, 1967, fd. 181, Canyonlands Collection.

39 Document on Recommended Changes to Roads and Development in Master Plan, March 11, 1968, fd. 181, Canyonlands Collection.

40 "Canyonlands Park Officials Outline Details of Proposed Master Road Plan Alternatives," *Times Independent*, October 24, 1968, 2.

41 CCSMM, April 12, 1967, fd. 42, Canyonlands Collection.

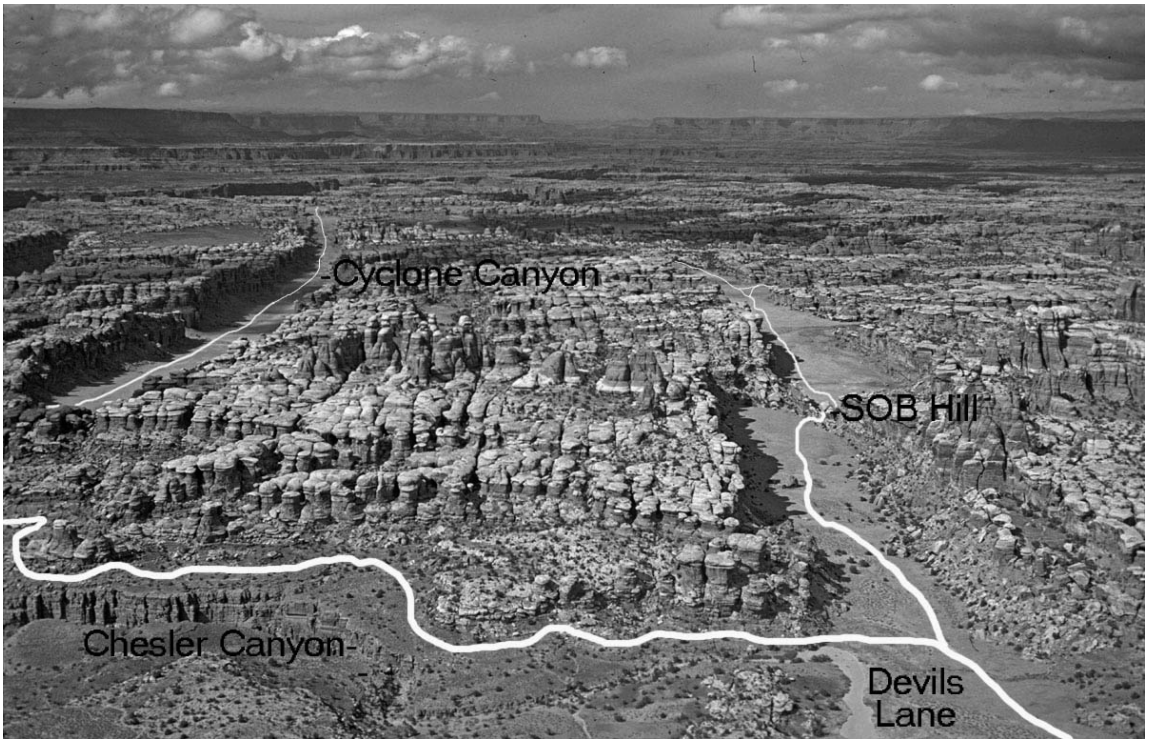
42 News Release, Department of the Interior, May 8, 1968, fd. 176, Canyonlands Collection.

43 "Canyonlands Park Officials Outline Details of Proposed Master Road Plan Alternatives," 2.

44 CCSMM, April 12, 1967, fd. 42, Canyonlands Collection.

45 San Juan County Commission to Frank E. Moss, October 16, 1968, fd. 673, Canyonlands Collection.

46 Frank E. Marion to W. Hazleton, Chairman, San Juan County October 28, 1968, fd. 673, Canyonlands Collection.



Aerial photo of the north Grabens area with projected roads drawn in. Through Chesler Canyon to Devils Lane would be a newly created road, whereas the others followed existing jeep trails.

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Photo by Owen Severance

1978 GMP) stated that the Squaw Flat to Confluence Overlook Road would be given first priority. The one-way road to outside Chesler Park would then be built from the Confluence. This ended the possibility of the "destructive" entry road from SR95 or Dugout Ranch. The new Republican-appointed assistant Secretary of the Interior Russell E. Train confirmed this to Moss in August 1969.[47] The Confluence Road would be built, requiring a small bridge over Little Spring Canyon, a 700-foot bridge over Big Spring Canyon, and a 130-foot tunnel farther on.

Train's 1969 decision ended questions as to which access roads were to be constructed. Vietnam funding restrictions delayed sealing of the Squaw Flat road until 1971, and fiscal years 1972 to 1974 were supposed to involve the construction of the road to the Confluence overlook. But the world of 1972 was no longer that of the 1960s.

The road to the overlook now foundered on other fronts, even though more money would become available as the Vietnam War wound down. The 1969 National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969 required an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) before any such project could begin. This EIS for the overlook road was not finished until October 1973. These delays exasperated Moss. In a speech to the Senate early in 1973, Moss lambasted the Park Service, saying that there was a "cabal in the Park Service—in the Department of the Interior itself—of staff people who for some reason or another [were] trying to prevent the completion" of roads.[48] Even the early 1970s preservationist-minded Canyonlands superintendent Robert I. Kerr indicated, "I too was nostalgic for the good old days when if you wanted a road you just built it without having to prepare an Environmental Impact Statement."[49]

47 Russell E. Train to Frank E. Moss, August 28, 1969, fd. 286, Canyonlands Collection.

48 Frank E. Moss to Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee, Senate Appropriations Committee, May 9, 1973, fd. 286, Canyonlands Collection.

49 Robert I. Kerr, phone interviews by author, May 2013 to August 2014.

The draft EIS received many comments from the public and governmental agencies, with a surprising seventy percent saying "no" to the road, at least until a new master plan had been prepared. One environmentalist group suggested that the EIS was "incomplete, not supported by . . . basic engineering data, contradictory, and evidences major omissions of material required to be present in such documents."[50] Other environmental groups went further and suggested, "Why then does the Park Service insist on building an unplanned road . . . with the full knowledge that at some date in the future it will probably conclude that to do so was a mistake?"[51] In response to the EIS's statement that it was critical to put in a paved road to allow summer tourists to see the Needles District, the Sierra Club replied, "True, travel in the hot summer months would be difficult, but so is travel in the high country of Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks during the winter. Yet no one advocates a network of roads and other facilities to change that situation."[52] The Department of the Interior under a Republican administration, however, was in control of the decision, and the final EIS concluded that the bridges, tunnel, and road would not adversely affect the environment.[53]

By the time the Department of the Interior approved the EIS, Bates Wilson had retired (in 1972, apparently upon Hartzog's insistence), and an environmentally responsive Canyonlands administration had taken control of the park.[54] It was under the tenure of the two new superintendents, first Kerr and then Peter L. Parry ("an avid preservationist but not as much as Kerr"), that the new master plan, the 1978 GMP, was drafted, given community exposure and comment, and finally agreed upon by both the Park Service and the Department of Interior, then under a Democratic administration.[55] This new document, prepared during the construction of the road to Big Spring Canyon from Squaw Flat, ensured that no bridge would be built over the canyon.

The GMP deemphasis on roads was the end result of a several-year process. In 1968 Wilson had prepared a statement of guiding principles for Canyonlands, saying that the original master plan, with its heavy emphasis on access, was flawed and that Canyonlands should be a park attuned to its fragile ecological community. In December 1971 Wilson proposed a new master plan with new priorities: "[C]hanging attitudes and new values are constantly revealing past park planning efforts as having been born of naivety, lack of foresight and insufficient data," leading to "one fortunate situation"—a "lack of development funds … a 'problem' that delayed realization of possible hasty decisions." The document further emphasized "the simple feeling that the visitor need not (or even should not) be able to reach nearly every outstanding feature in a park, particularly at the expense of another individual's experience."[56] In compliance with then-current practice, outside consultants prepared a new master plan, completed in November 1973. In complete contrast to Wilson's statements, the plan called for building roads to the Confluence overlook and to outside Chesler Park and paving most of the Kigalia Highway from SR95 to the south part of the Needles District. As a counterpoint, it proposed closing all jeep roads into the Chesler Park/Grabens region, as "jeep dust was killing plants adjacent to the road." It criticized the alternative of no new roads as "a puristic approach . . . . not in the best interest . . . of the casual visitor who expects to see some portions of the park without undue effort." Although the draft master plan admittedly

50 U.S. Department of the Interior, *Final Environmental Statement: Proposed Squaw Flat-Confluence Overlook Road*, 1973; Moab Chapter of the "Interested in Saving Southern Utah's Environment" to Robert I. Kerr, Superintendent, Canyonlands National Park, September 18, 1972, fd. 692, Canyonlands Collection.

51 Sierra Club to Nathaniel P. Reed, Assistant Secretary for Fish, November 15, 1972, fd. 286, Canyonlands Collection.

52 DOI, *Final Environmental Statement*; Sierra Club to Superintendent Robert I Kerr, September 19, 1972.

53 DOI, *Final Environmental Statement*, 5.

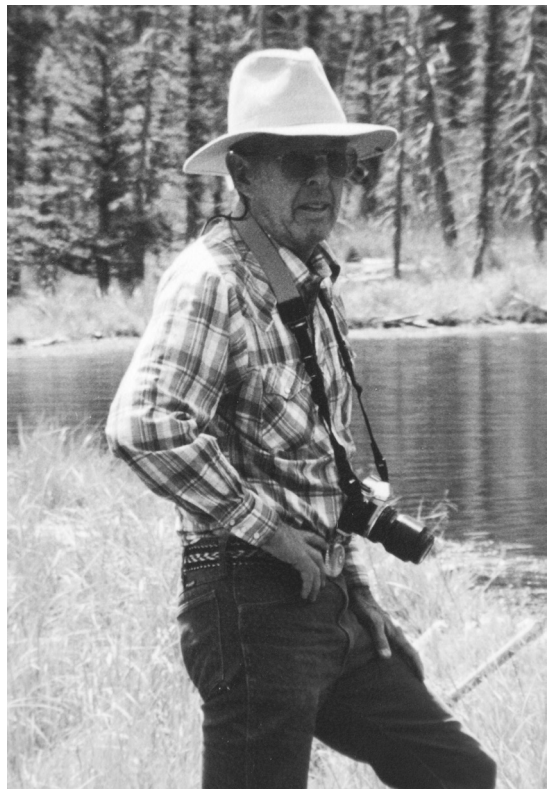
54 Hartzog apparently harbored a deep-seated resentment for Wilson's independence in establishing National Parks (an area that was supposed to be Hartzog's unique legacy), Wilson's ability to get things done in Washington, D.C. without Hartzog's help, and Wilson's deep friendship with Udall, whom Hartzog did not like. Hartzog's actions against Wilson are consonant with other comments on Hartzog. See Sherwood, "George B. Hartzog, Jr.: Protector of the Parks," 174; Frome, *Regreening*, 73–74.

55 Alexander interviews.

56 Office of Environmental Planning and Design, WSC, "Master Plan Study, Canyonlands National Park," December 1971, fd. 181, Canyonlands Collection.

would "damage [the park] by construction . . . and by large visitor impacts," it dismissed the no-road alternative as creating a park "mostly as a large land reserve."[57] But as Parry later indicated, "thank goodness" the plan "was not acceptable to Bob Kerr."[58] J. Leonard Volz, Kerr's supervisor at the Midwest Regional Office, agreed. According to one of Kerr's staff, the plan was too costly, and "closing all jeep roads was not politically possible . . . [as] Bates, among many other notables, was against that. It was a crazy idea. The enviro[nmentalist]s did NOT want to trade jeep road closure for a paved system in any way, shape, or form."[59] Moreover, the argument that jeep roads needed to be eliminated because of lethal "jeep dust" appears to have had no validity in the real world.[60] Under Kerr, this draft plan consequently disappeared, as it never was officially sent upstream within the Park Service, leaving Canyonlands without a current master plan.[61]

Meanwhile in 1974 Kerr indicated that "I shudder at the connotation of the 'loop road,'" going "on record as opposing a paved road—or an improved dirt road."[62] He also decided that the road over Big Spring Canyon to the Confluence would fail on its own and that he would not fight to keep the road to Big Spring Canyon from being built. "The bridge would be too expensive to ever be built," he later said. "So, it would be better to not contest the road to Big Spring Canyon. Why bring in the big guns, like the Sierra Club, to fight San Juan County over this dead end road and create so much ill feeling and animosity. At least the road would take people to a nice overlook of the canyon and satisfy southeast Utah residents. Someone else could deal with not building the bridge."[63] This someone else became the new superintendent, Pete Parry. Parry, who never shied from controversy, actively sought the Canyonlands superintendency, indicating he "got dust in my blood and my liking for the desert" when he was superintendent of Joshua Tree National Monument.[64]



Robert I. Kerr, mid 2000s. As Canyonlands superintendent from 1972 to 1975, Kerr opposed road development in the park.
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Photo provided by Bob Kerr

In his draft GMP in 1976, Parry called for a road to the Confluence that did not leap Big Spring Canyon. His final GMP did not change this view. He stated this decision was consonant with community views: of the 995 letters they received on the subject, 980 were against the bridge. Again, Parry's supervisors fully supported this GMP.[65]

57 The Environmental Associates: Architect Planners, Landscape Architects, "Canyonlands National Park Master Plan," November 1973, fd. 184, Canyonlands Collection; National Park Service, "Environmental Statement: Master Plan of Canyonlands National Park," November 1973.

58 Peter Parry, interview by Samuel Schmieding, Moab, Utah, June 2, 2003, Schmieding Oral Histories, CANY 45551, Canyonlands Administrative History Project Oral History Component, Canyonlands Collection.

59 Alexander interviews.

60 Edgar Kleiner and Jayne Belknap, email interviews by author, February 2016.

61 Alexander interviews.

62 Robert Kerr to State Director, Utah, February 13, 1974, fd. 319, Canyonlands Collection.

63 Kerr interviews.

64 Parry interview.

65 Alexander interviews; George Raine, "Conflicts Rise over Use of Utah Park," *New York Times*, August 2, 1981.

Three critical factors led to the approval of the 1978 GMP. First, in the early 1960s, planners had not comprehended how much money it would take to build the proposed roads. By 1978, much of the sentiment against the road to the Confluence and all subsequent road extensions was due to cost. The 700-foot bridge across Big Spring Canyon alone required $11 million in 1977 ($44 million in today's dollars) with another four to seven million dollars just to get to the Confluence, dwarfing the entire annual Canyonlands budget.[66] The oil difficulties and high gasoline prices of the 1970s had reduced tourist visitation to southeast Utah and "millions, each year" were not clamoring over the area as originally forecasted. Even the accessible Island in the Sky unit of Canyonlands, immediate adjacent to Moab, only had some 40,000 visitors annually throughout the 1970s. Therefore, it was difficult for the Park Service to justify spending enormous money for a dead-end road to the Confluence. As indicated by one of Parry's staff, neither Udall nor San Juan County had understood "that drawing lines for roads on paper had no correspondence with reality on the ground. It would cost billions to put that road in, with all of the wash crossings and terrain to navigate." "There never was going to be enough money to build that road [Kigalia Highway and road to the Confluence]."[67]

Second, a different group of individuals controlled the creation of the 1978 GMP as compared to that of the 1965 Master Plan. Originally, satisfying the locals was a primary goal, for the park could not have been created without local support. Hartzog, Udall, and Wilson apparently felt compelled to favor local desires in the 1965 Master Plan. Parry had no such compulsions. He differentiated "protection of the resource," in this case, allowing road development in the Needles District, from that



Peter L. Parry, circa 1980, who succeeded Kerr as Canyonlands superintendent.
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James Stiles

of "preserving an experience that people . . . love . . . [and] they'll never forget." To Parry, "Canyonlands wasn't a traditional park, and it was a kind of wild park," unlike Arches, with its "paved access roads, drive-through" experience.[68] And now that Canyonlands was an established national park, the whole country's citizenry, not just southeastern Utahns, were to be listened to. Parry consequently held a number of meetings to obtain input on his plan. The meetings, as was the norm, were held at localities adjacent to the park within the state and other places in adjacent states. After the NPS announced it would accept letters on this issue, environmental groups instigated a letter-writing campaign. When it turned out that San Juan County commissioner Calvin Black (known locally as the "Governor of San Juan County") did not similarly persuade a horde of locals to write their views, Parry responded, "Well if they don't care enough to get their supporters to write letters, it just indicates that they really don't care enough about this issue at hand and they will have to endure the consequences."[69]

The local meetings, held in September 1976, went generally as expected. At the Monticello meeting (seventeen attended) the consensus was for more access roads everywhere. Discussions at the two Moab meetings (fifty-five attendees) were split, with no consensus being

66 National Park Service, *An Economic Study of the Proposed Canyonlands National Park and Related Recreation Resources*, by Robert R. Edminster and Osmond L. Hartline, 176; Frank E. Moss, 87th Cong., 2d sess., *Congressional Record* (March 28, 1962).

67 Alexander interviews. In today's dollars to put a road to the Confluence overlook would have be at least about seventy million, to pave the roads to outside Chesler Park about 120 million, and to reach State Road 95 another 1.5 billion.

68 Parry interview.

69 Alexander interviews.

reached on road development. At Green River (unaffected economically by the issue) all five attendees opposed building the road to the Confluence. One local rancher summarized their views: the roads should remain "at least as bad as they are now."[70]

Farther away, in Salt Lake City, Denver, Grand Junction, and Phoenix, the sentiment was against the road to the Confluence; for instance, 95 percent of the hundred attendees in Denver were against constructing the bridge over Big Spring Canyon.[71] Therefore, Parry was not lying when he said people opposed the bridge. It just depended on whom he asked, and he mainly asked urban, non-southeast Utah individuals. Moreover, the attendees at these non-local meetings were largely former park rangers, jeepers, college students, and environmental group members. Once Parry and his staff came up with the GMP, it would be a foregone conclusion that it would be accepted; as one staff member concluded, "of course, we knew this was how it would turn out."[72]

Third, the GMP in 1978 came after a renaissance in ecological and environmental awareness that was not nationally prevalent in 1962, when the blueprint for road access to the Needles District was created. These intervening years saw the profound influence of Rachel Carson's seminal *Silent Spring* and Edward Abbey's rousing *Desert Solitaire*. Major environmental battles and accomplishments took place in the 1960s: the Wilderness Protection Act of 1964; the 1969 Environmental Protection Act; the Leopold Report and the National Academy of Sciences Report strongly condemning the Park Service for not using a scientific and ecological basis to prevent impairment of its vast national parks; and the fight over a dam that would flood parts of the Grand Canyon.[73]

To assess the effect of national environmental discussions on road access in the Needles District, it is illustrative to compare the 1962 community comments during the congressional hearings on establishing Canyonlands with comments on the draft GMP of 1976. In 1962, about 60 percent of the comments by San Juan County residents opposed establishing a large Canyonlands park. The majority favored three much smaller units with all of the intervening lands open to resource development and extensive road development within all three units. In 1976, the consensus of Monticello was for complete road building throughout the Chesler Park/Grabens region to attract maximum tourist visitation and boost San Juan County business. In 1962, Moab was equally split between those favoring a large park and those favoring the Monticello model of smaller parks. In 1976, Moab similarly could not reach consensus about the road access question. Therefore, in southeast Utah there was no change in attitudes between 1962 and 1976, and economic development remained the paramount concern.

The rest of the country was unaffected by economics in regards to Canyonlands. In 1962, the vast majority of people who commented at the Salt Lake City and Washington, D.C. hearings favored the largest Canyonlands possible, but it is clear they generally also favored road access (three to one among those who commented about roads), consistent with national attitudes at the time. But by 1976, all groups at meetings outside of southeast Utah reached the consensus that no more roads in the Chesler Park/Grabens region should be built. This change in attitude appears to be the result of the national change in attitudes concerning the preservation of wilderness-like areas that Canyonlands embodied.

From 1962 to 1976, San Juan County essentially lost control of Canyonlands National Park. The people immediately in charge of making decisions about roads through the Chesler Park/Grabens region after 1972 were superintendents Kerr and Parry, unencumbered by connections to Moss, and his replacement in 1976, Republican Senator Orrin Hatch (a good friend of Calvin Black). While Kerr indicated that going against San Juan County's wishes meant that ill feelings and conflicted Park Service interactions with the local constituents would become the norm, it was ultimately Parry and his successors that paid this price. San Juan County in

70 U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Assessment of Alternatives, National Park Service, General Management Plan, Canyonlands National Park, Utah* (Denver, August 1977), 96.

71 Ibid.

72 Alexander interviews.

73 Dilsaver, ed., *America's National Park System*, 278; Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*, 2d ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1987), 191.

1978 "severed . . . diplomatic relations" with the Park Service and "terminated deputy sheriff commissions and bail bondsmen's authority . . . accorded Park Service personnel."[74] It also persuaded Utah's congressional representatives to not support President Jimmy Carter's proposal for 287,985 acres of wilderness in Canyonlands in 1978, ending the opportunity for most of Canyonlands to be officially designated as wilderness. In the following years, motions and statements by the San Juan County commissioners were routinely presented stating that "the sooner Mr. Parry is replaced, the better off San Juan County will be," and that "Pete Parry is an enemy . . . to San Juan County."[75] San Juan County animosity toward Canyonlands, unfortunately, remains present today, with traditionalist locals avoiding hiking in the Needles District and viewing it as "the black hole of San Juan County."[76]

Ironically, all of the roads conceived in the original 1965 Canyonlands Master Plan would probably have been constructed in the 1950s had a proposal for the Escalante National Monument been approved in the late 1930s. This monument would have placed all of the Canyonlands area under Park Service control around the time Arches National Monument was created. Arches did not have hard-surfaced roads until the late 1950s, when "access" was dominant in the Park Service and Mission 66 funds became available. It can be reasonably assumed that had an Escalante National Monument been created, a road to and within Chesler Park would also have been paved, and there would have been no backcountry to Canyonlands.

The Needles District road access debates of the 1960s and 1970s illustrate continuing decisions about national land use and availability. Often, local economic benefits, as those for southeast Utah and particularly San Juan County, have to be weighed against broader interests—in this case, preservation of a little-known area. But such discussions have to be grounded in a clear understanding of whether local economic benefits will occur from development, and whether sacrificing preservation is warranted. For Canyonlands, it is not certain that construction of all the roads in the Needles District would have propelled Monticello and Blanding to the economic development they desired. For one thing, as remarked on by Parry, "I could never understand why Cal [Black of San Juan County] wanted that road so badly. Just look at the map. If tourists left the Needles by way of his Kigalia Highway, they would have bypassed both Monticello and Blanding and all the businesses that would have benefitted from the tourist traffic. It made no sense."[77] Critically, although Monticello was twenty-four miles closer to the Needles District than Moab, it was from Moab that tourists launched their visits. Monticello lacked the immediate red rock ambience that Moab had in abundance, with its adjacency to Arches National Monument. Moreover, Moab, not Monticello, was geographically situated to benefit from the tourism industry, being the first entry to the Canyonlands region for visitors from the north and east and from California traveling to Bryce and Zion.[78] Importantly, in 1962 the economically depressed community of Moab offered more community services and amenities for the traveler than did Monticello: thirteen motels in Moab compared to five motels in Monticello, seven overnight trailer courts compared to none, and thirteen restaurants compared to eight. Grand County had three times as many tourist-related jobs, mainly located in Moab, than did San Juan County.[79] All these factors were known at the time and were the reasons why the Canyonlands headquarters became located in Moab rather than Monticello.

Central to these discussions are the philosophical views of the individuals who wield the power to either promote or limit access to remote and

74 Raine, "Conflicts Rise Over Use of Utah Park."

75 San Juan County Meeting Minutes, June 27, 1983, January 14, 1985.

76 Bill Boyle, "How San Juan County's crown jewel became San Juan County's black hole," *San Juan Record*, March 13, 2013, 5.

77 Jim Stiles, "Unsung heroes of the canyon country #1: Pete Parry," *Canyon Country Zephyr* (August/September 2012).

78 Robert L. Barry, "The Local Interest as a Consideration in the Planning of Highway Construction in the Canyonlands Region of Southeastern Utah" (M.S. thesis, Utah State University, 1973), 1–147; Michele L. Archie, Howard D. Terry, and Ray Rasker, *Landscapes of Opportunity: The Economic Influence of National Parks in Southeast Utah* (Salt Lake City: National Parks Conservation Association, 2009), 4.

79 Environmental Associates, Inc., *Transportation Study: Arches, Canyonlands, Capitol Reef National Parks, Utah* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1973), 24–25; Edminster and Harline, *An Economic Study*, 85.

undeveloped natural areas. Wilson and his staff, including Contor and Carithers, and Wilson's superiors, Hartzog and Udall, initially all favored automobile access by the casual visitor. There is no evidence that contacts with Senator Moss or with San Juan County were forcing their hands on this issue. But times changed. Key to this shift in attitudes is the difference between protection and preservation inherent in the Organic Act's use of the word "conserve." Bates Wilson helped *protect* and thereby *conserve* the Canyonlands area when he promulgated the need for a national park, but that did not mean philosophically he had arrived at the position of *preserving* it. Protection implies restricting outside incursions while preservation implies limiting internal development. This difference is grounded in the intersection of ecological and emotional concerns. While Wilson eventually transitioned into favoring preservation of the Needles District, it was Kerr and Parry, upon their respective arrivals, who were philosophically attuned to these differences, and it was ultimately Parry who scotched the road projects. While it can also be argued that Parry was not unique and that any other superintendent of 1976 Canyonlands would have done the same, individuals do matter. Harvey Wickware, the 1990s Canyonlands superintendent who eventually paved the access roads in Island of the Sky (favored by Parry in 1978 as a sop to not paving the Needles District), indicated that had he been superintendent in 1976, "I would have paved the road to outside Chesler Park and the road to SR95 and probably the road into Chesler Park."[80]

Although many in southeast Utah might still feel that "locals were sort of duped into a plan that Washington never intended to follow" and "the Park Service [ordained] from the outset . . . that Canyonlands would be designed to exclude people," it is clear that the federal government throughout the 1960s had no intention of misleading rural Utahns.[81] Initially, local support evinced by southeastern Utahns and Senator Moss was aligned with national concerns about protection of scenic, archaeological, and natural areas in Canyonlands. Wilson in the early 1970s indicated that in these situations one has to take the very long-term view and not worry about the immediate battles lost or won. The long-term goal was to establish the park and protect its great scenery. The future would take care of the rest. People's attitudes would change, but no matter what happened, the area would be protected with some access roads or none.[82] Udall, in contrast to Wilson, indicated in 1977 that he had no "memory of [any such] . . . commitment [as to road access] . . . [although] compromises were reached with then Senator Frank Moss," adding in 1981, "I think there may have been some misunderstanding about development."[83] But there had been no misunderstanding. Udall's Interior Department published in 1962 a proposal with roads to the Confluence overlook and to and around Chesler Park.[84] The early 1960s congressional hearings and later letters clearly indicate that Moss, Udall, Wilson, and the Park Service were in agreement on road access, at least to outside Chesler Park.

Instead, what happened, as indicated in Wilson's 1972 proposal for a new Canyonlands Master Plan, the delay in road construction caused by the financial restrictions imposed by the Vietnam War had created an opportunity to rethink road development for the Park. Individuals, such as Wilson, who were connected to the Park on the ground and intimately engaged in learning about its ecosystem interactions and fragility, moved away from their initial thoughts and became more receptive to new viewpoints. Wilson's changed views were summed up in his quip, "I don't think . . . that every point of interest should be open to a pink Cadillac."[85]

In contrast to Wilson's evolution in thinking, local individuals not daily involved in the Park (e.g.,

80 Harvey Wickware, interviewed by author, Moab, UT, September 2014; Parry interview.

81 For local reactions to the park, see Sena Taylor Hauer, *Times Independent*, February 21, 2013; Raine, "Conflicts Rise over Use of Utah Park."

82 Alexander interviews.

83 Briefing Statement, Confluence Overlook Road, from National Park Service, November 21, 1977, fd. 286, Canyonlands Collection; Raine, "Conflicts Rise over Use of Utah Park."

84 U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Public Lands, *Proposed Canyonlands National Park in Utah: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs*, 52–58; Edwards testimony in U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Public Lands, *Proposed Canyonlands National Park in Utah: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Public Lands*, 38.

85 George Raine, "Conflicts Rise of Use of Utah Park," *New York Times*, August 2, 1981.



Senator Frank Moss, Superintendent Bates Wilson, and Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall in the Maze area sharing water and planning for Canyonlands' expansion, August 1968. Congress added the Maze District to Canyonlands in 1971.

—

Alan D. Wilson

southeast Utahns and Moss) still had to contend in the 1970s with the same lack of local economic development issues as they did in the early 1960s. For Moss, preservation issues had never been high on his list. Moss's congressional specialties were primarily in consumer affairs and restricting tobacco advertising. Even though he was eventually responsible for several national parks in southern Utah, in terms of environmental issues, he was ranked fairly low by the League of Conservation Voters.[86] He believed in allowing all people access to national parks rather than preservation, where visitation was limited to "just a few who can afford horseback riding or hiring of jeeps, or otherwise have a lot of time to get into the wild parts of our area."[87]

But by the mid-1970s the decisions for road access had switched from local control to national interests receptive to preservation and environmental issues. Superintendent Parry, who from the onset was not dead set against paved road development in Canyonlands, became sympathetic to these national concerns and felt, according to one staff member, that "people driving through Canyonlands desire dust in their trunks."[88] Therefore, his 1978 GMP derived its philosophy from the original language in the act for the founding of Canyonlands in 1964: "The purpose of the park . . . is to preserve an area."[89]

—

Clyde L. Denis is Professor of Biochemistry at the University of New Hampshire.

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WEB EXTRA

Check out history.utah.gov/uhqextras for black and white and color images of Canyonlands National Park in the Utah State Historical Society's collection.

86 Cornfield and Zill, "Frank E. Moss, Democratic Senator of Utah."

87 Moss to Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee, Senate Appropriations Committee, May 9, 1973.

88 Alexander interviews; Thomas C. Wylie, phone interview by author, February 2016.

89 Assessment of Alternatives, 5.

BRIDGING THE DISTANCE:

Common Issues of the Rural West

EDITED BY DAVID B. DANBOM

Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2015. xiv + 296 pp. Paper, $30.00

The history of the rural West remains distant and essentially unknown to most Americans, historians included. Generally, the term fosters thoughts of settlers, lumber camps, and mining towns. It is, of course, more than this both topically and analytically. David Danbom's essay collection does much to enlighten scholars, students, and aficionados of western history about the rural West. The contributors have focused on the history of the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first century rural West regarding economic, social, political, and environmental developments. This is not an agricultural history although several essays deal with agriculture in several contexts.

Danbom, the leading historian of rural American history, has edited a collection of papers derived from a conference held in 2012 at the Bill Lane Center for the American West at Stanford University. The participants were invited to identify the challenges of the rural West and to suggest ways to address them, the latter assignment taking some of the writers away from the domain of historians. Even so, the result is an impressive collection of ten essays that each merit individual comment.

Danbom organizes this collection into four parts, the first defining the rural West. No one can definitely say where the West begins or where or what it is precisely, although many historians have tried. Jon Luck's essay "Finding the Rural West" provides a good place to begin by noting a culture-based regionalism. Geoff McGhee's "Conquering Distance? Broadband and the Rural West" also helps us understand the features that constitute the region by their presence and absence.

The second section, which deals with the importance of community, opens with Judy Muller's "Too Close for Comfort: When Big Stories Hit Small Towns." Muller presents an assessment of legal, ethical, and moral authority in a small town, where human dignity and rights are ignored because it is easy to avoid confronting problems with friends and neighbors. If anything, small towns are neither simple nor benign, as anyone who has lived in one will easily recognize. J. Dwight Hines's "On Water and Wolves: Toward an Integrative Political Ecology of the 'New' West" argues that the rural West, with southwestern Montana as an example, is being colonized and gentrified by urban, middle-class newcomers. These newcomers have far different views about resource management, in this case water, than the long-term residents who use it for other economic purposes, such as grazing cattle rather than fishing and boating. His discussion of the good intentions and results of the National Park Service's introduction of grey wolves into Yellowstone shows the complexity of the management of the public domain and the use of the natural environment by various publics. Burke Griggs's "Irrigation Communities, Political Cultures, and the Public in the Age of Depletion" provides an excellent discussion of surface water and groundwater as property. Western water law is complicated, and the nineteenth-century concept of first-in-time, first-in-right does not necessarily apply today, particularly for groundwater use. Politicians and attorneys usually try to avoid dealing with the issue of groundwater as a property right. For example, when the city of Wichita, Kansas, attempted to take more groundwater for municipal purposes, nearby farmers blocked those efforts to take their property. Water as property is a complex and volatile issue in the rural West. Marc Schenker's

"Health Disparities among Latino Immigrants Living in the Rural West" provides a depressing story about the health effects of discrimination and poverty for a minority group, issues that federal and state governments have not had the resources and the will to address.

The third section deals with the rural western economy with two essays. Mark N. Haggerty and Julia H. Haggerty's "Energy Development Opportunities and Challenges in the Rural West" discusses the pros and cons of energy development as a driver of job creation, increased income, and tax revenues. Private and public resource development varies by state, revenues do not benefit all communities equitably, and fiscal policies are woefully in need of revision. Marshal Hibbard and Susan Lurie's "The New Natural Resource Economy: A Framework for Rural Community Resilience" contends that communities that develop a natural resource economy are stronger than those relying on manufacturing, call centers, and retirees.

The fourth section deals with land use. Leisl Carr Childers's "The Angry West: Understanding the Sagebrush Rebellion in Rural Nevada" revisits the lingering animosity among some westerners about who has the right to control and use federal lands, particularly with new complexities introduced by environmentalists. Ranchers have never been supportive of multiple-use policy, made complicated by corporate attempts to acquire public lands. David Rich Lewis's "Skull Valley Goshutes and the Politics of Place, Identity and Sovereignty in Rural Utah" discusses the Goshute's attempt to store radioactive waste on their reservation near Salt Lake City. This effort to improve tribal income created a firestorm of resistance by urbanites, environmentalists, and non-Indians. The Goshutes challenged Utah's claim to state's rights as superior to tribal sovereignty, and they lost. Racism as much as fears for public safety drove a brazen assertion of state power for political and economic purposes.

David Danbom has provided an important collection of essays that will help us better understand many issues that concern the people who live in the contemporary rural West. He is the first to admit that this collection does not exhaust the many topics that can be investigated about the region's history. Even so, this book is essential for anyone conducting research on the rural West or teaching a course on the history of the American West.

— R. DOUGLAS HURT
Purdue University

BRANDING THE AMERICAN WEST:

Paintings and Films, 1900–1950

EDITED BY MARIAN WARDLE AND SARAH E. BOEHME, WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY JIMMY L. BRYAN JR., LEANNE HOWE, ELIZABETH HUTCHINSON, JOHN OTT, DEAN RADER, AND SUSAN S. RUGH

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. 240 pp. Cloth, $39.95

For more than a century artists, writers, and scholars have examined and reexamined the American West. In fact, so much has been done that its pundits should finally ride off into the sunset (its clichés too). Yet, just when it appears as if this discourse is growing stale, new work and new perspectives arise that help rejuvenate the "Old West." As an art exhibition and accompanying catalog, *Branding the American West* does just that. It provides a refreshing new voice to the discussion of the West through its organization, bold use of media, and insightful writing.

Organized by Marian Wardle, curator of American Art at BYU's Museum of Art (MOA), and Sarah H. Boehme, curator at the Stark Museum of Art, the exhibition brought together two complementary collections that are rich in western material. Located in Orange, Texas, the Stark is particularly deep in work ranging from Frederick Remington to modernists like Emil James Bisttram. The strength of the collection, however, is its fine holdings from artists associated with Taos and the Taos Society

of Artists (TSA), which included painters Ernest Blumenschein, Oscar Berninghouse, William Dunton, and Walter Ufer. Geographically the MOA's collection is centered farther to the west and is anchored by its unequaled holdings of Maynard Dixon paintings. The MOA also contributed work from Cyrus Dallin, Minerva Teichert, and many others. Provo and Orange are not exactly artistic capitals and by bringing these underappreciated collections together, *Branding* helped raise the profile of both institutions.

Focusing on the representation of the West in the first half of the twentieth century and the ways in which the visual image created and sustained its brand, the organizers displayed film on the wall alongside painting and the few sculptures that were included. Including films like *The Great Train Robbery* (1903) and *His Last Game* (1909) was more than a novelty; it was a dynamic decision that added to the depth of the discussion.

Branding's catalog continues many of the themes and ideas presented in the exhibition. Traditionally exhibition catalogs are designed to showcase the art and to linger long after the works come down. While this text lives up to this standard, it does much more. By bringing together six scholars with diverse specialties and backgrounds, it provides much insight into the paintings and films. The essays give context and help the reader understand that these are not just pretty pictures of stunning landscapes or picturesque Native Americans.

Dean Rader, a professor of English at the University of San Francisco, asks the readers to "revisualize" what they see and don't see with a landscape painting. His discussion of a small, nondescript painting by Dixon, featuring a distant mesa in the fading light, may be the highlight of the text. It has competition. Art Historian John Ott examines the gritty urban images that Dixon created during the Great Depression and rightfully positions them alongside his paintings of Native Americans and pioneers—something no previous writer has been able to accomplish. Historian Jimmy Bryan Jr. details a West that was weary, its symbols and brand fatigued and stretched by a changing world. Susan Rugh, professor of history at BYU, examines the intricate web linking tourists, Taos painters, and Native Americans. For American art historian Elizabeth Hutchinson, the Native Americans that often appeared in the paintings of the TSA were more than romanticized visions of the West. Through her close examination of revealing details she argues that these paintings are also records of conflict and change. The final essay by Leanne Howe—a writer, poet, scholar, and member of the Choctaw Nation—reminds the reader that what a Western means to one group is certainly different than what it would mean to a Native American, since, as she astutely observes, the "Indian characters in movies must die" (163).

In all, nothing is worse than an exhibition that no one talks about or remembers. This text should help on both fronts.

— JAMES R. SWENSEN
Brigham Young University

DALE MORGAN ON THE MORMONS:

Collected Works Part 2, 1949–1970

Kingdom in the West: The Mormons and the American Frontier, vol. 15

EDITED BY RICHARD L. SAUNDERS

Norman: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2013. 475 pp. Cloth, $45.00

This is the second and final volume of Dale Morgan's writings on the Mormons edited by Richard Saunders and a part of the Kingdom in the West series edited by Will Bagley. This important series is nearing completion, standing currently at fifteen volumes, with just one more on the docket.

Saunders is unquestionably the most qualified and able scholar to gather, analyze, edit, and put into perspective the writings of Dale Morgan; his second volume of Morgan's material on the Mormons is "even better than the first one" (published in 2012), according to Bagley, who

wrote insightful forewords to each volume (9). Morgan was a historian of the first rank who, unfortunately, is not nearly as well known or read today as he should be and deserves to be. Saunders helps restore Morgan to his rightful place as a preeminent historian of the American West, Utah, and, perhaps, to a lesser degree, Latter-day Saints. Lesser because Morgan was unable to write as much on the Mormons as he desired for several reasons, especially the necessity of making ends meet by writing western history to please certain publishers. He complained about always being "ten books behind." Saunders points out that despite Morgan's best efforts over a period of many years, he was not able to produce more than a few chapters of what he intended to be his masterwork, a three-volume history of the Mormons. In *Collected Works Part 2*, the editor has included what Bagley calls a "skillful edition of the best surviving version of Morgan's unfinished and fragmentary magnum opus, *The Mormons*, informed by Saunders's engaging, challenging, and thoughtful commentary" (10).

This handsome book also contains the second part of the "Mormon Bibliographies" on "Churches of the Dispersion" (break-off groups from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints); these bibliographies were published privately in the 1940s and 1950s. *Collected Works Part 2* also includes James Holt's account of the Emmett Company. Emmett, a member of the Mormon Council of Fifty, started a splinter group and led it west. Saunders's copious footnotes help illuminate this little-known episode in Mormon history. Book reviews by Morgan from 1954–1970 of well-known titles such as *The Mormons* (O'Dea), *Great Basin Kingdom* (Arrington), *John Doyle Lee* (Brooks), *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout* (Brooks), and *Quest for Empire* (Hansen), make up another section of the book.

Rounding out the volume are an essay on literature in the history of the LDS Church and Morgan's introduction to *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830–1930*, a massive 1978 tome that he did not live to see published that was revised and enlarged in a second, 2004 edition.

In the afterword, Saunders sums up Morgan's contributions and shortcomings, opining that "Dale L. Morgan remains relevant to Mormon historiography; his writing remains fresh and provocative; his emphasis on rigorous documentation has strengthened the foundations of the field; and his shortcomings provide a cautionary tale for those who aspire to understand and write the stories of the human past" (454). Historian Daniel Walker Howe (who knew Morgan in childhood) rightly comments that Dale Morgan, who was a fine writer and meticulous editor, "has found in Saunders the editor he deserves" (16).

— CURT BENCH
Salt Lake City

SUCCESS DEPENDS ON THE ANIMALS:

Emigrants, Livestock, and Wild Animals on the Overland Trails, 1840–1869

BY DIANA L. AHMAD

Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2016. x + 132 pp. Cloth, $31.95

Between the 1840s and the 1860s about 300,000 people moved across overland trails to Oregon, California, and Utah. That story has been detailed many times, in now-classic works by John D. Unruh, David Dary, and Merrill J. Mattes as well as more recent books by Will Bagley and others. Diana Ahmad's brisk little book (only eighty-six pages of text) complements those accounts by focusing on animals, both domestic and wild, and their relationships with the human overlanders. Ahmad draws on dozens of trail diaries and journals, as well as guidebooks, to make a persuasive case for the centrality of animals to the overland experience. This book could be a valuable adjunct to western or environmental history courses.

Ahmad travels quickly along the trail, beginning with an overview of contemporary cultural attitudes toward animals and moving through the outfitting of emigrants' wagons to a description of food and water availability from east to west.

She sketches the relative advantages of oxen, cows, mules, and horses and the enormous amounts of time and labor that people put into their care. Chapter six describes encounters with wild animals, including bison, wolves, coyotes, bears, prairie dogs, and "antelopes" (i.e., pronghorns). The narrative descriptions are clear, straightforward, and well documented.

Ahmad is not completely persuasive in the case she makes for a human–animal relationship that "evolved over the months of travel from a pragmatic working association . . . to one of friendship that bonded the travelers and their animals together by struggle" (1). Her evidence clearly shows that humans valued their animals, acknowledged their debts to them, and sympathized with them or even grieved at their suffering. But that evidence also shows that the relationship remained a largely utilitarian and one-sided one, since humans often (if reluctantly) abandoned animals or used them as food. Calling this "friendship" borders on the anthropomorphism Ahmad discerns in her sources. The book acknowledges that keeping pets was a relatively new phenomenon and includes some accounts of cats and dogs, but it does not explicitly distinguish between human feelings toward such so-called companion animals and feelings toward draft animals.

Success Depends on the Animals is tightly focused on the trail experience, so it necessarily leaves some unanswered questions. For example, one wonders about animals that continued to serve in their new homes. Ahmad writes "for most of the overlanders, their relationship with domestic animals lasted only three or four months if the animals survived to the end of the trail" (85). But the animals that did survive the trail presumably ended up on farms or ranches (or dinner tables) in California, Oregon, or Utah. Did settlers particularly value mules or oxen that had pulled their wagons before they pulled plows? Did overlanders have different relationships with animals than did their children born in western homes? Still, Ahmad succeeds in demonstrating that success along the overland trail did, indeed, depend on the animals.

— JEFF NICHOLS
Westminster College

MORMONS IN THE PIAZZA:

History of the Latter-day Saints in Italy

BY JAMES A. TORONTO, ERIC R DURSTELER, AND MICHAEL W. HOMER

Salt Lake City: Religious Studies Center / Deseret Book Company, 2017. xvi + 599. Paper, $34.99

Gaining a foothold in Italy—and therefore a base for expansion into Europe, Africa, and Asia—was an "early evangelization strategy" of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (ix). The subsequent proselytizing among Protestant Waldensians in northern Italy led to the immigration of Italian converts to Utah. In *Mormons in the Piazza*, three scholars of Mormonism, religion, and Italy seek to understand, among other things, how "a religion born in the Protestant frontiers of nineteenth-century American" might "take root in the Catholic soil of modern Italy" (x). The resulting book draws on much primary source material and reflects the perspectives of Italians. Readers of Utah history will find detailed information about nineteenth-century emigrations from the mountain valleys of Italy to those of the Great Basin; the assimilation of Italians into American society; and the experiences of people and ideas from Utah in Italy, especially in the twentieth century.

GLORIOUS IN PERSECUTION:

Joseph Smith, American Prophet, 1839–1844

BY MARTHA BRADLEY-EVANS

Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2016. 744 pp. Cloth, $39.95

Glorious in Persecution, by University of Utah professor and historian Martha Bradley-Evans, is a biography and analysis of LDS prophet Joseph Smith. It gives particular attention to several subjects in a bid to explain Smith's appeal and several complicated facets of his life. Bradley-Evans thoroughly explores Smith's struggle to understand and assert his position as prophet, his focus on kingdom building and the importance of the creation of a new sacred space, and the controversial practice of plural marriage.



A Shipler commercial portrait of three young children photographed for a 1952 Christmas card, December 13, 1952.

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MAGNA CASH MARKET, 1937

Magna, Utah, was initially settled by Euro Americans in 1851 as Pleasant Green. Because of copper mining in the Oquirrh Mountains, Magna became an industrial town after 1906, peopled by immigrants from around the world. This image reflects Magna's transformation: the market, owned by an Italian immigrant named Louis Falvo (*center*), offers fresh and canned produce, Wearever pencils, Kellogg's cereals, and motor oil (among other things) and notes that it will accept "Utah Copper sign [overs]."

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USHS



Outside the Denver and Rio Grande Depot, 1910. UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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BACK COVER
— View from the main entrance to Arches National Park, Grand County, Utah. *Library of Congress*

FRONT COVER
— John (Baumann) Boomer, an early Swiss pioneer to Santa Clara, Utah. Southern Utah figures large in this issue of *UHQ*. *USHS*



IN THIS ISSUE

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Felix Marion Jones and Mountain Meadows
The "Dirty" Harry Nuclear Test
Closing the Road to Chesler Park