

## 1826 FUR TRADE RENDEZVOUS IN CACHE VALLEY

by

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Much has been made over the last thirty five years of the competition between Cove, Utah, and Hyrum, Utah, in terms of the location of the 1826 fur trade rendezvous in the Rocky Mountains. That rendezvous is universally accepted by all historical authorities to be in Cache Valley, Utah,<sup>1</sup> but with some previous disagreement as to its actual location in that valley. The competition, as this author sees it, was started by the first printing of the well-known book, entitled *Rocky Mountain Rendezvous*, written by Fred R. Gowans of Brigham Young University and first published in 1976.<sup>2</sup> In the first printing, when describing the site of the 1826 rendezvous, Gowans concludes, “The probable site of the 1826 rendezvous was along the Cub River in the vicinity of Cove, Utah...”<sup>3</sup> As far as is known, this was the first instance of citing Cove as the site of that rendezvous. Cove, Utah as the site of Weber’s encampment is also not found in any writings prior to Gowans. It is this author’s contention that Gowans’ original claim on behalf of Cove, which he subsequently reversed, has produced an unnecessary stand-off which now ought to be resolved.

In proposing the location of the 1826 rendezvous to be near Cove, Gowans was ostensibly responding to the conclusion as to the 1826 rendezvous site reached by Dale L. Morgan<sup>4</sup> over twenty years earlier in his 1953 book on the life of Jedediah Smith.<sup>5</sup> Morgan was an indefatigable researcher of unusual abilities whose thorough and comprehensive review of the known sources in his fur trade writings almost always resulted in his conclusions turning out to be correct. Morgan designates the site of the 1826 rendezvous as “in the vicinity of the present Hyrum.”<sup>6</sup> Based on his track record of identifying locations of events and the people involved, one ought to proceed with extreme caution when disputing a conclusion reached by Morgan.

Morgan described the location in Cache Valley near Hyrum as being “appointed,”<sup>7</sup> which seems to imply that someone decided in advance where the rendezvous would be held. Designating a location ahead of time makes sense because the location would need to have been established either at the previous year’s rendezvous or in the spring of the relevant year in order for all possible participants to be there at the next one. The person who initiated the appointment of the 1826 rendezvous was William H. Ashley<sup>8</sup>, who conceived the idea of an annual rendezvous and whose company had been the sole provider of the necessary supplies to the mountain men in exchange for their furs since its initiation one year earlier in 1825. Ashley spotted the potential of an annual gathering of all of the free trappers or company trappers in the Rocky Mountains at one location where they could trade their pelts for needed items such as trade goods. The individual or firm that could supply this gathering with goods could reasonably expect to reap a handsome profit since it would have no competition. More details regarding the appointment of the rendezvous site will be provided in a subsequent paragraph.

Morgan further clarified his thinking on the 1826 site in his incomparable book on the life and career of William H. Ashley published in 1964.<sup>9</sup> In his map of Ashley’s western activities, Morgan identifies the

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site of the 1826 rendezvous as being at a point south of the junction of the Logan River and the Blacksmith Fork River.<sup>10</sup> Gowans describes this as a point five miles south of the junction of Blacksmith's Fork and Logan Rivers,<sup>11</sup> but Morgan did not get that specific in the notation on his map. Morgan reached his conclusion set forth in both books based on his reading of the available sources, including Smith's journal of 1826-27, where he described his cache in Cache Valley and its relationship to Bear Lake.<sup>12</sup>

Gowans in his first printing acknowledges the contributions of Dale Morgan to the history of the fur trade in the far west and confirms that Morgan has done more research on the writings of William Ashley and Robert Campbell than any other historian. Gowans goes on to justify his selection of the Cove site as follows: "Knowing that the Cove location was adequate for the rendezvous, since Weber had wintered there and the 1825-26 winter quarters was undoubtedly at the same site, there would have been ample reason for Ashley to have selected the Cove site for the rendezvous."<sup>13</sup> Those words sum up Gowans' analysis of why he chose that location over the Morgan designated site in Hyrum.

It is clear that Gowans selected this site as the location of the rendezvous based on John Weber<sup>14</sup> and his men spending the winter there in 1824-25. The information on Weber's winter encampment in Cache Valley in 1824 and 1825 is based on details in William Kittson's Journal Covering Peter Skene Ogden's 1824-1825 Snake Country Expedition.<sup>15</sup> The journal was transcribed and edited by Dr. David Miller of the University of Utah History Department. Kittson's journal reports that the Ogden expedition met seven Snake Indians who told them that twenty-five Americans had wintered there last winter. Dr. Miller's note regarding this incident indicated that it was on the Cub River<sup>16</sup> near Franklin, Idaho and states that, "By guesswork the location has been placed in various spots in Cache Valley."<sup>17</sup> It is important to note that Ogden's journal is silent on the Indian story of a previous camp by Americans in the Cub River area.<sup>18</sup>

Morgan in his Ashley book describes the location of the Weber camp as "on the Cub River, in Idaho just north of the Utah line."<sup>19</sup> This is a definitive conclusion by Morgan. Not only does Morgan disagree with Gowans on the site of the 1826 rendezvous in Cache Valley, he also disagrees with Gowans that Weber's camp site in 1824-5 was in the vicinity of Cove, Utah. Morgan may have taken his initial conclusion about Weber's camp site from Miller's note, but he is too good of a researcher to accept another's conclusion without his own research and verification.

What is significant about Miller's transcription of the journals is that his note does not have any reference to Cove, Utah, and he is unwilling to specify a particular location on the Cub River as Weber's camp site. He is clear about the Cub River but seems to imply that it was in Idaho rather than Utah, although he is not definitive about the exact site of Weber's camp. He goes on to describe any references to a Utah site for Weber's camp by others as guesswork. This is not an acceptable basis for designating the location of a significant event such as the 1826 rendezvous.

Two other men who were at the 1826 rendezvous in Cache Valley wrote about their experiences but unfortunately neither one identified the location of the rendezvous. These men were James P Beckwourth<sup>20</sup> and Daniel Potts<sup>21</sup>, both known to be experienced fur trappers with the Ashley-Smith company. Potts provides a description of what he called Willow Valley in 1826. "You here have a view of

all the varieties, plenty of ripe fruit, an abundance of grass just spring up, and buds beginning to shoot..."<sup>22</sup> Beckwourth confirms that the rendezvous was in Cache Valley and that it was the previously designated site for the rendezvous.<sup>23</sup>

A word about the writings of Robert Campbell<sup>24</sup> is necessary to complete this examination of the 1826 rendezvous location. In 1870, William Fayell recorded a personal narrative dictated to him by Col. Robert Campbell regarding his experiences in the fur trade and was subsequently published after his death.<sup>25</sup> Campbell was traveling with Ashley's supply caravan from St. Louis to the rendezvous in 1826. In his narrative, Campbell states that in early April of 1826, Ashley sent Jedediah Smith<sup>26</sup> and Moses "Black" Harris<sup>27</sup> to arrange for that year's rendezvous in "Cache or Willow Valley." This action would substantiate Morgan's statement that the site in Cache Valley was appointed or designated ahead of time.

The action by Ashley also has a bearing on the location dispute between Hyrum and Cove because of the presence of Jedediah Smith as one of the two men who were sent on the mission to arrange for the rendezvous. If the 1826 site was chosen by Smith and Harris as is indicated by Campbell, it seems pretty clear that his own cache would be the primary potential location on Smith's mind. He had no vested interest in the Weber site as he did for the Hyrum cache site. Assuming he got to the cache first, a reasonable assumption since he was one of two who left in April to get the word out to others, he would have wanted the rendezvous site to be near his cache of furs because that was a main source of furs from which he and his men would make their pay for the previous season's work. It is not credible to argue that Smith would have preferred the Weber camp site over his own cache site in the south end of Cache Valley near Hyrum. Smith's selection by Ashley for the task of identifying and promoting the rendezvous site is a strong indication of Ashley's confidence in Smith, but it also appears to place Smith in the position of being the rendezvous site locator in 1826. After the agreement was signed between the parties, Jedediah Smith left on his southwest journey from Bear River to California and other points.<sup>28</sup>

As is now well known, at the conclusion of the 1826 rendezvous, Ashley sold his fur trade supply company to the firm of Smith, Jackson and Sublette. Ashley's own writings state that he placed his remaining stock of merchandise, which he estimated was worth \$16,000, "under the direction of three young men, Messrs. Smith, Jackson and Sublette."<sup>29</sup> There is also a significant fur trade document signed by Ashley and the three partners on July 18, 1826, spelling out certain aspects of what the future arrangement between them would be.<sup>30</sup>

Campbell's narrative is important because it does describe some of the people and events that were involved in the 1826 Ashley trip with his caravan of supplies to the rendezvous in the mountains. It is not a huge step to suppose that any other written documents by Campbell of that journey might actually spell out where the rendezvous was really held. Knowing this, many fur trade historians were elated to hear the news announced in 2007 that a "rare and important journal belonging to Robert Campbell was recently discovered."<sup>31</sup> This journal had just been donated to the Campbell House Museum in St. Louis by its owner Edwina Smith.

This author subsequently wrote an email to the Director of the Campbell House Museum<sup>32</sup>, Andrew W. Hahn, requesting to see a copy of any part of the transcription of the journal that covered the Cache Valley period from June 15 through July 18, 1826.<sup>33</sup> In his response, Mr. Hahn indicated that the journal would likely prove to be a disappointment for information relating to the Cache Valley rendezvous "as its last descriptive entry is dated June 2, 1826."<sup>34</sup> Hahn indicated that the journal was currently being

transcribed by Jay Buckley of Brigham Young University. Based on Hahn's response, it is clear that the recently discovered Campbell journal that could have provided an answer to an important fur trade question was not going to reveal anything new, which was a disappointment. Unless a subsequent Campbell journal is discovered that covers the rest of 1826, Campbell's narrative has provided the only available information he recalled about the trip that year.

Gowans subsequently published a revised printing of his rendezvous book in 2005. In that printing, he reversed his previous position regarding the site of the 1826 rendezvous being in Cove, Utah. "Consequently either of the locations could have been the site for the 1826 Rendezvous. However, from information available at this time the Blacksmith's Fork site would be most logical because of the cache location."<sup>35</sup> Between the two editions, Gowans had clearly changed his position and by the time of his last printing he had come to believe that the Smith cache in the south end of Cache Valley near Hyrum was the site of the 1826 rendezvous.

Unfortunately, that is not the end of the advocacy of the Cove location. On his web site <sup>36</sup>, O. Ned Eddins of Afton, Wyoming, disputes the Hyrum location offering the following arguments.

1. "From Dr. Morgan's Blacksmith Fork location, it is approximately thirty airline miles to Bear Lake. This is steep rugged country and there is absolutely no way Smith or anyone else could ride a horse up Blacksmith Fork Canyon and arrive at the south end of Bear Lake by three o'clock in the afternoon. Smith's own words of the third would indicate the cache was somewhere else. The most likely place is John H. Weber's winter camp near Cove, Utah."

The problem with this analysis is that the same description could be applied to the route from Cove to Bear Lake as he applies to the Blacksmith Fork route to Bear Lake. The site in Bear Lake that both would need to reach is called Rendezvous Beach Bear Lake State Park <sup>37</sup>, where a monument has been erected honoring the 1827 and 1828 rendezvous' in Bear Lake. Both routes are about 30 miles as the crow flies to the rendezvous site on Bear Lake and both contain steep rugged country. The rugged country is similar enough and the distances similar enough to balance the argument for each location using Eddins' argument contained in his 2<sup>nd</sup> sentence. If no one could ride a horse from Blacksmith Fork to Bear Lake by 3 o'clock p.m., the same is true for the Cove site to Bear Lake. This argument is true for both and gives neither the advantage over the other. Whether it is, in fact, possible to cover the Blacksmith Fork route in nine or ten hours by horse has not been verified by this author.

Eddins is the only writer who has proposed that the Jedediah Smith cache was at Weber's camp site on the Cub River based on his reading of Smith's journal of 1827. Eddin's position conveniently puts both the Weber campsite and the cache in Cove, thus eliminating any question of Hyrum as the location. Since no other writer accepts the Cove location as the cache site, and because there is no contemporary document that supports this conclusion, it is not supportable and should be considered moot. All of the other historians of the fur trade accept the cache as being in the south end of Cache Valley.

2. "If Indians were traveling with their families, the trail had to be wide enough to pull at least a three to four foot travois, and this would be difficult, if not impossible, up Blacksmith Fork Canyon."

This author in fact made the trip from his home in Hyrum, through Blacksmith Fork Canyon to Bear Lake on a combination of paved and dirt roads in the mid 1950's in a 1950 Nash without four wheel drive. Based on his personal knowledge, this author can claim that this assertion is just plain wrong. It is not impossible to pull a four foot wide travois all the way on the Blacksmith Fork route to Bear Lake.

3. "The main Indian trail from Cache Valley to Bear Lake was up Indian Canyon to present-day Tony Groove in the upper end of Logan Canyon... Indian Canyon is just south of Weber's camp site."

Indian Canyon starts at a point a few miles up Smithfield Canyon running east of Smithfield, Utah, which is in northern Cache Valley. Following Indian Canyon could definitely lead to Tony Grove Lake, which is approximately 7 miles off of the Logan Canyon Road on a relatively good road. However, the Indian Canyon trail would only be a hiking trail and has not been a much used one. There is no road to accommodate vehicles in Indian Canyon or no marked road leading from Indian Canyon over to Tony Grove Lake. There is no history of Cache Valley stating that Indian Canyon was a main Indian trail leading to anywhere, and certainly not to Bear Lake. It is pure speculation to state that it was the main Indian road to Bear Lake. Its name could have resulted from Indians living at the mouth of the Canyon or to the specific instance in the early history of Cache Valley involving the Smithfield settlers having a run-in with a group of Indians in Indian Canyon.<sup>38</sup>

Indian Canyon is approximately seven miles south of Cove, Utah. It is a stretch to say that is just south of Cove. This is not a canyon that would have been used by early Cove residents. Its proximity is to Smithfield and not to Cove. Indian Canyon, whatever it may have been in 1826, is not a credible argument for the Cove site. If nothing else, the difficult terrain would have made this a questionable route to Bear Lake.

4. "If the rendezvous trade goods caravan entered the north end of Cache Valley, it had to stop at or close by John Weber's winter camp at Cove, Utah... My question is why would Smith [presumably he means Ashley] re-pack the mules and leave a well-known established camp and travel another twenty-five miles south to Blacksmith Fork Canyon?"

The easy answer to this question is that Smith would have done it because his cache was at Blacksmith Fork Canyon. Leaving aside the question of whether Smith would have been with Ashley to pack up the caravan, Ashley and Smith and all of the other mountain men who were in the mountains in the summer of 1826 would have traveled to the predetermined location of the rendezvous regardless of where it was located. It does not matter where Ashley's caravan entered the Valley or what other camps or landmarks they passed by on the way. They would have headed to the rendezvous site that was designated by Jedediah Smith and Moses Harris regardless of its location in order to celebrate with their comrades. By the time Ashley's caravan reached the Cub River, the site of the rendezvous had already been chosen so Ashley had no choice but to travel on to the vicinity of Hyrum.

Campbell's narrative states that the Ashley caravan was following the Bear River when it entered Cache Valley. However, the town of Cove is a few miles up the Cub River from its intersection with the Bear River. It is not difficult to imagine the caravan following the Bear River until it was joined by

Blacksmith's Fork and completely by-passing Cove, or any other point along the Cub River. It would only be a viable point about Ashley's caravan stopping there if Cove were the site of the 1826 rendezvous. There is no evidence in any contemporary document that they did stop there.

It is also unlikely that Smith himself was with Ashley's group when they followed the Bear River to the rendezvous site in Cache Valley. Smith had his instructions from Ashley and after he left in April there is no indication when, if at all, he returned to Ashley's caravan before it reached Cache Valley. Given Smith's abilities as a leader of the trappers, it is much more likely to assume that he found his own route to Cache Valley and then he and Harris traveled around the mountains in a wide enough route to provide information on the rendezvous location to the various groupings of trappers that were working at their trade in the spring of 1826. This effort would not have been accomplished in a few days so it is not difficult to imagine that Smith's time was taken up by the task he was given and that he had no time to return to Ashley's caravan before the rendezvous.

## CONCLUSION

At this point in time, the weight of historical evidence is clearly in support of the Hyrum site. Among the respected historians to prefer the Hyrum site are Dale Morgan, Maurice Sullivan, George R. Brooks, Fred Gowans and F. Ross Peterson.<sup>39</sup> There is now no comparable authority to support the Cove, Utah site. Unfortunately, many fur trade historians have avoided the question of the location of the 1826 rendezvous altogether in their histories of various actors in the fur trade who were active at that time.<sup>40</sup> It seems that almost no one since Gowans' first printing is willing to assert what is a legitimate claim as to the Hyrum location. The Hyrum site is also supported by the Old Ephraim Mountain Men Club which for the past forty-one years has held an annual rendezvous re-enactment in Blacksmith Fork Canyon every May. Their decision as to where to hold the re-enactment was obviously not lightly made.

Based on the current evidence that is available, it is time for Hyrum to assert its claim as the location of the 1826 rendezvous in Cache Valley. At this point, there is no mention of that event on the City of Hyrum web site or the Hyrum Museum web site, or in any of the Cache Valley or Utah historical web sites. The 1826 rendezvous is not an insignificant event in the history of the west, and its location should, like the other rendezvous sites, take its appropriate place in the history of the fur trade in the Rocky Mountains.

## END NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> This author has been unable to find any author who, in writing about the 1826 rendezvous, disputes the general Cache Valley location. This is obviously a well settled conclusion.

<sup>2</sup> Gowans, Fred R. *Rocky Mountain Rendezvous: A History of the Fur Trade Rendezvous 1825-1840*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Publications, 1976.

<sup>3</sup> Gowans, 17.

<sup>4</sup> See Darley, Stephen. "The West of Dale Morgan." *Firsts Magazine*, vol.18, No. 6, June 2008: 40-49 for this author's short biography of the life and contributions of Dale L. Morgan, Also, Cooley, Everett L. "In Memorium." *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 1, Winter, 1971: 85-88; Saunders, Richard L. "The Strange Mixture of Emotion and Intellect: A Social History of Dale L. Morgan, 1933-42." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Vol. 28, No. 4, Winter, 1995: 39-58; Saunders, Richard L. *Eloquence from a Silent World: A Descriptive Bibliography of the Published Writings of Dale L. Morgan*. Salt Lake City: The Caramon Press, 1990.

<sup>5</sup> Morgan, Dale L. *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1953.

<sup>6</sup> Morgan, 187.

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<sup>7</sup> Morgan, 187.

<sup>8</sup> There is no better short biography of William H. Ashley than that written by Dale Morgan, which is included in the preface to his book on Ashley, xv-xxvii, cited in the following footnote. Also see Clokey, Richard M. *William H. Ashley: Enterprise and Politics in the Trans-Mississippi West*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990.

<sup>9</sup> Morgan, Dale L., ed. *The West of William H. Ashley, The international struggle for the fur trade of the Missouri, the Rocky Mountains, and the Columbia, with explorations beyond the Continental Divide, recorded in the diaries and letters of William H. Ashley and his contemporaries, 1822-1838*. Denver, Colorado: The Old West Publishing Company, 1964.

<sup>10</sup> Foldout map located after p. 341 entitled The West of William H Ashley, 1822-1838.

The site is actually shown on a smaller map entitled "Area Described in Ashley's Diary" which is labeled Rendezvous 1826.

<sup>11</sup> Gowans, 21.

<sup>12</sup> Brooks, George R., ed. *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith, His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826-1827*. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1977.

<sup>13</sup> Gowans, 21.

<sup>14</sup> Morgan, Ashley, 283 (181f).

<sup>15</sup> Miller, David E., ed. "William Kittson's Journal Covering Peter Skene Ogden's 1825-1825 Snake Country Expedition." *Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. 22, April 1954: 125-142.

<sup>16</sup> The Cub River is a tributary of the Bear River. It feeds into the Bear River southwest of Cove, Utah and has its headwaters in the mountains east of Preston, Idaho. As the Cub River comes out of Idaho and approaches Cove, it becomes much more curvy. While a straight line distance from its confluence with the Bear River to the Utah/Idaho border would only be a few miles, the fact the Cub weaves back and forth so much in its Utah course means that following the River would significantly increase the number of miles traveled to a specific Utah point in 1826.

<sup>17</sup> Miller, Kittson, footnote 19.

<sup>18</sup> T.C. Elliot. Ed. "Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journal, 1825-26." *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*. Vol. x, no. 4, Dec. 1909.

<sup>19</sup> Morgan, Ashley, 284 (181f).

<sup>20</sup> Leland, Charles G. ed., *Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth, Written from His Own Dictation by T.D. Bonner*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1891.

<sup>21</sup> Coues, Dr. Elliot, notes. Letter from Daniel Potts, a Pioneer Trapper, to his brother, Robert T. Potts, of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. *Bulletins of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia*, Vol. II, May, 1896-December, 1900, 1901: 76-83.

<sup>22</sup> Potts, 82.

<sup>23</sup> Beckwourth, 93.

<sup>24</sup> Carter, Harvey L. Robert Campbell. Trappers of the Far West: Sixteen Biographical Sketches. Ed. By LeRoy Hafen. Lincoln, Neb.:University of Nebraska Press, 1983: 297-308.

<sup>25</sup> Holloway, Drew A., ed. *A Narrative of Colonel Robert Campbell's Experiences in the Rocky Mountain Fur Trade from 1825 to 1835*. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1991.

<sup>26</sup> See Morgan, Smith for the best biography of the intrepid explorer and trapper, Jedediah Smith.

<sup>27</sup> Harris obtained his nickname because he had swarthy skin color but the prevailing conclusion is that he was not an African-American. The only biography of him is Peltier, Jerome. *Black Harris*. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1986, but it is a thorough study. The famous fur trade artist Alfred Jacob Miller painted Black Harris in 1837 with another unknown trapper in the painting entitled "Trappers." Miller described Harris as "wiry of frame, made up of bone and muscle with a face composed of tan leather and whipcord finished up with a peculiar blue black tint, as if gun powder had been burnt into his face." He is mentioned in many of the early western fur trade journals, letters and memoirs.

<sup>28</sup> The 1826-27 journal of Jedediah Smith is found in Brooks, Smith. ON the first page of his journal beginning on August 7, 1826, Smith refers to the meeting at the "bend of Bear River" where the agreement was signed. IN his footnote, Brooks supports the location of the 1826 rendezvous at Hyrum, Utah.

<sup>29</sup> Morgan, Ashley, 158. Letter to B. Pratt & Company, October 14, 1826.

<sup>30</sup> Morgan, Ashley, 150-152. Articles of Agreement, July 18, 1826.

<sup>31</sup> "Rare Campbell Journal Comes to Light." *Campbell House Museum Newsletter*, Winter 2007.

<sup>32</sup> The museum is located in Robert Campbell's house in St. Louis which he purchased in 1854.

<sup>33</sup> Author's email to Andrew W. Hahn, Feb. 26, 2012. Re: Robert Campbell Journal.

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- <sup>34</sup> Email from Andy Hahn to Steve Darley, Thursday, March 22, 2012, Re: 1826 Robert Campbell Journal.
- <sup>35</sup> Gowans, Fred R. *Rocky Mountain Rendezvous*. Layton, Utah: Gibbs-Smith Books, 2005.
- <sup>36</sup> Eddins has an excellent web site devoted to the mountain men of the fur trade era with a comprehensive directory of subjects at [www.thefurtrapper.com](http://www.thefurtrapper.com). His arguments as to the Cove, Utah site are found at [www.thefurtrapper.com/rendezvous\\_sites.htm](http://www.thefurtrapper.com/rendezvous_sites.htm). This author respects Eddins' work involved in creating the web site, but has strong disagreement with his conclusion and reasoning regarding the Cove site that is presented on his site..
- <sup>37</sup> This Utah state park is located on U.S. Highway 30 at Bear Lake in Garden City, Utah. It is the site of two historic rendezvous' of fur trappers and Native Americans held during the summers of 1827 and 1828.
- <sup>38</sup> Hovey, Merlin R., comp. *An Early History of Cache County*. Logan, Utah: Logan Chamber of Commerce, 1923. The chapter on Cache Valley Indians Troubles; Entry for July 7, 1860, describes a battle by Smithfield settlers with the Shoshoni Indians in Indian Canyon.
- <sup>39</sup> Morgan, Smith book and Ashley book; Gowans, 2005 Rendezvous; Brooks, Southwest Journey; Sullivan, Maurice, ed. *The Travels of Jedediah Smith: A Documentary Outline Including the Journal of the Great American Pathfinder*. Santa Anna, California: The Fine Arts Press, 1934. Peterson, F. Ross. *A History of Cache County Utah*. Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society; Logan: Cache County Council, 1997.
- <sup>40</sup> Although the list is extensive, a few entries relating to Jedediah Smith and William Ashley will suffice to make the point. Barbour, Barton H. *Jedediah Smith: No Ordinary Mountain Man*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009; Dale, Harrison C., ed. *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829*. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1918; Smith, Alston J. *Men Against the Mountains: Jedediah Smith and the Great South West Expedition of 1826-29*. New York: The John Day Company, 1965; Hafen, LeRoy R., ed. *Mountain Men and Fur Traders of the Far West*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1982. Carter, Harvey L., William H. Ashley: 79-90; Carter, Harvey L., Jedediah Smith: 91-108.