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DIXIE WINE

A Thesis

**Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University**

**In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts**

by

Dennis R. Lancaster

August 1972

PREFACE

In the spring of 1971, while an undergraduate at Brigham Young University, I had the opportunity of taking a historical research and writing class in Utah history from Professor Gustive O. Larson. In searching for a topic which was different from the ordinary, I read a few comments about wine and tobacco production in Utah in Leonard Arrington's Great Basin Kingdom. I had never heard of a wine industry in Utah, and the subject intrigued me. With the help and encouragement of Professor Larson, I wrote a short paper concerning Dixie wine. The next summer I started graduate work and was fortunate to be able to participate in a Problems of Utah History Seminar taught by Dr. Eugene Campbell. My interest continued and I was able to renew research to write a seminar paper on Dixie wine. With this background, based upon six months research, Dr. Campbell encouraged me to expand my research into a thesis.

In the compilation of this work I am especially indebted to several individuals and institutions. I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Karl Larson, of St. George Juanita Brooks, formerly of St. George now living in Salt Lake City; and to the many Dixie citizens who shared with me their knowledge of the period. For making available

to me their archives and records I am grateful to the Historians Office of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Utah State Historical Society, and the Brigham Young University Special Collections Library.

Special recognition must be given to my wonderful wife Chris who has supported and tolerated me through months of research and writing. She has assisted me in organizing and writing this paper and has read and reread the rough drafts to assist me with rhetoric and mechanics.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

On the first day of April, 1874, Brigham Young, Erastus Snow and other leaders of the Mormon Church met at the southeast corner of the St. George temple and dedicated a box encased in stone and containing records, coins, newspapers, a silver plate, and a bottle of Dixie Wine.¹

Wine placed in the corner stone of a Mormon temple? This deserved more than a second glance and ultimately became the subject of this thesis. The aim of this investigation has been to explore the history of the wine industry in Utah's Dixie; why it developed, what effect it had upon the people in Dixie, and what factors led to its demise. The scope of the research is limited to the history of the geographic area known as Utah's Dixie, between the years 1861 and 1900. This research relies heavily upon personal interviews with Dixie residents whose

¹John T. Woodbury Jr., "St. George Temple St. George, Utah; Pamphlet prepared for St. George Temple Information Bureau. James G. Bleak, historian of the Southern Utah Mission, lists items contained in the stone box encased in the cornerstone of the temple, but does not include Dixie wine. James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission Book B, (copied from the original by BYU library, Provo, Utah, 1928), p. 258.

memories include facts and stories concerning Dixie wine, and Church records, newspapers, diaries and journals, as well as reliable secondary sources.

The colorful story of the Cotton Mission to Southern Utah is well known, but the unique story of the Wine Mission to Utah's Dixie had received little attention. In fact, this unusual phase of Utah history is often minimized or overlooked by students and scholars of Utah history. This may be due, in part, to the fact that home consumption of the fermented "fruit of the vine" is frowned upon by the Mormon Church, since almost the entire population of Utah's Dixie are Latter-Day Saints. Many of the descendents of the early Dixie pioneers are reluctant to admit that their ancestors made and often consumed the sweet beverage. But the story of Dixie wine should be recorded before the local Saints who lived during the period of its production die, thus removing practically all recollection of this colorful subject.

The only published article dealing specifically with Dixie wine is by Olive W. Burt entitled "Wine-making in Utah's Dixie". It can be found in Lore of Faith and Folly compiled by the Folklore Society of Utah and edited by Thomas E. Cheney. Two short papers concerning Dixie wine have been written, but have not been published. Alfred B. Stucki wrote a short paper entitled "The Wine Industry in Utah's Dixie" for an L.D.S. Church History class at BYU, and Reed W. Farnsworth, M. D., in Cedar City

presented a paper entitled "Wine Making in Southern Utah" to a group interested in Southern Utah history. The wine industry is mentioned in an unpublished masters thesis entitled "History of the Cotton Mission and Cotton Culture in Utah" by Ivan J. Barrett, and also by Andrew Karl Larson in his thesis "Agricultural Pioneering in the Virgin River Basin". Wine is also briefly discussed in several fine secondary sources. Karl Larson's I Was Called To Dixie, The Red Hills of November, and Erastus Snow are all good sources for a general picture of the wine industry in Dixie. Desert Saints by Nels Anderson contains valuable information concerning Dixie wine. Leonard Arrington's Great Basin Kingdom is an excellent source. Under Dixie Sun edited by Hazel Bradshaw gives the reader an excellent insight of the general history of the area by discussing each Dixie community. Juanita Brooks' excellent work "Utah's Dixie...The Cotton Mission" published by the Utah Historical Quarterly in July of 1961, is an exceptional source for a brief history of the Cotton mission and the wine industry in Dixie.

The research which constitutes this thesis utilizes the above, but also relies upon numerous other sources. Of great importance to the researcher was the information obtained from no less than twenty personal interviews with Dixie citizens, several of whom lived during the period when wine was being produced. Early Dixie newspapers were extremely interesting and valuable sources of information.

Among the newspapers consulted were The Utah Pomologist, The Utah Pomologist and Gardner, The Rio Virgen Times, and Our Dixie Times. The records of James G. Bleak including Annals of the Southern Utah Mission and Southern Utah Mission Historical Record, were of great worth. St. George Stake Historical and Financial records located in the Church Historians office in Salt Lake City gave valuable insights into the Church's dealings with and reaction to the wine industry. Diaries of early Dixie Saints have also been of great assistance. The Levi Savage Jr. Diary, Diaries of Joseph Fish, and Diary of Charles L. Walker were of special benefit as well as A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee edited by Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks. These are but a few of the many sources consulted in compiling this thesis.

A background of the Dixie mission is first given including a brief history of the area prior to the 1861 call to colonize the area which is then discussed. The reasons why viticulture was introduced and succeeded in Dixie are examined, followed by a discussion of wine making methods and processes. Social and economic aspects of Dixie wine are illustrated after which some of the folklore and stories concerning the potent beverage are given. Chapter Eight deals with the problem of Dixie wine and the Mormon Church. The economic aspects leading to the decline of the wine industry in Dixie are next examined followed by a few conclusions drawn by the author as a result of this

research into this interesting but little known chapter
in Utah history.

Chapter II

BACKGROUND OF DIXIE MISSION

AREA DESCRIPTION

The area known as Utah's Dixie is the extreme southwest corner of the state and comprises most of Washington County. St. George is the largest community and capital of Washington County and serves as the center of the area. The primary emphasis of this paper will be the area from Santa Clara a few miles south of St. George to Toquerville, twenty or so miles north of St. George. A dominant characteristic of Dixie is the Virgin River which flows in a westerly direction through comparatively open country. The Virgin is fed by several smaller streams which increase its size as it seeks its way through the multi-colored hills that hem it in. It flows through typical mountain desert country supporting cedar and sage in the north and long desolate stretches with desert plants equipped to endure the drought and extreme heat of long hot summer days in the lower valleys. Much of the area around St. George was once the center of volcanic eruptions and the scene of tremendous geologic displacements. Through this physical wonderland, the persistent Virgin in past ages has cut its path. This process has produced narrow valleys and flood

plains along the river which support the communities of Dixie. This is color country. The varied colored hills and mountains bordering the river give one the impression of a child's coloring book. One marvels at all shades of gray and pink limestone, black volcanic lava, and red sandstone.

The climate over most of the area is very dry. At St. George, over a period of nine years from 1893-1901, the mean annual precipitation was 6.31 inches and the mean annual temperature 57.6 degrees. During this nine year period 79 per cent of all the days were clear, and only 9 per cent rainy. The temperature during the summer months frequently soars well over the 100 degree mark for days at a time. The number of frost-free days year in and year out will average nearly 200.¹

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Before the arrival of Mormon missionaries in the mid-1850's, only a few white men had been in what was to become Utah's Dixie. Two Spanish Padres, Father Escalante and Father Dominguez were the first to venture into the Virgin Valley. In July of 1776 they had left Santa Fe

¹Andrew Karl Larson, "Agricultural Pioneering in the Virgin River Basin", (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1946), p. 6. Also see Andrew Karl Larson, The Red Hills of November (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1957), p. 13.

seeking a land route from the New Mexican capital to Monterey, California. October found the party on the Virgin River after they had decided to turn southwestward from Utah valley and return to New Mexico rather than continue on to California.

Fifty years elapsed before the next white man, Jedediah Smith passed through the area in 1826 and 1827 enroute to California. In honor of the President of the United States, John Quincy Adams, he gave the name "Adams River" to the stream Escalante had called Sulphur River. While near the mouth of this stream one of Smith's men, Thomas Virgin, was killed by Indians. This event may have given the river its present name.² Occasional trappers and traders passed through the area during the next few years. John C. Fremont, in 1844, was the first to make careful notes and rough maps of the Virgin River Valley.

In July of 1847, Brigham Young led the first group of Mormon pioneers into the Great Salt Lake valley. That fall Jefferson Hunt, famous leader of the Mormon Battalion, led a group of sixteen men from Salt Lake City south into California over the Old Spanish Trail. The purpose of this

²John Taylor Woodbury, Vermilion Cliffs--Reminiscences of Utah's Dixie (Published by the Woodbury children in commemoration of their parents' golden wedding, October 19, 1933), p. 11. Karl Larson feels the river is called Virgin because of the Spanish name Rio Virgen given the stream, rather than because of Jedediah Smith's man, Thomas Virgin, who was killed at the mouth of the river. Interview with Andrew Karl Larson, St. George, Utah, May 13, 1972.

expedition was to secure seeds for the spring planting, establish a trade route, and scout the country. This group traveled through Dixie on their way to and return trip from California in 1848. Henry Boyle led a group of the Mormon Battalion from California up the Spanish Trail on their return to Utah in the Spring of 1848. This group used the first known wheeled vehicles to traverse the Old Spanish Trail.

Now that the southern trail was more clearly marked, Governor Brigham Young and the Legislative Assembly of Deseret sent Parley P. Pratt with fifty men south in the Fall of 1849 to seek out sites for future towns. It was on this trip, which led Pratt as far south as the mouth of the Santa Clara, that iron ore deposits were located near Cedar City which led to the colonization of Parowan and Cedar City. Elder Pratt aptly described the Dixie area when he said: ". . . A wide expanse of chaotic matter presented itself, huge hills, sandy deserts, cheerless, grassless plains, perpendicular rocks, loose barren clay, dissolving beds of limestone . . . lying in inconceivable confusion" He described the soil as loose and sandy, "very pleasant for farming, extremely fertile and easily watered and sometimes subject to overflow."³

³Andrew Karl Larson, Erastus Snow (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971), p. 317.

Brigham Young showed his interest in colonizing the Dixie area, as a part of a self-sufficient state, as early as 1851. In the general conference of that year it was proposed that "John D. Lee form a settlement at the junction of the Rio Virgin and the Santa Clara Creek, where grapes, cotton, figs, raisins, etc., can be raised."⁴

In January, 1852 John D. Lee, acting under orders from Brigham Young, left Parowan to explore the valley of the Rio Virgin. The object of the expedition was to check on the climatic conditions, the soil, and the water, with a view to establishing settlements where cotton and other semi-tropical products could be produced. In a letter to Brigham Young, Lee speaking of the valley where the town of Washington is now located commented: ". . . The soil is of a lively, alluvial nature; and of a dark chocolate color, and easily irrigated; banks of the stream low. The Climate is of a mild temperature" He then recorded that on "Feb. 3rd; The grapevines and cottonwoods are almost out." He concluded his letter to President Young by saying: "There we can raise cotton, flax, hemp, grapes, figs, sweet potatoes, fruits of almost every kind"⁵

⁴"Utah's Dixie The Cotton Mission," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXIX No. 3 (July, 1961), 201. Also see 1851 Conference reports of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

⁵Journal History of the Church, M. S., LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, March 17, 1852. Also see Deseret News (Salt Lake City), Vol. 2, No. 11, April 3, 1852.

Instead of establishing a settlement on the Rio Virgin as Brigham Young instructed, Lee settled instead at Harmony in 1852; some 40 miles north of St. George and 300 miles south of Salt Lake City. So certain were the Harmony missionaries of the capabilities of the area to produce exotic products that they petitioned the territorial legislature in January, 1854, to send a company of 150 men to establish cotton plantations and vineyards. The legislature denied the petition because of lack of funds and Indian trouble.⁶

However, in April 1854, missionaries were sent by the Mormon Church to visit the Indians on the Rio Virgin, and to influence them against disturbing travelers on the southern route to California. During the winter Jacob Hamblin, Ira Hatch, Amos Thornton, A. P. Hardy, Thales Haskell, and Samuel Knight lived on the Santa Clara and established permanent Mission headquarters. Due to hard work, lack of proper food, and exposure, Jacob Hamblin became extremely ill. August P. Hardy was dispatched to Parowan for medicine and more nourishing food. Sister Nancy Anderson, a convert from Tennessee, gave him a jar of cottonseed with the suggestion that the missionaries experiment with raising cotton. The missionaries planted the cottonseed which grew and produced beyond belief. Samples of this first cotton crop in Utah, were sent to Brigham Young.

⁶Leonard J. Arrington, "The Mormon Cotton Mission in Southern Utah," The Pacific Historical Review, XXV No. 3 (August, 1956), 222.

The next year the missionaries brought their families to live at Santa Clara in a newly constructed fort. The cotton crop of 1856 was large enough to justify a crude cotton gin to remove the seed. From this cleaned cotton, the wives of Santa Clara spun and wove thirty yards of cloth, samples of which were also sent to Brigham Young in Salt Lake City.

The possibilities of cotton culture having been tested with encouraging results led to the calling of twenty-eight families in April of 1857 to settle Washington and to experiment with cotton culture. This group was under the leadership of Robert D. Covington, a native of North Carolina who had experience as a cotton grower, having been employed as an overseer on a cotton plantation before coming to Utah. Those who accompanied Covington were mostly from the South and were familiar with cotton production. The fact that these pioneers were primarily southerners and were sent to southern Utah to grow cotton may help to explain the name Dixie which is synonymous with the St. George area.

The early history of Dixie is closely related to this success in growing cotton. Church leaders began to look upon cotton as an important Utah production as they heard battle rumbles in the east and realized that if war did come it would be nearly impossible to obtain cotton from the Southern United States. The success of cotton at Santa Clara and Washington encouraged Church leaders in the

belief that cotton could be profitably grown along the Virgin, but results were not conclusive. In order to experiment further, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Daniel H. Wells, and others sponsored a group of fifteen men under Joseph Horne to go south. They established Heberville at the confluence of the Virgin and Santa Clara and began to grow cotton. In the Fall Horne returned to Sale Lake City with 575 pounds of cotton lint and 160 gallons of molasses. They estimated that the cotton had cost three dollars and forty cents a pound to produce, figuring their labor at two dollars a day from sun to sun.⁷ Cotton was grown so successfully in the Southern Utah area that several settlements were established over a forty-mile stretch along the Virgin River.

In 1859, less cotton was produced along the Virgin because they had been unable to dispose of the 1858 crop. More land was planted into Chinese sugar cane and grapes because molasses and wine were in great demand in Beaver, Iron, and even Millard Counties.⁸

The Southern communities were bolstered in 1857 and 1858 by Mormon colonists from San Bernadino, California who were called back to Utah because of the "Utah War".

⁷James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission Book A, (copied from the original by BYU library, Provo, Utah, 1928), p. 38.

⁸Bleak, Annals Book A, pp. 60-61.

Many of these people settled in Santa Clara and the other towns in Dixie. By 1860 there were only 79 families in Washington County living in eight widely scattered communities. The historian, James G. Bleak, reported that "the population was very small. Washington, the County seat, had but 20 families; fort Clara (Santa Clara), 20 families; Virgin City, 11 families; Toquerville, 10 families; Grafton and Adventure each had 6 families; Gunlock had 4 families; Harrisburg 2 families; 79 families in all."⁹

In May, 1861, Brigham Young and a corps of high Church officials made an inspection tour of the Santa Clara area in Southern Utah. These authorities decided to further develop the area, and located the site of St. George. Brigham Young expressed his hopes for the area when he said:

The settlements south of the Rim of the Basin are yet small, but it is expected they will rapidly strengthen and increase as the demand for cotton increases under increased facilities for its manufacture. They can also furnish a large amount of fruit to settlements north of them, in exchange for wheat, etc.; Also wine, olive oil, castor oil, indigo, molasses, and sugar-- A trade so mutually beneficial that we trust soon to see it expand more commensurately with the wants of the people.¹⁰

Thus as a result of the success of early pioneers in growing cotton in Utah's Dixie, the outbreak of hostilities between the north and south, and Brigham Young's

⁹Bleak, Annals Book A, May 27, 1861.

¹⁰Brigham Young to Amasa M. Lyman and Charles C. Rich June 13, 1861. Millennial Star, XXII (1861), 509.

decision to strengthen the Southern communities, plans were now laid for an immediate "call" of settlers to colonize the Rio Virgin valley, or the Southern Mission as it was termed.

Chapter III

CALLED TO DIXIE

In 1859 Brigham Young, while touring Dixie, had predicted a settlement at the present site of St. George by saying, "There will yet be built, between those volcanic ridges, a city with spires, towers and steeples, with homes containing many inhabitants."¹ He also said that "out of respect to George A. Smith, the Pioneer of the South, the new city should be named St. George."²

As a result of President Young's inspection tour of Dixie in 1861 and the advent of the Civil War, he determined that it was time to fulfill his own prediction. The guns of Fort Sumner caused Church leaders to think in terms of producing cotton to meet the needs of the Saints in Utah now that the supply of Southern cotton was cut off. Dixie offered a long period of frost-free days, hot weather in which cotton thrived, and most important had proved itself

¹James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission Book A, (copied from the original by BYU library, Provo, Utah, 1928), p. 53.

²James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission Book B, (copied from the original by BYU library, Provo, Utah, 1928), p. 423. Karl Larson, in his magnificent work on Erastus Snow discusses the naming of St. George and says: "All seem agreed that the 'George' is for George A. Smith, the 'Saint' may refer to someone else, possibly Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, commander of the famous Mormon Battalion." Andrew Karl Larson, Erastus Snow (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971), p. 324 footnote 15.

as a cotton producing area. The production of cotton in Dixie appeared to be the capstone in the arch of self-sufficiency preached by Church leaders in an effort to lessen the Saints' dependence on the outside world.³

At the general conference of the Mormon Church held in Salt Lake City, October 6, 1861, 309 family heads were called to found St. George and to reinforce the settlements already established in Dixie. All were selected to take their families south and found a community dedicated to growing cotton and other semi-tropical crops. Erastus Snow and Orson Pratt were called to preside over the Cotton Mission. Orson Pratt did not remain long in Dixie, and Erastus Snow assumed full direction of the Southern Utah Mission until his death in 1888.⁴

Farmers, craftsmen, and professionals almost without exception considered this "call" a great sacrifice and a test of their faith. The Charles L. Walker Diary records a common response to the call to colonize Dixie. His diary entry for October 19, 1862 states:

³Self-sufficiency had been the cry of Church leaders since the Saints arrival in Utah. Brigham Young, upon entering Salt Lake Valley, is reputed to have said: "We do not intend to have any trade or commerce with the gentile world. For so long as we buy of /sic/ them, we are in a degree dependent on them. The Kingdom of God cannot rise independent of the gentile nations until we produce, manufacture and make every article of use, convenience or necessity among our own people." Dale L. Morgan, The Great Salt Lake (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1947), p. 202. It was this philosophy which encouraged Church leaders to establish colonies to produce iron, lead, and other products in an effort to create complete economic and financial independence.

⁴Larson, Erastus Snow, p. 318.

well here I have worked for the last 7 years thro' [sic] heat and cold hunger and adverse circumstances [sic] and at last have got me a home a Lot [sic] with fruit trees just begining [sic] to bear and look pretty. Well I must leave it and go and do the will of my father in Heaven who over rules all for the good of them that love and fear him and I pray God to give me strength to accomplish that which is required of me in an acceptable manner before him.

On the day Brother Walker departed for Dixie, November 13, 1862, he comments:

. . . this was the hardest trial I ever had and had it not been for the gospel and those that were placed over me I should never moved a foot to go on such a trip, but then I came here not to do my own will but the will of those that are over me and I know it will all be right if I do right.⁵

Brigham Young intended those called to the "Cotton Mission" to: "Become permanent settlers in the Southern Region," and "cheerfully contribute their efforts to supply the Territory with cotton, sugar, grapes, tobacco, figs, almonds, olive oil, and such other articles as the Lord has given us places for garden spots in the south to produce."⁶

It is apparent from the above statement that President Young intended Dixie to be an area of specialty

⁵Diary of Charles L. Walker 1833-1904 (copied by BYU library, Provo, Utah, 1945-46), October 19, 1862 and November 13, 1862. For reactions of other Dixie missionaries, see Juanita Brooks, "St. George, Utah--A Community Portrait", (presented at the Fall meeting of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, November 14, 1952, Logan, Utah). Also see "Utah's Dixie . . . The Cotton Mission", pp. 206-7.

⁶History of Brigham Young, M. S. LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, pp. 440-41.

crops such as sugar, cotton, and wine; all of which would enable Utah to become more self-sufficient and less reliant upon outsiders. The southern colonies would be supported through trading their semi-tropical products with the northern settlements which could provide wheat and other staple goods.

At General Conference in April of 1861, Brigham Young delivered a lengthy sermon on the economic aspects of breaking the Word of Wisdom. No specific instruction for wine production is given, but speaking of tobacco he said: "If we use it, let us raise it here" He continued: "We annually expend only \$60,000 to break the Word of Wisdom, but we can save the money and still break it, if we break it."⁷

It is likely that Brigham Young was also thinking of wine production within the territory when he called the cotton missionaries. In a speech encouraging home industry on May 12, 1861 Heber C. Kimball stated that the primary purpose Brigham Young had in visiting Southern Utah was to "ascertain if that country is capable of producing our cotton, sugar, coffee, and grapes."⁸ The President desired

⁷Brigham Young and other Church leaders, Journal of Discourses (London, 1854-1886) 9, pp. 35-36. Hereafter designated as Journal of Discourses; volume and page-- i.e. 9: 35-36.

⁸Journal of Discourses 9: 135.

that the Southern colonies should supply the territorial supply of wine "for the Holy Sacrament, for medicine, and for sale to 'outsiders'."⁹

James G. Bleak, historian of the Southern Utah Mission, lists alphabetically those called to settle Southern Utah, tells where they were from and their professions. Of special interest to this work were the following: Baddy, George of the Salt Lake City 10th ward, a Distiller; Graf, Jacob of Tooele, a Vinedresser & vinter; Huber, Edward of Lehi, a Blacksmith and vinedresser.¹⁰

Thus under direction from Church authorities to produce semi-tropical crops in the desert frontier of Southwest Utah, the faithful pioneers left their comfortable northern homes and move south. The company was ready to leave for the Cotton Mission by the first of November and the vanguard arrived in the St. George Valley December 1st, 1861.

Charles L. Walker, who entered the valley on December 9, 1862, left this description:

⁹Deseret News (Salt Lake City), October 1, 1862.

¹⁰Bleak, Annals Book A, pp. 61-68. Also see Journal History of the Church, M. S., LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, October 8, 1861. Hazel Bradshaw, ed., Under Dixie Sun (Panguitch, Utah, 1950), pp. 85-93. Juanita Grooks groups the Dixie missionaries according to occupation or specialty. "Utah's Dixie . . . The Cotton Mission." Utah Historical Quarterly, XXIX No. 3 (July, 1961), 208.

. . . St. George is a barren looking place the soil is red & sandy on the north ranges a long high and rocky bluff. On the East is a long black ridge of volcanic production. On the west the same on the south runs the Virgen river a shallow rapid stream from which a great portion of the land is irrigated. to look on the country it dry parched barren waste with here and there a green spot on the margin of the streams. Very windy dusty blowing nearly all the time the water is not good and far from being palatable. and this is the country we have to live in and make it blossom as the Rose. well its all right we shall know how to appreciate a good country when we get to it.¹¹

This graphic portrayal not only gives us a colorful picture of the country that greeted the early Dixie colonists, but as modern travelers through Dixie will testify, also is an accurate description of the area today.

THE SWISS COLONY

A part of the over-all plan for the colonization of Dixie was the wine mission. This phase of the colonization effort in Southern Utah was greatly bolstered by the call of 30 Swiss families headed by Daniel Bonelli in the 1861 call. Many of the Swiss Company, like the Hafen family, had come from wine producing areas in Switzerland and knew how to make good wine.¹²

¹¹Diary of Charles L. Walker, December 9, 1862, p. 30

¹²Ivan J. Barrett, "History of the Cotton Mission and Cotton Culture in Utah" (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1947), p. 115. Frank Hafen recalls that his father John George Hafen was 20 years old when the Swiss Colony moved to Santa Clara and had made wine in Switzerland before immigrating. Interview with Frank Hafen, Washington, Utah, May 13, 1972. Names of the Swiss Company are recorded by James G. Bleak in his Annals of the Southern Utah Mission Book A, p. 68.

These Swiss converts had emigrated across the ocean through the help of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund.¹³ At the Missouri River they made hand-carts which they pulled fourteen hundred weary miles to Salt Lake City. When Brigham Young decided to send the group to Santa Clara to raise grapes and fruit, they happily accepted the call and were transported the three hundred miles to Santa Clara in volunteer wagons. They arrived at their destination on November 28, 1861, about four days ahead of the St. George group.¹⁴

Speaking of the Swiss Colony, George A. Smith made the following remark concerning their mission: ". . . We met a company of fourteen wagons, led by Daniel Bonelli, at Kanarra Creek They expected to settle at Santa Clara village where there is a reservation of land selected for them that is considered highly adapted to grape culture"15

Considering the natural climatic conditions of the Virgin river valley coupled with the Old Country background

¹³The Perpetual Emigrating Fund was established in 1850 by the Church to assist poor European converts to come to Utah.

¹⁴"Utah's Dixie . . . The Cotton Mission," p. 212. It is interesting that at least one member of the Swiss Company paid 50 gallons of wine toward his Emigration Fund bill. Interviews With Living Pioneers, (copied by BYU library, Provo, Utah, 1939), p. 16.

¹⁵Letter from George A. Smith to John L. Smith, Millennial Star, XXIV (1862), 41-42.

of these hardy Swiss villagers, it was inevitable that their living pattern in Dixie soon included the pressing of grapes.

John S. Stucki, a Swiss handcart pioneer of 1860 sheds light upon the special instructions given to the Swiss Company, and emphasizes the secondary role viticulture was to play among Dixie's colonists. Of his call to Dixie Brother Stucki wrote:

The main object of President Brigham Young in sending our people to Dixie was to raise cotton for the people to make clothing from. We were also to raise wine to be used for the sacrament of this people, although water was to be used until this people could have wine of their own making which was to be pure wine of the vine. I had the chance to furnish the first wine for the Holy Sacrament in Santa Clara, which was a great pleasure for me to have the right to do.¹⁶

COOPERS

Aside from the Swiss Company and vinedressers called to establish the wine mission in Dixie, another group required to insure the success of the wine venture were Coopers or barrel makers.

One of the major problems facing the Dixie wine makers was finding containers for the wine. "Pine barrels have been generally used," said L. S. Hemenway, "but are unfit and calculated to spoil any good wine. The few oak

¹⁶Quoted in Barrett, "History of the Cotton Mission and Cotton Culture in Utah," p. 117.

casks we have are second hand, and not as good as desired; they should be new. Bottles are very scarce, but we have a few, so that we are able to prove some of our wines."¹⁷

The 1861 call included 10 coppers whose calling was to manufacture barrel containers for molasses and wine as well as tubs and buckets. Two of those called were Edwin R. Lamb and his brother Brigham Lamb, who were expert coopers.¹⁸

HORTICULTURISTS AND GARDENING CLUBS

The St. George Gardener's Club was organized in 1865, and was dedicated to the promotion of better fruits and crops adapted to the warm Dixie climate. The backbone of this and later Pomological Societies was a group of expert horticulturists called by Brigham Young to expand agriculture in Utah's Dixie. Three men in particular did much to stimulate grape and wine production in Dixie.

Walter E. Dodge, called "the father of the grape in Southern Utah,"¹⁹ moved to Santa Clara in 1857 when

¹⁷Correspondence from L. S. Hemenway, Deseret Evening News (Salt Lake City), April 15, 1869, p. 109.

¹⁸Interviews With Living Pioneers, p. 134. Bradshaw, Under Dixie Sun, p. 259. Ideally barrels to be used for wine were made of imported oak, but often the Dixie coopers were forced to rely upon pine from Pine Valley. The barrel staves were frequently bound with willows from the river bank. The construction of barrels became a vital and masterful art in Dixie.

¹⁹The Utah Pomologist and Gardener (St. George), Vol. 2, No. 5, June, 1872.

Church members were requested to leave San Bernadino because of the Utah War. He was an experienced nurseryman, and brought to the Dixie many kinds of California fruit trees and vines. In 1862 he returned to California for more seeds and cuttings. These he planted on his land near St. George which came to be known as Dodge Springs and was famous for its shrubs, flowers, vines, and trees. As each family received its lot in the valley and prepared it for cultivation and planting it was able to obtain the desired vines and trees from the well stocked Dodge nursery.

In 1865, Luther S. Hemenway was called by Brigham Young to go to St. George. The purpose of his call was to experiment in grape culture and in the making of wine. A skilled horticulturist and nurseryman, Mr. Hemenway had arrived in Salt Lake in 1853 bringing with him seeds and plants. When called to Dixie he transported what nursery stock that could stand the trip and immediately settled on a ten-acre tract of land in St. George and planted his vineyards. Hemenway fulfilled his mission and was able to report to the Deseret News on January 18, 1869 that:

In this wild, broken desert land where once volcanoes and earthquakes reigned supreme till its whole face was marked by their terrible violence, the grape has found a home, as congenial, I presume, as it enjoys in Syria or Persia. It is better adapted to our soil than any other plant we cultivate. We have been very diligent in procuring the choicest varieties we could obtain, or have any knowledge of, and contemplate that in a few years hence, we shall enjoy as good wine as any people on the earth.²⁰

²⁰As quoted in Heart Throbs of the West. Kate B.

In the same year that Luther S. Hemenway was called, a call was made for Joseph Ellis Johnson to move from Salt Lake to St. George. He was called to Dixie to study soil and weather conditions and help supply the colonists with a variety of trees and vines to improve their agricultural production. He brought not only a vast knowledge of horticulture, but also a printing press and type to publish a newspaper called the "Utah Pomologist" which was devoted to horticulture and gardening. The versatility of this pioneer horticulturist is demonstrated by the following statement of Rosemary Johnson Fox speaking of her father: "Besides fruits, flowers, drug store, carpenter shop and bees, we made wine and medicines, published a newspaper, canned fruit for the market, and even worked with silk worms."²¹ Johnson became a powerful force in the development of horticulture in Dixie as an examination of his publications will reveal.

By calling such accomplished nurserymen, and with the supply of trees and vines they made available, a great aid was afforded to the development and advancement of horticulture and wine production in Dixie.

The Gardner's Club and the other horticultural

Carter, Heart Throbs of the West, X (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1949), p. 188 Deseret News, January 18, 1869.

²¹Carter, Heart Throbs of the West, X, p. 197.

societies which followed it provided numerous benefits to Dixie fruit farmers. The club obtained a lot in St. George and constructed a large basement and upper room known as the wine cellar to be the center of wine production in the Dixie Mission. Joseph E. Johnson, in his October, 1870 Pomologist, speaking of the "Pioneer Winehouse" says:

"We have the best building, machinery, apparatus and outfit in these mountains, for making, refining, and storing wines, of which we offer the public, the benefit, as well as that of our careful observation, and experience, of several years."²²

In 1869 over 100 acres of land were surveyed by the Gardener's Club for the expansion of vineyards and the Club encouraged community members to co-operate in this venture. Lots would be appropriated on a first come first serve basis.²³

Perhaps the greatest service offered by the association of horticulturists was the importation and testing of different varieties of grapes and vines. In the words of Joseph E. Johnson:

²²The Utah Pomologist (St. George), Vol. 1, No. 7, October, 1870. The building housing the wine cellar was also used for theatrical productions and was known as the Old Opera House. The smell of fermenting wine permeated the entire building which has been described as "smelling to high heaven." Often the smell was so strong that the audience had a hard time sitting through a theatrical production. Interview with Jaunita Brooks, Salt Lake City, Utah, March 11, 1971. The building stands today and is used by the U & I Sugar Company to store sugar seed.

²³The Rio Virgen Times (St. George), Vol. 1, No. 30, January 20, 1869.

For the past four years, through the agency of our fruit growing association, and through private enterprise, we have imported and otherwise accumulated a great variety of the finest Foreign grapes, of which we may safely say we have in that line, the cream of the civilized world. In our own collection we can enumerate over 100 varieties. We have taken this course, not that we expect to propagate for this locality so great a variety, but consider it wise to prove in our soil and climate, the value of all varieties that are considered excellent elsewhere, and thus be able to select for propagation, for vineyards the VERY BEST for wine, . . . in fact the very best known for any and every use We shall doubtless be able to select, (including those what we have to fruit the next two years) all that we shall desire, of known varieties and shall be able to furnish vineyardists and amateurs in the Rocky Mountains any varieties worth their attention. Grape growing must be a sort of speciality here, so we have taken time by the forelock and as early as possible, have imported the CREME LE CREME of the worlds vineyards and hot houses.²⁴

Not only did the pomological societies import, experiment, and prove foreign and domestic grapes, but through their spokesman Joseph E. Johnson and his newspapers, gave Dixie colonists valuable tips and information concerning viniculture. The Pomologist lists the many varieties of grapes and gives their characteristics, the saccharine content of the various grapes, instructs readers in making raisins, proper pruning procedures and care for the vine, discusses good management and planning in the vineyard, as well as numerous articles on how to produce good wine and other valuable information. In each edition the editor includes "Work for the Month" in which he instructs his

²⁴The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No. 2, May, 1870. Also see The Rio Virgen Times, Vol. 1, No. 31, February 3, 1869.

readers what they should do that month in their orchards and vineyards to be successful.²⁵

Along with the information delivered to the public through Johnson's papers, the meetings of the societies were meaningful forums where specimens could be examined, experiments discussed, problems resolved, and ideas exchanged. The societies also sponsored special fruit growers conventions such as the Wine Growers Convention which met at the Gardener's Club Hall December 29, 1870. The Utah Pomologist says of this convention that "the audience was large, respectable and intelligent." It goes on to say: "The number of specimens of wine on exhibition were large and the quality unusually good, which, after a careful examination by the committee, was referred for further discussion and test to the audience present."²⁶

In their effort to strengthen the Southern Utah area, the leaders of the Church were very fortunate to have men such as Walter E. Dodge, Luther S. Hemenway, Joseph E. Johnson, and numerous others that they could rely upon to push the advancement of agriculture in general

²⁵See The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No.'s 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. The Utah Pomologist and Gardener, Vol. 2, No.'s 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10. The Rio Virgen Times, Vol. 1, No.'s 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 34, 35, 44, 48, 49. Our Dixie Times (St. George), Vol. 1, No.'s 2, 3, 7.

²⁶The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No. 9, February, 1871.

and grape production in particular. Their efforts, along with the pomological societies they formed, helped to make the Dixie one of the finest fruit districts in the inter-mountain west.

JOHN C. NAEGLE

The man who was to be known as "the best wine maker in Dixie" and whose product was marketed under the name of "Nails Best" was called to Dixie to build up the fruit and grape culture in 1866.²⁷

John C. Naegle was born in Albersweiler, Bavaria, Germany and immigrated to America with his parents when seven years old. While in his middle teens he heard of Joseph Smith and his teachings through his half-brother Conrad Kleinman. He was anxious to meet the modern Prophet, but arrived in Nauvoo shortly after the Prophet's death. John C. Naegle crossed the Mississippi with the body of the Saints after being baptized and having worked on the Nauvoo Temple. When a call came from the U. S. Government for 500 able-bodied men to fight in the Mexican War, young Naegle volunteered his services though only 21. This

²⁷George C. Naegle, "Sketch of the Life of John Conrad Naegle," (paper written February, 1929, Salt Lake City, Utah, copy completed by Virginia M. Lee, Federal Writers Project, WPA, at Ogden, Utah, January 7, 1937, typed 10-page paper in State Historical Society, Salt Lake City). Thomas C. Romney, "John Conrad Naegle." (Paper in possession of Mrs. Iona Moss, Salt Lake City, Utah). Reed W. Farnsworth, M. D., "Wine Making in Southern Utah." Paper presented to a local history group in Cedar City, Utah, copy in my possession).

large six foot two inch man weighing 218 pounds, when released from the army went to work at Sutter's Mill and was employed by Sutter when gold was discovered. He used his diggings to purchase a large ranch in the San Jose Valley upon which he raised vegetables and mules for the miners market and became a wealthy man. In 1853 he returned to Indiana to marry his childhood sweetheart and bring his family to Salt Lake. He purchased a large tract of land near Lehi which included the Saratoga Springs. Naegle became a generous contributor to the Church. For example, in 1856 he gave \$1,000 for tithing and another \$1,000 for construction of the Salt Lake Temple. At another time he purchased a grist mill, a saw mill, and a carding machine for the Church which he set up in American Fork Canyon. He furnished a team to haul granite for the Salt Lake Temple and for several years sent teams to assist emigrating Saints reach Utah. With the break up of Camp Floyd in 1861, Naegle purchased much of the government surplus including teams and wagons.²⁸

In 1866 President Young called John C. Naegle to establish a home in Southern Utah and take charge of the wine industry. Obedient to that call, he disposed of his holdings at Lehi and located at Toquerville on the Virgin

²⁸For a general discussion of the life history of John C. Naegle see the article entitled "John C. Naegle" in The Gospel in Action by Thomas C. Romney. Thomas C. Romney, The Gospel in Action (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, Published by the Deseret Sunday School Union Board, 1949), pp. 138-141.

River. He built a large two story stone structure to house his polygamous family. In the basement of this impressive building which stands today, was a huge wine cellar large enough to drive into with a span of horses and wagon and turn around in. He purchased a wine press and distillery in California which he used to manufacture great qualities of the choicest wines to be found in the country; indeed, he was by far the greatest wine producer in the territory. He was assisted by his half-brother, Conrad Kleinman, who was ten years older and had learned the winery business in Germany. They became known as the best wine makers in Southern Utah and "Nails Best" truly was the best. At one time Naegle was visited by a friend from California who was given a tour of the wine cellar. Upon sampling the wines, the friend said, "This is fine-- California can't beat it."²⁹

According to Heber Naegle, son of John C. Naegle, the plan proposed by President Young was to buy up all the grapes in the Dixie and make a very fine quality of wine. This was to be shipped to Salt Lake to a depot, and Brigham Young was going to find a market for it. Before the plan could succeed, however, Brigham Young died. People found that they could sell wine at this depot and began to

²⁹Thomas C. Romney, "John Conrad Naegle," (paper in possession of Mrs. Iona Moss, Salt Lake City, Utah).

take poor wine which killed the market.³⁰

Naegle produced as much as 3,000 gallons of wine a year in Toquerville which found ready markets in Salt Lake, Utah and Nevada mining camps, and among the Dixie colonists. His big cellar contained several 500 gallon barrels used in the manufacture and preservation of his famous products. The walls of the cellar were lined with these huge containers often standing 6 feet high with a diameter of 6 feet.³¹

Speaking of the wine cellar in the Old Naegle home another John C. Naegle descendent remembers that the dirt floor was kept wet to keep the wine cool and that some

³⁰Louise Slack, "Interview with Heber Lehi Naegle," (paper in possession of Mrs. Iona Moss, Salt Lake City Utah). Also see Interviews With Living Pioneers, p. 218. It has been impossible to determine what this depot in Salt Lake City was--whether it was Z.C.M.I., the Presiding Bishop's Office, or a private establishment of Brigham Young's. The researcher was unable to look through all the Z.C.M.I. and Presiding Bishop's records, but those located show no record of large amounts of wine received. Brigham Young's account books show no large purchases of wine, so it is uncertain just what this depot was. Naegle family tradition says that John C. Naegle shipped wine to Z.C.M.I. in 40 gallon barrels which he exchanged for flour, grain and other products. Interview with Anna Lee Redd, Provo, Utah, May 11, 1972. Interview with Iona Moss, Salt Lake City, Utah, May 31, 1972. Thomas C. Romney, "John Conrad Naegle." (Paper in possession of Mrs. Iona Moss, Salt Lake City). Reed W. Farnsworth M. D., "Wine Making in Southern Utah."

³¹Interview with Lynn and Mary Naegle, Toquerville, Utah, May 12, 1972. Lynn and Mary remember six or eight of these huge Dixie-made barrels in the basement of the John C. Naegle home, but Athole Milne remembers, "two dozen or more great big tanks holding about six hundred gallons apiece." Interview with Athole Milne, March 13, 1971. Unfortunately all these giant barrels have disappeared.

barrels were kept on shelves that were high enough that five or ten gallon kegs could be filled from the spigots near the bottom of the barrels.³²

By calling men such as John C. Naegle to Dixie to make, perfect, and market wine, Brigham Young insured the place of wine in the economy and social life of Dixie.

³²As reported by Mrs. Mable Naegle Dalley in a personal letter from Mrs. Lehi Jones, Cedar City, Utah, to the writer received May 3, 1972.

Chapter IV

VITICULTURE IN DIXIE

There are several reasons or explanations why Brigham Young may have been so interested in sending colonists into the Dixie to advance grape cultivation and wine production.

REPORTS OF EARLY TRAVELERS IN DIXIE

President Young was likely very impressed by accounts of early travelers in Dixie concerning its potential to produce semi-tropical crops and reports that grapes were already growing wild along the Virgin River.¹ Grapes had been planted as early as 1857 when Walter E. Dodge moved to Santa Clara from San Bernadino. John Harris brought a load of grape cuttings and fruit trees from California to Washington County in 1860 and the Deseret News reported that fall:

The culture of the grape, in Washington county, is attracting considerable attention The cuttings brought from lower California last spring have grown fairly, and Mr. James W. Bay has a bunch of grapes growing on a vine thus planted this season. He is very confident that wine can be produced there in large quantities.²

¹Supra Chapter 2 page 10 for the John D. Lee reports of 1852.

²Deseret News (Salt Lake City), September 20, 1860, Vol. 10, p. 236.

Brigham Young himself was impressed with the potential of fruit and grape culture on his visits to Dixie. In speaking of a visit to Santa Clara by President Young in 1861 the Deseret News reported that:

. . . Mr. E. Dodge has a fine young orchard and vineyard, consisting of apples, peaches, apricots, nectarines, plums, pears, quinces, almonds, figs, English walnuts, goose berries, currants, and Catawaba, Isabella and California grapes, all in a thrifty and promising condition

The success of early grape growing experiments along the Virgin surely influenced Brigham Young in his decision to call qualified men to grow grapes and produce wine.

CLIMATE AND SOIL

The soil and climate of Dixie were ideal for viticulture. St. George, Santa Clara, Washington, and Toquerville seemed particularly well adapted. The sandy, well-drained loam of the Virgin River valleys and the many days of warm sunshine produced well-colored fruit of excellent flavor.⁴

³Deseret News, Vol. 2, p. 116. As quoted in Under Dixie Sun p. 155. Hazel Bradshaw, ed., Under Dixie Sun (Panguitch, Utah, 1950), p. 155. Ivan J. Barrett in his thesis concerning the history of the Cotton Mission reports that on their May, 1861 trip into Utah's southland Church leaders were, "delighted with the fine vineyards." Ivan J. Barrett, "History of the Cotton Mission and Cotton Culture in Utah" (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1947), p. 102.

⁴Mr. Shirl Stucki of St. George, who cultivates 5,000 grape vines on 13 acres of land, and is reputed to be the largest grape grower in Utah, claims that the combination of good soil and climate produce great grapes in Dixie. He says that grapes grown in Dixie are sweeter than those

Speaking of soil and climate, Joseph E. Johnson said of Dixie:

. . . A region whose soil and climate is so abundantly adapted to the growth of the vine and luscious fruit. Our sunny clime gives us an abundance of heat; our air is dry and wholesome, . . . and as yet find the grape to have neither enemies nor disease, and our soil seems most happily adapted to a satisfactory growth of vine and excellent flavor of fruit.⁵

"For ripening grapes," reported the editor of The Rio Virgen Times, "our long seasons of regular high temperature is unequalled and the flavor of our fruit as good as any in the world,--It is only a question of time--: Southern Utah will yet be noted for its choice fruits and wines."⁶

Luther S. Hemenway felt that "The grape is better adapted to our climate and soil than any other plant we cultivate." He continued " . . . A great portion of the soil in the vicinity of St. George, has the elements necessary for growing wines of the highest quality. We have here all the good qualities of the soil of the Golden hill of Burgundy, coupled with those of Johannesberg hill.

grown in California. Interview with Shirl Stucki, St. George, Utah, May 13, 1972.

⁵Dixie Times (St. George), Vol. 1, No. 2, January 29, 1868.

⁶The Rio Virgen Times (St. George), Vol. 1, No. 27, December 9, 1868. As a result of soil and climatic conditions in Dixie as well as "a proper experience in growing, and manufacture," Joseph E. Johnson felt the Dixie could "produce as good wine as any part of the earth." The Utah Pomologist (St. George), Vol. 1, No. 6, September, 1870.

Providence has been very profuse in heaping together here the elements particularly suited to the vine." He found that the "climate is a crowning point, to make our locality a first class wine growing region in every respect. The mean temperature of September is from 78° to 80°, warm enough to ripen any 'exotic grape to perfection'." He then summarizes the geographic and climatic advantages of the area by saying that "All varieties of the grape that have been imported, both American and exotic, do well, and in place of disappointment, we are only surprised by the fine quality of fruit."⁷

The rich fertile soil, warm dry climate, and long growing season in Dixie proved so beneficial to viticulture that by 1866 one-third of the total acreage under cultiva-

⁷Correspondence from L. S. Hemenway, Deseret Evening News (Salt Lake City), February 18, 1869. Hemenway and Johnson were justified in their optimistic assessment of the potential of Dixie in growing luscious grapes and producing choice wines. The expert who wrote for Encyclopedia Britannica said that the best climate for grapes is a long, dry season with warm to hot summers and cool winters. He said that temperature is by far the most important climatic factor, affecting maturity date and palatability of the grape. Cool weather will mean higher acid content and sour taste; hot weather will mean lower acid content and a sweet taste in wines. A. J. Winkler, "Grapes," Encyclopedia Britannica (1971), X, 690. Grapes do best in deep (36" or more), well drained, and low salt content soils very similar to the sandy soils near St. George. As reported by A. Lowell Decker, soil scientist for the Bureau of Land Management, in a personal letter to the writer, received April 25, 1972. As a result of the favorable conditions in Dixie, "We raise a choice grape--not as large as the California grapes, but for flavor they are far superior." Interview with Ivy Stratton, St. George, Utah, May 13, 1972.

tion at Toquerville was given to orchards and vineyards.⁸ It therefore followed that President Young utilized these conditions by calling people to Dixie to cultivate the grape that was so well adapted.

SACRAMENT AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Wine of their own make was important to the Saints because Joseph Smith had announced a revelation that they were to use water unless they had wine of their own make for the sacrament.⁹ Brigham Young intended that the Dixie should produce wine to be used in sacramental services throughout the Church. He expressed this view when he remarked: "I anticipate the day when we can have the privilege of using, at our sacraments pure wine, produced within our borders."¹⁰

⁸James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission Book A, (copied from the original by BYU library, Provo, Utah, 1928), p. 249.

⁹Doctrine and Covenants, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1960) Section 27:4, p. 40. The revelation in part says: ". . . wherefore a commandment I give unto you, that you shall not purchase wine, neither strong drink of your enemies; wherefore you shall partake of none, except it is made new among you. Yea, in this my Father's kingdom which shall be built upon the earth."

¹⁰Brigham Young and other Church leaders, Journal of Discourses (London, 1854-1886) 10, p. 300. Remarks by President Brigham Young, made in the Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, Utah, June 4, 1864. It is extremely difficult to determine how far wine was used in Sacramental services in the Church. All the wards in Dixie used wine in the Sacrament, but pioneers in Cedar City and Provo cannot remember

As has been pointed out previously, the Swiss Colony received a special call to make wine for the sacrament. In view of President Young's comments concerning the economic aspects of breaking the Word of Wisdom voiced in 1861, it seems apparent that he also desired that the Dixie would supply wine for those who used it regularly.¹¹ This was in line with his goal of producing everything needed or consumed in the territory and becoming an economically self-sufficient domain.

CASH CROP

One important function of wine-making was to provide a cash crop for the cotton mission. In the mid-1870's, the Dixie wine makers had a ready market among the miners at Pioche, Nevada, and Silver Reef, Utah, as well as settlements to the north. Miners, characteristically hard workers and heavy drinkers, were happy to pay cash for rich

wine ever being used in these communities. Personal interview with Mrs. Emma Jacobsen, Provo, Utah, April 23, 1972. As reported by Mrs. Lehi Jones, Cedar City, Utah, in a personal letter to the writer, received May 3, 1972. Dixie tradition has it that wine was shipped to Salt Lake and then distributed to wards and stakes as far away as Idaho. Interview with Moroni McArthur, St. George, Utah, March 12, 1971. It is apparent that wine was not used in the Sacramental services in Brigham City in 1877 because in a message given in August of that year President Young explained to the Saints of that city that, "we use water as though it were wine; for we are commanded to drink not of wine for this sacred purpose except it be made of our own hands." Journal of Discourses 19:92.

¹¹Supra Chapter 3 page 19.

Dixie wine. Wine was thus the best cash crop available to early Dixie Saints. Most other products produced in the mission, including cotton, were bartered or consumed locally.

The plight of the cotton missionaries was expressed by James Leithead when he said:

. . . We can sell nothing we have for money. And the cotton, what little there is seems to be all our hope in that direction. We might take quite an amount in the products of the factory, providing the cloth was good; but still there are many articles we are in more need of than the cloth, such as boots and shoes, and tools of various kinds to work with.¹²

Joseph E. Johnson felt very strongly that grapes were the solution to this dilemma and said: ". . . our grapes for the table, wine and raisins will not only furnish us luxurious enjoyment, but give us exports that will purchase the little etceteras (sic) we are not yet able to furnish by our own skill and handicraft" ¹³

Wine did become a rich source of income for its producers in Santa Clara, Leeds, Toquerville, and other Dixie communities as they catered to the needs and demands of the thirsty silver miners.

PRACTICAL REASONS FOR WINE PRODUCTION

As Dixie pioneers saw how well the grape was

¹²James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission Book B, (Copied from the original by BYU Library Provo, Utah, 1928), p. 70.

¹³Dixie Times, Vol. 1, No. 7, March 4, 1868.

adapted to their area and planted more and more vines it became evident that they were producing more grapes than they could consume or barter. The natural answer was to make the surplus into wine.

There were several practical advantages for the production of wine. It required very little space for storage; it would keep indefinitely, and it could be hauled with little waste. In addition, wine was a product consumed in generous quantities by Gentiles.

Another reason many Dixicats turned to the production of wine can be illustrated by the following story. A well repected bishop had a vineyard from which he harvested most luscious grapes. Because of his reputation he could not justify selling wine, so he carried the grapes north to trade for flour and potatoes. But no one had any flour or potatoes to exchange for grapes. He was threatened with the loss of his load; so he returned home and ground up the grapes, pressed out the juice and made them into wine. When the wine was in proper condition to sell he sallied forth once more to try to obtain flour and potatoes for the winter supply. This time his reception was quite different. Wherever he went, he found good market for his wine, and plenty of flour and potatoes in exchange. He came home well provided for the winter.¹⁴

¹⁴John Taylor Woodbury, Vermilion Cliffs--Reminiscences of Utah's Dixie (Published by the Woodbury Children in Commemoration of their parents golden wedding, October 19, 1933), p. 20.

In the words of Joseph E. Johnson, a leading horticulturist in Dixie:

The most safe and profitable use of large crops of grapes is to manufacture into wine--as the crop requires less labor, and less care and transportation, than either of the other conditions. (i.e. for table use or as raisins)

Fine choice wines are always worth from three to four dollars per gallon in New York. Many of our small vineyards may be made to produce wines that will compare with the rarest importations, and become a source of wealth to the country.¹⁵

Manufacture of wine simply was the most practical and economical thing to do with the grapes that grew so abundantly along the Virgin.

Thus as a result of success in early experiments with viticulture, the existence of perfect soil and climatic conditions, a desire to produce sacramental wine and provide a cash crop for Dixie, and a need to economically utilize large amounts of grapes grown in the area the wine industry was begun in Utah's Dixie.

¹⁵The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No. 3, June, 1870.

Chapter V

WINE PRODUCTION METHODS AND PROCESSES

The grape cuttings brought in from California by Walter E. Dodge and John Harris served as the base for fine vineyards in Santa Clara, Washington, and Toquerville that were well established by the time St. George was founded. The vineyards were also strengthened by over a hundred varieties of foreign and domestic grapes imported and proven by expert horticulturists such as Joseph E. Johnson and Luther S. Hemenway.

Karl Larson in his Red Hills of November, reports that in 1864 there were 6 acres of vineyard in Washington and that by 1866 these 6 acres had almost tripled to 17 acres.¹ Toquerville was settled in 1858 and by 1865 could boast of 19 acres of fine vineyards.² James G. Bleak

¹Andrew Karl Larson, The Red Hills of November (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1957), p. 54 for 1864 figure and p. 163 for 1866 figure. With only a few vines, it is a simple matter to expand a vineyard. Frank Hafen explained this process. When the vines get two or three years old there are plenty of cuttings for expansion. "I have 40 or 50 vines out here and when I prune them every year I get cuttings enough to set out 20 acres--lots of cuttings come off a little vineyard that way." Interview with Frank Hafen, Washington, Utah, May 13, 1972.

²Hazel Bradshaw, ed., Under Dixie Sun (Panguitch, Utah, 1950), p. 256. Reed W. Farnsworth, M. D., "Wine Making in Southern Utah," (Paper presented to a local history group in Cedar City Utah, copy in my possession), p. 5.

recorded that in 1866 Washington and Harrisburg both had 17 acres of vineyard, Santa Clara had 5 acres in grapes and Toquerville had increased its vineyard acreage to 25½ acres.³ These figures illustrate how rapidly viticulture spread and increased shortly after the settlement of the Dixie communities.

Viticulture was mentioned by George A. Smith at General Conference on October 7, 1865 when, speaking of St. George, he said "many vineyards have come into bearing, and extensive new vineyards have been planted" ⁴ The result and hope of this expansion of grape culture was emphasized by the Deseret News in 1868 when it reported: "St. George . . . enchants the traveler with its climate and general beauty. In the short space of six years this settlement of about 1500 inhabitants, enjoys the satisfaction of being able to produce what fruit they need for home use and quantities of wine which they expect to export."⁵

Figures compiled and published by order of the territorial legislative assembly showing the material condition of the territory in 1875 advised that there were 544

³James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission Book A, (copied from the original by BYU library, Provo, Utah, 1928), p. 249.

⁴Brigham Young and other Church leaders, Journal of Discourses (London, 1854-1886) II, p. 156.

⁵Deseret News (Salt Lake City), February 19, 1868 as reported in Andrew Karl Larson's "Agricultural Pioneering in the Virgin River Basin," (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1946), p. 184.

acres of grapes yielding a total of 3,409,200 pounds with an average yield of 6,260 bushels per acre.⁶ These are territorial figures and do not give county by county statistics other than to say that Washington County had raised the greatest quantity of grapes.

Although the exact number of acres producing grapes in Washington County is not given in the 1875 figures, the Utah Pomologist says that "One acre of vineyard, will require from ten to fifteen hundred plants" and that by "The third year, if plants are well grown, they will produce from five to twenty-five pounds of fruit to the vine, and the fourth year should average over a gallon of wine to the plant." That means that in four years following planting a farmer could expect from ten to fifteen hundred gallons of wine. The Pomologist then reminded its readers "that the vines, if properly cared for, year after year, increase in yield of fruit, and require less attention. We know of no crop requiring the same amount of attention that will yield the profit of the grape."⁷

⁶Robert Sloan, ed., Utah Gazetteer and Directory of Logan, Provo, Ogden, and Salt Lake City 1884 (Salt Lake City: Herald Printing and Publishing Company, 1884), p. 46. H.L.A. Culmer, ed., Utah Directory and Gazetteer 1879-80 (Salt Lake City: J. C. Graham & Company, 1879), p. 15. "The Resources and Attractions of Utah," (Pamphlet prepared by the Utah Board of Trade, 1879, O. J. Hollister, secretary), p. 20. Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Utah (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890), p. 726.

⁷Utah Pomologist (St. George), Vol. 1, No. 3, June, 1970. Although the exact acreage is not known we can see

With such prospects for success in viticulture and production of wine, it is not surprising that within a few years practically everyone had a vineyard and was involved in the manufacture of wine on a personal or large scale basis. It is interesting to note that the Utah Directory and Gazetteer 1879-80 in its Business Directory of Toquerville lists U. Breiner, wine raiser, C. Kleinman, wine grower, John C. Nail, wine manufacturer, Stapley & Son, wine raiser.⁸ "In St. George alone," reported the Utah Pomologist of October, 1870, "we have five or six 'outfits' engaged in making wine with machinery." Then the paper added, "The amounts made by different growers range from 25 to 2,500 gallons."⁹ Athole Milne, a pioneer who lived

the important place the grape held in the Dixie economy at this time by examining the following figures. James G. Bleak wrote a letter to the President and Board of Directors of the United Order for the St. George Stake showing what was submitted to the Order from April 27, 1874 till June 24, 1874 in which he made the following notations: "St. George City: wine \$739.25 of a total \$33,417.52, St. George Santa Clara Field: vineyard \$700.00 of total \$20,874.31, Midalton (sic); vineyards \$6,750.00 of total \$7,225.08, Santa Clara: Vineyards & Orchards \$1,716.00 of total \$25,993.97." James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission Book, (copied from the original by BYU library, Provo, Utah, 1928), pp. 302-309.

⁸Culmer, Utah Directory and Gazetteer, 1879-80, p. 359. It is impossible to know exactly how many people raised grapes and produced wine in Dixie. The County Assessors records in St. George list only agricultural acreage to be taxed and do not differentiate whether crop land, vineyard, or what.

⁹The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No. 7, October, 1870.

in the heyday of the wine industry is able to recall the names of half a dozen people who made and sold wine in Washington, and thinks there were at least that many in Santa Clara.¹⁰ There were doubtless numerous other people in the area with a few vines in their yards that pressed a little wine for their own private use.

LICENSE TO PRODUCE WINE

Between 1860 and 1866, the idea of a wine industry was not generally encouraged because of the interest in cotton-raising. From 1866 on, the growing of cotton greatly dropped off, while the making of wine began to rise. This was probably due to the fact that the Civil War was over, and it was apparent that the Dixie cotton industry could not compete with cotton being shipped in from the Southern states.

In June, 1866, Bishop Henry Eyring told the High Priest Quorum of St. George that the settlers would not make a fat living in Dixie, but that they would do well to establish a foundation to produce wine. He said that grapes would pay best if they were dried or made into wine.¹¹

¹⁰Interview with Athole Milne, Washington, Utah, March 13, 1971. Frank Hafen claims there were half a dozen people in both Washington and Santa Clara who would make 6 or 8 hundred, or as much as a thousand gallons of wine a year. Interview with Frank Hafen, May 13, 1972.

¹¹Nels Anderson, Desert Saints (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 373.

During the September, 1866 term of the Washington County court:

License for six months was granted to William Theobald to distill grapes and peaches at Toquerville, provided; that should the distillery prove subversive to the public good in Toquerville, Court shall have the right to revoke the license. \$30.00 cash to be paid before beginning to distill.

Lemuel S. Leavitt and Edwin Marshall Hamblin were granted license to distill at Santa Clara for 6 months at \$40.00 under same proviso as for Toquerville.

John Hug, George Staheli, and C. Hafen granted license to distill at Santa Clara, 6 months at \$25.00 same proviso.¹²

In September of 1867, John C. Naile (Naegle) and Ulrich Bryner were licensed to manufacture wine and brandy at Toquerville at \$30.00 for 3 months.¹³

As cotton declined, it appeared that wine was the only product that left any hope of improving the economy in the Southern Utah area. Acreage in grapes increased as the Dixie communities grew in population and as the grape was proven as a reliable and economically advantageous crop. In a matter of just a few years, through plant cuttings of local grapes and the importation and experimentation of many varieties of grapes, the Dixie had reached the point that it could support several wineries as well as provide wine for personal use.

¹²Bleak, Annals Book A, pp. 250-251.

¹³Bleak, Annals Book A, p. 265. That these licenses were renewed is verified by James G. Bleak as he records that the court renewed the license to Naegle and Bryner on January 15, 1869. Bleak, Annals Book A, p. 306.

WINE MAKING PROCESS

It was thought that the cultivation of grapes would not greatly interfere with raising other crops adapted to the warm Dixie climate and that a man could make wine at odd times when he was not busy with his regular chores. Yet the wine making process, if done correctly did take time and special care.

Levi Savage, a well known Dixie Pioneer, describes the wine making time schedule and process in the early days of Toquerville. His day by day diary for 1877 contains the following entries:

Thursday 20 I arranged with Bro. Hill to make my wine at his place using this press & grinder. Prepared one of his marsh tubs to use.

Friday 21 I repaired [sic] & put to soke [sic] some tubs of Bro. Hills preparatory for making wine.

Monday 24 We commenced picking grapes preparatory to making wine. I am making my wine at Bro. Hills for 2 gallons on the hundred.

Tuesday 25 Continued preparations for wine making.

Wednesday 26 I ground my grapes

Thursday 27 I clenzed [sic] my wine barrels & titned [sic] the hoop on them.

Friday 28 Evening I commenced to pres [sic] my wine. Continued all night & finished at 10 o clck [sic] next morning.

Saturday 29 Hauled my wine home and put it in the cellar, also hauled my pommis [sic] home.

Monday October 1st 1877 I repaired [sic] some barrels & put water on the pummys [sic] to make vinegar.¹⁴

Although wine making was a very personal thing and everyone had his own particular ideas and methods of making

¹⁴Levi Savage Jr. Diary, (xerox copy of the original in State Historical Society library, Salt Lake City, Utah).

wine, a general picture can be drawn of the wine making process. It was quite unique to Utah's Dixie and often reveals the ingenuity of the early pioneers.

As the Levi Savage account shows, grapes were picked in the fall of the year--usually in September before school started, and just after the first cool nights. The frost would set the sugar in the grapes. The grapes would sometimes be slightly withered, and these were the best because they contained the most sugar and made the sweetest wine.¹⁵

When growers decided to pick they would notify the

¹⁵Interview with Robert Naegle, Toquerville, Utah, May 12, 1972. Often the prospective wine maker would pick his grapes too soon. In speaking of this situation, the editor of the Rio Virgen Times in an article entitled "Wine Making" says:

There is often a great mistake by the uninitiated wine grower, in making wine too soon. When the grape gets sweet and apparently ripe, many suppose they are fit for wine or raisins. Not so, but for either use they should hang on the vine, not only until they have secreted all they will of saccharine matter, but should be allowed to evaporate a portion of the water from the berry leaving the remainder richer; they should be allowed to shrivel a little on the vine before gathering for wine or raisins.--Much of the poor wine made here in Dixie owes its unpalatable flavor, and lack of keeping qualities to being too soon picked. Our soil makes grapes very sweet when fully ripe.

The Rio Virgen Times (St. George), Vol. 1, No. 23, September 15, 1868. The Encyclopedia Britannica explains why it is best to allow the grape to collect as much sugar as possible: "Wine is ultimately derived from the carbon dioxide of the air which penetrates the leaves of the vine and is there converted into starch and its derivatives. During absorption into the grapes these bodies are converted into the sugars glucose and fructose. During the fermentation process the sugars are converted into ethyl alcohol and carbon dioxide." Lawrence G. Klink, "Wine," Encyclopedia Britannica (1971), XXIII, 583.

townspeople that they would pick in the morning. Early the next morning a wagon would come down the main street to pick up the young people who wanted to pick. Fifteen or twenty young folks would usually turn out with bucket in hand. "You wanted the bucket to hold at least three gallons because the last bucket you picked you could take home--that was all you got paid for a half day of picking."¹⁶

In the vineyard, a big double-bedded wagon with sides about 2 feet high, would go up and down each row. As the pickers filled their buckets, the grapes were dumped into the wagon. In Toquerville, when the wagon was full, it would be driven down through the big double doors on the north side of the John C. Naegle home into the wine cellar. In other communities, the ripened fruit was hauled from the fields into town to either a central wine making location or to the individual farmer's home.

Upon reaching their destination, the grapes were pitchforked from the wagon bed into hand-operated roller crusher which broke the skins and tore the grapes from the stems, making grape mash or pulp. At this point, the personal habits and views of individual wine makers began to show up. Frank Averett of Washington says that "none of the old timers ever washed the grapes, just threw them in and ground them up."¹⁷ Some of the better wine makers were

¹⁶Interview with Lynn Naegle, Toquerville, Utah, May 12, 1972.

¹⁷Interview with Frank Hafen, May 13, 1972.

more particular about the grapes they used in their wine. Ivy Stratton said that his grandfather, William Lang of St. George, was "fussy about his wine and made a good quality of wine." "When we gathered the grapes," Brother Stratton continues, "we picked them all over--he'd have us sort them over and pick anything that wasn't fit to use out. He ran the very best grapes through."¹⁸

The size of the crusher and the manner in which it was set up depended upon the volume produced. The John C. Naegle roller crushers, which he purchased in California, were a foot wide. The crushers were placed over a barrel which when full of ground grapes, was emptied into big 6 foot high, 8 foot diameter fermenting barrels along the west wall of the wine cellar.¹⁹ Smaller operators would set up their grinder on two boards over a 5 or 6 hundred gallon barrel. The grapes would be run through the grinder and allowed to fall into the large barrel where the juice would be allowed to stand on the pomace (grapes, skins, etc. known in Dixie as pummies), until it was well fermented.²⁰

The amount of fermentation was again dependent upon the personal taste of the manufacturer, and the type of wine he wanted to produce. Fermenting barrels were open to the warm Dixie sun. Different wine makers would have different

¹⁸Interview with Ivy Stratton, St. George, Utah, May 13, 1972.

¹⁹Interview with Robert Naegle, May 12, 1972.

²⁰Interview with Frank Hafen, May 13, 1972.

methods of knowing when fermentation was to the proper stage. Frank Hafen says that some early wine makers would fill the fermentation barrel up to within a foot of the top. In ten or twelve days when the grapes were fermented, the crushed grapes would be right up to the rim.²¹ Other wine makers would consider fermentation complete when the mash stopped bubbling which often took as much as two weeks.²² Some producers relied strictly upon a set number of days which ranged from a week to as many as thirty days. By allowing the juice to stand on the pomace for a week or more, a tart taste resulted and a sour wine would be produced. When a sweet wine was desired the juice was removed from the pomace after only two or three days of fermentation.²³

When the mash had reached the desired point of fermentation, the juice was ready to be pressed off the pomace. There were two types of presses used in Dixie. One type resembled a regular barrel except that the staves were not completely grooved together leaving narrow slits between staves. A press screw and plate placed on top of the pulp and gradually wound down forced the juice out between the staves. It was caught in the metal base of

²¹Interview with Frank Hafen, May 13, 1972.

²²Interview with Ivy Stratton, May 13, 1972.

²³Interview with Frank Hafen, May 13, 1972.

the press, and funneled out through a spout into a bucket.²⁴ The other type of press resembled a large wooden box with a screw press on top. The press was approximately four feet square and two feet high and constructed of heavy 2 inch wood. The fermented pomace would be placed in the press and topped with boards. The screw was then tightened down until all the juice was pressed out a small opening at the base of the press and the pomace was dry.

The grape juice was then strained through coarse cloth to remove any remaining seeds, skins or stems and placed in 50, 20, 10, and 5 gallon kegs as well as jugs to ripen. No speed ripener was used other than time and warm Dixie sun. This was pretty red wine.

If a white wine was desired, the wine maker would use the same grapes and the same process as if he were making red wine. Rather than placing the pomace into fermenting vats after grinding, the juice was immediately pressed off. It was placed in barrels and covered air tight except for a flexible pipe which was inserted through a hole in the cork. The other end of the pipe was placed in a pail of water to keep the keg air tight. The fermentation process was facilitated by the escape of air bubbles through the water. The result of this process was a "pretty,

²⁴Jessie K. Empey, and Mabel Jarvis, "Manufacturing Wine," Heart Throbs of the West, III (Salt Lake City, 1951), pp. 234-235. Interview with Frank Hafen, May 13, 1972.

white, clear wine of about the same alcoholic content as red wine."²⁵

The fermentation process continued in the barrels and soon a "cloud," or heavier part of the juice would settle to the bottom of the barrel. If the juice was allowed to stand on these settlings too long it would turn sour and eventually make vinegar. To prevent the wine from souring it was necessary to rack (draw) the juice off the settlings. In advising its readers in the proper procedure to make good wine, The Utah Pomologist said: "An expert at winemaking will then, by often racking off continue to arrest fermentation leaving the wine at Christmas, sweet, clear, and of desired flavor, having less alcohol and acid and more sugar than the wines heretofore made in this region."²⁶

Ideally the cleared wine was placed in Dixie-made barrels and plugged with corks made from Oregon redwood bark. After Silver Reef opened in 1876, the demand for the rich liquid was so great that often the wine was sold before it fully matured. A considerable amount of wine was corked off and preserved for several years. Wine was stored in the basement of the Naegle home in Toquerville,

²⁵Interview with Ivy Stratton, May 13, 1972.

²⁶The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No. 6, September, 1870. Water was often added to the settlings from the wine barrel to make good wine vinegar which found a good market in the north.

the Old Opera House in St. George, the tithing offices of almost all of the Dixie communities, as well as numerous private cellars along the river.²⁷

INDIVIDUAL MAKERS

A great deal of wine was made on a commercial basis by several producers, but as a rule each family made its own wine from its own vines in true European style. Many of these settlers had learned the art in Germany or Switzerland; but if they hadn't been so fortunate, they caught on rapidly and soon rivaled the experts.

Many of the people who made wine for their own use or only a small amount for sale would take their grapes to one of the large producers who would process their grapes for a percentage. In the case of Levi Savage, this percentage was 2 gallons out of each 100 produced.²⁸ Bob Naegle said that both his father and grandfather made wine for individual farmers who would pick up their barrel and store it in the barn, chicken coop, or haystack.²⁹ That

²⁷Interview with Bert Covington, St. George, Utah, May 13, 1972. Interview with Frank Averett, Washington, Utah, May 13, 1972. Interview with Frank Hafen, May 13, 1972. All of these men say that almost everyone (Mr. Covington says every other family) had wine in their cellar and that it was common for people to have wine in the early days. Wine became better with age, and in about three years, after racking off the clear juice each year, a wine grower would have an excellent product. The older a wine became the better it became, but Frank Averett commented that wine could be "pampered" with anytime after twenty days in the barrel.

²⁸Supra page 50 of this chapter.

²⁹Interview with Robert Naegle, May 12, 1972.

there were several people willing and equipped to assist the small producer is illustrated by the following advertisement which appeared in The Rio Virgen Times:

Wine Making

Notice is hereby given that I have a Wine Mill of latest improved style, of capacity sufficient to work up all the grapes that grow in this city. In good time it will be established in a suitable building in St. George, with every attending facility for making the most and best wine, out of a given quantity of Grapes. The price of making will be very moderate and SATISFACTION GUARANTEED. Let all who have grapes to make into WINE consult their own interest by consultation upon the subject with

J. E. Johnson³⁰

Many of the farmers with only a few vines, however, made their own wine. Today this tradition is kept alive by a few of the old timers in Dixie. The method used is very similar to that used a hundred years ago. The grapes are placed in a bucket and crushed with a smasher made by putting a flat piece of board on the end of a 2X4. The pomace is then dumped into a ten gallon crock, or similar container, and allowed to ferment. The juice is then pressed off as completely as possible and stored in jugs, jars, or kegs. The modern wine makers make up to forty or fifty gallons in this fashion using much the same process as their ancestors used.³¹

It has been said jokingly that Dixie girls had the

³⁰Rio Virgen Times, Vol. 1, No. 48, July 7, 1869. As previously mentioned, the Gardener's Club also offered wine making facilities for private producers. The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No. 7, October, 1870.

³¹Interview with Frank Hafen, May 13, 1972. Interview with Bert Covington, May 13, 1972.

whitest legs in the territory because they had been tromping grapes.³² Josephine Hamblin remembers as a little girl seeing her grandfather George Jarvis standing waist deep in a vat of fermenting grapes. She said her grandfather "used to make us children wash our feet and clean our toe nails to get in the vat and tromp the wine,"³³ Bob Naegle of Toquerville, commented that some of the "old fellows" would put the grapes in a tub "and get in there with their feet and tromp the grapes."³⁴ It is likely that some wine was made by tromping the grapes, but the greatest part of the Dixie wine was processed through the more conventional process described above.

Even children got involved in the wine-making process. One Dixie pioneer remembers how "us kids used to squeeze grapes with our hands and put the juice in jars to ferment." "We used to want to get ahold of a 5 gallon wooden bucket to make wine in--we could always steal our grapes."³⁵

Thus the wine making process varied from the detailed and complicated procedure of the large commercial

³²Olive W. Burt, "Wine-making in Utah's Dixie," Lore of Faith and Folly, ed., Thomas E. Cheney (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press), p. 149. Interview with Josephine Hamblin, Salt Lake City, Utah, May 11, 1972.

³³Interview with Josephine Hamblin, May 11, 1972.

³⁴Interview with Robert Naegle, May 12, 1972.

³⁵Interview with Frank Averett, May 13, 1972.

producer to the simple routine followed by a farmer with only a few vines to establish his private stock. The process also varied because of the different habits and tastes of the individual wine makers as well as the type of wine desired.

WINE GRAPES

The grape known in Dixie as the California grape was generally used for wine making, although other varieties were used. The California variety actually was the Old Mission grape which had been imported from California and spread quickly throughout the Dixie.³⁶ In speaking of the California grape, The Pomologist stated:

For a wine grape a number of sorts have been worked with good results--The Old Mission or California is the variety principally planted here, and we doubt whether we shall find a grape producing a greater quantity of saccharine matter or one more destitute of any distinct flavor. It is a very good table grape, and when well ripened makes a wine of excellent body, but destitute of aroma. The grape is of only medium size, with plenty of seeds, free from pulp and makes a white, or rosy wine according to the mode of manufacture.³⁷

In answer to the question of which grapes are best to plant, The Dixie Times stated: "The Old Mission makes an excellent

³⁶Interview with Bert Covington, May 13, 1972. Interview with Ivy Stratton, May 13, 1972. Also see The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No. 1, April, 1870.

³⁷The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No. 1, April, 1870.

table grape and a keeping wine."³⁸

Second only to the Old Mission in volume of vines planted along the Virgin was the Isabella grape. "The Isabella grape fruits heavily and thrives well under any ordinary circumstances, never mildewing or failing in crop, and grown in our climate makes a good high colored wine," The Utah Pomologist and Gardener commented, "and we recommend it for general cultivation for wine," ". . . We have proved none yet so free from faults; easily cared for--never failing and productive. It makes a better wine and is safer than the Old Mission anyhow."³⁹

In speaking of the wines produced from the Isabella and Old Mission grapes, Daniel Bonelli, leader of the Swiss Colony, reported to the Deseret Evening News that:

W. E. Dodge has wine made of the Isabella grape which is pronounced a superior article by competent judges; and from the common Mission grape, was a wine made at Toquerville last season, which, in alcoholic strength and saccharine properties, surpass the best Burgundy ever analyzed and lacked nothing but aroma of being perfect wine.⁴⁰

Although domestic grapes such as the Old Mission and Isabella produced the greatest amounts of wine in Dixie, numerous foreign varieties were imported and tested by individual horticulturists and Pomological Societies. In

³⁸The Dixie Times (St. George), Vol. 1, No. 7, March 4, 1868.

³⁹The Utah Pomologist and Gardener (St. George), Vol. 2, No. 3, March, 1873.

⁴⁰Correspondence of Daniel Bonelli, Deseret Evening News (Salt Lake), August 26, 1868.

speaking of these foreign grapes, The Pomologist of April, 1870 stated: "We have fruited also the Black Hamburg, and Lady Downs, each of which give promise of a wine superior to either the Old Mission or Isabella."⁴¹ A year later the same paper commented: "We have little doubt but that the Muscat Hamburg, Black Frontignan and other high flavored foreign grapes will yet be found to make wines of higher grades, that will be received with more favor than the brands we have yet made."⁴²

In regards to the foreign grapes of which the Dixie could boast, Daniel Bonelli commented:

We have now all the prominent varieties of the European wine grape which are cultivated in the wine districts of Europe, even to the Pirean, the Black Burgundy, the Maderia wine grape and the Trammier of the Rhine, as well as the Muscatells of Spain and the Fiber Zagos and Tokas of Hungary, each true to name and character, reproducing with us the excellencies for which they have been esteemed from age to age in their own lands.⁴³

Numerous foreign and exotic grapes were imported

⁴¹The Utah Pomologist, Vol, No. 1, April, 1870.

⁴²The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No. 10, April, 1871.

⁴³Correspondence of Daniel Bonelli, Deseret Evening News, August 26, 1868. In an article entitled "What Grapes Have We?", the editor of The Utah Pomologist lists 36 foreign varieties of grapes and 16 varieties of native American grapes. The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No. 2, May 1870. Two years later the Utah Pomologist and Gardener lists and describes 16 foreign varieties and 10 American varieties of grapes. The Utah Pomologist and Gardener, Vol. 2, No. 2, February, 1872. The year 1869 saw a good deal of correspondence from wine authorities both in Utah's Dixie and in the Salt Lake area. At the end of one such letter from Luther S. Hemenway dated April 15, 1869, the

into Dixie, and as expressed in the above quotes, great hope was held for their future as choice wine grapes. Wine was produced from several of these foreign varieties, but mainly only by expert horticulturists. The average person in Dixie built his vineyard from the cuttings of his neighbor who more than likely had a vineyard of domestic varieties. In practically every issue of The Utah Pomologist Joseph E. Johnson advertized "GRAPE VINES A large assortment of the finest and best varieties of foreign grape vines for sale."⁴⁴ It is likely that many farmers planted some of these exotic vines and that wine was pressed from them, but the acreage and amount produced never equaled the Old Mission or Isabella.

INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING WINE MAKING

As time passed, nearly every family had grape vines, and a lot of people learned to make wine of varying degrees of palatability and excellence. In an effort to help people understand the rudiments of wine production and assist them to make a better finished product, early Dixie newspapers printed articles concerning the making of good wine.

editor of the Deseret Evening News included this statement which helps to illustrate the expectations of Dixie wine: "We have published these communications in the hope that something useful might be elucidated in relation to this subject, being convinced that this branch of industry will yet become a great value and importance among the people of Utah." Deseret Evening News, April 15, 1869, p. 109.

⁴⁴The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No. 10, April, 1871.

Two problems which seemed to plague many Dixie wine producers were picking the grapes too soon and leaving the crushed grapes in the fermenting vat too long. The Utah Pomologist and The Rio Virgen Times each published an article concerning these situations to assist Dixie farmers to be aware of the problems and know how to solve them. Planters were encouraged to allow grapes to hang on the vine until slightly shriveled, and to press the juice from the pomace before it soured.⁴⁵ The papers generally encouraged their readers that "if you make wine, use a proper care and make such as will please the market at home or abroad."⁴⁶

In May, 1873, James G. Bleak, along with other missionaries, stopped off to investigate the grape and wine industry in Cologne, Germany. At that time, Joseph Birch, a member of the party gave them a recipe for clearing wine:

Beat freely the whites of twelve eggs, add one quart of alcohol and beat freely while adding, then add two gallons of wine still beating freely. Add the whole to a barrel of forty gallons of wine, then roll the barrel freely so as to mix well. Let rest for 7 or 8 days and rack off.⁴⁷

On one occasion, David H. Cannon was instructed to

⁴⁵The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No. 6, September, 1870. The Rio Virgen Times, Vol. 1, No. 23, September 15, 1868.

⁴⁶The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No. 6, September, 1870.

⁴⁷Caroline S. Addy, "James G. Bleak, Pioneer Historian of Southern Utah" (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1953), p. 30, footnote 14.

tell Bishop Henry of Meadow Valley, who had 200 gallons of factory's [cotton factory in Washington] wine which he was trying to sell, that a little sugar and water be added to the wine to make it palatable, (the sugar was to be put in boiling water and then added to the wine when the water was cooled), and saleable.⁴⁸

These instructions may well have assisted the Dixie wine makers in producing their product, but most of the vinters prided themselves that nothing was added to their sweet liquid except warm Dixie sun. Most Dixie farmers had their own personal procedures and habits in wine making and were reluctant to change tradition.

AMOUNT OF WINE PRODUCED

The amount of wine produced varied from year to year according to favorable or unfavorable climatic and related factors. The August 1870, edition of The Utah Pomologist stated that: "Thus far the grape prospect is excellent, . . . and will produce more than double the wine of last years crop."⁴⁹ In 1871 even though "the season has been excessively hot, and an unusual drought, grapes look unusually well and promise a better crop than heretofore gathered."⁵⁰ Other factors affecting the annual production

⁴⁸Andrew Karl Larson, Red Hills of November (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1957), 165.

⁴⁹The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No. 5, August, 1870.

⁵⁰The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No. 12, July, 1871.

of wine are emphasized by The Utah Pomologist and Gardener. "Our vineyards never looked as healthy or carried as much and as fine sized fruit as the present crop. No mildew, grape flies, spittle bug or other insect of disease, . . . and prospects warrant in estimating our crop of wine this year, double that of any former year, and superior quality."⁵¹

It is interesting to note that over the two year period from 1870-1872 the prospect for the amount of wine produced was always bright even through an unusually hot and dry season. This increasing output was likely due to more land being given to vineyards and more emphasis being placed upon viticulture by Dixie farmers. The upward trend, however, was not continual, as the 1873 report shows. "Our fruit crop in Southern Utah has been very light the past harvest, on account of the severe frost When grapes were ripened off, and the usual quantity had been used for domestic and other purposes, in many instances, the quantity left for wine was indeed small, and upon fair calculation not over a fourth of the usual quantity of wine was made."⁵²

⁵¹The Utah Pomologist and Gardener, Vol. 2, No. 5, June, 1872.

⁵²The Utah Pomologist and Gardener, Vol. 2, No. 10, December, 1873. Unseasonable frost after the grapes were in leaf and showing fruit clusters seems to have been a real headache to early vinters. Dixie oldsters who still like the taste of "good ol' Dixie wine," and usually make themselves a little every year, have been disappointed for the last three years by frosts that have killed the good wine grapes. Interview with Bert Covington, May 13, 1972.

Although no yearly totals of wine produced are available, we can obtain an idea of the magnitude of the wine industry in Dixie by examining bits and pieces of information from several sources.

In St. George in 1870 there were five or six "out-fits" making wine in amounts ranging from 25 to 2,500 gallons.⁵³ At least the same number of concerns were making wine in other Dixie communities such as Santa Clara, Washington, Leeds, and Toquerville. That's a lot of wine being pressed, and doesn't even include the dozens of farmers who made smaller amounts of wine for their own personal use up and down the Virgin.

In 1872 Joseph E. Johnson claimed that his friend and neighbor, Walter E. Dodge, had a larger annual wine crop than any other grape grower in Dixie.⁵⁴ Dodge's wine production totaled 1800 gallons in 1868 and was likely much higher in 1872 because of increased acreage and greater yields from his older vines.⁵⁵ At the same time Walter E. Dodge was making his wine in St. George, John C. Naegle was producing great amounts of "Nails Best" in Toquerville. In 1868 he is reported to have made over 3,000 gallons of

⁵³The Utah Pomologist, Vol. 1, No. 7, October, 1870.

⁵⁴The Utah Pomologist and Gardener, Vol. 2, No. 5, June, 1872.

⁵⁵The Rio Virgen Times, Vol. 1, No. 26, October 28, 1868.

wine.⁵⁶ These figures will illustrate the volume of wine produced by two of the major wine producers in Dixie. Several others produced wine in lesser amounts ranging from four hundred to a thousand gallons.⁵⁷

Another good indicator of the amount of wine produced is to examine the Tithing Office records. In 1889, the St. George tithing office reported that it had made 600 gallons of wine that year from grapes that the Saints had paid as tithing.⁵⁸ If the tithing office was able to manufacture 600 gallons from a tenth of the grapes grown in St. George during one year, it suggests that great great amounts of wine were produced in the Dixie.

Although no exact figures of the amount of wine produced, or the number of people who made wine are available, it can be safely said that great amounts of Dixie wine were manufactured in varying quantities and qualities by many of the Virgin pioneers.

⁵⁶Thomas Romney, "John Conrad Naegle," (Paper in possession of Mrs. Iona Moss, Salt Lake City, Utah). Reed W. Farnsworth, M. D. "Wine Making in Southern Utah," (Paper presented to a local history group in Cedar City, Utah, copy in my possession). Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958, p. 222.

⁵⁷An example was William Lang who made between four hundred and a thousand gallons of wine a year. Interview with Ivy Stratton, May 13, 1972. Frank Hafen remembers a half dozen people in Washington and Santa Clara who made as much as a thousand gallons a year. Interview with Frank Hafen, May 13, 1972. It is impossible to determine exactly how many people made wine or how much was produced.

⁵⁸"Utah's Dixie . . . The Cotton Mission," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXIX No. 3 (July, 1961), 217. Anderson, Desert Saints, p. 374.

DIXIE WINE DESCRIBED

Dixie wine was known throughout the surrounding country for good rich flavor. In the words of one Dixie pioneer, "It was just nice tasting--sort of sweet, but the taste was different from these wines from the store that are doctored up with alcohol. It was good--nice tasting."⁵⁹ As one patron of Dixie wine commented: "It was wonderful wine--wasn't so refined and tainted up like liquor store wine."⁶⁰ "Had a nice little tart taste," smacked another old timer, "it was a pretty, dark red color and wasn't as high powered as store bought wine."⁶¹

Of course not all Dixie wine brought such high compliments. Some of the wine was down right terrible because it had been allowed to sour by standing on the pomace too long before being pressed off or had not been properly racked off. There were practically as many types of wine as there were producers, but people generally knew who made wine that suited their taste and patronized them. It was said in jest that old timers used to growl about some peoples wine not being good and wouldn't buy any of it. Along about summer before the grapes got ripe, however, they were happy to get some of the poorer wines.⁶²

⁵⁹Interview with Robert Naegle, May 12, 1972.

⁶⁰Interview with Athole Milne, March 13, 1971.

⁶¹Interview with Frank Averett, May 13, 1972.

⁶²Interview with Frank Hafen, May 13, 1972.

The miners at Silver Reef left a most colorful description of Dixie wine and its effects:

. . . Dixie's red wine had a kick worse than a government mule, as many newcomers learned to their sorrow. Leeds, with its wine cellars, was a convenient distance away. Wine was placed on the table in goblets. The natives were immune, but woe to the "stranger within the gates." Often he [the stranger] was brought back to the reef in a helpless condition, or returned hatless, spurring his horse and shouting. Recovering consciousness some twelve hours later with a terrible headache, he wondered who he was, and what had happened, and was not fully sober for several days.⁶³

It was said jestingly that a swallow of Dixie wine would make a rabbit think himself a lion.

To many people, Dixie wine was simply too strong. This view was expressed by Josephine Hamblin: "I never cared for Dixie wine--it seemed to hit me right in the back of the neck and I couldn't walk."⁶⁴ John T. Beatty of Toquerville remembers taking some good seven year old "Nails Best" to Salt Lake for a teachers institute. "Well, it wasn't long until the preachers were all prophecing [sic]."⁶⁵

Frank Hafen of Washington gave a very interesting, drink by drink, account of the effects of Dixie wine. One glass of wine would pep up the pioneers to where they could really dance and have a good time. Two glasses of

⁶³Mark A. Pendleton, "Memories of Silver Reef," Utah Historical Quarterly, III (October, 1930), 115.

⁶⁴Interview with Josephine Hamblin, May 11, 1972.

⁶⁵Interviews with Living Pioneers, (copied by BYU library, Provo, Utah, 1939), pp. 3-4.

wine and they'd really feel like dancing. With the third glass, however, they couldn't dance and would be drunk enough that they couldn't get around to dance.⁶⁶ This was just one man's opinion however, because Frank Averett claims that it took three or four glasses of wine to make you feel good.⁶⁷ It goes without saying that Dixie wine affected different people in different ways, and it should be emphasized that not everyone drank the beverage.

⁶⁶Interview with Frank Hafen, May 13, 1972.

⁶⁷Interview with Frank Averett, May 13, 1972

Chapter VI

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF DIXIE WINE

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF DIXIE WINE

Most people in Dixie drank wine socially, or as one oldster commented, "pertinear everybody drank wine."¹ The Dixie Saints didn't consider wine a sin--wine was an important part of the social pattern. The early colonists didn't drink often or much--maybe a glass a day. "It was a common drink, somewhat like Pepsi or Coke is today."²

Prominent Dixie homes, such as Thomas Cottam's, had three pitchers on the dinner table--one containing water, one containing milk, and the third held Dixie wine. Members of the family and guests chose whichever they preferred. It was considered hospitable to offer wine to visitors.³ If the sweet beverage was not on the family table, it was more than likely available in the basement for any who desired it.⁴

¹Interview with Frank Hafen, Washington, Utah, May 13, 1972.

²Interview with Frank Hafen, May 13, 1972.

³Interview with Moroni McArthur, St. George, Utah, March 12, 1971. Interview with Athole Milne, Washington, Utah, March 13, 1971.

⁴Interview with Robert Naegle, Toquerville, Utah, May 12, 1972.

When visitors came to call, wine was one of the courtesies offered the guest. When Brigham Young passed through Toquerville he would often stop at the Naegle home. John C. Naegle would break out wine for the visiting dignitary, and it was reported that he had a hard time keeping the pitcher full.⁵ John D. Lee drove a wagon into Toquerville where ". . . many treated me to all the wine that we could drink." Lee then concluded that "Tokerville sic is a wine destrict sic."⁶ Levi Savage commented that on the evening of January 22, 1877 "Alma Steel and Brig Duffen got a drink of wine gratis."⁷ Bob Naegle remembers that when the ward teachers came to visit his father's home they used to have a slice of fruit cake and a glass of wine.⁸

Wine was an important part of many Dixie pioneers' diet and daily routine, especially for the Swiss colonists at Santa Clara. Wine was a life style transplanted from the old country. The industrious, hard-working Swiss would

⁵Interview with Anna Lee Redd, Provo, Utah, May 11, 1972.

⁶Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee 1848-1876, II (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1955), p. 109.

⁷Levi Savage Jr. Diary, (xerox copy of the original in State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah), January 29, 1877.

⁸Interview with Robert Naegle, May 12, 1972.

sometimes take a break between breakfast and dinner, and dinner and supper, to come in out of the hot fields for a glass of wine and a slice of bread and butter.⁹ Many of the colonists would rather drink Dixie wine than the poor alkaline water in the Santa Clara area. Early colonists used to take a bottle of wine with them to the field, and instead of a drink of water, they'd take a couple of swallows of wine that they had in the shade where it was cool.¹⁰

That Dixie wine became an ingredient in pioneer recipes is illustrated by the process used to make the favorite dish of a big Dane named Peter Anderson in Toquerville. To make "wine egg nog," beat up an egg and pour it over three-fourths cup of Dixie Wine. The wine would curdle the egg into egg nog. Brother Anderson then soaked bread in the concoction and considered it a real delicacy.¹¹

Trade and Payment

Wine became a common article of trade and payment in Dixie. In the early days, wine became a medium of exchange for the colonists. Ivy Stratton says that his grandfather, William Lang, used to trade wine for pigs, cows, vegetables, or anything he needed and the other party

⁹Interview with Athole Milne, March 13, 1971.

¹⁰Interview with Frank Hafen, May 13, 1972.

¹¹Interview with Laura Pulsipher, Toquerville, Utah, May 12, 1972.

had.¹² Levi Savage records that on April 2, 1877, he went to Leeds and "got eight sacks of flour of [sic] J. Birch on wine traid [sic]." The next day "Birch sent and got 40 gallons of wine." On the 19th of April Savage says that he "Paid Birch 35 gallons wine which pays for the flour I got of [sic] him."¹³ Wine was used to pay water bills as well as other obligations. In the account books of the water company such entries can be found as: to wine: 1 quart-50¢; to wine: 2 gallons - \$4.00; to wine: 1 gallon - \$2.00.¹⁴

The store operated by Peter Neilson--Neilson and Company--bought all sorts of dried fruits from people at Washington in exchange for store goods. Presumably the Cooperative store did the same. It may also be assumed that the stores purchased wine. When Peter Neilson got enough fruit, etc. to fill two wagons, his son took these commodities to Salt Lake City where they were exchanged for store goods.¹⁵

Holidays

Wine was present in abundance on many occasions

¹²Interview with Ivy Stratton, St. George, Utah, May 13, 1972.

¹³Levi Savage Jr. Diary, April 19, 1877.

¹⁴Andrew Karl Larson, The Red Hills of November (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1957), pp. 164-5.

¹⁵Larson, The Red Hills of November, p. 163.

like Christmas, July 4th and 24th, weddings, and weekend dances. Speaking of Christmas wine, Joseph Graff, Dixie pioneer, commented:

In the early days they had a fine, small brass band in Santa Clara. On Christmas the band would start early in the morning and serenade the people. One Christmas morning Edward Frei and I decided to go with them. Every place they stopped at, the people would bring out a lot of pie, cake, and wine. Edward Frei and I got a ten gallon keg and poured what wine we could get into the keg at each place. By the time we got through we had the keg full of wine. We had all we could drink and had a good time. I felt so good that I fell into a ditch of water on my home.¹⁶

Charles L. Walker reported that he went to a solemn assembly in the tabernacle on December 25, 187_ and ". . . toward the close refreshments and wine was passed around the congregation . . . altogether it was the happiest Christmas I ever passed."¹⁷

The fourth and twenty-fourth of July were special holidays for the Saints. The days' events on these holidays included band serenades, foot and horse races, and a special patriotic assembly including songs, orations, and toasts.¹⁸ The day usually started early in the morning before the parade when the town's musicians, riding in an appropriately decorated wagon serenaded the townspeople. The appreciative listeners often treated the musicians with

¹⁶Interviews with Living Pioneers, (copied by BYU Library, Provo, Utah, 1939), p. 69.

¹⁷Diary of Charles L. Walker 1833-1904 (copied by BYU Library, Provo, Utah, 1945-6), December 25, 1874.

¹⁸Andrew Karl Larson, I Was Called to Dixie (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1961), p. 475 gives an example of a typical patriotic program.

good Dixie wine. Following the parade and patriotic assembly, the afternoon was usually spent in horse and foot races as well as other forms of sporting events. Fellows from the surrounding communities used to come into town to compete in the races which took place on main street. Wine flowed quite freely and was often the commodity wagered. Sometimes the participants got a little too much wine and would "race up and down the streets, whip their horses, and holler like Comanche Indians."¹⁹ Levi Savage reported that on the afternoon of July 24, 1888, "a few of the boys having drank too much wine run [sic] their horses and wagons thro [sic] the streets at a fearful rate. Eventually two of the wagons collided and ruined a forward wheel of one. Fortunately there was no one hurt."²⁰

When the farmers of Washington and St. George completed a pile dam across the Virgin, a keg of wine was procured for the tired but happy workers in order that they might celebrate what they mistakenly thought was the successful completion of their efforts to control the river.²¹ It is certain that wine was used on many such special occasions.

Arthur Hafen in his pamphlet "Dixie Folklore and

¹⁹Interview with Josephine Hamblin, Salt Lake City, Utah, May 11, 1972.

²⁰Levi Savage Jr. Diary, July 24, 1888.

²¹Hazel Bradshaw, ed., Under Dixie Sun (Panguitch, Utah, 1950), p. 236.

Pioneer Memoirs" describes the use of wine on many holidays and special occasions.

A public drinking barrel was provided on holidays where lemonade, or wine, was furnished at the gathering place. On such occasions several dippers were provided. Old and young alike helped themselves to the refreshing drink. Men with long mustache and beard imbibed freely, but this did not in any way affect the next in turn.²²

Dances

Dancing was a favorite activity of the early pioneers in the Cotton Mission. The Saints would gather at the large homes of John D. Lee and Robert D. Covington or at large public facilities to whirl through quadrills, schottishes, and polkas.

Wine was almost always present at these occasions, and the potent beverage often sparked outbreaks of rowdyism. As with most other social functions, admission tickets were paid in kind, and wine was often used in this capacity. Musicians were often treated with the sweet liquid, there being a jug or bucket of wine handy for them to indulge themselves at their own pleasure.²³

²²Arthur K. Hafen, Dixie Folklore and Pioneer Memoirs (St. George, Utah, published privately, 1961), p. 15. Juanita Brooks recounts that at one county fair a fifty gallon barrel of wine was set up on the north side of the tabernacle and a dipper tied to it, the theory being that people should bring their own drinking cups. "Utah's Dixie . . . The Cotton Mission," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXIX No. 3 (July, 1961), 216. Josephine Hamblin remembers that wine was not served publically at July 4th and 24th celebrations after she grew up, but that private parties did use wine at these celebrations. Interview with Josephine Hamblin, May 11, 1972.

²³Larson, Red Hills of November, pp. 280-1.

Wine was never available inside the dance hall because of close Church supervision, but it was cached all over the place outside. Dancers wanting a drink of wine were obligated to slip outside. Bert Covington remembers how he and his pals used to lie in the grass and watch to see where the wine was hidden and then swipe the bottle or keg.²⁴

Not only did Dixie wine contribute to rowdyism in the dances, but also offered encouragement to the bashful participant. The story is told of a bashful boy who would never dance unless he had a little Dixie wine under his belt, and then he was really sociable.²⁵

Weddings and Honeymoons

Wine was almost always present at wedding receptions in Dixie; it was expected. As one Southern Utah historian candidly commented: "You were a cheap skate if you didn't serve wine."²⁶

John D. Lee gave a wedding party for his daughter in which 200 people participated. The evening was interspersed with songs, good talk, and "wine of our raising."

²⁴Interview with Bert Covington, St. George, Utah, May 13, 1972.

²⁵Interview with Mary Naegle, Toquerville, Utah, May 12, 1972. Bob Naegle claims that several of the bashful dancers wouldn't have enough courage to enter the dance until they had two or three drinks. Interview with Robert Naegle, May 12, 1972.

²⁶Interview with Juanita Brooks, Salt Lake City, Utah, March 11, 1971.

He concluded that "Every person as far as I know enjoyed themselves to the hilt."²⁷

Frank Hafen claims that his father-in-law, Theodore Graff, "was always pretty religious and always bucked wine and tobacco." His mother-in-law, however, said that at their wedding dance they had a five gallon keg of wine setting right in the middle of the floor.²⁸

Speaking of his wedding to Nellie Stephens on September 28, 1911 and their honeymoon Uncle Will Brooks says:

Our honeymoon trip was really one to remember. . . . I bought a five gallon keg of wine to take along, for I knew the boys at Moab and Monticello At Moab the boys gathered around, bent upon mischief, but I poured out a big pitcher of wine for them. After a couple of drinks around, they went off satisfied and happy. I had plenty left in the keg to make all the necessary treats in Monticello.²⁹

Weddings and honeymoons were special occasions in the lives of early Dixie colonists and wine was an important part of many such celebrations.

Medicine

Dixie wine also found a permanent spot in the pioneer medicine chest. Speaking of Priddy Meeks whom he describes as a revered Southern Utah physician, Dr. Reed

²⁷Cleland and Brooks, A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, II, p. 107.

²⁸Interview with Frank Hafen, May 13, 1972.

²⁹Juanita Brooks, Uncle Will Tells His Story (Salt Lake City: Taggart & Company, 1970), pp. 141-2.

Farnsworth of Cedar City says:

Wine was one of the useful vehicles in making the medicines Dr. Meeks prescribed with wide acclaim during his long and colorful practice of pioneer medicine around Kanab and Long Valley. One is led to speculate that in some instances wine may have been the most effective ingredient in some of his potions.

In his footnote Dr. Farnsworth comments that "of all the remedies that will not cure a cold, wine or whisky is the most popular."³⁰ Many Dixie pioneers, however, could not agree with Dr. Farnsworth; to them wine not only cured colds, but many other ailments. The cotton missionaries always had wine around the house to be used for medicinal purposes.

An oft-used remedy for the common cold had as its basic ingredient good ol' Dixie wine. As Ivy Stratton explained: "When I had a bad cold, mother would make me take a cup of heated wine with something hot like ginger in it and go to bed. It was really wonderful to cause you to perspire which helped to get a cold out of you."³¹ When fourteen years old, on a cold day when she wasn't feeling well, Juanita Brooks' grandmother gave her a, "half glass of diluted wine to warm me up."³² Frank Hafent's

³⁰Reed W. Farnsworth, M. D., "Wine Making in Southern Utah." (Paper presented to a local history group in Cedar City, Utah, copy in my possession).

³¹Interview with Ivy Stratton, May 13, 1972.

³²Interview with Juanita Brooks, Salt Lake City, Utah, March 28, 1972.

mother gave him half a glass of Dixie wine with a half teaspoon of Cayenne pepper to cure his colds. After drinking this combination, the patient was put right to bed. "That pepper would burn and you'd sweat like a butcher. As I remember it, it only took about one night to sweat it out."³³ Cure or not, this remedy for colds was wide spread and widely accepted by the early Dixie settlers.

That wine was an important staple in the Dixie medicine chest is illustrated by the following advertisement in a local newspaper:

PURE WINES

By the bottle, case, gallon or barrel.
Pure and suitable for medicine,³⁴ at St. George
Drug Store, also canned fruit.

One prominent native related a story about when he was eight years old and had the measles. In the early days they said, speaking of measles, "You got to get them broken out and musn't let them go in on ya." His father knew just the thing to bring out measles, and against the protest of his mother, went across the street for some "good ol' wine." His dad gave him half a little wine glass. "I drank it, but I didn't like the stuff--it just about gagged me, but

³³Interview with Frank Hafen, May 13, 1972. At other times lemon juice was added.

³⁴The Utah Pomologist and Gardener (St. George), Vol. 2, No. 5, June, 1872. In an article entitled "Early Fruits," the editor speaks of the grape crop of Walter E. Dodge, and says that, ". . . he always has something good on hand for 'sickness'."

I pretended to like it."³⁵

In September of 1870, John D. Lee was in Toquerville and "put up with I. C. Haight. I was much fatuaged [sic] & almost exausted [sic]. Sister Haight nursed me with sweet wine, grapes, etc. . . ." ³⁶ Wine was often used to warm, sooth, and relax a nervous or tired pioneer. "If you drank enough wine," declared Ivy Stratton, "in a little while the feeling would come over you--you'd feel stronger, like I can live forever--just nothing bothers me. If you have a little ailment it goes right to that and soothes it--it was a wonderful feeling."³⁷ It was these attributes that served as a bracer and helped the colonists over many a difficult time.

The warming influence of wine was important in helping to make a long ride shorter. John D. Lee commented that he thought he would have frozen to death on a cold night if he hadn't had some good Dixie wine.³⁸ Lynn Naegle remembers going after wood with his uncle as a young boy and stopped at a relatives place on the on the

³⁵Interview with Karl Larson, St. George, Utah, March 12, 13, 1971. Also see Larson, Red Hills of November, p. 270.

³⁶Cleland and Brooks, A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, II, p. 141.

³⁷Interview with Ivy Stratton, May 13, 1972.

³⁸As reported in an interview with Juanita Brooks, March 28, 1972.

way home on a cold winter day. He was poured a glass of pretty amber red wine which made him feel warm and happy for the rest of the ride home.³⁹

Wine was still being used for medicine in Dixie into the 1930's as illustrated by the following story related by Ivy Stratton:

My mother-in-law had a very serious illness, for three weeks we didn't expect her to live. One morning the doctor gave her a hypo and she went into a deep sleep and slept until the next morning. A few days later the doctor asked me if I knew where I could get some Dixie wine. I said yes, and he said to get a gallon and give her a half tumbler full twice a day. She fully recovered and had seven or eight good years after that.⁴⁰

The early doctors in Dixie didn't have much medicine, and wine was often all they had. Levi Savage, an early colonist, mixed wine with numerous things and said of the medicine: "Did me a lot of good; in fact I might say it even cured me."⁴¹ Dixie wine may not have possessed all the medicinal powers which early pioneers attributed to it, but it made them feel better and that was half the battle.

One problem did develop from the use of wine as a medicine. Some came to believe that wine would cure any-

³⁹Interview with Lynn Naegle, Toquerville, Utah, May 12, 1972.

⁴⁰Interview with Ivy Stratton, May 13, 1972. This story took place in 1937 in St. George.

⁴¹As reported in an interview with Karl Larson, March 12, 13, 1971.

thing. They used this as an excuse to drink it excessively after getting a doctor to say that the beverage wouldn't hurt and might even help their real or fictional disease or complication.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

Cash Markets

An important aspect of wine production in Dixie was its value as a cash crop. Brigham Young realized that if the Dixie mission was to be an economically sound enterprise a cash crop was necessary. It is likely this need for cash is one reason Church leaders encouraged and promoted wine production with the decline of the cotton industry.

On October 18, 1876 the townsite for the community of Silver Reef was established. When the town was a mere three weeks old, it prided itself in housing between 250 and 300 hardy businessmen and miners. By March of the following year the town sported nine thriving saloons.⁴² The Mormons now had a cash market for their crops. The silver miners, with their traditionally "unquenchable thirsts," provided a ready market for Dixie wine. The "Reef" was only twenty miles from St. George and was

⁴²Alfred Bleak Stucki, "A Historical Study of Silver Reef: Southern Utah Mining Town" (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966), pp. 32-37.

centrally located to such wine producing communities as Leeds, Toquerville, Washington, Virgin, and Rockville. Each of these settlements profited greatly from the sale of wine to the miners.

At a meeting for members of the Priesthood from St. George, Santa Clara, and Washington which met in St. George on January 25, 1873, Brigham Young spoke concerning the sale of Dixie products to the gentile miners at the "Reef." He enjoined the Saints against selling their lumber and grain to the Gentiles, but to use it at home. He advised the colonists to "erect wine cellars and manufacture wine and send it off to foreign markets."⁴³ President Young, although anxious for the Dixie pioneers to supply the wine market at the Silver Reef, was also very adamant that the colonists should not mingle with the miners. He advised the Saints against uniting with the miners in dancing parties, "and not to retail wine to them, but to sell it by the barrel."⁴⁴

That the "Reef" was an excellent market for Dixie wine is demonstrated by a statement made by a Dixie pioneer in 1935. In speaking of early wine producers in Toquerville, Mrs. Higbee said: "In the days of Silver Reef they could sell it [wine] as fast as they made it.

⁴³James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission Book B, (copied from the original by BYU Library, Provo, Utah, 1928), p. 174.

⁴⁴Deseret Evening News (Salt Lake City), January 13, 1877.

Miners would come here from Silver Reef, they'd buy it by the fifty gallons."⁴⁵

Although no records are available of the total amount of wine sold in Silver Reef, it is safe to say that a considerable amount was sold, and that the small Dixie communities received a great deal of financial assistance from the rich source.

Silver Reef began to deteriorate after 1885 when the silver vein started to give out, and was practically a ghost town by 1900. After the Reef closed, the primary cash markets for Dixie wine became the mining camps of southeastern Nevada. Prominent among these Nevada markets were Delamar, Pioche, and Caliente.

Of the Nevada mining towns Pioche offered the best market. Though the Nevada towns were good sources of income, they were much more inconvenient than had been Silver Reef. Pioche was a hundred miles from St. George and the trip took eight to ten days.

Other Markets

The Dixie pioneers had other markets in which to dispose of their wine. One market was the Dixie community itself. William Lang "sold wine to anybody that came through and wanted wine--even the people here in town would

⁴⁵ Interviews With Living Pioneers, pp. 118-119.

buy it."⁴⁶ In Washington a Swiss couple sold wine by the drink as their primary source of income. People would come into the kitchen and sit down for their glass of wine. The good sister would pour a big glass of wine and put a piece of cake by its side and charge the customer 5¢.⁴⁷ Sale by the drink was unusual in the early days, and most local transactions were in the form of barter because of a lack of currency.

Another local market was the community co-operative stores. Whereas the markets in the mining camps of Southern Utah and Eastern Nevada were cash crops, the local co-operatives dealt almost exclusively in the barter of commodities. Dixie vinters would exchange their wine for whatever store goods they needed.

The Rio Virgin Manufacturing Company ⁷The Cotton Factory⁷ carried wine as part of its stock in trade. The factory charged \$2.00 per gallon for its wine, although in some cases it was sold for less.⁴⁸ Doubtless the factory served as a good market for some of the better wine makers in Dixie.

When Z.C.M.I. came into being, this Mormon firm received much of the wine produced in Dixie. The original

⁴⁶Interview with Ivy Stratton, May 13, 1972.

⁴⁷Interview with Bert Covington, May 13, 1972.

⁴⁸Larson, Red Hills of November, p. 165.

plan was to send the wine to Salt Lake City where Brigham Young was to find a market for it. Whether Z.C.M.I. served as this depot is not known, but a considerable amount of wine found its way to Salt Lake.⁴⁹ John C. Naegle shipped many loads of 40 gallon barrels containing wine to Z.C.M.I., as did other Dixie wine growers.⁵⁰ The round trip to Salt Lake by wagon and team required about a month. When steel rails were pushed as far south as Milford, the trip was shortened considerably because the Dixie product could then be sped into Salt Lake by train from the Milford railroad. The wine taken north to Z.C.M.I. and other northern markets was exchanged for goods as yet unobtainable in the new settlements along the Virgin.

Peddlers

Another avenue for the dispersment of Dixie wine was through the legendary Dixie peddlers. Wine was often a commodity carried by the peddler who ventured north during the fall and winter months.

⁴⁹Once again figures are not available. Only one Z.C.M.I. account book--the accounts of the drug department for 1873-1874 was available to the researcher. No record is given of any large purchases of wine, however, the account does record numerous sales of small quantities. Z.C.M.I. Account Book, Drug Department, 1873-1874, M. S. microfilm copy in LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. The Brigham Young Account Books contain no reference to purchases of large amounts of wine, although he does make note of varying amounts of wine purchased for his different wives. Brigham Young Account Books, M. S. in BYU Special Collections Library, Provo, Utah.

⁵⁰Interview with Robert Naegle, May 12, 1972. Interview with Mrs. Iona Moss, Salt Lake City, Utah, May 31, 1972. Interview with Laura Pulsifer, May 12, 1972.

The peddlers wine kegs seemed to offer more interest to the consumer public than did the nuts and dried fruits he also carried. Phil Robinson, who passed through Panguitch in the early 1880's related this story:

Looking out of the window in the evening, I saw a cart standing by the roadside, and a number of men around it. Their demenour aroused my curiosity, for an extreme dejection had evidently marked them for its own. Some sate [sic] in the road as if waiting in despair for Doomsday; others prowled around the cart, and leant [sic] in a melancholy manner against it. The cart, it appeared, had come from St. George, the vine-growing district in the south of the territory, and contained a cask of wine. But as there was no license in Panguitch for the sale of liquors, it could not be broached! I never saw men look so wretchedly thirsty in my life, and if glaring at the cask and thumping it could have empied it, there would not have been a drop left.⁵¹

Peddling was an important aspect of the Dixie economy. Peddlers carried Dixie dried fruit, nuts, molasses, and wine into Iron, Beaver, Sevier and even Sanpete County in exchange for flour, grain, potatoes, cheese, coal, and other products not produced in Dixie. Some of the northern communities frequented by Dixie peddlers were Cedar City, Beaver, Panguitch, Kanab, Circleville, Richfield, Salina, Hurricane, and Silver Reef. Some peddlers ventured as far north as Fillmore, but few ever got to the Utah valley. Often the peddler took thirty days to sell his wares and procure provisions for the winter.

A salesman often started from Dixie with a couple of fifty gallon barrels of wine on the side of his wagon.

⁵¹Phil Robinson, Sinners and Saints (London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Company, 1842), p. 218.

When he found a client who wanted five or ten gallons of wine he would put a hose down the barrel, draw off the desired amount, and collect his pay. Of all the items he took to peddle, the peddler could be assured he would not have to haul wine home--he always found a market. One man who planned to peddle a load of wine in Enterprise in exchange for a load of potatoes ran into a little problem. He and some of his friends "got on a drunk," consumed the entire load, and the peddler returned home broke.⁵²

The Dixie wine carried by peddlers from Santa Clara to Pine Valley in exchange for lumber and the resulting drinking and gambling was reputed to have made Pine Valley "one of the roughest towns in this section of the country."⁵³ It is certain that the Dixie wine carried by peddlers was viewed joyfully by some and suspiciously by others.

Many peddlers traveled north, but others, especially the Swiss from Santa Clara, peddled south and west into Pioche, Caliente, and Delamar, Nevada. These peddlers, unlike their northern counterparts, received hard cash in exchange for their products. "Peaches sold at 25¢ to 75¢ a dozen; fresh grapes at 20¢ to 25¢ per pound; and it was not uncommon to get \$1.50 a melon, and dried fruit was

⁵²Interview with Frank Hafen, May 13, 1972.

⁵³Bradshaw, Under Dixie Sun, p. 190.

sold from 15¢ to 30¢ a pound."⁵⁴ Molasses and wine were in great demand in the prosperous mining camps and doubtless brought a good price for the Dixie peddler. This trade was so beneficial to St. George, Washington, and Santa Clara that they established an agency called the "Dixie Cooperative Produce Company" to direct and control the business.⁵⁵

Some wine producers did not actually peddle, but would allow peddlers to take their wine at a percentage of the take. The only problem with this set up was that the vintner had to accept whatever the peddler traded for.⁵⁶

At the same time Dixie peddlers were pushing northward with their southern products, peddlers from the northern communities were venturing into the Virgin River valleys. They would bring northern staples such as grain or potatoes which they were most happy to trade for fruit, and, in many cases Dixie wine.

⁵⁴Bradshaw, Under Dixie Sun, p. 171.

⁵⁵Bleak, Annals Book B, p. 99.

⁵⁶Interview with Frank Averett, Washington, Utah, May 13, 1972.

Chapter VII

FOLKLORE AND STORIES

A rich folklore exists concerning Dixie wine based on hundreds of colorful stories, but little of this heritage has become a matter of written record. A study of Dixie wine would be an incomplete story without a discussion of this folklore.

Olive W. Burt, in her interesting article entitled "Wine-making in Utah's Dixie" in Lore of Faith and Folly, commented that her mother had a number of firm beliefs about wine:

No pregnant woman should be permitted to assist in the wine-making or her baby would be a drunkard.

A wine glass should never be turned upside down; it would bring bad luck.

Some beliefs were expressed in proverbs:

"Spill your wine before one swallow and bad luck will surely follow!" This bad luck could be averted by dipping the middle finger of the right hand into the spilled wine and rubbing it on your ear.

"Know the vinter, know the wine!"¹

Along the same line several Dixie old timers commented that after the communities stopped making so much Dixie wine,

¹Olive W. Burt, "Wine-making in Utah's Dixie," Lore of Faith and Folly, ed. Thomas E. Cheney (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press), pp. 150-151.

there were far less visions, manifestations, and prophecies.²

Although most of the stories have been handed down several times, and often told for effect, they originated in actual experiences and enriched the folklore of Dixie.

One man was known as quite a one to drink--made a little wine and drank a little. In his later years the man's nephew stayed with him. The man asked his nephew to get him a drink of wine once when he was a little under the weather. The nephew got a glass of wine and brought it to the man. Uncle Leish poured it on the ground and said, "That's an insult to bring a man a glass of wine when he wants a drink of wine. Now go get me a drink of wine!" The nephew got a milk pan a little over half full, and Uncle Leish said, "Now boy, that's what I call a drink of wine."³

Numerous people from St. George used to make the trip to Delamar, Nevada, to work in the mine. They would often stop in "Clary" [Santa Clara] and purchase wine for the trip. The story is told of one chap who stopped at the Boomer home and requested five gallons of wine, but explained he didn't have the money to pay for it until he

²Interview with Athole Milne, Washington, Utah, March 13, 1971. Interview with Josephine Hamblin, Salt Lake City, Utah, May 11, 1972. Interview with Ivy Stratton, St. George, Utah, May 13, 1972.

³Interview with Athole Milne, March 13, 1971.

got back from the mine. Brother Boomer balked at selling wine on credit, until the miner said, "Well then, give me ten gallons, and I'll leave five for security."⁴

Karl Larson, prominent Southern Utah historian, tells a story about playing trombone at a dance in Leeds. Everyone had been drinking, and at intermission the five bandsmen went out for some fresh air. They met one group who offered them a drink of wine. The drummer accepted, and after a couple of more stops, "had more than enough to make him feel good." "When we got back in there and started playing, man was he hammering those drums." When asked where he got all those notes, the drummer replied: "There should be one line of music here I'm supposed to play, but I can see three and I'm playing them all."⁵

A native of Washington, who was getting a little old was asked if he were going to make wine one fall. He said, "Oh, I might make three or four barrels for my own use."⁶

Although Brother Moroni McArthur never made wine, he did grow grapes for seedless raisins. Once Tom Judd took a cluster of Brother McArthur's grapes to California and entered them in a San Francisco fair. When Mr. Judd

⁴Interview with Moroni McArthur, St. George, Utah, March 12, 1971.

⁵Interview with Andrew Karl Larson, St. George, Utah, March 12, 13, 1971.

⁶Interview with Athole Milne, March 13, 1971.

returned, he brought a first prize ribbon for Brother McArthur and an Italian wine taster who said they were the best grapes he had ever tasted and wanted to take some starts back with him.⁷

It was advised that the early pioneers shouldn't give wine to the Indians. Once an old chief was invited to eat at the family table of John C. Naegle. The chief asked to say grace and was given permission by Brother Naegle. This was his prayer: "Oh great spirit, bless my friend John, all his squaws and papooses and bless that good wine that my friend John has in his cellar." The prayer worked, because he was given wine to go with his dinner.⁸

It was said that drummers /peddlers/ who came to Dixie could drink any amount of wine without getting drunk --'til the next day. When they drank water enough to dilute the wine, "so it could enter their blood stream" they really became soused.⁹

The story is told of a Dixie peddler who went into Kanaraville with a wagon full of wine. Kanaraville was known for its rough youth, so the peddler took precaution

⁷Interview with Moroni McArthur, March 12, 1971.

⁸Judith Moss, "Reminiscences by Manuel Naegle," (tape recorded account, August, 1967, 5-page typewritten copy in possession of Mrs. Iona Moss, Salt Lake City, Utah), p. 2.

⁹Olive W. Burt, "Wine-making in Utah's Dixie," p. 147.

against theft of his liquid cash by sleeping atop of his load. Several young fellows outsmarted the peddler by drilling up through the bottom of the wagon and into a barrel of wine. The barrel was drained and several wash tubs were filled with sweet Dixie wine to be enjoyed by the youngsters.¹⁰

Thales Haskell, Ira Hatch, and Guthiel McConnel spent a winter living with the Hopi Indians at old Orabi. One morning, after their stay with the Indians had entered somewhat into the phase of boredom, the three noted Mormon scouts were seated on a ledge in the sun pondering their lot. At length, Thales Haskell spoke up and said, "I have just decided why we three were chosen for this mission." He was immediately queried why, to which he replied: "You, Ira Hatch, are more Indian than white anyway having chosen an Indian wife, and you McConnel, have long been known to have more zeal than good judgement, and I was chosen by Brother Young so that the Dixie wine would get one year older."¹¹

Wine production was not limited to grape wine in Dixie. One Washington farmer is reported to have made Casaba wine from Casaba melons he was unable to sell. One

¹⁰Interview with Bert Covington, St. George, Utah, May 13, 1972.

¹¹Reed W. Farnsworth, M. D., "Wine Making in Southern Utah," (Paper presented to a local history group in Cedar City, Utah, copy in my possession), p. 8.

Dixie pioneer said that she had "tasted this Casaba wine and it was really extra fine."¹²

There are several stories concerning the fermented grape pulp or pomace that was left when the wine was pressed off. Georgiana Millet, speaks of a horse named "Old Billy" who "ate profusely of fermented grape pulp and was ludicrously drunk."¹³ Josephine Hamblin remember throwing the pummies [pomace] out to the chickens and watching them "flappin' all over the place--couldn't walk, just flapped."¹⁴ One day Ivy Stratton threw some pummies into a corral where two pigs were running. He described the resulting scene in these words:

The pigs got to eating the pummies and you talk about a man getting drunk on Dixie wine--there was never a man who got drunker on Dixie wine than those two pigs did eating those pummies [sic]. There was never a man that could go through any more contortions than those pigs did trying to get around after eating those pummies [sic]--they really put on a show."¹⁵

During one of the winters Brigham Young spent in St. George he was much perplexed by the indiscriminate tippling among many of the local Saints. To solve this dilemma he recom-

¹²Interview with Josephine Hamblin, May 11, 1972. Sister Hamblin recalls a time when she made pomegranate wine from some fruit that had been split open by rain. She allowed the pomogranates to ferment, strained them through cheese cloth, and put the juice in jars. She described the resulting wine as, ". . . really delicious and the prettiest color you ever saw."

¹³Georgiana Angel Millet, "Historical Sketch of George Edward Angell and Rebecca Ann Wilkinson," (Pamphlet in State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah).

¹⁴Interview with Josephine Hamblin, May 11, 1972.

¹⁵Interview with Ivy Stratton, May 13, 1972.

mended that the municipal government pass an edit that wine could not be purchased in quantities smaller than five gallons. This he reasoned would put an end to the tippling. Not long after the passage of this ordinance Brother Young chanced to meet Brigham Lamb on the street. Brother Lamb was more than moderately intoxicated. As he approached his church leader and before President Young could reprimand him Brother Lamb said, "President Young it is utterly impossible to drink five gallons of wine and stay sober."¹⁶

The subject of several stories concerning Dixie wine was a colorful character known affectionately as Uncle Bill. Once Uncle Bill came down from Pine Valley with a load of grist for the mill below the old cotton factory. On the way over he stopped at the Schmutz wine cellar, and Uncle Bill loaded up on Dixie wine. They unloaded his grist for him, and while they were grinding his grist he went out and laid down in the wagon. He got sick and had his head over the edge of the wagon, "feeding the fish," just as Uncle Dave Morris came by. He was sort of a nosy old chap and said, "What's the matter Uncle Bill, you sick?" Bill answered, "by God, David, I ain't a pukin' for fun."¹⁷

¹⁶Reed W. Farnsworth, M. D. "Wine Making in Southern Utah," pp. 8-9.

¹⁷Interview with Ivy Stratton, May 13, 1972.

Uncle Bill had a habit of going to St. George and getting drunk on Dixie wine. He was often taken to court and fined all the way from \$3. to \$10. Once they took him to court and the judge asked him if he had ever been drunk and in court before. Bill said, "Hell yes, plenty of times." So the judge decided to fine him \$50 and see if it would cure him. Bill protested and said, "Getting drunk is worth a dollar and half. It's worth two dollars. It's even worth \$10 or \$15, but I'll be damned if any man's belly full of wine is worth a \$50 fine." Uncle Bill said for some reason, after that, he never cared for Dixie wine in St. George.¹⁸

William B. Ashworth, speaking of wine drinking in St. George said:

At the Sunday meetings the Bishop would inquire if there was anyone present who had over indulged during the week and wished to confess before partaking of the sacrament, they would have the privilege of doing so. Usually some of the elder brethren's consciences would smite them, and they would arise and confess to indulging a little too strongly. They were passed on each time and forgiven.¹⁹

Another Thales Haskell tale is told by Angus Cannon in which his Grandfather asked President Young if it was not wrong for an elder to assist in the laying on of hands for the healing of the sick with the odor of wine

¹⁸Hazel Bradshaw, ed., Under Dixie Sun (Panguitch, Utah, 1950), p. 107.

¹⁹Autobiography of William B. Ashworth, (copied by BYU Library, Provo, Utah), p. 90.

on his breath. Brother Young asked Brother Cannon, "Do you know of any such circumstance?" To which Brother Cannon said he had recently asked Brother Haskell to assist him and he was sure he detected a strong aroma of wine on his breath. To this President Young replied: "Brother Cannon, do you know I would rather be administered upon by Brother Haskell drunk than by many of our elders sober."²⁰

A rich Spaniard from Pioche, Nevada, was marrying one of the "girls" from Silver Reef. For the wedding celebration at Silver Reef he ordered several kegs of Toquerville wine. The party was a great success, but the spigots were too slow for the thirsty celebrants, so they poured the wine out of the kegs into a huge wooden tub, from which it could be more rapidly dispensed. The next morning the bride and groom with their attendants mounted their horses to ride to Pioche. But something was wrong. The two leading horses were not behaving with proper decorum. They side-stepped and danced and wove from side to side. Their eyes sparkled and their lips were lifted as if in ribald grins. No one could explain their actions until it came to light that the boy who tended the horses had watered these two from the very same wooden tub that had held the wine the night before. The dregs left in the bottom--and you may be sure there were not many--

²⁰Reed W. Farnsworth, M. D., "Wine-making in Southern Utah," p. 9.

diluted with the water put there for the horses had sufficed to intoxicate the animals.²¹

The story is told of two Toquerites who were guests at a Relief Society Social. The sisters had been asked to bring different kinds of fruit juices to be mixed together for the refreshment. The two brethren brought their own form of juice, and during the party succeeded in spiking the punch with a gallon of sweet Dixie wine. It is said that the sisters would, "come over and pour themselves a glass, comment at how good it was, and by the end of the evening were feeling pretty happy."²²

One of the better wine makers in Dixie was a man named Schmutz who lived in the little town of Middleton, between Washington and St. George. It is said that whenever Brigham Young passed the Schmutz place he would stop and come in for a glass of wine. "Just one glass of wine, that's all he would drink, and he always wanted a sandwich to go along with it. He would sit there and sip that wine just like a cup of tea."²³

Olive Burt relates an interesting story about two government agents named McGeary and Armstrong who came to

²¹Olive W. Burt, "Wine-making in Southern Utah," pp. 147-148.

²²Interview with Robert Naegle, Toquerville, Utah, May 12, 1972.

²³Interview with Frank Hafen, Washington, Utah, May 13, 1972.

Toquerville to catch a cohab.²⁴ McGeary told his aid to go around to the back to watch while he stayed in front. Armstrong cornered the small house and noticed a barrel with a canvas cover tight over the top. He thought he'd step up onto this canvas to get a look in at the window, but his weight dislodged the canvas, and he fell into the barrel. The fragrance of ripening wine quickly informed the agent that it wasn't a rain barrel he'd fallen into. He climbed out, licked his chops, and then using his cupped hands as a dipper, he went to work. McGeary, curious about the stillness at the rear of the cottage, tiptoed around the house and found his companion stretched out on the ground fast asleep. He took in the situation and following the example of his partner partook freely of the rich wine. The cohab and his plural spouse had an undisturbed night, and in the morning two red-faced agents hurriedly left town.²⁵

Wine in the cellar was often a great temptation to Dixie youngsters. There are several stories about brushes with the "red cup." Bert Covington remembers one escapade when he was about twelve. He and two friends "visited" his Uncle's wine cellar and snatched two five gallon kegs of good Dixie wine which they hid in a haystack. "My Uncle

²⁴"Cohab" was a term used to designate polygomist brethren. The word is derived from the term cohabitation.

²⁵Olive W. Burt, "Wine-making in Southern Utah." p. 150.

never found out who swiped his wine, and we thoroughly enjoyed our ten gallons of wine."²⁶

One day a fellow bought a gallon of wine from Ivy Stratton's grandfather, William Lang, and hid it in the hay in the barn. Ivy Stratton's younger brother saw where it was hidden and stole it. He was so proud of this accomplishment that he ran to tell Ivy about it. This, however, was too much of a challenge for Ivy, who promptly re-stole the treasure. In Ivy's words:

I invited two of my friends to come over and have a drink of wine with me. We tried to drink that gallon of wine. Goodness! I went to bed Sunday night and never did get out of bed 'til Wednesday at noon. I was just dead for three days. My mother would come in and say, 'Ivy, I believe we've been drinking wine.' And I said, 'no mother, I don't know what's caused this.'²⁷

Bob Naegle tells a story that took place when he was in the sixth grade in about 1907 or 1908. There were five - 50 gallon barrels of wine in the tithing cellar. In an effort to obtain some of the wine a few of the guys in town broke a window out. Naegle said that:

A friend and I were the smallest kids in town and we could crawl through the window by getting our shoulders kittywhompas and the older boys lower us to the floor. They told us to go over and pull out a hose down the barrel and blow on it a little bit until the bubbles came and then draw on it and put the end of the hose in a gallon jug. Dewey tried two or three times and couldn't do it. So I gave a big suck on it

²⁶Interview with Bert Covington, May 13, 1972.

²⁷Interview with Ivy Stratton, May 13, 1972.

and got a mouthful of two or three swallows. We filled 4 or 5 jugs that way and then we pulled the hose out and put the cork back in. The boys reached down to pull us out. They got Dewey out but I was just dizzy as could be. So when I finally got out I could hardly walk. It was in the fall of the year, and they were having a big wood haulers party. I got awful thirsty and went outside and laid down by the side of the stream and got a big drink. About froze to death, but I just crawled right in, it felt so good. Mother came out while I was lying there and she gave me a paddling.²⁸

Singing was a favorite pastime of the Dixie settlers, and wine figured in many a lyric. It is impossible to record the actual song and accompaniment, but the words to two Dixie favorites are as follows:

SWEET DIXIE WINE

Billy Lang we all knew and William Hall too
Both were makers of very sweet wine,
They said to pay up or they'd take our pup.
To pay for their sweet Dixie wine.
To pay for their sweet Dixie wine.

Alex Fullerton next we paid our respects
Respect for his Isabella wine
He gave each a cup, and told us to sup
To sup on his Isabella wine.
To sup on his Isabella wine.

Then over to Leeds, we hasten our steeds
The roads were so dusty, but fine
Brother Sterling we found and he was sure bound
To serve us his malaga wine.
To serve us his malaga wine.

Then on to Bellevue Brother Gregerson too
A maker of very sweet wine
We tarried too long the wine was too strong
We got drunk on his sweet Dixie wine.
We got drunk on his sweet Dixie wine.

Now on to Springdale we followed the trail
The trail of the sweet Dixie wine

²⁸Interview with Robert Naegle, May 12, 1972.

Bill Duffin was there and he said beware
 Beware of his sweet Dixie wine,
 Beware of his sweet Dixie wine.

Then on to Northup we traded our pup
 Oh how the poor devil did whine
 (Sister Hamblin was unable to remember the
 remainder of this verse)

Then on to Pioche with a broken down coach
 And a harness all mended with twine
 Jake Johnson was there and he said beware
 Beware of their whisky so strong.
 Beware of their whisky so strong.

Next morning we woke a bunch of old soaks
 And found that we were all broke
 We vowed never again oh never again
 To drink of Jake's whisky so strong.
 To drink of Jake's whisky so strong.

Then homeward we're bound
 A great lesson we'd found
 We vowed never again oh never again to leave
 our home
 The home of our sweet Dixie wine.
 The home of our sweet Dixie wine.

Josephine Hamblin, a Dixie native now residing in
 Salt Lake City, frequently favors her family and friends
 by singing, "Sweet Dixie Wine."²⁹

Moses E. Gifford, a well known Dixie musician,
 wrote the words of the following song which were sung to
 the tune of "In The Good Old Summer Time." Carl Gifford,
 who sang the song to me, said that his father wrote the
 song based on an actual experience.

THE GOOD OLD KEG OF WINE

There's a time in each year, when the boys do feel
 queer
 With the good old keg of wine;

²⁹Interview with Josephine Hamblin, May 11, 1972.

Like birds of a feather, they all flock together,
 Where the sun refuses to shine;
 Forgetting their sorrow, no trouble they borrow,
 When giddy they think it is fine.
 Their neighbors annoying, themselves are enjoying
 The good old keg of wine.

Chorus:

The good old keg of wine, boys, now don't you look
 fine
 Strolling up and down the street, singing keggy
 mine;
 I'll hold your head, the keg holds mine,
 And that's a very good sign, they got boozy woozy on
 The good old keg of wine.

When the weather is warm, like bees they will swarm
 With the good old keg of wine,
 And when it is cold, if a wife she will scold
 At the good old keg of wine,
 When the stomach grows sour, they'll heave for an
 hour
 When called to a meal, they'll decline,
 They try not to show it, think the women don't know
 it,
 With the good old keg of wine.

Chorus:

The good old keg of wine, boys, now don't you look
 fine
 Sprawling out upon the ground, singing keggy mine,
 I'll hold your head, the ground bumped mine, and
 that's a very good sign
 That they got boozy woozy on the good old keg of
 wine.

They gather in groups, go out in hen coops,
 With the good old keg of wine;
 Their deeds are not mean, they're heard but not
 seen,
 With the good old keg of wine;
 In the pig pen they tumble, they don't seem to
 grumble
 When rooting around with the swine;
 They think they're advancing
 Hog music for dancing, with the good old keg of
 wine.

Chorus:

The good old keg of wine, boys and pigs do look
 fine,
 Their voices now together blend, singing keggy mine;

I'll hold your head, the pig roots mine, and that's
a very good sign
That they got boozy woozy on the good old keg of
wine.³⁰

The vast storehouse of personal experience existing in the memories of pioneers now living is the greatest resource available. The stories related by these people actually took place, they are part of an exciting oral history. These colorful anecdotes are a vital link in the history of Dixie wine, and makes this history live.

³⁰Moses E. Gifford, "A Collection of Songs, Poems, and Tributes," (Springdale, Utah, 1930. Pamphlet in possession of Carl M. Gifford, St. George, Utah). Carl Gifford sang this song to the writer in a personal interview, St. George, Utah, May 13, 1972.

Chapter VIII

DIXIE WINE AND THE MORMON CHURCH

Brigham Young, the great colonizer, expected the cotton mission to produce the territorial supply of wine: "for the Holy Sacrament, for medicine, and for sale to outsiders."¹ He intended that the wine produced in Dixie should be used for the Sacrament throughout the Church and the surplus to be sold to the Gentiles. The part the Mormon Church and its leaders played in the Dixie wine industry is a very interesting one indeed.

At the May 1, 1869, Conference of the Southern Utah Mission, Brigham Young admonished the Saints to cooperate in raising cotton and other raw materials so they could be "self-sustaining." He then, "advised the people to make all the wine they can but cautioned them against its improper use, and to use [it] for the Sacrament instid [sic] of water."²

Brigham Young was emphatically against the frequent use of wine and spirituous liquors, and he warned against their indulgence. On the day following his

¹Deseret News (Salt Lake City), October 1, 1862.

²James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission Book A, (copied from the original by BYU Library, Provo, Utah, 1928), p. 316

admonition to make all the wine they could but not to use it improperly, John D. Lee reports that Brother Young said:

. . . the man of experience who will get drunk, let him be severed from the Church and the man who sells wine or ardent spirits to another to drink, let him be cut off from this Church.

Brigham Young felt that, "Wine should be an article of export and not drunk among the Saints except in taking the Sacrament." Wine consumption by the local pioneers must have already been a problem because the President went on to comment:

. . . I have no doubt, were we to offer the wine in Sacrament that some would swallow a pint if the tumbler would ^{hold} that much before they could bite it off³

It was intended by Church leaders that the surplus wine produced in Dixie, not used for the Sacrament, should be exported, but not a small amount was consumed in the cotton mission itself. As time passed, and as the manufacture of wine became more widespread throughout Dixie, Church leaders became aware that an increasing number of cases of alcoholism began to develop among some of the brethren. At a meeting in the basement of the St. George Tabernacle on February 15, 1873, Brigham Young, in the words of James G. Bleak:

³Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee 1848-1876, II (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1955), p. 116.

Deprecated the tendency of many of the people of this Southern country to indulge too freely in wine and other intoxicating drinks. Advised to temperance and wisdom in the use of these articles. Said that those things among us are ruinous to our welfare and opposed to the building up of this kingdom; and this is an evil which is far worse, and more calculated to destroy us, than all the opposition of the world arrayed against us.⁴

Later in the same conference President Young expressed his feelings concerning the consumption of wine in Dixie when he said: "God has not forbidden the use of wine to man, but he is opposed to man's immoderate and unwise use of the same. We are permitted to make use of the fruits of our labors, but are to use wisdom, and be temperate in all things."⁵ It is easy to understand why Brigham Young expressed this view in light of comments made by President Erastus Snow. As James G. Bleak recorded, Snow, ". . . regretted much, to observe that some of our young men were wayward and reckless, disgracing them-selves, their parents, and the people of the Saints at large."⁶

UNITED ORDER

Even though Church officials were apprehensive

⁴James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission Book B, (copied from the original by BYU Library, Library, Provo, Utah, 1928), p. 181.

⁵Bleak, Annals Book B, p. 182. Also see James G. Bleak, Southern Utah Mission Historical Record Book B, M. S., LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, February 15, 1873.

⁶Bleak, Annals Book B, p. 187.

about the growing use of wine, they also recognized the economic asset the beverage was to the colony as a cash crop and as a product easily exchanged for staple goods. In 1874, the United Order was established in St. George. Brigham Young's instructions to members of the Order reveal his strong opinion that wine should not be consumed locally, as well as his hope that it would act as a stimulus to the economy. In a circular issued to the St. George Stake United Order, speaking of wine, he said:

Have this made in but a few places, say, three or four, for this southern country. At these points obtain the best available skill to manufacture the wine and have it properly graded in quality. Then store it in oak barrels as far as possible, and preserve it for exportation, rather than for home consumption.⁷

In speaking to Relief Society Sisters at St. George March 26, 1874, Brigham Young gave personal instruction concerning how wine was to be made and used:

. . . Take care of your fruit, can it up and send it off, this will help to create a Fund. Gather the grapes, have a few general places at which to make wine. First, by lightly pressing, make white wine; then give a heavier pressing and make colored wine. Then barrel up this wine, and, if my counsel is taken, wine will not be drank [sic] here, but will be exported, and thus increase the Fund. Twenty thousand dollars may be saved right here in clothing and the same amount can be realized from our fruit and wine.⁸

Emphasis was also placed upon producing quality

⁷Bleak, Annals Book B, p. 253. Also see Bleak, Southern Utah Mission Historical Record Book B, p. 73.

⁸Bleak, Annals Book B, p. 243. Also see Bleak, Southern Utah Mission Historical Record Book B, p. 53.

wines that could be exported. Members of the United Order were instructed to take pains that their wine and brandy be of the purest and best qualities. They were to prepare storage cellars and vessels for keeping the wines in the best condition.⁹

The third rule to be followed by members of the United Order suggested that they, "observe and keep the Word of Wisdom according to the spirit and meaning thereof."¹⁰ Brigham Young added strength to this suggestion by stating: ". . . I will say to him, who drinks wine to excess--Stop it!"¹¹ ". . . The frequent use of wine and spirituous liquors should," stated a circular to the United Order, "most decidedly, be avoided, and the use of tobacco, particularly among our young men should be abandoned. These evils,--a curse to any people--ruinous to the health, degrading to the morals, and opposed to the financial interests of those who indulge in them, should unquestionably

⁹Bleak, Annals Book B, p. 351. When the United Order was set up in St. George, great effort was made to set up values for goods and services provided by the members. Under a category entitled "Garden Products" are found two references to wine:

Wine, New	Per Gal.	50¢ to \$1.00
Wine, One Year Old	Per Gal.	\$1.00 to \$1.50

Bleak, Annals Book B, p. 365.

¹⁰Bleak, Annals Book B, p. 353.

¹¹Bleak, Southern Utah Mission Historical Record Book B, p. 73.

be got rid of by those who aim at obeying Celestial Laws."¹²
 It is apparent that abstinence or temperance in the use of wine was an important aspect of the United Order.

WINE DRINKING AMONG THE SAINTS
 AND ITS RESULTS

In spite of the Church leaders' advice that wine should not be drunk locally, a great deal was used by the Dixie people. The potent beverage brought poverty to some, broke up homes, and even caused some to lose their lives. It is said that a sister in Middleton used to make quilts and clothing for her children and for sale because her husband spent the entire amount of money that he made from his farm for wine.¹³ This same story could be retold in varying degrees throughout Dixie as wine worked its baleful wizardry throughout the area. The Dixie wine habit brought sorrow to several Dixie homes. Concerning one family head who had acquired the habit it is said: ". . . he drank the Dixie wine so many years and caused my mother and his family untold grief and embarrassment." This man enjoyed special occasions with his family, ". . . though they became more rare as the drinking habit grew."¹⁴ A

¹²Bleak, Annals Book B, p. 273. Bleak, Southern Utah Mission Historical Record, p. 93.

¹³Interview with Josephine Hamblin, Salt Lake City, Utah, May 11, 1972.

¹⁴Georgiana Angel Millet, "Historical Sketch of George Edward Angell and Rebecca Ann Wilkinson," (Pamphlet in State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah).

group of young men from St. George had been in Washington, where they purchased wine and became quite intoxicated.

Speaking of this incident Charles L. Walker recorded:

. . . heard that Thomas Pearce and others that were drunk in a carriage coming from Washington when near Middleton. Tom fell out of the carriage and broke his neck and was taken home a dead man to his wife who never knew of it until she saw him brought into the house the shock was severe and has prostrated her.¹⁵

Along the same line Levi Savage related how one Augustus Slack had not been well for some time. He did some light work in the morning, but, "complained of feeling bad in the afternoon; in the evening went to bed and died about 11 o'clock." Savage then concluded that: ". . . Brother Augustus Slack was about 37 years old, yet unmarried. He had indulged in excessive wine drinking for a number of years. No doubt this shortened his days."¹⁶

The youth were greatly affected by the wine industry to the point that it became a real problem to the Church authorities. The August 24, 1875, entry of the Joseph Fish diary states: "Excellent grapes are raised, of which they make wine and drink freely of it, in some instances making drunkards of their sons."¹⁷ Levi Savage

¹⁵Diary of Charles L. Walker 1833-1904 (copied by BYU Library, Provo, Utah, 1945-6), April 2, 1881.

¹⁶Levi Savage Jr. Diary, (xerox copy of the original in State Historical Society Library, Sale Lake City, Utah), March 1, 1892.

¹⁷Diaries of Joseph Fish, (copy made from a copy of the original in the hands of Silas Fish, Snowflake, Arizona, by BYU Library, Provo, Utah, 1954).

on April 10, 1876, said in his diary: "A great deal of wine is manufactured here, and I am grieved to see some elders abuse this blessing by becoming dissipated with the beverage. Some of the youth in Zion are following diligently the example of thoughtless and foolish fathers.

. . ."¹⁸ Savage later recorded that Apostle Francis M. Lyman was concerned that there was a large percentage of young men in St. George who used tobacco and wine, and that if wine-drinking did not stop, there would be a shortage of fit young men to marry Dixie's young women.¹⁹ Leaders were astonished at the effects of wine upon Dixie youth, but were flabbergasted when the influence of the beverage made its way to the children. One sister exclaimed at a meeting of the St. George Stake Relief Society that: ". . . she was sorry to find lately that there were some little fellows who go around serenading, and that some people take them in and [have] given them a little wine." She was afraid that the practice would lead to bad results and, "hoped that if children do anything wrong that no one will encourage them."²⁰

¹⁸Levi Savage Jr. Diary, (xerox copy of the original in State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah), April 10, 1876. Also see Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 215.

¹⁹Levi Savage Jr. Diary, April 10, 1876.

²⁰St. George Stake Relief Society Minute Book 1868-1892, M.S., LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, February 2, 1882.

CHURCH ACTION

The Church took steps against drunkenness quite early in the Dixie experience. At a meeting of the St. George High Council on December 13, 1873, a prominent member of the Council was censored because he "has lately been drunk and acted in a very unbecoming manner."²¹

In 1876 five men were brought before the High Council and charged with unchristian like conduct. In the course of the trial it was decided that it was because of wine that the men acted in such an unbecoming manner. The men were censored for being a bad example to youth.²²

As it became evident that the Mormon people, in spite of their leaders' advice, could not be makers of wine without being drinkers of wine, the Church leaders became more explicit in their instructions concerning the problem. A circular dated April 19, 1884 addressed to the leaders of the wards and branches of the St. George Stake stated:

Dear Brethren: At a meeting of the Presidency and High Council of the St. George Stake of Zion, held this day, some cases of habitual intemperance were reported by Bishops and other leading men. From the evidence presented before the Council it appears that

²¹High Council Minutes of St. George Stake 1862-1879, M. S., LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, December 13, 1873.

²²High Council Minutes of St. George Stake 1862-1879, M. S., LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, January 4, 1876.

there are some cases in the Stake of persistent and long continued habits of drunkenness, which have a demoralizing tendency, and which are utterly opposed to the principles of the Gospel and the teachings of the servants of God. This is a state of things that should not have been allowed to grow, and cannot longer be tolerated. The habitual drunkard cannot retain a standing in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, neither can he, who for gain, or otherwise, puts the cup to his weak brothers lips.

To aid in abating this evil, it is the unanimous sense of the Presidency and High Council of this Stake of Zion, that it is the imparitive duty of Bishops together with their helps in government, to take up a faithful, patient, wise and fatherly labor with all in their wards who are given to habitual drunkenness and also with all who sell or give away wine or other intoxicating liquors to those who are weak and afflicted with an appetite for strong drink.

In this connection, we deem it proper to call your attention to the action taken by the Priesthood, at a meeting held in St. George, on the 5th of Jan., 1882, and ratified at the next succeeding Stake Priesthood which was as follows:

'That the Presidency of the Stake, the High Council, and the Bishops and their counselors, shall not sell wine or strong drink and that where they desire to engage in this traffic they will tender their resignation as Church officials.'

Now, if this faithful, patient, wise and fatherly labor proves to be unavailing and fails to produce reform, the Presidency and High Council require the Bishops, in their Courts, to take decided action, by disfellowshipping persons from the Church and reporting the cases to the High Council for further action.

[Signed] Presidency of St. George Stake²³

The directive required Bishops to take offenders to task, but this was not always easy. In some wards most of the brethren made wine for sale and had become wine-drinkers to some degree. As early as 1875 a Bishop in Dixie was asked to resign his office because: ". . . You do not control yourself in the use of intoxicating beverages.

²³St. George Stake Manuscript History, M. S., April 19, 1884, LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, Utah

This weakness destroys your influence for good among the Saints and impairs your usefulness as a servant of God in holding the responsibility of a Bishop."²⁴

The civil government of St. George, doubtlessly encouraged by the local bishops and Church leaders, tried to solve the drinking problem by passing a law that a person couldn't buy wine in less than five gallon kegs. This was an attempt to prevent a person from buying wine by the bottle or gallon from individual producers, but said nothing of wine by the drink in a saloon.

The attitude slowly developed among faithful Saints in Dixie that wine-drinking was a private matter. This attitude was rare before the miners came to Silver Reef in 1876, but a short time later personal liberty became the cry of some of the Saints. Brother Gray told the High Council in 1885: ". . . I drink my own wine, I do not buy it and never pay for it, Consequently on one is the sufferer in this respect, no person is injured or wronged but myself," ²⁵ This problem was complicated when the Silver Reef mines closed down in the late 1880's and

²⁴St. George Stake Manuscript History, January 23, 1875. Also see Bleak, Southern Utah Mission Historical Record Book B, January 23, 1875.

²⁵Anderson, Desert Saints, p. 435. Also in notes in writers possession courtesy of Mrs. Juanita Brooks, Salt Lake City, Utah, taken from St. George Stake High Council Minutes, June 15, 1885.

four "Reef" saloons moved into St. George.²⁶ With the coming of the saloons, the practice of drinking wine tended to move from the home environment to the public saloon where it changed from social drinking to a public spectacle.

Another problem facing Church officials was that the Mormons who drank wine tended to become friendly with the Gentiles and started to neglect their duties in the Church. The High Council complained that wine drinkers were not paying tithing, and were neglecting their families, and becoming loafers.²⁷ One lady was brought before the High Council because of rumors of drinking and immorality. Her trial before the Council was deferred until the return of her husband from a trip, and in the interim, teachers were sent to labor with her. They reported to the Council: ". . . She denies the charges against her; she says they are as false as hell, She admitted being at Brother Starr's with McKenzie (a gentile) for wine as reported; as to her being drunk and falling off a wagon we are satisfied that is not so. . . ." She was cut off from the Church.²⁸ The minute books of the St. George

²⁶Interview with Moroni McArthur, St. George, Utah, May 12, 1971.

²⁷Anderson, Desert Saints, p. 435.

²⁸Anderson, Desert Saints, p. 435. Also in notes in writer's possession courtesy of Mrs. Juanita Brooks, Salt Lake City, Utah, taken from St. George Stake High Council Minutes, September 15, 1885.

High Council are full of such instances. One brother summarized the feelings of many brought before the Council on a charge of drunkenness when he said: "St. George is the hardest place I personally know of for one given to drink to stop that habit."²⁹

Even some Church leaders fell into the habit of drinking. The directive to the leaders of the Stake, the action taken against a Bishop who could not control himself in the use of intoxicating beverages, and the censoring of the High Councilman because of drunkenness, all illustrate the action taken by the Church in this respect. The authorities did not condemn moderate indulgence by Church members until the potent beverage had made drunkards of many, including members of the High Council and other high Church officials.

Infractions of established social conduct, such as excessive drinking, in Dixie were handled by the Bishop's Court, consisting of three members of the Bishopric in each ward. Appeals from these decisions could be taken to the Stake High Council. Not only did the Church act through its court system, but also used the pulpit to denounce the imbibing of the local product.

²⁹Taken from notes in writer's possession courtesy of Mrs. Juanita Brooks, Salt Lake City, Utah, from St. George Stake High Council Minutes, April 9 1887. For other references see Minute Books of St. George Stake High Council in LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Speaking of admonitions against excessive wine consumption from the pulpit Levi Savage recorded that: ". . . authorities denounced the wine traffic and drink and profanity and required the Bishops to deal with the offender promptly. . . ." ³⁰ It is extremely likely that as Church leaders began to see more and more of the dreadful effects of Dixie wine upon the local members of the Church they would naturally expound the evils of drink and exhort temperance.

The admonitions and advice of Church leaders were a powerful influence in the lives of many Dixie Saints because of their membership in the Church which was such a dominant element of society along the Virgin. The Church was able to exert moral and social pressure to deal with the problem of wine consumption in Dixie. By the turn of the century, most of the vines had been pulled up on the advice of Church authorities, and drinking was taboo.

TITHING

As viticulture became more widespread in Dixie,

³⁰Levi Savage Jr. Diary, March 14, 1892. It is interesting to note the extreme to which the Church leaders adversity to the drinking of wine was carried. In 1877, a company was organized to colonize in Arizona by Erastus Snow, Wilford Woodruff, and Brigham Young. The sad results of wine-making in Dixie led the organizers to advise: ". . . pay especial attention to raising raisin grapes, not those used for making wine. Avoid providing for the encouragement of the sorrowful weakness developed in those who make an

the Saints began to pay their tithing in grapes and wine. The tithing records of the St. George Stake for the years 1872 - 1884 show the following entries: August 31, 1876, wine - \$2.00; May 19, 1879, wine - \$3.00; October 14, 1884, grapes - \$4.80.³¹ Many tithepayers contributed wine as tithing during the period of its production and use in the Sacrament.

The Saints, however, were not always careful in giving the best tenth of the grape crop to the Lord. Each vine grower had his own particular method of making wine-- some better than others. Because of the complaints about the poor quality of the homemade wine used in the Sacrament, and certainly because of the large amount of grapes turned in as tithing, the Church tithing offices in Toquerville, St. George, and elsewhere entered into the production of wine.³²

intemperate use of wine." Bleak, Southern Utah Historical Record Book B, January 16, 1877.

³¹St. George Stake Financial Records, 1872-1884, microfilm copy in LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. In the early days of the Church members paid their tithes in kind--i.e. every tenth load of hay, etc. Not only did the early pioneers pay their tithes in grapes and wine, but also donated the same commodities to other Church functions. A record of donations to the construction of the St. George Temple reveal the following: September 11, 1871, 40 lbs. grapes, 20 lbs. grapes; January 11, 1872, 4 gal. wine \$4.00; September 27, 1871, 5 lbs. grapes \$1.00. St. George Temple Account Record 1871-1884, Microfilm copy in LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. Grapes and wine were also donated in varying amounts to the Relief Society by the Sisters of the St. George Stake. See St. George Stake Relief Society Minute Book 1868-1892.

³²Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 222.

The St. George tithing office on September 20, 1879 issued the following instructions concerning the payment of wine as tithing:

In order to obtain a more uniform grade of wine than we are to obtain by mixing together the tithes of small pressings in the hands of sundry individuals, it is suggested that those having but small quantities of grapes to make up into wine, deliver their tithes in grapes at this office. This may be arranged under the direction of the Bishop so that economy may be preserved in the hauling, for which, of course, credit will be given on the tithing account.³³

George Jarvis was called to run the tithing wine press in St. George and to produce a good quality wine for the Sacrament from grapes paid as tithing. Brother Jarvis had been a captain in the British navy, traveled all over the world, tasted many types of wine, and had become quite a knowledgeable vintner.³⁴

³³Anderson, Desert Saints, p. 373. Following this directive, it is interesting to note that most entries indicate that grapes were paid for tithing rather than wine. The record for 1886-1887 shows entries of 15 lbs., 65 lbs., 120 lbs., 91 lbs., and similar amounts of grapes, but indicates that no wine was paid as tithing. St. George Stake Tithing Record 1886-1887, M. S., LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

³⁴Interview with Moroni McArthur, May 12, 1971. Interview with Josephine Hamblin, Salt Lake City, Utah, May 11, 1972. Olive W. Burt, "Wine-making in Utah's Dixie." Lore of Faith and Folly, ed. Thomas E. Cheney (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press), p. 149. Josephine Hamblin says that her grandfather (George Jarvis), "was the official taster for the Church for years. I've heard him say many times from the stand that if it could have been measured it would have undoubtedly run over the hundreds of gallons that he had tasted. But he never swallowed a drop of it." Interview with Josephine Hamblin, May 11, 1972.

Due to the amount of grapes paid as tithes by the Dixie Saints, the Church soon found itself to be the largest producer of wine in the area. Much of the wine produced by the tithing office was sent north to the General Tithing Office or the Presiding Bishops Office to be dispersed to the various wards and stakes to be used in Sacramental services. Bob Naegle remembers that people from the Bishops' storehouse in Salt Lake used to come to Toquerville to pick up the six or eight 50 gallon barrels of wine usually found in the tithing office basement.³⁵

Tithing wine was sent to Manti when the temple was under construction there, to assist in paying the workmen and meeting the St. George Stake assessment for the expense of building. In a letter, sent by the St. George Tithing Office to the managers in charge of building the temple, is found a bill requesting tithing credit for a shipment of wine, as follows: 68 gallons wine (\$85) and 2 barrels (\$10) sent some time ago from Toquerville - \$95. 90 gallons wine (\$112.50) 2 barrels (\$10 cash) (\$122.50) sent by E. F. Greene in July. Amount paid for freighting \$16 - \$233.50.³⁶

The tithing office joined with other Dixie wine

³⁵Interview with Robert Naegle, Toquerville, Utah, May 12, 1972.

³⁶Obtained from personal notes, courtesy of Juanita Brooks, Salt Lake City, Utah. Letters from Southern Utah Tithing Office to William H. Folsom superintendent of work on the Manti Temple, August 12, 1880.

producers in supplying the gentile wine markets at Silver Reef and other mining camps. As the silver deposits began to give out and the mining towns began folding up, the tithing office was faced with a problem realized by many wine producers--what to do with the wine. On November 21, 1885, Frank Snow of the St. George Tithing Office sent a letter to Bishop William B. Preston, Presiding Bishop in Salt Lake City which contained the following:

. . . In one of your recent letters you ask if we cannot send you a few barrels of wine occasionally by teams going to Milford after freight, and thus dispose of some of the large stock we have on hand.

This we can do willingly, but still that will be a slow process of disposing of the immense quantity we have. There seems to have been no effort made to dispose of the tithing wine, and it has accumulated until we have near 6,000 gallon, good, bad and indifferent, and a good deal of it decreasing instead of increasing in value, and should be disposed of, besides we have no room to store any more, and the people have considerable in their possession as they have paid none during the past season.

I have been thinking of sending a man out through Parowan, Sevier and San Pete [sic] stakes, with samples and see if we cannot sell it for cash, grain, flour, etc. . . .³⁷

It is likely that loads of wine from the tithing office were sent to the northern settlements where they were traded for wheat and flour. Wine was also shipped from the office to the mining camps of Nevada. Even though these were good outlets for the dispersion of wine, they

³⁷Obtained from personal notes, courtesy of Juanita Brooks, Salt Lake City, Utah. Also see "Utah's Dixie . . . The Cotton Mission," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXIX No. 3 (July, 1961), 217.

did little to relieve the pressure upon the tithing office. In March, 1887, the St. George tithing office reported a supply of 6,610 gallons of wine valued at 50¢ per gallon.³⁸ Edward H. Snow, clerk of the St. George tithing office, in a letter to the Presiding Bishops Office in November of 1889 stated:

. . . Our sales during the year do not amount to half what we are obliged to make from the grapes that are grought in We have made at this office alone over 600 gallons this year. We cannot refuse the grapes or wine and I see no way to get rid of it except to ship it to the General Office.³⁹

Finally, on August 20, 1891, Edward Snow wrote Bishop William B. Preston asking pointedly whether or not they should continue to receive either grapes or wine as tithing.⁴⁰

In an effort to discourage the further manufacture of wine, the St. George tithing office stopped accepting wine as tithing and abandoned its own wine press shortly after the 1891 request. It was quite an embarrassment for Church authorities to stress abstinence from wine when the tithing office was the largest producer of the beverage.

³⁸Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 222. Nels Anderson lists the inventory of the St. George Tithing Office in 1887. Among items listed is found 6,610 gallons of wine valued at \$3,305.00 Anderson, Desert Saints, p. 320

³⁹Anderson, Desert Saints, p. 374. "Utah's Dixie . . . The Cotton Mission," p. 217.

⁴⁰"Utah's Dixie . . . The Cotton Mission," p. 217.

Another reason for the Church to shut down its presses and stop accepting wine or grapes for tithing was the fact that the tithing office was not able to find markets for its wine.

WINE IN SACRAMENT

One of the principle reasons wine was produced in Dixie was so that it could be used in Sacramental services. This was in keeping with instructions reportedly received in August of 1830 through revelation by Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon Church. This revelation instructed Church members not to use wine in the Sacrament unless they utilized wine of their own making. Brigham Young predicted that pure wine, produced within the territory, would be used in the Sacrament.⁴¹

Wine was served for the Sacrament in all the wards stretched along the Virgin and Muddy rivers. John D. Lee reported in his diary May 2, 1869, that in a conference held in the basement of the St. George Tabernacle: ". . . the Sacrament was administered, using wine instead of water-- of our own make."⁴² Wine very likely could have been used

⁴¹Supra Chapter 4 page 39. Also see Doctrine and Covenants, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1960), Section 27:4. Brigham Young and other Church leaders, Journal of Discourses (London, 1854-1886) 10, p. 300.

⁴²Cleland and Brooks, A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, II, p. 116.

in the Sacrament services at an earlier date in some of the communities established before St. George, such as Santa Clara or Toquerville, but this is the earliest recorded use of Sacramental wine in Dixie.

It should be made clear that the wine used in Dixie Sacrament services at this time was NOT new or fresh wine, but was good, aged wine. When asked if wine used in the Sacrament was new wine, one Southern Utah native commented: "Isn't wine unless its fermented. Nobody would drink new wine! Ugh! Just as well drink dish water."⁴³

Sacramental wine was passed to communicants in Dixie by six boys each carrying a silver goblet. The goblet, with large handles on each side, was passed down the row. Each member took a sip from the goblet then passed it on to the next. When the goblet was emptied, it was refilled from one or two silver wine pitchers each holding one-half to one gallon of wine. Josephine Hamblin describes the pitcher and goblets used in Washington as, "the most beautiful silver service I have ever seen."⁴⁴

Often some of the fellows who liked the flavor of Dixie wine wouldn't limit themselves to a single sip, but would down the entire goblet. Brigham Young was concerned about this situation as evidenced by his comments in 1869:

⁴³Interview with Juanita Brooks, Salt Lake City, Utah, March 11, 1971.

⁴⁴Interview with Josephine Hamblin, May 11, 1972.

"I have no doubt, were we to offer the wine in Sacrament that some would swallow a pint if the tumbler would hold that much before they could bite it off. However, I will remedy that. I will have tumblers made that will hold a swallow and no more."⁴⁵ This imbibing of the Sacramental wine did take place and is the subject of numerous stories.

In Toquerville, two young men made a practice of sitting on the front row at each meeting. As soon as they had been served they would immediately get up and move back four rows, repeating this process until they had participated in about four servings of the Sacrament. After this it is said that the fervor with which they bore their testimonies was unusually convincing.⁴⁶

Quite frequently a group of fellows would file into Church and sit down on the back row under the balcony. As the goblet was passed down this last row, each of the men would take a half to a full goblet of wine. Following the Sacrament, this back row group would often skip out on the remainder of the meeting.⁴⁷

Olive Burt relates the following story about the summer she was ten and visiting her Uncle Ben in Toquerville:

⁴⁵Cleland and Brooks, A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, II, p. 116.

⁴⁶Reed W. Farnsworth, M. D., "Wine Making in Southern Utah," (paper presented to a local history group in Cedar City, Utah, copy in my possession), p. 9.

⁴⁷Interview with Juanita Brooks, March 11, 1971.

. . . of course I went to Sunday School, and was delightfully shocked to get a mouthful of sweet wine instead of the tasteless water I was accustomed to in the Salt Lake City religious services. I looked forward to the next Sunday's treat, and was in my place in good time. But alas! a bearded 'old' man took his place on the aisle end of my bench. And when the sacrament was passed I watched with dismay as he drained the glass. There was no boy with a pitcher, and we little girls simply made a futile gesture of touching the empty glass to our lips. The incident made a great impression on me, because I feared damnation for this deception in the holy act of communion. But when I worriedly told Uncle Ben about it, he just chuckled and assured me that I need have no fear; if that meant damnation, half of Toquerville would go to hell because it was often necessary to practice this act of deceit, the goblet being empty a good deal of the time--God understood perfectly.⁴⁸

Along the same line, one old-timer laughingly commented: "There was a good turn-out for church when wine was used in the Sacrament, and it might even help today."⁴⁹ Another added: "Wine was better for Sacrament than alkaline water, and added much to the spirit."⁵⁰

As the abuse of Sacramental wine increased, and as the effects of wine became ever more evident to Church leaders, wine was abandoned in favor of water in the Sacramental services. On July 9, 1892, at the High Council meeting of the St. George Stake, the following resolution

⁴⁸Olive W. Burt, "Wine-making in Utah's Dixie," p. 147. These stories are not uncommon even though some people in Dixie don't like to think that such a thing could happen. If they are not based on fact, why did Brigham Young comment on the problem, and where did all the stories originate?

⁴⁹Interview with Athole Milne, Washington, Utah, March 13, 1971.

⁵⁰Interview with Moroni McArthur, March 12, 1971.

was passed:

That the Bishops of wards in St. George Stake furnish as good water as they can obtain for Sacramental purposes instead of the diversity of wine of ill flavor often administered heretofore.⁵¹

A week later, "water [was] used at [the] St. George Tabernacle in the Sacrament of the Lord's supper as wine had not been of a uniformly pleasant flavor."⁵²

It is likely that not all of the Dixie wards were so obedient in discontinuing the more symbolic wine in their sacramental services. Frank Hafen remembers wine being used in the Sacrament in Washington until 1898 when he was five years old.⁵³ Wine was also a part of the Sacrament services in Toquerville for years past the 1892 directive. However, by the turn of the century wine had been replaced by water throughout Dixie.

WINE AND THE WORD OF WISDOM

Those familiar with the Mormon doctrine of the Word of Wisdom, which admonishes members to abstain from alcoholic beverages, may wonder why the Church called colonists to make wine, and why consumption of the beverage was permitted. It is important to realize that the present emphasis on the Word of Wisdom has not always prevailed.

⁵¹St. George Stake MSS History, July 9, 1892.

⁵²St. George Stake MSS History, July 17, 1892.

⁵³Interview with Frank Hafen, Washington, Utah, May 13, 1972.

The revelation announced by Joseph Smith February 27, 1833, at Kirtland, Ohio, enjoining the Saints to abstain from wine and strong drink, states that it was given as a "greeting" rather than as a "commandment" or by way of "constraint, but by revelation and the word of wisdom, showing forth the order and will of God in the temporal salvation of all saints in the last days. . . ." ⁵⁴

From the very beginning this revelation has incited differing interpretations among leaders and members of the Mormon faith. Some considered the revelation as prohibitory and binding and wanted to make the obedience of its principles a matter of fellowship. For example, the Church Council adopted the following resolution at Kirtland, Ohio, in February of 1834: "No official member in this Church is worthy to hold an office. After having the Word of Wisdom properly taught him, and he, the official member, neglecting to comply with it or obey it. . . ." ⁵⁵ In 1837, the membership of the Church agreed that "we will not fellowship any ordained member, who will not, or does not, observe the Word of Wisdom according to its liberal reading." ⁵⁶

⁵⁴Doctrine and Covenants, Section 89:2, p. 154.

⁵⁵Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Period I (2nd ed., Salt Lake City, Utah, 1948), II, p. 35.

⁵⁶History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, II, p. 482.

Many Mormons had a more casual interpretation of the Word of Wisdom and considered it to be merely a piece of good advice. Following a double wedding January, 1836, Joseph Smith wrote: "We have partook [sic] of some refreshments, and our hearts were made glad with the fruit of the vine. This according to the pattern set by our Savior himself, and we feel disposed to patronize all institutions of heaven."⁵⁷

It was this more casual and less vigilant attitude toward the Word of Wisdom that was carried across the plains and established in pioneer Utah. Brigham Young in April of 1861 stated: "Some of the Brethren are very strenuous upon the Word of Wisdom, and would like to have me preach upon it, and urge it upon the brethren, and make a test of fellowship. I do not think I shall do so. I have never done so."⁵⁸ On June 7, 1863, he stated:

You have read that piece of excellent advice called the Word of Wisdom. I shall not say you must obey it; you can read it over again and refresh your memories, and I give the privilege to the Elders of Israel to cease using tobacco, and if they will not cease using it, then raise it; and then also, to cease using spirituous liquors to excess.⁵⁹

Two points concerning this last statement should

⁵⁷History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, II, p. 369. For other examples of this attitude, also see II: 378 and II : 447.

⁵⁸Journal of Discourses 9:35.

⁵⁹Journal of Discourses 10:202.

be made. First is the 'grow your own"--self-sufficiency point which has been discussed in the body of this paper. The second point is to not drink to "excess." In several speeches Brigham Young discouraged heavy drinking, but there seems to have been no objection from him--at least nothing forceful--to the use of wine in moderation.⁶⁰

The Brethren in their speeches were very careful not to proclaim the Word of Wisdom a commandment.⁶¹

The Word of Wisdom was considered to be a piece of advice, admittedly a good one, but not a commandment, and therefore not absolutely binding on the Church. Even with this attitude, the number of people who noticeably broke the Word of Wisdom were in the minority in Utah during the 1850's and 60's. Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, after a relatively lengthy tour through Utah in 1855, wrote the following about its citizens:

The style of living among the Mormons is simple and frugal. They are very temperate, which enables them the better to bear the privations to which they are exposed by their frequent changes of place, and during the periods of scarcity too often caused by great droughts and the ravages of locusts The majority abstain from fermented or spirituous liquors, either voluntarily and from motives of temperance, or on account of their poverty. . . .⁶²

⁶⁰Journal of Discourses 7:337, 7:135 and 10:300.

⁶¹For a complete History of the Word of Wisdom, the reader is urged to consult a Master's thesis currently being completed on the subject by Paul Peterson at BYU.

⁶²Leonard J. Arrington, "An Economic Interpretation of the Word of Wisdom," Brigham Young University Studies, I, No. 1 (Winter, 1959), 42-3.

With the start of the Civil War and before the coming of the transcontinental railroad, Brigham Young became concerned with the amount of money spent outside the territory for items listed in the Word of Wisdom. This economic issue was one major reason for the increased emphasis upon either abstinence or "grow your own" during the mid 60's.

Both the establishment of the School of Prophets and the starting of United Orders added emphasis to the Word of Wisdom. The Word of Wisdom was one of the principles participants were asked to observe. As Wilford Woodruff said at a meeting of the School of Prophets in St. George on December 23, 1883: "Plural marriage and the Word of Wisdom, were two important principles to be observed, in order to stand in this Holy Order."⁶³

During the October, 1880 Conference the Word of Wisdom took on a new significance. On Sunday, October 10, 1880, President George Q. Cannon submitted the Book of Doctrine and Covenants and The Pearl of Great Price to the conference, ". . . to see whether the conference will vote to accept the books and their contents as from God, and binding upon us as a Church." A motion to this effect was seconded and sustained by unanimous vote of the whole

⁶³ St. George School of the Prophets 1883, December 23, 1883, M.S., LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, Utah

conference.⁶⁴ Since the Word of Wisdom is contained in the Doctrine and Covenants, the passage of this motion made it binding upon the Saints. The words "binding upon us" were taken seriously by the members of the Church and have been periodically re-emphasized to members and converts.

It is apparent that Brigham Young intended the Wine Mission to produce wine both for Sacramental use and as a source of income to the Dixie Saints. It is also likely that he expected the mission to furnish wine for the people in the territory who had developed the drinking habit prior to 1880. When the local product began to be used in increasing amounts by Dixie youth, and when the Word of Wisdom was accepted as "binding," the mission was abandoned.

⁶⁴Brigham Young, et. al., Millennial Star, 1880, 42:724.

Chapter IX

ECONOMIC ASPECTS LEADING TO THE DECLINE OF THE DIXIE WINE INDUSTRY

Church leaders deplored the effects of Dixie wine upon the Saints along the Virgin and used all their influence to stop excessive drinking among their people. But they were also interested in the economic potential that the wine industry offered to the area.

One last attempt to rejuvenate the wine industry took place in 1888. On the 14th of January, a Priesthood Meeting was called in the Tabernacle to meet with Apostle Erastus Snow. Apostle Snow in speaking of the many small wine presses and stills in operation in Dixie commented:

If we had a licensed distillery--properly regulated according to law--and the product of such distillery, properly used--it would enable this people to utilize much fruit which now goes to waste and prove a source of considerable revenue to us.

If our wine were properly worked up by a business company and then marketed by discreet business minds, it would aid us very materially in sustaining ourselves in this part of the country.

He reminded the assembled leaders that President Brigham Young had advised that wine making should be established in St. George and Toquerville and that the wine should be sold by sample and then sent by barrel or

other quantity to the purchasers.¹

This advice, however, had not been followed. Everyone who had grapes made wine and sold it for what it would bring. Some of the people who made wine didn't fully understand the process and failed to develop a good grade of the beverage. Joseph E. Johnson pinpointed this problem when he said:

. . . if we are judged by the quality of wines we have heretofore sent to market, our climate, and capacity for producing the choicest of fruit would be harshly dealt with, for with our total ignorance in manufacturing wine the most delicious of fruit, may have been changed to an unsavory beverage.²

Too many people made wine. The urge to make a fast dollar during the Silver Reef days overcame the producers and the Dixie product lost its good name. Wine makers became careless of the grapes they used and sold off the wine before it was properly aged. The resulting products were of different quality and flavor. Poor quality wine killed the market not only in the Mormon settlements in the North, but also among the Gentiles. The lack of a standard quality in the wine produced was a major drawback, and a primary cause in the decline of the wine industry.

Dixie wine makers became aware of California grapes by the carload arriving in Salt Lake City and selling for

¹St. George Stake Historical Record Book C 1887-1890, January 14, 1888, Ms., LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

²The Utah Pomologist (St. George), Vol. 1 No. 3, June, 1870.

10 to 15 cents per pound. Erastus Snow felt that, "If we use our brains and our hands we certainly ought to be able to work up a fruit traffic between our settlements and the North."³ One serious block stood in the way of the Dixie competing with California grapes and the inexpensive wine produced from them. There was no railroad within a hundred miles of Dixie, and the Saints' slow freight wagons could not compete with the trains from California. One way that Brother Snow proposed to, "use brains and hands," was to appoint two committees in Washington County to investigate the feasibility of "distilling liquor according to law."⁴

On the third day of the conference, January 16, 1888, John C. Naegle practically eliminated any hope for a profit from wine as an industry. He thought peaches and other fruit could profitably be made into brandy, "if the people in the North will patronize us. If they do not it will be uphill business for us. It is quite impractical for us to compete with California and the East." James G. Bleak summarized Naegle's conclusion as follows:

³St. George Stake Historical Record Book C 1887-1890, January 14, 1888.

⁴St. George Stake Historical Record Book C 1887-1890, January 15, 1888. As early as 1877 California produced 12 million gallons of wine and brandy. It is likely that much of this wine was exported from the state and at least passed through Utah and was available to markets in Salt Lake City and Ogden. John A. Garraty, The New Commonwealth 1877-1890 (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 50.

. . . he has spent a great deal and has not obtained any profitable returns. He now has on hand from 6,000 to 8,000 gallons of wine from 1 to 7 years old--the whole lot he would sell at 50 cents a gallon. But we cannot compete with California. There wine can be made for 10¢ a gallon.⁵

This frank realization by the dean of Dixie wine makers ended all hope for a profit from wine by the Dixie colonists.

After the closing of the Silver Reef mines and the elimination of this local market, farmers found they could make more money in the production of other crops. Wine, like cotton and silk, which had also been experimented with in Dixie, did not pay as well as other products. Vines were pulled up and the land turned to the production of more lucrative crops such as fruit orchards, alfalfa, and truck gardens.

All these forces, as well as the moral and social pressure exerted by the Mormon Church, helped to eliminate wine as an industry in Dixie. The Utah Directory and Gazetteer 1879-1880 categorized all of these issues into two basic causes. It maintained that:

Southern Utah, below the rim of the basin, is particularly adapted to vineyards, and to the manufacture of wine. Vine growing, however, does not flourish as in former years for two reasons: there is no market for the fruit and none for the wine that is worthy the name, because of proverbial opposition of the Mormon people to intoxicating liquors in all forms.⁶

⁵St. George Stake Historical Record Book C 1887-1890, January 16, 1888.

⁶Robert Sloan, ed., Utah Gazetteer and Directory

The laws of economics coupled with the moral pressures resultant from wine's misuse, ended it as an industry, but as long as there were grape vineyards there was wine. Some of the old-timers were not convinced that they had to stop making wine--that was part of their mission to Dixie. Frank Hafen claims that 1914 or 1915 was the last year any wine was made on a large scale in Dixie, and that prohibition finally effectively stopped the manufacture of wine.⁷ Private concerns have continued to make small amounts of the sweet beverage to the present time. All that remains of an industry which promised much and came to little is the big rock house and its wine cellar built by John C. Naegle in Toquerville.

Two attempts to revive the wine industry in recent years failed to materialize. Following prohibition, a California company came into Washington with intentions of making a winery in the old cotton facotry. They encouraged the people in Dixie to grow grapes, obtained a license to distill, and shipped in the needed barrels and equipment, but never produced any wine.⁸ In the early sixties a company was set up, stock sold, and obtained a francise to produce wine in the Dixie area, but nothing

of Logan, Provo, Ogden, and Salt Lake City 1884 (Salt Lake City: Herald Printing and Publishing Company, 1884), p. 46.

⁷Interview with Frank Hafen, Washington, Utah, May 13, 1972.

⁸Interview with Lynn Naegle, Toquerville, Utah, May 12, 1972.

became of the endeavor.⁹ The same forces which caused the wine industry to decline into obscurity around the turn of the century will likely inhibit further attempts to re-establish a remunerative commercial wine industry in Dixie.

⁹Interview with Shirl Stucki, St. George, Utah, May 13, 1972.

Chapter X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The wine industry in Utah's Dixie developed as a result of an ideal soil and climate, and an attempt by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to form a self-sufficient commonwealth, establish a cash crop for the cotton mission, and provide Sacramental wine for the Church. Individuals were specifically called to produce wine, and almost everyone had vines and produced wine for their own use and for sale. The tithing office became the major producer of wine which was to be used in Sacrament services and the surplus exported to Gentiles. Large amounts of wine were traded in Central and Northern Utah settlements and sold at the silver mines of Southern Utah and Eastern Nevada. As wine became common, wine-drinking became more frequent. It became apparent that many Saints, prominent and common were becoming bound to the potent beverage. The Church countered by shutting down its press, using water in the Sacrament, and strongly discouraging the use of Dixie wine. Bishops were instructed to take action against drinkers. Utah's Dixie was unable to compete economically with a cheaper California product and with the closing of local silver mines, the farmers found

it much more economical to employ their land in other crops. The inconsistent quality of wine produced and Federal prohibition also helped to end the once lucrative business. Thus moral and social pressures applied by the Church and economic pressure both from within and without ended one of the most picturesque and unique phases of Utah and Mormon History.

Several conclusions and generalizations can be drawn from the research which constitutes this thesis. First, a wine industry did exist in Dixie and is one of the most fascinating and interesting aspects of Dixie history. Early settlers on the Virgin River soon realized that the soil and climate were especially well adapted to the growing of grapes. Vines were imported from California and there were strong, productive vineyards at Santa Clara, Washington, and Toquerville when St. George was established in 1861.

In his several trips to Dixie prior to the establishment of St. George, Brigham Young was extremely impressed with the capacity of the area to produce grapes and wine which could be used as cash crops for the Virgin settlements. In 1861, three hundred families were called to strengthen the small Dixie communities. Part of their mission was to produce wine to be used in the Sacramento and to be exported to the surrounding mining camps. Men who knew the art of viticulture and wine production, such as John C. Naegle and George Jarvis were specifically

called by Brigham Young to go to Dixie. Thirty Swiss families who had immigrated from wine producing districts in Switzerland were called to settle in Santa Clara and produce Sacramental wine. Expert horticulturists such as Walter E. Dodge and Joseph E. Johnson were called to experiment in grape culture and succeeded in importing over a hundred varieties of foreign and domestic grapes.

Brigham Young intended that wine should be produced in only a few central places to guarantee the quality produced. As the silver mines of Southern Utah and Eastern Nevada boomed into production, producing a ready market for the wine from Dixie, the wine makers found able students among their fellow settlers. The temptation to make a "fast buck" lured nearly everyone who had grapes to make wine. There were nearly as many qualities of the wine as there were makers. Good quality wine was produced, but the variance in quality was a major factor in the decline and elimination of wine as an industry in Dixie.

As a cash crop, wine served a vital part in the Dixie economy. It was an article in great demand by the hard-drinking miners at Silver Reef, Utah and Pioche, Nevada. Wine was shipped to these markets in great quantities and provided the only source of hard cash available to the Dixie colony. Wine was also a favorite commodity carried north by Dixie peddlers to be traded for such staples as wheat and potatoes. The article was shipped as far north as Salt Lake City where it was traded

for store goods from Z.C.M.I. Dixie settlers used wine as a medium of exchange and payment in their dealings with one another. Silver Reef was the primary market for Dixie wine because of its location near the wine producing areas along the Virgin. This cash market encouraged many Dixie farmers to plant vineyards and produce wine, but when the reef began to give out in the mid 1880's the farmers had a hard time finding a market for their harvest.

As grape and wine production became more widespread throughout Dixie, and more and more of the Saints paid their tithes in grapes, the Church entered into the production of wine. The tithing office, with only 10% of the grapes produced, became the largest producer of wine. This indicates how much wine was made throughout the area. At one time the St. George tithing office had over 6,000 gallons of wine stored in its cellar. It was not uncommon for individual makers to produce as much as 3,000 gallons of wine a year from the sweet California and Isabella grapes. The tithing office wine was to be used in Sacramental services throughout the territory and the surplus sold to Gentiles. Wine was wagoned to the General Tithing Office and Presiding Bishop's Office in Salt Lake, but it is uncertain how widespread wine was used in the Sacrament. It was part of the Sacrament in the Dixie communities from the middle 1860's until 1892 or later.

As time passed, and as wine production increased, it became obvious to Church leaders that Dixie farmers were

unable to be makers of wine without also being drinkers of wine. Brigham Young had instructed that wine should be an article of export and not drunk locally, but the number of cases of addiction to the potent beverage among members and leaders alike revealed that these instructions had not been closely followed. The folklore concerning wine consumption is large, interesting, and informative. Wine was a common drink among the Dixie pioneers and was an integral part of many a dance, celebration, and wedding. The Mormon Church, which was the dominant moral and social institution in the Dixie communities, acted to counter wine's effects. It realized it was unrealistic to ask the settlers to produce wine but not drink it, so the Church began to discourage both the making and drinking of the fruit of the vine. Bishops were instructed to deal with those prone to drunkenness through patient and long-suffering labor, but to resort to excommunication if necessary. It was hard for the Church to discourage wine production while it was the largest producer, so it closed down its wine presses and stopped accepting wine and grapes as tithing. The use of wine in the Sacrament was also discontinued. The moral and social pressure exerted by the Church was a principle factor in the reduction and eventual elimination of the wine industry in Dixie. New emphasis upon the Word of Wisdom during the 1880's brought new pressure upon Church members to abstain from alcoholic beverages.

The wine industry was hurt by the closure of Silver Reef mines and the realization that wine could be shipped into Utah from California at a much cheaper price than it could be produced for in Dixie. The slow Dixie wagons could not compete with the railroad from California. The elimination of its primary cash market and economic competition were serious threats to the future of Dixie wine. As markets became fewer and farther away, Dixie farmers realized they could make a better return from other crops such as fruit and alfalfa.

Moral and economic pressure, coupled with federal prohibition laws killed the large scale wine industry in Dixie around the turn of the century, but wine making did not cease completely. A few old stalwarts still retain the skills and appetites to produce sweet Dixie wine and make a personal stock to be savored with friends through a long winter. The researcher can attest to the quality and sweetness of Dixie wine and realizes how easily it must have been for some of the pioneers to gain a real taste for the refreshment.

It is interesting to speculate at what might have happened if the colonists had not abused the wine they produced, if the principle market had not vanished, and if Dixie could have competed with California wine. The grapes produced in Dixie were sweeter than those grown in California and a better wine was pressed from them. The

early horticulturists believed that the wine produced in Dixie could compete with wine produced anywhere and would be in demand both at home and abroad. Had a uniform grade of wine been produced and exported as Brigham Young advised, rather than consumed locally and had Dixie had access to a railroad, there is little reason to doubt that there would still be a thriving wine industry in Dixie today. Wine drinking by the Mormon settlers and the inability to compete with cheap California wine ended hope of a wine industry in Dixie.

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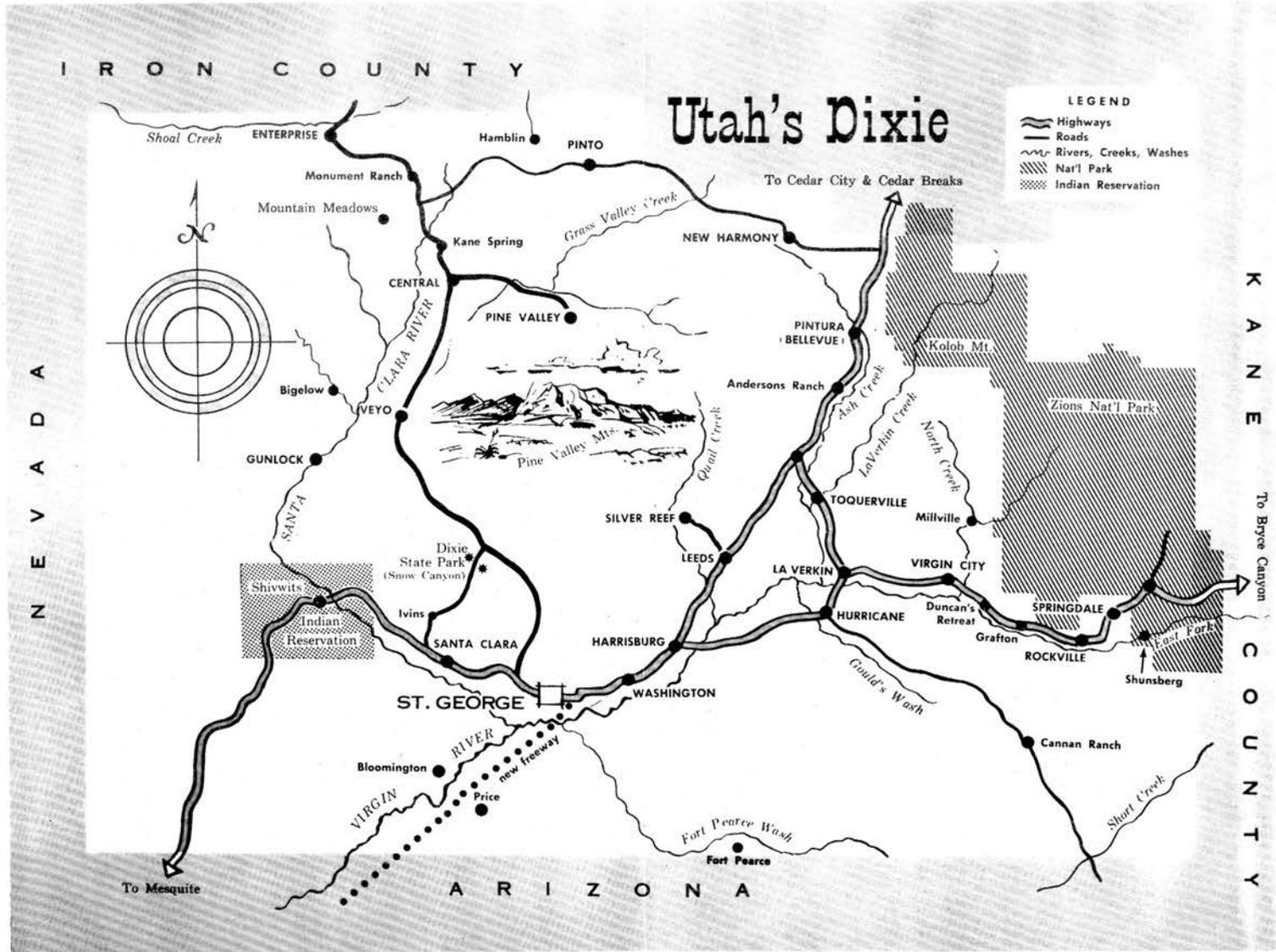
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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

MAP OF UTAH'S DIXIE



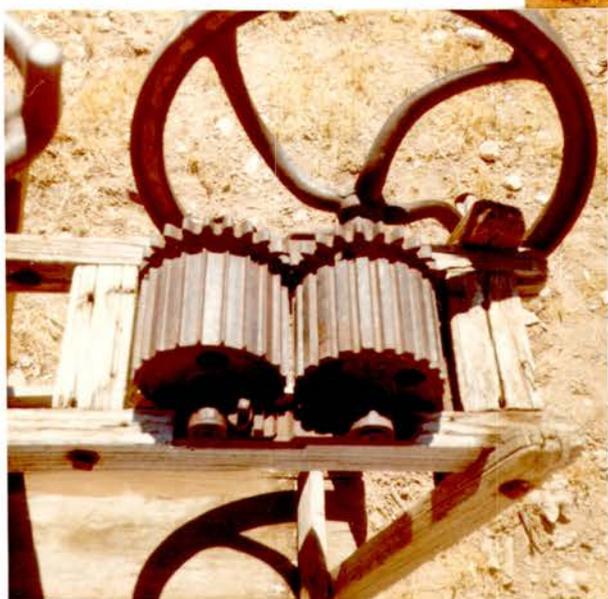
APPENDIX B

PHOTOGRAPHES OF WINE MAKING



This vineyard north of the cotton factory in Washington is the largest and oldest in Dixie.

Shirl Stucki has recently planted 13½ acres of Thompson seedless grapes to utilize the ideal soil and climate of Dixie. This vineyard is south of Washington.



Grapes for wine were often crushed in rollers such as these used by the Naegle family in Toquerville.



This wine press is typical of those used in the manufacture of Dixie wine. Fermented, crushed grapes were placed in the press which was then wound down.

This press was used by the Naegle family in Toquerville to make Sweet Dixie wine. Pictured is Robert Naegle.

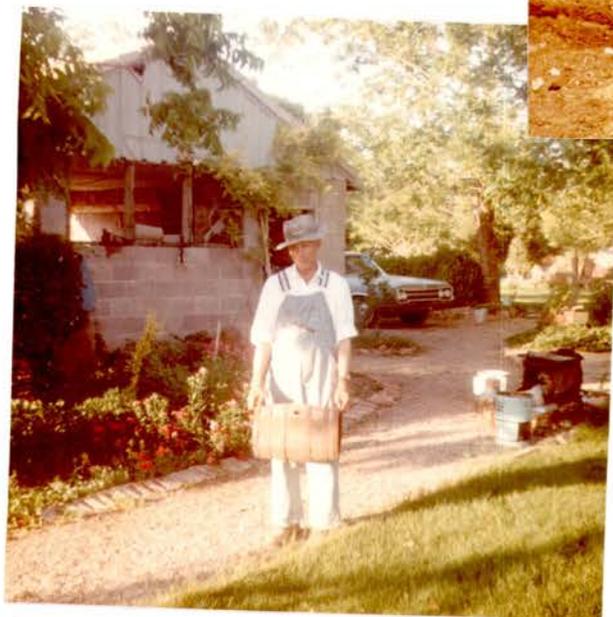


This close up of the above wine press shows the hole through which the pressed juice flowed into buckets. The juice was then placed in barrels like those in the background to ferment.



Smaller wine producers in Dixie often ground their grapes directly into fermenting barrels.

The fermenting Barrel pictured here with Lynn Naegle held nearly five hundred gallons of crushed grapes



Robert Naegle of Toquerville holds a five gallon keg which was used to store Dixie wine.



John C. Naegle home and distillery, Toquerville, Utah. The doors on the north end of the house led to the wine cellar. Wagons full of sweet Dixie grapes drove right in.

This building now used by U & I Sugar was formally the opera house in St. George. Tithing wine was stored in the east end in a Basement under the stage.



The Naegle home stands boarded and deserted by the side of the highway. A tribute to a once glorious hope and industry.