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IN THIS ISSUE



It is not always easy to recognize pivotal points in the writing of history. But for the history of Utah, one occurred in 1954 with the publication in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* of Helen Zeese Papanikolas' article, "The Greeks of Carbon County." That article expanded the horizon of Utah history to recognize and to include long ignored but important groups. It was the first of several other articles published in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* in the 1950s that examined aspects of ethnic life in Utah among the Scandinavian, Irish, and German communities in the state. Subsequent articles in the 1960s and 1970s considered the Utes, Chinese, Scots, African Americans, Italians, Hispanics, and the Southern Slavs. A special Summer 1972 issue of the *Quarterly* was devoted to Utah's ethnic minorities. These articles helped lay the groundwork and stimulate interest for the compilation and publication in 1976 of *The Peoples of Utah*, as part of the bicentennial celebration of the Declaration of Independence. Edited by Helen Zeese Papanikolas, the book contains fourteen chapters on various ethnic groups and nationalities that helped build Utah. In 2001, twenty-five years later, Stanford Layton compiled a collection of fourteen articles from the *Utah Historical Quarterly* in a volume entitled, *Being Different: Stories of Utah's Minorities*.

ON THE COVER: A painting by C.C.A. Christensen in 1904 entitled "Harvest Scene in Ephraim."

J. WILLIAM CHRISTENSEN

IN THIS ISSUE (ABOVE): Members of the Manti Scandinavian Choir prepare to board a passenger car. PEOPLES OF UTAH COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

These two important books help us to understand Utah history through the eyes and experiences of our neighbors and in doing so add depth and richness to our history. In this first issue for 2010 we continue to probe and examine our ethnic heritage with four stimulating articles.

From 1850 until the beginning of the twentieth century, the Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway sent more immigrants to Utah than any other area of the world. Almost all came as converts to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the story of preserving their language and customs during the integration process in Utah is the subject of our first article. On one hand LDS church leaders urged assimilation including learning English so that Scandinavians could interact with the majority of Saints. On the other hand, those same leaders tolerated and even supported Scandinavian language church services, publications, classes, theatrical productions, reunions, and other gatherings. In this complicated process, community building was the primary objective.

William Jefferson Hardin arrived in Park City in 1883. An African American born about 1831, Hardin was raised in the Shaker Community of South Union, Kentucky. After leaving the Shakers, Hardin served in the Union army during the Civil War and lived in Colorado and Wyoming before moving to Utah. In our second article, we are offered an insightful perspective on the life of a post-Civil War African American in the Rocky Mountain West. Hardin faced economic, political, social, and personal challenges—the latter leading him to end his life in Park City in 1889.

The word Zion, historically the name for the land of Israel and its capital Jerusalem, was also adopted by Mormons in the nineteenth century to designate their new homeland in the Great Basin. It persists today. Banks, stores, businesses, even a national park carry the name.

Zionism, a term coined in 1891, has as its purpose the establishment of a Jewish state in the land of Palestine. A Zionist movement was launched at a congress in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897 and the movement gained momentum especially in light of the World War II Holocaust. Given Salt Lake City's long established Jewish community dating back to the 1860s, it is not surprising that an organization emerged in Utah embracing Zionism. Our third article recounts the twenty-year effort of Salt Lake City's Hadassah women's organization to foster the establishment and continuance of the Jewish state of Israel.

Our final article for this issue continues our examination of Utah ethnic groups as it looks at the experience of Hispanic women in Carbon County in recent decades. Like Utah Scandinavians during an earlier era, Hispanic women of Carbon County sought to preserve language and tradition as part of family heritage and as part of the larger community.

These four articles continue the Utah State Historical Society's endeavor launched in the pages of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* fifty-six years ago. We hope that the next years will bring the publication of additional articles and books from Utah's ethnic communities to help us more fully understand and appreciate "The Peoples of Utah."



LDS CHURCH HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

Building Community by Respecting Linguistic Diversity: Scandinavian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Utah

BY LYNN HENRICHSEN, GEORGE BAILEY, TIMOTHY WRIGHT, JOHN BRUMBAUGH, JACOB HUCKABY, AND RAY LEBARON

Since the early days of settlement, immigrants have been a vital force in the development of Utah. In 1870, foreign-born immigrants constituted 35 percent of Utah's population with the largest non-English-speaking groups coming from the Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.¹ As these immigrants worked to establish new homes, language loomed as both a challenge and the means to preserve the rich culture and heritage of their native lands. As one eloquent Scandinavian immigrant wrote, "language is one of the most serious barriers among men. Failure to understand one another leads to misunderstanding and suspicion. Those who speak the dominant language of a country often fail to appreciate the virtues of those of foreign extraction who cannot acquire the native accent or the ready use of language."²

A 1950 Scandinavian centennial celebration in Salt Lake City includes the flags of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

Lynn Henrichsen, a descendant of Danish immigrants to Utah, is a professor in the Linguistics and English Language Department at Brigham Young University. George Bailey taught Danish and received his MA in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) at Brigham Young University and is currently an instructor in English as a foreign language, persuasive writing, and linguistics at Justus-Liebig University in Giessen, Germany. Timothy Wright, John Brumbaugh, Jacob Huckaby, and Ray LeBaron, all BYU students, provided invaluable assistance in searching out, gathering, analyzing, and interpreting source materials, as well as writing this article. The authors thank Brigham Young University and the Utah Humanities Council for grants to assist with the research.

¹ Richard L. Jensen, "Immigration to Utah," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 270-73.

² John A. Widsøe, *In the Gospel Net*, (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1942), 122.

This paper seeks to answer the questions of what efforts were made by Utah's Scandinavian immigrants to learn English, in what ways they sought to foster their native languages, and how non-Scandinavian Utahns responded to both of these efforts. The acceptance of Scandinavian speaking converts and the continued respect shown to their continued use of Scandinavian languages by Anglo-American Mormons in Utah were important factors in facilitating successful integration into many nineteenth-century Utah communities.

In 1850, only thirty-five Scandinavians lived in Utah, making up a scant 0.31 percent of the entire population. During the half century between 1850 and 1905, more than 46,000 Scandinavians converted to the LDS church as a result of increased proselyting activities in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.³ By 1860, the number of Danes in Utah increased from 2 to 1,824, accounting for 4.53 percent of the territory's population. Two decades later, in 1880, Scandinavians made up 8.86 percent of Utah's population. Heeding church leaders' counsel to gather to "Zion" in Utah, "upon the first feasible opportunity," 25,850 Scandinavians migrated to Utah between 1851 and 1926. Of this total, 13,910 (54 percent) were Danes, 8,503 (33 percent) Swedes, and 3,437 (13 percent) Norwegians.⁴

The influx of Scandinavian-speaking immigrants was a challenge to many in Utah. Hearing about a recently arrived wagon train of Scandinavians, Brigham Young reportedly exclaimed, "Twenty-eight wagons and all Danish! That language! Everything they say comes out upside down or inside out."⁵

Like most other Mormon immigrants to the territory, Scandinavians first arrived in Salt Lake City and then were either assigned to different settlements or, in "chain migration" fashion, chose to go where their countrymen were already established. Consequently, by 1890, the greatest numbers of Scandinavian immigrants lived in Salt Lake (4,327), Sanpete (2,963), Cache (2,185), Utah (1,699), and Weber (1,454) counties, and the largest concentrations were in Sanpete (22.54 percent), Sevier (17.68 percent), Cache (14.09 percent), and Box Elder (12.12 percent) counties.⁶ A few towns—like Spring City and Ephraim in Sanpete County, Elsinore in Sevier

³ William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), 102.

⁴ Brigham Young to A. Lyman, et al., and Saints in the British Isles, August 2, 1860, Brigham Young Letterbooks, Church History Library, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; hereafter cited as LDS Church History Library. John A. Widtsoe, "How Many Latter-day Saints are of Scandinavian Descent?" *Improvement Era* 53 (June 1950): 471. For a breakdown of Scandinavian emigration to Utah by decade, see also Gerald M. Haslam, "Scandinavian Emigration History and Sources," *Genealogical Journal* 27 (1999): 100-101.

⁵ Grace Johnson, *Brodders and sisters: Being the early life and times of the Mormon town of Ephraim, Sanpete County, Utah and including, to be sure, the famous "Ephraim stories."* 4th ed. (Manti: Messenger-Enterprise, 1995), 25-26.

⁶ Compiled county-level statistics are from *Historical Census Browser* with Utah/County-level results for 1890, Geospatial & Statistical Data Center, University of Virginia. <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/> (accessed February 14, 2005).

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County, Pleasant Grove in Utah County, and Mantua in Box Elder County—had even higher concentrations of Scandinavians.⁷

While it is true that many Scandinavians did assimilate into Utah society willingly and relatively quickly, their learning of English did not occur without considerable effort on their part and substantial support from the Anglo-American majority.

The longstanding Scandinavian cultural pattern of willing adaptation is illustrated by the old Danish proverb “One must howl with the wolves one is among.” In accordance with this pattern and in order to prepare for their life in the United States, many Scandinavians studied English even before they emigrated. English-speaking missionaries and local Scandinavians provided English classes for converts preparing to immigrate to Utah, and those classes are frequently mentioned in the journals of missionaries and early Scandinavian converts.⁸ The Scandinavian Mission itself supported English learning as a priority. Under the direction of President Hector Caleb Haight, the mission published in 1857 a combination English textbook–dictionary–travel guide, *Reading exercises in the English language for newbeginners—Læseøvelser i det engelske sprog for begyndere*, for those who would soon immigrate to Zion in the United States. It included useful phrases written in Danish and English, along with directions from Iowa to Salt Lake City.⁹

Church and community leaders saw the need for continuing English classes for the Scandinavian Saints after their arrival in Utah. The communities responded, and in many the English learning effort seems to have been led by Scandinavians themselves. Peter O. Hansen helped his fellow Scandinavians learn the English language in two schools, in Ephraim and Manti, in the late 1850s.¹⁰ Fritz Nielsen organized an English class for his

⁷ In 1870, Scandinavians comprised approximately 94 percent of Ephraim’s population, see Albert C.T. Antrei and Allen D. Roberts, *A History of Sanpete County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Sanpete County Commission, 1999), 47. In 1880, 92 percent of the residents of Elsinore were Danes. See Margit Egdal, *Miraklet på Fyn [The miracle on Fyn]* (Odense, Denmark: OAB-Tryk, 2002), 20. In 1880, 110 of the 351 families living in Pleasant Grove were Scandinavian, Beth Radmall Olsen, “Mormon Scandinavian Immigrants’ Experience among English-speaking Settlers,” in *The 2000 Deseret Language and Linguistics Society Symposium Proceedings*, (2000), 59.

⁸ Niels Hans Nielsen, *Niels H. Nielsen, 1816 to 1893: Ingeborg Sophie Hansdatter, 1816 to 1908. The translated Danish journal of Niels H. Nielsen of 1856 and 1857, ocean voyage on the Westmoreland in 1857, ocean voyage of the Cavour in 1866, genealogy, some family stories*, comp., Alice Neeley Moncur, (Bountiful: privately published, 1982), September 1-2, 1856. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Special Collections). *Scandinavian mission, 1853-1886*, p. 318, LDS Church History Library; “President Anthon H. Lund,” *1850-1950 Scandinavian Centennial Jubilee: Commemorating the Introduction of the Restored Gospel into Scandinavia, Salt Lake City, Utah, August 11-12-13 1950, Program*: 38; On the title page of his 1860 *dagbog for mig* [personal journal] Anthon H. Lund refers to himself as “Anthony Hendrik Lund, English Language Teacher in Aalborg Conference.” He frequently mentions holding “English skool” with the Saints in various communities, see Anthon H. Lund, *Diaries 1860-1921*, LDS Church History Library; Haight, *1855-1858*, June 14, 1856. John August Olsen, *Diary of John August Olsen*, Tran. and ed. Andrew “C” Iverson (Provo: privately published, 1978), 8-9, 129. BYU Special Collections.

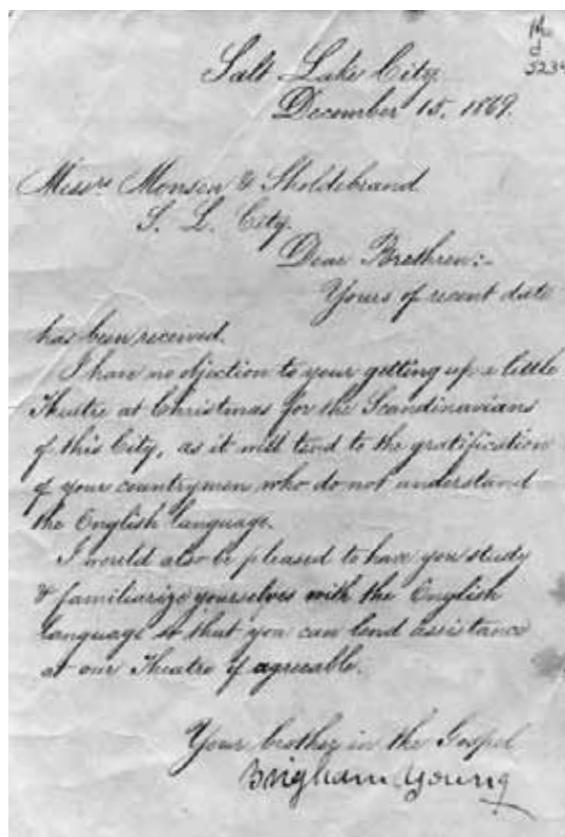
⁹ Hector Caleb Haight, *Reading exercises in the English language for newbeginners—Læseøvelser i det engelske sprog for begyndere* (Copenhagen: Author & F. E. Bording, 1857), BYU Special Collections.

¹⁰ George A. Smith, “Our Schools,” in *Journal of Discourses* 26 vols (Liverpool: F. D. and S. W. Richards, 1854-86), 14:373.

SCANDINAVIAN IMMIGRANTS

fellow Danes in Sanpete County.¹¹ Church leaders continued to urge non-English speaking Saints to learn English. As George A. Smith reasoned in 1872: “There are many persons come into the Territory who do not speak the English language. I think more institutions should be got up in all the neighborhoods to encourage the learning of our tongue.”¹² C.C.A. Christensen’s involvement in nightly English grammar classes left him “little spare time.”¹³

Brigham Young and his associates also provided support for English language learning in the form of the Deseret Alphabet. This expensive attempt at reforming the complex, inconsistent English writing system had many purposes.¹⁴ Among them, without doubt, was to help immigrants learn



December 15, 1869 letter from Brigham Young to Monson and Tholdebrand approving a Scandinavian language theatre production, but encouraging Scandinavians to learn English.

¹¹ “Brev fra Christian Nielsen til hans broder, fisker Carl Nielsen. Dateret Manti City in Sanpit (Sanpete) Valy (Valley), Utah Teritori (Territory), 27. april 1856” [“Letter from Christian Nielsen to his brother, fisherman Carl Nielsen. Dated Manti City in Sanpete Valley, Utah Territory, April 27, 1856.”], cited in Jørgen W. Schmidt, *Oh, du Zion i Vest; Den danske Mormon-emigration 1850-1900* (København: Rosenkilde Og Bagger, 1965), 67.

¹² Peter Olsen Hansen, *An autobiography of Peter Olsen Hansen, 1818-1895: Mormon convert and pioneer missionary, translator of Book of Mormon into Danish*, Leland Hansen Ashby comp., (Salt Lake City: L. H. Ashby, 1988), 41, 135, BYU Special Collections.

¹³ C. C. A. Christensen to K. Peterson, July 25, 1871, *Stjerne*, 20 (September 1, 1871): 362; M. Pederson to J. N. Smith, February 25, 1869, *Stjerne* 18 (April 15, 1869): 221, cited in Mulder, *Homeward*, 256.

¹⁴ William Powell, *A Chronicle of the Deseret Alphabet* (Salt Lake City: 1968); Arlene B. Darger, “The Deseret Alphabet: Introduction,” in *Deseret Alphabet*, Historic Reprint (Salt Lake City: Buffalo River Press, 1996), 1-6; John A. Widtsoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations*, (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft 1943), lxxiv. “What was the Purpose of the Deseret Alphabet?” *The Improvement Era* 47 (January 1944): 63; John A. Widtsoe, *Gospel Interpretations* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1947), 263; J. Cecil Alter, ed. “The Deseret Alphabet,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (1944): 99-102; Roger M. Thompson, “Language Planning in Frontier America: The Case of the Deseret Alphabet,” *Language Problems & Language Planning* 6 (1982): 45-62; Andrew John Grose, *Of Two Minds: Language Reform and Millennialism in the Deseret Alphabet* (master’s thesis, Stanford University, April 2001); Tyler Wilcox, “Deseret Alphabet: Brigham Young’s Motivation for Establishing a Phonetic System,” *Americana* 1 (Winter 2001): 35-47

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C.C.A. Christensen, a prominent Scandinavian immigrant, artist, English teacher, and promoter of Danish language usage.

English, as evidenced by Brigham Young's 1868 statement: "The advantages of this alphabet will soon be realized, especially by foreigners. Brethren who come here knowing nothing of the English language will find its acquisition greatly facilitated by means of this alphabet..."¹⁵ In at least some of the English classes that were organized for Scandinavians, the Deseret Alphabet was used. One immigrant, O.N. Liljenqvist, wrote in a letter printed in *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, "We have two schools here in addition to a Sunday school and an evening school where we practice reading and writing the Deseret Alphabet."¹⁶

Even with strong individual efforts by immigrants to learn the new language, special English textbooks, community English classes, and the Deseret Alphabet, English proficiency eluded some and did not come quickly for others. As Scandinavian immigrants struggled to learn English, they also engaged in activities designed to maintain their native Danish, Swedish, or Norwegian languages, proclaiming, "We are not ashamed of the language of the North."¹⁷ For instance, even though C.C.A. Christensen taught English classes in Ephraim, he loved *det Danske Sprog* [the Danish language] and took every opportunity to make the immigrant feel proud of it. One of his most memorable verses describes an informal Danish gathering in Ephraim, "Then Danish speech falls on the ear, the sweetest sound a soul can hear."¹⁸ Christensen, wrote Mulder, "had only scorn for those immigrants who hid all Old World books and bric-a-brac and tried to conceal their foreignness."¹⁹

LDS church leaders were "hospitable" to the immigrants' need to "express

¹⁵ Brigham Young, "Southern Missions—Deseret Alphabet—Relief Societies—Home Manufactures," *Journal of Discourses*, 12; 297-301.

¹⁶ O. N. Liljenqvist, June 15, 1869, Letter in Erastus Fairbanks Snow (ed.) *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, (Copenhagen, Denmark: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: 1851-1888); 285, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

¹⁷ Johannes Bohn, "Det Skandinaviske Sprog," ["The Scandinavian Languages,"]: *Salt Lake City Bikuben* (August 1876), 1. Copy in BYU Special Collections.

¹⁸ C. C. A. Christensen, "Rimbrev," *Digte og Afhandlinger*, 314, cited in Mulder, *Homeward*, 272.

¹⁹ Mulder, *Homeward*, 272. Christensen demonstrated his Danish patriotism even as he arrived in the Salt Lake Valley for the first time. In his journal he wrote, "We finally reached our goal, Salt Lake City, 13th of September, 1857, with the Danish flag waving from my handcart." Carl Christian Anton Christensen, *Journals 1853-1889*, July 1, 1884, 205, LDS Church History Library. Christensen was not the only Danish immigrant who demonstrated devotion to his native land. As he arrived in Elsinore, David Madsen raised his cornet to his lips and played the Danish anthem. Gwendolyn Jacobson, *Memories of "Little Denmark": History of Elsinore and Brooklyn, Utah*, (Elsinore: Elsinore Literary Club and Daughters of Utah Pioneers, [1962]), 8.

themselves in the only way they could.”²⁰ Nevertheless, to promote English language acquisition, cultural assimilation, and community relationships, they did not form “autonomous congregations” for immigrants to “worship in their own tongue.” Rather they had immigrants attend and participate in their community’s English speaking wards on one hand, while allowing them to meet later in the day (or the week) for services in their native languages. On September 30, 1853, Hans Dinesen wrote: “The first Danish meeting was held in a little log house [in Spring City], owned by Hans Chr. Hansen, a brother of Peter O. Hansen.” Later that year an entry for Friday, December 16 Dinesen recorded: “...Erastus Snow, then an apostle, came to us....He had instructions from Prest. Young to ‘organize the Scandinavian meetings,’ and he said ‘this should last as long as the Scandinavian emigration should continue.’”²¹ Scandinavian language meetings were established wherever the Scandinavian Saints could gather enough members. By 1903, Scandinavian meetings were being held in thirty-three towns, from Cache Valley in the north to Sevier County in the south. In Salt Lake City, where the first company of Scandinavians settled in the Second Ward—an area between 600 and 900 South and 300 and 600 East that came to be known as “Little Denmark”—Brigham Young himself appointed Niels Jensen to preside over the Scandinavian meetings in the ward.²²

Notwithstanding Brigham Young’s documented support for Scandinavian-language meetings, stories circulated about his opposition to such meetings. In one account, immigrants took the initiative to hold religious services in their own language:

When Brigham Young heard that they were conducting their meetings in Danish, he became very upset. In his communication with them, he insisted that they stop using the Danish language in their meetings. But these stubborn saints were not about to give up their native language. After another directive from Brigham Young, they decided they would hold a service speaking English and a service speaking Danish each Sunday. This again displeased Brigham Young, but the pattern of holding a separate meeting using the Danish language continued into the 1920s.²³

The Scandinavian meetings eased to some degree the immigrants’ sense of being cut off from their far off homeland while helping them begin a

²⁰ Mulder, *Homeward*, 250

²¹ Hans Dinesen, “A Reminiscence: Hans Dinesen’s Narrative, 1855–1858,” *Manuscripts history and historical reports* [Microfilm], LDS Church History Library.

²² Lula Ostler Winn and Vilate Lewis Elggren, “A Brief Historical Sketch of the Second Ward,” (1928), 7, LDS Church History Library.

²³ Lillian Winn Fjeldsted, “Danish Meeting.” In *A Danish Saga, Volume I, A Selection of Writings about Danish People who Came to America and Settled Sanpete County*. (Manti: Messenger-Enterprise, Inc: 1997), 5–6. Grace Johnson’s *Brodders and Sisters*, 28–31, has a long, entertaining account of the same debate. William Jenson Adams, *Sanpete Tales: Humorous Folklore from Central Utah* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), 6–7 gives a slightly shorter version that includes the following rather argumentative correspondence from the Danish bishop in Ephraim: “Dear Brodder Brigham, Are you trying to say dat de Lord can’t speak Danish? If so, please to gif me de reference. I tell you vhat I vill do. Ve vill haf meetings in both languages oond let de people decide as is gud oond proper in dis great country....Ve haf always hearn speaking more dan one language is a sign of an educated man. Are you against education, Brodder Brigham?”

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new life in Utah. Søren Sørensen Holm, who immigrated to Utah in 1891, recorded in his journal that three days after his arrival in Salt Lake City he “went to a Scandinavian meeting in the 14th Ward” where he “met many good friends.”²⁴ Jens Christian Johansen, a Danish immigrant who settled in Elsinore, Sevier County, in 1879 mentions in his diary attending faithfully “the Danish meeting,” which was held “every Sunday evening” (sometimes in his home) up until the time of his death in 1915.²⁵ Another Danish immigrant, Erik Christian Henrichsen, who came to the United States in 1871 and eventually settled in Provo, was sustained as “stake president” of the Scandinavians there in June 1920 and served until October 1927.²⁶ He wrote in his journal of attending and speaking in Scandinavian meetings throughout the state twenty-two times in 1921 and twenty-six times in 1926 in such locations as the Granite Stake Tabernacle, Grant Ward, Assembly Hall on Temple Square, Ephraim, and Levan.²⁷ In many locales Scandinavian meetings continued throughout the 1930s and 1940s.²⁸

In addition to the weekly Scandinavian church meetings, larger, church-wide Scandinavian conferences and reunions provided the Scandinavian immigrants in Utah with additional opportunities to visit old friends, speak their native language, and retain a sense of pride in their origins. These celebrations were elaborate public events. Starting about 1890 and running through 1929, they rotated from town to town nearly every year, attracting Scandinavians from throughout Utah and neighboring states. A report of the 1915 and 1921 reunions records:

²⁴ Søren Sørensen Holm, *Autobiography and Diary [ca. 1887-1902]*, September 2, 1891, LDS Church History Library.

²⁵ Jens Christian Johansen, *Autobiography and Diary, 1877-1914*. MSS 5575, LDS Church History Library.

²⁶ Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927), 399.

²⁷ Erik Christian Henrichsen, “Transcription of the Journal of Erik Christian Henrichsen, (1847-1930) dated 1917-1926,” MSS 2026, BYU Special Collections.

²⁸ A notice in the May 5, 1933 edition of the *Pleasant Grove Review* announced a Scandinavian language meeting for the next Sunday. Olsen, “Mormon Scandinavians’ Experience,” 63. The May 14, 1937 issue of the *Provo Evening Herald* announced a Scandinavian meeting in Provo on the next Sunday. In an interview with Lloyd and June Henrichsen in Provo on January 5, 2006, the Henrichsens recalled that bilingual Scandinavian meetings were held in Provo in the late 1940s.

In 1915, seven hundred outsiders came to Pleasant Grove and along with three hundred local residents, they “taxed the tabernacle to its capacity,” and many were unable to find seats. In 1921, out-of-town visitors numbered over one thousand....During the celebration [under the direction of Scandinavian Conference and Reunion President John A. Widtsoe] activities consisted of three religious meetings and a grand concert given by the Pleasant Grove Scandinavian Choir in the native tongues. The three national airs of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark were rendered in their several languages.... And the flags of each Scandinavian country decorated the buildings. Programs were printed in Danish.²⁹

Other churches in Utah provided Scandinavian-language services as well. Beginning in 1875, Presbyterian and Methodist missions were established in Utah that sought to win Scandinavian followers by holding services in Swedish and Danish and looking to the spiritual and educational needs of the Scandinavian immigrants. For this reason, the Presbyterian Church commissioned and financed Danish Lutheran minister F.W. Blohm to start a mission in Utah.³⁰ Worshippers were told that the language meetings would continue as long as there were people in the pews.³¹

Along with the creation of Scandinavian-language church meetings, there was a flowering of Scandinavian social groups and activities in late nineteenth-century Utah. Wherever there were sufficient numbers of Danes, Swedes, or Norwegians, there was probably also a Scandinavian dramatic, musical, or sports group, such as the Danske Klub, Norske Klub, Norden Society, or Svenska Gleeklubben. These organizations provided social networks and support, not only while the immigrants were first acculturating but also for decades. Some were political in nature; many were business oriented. Members of these organizations formed insurance brotherhoods, created emigration funds, collaborated on genealogical research, put on theatrical performances in their native tongues, and demonstrated a “patriotic eagerness to celebrate Old World holidays.”³²

In Pleasant Grove, for instance, the Scandinavian organization held a winter sleigh riding party, put on a Scandinavian Christmas-day program, commemorated Swedish *Midsommarfest* (a mid-summer’s eve party) in June,

²⁹ Olsen, “Mormon Scandinavian Experience,” 63. For an account of the 1902 Scandinavian Reunion held in Brigham City attended by an estimated four thousand, see Mulder, *Homeward*, 305-307.

³⁰ Enok Mortensen, *The Danish Lutheran Church in America; the history and heritage of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: Board of Publication Lutheran Church in America, 1967), 97.

³¹ Kendrick Charles Babcock, *The Scandinavian Element in the United States* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1914), 121-22.

³² “Two popular Scandinavian plays, ”En Midsommarnatt i Dalarne” [A Midsummer Evening in the Dales](Swedish) and ”Et Eventyr paa Fodrejsen” [An Adventure on the Walking-Tour](Danish-Norwegian), flyer, March 5, 1900, BYU Special Collections. Both of the plays advertised on this turn-of-the-century flyer were contemporary and popular in Scandinavia. “En Midsommarnatt i Dalarne” was a one-act dramatic idyll with songs. Written by August Kloo (1814-1862), it was based on Erik Bøgh’s “Huldrebakken,” a Danish work produced in Copenhagen in 1852. “Et Eventyr paa Fodrejsen” was a four-act vaudeville (folk) comedy written by Jens Christian Hostrup and published in Copenhagen in 1849. It had romantic and musical features that made it well-liked. Mulder, *Homeward*, 255-57; Grant Stake, “Danish Organization Minutes, 1927-1934,” 263; LDS Church History Library, has a report of a meeting of the “Dansk Genealogisk Forening” [Danish Genealogical Association] on April 30, 1933 .

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A flyer announcing the Scandinavian Pioneer celebration at the Great Salt Lake's Garfield Beach on July 24, 1895.

and celebrated Pioneer Day on July 24.³³ Other holidays frequently marked by Scandinavian gatherings across the state included Norwegian Constitution Day (May 17), Decoration (Memorial) Day, Brigham Young's birthday (June 1), Danish Constitution Day (June 5), the anniversary of the founding of the Scandinavian Mission (June 14), and Independence Day (July 4).³⁴ These activities

were held regularly over a period of forty years, in varying locales — Syracuse, Draper, Bountiful, and even Garfield Beach, on the shore of the Great Salt Lake—until at least 1914. They involved elaborate, centralized, cooperative planning with care given to maintaining parity among the different Scandinavian nationalities.

Typically, planners provided carefully timed train transportation to an amusement park or resort near the city. There participants enjoyed the day outdoors or in pavilions, where there was a program of performances—songs, speeches, recitations and sometimes prayers—and dancing to a popular dance band. Competitive games, including races, were another important part of the event, with prizes for men's, women's, and children's categories, provided by local Scandinavian businesses.³⁵

At the turn of the century, Utah Scandinavians held their celebrations at other prime recreational locations like Lagoon and Saltair.³⁶

Immigrants frequently coalesced around similar ideals and formed their own organizations, especially when they were excluded from existing organizations and associations. In Pleasant Grove, for example, one third of

³³ Olsen, "Mormon Scandinavian Experience," 62-63.

³⁴ Jennifer Eastman Attebery, "Midsommar in 1890s Salt Lake City." Paper presented at the 99th annual meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study, Madison, Wis., May 1, 2009).

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ William A. Morton, *Utah og dets Befolkning: En kort skildring af Utah og Mormonismen; mormon-kirkens lærdomme og statens hjælpekilder og severdigheder.* Oversat fra Engelsk av C.C.A. Christensen (Ephraim: Hayes & Morton, 1900): 52, 54.

the community was Scandinavian, but “as a group they were disgruntled with their lack of representation among the elected officials.” Consequently, Pleasant Grove Scandinavians formed their own Scandinavian “political club” in 1891. They held political rallies, campaigned for Scandinavian candidates, and “succeeded in electing two men to positions on the city council.”³⁷

Most political organizations encouraged Utah Scandinavians to get politically involved and perform their civic duties. An ad in a Scandinavian-language newspaper chided: “Every Scandinavian who has been naturalized in the United States should see the necessity in using one’s right to vote...”³⁸ An 1898 flyer in Swedish invited “all Scandinavians” to a “BIG Scandinavian political meeting” sponsored by “the Scandinavian Republican Club.” According to the flyer, the meeting promised “distinguished speakers” would “clarify political positions,” provide “a short course in political economy,” and give “reasons why Republican politics are best for all.” A Scandinavian Democratic Club was organized in the state in the 1890s as well.³⁹

Wherever there were large numbers of Scandinavians in the various communities in nineteenth-century Utah, Scandinavian languages were used to conduct business. Brigham Young is said to have complained, “You can’t buy or sell a cow in Ephraim unless you do it in Danish.”⁴⁰ Whether true or not, it is indisputable that English alone was inadequate for conducting business in many Utah communities. For this reason, many Utah stores employed Scandinavian speakers. For instance, when the ZCMI store was first established in Mount Pleasant it had two clerks, one who spoke English and the other who spoke Danish so all customers could be understood and helped.⁴¹ In addition, Scandinavian mercantile associations were established in many Utah towns.⁴² In some of the larger towns where English dominated, merchants appealed to the Scandinavians by placing signs in their store windows announcing *De Skandinaviske Sprog Tales* [The Scandinavian languages are spoken].⁴³ Scandinavian-newspaper advertisements for many Anglo-American businesses carried the same line in order to draw the Scandinavian clientele and increase sales. Large and small companies such as Utah Power & Light Company, Utah Home Fire Insurance Co.,

³⁷ Andrew Jenson, *Autobiography of Andrew Jenson*, assistant historian of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), 107, quoted in Olsen, “Mormon Scandinavian Immigrants’ Experience,” 63.

³⁸ “Valgliste,” *Salt Lake City Bikuben*, August 1, 1876, 8.

³⁹ “Stort Skandinaviskt Politiskt Möte,” Skandinaviska Republikanske Klubben flyer, October 25, 1898, BYU Special Collections; and Mulder, *Homeward*, 257.

⁴⁰ Johnson, *Brodders and Sisters*, 28.

⁴¹ Pearle M. Olsen, *Nickels from a sheep’s back: Or biography of John K. (Krause) Madsen, pioneer sheepman of Sanpete County, Utah* (np.: Pearle M. Olsen, 1977), 70.

⁴² Mulder, *Homeward*, 257.

⁴³ Arrangementskomiteen for festligholdelsen af den 17de Maie 1914 [Arrangement committee for the celebration of May 17th, 1914], *Utah fest program for 17de Mai: Hundreedaars Jubilæum for Norges Grundlov [Utah festival program for May 17th: The one hundred year jubilee of the constitution of Norway]*. (Salt Lake City, 1914), 29, BYU Special Collections; see also Olsen, *Diary of John August Olsen*, 70.

Peerless Laundry, shoe stores, furniture companies, dentists, and even morticians contended for Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish customers placing Scandinavian-language ads in Scandinavian language newspapers.⁴⁴

Scandinavian-language newspapers not only provided the immigrant with news and information in their own language, the newspapers also served as a means to bind together immigrants in the scattered communities throughout Utah. Nine different Scandinavian-language periodicals were published in Utah over a period of sixty-two years from 1873 to 1935. As one of the papers explained: "Scandinavians in this Territory have for many years felt the necessity of an organ whose language they could fully understand..."⁴⁵ These newspapers served those who preferred to read in their native language and as vehicles for promoting the continued use of Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish in Utah for several generations. The continued publishing of these newspapers suggest that many Scandinavian immigrants failed to learn English quickly and the newspapers aided in keeping alive the Scandinavian languages in Utah.⁴⁶

The first publication of this sort was *The Semi-weekly Telegraph*, an English-language newspaper, which, in 1866 began publishing a section titled *Dansk læsning* [Danish readings].⁴⁷ The first publication entirely in a Scandinavian language was *Utah Posten*, which commenced publication in December 1873, but fell victim to the financial panic early the next year. *Utah Skandinav* began publishing in Swedish, Danish, and English in October of 1874. It had a stronger political orientation and was more anti-Mormon than *Utah Posten*.⁴⁸

To "counteract *Skandinav's* poison," Anders W. Winberg, president of the Scandinavian meetings in Salt Lake City, started the longest-lived Scandinavian publication in Utah's history, *Bikuben* [*The Beehive*].⁴⁹

Commencing publication on August 1, 1876, the *Bikuben* had a strong LDS church orientation. Its masthead proclaimed: "Og hver Mand hørte Ordet i sit eget Tungemaal," [A paraphrase of Doctrine and Covenants 90:11, Every man shall hear the fullness of the gospel in his own tongue].⁵⁰ Despite this bold proclamation, *Bikuben* did not print many Swedish-language articles, which resulted in complaints and turmoil among some Swedish Latter-day Saints. Written Danish, however, was acceptable

⁴⁴ *Salt Lake City Bikuben*, September 2, 1931; *Salt Lake City Utah Posten*, February 23, 1935.

⁴⁵ *Salt Lake City Utah Posten*, December 20, 1873, quoted in Mulder, *Homeward*, 258.

⁴⁶ Yulene A. Rushton, "The Legend of 'Pete Poker'," *A Danish Saga*, 12-13. Looking through dozens of *Bikuben* issues to see if we could find any kind of encouragement to learn English or any advertisements for English classes, we found absolutely nothing. *Bikuben* was clearly intended as a means of communication for those who did not know English or preferred to use Scandinavian language.

⁴⁷ *The Semi-Weekly Telegraph* was published in Salt Lake City by Edward Lennox Sloan and Thomas Brown Holmes Stenhouse. Copies are found in BYU Special Collections.

⁴⁸ At this time, there were two political parties in Utah, the "People's party," which generally supported The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and the "Liberal party," whose members opposed the church, see Mulder, *Homeward*, 259.

⁴⁹ Mulder, *Homeward*, 261.

⁵⁰ *Salt Lake City Bikuben*, August 1, 1876.



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to Norwegian speakers.⁵¹

In 1882, the longtime editor of *Bikuben*, Andrew Jenson, started a history-oriented Danish monthly, *Morgenstjernen*, which eventually evolved into the English language *Historical Record*. Three years later, Jenson launched a competing Danish language newspaper, calling it *Utah Posten*—the second Scandinavian periodical with this name. It lasted only four months before joining forces with *Bikuben*.

The tendency by Anglo-Americans to see Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes as one large group created resentment among some Swedes, who felt they were losing their cultural identity. To insure and maintain their own cultural identify, three different Swedish-language newspapers appeared toward the end of the nineteenth century: *Svenska Härölden*, “the first publication in Utah entirely in the Swedish language,” started in June of 1885. “It pleased the elated publishers to be able to demonstrate that the Swedish were a distinct people.” The paper ceased publication in 1892, when “fire destroyed its equipment and abruptly halted its career.”⁵² This

The E.C. Henrichsen family in 1901.

Henrichsen and his wife immigrated to Utah from Denmark. Their children were born in Utah.

⁵¹ Both Danish and Norwegian developed from a common Scandinavian language spoken from about 550 to 1050 A.D. With the Kalmar Union in 1387 and the ascension of Danish-born Queen Margaret to the throne of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, within two or three generations Danish emerged as the only written language.” For more on the Scandinavian languages see Einar Haugen, *The Scandinavian Languages: An Introduction to Their History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 24, 331–32. In the 1800s, after four centuries of dynastic union with Denmark, written Norwegian was “virtually identical with Danish” although it had a “distinctively Norwegian pronunciation” and a “Norwegian infused vocabulary.” Einar Haugen, *Language Conflict and Language Planning: The Case of Modern Norwegian* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 1, 28, 30–31, 45.

⁵² Mulder, *Homeward*, 264–65.

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Christian Valdemar Hansen, and sons in Utah in 1907. Born in Denmark, Hansen was a painter by profession.

left the field to the rival Swedish-language paper, *Utah Korrespondenten*, which, in turn, was challenged in 1900 by a third Swedish-language paper, the third *Utah Posten* (not to be confused with the previous two mentioned above). Within two years, this *Utah Posten* was sold to the LDS church, and in time was combined with *Bikuben*.⁵³

The publication run of Scandinavian language newspapers for nearly played a

seventy years a primary role in the preservation of the Scandinavian languages in Utah.

An important factor that hastened the demise of these newspapers and other language-maintenance efforts in Utah and across the nation was the spirited rise of U.S. nationalism at the beginning of the twentieth century. When World War I broke out in Europe in 1914, the national mood in the United States changed. Anxiety led to increased social tension, a “100 percent Americanism” campaign, and pressure for immigrants to assimilate and conform. As historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., observed, “Even presidents as friendly to immigrants as Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson worried whether in crisis ‘hyphenated’ Americans might not be more loyal to the old country than to their adopted land.”⁵⁴ In an address to newly naturalized citizens in Philadelphia in May 1915, just three days after a German submarine sank the *Lusitania*, President Wilson stated, “America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American.”⁵⁵

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 41.

⁵⁵ Woodrow Wilson, “America the Hope of the World,” in Francis Trevelyan Miller ed., *America, the Land We Love* (Philadelphia: Uplift Publishing, 1915), 25-29.

Later that year, former President Theodore Roosevelt spoke even more strongly on the same topic and focused on language: “The foreign-born population of this country must be an Americanized population....It must talk the language of native-born fellow citizens.”⁵⁶ In a July 4, 1918, speech, Iowa Governor William Lloyd Harding “accused Iowa’s Danish-Americans of gross ingratitude toward America for speaking Danish in their churches and schools. He then went on to malign the Danish Americans for their supposed unworthiness for the blessings America had bestowed upon them.”⁵⁷ In an infamous executive decision, he officially banned “the public use, including personal conversations on trains and over the telephone, of all foreign languages in Iowa for the duration of World War I.”⁵⁸ In this cultural and political atmosphere, which was decidedly against foreign identities and languages and in favor of “the total assimilation of immigrants,” even European-based churches, such as the Danish Lutherans, began shifting towards “the language of the land” in their meetings to demonstrate their American patriotism.⁵⁹

For immigrants in a new country, the shift from one language to another typically takes three generations.⁶⁰ In Utah, although it did not take place immediately or effortlessly, this shift took place faster than it did in other parts of the United States where Scandinavian immigrants gathered. Research conducted in 1940 revealed that in the United States 31 percent of second-generation Danes continued to speak Danish, 44 percent of second-generation Swedes still used Swedish, and 52 percent of Norwegians spoke their native Norwegian. In states like Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa, where large concentrations of Scandinavians lived, the retention rates were even higher, ranging from 38 percent to 64 percent. In Utah, in contrast, only 16.7 percent of second-generation Norwegians spoke Norwegian, and the mother-tongue retention rate was also unusually low for Swedish (24 percent) and Danish (23 percent).⁶¹

⁵⁶ Theodore Roosevelt, “Americanism,” Address before the Knights of Columbus, Carnegie Hall, New York, October 12, 1915, cited in Henry Bischoff, *Immigration Issues* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 201.

⁵⁷ Julie Allen, “Autobiographical Constructions of Danish-American Identity between the World Wars,” *The Bridge* 30 (2007): 11-12.

⁵⁸ Allen, “Autobiographical Constructions,” 12. See also Peter L. Petersen, “Language and Loyalty: Governor Harding and Iowa’s Danish-Americans During World War I,” *Annals of Iowa* 42 (Fall 1974): 406, and Stephen J. Frese, “Divided by a Common Language: The Babel Proclamation and its Influence in Iowa History,” *The History Teacher* 39, no. 1 (2005): 59-88, <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/39.1/frese.html> (accessed September 1, 2009).

⁵⁹ Allen, “Autobiographical Constructions,” 11; and Mortensen, *The Danish Lutheran Church*, 174. During this time, German immigrants in America came under especially strong suspicion. In Utah, many German clubs and the LDS German organization were forced to suspend operations. There was even a move to end the teaching of German in Utah schools. For further information, see Allan Kent Powell “Germans in Utah” *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 222-24. See also Jessie L. Embry “Ethnic Congregations” in, *Mormon Wards as Community* (Binghamton, NY: Global Academic Publishing, 2001), chapter six.

⁶⁰ Alejandro Portes and Ling Xin Hao, “E pluribus unum: Bilingualism and loss of language in the second generation,” *Sociology of Education*, 71 (1998): 269-94.

⁶¹ Einar Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America; a Study in Bilingual Behavior* 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), 284-85.

Why did the linguistic assimilation of Scandinavians take place faster in Utah? The answer can be found in a chain of related factors: Respect and acceptance led to interaction, which, in turn, promoted language learning. After researching the Scandinavians in Pleasant Grove, Misty Armstrong argued that a primary reason for the immigrants' assimilation was their close proximity to the English speaking population in "mixed nationality neighborhoods" and the English speakers' "greater willingness to accept and incorporate Scandinavians."⁶² The fact that the Scandinavians, Anglo-Americans, and other ethnic groups in Utah during this period shared a common faith and saw each other as brothers and sisters helped a great deal. "Pioneer settlers labored to establish a new Zion in which people would put aside ethnic and national differences to become members in a community of Saints."⁶³ Native English speakers and immigrant English learners went to church meetings together, and because of this frequent interaction, they were able to overcome negative stereotypes.

Today, after several generations of Scandinavian acceptance and success in the United States, many forget that American sentiments towards Scandinavians were once quite negative. "Dumb Swede" and "Dense Dane" stereotypes were common in late nineteenth-century America. For instance, in 1887 one *New York Times* reporter wrote about "sluggish, heavy-faced, sturdy Scandinavian immigrants [who] wander aimlessly and with lack-lustre eyes around the Battery Park and sit on the benches, and by that act render them unfit for occupancy by any person who has correct ideas relative to vermin." The reporter added, "They were dirty and vermin-infested. They drank sour milk and ate heavy bread." In sum, "They look[ed] like poor material out of which to create intelligent American citizens."⁶⁴ Another correspondent called the Scandinavians in America "plodding" and lacking enterprise.⁶⁵

In contrast, an 1886 *Deseret News* editorial argued:

The presence of many Scandinavians in Utah is no discredit to "Mormonism" and no drawback to Mormon merit. We consider them a benefit to the country and an element of strength, and we number among our most esteemed acquaintance gentlemen and ladies of culture and refinement, who are undervalued and misunderstood by many, simply because their tongues have not been trained to trip easily over the peculiar difficulties of modern English pronunciation. We say, Welcome and success to the Scandinavians, for, of them, generally speaking, no American community need be the least ashamed.⁶⁶

⁶² Misty Armstrong, "The Assimilation of Scandinavian Immigrants in Pleasant Grove, Utah, 1880-1900," *Genealogical Journal* 27, no. 3-4 (1999): 116.

⁶³ William A Wilson, "Folklore of Utah's Little Scandinavia," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Spring 1979) 151.]

⁶⁴ "Thrift of Scandinavians: The Men who are Conquering the Far West. *New York Times* (1857-Current file), July 24, 1887, <http://www.proquest.com.erl.lib.byu.edu/> (accessed December 28, 2007).

⁶⁵ "Editorial Article 6—No Title." *New York Times* (1857-Current file), July 24, 1887, <http://www.proquest.com.erl.lib.byu.edu/> (accessed December 28, 2007).

⁶⁶ "The Scandinavian Element," *Deseret Evening News*, June 25, and July 7, 1886.

SCANDINAVIAN IMMIGRANTS



Another development that helped build respect for Scandinavians in Utah was the number of prominent church and community leaders who were of Scandinavian heritage or had a strong Scandinavian connection.

These included Erastus Snow, the first LDS mission leader in Scandinavia; Peter O. Hansen, who was Snow's missionary companion and translated The Book of Mormon into Danish; Christian D. Fjelsted, a member of the church's First Council of the Seventy; Anthon Lund, a young Danish convert who eventually became a member of the church's Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and later a counselor in its First Presidency; C.C.A. Christensen, artist, poet, educator, and community leader; and John Widtsoe, a graduate of Harvard and Germany's University of Goettingen, president of Utah Agricultural College (now Utah State University) and later the University of Utah, and a member of the LDS church's Quorum of the Twelve.⁶⁷ Because of these prominent countrymen, Mormon Scandinavian immigrants felt that their culture was respected and accepted in Utah. This was an immensely important factor in facilitating their integration and English language acquisition.⁶⁸

Anglo-American church and community leaders not only accepted the immigrants as brothers and sisters but also celebrated the territory's ethnic and national diversity. In 1865, John Taylor, a future president of the church, proclaimed from the Tabernacle pulpit, "We are not composed of

⁶⁷ Albert L. Zobell, Jr., "Scandinavia...Fruitful Gospel Field," *Improvement Era* 53 (June 1950): 474-75, 528; "Scandinavian-Born General Authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," *1850-1950 Scandinavian Centennial Jubilee: Commemorating the Introduction of the Restored Gospel into Scandinavia, Salt Lake City, Utah, August 11-12-13 1950, Program*: 15, 29-30, 37-42; Hansen, *Autobiography of Peter Olsen Hansen*; Jenny Lind M. Brown, "Karen Tollestrup," *A Danish Saga*; Anthon Hendrik Lund, *Diaries 1860-1921*, Microfilm, LDS Church History Library; Olsen, *Diary of John August Olsen*.

⁶⁸ Armstrong, "The Assimilation," 123.

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one particular family of the human race; we cannot be called Germans, we cannot be called English, we cannot be called Americans, or French, or Italians, Swiss, Portuguese, or Scandinavians. You cannot call us by any nationality, in particular, for we are composed of the whole.”⁶⁹ Twelve years earlier, even as the first Scandinavians were arriving in the Salt Lake Valley, an editorial in the *Deseret News*, celebrated the diversity (and unity) of the gathered Saints: “To see a people gathered from a multitude of nations, indiscriminately gathered...and those who gather being one in faith, fellowship, feeling, and acts, is an anomaly on the earth.”⁷⁰

Helping to build respect and acceptance of Scandinavians in Utah was the number of famous Scandinavians who visited Utah while touring the United States. Jenny Lind the Swedish Nightingale, one of the world’s most gifted sopranos, came to Utah during her 1850-1852 concert tour of America, as did the famous Norwegian violinist Ole Bull, in March 1870 as part of his California tour.⁷¹ Norwegian poet and Unitarian pastor Kristoffer Janson

⁶⁹ John Taylor, “Different Ideas of Nations in Regard to Government—Views of the Latter-day Saints: Their Philanthropy—Reformation Effected by Them—Liberty of Conscience Allowed to All,” *Journal of Discourses* 11 (January 18, 1865), 52.

⁷⁰ “To the Saints,” *Deseret Evening News*, February 5, 1853.

⁷¹ Arrangementskomiteen, *Utah fest program*, 10; Mulder, *Homeward*, 255; Einar Haugen and Camilla Cai, *Ole Bull: Norway’s Romantic Musician and Cosmopolitan Patriot*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 166; Mortimer Smith, *The Life of Ole Bull*, (New York: American Scandinavian Foundation, 1947), 154-55.

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visited Salt Lake City as part of a United States lecture tour in 1879-1880.⁷² Norwegian singer Olivia Dahl, and Erling Bjørnson, son of Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson one of “the great four” Norwegian authors, performed and spoke in Utah in 1906. The next year, 1907, Utah received Roald Amundson, the Norwegian polar explorer who had gained fame by leading the first ship voyage through the Northwest Passage in the Arctic Ocean (1903-06) and later the first expedition to reach the South Pole (1910-12).⁷³

The ultimate form of social acceptance and interaction is marriage, and many second-generation Scandinavians in Utah “married the youth of the land without reference to racial origins,” wrote John A. Widtsoe in 1950.⁷⁴ According to Armstrong’s demographic analysis of ethnic marriage in Pleasant Grove, a heavily Scandinavian-populated area, marriages between Scandinavians and Americans were almost non-existent in 1880 but “by 1900, the percentage of ethnically mixed couples had shifted dramatically.”⁷⁵

The building of community and the assimilation of the new immigrants did not take place without incident. In some communities, there were ethnic divisions, linguistic differences, and cultural misunderstandings that

A group of Scandinavian Americans attending a Scandinavian Reunion in the Provo Pioneer Ward Meetinghouse in 1950.

⁷² Nina Draxten, *Kristofer Jansen’s Lecture Tour, 1879-80* (Norwegian American Historic Association, Volume 22), 18, http://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume22/vol22_2.html (accessed September 9, 2009).

⁷³ Arrangementskomiteen, *Utah fest program*, 10.

⁷⁴ John A. Widtsoe, “How Many Latter-Day Saints are of Scandinavian Descent?” *Improvement Era* 53 (June 1950): 471.

⁷⁵ Armstrong, “The Assimilation,” 124.

sometimes created “social friction.”⁷⁶ Conflicts occasionally grew out of simple, day-to-day activities. For instance, in his journal, Jens Christian Johansen mentioned a disagreement about water turns.⁷⁷ An American in Pleasant Grove brought suit against Jens Jenson after a miscommunication about meat from a bloated ox.⁷⁸ Even children experienced the pain of discrimination based on nationality and language differences. One student wrote, “I started school at age seven and English-speaking children would not play with me for they could not understand my language. All my friends were other Scandinavian children.”⁷⁹ Overall, however, these problems were not so great that they could not be overcome. In time, and with a spirit of brotherhood and acceptance, a unified society formed.

In *Danes in North America*, Frederick Hale notes that the Danish population in Utah was “encouraged to assimilate rapidly” and “most vestiges of Danish culture soon vanished.” Kistie Simmons makes a similar point, that “within a generation” the Scandinavian Mormons in Utah “effectively suppressed their European language and culture.” Speaking of the Utah Scandinavians, William Mulder has concluded that their “mother tongue died out quickly.”⁸⁰ However, as the evidence presented in this article demonstrates, things were not so simple. The historical reality was that for many decades Scandinavian immigrants in Utah fought valiant battles—both to learn English and to continue using their ancestral tongues. Allowing the immigrants to continue using their native languages was a crucial element that conveyed acceptance and respect for the Scandinavians, as did other actions, such as attending church meetings together. The resulting social interaction probably did the most to overcome linguistic and cultural barriers, facilitate the immigrants’ integration into Utah society, and build healthy communities.

⁷⁶ Antrei and Roberts. *A History of Sanpete County*, 52–53.

⁷⁷ Johansen, *Autobiography and Diary*, 18

⁷⁸ Olsen, “Mormon Scandinavian Immigrants Experience,” 64.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁸⁰ Frederick Hale, *Danes in North America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984), 167. Kistie Simmons, “Belief and Behavior: Exploring the Loss of Ethnic Identity Among Nineteenth-Century Scandinavian Mormon Converts in Sanpete County, Utah” (master’s thesis, Prescott College, December 2007), vi. Unfortunately, Simmons’ research limited itself to English-language sources only and ignored the multiple evidences of Scandinavian-language maintenance in Utah provided by immigrants’ Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian-language journals, the continuation of Scandinavian language meetings in the LDS church for over seventy years, and the publication of nine different Scandinavian-language newspapers in Utah up through 1935. Mulder, *Homeward*, 248.



WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES

William Jefferson Hardin: A Grand But Forgotten Park City African American

By GARY KIMBALL

William J. Hardin's body lies in an unmarked and unrecorded grave in the Park City municipal cemetery. This is rather strange because he made sure there was sufficient money set aside for his burial. He also left specific instructions on where to find his good suit, and even how he wanted his hair combed. Hardin was a proud man with meticulous habits who took pride in his appearance. Perhaps this is why he shot himself through the heart instead of the head. He considerably stepped outside of the cabin when he committed the deed so he would not leave a mess for anyone to clean up.¹

Hardin was a well-spoken man who cultivated scores of friends. The *Park Record* described him as a "Mulatto or Octoroon."² The *Cheyenne Daily Sun* described him as being "of slender build, five feet ten inches high, weighs 140 pounds...has black curly hair with mustache and elfin whiskers of the same color and black eyes. Has sharp well cut features, thin lips and small mouth, long sharp nose and an orange complexion." He was light-skinned, and the newspaper portrayed him as having "no resemblance in his features to the African race ... he looks more like an Italian or a Frenchman than a colored man."³ If Hardin had chosen he could have disappeared into the white world; but it is evident he was proud of his roots.

Hardin was born in 1831 (the exact *William Jefferson Hardin*.

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¹ "Tired of Living," *Park Record*, September 14, 1889.

² "Sketch of His Life," *Park Record*, September 14, 1889.

³ *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, November 9, 1879.

date is unknown) on a plantation in Russellville, Kentucky, reportedly a nephew of Benjamin Hardin, a Kentucky congressman during the Jackson era.⁴ Hardin was never a slave. His mother had one white parent and was a free Negro, and his father was also white. Hardin was a “quadroon.” Raised by Shakers and one of the first blacks to hold a commission in the U.S. Army, Hardin was a civil rights-worker before the term was coined. This article recounts the adventuresome life of a handsome and talented African American who ended by his own hand in a Utah mining town, leaving many things about his life unknown.

Hardin was one of the hundreds of former slaves and free African Americans who came West after the Civil War. He pushed hard the cause of racial equality first in Colorado, then Wyoming, and finally in Utah where he spent the last seven years of his life. His story is indicative of the ambivalent attitudes of whites toward African Americans in the 1870s and 1880s—a critical time when the South in particular and the rest of the nation in general became a segregated country.⁵ For Hardin, racism and prejudice loomed large in his life, yet incidents of toleration, if not acceptance, can be found. His story demonstrates one individual’s experience in combating racism in the West and the opportunities for talented African Americans in Western cities and mining towns.

In about 1839, Hardin was taken into the Shaker community of South Union, located about halfway between Russellville and Bowling Green, Kentucky.⁶ The Shakers followed the principles of celibacy, communal ownership of property, public confession of sin and the withdrawal from “worldly” society. Formally known as the Society of United Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing, they became known as the Shakers from a dance-like ritual. They elevated women to the equal of men and believed that Christ would return as a woman. The Shakers’ practice of celibacy forced them to find ways in which to acquire new members. One method was by adopting orphan children and including them as part of the community until they reached the age of eighteen when they could decide

⁴ “Sketch of His Life, *Park Record*,” September 14, 1889, notes Hardin “was born sixty-three years ago.” Lawrence M. Woods *Wyoming Biographies*, (Worland, WY: High Plains Publishing Co., 1991), 100, states his birth was about 1830. Eugene H. Berwanger places Hardin’s year of birth at 1831 because he was thirty-nine when the 1870 Colorado census was taken, Eugene H. Berwanger, “Hardin: Colorado Spokesman for Racial Justice, 1863-1873,” *The Colorado Magazine* 52 (Winter 1975), 52. Hardin claimed that his father was the brother of Kentucky Congressman Benjamin Hardin who is profiled in James L. Harrison, *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949), 1265.

⁵ For an account of how segregation emerged, see C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow: A Brief Account of Segregation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957). Hardin’s experience in Utah might be compared with those of two other African Americans in Utah during the 1890s. See Jeffrey Nichols, “The Boss of the White Slaves: R. Bruce Johnson and African American Political Power in Utah at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 74 (Fall 2006): 349-64; and Michael S. Sweeney, “Julius F. Taylor and the *Broad Ax* of Salt Lake City,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 77 (Summer 2009): 204-21.

⁶ South Union Shaker Community was established in 1807 and was active until 1922. The Centre House, a forty-room structure build in 1824, and other buildings are now part of the Shaker Museum at South Union, Kentucky.

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to stay or leave. Adults who were willing to become celibate were also accepted into the community. In South Union, Hardin received an education that was accorded few blacks in the antebellum period. The Shakers also practiced job rotation monthly so all members according to their age and sex would be cross-trained in a variety of crafts. In the eleven years Hardin spent in the community, he received a thorough grounding in Shaker theology and protection from the outside world.⁷

On Wednesday, January 24, 1849, the community clerk made this entry in the day-book: "Departure - Wm Harding [sic] left for the world."⁸ He accepted a teaching position in Bowling Green, Kentucky, where he taught "free children of color."⁹ Here Hardin met Caroline (surname not known), a slave woman whom he married.

The marriage to Caroline, which was performed by an ordained minister, was fraught with complications. Marriages between slaves were common and usually tolerated by their white owners, although the Southern legal system never recognized slave marriages on the grounds that property could not enter into a legal contract.¹⁰ Marriages between slaves and free African Americans were less common but often tolerated, especially if the slave was the woman, since their offspring would become the property of the slave owner. From a slave's perspective, marriage to a free black carried a significant potential benefit—the possibility that the free spouse could purchase the slave spouse's freedom. The marriage of William and Caroline resulted in two children being born to the couple—a son who died as an infant and a daughter named Mary Elizabeth.¹¹ Although he apparently continued to teach school for another year, Hardin found his condition unbearable and was unable to save enough money on a school teacher's salary to purchase his wife's freedom.

The news flooding the country of fabulous gold strikes in California offered a possible solution to his financial condition. Some time after 1850, he left for California to seek his fortune. He spent five years there before returning to the East. As far as it is known, he never returned to his wife and daughter, although he did correspond with them.¹² Hardin became a wanderer and is known to have spent time in Canada, Janesville, Wisconsin, Council Bluffs, Iowa, and Omaha, Nebraska, before he went south to New Orleans.¹³

Why Hardin visited New Orleans is a mystery. It was against the law for

⁷ *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, November 9, 1879.

⁸ The journal excerpt for January 24, 1849, was provided by Tommy Hines, Executive Director of the Shaker Museum at South Union, Kentucky.

⁹ *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, November 9, 1879.

¹⁰ Thomas E. Will, "Weddings on Contested Grounds: Slave Marriage in the Antebellum South," *Historian*, 62 No. 1 (September 1999): 99-118.

¹¹ "A Voice from an Injured Wife," *Denver Daily Rocky Mountain News*, September 2, 1873.

¹² *Denver Daily Rocky Mountain News*, July 23, September 2, 1873; *Daily Denver Tribune*, July 23, 1873; *Denver Times*, July 23, 1873.

¹³ *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, November 9, 1879.

freed slaves, from another state or territory to be in Louisiana.¹⁴ However, the turmoil and confusion brought on by the Civil War meant the law was unenforceable. The Crescent City had a large population of free African Americans who were prosperous, well-educated, and enjoyed many rights. They could boast of doctors, architects, silversmiths, tailors, cigar-makers, carpenters, portrait-painters, and even slave owners.¹⁵ It is perhaps for the number of free African Americans that attracted Harden to New Orleans.

The Civil War marked a new chapter in Hardin's life. Soon after New Orleans fell to federal forces on May 1, 1862, Union General Benjamin F. Butler began recruiting blacks to serve in three federal regiments, known as the Louisiana Native Guards. The 1st Regiment was composed of former Confederates as well as free African Americans and officered by them. It was disbanded when the former Confederates deserted, but was reactivated when all those who remained pledged to defend the Union. The 2nd and 3rd Regiments were, in the main, made up of escaped slaves whom Butler considered war contraband.¹⁶ Hardin mustered into the 3rd Regiment as a second lieutenant in early December 1862, and was one of the few blacks to hold a commission in the U.S. Army.¹⁷ Soldiers of the Louisiana Native Guards were used primarily as laborers and Hardin spent most of his time in the army harvesting sugar cane in the fields along Bayou Lafourche.¹⁸

Colonel John A. Nelson was a fiery Irishman from Connecticut who commanded the 3rd Regiment. Nelson was earlier commissioned a captain in an all-Irish infantry unit that took part in the 1861 Battle of Bull Run, but was forced to resign his commission in early 1864 for "having authorized and permitted the impressment of negro recruits into his regiment, thereby hindering recruiting, and spreading distrust and alarm among the negroes."¹⁹

Nathaniel P. Banks assumed Butler's command of federal forces in Louisiana on December 9, 1862. Banks held strong prejudice against the black troops, especially against the African American officers. Although he

¹⁴ Judith Kelleher Schafer, *Slavery, the Civil Law, and the Supreme Court of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), 101.

¹⁵ See Judith Kelleher Schafer *Becoming Free, Remaining Free, Manumission and Enslavement in New Orleans, 1846-1862*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002). Letter from Robert H. Isabelle to the *Weekly Anglo-African*, February 25, 1863, reprinted in Edwin S. Redkey, ed., *A Grand Army of Black Men: Letters from African-American Soldiers in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 252.

¹⁶ Howard C. Westwood, *Black Troops, White Commanders, and Freedmen During the Civil War* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1991), 7-8.

¹⁷ James G. Hollandsworth, Jr., *The Louisiana Native Guards* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 123.

¹⁸ Mary F. Berry, "Negro Troops in Blue and Gray, The Louisiana Native Guards, 1861-1863." *Louisiana History* 8 (1967): 165-90.

¹⁹ John A. Nelson, Colonel, Tenth United States Colored Infantry, Service Record, RF 94, National Archives, Washington, D.C., January 9, 1864. After a flamboyant "sporting" and mining career in Montana and a period as an Indian fighter, he moved to Salt Lake City where he established an iron foundry in 1871, and then took up prospecting and mining in Park City in 1873. He died there in 1880, four years before Hardin's arrival. Nelson's widow and children were still in the city when Hardin arrived in 1884.

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accepted the black troops under his command, he promptly began purging African American officers under a variety of excuses.²⁰ After many incidents, the volatile racial situation exploded in Baton Rouge on February 17, 1863, when a black captain from the 3rd Regiment reported for duty as officer of the day. The guard, composed of white soldiers from the 13th Maine Infantry Regiment, refused to acknowledge the black captain's authority and threatened to kill him should he attempt to coerce them to follow his orders. It was mutiny and insubordination, but Banks refused to punish the white soldiers.²¹ Banks ordered all the black officers of the 3rd Regiment to report to him in New Orleans and through skillful trickery, extracted their resignations.²² Hardin's name was among those recorded in the mass resignation on February 19, 1863. His army service was less than three months long.²³

²⁰ Hollandsworth, *The Louisiana Native Guards*, 41-47; and *The Negro in the Military Service of the United States*, 1273-75, M-858, roll 2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

²¹ Robert H. Isabelle's letter to *Weekly Anglo-African*, February 25, 1863, in Edwin S. Redkey, ed. *A Grand Army of Black Men: Letters from African-American Soldiers in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 251.

²² Charles P. Ripley, *Slaves and Freedmen in Civil War Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), 117.

²³ Hollandsworth, *The Louisiana Native Guards*, 123.

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Later that year, Hardin surfaced in Denver. After trying a variety of trades ranging from stock speculation to poolroom management, he opened a barbershop. During the next decade, he became a leader in the city's African American community. A dynamic speaker, he lectured on the success of the Haitian revolutionary Toussaint L'Ouverture and his successful slave revolt in Haiti. He took pride in his memorial address upon Lincoln's assassination, feeling the speech established his reputation as a public speaker.²⁴ Soon Hardin was known as the "Colored Orator of Denver."²⁵

Hardin was involved in nearly every aspect of the African American community, often taking a leading role in helping others. When the question arose whether African Americans could file on land under the Homestead Act, Hardin promptly wrote George M. Chilcott, Colorado's delegate to Congress, to seek clarification of the law. Chilcott responded by letter, "...I am informed by the Commissioner of the General Land Office that colored persons have a right to take homesteads, the same as any other citizens, which you will be kind enough to inform them, as it is a matter of inert interest to them, and upon which we had not been previously advised. Very respectfully, &c., G.M. Chilcott."²⁶

When plans were announced for the construction of an African American Methodist church in Denver, Hardin made a generous contribution. The *Denver Rocky Mountain News* reported, "Bishop Ward (colored), of San Francisco is in Denver for the purpose of founding and building a Methodist church for the colored people.... William J. Hardin will start out on a lecturing tour next week, and will lecture in every important town in the territory—the proceeds of his lectures to be devoted to the building of the church."²⁷

Hardin expected proper conduct in the African American community and in August 1867 took it upon himself to publicly chastise those involved in a fistfight among Denver African Americans who were celebrating the anniversary of emancipation in the West Indies. Many in the community resented him airing dirty linen in front of the white public and when national leaders, including Frederick Douglass, Jr., demanded an apology, Hardin refused.²⁸

Hardin was equally vocal when the Colorado white community acted against the black community. In 1864, the Colorado Territorial Legislature voted to disenfranchise African Americans and mulattos by amending an earlier liberal voting law, which had given the vote to all males over the age of twenty-one; Hardin voiced his strong opposition. On November 7, 1865, he challenged two candidates for Congress, John M. Chivington and

²⁴ *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, November 9, 1879.

²⁵ *Denver Daily Rocky Mountain News*, November 4, 8, 1865; *Black Hawk Daily Mining Journal*(Denver), November 15, 1864.

²⁶ "Land Pre-Emptions," *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, February 9, 1866.

²⁷ "Personal Mention," *Denver Daily Rocky Mountain News*, October 1, 1871.

²⁸ *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, August 2, 6, 1867; *Daily Colorado Tribune*, August 8, 1867.

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James M. Cavanaugh, to an open debate on equal rights. Hardin criticized their advocacy of Irish suffrage and chastised them for characterizing African Americans and Indians alike as being uncivilized. He then launched into a lecture on the accomplishments of African Americans. "For a space of two hours," the *Rocky Mountain News* reported, "he held his audience enchained, not so much by his eloquence, (though at time he became truly so;) as by his keen wit, his searching satire, and the true manner in which he applied his facts. The only moments that the utmost silence, was not observed were occupied by bursts of applause or uncontrollable laughter."²⁹ So powerful was his speech that his white audience, though not favoring suffrage, concluded that Hardin had proved his own right to the ballot. Even Cavanaugh reversed his stand and announced his support for impartial voting.

On another occasion when Hardin delivered a speech on Independence Day, celebrating the Emancipation Proclamation, many of his listeners had tears in their eyes as they heard his portrayal of the horrors committed during the 1866 race riot in Memphis where looting and rape were rampant, more than eighty African Americans were killed or injured, and three churches, eight schools, and more than fifty homes were burned. He moved many to shame as he described the ill treatment of African Americans in the South. However, others in the audience reacted with murderous fury. Later that evening, a black Denver resident was shot and killed, apparently without provocation. Hardin was convinced that he was the intended victim.³⁰

Hardin was subject to other forms of harassment. A number of white women in Denver received obscene letters, which invited them to write to Hardin. He was so outraged that he placed an ad in the *Daily Rocky Mountain News* offering a fifty-dollar reward for information that "will lead to the detection, and punishment, of the scoundrel who writes scurrilous

HARDIN'S
Barber Shop
 —AND—
Bath House

The door South of Wiseman's Jewelry
 Store,
MAIN ST., PARK CITY, • • UTAH

**The Finest Establishment and the
 Best Workmen in the City.**

This ad for Hardin's Barber Shop and Bath House appeared in the July 8, 1886, issue of the Park Record.

²⁹ "Hardin's Speech," *Denver Daily Rocky Mountain News*, November 8, 1865.

³⁰ *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, November 9, 1879.

letters to young ladies, and directs them to reply to my box in the City Postoffice.”³¹ Fortunately, Hardin was able to prove his innocence. In this case the *Daily Rocky Mountain News* chose to defend his moral integrity and described the attack on his character as disgraceful.³² Yet on another occasion, when a Central City African American was accused of murder and was shot while trying to escape, the *Daily Denver Gazette* warned Hardin to keep away from Central City. They “have a very summary way of disposing of obnoxious darkies..., and even his elegant form might go uppum stumpum, if he was to shoot his mouth off.”³³

When little progress was made in changing public opinion of African Americans in Colorado, Hardin turned to direct national appeal. By letters, telegrams, and petitions, directed to Congress and the eastern press, he tried to block Colorado’s bid for statehood until the territory granted full citizenship to its black residents. Hardin was rebuffed by Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, who published an editorial stating every state and territory should stipulate its own voting qualifications.³⁴ However, two years later U.S. Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, a radical Republican, took up his cause and Congress in January 1867 passed a law granting African Americans in all of the territories the right to vote.³⁵ Hardin was one of the out spoken voices of African Americans that brought pressure for the law’s passage. Hardin was equally supportive for the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, which guaranteed the right to vote would “not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

With voting rights seemingly secure, Hardin turned his attention to education of African Americans. He advocated integrated public schools and spoke many times of the shameful lack of public education for African American youth as part of his larger cause of equal suffrage. The struggle for integrated schools was initiated by Lewis Douglass, the son of Frederick Douglass, who arrived in Denver in 1866, and immediately became involved in pressing for integrated schools.³⁶ Seven years later after much hard work, they achieved success.³⁷

While in Colorado, Hardin was active in the Colorado Republican party and served as a delegate-at-large to the 1872 Republican National Convention that nominated President Ulysses S. Grant for a second term. His political activity led to a job weighing gold at the Denver branch of the U.S. Mint in 1873, a job that lasted less than a year.³⁸

³¹ *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, September 6, 1866.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, February 21, 1868.

³⁴ William J. Hardin to Horace Greeley, December 15, 1865, and Greeley’s reply, *New York Tribune*, January 15, 1866.

³⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, 1st session, 1866, 38, pt. 3:2138, 2180, and 2d session, 1867, 39, pt. 1:398. Hardin’s name was misspelled as “Harding.”

³⁶ *Denver Daily Rocky Mountain News*, January 16, June 6, 1867.

³⁷ Colorado, *Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Education*. August 1, 1873, 17.

³⁸ *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, November 9, 1879.

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Hardin's political career in Colorado took a downward spiral when he married Nellie Davidson, a white woman from New York who worked as a milliner in Denver.³⁹ Shortly after his marriage a light-skinned African American woman, who had traveled from London, Ontario, Canada, arrived in Denver on July 23, 1873. She proceeded to the police station where she claimed to be Mrs. Caroline K. Hardin and promptly charged her husband with bigamy. For proof, she produced the family Bible in which William had recorded their wedding date in Bowling Green, Kentucky, as well as numerous letters spanning twenty-three years where he acknowledged himself as



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her husband and the father of her daughter. The reason for the long separation was that Hardin had fled Omaha in 1863 to avoid the draft.⁴⁰ Never at a loss for words, Hardin admitted that, in deed, he had married Caroline, fathered a daughter, and had dodged the draft.⁴¹ He defended himself convincingly, arguing that the marriage to Caroline was an illegal marriage because he was a minor and she a slave at the time of union and therefore their marriage was dissolved.⁴² Caroline did not press her case further and the charge of bigamy against Hardin was dropped.

Don Freeman Bankhead is considered the first African American to be born free in Utah—his middle name reflecting that status.

³⁹ Nellie Davidson Hardin's place of birth is found in *1880 Wyoming Census*. 316.

⁴⁰ "Bigamous Hardin," *Denver Daily Rocky Mountain News*, July 23, 1873. "A Voice from an Injured Wife," *Denver Daily Rocky Mountain News*, September 2, 1873. *Denver Tribune*, July 23, 1873, *Denver Times*, July 23, 1873.

⁴¹ James G. Hollandsworth, Jr., *The Louisiana Native Guards* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 83. Conscription excluded persons who had already served for two years. The forced resignation of Negro officers meant the majority could be drafted into the army as privates, a humiliating thing.

⁴² *Denver Daily Rocky Mountain News*, July 23, September 2, 1873.

The same day the Caroline Hardin story was printed in the *Rocky Mountain News*, the director of the Denver Mint, Chambers C. Davis, fired Hardin claiming that he did not have the necessary qualifications for the job.⁴³

During his stay in Colorado, Hardin was controversial among both the white and black communities. His aggressive and antagonistic behavior angered whites who expected African Americans to play a passive role at best in public affairs. He also angered many in the African American community by refusing to share credit with other blacks.⁴⁴

Hardin and his wife Nellie left the tumultuous environment of Denver, in late 1873, and moved to Cheyenne, Wyoming, where he opened a barber shop.⁴⁵ Barbershops were gathering places where newspapers were read, gossip was exchanged, and politics discussed. The *Rocky Mountain News* told of Hardin's "pleasing occupation of barbering. As a manipulator of haircut appendages he has given his many customers general satisfaction, for if they lacked in smoothness of work they were always sure to be compensated by his glibness of tongue. He always affected the densely literary character, and his odd spells, between hair-hacking and chin-chopping, have been devoted to political maneuvering and speech making."⁴⁶

Hardin soon became known and respected by many people in Wyoming's small capital city. The scandal that had forced him out of Denver apparently did not limit his acceptance into Cheyenne political life. As in Denver his political success in Cheyenne was rooted in his public speaking ability and his outgoing personality. Hardin was known throughout the city as an outstanding orator and was often called upon to speak in public meetings. When Hardin spoke to the members of a local Presbyterian church on the evils of alcohol, the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* reported he was "frequently interrupted by applause."⁴⁷

The *Cheyenne Daily Sun* had high praise for Cheyenne's newest resident. "He is very neat and tidy in his dress, modest and unassuming, polite and agreeable in his manners, treating every man as a gentleman and every woman as a lady, regardless of their dress, position or circumstance. He has a happy faculty of making friends among all classes of people, and he knows how to keep them after he has made them."⁴⁸ Hardin continued his political involvement being elected to the Wyoming House of Representatives, Sixth Legislative Assembly in September 1879. He placed third among the nine winners in a field of nineteen candidates who ran.⁴⁹ Hardin lived up

⁴³ Ibid., and *Daily Denver Tribune*, July 23, 1873.

⁴⁴ Berwanger, "Hardin: Colorado Spokesman for Racial Justice," 52-65.

⁴⁵ *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, January 29, 1878.

⁴⁶ *Denver Daily Rocky Mountain News*, July 23, 1873.

⁴⁷ *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, March 19, 1878.

⁴⁸ Ibid., November 9, 1879.

⁴⁹ For a good account of Hardin's Wyoming political career see Roger D. Hardaway "William Jefferson Hardin: Wyoming's Nineteenth Century Black Legislator, *Annals of Wyoming* 63 (Winter 1991): 2-13. See also *Session Laws of Wyoming Territory, Passed by the Sixth Legislative Assembly, Convened at Cheyenne, November 4, 1879* (Cheyenne: Leader Stream Book and Job Printing, 1879), chapter 35, 74-87.

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**This copy of the
Park City
Sanborn Map for
1889 shows
Hardin's
barbershop on
Main Street.**

to his reputation as a distinguished speaker at the opening of Wyoming's legislative session, where he made a speech introducing the new Speaker of the House, H.L. Myrick. Later, he also made two other most memorable speeches in the session: the first opposing the moving of the capital from Cheyenne to Laramie; the other resisting a reapportionment bill that would have cost Laramie County seats in the legislature. At both speeches the gallery of the House was packed with local citizens who applauded loudly for Hardin's stirring words.⁵⁰

Hardin barely won his second term to the Wyoming House of Representatives, and was the only member of the Seventh Legislative Assembly to have served in the sixth session. It was customary that most members retired after their one term was complete. In the main, they considered it as a civic duty and a debt owed to society, few ever thought of following a political career.⁵¹ Hardin also introduced three bills in the 1882 session: the first concerned with "running cattle with dogs," which was defeated in the House. The second amended Cheyenne incorporation laws by expanding the city's borders; it passed. The third, also successful, made it a misdemeanor to "exhibit any kind of fire arms, bowie knife, dirk, dagger, slung shot [sic], or other deadly weapon in a rude, angry or threatening manner," except in the defense of self, family, or property.⁵² Hardin also strongly supported two of the session's most important laws. The first

⁵⁰ *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, December 4, 1879; *Laramie Sentinel*, December 20, 1879.

⁵¹ Marie H. Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book: A Legal and Political History of Wyoming, 1868-1943* (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1946), 162-63. Hardin during the Seventh Assembly introduced six bills with such matters as the building fences on range land, killing chicken hawks to preserve poultry, and setting salaries of county officials.

⁵² *House Journal of the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming, Convened at Cheyenne, January 10, 1882* (Sun Steam Book and Job Printing, Cheyenne, 1882), 40, 45, 63, 67, 71.

repealed a prohibition on interracial marriages, which drew from one of his most moving earlier speeches supporting the bill. The *Daily Leader* called it “earnest and eloquent, bristling with facts.”⁵³ The second, designed to remove some of the common-law restrictions on women, allowed a married woman to sell her property without obtaining her husband’s permission, to sue and be sued without her spouse being made a party to the action, and to be a witness in any civil or criminal matters.⁵⁴

Hardin’s Wyoming political career ended when this session adjourned. Although his term ran to 1884, there were no duties or meetings. Following the adjournment of Wyoming’s territorial legislature, he and Nellie sold their property and moved to Ogden in 1882 where he opened another barbershop.⁵⁵ It was in Ogden that Hardin learned that Nellie “proved untrue and eloped taking with her the proceeds of the sale of their home in Cheyenne. This of course made him despondent and moody.”⁵⁶ Matrimonial problems may have been the reason they left Cheyenne, where he was a respected and successful member of the community.

Early in August 1883, Hardin moved to Park City where he found a location on Main Street next to the Silver Queen restaurant to build a new barbershop.⁵⁷ When he left for Ogden on business and failed to return immediately, reports circulated that he had decided not to locate in Park City. When he did return a month later, Hardin explained he was in Cheyenne attending to a sick friend who had since died.⁵⁸ In a short time his barbershop became successful, and soon he added a bath house and took in a partner, David L. Lemon.⁵⁹ The partnership lasted only a short time when Hardin “purchased Mr. Lemon’s interest in the barber and bath house business and had secured the service of Mr. Benjamin Nest, an experienced and gentlemanly barber of Salt Lake.” The *Record* proclaimed “He has the finest tonsorial parlor in the Park.”⁶⁰

Hardin was often mentioned in the *Record* often either in the “Park Float” column that contained local news or the “Personal Mention” column that served as a who’s who of people in the community of substance or social standing. The *Record* never mentioned him as being an African American until after his death. At the time of his death there were unofficially only nine blacks living in Park City late in the 1880s.⁶¹

⁵³ *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, February 18, 1882.

⁵⁴ *House Journal of the Seventh Legislative Assembly*, 148.

⁵⁵ *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, October 14, 1882. *Deed Record, Laramie County, Wyoming*, Deed Book 5 pp. 270-72, and Deed Book 15, pp. 110-12.

⁵⁶ “Sketch of His Life,” *Park Record*, September 14, 1889.

⁵⁷ “Park Float” *Park Record*, August 18, 1883.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, September 22, 1883.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, March 14, 1885.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, July 4, 1885, and January 2, 1886.

⁶¹ John Dodds, the “dog tax collector” did his own census and counted nine blacks, ninety-one Chinese, out of a total in Park City of 2,183 population with approximately two thousand others living at various mines that surround the town. Park Float column, *Park Record*, July 17, 1886.



While residing in Park City, Hardin *The Shields Brothers stores in Park City.* became active in the Congregational Church.

In December 1884, he participated in a church sponsored musical and essay soiree placing third in the essay contest before being disqualified. “His poetical quotation,” wrote the city newspaper, “was badly mixed up as were several words in the essay which were substituted in place of the proper ones.”⁶² However, six months later he was one of the featured speakers at the church in a memorial service given at the death of Ulysses S. Grant.⁶³ His accomplishments as a public speaker extended beyond Park City. He was invited to give the July 4, 1887, oration in the Tintic Mining District, but declined.⁶⁴

In July 1886, Hardin attended the Park City Liberal Party caucus where he was elected unanimously to chair the caucus.⁶⁵ *The Park Record* first reported that “Mr. Hardin declined to accept the chairmanship but on a little persuasion he took the chair thanking the citizens for the unexpected and unsought honor and hoped his errors might be pardoned.”⁶⁶ He later served as a delegate to the county convention.

Hardin worked tirelessly with the Liberal caucus to foster reconciliation between factions that existed within the Liberal Party while supporting workers and organized labor. In a speech before the Liberal caucus, “I came here...with the impression that every citizen could have a voice and take a part a popular voice of expression of every citizen.” A year earlier there were two opposing sides in the Liberal caucus—“the old ring and the Knights of Labor.” Although these two opposing elements were composed

⁶² “The Musical and Literary Soiree,” *Park Record*, December 20, 1884.

⁶³ “The Ex-President’s Death,” *Park Record*, July 25, 1885.

⁶⁴ “Park Float,” *Park Record*, July 2, 1887, p. 3.

⁶⁵ In contrast to the Mormon sponsored People’s Party which was not active in Park City, the Liberal Party was established in the Utah Territory to counter Mormon political dominance. See, Gustive O. Larson, “Government, Politics and Conflict,” in *Utah’s History*, Richard Poll, ed., (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 248; and Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah: The Right Place* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith Publisher, 1995), 173–74, 198, 213.

⁶⁶ “Political Porridge,” *Park Record*, July 17, 1886.

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of “respected citizens,” Hardin “favored [a] collation—a conference committee” to move towards some kind of reconciliation. However, because this did not happen, he stated in eloquent tones, “that he would stand by the colors of the Knights of Labor, as he had pledged himself a year ago and again now.” He hoped that competent worthy men would be nominated for the respective offices and then the factions should unite as one party, march to the polls on Election Day a solid phalanx with a determination of victory over the common enemy, the Mormons. He warned the other side to make an equitable distribution of offices to be filled and hinted that in the event of such not being done defeat would be certain on Monday August 1st. Finally, he tempered his heated remarks by expressing the hope that the hatchet might be buried and that all differences be patched up before Election Day. “The Representative as well as County delegates were voted on singly and every name proposed by the committee (with the exception of M S Ascheim who declined in favor of W J Hardin in order as he said to appease the soft headedness that been manifested) was elected.”⁶⁷

When the Liberal candidate for Congress John M. Young came to Park City, Hardin gave his last known public address.

I came here to hear the speeches, not to make a speech myself. We are entering a campaign more important than all else since the best interest of the Territory at large will be effected by the result. Great and momentous questions are to be solved. Our grand and supreme object is to make Utah the great commonwealth. [It] promised to be with the development of all natural resources, and to get entire political control of this Territory. Many obstacles are in the way, but it is our duty to surmount them with a loyal American form of government, the commonwealth that ought to be. We should lay aside our selfish aims and personal differences and get as one solid body to the polls to accomplish our object of victory.⁶⁸

As Hardin worked to unify the Liberal Party and foster its agenda, he struggled with failing health. Periodically, he traveled to Salt Lake City to seek an improvement in his condition. In early April 1887, he spent time at the Ogden Hot Springs where he received some relief from his rheumatics.⁶⁹ However, his health failed to improve and in September 1887, two months after his last speech, he sold his barber shop to his old partner David L. Lemon and tried his luck as a booking agent and lecturer with little success.⁷⁰

Still determined to make a living giving lectures and speeches, Hardin planned an extended lecture tour for himself, beginning in October 1887. “He will take in the surrounding states and territories spend the winter in California and probably will turn up in the Park next spring on a brief visit,” the Park City paper reported. But instead of an “extended lecturing

⁶⁷ “A Lively Caucus, W J Hardin Speech,” *Park Record*, July 9, 1887.

⁶⁸ “The Ratification,” *Park Record*, July 16, 1887.

⁶⁹ “Personal Mention,” *Park Record*, October 10, 1885; and April 3, 1886.

⁷⁰ “A Card,” *Park Record*, September 10, 1887.

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tour” he spent six months in Denver where he renewed old friendships and perhaps thought of rekindling a career.⁷¹ In April 1888, Hardin was back in Park City and bought an interest in his old barber and bath establishment and again tried to settle down, but was soon off to Denver on a whirlwind visit.⁷² It seemed that Hardin again sold his interest in the barbershop to Lemon. On November 24, he left to spend the winter in Salt Lake City, but was back in Park City in February 1889.⁷³ In May, Lemon sold the barbershop to Jerry Combaw, who had always been their main competitor.⁷⁴ Apparently, Hardin had no interest in the business at the time of sale. Still it must have sat heavy with him. It was an establishment he took great pride in, and its loss probably reflected badly on him.

During the last months of his life, he was plagued with his lost love, “whose infidelity was wormwood to him.” It is apparent he spent much of his time away from Park City searching for Nellie. Rooted in nineteenth century bigotry, the *Park Record* described Hardin as having “intelligence and honorable and gentlemanly bearing made him friends everywhere,” but then added “he married a white woman and in later years he apparently

⁷¹ “Personal Paragraph,” *Park Record*, April 1888.

⁷² “Park Float,” *Park Record*, May 5 and July 14, 1888.

⁷³ “Personal Paragraph,” *Park Record*, November 24, 1888, and February 2, 1889.

⁷⁴ “Two in One,” *Park Record*, May 18, 1889.

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sorrowfully realized his mistake in doing this and meddling in politics.”⁷⁵

During the winter of 1888-89, Hardin traveled to Denver to renew old acquaintances, and perhaps, rekindle his lost spirit. It is said that his old partner rebuked him for his marriage to a white woman. Late in the summer of 1889, he found Nellie living in Seattle and learned that her husband had just died. Hardin “is presumed on good grounds endeavored to get her to come back to him, but without success.”⁷⁶

Now a broken man, Hardin wrote several letters telling his friends farewell and how he wanted his body and property disposed. He asked, “When money, home, friends and health are gone, what is left to live for?”⁷⁷ He took his own life on Friday, September 13, 1889, ending a journey that began as the child of a free African American in the ante-bellum South, growing to adulthood in a Shaker community, serving briefly as an officer in the Union Army during the Civil War, and, in the aftermath of slavery, spending the last two decades of his life as a political and civil rights activist and successful politician in the West.

⁷⁵ “Sketch of His Life,” *Park Record*, September 14, 1889.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*



Zionism in Zion: Salt Lake City's Hadassah Chapter, 1943-1963

By REBECCA ANDERSEN

On February 23, 1943, National Hadassah board member Julia Dushkin and twenty-one other Salt Lake City Jewish women met at the Hotel Utah to create a local chapter of the women's Zionist organization. The following afternoon this small group of Jewish women held their first meeting where Dushkin explained Hadassah's efforts to "make the Holy Land a fit place for our people to live."¹ Though "gentle in face and voice, unassuming in manner," Dushkin sounded like "a front-line warrior for a better world." Her time spent living in Palestine overseeing Hadassah health, educational, and welfare projects made for a persuasive message.² "Sufficient to say that after hearing this inspiring message, almost all who attended...were most eager to join," the

Members of the Hadassah organization meet for a luncheon in March 1961.

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¹ Hadassah Minutes, February 24, 1943, unless otherwise noted the minutes are in the possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

² *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 24, 1943.

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Salt Lake City Hadassah board minutes state.³

A month prior to the first meeting, Hattie Feldman wrote Zip Szold, chairman of Hadassah's National Organization Committee; her letter described Salt Lake City's Jewish Community and its organizational make-up. "From what you write, it seems to me that the time is appropriate for organizing a chapter of Hadassah in your community," Szold replied. "I am sending you ... material for the organization of a new chapter," she added. "Please don't be overwhelmed by our organization manual. We...consider it a textbook which the presidents and all activity chairmen use as their reference throughout the year."⁴

Installed as the chapter's charter president, Hattie Feldman served with first and second vice presidents Nettie Susman and May Baer. Officers included Julia Money, recording secretary, Rose Arnovitz, corresponding secretary, and treasurer, Sadie Tannenbaum, and parliamentarian, Amy Schiller.⁵ During the first year, the fledgling organization tripled its donation quota for Palestine reclamation projects.⁶ Salt Lake City's Hadassah history and work began.

Though the organization continues to support Israel, Salt Lake City Hadassah Chapter's first twenty years reflect larger changes confronting Jewish communities across the United States. In the early twentieth century, Jewish communities were largely ambivalent towards the Zionist movement and its objectives; however, during and after World War II, the idea of a Jewish state garnered unprecedented support. Historian Robert E. Levinson characterized the immediate post-war era as one in which near universal "moral and financial support of the State of Israel" aided in "the rise of a more or less unified American Jewish community, of which the Jews of the West form a part."⁷ While Zionism and the impact of Israel's creation on American Jews have long captured the attention of historians, few attempted to explain how Jewish communities became involved in Zionist organizations on the local level, demonstrating their support for the new Jewish State. In understanding grass roots Zionism, women's Hadassah involvement and work is central.

Chameleon-like, Zionism is a term, idea, and movement with layers of meaning and usage. *Zion*, the root for Zionism, is packed with historical and cultural references. Synonymous for Jerusalem, *Zion* came to connote Jewish longing for the homeland and found place within prayers and liturgy.⁸ In its modern usage Zionism reflects the secular, political attitudes

³ Hadassah Minutes, February 24, 1943.

⁴ Mrs. Robert (Zip) Szold to Hattie Feldman, January 28, 1943, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 5. Hereinafter identified as Hadassah Chapter.

⁵ Hadassah Minutes, February 24, 1943.

⁶ *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 30, 1944.

⁷ Robert E. Levinson, "Jews in the West," *Western Historical Quarterly* 5 (July 1974): 291-92.

⁸ *Encyclopaedia Judaica, 1971-1972* s.v. "Zionism," by Getzel Kressel, 1032.

and ideology common to other nationalist movements of nineteenth-century Europe. “Modern nationalists looked for neither divine intervention [nor] a personal messiah to lead them back to Palestine,” author Naomi Cohen stresses, linking the development of Zionist ideology with the ineffectiveness of European liberalism and the rise of racial anti-Semitism.⁹

Viennese journalist Theodore Herzl famously articulated political Zionism’s key philosophical tenets in his 1896 publication, *Der Judenstaat*. Only with a state of their own could Jews ever hope to gain full equality with other nations. Herzl acted on his ideas. A year after *Der Judenstaat* appeared, the first Zionist Congress convened in Basle, Switzerland.¹⁰ The 1897 congress outlined a set of four basic premises guiding their movement: “Zionism seeks to establish a home for the Jewish people in Palestine secured under public law;” the opening line read; Jews were to settle in Palestine, organize, strengthen “Jewish national sentiment and national consciousness,” and gain “the consent of governments...in order to reach the goal of Zionism.”¹¹ In adopting the so-called Basle Platform, the Zionist Congress created a definitive, though at times contested, definition for both the movement and ideology.

A movement fueled by European nationalism and surging anti-Semitism fared very differently on American soil. The United States had no history of ghettos, anti-Jewish laws or nationalistic anti-Semitism. Despite discrimination, the Jewish community thrived amidst “full civil and economic equality.” In the early years, American Zionists found few adherents and critics aplenty. Fearing dual loyalty charges, detractors disliked Zionism’s nationalist rhetoric.¹² As the world responded to the Holocaust, Zionism’s legitimacy reached unprecedented heights. Based on the 1945 Roper poll, 80 percent of American Jews solidly favored a Jewish state. If money accurately measures support, the \$1.5 billion collected between 1945 and 1967 is suggestive.¹³

In assessing why wealthy, secular Jews overwhelmingly identified with Zionism, historian Bernard Wasserstein observes: “Perhaps the most significant effect of the Nazi genocide on post-war Jewish life...has been the obsession...with *survival*.” Zionism provided the most cohesive plan for insuring national survival. With the proclamation of the state of Israel in May 1948, Jews obtained an internationally recognized nation state. For those continuing to live in the Diaspora, Israel came to mean both cultural

⁹ Naomi Cohen, *The Americanization of Zionism, 1897-1948* (Lebanon, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2003), 3.

¹⁰ Ernst Pawel, *The Labyrinth of Exile: A Life of Theodore Herzl* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1989), 214-15, 337.

¹¹ Quoted in *Encyclopaedia Judaica, 1971-1972* s.v. “Basle Program,” by Aharon Zwergerbaum, 306.

¹² Melvin I. Urofsky, *American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 55, 69-70, 97.

¹³ Samuel Halperin, *The Political World of American Zionism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1961), 37-38, Joe Stork and Sharon Rose, “Zionism and American Jewry,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 3 (Spring 1974): 50.

and physical safety.¹⁴ Zionism offered practical and ideological solutions. A Jewish state solved the post-war refugee problem, and, perhaps even more important, symbolized victory over Nazi madness and the resilience of the human spirit.¹⁵

In addition to these factors, the seemingly sudden “nationalist revolution” succeeded because Zionism had Americanized—it looked and behaved American. By associating Zionism with democracy and freedom, early leaders such as the eminent American jurist Louis Brandeis emphasized that Jews could be good Americans while supporting a Jewish homeland. Through financial contributions, Jewish Americans might demonstrate their loyalty to the cause; immigrating to Palestine was not needed.¹⁶ Progressive in nature, Brandeis and the others believed Zionism would “establish a model society,” succeeding where Puritan New England failed.¹⁷ In the end, Zionism *Americanized*, becoming “a movement that was as much American as it was Zionist.”¹⁸ “The more Americanized a Zionist organization is, the more valid its workings are for American Jewry,” writer Allon Gal noted. “Hadassah...reflected the specific nature of American Zionism on two levels, ideological and organizational.” Hadassah’s charity work and democratic character expressed American values.¹⁹

Hadassah founder, Henrietta Szold was born in 1860 to Baltimore’s Reform Rabbi Benjamin Szold; she grew up in an environment of learning and relative comfort. A participant in Hungary’s 1848 revolution, Henrietta’s father spoke out against slavery and all forms of racial inequality, passing his liberal ideology onto his perceptive daughter. As a young woman, Henrietta taught English to recently arrived Russian Jews, establishing the Russian Night School in 1889. While working as secretary and later editor and writer for the Jewish Publication Society of Philadelphia, Szold learned about Theodor’s Herzl’s revolutionary First Zionist Congress. She avidly read Zionist philosophy and closely followed Jewish settlement activity in Palestine.²⁰

In 1907, at the invitation of early American Zionist leader, Dr. Judah Magnes, Henrietta participated in an early Zionist study group, Hadassah. Initially part of the larger Jewish women’s society, Daughters of Zion, Hadassah sought to familiarize women with Zionist writers and thinkers. After two years of involvement in the study group, Henrietta travelled to

¹⁴ Bernard Wasserstein, *Vanishing Diaspora: The Jews in Europe Since 1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 280.

¹⁵ Aaron Berman, *Nazism, the Jews and American Zionism, 1933-1948* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), 14; Melvin Urofsky, *We Are One!* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1978), 239.

¹⁶ Cohen, *The Americanization of Zionism*, 1, 5-7, 44.

¹⁷ Allon Gal, “The Mission Motif in American Zionism,” *American Jewish History* 75 (June 1986): 370.

¹⁸ Cohen, *The Americanization of Zionism*, 1, 5-7.

¹⁹ Allon Gal, “Aspects of the Zionist Movement’s Role in the Communal Life of American Jewry (1890-1948),” *American Jewish History* 75 (December 1985): 157.

²⁰ Erica Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 9-11.

Palestine herself, where she witnessed the region's disturbing health conditions. Upon her return, Szold worked to create a new women's Zionist organization, one providing Palestine with adequate medical facilities for women and children. Her two years of careful preparation culminated in a February 24, 1912, meeting where Szold and others formed Daughters of Zion, Hadassah Chapter. Their motto: "The healing of the daughter of my people."²¹ Hebrew for Esther, Hadassah members were to be like the Biblical queen: protecting, nurturing, healing, and saving Jewish life.

Henrietta Szold launched Hadassah at a time when Jewish women organized as never before. Like other American women, they sought to extend their domestic roles. Concurrent with Hadassah's founding, the National Council of Jewish Women (1893), and the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods (1913) represent women's religious and community involvement. By the 1920s and 1930s, the number of national Jewish women's organizations snowballed, reflecting the immigrant generation's coming of age.²²

A product of the Progressive Movement, Szold applied Lillian Wald's successful home health program among New York City's lower East Side immigrant populations to suffering Jews in Palestine. Wald's nurses networked out of eighteen district centers, visiting the sick and teaching latest healthcare practices. Following Wald's example, beginning in 1913, Szold's Hadassah raised enough money to send two nurses to Palestine. Rose Kaplan and Rachel Landy's Jerusalem clinic treated trachoma and assisted women and children. Szold remained in close contact with Wald and Jane Addams of Hull House fame.²³ In 1918, thirty students enrolled in Jerusalem's Henrietta Szold School of Nursing.²⁴ Opening in the 1920s,



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The B'Nai Israel Jewish Synagogue on 200 East between 200 and 300 South in Salt Lake City served the Jewish community from its dedication in 1891 until 1970.

²¹ Ibid., 13-14.

²² Norma Fain Pratt, "Transitions in Judaism: The Jewish American Woman Through the 1930s," *American Quarterly* 30 (Winter 1978): 683, 690, 696.

²³ Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*, 13-14, 16-17.

²⁴ Carol Kutscher, "Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, Part I," in *Jewish American Voluntary Organizations*, ed. Michael N. Dobkowski (Westport, CN: Green Wood Press, 1986), 155.

Mother and Infant Welfare Stations sought to “keep babies well, and...make available...knowledge of the way to prevent needless sickness.”²⁵ Beginning in the 1930s, Hadassah worked closely with Youth Aliyah, a program initially concerned with helping Jewish children out of Europe. After Israel’s statehood, Hadassah’s educational and vocational programs supported new Israeli emigrants.²⁶

More than a charity organization, Hadassah brought Jewish American women into the Zionist fold.²⁷ According to Allon Gal, Henrietta Szold viewed Palestine as an “ideal setting for the reestablishment of a human-being-centered and God-loving Jewish civilization.” She labored to create an educated society based on “democracy and individual responsibility in the public sphere.” Szold eschewed socialist Zionism, advocating an educated, humanistic society. American in outlook, her “practical Zionism” merged with progressive “moral improvement” efforts.²⁸ Hadassah behaved like other Progressive Era women’s organizations. Seeing such efforts as merely an extension of their domestic duties, women established settlement houses and otherwise saw to the community’s social welfare. “What American activists did at home, Hadassah did abroad,” historian Erica Simmons notes. By introducing modern medical standards and scientific child rearing practices, Hadassah mothered a new nation.²⁹

In recruiting members, Hadassah specifically appealed to women’s interests and roles. A 1918 editorial appearing in the *Maccabean* best expressed Hadassah methods:

To many women Zionism has been brought home through...the sewing circles, which have made hundreds of garments for the children of Palestine...As they sat together and plied their needles, the thought of the children who would wear the very dresses or shirts that were taking shape in their hands drew them nearer to the Jewish homeland, and before they knew it sentiment had passed into conviction, and the Basle Platform seemed the one natural and inevitable answer to the Jewish question.³⁰

Using “maternalist rhetoric,” Henrietta Szold’s Hadassah created a “gendered Zionism.” While husbands and fathers wrote letters and otherwise involved themselves in the political arena, their wives and daughters nurtured the nation. “Both women and men advanced Zionism, and therefore Jewish communal consciousness, in unique, yet complimentary ways,” historian Mary McCune observes.³¹ Many within the movement’s

²⁵ “From Report of Infant Welfare Work in Jerusalem,” “Hadassah News Letter” August 1923, quoted in Erica Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*, 52.

²⁶ Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*, 130, 185.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 29, 33.

²⁸ Allon Gal, “The Zionist Vision of Henrietta Szold,” in *American Jewish Women and the Zionist Enterprise* eds. Shulamit Reinharz and Mark A. Raider (Waltham, MA.: Brandeis University Press, 2005), 25, 28, 30, 31, 33.

²⁹ Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*, 1-4, 50-51.

³⁰ “Hadassah in Retrospect and Prospect,” *The Maccabean*, February 1918, quoted in Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*, 29.

³¹ Mary McCune, “Social Workers in the *Muskeljudentum*: ‘Hadassah Ladies,’ Manly Men’ and the Significance of Gender in the American Zionist Movement, 1912-1928,” *American Jewish History* 86 (June 1998): 147-48, 150-51.

male-dominated leadership viewed Hadassah as another charity organization, uncommitted to true Zionist ideology. In the end, Hadassah's fight to win an autonomous role for women within American Zionism paid rich dividends, both in members and monetary contributions.³²

The Salt Lake City Jewish Community followed national trends in both its historical development and its eventual support for Zionist related activities. Julius and Fanny Brooks were the first Jewish couple to make Utah their permanent home. The Brooks hailed from Breslau, Germany, and settled in Salt Lake City in 1853.³³ Other German Jewish immigrants followed in the 1860s and 1870s: Nicholas Ransohoff, Samuel Kahn, Samuel and Fred Auerbach, later owners of Auerbach's Department Store, as well as future Utah governor Simon Bamberger. Developing Salt Lake City's economic scene, Jewish pioneers entered the freight business, opened shops, and built railroads.³⁴ In 1881, the Auerbachs, Ransohoffs, Bambergers and others founded congregation B'nai Israel, initially holding Reform services in the Odd Fellows Hall. Ten years later, they erected Temple B'nai Israel.³⁵

Marking the arrival of Eastern European Jews to Salt Lake City, Congregation Montefiore formed in 1889. Orthodox in outlook, the thirty original members eventually built their own synagogue in 1904. A break-off from Montefiore, a third congregation, Shaarey Tzedek existed into the early 1930s when financial difficulties forced its closure. Congregations B'nai Israel and Montefiore eventually merged in 1976.³⁶ Like their German brothers, most Eastern European Jews came to Utah after living in numerous towns and cities across the American West. Lured by economic opportunity and kinship ties, they settled in Salt Lake City. To make ends meet, many peddled or owned small businesses. Those who set up shops concentrated along State Street. In the 1920s "Jewish Row" included Golden Rule, Wolfe's, Eagle Company, Eastern Hatters, Western Outfitters, and Axelrad's Furniture.³⁷

Nearly all from Philadelphia, a group of twelve Jewish families arrived in Gunnison, Utah, on September 10, 1911. These Eastern European families did not come to peddle or open shops but to farm. Their colony, Clarion, eventually folded. Historian Robert Goldberg attributes the colony's failure to lack of farming experience and morale. A few families stayed in the area, some opening small businesses; only two families continued farming.³⁸

³² Ibid., 158-64; Simmons, *Haddassah and the Zionist Project*, 87-94.

³³ For more about the Julius and Fanny Brooks family, see "Early Jewish Utah Pioneers: Julius and Fannie Brooks," in *A Homeland in the West: Utah Jews Remember*, ed. Eileen Hallet Stone (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2001), 57.

³⁴ Leon Watters, *The Pioneer Jews of Utah* (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1952), 126-29; Stone, *A Homeland in the West*, 74-75, 77-78, 91-97.

³⁵ Stone, *A Homeland in the West*, 15-16.

³⁶ Louis C. Zucker, "The Jews of Salt Lake City: Our Background," unpublished paper, copy in possession of Michael Walton, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2-3; Stone, *A Homeland in the West*, 7.

³⁷ "L'Chaim": Ralph Tannenbaum" in Stone, *A Homeland in the West*, 343-45.

³⁸ Robert A. Goldberg, *Back to the Soil: The Jewish Farmers of Clarion, Utah and Their World* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 1986), 67-68, 81, 83, 96, 125, 134.

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“There probably always were some Zionists in Salt Lake City since the first Congress in Basel in 1897,” long-time University of Utah English professor Louis Zucker remarked.³⁹ Mirroring national trends, Zionist activity peaked during and after World War I. In recalling community dynamics before World War I, Rose Arnovitz noted that one did not mention Zionism in “polite society,” adding that many believed the movement to be un-American. “[Zionism] didn’t mean that you were going. . . [to] forsake this country. . . It meant that you believe[d] that there should be a Jewish state,” she clarified. Though a teenager at the time, Joel Shapiro remembers a similar attitude among the immigrant generation: “In the 1930s . . . everybody was trying to be 100% American. . . We wanted to get along.” With only a few supporters, Zionism struggled.⁴⁰

The short-lived *Salt Lake Jewish News* contained rousing editorials favoring Zionism by Rabbi Joseph E. Krikstein of Congregation Montefiore. Commenting on the German situation, Rabbi Krikstein wrote: “The sufferings of our brethren in Germany will not have been in vain, if it will effect a rapid mass conversion of the Jews to Zionism.” He noted the Salt Lake City Jewish Community’s antipathy regarding the Zionist cause, calling for the creation of a Zionist youth organization.⁴¹ As the Holocaust’s magnitude became known and once Israel became a reality, support for the Jewish nation state dramatically changed. A chapter of the Zionist Organization of America formed in 1946, and fundraising drives for Israel became commonplace. As Joel Shapiro noted, most saw Israel as “a Jewish State for somebody else,” particularly for Holocaust refugees. “People shied away from [saying] ‘I’m a Zionist.’” Nevertheless, in a city still possessing restrictive social and athletic clubs, Israel gave Salt Lake City Jews a new sense of identity.⁴²

Through educational and fundraising activities, Salt Lake Hadassah articulated American Zionism’s mission. As members of the city’s central Zionist organization, “Hadassah ladies” involved the entire community in their many projects, transforming “passive, if amiable, spectators into collaborators in the up building of Palestine.”⁴³ Receiving direction from national Hadassah, the Salt Lake City chapter succored Jews abroad while nurturing

³⁹ Louis Zucker, “Recollections and Observations,” in Juanita Brooks, *The History of the Jews in Utah and Idaho* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1973), 211.

⁴⁰ Rose and Michael Arnovitz interview by Leslie Kelen, November 30, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections Jewish Community Interviews, Accn 998 Box 1 Fd 3. Hereinafter identified as Jewish Community Interviews. Joel Shapiro, interview by Rebecca Andersen, June 26, 2007, transcript in author’s possession.

⁴¹ *Salt Lake Jewish News*, July 7, 1933, Special Collections, Salt Lake City Public Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁴² Joel Shapiro interview by Rebecca Andersen, June 26, 2007; Joel Shapiro interview by Leslie Kelen June 16, 1982, Jewish Community Interviews, Box 5 Fd 1.

⁴³ “Hadassah Newsletter,” 1926, quoted in Mary McCune, “Formulating the ‘Women’s Interpretation of Zionism:’ Hadassah recruitment of Non-Zionist Women, 1914-1930,” *American Jewish Women and the Zionist Enterprise*, ed. Shulamit Reinharz and Mark A. Raider (Waltham, MA.: Brandeis University Press, 2005), 98.

Zionist numbers at home.⁴⁴

As early as 1923, Oscar Leonard of the Palestine foundation committee urged Salt Lake City Jewish organizations to donate some \$12,000. "The Jewish women of America, irrespective of affiliations, must be interested in this work," Leonard pressed the pioneer Hadassah chapter, "It is a work which brings healing on its wings to thousands of women less fortunate than they. Surely their hearts must be touched at the call which comes from suffering womankind in the Holy Land."⁴⁵

Despite these maternalist overtures, Salt Lake City's early Hadassah work languished and lapsed. Even after the chapter's 1943 reestablishment, Rose Arnovitz recalled membership woes. Because Hadassah's work focused on Palestine, "women would not even support [Hadassah] with a five dollar bill."⁴⁶ With "Women's Zionist Organization of America" stamped on Hadassah membership cards, those concerned about their standing as patriotic Americans remained unaffiliated, despite supporting Hadassah sponsored Youth Aliyah.⁴⁷ At one point national president Judith Epstein advised Arnovitz: "You won't change their minds. Go try and get somebody else."⁴⁸ National leader Elsa Levinson consoled Arnovitz, attributing Salt Lake City's apathy to a "lack of Zionist nourishment by direct contacts with our leaders."⁴⁹ Excerpts from Hattie Feldman's September 1945 letter to all members demonstrate the chapter's membership focus:

If our members pay their dues without delay we shall be able to give our full time and energy to our campaign for new members...I need hardly tell you how urgent it is to secure many new members this year. This is the time for the Zionist movement to speed up the building of Palestine for the Jews who...long to rebuild their lives in a land where they are wanted. This is the time for the Zionist movement to press anew for the opening of the doors of Palestine and the restoration of the Jewish Commonwealth, to give the Jewish people the standing of equality with all other peoples of the earth. For these tasks we need greater numerical strength. In this decisive hour we want to do our full share in the mobilization of American Jewry behind the Zionist program.⁵⁰

Perhaps perceptive to the community's Zionist sentiments, Hattie Feldman requested that National not send the Salt Lake City chapter Hadassah's Zionist Political Education program. "I think...you are making a

⁴⁴ Mira Katzburg-Youngman, "Women and Zionist Activity in *Erez Israel*," in *American Jewish Women and the Zionist Enterprise*, eds. Shulamit Reinharz and Mark A. Raider (Waltham, MA.: Brandeis University Press, 2005), 162.

⁴⁵ *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 7, 1923.

⁴⁶ Michael and Rose Arnovitz, interview by Leslie Kelen, November 30, 1982, Jewish Community Interviews, Box 1 Fd 3.

⁴⁷ Rose Arnovitz interview by Leslie Kelen, March 16, 1983, Jewish Community Interviews, Accn 998 Box 1 Fd 4.

⁴⁸ Michael and Rose Arnovitz, interview.

⁴⁹ Elsa Levinson to Rose Arnovitz, April 13, 1946, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 5. Hereinafter Hadassah Chapter.

⁵⁰ Hattie Feldman to Salt Lake City Hadassah Chapter members, September 19, 1945, Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 2.

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mistake in suggesting that you should not get Zionist Political Education,” Zip Szold expressed. “I believe that the material is so good that it would be a real deprivation to suggest that it should not be sent to Salt Lake City.”⁵¹ Hoping to attract more ladies, Rose Arnovitz claimed Hadassah convinced Sara Rosenblatt to serve as president. “We got her to say she would be president for the prestige of the name... but she said we should never give her any mail or ask her to do anything,” Rose stated. The second wife of Nathan Rosenblatt, Sara attended and conducted meetings; as de facto president, Rose Arnovitz took care of all correspondence and meeting agendas.⁵²

Members viewed films and slide show presentations provided by National Hadassah.⁵³ In September 1945, the local chapter received an announcement from National promoting the film, *The Palestine Problem*. “Make sure that your chapter and all other Zionists and friends of Palestine are told about its appearance,” the communication stated, “Please write and let us know the reaction.”⁵⁴ The September 1957 meeting concluded with the film, *A Day in the Life of a Housewife in Israel*.⁵⁵ Hannah Means Grace told the story of Hannah, a crippled child who left a Hadassah hospital with dreams of becoming a dancer. “It was rewarding to know how our money performs such miracles,” the local Hadassah minutes read.⁵⁶ “Thanks to...movie projectionists Marvin Bloom and Stevie Rosenblatt for Hadassah movies. Marvin, our old reliable operator, took time off from work for our January meeting,” a chapter newsletter noted.⁵⁷

Especially educational, Hadassah regional and national conventions motivated local leadership. “How well we know the problems of ‘beginner’ chapters,” wrote Pacific Coast regional secretary, Hattie Feldman. Feldman encouraged the women to attend that year’s regional convention. “There we will try to outline programs etc. for you.”⁵⁸ As a delegate, Esther Landa recalled attending workshops and listening to inspirational speakers. “Workshops were not only educational but ‘how to.’ How to get members, how to raise money, how to run meetings,” Landa later explained.⁵⁹

While the isolation of Salt Lake City’s Jewish community may have deterred initial participation, following Israel’s 1948 statehood, Hadassah ranks swelled.⁶⁰ “Hadassah’s methods of attracting new members have much to tell us about the ways that middle-class American Jews became Zionists

⁵¹ Zip Szold to Hattie Feldman, May 6, 1943, Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 5.

⁵² Rose Arnovitz, interview.

⁵³ Esther Landa, interview by Rebecca Andersen, June 29, 2007, transcript in author’s possession.

⁵⁴ Mrs. Herman Shulman to Salt Lake Hadassah Chapter President, September 12, 1945, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 5.

⁵⁵ Hadassah Minutes, September 4, 1957.

⁵⁶ Hadassah Minutes, January 28, 1959.

⁵⁷ Hadassah Highlights, February 1950, Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 7.

⁵⁸ Mrs. Maxwell Reid to Hattie Feldman, March 31, 1943, Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 5.

⁵⁹ Landa interview

⁶⁰ Ibid.

and the messages they found appealing,” wrote Jewish women’s historian Mary McCune.⁶¹ Hadassah socials and relief projects prompted participation. Early Hadassah president Esther Landa recalled membership teas: “You were supposed to bring a friend when you came.” In addition, the membership chair contacted prospective members, often new move-ins.⁶²

Landa’s Hadassah activity began shortly after her marriage. With a husband serving overseas during World War II, Esther lived with her parents, joining the local Hadassah chapter. “When Jerry got out of the Army we moved to Tulsa, Oklahoma,” she related. Tulsa’s Hadassah president sought Landa, requesting her help as chapter secretary.⁶³ The years in Tulsa, a very Zionist town, prepared Landa for future leadership experiences.⁶⁴



Esther Landa.

“My husband used to complain...that if you were invited to a party in Tulsa, you had to listen to the meeting first before they had the party...There was a lot of meetings and a lot of involvement.” Before returning to Utah, friends cautioned her: “When you go to Salt Lake City, don’t keep telling them how we did it in Tulsa.” Once re-settled, Esther became involved in Hadassah and many other community organizations, serving as chapter president from 1951 to 1953.⁶⁵

Henrietta Szold’s “practical Zionism” appealed to Salt Lake City women. Through Blue Box and Donor luncheons, supply showers and sewing projects, fashion shows, raffles, card parties and children’s parties, women supported Israel. In addition to planning fundraising activities, meetings educated members regarding Hadassah’s objectives and activities in Palestine, later Israel. Minutes record the presence of local and national visitors, panel discussions, presentations, slide shows and films. Regional and national Hadassah meetings stimulated and inspired local leadership, reminding them of Hadassah’s important work abroad.

The local chapter received their annual fundraising quotas from National Hadassah. The chapter divided their 1960 quota of \$6,795 among six Hadassah programs: Hadassah Medical organization, Youth Aliyah, Vocational Education, Youth Activities, the Jewish National Fund, and the

⁶¹ Mary McCune, *Formulating the Women’s Interpretation of Zionism*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005), 92.

⁶² Landa, interview.

⁶³ Esther Landa, “Hadassah Happenings,” Issue 232 (March 2001).

⁶⁴ Landa, interview.

⁶⁵ Esther Landa, “Hadassah Happenings,” Issue 232 (March 2001).

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Medical Center Building fund.⁶⁶ The chapter met their quotas by holding an annual donor luncheon and a semi-annual Blue Box luncheon. Other fundraising activities included supply showers, clothing drives, raffles, fashion shows, and children's parties.

Salt Lake City's Hadassah held annual donor luncheons in March or April. Rose Arnovitz conceived the first luncheon. To attend the 1946 dinner, held on the roof of Hotel Utah, women paid ten dollars. Seventy-five women, decked in new hats and spring outfits, attended. "It was a prestige thing," Arnovitz commented, "women will go for that."⁶⁷ Luncheon programs delineated different levels of giving, printing the giver's name under the appropriate donation category.⁶⁸ "You always tried to get people to commit at a higher level, but you were very happy to get them to come," Esther Landa remarked.⁶⁹

The semi-annual Blue Box Luncheons helped fill the chapter's Jewish National Fund (JNF) quota. Responsible for purchasing land in Palestine, the JNF launched successful propaganda campaigns, winning not only dollars but minds and hearts to the Zionist cause. Purposefully parroting traditional Jewish charity boxes, the JNF worked to place Blue Boxes in every Jewish home and institution. "The collection of funds using the box was based upon the assumption that the box itself would do the donation work," historian Yoram Bar-Gal explains, "It was the box that was the instrument of contribution and represented the institution and its goals."⁷⁰

Twice a year, women emptied their Blue Boxes, bringing the loose change to Blue Box luncheons. Invitations emphasized the JNF's essential land reclamation projects. "Fill your Blue Boxes to the brim and bring them to this meeting in answer to the insistent pleas of the scattered survivors who still languish in Europe's Displaced Persons Camps," the January 1947 invitation implored.⁷¹ "If you don't have a Blue Box," one invitation read, "you and your friends may partake of the delicious luncheon prepared by the Jewish National Fund Committee for \$1.50 per person."⁷² By 1944, most of Salt Lake City's Jewish homes had a Blue Box.⁷³ Generally well attended, Blue Box luncheons brought in significant sums of money. A chapter record, ninety-five women attended the February 1950 luncheon, contributing \$421.91 to the Jewish National Fund.⁷⁴

"Though the shower was not for a bride, you gave with a heart full of pride, Towels of every color and size to bring gladness to Israel's eyes," a

⁶⁶ Hadassah meeting minutes, June 6, 1960, in possession of Karen McArthur, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁶⁷ *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 17, 1946; Rose Arnovitz, interview.

⁶⁸ Hadassah Chapter Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 1.

⁶⁹ Landa, interview.

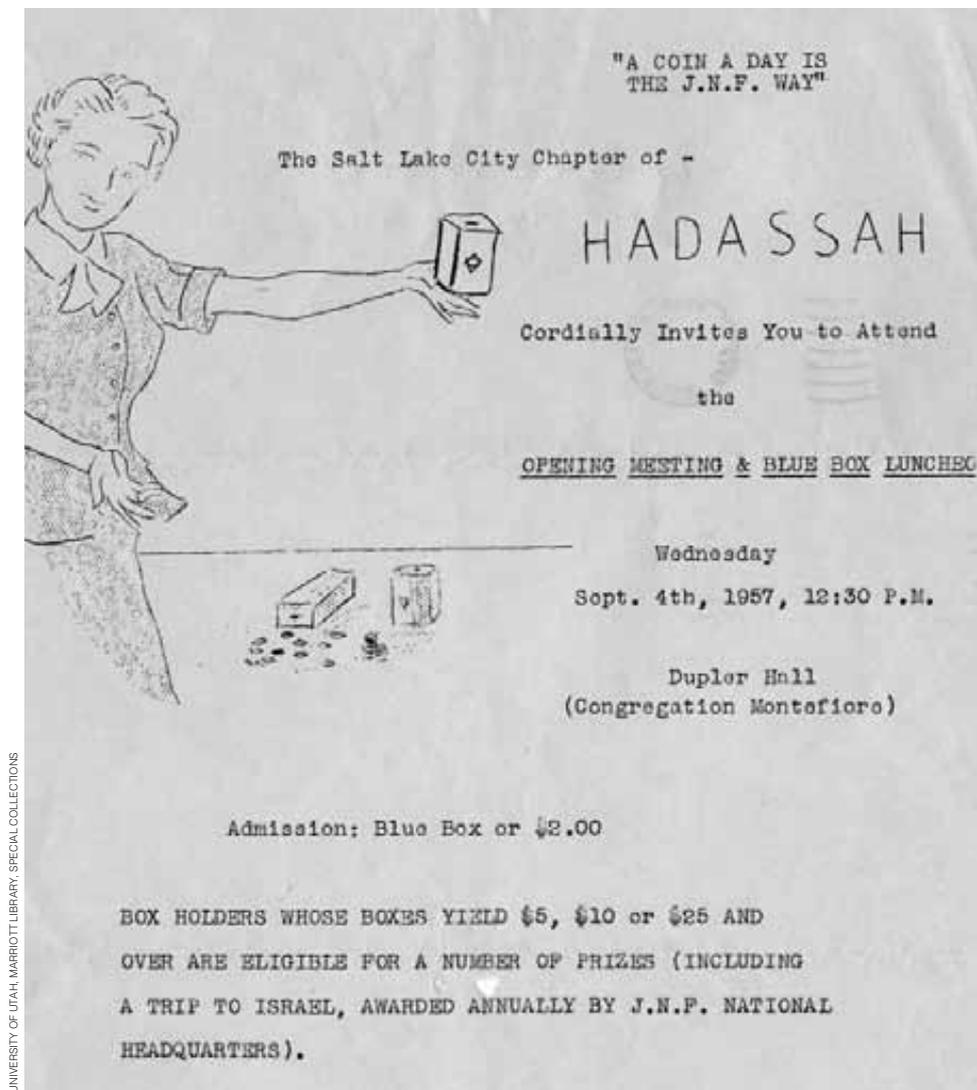
⁷⁰ Yoram Bar-Gal, *Propaganda and Zionist Education: The Jewish National Fund, 1924-1947* (Rochester, NY: The University of Rochester Press, 2003), 11, 30, 34.

⁷¹ Blue Box Luncheon invitation, January 23, 1947, Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 2.

⁷² Blue Box Luncheon invitation, February 19, 1948, Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 2.

⁷³ *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 4, 1944.

⁷⁴ "Hadassah Highlights," 1 (February 1950), Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 7.



1951 verse went.⁷⁵ Salt Lake City Hadassah met their national “supply” quota by hosting numerous supply showers. As a way to help Hadassah hospitals, women contributed sheets, pillow cases, and linens. Because recent arrivals to Israel often lacked sufficient clothing, sewing circles mobilized, meeting their needs. Though National Hadassah later monetized in-kind donations, supply showers, sewing projects and clothing drives provided a tangible link between Salt Lake City women and the new Jewish state.⁷⁶

In answering National’s 1946 supply requests, the local chapter formed a Wednesday sewing group. At the November 1948 meeting, nine women volunteered to knit “warm garments to ship to Israel for the winter.”⁷⁷ For nine sweaters, National credited the chapter \$58.50. “This all helps tremendously, not only at the Supplies Bureau, but with our quotas to which the sum is credited,” the chapter’s November 1951 “Hadassah Highlights” issue explained.⁷⁸ On December 1, 1949, the chapter held an emergency Diaper

⁷⁵ Supply Shower thank you note, 1951, Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 8.

⁷⁶ Landa, interview.

⁷⁷ Hadassah meeting minutes, September 19, 1946, November 18, 1948.

⁷⁸ “Hadassah Highlights,” 2 (November 1951), Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 1.

Shower. "Bring as many new diapers as you can," the invitation read, "Israel's babies urgently need them!"⁷⁹ At an earlier diaper shower, women donated 121 cloth diapers.⁸⁰ After the chapter contributed \$413 worth of sheets, it received a letter from National Hadassah expressed their thanks:

Hadassah Supplies are helping to maintain emergency medical services, outfit newcomers, and aid the dauntless citizen builders of Israel who strive for normalcy in this time of stress. In Hadassah's own, and in some hundred and twenty-five other institutions...including immigrant hostels, homes for the aged, the chronically ill and insane, orphan asylums, hospitals, sanatoria and welfare stations, your gift has meant new life, new hope, new certainty for the future.⁸¹

The city's Hadassah chapter creatively raised additional funds for Israel through car raffles. Charlie Pincus donated the first car. Hadassah women worked Main Street in front of the Utah Theatre, selling raffle tickets for a dollar each. Ever involved, Esther Landa made sure raffle tickets sold. "Mrs. Jerry Landa gave a report on the raffle of the Chevrolet. She asked for people to sell tickets," November 1948 minutes record.⁸² "My most memorable moment was watching [Esther] selling raffle tickets to passers-by on Main Street," Shirley Tannenbaum recalled. A plant worker at the American Foundry and Machine Company eventually drove the car home.⁸³ Netting \$3,298, National Hadassah congratulated the Salt Lake City chapter, promising to inscribe their name "in the hospital book."⁸⁴ In 1953, the chapter raffled off a Cadillac. At \$100 a ticket and with only 75 tickets available, Hadassah president Esther Landa encouraged group ticket buying. Another success came when the chapter raised \$1,744.47, appropriating \$1,000 to the new Jerusalem medical center.⁸⁵

The Salt Lake City Hadassah chapter maintained pace with the Israeli fashion scene through nationally sponsored Israeli fashion shows. The shows proved popular and fun fundraisers. "After three years of waiting, Salt Lake is finally going to get the fabulous Israeli fashion show," the November 1951 "Hadassah Highlights" announced, "Women from coast to coast have been thrilled by this show." "Fashion Firsts from Israel" initially premiered at the King David Hotel earlier that year. Local members modeled clothing designed by students attending Jerusalem's Hadassah Fashion and Design Institute.⁸⁶ The fashion show's program notes contained \$700 worth of local advertising. The chapter applied this generous sum to the Youth Services quota.⁸⁷ Keeping up with Israeli

⁷⁹ Supply Shower invitation, December, 1, 1949, Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 8.

⁸⁰ Hadassah meeting minutes, September 15, 1949.

⁸¹ "Hadassah Highlights," 3 (April 1952), Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 7.

⁸² Hadassah meeting minutes, November 18, 1948.

⁸³ Esther Landa, Shirley Tannenbaum, "Hadassah Happenings," Issue 232 (March 2001).

⁸⁴ Hadassah meeting minutes, January 20, 1949.

⁸⁵ Hadassah meeting minutes, April 23, November 19, 1953.

⁸⁶ "Hadassah Highlights," 2 (November 1951); Program notes for "Fashion Firsts from Israel," November 29, 1951, Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 1.

⁸⁷ Hadassah Highlights," 3 (January 1952), Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 7.

fashions, the chapter continued hosting shows through the 1950s.⁸⁸

Often in celebration of Hanukkah or Purim, Hadassah hosted children's parties. Months before the parties, Montefiore and B'nai Israel Sunday schools distributed coin books or envelopes. Children parted with their pennies at the party. Hadassah encouraged mothers to make sure full envelopes accompanied their children.⁸⁹ More than just fundraising, the parties educated children about Israel, establishing early on the concept of contributing to the Jewish State. "Its only a few weeks until Hadassah's Hanukkah party," read one letter undoubtedly passed out at Sunday school, "We're enclosing a special envelope for you—please put as much money into it as you can between now and the party and bring it with you—it will go to the brave children of Palestine, to give them some of the many things we enjoy."⁹⁰ KSL-TV character Uncle Roscoe made an appearance at the 1953 Youth Services party where Marsha Williams and Leslie Bernstein won a cake baking contest.⁹¹

Speakers, meeting activities, and national and regional conventions helped women understand Zionism and Hadassah's place within the Zionist movement. National Hadassah remained in close contact with local chapters. Beginning with Julia Dushkin's visit, the Salt Lake City Hadassah chapter entertained numerous national and regional Hadassah officials. Often VIPs appeared as keynote speakers at the annual Donor or Blue Box luncheons. As part of her western chapters tour, national vice-president Rose Halpern addressed the chapter at their March 1949 Donor Luncheon. "Hadassah is making of the Middle East a healthful land," she reported, "We have developed 54 playgrounds and have opened two new tuberculosis hospitals."⁹²

Salt Lake City's location as a railroad crossroads came in handy. "If [speakers] were heading to LA or San Francisco, we'd try and get them to stop off here," Esther Landa recalled.⁹³ Commenting on the rehabilitation and medical needs of refugee children recently rescued from Nazi concentration camps, Central Pacific regional president Diana Rothenberg spoke at an October 1945 luncheon meeting.⁹⁴ A year later, national president Judith Epstein made an appearance. Meeting minutes state:

All those who were present will agree that after Mrs. Epstein spoke, we...felt that there was nothing we wouldn't do to help carry on the work of the organization....Looking around at the ladies, while she spoke, one could see that we all felt the same way she

⁸⁸ Blue Box Luncheon and Meeting invitation, February 26, 1953, Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 2; Hadassah meeting minutes, April 8, 1957, minutes in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁸⁹ Hadassah meeting minutes, October 8, 1953; November 18, 1948.

⁹⁰ Communication dated October 28, 1947, Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 3.

⁹¹ Hadassah Highlights," Vol. IV No. 2, (April 1953), Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 7; *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 28, 1953.

⁹² *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 16, 1949.

⁹³ Landa, interview.

⁹⁴ *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 19, 1945.

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did about the necessity of doing all we can.⁹⁵

Other speakers emphasized similarities between Israel and the United States. "Israel is a refuge for people persecuted in other countries, just as the United States was at one time," a National Hadassah board member noted, "People are taken directly from the ships to the land to learn agriculture, and Hadassah is playing an important part in this by conducting educational agricultural programs for young people." Tribute was made to Israel's democratic character, free of censorship and political oppression.⁹⁶ Another national board member, Marian Greenberg noted historical parallels between the two countries: "a declaration of independence, a war for independence and a civil war."⁹⁷ Cold War conditions made such declarations important. Chapter members could be sure that their contributions not only alleviated "Jewish homelessness," but built and maintained a free and open society in the Middle East.

Local speakers and panels made for especially interesting and educational meetings. University of Utah's Medical School Dean Richard Young addressed the chapter, praising Hadassah's medical center in Palestine, which he visited during the war. He concluded his remarks by signing a statement acknowledging a two-hundred-bed Tubercular Hospital, Hadassah's most recent project. At the November 1948 meeting, Rabbi E. Louis Cardon of Congregation Montefiore and Rabbi Mordecai Podet from Congregation B'nai Israel analyzed Palestine's history and geography, discussing current events. In April 1952, Rachelle Finkelstein organized a panel discussion titled, "Jewish Life in America." Panelists included Louis Zucker and Rabbi Adolf H. Fink. Perhaps more entertaining, Rabbi Podet reviewed Leon Uris' best seller *Exodus* giving his high recommendation because "the book presents an [insight] to Zionism from 1946 to [the] present."⁹⁸

The Salt Lake City chapter offered classes taught by board members discussing Hadassah or Zionist related themes. The first class met at the October 1943 meeting. In early 1945, participation waned; "war work" consumed women's time. Later that year, Education Chair May Baer attempted to revitalize Zionist and Jewish education study groups.⁹⁹ Her success in this endeavor remains unclear. Beginning with the September 1962 meeting and continuing through October 1963, the chapter utilized a leadership training course made available through national Hadassah. The 15-30 minute sessions provided members with "a more complete knowledge of Hadassah, its structure, history and foundation for the future."¹⁰⁰ Learning from each other, Salt Lake City Hadassah members

⁹⁵ Hadassah Minutes, February 27, 1946.

⁹⁶ *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 5, 1955.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, November 19, 1949.

⁹⁸ Hadassah Meeting Minutes, April 24, 1947; January 22, 1948; April 29, 1952; March, 25 1959.

⁹⁹ Hadassah Meeting Minutes, October 28, 1943; January 25, September 26, 1945.

¹⁰⁰ Hadassah Meeting Minutes, September 13, 1962, minutes in possession of Karen McArthur, Salt Lake City, Utah.

presented lessons on leadership, Hadassah's structural and financial set-up, Israel, and Hadassah's relationship with the Jewish National Fund.¹⁰¹ In addition, the training course provided practical tips for running the organization. At the March 1963 meeting, Esther Landa presented a lesson on how to make meetings "interesting ...to attract good attendance, how often they should be held and how long a good meeting should last." Her presentation sparked a lively discussion.¹⁰²

In addition to visitors and special classes, the Salt Lake City chapter learned about Hadassah activities and current events through available media resources. A May 1944 notice in the *Salt Lake Tribune* read: "Salt Lake chapter of Hadassah...will meet Sunday...to hear a radio talk by Rear Admiral Charles S. Stephenson on the Rothschild University and hospital in Palestine. The talk will be broadcast over KSL at 5:15 p.m."¹⁰³ Speaking over KALL and KDYL radio stations, Esther Landa and Helen Sandack informed listeners about the chapter's November 1948 fund raising campaign rebuilding Jerusalem's Hadassah hospital.¹⁰⁴ For the February 1956 meeting, Landa shared a list of upcoming radio and television programs specifically focusing on Israel.¹⁰⁵ "Thanks to Leland Auslander and KDYL Television for showing two Hadassah movies....Watch your television screen for more Israeli movies—they're coming," the February 1950 *Hadassah Highlights* announced.¹⁰⁶ Later that year, KDYL aired three additional programs about Israel: *Homecoming*, *Birthday of Prophecy*, and *Israel in Action*.¹⁰⁷

Ethel Luerer attended the 1948 Atlanta national convention. Her account provides a glimpse into convention excitement and activities. She



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The Congregation Montefiore Synagogue was constructed in 1903 and used by more orthodox members of the Salt Lake City Jewish Community until 1970.

¹⁰¹ Hadassah minutes November 14, 1962; January 9, 1963; April 17, 1963, minutes in possession of Karen McArthur, Salt Lake City, Utah.

¹⁰² Hadassah minutes, March 13, 1963, minutes in possession of Karen McArthur, Salt Lake City, Utah.

¹⁰³ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 8, 1944.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, November 3, 1948.

¹⁰⁵ Hadassah Minutes, February 23, 1956.

¹⁰⁶ "Hadassah Highlights," February 1950, Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 7.

¹⁰⁷ "Hadassah Highlights," September 1950, Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 7.

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found the energy of the four-thousand-strong crowd remarkable. The convention's theme, "Salute to Israel" imbued participants with exultant optimism. Leaders outlined courageous objectives for Hadassah's future: clinics, hospitals, a medical school, aid for recently arrived children and youth, and the list continued. "Nobody saw any hindrances," Luerer wrote. "Money? A minor matter! A budget of \$65,535,000.00 was adopted without a word of discussion." She spent her time listening to speech after speech: settlement progress in the Negev, the Jaffa health center, Zionism and the State of Israel, Youth Aliyah's progress. Sunday, Luerer attended a special panel discussion lead by Dr. Ira Eisenstein who "maintained that American boys and girls, without ceasing...to be patriotic Americans, could train and go to...Israel, much [like] our Mormon missionaries." After Monday's fundraising and membership conferences, *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent Ruth Gruber gave Tuesday's closing speech, reporting on Israel's "destiny as an outstanding democracy." Though Luerer admitted "the speech-making got to be wearisome," she noted "our responsibilities as American Jewish women are enormous, but my confidence has been strengthened that we shall measure up to them."¹⁰⁸

The Salt Lake City chapter hosted the 1962 Central Pacific Hadassah regional convention. Under President Irene Tannenbaum's direction, preparation for the May gathering began as early as November 1961. Regional President, Charlotte Diamond remained in close contact with Salt Lake City Hadassah leadership, visiting the chapter in February. "The groundwork has been laid," minutes state, "we are assured of the full cooperation of the Hotel Utah management, special conference jobs have been assigned to each board member by Esther [Landa]."¹⁰⁹ According to newspaper accounts, the convention went off without a hitch. Mordechai Shalev, Consul General of Israel, made an appearance as the convention's guest of honor. Shalev's presentation focused on Negev desert development, all part of Israel's economic growth plan. "Israel has to make up in quality what it lacks in dimension and quantity," he stated.¹¹⁰ The national membership chairman summed up the American Zionist mission in her speech focusing on the "two fold" obligation of American Jews. "As an American Jew," she counseled delegates, "You must strive to preserve Judaism and Americanism."¹¹¹

The Salt Lake City Hadassah Chapter effectively carried out this dual charge. During Israel's 1967 Six Day War, an emergency meeting garnered tremendous support, reflected by generous dollar donations. A financial record setter, the Donor Luncheon bridal fashion show, "Marriage Hadassah Style," marked the chapter's twenty-fifth anniversary.

¹⁰⁸ Ethel Luerer, "National Convention Report," November 22, 1948, Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 9.

¹⁰⁹ Hadassah meeting minutes, November 29, 1961; February 14, 1962, in possession of Karen McArthur, Salt Lake City, Utah.

¹¹⁰ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 19, 21, 1962.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, May 23, 1962.

Other Hadassah activities brought the Jewish and the larger Salt Lake City communities together. Century 21 Theatre's *Fiddler on the Roof* benefit brought in \$2,300. The chapter also helped spearhead the first "Jewish Cultural Festival," launched a chapter-wide Youth Aliyah drive, and later worked to raise money for Ethiopian Jews.¹¹²

While Salt Lake City Hadassah remains a vibrant force within the Jewish community, the chapter's first twenty years played a crucial role in establishing communal support for Israel. At a time when Jewish communities throughout the United States experienced a shift in attitude towards Zionism, projects and educational meetings drew women into the Zionist movement. "Hadassah created a number of ways by which American women could express their concern for the developing Jewish nation and thereby aid the Zionist movement," McCune stressed.¹¹³ Although members may not have delved as deeply into Zionist theory, they acted like other women's organizations of the time, demonstrating their willingness to help the international Jewish condition by working within the women's sphere.

Opening their meetings with the "Star Spangled Banner" and closing them with the Israeli national anthem "Hatikva," Salt Lake City Jewish women learned about Zionist ideology and discussed their unique role as women building a Jewish homeland and state. Through Blue Box and Donor luncheons, fashion shows and supply showers, they became part of a nationally united force of women working to establish a democratically sound society. "Ours is the task of providing the soil and the physical healing for the harassed Jews in Europe who find sanctuary in Palestine," a 1946 Blue Box Luncheon invitation reminded Salt Lake City women.¹¹⁴ National Hadassah founder Henrietta Szold could not have said it better.



UNIVERSITY OF UTAH, MARRIOTT LIBRARY, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

**Members of the Salt Lake City
Hadassah at a reception.**

¹¹² "Salt Lake City Chapter of Hadassah, Golden Anniversary 1943-1993: Souvenir History," 6-8, copy in possession of Karen McArthur, Salt Lake City, Utah; "Hadassah Happenings," March 2001, copy in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City.

¹¹³ Mary McCune, "Social Workers in Muskeljudentum," 164.

¹¹⁴ Salt Lake City Hadassah Blue Box Invitation, February 19, 1946, Hadassah Chapter, Box 1 Fd 2.



Community and Ethnicity: Hispanic Women in Utah's Carbon County

By ARMANDO SOLÓRZANO, LISA M. RALPH, AND J. LYNN ENGLAND

Since its creation in 1894, Carbon County has been known for its ethnic, religious, political, and economic diversity.¹ Farming, ranching, the railroad, and coal mining brought an array of diverse groups that included British and Northern Europeans, Italians, Croatians, Irish, French, Hispanics, Greeks, Serbians; Chinese, Japanese, African Americans, Native Americans, and others.

Much of the early history of the county is a story of cultural conflict and ethnic rivalry, *Students outside the Notre Dame School in Price.*

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¹ Most histories of Carbon County document the diversity and detail various aspects of it with a focus on the contributions of the Italian, Greek, and Slavic immigrants. Examples are: Ronald G. Watt, *A History of Carbon County*, (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and the Carbon County Commission, 1997); Ronald G. Watt, *City of Diversity: A History of Price, Utah*, (Price: Price Municipal Corporation, 2001); Philip F. Notarianni, ed., *Carbon County: Eastern Utah's Industrialized Island*, (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1981); and Nancy J. Taniguchi, *Castle Valley America: Hard Land Hard Won Home*, (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2004).

labor unrest, and inter-ethnic clashes between “Americans” and “New Immigrants”—primarily those who arrived in the county from southern Europe as coal mining expanded in the area. Carbon County’s history is a story of accommodation and community building of peoples of diverse cultural origins who found common ground in work, union activities, labor strikes, mining and other disasters, dances, baseball, education, and political affairs.²

Mexican Americans moved into the county shortly after it was established. Their presence is manifested in newspaper articles, in oral history interviews, employment records, and government reports.³ However, unlike other ethnic groups in the area, little has been written concerning their contributions, their communities, their integration in Carbon County, or about their lives, beliefs, and struggles.⁴ This omission takes on greater importance because while the other immigrant groups have ceased to increase in numbers, the Mexican and Mexican American community have grown in numbers and visibility. Since 1970, at least 10 percent of Carbon County’s residents are categorized by the U. S. Census as “persons of Spanish language.”⁵

² For some excellent studies of other ethnic groups in Carbon County, see Helen Zeese Papanikolas, “The Greeks of Carbon County,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (April 1954): 143-64; Allan Kent Powell, “The ‘Foreign Element’ and the 1903-4 Carbon County Coal Miner’s Strike,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (Spring 1975): 125-54; Janeen Arnold Costa, “A Struggle for Survival and Identity: Families in the Aftermath of the Castle Gate Mine Disaster,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (Fall 1988): 279-92; and Craig Fuller, “Finns and the Winter Quarters Mine Disaster,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 70 (Spring 2002): 123-39. Historian Ronald G Watt, in *A History of Carbon County*, describes the intolerance that was prevalent during the earlier years while recognizing the sense of harmony and unity that diversity brought to the county when he wrote: “Creating this diversity were immigrants from all over the world, including Asia, the Middle East, Europe, the British Isles, Scandinavia, the Balkans, Greece, Italy, France, and Mexico, as well as African Americans from other parts of the United States. They made their homes in Carbon County and contributed to all aspects of community life, producing a heritage of tolerance and acceptance that some have defined as the result of the Carbon County experience,” 200.

³ *Hispanics of Carbon County*. Collection LA 109C. Utah Valley University. 2005. This data set contains tape recordings, and transcripts of interviews conducted in Carbon County between 1998 and 2005. Also, *Hispanics in Sanpete County*. Collection LA 109B. Utah Valley University. This collection is a compilation of interviews with both Hispanic men and women conducted in Sanpete County from 1998 to 2005. It contains only the cassette recording.

⁴ Almost every account of the diversity of Carbon County indicates the presence of Hispanics before the 1920s, but the exact numbers are difficult to determine because the U.S. Census relied on the category “foreign born,” or “child of foreign born parent” to determine numbers for most ethnic groups. Many people of Mexican descent were born as American citizens in New Mexico or Colorado—lands that belonged to Mexico until they became part of the United States as a result of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848. The U. S. Census only begins identifying Mexicans born in the United States in 1970. See “The 50 States Report.” Submitted to the Commission on Civil Rights by the State Advisory Committees, 1961. (U.S. Government Printing Office. Washington 25, D.C.), 604.

⁵ For accounts of the Hispanic experience in Utah see Vicente V. Mayer, “After Escalante: The Spanish-Speaking People of Utah,” in Helen Z. Papanikolas, ed. *The Peoples of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), 437-68; Edward H. Mayer, “The Evolution of Culture and Tradition in Utah’s Mexican-American Community,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (Spring 1981): 133-44; William Gonzalez and Genaro Padilla, “Monticello, the Hispanic Gateway to Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (Winter 1984): 9-28; Jorge Iber, “‘El Diablo Nos Está Llevando’: Utah Hispanics and the Great Depression,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 66 (Spring 1998): 159-77; Jorge Iber, *Hispanics in the Mormon Zion: 1912-1999* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000); Armando Solórzano, “At the Gates of the Kingdom: Latino Immigrants in Utah, 1900-2003,” in *Beyond the Gateway: Immigrants in a Changing*

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The purpose of this article is to examine one aspect of the Hispanic experience in Utah—that of women and, in particular, their association with Catholic parishes in Carbon County and Notre Dame De Lourdes Catholic School in Price.⁶ Their contributions as innovators in the family structure, community builders, and keepers of culture and traditions serve to frame a broader understanding of Hispanic women in Utah. Three factors are essential to understanding their story: the nature of life in coal mining families and the larger coal mining community; their beliefs and practices associated with tolerance, family, and community; and the means by which an established ethnic-religious identity is maintained within a multi-ethnic community.

As with other immigrant groups, Hispanics arrived in the area for economic reasons—as shepherders, railroad laborers, and coal miners. Like the Italian and Greek immigrants who preceded them in Carbon County, Hispanics met with intolerance and discrimination. But the Hispanic experience was different, their presence in the larger American Southwest has been extensive.

When Mormon pioneers arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, all the land that would become the state of Utah was Mexican Territory. The 1819 Adams-Onís Treaty between the United States and Spain established the northern boundary of Spanish territory west of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean along the 42nd parallel—the line that forms the present northern boundary of Utah with Idaho. Spanish speaking traders and Catholic priests from New Mexico in the 1760s and 1770s were the first known Euro-Americans to enter the present state of Utah. Although no Hispanic settlements were established in Utah, the Spanish Trail opened extensive trade between Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Los Angeles, California. Numerous caravans passed through the southern half of the state making the arduous thousand mile journey between 1829 and 1848. Today, an array of Spanish place names such as the San Juan River, the LaSal Mountains, the San Rafael River, and Salina Canyon mark Utah's geographic place name landscape.

Less than nine months after the arrival of the first company of Mormons that entered the Great Basin, the United States Senate ratified the Treaty of

America. (Lexington Books, 2005); Armando Solórzano, "Struggle Over Memory: The Roots of the Mexican Americans in Utah, 1776 through the 1850s," *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 23 (Fall 1998): 81-118; and Armando Solórzano, "Latinos' Education in Mormon Utah, 1910-1960," *Latino Studies* 4 (September, 2006), 282-301.

⁶ This article is based on interviews conducted by a team of researchers from Brigham Young University and oral histories collected by the University of Utah. In the early 1970s, The American West Center at the University of Utah collected the most comprehensive oral history interviews with the oldest Spanish-speaking residents in the state. These 164 interviews are kept in a collection entitled Spanish Speaking Oral Interviews, and are available at the University of Utah at the Special Collection in the Marriott Library. The Brigham Young University interviews were gathered through the Rural Community Project at Brigham Young University with funding from the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Brigham Young University's Women's Research Institute. Hereafter cited as Rural Community Project, the transcripts and original recordings are in the possession of the authors.

Guadalupe Hidalgo on March 10, 1848, ending the war with Mexico and ceding Mexican Territory south of the 42nd parallel—including the future states of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and California, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming—to the United States.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were few Hispanics in Utah. Historian Vicente Mayer writes, “In 1900 the United States Census listed only forty individuals of Mexican nativity living in Utah. In addition, Catholic baptismal records for the Utah diocese revealed only eleven Catholic baptisms of Spanish-surnamed children (both Mexican and Mexican American) for the decade 1900-1910.”⁷

According to Mayer, Spanish-speaking families began to establish homes in the southeastern Utah town of Monticello, where the men worked as shepherders and ranch hands. Monticello became, in the words of William H. Gonzalez and Genero M. Padilla, “the Hispanic cultural gateway to Utah.”⁸ New economic opportunities emerged with World War I as Spanish-speaking workers found employment at Bingham Copper Mine in the Salt Lake Valley, the Carbon County coal mines, and at other locations in Utah.

As an infant in 1916, Rosa Sanchez left Mexico with her family and arrived in Sunnyside where her father secured a job in the coal mines. The Great Depression of the 1930s brought difficult times as mines were closed and those workers who decided to stay worked only half-shifts and less. Ms. Sanchez recalled the struggles of families living in the coal camps: “We all lived the hard way, no matter what nationality you were... We all struggled.”⁹ Women experienced the Great Depression in its full depth; many had to abandon school to get married. Juanita Morones recalled leaving school at the age of fourteen and getting married a few days later because her parents could not support her and their daughter’s marriage meant one less mouth to feed.¹⁰

Clearly, the Great Depression affected all ethnic groups. However, Mayer argues that Mexican and Hispanic workers throughout the state of Utah suffered the consequences of the Depression at a qualitatively different level. Mexicans experienced deeper-rooted prejudice based in the perception that Mexicans were less educated, were morally inferior, and had obtained their jobs as strikebreakers. Mayer also notes that the subordinate position of Mexicans, in comparison to other ethnic groups, was because Mexican workers were introduced in Utah by non-Mexican labor agents who had little understanding or sympathy for them. For instance, in 1916, the first Mexican consul in Salt Lake City was E.D. Hashimoto, a labor recruiter of

⁷ Mayer, “After Escalante,” 438-39.

⁸ Gonzalez and Padilla, “Monticello, the Hispanic Gateway to Utah.”

⁹ Rosa Sanchez, interview by Lisa Ralph. Helper, Utah, May 2000. Rural Community Project.

¹⁰ Juanita Morones, interview by Lisa Ralph. May 2000. Rural Community Project.

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ROMAN CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF SALT LAKE CITY ARCHIVES

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Catholic Church in Price.***

Japanese descent. A Greek contractor, George Zeese, was also one of the major construction contractors in Carbon County who hired Hispanic laborers. Consequently, Hispanic workers “had no agents to speak for them,” which made them more vulnerable and prone to social segregation and labor discrimination.¹¹

José Palacios, who arrived in Carbon County in 1924, explained that people from other nationalities held “better jobs than we did.... They were always given the better opportunities to make better money, to make a better living. We didn’t have the [same] opportunities.”¹²

Discrimination was not just in the work place. Angelina Gutierrez recalled the social environment of Carbon County in the late 1940s: “[W]hen we came here... there was so much prejudice against the Spanish people. We could not go anywhere. One New Year’s Eve, we went out. There [were] about six couples of us [who] went to a bar over here. And they threw us out. ‘No Mexicans allowed.’ [They] slammed the door in our face.”¹³

These antagonistic attitudes motivated Hispanics to create their own civic and political organizations. In 1949, Mexican Americans in Helper created *La Sociedad Mexicana Cuauhtémoc* (Mexican Lodge) its main goal was to promote the culture and traditions of the Mexican people and to dispel the stereotypes created around them. Another objective was to provide material and financial support to indigent Mexicans. It remained active until 1971. In the 1950s and 1960s, Hispanics in Price and Helper created chapters of the American GI Forum and SOCIO (Spanish Speaking Organization for Community, Integrity, and Opportunity) to connect them to national and

¹¹ Mayer. “After Escalante.” 442. See also, Armando Solórzano and Jorge Iber, “Digging the ‘Richest Hole on Earth’: The Hispanic Miners of Utah, 1912-1945,” *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies* 7 (2000): 1-28.

¹² Jose Jesus Palacios, interview by Margie Archuleta and Vincent Mayer. June 13, 1972. Dragerton, Utah. Spanish-Speaking Oral Interviews. Number S-59. Marriott Library, University of Utah.

¹³ Angelina Gutierrez, interview by Lisa Ralph. Price, Utah. June 2000. Rural Community Project.

state-wide organizations interested in actively eliminating prejudice and discrimination in employment, schools, and housing.

By 1980, the standing of Hispanics in Carbon County began to rise and some were recognized for their participation in the United Mine Workers of America and in political associations. Hispanics, like Carlos Gonzales who created the first credit union in East Carbon, also promoted cooperatives and neighborhood organizations.

In this context, Hispanic women (Hispanas) strove to reaffirm their ethnic identities, combat racial prejudices, and create their own sense of community.¹⁴ Their lives and experiences provide rich details and valuable insights into the perpetuation of tolerance in Carbon County's unique social environment.

Like other women in the county, Hispanas came to the coal mining camps expecting to raise and take care of their children and support their husbands. However, the working conditions of their husbands, who were constantly threatened by non-Spanish coal miners and strikers, joblessness, accidents, and death, significantly changed these prospects. Many Hispanic and Mexican miners were assigned to high-risk tasks and became victims of mine accidents. In 1945, the Sunnyside mine of the Utah Fuel Company exploded causing twenty-three fatalities; one third of the miners who died in the gas explosion were Hispanic.¹⁵ A similar accident happened in 1963 when a violent explosion at the coal mine northwest of Helper killed several miners. Nearly a third of these victims were Hispanic.

These tragedies pulled many women out of their routines at home and demonstrate their resourcefulness and strength. Leticia Ramos' life changed dramatically following the loss of her husband.

[It was] scary because I didn't know how to drive. I didn't know how to do nothing. I had to learn. He died in December and by February I had my driver's license. I don't know how I did it, but I needed to get it. And I'm really glad I did. I started learning how to manage things because... I didn't before....I was having kids and the rest didn't matter. I didn't do nothing but have the kids and take care of them.¹⁶

The frequency of mining accidents left many families fatherless. The death of Leticia's husband was not an isolated incident: "That happened a lot. The husbands were killed in the coal mines. I don't know how many kids were left without a father."¹⁷ Hispanic women added new responsibilities to their lives in addition to raising their children. Many Hispanic women had to expand their traditional gender roles and provide for the economic and social well being of their families. Women became caretakers of

¹⁴ John A. Medina. "The Spanish and Mexican-Americans of Carbon County, Utah." Newspaper article. Source and date are not identified. Original in the Western Mining and Railroad Museum. Helper, Utah.

¹⁵ Frank G. Farlino, *Bring Me Men To Match My Mountains: A History of Sunnyside, Utah* (Price: self published, 1991), 37.

¹⁶ Leticia Ramos, interview by Lisa Ralph. May 2000. Price, Utah. Rural Community Project.

¹⁷ Martina Sepulveda, interview by Lisa Ralph. May 2000. Helper, Utah. Rural Community Project.

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husbands and relatives injured or disabled in the mines. Leticia Ramos described her new role and family responsibilities:

We went through a lot of hardships together, especially because of Mr. Gomez's drinking. He got black lung from the coal mines, a very common disease among the miners at the time. Most people start trying to collect the benefits when only a small spot appears on their lungs. Mr. Gomez only had a small spot left on his lungs. He died from the black lung, the cancer was from another source (stomach), not the lungs, and he didn't die from it. He never went to a nursing home, just stayed at home with me.¹⁸

It was not only death or injuries that transformed women's roles. When work in the mines slowed down or when their husbands became unemployed, Hispanas provided supplemental income, and in many instances, became the main wage earners. As a general rule women did not work in the mines, however, Hispanas worked in the local hospital, salons, as secretaries, housecleaners, and cooks. Some Hispanic women left Carbon County to support their children who wanted to enroll in institutions of higher education in other parts of the state, while their husbands stayed in Carbon County working in the mines.¹⁹

In spite of these transformations, Hispanic women retained their core value of strong family traditions, placing strong emphasis on maintaining and extending their cultural base. The women's efforts to preserve their cultural heritage were enhanced by educational and religious institutions available to them.

Hispanic religious activity was based not only on the centrality of Catholicism, but also on the uniqueness of being Mexican Catholic. As they integrated themselves into the Catholic Church community, Hispanics modified elements of Catholic tradition by their presence including the significance of the Virgin of Guadalupe, *quinceañeras*, and Spanish music in mass.²⁰

For many Carbon County Hispanics, their early association with the Catholic Church occurred as itinerant priests made their rounds of far flung communities in southeastern Utah and southwestern Colorado. Patricia Sanchez recalled how Catholics in outlying areas gathered at her grandparents' home to celebrate mass and community:

The Catholic Church that I remember in Moab was in my grandmother's living room. There was a priest that traveled what was called the circuit, Father Sanders. He went to Moab, Blanding, [and] Monticello, [and] Cortez, Dove Creek, Silverton, [and] Pegosa Springs [in Colorado]. He made like a circle between the four states and you could expect communion and confession, mass, you know, like every 3 or 4 months. So everybody at that town met at my grandmother's, a handful of Catholics and they were

¹⁸ Ramos, interview.

¹⁹ Ruben Jimenez, interview by Leslie Kelen. June 26, 1985. Salt Lake City, Utah. Acct 1369. Bx3. Fds 01 and 02. Oral History Institute, Marriott Library, University of Utah

²⁰ Jay P. Dolan and Allan Figueroa Deck, *Hispanic Catholic Culture in the U.S.: Issues and Concerns* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994).

all Hispanic. I remember the names Baca, Manzanares, Torres and Garcia. They ... would come to my grandmother's for mass.²¹

Stanley V. Litizzette in his history of St. Anthony's Catholic Church in Helper records that in the 1920s, women and their children constituted the majority of church goers. "Mass in the church was celebrated once a month and the attendance was so great that only the women and children were seated inside the building."²² As Hispanas joined the parish, they made the Catholic Church the center of their ethno-religious community. In describing the participation of Hispanics in Saint Anthony's parish, Patricia Sanchez commented: "Community seems to be drawn around the church. There are some that I would call 'break-away' but the church... most everything to me is centered around the church for the Hispanic people."²³ Litizzette continued, "The continued growth and prosperity of the Church was mainly due to the superiority of their women."²⁴ In 1927, based on growing numbers of members, Catholics in Price established the Notre Dame Church to propagate the principles of their faith.

Despite the importance of the Catholic Church to the Hispanic community, during the 1940s, they found exclusion and discrimination even within the Church. Angelina Gutierrez, who attended the church during this period commented: "There was a lot of prejudice in my church... When I first started going to Church's organizations, a Mexican was not allowed."²⁵ This perception of discrimination and isolation was founded in the fact that the majority of Catholics in Carbon County and in Utah were Italians or Irish at that time. To combat the intolerant attitude against Hispanas they adopted what psychologists term an "active antiracism stand," the tendency of individuals to bring transformation, first within themselves, and then, within their social environment.²⁶ Hispanas needed to change the stereotypical images others had of them and to challenge the notion that being different did not necessarily mean to be deficient. Patricia Sanchez explained how individual transformation starts at the individual level by questioning what you have previously learned:

And it's true, if you want to make that [race] an important part of your life it will be. ... If you're black and all that's on your mind is, "I am black," it's going to happen. I was [the] darkest one in my family, in my school and yet I never felt that I was different, because my mother [taught us] we weren't different. Do you see what I mean? So, it was just the baggage that you come with, which you're born with, that your parents teach you.²⁷

²¹ Patricia Sanchez, interview by Lisa Ralph. June 2000. Rural Community Project.

²² Stanley V. Litizzette. *St. Anthony's Catholic Church, Helper Utah: Twenty-Fifth Anniversary 1945-1970* (Helper: Peczuh Printing Company, 1974), 3.

²³ Patricia Sanchez, interview.

²⁴ Litizzette, *St. Anthony's Catholic Church*, 6.

²⁵ Gutierrez, interview.

²⁶ Beverly D. Tatum. *"Why Are All The Black Kids Sitting Together In The Cafeteria?" And Other Conversation About Race* (New York: Basic Books, 2003), 11-12.

²⁷ Patricia Sanchez, interview.

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The Hispanas needed to create a new identity, one in line with their own experience and ethnic background, but contrary to the stereotypes that placed them in a disadvantaged position. To this goal, women used their mixed-racial background as a tool to legitimize themselves. Angelina Gutierrez, for one, proposed the following argument:

We have Spaniard blood, we have French blood, we have Hispanic blood, and Indian. My great-grandma was Apache....I can't point the finger anymore, because...nobody's pure....These skinheads that are trying to put complete white...where do they get off trying to...? Everybody's mixed up anymore. I don't know where they're going to find pure blood...God made every one of us. And He made them the color that He wanted—whatever kind of ink he had at the time—He made us.²⁸

Based on their religious understanding of color and race, Hispanic women sought to reclaim their equality with other members of the community. This determination was reflected in Patricia Sanchez' predisposition: "We are going to show them that we are people, that we are human. We're not a little rodent that just goes and hides."²⁹ It was clear that the defeat of discrimination, and the creation of a tolerant environment, even within the church, depended upon the willingness of individuals to challenge the prejudicial attitudes in the congregation. As Ms. Sanchez explained, "I think we changed our ways. We're going to go in there [the church] and ... show them that we are people."³⁰

However, individual changes were not enough; the transformation of their external environment was also necessary and complementary. Convincing other members of the Catholic congregations that Hispanas were equal in God's eyes, Hispanic women demanded their involvement and inclusion in church activities. This initiative coincided with important external changes in the church that began in 1929 when Rev. William A. Ruel was assigned as the new pastor of the Notre Dame Catholic Church in Price. For the first time, a non-Italian priest became the spiritual leader of the county's Catholics. According to Stan Litizzette, "Under Ruel the Church in Carbon County lost its Italian provincial flavor and became cosmopolitan in concept, that is, broad in its tastes, sympathies and interests." Ruel's approach benefited the Hispanics because his philosophy was to "consolidate and implement the faith in their children."³¹

This different approach made possible programs and activities that were planned with the second generation of immigrants in mind. In this process, immigrant women and their children moved to the center of the church's agenda and began to relate to others on an equal basis.

Essential to the involvement of Hispanic women in the community was Father Ruel's creation of the Annual Catholic Carnival to raise funds for

²⁸ Gutierrez, interview.

²⁹ Patricia Sanchez, interview.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Litizzette, *St. Anthony's Catholic Church*, 10.

the church and Notre Dame School.³² The carnival became an ecumenical force and years later became the main mechanism that brought people of different ethnicities together and allowed them to represent their uniqueness. The Notre Dame school drew Hispanic Catholics from Price, Helper, Sunnyside, and other locations in the county. As an integral part of Carbon County for more than seventy-two years, the school offered a superior secular education along with religious instruction in the Catholic faith. As an educational religious institution Notre Dame helped “Americanize” students as it sought to reinforce tolerant beliefs and practices among its students and their families.

However, when Hispanic children began attending Notre Dame in large numbers in 1942, they experienced discrimination.³³ In response, school officials and teachers undertook an initiative to teach students the history of their native countries. These lessons helped prepare Hispanic children to combat the misunderstanding and stereotypes carried by their non-Hispanic classmates. Rosa Sandoval, who as a fifth grade student, almost went to blows with an Italian student on issues of race commented,

She started telling me that my nationality was Mexican, that I was [a] more darker complexioned people; that we looked more Negro than they did. And then I said: “You got to be out of your tree.” Because I’ve seen and I’ve read some of your history. And they couldn’t tell you apart from the Negro, even if they tried. We were studying this in Notre Dame.³⁴

Many Hispanics saw in Catholic schools an extension of their families, a source for acquiring fundamental values, and an enforcer of discipline.³⁵ They were to reinforce religious values and provide an education so that their children could obtain good jobs and be successful members of the community. Some Hispanic families sent their children to Notre Dame with parish scholarships, others paid full tuition. Some Hispanic parents worked as employees at Notre Dame; all parents, including Hispanics, were expected to volunteer at the school on a regular basis. Accordingly, Notre Dame became a center for social interaction among the Hispanas and with people of other ethnicities. In this process the school served simultaneously as a place to preserve Hispanic traditions and as a device for Hispanics to enter into the larger diverse community.

For some Hispanas, their desire to send their children to Catholic schools stemmed from their own experience of attending a parochial school elsewhere. At Notre Dame, the teachers, nuns from the order of the Daughters of Charity, were valued by Hispanic and other parents. Angelina

³² Watt, *A History of Carbon County*, 240.

³³ Rosa Sandoval notes that in the 1940s approximately 30 percent of the students at Notre Dame School were Hispanics. Rosa Sandoval, interview by Chuck Lobato, Katarina Trujillo, and Margie Archuleta, June 13, 1977.

³⁴ Sandoval, interview.

³⁵ James S. Coleman and Thomas Hoffer, *Public and Private High Schools: The Impact of Communities* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1987).

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Gutierrez, a Hispana who sent her five children to Notre Dame, commented: “[I] just thought that they should get that religious education from the nuns.”³⁶ Attending a Catholic school was a way for Hispanic children to acquire a sense of dignity, destiny and purpose.

Notre Dame was known for its high quality of education and its discipline—considered far stricter than in public schools. Angelina Gutierrez compared her experience tutoring at a local public school with what she observed at Notre Dame.

I just cannot believe the difference between the public school and the Catholic School. You walk into a Catholic school—I imagine this is in all private schools, not just the Catholic—but you walk into those classrooms and you hear quietness. I mean, there’s not this buzzing and visiting...like the public schools.... I thought how in the world can these kids learn? They’re each visiting with each other...the teachers are running here and there...³⁷

The environment at Notre Dame provided discipline and an atmosphere conducive to learning, which was consistent with the values held by Hispanas. Hispanic children, who attended public schools, complained about the overwhelming emphasis on Mormonism and the prejudice they experienced from their public school teachers.³⁸

Hispanics were encouraged to send their children to Notre Dame where teachers and administrators had high expectations for their students and provided what help they could to assist parents. Angelina Gutierrez explained, “They helped you all the way. If you didn’t have the money to send your kids there, they tried every way to help you put them in there... It didn’t matter as long as you helped. You either helped clean the school, work in the hot lunches, or whatever. But they gave you an opportunity to help.”³⁹

Parents wanted to give their children an education that would lead them to successful careers. By success, women understood the possibility of developing intellectual and spiritual skills, and the assurance that their children would leave behind the dangerous manual labor that brought Hispanics to the county. The overall intention was to avoid a future where Hispanic children would be concentrated in jobs with few possibilities for professional advancement.

Hispanas sacrificed to send their children to Notre Dame. After losing her husband to a mine disaster and becoming a single mother, Patricia Sanchez worked various jobs to save money for her children’s education.

I took cleaning jobs to keep my family going and then I cleaned Notre Dame school for the tuition and then my kids were on scholarship but I always.... [worked to pay it back.] And I cleaned the rectory in Price and I cleaned where the Sisters lived and then I used to clean the bank here in Helper to pay for the tuition for the kids to go to

³⁶ Gutierrez, interview.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Sandoval, interview.

³⁹ Gutierrez, interview.



school and then worked at the post office. When I think about that I think, “How did I ever do all that?”⁴⁰ ***The Notre Dame School in Price.***

Ms. Sanchez was able to send ten of her children to Notre Dame. When asked how that was accomplished, the mother explained:

We worked. We did janitorial work. And then... helped pay the tuition. The older boys would do janitorial work. After school they would clean their rooms [at Notre Dame]. And then towards the last, they would give us scholarship[s] from Salt Lake, from the Diocese.... We worked hard at it.⁴¹

Hispanas, like Ms. Sanchez, used work not only as a way to earn money but also as a tool to help their children learn the value of hard work, cooperation and community solidarity and to acquire a sense of discipline. One of the children in the Sanchez family recalled, “I started working since I was in the 1st grade.”⁴² His first job was sweeping the steps of a local school and then he graduated to emptying the garbage cans. His mother commented: “[The children] worked with us. The older ones would take care of the young ones; we were well organized.... They knew what rooms to take, what rooms to sweep and dust. And we went down there and in no time at all we finished.”⁴³ These ongoing family practices became daily routines.

In contrast to the stereotypical views of Hispanic families as being traditional, anchored in the past, and with little concern for the future, a number of Hispanic women in Carbon County manifested a different tendency: they saw education as an investment in their children’s future.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Patricia Sanchez, interview.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ William Madsen, *The Mexican-Americans of South Texas* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1964), 15-24.

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For Angelina Gutierrez, her hard work had only one purpose:

Just so the children could get that education. And it was well worth it today. They all turned out wonderful kids. And in turn they help us out. I don't know what we'd do without them....The one from West Valley comes and brings the van full of groceries every time she comes. The other one sends money from Washington....And when she comes, she helps us out.⁴⁵

Hispanas held a common interest: the need to be present for their children. This situation was reflected since the early 1960s in Carbon County. A study made in 1964 indicated that 37 percent of all women in Carbon County were involved in educational organizations and only 18 percent of men participated in this category.⁴⁶ When women were asked why they were interested in participating in educational issues, 50 percent replied that family was their main motivation. Angelina Gutierrez reflected on her satisfaction by working at school and being near to her children. "Oh, that was my life. I enjoyed it so much. I was there with my kids. And thank God, because they all turned out fine. Yes, anything that they needed, I was there."⁴⁷

The commitment of Hispanic women to their children's education meant involvement in school activities. This involvement fostered a strong sense of belonging and opened the doors for community participation. Notre Dame School became a place where Hispanic women interacted with women from other ethnic groups and religious denominations with whom they otherwise would have had little or no contact.

Women came together through their shared interests and responsibilities at Notre Dame. When it was her turn to help at the school, Cecilia Moreno helped to organize the carpooling with other parents from the East Carbon area. Ms. Moreno appreciated the interactions with Italians, Greeks, and other Hispanic women, especially because she didn't how to drive. But that situation was not an impediment to interact with children and parents of different ethnic background.⁴⁸

As interaction with other ethnic and religious groups increased, Hispanas in Carbon County realized that the two most important mechanisms for community building were the reaffirmation of their own ethnicity and their religious practices. One important means for reaffirming ethnicity among Hispanics and developing a greater appreciation for their culture by non-Hispanic groups in the community was through traditional foods. The making of tortillas has been an important component of Mexican and Mexican-American cultural identity. Homemade tortillas have a powerful impact on maintaining ethnic values inside the family and, at the same time

⁴⁵ Gutierrez, interview.

⁴⁶ Harvey D. Moore, "The Study of Adult Education in Carbon County," (Ph.D Dissertation, University of Utah, 1970), 48.

⁴⁷ Gutierrez, interview.

⁴⁸ Cecilia Moreno, interview by Lisa Ralph, May 2000, Helper, Utah. Rural Community Project.

strongly influencing others in the community.⁴⁹ Hispanic women brought this tradition of tortillas making to Carbon County, and they were aware of its value and ethnic implications. Juanita Buendia, who lived in Spring Canyon, explains why she always made tortillas for her children and grandchildren: "I always try to please them because I know they like their tortillas. And I say, 'I've been making them since I can remember.'"⁵⁰ The action of making tortillas was embedded with values and family memories that could be transmitted to future generations. Juanita Buendia recalled a related conversation with one of her grandchildren.

"Grandma, why do you please these grandkids so much?" I say, "that's the only thing I can do." I like to give them what they want. Please them [with] what they want. That's the only memories I'm gonna give them because I'm not rich to say "here's this pile of money for this and this." But those are the memories you'll never forget. And he says, "Well, Grandma, you're right."⁵¹

Making tortillas became a deliberate action women engaged in to perpetuate family tradition in their children and grandchildren's minds. As Ms. Buendia continued:

Those are the memories I'm going give to my own children....And no matter who comes, that's how I feed them. They like my food and I give it to them....And those are going to be the memories some day because you're not going to forget things like that, let me tell you. I've been doing that for many, many, many years. Well, since they were little. And now they've grown, some of them are married....⁵²

Outsiders may view tortilla making as a small culinary process, but the activities involved follow a long cultural pattern. They provide a highly symbolic meaning of food since Hispanic women see in the making and consumption of tortillas a time of building relationships and to reaffirm their traditions. Hispanic women used the tortilla time to insure that family traditions were passed on to their children, and that these memories would last longer than money. Thus, the making of tortillas became an act of service to their children and a deliberate action to carry over this tradition to future generations.

Making tortillas and other everyday practices, combined with Hispanas' involvement at Notre Dame School, connected them with other women and organizations. They became involved in the Catholic Carnival, school fundraising activities, festivals, and community affairs. Hispanas devoted countless hours cooking and introducing Mexican food and traditions into the festivals. They created an atmosphere where their traditions were accepted and their food was demanded by other members of the

⁴⁹ Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *Que Vivan Los Tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

⁵⁰ Juanita Buendia, interview by Lisa Ralph, May 2000, Helper, Utah. Rural Community Project.

⁵¹ Buendia, interview.

⁵² Ibid.

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The Sacred Heart Catholic Church in East Carbon.

community. Angelina Gutierrez observed: “I think through our food and that when we got together to cook food and all that, you start communicating—“Give this recipe” or sharing recipes and stuff like that—‘til you “get in.””⁵³

As a consequence of their acceptance and recognition, Hispanas developed an overwhelming feeling of belonging and personal attachment to Carbon County. These sentiments were reflected in the desire to maintain their families in the area. Leticia Ramos expressed it in the following terms: “I wish I would have had six more [children], maybe somebody would have stuck around here. This is home. They wanted me to move and I say, ‘Oh no. This is my home and this is where I’m staying.’”⁵⁴

By the early 1980s, the number of Hispanics had increased to the point that Hispanic women approached the Catholic leaders asking for Mass in Spanish. The first Mass in Spanish was celebrated in Saint Anthony’s parish in Helper. Confident in their ethnic identity, Hispanic women supported each other, and additional features of Hispanic tradition were integrated through the creation of a Spanish choir, the celebration of rites and ceremonies related to the Mexican tradition such as bringing their fifteen year old girls to church (*quinceañeras*,) and the celebration of the feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe on December 12. The singing of *alabanzas* (sacred hymns), the singing of Latin music in mass, the adoption of cultural rituals in wedding ceremonies, and Hispanic/Mexican funeral rituals are key symbols of how Hispanas have strengthened their membership in the Catholic community as well as in the larger community.⁵⁵ Hispanic women, more than the clergy at Saint Anthony and Notre Dame Parish, were the main actors that transformed the parishioners’ religious and devotional practices. Hispanas volunteered in multiple activities in the school as well as the parish. They sang in the church Spanish and English choirs, helped coordinate funeral dinners, were involved in PTA committees,

⁵³ Gutierrez, interview.

⁵⁴ Ramos, interview.

⁵⁵ Lisa Ralph, “Negotiating Community in Multi-Ethnic Settings: The Story of Notre Dame School and Latin Women in Carbon County, Utah.” (Thesis of Master of Science. Department of Sociology. Brigham Young University. August, 2003.) Chapter 4.

and participated in the Catholic Altar Society. Hispanas' ethnic/religious traditions have continued to expand into other activities of the Catholic Church. That participation has helped foster recognition of and involvement with other groups in the community. Maria Bustamante of Price, observed how multi-religious groups became unified.

Carbon County is.... a melting pot because of the mines and the railroad. There's Hispanics, Japanese, Italians, Greeks... Right here, just...because you just cross the tracks is called tortilla flats; and most of this area here is Hispanic. And then on the other side of the tracks, right there by the Greek Church, going up about three blocks, that area right here they call it Greek Town. And then the North side of town is ... where the people with the high paying jobs [live]...but when it comes to Catholic Carnival and Oktoberfest, everybody chips in.⁵⁶

While practicing their ethnic-religious beliefs, Hispanas made sure that other women in the congregation were not excluded. Their intention was to create a "religious melting pot" that allowed all women to come together. But giving the interdependency of women in Carbon County, Mexican women went beyond their Catholic congregation and established relationships with women of different religious backgrounds.

The tolerant beliefs and practices that Hispanas maintained in Carbon County came, in part, through the interaction with people of different religious traditions. Ortencia Villareal commented: "I've got friends, dear friends, that are Mormons, and I think they're good people, and I've gone to services in the Mormon church, and I think it's beautiful, and I have nothing against them."⁵⁷ In many instances, religious interactions came through the domestic work that Hispanas performed for people of different beliefs. This is the case of Angelina Gutierrez who worked as a maid for Mormon and Episcopalian families:

I think I cleaned every home up there in north Price. And... there's this one...Mormon people... wonderful to me. She even got me a book from her to me.... I had met ... all kinds, all religions...that I work for....I've met a couple of them that... you can tell right off, the way they treat you....That's one thing you have to learn in your life, is that people are not all the same....You can't put them all in one category. They're all different.⁵⁸

Rules of tolerance and acceptance of people of different denominations became fundamental to bringing about cooperation and tolerance. Maria Bustamante expressed these sentiments of religious plurality in the following terms.

We have a lot of Greeks helping with our (church)... Lot of Catholics are helping the Greek Church when they have their dinners. The Methodist Church has their pancake suppers and that. There's a lot of Catholics there helping serve there. This is something that is so unique to me. Something about Carbon County that I'm trying to

⁵⁶ Maria Bustamante, interview by Lisa Ralph, May 2000, Price, Utah. Utah Rural Community Project.

⁵⁷ Ortencia Villareal, interview by Lisa Ralph, June 2000, Helper, Utah. Rural Community Project.

⁵⁸ Gutierrez, interview.

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understand that they would pull together and support each other so much.⁵⁹ *Students at Notre Dame School.*

By maintaining their ethnicity and by showing tolerance towards the cultures and religions of other women, Hispanics learned that they were not the only ones balancing their individual ethnicity and religious identity. All ethnic groups were doing the same. To explain the persistence of diversity and unity, Patricia Sanchez offered an analogy based on her oregano plants: “See, I grow Mexican oregano in my garden. And there’s a difference between Italian, Greek and Mexican oregano... When it comes to food then you can say that there really is a division. But the different kind of oregano does not matter, what matters is that it is oregano.”⁶⁰ This balancing act that Hispanic women performed in maintaining their cultural identity while acquiring a sense of the larger community became a quintessential characteristic for the community of Carbon County. More importantly is that their traditions and heritage have extended over time and into the future generations of Hispanics, not only in Carbon County but elsewhere in the state.

While religion and ethnicity had been the force of division in other localities, in Carbon County Hispanics and others have transcended differences to bring unity and cooperation to the community. As Ortencia Villareal concluded, “In Carbon County, God just grabbed all of us and threw us up and we lived where we landed. And that’s basically what

⁵⁹ Bustamante, interview.

⁶⁰ Sanchez, interview.

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happened.”⁶¹ As Hispanas worked to preserve their own ethnicity, traditions, and religion, they also understood a responsibility to bring together everyone else to form a harmonious community. In this process, religion provided the synthesis of two seeming opposites—diversity and community.

Hispanic women in Carbon County created a strong sense of community with other women, without sacrificing their identity and without removing the value of the family as central to their experience. These accomplishments were possible through tolerance, understanding of their social environment, conscious social interactions based on equality, and the utilization of institutions such as Notre Dame De Lourdes School, Notre Dame De Lourdes Parish, and the Catholic Church. Their outlook and accomplishments were part of a tolerance that has continued, which has become a part of the area’s reputation that people have accepted and reinforced in their everyday interactions with their neighbors and friends.

⁶¹ Villareal, interview.

BOOK REVIEWS

Indian Alliances and the Spanish in the Southwest, 750-1750. By William B. Carter. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009. xx + 308 pp. Cloth, \$34.95.)

WILLIAM B. CARTER'S *Indian Alliances and the Spanish in the Southwest, 750-1750* provides more than a brief reprise of familiar Spanish Borderlands history. Carter couples ethnographic evidences of cultural exchange with later historic records and is able to show that a complex network of trading and kinship alliances existed between nomadic Athapaskan hunters (Apaches/Navajos) and the sedentary defensive clusters of Pueblo villages of the upper Rio Grande. He also includes a detailed background for each of the three groups he studies: Athapaskan, Pueblo, and Spanish.

Over half of the text is devoted to providing environmental, ethno-historical, archeological, religious, and philosophical settings, while he takes each through its physical, social, and metaphysical migrations through space and time. Carter's discussion also includes the environmental factors that helped determine migration patterns and social change. The Little Ice Age in America and Europe effected changes with far-reaching ramifications, including the environmental shifts that moved herd populations and drew nomadic hunter populations across the American Plains while drought and conflict forced the Pueblos to move off mesas to cluster into their defensive villages along the Rio Grande. Meanwhile climate change in Eurasia directly impacted the spread of the bubonic plague with all its dire effects in Europe. These included changed economies and an increasingly radical shift in perspectives toward minorities.

As cultures interacted on the upper Rio Grande, Athapaskans and Pueblos underwent culture change, while Iberians and Indians inevitably clashed. Racist concepts bred in European religious and economic upheaval, and honed by several centuries of New World conquest, crusade, and conversion predisposed Spanish attitudes toward exploiting civilizable sedentary Indians and demonizing unconverted and unsettled "savages." Consequently, Spanish chroniclers demonized the barbarian Athapaskan while governors deepened enmity by harvesting them for slaves. But a strong trade and kinship network existed below Spanish radar as the "vaquero" Apache exchanged meat and hides for agricultural and manufactured products from specific allied villages. This became particularly evident during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 when Apaches united with the Pueblos in attacking Spanish settlements and missions.

In *Indian Alliances and the Spanish in the Southwest, 750-1750*, Carter demonstrates that good historical research requires more than just archival study, but also a more broadly based understanding of people and the environments that influenced their actions. However, while Carter has added to the scholarship on the Southwest, the study is not uniformly strong. He is at his best when discussing the background of Iberian prejudices and the Athapaskan and Pueblo alliances.

However, when he steps beyond the focus of his expertise he falters. Early in the book speculation (“may have been”) is common but is typically presented as fact thereafter. Carter sometimes wears blinders where other groups are concerned, thus his Athapaskans migrate through unusually empty, un-conflicted landscapes though authorities agree the Numic/Shoshonean ancestors of present Indian groups had reached historic locations by AD 1000. He mostly ignores the Utes who were also on the plains and northern frontier of New Spain, equally well-mounted, active, and allied by the mid-1600s.

While his discussion of Athapaskan and Pueblo cultural exchange is nicely handled, his argument about the Southwest-Mesoamerica link contains a scattering of flaws and troubling speculation. Not that all scholars don’t recognize Mesoamerican links with North America, but Carter’s analysis is problematic with incomplete linguistic data and a single-minded focus based on a cursory knowledge of the complex Mesoamerican culture and Plumed Serpent/Quetzalcoatl lore. However, despite some flaws, Carter’s *Indian Alliances and the Spanish in the Southwest* does provide significant new insights into the early relationships between the Athapaskan, Pueblo, and Spanish on the upper Rio Grande, and that makes it a useful resource.

SONDRA JONES
University of Utah

Fort Laramie: Military Bastion of the High Plains. By Douglas C. McChristian.

Frontier Military Series, Vol. 26. (Norman: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2009. 456 pp.

Cloth, \$45.00.)

IN *FORT LARAMIE: Military Bastion of the High Plains*, National Park historian Douglas C. McChristian provides a comprehensive “operational history” of Fort Laramie spanning the fort’s military period from the 1840s, to its decommission in 1889, to its inauguration into the National Park System almost forty years later. The fort played an active role in western and national events such as the fur trade, the overland crossing, the Utah Expedition, the subjugation of the Plains Indians, and the development of western tourism.

The fort emerged in the 1820s at the confluence of the Laramie and North Platte rivers in southeastern Wyoming. White traders trapped beaver and collected buffalo hides that they stored in huts they named Fort John. Renamed Fort Laramie, the fort “anticipated the changes to the plains economy” in the nineteenth century but also benefited from lying within a “neutral zone” in which whites and Indians met in mutual dependency and toleration to trade (28). Neutrality gave way to competition, however, as the American acquisition of Oregon Territory, the Mexican–American War, and the California Gold Rush stimulated U.S. commercial and strategic interests in the trans–Mississippi West.

By the late 1840s, the federal government began protecting overland emigrants. In 1849, the U.S. Army took control of Fort Laramie, which existed to establish peaceful relations between emigrants, soldiers, and Indian tribes living near the Arkansas and Missouri river drainage. Increased emigration and the consequent “depletion of game and other resources along the road” provided the context for the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, in which federal commissioners agreed to recognize tribal territories and provide annuity payments in return for Indians permitting emigration on the Oregon Trail and the construction of roads and forts on tribal lands. Although peace briefly followed, the Grattan Massacre of 1854 belied the inadequacy of the treaty and the significance of anti-treaty tribal factions.

The viability of the fort became more certain by the mid-1850s, as it played a supportive role during the Cheyenne expedition of 1856 and the Utah War of 1857-58. During the Civil War, volunteer soldiers at the fort protected the Union’s overland telegraph service, and hosted diplomatic councils during the Powder River campaigns of 1866-68, which resolved the issue of white emigration through Indian hunting grounds. Sioux chief Red Cloud persuaded government officials to circumvent the Powder River country via the transcontinental railroad, thereby bypassing Fort Laramie, “the oldest post in the region [which] . . . turned a corner towards its ultimate demise” (295).

Although the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 ceded the Powder River region and the Black Hills to tribal control, it soon proved irrelevant as Indian gold and timber attracted white emigrants and federal officials. The Great Sioux War of 1876-77 followed, and because Fort Laramie supplied troops and war material the fort contributed to the failure of the second treaty bearing its name.

Following the war, “Fort Laramie . . . slipped from a post at war to a quiet station where the solitude was disrupted only occasionally by an incident of outlawry or an altercation between soldiers at one of the local road ranches” (376). The army consolidated its frontier garrisons and decommissioned Fort Laramie in 1889. In the early twentieth century, a national preservation ethic emerged, which precipitated the 1906 Antiquities Act and the National Park Service, the latter assuming control over Fort Laramie in 1937.

Well researched and written, *Fort Laramie: Military Bastion of the High Plains* should attract professional and lay readers of military and western history. On the other hand, audiences interested in other historical topics such as western tourism, conservation, cultural preservation, and social issues might desire another volume that pushes Fort Laramie still further outside the confines of Old Western and military history.

BEN CATER
University of Utah

Over the Range: A History of the Promontory Summit Route of the Pacific Railroad. By Richard V. Francaviglia. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2008.

x + 333 pp. Cloth, \$34.95.)

OVER THE RANGE is a well-written and well-illustrated book concerning the Utah portion of the transcontinental railroad route as it was decided and built. The nine chapters take the reader on a historical ride from the geological and geographical background of northern Utah centering on the Promontory Range, through the last two centuries of development and change particularly related to railroads, northern Utah, and the Promontory Mountains. Francaviglia is a professor of both history and geography and director of the Center for Southwestern Studies and Cartography at the University of Texas at Arlington. Francaviglia's love of maps, the Great Basin, and railroads comes through on the well-researched pages of this book, which is built upon his earlier research including *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin: A Cartographic History*. The period maps and the colored photographs add a great deal to the understanding of the written content of the book. Utah State University Press has done an excellent job in presenting Francaviglia's research.

The title for this book is taken from a 1904 publication by Stanley Wood and C.E. Hooper, *Over the Range; a complete tourist's guide to Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, California, Oregon, Puget Sound, and the great Northwest* which focused particularly on the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad, but also dealt in some detail with the Promontory Summit route. The location of and the initial isolation of the Promontory Mountains is noted by Francaviglia. Then he brings the mountains and their surrounding area into focus in the decade of the 1860s with the Central Pacific planners and builders, the Union Pacific planners and builders, and Brigham Young each trying to influence the transcontinental railroad route. The Promontory route north of the Great Salt Lake is a central focus of "The Battle of the Maps" chapter (1865-1868). The give and take of both railroads as they push across the continent and the desire by Young for a southern route around the Great Salt Lake is detailed. The importance and stability of Mormon workers on both railroads in the race for Promontory Summit is verified.

The three middle chapters of the book deal with the driving of the Golden Spike and the thirty-five years that Promontory Summit was on the transcontinental mainline route (1869-1904). Francaviglia takes special efforts to underline and continue to educate the masses that the two railroads were joined at "Promontory Summit" and not at the popularized "Promontory Point" at the tip of the Promontory peninsula, so identified by unknowing geographers, historians, newspaper reporters, and travel writers as the "joining point" for the transcontinental railroad. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Promontory Summit route was pointed to as a "bottleneck" on the entire Overland Route

because of its tight curves and steep grades. The answer was to build a lake level railroad route across the Great Salt Lake that became known as the Lucin Cutoff. With the building of the cutoff, the Promontory route became a regional branch line. The decline of the Promontory route, as well as the development of the area into ranches, farms, and a tourist attraction becomes part of the twentieth-century story told by Francaviglia. Gandy dancers and section hands and their lives and work are described as well as the slow but relentless toll that the weather took on the land and its occupants in this remote area. This handsome volume is an important addition to the history of the transcontinental railroad and northern Utah.

RICHARD W. SADLER
Weber State University

Patterns of Exchange: Navajo Weavers and Traders. By Teresa J. Wilkins.

(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. xiv + 231 pp. Cloth, \$34.95.)

A SHARP-EYED TRADER, peering across the counter into the “bull pen” at a Navajo weaver’s delicately patterned rug, conjures an image open to interpretation. To some, it portrays a by-gone era of the Southwest, that romantic period of the late-nineteenth-to-first-third of the twentieth century, when sheep, weavers, and an open market fostered a burgeoning trade for products that spread throughout the United States. To others, this was a time of exploitation that emphasized entrepreneurial traders, who took advantage of the impoverished, uneducated Navajo for their own gain. A form of neo-colonialism resulted. Still others view the posts as salients of white culture around the fringe and in the heart of Navajo land, serving as a primary tool of acculturation and the harbinger of a wage economy that permeated life after livestock reduction in the 1930s and the war industry work of the 1940s. Each interpretation has its scholarly advocates.

Wilkins, while recognizing elements of truth in these perspectives, takes a refreshing glance at the issue of exploitation. She chooses to peer across the counter from the bullpen and look at the trader through Navajo eyes. Using the posts of C. N. Cotton, John B. Moore, and Lorenzo J. Hubbell, for examples, she challenges previous notions. These three men operated businesses throughout the Navajo Reservation in New Mexico and Arizona, left a rich paper trail of their dealings, and marketed high volumes of rugs and other crafts far beyond the Southwest. Their names provide some of the most prominent targets for critics. Yet, from the same correspondence and ledgers that have damned these businessmen, comes a differing analysis, using anthropological as well as historical and economic information.

Six primary chapters illuminate her thesis. The first lays the foundation of trade in the Southwest, ranging from that of the Ancestral Puebloan to the establishment of posts on the Navajo Reservation, with a lengthy bow to Hubbell,

then passing through the end of the twentieth century. The author next concentrates on the role traders played in marketing their wares to a public who demanded authenticity and excellence. Commissioning artists to create designs for weavers to copy, promoting sales through catalogs, encouraging the Victorian trend of an “Indian room” in homes, and fostering high standards of production based on trader criteria were all part of the business.

The following chapter, fittingly named “We Wove the Design We Wanted,” summarizes the weaver’s view on her side of the counter. Wilkins argues, based on Navajo testimony, that they were not slaves doing what the “master” commanded, but rather wove what and how they wanted and did not feel coerced when shown suggested patterns. They were free to take their wares elsewhere, but all received pay in some form of goods, credit, gifts, and cash. Central to this relationship was “helping,” a major theme in Navajo exchanges. Traders, if they were to be truly successful (measured by number of returning patrons) had to establish a familial bond of reciprocity with a customer. Along those same lines, weavers invested time and effort in producing a rug, with part of themselves—their thought and essence—woven into the commodity. Far more than just dollars and cents prevailed in the sale of a rug. Today, many of these same values hold true as teaching about and trading of the craft continues to awe an American public fascinated with the skill, knowledge, and product of Navajo weavers.

Wilkins should be congratulated for breaking with the crowd who revels in the evil white man and points with glee at “uncovering” exploitation of the Indian. While there certainly are examples of abuse, she insists that Navajos were not helpless pawns, but rather thinking individuals who had as much of a say in transactions as the trader. A post and its employees had a reputation (as does any business today) and although wheeler-dealers may have taken advantage of a few customers, Navajos were mobile and voted with their moccasins. The key for both seller and buyer was a positive, trusting, helpful relationship.

For the Utah reader a few points: although this book examines posts in Arizona and New Mexico, many of the principles discussed are applicable on a lesser scale in Utah. These posts were smaller, often autonomous, and not as entrepreneurial in marketing as the big firms. Still, their wool and blankets made their way to the East while Utah weavers developed their own regional styles and designs. Wilkins suggests the “Two Grey Hills Trading Post [established in 1897]—[is] the Navajo reservation’s oldest continually operated, privately owned trading post” (37). In reality, the Aneth Post established in 1885, and now a convenience store, is one of the oldest three still functioning businesses of this type. Finally, the author concludes with “the ethnographic present [of] 2007” (189). The majority of her text is about the past, with a fair amount from contemporary weavers. But she has missed the latest trends. Some Utah posts (and I assume the same to be true with those in other states) are doing half of their business on the internet; weavers email pictures of completed rugs to traders to determine interest; some have their own

websites; biographies are digitally sent to customers who purchase a craft; high school students using computers work with aged weavers to understand math skills associated with patterns; and professional artists are hired to create computerized as well as hand-drawn designs for both baskets and rugs. Topics range from historical events like the Long Walk to traditional narratives (mythology). Old ways are finding their niche in the future, something I am sure the author recognizes but needs to explore.

ROBERT S. MCPHERSON
San Juan Campus, College of Eastern Utah

Red Light Women of the Rocky Mountains. By Jan MacKell.

(Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009. xxi + 458 pp. Cloth, \$29.95.)

JAN MACKELL IS A HISTORIAN and preservationist who directs the Cripple Creek District museum in Colorado. The book under review is her second foray into prostitution history, following *Brothels, Bordellos, and Bad Girls: Prostitution in Colorado, 1860-1930* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2004). Like that earlier book, *Red Light Women* is a highly readable popular history, chock-full of entertaining anecdotes and stories that present a generally balanced view of the appeals and hazards of nineteenth-century prostitution. This time, MacKell has surveyed a broad array of mostly secondary literature and presents the results organized by the geographical bounds of seven Rocky Mountain States.

As this is meant to be a popular history, MacKell spends little time discussing economic or social conditions that led to the emergence of prostitution districts in western towns or the moral reform campaigns that led to their demise, other than a brief introduction, "The Pioneering of Prostitution," and conclusion, "Where Did They All Go?" The book contains many mentions of Chinese prostitutes (often referred to as "Chinagirls") and some references to Indians (often referred to as "maidens") but very little discussion of racial divisions or other ethnicities. MacKell's interest is in telling colorful stories, and *Red Light Women* presents hundreds of them with style and verve, including many that expose the grim realities of violence, substance abuse, and disease. The book sometimes concentrates on celebrities, both female and male. MacKell speculates in passing that Sacajawea "may actually have functioned as a part-time prostitute" for Lewis and Clark (2). If nothing else, that suggestion betrays an over-broad definition of "prostitution," also hinted at by the alliterative but misleading chapter titles "Amazons of Arizona" and, especially, "Nubians of New Mexico." MacKell spends pages detailing the possible relationships of the Earp brothers and "Doc" Holliday with prostitutes, and more pages assessing the evidence (or speculation) surrounding the activities and eventual fate of Etta Place, linked to Harry Longabaugh, "the Sundance Kid."

MacKell's writing style is clear and engaging and she cites a vast array of sources, including contemporary newspapers, city directories, manuscript census records, Sanborn fire insurance maps, and visits to surviving sites. She demonstrates skill and doggedness in the difficult task of tracing obscure, transient women through a spotty documentary record. Most of her individual anecdotes, however, come from secondary works. Here is where scholars are likely to find her book troublesome, as MacKell draws on a broad spectrum, sometimes including multiple Wikipedia entries. Her compassionate discussion of virtually enslaved Chinese women, for example, contains many references to Herbert Asbury's popular *Barbary Coast* but not more recent scholarship such as Peggy Pascoe's or Benson Tong's. At least nine citations in the Arizona chapter are to an "undated, untitled manuscript, author unknown" in the files of the Bisbee Historical Society (for example, note 16, page 392). When MacKell does provide context or background, she is sometimes prone to making overbroad assertions. She claims, for example, that "if prostitutes did not die at the hands of someone else or from disease, they tended to end their own lives" (36). And the book contains some errors of fact; for example, Utah became a state in 1896, not 1894, and the man in the photograph on page 24 smoking a cigar was a justice of the peace, not a policeman.

This book's reliance on questionable secondary sources and the absence of much analysis means that it will be of limited value to researchers or in the classroom, but its engaging style and wealth of individual stories will likely appeal to many readers of popular western history.

JEFFREY NICHOLS
Westminster College

Reopening the Frontier: Homesteading in the Modern West. By Brian Q. Cannon.

(Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009. viii + 307 pp. Cloth, \$39.95.)

SOME OF THE MOST ENJOYABLE MOMENTS in the study of history occur when you stumble across examples of historical anomalies—people or practices that seem leftover from a previous era. For most people the term 'homesteading' probably conjures up images of covered wagons and nineteenth-century pioneers, while most historians would confidently say that homesteading came to a close with the passage of the Taylor Grazing Act in 1934. The trouble with the dead past is that it does not always want to stay buried, as Brian Cannon demonstrates in his new book which examines the homestead program that the federal Bureau of Reclamation sponsored after World War II.

Intended in many ways to be an agricultural equivalent of the GI Bill, the program allowed military veterans to participate in a lottery to file claims on federal reclamation property. Over the course of two decades approximately 150,000

veterans applied to homestead 3,000 farms on ten different reclamation projects in the American West. In his book Cannon explores the political and cultural motivations for this program, examines what the experience was like for these modern day homesteaders, and investigates the reasons why this program was eventually abandoned. He bases his research on a mix of archival materials from the Bureau of Reclamation, contemporary newspaper coverage at the time of the program, and extensive oral history interviews with program participants themselves.

The first five chapters of Cannon's book provide an overview of the program and its participants. Cannon does an excellent job of pointing out that these supposedly unsettled lands had, of course, a long history of occupation by native peoples. He also underscores the bitter irony that in several instances the local irrigation systems were actually constructed with forced labor from World War II Japanese internment camps. Cannon focuses a great deal of attention on the strenuous efforts that homesteaders made to try to prove up their claim, and points out how this effort in many ways ran counterintuitive to the times. In the postwar era, with the rise of suburbia and its emphasis on modern convenience and luxury, homesteaders abandoned everything, including electricity, running water and indoor plumbing, in pursuit of a place of their own. Cannon pays particular attention to this topic in his chapter on the women's experience of homesteading, which examines the tension that the wives of homesteaders felt between the traditional gender roles of that era and the realities of their day-to-day lives. The last four chapters of the book examine the various reasons why homesteading was eventually abandoned not only by the Bureau of Reclamation but also the federal government, culminating in the legal termination of the program in 1976 (it continued in Alaska for another ten years).

While the book is clearly the product of extensive primary source research, it suffers a bit from having more of a topical rather than thematic unity. Although the first five chapters work together as a piece, the last four are much more stand alone in nature and the last one in particular (dealing with a 2001 water dispute on the Klamath River) seems rather tangential. It is also difficult to determine the author's own opinion about this program. At different times Cannon writes in tones of irony, nostalgia, ambivalence, and regret. The one time that the author does express a strong opinion it is to denounce some homesteaders in Wyoming who received a bailout from the federal government after their land was declared worthless. That said Cannon's book is nonetheless a thorough investigation into a forgotten aspect of the history of reclamation and land settlement in the American West.

STEPHEN C. STURGEON
Utah State University

Painters of Utah's Canyons and Deserts. By Donna L. Poulton and Vern G. Swanson.

(Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 2009. xiii + 290 pp. Cloth, \$75.00.)

IT IS NO SECRET that Utah boasts some of the most beautiful scenery in the world. Not surprisingly the varied landscapes of the state have long attracted artists of all types from all across the globe. With the publication of *Painters of the Wasatch Mountains* in 2005 and, more recently, *Painters of Utah's Canyons and Deserts*, two of the state's primary landscapes have finally received the attention they deserve. Together these texts explore the contrast that has come to typify Utah with its snow-capped peaks and red rock cliffs. A credit to their publisher, these books are, by and large, boldly and beautifully printed and provide the reader an excellent opportunity to more fully understand the ways in which the scenery of Utah has been interpreted artistically for more than a century.

Through exhaustive research, the authors of *Painters of Utah's Canyons and Deserts*, Donna Poulton, Assistant Curator at the Utah Museum of Fine Art, and Vern Swanson, Director of the Springville Museum of Art, have put together a text that investigates, really for the first time, those artists who have made Utah's "Southland" the subject of their work. From individuals like Thomas Moran and Maynard Dixon to Utah artists like H.L.A. Culmer and J.B. Fairbanks, this book copiously details the various expeditions and personal interests that brought artists into this once isolated and harsh, yet stunning landscape. Adding to their presentation is a detailed investigation of Utah's national parks and monuments – from Zion to Arches – that have drawn tourist and artist alike for decades.

With such a scope come challenges. One of the most obvious is geography. While the scenery of the Colorado Plateau is arguably more spectacular than the Wasatch Mountains, its enormity and lack of geological uniformity make it a far more difficult study. Attempting to cover eastern and southern Utah is a burdensome task especially when the unique stone landscapes of the state's National Parks have long dominated our imagination. Red rock landscapes, however, do not follow political borders and one wonders whether Canyon de Chelly or the Grand Canyon is closer in kind to the true spirit of this text than Utah's Castle Country.

The greatest challenge of this book, however, may be its own breadth. In his introduction author Donald Hagerty asserts that there was no artist who worked amongst Utah's red rocks missing from its text. At first glance this may seem to be hyperbole. Unfortunately he may have been right. At times encyclopedic to a fault, *Painters* often fails to sift through those artists that merely happened to make a painting in southern Utah from those whose encounter with the landscape produced a sustained impression on their work. Exploring more fully an artist like Maynard Dixon, Jim Floyd Jones, or V. Douglass Snow's wide-eyed, soul-expanding encounter with the region would be far more valuable and insightful than pioneer painter John Hafen's slight production in a region he failed to comprehend on canvas.

Despite its shortcomings, it must be remembered that this book serves its purpose well. According to Poulton, "This survey will act as a keystone for more historical research and especially for further conceptual interpretation" (268). She is right – this book is a solid resource for both historian and artist. In the end, though, its most important contribution may be the beautiful illustrations, which have the ability to transport one, even if momentarily, to the base of Angel's Landing or a desert of juniper and sage.

JAMES R. SWENSEN
Brigham Young University

Comb Ridge and Its People: The Ethnohistory of a Rock. By Robert S. McPherson.

(Logan: Utah State University Press, 2009. xii + 252 pp. Paper, \$26.95.)

UTAH'S LARGEST COUNTY, San Juan, is arguably the most misunderstood. Few people have the faculty and the empathy to achieve a unified understanding of its multicultural landscape. Here in the southeastern corner of the state, native peoples comprise the majority, though the political economy does not reflect that. San Juan County politics tend to be polarized: Indian/white, Mormon/non-Mormon, old-timers/newcomers, locals/feds, and environmentalists/wise-users. Since arriving in Blanding in 1976, Robert McPherson has worked to build bridges. He is a San Juan treasure. No other county in Utah can boast such a prolific local historian. McPherson's new volume on Comb Ridge follows *The Northern Navajo Frontier* (1988), *Sacred Land, Sacred View* (1992), *A History of San Juan County* (1995), *River Flowing from the Sunrise* (2000), *The Journey of Navajo Oshley* (2000), *Navajo Land, Navajo Culture* (2001), and *A Navajo Legacy* (2005). Although partially derivative of these earlier projects, *Comb Ridge* stands on its own. In fact, I consider it the best one-volume digest of San Juan County history.

Why Comb Ridge? This spectacular monocline—an exposed geologic fold with one steep side—is the county's north-south backbone, stretching over 100 miles. It has served as a home for ancient peoples and a destination for modern recreationists. But more often it has served as a barrier. Before paved roads, there was no easy way to get over the three hundred to nine hundred-foot-high cliffs, as the Hole-in-the-Rock pioneers learned the hard way. In the nineteenth century, the monocline functioned as a kind of fence between Navajos and Utes, and later Navajos and Mormons. In the twentieth century, after Diné herders were forcibly removed from the north side of the San Juan River, the monocline became for tourists the line of demarcation between the "rural" side of the county and its "wild" side.

More prosaically, McPherson's book is one product of the Comb Ridge Survey Project, a resource inventory funded by the Bureau of Land Management and administered by the University of Colorado. Similar to a government document,

the book proceeds linearly, predictably: native creation myths; ancestral Puebloans; Utes, Paiutes, Navajos; Mormon settlers; cattle, gold, and oil; pothunters and archaeologists; uranium miners and road-builders; recreationists and environmentalists. One disparate but compelling chapter relates the place-based wisdom of local Blessingway singer John Holiday. McPherson's use of Diné oral history is a model for non-Indian scholars.

If a second edition should ever be produced, McPherson will surely discuss two recent developments that highlight the legacy of conflict between natives and newcomers at Comb Ridge. One is the positive-then-negative DNA test results of human remains initially proclaimed to be Everett Ruess, the legendary lost wanderer of the Southwest. The coverage of this story in the national media has shown that southeastern Utah's iconic positions as an indigenous homeland and an American wilderness have yet to be reconciled. The other big news from 2009 was the federal crackdown in Blanding—the largest of its kind in U.S. history—that led to the indictment of sixteen town residents for trafficking in Native American antiquities. One of the indicted, a prominent doctor, subsequently committed suicide. I would like to hear McPherson's comments on these macabre developments; no doubt they would be informed and even-handed.

Inevitably this book ends up being as much about what happened *around* the Comb Ridge than about the ridge itself. As a single-topic book about a single landform, *Comb Ridge and Its Peoples* is somewhat dissatisfying, for it often loses focus. As a book about a category of landforms, the book simply fails: the author doesn't even bother to compare "unique" Comb Ridge with other monoclines in Utah's canyon country (notably the East Kaibab Monocline, the Waterpocket Fold, and the San Rafael Reef) that have similar histories as barrier-destinations. However, the book succeeds on its own merits. If you want a short, reliable, accessible account of the San Juan Country from the Anasazi to the Southern Utah Wilderness Association that also happens to foreground an awe-inspiring landform, this is the book for you. Like many recent publications from Utah State University Press, *Comb Ridge and Its Peoples* has an attractive large-format design with numerous color photographs. It will make a good gift book for hikers from the Wasatch Front and the Front Range who have fallen under the spell of southeastern Utah. With any luck it will also find its way to nightstands and school desks in towns like Blanding, White Mesa, and Montezuma Creek.

JARED FARMER

State University of New York, Stony Brook

Jedediah Smith: No Ordinary Mountain Man. By Barton H. Barbour.

(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009. xiv + 290 pp. Cloth, \$26.95.)

IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE to review this book without at the same time taking a retrospective look at Dale L. Morgan's *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* (1953), one of the fundamental works in fur trade historiography for over half a century. Morgan never claimed definitiveness for his book, and concluded his introduction by expressing the hope that new Smith documents might yet emerge which would support a fresh look at the subject. He specifically hoped for archival documents from Mexico City, for a diary and letters documenting his Southwest explorations of the late 1820s, and for discovery of the master map of the West Smith was known to have been preparing at the time of his death. In intervening years, each of those hopes has been fulfilled: David Weber has found documents regarding Smith's dealings with Mexican officials in California, George Brooks published Smith's Southwest journals in 1977, and Morgan himself, with geographer Carl Wheat, published in 1954 John C. Fremont's 1845 map of the West with many annotations derived from Smith's map. Barton H. Barbour has taken advantage of these and other manuscript discoveries in this splendid new biography.

Much more than that, though, Barbour has fashioned a major reinterpretation of Smith and his significance that is much more in tune with the predominant values of our own day than Morgan's. Specifically, Barbour is much less forgiving of Smith's racism and anti-Catholicism, and much more skeptical of the imperialistic aims of his explorations (Smith certainly did not "open" the West for Indians or Mexicans). And he is much less pietistic in his evaluation of Smith's Methodist faith, for he points out that Smith readily prevaricated and disobeyed the law as it suited his purposes in California. One of the biggest shortcomings of Morgan's book was his inability to explain Smith's driven personality, and his refusal even to attempt to do so, publishing Smith's anguished letters to his family in an appendix, yet ignoring them in his text. Although no one, perhaps, will ever completely dissect the complications of Smith's psychology, Barbour at least recognizes an obligation to try, and his speculations are generally convincing. Finally, Barbour is at great pains to put Smith's career and the entire fur trade into a larger national and international context, engaging issues of prices and profits and the diplomacy of the three-way struggle among the British, Mexican, and American empires of which the fur trade was a major conflict.

One particularly happy feature of this biography is that it utilizes a fascinating letter from Smith to Secretary of War John Eaton written on the eve of his departure on the Santa Fe journey where he would lose his life. Only discovered in the past decade and published in the *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, the letter is an appeal to Eaton to include Smith at no pay as a guide to an army party preparing to explore the Rocky Mountains. In it, Smith details his experiences and knowl-

edge of the mountains and in effect offers Eaton the opportunity to create a new Lewis and Clark expedition. The letter demonstrates as never before Smith's love of geographic discovery and bolsters Barbour's thesis that Smith's arduous journeys were never just about beaver, and were always almost as much about science. One of the West's greatest explorers has found the right biographer.

GARY TOPPING
Salt Lake Community College

Mass Destruction: The Men and Giant Mines That Wired America and Scarred

the Planet. By Timothy J. LeCain. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009.

xii + 273 pp. Cloth, \$26.95.)

TIMOTHY LECAIN'S *Mass Destruction* is a thoroughly researched, elegantly reasoned study by one well-qualified to do so. LeCain, an Assistant Professor in the Department of History and Philosophy at Montana State University and frequent expert witness in mining Superfund legal cases, has provided a well-integrated look at the environmental cost of America's burgeoning consumerism, with specific emphasis on copper. Of chief interest to Utah readers, much of his study focuses on the career and achievements of Daniel Jackling, the Bingham copper magnate, whom the reader first meets as the builder of a crumbling California mansion now owned by Apple guru Steve Jobs. LeCain makes the case that, just as Jackling's achievements have been largely forgotten by history, American consumers disregard the environmental origins (and costs) of their material possessions – cars, refrigerators, electric light systems, and so on. Traveling back and forth between Utah's Kennecott pit and the Anaconda in Butte, Montana, LeCain shows the genesis, growth, benefits, and costs of open-pit copper mining, which he defines as “mass destruction.”

At first, I was uncomfortable with this title, associating it, as most do, with “weapons of mass destruction” and the loss of human life. But as LeCain explains, “No other phrase... better captures the essential traits of this transformative but often overlooked technology... [and it appropriately] echoes the better-known concepts of mass production and mass consumption – both of which depended on mass destruction to supply the essential raw materials” (7). Using carefully-marshaled, interdisciplinary, supporting evidence, LeCain credits Jackling with originating open-pit copper mining on a huge commercial scale; describes the engineers who solved the smelting and “smoke stack” problems (to a degree), and the wide adoption of these and other techniques throughout the West, particularly at Butte. Jackling, LeCain argues, “provided few technical innovations.” But in literally turning a mountain into a hole at Kennecott through the use of dynamite, powered steam shovels, and mass transportation, he brought innovations

together “in a way that redefined the very meaning of what constituted a ‘mine’”(131).

This work adds an important example to the growing literature of environmental history, most of which LeCain cites in this work. He traces the efforts of copper mining capitalists, managers, engineers, and others, which emerged first in the context of rapid industrialization at the turn of the twentieth century and mushroomed in post-World War II consumer society. All this is familiar ground to historians. What LeCain adds to the mix, however, is the interwoven – and increasing – environmental cost of these activities, analyzed step by step, and almost year by year. Beginning with the underground mine, usually seen as separate from the “world above,” LeCain develops a strong ecological web that broadens and enriches his analysis. Using specific examples, he takes the reader through mining discoveries, new technologies, resulting pollution, additional applications, attempted mitigation, and legal responses. The last chapter, “The Dead Zones,” ties together the death of miners with the death of towns, farms and ranches – but also with patriotic appeals of copper mining in the 1950s, and the applicability of the concept of “mass destruction” to coal mining, logging, and fisheries. While this information is provocative, this chapter is less cohesive than the others. Finally, after 229 pages of describing growing materialistic callousness toward the environment, LeCain concludes with a call for “rejecting the pernicious divisions of modernity and instead learning to see humans and their technology as entirely natural and inextricable parts of nature” (230). While his altruistic vision is entirely unsupported by this book’s broad, interdisciplinary evidence, one can admire LeCain’s tenacious optimism. Interested readers at all levels will find this work thought-provoking and, one hopes, inspirational as well.

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BOOK NOTICES

Diary of Almon Harris Thompson: Explorations of the Colorado River of the West and Its Tributaries, 1871-1875. Edited by Herbert E. Gregory. (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press and Utah State Historical Society, reprint edition 2009. 143 pp. Paper, \$14.95.)

The Exploration of the Colorado River in 1869 and 1871-1872: Biographical Sketches and Original Documents of the First Powell Expedition of 1869 and the Second Powell Expedition of 1871-1872. Edited by William Culp Darrah, Ralph V. Chamberlin, and Charles Kelly. (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press and Utah State Historical Society, reprint edition 2009, 271 pp. Paper, \$19.95.)

The Exploration of the Colorado River and the High Plateaus of Utah by the Second Powell Expedition of 1871-1872. Edited by Herbert E. Gregory, William Culp Darrah, and Charles Kelly. (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press and Utah State Historical Society, reprint edition 2009. 540 pp. Paper, \$24.95.)

These three volumes make available in print once again a treasure of important letters and diaries of the first and second expeditions by John Wesley Powell carried out in 1869 and 1871-72. Originally published in 1939, 1947, and 1949 as volumes 7, 15, 16, and 17 of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* these reprints are part of a long standing partnership between The University of Utah Press and the Utah State Historical Society. The three volumes include the journals of Almon Harris Thompson, George Y. Bradley, J. C. Sumner, John Wesley Powell, Stephen Vandiver Jones, John F. Steward, Walter Clement Powell, along with letters of Walter Henry Powell, John Wesley Powell, and O. G. Howland. Along with the journals and letters, biographical sketches, contemporary newspaper reports, and other documents make these volumes essential to anyone interested in the nineteenth-century Powell expeditions on the Green and Colorado Rivers and the high plateaus of Utah.

On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1889. Edited by Juanita Brooks. (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press and Utah State Historical Society, reprint edition, 2009. xv + 769 pp. Paper, \$39.95.)

In his preface to the 1964 edition, the late Everett L. Cooley wrote, "Of the Mormon diaries available to scholars, perhaps there is none which so adequately mirrors the times and locale of the writer and his people over such an extended period as does the diary of Hosea Stout" (vii). This paperback edition combines the original two volume cloth-bound edition into one volume. The

diary begins in August 1844 three months after the murder of Joseph Smith while Stout was living in Nauvoo and includes frequent entries until July 1861 when Stout records the arrival of the transcontinental telegraph in Salt Lake City. Juanita Brooks spent more than two years as an employee of the Utah State Historical Society transcribing and preparing extensive notes for the original volume. Like the 1964 two-volume edition, this paperback reprint is a joint project of The University of Utah Press and the Utah State Historical Society.

We'll Find the Place: The Mormon Exodus, 1846-1848. By Richard E. Bennett.

(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009. xix + 442 pp. Paper, \$21.95.)

Originally published in 1997 by Deseret Book as part of the sesquicentennial commemoration of the arrival of the first Mormon pioneers in Utah, this book chronicles the Mormon transition from the Midwest to the Rocky Mountains and is one of the most complete histories of the Mormon exodus to the Salt Lake Valley. Leonard J. Arrington wrote that it was "certain to become a classic in Mormon and American history" (xii). It has, and its importance is reflected in its republication by University of Oklahoma Press, a leading academic publisher of Western American history.

Across the Plains: Sarah Royce's Western Narrative. Edited by Jennifer Dawes

Adkison. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2009. viii + 134 pp. Paper. \$19.95.)

At the urging of Josiah Royce, son of Sarah Royce, Sarah provides a highly readable account of crossing the plains to California in a covered wagon with her husband and young daughter in 1849. Sarah Royce's narrative was first published in 1932 and again in 1977. Jennifer Dawes Adkison in this new publication provides a twenty-eight page introduction in which she carefully analyzes Royce's personal narrative. "Key to understanding Royce's story," Adkison writes, "is the idea that [Sarah's] narrative is not strictly a representation of historical and personal events," of this educated woman, it is also "a spiritual autobiography of a woman discovering the depth of her own faith"(7).

Ghosts of Glen Canyon: History Beneath Lake Powell. By C. Gregory Crampton.

(Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2009. xv + 150 pp. Paper, \$29.95.)

C. Gregory Crampton, a Fellow of the Utah State Historical Society, was a professor of history at the University of Utah where he taught for more than thirty years. Between 1957 and 1963 Crampton made thirteen trips to Glen Canyon to document the history and historic sites of the area before its inundation by the waters of Lake Powell. In this volume, originally published in 1986, Crampton offers a brief introduction to the history of the canyon followed by accounts of fifty-four locations along the Colorado River from Lee's Ferry on the south to Hite, the Dirty Devil River, and Cataract Canyon on the north. Twelve sites on the San Juan River between its confluence with the Colorado River and Clay Hills Crossing are also included. The book is nicely illustrated with black-and-white photos, many of which were taken by the author. W.L."Bud" Rusho collaborated on the book penning an introduction and providing photographs including several in stunning color. Edward Abbey provides a brief, but passionate foreword calling for the restoration of Glen Canyon to its pre-dam state.

San Juan Legacy: Life in the Mining Camps. By Duane A. Smith.

(Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009. xvi + 163 pp. Paper, \$24.95.)

Preeminent Colorado mining historian, Duane A. Smith has written a brief history of life in the mining towns of Ouray, Silverton, Telluride, LaPlata, Lake City, Creede, Ophir, and a dozen other mining camps that were born from 1860 to 1914 during the heyday of silver mining in the San Juan Mountains of southwestern Colorado. This is a popular social history that covers many subjects including, saloons, prostitutes, baseball, churches, schools, fraternal organizations, cultural activities, newspapers, health care, disease, and death, among others. With chapter titles that include "Shall We Gather at the River or Shall We Go Straight to Hell," "Love Can't Live on Heavy Bread," and "Take Me Out to the Ball Game," Smith engages the reader most effectively. The text is illustrated by an ample collection of photographs by John L. Minnemann.

The Story of the Cathedral of the Madeleine. By Gary Topping. (Salt Lake City:

Sagebrush Press, 2009. xvii + 109 pp. Paper, \$16.95.)

In commemoration of the centennial anniversary of the completion of the

UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Cathedral of the Madeleine in 1909, historian and archivist of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City, Gary Topping has written and published a brief but informative history of a Salt Lake City landmark. This effort is both a revision and update of an earlier work by Bernice Maher Mooney, *The Story of the Cathedral of the Madeleine*, which appeared in 1981. In five chapters Topping provides a brief overview of the history of Catholicism in Utah and traces the story of the Cathedral from its conception and design, construction, and subsequent restoration during the 1970s and renovation in the early 1990s. A treasure of black-and-white photographs illustrates the history and a color photo essay by Ann Torrence provides a magnificent and moving portrait of the interaction of people with the beloved cathedral.

Logan Reflections: Photographs Then, Now and In Between. By Darrin Smith.

(Logan: Herff Jones Yearbooks, 2009. 192 pp. Cloth, \$28.00.)

Logan native Darrin Smith has produced an intriguing look at Logan and its nearby canyon through then and now photographs accompanied by informative captions in this handsome coffee-table style volume. The first and last of the ten chapters are collections of the author's favorite photographs. The other eight groupings include landmarks, Main Street, Utah State University, cityscapes, Logan Canyon, churches, trains and trolleys, and buildings that are no longer standing.

LETTERS

Editor,

First, let me congratulate you on the Summer 2009 issue of your quarterly magazine, *Utah Historical Quarterly*. One of the authors in this issue, Kathryn MacKay, Ph.D., gave me a copy because of the article about our sisters and our monastery. I feel Dr. MacKay did a fine job on capturing the role of the sisters in health care. In addition, the article was informative and I think will help your readers get a “feel” for us as real women and committed to helping others.

However, let me call your attention to the identification for the cover. The sister on the left is, in fact, Sister Estelle Nordick. However, the other sister (the one on the right) is Sister Longina Kaar who worked here from 1947-1950. She was a registered nurse.

While I’m not a regular reader of your magazine, I do know of the high quality of its contents. And as an archivist for our monastery, I am interested in the history of people and places. Thank you for providing that.

Sister Luke Hoschette
Community Secretary & Archivist

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