

UTAH

HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

October, 1960



ABOUT THE COVER



Brevet Major General Patrick Edward Connor of the California Volunteers ordered to Utah in 1862 was prominent for the Army-Genile influence in "Americanizing" Utah.



The Guard House at Fort Douglas, was built in 1862 by Connor's men.

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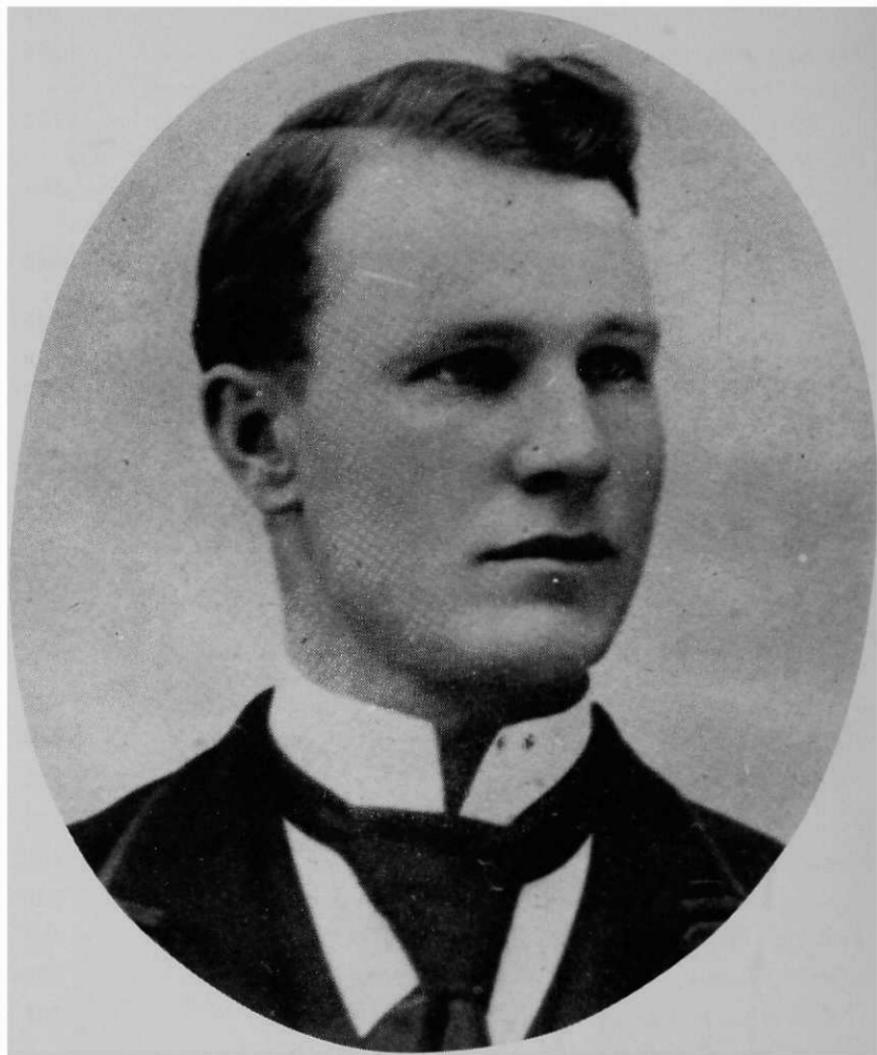
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PARLEY P. CHRISTENSEN, 1872-1954

Utah's only nominee for the Presidency was secretary of the Utah Constitutional Convention in 1895. The above picture was taken from an official photograph of that august body by J. W. Shipler, early Salt Lake Photographer.

"The honor of being nominated for the chief office in the nation is a distinction that comes to but few among the many who feel that they would like to gain it."

UTAH'S FIRST PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

*By Gaylon L. Caldwell**

Buried in footnotes in only the most exhaustive treatises on American political history, and completely ignored by most history books written today, is the name of Utah's first presidential candidate. Granted the American penchant for quickly forgetting its notorious or famous boxers, movie stars, and politicians once they lose, still it is strange that so few Utahans remember — if, indeed, they ever have heard about — the man who gave the state its single hour in the presidential sun. This particular nominee ought to be treasured if only because there may never be another from Utah. Political parties sagely select their candidates from populous and politically important states — Utah is neither. Therefore, when headlines across the country on July 15, 1920, screamed that a Utahan had emerged from the rowdy, colorful Farmer-Labor convention in Chicago to carry the new party's banner, it was *news*. At home there was some local pride, for, as the *Deseret News* correctly observed in an editorial, "the honor of being even nominated for the chief office in the nation is a distinction that comes to but few among the many who feel that they would like to gain it."¹

Parley Packer Christensen was that nominee. True, he had been born slightly across the state line — in Weston, Idaho — and unlike

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¹ *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), July 15, 1920, p. 4.

the typical Utahan he was a bachelor and a Unitarian, but he had twice served as Salt Lake County Attorney, had sat in the state legislature, and had twice sought to represent Utah as a Republican in the United States Congress. Democrats, Republicans, and Bull Moosers — all could have claimed some share in his political education since he had served in each of their disseparate political camps at some time or other. This time he was a Farmer-Laborite and, in the dawn of Harding “normalcy,” brought real excitement and color into what had threatened to become one of America’s dulllest campaigns. Besides, at a convention which had talked about potential nominees of the high caliber of Wisconsin’s brilliant Senator La Follette, Michigan’s world-famous Henry Ford, and Chicago’s own Jane Addams, Salt Lake City’s maverick son had won the prize.

The “third party” convention — which was also the third party convention — held in the Windy City that summer had been eminently newsworthy. As early as July 8 the provincial press had accorded banner headlines to the political malcontents who had gathered to offer the American voters an alternative to Ohio’s uninspiring Senator Harding and her equally colorless Governor Cox, and the metropolitan dailies had reported the unfolding of events in Chicago as faithfully, if not as dramatically, as the small town newspapers. In addition to the news value of the political potpourri which was seen by many to threaten the two established parties, the Farmer-Labor convention preceded and postdated the first birthday of Prohibition, and by some odd chance selected the “wettest city in the United States” for a convention site.² But the excitement generated at this particular convention was powerful enough to keep delegates and reporters in a badly ventilated convention hall even though the loop’s “motion picture palaces” pledged 70° F. comfort and offered such talent as Norma Talmadge, Tom Mix, and Mary Pickford.

Out of at least nineteen diverse groups which sought to unite into a new political movement, the “Committee of Forty-Eight” was the first to arrive in Chicago.³ Under the leadership of J.A.H. Hopkins, it

² The *Bakersfield Californian* reported on July 12, 1920, that during the first three weeks of June Chicago druggists had used up three months supply of their prescription liquor. Drug stores were engaged in semi-bottleging at \$7.50 per pint. The newspaper also alleged that Republican, Democratic, and Farmer-Labor delegates had found “real beer,” whisky, cocktails, and wine sold “with no attempt to have patrons drink hurriedly in order to get glasses off the bar.” p. 1.

³ Mentioned in the newspapers at one time or another during the hectic convention week were: American Constitutional Party, Committee of Forty-Eight, Farmer’s Equity Society, Labor League of Montana, Labor Party of the United States, League for the

established headquarters in the Morrison Hotel and served as the nucleus for the various groups which straggled into town. Before arriving for their convention, the "Forty-Eighters" had circulated a questionnaire to 2,100 voters in order to ascertain grass-roots sentiment for the presidential choice of a projected third party. On the basis of the incomplete sample, as well, one suspects, as the personal predilections of its leaders, the committee came to Chicago championing Robert M. La Follette.⁴ When rumors began to circulate among the convening delegates that the Wisconsin favorite would not be available, the names of Henry Ford (the Detroit automobile maker), Amos Pinchot (the nationally-known conservationist), Frank P. Walsh (a prominent Kansas City lawyer), and Charles Ingersoll (the watch manufacturer) were prominently mentioned. The Single Tax League delegates immediately made public their antipathy to the senator but indicated their willingness to accept either Mr. Ingersoll or Mr. Pinchot.

At the outset it became apparent that the separately-meeting Committee of Forty-Eight and the sundry labor groups were locked in an undeclared, yet mortal, struggle for control of the potential party. In public, the committee, which claimed to represent 40,000 members and consisted almost entirely of intellectuals and lawyers, evidently objected only to the use of the term "Labor" in the proposed name of the new movement on the ground that it would suggest a "class party." It was known that La Follette disliked the word, too. On the other hand, the labor delegates made plain their refusal to yield leadership to the "New York plutes and snobs." Behind the scenes, and hardly noticed by the political reporters of the time, William Z. Foster directed the convention tactics of the labor and socialist groups. He concentrated on driving a wedge between the farmers and the committee and was strikingly successful in nudging the hitherto liberal Forty-Eighters steadily toward a conservative position. His skill eventually increased the natural suspicion the farmer delegates already held for the "slick" city lawyers, and led to the eventual defeat of the Forty-Eighters.

Independence of India, Non-Partisan League, Party of Texas, People's Money Party, Private Soldiers and Sailors League, Producer's and Consumer's League, Proportional Representation League, Rank and File Veteran's Association, Single Tax League, Social Democratic Party, Socialist Party, Socialist-Labor Party, the Triple Alliance (farmers, laborers, and railroad men of the state of Washington), and World's War Veterans. There may have been other organizations represented but not publicized.

⁴The questionnaires which were completed and returned indicated the following choices: Robert M. La Follette, 324; Herbert Hoover, 191; Eugene V. Debs, 172; and Hiram Johnson, 157. *Bakersfield Californian*, July 10, 1920, p. 2.

Before the convention finally adjourned, its battle cry was to become "to hell with anything but radicalism,"⁵ but the leftist tide was discernible almost from the outset. The convention had scarcely got underway before some newspapers began condemning the relatively moderate Committee of Forty-Eight in frightened editorials:

We have had many third or thirtieth party movements, but never one which had such a business-like appellation. It has a Jacobin significance. It suggests the mechanics of the guillotine, the whisk of the knife on Tory necks, the rumbling of the tumbrils, and the steady working of knitting needles.⁶

But conservatives were really given cause for alarm in the Keynote Address when John Fitzpatrick, a Chicago labor union leader, had delegates enthusiastically applauding every reference to Russia. According to one account, when he "praised the Russian revolution, three cheers for soviet Russia were called for and given," and when Eamonn de Valera, a "dangerous revolutionary," arrived in the hall he was accorded a rousing reception and was introduced as "the President of the Irish Republic."⁷ During the Irish nationalist's speech the assembled delegates hissed with gusto every mention of Great Britain. When Parley P. Christensen, of Salt Lake City, who had been selected as Permanent Chairman of the convention, was introduced as "one of the first defenders of the International Workers of the World," the conventioners cheered until Chairman Christensen was obliged to acknowledge them by bowing.

As the convention progressed, an unconventional invocation offered by Reverend George C. Richmond underscored the increasingly radical temper of the delegates. "We are not concerned about heaven and hell," the St. Louis pastor intoned, "it is this world in which we are interested. As Jesus failed so do we." The minister then reminded the deity that the Democratic and Republican candidates "take orders not from Jesus but from Wall Street." He gave specific thanks for the revolution in Russia and for "the new spirit of self-assertiveness among negroes." God was urged to bring about the speedy destruction of "Palmerism,

⁵ *New York Times*, July 15, 1920, p. 2.

⁶ *Chicago Tribune*. This was on July 10. Two days later the lead editorial of the *Deseret News* said: "News reports of yesterday's sessions indicate that not a few of the delegates in the convention partook more of the spirit of Boleshevik Russia than of citizenship in the great Republic which, in spite of whatever imperfections may justly be charged against it, is the type of government that is the hope of the world." July 12, 1920, p. 4.

⁷ *Bakersfield Californian*, July 13, 1920, p. 1.

Penrose-ism and all other kinds of paganism," and to bless Eugene V. Debs "in his prison cell."⁸ The *Salt Lake Tribune* disapprovingly reported that "tumultuous cheering interrupted at a dozen points, and when 'amen' was reached the delegates leaped to their feet, threw hats in the air and whooped things up for several minutes."⁹ The more decorous *New York Times* merely mentioned that "the convention, forgetting the silence usually accorded the invocation, cheered and roared and applauded."¹⁰

"Surely nothing quite like this convention has taken place in the political history of America," a leading metropolitan newspaper reported. It likened the amorphous "party" to Shakespeare's Richard III —

Deformed, unfinished, sent before my time
Into this breathing world, scarce half made up.¹¹

But the very fact that the convention was deformed and unfinished gave Parley P. Christensen an opportunity to prove his mettle, for subsequent events were to prove he was precisely the man who could control the situation. It is reported that "six-foot Parley" muttered as he assumed the chair: "I'm going to be fair, I'm going to be considerate, but I'm going to handle this bunch."¹² He wielded the hammer (which substituted for a gavel) with such determination and vigor that although he could not have known it at the time, he was pounding his way to the nomination.

The Platform Committee proved to be the center of action for the Farmer-Labor party convention of 1920. Senator La Follette had made headlines across the nation on July 14 when he indicated his willingness to accept nomination provided the platform was acceptable, but inside the committee rooms evidence began to accumulate that he was unwilling to find any platform acceptable except his own. A second requirement stipulated by the senator was that a permanent united party had to result from the Chicago gathering if he were to make the presidential race under its aegis. Both of these conditions were impossible

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 14, 1920, p. 1.

¹⁰ *New York Times*, July 14, 1920, p. 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, July 15, 1920, p. 2. On the following day this newspaper dismissed the Farmer-Labor party as: "Syndicalists, Communists, Socialists, unclassified pro-Germans, Seditionists and anarchists that promptly joined in the misnamed Farmer-Labor party — a name so utterly misleading as to be a plain subterfuge." p. 3.

¹² *Chicago Tribune*, July 11, 1920, p. 1.

for the hydra-headed political infant to fulfill. For example, William Randolph Hearst's "American Constitutional Party" demanded opposition to foreign entangling alliances, and although this concession could easily be made by most of the other eighteen groups represented, it did not accord with the insistence of the Single Tax League for a single plank. Nor could the Committee of Forty-Eight's "unequivocal and bitter end" stand against "socialistic and paternalistic policies" be harmonized with the avowed aims of the assorted socialists present. Further, it seemed impossible that such diverse personalities as Henry Ford and William Z. Foster could agree on policy matters. The Committee of Forty-Eight recognized the need for an accommodation with the farmer and labor groups if the new party was to see the light of day, however, and expected to salvage from the competing views a platform that La Follette would accept. Therefore, the Forty-Eighters decided to coalesce with the labor groups, which were meeting in Car Men's Hall. Their lead was followed by the Non-Partisan League and the other organizations.

The parade of the Forty-Eighters and their allies through the loop on their way from the Morrison Hotel to the labor hall was more than symbolic: Labor had given an ultimatum — "Come with us by 10 A.M. or we will go it alone!" The workers' parties had served notice of their intention to adopt a platform and begin nominations at 2 P.M., and the delayed arrival of the Forty-Eighters obliged the latecomers to accept or reject the platform without having had a hand in shaping it.

On arrival, the committee and their allies found the labor convention under way, but its proceedings were postponed for cheers and applause. J.A.H. Hopkins, chairman of the Forty-Eighters, was magnanimously elected cochairman and presented with the gavel, but he was unable to maintain control of the unwieldy group. The *Chicago Tribune* related the subsequent scene in these words:

Chaos rapidly developed. Chairman Hopkins lost control of the convention and admitted as much, and called Parley P. Christianson [*sic*], Chairman of the Forty-Eight convention, to the rescue. Dozens of delegates had been fighting for recognition to make motions or points of order. . . . Mr. Christianson smoothed out the kinks.¹³

The previously adopted platform was enough to cause the quick exit of the Single Taxers, who steadfastly refused to accept more than a "Susan B. Anthony" suffrage amendment plank. But even before the

¹³ *Ibid.*, July 14, 1920, p. 2.

disciples of Henry George could stalk out of the hall, the Hearst group had already "faded away."

La Follette immediately rejected the platform as too radical, and the Platform Committee was promptly reconvened. The eager co-operation of the agrarian element of the Committee of Forty-Eight with labor was indicated by Mr. Christensen when he said to the thousand delegates in the hall:

Under the circumstances we are not going to be dictated to by him. We are going to do our duty. He has said that he could not accept the nomination. I repeat we will not be dictated to; the whole matter is now in the hands of your Platform Committee.¹⁴

With the labor element firmly in control, the second child of the Platform Committee included such items as amnesty for political prisoners; repeal of the espionage laws; and the election of federal judges to a four-year term with provisions for their recall. Labor planks included the "democratic control of industries" through which working men were to have an increasing share of the management of plants; an eight-hour day and forty-four hour work week; and recognition of the right of government employees to strike. Veterans were to receive a sum "sufficient to make war pay no less than peacetime earnings." Farmers were promised public markets and the extension of the federal farm loan system. Socialists were to see public ownership of public utilities and national resources, and the shift of tax burdens to the "war-rich." In foreign policy the new party favored withdrawal from further participation under the Treaty of Versailles; the recognition of Russia and Ireland; the withdrawal of "dictatorship" over the Philippines, Hawaii, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Porto Rico [*sic*], Cuba, Samoa, and Guam; and the refusal "to go to war against Mexico at the behest of Wall Street."¹⁵

Senator La Follette again refused to accept the platform, objecting particularly to the provisions concerning the League of Nations, recognition of Russia and Ireland, and the provisions for nationalization. When informed of his decision, the delegates howled that they were concerned with principles, not with candidates nor expediency. A more conservative platform urged by the backers of the senator was defeated 308 to 125.

The highlight of every political convention is the nomination ritual, and the Farmer-Labor convention was not to be denied nor stunted. Of

¹⁴ *New York Times*, July 14, 1920, p. 2.

¹⁵ *Bakersfield Californian*, July 14, 1920, p. 2.

all the potential nominees, only Henry Ford had an organization working actively for him. With the refusal of La Follette to consider the nomination the Committee of Forty-Eight had hoped to rally to the Detroit automobile manufacturer only to find that his managers had closed his campaign headquarters and quit work, charging that "the platform is too much for Mr. Ford."¹⁶ The Forty-Eighters then decided to back one of their original stalwarts, Dudley Field Malone, a New York lawyer. The labor groups supported Christensen. Nominating speeches were made for all possible contenders, however. After Senator La Follette was nominated his son read a message to the convention asking that the name be withdrawn without delay. When Mr. Ford was nominated "the laughing lasted five minutes" in the radical assembly. Eugene V. Debs was placed on the roster by Jane Addams and described as "the Jesus Christ of today."¹⁷ The field also included Governor Lynn J. Frazier, of North Dakota; Reverend Herbert Bigelow, of Cincinnati; Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor; and Jane Addams, who promptly withdrew.

The first ballot was conducted and the following mysterious totals were reported:

Malone	166.8
Christensen	121.1
Debs	68
Ford	12.3
Frazier	9
Bigelow	7
Post	1.7

By vote, all but the top two contenders were eliminated and the Farmer-Labor party convention of 1920 proceeded to the second ballot. This time Christensen won over Malone by 191.5 to 174.6, and Utah had furnished her first presidential candidate.¹⁸

The disorganized Committee of Forty-Eight prepared for the long trip back to the Morrison Hotel, but before they left the standard-bearer told them: "I was drafted for the Farmer-Labor party. You and I wanted Senator La Follette. Understand, if by any means you can now get him, I am not in your way." At this point a demonstration occurred after which Christensen continued: "I am not going to prove disloyal, untruthful, unfaithful, especially not to the working men who nomi-

¹⁶ *New York Times*, July 15, 1920, p. 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

nated me. If you can do anything to get them [La Follette-William Jennings Bryan] count me out."¹⁹ Then he left the convention hall. There were approximately twenty nominating speeches for the second place on the ticket, but nearly as many were withdrawn by unwilling candidates or their friends. When the first ballot was finally taken and announced, Max S. Hays, the editor of a Cleveland labor paper, had received all but a dozen votes. The session adjourned at 4 A.M.

On the morning following the nomination, the candidate learned that the Non-Partisan League had withdrawn from and denounced the new party, and that the remnants of the Committee of Forty-Eight were meeting to decide whether or not to follow the lead of their country cousins. During some hopeful talk about yet launching a La Follette-Bryan ticket a Texan seceded from the rump convention saying he would not support such a ticket because "Christensen is better."²⁰ Concluding that the group could not so soon recover from the trouncing given them at the ill-starred "Farmer-Labor" convention, Mr. Hopkins issued a statement condemning control of the convention by "a few labor leaders" who, he alleged, did not represent the rank and file of labor. He charged that this unfortunate development had prevented a "sane economic program" and formally withdrew his battered group from participation with the new party. Parley P. Christensen, in turn, denounced his former colleagues in the Committee of Forty-Eight as a "quartet of coupon-clipping intellectuals from New York whose arteries ran ice water."²¹

Even though it appeared that he had been nominated almost haphazardly, it cannot be denied that Christensen was a strong individual and a good candidate. Although he was front page news across the continent, he was nearly without honor in his home town. The Salt Lake City press had reported the news of its not-so-favorite son with misgivings. In the July 11 issue of the *Tribune*, under the heading "Third-Party Movement Launched in Chicago; Salt Laker Chosen for Permanent Chairman," Parley P. Christensen had his name on the front page, but only received two lines in the article. Two days later, in the leading editorial entitled "I.W.W. Defender," the same paper said:

¹⁹ *Bakersfield Californian*, July 15, 1920, p. 1.

²⁰ *Ibid.* After flirting with the possibility of a "Liberal Party," La Follette decided he was "satisfied" with Harding. William Jennings Bryan and William A. ("Billy") Sunday toyed with the Prohibition party, but Bryan chose to remain a Democrat. The Prohibitionists later dropped the indefatigable Henry Ford from consideration and chose a third Ohio candidate — Aaron S. Watkins.

²¹ *New York Times*, July 21, 1920, p. 6.

Very few men in Utah would care to be pointed out as defenders of I.W.W. propagandists, it being well known that the purpose of these malcontents is to bring about the downfall of organized society and destroy our Christian civilization if possible. If Parley P. Christensen is proud of his connection with such an outfit he has traveled far since he first became a disappointed and disgruntled politician.²²

When he received the nomination the *Tribune* did accord him a headline. The streamer across the front page on July 15 read: FUSIONISTS NAME P. P. CHRISTENSEN. The accompanying article told how he had entered his Salt Lake City practice in 1897, had served as principal of Murray and Grantsville schools, superintendent of Tooele County Schools, secretary of the Utah Constitutional Convention of 1895, and Salt Lake County as attorney. On the following day the editorial tone of the newspaper was bitter: "The joke is on Utah," the commentary began, and contrasted the infamous publicity of the howling Farmer-Labor convention to the prestige brought to the state by Senator Smoot, who had wielded the gavel at the Republican convention, and Senator King who had added dignity to the proceedings of the Democratic party conclave. The editorial continued:

Now that Parley P. has become a full-fledged candidate for president the honors accorded our two leading statesmen pale into insignificance. Of course Parley P. will not be elected, and it is equally certain that both the senators will be found in their accustomed places in the United States senate next December. Yet we are free to admit that during the campaign the Utah candidate for president will be a more important and imposing individual throughout the country than the senators, and the situation developed is rather amusing.

A great majority of the people of Utah will not take pride in the nomination of Christensen. Indeed, it is highly probable that many of them will be annoyed that a standard-bearer for the malcontents should be a Utah citizen. After a while they will see the joke and appreciate it.²³

The banner headline of the *Deseret News* on July 15 proclaimed: PARLEY P. CHRISTENSEN OF UTAH IS NOMINEE. The account was kinder. A brief reference to his life was made and Swinburne Hale's remark that the nominee was "one of the first defenders of the I.W.W." was included as was the candidate's statement regarding the controversial platform: "Every fibre in my system sounds in harmony with that platform, and I can stand on it firmly and without equivoca-

²² *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 13, 1920, p. 6.

²³ *Ibid.*, July 16, 1920, p. 6.

tion." In the editorial that afternoon, titled "A Utah 'Standard-Bearer,'" the *Deseret News* pointed out to its readers:

. . . it is quite within the truth to say that the honor of being even nominated for the chief office in the nation is a distinction that comes to but few among the many who feel that they would like to gain it.

Our fellow-townsmen, Parley Christensen, is now to be reckoned as entitled to this distinction. He doubtless went down to Carmen's Hall in Chicago to the "third-party" convention without the least intention of capturing or even striving for its nomination. He had other uses for his good straw hat than to shy it into the political ring. Yet apparently without any great deal of maneuvering, wire-pulling or diplomatic finesse he became the choice of the "Farmer-Labor" party, winning at last over so prominent and pronounced a figure as Dudley Field Malone of New York.

. . . it is enough to mention that though Senator La Follette found the platform too extreme to suit even his advanced notions of reform, the Utah Stalwart is so exactly tuned up that he announces "every fibre in his system" as being in harmony with it.²⁴

The Utah nominee's return was to be triumphal. Plans were made immediately after the nomination to afford him "the greatest reception ever given in Salt Lake."²⁵ As the nominee approached, his local managers evidently became concerned about the success of the welcome, as they issued the following appeal to local pride:

We must give our candidate the biggest reception ever accorded anybody here. He will speak in Denver Tuesday night and preparations have been made there for a big reception. We don't want the Denver people to do better than we do, especially in the reception of a Salt Lake presidential candidate.

It isn't just a case of only those turning out that intend to vote for Mr. Christensen, for we allow that everybody has a right to his particular faith in regard to politics. But we invite the friends of Mr. Christensen to help in this big demonstration in honor of a citizen who has been honored by the nomination for president.²⁶

That the reception was something less impressive than that expected or accorded to other local heroes would be inferred from the treatment of the occasion by the *Tribune*, which reported, on page 20, that he had been met by the committee, had "more than 300 in the parade," and that "probably 500" heard his speech. The account ended with the cryptic line: "There were no red flags in sight." The *Deseret News* on the other hand, gave a much more complete account of the welcome

²⁴ *Deseret News*, July 15, 1920, p. 4.

²⁵ *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 16, 1920, p. 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, July 20, 1920, p. 20.

to Salt Lake City, put the report on a frequently-read page, and omitted disparaging comments.²⁷

The presidential race of the Farmer-Labor candidate was undertaken with the determination and vigor he had displayed at the convention. His opening gun was fired on behalf of Eugene V. Debs, who had been imprisoned in 1918 for violation of the Espionage Act. Christensen's "open-telegram" to the candidates of the two major parties was quoted in front pages across the country:

Mr. Debs may be utterly wrong in his ideas as how best to conduct the affairs of society, and so may I be and so may you, but my conception of liberty includes the right to think wrong.²⁸

The Utahan appealed for isolationist votes in a New York speech when he charged that the League of Nations was "nothing more than an attempt to establish an international banker's soviet" and asserted that if the League were not a dead issue, "I should want to kill it."²⁹

By August 1, in an article for the *New York Times* entitled "Campaigning from Porch and Stump," Charles Welles Thompson had this to say concerning the third-party nominee:

It may be, too, that the Republicans are getting a little uneasy over the unlimited activity of Parley Packer Christensen, the candidate of the Farmer-Labor Party.

He seems a most virile and extensive person, this Mr. Christensen, and though the country knows nothing about him he is evidently determined that it shall. He opened his campaign by promising that it should be one of 24 hours a day and 7 days a week, and this is only July. Compared to him Harding is as idle as Debs, and Cox is a slow poke.³⁰

²⁷ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1920, p. 20; *Deseret News*, July 23, 1920, p. 6.

²⁸ *New York Times*, July 21, 1920, p. 6. In a post-mortem of the campaign and election, H. L. Mencken, a caustic critic of American morals and manners, wrote: "Gamaliel . . . confined himself to mellifluous and meaningless phrases, knowing very well that the plain people are used to them, understand them in their way, and like them. And whenever he had to be specific he said what warmed the popular heart. For instance, in the matter of poor Gene. Various enemies, including the lodge-joiner Christensen, tried to inveigle him into promising to liberate Gene on March 5. A less astute man would have succumbed. It seemed a good chance to play to the public generosity, and to cast a handy brick at the bitter and tyrannical Woodrow. But Gamaliel refused to promise anything of the sort; on the contrary, he delivered himself of harsh words on the subject of traitors. Here his instinct was profoundly sound. He knew that the American people are never in favor of turning anyone out of jail — that their sympathies are always with the prosecution and against the defense. I have no doubt whatever that keeping Debs in jail saved Woodrow from an even worse drubbing than he got." Malcolm Moos (ed.), *H. L. Mencken on Politics* (New York, Vintage Books, 1960), 39–40. President Warren G. Harding did pardon Debs during his first year in office.

²⁹ *Bakersfield Californian*, July 31, 1920, p. 2.

³⁰ *New York Times*, August 1, 1920, Sec. IV, p. 3.

Christensen continued his campaign at a feverish pitch, with personal appearances about the country punctuated with open-letters and telegrams which, because of their subject-matter and quotable language, were given wide publicity in the national press.

The newspapers predicted a brilliant debut for the new political party, probably because they believed their own publicity. For example, when the convention was getting underway in Chicago one paper had editorialized: "We do not believe the movement will prove formidable at the polls." Four days later the same editors opined that the new party "may be able to make quite a respectable showing at the polls in November," and although they did not expect its candidate to win, the editorial writer feared that his efforts might throw the presidential election into the House of Representatives and prevent a majority of



President Warren G. Harding on a tour through Utah. Utah's Governor Charles R. Mabey stands with hat in hand at the left.

either of the two traditional parties from forming in the Congress.³¹ On August 1 the *New York Times* prophesied that Christensen would carry nine states.³² In his "Campaign Notes" of September 13, Mencken had predicted that Christensen "will make away with hundreds of thousands of potential Socialist votes, not only in the West, but also in the East." Although polls of college students showed no substantial support for the Farmer-Labor or Socialist candidates,³³ the day before the election the *Salt Lake Tribune* feared that the Farmer-Labor ticket would elect three senators, carry Washington, South Dakota, Wyoming, Montana, Nevada, and New Mexico, "with a fighting chance in Iowa and Indiana."³⁴

The final tally of votes in November, 1920, reinforced the old axiom of American politics that new parties begin with a burst of enthusiasm only to fade away. Parley Packer Christensen finished fourth, behind the innocuous Harding, the inept Cox, and the imprisoned Debs.³⁵ On the day after the election the most important thing the *Salt Lake Tribune* could find to say concerning Utah's first presidential candidate was that he was also the first in American history to receive his mother's vote. The *Deseret News* laid the native son to political rest with this tribute:

Parley P. Christensen, as the head of the Farmer-Labor ticket, was not a real contender for the electoral votes of the nation, but from the returns he had a large following in every part of the country. Locally he drew more votes than any candidate of a minor party since the Progressive split in 1912.³⁶

³¹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 10, 1920, p. 6; *ibid.*, July 14, 1920, p. 6.

³² *New York Times*, August 1, 1920, p. 3. These states were listed as Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Colorado, and Washington.

³³ Entering Rhodes Scholars at Oxford favored Cox (19) with Harding (10), Christensen (2), Debs (1), and "doubtful" (1); Harvard freshmen gave Harding 1,175; Cox 805; Debs, 110; and Christensen, 31. A poll of "16 leading colleges" favored Harding (8,318) over Cox (3,888), with Debs (531) and Christensen (168).

³⁴ *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 1, 1920, p. 1.

Warren G. Harding	(Republican)	16,152,200
James M. Cox	(Democrat)	9,147,353
Eugene V. Debs	(Socialist)	919,799
Parley P. Christensen	(Farmer-Labor)	265,411
Aaron S. Watkins	(Prohibitionist)	189,408

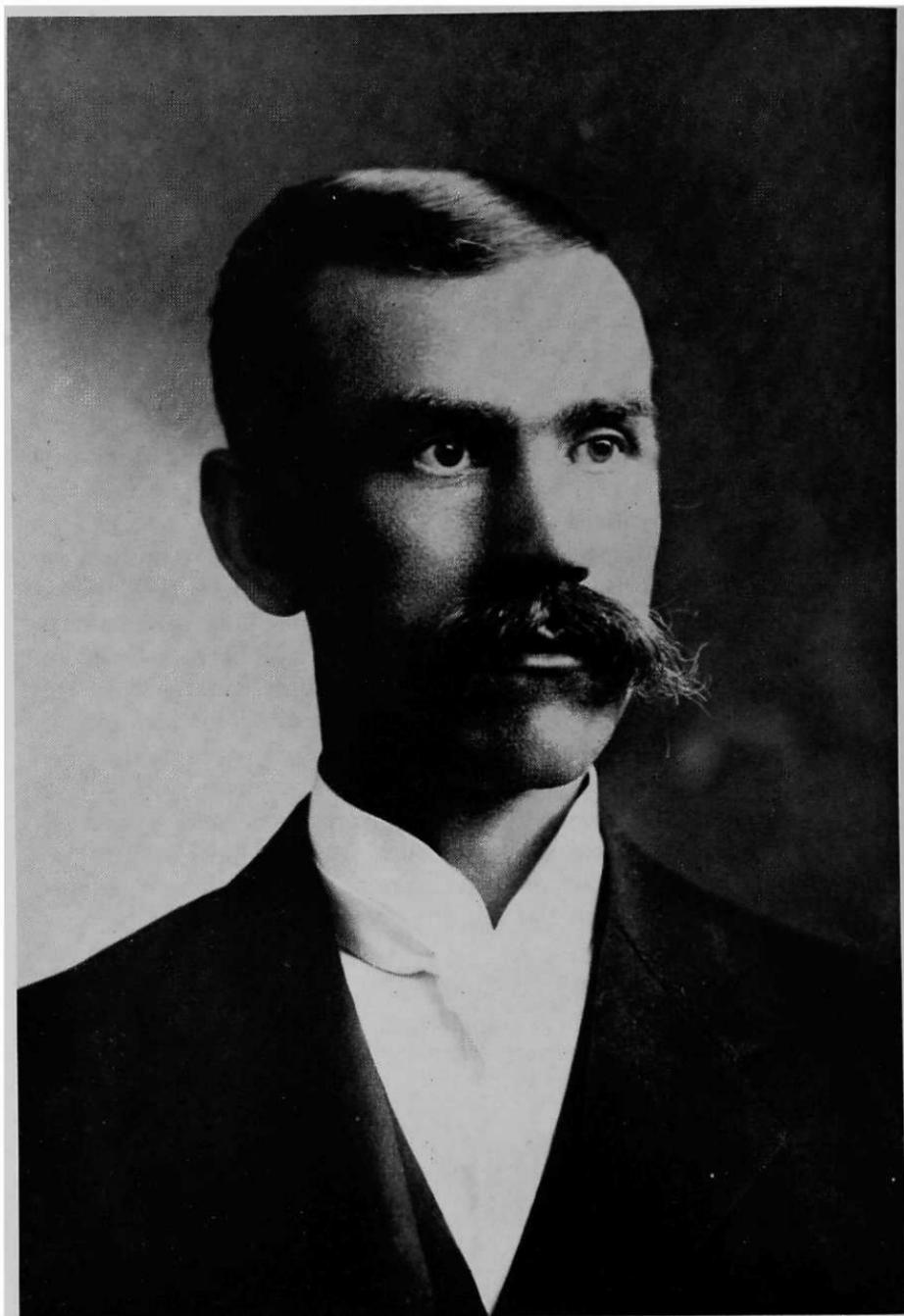
³⁶ *Deseret News*, November 3, 1920, p. 10. Utah voters distributed their electoral favors as follows:

Harding	81,555
Cox	56,639
Christensen	4,475
Debs	3,159

If there is a political lesson to be drawn from the campaign of 1920, it must be that the bulk of the American people voted for *parties*, not *candidates*. The alternative is to accept, at face value, Mencken's appraisal that the average American is the "archetype of the *Homo boobus*." Even in the gay and careless "twenties," Christensen must have appeared as a most attractive candidate, for who could disagree with the description of Harding by the "Sage of Baltimore" as "simply a third-rate political wheel-horse, with the face of a moving-picture actor, the intelligence of a respectable agricultural implement dealer, and the imagination of a lodge joiner," or that Cox was "no more than a provincial David Harum with a gift for bamboozling the boobs?"³⁷ Nor does the then radical domestic platform of the Farmer-Labor party appear anything but prophetic to a generation which has survived the New Deal and its extensions.

The irony of history was probably never better reflected than in the subsequent Harding administration. Tired of political idealism, strong presidential leadership, and fearful of accepting international responsibilities, the American voters chose an honest but weak president who gave them none of these. Instead of "normalcy," Warren G. Harding's legacy to his fellow citizens was a series of scandals which rocked the nation. Parley P. Christensen gave the American people the phenomenon of an unheralded man who rose to the nomination by real ability and who gave excitement in his energetic, brilliantly conceived campaign. His fellow citizens rewarded him with political oblivion — although he is not without company. In retrospect, one thing is certain: Utah need not be ashamed of her one presidential candidate.

³⁷ Moos, *op. cit.*, 18.



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

REED SMOOT, 1862-1941

The photo of Reed Smoot was taken at the beginning of his career in the United States Senate where he represented his state for thirty years. No other Utahan has risen so high in his party.

REED SMOOT, APOSTLE-SENATOR

*By Milton R. Merrill **

It has been more than a quarter century since Reed Smoot sadly, reluctantly, and on occasion bitterly, left the scene of his great triumphs, the United States Senate, and returned to Utah. For thirty years he had represented the state in that august Gentleman's Club, the Senate. He had risen from ignominy to world-wide fame as chairman of the committee on finance and joint author of the famous if widely criticized Smoot-Hawley tariff. Ironically, just as he reached the zenith of power, the bull market of the twenties collapsed, the economy careened desperately, and Franklin Roosevelt rode into the White House on the fear and despondency of "the common man." Reed Smoot was one of the more distinguished and certainly one of the most astonished victims of what he considered a political and social disaster. It was a grim conclusion to a political career that had begun inauspiciously, but which had burgeoned with the years until Reed Smoot, the Apostle-Senator from Utah, joined the inner circle of the mighty.

It is eminently fitting that the Utah Historical Society should give attention to Reed Smoot. No other Utahan rose so high politically. No other Utahan was more devoted to his responsibilities, no other member of his church accomplished more in changing the public's

* Dr. Merrill is vice-president of Utah State University, Logan, Utah. The article here printed is an abridgement of an address delivered at the annual meeting of the Utah State Historical Society in May, 1959.

opinion from one of scorn and obloquy for the despised Mormons to one of respectful admiration. His career and he himself deserve a second look. After twenty-five years we should begin to approach an objective evaluation.

Four loyalties dominated the life of Reed Smoot. They were his family, the Mormon Church, the United States of America, and the Republican party. For our purpose here it is unnecessary to develop the family relationship. It can be summarized by the statement that he was devoted to his wife and children, and within the limits imposed by his herculean labors as senator and churchman, he was a loving husband and father.

His dual role as churchman-senator was unique. It is possible, but unlikely, that later investigation will show that the Honorable Ezra Taft Benson, also a Mormon Apostle, has occupied a somewhat similar position. However, Benson's political career has been comparatively brief, he has been an administrator and counsellor rather than a working politician, and his place in the councils of his party has never been high. Smoot was in the center of the party battle from the beginning — first as a problem and later through many years as an operator and manager. There is justification for astonishment that one could be a party leader and an important member of the hierarchy of an authoritarian church at the same time. The Apostle-Senator performed this precarious feat with remarkable skill.

Oddly the churchman-politician duality aroused no concern and little interest outside of Mormon territory after the initial struggle to exclude or expel Smoot from the Senate. This was a bitter and extended battle. For four long and weary years the senator fought for his place as the tide ebbed and flowed — now favorable now threatening — until the final vindication on February 20, 1907. It was in these years that the iron in his constitution turned to steel, and he learned, if he had not known by intuition before, the demanding and often ruthless art of politics. After the decision the country at large forgot that Smoot was an apostle. He was a Republican politician, a rock-ribbed standpatter of the Aldrich-Lodge-Penrose school, to be judged on the same basis as these conservatives were judged.

The duality did not disappear in Utah, nor in one or two other states where Mormons were located. Democrats found little solace in the argument that Smoot's status in the Quorum of the Twelve had nothing to do with his political career. Ardent churchmen of Democratic persuasion such as B. H. Roberts, James H. Moyle, and Milton

Welling found the situation disturbing if not dangerous. Many non-Mormons continued to see a conspiracy on the part of the church leadership to dominate the state.

Smoot's exploits as a Republican politician often stirred Democrats, Independents, and objective Republicans alike. In the early years he opposed, and successfully, the adoption of Prohibition in Utah; he was in the smoke-filled room at Chicago which manipulated the nomination of Warren G. Harding for the Presidency; he was critical of the League of Nations; he supported Vare and Smith in their fights for Senate seats; he appeared to be a friend and ally of Boies Penrose. Surely these actions and relationships were a vast distance from the apostolic. In fact many questioned publicly and privately whether Smoot, in his heart, was an apostle at all.

With this background it is legitimate and interesting to inquire into the relationship with the church. Was he first and foremost a Republican Senator who was permitted to use the church as a front — or was he an Apostle who was sent into the political world to defend the church and expand its influence.

There can be no question about Smoot's personal interpretation of his role. He was a Mormon Apostle whose mission to the Gentiles was divinely inspired and directed. The senator loved his assignment. Probably no man ever received more personal satisfaction from membership in the Senate. If he had been operating the universe he could not have assigned a more agreeable role for himself. Further, once chosen for the position by the president of the church, he had no hesitation in using all of the devices of the astute practical politician to assure that the mission would be performed. He was willing to step down if the authority he recognized — first President Joseph F. Smith and later President Heber J. Grant — so decided. He would argue, he would present his case with every ounce of his considerable strength, but in his own mind he was the capable, indeed incomparable, servant, not the master.

The record demonstrates that Smoot's interpretation was correct. In public speeches, in private correspondence, in personal conversations President Smith indicated, in fact stated, that Reed Smoot was chosen for his role, and that he was serving the church in his capacity as senator. President Grant was less specific and direct, but the evidence is strong that he was in full agreement after he became president. In the earlier years he was not regarded as a supporter of the program.



At the pinnacle of his career as apostle-senator Reed Smoot is shown with his fellow members of the Council of the Twelve. Back row, left to right: Joseph Fielding Smith, James E. Talmage, Stephen L. Richards, Richard R. Lyman, Melvin J. Ballard, John A. Widsoe. Front row: Kudger Clauson, Reed Smoot, George A. Smith, George F. Richards, Orson F. Whitney, David O. McKay.

As indicated, not all Mormons were in accord with the mission theory. This iconoclastic attitude often reached high in the councils of the church, and on more than one occasion important officials denounced Smoot and urged his defeat. The senator recognized this fact fully, and he attempted to mollify opposing church leaders. But to him President Joseph F. Smith and President Heber J. Grant were the authorities. He regretted, he was saddened, by the critical attitude of others, but his course was determined by these two men whom he regarded without equivocation as prophets.

It is clear to this observer that in any conflict of loyalty Reed Smoot would have chosen the president of the church. The president — whether President Joseph F. Smith or President Heber J. Grant — could have demanded his vote on any subject. Either could have asked for his resignation and he would have complied. Either could have told him not to contest an election, and he would have declared that he was not available. There was no slightest question in his mind that when the president spoke authoritatively the directive was binding on Reed Smoot.

There are many in and out of Utah who would regard this as a highly undesirable relationship. Presumably it is the possibility of this kind of situation that has been used against any Catholic seeking the Presidency. For many the state is supreme — family, friends, church, conscience must give way before the demands of the omnipotent state.

The problem of first loyalty was never critical for Utah's Apostle-Senator. In fact it did not arise. The presidents of the church never told Smoot how to vote. They never asked him to do anything that even skirted the question of his loyalty to his oath as United States Senator. Aside from requests that he perform the usual errands which any senator expects to do when requested by a substantial body of constituents, Smoot never received a directive. And even when the minor requests came they were couched in terms of appeal rather than command.

To Senator Smoot all of this was natural and expected. In the first place both the country and the church were fashioned by the same hand. It was inconceivable to him that there would ever be a conflict. And from his point of view the Republican party was the bulwark of both, and again there was no possibility of conflict. He never quite reached the point of declaring that the Republican party was the agent of some higher power, but he was complacent about the fact that he could never see any opposition among or between his three loyalties.

To the Smoot mind there were three excellent reasons why the church should have a representative of his character and status. As a monogamist, whose devotion to that principle could not be successfully attacked, he would prove to the country that polygamy had definitely ended and that any remnants of the system would soon disappear. The fact that B. H. Roberts, another church leader, had been excluded from the House only a few short years before the arrival of Smoot made it incumbent on the church to send a monogamist of even higher rank. It was also his duty, and one which he fulfilled without difficulty, to show the world what a competent, hard-working, and sincere person a Mormon leader really was. Finally, he was to protect the church to the extent of his ability from any adverse legislation. The latter responsibility made no demands upon him, and in his view and that of President Smith, this was largely because of his superb performance of the first two assignments.

Senator Smoot's Republicanism was substantial before his first election, but it was confirmed by the support the party gave to his missionary role. It was President Theodore Roosevelt and the Republican party who assured the Senate place. In general Republican leaders, at least on the final vote, were for him, Democrats and "so-called Republicans" (his own designation for La Follette) were opposed. He worked relentlessly for place and power in the party, but if the reason for this drive was personal rather than religious, at least the party's attitude on Mormonism served as justification.

One other aspect of Smoot's labors for the church should be mentioned because here too he was frequently misjudged. He was determined to bring Gentiles into the Republican party. Often criticized even by his own lieutenants, he used the patronage and every other possible device to hold Republican Gentiles in line and bring others from Senator Kearns's American party into the fold. He was one of the first to advocate and to support practically the position that the interests of the church would be more adequately protected if the political struggle were divorced from the sharp religious lines that characterized Utah politics in the seventies, eighties, and even the nineties. This belief, justified or not, accounted in his own mind for his opposition to Prohibition in the early years of that movement. Once Prohibition ceased to have any important religious base in Utah he became one of the most rabid supporters of the movement in Congress.

In summary it can be stated without equivocation that Senator Reed Smoot regarded himself as a representative of the Mormon Church

to the nation's Capitol. Fortunately this role merged perfectly with his passionate personal ambition and with his devotion to his version of Republicanism. And all combined with his avid patriotism for the country. From his vantage the church, the country, the party, and Reed Smoot were moving in the same direction and had similar ideals and purposes.

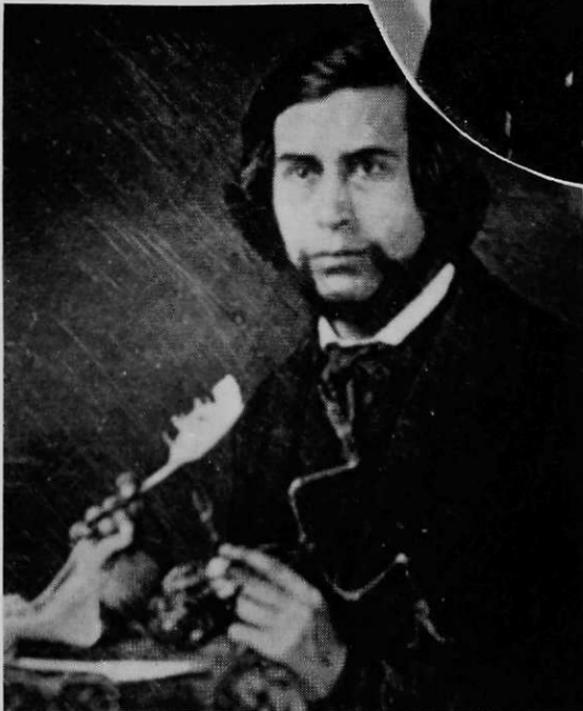
In fulfilling his dual role the Apostle-Senator worked tirelessly, often successfully, and always courageously. He may have been mistaken in his judgment and confused in his estimate of values, but it is difficult to criticize his operating performance.

Judged on his own terms, and these were the criteria of his religious leaders, he was a superb public servant who achieved the goals he established when he began his political career.



Richard H. Kern, 1821-1853, was a member of Frémont's Fourth expedition. He was murdered on October 26, 1853, while accompanying Lieutenant Gunnison on the Pacific Railroad survey.

Edward M. Kern, 1823-1863, was a member of Frémont's Third and Fourth expeditions.



Benjamin J. Kern, 1818-1849, was a member of Frémont's Fourth expedition. He was murdered by Indians when he and the scout Bill Williams returned to the mountains to recover supplies cached by the expedition.

In spite of topographic artists like the Kerns, the image of the West was to remain a Romantic one almost into our own day. It was a garden in its valley, with gossamer clouds on its sharp peaks. No desert existed which given water would not bloom!

THE KERN BROTHERS AND THE IMAGE OF THE WEST

*By Robert V. Hine **



Forty-two artists applied for the job; the wonder was there were not more. John Charles Frémont by vividly reporting his first two western expeditions had kindled immense general excitement about his third, and in 1845 the artists appeared particularly susceptible to the call. From this horde of eager artistic aspirants Frémont chose a lanky Philadelphia art teacher, Edward Meyer Kern, known as Ned. Kern was a personable young man, full of humor, loving a joke and a good bottle. He idolized Frémont, and within him flamed a passionate curiosity about the American West, based, however, on a very hazy picture of what it was really like.

For most men the land beyond the Ohio and the Mississippi was pure fancy. The unimaginative simply read Ohio rivers or Mohawk Indians into the blank spaces, but the imaginative had used the prose of Lewis and Clark and Zebulon Pike "to create a multiform and fantastic West."

George Catlin and Charles Bodmer helped correct and sharpen the image in the 1830's. Their drawings proved that Mandans hardly

* Dr. Hine is on the staff of the Division of Humanities, University of California, Riverside. The above piece grew out of a paper presented at the meetings of the American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch, in Salt Lake City, September, 1959.

looked like Mohawks and that the landscapes along the Missouri were as much like the banks of the Ohio as chalk like cheese. Following them in the 1840's the headstrong, intense, soft-spoken lieutenant of the Topographical Corps, John Frémont, would four times ride west from the Mississippi. On each trip he included an artist to record the scene and to adorn his reports. The controversies that later swirled around Frémont — in the conquest of California, in the campaign for President, in the contretemps with Lincoln — obscured the fact that his finest contributions lay in further shaping the early picture of the West.

In this work one of his chief aides was to be Edward Kern, who, however, in 1845 was the greenest of greenhorns. James Fenimore Cooper would have described him as a "single gentleman under the influence of the winds." So now on a cold and drizzling June day he rode through the tumultuous town of Westport, Missouri, and on to the prairies to join Frémont's outfitting camp. There, amid dinner pots slung over fires, loud talk, and after-meal songs, he took out his sketch pad and became the camera of the expedition, henceforth catching candid views of the men, the camps, the saddling and catching up, the flora and fauna and geology of the route. His first sketches included the local Indians, such as the missionized Shawnees nearby. He wrote his brother that the Indians did not resemble in the least the drawings seen in Philadelphia. "The women are up and down like a plank board, no grace, no poetry. It wants a good deal of imagination to make them like [John G.] Chapman paints them." Ned was already discarding some fanciful ideas.

He was adding many another. Walking over the prairie one day, he picked up some ribbed mussel shells, reminders of ancient seas. He became most curious about the flowers, took a closer look at the unfamiliar ones, and probably pressed a few for future study. For a scientific friend back home he was on the lookout for a buffalo skin with the skull still in it, most likely to be used for anatomical comparisons. So in these first days he was already engaged by what would be the two masters of his life for the next fifteen years, art and science.

For seven months they tramped, mapped, and collected, to Bent's Fort, over the Rockies to Salt Lake, skirting the ridges of the Great Basin, and over the Sierra. The sweet streams of one day would be followed by alkali or salt another. Their Christmas was on a wild eastern slope of the Sierra with a yule log of yucca, and their New Year's feast was of acorns, a "swinish food" as Ned called it. They suffered Indian attacks, mosquitoes, fleas, greasy beards, and emerging ribs.

But Ned also carried a growing pile of charts and sketches: *Erodium Cicutarium*, *Fremontia vermicularis*, *Platanus occidentalis*, and water colors which caught "the bold outlines of the mountains grown with lofty pines and groves of aspen, dimmed slightly by the morning mists."

California during the conquest in 1846 and 1847 was unfortunately not the place of concentrated attention on art and science. Frémont's party became a part of the regular army, and Ned Kern, now a first lieutenant, was placed in charge of Fort Sutter, the manorial estate of the pompous gentleman from Switzerland. While there Ned recruited men and horses; he organized relief for the Donner party trapped in the Sierra; but, more important for his future, he was forced into frequent contacts with Hokan and Penutian Indian groups of the Sacramento Valley.

One of his basic tasks was to protect the settlers from the Indians' hostile forays, but whenever Ned led the small garrison from the fort to punish what he called the "naked Diggers," he carried his pencils with him and brought back sketches of the natives, including buxom women, unclothed except for light grass skirts, gathering, cleaning, or carrying grass seed. Some years later in 1853 Henry Rowe Schoolcraft asked Ned about California Indian customs, and he responded with three handsome drawings of natives preparing food. In an accompanying article he added some appreciative remarks on their crafts: "In the manufacture of their baskets and socks, they display much neatness and taste, particularly in those covered with feathers, generally, from the summer duck, and scalps of the redheaded woodpecker. . . ." But the punitive nature of the marches had left another impression, for he also said, "Treachery and theft, as with all Indians, form part of their creed."

On Kern's return to Philadelphia in early 1847 he was a center of considerable interest, especially among scientists. Two of his older brothers, Benjamin, a physician, and Richard, an artist like himself who had recently been accepting commissions for anatomical and botanical drawing, had frequent contacts with important local scientists like Joseph Leidy and Joseph Carson. Ned, through these introductions and his own new empirical knowledge, became part of a scientific circle, and within the year all three Kern brothers were elected to membership in the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences.

Ned's active progress, however, as artist and scientist was not again resumed until the year after his return to Philadelphia, when in 1848 he joined Frémont again. The outfitting camp outside Westport was

considerably different. It was fall, October, with goldenrod on the prairies rather than spiderwort. The cottonwood leaves were turning and the prairie wind bore a chill. This time the party numbered Ned's brothers, Richard and Benjamin, as well as himself and some thirty others. They were heading in winter for the wild peaks and sharp ridges of what is now southwestern Colorado to prove a feasible route for a railroad.

"Everything went off well with the exception of some packs on wild mules and they went off too." So Dick pictured the beginning of the rhythm of shivering predawn breakfasts, straying animals, gumbo mud, and night fires. The unmanageable packs bulged with surveying instruments, cans and kegs and presses for collecting, and alcohol mixed with tartar emetic to prevent its preserving men rather than specimens.

Ned, compared to his brothers, was now calloused, inured, enjoying the taste of prickly pear, even beginning to think like a mountain man: "Godey today killed two [buffalo] cows, and we had a glorious mess of guts. . . ." He continued to sketch enthusiastically—the front face of a bull, daily camps, the Kiowas and Arapahoes passing along the Arkansas—and at night he and Dick would draw by the firelight, their tears from the wood smoke watering the colors.

As befitting members of the Pennsylvania Academy, the scientific senses of all three brothers were alert on a wide front. They could make their friend Joseph Leidy happy with word of any new variety of lizard or mouse; Joseph Carson would be pleased to hear of any uncatalogued plants, especially those believed by the Indians to have medicinal properties; Samuel Morton was anxious to get some Indian skulls for comparative purposes. All of the Kerns filled their journals with scientific descriptions of clouds, flowers, and animals.

Already on November 3 they ran into driving snow, and when they reached the Arkansas River the current bore chunks of ice. It was only the beginning of an exceptional winter and a tragic story. The small group of thirty-three men which entered the deep, storm-racked canyons of the Rockies emerged at the New Mexican settlement two months later like stunned souls before judgment. A third of them were left in the snow, dead. The others had survived starvation and cold only after an agonizing tour through the environs of death.

The tragedy, unfortunately, was not finished. Benjamin was to die in a grievous sequel. He and Old Bill Williams, the guide, headed back into the snow-packed mountains to retrieve the cache of supplies

and belongings which was their only hope of soon getting home. They found the possessions — clothes, surgical instruments, medicines, drawing equipment, sketches, bird and plant collections, perhaps even a little money — but on the return trip twelve Ute Indians attacked and murdered them, scattering the packs.

Ned and Dick were left penniless and stranded. "The clothes we have on our back is all we have saved." But fortunately their skills proved much in demand in New Mexico. The army was engaged in the herculean task of mapping the whole province newly acquired from Mexico. When Lieutenant James H. Simpson, Topographical Corps, arrived in Santa Fé with reconnaissance orders, he could thank his guardian angel at finding on the scene two trained artists and topographers to help him. He hired the Kerns immediately. Their first task with Simpson was to map uncharted Navajo country on a punitive march with the army. It was a rich opportunity to observe Indians in undisturbed native haunts. How many men did they know at the academy in Philadelphia who would have given an arm to be thus contacting Pueblos and Navajos! Moreover, the Kerns would measure a few more skulls for Morton; snare some strange lizards for Leidy; and capture for their own delight any number of bright birds from a *terra incognita*.

During 1850 one topographic job led to another, ascertaining sites for army posts, reconnoitering for dependable supplies of water, wood, and forage grass. The Kerns were hired by each successive officer of the Topographical Corps in New Mexico: Lieutenant James Simpson, Lieutenant John Parke, and Lieutenant John Pope. Finally, in the summer of 1851 they each took surveying jobs which ushered them out of New Mexico on the long trail home. For Dick it was a westward assignment with Lieutenant Lorenzo Sitgreaves and Lieutenant John Parke to survey the Zuñi and Colorado rivers. For Ned it was north and east, blazing an improved route between New Mexico and Fort Leavenworth.

Thus, although the Frémont fourth expedition was a bitter episode, it forced them into experiences which broadly expanded their knowledge of the West and gave them an opportunity to carry the image they were creating to a wider audience. In James Simpson's report on his trip from Fort Smith to Santa Fé, two Kern lithographs appear, one a scientific study of a fish with legs (what strange monsters will these western lands reveal?); the other, one of the earliest views of Santa Fé. Simpson's account of the Navajo expedition was studded with

both black and white and colored Kern lithographs. There were Pueblo Indians in ceremonial and in everyday simple dress, in individual profile or in group religious rites; there were reconstructions of pueblo ruins, pottery patterns, and rock inscriptions; and there were views of precipitous passes in the Tuncha Mountains and the barren deserts around Chaco Canyon. To Lorenzo Sitgreaves' record of the Zuñi and Colorado River expedition, Dick added numerous sketches of Zuñi weavers and blacksmiths, views of the Colorado, and sagebrush rolling into infinity.

Home again, the Kerns were courted by the artistic and scientific worlds. Dick wrote that fellow artists looked at him "with veneration because I've seen such places." He and Edward were in demand as authorities on Indians, western flora and fauna, they were sought to discuss routes for a transcontinental railroad, and their packs of birds and insects and bones bolstered the collections in the glass cases of the Academy of Natural Sciences, while their stories must have livened many a session in its library and halls.

Dick's interest in the transcontinental railroad route caused Ned facetiously to call him the "Chief of Roads." There was truth in the joke, and even the United States Congress heard Dick's opinions quoted. Captain John Gunnison chose him as artist for the railroad survey over the thirty-eighth parallel. For Gunnison he drew some splendid scenes of the Cochetopa Pass and the Sangre de Cristos which appeared with others in the second volume of the Pacific Railroad Reports, but they were his last contribution to an image of the West. In the Sevier Valley with Captain Gunnison and six others he was murdered by Ute Indians. And how near to the bones of Ben!

Edward's days with the West were also closed. Hereafter his talents were expended for the navy in the far Pacific. His return from Japan in 1860 was followed by a short service in the Civil War after which he died in Philadelphia in 1863.

The Kerns had flourished in an age of artistic Romanticism. Thomas Cole and Thomas Doughty, Thomas Birch and Jasper Cropsey — these were among the Romantic painters whose works the Kerns absorbed during their youth. Well they knew the Hudson River school of landscape with its moody evocations, and the wind from the American West (was it Shelley's wild west wind?) blew in the same intellectual direction. A later group of Romantics, like Albert Bierstadt, substituted the Rocky Mountains for the Hudson River; the scene changed but not the technique and the moods. The West was attractive

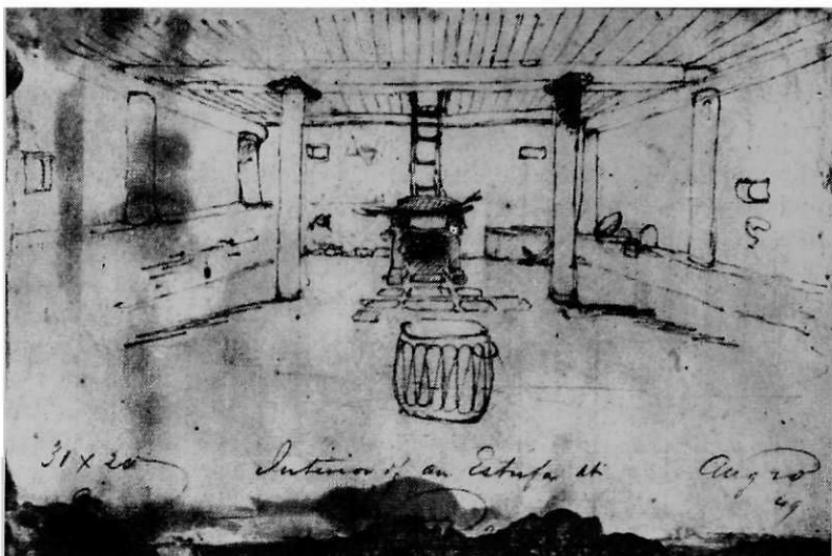
to Romantics, for one reason, because it was still little enough known to be subject to legend. The trans-Mississippi West, like the fountains of Bimini or the pearls of Calafia, was still the stuff of dreams. In the Kerns' day the myth of the Great American Desert was being supplanted by the myth of the Garden of the West, while the myth of the Noble Savage continued its traditional clash with the myth of the Villainous Indian. But all were myths and all were Romantic; they were emotions and wishful thinking, not rational judgments of fact.

To what extent did the Kerns as topographic artists Romanticize their image of this West?

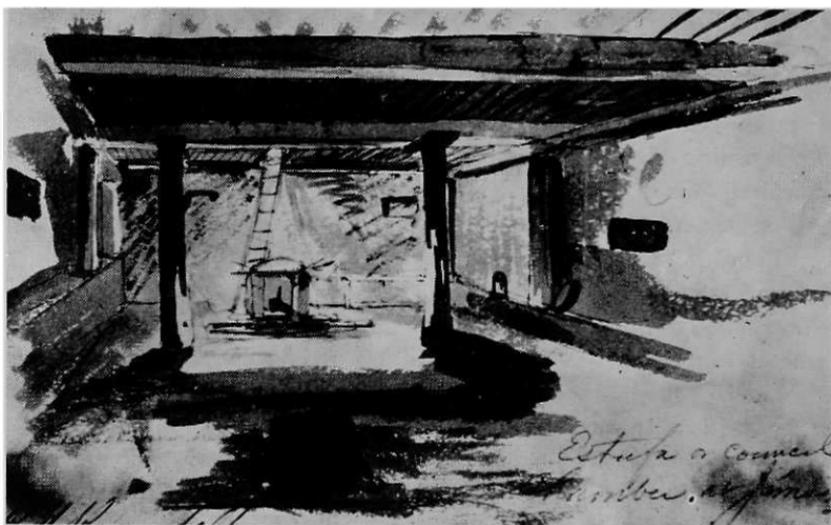
In this connection the important thing to remember about men like the Kerns is that their purposes were scientific and reportorial. Simpson or Sitgreaves or Gunnison, who hired them, did so because, as Frémont said, they could "hold those lovely views in all their delicate coloring," that is, report the scene exactly as it was seen. It is interesting to note that Eugene Delacroix, the French painter, was employed about the same time to illustrate for a diplomatic mission to Algiers. His resulting "documents," however, were highly Romantic, imaginative interpretations of an exotic land. The Kerns, even if they had had the skill of Delacroix, had none of his inclination to interpret Romantically.

They themselves held few illusions about the West. They were intensely curious, but their natural reactions tended to be skeptical with a liberal laugh for the overblown. Nothing in any of their writings remotely approaches Catlin's description of Indians "whose daily feats with their naked limbs, might vie with those of the Grecian youths in the beautiful rivalry of the Olympian games." On the contrary, the Kerns not only, as we have seen, depicted some Indian women as "up and down like a plank board," but found whole tribes, like the Mojaves, ugly, dirty, and villainous. They did evaluate Cheyenne art work or Pomo crafts with real appreciation, but never did they see the West in terms of idealized Indians surrounded by an exotic land.

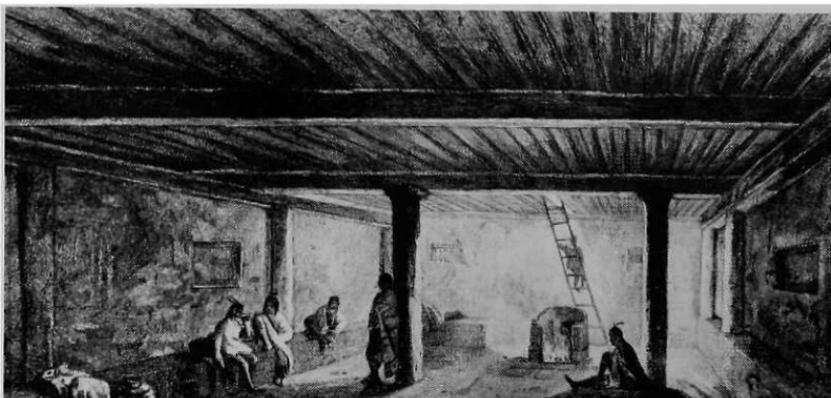
Yet judging from the lithographs taken from Kern sketches, the brothers seem frequently to stylize and exaggerate for effect, rather like F. W. Egloffstein who followed them into the Southwest. Dick's tall, balloon-like version of the cliffs above Casa Blanca in Canyon de Chelly are as fantastic as were Egloffstein's engravings of brooding Grand Canyon spires. This, as Wallace Stegner has said, was not falsification; it was what the Romantic vision actually saw. Nevertheless, it was not realism, and the Kerns might seem, therefore, to have succumbed to Romantic influences.



DRAWING COURTESY PEABODY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY



Note the changes in perspective of the sketch by Richard Kern of a kiva at the Jemez Pueblo. From the first sketch to the final engraving as redrawn by Seth Eastman for Schoolcraft, the room has become longer and wider with human figures and patterned pottery quite unlike the original.

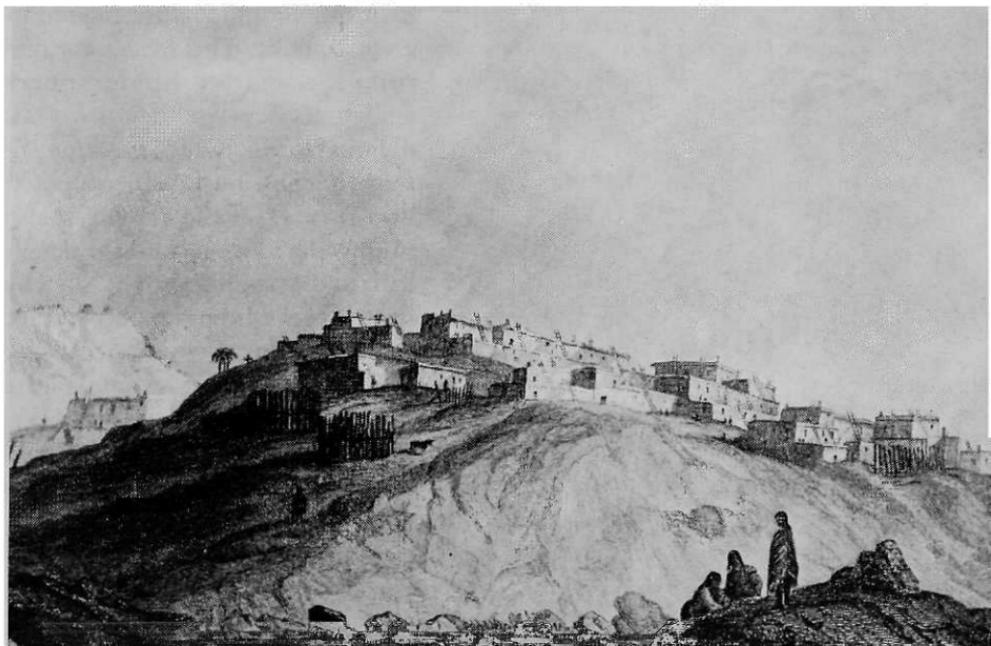




DRAWING COURTESY PEABODY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Laguna Pueblo as it was first sketched by one of the Kerns.

The same view as it appeared in Schoolcraft after the lithographers had superimposed their own ideas upon the work of the artist.





A Zuñi woman as lithographed in the Sitgreaves report. In the original Kern sketch the woman's headdress covers half of her face, she carries two rather than five feathers, and the garment has no decorations whatever.

Edward Kern's watercolor of Sacramento Valley natives. Basketry patterns were carefully reproduced.

DRAWING COURTESY PEABODY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY



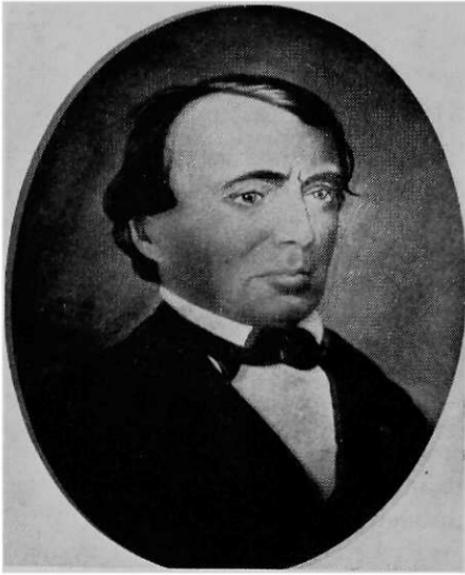
But not necessarily so. One of the curious things about the Kerns' work is that few of these exaggerations are present in the original sketches and drawings; they appear rather in the subsequent lithographs and engravings. The transition here from sketch to lithograph is important. Few artists made their own lithographic stones. In most cases an eastern firm like Duvals of Philadelphia or Sarony of New York would etch the slate, presumably in the process following the sketches as closely as possible. The 1840's and the 1850's were the golden age of lithography, and each lithographic house catered to a wide public. This meant, for one thing, that the lithographers tended to develop their own individual styles which became almost unconsciously superimposed on the work of the artists. It also meant that when certain details had to be supplied to a sketchy drawing, the lithographer was apt to depict his own concepts or those which he felt would please his audience. Thus when Ackerman in New York rendered

Dick's sketch of a New Mexico blacksmith shop, he completely changed the perspective, vastly enlarged the room, and clothed the Indians like European medieval artisans.

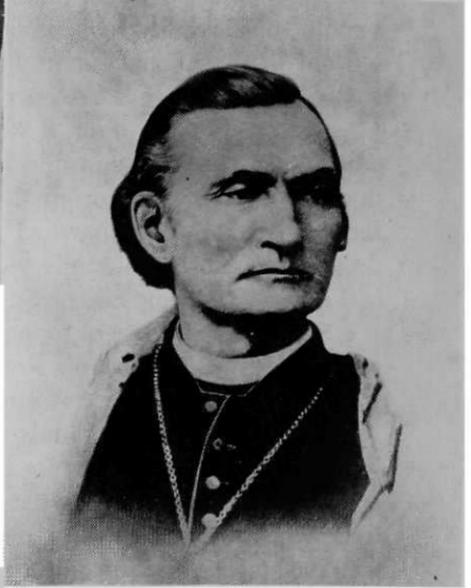
The Kerns, as scientists might be expected to do, drew the West as they saw it, not through the mist of Romanticism. But those who rendered their drawings into published form were not above revision into a mold more readily understood. It is but another example of history written in the likeness of its final recorder, who sees — and probably has no choice but to see — only those things which he already knows.

Even more important, it was the prints not the original drawings which were most responsible for molding the image in the popular mind. For every one original painting, there were lithographs, sold for a quarter or less, hawked through the streets from carts by the thousands. More thousands were studied in the government reports of Frémont, of Simpson, of Sitgreaves, or of Gunnison.

So, almost in spite of topographic artists like the Kerns, the image of the West was to remain a Romantic one for a long time, at least until John Wesley Powell, if not into our own day. It was a garden in its valleys, with gossamer clouds on its sharp peaks. No desert existed which given water would not bloom; no denuded hill, which did not conceal some color and mystery. The Kerns did not see it that way; they were more scientific in their orientation. But their voice might as well have been raised to stop that wild West wind from trumpeting its prophecy.



Charles Bent was a Missouri trader of great influence in Territorial New Mexico.



Archbishop John Lamy represents the Catholic church and Spanish influence in early New Mexico politics.



General Stephen Watts Kearny and the United States Army played a vital role in the Americanization of the territory.



Governor James S. Calhoun realized the cultural differences between Spanish-Mexican and American citizens and tried to co-operate with the church and the conservatives.

New Mexico with its preponderantly Spanish-Mexican population and Utah with its Mormon society highlight the general difficulties of the old American territorial system in a semiarid environment.

POLITICAL PATTERNS IN NEW MEXICO AND UTAH TERRITORIES 1850-1900

*By Howard R. Lamar **

What happens to a region politically when a governing system designed for a wooded, well-watered farming country is superimposed on the semiarid, mountainous, ranching and mining communities of the Rocky Mountain West? What institutional adjustments occur — if any — when an aggressive Anglo-Saxon society, full of “Manifest Destiny” ideas suddenly finds itself a minority in Spanish-Mexican New Mexico or in Mormon Utah? How did the old ingrained assumptions about the necessity of a two-party political system, trial by jury, separation of church and state, and the maintenance of a public school, fare when they ran into societies without these beliefs? In the answers to these basic questions lie much of the significant history of the territories of New Mexico and Utah between 1850 and 1900.

Curiously, in the scores of books on the trans-Mississippi West these topics have seldom been the main theme of narrative. The case is, rather, that we have stressed the explorative, social, and economic history before tackling the political story. Clarence Carter can justly

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lament that territorial history is the "Dark Age in American Historiography."¹ One is somewhat chagrined to find 437 published books and items on Billy the Kid and not a single satisfactory biography of even one of the eighteen governors of territorial New Mexico.² And the names of the majority of the governors of Utah are mentioned only by H. H. Bancroft in works published over seventy years ago. Yet the so-called Lincoln County War was fashioned in large part by the peculiar conditions of American territorial government, and the partisan activities of local federal officers. Similarly, the strategy of the famous antipolygamy fight in Utah was determined by the fact that Utah was a federal possession and not a state.

Obviously the questions posed above cannot be answered in an article; nevertheless, some of the significant political patterns which developed in the period of territorial apprenticeship of New Mexico and Utah can be described. While these two may appear to be extremes in territories — the one with its preponderantly Spanish-Mexican population and the other with its Mormon society — they highlight the general difficulties of the old American territorial system experienced in a semiarid environment and the peculiar institutional compromises which resulted.

New Mexico, at the time of conquest and in 1850 when it became a territory, fitted none of the assumptions of the Ordinance of 1787. By frontier standards it already had a large population of whites (60,000), a permanent Indian barrier (90,000), no public lands, no land suitable for an American farming population, less than a thousand American citizens and no such basic American institutions as common law, a jury system, or public schools.³ What then was the motive for taking such a region? In the answer to that question many of the political patterns which operated in New Mexico from 1846 to 1870 become apparent.

General Kearny's occupation of New Mexico has always been regarded as a necessary preamble to the more important conquest of California, and this appears, in part, to be the case. But if one looks at New Mexico in 1846 without the perspective of the future California gold rush, we see — or rather Missourians saw — a vast trade market,

¹ Clarence E. Carter, "The Territorial Papers of the United States: A Review and Commentary," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLII (1956), 521-22.

² J. C. Dykes, *Billy the Kid, The Bibliography of a Legend* (Albuquerque, 1952).

³ For general conditions in New Mexico with which the American had to deal, see John W. Caughey, "Early Federal Relations with New Mexico." (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of California, 1926).



COURTESY NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Ox train arriving in Santa Fé ca. 1868. View of San Francisco Street looking toward old parroquia, Plaza on left.

for by 1842 nearly a million dollars a year in goods flowed down the Santa Fé Trail into New Mexico. If one might add a dangling corollary to Professor Norman Graebner's thesis about the commercial desire for west coast ports as a factor in the Mexican War, it would be that there was an articulate desire for New Mexico itself that was not so explicable in terms of land hunger or Manifest Destiny as in terms of trade.⁴ It was a conquest of Missouri merchants with little thought of extending the glories of free government or of Americanizing this region. This seems to have been the view of the Polk administration, of Thomas Hart Benton — though he urged the New Mexicans to form a state on popular sovereignty principles — and of the men in Kearny's battalion. As one of the soldiers wrote: the 1500 volunteers were organized to "protect the property of the Santa Fé traders and to take Santa Fe."⁵ Benton himself explained: "Our first care in this sudden

⁴ Norman A. Graebner, *Empire on the Pacific* (New York, 1955).

⁵ George R. Gibson, "Journal of a Soldier Under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846-1847," in Ralph Bieber, ed., *The Southwestern History Series* (Glendale, California, 1935), III, 24.

change in our relations [with Mexico] was to try and take care of our Santa Fe trade."⁶

It is not often appreciated just how successful Polk, Benton, and Kearny were. They accomplished a bloodless conquest — as Larkin had hoped to do in California — not through armed might so much as through mercantile influence. Prominent traders, such as James Magoffin, Dr. Henry Connelly, Ceran St. Vrain, Charles Beaubien, and Charles Bent, each of whom had married into influential Mexican families, proved to be Kearny's most powerful weapons.⁷

These two forces — the American merchant-trader and the military — were to dominate New Mexico from 1846 to 1870. When Kearny established his first civil government and moved on to California, he appointed the Taos trader, Charles Bent, as governor, and as the three Supreme Court judges, Joab Houghton, Carlos Beaubien, and Antonio José Otero. Each of these was a merchant no one of whom was trained in the law.⁸ In a short time, this rule of merchants, Missourians, and the military found expression in the election of the first territorial delegate, William S. Messervy, a wealthy businessman who owned one of the largest trading houses in the Southwest.⁹ The second and third delegate elections were fights between Benton Democrats and Missouri Whigs, with the military taking sides or putting up their own candidate. This pattern of a merchant-trader and military territorial government continued into the Civil War when Dr. Henry Connelly, now governor, organized the territory to resist the Confederate invader.¹⁰

⁶ *Ibid.*, 26–27.

⁷ See the biographies of Charles Bent, Kit Carson, Carlos Beaubien, Ceran St. Vrain, Henry Connelly and James Magoffin in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (hereafter cited as *DAB*) for summaries of their role in the conquest and for reference to the native families into which they married.

⁸ An observer wrote of Kearny's judges: ". . . all the Judges of the Superior Court do not possess the legal knowledge of a justice of the peace in St. Louis. . . ." Lieutenant Kribben, quoted in Gibson, "Journal of a Soldier," 242.

⁹ Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (2 vols., Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1912), II, 295n.

¹⁰ Dean William J. Parish of the University of New Mexico has found that the merchant not only had political power in New Mexico in these first years, but worked a commercial revolution there as well by establishing for the first time permanent trading houses. Since freight rates were exorbitant and the country was poor, the individual businessman with one specialty could not survive. This was particularly true of the banker. Instead, the individual merchant served in so many commercial capacities that his was, by default, a monopoly position. Moreover, his customers included the army and the Indian Bureau as well as the general population, so that he held a peculiar semiofficial position not unlike that of an Augsburg banker in the Middle Ages. Parish, "The German Jew and the Commercial Revolution in Territorial New Mexico," *New Mexico Quarterly*, XXIX (Autumn, 1959), 307–32.

This is not to say that the Americans in New Mexico co-operated in their economic and political efforts. Born in a two party system, among themselves they practiced what one might call a "politics of disunity." One faction believed in co-operating with the native Spanish-speaking population, and troubled to learn the language and shared political office with them. The first civil governor, James S. Calhoun, and Delegate Richard Weightman were notable examples of this faction. Another group — usually allied with the army — had a contempt for the region and its people which led them to assume that while it could never be Americanized, it must be ruled by Americans. No one represented this view better than Colonel Edwin Vose Sumner who was virtually the dictator of New Mexico in the early 1850's. He declared the region to be a useless burden existing solely on government subsidy, whose civil government could not be maintained without aid of a military force, and whose native population was incapable of self-government.¹¹ Professor Burl Noggle in tracing the early rise of a stereotype image of the Southwest has recently pointed out that for twenty-five years nearly every observer and visitor to New Mexico felt that it would remain unchanged, and in less damning tones agreed with Sumner.¹²

This meant that for a quarter century the pattern of territorial politics was one of colonial rule by the conquering minority, alternating between the benevolent and the harsh, its policies rent by factions over Indian policy, civil *versus* military rule, patronage and trade. William Keleher's title: *Turmoil in New Mexico*, summarizes well the politics as well as the Indian troubles of this first period.¹³ American party names were used, and each faction had its defenders in Congress, but Republican and Democrat, proslave and abolitionist, conservative and liberal, were phrases which had no real meaning there.

Such a picture of New Mexican political patterns would not be complete without some understanding of the role the native Spanish-American played in territorial politics. The explanation that he was passive is only partly true; and even in his bitterest strictures Colonel Sumner admitted that there were enough "educated gentlemen" of native birth to fill the necessary ruling positions.¹⁴ Observers have

¹¹ *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Cong., 2d sess. (January 10, 1853), Appendix, 104.

¹² Burl Noggle, "Anglo Observers of the Southwest Borderlands, 1825-1890: The Rise of a Concept," *Arizona and the West*, I (Summer, 1959), 105-31; see especially 118-20.

¹³ William A. Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico, 1846-1868* (Santa Fé, 1952).

¹⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Cong., 2d sess., Appendix, 104.

estimated that this elite group of "gentlemen" numbered about five hundred landowners, native merchants, and ranchers.¹⁵ What existed in New Mexico were about a thousand Americans dealing with about five hundred hereditary leaders or *patrons*. Like the Americans, however, the *patrons* were divided into warring cliques and also practiced a politics of disunity. A conservative clique existed, for example, who wished to preserve the old *status quo* of an unchanging society dominated by a few families allied with the Catholic church.¹⁶ This faction instigated the Taos Rebellion of 1847, and after that failed, reappeared as Benton or Jeffersonian Democrats ironically demanding statehood — and therefore "home-rule" — as late as the 1870's. Operating within the framework of the territorial system, their primary aim was to minimize the impact of American rule and culture.

A second group was clearly pro-American. Yet their sincere cooperation contained certain reservations. They were willing to engage in economic and political alliance but not cultural surrender. To this segment belonged J. Francisco Chavez's father who, five years before American conquest, sent his son off to St. Louis with the warning: "The heretics are going to overrun all this country. Go learn their language and come back prepared to defend your people."¹⁷ Chavez must have taken his father's admonition seriously, for he served as territorial delegate for six years, as president of the territorial assembly for eight terms, and as leader, for more than thirty years, of a powerful family party consisting of hundreds of cousins from the Chavez and Perea clans.¹⁸ This pro-American group tended to be liberal in church matters, joined in the land speculation schemes, agitated for railroads, and promoted improvements, but when it came to a showdown about the Americanization of New Mexican institutions and culture, they usually joined their conservative brethren.¹⁹

Since a single family had by generations of intermarriage in a locality hundreds of relatives, that family could, through the mere cooperation of relatives, actually determine an election. As one irate

¹⁵ Loomis Morton Ganaway, *New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy, 1846-1861* (Albuquerque, 1944), 3.

¹⁶ In this group could be found the influential Pino, Delgado, Ortiz, Martínez and Archuleta families.

¹⁷ Quoted in Marion Dargan, "New Mexico's Fight for Statehood, 1895-1912," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XIV (January, 1939), 181.

¹⁸ Keleher, *op. cit.*, 480-81.

¹⁹ Miguel A. Otero, *My Life on the Frontier, 1864-1882* (New York, 1935), 282, describes the Oteros, the Chavezes, and the Armijos as "all for the American Party as against the Mexican Party."

American commented: "no democracy exists here, only familyocracy."²⁰ While much more violent and rough, native New Mexican politics must have borne some resemblance to those of Virginia in the late colonial period when it is said that twelve families ruled that colony. In New Mexico such a privileged minority of *patrons* was peculiarly fitted to understand the mercantile view of government of the Missouri merchants and the rule of the army as well.

The final complicating factor in early New Mexican politics was the presence of the remarkable Archbishop John Lamy. By using methods somewhat less gentle than those pictured in Willa Cather's *Death Comes to the Archbishop*, Lamy set out in the 1850's to reform the local church of corruption and low standards. His removal of four able but rather unorthodox and provincial fathers from their church duties unwittingly provided the conservative New Mexicans with political leaders of unusual talents. All of them were eventually elected to the territorial assembly, and one of them, Padre José Manuel Gallegos, served as delegate to Congress. The foremost of the group, however, was the remarkable Padre Martínez, of Taos, who not only served as a leader in the assembly but trained no less than four future territorial delegates and a dozen other political leaders.²¹ The politics of faction had split the church in New Mexico so that church was part and parcel of local politics. This complex disunity curiously enough probably had a beneficial side, for it meant there was never to be one nationality united against another or church against state.

In the conflict between two cultures, two religions, and two sets of leaders, the Americans were in the minority, so that they could not effect "Americanization" through sheer numbers as they had in Louisiana, Florida, and California. But what has been mistaken for chaos in New Mexico during these early years — and with Indian warfare and the Confederate invasion it must be admitted that there was a great deal of confusion and violence — was for the most part a complicated politics

²⁰ In a furious diatribe against the political power of the Chavez family, the Santa Fé *Weekly Gazette* on September 11, 1869, lamented that "United as it has been, as it is, and as it will be in the future, it is a great element in our elections; and as long as others are willing to pander to its pride and prejudices for the mere sake of being on the strong side it will hold the balance of power in the territory, furnish our delegates, control our legislation, check our progress, clog our prosperity, and retain New Mexico where she is, the tag of all the Territories of the Union."

²¹ A provocative and intelligent new interpretation of Padre Martínez is to be found in E. K. Francis, "Padre Martínez: A New Mexican Myth," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XXXI (1956), 265 ff. For the life of a "typical" trainee in Martínez's school see the obituary of Pedro Valdez in the *New Mexican Review*, December 3, 1884.

of disunity and passive resistance which would have fascinated a General Wilkinson or an Aaron Burr.

The complexities of New Mexican politics are well illustrated by a glance at the workings of three parts of the territorial system: the delegate, the assembly, and local government.

The office of delegate alternated until 1872 between the major American and native political factions described earlier. The delegate's importance also varied greatly with each individual. Despite American domination in the early territorial period, only one of the nine delegates in the first twenty-five years was elected from the ranks of the New Mexico federal appointees.²²

The assembly in New Mexico was similar to that of other territories in that it was the open cockpit for local factions. Made up of the political-minded members of the leading Spanish-American families, with a sprinkling of shrewd American merchants and lawyers, it usually tried to preserve the *status quo*. Here year in and year out sat a Pino, a Luna, a Perea, a Baca, an Otero, a Chavez and an Ortiz y Salazar.²³ Sometimes son succeeded father. Never having paid taxes they showed a healthy reluctance to tax anyone but grog shops, gambling places, and American merchants. Quite used to peonage and Indian slavery they refused to end the two institutions until a federal law in 1867 forced them to do so. Seeing in a public school system a threat to religion, and the likelihood of taxation, they soundly defeated every workable proposal for schools until 1890.²⁴

It was in county and local government that the most curious mingling of American forms and Spanish-Mexican practices occurred. If just one example might be cited: in an effort to establish a county government the Americans created what was first called a "prefectship" but which rapidly evolved into the office of judge of probate. By default this office, usually held by a *patron*, soon controlled elections, land disputes, crimes, and many duties reserved to the federal district courts,

²² John S. Watts, who had served as associate justice of the Territorial Supreme Court, was elected delegate during the confused period of Confederate invasion, 1861-63.

²³ See Benjamin M. Read, *Illustrated History of New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1912), 610-11, for a list of the members of the territorial assemblies.

²⁴ For examples of the above policies, see *Laws of the Territory of New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1846), 99, 102; *Message of His Excellency James S. Calhoun to the First Territorial Legislature, 1851* (Santa Fé, 1851); *Message of W.H.H. Davis, Acting Governor of the Territory of New Mexico, 1855* (Santa Fé, 1855). Complained the Santa Fé *Weekly Gazette*, February 27, 1869: "They don't want schools; they don't want roads, they don't want taxes, they don't want manufactures, they don't want, in short, the means of civilization to which all enlightened people resort in this part of the nineteenth century for the promotion of their material prosperity."

besides its regular estate and probate duties. Two other offices: those of sheriff and assessor, were added to the county system. Soon the holders of these positions had read into them a host of powers which made them almost autocratic in nature. And since the control of a judgeship meant control of election machinery for delegate, assembly, and local elections, it was no wonder that it was the most sought after of all local political positions. It usually went to a Spanish-American.²⁵ The very democracy implied within the three parts of the territorial system just discussed allowed for a preservation of the *status quo* in New Mexico, a *status quo* which was itself far from democratic.

The presence of warring Indians, the Texan Civil War invasion, and the United States Army kept all these contending political forces in an unstable position until the return of relatively peaceful conditions in 1869. When Grant's peace policy gave Indian affairs back to the Indian Bureau, and army rule ended, however, the second period of New Mexican political history began. By 1872 native and American leaders had worked out a *modus vivendi* in politics which was to operate with extraordinary success for the next twenty-five or thirty years. The new system was nothing less than government by an organization of lawyers, merchants and large landowners who had finally recognized that New Mexico's economy and politics could be profitably centered around the question of the territory's unsettled land grants. Known as the Santa Fé Ring, its members have been damned for their iniquities or grudgingly admired for their Machiavellian cleverness. The organization has been called a land grant ring, a political ring, a railroad ring, and a businessman's and lawyer's ring. Actually it was all of these.

The ring began as early as 1855 when a set of frontier lawyers congregating in New Mexico had realized that a fortune lay in the legal process of quieting title to the disputed Spanish and New Mexican land grants. Or, if not that, in securing for themselves or clients control of these lands for the purpose of speculation. Soon there was a boom in acquiring titles, and Congress was flooded with petitions for confirmation of the grants. The entire federal judiciary and legal profession of New Mexico not only became land experts but adept at the trick of stretching each claim on the basis of vague terminology in the grants

²⁵ Arie W. Poldevaart, *Black-Robed Justice: A History of the Administration of Justice in New Mexico from the American Occupation in 1846 until Statehood in 1912* (Santa Fé, 1948), 13-19; interview with Dr. Myra Jenkins, archivist of the New Mexico Historical Society, October, 1959.

themselves and in the Spanish and Mexican land laws.²⁶ The first chief justice, Joab Houghton, could boast that he was handling no less than twelve major claims. Associate Justice John S. Watts was elected to Congress in 1861 on the promise that he would secure congressional confirmation of pending claims. Soon every New Mexican family with ancient claims was entranced by the promise that their holdings would be confirmed and enlarged if handled by American experts. In a society which at the time of conquest did not have a single native lawyer, it is easy to imagine what a peculiar advantage the American had over his client. Taking land in lieu of a money fee, the lawyers eventually acquired 80 per cent of the land grant property. One of them, Thomas B. Catron, controlled 4,000,000 acres by 1890. This business proved so attractive that by 1887 Governor Edmund Ross estimated that one American in every ten in New Mexico was a lawyer.²⁷

Guided by a number of Santa Fé lawyers, the personnel of the ring shifted with the demands of the times, but the group always included a majority of the federal appointees, a few assembly leaders, a majority of the probate judges, some Indian agents, and the leading territorial newspaper.²⁸ Here at last was an organization which could secure the co-operation of native and American leaders alike if only for economic reasons.

The ring politicians first revealed their full powers in 1872 when they chose an attorney, Stephen Benton Elkins, as their candidate for delegate. Although he had been in New Mexico only a short time, Elkins was their ideal man. Possessed of an excellent education, impressive and able, he could boast also of many business connections in the Eastern financial world. Elkins understood the land business and its possibilities so well that while he was delegate he was also president of the newly formed Maxwell Land Grant Company and of the first National Bank in New Mexico.²⁹ To the ring and to his constituents Elkins promised two things: statehood and confirmation of private

²⁶ A list of the attorneys for the New Mexico grants may be found in a manuscript index to "Private Land Claims" in the library of Thomas Benton Catron now housed in the Henry E. Huntington Library. Delegate Watts is listed as handling twenty-two land grant cases.

²⁷ Governor Edmund G. Ross to John O'Grady, March 26, 1887. Letter in the Ross Papers, New Mexico Historical Society, Santa Fé.

²⁸ William A. Keleher, *The Fabulous Frontier* (Santa Fé, 1945), 104n, lists the members of the "original" Santa Fé Ring.

²⁹ See Elkins in the *DAB*; Harold Hathaway Dunham, *Government Handout: A Study in the Administration of Public Lands, 1875-1891* (New York, 1949), 215-17; the *Las Cruces Borderer* (August 16, 1873).

title to the now fantastic land grants. When Elkins' first term ended he was in Europe selling stock in the Maxwell holdings, but the ring secured his re-election by a majority vote of 4,000! In a territory where nearly every delegate election was so close that it was contested, this was an extraordinary show of power and temporary unanimity.³⁰

The history of the famous Maxwell Land Grant is just one facet of the ring's activities; they also played a shrewd back-room hand in the Lincoln County War; and they successfully resisted eight years of reform attempts by the Cleveland administration to clean up New Mexico politics.³¹

In the realm of politics the Santa Fé Ring was nominally Republican and naturally profited from the long period of Republican ascendancy in Washington. But as a safety measure every Republican lawyer in the organization had a Democratic partner. The ring further proved its flexibility by practicing what might be called evolutionary or phase capitalism, for in the 1880's it entered into every new territorial business which appeared. As Governor Edmund Ross, Cleveland's reform appointee, indignantly explained it to a friend:

From the Land Grant Ring grew others, as the opportunities for the speculation and plunder were developed. Cattle Rings, Public Land . . . Rings, Mining Rings, Treasury Rings, and rings of almost every description, grew up, till the affairs of the territory came to be run almost exclusively in the interest and for the benefit of combinations organized and headed by a few longheaded, ambitious, and unscrupulous Americans.³²

What prevented the ring from absolute economic and political control was the continued presence of factions, racial, economic and political within its ranks. In the mid-1880's, for example, the Republican leaders — who were extraordinarily difficult personalities — broke into two segments: the ring lawyers and businessmen *versus* the ranchers and miners. The fight became so bitter that a native New Mexican running on a Democratic ticket won the delegate election for the next ten years. The ring was to die slowly, however, as regular Democratic and Republican party organizations struggled to take its place, so that as late as 1912, the ring's oldest member, Thomas Benton Catron, was elected to the Senate by the first state legislature.

³⁰ See Elkins, in *DAB*.

³¹ "The Gildersleeve, Springer, Joseph Combination." (Unpublished essay in the Ross Papers, New Mexico Historical Society, Santa Fé).

³² Ross to O'Grady, March 26, 1887, in Ross Papers.

In an era of Grantism and railroad control of state legislatures, it might be argued that the Santa Fé Ring was just a frontier echo of the national political m6res. But this ring was in operation fully fifteen years before the railroad came to New Mexico. Although it perpetuated many injustices, it was also a means of ruling a region whose culture, population, land system, and political needs did not fit into the assumptions of the territorial system. Further, its members developed a successful technique of exploiting an area of limited economic means. The Santa Fé politician had something in common with the colonial Virginia officials who turned from tobacco to western land speculation for a better livelihood, or they would have understood the politics of the Yazoo Land Company. The ring, then, was an atavistic combination of preindustrial speculators operating in an industrial age of railroads and trusts. But they understood their own age's business methods, too. In them was blended the practice of two centuries of American frontier capitalism. Succeeding where the territorial system could not, the ring was of great political and economic significance as a working frontier institution. It is a tribute to its political ability that towards the end of its power two-thirds of the native population were enrolled in the Republican party.

By 1900 new forces had come to operate in New Mexico. The primary agent of change was the railroad which had come to the territory in 1880.³³ The improvement in communications caused a ranching and mining boom which attracted a considerable and outspoken new population. Small land sales and homestead entries increased. And when the ranching and mining areas demanded political recognition a violent local sectionalism common to all older American frontiers developed in the assembly and in elections. As Governor Prince remarked in 1890:

In the old days one could rule New Mexico by coercion, threats and bulldozing. That seemed to succeed until the railroad came. But conditions have changed and modern and American systems are needed. The native people will not stand what they did 15 years ago. The new population will not stand it at all.³⁴

The new population demanded settlement of the land grant claims, now forty-five years old; public schools which the church and the

³³ The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé actually reached the territorial borders in 1879, but it was 1880 before Santa Fé and Albuquerque had rail service. Soon thereafter, the Southern Pacific and the Denver and Rio Grande laid tracks into New Mexico.

³⁴ Governor L. Bradford Prince to John W. Noble, April 23, 1892. Letter in the Prince Papers, New Mexico Historical Society, Santa Fé.

Spanish-Americans resisted down to 1890; and finally statehood, which the native New Mexican, having become used to the territorial system, did not declare for until 1900.³⁵

Even in that year, one could easily paint too optimistic a picture of acceptance of American political forms and customs. The older family political organization remained; the average Spanish-American community still voted in bloc for *el patron*. In 1902, for example, Senator Albert Beveridge found it so un-American and ring ridden he held up admission for ten years.³⁶ But after 1900 the files and history of New Mexico read more like those of any American territory in a mild boom period. Party affiliations were real, and both parties reflected the impact of national issues like free silver, tariff, the referendum and Prohibition.

It is a curious fact that a recognizable and acceptable brand of American democracy came to New Mexico only with the railroad, economic diversity, and the average small-time native American settler. Professor David M. Potter has recently argued in his book *People of Plenty* that only with an abundant economy can there be real democracy and freedom. This seems to be true in New Mexico.³⁷ Even with two decades of prosperity and rapid change which occurred from 1880 to 1900, however, the political, economic, and cultural premises of the American territorial system had been only partially achieved; but an acceptance of American law, the party system, and public schools, meant that a workable compromise of cultural and political forms had resulted, which continues today in New Mexico. Elliott Arnold in his *Time of the Gringo* has Padre Martínez predict all this very nicely in a scene in which the priest tells his parish school children the meaning of the American conquest in 1846. In the past New Mexico had been like a burro on whose back rode a priest, he said, and under American rule, the state would continue to be a burro; "but on this burro jog along lawyers and not the clergy."³⁸

In contrast to New Mexico's ever shifting politics of faction and disunity, those of Utah could be called the "politics of unanimity" and

³⁵ Dargan, "New Mexico's Fight for Statehood," 5 ff.

³⁶ Charles E. Maddox, "The Statehood Policy of Albert J. Beveridge, 1906-1911." (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1947).

³⁷ David M. Potter, *People of Plenty; Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago, 1954); Jim Heath, "A Study of the Influence of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad Upon the Economy of New Mexico, 1878 to 1900." (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1955), 5, 168.

³⁸ Elliott Arnold, *The Time of the Gringo* (New York, 1953), 612.



Brigham Young, vigorous leader of the Mormons, at about age forty-seven.

Throughout the territorial period Salt Lake City was a busy hub of commerce. Photo is of ox trains unloading goods for merchants in 1867 or '68.



complete control. Quite obviously the difference is to be explained by the dominance of the Mormon church in Utah and the extraordinary combination of a political, religious and economic leader in Brigham Young. He was, as it were, a one man "Santa Fé Ring."

Despite this basic difference, Utah had many points in common with New Mexico. Besides an arid climate and hostile environment which allowed only a limited agriculture based on irrigation, Utah, like New Mexico, resisted "Americanization" as implied in the territorial system, politically, religiously, culturally, and economically until 1890. This resistance was more organized, thorough, and self-conscious when compared to that of New Mexico. But again, we find, given the standard form of the territorial system, similar techniques and agencies of resistance. Like New Mexico they centered in the delegate, the assembly, local government and in attempts to gain home rule through statehood. As in New Mexico the United States land system did not work, but in Utah it was circumvented not for speculative reasons, but in order to allow settlement. Like Governor Calhoun, Brigham Young preferred to bribe the Indian into peaceful relations and to handle him with local militia. And like New Mexico, Utah's economy was mercantile, with the merchant playing a key role in politics. And although it did not seek government or outside subsidy, Utah's primitive economy was saved over and over again by a series of financial booms caused by outside forces or the federal government.³⁹ And finally, the Mormons, like the Spanish-Americans, virtually had no one trained in the law amongst their numbers.⁴⁰

Utah's territorial history falls into three periods.⁴¹ The first is one of political resistance and physical isolation lasting from 1847 to 1869. The short-lived State of Deseret and the years when Young ruled Utah as territorial governor are too well known to be recounted here. Of the period up to 1857 suffice it to use Dale Morgan's comment: "The

³⁹ The feeding of the gold rush population, 1849-52; supplying the Central Overland Mail Route, 1859-69; succoring the army troops stationed in Utah, 1858 to 1861; the presence of California troops from 1862 to 1868; building the transcontinental telegraph and railroad in the 1860's; the mining booms in Nevada, Idaho, and Utah itself from 1861 to 1875.

⁴⁰ Associate Justice Jacob S. Boreman upon his arrival in Utah in 1873 found the Bar almost devoid of Mormons; he felt that only Albert Carrington of those few Mormons who practiced law had a real knowledge of the subject. See "Reminiscences of My Life in Utah," MS in the Boreman Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, microfilm copy in Utah State Historical Society library.

⁴¹ These coincide generally with the three economic periods of its history described by Leonard Arrington in his *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958).

Mormons very simply had elaborated their ecclesiastical machinery into a political government." One outstanding characteristic of this early formative stage deserves comment however. This was a breakdown of the usual American checks and balances system. Young as governor met with both houses of his assembly, and they wrote the laws together.⁴² His legislators held judicial, executive and church positions concurrently. Hosea Stout, for example, was a legislator in the morning, attorney general in the afternoon, and judge advocate of the Nauvoo Legion at night. Elias Smith and Albert Carrington could report similar simultaneous careers.⁴³ What historians have misunderstood in treating the troubles between Mormons and federal officials is that when the latter fulminated against Mormon measures as "unlawful," they were in a sense quite correct. Law and order had been achieved, but to an American legal mind these pragmatic shortcuts seemed most suspicious.⁴⁴

Historians also suggest that after the Mormon War of 1857, the saints while continuing to rule themselves, outwardly conformed to American law and forms except on the prime issue of polygamy. Yet when Young stepped down in 1857, the new federal officials found that the assembly had effectively protected Mormons by a series of laws and practices which amounted to a tactical defeat for the United States. Just before the army came the assembly had repealed all taxes so that gentile officers could not use the tax power against them.⁴⁵ The legislators also provided that the Nauvoo Legion, consisting of some 13,000 men, could elect its own officers and need not wait for appointment by the governor. Thus the saints continued until 1871, a private army which vastly outnumbered federal troops in Utah.⁴⁶ In a frenzy of last minute legislation the assembly granted nearly every water course,

⁴² This harmony was achieved by close watch on the choice of assembly candidates. Hosea Stout recorded on August 2, 1855, that he "Took stage and went to Davis County. The annual Election coming on next Monday the good people of Davis had brought out their nominees for the Legislature. . . . My business to Davis was to have one of the nominees withdrawn and John D. Parker put on the track in his Place. Accordingly I called the Bishop and other leading men together and laid the matter before them. The plan was adopted and A. Call withdrawn and Parker in his place, all to the most perfect satisfaction of all parties." Hosea Stout, "Diary," original in Utah State Historical Society library.

⁴³ Stout "Diary" entry for October 4, 1850; A. R. Mortensen, ed., "Elias Smith, Journal of a Pioneer Editor, 1861-63," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXI (1953), 1, 137, 237, 331.

⁴⁴ "Lawless" in this paper refers to politics only, and not to such events as the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

⁴⁵ Stout, "Diary" entry for January 19, 1858.

⁴⁶ For the "end" of the Nauvoo Legion see H. H. Bancroft, *The History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1891), 658.

grazing tract, timber stand, and townsite in the territory to Mormon leaders so that not much usable public domain was left. There was no immediate need for a surveyor general nor did there have to be an application of American land laws.⁴⁷ To avoid the possibility of an active army role in politics, the assembly denied any military officer or soldier the right to vote or hold offices.⁴⁸

The most far-reaching item of local control in opposition to federal rule had been worked out as early as 1852, however. A law defining the duties of the probate judge that year allowed that official to try civil, criminal, and chancery cases, or in short to assume jurisdiction over all cases which normally belonged to the United States district courts. It was further enacted that only Utah laws and not the common law applied in these courts; thus polygamy, a felony in common law, could not become a case in probate court. The assembly then passed a law allowing itself to choose the probate judges annually, which meant that local church bishops were tendered the position. And as in New Mexico the probate judge was given the power to locate polling places and to control elections. By creating the additional offices of territorial marshal and attorney general their establishment of a local court system was complete.⁴⁹

But Young had not finished. In his passionate dislike of lawyers, he persuaded the assembly to "let every man if he so chooses, be his own lawyer." Hence that body passed a law permitting any person of good moral character to be heard in the courts. Moreover, disputing parties were allowed to withdraw cases and settle out of court at any stage in the trial. Finally, by Utah law, a client did not have to pay for his lawyer, and the lawyer himself had to declare for or against the client at the beginning of the case.⁵⁰

When the assembly had finished there was little need for federal courts or lawyers in Utah. With homespun brilliance they had set out to defeat the federal courts and the very law that Buchanan had sent

⁴⁷ Judge Jacob S. Boreman has summarized these land, timber and water laws in a typescript: "Curiosities of Early Utah Legislation," Boreman Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, microfilm in Utah State Historical Society library.

⁴⁸ For various bills and acts, see Everett L. Cooley, comp., "Journals of the Legislative Assembly, Territory of Utah, Seventh Annual Session, 1857-58," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (1956), 107 ff., 237 ff., 339 ff.

⁴⁹ For an excellent summary of the role of probate judge in Utah see W. N. Davis, "Western Justice: The Court at Fort Bridger, Utah," *ibid.*, XXIII (1955), 99-125; see also Earl S. Pomeroy, *The Territories and the United States* (Philadelphia, 1947), 58-60.

⁵⁰ Dale Morgan, *et al.*, "The State of Deseret," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, VIII (April, July, October, 1950), 87; W. N. Davis, *ibid.*, XXIII (1955), 109n.

troops and new officials to secure. The Mormon, seeking justice in a court he could trust, set up a self-sufficient grass-roots system which worked until the 1870's and caused trouble until 1890. Such circumstances led federal judges to continue to insist that the Mormons were "lawless." Not until the passage of the Poland Act in 1874, by which Congress reduced the power of the probate judgeship, did this local court begin to shrink to its proper size.⁵¹ Unanimity in the assembly, local government, and everyday action characterized the Mormon pattern of political resistance, but it should be noted that in all of their actions they appealed to an old-fashioned Jeffersonian heritage of states' rights and to the Douglas doctrine of popular sovereignty as their reasons for opposing federal rule. The sincere employment of such sentiments by a society, which the nation saw as a theocracy, naturally rang hollow in the ears of Congress and the federal appointees.

While the assembly openly resisted federal rule, the Utah delegate followed quite a different course. The Mormons chose this officer without difficulty for the entire territorial period. The delegates were not typical saints, however, but usually the most prominent wealthy merchants or physicians in Utah. They were affable, urbane men of the world, widely traveled and conservative in their views and habits. They minimized the Mormon-federal differences in Washington, and willingly identified with a national party, although to their constituents their affiliations made not the slightest difference.⁵² Always in harmony with the assembly and the church authorities they tended to be judged upon their merits, and most were re-elected at least three terms.⁵³ Instead of a delegate in the territorial sense, Utah had a shrewd diplomatic minister who advocated a nineteenth-century policy of mutual coexistence by constantly persuading Congress either to leave Utah alone or to give her statehood.

As in New Mexico a new era began in Utah with the coming of the railroad. But all the predictions that steel rails would disintegrate Mormon society were overly optimistic: while Young helped build the railroad, he also provided a far-reaching economic program to counter

⁵¹ See D. R. Eckels to Lewis Cass, June 4, 1858; January 18, 1859; September 27, 1859, in Territorial Papers (Utah Letterbook), National Archives; see also Boreman, "Reminiscences," 80, for a typical view by the federal justices.

⁵² All the delegates were members of the Peoples' party of Utah, but in Washington four called themselves Democrats, one was a Whig, and two were Republicans. Pomeroy, *op. cit.*, 146.

⁵³ Three delegates: John M. Bernhisel, William H. Hooper, and John T. Caine, served a total of thirty-two years.

its effects. As Leonard Arrington has described in his excellent volume *Great Basin Kingdom*, Young, through Z.C.M.I., a local Mormon railroad system, home industries, and a revival of the Order of Enoch, held up the Americanization of Utah's economy for a quarter of a century, and thus prevented gentile political dominance by staving off gentile economic encroachment.⁵⁴ Those who call Brigham Young a Mormon John D. Rockefeller have failed to see that he had a preindustrial theory of economics and a mercantile mind which was not really in tune with the big business philosophies of the post Civil War era.

The third period of Utah's territorial history lasted from the passage of the Edmunds Law in 1882 to statehood in 1896. These were years in which the church was on the defensive and eventually experienced defeat of their own policies. While the most obvious and important agency of defeat was the effectiveness of congressional antipolygamy legislation, many other important forces must be considered which have been ignored for too long.

The first of these was the presence of General Patrick E. Connor in Utah. Ordered there in 1862 at the head of a column of California volunteer troops, his duty was to guard the Central Overland Trail to California. While he successfully wiped out marauding Indian bands, who threatened the route, he also considered it his duty to curb Mormon temporal power wherever possible. Trained in business, and familiar with frontier mining, he set out to discover rich mineral deposits in Utah which would attract enough non-Mormon miners to outnumber the saints. Connor was partially successful, and largely due to his encouragement, Utah experienced a mild mining boom in silver, lead, and copper extraction. By 1872 Connor could boast that there was a gentile city — Corinne — in which polygamy was outlawed by town ordinance, a second non-Mormon paper, *The Union Vedette*, and organized political opposition, the Liberal party, consisting of apostate Mormon merchants, soldiers and miners. When the saints tried to secure statehood in 1872, rather than antagonize Connor, they asked him to be a member of the constitutional convention. Connor remained in Utah after his army service ended to develop its resources further. To him, and not to the railroad must go the credit for the first attempt to Americanize the Utah economy.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Arrington, *op. cit.*, 257-92; 293-322; 323-41.

⁵⁵ See Connor in *DAB*; Bernice Gibbs Anderson, "The Gentile City of Corinne," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, IX (1941), 141-54; Stanley S. Ivins, "A Constitution for Utah," *ibid.*, XXV (1957), 98.

General Connor had an unwitting ally in his anti-Mormon crusade in Brigham Young himself, for from the time of the California gold rush, the latter had strenuously opposed Mormon participation in mining enterprises. So effective was his restraint that this lucrative frontier industry went by default to gentile promoters.⁵⁶ And just as Young's personal opposition was removed by his death, the Edmunds Law sent the would-be economic leaders of the Mormons into hiding or to prison. Indeed, the economic attrition of the Edmunds Law impoverished the church's own funds so completely that there was danger of bankruptcy in 1890.⁵⁷

A second defeat due in part to the heritage of Young's strong opinions came in this last period of territorial apprenticeship. His well-known strictures against lawyers — and actually against all professions — left his followers with a minimum of legally trained men at a time when business, political affairs, and persecution of the Mormons required an ingenious and highly skilled set of barristers. In the Mormon railroad and coal mining enterprises as in the court cases concerning polygamy, the amateur economic and legal methods proved no match against the eastern financier or railroad magnate and his legal assistants.⁵⁸ As in the case of Captain Daniel Shays' followers or in the Whiskey Rebellion, they might have justice on their side, but they were up against professionals. This weakness later came out in the Utah Constitutional Convention of 1895 when it developed that nearly all the debating, the clarification of issues, and the actual writing of the document was done by the more articulate non-Mormon lawyers who were actually a minority in the convention.⁵⁹

A final weakness in Young's and the Mormon program of resistance was — for want of a better term — his cultural stand. The deliberate policy of intellectual and psychological isolation of the Mormons and the control of news and the interpretation of outside events through the *Deseret News* and the ward meetings suggested a lack of freedom of press and of ideas which the national public would not brook. When

⁵⁶ William Turrentine Jackson, "The Infamous Emma Mine: A British Interest in the Little Cottonwood District, Utah Territory," *ibid.*, XXIII (1955), 339; Arrington estimates that in 1871 half the income of Utah's taxpayers came from mining: "Taxable Income in Utah," *ibid.*, XXIV (1956), 39, 45-47.

⁵⁷ Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 356-79; Frank H. Jonas and Garth N. Jones, "Utah Presidential Elections, 1896-1912," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (1956), 290.

⁵⁸ Leonard J. Arrington, "Utah's Coal Road in the Age of Unregulated Competition," *ibid.*, XXIII (1955), 35-63.

⁵⁹ Ivins, "A Constitution for Utah," *ibid.*, XXV (1957), 100, 113-16.

the first gentile paper appeared late in 1858 one of its constant aims was to break down this invisible "cordon insanaire" about the Mormon channels of communications with the world. Simultaneously Methodist and Presbyterian missionary groups—while they seem to have generated more heat than light—set out to convert and Americanize Mormon communities, convinced that free discussion would inevitably lead to the downfall of polygamy and the church's powers.⁶⁰

Closely connected to the idea of ending intellectual isolation was the public's and Congress's view that the church's continued strength lay in the perennial recruitment of naive and unlettered Scandinavian immigrants who by tradition lived in a noncommercial rural society and were passive politically. William Mulder in an excellent study of Scandinavian immigration to Utah has pointed out that customs officials tried to curb the flow of this presumably undesirable alien both by stricter rules and congressional legislation.⁶¹ This policy coincided with a rising national hostility to all immigrants, thus doubling its own popularity. Before backers of this policy could muster the necessary legislation, however, improved conditions in Norway and Denmark ended the flow of immigrants, which in turn weakened one of the church's strongholds—the immigrant unfamiliar and distrustful of any American ways except those approved by the church.

Young's greatest mistake in terms of cultural resistance, however, was his attack of a basic tenet of the Ordinance of 1787: the belief in education and free schools. On every occasion he denounced them, using arguments remarkably similar to those of Archbishop Salpointe of New Mexico when he defended parochial schools. With the *Deseret News*, Young reasoned that "schools supported by general taxes cannot be conducted on a religious basis," and therefore must be prohibited. In a Salt Lake referendum on schools in 1873 the proposal to introduce public schools was defeated by a four to one vote.⁶²

Such a stand was very vulnerable to attack. Anti-Mormons claimed that Young and the church were keeping their followers in ignorance,

⁶⁰ William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1957), 276–81, 298–302; William Mulder and A. R. Mortensen, *Among the Mormons* (New York, 1958), 408–9.

⁶¹ Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 295–97. President Cleveland, while refusing to sign the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, did call upon Congress to "prevent the importation of Mormons into the country." *Ibid.*, 290. See also Mulder, "Utah's Ugly Duckling: A Profile of the Scandinavian Immigrant," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXIII (1955), 233–60.

⁶² Archbishop J. B. Salpointe, "Church and School" in the Rio Grande *Republican*, September 7, 1889, in which he asserted that nonsectarian education was "in reality either sectarian, non-religious, godless, or agnostic." See also Stanley S. Ivins, "Free Schools Come to Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXII (1954), 321–23, 336, 341–42.

for they knew that with the coming of education polygamy would fall. By 1890 the deleterious effects of such a position were obvious to the most conservative saint, and a school system, backed by the Liberal party and progressive Mormons, was established by the assembly that year. The results were dramatic: in 1889 private school attendance had accounted for only 36 per cent of the eligible children in the territory; in 1891 the percentage of attendance at private and public schools was 59 per cent. As one writer put it, this was the first, in fact, of "a long series of concessions to the world."⁶³

The Mormon stronghold would not have succumbed to Americanizing forces purely on the basis of its educational, legal, and religious weaknesses, however, or because of General Connor's economic encroachments. To these forces must be added an unusual set of Vermont and mid-Western congressmen and senators, all of whom had been Radical Republicans and believers in the supremacy of the Congress. To a man, this group never seems to have forgotten the 1856 Republican campaign cry that the "twin relics of barbarism"—slavery and polygamy—must be abolished. While they were a little late in accomplishing the latter, it had never left their minds as a goal to be achieved. There is every evidence that they did not play with the polygamy issue just for political reasons. The first of these reformers was Justin Morrill, of Vermont, who had been an antislavery Whig as early as 1856. In 1862 as a member of the House of Representatives he pushed through an act against polygamy.⁶⁴ While it proved to be ineffective, Morrill's successor (another Vermonter) in the House, Luke Potter Poland, secured the so-called "Poland Act" which reduced the powers of the Utah probate courts, increased the powers of the United States marshal, and provided that juries must be half-Mormon and half-Gentile in Utah trials. Poland was one of the most respected juridical experts in the country, and his legal revisions, his investigations of the Ku Klux Klan, the Credit Mobilier, and corrupt government in reconstruction Arkansas, reveal the watchdog qualities he had as a senator and a congressman, so that it was natural for him to intervene in the Utah affairs.⁶⁵ Still a third Vermonter, Senator George Franklin Edmunds, had entered the Senate as a Radical Republican in time to cast the necessary vote for passage of the Civil Rights Bill, to push through the Tenure of Office Act,

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 342.

⁶⁴ H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 606-7; see also Morrill in *DAB*.

⁶⁵ See Poland in *DAB*; see also Davis, "Western Justice," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXIII (1955), 107; and Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 683.

and to serve on the committee which tried President Johnson for impeachment. From 1872 to 1891, he served as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and in that capacity was probably the true father of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. Edmunds was also a vigorous supporter of any reform measure which curbed railroad abuses and advanced the civil service system. Given his radical heritage and his conviction that polygamy was somehow a form of tyranny, it was fitting that the law outlawing this institution should bear his name.⁶⁶

To these New Englanders one must add a set of mid-Western Republicans of similar beliefs, of whom Senator Shelby M. Cullom, of Illinois, was the foremost. The son of Kentucky parents who had moved to Illinois because of their antislavery convictions, Cullom was a violent believer in the power of the federal government to do anything in the name of justice, an attitude which was apparent in his many efforts to curb railroad abuses and in his authorship of the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. Cullom had first become interested in Utah when he was serving in the House of Representatives in 1869, and during 1869-70 tried to push through an antipolygamy bill. At that time he was in close correspondence with his friend J. W. Shaffer, of Illinois, who was currently serving as governor of Utah.⁶⁷ While Cullom's bill was never passed, some fourteen years later he succeeded in securing the chief justiceship of Utah for his law partner, Charles Shuster Zane, of Illinois (who had once been Hearndon's law partner). Zane not only enforced the Edmunds and Edmunds-Tucker Act, but to him must go some credit for persuading the Mormons to issue their famous "Manifesto of 1890" in which the saints formally renounced the practice of polygamy.⁶⁸

His associate on the Utah federal bench for most of the antipolygamy period was Jacob S. Boreman, another reforming mid-Westerner who came from a family which had, by its antislavery leadership, helped found the state of West Virginia in 1861. Much sterner in his views than Zane, Boreman stood for the supremacy of the law in the same manner that Edmunds, Cullom, and Poland did.⁶⁹ The so-called "Amer-

⁶⁶ See Edmunds in *DAB*; also Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 683.

⁶⁷ See Cullom in *DAB*; J. W. Shaffer to S.M. Cullom, Great Salt Lake City, April 27, 1870, Territorial Papers (Utah Letterbook), National Archives; Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 657-58.

⁶⁸ See Zane in *DAB*.

⁶⁹ See Boreman, "Reminiscences" in the Boreman Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, microfilm copy Utah State Historical Society library, and also his obituary in the *Ogden Standard*, October 10, 1913, the *Salt Lake City Herald-Republican*, October 8, 1913, and the *Salt Lake City Tribune*, October 8, 1913.

icanization" of Utah came about then, when an able set of constitutional lawyers and jurists with an almost identical antislavery, Radical Republican past moved in to fulfill the old campaign pledge of 1856. Like New Mexico, under Governor Ross, Utah experienced the strong hand of a national political reform movement which had produced the Pendleton Act, the Dawes Act, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Sherman Act. These postwar abolitionists, undoubtedly a "contemptible minority" in the eyes of the saints, had accomplished what the territorial system and the railroads alone could not do: they Americanized Utah's political and social institutions.

Perhaps even more significant than the laws these ex-radicals passed, was their manner of reforming Utah. The techniques used by them and by Congress bore a striking resemblance to the acts passed to reconstruct the South between 1864 and 1877. Trained to believe that Congress was supreme in the territories, they at first merely passed laws forbidding polygamy. When these failed, they resorted to disfranchisement of the polygamist (just as the rebel leaders had been). This failing, too, Congress created the Utah Commission and gave the governor extraordinary appointive powers in somewhat the same way military commanders or carpetbag governors of Southern states were given powers. Still the Mormon resistance continued; so the radicals in the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 resorted to another Reconstruction device, economic attrition through the confiscation of the estates of leading rebels. In Utah's case it was the attachment of the church's property as a corporation until obedience to federal law was achieved.

Professor Frank Jonas has remarked that with President Woodruff's "Manifesto of 1890" the Mormons abandoned more than polygamy. They gave up, he argues, the political and economic leadership of Utah as well.⁷⁰ But just as the Supreme Court's dissolution of the Standard Oil Trust in 1911 did not actually break the vast Rockefeller empire into a set of warring fragments, so by habit and custom the Mormons continued to follow church policy in politics. The church, true to its pledge, however, urged its people to divide themselves between the two parties, and went about "Americanizing" their members as logically and as deliberately as they had resisted. By 1900 a real two-party system had developed, and what Professor Jonas calls "Sagebrush Democracy" with many warring factions was in operation then as now.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Frank Herman Jonas, "Utah: Sagebrush Democracy," in T. C. Donnelly (ed.), *Rocky Mountain Politics* (Albuquerque, 1940), 14.

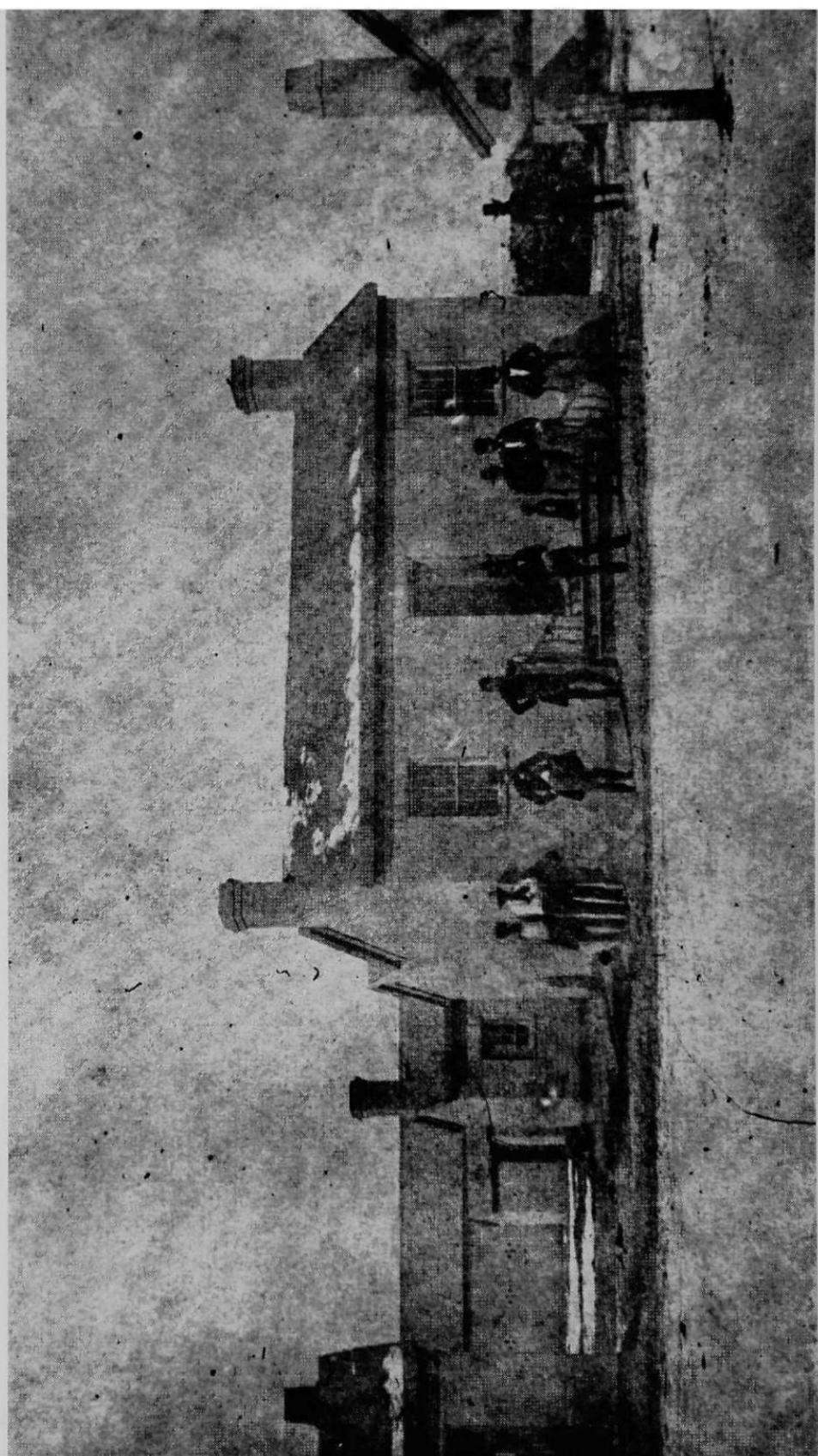
⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 10-38; Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 298.

If one might make a general observation about the political histories of Utah and New Mexico territories, it is that these areas kept alive in peculiar ways a curious mixture of the old American colonial dream of home rule, of the Jeffersonian theory of states' rights, and of popular sovereignty long after these doctrines were repudiated in 1865.

A study of these territories further suggests that frontiers upon reaching a certain level of maturity have a conservative desire to keep things as they are, so that a plea for "home rule" is not necessarily to be considered a sign of local democracy. In their honest resistance to becoming part and parcel of the United States with all that this implied politically, institutionally, and culturally, Utah with its theocracy and New Mexico with its ring and Spanish-American traditionalists were conservative rather than avant-garde. The present school of colonial historians who find in the American Revolution a conservative struggle of the colonists to keep what they already had seems applicable in many ways to the various political movements in New Mexico and Utah, and at times Dakota Territory.⁷²

Each of these states, interestingly enough, wrote extremely conservative constitutions, so much so in the case of New Mexico that President Taft—a gentleman not noted for his liberal tendencies—demanded that the amending clause be made less difficult before he would admit it as a state. One of the wisest of federal policies dealing with post-Civil War territories then, was—regardless of the daily malfunction of the old territorial system of 1787—to refuse home rule until there were true signs of democracy. In this sense the policy of nonadmission, while painful to the West, resulted in success.

⁷² As an example of this "preserve what you have" theory of the Revolution see Edmund Morgan, *The Birth of the Republic, 1763-89* (Chicago, 1956).



Buildings at Camp Floyd shown on opposite page were constructed by the men of Johnston's Army. At the time the post was abandoned, orders were given to "dispose of public property in a manner best suited to the interests of the government."

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

Edited by Robert E. Stowers and John M. Ellis

*(Conclusion) **

[No entries made in diary from December 25, 1858, to July 4, 1859]

July 4th 1859 The only celebration we had to day was a grand review by Genl. Johnston, a National Salute and a gill of whiskey to each man. Since I last posted, there has been considerable improvement in the appearance of our city. Many families have settled in the town and many new houses have been erected, so I suppose there must be fully six thousand inhabitants. The Front Street of Fairfield has the appearance of a California mining town in the palmy days of '50, the front street being lined with Drinking and Gambling Saloons, two more theatres have been erected and do a smashing business, I suppose.¹ The Paymaster got back from California and was only able to pay for six months,

* The first installment of the diary of a soldier of the Utah Expedition under General Albert Sidney Johnston appeared in the April, 1960, issue of the *Quarterly* and covered the period of his activities from New York to the establishment of Camp Floyd.

¹ For a good description of Camp Floyd during this period see Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict 1850-1859* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1960), 205 ff.

though there is ten months pay due. The following is a copy of an order I received last month.

Head Quarters

Camp Floyd, U. T. June 24th, 1859

Special Orders

No. 173

Extract

IV Pursuant to Special Orders No. 50 of the 23^d Inst. from the Hd. Qrs. of the Dept. of Utah, Bugler *John Feary* of Co. "H" 4th Arty and Private *Charles A Scott* of Light Co. "I" 1st Arty will rejoin their Companies in the Department of the West, the former at Fort Laramie, the latter at Fort Leavenworth, they are temporarily attached to Co. "A" 2^d Dragoons for this purpose

By order of Bvt. Col. C F Smith²

(Signed) Clarence E Bennett

2^d Lieut & Adj. 10th Infy

Post Adjutant

The same evening Feary and myself waited on Genl. Johnston, and the next day, the order was rescinded, and my application for a transfer to Lt. Co. "B" 4th Arty, Granted

August 14th An Express came into Camp last Wednesday evening with the news that Sergt. Pike and three soldiers of I Co., 10th Infy, had been mortally wounded by Mormon mob in Salt Lake City, which created a great excitement. On Thursday all the Extra Duty men were called in from the woods, the Dragoons all ground up their sabres and ordered to hold themselves in readiness to start at a moment's notice, as also our Battery and ten companies of Infantry, but when the true account came by the stage of excitement subsided. The facts of the case are these. Last winter a man named Howard Spencer had some mules grazing on the Government Reserve in Rush Valley. Pike

² Charles F. Smith served in Texas in 1845, and the Mexican War at Palo Alto, Monterey, Vera Cruz, and Mexico City. In 1856 he took part in the Red River expedition. It is interesting that Smith was in command of the advance of the Union Army to Shiloh, and had he not been injured before the battle he would have opposed Albert Sidney Johnston. George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy* (7 vols., New York, 1891), I, 353. Clarence E. Bennett graduated from West Point in 1855. He resigned in 1860, and served with the First California Cavalry Volunteers during the Civil War, *ibid.*, II, 628.

was ordered to put him off. Spencer resisted with a pitchfork. Pike struck him over the head with his rifle and fractured his skull. Spencer brought suit against Pike for assault with intent to kill. Pike was in the city to stand his trial, and was coming from the Court House. Spencer stepped out of a crowd and made the remark "You are the man that struck me." and before Pike had time to turn around shot him through the breast and walked off unmolested, though there was a hundred persons present, including policemen.³

August 21st Pike was buried here last Monday, the whole command attending the funeral. In revenge for his death, a party went up to Cedar Fort and set fire to a hay stack, and when the Mormons came to put it out they were fired on, and had to leave. Nobody was injured. It is reported that the Bishop came here and wanted Genl. Johnston to send troops there, but the General told him that according to recent decision he had no authority to send troops into a settlement without a requisition from the Governor, that one of his men was murdered through want of the same protection, and then referred him to Col. Smith, where he met no better luck. A Mormon Store in Fairfield was set fire to but was soon extinguished, though the Mormon lost nearly all his goods by plunder. In consequence thereof, no enlisted man is allowed in Fairfield after retreat.⁴

Company "G" 2^d Dragoons had a fight with about 200 Shoshonie Indians on Box Elder Creek, the Dragoons lost one killed and six wounded, they killed twenty and took about the same number prisoners, four of whom it is reported are Mormons who were disguised as Indians

[No entries made in diary between August 21 and October 12]

October 12th I omitted to copy in this, my diary of a trip we made to Provo last March, so I shall insert it here—

March 21st Pursuant to orders issued on the 19th seven companies of Infantry, one of Dragoons and the Left-section of our Battery, the whole under the command of Brevet Major Paul⁵ left Camp Floyd this

³ For another account, see T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1904), 419.

⁴ Twenty-nine years later, in August, 1888, Howard O. Spencer was arrested and charged with the murder of Sergeant Pike, with George Stringham as an accomplice. A jury found Spencer not guilty because of temporary insanity, and the case against Stringham was dismissed.

⁵ Gabriel R. Paul, a Missourian, and West Point graduate of 1834, served in the Mexican War and the Rio Grande expedition of 1852. He was blinded by a wound at

morning to take up a position near Provo. various rumors are afloat as to the object of the movement, and great excitement exists in camp. the true object, I suppose is to protect Judge Cradlebaugh's⁶ Court, in case any attempt is made to break it up. Left Camp at 9 o'clock and camped in Lehi Distance 18 miles I do not know if Lehi is celebrated for anything in particular, unless it is for the pretty faces of some of the women we saw while passing through. the population numbers from a thousand to fifteen, an unusual proportion is women and children one of the results of polygamy, I suppose, most of the women seemed to be enciente

March 22d Started at seven, went 7 miles and through American Fork, kept on 4 miles and passed through Pleasant Grove on Battle Creek, took an oblique direction and Camped at the mouth of Timpanogas Cañon the last five miles was off the road, the ground soft and miry the horses sinking above the fetlocks at every step and the wheels half way to the hubs and this in the midst of a severe snow storm, but we got through without getting stuck— American Fork and Pleasant Grove are about the same size as Lehi the only difference I noticed was that the women were not so pretty and neat,— Our present location is the site of a future Metropolis to be dignified with the uncommon name of Brown City, after its illustrious projector. no doubt it presents an imposing appearance on paper, with its long wide streets intersecting each other at right angles, its City Hall, Court House and other Public Edifices, all marked in correct position, in black and white but alas, for those who have bought town-lots and desire to see the place prosper, for it at present contains only a Log house and a board Shanty⁷

March 23d Laying by fired an Evening gun at Retreat

the Battle of Gettysburg and retired with the rank of brigadier general in 1865. Cullum, *op. cit.*, I, 575.

⁶ John Cradlebaugh, associate justice, had requested the troops to protect witnesses and guard the prisoners, as there was no jail in Provo. Later, he went to the Carson Valley, where he entered Nevada politics. John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled* (St. Louis, 1891), 258; Dale L. Morgan, *The Great Salt Lake* (New York, 1947), 271; Stenhouse, *op. cit.*, 403–6.

⁷ Captain John W. Phelps, of the artillery battery to which Scott was attached, wrote on December 9, 1858, that an organization of non-Mormons had been formed for the purpose of building a city at the mouth of Provo Canyon. The project apparently did not get far beyond the planning stage. The original unpublished letters of Captain Phelps are in the New York Public Library and typescript copies are in the Utah State Historical Society library. See also portions of his diary in LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen (eds.), *The Utah Expedition* (Glendale, 1958).

March 24th Laying by fired a Gun at Revelie had target practice at 3 oclock, the first four shots spherical case put 8 bullets in the target the 5th was a round shot and went over, the 6th and last a spherical case exploded in the Howitzer making a big hole in the bore. Though there was not as many balls in the target as last years practice yet the direction was equally as good – and would no doubt have done great destruction to an enemy

March 26th Moved Camp two miles nearer Provo

March 27th Cold and blustering weather, in the evening the Dragoons received orders to hold themselves in readiness to start at a moments notice. Orders were published not to allow enlisted men, outside the limits of the Camp, Officers to see that each company is in readiness for service at any time, night or day

March 28th Laying by weather cold and stormy

March 29th The Dragoons left about one oclock this morning their Sabres were strapped to their saddles to keep from jingling. it is said their object is to arrest the Bishops of Springville and Lehi and two or three other dignitaries of the Church, who are implicated in some murders, and are concealed in a place called Hobble Creek Cañon about fifteen miles from here; The weather still cold and disagreeable. The Dragoons returned at three oclock, they surrounded and searched Springville, they found Bishop Johnson's thirteen Wives at home, but as they were only looking for the husband they started up the Cañon, but were unable to proceed more than four miles on account of the snow being so deep–

March 30th Governor Cumming has issued a proclamation protesting against the presence of troops in Provo and here⁸ Weather continues cold and stormy

March 31st We were to have a grand review and a sham-battle, on the Table land adjoining the Camp but when it came our turn to go up the hill, we found it too steep to pull the pieces up, so we had to make a circuit of four miles to get a hundred yards from Camp, when we arrived on the ground the Infantry and Dragoons had been dismissed, so all we had to do, was to get down the hill into Camp. Weather a little milder.

⁸ Offended by General Johnston's refusal to withdraw the troops, Governor Cumming appealed to Washington, where his order was upheld. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints*, 403–6.



This photo of the "Taylor Block" in Provo represents about "all there was of Provo" even as late as 1870.

April 2d Thirty Dragoons left for Provo this morning- Weather cold

April 3d The Dragoons got back at tattoo last night from the same errand they were on before, they went farther up the Cañon but were unsuccessful in their object

April 4th Struck tents and bid farewell to Camp Tympanogas at eight o'clock. March down to Provo showed ourselves to the Ladies, took charge of four Mormon prisoners and started for Camp Floyd.⁹ Provo extends over a large space of ground but the houses are very much scattered, there is no building in it worth looking at, and the only thing remarkable, is a large mud hole as you enter the town, a fashionable place of resort for all the gentlemen swine in the neighborhood- passed through Pleasant Grove and American Fork and Camped at Lehi Distance 24 miles

⁹ A. F. McDonald, Hamilton H. Kems, Abram Durfee and Joseph Bartholomew had been arrested in connection with the killing of three men at Springville, on the night of March 14, 1857. They were held at Camp Floyd for three months and then released.

April 5th Started at nine and arrived in Camp Floyd at two o'clock and so ends our expedition

[During 1860 Scott was a member of a detachment which escorted emigrant trains across Nevada, and the entries for this period are not included. Editors]

February 14th 1861 The name of Camp Floyd is no more it was changed by order of Col Cooke to Fort Crittenden, on account of the late Secretary of Wars honorable transactions in the Indian bonds

[No entries in diary from Feb. 14 to July 24]

July 24th 1861 About ten days ago a Special Order from the War Department reached here, directing Col Cooke to march with the ten companies under his command to Fort Leavenworth and to dispose of the public property in a manner, best suited to the interests of the Government— in compliance therewith all the Quartermaster and Commissary property not required, has been sold for little or nothing. Bacon and Flour brought 50 cents a hundred all the public buildings and stables in Camp, did not bring more than \$500 The Ordinance Stores with the exception of Horse equipments and what is reserved for transportation has been and is being destroyed, as soon as they get through destroying I presume we will take up the line of March

There was burnt over two thousand stand of Rifle Muskets which the Mormons were anxious to purchase at six dollars apiece, I presume there will be over a million dollars worth of property destroyed, but better destroyed than ever to be used against the Government

The Mormons seem wrathly at the munitions being destroyed and make threats that we will never reach Fort Leavenworth, there is certainly a crowd of desperadoes in this vicinity at present, headed by the notorious Porter Rockwell, Owing to threats being made to burn the Corral, a large Guard was placed over it last night with strict orders— The first Bull-train loaded with Ordnance started yesterday with Company "E" 10th Infantry as escort

July 27th Pursuant to orders published on the 25th, we bid farewell to Fort Crittenden this morning at nine o'clock Camped on the Jordan near the Lake at half past two. Distance 16 miles Telegraph poles from the City to our late Camp nearly all up

July 28th Started at six, at Lehi the Battery wagon broke down which delayed our Squad over an hour— passed through American

Fork and Pleasant Grove and Camped at the mouth of Timpanogas Cañon at half past two. Distance by Odometer¹⁰ measurement 16 89/100 miles or 5808 revolutions

July 29th Started at six Road through Timpanogas Cañon and a much better one than I expected to find, scenery grand and impressive Camped on Round Prairie Timpanogas River. Distance 17 miles plenty of grass and willow bushes for fuel

July 30th Left Camp at half past five, passed through Heber City. Road good with the exception of mud holes and one long hill to pull up. Camped on Silver Creek at one

July 31st Left Camp at six Road down Silver Creek through a narrow Cañon to the Weber River down the river about 7 miles and Camped

August 1st Left Camp at six met several parties of Emigrants mostly from Missoura Camped in Echo Cañon Distance 18 33/100 plenty of grass & wood, water sulphery. The Road from Fort Crittenden to Echo Cañon is an excellent one and very well adapted for a Railroad considering everything

August 2d Left Camp at six Camped on Bear River at one

August 3d Left Camp at six. took a new road to the right and avoided the big mountain of the dividing ridge of the Wasatch Range the road will be good after it is traveled over. Camped on the Muddy.

August 4th Left the Muddy at six and arrived at Fort Bridger at eleven. Fort Bridger has improved so much in appearance that I could scarcely recognize it, it looks more like a village than a military post

August 5th Laying by. It is rumored in Camp that Dudley was attacked in Echo Cañon by Bill Hickman's¹¹ Gang and two of his men killed. A party of twelve Dragoons under Lieut Sanders¹² have just left Camp to meet him It is also said that Joe Kerrigan and his party, who left Fort Crittenden for Carson City the same day we left, have been massacred

¹⁰ An instrument that when attached to a wheel will register the number of revolutions, which can later be computed into mileage. See Everett Dick, *Vanguards of the Frontier* (New York, 1941), 217.

¹¹ See William A. Hickman, *Brigham's Destroying Angel* (New York, 1872).

¹² William P. Sanders graduated from West Point in 1856 and served in California prior to the Utah Expedition. He rose to brigadier general during the Civil War and was mortally wounded at the Battle of Campbell's Station in 1863. Cullum, *op. cit.*, II, 668.

August 7th The Bull-train arrived to day. Dudleys command exchanged shots at long distance with a party of Indians, or Mormons disguised as such, in Echo Cañon no damage was done, it was their evident intention to attack the train, as they thought Dudley had come ahead

August 8th Laying by

August 9th Left Bridger at eight Companies "B," "E," "G," & "I," 10th Infantry Co. "A" & "C" 4th Arty consolidated in one Battalion and forms the advance; our Battery next and Companies "B" "E" & "H" 2^d Dragoons next one company to form the rear-guard Road level. Camped on Blacks Fork. Distance 17 miles wood & grass scarce

Aug 10th Left camp at six Road first rate Camped on Blacks Fork below the junction of Hams wood & grass scarce Caught about 3 bushel of fish with a seine

Aug 11th Left Camp at six Road very good Camped on Green River little grass plenty of wood- Two Dragoons deserted last night and took two of our horses.

Aug 12th Left Camp at six and forded the river and had a steep pull up the hill from the top of which the scene was quite animated, the long train of white covered wagons crossing with the mules up to their bellies in the water the Teamsters hallooing and whooping, the distant lands showing all the windings of the river for many miles, the green grass and tall trees, made a very pretty view- Nicolai took a sketch of it- Road very good Camped on the Sandy Grass & fuel very scarce-

August 15th Left Pacific Springs at six Road a little up hill to the summit of the South Pass on the whole very good Camped on the Sweetwater about four miles below the Mail Station- a first rate Camp

August 16th Left Camp at six, Road very hilly over the Rocky-ridge Camped on the Sweetwater.

August 18th Laid over Went a hunting traveled about 12 miles over the hills, saw an Antelope at a long distance; prospected for gold in a ravine, found a rabbit and killed him, considering that we had established our reputation as hunters of the Rocky Mountains I got De Lacy to help me home with the rabbit

August 20th Started at six Road sandy & muddy Day rainy and disagreeable Camped near the Sweetwater about a mile west of the Devil's Gate. Distance 7427 = 20 99/100 miles & 261 rev plenty of grass,

wood about a mile off Paid a visit to the Gate climbed to the highest rock, leaned over and looked into the Chasm, which seemed to be a thousand feet deep. attempted to descend in steep place, but had to turn back, tried another place, found the undertaking difficult and hazardous, but succeeded in safely reaching the bed of river well satisfied with the risk [I] had run.

August 21st Started at six Weather cold rainy Good road in dry weather. Met two large trains of Saints bound for the "Holy Land" Camped on Fish Creek, stream of water.

August 22d Started at six, Road good. Met another large train of Saints. Camped at Red Bluff's grass not very good, plenty of wood.

August 24th Started $\frac{1}{2}$ past six Road down the river & very good Camped in a Grove on the Platte Distance 15 $\frac{54}{100}$ miles & 130 rev, plenty of wood and grass- hauled seine in the afternoon and caught six gunny-sacks of fish. Telegraph completed to Deer Creek this evening.

August 27th [Left] At $\frac{1}{2}$ past six Road along the river, crossed to the south side at 7 miles, an excellent road. Camped on the Platte about four miles below Horse shoe creek, Distance 24 $\frac{57}{100}$ miles A good Camp, plenty of everything required

August 29th [Left] at $\frac{3}{4}$ past six, Road tolerable Camped on Laramie River two miles above the Fort. Distance 10 miles Very good Camp Distance from Fort Bridger is 405 $\frac{32}{100}$ miles or 143,474 revolutions

August 31st Laying by After muster paid a visit to the Fort, it looks nearly the same as it did four years ago with the exception of more buildings, it is garrisoned by Companies "D" & "F" 2^d Dragoons and "D" & "K" 10th Infy Col Alexander 10th Infy. is the Commandant.-

September 2d Resumed the march at seven, in passing through Laramie Old Alec had the 10th Infy Band playing at the head of our Infantry- Road sandy at first and afterwards hard & level. Camped on the Platte. plenty of grass but a half mile to wood & water

September 3d Shortly after taps last night, a most terrific thunder-storm came up, the clouds seeming to be very near the earth, the water coming down in sheets, so that the whole camp was flooded and everybody got ringing wet, there was several loud claps of thunder & flashes of lightning that seemed to keep the heavens in a continual flame. The

Lightning struck one of the Sibley-tents of "E" Co. of the Dragoons shattering the pole to splinters, and killing a man *Carey*, besides seriously injuring seven others who were sleeping in the tent, the lightning also killed a horse belonging to the Dragoon Band and a Cow, besides striking a horse in the mouth. After burying the Dragoon at 7 o'clock we left Camp at eight Road muddy and in some places very sandy for 10 miles then level. Camped on the Platte plenty of grass, crossed to the islands in the river for wood

September 4th Started at $\frac{1}{2}$ past six. Road first rate Camped on the Platte 8 miles below Scott's bluffs

September 10th Started at $\frac{1}{2}$ past six No road for 12 miles, the old Col found a good ford and we crossed to the south side of the River. Camped on the South Platte, Distance 7800 = $22 \frac{04}{100}$ or 21 miles & 282 rev plenty of grass some Buffalo chips for fuel

September 11th Started at $\frac{1}{2}$ past six. Road first rate. Camped on South Platte. plenty of grass Buffalo chips for fuel. Col. Cooke left in the Mail last night for Leavenworth



Soldiers of Johnston's Army gathering wood. Note the Stars and Stripes attached to the bayonet of the man on the wagon and the absence of horses.

September 14th Started at $\frac{1}{4}$ to seven Road good. Camped at Fremont's Slough on the Platte Bottom. Distance 7606 = 21 $\frac{49}{100}$ miles or 21 & 88 rev plenty of grass and buffalo chips Whiskey caused three Dragoons to set themselves up as targets for each other, yesterday afternoon, and the consequence was, that one named *Tague* was shot through the neck and killed, one named *White* through the thigh, and the man that done the most shooting (*Collins*) was shot in the arm. One of our horses was found wounded in the thigh, most probably from a stray shot, we had to leave him behind.

September 17th At $\frac{1}{2}$ past six. Road good. Camped on Plum Creek, plenty of grass, some wood on the river — saw and killed our first Buffalo to day.

September 19th Started at $\frac{1}{2}$ past six. Road good, passed through Kearny City and camped on a Slough near Fort Kearny. Distance 4280 = 12 $\frac{09}{100}$ miles or 11 miles & 342 rev Distance from Laramie to Kearny 127856 = 361 $\frac{37}{100}$ miles or 357 miles & 100 revolutions Distance from Fort Bridger to Kearny 271330 = 766 $\frac{21}{100}$ miles Distance 328723 = 929 $\frac{21}{100}$ miles from Fort Crittenden

September 21st Left Fort Kearny at $\frac{1}{2}$ past seven. Road good Camped on the Platte for the last time. plenty of grass fuel scarce

September 24th At seven Road a little heavy. Camped on the Little Blue plenty of wood and grass

September 26th At seven. Road muddy. Weather cold & windy Camped on Big Sandy plenty of grass & wood 1st Camp in Kansas

September 29th At seven Road very heavy. hard pulling for weak horses, several give out, one abandoned. passed through Marysville on the Big Blue. Camped on Spring Creek. plenty of wood, water & grass. Daniels deserted last night.

Oct 2 At seven. Road in a little better condition. Weather clearing up Camped at the Prairie Holes. plenty of grass, wood scarce, poor water. Passed through the Village of Senaca on the Nemaha

Oct 3 Rained all night. Started at seven. Road very muddy. Passed through the Village of Granada. Camped on Walnut Creek in the Kickapoo Reserve, Distance 18 miles & 141 rev. plenty of wood, water & grass

October 6th At a $\frac{1}{4}$ to seven. Road pretty good though very crooked. The only real clear day since we left Kearny. Camped at Fort Leavenworth.

Distance from Kearny 98839 = 279 84/100 miles

“ “ Laramie 226695 = 641 31/100 “

“ “ Bridger 370.169 = 1046 84/100 “

“ “ Crittenden 427562 = 1207 6/100 “

Fort Leavenworth October 7th 1861 At noon to day we hauled the battery down to the Steamboat “A Majors” and took up our quarters on the boat, but for some reason there is no preparation for a start.

Oct 8th passed a miserable night, our bedding all packed up, and it was too cold to sleep The Infantry came aboard. the Dragoons and our drivers started for Iatan by land. The Boat started about one and reached Iatan about three, disembarked and commenced loading the Cars with the Horses, Battery Camp-Equipage &c Most of the men drunk so that nearly all the work has to be performed by the sober ones Distance 20 miles

Oct 9 Got through about three oclock this morning, pretty well worn out with fatigue. at daybreak we found ourselves in St. Joseph from some cause. Laid by during the day, it is said that we are waiting until the bridge is completed, that was destroyed a few weeks ago by the rebels. the Infantry left during the evening for the bridge Distance 30 miles

Oct 10th Unloaded the battery and parked it, no sign of a start.

Oct 11th The St. Jo paper states that we start for Washington today Left St. Jo at two and took the road from Easton where we arrived after dark

Oct 12th Got the battery & horses aboard the Cars and left Easton about noon. when near Breckenridge six or seven shots were fired into the cars by some cowardly rebels in the grass- passed through Chilli-cothe, Brookfield, Hudson & Palmyra. arrived at West Quincy at

Oct 13 4 a.m. Distance 200 miles crossed the Mississippa on the Ferry boat to Quincy. Col Cooke assumed command to day. laid over till dark when the trains started

Oct 14th Traveled all night passed through Aurora and several other towns that I do not know the name of all along the route, the greatest enthusiasm prevailed, men cheering and pretty women waving their handkerchiefs at us. Arrived in Chicago at three p.m. Distance 225 miles changed cars and left Chicago at 9½ p.m.

Oct 15th Traveled all night. breakfasted at Fort Wayne Ind. Quite a large town. Arrived at Crestline Ohio at dark, got supper watered & fed the horses and started again at 9½ pm

Oct 16th Reached Pittsburgh at 10 A.M. in passing a large factory about five or six hundred Girls appeared at the windows waving their handkerchiefs, the cheering that arose on our part, was quite deafening, even myself became quite hoarse. Distance 489 miles Laid by during the day and started again at dark

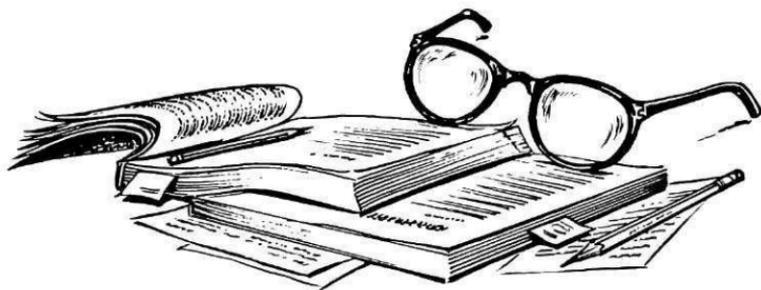
Oct 18th Got a chance to lay down at half past two this morning in my wet clothes, it having rained all night was up again at crack of day to feed horses. Got aboard the cars at noon and started, passed through York at sun down

Oct 19th Reached Baltimore at 2½ A.M. found some old friends, but most of my old Comrades have joined the Confederate Army. Started again about noon and reached Washington about 4 p.m. Distance 124 miles Stopped in a building called the Soldiers Rest

Oct 20 Went out to the Artillery Instruction Camp and Camped. 24 Light Batteries in the Camp

Oct 21st Laying by, awaiting an outfit.

Oct 22d “ “ “ “ “



REVIEWS AND RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Handcarts to Zion. The History of a Unique Western Migration, 1856-1860, with Contemporary Journals, Accounts, Reports; and Rosters of the Members of the Handcart Companies. By LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen. Volume XIV *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series 1820-1875.* (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1960, 328 pp., \$4.95)

To the relatively fragmentary historical writings about the Mormon handcart pioneers of 1856-1860 has now been added an orderly compilation and organization of the more important data, contemporary testimony, and plain journals previously published. The authors, Dr. LeRoy R. Hafen and his wife Ann W. Hafen, of Provo, add this volume to their series of studies of the Far West and the Rockies. A personal love for the subject is revealed in the dedication to "our mother," Mary Ann Hafen, who as a child of six years trailed a handcart to Utah in 1860.

The half million descendants of the three thousand handcart pioneers particularly will find a storehouse of information in the book's 313 pages of text. They contain background explanation of the vast numbers of European converts of the 1850's, the operation of the Perpetual Emigration Fund of the church which aided the worthy poor to travel to Utah, the particular hardships of 1855 in Utah occasioned by drought and grasshoppers which drained the fund and necessitated a cheaper method of transportation than wagons and teams, the details of trans-

portation by boat to New York or Boston, by train to Iowa City, and by handcart for the remaining 1300 miles.

The appendix includes the roster and ages of the members of each company, and this reviewer observed a rather curious fact in studying the names of the Fourth Company which included his own grandmother, Susannah Stone, a single girl of twenty-six. Of the four hundred who left Florence, Nebraska, with that company, at least fifty-nine appeared to be single girls in their twenties.

Also included in the informative appendix, from which those interested in further research may profit, are songs of the "Gathering," such as "O, Ye Mountains High," printed in the *Millennial Star* for the inspiration of the saints preparing to leave Europe; songs of the handcarts; the simple, official journals kept by the first two companies; Mil- len Atwood's talk in the Tabernacle on November 16, 1856, after members of the Fourth Company, of which he was a captain, had been rescued from the Wyoming snows; revealing addresses by President Brigham Young made prior to and immediately after the rescues of the Fourth and Fifth companies; eyewitness accounts by members of rescue parties; and a report of President Franklin D. Richards, returning president of the European Mission, who, traveling in a light buggy, passed the handcart companies on the plains in 1856 and sounded the rescue warnings.

Further factual data is provided in a careful description of the construction of the handcarts, which contained little or no iron and accommodated five persons, and by analysis of the handcart company itself, which was divided into "hundreds" with a captain over each and with one tent for every twenty persons. In charge of each company was a returning European missionary.

President Brigham Young, who spoke out firmly and without apology for the mode of travel as being less cumbersome as well as more economical, pointed out that with reasonable good fortune twenty miles a day could be covered and would enable the travelers to make the journey in little more than sixty days. He instructed each saint to carry nothing more than adequate bedding and one change of clothing. Each company was accompanied by a small number of wagons carrying heavier primary supplies, and milk cows and beef cattle were trailed along. Rations consisted of one pound of flour per day per person as long as there was sufficient, plus rice and dried apples. Additional food, such as buffalo meat, was acquired along the way.

The sufferings of the Fourth and Fifth companies in the October snows along the Sweetwater; the illnesses, deaths, and frostbite are vividly reported. More than one-sixth of the handcart pioneers who left Florence with the Fourth and Fifth companies perished on the journey. Analysis is made of the late starts of those companies, without pointing a finger of blame.

The Hafen's have written an absorbing book and have done a great service. It would be this reviewer's hope that unofficial journals which must have been kept by many pioneers themselves will be rescued from the dust of attics and basements and made available in years to come to add to present meager sources of information.

The handcart story is one of faith, courage, and triumph. The Tenth and last company reached Salt Lake on September 24, 1860, eighty days out of Florence. Now, one hundred years later, the saga of the handcart pioneers is rapidly becoming one of America's greatest inspirations.

SHERMAN P. LLOYD

Salt Lake City, Utah

The Road to Virginia City, The Diary of James Knox Polk Miller.

Edited by Andrew F. Rolle. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1960, 140 pp., \$3.75)

Perhaps not in the tradition of a really great diary, but still the diary of James Knox Polk Miller is a significant contribution to the literature of the West. Andrew F. Rolle has done a creditable job of editing, and the University of Oklahoma Press has done its usual splendid job of bookmaking. *The Road to Virginia City* is a delightful book offering interesting photographs, attractive pen and ink drawings, a helpful map, a worthwhile introduction, and adequate footnotes where they should be — at the bottom of the page. Both editor and publisher are to be congratulated for this fine piece of work.

The diary of Miller covers the period from August 10, 1864, as the nineteen-year-old boy enters Chicago on his way to make his fortune in the West, to June 21, 1867, in Washington, D.C., a few days before he set sail for Europe to gain culture and spend his earnings from Virginia City, Montana.

In between these dates, the reader is treated to some of the most delightful accounts of life in the far West — in Great Salt Lake City; at Virginia City, Montana; life along the Overland Trail; stage coach-

ing from Virginia City to Fort Benton; and a river boat ride down the Missouri from Fort Benton, Montana, to St. Joseph, Missouri.

For any young man who has at the age of nineteen left family and home to go out into the strange and unfriendly world to make his imprint upon society, this account by James Miller will prove fascinating. The young G.I. who has experienced anxiety while standing his first watch or guard duty will feel a common bond with young Miller as he stands watch on the plains.

Aside from these fascinating entries, Miller gives a good picture of the trials of a Gentile trying to establish himself in business in the Mormon capital. His descriptions of church leaders, Mormon attitudes, and frontier society in general are well drawn.

If the reader has gained some rather romanticized and fictionalized impressions of travel during frontier days, he will soon have such notions dispelled by Miller's account of travel to Virginia City and then from there to Fort Benton. Mark Twain's experiences in *Roughing It* are tame in comparison to Miller's from Helena to Fort Benton. One is made to wonder how the stage lines ever trapped any passengers. Certainly travel was precarious especially upon the river boats piloted by captains who liked to race like young "hot rodders."

All in all, *The Road to Virginia City* offers good reading for most everyone — for the person who wants a good story to the economic and social historian wanting to learn more about trade and customs of the frontier.

EVERETT L. COOLEY

Utah State University

Kingdom Come. By Virginia Sorensen. (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1960, 497 pp., \$5.75)

Able novelists give blood transfusions to history. For that reason Virginia Sorensen's latest novel, *Kingdom Come*, has peculiar significance for students of American civilization. In addition to being literary art, it is history of emotion sustained by research. Adding to family lore, Mrs. Sorensen spent a year gathering material in Denmark on a Guggenheim fellowship.

The novel tells a neglected chapter of our saga. We have, of course, long recognized immigration and the frontier as "the two grand themes of American history." But this book exemplifies personally, intensely why Europeans renounced safety and comfort for the wilderness, in this case the rigors of the American Desert.

Kingdom Come is, however, "Canto II" in an epic of religiously motivated migration. Because the coming of the Mormon converts from Scandinavia followed a Reformation in the New World, the founding of the L. D. S. Church must be the first chapter.

Some will praise the author's balancing of economic and physical incentives with spiritual ones. It was both American soil and an American Zion in being that stirred Scandinavian hearts. Others will emphasize her skill in showing ways in which the Mormon missionaries sowed the sparks of conversion in Northern Europe.

Some will know the fire as the spirit of God revealed at last in the true religion. Others will recognize here only one of the waves of spiritual rebirth which agitate a people, the crest of zeal rising, then subsiding into the trough of habit, to swell again under new needs and leaders.

Nevertheless we can agree that here is a significant chapter of man's chronicle told in the most intimately human form. It comes down into kitchens and gardens for closeups of human beings, for insights related to one's own experience.

Told synoptically the story of Svend the farm hand and Hanne the lovely daughter of his well-to-do employer sounds conventional, but Mrs. Sorensen infuses vitality into it with freshness of poetic sympathy. Moreover, she makes the reader feel the spiritual element which is distinctive, decisive, in their simple drama. She cannot, however, be accused of prejudice which limits the vision of cynic as well as devotee.

There is much artistry in the way the author develops Hanne and Svend from callow adolescence to stalwart maturity and in the process makes them broadly representative of the conversion and migration. There is also, among others, the sturdy, matter-of-fact Stig, who responds first to the appeal of economic opportunities. Although he later feels the spiritual leaven, he sees in virgin soil the foundation of a vision of dignity, status, freedom. Thus, of his employer's family he observes, "It's because they were here first that they have all the land now, and can tell the rest of us what to do." Simon Peter represents the other extreme, the man who seeks spiritual values above all, and glories in a church with zeal hot and bright. But Hanne and Svend embody most fully the traits and aspirations that spurred the emigrants. Without losing their warmth as persons, they eventually take on the stature of the universal, symbolizing strong souls breaking bonds, cracking crusts of dead custom, wounding, sacrificing, but striding forward with courage to subdue the dreads of the unknown.

CARLTON CULMSEE
Utah State University

General George Crook: His Autobiography. Edited and Annotated by Martin F. Schmitt. (New ed., Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1960, 326 pp., \$5.00)

The general's autobiography, which takes up 190 pages of this book, is a delightfully human account of Crook's adventures in the West from 1852 to 1876. Included are his Civil War experiences, such as suppressing Confederate guerrillas in West Virginia (by employing tactics previously used in harassing red-skinned adversaries) and commanding a cavalry corps in Tennessee and Virginia. The details of Crook's life from 1876 until his death in 1890 are then expertly filled in by Professor Schmitt, the curator of special collections at the University of Oregon.

If the work bogs down slightly after Crook's narration of the events of June, 1876, it is not entirely the editor's fault. Much of the supplemental material simply does not match the general's "rugged" autobiographical style and his aptly put, astute observations.

Crook's commentaries show that he was more than "the greatest Indian fighter in the history of the United States." Twenty-six years among the Indians had taught him that the red man was a human being. "It is an easy matter," he observed, "for anyone to see the salient points of Indian character, namely, that they are filthy, odoriferous, treacherous, ungrateful, pitiless, cruel, and lazy. But it is the fewest who ever get beyond this, and see his other side, which, I must admit, is small, and almost latent. To do this requires more than mere study and perception. Above all, you must get his confidence, which means more than I can tell here."

But Crook managed to gain his confidence and to understand the "inner" Indian "pretty well." Moreover, he sought to protect and defend, as well as to fight him, believing, as he did, that "ninety-nine-hundredths" of all Indian trouble was caused, through mismanagement, by Indian agents and traders. His solution to the Indian problem was, first, to "take the government of the Indian out of politics; second, let the laws of the Indian be the same as those of the whites; [and] third, give the Indian the ballot."

His efforts in behalf of the Indian, especially the Apache, did not always meet the approval of some of his army associates and fellow citizens; but he *was* appreciated by many of his former foes. When Crook died, Chief Red Cloud of the Sioux memorialized: "He, at least,

had never lied to us." And the Indians near Camp Apache "let their hair down, bent their heads forward on their bosoms, and wept and wailed like children."

MAX L. HEYMAN, JR.

Los Angeles Valley College

High Country Empire. By Robert G. Athearn. (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960, viii+358 pp., \$6.95)

High Country Empire provides a panoramic view of the history of seven western states: Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas. These states have much in common: all lie within the drainage system of the Missouri River; all have a history which has been characterized, as the author points out in his preface, by "exploitation and experimentation carried on by remote control from the more settled parts of America."

Making effective use of monographic and periodical literature, Professor Robert Athearn of the University of Colorado, who himself has contributed extensively to that literature, vividly describes the "exploitation and experimentation"—by fur traders, miners, cattlemen, land speculators, timber barons, and oil wildcatters. His concern has been with the region as a whole rather than with its specific parts, and in terms of chronology, too, he has seen the region whole. His account of the years since 1900 is not as full as that of the years before 1900, but that is a reflection of the fact that historians of the West have concentrated on the nineteenth century to the neglect of the twentieth. The frontier period of the region's history (using the term in its conventional sense) is significant as well as fascinating, but, as Athearn clearly shows, preoccupation with that—and particularly with its more romantic aspects—has been an important reason why present-day Westerners have so much difficulty in understanding themselves and their problems.

There are differences within the region which need to be explored more fully than Athearn has been able to do within the limits he set for himself, and in some respects the boundaries of the region itself, as presented here, may need modification. These suggestions, however, should not be construed as detracting from the worth of the volume. *High Country Empire* is a major contribution to the history of the West. It is well written and well conceived by a man who knows the West both as historian and as resident. It should be read by all who want or need an understanding of this little-understood section of the

country, and particularly by the residents of the West — whose refusal to recognize the realities of life in the region has been one of the major themes of its history.

JAMES C. OLSON
University of Nebraska

Hoofbeats of Destiny: The Story of the Pony Express. By Robert West Howard. (New York, Signet Book of the New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1960, 192 pp., 50¢)

Americans, especially Westerners, have grown up on the spectacular, on the once-in-a-lifetime event. The length of time in which it transpired or the eventual benefit to mankind that it achieved has not been weighed in the success or failure of the venture.

The Pony Express, short of life, scarcely merits attention on the historic scene when viewed over two hundred and fifty years of continental expansion. But the color and excitement of its men, animals, and geography have far outweighed other more prosaic projects. The emphasis has been on the dramatic.

Now, for consideration in the Centennial year of the Pony Express, a book is presented with other viewpoints, particularly with emphasis on the political. An editor and two historians and a novelist, representing as many sections of the pony trail, have a local view of which they write; yet with their wide reputations in varied fields of history and literature, their proposals are convincing. Robert West Howard, editor, is an authority on Western Americana and has edited other western books. Agnes Wright Spring is State Historian of Colorado. Roy Coy is an authority of the trail and a specialist of museums. Frank C. Robertson, novelist and observer, completes the quartet. This team insures a more complete coverage of the subject than otherwise.

With few exceptions the chapters have no by-lines. However, the distinctive writing style of each of these experts is not entirely disguised. Having read practically everything each has written, we would prefer complete acknowledgment.

We remember the era of the great Bancroft when he alone was given credit for the prodigious output of volume after volume of history. He was scoffed at for the anonymity under which his distinguished historians were to be forever shrouded. Perhaps a similar policy of the Federal Writers' Project and the Historical Records Survey have lacked a personal, vital touch just because they ignored the names of their respective writers. A few current magazines, movie colony productions

still employ the best writers in their particular fields without any acknowledgment whatsoever. The trend at present is toward a compilation by many qualified men, each with his name appended to his writing. *Hoofbeats of Destiny* strikes the middle course, acknowledges the team and puts in an occasional credit.

While other historians come out with a critical analysis of the problems exposed, and solved, these writers state their "biases," which they explain in the foreword. Actually these biases confirm our suspicions, long held, that local agitations with the national government were smoke screens to hide Civil War issues long before the actual fighting, and for at least thirty years afterward. Perhaps our multiauthors have come nearer clearing the picture for us than has been done before. Which leads us to wish they had not been so modest in stating their biases—and that they may have further opportunity to completely prove their case.

We have long observed that emotional issues attending an historic event obscure the real causes. Until recently the Pony Express was believed to be an advertising scheme to promote the freighting firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell. If so, it was an expensive one. It made bankrupt men whose patriotism was unquestioned. But the patriotism of at least the Secretary of War is challenged in this book. The saving of all the American West for the Union by the aforesaid freighting firm is now an established fact. Great names who made and preserved the West are deservedly appreciated now that they are seen in the perspective of one hundred years.

Our authors state that rapid, reliable communication was the drastic need of America just prior to the Civil War. The Pony Express fulfilled that need. Alexander Majors and his company put the hyphen between East and West. The Pony Express was the link in America that annihilated space and soldered the continent. If we learn more about the environment than the child in *Hoofbeats of Destiny*, then the authors have succeeded in their stated purpose. And as all offspring are better understood if their background is in focus, in like manner we fathom the Pony Express because of the information in this timely book.

The writers have given us character sketches of our heroes (the pony boys), of the villain (Secretary of War Floyd and his chicanery), and of the benefactors (the sure-to-financial-failure firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell).

The problems of environment are well presented here: politics of the pre-Civil War, including the perfidy of Secretary Floyd and the

intrigue of the stolen government bonds; the Mormon War; the gold rush days of California and Colorado; the communication route to the Pacific; stereotypes of St. Joseph in the sixties; and a mile-by-mile description of the 2,000 mile ride. We are urged to consider that "the sole line of communication the Union had with the Far West was the hare-brained Pony Express"; that the "talking wires" were important in their role, as was also the completion of the Central Route of the railroad; and we are informed of what happened to the main characters in the plot before they became the West's legend. All of which proves that fact is more fascinating than fiction, and thus takes precedence.

ILENE H. KINGSBURY
Salt Lake City, Utah

Grandpa Was a Polygamist. By Paul Bailey. (Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1960, 181 pp., \$5.50)

The author calls this book a candid remembrance. In a breezy homespun style Mr. Bailey depicts life as it was lived in a typical Mormon community during the years that persons now nearing middle age can well remember. Town life, folklore, religious customs and family patterns are portrayed as only a person born and brought up in such a community could do it. The kindness, the eccentricities, the rugged endurance, and the unshakable convictions of the Mormons are skillfully depicted. This book makes the Mormon "way of life" comprehensible, in some degree at least, to those who do not and cannot accept their convictions. For those born and bred in a "typical" Mormon community themselves, it arouses a feeling of nostalgia for a way of life, village scenes, and a period in time that is forever gone.

The Story of the Pony Express. Edited by Waddell F. Smith. (San Francisco, Hesperian House, 1960, 195 pp., \$5.00)

Russell, Majors and Waddell constitute a trio of names unmatched in the history of transportation and communication in the Far West before the days of the transcontinental railroad. They carried supplies for the army by ox-team wagon trains to far-flung posts, and later it was they who organized and operated the Pony Express. By keeping the people in the West informed on national issues, the Express played an important part in bolstering loyalty to the Union. Some fifty years ago a book was written which told that story. Glen D. Bradley's *The Story of the Pony Express* still remains the classic literature on the subject.

In recent years Raymond W. Settle, through diligent research, has become an authority on the history of the Pony Express, and in addition to several other books and articles has brought his knowledge and understanding together in a short but profoundly written piece published in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* (April, 1959) under the title "The Pony Express, Heroic Effort—Tragic End." Under the editorship of Waddell F. Smith, a grandson of William Bradford Waddell, these two classics, one old and one new, have been brought together into one volume, the official 1960 centennial edition. The book should stand as a literary monument for a future generation to both the resourceful founders and the gallant riders of the Express.

The Cahuilla Indians. By Harry C. James. (Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1960, 185 pp., \$7.50)

In Volume XVIII of the *Great West and Indian Series* Harry C. James turns his attention to the Cahuilla Indians of California who once owned the lands around Palm Springs and the now lush desert settlements of wealthy Americans. In this book he answers the questions as to who they were, how they lived, recounts their legends, their ceremonial life, and devotes several chapters to such Cahuilla personalities as Juan Antonio, Ramona, and Fig Tree John.

This interesting and all-but-forgotten people are responsible for more place names in California than any other group. Even beyond the limits of Cahuilla territory there are towns, schools, and streets with names of Cahuilla or Spanish-Cahuilla origin or association. Tahquitz, Ramona, Alessandro, Patencio, Arenas, and Juan Diego are typical. This book is full of the pathos and drama that is so often found in studies of the American Indians, in the attempts of an oppressed people to combat the cruelties and indignities inflicted upon them by the Spaniards, by the Mexicans, and by the early American pioneers.

End of Track. By James H. Kyner as told to Hawthorne Daniel. With an introduction by James C. Olson. (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1960, 280 pp., \$1.60)

When *End of Track*, the memoirs of James H. Kyner, railroad contractor of the 1880's and 1890's, appeared in 1937, the book received the Gold Medal Award of the Oregon Trail Association and was widely and favorably reviewed. At that time an authority on the history of the West said: "The book deserves a much wider public than that of

specialists on the trans-Mississippi railroads," which is, incidentally, the purpose of this reprinting by the University of Nebraska Press.

Kyner's memoirs shed light on business and politics and contribute in a larger way to an understanding of the forces which built America, and particularly the American West. He tells of his boyhood in Ohio; of his service in the Civil War during which he lost a leg in the Battle of Shiloh; of his desultory efforts at higher education when invalidated out; of his decision to go west; and of his early years in pioneer Nebraska. One cannot read Kyner's matter-of-fact account without gaining a clearer realization of what it was like to be young in America during the middle years of the nineteenth century — when one could make a fortune, lose it, and begin all over again!

Since Kyner was preoccupied with the problems of construction, the book has value as a primary source for the history of American railroads, of which construction is a major aspect. The years between 1878 and 1888 saw more miles of track laid in the United States than any other similar period in the country's history. Most of this construction was in the West, and much of it consisted of branch lines to support an ever-expanding population.

Politics and Grass; The Administration of Grazing on the Public Domain. By Phillip O. Foss. (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1960, ix+236 pp., \$4.50)

The public domain was, and is, the landed estate of the American people. It once included most of the United States except Texas and the original thirteen colonies. By 1934 much of this land had been transferred to private owners through various grants, sales, and homestead acts. These federal land disposal policies were based primarily on political considerations. They resulted in crazy-quilt patterns of ownership, and encouraged fraud, conflict, economic instability, and overgrazing.

Politics and Grass is a history of the public lands of the West and an extended case study of the methods and techniques used in the formulation of a public policy. The preliminary study for this book won a Western Political Science Association award as the best study on western politics and administration completed during the years 1953-56. The author is on the staff of the Department of Government, San Francisco State College.

Dictionary of the American Indian. By John L. Stoutenburgh, Jr. (New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960, 462 pp., \$10.00)

This book contains an alphabetical listing (as the title implies) of Indian terms, place names, and terms which are often used incorrectly. Facts are stated without prejudice or intent to influence. The book can serve as a source of information for the student, researcher, or individual who simply wants a clear unbiased picture of the American Indian.

The Cave of Shouting Silence. By Olive Burt. (New York, J. Day Co., 1960)

[Juvenile literature. A young boy travels to Utah with the Mormons to try to find proof of his inheritance. The setting is the land now constituting Zion National Park.]

Freedom To Farm. By Ezra Taft Benson. (New York, Doubleday, 1960)

The Heart of the Southwest; Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Utah, Nevada. By Thomas B. Lesure. (2d Ed., Greenlawn, N.Y., Harian Publications, 1960)

History of Idaho. By Merrill D. Beal and Merle W. Wells. (3 vols., New York, Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1959)

The Life Story of George William McCune Including His Forebears, Immediate Kinfolk and Posterity. (Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1959)

Ninety Years of Glen Canyon Archaeology, 1869-1959. A Brief Historical Sketch and Bibliography of Archaeological Investigations from J. W. Powell to the Glen Canyon Project. By William Y. Adams. (Flagstaff, Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art, Inc., 1960)

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

Robert Newell's Memoranda: Travels in the Territory of Missouri; Travel to the Kayuse War; Together with a Report on the Indians South of the Columbia River. Edited with notes and introduction by Dorothy O. Johansen. (Portland, Champoege Press, 1959) [Travels of a Mountain Man.]

Their Majesties the Mob. By John W. Caughey. (University of Chicago Press, 1960)

[A spine-chilling chronical of vigilante or lynch law in action from its prevalence in Western frontier days — San Francisco, Los Angeles, and the gold towns sharing notoriety — to present exercise of extralegal trial and punishment by the Ku Klux Klan, watch and ward societies, and governmental committees.]

A Year of American Travel. Narrative of Personal Experience by Jessie Benton Frémont. Voyage to California in 1848: Impressions of Panama, San Francisco, Monterey, San Jose, &c., and a Letter from Colonel John Charles Frémont, Describing His Expedition to the Rocky Mountains Made during the Winter of 1848-49. With an Introduction by Patrice Manahan, and Engravings by Ernest Freed. (San Francisco, Book Club of California, 1960) [First published in 1878.]

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- PAUL FATOUT, "Artemus Ward Among the Mormons," *ibid.*, Spring, 1960.
- KEITH BARRETTE, "The River to the Western Sea" [Mormon colonization of Fort Lemhi], *Westways*, June, 1960.



AWARD WINNERS

Left to right: Charles Kelly, Joel E. Ricks, N. G. Morgan, Sr., Mrs. Kate B. Carter, center, who were honored with Honorary Life Membership in the Society. To the right: LeRoy R. Hafen, and Leonard J. Arrington, "Fellows." Dale L. Morgan, "Fellow," and Horace A. Sorensen, Honorary Life Member, were not present when the picture was taken.

HISTORICAL NOTES

During the year 1960 a program to recognize worthy individuals for extraordinary service in the cause of history was formulated by the Board of Trustees of the Society: "Honorary Life Membership" to be conferred upon the individual who, in the opinion of the Board, has rendered distinguished service to the state and to the Utah State Historical Society; the designation of "Fellow" to be bestowed upon the individual who has rendered the greatest service to Utah and to the advancement of history through outstanding published work. The first presentation of Awards and Honors to prominent Utahans was held at the time of the annual dinner meeting of the Society on May 7, 1960.

For distinguished service to Utah and the Society, Honorary Life Membership was conferred upon the following:

Mrs. Kate B. Carter for her long years of unselfish devotion to state and local history through her leadership of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers. Publications under her editorship including the twelve volume series of *Heart Throbs of the West* and *Treasures of Pioneer History*

(six volumes to date) are valuable contributions to the historiography of Utah and the Mormon people.

Mr. Charles Kelly, for his years of research and writing on various facets of Utah and Western history.

Mr. N. G. Morgan, Sr., for his generous contributions of time and money spent in the interest of preserving Utah's history and culture.

Dr. Joel E. Ricks, professor of history at Utah State University, for a professional lifetime dedicated to the cause of history. He was for several years chairman of the history department at USU and for uninterrupted terms totalling nearly thirty-five years served on the Board of Trustees of the Society, eight years of that time as president.

Mr. Horace A. Sorensen, prominent local businessman, for his unselfish devotion and tireless energy dedicated to the preservation of Utah's history and culture as evidenced by the Pioneer Memorial Museum at 3000 Connor Street, Salt Lake City, and the more recently established Railroad Museum and Village at Corinne, Utah.

For eminence in historical research and writings, the following were designated "Fellows":

Dr. Leonard J. Arrington, professor of economics, Utah State University. His book *Great Basin Kingdom; An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900*, published in 1958 by Harvard University Press, has received national acclaim as a significant work. He has written innumerable articles which have appeared in various magazines, including the *Quarterly*, dealing with various phases of Utah's economic history.

Dr. LeRoy R. Hafen, professor of history, Brigham Young University, with his wife Ann as coeditor, has edited innumerable books, thus preserving valuable source materials from journals, diaries, and manuscripts. His remarkable "The Far West and The Rockies" series published by the Arthur H. Clark Company is nearing completion. For nearly thirty years Dr. Hafen served as director of the Colorado Historical Society.

Mr. Dale L. Morgan, of the staff of the Bancroft Library, is honored for his dedication to the cause of history and aid to the Historical Society. For more than twenty years by his research and writing activities he has practically been an unpaid staff member, being responsible in great measure for editorial work on several volumes of the *Quarterly*, in particular the Powell volumes, XV and XVI-XVII. He has authored and/or edited numerous books on the fur trade, mountain men,

and forty-niners. His *The Great Salt Lake* and *Utah: A Guide to the State* are outstanding contributions to the history of this area.

After the appearance of "Vignettes of Park City" by Dr. William McPhee in the April *Quarterly* an interesting letter was received by the editor from Mr. Sam Raddon. In the interest of historical accuracy and for supplemental information pertaining to the above article we quote:

I was particularly interested in Dr. William McPhee's "Vignettes of Park City." . . . With no wish to be thought critical of the interesting article, but for sake of accuracy of the record (and of the *Park Record*), I believe you may care to note that the founder of the *Park Mining Record*, as it was known in its first year, was James R. Schubach, rather than "James Shepback" as the name is spelled in Dr. McPhee's story (p. 140).

And referring to the bottom of the page following, it was LePage H. (Lee) Raddon, my brother, not S. L. Raddon, my father, who died in 1957. Father passed away in 1948 in his 90th year, after 64 years of ownership and weekly publication of the *Record*, although he had retired in 1943, because of the handicap of advanced years, from active participation in its affairs. Father had worked on the *Record*, as a matter of fact, in its first year of publication. At that time he was a compositor on the *Salt Lake Tribune*, where he had started as a "newsboy," and spent his summer vacation in 1880 in Park City "at the case" for the *Record*. He acquired his first financial interest in the paper in 1884 and preserved it throughout his lifetime.

Following father's death, L. H. Raddon continued publication of the *Record*. He had "grown up" on the paper and in 1905 had acquired in it the interests of our uncle W. A. Raddon, who had been associated with father in the business for nineteen years, and who moved in 1905 to Los Angeles where, in his 90th year, he is now living.

Following the death of L. H. Raddon in 1957 his widow sold the *Record* to its present owners, thus breaking, or at least approximating the long-time record of one-family ownership and publication of a weekly newspaper west of the Mississippi. . . .

/s/ Sam Raddon

Discussion of a pertinent book would ordinarily appear in the "Review" section of this magazine, but the editors wish to call special attention to *The University of Utah, A History of Its First 100 Years*. By Ralph V. Chamberlin (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1960, 616 pp., \$10.00). Although of somewhat localized interest, the book is extremely significant. Publication of this first one-volume comprehensive history of the University of Utah provides both an important

addition to the recorded history of the state of Utah and a valuable reference work permitting ready access to extensive data concerning the establishment and growth of the university, its colleges and departments, its faculty and administration, its student body and activities. The growth of higher education in Utah and in particular the growth of the university has been related historically to the growth of the state and to the important events of this growth.

Numerous historically important individuals whose work at the university has been significant are treated in the volume. Many times during the first 100 years courageous individual effort kept the university alive, and the book indicates that unceasing personal effort from leaders in education has always been the price of educational progress. Dr. Chamberlin himself, for many years a professor at the university, was particularly well equipped to write the book after his long years of intimate acquaintance with and knowledge of that great institution.

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LujAn

El Morro, or Inscription Rock, near Ramah, New Mexico, is a massive mesa-point of sandstone which derives its name from the Spanish word "morro" meaning "headland" or "bluff." The route from Acoma to the Zuñi pueblos led directly past the mesa, and because of the sheltered coves and availability of water, the area became a regular camping site for the Spanish conquistadores. Don Juan de Onate first inscribed the rock in 1605 and many others later left a record of their passage by cutting into the soft sandstone. The first of the American army officers to visit El Morro was Lieutenant J. H. Simpson, accompanied by artist R. H. Kern, who copied the early inscriptions as shown above. The site is now a national monument.

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