

UNTAH

HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

January, 1960

IN THIS ISSUE

*Early Man
in Utah*



ABOUT THE COVER



*Remains of three-room dwelling
in Lake Canyon, southern Utah.*



*University of Utah archeologists
at work on Loper ruin in the
Glen Canyon a few miles down-
stream from Hite, Utah.*

UTAH
HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

A. R. Mortensen, Editor

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XXVIII, NUMBER I

January, 1960

*Copyright 1960, Utah State Historical Society, 603 East South Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah
Entered as second-class matter January 5, 1953, at the Post Office
at Salt Lake City, Utah, under the Act of August 24, 1912.*

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1953, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF THE *Utah Historical Quarterly* published quarterly (January, April, July, October) at Salt Lake City, Utah, by the Utah State Historical Society, A. R. Mortensen, editor, Iris Scott, business manager. The Utah State Historical Society is an agency of government of the State of Utah, located at 603 E. South Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Signed and sworn statement by, A. R. MORTENSEN, editor.

CONTENTS

<i>Early Man in Utah</i> , BY JESSE D. JENNINGS.....	3
<i>Homesteading in Zion</i> , BY LAWRENCE B. LEE.....	29
<i>Mormon Economic Organization: A Sheaf of Illustrative Documents</i> , BY LEONARD J. ARRINGTON AND RALPH W. HANSEN.....	41
<i>Edward Wheelock Tullidge, The Mormons' Rebel Historian</i> , BY WILLIAM FRANK LYE.....	57
<i>Reviews and Recent Publications</i>	
MORGAN, <i>The Overland Diary of James A. Pritchard, from Kentucky to California in 1849</i> , BY ANDREW F. ROLLE.....	76
HAFEN AND HAFEN, <i>The Diaries of William Henry Jackson</i> , BY AGNES WRIGHT SPRING.....	78
KELLY, <i>The Outlaw Trail</i> , BY WILLIAM M. PURDY.....	80
CLARK, <i>Frontier America: The Story of the Westward Movement</i> , BY EDWIN R. BINGHAM.....	81
HEYMAN, <i>Prudent Soldier, A Biography of Major General E. R. S. Canby, 1817-1873</i> , BY ERNEST R. MAY.....	83
MC MURRIN, <i>The Philosophical Foundations of Mormon Theology</i> , BY FRED M. FOWLER.....	84
HAFEN AND HAFEN, <i>Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861</i> , BY T. A. LARSON.....	85
<i>Other Publications</i>	86
<i>Historical Notes</i>	92

ILLUSTRATIONS

<i>Remnant walls of prehistoric Indian home</i>	2
<i>Maps of prehistoric culture areas</i>	6
<i>Anasazi Artifacts</i>	13
<i>Drawings of Basketmaker II and III construction</i>	16
<i>Drawings of Pueblo construction</i>	17
<i>Excavating at Defiance House</i>	20
<i>William Clayton</i>	28
<i>Mormon colonizing party; United States Land Office notice</i>	32
<i>General Tithing Office</i>	40
<i>Church immigration train</i>	50
<i>Facsimile of document for the organization of Church Teams</i>	51
<i>Provo Woolen Mills</i>	53
<i>Edward W. Tullidge</i>	56
<i>E. L. T. Harrison; William S. Godbe</i>	63
<i>Facsimile of Tullidge's Western Galaxy</i>	70
<i>Charles Kelly</i>	92



remnant walls of a prehistoric Indian home near the mouth of Red Canyon on the Colorado River — one of the hundreds of such sites, in a typical desert setting, which will be lost when Lake Powell fills Glen Canyon.

ILLUSTRATIONS COURTESY DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

EARLY MAN IN UTAH

*By Jesse D. Jennings**

The story of human occupancy of Utah goes back 10,000 years to the time when civilization existed nowhere on earth. Ten thousand years ago things now taken for granted had not even been developed. Domestic animals such as horses, cattle, sheep, or swine to furnish food and clothing were lacking. Also missing were tilled crops — corn, wheat, barley, beans, cotton, and other basic domestic plants. Not even pottery making or metallurgy had yet been invented. No one made houses; people took shelter in caves or other protected places. In short, man survived because he gathered wild vegetable food and hunted wild game, using implements, tools and containers of stone, bone, horn, wood or woody plants, and hide — all available in nature.

The early Utahans were then, as were all other men, quite dependent upon nature. When food was abundant, Utahans waxed fat. In times of drought or scarcity of game they simply did not eat; during hard times the very old and the very young probably died. The search for food occupied nearly all the waking hours. With food a constant

* Professor Jennings is head of the department of anthropology, University of Utah. The above article, in much the same form, was included in readings entitled "Indians of Utah: Past and Present" prepared for a home study class for the Extension Division at the University of Utah. For additional information about the Pueblo period, consult H. M. Wormington, *Prehistoric Indians of the Southwest* (Denver, Denver Museum of Natural History, 1947); and for more about Danger Cave see Jesse D. Jennings, *Danger Cave* (Anthropological Papers No. 27, University of Utah Press, 1957).

day-to-day problem there was no leisure for the "finer things" of life. There was not enough food for a dense population to grow up nor for large tribes to form. There was no time for complex rituals or religious practices. There were no elaborate systems of art or music. Men all over the world lived this same way — in a kind of simultaneous harmony and conflict with nature — 10,000 years ago and were, in a real sense, a part of nature. Man did not modify or change the landscape very much in those long ago days.

The Utah Indians of 10,000 years ago eked out a low-level existence in the face of hardship and danger. They deserve neither contempt nor pity on this account because they were intelligent human beings, far more ingenious and clever in surviving in the desert west than anyone today might be. They were successful because they were well acquainted with the land and its resources and how to get the most out of it.

We can only understand the first Indian culture if we understand the land itself. (The word *culture* is here used to mean "lifeway" — the full range of customs a people share together, such as the language, the marriage customs, the cooking of food, religion, and all other learned behavior. The *culture* of a tribe or people then includes all those learned things which are handed down from father to son and make each tribe different from others.)

Utah contains a series of very different climates and resources. Inside the state boundaries are wide deserts where water is scarce, as well as the towering ranges where timber, water, lush grass, and much game are found. In the desert there are abrupt high mountain ranges where the plants and animals are different from those on the desert floor below. It was these climatic and biologic variations which made possible the use of the desert for human habitation.

The Utah Indian story divides itself easily into three periods. These will be considered in the normal time order, studying the oldest first.

These epochs or eras are not of the same length. In the first period is found an archaic culture stage — where man is a part of the natural scene — which in Utah began about 10,000 years before the time of Christ and lasted until about A.D. 300 to 500. This is called the Desert culture. In the next period over most of Utah, the Frémont culture was dominant. This was a culture related to the well-known Pueblo or Anasazi culture found in extreme southeastern Utah in the Four Corners area. The Frémont and Pueblo cultures disappeared from Utah about A.D. 1250. However, the Pueblo people still exist today in New Mexico and

Arizona, where they are known as the Hopi, Zuñi, and Rio Grande Pueblo tribes. After A.D. 1250, the third period began. The anthropologists know nothing of this last period except what has been learned from the living tribes; this third era is called the historic period, a period lasting until about 1875 or 1900. In many ways the historic third culture — that of the latest tribes — is almost the same as the Desert culture of earlier times.

The first question, of course, to be dealt with concerns the origin of the American Indian. Scientists agree that the Indian is physically most closely similar to the people of eastern Asia. In fact, the historic Indians are classed as members of the Mongoloid variety of *Homo sapiens*. Scientific opinion is unanimous that the Indian is an immigrant to North America from Asia. Small groups came overland from Asia by way of the Bering Strait or some other land bridge and fanned out over both North America and South America at a time when the sea level was lower than now because of the vast amounts of water locked up in the glacial ice fields 10,000–15,000 years ago. Although there was much ice in eastern Canada in 15,000 B.C., there were wide stretches of open country in western Canada where game was found. It was down these ice-free lanes that the first men wandered out of Alaska and began to conquer the fertile Western world.

In any case man entered North America earlier than 10,000 B.C. In the wide plains east of the Rockies he was hunting the big game; the mammoth, long horned bison, and even American horse and camel were prey for man by, perhaps, 15,000 or even 20,000 B.C. But in Utah and the western states in the Great Basin these animals had apparently become extinct before man spread over the region. Or, more accurately, there is in Utah no archeological discovery of man or man's tools in association with these large extinct animals, even though such finds are common in the Great Plains east of the Rockies.

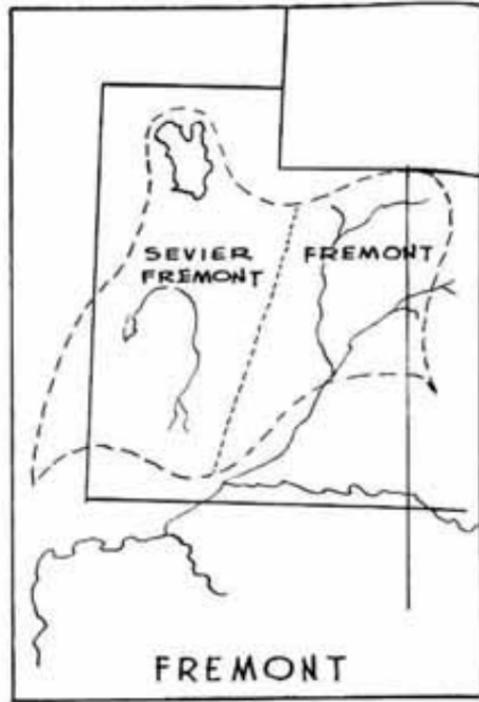
DESERT PERIOD

Most of what we know about the Desert culture comes from the research in the Great Basin. Here was a culture geared to the special resources which result from a dry climate. As early as 9,000 B.C. the dry, hostile deserts of western Utah had already been formed after the great landlocked lakes had dried. The largest of these lakes was Lake Bonneville (the Great Salt Lake is the remnant), a lake which covered most of western Utah, but there were scores of smaller lakes as well.

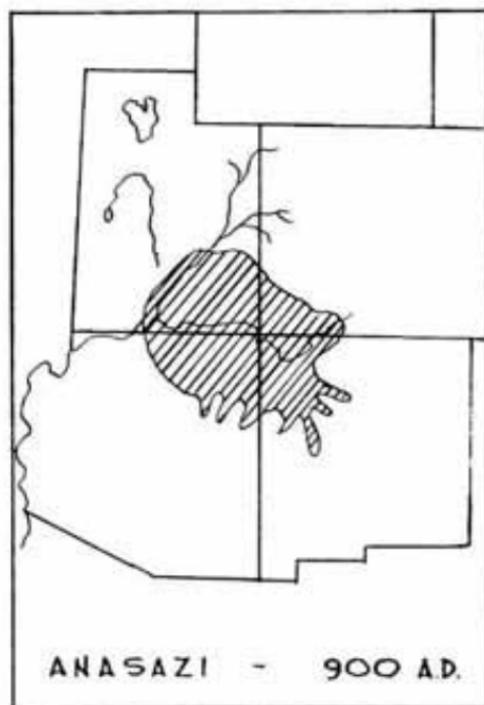
The same plants which today characterize the desert — sagebrush, squawbrush, creosote brush, and coarse tough grasses — were dominant



a



b



c



d

Maps showing areas of prehistoric culture.

by 9,000 B.C. The mountain ranges supported juniper and piñon. In such conditions the antelope and mountain sheep were the main large animals (with a few bison to be seen at the better watered valleys). All other game was small. Excavation reveals the bones of rabbits, skunks, porcupines, many rodents, coyotes, bobcats, and birds in the trash heaps left by the Desert people, who got meat protein from everything available except snakes and lizards. Fish bones or scales are not found in Utah sites, but are found in Nevada on sites along the Humboldt River where fish are abundant. Other foods included the roots and bulbs of many water plants and the sego lily, seeds from the many grasses and even tiny seeds from such queer plants as the *burroweed* which grows on the edges of the salt flats. The piñon nut was also used and was probably even stored.

A life devoted to searching for such a variety of food requires constant work by a mobile population. It is also easy to see that the population would be scanty and that the size of each party or group would be regulated by the minimum amount of food available during the yearly cycle or round of travel. Group survival would moreover depend on an intimate knowledge of a stretch of country. The party leader would need to know where and when vegetable and game foods were available at various seasons of the year, and move his little band to those places at the right times. For example, he would go to the hills in September or October to gather piñon nuts; to the sinkholes and marshes in spring and fall for migratory waterfowl. He would know where grass was thick and when the seeds were ripe or when and where crickets and grasshoppers were apt to swarm so that these could be collected and roasted. The roaming was not aimless but was very systematic. Thus we see the Desert life as one of constant search and movement over the earth. Probably the route was pretty much the same year after year.

This kind of life implies several things. The people, forced to carry their possessions, would have only the bare necessities of life. There would be no heavy tools nor even permanent houses. And their campsites were temporary transient affairs where nothing except broken stone tools and scraps of bone and scattered ashes mark the passage of the family groups. This is especially true of the open camps alongside marshes or on sand dunes. Dune areas by the hundreds where primitive men have camped can be found all over Utah. Caves were used as campsites over and over again. Near the sources of food deep trash accumulations mark the wanderers' return for a time each year.

This is especially true of caves. In caves too, we find perishable articles as well as the more durable objects of stone and bone.

The paragraphs above are conclusions/interpretations. What is the evidence? To exemplify the Desert culture, we will examine the archeological findings at Danger Cave near Wendover, Utah. This is a grotto containing camp waste and debris. Danger Cave is only one of many such ancient sites. All over western Utah, in Nevada, and in California, Idaho, and Oregon there are caves where men have lived. In Utah alone, for example, there have been researches by Utah scholars in the Promontory, Black Rock, Deadman and Stansbury caves as well as in Danger Cave.

The archeologist learns from the scraps and trash. He compares his finds of ancient objects with those in use by living, noncivilized tribes and learns some of the uses to which these strange and ancient objects were put. Archeology can only be done by trained men because the digging must be done so that all the relationships of objects to each other can be noted. Then the objects are studied in the laboratory and a report is written. Time, patience, and training are necessary. People inexperienced in scientific excavations should, instead of digging, report archeologic findings to the state university, or state archeological society, or state park service so that valuable prehistoric remains, which are really unique pages from the past, can be properly studied and preserved.

At Danger Cave archeologists found a treasure house of information. The cave was about 60 feet wide by 120 feet long. At its deepest place it contained 13 feet of camp refuse. In this deep deposit there were five layers of accumulation. The lowest and thinnest level was mostly natural sand, but in it were six spots where ash and charcoal and some animal bones marked the location of little campfires. Charcoal from one of these fires showed an age of 10,270 (± 650) years ago. In the sands below and above the fireplaces were myriads of mountain sheep droppings which were dated as being 11,150 (± 151) years old. Thus with two substances yielding dates of older than 8,000 B.C. there is no hesitancy in assigning an age of 10,000 years to the lowest layer.

The dating of these specimens was done by measuring the amount of radioactive carbon — carbon 14 — remaining in the specimens. Radioactive carbon is found in all living things in uniform quantity. It is derived from the atmosphere by plants, and thence moves into animals as certain animals eat the plant food and as other animals prey upon the plant-eating animals. The supply in a living body is, of course,

kept constant through daily intake, but at death the intake ceases, and there is only the process of disintegration of the carbon 14 going on. In testing for radiocarbon dates, the specimen is rinsed in various acids to remove impurities and reduced to carbon — usually in the form of a gas compound, although pure solid carbon can be made and used. When this radioactive carbon is placed in a specially shielded series of radiation counters, the emanations of particles can be counted. Since the half life of carbon 14 is known to be 5,534 years and the rate of disintegration of modern carbon 14 is known, it is only necessary to count the random emanations of the sample over a twenty-four- or forty-eight-hour period to determine the frequency of radiations. The radiation count can then, by formula, be written as years elapsed since the specimen in question died. The process is not as simple as it sounds, but is essentially perfected. Most archeologists and geologists use the dates from radiocarbon as reliable (as they are being used here), even though there are, on theoretical grounds, sound reasons for being cautious in relying on radiocarbon dates.

But, to return to the summary of Danger Cave, we found on layer I, except for the fireplaces, no evidence of man except one nicely made willowleaf-shaped flint knife, a handful of flint chips, and some antelope bones.

The other four layers, however, yielded rich collections. There were over 2,700 flint tools — arrowpoints, knives, scrapers, and choppers. There were many flat grinding stones used with flattened round "handstones" for the milling of seeds and nuts. Over 200 pieces of basketry, cloth matting and netting, and 2,000 scraps of string were preserved. Scraps of buckskin clothing and some worn-out leather moccasins also came to light. Dart shafts, spear throwers or *atlats*, arrows (but no bows), knife handles, and a score of other wooden specimens were found. One interesting thing to note is that all of the specimens found (except flint tools) were discarded; they were not lost. They were worn out or broken, and could not be used again. In fact, some of the leather objects had been patched over and over again. Thus we see a frugal people who valued their scant property and kept possessions until they were of no possible further use. In addition to the list above there were sewing and weaving tools called awls made of bone and wood, a bundle of gambling sticks, whetstones, some special little seashells — *Olivella* — traded from the California coast, bone smoking tubes, and many other items.

The twin hallmarks of the Desert culture, however, are (1) the thin slab of stone — 1 inch thick, 12-15 by 10 inches long — upon which the seeds were ground, and (2) the many kinds of basketry. In layer II there was only one form of basketry — called twining. This is made by twisting pliable twigs or bark strips around stiffer ones. Later in the history of the site, beginning in layer III, the art of coiling was learned, and a greater variety of shapes was possible. Coiling involves the sewing of pliable elements to each other and building up of the basket coil by coil. The baskets provided all the utensils needed, serving as water bottles (when lined with pine gum), for carrying burdens, for packing, and for cooking. There was no pottery until very late — well after the time of Christ.

The cave deposits were as interesting as the artifacts themselves. The objects listed above were in a deposit of dust and plant remains which had accumulated over the centuries. The vegetal element of the fill was almost entirely the hulls and chaff and stems of *burroweed*, a peculiar pulpy little plant which grows only on the edges of salt flats. The plants yield millions of tiny seeds which are quite nutritious. It is believed that the entire plant was harvested, later to be dried in the cave so that the seeds could be winnowed out. Therefore, the cave is believed to have been occupied for a short time each autumn when the seeds were ripe; hence it would take centuries to accumulate the thirteen feet of dust and chaff. In some dried human droppings undigested *burroweed* seeds were actually found. Of course there were other plant foods represented in the cave, and there were thousands of broken animal bones in the fill. Species included mountain sheep, antelope, jack rabbits, bison (?) and many rodents.

From this brief summary of one Utah cave, the kinds of objects used by the Desert people and the evidence for the Desert culture can be seen. For the entire West a general list of the characteristics of the Desert culture has been compiled. These general traits are:

1. Sparse population.
2. Small socio-political groups.
3. No effective tribal organization.
4. Cave and overhang locations favored for settlement.
5. Nonsedentary seasonal gatherers.

6. Intensive exploitation of the environment, without reliance on one resource, but close adaptation to everything available including small mammals such as rodents.

7. Small seed harvesting, with special techniques of preparation and cooking (parching, extensive use of flour and mush).
8. Basketry (twined basketry generally predominant) and cordage.
9. Netting and matting.
10. Use of fur cloth.
11. Tumplines as carrying device.
12. Sandals (at least by 7,000 B.C.); moccasins rare.
13. *Atlatl* or spear thrower.
14. Use at times of pointed hardwood foreshafts for *atlatl* darts, without stone points.
15. Varied chipped projectile points, often relatively small in size.
16. Preferential use of coarse material (basalt, quartzite, and andesite) for stone tools in early states, later shift toward obsidian and other glassy-textured rocks where available.
17. Percussion chipping techniques predominate; preferential use of large flakes, cores, and spalls.
18. Flat milling stones with cobble mano (by about 7,000 B.C.); basin milling stones also present.
19. A number of specialized stone tools (such as those called ovoid scrapers, choppers, and scrapers) of very crude appearance.
20. Digging sticks for roots and tubers.
21. Bunt tips.
22. Firedrill and hearth.
23. Flat, curved wooden clubs.
24. Horn shaft wrenches.
25. Tubular pipes or sucking tubes.
26. Use of *Oliva*, *Olivella*, and other shell beads from the coasts of California and/or the Gulf of California.
27. Vegetable quids.

PUEBLO PERIOD

The high cultures of the American Southwest developed out of the Desert base just reviewed. This Desert culture origin is reflected in many details of social organization as well as in techniques of basketry and many other manufactures.

By A.D. 400 the growth and changes within the Desert culture going on in the West and Southwest began to be felt in Utah. From

Mexico had come the idea of pottery. Corn and beans and squash were also introduced. So, from the south an entirely different culture appeared in San Juan County as the Basketmaker-Pueblo series so familiar to all Americans. The similarity to the older Desert culture can easily be noted, but for most observers the new ideas along with an elaboration of the holdover traits effectively obscure the origin of the familiar Pueblo in the widespread Desert culture.

The key to the new way of life was agriculture. The domesticated plants offered a stable and reliable source of food; population could increase wherever food could be raised. Permanent dwellings, public works, a strong religion, great skill in old and new handicrafts, and great elaboration of design and form—all were possible when food was assured through farm or garden crops.

The familiar Pueblo culture can be described best by using the same stages archeologists have come to use. These stages tend to emphasize the explosive growth and richness which the Pueblo culture built upon the simple Desert base. These periods (represented in southeastern Utah) are Basketmaker, A.D. 300-500; Modified Basketmaker, A.D. 500-700; Developmental Pueblo, A.D. 700-1050; Great or Classic Pueblo, A.D. 1050-1300. Southward in New Mexico and Arizona the Pueblo way of life has continued down to the present, but appears to have been abandoned entirely in Utah by or before A.D. 1300. The entire sequence of Basketmaker-Pueblo periods or stages listed above are called by a special word—Anasazi (Anna Sahzee)—which is a Navajo word meaning "the Ancient Ones." Its use is restricted to those remains found in the Four Corners region (where Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona meet) in order to emphasize the distinction between this local cultural development from other local pueblo sequences farther south in Arizona and New Mexico.

In Basketmaker times (A.D. 300-500) the first and all-important new trait to be received by the Desert people was agriculture—corn and squash from Mexico and knowledge of how to raise these—and it marks the beginning of a new era. Pit houses, with a central fireplace, began to be made of horizontal logs laid in mud mortar. Basketry techniques and forms became more elaborate with complicated designs in color worked into the baskets. Beautiful flexible bags for storage and carrying supplies, and even used for burial shrouds, were woven of vegetable fibers. Sandals, also woven, were triumphs of color, design, and craftsmanship; the colors remain bright even today. The major weapon was still the dart and spear thrower, and clothing included the



*Anasazi artifacts. a, b, Pottery vessels.
a, Cooking pot. c, Necklace of stone and
shell beads. d, Bone awl. e, Milling stone.
f, Atlatl and dart.*

*Anasazi artifacts. a, b, c, Baskets.
d, e, Sandals. f, Close-up of section
of woven rabbit fur robe.
g, Pitch-covered basket for water.*



same materials—woven rabbit fur robes, string aprons, and belts. Two varieties of dogs were bred, apparently for companions and for hunting. There is no evidence that they were used for food.

Surplus foods and personal objects were stored in stone slab-lined storage pits or above-ground chambers called cists. The dead were flexed tightly, with knees to chest, and many possessions were buried with them. Such items as beads, sandals, digging sticks, blankets, and conical smoking pipes are common with burials. Although burials were sometimes made in empty cists, the grave usually was only a hole in the dirt. In most cases baskets and mats were laid over the body before the hole was filled.

Here then, in Basketmaker times, are the germs of a new life—agriculture, permanent houses, and long-term living in one spot. These new items meant leisure to develop arts and crafts and ritual and religion. It was also necessary to devise more rules of behavior for persons in the new circumstance of living in larger permanent groups. DuPont Cave near Kanab, Utah, is one famous Basketmaker site. It was excavated and reported in about 1910.

By Modified Basketmaker times (A.D. 500-700) the changes are more marked. There are larger clusters of circular pit houses and food storage structures of mud and stone. These were in larger organized communities, often in huge caves or overhangs. The sketch shows these pit houses to be different from the earlier ones. These were made of stone slabs with wooden roofs; they could be entered either from the roof or by way of an antechamber and passageway. New varieties of corn are present, and beans, a prime source of protein, had been introduced so that the people were perhaps less dependent upon meat from the hunt. The bow and arrow, a vastly superior weapon, appears at the end of the period, but does not displace the *atlatl* (dart and spear thrower) entirely. Clay pottery (fired not in kilns but under conical piles of bark), turquoise jewelry, and crude clay figurines also are found for the first time in this period. The skills in basketry and textiles continued to flourish. Sandals were at their most elaborate at this time.

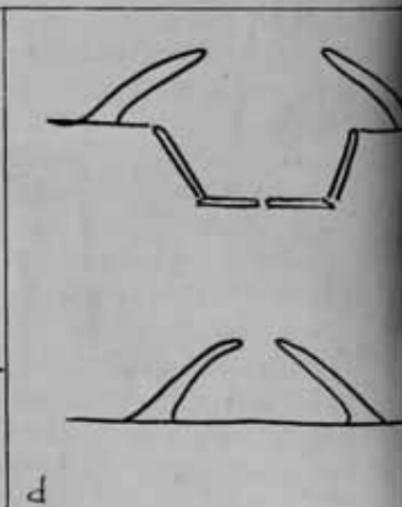
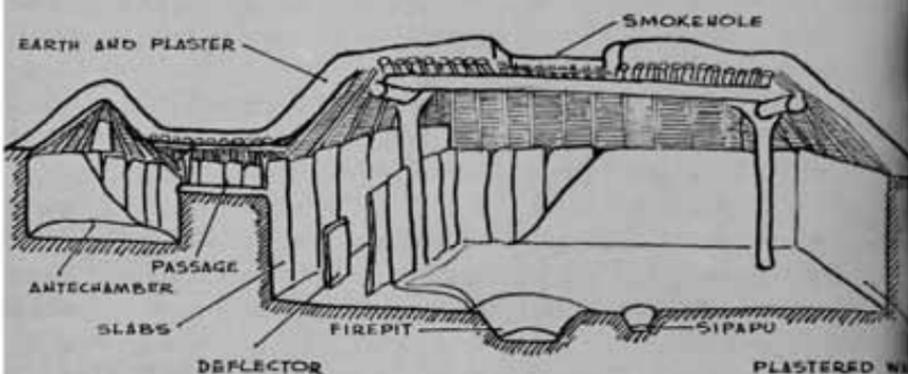
Thus, by the end of Modified Basketmaker times the inventory of new resources is complete: corn, beans, and squash provided a fairly certain food supply, permanent housing and small villages existed, pottery making was understood, and the development of the religious system (inferred from the figurines) continued. Two new tools, the grooved ax and a grooved maul, appear for the first time. Upon these innovations and their refinement, the flowering of the culture came.

In the Developmental Pueblo (Pueblo I and II) which started by A.D. 700 (and lasted until A.D. 1050) there were changes, but none so revolutionary as had come earlier. For example, the dart and *atlatl* was abandoned, being replaced entirely by the bow and arrow. Sandals, though still made, were coarser and less carefully made; however, other weaving was even more elaborate. The potters' art was greatly developed. A wide range of vessel form and a variety of decorative styles evolved, largely from the earlier basketry designs. Black paint over a white base was the color combination more commonly used. Cooking pottery became specialized. The coils from construction were left visible so the surface was corrugated. Cotton was introduced from the south as a new crop, so now cotton blankets replaced the earlier fur robes. Weaving was now done on a loom and twining declined as a textile art. Turkeys were kept as domestic fowl in Colorado (and possibly in Utah). The pit house began to be less popular because the idea of building above-ground houses out of stone arranged in rows with mud mortar was adopted; the pit house, however, evolved into the very special round, subterranean *kiva* or sacred men's room where a variety of religious ceremonies began to take up a great deal of time. In Utah *jucal* construction for walls was popular. *Jucal* walls are simply posts set close together and plastered with mud to make a solid wall about six inches thick.

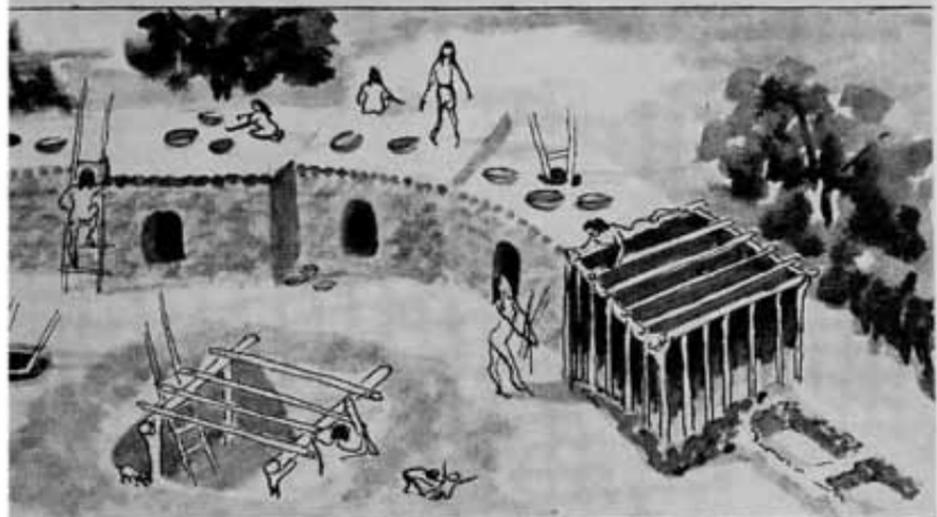
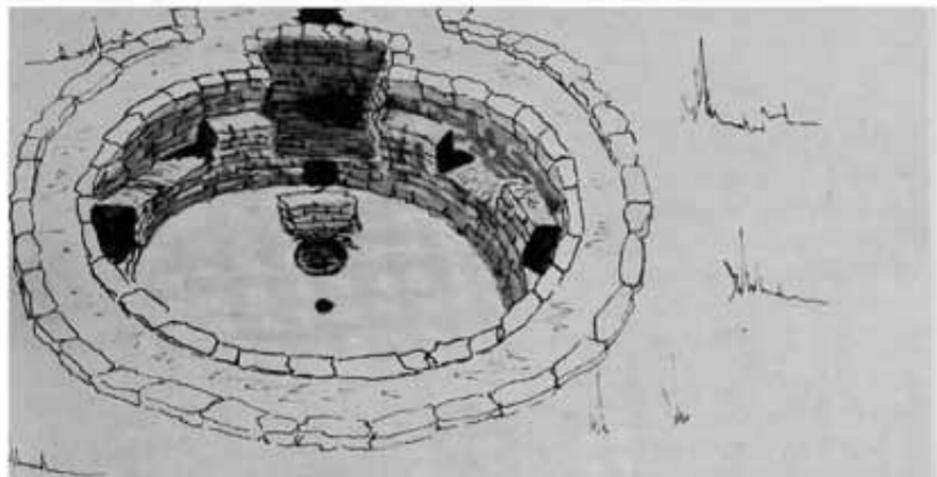
Ceremonies to insure crop fertility, to bring rain, to ward off storms and crop damage were developed. The entire religious system probably focused on the world of nature and on agriculture. Dance courts or plazas in the towns resulted from the need for space for the public parts of various religious ceremonies. By the end of the period there were fairly large towns or *pueblos* (a Spanish word meaning town) composed of many houses built as one continuous square, L-shaped, or semicircular unit, enclosing a plaza or court.

Burials are very rare in this period and it is not known just how disposal of the dead was handled. Very few skeletons occur in Utah pueblos.

But with the Great Period (Pueblo III) between A.D. 1050-1300 came the culture climax. At this time the cliff dwellings and terraced apartment houses were built of mud, stone, and wood; here scores of families lived together. The skill with which these houses were built was just another expression of the high levels attained in all handicraft. The famous Mesa Verde black-on-white pottery—pots, mugs, and ladles—was made at this time and is represented at Utah sites.



a, Cutaway of a Basketmaker II dwelling. Note horizontal logs in mud mortar.
 b, A cross-section of a Basketmaker III pit house. c, Basketmaker II storage cists.
 d, Cross-section of two kinds of Basketmaker storage cists, with domed mud cover.



a, A classic kiva, with roof removed showing the interior features.
b, A Pueblo II village scene. c, A Pueblo III scene showing several families living together.

In southeastern Utah remains of the Mesa Verde type were confined to the triangular area between the San Juan and the Colorado rivers, having spread westward out of the Mesa Verde country. In all the rest of southern Utah — along the Colorado and its tributaries from Kanab to St. George, however, other Pueblo ruins dot the land. All these sites to the west of the San Juan-Colorado River triangle appear to be more closely related to the northern Arizona variant of Anasazi (called Kayenta) than to the Mesa Verde. The major rivers seemed to be important barriers to settlement or travel. The settlements, especially in Great Pueblo times in Utah, are on the mesa tops or on the smaller streams where there was bottom land to farm on. The dates assigned in this section are based on tree ring counts and are regarded as very accurate.

We can appreciate the Anasazi on many counts. They developed a rich culture in difficult surroundings by learning to exploit the land. As farmers on the mesas and in the desert they were superbly ingenious, especially in their techniques for saving water, which meant as much then as it does now in the West. Their farms were small patches (more like the gardens of today) wherever there was water. Sand dunes, lying at the foot of long, sloping hillsides, collected and conserved water to form favorite garden spots. Here the water running off the bare rock oozed slowly down through the dunes and watered the crop. Thus a natural subsurface irrigation was utilized. In other places, along the small streams, there were dikes and little dams which diverted flood waters out over a wider area where the gardens were located. This was called flood irrigation. Sometimes the sloping hillsides were leveled into a series of terraces which conserved flood and runoff water by slowing its run and allowing it to soak into the thirsty gardens planted on the terraces. This is another form of flood irrigation. Farming was done by both men and women. Success with crops was a year-round concern and was the focus of many religious ceremonies.

In all other arts the Pueblo skills excite admiration. Normal household tools, utensils, and furnishings were many and varied. In a Great Pueblo house one would find a score of corrugated cooking and storage pots, decorated ladles, mugs, and bowls, cotton blankets (woven by the men), turquoise, coral and Pacific shell wristlets, necklaces, and pendants, flint knives on wooden handles, stout little bows and many specialized arrows, feather robes, a hundred different tools of bone, string and cord, of plant fiber and human hair, gaudy sandals, and belts or girdles.

The daily round of life was busy. Women made pottery, prepared food, gathered wood, made clothing, built and mended the houses, gathered basketry materials and vegetal foods, and taught all these skills to their daughters. Men also farmed, hunted, wove cloth, and spent many hours in the sacred *kiva* in religious and magical rites. There were complicated rituals to be learned, as well as the songs and stories which constituted the history of the people. These the men learned and preserved and passed on to the younger men.

Above, we have sampled the Pueblo remains in Utah which lie on the San Juan, Colorado, and Virgin rivers and their tributaries in southern Utah. North of these rivers the remains of the Frémont culture are found. This distinctly Utah culture is, of course, influenced by and related to the Anasazi further south, but there are many interesting differences. Found all over Utah, even as far north as the shores of the Great Salt Lake and in west-central Utah, the lifeway seems to be mixed, as if a desert population learned and partly accepted a set of already developed new ideas. For example, the corrugated cooking pottery is rare; most of the culinary ware is a plain, smooth gray like that developed in the much earlier Basketmaker times. There is a greater variety of architecture, and all the settlements are very small — probably only family groups. The *kiva* seems to be missing entirely, although adobe plastered houses, solid adobe wall granaries, coursed masonry, and *jacal* houses can be found side by side and occupied simultaneously. Woven sandals are missing, but are replaced by moccasins of hide. There was a preference for high, isolated hills or promontories for house sites.

However, the cult of the figurine was elaborated beyond anything seen in the Anasazi area. Scores of little clay figurines, fragile and unbaked, attest to a fertility cult or other religious activity of great importance. (The Frémont culture is just now beginning to get serious study. Many of its distinctive features may dissolve or be reunderstood as archeological research, now underway, continues.)

Then in 1276 all over Utah a hint of disaster came. There was a very dry year followed by another and another. The drought lasted until 1299. The terrible drought led to abandonment of settlements and migration to the south, or south and east, and no doubt thousands of Pueblo people died of hunger as both wild and domestic foods became scarce or disappeared entirely. Additionally, there was fighting between towns, and many pueblos were burned after their inhabitants were killed. Some students have thought also that the Navajo and other



Excavating in progress at Defiance House, in Forgotten Canyon. The ruins of about fifteen rooms lie on a narrow ledge which will be just above the shores of Lake Powell and can one day be visited by boat.

Apache reached Utah from the north during this century, and through their raids helped drive the nonwarlike Pueblo people southward.

Whatever the cause, it is known that pueblos and towns were abandoned all over Utah after about A.D. 1250, and by 1300 it is certain that the high and complex culture of the Anasazi and the related Frémont and Sevier Frémont cultures had disappeared from Utah.

But the state was not deserted. Recall that the Frémont people and their relatives west of the Wasatch never fully adopted the Anasazi way of life. Never did they congregate in large communities (Paragonah is an important exception); never did they give up the small bands and small settlements. Although agriculture was practiced even to the edge of the Great Salt Desert, the hunt and the use of wild foods was never abandoned. So, during the great drought it is thought that the aboriginal Indian people of Utah, except in the San Juan and Dixie areas (and perhaps some even there), simply resumed an older original Desert way of life, tightened their belts and survived by applying to the full the exploitative skills they never fully lost.

HISTORIC PERIOD

This phase of Utah history — although the closest in time — is the faintest and dimmest of any. Actually the first commonly known record of the Utah tribes comes from Father Escalante who gave scanty information about their locations and customs in 1776. Then from the pioneers who settled in Utah after 1847 there are written records. Expansion by the Mormons led to strife and conflict, and by the 1870's the tribes were placed on reservations. In no case, however, is information very complete.

In Utah there were several groups — not properly tribes — which we know something about. These were the Shoshoni speakers whom we call the Paiute, Gosiute, and Ute. And in their habits and customs the Desert culture can still be recognized. All over the West the explorers and pioneers encountered small bands of wanderers devoting their lives to sheer survival in the West's most difficult environment. Gathering foods, using baskets for utensils, clad in woven rabbit skin robes, without food, strength or numbers to mount warfare, these weak and scattered people, who lived in sagebrush wickiups or caves, were called "Digger Indians" by our forefathers. The Digger appellation came, of course, because they were observed digging roots, tubers, bulbs, and even animals from the ground. They even fed on insects (Mormon crickets and grasshoppers) when these were available. Roasted, and mashed upon the flat millstone, these insects taste very much like peanut butter. Some fancy grocery stores today sell parched and buttered grasshopper as a great delicacy. These are recommended to those who doubt the peanut butter flavor.

Knowledge of the location of historic Utah tribes at the time of discovery is somewhat confused because different explorers referred to the Indians at the same place by different names. Sometimes, too, they applied wrong names, thinking some other tribe occupied a larger area than was actually the case. However, Dr. Julian Steward reduced the confusion by making a careful study of the problem. From him we learn that there were many local bands, each having a separate name, but that, for our purposes, we can refer to three groups. These are the Ute, the Southern Paiute, and the Gosiute-Shoshoni. Among those called Ute, for example, were the Yampa Ute in eastern Utah, the Pavant Ute near Sevier Lake, the Timpanogots near Utah Lake, the Sampits, and many others. Most of the groups located west of the Wasatch were probably not really Ute, but should have been called

Gosiute, a group which also had several subdivisions. The Timpanogots were true Ute, however.

The point to remember here is that these tribal divisions are based, among other things, on differences in language. Although the cultures of the Ute, Gosiute, and Paiute were similar, the languages or dialects of the three groups were enough different to warrant separation into separate categories. While Paiute and Gosiute could understand each other, the Ute dialect was not understood by either of the first two. All three dialects, however, belong to the same large language family called Uto-Aztecan, a stock which includes the Aztec dialects of old Mexico and the Hopi of Arizona. The Gosiute belonged to a larger grouping called Shoshoni, a term which includes the related people of the states of Nevada, Idaho, Wyoming, and California. So, knowing that the story is being oversimplified, we will talk of the Paiute, Ute, and Gosiute as the main groupings in Utah.

Because the Gosiute lived in the most desolate and poorest part of the state, their culture has long been recognized as the poorest and simplest of any in the Great Basin. There were several bands of Gosiute located at Deep Creek, Skull Valley, Grouse Creek, Tooele Valley, and Cedar Valley. At other localities in the western part of the state Gosiute had mixed with various Ute bands.

The Gosiute exemplify the Great Basin historic desert way of life perhaps better than any other group because the conditions of their territory were the most rigorous within the Basin, and the exploitive procedures were most intense. For example, among wild vegetable foods the Gosiute knew and used 81 species! From 47 they took seeds, 12 yielded berries, 8 provided roots, and 12 were used for greens. Grass seeds were gathered in flat tray-like baskets by knocking or raking seeds with beaters into the trays. Surpluses, if any, would be stored near the harvest area. One of the most important foods over the entire region was the pine or piñon nut. Although the crop is not annual—some years no nuts are formed—a good crop assured the bands of a good winter. Large quantities were gathered and stored, and winter camp was made near the storage places. When the crop failed the tribesmen faced near starvation.

When stored surpluses were exhausted, the Gosiute left the winter camps and began the endless search anew. In spring the new plants were eaten as greens. By early summer, seeds and fruits began to be available on the valleys and flats, and were collected in various ways. By the end of summer, roots and tubers began to mature. Always sur-

pluses were hidden in case some other food source failed. Then in the fall, all the bands moved to nearby mountains and the pine nut harvest began again. If the usual pine nut area lacked a crop, the family moved on in search of other bearing trees or other food.

At all times wild game was sought, but was less important in year-round diet than vegetable foods. Antelope were taken in long V-shaped traps by means of a communal hunt, but this could not be done often because it reduced the herds so badly that several years must elapse before another hunt could be held. The antelope drives were exciting affairs. Long, converging lines of brush and stones led to a trap. The drive involved placing a number of people fifteen or twenty miles away from the open funnel mouth of the trap and having them walk slowly toward it. The antelope would run away from the hunters and toward the trap. Finally, with the animals inside the arms of the fences, they were driven on into the corral at the small end and there slaughtered, a few each day, while the meat was dried, the skins prepared for tanning and so on. The shaman or medicine man usually called and conducted the antelope drive. Mountain sheep were also available but were hard to catch; usually they were hunted by single hunters. Deer were also hunted by small groups or individuals. Bison, too, were hunted in prehistoric times, but had disappeared over most of Utah by 1800.

The most common game of all was the black-tailed jack rabbit. It was hunted by families or by communal groups. The rabbits were driven into temporary corrals made of long springy nets; the technique was similar to that used in the antelope hunt. From rabbits came meat and fur for robes. Other rodents—marmot, badger, rats, gophers—were trapped or caught in deadfalls.

The account of food gathering above gives a good clue to the economic pattern. It was organized on very simple lines. The family was the basic economic unit; all work was divided on the basis of sex, so that the family was self-sufficient. Women and girls gathered seeds, prepared foods, made clothing, baskets, and a little crude pottery. Men hunted large game, made tools, wove blankets, built houses, and helped women in rodent catching, burden bearing, and collecting raw materials. The family, we know, moved alone most of the time; larger groups assembled briefly two or three times a year when food—such as at a big rabbit drive—was available.

This pattern of life made any strong tribal development impossible, and no feeling of solidarity existed, except that all the Shoshoni—all

the way over to California — were aware of other Shoshoni and visited freely among them.

The economic poverty was symptomatic of, and probably a prime reason for, the poverty seen in the rest of the Gosiute life. There were almost no ceremonies and only the round dance was known. This was a simple shuffling step done to the music of a drum; the dancers shuffled sideways after forming in a circle. It was sometimes danced to make the grass seeds grow, and other times as a social dance. The religion was simple and expressed largely through a shaman (medicine man) who got his power through visions or dreams and could cure illness by appearing to suck stones or worms or other objects out of a sick person's body. He could also remove evil spirits and restore lost souls to those who were bewitched. The kinship system was equally simple. Descent was reckoned by both lines; marriage rules were simple. One married, if possible, his cross-cousin; that means the child of either parents' brother or sister. Marriages were very informal affairs, usually arranged at the festivals. There were no hereditary chieftains. For each band or area group some wise man emerged as a leader, and was called the chief by the whites, but possessed no significant political power or control.

The poverty of the Gosiute, of course, extended to their material possessions. Only the tools and utensils necessary for their food-getting search were made. These had to be light yet durable, were carried on all moves, and abandoned wherever they wore out. Hence their baskets and sometimes crude pots, their scanty clothing, a grinding stone upon which many foods were prepared, the knives and scrapers of flint, and personal items like baskets or a few ornaments comprised the inventory of material possessions. The personal dress consisted of an apron or G-string, a basketry hat, sometimes moccasins and a woven rabbit skin robe in winter.

Housing was of the simplest. Usually when shelter was needed, a sagebrush bower called a wickiup was constructed. More permanent houses, if built, were simply larger, sturdier versions of the wickiup.

Throughout the historic period the Gosiute, as well as the Southern Paiute, remained poor. Very few of them were able to get horses, even after other tribes secured them by theft or trade. And as the white settlers pre-empted their choicer food-collecting areas which were also good farmlands), their poverty increased. Finally most groups were reduced to utmost poverty, living on the edges of towns, subsisting on charity and part-time menial jobs.

The historic people of eastern Utah, as has been said, were Ute. Their way of life was quite different. The members of this tribe were much better off than their Gosiute and Paiute neighbors. This was true for two major reasons. Primarily, the Ute lived in a better land, the Uinta Basin, the Wasatch Range, and over into western Colorado. These are better watered and possess more game and vegetation. But, also, the Ute were in contact with the Plains Indians. Because of borrowed Plains ideas, their social system was somewhat different from the Western Ute tribes. With the horse they had mobility; they could and did range for hundreds of miles. Their food (and there was more of it) came from a larger area, and the number of people who could band together was larger. There was not the restriction to small groups noted among the Gosiute foot-travelers. With the horse wealth was also gained, as among the Plains Indians, by raiding; Wakara (Chief Walker) for example, a Ute leader from the central and eastern Utah area, successfully conducted horse raids over into California.

Horses were not all the Utes borrowed from the Plains. They learned to hunt buffalo and preserve the meat. They used the shield and lance and even borrowed the war bonnet of feathers. The buffalo hunt was co-operative, but other game was hunted by family units.

As a further result of greater wealth, the Ute were able to trade skins and other things with other tribes. Wealth also led to warfare; for example, at one time the Uinta Basin was deserted because the Ute had fled from a Comanche raid. Blackfeet Indians from Idaho also raided the Ute at times.

The social unit, then, was larger among the Ute. Several families lived together in a band. The band was usually led by a chief, a man who showed great skill and wisdom in the hunt or in warfare. Warfare, however, would not involve a whole tribe; instead bands, under a band chief, made the hit-and-run raid just as the Plains warriors did. Booty in the form of horses or slaves rather than conquest of land was often the object of these raids.

The paragraphs above emphasize how different some aspects of Ute life were from Gosiute or Paiute life. The points of similarity were numerous, however. We may be sure that the Ute before 1700 possessed a typically Desert culture lifeway. For example, the family was still the strongest social unit, although the band was at times the more noticeable. There was much wandering and moving to areas where vegetable foods—still much prized—were plentiful. The skills

of basketry and blanket weaving were still practiced; religion and ritual, except for the borrowed Sun Dance, remained simple.

Although the list of basic similarities could be continued, the point here is that all of Utah seems to have been inhabited by foragers and wanderers until about 1700 or possibly earlier. After this date the Ute acquired an overlay of Plains Indian traits which modified their cultural pattern, but did not obscure the original forager base. On the other hand it is correct to think of the Ute, by historic times, as being a wealthier tribe, more numerous, capable of limited raiding and warfare, and noticeably different from their Paiute and Gosiute relatives.

In passing it is necessary to mention that in southeastern Utah there are now many Navajo. These entered the state in the 1850's and '60's as a result of the United States government's effort to find and imprison all Navajo at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, as punishment for raids and depredations the Navajo carried on against the territory of New Mexico. Several bands escaped capture by hiding in the rugged canyons of southeastern Utah. Since that time the Navajo have been in Utah.

These are Indians who, although foragers, are unrelated to other Utah tribes. The Navajo speak Apache, a dialect from the Athapaskan stock, a different stock entirely from the Uto-Aztecan. Originally they migrated from western Canada and have not been in the Southwest more than 500 years, it is thought. However they were, and are, a very adaptable people. Where agriculture is possible, they farm as do the Pueblo Indians. They also learned to weave and make sand paintings from the Pueblo. From the Spanish they learned silver work and how to tend sheep. And their religion, composed of religious ideas from many sources, is further evidence of borrowing and adoption of ideas. However, the Navajo stamp any new trait with their own mark; nothing borrowed remains alien. The distinctiveness of the Navajo thought is reflected in all their culture.

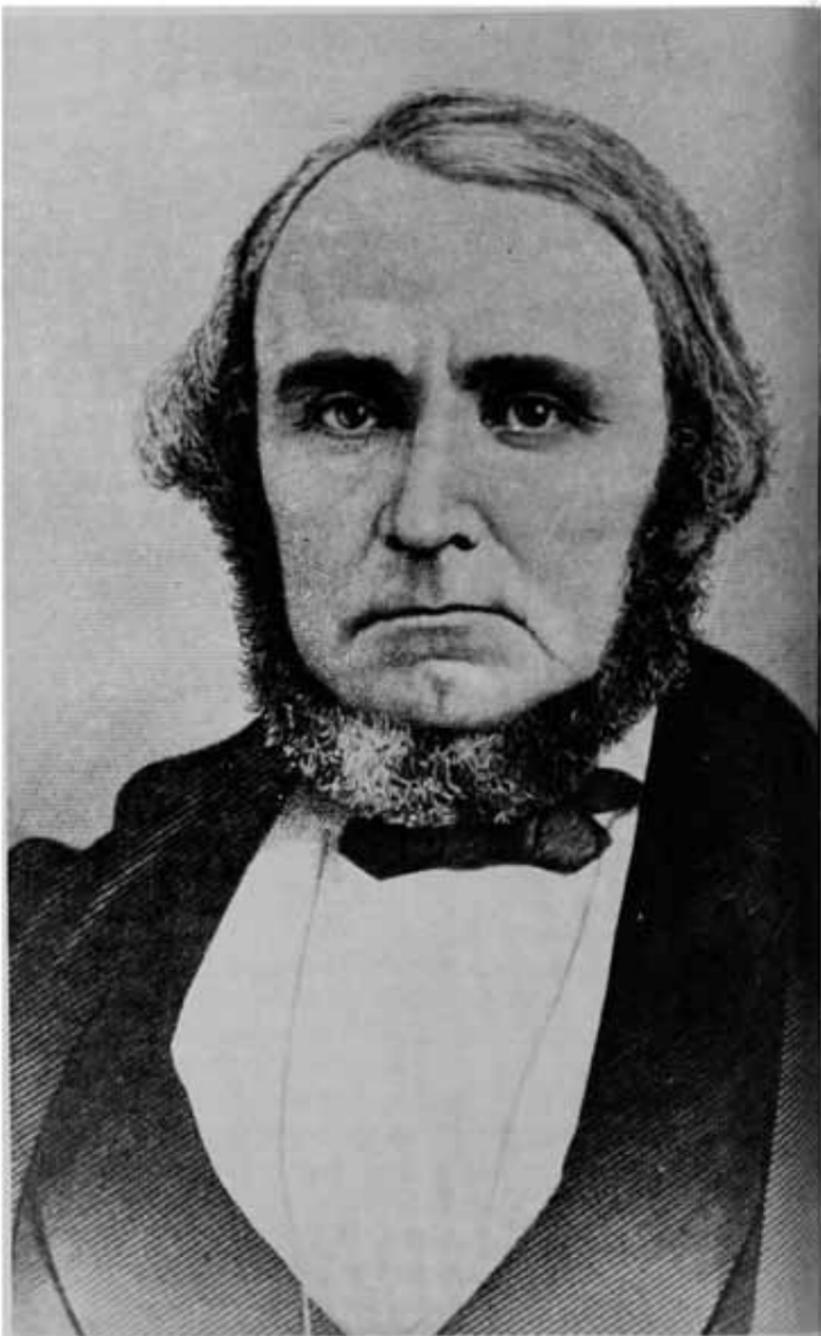
The social organization is interesting. The line of descent is reckoned through the mother. A marriage means that the boy joins the household of the wife's mother, at least for a time. The children belong to the wife's clan — not the man's.

In this account we have slighted the Navajo only because of their recent history in the state. And space is limited. However, this is the most numerous tribe in the United States today. They are a proud and able people. Their isolated location and pride of culture has kept some of them backward and uneducated. Many are still not able to

speak English, but this is changing; the tribe is now rich from uranium and oil royalties, and rapid progress can be expected.

They and their poverty and illiteracy have constituted a grave problem for western states. As most Utahans know, a few hundred Navajo boys and girls are educated at Brigham City in the Intermountain Indian School. Some of the graduates of the Brigham school find work and homes in Utah. Other schools, on and off their reservation, are being built or expanded, and the problem of an English education for the young, at least, is on the road to solution. There is a very large literature on the Navajo and their interesting culture, but the ones who live in Utah have not been extensively studied.

In this article the effort has been to tell, very simply, the outline of Indian history in Utah from the beginning up to the present. And the customs and lifeway have been very briefly summarized. In their ability to live in the deserts and survive even into modern times, the Utah tribes merit our admiration and help wherever this can be given.



WILLIAM CLAYTON, 1814-1879.

William Clayton held various offices of public trust and responsibility. As Brigham Young's personal secretary, he handled the bulk of the homesteading paper work for the outlying settlements during the 1870's.

HOMESTEADING IN ZION

*By Lawrence B. Lee**

The operation of the federal public land laws during Utah's territorial period presented interesting contrasts to practices encountered on other frontiers of settlement. Nowhere was this more forcibly demonstrated than in Mormon utilization of the Homestead Act. The members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were motivated by but a single impulse when they approached the Salt Lake City federal district land office at its opening in 1869.¹ They were determined to secure a valid title to the lands which they had reclaimed from the desert and had occupied for more than twenty years.² The Homestead Act was one of the federal statutes that would give inhabitants of this Great Basin Zion their coveted federal patent. The prevailing Mormon land system, while proving its efficacy for the community of the Saints, was always subject to attack by non-Mormons. And the so-called Gentile population in Utah was on the increase after the Civil War in consequence of the expanding mining industry and the completion of the transcontinental railroad. A spate of land-jumping cases in Salt Lake City in 1866 revealed to church authorities how precarious was the

* Lawrence B. Lee is on the history faculty at San Jose State College, San Jose, California.

¹ *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), March 24, 1869.

² Feramorz Y. Fox, "The Mormon Land System: A Study of the Settlement and Utilization of Land Under the Direction of the Mormon Church" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1932), 159.

position of the Mormon Kingdom without possession of full federal land title.³ Consequently church leaders welcomed the congressional enactment that brought federal land settlement laws into operation in Utah.⁴ Brigham Young indicated the prevailing sentiment when he said, ". . . it was of vital importance that our lands should be secure."⁵ A special institution revived from former days, the School of the Prophets, was convened to instruct the priesthood on procedures to be followed at the land office.⁶ Orders were passed down to the faithful through the ward bishops to prove up title to land holdings as soon as possible. In consequence of this insistent campaign, Mormon land titles were confirmed in record time under the federal settlement laws.⁷ As part of this larger movement, "Homesteading in Zion" formed a distinctive chapter in the annals of American homestead settlement.

In Utah the spirit of the original homestead ideal given expression by the National Reform Movement in the 1840's and 1850's was truly reflected in Mormon homesteading.⁸ Mormon farmers held on to their lands acquired under the law. They did not speculate in homestead entries. This and other evidences of the uniqueness of the Mormon homesteading experience will be amply documented in subsequent paragraphs.

As in every other undertaking of the Desert Saints, co-operation was the keynote in Utah homesteading. This co-operation was facilitated by a continuing dissemination of federal land office information. Also important was the church members' disciplined response to the instructions of agents who served as intermediaries between the various ward bishops and the land office. The church news organ, the *Deseret News*, carried extracts of the homestead statute and amendments, as well as pertinent regulations promulgated by the General Land Office.⁹ All

³ *Latter-day Saints' Millennium Star*, XXVIII (Liverpool, 1866), 604; *Daily Union Vedette* (Salt Lake City), October 26, 1866; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1866, House Executive Document*, 39 Cong., 2 sess., 468.

⁴ *Deseret News*, December 31, 1867.

⁵ *Millennium Star*, XXX (1869), 647.

⁶ "Minutes of the School of the Prophets," Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, March 20, 1869, April 24, 1869, May 8, 1869, in Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City; "Minutes of the School of the Prophets Held in Parowan 1868-1872," May 29, 1869, September 17, 1870, typescript, in Utah State University library, Logan; *Millennium Star*, XXX (1868), 91.

⁷ *Deseret News*, February 21, 1877.

⁸ *Working Man's Advocate*, November 30, 1844, quoted in John R. Commons, *The Labor Movement, 1840-1860* (Cleveland, 1910), 319; H. S. Zahler, *Eastern Workingmen and National Land Policy 1829-1862* (New York, 1941).

⁹ *Deseret News*, October 4, 1876.

official notices of the land office also reached the readers of the *Deseret News*.¹⁰ Exhortative editorials urged the Saints to prove up their claims in the quickest possible time, for they were in peril of losing their improvements to outsiders should the seven year statutory period lapse.¹¹ The paper's editors urged an eternal vigilance against land jumpers of the Gentile breed.¹² The Latter-day Saints were directed to seek the advice of "one of our people" when it came to land office matters.¹³ Previously, the church leadership had been accustomed to recommending the services of trusted land office contact men since the 1850's when Brigham Young recommended the services of certain knowledgeable persons to members of the Mormon Battalion seeking to acquire bounty warrants.¹⁴ Brigham Young's personal secretary, William Clayton, apparently handled the bulk of the homesteading paper work for the outlying Mormon settlements during the 1870's.¹⁵ He was succeeded by the favored Mormon land attorney, Charles W. Saynor, following 1878. These agents served Zion's inhabitants by filling out entry papers. They handled relinquishments and final proof affidavits and also passed interpretations of General Land Office administrative regulations on to Mormon homesteaders.¹⁶ Relations between the land officers and the Mormons were often strained in consequence of the continuing disagreement between the various federal administrations and the church hierarchy. Clayton, for instance, as an additional task had to sound out the local federal officials to determine how helpful they would be in passing on Mormon final proof testimony.

A co-operative spirit at the land office was essential to the achievement of Mormon homestead title. The justly famed Mormon village settlement pattern made homesteading hazardous in terms of federal regulations. The Mormon families resided in their villages and tilled their respective allotments in the agricultural fields removed by several miles from the village.¹⁷ The homestead statute, however, clearly re-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, July 14, 1869.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, July 17, 1872, February 21, 1877.

¹² *Ibid.*, October 8, 1879.

¹³ *Ibid.*, October 16, 1878.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, January 9, 1856.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, March 19, 1879.

¹⁶ William Clayton to D. Candland, September 6, 1876, February 21, 1877; to William T. Reid, July 18, 1876, June 19, 1877; to George Peacock, June 26, 1877, July 16, 1877; to John Moore, March 29, 1879, in William Clayton Letterbooks, 1860-1879, Group II, A, The Utah Manuscripts, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, also on microfilm in Utah State Historical Society library.

¹⁷ Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City, 1952).



COURTESY, CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS HISTORIAN'S OFFICE

Typical of Mormon co-operative land settlement policies is this colonizing party assembled prior to departure for southern Utah in the 1860's.

Notice which appeared in the Deseret News March 24, 1869. All pertinent regulations of the land office later appeared in the paper.

NOTICE.
—:0:—

The United States Land Office
For the District of Utah,
IS NOW OPEN

For the transaction of business, Settlers upon the surveyed lands of the Territory are required to file their Declaratory Statements within ninety days from this date.

C. C. CLEMENTS, Register.
L. S. HILLS, Receiver.

Salt Lake City, March 9, 1869. w66

quired a continuous five years' residence on the agricultural land as a condition precedent to patent.¹⁸ If the federal officials were not understanding in their attitudes, the faithful ran the risk of perjury prosecutions. William Clayton at times recommended to his correspondents that they take their wagons out to their tracts for a day or two's residence so as to achieve a nominal compliance with the law.¹⁹ Of course, on most homestead frontiers at that time full compliance with the residence requirements of the statute was likewise exceptional.²⁰ The Gentile community in Salt Lake City expressed the view that Mormons con-

¹⁸ U. S., *Statutes at Large*, XII, 392.

¹⁹ William Clayton to Edward Partridge, March 14, 1879.

²⁰ Harold H. Dunham, *Government Handout: A Study in the Administration of the Public Lands, 1875-1891* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1941).

sidered perjury in a Gentile court of little consequence.²¹ But evasion of the residence requirement troubled church authorities, and the Utah territorial legislature requested Congress to allow the substitution of irrigation works for the residence requirement of the Homestead Act.²² The Desert Land Act adopted by Congress in 1878 fulfilled this demand and was later much used in Utah.²³

Nonchurch members in Salt Lake City were also wont to complain of plural homestead entries made by Mormon polygamous families.²⁴ The statute allowed a male of twenty-one years or a "head of family" to make homestead entry.²⁵ The "head of the family" phraseology made it possible according to General Land Office interpretation for Mormon plural wives to enter plural homestead tracts. Thus it was that partisan sniping by the Gentile press in Salt Lake City brought forth the assertion that two men's wives had entered collectively 1,250 acres in one day's time at the local land office.²⁶ The land office interpretation was maintained from 1864 to 1879. It seemed reasonable to permit married women who were, in a sense, heads of separate families to take out homestead entries if unmarried women with dependent children were also allowed this privilege.²⁷ Critics of the practice held that polygamous wives perjured themselves since the homestead entry was not actually intended for their own personal use, as the statute required, but was deeded to their respective husbands as soon as patent was received.²⁸ Evidence of the extent of this practice is hard to come by. A survey of the 3,027 homestead entries made at the Salt Lake City federal land office between April 1, 1869, and November 8, 1880, disclosed only 166 entries by women, only eight of whom might be classified undeniably as polygamous wives on the basis of land office notation on the records.²⁹ The actual number of such entries conceivably could have been higher because of the practice of plural wives

²¹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 16, 1876.

²² *Deseret News*, September 17, 1879.

²³ Register of Entries made at the Land Office in Salt Lake City under the Desert Land Act, Federal Building, Salt Lake City.

²⁴ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 15, 1871, August 27, 1872, November 11, 1877, February 6, 1879.

²⁵ U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XII, 392.

²⁶ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 15, 1871.

²⁷ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1864, House Executive Document*, 38 Cong., 2 sess., 26.

²⁸ *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 6, 1879.

²⁹ Register of Entries made at the Land Office at Salt Lake City under the Homestead Act from the 1st day of April, 1869 to . . . , Federal Building, Salt Lake City.

using their maiden names when registering for homestead entries. Finally, the troublesome issue was put to rest in the Secretary of the Interior's office when the decision of Lyon *vs.* Stevens ruled in 1879 that plural wives were ineligible to enter separate homestead tracts.³⁰

The Latter-day Saints prided themselves on being a "peculiar people."³¹ Their homesteading practices certainly revealed that they were a unique people. Claims contesting was minimal among the Mormons, while it was the order of the day on other homestead frontiers. Mormons in good standing with their church simply did not use the land office machinery for settling land disputes with other Mormons. The priesthood courts of ward and stake mediated between rival claimants, and the disputes were never aired in public.³² William Clayton, as the church's representative before the federal land office, stated it to be his policy to prevent "lawsuits" from developing among the brethren.³³ He was forever fearful that "land sharks" would encourage litigation among the Latter-day Saints. An illustration of the manner in which church authorities settled land disputes without resort to the contest procedures of the district land office came to light in 1879. Discrepancies between the original survey and the federal government survey gave rise to contesting claims at the village of Kaysville. These issues were straightened out after Elders F. D. Richards and Brigham Young, Jr., of the Twelve Apostles, preached to the ward on the need for forbearance and self-sacrifice.³⁴ The fences and improvements were removed without rancor and without endless litigation. In land matters as also in other areas of possible conflict with the outside world, the community of Saints acted with a singular unanimity. By remaining aloof from the land office contest docket, Mormons preserved their claims from attack by third parties, likely to be Gentiles. During the first ten years that the Salt Lake City district land office received contest applications, only twenty-six contests were filed.³⁵ During the same period 4,100 homestead entries were accomplished. The sixty-two homestead contests in the next decade, 1879-89, perhaps reflected the attempt of the Gentile population to challenge the reputed "Mormon land

³⁰ *Deseret News*, October 1, 1879; *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 9, 1879.

³¹ *Ibid.*, April 19, 1877.

³² Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Chicago, 1942), 274, 338; *Deseret News*, May 5, 1886.

³³ William Clayton to John Sharp, April 29, 1873.

³⁴ *Deseret News*, March 19, 1879.

³⁵ Register of Homestead Entries, Salt Lake City Land Office.

monopoly."³⁶ Outsiders claimed that Mormons never sold their land.³⁷ And the priesthood prohibited the Saints from mortgaging their real estate.³⁸ If outsiders were to acquire agricultural lands, claims jumping promised the greatest returns. The Mormons were always fearful that claims jumpers' interests would be fostered by the federal district land officers in contest litigation before them.³⁹ Consequently, when church authorities learned of cases of land jumping, maximum publicity was given to the events and all efforts were directed at preventing such cases from being taken into the federal land office. Mormon-Gentile homestead contest cases were not numerous in the 1870's and 1880's. In fact, the record shows that none of them were ever appealed for adjudication by the Department of the Interior during the decade of the 1880's.⁴⁰

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints instructed its membership in the procedures for filing homestead entries on public land.⁴¹ A trusteeship system was *de rigueur*. The local ward bishop would enter the prescribed one-hundred-and-sixty-acre tract as a trustee of the Saints whose small irrigated plots were located within the larger tract's bounds. Mormon farm allotments, of course, did not correspond with the traditional subdivisions of the government survey. After the title passed from the federal government the bishop then deeded small parcels to those holding possession under the Mormon land system. Examples of this practice abound in Utah's county records going back to the 1870's. A case in point is that of Frederick W. Schoenfeld's entry to a quarter section of agricultural lands on the south and west of Salt Lake City in April of 1871.⁴² He was the bishop and trustee of Brighton Ecclesiastical Ward at the time. His final receipt was rendered him by the local federal land officials in June of 1876 after he had proved compliance with the Homestead Act. He deeded subdivisions of his quarter section in December, 1876, again in January and in July, 1877, to families who had been working smaller irrigated tracts for many

³⁶ *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 8, 1882.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, June 29, 1873.

³⁸ *Deseret News*, November 17, 1873.

³⁹ William Clayton to W. H. Hooper, July 2, 1870.

⁴⁰ *Deseret News*, August 7, 1872, May 22, 1878, April 9, 1884, July 30, 1884; *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 7, 1879; U.S. Dept. of the Interior, *Decisions of the Department of the Interior and General Land Office, 1880-1890*.

⁴¹ George Thomas, *The Development of Institutions under Irrigation with Special Reference to Early Utah Conditions* (New York, 1920), 41.

⁴² Register of Homestead Entries, Salt Lake City Land Office.

years prior to the entry.⁴² In 1883 he offered eight hundred square rods of his acreage as a site for a ward house. Mr. Schoenfeld received as consideration for his deeded land sums varying from \$1.32 to \$3.64 an acre. The total amount, \$219.12, apparently went into the church treasury. Another homestead entryman, Thomas R. Jones, received his final receiver's certificate on June 11, 1874, for an entry made to a quarter section in the federal government survey township in which the town of Lehi is located.⁴³ On March 21, 1876, he deeded eight different occupiers of this land tracts totaling about eighty acres.⁴⁴ One of these parcels was a twenty-four-acre piece transferred to Isaac Goodwin, mayor of Lehi, for a consideration of one dollar. Subsequently two more tracts (twenty-one acres) were sold by Jones in 1880. The total amount realized on these sales was \$119.45, so the average price per acre came to \$1.50 when the Lehi town plot was excluded. Such evidence demonstrates the pattern of land distribution that was followed in all of the Mormon settlements. The trusteeship system represented an adaption of the Homestead Act settlement provisions to the Mormon system of land tenure.⁴⁵

It would appear from the foregoing that "homesteading in Zion" represented a variation from the normal pattern of homestead settlement. Further data can be marshaled to prove the same point. There were fewer homesteader failures in Utah than in other more typical homestead frontiers. The first year of homestead entries at the Salt Lake City land office revealed a failure rate of only thirty-two per cent.⁴⁷ Ten years later a mere twenty per cent of the entrymen failed to perfect their entries. In the state of Kansas at the same time in an environment generally more conducive to farming, the failure rate was forty-nine per cent.⁴⁸ The higher rate of relinquishment in Kansas and adjoining states represented, in part, the universal propensity of homestead settlers to speculate on the advance in land prices as waves of settlement took up the residue of cheap lands. Recurrent droughts also took their toll of homesteaders in the Great Plains states. The result in one Kansas county during the period, 1879-1904, was that a trifling six per cent of the original homestead entrymen there still held their

⁴² County Abstract Books, Salt Lake County, Utah.

⁴³ Register of Homestead Entries, Salt Lake City Land Office.

⁴⁴ County Abstract Books, Utah County, Utah.

⁴⁵ Thomas, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁶ Register of Homestead Entries, Salt Lake City Land Office.

⁴⁷ Paul W. Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1954), 241.

homestead entered tracts after fifteen years had elapsed.⁴⁹ The situation in Utah presented quite a contrast as homesteaders there retained their land indefinitely. One should consider the allotment owners the true homesteaders and the bishop, the entryman under the Homestead Act requirements, as merely their trustee, since the allotment holders had possession of their tracts long before the Homestead Act provided them with a federal title to their lands, and they would continue to farm them for the balance of their lives. This long subsisting tenure of homesteaded land was the resultant of successful adaptation to the environment made possible by Mormon irrigation practices combined with the stability of occupancy of the typical Mormon village. Thus in the Mormon regime the original occupants of homesteaded agricultural lands in Utah Territory were in possession of the land long after the end of the primary settlement period.

Other contrasts are noteworthy. For one thing the promise of free public lands in Utah was used by Mormon missionaries in the British Isles and Scandinavia to attract emigrants to the state.⁵⁰ In contrast to other states' homesteaders many of the Utah-bound emigrants were factory operatives from the industrial Midlands of England and learned to farm under the tutelage of the experienced farm folk in Mormon communities.⁵¹ Another distinction has to do with the Soldiers and Sailors Homestead Act. This amendment to the original statute of 1862 permitted qualified Union veterans certain Homestead Act privileges. Thus, time in the military service up to a maximum of four years could be applied to the five years' residence requirement.⁵² Because the Mormon community did not participate actively in the Civil War, few Utah inhabitants were eligible for the benefits of this statute. Only thirty entries of this character were registered at the Salt Lake City land office between 1869 and 1892.⁵³ Another amendment to the Homestead Act found more effective use in the Mormon Kingdom. Thus, Indians were encouraged to take out homesteads under the federal statute of 1875.⁵⁴ Federal officials in Salt Lake City opposing the Mormon leaders tried to treat the encouragement of the Indians as a scheme to main-

⁴⁹ Lawrence B. Lee, "Kansas and the Homestead Act, 1862-1905" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1957), 493.

⁵⁰ *Millennial Star*, XXXII (1870), 185; William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis, 1957).

⁵¹ Fox, *op. cit.*, 132; *Deseret News*, May 3, 1866.

⁵² U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XVII, 333.

⁵³ Register of Homestead Entries, Salt Lake City Land Office.

⁵⁴ U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XVII, 420.

tain the Mormon monopoly of Utah's agricultural lands.⁵⁵ Many Indian homesteads were perfected, but it is doubtful if Indian homesteads contributed to the Mormon land monopoly as the Gentile press described it. By 1878 members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, however, did control the principal agricultural acreage in the territory while mining claims belonged to the Gentiles.⁵⁶

The Homestead Act helped the Desert Saints achieve a General Land Office mandate for the agricultural lands of the Great Basin Kingdom. Other federal land acts were also used. The Pre-emption Act was often preferred because it presented a faster route to the coveted federal patent.⁵⁷ In 1870 it was estimated that 400,000 acres of Utah lands could be reclaimed by irrigation. Ten years later about one half of this acreage had passed into Mormon hands through the agency of the Homestead Act.⁵⁸ By 1904 one million homesteaded acres had been conveyed to Utah citizens.⁵⁹ Church leadership was pleased with the law.⁶⁰ Undoubtedly the co-operative spirit which permeated the Mormon desert empire accounted for the successful and unique operation of the Homestead Act in Utah. On other frontiers homesteaders moved by individualistic principles chose to sell relinquishments or deeded their perfected entries for speculative profits.⁶¹ Mormons operating on a co-operative principle used the Homestead Act to validate a lifetime ownership of their farm lands. And thus, the National Reformers who had popularized the homestead idea in the days of the Mormon Prophet, Joseph Smith, had their cherished dream realized at least in one spot in the United States, in Utah Territory, the Kingdom on top of the mountains.⁶²

⁵⁵ *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 3, 1877.

⁵⁶ William Clayton to George Peacock, October 1, 1877; Report of Governor Emory, Utah Territory, to Secretary of the Interior, October 26, 1878, The Utah Collection, Bancroft Library, Envelope No. 14, P-F 311 — also on microfilm in Utah State Historical Society library.

⁵⁷ *Deseret News*, September 24, 1879. A survey of land law utilization in three federal government survey townships in Utah revealed the relative proportion of total acreage patented under the Pre-emption Act and the Five Year Homestead Act to be: 23% Pre-emption and 37% Homestead in Township 5 south, Range 1 east (Lehi), 35% Pre-emption and 29% Homestead in Township 1 south, Range 1 west (Salt Lake City), Pre-emption 42% and 17% Homestead in Township 12 north, Range 1 east (Logan). Tract Books, Salt Lake City Land Office.

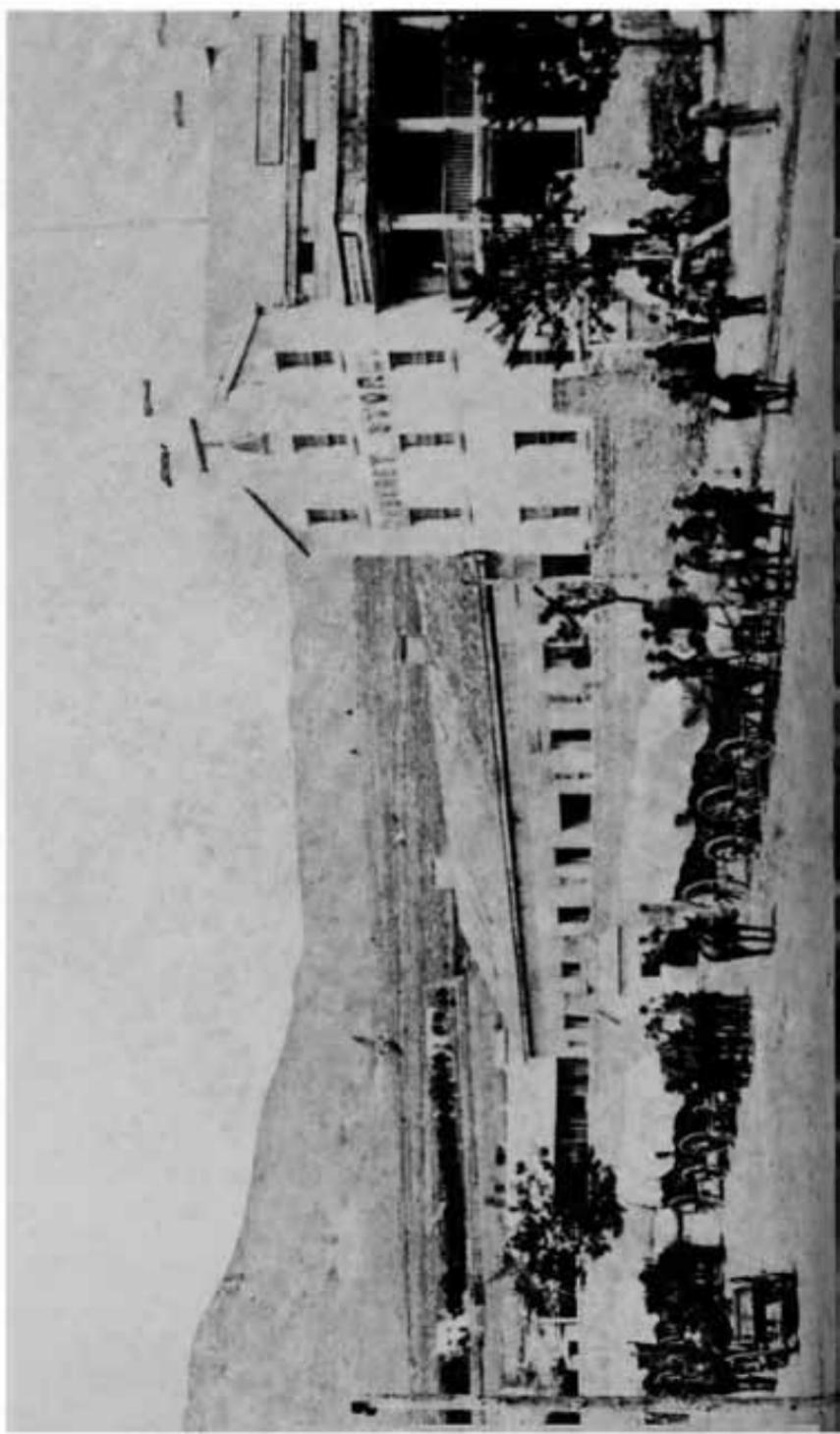
⁵⁸ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1870, House Executive Document, 41st Cong., 3 sess., 142*; Thomas Donaldson, *The Public Domain, House Executive Document No. 47, Part 4, 46th Cong., 3 sess., 355*.

⁵⁹ *Report of the Public Lands Commission (1903-1905), Senate Document No. 189, 58 Cong., 3 sess., 175*.

⁶⁰ *Deseret News*, April 25, 1888.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, 550-91.

⁶² Zahler, *op. cit.*; Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 411.



General Tithing Office and Store, Salt Lake City, about 1865. This corner at Main and South Temple was the nerve-center of the church's economic activity for many years.

COURTESY, CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS HISTORIAN'S OFFICE

MORMON ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION: A SHEAF OF ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

*By Leonard J. Arrington and Ralph W. Hansen**

INTRODUCTION

People may make their living through a highly organized process, as in modern industrial societies, or in an atomistic, individualistic, fragmented way, as in the America of the decades before and after the Civil War. While people on the Western frontier generally followed the individualistic pattern, this was not true of the Latter-day Saints. Observers of pioneer Mormon society, whatever their opinions on other aspects of Mormon life, were unanimous in giving praise to the effectiveness of Mormon organization. With remarkable unity and solidarity the processes of economic life in Mormon Country were planned and executed as group maneuvers. After a complicated decision-making process in which there was interaction between leaders and followers, administrative directives were prepared giving detailed instructions for the Mormon community to follow. And the instructions

*Ralph Hansen is in charge of manuscript collections, Brigham Young University library. Leonard Arrington, frequent contributor to these pages, is professor of economics, Utah State University, Logan. A background study of Mormon economic organization in the nineteenth century is Professor Arrington's volume, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1958).

were a *précis* or summary outline of what was eventually done. Under expert leadership a whole society was mobilized to conserve food, settle new regions, construct elaborate irrigation works, erect textile mills, and form relief trains to meet immigrating brethren in distress.

In recent years the Brigham Young University library has acquired evidences of these Mormon organizational procedures in the form of letters sent from church headquarters in Salt Lake City to local Mormon communities throughout the West. Being distributed to more than a hundred—and in later years to more than two hundred—local settlements, these letters and circulars were printed to resemble broadsides, and were signed by the three individuals comprising the "First Presidency" of the church, or by the church's Presiding Bishop. Despite their widespread contemporary distribution, these broadsides are rarely found in libraries and private collections. Presented here are seven such documents from the Brigham Young University collections. They convey an authentic impression of Mormon organizational processes at work in solving the countless problems faced in settling the Far West in the nineteenth century.

I. THE CONSERVATION OF FOOD, 1863.

The year 1863 was marked by the tightest food shortage in Utah since the rationed days of hunger in 1848 and 1856. For one thing, the production of 1863 was particularly low because of a severe drought and the infestation of grasshoppers. In addition, the demand for food was far higher than usual. The discovery of gold and silver in Utah's neighboring territories of Idaho and Montana had led to a considerable export of grain, livestock, and fruit to supply the thousands of miners attracted to those territories. Moreover, President Lincoln had sent the Third California and Nevada Volunteers to Utah to protect the overland mail and telegraph, to prevent Indian depredations, and to keep an eye on the Mormons during the Civil War. These troops, consisting of between 750 and 1,500 men, had to be supplied with provisions from Utah. Finally, the territory had sent 118 tons of flour and proportionate amounts of other foodstuffs to the Missouri Valley to feed the 3,600 Mormon immigrants bound for Utah in the Church Teams of 1863. With a population of about 50,000 the Mormons could not take chances on a repetition of the tragedies which brought near-starvation in 1848 and 1856.

In the fall of 1863, when it became clear that the food supply would be short, leading church authorities ordered all surplus grain to be

deposited in the church's tithing storehouses, to be used in feeding the poor and needy. Bishops were instructed to use diligence in assuring that all grain due the church, on whatever account, was brought in. At the same time, instructions were sent out that church members were not to sell any more wheat to miners, that they should be sparing in using grain to feed livestock, and that any surplus wheat was to be sent to the General Tithing Office in Salt Lake City where it would be distributed to the poor. A credit of \$2.00 per bushel would be allowed for all grain thus supplied in addition to what was owed to the church in the form of tithing, immigration indebtedness, or *Deseret News* (the church newspaper) subscriptions, or donated toward such worthy church-sponsored projects as the Perpetual Emigration Fund or the missionary fund. In reading the following letter, directed to all bishops of local wards and settlements, it should be remembered that the chief revenue of the Mormon church was from contributions in kind. Members donated one-tenth of their annual production or labor, in what was known as produce tithing, livestock tithing, cash tithing, and labor tithing. Tithes were almost invariably voluntary, and the advice in regard to making failure to pay in 1863 a matter of fellowship indicated the extreme gravity with which church officials viewed prospects for food supply for the winter of 1863-64.

Presidents Office

Great Salt Lake City Oct 26th 1863.

Bp _____

Dear Brother

In view of the scarcity of grain & the increased demand over past years, we are induced to write to you specially on the subject of gathering in & properly securing all the grain due the Church on Tithing on P. E. Fund Comp., & *Deseret News* Office indebtedness & on Donations to the Missionary Fund in your Ward, and with all possible dispatch forward the same to the Gen T[ithing] Receiving Store this City (as the Office is & has been empty) so that we can feed those depending on us for bread.

To further accomplish the end desired, you should visit every member of the Ward, and learn the amount of grain, stock, cash etc raised & made, & see that the tenth is duly paid in & punctually forwarded.

If any one refuses to pay his proper Tithing in its Kinds, It should, we think, be made a matter of fellowship.

To facilitate the forwarding of the grain besides using the labor Tithing, you are for the present authorized to get the hauling done on debts due the Deseret News Office, P. E. Fund Co. & on Donation to the Missionary Fund, by those who have no wheat to spare on such indebtedness.

We shall expect you to be punctual & energetic in all these matters, as it will no longer do, to evade duties and obligations of so much importance.

Your Brethren in the Gospel

Brigham Young

Heber C Kimball

Daniel H Wells

II. AGRICULTURAL PRICE CONTROL, 1864.

The near-famine condition of the winter of 1863-64 caused church officials to advocate grain-saving with increasing vigor during the summer of 1864. Brigham Young, for example, stressed that outside "speculators" should not be allowed to buy grain in Utah. Instead, he said, any that could be spared should be stored. To make certain that prices were sufficiently high to discourage "outsiders" from buying Utah produce, leading farmers and churchmen were invited to an Agricultural Price Convention in Salt Lake City to consider the establishment of high fixed prices for grain and other produce. The high prices were expected to diminish food exports, discourage the use of food in feeding livestock, protect the territory against fluctuating prices caused by the new issues of Union greenbacks, and assure Utah farmers sufficiently high prices to greatly stimulate agricultural production in Utah.

The convention was held in August, 1864. In preparation for it, church authorities met early in July to sketch out a policy and to agree upon procedures for carrying this policy to the local wards and settlements. The document reprinted below, drawn up by general church authorities, was presented to local congregations in the summer of 1864. After appropriate sermons and discussion, Mormon farmers and freighters were asked to pledge support of the price maintenance program.

TO THE CITIZENS OF UTAH:

The manner in which we came to these valleys, bringing what seeds, seed wheat and provisions we could for our subsistence until we should be blest with a harvest, meanwhile eking out our scanty supplies with roots,

hides, wolf meat, etc. and the having been frequently placed in close proximity with starvation through the destruction of crops by crickets, grasshoppers and drouth, visitations to which we are liable, have given us an experience unusual in other regions, and have learned us that both propriety and duty require the rulers and fathers among the people to advise and follow that course of deal and policy best calculated for their self-preservation, and for securing to them all those temporal blessings vouchsafed to the wise and prudent, and

Whereas, Wheat is our great staple product, and a necessity touching the very existence of our settlements in these mountains, and

Whereas, Common humanity requires us to take into consideration the probable wants of the many thousands on their way to this Territory and the adjoining gold regions, and

Whereas, We have naught upon which to rely but the incoming harvest, already in many places seriously lessened by drouth and frost, and

Inasmuch, As the breadth in barley and oats is probably one half less than last year, while the animals expected to be fed will be somewhere double the number they were at that period, there will be efforts made to buy wheat for horse feed, and

Whereas, Gold is the only fixed standard of commercial values,

Therefore, To provide for ourselves and our families, for our immigration and the hosts of others understood to be depending upon us for bread, to save our wheat from being fed to animals or wasted or destroyed by them, to aid in its being carefully husbanded and wisely used, to effect establishing a price for wheat that will be reasonably remunerative to the farmer, that he may have an additional inducement to save and use it wisely, and to avoid its being priced by a constantly fluctuating currency and over-reaching speculators, it has been deemed proper and necessary to call a Convention, to be composed of one delegate from each precinct of our grain raising regions, and to be held in the Tabernacle in Great Salt Lake City, on the second Monday in August next, for the purpose of determining the prices at which wheat and other produce should be sold. And until said decision can be had, WE, the undersigned, hereby *covenant and agree* that, previous to selling any grain, we will reserve at least a year's supply for ourselves, families and dependents, and, in case we have not that amount, we will endeavor to secure it as speedily as possible; that we will reserve the bran and shorts for feeding our animals, and will not sell flour at less than twelve dollars a hundred in gold or its equivalent in Government currency or other commodities; that from those who dig gold or buy and sell it we will receive only gold for our produce; that we will sustain such prices as the Convention may adopt; and that we will mutually sustain each other in complying with the aforementioned covenant and agreement by those who are able in each precinct buying from those who may not be able to hold on against lower offers.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, July 5th, 1864.

III. CONSTRUCTING A TELEGRAPH LINE, 1865.

One of the most remarkable co-operative achievements of the Mormons was the construction, in 1866, of a 1,100 mile telegraph line connecting the principal Mormon settlements with church headquarters and the transcontinental telegraph line in Salt Lake City. Utahans had gleaned valuable experience from the construction of the transcontinental line under a special contract let to Brigham Young in 1861. After the conclusion of the Civil War, it became possible for the Mormons to purchase their own wire and other equipment and construct their own line. This was important to them because speedy communication would provide protection against Indian raids, the line would improve church administration and direction over the wide expanse of territory occupied by the Mormons, and, above all, social and religious communication would be speeded and the commercial and industrial growth of the territory would be facilitated.

The process of constructing a telegraph line involved five phases: (1) Young people were appointed to spend the winter of 1865-66 in Salt Lake City attending a church-sponsored telegraph school so they would be prepared to take over the stations established in each of the settlements. (2) Men in the various settlements were organized to secure poles and erect them at proper intervals. (3) "Block teachers" were appointed to visit every family and collect donations toward the purchase of wire, the equipping of stations, and the support of operators. (4) Young men were selected and formed into a train to go to the Missouri Valley to pick up the wire and equipment and transport it by ox team to Utah. (5) Groups of men, organized as "priesthood quorums," performed the task of stringing the wire and preparing the stations. All phases were under the general direction of John Clowes, manager of the Salt Lake branch of the overland telegraph and a new Mormon convert.

All of these efforts culminated in February, 1867, when the initial 500 miles of line were completed and in operation between Logan, Utah, on the north, and St. George, Utah, on the south. By 1873 the line had been extended to outlying agricultural settlements, mining districts, and freighting stations to include a network of more than 1,100 miles.

The document below, sent from church headquarters in November, 1865, outlined procedures to be followed in constructing the line in

the months to follow. These instructions were the orders that set in motion the independent activity of a hundred settlements from Idaho to Arizona in a vast co-operative enterprise to bring a modern convenience to Utah's settlers at the earliest possible date.

TO THE BISHOPS AND PRESIDING ELDERS OF THE VARIOUS WARDS AND SETTLEMENTS OF UTAH TERRITORY, FROM ST. CHARLES, RICHLAND COUNTY, IN THE NORTH, TO ST. GEORGE, WASHINGTON COUNTY, IN THE SOUTH.

Brethren:

The proper time has arrived for us to take the necessary steps to build the Telegraph Line to run North and South through the Territory, according to the plan which has been proposed. The necessity for the speedy construction of this Work is pressing itself upon our attention, and scarcely a week passes that we do not feel the want of such a Line. Occurrences frequently happen in distant Settlements which require to be known immediately in other parts of the Territory; and, in many instances, public and private interests suffer through not being able to transmit such news by any quicker channel than the ordinary Mails. We are rapidly spreading abroad, and our Settlements extend to a great distance on every hand. We now require to be united by bonds which will bring us into more speedy and close communication with one another; the centre should be in a position to communicate at any moment with the extremities, however remote; and the extremities be able, with ease and speed, to make their wants and circumstances known to the centre. Instead of depending altogether upon the tardy operation of the Mails for the transmission of information, we should bring into requisition every improvement which our age affords, to facilitate our intercourse and to render our intercommunication more easy. These requirements the Telegraph will supply, and it is well adapted to our position and the progress of the age in which we live.

This Fall and Winter will be a very suitable time to haul and set the poles along the entire line to carry the wire; and we wish you to take the proper steps *immediately* in your several Wards and Settlements to have this part of the labor efficiently and entirely accomplished, so that we may be able to stretch the Wire as soon as it can be imported and put up next season. From Settlement to Settlement let the men of judgment select and mark the route for the Line to run, so as to have it as straight as possible and yet convenient to the road. The poles should be 22 feet long; 8 inches at the but[t] and 5 inches at the top; and, to be durable, they should be stripped of their bark; and they should be set 70 yards apart and be put 4 feet in the ground.

The collecting of the means needed for the purchase of Wire has been deferred until the present time, through the representations of many of the Bishops to the effect that after harvest the people would be in a better position to advance the money. The grain is now harvested, and the time

suggested as being the most convenient for the collecting of this means has arrived. We wish each one of you to take immediate measures throughout your various Wards to collect the necessary means to purchase your share of the Wire, and it should all be paid in by the First of February, 1866, as by that time it will be needed to send East.

Wherever there is a Telegraphic Station established along the Line there will be one or two operators needed, & every Settlement, that wishes to have such a Station, should select one or two of its most suitable young men and send them to this city this Winter with sufficient means, to go to School to learn the art of Telegraphy. There will be a School kept here all the time for this purpose. And every Settlement which expects to have a Station should also make its calculations for purchasing an Instrument for operating with, and the acids and all the materials necessary for an Office.

The wire, insulators, &c., will probably weigh fifty-five tons, or upwards, and to bring these articles from the frontiers, teams will have to be sent down from each Settlement this Spring with the teams which we send down for the poor. From your County we expect you will send down 9 Teams, with four yoke of oxen to a wagon, to help bring up the Wire, &c.

The amount of money apportioned to your County, to be collected in the various Settlements as the share we wish them to raise, is \$2,500 00/100. The whole sum of money which we have apportioned to the various Counties only amounts, in the aggregate, to about one-half the sum that will be needed for the purchase of the wire, without the insulators or any of the instruments to operate with.

We hope the requirements made in this Circular will meet with prompt attention on the part of the Bishops and the people, and have a speedy response.

Your Brother,

BRIGHAM YOUNG

IV. CHURCH IMMIGRATION TEAMS, 1868.

In 1845, when the Mormons in Nauvoo, Illinois, realized that they must make the exodus to the Great Basin, those with property entered into a "Covenant" whereby they agreed to place all their means at the disposal of a central committee to assist all the Latter-day Saints, especially those without property, to remove to the new gathering place in the West. As they left Nauvoo in February, 1846, a committee of the "Camp of Israel" was formed to mobilize the money, cattle, wagons, and equipment of all of them to be used in assisting each family to make the move without undue suffering or hardship. Once the Salt Lake Valley was reached, church members formed, in 1849, the Perpetual Emigrating Company to solicit contributions toward an immigrating fund. Within the next three years some 15,000 persons were organized

and assisted to the Great Basin under the auspices of this company. Attention was next directed to the 30,000 Mormons in Europe. Means were collected, agents were stationed at strategic intervals, and from two to three thousand members were immigrated to Utah each year in most of the 1850's.

In 1861 the church decided to accomplish the annual immigration by sending teams and food from Utah to the Missouri Valley each year to provision and transport waiting Mormon immigrants west. In the years 1861-64, 1866, and 1868, a total of 1,956 wagons, pulled by 17,443 oxen, were dispatched from Utah, and these carried more than 600 tons of flour, and also other provisions. In this way some 20,427 immigrants were assisted to go to their Promised Valley.

The immigration teams, of course, became unnecessary with the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869; therefore, the last year of the Church Teams was 1868. In that year, 543 wagons were sent from Utah to the railroad terminus at Benton, Nebraska (later Laramie, Wyoming). Pulled by 4,000 oxen, the teams also carried 156,000 pounds of flour and 121,000 pounds of meat. The two documents presented here illustrate the planning involved in organizing the Church Teams. The first document contains the general instructions from the church First Presidency to Edward Hunter, presiding bishop of the church. The second relays these instructions to the local bishops, in this case to Abraham O. Smoot, bishop in Provo, Utah.

SALT LAKE CITY, MARCH 10th, 1868.

BISHOP HUNTER,

Dear Brother:

In consideration of the great number who anticipate immigrating to this Territory from Europe and the United States during the ensuing season, it is deemed necessary to send 500 teams to the terminus of the U. P. R. R., each team to consist of one wagon and four yoke of oxen, or their equivalent in strength in either mules or horses. They should start from this city about the 15th of June.

It is well known that the Union Pacific Railroad is now prepared to convey passengers and freight upwards of five hundred miles west of Omaha, on the Missouri River. With these great facilities for transportation, there are some inconveniences which must be provided for; viz: A depot should be formed at a spot deemed most suitable near the terminus of the Railroad, where provisions may be stored, and which will afford good camping facilities for our immigrants. We do not anticipate purchasing provisions



COURTESY, CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS HISTORIAN'S OFFICE

Church immigration train en route to Utah, 1866.

and other supplies for the people in the Eastern market, but purpose sending means of subsistence with the teams which will meet them at the terminus of the U. P. R. R., hence it will be necessary for the inhabitants of the Territory to make donations of the bounties with which they have been so liberally provided.

We hope not less than 5,000 Adults will cross the Plains this season, en route for this Territory. To feed this vast number of people will require large quantities of Flour and Beef, which may be apportioned among the trains, and be easily driven to the outfitting point. We would recommend that Dried Fruit, Bacon, Cheese, Vinegar, Beans, Pickles, Peas and Dried Corn be gathered up and sent with our teams, which articles will prove very beneficial to the people, and no doubt cause a decided improvement in their health and comfort.

The people of this Territory have an abundance of these articles, and if their attention be called to the fact that they will prove conducive to the health of the immigrant, they will take pleasure in supplying the wants of their brethren who are journeying hitherward.

Immediate steps should be taken to provide the above supplies and we shall expect you and your counsel to superintend these matters in accordance with former instructions on similar occasions.

BRIGHAM YOUNG,
HEBER C. KIMBALL,
DANIEL H. WELLS.

Salt Lake City, U. T., March 17, 1868.

Bishop

A. O. Smoot

DEAR BROTHER:

We enable us to carry into effect the instructions of the First Presidency, in copy of which you will please find enclosed, in outfitting and forwarding five hundred Teams to the terminus of the U. T. R. R., for the purpose of bringing in the Poor expelled from Europe and the United States this summer, it will be necessary that every Latter-day Saint in the Territory, who has it in his or her power, to lend a helping hand.

Your *Wards* will have to furnish *Twelve (12)* Teams, either four yokes of Oxen or their equivalent in strength in Mules or Horses, to each wagon, with good and trusty Teamsters, and *One (1)* Mounted Guard, all armed and equipped for a journey of from sixty to seventy days, from this City and back, with Clothing, *Provisions*, Fire Arms, Ammunition, *Shoes and Nails for Animals*, Flies, Spades, Axes, Saws, Ropes, &c., complete, without the least expectation of receiving assistance from any other source. You will also have to furnish *Four Thousand (4,000)* pounds Flour and *Two Thousand (2,000)* pounds Meat, either ox, fat or cured, (if on foot so be driven in loose loads,) also *Orled Fruit*, Cheese, Vinegar, Beans, Tea, Pickles, *Orled Corn*, Salt, &c., &c., in proportion to the Flour and Meat required. All these articles are for the benefit of the Poor and must be furnished in addition to the outfit of the Teamsters and Guards.

The Companies are expected to start from this City about the 15th of June next. The Teamsters, Guards, Teams, Outfit, Provisions for the Poor, &c., must be such as will bear strict inspection in every particular before leaving.

In due time you will be advised as to who will be the Captain in charge of the Company in which your Teams will be numbered.

The necessities of the case will require a strong and united effort to accomplish this great and good undertaking and from the past liberality of the Saints we feel assured that they will cheerfully respond to this call.

Please acknowledge the receipt of these instructions, and in prompt oblige you should complete your arrangements forthwith, and forward to us by mail a detailed report of every article furnished in kind and value, that the people, through the General Tithing Office, may receive their legitimate credits in full on their Tithing.

Latter-day Saints: You have for years past been doing a great and noble work in helping the Poor from the regions of wretchedness and want, and at the earnest appeal of President Young, we had sent ^{thru the oceans} thousands to help bring many others to the terminus of the Railroad, for doing all which, coupled with an increasing ardency on your part to build up the Kingdom of God, Heaven will most assuredly withhold no good thing from you.

Trusting God to bless you and all faithful Saints, we remain

Your Brothers in the Gospel,

Wm. Hunter
J. W. Hardy
J. C. Miller

COURTESY, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Facsimile of document of plans for the organization of Church Teams to assist the Saints in immigrating.

Bishop A. O. Smoot

SALT LAKE CITY, U. T., MARCH 17, 1868

DEAR BROTHER:

To enable us to carry into effect the instructions of the First Presidency, (a copy of which you will please find enclosed,) in outfitting and forwarding five hundred Teams to the terminus of the U. P. R. R., for the purpose of bringing in the Poor expected from Europe and the United States this summer, it will be necessary that every Latter-day Saint in the Territory, who has it in his or her power, to lend a helping hand.

Your ward will have to furnish Twelve (12) Teams, either four yokes of Oxen "or their equivalent in strength in Mules or Horses," to each wagon, with good and trusty Teamsters, and one (1) Mounted Guard, all armed and equipped for a journey of from sixty to seventy days, from this City and back, with Clothing, Provisions, Fire Arms, Ammunition, Shoes and Nails for Animals, Picks, Spades, Saws, Axes, Ropes, &c., complete, without the least expectation of receiving assistance from any other source. You will also have to furnish Four Thousand (4,000) pounds Flour and Two Thousand (2,000) pounds Meat, either on foot or cured, (if on foot to be driven in loose herds,) also Dried Fruit, Cheese, Vinegar, Beans, Peas, Pickles, Dried Corn, Salt, &c., &c., in proportion to the Flour and Meat required. All these articles are for the immigrants and must be furnished in addition to the outfit of the Teamsters and Guards.

The Companies are expected to start from this City about the 15th of June next. The Teamsters, Guards, Teams, Outfit, Provisions for the Poor, &c., must be such as will bear strict inspection in every particular before leaving.

In due time you will be advised as to who will be the Captain in charge of the Company in which your Teams will be numbered.

The necessities of the case will require a strong and united effort to accomplish this great and good undertaking and from the past liberality of the Saints we feel assured that they will cheerfully respond to this call.

Please acknowledge the receipt of these instructions, and to prevent delays you should complete your arrangements immediately, and forward to us by mail a detailed report of every article furnished in kind and value, that the people, through the General Tithing Office, may receive their legitimate credits in full on their Tithing.

Latter-day Saints: You have for years past been doing a great and noble work in helping the Poor from the confines of wretchedness and want, and at the earnest appeal of President Young this council are now donating Thousands to help bring many others to the terminus of the Railroad, for doing all which, coupled with an increasing anxiety on your part to build up the Kingdom of God, Heaven will most assuredly withhold no good thing from you.

Praying God to bless you and all faithful Saints, we remain

Your Brethren in the Gospel,

Edw. Hunter L. W. Hardy J. C. Little

V. WOOL TITHING, 1869.

There were countless letters from Mormon authorities in Salt Lake City to local bishops and tithing clerks containing instructions in the collection, maintenance, and disbursement of tithing receipts. The care with which this was done is illustrated in the document presented below. Wool tithing was relatively unimportant until 1869 when woolen factories were erected in Utah. Thereafter, until after the turn of the century, wool was a leading export from the territory and one of the principal sources of tithing revenue.

SALT LAKE CITY, May 26, 1869

Bp A O Smoot

Dear Brother:

We wish you to see that those who have SHEEP in your Ward pay their WOOL TITHING; and also that they pay an Average Quality of Wool — not the Poorest and Dirtiest. The brethren should be prompt in this matter, and forward their Wool to the General Tithing Store as soon as possible, that it may be converted into Yarn and Cloth for the benefit of the Public Hands.



COURTESY, CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS HISTORIAN'S OFFICE

The co-operatively built woolen mills at Provo, Utah.

Those who shall go to President Young's Factory to exchange Wool for Cloth, can take their Tithing Wool with them and deliver it to Bro. James W. Cummings; his receipt will be accepted by the Bishops for their Tithing Wool.

We have about 120,000 Sheep in the Territory; and, making allowance for the flocks being poorly cared for, we do not get near a one-tenth of the Wool.

Brethren, do regard your Covenants for your own sakes, and not allow the Sheep—the best animal God has bestowed upon man for food and clothing—to be so neglected. They should be well taken care of, and Tithing should be promptly paid, and the Lord will bless you and multiply your flocks and herds.

Yours, in the Gospel,

EDWARD HUNTER, PRESIDING BISHOP.

L. W. HARDY,

COUNSELORS.

J. C. LITTLE.

VI. TEMPLE CONSTRUCTION, 1874.

A leading co-operative enterprise of the Mormons near the end of the nineteenth century was the construction of temples at Salt Lake City, St. George, Logan, and Manti, Utah. Even in terms of contemporary wages and prices, these four temples cost an estimated \$6,100,000 in materials and labor. On each of the temples from two to three hundred persons were employed almost continuously for several years. Few of these workers were paid salaries. The vast majority were either using this means of rendering their labor tithing or were supported by local congregations for the same purpose.

The following document contains instructions with respect to the construction and financing of the St. George Temple, commenced in 1871 and completed in 1877. The document is signed by the church First Presidency.

Salt Lake City, August, 1874.

TO THE BISHOP AND THE BOARD

OF THE UNITED ORDER IN YOUR WARD:

It is very desirable that work on the Temple being built at St. George, be prosecuted to completion by the 1st of April next, if possible; therefore we solicit you to learn who, in your ward, you can fit up to start for St. George on or about the 12th of October next, and send with them such portions of their families as they may wish to assist in household labors until about the 1st of April next, also groceries, flour, beans, peas, dried

apples, salt, and pork and bacon if they wish, sufficient to last the same period of time; also such tools as each one expects to use in his labor. Beef, dried peaches, raisins and vegetables it is expected can be supplied by the brethren in the southern settlements.

The teams taking the laborers and their effects south will directly return, except such as may be needed there, which will probably be but few.

The laborers needed are stone-cutters, stone-masons, their tenders, joiners, carpenters, quarrymen, lumbermen, and common laborers.

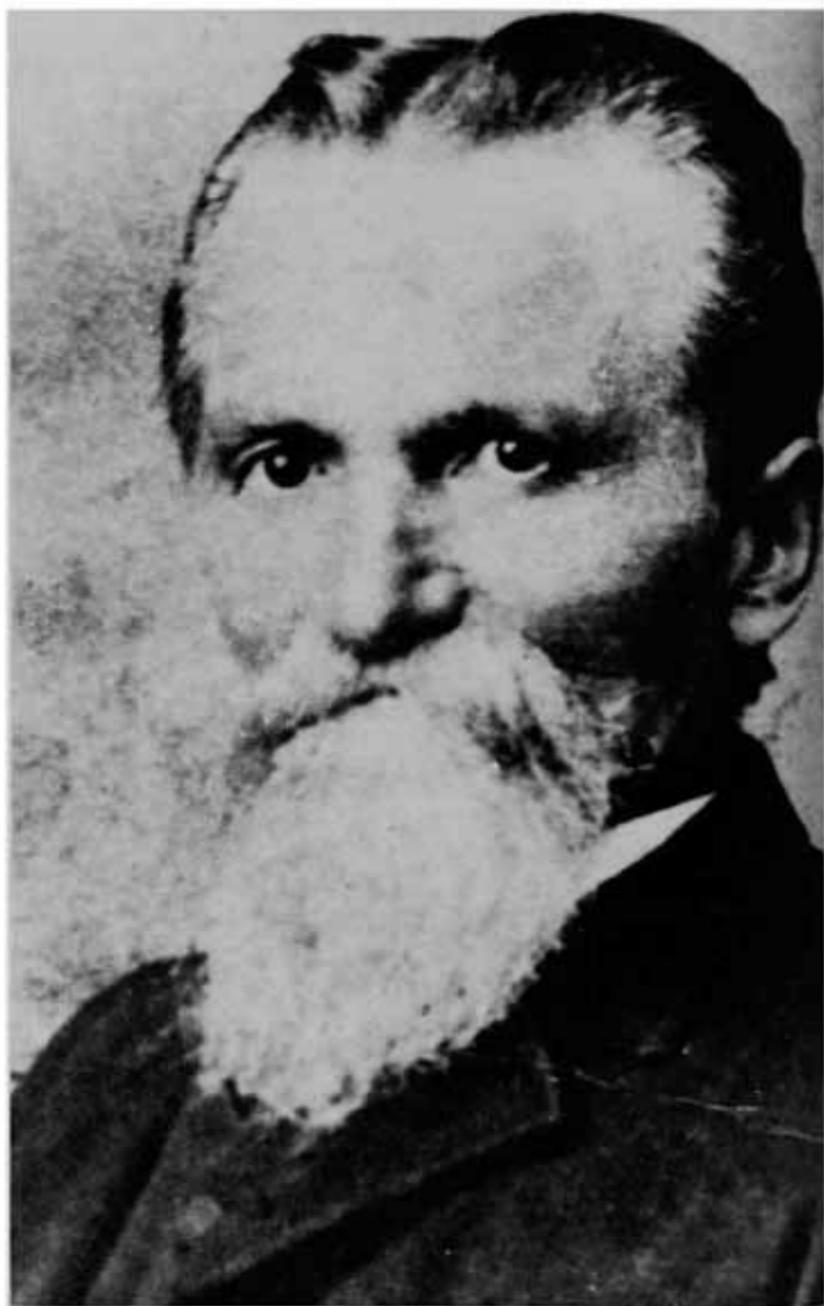
The same winter clothing will be requisite in St. George as is needed for comfort in our more northern settlements, and thick soled or wooden-bottomed boots and shoes to prevent colds and rheumatism from the damp mineral soil of that region.

It is expected you will use due diligence in obtaining the desired information and furnishing it to us in season for having the needed number all ready to start at the time specified.

All labor and furnishings, as above called for, are designed to be a free donation.

Your brethren in the Gospel,

BRIGHAM YOUNG,
GEORGE A. SMITH,
DANIEL H. WELLS.



EDWARD W. TULLIDGE, 1829-1894.

ullidge, talented writer, was practically
e first to publish independently in Utah.
hough a rebel theologically, his objective
istorical publications are rated highly.

EDWARD WHELOCK TULLIDGE, THE MORMONS' REBEL HISTORIAN

*By William Frank Lye**

In every age and in every location conditions exist which might be improved. In every such condition there are those who see faults and turn their efforts to their correction. In Utah in the 1860's Brigham Young was attempting to create a new Zion for his people, removed from the persecutions and evils of Gentile intrusion. Many regarded him as a modern Moses leading the new exodus to a promised land. The difficulty of his work resulted in the gradual creation of an authoritarian priesthood control over the most intimate facets of the Saints' lives, becoming ever more temporal in nature to the exclusion of the spiritual. Strict obedience to insure the general progress of the territory was mandatory. That Brigham Young's efforts succeeded cannot be denied. That there was opposition to them soon became all too apparent.

Edward Wheelock Tullidge was not the first to revolt against the developing autocracy, but he stood out because of his profession. After he revolted, Tullidge remained a constant worker for the principles which he advocated at this time, though he sought many devious routes for their expression.

Who was Edward Tullidge that we should take note of him at all?

* Mr. Lye is on the faculty of Ricks College, Rexburg, Idaho.

He was born in Britain in the year 1829 into a Wesleyan family.¹ In the year 1848 he accepted the message of the Latter-day Saints to become a convert and missionary to his own people.² By the end of 1854 his brief articles began appearing in the British church magazine, the *Millennial Star*, on such topics as the need for spiritual gifts, the public attitude toward the church, and the need for continuous revelation—topics which every untutored missionary soon learns about when facing the public.³ These articles received the praise of the editor, President Franklin D. Richards, who called Elder Tullidge from his proselyting efforts in Dorsetshire to labor in the editorial office of the magazine under the new president, Orson Pratt, in January, 1856.⁴

While working in the Liverpool office, Tullidge felt a calling to write the life story of the Prophet Joseph Smith. This led him to sail for Utah at the conclusion of his mission in 1861.⁵

While Edward was acting as editor of the *Millennial Star*, his father joined the church and moved to Liverpool. Edward used his writing talents for the church cause; his father, John Tullidge, dedicated his very exceptional musical talent in the same way. The father had at one time conducted Catholic choirs over England and Wales and had attained some fame as a vocalist. Now he trained the Saints' choirs and published his own *L.D.S. Psalmody*.⁶ John also went to Utah where he continued his music by training the young people and writing some well-known hymns, such as "An Angel From on High."⁷

Edward's mother, Elizabeth, also joined the church and went to America, as did his brother, John Tullidge, Jr., whose talent was art.⁸ John Tullidge, Jr., was born in Weymouth on the southwest seacoast of England. He learned to love the sea, and it became the subject

¹ Edward M. Tullidge, "Views of Mormonism," *The Galaxy Magazine*, II (October 1, 1866), 209. See footnotes 21, 32. When Tullidge wrote for Eastern publications, he used the middle initial "M."

² Edward W. Tullidge, "Our Family Difficulty," *The Utah Magazine*, III (November 6, 1869), 426.

³ Edward W. Tullidge, "Revealed Religion," "These Things Are No Longer Needed," "The Fanaticism of the Mormons," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, XVI (Liverpool, 1854), 3-5, 198-200, 785-87.

⁴ Franklin D. Richards, "Appointment," *ibid.*, XVIII (January 5, 1856), 11.

⁵ Edward W. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (2d ed., Plano, Illinois, 1880), 619.

⁶ John Tullidge, Sr., to Orson Pratt, Liverpool, February 24, 1857, *Millennial Star*, XIX (March 14, 1857), 170; also (February 21, 1857), 120.

⁷ John Tullidge, Sr., *Utah Magazine*, III (November 6, 1869), 432. See also his weekly columns in this volume.

⁸ Edward W. Tullidge, "The Godbeite Movement," *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine*, I (October, 1880), 43.

for his painting. He joined the church in 1852 and emigrated to Utah where he continued his art work under the patronship of the Utah bankers, the Walker brothers.⁹

After Edward arrived in Utah, he approached Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith for permission to use their journals for his proposed life of the prophet. They consented and Wilford hired him in the Church Historian's Office.¹⁰ While engaged in this work, he began to have doubts concerning the secular nature of the church as he found it in the West. Especially did he doubt the manner of Orson Hyde's description of President Young's appointment to the First Presidency of the church as having been attended with the voices of heavenly beings. Through discussion with Wilford Woodruff and the perusal of his journals, Edward became convinced that this claim was false.¹¹ And thus was planted the seed of his opposition to the temporal control of the Saints by the priesthood. It was during this time also that he was chosen as a president of the newly formed Sixty-fifth Quorum of Seventy, on November 15, 1862.¹²

Edward Tullidge's life in America soon became involved in a new kind of propagandism. With an English friend, Elias L. T. Harrison, he commenced publishing a literary magazine called *Peep O'Day* in October, 1864. This journal had a hard birth since the editors could find no one to print it because of a paper shortage in the territory. Finally they had success, and the magazine had the honor of being the first to be published west of the Missouri.¹³ The publishers did their writing at the Salt Lake City Twentieth Ward and then took the copy to the very anti-Mormon army camp where it was printed by the publisher of the daily paper, the *Union Vedette*. The first editorial by Tullidge was entitled "Mormonism, Republican In Its Genius" in which he described the church as ". . . a robust son of a robust republican America, . . ." ¹⁴ This description was challenged first by the editor of the *Union Vedette* in a review of the new publication and, later, by President Young. These challenges only offered meat for the young

⁹ Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, 1886), 813. John Tullidge, Jr., "A Card from John Tullidge, Jun'r," *Utah Magazine*, III (November 13, 1869), 443.

¹⁰ Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (2d ed.), 620.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology* (2d ed., Salt Lake City, 1899), 68.

¹³ Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, Appendix 9.

¹⁴ E. W. Tullidge and E. L. T. Harrison, "Editorial," *Peep O'Day Magazine*, I (October 27, 1864), 24.

writers' future issues of the magazine, and they never failed to utilize them fully.¹⁵

When one good church member cancelled his subscription because of the place of publication, he gave the editors the chance to make their stand as "independent of, but courteous to one and all," while still claiming to be warmly devoted to the Mormon cause.¹⁶ Another interesting example of public relations with these writers was shown in the following rather sarcastically humorous event: They had sent a request to a man in Lehi to act as subscription agent for them. He refused flatly, saying that they had better fill the missions to which they had been called at the last general church conference before they published a private paper. In reply to his letter, one of the editors protected the correspondent's identity while blasting his audacity by calling him "president of the church" for his authoritarian manner, at the same time stating that they were filling the unidentified mission to the south by their means.¹⁷

From the preceding examples, one might wonder at the magazine's being called "literary"; however, its contents were primarily stories, poems, and essays. From Tullidge's pen we have the serialized story, *Teresa, The Hebrew Maiden*, the poem, "The Drama of the Gods," and the essays, *Man, A Proof of Deity*, "The First Great Cause" (from his manuscript book and which evidently was never published), and "There Are No Atheists."¹⁸ In the third issue of *Peep O'Day* Tullidge wrote an editorial called "Mormons and the Development of Western America" in which he gave expression to a wish that Mormons and Gentiles might develop the West as one people. Though they were not philosophically united, he saw the possibility of uniting all Utah on the basis of a universal brotherhood of all mankind in the mining of coal and iron or any other generally useful enterprise.¹⁹

The magazine was a short-lived one, ceasing publication before the year's end. Perhaps the reason for this early end was the fact that it had no advertising, that the paper shortage had raised the price of paper to sixty cents a pound, or that the antagonism was growing between the Mormon and Gentile interests. Tullidge later described the magazine as premature. This is a good description if its mission had been

¹⁵ *Ibid.* (November 4, 1864), 42.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* (October 20, 1864), 9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* (October 27, 1864), 19.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, the entire volume.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* (November 4, 1864), 41.

to unite the opposing populations of the territory. Even though the publication ran to only five issues, the backers lost heavily because in their inexperience they published too large a quantity.²⁰

With the failure of *Peep O'Day*, Tullidge found it advisable to leave the territory. He left in 1866 for the East, where he gained employment by writing about Mormonism for the New York magazine, *Galaxy*. His tone was most praiseworthy toward the Saints, but the editor enjoyed countering his writings with derision.²¹ In one of Tullidge's articles the church doctrine was described as "Wesleyan-Baptist with a few peculiarities" to facilitate eastern comprehension of the system.²² In another article he invited the Gentiles to build their railroads to the West that the Mormons might use them to travel to the East to make their converts.²³

On his trip to New York, Tullidge traveled through Nauvoo where he met Joseph Smith's wife and her second husband, Major Bidamon. While talking with them, he was convinced of their error in not going west during the exodus of the church. He mentally promised at the time ". . . my pen would never touch them with disrespect, even though I have the assurance that they are on the other side of that which the Prophet stands, and to which I pray that his sons may yet be brought. . . ."²⁴

Tullidge remained in New York for two years, 1866 to 1868, where he boarded at Williamsburg with a church member. In 1868 his old mission president, Orson Pratt, returned to America and stopped with him at Williamsburg for a time. Whether the two men returned to Utah together is not clear, but Tullidge was back in the territory in time to take up editorial duties before the end of 1868.

During his absence from Utah, Tullidge's partner, Harrison, found a new backer in the person of William Godbe, and the two began publishing a new weekly magazine called the *Utah Magazine*, "The Home Journal of the People Devoted to Literature, Art, Science and Education." This magazine first came out in January, 1868. It lasted through two half-yearly volumes. Then Messrs. Godbe and Harrison went to New York for a respite from their labors. Naturally they desired to

²⁰ Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, Appendix 9.

²¹ See *The Galaxy Magazine*, II and III (1866-68), Edward M. Tullidge, "Views of Mormonism," 209-14, "The Mormon Commonwealth," 351-64. See also editorials, pp. 381, 671.

²² *Ibid.*, 209.

²³ *Ibid.*, 364.

²⁴ Tullidge, "My Visit to Nauvoo," *Utah Magazine*, III (August 7, 1869), 217.

maintain the magazine, so they called on their friend Tullidge to continue the magazine during their absence.²⁵ This was at the time that President Young established the Z.C.M.I. for the purpose of consolidating the Mormons' purchasing power to the exclusion of the growing Gentile merchant class in the territory, and widespread economic reforms were begun which culminated in the various United Order establishments. Tullidge wrote some praise for the plan in the *Utah Magazine*.

Harrison and Godbe were using their travel time to discuss their problems, and they finally came to the conclusion that they were both well on the way to apostasy. Once in New York they resorted to prayer in their hotel room and were astonished by voices which spoke to them in answer to their supplication. Through the means of these seances, the men asked and received answers concerning the developments in Utah and came to the conclusion that Brigham Young was overstepping his ecclesiastical bounds, that the kingdom-building schemes were not of God, and that the church had fallen from its original intent.²⁶

Upon their return to Utah they communicated these happenings to their friends—Tullidge and his brother John, Eli B. Kelsey, William Shearman, and T. B. H. Stenhouse. It might be of value to note that, with the exception of William Shearman, all these men were British converts who had not known Joseph Smith personally. Most of them had written articles for the *Millennial Star* during the time Tullidge edited it. Each one expressed the idea that they were being stifled by their leader and that the free and expressive gospel they had accepted in England was no longer to be found. Each felt a growing opposition to the strict church rule. They devised a plan of attack following the directions of the voices in New York for the purpose of weakening the control of the presidency of the church through the functions of the *Utah Magazine*. They elected quietly to work for reform from within the church. "Kelsey, without ever squinting at the prophet wrote the History of the past, and showed 'How the World had Grown,' Tullidge resuscitated the 'Great Characters of the World,' and without once alluding to Brigham Young, the contrast was to his disadvantage; Harrison dwelt upon a philosophical faith, and Godbe exhibited the possibility of honest error."²⁷

²⁵ Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, 401.

²⁶ Thomas B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York, 1873), 631.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 633.

All this was done in secret. The *Utah Magazine*, through its new backing, came out in January, 1869, in a new dress which attracted favorable comment from the church press. Eventually the pulpit-thumping articles reached the attention of the authorities, and the editors were hastily called to trial. The original charge brought against them was for nonattendance at the School of the Prophets, for which they were disfellowshipped until they appeared there. On October 23, 1869, they all appeared before the school. Each was forgiven for his acts with the exception of the two leaders, Godbe and Harrison. They were slated for further trial before the high council on Monday, October 25. At this trial the accused attacked their accusers with a protest to the effect that it was illegal to expel a person from the church for conscientiously denying the divinity of measures presented in the name of the priesthood. It was evident to the church leaders that they were apostate; hence they received excommunication, and their magazine was banned from the homes of the Saints. Eli B. Kelsey voted to sustain the apostates, and he was removed from the church along with them. The three men felt deeply offended, claiming in all seriousness that they were in full fellowship with the original doctrines of the church. They then commenced an open and well-publicized campaign against the authorities. The *Utah Magazine* became their voice, and Stenhouse's *Tele-*

E. L. T. Harrison became a partner of Tullidge in his early publication schemes.



William S. Godbe collaborated with Harrison and later with Tullidge in the publication of the Utah Magazine.



graph added volume to it.²⁸ Their spiritualistic instructions now gave them authority to establish the "Church of Zion" but not to choose a leader.²⁹ The leader never emerged and the body of the Saints did not swarm to it, so it became a church without a leader and leaders without a following. Gradually the founders lost their religious zeal and turned to political and economic pursuits. While the movement still had its religious character, Edward Tullidge wrote articles in its defense on the grounds that it was imbibing the spirit of the free and inspiring nature of the church he knew in England and Wales.³⁰ While Tullidge was not cut off with the leaders of the reform, he felt such sympathy for his friends that he submitted a letter to President Young admitting his heterodoxy and hence severing his ties with the church. He expressed in his letter a feeling of love and respect for Brigham Young.³¹

The reform movement took on the name, New Movement or Godbeite, so these terms will be used as synonyms for the official name, Church of Zion. The New Movement became widely publicized when Tullidge reported it to the *New York Tribune* and *Harper's Magazine*.³² Even Vice-President Colfax heard about it. He was intensely interested, for the "Mormon Question" had become a national issue, and he was investigating the need to send an army to Utah to settle it. Fortunately for the church, conciliatory moves were made by the Godbeites to the effect that if the national government would stand by they would split the church from within. The army was not sent, the split did not occur, and the Godbeite reform faded into oblivion as a minor segment in the newly formed Liberal party of Utah.³³

The *Utah Magazine* was given a very full role to play, but it still managed to keep a little of its original character as a literary journal. John Tullidge, Sr., was musical editor at this time, and he offered his services to teach the young people to sing.³⁴ Soon his column was dropped to provide more space for the cause of reform. Edward had been dramatic editor, and now he became assistant editor. His novel,

²⁸ The *Deseret News Weekly* (Salt Lake City), November 3, 1869, p. 457. See "To the Latter-Day Saints," "What is Apostasy," and "Apostasy and Its Causes."

²⁹ "Manifesto from W. S. Godbe and E. L. T. Harrison," *Utah Magazine*, III (November 27, 1869), 470 ff.

³⁰ Tullidge, "Do We Fear Civilization," *ibid.* (November 20, 1869), 455.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 405.

³² Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, 401. See also, E. M. Tullidge, "The Reformation in Utah," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XLIII (September, 1871), 602-10. See footnote 1.

³³ Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, 468 ff.

³⁴ Tullidge, *Utah Magazine*, III, 7.

Teresa, the Hebrew Maiden, was again serialized and, with his "World's History Illustrated in Its Great Characters," filled a large share of the third volume. After the final break with the church, Edward published a regular column on the New Movement in which he supported most of the ideas of his compeers.³⁵ His writings are revealing in that they show his search for the pristine gospel as he believed it. He seemed sincere in this search. He is one of the main sources for the history of this group; however, because of his omissions about the New York seances and the early recognition of apostasy as felt by the two leaders, B. H. Roberts considers him inferior to Stenhouse.³⁶ One almost believes that these seances offended Tullidge, for once the initial fervor died he never again told that part of the story, though he wrote of the movement in three accounts, quoting the main details of the account in T. B. H. Stenhouse's *Rocky Mountain Saints*. His writings in the *Utah Magazine* supporting the reform were mainly on the topics of free expression and social ills and never delved into opposition to the theology of the church. It is as if the man retained his faith in the original synthesis of Mormonism as a revealed religion through the Prophet Joseph Smith. An article of especial note is his "Our Family Quarrel," in which was stressed the idea that this New Movement was not a schism but a reform of the actual church itself, stemming from the earliest days of the territory.³⁷

Soon the *Utah Magazine* was retired from publication and replaced by a weekly newspaper which more fully met the needs of the reformers. This was the *Mormon Tribune*, supposedly the first free newspaper in Salt Lake City, free from any ecclesiastical ties and with the expressed objective of opposing the undue exercise of priestly authority.³⁸ At first the new paper was the *Utah Magazine* editorially, financially, and in objective, but it gradually evolved into the anti-Mormon *Salt Lake Tribune*, which came out originally thus in January, 1870. But by June 11 the Shakespearean actor, Neil Warner, was producing Tullidge's new play, *Oliver Cromwell*, and Tullidge took his leave to co-operate in this venture. Tullidge expected to receive \$10,000 for this play and anticipated that his other plays, *Elizabeth* and *Napoleon*, might also

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 394, 421, 440, 454, 505, 521, 536.

³⁶ B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (6 vols., Salt Lake City, 1930). V, 259.

³⁷ Tullidge, "Our Family Difficulty," *Utah Magazine*, III (November 6, 1869), 424. See also "The Schism in Utah," 440.

³⁸ "Prospectus." *The Mormon Tribune*, *ibid.* (November 27, 1869), 474.

he produced.³⁹ Several other New Movement writers left their posts on the paper about this same time, so the paper was taken over by the Gentile opposition. In the words of the *Millennial Star*, "It [the *Utah Magazine*] now moved till it couldn't move any more."⁴⁰

Now there was a short period in which drama seemed to play quite a part in Tullidge's life. The account of these years is unavailable; however, in 1875 he was back in Utah where he published a new play, *Ben Israel*, dedicated to the American Hebrews.

In the year 1876 Edward Tullidge wrote his first book, *Life of Brigham Young; or, Utah and Her Founders*, in which he reveals an admirable attempt at being objective. He gives just credit to the great leader of Utah in his concluding words, "He has just completed his seventy-fifth year (June 1st, 1876). His will is still matchless; his mind still sound. View the man as we may, Brigham Young is an enduring name. The friction of centuries will not erase it."⁴¹ His preface to this book reveals something of his sentiments at the time, "Of myself let me say, if the manner in which I have handled the subject betrays my love for the Mormon people, I confess it. But it must not be forgotten that I have been, for many years, an apostate, and cannot be justly charged with a spirit of Mormon propagandism."⁴²

While Tullidge was engaged in publishing the above books, he continued with *The Women of Mormondom* which came out the next year. In this book he praised particularly Eliza R. Snow whom he regarded as a kindred poetic spirit. His last book of this period (1878) was the one he had been planning since his missionary days, *Life of Joseph the Prophet*. He indicated in the preface to this book that he was writing at the request of George A. Smith and President Young, with Eliza R. Snow and Joseph F. Smith as his revision committee. His life's calling was now finished. But wait! The first edition of this biography ended with the death of the Prophet, and in two years the book was reprinted with a considerable addition which was not revised by Eliza R. Snow. The new edition with its addition became a history of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints up to that time. This new edition was published by the Board of Publication of that church in Plano, Illinois. The reason for this change soon became apparent. The Godbe faction had died, and Edward had found

³⁹ J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City, 1938), 351.

⁴⁰ *Millennial Star*, XXXVI (November 24, 1874), 742.

⁴¹ E. W. Tullidge, *Life of Brigham Young; or, Utah and Her Founders* (New York, 1876), 458.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Preface.

a new possibility for his exercise of faith. He reconsidered the decision of an earlier year about the Prophet's son, young Joseph, and decided to join the reorganization. In his additions to the original biography of Joseph Smith he gave a resumé of the Godbeite movement in which he attributed its failure to the lack of a leader. He now felt that young Joseph should have been accepted by them and that they should have left spiritualism alone.⁴³

In the year 1879 he was ordained an elder in the Reorganized Church and was accepted into their First Quorum of Elders during their semiannual conference at Gallands Grove, Iowa, on September 24. Tullidge served as a secretary for that conference.⁴⁴ At the next conference, in April, 1880, W. W. Blair of the First Presidency of the Reorganized Church was set apart to head the newly formed Rocky Mountain Mission, which included the territory of Utah, Wyoming, Nevada, and Montana. Edward W. Tullidge was assigned to serve with President Blair.⁴⁵

In six months' time Edward Tullidge was publishing a new periodical. This time it was his *Tullidge's Quarterly of Utah, Her Founders, Her Enterprises, and Her Commerce*. The first number of this magazine came out in October, 1880. It decidedly was not a Reorganite journal, for the first article was entitled "Brigham Young, the Founder of Utah." In it he compares the former president to Oliver Cromwell, a recurring theme of the author. His final words in the article are a direct copy from the book as quoted previously.⁴⁶

Another first feature of note in this new magazine was his history of the Godbeites, including biographies of all the principal movers except himself. He exonerates those involved, explaining they were really a protestant body without malice, only trying to save the people from the kingdom-building schemes of Brigham Young. He viewed the movement as a culmination of a succession of social and intellectual movements since the opening days of the territory. The movement, as he saw it by then, was especially an enemy of labor control, priesthood authoritarianism, mining restrictions, and isolationism.⁴⁷

The magazine found itself the medium for the republication of some earlier writings by the editor such as *Teresa*. Some new material

⁴³ Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (2d ed.), 699.

⁴⁴ Joseph Smith and Heman C. Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (4 vols., Lamoni, Iowa, 1920), IV, 282, 287.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 311-12.

⁴⁶ See *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine*, I (October, 1880), 1-13.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 14 ff.

coming forth at this time was Tullidge's play, *Oliver Cromwell*, and his novel, *Hadassah, the Jewess*. About this time Tullidge became increasingly interested in local history and biography. He published some excellent biographies of the leading church brethren such as the new president John Taylor and Apostle Lorenzo Snow, as well as the Gentile leaders of the community, the Walker brothers. He published accounts of the mining development and the biographies of the men involved. He also collected material from the various towns of which he was to make good use later. By the second volume of his *Quarterly Magazine* he was receiving letters of praise from as far away as England. He planned a magazine that was to be one of the largest in the world—and he succeeded—for he issued between one hundred and seventy-six and two hundred pages with each number. While this surely must have been difficult to accomplish, his future plans included converting the magazine to a monthly as soon as possible.⁴⁸ What actually occurred was a consistent delay in the publication dates so that every volume spread into the next year. The last issue was a full year later than the preceding one.

At the conclusion of the second volume, Tullidge wrote an editorial in which he declared his intentions of publishing a "History of Salt Lake City." He had petitioned the city council, including the signatures of approval of two hundred and forty-one of the city's leading businessmen and church authorities, and they had offered a commission for the author. For the production of a five-hundred-page book they agreed to pay \$1,500 in installments, provided that a board of revisers was satisfied as to its content. In describing the proposed history, Tullidge suggested the use of some steel-cuts he had printed in his *Quarterly*. He also planned to use parts of the manuscript in his magazine and to publish a pamphlet of the first section according to the contract arrangements.⁴⁹

As time went on, the author found that his historical research was requiring increasingly more time and effort, and by July, 1885, he had to suspend the periodical. Naturally, this reduced his income; he petitioned the city council again, this time for an increased appropriation and a time extension from July to December of 1885. The council sent a committee to investigate. They approved his pleas, and the council agreed to increase his commission to \$2,500 *en toto*.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, II (April, 1882), 176.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* (July, 1883), 787.

⁵⁰ Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, 893-94.

When the whole volume was published in 1886, it was printed in three sections—the history, a biographical supplement, and an appendix of information about the organizations and publications in the city. All included, the work contained 1,104 pages, more than double the original proposition.

Tullidge now returned to periodical publishing. His desire to transform his *Quarterly* to a monthly was accomplished in his new series, *Tullidge's Illustrated Monthly, the Western Galaxy*, published in 1888. In this publication the author's scope was extended to include the entire region of the Rocky Mountain West and its development. Of all his periodicals, this one was most like the modern magazines in material and appeal. It featured much more material by other writers, including such opposing views as Godbe, Judge Goodwin of the anti-Mormon *Salt Lake Tribune*, and John Nicholson of the *Desert News*. The various stories and articles were illustrated within the body of the text by woodcuts, while the familiar steel-cut plates still had their place.⁵¹

Tullidge contributed the play, *Napoleon*, the stories *Maud Gildea*, and *Wreck of the Abergavenny* based on historical themes. An interesting article rehashed the comparison of "Brigham and Oliver" with the observation that if either found himself in the position of the other the same results would have occurred.⁵²

Maintaining his interest in the local history, he published new accounts of "The Mines of Utah," with the promise that he would add stories of other mines in the six other states in the area later.⁵³ He also turned his attention to more of the settlements in Utah beyond Salt Lake City, which found their way into another Utah history. An exceptionally fine series of articles dealing with the geography of the region was published also. The series included the scenic attractions, the Great Salt Lake, and the flora of Utah. Many fine illustrations were included in these articles to add to their appeal.

The *Western Galaxy* received high praise from local critics as well as those in the more distant parts of its hinterland. All expressed the hope that the magazine would continue. However, it proved to be the shortest series of any of Tullidge's magazines, for it extended to only four issues, March—June, 1888.

In 1889 Tullidge published his second volume of *Tullidge's Histories* as alluded to in the preceding account. This new work dealt with

⁵¹ Edward W. Tullidge, *Western Galaxy Magazine*, I (March, 1888), 142.

⁵² *Ibid.* (May, 1888), 309 ff.

⁵³ *Ibid.* (March, 1888), 1.



Facsimile of the cover of Tullidge's Western Galaxy.

the men and developments of northern and western Utah as well as Cache Valley, Idaho.⁵⁴

When Edward Tullidge returned to the publishing field in Utah in 1880, he seemed to have been readily accepted by the people. He

⁵⁴ E. W. Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories* (Salt Lake City, 1889), II, Title page.

obtained the signatures of over two hundred leading men for his proposed *History of Salt Lake City*. F. D. Richards acknowledged his acceptance by the Saints in a note to the historian, Bancroft.⁵⁵ The *Butte Daily Miner* reviewed his *Galaxy Magazine* in this light, "Mr. Tullidge is one of the best, most finished writers of English in its most exquisite form, that we know in the West. . . ." ⁵⁶ Always his writings gave impetus to the growth of the arts and culture in the territory. In his magazines and histories he always took space to review the drama, music, poetry, and other literature he watched develop. His earliest dramatical criticisms were published under the by-line *Alpha*.⁵⁷

No indication is given that Tullidge ever rejoined the church, but he expressed high praise for the new president, John Taylor, when he returned to Utah.⁵⁸ On May 21, 1894, Edward W. Tullidge died in Salt Lake City at the age of sixty-five. His remaining family at the time included his wife and five children.⁵⁹ We know his works lived on, for we have record that his daughter and heir, Susie Ellison, sold the production rights to his plays, *Oliver Cromwell*, *Napoleon*, and *Ben Israel* to a Mr. John S. Lindsay of Salt Lake City, for the royalty fee of 5 per cent.⁶⁰ His histories have found their way into most libraries of the state to represent the more neutral accounts of his times.

All his professional life Edward W. Tullidge seemed to be working toward a theme he once wrote in poetry for the *Millennial Star*, "The Universal Man." This theme recurred in the *Peep O'Day* magazine with regard to the development of Utah by Mormon and non-Mormon co-operation. Again, it found expression in his concept of the New Movement as a revolt against the stifled mind. Though his dream of the mutual co-operation between man, regardless of dogma or prejudice, showed little signs of realization, he saw great encouragement in the United Order of Brigham City under Lorenzo Snow⁶¹ and in the founding of a chamber of commerce in the city of Salt Lake in 1888.

⁵⁵ Franklin D. Richards, "Narrative," 1880, Bancroft MS P-F 3, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, also on microfilm in the Utah State Historical Society library and Utah State University library.

⁵⁶ *Western Galaxy*, I (June, 1888), 466.

⁵⁷ Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, 748.

⁵⁸ Tullidge, *Tullidge's Quarterly*, II (April, 1882), 1.

⁵⁹ Alter, *op. cit.*, 351.

⁶⁰ Susie T. Ellison to John S. Lindsay, September 18, 1901, Bancroft MS P-F 300-302, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, also on microfilm in the Utah State Historical Society library.

⁶¹ Tullidge, *Histories of Utah*, Biographical Supplement, 1.

This development he eulogized in his last editorial in the final number of the *Galaxy* magazine.⁶²

Though on the surface Tullidge appears to be a drifter theologically, consistency in his wanderings can be found when the theme of his search is understood. As a young man Tullidge was converted to the Restored Gospel with all its implications: the martyr prophet who walked with God, the millennial hope, the zionic concept of a perfect society, the theological system not bound by centuries of dogmatism. This message he bore to the people of the world as a voluntary missionary. Then, in 1861, he came to Utah to find his vision shattered. All the dreamed-of perfection was wanting. The prophet leader had been replaced by a rough-and-ready colonizer. The church now became most stifling to him. The perfect society was only in the making at the cost of many personal liberties. In their turn, the Godbeites and the Reorganites each gave promise of the fulfillment of his dreams only to become harshly real before his eyes. When Tullidge finally returned to Utah, changes had been made: Brigham Young was now gone; the territory was being developed according to his ideas; the railway was bringing constant intercourse with the world; and the Saints were still zealous. Perhaps Tullidge noted these things, for toward the end he wrote with a kinder pen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TULLIDGE'S WORKS

BOOKS (CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED):

Ben Israel, or From Under the Curse. A play in five acts. Salt Lake City: John C. Graham, 1875. (Music by George C. Careless.)

Life of Brigham Young; or, Utah and Her Founders. New York: 1876. (Biographical sketches, supplement, at end.)

2d ed., New York: 1877. (Additional pages of biographical sketches.)

The Women of Mormondom. New York: 1877.

Life of Joseph the Prophet. New York: 1878.

2d ed., Plano, Illinois: Board of Publication of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1880. (This edition is revised to include a history of the Reorganized Church.)

⁶² *Western Galaxy*, 1 (June, 1888), 465.

The History of Salt Lake City. Salt Lake City: Edward W. Tullidge (Star Printing Company), 1886. (Contains history, biographical supplement, appendix.)

Also published with different title page: *History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders*, which incorporates a brief history of the pioneers of Utah. By authority of the City Council and under supervision of its Committee on Revision. (Same publication, description.)

Also published earlier the same year with a shorter biographical supplement.

Tullidge's Histories, (Vol. II). Contains the history of all the Northern, Eastern, and Western counties of Utah; also the counties of Southern Idaho. (With a Biographical Appendix and a Commerical Supplement, Historical.) Salt Lake City: E. W. Tullidge (Press of Juvenile Instructor), 1889.

(The first volume of *Tullidge's Histories* was apparently published under the title, *The History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders*. Salt Lake City: 1884 [1886]). See *A Catalog of Books Represented by Library of Congress Printed Cards*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1943. Vol. 150, p. 218.

PERIODICALS (WHICH HE EDITED OR ASSISTED IN EDITING):

Peep O'Day. One volume, six issues only, published weekly.

No. 1 — October 20, 1864.

No. 2 — October 27, 1864.

No. 3 — November 4, 1864.

No. 4 — November 11, 1864.

No. 5 — November 18, 1864.

No. 6 — November 25, 1864.

This periodical was a literary magazine, published by E. L. T. Harrison and Edward W. Tullidge at the Salt Lake City Twentieth Ward of the L.D.S. Church. It was printed on the press of the *Union Vedette* at Camp Douglas. Backers to the magazine were the Walker Brothers, Colonel Kahn, and John Chislett. It was advertised as the first magazine west of the Missouri River.

Utah Magazine. "The home journal of the people devoted to literature, art, science, and education." Three volumes. Vol. I & II, nos. 1-52. Vol. III, nos. 1-34. Published weekly. Page size 11½ by 8¾. 16 pp. each issue.

This periodical was published by W. S. Godbe and E. L. T. Harrison with Mr. Harrison as general editor. Volume II was completed with Edward Tullidge as acting editor in the absence of Mr. Harrison. Volume III was edited by Harrison with Tullidge as dramatic editor to October 30, 1869; thereafter Tullidge was dramatic editor. Volume I was printed at Deseret News press; Volume III by *Utah Magazine*. Volume I and II published between January 11, 1868, and February 28, 1869, with the following suspensions: July 11 to August 29, 1868, and March 7 to May 2, 1869. Volume III was published between May 8, 1869, and December 25, 1869, without suspensions. In the last number a notice is published concerning suspension thereafter to allow for the publication of the *Mormon Tribune* by the same editors.

Mormon Tribune.

Same description as the *Utah Magazine* as to editors and publishers as well as size. Weekly from January to April 15, 1870. Tullidge retired from the assistant editor's post on June 4, 1870, at which time the paper had become the weekly *Salt Lake Tribune and Utah Mining Gazette*. The new title was carried from April 22, 1870, to April 13, 1872. Tullidge later acted as corresponding editor.

Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine. "Of Utah, Her Founders, Her Enterprises, and Her Civilization." Three volumes, twelve issues. Irregular publication dates. Edward W. Tullidge, Editor and Proprietor, published at Salt Lake City. Volume I published by Tullidge, Volumes II and III by the Star Printing Company. 24½ cm.

Volume I: 704 pp., 23 plates, title page and index bound.

No. 1—October, 1880, 176 pp., 6 plates (port.).

No. 2—January, 1881, 176 pp., 7 plates (port. and paintings).

No. 3—April, 1881, 176 pp., 4 plates (ports.).

No. 4—July, 1881, 176 pp., 6 plates (ports.).

Volume II: 788 pp., 10 plates, title page and index bound.

No. 1 — April, 1882, 176 pp., 2 plates.

No. 2 — July, 1882, 200 pp., 4 plates.

No. 3 — January, 1883, 200 pp., 2 plates.

No. 4 — July, 1883, 212 pp., 2 plates.

Volume III: 512 pp., 7 plates, title page and index. Bound with *History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders*: 336 pp., 3 plates.

No. 1 — October, 1883, 112 pp., 2 plates.

No. 2 — April, 1884, 112 pp., 2 plates.

No. 3 — July, 1884, 112 pp., 1 plate.

No. 4 — April, 1885, 176 pp., 2 plates.

The Western Galaxy. "Tullidge's Illustrated Monthly." One volume, four issues. Monthly from March to June, 1888, inclusive. 24½ cm. Edward W. Tullidge, Editor and Publisher. 468 pp., 12 plates.

No. 1 — March, 1888, 144 pp., 1 plate.

No. 2 — April, 1888, 164 pp., 9 plates.

No. 3 — May, 1888, 120 pp., 1 plate.

No. 4 — June, 1888, 40 pp., 1 plate.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO OTHER MAGAZINES:

Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star, Liverpool, England, Vols. XVI (1854) to XVIII (1856). From 1856 he was on the editorial staff of the *Star* until his release from his mission in 1861.

Galaxy Magazine, New York, Vols. II and III (1866 to 1868).
Vol. II, 351-64, 209-14. Vol. III, September, 1867.

Harper's New Monthly Magazine, New York, Vol. XLIII (September, 1871), pp. 602-10.

New York Tribune, 1871.

Phrenological Journal, May, 1871.



REVIEWS AND RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Overland Diary of James A. Pritchard, from Kentucky to California in 1849, with a Biography of Captain James A. Pritchard by Hugh Pritchard Williamson. Edited by Dale L. Morgan. (Denver, Old West Publishing Company, 1959, 221 pp., \$15.00)

In the century and more since the first overland parties began to cross the Great Plains in an organized way, hundreds of trail diaries have made their appearance out of attics and basements. This is another such account. According to its editor, at least 132 diaries of travel to California, Oregon, and Utah, by way of South Pass, are known to exist for the year 1849 alone. He presents these, alongside this diary, in a chronologically-arranged chart and with an alphabetical list.

Such diaries are still the best keys to an understanding of the vitality of life on the frontier. Yet there is great unevenness in these diaries. While multitudes of emigrants who crossed the plains kept journals and diaries, many simply wrote prosaic and routine accounts concerning the length of each day's journey, hardships endured en route, and the travails of camp life for the uninitiated. Only an occasional diary illuminates unexpected aspects of life on the trail. Few diarists grasped the flavor of the wilderness through which they passed and the sense of history inherent in their movement toward the gold fields of California. Few had the ability to translate even dramatic

personal experiences into accounts of lasting interest. Most travelers were too exhausted by the demands of the trail to make more than perfunctory daily entries in the leatherbound books into which they jotted down their accounts in brown ink. Once they reached their destination such folk found the task of adjustment to the frontier environment so absorbing that they usually abandoned their narratives.

It is, therefore, a special satisfaction when one discovers a travel account that lights up the landscape which it describes, both on the trail and, at least for a short time, after arrival. The diary of James Pritchard is, in part, such a manuscript. Hugh Pritchard Williamson, grandnephew of this forty-niner, has described the writer of this diary in a preface. Pritchard was Kentucky-born, and, at the age of thirty-three, a county sheriff who had served in the Mexican War just before his departure for California. Escaping from a funereal-minded wife, he traveled from Petersburg, Ohio, to St. Louis, Missouri. From there he started overland with newly-purchased mules, wagons, and other camp equipment, in the company of several acquaintances. Pritchard traveled by way of Independence, Missouri, Chimney Rock, Scotts Bluff, Fort Kearney, Independence Rock, Soda Springs, and the Humboldt Sink, crossing the Sierra Crest and reaching the end of the trail at Sacramento. Possibly 30,000 persons took this route during 1849 alone. The first part of his diary (from April 10 to May 12, 1848) was published in the *Missouri Historical Review* in 1924. It is the Far Western portion, however, which is of the greatest interest to a reviewer who is also about to publish an outstanding overland diary.

Like many who both preceded and followed Pritchard, he had no great success in the gold fields. And he did not stay in California very long. After working for a time as a stock herder, Pritchard dutifully returned to his lugubrious wife. Later he became a well-known planter in Missouri and was killed in action during the Civil War.

Despite the somewhat maudlin, overly-detailed familial essay by Pritchard's grandnephew, this book is edited with taste and discrimination. Its superior group of fresh maps, the already-mentioned statistical table, full notes, as well as other illustrative material, make the book a valuable addition to the history of the American West.

ANDREW F. ROLLE
Occidental College

The Diaries of William Henry Jackson. Frontier Photographer to California and Return, 1866-67; and with the Hayden Surveys to the Central Rockies, 1873, and to the Utes and Cliff Dwellings, 1874. Edited with Introductions and Notes by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen. Volume X *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series 1820-1875.* (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959, 334 pp., \$9.50)

William Henry Jackson, internationally known photographer and artist, was modest and gentle spoken. It is difficult to conceive of him bullwhacking across the plains and mountains, or driving a herd of wild horses back to the Missouri River from California in the 1860's. Yet that is what he did. His vivid diaries of those trips convince the reader that he described things and sketched them just as they were. The stamina which then carried him through hunger, thirst, and innumerable physical and mental hardships, remained with him to his ninety-ninth year. Only those who have inched up Colorado's rugged 14,000-foot peaks, crouched in a storm above timber line, fought their way through dense undergrowth, or stumbled over soggy down timber, can truly appreciate the difficulties encountered by Jackson and his helpers while taking pictures in the Rockies.

Born in Vermont in 1843, young Jackson came West as the result of a lovers' quarrel. Unused to privation, he adjusted himself to every situation with credit. Upon his return to Omaha with the wild horse herd in 1867, he went into photographic work.

Accumulating some experience in landscape work in making negatives along the Union Pacific Railroad during the construction years of 1868 and 1869, Jackson then undertook survey photography for the U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories under Dr. Ferdinand V. Hayden. In his early years with the survey he produced the first photographs made of the Yellowstone area, which resulted in legislation creating the first National Park. He took the first photographs of the Mount of the Holy Cross in Colorado, and produced the first picturization of the Cliff Dwellers' ruins of the Mesa Verde region.

According to Mr. Jackson, "When I came to Colorado in 1873 I was about at my best, not only in the particular kind of photography required but also in the usages of camp life and of travel in uncharted regions."

Through the years Mr. Jackson did photographic work all over the world. In 1921, Thomas F. Dawson, Curator of History of the State

Historical Society of Colorado, urged Mr. Jackson to write his recollections of his early western experiences for the society. For his outstanding achievements as a pioneer photographer, the society voted him an honorary member.

Although very busy with his photographic business, Mr. Jackson, then in his seventy-eighth year, obtained a Corona typewriter and in his spare time taught himself to typewrite. He then began to send articles to the Historical Society.

Through the efforts of the board of directors of the society a complete set of the photographs which Mr. Jackson had taken with the Hayden Survey was acquired. And, in 1948, the Ford Foundation presented to the society more than 7,000 original Jackson glass plates of subjects west of the Mississippi River. Three of his original diaries were placed with the society. (Others were deposited in the New York Public Library.)

It is therefore especially fitting that Dr. LeRoy R. Hafen, who for so many years was state historian of Colorado and so intimately acquainted with Mr. Jackson and his materials, should, with the assistance of Mrs. Hafen, bring these Colorado and the pioneering diaries to publication. The Hafens were personal friends of the "pioneer photographer." They accompanied him on long treks over trails they all knew well.

Although Jackson's autobiography entitled *Time Exposure*, in which he quoted many excerpts from his diaries, was published in 1940, it is evident that either Mr. Jackson himself or an editor changed the original statements. This undoubtedly was done for smoothness or better diction.

But in the original diaries there is a spontaneity, a warmth, a feeling of intimacy which is not found in the edited extracts hitherto published. Dr. and Mrs. Hafen are to be congratulated upon publishing the diaries intact. These diaries have never before been published verbatim (except for the part covering the visit to the Utes at the Los Pinos Reservation, which appeared in the *Colorado Magazine*, November, 1938). Their footnotes, especially pertaining to Utah and along the old Spanish Trail, are particularly interesting. Their Colorado notations will enable the reader more easily to follow the routes of Jackson and his pack outfits.

With Jackson drawings and photographs, many of which were made available by Clarence S. Jackson, son of the eminent photographer, this book is printed in the usual de luxe format of the Arthur H. Clark

Company. Edited by two such outstanding authorities on the Old West which Jackson so vividly portrayed in words, on photographic plates and with a paint brush, this volume undoubtedly will prove to be one of the most popular ones in *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series*.

AGNES WRIGHT SPRING

*The State Historical Society of
Colorado*

The Outlaw Trail. A History of Butch Cassidy and His Wild Bunch.
By Charles Kelly. (New York, Devin-Adair Company, 1959, x+
374 pp., \$6.00)

Charles Kelly's *Outlaw Trail* needs little introduction because it has been a popular and controversial piece of western Americana for over two decades. The first edition, published privately in Salt Lake City in 1938, raised a hornet's nest of protest from people all along the outlaw trail. And no wonder, for, far from being merely the story of Butch Cassidy, *Outlaw Trail* encompasses the activities of all the desperate characters who rode that trail. With so many people involved (many of the book's characters were still living), the book could hardly escape bitter criticism. The uninformed observer could only guess how accurate Mr. Kelly's reporting had been. He was either the "lyingest journalist" west of the Mississippi or he had opened too many locked closets.

The new edition, more accurate for twenty additional years research, will not be protested so violently. The characters involved are all dead and having an outlaw in one's ancestry no longer carries the stigma that it once did.

The outlaw trail extended from Canada to Mexico and was well traveled in Montana, Arizona, and New Mexico. But by far the greatest activity concentrated in the middle states of Utah and Wyoming. The author describes in detail the three most popular hide-outs in the Rocky Mountains: Hole-in-the-Wall, Wyoming; Brown's Hole, in Utah and Colorado, and along the southern boundary of Wyoming; and Robber's Roost, the desert country along the Green River south of Green River, Utah. Of the three, Brown's Hole held top priority.

Brown's Hole was not only inaccessible but offered the most pleasant of surroundings. The permanent residents of the area not only offered a sanctuary for men who rode the "trail" but entertained them

at their many social functions. The outlaws reciprocated by being perfect gentlemen while in their midst. The area's relationship to political boundaries also added to its prestige as the ideal hide-out.

Mr. Kelly leans too heavily on William Tittsworth's *Outskirt Episodes* for the early history of Brown's Hole. While Tittsworth's book is excellent reading, and for the most part is accurate reporting, it is highly romanticized and where Tittsworth himself is concerned is often pure fiction.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Kelly did not have access to the J. S. Hoy manuscript which deals with the early history of Brown's Hole. This excellent source does much to prove the accuracy of Mr. Kelly's reporting. It also raises doubt in more than one area.

Outlaw Trail is not the last word on Butch Cassidy and his Wild Bunch, but it is a fine contribution to western literature.

WILLIAM M. PURDY
Manila, Utah

Frontier America: The Story of the Westward Movement. By Thomas D. Clark. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959, xi+832 pp., \$6.75)

For more than twenty years Thomas D. Clark has been writing about pioneer Kentucky and the southern frontier with particular emphasis upon social and cultural factors. Now, in *Frontier America*, he ventures to trace a century and a half of expansion west, beginning in 1750 with the Allegheny frontier.

The first fifteen of the book's thirty-two chapters deal largely with the cis-Mississippi West. Here, over historical terrain that Professor Clark knows well, his treatment is detailed and sure. In Chapter VIII, "Formative Political Years," he includes a significant and interesting examination of the role of county organization in contributing to a relatively uniform and orderly spread of government across the land. Chapters IX, "A Pioneer Way of Life" and XV, "Frontier Arts and Sciences," provide a social and cultural dimension that most general treatments of the westward movement lack, although this emphasis fades when Clark moves beyond the Mississippi and the 1840's. The latter half of *Frontier America*, largely devoted to the trans-Mississippi West, appears to be more perfunctory and less authoritative than the first half.

At the outset Professor Clark disclaims any attempt to adhere to a

thesis (p.v). This suggests an eclectic approach to the rich materials, primary and secondary alike, that have accumulated around the westward movement, and Clark does not escape the twin dangers of eclecticism: contradiction and equivocation. His insistence that the social pattern developed on the early frontier was essentially repetitive leads him into dubious generalizations. For example: "After 1840 it is doubtful that a single fundamental change was made in the pioneering experience" (p. 317). It is necessary only to recall the Mormon experiment or the rise of the "Cattle Kingdom" after the Civil War or dry farming on the semiarid plains to question the validity of this statement. Again, referring to the plains area, Clark writes: "For the most part, the pattern of social and economic pioneering that we have already studied prevailed all across the region" (p. 726). Three pages later he avers: "Almost every basic practice of American pioneering had to be revised once the settlement line reached the plains country" (p. 729). Much earlier in the book Clark's description of the southern frontier as "the only place in the whole westward movement where there existed a pronounced vertical society" (p. 296) further weakens his argument in support of a fundamental similarity among pioneer communities.

Professor Clark's continual and indiscriminate use of the word "possibly" gives *Frontier America* an equivocal cast in keeping with the author's denial that he has a thesis. Nevertheless, in the last pages Clark expresses a romantico-mystical conception of the frontier that has been implicit right through the book. He sees the westward advance as a vast folk movement involving both physical and spiritual forces, leaving legends and heroes in its wake and generating and sustaining a keen sense of progress and a supreme confidence in American capacity to meet large challenges successfully.

Frontier America has some weaknesses that rigorous editing might well have corrected. There are places where compression would reduce repetition and subdue high-flown rhetoric (pp. 447, 737, 738-39) or repair loose usage such as "tortuous hardships" (p. 447), misapplication of "proscription" (p. 540), and the classification of Gabriel Franchere, Nathaniel Wyeth, John McLoughlin, and J. K. Townsend as Mountain Men (p. 462). As for errors of fact, the following are representative: Charles Bodmer was a Swiss not a Swedish artist (p. 388); the Hudson's Bay Company moved its Columbia Department headquarters to Vancouver Island in 1845, rather than 1848, and thus the removal was a factor in the settlement of the boundary dispute in 1846 (p. 505); and General Winfield Scott could not have sailed for Vera Cruz from

Lobos Island and arrived five days later since the Island is on the Pacific rather than the Gulf side of Mexico (p. 562). The most conspicuous typographical blunder is the consistent spelling of the Stagecoach King's last name as "Holliday," even in the bibliography where J. V. Frederick's life of Ben Holladay is cited (pp. 674-75, 793).

In one sense this is an impressive book — comprehensive in scope, handsome in format, leisurely in development, rich in description. Unfortunately, its amorphous and equivocal quality, its contradictions, and its stylistic weaknesses make it unlikely that *Frontier America* will replace earlier treatments of the American West by Paxson, Dan E. Clark, Riegel, Hafen and Rister, and Billington.

EDWIN R. BINGHAM
University of Oregon

Prudent Soldier, A Biography of Major General E. R. S. Canby, 1817-1873. His military service in the Indian Campaigns, in the Mexican War, in California, New Mexico, Utah, and Oregon; in the Civil War in the trans-Mississippi West, and as military governor in the post-war South. By Max L. Heyman, Jr. Volume III *Frontier Military Series*. (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959, 418 pp., \$11.00)

One chapter in Max L. Heyman, Jr.'s *Prudent Soldier* is entitled "Who Is General E. R. S. Canby?" Except to Civil War or Indian wars buffs, that question occurs immediately.

In Heyman's chapter it rises in 1862. The name of Canby, a forty-five-year-old brigadier general, had just cropped up in the press. A West Point classmate of "Brains" Halleck, the Chief of Staff, he had come to Washington after service in the Mexican War, in California, as leader of an infantry regiment in the Mormon War, and as the Union commander who had beaten off a Confederate offensive against New Mexico Territory. Though his record had been distinguished, it had not been conspicuous, and the question asked by newspaper readers was understandable.

As Heyman points out, it is less understandable that it should still rise. Canby went on to important duties. He became assistant to the Secretary of War, working with Stanton and Halleck when great decisions on command and strategy were taken. He commanded in New York City after the draft riots. In 1864 he became Grant's commander west of the Mississippi. Co-operating with Farragut, he seized Mobile

in one of the few joint amphibious operations to that point in military history. After the war he was one of the rulers of the South, governing at one time or another Louisiana, the Carolinas, Texas, and Virginia. Subsequently he went out to pacify the Pacific Northwest. He was killed dramatically during a peace conference with Captain Jack of the Modocs. Though Canby was not of the stature of Sherman or Sheridan, still he did rank with Banks, Thomas, and Sickles, and his name ought to be as familiar as theirs.

One reason why it is not becomes apparent in Heyman's biography. Canby was a thoroughgoing professional soldier. In the midst of the Gold Rush, the Mormon War, and Reconstruction, he occupied himself with supply, discipline, training, and military administration. Students of the events in which he participated will find him disappointing, for he saw California's gold as a temptation to deserters, the Mormon War as a problem of supply wagons and pickets, and the Civil War more in logistical than strategic or tactical terms. Heyman shows how uncomfortable it made Canby to deal with the political issues of Reconstruction. Had opportunities come Canby's way, he could have distinguished himself in battle. In the jobs he had, he sought neither publicity nor historical fame but only reputation within the army.

A second reason for his comparative obscurity is that no one has heretofore had the industry to write about him. Heyman had to seek scraps in archives and manuscript holdings scattered literally from California to Maine. As he confesses in a bibliographical note, he also had to poke through half a hundred newspaper files. The life of so single-minded a professional soldier as Canby was not written easily. Heyman has done it well, and writers on the West, the Civil War, and Reconstruction will be indebted to him. In future, "Who Is General E. R. S. Canby?" should not be so natural a question.

ERNEST R. MAY

Harvard University

The Philosophical Foundations of Mormon Theology. By Sterling M. McMurrin. (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1959, 32 pp., \$1.00)

The nature of this monograph is such as to restrict it to a relatively small proportion of readers. But even so it is a valuable contribution to religious thought. Perhaps it will be appreciated most by thoughtful

church members who are sometimes characterized by the label "liberal," and particularly those who wish to retain their basic loyalty to their church.

The author points out that Mormon theology was formulated on the basis of authoritative insight and revelation in historical settings. The underlying metaphysical concepts have not been structured, but are implicit. The contribution made by the author rises out of the delineation of these concepts within the framework of historical philosophy. The unmistakable consistency and integrity of Mormon philosophy may be comforting, or at least reassuring to the "thoughtful" member of the church. They constitute a basis for the attachment of loyalty through identification.

At one point, the author makes a passing reference to the "strong intellectualistic tendencies of Mormonism." While we may at times be assailed by some doubts about the strength of these tendencies, there can be no doubt but that this monography is a real contribution to intellectualism in religious thought.

FRED M. FOWLER

Salt Lake City, Utah

Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861. A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns, and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and other Official Papers. Edited by LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen. Volume IX *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series 1820-1875*. (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959, 310 pp., \$9.50)

Documents collections do not always make fascinating reading for others than a few specialists. And in a series of documents volumes it is difficult to maintain a uniformly high level of readability.

This book, which is Volume IX in the projected fifteen-volume set *The Far West and the Rockies 1820-1875* edited by the Hafens, is not the best in the set. In particular it lacks the unity, drama, and excitement of Volume VIII, *The Utah Expedition 1857-58*.

The present volume covers U.S. military campaigns against the Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Comanches; negotiations with them; and the establishment of Fort Wise on the Arkansas River in Colorado. The focus is on Nebraska, Kansas, and Colorado.

It is stated in the preface that the military campaigns of the period covered here have previously received much less attention than the climactic war of the middle 1860's. Reading the official documents, diaries, and other personal accounts makes it clear why little attention has been paid to these preliminary skirmishes. Relatively they do not amount to much, and most of the accounts are quite jejune.

One of the dullest accounts is that by Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart who later achieved Civil War fame. Lieutenant Stuart describes the 1860 Cavalry expedition against the Kiowas and Comanches.

More interesting are several letters from Major John Sedgwick to his sister describing the construction of Fort Wise. It was a rush job with improvised tools and inadequate materials. Sedgwick characterized the participants in the Pikes Peak Gold Rush: "I hope there never was a viler set of men in the world than is congregated about these mines; no man's life is safe, and certainly not if he has fifty dollars to tempt one with. They have established a vigilance committee, and it may get rid of some of the scoundrels, but it would depopulate the country to kill them all."

The Hafens have made as much as can be made of the documents, and have supplied an excellent map, helpful footnotes, and an adequate index.

T. A. LARSON

University of Wyoming

The Modocs and Their War. By Keith A. Murray. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1959, 346 pp., \$5.00)

Along the shores of Tule Lake in northern California, three small bands of Modoc Indians joined forces in the fall and winter of 1872-73 to hold off more than one thousand United States soldiers and settlers trying to dislodge them from their ancient refuge in the lava beds. In these caves and crevasses, which the army called "The Stronghold," the one hundred and sixty-odd Indians, led by Captain Jack, fought five battles and several skirmishes against the whites, inflicting more casualties on their enemies than their own total strength. Among the casualties was General E. R. S. Canby of the U.S. Army.

Toward the end of the war, the Indians suffering the ignominy of defeat, separated into their original bands and moved into the hills to prepare for their final surrender. But victory was less the army's doing

than the failure of the Modoc spiritual leader. Within a few days most of the Modocs were in the army's hands. Now, seventy-five years since the great battle, the land they fought so valiantly to hold has been deserted, haunted only by hawks and rats.

This book is volume fifty-two in the *Civilization of the American Indian Series*. Of interest is the fact that just after the book was printed a fire in Kansas City, Missouri, destroyed the entire first edition. This is the second printing of the book.

The Saga of Ben Holladay, Giant of the Old West. By Ellis Lucia. (New York, Hastings House, 1959, 374 pp., \$6.50)

Born into a Kentucky family of humble circumstances, Ben Holladay amassed more wealth and power than any other Westerner of his time. He became adventurer, trader, explorer, Indian fighter, builder, and lord of almost everything that rolled in the frontier West. He was one of the greatest transportation tycoons the country has known. He developed the Overland Stage Lines across the plains. He had steamships to the Orient, sternwheelers on the rivers, freighters, and a Pacific Northwest railroad. He carried the government mail to the frontier, and as a builder established hotels, towns, resorts. His investments mounted into the millions, and he played Washington politics with the best of them. He was a contemporary of and associated with such men as Brigham Young, Henry Wells and William Fargo, John Butterfield, Henry Villard, the nabobs of the Comstock, and the "Big Four" of the Central Pacific Railroad. Men whose names have since become household words — Buffalo Bill Cody, Wild Bill Hickock, Snowshoe Thompson — were friends and employees. His colorful career left a lasting mark on the West, but when his fortunes dwindled he was crowded from history's pages, and he became the half-forgotten giant of the Old West.

The Spanish Element in Texas Water Law. By Betty Eakle Dobkins. (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1959, 190 pp., \$5.00)

Titles to some 280,000 acres of Texas land originated in grants made by the Crown of Spain or by the Republic of Mexico. For these lands, even today, the prevailing law is the Hispanic-American civil law. Thus the question of determining just what water rights were granted by

the Spanish Crown in disposing of lands in Texas is more than just a matter of historical interest, but is one of great practical importance. Texas water law in general traces its roots primarily to the Spanish law, not to the English common law doctrine of riparian rights or to the Western doctrine of prior appropriation (both were later incorporated in Texas law). The Spanish element is a matter of utmost importance to many landholders whose livelihood is dependent on securing water for irrigation and to many communities particularly concerned about water supply. A clear understanding of this background might have saved the state much of the current confusion and chaos regarding its water law.

The author has traced water law from its origin in the ancient world to the present, interpreting the effect of water on the countries concerned, setting forth in detail the development of water law in Spain, and explaining its subsequent adoption in Texas.

Water problems are crucial not only to Texas but to most of the arid West, and the significance of land in terms of the frontier can not be separated from the importance of water to that land.

Thaddeus Stevens Scourge of the South. By Fawn M. Brodie. (New York, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1959, 448 pp., \$7.50)

Thaddeus Stevens, chief architect of Reconstruction after the Civil War, is still perhaps the most controversial figure in American history. For the Southern white man he is a vindictive Robespierre, for the American Negro a hero second only to Lincoln. Drawing upon many unused sources, Mrs. Brodie presents a fresh description of his turbulent career. She examines his relations with his parents, the problem of his clubfoot, the long-buried details of a Gettysburg murder in which he was mysteriously involved, and the gossip concerning his involvement with his mulatto housekeeper in explaining his inexplicable personality.

His roles as father of the Fourteenth Amendment and chief prosecutor in the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson are described, emphasizing the facts of what was happening to the Negro in 1866 and 1867. There is a special timeliness in Thaddeus Stevens' battles for Negro suffrage and Negro schooling because he used persuasion, legislation, and force—all of which are under scrutiny as solutions for the racial problems of our own time.

This book is of interest to readers of this magazine primarily because it is the work of a native Utahan whose first book was *No Man*

Knows My History, the Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet. Thorough research and interesting treatment of her subject are characteristic of the author's approach to her work.

The Management of Small History Museums. By Carl E. Guthe. (Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History, Vol. II, No. 10, October, 1959, 69 pp., \$1.00)

This manual will be useful to persons involved in historical museum work for the ideas and techniques suggested for the creation of imaginative small history museums. The subject is treated under the following headings: General Considerations—Physical Facilities, Organization; The Collections—Historically Significant Objects, Ways and Means of Acquisition, Documentation, and Preservation and Care; The Interpretation—Study and Investigation, Exhibits, Supplementary Services; and the Social Significance. The bulletin may be acquired from the American Association for State and Local History, 816 State Street, Madison 6, Wisconsin.

The Present World of History. A conference on certain problems in historical agency work in the United States. Compiled and edited by James H. Rodabaugh. (Madison, American Association for State and Local History, 1959, 129 pp., \$1.00)

In 1957 the American Association for State and Local History in convention sponsored a program of evaluation of historical society and agency work with sessions on the educational function of such institutions—on archival preservation; on competition between certain agencies; on the significance of the artifact as an historical source; on the increasing use of local history in the interpretation of national history; and on the history profession generally in this country. This booklet is a compilation of the papers of the several prominent speakers who appeared before this conference, plus the discussions that emanated from the floor. The last paragraph from the last session from which the title was taken, "The Present World of History," presents the conclusions drawn from the theme of the convention, ". . . the historian is obligated to train people who can assume responsible places in the constant struggle for social and cultural survival of American civilization. The great challenge . . . lies almost everywhere . . . an understanding of the past is essential to comprehension of cross-currents of the moment."

Adventure in Underground. The Story of the Great Caves of the West and the Men Who Explore Them. By William R. Halliday. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1959)

Sam Brannan and the California Mormons. By Paul Bailey. (Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1959)

This work was originally printed serially and issued as a book — which was soon out of print. The author revised and enlarged it, and in 1953 it appeared as Volume I of the *Great West and Indian Series*. Again, the book was soon out of print. For this third printing *Sam Brannan and the California Mormons* was further revised and additional commentary included.

The Sculptured Earth: The Landscape of America. (New York, Columbia Press, 1959)

Six Months in the Gold Mines. From a Journal of Three Years' Residence in Upper and Lower California, 1847-8-9. By E. Gould Buffum. Edited and with an Introduction by John W. Caughey. (Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1959)

What Next Dr. Peck? By Joseph H. Peck, M. D. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959)

The story of a practicing physician in the Utah salt flats during the early years of the century — actually chronicles the last days of the Old West.

LAUREN C. BRAY, "Louis Vasquez, Mountain Man," *Denver Westerners Monthly Roundup*, July-August, 1959.

NELL MURBARGER, "Water for the Navajos," *Desert*, November, 1959.

V. DOUGLAS SNOW, "A Secret Place — Fruita" [and Capitol Reef National Monument, Utah], *Ford Times*, September, 1959.

ROBERT B. BANISTER, "The Great Bear Lake" (Utah), *ibid.*, November, 1959.

J. A. CHRISTENSEN, "The Black Hawk War," *Frontier Times*, Spring, 1959.

- JACK SCHAEFER, "Your National Parks," *Holiday*, July, 1959.
- HAZEL W. LEWIS, "The Handcart Migration over South Pass," *Instructor*, August, 1959.
- "The Utah War," *ibid.*, October, 1959.
- BEULAH B. WOODBURY, "Heber C. Kimball, A Great Missionary of This Dispensation," *Millennial Star*, June, 1959.
- CLARK C. SPENCE, "Robert C. Schenck and the Emma Mine Affair," *Ohio Historical Quarterly*, April, 1959.
- "The Military of Nauvoo," *Saints' Herald*, August 24, 1959.
- PEARL WILCOX, "Independence in Retrospect," Part III—Part VIII, *ibid.*, September 21—October 26, 1959.
- "Historic Ogden, Site of Annual SUP Encampment" [most of this issue is devoted to Ogden, Utah], *SUP News*, August, 1959.
- "Uintah, Utah—Railroad Town," *Ibid.*
- JESSE H. JAMESON, "Gosiute Indians," *ibid.*, September, 1959.
- DIX LARSON, "Tumbleweed Towns" (the fabulous Hamilton Mine in Nevada), Part IV, *ibid.*, September, 1959.
- NONA SHIBLEY, "Iosepa, Kanaker Colony" (settlement of Hawaiian converts in Skull Valley), *ibid.*
- BOB SMALLMAN, "The Incredible Trek of John Colter" (one of first to explore Yellowstone Park), *Think*, October, 1959.
- ALMA HANSON, "Versatile Viking" [Jens "Little" Petersen, a Norwegian immigrant to Utah in 1866], *Utah Farmer*, September 17, 1959.
- JOHN F. DUGAN, "The Anaconda Company and Montana," *Westerners Brand Book* [Chicago], July, 1959.

HISTORICAL NOTES

In appreciation and recognition of the many gifts and contributions to the Society and to Utah and Western history generally, the Board of Trustees of the Utah State Historical Society at a recent meeting unanimously awarded an Honorary Life Membership in the Society to Mr. Charles Kelly.

An outstanding writer and historian of Utah and the West, Mr. Kelly recently presented to the library of the Society most of his great collection of material on Utah and the Mormons. The significance of this generous gift can well be ascertained when the range of Mr. Kelly's interests is considered.

In the collection are manuscripts, including letters and correspondence, journals and diaries, interviews, stories, and articles. There are several hundred books and pamphlets, hundreds of old magazines, newspaper clippings, and his great photograph collection of approximately 2,000 prints with negatives — all identified and labeled.

Through the years Mr. Kelly has become an authority on various facets of Western history. He has traveled many hundreds of miles on



CHARLES KELLY

foot and horseback through the areas of which he has written, becoming familiar with the people and the country. His writings and published works encompass such varied subjects as Porter Rockwell and Butch Cassidy, Miles Goodyear, Caleb Greenwood, John D. Lee, and the Powell Expedition, the Colorado River, the Donner party, the Salt Desert trails, the fur trade, the Mountain Meadow massacre, and Utah's parks, monuments, and scenery. A man of intense drive, talent, and intellectual curiosity, he has also contributed work in geology, anthropology, and archeology. Painting the colorful desert country and music have been additional hobbies.

He was born February 3, 1889, in Cedar Springs, a lumber camp in Michigan, the son of an itinerant preacher. He learned to set type at the tender age of seven and later became a professional printer. After moving to Salt Lake City in 1919, he went into partnership in the Western Printing Company. In 1941 Mr. Kelly left the printing business, and he and his wife Harriet moved to Fruita, Utah, where he served as superintendent of Capitol Reef National Monument until his retirement in February, 1959.

Mrs. Madeline A. Werner, Miss Bessie Auerbach, and Mrs. Selma A. Mohr, sisters of the late Herbert S. Auerbach, president of the Utah State Historical Society from 1936 until his death in 1945 and owner of what was probably the greatest private library in the world on Utah, Mormon, and Western history, have presented to the library of the Society a number of manuscripts, maps, letters, and other materials, mostly pertaining to the Escalante expedition, which were prepared and edited by Mr. Auerbach. In addition, there are approximately seventy-five books and pamphlets pertaining to Utah and the Mormons, valued at more than \$1,000.00.

Mr. Auerbach's library was auctioned off in two great sales—the first in 1947 at the Parke-Bernet Galleries in New York, and the second in London in 1958. An approximate total of nearly \$150,000.00 was realized from the sales, and the valuable items on Utah and the Mormons were scattered in libraries and private collections throughout the world.

It is with sincere appreciation that the Society announces the gift by Mr. Auerbach's sisters to the Society, with gratification that a part of this fabulous collection has at last "come home."

The Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters has designated the Utah State Historical Society as the official archives of the Academy.

Minutes, correspondence, and papers will be deposited with the library, and in time this collection will become one of the most valuable and useful in the state. The Society welcomes this material and the association with this more than fifty-year-old cultural organization, and congratulates the officers for their wise decision.

The Society salutes Dale L. Morgan, Utah's native son, currently on the staff of the Bancroft Library. He has been writing and publishing articles for the *Quarterly* since 1940. His most recent book, *The Overland Diary of James A. Pritchard, from Kentucky to California in 1849* (see Review section this magazine), is said by an authority in the field to be ". . . perhaps the most important contribution ever made to the literature of the Forty-niners since the time when the weary travelers themselves paused at the end of a toilsome day and put their own pens to paper." Mr. Morgan graduated from the University of Utah as an art major, but shortly thereafter became absorbed in history. He was prominent in the Writers' Project and the Historical Records Survey of the WPA, and in addition to several bibliographical studies and numerous articles which have appeared in various scholarly journals, his published works include: *The Great Salt Lake* (1947), *The Humboldt, Highroad of the West* (1943), *Jedediah Smith and His Maps of the American West* (1954, Carl I. Wheat, coauthor), *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* (1953), and his last as mentioned above in 1959. With his capacity for hard work and scrupulous research, Dale is sure to continue his contributions to the world of scholarship in the coming years.

One hundred years ago, on April 3, 1860, the first Pony Express rider, with the cheers of well-wishers in his ears, rode from the Pony Express barns at St. Joseph, Missouri, headed for Sacramento. On that same day an east-bound counterpart left Sacramento, and the dream of spanning the forbidding interior of the continent with a speedier means of communication was about to come true. With ominous clouds of civil war on the horizon, the ponies and their riders, by keeping the people in the Far West informed on national issues, played an important part in bolstering loyalty to the Union.

To commemorate this auspicious chapter in our nation's history, the National Pony Express Centennial Association and various Pony Express state organizations are furthering appropriate celebrations for this centennial year, 1960. The Pony Express states are: Missouri, Kan-

sas, Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, and California, and historical research committees in pertinent local areas have searched out sites, trails, routes, landmarks, names of riders, station masters, and others engaged in the enterprise. Civic celebrations featuring historically authentic dramas, songs, speeches, and programs will be sponsored by local groups, and a dramatic rerunning of the Express will take place in April.

Awards of Merit for the Mountain States region voted by the Awards Committee of the American Association for State and Local History meeting in convention in Philadelphia, October 7-9, 1959, are as follows:

State or provincial historical societies:

Idaho Historical Society, Boise, Idaho

Director: HOLMAN J. SWINNEY

For its dynamic program to develop an interest in the history of Idaho through publications, marking historic sites, and the encouragement of local historical societies.

Regional, county, and local historical societies:

Clearwater County Historical Society, Orofino, Idaho

President: MRS. RUTH PEARCE

For its energetic committee program, for maintaining an important collection of local Chinese miners' artifacts, for having the Lewis and Clark canoe camp site preserved as a state park, and for developing a historical program at that site.

Outstanding books:

Serious history: *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900*. By LEONARD J. ARRINGTON
 Publisher: Harvard University Press.

Popular history: *Montana an Uncommon Land*. By K. ROSS TOOLE
 Publisher: University of Oklahoma Press

The First 100 Years (Colorado's Centennial history). By ROBERT L. PERKIN
 Publisher: Doubleday.

Newspapers (daily in cities over 300,000)

The *Denver Post*, PALMER HOYT, editor, and *Rocky Mountain News*, JACK FOSTER, editor. For unusual special editions for the Colorado Gold Centennial.

(daily in communities under 300,000)

Las Vegas Review-Journal, DON ASHBAUGH, feature editor. For its series of articles on lesser-known Nevada mining communities.

Organizations contributing significantly to the understanding and development of local history or historical programs:

Radio Station K O R T

Grangeville, Idaho

For its sustained program on the local history of the community.

H. J. Swinney is regional chairman for the Mountain States region which includes Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming, and A. R. Mortensen is national chairman of the Awards Committee. The program was instituted to pay tribute to those individuals and organizations promoting a better understanding of our national heritage at a local level.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

(Terms Expiring April 1, 1961)

JUANITA BROOKS, St. George

LELAND H. CREER, Salt Lake City

NICHOLAS G. MORGAN, SR., Salt Lake City

JOEL E. RICKS, Logan

RUSSEL B. SWENSEN, Provo

(Ex-Officio Member)

LAMONT F. TORONTO, Salt Lake City

(Honorary Life Member)

LEVI EDGAR YOUNG, Salt Lake City

(Terms Expiring April 1, 1963)

J. STERLING ANDERSON, Grantsville

RICHARD E. GILLIES, Cedar City

J. GRANT IVERSON, Salt Lake City

MRS. A. C. JENSEN, Sandy

L. GLEN SNARR, Salt Lake City

OFFICERS 1959-61

LELAND H. CREER, President

NICHOLAS G. MORGAN, SR., Vice-President

A. R. MORTENSEN, Secretary

ADMINISTRATION

A. R. MORTENSEN, Director

EVERETT L. COOLEY, Associate Director

ROBERT W. INSCORE, Registrar, Military Records Section

JOHN JAMES, JR., Librarian

DOROTHY SUMMERHAYS, Associate Editor

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 Editor assumes no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unaccompanied by return postage.

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.

Can you identify this photo? It is believed to be a Pony Express station somewhere in western Wyoming. The Society welcomes historic photographs which should be preserved. Please be sure they are identified.



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

