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CONTENTS

<i>The Independence of the Denver and Rio Grande,</i> BY ROBERT G. ATHEARN.....	3
<i>The Evolution of Government in Early Utah,</i> BY LELAND H. CREER.....	23
<i>The Mormon Reformation,</i> BY GUSTIVE O. LARSON.....	45
<i>Stansbury's Survey of the Inland Sea,</i> BY BERNICE GIBBS ANDERSON.....	65
<i>Reviews and Recent Publications</i>	
ABERLE AND STEWART, <i>Navaho and Ute Peyotism: A Chronological and Distributional Study,</i> BY ELMER R. SMITH.....	83
MULDER, <i>Homeward to Zion,</i> BY GUSTIVE O. LARSON.....	84
HEAP, <i>Central Route to the Pacific,</i> HAFEN AND HAFEN, EDS., BY PHILIP C. STURGES.....	86
POMEROY, <i>In Search of the Golden West, the Tourist in Western America,</i> BY EDWIN H. CARPENTER, JR.....	87
THORP, <i>Spirit Gun of the West, The Story of Doc W. F. Carver,</i> BY STANLEY R. DAVISON.....	88
FAULKNER, ED., <i>Roundup: A Nebraska Reader,</i> BY W. D. AESCHBACHER.....	89
<i>Other Publications</i>	91
<i>Historical Notes</i>	101

ILLUSTRATIONS

<i>Rio Grande Freight Train in Middle Park, Colorado</i>	2
<i>A Monument to an Idea</i>	10
<i>Atomic Research by D & RG Technicians</i>	17
<i>The State of Deseret</i>	22
<i>Fort Bridger</i>	28
<i>Fort San Bernardino</i>	29
<i>Council House</i>	32
<i>Jedediah M. Grant</i>	44
<i>The Great Salt Lake</i>	64
<i>Great Salt Lake City</i>	68
<i>Albert Carrington's Home</i>	70
<i>Deed of Consecration</i>	<i>Inside back cover</i>



Rio Grande manifest freight train rolls smoothly over high-speed main line tracks beautiful Middle Park, near Granby, Colorado. High peaks of the Continental divide loom in the background.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE DENVER AND RIO GRANDE

By Robert G. Athearn*

In early February, 1947, the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision that sent reverberations through a whole section of the Rocky Mountains. By an eight to one ruling the high tribunal upheld the reorganization plan approved by Federal Judge J. Foster Symes of the Colorado district and freed the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad from a twelve-year period of receivership bondage and sent it forth into the business world to do battle on its own. For the first time in three quarters of a century the "baby road," as it was known by old timers, was completely under home management and operated, as the *Denver Post* editorialized, "by outstanding Colorado and Utah men to best serve the public interest instead of the interests of some other railroad or Wall street powers."¹

There was reason for such bitter satisfaction expressed by the news-

* The above is a companion article to, and follows chronologically, "Railroad Renaissance in the Rockies," by the same author, published in *Utah Historical Quarterly*, January, 1957. Dr. Athearn is professor of history at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, and author of several studies, including *Westward the Briton and William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West*.

¹ *Denver Post*, April 13, 1947.

paper. During its tempestuous history the road had been in and out of receivership so frequently that the condition seemed to be almost normal. The year 1935 saw it enter a fifth bankruptcy, after having failed to earn the interest on its bonds for five years running. As a weekly news magazine put it, few railroads in the country had been the butt of more jokes. Employees, teased about their "bankrupt hunk of rusty junk" by other railroaders, were reputed to have used the dubious reply, "Hell, man, we kill more people every year than you carry."² Patrons of the road today will readily admit, in rueful reminiscence, that the line was inefficient, badly managed and justifiably a subject of local derision. By 1947 that feeling had disappeared.

One of the principal reasons was a rough-hewn, salty westerner by the name of Wilson McCarthy. This quiet, graying man from Utah got into railroading by the back door. In 1934 he was made president of the Denver and Salt Lake Railway, but, as the press put it, this tobacco-chewing attorney and financier "scarcely had time to get the range on his D. & S. L. spittoon when, at 51, he was appointed operating trustee of the Rio Grande."³ Then, along with a pair of equally flinty-eyed, crusty Coloradoans, McCarthy went on a rebuilding spree that made national railroad news. One of the men, Henry Swan, was a co-trustee. The other, J. Foster Symes, was associated only in his capacity as a federal judge in Denver, before whose court came various requests of the trustees, but his opinions left no doubt that he was passionately interested in the road's recovery.

As a sort of "line-backer," stood yet another supporter in the person of John Evans. This mild, sensitive banker, a grandson of one of Colorado's earliest railroad pioneers, time and time again showed that when the chips were down he could be as tough in his own quiet way as the more outspoken one-time cowboy, Wilson McCarthy. It was to John Evans that the trustees frequently turned for financial help, and there is no record to show that he ever failed them. To those Coloradoans who knew the story of the Rio Grande's recovery, it seemed entirely appropriate that in the spring of 1947 John Evans should become chairman of the board of directors of the reorganized railroad.

Members of the new board sat down together for the first time on the morning of April 11—known as "Independence Day" on the Rio Grande—and commenced to lay plans for the future of their organiza-

² *Time*, February 17, 1947.

³ *Ibid.*

tion. Among the members were eleven residents of Colorado and four from Utah. That the directory was of a decidedly western composition was no accident. All through the period of trusteeship Judge Symes had insisted that only when the management was dominated by local, independent men, could there be any assurance of avoiding the entanglements that had so long plagued the railroad. It was at once clear that this was to be the theme of the new regime. On the morning after the board's first meeting there appeared in the *Deseret News* of Salt Lake City an advertisement announcing "The New Rio Grande," which underscored the idea that it was a "Western Railroad Operated by Western Men." "They are your friends and neighbors, with intimate and sympathetic understanding of your problems."⁴

This was a condition long desired and long delayed. General William Jackson Palmer, the road's originator, years before had told the people of Colorado Springs that his was a policy of "local independence and neutrality between the conflicting east and west lines."⁵ Since almost seventy years elapsed before it came to pass, it was understandable that the management should speak of it with pride. In the release from both trusteeship and outside control the Rio Grande enjoyed a double emancipation.

During the post-war years the Rio Grande's course proceeded without change or interruption under the leadership of Wilson McCarthy, who was elected president in 1947 at the first meeting of the board of directors. This was to mean that between his time as operating trustee and president, the Utah Irishman would guide the road's destiny for a period of over twenty years. As the reorganized road's new head, McCarthy was faced not only by the problem of keeping his company independent, but of piloting it through the traditionally troubled financial waters that might be encountered in the national transition from war to peace. The railroad had been, as a Utah paper put it, in judicial custody for a dozen years, "reporting at intervals like a parolee," but now it was free.⁶ With that freedom came grave responsibilities that had to be met without the parental protection of the courts.

McCarthy was perfectly aware of the economic facts of life. He knew that he and his associates had poured out money for the road's physical rehabilitation in a manner that rivaled the heyday of New Deal

⁴ *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), April 12, 1947.

⁵ *Weekly Gazette* (Colorado Springs), June 14, 1879.

⁶ *Salt Lake Tribune* (Salt Lake City), April 15, 1947.

spending, and that unless national conditions remained favorable his own brand of pump-priming would result in failure. But McCarthy was in no position to stop now, or even to slow his pace. This was a blue chip game, and he had to play it out at the risk of losing everything he had ventured.

During 1947 freight revenues continued to climb, but passenger receipts fell off. Basing his hopes on a record peacetime year for net ton miles in 1946,⁷ McCarthy sought further to improve the road with the hope of regaining the lost passenger traffic. One of his first duties as president was to request of the Interstate Commerce Commission authority to issue over a million and a half dollars in equipment trust certificates.⁸ He wanted to continue the expansion program, particularly with regard to passenger equipment. He knew that wartime passenger traffic had been extremely high and unquestionably artificial. Normal conditions would mean a probable drop as well as sharp competition, and he wanted to put the road in a favorable position to compete. That he foresaw difficulties in this respect is reflected in his attempt, during the war, to get ICC permission to offer air service when peace came, a request that was denied. His fears were realized in 1947 when the company reported an income drop of more than four million dollars, and a decline of over fifty-seven per cent in passenger revenues.

McCarthy was determined to find means of reversing this trend and in his search he turned to neighboring railroads. For years the Rio Grande had harbored an ambition to serve as an independent line in transcontinental service. In April of 1947, just as the road was emerging from trusteeship, the former Utah attorney announced a plan for improved service. Soon, he said, the public would see a modern streamliner running between Chicago and San Francisco by way of the Rio Grande system. His road was ready to assume its part in the project. Millions of dollars had been poured into track and grade improvements. Now it could come forth as a contributing partner in the larger venture with no apologies for inferior equipment. The new train, which became known as the "California Zephyr," was purchased jointly by the Burlington, the Rio Grande, and the Western Pacific. This stainless steel, diesel-powered unit would give the three lines an opportunity to compete with other roads serving the trans-Mississippi West. And it further would dramatize to the residents of the Rocky Mountains that the Rio Grande was truly a vital transportation bridge for a number of

⁷ *Railway Age*, May 17, 1947, p. 999.

⁸ *New York Times*, May 13, 1947, p. 35.

major roads.⁹ Already the mountain line had connections with the Missouri Pacific and Santa Fe at Pueblo; the Rock Island at Colorado Springs and Denver; the Union Pacific, the Burlington, and Colorado and Southern at Denver; the Western Pacific and Union Pacific at Salt Lake City; and the Southern Pacific at Ogden.

By early 1948 the Rio Grande's post-war financial picture began to be revealed. While passenger traffic fell sharply for the second straight year, freight receipts were up nearly twenty per cent. Another hopeful sign was the fact that in November, 1947, the road declared a five dollar dividend on preferred stock. This was of almost historic importance since it broke a thirty-six year drouth so far as stockholders were concerned.¹⁰ Further encouraged by freight income growth, road officials prepared for improvement during the coming year. By June, McCarthy expressed cautious satisfaction, saying that while passenger traffic could not rival the war years when troop movements were very heavy, summer travel was higher than usual. A slight advance in freight rates also helped, but in his view the increase was too little.¹¹

Unquestionably the saving feature was the changed nature of the railroad's freight traffic picture. A survey showed that in 1948 there were 1,113 traffic producing industries along the line, 246 of which had appeared since 1941. Most important of the newcomers was the Geneva Steel plant in Utah built during the war by the government at a cost of \$191,000,000 and purchased in 1946 by United States Steel for about a quarter of that amount. By 1949 close to twenty million dollars had been put into the war plant to convert it to peacetime production, giving the Mountain West an industry that put new life into the employment and transportation picture. During the first post-war decade the steel output grew steadily at Geneva. By 1954 there were approximately seven thousand persons employed by what was now known as the Columbia-Geneva Steel Division in Utah. The annual payroll exceeded thirty million dollars and the taxes paid to four Utah counties approached the two million mark.¹²

⁹ *Deseret News*, April 24, 1947. At the first Board meeting, April 11, Chairman Evans reported that contracts had been let to the Budd Manufacturing Company for the construction of fifteen all-steel passenger train cars at a cost of \$2,040,000. Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad Company. In the office of the president, D & RGW, Denver, Colorado.

¹⁰ *New York Times*, October 28, 1947, p. 35; *Denver Post*, October 27, 1947.

¹¹ *Deseret News*, June 26, 1948.

¹² Arthur Baum, "Utah's Big Baby," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 15, 1948; *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 3, 1949, November 8, 1951, January 10, 1954; Press Release by United States Steel, November 28, 1955, in Utah Historical Society library.

As early as 1947 the Rio Grande realized an additional four millions in revenue from Geneva Steel, a plant that drew other industries to it like a magnet. There also appeared industries like the Chicago Bridge plant, a million dollar Thermoid Corporation factory, and two large gypsum and plastic plants. Welcome, too, was Kennecott Copper's new sixteen-million-dollar electrolytic refinery that turned out a product virtually free from impurities. All these additions meant a tremendous revenue boost to transportation companies in the Salt Lake City region.¹³

The war's end also brought significant industrial additions to the eastern end of the Rio Grande system. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Corporation, a brain-child of General Palmer, had grown steadily since 1872; yet as late as 1937 it was still a single plant operation at Colorado's "Pittsburgh of the West" — Pueblo. Then came a period of consolidation and growth that saw the acquisition of the California Wire Cloth Corporation, with two plants in California, and in 1945 of the Wickwire Spencer Steel Corporation, with plants in Palmer, Clinton, and Worcester, Massachusetts, and Buffalo, New York. Shortly there followed the inclusion in the company of other plants in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. In 1953 it opened a thirty-million-dollar seamless tube mill in Colorado, the first of its kind west of the Mississippi.¹⁴ Thus, during the era of McCarthy, the Rio Grande was to witness the growth and development of two major steel industries ideally located at either end of the railroad. Few executives could have asked for anything more.

Added to the industrial traffic was a growing demand for service from agriculture. During the twenties the road got very little fruit business, but by the end of World War II it was loading twenty-five hundred cars of peaches in two weeks' time during harvest. While principal freight was still coal and other substratum products (nearly nine million tons annually), agricultural and livestock products accounted for nearly two million tons yearly.¹⁵

But McCarthy was not content to watch only the growth of his freight business. Falling passenger receipts disturbed him, and he was resolved to make every human effort to rectify the situation. Patiently

¹³ *Barron's*, June 21, 1948, p. 31; *Investor's Reader*, June 25, 1948, p. 22.

¹⁴ *Denver Post*, October 26, 1953; letter from A. M. Riddle, executive assistant to the president of C. F. and I., to author, September 24, 1957.

¹⁵ *Investor's Reader*, June 25, 1948, p. 20; *Annual Report of the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad Company*, 1949, p. 33.

he waited for the inauguration of the proposed joint transcontinental service to be offered by the Rio Grande, Western Pacific, and Burlington. By the spring of 1949 the partners formally unveiled their challenge to all other western roads. On March 19, at San Francisco, the "California Zephyr" was christened with all the fanfare surrounding the initiation of a modern venture. Movie star Eleanor Parker, wielding a bottle of California champagne, performed the christening rites before a group of business and civic leaders that included the president of the Western Pacific, the mayor of San Francisco, and the state's lieutenant governor. Lady passengers on the first eastbound run were presented with corsages of Hawaiian orchids.¹⁶

The co-operating roads can thank the Rio Grande and General Motors for contributing an idea that helped to make the California Zephyr famous — an idea that was widely copied by competing lines. In 1944, Cyrus R. Osborn, a General Motors vice president (then head of the electromotive division), was riding the cab of a Rio Grande diesel freight locomotive through Glenwood Canyon in the heart of the Rockies. He was so impressed by what he saw through the engine's broad windshields that he remarked to the engineer, "A lot of people would pay \$500 for this fireman's seat from Chicago to San Francisco if they knew what they could see from it. . . . Why wouldn't it be possible to build some sort of glass covered room in the roof of a car so passengers could get this kind of a view?" Later that week at the Hotel Utah in Salt Lake City, Osborn sketched the first drafts of an upper deck observatory for passenger cars. Later, after World War II, General Motors engineers used the design to perfect the "Train of Tomorrow," featuring what was to become known as the "Vista Dome." In 1950 the Rio Grande and General Motors recognized the achievement by erecting a "monument to an idea" near Glenwood Springs. Beside the roadbed stands a nine-foot-long, five-hundred-pound stainless steel replica Vista Dome car, welded to twin steel rails mounted on a twelve-foot arch of native stone.¹⁷

To what extent the new train should receive credit for boosting Rio Grande passenger income is hard to fix. In 1948 the railroad showed an additional five per cent decline in passenger travel, but in 1949 when the new train was in service, the loss was recovered. That year, in which the Zephyr operated during only the last eight months, nearly one

¹⁶ *Railway Age*, March 26, 1949, pp. 665-66.

¹⁷ *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 1, 1952; *Annual Report of the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad Company*, 1947.



A "Monument to an Idea," the Vista-Dome California Zephyr, was erected in Glenwood Canyon of the Colorado River. Cyrus R. Osborn who first conceived the idea is on the left and the late Wilson McCarthy is on the right.

hundred and twenty thousand passengers traveled on the streamliner, as compared to about seventy-five thousand a year before on the train it replaced. Two other factors altered the normal pattern of the Rio Grande passenger travel during 1949. A strike on the Missouri Pacific during September and October reduced expected Rio Grande passenger revenues by an estimated \$50,000, but events on another road more than made up for the loss. During February the Union Pacific was blockaded by snow in Wyoming, and, as McCarthy later reported, this "contributed substantially to our passenger, mail, and express revenues." The amount was in excess of \$200,000.¹⁸

Rio Grande employees were more than delighted at the chance to perform this service. Aside from the welcome revenue it helped to combat the notion that the mountain railroad was subject to abnormal stoppage due to slides and heavy snows. A. E. Stoddard, then vice president of the Union Pacific, acknowledged the favor in a letter to McCarthy, at the end of February. "I want you to know of my full appreciation of the wonderful co-operation of your railroad in de-touring our trains between Denver and Salt Lake during our recent snow blockage in Wyoming," he wrote. "In addition to the fine spirit of helpfulness, the service rendered was excellent. We had a tough situation to combat, but favorable weather during the past week has enabled us to get pretty well cleaned up and we are operating normally. With best wishes and assuring you of my earnest desire to reciprocate should an occasion arise, I am, Sincerely yours. . . ."¹⁹

McCarthy could point to a slight upturn in passenger traffic in 1949, but he was obliged to report to the stockholders that freight receipts had fallen by nearly five per cent. This was much more significant, because most of the road's income was from freight. One answer to the problem was to capture some of the traffic outside its own empire, and it was toward the realm of the Union Pacific that the Rio Grande now cast its eyes.

Several years earlier McCarthy had revealed to his son a desire to gain a share of the Pacific Northwest traffic. When he talked of this with some of his staff members the tenor of their replies was pessimistic. Doubt was expressed that the Rio Grande could guarantee any improvement over Union Pacific service. It was a big step.²⁰ But the president

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1948, 1949.

¹⁹ A. E. Stoddard to Wilson McCarthy, February 26, 1949. Wilson McCarthy Scrap Books, Vol. III, Denver and Rio Grande Western offices, Denver.

²⁰ Interview with Dennis McCarthy, August 7, 1956, at Salt Lake City.

was determined to go ahead. Since the opening of the Dotsero Cutoff in 1934, which shortened the Rio Grande's distance between Denver and Salt Lake City by 175 miles, and as a result of the many other improvements made, he was convinced that his road could match anything its rival to the north had to offer. In effect, the Union Pacific officials had admitted that in the case of diverting their traffic during the Wyoming snow blockade, the Rio Grande could move freight and passengers across the mountains with dispatch and efficiency. Convinced he had a case, McCarthy proceeded.

On August 1, 1949, the road filed a complaint with the Interstate Commerce Commission asking for non-discriminatory and competitive joint through rates on traffic going to and coming from northern Utah, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, and Washington. With that move the fight to open the "Ogden Gateway" was inaugurated as little Rio Grande "David" prepared to take on Union Pacific "Goliath." It was to be a long and violent legal battle, the result of which was satisfactory to neither contestant.

Ever since the Golden Spike ceremonies, back in 1869, the Union Pacific had controlled the Ogden outlet into the Pacific Northwest. During the ensuing years the little narrow gauge Rio Grande, which wound through tortuous mountain passes over a long and expensive route, offered no problem to the Union Pacific. The larger road maintained a working agreement with the Rio Grande, charging uniform through rates until 1906 when the Union Pacific gained control of several Oregon lines. After that time shippers had to pay more if they wanted to use the Utah-Colorado route. For example, in 1949 when the case was instituted, an Idaho potato grower could ship a carload by way of the Union Pacific to Denver, and on to Dallas by another road, for \$282.00. But if he chose to send his crop to Ogden and then to Denver by way of the Rio Grande where another line would take the shipment to Texas, the cost, based on local rates all the way, rose to \$371.00. In effect, the Rio Grande was barred from participating in Northwest traffic.²¹

Hearings were held in 1949, 1950, and 1951, at which both sides argued the case, pro and con. The Union Pacific people clung to the argument that there were no valid reasons why they should act as a "big brother" to the Rio Grande, that such a diversion was unnecessary, and, above all, it would cost them fifty million dollars a year. Rio

²¹ *Newsweek*, August 15, 1949, p. 60; *Business Week*, September 10, 1949, p. 30.

Grande attorneys insisted that the move was in the public interest and that the Union Pacific's closure of Northwest traffic was monopolistic. In 1952, because of the appointment of some new members to the commission who were not familiar with the history of the case, a whole re-argument was ordered. The upshot of this development was a decision, on January 25, 1953, that the Union Pacific must set up joint through freight rates on a group of selected commodities moving through the Ogden Gateway.²² Rates applied only to livestock, fresh fruits and vegetables, dried beans, frozen poultry, frozen foods, butter and eggs moving from the Pacific Northwest, and on granite and marble monuments shipped westward from Vermont and Georgia.

The door was opened only a crack, and some of the commissioners said so, in a dissent to the ruling.²³ Wilson McCarthy knew it was no unqualified victory for his road, but he showed no bitterness. "At least we now have access to those Idaho potatoes," he said, and added that it was a foot in the door, which was "no small potatoes." He guessed that fully sixty thousand carloads of potatoes had moved out of Idaho over Union Pacific rails during the preceding year.²⁴

That the Denver and Rio Grande was not satisfied with a partial victory was revealed in October of 1953 when it asked the federal courts to set aside the commission's January ruling. Its attorneys, in a far less genial mood than the president, charged the ICC order as being "unlawful, arbitrary and capricious," and said it violated the "spirit if not the letter of the federal law." The commission, they said, had ignored the recommendations of its chief examiners in granting the Rio Grande joint rates on only ten classes of commodities moving through the Gateway. The result was a continued "closed door" or "restricted territory" that denied farmers in eastern Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, western Iowa, Minnesota and the Dakotas from enjoying the joint rates they deserved.²⁵

In the fall of 1954 the Rio Grande received a sharp blow of disappointment when the ruling of a federal court in Omaha reversed the ICC, holding that the commission was without power to open the Gateway as widely as it had. The court denied that the commission could

²² For details of the arguments see *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 13, 15, 1950; the *New York Times*, April 5, November 25, 1950, February 22, March 3, 1951; *Railway Age*, November 25, 1950, March 19, April 2, 1951.

²³ *New York Times*, January 27, 1953, p. 34.

²⁴ *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 23, 1953.

²⁵ *Deseret News and Telegram* (Salt Lake City), October 22, 1953.

enforce joint rates upon shipments that did not require stoppage or transit privileges at points on the Rio Grande.²⁶ Back to court went the Denver and Rio Grande, loudly demanding what it regarded as its right to enter Union Pacific territory. A special three judge court at Denver, in January, 1955, ordered the whole case reopened with the statement that "the very thing the Rio Grande seeks is not competitive advantage, but the establishment of just and reasonable through rates and the removal of unjust discrimination which will result in pecuniary profit to the Rio Grande and the deprivation of which would prevent the Rio Grande from enjoying increased traffic and increased earnings." Wilson McCarthy applauded the decision with the remark that it "confirms our belief that shippers should have freedom of choice in selecting routes. I am delighted with the decision and we will bend every effort to render the type of service which will attract substantial business to the Rio Grande."²⁷

A Supreme Court decision in June, 1956, upheld the earlier ICC "foot in the door" ruling, leaving the participants neither completely happy nor completely unhappy. It was a matter of regret in Denver circles that Wilson McCarthy did not live to see the outcome of the legal battle about which he was so intense. He passed away in February, 1956, only a few months before the Supreme Court decision.

Meanwhile, as the Rio Grande sought means to expand its traffic from outside origins, a general housecleaning from within took place. During McCarthy's tenure of almost a decade the process of pruning dead branches from the main trunk went forward in the interest of efficiency. For example, in 1947 the road asked the abandonment of a portion of the Sanpete Valley Branch in Utah, a piece of track nearly twenty-four miles long. The reasons were typical of those advanced in the case of other abandonments: a once profitable traffic in agricultural products and livestock in certain areas no longer existed. Costs of operation were falling far behind revenue.²⁸ About the same time the road requested of the ICC permission to discontinue passenger traffic on the Marysvale Branch, also in Utah. Again receipts showed a steady decline, and, in this case, the Post Office had failed to renew a special mail contract. There were vociferous objections. Norman J. Holt,

²⁶ *Railway Age*, November 1, 1954, p. 12.

²⁷ *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 14, 1955.

²⁸ Minutes of the Regular Monthly Meetings of the Board of Directors of the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad Company, December 22, 1947. In office of the president, D & RGW, Denver, Colorado.

mayor of Richfield, complained, "We of the community provide the company freight income. . . . We do not think the railroad should be permitted to deny us this vital service while retaining the cream of the business. Our convenience is their moral obligation."²⁰ In both cases, permission to suspend service was granted.

Colorado portions of the Rio Grande also underwent surgery. In 1948 a twenty-six mile stretch of narrow gauge track running from near Sapinero to Cedar Creek, built in 1882 as a part of the main line, was abandoned. A sharp four-per-cent grade, expensive to operate, and over which a declining sheep hauling business was fast fading, pointed only to an economic dead end.²⁰ Then came a request to end passenger service on the narrow gauge between Alamosa and Durango. The suspension came in January, 1951, amidst loud complaints from the "fanciers of quaint railroads" who hated to see that picturesque remnant of old-time railroading end.²¹

Narrow gauge addicts saw their domain diminished by almost 150 additional miles during the next two years. The Rio Grande asked permission to take up its tracks from Poncha Junction (near Salida) to Gunnison and Sapinero as well as the Crested Butte and Baldwin branches. The decision came after the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company revealed its intention to dismantle the big coal mine at Crested Butte. McCarthy explained that all his road had received from the condemned portion of track for the past few years was a steadily mounting deficit. The Crested Butte operations of the C. F. and I. contributed two-thirds of what traffic there was; without that freight, the question of continuing service was settled in the negative.

"Passing of this brings a feeling of sadness since it removes the last remaining segment of the original narrow gauge between Denver and Salt Lake City via Marshall Pass," wrote the president. The line was opened for business in 1881 and was perhaps the most glamorous railroad ever built in the West. When it crossed Marshall Pass, nearly eleven thousand feet above sea level, it had the distinction of making the highest railroad crossing in North America. But now it was no longer a part of the main line and it had carried no passengers since 1940. From 1950 to 1952 inclusive, this section of road cost the Rio Grande over a half million dollars in losses. During the first five months of 1953, just before closure, only four trains carrying revenue freight went

²⁰ *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 2, 1947.

²⁰ *Deseret News*, May 27, 1948.

²¹ *Life*, May 22, 1950, pp. 82-84; *New York Times*, March 4, 1951, p. 23.

over the pass to Gunnison and back.³² As that year ended, the railroad made one more amputation. It asked for a discontinuance of passenger service between Salt Lake City and Ogden on the ground that this branch was losing between seventy and eighty thousand dollars a year.³³ But, as McCarthy pointed out, sentiment had to be sacrificed for economic realities. By the close of 1954, he could report that during the year his road had received about \$850,000 in tax credits for the value of non-depreciable property retired.³⁴

A study of these withered limbs would reveal the great changes effected in the economy of Utah and Colorado, particularly the latter, during the early years of the twentieth century. The diminished precious metals industry, upon which so much of General Palmer's building was predicated, had lost much of its original importance; and if the Rio Grande were to live, it must look in new directions.

That it was doing so was shown almost coincidentally with the completion of the abandonment program. Late in 1954 the Grand Junction *Daily Sentinel* published a rumor that a uranium powered locomotive was under construction in the railroad's Denver shops. "The entire project, being done under Army and Atomic Energy Commission contract, is locked up in a secrecy tighter than Ft. Knox," said the story. McCarthy denied the reports, saying that Ray McBrien, chief of the road's research department, had been working on the possibility of utilizing atomic energy in running diesel electric locomotives, but to date no such project had been launched. Rumors die hard and this one was no exception. Salt Lake City and Grand Junction papers persisted, telling their readers that there were reports of secret runs being made on the main line.³⁵

The Rio Grande made no effort to conceal the fact that it was experimenting with atomic energy, but quite correctly it denied that the progress was as great as reported. In early 1955 the Atomic Energy Commission granted to the Rio Grande and the Baldwin-Lima-Hamilton Corporation permission to make a joint study of atomic-powered railroad locomotives. A "first" was claimed in that this was the initial industry-sponsored and -financed research project commenced in this particular field. By the fall of 1957 the work was still in progress with no announced results. At that time the railroad applied to the Atomic

³² *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 26, 1952; *New York Times*, October 4, 1953, p. 1.

³³ *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 2, December 11, 1953.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, December 20, 1954.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, December 14, 1954, quoting the *Daily Sentinel*.



An "atomic switch lamp," capable of continuous effective operation up to 12 years, was developed by researchers of the Denver and Rio Grande Western.

Irradiation of diesel fuels with gamma, beta, and alpha rays is done as part of a continuing study to develop more efficient and yet less costly fuels.



Energy Commission for permission to test atomic switch lamps developed jointly with the U.S. Radium Corporation of Morristown, New Jersey,³⁶ and the company was yet hopeful of perfecting at an early date an atomic-powered generator. But as of this writing it has not yet hauled a dollar's worth of commercial cargo using the fuel of the future.

Meanwhile, the Rio Grande has shown no tendency to feed off the progress already made. During McCarthy's presidency every effort was made to maintain the research program inaugurated early in the period of trusteeship. At its Burnham Shops laboratory, established in 1936, the railroad experimented constantly with methods of saving and prolonging the life of expensive diesel-electric locomotives. And as the laboratory came forth with each new triumph, its value and unique character were repeatedly underscored, not only to the public, but to the road's employees.

As early as 1938 the Rio Grande claimed a "first" in scientific advance when it developed a method of measuring stresses in steel rails by photoelastic analysis. The result was lighter yet more reliable rails, and a saving of between eleven and fifteen hundred dollars per track mile. Hard on the heels of this discovery came spectrographic analysis of lubricating oils. By photographing burning matter, whose light is projected through a prism that disperses it into spectrum lines, the presence or absence of metallic substances in oils can be determined. Even better, the identity of the mineral content leaves a clue to potential trouble. For example, an unusually high showing of silver indicates wrist pin wear within the engine, for these parts are plated with that metal. Detective work of this kind has saved the railroad millions in break-downs, lost time, and the destruction of valuable equipment.

In 1952 the Rio Grande came forth with yet another "first" in railroading. Co-operating with the Union Oil Company of California, the road applied the electron microscope to a study of fuel oil and gasoline. Through its power to magnify six thousand times, impurities that might otherwise escape attention can be detected and eliminated by the addition of proper dispersants. Thus, fuels of the lower price range are prepared for locomotives with the resultant saving of almost four hundred thousand dollars a year. Officials of the road estimate that already this process alone has saved over two million dollars.

The advent of the atomic era suggested to most people the idea of new means of propulsion, but while that project was under study the

³⁶ *Denver Post*, September 15, 1957.

Rio Grande found other avenues of scientific approach. In 1954 it successfully experimented with cheaper high-sulphur-content diesel fuels which were heretofore impractical for economical operation. By using radioactive sulphur and chemical dispersants, the sulphur was reduced to burnable particles, measurable in size because of their radioactivity, thereby creating a yardstick for fuel treatment and enabling fuels of the lower price range to be treated and utilized.

During the preceding year, while working with the Standard Oil Company of California, a highly accurate, atomic means of revealing engine wear secrets which could not be discovered by any other means was developed. By using a radioactivated wrist pin and Geiger counter measuring devices, the actual wear of the wrist pin was determined by measuring the radioactivity of the lubricating oil which contained worn particles from the wrist pin.

Not content to wait for a fully atomic-powered locomotive, Rio Grande scientists, in 1955, began to study another means of propulsion utilizing atomic knowledge. The laboratory experimented with the nuclear bombardment of coal particles, trying to reduce them to the extent that they might be dispersed into oil. The theory was that since the B. T. U. content of a pound of coal is approximately that of a pound of fuel oil, lower cost coal might be used, through mixture, to a considerable price advantage. Even the saving of a penny a gallon on fuel oil would yield as much as four hundred thousand dollars a year to the road.

The spirit of inquiry, the presence of intellectual curiosity, the desire to know more and do better, and the boldness to venture forth into the unknown, have characterized the new Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad. The result? Ten years after "independence day" the little rebel of the Rockies, happily sitting astride its mountain empire, could look about it and survey its transportation domain with satisfaction. Small, as Class I railroads go, but compact and stripped of administrative fat, with the finger-tips of management constantly on its pulse, the company offers an eloquent rebuttal to the American Industrial notion of the "bigger the better." Unfettered by outside control, the "little giant" goes its own way, never forgetting that its future is linked with that of other lines, but determined not to sit back and wait for them to lead the way.

Heading the road since the death of Wilson McCarthy is G. B. Aydelott, at forty-two a comparative youngster in years, but a twenty-one-year veteran of Rio Grande service on all divisions and in most

departments of the railroad. Nurtured by the spirit of independence which was prevalent throughout the railroad during two decades of progress under McCarthy, and schooled by facing up to the always-present problems of management, Aydelott appeared ready to take over. His record thus far has upheld the McCarthy tradition.

With an operating ratio for 1956 reduced to what a leading business magazine called "a spectacular 63.1%,"³⁷ the Rio Grande could thank its leaders for their unwavering efforts at physical and managerial improvement. A thoroughgoing knowledge of the needs of the territory it serves was natural in a board headed by John Evans, president of the First National Bank of Denver, and including business leaders of Colorado and Utah in its membership. Aggressively pursuing the improvement program initiated during trusteeship, the board in the decade ending January 1, 1957, expended on further improvements \$84,784,193. Of this amount, \$39,865,500 was represented by equipment obligations issued in partial payment for 25 diesel-electric road locomotives, 57 diesel-electric road-switcher locomotives, 43 passenger cars, and 3,903 freight cars. A total of \$21,993,645 of equipment obligations, including \$6,749,340 assumed by the new company, was paid off during the period, leaving a balance of \$24,621,195 outstanding as of December 31, 1956. Principal payments have been made from funds generated through charges to operating expenses representing depreciation on equipment, thereby leaving net income intact for the benefit of the owners or stockholders and for making improvements to the property. Funded Debt, excluding equipment obligations, has been reduced from \$77,920,958 to \$61,016,800, or a total of \$16,904,158.

An unusually strong cash position has been maintained throughout the decade. The financial position of the common stock ownership was materially strengthened by the complete retirement of \$32,531,300 in preferred stock, largely through a conversion plan and through the purchase in the open market for retirement of shares of common stock. As of January 1, 1957, there were 2,171,330 shares of common stock outstanding, representing the entire equity ownership in the property. Dividends have been paid continuously since 1947. The annual dividend of \$2.50 in 1956 represented a return of approximately six per cent on average market value of the stock during that year.³⁸

Stockholders looked with satisfaction at the 1956 report, and noted

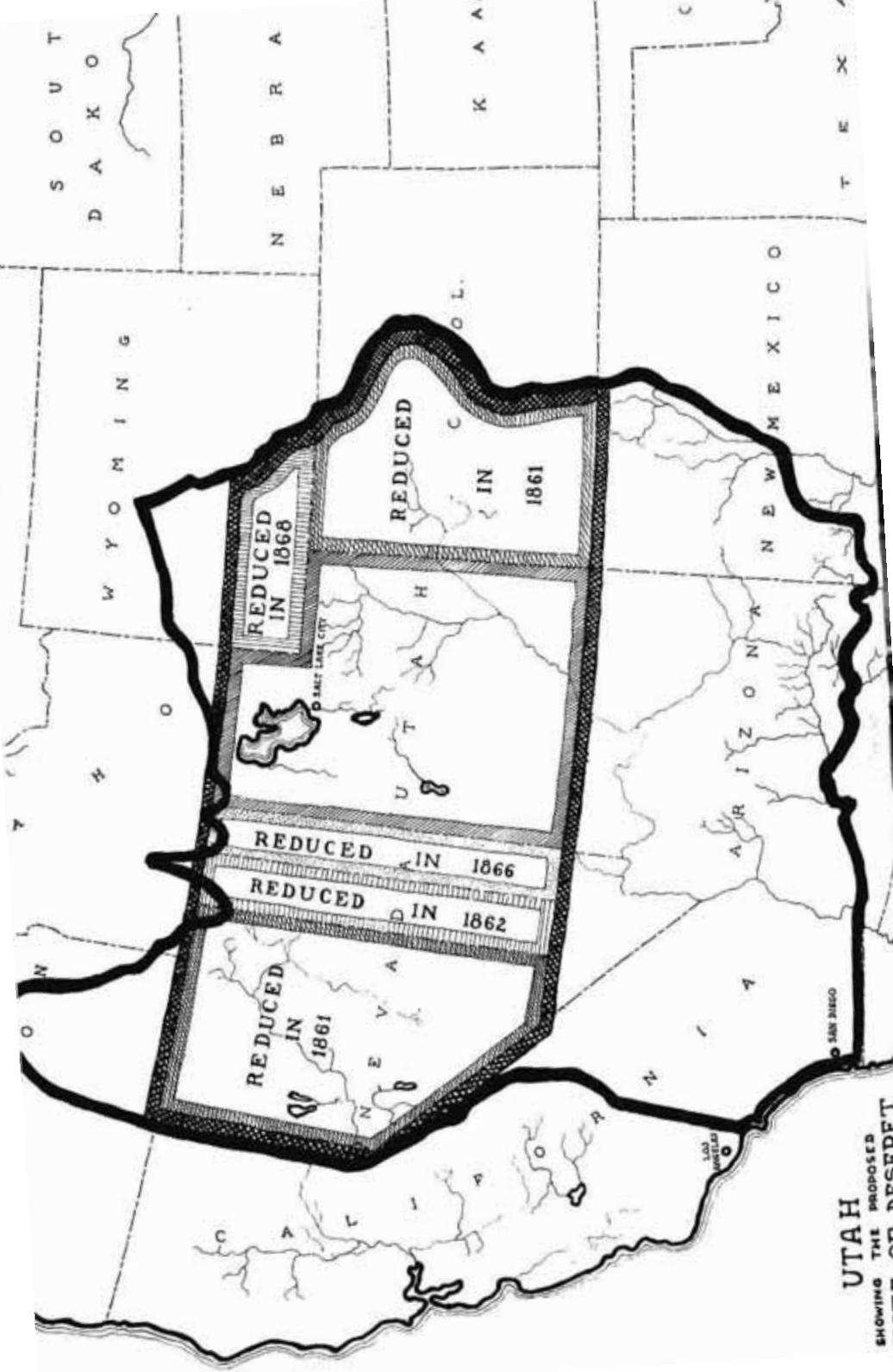
³⁷ *Forbes*, September 1, 1957, p. 23.

³⁸ Records of Comptroller, Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad.

that the wartime high in operating revenues, of seventy-five millions, was surpassed by more than six million dollars. Examination of earlier reports would have shown that gross earnings in 1935 were under twenty-one millions, a figure that had mounted to fifty-eight millions by 1947, and beyond eighty-one millions in 1956.

Before the war Judge Symes had explained that the high revenue figures were "due to Government and war business both freight and passenger." More than a decade later when there was no war, the explanation had to be sought not in the national scene where the general railroad picture was far from bright, but within the Rocky Mountain Empire itself, and from a once bankrupt railroad that put its faith in a western people and proved a point.

Back in the seventies when the mountain west was yet a wilderness, General William J. Palmer experienced a vision. He foresaw the day when his little narrow gauge railroad would tap an agricultural and mineral empire and emerge strong and independent. The dream was not to come true in his day, nor in the day of his successors who watched the road go through one financial bath of fire after another, but time, circumstance, and a boldness of modern leadership that would have made the general proud, forged a result not even a prophet could have foretold. The six thousand men and women who today run the railroad considerably outnumber the entire population of Denver when Palmer first saw it. It would be a heart-warming experience for him to watch them skillfully operate a complex instrument of transportation, the effectiveness of which is greater than anything he ever hoped for, and to know that at last his "baby road" was a grown-up and independent member of the community.



UTAH
SHOWING THE PROPOSED
BOUNDARIES OF THE TERRITORY

The Provisional State of Deseret included all of the area presently within the states of Utah and Nevada and parts of Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona and California.

THE EVOLUTION OF GOVERNMENT IN EARLY UTAH

*By Leland H. Creer**

Brigham Young led the first company of Mormon Pioneers into the Great Salt Lake Valley on the afternoon of July 24, 1847. By January 1, 1848, fifteen hundred additional Saints had arrived, and by 1867, twenty years after the initial settlement, the population of Utah Territory had increased to approximately seventy-five thousand.

Obviously, the earliest activities of the Saints were those prompted by economic necessity: the planting of crops, establishing a settlement, exploring the country, promoting colonization, and the building of a fort for defense. "Plowing, planting, and irrigating," says Neff, "constituted the main order of business for days following the arrival of the Saints in the Valley, for the eminently practical religionists knew that the building of homes might well be left until provision had been made for a harvest."¹ As a result, during the fall and unusually mild winter of

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¹ Andrew Love Neff, *History of Utah, 1847-1869*, Leland H. Creer, ed. (Salt Lake City, 1940), 95.

1847-48, the pioneers constructed 3,038 rods or nearly twelve miles of fence, notwithstanding the scarcity of materials and the handicap of procuring them at a great distance from the mountains. This made an enclosure of more than five thousand acres; and within this area, commonly referred to as the Big Field, two thousand acres of fall wheat were sown, and the remaining three thousand acres were prepared for sowing and planting.

Definite plans for the laying out of Great Salt Lake City, which became a model for other Mormon towns, materialized within a week after the arrival in the Basin area. A temple site of ten acres was designated on July 28.² On this same day, it was resolved that the city blocks should include ten acres each, and each block eight individual lots of one and a quarter acres each. The streets were to be eight rods wide and to be run at right angles, with twenty feet of each side reserved for sidewalks. It was planned also to build but one house on each lot, each house to be twenty feet from the line and in the center of the lot, "so that there might be uniformity throughout the city."³ As the city approached the foothills, blocks of two and one-half acres in lieu of ten were formed. Beyond the city limits in the farming and pasturing districts, "fields of five, ten and twenty acres were laid out, the smallest being nearest the city and the others graded according to size beyond."⁴ President Young proclaimed the land law of the new community, to wit, that: "No one should buy or sell land. Every one should have his land measured off to him for city or farming purposes, what he would till. He might till it as he pleased, but he should be industrious and take care of it."⁵ Other edicts followed such as the prohibition of private ownership of streams, communal ownership of timber, and the careful restriction of the latter for fuel. And says Roberts: "On these three laws or regulations, the prevention of monopoly in land, community ownership of water, and of timber, rested the prosperity of the early colonies in Utah."⁶

² At first it was planned to reserve forty acres for the Temple Block. William Clayton, *Journal* (Salt Lake City, 1920), entry of July 28, 1847.

³ See Leland H. Creer, *Utah and the Nation* (Seattle, 1929), 58.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁵ Willford Woodruff *Journal*, MS, entry of July 25, 1847. In the manuscript collection of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California. Microfilm copies of the Utah and Mormon manuscripts are also in the Utah State Historical Society library. No one in Utah at the time had any vested title in land, for the Indian title was not liquidated until 1868.

⁶ Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (6 vols., Salt Lake City, 1930), III, 269.

At a special conference of the church on August 7, 1847, "it was resolved that the city, or portion of it, should be fenced in for cultivation; that the city should be called Great Salt Lake City; that the creek should be called City Creek; and that the Utah Outlet should be called the Western Jordan."⁷ Twenty-nine log cabins had been built in the Old Fort by August 23.⁸

Despite the obstacles pertinent to the desert area of the Great Basin — such as sudden changes of temperature, saleratus, scarcity of timber, damage from early and late frosts, destructive pests, lack of markets, transportation difficulties, and the burden of irrigation costs — the Utah colonists made steady progress in the problem of farming the desert during the first decade of Utah history. Titles to lands, of course, were not secured until 1868, when through the O. H. Irish Treaty the Indian title was liquidated. From 1850 to 1860, the farming area increased from 16,333 to 77,219 improved acres, and the production of wheat from 107,702 to 384,892 bushels.⁹ Because of the uncertainty of crop production over the years, Brigham Young advocated the policy of building up subsistence reserves.

Much to their surprise, the pioneers found the desert soil of the Basin area quite fertile when irrigation could be applied successfully. As early as July 31, just one week after his initial arrival with the pioneer band, Stephen Markham reports: "Thirty-five acres of land had been broken up and planted in corn, oats, buckwheat, potatoes, beans, and garden seeds. About two acres of corn was up two inches above the ground, and beans and potatoes were up and looking well."¹⁰ On the same day, Orson Pratt writes: "Our people are busily engaged in plowing, planting, and sowing. The corn planted four or five days since has come up quickly and looks well. . . . The water is good and very cold, and there is an abundance for mill purposes and for irrigation. . . . The grass is rich and plentiful and well filled with rushes, and the passes in the mountains afford an abundance of good timber, mostly balsam and fir."¹¹ A year later, August 9, 1848, an epistle signed by the church leaders enthusiastically reports:

⁷ Neff, *op. cit.*, 98.

⁸ Eleven of which had dirt roofs.

⁹ Census of 1860.

¹⁰ Quoted in Neff, *op. cit.*, 97.

¹¹ Orson Pratt, "Journal," entry of July 31, 1847, in the *Latter Day Saints' Millennial Star* (Liverpool), XI, 180.

We are all agreed that the wheat crop has done wonderfully well and that we can raise more and better wheat to the acre in this valley than in any other place any of us ever saw. . . . You now learn definitely that our wheat harvest has far exceeded our expectations. Green peas have been so plentiful for a long time that we are becoming tired of them; cucumbers, squashes, beets, carrots, parsnips, and greens are upon our tables as harbingers of abundance in their respective departments.¹²

A final appraisal of the results of farming the desert during the first decade of Utah history is noted in the enthusiastic remarks of Heber C. Kimball in the Salt Lake Tabernacle on June 7, 1857. On that occasion he said:

The Lord is blessing us; and such a time of blessing I never saw. We have never been blessed so much as this year. Go to the north, to the south, to the east, and to the west, and you will see the earth matted over with vegetation to such an extent as I have never seen before. So with our gardens and orchards, and you will find our trees even now actually breaking down with fruit. We shall have to thin out the peaches on the boughs, or they will break before they can ripen the load that is upon them. The limbs are breaking down with apples, plums, currants, and every kind of fruit that we are raising, and the strawberry vines would break down, if they were not already on the ground. I never saw the like of it in the States, nor in England, nor anywhere else.¹³

Simultaneously with the efforts of providing economic wants in the Basin area, exploration projects were organized in order to determine suitable sites for future settlements. An event of more than passing interest was the dispatch of Jefferson Hunt and a small company to California "in order to secure seed grain."¹⁴ Early in the year 1848, Hunt and his party returned to Utah bringing the precious seed and driving a thousand head of cattle before them.¹⁵ Before 1857, about one hundred settlements had been founded within the present limits of the state of

¹² Quoted in Neff, *op. cit.*, 105.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 242.

¹⁴ *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, entry of November 15, 1847, in Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.

¹⁵ Neff, *op. cit.*, 96. It was on this California expedition that Jefferson Hunt became attracted to *Rancho del Bernardino*, which he recommended to the church authorities as the site of a potential Mormon colony. The founding of San Bernardino resulted in 1851.

Utah. In addition there were established several Mormon outposts: Fort Bridger, Fort Supply, Elk Mountain Mission, San Bernardino, Las Vegas, Genoa, New Hope, and Lemhi, ringing the outer rim of the Great Basin and designed as key centers for defense, immigration, or spreading the Gospel.¹⁶

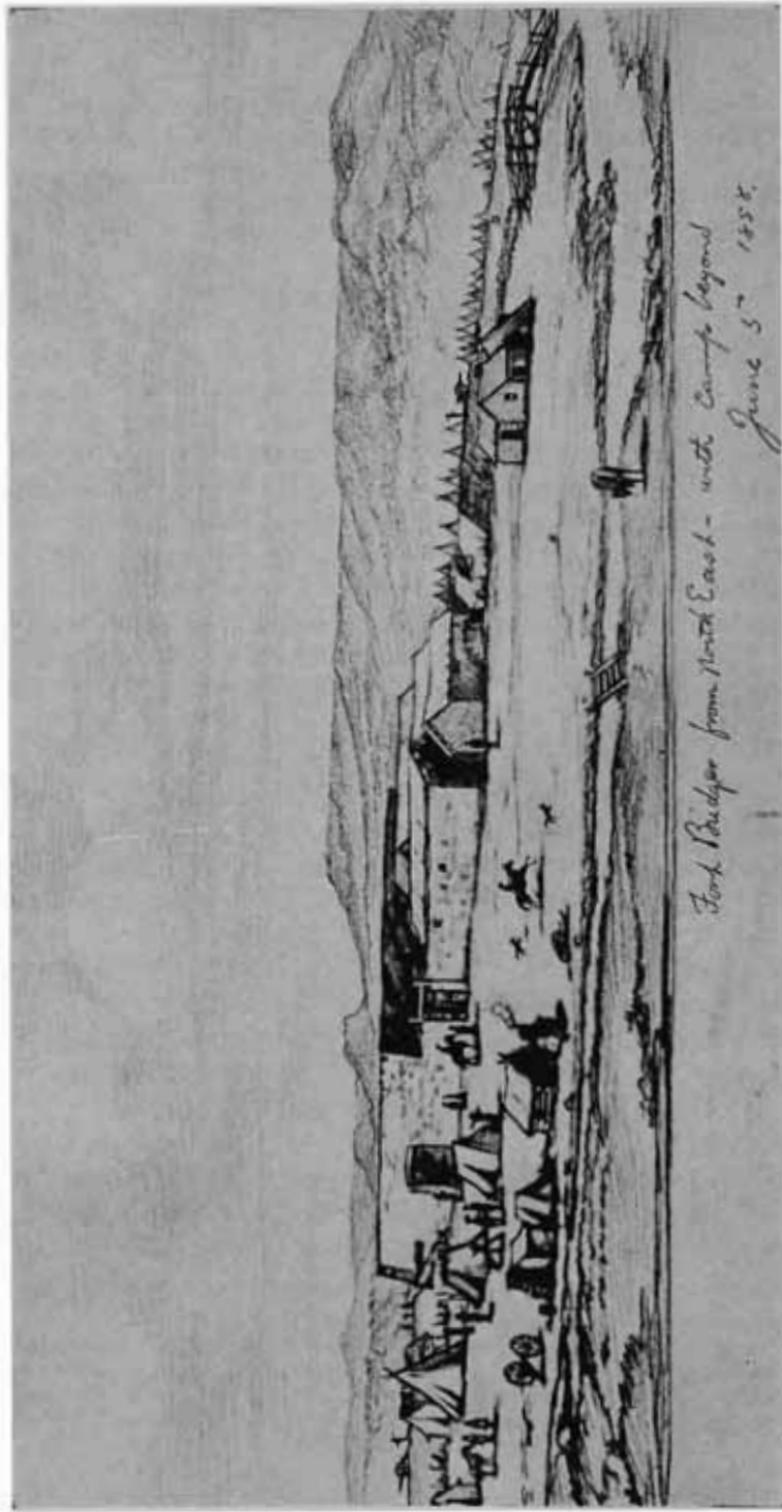
MORMON THEO-DEMOCRACY

Because economic wants were of greater importance than political or civic matters, the Utah pioneers postponed the establishment of civil government until the foundations of a settlement had been laid permanently. In fact, there was no immediate need for civil government since the entire population was Mormon, and the organization and institutions of the church met all governmental requirements. For a law-making body, there was the High Council of the Salt Lake Stake; for courts, there were the established ecclesiastical tribunals, namely, the Bishop, the High Council, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and the First Presidency; for a law-executing arm, the Nauvoo Legion; and for revenues, church tithes and offerings. Brigham Young was officially chosen head of the Mormon Church at the October Conference, 1848—until that time (1844-48)—the entire Quorum of the Twelve had assumed this prerogative. In October, 1847, the High Council of the Salt Lake Stake of Zion was created, to which body of fifteen members the community voted in December, 1847, "to entrust complete jurisdiction over municipal affairs."¹⁷ Thus was established the first government within the confines of the territory. For the ensuing two years, there existed in Utah a pure theocracy or a *Theo-democracy*, as it is sometimes called, the only example in the history of the United States, except the short-lived New Haven experiment, 1638-44. This represented a complete fusion of church and state—the utilization of one set of institutions for both ecclesiastical and civic affairs.

The records indicate that the following functions were performed by the theo-democratic organization during the year 1848: the division of the city into nineteen wards, the selection and assignment of farming lands, the issuance of building permits, the felling of trees, the granting of licenses to control neighboring streams and to build sawmills, and

¹⁶ See Milton Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer* (Salt Lake City, 1940), *passim*. These Mormon outposts were abandoned in 1857 because of the coming of Johnston's Army to Utah.

¹⁷ *Creech, Utah and the Nation*, 60-61.

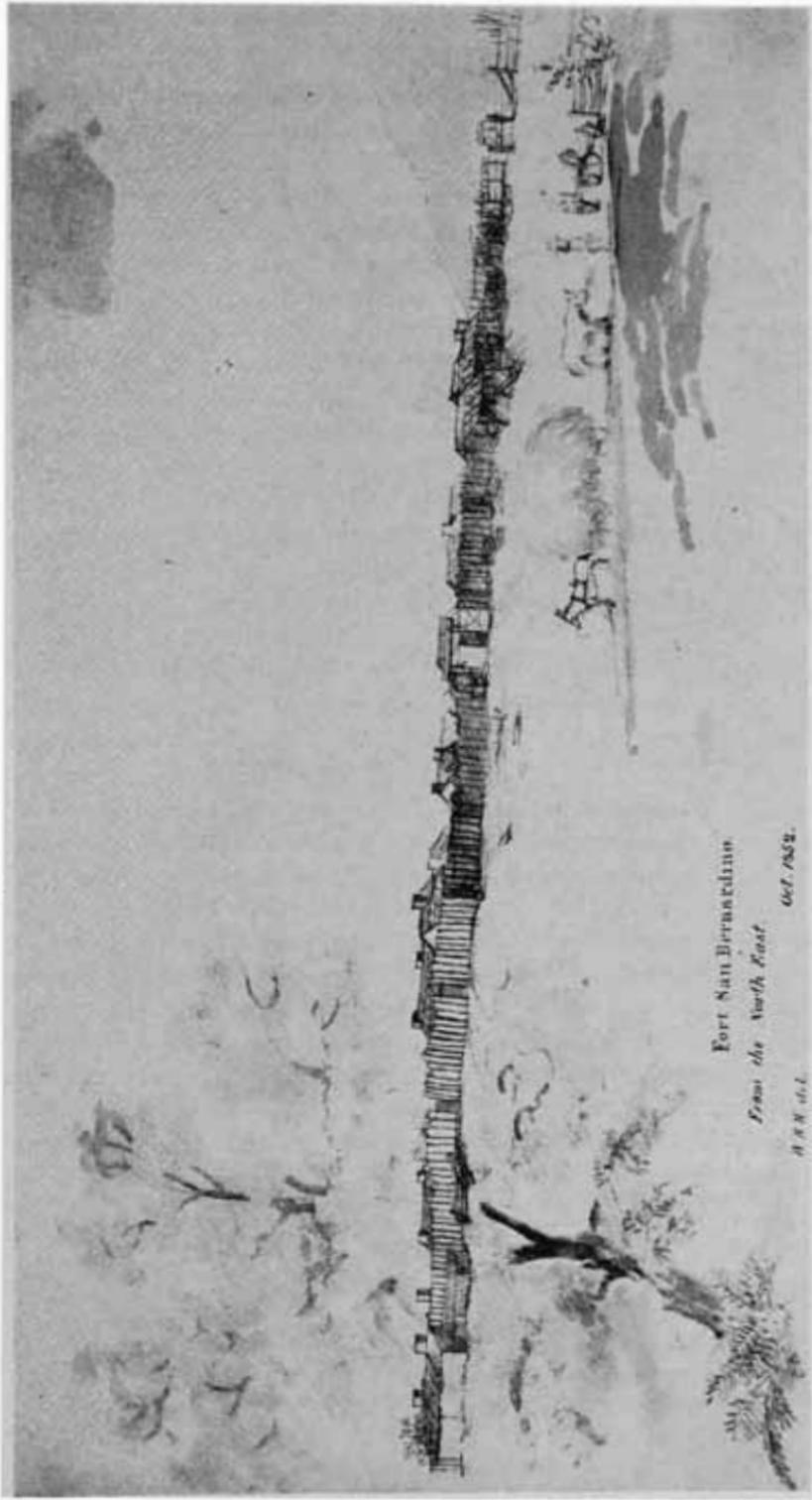


Fort Bridger was established as a trading post on Black's Fork of the Green River by James Bridger and Louis Vasquez. They carried on a brisk trade with the Indians, and the fort was a supply center

for the Westbound emigrants. In 1853 it was purchased by the Mormons for \$8,000, and a rock wall was built around it. At the approach of the Army in 1857, Brigham Young ordered it abandoned.

In 1851, Mormons under the leadership of Amasa M. Lyman and Charles Coulson Rich settled in California, where they purchased

the San Bernardino Ranch for the sum of \$77,000. The Saints were later called home at the approach of the Army in 1857.



Fort San Bernardino
From the North East
Oct. 1851.
A. H. H.

various other matters pertaining to civic administration.¹⁸ As a court, the High Council appears to have functioned successfully, as there are no criticisms noted in the periodicals of the period. John Nebeker speaks of a whipping post which was used to administer justice to criminals guilty of minor offenses.¹⁹ There was no jail in the community.

The urgency of ecclesiastical business, however, led to a modification of the Theo-democracy by relieving the High Council of all civic responsibilities and transferring them to the bishops of the various wards. This occurred on January 6, 1849, and resulted in the institution of a government not unlike the New England town meeting, wherein the bishops presided as magistrates, or mayors, over what became in essence nineteen separate municipalities, with the ward congregations as the legislative agencies.²⁰ Says Tullidge: "Under this temporal administration, all over Utah as well as in Salt Lake, cities were built, lands divided off to the people, roads and bridges made, water ditches cut, the land irrigated, and society governed."²¹

THE PROVISIONAL STATE OF DESERET

Although the Mormon Theo-democracy functioned surprisingly well, with the influx of a relatively large gentile population due largely to the impact of the discovery of gold in California, it is not to be wondered that criticism became increasingly rife, for it was not to be expected that the newcomers would graciously accept an exclusive Mormon political control. Says Tullidge: "In nothing were the Mormons more peculiar than in their judicial affairs. They did not believe in going to law one with another. Their judicial economy was after the pattern of the New Testament rather than that of Blackstone. It was this that made the Mormon rule so obnoxious to the (later) federal judges and Gentile lawyers."²²

The Theo-democracy was not intended to be permanent. Therefore, when sufficient pressure from economic considerations was released, the Mormon leaders made plans to abolish it and to establish as a

¹⁸ Early Records of Utah, MS, 20, 35, 45, 46. In the manuscript collection of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California. Microfilm copies also in the Utah State Historical Society library.

¹⁹ John Nebeker, *Early Justice* [Salt Lake City, 1884], MS, 4-5. In the manuscript collection of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California. Microfilm copies also in the Utah State Historical Society library.

²⁰ See Leland H. Creer, *The Founding of an Empire* (Salt Lake City, 1947), 111.

²¹ Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, 1886), 57-58.

²² Edward W. Tullidge, *Life of Brigham Young* (New York, 1877), 199-200.

substitute a provisional state government. This decision no doubt was accelerated by two dramatic events: the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, January 24, 1848, and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on February 2, which provided for the annexation of Utah, California, and New Mexico to the United States.

Charges have been made by enemies of the Saints and unfriendly historians²³ that the creation of the State of Deseret was nothing but an attempt to establish an independent Mormon Republic. In refutation, one needs only to refer to the preamble of the constitution of the proposed state, adopted in March, 1849, which explains the motives of the Mormon constituents for such action. Pertinent excerpts follow:

WHEREAS the Congress of the United States has failed to provide a civil government for the Territory so acquired;

WHEREAS it is a fundamental principle in all republican governments that all political power is inherent in the people and government instituted for their protection, security and benefit should emanate from the same;

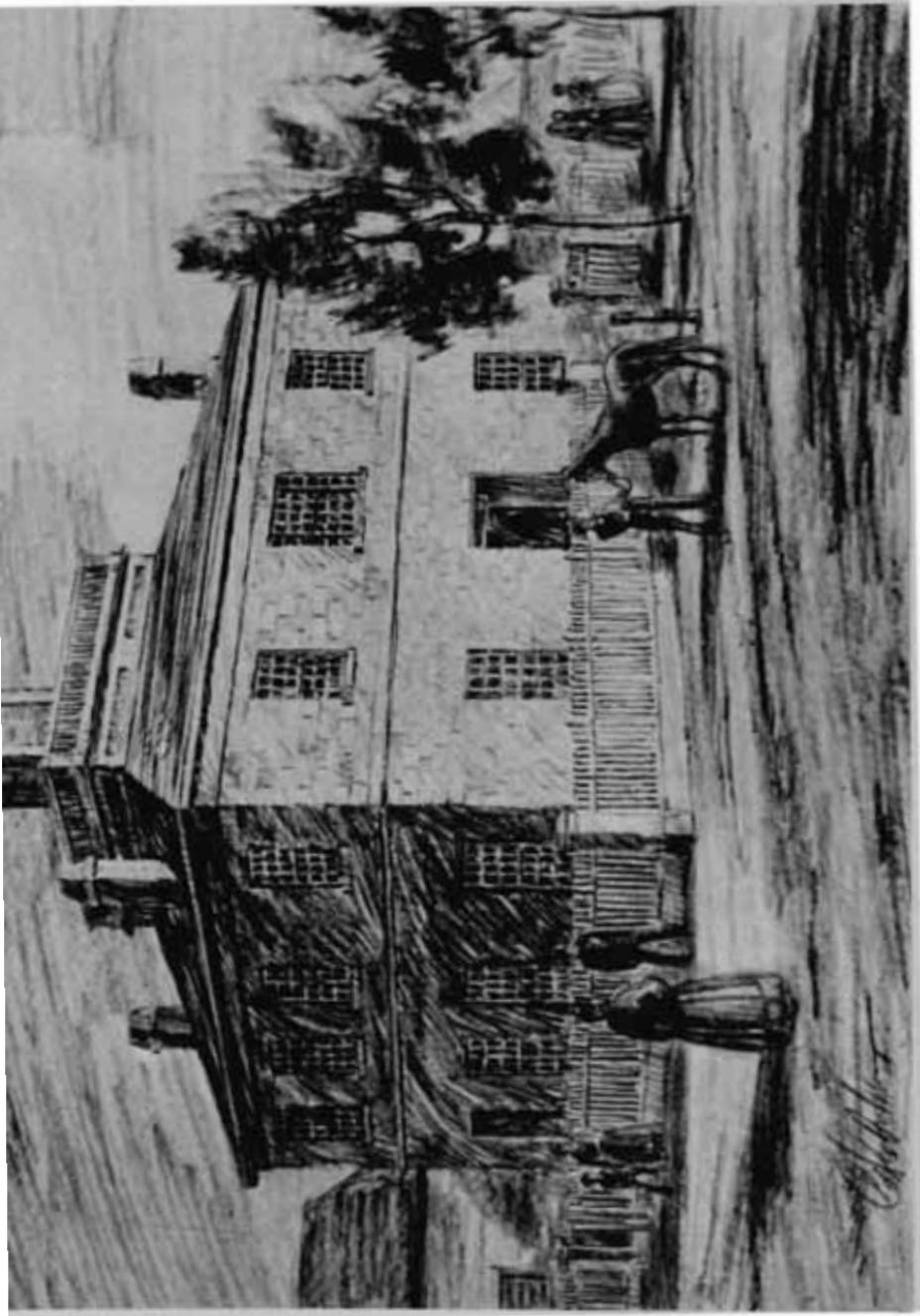
Therefore your committee begs leave to recommend the adoption of the following constitution until the Congress of the United States shall otherwise provide for the government of the territory hereinafter named and described by admitting us into the Union.²⁴

The fact that the United States had failed to provide any form of government for the inhabitants of Utah was sufficient reason for the establishment of the State of Deseret. And by doing so the people of the community were simply following well-established precedents of frontier impatience and restlessness. For example, as early as 1772, the pioneers of Watauga in eastern Tennessee formed an "Association" in which the minimum institutions of government which North Carolina would not establish were provided for, and later, in 1784, when Congress refused to organize the territory, now a part of the Union, these same people organized the short-lived but significant state of Franklin. Similar action occurred at the Champoege Convention in Oregon in 1843, and at the Monterey Convention in California in 1849.²⁵

²³ See William A. Linn, *The Story of the Mormons from the Date of their Origin to the year 1901* (New York, c1902), 488, and William Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake* (London, 1857), 182.

²⁴ *Laws and Ordinances of the State of Deseret* [Compilation of 1851] (Salt Lake City, 1919), 79-80. The Constitution of the State of Deseret is reproduced in full in Creer, *The Founding of an Empire*, Appendix C.

²⁵ Creer, *Utah and the Nation*, 66.



The artist's drawing of the Council House, Utah's first public building, which was completed in December, 1850.

Located on the southwest corner of Main and South Temple streets, it was destroyed by fire in June, 1883.

The constitution of the State of Deseret was adopted by delegates in convention, March 10, 1849. The limits of the proposed state were indeed extensive. They included all of the present states of Utah and Nevada, about one-fourth of the present state of California, including the city of San Diego, the whole of Arizona north of the Gila River, one-third of New Mexico, one-third of Wyoming, portions of southern Idaho, and about one-fifth of Oregon. The inclusion of the port of San Diego was intended to give the state an outlet to the sea, and a point at which emigration to the Great Basin by way of the Isthmus of Panama might converge. The total area embraced was more than 500,000 square miles, about twice the size of Texas and almost equal to the area of Alaska.

Deseret²⁶ was the official name of the new state and the seat of government was located at Salt Lake City. The constitution, following the pattern of older states, provided for two legislative houses, a House and a Senate, the members of which were to hold office for four years. The executive power was vested in a governor, a lieutenant-governor, a secretary of state, an auditor, and a treasurer. The lieutenant-governor was ex-officio president of the senate; the judicial power was vested in a supreme court and other inferior courts as the legislature might subscribe. Suffrage was limited to all male white residents over the age of twenty-one years. Interesting features of the document were an unusually strong section concerning religious toleration; a strong bill of rights guaranteeing life, liberty, trial by jury, and the asserted right to hold and acquire property; and the absence of any notice whatsoever on the institution of slavery.

The election of officers took place on March 12, 1849, although the constitution had fixed the first Monday in May as the first election date. On that same day, the constitution was formally presented and ratified. The officers elected were: Brigham Young, governor; Willard Richards, secretary of state; Newell K. Whitney, treasurer; Heber C. Kimball, chief justice; John Taylor and Newell K. Whitney, associate justices; Daniel H. Wells, attorney-general; Horace S. Eldredge, marshal; Albert Carrington, assessor; and Joseph L. Heywood, surveyor. The bishops of the nineteen wards were elected magistrates.

It is interesting to note that in this first election, the roster of officials was presented to the convention assembled as a single list of nominees prepared by a hand-picked group of church leaders. The list of nomi-

²⁶ Meaning honey bee. See *Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City, 1921), 480.

nees was then submitted to the people for their approval or disapproval. There was no campaigning or electioneering, for none was necessary. It was only on rare occasions that anyone who was nominated by the church leaders met with the disapproval of the group. Besides the irregularity of the time and procedure of election, as noted above, there were other discrepancies that should be noted: for example, no lieutenant-governor was elected at the time, and Newell K. Whitney was elected to hold two public offices.

Indeed, while in theory, ecclesiastical and civic affairs were separated with the organization of the State of Deseret, in fact, fusion of church and state still continued. Brigham Young, governor of Deseret, was also Brigham Young, president of the Latter-day Saints Church, and the Saints revered and respected him far more by reason of the latter office than by reason of the former. So it was with the other chief officers of the state, who were also leading men of the church.

And Stansbury observes:

While there are all the external evidences of a government strictly temporal, it cannot be concealed that it is so intimately blended with the Church that it would be impossible to separate one from the other. This intimate connection of the church and state seems to pervade everything that is done. The supreme power in both being lodged in the hands of the same individuals, it is difficult to separate their two official characters and to determine whether in any one instance they act as spiritual or merely temporal officers. In the organization of civil government, nothing could be more natural than that the whole people being of one faith, should choose for functionaries to carry it into execution, those to whom they had been in the habit of referring as their inspired guides, and by whom they had been led from a land of persecution.²⁷

This unofficial fusion of church and state was the outstanding factor which created so much dissension between federal and local officials. "Ecclesiastical influence tended to encroach dangerously upon the domain of civic affairs, and federal judges and Gentile lawyers in the main resented it."²⁸ And conflict ensued. Perhaps this conflict could have been avoided had Congress granted the Saints statehood rather

²⁷ Howard Stansbury, *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (London and Philadelphia, 1852), 331-33.

²⁸ Creer, *Utah and the Nation*, 71.

than territorial government. *Autonomy* was what the Mormons wanted and what they needed—freedom to work out their own problems, unmolested by a group of unsympathetic foreign office holders. But Utah was denied statehood for almost half a century, and in the meantime hostilities developed.

Important among the measures passed by the legislature of the State of Deseret during the two eventful years of its existence were those creating a state university; organizing and fixing the boundaries of Salt Lake, Weber, Davis, Tooele, Utah, San Pete, and Iron counties; regulating the control of streams, timber, and industries; prohibiting the sale of liquor and ammunition to the Indians; incorporating and granting municipal charters to Great Salt Lake City, Ogden, Manti, Provo, and Parowan; and incorporating the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.²⁹

Under the government there was every evidence of peace and prosperity. "In this state," said Brigham Young in his annual message to the legislature, December 2, 1850:

no expense has been incurred by any of the departments of government for services rendered. All the Indians with whom we have had difficulties are detached or broken off bands from the main tribes, with whom our peaceful relations have never been interrupted. Not a solitary case was reported for trial before the regular sessions of either the county or supreme courts during the past year, and no offense beyond the control of a justice of the peace seems to have been committed. . . . We have the proud satisfaction of having sustained a quiet, yet energetic government, under all the vicissitudes incident to new and untried localities: and when the general government shall assume to pay the expenditures consequent upon the Indian expeditions—of being comparatively free from debt. . . . Deseret is not three years old, . . . and yet such has been the rapidity of her growth, the extent of her improvements, and the development of her resources, as to command the admiration, and the respect of all those whose lot has been cast within her bounds, and those afar off, hearing the glad tidings, are stretching forth their itching palms, towards another of those free states where the oppressed go free, and the poor, through ordinary industry, find ample provision.³⁰

²⁹ Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (4 vols., Salt Lake City, 1892), I, 455-57.

³⁰ Early Records of Utah, MS, 116-17; Roberts, *op. cit.*, III, 489-92.

APPLICATION FOR STATEHOOD

The constitutional convention which convened on March 4, 1849, before adjournment, memorialized Congress in behalf of their constituents to approve this action by recognizing their constitution and admitting Deseret as a state in the American Union. The memorialists called attention to the fact that "Congress had failed to provide by law a form of civil government for any portion of the territory ceded to the United States by the Republic of Mexico"; that "since the expiration of the Mexican civil authority, however weak and imbecile, anarchy to an alarming extent had prevailed—the revolver and the bowie knife had become the highest law in the land—the strong had prevailed against the weak—while person, property, character and religion had been unaided and virtue unprotected, . . ." It was pointed out that in regard to their own security and for the preservation of the constitutional right of the United States to hold jurisdiction there, "the inhabitants of the State of Deseret had organized a provisional form of government under which the civil policy of the nation is maintained," and that there were "a sufficient number of individuals to support a state government, thereby relieving the general government of a territorial government in that section."

Your memorialists, therefore, ask your honorable body to favorably consider their interests; and, if consistent with the constitution and usages of the federal government, that the constitution accompanying the memorial be ratified, and *that the State of Deseret be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the other states, or such other form of civil government as your wisdom and magnanimity may award to the people of Deseret.* And upon the adoption of any form of government here, that their delegate be received, and their interests properly and faithfully represented in the Congress of the United States. And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.³¹

Attention is called to the italicized statement above. By giving Congress an optional choice, state or territory, as the government for Deseret even though the memorialists favored a state government, the case of Deseret was materially weakened in Congress; for the western portion of the Mexican Cession (California) had definitely asked for

³¹ Italics are the author's. The memorial is found in *Millennial Star*, XII, 23-25; also Early Utah Records, MS, 87-91.

statehood without slavery, and a compromise plan was necessary to balance the interests of the North and the South over the slavery issue. Statehood for California, territorial government for Utah and New Mexico best suited the exigencies of the situation.

As if mistrustful of their application for a sovereign state government being favorably received, a petition signed by 2,270 citizens was drafted in April, 1849, asking Congress for a territorial form of government. John M. Bernhisel was entrusted with the mission of presenting the memorial. Accompanied by Wilford Woodruff, Bernhisel proceeded on his mission to Washington, stopping first at Philadelphia to confer with Colonel Thomas L. Kane. The latter strongly advised against presenting the document. "You are better off without any government from the hands of Congress than with a territorial government," he said. "The political intrigues of government officers will be against you. You can govern yourselves better than they can govern you."³² And Kane was right, as the tragic history of Utah under territorial rule was to demonstrate. It appears that Kane's advice deterred Bernhisel from presenting the memorial before Congress; at least there is no record of his having done so.

In the meantime Almon W. Babbitt, the delegate and representative from the Provisional State of Deseret, arrived in Washington bearing the petition for statehood. The document was introduced into the Senate by Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, and in the House by Linn Boyd of Kentucky, and referred to the appropriate committees on Territories. The memorial, however, died aborning in both committees. One measure did materialize. This was a resolution which emerged from the Committee on Elections of the House of Representatives stating "that it is inexpedient to admit Almon W. Babbitt to a seat in this body as a delegate from the alleged state of Deseret."³³ After a prolonged debate the resolution was finally adopted by a vote of 104 to 78.³⁴ The reasons which prevailed against the admission of the delegate were: (1) that the memorial he presented did not ask for representation until Congress had awarded the people of Deseret some form of government; (2) that Congress could not admit the delegate without at the same time recognizing the legal existence of the proposed state; and (3) that the boundaries of the proposed state were far too extensive. Those who

³² History of Brigham Young (1849), 161-64, MS, in Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City; Wilford Woodruff Journal, MS, entry of November 26, 1849.

³³ *Congressional Globe* (1849-1850), XXI, 1433.

³⁴ *Idem*.

avored the admission of Mr. Babbitt "opposed these technical, legal grounds for his rejection" and justified their position "on the broad American principle of the right of a community to representation in legislative bodies where their interests were to be determined; and the right of a community to be self-governing."³⁵ It should be noted that the vote to deny Mr. Babbitt a seat in the House was close and indicates a divided opinion upon the question. And unlike the later question of providing a state or territorial government, the issue was not influenced by the more important problem of slavery. Then too, the debates which ensued in the House indicate little or no religious prejudice. Counter-memorials against Deseret by Mormon enemies were completely ignored.³⁶ Both opponents and proponents of the resolution "praised the Saints for their noteworthy achievement and insisted, when the question was brought up, that their opinions were not in any way tainted with religious bias."³⁷ However, this evidently was not the case with President Zachary Taylor who, Babbitt in a communication to President Brigham Young dated July 7, 1850, avers, was very much prejudiced against the Saints. Thus the delegate writes:

You will learn from President Taylor's message that he is not our friend; this I know myself beyond a doubt. He did say before twenty members of Congress that he would veto any bill passed, state or territorial, for the Mormons;—that they were a pack of outlaws, and had been driven out of two states and were not fit for self-government. I went to him in person with Colonel Warren and charged these sayings upon him and

³⁵ Roberts, *op. cit.*, III, 436.

³⁶ Two counter-memorials against the Mormons were introduced by William Smith and Isaac Sheen and presented to the House by Representative Underwood of Kentucky. A petition by A. Morgan, Thomas Hunt, *et al.*, was presented to the House by Representative Wentworth of Illinois. These memorials were never reported out of the committees to which they were referred. *Congressional Globe* (1849-50), XXI, 92.

³⁷ Creer, *Utah and the Nation*, 79. The remarks of Venable of North Carolina admirably illustrates this: "I can assure the gentleman from Illinois that the applicant has nothing in my estimation to his claim to a seat here, that he represents a Mormon community. No sir, the religious tenets of that remarkable people do not enter into the elements of my opposition to the seat of Mr. Babbitt on this floor. The Jews, the Turks, Christians or Mormons, I would award the same right and the same privileges, and I should not perceive the necessity of his appeal to us in order to avoid the effect of our out of door influences created by prejudice against the Mormons. I know nothing of them but the extraordinary fact that they have a power of organization which can collect the idle, vicious and unproductive and make in a short time a prosperous community. There is something to be admired in that result, at least." See *Congressional Globe* (1849-1850), XXI, 1419.

he owned what he had said; and tried to reason with me in relation to the absurdity of the Mormons asking for a state or territorial government.³⁸

THE TERRITORY OF UTAH ESTABLISHED

Before reviewing Congressional action which finally resolved the problem of Deseret through the Compromise of 1850, it is necessary at this point to examine the state of mind of Congress with regard to the vital question of slavery. The Compromise of 1820 had established the principle of exclusion with regard to slavery in the territories, a program vigorously advocated by the North. The South, however, had long contended that slaves were property and as such Congress had no right to exclude them from the territories. As long as the South possessed enough power in the Senate to protect its interests as it did from 1820 to 1850, a conflict was averted; but now with the problem of organizing the Mexican Cession before Congress as it assembled in 1849, the South, fearful of maintaining its advantage, was prepared to make demands which if not recognized threatened to precipitate a conflict. "Both the North and the South, favored organizing the Cession into territories rather than states but for different reasons: the South because they hoped such territories could be settled by their supporters whose property in slaves the federal government would protect; the North because they hoped to prohibit slavery by Congressional action."³⁹

When it became known that the problem of organizing the Mexican Cession would come before Congress in the 1849 session, excitement among southern Congressmen became intense, Congressional caucuses were held in December, 1848, pending the opening of Congress in which the southern representatives argued that "Congress had no right to exclude slaves from the territories, as the North contended, because slaves as property were protected by the Constitution of the United States."⁴⁰ After enumerating Northern aggressions that had already transpired—a bill to repeal all acts recognizing slavery in the District of Columbia, the Wilmot Proviso aiming at the exclusion of slavery in the Mexican Cession, and a measure to abolish the slave trade in the District of Columbia—the agitated Congressmen resolved that "the

³⁸ Babbitt to Young, dated Washington, July 7, 1850, in *History of Brigham Young (1850)*, MS, 74-75; see also James D. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (10 vols., Washington, 1896-99), V, 26-30.

³⁹ Creer, *Utah and the Nation*, 74.

⁴⁰ Creer, *The Founding of an Empire*, 322.

South must unite and the North brought to pause or nothing would remain but to stand up immovably in defense of rights, involving our all — our property, prosperity, equality, liberty, and safety."⁴¹

Much of this same tone of denunciatory rabble was reported in the Southern Nashville Convention in June and November, 1850. The extension of the Missouri Compromise Line to the Pacific, with slavery recognized in all territory south of that line, was adopted as the minimum concession that would satisfy the South. Secession from the Union was openly suggested, although not seriously entertained by any of the delegates except those from South Carolina.

This sharp diversity of opinion in Congress, the membership of which was sharply divided sectionally, meant that nothing short of compromise could adjust matters satisfactorily. But compromise appeared remote and war as a method of solution likely. "The great and grave question of slavery which now agitates the country," writes John M. Bernhisel, "and which I believe with all the conviction of my mind is capable of entertaining, will never be settled and will sooner or later shake this union to its center, and as revolutions never draw backward, may break it with as many fragments as there are states composing it, has been the sole topic of conversation since the commencement of the session; and it is likely to be during the remainder of it."⁴²

However, a compromise was effected. On March 8, 1850, Senator Foote of Mississippi moved that a select committee of thirteen, six from the North, six from the South, the thirteenth member to be chosen by the twelve, be created to which would be given the responsibility of maturing some scheme for the settlement of the whole territorial question. On May 8, Senator Clay of Kentucky, chairman of the committee, presented the committee's report. It included seven important recommendations which were incorporated later into definitive measures known collectively as the Compromise of 1850. These proposals were: (1) that the admission of any new state or states formed out of Texas be postponed until they should hereafter present themselves to be received into the Union, when it should be the duty of Congress, fairly and faithfully, to execute the compact with Texas by admitting such new state or states; (2) that California be admitted into the Union as a free state with the boundaries she has proposed; (3) that territorial gov-

⁴¹ Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (6 vols., New York, 1905-7), VI, 70-71.

⁴² Bernhisel's report is found in extenso in *History of Brigham Young* (1850), MS, 40-50.

ernment without the Wilmot Proviso be established for New Mexico and Deseret, embracing all the territory recently acquired by the United States from Mexico, not contained in the boundaries of California; (4) that these last two measures be incorporated in the same bill in order to insure without delay the establishment of some form of government in that region; (5) that northern and western boundaries for Texas be definitely established and that that state be deprived of any jurisdiction over New Mexico Territory with the grant to Texas of a pecuniary equivalent; (6) that a more effective fugitive slave law be enacted; and (7) that the slave trade be prohibited in the District of Columbia.⁴³

On the same day the committee introduced a bill, defining the limits of the proposed new territory of Utah as follows:

All that part of the territory of the United States included within the following limits, to wit, bounded on the west by the state of California, on the north by the Territory of Oregon, on the east and south by the dividing ridge which separates the waters flowing into the Great Basin from those flowing into the Colorado River and the Gulf of California.⁴⁴

The Organic Act creating the above territory was signed by President Fillmore, September 9, 1850.

With the passing by Congress of the several measures proposed by Clay, the political status of the Mexican Cession, including California, New Mexico, and Deseret, was finally fixed. The whole question was determined by compromise, "howbeit, a compromise which proved unsatisfactory and eventually led to the Civil War."⁴⁵ Although slavery determined this compromise agreement, the fact that the Saints presented memorials and petitions for both state and territorial governments, indicating precisely in their first memorial their acceptance of a territorial government should Congress deem it inadvisable to establish a state, may have affected the final decision of the Compromise Committee. "It is possible that the definite provision against slavery in the constitution of the state of California, together with the absence of any provision whatsoever on the subject in the constitution of the State of

⁴³ *Congressional Globe*, 944-46.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 927.

⁴⁵ *Creech, The Founding of an Empire*, 332. The weak provisions were the Doctrine of Squatters Sovereignty applied to Deseret and New Mexico and the stringent Fugitive Slave Law. The former prompted Stephen A. Douglas to effect the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and precipitate a crisis in Kansas; the latter increased the strength of the Abolitionists.

Deseret, had no little influence in the creation of a free state government for California and territorial government for Deseret with the matter of slavery under the latter left open for statehood."⁴⁶ The admission of California as a free state was a decided concession to the North. To counterbalance this advantage the South naturally could only insist upon territorial government for New Mexico and Deseret, areas totally unfit for slavery and the plantation system. "The only solace to the South, therefore, was to prevent these areas from becoming states and thus augmenting the political power of the anti-slavery North by increasing their number of supporters in the Senate."⁴⁷

In the final analysis, then, slavery determined the political status of the Mexican Cession. In the case of Deseret, the question of religion never entered into the proposed Compromise. It was the only feasible solution. Yet the decision was unfortunate for the people of Utah. For if ever a people could have profited by autonomy, it was the hapless Saints who had purposely fled to the barren wastes of the Salt Lake Desert in order to be left alone, free from further persecution by determined enemies. Under territorial tutelage, however, for forty-six years the residents of Utah were forced to submit to the rule of many unsympathetic foreign or federal officials, who could not be expected as nonmembers of the established faith to appreciate or understand Mormon peculiarities and eccentricities. All this could have been avoided by statehood. The whole problem was accentuated with the official pronouncement in 1852 favoring the practice of polygamy; and it was not until this institution was abolished by the church through the Manifesto in 1890, that Congress took steps to establish statehood for Utah, finally granting it January 4, 1896.

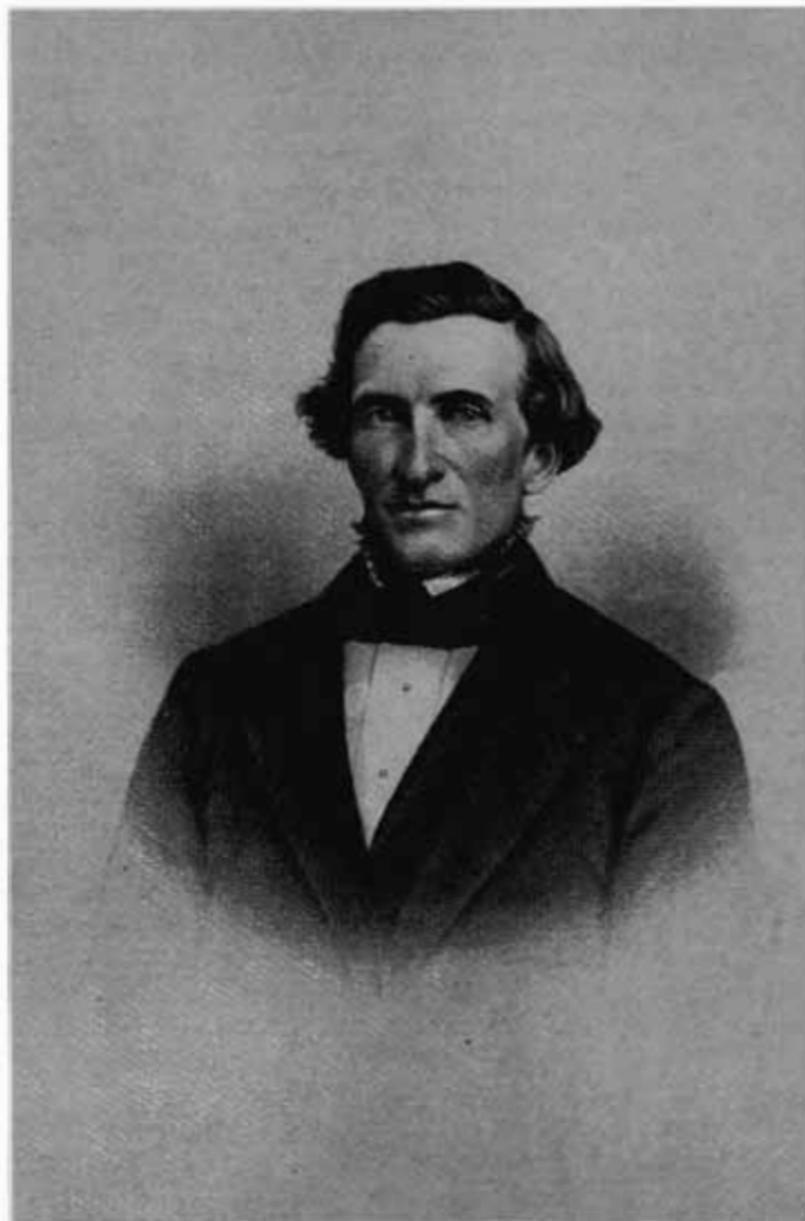
News of the organization of the Territory was not received in Utah until January 27, 1851. One week later, Brigham Young, the newly appointed governor, took the oath of office. On March 26, upon the recommendation of Governor Young, the General Assembly of Deseret resolved "that they cheerfully and cordially accepted the legislation of Congress for Utah and that they welcomed the extension of the United States government over the territory."⁴⁸ In accordance with this resolution, the General Assembly was dissolved April 5, 1851,⁴⁹ and the State of Deseret was superseded by the Territory of Utah.

⁴⁶ Creer, *Utah and the Nation*, 87.

⁴⁷ Creer, *The Founding of an Empire*, 332.

⁴⁸ History of Brigham Young (1851), MS, 14-15.

⁴⁹ Early Records of Utah, MS, 124.



J. M. Grant

J. M. Grant, 1816-1856, was a prominent early leader who gave his life in the cause of the Reformation. He led a company to Utah in 1847, was a member of the Council of Seventies, a second counselor to Brigham Young, and the first mayor of Salt Lake City.

THE MORMON REFORMATION

*By Gustive O. Larson**

Jedediah M. Grant, Mormon crusader for righteousness, warned in Provo on July 13, 1855:

The Church needs trimming up, and if you will search, you will find your wards contain branches which had better be cut off. The kingdom would progress much faster, and so will you individually, than it will with those branches on, . . .

I would like to see the works of reformation commence, and continue until every man had to walk to the line, then we would have something like union, . . . Purify yourselves, your houses, lots, farms, and every thing around you on the right and on the left, then the Spirit of the Lord can dwell with you.¹

Thus, a year before a "Reformation" was officially launched in the Mormon Church, its file leader heralded its approach with a call for "pruning" the vineyard. A thorough dressing followed in the fall and winter of 1856-57. But when the job was done its by-products could be likened to suckers growing so profusely around the Reformation tree

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¹ *Journal of Discourses* (26 vols., Liverpool, 1854-86), III, 60-61.

as to obscure its trunk. More has been written about its excesses (real and imaginary) than about what actually happened. Stenhouse's anonymous chapter on the Reformation and Blood Atonement was typical.² Even church historian B. H. Roberts devoted twice as much space in discussing blood atonement in connection with the reform movement than he did to the Reformation itself.³

The Reformation, which represented a vigorous call to repentance within the Mormon ranks, presents varied facets to the student of history. To some it appeared as a reaction to the crop destruction of 1855-56 which was interpreted as a divine rebuke for wastefulness and moral laxity.⁴ To others it represented a drive for unity among the Saints in face of increasing "Gentile" invasion. Some explained it as a preparatory move against impending hardships, while others read into it the enlistment of divine support against increasing social and political opposition. It was all of these, and in a sense it was a New England conscience struggling with the moral expediencies of frontier life.

By means of public exhortations and catechizing in private, the soul-searching process swept over Mormondom at home and abroad in 1856 and early 1857, until every Saint was rededicated to "the Kingdom" through rebaptism or purged from membership. It was an emotional experience which regenerated the earth-bound masses spiritually to knit them into a more self-conscious brotherhood. It was a drive for unity against a threatening world.

But, unfortunately, the Reformation pot boiled over with emotional excesses, leaving ill effects to be mixed with the good in whatever proportions individual critics chose to present them. This accounts for such widely divergent reports as those of Matthias Cowley,⁵ B. H. Roberts,⁶ and Andrew L. Neff⁷ on the one hand, and T. B. H. Stenhouse,⁸ W. A.

² T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York, 1873), chap. XXXVI.

³ B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (6 vols., Salt Lake City, 1930), IV, 119-37.

⁴ In his forthcoming book, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints*, Leonard Arrington has a chapter detailing the events of the 1850's and gives good grounds for believing that economic factors had much to do with the Reformation of 1856-57.

⁵ Matthias Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff* (Salt Lake City, 1909), chap. XXXIV.

⁶ Roberts, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Andrew L. Neff, *History of Utah, 1847-1869*, Leland H. Creer, ed. (Salt Lake City, 1940), 548-54.

⁸ Stenhouse, *loc. cit.*

Linn,⁹ and J. H. Beadle¹⁰ on the other. Historians Neff and Roberts have attempted to sift the evidence onto an understandable middle ground.

"In general the effect of this movement," interprets Juanita Brooks,

was to arouse the people to new religious consciousness, but for some who had lived through the persecutions of Missouri and Nauvoo and whose covenants included a hope that God would avenge the death of the Prophet and the sufferings of His Saints, the Reformation served to encourage fanaticism. It also helped to cement their group solidarity and make them feel that Zion must stand together against the sins of the world.

In awakening the Saints to their duties, the Reformation also seemed to set them more directly against the government officials who, they felt, were ruling without consent of the governed. Thus frictions were aggravated and tensions became more strained.¹¹

Certainly, one unfortunate result of the Reformation was to give color to anti-Mormon propaganda which circulated in the East and helped send the United States Army marching on Utah to put down an imaginary rebellion.

Writers with economic bent place considerable emphasis on the fact that economic unity was sought through reintroduction of the "consecration" movement. Failure of their economic ventures in the East was still fresh in Mormon memory as Gentiles began to settle down among them in the Great Basin. The church leaders became much concerned and were determined to close their ranks against such economic infiltration. The consecration of property to the church, originally practiced in Ohio and Missouri, was revived to knit the Saints more closely together. This movement preceded the Reformation by two years when the leaders urged the Saints, in Conference speeches, to deed their properties in trusteeship to the church and receive "an inheritance in the Kingdom" in return. This action was preliminary pending preparation of legal forms which were later used with witnessed signatures. About one-third of the Saints dedicated their property in this manner in

⁹ W. A. Linn, *The Story of the Mormons from the Date of their Origin to the year 1901* (New York, c1902), chap. XII.

¹⁰ J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah or the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia, 1870), chap. XII.

¹¹ Juanita Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Stanford, 1950), 8.

1855-56. Brigham Young set the example by deeding \$199,000 in property to the church.¹²

Church historian Roberts found the Reformation growing out of pioneering circumstances which contributed to irregularities of life among the Saints in the early fifties. Migration of mixed companies under crowded conditions subjected the Saints to unusual temptations; enforced marches, fighting crop pests, and irrigation practices made Sabbath observance difficult; community fencing, herding, and the like, sometimes confused the issues of private ownership and led to trespass. The New England leaders of the church, while playing the role of frontiersmen, were still Puritan at heart, and the Reformation reflected a clash between deep-rooted traditional convictions and the compromises and expediencies of frontier living.

The subject of sex sins received inordinate attention during the Reformation because added to actual conditions of vice came gentile charges of immorality due to the Mormon practice of polygamy. To correct a condition that needed correcting, and clear themselves of false charges, the Saints placed special emphasis on combatting sex sins. In so doing they unfortunately created the impression among gentile writers of greater indulgence in evil than actually existed. Sex purity was stressed together with renewed emphasis on plural marriage. As a result polygamous marriages reached their peak in the two years of the Reformation. Stanley S. Ivins' study discovered, ". . . as one of the fruits of 'the Reformation,' plural marriages skyrocketed to a height not before approached and never again to be reached. . . . there were sixty-five per cent more of such marriages during 1856 and 1857 than in any other two years of this experiment."¹³

The Reformation was launched in Kaysville in a conference beginning September 13, 1856, and lasting four days. President Jedediah M. Grant, Joseph Young, and William Willis were the principal speakers. The last named had just returned from a mission to India. He injected a spirit of revivalism into the services with stirring songs, one of which was "The Saints Will Nobly Do Their Duty." According to the minutes, Brigham Young, though not present, supplied the text for President Grant's first discourse which was, "Saints, Live Your Religion."

¹² F. Y. Fox, "The Consecration Movement of the Middle Fifties," *Improvement Era*, XLVII (1944), 80, 124.

¹³ Stanley S. Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," *Western Humanities Review*, X (1956), 231.

He urged the members to hold sacred their baptismal covenants through:

... observing cleanliness in their persons and dwellings, setting their families in order, carefully cultivating their farms and gardens, and not to feel so anxious to have more land that they could not attend to themselves; to gather into and build up the fort and settlement, and concluded by praying that all those who did not feel to do right might have their way opened to leave the people and Territory, and that those who did not come forward and do their first works [i.e. renew religious obligations by baptism], let them be unto you as heathen men and publicans, and not numbered among the Saints.¹⁴

The last day's session of the conference convened at Weinel's Mill. President Grant, according to the *Deseret News* account:

... enjoined upon the Saints to observe the utmost decorum and reverence while the sacred ordinance of baptism was being attended to. After prayer he proceeded to baptize Bishop Allen Taylor and his counsellors. Nearly 500 Saints were immersed under direction of President Grant. He baptized upwards of 80 with his own hands. After baptism the Saints repaired to the bowery while the ordinance of confirmation was attended ... the Spirit of the Lord was poured out to a great degree, and peace and happiness characterized the whole assembly. President Grant rose and blest the people in the name of the Lord God of Israel.¹⁵

In Farmington, President Grant reported the results of the Kaysville conference and suggested that a similar test be made here. He asked the congregation pointedly if it wanted him to stay and commence preaching and baptizing. The whole congregation rose in assent and the result was 406 baptized. But responses in Centerville and Bountiful indicated that the people were "not ready." He told the bishop of Centerville on September 25, to hold a "fast day" and to cut off all members who would not keep the commandments. Then he postponed the conference until October 16. He found the people of Bountiful also "as cold as ice of the polar region ... in a deep sleep ...

¹⁴ *Deseret News*, September 24, 1856.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, The baptismal prayer which was used included, "Having been commissioned of Jesus Christ I baptize you for the renewal of your Covenant and remission of your sins." *Ibid.*, January 7, 1857.

judging from attendance they were in a state of apostasy." He went back to finish the work at Centerville, and Bountiful was not finished until a month later.¹⁶

In the meantime the Reformation was getting under way in Salt Lake City. The crusader was joined by Brigham Young in a stirring meeting held in the Bowery on September 21. Continuing his theme, Grant said:

I am speaking to you in the name of Israel's God and you need to be baptized and washed clean from your sins from your backslidings, from your apostacies, from your filthiness, from your lying, from your swearing, from lusts, and from everything that is evil before the God of Israel.

We have been trying long enough with this people, and I go in for letting the sword of the almighty be unsheathed not only in word, but in deed.¹⁷

Brigham Young announced:

We need a reformation in the midst of this people; we need a thorough reform, for I know that very many are in a dozy condition with regard to their religion; . . .

You are losing the spirit of the Gospel, is there any cause for it? No, only that which there is in the world. You have the weakness of human nature to contend with, and you suffer that weakness to decoy you away from the truth, to the side of the adversary; but now is the time to awake, before the time of burning. . . . notwithstanding all that has been taught, still the people are full of idolatry, the spirit of contention and the spirit of the world . . .

Well, I just say, my brethren and sisters, it cannot be suffered any longer, a separation must take place; you must part with your sins, or the righteous must be separated from the ungodly.¹⁸

Wilford Woodruff in the fall conference of 1856 entertained hopes that the Saints would repent in time to escape calamity. "I believe that the majority of the people are ready to wake up; I believe that they already begin to feel the reformation spirit in them, and it is certainly time, for there are great events at our door. . ."¹⁹ The conference opened

¹⁶ Accounts of these conferences appeared currently in *ibid.*

¹⁷ *Journal of Discourses*, IV, 50.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 45, 52.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 98.

on October 5, with much enthusiasm for the handcart experiment which had just delivered three companies of immigrants successfully into the Salt Lake Valley. But as it progressed news of two delayed companies dampened that fervor and the conference ended with calls for volunteers to go to the rescue of the belated Saints. The Reformation which had promised to be the theme of the conference became identified with the immigration emergency. On November 2 when reports of death came in from the snowbound immigrants, Brigham Young made them his common theme:

... my mind is yonder in the snow, where those immigrating Saints are, ... I have a great many reflections about them.

Have any of you suffered while coming here? ... Yes, you had to endure anguish and pain from the effects of cholera, toil, and weariness. Do you live your religion when you get here, after all the trouble, afflictions, and pains you have passed through to come to Zion? and to a pretty Zion! Men and women start across the Plains for this place, and are they willing to wade through the snow? Yes. To travel through snow storms? Yes. To wade rivers? Yes. What for? To get to Zion. And here we are in Zion, and what a Zion! where it is necessary for the cry of reformation to go through the land, both a spiritual and temporal reformation. God is more merciful than man can be, and it is well for us.²⁰

The handcart emergency also served to measure the effectiveness of the Reformation sermons. Franklin D. Richards who had just returned from the British mission wrote on November 1:

About a week before we arrived, a work of reformation had been efficiently started, and we were just in good time to share its cheering effects with the people. As good an evidence of this as I can offer, may be found in the fact, that on Sunday and Monday, at a conference of the Territory, it required strong efforts of the Presidency and others, to raise between fifty and sixty teams to go and bring in our brethren coming by the hand-carts on the Plains; whereas, on the last Sunday but one, a few remarks from brother Kimball to a congregation of this city only, induced one hundred and fourteen to give their names to furnish teams, and one man put down fifteen yoke of cattle. The change in the feelings of the people is indeed wonderful already, and yet it has but just begun. Bishops are drop-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 62.

ped, and their counselors, when slothful at their duties, or when ruled by their wives, so are the Teachers, if they did not perform their duties, which are, to know every man and woman in their several districts, and to live their religion themselves. Misdeeds are not only publicly denounced but the doers and their deeds are named before the public congregations. The arrows of the Almighty are with the Presidency. The terrors of the Lord are upon them, and are coming upon the people. The high and the low are all feeling the scorching of the fire that has begun to be kindled in Zion. Already the power of the Holy Ghost has, in some instances, been so great upon them, that they have had to refrain from speaking, for the people have shrunk before them, because of the power of their words, while in other instances, congregations have been dismissed because of their darkness, and their unbelief in the word spoken. Many powers and responsibilities, heretofore retained in the hands of the Presidency, have been handed down to the Bishops. A thorough waking up has commenced, that must reach the habitation of every Saint in Utah, and then extend to every Mission and Branch of the Church throughout the earth. Therefore, dear brethren, cry aloud, and spare not, show unto the people the awful consequences of sin, that they may obtain strength from God, to keep His commandments, and sin not.²¹

The following month Heber C. Kimball warned:

. . . you will be tested as to whether you are of the religion of Christ or not. . . . I have said that the scarcity of bread was nothing in comparison to what is coming: and for this reason the Lord wants this people to repent, reform, and live their religion; to learn to be punctual, true, and humble; and those who do not will go overboard.

God and mammon, or the righteous and the ungodly, have no fellowship for each other.

Campaigning for the general cleanup in the quorums of the priesthood he said:

And here are . . . members of the First Presidency of the Seventies, sitting here as dead as door nails, and suffering these poor curses to live in our midst as seventies. As the Lord God Almighty lives, if you do not rise up and trim your quorums,

²¹ Quoted in Neff, *op. cit.*, 552-53.

we will trim you off, and not one year shall pass away before you are trimmed off. . . .

Wake up ye Elders of Israel, and purge yourselves, and purge out the filth that is in your Quorums, for we will not countenance unrighteousness in our midst.

Why pursue this course? To cleanse Israel and qualify and prepare them, for there is going to be a test, A Test, A TEST; and if you do not forsake your wickedness you will see sorrow, as the children of Israel did in Jerusalem.²²

The Reformation flared up sixty miles to the south in Spanish Fork where four hundred people were baptized. West Jordan reflected the consequences of non-conformity when one man was excommunicated for "reviling against his bishop" and a husband and wife cut off for "unbelief and reviling against the authorities." Nevertheless, ninety-three were baptized. As President Grant toured the northern branches the *Deseret News* commented, "The people begin to feel more than ever that they are dealing with the spirit and power of God and the Holy Priesthood." By the end of fall it had spread throughout Zion and during the winter it reached the missions. For instance, the Saints in the British Mission were rebaptized early in February of 1857, and those in Wales in March.

A priesthood meeting in Salt Lake City's Social Hall on November 3 served to introduce a catechism to the members of the church. "After singing and praying," records an eyewitness, "President Young had the doors locked. He then said, 'I am about to question the brethren and I charge them in the name of Jesus Christ to tell the truth. Those who cover up their sins the curse of God shall be upon them.' He then drew from the breast pocket of his coat a long slip of white paper and read the following questions, calling upon the brethren to answer them as they were put":

1. Have you shed innocent blood or assented thereto?
2. Have you committed adultery?
3. Have you betrayed your brother?
4. Have you borne false witness against your neighbor?
5. Do you get drunk?
6. Have you stolen?
7. Have you lied?

²² *Journal of Discourses*, IV, 139-41, 143.

8. Have you contracted debts without prospect of paying?
9. Have you labored faithfully for your wages?
10. Have you coveted that which belongs to another?
11. Have you taken the name of the Lord in vain?
12. Do you preside in your family as a servant of God?
13. Have you paid your tithing in all things?

The account continues, "President Young then said, 'there are some brethren who have confessed to sins they have not done. . . . I am happy to say there is not so much sin as I expected.' He said if the brethren repented and done these things no more they now started with a clean page, but if they did those things again their former sins would be accounted unto them." At this meeting, the same witness concluded, "I saw the power of the Priesthood and felt the same as I never saw or felt before."²³

In their eagerness to participate in the Reformation some members did, as President Young observed, confess to sins of which they were not guilty. Lorenzo Snow warned in a tabernacle address against the "popularity" of the Reformation.²⁴ "Some join," he said, "and go through the external forms of religious zeal without the reform. They dare not admit they do not feel it." Also the penitents were warned not to be foolish and confess publicly. "Confess your faults to the individuals that you ought to confess them to and proclaim them not on the house tops."

The Reformation moved from public exhortation to personal interviews in all Latter-day Saint homes. Ward teachers and special missionaries catechized the people on a list of questions which was extended from Brigham Young's thirteen to twenty-six.²⁵ "Have you stolen" in the president's list yielded seven additional questions by being made specific as to the use of fields, animals, lost property, strays, irrigation water, and to borrowing and branding. The remaining six included:

Do you teach your family the gospel of Salvation?

Do you speak against your brethren or against any principle taught us in the Bible, Book of Mormon, Book of Doctrine & Covenants, revelations given through Joseph Smith the prophet and the Presidency of the Church as now organized?

²³ Autobiography of John Powell, 59. Typescript copy in Special Collections Division, Brigham Young University library.

²⁴ *Journal of Discourses*, IV, 185.

²⁵ Neff, *op. cit.*, 549-50.

Do you wash your body and have your family do so as often as health and cleanliness require and circumstances permit?

Do you labor six days and rest or go to the house of the Worship on the seventh?

Do you and your family attend ward meetings?

Do you oppress the hireling in his wages?

While many a man was humbled during the Reformation there were others who became officious, especially in the matter of catechizing their fellow members. Therefore, the following instructions accompanied the list of questions as a guide for administering them:

In answer to the above questions, let all men and women confess to persons they have injured and make restitution, or satisfaction. And when catechizing the people, the Bishops, Teachers Missionaries and other officers in the Church are not at liberty to pry into sins that are between a person and his or her God, but let such persons confess to the proper authority, that the adversary may not have an opportunity to take advantage of human weakness and thereby destroy souls.²⁶

The chief crusader in the Reformation gave his life in its cause. Jedediah M. Grant died on December 1, 1856, at the age of forty. The *Deseret News*, referring to his "sweeping through the settlements and kindling a fire in Zion" added, that "he rolled forward the reformation beyond his own endurance." Wilford Woodruff said, "I do not wonder that calling on the people to wake up has killed one man, and it will kill more if we do not respond to the call . . . it has nearly laid brother Young in the grave; he felt he could not live until some man rose up and started the work of reformation."²⁷ Heber C. Kimball added, "I wanted him to stay and help us whip the devil and bring to pass righteousness."

Particularly did Grant lash out against all forms of uncleanness. He said in Salt Lake in October, 1856:

It is your duty to keep clean. I have given the Teachers a new set of questions to ask the people. I say to them, ask the people whether they keep clean. Do you wash your bodies

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 550.

²⁷ *Journal of Discourses*, IV, 147.

once in each week, when circumstances will permit? Do you keep your dwellings, outhouses, and dooryards clean? The first work of the reformation with some, should be to clear away the filth about their premises. How would some like to have President Young visit them and go through their buildings, examine their rooms, bedding, etc?²⁸

Speaking on community and personal cleanliness, he said:

Some here keep their children too dirty for admission into a district school, . . . and in some houses the towels look as though they had passed Noah's ark, or had been used by some of the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the knives and forks have the appearance of having been rusting since Adam was driven from the garden of Eden.

I want the people to wake up and reform, forsake all their evil habits and everything that is dark, loathsome and impure . . . eschew all dirt, and filth, and degradation, and cease profaning the Sabbath, and the name of the Lord. . . .

You may talk reform, you may preach upon a virtuous life, upon cleanliness, upon God and the Holy Ghost, but while there is filth around the house, filth in the yard, and in every part of the city, your preaching will not amount to much. Some people are never contented unless the cow yard is under their noses, the hen coop in the parlor, and the privy in the kitchen, that is if they have any privy.²⁹

President Grant defended his strong statements by the need for them. He said the spirit directed his expressions:

I am not one of that class which believes in shrinking; if there is a fight on hand, give me a share in it. I am naturally good natured, but when the indignation of the Almighty is in me I say to all hell, stand aside and let the Lord Jesus Christ come in here; He shall be heir of the earth; the truth shall triumph, the Priesthood of Christ shall reign.³⁰

"And now verily I say unto you, I, the Lord, will not lay any sin to your charge; go your way and sin no more; but unto that soul who sinneth shall the former sins return, saith the Lord your God."³¹

²⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 188-89.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 73-74.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 85-87.

³¹ *The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1954), Sec. 82:7.

In this oft quoted scripture of the repentance drive lay the hope of permanent reform. Baptisms and the Eucharist were generally withheld pending evidence of genuine repentance. Song and prayer were also to be expressive of the same. "If the people," said Brigham Young, "... go to work now and have meetings and call upon God to get the spirit of the reformation, but sing and pray about doing right without doing it, instead of singing themselves away to 'everlasting bliss,' they will sing and pray themselves into hell, shouting halleljah."²²

It was not surprising that the Reformation should express itself through literary efforts. The *Deseret News* for November 5, 1856, carried "God Remembers Zion — a Psalm for the Times of Reformation" by W. G. Mills. It was a testimonial that God had remembered modern "Zion" through all her sufferings and achievements; that His blessings waited upon the righteousness of His people. On November 26 appeared a song called "The Reformation" which had been sung earlier by Phil Margetts in the Seventeenth Ward schoolhouse to the tune of "Rosa May."

The reformation has commenced,
 All hail! the glorious day,
 May God his Holy Spirit send
 To guide us on his way:
 Now, brethren, the time has come
 For wickedness to cease;
 So live like honest Saints of God,
 And righteousness increase.
 ... Chorus

Then, O, brethren, come
 And let us all agree
 And strive to gain the blessings
 In store for you and me.

To gain these blessings we must try
 And do what we are told;
 I'll tell you what we ought to do,
 If you won't think me bold:
 We ought to put down wickedness,
 We ought to watch and pray,
 We ought to build the kingdom up—
 Not loaf our time away.
 ... Chorus

²² *Journal of Discourses*, IV, 61.

We ought to have our houses neat,
 Our Teachers to obey,
 We ought to keep our bodies clean,
 Our tithing always pay:
 We ought our brother's character
 Keep sacred as our own,
 Attend to business all we can,
 Let other folks alone.

... Chorus

We ought our bishops to sustain,
 Their counsels to abide
 And knock down every dwelling
 Where wicked folks reside:
 We ought our Teachers to respect,
 Not give them looks nor snubs;
 And keep our ditches free from pots,
 Likewise from stinking tubs.

... Chorus

Now, sisters, list to what I say,
 With trials this world is rife
 You can't expect to miss them all,
 Help husband get a wife!
 Now, this advice I freely give,
 If exalted you would be,
 Remember that your husband must
 Be blessed with more than thee.

Then, O, let us say,
 God bless the wife that strives
 And aids her husband all she can
 T' obtain a dozen wives.

Now, brethren, let us study
 To do the will of God;
 If it's sowing, reaping, preaching,
 We'll get a just reward:
 Keep sacred all your covenants,
 And do the best you can;
 I pray that God will bless you all,
 Worlds without end. Amen.

... Chorus

The Reformation permeated all walks of life while it lasted. When attendance was low at a Nauvoo Legion parade, it indicated to the church leaders that "repentance is needed there as well as in religion." The territorial legislature met at Fillmore on December 8, 1856, only to adjourn to Salt Lake City. It met again on December 18 in the Social Hall, but according to the Isaac Haight journal, not much business was done except preaching. "Both houses met in joint session and President Kimball required every member to repent of his sins and be baptized for remissions of same before any business could be done, preparations were then made and all the members repaired to the Endowment House, were baptized in the font, confirmed, & all were made to rejoice."²³ Hosea Stout confirms the above by reporting: ". . . House went into the Council Chambers where President H. C. Kimball was preaching with great power being filled with the spirit of God. Nearly all the members spoke all being filled with the spirit the meeting lasted till dark. The power and testimony of the Elders of Israel exceeded anything that I have seen in many a day. It was truly a pentecost."²⁴

The Reformation wave passed its peak during the winter, and when the streams ran again, after their freezing, most of the baptizing was completed. On June 7, 1857, Brigham Young announced that during the past six months "comparatively a hundred tons of care and anxiety had been removed from his shoulders" and indicated that most of the objectives of the movement had been achieved. Most of the membership of the church had been baptized; some had been excommunicated, and others had simply left the territory.

The movement to consecrate property to the church subsided with the close of the Reformation. The "Utah War" which brought Johnston's Army, and a new governor to Utah the next year, resulted in a considerable shift in political control, and the deeds consecrating property to the church were filed away and forgotten. Another reason for the passing of the consecration movement was that only one-third of the church members had responded with their property in the first place. Polygamous marriages, which rose sharply in the Reformation period, dropped by 1859 to a fifth of the number in the years 1856 and 1857.²⁵ Except for recurrent flareups as reactions to outside pressures, plural

²³ Isaac Haight Journal, entry of December 30, 1856. Typescript copy in library of the Utah State Historical Society.

²⁴ Hosea Stout Journal, entry of Tuesday, December 23, 1856. Original copy in library of the Utah State Historical Society.

²⁵ Ivins, *loc. cit.*

marriages continued on the downgrade, numerically, until the Manifesto.

The practice of rebaptism died slowly. Not until three decades later was it effectively discouraged. It was not the only feature which lingered to the embarrassment of the Saints. The emotional stress had brought forth pronouncements from men in high places which gave enemies a golden opportunity to accuse the church of gross crimes and link it with weird doings of fanatical individuals. Chiefly this was in connection with the doctrine of blood atonement which was lifted out of the old Judaic law for nineteenth-century application. That the doctrine was preached by high officials is a matter of record; the intent of the sermons became a matter of conjecture; and the results therefrom set vivid imaginations working overtime. Blood fairly flowed through the writing of such men as Beadle in *Life in Utah or the Mysteries of Mormonism and Polygamy*, in Linn's *The Story of Mormonism*, and even Stenhouse's anonymous chapter on Reformation and Blood Atonement in his *Rocky Mountain Saints*. Numerous killings, including the Mountain Meadows massacre, were credited as the fruits of the doctrine.

Frequently quoted by non-Mormon writers in support of so-called blood atonement murders were the following from Brigham Young and Jedediah Grant. Said the former on September 21, 1856:

There are sins which men commit for which they cannot receive forgiveness in this world, or in that which is to come, and if they had their eyes open to see their true condition, they would be perfectly willing to have their blood spilt upon the ground, that the smoke thereof might ascend to heaven as an offering for their sins; and the smoking incense would atone for their sins, whereas, if such is not the case, they will stick to them and remain upon them in the spirit world.

I know, when you hear my brethren telling about cutting people off from the earth, that you consider it strong doctrine; but it is to save them, not to destroy them.

I do know that there are sins committed, of such a nature that if the people did understand the doctrine of salvation, they would tremble because of their situation. And furthermore, I know that there are transgressors, who, if they knew themselves, and the only condition upon which they can obtain forgiveness, would beg of their brethren to shed their blood, that the smoke thereof might ascend to God as an offering to appease the wrath that is kindled against them, and that the law

might have its course. I will say further; I have had men come to me and offer their lives to atone for their sins.

It is true that the blood of the Son of God was shed for sins through the fall and those committed by men, yet men can commit sins which it can never remit.³⁶

Jedediah Grant preached similarly in Salt Lake City:

I say, that there are men and women that I would advise to go to the President immediately, and ask him to appoint a committee to attend to their case; and then let a place be selected, and let that committee shed their blood.

We have those amongst us who are full of all manner of abominations, those who need to have their blood shed, for water will not do, their sins are of too deep a dye.

You may think I am not teaching you Bible doctrine, but what says the apostle Paul? [Heb. 9:22]. I would ask how many covenant breakers there are in this city and in this kingdom. I believe that there are a great many; and if they are covenant breakers we need a place designated, where we can shed their blood.

. . . And you who have committed sins that cannot be forgiven through baptism, let your blood be shed, and let the smoke ascend, that the incense thereof may come up before God as an atonement for your sins, and that the sinners in Zion may be afraid.³⁷

Omitted from quotations used by the anti-Mormons were restraining clauses such as follow from Brigham Young:

. . . The time has been in Israel under the law of God . . . that if a man was found guilty of adultery, he must have his blood shed, and that is near at hand. But now I say, in the name of the Lord, that if this people will sin no more, but faithfully live their religion, their sins will be forgiven them without taking life.

The wickedness and ignorance of the nations forbid this principle's being in full force, but the time will come when the law of God will be in full force.³⁸

The doctrine of blood atonement which involved concern for the salvation of those to be subjected to it, could have little meaning in the

³⁶ *Journal of Discourses*, IV, 53-54.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 49-51.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 21^o-20.

Mountain Meadows massacre, or any other of the murders laid improved on the Mormon threshold. Where Mormon individuals were involved, as in the case named, the motive was primarily revenge. The Reformation only could have influenced the Mountain Meadows massacre as a projection of its emotional and fanatical element into an explosive frontier situation.³⁹

Denials of murder charges which rode in on the backwash of the Reformation gradually resolved into defensible positions⁴⁰ that (1) some known killings of the reform period resulted from motives not related to blood atonement, (2) that in spite of extreme statements by some of its leaders the church did not officially condone taking life other than through legal processes,⁴¹ (3) responsibility for any reversions to primitive practices of blood shedding must rest upon fanatical individuals. The whole experience continued in memory as a reminder of ill effects growing out of good causes carried to extremes.

³⁹ To whatever extent the preachings on blood atonement may have influenced action, it would have been in relation to Mormon disciplinary action among its own members. In point would be a verbally reported case of a Mr. Johnson in Cedar City who was found guilty of adultery with his stepdaughter by a bishop's court and sentenced to death for atonement of his sin. According to the report of the reputable eyewitnesses, judgment was executed with consent of the offender who went to his unconsecrated grave in full confidence of salvation through the shedding of his blood. Such a case, however primitive, is understandable within the meaning of the doctrine and the emotional extremes of the Reformation.

⁴⁰ Charles W. Penrose, *Blood Atonement as taught by leading Elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1916), 37-44.

⁴¹ George Q. Cannon, *The History of the Mormons* (Salt Lake City, 1891), 17, 18.

MANIFESTO

Salt Lake City, Dec. 12th, 1889.

To Whom It May Concern:

In consequence of gross misrepresentations of the doctrines, aims and practices of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, commonly called the "Mormon" Church, which have been promulgated for years, and have recently been revived for political purposes and to prevent all aliens, otherwise qualified, who are members of the "Mormon" Church from acquiring citizenship, we deem it proper on behalf of said Church to publicly deny these calumnies and enter our protest against them.

We solemnly make the following declarations, viz:

That this Church views the shedding of human blood with the utmost abhorrence. That we regard the killing of a human being, except in conformity with the civil law, as a capital crime, which should be punished by shedding the blood of the criminal after a public trial before a legally constituted court of the land. . . .

We denounce as entirely untrue the allegation which has been made, that our Church favors or believes in the killing of persons who leave the Church or apostatize from its doctrines. We would view a punishment of this character for such an act with the utmost horror; it is abhorrent to us and is in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of our creed.

The revelations of God to this Church make death the penalty of capital crime, and require that offenders against life and property shall be delivered up and tried by the laws of the land.

Personal viewpoints offer a wide range of evaluations of the Reformation. To Stenhouse, the ill effects outstripped any good it may have accomplished. Its strongest supporters admit a fanatical fringe which marred its otherwise good results. But in spite of these the reform wave which swept the Mormon communities in 1856 may be listed on the credit side of the frontier ledger. Mormonism was a civilizing force at work in the Great Basin. Not unlike the experience of some other Christian communities, it threshed its harvest of converts vigorously, lost some of them together with the tares, but produced thereby a better product. The call to repentance in the Reformation was generally heeded and as a result, in the words of historian Andrew Neff, "the spiritual tone of the entire Mormon commonwealth was markedly raised."

We declare that no bishop's or other court in this Church claims or exercises civil or judicial functions, or the right to supercede, annul or modify a judgment of any civil court. Such courts, while established to regulate Christian conduct, are purely ecclesiastical, and their punitive powers go no further than the suspension or excommunication of members from Church fellowship. . . .

(Signed):

Wilford Woodruff,	George Q. Cannon,	Joseph F. Smith,
<i>Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.</i>		
Lorenzo Snow,	Francis M. Lyman,	John W. Taylor,
Franklin D. Richards,	John Henry Smith,	M. W. Merrill,
Brigham Young,	George Teasdale,	A. H. Lund,
Moses Thatcher,	Heber J. Grant,	Abraham H. Cannon,

Members of the Council of the Apostles,

John W. Young,	Daniel H. Wells,
<i>Counselors.</i>	



This view of the Great Salt Lake is a reproduction of a steel-engraving from a sketch made by Frederick Piercy, first printed in *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley* by Frederick Piercy, James Linforth, ed., and published in Liverpool, 1855.

STANSBURY'S SURVEY OF THE INLAND SEA

*By Bernice Gibbs Anderson**

Mysterious and brooding, the Great Salt Lake links its past to ancient Lake Bonneville and to several predecessors of that historic body of water. In winter it forms a view grand and magnificent, the never-freezing water deeply blue and the encircling snow-covered mountains forming a framework of silver. In summer its wild desolate beauty lies in a different setting, the clinging salt flats dazzling white under the blazing sun, and the waters changing from turquoise to sheets of shimmering steel.

Although it is one of the greatest tourist attractions of Utah, some of her people regard the Great Salt Lake as useless, too salty for swimming, no good for fishing, and dangerous for boating. But its sunsets

* Mrs. Anderson of Corinne, Utah, is a local representative of a Salt Lake City newspaper. She has maintained a life-long interest in the history of the construction of the great overland railroad, and particularly the drama of its completion as climaxed by the driving of the Golden Spike on May 10, 1869. "Stansbury's Survey of the Inland Sea" is an interpretation of the original survey of the Great Salt Lake which to this very day presents a barrier to any overland travel to the Pacific. Captain Howard Stansbury's *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* (Philadelphia, 1852) must remain the main source of information for any writings on the first survey of the Great Salt Lake.

are world-famous, as are the Bonneville Salt Flats; and the Lucin Cut-off of the Southern Pacific Railroad is an engineering feat without rival. In the Promontory area are the famous Golden Spike Site, Indian caves, Diamond Mountain, and many other attractions.

To Captain Howard Stansbury of the Bureau of Topographical Engineers of the United States Army goes the credit for the first and most complete survey of America's Inland Sea.

Stansbury was sent west to find a route for a railroad which could span the continent, to survey the Great Salt Lake and adjacent region, and to further establish the claims of the United States to the comparatively unknown Intermountain Territory.

Naturally the Mormon people, fearful of repetitions of their expulsion from Illinois and Missouri, were apprehensive of such a move, but upon reassurance by Captain Stansbury to Brigham Young that no harm was intended to them, they pledged full support of the survey which would have been almost impossible without their help and cooperation.

Stansbury was ordered to report to Fort Leavenworth on May 10, 1849, where he was to accompany the Mounted Rifles en route to Oregon as far as Fort Hall, then go south to Utah Territory. Unavoidable delays caused his separation from the troops. Cholera added to his troubles; but finally on May 31, he started west with a party of California bound emigrants.

Lieutenant J. W. Gunnison, his assistant and the only other officer in his party, was ill with cholera and had to be carried on a bed in a wagon—the same Lieutenant Gunnison who was massacred with his party by Indians on the Sevier River in Utah a few years later.

The trip west was not enticing. The surveyors encountered returning parties of disillusioned emigrants and found graves of many who had died along the way, sad reminders of a tortuous trail into a forbidding land. Prowling Indians stole horses from their camp, and violent rainstorms soaked them.

The Stansbury party met Captain Bonneville at Fort Kearney. Here in the valley of the Platte, Stansbury tasted his first buffalo meat, not relishing it because it was "Old Bull." Farther on he noted prairie dog villages, white burrowing owls, and more herds of buffalo. His party became entangled in the mud of the Platte, which Beadle later described as being "too thin to walk on, too thick to drink, too shallow for navigation, too deep to ford, too yellow to wash in, and too pale to paint with." The river was useless as far as the explorers were con-

cerned, but Stansbury was amazed at the geographical features of the vast open country.

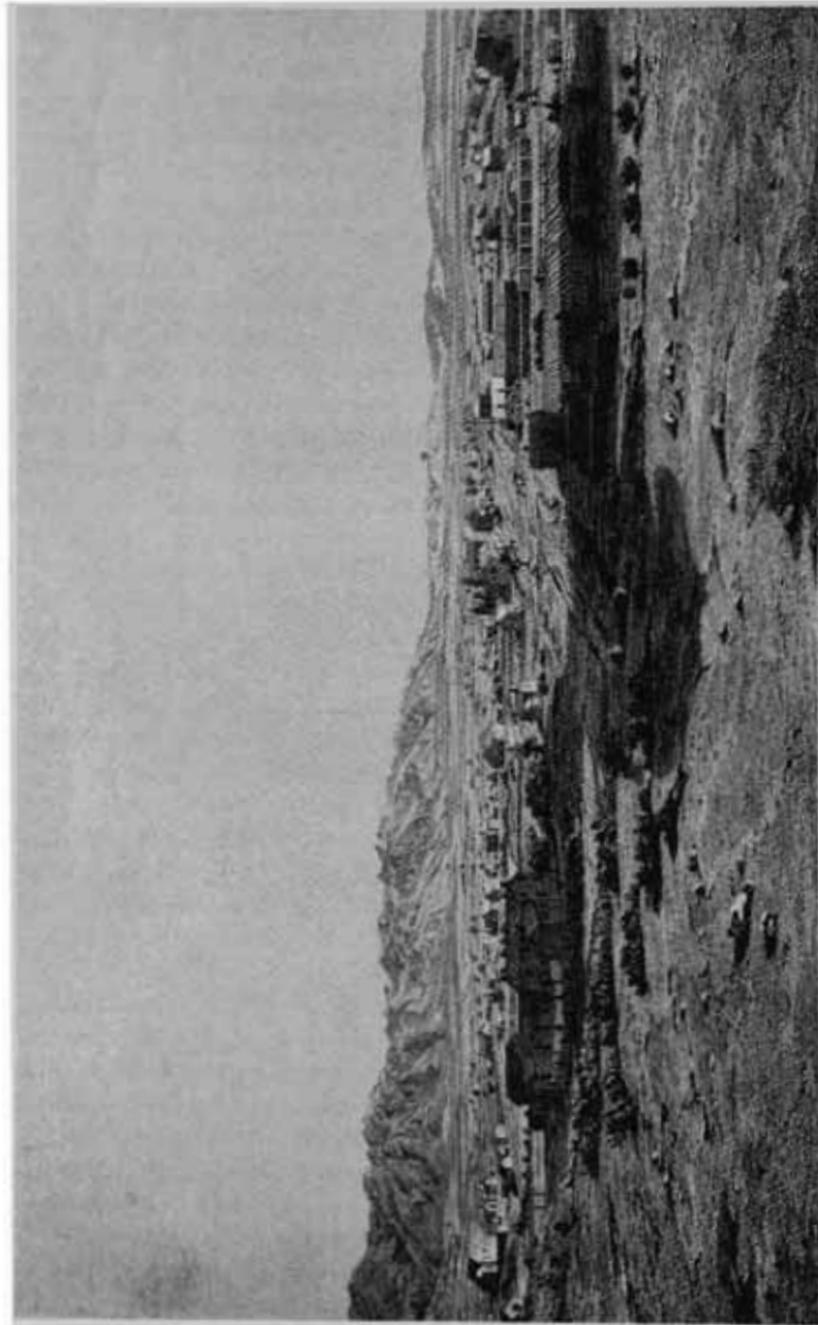
July the Fourth was spent on the Platte River amid drenching rains. Seeing some Indian lodges across the river, Stansbury went to investigate. Inside he found the bodies of nine Sioux Indians wrapped in buffalo robes with saddles, spears, and other paraphernalia piled around them. The stark realism of the West was apparent as he visited five other lodges and found other bodies lying in state inside them. Then he noticed a lodge a short distance from the others. Inside was the body of a richly dressed young Indian girl of about eighteen. She was wrapped in two beautifully embroidered robes worked with porcupine quills. The robes on the upper part of her body were disturbed as if she had flung out her arms for help. Later he learned from a party of white men that the Indians had died of cholera, and the girl, while still alive, had been abandoned as being past recovery. These same white men claimed to have seen her while still alive, but left her to her fate. This caused Stansbury to question just who could be called the savages, her own people or the party of white men who left without aiding her.

At Chimney Rock, Scotts Bluff, and Fort Laramie, Stansbury took observations on the vegetation, rock formations, temperatures, and climate. Along the trail he noted evidence of a fault common to most emigrants, that of overloading their vehicles. Abandoned by the side of the trail as excess baggage were stoves, trunks, farming implements, furniture, books, tools, and even rifles. Here, too, were found dead oxen, for the poor beasts had dropped in their tracks.

At Fort Bridger a long discussion took place with Jim Bridger, the noted scout, who gave Stansbury many valuable tips on traveling in the isolated region. Here the party separated, Lieutenant Gunnison taking the wagon train directly into Salt Lake City while Stansbury sought a shorter route to the north end of the Great Salt Lake.

Going northwest from the Mormon Trail, Stansbury worked his way down the valley of the Bear River in Wyoming and through the mountain ranges down to Ogden's Hole, winter rendezvous of the fur trappers. His first view of the Great Salt Lake was from Ogden Canyon. At Brown's settlement [later Ogden City] on the Weber River he was refused food or lodging, and he commented on the inhospitable reception, contrasting it with the generous greeting he was given in Salt Lake City upon his arrival there two days later.

In Salt Lake he found the people very stirred up by a visit from General Wilson, newly appointed Indian Agent from California, who



An early view of the Mormon capital, taken from the north, is a reproduction of a sketch of Great Salt Lake

City made by Frederick Piery and first printed in *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake City*, Liverpool, 1855.

had informed the Mormons they would probably be expelled from the lands they occupied. The general had created the impression that the survey was to be made for recording claims of the government and breaking the land up into townships and sections for the purpose of destroying the colony. Knowing that the success of this survey depended upon the aid he could receive from the Mormon people, Stansbury immediately sought out Brigham Young and assured him that he was sent here merely to survey the lake. He received in return the promise that the Mormons would support him in this work. The church leaders had already considered such a survey and had deemed it too expensive for them to undertake alone; therefore, they were very glad that it was to be done by the government.

On the twelfth of September, 1849, Stansbury left Salt Lake City, going north along the Wasatch Range to the ford on the Bear River (Hampton's), and then north to Fort Hall and Cantonment Loring where the Mounted Rifles were establishing a military post. These were the two regiments that he was supposed to have accompanied from Fort Leavenworth earlier in the season, but could not because of the illness of some of his own company.

In the meantime Lieutenant Gunnison was assigned the work of triangulating the Great Salt Lake and Utah valleys, in which he was to be assisted by Albert Carrington while Stansbury was absent.

Delayed at the military post by the late arrival of his supplies, Stansbury left Fort Hall on October 6, returned to the Bear River ford and set up camp. From here a survey of Cache Valley was made, which included pastures, streams, mill sites, irrigation possibilities, timber, and other natural resources that might contribute to the setting up of a military post. He also noted that a road from Fort Bridger through Blacksmith's Fork Canyon would attract travel to Oregon and California. Later he recommended this route for the proposed railroad as an alternative to the Utah Valley route south of the Great Salt Lake.

On October 19, Stansbury sent the provision wagons on to Salt Lake City and commenced his first reconnaissance trip around the lake. He started from the Bear River ford, which, he states, was about two miles down from the point where the river broke through the Wasatch Range. In the party were seven men with sixteen mules.

A short distance west the party crossed the deep, narrow Malad River and camped on the bare ground as there was no timber for tent poles. Early the next morning they rode along the emigrant trail toward Point Look-Out, then turned southwest to the present Promontory



Albert Carrington's home, originally located north of the east portal of the Old Fort, now enshrined under a

peristyle on the Salt Lake Temple grounds. During the winter of 1849-1850 Stansbury was a guest in this cabin.

Range and went down its eastern side. After two days they reached the point of the range and received their first impressive view of the lake, though most of it was "lost in a dreamy mist."

With the realization that timber for the triangulation stations and also fresh water would have to be transported to this area by boat, Stansbury was suddenly struck with the immensity of his task. Riding north, he began to look for water. The Indian trail led them along the western base of the Promontory Range, and he was relieved to find a spring of fresh water several miles farther on. Not far from the spring the trail left the Promontory and turned to the northwest, toward Monument Point — later so named by Stansbury.

As they left the Promontory, the reconnaissance became one of the Salt Desert more than of the lake. As they went on through the flat shore areas of the lake, fresh water became more of a problem and some of the mules gave out. Rains turned the muddy salt flats into a quagmire. Finally the springs at the foot of Pilot Peak were reached, and, although the season was late, the party stopped to rest for a few days. On the trip thus far Stansbury had been impressed and thrilled with the immense numbers of wild fowl he had seen on the waters east of the Promontory, the beautiful mirages on the salt flats — grotesque, fantastic, and unlike any he had ever witnessed — and the heavy silence which pressed down upon the land. Near Pilot Peak were the abandoned wagons and goods of the ill-fated Donner Party. Stansbury noted great quantities of clothing, tools, books, furniture, and some wagons and dead oxen left in the futile attempt to get out of the desert and across the Sierra Nevada before winter struck. He crossed the rest of the Salt Desert without mishap, and on November 7 reached Black Rock and returned to Salt Lake City. A complete trip around the mysterious lake he had come west to survey and map had been made.

After a winter spent pleasantly in Salt Lake City, a reconnaissance of the lake itself seemed the best way to start the survey. A boat, or yawl, had been built upon the banks of the Jordan River. In this they started for the lake, but had a difficult time getting it through the shallow water at the mouth of the river. The spirits of the party soared when they reached deeper water in the lake, the sails filled, and the boat began to glide over the water.

Many names for the craft were suggested but *The Salicornia* or *Flower of Salt Lake* which the men soon shortened to the *Sally* was finally decided upon. A small skiff was placed on board, and it became one of the most valuable pieces of equipment of the entire expedition.

Spring [first week of April 1850] was in the air even though snow covered the nearby mountains and the islands in the lake. The surveyors reached Antelope Island where Albert Carrington had set up camp. He had come from the mainland over the "Sand Bar" where the water was shallow enough for wagons to cross. Antelope, sixteen miles long and five miles broad at its widest part, was the largest island in the lake, and a triangulation station was set up on its crest three thousand feet above the lake surface. The view from this point was described as "grand and magnificent, with the whole lake being seen, deeply blue, with the islands and the encircling mountains covered with snow—a superb picture set in a framework of silver!"

Castle Island, named by the Mormons, lay ten miles to the north. It had been so named from an oblong rocky eminence at its summit resembling a ruined castle. As Frémont had named it "Disappointment Island," Stansbury renamed it after Frémont. A search was made for the cover of the telescope which Frémont stated he had lost there on his visit, but it was not found. Frémont had noted here several well-defined waterlines, most apparent on the north side of the island, and stated that no springs could be found. However, one, which was under water part of the year, appeared later. Frémont Island was found to be four-teen miles in circumference.

Just off Antelope Island lay a small rocky islet destitute of vegetation but literally covered with wild waterfowl, including ducks, white brandt, blue herons, cormorants, and gulls—all nesting in the crevices of the rocks. After erecting a station on this islet, the party started for another about twenty miles to the west. A fierce gale came up, one of the masts was carried away, and the crew became seasick, but they reached their destination before dark and were able to erect a station on the crest of the island which was between six and seven hundred feet high and about six and a half miles around. Here they found roofing slate and cubes of bisulphuret of iron in the laminated rock. This island was later named Carrington Island after Albert Carrington.

Next morning they visited a small island lying about five miles northward, which they named Hat Island. The water west of it was found to be shallow. After erecting a station on Hat Island they returned to Frémont Island, rowing nearly all the way in water which was from eighteen to thirty-three feet deep. The surveyors climbed to the top of Frémont and covered the triangulation station with red cloth so that it could be seen from a distance. Mention is made of finding iron pyrites, mica, granite, feldspar, and quartz, along with slate.

On the following day the party visited Mud Island, eight miles away, which they reached by dragging the large boat to within a half mile of the shore. Wading to the shore through a deep dark colored mass which produced a villainous odor when disturbed, they found it to be composed of the larvae of insects lying upon the lake bottom. Here also were dark cakes of mud with a greenish under-surface which emitted a sulphurous odor from gas rising through small orifices in the sand. Tired out, they returned to Antelope Island.

The next day they broke up the camp and headed for the north end of the lake to find fresh water. They passed Frémont Island and headed into the shallow water of the Bear River Bay. Coasting along the eastern side of the Promontory, they were unable to approach the shore and finally had to drag the boat to a shoal and leave her stuck fast in the mud a mile and a half out. Tents and provisions were placed in the skiff and dragged as far as possible, then everything was carried the rest of the way. Camp was made in a rocky ravine which cut through the southern point of a low rocky peninsula at the foot of, and parallel to, the main promontory. They named this "Rock Gate Camp."

The men separated into two parties, and the survey of the bay began. In the afternoon a violent storm rolled over the Promontory, and Stansbury's party reached camp soaked through. Sagebrush fires dried them out, and the fires were kept going all night. But there was no sign of the party led by Lieutenant Gunnison. Early the next morning Gunnison and his men finally straggled in—wet, cold, and exhausted. They had become lost in the storm on the east side of the bay and spent the night lying edgewise in the boat, like sardines in a can, with only a muddy piece of canvas to protect them from the weather. Nevertheless, they soon recovered after getting dry clothes, a hot breakfast, and a nap.

The *Sally*, although empty, was grounded on the flat, for the wind had swept the shallow water south. It took all hands to shove her over the mud for a half mile to water deep enough to float her, and the crew became numbed by a chill wind from the snow-covered hills. Then they ran aground on a shoal and had to push the boat across it. Frémont Island finally was reached at nine that night, and the surveyors ate a supper of fried bacon, hard bread, and a single gallon of coffee, for they were almost out of water.

Next morning the sun was shining and the party headed for Promontory Point. They landed on the southern tip, made camp, and dried themselves out. That night it rained again. Next day a cold north

wind raised high swells on the lake as they started for Stansbury Island to erect a station on its northern summit. Then running under sail the men made it to Black Rock where only after great effort were they able to raise a station of heavy timbers previously hauled there for that purpose.

From Black Rock, Lieutenant Gunnison and his party left for Salt Lake City, but first a beef was killed from the herd in Tuilla [Tooele] Valley and divided between the two groups. Stansbury had foresightedly acquired such provisions early in the spring. The same afternoon Stansbury again started for Promontory Point in the *Sally* to join Albert Carrington who had been left there in charge of the camp. As none of the crew knew how to steer a boat, they wrapped themselves in buffalo skins and went to sleep. Stansbury, numbed with the cold, stood a watch of twelve hours during which time they sailed about thirty miles across the dark waters. At the camp on Promontory they found Carrington absent. He had gone to Frémont Island where he had completed a detailed survey of the island in spite of the fact that his party was out of fresh water. He returned, however, to camp that same afternoon.

At this camp, Stansbury experimented to preserve the fresh beef he had brought back by packing it in barrels filled with the salt water. In twelve hours a chunk of beef was found to be fairly well "corned." After this all their supplies of fresh meat were preserved in this way, fresh water being added at times to keep the meat from becoming too salty for use.

Next morning they embarked on the lake again, but a stiff breeze from the west prevented them from going farther than seven miles around the western side of the range. Here they camped for the night. Nearby was an Indian cave in the cliffs in which they built a huge fire and enjoyed, of all things, a "dance" to the strains of a fiddle played by one of the party.

By now it was the last of April. The party moved north along the shore seeking fresh water and found some brackish springs. Crossing a shallow reef of flat rock, they came to deeper water. Before them lay a large bay [Spring Bay] surrounded by mountains, which Stansbury describes as having "a wild and peculiar beauty." The water was thirty to forty feet deep here, and a projecting rocky point on the shore was crossed by a well-defined Indian trail. Caves studded the hillsides, and a ledge of flat sandstone lay to the southwest under about two feet of

water, though the ledge protruded above the water near the shore. Flat Rock Camp was made here in a thicket of greasewood and sagebrush.

To the north the mountains "forming a landscape both beautiful and spectacular" made a circular sweep away from, and then back to, the shore. "In the center of the arc a fantastic mass of limestone reared its outline against the sky, a striking resemblance to a ruined abbey, glowing and glistening in the rays of the setting sun!" The shore party reached camp that evening after finding very good water at the head of the bay to the north. Going to it, Stansbury recognized the same spot he had passed on horseback the previous autumn on his trip around the lake. The water flowed out from under the mountain in springs. The springs were cleaned out and deepened, and a pier of stones was built where casks of fresh water could be loaded more easily onto the boat. During the remaining survey of the lake, water was hauled from these springs, sometimes as far as forty miles, but the crew were saved many weary trips to Antelope Island for fresh water. Stansbury also found the silkweed, or milkweed, growing there.

Near here three Shoshone Indians, who seemed to want to borrow the small boat to visit the islands in the lake, appeared. They were given a hearty supper, and they went away delighted with their visit. Another bay lay between the Promontory Range and Monument Point. Far to the northwest lay a snowcapped range. As they proceeded westward around the north end of the lake, the land party surveyed the shoreline, and the land and the boat parties tried to camp together every night, either in the boat or on the shore.

As Stansbury neared Monument Point, he saw what appeared to be a forest of cedar trees on the hillsides along the shore. Later they proved to be huge broken pieces of iron tinted rock. A high knob lay to the southwest, a mile from the lake and about six hundred feet in elevation, where they placed a triangulation station. Along the bench were found rounded sandy globules. Had Stansbury searched more closely, he would have found this kind of sand along the Promontory shores. As the survey progressed into the northwest arm of the lake, the area became more desolate and forbidding, with the water near the shore becoming more shallow. Only one spot appeared that could lay claim to resemblance of an island in the extreme northern part of the lake. This they called Dolphin Island, and here a camp was established.

Another island lay about twenty miles to the southwest. After one unsuccessful attempt to reach it, owing to a breeze against them, they made it the next day after hours of rowing. A small islet lay a hundred

yards north of the larger island, with a small neck of land forming a bay between the two. High cliffs line the north and west sides of this island which Stansbury named in honor of Lieutenant Gunnison. This same island was later to be homesteaded by Alfred Lambourne who lived alone here for fourteen months in his homesteading adventure.

Flocks of pelicans and gulls darkened the air at the intrusion of the survey party. The cliffs echoed with discordant screams of the birds as they hovered over their unfledged young huddled in nests on the ground. Half-grown birdlings crowded in groups on the beaches while the old birds retired to the far side of the bay where they stood soldier-like in ranks. A full-grown pelican was surprised and captured by the men. He snapped at everyone who came near him, but he was taken with the party when they left the island.

The hills next to the lake on the west were low, while to the northwest the snowcapped ranges rose one above another in the distance. As it was impossible for the boats to go to the north end of the lake because of the shallow water, Stansbury decided to proceed directly to the western shore. The shore party was left to follow what Stansbury called the old "storm line" around the end of the lake.

Each night the two parties met to camp on the shore, and the men in the boat had to make their way for about two miles through soft, blue, ankle-deep clay. Gnats made them miserable. On each approach to land they found that a mud flat lay between them and the sagebrush which now afforded them the sole means of fire for cooking and warmth.

Near the extreme northwest end of the lake was a brackish spring where remains of old Indian lodges were found. Here a camp was made next to a high rock, which Stansbury called Turret Rock Camp. The shore party arrived about ten at night, having crossed the extensive flat after a day's work on seven miles of chain line. No timber was available, so they erected the stations of stone — one a mile west of Turret Rock, and one upon a high rocky cliff about a mile north of the camp.

From Turret Rock Camp a plain of white sand, with high rocky hills rising occasionally like islands, stretched westward to a lofty range of mountains. On leaving the camp, the boat crew waded out to the boat and by noon were under way. Turning south, they encountered two long sand bars between them and what they supposed to be the shore. When they rounded the bars, they saw a boundless flat of white salt and brush about half a mile away. They soon found that they were following a mirage and the brush was at least two miles away. Stans-

bury decided to send some of the men to get the firewood and the rest were to camp where they were. Within half a mile the wood crew stumbled upon two little streams of fresh cool water, which they followed only a short distance to discover that the water sank into the sand.

In order to guide the shore party to the camp, fire was set to the dry grass nearby. In a short time the men appeared, thoroughly tired out. They reported finding streams of water which originated in the mountains to the north and burst forth from the lower terraces of the lake, finally sinking into the sand in a few miles. This was the last fresh water they found on the western side of the lake.

Next morning the shore party were unloaded south of the marshes they had waded through the previous day. Camp was made that night without any fire, and the lake men arrived back about ten o'clock — tired, hungry, wet — and very disappointed at not getting a hot supper.

Stansbury decided to leave the shore party and go back several miles to the last flow of good water running into the lake. The wind came up as they filled their kegs and prepared for the return journey. They found the *Sally* was marooned high and dry, for the wind had blown the water south half a mile. The skiff was dragged out to the water and sent to a point agreed upon with the shore party, and the men coiled themselves up in the bottom of the large boat to sleep until the wind changed and caused a reflux of the water to float it once more. During the night the wind changed and they were driven farther upon the shore by the rising waters. At daylight they found themselves still on the mud flat, but farther north as the water had again receded. With the rising sun the wind changed to the south again and the water came back, making a difference of as much as a foot in the depth of the lake in a very short time. At about the same time the shore party in the skiff rejoined the main body. Both crews succeeded in dragging the *Sally* into deeper water; whereupon, they set out to return to camp.

All the men had floundered around in the soft salty mud for days, and the exposure and fatigue were beginning to have their effect. Supplies were low. Stansbury decided to leave several of the men in camp, take the others with him and return to Antelope Island, some sixty miles away, from whence a team could be dispatched to the city.

It took most of a day rowing and sailing by spurts to get started through the shallow water. At sundown a northwest wind came up, and the men slept in their blankets while Stansbury steered the *Sally*. This night remained long in his memory; the boat glided over the sullen black waters with not the slightest sound to relieve the solitude,

and as they passed the shadow of the frowning Promontory Mountains, the sense of solitude and lifelessness was oppressive. At daylight they hove to for breakfast, fifteen miles from Antelope. Stopping at Egg Island, just north of Antelope, they found it covered with birds' eggs, and they filled half a barrel with them before discovering that most of the eggs were bad.

The point of destination on the eastern side of Antelope Island was reached at about five o'clock. Stansbury left immediately for the city. After securing the necessary supplies, he returned to the island, a beef was killed, and the party started out to rejoin their companions on the northwest shore of the lake.

It took them four days to reach the salt plains of the western shore, a region dubbed by the men "Tophet." At two o'clock in the morning they grounded near what they thought was the mainland north of Dolphin Island and supposedly a half mile from camp. Shouldering water and supplies they began to trudge toward camp. Plodding bare-footed through sand, they suddenly found themselves in water which deepened as they went on until it was waist high. They were forced to return to solid ground where they made a fire of sagebrush and slept until morning. At daylight the sight of some of the shore party approaching in the skiff revealed that they had gone over a wide sand flat extending northward from the island, had crossed it, and had wandered into the main channel between it and the west shore.

The shore party were refreshed with supplies and water, and the *Sally* was hauled up on the beach for repairs. The gnats became almost intolerable. Flat salt plains extended north and west with no fresh water in the region, and they had to depend upon water hauled from the spring on Promontory. Stansbury noted a bed of beautiful salt crystals glittering like diamonds on the flat shore of the lake. On the thirty-first of May, the boat was put into the water and the party sailed for Gunnison Island, with the smaller skiff following.

Towering white clouds, or "thunderheads," were piling up and a storm was brewing, but the sapphire water was beautiful. Most of the party, including Stansbury, landed to survey the island, and the rest were sent off in the *Sally* for Indian Springs on Promontory to obtain a new supply of fresh water. The storm broke with a furious gale. The survey party waited anxiously for the small skiff which had started with them that morning. A lookout reported that he thought he saw it join the *Sally*, but in the gloom he was not sure. An uncomfortable night was passed with no boats in sight by morning.

In mid-afternoon just before another storm broke over the lake, the *Sally* was sighted. She was soon anchored, much to the relief of Stansbury, who had seen himself and the survey crew cast away on this isolated island without water or food, the boats dashed to pieces, and the crews drowned in the storm. The party in the skiff had been picked up by the *Sally* the previous day and the skiff taken in tow, but the tow rope had parted in the storm and the skiff had been lost. Next morning the skiff was sighted on the water four or five miles to the south and was soon retrieved.

From this point they sailed toward a high peak on the western shore which was connected by a wide sand bar to a rocky range, a range Stansbury had crossed the previous fall. They gave the peak the name of "Strong's Knob." Cliffs of black limestone lined the flat, and from one of the highest peaks rose a mass of rocks which they designated "Cloth Cap" from its resemblance to that article.

The salt desert stretched west to a great barrier range of mountains, while to the south it was lost in a haze. East of them the lake lay in "placid beauty," and the peaks of the nearby range stood out against the azure sky. But the beauty of the scene was obscured by the fact that in order to complete the shore survey, the distance by land from here back to Dolphin Island had to be traversed.

Two days were spent in the survey of Gunnison Island. Water was getting low again, and they started for the spring on Promontory, rowing across water averaging between fifteen and thirty-six feet. Near midnight a slight breeze sprang up, the tired men went to sleep in their blankets, and Stansbury steered in the weird moonlight across the dark water.

Day was breaking as they reached the little pier of stone and landed to have breakfast. They filled their vessels with water and started back, reaching Gunnison Island by early afternoon. Stansbury noticed that the gull eggs which had covered the ground upon their arrival a few days earlier had mysteriously disappeared; evidently the gulls themselves had removed them.

Leaving Gunnison, they returned to the inhospitable flats on the western shore. Stansbury decided to abandon the forbidding storm line¹ across the desert where some of his men would surely have perished had they attempted to survey it on foot. It was decided to run the survey

¹ The "storm line" which Stansbury mentions frequently is evidently the most recent terrace cut by the receding lake. In places it is several miles from the water.

directly across to Strong's Knob. Shallow water was found here, and the men once more had to wade in mud.

Provisions again were low. Once more they set out in the *Sally* for Antelope Island. Sand bars were encountered between Carrington and Stansbury islands and the boat had to go north to get around them. Stansbury, as before, steered the boat over the dark lake while his crew slept—the roar of breakers on a rocky reef extending out from the sand bars being the only sound.

Antelope Island was serene and lovely in the morning sunlight as they landed the next morning. Birds were singing in the box elder tree at the spring, and antelope grazed on a nearby hill. Lieutenant Gunnison was waiting with the year's first mail. It was now June 15 [1850].

Another storm came up as they began the return trip to the central part of the lake. Two days were spent surveying Carrington Island and a small island five miles to the north. They found that the station on Carrington had been torn down by wandering Indians. It was evident that Indians had swum to the island to secure the red cloth marking the station.

On June 20, a camp was established on Stansbury Island. The ensuing survey established the fact that the island was twelve miles long and twenty-seven miles in circumference. Stansbury noted that it was at this time, in fact, a peninsula. Its peaks reached three thousand feet above the lake, and a "dome" frowned down from the summit. Springs on the western side furnished water.

By prearrangement, on June 22 Stansbury contacted Lieutenant Gunnison by means of a signal fire, which was answered, and the two men met at Black Rock. Here it was arranged for Gunnison to complete the shoreline survey, starting near Strong's Knob. While Stansbury was returning to Stansbury Island, another drenching shower with high winds lashed the lake in sudden fury and drove him to shore for safety. However, the waves quickly subsided, and the men were able to reach the camp and soon dry themselves out.

On June 26 on the crest of Stansbury Island a circular wall of stone five feet in height was built, and upon the top of this was erected a triangulation station of wood covered with cloth. The next day the survey of the lake was finished, and on July 3 the observations upon the different triangulation stations which had been erected on the high points of land in and around the lake were begun. For thirteen days the lake was again traversed in every direction.

Since Gunnison had completed the survey of the eastern shore earlier, with the return of his party from the area near Strong's Knob the survey of the Great Salt Lake was finished. Meeting in Salt Lake City, the surveyors prepared to leave the Mormons whose kind and generous hospitality had been greatly appreciated by the whole party.

Stansbury deserves great credit for the work he accomplished in surveying this unusual lake. With great difficulty he transported his large party, often separated into three groups, a great distance into a barren forbidding region, supplying them with fresh water, food, and shelter under sometimes dangerous circumstances. His entire observations, including the railroad survey, extended over an area of approximately five thousand square miles.

On his return trip east, Stansbury was guided across the Laramie plains by Jim Bridger, and together they crossed the Black Hills near the Cheyenne Pass. As they proceeded east down Lodgepole Creek, Stansbury was severely injured and forced to return to Fort Laramie. In his report he cited the advantages of the Cheyenne Pass route for a railroad, and showed it to be sixty-one miles shorter than the South Pass route. In the Pacific Railway Report his route was rejected, but it was substantially the one over which the Union Pacific was finally built.

After his return to the East, Stansbury spent several years directing harbor construction on the Great Lakes. He was called into service during the Civil War, and died while in service at Madison, Wisconsin, on April 17, 1863.

Subsequently Lieutenant Gunnison and another surveying party were massacred by Indians on the Sevier River in Utah, on October 24, 1853. Both Stansbury and Gunnison were greatly respected and long have been remembered by the people of Utah.

The Salicornia or Flower of Salt Lake, alias the *Sally*, has long since disappeared. On summer evenings as a bank of white haze envelops the base of the island and the black peaks float weirdly in the still air, it is not hard to imagine her becalmed on the glass-like surface of the lake.

REVIEWS AND RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Navaho and Ute Peyotism: A Chronological and Distributional Study.

By DAVID F. ABERLE and OMER C. STEWART. (Boulder, Colorado, University of Colorado Press, 1957, 129 pp., \$2.50)

This study is not one of peyote as some other recent publications have been (Omer Stewart, "Ute Peyotism: A Study of a Cultural Complex," University of Colorado Studies, Boulder, Colorado, 1948, and J. S. Slokin, "The Peyote Religion," Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1956). Aberle and Stewart have made a technical and statistical study of the distribution of the peyote cult (religion) among the people of the Ute and Navaho reservations. The background of this religion can be better understood by referring to the studies listed above.

The authors, however, do give an excellent summary of the meaning of the peyote cult in the following words:

"The peyote cult is a pan-Indian, semi-Christian, nativistic movement centering about the performance of an all-night ritual in the course of which the peyote cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*) is consumed. The cactus contains a number of alkaloids which have complicated physiological and psychological effects ranging from wakefulness to the production of elaborate visions and hallucinations. The majority of peyote meetings are held to cure individuals of illness through the power of peyote and prayer. Cult members are loosely organized, the majority belonging to the Native American Church, which has a national or-

ganization, state organizations, and sometimes local organizations" (p. 1).

The chronological relationships of the various peyote cults have been, in this reviewer's opinion, well established. The authors point out that the Ute (Utah and Colorado) at least knew peyote by 1900 due to their contacts with the Cheyenne and other Plains Indian groups. The reviewer will accept the statement, with the proof given by the authors, that the Navaho received the peyote cult from the Utes and some Plains Indian contacts by 1938. This does not mean of course, as the authors point out, that peyote was not used by some individuals before this date.

The significance of this study for the anthropologist and historian is the emphasis put on the contact of the Ute and Navaho with Plains Indians and between each other in historical times. More studies should be made along this line to find out the significance of cultural exchange among these Indian tribes. It is suggested by the reviewer at this point that some of the diaries and studies made by early Mormon pioneers and missionaries to the Indians might give some light on early contacts among the Ute, Plains Indians, and Navaho, as well as the Pueblos to the south of the four-corners area.

The anthropologist and historian could and should read this study with profit relative to the use of historical and ethnological technique and data. A work like the present one makes for better understanding of acculturation and borrowing of cultural traits from one group of people by another.

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Homeward to Zion. By WILLIAM MULDER. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1957, 354 pp., \$7.50)

In this very readable book Dr. Mulder makes a fresh approach to the intriguing subject of Mormon immigration. From its prologue, which introduces Canute Peterson and Peter A. Forsgren as "firsts" among Scandinavian converts to Mormonism, to its epilogue, which comes back to them as venerable pillars of Zion, the book is chock-full of original materials revealing the spirit of the gathering from Scandinavia. Forty-three pages of "sources and notes" attest to years of painstaking research.

While the chapters dealing with proselyting, emigrating, and colonizing do not plough new ground, they are nonetheless valuable

in their wealth of intimate detail and local atmosphere. With skillful use of his well-known literary gifts, Dr. Mulder points up the difference between the experience of Scandinavian pioneers who helped develop Zion and others who settled in the Middle West. The differences lay in their dedication to the "building of the Kingdom" with all its implications. It is an exciting phase of American history when seen so intimately "through the immigrants' own eyes."

Dr. Mulder has bared the very soul of the Scandinavian segment of Mormon immigration through countless personal diaries and correspondence, church records, and official documents. By means of these he has introduced the reader into the intimate life of the Scandinavian neophytes in "Edens Nursery" as they "lived American lives through the *Star*," as they were absorbed into a new life in Utah, and during their cultural transition as evidenced through gradual substitution of English for Scandinavian words in their personal diaries.

A few minor items of statistics might be questioned. On page 25 the total Mormon emigration from the British Isles during the Nauvoo period is given as 3,000—which number is taken from Evans, *A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain*, p. 245. Andrew Jenson's listing (in *The Contributor*, XII, p. 441) of the emigrants by companies for each year from 1840 to 1846 adds up to 5,000, which is probably more nearly accurate.

"From 1850 to 1890 Utah was consistently ahead . . . of the Western division (of states) in the percentage of foreign born" may be questioned. For instance as against Utah's 35.3% of foreign born given for 1870, Arizona had 60.1%, California 37%, Colorado 16.5%, Idaho 52.7% and Nevada 44%. Actually Utah had a lower per cent of foreign born although a higher per cent of descendents from foreign parents.

The "Consecration" movement is referred to on p. 234 as "part of the Reformation of 1857, a major revival when the Saints at the approach of Johnston's Army were re-baptized. . . ." This should read 1856 because the reform wave reached its height in that year and had subsided before news of Johnston's Army reached the Saints in the summer of 1857.

Dr. Mulder has uncovered original sources to emphasize some phases of the Mormon story heretofore not fully appreciated. For example, the depth of Mormon penetration into certain areas of northern Europe; the extent of losses from the harvest of converts through disaffection, apostasy, and death; the important role of literature—pro and

anti—both in the mission fields and at home in Zion; the growth and influence of Protestant groups in molding Utah's culture. In the process he has made important contributions to western American literature.

GUSTIVE O. LARSON

Brigham Young University

Central Route to the Pacific. By GWINN HARRIS HEAP. Edited by LEROY R. and ANN W. HAFEN. Volume VII, *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875.* (Glendale, California, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1957, 346 pp., \$9.50)

In this seventh volume of *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series*, Dr. Hafen brings us one of the rarer sets of items in Western Americana. Gwinn Harris Heap was the companion of his cousin, Lieutenant Edward F. Beale, on a journey from Westport to California in 1853. The lieutenant was returning to his post as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California and, at the urgent bidding of Missouri's Senator Thomas Benton, was exploring the line of the so-called "central route" along which Benton hoped to see a transcontinental railway constructed. Beale's party was not an official surveying group, but actually preceded the government's party under the ill-fated Gunnison.

Benton, convinced that Cochetopa Pass was the whole key to the route, especially wanted details about that passageway which Fremont had missed in his tragic fourth expedition. Accordingly, Heap dwells at length on this area and includes several interesting drawings, all of which are reproduced in the present volume.

The editor has carefully annotated the journal and made Heap's previously unprinted journal into a thoroughly usable source. He has included extensive documents which show the character of the propagandistic efforts made in behalf of the central route. Less pertinent, perhaps, are several materials dealing with Beale's reports on Indian affairs.

Of peculiar interest to Utah scholars are Heap's observations on the Walker War. He quotes a pithy message from Chief "Walker" to Colonel G. A. Smith: "The Mormons were d - - - d fools for abandoning their houses and towns, for he did not intend to molest them there, as it was his intention to confine his depredations to their cattle, and that he advised them to return and mind their crops, for, if they neglected

them, they would starve, and be obliged to leave the country, which was not what he desired, for then there would be no cattle for him to take."

PHILIP C. STURGES
University of Utah

In Search of the Golden West, the Tourist in Western America. By EARL POMEROY. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1957, 233 pp., \$5.00)

If asked, almost anyone interested in the history of the West could mention one or two facets of the tourist trade there, but one would have to be widely read and reflective to marshal all the material so well arranged for us by Professor Pomeroy of the University of Oregon. As one reads he says, "of course, of course," but he would not have thought of all the factors for himself. Here, illumined with a good selection of apt quotations from tourists and others, is a summary of the changing patterns of tourism and its impact on the West.

How changing a story it is one does not realize until he reads this book. One tends to think of tourists as all of a type, coming to see the same things, but this was not the case. Dr. Pomeroy makes clear that two or three generations ago the visitors scorned — and the natives were embarrassed by — the very things which became romanticized and are now stellar attractions: Indians, the Spanish background, the ruggedness of the frontier, the desert. As he phrases it, "the Spaniard, the American pioneer, and the Indian joined hands posthumously" to attract and entertain the tourist.

Although the story goes back as far as the foreign visitors who went west with trappers and traders in the 1830's, it effectively begins with the completion of the transcontinental railroad. Fares were not low in the early days, and it was the classes and not the masses who came West. They were potential investors, and it was the Westerners' desire to stress the similarities to the East and Europe rather than the differences, and to gloss over the weakness of the cultural side of life. The author points out that as the frontier grew tamer in reality it grew wilder in myth — that in the early days of tourism the visitor was assured that the West was not really wild, whereas later he was assured that it really was. It was the appeal of similarity, of course, which led to the creation in the Rockies and on the shores of the Pacific of resorts which were transplanted versions of those of the east coast or the Continent, and where people went to be seen as much as to see.

From the wealthy tourist as a potential investor the book takes us through the period of the prosperous tourist as a potential settler to that of the tourist (rich or poor) as sightseer, not neglecting the minor current of the Westerners as sightseers within their own province. Along with these changes are traced the varying ideas of what the visitor should see, and of his reactions to it. It was mental set as much as transportation difficulties, for instance, which made an early visitor to the Yosemite say that everything worth seeing there could be seen from a carriage in the floor of the valley. As the out of doors became more appreciated we find summarized for us the hunter-tourist, the health-seeking tourist or settler, and those who wanted to camp out. This last pastime was greatly enhanced in the period of the automobile, but it goes well back, although often the tourists — whether with pack train or trailer — were "roughing it gently."

All these phases of the tourist in the West, right up to Disneyland, are presented by Dr. Pomeroy in a book well-organized, well-documented, and readable. As usual, Knopf has done a good job of book-making, and the reviewer did not notice even one typographical error to use as the customary final brickbat.

EDWIN H. CARPENTER, JR.

California Historical Society

Spirit Gun of the West, the Story of Doc W. F. Carver. By RAYMOND W. THORP. (Glendale, California, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1957, 266 pp., \$8.50)

If we are to take this book seriously — an open question in this reviewer's mind — we are asked to believe that "Doc" Carver was a marksman who rarely missed a target, whether a running buffalo, a flitting bat, a dime tossed into the air, or an assassin hiding in the branches of a tree. Throughout America, across Europe, and around the world, he traveled in a shower of shattered clay pigeons and glass balls, perforated coins, and dead pigeons of the feathered kind. No one could read the testimony without concluding that Carver was the best marksman of his or any other era. The margin by which he held that title and the factual basis of his claim are another matter.

The author explains that his chief source was Carver's scrapbook, now held incommunicado by a Mr. Nordin. Author Thorp states that he has had free access to these sixteen volumes, "to the exclusion of all other persons," and that "Mr. Nordin has sealed the scrapbooks from

public scrutiny." So much for the historian's chance to evaluate the evidence. Similarly privileged is Mr. Thorp's other resource, personal correspondence with Carver in his declining years. Admittedly a eulogy of Carver, the account has the air of an autobiography, almost "as told to Raymond W. Thorp." The very personal factor shows throughout, perhaps nowhere more strongly than in a sharp attack on the Buffalo Bill myth and on Mr. Cody's integrity.

Abundant bibliographical and footnote citations refer to newspaper accounts that are presumably in the public domain, but here we face the question of journalistic reliability in the seventies and eighties, when sensationalism glittered on every newspaper page. Without citations are a variety of incidental statements: the Indians left their old squaws out on the prairie to die; ducks fly at the rate of 120 miles per hour; and the electric light was invented by a man named Walter Hague.

Carver's organization of the early Wild West Shows is of more lasting interest and importance than his gun-handling, but it is the shooting that will impress the reader most powerfully. Probably the point is not whether he did break all those glass balls, hitting them with single rifle slugs while others missed them with handfuls of birdshot. To the general reader and historian a more significant item is the high public interest in the sport during those years, and the prominence of organized shooting on the national and world scene. In contrast, today's professional exhibitions, championship matches, and amateur plinking make shooting seem a lost art.

STANLEY R. DAVISON

Western Montana College of Education

Roundup: A Nebraska Reader. Edited by VIRGINIA FAULKNER. (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1957, xv + 493 pp., \$5.00)

The fifteenth anniversary of the University of Nebraska Press is used as the occasion to introduce the Press to a new reading public by producing a book with a wider reader appeal rather than a book of a technical nature which would be more characteristic of a university press. For this purpose, Emily Schossberger, editor of the Press, writes that it seemed altogether appropriate that the book should be, "a selection of the best and most illuminating writing about the state and its people — a book designed primarily for reading pleasure, intended to be entertaining rather than exhaustive."

This then is the purpose of the book. Miss Schossberger could well have added another bit of information to her note explaining the book. By almost any bookmaking standard this volume should have been priced from \$7.50 to \$10.00. In design, printing and binding it fits in this price range. In a real sense the University of Nebraska Press has subsidized its reading public on this volume in its desire to get its works in the hands of a wider reading public, and in a laudable and successful effort to collect and present selections of the best writing about the state that it represents in a single attractive package.

The selections in the book cover a considerable period of time, and a variety of contributors. Nebraska's best known authors are represented with selections from writers like Willa Cather, Mari Sandoz, and Bess Streeter Aldrich. A sampling of prominent literary figures writing about Nebraska brings selections from Mark Twain and Rudyard Kipling. Some of the better known writers of the present include Walter Prescott Webb, John Gunther, and Lucius Beebe. An obvious selection, and obnoxious after a recent widely publicized New York party, was from Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days*.

The bulk of the material in the book is from Nebraskans writing for an essentially Nebraska public, newspaper features, State Historical Society publications, and *The Prairie Schooner*, and these furnish the best material in the book. My favorite selection is "Nebraska Not in the Guidebook" from a recent *Prairie Schooner*. There is also a good selection of articles about Nebraska that have appeared in national magazines.

The book is well put together. Not the least of its excellence is the care and skill with which selections were made for the quotations and abridgements that are used to afford continuity and explanation of the different selections. Miss Faulkner is to be congratulated on her happy choices in this regard. They serve to make the book a meaningful collection rather than a miscellany with little reason for being brought together in a single volume.

The variety of materials used is broad, the quality of the individual pieces is high, the book is a handsome volume. It is not a guidebook or a comprehensive study of Nebraska in any sense, but it is an excellent interpretation of the state through the selection of a variety of writings about it.

W. D. AESCHBACHER

Nebraska State Historical Society

Industrial Development in Uintah County, Utah. (Prepared by the Chamber of Commerce, Vernal, Utah, in co-operation with the Utah Committee on Industrial and Employment Planning [1957], 25 pp., + index)

The compilers of this worthwhile little book explain in the Foreword that at this time when industrial development is at a zenith and expansion and decentralization are of prime concern, suitable areas for plant sites are sought. Here in Vernal, Utah, is an area suitable for industrial expansion. Here is a "friendly town, in a friendly state" with many natural resources. Upon the completion of the Upper Colorado River Storage Project there will be water and power in abundance for industrial and agricultural uses. The vast resources of phosphate, asphalt, oil shale, timber, and new lands can be developed. Uintah County will at last come into her own. The subjects covered in the various chapters are: history, non-metallic minerals, metallic minerals, agriculture, labor force, industrial sites, water, electric power, natural gas, transportation, market area, taxes, climate, community facilities, and recreation.

The book is lithographed and contains numerous illustrations, plus a water analysis chart and a climatological summary.

Buckskin and Blanket Days. By THOMAS HENRY TIBBLES. (New York, Doubleday and Company, 1957, 336 pp., \$4.50)

"In Bleeding Kansas in 1856, a young abolitionist soldier named Thomas Henry Tibbles was captured by the pro-slavery Border Ruffians and sentenced to death by hanging. He was not yet sixteen . . .

"Half a century later, by then the editor of a well-known newspaper and a noted authority of the American Indians, Tibbles set down his memoirs of the years between." The years were full and exciting, and the tale unfolded in this book ranges from glimpses of life as a guest of a friendly Omaha Indian tribe to experiences in Indian wars and buffalo hunting. It pictures the scope of Indian life with understanding and acceptance. After his years spent with the Indians, Tibbles returned to civilization. He went to college, became a preacher, and married Yosette (Bright Eyes), the daughter of the half-white chief of the Omahas, Iron Eye La Flesche. Bright Eyes had acquired a good education and the ability to speak and write for her people. Together Tibbles and his wife made long tours, at home and abroad, writing and speaking for Indian justice. As a correspondent for the *Omaha Herald*, he

was sent to Pine Ridge, South Dakota, during the ghost dancing and the surrender and massacre of Big Foot. He describes the terrible battle of Wounded Knee, last of the great Indian fights. Tibbles met and talked with Sitting Bull, who asked him to make it clearly understood that he was the last Indian to give up his gun.

This story has been recently serialized and printed in a popular magazine.

Wovoka, The Indian Messiah. By PAUL BAILEY. *Great West and Indian Series X.* (Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1957, xi + 223 pp., \$5.50)

"America's dealings with its Indian population stand as an indictment. The record of its drivings, its bloody extermination, its land theft, and its treaty repudiation, is no happy thing to examine. This blot upon our honor as a nation seems never to fade with time. And it is almost incredible that the final crowning infamy of the white man against his red brother—the massacre which broke the back and heart of the American Indian, wiped away the final vestige of his collective dignity, and sent the last of the great chiefs, Sitting Bull, to the grave—came about through the blundering misunderstanding of a nationwide religious revival whose basic tenets were closely akin to those of Jesus of Nazareth." So reads the first paragraph of Paul Bailey's interesting book.

Wovoka, the Nevada Paiute Indian who spent several years of his life living and working among white men, taught a doctrine of peaceful acceptance of the white man's ways. The Indian Messiah claimed to have a direct revelation from heaven in behalf of the defeated and defrauded American Indian. The story of the Ghost Dance religion, its spread to the various Indian tribes, and the white man's bloody campaign to destroy it, makes fascinating and informative reading.

Pioneer Years in the Black Hills. By RICHARD B. HUGHES. Edited by Agnes Wright Spring. (Glendale, California, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1957, 366 pp., \$10.00)

Richard B. Hughes went to the Black Hills in 1876 to search for gold. In order to support himself in his prospecting, he worked on Deadwood's *Weekly Pioneer* as a reporter. During the years 1876-77, he kept a daily journal. More than half a century later the journals

became the basis for his reminiscences, *Pioneer Years in the Black Hills*. The account covers a wide range: Indians; the beginnings and development of Deadwood, Custer, Rapid City, and other Hills' towns; the problems of travel, supplies, the outlaw element, swindles, and personalities in mining boom areas; prospecting; military expeditions against the Indians; the battle of Wounded Knee; frontier law enforcement and provisional government; and Hughes's own part in developing the resources and civilization of the Black Hills.

Contemporary photographs, an appendix, Hughes's day-to-day diary for the year 1876, and an adequate index are included. In addition the publishers have maintained their usual high standards in the book-making art.

Jim Beckwourth, Crow Chief. By OLIVE BURT. (New York, Julian Messner, Inc., 1957, 192 pp., \$2.95)

Olive Burt has chosen an exciting western character for her fifth biography. Although this is primarily a youth book, in it Mrs. Burt brings her central character into focus against the vigorous and turbulent pioneering period of his time. Jim Beckwourth was born in Fredericksburg, Virginia, in 1798, the son of a white father and Negro mother. He became a trapper and trader, dispatch rider and buffalo hunter, and guide for emigrant trains. Through a practical joke, made logical by his bronze skin coloring, the Crow Indians were led to believe that Jim was a long-lost member of their tribe. They kidnapped him and honored him as the chief's son. He lived among the Crows for several years and eventually was made Chief. However, after twelve years he rejoined his mountain men friends, blazed a trail over the Sierra, which became known as Beckwourth Pass, and founded the town of Pueblo, Colorado. As with her other books, Mrs. Burt has indexed this one, which increases its worth for the historically minded.

The Age of Steam: A Classic Album of American Railroading. By LUCIUS BEEBE and CHARLES CLEGG. (New York, Rinehart and Co., 1957)

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HISTORICAL NOTES

At Columbus, Ohio, on October 4-6, 1957, the American Association for State and Local History staged one of the most successful programs in the history of the organization. Several meetings were held jointly or concurrently with the Society of American Archivists, which had begun its sessions on October 2. In a particularly pertinent session on "The Historical Society IS an Education Institution," it was agreed that the historical society has lost its exclusiveness and its one-time monopolistic position in historical work, and today is facing hitherto unknown challenges in the fields of collecting, public education, and publication, and challenges from universities, libraries, radio and television, popular history magazines, colleges, and the university presses. It was suggested that the modern historical society make a deliberate effort to clarify its objectives, and called for greater co-operation between historical societies and the history personnel of the colleges and universities to solve common educational problems.

The Rocky Mountain Region again attained its share of honors in the Awards of Merit program. Director Mortensen, who has served for several years as chairman of the Mountain States, was pleased to have had a part in the selection of the worthy Award winners and proud of the accomplishment of the workers of the West.

Colorado was particularly outstanding in historical effort this past year, and consequently received a "lion's share" of the honors. Citations

and engraved Awards have been presented to: James Grafton Rogers and the State Historical Society of Colorado, "For their conception and development of the highly popular Gold Rush Centennial public lectures series"; to Robert L. Perkin, "For his excellent reviews of western books in his Sunday column in the *Rocky Mountain News*, 'One Man's Pegasus'"; to the *Star-Journal*, Pueblo, Colorado, a daily newspaper in a community under 300,000 population, "For its column 'Colorful Colorado' written by Ralph C. Taylor"; and to the Industrial Federal Savings Association, Denver, Colorado, "For inaugurating and sponsoring, through the *Rocky Mountain News*, a Contest for Historical Materials."

Two books by western authors in the serious history field were given Awards: *When Grass was King*, an outstanding and invaluable study of the cattle industry and the open range days, principally in Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, the Dakotas, and New Mexico, by Maurice Frink, W. Turrentine Jackson, and Agnes Wright Spring; and *The Sagebrush Saga*, by Lester W. Mills, a history of Elko County, Nevada, and the only authentic book on Nevada history to be written in twenty years.

In the field of popular history, *The Ghost Towns of Wyoming*, by Mary Lou Pence and Lola M. Homsher, a book rich in historical lore and the special frontier that was Wyoming, was given an Award of Merit.

On Friday and Saturday, November 8 and 9, 1957, the fall meetings of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters were held at the Union Building of the Utah State University, Logan, Utah. On Friday, Richard D. Poll, Chairman of the History Section, presided and the following papers were presented: "The Mormon Economy and the Panic of 1837," R. Kent Fielding; "Fremont and Columbus: A Study in Parallels," C. Gregory Crampton; "Some Aspects of Joseph Smith's Concept of the Political Kingdom of God," Hyrum L. Andrus; "Brigham Young's Ideas on the Best Form of Government," J. Keith Melville; "The Discovery of Glen Canyon: The Escalante Expedition," David E. Miller. On Saturday morning S. George Ellsworth was chairman of the joint meeting of the History and Social Sciences Section. The symposium: "Governments in Territorial Utah," and papers thereto included: "The Council of Fifty and the State of Deseret," James R. Clark; "Carpet-bag-Rule—The Federal Officials," Everett L. Cooley. It was regrettable that time ran out and Leonard J. Arrington was unable to present "The School of the Prophets." However, he

promised to present his paper at a future meeting of the Academy. It was felt by all that the fiftieth anniversary program of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters was a most successful affair.

The Cache Valley chapter of the Utah State Historical Society held its first meeting of the year at the Oldham Memorial Building in Logan on Wednesday evening, September 25, 1957. Dr. Leonard J. Arrington was the speaker, and he chose as his topic "The Utah War." Dr. Arrington has returned to Utah State University after a year's sabbatical leave at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, where he was working on his forthcoming book on the economic history of the Great Basin region. The Cache Valley chapter is making a concerted drive to increase membership and stimulate interest in writing local histories, reports Dr. Joel E. Ricks, president.

Board member Charles R. Mabey has published recently a book of great charm, *September Sunflowers*. The book comprises about 124 writings by Mr. Mabey. About twenty of them are brief addresses given by Governor Mabey on state occasions, and are typical of his fine oratorical style through a half century of activity in public life. A hundred or so of the writings are poems composed over the years, the inspiration for which arose out of the varied experiences of a rich life. Readers will find this book a delightful and inspiring volume.

The Utah Library Association held their annual convention meetings in the rooms of the Society at 603 East South Temple, on Friday, October 11, 1957.

Two sister historical societies of the West have started publishing a magazine on a quarterly basis. The Idaho Historical Society, Boise, Idaho, has published spring and summer issues of *Idaho Yesterdays*; and Nevada State Historical Society, Reno, Nevada, recently published the first issue of *The Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*. Best wishes for success are extended.

Robert Glass Cleland, distinguished California historian, died in September, 1957, after an extended illness. It will be remembered that he was co-editor with Juanita Brooks of *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876* which won an Award of Merit in the field of biography for 1956.

Mr. C. Corwith Wagner of St. Louis, Missouri, died last August 13, 1957. Mr. Wagner was a valued friend and supporter of the Society. Over the years he contributed much valuable historical material to the library collections, the recently published Hascall letters in Volume XXV (1957) being among them.

The Society wishes to thank the following for their gifts to the library: Lucile Francke, Robert Inscore, Ralph Hansen, D. C. Dix, Joseph Blackburn, Arizona Development Board, Utah State Industrial Commission, Stanley S. Ivins, Sharp M. Larsen, Charles R. Mabey, G. Homer Durham, Browning Arms Company, Wayne Stout, Jacob Heinerman, State Historical Society of Iowa, New-York Historical Society, Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., Hugh F. O'Neil, Frank H. Jonas, Illinois State Historical Society, Ouida Nuhn Blanthorn, Everett L. Cooley, Indiana State Library, California Historical Society, and LaMar Petersen.

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EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTIONS: The Society was organized essentially to collect, disseminate and preserve important material pertaining to the history of the state. To effect this end, contributions of manuscripts are solicited, such as old diaries, journals, letters, and other writings of the pioneers; also original manuscripts by present-day writers on any phase of early Utah history. Treasured papers or manuscripts may be printed in faithful detail in the *Quarterly*, without harm to them, and without permanently removing them from their possessors. Contributions for the consideration of the Publications Committee, and correspondence relating thereto, should be addressed to the Editor, Utah State Historical Society, 603 East South Temple, Salt Lake City 2, Utah.

The Utah State Historical Society assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors to this publication.

MEMBERSHIP: Membership in the Society is \$3.00 per year. The *Utah Historical Quarterly* is sent free to all members. Non-members and institutions may receive the *Quarterly* at \$3.00 a year or \$1.00 for current numbers. Life membership, \$50.00.

Checks should be made payable to the Utah State Historical Society and mailed to the Editor, 603 East South Temple, Salt Lake City 2, Utah.

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