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UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Bottom, corrugated utility vessel.

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

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INAUGURAL MESSAGE

by

Governor Calvin L. Rampton

GOVERNOR CLYDE, MR. CHIEF JUSTICE, FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS OF THE STATE OF UTAH:

This is a particularly memorable day for our state. Not because a new administration assumes office, for that is only incidental in the passage of history. But memorably because today marks the Sixty-Ninth Anniversary of the date on which Utah achieved statehood.

For no other state was the quest for acceptance into the Union as long or as difficult as that of Utah. Numerous petitions for statehood


For the past two years, the Utah State Historical Society has sponsored a Statehood Day observance. The addresses given on this occasion have been published in previous Quarterlies. This year the inauguration of state officials fell on Statehood Day, so the governor's inaugural address commemorates that day.
were forwarded to Washington, and were rejected. Brigham Young, the leader of the pioneer group and the leader in petitioning for admittance to the Union, was almost 20 years dead before success in that venture was achieved. A child born when the pioneers arrived in this valley in 1847, was already well into middle age when the precious goal of statehood was reached.

By the same token, Utah's existence as a state has been relatively short. There are some in the rotunda of this Capitol today, including my own mother, who can remember that January 4th in 1896, when the Territory of Utah became the State of Utah.

Those who lived in the territorial days did not seek statehood for light or transient reasons. They were a fiercely independent group who believed in the maximum freedom of the individual, consistent with the general good. And they believed that it was the obligation of each man, to the best of his ability, to provide for the needs of himself and his family.

But they also knew that one family could not have the facilities properly to educate the children; that such facilities could only be provided by the people acting together — through government.

The individual could not build roads or other necessary means of transportation, trade, and communication; but such could be provided by the people acting concertedly — through government.

They knew that the alleviation of suffering of those unable to care for themselves should not be dependent upon the uncertainty of private alms. The need to do something for this problem lay on the collective conscience of the community and was acted upon — through government.

This is why the people of territorial Utah sought, again and again, to bring statehood to this land. They knew that a sovereign state government could fill vital needs of the people which could be met neither by the individual, the local community councils, nor by the distant government in Washington, D.C.

The problems of schools, highways, and welfare received immediate attention from the first state government of Utah and its political subdivisions. Today — 69 years later — although the state government performs many other functions, those same three problems are still the primary concerns of our state government and require the expenditure of most of the state's revenue.

A democratic form of government, whether it be of the city, the county, the state, or the nation, is not something separate and apart from its people. For now, as then, government is merely men acting together to do something one man cannot do alone.
It is not always an easy matter to determine what functions should be performed by government. Or to decide which level of government can best fill each need. We can agree as a general principle that government should perform no services for the individual which the individual can perform as well or better for himself. We can also agree that, when a service is to be performed by government, it should be performed by the unit of government nearest and most receptive to the people it will serve which has sufficient scope to fill the need.

But even in determining these two questions, we cannot lay down hard and fast guide lines. As society develops, the need for men to act together increases. As travel, trade, and communication develop, the functions of government once performed on a local basis must be performed by governments having broader territorial jurisdiction. As examples, while city streets and county roads a century ago provided adequate transportation, today not even state governments can meet the demands of the traveler, and our federal system of highways is approved by all.

The village schoolhouse no longer can meet the educational needs of our children, and the state equalization program receives general approval from our people. The County Poor Farm can no longer care adequately for the needy, and state and federal funds are available to help with this problem.

No one likes to see a larger unit of government take over a function formerly exercised by a smaller unit. But such is necessary when the smaller unit is unable to meet the need or fails to recognize and fulfill its obligations.

During the coming four years, the government of the State of Utah will attempt accurately to appraise its role and to meet the obligations with which the people have entrusted it. It will seek neither to usurp the functions of city and county governments, nor will it abdicate its position in favor of the federal government.

On the other hand, the state government will not be suspicious of the smaller units of government nor of the national government. Neither a servant nor master — your Utah State government will be a partner with all levels of government in serving the needs of our people. We will recognize that, in America, each level of government is merely the people, acting collectively to perform services. And the level of government performing each function is determined by how many men must cooperate in order to meet a given problem.

A basic belief of the American people is that the means of production which sustains our economy should be privately owned. During the
last half of the nineteenth century and the early days of the twentieth century, government tended to veer away from any connection with the economy of the state and nation. For then we had industrial as well as geographical frontiers to conquer.

Out of necessity, however, those days of laissez faire are long behind us. Regulation of public utilities, of security sales, and enforcement of fair trade practices are today accepted by the people and by business as being necessary functions of government.

One of the more recent moves of government toward partnership in the economy is in the field of economic promotion and development. This has been a movement out of necessity. For the economy of the modern United States is no longer a series of ponds and lakes, economically unconnected and isolated with markets for products of local labor and industry limited to the immediate community. Today's economy is a mighty river of commerce, flowing throughout the entire nation. And those states and regions that do not make an effort to join the mainstream of this river find themselves left behind in the backwaters — moving fitfully in the currents and eddies of our nation's economy.

The main street of today's business section extends, not from city limit to city limit, but from border to border across this great nation. And each tradesman, business, or industry is in competition with others throughout the nation and the world.

Utah, like it or not, has been thrust into the midst of this sink-or-swim, survive-or-perish competitive world.

While our population has been expanding, Utah's private economy has been relatively static. The new jobs necessary to sustain our growing numbers have been furnished by expanding government employment and employment in defense oriented industries. This type of employment while welcome is too volatile to be the base for a sound economy for our state.

Thus, the challenge for Utah today is to join that mainstream of commerce — to spur herself into industrialized expansion — to compete as an equal in the market places of the nation and the world. And, by so doing, to provide employment for our men and women, security for their families and futures for their children.

This is not an impossible challenge to meet. The southern states of this nation have, in recent years, dramatically remolded themselves. Beginning with poor agrarian economies and long the most backward in the nation economically as well as socially, the South is forging a new, stable,
and expanding industrial economy. Acting in cooperation with commerce and industry, state governments in the South have helped lift the area by its bootstraps.

It is time for Utah to undertake such a program. For although the state owes no man a living, it owes to every man the opportunity to make a living for himself and his family. If that opportunity is not afforded, Utah must inevitably export its most precious commodity; not the products of its mines, factories or fields, but its young people.

But the task of economic promotion and development can no longer be left to voluntary cooperation of industry and commerce through chambers of commerce or other service clubs. The great contribution which these organizations have and are making to our state's economy must be supplemented and coordinated by the state government.

During the coming four years, your state government will cooperate with labor, industry, and agriculture to find markets for the products of this state — to bring into this state new industries — and to encourage our people to invest their own capital into our expanding economy. We do not seek an opulent economy, but rather a balance in which labor, capital, and management share in a partnership for the common good.

In order to achieve this, we must afford to our young people the highest type of educational system — one which will give our people training in the skills demanded by industry and enlightenment of the type that enriches the life of our community.

We must welcome every citizen into our society and welcome the contribution he can make to it. We cannot afford to distinguish between individuals on the basis of religion or race — our cause is too great and too demanding. There is no need for distinction between direct descendants of the pioneer and those who joined with us last week — for we are all pioneers in this new challenge.

Only through these actions can Utah fulfill the promise envisioned for her by those who battled for her statehood.

Utah is admirably equipped to meet the challenge of the future, and to participate fully in the economic and social life of America. We have a wealth of raw materials exceeded by no other state in the Union. We are located at a strategic cross-road of the nation's communication and transportation lifeline. Most important, we have a highly literate and potentially productive people. We have men to match our mountains.

To fulfill our potential, both economically and socially, we must dare to move forward. We must not let fear paralyze us into inactivity. We
will risk error — and will no doubt make errors. But those who crossed a thousand miles of wilderness to found this state pursued no sure course. They knew that total security was stagnation, and that stagnation erodes security. Their leaders erred, but in erring, learned.

Our greatest heritage from those who pioneered this area and who fought for statehood was not the specific remedies for problems they faced and solved three-quarters of a century ago, but rather the courage and vision to adopt new remedies for new problems. If we now can move with this kind of courage, the errors we make will be but minor compared to our progress.

In 1936, in his second acceptance speech, Franklin D. Roosevelt said: “Governments can err, but the immortal Dante tells us that divine justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted in a different manner. Better the occasion faults of a government living in the spirit of charity than the constant omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference.”

I welcome the challenge that faces our state. I accept the responsibility of the governorship with no ambition save the ambition to render a service to the state and the people which I love. In the quest for this goal, I solicit your support . . . and your prayers.

GOVERNORS OF THE STATE OF UTAH

Heber M. Wells, 1896–1904
John C. Cutler, 1905–1908
William Spry, 1909–1916
Simon Bamberger, 1917–1920
Charles R. Mabey, 1921–1924
George H. Dern, 1925–1932
Henry H. Blood, 1933–1940
Herbert B. Maw, 1941–1948
J. Bracken Lee, 1949–1956
George D. Clyde, 1957–1964
Former President Calvin Coolidge is reported on one occasion to have commented in his usual laconic manner that: “The business of America is business.” In a very real sense, however, the business of Utah is defense. In addition to those employed in the defense-related missiles industry, in 1963 there were approximately 26,000 employees at Utah’s Department of Defense installations, and they generated an estimated eight percent of Utah’s income. A recent study by Professor James L. Clayton, of the University of Utah, concluded that the federal government has spent roughly $3,000 per person in Utah for defense since World War II. Had the government not done this, Dr. Clayton concluded, Utah would “unquestionably” have reverted to her prewar pattern of a net out-migration of population.²

By far the largest business in Utah is the Ogden Air Materiel Area (OOAMA), located on Hill Air Force Base, in Davis County, just south of Ogden and east of Sunset and Clearfield.² In December 1963 OOAMA, Leonard Arrington is professor of economics at Utah State University, and is directing a study of Utah’s defense industry for the Committee to Study Utah’s Economy of the Utah Legislative Council, of which Senator Reed Bullen is chairman. Thomas Alexander, assistant professor of history at Brigham Young University, has participated in the study. The writers are particularly grateful to Captain Eugene A. Erb, Jr., United States Air Force, recently assigned in Korea, who, as a student at U. S. U., wrote a preliminary paper on Hill Air Force Base which was useful in preparing this article. This article has been supported in part by a grant from the Utah State University Research Council. All photographs are courtesy Ogden Air Materiel Area.


² For coding purposes each air materiel area is designated by five letters. Thus, OOAMA for the Ogden Area.

The basic sources for the history of Hill Air Force Base and the Ogden Air Materiel Area (OOAMA) are three volumes written by Miss Helen Rice, OOAMA Historian. They are: History of Ogden Air Materiel Area: Hill Air Force Base, Utah, 1934–1960 ([Ogden], 1963) ; Chronology, Ogden Air Materiel Area: Hill Air Force Base, Utah, 1934–1961 ([Ogden], 1962) ; and Chronology, Ogden Air Materiel Area: Hill Air Force Base, Utah, 1962–1963 ([Hill Air Force Base], 1964). In addition, Miss Rice maintains a manuscript chronology which will eventually be made into a volume similar to the latter in the Historical Archives of Hill Air Force Base. The thesis of Colonel John D. McConahay, “The Economic Impact of Hill Air Force Base on the Ogden Area” (Master’s thesis, Utah State University, 1955), was also very useful. Unless otherwise indicated, this article is based upon these sources and personal interviews and correspondence.

The authors wish to thank Miss Rice for her time, cooperation, and enthusiasm, which greatly simplified the job of gathering and interpreting the material.
a subcommand of the Air Force Logistics Command (formerly the Air Materiel Command), employed 15,567 persons. Its nearest competitors were the Utah divisions of U.S. Steel Corporation and Kennecott Copper Corporation with less than 7,000 employees each. In 1964 OOAMA stocked 401,000 items in a $638 million inventory. By comparison, Sears, Roebuck and Company in Salt Lake City stocks only 63,280 items. Total assets of the installation amounted to more than $1 billion, which was about equal to the combined assets of all of Utah's banks and savings and loan institutions. OOAMA's current payroll is in excess of $100 million, which is more than those of the Utah divisions of U.S. Steel, Kennecott Copper Corporation, and the Union Pacific Railroad Company combined.

In addition to the responsibilities for the 7,355 acres on or adjacent to Hill Air Force Base, the command includes Wendover Air Force Auxiliary Field, a million acres of land south of Wendover, Utah; the 351,327-acre Hill Air Force Range located about 50 miles west of the base near Lakeside, Utah; the Vernal, Utah, Seismological Site; and the air space

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East area of Hill Air Force Base in 1957, the year missile work took on extreme importance not only for Ogden Air Materiel Area, but for the entire State of Utah.
over Dugway Proving Grounds. OOAMA provides technical and logistical support for Air Force units in the area of its geographical responsibility, which includes Utah, Colorado, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Wyoming, North and South Dakota, Alaska, and, on an emergency basis, for Air Force units in the western two-thirds of the Dominion of Canada. Thus, OOAMA has a responsibility for more than 80 bases and other installations. It is the largest in geographical size of nine air materiel areas in the United States.

**FOUNDED AND CONSTRUCTION**

Between March and June 1934, the Air Corps, which at that time handled the United States air mail service, established a temporary depot at Salt Lake City to provide facilities for its aircraft. This venture left a lasting impression on Lieutenant Colonel (later General) Henry H. (Hap) Arnold, who believed that inland depots would be less vulnerable to air attack than coastal facilities. After officers of the Air Corps Materiel Division recommended an investigation into the possibility of locating a depot near Salt Lake City, Congress passed the Wilcox-Wilson Act on August 12, 1935, which authorized the secretary of war to determine the location of permanent Air Corps stations, one of which was to be in the Rocky Mountain area.

Soon after the passage of the bill, Colonel Arnold, Army Air Corps officials, and congressmen visited the Mountain States to inspect possible depot sites. During the visit, the Military Affairs Committee of the Ogden Chamber of Commerce showed the party a site south of Ogden. The location impressed the visiting dignitaries. It afforded excellent flight approaches from all directions, had adequate water and good drainage, was close to Ogden, and near a spur of the main line of the Union Pacific Railroad.

The courtesies shown General Arnold's party by the Ogden Chamber of Commerce were part of an aggressive local program aimed at expanding the industrial base of the area. Utah was in every sense of the word a depressed area. Between 1930 and 1940 population had increased from 507,847 to 550,310, while total employment dropped from 170,000 to 148,886. Employment in every branch of industry — including agriculture, mining, manufacturing, and the services — had dropped. The Ogden Chamber of Commerce optioned the land from owners of the proposed site to prevent speculation, being convinced that it was the most logical...

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one. The original 3,002 acres, of which the Chamber of Commerce donated 386 acres, was valued at $128,080.

After the site had been selected, the War Department had to secure funds for construction. The Air Corps obtained assistance from the depression-inspired Works Progress Administration, which completed on November 10, 1939, a $158,585 temporary facility project. This temporary construction went ahead concurrently with a preliminary survey which was completed in February 1940. By January 1939 Japan had begun its conquest of Asia and Germany had annexed Austria, and considering the generally grim situation in the world, President Franklin D. Roosevelt asked for $8 million for the Ogden Air Depot at Hill. In July 1939 Congress voted not only that amount, but an additional $3.5 million for another WPA project. The Ogden Chamber of Commerce helped at the construction site by securing grading equipment and other machinery from local governmental units.

The original construction of the base, which took place between 1938 and 1942, cost more than $30 million. Formal ground-breaking ceremonies occurred January 12, 1940. Among other facilities, the government constructed the runway complex; a sewage treatment plant; a radio transmitter building; quartermaster facilities; fire- and guardhouses; a communication building; quarters and barracks; a chemical storage building; a paint, oil, and packing warehouse; a storm sewer system; operations hangar and annexes; an engine repair shop; an engine test building; an aircraft reclamation building; an airplane repair shop; an equipment repair building; and hospital facilities. After the initial construction, building continued on into World War II.

The site of the Ogden Air Depot received its first designation on December 1, 1939, when the War Department named it Hill Field. This was in honor of Major Ployer P. Hill, who was killed in October 1935 while testing the first model of the B-17. The Ogden Air Depot was designated to serve a dual purpose. It served as a major supply and maintenance depot for five stations in Washington, one each in Oregon and

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Major Ployer P. Hill was born on October 24, 1894, in Newburyport, Massachusetts. He graduated from Brown University in 1916 with a B.S. Degree in Civil Engineering, and on December 4, 1917, he enlisted in the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps. During the first World War he served at various posts in the United States, and in 1920 and 1921 served with the American army of occupation in Germany. After serving at various posts in the United States, he was transferred to the Philippines where he was stationed between 1929 and 1932. Upon his return to the United States, he served at Wright Field, Dayton, Ohio, where he was killed October 30, 1935, while testing a Boeing XB-17 Flying Fortress. His son, Major Ployer P. (Pete) Hill, Jr., is (September, 1964) stationed at Hill Air Force Base where he serves in the Management Services Division. Major Hill is currently the same age and rank as his father when he was killed. Information supplied by the Historical Office, OOAMA.
Idaho, two in Utah, and three reserve stations. At the same time it was named as auxiliary depot for the area controlled by the Sacramento Air Depot. On February 1, 1943, the Air Corps divorced the Ogden Air Depot from Sacramento, elevated it to command status on a level equal to Sacramento, and redesignated it the Ogden Air Depot Control Area Command. With the new command also came added responsibility and stature.

On November 7, 1940, Colonel Morris Berman took over as the first commander of the depot (and thus of Hill Field). In January 1941, despite the uncompleted buildings, Colonel Berman accepted ammunition, arms, and other equipment from Fort Douglas, on the eastern bench of Salt Lake City. Shipments began to pour in from Sacramento, and workers had to lease a building in Bountiful to house the supplies. Nevertheless, office equipment was late in arriving, and officials moved into a temporary building containing only six pints of red ink, two dozen erasers, and some packing crates which served as typewriter tables. The only source of heat was a potbellied stove, and wind blew sand through cracks in the walls. In the spring, employees wallowed through the mud.

From the very start Colonel Berman had difficulty securing the necessary number of employees. No Civil Service examinations had been conducted in the area, and therefore no registers were available from which to select qualified administrative, technical, and clerical personnel. For the time being persons were accepted from other depots. Colonel Berman scheduled examinations to fill the Civil Service register and began the training of local people from the vast available supply of labor. The first civilian employee reported for work in January 1941, and by December 7, 1941, 1,639 employees and about 250 military personnel served at Hill Field.

**World War II**

On December 7, 1941, with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor which plunged the United States into World War II, employment at the Ogden Air Depot rose at a phenomenal rate. The need for employees in vital areas prompted the War Department in January 1942 to approve the lowering of job requirements and the hiring of men with physical disabilities. Women were recruited for such tasks as sheet metal work, welding, and aircraft engine repair. Recruiters from the vital facility moved beyond the local area in July 1942, and in March and May 1943 the Ogden Air Depot had reached its all-time peak military and civilian employment of 6,000 and 15,780 respectively, for a total employment of 21,780.
A 48-hour work week was established on January 26, 1942, to utilize available personnel to the utmost.

One of the major problems of the war was the training of unskilled civilians to fill new jobs requiring special skills. Already, in February 1941, the base had established a Mechanic Learner Program, which operated in conjunction with representatives of Utah educational institutions. This program was expanded and salaries of trainees upgraded.

The influx of personnel at Hill Field, coupled with a similar expansion in industry throughout the entire Wasatch Front area, created an acute housing and transportation shortage. Federal agencies aided in the construction of temporary rental units at Grand View Acres in South Ogden, Bonneville Park in northeast Ogden, Washington Terrace in southwest Ogden, Verdeland Park in east Layton, Anchorage Acres near the Clearfield Naval Supply Depot, and Sahara Village just south of Hill Field. Dormitories were opened on base for single workers, and trailer courts were established as stopgap measures.

Local, non-governmental groups also aided in securing housing facilities. The Ogden Chamber of Commerce, in May 1941, established a house registration bureau, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints assisted in locating rooms in the homes of established families. Nevertheless, some Hill Field employees had to sleep on park benches and in automobiles, and the only real solution to the housing shortage came when the end of the war allowed the greater dispersal of workers.

Transportational problems were not fully resolved until September 1943, when commercially-owned buses began operation between Ogden and Salt Lake City and the base. Before that, car pools were arranged and the local railroads set up schedules to coincide with the work program of the installation.

One generally thinks of an air base as a place where airplanes land, take off, and remain in readiness. Though this was partly true of Hill Field, its duties consisted primarily of supply and maintenance. Its primary function was not unlike that of Tooele Ordnance Depot (now Tooele Army Depot), except that it serviced the Air Corps rather than the Ordnance Corps.

Prior to December 7, 1941, major emphasis had been on the construction of facilities and the storage of supplies. Beginning then, however, the Depot Maintenance Department (later the Directorate of Maintenance) began to function. Though Congress had appropriated money on March 17, 1941, for an engine overhaul mission at Ogden Air Depot, it was not
East area of Hill Air Force Base prior to the end of World War II. Since that time the runways have been extended to accommodate large jet planes which use the base.

until the fall of the year that Maintenance began to operate. It undertook only minor projects until December 8, 1941, when full-scale three-shift operation began. The depot undertook, among other things, aircraft engine repair; repair of an average of 3,000 parachutes per month; the repair and manufacture of scarce aircraft parts; radio repair; winterization of B-26 Marauders, P-39 Airacobras, and P-40 Warhawks for Alaskan Theatre operation; and the repair of bombsights.

The really heavy workload of the depot was the repair and maintenance of aircraft. On April 6, 1942, the first engine was tested, and by September 1942 the shop had reached a monthly average of 75 engines. A few months later, in January 1943, the shop attained an average of 150 engines and 140 superchargers per month. In November 1942 Maintenance began operating a production line for P-39’s and P-40’s, and in February 1943 it began rehabilitating B-24 Liberator bombers. By July 1943 Maintenance turned out one Liberator per day. In June of 1944 Maintenance overhauled P-47 Thunderbolts and in May 1945 it began to repair A-20 Havoc aircraft.
After mid-1944, part of the depot's projects were aimed at preparation for the war's end. Employment began decreasing, and though aircraft repair remained as the major workload throughout 1944 and 1945, in June 1944 airplanes began arriving for storage. Near the end of the war, the depot began the preparation of B-24's and P-47's for delivery to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for sale. With the end of World War II in August, Ogden was ordered to complete only those engines currently being overhauled and to store the remainder.

The other primary function of the base was supply. With the outbreak of the war, the Depot Supply Department (now the Directorate of Supply and Transportation) received tons of supplies originally designated for the Philippines. Materials were stacked in every available space, including parking lots, and employees worked seven days a week in an attempt to identify the goods. Eventually, Supply handled parts and equipment for every type of aircraft used in World War II. As Maintenance personnel completed the aircraft for storage in the summer of 1944, it became the function of Supply to store the planes. In 1945, as the war scene shifted to the Pacific Theatre, Supply began to handle more material. In the first four months of 1945 Supply handled 3,240 carloads, which was more than twice the amount handled in the first four months of 1944.

**MILESTONES IN THE HISTORY OF OOAMA AND HILL AIR FORCE BASE**

First official reference to Ogden Air Depot in Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt's message on the need for construction of new air depots

Site of Ogden Air Depot named Hill Field

Ogden Air Depot became depot under jurisdiction of the IV Air Service Area Command, Sacramento, Calif.

Renamed Ogden Air Depot Control Area Command

Renamed Ogden Air Service Command

Renamed Ogden Air Technical Service Command

Renamed Ogden Air Materiel Area (OOAMA)

Hill Field renamed Hill Air Force Base

January 12, 1939

December 1, 1939

December 12, 1941

February 1, 1943

May 22, 1943

November 14, 1944

July 22, 1946

February 5, 1948

7 Craven and Cate, *Men and Planes*, VI, 378.
At the close of the second World War, enormous amounts of materiel which poured back into the depot were declared surplus, and preparations were made to dispose of it. Supply disposal operation began in November 1945, and by mid-1946 more than $9 million worth of materiel had been placed on a disposal status. In November 1946 engines were released as scrap; some which had cost $23,651 were sold for as little as $22.50. Average return on the program was between 22 and 27 percent.

In addition to the disposal operations, some of the returned materiel was stored. The Army Air Forces planned to store principally B-29 Superfortresses, and Ogden facilities were immediately adaptable for the work. The airplanes were “pickled,” and covered to prevent corrosion from dust and moisture. All electronic equipment was removed and sealed for storage. Windows were painted white to reflect the light and thus avoid heat buildup in the aircraft. Engines and aircraft were inspected daily, and some parts were “repickled” every 90 days. After the B-29 project began, the base stored a host of other planes, including A-26 (later B-26) Invaders, P-61 Black Widows, P-51 Mustangs, and P-47N Thunderbolts. In addition engines and ground servicing equipment were placed in storage.

On top of the storage activities, the responsibility of the depot continued to expand. On July 22, 1946, the command was renamed Ogden Air Materiel Area, and the following spring its responsibilities were broadened to include Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, North and South Dakota, and western Oregon and Washington. Later, Oregon and Nevada were deleted and all of Washington added. In February 1948 Hill Field was renamed Hill Air Force Base. In the same year the Air Materiel Command reorganized its operations in the United States in an attempt to promote greater efficiency. The United States was divided into two zones; and Ogden, together with San Antonio, San Bernardino, and Oklahoma City, constituted the major supply points in the western zone. In each of the zones, one air materiel area kept stocks and repaired and supplied certain materials for its zone. In 1949 AMC assigned Ogden to supply and maintain commercial electrical equipment, parts for Northrop aircraft, parts for Fairchild aircraft, Pratt and Whitney R-2800 engines, aircraft landing gear, parts for Pratt and Whitney jet and reciprocating engines, the Boeing B-17, photographic ground equipment, and motion-picture equipment, among other items.

The reductions which inevitably followed World War II also hit the Ogden depot. In July 1945 civilian employment stood at 8,543; in Jan-
January 1946 it stood at 3,095; and by January 1947 it stood at 2,372. Employment then began to rise until the fall of 1949, when the government began to cut back defense spending sharply. This last reduction caused a great amount of consternation, and a delegation of the local chapter of the National Federation of Federal Employees, together with the Utah congressional delegation, met with representatives of the Defense Department. Hill Field's future did not look good. In the spring of 1950, AMC transferred the 25th Air Depot Wing to Ogden on a test basis with the understanding that if the test failed, it would close OOA AMA as a materiel area. Although the Depot Wing test failed, OOA AMA did not close because of the obvious support the command could give during the Korean War.

Despite the reductions, Maintenance continued to operate during the postwar period, performing such services as modifying B-29's and B-27's for photographic missions. It carried on manufacturing and repairing of parachutes and flying clothing, aircraft and navigational instruments, oxygen breathing equipment, flight instruments, superchargers, propeller governors, and base automotive vehicles. It also continued the reclamation of irreparable aircraft and the renovation of aircraft engines.

During the postwar period, tenants at Hill performed other valuable services for the Defense Department, other government agencies, and local communities. In 1948, as part of the attempt to stop Communist aggression in the Middle East, Hill Air Force Base equipped 30 AT-11 Beech Kansas trainers with bombsights and stabilizers for shipment to Turkey. Hill Air Force Base became a receiving point for Utah patients sent to Bushnell General Hospital in Brigham. It also shipped materiel to Bikini Atoll for the atomic tests. After the Soviets stopped all rail, barge, and highway traffic into West Berlin in June 1948, Ogden supported the Berlin Airlift by shipping materiel and training replacement crews. During January 1949, when severe weather threatened the extinction of wildlife and livestock in parts of a five-state area, Hill AFB employees donated money to buy some of the hay, and in cooperation with the Utah State Fish and Game Commission, pilots operating out of the base air-dropped more than 250 tons of food, medical supplies, coal, oil, heaters, and bales of hay in Utah alone.

**The Korean Conflict**

the Defense Department ordered a freeze on disposal operations then going on at Hill Air Force Base, and talk of phasing-out the Ogden Air Materiel Area came to an abrupt halt despite the failure of the Depot Wing test.

As a result of the Korean War, construction at the base which had been retarded during the interwar years again took on a new importance. By the outbreak of the Korean War, Ogden’s runway system had become obsolete. Recommendations had been made as early as 1945 for a longer runway. Ogden could only repair aircraft which could land at the installation, and that meant either an expansion of facilities or limiting Ogden only to slower propeller-driven aircraft. The base received $3.2 million for fiscal 1951 to construct a modern 10,000-foot runway and taxistrips. After problems concerning the feasibility and priority of the project developed, it was not until April 28, 1955, that Peter Kiewit and Sons began construction on a $3.5 million project. The 13,500-foot runway was completed in March 1957.

As the war broke out, employment levels at the base shot up. Civilian employment rose from 3,656 in June 1950 to 12,210 in August 1952, then leveled out at about 11,000 as the war closed. Military employment jumped even more rapidly from 538 in April 1950 to 3,986 in October 1951.

The astronomical rise in employment brought additional housing and transportation problems. Publicity through radio, newspapers, and other mass media brought some listings, but did not solve the problem. The base made plans for the construction of 350 housing units under the Wherry Act of August 22, 1941. AMC hired the architectural and engineering firm of Holmes and Narver of Los Angeles to prepare a master plan for HAFB, but the plan which they outlined did not take into account the advances to come in the jet age, and the housing project came into conflict with engine test facilities and the proposed runway. Public opinion in the Ogden area then rose up against the proposed construction on the grounds of the probable noise and the potential conflict between private enterprise and the proposed government housing. After these problems were resolved, construction began in July 1952. Unfortunately, the housing units were not occupied to the fullest extent, and the operating company defaulted on its mortgage. The Air Force, which took up the mortgage in November 1957, after some renovation, enjoyed a satisfactory occupancy rate.

As the Korean War ground on into 1952, it became obvious to the Air Materiel Command that central direction of all control functions at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio, had caused a huge volume of un-
necessary, costly, and time-consuming paperwork. In June 1952 it began decentralizing its records and equipment, and made Ogden and the other AMA’s prime managers for various weapons and weapon systems. This decentralization gave Ogden responsibility for the F-101 Voodoo, and prime maintenance and parts supply responsibility for the SM-62 Snark missile and the B-17, B-26, and F-89 aircraft. In 1953 procurement was further decentralized to give AMA prime responsibility for closer connections with manufacturers of the weapon systems. This change gave OOAMA responsibility for Air Force contracts with the Northrop Aircraft, Incorporated. Ogden also lost some functions such as the control of Quartermaster clothing; but, in general, OOAMA gained in stature and importance from the increased responsibility inherent in the decentralization.

The expanded mission and the need for a greater number of workers left OOAMA with a mammoth labor problem. The cuts in personnel which had taken place in 1949 and early 1950 had left Ogden on near standby status. For the first time since World War II, the command had to seek highly skilled manpower in competition with private industry and other defense installations. In October 1950 a federal Wage Board survey helped to raise pay, workers were not allowed to transfer to other defense installations without securing permission to leave, and higher grade positions were filled from employees who had been demoted under prior reduction arrangements. Once more, women came to make up an important part (28 percent) of the civilian work force. Most of those who came had never worked there before and the already existing training programs had to be expanded. The Mechanic Learner Program was enlarged with the help of Utah’s educational institutions. Maintenance personnel also had their skills upgraded through off-base training in such fields as liquid rocket engines, aircraft cabin pressurization, air conditioning, relay telephone exchanges, statistical quality control, in-flight refueling equipment, and aircraft maintenance.

Since World War II most of the maintenance work had been in-storage-maintenance. Toward the end of 1950, great numbers of aircraft were removed from storage. One of the first major tasks at Hill was the overhaul and conversion of B-26 Invaders (the last propeller-driven light bomber to remain in the Air Force inventory) into night intruder bombers. During the Korean War, maintenance personnel reclaimed and reconditioned more than 1,000 B-26’s with an average delivery of 18 to 20 per month. Though the duels between the Sabrejets and MIG-15’s got the
headlines, much of the workload in cutting supply and communication lines was carried by these World War II workhorses.\(^8\)

During 1951 the activity at the Engine Test Facility, which had repaired up to 150 engines per month during World War II and remained inactive from 1945 to 1948, was stepped up by 700 percent. Ogden AMA absorbed much of the jet engine repair work previously assigned to the Oklahoma City AMA. At first inadequate facilities and the need for shop modification, coupled with the hiring of inexperienced personnel, caused seemingly insuperable problems. Nevertheless, during 1952 Maintenance turned out an average of 212 engines per month. At the conclusion of the Korean conflict, production schedules were cut back to an average of 112 per month.

After the experience of the Berlin Airlift, the Air Force wanted to make sure that industry was prepared for possible expansion, and with the outbreak of the Korean War, it began to contract maintenance work to private business. By the end of 1951, OOAMA had let maintenance contracts with local contractors for more than $1.1 million. These included contracts for night-lighting equipment, ground-camera equipment, motion-picture equipment, fuel- and oil-handling equipment, special tools, hangar and flying-field equipment, generator sets, furniture and fixtures, and packaging materials. By the end of 1952, local industry carried more than $4.9 million in such maintenance contracts, and by 1958 this program had grown to 55 percent of the base workload. The arrangement had the added advantage of leaving base personnel to concentrate on highly technical and critical defense work which private industry was not equipped to perform.

The Maintenance workload was not the only one which increased; Supply was also faced with increased work. In 1949 Supply shipped and received 147,000 tons of materiel by rail and truck and 2,600 tons by air. In 1951, 2.14 million tons were shipped and received, and in 1953, 2.18 million tons. In July 1950 the base received authorization to purchase on the local market, and a procedure was established whereby purchases could be shipped directly from contractors to ports of embarkation.

In addition Supply began in June 1952 to test a mechanized system of property accounting. The Air Force instituted a system in which it relaxed property control procedures for lower value items and strengthened them for higher cost materiel. Prior to this time, the same account-\(^8\) Colonel Robert D. Johnston, "The Invader Returns," *Air University Review*, XV (November–December, 1963), 11.
ing control had been given to any item whether it was worth $10 or $1,000. Ogden’s adoption of these new property accounting procedures gained for it special commendation.

THE MISSILE AGE

After World War II workloads and the work force of OOAMA dropped to extremely low figures. That pattern was not repeated after the Korean War. The closing year of the war brought relatively sharp, but short drops in employment. After that, civilian employment rose, then leveled off at between 11,000 and 12,000. At the end of fiscal year 1964, it stood at 11,635. Military personnel remained at approximately 1,700 until January 1960, when the number rose to 2,046. At the end of 1964 some 2,828 military personnel were assigned to Hill.

This employment came because of the increased importance of the mission which OOAMA began to perform. In 1954 and 1955, Ogden’s responsibilities broadened geographically to their present world-wide scope. In 1956, as an extension of the idea of decentralization, the Air Force Logistics Command assigned prime responsibilities for aircraft, drones, missiles, and engines by manufacturer. Already, Ogden had had responsibility for Northrop Aircraft Incorporated, and to it were added McDonnell Aircraft Corporation, Radioplane Company, Aerojet-General Corporation, Marquardt Aircraft Company, and Reaction Motors, Incorporated. Some aircraft were excluded from the provision, but in general Ogden became responsible for the weapons and engines manufactured by these companies. In 1958 each AMA was assigned as Logistic Support Manager for entire weapon systems, and as new weapons were created, Ogden was given new responsibilities. By 1960 OOAMA was world-wide manager for airmunitions and explosives: the Genie air-to-air rocket, the Bomarc missile, wheels and brakes, landing gears, tires and tubes, training aids and devices, the Minuteman missile, the now defunct Skybolt, the Snark, the F-89, and the F-101. In addition it shared in repair of the F-102 Delta Dagger. When the F-4C entered the Air Force system, that 1,600 mile-per-hour plane was also assigned to Hill. Finally, the base continued to manage the old B-26, since used in Viet Nam as a counter-insurgency weapon.

Ogden continued to improve its maintenance production procedures. Before 1953 Maintenance stripped all mechanisms down to their main sub-assemblies for repair. This was costly and time-consuming. In that

\[\text{Hill Top Times (Hill AFB), August 14, 1964, cites a speech of OOAMA Commander, Major General T. Alan Bennett.}\]
year a new technique called IRAN (Inspect, Repair As Necessary) was adopted and components were not taken apart unless repair was needed. Some customers complained, however, that even with IRAN airplanes were not delivered on schedule. These charges were withdrawn because in 1954, of 593 F-84's and F-89's in production, only six were not returned on time. Nevertheless, in an attempt to improve its service, Ogden sent questionnaires to all commands asking for constructive criticism. A study showed that the basic bottleneck was in the pre-work inspection, and in 1959 Ogden adopted a new production system which it had pioneered on F-101 Voodoos in 1958. The system was called TCTO (Time Compliance Technical Order). This consisted of a specific work package which was negotiated with the using command (customer). Under the system the using command performed its own minor maintenance, leaving the depot free to perform major repair jobs in specified work packages.

OOAMA has had numerous aircraft in production. Its first jet aircraft assignment was Northrop's F-89 Scorpion, for which it had both prime maintenance and supply beginning in January 1953. From then

*The Air Force Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missile stands on its launching pad. The first and third stages of the missile are produced in Utah; the complete missile is assembled at Hill Air Force Base.*
through 1960, Hill Maintenance repaired or modified a total of 1,318 F-89's. OOAMA also had a specialized maintenance and supply effort for Republic's F-84 and Convair's F-102 for which other depots were prime managers. These, incidentally, were big depot workloads: OOAMA employees repaired 860 of the F-84 and 772 different F-102's. Ogden began as prime manager for the F-101 Voodoo in 1952, but its first plane did not come onto OOAMA assembly lines until December 1957. From that time through 1960 Ogden repaired or modified 484 of these aircraft — a major task indeed!

An important development which has helped OOAMA to maintain its importance in the Utah economy has been the addition of missiles to the U.S. weapons' arsenal. Though some research had been done in this area immediately after World War II, it was not until after the Korean War, and especially after September 1955, about two years before Sputnik I, that military missiles received highest national priority. With the development of missiles came also the development of more costly and specialized logistics in which mobility and fast dispersion became prime requisites for success.

AFLC assigned missiles in much the same way as other weapons. During development, the contractor supported the weapon, then as they entered the Air Force operational inventory, an AMA was assigned support for the weapon on a world-wide basis. Until 1957 missile work was a relatively minor part of the OOAMA mission; but between then and 1964, it has taken on extreme importance not only for OOAMA but for the Utah economy. In 1957, for instance, Thiokol Chemical Corporation employed about 75 persons in Utah with a payroll of about $300,000 per year. By the end of 1960, it employed more than 4,000 with a payroll of $22 million. Hercules Powder Company showed a similar development with a 1960 employment of 1,700 and a payroll of $6.2 million.

Some of the missiles have had a very short life. The first successful launch of the SM-62 Snark, an air-breathing, pilotless aircraft, was made in November 1953. OOAMA had responsibility for the support of this missile in 1952, and acted as prime maintenance for its components in succeeding years. Not until November 1957, however, did OOAMA receive its first weapon for depot maintenance, and the government terminated the Snark missile program in June 1961. More sophisticated weapons could do all that the Snark could do, only faster and better. Other even shorter-lived missiles which OOAMA managed included the SM-73 Goose (from June 1957 to December 1958), and the GAM-67 Crossbow.
Ogden Air Materiel Area (from May 1954 to April 1957). In 1959 AFLC assigned the air-launched ballistic missile, GAM-87 Skybolt, to Ogden. This weapon did not score its first full success until December 22, 1962, the day after President John F. Kennedy announced termination of the program and British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan agreed to use the Navy's submarine-launched Polaris missile.

A mainstay of the missile system has been the CIM-10-A and B Bomarc weapon systems. In April 1956 Ogden was named as prime maintenance and supply depot for the Marquardt and Aerojet-General Corporations, which produced the motors: RJ-43 ramjet and LR (liquid rocket)-59, respectively. In 1955 and 1956, the Department of Defense developed a policy of dispersal of defense industries away from the coast, and Marquardt received approval to expand to Ogden. The company constructed a $4.5 million plant in 1957 and 1958, and the Air Force constructed a $14 million test facility for Marquardt at Little Mountain (AF-Marquardt Jet Laboratory), 15 miles west of Ogden. In connection with the Bomarc program, more than 116 Hill AFB personnel had trained by mid-1960 to do specialized missile work.

On January 6, 1959, OOAMA was selected to manage the LGM-30 Minuteman, which, as General T. Alan Bennett, OOAMA Commander, said, is "really the backbone of our missile force for the free world." 10 The AFLC analyzed the capabilities of the various AMA's and came to the conclusion that Ogden combined the best basic equipment and the best

10 Ibid.
talent to produce the decisions needed in connection with this important system. It was also close to the launch sites and the Thiokol and Hercules plants where the first- and third-stage motors were produced, and it stood in the center of the fast-growing Wasatch Front industrial complex.

The Minuteman, with a range of about 6,000 miles, was the first of the second-generation missiles. It is powered by a solid propellant which is much easier to handle and can be launched much faster than liquid-powered rockets. Like the Minuteman of Lexington and Concord, this easily operated weapon stands ready to defend its homeland.

The development of Minuteman has had substantial impact upon Utah. In November 1959, when the Air Force announced a contract with the Thiokol Chemical Corporation to produce the first stage of the weapon, it also announced the approval of the construction of the $26 million Air Force Plant No. 78 adjacent to existing Thiokol facilities, which Thiokol would operate for the Air Force. The Air Force also approved the construction of the $11 million Plant No. 77 located in HAFB’s west area. This new construction, together with about $4 million worth of existing buildings and facilities, comprise the plant from which The Boeing Company rolled out its first Minuteman in April 1962. The Boeing Company was awarded the contract to assemble all three stages — in other words build the Minuteman. In July 1961 construction began on the $15 million Air Force Plant No. 81, located on 500 acres of Hercules Powder Company land, where Hercules would build the third-stage motor. The plant was dedicated July 25, 1962. Aerojet-General Corporation of Sacramento, California, which maintains an office at HAFB, received the contract for the second stage.

Despite the relative superiority of solid fuel propellants, even the Minuteman needs maintenance. Part of the work can be done in the field, but the failure of any component calls for depot level support. Even before the first missile was sent in for recycling in January 1963, OOAMA began conducting tests on the missile. The propellant must be constantly tested and analyzed for both motive and physical characteristics.11 OOAMA’s 2705th Airmunitions Wing operates an Aging Laboratory in which simulated launch-site conditions give missile manufacturers an opportunity to test their products.

Though missiles form the glamour items in OOAMA’s responsibilities, more prosaic missions help to make the command an important link

in the Air Force logistics system. OOAMA is responsible for world-wide management of aircraft tires and tubes; wheels, brakes, and landing gears; training aids and devices; aircraft engines and components; rocket engines and components; ammunition and explosives (except nuclear); biological-chemical warfare weapons used by the Air Force - to name some of the major ones. It is responsible also for the OQ-19 Target Drone and its components; the MER-6A-Program 279 (Mobile Electronics Rocket); Blue Scout (Standard Launch Vehicle-1) Space Booster; Titan III-C Space Booster; 494L Emergency Rocket Communications System.

In the commodity management field, OOAMA has made some notable successes. In January 1962 two technicians, Verl Graser and Jack L. Woods, worked out a system to extend the life of an airplane landing gear three times the original expectancy.\(^{12}\) OOAMA procures, stores, and distributes 248 different types of tires to about 400 bases. These tires must stand punishment for which no automobile tire is designed. The tire for the F-104, though almost the same size as those used on some compact cars, must be rated at 13,000 pounds, whereas the compact tire must be rated at only 835 pounds.\(^{13}\)

Up to 1955 the USAF had no ammunition facilities. Air Force military units performing ammunitions work were assigned to Army posts, such as Tooele Army Depot and Pueblo Ordnance Depot. On April 1, 1955, the Ogden Arsenal facility was transferred to the Air Force jurisdiction. The facility was worth in excess of $17 million. Its highway and railroad facilities, its warehouses and ammunition igloos, made it possible for OOAMA to be assigned management of all Air Force airmunitions (except nuclear). Ogden was given control over airmunitions programs in the United States and, upon request, to any Military Assistance Program country or Department of Defense agency. With the adoption of uniform supply classes (Federal Catalog Conversion Program) for all services commencing in 1955, Ogden, owing to its airmunitions capabilities, received an expanded mission. In 1960 OOAMA's complete airmunitions-explosive ordnance disposal mission was reorganized into the 2705th Airmunitions Wing, and Ogden was given world-wide management responsibilities for airmunitions (except nuclear). Detachments responsible to the Ogden headquarters were established from Maryland to Japan. By July 1, 1960, the Wing employed 175 civilians and 501 military personnel.

\(^{12}\) *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), January 2, 1962.
\(^{13}\) Colonel Elmer G. Prohaska, "Aircraft Tire Management," *Air University Review*, XV (November-December, 1963), 81, 84.
OOAMA AND TENANT-ASSIGNED PERSONNEL STRENGTH, PAYROLL, AND OPERATING EXPENSES, 1941–1964


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* Estimated; figures not available before 1950. 
† Fiscal Year. 
‡ Estimated.
In May 1954 the AFLC began an intensive program of adapting electronic data-processing to its logistic system. The Korean War had demonstrated that logistics had not kept pace with new supersonic and nuclear developments. With the application of data-processing, supplies could be requisitioned from thousands of miles away merely by pushing buttons. As early as November 1955, OOAMA began service testing, as AMC’s pilot depot, a program for mechanization of civilian payroll with the IBM 650 computer. Since that time OOAMA’s computer facilities have increased greatly. The IBM 705 computer, which automatically ordered items and set up stock replacement action, was adopted in 1958.

On April 24, 1962, OOAMA received an IBM 7080 computer which replaced two IBM 705II’s and was capable of doing the work of three of them. Since that time the 7080 has been one of the major computers in use at the installation. In 1963 the command installed an RCA 9200 magnetic tape terminal (Autodin — Automatic Digital Network) which was capable of transmitting and receiving 10,000 requisitions daily. When a decision of the Federal Trade Commission made it possible for OOAMA to purchase rather than rent much of its computer equipment, the command purchased, in January 1964, two RCA 301 computers, four IBM 1401 computers, and one IBM 7080 computer, at a total cost of $4.3 million. In addition, OOAMA rents 144 pieces of Punch Card Accounting equipment, an IBM 650 Tape Computer, an RCA 301 Computer, and an NCR Computer.

The increased activity since the Korean War has necessitated increased construction. In 1958 two construction projects totaling $6 million — a Paint and Cleaning Hangar and a warehouse — were authorized.14 In May 1961 a Radar Approach Control Center was completed to direct military aircraft and aid private and commercial planes. In 1961 and 1962 a new space age Air Freight Terminal was constructed at a cost of $973,555.

Some of these construction projects might have taken place in the normal growth of the base, but the really expensive construction has been in connection with the missile missions. Special facilities were necessary for the Minuteman recycle and maintenance facility at the installation. Some buildings and structures had to contain earth barricades, blowout panels, explosion-proof equipment and fixtures, and other specialized equipment. The contract for the initial facility went for $2.3 million. Clean Rooms, which are kept 99.95 percent dust-free of particles larger

than 12 millionth of an inch, cost $300,000 each to build and between $2 and $3 million to equip. (Four of these are in operation.) A contract in March 1963 for four buildings plus igloos and other facilities cost $1.2 million. Two Radiographic Laboratories with 24-million Electron Volt Linear Accelerator X-Ray machines were installed to detect flaws in solid propellant fuel. These 24-million Electron Volt Linear Accelerators are the world's most powerful industrial production-line x-ray machines.

Outside of the plants constructed by the Air Force for operation by the private missiles companies, the most unique and with the greatest potential is the Hill Air Force Range, dedicated July 31, 1964. It is located about 50 miles west of Hill Air Force Base near Lakeside, Utah. At the installation is OOAMA's third Radiographic Laboratory with its 24-million Electron Volt Linear Accelerator. In addition, there are vertical and horizontal missile and airmunitions, explosive and other missile test facilities and equipment. At a touch of a switch, a missile at this $7.5 million facility (near $10 million when fully instrumented) can be subjected to conditions simulating extreme heat or extreme cold, extreme wetness or extreme dryness, below sea level conditions or conditions encountered at an altitude of 20 miles, and pressure ranging from zero to 120 times the force of gravity.

With the development of space-age technology came the need for highly skilled management. To drop the cost of property accounting, management developed techniques so mechanics could take carts down aisles to select items they need just as their wives shop at the neighborhood supermarket. In 1954 OOAMA began an integrated program of work measurement. Within a year after August 1954, labor standards had been calculated and attempts were made to upgrade work standards and

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16 Hill Top Times, August 14, 1964.

An Hill Air Force Base mechanic checks out the wiring on an F-101 Voodoo jet aircraft. Overhaul and modifications of the supersonic interceptor is one of many space-age missions assigned to the base.
efficiency. In 1958 the base set up an electronic system to develop and analyze labor skills. Everything known about the capabilities of each employee is kept on file so that when new positions open, it is possible, in theory at least, to find the best employee for the job. The system was so successful that in September 1960 it was adopted throughout the Air Force.

In addition to these functions, OOAMA and its tenants have performed numerous special services since the Korean War. C-124 Globemasters from Hill Air Force Base participated in Operation Big Lift, the largest troop movement of its kind, in which 16,000 men were carried from Texas to Germany in 72 hours. After the Alaskan earthquake in March 1964, similar aircraft from Hill AFB shipped water purification units and other material to Alaska to aid in earthquake relief. On November 26, 1962, the Air Force activated, as a detached installation, the Vernal AF Seismological Site for research into the detection of distant underground nuclear weapons tests. This $500,000 unit, located about 12 miles southwest of Vernal, was placed under Hill AFB jurisdictional accountability. In mid-June 1963, the Air Force opened the Green River, Utah, Athena Missile Launch Site for which OOAMA's 2705th Airmunitions Wing provides support by storing motors (42 by June 1964) at Hill AFB until the missiles are ready to launch to the White Sands Missile Range, New Mexico. Two such launches in February and May 1964 (of about 70 planned) were not fully successful.

The influx of personnel, particularly military personnel, necessitated the construction of additional military family housing. Unlike the earlier Wherry Housing units, these were split-level, ranch-style duplex and single-unit houses, located on the southwest perimeter of the base. The Ogden Chamber of Commerce, through the First Security and Commercial Security banks, purchased the proposed site in Clearfield to preclude the possibility of land speculation. Construction began on the first 300 units in March 1962, and on an additional 200 units in April 1963. The total cost was $7.7 million. Occupancy of the 300-unit project began August 1, 1963; for the 200-unit, by May 1964.

**The Future**

In 1965 the Ogden Air Materiel Area remains a well-established command. Unless the presently clouded world situation should change appreciably in the next few years, the people of Utah can look for more,
rather than less, emphasis on missiles and supersonic aircraft — areas in which the installation has excelled. This is the assessment of Major General T. Alan Bennett. As he said to the employees: “Regardless of how well we do our work, how much more productive we become individually and collectively, we will not run out of work. There is too much to be done and too little time to do it.” Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara underscored this assessment on November 19, 1964, when he announced that an expansion was planned at OOAMA which would add an estimated 5,500 jobs over the three fiscal years 1966 through 1969. OOAMA will benefit by the phasing-out of certain operations at San Bernardino, California AMA; Mobile, Alabama AMA; and Middletown, Pennsylvania AMA. To Ogden’s workload will be added management and repair of the Atlas and Titan ICBM’s; management of space boosters, the Bull Pup air-to-surface missile, and photographic equipment; and repair of navigational and flight instruments and accompanying equipment for the


The Minuteman missile being loaded aboard a C-133 B Cargomaster at Hill Air Force Base for shipment to a missile launching site.
RF-101 aircraft. The addition of these employees should send OOAMA employment to approximately 20,000.\(^{19}\)

In 1963 OOAMA spent more than $126 million in Utah, including $96 million in payroll, $3.5 million in local purchases, $3 million for transportation, $3.5 million in local contracts, $15 million for construction, and $5 million for utilities, rental, communications, and printing.\(^{20}\) On August 14, 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed a civilian pay raise bill, and one for military personnel the following month, which added more than $2 million to the yearly payroll, raising it to more than $101 million for 1964. Despite the recent emphasis on economy in the Department of Defense, the payroll of OOAMA has actually increased rather than declined.

As a defense industry, OOAMA is exempt from seasonal influences, fluctuations in the general level of business activity, and strikes and lockouts. Barring unforeseen events, it will be able to plan much of its own future through its management of entire weapon systems and its worldwide responsibility for such items as airmunitions and landing gear. There has been a great amount of pressure on the government to contract missile and other critical maintenance to private businesses, but the fact that government commands, such as OOAMA at Hill AFB, are not subject to strikes and lockouts makes them attractive. In addition the wages of industrial employees at the installation, through the Wage Board system, are based on the average of similar occupations in the base area. They remain, therefore, at approximately the same level as plants which may occasionally experience strikes, though some union representatives look upon this as a “free ride” on the part of government workers.

There are several reasons for Utah’s important position in the missile industry today. It is far enough inland to satisfy the need for dispersal of defense industry, yet close enough to missile complexes for easy transportation and communications. Land is relatively cheap, abundant, and far enough from population centers to permit production and testing of explosive rocket fuels, yet near enough to provide easy access. Local labor is highly educated and adaptable; the climate and cultural environment are attractive enough to lure outside labor; and transportation facilities are readily available. With such advantages, OOAMA’s mission is destined to continue its amazing growth. Utah will almost certainly continue to enjoy the fruits of this billion-dollar business.

\(^{19}\) *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 20, 1964; and television interview with Major General T. Alan Bennett of November 19, 1964.

Fence Ruin, a small Pueblo III habitation on a ledge in the wall of Moqui Canyon. The structures are situated in the center of the photograph, above the man who is descending into the canyon by a rope.
Since 1957 the University of Utah has been engaged in a massive operation to salvage scientific data from areas to be inundated by several large reservoirs. The endeavor began with rather specific objectives to be carried out more or less separately by several disciplines. Through the years, objectives were expanded on the basis of recovered data and the several disciplines became drawn together toward a common objective. This report is an attempt to relate the growth of the Project, from beginning to end.

Enabling legislation (Federal Public Law 485), passed by the 2nd Session of the 85th Congress, initiated construction of several storage basins in the Upper Colorado River drainage. The proposed reservoirs were to lie in Arizona and Utah (Glen Canyon Reservoir), Utah and Wyoming (Flaming Gorge Reservoir), New Mexico (Navajo Reservoir), and Colorado (Curecanti Reservoir). By far the most ambitious of these undertakings was the Glen Canyon. The Glen Canyon Dam lies in Arizona, but behind it, Lake Powell, with a projected shore line of 1,800 miles, lies primarily in Utah.

By the terms of the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (providing for the preservation of historic sites, buildings, objects, and antiquities of national...
significance), funds were provided to the National Park Service to be let on contract to qualified scientific organizations. The University of Utah Department of Anthropology began contracts with the National Park Service in 1957. Subsequently, several University departments were conducting research under these monies.

Thus began the largest, most intensive and comprehensive scientific salvage operation in the United States. Magnitude and intensity of the Project may well be dwarfed one day — we would be disappointed otherwise. But the comprehensive, multi-discipline approach, which is the subject of this discourse, will surely remain a hallmark in the history of scientific salvage endeavor. It could hardly be otherwise simply because nowhere else in the United States is so little known about so many things in so large an area.

To relate the development of the multi-disciplinary approach in its correct sequence imparts an impression that it, like Topsy, just grew. This is not the case. The following discursive account results from the diverse materials presented and an intentional emphasis upon this same diversity. The object here is to describe the job, not summarize it. An attempt to isolate the central theme which supplies a context and establishes some sort of order is relegated to the closing paragraphs.

The full and proper name of the “Project” is Upper Colorado River Basin Archeological Salvage Project. The Project includes all reservoirs of the Upper Colorado River drainage but, in fact, has been concerned chiefly with the Glen Canyon. The aim of the entire Project was to salvage no less than a representative sample of all scientific data thrown into jeopardy by the eventual formation of lakes behind the dams. The enterprise was begun in high romantic hope in an ecstatic state of expectation of adventure — a state of mind soon transmuted to a less emotional, but no less satisfying, recognition of the scholar’s task of collecting, ordering, and describing an enormous body of new data even though no earth-shattering “firsts” were in prospect.

There was considerable favorable and helpful publicity about the Project in its early years. Anyone literate could hardly help being at least

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1 Financial support of the Upper Colorado River Basin Archeological Survey Project was provided through annual contracts with the National Park Service. We are particularly indebted to Charlie R. Steen, the Park Service representative during the life of the Project, whose cooperation and vision made the entire agreement pleasant, easy, and friendly. Less frequently, but no less pleasantly, we have dealt with John M. Corbett and Erik K. Reed, also of the National Park Service. Financial support for studies ancillary to the Project was provided by the National Science Foundation, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, The University of Utah Research Fund, and the American Philosophical Society. To the above and to the Project staff, other scientists and students — too numerous to mention by name — who have been involved in the Project, we extend our thanks.
vaguely aware that work was in progress. Soon, more and more of the University of Utah faculty became intimately aware of the Project as they were invited to participate, but the more general publicity waned. Published recognition of the work has, of late, been restricted to professional journals and series. So, even though the work of the Project has not been kept continuously in the public eye, except through lectures and programs, it has stayed on schedule and is now, save for several special reports, regarded as complete.

As the Project unfolded and the romance dwindled, the findings increased and in turn created problems, or more properly, questions. And it is pleasing to report that many more findings have resulted or have accrued from the original Project aims than were anticipated in the early stages. These secondary increments to knowledge do not show serendipity so much as they show a need for specialized data after routine study and interpretation of findings seemed to be incomplete or were hampered because the significance of some observations were not understood. Anthropologists, biologists, geologists, and historians who had each gone their separate ways in the beginning began to find themselves lumped as strange bedfellows: to understand their own material well it was essential to understand that of the others.

A word about the basic aims of the Project is necessary before touching on the results. With the complete agreement of the National Park Service representatives, it has been possible to include virtually all relevant aspects of science in the salvage operation. The very first contract called for attention to archeology, biology or ecology, geology and paleontology, and recent — i.e., non-Indian or white — history. Also, at all times the geographical area of concern was defined as the general region rather than being restricted to just those lands lying lower than the projected full-pool limits of the lake. (Contracts of comparable nature have been held by the Museum of Northern Arizona for a segment of the Glen Canyon region.) Such broad subject and geographic coverage has never been included in a contract of this kind prior to the Glen Canyon operation, nor is it anticipated that similar contract coverage will become standard with the National Park Service. Within a couple of years, the contract language extended coverage to sociohistorical studies of dispossessed communities and to the problem of the ethnohistory of the Southern Paiute who once roamed the land of southern Utah.

Although the annual contracts have been generous, it has been necessary to solicit other funds for special jobs — jobs beyond the legal limits of
what might properly be called "salvage," such as studies of related museum collections, etc.

As happens in any intensive study of any large unknown area, the Project permitted us to learn new things. But in a sense we knew more when we started than we do now — meaning that our predictions were more grandiose than our discoveries.

In the case of prehistory (archaeology) the "learning" amounted to a restriction of our ideas. Bear in mind that by 1959, there had been approximately 52 scientific or pseudo-scientific excursions (beginning with that of John Wesley Powell in 1869) into the Glen Canyon region.² Most


Doll Ruin, in Moqui Canyon. The excavation crew is shown digging an exploratory trench toward the alcove in which several storage and dwelling structures are located.
The Glen Canyon had simply floated from Hite, Utah, to Lee's Ferry, Arizona. Few journeyed into the hinterlands, and even fewer recorded their observations.

The Glen Canyon is surrounded by extensive, large ruins, such as those centering around Kayenta, Arizona; Mesa Verde, Colorado; and Hovenweep, Utah-Colorado. Hence, there was no reason to assume that similar—or even larger—sites might not also occur in the hidden recesses of the tributaries to the Glen Canyon. This was the “high romantic hope” that failed to materialize. This was soon followed by astonishment that anyone could and had lived in this hostile country. Once the grandiose notions were dispelled, the era of prehistoric use revealed no surprises except that it is now seen to have been of shallower time depth (A.D. 300-1250) than expected, and fits our general knowledge of later Southwest prehistory quite conformably. This is to say that the major occupancy of the region was by the Anasazi or northern Pueblo culture. As would be expected from the location of Glen Canyon, the Kayenta, Mesa Verde, and Fremont subcultures of Anasazi are all represented there. All these Anasazi variants are characterized by horticulture—corn, beans, and squash being the staples, and by great ingenuity in utilizing wild species. Masonry architecture and pit houses, extensive development of ceramic and textile crafts, and a highly developed religious ritual are also common attributes of these subcultures. All the evidence points to a simple social organization, with no system of permanent political control and no interest in warfare or other aggression.

Anthropologists have divided the Anasazi into several time periods—Formative, Early Development, Full Developmental, and Classic—on the basis of the cultural increment sequences at centers such as Mesa Verde. In the Glen Canyon the Formative Stage (Basketmaker III, ending ca. A.D. 500-600) was poorly represented and was followed by an even more poorly represented Early Developmental Stage (Pueblo I, A.D. 700-900). But during the Full Developmental Stage (Pueblo II—early Pueblo III, ca. A.D. 900-1200) there was an extensive migration into and occupation of the Glen Canyon area by Anasazi coming in from the east, south, and north: the Mesa Verde, Kayenta, and Fremont subcultures, respectively. There was little or no evidence of full Classic Anasazi. Thus, use of the canyonlands coincides with the period of greatest Pueblo expansion, and its abandonment seems to parallel the abandonment of other peripheral areas. We have come to think that the Pueblo expansion was

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a function of improved climate, possibly in combination with new drought-resistant strains of corn (and beans) and the basic scrounging skills of the people. Their genius may have lain simply in high exploitive talents.

After abandonment of Glen Canyon by the Anasazi, the Navajo and Paiute drifted into the area but for several reasons were never as numerous as the Anasazi horticulturalists had been. The prehistoric human use of the Glen Canyon area can be summarized thus:

- Paiute: 1400 to 1910± (minimal representation)
- Hopi: 1500 to 1700± (minimal representation)
- Developmental Anasazi: ? to 650± to 1250 (maximal Glen Canyon occupancy)
- Formative Anasazi: ? A.D. to 650± (minimal representation)

In history the expected data were recovered but in greater than expected quantity. The Glen Canyon particularly is revealed as having been the scene of exploration and exploitation activities, not greatly different from the story of any other major western stream. The cycle is the familiar one of exploration — in this case begun in 1869 by the famous John Wesley Powell — followed by extensive, though abortive, gold and coal mining ventures. One company (Robert Stanton) even surveyed the gorge as a potential railway passage to the west but this idea was soon abandoned. After the excitement of the gold search abated shortly after the turn of the twentieth century, the entire region was “rediscovered” by a swarm of explorers and adventurers: romantics who learned and reported the natural wonders of the area. The legendary Dean Cummings, of the University of Utah, stands out in this group. By 1900 the Mormon settlements in southern Utah were well-established; concurrent with the ill-fated mining operations and romantic explorations, their cattle were grazing the canyons and plateaus.

Biological researchers had relatively full knowledge of the plant inventory of the canyonlands adjacent to the Glen Canyon. On this basis they were able to anticipate the range of plants and animals of the reservoir area. Hence, no great surprises were in store for the researchers; although vastly extended collections were possible, and the distribution patterns and ecological boundaries were thoroughly and newly worked out.

This summary of the simple, standardized process of accumulation of data fails to convey the more pleasing aspects of investigation and discovery. Regardless of the dimensions of the discovery, finding any “first”

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4 C. Gregory Crampton and Dwight L. Smith, The Hoskaninni Papers, Mining in Glen Canyon, 1897–1902: University of Utah Anthropological Papers Number 54, Glen Canyon Series Number 15 (Salt Lake City, 1961).
A masonry-walled reservoir at Creeping Dune site. The double wall is approximately five feet thick and stands five to six feet in height above the clay floor. The perforated-slab metering device on the floor at the far end of the reservoir covers a tunnel that leads to an irrigation ditch.

carries with it sufficient reward. Archeological "firsts" were perhaps most numerous for a variety of reasons, the most important being that archeological investigation was most extensive. Several of these warrant mention.

An aboriginal water storage system involving a double-wall masonry storage structure, water metering device, and irrigation ditches is unique and unparalleled in the Southwest. Another phenomenon not known from the archeological literature is the "cactus bake," a practice resembling the "clam bakes" of the East, but seen in Glen Canyon at Benchmark Cave where shallow hearths revealed the baking of succulent young cactus pads over a smothered, hotburning brush fire. This location was interesting, too, in suggesting heavy transient use, but little permanent settlement, of the Glen Canyon proper.

In architecture the research yielded little that was new. Perhaps the double-walled dam at Creeping Dune and the metering device would

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6 The co-author, Floyd Sharrock, has a manuscript in preparation titled "1962 Excavations, Glen Canyon Area."
qualify, but these tend to be engineering or agricultural achievements. The discovery of stairs or steps at a site in Slickrock Canyon, rarely reported, is of interest, as was a house "insulated" by grass placed in the crevice between a double-masonry wall. Within the normal "expected" architectural range all conceivable variations of the masonry hut and the semi-subterranean pit house were encountered. The latter were discovered to span the Formative-Classic stages, refuting prior belief that the pit house was replaced as a dwelling type by above-ground masonry pueblos.

Out of the accumulating data, new problems, interests, and special studies evolved. One of the most interesting results of the Project was the interest taken in it by local artists. Many of the artifacts recovered were exquisite art forms, attractive by almost any set of criteria. Especially noteworthy are the clean, elegant formal properties of the clay pots and wooden objects. By some artists the pictographs and figurines, both of unknown function, have been called the most exciting art forms in North America. Although they are well-decorated and beautiful examples of craftsmanship, most of these objects — even the petroglyphs and pictographs — ought, perhaps, to be thought of as being utilitarian objects with art treatment a secondary consideration. There is no strong evidence that the self-conscious concept of art for art’s sake existed among these prehistoric people, unless the placing of new or little used decorated vessels in graves is evidence of this. Even then the primary function of including the specimen would have been toward religious, magical, or some other end, rather than art alone. This statement is not to deny the aborigines an esthetic awareness, far from it. It is merely to remind that in these simpler cultures the artist and the craftsman were combined in one person, and that each object created usually had a cultural purpose beyond the sheer expression of an individual esthetic drive.

Outgrowths of the original biological study were numerous. One, of general nature, was an evapo-transpiration study done by Angus M. Woodbury and his associates. This study involved the identification and mapping of the varying vegetation in each reservoir prior to inundation, in order to estimate the total annual water losses through transpiration under what might be called "normal" or original conditions. This special study was done because the annual loss of usable water from vegetative breathing is, in some cases, greater than the actual evaporation loss from

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7 The Salt Lake Art Center devoted its "Show of the Year" in January 1964 to the material culture from Glen Canyon.
the surface of a lake or reservoir. The net gain or loss in water is of extreme importance to dam builders. This evaporation study was among the first to be applied to an entire reservoir pool. However, the techniques and formulae involved were well-known and had been tested.

Again in the field of biology, there is the work in plant identification by Seville Flowers and Walter Cottam, by means of stem cross- and longitudinal-sections. This is an old skill — of a practical nature — practiced more by forest products men than academic types. The species usually thus studied, and readily recognized, tend to be of commercial tree and shrub species. Here the concern was with lowlier and "useless" species, common to the area. From these identifications of the materials used in hoes, sandals, baskets, and houses came considerable new knowledge as to the astonishing range of aboriginal exploitation of the indigenous flora.

In one area of biology, contributions to knowledge were unexpectedly absent. Of the hundreds of pieces of wood — roof-beams and charcoal from burned structures — collected and studied, not one yielded to dendrochronological counting. All submitted archeological specimens were non-datable species — willow, cottonwood, juniper, etc. — the only locally available trees. However, cross-sections from several very old, living trees were donated to the Arizona Dendrochronology Laboratory. Ironically, these proved helpful in interpreting some prehistoric tree rings to the south of the area studied but were useless to us, except as the southern results can be extrapolated to our own area.

A less routine biological special study\(^9\) was an analysis of pollen found in human feces which revealed unsuspected details of diet. For example, squash, beeweed, and cactus pollen, as well as that from maize, are dominant in human excreta recovered from Lake and Moqui canyon sites, as well as from Benchmark Cave. Use of squash blossoms and beeweed as greens or salad and other unusual foods is well-attested by ethnology. All these foods are known to have been eaten by historic Pueblo peoples — the Hopi, Zuni, Sia — but now it is known that they were well-known articles of diet as early as A.D. 1200. Heavy pollen counts of squash and corn were not unexpected because squash flowers were a great delicacy, whereas corn pollen was considered to have medicinal properties. Moreover pollen is abundant on tender corn leaves which were often chewed. The unexpected high counts, in all specimens, of \textit{Cleome} (Rocky Mountain beeweed) leads to an inference that beeweed was actually a crop and should perhaps be added to corn, beans, and squash as one of the normal

cultigens. Actually, there perhaps is no need to plant beeweed. This hardy plant appears as a volunteer wherever the soil is disturbed. It could scarcely be prevented from growing in fields, and the Indians probably let the plants come among the corn and squash and then tended them. Apparently, too, cottonwood catkins were regularly eaten in season—again presumably as greens.

Before leaving the subject of cultivated plants, mention should be made of the hundreds of specimens which provided data bearing on the distribution and age of prehistoric races of corn and cucurbits. These have been studied by Hugh Cutler, director of the Missouri Botanical Gardens, but not yet reported. Evidently Fremont Dent corn is the most common corn variety in the area. It is an eight-rowed, flour corn most closely related to corn from northern Mexico but not found between Mexico and Utah. Its origin is obscure and its route to Utah unknown. The story of maize seems to be very complex—being concerned with hybridization, genetics, archeological stratigraphy, etc., but Cutler thinks he has at least refined the problem. He also thinks that it may well prove impossible ever to read the evidence well enough to tell the full genetic history of corn and the many varieties that exist. This is because corn appears to have derived from countless and repeated hybrid crossings of three grasses—Tripsacum, Teosinte, and Maize—over a period of 7,000 years.

In addition to the pollen studies, archeological research led to an interesting collaboration with soil scientists and botanists. This study resulted from an interesting introspective incident.

Director Hugh Cutler supplied this information in a personal communication with the authors.

Adult skeletal remains (approximately A.D. 1150) typical of those uncovered in Glen Canyon excavations.
While excavating a large site in Slickrock Canyon, we noticed an odd and apparently exclusive distribution of two species of sage, but noted it merely as odd. Months later, mulling the matter, we wondered if the two distributions were related to soil resources; could the aboriginal field outlines still be preserved in these modern vegetation patterns? On a second visit careful vegetation maps were made, and extensive tests of the soil were run. The results to date are inconclusive, but we still think the hunch was good. Soils supporting *Artemesia filifolia* (old man sage) and prickly pear cactus are slightly different in chemical content, but differences are not such as to constitute proof.

In ethnology major contributions have been made by the Project. One of these was a one-year full-time study of the Southern Paiute by Robert C. Euler. The anticipated published account will include material from several years’ previous research on the Paiute by Euler. An equally important contribution is the “discovery” or recovery of the manuscript of a famous Southern Paiute ethnography done by Isabel Kelly over 30 years ago with many informants now dead. This work is a recent Project-sponsored publication. Thus, through the Project effort to learn the full human history of the Glen Canyon area, two highly valuable additions have been made to the long neglected study of Great Basin ethnology.

Some interesting observations have come from microgeology. In two canyons, Lake and Moqui, the archeological record seemed to be combined, or confused, with the record of geological process. For example, the Red Ant Kiva site in Moqui was buried under 20 feet of sediment, and it seemed to have been built and rebuilt while the sediment continued to accumulate. Two others, Dead Tree and Lyman flats, appeared to have been established beside a swamp or bog, and finally to have been abandoned because of a rise in the valley floor with an accompanying extension of the bog limits. The depth of these deposits and the short time span implied by the archeology allow us to guess that this late sedimentation occurred very rapidly. Then, using interpretations based on pollen samples taken nearby, we can suggest that the increased deposition of soil may result from local environmental change as simple as an emphasis shift from gentle winter rain to the torrential showers of summer. Summer storms

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bring flood sediment and gullying; this would quickly lead to abandonment of these settlements by the aborigines because the fields would be ruined. This explanation, of course, runs contrary to stereotyped explanations of the causes of Anasazi abandonment of the Four Corners area, an event which is most often blamed on local drought. It is, nonetheless, true that tree-rings are small for a few years after A.D. 1275, but tree-ring growth measures winter moisture. Hence, neither the too-wet nor the too-dry theory can be proved or disproved.

Another advance in microgeology also concerns sediment. John T. Hack, a well-known geologist working in northeastern Arizona, has recognized two recent periods of sedimentation in the canyons of the Southwest. One sediment layer, called the Tsegi, was laid down between approximately 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1100–1300. Then, after an erosional period, another formation or layer, the Naha, was laid down sometime after 1300. Maurice E. Cooley, in a 1958 study of the entire Glen Canyon area, thought he recognized these two sediment bodies in Lake Canyon. In 1962, however, John F. Lance, of the University of Arizona Geology Department, made a more detailed study of the entire Lake and Moqui canyon drainage systems, after the archeology had been done and was more or less understood. Lance did not find either the erosional break or the presence of the Naha; moreover, he had chronological control over the Tsegi available because of the archeological materials buried in the upper sediment.

The fact is that Cooley either misread Hack’s original findings or interpreted them too rigidly because in some areas, such as Jeddito Wash, Pueblo ruins occur in the Tsegi, as is true in Lake Canyon. What Project research showed, then, is that Cooley may have been mistaken as to the presence of the Naha sediments. It would seem that the local environment of Lake Canyon did not result in extensive local erosion after 1300 A.D. — hence, no Naha sediment. We can now postulate a more or less stable prehistoric climatic rainfall pattern boundary lying somewhere between Lake Canyon and Jeddito Wash, a distance of 100 miles, because the sediment pattern is markedly different. The importance of Lance’s work would seem to be that it provides more evidence to add to that already at hand,

A kiva (ceremonial chamber) at the Steer Palace site in Castle Wash. The excavation cut at the right reveals the maximum depth dug by the Indians, which was then floored with prepared clay. The piles of stones forming pillars around the bench supported a ground-level roof.

That the Arizona-Utah line is about where the effect of the Mexican monsoons usually stop. If this is true, attempts to explain Utah geological phenomena with central or even northern Arizona findings will continue to be misleading.

In the sociohistorical field perhaps one of the most interesting undertakings was an extensive study of portions of Daggett County affected by the Flaming Gorge Reservoir. The results of the study were an informative and fascinating combined sociological and historical study, but publication of the findings would be inappropriate since many of the people are still alive. The community was seen to have derived almost entirely from discontended men, essentially cut-off from Utah until very recently by the lack of roads in the Uinta Range. Isolation, and a certain vestigial Old West self-sufficiency rooted in direct action, kept the community
pretty well out of the mainstream of Utah progress. Into this self-sufficient, sometimes brutal, stability, the new community of Dutch John and the creation of Flaming Gorge Dam, both imposed by federal agency, burst with shattering impact. At the polls, at school, in civic affairs, and in buying power, the newcomers who were building the dam dominated the community. The long lake created by Flaming Gorge Dam has actually divided the original Daggett County country physically; the same lake drowned the richest lands and drove many families from old ancestral homes. The frustration, tension, and friction that developed over this situation can scarcely be imagined. These can perhaps one day be ameliorated, but the remembered hardships will keep bitterness long alive. Most of the Daggett County folk did not leave the area, but found new homes on less desirable lands and will continue to resent the social and political tension changes caused by the construction. A report on social behavior under extreme stresses of deprivation has emerged from this study.

A host of lesser, but no less important, ancillary studies and analyses has also resulted from the Project. We can only mention the cooperation received from chemists in helping through spectroscopy to determine the ingredients of prehistoric paints; the searching for correlations in our data done by the computer center; the yeoman assistance of the Biology Department of the University of Utah in identification of mammal bones; the work of Lyndon Hargrave, of the National Park Service, and William Behle, of the University of Utah, in bird bone and feather identification; and mineral identifications by Norm Williams, of the University of Utah.

Although biological, geological, historical, ecological, and anthropological researches have been considered separately and as separate contributions to knowledge, the core of the study is seen as anthropology. We have called on mammalogists, botanists, ornithologists, and pollen experts in the effort to understand subsistence and diet. The findings of ethno­botanists and ethnohistorians are merely extensions deep into time, but we have thus welded more firmly together two sets of anthropological data — data from the living and dead cultures. Geologists have studied micro­geological situations to help us interpret time lapse and localized climate and weather conditions. Soil scientists have investigated a hunch about prehistoric agriculture. Chemists have aided in detection of paint pigment sources and in establishing the genuineness of some pictographs. Computers have helped us arrive at a host of correlations we could never have taken time to learn without electronic help.

One thing to remember is that most of these specialist researchers have worked on problems set for them by other problems. The extent to
Implements of the prehistoric Puebloans. At the top are sickles, which were used in seed gathering. Below are digging sticks, the tips of which were bound to wooden handles. The tools were manufactured from mountain sheep horns.

Sandles from the Glen Canyon. Such footgear was made from yucca leaves with the rough ends turned under to create padded soles.
which their findings have sharpened our perceptions is obvious. We assume that the invoking of so wide a spectrum of skills has been equally fruitful for each of the collaborators.

In all areas the publication record is particularly pleasing. Exclusive of several special articles, 4,978 pages have already been published. These are divided as follows: archeology 2,627, history 741, biology/ecology 1,610. Manuscript on hand in sociohistory and pollen studies, totals 150 pages. There are about eight overdue reports in progress, or in prospect, in history, archeology, ethnobotany, and ethnohistory. These will add approximately 1,500 or more pages to the printed total. Several doctoral dissertations are being derived as well.

It is now apparent that the subtitle of this paper “A Multi-Discipline Project” has two separate meanings in connection with the Project. In the beginning phases of the study, “multi-discipline” meant broad salvage coverage of the several fields first mentioned — biology, geology, anthropology, history. Then as research continued and the aid of specialists was solicited, the “multi-discipline” aspect shifted and became the focusing on special segments from a wide spectrum of knowledge into a single beam to illume better the behavior of men. Either of these uses of “multi-discipline” is legitimate but it seems proper to make their distinctive natures explicit.

Little emphasis has been placed on archeology as such here because the intent was to emphasize the full range of Project research and achievement without dwelling unduly on any one aspect of it. Prehistory has been taken for granted in order to highlight the ancillary developments because these latter have so greatly increased our understanding. Although Project operation has provided raw data for biologists and ecologists, ethnobotanists, ethnohistorians, historians, geologists, climatologists, chemists, and computer specialists, the focus has never wavered from human behavior — the anthropologist’s first and only goal. In view of the number of non-anthropologists who have contributed to the study of the Glen Canyon, many may ask the legitimate question, “so what did the anthropologists contribute?” They provided the problem: the study of man.
Rescue of a Frontier Boy

BY NEWELL HART

Reuban Van Orman, a survivor of an 1860 massacre along the Snake River, was forcibly retrieved from the Shoshones and Bannocks in Cache Valley, Utah, in 1862. But the boy, aged about 10, apparently did not appreciate the combined strategy of settlers, a traveler, a detachment of cavalry troops, and a determined uncle who spent thousands of dollars to track him down.

To young Reuban the rescue merely disrupted two years of wandering with Chief Bear Hunter’s tribe. The dramatic Cache Valley rescue took place shortly after the founding of Camp Douglas, in Salt Lake Valley, Utah, just before the creation of Idaho Territory. To the residents of Cache Valley, the event meant the threat of a bloody Indian war following the departure of the troops. To Colonel Patrick E. Connor’s California Volunteers, from the month-old Camp Douglas, the rescue was a necessary preliminary to their calculated military attack on Bear Hunter’s band. This was the historic fight at Bear River, which followed a few weeks later.

To Reuban’s uncle, Zachias Van Orman, it was a personal matter. That cold November day of 1862 would have been a happy but frustrating climax to his long and costly search. Uncle Zachias, a dark-eyed, black-haired six-footer from the mining camps of Oregon, gives this grisly background of how the boy was lost.

My brother was emigrating to Oregon in 1860 and was massacred by the Indians. he lost in money and property about 6000 dollars and 4 of his children taken captive 3 girls one boy the girls died of starvation in

Mr. Hart, a resident of Berkeley, California, is a free-lance writer. The story of the rescue of the white boy held captive by the Indians is a by-product of his studies on the Battle of Bear River.
the goos creek Mountains near Snake River the Boy was Rescued by Major McGary in Chast Valley 100 miles north of Salt Lake and I was trying my best to rescue them all the time and government helped on all and evry occasion I spent too years and over $5000 dollars and I think the government would grant me an Indemnity . . . .

Other sources supply the tragic facts of the Salmon Falls massacre. On October 20, 1860, Army scouts and volunteers found the remains of Alexis Van Orman, his wife, son Marcus, and four others of the immigrant party; all the bodies had been mutilated. They were stragglers from the previous Otter massacre which had occurred along the Snake River. All had been en route to Oregon, but very few arrived. The Van Ormans had five children. The four smaller ones, three girls and the boy Reuban, were not found. Tracks led to the Snake River, but the searchers had no means by which to cross. Repeated efforts were made to locate the missing children, but to no avail. They were presumed dead or captured; but Uncle Zachias, though learning the girls had died, never gave up hope of finding young Reuban.

Zachias Van Orman's first productive clue came from a relative who arrived in Oregon. Whether the new arrival came from Wisconsin, original home of the Van Ormans, or from some other eastern point is not known. The relative informed Mr. Van Orman that he had seen a white boy living with the Indians, apparently in the area of Cache Valley, and that he had actually tried to retrieve him by purchase. The Indians' price, however, was outlandish and beyond his means. Uncle Zachias immediately made the long trek to Salt Lake City and contacted Colonel Connor. Plans were drawn and Zachias went north to Cache Valley. On November 22, 1862, he was met by Major Edward McGarry, of the new Camp Douglas, a veteran of Indian campaigns in Nevada. Orman informed the major that Chief Bear Hunter was encamped about two miles distant, with 30 or 40 of his tribe.

Major McGarry reported that,

... I left the horses in the settlement called Providence ... and started about 1 o'clock for the Indian camp; the night was dark and cold, and we did not find the camp until the morning of the 23rd. I then divided my command into three parties ... with instructions to surround the camp and close in upon them at daybreak.3

1 Zachias Van Orman's Pension Application, Number 1269 (Oregon State Historical Society). The name on the application is spelled Zacheus Van Ornum, but all other records contain the spelling Zachias Van Orman.


3 Ibid., 182.
Here the California Volunteers found the camp deserted, except for two frightened squaws. They searched every hut, finding only unextinguished fires; the warriors had left during the night. The troops' arrival had been detected, and the Indians would be waiting for them. The sun was already shining on the snowy peaks in the south range of Cache Valley when the cavalymen sighted their foes. As they rode the one mile to the canyon bench they saw the Indians making "a warlike display, such as shouting, riding in a circle, and all sorts of antics known only to their race." During the skirmish, which lasted for about two hours, three Indians were killed and one wounded. Chief Bear Hunter then made his appearance on a hilltop, waving a flag of truce — as McGarry was later informed. "I at the time took it to be a warlike demonstration; a citizen who heard his halloing came up to me and told me that the chief said they did not want to fight any more."  

Bear Hunter, with 20 or more of his warriors, was taken into the soldiers' camp near the settlement. Through an interpreter McGarry interviewed the noted chief, asking the whereabouts of the boy. He was informed that the boy had been sent away some days before (possibly to the Indian fortress camp on Idaho's Bear River, near the Hot Springs). The major then instructed the chief to send some of his tribesmen and return the boy safely to camp. In the meantime McGarry held Bear

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*Ibid.

*Ibid., 183.

Looking from the mouth of Logan Canyon west into Cache Valley, with Providence on the bluff to the left in the photograph.

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Hunter and four others, whom he believed to be prominent Indians, as hostages. The next day, about noon, the anxieties of Uncle Zachias, Major McGarry, and members of the community came to an end as they saw the returning party. The boy was in good condition but difficult to identify and even more difficult to reconvert to white civilization. Major McGarry and Mr. Van Orman must have exchanged an amazed glance.

He was dressed and bedaubed with paint like an Indian and acted like a regular little savage when given into our possession, fighting, kicking and scratching when the paint was washed from him to determine his white decent.6

J. H. Martineau, local militia officer and pioneer surveyor, wrote:

Some of the whites in Cache Valley had seen the child with the Indians, and although the latter had painted its face to resemble themselves, its light hair and blue eyes betrayed its race. The whites tried to get the child, but the Indians refused to let it be ransomed, and finally kept it secreted.7

The next day, after the troops departed, the Indians collected in a strong force near Providence. They made warlike demonstrations to the village whose strength was less than a hundred. The Indians charged the settlers with sheltering and feeding the troops, and this they labeled a hostile gesture. About 70 men rode quickly from Logan to assist the Providence residents. The Indians, seeing the size of the militia, immediately sued for peace talks. They demanded two beeves and a large quantity of flour as a peace offering. Colonel Ezra T. Benson of the Utah Militia and Bishop Peter Maughan, considering it the best and cheapest policy, agreed. “The citizens of Logan furnished the supplies required.”8

Uncle Zachias remained in Utah temporarily, serving as a “scout” for Colonel Connor. “I was in too engagements,” he recalled, “The capturing of my nephew at Cache Valley by Major McGerry,” and, “I was at the slaughter on Bear River.”9 Reference here is to the Battle of Bear River, January 29, 1863, near present-day Preston, Idaho.

What happened to the boy is not known. He may have accompanied his uncle to Douglas County, Oregon, and later lived with him at Chico, California. Or one may speculate that he returned to Wisconsin to reside with relatives there. Or did life among the Indians appeal to him so much that he once again took up the ways of the redman.

6 Henry C. Haskin, writing in the Napa County Reporter (California), December 20, 1862.
8 Ibid.
UTAH and the CIVIL WAR
by Gustive O. Larson
As the United States raced toward disunion in 1860–61, Brigham Young kept close contact with William H. Hooper, Utah’s delegate to Congress. The Mormon leader, although no longer governor of the territory, counseled Hooper on every action taken in behalf of the people of Utah and their efforts to obtain statehood. Tardy arrival of Washington news in Salt Lake City made up-to-date correspondence impossible; but such as it was, it reflected Utah’s keen interest in political developments. It also mirrored Mormon views of the national Constitution and the government of its creation.

“The outside Democrats within our borders,” wrote Brigham Young on November 19, 1860, “are very much chopfallen at Lincoln’s election and several begin to think that they and their property are safer here than in the states.”

December 20th the day that, unknown to him, South Carolina seceded from the Union, Brigham Young commented,

By your letters and papers, I perceive that the secession question was being violently agitated, but without much definite action. Latest accounts seem to indicate that the South will so far back down as to give “Old Abe” a trial as to what course he will pursue. . . . But while the waves of commotion are whelming nearly the whole country, Utah in her rocky fortresses is biding her time to step in and rescue the constitution and aid all lovers of freedom in sustaining such laws as will secure justice and rights to all irrespective of creed or party.

Again on January 17, 1861, he penned,

I perceive, from news brought by Pony on the 14th that you have presented our petition for admission, constitution etc., but there is no word as to what action if any has been taken, . . . Tell them that they can do as they please about the matter, but our opinion is that they had better admit Utah now while they have the opportunity.

A month later, after the Confederacy had been organized, he observed, that “it seems that many are looking with some hope . . . apparently not yet realizing that the corruptions of the nation have sealed its doom, which will be consumated sooner or later.”

The transcontinental telegraph was completed on October 18, 1861, six months after the beginning of the Civil War. Brigham Young who sent the first message to J. H. Wade, president of the Pacific Telegraph Company in Cleveland, Ohio, offered congratulations and concluded, “Utah has not seceded but is firm for the constitution and laws of our once happy country.” The same day Acting Governor Frank Fuller wired President

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Brigham Young’s letters to Delegate Hooper are in the Coe Collection, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut.
Lincoln, “Utah whose citizens strenuously resist all imputations of disloyalty, congratulates the President upon completion of an enterprise which spans a continent.”

Georgia joined the seceding states on January 19, 1861, and her native son, Governor Alfred E. Cumming, left Utah four months later much to the regret of the Mormons. They followed meagre reports of the war’s progress with mixed feelings and without commitment. John Taylor speaking at the 1861 Fourth of July Celebration said:

It may now be proper to inquire what part shall we take in the present difficulties... we have been banished from the pale of what is termed civilization, and forced to make a home in the desert wastes... Shall we join the north to fight against the south? No! Shall we join the south against the north? As emphatically No! Why? They have both as before shown, brought it upon themselves and we have had no hand in the matter. Whigs, Democrats, Americans and Republicans have all in turn endeavored to stain their hands in innocent blood, and whatever others may do we cannot conscientiously help to tear down the fabric we are sworn to uphold. We know no north, no south, no east, no west; we abide strictly and positively by the Constitution, and cannot by the intrigues or sophism of either party be cajoled into any other attitude.2

Acting Governor Francis M. Wooten saw fit on September 5 to pen the following to Secretary of State William H. Seward.

I have the honor to inform you that on the 18th of last May his Excellency Governor Alfred Cumming, availing himself of a leave of absence, left for the States. Since the date of the above, I have been quietly discharging the duties of the Territorial Executive department and am happy to report that “all is well,” that the citizens of the Territory have in no instance evinced a disposition to avoid any of their legal or Constitutional obligations, or to interfere in any manner with the administrations of the several federal officials in Utah, but on the contrary, so far as I am informed, have rendered them a willing and hearty obedience. I am induced to make this statement at this time because of rumors which I observe to be in general circulation through the various presses of the country to the effect that Brigham Young has declared Utah independent and that the property of the government at Fort Crittenden, (Late-Camp Floyd) and other military stations of the Department of Utah have been violently seized and appropriated by the Mormons. Such reports based on the idle and mendacious representations of irresponsible parties, if unnoticed, may produce a false impression at Washington and lead to unnecessary troubles; therefore, I have deemed it my duty to give them an official contradiction...3

Utah was surrounded by states and territories of divided loyalties between the North and South. While southern California was actively

2 Deseret News (Salt Lake City), July 10, 1861.
pro-Confederate, the state as a whole remained loyal to the Union and raised approximately 17,000 volunteers who were distributed among strategic locations in the West. Secessionist activities in western Nevada brought infantry east of the Sierras to suppress a Confederate uprising and establish Fort Churchill. Prompt military action was required in New Mexico and Arizona to put down rebellion and save them from General Henry Hunter Sibley's plans to swing the Southwest into the Confederacy. Governor William Gilpin took effective measures to secure Colorado against southern uprisings.

In these surroundings Utah's position was somewhat unique. Most of the Mormon leaders were of New England ancestry and had a strong reverence for the United States Constitution. On the other hand the Union might well suspect Utah of southern leanings due to common views on, and a passion for, state's rights and a desire to protect her institution of polygamy. Her loyalty was of vital importance to the Union war effort for she lay across the communication lifeline between the East and California. If Utah should defect to the Confederacy and apply the strength of which she was capable to block the Overland Mail route the Union would be put to heavy expense to establish and maintain a more northerly one.

In January 1861 General Albert Sidney Johnston, who had been stationed at Camp Floyd in Utah, was ranking officer in charge of the Military Department of the Pacific with headquarters in San Francisco. The department included California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, and Utah.
General Winfield Scott, doubting Johnston's loyalty to the Union, replaced him on March 22 with General E. V. Sumner who arrived in San Francisco on April 25.

One of the first assignments of the Department of the Pacific was to police the Overland Mail route. "The War Department," read a communication to California's Governor John G. Downey dated July 24, 1861, "accepts for three years one regiment of infantry and five companies of cavalry to guard the Overland Mail Route from Carson Valley to Salt Lake and Fort Lawrence [Laramie]. . . ." The troops were made available but were transferred elsewhere. Similarly, troops called six months later were diverted from their original assignment when Colonel James H. Carlton led his command to meet emergency needs in New Mexico. This delay in providing protection for the overland route resulted in the only military service rendered by the Mormons during the Civil War.

The Overland Mail route was being subjected to Indian depredations resulting, not only in interference with mail and telegraph service, but in serious threats to human life and heavy losses to merchandise in transit. Acting Governor Frank Fuller, together with men most vitally concerned with the losses, appealed to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton for the services of Indian Superintendent James Duane Doty in raising "a regiment of mounted rangers" to patrol the vital east-west lifeline. Since the federal government's failure to recognize the Utah Territorial Militia or Nauvoo Legion reflected doubt as to its loyalty and availability, Brigham Young wired Delegate Hooper that "the Militia of Utah are ready and able and willing to protect the mail line if called upon to do so." The acting governor quickly adjusted to the situation by requisitioning Lieutenant General

Daniel H. Wells, commander of the Utah Territorial Militia, on April 25, 1862, for 20 mounted men for 30 days to protect life and property on the overland trail. Volunteers were on their way the next day under command of Captain Robert T. Burton.

United States troops due from the East to relieve the Nauvoo Legion were recalled for emergency service elsewhere, and President Lincoln wired Brigham Young through the War Department on April 28,

... authorizing him to raise, arm and equip a company of cavalry for ninety days' service, to protect the property of the telegraph and overland mail companies between Forts Bridger and Laramie, and to continue in service until the United States troops shall reach the point where their services are needed.  

In response to this call, Major Lot Smith, with a company of 120 men, was on his way in two days to relieve Burton's command. Worthy of note was the President's request to Brigham Young instead of to Acting Governor Fuller. Also significant was the role of Daniel H. Wells, Robert T. Burton, and Lot Smith who were now serving the United States government when five years earlier they had led Mormon forces against federal troops. The leader of these federal troops, General Albert Sidney Johnston, was now a war casualty, having recently been killed while leading a Confederate charge against Union forces in the Battle of Shiloh.

December 7, 1861, ushered Governor John W. Dawson into Salt Lake City. His first official expression held promise of an understanding relationship with the Mormons. He said in addressing the legislature,

The Compromise of 1850 . . . seemed to bring back and settle the administration of the government, upon the principle of compromise by which the Constitution itself was formed. It distinctly recognized as the true solution of the question of slavery, and of all other questions of domestic or local policy in the States and Territories — the principle that each State and Territory should decide for itself, independent of the will or action of Congress, what local or domestic institutions consistent with the nation's organic law, the people should have.

But the promise faded when he continued with insinuations of disloyalty while urging the legislative body to speed up collection of the territory's war tax which amounted to $26,982. His suggestion that the tax

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5 Deseret News, April 30, 1862.
6 "Governors' Messages," December 10, 1861, p. 82.31—82.32. The governors' messages from 1851—1876 are bound in a single volume in the Utah State Archives.
7 The tax was levied on real property and improvements, two-thirds of which was to be collected in gold and silver coin. This created a real problem in Utah due to scarcity of coinage. The tax law also created an anomalous situation by exempting all federally owned property. Since Indian title had not been extinguished in Utah, this exemption included all land in the territory and there was technically nothing to tax. Nevertheless, the legislature assumed the territory's quota
be paid speedily as evidence of Utah's loyalty to the Union drew the following comment from Brigham Young.

I object to any action being taken in this or any other matter except on the ground of right and justice, and in no wise as an evidence of our loyalty. . . . We are not here as aliens from our government, but we are tried and firm supporters of the Constitution and every constitutional right.8

Further conflict of interest appeared when the governor vetoed legislative measures providing for a constitutional convention as a step towards Utah's third formal application for statehood. Technical reasons advanced by the governor for his action seemed inconsequential to the Mormons who felt that the best test of loyalty of a people was through seeking membership in the Union. This view had been well-expressed a year earlier in a letter written by Delegate Hooper from Washington.

... I tell them that we show our loyalty by trying to get in while others are trying to get out, notwithstanding our grievances, which are far greater than those of any of the Seceding States; but that I consider we can redress our grievances better in the Union than out of it: at least we'll give our worthy uncle an opportunity for engrafting us into his family; and if he don't want us, we must then carve out our own future. . . .

9

Governor Dawson's term of office was cut short through moral indiscretion which first forced him into seclusion and then to flight from the territory. His veto, however, in no wise stayed the constitutional convention which was held on January 23, 1862. A constitution was adopted for a proposed State of Deseret which was subsequently approved by popular vote. Also, in full expectation of being admitted to the Union, an entire slate of officers was elected. This included Brigham Young as governor and subsequently William H. Hooper and George Q. Cannon as United States senators.

The constitution with a memorial seeking statehood was presented to Congress on June 9 where it laid in Committee on Territories until December. On the 22nd an enabling act was reported for admission without success. It should be noted here, however, that this failure of admission did not dissolve the State of Deseret as far as the Mormons were concerned. It continued to function as a ghost government behind the territorial administration — not only during the war period but several years beyond. When asked why the unofficial legislative sessions were held, Brigham

and proceeded to levy a one percent tax on all occupied territory. The same legislature, however, memorialized Congress to remit Utah's quota due to her peculiar circumstances. The request was not granted and the tax was paid.

8 Deseret News, April 16, 1862.
9 William H. Hooper to George Q. Cannon, December 16, 1860, as quoted in The Latterday Saints' Millennial Star, XXIII (Liverpool, 1861), 30.
Young explained that it was “in order that the machinery of government would be ready to function when Congress should recognize the State organization.” Privately the men who met thus thought of themselves as the Council of the Kingdom of God ready to assume greater political responsibility when their Heavenly King might see fit to use them.

As previously noted, Colonel James H. Carlton’s command was diverted from guarding the Overland Mail route to meet emergency needs in New Mexico. This circumstance led to the appointment of Colonel Patrick E. Connor, commanding the Third California Volunteers, to guard the mail route. The substitution of Connor for Carlton led to developments which sharply affected the course of events in Utah. The object of the military expedition was specifically to protect the Overland Mail route. Neither of the two previous bodies of troops assigned to guard the Overland Mail route contemplated locating in Salt Lake City, and orders specifically referred to locating the California Volunteers at Camp Floyd, or, as it was then called, Fort Crittenden, which had recently been vacated by federal troops. But Colonel Conner had other ideas based on unfortunate prejudices. Some of these crystalized during a preliminary visit to Salt Lake City on September 9, while his troops waited at Fort Ruby, Nevada. Here he met and conversed with federal officials, who while residing in the Mormon community were not a part of it, and often failed to understand it.

The Mormons had not forgotten their persecutions and forced exodus from Missouri and Illinois. Fresh in their memories were repeated but unavailing appeals to both state and federal government for protection against mob forces. They saw the hand of God in their deliverance into the Great Basin and in their victory over wilderness obstacles to make it “blossom as the rose.” More recently they had been subjected to misrepresentation through what they considered were false reports at the nation’s capital which resulted in an invasion by U.S. troops to install new federal officers by force of arms. And when these forces were withdrawn after three years of humiliating occupation, the federal officers showed continuing mistrust by destroying all surplus ammunition rather than selling it to the Mormons who stood in dire need of it. The Mormons had defied these troops in their approach to Utah in 1857, and with the help of severe winter weather had held them at bay until President James Buchanan...
found it expedient to negotiate and offer pardon on a list of charges the accuracy of which he had never investigated. The Utah religionists still smarted from the effects of President Buchanan’s multi-million dollar blunder.

The Utah War, as it came to be known, had a significant relationship to the now larger national conflict. The doctrine of states rights and the principles of self-government linked the Mormons and Southerners in a common cause. Here they understood each other to the extent that the Southern States made overtures for Utah’s support of the rebellion, as already noted. But Brigham Young and the Mormons, in 1857–58, had based their case on the Constitution and sought settlement of conflicting issues within the limits of the Union whereas the Southern States were now seeking solution of their problem through secession.

The Mormons were not much disturbed over the slavery question, for few slaves had been brought into their society. Nearly two years before the war’s beginning, Brigham Young explained the Mormon philosophy toward slavery in an interview in Salt Lake City. Horace Greeley asked the questions and Brigham Young replied.

H.G. — What is the position of your church with respect to slavery?
B.Y. — We consider it of divine institution, and not to be abolished until the curse pronounced on Ham shall have been removed from his descendents.
H.G. — Are any slaves now held in the territory?
B.Y. — There are.
H.G. — Do your territorial laws uphold slavery?
B.Y. — Those laws are printed — you can read for yourself. If slaves are brought here by those who owned them in the states, we do not favor their escape from the service of their owners.
H.G. — Am I to infer that Utah, if admitted as a member of the Federal Union, will be a slave state?
H.G. [B.Y.] — No; she will be a free state. Slavery here would prove useless and unprofitable. I regard it generally as a curse to the masters. . . . Utah is not adapted to slave labor.¹²

Beyond these temporal considerations involved in the Mormon attitude toward the Civil War was a spiritual interpretation based upon Mormon religious philosophy. Theirs was the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints through which God would establish His Kingdom upon the earth. Their missionaries had labored zealously to spread this message across the land, but relatively few had listened. The majority rejected the

message of God's imminent Kingdom to their own condemnation. And as they persecuted and heaped insults upon the Saints and drove them from their midst they sowed the seeds of their own suffering and destruction.  

Joseph Smith, the Mormon founder and prophet, had foreseen the approach of civil strife and uttered a prophecy on war on December 25, 1832. The Saints in Utah were quick to see the fulfillment of their prophet's prediction in the fratricidal strife which broke out just where he said it would. Before the war had progressed far, faith in their martyred leader's words was further strengthened when they saw the Southern Confederacy call upon Great Britain for help.

Highly provocative of Mormon-Gentile misunderstanding were the teachings of the former relative to the establishment of the Kingdom of God upon the earth. Going beyond the generally accepted Christian ideal of God's ultimate rule on earth, Mormon doctrine not only held that its advent was imminent but that it was to be a political organization to supplant all earthly governments. Further, it was to be instituted through the ministration and authority of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Already the nucleus of its organization was established in the form of the General Council or the Council of Fifty as it was frequently called. Although the United States government was included in the ultimate dissolving of man-made governments into that of a universal Kingdom of God, its Constitution was held in highest reverence. It was divinely inspired in origin and served as a preliminary imperfect pattern of the perfect constitution of the impending Kingdom of God which would supersede it.

13 *Journal of Discourses* (26 vols., Liverpool, 1854–1886), IX, 18. George A. Smith said in a general conference of the church on April 6, 1861, "... When the Latter-day Saints were driven from Jackson county, in 1833, Joseph Smith prophesied that if the people of the United States would not bring to justice that mob and protect the Saints, they should have mob upon mob, mob upon mob, until mob and power and mob rule should be all over the whole land, until no man's life or property should be safe. This Prophecy is being literally fulfilled."

14 The Doctrine & Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City, 1954), Sec. 87, pts. 1 and 3, p. 144. "1. Verily thus saith the Lord, concerning the wars that will shortly come to pass, beginning at the rebellion of South Carolina, which will eventually terminate in the death and misery of many souls; ... 3. For behold, the Southern States shall be divided against the Northern States, and the Southern States . . . will call on other nations, even the nation of Great Britain . . . ."

15 John Taylor said on April 6, 1861, "But is there not a kingdom that God should set up? Yes. Is not this the stone hewn out of the mountains without hands, that is to grow into a great kingdom and fill the whole earth? It is. Then how are you going to accomplish this great work? We answer. Precisely as the Lord tells us. We have existed for thirty years, and we have used a great deal of our time and labour for the promotion of this kingdom. . . . It is a very critical thing to be engaged in the upbuilding of the kingdom of God — a nucleus of which we have here. . . . You should understand that when you have been voting here to sustain the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Twelve Apostles, the High Council, the Bishops, and other Quorums, you have been voting to sustain the legitimate and authorized offices of the Church and kingdom of God, whose right it is to rule and govern whenever and wherever the Almighty has a people upon the earth." *Journal of Discourses*, IX, 11–12.
Clearly there were implications in Mormon teaching that the American nation faced political destruction and that upon the Mormons would rest the awesome responsibility of building the Kingdom of God upon its ruins. Were these views shared openly with the Gentiles? Could such teachings escape being branded as seditious and their proponents being charged with treason?

Federal officers in Utah, such as the governor, judges, etc., read Mormon sermons in the *Deseret News* and often attended religious services of the Saints as they met in the old tabernacle. Here they could listen first hand, with some 2,000 worshipers, to the preachments of their leaders. Their reaction to Mormon political philosophy would depend in part on the way it was expressed and in part on their respective personal biases. Some of the officials, such as Governors Alfred E. Cumming and James D. Doty and Judge John F. Kinney, saw fit to accept it as religious philosophy which in the absence of overt, treasonable action was politically harmless. Others heard criticisms of government maladministration together with predictions of resulting national self-destruction, as preliminary to establishment of “The Kingdom,” as treason and reported them as such. Samples from many of these disturbing pronouncements follow:

Brigham Young said on April 6, 1861,

> The whole government is gone; it is weak as water. I heard Joseph Smith say, nearly thirty years ago, “They shall have mobbing to their heart’s content, if they do not redress the wrongs of the Latter-day Saints.” Mobs will not decrease, but will increase until the whole Government becomes a mob, and eventually it will be State against State, city against city, neighbourhood against neighbourhood, Methodist against Methodist, and so on . . . and those who will not take up the sword against their neighbours must flee to Zion.16

Heber C. Kimball followed the president in this wise:

> . . . we shall never secede from the Constitution of the United States. We shall not stop on the way of progress, but we shall make preparations for future events. The South will secede from the North, and the North will secede from us, and God will make this people free as fast as we are able to bear it. They send their poor miserable creatures here to rule us . . . The day is not far distant when . . . we will be ruled by those men whom God Almighty appoints.17

Daniel H. Wells said on September 10, 1861:

> . . . But do we realize that God’s kingdom in the latter days is to all intents and purposes a temporal kingdom? . . . When he [Jesus] comes, he is going

to reign over a temporal kingdom, composed of men and women who do his will on the earth. Everything that pertains to us in our life is temporal, and over us and all we possess our Heavenly Father and his Son Jesus Christ will reign, as well as over all the kingdoms of the world when they become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ.\footnote{Ibid., IX, 60.}

All this was disturbing to the federal officials locally and much of it was reported to Washington. But it was the Mormon doctrine and practice of plural marriage which first thrust them into the national spotlight. The Republican party, emerging as a national organization in 1856 in opposition to the extension of slavery, linked polygamy and slavery as the “twin relics of barbarism.” Abraham Lincoln, who had once referred to the Mormons in Illinois as “Democratic Pets,”\footnote{Letter to Sagamo Journal September 9, 1842, as reported in Neff, History of Utah, 647.} challenged Stephen A. Douglas’ doctrine of popular sovereignty by asking him if he favored letting the Mormons in Utah achieve statehood with polygamy. Douglas replied that the Mormons were a “loathsome ulcer on the body politic” which should be cut out.

The “Black Republicans” as the Southerners called them, elected Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency in 1860 on an anti-slavery-polygamy platform and it was anticipated that he would strike against the one as well as the other. Before the inauguration, however, the southern rebellion monopolized Lincoln’s entire attention. Within a month of his election in November 1860, South Carolina seceded from the Union. In April 1861 Fort Sumter was fired upon. By February, six states had seceded and the Confederacy was organized. In March Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated as President of a dis-United States, and in April the Civil War broke in all its fury. No wonder that when Lincoln’s first governor appointee in Utah, John W. Dawson, was badly beaten and robbed while leaving the territory, the incident went almost unheeded in Washington! By September 1862, following the Battle of Antietam, Lincoln had issued a preliminary proclamation against slavery which became official as the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863.

But what, he was asked, would he do about the other twin relic, polygamy? One thing had already been done on which he put his stamp of approval when he signed the Anti-Bigamy Bill (Morrill Bill) July 8, 1862. But having signed Lincoln was apparently willing to let the matter rest as attested by an interview he granted T. B. H. Stenhouse, then a Mormon in good standing. When Stenhouse asked Lincoln what course he intended to pursue with the Mormons, the President replied,
Utah and the Civil War

Stenhouse, when I was a boy on the farm in Illinois there was a great deal of timber on the farms which we had to clear away. Occasionally we would come to a log which had fallen down. It was too hard to split, too wet to burn and too heavy to move, so we plowed around it. That's what I intend to do with the Mormons. You go back and tell Brigham Young that if he will let me alone I will let him alone.

During his Presidency Lincoln appointed three governors for Utah Territory. The first of these, as we have seen, was John W. Dawson who, although initially friendly in his approach to his constituents, soon fled the territory. Secretary Frank M. Wooten served in his place until Governor Stephen S. Harding arrived on July 7, 1862, the day before the President signed the Anti-Bigamy Law. Harding gave promise of representing President Lincoln's policy of pouring oil on troubled waters in Utah in a brilliant 24th of July speech. He commended the Mormons for their achievements and promised cooperation and non-interference with the sa-


Photograph of Brigham Young taken about 1864.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY (C. R. SAVAGE)
cred right of conscience in religious worship. Apparently he had not yet been influenced by the anti-Mormon propaganda of the Gentile circle. His friendliness cooled as he listened to Mormon sermons and became aware of his limited nominal power as against Brigham Young’s real leadership in the territory. His transformation is readily recognized in letters written to his superior in Washington on August 30 and September 3, 1862. The first letter began with a prefatory note,

This is to be handed immediately to Secretary Seward and to no one else, [and ended with] do not put this communication in the Common Mail Bag — owing to causes before referred to I am compelled to send the same by private express. Let me add one thing, that I desire that this communication shall not be placed on the files in your office and that the same shall only be read by yourself and the president. I have private reasons for this request.

The letter stated,

After a residence in this city for near two months as the Federal Gov’r of this Territory, I deem it my duty to make a statement to my Government, which I now have the honor to do. I have not formed my opinions hastily, and you may rest assured that “I have set [?] down nought in malice.” . . .

The first and most important inquiry is, are these people or [?] in the vernacular of the place, “This people,” loyal to the Government of the United States? I am compelled to answer in the negative and [?] will state some of my reasons which determine my judgment.

In the first place, Brigham Young and other teachers are [?] constantly inculcating in the minds of the crowded audiences who sit beneath their teachings every Sabbath, that the government of the United States is of no consequence; that it lies in ruins; and [?] the prophecy of Joseph Smith is being fulfilled to the letter—According to that prophecy, the United States as a nation, is to [?] be [?] destroyed — that the Gentiles — as they call all persons out side [?] of their church will continue to fight with each other, until they perish [?] and then the saints are to step in and quietly enjoy the possession of the [?] land and also what is left of the ruined cities and desolated places [?] and that “Zion is to be built up”, not only in “The Valleys of the Mountains” but the Great Center of their power and glory, is to be in Missouri where [?] the Saints under the lead of their prophet, were expelled many years ago [?].

In further conformation of the truth of these prophecies, they dwell with seeming delight on the fact that the Indians [Lamanites,] are to come in for their share of the benefits, after the cutting off of the Gentiles; and cite the fact in further confirmation of their theory, that at this time, the Mormon trains of emigrants are not molested by the Indians, whilst the Gentiles are attacked, plundered and murdered on the same rout . . . .

I have sat in the Bowery Sabbath after Sabbath, and heard many [?] declarations put forth, by those who claim to speak under the immediate inspiration of God— and have heard the hearty “Amens” come [?] from the crowded benches around me, when I was satisfied that the ideas as [?] advanced by the speakers met [?] the most hearty response, in the throats of
those who "wink and chuckle" at each other, when some intelligence of disaster reached them concerning the Great Army of the Union now fighting for the rights of humanity-and the main tenance of our Government. In all the meetings that I have attended not one word, not one prayer, has been uttered or offered up for the saving of our cause of for the restoration of peace, but on the contrary, the God of the Saints has been implored, to bring swift destruction on all nations, people and institutions that stand in the way of triumph of "this people." ... 

Two weeks ago tomorrow, I heard Heber C. Kimble, "the Second Pres. proclaim vauntingly and defiantly, that he was a prophet of the living God, and what he declared to be true, was true; and then went on to say, that "the Government of the United States is dead, thank God, is dead." "It is not worth the head of a pin," that "the worst had not yet happened, that the remnant of the Gentiles that would be left after the war had ended from sheer exhaustion, would be destroyed by pestilence, famine and earthquakes," to which infernal sentiment, the crowded benches around me sent up the hearty "Amen." I thought that this was strange language to use in the presence of a Federal Governor of that same Government, but I had to swallow my indignation and be quiet ... 

Brigham Young also teaches his followers to believe and hold as true, "That the Governments of the earth now in existence, are false, and ought to be overthrown. "That no government ought to exist, without immediate authority from God — God has delegated the right to Set up a Government, only to the Priesthood and that one man appointed by God, should rule — that all persons in the way, or also pretend to have the authority to govern, are usurpers (He of course is to be the Ruler) "That the Constitution of the United States is a revelation from Heaven: but that it has fulfilled its purpose — "It was merely to form a Government, so that the "Church of Latter-day Saints" could be organized. That Joseph Smith offered to become the President of the United States but the people rejected him; and as the Jewish Nation was cut off and scattered to all parts of the earth, because they rejected the Saviour and crucified Him — So the American people for reasons above stated and for the consenting of the death of the prophet at Carthage, Illinois is to be destroyed. They hold, that slavery has nothing whatever to do with the present disturbances; but they are in consequence of the persecutions that the Saints have suffered, at the hands of the American People. These things may seem "incredible" yet I assure you, that I have not made too strong a statement. 

I will add further, that in my opinion there is not, and in the very nature of things cannot be any proper administration of justice in this Territory at the present time — Murders, and other Crimes of the deepest dye have been committed here within the last few years and even months the perpetrators of which, go unpunished, and it is said in some instances, occupy high places in the Church. 

I submit, whether under the present condition of things, a sufficient military force ought not to be stationed at some proper point in this Territory — this much good at least it would make "Treason dumb." ... 

I have the honor to remain Your Obedient Servant, 
S. S. Harding[,] Gov'r of Utah Territory.²¹

Hon William H. Seward
Sec. of State, U.S.

... On last Sabbath I attended the services of the "Saints at the Bowery-Presidential Brigham Young was the principal Speaker in the morning, and in the course of his remarks said: "Nothing can save the Government of the United States. It could have been saved if the people had accepted Joseph Smith Junior for their President when he offered himself. But the people rejected him, as the Jews rejected the Saviour when he was upon the earth; and as they were destroyed for their wickedness, so will the people of the American Government be." Again after indulging in this vein of remarks for some time, he said: "Perhaps some may say, that this is treason — well I admit that if this is treason, I am treasoness. My people are all treasoners if this is treason. May be, that is the reason why the Army is coming here to protect the Overland mail against the Indians. I [?] know [?] what is going on — they can’t deceive me . . . there are men here present who occupy high places, who would swear against me as long as my arms if they dared, and have me arrested as a treasoner, Maybe had better try it — but wo, wo, be careful how handle, be careful how you handle, for (Here the speaker raised himself up to his full height and pausing with his uplifted arm said) I will not say what I was going to say — but will quote the New Testament, "They will be ground to powder" — I was the only Federal officer present, and sat unmoved on my seat in front of the Speaker, looking him steady in the eye, there was that in his manner and tone of voice, that sounded very much like one, who thought himself watched, and who would most probably be foiled in his efforts in the accomplishment of some purpose that he desired to be kept concealed.

I have the honor to enclose to you also a slip taken from a number of the Deseret News, which appeared shortly after the Convention that formed the late Constitution of the "State of Deseret." It needs no comment from me. I thought perhaps that you had not noticed the same. . . .

I have again to require the favor that this communication may not be placed on the files of your department — for the reasons heretofore expressed.

I have the honor to remain,

Your Obt. Srvt.

S. S. Harding, Gov. of Utah

Colonel Patrick Connor revealed definite mistrust of the Mormons while yet stationed with his troops at Fort Churchill, Nevada. On his preliminary visit to Fort Crittenden and Salt Lake City, September 9,

22 Ibid., 555.
23 The mistrust is evidenced in his first official order as reported in Edward Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City (Salt Lake City, 1886), 274–75.
his prejudices were confirmed and fed by the governor and other Gentile officials. On the 14th he reported to the adjutant general in San Francisco.

It would be impossible for me to describe what I saw and heard in Salt Lake, so as to make you realize the enormity of Mormonism; suffice it, that I found them a community of traitors, murderers, fanatics, and whores. The people publicly rejoice at the reverse to our arms, and thank God that the American Government is gone, as they term it, while their prophet and bishops preach treason from the pulpit. The Federal officers are entirely powerless, and talk in whispers for fear of being overheard by Brigham’s spies. Brigham Young rules with despotic sway, and death by assassination is the penalty of disobedience to his commands.

Connor reported adversely on locating his command at Fort Crittenden and continued,

I found another location which I like better for various reasons. . . . It is also a point which commands the city, and where 1,000 troops would be more efficient than 3,000 on the other side of the Jordan. If the general decides that I shall locate there, I intend to quietly intrench my position, and then say to the Saints of Utah, enough of your treason; but if it is intended that I shall merely protect the over-land mail and permit the Mormons to act and utter treason, then I had as well locate at Crittenden. The Federal officers desire and beg that I will locate near the city. The Governor especially is very urgent in the matter.

Referring to the selection of Fort Douglas, Brigadier General George Wright wrote.

When General Connor approached Salt Lake City he submitted to me the question as to the location of his camp. Brigham Young was exceedingly anxious that the troops should occupy Camp Crittenden, or some point remote from the city, but after mature consideration I came to the conclusion that the site of the present camp was the most eligible for the accomplishment of the objects in view. It is a commanding position, looking down on the city, and hence has been dreaded by the Mormon chief.

Rumors having reached Colonel Connor that the Mormons might resist the entrance of military forces into Salt Lake Valley, he entered with war-like demonstrations. Stopping only to pay military respects to Gover-
nor Harding at his office, he proceeded to locate his troops on the hillside overlooking the Mormon capital. The effect on the Saints was expressed by Brigham Young sometime later. He said the Mormons had proved their loyalty to the Constitution by serving in the Mexican War and by having responded more recently to the President’s call for troops to guard the Overland Mail route.

We have done everything that has been required of us. Can there anything reasonable and constitutional be asked that we would not perform? No. But if the Government of the United States should now ask for a battalion of men to fight in the present battle-fields of the nation, while there is a camp of soldiers from abroad located within the corporate limits of this city, I would not ask one man to go; I would see them in hell first.27

Governor Harding, emboldened by the presence of military forces, dropped all pretense of friendship for the Mormons. His message, delivered in an offensive manner, to the territorial legislature on December 8, found fault with local government procedures, condemned evasion of the Anti-Bigamy Law, and reprimanded the Mormons on lack of loyalty to the Union. The Mormon controlled legislature viewing his address as an open insult refused the usual courtesy of publication. On February 3, 1863, Harding sent a long communication to Secretary Seward in denunciation of the Mormons and joined with Judges Charles B. Waite and Thomas J. Drake in a covert attempt to have Congress make certain changes in Utah’s Organic Act which would deprive its citizens of local judiciary and military powers. The Mormons upon learning of their political schemes from Utah’s delegate in Congress held a mass meeting on March 3rd in which the action was condemned and resolutions adopted asking for the resignation of the offending federal officials. Upon their refusal to resign the Mormons sent a petition to President Lincoln asking him to remove Governor Stephen S. Harding, and Associate Justices Charles B. Waite and Thomas J. Drake from their positions and appoint other officials to take their place.28

A counter petition circulated among the officers and men at Fort Douglas asking for retention in office of Governor Harding and Judges Waite and Drake also reached the President. However in harmony with his policy of keeping peace with the Mormons, Lincoln removed the governor, and, to placate the Gentiles, he also removed Judge Kinney and Secretary Fuller who were reported as too friendly to the Saints.

28 Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, 311.
Tension mounted when rumor spread that Colonel Connor’s forces planned to arrest President Brigham Young on the charge of polygamy and take him to the states for trial. The local militia was alerted against such a move. Armed guards were stationed around the president’s home and signals adopted by which armed men could quickly be assembled. In response to one such signal a thousand men appeared within half an hour and another thousand soon thereafter.

Colonel Connor reported to San Francisco headquarters that the Mormons were making cartridges and conducting daily drills to which General George Wright responded with a warning that the colonel be “prudent and cautious” in his actions. General H. W. Halleck, in Washington, advised him to use discretion but if necessary to act with firmness and decision. Halleck ordered Wright to prepare to reinforce Connor’s forces if necessary. Viewing the situation more objectively the Alta California pointed out on March 11, 1863, that Connor’s assignment was to guard the mail route and fight the Indians and not to “kick up trouble with the Mormons or any other class of people.” The Sacramento Daily Union the next day urged that a “leave them alone” military policy be adopted.

Governor Harding left the territory on June 11, and in his successor, James Duane Doty, President Lincoln found a man to truly represent his policy in relation to the Mormons. Governor Doty had been serving as Indian superintendent in the territory and had won the respect of Gentiles and Mormons alike. Impatient with narrow partisanship he sought to bring the opposing forces in Utah together. His experience and temperament qualified him well for that difficult task.

But Patrick Connor, who had been promoted to the rank of general following a successful Indian battle on Bear River, was not ready to relax his self-appointed campaign against the Mormons. On October 26, he wrote the assistant adjutant general in San Francisco,

Entertaining the opinion that Mormonism as preached and practiced in this Territory is not only subversive to morals, in conflict with the civilization of the present age, and oppressive on the people, but also deeply and boldly in contravention of the laws and best interests of the nation, I have sought by every proper means in my power to arrest its progress and prevent its spread. . . . With these remarks I desire to inform the department commander that I have considered the discovery of gold, silver, and other valuable minerals in the Territory of the highest importance, and as presenting the only prospect of bringing hither such a population as is desirable or possible. The discovery of such mines would unquestionably induce an immigration to the Territory of a hardy, industrious, and enterprising population as could not but result in the happiest effects, and in my opinion

Colton, Civil War in the Western Territories, 188.
presents the only sure means of settling peaceably the Mormon question.\ldots

Having reason to believe that the Territory is full of mineral wealth, I have instructed commanders of posts and detachments to permit the men of their commands to prospect the country in the vicinity of their respective posts, whenever such course would not interfere with their military duties, and to furnish every proper facility for the discovery and opening of mines of gold, silver and other minerals.\textsuperscript{30}

On November 30th Connor sponsored the *Vedette* (later the *Union Vedette*) to represent Gentile views and wage journalistic war against the Mormons. Also, in support of his plan, its purpose was to foster mining development in Utah. In this objective he was partially successful but failed to start a mining boom due to lack of transportation facilities.

General Connor undoubtedly had administrative approval in expanding his original assignment to include keeping watch over the Mormons. However, when his zeal for disciplining his self-appropriated wards strained relations to a point of imminent war, he also felt the restraining hand of his superiors. On the pretext that the Mormons were depreciating the national currency in favor of the gold standard, Connor appointed Captain Charles Hempstead on July 9, 1864, as provost marshal of Salt Lake City. He detailed a company of Second California Cavalry as provost guard and, acting as if waging war, ordered them quartered on South Temple Street across from the entrance to the Mormon tabernacle. This action was deeply resented by the Mormons who referred to it as an "outrage upon the feelings of the citizens," and petitioned the governor for removal of the offending unit. The bellicose Connor, on his part, reported to the Department of the Pacific that he was prepared to resist any attack and that the Mormons, knowing that the city was at the mercy of his guns, were quieting down although continuing military drill.

Brigham Young was in Provo when the provost guard was established in Salt Lake. Rumor spread rapidly that it was another attempt to arrest him by military force. He left for Salt Lake City the next day escorted by a mounted guard of 200 men. This guard swelled to 500 upon reaching Salt Lake City and later 5,000 men assembled for any required defensive action. Major General Irvin McDowell, new department commander in San Francisco, reminding Connor that his assignment was to guard the mail route and not to solve territorial problems, ordered the provost guard removed from the city. He warned Connor against risking war with the Mormons since such a development would weaken troop strength in the department to a point of making it vulnerable to secessionist attack.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{31} Colton, Civil War in the Western Territories, 190.}
The provost guard incident marked the climax of Mormon-Gentile hostility during the Civil War. The Battle of Gettysburg and the fall of Vicksburg, splitting the Confederacy in two, was now history, and successive northern victories were pointing to defeat of the secessionist cause. In Utah the Deseret News which had reported the war news objectively and with little editorial comment was by the summer of 1864 publishing pro-Union reports. Governor Doty penned a letter on January 28, 1865, to Secretary of State Seward, which reflected a remarkable degree of patience and tolerance toward a confused political situation. Definitely he was representing President Lincoln's "leave them alone" policy.

The Legislative Assembly of the Territory closed its session on the 20th inst. with apparent satisfaction to its members and to the public. There are three distinct governments in this Territory: the Church, the military, and the civil. In the exercise of their several powers collisions cannot always be avoided; but I am glad that I am able to state, that during the past year none have occurred. If each would confine itself strictly to its duties, the proper authority of each would be undisputed, and no difficulty would occur.

But the leaders of "The Church" under the Territorial Laws, have the appointment and control in fact through its members, of all of the civil and militia officers not appointed by the President of the United States. In addition, the same party in 1861 formed an independent government the "State of Deseret" whose boundaries include Utah and portions of Idaho and Arizona. This form of government is preserved by annual elections of all of the State officers: The legislature being composed of the same men who are elected to the Territorial Legislature, and who, in a Resolution, re-enact the same laws for the "State" which have been enacted for the Territory of Utah.

For the information of the Department I herewith transmit a copy of a paper containing the proceedings of the Governor and Legislature of the embryo State at a session held in this city on the 23 of this month, by which it will be perceived this fourth government is now fully inaugurated. [Enclosure, January 24, 1865, issue of Salt Lake Daily Telegraph.]

Abraham Lincoln had been re-elected in November and his inauguration on March 4, 1865, was celebrated in Salt Lake City with healing effects upon the strife-torn community. Governor Doty's tactful promotion of a joint celebration resulted in a resolution by the Salt Lake City Council that

Whereas, Saturday, the 4th instant, being the day of inauguration of the President of the United States, and

Whereas, also, by reason of the many recent victories of the armies of our country; therefore be it

Abraham Lincoln's Inaugural Parade held in Salt Lake City, March 4, 1865.

Resolved, . . . that we cheerfully join in the public celebration and rejoicings of that day throughout the United States, and we cordially invite the citizens, and organizations, military and civil, of the Territory, county and city, to unite on that occasion. . . .

The celebration drew Mormons and Gentiles together into a mile-long parade including civil and military officers in horse-drawn carriages, companies of California Volunteers and Nauvoo Legion infantry, and citizens both riding and afoot. Federal officials, military officers, and Mormon officials mingled together on the reviewing stand. Chief Justice John Titus was orator of the day with Utah Delegate William H. Hooper sharing the honors. Good fellowship predominated again over latent hostility at a banquet given by the city council to the officers from Camp Douglas. Mayor Abraham O. Smoot toasted the health of President Lincoln and the success of the Union armies to which Captain Charles Hempstead responded to the health of the mayor and city officials. At the conclusion of festivities the citizens of Salt Lake witnessed a most promising spectacle as the Nauvoo Legion escorted the California Volunteers back to Camp Douglas. The day portended a better future and even General Connor was led to propose during the public parade that the Union Vedette had served its purpose and ought now to be discontinued.

The Civil War practically ended with General Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattax on April 19, 1865, and six days later President Lin-

33 Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, 332.
34 Colton, Civil War in the Western Territories, 191. Resolution does not always generate action and the Union Vedette continued publication another two years.
coin died from an assassin’s bullet. Congress designated April 19th as a
day of national mourning for the martyred President and again Mormon
and Gentile were drawn together in Utah by the national leader who had
chosen to leave the Mormons alone. This time mutual sorrow wiped
out distinctions between federal officials, military personnel, and church
leaders as 3,000 people met in the Mormon tabernacle to hear speakers,
both Gentile and Mormon, extol the virtue and accomplishments of the
man who had preserved the Union through four years of civil strife.

The *Union Vedette* with self-redeeming grace reflected the high
moment in Mormon-Gentile relations by reporting

On Wednesday, pursuant to notice, all business was suspended in
Great Salt Lake City, the stores, public and private buildings were draped
in mourning, and long before the hour named — 12 m. — thongs of citi­
zens were wending their way to the Tabernacle to render the last sad,
solemn, and heartfelt tribute to the great departed and deeply mourned
dead. The Tabernacle was more than crowded, . . . The vast assemblage
was called to order . . . immediately after the entrance of the oratory, civil
and military functions, and a large body of prominent citizens, who occu­
pied the platform. The scene was impressive and solemn, and all seemed
to partake of the deep sorrow so eloquently expressed by the speakers on the
occasion.35

The curtain fell on the Civil War period in Utah when Governor
James Duane Doty, beloved and respected by all, passed away on June 13,
1865. Schuyler Colfax, speaker of the House of Representatives, who hap­
pened to be in Utah at the time of his demise, appropriately referred to
him as “A most judicious executive and the best this Territory ever had,
who performed his delicate and responsible duties with firmness and yet
with discretion.”

Twentieth century historians looking back upon the subsequent un­
happy 1870’s and 1880’s in Utah could well suggest that had men of Gov­
ernor Doty’s calibre continued to serve the territory its pages of history
would have been brighter and freer from the ugliness that comes from the
actions of little men motivated by prejudice and intolerance. Governor
Doty rising above these succeeded measurably in breaking down barriers
of misunderstanding and distrust. Moreover, he was not a carpetbagger
and today his body, at his own request, lies buried in the cemetery at Fort
Douglas in Salt Lake City.

Mr. Morgan's latest work on the Far West is divided into two parts. In the first, preceded by a short narration of the Trans-Mississippi fur trade before Ashley entered it, the Missouri River scene is given prime attention. There is little here to excite informed readers, although the scholarship that went into it will command the respect of all historians. This part is followed by one involving the author's prime effort and interest, the activities (at home and in the field) of the said Ashley.

Unpublished federal records, manuscripts in leading depositories of Western Americana, contemporary newspaper accounts, court records, and anything else likely to contain information on Ashley as a fur trader, were carefully searched for materials suitable for reproduction and editorial comment. Very little new from Ashley's own hand has turned up, and most of the collateral documents printed in sequence with his are not particularly revolutionary in their purport. Of the latter class, a goodly number are being held back for a future annotation to be centered upon the career of Robert Campbell, and the author believes that separate documentary works would be desirable on the Missouri Fur Company, the Chouteaus, the Columbia Fur Company, and the Missouri River army expeditions of those years; to which might be added (if one accepts the logic of the approach, as the reviewer does not) fresh documentaries on the Western Department of the American Fur Company and such Southwestern enterprises as have so far escaped critical attention, since all are related, in one way or another.

Drawing upon his almost unrivaled knowledge of the historical cartography of the Rocky Mountain West, Mr. Morgan has edited the Ashley papers in such a way as to give an incomparable picture of the terrain, the actors in the drama, and the adventurous business climate of the times. For Indian lore alone, the book is a treasury of delights. Everywhere he corrects previous errors (including some of mine) and enlarges upon what is known. In no other place, not even in the Hudson's Bay Company Record Society publications, can one get so intimate a feeling for the collision of British and American interests in the Far West. The technical competence of the book is noteworthy. So much learning!

One hesitates to criticize a dedicated scholar for immersing himself and his readers in a sea of documents when he is known to be nurses a grand design of some sort, but one can grow weary waiting for the Big Show to begin. When is all this preparatory work to result in a general history of the Western American fur trade? The author feels that a book like his new one would have helped him
immeasurably when he was composing his seminal work on the same general subject more than a decade ago (*Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West*, 1953), yet he did very well without it then, and the new book does not appear to have altered his basic views in any material way. A good many of the documents included here were published previously, some of the best ones by the author himself.

Whatever the author’s intent, the publisher was out to make a splash. The book is a lushly-decorated folio weighing six pounds and retailing for $35.00. (A special edition sold out at $65.00.) A more inconvenient instrument of study would be hard to find. To get at the footnotes one must incessantly flip to the rear, a handicap sufficiently annoying in any book with a serious aim, but quite insupportable in the case of this tome. Of the illustrative materials, only a very interesting folding map showing the Ashley itineraries is in any way indispensable. If the author was convinced that his book was an advancement of learning he should have insisted on a cheaper edition for the use of poor scholars and graduate students. Is such an edition being contemplated?

J. W. SMURR
Moorhead State College


In his prefatory the author notes that the Battle of Wounded Knee, December 29, 1890, conforms with the date used to designate the end of the frontier. In expressing appreciation for James Money’s *Ghost Dance Religion* (1896), and other ethnological treatises, the author describes his own book as wholly historical in character. This account of the disintegration of the once powerful Sioux Nation is supported by an impressive Bibliography. Mr. Utley has read all of the basic works and examined many sources available in the National Archives and the Nebraska State Historical Society. The book is amply annotated. There are 24 illustrations, 5 maps, and 15 chapters. Each of the chapters is prefaced by an Indian drawing.

The author used a unique device in describing the shambles of the Battle of Wounded Knee in Chapter 1. This crushing battle is the keystone of the Sioux Nation’s destruction. This statement follows the list of battle casualties: “Many innocent women and children died there. What is more, the Sioux Nation died there.” That is to say, the Sioux Nation was not destroyed by the rigorous campaigns that brought about their confinement to reservations. Instead, disintegration resulted from the frustrations, proscriptions, and conflicts that occurred during a tragic decade of reservation life. This was a case of “warfare by other means.” The change from bison hunting, tribal solidarity, chieftainship, and seasonal religious ceremonies to regimentation, however indulgent, was too much for many Sioux.

Mr. Utley describes vacillating reservation policies, changing agents according to election results, and the use of rations, due by treaties as incentives or penalties.

Variable Indian responses to agency procedures and disciplines produced classification into “progressive” and “nonprogressive” groups. Some of the progressives were given positions of trust, such as policemen and scouts. Nonprogressives were inhibited, their heathen ceremonials proscribed. This procedure alienated medicine men, who exercised their powers and influence to liberate the people from the coils of reservation routines.

In these circumstances many Sioux became susceptible to appeals of insurrection. In 1889 a delegation of Sioux leaders visited a Paiute medicine man named Wovoka. He taught them a doc-
trine that integrated Indian tradition and Christian teachings. He also taught them the Ghost Dance, which, if properly executed, would endow the dancer with great power, even making him immune to death.

Upon returning to Sioux reservations these delegates became apostles of the new cult. Sioux leaders generally adopted or protected the Ghost Dance, and a craze swept Siouxland. Having proscribed the native Sioux Sun Dance, the agents were determined to suppress the Ghost Dance. In so doing they added fuel to an inflammatory situation.

At this juncture the author’s description of the strengths and weaknesses of the agents is very satisfactory. Several of the serious errors of judgment and procedure are described, but Mr. Utley refrained from censure. Actually, the killing of Sitting Bull and the events that sparked the Battle of Wounded Knee have been severely criticized by many authors. Mr. Utley allows the events to speak for themselves. His objectivity is very impressive. Concerning Wounded Knee, he wrote: “It is time that Wounded Knee be viewed for what it was — a regrettable, tragic accident of war, that neither side intended, and called forth behavior for which some individuals on both sides . . . may be judged culpable, but for which neither side as a whole may be properly condemned.”

The tug-of-war between the departments of army and interior, for the control of Sioux reservations, is handled with a deft touch. The dominating manner of General Nelson A. Miles is implied in this statement: “Any other general sent to Dakota to suppress the Sioux outbreak would have accomplished this superficially military mission and then withdrawn. Not General Miles. . . . With an attitude of smug superiority that infuriated officials of the Indian Bureau, he invaded their preserve and sought to push through his own program for the salvation of the Sioux.”

Mr. Utley and the Yale University Press should be thanked for publishing this penetrating account of the generally deleterious impact of reservation life upon the Sioux during the decade of the 1880’s.

MERRILL D. BEAL
Idaho State University

For Time and All Eternity. By PAUL BAILEY. (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Incorporated, 1964. 400 pp. $5.95)

Paul Bailey’s currently acclaimed novel on early-day Mormonism, For Time and All Eternity, is a tragic example of a work which misses literary distinction by only two letters of the alphabet: “If.”

For if Mr. Bailey had not tumbled head-over-heels into the same old pitfall which has ensnared so many others, his book could have been excellent on the fascinating, but deceptively tricky topic of the plural marriage practice in territorial Utah.

His main theme is the anti-polygamy crusade of the 1880’s, and on this he has written compellingly, against an historical background ringing remarkably true. The plight of the Saints under lash of the Edmunds-Tucker Law is vividly depicted.

Yet, Mr. Bailey spoiled an otherwise splendid effort by inaccurately implying, throughout the story, that licentiousness was the sole motive for plural marriages when — as we now know — it was not so, with but rare exception.

Of course, for decade upon decade the real truths of polygamy were shrouded in mystery, chiefly because the Saints and their wives who lived plurality kept their true thoughts to themselves. All that the world could know was what it saw in a magic mirror, unaware that it merely reflected whichever image that he who gazed, might wish to see.
For everything seemed to be there. As if to fulfill the promise "Seek, and ye shall find," floods of reckless oratory on both sides of bitter controversy pictured polygamy as a bacchanalian debauch, a sanctification of primitive urges, a holy blessing from the Lord, or just another hellish machination by Satan. And always, in that magic mirror, it was sex, sex, sex.

In recent years, however, impartial scholars have dug out amazing facts. Again, and although the Saints of yore were silent, battered old trunks have been hauled from dusty attic alcoves, to yield a treasure-trove of diaries never meant for other eyes, and of letters perhaps intended to be destroyed, but never were. So it is that from their own words we are seeing the men and women of yesteryear as they were—mentally clean, deeply sincere, but sorely troubled folk who mutely bore a cross of martyrdom, in trying times.

Had Author Bailey explored this priceless lore he never, in good conscience, could have fictionally created his loathsome "Apostle Jonathan Cragg." Nor could he have caused his hero, "Joel Scott," to take a plural wife because of illicitly having got her "in trouble" — the one thing which was not characteristic of the marrying Mormons of the past.

The truth is that the harried Saints actually shied from plurality in near-panic. More than four-fifths of them rebelliously clung to monogamy, while most of the remainder surrendered only because they saw no choice, if they were to maintain standing in the church and the community — and even then to limit themselves to only one plural wife.

Author Bailey's errors of fact, and of interpretation, were few—but so monumental in total effect that an otherwise excellent fictional work becomes forever ruined.

HAMPTON C. GODBE
Salt Lake City


The publishing of The Frontier Experience by Professors Robert Hine and Edwin R. Bingham is an important event in the development of both western history and western pedagogy. It represents that rare phenomenon, a textbook which is useful for the teacher and yet at the same time an original synthesis in its own right. In compiling this book of readings for college students, the authors have attempted to place the whole western experience within a new thematic frame, which, as even a casual reference to the secondary materials selected indicates, represents a consensus of the newer historiographical thinking about the West that has sharply modified the old Turnerian approach. As such, The Frontier Experience is representative of the tendency on the part of what might be called the "new school" of western historians to reject the Turner thesis that the frontier created individualism which in turn shaped the national character of the United States, in favor of a more complex approach which is essentially a construction of paradoxes.

As Professors Hine and Bingham see it, the western experience has been characterized by a set of opposing forces: innovation and tradition, individualism and traditionalism. With varying degrees of ascendancy at a particular time and place, these forces are seen by the authors to be part of almost every important western event. They emerge clearly in the section on the fur trade where the individualistically inclined trapper seems constantly pitted against the corporate and cooperative structure of the fur trading company whether it be in Canada or the United States. The Oregon experience combines both tradition in terms of the utilization of previous American con-
cepts of law with innovations demanded by the exigencies of the moment. The same theme is also applicable to the mining frontier, though the authors say less than they might have about the impact of the large mining corporations, such as those represented by the Guggenheim interests, upon sourdough individualism. Most interesting, however, is their modified picture of the cowboy — long a solitary figure who “related” only to his horse. In the selections presented here, the cowboy is seen as part of a group — a group which was not even adverse to “sharing the wealth” during the course of an evening’s entertainment in a local trail town. Moreover, the town itself can be seen as something more than a collection of frontier individualists. Balanced against this, and implicit in the selections are the forces making for extreme individualism if not anarchy. The best evidences of their existence are Joseph G. McCoy’s plea for organization in the cattle business and the desperate efforts of townspeople, miners, and territorial politicians to establish law and order where presumably it did not exist before. Running through all of the selections therefore is the theme of tension — tension between the basic opposing forces that motivated the men who won the West. On its broadest level this tension appears to have carried through to relations between the territorial and state governments and the federal government, though as the authors’ selections make clear the positions of region and nation with respect to innovation and tradition, individualism and cooperation were by no means as predictable as the Turner thesis suggests they ought to have been. Nevertheless, one is invariably struck by the persistence of a climate of over-all tension in the West on many levels and in peculiar places — a tension which may have produced the “restless energy” that Turner saw as being characteristic of the West, and which as the twentieth century unfolds appears to be looming larger on the national scene.

Suffice to say this is an extremely interesting book. It should stimulate college students, and it is well worth the time of the general reader and the specialist.

WILLIAM H. GOETZMANN
Texas University


In The Galvanized Yankees D. Alexander Brown, agriculture librarian at the University of Illinois, has written an interesting account of a little-known group of soldiers of the Civil War era. The usual Civil War history normally touches activities in the Far West lightly and leaves almost entirely unmentioned the activities of the Galvanized Yankees — the soldiers of the Confederate States of America who were recruited from the Union prison camps in the North and who were used in a variety of missions in the West.

Though as early as 1862 the matter of utilizing Confederate prisoners was considered, it was not until 1864 that formal official action was taken to organize them into military units. Within the next two years six volunteer regiments (1st through 6th), some 6,000 men, had been formed and their elements dispatched to posts and stations in Minnesota, along the Missouri River from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Benton, along the Oregon Trail from Fort Kearney to Fort Bridger, at stations along the Overland Stage line from Fort Kearney to Fort Douglas, along the route of the Butterfield Stage line from Fort Leavenworth to Denver, at stations along the route from Fort Laramie to the Montana mines, and south along the Santa Fe Trail to as far west as Fort Lyon in what is now Colorado. These soldiers built and manned lonely frontier posts; they protected and rebuilt telegraph lines; they escorted
overland caravans and stages; they guarded surveying parties for the Union Pacific railroad; and they fought hostile Indians. Their use in these capacities freed northern men for action against the Confederates in the East and also permitted an earlier release from active duty of other military units after the war was concluded.

Inasmuch as the companies of each of the volunteer regiments were often widely scattered, it was difficult to present a cohesive, well-integrated account of a regiment's activities. In spite of the difficulties, Mr. Brown does a good job in enabling the reader to follow the diverse activities of the companies. A good map in both the front and the back of the book made meaningful a narrative that otherwise would have been obscure and almost impossible to follow. A section of well-chosen photographs also made more real and vivid matters discussed in the narrative. Sources of a primary nature provided the author with material that was unused or had been little used, and thus gave freshness and newness to his account.

Several biographical sketches introduced into the narrative lent color and interest. In this category were the accounts of John T. Shanks—a Confederate soldier, prisoner of war, spy for the Union, and captain of the United States Volunteers—and John Rowlands, better known as Henry Morton Stanley—a Britisher by birth who joined the Confederacy, was taken prisoner by the Union; then joined the Union forces but was shortly released because of health reasons; and later to become well-known as a newspaper correspondent, African explorer, and the man who found David Livingstone in Africa.

The reviewer detected one significant error of fact. On page 4, in the Introduction, is found this statement: "In Mexico, European adventurers were gathering around the French emperor, Maximilian, with dreams of severing the rich Western states and territories from a weakened United States." This error, though not directly related to the narrative, made the reviewer wonder about the accuracy of details taken from documents.

The last chapter of the book is entitled "A Note on the Galvanized Confederates." In it the author relates the endeavors of the Confederacy to use Union prisoners in the Confederate service. This action of the Confederacy came late in 1864, was undertaken with little enthusiasm, with limited trust of the former Union soldiers, and with minimal success. It was hardly undertaken when the war ended. The captive Union soldiers who chose to serve the Confederacy, like the Confederates who chose to serve the Union, were strongly motivated by the unbearable conditions in the prison camps—conditions common to both the North and the South during the Civil War.

The Galvanized Yankees should be of special interest to students of military history, of the Civil War era, and the frontier. It would be of less interest to the general reader of history and the historian primarily concerned with broader movements and more significant currents in American history.

DELLO G. DAYTON
Weber State College

Tales of the Frontier: From Lewis and Clark to the Last Roundup. Selected and Retold by EVERETT DICK. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963. x + 390 pp. $6.00)

This collection of some 80 frontier stories is both delightful and meaningful. Taken individually, each one is worth reading simply as a good story; when tied together by Professor Dick's incisive running commentary, the whole provides an excellent mirror of life and conditions in the pioneering West. Gleaned by the author from many sources over the past 30
years or so, these are brief human interest stories of "ordinary people" originally told and passed along as true, though probably a few are apocryphal. No one would claim that these were typical frontier experiences, but they could and did happen, and in their telling much that was typical of frontier life comes through.

Some of the tales, like those of J. Ross Browne on Washoe or Jesse Applegate on the Oregon Trail, are well-known classics, and appear virtually verbatim; others, like the story of Lewelling's apple seedlings or Eliza Brook's journey to California are much less familiar and come from more obscure accounts. Many have been condensed from longer versions, with care taken to preserve the spirit of the original. All are interesting.

This veritable smorgasbord of western social history covers the period of the nineteenth century, Dick's "Last Round-up" being the one of 1902 in South Dakota. Most stories are drawn from the Trans-Missouri West, but some are from as far east as Illinois and Indiana. Their central figures are mountain men, bull whackers, riverboatmen, prospectors, sodbusters, road agents, and all the other dramatis personae of the great unfolding western panorama. They provide humor (of a kind) in the story of Thompson's lost scalp or of sham Indian attacks for the "benefit" of greenhorn land speculators; hardship and suffering in the Donner and Manley episodes; love stories, some poignant and some tragic, in tales of white-Indian relationships; thrills and adventure galore (and any number of good bear stories).

Sources have been included, as well as a dozen detailed maps, which unfortunately lose some of their effectiveness by having been placed together in the middle of the book, rather than spaced throughout. But no matter, Tales of the Frontier is a highly satisfactory and completely disarming approach to the history of the West.

CLARK C. SPENCE
University of Illinois


In the summer of 1861, a young man named William Wright, drawn by hope of finding the "big thing," left Silver City on a trip eastward over the deserts of Nevada. The "big thing" in this venture was to be coal and quicksilver, both in demand in the booming camps of Washoe. For some 20 days Wright and his small party wandered — to Fort Churchill, around the Upper Sink of the Carson River, northeastward along and into the Silver Hill Range, and back home along the Lower Sink and the desert sloughs of the Carson.

The trek yielded no mining discoveries. After several hundred miles of heat, alkali water, and Paiute companionship, for Wright the "big thing" remained a desert mirage. He got back home on the Fourth of July, money and supplies exhausted. The last of his bacon paid for well water the party was forced to purchase.

Although he could not then be certain of it, the "big thing" for Wright was of course not coal and quicksilver, not even gold and silver, but the experience of seeing the Washoe country firsthand, its deserts, Paiutes, and thirsty prospectors. This ore he could mine for a series of 12 articles to appear in the Golden Era and California Magazine and Mountaineer. He had already made a literary beginning in the Era and other journals, but this series of rambles in Washoe made his reputation firm. The next year he went up to Virginia City to write for the Territorial Enterprise, and later he wrote two classic histories of Nevada mining, The History of the Big Bonanza and A History of the Comstock Silver Lode Mines.

Washoe Rambles, now published for the first time as a book, adds to our
knowledge of the history and literature of the West in a number of ways.

William Wright — or as he is better known, Dan DeQuille — possessed the good eye and the disciplined mind of a careful observer. Without being self-conscious of his own importance, he could put down the facts he found in his travels. He could be scientific about deserts, mountains, and minerals. He could be anthropological about Indians. But whether with mountains or with Indians, he had that closeness, that immediacy that lets us see the mountains as mountains or the Indians as people before we see them as geological or social generalizations. There was, in short, a warm human curiosity in this honest reporter.

Not long after he began writing for the Enterprise, Wright was joined by another ex-prospector, Sam Clemens, soon to become Mark Twain. In his Introduction to the new printing of the Rambles, Richard E. Lingenfelter reminds us of C. Grant Loomis’ suggestion that Mark Twain may have used the Rambles as the model for his own Roughing It. Certainly Mark Twain knew and admired Wright’s work. Certainly there are important similarities. But without discredit to Washoe Rambles, one can argue that in important ways Roughing It is different. It is a more complexly organized, more imaginative book. And at the point of some similarities, one is reminded not that Mark took from Dan but that in common they shared a rich literary tradition of what often we call frontier humor. The evidence is frequent in Washoe Rambles that Wright knew the tricks of the literary comedians. Note the comic precision of his account of hunting hare. “I fired once, badly wounding several — in the leg — the left.” Toward the close of the book note the comic incongruities in the following sentence: “We broke our fast on one of the toughest old rabbits, of the lord-of-creation gender, that ever caused a hungry, baffled wood-
tick to burst his bosom with grief, or tear asunder his tender heart with tears, . . .”

Particularly close to Mark Twain is Wright’s awareness of the gap between the unreality of the “official” idealized way of seeing the world and the reality of the vernacular view, and he is sometimes skillful in manipulating this contrast for comic purposes. The contrast is of course seen in the sentence just quoted, in the incongruity between the rhetorical grandeur of “burst his bosom with grief” and the wood-tick whose bosom is bursting. But like Mark Twain, Wright could work the contrast in longer literary movements, as for example in the inflated description of the Silver Hill Mountains.

Some things Mark Twain could certainly do better, but at his best, in certain kinds of reporting, Dan DeQuille could hold his own with any writer, including his friend Clemens. His account of the two “thirsty bummers” who “test” a bottle of gin (consuming the whole bottle in an episode of dashing fraudulence) is first-rate DeQuille. And in this judgment one need not mean second-rate Mark Twain. For this bit and many others, any student of western letters must welcome Washoe Rambles to his library.

DON D. WALKER
University of Utah

The Old Trails West. By Ralph Moody.
(New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1963, xiv + 318 pp. $5.95)

In The Old Trails West Ralph Moody attempts to trace the history of each of the major routes, which eventually saw a great deal of traffic during the great westward migration, as well as many minor trails, which for various reasons proved impractical and thus were used very little by the hordes of people moving westward during the past century. The author makes extensive use of diaries and other documents to describe the ac-
tivities of various people who first traversed the trails as well as expeditions which followed later. The descriptive material is bolstered with 19 maps purporting to show the routes in relation to present cities and major highways. In addition, the volume contains 29 illustrations depicting various scenes and historic activities dealing with the trails and some portraits of important trail-blazers. The work is very broad in scope, beginning with the original pathfinders — animals and aborigines — long before the penetration of Spanish conquistadores and missionaries into the Southwest and California. A logical end for the study is found with the completion of the transcontinental railroad, 1869.

The general reader will find this a fascinating book — especially the maps. The end papers, two-tone maps (the best in the volume — drawn by Charles Berger) show the major routes: Lewis and Clark, Oregon Trail, Santa Fe Trail, Old Spanish Trail, Hastings’ Cutoff, California Trail, and the Butterfield Stage route. Eighteen detail maps — drawn by Herbert Anthony — scattered throughout the volume are done in grey with routes shown in broad white lines — a rather unique and attractive method of map-making.

Although the book’s colorful dust jacket asserts that “Mr. Moody knows the trails like the back of his hand” the careful scholar (and especially the field historian) will find that this certainly is not true for all the trails. In examining this volume your reviewer quite naturally turned to trails with which he has more than a passing acquaintance and found some gaping inaccuracies. The author should have avoided discussions of expeditions and trails about which he was admittedly not informed. On page 271 he writes of the Bidwell party of 1841 asserting that “no one knows the exact route taken as they groped their way westward. . . .” Yet a map on page 268-69 purports to show the route. Just because Mr. Moody does not know the Bidwell route is no proof that “no one knows.” (See David E. Miller, “The First Wagon Train to Cross Utah, 1841,” Utah Historical Quarterly, XXX [Winter, 1962], 41-51.)

In treating the 1846 Donner party on Hastings’ Cutoff the author (p. 283) describes the bickering, quarreling party as hacking its “way through the Wasatch Mountains for more than a month” reaching Salt Lake Valley in mid-September. The map on pages 276-77 shows the Donner-Hastings Cutoff striking the Humboldt at the present site of Wells. Readers of this review and of the Utah Historical Quarterly will recognize the inaccuracy of the date, descriptions, and map. Concerning the Mormon migration, Moody asserts that before the trek began Brigham Young “had already had the land spied out and chosen a narrow strip between Great Salt Lake and the Wasatch Mountains . . .” (pp. 284-85). Other misrepresentations could be cited.

In short, this reviewer finds so many inaccuracies dealing with routes he has had occasion to examine carefully that he is led to wonder about the author’s detailed treatment of other routes.

DAVID E. MILLER
University of Utah


This “cops and robbers” tale gives a far different slant on life around Nauvoo, Illinois, in the 1840’s from what is generally pictured. Here we see, through a participant’s eyes, the roving bands of robbers, cutthroats, counterfeiters, and other bad men that infested the entire Mississippi Valley. Many of these raided
Nauvoo, itself, and some, according to the author, were recruited from that city.

Not that Bonney was, himself, a criminal. He was a lawman, engaged in rounding up the most vicious murderers of the region. But to do so, he assumed the trappings of a man "of the right stripe." Pretending to be a counterfeiter, he hobnobbed with various members of the gang until he wormed from them the secret hiding places of the criminals he was after. One of the fascinating aspects of the narrative is the authentic slang — "raise a sight" for what now would be "case a joint"; "rag money" for counterfeit, etc.

This volume is a Western Frontier Library reprint of the original Bonney story, which was published in 1850 and soon became a best seller. The Introduction by Philip D. Jordan, professor of history at the University of Minnesota, gives the background of the activities recorded. Mr. Jordan apparently ties in the "Banditti" with the "Danite Band." His Introduction brings in William Hickman and others, but Bonney, himself, makes no such allusion, though he does, once, mention Porter Rockwell.

Bonney's narrative, standing alone, is a fascinating tale of an early sleuth, from whom the famed Pinkerton detective, J. P. McParland, could have learned a few tricks.

Olive W. Burt
Salt Lake City


This book is unlike anything previously published. It is an attempt to analyze Jewish-Mormon relationships and their interacting influences since the founding of the Latter-day Saints Church, although it is primarily concerned with these situations in the nineteenth century. Dr. Glanz approached this task with experience gained from writing similar treatises on the Jew and Yankee, the Jew and the Germans in America, the Jews and the Chinese in America, and the "Bayer" and "Pollack" and their American relationship to the Jews. The author has done an amazing amount of research in preparation for this study. Not only has he quoted many articles from English and American publications, which this reviewer has never seen used by other writers, but he has presented many from uncommon German sources, primarily of Jewish origin.

The book is essentially a sociological study. It was the economic incentive which produced most of the contacts between the Jews and the Mormons in America, but in this treatise the economic area is subordinated to the social impacts and philosophical ideas which characterize the groups under discussion. Sociological terminology such as "image," "area of identification," "community of suffering," and "extended existence" are indicative of this approach. The author assumes that Mormonism arose from early nineteenth century American Indian-Israelism which Joseph Smith made a cornerstone of his new faith. As European biblicism demanded a Bible, the American biblicism of Joseph Smith demanded an American Bible, dealing with the Indian-Israel concept. This new Bible — the Book of Mormon — was produced by Smith, so the author indicates, from the Solomon Spaulding manuscript which he had acquired.

Armed with its new Bible and with Indian-Israelism concepts, Mormonism embarked on a world mission. The Jews were viewed by the Mormons as a very special and yet-to-be-favored people. Dr. Glanz presents many of the expressions of this idea which created the harmonious feelings that have characterized Mormon-Jewish relationships. Both groups had a background of inhumane
persecution, and this furthered the bond of sympathy between them.

The book has a number of serious defects. First, the author never defines what he means by the term Jew. Sometimes it refers to a religious community, at other times a cultural pattern, or it may be a matter of blood descent. Again it may be a combination of two or all three of these interpretations. Dr. Glanz quotes, without any successful integration of the material, from the literature of the various Mormon schismatic groups as well as its two major divisions, but fails to indicate the divergent meanings which each attribute to the various phenomena in their faith. Misstatements of fact are quite common. The author asserts the Mountain Meadows massacre was the cause of the Utah War, instead of indicating it occurred after the war had commenced. He feels the Bible had little influence on Mormon settlement in the West, as measured by the use of names. “Only 4 place names in Utah originate in the Bible,” he asserts. A hurried scanning of a map indicates a dozen or more, which is not insignificant, when it is remembered that most of the landmarks, rivers, and valleys had been named by Indians and trappers, or surveyors, before the Mormon settlements. Again he states “...the Biblical names Goschen [Goshen], Sharon and Lebanon, often found in other states, are missing in Utah.” In reality, all three are found in Utah. He appears to be unaware of the early period of settlement in the Great Basin when Old Testament concepts were powerful in Mormonism. This is indicated by the practice of circumcision and the stress placed on the Law of Moses as a governing force in the Mormon community. Important as it is to understand Mormon thinking, Dr. Glanz fails to truly sense the Mormon concept of the Jews as but one of the tribes of Israel, while Mormons view themselves as belonging to the other non-Jewish tribes of Israel.

Mechanically the book leaves much to be desired. The footnotes are grouped by chapters at the end of the book. This makes reading difficult for the reader who desires to check the source of a quotation. It is irksome because the book contains 997 footnotes. Reading is not smooth because of the numerous quotations. For example, Chapter 9 has a total of 222 lines of which 158 are quotations. This reviewer feels that fewer pertinent notes would suffice if the author had summarized his source material. The book lacks both a bibliography and an index, so that attempting to find a citation is extremely time-consuming.

_Jew and Mormon_ is not an easy book to read. For the sociological scholar it would have significance. To the layman it is confusing and tedious reading.

T. Edgar Lyon

_Nauvoo Restoration Incorporated_


Many broad historical accounts of the Spanish colonization and settlement of Texas and the so-called “borderlands” have been offered in the past three decades. In a broad sense the _Doomed Road of Empire: The Spanish Trail of Conquest_ must be added to this list.

This well-written text is part of a projected series entitled _The American Trails_, which is to be edited by A. B. Guthrie, Jr.

_The Doomed Road of Empire_ is a history of the titanic struggle of five Christian nations, Spain, France, Mexico, the Republic of Texas, and the United States, to dominate and control the territory over which the Spanish Trail of Texas would be built. “Along the camino real they came, for a thousand miles, miles of 150 years, from Saltillo to Natchitoches,
and from Natchitoches back to a bloody appointment of Mexican and Anglo-American in 1847 at a ranch near Saltillo named Buena Vista, and the final wrestling away.”

Carter briefly summarizes the saga of the early Spanish whose exploits are familiar to most readers, then traces the classic epic of the French De LaSalle and the Renegade Spaniard Penalosa to enlarge France’s claim to the territory adjacent to Texas; thus the camino real had to turn east toward Louisiana.

After a lengthy narration which recounts the military and religious attempts to colonize Texas, Carter deliberately weaves into the story the subtle but alarming penetration of Texas by the “Norteamericanos.” By 1790 the English-speaking revolutionaries were streaming through eastern mountain and river trails and were already demanding an outlet for their produce at the Spanish port of New Orleans. Alarmed by the movement, the governor of Louisiana warned of the danger of these alien people on the Spanish frontier. “If such men succeeded in occupying the shores of the Mississippi or the Missouri, or to obtain their navigation, there is, beyond doubt, nothing that can prevent them from crossing those rivers and penetrating into our provinces on the other side.”

The book reaches its climax with the settlement of Texas by Moses and Steven Austin. Perhaps the most interesting commentary concerns Steven Austin’s attempt to fulfill his obligations to the Mexican government despite the increased pressure of illegal impresarios.

Hodding Carter’s narration is interesting; however, it is somewhat unfortunate that he neglects to document adequately the source of many of his quotations. Furthermore, original material was totally lacking in the body of the book. Where information was impossible to obtain, he injects imaginary conversations. While the dialogue is quite effective in re-creating the feelings of the Alamo defenders, its usefulness for any other purpose can be seriously questioned.

Although this text is of questionable value to the professional student of history, the author presents an entertaining history which has lost most of its color through lack of popularization. Doomed Road of Empire captures the various undertows faced by the Spanish crown in her unsuccessful attempt to settle Texas with a group of people who would accept the Latin way of life. Woven very skillfully into this narration are accounts of the pains and sorrows which the Spanish population experienced in their fruitless attempt to keep the northern borders of their empire intact. Mr. Carter’s exciting journalistic style, combined with a genuine attempt to relive the adventure of the Doomed Road of Empire, will make it a welcome addition to Western Americana.

DONALD R. MOORMAN
Weber State College


George Drouillard was one of the interpreters and hunters for the Lewis and Clark Expedition and a minor fur trapper on the Missouri. Ordinarily, a person of no greater distinction would not deserve a full-length biography, but the author believes such a work is justified because without Drouillard, “and particularly for the role he played in assisting Lewis in negotiating with the Shoshones for horses, the explorers would not have been able to cross the mountains between the headwaters of the Missouri and the Columbia and so would not have reached the Pacific.” Moreover, Skarsten feels Drouillard played “a
leading role" in the four other major crises of this expedition. These he lists as (1) the attempts of the Teton Sioux to prevent the expedition from ascending the Missouri (2) the heroic efforts of Lewis to win the confidence of the Shoshones (3) the floundering in the deepening snows of the Lolo Trail, and (4) Lewis' foray with the Blackfeet.

Despite Skarsten's attempt to cast Drouillard in the role of savior of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, there is little compelling evidence in his book of Drouillard's importance beyond the simple fact that he was an able sign-language interpreter, an intrepid hunter, and a fur trader of no consequence. A careful reading of the journals of the expedition shows clearly that Drouillard played only a minor role in the negotiations for horses with the Shoshones. The Lewis band of the expedition contacted the Shoshones on August 13, 1805, on the Lemhi River, and with Drouillard's help gained their confidence but not their horses. On August 17th, Clark, Sacajawea, and the rest of the expedition joined Lewis and negotiations began in earnest with Sacajawea, a long-lost member of that tribe and a sister to one of the chiefs, as interpreter. Skarsten admits that Drouillard was probably out hunting during this very important conference.

Most of the horses for the journey over the Bitterroots were secured during the three days from August 27th to 29th, but the journals are silent on Drouillard's activities during this time. Surely, this is rather flimsy evidence upon which to base the statement that the whole expedition would have failed without Drouillard's efforts. Moreover, any fair evaluation of the facts compels one to conclude that both Lewis and Sacajawea were more important in the negotiations for horses with the Shoshones; hence, Skarsten is guilty in this instance of the cardinal sin of all biographers — special pleading.

To say, in addition, that the expedition could not have reached the Pacific without horses is idle speculation. No one can say with certainty what men of such ability and tenacity might have done under different circumstances. After all, the Overland Astorians and several others crossed and recrossed much of the most rugged country of the Rockies without horses.

The role of Drouillard in the four other crises of the expedition is equally unconvincing. The journals are silent on Drouillard's activities during the Sioux attempts to halt the expedition. He was berated by Lewis for his actions during the Blackfoot foray, although Drouillard showed considerable courage during this skirmish, and his only contribution to the expedition on the Lolo Trail was as a hunter of indifferent success.

If Skarsten's book is unconvincing, it is generally interesting, and reasonably well-written. It has a good Index and adequate maps, but the Bibliography is disappointing and the footnotes are scanty. The book would be more palatable if some of the trivia were deleted and fewer exclamation points inserted. Finally, the editors should have caught such errors as calling Pierre Chouteau "Peter" and such phrases as, "By this time the captain was ready to tell the Indians they could go and take a jump in the river."

JAMES L. CLAYTON
University of Utah


Pueblo Gods and Myths by Mr. Hamilton A. Tyler is a compilation of the great mass of information gathered by anthropologists on western Pueblo religion and an attempt to make cosmos out of the chaos of the multitudinous ideas concerning Pueblo religion.
The 12 chapters of this book deal with the more important Gods — such as Masau'u, the Skeleton God, the War Gods, and others — and describes and compares the myths and legends recorded by anthropologists working with the Hopi, Zuni, and Keres Puebloans. He also discusses some of the ceremonies concerned with the Gods and the ceremonial cycles. The final chapter is devoted to a discussion of animism, and the author uses Freud and Buber to show that: “No one who has read the earlier chapter will doubt the complexity of the Pueblo pantheon, nor the vitality of Pueblo responses to the particular land from which they emerged and the challenge it has set.”

A great amount of Mr. Tyler's information comes from the early works of students of the Pueblo groups he discusses. In fact, a large portion of all but the last chapter of this book is made up of questions and remarks about the quotations and the author's interpretations of the ideas, facts, and myths quoted.

Mr. Tyler says that he is not an anthropologist; perhaps if he were he would not have attempted this book. He probably would not have made such statements as “The Pueblos seem never to have practiced cremation,” for archaeologists are aware that the prehistoric Zuni, one of the groups he is writing about, did practice cremation toward the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century.

This is a difficult book to review; difficult because it is so full of the Indian names of various Gods and the many variations on the myths of the Hopi, Zuni, and Keres, as well as comparisons with the Greek Gods and myths, that it is hard to keep all of the pertinent facts in mind as one reads each chapter. The fault in the book lies in the fact that no Pueblo informant, at least no Hopi informant, will tell all that he knows of his religion. Nor do the informants know all of the variations of any one myth or God, so that neither Mr. Tyler, nor his sources can really tell the story of the Pueblo Gods and myths to the satisfaction of any one student on this subject.

The Hopi, as Dr. Colton once said, are not a tribe. They are simply the descendants of different groups who came together and lived together on the mesas, each one bringing with them their own myths about their own Gods. The same is true of the Zuni and probably the Keres. It is no wonder then that there are so many variations in the story. The wonder is that Mr. Tyler was able to find that there were so many Gods and myths in common.

EDWARD B. DANSON
Museum of Northern Arizona


This is the second reprint of Alfred Knopf's "New Editions of Classic Commentaries on America's Past" which treats in some detail Utah's early history. Richard F. Burton's, The City of the Saints was published last year, and now Horace Greeley's Overland Journey. Both books are excellent commentaries on the Mormons and the Utah scene. Both men are critical and capable observers and commentators.

Horace Greeley, in 1859, was certainly America's most famous newspaperman, being editor of the New York Tribune. He had traveled widely throughout the eastern part of the United States and had traveled in Europe as well. But he had never been into the "territories" and region beyond the Mississippi before he began his "Overland Journey" on May 9, 1859.

Greeley was an ardent Republican, and he was violently opposed to slavery as an institution and to the extension of the practice into the territories. He was
an early advocate of a transcontinental railroad, and, like many other travelers, was curious about the Mormons isolated in the Great Basin. He wanted to learn for himself if some or any of the rumors filtering back to the East were true—especially since these rumors had precipitated the dispatch of 5,000 troops to Utah in 1857.

*Overland Journey* is composed of 32 letters or dispatches (written en route as Greeley traveled from east to west) which he sent back to New York for publication in the *Tribune*.

One impression gained by the reviewer is that here was a man, although editor of an urban paper, who was “close to nature.” For Greeley was a keen observer of the natural resources of the country he crossed. And for his period, he had a remarkable insight into the problems which still haunt the West. He was well aware of the value of the timber and mineral resources, and lamented the destruction he saw already taking place. He saw the necessity of water to the growth and development of the arid regions. He commented upon the erosion already taking place, but had no suggestions for correcting it. He was alarmed to see patches of buffalo grass being broken up while all around were abandoned plots where farmers had failed.

Of the western Indian, Greeley made this observation: “But the Indians are children... Any band of schoolboys, from ten to fifteen years of age, are quite as capable of ruling their appetites, devising and upholding a public policy, constituting and conducting a state or community, as an average Indian tribe. And, unless they shall be treated as a truly Christian community would treat a band of orphan children providentially thrown on its hands, the aborigines of this country will be practically extinct within the next fifty years.” (p. 119)

On subjects specifically relating to Utah, Greeley has some interesting “asides.” While at Leavenworth, he briefly comments upon the base of operations of Russell, Majors, and Waddell. They were in 1859, freighters for the U.S. troops at Camp Floyd, Utah. Greeley saw “acres of Wagons, pyramids of extra axletrees, herds of oxen, and regiments of drivers and other employees.” He stated that in 1858, the firm employed 6,000 teamsters and worked 45,000 oxen.

As the *Tribune* editor rode atop 17 bags of mail on his run from Fort Laramie to Salt Lake, he was exceedingly nettled by the fact that 16 of the 17 bags were “large bound books, mainly Patent reports” being sent to Utah by Delegate John M. Bernhisel under the franking privilege. Naturally, Greeley protested the use of public funds for such a purpose.

Near the Sweetwater, Greeley “...Met several wagonloads of come-outers from Mormonism on their way to the states...; likewise, the children of the Arkansas people killed two years since, in what is known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre.” Greeley made no further comment upon the massacre or the “come-outers.”

Greeley gave interesting descriptions of the route to Great Salt Lake as well as the city itself. In all he spent more than a week in Utah, during which time he had a two-hour interview with Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders. His comments and observations were generally favorable—except for the practice of polygamy. Of this institution, Greeley, like the political party he affiliated with, had strong sentiments of condemnation. For Greeley, polygamy was degrading to womanhood.

To all those who have suffered through long church services while “the preacher spoke as the spirit moved him,” Greeley had some words of advice, for he too was trapped in such services in the Salt Lake Tabernacle.

“Let him (a speaker) only be sure to talk good sense, and I will excuse some
bad grammar. But when a preacher is to address a congregation of one to three thousand persons, . . . I insist that a due regard for the economy of time requires that he should prepare himself, by study and reflection, if not by writing, to speak directly to the point.” (p. 186)

From Great Salt Lake City, Greeley traveled to Camp Floyd where he observed 3,000 U.S. troops killing time — at expense to the taxpayer — waiting for they knew not what. But one thing Greeley was sure of was that “somebody” made money from sending the Army to Utah.

From Camp Floyd, Greeley traveled westward along the route later followed by the Pony Express. His descriptions of the desolate regions of Utah and Nevada and the unfavorable traveling conditions should have been enough to discourage all but the most adventurous spirits from taking a similar excursion.

Finally after an overland journey lasting five months, Greeley boarded ship at San Francisco to be carried home via the Isthmus. While Horace Greeley was fairly optimistic in the future of the Far West, he certainly gave no false impressions concerning hardships which would be encountered. Perhaps for those who chose to read into his dispatches, there was a message “to go West,” but no one should have been disillusioned with what he found. Greeley did not glamorize nor romanticize. He reported honestly — in the best traditions of an editor-reporter.

*Overland Journey* is a must for the western bookshelf.

**Everett L. Cooley**
*Utah State Historical Society*

**Buying the Wind: Regional Folklore in the United States.** By Richard M. Dorson. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964). xvii + 574 pp. $7.95

One of the United States' most prolific folklore scholars gives authentic texts and critical insights into the oral tradi-


This is a reprint of the original book which was written by Tom Horn while waiting to be hung for the alleged mur-
der of a 14-year-old boy, Willie Nickell. It was published after Horn's death by his friend, John C. Coble, in 1904.

Most of the book deals with Horn's activities as a scout with Al Seiber in the Apache campaigns of the 1880's, which saw the capture of Geronimo. It ends rather abruptly with his short-time employment by the Pinkerton Detective Agency, and omits entirely any reference to his work for the Wyoming Cattlemen's Association in the elimination of cattle rustlers.

Horn's conviction for murder depended principally on a so-called "confession" obtained through trickery by his supposed friend, Joe LaFors. In 1938 I wrote Outlaw Trail, containing one chapter on Tom Horn entitled "A One-Man Army." The chapter credited Tom Horn with eliminating cattle rustling in the Intermountain country by a few well-placed bullets fired from ambush. This greatly irritated LaFors, who told me it was himself and not Tom Horn who cleared out the rustlers. The fact is, according to his own story published a few years ago, that LaFors was always about three days behind any man he was supposed to trail, and he apparently never killed a rustler nor made any arrests. So, I seriously question the supposed confession he claimed to have obtained from Horn, and I am not convinced that Horn killed Willie Nickell.

I personally know that Horn was paid $500.00 for every rustler he killed. And I know that he killed Matt Rash and Isom Dart in Brown's Hole, another in Hole-in-the-Wall, and others not recorded. But in doing so he performed a great service to the West at a time when all other methods of stamping out cattle rustling had failed. Tom Horn was indeed a one-man army.

CHARLES KELLY
Salt Lake City

NEW BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS


The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has published a handsome and helpful guide, a reference book which makes a contribution to the military history of the United States. Almost 500 historic military posts are briefly noted, and supplementary information is included on the expansion and contraction of the military frontier together with a series of maps, lists of army territorial commands, an extensive Bibliography, and a number of well-chosen photographs and illustrations.

Unfortunately, there are a few errors concerning Utah's forts: Fort Crittenden (Camp Floyd) was located in Cedar Valley, not "midway between Salt Lake City and Provo"; Fort Duchesne was abandoned September 13, 1912; Fort Thornburgh was abandoned July 22, 1884.

Many persons interested in forts other than military posts will undoubtedly continue to refer to the late Edgar M. Ledyard's "American Posts," which was published serially in the Utah Historical Quarterly, Volume I through VI. This series listed almost 2,400 posts including pioneer forts and trading posts as well.


First published in 1957, The Mormons enjoyed a wide sale as a hard-bound book. Now in paperback, designed to sell at a lower price, Dr. O'Dea's book is within the reach of almost any budget and should be included in every library on Mormonism.

The Mormons is a very objective study, by a non-Mormon, concerning the beginnings of this religious organization. One of the major contributions of
O'Dea's study is an analysis of the message of the Book of Mormon. He does not concern himself with the divinity or origin of the book, but rather its theme or significance.

Of special interest to those who classify themselves as intellectuals is the final chapter entitled, "Sources of Strain and Conflict." Here O'Dea points out some rather significant dilemmas which the independent-minded Mormon faces. He is, curiously, quite optimistic about the future status of such individuals within the church.

_Utah History Atlas_. Compiled by DAVID E. MILLER. (Salt Lake City: Author, 1964)

Every student of history knows the importance of a good map for an understanding of the history of a region or for most events of the past. And when the maps are produced for the specific purpose of clarifying or illustrating routes, boundaries, and other human phenomena, they are doubly helpful and appreciated.

Dr. Miller has made a significant contribution to the teaching, studying, and learning of history through his assembling of some 41 maps and charts relating to Utah history.

Several of the maps are the result of careful field work and investigation conducted by Dr. Miller over a period of years. His work (actual on-the-site investigations) on the route of the Esclante party, Bartleson-Bidwell party, Peter Skene Ogden, and the Donners has resulted in corrections to early misconceptions of exactly where the trails were.

Some of these maps were used as illustrations for articles written by Dr. Miller and have appeared previously in various periodicals. But he has now assembled them into one atlas for easy access. For this work, Miller is to be congratulated and thanked. He has accomplished a great service for all of us involved in Utah history. The Atlas is available at all the Utah university bookstores and local book dealers in Salt Lake City.

_Index Guide to Periodicals of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints._ By ROY W. DOXEY. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1964)

_Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West._ By DALE L. MORGAN. Reprint. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964)

_Thales Hastings Haskell, Pioneer, Scout, Explorer, Indian Missionary, 1847–1909._ By ALBERT E. SMITH. (Salt Lake City: Author, 1964)

**ARTICLES OF INTEREST**


Museum Graphic—XVI, Spring 1964: “What to collect and How to collect Historical Objects,” by ROY E. COY, 7-9


Nevada Highways and Parks [Special Centennial Issue 1964]—no volume number: “Avenue to the West: Down the Humboldt—Up the Carson—The Famed, The Dreaded Humboldt River... It Brought Thousands Across the Nevada Deserts To Open The West,” 4ff.; “Early Maps: Nevada was Charted by the Great Mapmakers of the West,” by DALE L. MORGAN, 13-17; “First White Man to Explore Nevada... Peter Skene Ogden,” by GLORIA GRIFFEN CLINE, 18-20; “Captain Simpson of the United States Army: The First Color Views of Nevada... As Seen By Simpson in 1859,” by JAMES HULSE, 21-25

Nevada Historical Society Quarterly—VII, Numbers 3-4: “Early Nevada Forts (Fort Baker [Mormon fort at Los Vegas]),” by COLONEL GEORGE RUHLEN, 9-10


Vogue—CXLIV, September 1, 1964: “Salt Lake City,” by D. MESSINESI, 108


Western Political Quarterly—XVII, September 1964: “Separation of Church and State in Mormon Theory and Practice,” by J. D. WILLIAMS, 103-4

Membership in the Utah State Historical Society is open to all individuals and institutions who are interested in Utah history. We invite everyone to join this one official agency of state government charged by law with the collection, preservation, and publication of materials on Utah and related history.

Through the pages of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, the Society is able to fulfill part of its legal responsibility. Your membership dues provide the means for publication of the *Quarterly*. So, we earnestly encourage present members to interest their friends in joining them in furthering the cause of Utah history. Membership brings with it the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, the bimonthly *Newsletter*, and special prices on publications of the Society.

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- **Sustaining** $250.00
- **Patron** $500.00
- **Benefactor** $1,000.00

Your interest and support are most welcome.