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THE COVER. *The present Ogden Union Depot, built in 1924 and listed in the National Register of Historic Places, has been recently renovated. Ogden Union Station collections. On the back, the Capitol dominates Salt Lake City in this Borge Andersen photograph.*

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Utah State Historical Society

This issue has been partially funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities as part of the Interpreting Local History project.

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Urban Utah: Toward a Fuller Understanding

BY CHARLES S. PETERSON
GUEST EDITOR



Looking north on Washington Boulevard, Ogden, Art Work of Utah.

THIS ISSUE OF THE QUARTERLY continues the presentation of essays dealing with Utah regions that was initiated in the spring 1979 number. Like its predecessor this issue grows from the Interpreting Local History

project, a program funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities with the purpose of encouraging thought and dialogue about the identity and character of regions and communities in Utah and surrounding states. Directed by Utah State University's Department of History and Geography and the Utah State Historical Society, the project ran for more than two years and consisted of a three-phase presentation including eight regional lecture series, traveling exhibits, and a publications dimension, a portion of which was presented in the rural regions issue of the spring *Quarterly*. The four articles and the photographic essay of this urban Utah issue complete the Interpreting Local History project.

In one of the outstanding books of the 1960s, historian Earl Pomeroy describes the West from the time of earliest American settlement as having been "after the East itself the most Eastern part of America," a characteristic he attributes largely to the cities established by transplanted easterners.¹ Pomeroy's observation has considerable validity for Utah where the first settlers established a city even as they broke the first ground and diverted the first water. From that time to this, Utah's urban region,

Dr. Peterson is professor of history at Utah State University.

¹ Earl Pomeroy, *The Pacific Slope: A History of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), p. 3.

Panoramic view of Salt Lake City. USHS collections.



the Wasatch Front, has dominated the state's history. Stretching 150 miles along the western base of the Wasatch Mountain range, the Wasatch Front has always accounted for most of the state's population and most of its economic and commercial activity; its people have dominated social and political developments.

Near the center of this elongated strip is Salt Lake City. Although early visitors sometimes described it as a village grown large, Salt Lake City possessed from the beginning many of the qualities that led Gunther Barth to describe cities of the West as "instant cities."² From July 24, 1847, it was headquarters for the Mormon church and quickly became the commercial center of the Rocky Mountain region as merchants from the northwest, New Mexico, and more importantly the Middle West initiated trade. It also became the political center of the territory, and, efforts to transplant political authority to Fillmore notwithstanding, it has continued in this role. It has also become the center of learning, of arts, communications, and industry and finance for the state, securing its position as the first city of Utah.

Also centrally situated, Ogden was initially less a city, growing slowly as a local Mormon center until the transcontinental railroad produced a metamorphosis in 1869. In the years that followed Ogden laid claim to the title Junction City, attracted promoters, and extended her influence to places as remote as the Grande Ronde Valley in Oregon. In the twentieth century Ogden has continued to flourish as a shipping center, supply point for a large agricultural and ranching region, and a federal outpost.

Flanking Salt Lake City and Ogden at either end of the Wasatch Front are Provo and Logan. Both communities have made various urban pretensions from early times. Recently, Utah County, with Provo as its center, has forged ahead of Weber to become Utah's second county, according to several indices; and sparked by a period of growth at Logan, Cache County has also exhibited remarkable economic buoyancy in recent years. But historically, Logan and Provo, as the outriggers of the Wasatch Front, fell behind their more central sister cities. In addition to matters of natural resources, priority of settlement and location, one is tempted to explain this development by pointing to the small number of non-Mormons who were attracted to these two communities, leaving their development essentially in the hands of Latter-day Saints for many

² Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), see especially chap. 2 for a discussion of Salt Lake City.



University Avenue, Provo. Mining money financed many buildings here, including the Knight Block on right. USHS collections.

decades. One need not subscribe entirely to the purported axiom of Wells Fargo agents in the 1870s that “one Gentile makes as much business as a hundred Mormons” to recognize that the long failure of these two communities to attract non-Mormons hampered their development and made them at once more Mormon and less urban than Salt Lake City and Ogden.³

Looked at from this context it is obvious that immigration played an important role in the urban development of Salt Lake City and Ogden particularly and of the Wasatch Front generally. Successive waves of migration have contributed to growth and cultural character. First, as the Mormons fled West, came a wave of exile migration, mostly an American movement from the Northeast and Midwest, although already

³ Quoted in Robert G. Athearn, *Union Pacific Country* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1971), p. 248.

including important leavening elements from Great Britain. Then came a more general native migration, mainly from the Midwest and the mid-Atlantic and New England states that lay behind it: it came in a trickle first and then in accelerating numbers as merchants, overlanders, stage-coach kings, and politicians and, later, railroaders, miners, and speculators found opportunity. From abroad came Mormon converts from England and Scandinavia on the one hand and on the other a progression from Ireland, the Orient, northern Europe, southeastern Europe, and the Mediterranean. More recently, industry, national defense, federal agencies and projects, various educational influences, and homing instincts continue to bring an influx of new Utahns who provide ethnic, technological, and cultural textures to an urban fabric that centers primarily in Salt Lake City and Ogden. These successive waves of migration have reacted to each other in various ways. To a degree they have maintained stand-offish insularity living apart with a certain amount of tension. They have also integrated and lived well together, superimposing themselves, one upon the other, and bringing cultural traits, some of which have fused, changed, or stayed the same to give Utah its social temper and character.

As Utah cities, Ogden and Salt Lake City stand historically in a special relationship to each other. The priority of establishment clearly favored Salt Lake City, giving it a substantial lead in Mormon church affairs, politics, commerce, finance, and population during the first two decades of Utah's development that Ogden has never been able to overcome. As a result, Salt Lake City is regarded to be at the very core of not only an extended economic region but also of what Donald Meinig has called the Mormon cultural region.

Despite Salt Lake City's advantage of prior establishment, the two cities have frequently been competitors in the years since 1869. Yet, their location within forty miles of each other near the center of the Wasatch Front has sometimes resulted in relationships that have been amicable and cooperative, although perhaps not meriting consideration as twin cities.

Over the years nature and related windfall factors have favored first one of the two cities and then the other. In still other situations nature has dealt with an even-handed fairness, giving neither advantage over the other. This phenomenon is clearly seen in transportation, with Salt Lake City being the earliest beneficiary and then Ogden for a time, as a route north of the Great Salt Lake was regarded as superior for the transcontinental railroad. Later, railroad advantages took a turnabout between the two cities but in the long run were fairly evenly distributed.

In recent decades Salt Lake City has enjoyed a clear advantage where highway and air traffic are concerned.

Salt Lake City has been well favored by nature in mining developments. With little appeal to mining interests before the advent of rail transportation, it quickly became the capital of an important mining region after 1870. Mines opening in southern Utah and in eastern Nevada made Utah what some contemporaries optimistically referred to as one vast mining camp. Salt Lake City's domination over this activity was dictated more directly, perhaps, than in the case of any other major regional center in the West, by the remarkable discovery of the territory's richest and most dependable mining districts within a forty-mile radius of the city's center.

Salt Lake City's early development as well as the advantages of its neighboring mineral deposits were in some measure offset through the aggressive promotion by Ogden's businessmen, newspapers, and politi-

1902 photograph looking northwest from City and County Building, Salt Lake City. USHS collections.



cians. Developments in federal spending are suggestive of their success in parlaying Ogden's transportation assets and its social and economic capital into business opportunity. In the years since 1940, for example, both cities have occupied what may be called a strategic centrality as an expanding international role has required the United States to establish defense installations in the West. Supported by vigorous de-



velopers, Ogden has apparently been more successful in attracting defense spending than Salt Lake City and has competed very favorably in its appeal for federal agencies and expenditures generally.

Where resources did not lie adjacent to Ogden, its businessmen have also proven willing to reach out to take advantage of them. David Eccles, for example, staked out an Ogden-based empire that extended into the big timber country of the Northwest, the beet fields and sugar factories of Idaho and Utah, interurban railway systems, and at one time a vast amount of land in northern Utah and eastern Nevada.⁴ Although the banking system, into which the Eccles enterprises have developed, is now headquartered in Salt Lake City, its reach throughout Utah and Idaho and into Wyoming reflects the aggressive thrust of Ogden's enterprise during the Eccles years.

Nevertheless, much that was rural continued to be manifest in both the Wasatch Front and in its two cities. In the early years this was due to the influence of the Mormons who, as Earl Pomeroy puts it, "brought rural ways into the city and gave an urban shape to agriculture."⁵ There was and long continued to be a "curiously rural quality" to city life, while Mormon planning resulted in country villages laid out with citylike blocks and wide streets ready for growth and traffic. A series of regional centers also emerged throughout the state with villages revolving around them as they in turn revolved around Salt Lake City. Included were such centers as Manti, Richfield, Cedar City, and St. George.⁶

In another sense the "rural ways" of Salt Lake City and Ogden were the product of an American affinity for the image of things rural even in the midst of urban complexities and opportunities. Thus, lingering ruralism harked to a nostalgic national impulse and was to be found in the scattered single family dwellings, large lots, parks, and open spaces of a thousand cities throughout the nation.⁷

Whether in the satellite communities or the large centers of the Wasatch Front the problems of urban sprawl and industrialization are very much with Utahns today. Prime farm grounds are devoted to parking lots and subdivisions. Pollution and many of the social problems that attend urban growth are part of the scene. Visitors exclaim at how

⁴ Leonard J. Arrington, *David Eccles: Pioneer Western Industrialist* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1975).

⁵ Pomeroy, *The Pacific Slope*, pp. 129-31.

⁶ For a description of the role of the regional center in Mormon settlement see Joel E. Ricks, *Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement in Utah and the Surrounding Region, 1847 to 1877* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1964).

⁷ For one treatment of this influence see Daniel J. Elazar, *Cities of the Prairie: The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics* (New York: Basic Books, 1970).

like other cities Utah's population centers are, yet, urban Utah is the product of the interplay of natural and cultural forces found no place else and possesses qualities of its own.

The four articles and the photographic essay that follow offer some insights into distinctive elements of urban Utah. In the lead article Richard Sadler surveys mineral development in the area immediately adjacent to Salt Lake City. In the growth of the City of the Saints into a regional mining center, he finds a major irony in the direction that natural and cultural influences create in the character of a city. Political scientist Jean White discusses Ogden politics from territorial times until 1924. A strong common denominator throughout the entire period was Ogden's quest for the right to be different. Supported by newspapers, chamber of commerce, and strong individuals, this sometimes took the direction of opposition to the Mormon majority, sometimes sought a role independent of non-Mormons in the state, and frequently took a course calculated to free the city from the dominating influence of the larger city to the south. In her pictorial essay Carolyn Rhodes-Jones portrays the character of Salt Lake City and Ogden as they grew. Thomas Alexander examines these federal programs brought to Ogden: the District 4 Forest Service headquarters, the Ogden Arsenal, Hill Air Force Base, and the Naval Supply Depot. He concludes that a complex of interacting relationships, including competition with Salt Lake City and aggressive promotional business practices, contributed to Ogden's role as a federal colony. In the final article Lowell Bennion and Merrill Ridd bring the methodology of geography to bear on the urban influences in the development of St. George. Always very much a satellite of Salt Lake City, St. George changed little until 1960. Since that time change has been abrupt and has brought with it shifting influences that have placed the community very much in the orbit of Los Angeles and southern California. Caught thus between two urban forces this small southern Utah city is confronted with changes of every kind, including many that carry it from the eddies of long village existence into a rising current of urbanism.

Utah, then, like Pomeroy's West, has in large measure been an urban state. It began as a city and grew into a metropolitan strip with even its smaller communities responding to urban influences both from within the state and from distant metropolitan centers. In the study of its urban development lies the promise of a keener sense of place and a deeper understanding of those natural and social forces that give Utah society character and form.



The Impact of Mining on Salt Lake City

BY RICHARD W. SADLER

THE FINDING AND MINING OF COAL, iron ore, and other readily usable materials was stressed from the earliest days of Mormon settlement in the Great Basin, but precious metal mining was usually discouraged. Wealth, specifically in gold and silver, was looked upon as a hindrance

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Bingham Canyon, named for Sanford and Thomas Bingham, was first developed as a mining resource by Col. Patrick E. Connor. USHS collections.

to progression. The spirit rather than riches produced happiness, according to Brigham Young, for “Gold is good in its place—it is good in the hands of a good man to do good with, but in the hands of a wicked man it often proves a curse instead of a blessing.”¹ Although many Mormons did participate in the gold rush and the church found uses for the precious metal that trickled in

¹ James R. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1833-1964*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965), 2:46.

from California, the Saints were happy to have the wicked influences of the mining camps far removed from Zion. Never one to make an understatement, Brigham Young declared in 1848:

I hope the gold mines will be no nearer than eight hundred miles. . . . There is more delusion and the people are more perfectly crazy on this continent than ever before. . . . If you elders of Israel want to go to the gold mines, go and be damned. . . . Prosperity and riches blunt the feelings of man.²

But Nature herself made Young's hope a vain one, for within a few miles' radius from the Mormon capital lay vast mineral deposits that would greatly affect the growth and development of Salt Lake City.

During the decade of the 1850s the attention of the Saints was directed toward the secure establishment of the church both within and without the territory. Dozens of towns were founded, and the doctrine of plural marriage was openly announced and practiced. Controversy continued to plague the Mormons as charges of church control of the territorial government were at least partially responsible for the Utah War. With the settlement of that conflict, Young was removed as governor on the assumption that church and state were too tightly intertwined in Utah Territory. Gradually, the attention of the nation shifted eastward to the events and problems that would soon lead to the Civil War.

With the war well underway, in October 1862 Col. Patrick Edward Connor, a resident of Stockton, California, arrived in Salt Lake City in command of seven hundred soldiers. Ostensibly, the California Volunteers were to protect the overland route from Indian depredations, but some have suggested that Connor chose a site on the east bench of Salt Lake City for his headquarters in order to keep an eye on the Saints. The founding of Fort Douglas and the intrusion of this large contingent of Gentiles into a city of about twelve thousand Mormons created tensions that would outlast the Civil War. Connor and many of his men were well acquainted with mining and its rewards. Perhaps Connor saw a solution to the problem of Mormon domination of the territory in the development of the precious metal industry. A rapid influx of miners into the territory might deal death blows to both polygamy and church control of politics.³ In any event, Connor and the California Volunteers played a significant role in the beginning of mining in Utah.

² Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah, 1540-1886* (San Francisco, 1889), p. 303.

³ Robert Joseph Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict (1862-1890)* (1941; reprint ed., Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), pp. 18-19.

During the early years of Mormon settlement outcroppings of ore had been found in Bingham Canyon, but such discoveries were kept quiet. Then, on September 17, 1863, the first mining claims were recorded in the West Mountain District which encompassed Bingham Canyon. This mining district included the whole of the Oquirrh Mountains and was the first to be organized within Utah Territory. By October 23, 1863, Colonel Connor had reported to his superiors:

The results so far have exceeded my most sanguine expectations. Already reliable reports reach me of the discovery of rich gold, silver and copper mines in almost every direction. . . . If I be not mistaken in these anticipations, I have no reason to doubt that the Mormon question will at an early date be finally settled by peaceable means . . . without the loss of a single soldier in conflict.⁴

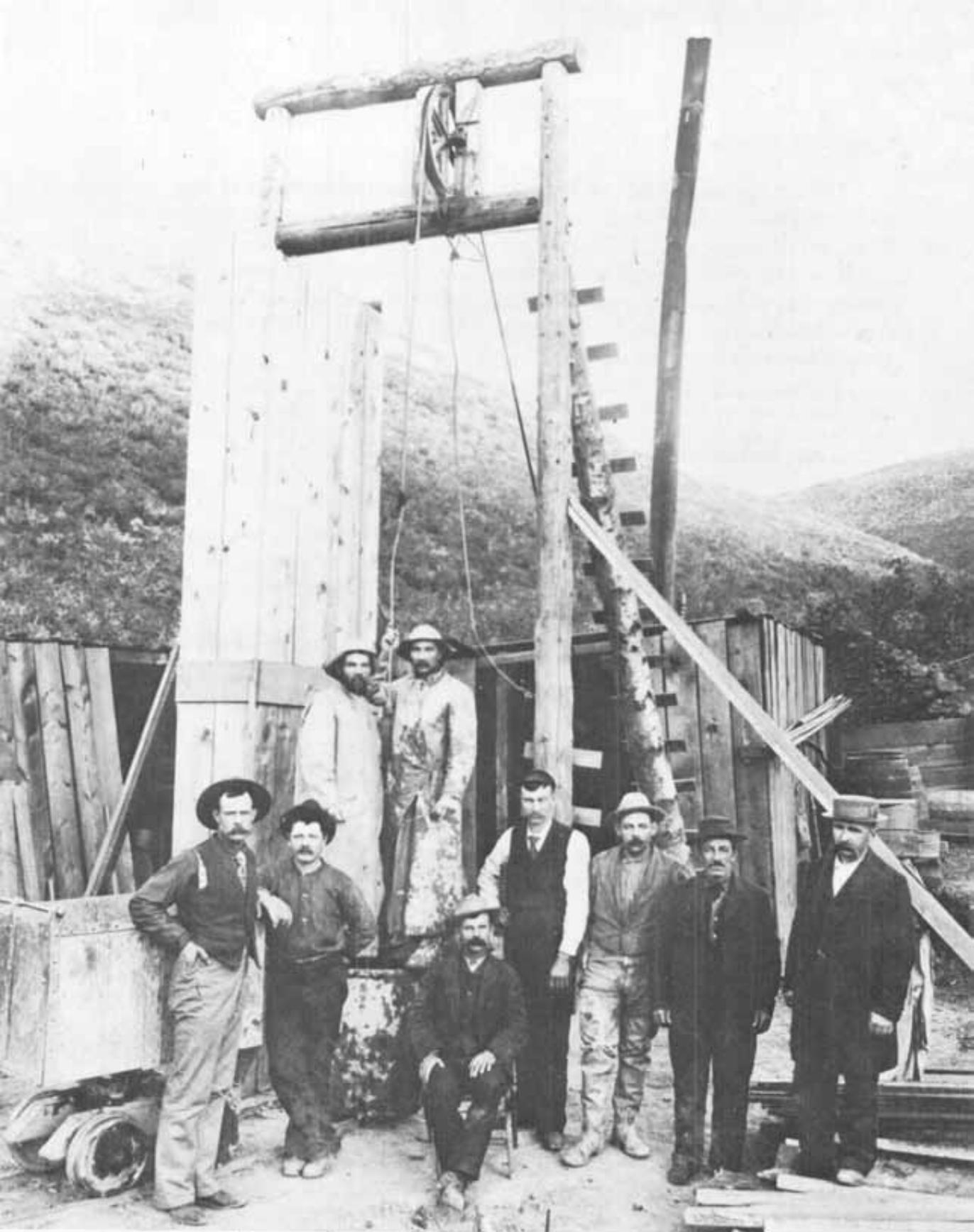
Connor's statement was hardly prophetic, but, nevertheless, within a thirty-five-mile radius from Salt Lake City lay the future mining towns of Bingham, Mercur, Ophir, Tooele, Park City, and Alta where a major source of wealth for Utah would be developed.

The new-found mines were advertised in a newly founded newspaper, the *Union Vedette*, which was issued from Fort Douglas and divided some of its space between mining news and critical observations

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Folklore has it that Ophir got its name from disgusted prospectors who took one look and exclaimed, "Oh, fer Gawd's sake!" USHS collections.





Mercur produced \$20,000,000 in ore during its heyday. USHS collections.

of Mormonism, particularly polygamy. The *Vedette* encouraged emigration to the mines and underlined the progress that mining would bring:

The leaders of the Church, too, see it, and whether it is agreeable to them or not; whether it agrees with their previous ideas of exclusiveness . . . they are too shrewd not to recognize and profit by . . . the happy fate—which progress presents to them as a people. But rumors neither vague nor infrequent reach this city, that some of the inhabitants of the remote parts of the Territory, indulge in threats against persons desirous of prospecting for mines, and declare that mining shall not be carried out in their vicinity.⁵

For the next four years the *Vedette* would publicize the mining possibilities in Utah.

The discovery of gold was the hope of prospectors in the Bingham area. In late 1863 and early 1864 the Galena, the *Vedette*, the Empire, the Kingston, the Julia Dean, and the Silver Hill claims were filed. The ore was of good quality, but smelting proved to be the major problem. This would be overcome with the completion of the railroad. Supplies were priced very high before 1869—\$100 for a keg of powder and \$2.50 for a shovel were not uncommon.⁶

From 1865 until 1896 gold, silver, and lead were the principal minerals mined in the Bingham area. In the years from 1863 to 1873 Bingham mines produced \$896,641 worth of gold, 712,212 ounces of silver, 20 tons of copper and 3,699 tons of lead. All of this was valued at \$2,316,954.⁷ Gold production continued through the end of the century with the lowest production of \$227,390 worth of gold coming in 1873. Only one year saw production of silver greater than a million ounces and that was 1885. Annual copper production stayed below 325 tons until 1897. The consolidation of small claims and mines began to take place in Bingham during the 1890s.

Mining in Little Cottonwood Canyon began in the 1860s. Robert Chisholm and J. F. Woodman found themselves in Utah during this era after mining ventures in other areas, and in the autumn of 1868 they staked the Emma claim at Alta. One account suggests the mine was christened the Emma for the daughter of Chisholm who constantly corresponded with her brother William, urging him to come back to his "dear little Emma" in Illinois. Other stories describe the discover-

⁵ *Union Vedette*, February 10, 1864.

⁶ George M. Addy, "The Economic and Social History of Bingham Canyon, Utah" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1949), pp. 23–24.

⁷ Robert S. Lewis and Thomas Varley, *The Mineral Industry of Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah School of Mines, 1919).

ers as men "rough in manners and appearance," with an imaginative turn of mind, who resolved to name their mine "after a lady with whom one or possibly both of them had been illicitly consorting in San Francisco, and whose Christian name was Emma."⁸

Chisholm and Woodman broke into a chamber of solid silver ore in October 1869. By 1870 the richness of the Emma was well known in the area, and Chisholm and Woodman and two new partners, former army officers, sold 400 feet of their claim to the Walker brothers of Salt Lake City for \$30,000. This was the beginning of the rapid rise of the infamous Emma that would cast some reflections on both Salt Lake City and the United States.

In March 1871 two wealthy promoters, Trevor W. Park and Gen. George Baxter, purchased an undivided half-interest in the mine for \$375,000 in gold. The original owners were gradually squeezed out. The

⁸ W. Turrentine Jackson, "The Infamous Emma Mine: A British Interest in the Little Cottonwood District, Utah Territory," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (1955): 340-41.

In 1873 Alta was described as "a small mining camp that is dignified by this high-sounding name 'city' and a mining camp anywhere in this vicinity is merely a collection of rough cabins and drinking saloons."



name of the company was changed to the Emma Silver Mining Company of New York, and in November 1871 the company announced capitalization at £1 million with shares available at £20 each. The board of directors included Maj. Gen. Robert C. Schenck, U.S. minister to the Court of Saint James; three members of Parliament; General Baxter, who was a former president of the New York Central Railroad; Sen. William M. Stewart of Nevada; and Trevor W. Park. According to the prospectus of the company, the estimated net yield of the mine would be £800,000 a year. Rumors in London about the mine spread quickly. It was going to pay between 18 and 36 percent per annum in dividends, said one story. Shares in the mine sold rapidly, particularly in England, until it was discovered early in 1873 that available ore in the Emma Mine had been exhausted. The mine shut down, and the price of a share of stock dropped from £23 to one-tenth of that amount. The Emma Mine created an international scandal. One American investor termed it "a national disaster." In 1875 the U.S. House of Representatives called for an investigation of General Schenck's involvement in the promotion of the mine and termed his behavior "ill advised, unfortunate, and incompatible with the duties of his official position."⁹ Controversy concerning the Emma continued to rage for another twenty years. Another nationally famous mine of this area and during this era was the Flagstaff which was sold on the British market for £300,000. The Last Chance, Hiawatha, Montezuma, and Savage mines were purchased by Detroit and New York investors for \$1.5 million.

Alta supported a population of about eight hundred in the winter and fifteen hundred in the summer during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

About seventy-five business houses are listed at Alta in the 1874 State Gazetteer, including a drug store, four clothing stores, five groceries, six hotels, fifteen saloons and a shooting gallery.¹⁰

Two newspapers, the *Alta Independent* and the *Cottonwood Observer* appeared but were short-lived.

Mineral wealth was also found in the Big Cottonwood-Brighton area during this era. In the period between 1871 and 1880, the Big and Little Cottonwood mining districts produced \$74,109 worth of gold, 6,259,000 ounces of silver, and 95,201,997 pounds of lead. The total value of these

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 358.

¹⁰ J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism: A Half Century of Forensic Warfare, Waged by the West's Most Militant Press* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1938), p. 17.

minerals was \$13,401,108. With money like this beginning to flow into Salt Lake City from Bingham, Alta, and other mining camps, the Mormon ideals of self-sufficiency and cooperation as well as the very life-style of the Saints were threatened. One outside observer, Rossiter W. Raymond, commissioner of mining statistics and mines west of the Rocky Mountains, reported to Congress in 1873:

The stories told about the cheapness of mining labor in Utah are, however, exaggerated. The Mormons take from one another very low wages. The standard is annually fixed, I am informed, by the Church authorities; and I believe it was this year \$1.50 per day. But they take all they can from gentile employers, and, moreover, few of them will work as miners; so the wages of this class of labor are \$2.50 to \$3.50 per day, even in the districts nearest to Salt Lake City.¹¹

In 1868 the number of mining districts in the territory was two and by the end of 1871 there were thirty-two. Today Tooele County has twenty-two mining districts—more than any other county in the state. This area figured prominently in the mining boom of the nineteenth century. The Stockton area in Rush Valley was the site of early activity in June 1864, and the county's first smelter was built there in 1872. Horn or chloride silver ores of a very rich nature were found in the vicinity of Ophir beginning in 1870. The Walker brothers shipped forty tons of ore from their Silverapolis Mine which netted them \$24,000. Other mines were found and named, such as the Tampico, Mountain Lion, Mountain Tiger, Silver Chief, Virginia, and Shamrock. Most of these were located on Lion Hill.

As with Little Cottonwood, however, most of the excitement at Ophir lasted only during the early 1870's. Whereas there had been 1,000 persons in the area in the early 1870's, fewer than 50 remained 10 years later. Of 2,500 locations which had been made in the early 1870's, less than 150 were still active in the early 1880's.¹²

Other mining areas in Tooele County include the Camp Floyd District, discovered in 1870, and the Mercur area, also known as Lewiston. The population peaked at Mercur about 1903 with five thousand people. During the earliest days of the camp it was noted, "Martin Mahnkin brings fresh meat to the camp every Wednesday, fattened on his own ranch, juicy as a watermelon and tender as a maiden's first fancy. . . ."¹³

¹¹ Rossiter W. Raymond, *Silver and Gold: An Account of the Mining and Metallurgical Industry of the U.S.* (New York, 1877), p. 300.

¹² Leonard J. Arrington, "Abundance from the Earth: The Beginning of Commercial Mining in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (1963):208.

¹³ Alter, *Early Utah Journalism*, p. 120.

By 1913 Mercur was ready to die. In a letter to his father, the town's demise was described by George H. Dern, who later served as governor of Utah:

The last skip of ore was hoisted at 8:40 A.M. Sunday, March 30, 1913, and the Mercur Mine was at an end. . . . As the last skip was being hoisted, the flag was raised on the mill, the whistles were blown for one hour, the fire bell, school bell, and church bell were rung, and the famous old producer passed into history.¹⁴

From 1865 until 1961 the area of Tooele County produced:

	OUNCES	VALUE
Gold	1,257,933	\$29,662,110
Silver	30,240,507	\$24,111,193
	SHORT TONS	
Copper	27,307	\$ 9,235,461
Lead	392,577	\$51,682,362
Zinc	121,384	\$24,575,348

The total value of these minerals from this area was \$139,266,474.¹⁵

Tooele County was the first to feel the political impact of miners during the nineteenth century. This came about in 1874 and was no doubt carefully followed in Salt Lake City. Writing of this political controversy some nineteen years later, Mormon historian Orson F. Whitney no doubt reflected the attitude of the dominant culture when he stated:

The population in these towns [Ophir, Jacob City], like that of every new district in the West where the precious metals were to be obtained, was fluctuating, and to a large extent composed of irresponsible and unscrupulous persons with no fixed place of abode. Their uncertain and reckless habits rendered them capable of being used in the promotion of lawlessness whenever their passions and prejudices might be gratified thereby.¹⁶

The election saw twenty-two hundred ballots cast with only fifteen hundred registered voters in the county. Whitney editorialized, "There was no doubt, either, as to which political organization had availed itself of unlawful means in furtherance of its purpose." For the first time the Liberal party had defeated the People's party in the Utah Territory. Whitney's proposal to describe "how the county was subsequently rescued from the hands of the Liberals, after four and a half years of fraudulent and extravagant misrule" reminds the reader of various other writings

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁵ These figures were obtained from the offices of the Utah Mining Association, Kearns Building, Salt Lake City.

¹⁶ Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1892-1904), 2:748-49.

describing the occupation and redemption of the South following the Civil War.

Park City came under the scrutiny of the prospector's eye as early as 1868. On December 23 of that year the Young American Mine was established.¹⁷ By the end of 1871 several mines had been opened, including the Pinon, the Rocky Bar, and the Flagstaff. The Flagstaff was the first to make an ore shipment from the area and in 1871 shipped 40 tons. On August 23, 1872, J. B. Haggin and George Hearst purchased the Ontario Mine, which was then in its initial stage of development, for \$27,000. This mine eventually produced \$50 million worth of ore and paid out \$15 million in dividends.¹⁸ By 1876 the Ontario Mine was producing about \$14,000 a week, while the whole camp was producing a total of \$20,000.

Toward the end of the decade the mining camp of Park City began to change into a town with more permanent structures. Most supplies for

¹⁷ Oscar F. Jespersen, "An Early History of the Community of Park City, Utah" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1969), p. 10.

¹⁸ Kent Sheldon Larsen, "The Life of Thomas Kearns" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1964), p. 22.

The Park City Miners Hospital, dating from 1904, was recently listed on the National Register of Historic Places. USHS collections.



the town came from Salt Lake City or Coalville. By 1880 the population had reached about fifteen hundred, a figure that nearly doubled by 1890. As early as February 1880 a local newspaper appeared, and after some name changes it emerged as the *Park Record*. The attitude of the local community toward the Mormons is illustrated in a July 31, 1886, article in the *Park Record*:

A membership of over two hundred [Mormons] is counted on in the Park, and an elder said the prospects of an increase were encouraging. There are but few sisters in this branch church, but eventually the female roosters will have an organization. Our Mormon neighbors are rustling and contemplate to erect in the near future, a meeting house which will cost about \$2,500. Missionary work, in the way of prying into other people's business and spotting the Saints who vote the Liberal ticket, will at once be inaugurated with a vim.

The *Provo Territorial Enquirer* on November 1, 1887, said of the *Park Record*:

Please knock it on the head. The *Park Record* has got the Mormon rabies bad, and is proving itself to be a consummate ass. Poor thing, it is a financial fizzle as a newspaper, and thinks it may get a living by catering to the taste of anti-Mormons.

The *Park Record* was an advocate of both free silver and the expansion of Park City. After an 1895 Summit County election concerning moving the county seat from Mormon Coalville to Gentile Park City, the *Record* on November 9, 1895, had the following comments:

We have often been asked why nothing is done for silver. . . , but since the county seat removal was defeated Tuesday last our vision has been cleared and we can answer it in one sentence—too many mutton-headed fools have the right of franchise The removal of the county seat to Park City would have had the same effect on this camp and upon the county that the remonetization of silver would have upon the nation, only in a lesser degree. It would have increased property values, lightened . . . taxation, given the county a handsome building free of cost, increased the importance of the town, put money in circulation, saved expense . . . to attend court, proven a convenience to a majority of the people . . . , and lightened rents . . . and yet there were enough chumps in Park City to defeat the proposition.

Through the 1870s and into the 1880s other mining claims were established in the Park City area. E. P. Ferry, David Keith, John Judge, John Daly, Thomas Kearns, and E. P. McLaughlin became associated with new mining claims. The Daly Mining Company produced \$9,450,-355 in minerals and paid dividends of \$2,887,500. Kearns worked for six and a half years as a miner for the Ontario. Then, in April 1889,

Kearns and his partners Keith, Judge, Albion, Emery, and Windsor Rice made a rich strike at their development, the Mayflower Mine. The partnership proved to be profitable for all involved, and for Kearns even more as he married Jennie Judge, the niece of his partner, in 1890.

In 1892 Kearns and his partners acquired the Silver King property and immediately incorporated for \$3 million. One historian suggests that Kearns and his partners worked to keep the ownership and the profits of their mines within Utah.¹⁹

From 1870 to 1961 the Park City region produced minerals valued at \$470,202,616.²⁰

	OUNCES	VALUE
Gold	817,886	\$ 22,913,979
Silver	250,369,604	\$181,822,668
	SHORT TONS	
Copper	41,670	\$ 14,116,591
Lead	1,338,217	\$167,231,574
Zinc	488,879	\$ 84,117,804

Copper production has meant more economically to Utah than all of the precious minerals combined. The development of this resource began in earnest toward the end of the nineteenth century. As the price of silver dropped and the need for copper rose with the growing electrical industry, attention focused on the Bingham area. The economic success of this area is demonstrated in the following figures. From 1865 to 1961, the Bingham (West Mountain) District produced minerals valued at \$4,188,960,224.²¹

	OUNCES	VALUE
Gold	11,304,442	\$ 352,357,644
Silver	208,607,064	\$ 158,579,687
	SHORT TONS	
Copper	8,143,941	\$3,229,180,211
Lead	2,005,518	\$ 303,484,654
Zinc	798,746	\$ 145,358,028

Copper was evident in much of the ore mined in the Bingham area; however, most of the copper produced from 1863 until 1896 came as a by-product of gold, silver, or lead mining. The period from 1896 to 1914 saw the initial development of the copper industry by many companies. Copper production for 1890 was 88 tons, for 1898 was 1,142 tons, and for 1905 was 19,609 tons.

¹⁹ Larsen, "Thomas Kearns," p. 22.

²⁰ Utah Mining Association figures.

²¹ Utah Mining Association figures.

Samuel Newhouse and Thomas Weir with their Highland Boy property began to push underground copper mining in 1897. (During this era Newhouse was sometimes called the father of copper mining in Utah.) The success of the Utah Consolidated Mining Company, organized by Newhouse and Weir, led the two men to acquire other Bingham properties and to form the Boston Consolidated Mining Company in 1898 to develop low-grade porphyry copper ores.

Then, in 1903 the Utah Copper Company was organized with Daniel C. Jackling as general manager. Jackling and his associates had been successful in gaining access to some four hundred acres of mineral land directly over the ore body at Bingham on properties acquired by Enos A. Wall between 1887 and 1896. The new company began strip mining its claim in August 1906. Mills for the Utah Copper Company were built at Copperton (1903-4) and at Magna (1906-8). About this time the Boston Consolidated also began strip mining at Bingham and the construction of a mill west of Utah Copper's Magna mill.

Early in 1910, as consolidation of holdings and of the milling process became the order of the day, the Boston Consolidated was merged with Utah Copper. The Boston Consolidated mill became Utah Copper's Arthur mill. In 1911 the Bingham and Garfield Railroad was completed from the mine to the mills, and with the passage of time the entire milling process became more efficient. This increased productivity was necessary as the amount of copper in the ore dropped from 1.64 percent during 1905-15 to .99 percent during 1927-37. Despite the drop in copper content of the ore, during the entire period from 1905 to 1937 the percent of copper recovered from these low-grade ores increased from 65 to 90 percent.

The large-scale mining operation at Bingham attracted many new workers. The company town at Garfield grew. In 1914 rent for a company house was \$11.00 a month while daily wages for a laborer were \$2.75 a day. The company owned the homes, the store, the transportation, and the recreation facilities. Garfield was a true company town but developed later than most company towns in the United States.²²

Although Mormon immigration to Zion bolstered the population of Salt Lake City, most of these immigrants came from northern and western Europe. Other immigrants like the Chinese and the Irish came early to Utah mining camps; and at the turn of the century Greeks, Italians,

²² An excellent study of the Bingham mines is Leonard J. Arrington and Gary B. Hansen, *"The Richest Hole on Earth": A History of the Bingham Copper Mine* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1963).

Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Japanese, and Mexicans came. The anti-Chinese editorials in the Park City newspaper in 1882 were typical of feelings across the United States and particularly in California.

They leave behind their families and bring prostitutes to this country, as well as their opium habits and other vices. Their customs after years of residence here are as heathenish and revolting, and approach no nearer refinement than the day they embarked from the Celestial Empire. If they would become naturalized, invest their money here, and work for the same wages and do as other foreigners do, there would be less complaint.²³

Antagonism developed toward other new immigrants as well, particularly those from southern and eastern Europe, as the century closed. Feelings of dislike were evidenced toward Austrian, Greek, and Italian residents of Salt Lake City; and this same disaffection was evident in many of the mining camps. The *Park City Record* of November 30, 1907, noted:

At the Daly-West mine and mill everything is running along smoothly . . . though there is something missing—the Greeks and Austrians. Only a few, six or eight, of this class of laboring element, are now employed at the mine. . . . The European settlement which grew up on the side hills adjacent to the West, is rapidly depopulating, scores of the dark skinned laborers having left camp in the past two weeks, many of them bound for the sunning climes of their nativity. . . . There in peace and comfort may they enjoy their macaroni and garlic.

Some immigrants came as strikebreakers, others to work but eventually return home, still others to work and save and even bring a bride to America. But the melting pot did not always melt, and sometimes the contents of the pot remained lumpy. The growth of labor organizations at mines and mills was sporadic and sometimes marked with violence as in the 1912 strike at Bingham. The most sensational case of violence connected with labor organization and Salt Lake City was that of Joe Hill, the IWW organizer who was found guilty of two murders and executed. The case focused international attention on Salt Lake City in 1914–15 during the administration of Gov. William Spry.

Mining, smelting, and pollution have often been linked together over the last century. The town of Pleasant Green changed its name to Magna because it was no longer green. Salt Lake Valley residents for some time tolerated smelter smoke and tailings dust. As early as 1905 a suit was filed by farmers against four smelting companies. The court decision forced the closing of some smelters. However, this pollution

²³ *Park City Record*, March 11, 1882. See other issues of the *Record*, for March and June 1882, for more examples.

remains today one of the most serious environmental problems facing the Salt Lake Valley and points up one of the disadvantages of intensive mineral development.

The juxtaposition of mining and associated industries and a culture dominated by religious ideals antithetical to mining camp life has created a dynamic tension for Salt Lake City as the two opposing forces have interacted during the years since 1863. Each side has had to give and take. The Mormon impact on the city has always been obvious. Mining's impact on the city has sometimes been overlooked.



The Salt Lake Tribune favored mining, thereby opposing the Mormon-owned Deseret News. Salt Lake Public Library collections.

By the turn of the century Salt Lake City was surrounded by milling and mining towns and flush with mining money. With Brigham Young's anathemas forgotten, even Mormon men began to work side by side with immigrants in both the mines and mills. They were soon joined by Mormon women who would raise their families in the proximity of smelter smoke, mill noise, and tailings dust. Nor was that the only change wrought in Salt Lake City's social fabric by mining.

The *Utah Magazine*, founded in 1868 by the rebel Godbeites—who differed with Brigham Young on the development of the territory's mineral wealth—had quickly evolved into the *Mormon Tribune* and, ultimately, the *Salt Lake Tribune*, a fierce competitor to the Mormon *Deseret News*. Some three decades after its founding the *Tribune* was purchased by Thomas Kearns and David Keith with wealth they had accumulated from their Park City mining properties. Kearns, who had been elected United States senator in 1901, used the *Tribune* to battle Reed Smoot and the Mormon church. The *Tribune* was also the battle-ax for the American party that won three successive Salt Lake City elections and controlled city government from 1905 to 1911.

Another legacy of mining for Salt Lake City—almost as evident as the money that poured in from wages, taxes, and investments—was the business buildings, religious institutions, and residences. In downtown Salt Lake City the Judge, Keith, and Kearns buildings, the Newhouse Hotel and the Boston and Newhouse buildings, the Salt Lake Mining and Stock Exchange, and the Kennecott Building are some of the business structures that stand as monuments to the impact of mining on the City of the Saints. A jingle familiar to residents of the city notes the irony attached to the placement of the Brigham Young Monument at Main Street and South Temple:

Here stands Brigham
High on his perch,
Hand to the bank
And back to the church.

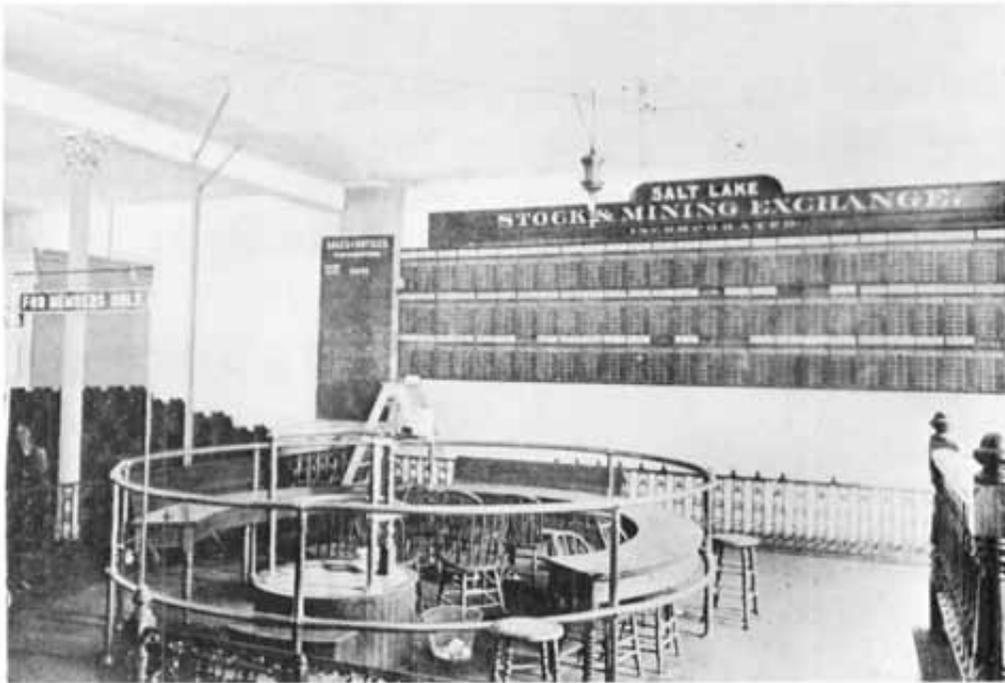
Zion's Bank, founded by Brigham Young, is housed in the Kennecott Building toward which Brigham's hand extends.

The Judge Memorial Home for Miners, built in 1904 by John Judge's widow as a home and hospital for aged miners, never fulfilled the good intent of Mary Judge, although it was used as a military hospital during World War I. Following the war the Catholic church converted it into a high school. Saint Ann's Orphanage, built with Kearns money, is

now also a parochial school. And the Cathedral of the Madeleine on South Temple is another religious structure built with large subscriptions from Catholic mining men, including Kearns.

Further along South Temple are the mansions of many a mining millionaire. The building of these palatial residences—some of which, unfortunately, have been demolished—has been well detailed in the recent book *Brigham Street*. Other mining entrepreneurs like A. W. McCune built their homes elsewhere in the city. But wherever they were built within Salt Lake City, these homes and other buildings were a capital investment in the capital city and visible evidence of the mining wealth that stayed in Utah and contributed to the development of a great urban and regional center.

The Salt Lake Stock & Mining Exchange was organized in 1888 principally to trade and market mining stocks. The oldest and largest mining exchange in the country, it is also the nation's only registered stock exchange using the auction system to set the market price for its stock trading. USHS collections.





An Ogden thoroughfare before the turn of the century. USHS collections.

The Right to Be Different: Ogden and Weber County Politics, 1850 - 1924

BY JEAN BICKMORE WHITE

PROBABLY NO AREA IN UTAH has had a more colorful and interesting political history than Ogden and Weber County, a history characterized by strong personalities, intense conflicts, and differences as well as similarities with political patterns in the rest of Utah. Weber County stood in the forefront of the struggle between Mormons and non-Mor-

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mons for political domination of the state during the territorial period. As national political parties emerged, it became a stronghold for the Democratic party, only to turn Republican later, as did the state. Later still, it swung from one party to another. No one could take it for granted.

Ogden politicians have often suffered from a "second city" complex, concerned about domination from the large city to the south. To show their independent spirit, Ogden and Weber County at times challenged Mormon political conservatism, but sometimes they harmonized with it. Additionally, the Weber area, particularly Ogden, has been hospitable to some minority parties but turned a cold shoulder toward others. Weber County's political history during the territorial period began peacefully, erupted into bitter religious warfare, and then ended on a note of reconciliation.

In January 1850 the territorial legislature passed a law creating county government and providing for a set of officials for each of the six counties created. The following year the city of Ogden was incorporated by an act of the legislature, and Lorin Farr was named the first mayor. Prior to that time there had been a sort of municipal government created in 1849 with James Brown, then the Mormon bishop of Ogden, as magistrate. As elsewhere in the territory, the Mormon church organization was available to carry out many of the functions of government, so little pressure was felt at first to set up a nonchurch or "legitimate" government. Evidently, the first Ogden city officers were appointed by the territorial governor, Brigham Young, and the legislature to serve until the first city election on April 7, 1851, when most of the appointed officers were confirmed. The slate of city officers included Lorin Farr, who had actually been "called" by Brigham Young, and several aldermen and councilors.

These early elections were held by a method known as *viva voce*: the men gathered "at early candle light" in some convenient place and simply acclaimed the officers by a voice vote.¹ Of course, this was not difficult because the top leaders of the Mormon church were really in control, and the outcome of the election was a foregone conclusion. A few years later, the city passed an ordinance calling for a written ballot, a procedure that, apparently, was not always followed. Even with a

¹ This process is described in Dale L. Morgan, *A History of Ogden* (Ogden: Ogden City Commission, 1940), p. 26. For an account of early Ogden politics, see also Milton R. Hunter, comp. and ed., *Beneath Ben Lomond's Peak: A History of Weber County, 1824-1900* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1944), pp. 467-88.

written ballot it was easy to keep the vote from being secret, because the ballots were numbered and the number of each person's vote was noted.²

During this period the officials of the city generally were also the Mormon church officials of the area. Lorin Farr, for example, was a stake president during most of the time he served as mayor, from 1851 to 1870 (later on, he served another term).³ The aldermen and councilors often were bishops of the wards. In addition, the men holding city or county positions frequently were also elected to represent the area in the territorial legislature, thus holding, in effect, three important positions at once.

In 1869 and 1870 interesting things began to happen in Ogden and in territorial politics. The Mormon church formed a political organization called the People's party. Although local people were given some opportunity to have a voice in selecting the party nominees later in the territorial period, it was understood that the party was a secular arm of the church and that candidates had to have the approval of the church authorities. This was accomplished partly through the actions of the mysterious Council of Fifty and the School of the Prophets.⁴ The General Authorities of the church in Salt Lake City usually expressed their choices for city, county, and legislative offices and expected to have those choices supported by the local people. And, at times, Brigham Young sent men of his choosing to the outlying areas with the understanding that they would fill both church and governmental assignments. However, research shows that on occasion the people demonstrated considerable resistance to some of the candidates favored by the church. A pattern of voting for some church candidates and abstaining from voting for others (but not voting for the opposing candidate) can be seen by examining certain voting records of the territorial period.

In early 1869 the building of the transcontinental railroad was proceeding rapidly, and the local leaders worried about what would happen if railroad workers arrived in the city and voted under the rather

² Richard E. Kotter, "An Examination of Mormon and Non-Mormon Influences in Ogden City Politics, 1847-1896" (M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 1967), pp. 28-30. The writer is indebted to Mr. Kotter for many insights into Ogden politics and recommends this thesis to anyone wanting a more detailed account of Ogden politics during the territorial period. Mr. Kotter also is the author of "The Transcontinental Railroad and Ogden City Politics," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (1974): 278-84.

³ Lorin Farr's career as businessman and government and LDS church leader is described in T. Earl Pardoe, *Lorin Farr, Pioneer* (Provo, Ut.: Brigham Young University Press, 1953).

⁴ For an understanding of the Council of Fifty, a secret organization formed to further the spiritual and secular aims of the Mormon church, see Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967). See also, Kotter, "Examination of Mormon and Non-Mormon Influences," pp. 41-49.

loose election ordinances in the city election of 1869. Therefore, in January the Ogden City Council passed a new election ordinance providing for a numbered ballot (probably to keep the Mormon voters in line), a set of qualifications for officeholders, and a requirement that anyone voting had to have been a resident of the city for six months. This latter clause would effectively prevent the railroad laborers from voting. The ordinance also provided that no one could be appointed or elected to any city office unless he had been a constant resident of the city for at least one year preceding the election or appointment. This provision would further head off political involvement by the railroad workers or by others whom the railroad might attract to Ogden.⁵

Evidently, communication between Salt Lake City and Ogden faltered at this time, for the ordinance placed a roadblock squarely in the way of Brigham Young's plans for Weber County. Some two weeks before the new law's enactment, LDS Apostle Franklin D. Richards recorded in his journal that it was decided "at Council" (probably the Council of Fifty) that "I be appointed to go and live at Ogden take charge and preside over that stake of Zion and be elected Judge of Weber County & that B. Y. Jr. [Brigham Young, Jr.] be Mayor of Ogden City."⁶ Once he learned of the plan, the dismayed Lorin Farr wrote a highly apologetic letter to Brigham Young, pointing out the reasons for the ordinance and noting its effectiveness in preventing transients from participating in municipal affairs. A Mormon city council had again been safely elected to office. Farr obligingly offered:

... If it is still your wish to send your son Brigham here to act as the Mayor of Ogden I would with pleasure resign my office as Mayor and as the Charter Provides that where there is a vacancy the remaining Council can fill that vacancy by appointment until the next Election; and should you wish to have any other one in the City Council I am authorized to say that there can be a vacancy made for such a person to fill.⁷

The new ordinance required that a city officer must have been a resident and taxpayer on real estate in the territory (not the city, but somewhere in the territory) for at least one year preceding election or appointment.⁸ This, of course, would prevent newly arrived railroad workers or other

⁵ Kotter, "Examination of Mormon and Non-Mormon Influences," p. 43.

⁶ Franklin D. Richards Journal, January 10, 1869, Archives Division, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereinafter cited as LDS Archives.

⁷ Lorin Farr to Brigham Young, March 10, 1869, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives.

⁸ Kotter, "Examination of Mormon and Non-Mormon Influences," p. 43.

outsiders from serving but would permit Brigham Young to send men to Ogden and have them elected immediately to city offices.

Despite Farr's offer to resign, Brigham Young did not send his son to Ogden to become mayor. He did, however, send Apostle Richards to preside over the Weber Stake. (Lorin Farr was sent by Young on a mission to Europe, ending his long tenure as both mayor and stake president.) To complement his ecclesiastical position, Richards was elected by the territorial legislature as probate judge of Weber County, a position that gave him considerable power in civil affairs. At that time, probate judges exercised under territorial legislation broad powers over a wide range of legal matters, including the settlement of land and water disputes, making this an extremely important and powerful position in the county.⁹ By law the probate judge also served as the county judge or "chief justice" of the county and as a member of a four-man "county court."¹⁰ This body was roughly equivalent to our present county commission.¹⁰ In his role as chief justice, the probate judge appointed the three selectmen as members of the county court, and together they appointed and supervised the other county officials. In addition to his positions as Weber County probate judge and LDS stake president, Richards was also elected to the legislative assembly of the territory, giving him several power bases at once.

Why this sudden consolidation of Mormon political power? The answer is obvious—the coming of the railroad. In the 1860s Ogden was

⁹On the powers of the probate courts see Thomas G. Alexander, "The Utah Federal Courts and the Areas of Conflict, 1850-1896" (M.S. thesis, Utah State University, 1961), pp. 18-37.

¹⁰James B. Allen, "The Development of County Government in the Territory of Utah, 1850-1896" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1956), p. 14.

*The old Farr mill building. Ogden
Union Station collections.*



considered a rather colorful frontier town. However, as the railroad came nearer and the hope rose that Ogden would be the junction city, the Mormons began to fear that control of the city would be lost to the Gentiles. The population of Ogden doubled between 1860 and 1870, and the same was true of Weber County.¹¹ The value of manufacturing in Weber County increased nearly fourfold in the same period.¹² The opportunities that lay ahead in this area seemed clear to the Gentiles, who decided that Ogden, rather than the Salt Lake area, was the place to try to seize political power from the Mormons.

In February 1870 the organizers of a new political party, the Liberal party, met in Salt Lake City. However, their lack of success in that city led them to meet again in July of that year in Corinne, Box Elder County, where they formally organized the new party to oppose the People's party of the Mormons. The Liberal party consisted not only of Gentiles but of a group of disaffected Mormons who objected to church control of financial and economic affairs in the territory. The new party had a discouraging history at first, failing year after year to elect anyone to office. In some years it did not even bother to field a ticket in Weber County.¹³

In 1882, with the passage of the Edmunds Act, the picture began to change. This act disfranchised all practicing polygamists. To achieve that end a five-man body called the Utah Commission was sent to the territory to take over all the electoral functions: registering voters (after making sure they were not polygamists or women living in plural marriage) and conducting the elections.¹⁴ A reading of the voluminous record books of the commission shows that their major aim was to get as many Mormons off the voting rolls as possible and to make it convenient for non-Mormons to register and vote. By November 1882 the commissioners could report to Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller that they had been able to exclude about twelve thousand men and women from voting by reason of polygamy.¹⁵ Despite this purge of the voting rolls, during the 1880s the uneven contest between the rival political parties continued,

¹¹ Population statistics from the U.S. Census as cited in Alma W. Hansen, "A Historical Study of the Influence of the Railroad upon Ogden, Utah, 1868-1875" (M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1953), p. 66.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹³ For a history of this party see Velt Erickson, "The Liberal Party of Utah" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1948).

¹⁴ Stewart L. Grow, "A Study of the Utah Commission, 1882-1896" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1954), is a history of this unusual body.

¹⁵ Utah Commission Record Book A, p. 107. The commission's records are located in the Utah State Archives Annex, Salt Lake City.

with the People's party nominating delegates and candidates through a church-controlled process and the Liberals gamely putting up candidates and losing.

Then, in 1887, a more stringent law, the Edmunds-Tucker Act, was passed by the Congress, disfranchising Utah women who had received the vote in 1870 and tightening registration requirements. By this time, federal marshals were in hot pursuit of polygamists, and many families went into hiding in neighboring territories and states. The men living in plural marriage who chose to remain in Utah found it wise to keep a very low profile. Those two factors may help to account for the decrease in the total vote the following years. Meanwhile, the non-Mormons prospered in business and gradually increased their vote in the elections, giving them hope of eventually gaining a more equal footing with Mormons in the territory. In 1887 the Utah Commission reported that some 24 percent of the property valuations in Weber County belonged to non-

*Liberal party headquarters in early 1890s, Washington Boulevard, Ogden.
Courtesy BYU.*





Franklin D. Richards. USHS collections.

Mormons.¹⁶ That same year, Mormon and non-Mormon businessmen in Ogden got together and formed a chamber of commerce to further their common economic interests.

However, the political rivalry between Mormons and Gentiles was not over. In the fall of 1888 the Utah Commission ordered a careful house-by-house canvass of the Ogden precincts to see that the voter lists were purged of the dead, the unqualified, and those who would not take the oath and swear that they were not practicing polygamy. This

¹⁶ Utah Commission Record Book C, pp. 99 and 100.

canvass was organized in preparation for the city election to be held the following February. Depending on who describes the canvass, it was either a careful cleansing of the voting rolls to prevent fraud or a carefully contrived effort to find and register all the Gentiles possible while striking the names of Mormons who did not happen to be home for the day. In any event, the election of February 1889 is often held to be the turning point in Utah territorial politics.

As the city election of 1889 approached, an air of excitement pervaded the city. By election day the atmosphere was tense. Each polling place was supervised by three judges—two Liberals and one from the People's party. Policemen, U.S. marshals, and lawyers abounded on the scene. Many People's party members found their names had been stricken



Left: *The Kiesel chauffeur "Paradise" with the family car. Right: Kiesel building, second home of the Ogden Standard-Examiner. Ogden Union Station collections.*



from the list, and they were later, to no avail, to challenge the results. All accounts of the election acknowledge that many trains filled with workers brought in to vote came roaring into the city during the afternoon and evening. When the day was over, the *Standard* reported that Fred J. Kiesel, a German immigrant merchant and entrepreneur—and a non-Mormon—had become the new mayor by 400 votes over John A. Boyle, a Mormon and a long-time city councilman.¹⁷

Shock waves from the election in Ogden rolled over the state. Franklin D. Richards lamented in his journal that the city had been “turned fraudulently over to our enemies.”¹⁸ In the election for county offices the following fall the Liberals carried the Ogden precincts and defeated some People’s party candidates, although the People’s party carried the precincts outside the city. The following year the Liberals carried the Salt Lake City election. A wave of change, started in Ogden, was sweeping over Utah politics.

In 1890 the political climate began to change with the issuance of the Manifesto, a proclamation by Wilford Woodruff, president of the Mormon church, that ended the contracting of new plural marriages. Also, about that time, it became clear that Utah needed more capital from the East to develop her infant industries and that investments would not be forthcoming so long as the territory was felt to be under Mormon church domination. Mormon and non-Mormon businessmen were beginning to work together and to realize the impossibility of continuing the old religious-political warfare. By the early 1890s statehood began to seem attainable. But to accomplish that goal it would be necessary to end the political division along religious lines and to show Congress that Utah would be a state divided on national party lines.

Past attempts to achieve statehood had failed. Efforts had been made in the 1880s, particularly by those professing to be Democrats in Ogden, to form national political parties; and, in some years, delegates to the national conventions of the two major parties had been elected.¹⁹ However, the bitter rivalry of the People’s and Liberal parties made it difficult to submerge religious differences in the Republican and Democratic parties. Most Mormons tended to be sympathetic to the Democratic party, but it was important to interest Mormons in both parties

¹⁷ *Ogden Standard*, February 12, 1889. See also Kotter, “Examination of Mormon and Non-Mormon Influences,” pp. 102–6.

¹⁸ Richards Journal, February 19, 1889.

¹⁹ See S. A. Kenner, *Utah as It Is* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1904), especially pp. 144–46, for the early organizing efforts of the national parties.

if national party alignment were to succeed in ending the old religious rivalries. Again, Ogden was in the forefront of the new movement. On February 16, 1891, a Republican club was organized in Ogden, and on February 21 a Democratic club was formed with a non-Mormon as president and a Mormon, the son of Franklin D. Richards, as vice-president. The following summer similar organizations were established in Salt Lake City. Both had the blessing of Mormon leaders as a prelude to breaking up the old People's party and paving the way for statehood.²⁰

In May 1891 the People's party was dissolved and the members urged to join national parties, it was hoped in fairly equal numbers. But the Democrats seemed to win a numerical edge with Mormons.²¹ The Liberal party was not to disband so quickly. In 1891 Liberal candidates polled a substantial vote for the legislative assembly, and in 1892 they drew 20 percent of the vote for delegate to Congress. Clearly, there remained a substantial die-hard minority that did not want to lose its identity. However, these dissidents soon gave up the fight and dispersed in 1893 into the two national parties.

In 1894 an Enabling Act was passed by Congress, and Utah elected members of a convention to write a constitution for the new state. At that point Weber County was delicately balanced between the two major political parties. Although Weber County voters favored the Republican candidate as delegate to Congress in 1894, they split their vote for convention delegates almost evenly between the parties. The following year a majority of Weber County voters approved statehood, but nearly a third voted against it. Perhaps the old Liberals were still suspicious about their chances for survival under state government, since they had done very well while the Utah Commission—made up mostly of non-Mormons from outside the territory—was in charge of elections. Nevertheless, Utah did become a state on January 4, 1896, and a new era in Utah politics began. During the fall 1895 election for the first state officials Weber County had voted like the rest of Utah for a Republican governor, Heber M. Wells, and for a Republican congressman, Clarence E. Allen. Then, early in 1896, the new state legislature elected a colorful former newspaperman from Ogden, Frank J. Cannon, as one of Utah's first United States senators.²² A son of George Q. Cannon, who was then in

²⁰ Richards Journal, February 16 and 22, 1891. See also March 4 and 7, 1891, for Richards's concern about church members' need to respect one another's views as they went their separate ways in the national parties.

²¹ *Ibid.*, June 29, 1891.

²² Until 1914 U.S. senators were elected by the state legislatures.

the First Presidency of the LDS church, Frank Cannon had been an editor of the *Ogden Standard* and had made it a strong Republican paper. He was, by all accounts, a charming man and a highly persuasive speaker, especially before women. Possessed of boundless personal political ambition, Cannon became one of the key figures in Weber County and Utah politics during the early statehood period.²³ Since his senate term was for only two years, he spent a great deal of time in Weber County building his own political support, much to the annoyance of his former newspaper colleague and the new editor of the *Standard*, William Glasmann.

Glasmann was another power in local and state politics. Born in Iowa, he came west as a young man, settling in Salt Lake City in 1880 and engaging in the real estate business there for twelve years. For a time he raised buffalo on the shores of Great Salt Lake. He joined Cannon at the *Ogden Standard* in 1892. When Cannon turned his attention to politics, Glasmann became editor of the *Standard* and proceeded to make the paper an even stronger supporter of the Republican party. But Glasmann, too, had political ambitions. In 1898 he ran for the state legislature but was defeated by a Silver Fusion ticket (including Democrats) put together by Frank Cannon. Two years later he was elected to the legislature where he served as Speaker of the House. He also served a term as mayor of Ogden and was considered the leading candidate for the Republican nomination for Congress in 1916 when he died suddenly of a heart attack.²⁴

From the early 1890s to 1916 William Glasmann minced no words about his political leanings, and he evidently wielded considerable influence over the voters of Ogden and Weber County. Most of the time he advocated the Republican cause from the top to the bottom of the ticket. Occasionally, however, he would endorse a local Democratic candidate. Twice he deserted the Republican presidential candidate for what he deemed sufficient reasons. He was sometimes at odds with prominent Republicans from Salt Lake City when he felt they did not give Weber County a fair shake.

²³ Cannon's own highly colored account of his political career is found in Frank J. Cannon and Harvey J. O'Higgins, *Under the Prophet in Utah* (Boston: C. M. Clark Publishing Co., 1911). Cannon eventually left Utah as his political career waned and died in Colorado in 1933.

²⁴ For a history of the *Standard* and its successor, the *Standard-Examiner*, see Wilda Gene Hatch, *A Pioneer in Communications: The History of the Ogden Standard-Examiner and the Electronic Advancements of the Standard Corporation*, a pamphlet published by the Newcomen Society in North America, 1972.

The state's first Republican administration drew his fire in 1900 for failing to share the spoils of state government with Weber County. The lengthy heading on one news story questioned the distribution of patronage:

Who Holds the State Offices?

Salt Lake City hogs two-thirds of everything in sight. Salt Lake City is entitled to only one-fifth of the patronage of the state, yet out of 41 state offices, Salt Lake has 28. The state of Utah, which is five times larger in population than Salt Lake City, only had 13 of the offices at the state capitol.²⁵

Glasmann followed this indictment with a list of all the lucrative jobs in state government, starting with senators and representatives in Congress at \$5,000, the governor at \$2,000, and other officials down to a stenographer who made \$750 a year. On other occasions Glasmann editorially lamented the fact that Weber County generally had just one slot on a party's slate of state officers. If someone from Weber County received the party nomination for secretary of state, for example, no one from the county could expect to be nominated for any of the other positions. One nominee would eliminate the chances of others.

The long domination of Utah Republican politics by U.S. Sen. Reed Smoot and the Federal Bunch also irked the Ogden publisher. In 1912 he aired his feelings with a bit of doggerel:

Who causes all the crops to grow? Reed Smoot.
 Who makes the seasons come and go? Reed Smoot.
 Who shapes the current of events?
 Who regulates the elements?
 Who takes the place of Providence? Reed Smoot.²⁶

Glasmann deserted the Republican fold in 1896. In that year Republican William McKinley ran on a gold platform for president, while William Jennings Bryan supported the coinage of silver, a move that promised great prosperity to the West. Glasmann went all out for Bryan, not only for his stand on silver coinage but because of his promises to enforce the antitrust law. "McKinley's obligations to the money power," Glasmann editorialized, "forbid the possibility of him opposing the trusts; therefore we can only hope for the destruction of the trusts by the election of Bryan."²⁷ He went on to make clear his concern for the struggling sugar

²⁵ *Ogden Evening Standard*, September 8, 1900. Punctuation and capitalization have been regularized.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, October 29, 1912.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, October 29, 1896.



Frank J. Cannon. USHS collections.



Left: William Glasmann in Standard-Examiner office. Right: Home of the Ogden Daily Standard, established 1870. Courtesy Carolyn Glasmann Lindsay.

industry of Utah which, he said, could be destroyed by the national sugar trust. Weber County joined the state in voting for Bryan in 1896.

By 1900 Glasmann had returned to the Republican ranks with the interests of Ogden and Weber County again foremost in his thoughts. As he crusaded for McKinley—somewhat regenerated and no longer regarded as “mortgaged to the trusts”—he held out to Ogdenites the possibility of becoming the largest city in Utah if McKinley were elected. One of the campaign issues was the role of the United States in the Far East, and Glasmann knew which side he should support. As the newspaper editor saw it, McKinley would hold on to the Philippines and open up a rich trade with the Far East that would be carried across the United States by rail through Ogden (which by then had become the junction city). Bryan, he feared, would liberate the Philippines and fail to carry the white man’s burden to the Far East, ending the possibility of a thriving trade with the Orient and the subsequent rail traffic through Ogden. Glasmann apparently believed that a little imperialism might be good for Ogden.²⁸

On another occasion Glasmann and the *Ogden Standard* conspicuously left the Republican fold, followed by the voters of Weber County.²⁹ In 1912 the *Standard* was the only major newspaper in Utah to endorse the Bull Moose candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt, and the former president could not have asked for a more avid supporter. Glasmann was one of the organizers of the Progressive party—as the Bull Moose party is more properly called—and helped plan a visit by Roosevelt to Ogden to address the state Progressive convention in the Orpheum Theatre. As it happened, the schedule was changed and Roosevelt spoke instead to a crowd of some five thousand Utahns at the corner of Grant Avenue and Twenty-fifth Street on September 13.³⁰ Whether it was the visit or the *Standard* support, Theodore Roosevelt carried Weber County, while the state voted for William Howard Taft and the nation elected Woodrow Wilson. Roosevelt got 33 percent of the total Weber County vote; however, he received only 21.5 percent in the state as a whole. In Ogden

²⁸ *Ogden Semi-weekly Standard*, November 6, 1900.

²⁹ Prior to the 1912 election the *Standard* carried under its flag on the front page this line: “A Fearless, Independent, Progressive Newspaper.” For some time in the early 1900s it carried this statement above the main editorial on the editorial page: “A Fearless Independent Newspaper. It Has No Friends to Reward and No Enemies to Punish. Hear All Sides. While This Paper Has Strong Republican Predilections, It Is Not a Party Organ, and Its News Columns Are Fair and Just to All Parties and Creeds.” For example, see October 27, 1910. In 1910 it frequently carried advertising for the Marxian Club Socialists (for example, see October 30, 1910).

³⁰ *Ogden Morning Examiner*, September 14, 1912.

he polled 35 percent of the vote but did not carry the precincts outside the city. This may not seem remarkable except in the context of other happenings in that unusual 1912 election.

In October 1912 a veritable bombshell was dropped into Utah politics when the president of the Mormon church, Joseph F. Smith, strongly praised Taft in the church's magazine, the *Improvement Era*. After defending the wisdom of Taft's policies both at home and abroad, Smith went on to declare that

it is clear that President William H. Taft has made a good president, and his administration has been a success. Should the people call him once again to the presidential chair, it is not likely that they will regret it, but on the contrary, will find their action wise, sensible, and sound.²¹

This must have dismayed Glasmann considerably, but he responded in the only way possible under the circumstances. He kept insisting that the statement represented Smith's well-known personal preference for Republicanism and that individual Mormons were at liberty to vote as they pleased.²²

We would feel deeply aggrieved, if a less radical Republican occupying the presidency of the church, saw fit to commend the candidacy of Taft, but Joseph F. Smith's Republicanism is so deep-dyed but that few will mistake it to be the voice of the church or other than the personal opinion of one of strong convictions who is for his party though the Heavens fall.

Salt Lake has been a storm center over the question of church interference in politics and, as might have been expected, the editorial in the *Era* created a sensation in that city. The Republicans were elated over the utterance, but the Democrats, Progressives and Independents were greatly exercised.²³

In Weber County as a whole they were pleased to vote for Roosevelt over Taft and Wilson; in the state as a whole they gave a clear plurality to Taft as he went down to a resounding defeat nationally. Only two Utah counties, Weber and Uintah, were carried by Roosevelt.²⁴

²¹ *Improvement Era*, October 1912, pp. 1120-21.

²² For example, see *Ogden Evening Standard*, October 8 and September 27, 1912.

²³ *Ibid.*, September 27, 1912.

²⁴ In the 1912 election the presidential results were as follows:

	<i>Weber County</i>	<i>Ogden</i>	<i>Precincts outside Ogden</i>
Wilson (D)	27.7	26.1	31.7
Taft (R)	29.3	26.8	35.5
Debs (S)	8.9	10.7	4.4
Roosevelt (P)	33.3	35.4	28.2

Weber County as a whole chose Republican William Spry for governor by a slight margin over Progressive Nephi L. Morris, while Ogden voters chose Morris and precincts outside Ogden were carried by Spry.

TABLE 1
PRESIDENTIAL AND CONGRESSIONAL RACES: 1896-1924

	<i>Presidential Races</i>				
	<i>Nation</i>	<i>Utah</i>	<i>Weber County Total</i>	<i>Ogden City</i>	<i>Outside City</i>
1896	R	D	D		
1900	R	R	R		
1904	R	R	R		
1908	R	R	R	R	
1912	D	R	P (TR)	P (TR)	R
1916	D	D	D	D	D
1920	R	R	R	R	R
1924	R	R	R	R	R
	<i>Congressional Races</i>				
1895 Allen		R	R		
1896 King		D	D		
1898 Roberts		D	D		
1900 April - King*		D	D		
November - Sutherland		R	R		
1902 Howell		R	R		
1904 Howell		R	R	R	R
1906 Howell		R	R	R	R
1908 Howell		R	R	R	R
1910 Howell		R	R	R	D
1912 Howell		R	R	P (TR)	R
1914 Howell		R	R	R	R
1916 Welling		D	D		
1918 Welling**		D	D	D	D
1920 Colton		R	R	R	R
1922 Colton		R	D	D	R
1924 Colton		R***	D	D	R

Source: Official abstracts of election returns for Weber County (microfilm in office of the county clerk and Utah State Archives Annex).

* Special election to fill the vacant seat of Brigham H. Roberts.

** Welling's opponent was Ogden businessman W. H. Wattis.

*** Colton's Democratic opponent was a popular Ogden newspaperman, Frank Francis, who carried the city and county.

As table 1 shows, Weber County and Ogden voted like the rest of the state during most of the period from statehood through 1924. However, Weber County, with a large and flourishing labor movement, tended to give more support than did the rest of the state to minority parties. These parties included the Populists in the 1890s, the Socialists in the first decade of the century, and the Progressive parties of Theodore Roosevelt and Robert LaFollette. For example, in 1896 the Populist

candidate for Congress, Warren Foster, pulled 2.9 percent of the statewide vote but drew 5.8 percent of the vote in Weber County—twice as much. In 1898 the same pattern held. As for the Socialist party, in the 1908 election Eugene V. Debs (who had spoken in Ogden during the campaign) polled 4.5 percent of the presidential vote statewide. He did better in Weber County as a whole, taking 5 percent of the vote, and best in Ogden where he garnered 7.2 percent of the vote. The Socialist candidates for governor and for the Congress polled approximately the same percentages. Precincts outside Ogden were more conservative, giving the Socialists only a little over 3 percent of their vote. Table 2 shows that this was a pattern. In the elections from 1902 through 1918, when the Socialist vote tapered off, Ogden consistently showed a heavier Socialist vote for Congress than the rest of the state, while the precincts outside Ogden showed a substantially lower vote than the state.²⁵

The American party, a minority group that nevertheless dominated Salt Lake City politics for several years, ran into rough sledding in Weber County. Organized in 1904 as a reaction to the election by the legislature of Reed Smoot, a Mormon apostle, to the United States Senate, this party was formed in Salt Lake City largely by non-Mor-

TABLE 2
SOCIALIST VOTE FOR CONGRESS, WEBER COUNTY: 1902-18

<i>Year</i>	<i>Candidate</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Weber County Total</i>	<i>Ogden City</i>	<i>Precincts Outside Ogden</i>
1902	Mathew Wilson	3.5*	5.0	7.1	1.3
1904	W. H. Shock	4.7	6.0	7.7	2.5
1906	H. P. Burt	3.6	5.4	5.7	2.8
1908	C. Crane	3.9	6.0	6.9	3.2
1910	J. A. Smith	4.8	4.5	5.7	2.2
1912**	M. King	8.0	9.1	10.9	4.5
	W. Knerr	8.1	9.0	10.7	4.6
1914	B. Jansen	4.7	8.3	10.8	2.9
1916	A. L. Benson	3.1	2.8	3.2	1.4
1918	D. N. Keef	.8	1.3	1.6	.6

Source: Official abstracts of election returns for Weber County (microfilm in office of the county clerk and Utah State Archives Annex).

* Percentages are of the total vote for Congress.

** Utah was entitled to two representatives after the 1910 Census. In 1912 the entire state voted for the two representatives; afterward the state was divided into First and Second Congressional districts, with Weber County in the First District.

²⁵ See table 2.

mons.²⁶ It gained the support of Sen. Thomas Kearns, who wanted to retain his senate seat, and the *Salt Lake Tribune*. The party was able to elect the mayors of Salt Lake City for several years. In 1908 it polled over 10 percent of the statewide vote for governor. However, it drew only 4 percent of the vote in Weber County and less than 1 percent in the precincts outside Ogden. This seemed to be a minority party with a grudge rather than one with a broadly appealing ideology. Glasmann concluded that it offered Weber County only hatred and religious rivalry, and these were the last things the county needed. The old Mormon-Gentile wounds were healing very well in Ogden, and few of the Gentiles had any desire to open them again.

Ogden produced no governors and only one senator during the 1896–1924 period. It nurtured the colorful but erratic Frank J. Cannon who left Ogden and later became a Democrat. Later still, he joined the American party, which was dominated by anti-Mormons, before being excommunicated from the Mormon church and leaving the state.

During the territorial period Ogden nurtured two of the most important figures in the woman suffrage movement: Jane S. Richards, wife of LDS Apostle Franklin D. Richards, and her daughter-in-law Emily S. Richards. The pair organized suffrage groups all over Utah. And Ogden also provided one of the first women members of the state legislature, Sarah Anderson, who was elected in 1896. This spirited woman had challenged the registration laws in 1895 when she tried to vote but lost her case. Refusing to accept defeat, in 1896, with the new state constitution to back her up, she won election to the legislature.²⁷

By the mid-1920s Ogden and Weber County had a stable two-party system. Although voting with the state and nation much more often than not, they still reserved the right to be different.²⁸ They resented the custom of state politics that usually limited Weber County to one spot on a slate of state officers. And they never filled the governor's chair during this period. Nevertheless, the voters of Ogden and Weber County had demonstrated that they could not be taken for granted; they always remained a potential challenge to Utah's political conservatism.

²⁶For the history of this party see Reuben J. Snow, "The American Party in Utah: A Study of Political Party Struggles during the Early Years of Statehood" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1964).

²⁷For an account of Sarah Anderson's fight to vote see Jean Bickmore White, "Gentle Persuaders: Utah's First Women Legislators," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (1970):31–49.

²⁸See table 1 for comparisons of the state and Weber County vote. For election results and analysis for the state during this period see Brad E. Hainsworth, "Utah State Elections, 1916–1924" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1968); Kenneth G. Stauffer, "Utah Politics (1912–1918)" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1972); and Gary R. Penrod, "The Elections of 1900 in Utah" (M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968).

Transcontinental Travelers' Excursions to Salt Lake City and Ogden: A Photographic Essay

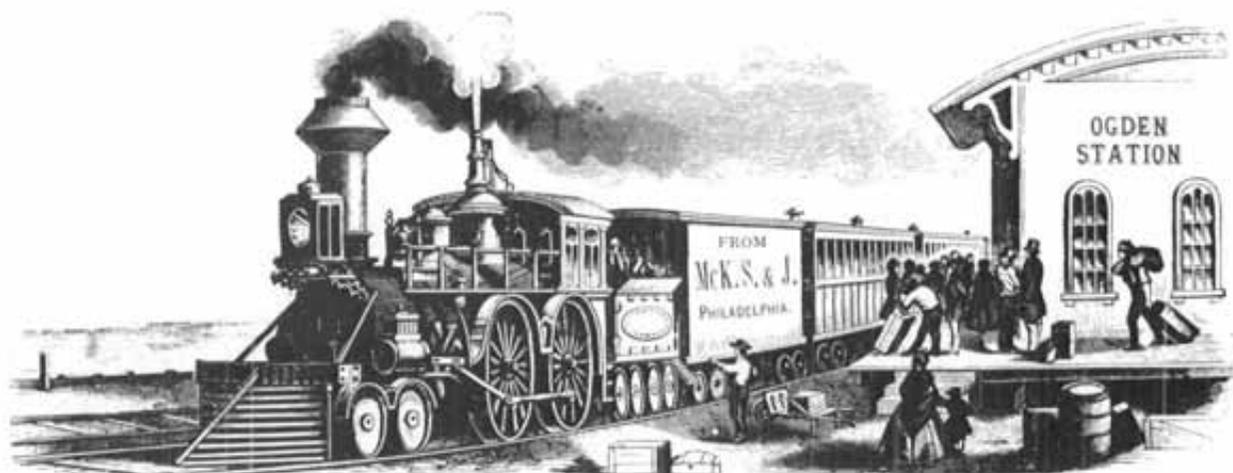
BY CAROLYN RHODES-JONES

A FEW CURIOSITY-SEEKERS CAME to inspect the Mormon settlements in the 1850s and 1860s, but tourism did not flourish until better transportation ended Utah's isolation. Once the transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, even the less adventurous traveler took to the rails to see what lay between New York and San Francisco, and Salt Lake City required a special excursion.

Before Ogden was established as a railroad town, the westbound tourist left the train at Uintah, journeyed by stage to Salt Lake City,

Mrs. Rhodes-Jones is exhibit coordinator for the Interpreting Local History project.

Special thanks goes to Craig Fuller, field coordinator for the project and now with the Utah State Historical Society, who located and compiled the valuable collection of Ogden photographs from which the ones published here were taken.



and spent a few days sight-seeing before returning to Uintah to continue the train trip to Nevada and California. When Ogden became an important rail junction, however, travelers could refresh themselves with a good meal and a night's rest before taking the train on to Salt Lake.

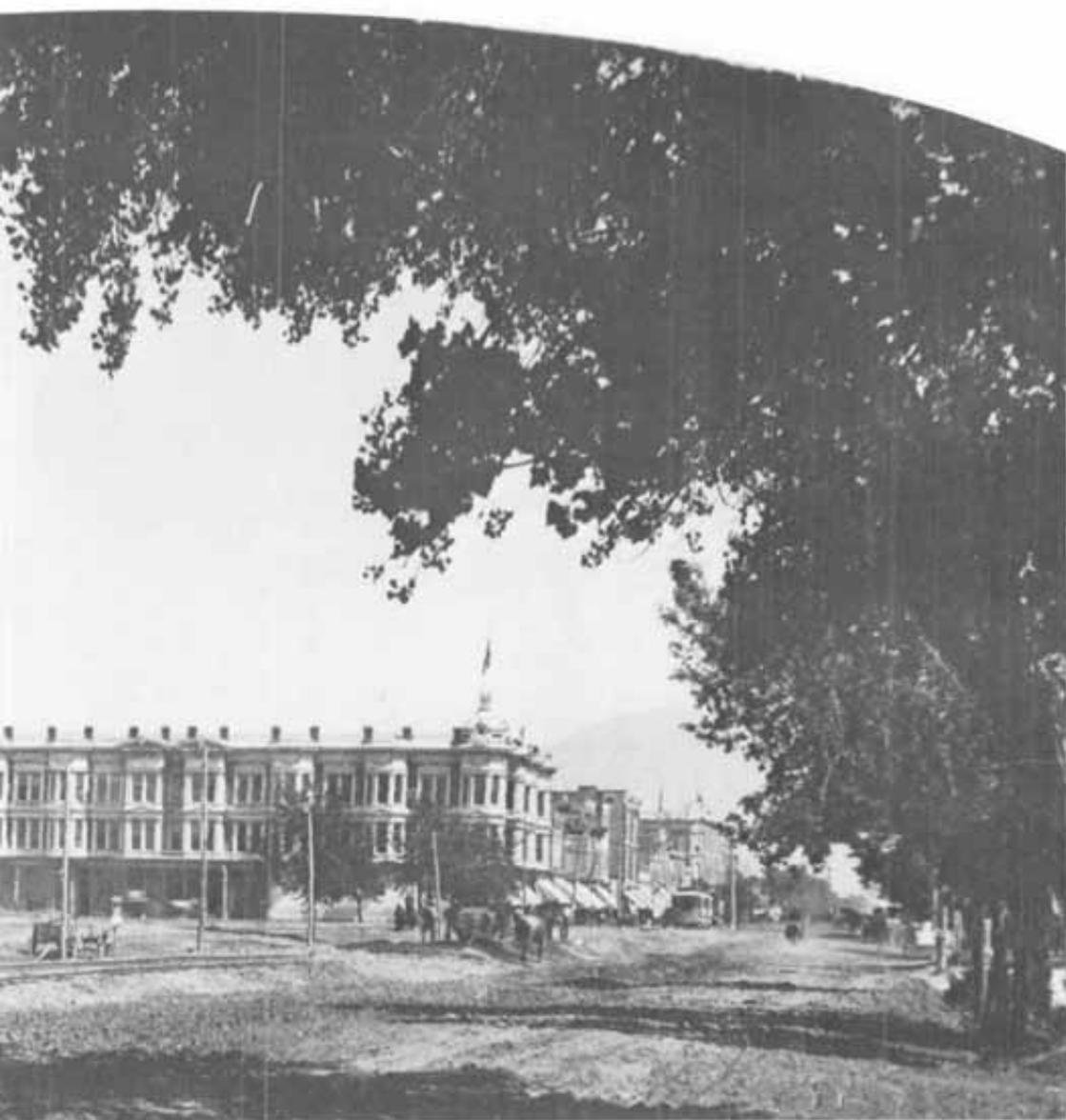
Observations of tourists who visited Salt Lake and Ogden prior to the turn of the century narrate the photographic essay that follows. Combined with a little imagination, the essay provides a brief sightseer's tour of the two villages that were rapidly becoming cities.

"We came shortly upon the shore of the lake [travelling westward through Weber Canyon]. Smiling farms, neat small stations, white and brown cottages, children selling melons and milk, squared fields, English stacks, herds of cattle, trim fences, appeared as if by magic — a cheerful contrast to the wilderness through which we passed."

"To San Francisco
and Back,"
People's Magazine,
February 1, 1871.



Washington Boulevard, Ogden ca. 1890. C. R. Savage photograph, LDS Archives.





Sidney Stevens building, built 1869-70, on Washington Boulevard, Ogden, Ogden City, Utah.

The original Ogden Depot, built in 1889, burned down in 1923. C. R. Savage photograph, LDS Archives.





Ogden Co-op, ca. 1880. LDS Archives.

“The clear mountain water is also led through the streets and is used everywhere for irrigating purposes. The luxuriance of the foilage, splendid background of the rugged Wasatch range, and the broad, level streets, at once impress us pleasantly upon arrival. The environs are made up of some of the finest grain and fruit farms in Utah. The city claims 6,000 inhabitants, has a number of Gentile as well as Mormon churches, and several public schools. We found first class hotel accommodations at Beardsley’s Railroad House, at the depot, where fish and game are nearly always appetizing features of the bill of fare. . . .”

Robert Strahorn, To the Rockies and Beyond. 1878.





Little Kate, Ogden's horseless streetcar, in front of the Broom Hotel, the "finest edifice and best hotel between San Francisco and Denver." The hotel stood from 1883 to 1959. Ogden City, Utah.

"Travelers from the East, after dining at Ogden and having an hour in which to re-check their baggage, will board a train of silver palace cars belonging to the Central Pacific, in the evening, as the trains now run, and will soon be whirling away across the Great American Desert."

Henry T. Williams, *The Pacific Tourist*. 1877.

Ogden around the turn of the century. Courtesy Continental Oil Company.



Ogden ca. 1900, BYU Archives.

“From Salt Lake to Ogden the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad traverses a narrow plain. On the west lies the Great Salt Lake, while to the north rise the serrated peaks of the Wasatch Mountains. . . . Farms reach their golden or green fields over its length and breadth, and little streams run in bright threads out of the mountain cañons down across the meadows. . . . The train speeds on, and entering an amphitheatre, set around with mountains, reaches Ogden, the western terminus of the Denver and Rio Grande and Union Pacific Railroads.”

Stanley Wood, *Over the Range to the Golden Gate*, 1891.



D. K. FARLEY & CO. MFRS.



Ogden business, BYU Archives.

Saddle Rock Restaurant, Ogden ca. 1900, BYU Archives.



Ogden Paint, Oil, and Glass Company, USHS collections.



Ogden, looking east, and Union Pacific roundhouse ca. 1900. Ogden City, Utah.





Salt Lake City's First South Street showing the Salt Lake Theatre and, just opposite, St. Mark's school. USHS collections.

Salt Lake City from Arsenal Hill. C. R. Savage photograph, USHS collections.



"Salt Lake is the city of the future—the natural metropolis of all Utah and portions of Nevada, Idaho, Montana, and Colorado. It contains nearly twenty thousand people, and bids fair to continue the largest city between St. Louis and San Francisco. The hotel is usually crowded with guests, and the streets, one hundred and twenty-eight feet wide and watered by little rills on each side, are thronged with the wagons of immigrants and farmers, with women and children, Saints and sinners, miners and Indians."

Albert Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi*. 1867.



Looking northwest in Salt Lake City. USHS collections, courtesy Sam Weller.



Walker House Hotel on Main Street between Second and Third South streets, Salt Lake City. USHS collections.

Groesbeck Block, Salt Lake City. C. R. Savage photograph, USHS collections.





Fencing around Walker property on Main Street between Fourth and Fifth South streets, Salt Lake City. Art Work of Utah.

“Every taste is catered to. . . . The hotels are excellent, the climate unexcelled, and days may be passed delightfully in exploring and in studying the wealth of attractions. There are theatres, reading rooms, good horses, perfect order and universal cleanliness. Many of the private houses are palatial, and altogether the city is one of rare beauty and interest.”

Stanley Wood, *Over the Range to the Golden Gate*. 1891.



Main Street, Salt Lake City. USHS collections.



Eighth South between State and Main streets, Salt Lake City, 1909. USHS collections.

“In the summertime the excursion rates from Salt Lake City [to the lake] are \$1.50 per ticket, which includes passage both ways over the Utah Western Railroad, a ride on the steamer on the lake, and the privilege of a bath—the cheapest and most useful enjoyment in the entire territory.”

Henry T. Williams, *The Pacific Tourist*. 1877.

“Babies seem indigenous to Salt Lake. Their abundance through all the streets causes wonder till one remembers that they are the only product of the soil which does not require irrigation.”

Albert Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi*. 1867.



*First South Street, Salt
Lake City, 1907.
USHS collections.*

“Of course the ‘Walker House,’ G. S. Erb proprietor, leads all hotels between Omaha and San Francisco in points of size, elegance and merits of *cuisine*. It is supplied with an elevator, water and gas on different floors, and is a model of convenience and system generally. . . . The rates . . . are only three dollars per day.”

Robert Strahorn,
To the Rockies and Beyond. 1878.



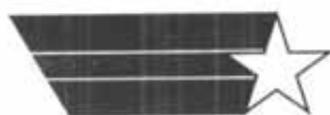
*Main Street, Salt Lake City. C. W. Carter
photograph, USHS collections.*

*White House Hotel on
Second South and
Main Street, Salt Lake
City. USHS
collections.*





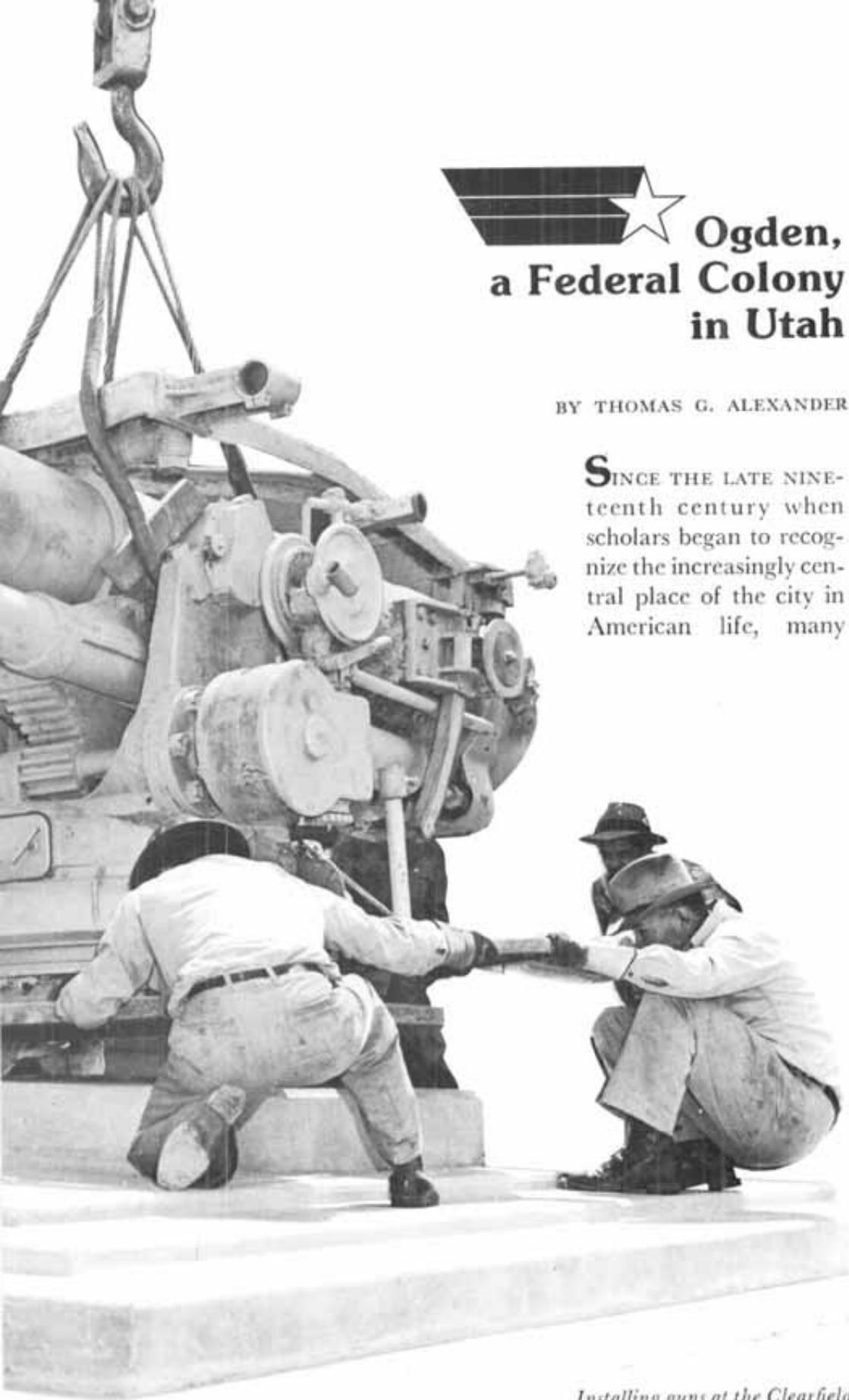
ADMINISTRATION BUILDING



Ogden, a Federal Colony in Utah

BY THOMAS G. ALEXANDER

SINCE THE LATE NINETEENTH century when scholars began to recognize the increasingly central place of the city in American life, many



*Installing guns at the Clearfield
Naval Supply Depot. USHS
collections.*

analyses of urban development have been made.¹ Perhaps the view that helps the most in examining Ogden's development is that of Max Weber. For Weber the city could best be understood as a complex of social relationships, often apart from one another but nevertheless affecting one another because they take place within a single context.² From this complex of social relationships the development of Ogden as a government center may be analyzed by considering a number of government-sponsored enterprises in the Ogden area. This study will concentrate on the social and political relationships that brought about their establishment. In general, the model proposed here may also be used to investigate the development of businesses in other areas that have affected the growth of other cities in Utah and elsewhere.

Now, it seems probable that two objections to the model will be raised. The first and most obvious is that Ogden's prosperity derives from governmental activity which is quite unlike other enterprises. This objection has to be rejected as merely ideological. In the case of any enterprise, public or private, one sees the accumulation of money to be invested in capital goods for reasons thought proper to the investors. That the capital is obtained from taxation rather than voluntary investment is irrelevant to the outcome. The second and deeper objection is the assumption that the study of urban development really does not tell much about Utah since Utah's ideals traditionally have been agrarian rather than urban. This point of view fails to account for much of the development that has made Utah what it is today. Since about 1942 Utah has been more urbanized than the average state in the Union, and since 1970 it has been the tenth most urbanized state, surpassing such reputed urban giants as Pennsylvania. More than 80 percent of Utah's population is concentrated in the urban area between Payson and Brigham City along the thin corridor of the Wasatch Front.³

The historical development of Utah's population patterns shows that the state has tended to surge ahead of the rest of the nation in urban development in times of prosperity and that agriculture has developed

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¹ For a summary of a number of these views see, "Prefatory Remarks: The Theory of the City," in Max Weber, *The City*, ed. Don Martindale, (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958), pp. 9-61.

² Weber, *The City*, *passim*.

³ J. Michael Cleverley, "The Development of an Urban Pattern," in Richard D. Poll, Thomas G. Alexander, Eugene E. Campbell, and David E. Miller, eds. *Utah's History* (Provo, Ut.: Brigham Young University, 1978), pp. 547-48. For population graph, see *ibid.*, p. 683.

in times of relative or absolute economic difficulty. Leap-frogging rather than lagging has characterized the relationship of Utah to national urban development. Since World War II, however, Utah's urban growth has surged ahead, and this surge has coincided with the longest sustained period of prosperity in Utah's history.⁴

It might be argued that this really means nothing, because the Mormon pioneers were agrarians rather than urbanites. In comparison with the remainder of the country, however, that is simply not true. Aside from the large number of British urbanites who immigrated to Utah, Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders were as interested in the promotion of such characteristically urban enterprises as iron, wool, sugar, and silk manufacture as they were in farming. As Leonard Arrington has aptly demonstrated, Brigham Young was a mercantilist, not an agrarian. That is, he tried to promote self-sufficiency through all sorts of development: industrial, commercial, and agricultural. One also tends to forget that Brigham Young and many Mormon leaders lived the greatest part of their lives and carried on their business enterprises in an urban environment.⁵ However, a more fundamental reason exists for rejecting the rural designation of the Utah heritage. The model for Utah's spatial development was the city of Zion as conceived by Joseph Smith. Certainly, as Richard Jackson and other geographers have shown, it was modified considerably in Utah and the model was not unique to the Mormons, but the patterns of development in Utah were most assuredly not agrarian in the usual American sense. Church leaders promoted the development of cities and towns, not the isolated homesteads typical of the agrarian Midwest.⁶

The best characterization of the Utah ideal seems to be suburban. That is, Utah tradition has generally rejected both the congestion of the megalopolis and the isolation of the traditional American farm. Thus, the suburban pattern with each family living in a separate dwelling on its own piece of land and with some parks and open spaces inside the city

⁴ In 1970, for example, 80.4 percent of Utah's population lived in urban areas, while the urban population for the entire U.S. was 73.5 percent. These statistics are based on the new Bureau of the Census definition of *urban*.

⁵ Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 246-50. On British immigration and its sources see P.A.M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1965).

⁶ Richard H. Jackson, "The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 17 (1977): 223-40.

and generous open spaces nearby, has been our ideal.⁷ Ogden's development has proceeded in that way and is therefore typical of Utah cities.

PERCENTAGE OF EARNINGS BY SELECTED INDUSTRIAL SOURCES FOR UTAH
COUNTIES WITH INCOME OVER \$400 MILLION, 1975

Total Income	State (\$4.6 bil.)	Salt Lake (\$2.4 bil.)	Davis (\$503 mil.)	Utah (\$469 mil.)	Weber (\$402 mil.)
<i>Source</i>					
Farm	2.1	0.4	0.9	2.9	1.5
Manufacturing	16.9	16.6	12.3	30.1	13.7
Construction	7.1	7.3	4.7	7.0	5.7
Trade	17.8	22.3	9.2	13.5	17.0
Transportation, Communications, Public Utilities	8.4	11.1	NA	4.7	10.2
Services	14.0	16.1	5.8	22.6	13.9
Federal Government	12.6	4.6	54.8	2.6	19.2

Source: University of Utah, Bureau of Economic and Business Research.

Against this background, Ogden itself and the enterprises that have made it what it is today will be discussed. Clearly, the most important source of income in the Ogden area is the federal government. In 1975 four counties in Utah had industries that generated personal income in excess of \$400 million: Salt Lake, Davis, Utah, and Weber. In the state as a whole money coming in from federal industries accounted for 12.6 percent of personal income. In Salt Lake County, 4.6 percent of personal income came from the federal government and in Utah County 2.6 percent. In Davis County, however, 54.8 percent and in Weber County 19.2 percent came from the federal government, surpassing any other category. The greater Ogden area consists of portions of both Weber and Davis counties, and many from Ogden are employed by the federal government in Davis County in defense-related enterprises. At Hill Air Force Base an estimated 42 percent of the employees come from Ogden. The abnormally high federal contribution to income in Weber and Davis counties must be taken as an indication of the important role the federal government plays in the economy of this area.⁸

⁷ See Claude S. Fischer, *The Urban Experience* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1976), pp. 204-33.

⁸ The information on the percentage of employees from Ogden at Hill Air Force Base was supplied by Murray Moler of the *Ogden Standard Examiner*.

The scope of federal employment in the Ogden area is enormous. In addition to the well-known defense installations—Hill Air Force Base and Defense Depot Ogden—are the Forest Service regional headquarters, the Internal Revenue Service center, Bureau of Reclamation project offices, and numerous other federal activities. Hill Air Force Base, the largest business in Utah, employs more workers and generates a larger payroll than the next three largest businesses in Utah combined.

How did this come about? Why did the federal government decide to concentrate so many of its operations in the Ogden area rather than in Salt Lake City or somewhere else in the West? Or, why in the West at all? These questions will be addressed by investigating four federal enterprises. Two of them, the Forest Service regional headquarters and the Ogden Arsenal, were established in the early decades of this century. Another two, Hill Air Force Base and Clearfield Naval Supply Depot, were established immediately before and during World War II. The Ogden Arsenal was absorbed by Hill Air Force Base and the Clearfield Naval Supply Depot has been taken over by private enterprise at the Freeport Center. These four installations will serve as a case study in the establishment of Ogden as a federal colony, since other federal operations seem to have been set up for similar reasons.

THE DYNAMICS OF LOCATION

In 1907 officials of the recently created United States Forest Service decided to decentralize operations. Gifford Pinchot, the widely traveled head of the nation's forests, began cutting down the size of the Washington establishment by transferring employees nearer to the people they served and the lands they administered. The Forest Service had already created inspection districts with headquarters at various points. The Intermountain District with headquarters at Salt Lake City became the basis for District 4 including portions of Idaho, Wyoming, Arizona, Nevada, and all of Utah. It was assumed that Salt Lake City would probably become the regional headquarters as well. However, a number of decisions were made that eventually led to the selection of Ogden.

On January 31, 1908, C. S. Chapman, assistant forester, wrote to his colleague James B. Adams recommending that the Forest Service supply depot, which was designed to serve the entire West, be located in Ogden.⁸

⁸C. S. Chapman to James B. Adams, January 31, 1908, Forest Service (hereafter FS) Operations, Field Offices, Record Group 95 (hereafter DNA, RG 95), National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Admitting the logic of establishing the District 4 headquarters at Salt Lake City, he pointed out that Ogden had a number of advantages as a supply depot site, not because of inferior railroad lines in Salt Lake City, as has often been assumed, but in part because the railroad companies treated Ogden as a central point. Because of railroad policy, some shipments from Salt Lake over the Union or Southern Pacific had to be re-billed at Ogden. In addition, living expenses were higher in the capital city, labor seemed harder to hold, and drayage and storage costs were also higher. Furthermore, Ogden had more available warehouse space at the time. Chapman therefore recommended that the supply depot be established at the Simmons Hardware Company's storehouse near the freight depot in Ogden. This location offered private tracks to the Denver & Rio Grande and Oregon Short Line railroads, with convenient connections to other major lines and facilities for loading and unloading.¹⁰

Almost immediately Ogden began to draw other Forest Service operations. In March 1908 the Forest Service established the field headquarters for its Office of Engineering at Ogden with A. T. Mitchelson as engineer. The location of the supply depot may have influenced the choice, but lobbying by the Weber Club and its secretary, Ira Lester Reynolds, may also have played a part.¹¹

Others outside Ogden were active in lobbying, too, particularly after it was learned that the Forest Service was looking for a site for its regional office. In early August C. B. Stewart, secretary of the Utah State Wool Growers Association, wrote Gifford Pinchot urging Salt Lake City. Pinchot's noncommittal response pointed out that Salt Lake City was being considered.¹² Initially, Salt Lake City seemed to have the edge. Clyde Leavitt, a Forest Service inspector who was to make the recommendation, saw Salt Lake City as the principal convention city. Most stockmen transacted their business there, and it was the location for federal and state offices as well as the headquarters of the Utah and the National Wool Growers associations. In addition, he pointed out, it was as much a railroad center as Ogden.¹³ In early September, however, Leavitt decided upon Ogden for reasons not unlike those that were to lead to the establishment of other installations in the Ogden area. The availability of

¹⁰ C. S. Chapman to E. E. Steward, February 14, 1908, *ibid.*

¹¹ C. S. Chapman to Ira Lester Reynolds, March 3, 1908, *ibid.*

¹² C. B. Stewart to Gifford Pinchot, August 5, 1908, and Pinchot to Stewart, August 6, 1908, *ibid.*

¹³ Undated memo, probably from Clyde Leavitt, folder: C. Leavitt, FS Operations, Inspection Trips, DNA, RG 95.

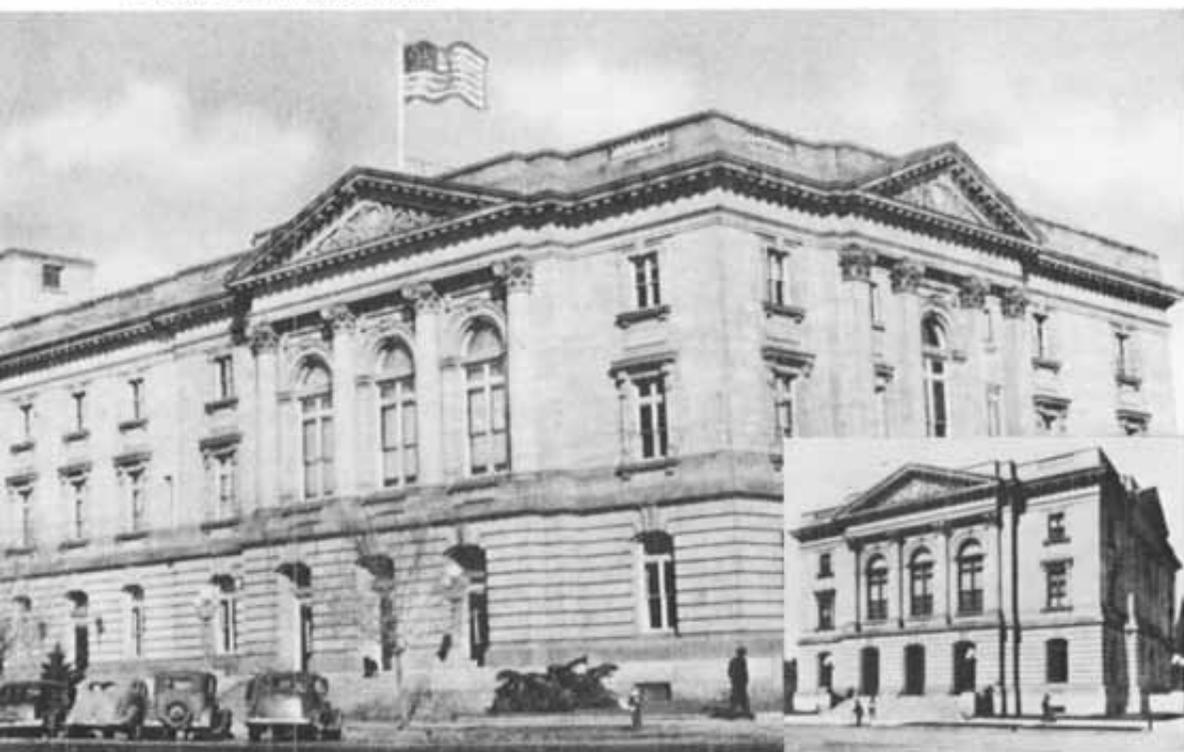
facilities and the flexibility and support of the Ogden business community were prime factors in Leavitt's choice.

The company from which the supply depot building was then being rented wanted to use the warehouse for other purposes, and Salt Lake City offered no alternate facilities. However, Ogden businessman Fred J. Kiesel offered to construct a conveniently located building to house both the supply depot and the regional headquarters. Later, the regional offices could be moved to a projected Federal Building. Until Kiesel completed his building the fourth and fifth floors of the First National Bank building were available, and its owners were anxious to house the Forest Service offices there. By September 15 Pinchot had the proposal under consideration, and it had already been endorsed by Utah's senior senator, Reed Smoot. The favorable freight rates from Ogden played a part, but the aggressiveness of Ogden businessmen, particularly Fred Kiesel, seems to have been the crucial factor.¹⁴ On November 5, 1908, Pinchot announced his decision. The District 4 headquarters were to be at Ogden with Clyde Leavitt as district forester in charge.¹⁵

¹⁴ Clyde Leavitt to C. S. Chapman, September 7, 1908, FS Operations, Inspection Trips, DNA, RG 95; George H. Cecil to Leavitt, September 15, 1908, folder: C. Leavitt, *ibid.*; Leavitt to James B. Adams, September 16, 1908, *ibid.*

¹⁵ Gifford Pinchot to C. K. Wyman, November 5, 1908, FS Operations, Correspondence Folder: Redistricting, 1908, DNA, RG 95.

Federal Building and Post Office, Ogden. Inset is an earlier version. Ogden Union Station collections.



In the case of the Forest Service regional headquarters, Ogden was chosen over Salt Lake City on the basis of railroad rates, available facilities, and the aggressiveness of businessmen. The decision to locate the Ogden Arsenal south of Ogden was made on the basis of strategic necessity, railroad facilities, and the availability of suitable land. After World War I the U.S. Army Ordnance Department began planning for permanent storage of munitions. A report of June 13, 1919, outlined the needs: a facility to serve the Pacific Coast, a depot further west than the Savanna, Illinois, Arsenal, and a site away from the large population centers where munitions were currently stored. With these criteria in mind, ordnance personnel visited possible sites in Wyoming, Colorado, Nevada, and Utah. They favored a location somewhere in the Salt Lake-Ogden area because of the railroad connections. By December 1 a suitable place had been located south of Ogden and east of the Davis County town of Sunset.¹⁶

This site proved excellent for several reasons. The railroad facilities seem to have been important; but, in addition, the site offered an upward slope over very sandy soil, "such that should any accidental explosions occur within the storage magazines, the loose sand would absorb a great portion of the shock." The land was located on a bench above the valley. At that time, because of the unavailability of irrigation water in pre-Weber Basin Project days, such land could be used only for rather uncertain dry-farming operations.¹⁷

Acting on these recommendations, Secretary of War Newton D. Baker asked for an amendment to the urgent Deficiency Appropriations Act of 1920 for \$100,000 to purchase the site. Congress cut the request by \$2,000, and Reed Smoot got his friend Edward E. Jenkins to assist in appraising the land. Thus the arsenal came to Sunset, near Ogden.¹⁸

In the case of Hill Air Force Base, a combination of strategic considerations, site suitability, and local business aggressiveness seems to

¹⁶ See under Ogden in Vol. 4: Ordnance Depot Sites in Wyoming, Colorado, Nevada, and Utah, Planning Record, 1917-19, 1919-20, in Ordnance Depot Planning and Administration during World War I, 1917-1920, 5 vols., box no. 1, RG 156, Office of the Chief of Ordnance, Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Md. (hereafter cited as WNRS).

¹⁷ Ora Bundy, "Completion Report on the Construction of Buildings and Utilities at the Ogden Arsenal, Utah, Under Lump Sum Contract by the W. M. Sutherland Building and Contracting Co., St. Louis, Mo.," October 15, 1921, Office of the Quartermaster General, Construction Division, Completion Reports, 1917-19, Norton Airfield, Ohio, to Fort Oglethorpe, Ga., box 210, WNRS, RG 92.

¹⁸ Newton D. Baker to Secretary of the Treasury, January 8, 1920, Adjutant General's Office, Central Decimal Files, Project Files, 1917-25, box 1407, DNA, RG 407; Reed Smoot Diary, March 13, 1920, Special Collections, Lee Library, Brigham Young University; *Congressional Record*, 66th Cong., 2nd sess., 1920, p. 3126; 41 U.S., *Statutes at Large* 510.

have been responsible for the location. By the early 1930s, in spite of the isolationist spirit then current in the United States, some army officers were anxious to promote American security through the creation of secure air bases. They wanted an inland air base distant from the exterior boundaries of the United States. Again, the Salt Lake–Ogden area looked ideal to meet these requirements. In a report of June 1, 1934, Maj. Hugh J. Knerr considered the various possibilities. Land near the Salt Lake airport, he said, was too soggy, too prone to alkali dust storms, and too near active municipal air activity. South Salt Lake County might be considered, but land there was far too expensive. Fort Douglas was a possibility, but it was too near the mountains. On the other hand, the site east of the Ogden Arsenal seemed ideal. Ninety percent of the high plateau land surface was usable for runways. The foundation was solid since the land lay further east than the sand deemed suitable for the arsenal.¹⁹ Finally, it was on major highways near Ogden, an important city in the area, and there was already a railroad spur on the site.

Col. Arthur G. Fisher, chief of the U.S. Air Corps Plans Division, concurred with the judgment. The Ogden Arsenal site, he said, “more nearly fulfills the complete requirements for an establishment” than any others studied in the West. Later, outlining his views on the problems, Colonel Fisher delineated the strategic necessities that dictated a site like the one at Ogden. In time of war, he said, the nation would need factories, base depots, advance depots, air corps group bases, and air force squadron bases. He expected air corps units to be located on the Pacific Coast at Los Angeles, San Francisco, and somewhere on Puget Sound. All of these were in range of “sea based air bombardment” and “therefore ill suited to the location of base depots.” Since San Francisco was the central location, a site sufficiently inland with direct communications to the Bay Area seemed desirable, and northern Utah looked like the logical location. It possessed rail and air communication routes and the added advantage of “general accessibility to the coastal areas of operation.” Washington state was too far from San Francisco and Los Angeles and above all too vulnerable to possible attack, apparently from Canada. A point in Utah would best serve as a base depot, with Alameda, California, as an advance depot.²⁰

¹⁹ Hugh J. Knerr to Oscar Westover, June 1, 1934, Army Air Forces, Central Decimal Files, 1917–38, Project Files, Airfields, Oakland, Calif., 245.6 Mileage-Travel Pay to Ogden, Utah, box no. 2273 (hereafter Project Files, Airfields), DNA, RG 18; memo of Robert Goodrich, May 3, 1934, *ibid.*

²⁰ Arthur G. Fisher to Oscar Westover, July 24, 1934, *ibid.*; Fisher to Chief, Air Corps, December 17, 1934, *ibid.*



Beyond the strategic factors, Utah's former governor George H. Dern was then serving as secretary of war. Naturally, when Utahns learned that the air corps was considering a new air base, they pressed Dern to forward the cause of his adopted state. Mayor Louis Marcus of Salt Lake City urged a site near the Salt Lake airport, A. O. Smoot promoted Provo, and other sites were also proposed.²¹ Most active in lobbying for a site near depression-wracked Ogden, however, were the city officials and representatives of the business community. Harman W. Peery, Ogden's mayor, pointed out the desirability of the site. Ora Bundy, formerly in charge of construction at the Ogden Arsenal and now an Ogden resident and chairman of the Ogden Chamber of Commerce's Aviation Committee, also wrote, enclosing a contour map of the Hill Field site and emphasizing its easy access by railroad, highway, and telephone. At the same time, he offered the complete cooperation of the Ogden Chamber of Commerce in the undertaking. Bundy's map was turned over to the air corps in the summer of 1935.²² By that time, although air corps personnel had recommended the Ogden site, Dern

²¹ Louis Marcus to George H. Dern, September 5, 1934, *ibid.*; A. O. Smoot to Dern, January 24, 1935, *ibid.*; Harry H. Woodring to M. C. Tunison, May 21, 1935, *ibid.*

²² George H. Dern to Harman Peery, March 1, 1935, Army Air Forces, Central Decimal Files, 1917-38, 686- Landing Fields-Transcontinental, box 1212 (hereafter Landing Fields-Transcontinental), DNA, RG 18; Peery to Dern, February 20, 1935, *ibid.*; Ora Bundy to Dern, July 31, 1935, *ibid.*; Arnold N. Krogstad to Bundy, August 6, 1935, *ibid.*

Hill Air Force Base. USHS collections.

had not yet made up his mind. He told Bundy that as soon as authorizing legislation was signed, all proposed sites would be considered by an investigative board. Coincidentally, Utah's congressional delegation, especially Abe Murdock, grew concerned and inquired about the air corps' intentions.²³

²³ George H. Dern to Ora Bundy, August 8, 1935, *ibid.*; B. D. Foulis to Abe Murdock, April 9, 1935, *ibid.*

Defense Depot Ogden. USHS collections.



The authorizing legislation to which Dern referred had been jointly sponsored by Rep. J. Mark Wilcox of Florida and Sen. Elbert D. Thomas of Utah. In substance, it authorized six air bases, including a field somewhere in the Rocky Mountains, to provide for maintenance and for "training operations from the fields in high altitudes." It also approved the construction of "intermediate stations . . . for transcontinental movements."²⁴

The act did not, however, lead immediately to the acquisition of land or facilities near Ogden. Gen. Oscar Westover, chief of the air corps, did not share Colonel Fisher's immediate concern for strategic considerations. Westover believed that a depot near Sacramento was more important since barge facilities could be used for shipment to San Francisco. He allowed that in case of war "a big depot may have to be established as far back as Ogden and Salt Lake City," but the immediate need was for an area repair and supply depot. In line with those views, Congress authorized and funded the construction of a depot at Sacramento in June 1936.²⁵

In the meantime, Ogdenites continued to lobby for the construction of an air base east of the arsenal. In December 1935 E. J. Fjeldsted, secretary of the Ogden Chamber of Commerce, offered his assistance in showing sites in the Ogden area. Lt. Col. John D. Reardon replied that the air force did not contemplate any inspections on the ground and assured Fjeldsted that they already had complete information on Ogden and that the fullest consideration would be given to that site.²⁶

This seems to have been an attempt to get the Ogdenites off the back of the air corps since Westover had already decided to postpone the Ogden project in favor of the Sacramento depot. In the meantime, however, the Ogden Chamber of Commerce forced Westover's hand by securing options on four thousand acres of land at the site. In response, Westover sent Henry H. ("Hap") Arnold to look at the site. Recognizing, in spite of his interest in the Sacramento depot, that the Ogden site might prove useful in the future, he urged Arnold to deal with the situation, fearing that if the options were not exercised the expectation of an air force base would cause land prices in the area to skyrocket. Arnold was treated with courtesy by the Ogden Chamber of Commerce, which eventually exer-

²⁴ U.S., Congress, Senate, *Senate Report 888*, 74th Cong., 1st sess., 1935; 49 U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 610.

²⁵ Oscar Westover to Chief, Buildings and Grounds Division, October 12, 1935, Project Files, Airfields, DNA, RG 18; 49 U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 1640.

²⁶ E. J. Fjeldsted to John D. Reardon, December 11, 1935, Landing Fields-Transcontinental, DNA, RG 18; Reardon to Fjeldsted, December 18, 1935, *ibid.*

cised the option on 386 acres of the site and donated it to the federal government for the base.²⁷

Not all Utahns were pleased with the possibility of an air base near Ogden, and some remonstrated against it. David A. Smith of the LDS church's presiding bishopric wrote that the site was not good because of air currents down Weber Canyon and proposed a site near the Salt Lake airport. The Reserve Officers' Association also went on record as opposing the site, an action E. J. Fjeldsted protested. In response, Arnold assured Fjeldsted that the sites for bases would be selected for strategic and tactical requirements, not because of political considerations.²⁸

Senator Thomas, however, believed otherwise. Already, he pointed out in a letter to Salt Lake Mayor E. B. Erwin, by April 1937 one of the six bases authorized under the Wilcox-Thomas bill had been announced for the Pacific Northwest. Congressman Wilcox wanted one in Miami, and Sen. Morris Sheppard, chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, actively sought one in Texas. Other influential committee chairmen were asking for bases in Mississippi and Virginia; and, in spite of little influence, it appeared that New Mexico might be selected for a site. Thomas, by 1937 a senior member of the Military Affairs Committee, asked Arnold why no site in Utah had been designated under the Wilcox-Thomas bill. The senator had received a flurry of letters from mayors, chambers of commerce, and business and civic groups in Utah urging that Utah be selected. He informed Arnold that "people who ought to know better than to repeat idle rumors . . . have told me that you have said that the reason Utah is not getting an air base is that the Congressional delegation has not demanded it."²⁹

In response, Arnold denied Thomas's allegation. He insisted that air bases were selected after careful investigation by a board of officers to find the locality best suited "to conform to the strategic and tactical needs of our national defense." Any selection, he said, must run the gauntlet of an air corps board, the general staff, a budget consideration, and finally congressional action.³⁰

²⁷ Oscar Westover to Henry H. Arnold, May 14, 1936, Project Files, Airfields, DNA, RG 18; Leonard J. Arrington, Thomas G. Alexander, and Eugene A. Erb, Jr., "Utah's Biggest Business: Ogden Air Material Area at Hill Air Force Base, 1938-1965," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 (1965):12.

²⁸ David Smith to Malin Craig, May 26, 1936, Project Files, Airfields, DNA, RG 18; Craig to Smith, June 3, 1936, *ibid.*; E. J. Fjeldsted to Oscar Westover, June 16, 1936, Landing Fields-Transcontinental DNA, RG 18; Henry H. Arnold to Fjeldsted, June 22, 1936, *ibid.*; K. M. Jones to Fjeldsted, June 22, 1936, *ibid.*

²⁹ Elbert D. Thomas to Henry H. Arnold, April 17, 1937, *ibid.*

³⁰ Henry H. Arnold to Elbert D. Thomas, April 24, 1937, *ibid.*; Thomas to Arnold, April 27, 1938, *ibid.*

Nearly a year later, in March 1938, the air corps decided to establish Hill Air Force Base. The Works Progress Administration undertook construction of the facility. Cooperating in full again, the Ogden Chamber of Commerce agreed to purchase any extra land needed to develop the project. A month later, Congress appropriated \$232,000 to purchase land near the Ogden Arsenal for the new air field as authorized by the Wilcox-Thomas bill. Just what role Senator Thomas played in addition to his contacts with Arnold and his cosponsorship of the enabling legislation is unknown at this point, but his position on the Military Affairs Committee could not have hurt.³¹

Whereas the Ogden Arsenal and Hill Air Force Base were constructed on land of relatively low value, this was not the case with the

³¹ Henry H. Arnold to Oscar Westover, March 3, 1938, Projects Files, Airfields, DNA RG 18, Westover to Chief of Staff, March 18, 1938, *ibid.*; 53 U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 603; U.S., Congress, Senate, *Senate Journal*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., 1939, p. 40.

Naval Supply Depot, Clearfield. USHS collections.



Clearfield Naval Supply Depot, which was to take some prime Davis County agricultural land. Strategic considerations demanded the construction of three inland supply depots at Great Lakes, Illinois; Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania; and Clearfield, Utah. The decision for Clearfield was outlined in a report prepared on March 31, 1942.²² Navy planners wanted a site that offered rapid and dependable rail and highway access to at least two ports, a favorable geographic location in relation to the points of origin of the material to be stored, alternate routings into and out of the region, the certainty that transportation facilities would be available under emergency conditions, proximity to satisfactory airports, security from enemy attack, favorable freight rates including storage-in-transit and the capability of keeping back hauls to a minimum, avoidance of coastal railroad and highway traffic, accessibility to nearby cities, and a climate and temperature range conducive to optimum storage conditions.

The report indicated criteria that dictated the Salt Lake-Ogden area. The board considered sites at Pasco, Washington, which was too far north and thus not close enough to California ports; Winnemucca, Nevada, which exhibited poor transportation facilities; and Sacramento, California, which was too near the coast. On balance, the navy favored a site between Salt Lake City and Ogden. Only two locations seemed to meet the needs. One, at Farmington, was near enough to railroad facilities and would have been nearer Salt Lake City, but it was too long and narrow, unsuitable for expansion, and exhibited excessive slope. The Clearfield site seemed optimal.

The announcement of the Clearfield site led almost immediately to a protest from local farmers and Utah political leaders. Rep. J. Will Robinson, reacting to farmers' protests, pointed out that farmlands were relatively scarce in an arid state like Utah and suggested that land suitable for storage facilities with no agricultural value would be available not too far away. Rear Adm. Ben Moreell referred Robinson's letter to the selection board appointed by the secretary of the navy to determine whether some other site might be considered. In the meantime,

²² The following is based upon: John B. Ewald to C. A. Tresel and Weston Thomas to Secretary of the Navy, May 8, 1942, Bureau of Yards and Docks, General Correspondence, 1925-42, NT4-61/A3-1, Vol. 1 to NT4-63/A-1, Vol. 2, NT4-63/A1-1, Development-Ogden, Utah, box no. 1937 (hereafter cited as Yards and Docks, box 1937), DNA, RG 71; and Leonard J. Arrington and Archer L. Durham, "Anchors Aweigh in Utah: The U.S. Naval Supply Depot at Clearfield, 1942-1962," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (1963):110-11.

protests arrived from Gov. Herbert B. Maw, Rep. Walter K. Granger, Sen. Elbert D. Thomas, and Sen. Abe Murdock.²³

In a letter to Undersecretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal, the selection committee outlined again their reasons for choosing the Clearfield site. Certainly, sites could be found on Utah's waste lands, but they would undoubtedly share the liabilities of Winnemucca, Nevada, with its poor transportation facilities. Forrestal and Naval Secretary Frank Knox wrote to Utah's political leaders outlining these considerations.²⁴

By this time, the battle lines had been drawn. Farmers owning the lands opposed the depot and political leaders reflected their views. Governor Maw said that the farmers would withdraw their protest if the site was needed for the war effort, but Mayor G. Harold Holt of Clearfield, the major property owner, sent a letter of protest on the same day with no such disclaimer.

Support, however, developed from various business and labor organizations in northern Utah. Upon learning of the protest, the Ogden Chamber of Commerce telegraphed to Admiral Moreell arguing, probably erroneously, that the opposition was prompted by community jealousy. Beyond this assertion, the letter dealt with the argument of loss of agricultural land, which the chamber considered unsound. Water, not land, controlled Utah agricultural development. "We and all northern Utah," the Ogden Chamber of Commerce wrote, "vigorously oppose any political opposition and urge you to proceed without delay with your important program of war production." E. J. Fjeldsted, chamber secretary, and a host of other business leaders from northern and central Utah, together with labor leaders like Herbert A. Wilson of Local 450 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners sent other letters in support.²⁵

On May 20, 1942, a group of political and business leaders met with Governor Maw to try to reconcile their views, but the protests had already affected the navy. On May 21 Admiral Moreell told the Ogden Chamber of Commerce that in view of the protest the navy was abandoning the project and looking further west for a site.²⁶

²³ J. Will Robinson to Ben Moreell, April 29, 1942, Yards and Docks, box 1937, DNA, RG 71; Moreell to Robinson, April 30, 1942, *ibid.*; see various pieces of correspondence in *ibid.*

²⁴ James Forrestal to Herbert Maw and Forrestal to Walter K. Granger, May 9, 1942, and to Abe Murdock, May 10, 1942, *ibid.*; Frank Knox to Elbert D. Thomas, May 13, 1942, *ibid.*

²⁵ Chamber of Commerce to Ben Moreell, May 9, 1942, *ibid.* See series of letters dated May 20 and 21 in *ibid.*

²⁶ Ben Moreell to Chamber of Commerce, May 21, 1942, *ibid.*

The anticipated cancellation of the project motivated further action, and on May 24 David O. McKay of the LDS church's First Presidency and Sen. Elbert D. Thomas, by then the second-ranking member of the Military Affairs Committee, toured the site with Cmdr. Charles T. Dickeman of the U.S. Navy Civil Engineering Corps. They also met with Mayor Holt. Apparently convinced by the tour, Thomas sent a long telegram to Moreell urging that the site be retained and that the navy proceed with its plans.³⁷

Thomas's telegram left the impression that the farmers were reconciled to the decision on patriotic grounds, but such was not the case. In fact, their feelings were unchanged, and their arguments were essentially the superior need of agricultural as opposed to urban development in Clearfield. Mayor Holt emphasized this in an interview with the *Ogden Standard-Examiner*. In the preceding year the land in question had produced 2 million pounds of sugar, 112,000 cases of tomatoes, 21,000 cases of peas, 1,000 head of cattle, and other minor crops. The depot might mean, Holt said, the destruction of the sugar and canning industries of north Davis County. Nevertheless, he recognized that if the government wanted to take the land there was little the farmers could do.³⁸

By then, the political leaders who had previously lined up with the farmers had joined the businessmen in supporting the project. Abe Murdock was in Washington holding meetings with Frank Knox and Ben Moreell, and Elbert Thomas was working with navy representatives in Utah. Governor Maw and A. S. Brown, chairman of the Utah Publicity and Development Commission, were also working to save the project. Spearheading the businessmen's efforts was E. J. Fjeldsted, secretary of the Ogden Chamber of Commerce.³⁹ A preponderance of factors favored the urban development, and on May 26 it was announced that the decision to cancel had been reversed and the project had been approved.⁴⁰

Perhaps more than anything else, the decision to choose urban and industrial development over farming in the cases of the Clearfield Naval Supply Depot and the earlier Ogden Army Depot (then Utah General Depot), built on prime Marriott agricultural land, indicates the lack of substantial agrarian sentiment in northern Utah by the late thirties and

³⁷ Elbert D. Thomas to Ben Moreell, telegram, May 25, 1942, *ibid*; *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, May 24, 1942.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, May 25, 1942.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, May 22, 1942.

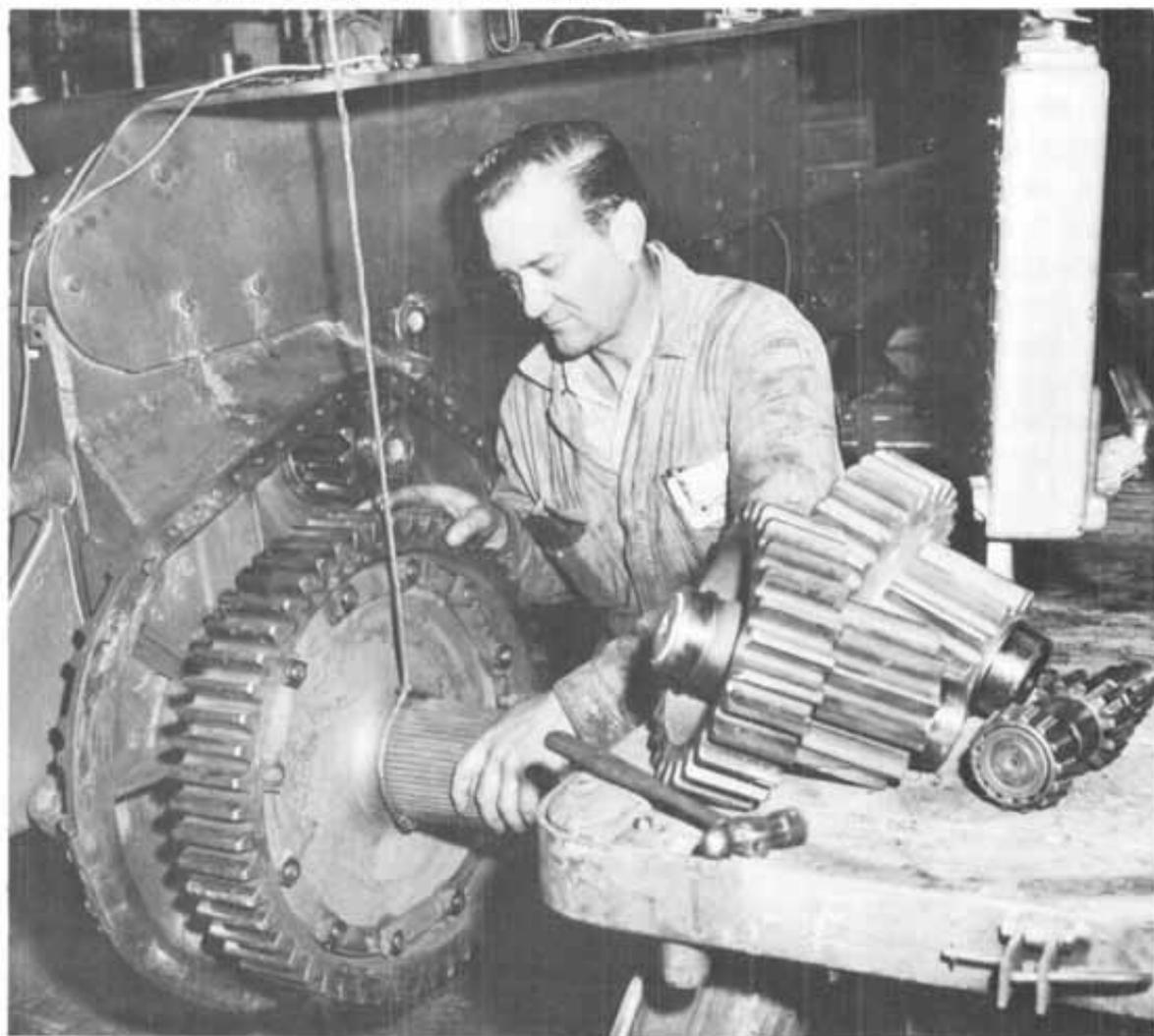
⁴⁰ Bureau of Yards and Docks, Press Release, May 27, 1942, Yards and Docks, box 1937, DNA, RG 71.

early forties. For northern Utah businessmen and labor leaders the prospect of capital expansion, greater employment, and economic growth meant much more than retaining slightly more than forty family farms, however much their demise might affect the sugar beet or canning industries of Davis County.

This analysis has shown a number of factors of crucial importance in the development of Ogden as a federal colony in Utah. Transportation routes played an important role as did available land with the proper configuration and soil qualities at a reasonable price. In the case of the military installations, strategic considerations also played a part.

One factor that must not be forgotten, however, is the human dimension, those social relationships Max Weber thought most important. Had it not been for the aggressiveness and flexibility of Ogden businessmen, this development would never have taken place. Fred J. Kiesel

Defense Depot Ogden. USHS collections.



was probably the single most important variable in securing the Forest Service regional office for Ogden; and the Ogden Chamber of Commerce, under the leadership of E. J. Fjeldsted, probably contributed more than any other local or state organization in getting these installations in the Ogden area. Political leaders, particularly Elbert D. Thomas of the Senate Military Affairs Committee whose sponsorship of enabling legislation set the stage for Hill Air Force Base and whose intervention saved the Clearfield Naval Supply Depot, must be acknowledged as well. In the case of Clearfield, however, the state's political leaders followed rather than led public opinion. Had the sentiment of the Clearfield farmers been the predominant view of the community, there is little doubt that Thomas, Murdock, Maw, and others would have opposed the depot.

In recent years a great deal of antagonism has grown up against the various activities of the federal government. Yet, in looking at the transformation of Ogden into a federal colony one must realize that the change was not foisted on the people of the area. The installations were actively sought by community, business, and labor leaders who saw them as a means of promoting Ogden's development. Local calculation of self-interest, rather than force, played the important role in these decisions.

Early construction, Defense Depot Ogden. USHS collections.







Utah's Dynamic Dixie: Satellite of Salt Lake, Las Vegas, or Los Angeles?

BY LOWELL C. BENNION AND MERRILL K. RIDD

WHERE IS DIXIE AND WHAT KIND OF PLACE HAS IT become since 1940? Bearing one of the oldest place names in Utah, Dixie has evoked different images at different times—even among southern Utahns. Not charted on any map, since it exists only in people's minds, Dixie lies in the area where Arizona, Nevada, and Utah converge. While almost everyone agrees that St. George is at the heart of Dixie, how far the region's outer limits extend depends on whom one asks. Simply for the sake of convenience we shall here equate Dixie with Washington County or, in some instances, with the Virgin River Basin.¹

Dixie, which began as a Mormon colony and a distinctive southern satellite of Salt Lake City—the center of the Mormon kingdom—has gradually come under the economic influence of Los Angeles with its growing appetite for timber, beef, crops, and water. These forces began many decades ago, but they perpetuated a rural/agricultural landscape in Dixie.

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¹ We have begun a study of changing perceptions of the meaning and extent of Dixie and plan to develop this theme into a separate essay at a later date.

Even in the heart of town, St. George in the 1930s had the appearance of an agricultural village dominated by barns, fields, and open, undeveloped brushland. USHS collections.

But, it was the expanding demand for hunting grounds and vacation lands, now made accessible by the private automobile, that turned the tide. The color and climate of Dixie offered enticing relief from the urban congestion in Los Angeles and the winter grip on northern Utah.

This study will identify some of Dixie's dynamic features and then interpret them in terms of distant forces interacting with local factors. It will deal with a few key indicators of post-1940 change, particularly elements of the cultural landscape that lend themselves to geographic treatment. An examination of Dixie's relations with its nearest metropolitan neighbors—Salt Lake City, Las Vegas, and Los Angeles—places Dixie in a broader regional context and suggests reasons behind the changes that have taken place.

SIGNS OF CHANGE

A preliminary traverse of the region reveals a number of changes in the human landscape.² Deep in the heart of Dixie the once rural town of St. George with its square outline, conventional to Mormondom, has become in recent years a sprawling commercial city barely separated by open space from the much smaller but growing Santa Clara and Washington settlements and the new town of Bloomington. After nearly a hundred years with constant boundaries, the county seat and regional capital has expanded in almost all directions since 1956 (fig. 1).

A comparison of the aerial photographs from the 1930s and 1970s that accompany this article shows striking differences in land use patterns. A close inspection of records in the county assessor's office confirms the impression of change by revealing new subdivisions on the edge of many Dixie towns and scattered here and there across the countryside. Most of these developments date from the 1968 founding of Bloomington by Terracor land development company of Salt Lake City. Taken together these subdivisions—including the new Tonaquint project, with its St. George Hilton Inn, on the lower Santa Clara River—have taken more than 5,000 acres from agricultural use, 40 percent of it from irrigated land. With so much new construction there is throughout the region a jarring juxtaposition of old and new buildings and activities.

² Our research was conducted after reading an invaluable study of the historical sequence of human settlement in Dixie before 1940 by Joseph E. Spencer, "The Middle Virgin River Valley, Utah: A Study in Culture Growth and Change" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1936). His thesis made it much easier for us to visualize Dixie in the 1930s and thus to sense the changes that have occurred there since then.

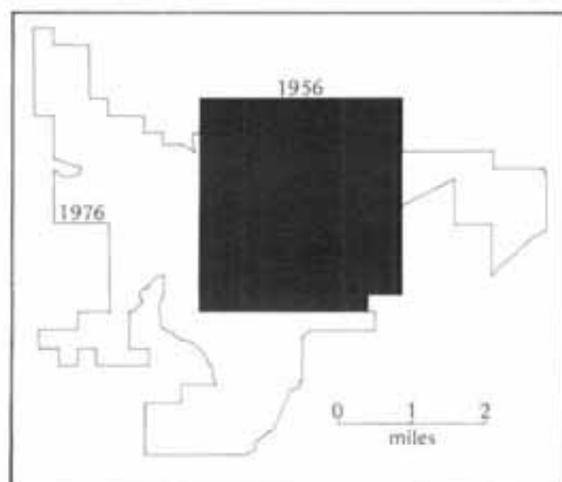


Fig. 1. St. George, after a hundred years with constant boundaries, has more than doubled in size in the past two decades. (Source: St. George City)

All these outward signs of growth led to a search for data that might disclose the demographic and economic dynamics of Dixie and explanations for the changes charted. In some cases neighboring Iron County and Cedar City provided a comparative base. The population curve depicts a general trend of increasingly rapid growth since 1960 for both Washington County and St. George, with a marked increase in the city's share of the county's total population (from 43.1 percent in 1940 to 68 percent in 1975). St. George has finally surpassed archrival Cedar City in size, while Washington County's population forges steadily ahead of Iron County's. Part of St. George's growth, however, has come at the expense of other settlements in the county, which will be discussed later.

The rate of increase since 1960 must mean an ever larger proportion of in-migrants to Dixie's population, since the rate of natural increase has presumably declined somewhat over the same period. A strikingly large number of newcomers' names appears in both white and yellow pages of the 1976 southern Utah telephone directory, when compared with the 1966 edition, the oldest one found. Nearly 60 percent of the surnames listed in Washington County in 1976 were unrepresented ten years earlier. Most of the older names remain, especially those deeply rooted in Dixie, but they find themselves more and more diluted as a percentage of the total population. Dixieites—the Bowlers, Hafens, Leavitts, Snows, etc.—

no longer know everyone in town (except in towns the size of Gunlock) and no longer completely dominate local affairs. On the other side, many newcomers complain about not gaining full acceptance from the natives, even after ten years of residence.

One might expect the newcomer-native tensions to result from a high percentage of non-Mormons among recent arrivals, but this is apparently not the case. Mormons still account for roughly 85 percent of Dixie's population, only a slight decline from 1940. Even the new and booming town of Bloomington, despite its national advertising, is 70 percent LDS, and nearly half of its population is from Utah, primarily the Wasatch Front. Over one-third is from California and Nevada, the rest from other states or countries. Strained relations among residents may reflect metropolitan versus small-town orientations, or perhaps simply the new versus the old in a milieu in which tradition still counts for much.

Significant changes in the age-sex composition of the population provide clues to why newcomers move to Dixie. The population pyramids

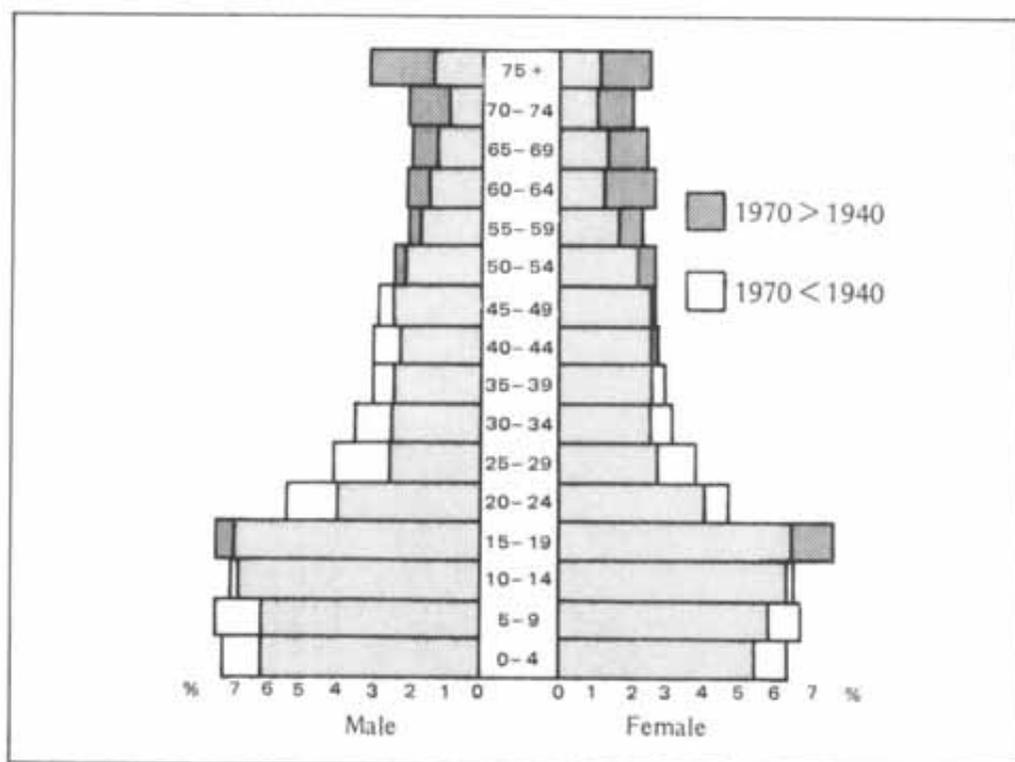


Fig. 2. Since 1940 the percentage of population in Washington County over age 50 has increased markedly and decreased in all age groups under 50 except for the college and high school bracket. (Source: U.S. Census of Population)

of Washington County for 1940 and 1970 differ considerably (fig. 2), the latter shrinking at the base (except for the rising Dixie College element), and in the middle, but expanding at the top, which shows the increasing older population. The percentage of the population 60 years old and over has more than doubled, partly in keeping with state and national longevity trends, but Dixie has a significantly higher proportion of retirees than Cedar country to the north.

Certainly the warm Dixie sun and other amenities have drawn older people from colder climes, including seasonal residents who leave for their Idaho or midwestern homes in the summer. But that does not explain the younger newcomers not yet ready for retirement or the migrants from southern Nevada and sunny California. Some of these may best be described as LDS refugees from metropolitan areas seeking smaller and safer places in which to raise their children, but the new Dixie must offer them economic opportunities as well.

The changing economic picture can best be illustrated by an employment pyramid separated into industry categories. Fig. 3 shows the percentage distribution among categories for 1940 and 1970. The substantial expansion of services and retail trade and the sharp decline of agriculture constitute the most important trends. Since 1940, Dixie's labor

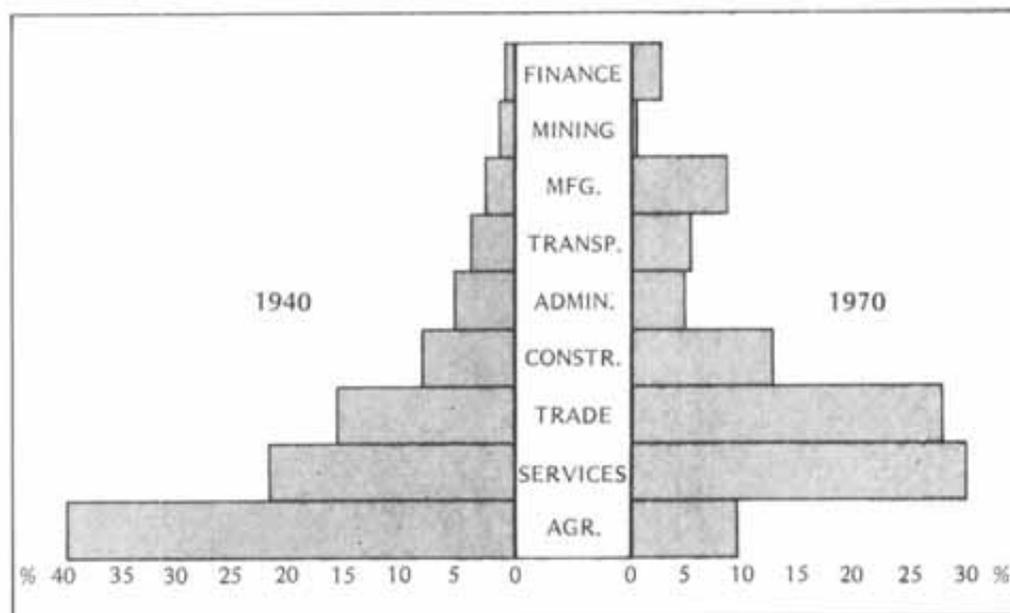


Fig. 3. Employment in Washington County has shifted dramatically since 1940 from a dominance by agriculture to an emphasis on services, trade, construction, and manufacturing. (Source: Utah Department of Employment Security)

force, very much like Nevada's⁸ has become heavily dependent on tertiary activities, although of a somewhat different nature. Manufacturing has increased significantly from a very small base, now probably accounting for more employment than agriculture.

St. George, much more than Cedar City, has responded to the rapid growth of tourism in Utah's Color Country by more than doubling its number of hotel/motel rooms during the past two decades.⁹ In 1955 St. George had 427 units, which by 1976 had increased to 916. During the same period the number in Cedar City only increased from 406 to 513 units. Zion National Park now receives twice as many visitors as it did in 1960—more than Bryce and Cedar Breaks combined—making it the Yosemite of Utah. Dixie has added recreational vehicle parks to its landscape, and it doubtless will draw more and more conventions, especially if St. George can offer big-name entertainment and expand its airport facility for easier access to Dixie.

Of all the economic changes taking place, the slump in agriculture would probably disturb the region's founding fathers the most. Dixie attracted Brigham Young's attention as early as 1850 because of its potential for producing a wide range of subtropical crops, thereby increasing Deseret's self-sufficiency. A declining number of farms and fewer acres of active cropland have become common American phenomena, but in Dixie the production levels of all crops have also dropped (fig. 4). The once-prized fruit industry has all but disappeared as subdivisions have replaced orchards. For a time, rising cattle production made up for the fading sheep industry; but, since 1959, it too has declined, despite the growing demand for beef. After almost a century of trying to wrest a living from small acreages with limited access to major markets, Dixieites have all but abandoned farming. Ironically, in recent years two or three men have started the region's first large-scale fruit and nut farms, aimed at increasingly accessible metropolitan markets. They are not so much a harbinger of a bright new future for Dixie agriculture as a demonstra-

⁸ See Shih-Fan Chuh and Benjamin M. Wofford, *An Econometric Model for the State of Nevada* (Reno: Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1974), chapter 1, for a summary of economic changes in Nevada.

⁹ Cedar City was promoted for years by the Union Pacific Railroad in an effort to make Zion's a draw for them. (See A. Karl Larson, "Zion National Park with some Reminiscences Fifty Years Later," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 37 (1969):408-25.) But automobile, interstate highways, and Los Angeles population dynamics have dictated that St. George, not Cedar City, be the gateway to the parks. A related factor is environmental: St. George is geographically and climatically more at one with southern California. We suggest that the parks are a Los Angeles wilderness refuge in the same sense that the Colorado Rockies are for Omaha and other plains cities.

tion of what other Dixie farmers might have done with their limited land and water had they stayed in business a little longer.

SOURCES OF CHANGE

To understand the activities and causes of change in any place, one must look beyond the place itself. The forces of historical change are always rooted in geographical foundations. Factors of distance and linkages between places are fundamental to the nature and rate of change. Equally important are contexts: physical, human, local, regional, and even national environments. These spatial dynamics and environmental conditions provide an analytical framework in which to examine and explain the changing nature of Utah's Dixie.

Of the possible explanations for the demographic and economic growth so evident in Dixie during the past decade, those connected with the Mormon temple in St. George and with Terracor land development

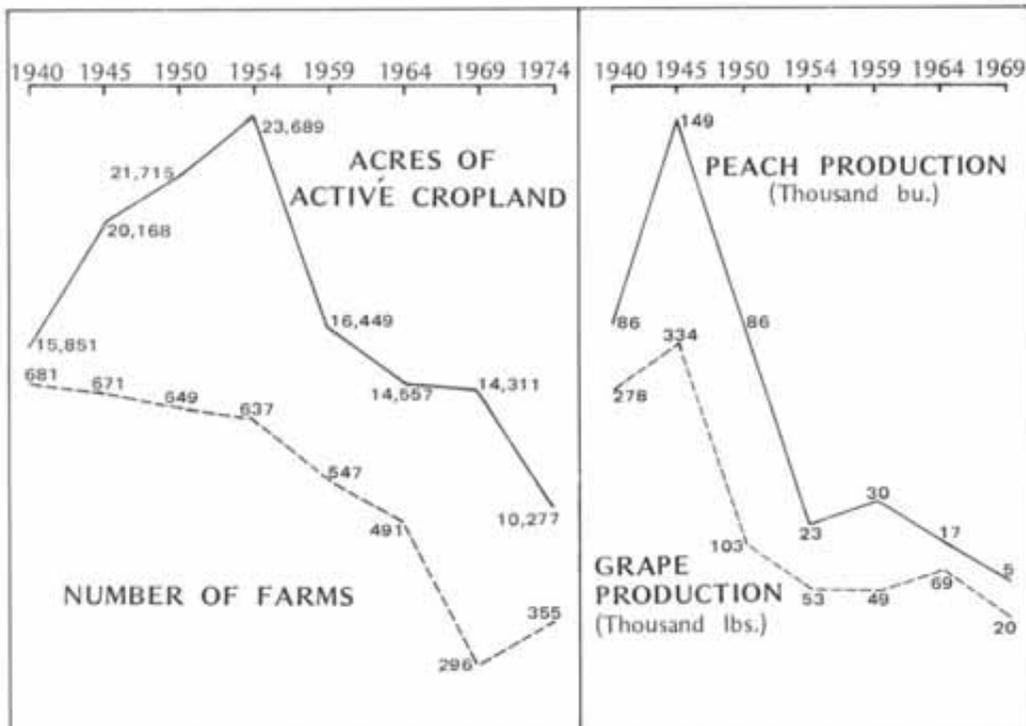


Fig. 4a. Acres of active cropland and number of farms have fallen to about half their former heights while fruit production, once the pride of Dixie, has fallen to a fraction of its 1945 level. (Source: U.S. Census of Agriculture)

Fig. 4b. Fruit production has almost disappeared from Dixie. (Source: U.S. Census of Agriculture)

company seem most productive. The number of visitors to the temple has quadrupled since 1940 (though much of that increase may reflect no more than the general rise in the number of tourists throughout southern Utah). With the temple and other facilities drawing clientele from a much larger area than Washington County, St. George suggests itself as a dynamo generating Dixie's growth. From another point of view, Terracor typifies an increasing number of companies operating in southern Utah and headquartered at either end of or along the Salt Lake–Los Angeles corridor. With these two opposite poles attracting Dixie, does the region remain in the orbit of its creator, Salt Lake City, or is it becoming a satellite of Los Angeles, along with the older, booming colony, Las Vegas?

It should become evident that a certain spatial principle, known to geographers as "central place theory," is operating here at both levels—internal and external. In the spatial order of things, the size and spacing between human settlements is fundamental. And so is the mobility of the settlers. In pioneer times a small village a few miles from another could thrive quite well. With the coming of the family automobile, a

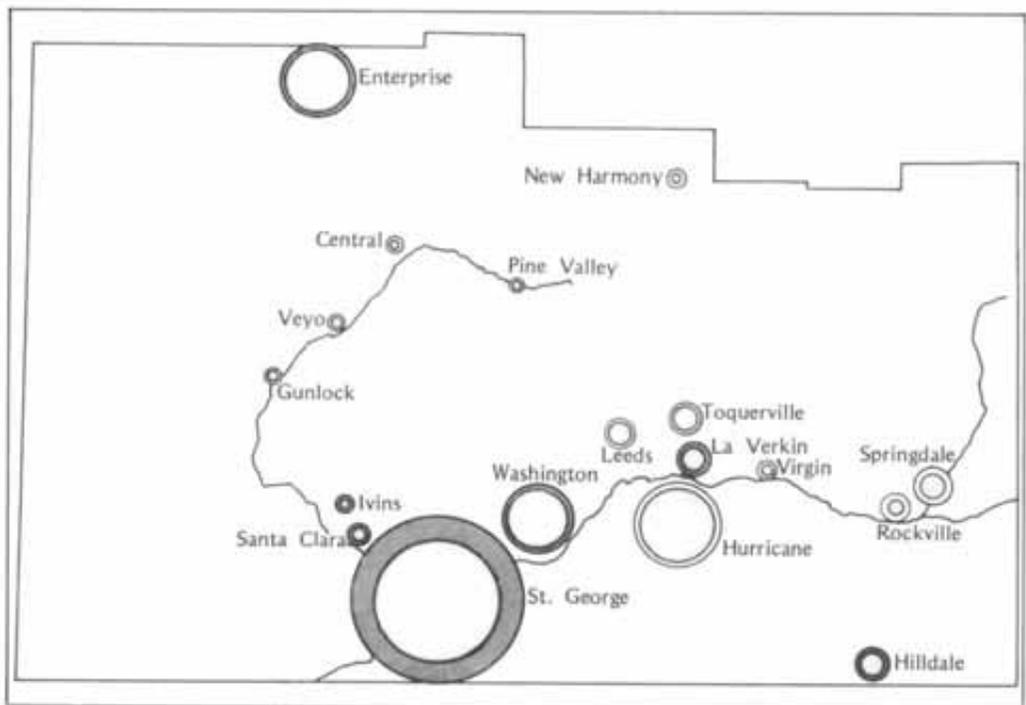


Fig. 5. St. George continues to hold a leading position in the central place hierarchy of Washington County. (Source: U.S. Census of Population)

phenomenon of the post-1920 era, a small village located next to a larger town had little chance of survival. The local mercantile store cannot compete with a supermarket a few miles down the road. Various and often fortuitous circumstances may occur to create growth points or central places: a college, a county seat designation, a commercial advantage, etc. Whatever catalyst causes one village to grow more than others and emerge as a central place, once established, growth patterns tend to perpetuate themselves. The larger, growing town generally continues to grow, often at the expense of the smaller villages nearby. Once this hierarchical pattern takes hold, any reversal is highly unlikely. In the same way, at some reasonable distance in any direction, another town grows to dominate its locality.

Two such growth points are St. George and Cedar City. By various processes that fit into the central place framework, each city has become the dominant center in its own county. Fig. 5 illustrates the increasing dominance of St. George over its neighbors in Washington County by representing the populations of 1940 and 1970 for each town. The circles are proportional in area to the population for the respective years. In settlements where the 1970 population is greater than in 1940, a darker outer ring indicates the amount of growth. Where a reduction in population occurred, a white outer ring appears, with the outer circle representing 1940, the inner circle 1970.

Note that the four small settlements on the upper Santa Clara River (Gunlock, Veyo, Central, and Pine Valley) all experienced net losses, as did most of the communities on the Virgin River above St. George (Hurricane, Virgin, Rockville, and Springdale). Toquerville, Leeds, New Harmony, Pintura, and Pinto likewise declined. Enterprise apparently had sufficient critical mass and enough distance from the St. George and Cedar City hubs to serve as a minor growth point in its own area. Washington, Santa Clara, and Ivins are close enough to St. George to have received some spillover growth from it, but this has occurred only since 1960. Now that the peripheral growth has begun, it will likely continue.

Eventually, as population pressure increases, more of the small towns may begin to grow and new ones in addition to Bloomington may arise in the Virgin Valley. However, the role of St. George as the central place of Washington County seems secure for the foreseeable decades, and its dominance of Dixie may well increase. The towns surrounding St. George may continue to function as growing suburban gems within an expanding crown but, in the process, lose much of their own identity.

Given this sketch of the internal spatial structure and dynamics of Dixie, a survey of its place in the world beyond it is necessary. There are basically two ways to study Dixie in its regional setting: as a satellite or colony to larger centers elsewhere and as a regional capital in its own right, with pulling power in a sphere of its own influence.

DIXIE AS A SATELLITE

It logically follows from the preceding discussion that, when viewed in a broader context, there must be at least one larger city to which Dixie itself is subordinate. A dynamic metropolis with a voracious appetite will take resources from wherever they can be obtained, at the lowest possible cost. Dixie has long served as a resource base to be utilized by much larger population centers beyond its borders—notably by the Salt Lake Valley and, more recently, by the Los Angeles Basin. Until well into the present century, cotton, grapes, and other products were grown for export to an expanding, upstate Zion. Additionally, big game, timber, and water from southwest Utah have been sought by an exploding southern California. Dixie may be described as New Jersey once was—a barrel tapped at both ends.

As a colony to larger outside centers, Dixie is a productive mine for a variety of resources. In return, the local populace receives a dollar income from the harvest and export of the region's products. This income serves to build local roads, schools, homes, and stores. In this manner, Dixie has given much of her timber, forage, crops, ores, and other resources to the distant centers. When the ores are depleted or the costs of extraction too great, the miners move on. This has been the fate of Dixie. Most of the early production levels have declined due to depletion of resources and/or economic and regulatory factors.

Silver, livestock, and agricultural products have all fallen to a small fraction of their peak levels. Big game and prime timber have also declined. The future of grazing, lumbering, and hunting will depend on the degree of environmental investment committed from public and private sources, along with the resolution of continuing production issues, including distance to markets.

A few agricultural exports remain important even today. Milk, for example, is sent primarily to Las Vegas, with secondary markets in California and Colorado. At present, sugar beet seed leaves Dixie in significant amounts for the Pacific Northwest. The future of this export is uncertain due to changing world markets and tariffs. Alfalfa production

is substantial, but serves little more than local needs of the dairy industry. Some alfalfa from Enterprise has found outlets in Nevada, California, and even Japan.

Of all Dixie's resources, the one of perhaps greatest value, even from this arid area, is water. The Virgin River Basin yields an average annual total of 215,000 acre-feet of water, the vast majority from within Washington County (fig. 6). Of this volume, an average of 149,000 acre-feet leaves the state as a part of the Colorado River system. The water is consumed largely in southern California after impoundment in a series of reservoirs. Even after evaporation losses, the dirty Virgin water generates some \$400,000,000 in value added as municipal and industrial water, mainly in the Los Angeles area. This amount outstrips by many times the net worth of all the other exports combined. However, none of the value

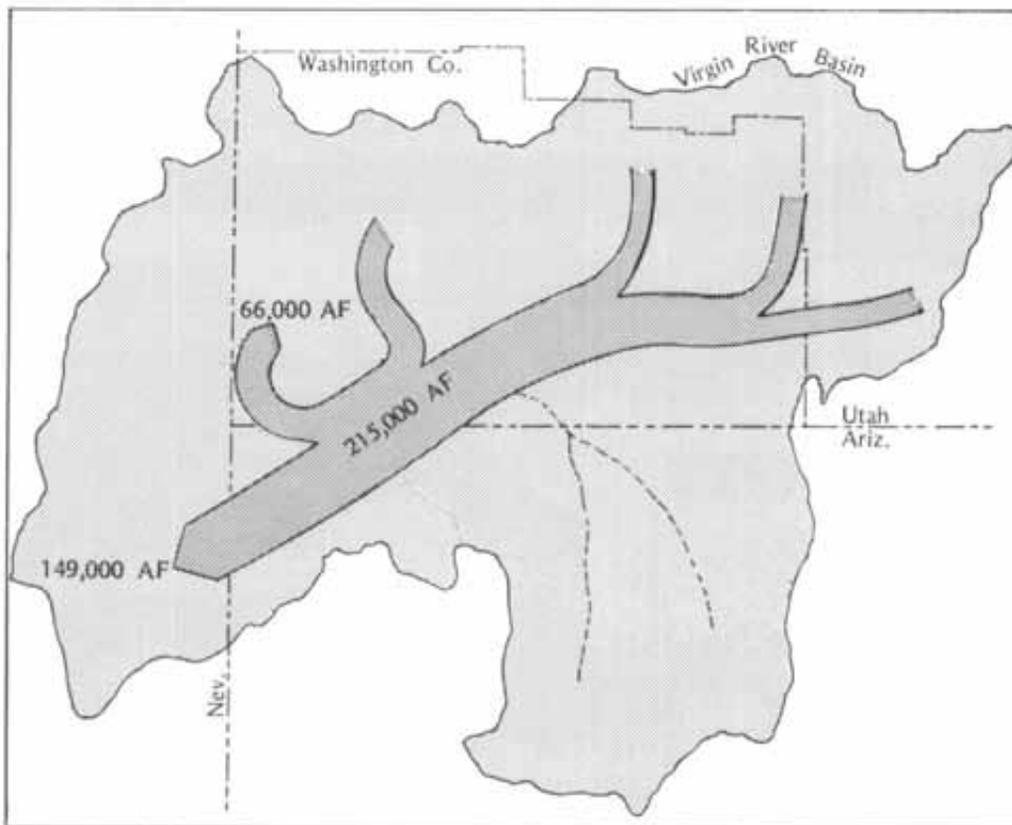


Fig. 6. Most of the 215,000 acre-feet of water in the Virgin River Basin is produced in Washington County. Only 31 percent of that, or 66,000 acre-feet, remains to be consumed in the area. (Source of yield data: Utah Division of Water Resources)

derived from the water directly benefits Dixie; while Los Angeles depends on Dixie for water, the city pays not a dime to the region for it. It is a natural resource that flows freely from the region without human intervention.

The 66,000 acre-feet that remain in the basin are consumed mostly in agriculture (some 80 percent), which generates less than one-tenth as much value per acre-foot as does municipal and industrial use, and in natural vegetation production (11 percent) that supports timber, brush, forage, and streamside vegetation in the watershed. The remainder goes into domestic use, stock watering, transbasin diversion, and evaporation loss within the basin.

Dixie has one resource of increasing attraction that cannot be exported and promises to remain undepleted. That resource is sunshine and scenery. Unless the environment is badly mismanaged, it should serve more and more as the principal magnet for the region. This resource is "harvested" through the services that visitors receive and the purchases they make.

Scenery represents an unusual resource that the consumer comes to enjoy, spends money for in the local area, and leaves behind when he departs. Principally because of Zion National Park, Dixie has long at-

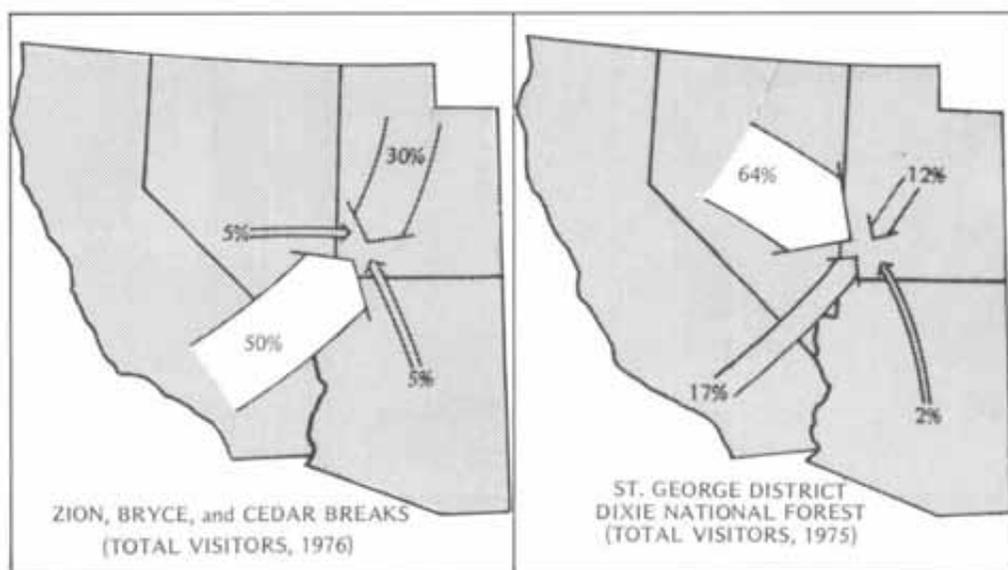


Fig. 7. Half the two million visitors to Zion, Bryce, and Cedar Breaks come from California, while two-thirds of the 100,000 visitors to Dixie National Forest come from Nevada. (Source: Dixie National Forest, St. George District, and National Park Service)

tracted visitors from far beyond the area. Use of the park is most closely tied to California, where 50 percent of the 1.2 million visitors in 1976 originated. Another 30 percent hailed from Utah, particularly the Wasatch Front. Dixie National Forest, on the other hand, has closer links to southern Nevada, which supplied 64 percent of all overnight visitors. The number of visitors to the national forest, however, is perhaps only 10 percent as large as that drawn to Zion Park. Thus, with respect to tourism Dixie is linked first to southern California, second to the Wasatch Front, and third to the Las Vegas area (fig. 7).

Scenery is an ideal type of product because it remains for the next visitor at little cost to the local communities, but with considerable economic benefit. However, the local populace should recognize that some investment is essential to properly manage the environment and plan for the inevitable social and physical degradation that will otherwise take place and detract from the resource.

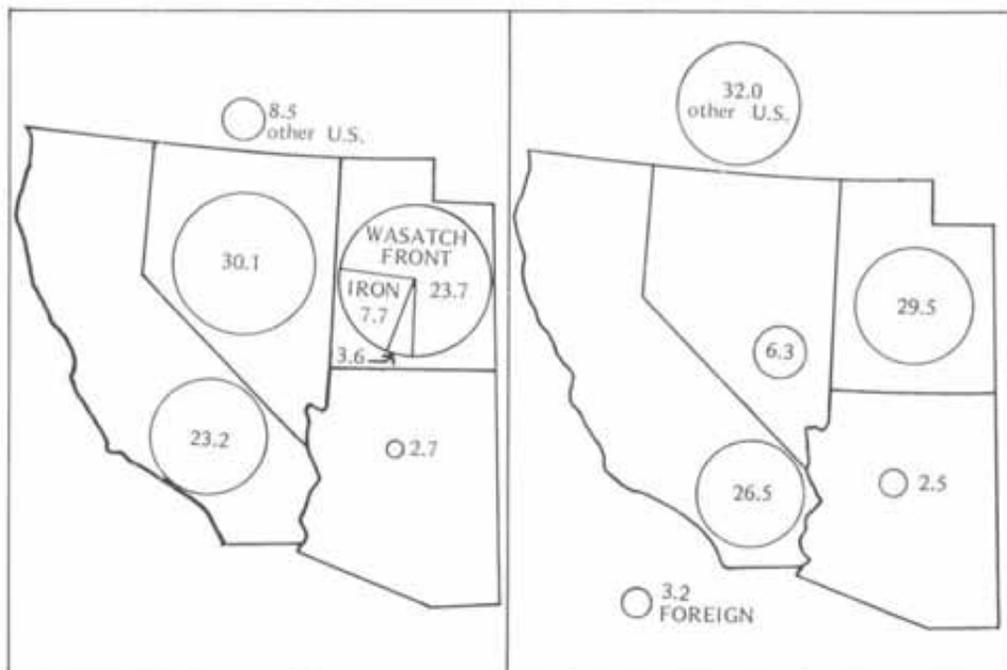


Fig. 8a. Nonresidents owning property in Washington County are largely from Nevada, the Wasatch Front, and southern California. (Source: Washington County assessor's office) Fig. 8b. Buyers of Bloomington properties are largely from the Wasatch Front, southern California, and states east of the Rockies. (Source: Terracor)

The scenery and sunshine are consumed by another group: those who own property in Dixie while residing elsewhere. This generates wealth locally by bringing in new money from the outside to local resident owners of the land. A search of property records reveals that over 20 percent of the 18,400 land parcels listed for Washington County are owned by nonresidents; 30.1 percent of these are from southern Nevada, 23.7 percent from the Wasatch Front, and 23.2 percent from southern California (fig. 8).

Of the 2,800 nonresident property owners at Bloomington alone, 29.5 percent are from the Wasatch Front and 26.5 percent from southern California. Nevadans own only 6.3 percent of the land, while buyers from the other western states, the rest of the country, and overseas account for 11.4 percent, 23 percent, and 3.2 percent respectively. For a while, due to promotional campaigns centered in Las Vegas, Bloomington attracted investors from across the country. Otherwise, except for its ironic lack of appeal in Nevada itself, its property owners have the same general provenance as other outside buyers of Dixie land. Overall, Dixie seems to have equal appeal for investors in northern Utah, southern California, and southern Nevada, at least in an absolute sense.

Absentee ownership of Pine Valley and nearby mountain properties, where cool mountain air more than sunshine is the particular amenity sought, is dominated heavily by Nevadans. California purchasers are more common in the St. George–Washington–Hurricane area. Wasatch Front owners dominate the Santa Clara and St. George scene and rank high in Hurricane and in the mountains of the Kolob–Zion Park area.

DIXIE AS A REGIONAL CAPITAL

Dixie, with St. George as its nucleus, is a rapidly growing central place with its own pulling power. As a college town, a medical service center, a religious magnet, and a commercial focal point, St. George has energized an area that extends well beyond Washington County's boundaries.

Dixie College, a two-year liberal arts school in St. George, draws about half of its students from outside the county. In 1976, 21 percent of its 1,342 students came from the Wasatch Front, 14 percent from elsewhere in Utah, 8 percent from Nevada, 4 percent from California, and 2 percent from east of the Rocky Mountains.

Of all St. George's attractions, the Mormon temple has the greatest drawing power, bringing people from the widest area to the central point.



Fig. 9. The LDS temple district is one indicator of St. George's influence as a regional capital.

More than 75,000 Mormons reside within the temple district that reaches from Beaver, Utah, to Las Vegas (fig. 9). Most temple-goers undoubtedly contribute to the economy in a variety of ways when they travel to the city.

There is a rather impressive distribution, throughout the West, of subscribers to the weekly *Washington County News*. In the Wasatch Front there are 171 regular subscribers, in Las Vegas 165, and a similar number in southern California, with 136 in Los Angeles alone. To Phoenix go 120 subscriptions and to places east of the Rocky Mountains another 91. The outlying areas, or hinterlands, of Dixie, served by the *Washington County News*, appear to be about equally divided between the Wasatch Front, Las Vegas, and southern California. Most subscribers probably have roots, or properties, in Washington County and maintain contact with the region through the newspaper. The figures may be a rough indicator of the general outflow of people who have chosen to leave their homeland.

Incoming newspapers demonstrate a much stronger tie to northern Utah. About 700 copies of each of the two major Salt Lake City newspapers are delivered daily in Dixie. In contrast, only 165 Las Vegas papers and just 15 copies of the *Los Angeles Times* arrive daily. The incoming flow of newspapers symbolizes the satellite function of Dixie rather than the regional capital function. The above statistics suggest that Dixie is still very strongly influenced by Salt Lake City in relation to communications. This pattern probably pertains much more to cultural and political ties than to economic forces.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has attempted to inventory and interpret some of the more striking changes in Utah's Dixie since 1940. The changes in this period seem more dramatic than those for any previous era since the plow originally altered the landscape. Dixie remained essentially a pioneer area until World War II—in land use, in economy, and in attitude. At the risk of oversimplification, it may be said that more than any other two factors the private automobile and improved highways transformed Dixie. The failure of the railroad to reach the region had left it more isolated than most sections of Utah. Increasing disposable income after the war began to bring new dollars into the area. Dixie responded. Many small towns dried up, while a few larger ones assumed greater dominance. St. George emerged as the unchallenged center for a number of reasons—its historical primacy, central location, administrative functions, LDS temple, college, and position on the major regional highway.

Dixie became less influenced by Salt Lake City and more closely tied economically to Los Angeles. A new generation of travel-oriented



businesses sprang up. New sources of wealth flowed into Dixie. Land values increased, especially in and around the towns. Such changes in land use constitute the most fundamental of changes in resource allocation and human occupancy.

In the process, Dixie has grown into something of a regional center in its own right but is still heavily dependent on outside buyers of its exports and property. It is tied to more places than ever before. Culturally and politically it remains strongly linked to Salt Lake City. Economically Dixie has become more a satellite to the Los Angeles and Las Vegas areas than to the Wasatch Front. Most of the natural resource exports head southwest, and more of the visitors originate there than from elsewhere. Los Angeles, and even Las Vegas, look to Dixie for beef, water, milk, trees, scenery, hunting grounds, and property. Many local bills are paid by income from these uses.

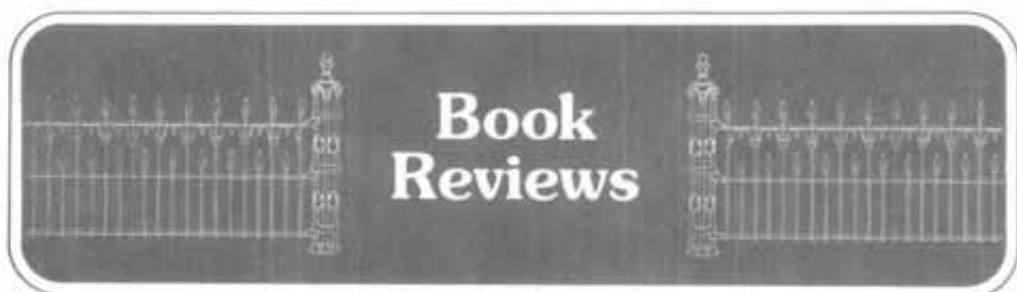
The Dixie landscape is changing rapidly. A very different era is emerging after a century of agrarian dominance and conservatism. Old images of the natural and human environments are being challenged by outside influences. Already the die is cast, but change has only begun.

The nature and rate of change may still be managed. Fortunately, the natural and human environments are as yet relatively uncluttered and a growing cadre of concerned local citizens and officials can still exercise significant control to design and implement the desired outcome.³

³ The footnotes in this paper have been sparse since access to much of the information was obtained through individuals. We wish to acknowledge and cite in alphabetical order the following such sources: Art Anderson, director of the St. George Chamber of Commerce; Grant Bowler, president of the St. George Temple; Neal Christensen, executive director of the Five County Association of Governments, and his staff; Dean Gardner, Washington County assessor; Don Huber, Washington County agriculture agent; Ken Jensen, Utah Department of Employment Security; Bruce Miller, Terracor executive in Salt Lake; Jeff Morby, Terracor's general manager of Bloomington; John H. Morgan, Jr., Salt Lake developer of Tonaquint; J. F. Mountford, co-publisher of *Washington County News*; Scott Prishrey, planning and zoning director for St. George; Douglas Quayle, manager of Utah-Idaho Sugar Company's beet seed plant in St. George; Richard Shurtliff, president of Washington County Dairy Co-op; Vern Thomas, Dixie College registrar; John C. Willie and Associates, planning consultants in St. George; and Dennis R. Wood, manager of Mountain Bell, St. George.

Current photograph of St. George shows major changes in the landscape surrounding the LDS temple. Agricultural features have given way to residences in great quantity. The number of automobiles has increased dramatically. ENH Mapping, Inc.





The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints. By LEONARD J. ARRINGTON and DAVIS BITTON. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979. Xx + 405 pp. \$15.00.)

This volume has been a long time coming, and the end product is worth the twelve years spent on the project. Leonard Arrington, director of the History Division of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and his associate Davis Bitton, hope to have this book rank with O'Dea's and Brodie's as a standard reference book found in all libraries. Due to the prestige of the authors and the publisher, as well as the book's contents, their hopes will probably be fulfilled. However, many readers are destined for disappointment because the finished product is neither a statement of faith nor a vitriolic diatribe against the followers of Joseph Smith.

The authors have attempted a different approach to a one-volume study of the Mormons. Following so closely upon the publication of Allen's and Leonard's *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, Arrington and Bitton abandoned the comfortable chronological approach for a refreshing attempt at a topical analysis within a chronological framework. That they nearly succeed is a credit to their writing skill and ability to work together.

The book is divided into three chronological divisions: "The Early Church," "The Kingdom in the West," and "The Modern Church." Contained within each of these parts are numerous chapters, with those in parts two and three being completely topical, while part one, "The Early Church," is composed of topics organized chronologically. If this description is confusing, do not be disheartened, because the study itself is very

straightforward. However, the topical approach used will be disconcerting to those readers seeking encyclopedic historical knowledge or in-depth analysis concerning the theology of the Mormons.

If the authors have a theme, it is an adaptation of Richard Poll's now-famous characterization of active Latter-day Saints as either iron-rods or Liahonas. The iron-rods are those who have firmly grasped the gospel and attempt to follow the church leaders to the letter of the law. The Liahonas are those who let the church point the proper direction and then attempt to make the decisions that allow them to stay close to the church. On the one hand are the true believers who have cornered all truth and know that all problems can be solved and all answers obtained by strict adherence to the teachings of the church. Contrast that point of view with those who recognize the complexities of modern life in a highly centralized church. Both types exist in abundance throughout the contemporary LDS church and this knowledge allows the authors to exercise amazing candor as in-house historians.

Consequently, the continuing historical points of argument such as visions, gold digging, polygamy, massacres, wealth, the role of women, and political power are discussed openly and frankly. Utilizing recent objective scholarship and the ever-expanding bibliography of Mormon literature, Arrington and Bitton frankly analyze contrasting opinions on Joseph Smith's visions and his translation of the Book of Mormon. They admit

that the how of polygamy is much easier to understand than the why, but they also use new material that demonstrates Joseph Smith was thinking of plural marriage as early as 1834 (pp. 195-96). On the historical role of Mormon women, the authors conclude that "their own past is complex enough and populated with enough strong, achieving female personalities that they are able to continue pushing on the boundaries, trying different options, and resisting an excessively narrow conception of her role" (p. 240). Although significant events, such as the Mountain Meadow Massacre, are not dealt with at length, they are discussed professionally in a limited way.

Many of the topical chapters are interesting; however, some fit into the structural framework much better than others. For instance, in part one, "The Appeal of Mormonism" dovetails beautifully with the remainder of that section; but in part two the chapter on "The Nineteenth Century Ward," sandwiched between "Marriage and Family Patterns" and "Mormon Sisterhood: Charting the Changes," seems both out of place and less significant.

At first glance, the volume appears unbalanced in favor of nineteenth-century Mormon history. The church being nearly one hundred and fifty years old, over half of its history is in the twentieth century, yet scholars continually ignore the worldwide bureaucratic expansion in favor of the more exciting and dramatic

stories of restoration, exodus, and empire. However, Arrington and Bitton have carried most of their topical chapters up to the present. They openly and honestly discuss many of the modern intellectual and social conflicts that plague Mormons. A simple example is the conflict over historic preservation of significant sites and buildings. One agency of the church bureaucracy would fight to preserve old buildings while another would raze anything over twenty years old that is not one-story, with twenty-three teaching stations and a three-quarter size basketball floor.

Still, there are other things that might be included. A chapter on the contemporary appeal of Mormonism as a partial explanation of its spectacular growth in Latin America would have been appreciated. Several twentieth-century leaders may be approaching the significance of their earlier counterparts, yet their personalities still remain somewhat historically sterile. This may be explained by the fixation with form and not substance that haunts local leaders.

It is an excellent book that will do well in the national marketplace for which it is intended. It is feared by this reviewer that the volume will not achieve a large readership among lay Mormons. That it should be read by both Mormons and non-Mormons is a credit to the authors, editor, and publishers.

F. ROSS PETERSON
Utah State University

The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West. Edited by RICHARD H. JACKSON. Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, no. 9. (Provo, Ut.: Brigham Young University Press, 1978. Xiv + 160 pp. Paper, \$6.95.)

Each quarter as I tell my ingenuous students the story of the Mexican-American War of the 1840s, I see their faces sag under the pressure of newly discovered guilt feelings, inspired, I suppose, as much as anything by the traumas of Vietnam. Suffering along with them I instinctively turn to geographic and

historical factors that might assuage their feelings (and mine). The historical black eye James Polk garnered for the United States when he hacked off half of Mexico in the name of Manifest Destiny can smart severely, even today. Consequently, I always try to offer relief by observing that Mexico had not occupied what be-

came the West very effectively and that it was only a matter of time anyway before bumptious Americans would fill its empty spaces. California already had a substantial American population when the war broke out, and, I glibly point out, thousands of "deluded fanatics" were already streaming out of Illinois, other states, and Europe on their way to build a new millennial kingdom across the vast reaches of what was to become the Mexican Cession of 1848. But as usual, what may be merely a passing and somewhat pert remark in a freshman survey course covers a very serious consideration in American history and one brought together superbly in a group of essays published under the auspices of the Redd Center at Brigham Young University.

Few geographical aspects of the dynamics of Mormonism in the West from the beginnings to the present miss careful and readable analysis in this brief yet remarkably thorough treatment of the subject. Perhaps the best and most exciting part of the work is its interdisciplinary character. Though inevitably historiographic in emphasis, it combines the studies of time and space so well that it becomes really more an integrated piece of historical geography than anything else. The seven essays that comprise the book cover the ground from the demographics of Mormon migration to international implications of Mormon settlement and the distribution of Mormons in the modern West. It does not attempt to be an exhaustive study of Mormonism's historic impact on the geography of the United States, but, nevertheless, it manages to touch upon all the significant points underlying the strange phenomenon (at least to my friends who have come into the West from outside) of Mormons and their peculiar imprints on the landscape stretching literally across the entire Intermountain region. As this book combines and overlaps somewhat with Richard V. Francaviglia's *The Mormon Landscape*

(New York: AMS Press, 1978), scholars will at least have the basic tools and essential information for understanding the impact of the Mormon movement upon the physical and cultural landscape of America.

The maps in the volume are alone worth its price. Very clearly rendered and taken from a wide variety of sources, they illustrate extremely well the extent and distribution of Mormons both past and present across the United States. Dean Louder and Lowell Bennion are particularly adept at using maps to illustrate the dramatic and even surprising progression of the Mormon culture as it spread out from its western base to become truly national in its ethnic scope. Yet Bennion and Louder conclude that Mormonism remains an essentially western movement, despite the touted growth of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the eastern states and in other parts of the world. They present one set of maps outlining the county distribution of LDS wards as it has changed since 1860, and another that illuminates the Mormon cultural region as seen from various perspectives. Their competent analysis of data demonstrates plainly that although Mormons have increased their presence outside of the West, their cultural region (or that part of the United States in which Mormon culture is most influential), has changed very little.

Other essays in the volume are equally intriguing, if for no other reason than that they clarify and solidify many concepts important to gaining an understanding of the subject explicit in the book's title. Wayne Wahlquist, for example, discusses the intricacies of population changes between 1847 and 1890 in the Mormon core area. Disturbed with the wide disparities that exist between population data presented through Mormon and non-Mormon sources, Wahlquist develops his own conclusions based on modern techniques of statistical analysis, destroying in the process many

old and entrenched myths about the demographics of territorial Utah.

Another interesting essay, this one by Melvin Smith, uses the Mormon exploration of a section of the Colorado River as an example of efforts on the part of Mormon policymakers to extend the realm into which their people could plant the standard of the kingdom. Smith concludes, among other things, that Mormon leaders were largely ignorant of what the land was all about and that they consequently, however innocently, committed serious blunders that cost them dearly in colonizing energy as well as in human suffering for their faithful followers.

Richard Jackson writes a refreshing introduction that ties the essays together and provides perspective that is often so noticeably missing from such anthologies. Jackson himself contributes a new outline of "The Overland Journey to Zion." Lynn A. Rosenvall, Alan H. Grey, and Charles S. Peterson also provide crisp articles dealing respectively with "Defunct Mormon Settlements: 1830-1930," "Mormon Settlement in Its Global Context," and "Imprint of Agri-

cultural Systems on the Utah Landscape." Contrary to the usual case in this type of volume, the style among the essays is consistently good, and the editor has managed to work closely enough with the press to assure that the packaging and the final processes of publication would not render the work an embarrassment (see BYU Press's *Sister Saints* for contrast).

Obligatory criticisms include the missing index that would have increased greatly the work's usefulness to scholars of Mormonism and/or the West, and the failure of the editor to provide information about the volume's contributors. I also immediately think of three or four people who probably should have participated in the project, such as Dean L. May, who directs the University of Utah's Center for Historical Population Studies, but I realize that one of the book's best features is its conciseness and brevity. The line must be drawn somewhere, as such fine works of historical geography as this one surely attest.

GENE A. SESSIONS
Weber State College

Patriarchs and Politics: The Plight of the Mormon Woman. By MARILYN WARENSKI.
(New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1978. Xvi + 304 pp. \$10.95.)

Whether you perceive Marilyn Warenski as Pandora or Prometheus depends largely on your own attitude toward women in general and feminists in particular and toward religion in general and Mormonism in particular. Each reader's evaluation of her scholarship, particularly her creation of a fair context and reliable perspective, will be colored by individual familiarity with the materials and issues of her study. Her examination of the history of Mormon women from a feminist perspective could open virginal and fertile fields for consideration, but it could also reinforce existing stereotypes. Depending on the reader's predisposition, the author's

stance in *Patriarchs and Politics* may strengthen one's impression of docile Mormon women full of sanctity and passivity, bound by chains of hierarchical, ecclesiastical power, hemmed in by quilting frames and loaves of freshly baked, homemade bread, lashed by patriarchs with self-righteous sneers; or, on the other hand, of heedlessly iconoclastic, life-denying feminists who are convinced that religion is shaped by guilt not spirit, that bisexual bathrooms are neither preventable nor undesirable consequences of passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), and that only from the ashes of traditional institutions can true liberation arise.

The book is valuable because it tackles a protean, emotion-filled issue that is either invisible or overwhelmingly oppressive, depending on one's gender and self-image. It deals convincingly with the historical paradox of progressive nineteenth-century Mormon suffragettes and the contemporary, conservative, anti-ERA stance of the Mormon church. It persuasively sketches the dimensions of peculiarly Mormon dilemmas of single women, working mothers, "super women" restricted to a limited sphere, and the dissonance felt by strong women yielding to patriarchal authority in affairs of family, church, and state. Warenski's oral history project on the status of Mormon women which stimulated her interest in the subject offers a multitude of personal statements suggesting additional study. The book is definitive in the sense of imposing a restricted perspective that denies the multifaceted, sometimes paradoxical intricacies of both feminism and Mormonism. It is more prescriptive than descriptive, more absolutist than relativistic, and ultimately more concealing than revealing of complexities.

The chapters entitled "Mormon Woman: Substance and Myth," "Woman and the Priesthood," and "Revelation or Revolution," suffer from this occluding of perspective. The other chapters—on Mormonism and the work ethic, the double bind of compulsory but narrowly defined achievement, the history of the Mormon church's female auxiliary, polygamous suffragettes, the turmoil over ratification of the ERA in Utah—effectively introduce and illuminate some labyrinthian events and convoluted emotions.

The weakness of the study may seem inherent in the material. It is difficult to posit a single dialectical perspective of sensitivity and objectivity. But it is important—albeit difficult—to recognize the ambiguities of rhetoric and motive and the paradoxes of power. Power is

central, and it encompasses the private and public faces of dependence and independence, as well as the manipulative strength of the passive and the contradictions of spiritual and material wealth. Who is more powerful—one who accumulates the most material wealth or one who can live with the least? One who manipulates skillfully or one who refrains from all manipulation? The book's failure to clearly define power neatly avoids the dilemma.

Dealing with such emotion-laden material presents the additional difficulty of understanding without embracing religious faith, granting it experiential validity for some without sharing that belief in its metaphysical transcendence. The study's superficial and condescending treatment of the spiritual element ignores a crucial factor in the study's own context (religious) and perspective (feminist). "Though feminism seems to begin with a dissatisfaction with social and political roles for women, a spiritual dimension seems inevitably to emerge," observes antisexist theologian Carol P. Christ. "Feminism is a challenge, not only to traditional social and political structures, but also to the perception of reality which underlies and legitimates them."

Although no single work can emphasize all elements equally, it can recognize the existence of a multiplicity of factors. Such recognition generates a credibility Warenski too often forgoes. For example, no distinction is made between the kinds of authority wielded by the writers about Mormonism cited. The statements of Rodney Turner, whom Warenski calls a "Latter-day Saint theologian," undoubtedly articulate what many Mormons (including many in the church hierarchy) believe, but his views are not theologically authoritative or ecclesiastically binding on church members. Burke Petersen, a general authority, and Leonard J. Arrington, director of the church's history division, have widely

varying approaches, training, and visibility; Warenski makes no distinctions. Nor does she clarify the attitude of academicians such as Gail Farr Casterline and D. Michael Quinn, who are not so much defenders or articulators of the Mormon faith as analysts.

Such distinctions are admittedly subtle but they are more difficult to make than to articulate concisely. Perhaps some gestaltic field theory of historical method is needed to allow in-depth analysis of one aspect of such dynamic topics, without exclusion of the unexplored totality. Certainly Warenski offers tantalizing glimpses of material she has not foregrounded: To what extent were the nineteenth-century patriarchy manipulated by the "fascinating women" who were suffragettes? What roles have wom-

en played in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints which shares some common theology with Mormonism but is more democratic? To what extent is the changing Mormon attitude about the social/economic roles of women a reflection of or reaction to larger trends in the United States?

Warenski's accomplishment here is the opening of a door through which we have glimpsed enticing but intimidating vistas. Her book could be an important step in the liberation of both readers and writers of the history of Mormon women—freedom from the fear of what lies hidden behind time-locked doors; freedom to welcome equally the emergence of the lady and the tiger.

SHARON LEE SWENSON
Salt Lake City

The Education of a Second Generation Swede: An Autobiography. By ANDREW KARL LARSON. (St. George, Ut.: Andrew Karl Larson, 1979. Xvi + 781 pp. \$19.95.)

Having written four previous books about the people and settlement of Utah's Dixie and established himself as one of the area's foremost historians, Andrew Karl Larson now turns to the field of autobiography. He does not entirely desert the history of his period but skillfully weaves his life, and the lives of his friends and neighbors, into the events that affected his specific locality, his state, and his nation. He describes a pocket of rural America in transition from the postpioneer period to the advent of the space age—a chronological span of the first fifty-five years of the twentieth century.

Others have written about the major figures and events of the period, but Larson reverses the emphasis and writes with humor and feeling about the daily life and effort of a little corner of Mormonism to survive and better itself in times not of its making. He writes mainly of ordinary people, those who make the wheels turn, plow and harvest the fields, herd the livestock, and try to achieve better tomorrows for their children.

The author is a skilled storyteller. His anecdotes usually pertain to his fellow townsmen, people whose names will seldom be heard outside of Dixie. But on occasion he ventures beyond the world he has known and acquits himself creditably. Karl Larson never shrank from getting involved, and this is the story of his involvement.

His language is earthy at times but never vulgar or profane. He can use the vernacular of the farmer, the Indian, or the cowboy, but he also speaks the language of literary giants, the masters of music and art. Here is an educated man and his story tells us how he got that way.

The book is divided into two parts; the first, containing thirty chapters, deals briefly with his heritage then describes his boyhood, early schooling, temporary jobs, and various episodes through the time of his graduation from Brigham Young University in 1926 with a bachelor of arts degree.

Part two consists of thirty-four chapters and an epilogue. Karl's courtship

of his lovely Katherine Miles culminated in their marriage in 1928. Sundry teaching assignments, the acquisition of a family, different events evoking hope, despair, joy, and sorrow all combine to hold reader interest. We laugh with him, and it is difficult not to shed a tear with him. And we admire him, especially for his thoughts on receiving his master of arts twenty-one years after attaining his first degree.

A number of photographs of family and friends are shown, sometimes repetitiously. Several pleasing pen-and-ink sketches by Susan Savage add to the nostalgia for bygone years.

The book is not without its negative aspects, but they are miniscule compared to the positive values. This is especially true when one considers the author's poor health. For this reason he had to rely on the help of good friends who were not as knowledgeable as he. This

defect shows up mostly in the thirty-eight-page index which contains unnecessary listings but omits some essential ones. The author's constant habit of reversing the diphthong in Kaibab is more or less consistent with general usage in southern Utah, but not elsewhere. There is no explaining the heading of chapter four, part two, in which Navajo Bridge is called "Marble Canyon Rainbow Bridge."

The author states that he wrote chiefly for his family and friends. That may be so, but this reader feels the book will appeal to nearly everyone who appreciates or has a rural background, not only in Utah but in most states. And readers in metropolitan areas will marvel that life once was so uncomplicated and rewarding, the communities were so warm and closely knit.

P. T. REILLY
Sun City, Arizona

Destiny's Children. By G. M. WARREN. (New York: Pocket Books, 1979. 404 pp. Paper, \$2.50.)

It was simply a great idea: a novel about Nauvoo. But the author, a Gentile, was unaware of the literary mine field of Mormon history. *Deja vu*; I have been there, and it hurts to think about it.

George Warren was grinding out routine paperbacks when his New York agent, Dick Curtis, wrote a letter. It said, "you've got to break out of genre fiction—westerns, mysteries, science fiction," Warren relates. "Why don't you write me something mainstream that I can sell, a contemporary thriller, an Art Hailey, something like that. Or—why not a big historical novel?"

Well, Warren had read my *Nightfall at Nauvoo*, and the fictional possibilities excited him. In the election year of 1844 the "prime candidate" for the U.S. presidency was "a fiery-eyed young orator from New England, a man whose speeches called for radical reform." This was the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith. "And lo, his enemies were many, and

they hated and feared him, and one day they united to form a terrible conspiracy," Warren wrote to his agent. "His murder, by a lynch mob in Illinois, changed the face of American history."

The idea was a natural, the agent said. "Now turn me in a strong outline and portion that I can hawk around New York—and write with passion."

So far, so good. Unfortunately, however, "something happened on the way to the paperback best-seller lists and the Merv Griffin show," the author admits.

Destiny's Children turned out to be a fast-paced novel full of blood-and-guts action, sex, and evil conspiracy, with a sadistic villain who would make Jack the Ripper look like Little Goody Two-Shoes. And somehow, incredibly enough, the Mormons fell through the cracks in the plot. The book really is not about the Latter-day Saints. The main thrust is not Joseph Smith's bid for the presidency; actually, the prophet (whom the

author in all innocence refers to as "Joe" Smith) plays a minor part in the story, as does "Brig" Young.

As a matter of fact, I failed to find a single plot development based on Mormon dramatic values. With all the wealth of material at hand, Warren wrote a Gentile story. Somehow he left the Mormons out.

I really do not blame Warren for this. I have seen it even among Mormon authors. A movie script on Hole-in-the-Rock, by the time it emerged from Hollywood story conferences, had the Saints undertaking this heroic venture not because they were accepting a mission call but to find a lost Spanish mine. Now, that is something Gentiles can understand. At Nauvoo the intricate interplay of forces within and without the city that caused the death of the Mormon prophet and eventual evacuation is simply ignored. In place of this we have something Gentiles can understand: the fall of the city and death of the prophet was all the result of a conspiracy between three men. They were Governor Ford of Illinois; Tom Sharp, editor of the *Warsaw Signal*; and William Law, formerly of the Mormon church's First Presidency, who had broken with the prophet.

And why the conspiracy? Well, Governor Ford would improve his own political future by eliminating Joseph Smith's bid for the presidency through his murder; William Law considered Joseph a fallen prophet to be eliminated, and Tom Sharp wanted the Mormons run out of Nauvoo to enable him to make a fortune through buying up their real estate at distress prices. Perhaps this makes sense to Gentiles, but it leaves me bewildered; and I am sure that historians, scholars, western buffs, and Mormons, simply will not buy this package.

With touching naivete, Warren believed his book would be taken to the bosoms of the Saints. "The 'bottom' on my market had to be the Mormons themselves," he says. "There were 4.5

million of them, and they were in the early stages of a vast sesquicentennial celebration. It was a proper time to hit them (and everybody else) with a book about them, a book in which their story would, quite properly, be treated as an important and pivotal part of American history."

Nothing wrong with that. However, Warren is completely unaware of the "sensitive" areas of Mormon history and of the pitfalls to be avoided in any treatment of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. In the attempt to humanize them—an effort I certainly approve of—he inadvertently alienates LDS readers, not realizing, for example, that "Joe" is the very worst epithet to be applied to the prophet; nor that the Saints simply will not accept Joseph with a green bottle of rye at his elbow while saying—as a sample of dialogue—"Well, by God, that'll show 'em!" And would Joseph refer to the group who issued the *Nauvoo Expositor* as "black-hearted apostate sons of bitches"? Not in Mormon literature.

Without belaboring the point, it is obvious that LDS readers will not find *Destiny's Children* in their ward bookcase or hawked in the tightly controlled outlets featuring internal literature.

But, after all, that still leaves the great national book trade market, which avidly devours paperbacks full of sex and violence, doesn't it? Evidently not, Warren admits, in this case. He blames it on the fact that his editor changed jobs and the new man would not push the book. In any event, it is unfair to judge the quality of a book on the basis of sales. By this standard, Harold Robbins would go down in history as the greatest author of his generation, with Irving Wallace close behind; while Stendhal, whose classic *The Red and the Black* sold just twenty-one copies in the original edition, would be completely forgotten.

Destiny's Children has had good reviews in the Gentile press, and books

that satisfy both the Mormons and the book trade are scarce as hen's teeth. I wish it well.

Warren conceived this book as the first volume of a trilogy. Two brothers are the viewpoint characters, and the author planned for them to go through the Sam Brannan era in California and the Brigham Young period in Utah with succeeding volumes. Right now, the author is discouraged by the fate of the first book and ready to chuck the whole project.

I just hope he keeps on. Although *Destiny's Children* did not catch fire,

that can happen to any author. Also, he certainly learned something about the Mormon market through the experience. At any rate, it is high time that the Mormon story should burst out of the Zion Curtain and take its place as part of the great saga of the nation's western development. This, in my opinion, is the reason why Warren's book, despite the fact that it is not for the Saints, is worth a serious review.

SAMUEL W. TAYLOR
Redwood City, California

History of the Westward Movement. By FREDERICK MERK. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978. Xvii + 660 pp. \$20.00.)

Westward movement began for America at the edge of the Atlantic and terminated at the shoreline of the Pacific. This is the picture that the late Frederick Merk paints for us in *History of the Westward Movement*, a primarily descriptive narrative that discusses the unplanned process of settling the vast wilderness that, Merk says, transformed the new country into a powerful nation.

In the process of tracing this westward journey the author introduces an array of topics, among them the issues of public land, slavery in the territories, Populism, dry farming, and migrating farm labor. He points out that the rapid evolution of a nation brought with it many problems. For example, it intensified sectionalism, caused a war with Mexico, and in the early twentieth century upset the ecological balance in several areas with dire results. Throughout his work Merk reminds us that much of our history is grounded in the westward movement. Although he subscribes to many of Turner's ideas about the role of the frontier experience, he gives considerable weight as well to the evolution of a land policy and to the mechanisms by which land was settled and improved. This, as much as the frontier experience, Merk feels, provided the dynamic force

that interacted with society and its institutions and in so doing gave shape to our past.

This volume was the outgrowth of Frederick Merk's Harvard course on westward movement. The interplay between classroom and manuscript is seen in the use of several relatively short chapters focusing the reader's attention and exploring one complete idea before moving on to the next, a technique the author probably adapted from his lectures. Incorporated into many chapters are what Merk sees as the historical controversies surrounding those topics, and he often offers some of his own insights. It is in these interpretations and in the overall attempt to relate the frontier to America's development that the most serious weakness of the work appears.

There is a great deal of unevenness in those chapters where historical controversy is discussed. The origin of the American Indian, the problem of western land as it related to the ratification of the Constitution, and the sections dealing with expansion reflect the most current scholarship in the area. Yet, the discussion of Pontiac's rebellion relies heavily on work almost three-quarters of a century out of date; the role of the frontier and the view of economic and social

development are elaborated largely in the tradition of the progressive historian of almost four decades ago, with few meaningful references to recent scholarship that has brought about considerable modification and revision. Similar omissions seriously date many of the interpretive elements in this work. The bibliography is also disappointing, for it contains few works published in this decade and has scant references to important articles in recent journals.

There exists today a gap in the historical literature offered to the general reader interested in the westward movement. Many of the more recent general works in this area have, in developing an interpretive theme, given the reader little detail on the subject matter. References that provide a detailed examination are most often ponderous multi-volume works that defy the general reader, and although their contents are

still valid, they are often too ancient to contain information on modern concerns. Merk's single volume general work, highly readable, long enough to provide detail, and enhanced by his belief that the history of westward movement should encompass both the past and the present—a substantial portion of this work deals with the twentieth century up to the seventies—almost fills that need and is a valuable acquisition to anyone's personal library. That *History of the Westward Movement* does not totally fill the gap is due in large part to the fact that too much of its interpretive material, drawn in part from that course students affectionately nicknamed "wagon wheels," creaks with age like an old wagon wheel.

JAMES H. LEVITT

State University of New York
College at Potsdam

Greene and Greene: Architecture as a Fine Art. By RANDELL L. MAKINSON. (Salt Lake City and Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1977. 285 pp. \$24.95.)

Randell L. Makinson in his absorbing work *Greene and Greene: Architecture as a Fine Art* has given us a faithful accounting of the careers of Henry and Charles Greene, spanning the period from 1891 through the latter 1950s. As part of that history, the author offers timely insight into the vibrant though too little appreciated Arts and Crafts Movement in this country with particular focus on domestic architecture in southern California.

Destined to gain recognition as major exponents of the William Morris philosophy, insisting on design-conscious craftsmanship in the trades and architecture, the brothers studied at Calvin Milton Woodward's Manual Training School of Washington University in Saint Louis, Missouri. The courses and practical applications were no small strokes of good fortune. Concepts, thoughts, and visions of not only Morris but John Ruskin as well, were integrated into Woodward's

program which stressed the dignity of craftsmanship. The Greenes graduated in 1891, carrying with them the school's motto—The Cultured Mind—The Skilled Hand—and an aesthetic that was to remain at the very heart of their work for the following six and a half decades.

A move to California in 1893 thrust the young architects into a wealthy and cultured community not quite twenty years old. Pasadena, however, could boast of well-educated professionals and businessmen, spiraling land values, and an interest in fine buildings, including luxurious, well-landscaped homes. Working initially with traditional adaptations and through a shingle mode, by 1903 Charles and Henry had arrived at the threshold of the Craftsman Style. That style was predicated upon a sensitivity for home and environment, unflinching insistence upon quality materials coupled with unerring craftsmanship in exterior and interior alike. In a word, the style

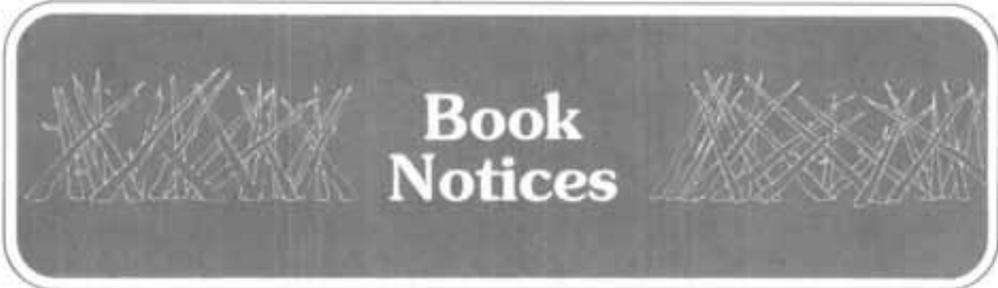
spoke of "total architecture" including furniture and lighting design and an execution of concept unknown in domestic building in this country. This flowering of style wonderfully transformed significant portions of Pasadena in less than ten years, though Henry and Charles Greene worked amidst major changes in public taste successfully into the 1940s. Throughout their long careers, the author reminds us, "they always sought to determine what was truly necessary and then tried to make that beautiful." A glimpse of their extant works leaves little doubt that they succeeded.

Randell Makinson's book is extremely enjoyable reading in a field not always known to be so. Attention to design—placement of photographs, plans, text—is superb. The collaboration of book designer Adrian Wilson and wife Joyce

complements a work that is solidly researched and written with a great deal of feeling and insight. If there is one disappointment it is the lack of a few "symbolic" color photographs to bring even more in focus tonalities and nuances integral to the Arts and Crafts Movement. It is, though, a small point lessened perhaps by the need to use many archival photographs and an apparent desire to picture only pure works without contemporary alterations.

For the casual and serious reader alike who would learn more of the sublime in domestic architecture, this book offers much more than quick reading. It should be savored. A sequel, *Greene and Greene: Furniture and Related Designs*, should give us yet more of this marvelously crafted period.

ARLEY G. CURTZ
Utah Arts Council



Book Notices

The End and the Myth. By PAUL O'NEIL. (Alexander, Va.: Time-Life Books, 1979. 240 pp. \$10.95.)

Time-Life's latest addition to their Old West Series tracks the fin-de-siècle American West as it was gradually absorbed and reinvented by the Motion Picture Machine which itself had moved west to California from New York and New Jersey. The book is well written and well researched. Readers, however, will be incredulous to find that *Stagecoach* director John Ford harassed John Wayne into a fine job of acting by calling him a "Goddamn fairy" and telling him

to "Put your feet down like you were a man." If the story is true, John Ford deserves to be remembered as much for his audacity as for any of his films.

Another marvelous discovery is an envelope bearing an oilfield worker's daily schedule:

- 11:00 A.M.—Get up
- 11:00–11:30—Sober up
- 11:30–noon—Eat
- Noon to midnight—Work like hell
- Midnight to 3:00 A.M.—Get drunk
- 3:00 to 3:30—Beat hell out of them
that's got it coming
- 3:30—Go to bed

The photographs, too, are excellent, ranging from one of the last stagecoaches out of Deadwood, South Dakota, to movie stills of the 1920s and 1930s.

The Study of American Folklore. By JAN HAROLD BRUNVAND. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1978. Xiv + 460 pp. \$10.95.)

A second edition of "the best introduction to the study of American folklore," Jan Brunvand's present book echoes the new directions folklore has taken since the 1960s. Reflected here are the changes in theory, the attention to modern and urban folk traditions, and the increased importance of customary and material folklore (folklife). The author is professor of English at the University of Utah, a fellow of the American Folklore Society, and editor of the *Journal of American Folklore*.

You and Aunt Arie. By PAMELA WOOD. (Washington, D.C.: Institutional Development and Economic Affairs Service, Inc., 1975. Viii + 219 pp. \$6.75.)

An insipid title may have caused many people to miss this book when it first appeared. It is actually an excellent introduction to magazine writing and publishing for high school and junior high school students. Its focus is on how to create a publication like *Foxfire*, which is a collection of skills, tales, etc., transmitted to young students by elderly Appalachians. Regardless of whether a school plans such a publication, Wood's book deserves a place in its library.

Diaries and Personal Journals: Why and How. By WILLIAM G. HARTLEY. (Salt Lake City: Primer Publications, 1978. 28 pp. \$1.95.)

This is a delightful follow-up to Mr. Hartley's well organized and skillfully

written books on oral and personal history. The rationales for journal keeping, hints on how to keep journals, subjects to write about, and possible problems will stimulate the nondiarist and lagging journal keeper, as well as provide useful information for the veteran diarist. The book's numerous selections from others' journals not only make interesting reading but should provide the impetus to write when nothing else seems to.

American Religion and Philosophy: A Guide to Information Sources. Compiled by ERNEST R. SANDEEN and FREDERICK HALE. (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1978. Xvi + 337 pp. \$22.00.)

Sandeen and Hale are at the start hampered by the size and format of the American Studies Information Guide Series, in which this volume appears, since it permits only five or six entries per page. No doubt every reviewer will have a candidate for "most essential journal or book left out." Another problem of this bibliography is grasping for whom it was written: specialists in American religion and philosophy? academicians in ancillary disciplines such as economics or anthropology? or general readers? The two dozen entries on Mormonism represent an eclectic mix.

Utah Weather. By MARK E. EUBANK and R. CLAYTON BROUGH. (Bountiful, Ut.: Horizon Publishers, 1979. 284 pp. \$5.95.)

Aimed at all those interested in Utah's weather, from teachers and students to farmers, recreational planners, and those who want to know if it will rain tomorrow, this book includes information on Utah's climate and weather, professional and novice forecasting, severe and unusual weather events in Utah's history, and a history and sketch of weather at forty-five locations throughout Utah.

For those who thought they would never pick up a book about the weather, the volume also has an interesting section on weather rhymes and sayings as well as useful tips on how to avoid lightning and when to plant spring and fall vegetables.

History of Wyoming. By T. A. LARSON. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978. Xi + 663 pp. \$18.95.)

T. A. Larson, who has been both a Wyoming professor and legislator, has created a leisurely and scholarly journey through his state. It has all the charm and comfort of train travel a quarter-century ago. Utah readers might wish that he had footnoted the story of ex-prize fighter and saloonkeeper Harry Hynds, who "killed a socially prominent Salt Lake City man whom he found with Mrs. Hynds in the Utah city" in

1896. Whoever the Salt Laker was, it is doubtful that he would have agreed with T. A. Larson that "Hynds obviously had been a man of rare affability. . . ."

Montana, a Bicentennial History. By CLARK C. SPENCE. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1978. Xi + 221 pp. \$8.95.)

Ounce for ounce, the books in the States and Nation Series are excellent state histories. In this volume Clark Spence continues the tradition with a highly readable, well documented work.

One annoying trait of the American Association for State and Local History series is the habit of collecting fifteen or sixteen unnumbered photographs and putting the captions with the last photograph. Often, the captions are not particularly helpful.

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The Utah State Historical Society was organized in 1897 by public-spirited Utahns to collect, preserve, and publish Utah and related history. Today, under state sponsorship, the Society fulfills its obligations by publishing the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and other historical materials; locating, documenting, and preserving historic and prehistoric buildings and sites; and maintaining a specialized research library. Donations and gifts to the Society's programs or its library are encouraged, for only through such means can it live up to its responsibility of preserving the record of Utah's past.

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