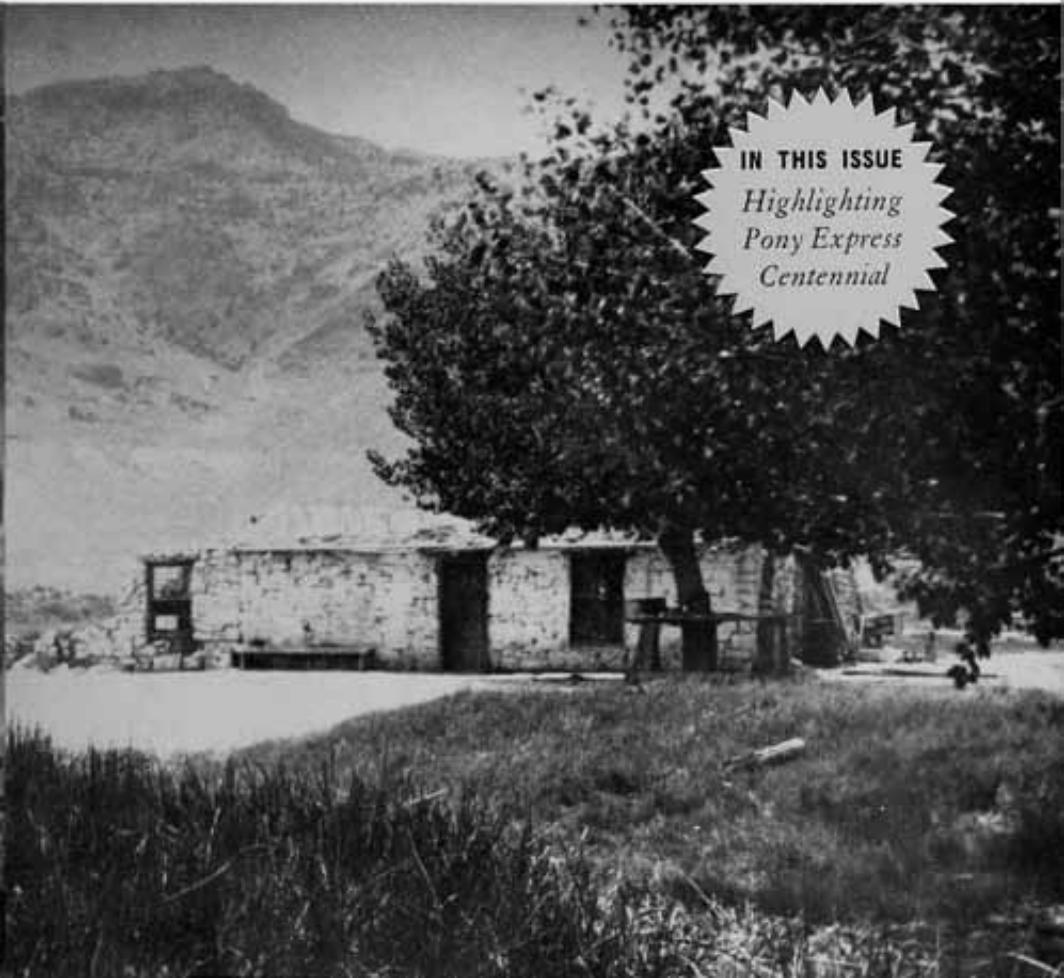


UTAH

HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

April, 1960



IN THIS ISSUE
*Highlighting
Pony Express
Centennial*

ABOUT THE COVER



The Pony Express station at Fish Springs. Photo taken by Charles Kelly shortly before the building was torn down early in 1930.



Availability of water often determined sites of Pony Express stations, especially from Salt Lake west to the Sierra Range.

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A. R. Mortensen, Editor

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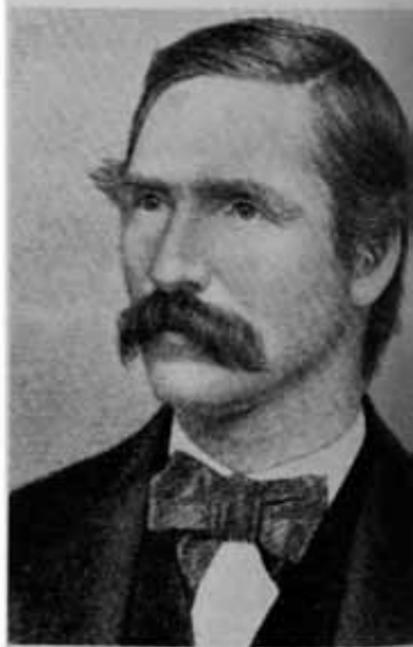
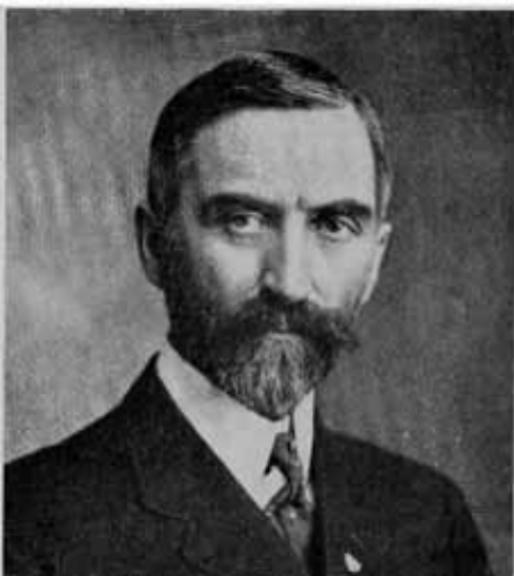
Nathaniel P. Langford, who became the first superintendent of Yellowstone National Park.



Henry D. Washburn, a leader in an early expedition to explore the Yellowstone country.

Cornelius Hedges, his vision and inspiration became the basis for the national park system.

Hiram M. Chittenden, whose written reports confirmed the wonders of the Yellowstone.



...the creation of our first national park established the idea that the federal government is responsible for protecting American scenery in its natural state for the benefit and enjoyment of all the people.

THE YELLOWSTONE STORY GENESIS OF THE NATIONAL PARK IDEA

*By Weldon F. Heald **

On a September evening ninety years ago a group of men sat around a campfire in the wilds of the Rocky Mountains of northwestern Wyoming. They were full of enthusiasm and talked far into the night. For these were explorers who had seen during the past month wonders they never imagined existed—a big blue lake atop the continental divide; roaring waterfalls in a rainbow-tinted canyon; bubbling mud pots and steaming pools; giant boiling springs and colored terraces; and geysers that hurled tons of hot water two- and three-hundred feet into the air.

The men were members of the Yellowstone Expedition of 1870, and they knew that such a fabulous and unbelievable region was bound to become one of the nation's most celebrated show places. Here, they realized, was a fortune within their grasp, and they excitedly discussed taking up land around the various points of interest. But one of them, a lawyer named Cornelius Hedges, protested against this selfish view. Such a unique, natural wonderland, he argued, should be set aside by the government and forever held for the delight and inspiration of future generations of Americans. One by one the other men agreed and became fired by Hedges' vision. Thoughts of personal profit were forgotten, and they finally rolled up in their blankets under the pines, determined to see their utopian project through to the finish.

* Mr. Heald has served as codirector of the Southwest Writers Workshop and Conference at Arizona State College, Flagstaff, for the past several years. His articles on the West have appeared in various magazines.

So in 1872, a year and a half later, Yellowstone National Park was created by Congress, "dedicated and set apart as a public park and pleasuring ground for the benefit of the people." This action launched the National Park Idea, one of America's most successful ventures in cooperative democracy. Since the establishment of Yellowstone, our park system has grown to more than twenty-four million acres, and now consists of twenty-nine federally owned and administered parks and nearly one hundred fifty monuments, parkways, recreation areas, and historic shrines. To these came more than sixty million visitors in 1958. Furthermore, the national park concept has spread to almost every civilized country and represents one of our greatest single contributions to worldwide appreciation and preservation of natural beauty. Thus, this wilderness campfire of long ago comes within the grand sweep of history. It marks a dramatic step forward in national growth.

The event is too well attested to be challenged. Yet, in recent years several interpreters of the conservation movement in the United States have questioned its significance. With documented arguments, they maintain that Cornelius Hedges was not the "Father of the National Parks." Many men before him had suggested the idea, and they point to George Catlin in particular. As early as 1832 this pioneer artist and Indian authority advocated setting aside a large tract of land in the West to be preserved as "a *nation's park*, containing man and beast, in all the wild and freshness of their nature's beauty." Further, these critics attach prime importance to the fact that Yosemite, not Yellowstone, was the first outstanding example of our natural scenic heritage protected within a public park. So the present tendency is to demote the Yellowstone campfire to a place of secondary consequence.

Certainly it is true that sentiment for the preservation of some of our Western wonderlands had been growing for some time. In fact, without a strong conservation current running throughout the country, Congress could not have been persuaded to act. However, although many voices were raised, it was Cornelius Hedges' concrete proposal in the case of Yellowstone that was the basis of the national park system. And our first national park was the direct result of the publicity and efforts of Hedges and his companions. Yellowstone was the pioneer, the pilot, the prototype which all subsequent national parks followed. It also firmly established for the first time the proposition that the federal government has the responsibility of protecting the finest examples of American scenery in a natural state for the benefit and enjoyment of all the people.

Hot Springs, Arkansas, established in 1832, has always been a national park in name only, and Yosemite's story is quite different. Originally part of the public domain, that superb valley was deeded to California in 1864 as a state park. Strong regional pride was involved and a feeling that Yosemite was exclusively California's property. Yellowstone had been established for eighteen years before Yosemite National Park was created by Congress as the third unit in the system, and it was not until 1906 that the valley itself was returned to the federal government as a part of Yosemite National Park.

So it is difficult to minimize Yellowstone's overwhelming priority. The fact that it became the first national park simply because at the time the area was part of no state, detracts nothing from the importance of the event. Granted a fortuitous set of circumstances — history consists largely of these anyway — the creation of Yellowstone National Park was a happy accident, a momentous accident, and one that has had a profound and lasting effect on the American people.

Another accident, more difficult to explain, is why the Yellowstone remained for over sixty years a mysterious and almost mythical region. During this period all parts of the West were explored; the fur trade blossomed and died; gold was discovered in California, and scores of mining booms occurred; Oregon was settled, and thousands of pioneers trekked westward. Yet all this time Yellowstone was an almost unknown blank on the map — the subject of more wild rumors, exaggeration, and downright lies than has perhaps been given to any one place since the beginning of time. Rugged, mountainous terrain, remoteness from main transcontinental routes, hostile Indians, and a paucity of resources immediately convertible into cash, are the principal reasons given by historians for the region's long neglect. However, even these circumstances hardly explain why the Yellowstone was not thoroughly explored earlier. The Indians called the region "the burning mountains" and considered it accursed. Perhaps we should leave it at that.

With the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the headwaters of the east-flowing Yellowstone River became a part of the United States, although the area west of the continental divide was in dispute with England until 1846. Expansion-minded President Jefferson, anxious to justify American claims to this disputed territory, commissioned a government expedition to find a route through it to the Pacific Coast. So a party of about forty men, headed by captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, left St. Louis in May, 1804. They ascended the Missouri River in boats, crossed the divide in what is now Montana and Idaho, and followed down the Columbia to its mouth. Completely and brilliantly successful,

they ended their epic wilderness journey at St. Louis in September, 1806. The official reports of the Lewis and Clark Expedition immediately aroused widespread interest in our newly acquired western lands. In particular, the glowing descriptions of teeming wildlife stimulated the fur trade, which became the chief economic activity in the Far West for the next forty years.

Lewis and Clark passed north of the Yellowstone, and at no time came nearer than forty miles from its present borders. However, they did name the Yellowstone River, formerly called the *Roche Jaune* by French trappers, who were reputed to have reached its lower course as early as 1743. The name came originally from the Indians and refers to the vivid coloring of the upper canyon, a section white men had never seen. The region was then divided between the Crows on the east, the Bannocks west, the Shoshonis south, and the Blackfeet to the north. At the time these tribes were relatively friendly to the whites, but later the roving Blackfeet became relentless, implacable foes who fiercely fought the intruders until subdued and put on a Montana reservation in 1855. Yellowstone itself was inhabited by an obscure group of Wind River Shoshonis called "sheepstealers" by their Indian neighbors, because their staple food was bighorn sheep, which they snared in brush enclosures. But in general, most Indians had a superstitious fear of the geysers and roaring springs, and gave them a wide berth. In fact, early explorers tell that it was necessary to guide the natives through much of the Yellowstone, and that they were startled by the many weird sights they had never seen before. As late as 1880 We-Saw, an old Shoshoni, declared that geysers were, "Heap, heap, bad medicine."

Although Lewis and Clark did not discover this amazing region they passed twice, one of their men did later. He was John Colter, a native of Virginia, who signed up as a private soldier with the expedition, but proved to be such a valuable addition that he became an official hunter for the party. In August, 1806, on the return trip, Colter met two trappers at the Mandan Indian villages, in present North Dakota, who were bound for the upper Missouri. They persuaded him to accompany them, and he received special permission to leave the expedition. Although he had planned to return to civilization in the spring, Colter spent four years in that rugged wilderness, the last three as a trusted lieutenant of the famed fur trader, Manuel Lisa, who built a fort in 1807 at the junction of the Yellowstone and Big Horn rivers.

As hunter, trapper, and Lisa's contact man with the Indians, the intrepid Colter roamed thousands of square miles of unexplored territory in what is now northwestern Wyoming and southwestern Mon-

tana. In courage, strength, and endurance he was unsurpassed, and his hair-raising adventures will forever be a part of our frontier history. On a remarkable five-hundred-mile solo trip through the wilds in 1807, he passed through the center of the present Yellowstone Park, from southwest to northeast, and was the first white man to see its wonders. Upon his return to St. Louis three years later, he told of steaming mountains, and the boiling, bubbling, spouting hot springs there. But nobody believed him, and the place became derisively known as "Colter's Hell." This name was even semiofficially used on maps for many years, with such accidental variations, as "Colter's Hill" and "Colter's Hall."

The report of this heroic journey came too late for Captain Clark to include it in the text of the expedition's published *Journals*, but he did mark it on the map, with the label, "Colter's Route of 1807." Although the map only vaguely depicts the actual topography of the Yellowstone region, historians have been able to trace Colter's extraordinary exploration circuit with reasonable accuracy. The result has been to class him among the great pathfinders who pioneered the opening of the Far West. But recognition was belated, and most maps until the 1870's continued to leave the Yellowstone country a featureless blank.

Colter never returned to the West and died in Missouri in 1813. But, due to his trapping activities and those of Lisa's other employees, the region roundabout became one of the centers of the fur trade. Three rival companies competed for pelts, and Jackson Hole and Pierre's Hole were two of the most popular rendezvous for trappers and Mountain Men. The former is only forty miles south of the Yellowstone, and the latter is across the lofty Teton Range, in Idaho. So it was inevitable that trappers would accidentally enter the "infernal regions" of Colter's Hell. However, they left no written accounts and, as with Colter, no one believed the stories about the strange sights they had seen.

An early visitor was Joseph Meek, employee of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, who saw the Upper Geyser Basin, probably in 1829. He reported "the whole country smoking like Pittsburgh, but more immense." The first written record of the Yellowstone appeared in the *Niles Register*, October 6, 1827, reprinted from the *Philadelphia Gazette*. The article, dated July 8 of that year, was entitled "From the Far West," but the author's name is unknown. In May, 1834, Warren Angus Ferris, clerk of the American Fur Company, made a detour through the Yellowstone country for the purpose of verifying the many wild rumors about it. An educated man, he kept a detailed journal in which he accurately described the geysers, hot springs, and Yellowstone Lake. The

account was published in the *Western Literary Messenger* of Buffalo, July, 1842, and was reprinted in the Mormon paper, the *Wasp*, Nauvoo, Illinois, August 13, 1842. For many years this last publication was thought to be the first written record of the Yellowstone.

But this twilight, predawn period was dominated by Jim Bridger. Although he could neither read nor write, his fantastic stories about the region gained nationwide fame, and his name and the Yellowstone became practically synonymous. Bridger, sometimes called the "Daniel Boone of the Rockies," was the most famous of the old Mountain Men; as trapper, guide, scout, and Indian fighter, he wandered the West for nearly fifty years. His exploits became an American legend, and his numerous explorations and discoveries prepared the way for sizeable sections of the Overland and Oregon trails.

Jim Bridger first saw the Yellowstone country about 1830 and visited it several times. He called it "a place where hell bubbled up" but, like his predecessors, his truthful descriptions were not generally believed. In fact, the editor of the *Kansas City Journal* admitted later that he suppressed an article based on Bridger's Yellowstone tales because it was so thoroughly ridiculed. Not in the least abashed, Jim apparently agreed with Josh Billings, who said, "Half the lies they tell about the West ain't true." So he opened up with both barrels and let go with some of the tallest stories ever invented.

One of Bridger's classics was of trying to shoot an elk through a glass mountain. When his shots took no effect he investigated and found the mountain was not only pure, transparent crystal, but a perfect telescope lens, and in reality the elk was miles distant. Another was an ice-cold stream that flowed down a slope with such velocity that friction made it boiling hot at the bottom. He also found a camping place with an alarm-clock echo from a far-off, bald-faced peak. Upon retiring, he would shout, "Time to get up!" and six hours later his voice would roll back to wake him. One story ascribed to Bridger was probably largely apocryphal. It told of a locality cursed by a Crow medicine man, where everything was petrified. Stone sagebrush, rabbits, bears, antelope, and deer stood about; flying stone birds were motionless in the air; and the bushes bore diamond, ruby, emerald, and sapphire fruit. Even gravity was petrified, and one could cross canyons in the air, as if supported by invisible bridges.

In spite of Jim Bridger being branded "a monumental liar," enough truth sifted through these monstrous fables to interest the government, and Captain W. F. Reynolds, of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, was ordered to explore the Yellowstone country and surroundings.

Guided by Bridger, the expedition was in the field in 1859 and 1860, but in June of the latter year was unable to penetrate to the headwaters of the Yellowstone River owing to the deep snow. Bridger declared that "even a bird would need a grub sack to fly over them mountains," and Captain Reynolds had not time to wait as he was due to observe an eclipse of the sun in Canada. However, he reported: "I regard the valley of the Upper Yellowstone as the most interesting unexplored district in our widely expanded country." But the Civil War brought a halt to further government expeditions.

So this fabulous wonderland remained a mystery for another decade. True, parties of prospectors did occasionally penetrate the Yellowstone country and make further discoveries, notably those led by captains Walter W. De Lacy and John Mullan in 1863, and George Huston in 1866. But these men had gold on their minds, and they added little to a general understanding of the region. The final discovery and fully detailed, accurate description was the work of three exploring parties in 1869, 1870, and 1871.

A large expedition had been planned in 1867 by citizens of Montana to check the truth regarding the remarkable volcanic phenomena on the headwaters of the Yellowstone River, but it never materialized. However, three of the original organizers made the first thorough examination of the region in September, 1869. They were David E. Folsom, C. W. Cook, and William Peterson. Yellowstone's ardent historian, Hiram Martin Chittenden, wrote: "These explorers were so astonished at the marvels they had seen that 'they were unwilling to risk their reputation for veracity by a full recital of them to a small company whom their friends had assembled to hear an account of their explorations.'" But an article by Folsom, describing their trip, appeared in the *Western Monthly* of Chicago, July, 1870. In his manuscript the author suggested that the Yellowstone be made a park, but this was cut from the published account. He also mentioned the idea to Henry D. Washburn, surveyor-general of Montana. Thus, Folsom's park proposal antedates that of Cornelius Hedges, but no direct result can be traced to it. This does show, though, that since Yosemite had been set aside as a state park, feeling for nature preservation had been growing throughout the country, and that the basic park idea was the invention of no one person.

In 1866 Nathaniel P. Langford had talked with Jim Bridger and believed some of his more sober stories. So it was natural that he would be prominent in organizing the first semiofficial party to explore the region. This was the Yellowstone Expedition of 1870, better known as

the Washburn-Langford or Washburn-Doane Expedition. Langford was collector of Internal Revenue in Montana and was appointed governor of the territory in 1868. But the Senate, bitterly opposed to President Johnson, failed to confirm his appointment. Besides Langford, the party consisted of General Washburn and seven other leading Montanans. The expedition had the approval of the federal government, which provided a military escort of five cavalymen under command of Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane. Including packers, wranglers, cooks, and helpers, the total personnel numbered nineteen, and thirty-five horses and mules furnished the transportation. Cornelius Hedges said afterwards, "I think a more confirmed set of sceptics never went out into the wilderness than those who composed our party, and never was a party more completely surprised and captivated with the wonders of nature."

The expedition crossed the present north boundary of the park on August 26, and spent a month making a leisurely circuit of the area. Visited were Tower Falls, Yellowstone Canyon and Falls, several geyser basins and spectacular hot springs, and quite a few of the features were given the names they bear today. The trip was fully successful and marked by growing enthusiasm, but its luster was marred by one regrettable incident. Southwest of Yellowstone Lake Truman Everts, former U.S. assessor for Montana, became separated from the party and was hopelessly lost for more than a month. Although his companions made every effort to locate him, they were finally forced to go on, and Mr. Everts was found nearer dead than alive by a search party nearly two weeks after the expedition's return to Montana. Later he recovered and wrote his story detailing the harrowing experiences of a tenderfoot's struggle for survival in the wilds. Called "Thirty-Seven Days of Peril," it appeared in *Scribner's Monthly* for January, 1871. Written in the rather formal style of that period, it still equals many a modern adventure yarn for dangers, thrills, and suspense.

On September 19 the party camped at the junction of the Gibbon and Firehole rivers. There, around the campfire that evening, occurred the discussion which directly resulted in the creation of Yellowstone National Park. Unlike the former general suggestions, a definite proposal was formulated by men who unselfishly gave up possible financial gain for a democratic ideal. Furthermore, all of them were fired with such zeal that they debated how they themselves could best make their revolutionary idea a reality. It was, in truth, a momentous milestone in American conservation history, and only rank sophistry can relegate this epic campfire discussion to a place of secondary importance.

They decided that publicity was the first great need. After sixty years of vague rumors and farfetched legends, the grandeur and glory of the Yellowstone should be revealed to the world. So, upon their return to Helena, members of the expedition prepared numerous articles for local Montana newspapers. These were reprinted by other papers and caused widespread interest. In the Helena *Herald* for November 9, 1870, Cornelius Hedges urged the establishment of Yellowstone National Park, the first public mention of the project, so far as is known. These enthusiasts also wrote magazine articles, and Lieutenant Doane submitted a masterly government report. Nathaniel Langford was especially active and became known as "National Park" Langford. He was author of two articles on "The Wonders of Yellowstone" in *Scribner's* for May and June, 1871, and during the preceding winter gave lectures in principal cities throughout the country. After his New York address the *Tribune* recommended that the Yellowstone area be withdrawn from public entry and made a public park. The idea was catching on fast.

A vigorous new champion was recruited at Langford's Washington lecture. He was Ferdinand V. Hayden, who had been geologist with Captain Reynolds in 1860, and was now chief of the Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, usually called the Hayden Survey. He immediately decided to shift his base of operations from southern Wyoming to the Yellowstone. By doing so, Hayden felt that he would enhance the importance of his survey; make the first scientific report on the spectacular volcanic and thermal phenomena; and forward the campaign for a national park. For this he believed a pictorial record was necessary. As yet no photographs had been taken in the area and the only pictures were engravings which the promising young artist, Thomas Moran, had prepared for the forthcoming Langford *Scribner's* articles. As he had never been west of Chicago, these were drawn from descriptions. So Hayden invited Moran to accompany the expedition to augment the work of his staff artist and his accomplished cameraman, William Henry Jackson, later famed as "The Pioneer Photographer" of the West.

Actually, two government expeditions visited the Yellowstone in 1871. Besides Hayden's was an army corps of engineers party, commanded by captains J. W. Barlow and D. P. Heap. But they moved for the most part together and were accompanied by the same military escort. The Hayden contingent, consisting of thirty-four men, left Ogden, Utah, June 10 and entered the Yellowstone region from the north on July 20. There they spent forty days in exploration and mapping, and

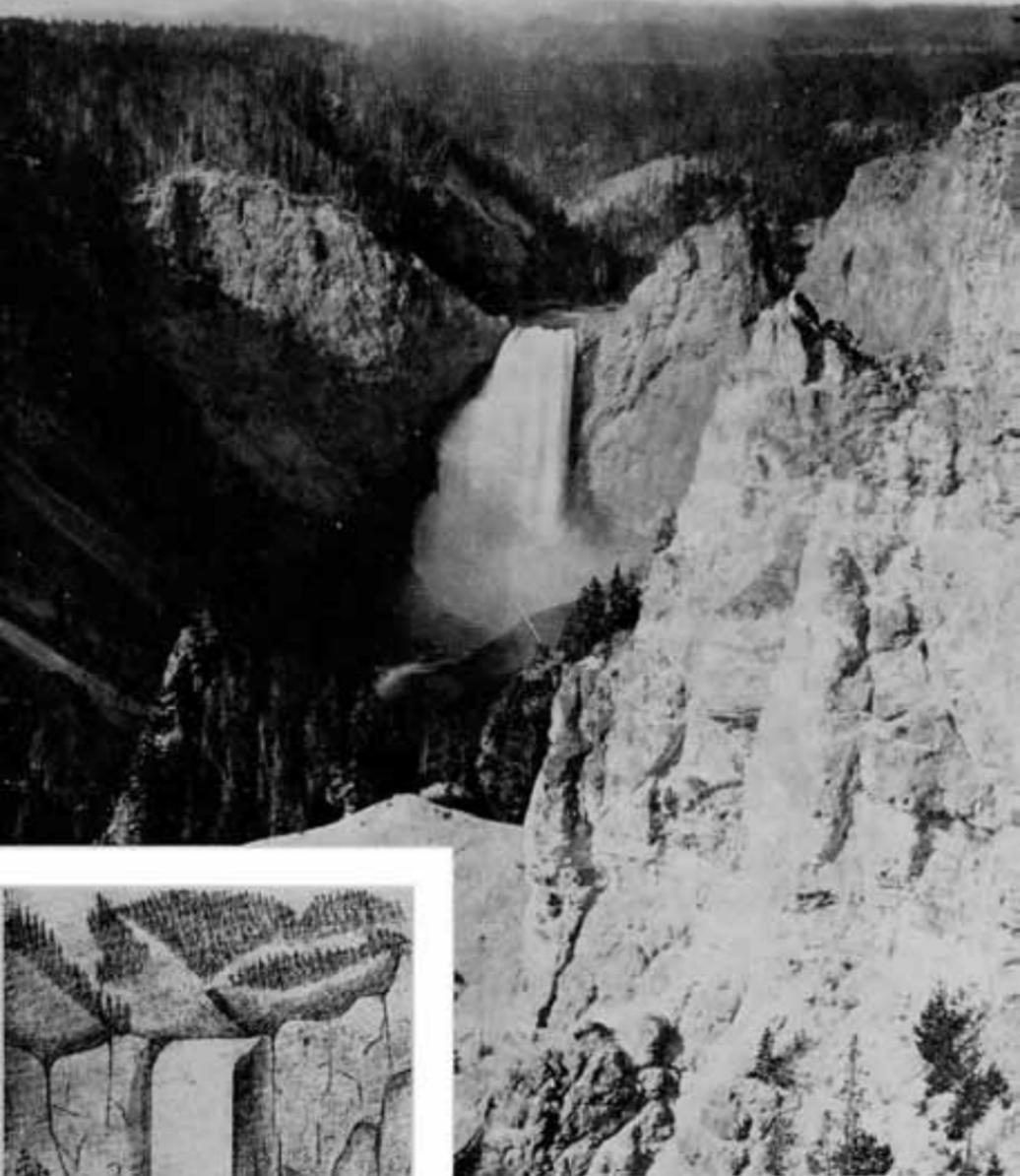


PHOTOS, COURTESY U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

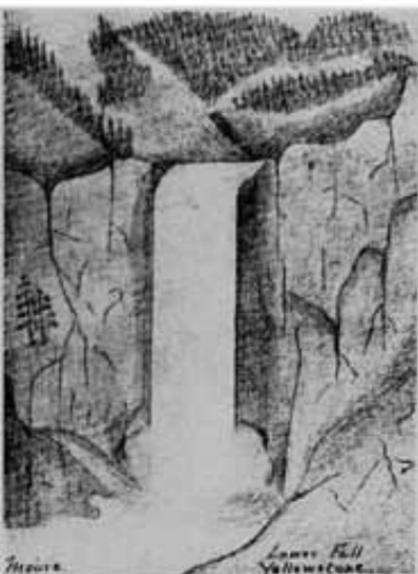
Camp scene of the Hayden Survey of 1870. Seated at the rear is Hayden, standing at the extreme right is W. H. Jackson, survey photographer.



The Hayden Survey camped on the southwest arm of Yellowstone Lake.



PHOTO, COURTESY U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY



The perfection of the Lower Falls of the Yellowstone was captured by Jackson in his photograph. Inset is an early sketch of the same scene, reproduced from The Discovery of Yellowstone Park, 1870, by N. P. Langford (c1905).

made a complete pictorial record of the area. Most of the credit for this goes to Moran and Jackson. Hayden's other artist was undistinguished; a local photographer, picked up at Bozeman, Montana, lost his camera in Yellowstone Canyon; and the army party's man, upon his return east, had all his negatives destroyed in the Chicago Fire.

The outcome of the 1871 expedition exceeded Hayden's rosiest hopes. It was a major scoop of national importance and the results furnished the clinching arguments that persuaded Congress to enact a Yellowstone National Park bill. This bill was drawn up by Langford, Hedges, and William H. Claggett, Montana territorial delegate, assisted by Dr. Hayden, and was introduced in the House, December 18, 1871. It went to the Senate immediately afterwards. As a part of the final campaign four hundred copies of Langford's *Scribner's* articles were placed on congressmen's desks, while on exhibit were Jackson's photographs, together with Moran's water colors and sketches. That these were effective is shown by the bill passing the Senate, January 30, with only one dissenting vote, and the House on February 27 by 115 yeas to 65 nays, 60 not voting. With President Grant's signature on March 1, 1872, an area in northwestern Wyoming, measuring fifty-four by sixty-two miles, was "reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy and sale under the laws of the United States," and officially became Yellowstone National Park. It seems particularly fitting that Nathaniel P. Langford was appointed the first superintendent.

Of course, there is another story, as long again or longer, about the development of our first great national park from a remote wilderness to a show place of worldwide renown, visited by a million people annually. There is the conservation story, too, on the continuous battle to preserve the integrity of the Yellowstone against the invasion of commercial interests. Literally thousands of men and women made significant contributions. But what is held intact today in the Yellowstone and all the other national parks is basically due to the far vision and unselfish efforts of the pioneers. Theirs is the most important story.



an early Utah schoolroom after the turn of the century when, after years of struggle, "free" public schools came to Utah, and the Mormon-Gentile conflict was resolved.

TWO SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN CONFLICT: 1867-1890

*By C. Merrill Hough**

In 1867 the Protestant Episcopal church established St. Mark's, the first of the many mission schools to be sponsored by non-Mormon churches within the predominantly Mormon community in Utah. Only eighteen months later Secretary of State William H. Seward observed that "... the church and the schools undertaken by the Episcopal Church in Salt Lake City would do more to solve the Mormon problem than the army and Congress of the United States combined."¹ St. Mark's, and other subsequently founded institutions, offered education to Mormons and Gentiles alike during the following years. The existence of these schools, side by side with those sponsored by the Mormons, did not cease to be a serious social and political problem until 1890 when the territorial legislature made provision for free public schools.

Mormon efforts to build and maintain an educational system for their youth during the many years before a significant gentile minority appeared in Utah were praiseworthy. The sort of education they provided for their society indicates the considerable degree to which a people find education necessary in proportion to the problems they face in maintaining their social unity. The beginnings of Mormon education, its development in Utah, and the struggle for free public schools are but one aspect of the Mormons' efforts to maintain their hegemony.

Long before they came to Utah, the Mormons worked to establish

* Mr. Hough is working toward his doctorate in history at the University of Wisconsin.

¹ Daniel S. Tuttle, *The Reminiscences of a Missionary Bishop* (New York, 1906), 365.

their own schools. Their interest, in large measure, arose from their efforts to build and maintain a society outside of the Christian society from which they sprang in the 1830's.² Mormon theology rested on their new scripture, the *Book of Mormon*, and they wanted their followers to be able to read it. They needed linguists to accomplish the church's widespread missionary efforts.³ Furthermore, they needed secular education for communal self-sufficiency. It was natural that they chose to establish their own schools.

The Mormons set up a variety of schools while still in the Midwest.⁴ The Mormon church founded the School of the Prophets at Kirtland, Ohio, in 1835, which concentrated on instruction in ancient and modern foreign languages. Mormon communities in Missouri during the 1830's built schools "before cabins and granaries."⁵ The School of the Prophets was re-established at Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1840, as were individually sponsored common schools.⁶ The church also created the University of Nauvoo which was to control the community's entire educational system. These institutions reappeared in Utah in much the same manner and form as they had in the East.⁷

Common schools opened soon after the settlement of even the earliest Utah communities. The first school was founded within the first year.⁸ The church continued its earlier practice of encouraging the founding of schools: on December 13, 1846, Brigham Young gave instructions to the bishops of the church to establish schools in each ward.⁹ Not until 1851, however, did the church succeed in building many of them.¹⁰ In the meantime free-lance teachers and/or interested individuals tried to meet the community's educational needs.

Although the church never hindered the opening of these independently sponsored schools, it took no responsibility for their support. Many young Mormons felt it part of their religious duty to aid in building or maintaining these schools, however, and taught for little or no

² Joseph F. Smith, *Essentials in Church History* (Salt Lake City, 1922), 571.

³ Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History, The Life of Joseph Smith, Mormon Prophet* (New York, 1946), 168-69.

⁴ John C. Moffitt, *Development of Centralizing Tendencies in the Educational Organization and Administration of Utah* (Chicago, 1940), 5. Hereafter cited *Centralizing Tendencies*.

⁵ Brodie, *op. cit.*, 169.

⁶ Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1889), 146.

⁷ Moffitt, *Centralizing Tendencies*, 20.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰ Smith, *op. cit.*, 572.



Brigham Young's schoolhouse. This private school was built on the Young estate. It was completed and dedicated just before the Christmas season of 1860.

pay.¹¹ But most pioneer teachers opened their schools when they could earn a subsistence thereby.¹² Tuition from their pupils gave the schools most of their support until the 1890's when the government of Utah began to support education, placing some of the burden on the local community. Despite these insecure beginnings, schools sprang up rapidly in Deseret.

The territorial government did take a gradually increasing interest in the operation of the common schools in the years before the mission schools were established. This interest was to manifest itself in legislation permitting the levying of local taxes as partial support of the schools and with the office and duties of the territorial superintendent of education as a means of controlling the educational system. The timing of the development of this interest suggests that the Mormons' concern for their schools was in large measure stimulated by external pressures which were not intense until the late sixties.

The Territorial Act of 1854 sought local tax support for the erection and maintenance of schools. By this act, the trustees of each school were permitted to collect a tax on property at a rate determined by a vote of a

¹¹ John C. Moffitt, *History of Public Education in Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1946), 21. Hereafter cited *Public Education*.

¹² Stanley S. Ivins, "Free Schools Come to Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXII (October, 1954), 323.



Pioneer L.D.S. Sugar House Ward meeting-house and schoolhouse in about 1853. The building typifies those used for both church and school purposes.

The John Pack residence where early school classes were held. Locally established and tuition supported, free-lance teachers and interested individuals gave of their talents and tried to meet the community's educational needs.



district meeting. There was, however, little immediate response to this measure. Some of the buildings erected under its provisions were turned over to free-lance teachers to be run without any organized supervision by the community.¹³

As a people, the Mormons were apparently satisfied with the state of their educational system during the early fifties. In November of 1854 the *Deseret News* reported that there was "a school house in nearly every ward in our territory."¹⁴ Three years later Brigham Young told the legislature that "each ward throughout the Territory has provided one or more comfortable school houses commensurate with the number of pupils to be accommodated."¹⁵ The situation seems to belie his words. During this period only a small proportion of the children were enrolled in or regularly attended the schools. While the figures vary from year to year, even as late as 1862 only thirty-one per cent of the school-age youth attended.¹⁶ But in the light of the community's belief in self-sufficiency, which encouraged each man to assume financial responsibility for his children's education, the Mormons were not immediately concerned with free public schools. Brigham Young spoke for the Mormon hierarchy and undoubtedly for most Mormons when he said: I am opposed to free education as much as I am opposed to taking away property from one man and giving it to another who knows not how to take care of it. . . . Would I encourage free schools by taxation? No! That is not in keeping with the nature of our work. . . .¹⁷

During the sixties the Mormons established a centralized control of the educational system. Until 1866, the regents of the University of Deseret had appointed the territorial superintendent of education; thereafter the legislature selected the officeholder.¹⁸ In 1860 county superintendents of education were appointed and made responsible to the territorial superintendent.¹⁹ In the years immediately following, the duties of the local officials became more varied and explicit as the church grew concerned about the quality of the moral and religious education given in the schools.²⁰

¹³ *Ibid.*, 323, 329-30.

¹⁴ Moffitt, *Public Education*, 27. As quoted from the *Deseret News*, November 9, 1854.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* As quoted from the *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah*, 1857.

¹⁶ Ivins, *loc. cit.*, 325.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 321. As quoted from Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses* (26 vols., Liverpool, 1854-56), XVIII, 357.

¹⁸ Moffitt, *Centralizing Tendencies*, 115.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 70-1.

²⁰ U.S. Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commission of Education* (Washington, 1870), 329.

In 1866 the legislature levied upon the property holders of each district a tax of one-fourth of one per cent to support the schools in that district. The tax money was dispensed by the local school trustees and the county superintendents.²¹ This measure marked a significant step to fully tax-supported schools. But it also seemed to be part of the growing tendency to place some of the control of local schools in the hands of officials responsible to the political authorities, in this case the hierarchy of the Mormon church, rather than in the hands of local individuals concerned with the operation of the schools.

With the arrival of the Gentiles in Utah, the problem of social unity was becoming even more important. The Mormon fold was secure until the sixties. In 1857 the secretary of war's report stated that all settlers in Utah were Mormons.²² The Episcopalian bishop, Daniel S. Tuttle, in reviewing the founding of St. Mark's school at Salt Lake City in 1867, gave further evidence that the number of professed non-Mormons even in the mid-sixties was small. Tuttle recalls that he believed his parishioners would come from among the Mormons, especially those formerly of the Church of England. He hoped his schools would be effective in converting many to his faith, but he did not expect or hope there were already many Gentiles or apostate Mormons eager for his ministry.²³

These varied indications of the paucity of non-Mormons until the late sixties support the statement of one of Tuttle's associates that:

At that time everything was intensely and defiantly Mormon. Composing the entire population of the territory and the city — except perhaps four or five hundred Gentiles and apostate Mormons in Salt Lake — the Mormons controlled absolutely everything. . . .²⁴

The schools founded by the several missionary programs to Utah had a definite effect on the Mormon school system. These new schools were generally as good as, if not better than, the common schools; consequently the two systems competed for the youth of the area. The rivalry for pupils was not based solely on educational excellence; in the minds of the people of Utah, Mormon or Gentile, the respective tuitions and the religious views of the schools were also important.

Integrating religious teachings with secular learning, the mission schools in Utah sought to train their pupils in the way of that particular faith. Bishop Tuttle said explicitly:

²¹ Ivins, *loc. cit.*, 329. As quoted from *Acts, Memorials, & Resolutions of the Territorial Assembly, 1857-1877* (Great Salt Lake, 1880), 220.

²² Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 496.

²³ Tuttle, *op. cit.*, 106.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 365.

. . . a day-school would be a most efficient instrumentality in doing good missionary work. . . . In Utah, especially, schools were the backbone of our . . . work. Adults were fanatics, and so beyond the reach of our influence; or else were apostates, and so, grossly deceived once, were unwilling to listen again to any claims of the supernatural.²⁵

But the plastic minds of the young were quite another matter.

St. Mark's school opened in 1867 and enrolled sixteen pupils that year.²⁶ The variously reported figures for this and other such schools existing in Utah from that time until 1890 are not always firsthand and often conflict. They do, however, point to great increases in enrollment in each of the schools opened during the seventies, and a steady increase in the size of most schools until the 1890's. Several sources set the enrollment of St. Mark's between 250 and 300 during the seventies.²⁷ Most of the increase in these early years can be attributed to the first significant influx of Gentiles into Utah in 1869 and thereafter.²⁸

The Episcopal church schools continued, however, to make education available to some indigent Mormon children. The Gentiles and some of the Mormons who attended St. Mark's paid for their schooling. Speaking of the difficulties faced by the school at Ogden after the departure of the gentile railway employees in late 1869, Tuttle said that the "paying scholars" had left and the "non-paying Mormons" remained. This situation was financially difficult; it was, however, the "work that we are in Utah to do."²⁹ The upkeep of that particular school fell to the Episcopal church. This apparently was the case for each church founding mission schools in Utah. It may have occurred more frequently in the early seventies when there were fewer Gentiles to fill the mission schools than in succeeding years. But at least in the case of the Episcopal schools, financial assistance was limited to the number of scholarships the church could raise from its parishioners. Tuttle claims that he worked at this constantly between 1867 and 1888

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 363.

²⁶ *Utah Statehood: Reasons Why It Should Not Be Granted* (Salt Lake City, 1887), 15. This pamphlet contains the report of the federally appointed Utah Commission for 1887. It suggests that Mormon anticipation of federal interference existed even as early as the first efforts to achieve statehood.

²⁷ Tuttle, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Tuttle does not give figures for each year. Corroborating evidences can be found in A London Parson (pseud.), *To San Francisco and Back* (London, 1869), 132, one hundred and thirty pupils in early 1869; and in Charles Merrill Hough, "Memoirs" (unpublished typescript in the Hough family), 117 (hereafter cited as Hough MS), an average of three hundred for the years 1870 to 1874 while he was a pupil there.

²⁸ A London Parson, *op. cit.*, 146-47.

²⁹ Tuttle, *op. cit.*, 390.

and managed to raise five hundred.³⁰ There may have been a larger amount of financial aid to the Mormons in the Episcopal school system than Tuttle's remarks would indicate. Reporting on the state of the territory of Utah in 1885, Governor Eli H. Murray spoke of 295 of the 795 pupils in the several Episcopal schools as "free scholars."³¹

Whatever the exact number of Mormon pupils attending the Episcopal mission schools, it is clear that some received help from the Gentiles. Other church mission schools may not have been as active in offering free education to the Mormons. In 1885 the governor reported enrollments for several missionary school systems exceeding the Episcopalian system in size. Only in the case of the Presbyterian schools did he cite the number of Mormon pupils, 75 of 900.³²

There is no evidence that all the Mormons who sent their children to mission schools did so because they were offered education free of charge or at a significant reduction from the tuition rates of the common schools. On the contrary, some Mormons were willing to pay higher tuition rates to send their children to the mission schools. Both these individuals and the Gentiles were paying taxes which contributed to the maintenance of the common schools. These taxes became an increasingly irritating problem for the community.

The education offered by St. Mark's and the other mission schools was usually of a standard somewhat above that of the common schools. A pupil at St. Mark's from 1870 to 1874 later commented that "scholastically [St. Mark's] was quite up to the then average of American schools."³³ Tuttle claimed that even some orthodox Mormons sent their children there saying, "they wanted their children to get a good education, and they declared that our schools were the best places in the territory for them to get this education."³⁴

This was probably the case even in the early seventies. It seems even more likely that the mission schools were recognized for their relative academic excellence in the eighties. Governor Murray prefaced his fig-

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 375.

³¹ U.S. Department of the Interior, *Report of the Secretary*, 49 Cong., 1 sess., 1886, II, 1043. Some of the "free scholars" may have been Gentiles. If they were Mormons, however, 295 such in the schools that year indicates either that Tuttle's 500 scholarships were most likely for St. Mark's alone, or that other ministers were equally successful in getting funds for aid, or both.

³² *Ibid.* The governor's sources for the figures for each church's schools seems to have been that church. In the case of the Presbyterians, he cites a long letter from Rev. R. G. McNiece. The distinction between Mormon and non-Mormon, paying and free pupils, may not have been made in each set of figures.

³³ Hough MS, 119.

³⁴ Tuttle, *op. cit.*, 374.



ST. MARK'S
GRAMMAR SCHOOL



ST. MARY'S ACADEMY

ROWLAND HALL



An artist's sketch of the early mission school buildings in Salt Lake City. The schools founded by the missionary programs to Utah had a definite effect on the Mormon school system, especially during the years from 1869-1890.

ures on the enrollments of the several schools in 1885 with his belief that "many children of Mormon parentage are being taught in the [mission schools] . . . because the teachers are better qualified and the schools . . . are better."³⁵

In short, the Gentiles and some of the apostate Mormons sent their children to mission schools for religious reasons; the few Mormons who sent their children to these schools did so primarily because they believed they would receive better schooling, for in few cases did the mission schools offer less expensive education than did the common schools.

A comparison of the enrollments of the various mission schools and the common schools offers an indication of the small but not insignificant numbers of such dissenters within the Mormon fold. In 1885 the total enrollment of the common schools was 31,583, and the average daily attendance was 19,437.³⁶ On the other hand, the mission schools provided for only 3,170 pupils.³⁷ A larger enrollment was reported for the mission schools in 1886; listing more denominations, the total reached 6,668.³⁸ The common schools taught no more pupils than in 1885.³⁹ If even as many as half of the mission school pupils were Mormons, which is unlikely, there were still ten times as many Mormons attending the common schools.

From the small number of Mormons attending the mission schools, it would seem likely that the Mormon antagonism to the mission schools and their attitude toward the maintenance and function of the common schools stemmed more from the fear of gentile intrusion and of increased dissension within the Mormon ranks than from the number of withdrawals from the common schools. This fear is evidenced by the form which the initial reaction to St. Mark's assumed.

At first the Mormon hierarchy attempted to discredit the missionaries. These denunciations were effective for a short time. St. Mark's received an initial setback in 1868-69, but withstood it sufficiently to enroll 130 pupils in the fall of 1869.⁴⁰ This sort of strategy was what Tuttle had expected; he asked his teachers to refrain from mentioning the existence of any conflict between Mormon and gentile society. He

³⁵ *Report of the Secretary of the Interior* (1886), II, 1030. The schools include Methodist, Catholic, Baptist, Episcopal, and Presbyterian.

³⁶ U.S. Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commission of Education, 1885-1886* (Washington, 1886), 7.

³⁷ *Report of the Secretary of the Interior* (1886), II, 1043.

³⁸ *Utah Statehood*, 15. In addition to those cited by the governor in 1885, the Congregational and the Swedish Lutheran churches sponsored schools.

³⁹ *Report of the Commission of Education, 1886-1887* (Washington, 1887), 60.

⁴⁰ A London Parson, *op. cit.*, 132.

felt that his suggestion was effective, since the Mormons, according to Tuttle, turned to slandering the teachers rather than the schools.⁴¹ With the passing of time this antipathy spread;⁴² there are innumerable reports of vandalism and near riot attending the opening of various mission schools and the "liberal schools" which were opened during the late seventies and eighties by individual Gentiles and apostate Mormons.⁴³

These outbreaks were more a reflection of the antagonism which the Mormons had for the entry of the Gentiles than resentment against the teachings or successes of the schools. Consider the remarks of two Mormon churchmen discussing the schools. One was a brash young elder who attacked the schools for their teachings and the fact that they had taken some Mormons from the common schools. After he finished, Brigham Young arose and said, "if these schools can receive our children — and they are receiving many — and teach them *without money and without price, send your children there.*"⁴⁴ While this exchange was an admission that some Mormons were going to the mission schools, Young's plea to the Mormon sense of individualism with respect to the schooling of their children is more significant. As excommunicated Mormon Bishop Stenhouse commented, the Mormons well knew that the only children that the Gentiles were schooling "without price" were those too poor to pay the tuition at the common schools.

The more constructive results of the Mormon reaction to the mission schools are as deeply rooted in the broader social conflict of the two peoples. The church continued its efforts to centralize the administration of schools. The office of the territorial superintendent of education became a recognized bone of contention during the eighties; witness the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, by which the Congress made the federally appointed territorial court responsible for his election. The gradual growth of support for free public schooling was the most significant change from the earlier pattern. Heightened Mormon interest in improving schools had followed pronouncements such as Brigham Young's in 1867:

Brethren in Israel, we must give more attention to this matter. Heretofore we have had to work hard to get the wherewithal to eat and wear. Now we are forehanded and we must give more heed to the education of our children.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Tuttle, *op. cit.*, 369.

⁴² Mofitt, *Public Education*, 17.

⁴³ George R. Bird, *Tenderfoot Days in Territorial Utah* (Boston, 1918), 70-84; *Report of the Secretary of the Interior* (1886), II, 1043.

⁴⁴ Thomas B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York, 1873), 704-5.

⁴⁵ Tuttle, *op. cit.*, 347.

Soon after Young called for a greater concern for education, one community more than fulfilled this plea. In 1869 American Fork set up the first "tax maintained free public school in Utah."⁴⁶ Yet this community was one of those in which the more liberal elements, Gentiles and apostate Mormons, raised a separate school some seven years later, because the new public school was still controlled by the Mormons.⁴⁷

Despite American Fork's efforts in 1869, the Mormons did not support more education for their youth as readily as might be expected from Young's words. As early as 1873 the Gentiles confirmed their opposition to the existing school system and called for free public schools on a territory-wide basis.⁴⁸ Hence, although some Mormons supported the move as a way to improve their educational program (in 1880 Kane County was reportedly "ready to consent" to such legislation), the cause did not flourish. The territorial legislature did not allow the counties to choose such a course of action for themselves.⁴⁹

Orthodox Mormonism continued to control the common school system in the struggle between two societies. In 1880 the legislature passed another law providing for taxes to erect and maintain school buildings. The churches which the Mormon church had been using as schoolhouses were legalized as such under the act, and the funds actually went for the maintenance of church buildings. The Gentiles took this matter to court; the federally appointed territorial court ruled that the school trustees could not collect taxes as long as the property belonged to the Mormon church. Many of the local meetinghouses were transferred to the school trustees while they still served for church functions.⁵⁰

Mormon opposition to free public schools, then, developed from the constant heightening of the Mormons' earliest opposition to the intrusion of a gentile society. When the Gentiles began to advocate free public schools, they stunted the growth of the few tendencies among the Mormons to improve their educational system by making it completely tax supported. Throughout the seventies and eighties Mormon educational practice followed the lines of the theory of centralization outlined in Nauvoo and initiated during the fifties in Utah. From the moment the Gentiles called for free public education, the possibility was undesir-

⁴⁶ Ivins, *loc. cit.*, 333. As cited in E. N. Huff, *Memories That Live, Utah County Centennial History* (Provo, 1947), 218.

⁴⁷ Bird, *op. cit.*, 84.

⁴⁸ Ivins, *loc. cit.*, 336. As cited, *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 9, 1873.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 340-41.

⁵⁰ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 708-9.

able to the Mormons. Holding administrative control over the schools until 1887 and effective control of the legislature until the nineties, the Mormons made the school system a focal point for the larger social conflict in which they were engaged. The resolution of the conflict over the support of the Utah school system was involved and, in part, the result of outside intervention.

From the time of the completion of the railroad and the arrival of a large number of Gentiles, there were two political parties in Utah.⁵¹ These bore no resemblance to the national political parties.⁵² The Mormons formed the People's party, while those who were not for the Mormon causes were in the Liberal party. The latter group was strengthened by the growth of the gentile population, not only in number, but in proportion to the Mormons. The implementation of the antipolygamy laws passed in 1874 and 1882 increased the gentiles' political power since each law gave them greater representation on juries than their numbers in the territory would suggest might be the case, and the second law disenfranchised those Mormons who refused to comply with the restrictions on polygamy.⁵³

Even before the second law reduced Mormon power, the Gentiles had won their first four seats in the legislature, and their first local offices — four school trusteeships — in the election of 1881.⁵⁴ It was not until 1889, however, that the Gentiles won a majority of the legislative seats from Salt Lake; the Mormons still controlled the legislature.⁵⁵ The following year there was a bitterly contested campaign in which the Liberal party carried its ticket in Salt Lake by such a margin — 700 votes — that the People's party officially disbanded. Utah voted on national party lines by 1892; the Liberal party divided into Democratic and Republican elements when there was no overriding need to unite in the face of Mormon political power.⁵⁶ Yet, despite the gradual shift in political power evidenced by the gains of the Liberal party in the early eighties, efforts for free public schools were either ignored or defeated until 1890.

As late as 1887 the non-Mormon definitely feared the possibility of statehood under Mormon control. He believed that the Mormons sought

⁵¹ Orson Whitney, *A Popular History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1916), 236.

⁵² The Democratic and Republican parties in Utah co-operated in distributing the pamphlet, *Utah Statehood*, which was decidedly anti-Mormon.

⁵³ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 686.

⁵⁴ *Utah Statehood*, 6.

⁵⁵ G. W. Steevens, *The Land of the Dollar* (Edinburgh, 1897), 213.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 214.

it primarily to escape the restrictions of territorial status.⁵⁷ Among the several restrictions that the United States government laid upon the Mormons was the Edmunds-Tucker Act of March 3, 1887. This act was another of those "with reference to bigamy and for other purposes."⁵⁸ One of these other purposes was to redistrict the territory, a move which strengthened the gentiles' political position. This bill was, of course, the act which put the selection of the territorial superintendent in the hands of the territorial judiciary. Although the non-Mormons still felt uneasy about their political position and the fate of the schools, they were now definitely in an improved position on both scores.⁵⁹

In 1888 the new superintendent, Parley Williams, drew up a bill to make the schools absolutely tuition free.⁶⁰ The legislature killed it. In fact, the Mormon-controlled upper chamber — the council — substituted its own measure which allotted money to the several churches for the support of their schools. On such a basis the Mormons would get the overwhelming majority of the money. The bill was vetoed by Governor Caleb W. West.⁶¹

A year later Governor Arthur L. Thomas reported that there was little prospect of getting free public schools. He suggested that the Mormons would like the common schools to remain as they were, locally established and tuition supported. The most pertinent part of his report was from a letter written by Mormon church president Wilford Woodruff, which suggested the deep resolve of the Mormons to maintain parochial schooling for their young. Woodruff said:

We feel that the time has arrived when the *proper education of our children should be taken in hand by us as a people*. Religious training is practically excluded from the public schools. The perusal of books we value as divine records is forbidden. We feel that we should have schools where the Bible, the Book of Mormon, and the Book of Doctrines and Covenants can be used as text books, and where the principles of our religion may form part of the teaching of the schools.⁶²

This statement is significant primarily because it mentions the Mormons' reaction to some of the provisions of the Edmunds-Tucker Act.

⁵⁷ *Utah Statehood*, 6.

⁵⁸ U.S., *Statutes At Large*, XXIV, Part 2, 641.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ R. N. Baskin, *Reminiscences in Early Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1914), 199. He does not say explicitly that Williams was not a Mormon, but from the context it certainly seems so.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² U.S. Department of the Interior, *Report of the Secretary*, 51 Cong., 1 sess., 1889, III, 485. Italics are mine.

The new superintendent had been given the power to "prohibit the use in any district school of any book of a sectarian character or otherwise unsuitable."⁶³ Secondly, it signals the end of the Mormons' long effort to maintain the public schools of the territory along the line they had laid out some forty years before. As Governor Thomas pointed out, this would mean that Mormon children would not attend the public schools. That was the case for a few already. Eventually this situation would make the Mormons even more adverse to supporting the public schools through taxes than they were at the time. And, as the Mormons still held control of the legislature, their present concern was still to withstand the pressure for a completely tax-supported public school system. In those straits, the governor was fairly realistic when he said that there "is little prospect — in fact, no prospect — that [the school tax laws] will be changed."⁶⁴

The supporters of free schools continued their work. C. E. Allen, a prominent Gentile and the member of the legislature who had introduced Mr. Williams' bill in 1888, formulated two new bills for the session in 1890. He also made arrangements with his acquaintance, Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, to introduce a bill similar to his two in the United States Congress if Allen's efforts were unsuccessful in the Utah assembly.⁶⁵

Allen's foresight was well worth his effort, since his bills did not pass the Utah legislature. Although the Gentiles passed the bills in the lower house by taking advantage of a division among the Mormons on other matters, the upper house allowed these matters to languish in committee. The turning point came when the Mormons learned that Edmunds had introduced a bill similar to Allen's in the United States Senate. Allen's work was quickly reconsidered, combined into a single bill, proposed by the Mormon chairman of the committee on education in the upper chamber, and passed.⁶⁶ Senator Edmunds' proposals for "establishing a school system and providing for the maintenance and supervision of the public schools in Utah" which had been referred to committee was never reported back.⁶⁷

Now Utah was to have schools which were "open for the admission, free of charge, of all children over six and under eighteen years of age,

⁶³ U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XXIV, Part 2, 641.

⁶⁴ *Report of the Secretary of the Interior* (1889), III, 485.

⁶⁵ Baskin, *op. cit.*, 200.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 201.

⁶⁷ U.S., *Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 1 sess., XXI, S. 2593.

living in the district."⁶⁸ District school attendance rose from thirty-six per cent of the school-age population in 1889 to fifty-one per cent in 1891.⁶⁹ Many of the mission schools curtailed their efforts although some remain active today. By 1894, St. Mark's, the original mission school in Utah and probably the one most active in offering education to less fortunate Mormons free of charge, was closed "with the betterment of the public schools and the Gentilization of the city. . . ." ⁷⁰

Since 1890 there have been many private schools in Utah; the Mormon church has been as active as any other church in founding these schools. The coming of free public schools did not completely end the missionary efforts of the non-Mormon churches. Neither did the establishment of the free public schools and the attendance of large numbers of Gentiles in them force all Mormons to send their children to private schools. The opening of free public schools did mark a major turning point in Utah's history, nonetheless.

After 1890 one of the major points of friction between the Mormon and gentile elements of Utah's society was missing. Mormon and gentile children attended the same schools. Some Mormons and some Gentiles still attended private schools. The significance of this change in educational legislation and a partial change in the sort of schooling received by the youth of Utah is that the school systems could no longer be used as an outlet for antagonism between Mormon and Gentile. Considering the surprise with which the federal governor reacted to the Mormon legislature's action, the new school law must have seemed of great significance at the time as a step toward better relations between the two groups.⁷¹

Present hindsight cannot change the importance of past events in the minds of those participating in them. A more comprehensive judgment of the significance of the new school law and the long struggle between the mission and common schools, however, is that the new situation was as much a signal of many other changing social conditions as it was a crucial change in itself. The conflict over the schools ended when and as it did because the larger political struggle between the Mormons and the Gentiles had reached such a stage that no other conclusion to the school problem was possible.

⁶⁸ Ivins, *loc. cit.*, 341. As cited *Session Laws of Utah Territory, 1890*, pp., 125, 135.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 342.

⁷⁰ Hough MS, 126.

⁷¹ U.S. Department of the Interior, *Report of the Secretary*, 51 Cong., 2 sess., 1890, III, 648-49.



the pony rider carrying the mail through, despite the fierceness of the elements, is depicted in this W. H. Jackson painting, reproduced courtesy Clarence S. Jackson.

SALUTE TO THE PONY EXPRESS

*By Ilene Kingsbury**



Man's fight for time, to lengthen life by crowding more events into it, has been a constant one. The race is to the swift, it seems. In the gold diggings on the Feather River in California, when men were staking claims the size of a blanket, a message could be relayed for fifty miles in short order by shouting. But that system was not good enough when the continent needed long-range communication. This challenge of space and time was met by the Pony Express. It was the last effort of man, unaided by mechanical means or scientific research, to subdue the earth. Horseflesh was a prelude to the horse of iron which belched funnels of smoke across prairie skies and mountain passes.

A minute, but important, phase of the story of communication in America is this saga of the Pony Express. Horseflesh and a boy and four pockets of letters for 2,000 miles in ten days; this is a story of adventure at its best.

Flying horses headed west, flying horses headed east, that third day of April, 1860, in a double relay race of horseflesh and boy power. Four hundred other animals stood by at way stations listening for the coyote yell of an on-coming rider.

Through one winter and two summers of pounding hooves and lathered leather, this enterprise, possibly the most energetic assignment ever attempted, was carried out. The flight over plains and mountains and desert was positively remarkable when one visualizes a letter constantly on its way an average of 190 miles a day for ten whole days! One

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man could not accomplish it, but eighty riders on relays of hundreds of racing-bred horses, and aided by 320 stationmasters could. The timing was as perfect as a rutted route would permit. As the ponies streaked by, half a continent slipped beneath their feet in treadmill fashion. The view of geography was shrunk to days instead of months—one could almost see the Mississippi and the Sacramento at one viewing.

East and West the ponies shuttled until the tapestry they wove was one of *mochilas* thrown over saddles, guns and Bibles as protectors, triple runs, arrows in the back, water holes encrusted with alkali or decorated with rotting animals, station keepers burned out or murdered, hair-raising experiences on every stretch, emigrant trains in their safety of numbers left to plod in a lonely land, and the word endurance appearing as a challenge around the clock. Such was the relay of expansion of a nation.

Statistically, by the time the experiment was ended, the figures were impressive—308 relays each way, with over 34,000 pieces of mail, the distance covered approximating twenty-four times around the earth—and all on horseback.

The two-way urgency in letter writing was an important phase of the story of Westering. Gold seekers on the Pacific lodes wanted news from home. With what eagerness each argonaut left fireside, wife, and children! Scarcely a backward glance was noticed, so burning was the gold fever. But once on the Pacific slopes, with success illusive, how each yearned for news from the States. Otherwise, why should hardened prospectors pay \$25.00 for standing room in a mail line?

The figure on horseback, at full speed, has always fired the imagination. The animal cutting the wind to ribbons with mane and tail streaming has made every spectator wish he too could leap into the saddle.

The setting for adventure was ideal for the youths of the Pony Express. Once the application was accepted, the pledge signed, the Bible pocketed, and the segment of trail assigned, each rider left the details to others. For his fifty dollars a month the pony boy was no drudge—no packing in food, no night guard about a station or corral, no horses to shoe, no leather to rivet, no records to keep. Pouches were flung, swung, and run in dust and blood. Of complaints there were none of weather, arrows well placed, or gulches plunged over in giant leaps. To mount, to cluck, to holler at the pony, to urge the most from the little beast, this was the boy's task. To ride on and on, to pick the path easterly or westerly, daylight or dark, was part of it all. Guard the animal that it would not die of exhaustion or break a leg in a gopher hole or be arrow-shot

from under the rider — all this for a ten-mile stretch, and then repeated again and again, with fresh mount on to the next station.

These boys ignored temperature. For themselves they discounted blistering winds or blasts of ice. For their animals, that was another matter. No tired mount stood in its saddle unattended, no sweating animal was left unblanketed, no hungry horse was unfed or unwatered. It was understood that man could conquer distance on a horse; without that faithful animal the horizon was not in sight. A rider in the last extremity would use his horse as a shield in an Indian raid, but up to that point the animal was his companion to be treated with tenderness and consideration.

Some of these lads rode as though they had never walked. To follow a pony boy on a sidewalk was to believe he walked only through necessity. His walk resembled the swaying gait of a newly landed sailor. His legs were made stronger curved around the belly of a horse, and his feet were more used to the stirrups than the unyielding earth. His exaggerated boot styles looked well only when the legs were suspended from a saddle, and the tapered toes and angled heels were caught in the leather and silver stirrups.

These frontier boys were a noisy lot. Their departure and arrival at either end of the express line demanded a celebration. Bonfires lighted the street corners, and torches were carried about in the throng. Anvils were flung over head by giant powder blasts that shook the earth. Fire engine companies clanged about on trial runs just to amuse impatient spectators. Man and boy, they shouted, sang, and whistled. A shout was meant to span a valley. Gun fire was an expression of exuberance.

Part of the standard equipment of a pony boy was a little horn to warn station keepers of his approach. These were soon discarded in favor of a coyote yell which any westerner could give with ease. It meant either "Get on your mark and have a fresh mount, head facing the next station," or "Get out of my way, the trail is mine." In either case the startling call was the sound effect most remembered by wagon trains and handcart companies creeping along the earth.

The West had grown up on tall tales of men on horseback. Perhaps each pony boy remembered some of these and therefore spurred his Kentucky racer or little cayuse to break such records. A few years back Miles Goodyear, after his solitary stop on the Weber, drove a band of horses from California to the States. No market to be found, he headed back to the Pacific. His was at least a record in persistence to an idea. Frémont in his conquest of California rode from Monterey to San Jose

in a handful of hours. Another rider covered 500 miles in five days with messages to the Bear Flag fighters. In those times it was not unusual for a man to average 100 miles a day with changes of horses. This became a pattern for the Pony Express run.

By the time Russell, Majors and Waddell conceived their letter-carrying service any bystander could predict spectacular rides would come out of it. A horse scarcely felt fatigued after a ten-mile sprint, fifty was not unusual if the rider showed consideration; and many ponies became inured to a hundred miles of brush, boulders, and chuck holes.

Double and triple runs were expected rather than feared or grumbled about. Buffalo Bill covered 322 miles through dangerous territory, and thereby established the longest pony express ride ever made. But he had stiff competition. "Pony Bob" Haslam made a three-hundred-mile extended run into the Nevada desert and back; some said it was more than that. Others contested these limits of endurance nearly every day.

Pony riders became good judges of horseflesh. However, it is difficult to tell where legend leaves off and fact begins. A few white hairs above a racer's tail promised he would be swift and strong and would have a good mouth. A single white forefoot was considered to be unlucky. A sure-footed animal had more of God's gift than others who stumbled or roamed. If other names were not given horses they were called by their color or markings. Thus there were: Pinto, or piebald; Bayo or cream colored; Zaino, dark brown; Colorado, bay; Prieto, black; Calico; Claybank. On the western end of the trail the Spanish influence was most apparent in such words as lariat from *la reata*, cinch from *cincha*, and paint from *pinto*.

One feature of this daring, romantic, and record-breaking venture that has not been given full publicity was the enormous cost. The Pony Express was a sad financial failure. Only patriotic zealots out to finish off the American map with an ocean border could afford the extravagance of bankruptcy. Purpose, romance, and adventure did not pay the bills. From previous enterprises of slower and less spectacular freighting came the deficit monies out of which were paid the hundreds of thousands of dollars lost in this one dramatic venture. The freighting firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell, turned mailman, made the financial sacrifice of the century.



PARK CITY (LOOKING SOUTH) IN THE EARLY 1890's.

Park City was once a prosperous mining town of 7,000 population. In 1891 the claim was made that "in the years to come it will stand pre-eminent in the proud phalanx of mining camps in the great West."

VIGNETTES OF PARK CITY

*By William M. McPhee **

The story of the settlement of the territory of Utah is familiar to most people. However, within Mormon Country are towns and villages with unique histories of their own which relate only indirectly to the story of Utah's settlement. Park City is one such community, and its history is a story of people and of mines inextricably intertwined until it is difficult to separate the threads and say, "Here is a tale of a people" and "here is a tale of a mine."

Brigham Young was aware of the mineral wealth of the mountains, but he forbade his followers to prospect and instructed them to seek their wealth in farming and other agricultural pursuits. His aim was to make the Mormon community entirely self-sustaining. Perhaps he intended to develop the mineral wealth at a later date when the Mormon position was secured and when he could be sure that the Gentiles would not encroach upon the Mormon empire. Fate or history or progress decreed otherwise.

Colonel Patrick Edward Connor and his California Volunteers were assigned to Salt Lake early in 1862 by the United States government, ostensibly to protect the Overland Mail route and also to keep an eye on the Mormons. Colonel Connor is called the "father of mining" in Utah, for it was he who encouraged his men in their free time to prospect in the mountains of the region. Enticed by the lure of treasure, they

* Dr. McPhee is professor of social work and sociology at the University of Utah. This piece here printed is part of a larger study on Park City financed by a grant from the University of Utah Research Committee.

prospected throughout the accessible Oquirrh and Wasatch ranges. A few rich veins of gold and silver were discovered, and the thing Brigham Young had feared became a fact — outsiders, attracted by potential wealth came into the hitherto inviolate territory of the Mormons.

Immediately after the arrival of the first detachment of pioneers in 1847 a reconnaissance of the region was begun. In 1848 Parley P. Pratt explored a canyon to the east of the valley, now Parley's Canyon, and over the pass into a mountain meadow which has ever since been known as Parley's Park. The land in the valley was later granted to Jedediah M. Grant, Heber C. Kimball, and Samuel C. Snyder, and eventually a hamlet grew up which became known as Snyderville.

In the mountains above this little settlement of Snyderville in 1872 — twenty-five years after the first settlement of the Great Salt Lake Valley — Herman Budden made the fabulous silver strike which became the Ontario Mine. Other prospects had been discovered and worked and some claims mined in that district, but the Ontario was the first real strike in the area which is now known as Park City.

Brigham Young continued to keep himself and his followers aloof from mining, and as a result of his official attitude the mining towns which grew up all over the territory were strictly gentile communities. However, Park City, the town which grew around the Ontario and the later findings in the same district, differed from many other purely mining towns in Utah in that it became a permanent settlement.

The Mormons, accustomed to following the edict of their leader, obeyed the letter of his instructions and did not engage in mining. However, not above turning an honest dollar at the expense of the miners, they did supply them food and timber, and Snyderville became a prime source of supply.

George Gideon Snyder, younger brother of Samuel, is credited with giving the town of Park City its name. He and his wife Rhoda opened the first boardinghouse. William Kimball established a daily stage service between Park City and Salt Lake and operated a very profitable livery stable in the town. The sawmill Samuel Snyder built in the 1850's supplied timbers for the workings and lumber for houses and places of business. Others, farmers of equal acumen, supplied provender at a price. For many of the Saints throughout Utah the money that came out of Park City was the only "hard money" they had from month to month because, even as late as the latter part of the nineteenth century, the barter system was prevalent.

Rector Steen, Herman Budden, and partners sold the Ontario Mine to George Hearst for \$27,000 in August, 1872, thus bringing in outside

capital and investors. The sum represented wealth to them, but was paltry in comparison to the riches the Ontario produced over the years.

Other strikes brought other interests, and both native American and immigrant miners gravitated to Park City. The so-called "hot-water boys" who had worked in the Virginia City, Nevada, area before the mines became worked out or uneconomical to operate, migrated to Park City and found conditions there similar except that the water in the mines of the Park City area was cold. On the other hand, Cornish miners found conditions in the Park City mines almost identical to those they had known in Cornwall, with the difference that here they were paid a living wage.

At first the miners came alone to Park City, expecting that they would stay a while, maybe find a rich strike of their own (as many did), and move on. Surprisingly, however, very few remained transient. Most remained to build homes and send for their families, and the churches and schools they early built became stabilizing influences in the community. Furthermore, for their schools they hired teachers who were more than glad to come to that mountain community because they were well paid.

The operators and miners at the Ontario subscribed to a school, which was known as the Ontario District School, and elected a board of trustees to operate it. Various methods were used to secure funds for the school, and in the *Park Record* of February 17, 1883, the following appeared:

The trustees of the Ontario District School have concluded to give a ball on the evening of St. Patrick's Day, March 17, in Miners' Union Hall. The proceeds of the ball are to be devoted to the welfare of the school and as the Trustees always make them very pleasant affairs, we are sure that the money spent for tickets will be well invested. The Ontario School is a great benefit to children whose parents live near the mine, and in their noble efforts to give the children good common school education, the trustees deserve all the encouragement that can be given them.

With a school program established in their community, Park City residents did not take kindly to the idea of tax-supported schools. It was not until September, 1885, that the community voted to levy a one-fourth of one per cent tax on all taxable property for school purposes. Previously the various church denominations had operated satisfactory schools.

The Park City Academy and the "Free School" were founded by the New West Educational Commission of the Congregational church, but the commission intended that the Free School be ultimately turned over to the community to be operated as a tax-supported or public school.

The Academy, on the other hand, which was opened in Dignan's Hall in February, 1883, was founded with the aim of maintaining a church-supported private school. The inhabitants of Park City were impressed with the name "Academy," for many had an idea that their children would be afforded a better education in a privately operated school. Then too, while the operation of the Free School was uncertain, the Academy was assured of support.

St. Mary's School, operated by the Sisters of the Holy Cross in conjunction with the parish of St. Mary of the Assumption, attracted Protestant as well as Catholic children, although very few Catholics attended the schools operated by the Protestant churches or the Free School.

The Methodist minister opened a school in Park City in 1883. Poor children who were deprived of school were invited to enter, because some "arrangement could be made for them to have the privilege of education." However, the school never attained the status of either the Academy or the Catholic school, and was eventually disbanded.

The schools which have been mentioned in detail here were not the only ones which appeared and flourished for a short time, but they were the most important. An interesting paragraph appeared in the January 26, 1884, issue of the *Park Record*. It said of Mr. Condon, then the principal of the public school: "He will teach any branches the students may wish to study and no better opportunity could be desired by those who wish to acquire an education aside from their regular daily duties." This paragraph was referring to a night school which Mr. Condon had opened in 1882. Within a month after the opening of this school forty pupils were enrolled, and school was held three times a week during the winter months. However, the financial difficulties which beset the day school were suffered by the night school also, with the result that the operation of the night school was irregular—some months there was night school and other months there was none.

In their desire for culture, the people of Park City built an opera house. Plays and musical shows had profitable runs in the town, and the well-known actors and actresses of the time who took their shows on the road vied for an opportunity to play Park City.

In 1880 James Schepback started the *Park Record*, but after passing through the hands of several different partnerships, the paper finally came into the complete control of the Raddon family. Since the majority of Park City's inhabitants were originally from outside of Utah Territory, local news had little interest for them, and the Salt Lake papers were not in particularly great demand. The *Record* was of immediate interest to the Parkites because it contained news of the rest of the coun-

try too. The souvenir edition of the *Park Record* which appeared in 1902 under the title, "The Past, Present and Future," contains the following paragraph, written in an editorial by the publisher:

The *Park Record* has faithfully recorded the heart beats of Park City. It has laughed with the merry; danced and sang with the light hearted, mourned with the sorrowing, and shed tears with the afflicted. It has noted with minute detail the pulsations of the every day life of the camp — the goings and comings; and the triumphs and failures of many who are still with us and innumerable cherished citizens who have passed 'neath the shade of the palms of paradise and whose lives today repose in windowless palaces of rest. It has depicted the story of the diminutive mining camp of the early 80's; the life of the sturdy pioneer; the rich strikes of poor men, who are today millionaires; the tragic summons of many a hopeful miner . . . the city's days of prosperity and repeated regretfully still with never failing hope, the dark days of adversity.

Park City was incorporated as a town in 1880, and the owners of the *Park Record* took the lead in organizing and directing community affairs, pointing out repeatedly what should take place and how this could be accomplished. On June 19 of that year to be exact, the paper contained the following paragraph:

Now that we have learned for the first time of the existence of a town Sanitary Committee we intend to crow about it. We are just that much ahead of Salt Lake City. The Sanitary Committee desires us to say that no more dumps from cellars or other grades will be permitted on the west side of Main Street. Throw your dirt on the east side or in gullies where it will do the most good.

There is nothing in the paper of how this committee was organized or from where it procured its authority, but the *Record* informed the people that the committee had authority.

Another interesting example of the influence of the paper on this mining town is the part it played with respect to the local cemeteries. In 1879 George G. Snyder donated forty acres to the mining camp to be used as a cemetery. This gift was a memorial to his own daughter who had passed away that year and was the first child to die in Park City. The ground was located on the north side of the Heber road, but as late as 1881 it was not yet fenced. The *Record* brought this sad state of affairs to the attention of the citizenry, and a benefit dance was held with all proceeds going to the fence fund.

With the death in 1957 of S. L. Raddon, the paper passed to the control of others, but the *Park Record* continues to serve Park City. It



Park City Bank.



The Grand Opera House



Shields Brothers General Merchandise Store.

Schoolhouse owned by the operators and miners of the Ontario Mine.



is the oldest weekly newspaper of continuous publication in the state of Utah.

Park City differed from many other western mining camps in that the citizens were a law-abiding and law-respecting group. They were stable and permanent, prided themselves on their culture and civic interest, and had their quota of churches and study clubs. It was typical of mining camps in that there were more saloons than any other single business on Main Street.

Park City resembles other mining camps of the West in that it has had its boom times and its bad times. But on the whole, through the ups and downs of silver prices, it continued to produce ore. In the early days of the community a few fortunes of considerable size were made by men who came to the town almost penniless. One or two made their money by discovering rich strikes; others made their fortunes by their wits; and a few were successful in supplying entertainment of various types, some laudable and some rather questionable. Many dreamed-of fortunes never materialized, and a few acquired fortunes collapsed in one or another of the financial crises which developed in the United States between 1875 and 1910.

Of the inhabitants of Park City who did make fortunes in mining, few left wealth for the benefit of that town. Instead they invested their money in the metropolis of the area, Salt Lake City. Such buildings as the Kearns Building was built by Thomas Kearns, a miner and shift boss in the Ontario, later part-owner of the Silver King Mine, and later still a United States Senator. David Keith built the Keith Building, the Brooks Arcade, and organized with others the Keith O'Brien Company; Ezra Thompson built what is now called the Tribune Building, was a Park City councilman and made a vast fortune in the town hauling ore; Colonel and Mrs. Ferry were responsible for giving land to Westminster College and money towards the building of Ferry Hall at that institution; the Judges are known in Salt Lake City by the Judge Building; and the Dalys by the Moxum Hotel. Many of the old mansions which still stand on South Temple Street are monuments to these mining kings and the fabulous wealth produced in Park City.

Like many other towns, Park City had its own aura of romance and a few imaginative inhabitants. An early edition of the *Record* applied the pseudonym "Robin's Nest of the West" to the community, justifying the appellation by explaining that as one approached the town at dusk the twinkling lights resembled the spots on the eggs in a robin's nest.

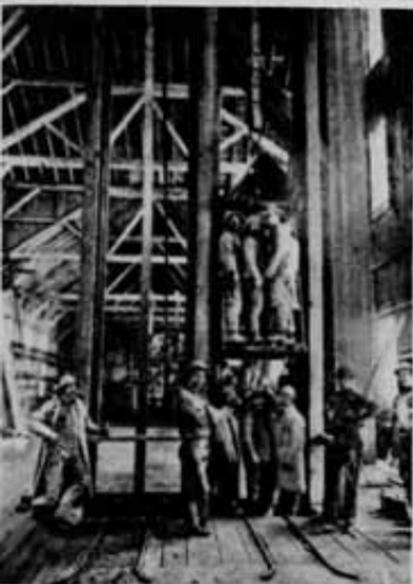
The town also had its share of old time "characters." One such was a tall, rawboned and angular miner who wore a long beard and was constantly preoccupied with sin and damnation and soul salvation. Because he preached to whoever would listen, he was derisively called "John the Baptist," but he wore his name with such pride that a name originally given in derision became one of respect. Another character of some repute in the town was "Paddy the Pig." He acquired his name through unadulterated gluttony. Paddy lived at a boardinghouse operated by one of the mines. Though he might miss an occasional shift for one reason or another, he never missed a meal. On one occasion Paddy sat down at the dinner table ahead of all the rest of the boarders; when a roast intended for twenty men was placed on the table he ate it all. When he was called on the matter he blandly replied that the roast had been placed in front of him, and he assumed it was his. He was hungry and he ate it. That was that.

A personality of quite a different type was onetime resident of Park City—Utah's Silver Queen, Susanna Emery Holmes, who spread the fame of the town throughout the world. She was born in Kentucky, grew up in California, and married Albion B. Emery, postmaster of Park City, active Mason, and Speaker of the House in Utah's thirty-first and last territorial legislature. Emery died in 1894 leaving his widow a fortune in silver mining stocks. Two years after his death she married Colonel Edwin F. Holmes, of Chicago, a wealthy investor in the Park City mining properties. The name "Silver Queen" was given her at this time because of her elaborate and costly social affairs, many of them attracting national attention. Throughout her years of wealth and influence she traveled extensively and had residences in Paris and London. Her last husband was the Russian prince, Nicholas Engalitcheff.

Park City grew and thrived, and as it developed businesses other than mines came to the community. By 1874 Park City businesses were listed in the *Utah Directory and Gazeteer* for that year. In 1880 the San Francisco *Business Directory and Gazeteer* listed sixteen Park City businessmen and their businesses on page 15. On April 22, 1881, W. B. Dogginton and C. W. Wurtele were issued a license to operate a telephone company in the town under the name of the Park City Exchange. During the month of August of that year telephone poles were erected, much to the consternation of a number of citizens strongly opposed to new-fangled contraptions, but the work went on in spite of opposition. As soon as the telephone was in operation there was such a surge of subscribers that there were not enough instruments to go around. On April 3, 1883, the owners sold the Park City Exchange to the Rocky

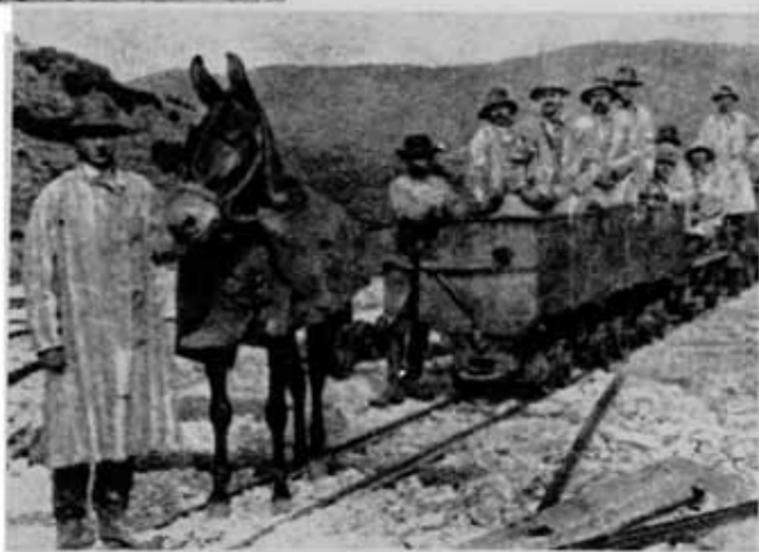


*Works at outlet of the
Ontario drain tunnel.*



*Cages with men going down
Ontario Mine.*

*Mule train in Ontario Tunnel. Note
protective clothing for all.*



Mountain Bell Telephone Company, who very soon completed a long-distance line between Park City and Salt Lake City. By the time the town had become a city of the third class it had both railroad and telephone communication with Salt Lake.

The story of Park City in the early days cannot be separated from the story of the Ontario Mine and the great Cornish pump. The mines of the area were all beset with the problem of excessive water, and the Ontario was no exception. The deeper the mines were dug, the more water became a problem. As early as 1881 the owners of the Ontario had run a long drain tunnel at the 600-foot level. The operation of steam pumps so far underground was very expensive. To combat the problem the great pump, which became a famous landmark of the community, was installed on the No. 3 shaft of the mine.

W. R. Eckart, a mining engineer of San Francisco, designed the pump, and it was built by I. P. Morris and Company in Philadelphia. The flywheel alone weighed 70 tons and was 30 feet in diameter. The pump rod was made of Oregon pine and was 1,060 feet long and 16 inches square. The sections of the pump rod were joined by iron strapping plates. The pump had a tremendous capacity, being able to lift the water from the 1,000-foot level to the 600-foot level (a height of 400 feet) at the rate of 2,560 gallons per minute, or 3,606,400 gallons each day. The cost of the pump at the factory (according to the *Engineering News* of 1894) was \$110,000. By the time all the necessary equipment and installation were paid for, the figure had risen to a quarter of a million dollars.

Parkites were proud of the Cornish pump. It was something that no other community in the West could boast. Furthermore, it made conditions for the men in the Ontario Mine endurable. The flywheel turned very slowly and had steps all around the circumference so that a man could step on it and oil the parts while the pump was working and the flywheel still turning.

A Cornish-pump tale which has acquired the status of legend is still told by old-timers. It seems that one day the pump stopped without warning, and the rising water in the mine presented a serious problem. No coaxing whatever would start the pump. Finally in desperation the workers sent to a neighboring competitive mine where a Scotch engineer was employed. He obligingly came to the Ontario No. 3 shaft, climbed up on the flywheel, struck it a mighty blow with an ordinary sledge hammer, and the pump started to work. He was thanked profusely and congratulated for his skill and know-how with respect to Cornish pumps. However, the Scotchman felt inadequately paid, so he

tendered a bill for services. The Ontario Mine operators were outraged and sent the bill back to be itemized. The Scotchman replied as follows: "For hitting the wheel with a hammer, 50¢; for knowing where to hit the wheel, \$999.50."

In spite of this great pump water in the mines continued to vex the mine operators. On July 18, 1888, drilling for a new drain tunnel at the Ontario was started. It took six years to complete this tunnel and was a major engineering feat.

The site of the tunnel was called Camp Florence. The bore was seven feet six inches in height, and at the end of the first month after two shifts of work each day, the drilling had progressed only sixty feet. By November when steam facilities became available, progress was speeded considerably, and by July of the next year the bore was 2,000 feet into the hillside. Working conditions for the men were miserable, and ventilation shafts had to be sunk from the surface to the tunnel as the work went on. As if all this were not enough, several mishaps further impeded progress. A fire at Camp Florence on November 1, 1890, destroyed the essential stationary equipment, and work was stopped for three months until new equipment could be installed. Soon after work was resumed, the shaft of the suction fan broke causing another delay. By January, 1892, the tunnel length had reached 10,000 feet, and a hand-car was used to take the men from the portal to their place of work. Toward the end of 1892 it took six weeks to inch forward five feet, but by March, 1893, the crews were averaging about ten feet a day. On August 12, 1893, crews started at the opposite end of the tunnel with approximately twenty-five-hundred feet to go to make the connection, and the tunnel was finally completed on October 7, 1894. It was so perfectly straight for its entire 15,400 feet that a man standing at one end was able to see a light at the other end, three miles away. At one point in the construction of the tunnel the cost of the work was \$3,550 per foot. The completion of the tunnel eliminated the need for the huge Cornish pump, which is now relegated to the memory of the few remaining old-timers and is just a romantic legend to the younger generation.

Park City was the site of one of the three lynchings which have occurred in Utah. This is fame of questionable quality, but the tale is interesting. A dying man accused a certain Mr. Murphy of shooting him. Murphy was arrested and incarcerated in the Coalville jail to protect him from the wrath of the Park City mob. Tradition has it that no one accused of murder in Park City and tried in the courts has ever been convicted. This has not been verified, for Murphy was never tried. A crowd of irate men in Park City stole a locomotive and forced the

engineer to run them to Coalville. There, while the jailer slept, the mob kidnaped Murphy, brought him back to Park City, and strung him from a telegraph pole. This caused a member of the United States Senate from Kansas to write to the governor of the territory of Utah on behalf of Murphy's brother who wanted justice meted out to his brother's murderers. Whether Murphy was the actual murderer has never been established, although there is considerable evidence that he was not. It was his apparent misfortune to be alone in the vicinity and to shoot one charge from his gun during a solo hunting expedition.

Park City was the scene of close elections. One ballot has made the difference between election and defeat of a candidate. In fact, one election actually ended in a tie because the last man eligible to vote was killed by a runaway ore wagon on Main Street as he was on his way to the polls.

The population of Park City in the early days was divided between the Catholics and the Masons. It is a matter of record that Mormons concealed their religious affiliation, and met secretly in the basement of the home of one of their members. The *Park Record* of July 31, 1886, has this to say about the members of the Latter-day Saint church:

For a long time it has been generally known that several scores of adherents to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints resided in Park City, but many of them took good care to conceal the fact. Recently the Saints who were evidently ashamed of their faith have been properly sized up by the community. . . . The saints say that God through his mouthpiece is declaring himself, he must be heard, his enemies put to flight and his kingdom built in Park City, the only Gentile town in Utah.

There was some talk at this time about building a Mormon church which would cost \$2,500, but the pressure against it was so great that the project failed. At this time the Utah Loyal League was formed, and a branch was organized in Park City. The purpose of the Loyal League was to eradicate by peaceable means, but lawful force, the doctrine of the Mormons. Miners and their families signed the roster of the league because they felt the interest of the community was being furthered, and they were protecting the lead- and silver-producing interests of the territory. On January 29, 1887, the *Record* contained the following:

Last fall a branch of the Mormon church was established in Park City with Gad Davis and P. W. Timms at the head of the rickety craft. Meetings were held in Erickson's cellar on Park Ave. and in the rear of Hop Chong's "washee." But it no longer exists in Park City.

The Mormons in Park City had very little status, for derogatory statements about them appeared in the paper from time to time.

The largest church in the town was the Roman Catholic Church of St. Mary of the Assumption. All the Catholics were members of a single parish, and it was a thriving one. The Protestants were more numerous than the Catholics but were divided among several sects—notably Methodist, Congregationalist, Lutheran, and Episcopalian. The various churches quarreled among themselves, but when a threat to the common good of all arose they presented a united front, the Catholics joined with the Protestants, as witness the pressure against the Mormons.

Although the Protestants were divided into several sects, they were united in that many of the men belonged to the Masonic Fraternity. The people from Michigan who had migrated to Park City in the 1870's were considered the elite of the town—they were the people of substance and financial standing. They were members of Protestant churches, and the men were Masons. When Robert C. Chambers became superintendent of the Ontario Company, under the ownership of Hearst, he brought miners to Park City from Nevada, and many of these men were Masons. Thus, there was a group of miners in Park City who were striving for the religious and social intercourse they had had in older communities. There were not enough members of any one sect to build a church, but the Ontario Mine owned a building—the schoolhouse—where they could hold Masonic meetings.

On June 25, 1878, a Masonic Association was formed, contrary to the wishes of the Grand Lodge. The Masonic Order had had unhappy experiences with lodges organized in mining towns; too often the miners were transient, and too often it was difficult or impossible to find a proper meeting place. So when the Masonic Association petitioned for a charter in 1878 it was refused. The Parkites, not to be outwitted by such a ruling, formed an informal association, and according to S. H. Goodwin, in his *Freemasonry in Utah*:

The brethren met for instruction and to keep informed on the work as well as for mutual benefit and to extend relief and assistance when required. . . . They did much good in helping transient brothers—at least feeding and lodging them, and in many instances getting them employment in the camp. In one instance they buried a sojourning brother with Masonic honors and paid the funeral expenses. In these and other ways this association attracted the attention and carried the commendation of the Grand Lodge and so formed the way for the formation of the Uintah Lodge.

Much to the surprise of the Salt Lake City Masons, the association in Park City prospered. The reasons for denying a charter in 1878 were invalidated, and the Park City Lodge, known as Uintah Lodge No. 7,

was chartered in November, 1880. The Masons met in several different places over the years, always furnishing the hall in a fitting manner.

Two hazards presented an ever present threat to the safety of Park City—fire and snowslide. Fire was a danger at all times. The entire town was of frame construction, hastily built for shelter rather than permanence. In many ways it resembled Topsy in that it "just grew." The only fire department was a volunteer organization, hampered by a short water supply and inadequate equipment. Snowslides were a serious threat in winter because avalanches could be set off by blasting in the mines, or even by a whistle in the town. This danger increased as the hills surrounding the town were denuded of timber.

Park City had to contend with disastrous fires from the very beginning. In December, 1882, a fire of unknown origin caused damage to the extent of \$20,000. On July 4, 1884, a pyromaniac set fire to the Catholic Church to get even with the townspeople who, he considered, had mistreated him.

But one of the worst fires in the entire West was the one that swept through the city on Sunday, June 19, 1898. At four o'clock in the morning of that day an excited Chinese rushed up to Policeman Waldon shouting fire! The warning signal, three pistol shots and the spine-chilling blasts from the Marsac Mill whistle rent the air. The suddenly awakened people spilled out into Main Street and milled about. The American Hotel was already burning furiously, and the sight paralyzed many stouthearted miners, caused their wives to faint, and the children to scream with fear, though at that point very few realized they were about to witness the greatest disaster in the history of Utah.

A stiff breeze was blowing from the south fanning the flames and sending their twisting tongues leaping skyward. The ruddy glare was reflected from one end of the city to the other. As the wind increased the flames leaped farther and farther until each succeeding building north was enveloped. Property owners in the near vicinity were the first to sense the danger, and furniture and personal possessions were piled into the street. By four-thirty, just one half hour after the alarm, the fire had crossed the street. The citizens realized that the wooden-built town was doomed. The local fire department was hopelessly inadequate, and an SOS was sent to Coalville, Salt Lake City, and Ogden. Special trains were dispatched from Ogden and Salt Lake City to carry fire crews and equipment, even though it was realized that by the time they reached their destination it would be too late.

By five o'clock the flames had spread to the west and enveloped the Episcopal Church on Park Avenue. Soon afterward a shift of the wind spread the fire to the east, and Chinatown was ablaze. By this time the heat was terrific. Four fire hoses were unavailingly pouring water into the roaring flames. Firebrands blown by the wind were falling on tinder-dry wooden structures.

Something more than water would have to be used! It required considerable courage for men to use dynamite to blow up their own houses in order to destroy the fuel that was feeding the fire — but this alone finally stopped the spreading flames.

The contingent of firemen from Salt Lake City did not arrive until nine-thirty in the morning. A short time later the train bearing the Ogden firemen arrived. The Coalville firemen had come some time earlier, but all were glad to see the additional equipment and men. Much work remained to be done.

The use of dynamite had stopped the spread of the fire, but the ruins continued to smoulder and required careful watching until a heavy rain on the following Wednesday evening finally doused the smouldering ashes.

There are conflicting reports as to the origin of the fire; some claim it started in a room of the American Hotel; others say it started in the

The Grand Opera House after the fire! Mute testimony to the absolute devastation of once proud and flourishing Park City.



hotel kitchen. When the citizens of Park City found time to survey the damage, they learned that more than two hundred business houses and dwellings had been completely destroyed. More than five hundred people were homeless. The fire had leveled most of the buildings on Main Street, had completely destroyed Chinatown, burned to the ground all the residences on Rossie Hill, and had wiped out churches, schools, and residences on Park Avenue. No human lives were lost, but numerous horses and other animals were. The financial loss was well over \$1,000,000, and in addition, irreplaceable official and personal records and documents were destroyed.

The *Deseret News* of June 30, 1898, reported the fire in the following manner:

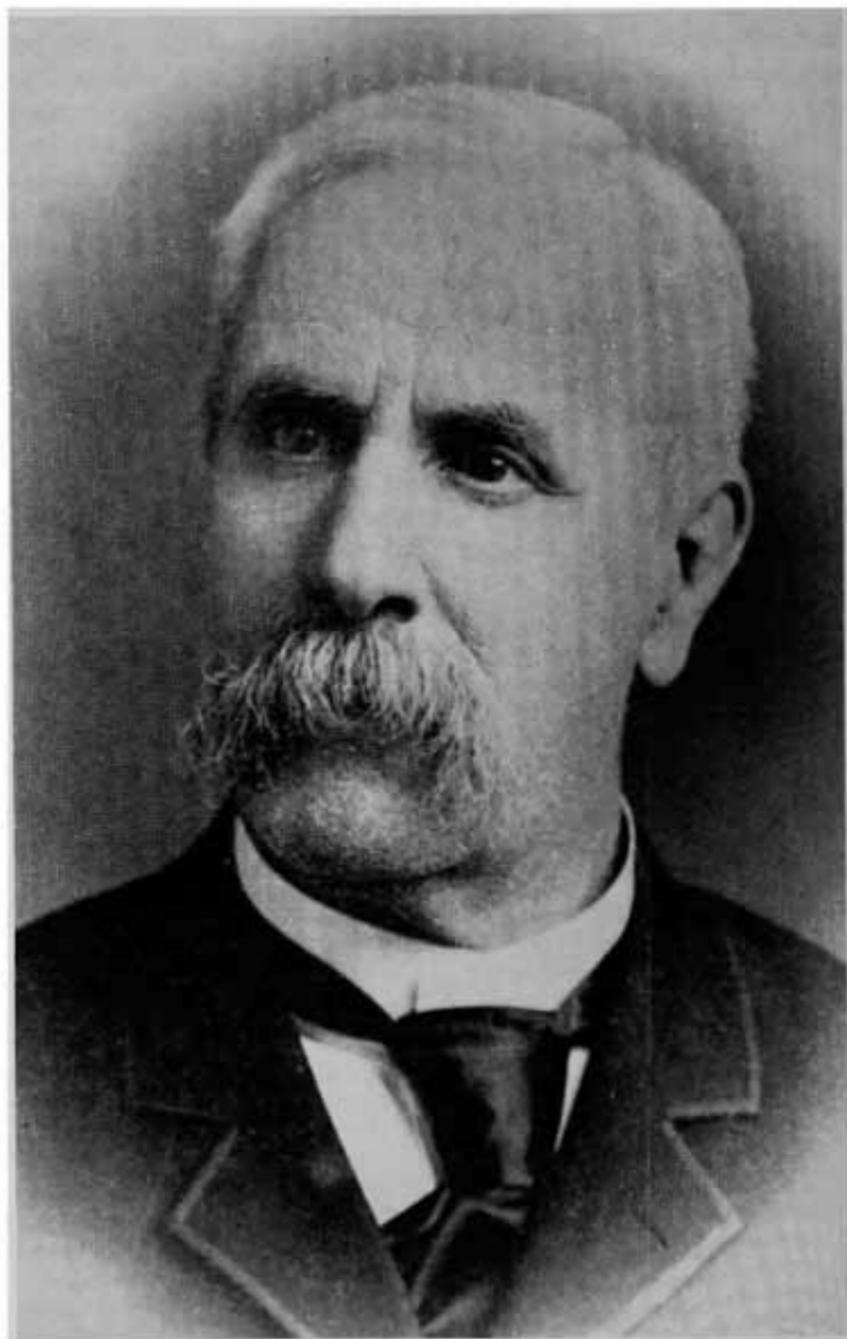
Park City, Utah's proud and prosperous mining camp has practically been wiped out of existence, being visited yesterday by the most disastrous conflagration in the history of Utah. It may be that the city will be rebuilt and rise again from the ruins that now cover the canyon where it once stood, but it will be years before it can fully recover, if recovery is at all possible under the circumstances from the terrible visitation.

Soon after the fire the Parkites let it be known that there was no suffering with which they would not be able to cope themselves. However, other communities knew this to be a statement, which might not be entirely true, from a well-integrated group of proud people. The Union Pacific and the Denver and Rio Grande railroads immediately let it be known that they would transport relief supplies to Park City free of charge. Huge sums of money were donated by towns and individuals within Utah and neighboring states. A relief committee of ladies representing the different churches in the town itself was formed. The Catholic church and school had escaped the fire which had started on Main Street, south of the church, and the Sisters of the Holy Cross cleared a schoolroom to be used as a depot for relief supplies. Farmers who supplied milk and other dairy products to the community announced that these items would be delivered free during the time the people were destitute.

Just a few months before the fire the Raddon brothers, publishers of the *Park Record*, had set up a new place of business, complete with newly-installed machinery. Everything was wiped out! A few short hours after the fire they pitched a tent on the hillside with the name *Park City Record* on it. A Salt Lake City printing firm printed the newspaper for the Raddon brothers, and for several weeks they circulated the newspaper from this tent office. This is a typical example of

the feeling of the community. Park City was not dead! Many men had been idle before the fire. A big job of rebuilding was to be done if the city were to survive. It was amazing how men, women, and children worked shoulder to shoulder in the rebuilding of homes and business establishments. There was hardly an idle hand among the citizens. While the men did the heavy work of rebuilding, the women sewed, cooked, and attended the wants of the unfortunates who had been left homeless by the fire. As the *Park Record* states on July 9, 1898, "This is the hand of charity that the Good Book speaks to us as the greatest of all Christian acts. It is the kind of work that elevates mankind."

After the fire Park City, like the *Phoenix*, rose from its own ashes and again went about its business. But the fire marked the end of one era and the beginning of another. The same names were on the store fronts of Main Street, the same people were on the streets and in the mines, but a new century and a new way of life was about to begin for a great many of the inhabitants of Park City.



CHARLES A. SCOTT, 1830-1907

*is photograph of Scott in later life was
taken in New Orleans shortly before he
moved to Houston, Texas, where he served
as auditor for the Southern Pacific Railroad.*

CHARLES A. SCOTT'S DIARY OF THE UTAH EXPEDITION, 1857-1861

*Edited by Robert E. Stowers and John M. Ellis**

INTRODUCTION

Charles A. Scott was a gold miner, soldier, filibuster, journalist, and playwright. He was born in Baltimore in 1830, was a waif who knew nothing of his parents, and was raised by a widow, whose name is unknown. He attended public school briefly and was apprenticed to learn the carpenter's trade. After the death of his foster mother in 1849, he joined the army and sailed for San Diego, California. He left the army in 1851 and joined a cattle drive to make his way to the gold mines near San Francisco. Having little success in the "diggings," he was associated with a collection agency in San Francisco for several years.

In 1855, joined by Tom Anderson (who is mentioned in the diary), with promise of a land grant and substantial wages, he went with William Walker as a filibuster to Nicaragua. At the termination of a six-month enlistment, he was unable to obtain the land and spent his entire pay for passage to New Orleans. Here he worked for several months on a river steamboat. Upon reading an advertisement that the Nicaraguan government, of which Walker was president, was offering large amounts of land to settlers, and thinking he would collect his original offer, he returned to Nicaragua, only to be thrust into the army upon arrival. After a useless campaign, and with numerous other deserters

* Dr. Ellis teaches American history and sociology at Lee College, Baytown, Texas. Mr. Stowers is a great-grandson of the diarist. He came into possession of the diary through his mother, Mrs. Edythe Scott Stowers, and brought it to the attention of Dr. Ellis.

from Walker's army, he made his way to Colon, Panama, where he sailed on the steamer *Illinois* for New York where he began his diary.

After the Utah Expedition little is known about his experiences in the Civil War except that he remained in the Union Army. When his bride of a few months died in 1867, he went to the Texas frontier as chief clerk for Colonel E. J. Strang. He married Susan DuBois, of New Orleans, in 1869 and returned to duty at Fort Brown, Texas. Between 1873 and 1879, with the rank of major, he was superintendent of the New Jersey Home for Disabled Soldiers. During this time his interest in the theater led to participation in the staging of amateur productions for which he adapted several of Charles Dickens' stories.

Still somewhat a soldier of fortune, in 1879 he ventured to Arizona in search of mining opportunities, and later to the Black Hills of the Dakotas, it is believed, as a newspaper correspondent. Afterwards he lived in New Orleans until 1889 when he was appointed auditor for the Southern Pacific Railroad in Houston, Texas, where he remained until his death in 1907.

Although a number of accounts of the Utah Expedition written by participants have been published, Scott's journal is in some ways unique.¹ It presents the viewpoint of a private soldier whose experience provided a keenness of observation and whose ability produced a vividness of expression seldom found among enlisted men. From this the diary derives its significance.

When the territory of Utah was created in the year 1850, Brigham Young, leader of the Mormon people, was appointed governor. Most of the other federally appointed officials were not Mormons, however, and almost immediately a conflict developed between them and Governor Young, which grew until the non-Mormon officers finally departed for the East. Their report on the situation in Utah, together with complaints from other sources, convinced President James Buchanan that

¹In spite of considerable literature on the subject this military "invasion" of Utah is little known outside the state and only imperfectly understood locally. Major documentary studies are: *The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858: Letters of Capt. Jesse A. Gove 10th Inf., U.S.A. . . .* (Concord, N. H., New Hampshire Historical Society, 1928); "The Utah War, Journal of Albert Tracy 1858-1860," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XIII (1945); LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, *The Utah Expedition 1857-1858* (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1958).

[Ed. note: Articles on the Utah War which have appeared in the *Quarterly* are: "Mormon Finance and the Utah War," by Leonard J. Arrington (July, 1952); "The Governor's Lady: A Letter from Camp Scott, 1857," edited by A. R. Mortensen (April, 1954); "A Territorial Militiaman in the Utah War: Journal of Newton Tuttle," edited by Hamilton Gardner (October, 1954); and "A Local Paper Reports on the Utah War," by A. R. Mortensen (October, 1957).]

Governor Young should be replaced. Accordingly, he appointed Alfred Cumming the new governor, and in the summer of 1857 sent him and the other federal appointees to Utah. To make sure that they would be accepted by the Mormons, the new officials were escorted by United States troops.

Insisting that the "invading army" would not be allowed to enter the territory, Governor Young declared martial law and called out the local militia, known as the Nauvoo Legion. Militiamen were sent to the vicinity of Echo Canyon, where defenses were set up; smaller units were ordered farther east to meet the advancing troops and harass and delay them; and the "Utah War" was under way. By burning grass and supply trains and capturing horses and cattle, the Mormons succeeded in delaying the advancing troops and forced them to spend a cold winter at Camp Scott in the mountainous country near burned out Fort Bridger.

With the coming of spring and the arrival of reinforcements of horses, mules, and cattle from New Mexico, the government forces prepared to resume their march toward the Salt Lake Valley. Realizing the futility of further forcible resistance, the Mormon leaders began talking of burning their towns and moving to some vague refuge in the southwest desert country. As a first step in this plan the residents of Salt Lake and the settlements to the north moved south, most of them stopping in Utah County.

In the meantime, steps were being taken to bring the "war" to an end. In February, Colonel Thomas L. Kane, a long-time friend of the Mormons, had arrived in Utah, by way of California, to act as an unofficial self-appointed mediator. Early in June, L. W. Powell and Ben McCullough, official "peace commissioners," reached Salt Lake. They carried with them a proclamation from President Buchanan to the people of Utah reminding them that they were in open armed rebellion against the United States and therefore guilty of treason, but offering them a full pardon, provided they would submit to "the just authority of the federal government."

Following conferences between the peace commissioners and Mormon leaders, the government troops marched unmolested through the deserted city and established a military post near the town of Fairfield, in Cedar Valley, about forty miles to the southwest. The people returned to their homes, and the "war" was ended. Troops were stationed at the post, at first called Camp Floyd and later Fort Crittenden, until 1861, when the remainder left for more urgent duty.

DIARY, FROM NEW YORK TO CAMP FLOYD U. T.
1857 & 1858 & 1859 & 1860 & 1861²

March 28th 1857 An eventful day; After sixteen months campaigning in Central America, to day finds me entering the Harbor of New York on the Steamship Illinois ten days from Aspinwall N. G.³ rather an inglorious termination to my military career under the Grey-eyed Man of Destiny -⁴ only sixty cents in the treasury (a low sum to commence life anew) and my clothes so nearly worn out, that I fear to pass a rag man lest he should cast an envious look at me, as tho' I were cheating him out of his rights — and those shoes of mine with the soles tied to the uppers, with thongs of leather, is evidence that my understanding has undergone some experience, and I might as well profit by it, so as we pass Governors Island, my mind is made up. I'll pretend that I am a returned Californian and thereby rid myself of Newspaper Reporters and not make myself an object of curiosity and useless pity— And now we are near the wharf, and while the old Steamer is puffing & blowing backing and filling to get into her berth, we have already been boarded by a host of enterprising Reporters, Runners, Cabmen & etc & etc, so that rising above the cries of the Mates and Engineers is heard the words "Metropolitan" "Astor House" "French's Hotel" "St. Nicholas" "Lovejoys" "Revere" "Irving" &c while a Reporter who has spotted me, with a note book in his hand accosted me with the words (after bidding good morning) "when did you leave Genl. Walker." I instantly assumed the indignant and asked him if he took me for a Fillibuster, to which he replied "then you are not from Nicaragua" No "then I beg your pardon for my mistake" and he looked at me as tho' he still doubted my assertion. A Runner on hearing that I was not a

² An attempt has been made to reproduce the diary as it appears in the manuscript except for the omission of routine entries regarding fuel and water supply at points where the expedition camped en route to and from Utah. Scott made no attempt to make an entry each day, and during times he was in garrison there are periods of several months for which he wrote nothing. Spelling, punctuation, and grammar have been preserved wherever possible.

Unlike other diarists who reported on only a portion of the Utah Expedition and its military occupation of Utah Territory, Scott was among the first troops to leave Fort Leavenworth for Utah in July, 1857, and was also among the last troops to leave Fort Crittenden on its abandonment in July, 1861.

³ Now Colon, Panama.

⁴ William Walker led an American filibuster expedition to Nicaragua in 1855. "Gray-eyed Man of Destiny" stems from the old Aztec legend that a white god would come from the north and free them from slavery. The Indians of Nicaragua added that he would be a gray-eyed man, and when Walker arrived he was acclaimed as their emancipator. Many believe Walker had heard of the legend and used it to his advantage. Laurence Green, *The Filibuster* (New York, 1937), 156-57.

Fillibuster thrust a card of Lovejoys Hotel in to my hand— seeing that it was kept on the restaurant principle, my mind was made up, I asked him if the street facing the pier would lead me into Broadway but he advised me to take the carriage marked Lovejoys Hotel, but fearing there might be fare I replied that I preferred exercising my limbs a little “but your baggage sir, shall I look after it” dont trouble yourself I never encumber myself when traveling. The Boat is made fast at the Dock and there is regular rush of M. P.'s, Porters Runners Apple women &c and while they are so eager to get aboard, we are just as anxious to get off, and in company with two Comrades follow up the street and soon come to Broadway and to Lovejoy's Hotel, where the obliging clerk hands me the Register and I insert the following in large letters “Charles A Scott San Francisco Cal.” After this stroke of penmanship, I was shown into the washroom, where I indulged in the luxury of using castile soap and probably removed some dirt that had not been disturbed since I had left Costa Rica. Now I began to find that my ragged clothes were an advantage to me, for people seemed to think that I had been an economical hard working Miner, and had reaped the reward of industry, and that having plenty of gold, I could afford to despise dress, for a great many seemed desirous of conversing with me, asking me how times were in California and if I was one of the fortunate ones &c, to all of which I modestly replied, that times were about the same as usual that where one had claims to pay, twenty had to pay claims and that as for myself I had no reason to complain, after which I received numerous invitations, cards and little books which set forth the excellence and cheapness of many things that I stood in need of, to all of which I promised to give my serious consideration. One fellow went so far as to ask me if I wouldn't take something, which I declined assuring him that I never — imbibe — another proof to the bystanders that sobriety had as much as industry to do with my success in the mines— Three of us descended to Breakfast and the bill of fare soon engrossed all my attention for come what may, my breakfast must not cost more than 60 cents or else I shall be in a fix, so bringing all the arithmetic I was possessed of into play I managed to cipher it out thus, Buckwheat cakes twice 25 cts two cups of coffee 20 cts and a beefsteak 15 cts. Calling one of the young ladies who are employed to wait on the tables we called for what we wanted, and when she brought it she opened a conversation by asking if we intended to remain in the City any length of time. My comrades answered that we would leave to day. what a pity she says, why so I asked, “because there is so much amuse-

ment and you could enjoy yourselves so well," But we are not acquainted with a soul, not even a *single* lady, I added emphasizing the word single. "Oh thats nothing, you could soon become acquainted, if you would try" and no doubt I should have tried, if it was not for the pressure on the Money market.

Having finished our meal and paid for it we went into the Reading Room. I was just reading the list of the Presidents appointments to make sure that my name was not among them, when I was accosted by a well dressed young gentleman, who kindly volunteered his services to pilot me through the intricate maze of streets, and would accompany me in making my purchases to prevent me being swindled. I felt profoundly grateful for the disinterested motives which prompted the young man to offer his services to a Stranger, but having no fear of pickpockets or swindlers, I respectfully declined his kind offer, as this was not the only young man who made so kind an offer to me. I presume there must be many more in the great city, whose only hope of reward is to obtain a medal from some humane society.

I thought I would take a stroll, so going up Broadway I soon entered a street called Chatham, here the people became very solicitous about my apparel, advising me to discard it and purchase new, kindly offering to furnish me with the best and most fashionable clothes at a great sacrifice to themselves I could scarcely pass a door without hearing the greatest inducements for me to purchase and finally became so importuned that I was in doubt whether I should become offended at their good intentions and knock one down, or walk quietly on— seeing a man with an M. P. on his cap I deemed the latter course discretion and so pursued the even tenor of my way. Turning into a street called Elizabeth there was a young lady standing on the steps of [a house] asked me if I would not come in and see the pictures, thinking she mistook me for an Artist I modestly declined, After rambling through several streets I met one of my comrades and borrowed eighteen cents from him and continued my way to one of the docks and engaged a passage on the Steamboat "Red Jacket" bound for Elizabethport N. J. at which place I arrived at four oclock and repaired at once to the Residence of Mr. Wm. Anderson, whose Son had been my partner and comrade in California & Nicaragua, at which latter place he died last July Mr. & Mrs. Anderson gave me a kindly welcome, for the sake of poor Tom who had often mentioned me in his letters, after I had told them my story, they said I should stop with [them] until I thoughrely recruited up, and after that they would do their best to obtain me a

suitable situation and I could still remain with them. At supper I was introduced to the balance of the family consisting of a daughter 17 years old and twin sons 11 year[s] old. At Bed time I was shown into a room, the bedstead had two or three feather beds on it and I not being used to them took the blankets off and made myself a bed on the floor, and soon fell asleep

April 7th I stopped with the Andersons until this date I left them this morning saying I was going to Newark to look for work and would let them know by dark what success. I did go to Newark and enquired at a Plane Maker's for a job, unfortunately it was dull times and he was not employing. I retraced my steps to Elizabeth-town and without any definite idea continued on to Rahway, On the road I happened to put my hand in my vest pocket and found a dollar note, Mrs. Anderson had probably put [it] there, knowing that I would refuse if she offered it to me, so I went to a Hotel got supper and took lodgings--

April 8th Got breakfast and paid my bill (75 cents) traveled on the railroad, and arrived in Brunswick at noon, spent my last two bits at a Darkey's Cook-shop. after a cruise over the Town without finding anything to suit me, I resumed my journey, and stopped at a farm house and asked the farmer for a place to sleep. after eyeing me suspiciously and asking me if I had any matches about me, told me I could sleep in the Barn, and adding that I must be careful about fire, and that if I got up and went prowling around, I would find two large Bulldogs; he showed me up to the hay loft and shortly after brought me a big plate of corn-beef and bread and another injunction about fire.

April 9th Got up early and left before the farmer was up hurried as fast as I could for fear I should get acquainted with the two bull dogs, ten miles brought me to Princeton stopped no longer than to see the Town, and kept on to Trenton. After traveling over the City, I stopped at the Lafayette Restaurant, told the Landlord I was hard up and must have a nights lodging, he gave me a good bed to sleep in, but never asked me if I was hungry

April 10th Got up very early, but met with no encouragement in applications for work, crossed the Toll-bridge and told the woman I would pay her when I came back, stopped at farm house and got some cold victuals, shortly after met a teamster, scraped an acquaintance and got an invitation to ride as far as Philadelphia, accepted, and slept in the wagon nearly all the way, got out at Frankfort, and strayed into the City, brought up at a tavern, it being Saturday night the place was

quite full of Mechanics, made myself known, and soon became an object of interest, was asked to drink every time they did and always called for a piece of pie as that was the only thing they had in the eating line, managed to talk them all home and when the house closed went to bed on some chairs.

April 11th Left the house at daybreak and strolled over the City and brought up at a Recruiting office and enlisted.

[No entries in diary between April 12 and 17.]

April 17th Arrived on Governors Island

April 23 Assigned to the permanent Company

[No entries in diary between April 23 and July 17.]

July 17th Left Governors Island in a detachment of forty Recruits en-route to Fort Leavenworth; Took the Cars at Jersey City and rode all day and night.

July 18th Arrived in Dunkirk, changed Cars, arrived in Cleveland at 3 o'clock, changed Cars again, and proceeded on to Cincinnati.

July 19th Arrived at Cincinnati at 3 o'clock this morning and crossed ferry to Newport Barracks, where we remained until 5 o'clock this evening, crossed over to the City and marched through the streets, to the Railroad depot, and took the Cars again and traveled all night, through Indiana and Illinois

July 20th Got to the Missouri River at noon crossed over to St. Louis and marched through the City to the depot. The Recruits proceeded on to Jefferson City. I was detailed to stop behind to look after Captain Neil's⁵ trunk, he gave me fifty cents to pay expenses, forty of which I had to pay for hauling the trunk to the Planters House, where I slept all night on a chair as the Captain's credit was not good, he being unknown to the proprietors.

⁵ Thomas H. Neill, a graduate of West Point. Later, in 1860, he scouted against the Navajo Indians in New Mexico. He served as a brigadier general of the U.S. Volunteers in the Civil War in the Virginia campaign. George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy* (7 vols., New York, 1891), II, 334.

July 21st Took the Cars at eight and arrived in Jefferson City at twelve oclock strolled through the Town the balance of the day. took passage on the Steamer Tropic and started up the river at eleven oclock.

July 22d Managed to get a breakfast from the Deck hands having been without food for forty eight hours I done justice to their hospitality, I had to sponge on the Crew for meals until the Boat [left]

July 24th Arrived at Leavenworth at 8 oclock and rejoined the Recruits passed the day in breaking Horses to harness

July 25th Preparing for the road

July 26th Left Fort Leavenworth for Utah with a heavy Field battery of four 12 pounders, two 32 Howitzers, one Battery wagon and one Forge, together with a train of forty wagons, loaded with Ordinance and Commissary stores, Went 3 miles and camped on Salt Creek

[July 27 to August 9, travel and camp data.]

August 10th 21 miles Camp on Little Blue. Met a train of Ox-teams coming from Kearny. they had been attacked [by] Indians and lost 75 head of cattle

Aug 13th 14 miles. Camped two miles above Fort Kearny No fuel to [be] had without crossing to the Islands and gathering the drift. Weather gloomy.

Aug 20th 25 miles to best Camp yet, thousands of Buffalo in sight. One or two killed.

Aug 27th 20 miles a general run away and smash up at Ash-Hollow, a terrific scene. Horses dashing furiously with the pieces down the hills and precipices. the noise, dust and confusion, the men shouting hallooing, and women screaming, made an impression on my memory, never to be effaced; two horses were killed and seven disabled and unfit for service, in all about \$25,000 damage done. Camped on the north fork of the Platte

Aug 31st 28 miles. Camp opposite Court House Rock, were mustered after getting into Camp

Sept 3d 20 miles. Camped 3 miles beyond Scotts Bluffs Grand and picturesque scenery. A Teamster with his Mules and wagon fell into a ravine 20 feet deep, without doing any injury

Sept 6th 18 miles. Arrived at Fort Larimie. Camped on the Platte one mile from the Post, little wood & grass

Sept 8th Laid over Received 4 months pay⁶

Sept 13th 15 miles. rough road, good indications of a gold country camp on La-Bonte Creek, but little wood and no grass

Sept 18th 15 miles. crossed the North Platte, a hilly road Camp in a small valley two miles from Red Banks, very good grass, wood scarce—

Sept 22d 15 miles Camp on the Sweetwater above the Devil's Gate good road, but rather sandy. plenty of grass but no wood within three miles.⁷

Sept 29th 22 miles over the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains. Camp at Pacific springs. wood & grass scarce

October 1st 15 miles Camp on the Sandy. Grass scarce willows & sage for fuel. Two companies of the 5th Infantry waiting here to escort us, Danger apprehended from the Mormons.

Oct 2d 15 miles Camp on Green River, plenty of wood and some grass, whole of the 5th Infantry camped here—

Oct 5th 18 miles Our rear followed by a party of mounted Mormons— News received of the burning of a supply train, by mormons on the Big Sandy.⁸ Camp near the Command on Hams fork, plenty of wood & grass

Oct 7th Laid over. The Mormons burning the grass in sight of us.⁹ The Command is composed of the 5th and 10th Regiments of Infantry and two Batteries the whole under command of Col. Alexander¹⁰ 10th Infy.

⁶The paymaster would visit the expedition in the spring and fall. Everett Dick, *Vanguards of the Frontier* (New York, 1941), 75.

⁷Unknown to the army, Colonel Robert T. Burton of the Mormon Nauvoo Legion was camped less than a mile away with a scouting party and was informing Brigham Young of the troop movements. Ray B. West, Jr., *Kingdom of the Saints* (New York, 1957), 258.

⁸Altogether two trains, consisting of 75 wagons, were burned by Lot Smith, a major in the Nauvoo Legion. William A. Hickman, *Brigham's Destroying Angel* (New York, 1872), 120; T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1904), 368; West, *op. cit.*, 261.

⁹Brigham Young ordered the Nauvoo Legion to use any means short of war to delay the army and ordered fires to be set to the windward to force the army to retreat. *Ibid.*, 260.

¹⁰Edmund B. Alexander, a graduate of West Point and a Mexican War veteran, served as superintendent of Volunteer Recruiting Service during the Civil War. For this service he was awarded brevet brigadier general in 1865. Cullum, *op. cit.*, I, 317.



ALFRED CUMMING



ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON

Governor Cumming and other federal appointees were escorted to Utah by United States troops under the command of Albert Sidney Johnston.



An artist's conception of the army train crossing the plains.

Oct 8th Laid over. Twenty of us recruits joined Phelps's¹¹ Light Battery to day.

Oct 11 The whole command on the march, no road but what we are making ourselves. Camped after traveling 9 miles up the fork. The mormons did not succeed in burning all the grass, as they have threatened to do

Oct 13th 8 miles on the fork, weather very cold. slow traveling, some of the horses giving out

Oct 14th 5 miles bad road, constant demand for Cannoniers to the front with pickaxes and shovels, a march of a few yards and then a halt, until the road is again fixed, very slow traveling, the rear of the command not in Camp till after dark

Oct 16th Laid over. Considerable number of Mormons in the vicinity, parties sent out after them, An Alarm rumors of the approach of 500 Mormons, one section harnessed up, and the whole Battery got ready for action but no Enemy showed themselves. The parties that were sent out, returned with two prisoners and two pack mules. The Mormons did not care about fighting

Oct 17th Laying by. A council of officers held to determine our future movements Our Commander seems wanting in decision and energy,¹² and it is having its effect on the spirit of the troops, we are said to be within twelve miles of the Oregon road, and that two days march on it would take us into Brownsville¹³ the nearest Mormon settlement, and from there forage could be procured for our half starved animals

Oct 20th Orders to return,¹⁴ the command divided into three divisions 10 miles back on the fork

"The King of France marched up the hill,
And then marched down again"

¹¹ John W. Phelps, a West Point graduate of 1836, was a veteran of several Indian wars in the late 1830's. He served in the Mexican War at Monterey and Mexico City and on the Texas frontier prior to the Utah Expedition. In the Civil War he became a brigadier general and participated in the Gulf of Mexico Expedition. He resigned in 1862. *Ibid.*, I, 646.

¹² General P. F. Smith, who had replaced General Harney, died at Fort Leavenworth. The expedition had already started across the plains when Colonel Alexander assumed command of the forward units, and except for knowing the final destination, he was without instructions. Stenhouse, *op. cit.*, 365-66.

¹³ Brownsville, or Brown's Fort, was the earliest Mormon settlement at the present site of the city of Ogden.

¹⁴ A counsel of officers determined that they would be unable to reach Fort Hall, north of the Salt Lake Valley, due to the severe cold and must return to Fort Bridger. West, *op. cit.*, 261.

Oct 22d 7 miles back on the fork A Wagon master that went back to the old Camp, to look after stray cattle was taken prisoner

Oct 24th Laying by The wagon master was released

November 1st The whole command in camp at the junction of Ham and Blacks fork awaiting the arrival of Col. Johnston,¹⁵ the new commander— Weather very cold.

Nov 4th Col. Johnston and Staff, with two Companies of the 2^d Dragoons, and a large train with Sibley Tents and a Sutlers train, arrived last night

Nov 6th Whole Command on the march for Fort Bridger, a violent snow storm right in our teeth Horses, Mules and Oxen dying in harness by the dozen, did not get into Camp till dark though we were in the advance, one or two of the pieces did not get in until midnight Distance 15 miles. Camp on Blacks fork—

Nov 7th Laying by— during the night, a horse fell on our tent— so we had to crawl out from under it this morning, half froze, to find the Thermometer at 16° below zero, rather a hard show for the poor horses no shelter, and nothing to feed on but sage brush and but few of them with strength enough left, to masticate it a couple of them could not stand the pressure so they gave up the ghost. Wagons constantly arriving but not all in yet.

Nov 8th Laying by. The trains not all in yet, the road from here to the last Camp is literally strewed with the carcasses of dead animals¹⁶

Nov. 17th Arrived at Camp Scott three miles above Fort Bridger after a most tedious and harrassing journey of eight days to come 17 miles, being unable to make more than two or three miles a day. the weather was intensely cold and stormy, all the way. the thermometer has been as low as 23° below zero. every morning, there would be two or three dead horses at the picket rope— out of one hundred and twenty

¹⁵ Albert Sidney Johnston, a Kentuckian and 1826 graduate of West Point, participated in the Black Hawk War, but resigned in 1835 when his wife died. He enlisted in the Army of the Republic of Texas and in 1837 became the senior brigadier general. As colonel in the First Texas Volunteers, he fought in the Battle of Monterey in the Mexican War and afterward was Commander of the Department of Texas. He left Utah in 1860 and became Commander of the Department of the Pacific; however, in 1861 he resigned to return to Richmond, Virginia, where he was appointed general in the Confederate Army, and Commander of the Department of the West. He was mortally wounded at the battle of Shiloh. Cullum, *op. cit.*, I, 368; Dumas Malone (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1933), X, 135.

¹⁶ At one camp, later called the "Camp of Death," 30 miles from Fort Bridger, 500 animals died. Stenhouse, *op. cit.*, 370.

there is only fifty battery horses alive, to be turned into the Quartermaster department. the team I have drove since I joined the Company, are still alive though they had to pull the piece nearly all the way the mortality amongst draught animals has been so great, that it is the intention to butcher what Cattle they have left, to save them from starving or freezing to death. Captain Marcy¹⁷ with a detachment of men are going to make their way over the mountains to New Mexico, to purchase a fresh supply of animals for the campaign next spring— The ration allowance is to be reduced, in order if possible to make the supply on hand, hold out until the 1st of June: This Camp is somewhat sheltered by the surrounding hills: Fort Bridger was demolished by the Mormons to prevent our occupation of it; No Mormon marauders have been seen since the two companies of Dragoons have been with us—

Nov 25th Six Companies of the 2^d Dragoons under Lt. Col Cooke,¹⁸ have joined the command, they had a terrible march of it, not more than half of them got through with their horses A Battalion of Volunteers, has been organized out of the Teamsters All idlers are ordered to leave Camp No Salt in Camp some that was sent in by Brigham Young was sent back by Col Johnston who does not desire to receive any favor from an enemy¹⁹ A little coarse rock salt at the Sutlers brings two dollars and fifty cents a pound.²⁰

[No entries in diary between November 25, 1857 and January 1, 1858.]

¹⁷ Randolph B. Marcy, having spent much of his military career in the Black Hawk War, on the Texas frontier in 1845-46, and in the exploration of the Red River, 1852, wrote and published several narratives of his experiences, among them *The Prairie Traveler, A Handbook for Overland Expeditions* (New York, 1859). He was a Mexican War veteran of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. In the Civil War he served as chief of staff under his son-in-law George B. McClellan and subsequently attained the rank of brigadier general in 1868. Cullum, *op. cit.*, I, 521.

¹⁸ Philip St. George Cooke was an 1827 graduate of West Point. He participated in a number of army expeditions prior to the Utah Expedition, including the Black Hawk War, the Indian Territory, the expedition through South Pass in 1845, and escorted traders to the Arkansas River. During the Mexican War he commanded the famous Mormon Battalion in the campaign to California (see Hamilton Gardner, "Report of Lieut. Col. P. St. George Cooke of His March From Santa Fe, New Mexico, to San Diego, Upper California," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXII (January, 1954), 15-40). In 1859-60 he was in Europe as an observer in the Italian War; therefore, he was not with the expedition for part of the period covered by this diary. His experience prior to the Utah Expedition is published in his book, *Scenes and Adventures in the Army* (1857). He was the father of John R. Cooke, Confederate general, and the father-in-law of J. E. B. Stuart; however, he remained in the Union Army in the Civil War and attained the rank of brevet major general. Cullum, *op. cit.*, I, 397.

¹⁹ Brigham Young sent 800 pounds from the salt beds of the lake. West, *op. cit.*, 262.

²⁰ Even the Indians found a way to profit from the army. The first salt they brought to the sutlers sold for \$5.00 per pound, but was soon lowered to the \$2.50 mentioned in the diary. Stenhouse, *op. cit.*, 377.

January 1st 1858 Two lunettes having been finished a detachment of us, with a Howitzer and a 6 pounder moved down to Fort Bridger to day, to garrison the post, with two companies of Infantry; Rather tough times now, not enough to eat and blest with a ravenous appetite: Intensely cold weather, Sentinels have to be relieved every hour to keep from being frost bitten, as it is, when they come off post, they look like venerable patriarchs, their breath being frozen in their beards, eyebrows and even eyelashes. When we are not on guard, six or eight of us have to take a wagon and go out daily to the Cedars about four miles from Camp, and haul in a load of wood by hand

[No entries in diary between January 1 and March 18.]

March 18th A mysterious person, said to be a brother of Dr. Kane²¹ of Arctic fame, arrived here not very long ago evidently worn from the fatigue of travel and so much exhausted that he had to be lifted from his horse, a crowd soon collected around him, but to all inquiries as to who he was and where he came from, he made no answer, after he was housed by the Sutler, various conjectures were surmised by the crowd, some said that he was an Agent sent out by the Government to arrange the Mormon difficulty, while others maintained that he was a Spy, as he came in on the Salt Lake road, and commented on the conduct of the Officer of the day for not arresting him at once; like all such crowds, they lingered around until they had talked the matter threadbare, and finding that they would learn nothing further, dispersed one by one; The next day Mr Kane²² took up his quarters with Gov. Cumming;²³ Yesterday morning he was escorted a few miles on the Salt

²¹ Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, one of the pioneers of the Arctic and the route to the North Pole, was the senior medical officer of an expedition in 1850 that went to the North in search of Sir John Franklin. In 1853 he returned to the polar region on a second expedition, but this too failed to find the lost party. It did, however, have considerable importance in the exploration of the "ice pack." His book, *Arctic Exploration: The Second Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin, in the Years 1853, '54, '55* (1856), was widely read and discussed throughout the United States at this time. *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 256.

²² Thomas Lieper Kane had become interested in the Mormons earlier and helped them obtain some assistance from the government in their westward movement. He was granted permission from President Buchanan to try to make peace with the Mormons. Under the name of Dr. Osborne, he sailed to San Francisco, and then went overland to Salt Lake City, where he conferred with Brigham Young. President Buchanan, in his message to Congress on December 5, 1858, made mention of Kane going to Utah, but did state he went "without official character." *Ibid.*, X, 258; Stenhouse, *op. cit.*, 381-84.

²³ Alfred Cumming was appointed governor of Utah by President Buchanan, and he accompanied the expedition across the plains. He was a sutler in the Mexican War, and afterward an Indian agent on the Missouri River. Much of the ill-feelings that developed between Colonel Johnston and Governor Cumming was accredited to Thomas L. Kane.

Lake Road; Last night about seven o'clock, five or six shots were fired in rapid succession, the bullets went whistling over the Camp. Bugles instantly sounded the Long Roll. Artillery to the lunettes was our cry and scarcely had the last shot been fired before we were ready for action, soon the Infantry came to our support, all eyes peered anxiously through the darkness, to discover the approaching enemy. the Sentinel walked the rampart in a nervous and excited manner, challenging the echo of his own footsteps, one time with his firelock cocked ready to blaze on what his fancy conjured to be, some person approaching After waiting a half hour the Guard returned with Mr. Kane and we were dismissed. Mr. Kane stated that he had lost his way and fired the shots so as to find it, on the approach of the Guard to him. one of the members of it, belonging to our detachment fired his rifle and the ball grazed Kanes head, who made him a present of five dollars and left money enough to treat the whole guard, he was taken to head quarters

March 18th The whole command moved down to the rear of the Fort, a violent snow storm prevailing

[No entries in diary between March 18 and June 1.]

June 1st For a month or so our ration of flour has been only ten ounces, and the beef is not worth eating. Now all the flour on hand has been issued, and if the trains do not arrive in a few days, we will be with out Capt. Marcy will shortly arrive with a supply of Animals²⁴ Gov Cumming & Col. Kane are going to Salt Lake with the Peace Commissioners.²⁵ About two hundred Apostate Mormons are here en-route to the States. they give an awful account of Mormonism.

June 13th The supplies of provisions and animals having all arrived, The line of march was taken up with the Dragoons in front, our battery next and the Volunteer Battalion bringing up the rear, this command comprising the 1st Division the other division to march to morrow and next day, 12 miles and Camped on the Muddy

When Kane came into camp he did not report to Colonel Johnston, and an orderly came to summon him, Governor Cumming intervened and threatened Colonel Johnston. At this point, Chief Justice D. R. Eckels stepped in and brought an end to the affair; but it marked the end of any co-operation between Colonel Johnston and Governor Cumming. Governor Cumming resigned shortly before the Civil War and retired to Augusta, Georgia. *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 592; Stenhouse, *op. cit.*, 381-84.

²⁴ Captain Marcy returned on the eighth of June with 1500 animals. Stenhouse said, "The expedition undertaken and accomplished by Captain Marcy is one of the brightest pages of our military annals." For an account of the journey, see Randolph B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (New York, 1866). Stenhouse, *op. cit.*, 396.

²⁵ Governor L. W. Powell of Kentucky and Colonel Ben W. McCulloch of Texas.

June 14th Started at five o'clock, the road led over a barren broken country for 20 miles when we arrived at Bear River about noon, the Valley presents quite a picturesque appearance at first sight, tall and stately trees, covered with green foliage; is a relief to the eye so long accustomed to gaze on sterility. the river is about twenty yards wide, with a swift current of six or eight miles an hour

June 15th Laid by till evening till the bridge was finished when we crossed the river, and camped; The command comprises 1 company of the 3^d two of the 6th the whole of the 5th and 10th Regiments of Infantry, 8 companies of the 2^d Dragoons, 2 of the Mounted Rifles, one of the 1st Cavalry, 2 Batteries and a Battalion of Volunteers in all about 2300 men

June 16th Laid over. Orders were read in the evening, informing us of peace being made with the Mormons,²⁸ much to the regret of many

June 19th 10 miles, good road. Camped on Yellow Creek. Cold and rainy weather.

June 20th Ice in the buckets this morning; started at six, went 12 miles and camped about five miles from the mouth of Echo Cañon, very good camp, plenty of wood, water & grass

June 21 Started at ½ past six. road very good, taken in consideration that the Cañon is not more than a hundred yards wide and in some places it is much narrower. the rocks on the right hand side rise in perpendicular cliffs of six or seven hundred feet in height, and an enemy posted on them could soon obstruct the passage by tumbling down the loose rocks; The hills on the south side have some slope, and are pretty even on the top for nearly the whole length of the Cañon. The Mormons have constructed what they call breastworks, entrenchments &c. at different points, which resemble Boys playthings more than fortifications. The 10th Infantry I think would have been sufficient for the north side, as there was nothing to prevent them from gaining the top of the hill at the mouth of the Cañon and once on top, they had as good a show as an enemy, while on the south side, the 5th Infantry could have hauled our battery to the top of the hill, by hand, and we could have demolished their works, from secure positions.

²⁸ After conferring with Brigham Young, Governor Cumming sent word to Colonel Johnston recommending that the army delay its entrance into Salt Lake City. Johnston, however, had orders from the Secretary of War to establish a military post, so the army continued the advance, *ibid.*, 392.

With no better preparations than they have in Echo Cañon, could never stop us or retain it, but give us the Cañon and two weeks time, we could defy the whole of Mormondom to drive us from it. Camped on Weber River after a march of 18 miles. The river is a small stream meandering through a narrow valley. poor grass, plenty of wood, weather delightful

June 22d Laid over. There is a Breastwork on the right hand side of the road, evidently designed as a ambuscade the mormons seem to have had but one idea in building their defences, and that is, that we would keep the road without flankers and so march to destruction

June 23d The Bridge being completed, we crossed the River at ten oclock and went 6 miles over a good road and Camped. plenty of grass, little water and no wood

June 24 Started at six the road led through a sort of Cañon and up hill for the first four miles and then descends into another Cañon. Camped on a creek plenty of grass, water and wood Distance 8½ miles

June 25th Started at six, the road good for the first four miles. came to two breastworks of stone dignified with the title of Fort Wells;²⁷ The position commanded about a hundred yards of the road, leaving the point of a hill for an enemy to advance under cover of, and blow them sky high, without risk or danger to themselves— The road turned to the right up Emigration Cañon [Little Emigration Canyon], is very stony and up hill for seven miles, near the top we had to double teams, from the summit the view was splendid, all around us, the mountain tops were crowned with snow, to the north lay the Great Salt Lake, thickly studded with Islands like so many jewels in a sea of silver, while to the west was a limited view of the great valley. The descent down the big mountain (as it is called) is very steep, a regular jumping off place, worse than Ash Hollow. The lead-teams were taken out, and both wheels locked, all got down safe, except a caisson which they attempted to let down by hand, the lock chains broke and away it went at locomotive speed, fortunately the pole and pintle hook broke, which checked its progress. Camped at four oclock, plenty of grass & water no wood. Distance 16½ miles Orders were published to the Command for no man to leave the ranks in passing through the city to morrow and also the Articles of War, about injuring the property of Citizens &c and a proclamation of the Governors congratulating the people on peace being established without bloodshed.

²⁷ Named for Lieutenant General Daniel H. Wells, commander of the Mormon military force, the Nauvoo Legion. Located where Little Emigration Canyon comes into East Canyon from the west. The open meadow at this point is known as Mormon Flat.

June 26th Started at six, a long hill to pull up for a commencement. at the top we found Ash Hollow No. 3, to descend, or Little Mountain as it is named— one of the lock chains of the forge (which I was driving) broke and if the other had done the same I would have got to the bottom in less than double quick time as the wheel team I have is not much account— however we all got safely down and a few hours brought us to the City but it was like entering a Graveyard, silence reigned supreme. if a plague had threatened it instead of us, it could not have depopulated it more. what rank fanaticism it is for Mormons to follow a corrupt humbug and desert so much property; Not more than a hundred men witnessed our entrance, while we could not get sight of [a] single woman, so I presume there was none in the City, or else they would have showed themselves at the windows.²⁸ The City is well laid out with broad streets intersecting each other at right angles, and clear streams of water running through the most of them. The Houses are built of adobes are mostly one story high with a garden in front or rear, some of them are very pretty, particularly Brighams which comprises three or four houses built together in the Elizabethan style of Architecture and the whole surrounded by a high wall. There is some other fine buildings such as the Tabernacle, Bowery, Social Hall &c— Crossed the river at the bridge and Camped on the other side of Jordan plenty of water, no grass or wood Distance 18 miles

June 27th Laid over, weather fine and warm, a very dusty Camp. Orders published, appointing a Board of officers to examine the facilities of Rush and Cedar Valleys for establishing a post.

June 28th Laid over a very windy day, can hardly see ten feet for dust, all hands as black as Niggers

June 29th Received orders after tattoo last night and started this morning at six. the road very level but awful dusty. Camped on West Creek, water & grass scarce, no wood Distance 17 miles

June 30th Laid over. Mustered at nine, various idle rumors afloat, one that Brigham is exercising the functions of Governor, and that our destination is Provo to drive the Mormons out; another is that Judge Eckels and the U. S. officials have been forced to leave Salt Lake City²⁹

²⁸ Brigham Young had the people evacuated, and a small group of men were to stay behind to burn the city if the army was to occupy it. West, *op. cit.*, 265-68; Hickman, *op. cit.*, 130, reports that Colonel Johnston sent word to Brigham Young that if the Mormons did not come back and occupy the city then the army would. An army correspondent also describes the march through the city in Stenhouse, *op. cit.*, 396.

²⁹ D. R. Eckles was the chief justice. The other U.S. officials were governor, Alfred Cumming; associate justices, John Cradlebaugh and Charles E. Sinclair; secretary, John Hartnett; and marshal, Peter K. Dotson.



An early photo of Camp Floyd from an original in the National Archives.

July 1st Laid over More Rumors one that twelve men who recently left the Quartermasters service for California were found in the Jordan with their throats cut. I do not believe there is the least foundation for the rumor, nor would I mention it only that it has caused a considerable excitement in Camp

July 2d Laid over The rumors are without a particle of truth

July 4th In honor of the day, we fired the National salute, and as a treat, had Sheepmeat for dinner and a gill of whiskey issued to each man which inspired me with sufficient patriotism to wait and hear the 10th Infy Band play the Star Spangled Banner and Hail Columbia and the effect on me became so great, that I had to go and take a sleep, to allow my enthusiasm a chance to cool down.³⁰

July 6th Started at five. A good hilly road for 18½ miles Camped on the Jordan about two miles from Lake Utah plenty of water and grass. wood two miles off. The Road between Provo and Salt Lake is nearly lined with Mormon families returning to their homes in the

³⁰ This appears to be a typical Fourth of July celebration of the time. Captain Howard Stansbury reported a similar celebration. Lloyd McFarling, *Exploring the Northern Plains, 1804-1876* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1955), 147.

North, they are the most destitute looking set I ever saw, pigs, poultry, whiteheaded children, Mothers and Wives all heaped promiscuously together in the wagon, with barely sufficient clothing to cover their nakedness. to judge the men by their appearance, one would think that their coats were made from the same pattern, that Joseph wore, from the many colors they contain, or else old bed quilts are a spontaneous production in this section of the country. It is said that some of the women were so near naked, they avoided the road, a fact that I deplore very much, having never seen a naked woman in all my life

July 7th Laid over Took a bath in one of the Hot Springs there is four or five of them, the water is as clear as chrystal and impregnated with alkali and some other minerals, the mud off the bottom smells like gas tar, there is one hole where the water boils up, is said to have been sounded to the depth of a hundred feet without finding bottom.²¹ also had a pleasant bath in Lake Utah, it is a very pretty little sea, about sixty miles in length by twenty five in width, and is apparently surrounded by bold and precipitous mountains, rising abruptly from its shores like the crater of a volcano

July 8th Started at half past six, went 12 miles and Camped at the upper end of Cedar Valley where I believe it is the intention to build a post. the only inducements I can see in selecting this place is that it is convenient to Salt Lake Valley and probably well sheltered from the severities of winter

[No entries in diary between July 8 and September 7.]

September 7th Moved Camp 10 miles down the Valley to the settlement of Fairfield, where we will commence building Quarters of adobes.

[No entries in diary between September 7 and December 25.]

December 25th Had my Christmas Dinner with Mr & Mrs. Ogen, was highly entertained by the lady with discourse on Batter puddings, how to make them, to boil just one hour and a half neither more nor less or else they will be spoiled. I would put down the ingredients it is composed of, but unfortunately my memory is so treacherous that I dare not trust it. I think flour is one but I'll not be certain— I was so awkward at table, that I managed to upset a bottle of pickled beets stain-

²¹ Probably the springs at the present site of the Saratoga Springs resort on Utah Lake.

ing the snow white table cloth with the crimson vinegar which could not have been more crimson than my face, in the attempt I made to apologise but I made matters worse by my own confusion. so I excused myself at the first opportunity and eloped. Camp Floyd has become a large town is well laid out, with wide streets running paralel with each other, it is divided by a small stream from Fairfield, the population of both places must be over five thousand, in the limits of the Camp is only the Army and its employes but the population of the other side is composed of Saints, Gentiles Mountaineers Greasers, Loafers Thieves, Black Legs, Rum-sellers Lager Beer Brewers and the Lord knows what else; every house is [a] Grog-shop or a Beer-shanty. On this side a Military Dramatic Association have built a theatre capable of seating six hundred persons. some of their representations are quite creditable. then we have an excellent Band of Negro Minstrels out of the Dragoons who give first rate concerts. Balls & parties are quite numerous. all that is wanting is more money in circulation and we would have a very lively Camp. Divine service is held every sunday in the Theatre by Capt Simpson²² of the Engineers, it is well attended

[Journal will be concluded in a subsequent issue of this magazine.]

²² James H. Simpson was with the Corps of Topographical Engineers. Regarded by many as a competent explorer, he surveyed new roads from Fort Bridger to the Carson Valley that were later used by the Pony Express and the stage lines. A graduate of West Point, he also served as chief engineer of New Mexico and during the Civil War was captured at the Battle of Gaines' Mill. Later as a brigadier general he became chief engineer of the Department of the Interior. Cullum, *op. cit.*, I, 514; Dale L. Morgan, *The Great Salt Lake* (New York, 1947), 271.



REVIEWS AND RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Outline History of the Glen Canyon Region 1776-1922. By C. Gregory Crampton. (Anthropological Papers, Number 42, Glen Canyon Series, Number 9. University of Utah Department of Anthropology, September, 1959, 137 pp., \$3.25)

In the semiarid West "reclamation" is an emotion-charged word and any project that proposes to make the desert bloom is generally deemed meritorious, deserving public support. Glen Canyon Dam will be one of the greatest monuments to the cause. It is an awesome bit of engineering, which will impound a whopping big man-made lake, but there is a seamy side to this grand enterprise. The lake in question will inundate some of the most stupendous canyon scenery on the continent and, along with it, all traces of man's association therewith.

The National Park Service, which is the federal agency responsible for "doing something about" historic and archeologic sites, has contracted with the Department of Anthropology, University of Utah, to ascertain the nature and extent of prehistoric and historic occupancy of the Glen Canyon Reservoir area. The university is fulfilling its end of the bargain vigorously, the results manifest in this notable series of "Anthropological Papers."

Aside from photography there is nothing anyone can do about the loss of aesthetic values, but a "salvage program" for the historic and prehistoric values is entirely feasible. This was first demonstrated on a

sizeable scale in the Missouri Basin, in particular along the "main stem" of the Missouri River in the Dakotas where there is a series of five giant dams now nearing completion. Here a total of over six hundred linear miles of river valley are affected. Since 1946, through co-operative efforts of the National Park Service and the Smithsonian Institution, historic and prehistoric sites have been extensively surveyed and a percentage of them excavated. Historical reports on the major reservoir areas — Fort Randall, Oahe, and Garrison — which have been published by the state historical societies concerned, offer comprehensive analysis of all identifiable sites along the Missouri. An impressive array of Lewis and Clark camp sites, trading and military posts, and Indian agencies are now many fathoms deep.

Somebody has suggested the term "geo-history" for the study of historic sites. Whatever you call it, it has achieved the nearest thing to scientific expression in these systematic surveys. When Glen Canyon and its tributaries are submerged, there will be no arguments among informed people as to what historic sites were obliterated in the process. It must be admitted that such a careful analysis of Glen Canyon history might not have been made for many generations if this study had not been forced by the Colorado Basin project.

The paper-bound volume will impress professional historians by its scholarly approach, but it should intrigue all kinds of amateurs as well. There is first of all a very business-like review of the principal historical divisions: Spanish-American background; U.S. Government exploration; the Indian wars; the approach to settlement; mining activities (including a minor gold rush); and recent recreation or tourism. This is "outline history" since the approach is by a highly condensed summary with bibliographical notes. There follows a numbered checklist of historic features, at given mile points from the dam; a fine map of the Colorado River from Lee's Ferry to Dirty Devil River; and a liberal number of photographs.

With the exception of the Powell expedition signatures and the Father Escalante crossing of 1776, it is evident that fixed historic features in Glen Canyon are of limited local importance. One might conclude that the loss is therefore largely sentimental, and not deeply tragic. The most serious loss remains the aesthetic one, for the last chapter in Glen Canyon history is the obliteration of the famous "rock jungle" canyon itself.

MERRILL J. MATTES
Omaha, Nebraska

Arizona Pioneer Mormon: David King Udall, His Story and His Family, 1851-1938. Written in collaboration with his daughter Pearl Udall Nelson. (Tucson, Arizona Silhouettes, 1959, 304 pp., \$10.00)

This volume is a welcome addition to our collection of Mormon pioneer memoirs. Well packed with the materials of history, it adds to our literature in several respects, including (1) a record of the life of a prominent Mormon dedicated to his faith and his family, (2) documentation of the experiences of maintaining a Mormon colony on a cattle-raising frontier outpost against Gentile advancement of the roughest sort in the American Southwest, in Apache County, Arizona, (3) a veiled glimpse into polygamous family life during and following the "underground" days of the late 1880's, and (4) a detailed account of one man's encounter with the federal judicial crusade against the Mormons before the Manifesto.

David King Udall was the son of David Udall (whose journal is printed in an appendix), an English convert to Mormonism. His childhood and youth were spent (1852-75) in Nephi, Utah, during which time he made frequent freighting trips to Kanab. In 1875 he married Ella Stewart of Kanab, and six weeks later he yielded to a missionary call to the British Isles (1875-77). After his mission he farmed at Nephi and then entered the merchandising business with brothers-in-law at Kanab when he was called to be bishop of St. Johns, a new Mormon settlement in Apache County, Arizona. Here his life was lived: bishop (1880-87), president of the St. Johns Stake (1887-1922), patriarch (from 1922), and president of the Arizona Temple, at Mesa (1926-34).

The very interesting narrative of life, tightly drawn with simplicity, restraint, and understatement, dealing little with the broader significances of a humble but often dramatic life, treats not only of religious faith but of working a living out of the un-co-operative soil, frequently against the pleasure of unwilling elements in the struggle for survival on the Colorado Plateau along the Little Colorado.

Though Mormon colonization aimed primarily to settle areas that other settlers would not have, sooner or later the advancing Mormon frontier would meet the American frontier in the Southwest. It was at St. Johns that the Mormons chose to make their Arizona stand, at all costs, and non-Mormon and Mormon stood face-to-face in the contest for land and rights. Here David K. Udall, Mormon bishop, was central figure in contests between Mexicans and "The Ring" of white leaders on the one hand and Mormons on the other, contests that came close to open war.

In 1882 Bishop Udall took Miss Ida Hunt, of Snowflake, as a plural wife and made himself subject to prosecution under federal law. Though secrecy covered their marriage and Ida went into hiding in central Utah, David K. Udall was a prime target of the anti-Mormon crusade. He was brought to trial on a trumped-up perjury charge, convicted and sent to the Detroit House of Correction in 1885, only to be pardoned in less than five months by President Cleveland. Even so, Ida was required to remain on the "underground" for years. In fact, through the pages of the book, she does not clearly emerge from the shadows of a removed second place, though the glimpses given her through quotations from her rich, clear letters and journals are vivid and most revealing.

The problems of publishing pioneer memoirs are many, and taken all in all, this book is as happy a solution as possible to the problems here involved. *Arizona Silhouettes* is to be complimented on another fine work, a book worthy of wide reading and serious study by students of Mormon and Western history.

S. GEORGE ELLSWORTH
Utah State University

Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863. By William H. Goetzmann. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1959, xi + 509 pp., \$6.50)

"The aim of this study is to describe, analyze, and evaluate the role played by the U.S. Army in exploring the trans-Mississippi West, and in particular the role of the Topographical Engineers between the years 1838 and 1863—a time span that covers the entire independent life of that Corps," states the author in his preface.

After the formation of the Corps of Topographical Engineers in 1838, its men moved into the West as a new type of explorer, consciously carrying a burden that possessed "a political, a military, a scientific, and even a romantic significance." The officers for the most part were products of West Point and had a sound engineering education, although the most famous of the lot, John C. Frémont, was largely self-trained. To these men everything was relevant, and so they looked to the West with inquiring eyes, prepared to ask more and different questions than had their predecessors in the years 1803-38. The Corps was a central institution of Manifest Destiny, and Mr. Goetzmann's detailed survey of its work demonstrates the degree of official concern, ranging

from exploration and boundaries to wagon roads and rivers, which eased the way for the pioneer and which protected his interests. The work of the Corps as a "department of public works" for the West should mitigate the totally individualistic concept of the frontier.

From the explorations of Frémont down to the Civil War, the Corps was thrust into a variety of activities: the Mexican War reconnaissance, the subsequent boundary survey, exploration of the new domain, railroad and wagon road surveys, and the accumulation of scientific information which accompanied all of these enterprises. This work encompasses a mighty stretch of country and the extensive labors of many men over many years. Contained within the account, too, are the intriguing ambitions of Frémont and the political manipulations and sectional rivalries which affected the survey of the boundary between the United States and Mexico and the subsequent search for a railroad route to the Pacific. With so much to cover, it is not surprising that description seems to outweigh analysis and evaluation and that the reader, like even the skilled explorers, may sometimes be temporarily lost.

It is a good book, though, which describes a fascinating process by which the blank spots on the map were filled in and the resources of the West were inventoried. The author has worked with a great amount of manuscript, documentary, and secondary material, which is discussed in a useful bibliographical essay. The value of route maps interspersed throughout the text ranged from excellent to fair, but a very fine feature is the inclusion of an end-envelope of five fold-out maps reproduced from originals made by early explorers.

RICHARD J. MORRISEY

*United States Air Force Academy
Colorado Springs, Colorado*

Utah and the Pony Express. By Kate B. Carter. (Salt Lake City, Utah, Pony Express Centennial Commission, 1960, 88 pp., \$1.00)

Under the auspices of the Utah Pony Express Centennial Commission the above booklet was prepared as one method of preserving and perpetuating that great and gallant story of pioneer transportation and communication in the American West—the Pony Express. As the title indicates, Mrs. Carter has compiled into this little booklet the story of "Utah and the Pony Express." From the inception of the Express to its end, the historic episode is vividly told—the organization and

founders, routes, stations, station keepers, and riders (including biographical data). Pictures, facsimiles of letters, and a route map further enhance the booklet. Copies may be purchased at the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 304 North Main Street, Salt Lake City, or at the offices of the Historical Society.

Rhyolite, The Ghost City of Golden Dreams. By Harold and Lucile Weight. (3d ed., revised, Twentynine Palms, California, The Calico Press, 1959, 32 pp., 60¢)

"Rhyolite's builders dreamed it would be the metropolis of southern Nevada, the heart of the mining West. Today its weathering white walls are ghosts of the lost age of the Great Boom. . . ."

Death Valley 49er, Arizona Pioneer — Wm. B. Rood — Apache Fighter, River Ranchero and the Treasure of Ruined "Los Yumas." (Limited ed., Twentynine Palms, California, The Calico Press, 1959, 50¢)

[a Calico Print Folio]

Lost Mines of Old Arizona. By Harold O. Weight. (Twentynine Palms, California, Calico Press, 1959, 76 pp., \$2.00)

Lost Ship of the Desert, A Legend of the Southwest. By Harold O. Weight. (Twentynine Palms, California, The Calico Press, 1959, 50¢)

[a Calico Print Folio]

The above booklets are products of the Calico Press of Twentynine Palms, California, and are pieces of history that give local color to a fascinating and important portion of the Southwest. They are the kind of things pertaining to local history and scenery that many areas should see published.

A Peep at Washoe and Washoe Revisited. Written and illustrated by J. Ross Browne. (Balboa Island, California, Paisano Press, 1960, 240 pp., \$5.50)

This book was published to commemorate the Nevada Silver Centennial 1859-1959. *A Peep at Washoe* and *Washoe Revisited*, originally published in the 1860's, have been reprinted separately during the past century, but this is the first time they have appeared together in a book designed for popular reading. Browne's account of life on the Com-

stock Lode is accurate, though humorous, and his appraisal of the mines and mining were seen through the eyes of an expert. His report for the U.S. Treasury Department on the mineral resources of the United States west of the Rocky Mountains is still widely used and quoted. Included in this compilation also is a biography of Browne written in 1863 which gives the background and stature of this talented California pioneer.

The Fighting Parson: The Biography of Colonel John M. Chivington.
By Reginald S. Craig. (Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1959, 284 pp., \$7.50)

There are few characters in the history of the American West more controversial than John M. Chivington. He "saved" the West for the Union when he and his Colorado Volunteers stopped Sibley's Confederate army in its march through New Mexico and Arizona at the Battle of Glorieta Pass. Yet as the officer who reputedly directed the Sand Creek "massacre" against the Cheyenne Indians shortly thereafter, his name since has lived in infamy. Reginald S. Craig has searched through the evidence, including the Congressional investigation of Sand Creek, Chivington's own unpublished writings, and personal and family memoirs in an attempt to dispel the mass of conjecture and myth which has obscured many of the facts concerning this Methodist preacher turned army officer.

Adventures of Zenas Leonard, Fur Trader. Edited by John C. Ewers.
(Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1959)

American Folklore. By Richard M. Dorson. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1959)

The American Heritage Book of the Pioneer Spirit. By the Editors of *American Heritage*. (New York, American Heritage Publishing Co., 1959)

Bread Upon the Sands. By Billie Williams Yost. (Caldwell, Idaho, The Caxton Printers, 1958) [The story of the life and experiences of a trader to the Navajo Indians, 1914-1929.]

Chant of the Hawk. By John and Margaret Harris. (New York, Random House, 1959) [An historical novel of the Mountain Men.]

The Civil War in the Western Territories: Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah. By Ray C. Colter. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1959)

Custer; the Life of General George Armstrong Custer. By Jay Monaghan. (Boston, Little, Brown and Co., 1959)

George Catlin and the Old Frontier. By Harold McCracken. (New York, Dial Press, 1959)

George Catlin: Episodes from "Life Among the Indians" and "Last Rambles." Edited by Marvin C. Ross. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1959)

The Great American West: A Pictorial History from Coronado to the Last Frontier. By James D. Horan. (New York, Crown Publishers, 1959)

Love and Death: The Complete Stories of Vardis Fisher. (Garden City, New York, Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1959)

Pacific Slope Railroads from 1854 to 1900. By George Abdill. (Seattle, Superior Publishing Co., 1959)

Pony Express—The Great Gamble. By Roy S. Bloss. (Berkeley, Howell-North, 1959)

Saga of Three Towns: Harrisburg, Leeds, Silver Reef. By Marietta M. Mariger. (2d ed., St. George, Utah, Washington County News, 1959)

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- ROBERT G. ATHEARN, "Captivity of the Denver and Rio Grande," *Colorado Magazine*, January, 1960.
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- NATT N. DODGE, "Mister Grand Canyon" [Park Naturalist Louis Schellbach], *National Parks Magazine*, December, 1959.
- EVELYN DANGBERG TEAL, "Snowshoe Thomson" (He Got the Mail Through—on Skis Over the Sierras!), *Nevada Highways and Parks*, No. 2, 1959.
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- "Commodore McCandless Reports on Pony Express," *ibid.*
- PEARL WILCOX, "Independence in Retrospect" [Missouri], Part IX, *Saints' Herald*, November 2, 1959.
- VINCENT P. GIANELLA, "Where Frémont Crossed the Sierra Nevada in 1844," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, October, 1959.
- J. W. WILLIAMS, "Coronado, from the Rio Grande to the Concho," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, October, 1959.
- FRANK H. MOORE, "The Mormons in Northwestern Missouri," *Trail Guide* (published quarterly by the Kansas City Posse The West-erners), October, 1959.

- FRED HARVEY, "King of the Narrow Gauge" [William J. Palmer and his railroad building activities], *True West*, January-February, 1960.
- "Iron Pioneers" [Mormons in Parowan], *USS Westerners*, October, 1959.
- FRANK MCKEAN, "They Really Dig It at Glen Canyon" [archeological evidences and artifacts], *Utah Alumnus*, October, 1959.
- HENRY J. WEBB, "Desert Rats 1959" [modern-day exploring Great Salt Desert], *ibid.*
- DAN DUFFHEY, "Flaming Gorge Project" (Daggett County, Utah), *Utah Fish and Game*, November, 1959.
- JOHN S. GRAY, "Frank Grouard: Kanaka Scout or Mulatto Renegade?" *Westerners Brand Book* [Chicago], October, 1959.
- JAMES D. HORAN, "An Englishman Looks at our Wild West," *Westerners New York Posse Brand Book*, Vol. VI, No. 3, 1959.
- DAN TRAPP, "Old Man Bridger and His Fort," *Westways*, February, 1960.

A REJOINDER

It is the policy of the *Quarterly* to publish reviews by competent and critical reviewers of significant books dealing with Utah and the West, and not its purpose or business to engage in controversy or to use its pages for sales promotion of the book under consideration.

The following excerpts are from a rejoinder by Mrs. Amelia Bean regarding her book *The Fancher Train* as reviewed in the October, 1959, *Quarterly* by Maurine Whipple.

Since publication in May, 1958, *The Fancher Train* has been reviewed by over a hundred publications, none of which I felt obligated to answer. I am most grateful that the *Utah Historical Quarterly* now allows me to respond to a review by Maurine Whipple and clarify some mistaken assumptions.

Miss Whipple stated that it was obvious I had never visited Mountain Meadows. . . . Perhaps the assumption is because I did not describe the face of the meadows as they are today. Many changes have taken place because of time, the elements of erosion and

weather, and over-grazing. My descriptions were derived from the writings of people who saw them a hundred years ago. . . .

Contrary to Miss Whipple's comment, I studied not one but all of Juanita Brooks' publications very carefully. . . .

Miss Whipple listed six supposed historical "blunders." I reply in the same order:

1. Concerning the source of material for the massacre at Haun's Mill, I studied them all but chose what seemed the most reliable—the version included in the "Journal History of the Church," portions from 1830-1843, written by an eyewitness, Joseph Young, older brother of Brigham Young. . . .

2. Controversy about whether Jim Bridger was driven from his fort is common in the West—there is no doubt in official records that he was. [Quotes from official affidavits follow.] . . . There are no records existent that Bridger sold the fort, which was later declared to be a military reservation after which the General Land Office did not recognize any private claims thereon.

3. The charge that I had young Jed Smith appear to be the bastard son of both Jim Bridger and Jedediah Smith would not have been made by a careful reader. . . . As the author I made it very clear that Jed Smith was neither a half-breed nor illegitimate. On page 354 of the author's note, I state that the character of young Jed Smith is fictitious. . . . Nowhere in my book is there any statement which might lead the reader to believe Jedediah Smith had a son by a squaw.

4. If, as Miss Whipple says, it is "a shade dishonest to use the names of people who once lived and to manufacture personalities" then I am in company with large and eminent reputations indeed. . . . I know of no historical novelist who does not avail himself of this license—including Miss Whipple herself. . . .

With regard to the comment on Brigham Young's "paper work," three secretaries meant three times the work load of the ordinary man since he must needs be involved in each secretary's output. I read one of Brigham Young's letters which regretted an invitation with these words: "I am surrounded, nay, almost buried in an avalanche of constant and irksome papers."

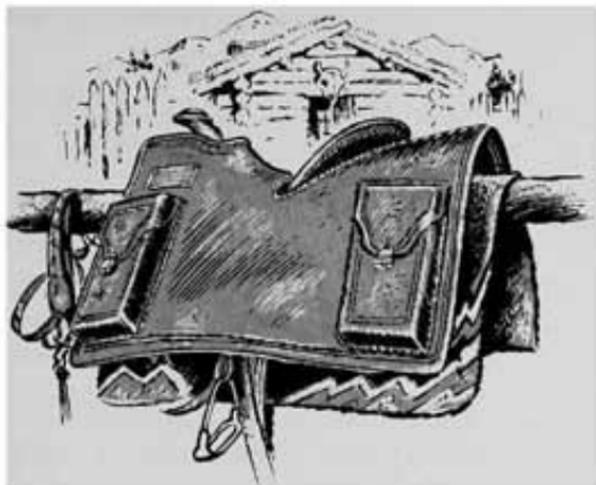
5. Regarding the three who escaped from the wagon train and evidence of their deaths according to Jacob Hamblin, I submit that no one, today, can be positive what actually did happen. I am con-

vinced of Jacob Hamblin's great integrity and loyal devotion, I have always admired the Buckskin Apostle, but he was involved then in the dreadful aftermath of the massacre, a man sore beset by conflicting duties and loyalties. I believe he acted then, as many another honorable man did, only to prevent further disaster and tragedy. . . .

6. Regarding the time it would take horses to draw a travois from the vicinity of Mountain Meadows to the nearest point on the Virgin River bed, please consult the map I used to plot the trip, that furnished by the Cartographic Division of the National Geographic Society. This distance, across country, is considerably less than thirty miles. Careful reading of my story shows that the three escapees had more than twenty-four hours in which to travel, resulting in a speed of less than a mile and a half per hour, which is certainly possible to a walking horse even over rough terrain. Concerning Jed Smith's injury, many a mountain man or pioneer survived worse than a flesh wound without infection—consider Isaac Leany, wounded four times at Haun's Mill, and Tarleton Lewis, left for dead, but both recovered. . . .

I would be the first to acknowledge Miss Whipple's reviewer's right to comment on my literary ability. I am glad, however, that her views were not shared by the distinguished judges who awarded *The Fancher Train* the Western Writers of America Silver Spur Award for the best Western Historical Novel of 1958. The judges were: Dr. Ruth Hudson, University of Wyoming; Ernest R. Linford, *Salt Lake Tribune*; and Ed O'Meara, book editor, *Oregon Journal*. Miss Whipple's opinion that I belong in the all-fiction field is not, fortunately for me, shared by my editors at Doubleday and the *Saturday Evening Post* who will simultaneously publish my second historical novel, *The Feud*, the first week in April, 1960.

/s/ AMELIA BEAN
8593 Magnolia Avenue
Riverside, California



HISTORICAL NOTES

JIM SHARP

It seems there must be at least one authentic, sympathetic person to bridge the way between two generations. James Palmer Sharp is the man in this centennial year of the Pony Express who has relived, rerode, retold and remembered more about the Pony Express than perhaps any other authority on the subject. To be sure he was born some twenty years after the famous rides were made, but those who participated in them were still around. They haunted the old trails and stations, they judged horseflesh, they went into politics and religion with the same vigor they had given the famous coyote yell on the Express. They were ever set apart as very special in any community.

Woodpile philosophers are rare nowadays, but when Jim was a lad back in the late 1880's, it was not unusual to see a few men of vast experience sitting on the cedar logs, whittling, shuffling the chips, and generally straightening out the world. If they were past vigorous labor, they just listened. If they were in the prime of life and had put the country on its feet—they had views and convictions. They knew

horseflesh, and dry thirst, and floods. They knew what it was to be lost on the desert where nothing spoiled the view. And they knew the same fear in the mountains where one could not see beyond a stone's throw. They knew men who fought bears singlehandedly and women who had built their own cabins and then delivered their own children.

In Vernon, Tooele County, Jim, a likely, observant boy, listened to these men and did not forget a word. Some of these men had lived on a horse, and their language and thinking showed that they were experts. As farmers, ranchers, or cowboys, they had a professional vocabulary all their own. Jim heard nouns and adjectives to which no modern city boy is ever exposed. "Seeing daylight" described the distance a man was lifted from a saddle by a broncho about to be gentled. No real cowboy ever "pulled leather"—that grip on the saddle to steady oneself. This was also called "choking the biscuit." A "critter" was any man or beast. A "jerk water" was a small town—one only got a drink there and went on. "Muck-a-much" was Indian for grub or food. "Cayuse" was an Indian pony. A "bunch" could mean a small herd of horses or a group of men. To "bite the dust" was what happened to a greenhorn when he had "choked the biscuit" and had met his match. Jim Sharp heard such words as hitch, hobble, honda, chuck, rustler, close seat, outlaw, slick ear, lasso, forty-five, critter. He learned to talk this lingo with ease.

Perhaps one phrase that intrigued Jim Sharp most and influenced him deeply for most of his eighty years of active life was picked up from these woodpile philosophers. That was: "Mounting Pony Express." This action consisted of the rider grabbing the horn of the saddle, starting his horse on a gallop, bounding two or three times by his side, and leaping over the cantle into the saddle—one of the most daring time-savers ever devised by the pony boys as they changed steeds at each way station.

Jim, as a little boy, listened to these tall tales, and believed them.



JAMES P. SHARP

We are indebted to this most unusual, practical historian for the identification of many of the stations of the Pony Express that time, man, and the elements have done their best to eliminate. Through him, this centennial year, we salute and remember those real yet mythical boys who rode the ponies and carried the mail.

ILENE KINGSBURY

THE YEAR OF THE CENSUS

This being the year of the national census, we will all be contacted by a census taker to add our statistics to the national figure. Utahans first went through this process just 109 years ago. In preparation for the establishment of territorial government, an enumeration of inhabitants was ordered by Governor Brigham Young in the following words:

To Mr. Thomas Bullock

Sir,

Whereas by an act of Congress, creating the Territory of Utah, approved September 9 1850, in the 4th section thereof, it is, among other things, directed that the Governor, previous to the first election, shall cause a census or enumeration of the "Inhabitants of the several Counties and districts of the Territory to be taken"; Now in pursuance of said enactment, I hereby authorize and direct you and such Assistants, as you may see fit to employ in said duty, after you (and they shall have first taken an oath or affirmation, faithfully to perform your duty in the premises), to proceed to take an accurate enumeration of all the Inhabitants of the Territory of Utah, Indians excepted, and make a true return of such enumeration, into my office, on or before the Fourth day of July next. In your return, you will have in view the following districts, and designate particularly, in which of said districts, said inhabitants reside, viz: 1st Great Salt Lake County; 2nd County of Davis; 3rd Weber County; 4th Utah County; 5th San Pete County; 6th Iron County; 7th Tooele County; and 8th Green river Precinct.

The first day of April 1851, will be the date to which your enumeration and return, will have reference,

For your services, you will receive such compensation, as the Territorial Legislature, at its first Session may allow.

Brigham Young
Governor, Utah Territory

Great Salt Lake City
Utah Territory
March 28th, 1851

After being sworn into office (March 28, 1851), Thomas Bullock proceeded with the census and reported the results.

Return of the number of Inhabitants in Utah Territory on 1st April 1851.

Recapitulation.

	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
1st Great Salt Lake County	3 119	3 036	6 155
2nd Davis County	596	532	1 128
3rd Weber County	691	452	1 143
4th Utah County	1 125	880	2 005
5th San Pete County	197	168	365
6th Iron County	191	169	360
7th Tooele County	85	67	152
8th Green River Precinct	22	24	46
Total	6,026	5,328	11,354

Great Salt Lake City
Utah Territory
June 26, 1851.

I hereby certify that the foregoing enumeration, of the Inhabitants of the Territory of Utah, is correct; so far as I have taken it

Thomas Bullock.

It will be interesting to note the growth that has taken place in the great commonwealth of Utah during the last 109 years.

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UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

