The Utah State Historical Society is an organization devoted to the collection, preservation, and publication of Utah and related history. It was organized by public-spirited Utahns in 1897 for this purpose. In fulfillment of its objectives, the Society publishes the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, which is distributed to its members with payment of a $5.00 annual membership fee. The Society also maintains a specialized research library of books, pamphlets, photographs, periodicals, microfilms, newspapers, maps, and manuscripts. Many of these items have come to the library as gifts. Donations are encouraged, for only through such means can the Utah State Historical Society live up to its responsibility of preserving the record of Utah's past.

The primary purpose of the Quarterly is the publication of manuscripts, photographs, and documents which relate or give a new interpretation to Utah's unique story. Contributions of writers are solicited for the consideration of the editor. However, the editor assumes no responsibility for the return of manuscripts unaccompanied by return postage. Manuscripts and material for publications should be sent to the editor.

The Utah State Historical Society does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or opinions expressed by contributors.

The *Utah Historical Quarterly* is entered as second-class postage, paid at Salt Lake City, Utah. Copyright 1970, Utah State Historical Society, 603 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah 84102.
Contents

COLORADO RIVER EXPLORATION AND THE MORMON WAR
BY MELVIN T. SMITH .................................................. 207

MORMONS, CRICKETS, AND GULLS: A NEW LOOK AT AN OLD STORY
BY WILLIAM HARTLEY ............................................ 224

THE CHANGING IMPACT OF MINING ON THE ECONOMY OF
TWENTIETH CENTURY UTAH
BY JAMES B. ALLEN ................................................ 240

FAIRNESS IN THE SALT LAKE COUNTY PROBATE COURT
BY JAY E. POWELL .................................................. 256

AN INDUSTRIAL HOME FOR POLYGAMOUS WIVES
BY GUSTIVE O. LARSON .......................................... 263

REVIEWS AND PUBLICATIONS
................................................................. 276

EDITOR ........................................... CHARLES S. PETERSON
ASSOCIATE EDITOR ................................ Margery W. Ward

THE COVER A lithograph taken from Joseph C. Ives, Report Upon the Colorado River of the West (Washington, D.C., 1861). The lithograph was done from a sketch of Cane Brake Canyon.
PRICE, RAYE CARLESON, Diggings and Doings in Park City,
BY LUCYBETH C. RAMPTON ........................................ 276

BENNETT, KAY, and RUSS, A Navajo Saga,
BY H. BAXTER LIEBLER ........................................... 277

COOLEY, EVERETT L., Utah: A Students’ Guide to Localized History,
BY EUGENE E. CAMPBELL ........................................ 278

GROVER, DAVID H., Diamondfield Jack: A Study in Frontier Justice,
BY CHARLES KELLY .................................................. 279

FIFE, AUSTIN E., and ALTA S., eds., Cowboy and Western Songs: A Comprehensive Anthology,
BY JAN HAROLD BRUNVAND ................................... 280

BAKER, PEARL, Trail On The Water,
BY P. T. REILLY ....................................................... 282

UDALL, LOUISE, Me and Mine: The Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa,
BY CHARLES S. PETERSON ......................................... 283

HICKS, JOHN D., My Life with History, An Autobiography,
BY RICHARD D. POLL ............................................... 284

WATKINS, T. H., and CONTRIBUTORS, The Grand Colorado: The Story of a River and its Canyons,
BY ROBERT W. DELANEY .......................................... 285

SILVERBERG, ROBERT, Ghost Towns of the American West,
BY JAMES B. ALLEN .................................................. 286

WATKINS, ARTHUR V., Enough Rope: The inside story of the censure of Senator Joe McCarthy by his colleagues—the controversial hearings that signaled the end of a turbulent career and a fearsome era in American public life,
BY RUDOLFO MARTINEZ ........................................... 287
Colorado River Exploration
And The Mormon War

BY MELVIN T. SMITH

Although the Rio Colorado of the West had long been important in western American history—with Indians, Spaniards, Mexicans, and American trappers and traders playing important roles in its colorful

Mr. Smith, formerly associate professor of history at Dixie College, is preservation officer of the Utah Historic Sites Survey. The information appearing on the Mormon War-Colorado River map was supplied by the author. All of the illustrations in this article are taken from Joseph C. Ives, Report Upon the Colorado River of the West (Washington, D.C., 1861).

Pyramid Canyon
story—not until the Mexican War did the United States government and the Mormons become interested in it. At that time both did. That coincident interest reached a zenith at the time of the Mormon War. This article discusses the policies of the government, the reactions of the Mormons, and the impact of both on the Colorado River Indians, whose former isolation had been insulation from the white man’s dominion, and on the development of river navigation. The Mormon War produced a change; by 1858 a new era had begun.

**Government Expeditions**

The federal government conducted several surveys relating to the Colorado River before commissioning Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives’s Expedition in 1857. First of all it reserved the right to navigate the river in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848.\(^1\) Further it sent out Derby in 1850, Sitgreaves in 1851, Heintzelman in 1852, and Whipple in 1853, all of whom gathered information on the river’s navigability.\(^2\)

Another important report came from Lieutenant Sylvester Mowry, who had spent the winter of 1854–55 in Salt Lake City as a part of Colonel Edward Jenner Steptoe’s command, but who had made himself unwelcome because of his attentions to one of Brigham Young’s daughters-in-law.\(^3\) Mowry reached Las Vegas in June 1855, about the same time as the Mormons, and discussed their interest in Colorado River navigation with them. When he arrived in California, Mowry suggested to his superiors that an expedition, led by him, be organized to explore the Colorado to the high point of navigation and survey a wagon route from there all the way to Salt Lake City. Perhaps Mowry saw in the venture a back-handed way of getting at Brigham Young who had encouraged his departure from the City of the Saints. Mowry also reported with some concern the presence of Mormon missionaries among the Indians on the Santa Clara, Virgin, and Muddy rivers.\(^4\)

\(^1\) Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848, Article VI. See also the provisions for similar rights in the Gadsen Purchase Treaty, 1853, Article IV. Both are recorded in Hazel Emery Mills, “The Arizona Fleet,” *American Neptune*, I (1941), 260.


\(^4\) Ibid., 341–43. Mowry argued that the Mormon-Indian alliances were dangerous for the United States in 1855, since he believed the Mormons would arm and lead the Indians. He suggested an annual military expedition over the California Trail to contact the chiefs and keep their loyalty to the government.
Later the U.S. government sent Lieutenant Edward Beale's camel experiment on the 35th parallel route from Texas to Fort Tejon, California. He reached the Colorado River October 20, 1857. Beale had intended to explore down the river to Fort Yuma, but because he could find no guide, due to the hostilities of the Mojave Indians, gave up those plans, swam his camels across the river, and continued on west.\footnote{Lewis Burt Lesley, *Uncle Sam's Camels* ... (Cambridge, 1929), 260–61.}

The most significant river project was undertaken by Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, when the funds to explore the Colorado River were finally appropriated by the Congress and assigned to him by Secretary of War John B. Floyd in the early summer of 1857. Ives built a steamer in Philadelphia, tested it on the Delaware River (sans sand, mud, and rocks), then dismantled and shipped it to California, and from there to the mouth of the Colorado River. In late November he began the task of reassembling. By December 29 his *Explorer* had up a head of steam. The other contingents of his "expedition" arrived overland at Fort Yuma during the month.\footnote{Joseph C. Ives, *Report of the Colorado River of the West* (Washington, D.C., 1861), 1–44.}

**Early Mormon Interest in the Colorado River**

Mormon Battalion men had reported on the fertile lands along the Colorado River where they crossed at the junction of the Gila en route to California in 1846.\footnote{J. Cecil Alter, ed., "Extracts from the Journal of Henry W. Bigler," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, V (April, 1932), 35–64, and J. Cecil Alter, ed., "Journal of Robert S. Bliss with the Mormon Battalion," *U.H.Q.*, IV (July, 1931), 83.} Then, after settling their people in Great Salt Lake Valley in 1847, the Mormon leaders conceived of a State of Deseret large enough to include a sea outlet, either on the Colorado River or on the Pacific Ocean, or both.\footnote{"Journal History" (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historian’s Library, Salt Lake City), March 9, 1849. Brigham Young stated that they were considering several possibilities for routing their Saints to the new Zion.} When Congress reduced the size of the Territory of Utah in 1850, the Mormons made efforts to retain control of a route to the Pacific. In 1851 Brigham Young reported plans to route immigration across the Panama peninsula and up the Colorado River.\footnote{Ibid., October 23, 1851. Young reported that he had learned of surveys at the mouth of the Colorado and asked for reports to be made to him of progress.} Naturally, he followed the government's surveys closely. He next established a series of settlements along a corridor south from Salt Lake City through Utah, across the desert to San Bernardino, California.

A big link in that effort was the establishment of the Mormon Indian Mission at Las Vegas in June 1855. About the fifteenth of the month,
William Bringhurst and "missionaries" arrived to build a post and pacify the Indians, who persistently raided the supply trains passing through their lands.\textsuperscript{10} At the same time, Rufus C. Allen, president of the Southern Indian Mission, appeared with an expedition to explore the Colorado River to determine its navigability. This group traveled southeast down Vegas Wash to the river, then south along the western portion of Black Canyon for some fifteen difficult miles. Lava rock, water shortage, and weather so hot that it boiled water in their canteens and caused the mules to lie down to relieve their burning feet when they stopped, forced the expedition to return to the mission, convinced that traffic on the Colorado River was possible, and at that time of year, much preferred to traffic overland. The following January William Bringhurst led a second expedition up the Colorado, Virgin, and Muddy rivers then returned to Las Vegas.\textsuperscript{11} However, Mormons made no attempts to navigate the river at that time.

**MORMON-GOVERNMENT RELATIONS**

In 1857 Mormon-government relations changed dramatically. Reports from deposed territorial judge, W. W. Drummond,\textsuperscript{12} and freighter W. M. F. McGraw,\textsuperscript{13} combined with the suspicious and antagonistic accounts taken East by disgruntled Mormons and Gentiles who had been in Utah, convinced President James Buchanan that new officials were needed in Utah Territory. Therefore, he relieved Brigham Young as governor and appointed Alfred E. Cumming in his stead. To ensure that the Mormons would submit to federal authority, an army of 2,500 men was sent as an escort.

Reports of the army's coming reached church leaders on July 24, 1857. Reaction was immediate. The Mormons chose to resist. Their strategy called for a close surveillance of the army coming from the East with plans to stop it short of Utah. They also recalled most of the Saints from settlements on the periphery of Zion — those in southern California and Nevada being particularly significant to this study.\textsuperscript{14} Next, alli-
Militancy replaced pacification. Finally, Brigham Young, still officially governor of Utah Territory, declared martial law and counseled the Saints to horde supplies, munitions, weapons, and food.

Needless to say, rumors chased rumors throughout the settlements, especially after the Mountain Meadows Massacre in southern Utah on September 11, 1857. The wanton killing of defenseless men and women by an alliance of Indians and Mormons shocked even those who participated in it. The tragedy was a single act, but the strategy that helped produce it, extended beyond Mountain Meadows.

On the southern boundaries, Mormons were kept busy returning Saints to Zion and escorting Gentiles to California. Jacob Hamblin had replaced Rufus Allen as president of the Indian Mission. His tasks were...
to "control" the Indians,\textsuperscript{18} to guide wagon trains through hostile Indians, and to continue to "convert" the Indians to the Mormon cause. Hamblin and his missionaries found that their Indian allies sometimes had a difficult job understanding both conversion (support of the Mormons) and control (Mormons not allowing them to raid and kill Mormon enemies).\textsuperscript{19}

\textbf{Leavitt-Hatch Mission}

Hamblin could check the rumors of invasions from California, of which there were legion after the massacre, by talking with returning Saints.\textsuperscript{20} But rumors of a government invasion up the Colorado River were something else. Therefore, late in 1857,\textsuperscript{21} he called Dudley Leavitt and Ira Hatch on "missions" to the Iyats (Mojaves) who lived on the Colorado River near present-day Needles, California.

Traveling with their Paiute friends as far south as Cottonwood Valley, these two men made contact with the Mojave, but stopped short of the main villages in Mojave Valley because of evident hostility. In fact one evening a few Mojaves held a pow-wow and sentenced the Mormons to death. Ira Hatch pled with the "war chief" for a chance to talk with the Great Spirit once more before dying. The chief consented. Hatch's fervent plea, in Paiute, was translated to the Mojave by Paiute friends, and so impressed the chief that he and his daughter protected the men during the night and helped "free them" the next morning. They returned to Las Vegas immediately.

While escorting a wagon train to California in early January 1858, Jacob Hamblin was told by some Indians near Las Vegas that his friends Ira Hatch and Dudley Leavitt had been killed; however, much to his relief, a young Paiute finally showed him where they were hidden. The
missionaries then recounted their narrow escape from the Mojaves. Their "mission" to gain support from the Mojave Indians had been cut short; nevertheless, they had an impact on the region.

GEORGE A. JOHNSON EXPEDITION

Rumors worked down river rapidly. The Chemehuevis had killed two Mexicans, which, with the Mormons’ visit, made the Yumas and civilians on the river and the military at Fort Yuma uneasy. George A. Johnson, whose Colorado River Navigation Company operated two steamers on the lower river, capitalized on the unrest. He had earlier sought the assignment of exploring the Colorado River for himself, but in the eyes of those people making the decisions, apparently his services were too expensive. And although Lieutenant Ives was at the mouth of the Colorado assembling his steamer, Johnson could still be first up the river.

He began his venture by sending a Yuma Indian to the Mojave villages where he built a tule raft and floated downstream observing the current, rapids, sandbars, etc. From Lieutenant James A. Winder, acting commander of Fort Yuma, Johnson received supplies and an escort of sixteen soldiers under the command of Lieutenant James White. Accompanying the group was a complement of sixteen civilians — trappers and miners, some of whom knew the river and region well — and Chief Pascal of the Yumas. On December 20, the General Jesep, a side-wheeler, began its ascent. The expedition had three objectives: to check on Indian unrest and the death of the two Mexicans, to reconnoiter the Mormons’ activities among the Indians (but “to avoid any collision” with either), and to explore the river.

---

22 Hamblin, Journal, 33. Hamblin was guiding the Livingston-Kincaid party at the time. He speaks of an ambush planned against the party at the Muddy River by Perry Liston, Jehiel McConnell, and a group of Indians.
23 Ibid., 30–32, and also Woodward, Feud on the Colorado, 100.
24 Woodward, Feud on the Colorado, 79–80. See also Ives, Report of the Colorado River, 44, under date of January 9, 1858, at Fort Yuma: “At present they [the Yuma Indians] are in a state of much excitement. There is a settlement of Mormons not far from the Colorado, a few hundred miles above, and it is rumored that some of that people have been among the upper tribes of Indians, telling them of their difficulties with other whites and endeavoring to secure an alliance. There is an impression among these Indians that the Mormons contemplate, before long, descending the Colorado, which corresponds with a rumor brought from the east by the latest mail of a projected movement into Sonora. The commanding officer of the Fort, Lieutenant Winder, a few days ago, sent Lieutenant White with a detachment of men, up the river, with Captain Johnson, to make a reconnaissance and endeavor to ascertain the truth of these reports.”
25 Woodward, Feud on the Colorado, 69–74. By 1856 Johnson had the General Jesep and Colorado steaming up river from the Gulf of California with supplies for Fort Yuma and other nearby areas.
26 Ibid., 80–83.
Lieutenant White’s journal details the trip. With some difficulties they steamed up the Colorado beyond the Bill Williams River, into Chemehuevi Valley, then into Mojave Valley, and on into Pyramid Canyon. White’s account continues:

This marks the end of our route, by steamer. Just at the entrance of the valley succeeding this canon, we found a succession of three rapids... [so] we went, with a small boat and a party on land, about five miles above where the steamer lay. This brought us to the border of the bottom lands of the valley. It appeared to extend up river, about 10 miles, and was probably some three miles wide. A good growth of cottonwood was visible.27

Without question they had reached the lower end of Cottonwood Valley, which White located at 35° 18’, and which concurs with Ives’s map of the region.28 The Indians in Cottonwood Valley told them that two Mormons had been there some twenty days before. The small party returned to the General Jesep. Lieutenant White was greatly concerned.

27 Ibid., 97–104. Lieutenant James White wrote his report upon his return to Fort Yuma under date of January 30, 1858.
28 Ives, Report of the Colorado River, see accompanying maps. Also Woodward, Feud on the Colorado, 88, 104.
While the steamer was stopped to load wood, White learned that Lieutenant Beale had just returned with a few camels from Fort Tejon, with Major George Blake and an escort of one hundred men. They met at the river crossing January 23, 1858. Lieutenant White discussed the Mormon problem with both Beale and Blake. He reported to them that he had advised the Indians to stay out of any fight that might develop between the Mormons and the government. He had also told the Mojaves to discourage any other Indians, allied with the Mormons, from coming among them. White later recommended that tools for farming be given these Indians to keep their support.

Captain Johnson ferried Beale's outfits across the Colorado, and then steamed down river for Fort Yuma. His venture had been daring and successful even though he was short by some thirty miles of reaching Eldorado Canyon, as he claimed, years later, to have done. Major Blake returned to California, while Lieutenant Beale continued his course eastward.

LYMAN-KANE REPORT

In January 1858 Hamblin met Mormon Apostle Amasa M. Lyman at the Muddy River en route to California to get his own family. They discussed the rumors of an invasion via the Colorado River and the Hatch-Leavitt mission. Lyman reported in a letter to Brigham Young, before reaching Vegas Springs:

The Indians have brought us the news that the "Americats" are coming up the Colorado to kill off the Mormons and Indians. Of this we hope to learn more, as we intend, so soon as we shall return from the present excursion... to visit the Colorado and that portion of the country occupied by the "Hyaths" with a party of twenty men and four missionaries, some, or all of whom, we propose to leave there if circumstances are favorable.

When Apostle Lyman arrived at the Mojave River he met Major Blake just returning from the Colorado. On January 31, the Major reported to him that:

29 Lesley, *Uncle Sam's Camels*, 123, 261-62. See also Woodward, *Feud on the Colorado*, 91. Johnson reported "Colonel" Blake had sixty men and that Lieutenant Beale had twelve camels. Blake had accompanied Beale because of the Mojave Indian unrest. Beale was on his return to Texas.
32 Letter of Amasa M. Lyman to Brigham Young, January 17, 1858 (L.D.S. Church Historian's Library). Lyman's plans were further modified by his meeting with Colonel Thomas L. Kane later. The "Americats" invasion was probably the Johnson-White Expedition on the General Jesep.
The expedition to explore the Colorado River had been perfectly successful, that there was [sic] three steamers [Johnson had two and Ives had one] on the river, that another of 5 feet draught was to be placed on it in a short time, that they had arrived within 70 miles of the mouth of the Virgin and that they expected to be able to reach the mouth with vessels of that way [weight?]. He also hinted that 3000 men would be sent up that way.  

Needless to say, Lyman was alarmed. He began his return to Utah with his family as soon as he could. By February 14 he was nearly to Las Vegas, at which point his party was overtaken by Colonel Thomas L. Kane, traveling as a Dr. A. Osbourne, who had come from Philadelphia to mediate the Mormon conflict. Lyman joined Kane and together they took a fast carriage for Salt Lake City. At the Muddy River they stopped to talk with Ira Hatch and Thales Haskell, who were working with the Paiute Indians, then continued on through the settlements of Utah and reached Salt Lake City, February 25. They reported to Brigham Young the next day.  

Both Kane and Lyman remained in council with Brigham Young and the Mormon leaders until March 8, at which time Kane went east to meet Governor Cumming with Johnston’s Army in Wyoming, and Amasa Lyman headed south to organize and encourage the Saints and to prepare an expedition to the Colorado River.  

**Jacob Hamblin Expedition**  
In the meantime, further south on the Virgin and Muddy rivers, Hamblin and his missionaries received repeated overtures from the Iyats (Mojaves) asking them to “come and visit them,” suggesting that Indian scouts for the Mormons had picked up rumors of another expedition on the Colorado River (Ives), though Hamblin does not confirm this. At any rate, Jacob Hamblin, Dudley Leavitt, Thales Haskell, and Samuel Knight made preparations for another “mission” to the Colorado. They left the Virgin on March 6, arrived in Vegas on the tenth, and remained there until the twelfth of March. Then, with the Vegas Chief
Pat Sarump, they proceeded overland south on a route parallel to the river, but west of Black Canyon. They reached the Colorado itself on March 15, north of Cottonwood Valley. At the latter location, their Indian friends apprised them of the “enemy.”

**Lieutenant Ives’s Expedition**

The Mormon War apparently had not been a part of Lieutenant Ives’s original Colorado River assignment. His job was to explore the river and determine its navigability and its usefulness as a supply route into the mountain interior, including Utah. However, even before the *Explorer* reached Fort Yuma, a mail delivery brought news of the Mormon conflict. At the fort additional rumors circulated freely, so that by the time Ives’s expedition headed up river (January 11, 1858), he had become involved. The Yuma Indians about the fort believed that the Mormons and “allies” might soon invade down the river.

The *Explorer* proceeded upstream haltingly, much to the delight of the Indian spectators. The Lieutenant soon discovered that the trip would take longer than he had first anticipated, so when the *General Jesup* steamed by, returning from its exploration, Ives sent Lieutenant John Tipton back to Fort Yuma to bring the packtrain up river to the Mojave villages. Ives may have talked with Lieutenant James White about the Mormons; however, neither of the men mentions such a conversation.

Lieutenant Ives got along well with the Colorado Indians by giving them presents and by taking their chiefs for rides on the steamer. Of special help were two Mojave chiefs, Cairook and Ireteba, who knew the river well.

Above the Mojave villages, the *Explorer* steamed into Pyramid Canyon, across the succession of rapids that had turned the *General Jesup* back, on into Cottonwood Valley, up along Cottonwood Island to Painted Canyon, past Round Island, and on to Eldorado Canyon some thirty miles north of the river.

---

38 *Ibid.* In his record Hamblin states that Ira Hatch went with the group; however, the fact is that he did not go. Very likely he remained on the Muddy to look after the “mission” there. The following month he joined the Lyman Expedition to the Colorado as a guide and interpreter.


40 *Ibid.*, 44. The situation for the Indians must have been frustrating. They were unhappy with the prospects of either Mormon or government invasion of their lands. Such an attitude explains the hostility of the Mojaves.


42 *Ives, Report of the Colorado River, 65–74.* Ives spells the chief’s name Ireteba, while other writers spell it Irataba. Ives had known both men from the Whipple Expedition, 1853–54.
above the rapids George Johnson had reached.43 From that point the Explorer steamed into Black Canyon itself, but about a mile inside struck a submerged rock. The party retreated back to Eldorado for repairs. However, Ives, Captain Robinson, and a small crew rowed a skiff up through Black Canyon to the mouth of Vegas Wash, which they mistakenly believed to be the Virgin River. This was their high point of navigation. After reconnoitering, they returned down the river on March 12, the same day Hamblin and party were leaving Vegas Springs less than twenty-five miles away.44

**Hamblin and Ives**

Back at the Explorer, repairs had been completed. Ives sent out a reconnaissance party to locate the Mormon road, and then began his descent of the river. On the fifteenth an Indian runner on the west bank reported fresh horse tracks. Ives concluded, correctly, that there were four Mormons from Vegas in the area. The next day, in Cottonwood


44 Ives, Report of the Colorado River, 85–87. Ives at this point was aware of his approximate location relative to the Mormon road and settlement (Las Vegas), but yet unaware of the Mormons in the area. In addition Ireteba (p. 80) had become alarmed at reports of white men among the Paiutes who, reportedly, were planning to destroy the exploring party.
Valley, they were "hallowed" from the west bank of the river by Thales Haskell. The Mormons and Gentiles had met.  

Haskell spent an uneasy night on the Explorer, hoping to hide his identity from his host. The men exchanged questions. Ives reported on his project — the exploration of the river. Haskell answered that the Mormons were so busy in the north and east that the government had nothing to fear from them on the Colorado, which without a joint Mormon-Indian effort, was basically true. The next morning Ives delivered Haskell to the shore and continued down river.

The Mormons were convinced that there was more to the expedition than exploration. Indians had reported to them that troops were coming up the river. So, to continue spying effectively, Hamblin sent Leavitt and Knight back to Las Vegas with all four horses, while he and Haskell proceeded south on foot. Their Indian friends warned them that the Mojaves were still hostile and dangerous, and that night, when they witnessed the firing of rockets by Ives, they became alarmed themselves, believing that Ives had rediscovered them and was warning his troops of their presence. (The actual fact was that Ives was simply trying to locate the whereabouts of Lieutenant Tipton and the packtrain, which also was the "invading army" the Indians reported coming up river.) Nevertheless, the two Mormons retreated to Vegas and there learned that Leavitt and Knight had met and talked with Ives's reconnaissance party. Hamblin was convinced that Ives knew who they were and what they had been doing among the Indians. The weary and worried missionaries returned to southern Utah.

Ives's scouts reported a marked change in the attitude of the Mojaves, from friendliness to hostility. His reconnaissance party had met two of the Mormons, and Mormons were blamed for the change of behavior by the Indians. However, Mormons were only part of the picture. The Indians were also worried about the "invading army." Consequently, Ives told Cairook he was leaving their valley immediately and sought to

---

45 Ibid., 88. See also Hamblin, Journal, 34. Hamblin assigned Thales Haskell the dubious honor of being the "spy."

46 Hamblin, Journal, 35 and Ives, Report of the Colorado, 88-89. Both accounts report the meeting and agree on the context of the talks between Haskell and Ives. However, Haskell did not conceal his identity from Ives, nor did Ives allay Haskell's suspicions about his mission. See also Albert E. Smith, Thales Hastings Haskell (Salt Lake City, 1963), 28-29. In his own journal Haskell recounts the event in more detail.

47 Ives, Report of the Colorado, 88-89. The packtrain was used by Ives to explore overland from the Mojave villages to Fort Defiance.

Mormon War
Colorado River Expeditions
1855 - 1858

Key

- Lt. Mowry (1855)
- R. C. Allen (1855)
- W. R. Bringhurst (1856)
- Hatch-Leavitt (1857-58)
- J. Hamblin (1858)
- A. Lyman (1858)

Kingman, Arizona
relieve the tension with assurances of the government’s good will and with gifts.49

As soon as his packtrain arrived, Ives left the Explorer in the hands of the very able Captain Robinson, who took it down river. Ives himself headed east overland. His expedition had been a success. He had reached Vegas Wash in a skiff, he reported Black Canyon to be the high point of navigation, he correctly evaluated the Mormon “spying” among the Indians, and had countered the Mormon effort to turn the Indians against the government’s “invading army.” Ives left the river more at ease than did the Mormons.50

**AMASA LYMAN EXPEDITION**

Although Colonel Kane was on his way to talk with Governor Cumming, Amasa M. Lyman proceeded south through Utah with a serious mission. He reported his efforts to Brigham Young on March 25:

> I expect to start next Monday from Cedar City with a company of twenty men to examine the Colorado Country and visit the Iats and other Indians in the country. Bro. Hamlin [sic] has already preceded me with some of the missionaries...51

Lyman selected nineteen men with good outfits to go with him.52 He reported to Young again on the thirty-first that they would go as rapidly as they could and were in agreement with his “line of policy” as indicated in his March 21 address to the Saints; namely, that they would move to the south if necessary rather than submit to the army.53

Leaving Cedar City on March 31, the party hurried to Santa Clara and there talked with Jacob Hamblin and enlisted the services of Ira

---

49 Ives, *Report of the Colorado*, 67, 89-90. Ives’s relationship with the Mojave chiefs, Cairook and Ireteba, helped his expedition to succeed. One of the reports that reached Ives about Mormon activity was that they had told the Indians to “burn the grass and run off the animals” of the packtrain, tactics similar to those used by Lot Smith and the Mormons around Fort Supply, Wyoming Territory.

50 Ibid., 90. One may rightly criticize Ives for his brief reference to the achievements of George A. Johnson and Lieutenant James White, who had preceded him up the Colorado as far as Pyramid Canyon. Yet one must also recognize that Joseph C. Ives performed his own assignment with distinction. The mouth of Black Canyon was for many years the “practicable” high point of navigation of the Colorado River, even though during high water, freighting did go to Callville, above Vegas Wash, and to Rioville, at the mouth of the Virgin River.

51 Letter of Amasa M. Lyman to Brigham Young, March 25, 1858 (L.D.S. Church Historian’s Library). Lyman gives no details on Hamblin’s trip to the Colorado. A second exploring party was canceled because peace negotiations seemed to be bringing results by the time Lyman returned from his expedition.


53 Letter of Amasa M. Lyman to Brigham Young, March 31, 1858 (L.D.S. Church Historian’s Library).
Hatch, Indian missionary, as interpreter and guide. They reached Las Vegas on the tenth of April and proceeded southward on a course parallel to the Colorado River, reaching it just below Black Canyon at Eldorado. With some difficulty they made their way down along the west bank of the river looking for pasturage, possible settlement sites, and some place to make a defensive stand should there be an army invading up the river. In Pyramid Canyon Lyman located such a place. He commented:

Noticed one place in particular, about 10 ms from our camp this morning, which affords excellent facilities for commanding the river, as the channel is, at this point, on this (west) side of the stream, and the adjacent rocks and ravines afford protection and shelter for a great number of men.\(^54\)

In Mojave Valley the party found the Indians cautious, but not hostile. They approached the main tribes on Sunday, April 18, where Lyman and his men were impressed with the fine physiques of the Mojaves, as most early travelers had been.\(^55\)

Having located a defensive site, seeing that the Indians were not hostile, and learning nothing of an invading army, Lyman continued west along the government trail toward Kingston, California, then swung north after two days and explored new territory north and east to Las Vegas.\(^56\) From there they returned to Cedar City via the settlements of Santa Clara, Washington, and Fort Harmony. They reached home May 7, 1858, and reported.

**SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

By that time negotiations between Kane and Cumming were bringing results. The new governor agreed to come to Salt Lake City without the army. Perhaps war would be avoided. Fearful Mormon leaders still held out the threat of "scorched earth" and a "retreat southward,"\(^57\) but

\(^{54}\) Lyman, Journal Number 16, 117. Lyman does not identify the location of the "defense site" by name, but his description fits Pyramid Canyon.

\(^{55}\) Ibid., 118–19.

\(^{56}\) Ibid., 120–25. The primary purpose of this portion of the expedition was to locate settlement sites. It may have been, in part, to locate a parallel route for emigration to and from California; however, Lyman reported to President Young in his letter of March 25, 1858, that he believed "all" of the Saints were "returned."

\(^{57}\) Hafen and Hafen, *Utah Expedition*, 291. From the *Crescent City Oracle* under date of June 11, 1858, a report is given of the Mormons moving south when Governor Cumming and Colonel Kane arrived in Salt Lake Valley. Mormons were secretive about their plans, though "some conjectured they would go to Mexico, Sonora, or the valleys to the interior, to the south, they have recently been exploring, where sugar, cotton, rice and vines grow profusely." The above information was in part a result of the report from Lyman's expedition. Several other expeditions were also sent out—W. H. Dame, William Wall, and George W. Bean each directed such groups.
the crisis had passed. Peace negotiations followed, and by June 14 Johnston's Army began to move. It reached Salt Lake City, peacefully, on the twenty-sixth and marched through the city as agreed. Soon Mormons began returning to their homes. The war was over, and the interlude on the Colorado came to an end.

For the Mormons the Colorado River "experiences" clearly reveal their strategy for defense in the south. The first expedition sought Indian support, the second engaged in spying, and the third located a defensive site and an area into which some Mormons might flee, if necessary. All were designed to promote alliances with the Indians. As harassment tactics, these maneuvers were successful. In addition a secondary benefit derived from the Mormons' more intimate knowledge of the Colorado River's navigability. Six years later they tried to develop the river into a major freighting line for Utah.

The poor Indians were given a taste of "things to come." Open hostilities brought troops in 1859 and the establishment of Camp Mojave in their beautiful valley. The white man's dominion became a fact.

As for the government, Ives reported the conditions of the river quite accurately. He navigated his Explorer some thirty miles beyond Johnston's General Jesep. Although the real Virgin River, not Vegas Wash, became the high point of navigation on the Colorado, later shippers found, as had Ives, that Eldorado Canyon, below Explorer Rock, was the highest major freighting point on the river.

Perhaps the one to benefit most directly from this venture was George A. Johnson. His expedition originated because of it. Mojave hostility during the next few years and mining at Eldorado and other areas adjacent to the river produced demands for his steamer services. His Colorado River Navigation Company expanded rapidly. Yet until 1864, Johnson's high point of navigation remained below Pyramid Canyon and the "succession of rapids" that had turned back this first explorer in 1858.

---

*Ibid.*, 329, 342, and 343-44. Lazarus W. Powell and Ben McCullough were selected as peace commissioners on April 7, 1858. They arrived in Salt Lake City on June 7. By the twelfth they had reached an agreement with the church leaders and the "War" was over.

Mormons, Crickets, and Gulls: A New Look At An Old Story

By William Hartley

Within picturesque Temple Square in Salt Lake City stands the graceful bronze and stone Sea Gull Monument, commemorating a highly dramatic experience in Mormon pioneer history. Soon after Mormons reached the shores of Great Salt Lake, so the traditional story goes, their desperately needed first crops were invaded by vociferous black crickets. When the battle to save fields and gardens seemed doomed, the pioneers

Mr. Hartley is a graduate teaching assistant in the History Department at Washington State University, Pullman.
prayed earnestly for deliverance. Thereupon, miraculously, thousands
of sea gulls suddenly appeared. In short order these divinely sent birds
ate and disgorged huge quantities of crickets until the insects were elimi­
nated, and the threatened Mormon crops were saved.

The Cricket War of 1848, popularly known as the “Miracle of the
Gulls,” has assumed legendary characteristics in the folk history of the
Rocky Mountain West.¹ And like many frontier legends, this one invites
scholarly probes into the past in order to determine how well the tradi­
tional story is supported by historical evidence now available to research.

In assessing current accounts of the 1848 event, a number of ques­
tions must be considered. Were gulls and crickets inhabiting the Great
Salt Lake area prior to the Mormon arrival in 1847? Did the gulls actu­
ally prevent major destruction of the Mormon crops? Was the event
considered miraculous by contemporary observers in their letters and
diaries? How unique was the encounter when compared with the natu­
ral history of the Utah area? Current historical research has produced
some unexpected answers to these questions while revealing some new
problems with the traditional story.

**Pre-1848 Gulls and Crickets**

The Cricket War of 1848 occurred during the Mormons’ initial year
in the Great Salt Lake Valley. A vanguard company of pioneers first
entered the area on July 22, 1847, followed by Brigham Young two days
later. Other Mormon companies arrived soon thereafter, the largest
emigration coming in September. Young soon returned to Iowa, leaving
a High Council Presidency in charge of the new settlements during the
winter of 1847–48 and through the cricket attacks of the subsequent
spring.

These pioneers were new to the area but gulls and crickets were not.
Their pre-Mormon presence is positively established by trapper and
eplorer records kept during the preceding decades. As early as 1825
British fur trapper Peter Skene Ogden noticed sea gulls near the present
Utah-Idaho border, according to his May 5 diary entry:

> Our course This day was west over a fine Plain Covered with Buffaloes
> & thousands of Small Gulls the latter was a Strange Sight to us I presume
> some large body of water near at hand at present unknown to us all.²

¹ Austin E. Fife, “Popular Legends of the Mormons,” *California Folklore Quarterly*, I
(April, 1942), 114.
² David E. Miller, ed., “Peter Skene Ogden’s Journal of His Expedition to Utah, 1825,”
*Utah Historical Quarterly*, XX (April, 1952), 171–72.
Years later the energetic American explorer, John C. Frémont, reported the presence of gulls near the Great Salt Lake in his journal entry for September 12, 1843: "We had to-night a supper of sea gulls, which [Kit] Carson killed near the lake." These two notations show that sea gulls were not strangers to that region when the Mormons came.

Crickets were but slightly mentioned in early diaries. Again, Ogden's journal specifically notes their presence not far from the Great Salt Lake on May 2, 1825: "As for insects we have no Cause to complain, Fleas Wood lice Spiders & crickets by millions." There is no record, however, of gulls attacking crickets anywhere in the Rocky Mountain West prior to 1848.

The very first Mormons to enter the Valley in 1847 were impressed by the quantity of large crickets they encountered. "The ground seems literally alive with very large black crickets crawling around up grass and bushes," commented William Clayton. Orson Pratt described crickets the size of a man's thumb. Brigham Young received a message from the vanguard party similarly descriptive: "In many places the grasses, rushes, etc. are 10 feet high, but no mire. Mammoth crickets abound in the borders of the Valley." Crickets were still busy in the Valley as late in the summer as August 29, when John Steele wrote that his daily labors included "planting buckwheat, irrigating crops, killing crickets, etc." It is notable, however, that these pioneer diarists failed to mention the presence of gulls before the birds' impressive appearance in the spring of 1848.

**Advent of the Cricket Plague**

Throughout the winter of 1847–48 nearly 1,700 Mormons prepared the dry Valley soil for cultivation. Many lived at the Old Fort, a walled-in series of cabins forming the nucleus of the community later designated Salt Lake City. Other pioneers had settled at the present sites of Kays-
ville and Bountiful and along the Weber River. Fences enclosed more than 5,000 acres, about one-fifth of which was sown with grain. A mild winter allowed for an early planting.  

Harvest prospects were bright by the next spring. On April 16, 1848, John Steele rejoiced that “green stuff is coming very fast,” and that his “wheat, corn, beans and peas are all up and looking grand and grass is 6 inches high.” In a June 9 letter the Valley leaders advised Brigham Young that prior to the arrival of the crickets a large amount of spring crops had been planted and had been doing well.  

By late May, however, tragedy struck. Completely unexpected by the Mormon farmers, huge armies of crickets attacked the succulent new plants. John Taylor noted crickets in some fields as early as May 22. Mrs. Lorenzo Dow Young despaired over their destructive appearance as part of her May 27 entry in her husband’s diary:

We have grappled with the frost . . . but today to our utter astonishment, the crickets came by millions, sweeping everything before them. They first attacked a patch of beans for us and in twenty minutes there was not a vestige of them to be seen. They next swept over peas, then came into our garden; took everything clean. We went out with brush and undertook to drive them, but they were too strong for us.

Night brought killer frosts and daylight activated vicious crickets. The psychological damage caused by these dual enemies became apparent the next day to Eliza R. Snow: “This morning’s frost in unison with the ravages of the crickets for a few days past produces many sighs, and occasionally some long faces.” That same day, May 28, Isaac Haight matter-of-factly described his losses:

Frost again this morning. Things killed in the garden such as beans, cucumbers, mellons, pumpkins, and squash. Corn hurt some and some wheat killed and the crickets are injuring the crops.

Mrs. Lorenzo Young’s descriptions that day are similar:

—Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah (Salt Lake City, 1892), I, 375-77.
—Quoted in Pauline Udall Smith, Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion (Salt Lake City, 1958), 308.
—Isaac C. Haight, “Biographical Sketch and Diary of Isaac Chauncey Haight, 1813–1862” (typescript, Brigham Young University), 49.
[May] 28th: Last night we had a severe frost. Today the crickets have commenced on our corn and small grain. They have eaten off 12 acres for Brother Rosacrants, 7 for Charles and are now taking Edmunds.\textsuperscript{17}

The horror of crickets engulfing fields, barns, houses, clothes, and cupboards continued day after day. Mrs. Lorenzo Young began to fear for the future outcome:

Today [May 29] they have destroyed 3/4 of an acre of squashes, our flax, two acres of millet and our rye, and are now to work in our wheat. What will be the result we know not.\textsuperscript{18}

Another female diarist, Mrs. Patty Sessions, wrote on May 30 of her son's apparently desperate efforts: "Mr. Sessions has gone to the farm to keep the crickets off the crops; they are taking all before them that they come to. The frost killed a good deal."\textsuperscript{19}

That the quantity of crickets destroying the vegetation was overwhelming is clearly shown in John Steele's "catch-up" journal entry which summarized at least a week of destruction:

Sunday, June 4th, there is a great excitement in camp. There has come a frost which took beans, corn and wheat and nearly everything, and to help make the disaster complete, the crickets came by the thousands of tons.\textsuperscript{20}

Although Isaac Haight did not admit disaster, his mood that same Sabbath was similarly gloomy:

Quite cold and very dry. Crops begin to suffer for want of rain. The crickets destroyed some crops and are eating the heads off the grain as soon as it heads out. The prospects for grain are discouraging.\textsuperscript{21}

This anxiety caused some Mormon leaders and regular church members to doubt Brigham Young's inspiration in selecting such a place for settlement. Haight perceived that "Many of the Saints begin to think of leaving the valley for fear of starvation."\textsuperscript{22} John Steele recorded that "the cry is now raised, 'we cannot live here, away to California,' and the faith of many were shaken."\textsuperscript{23} Other farmers stated their intentions of leaving for the Eastern States or Oregon. Even John Young, a counselor in the governing High Council Presidency, urged that an express be sent

\textsuperscript{17} Alter and Dwyer, Lorenzo Dow Young, \textit{U.H.Q.}, XIV, 166.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{19} Quoted from a diary kept by Mrs. Sessions in "Gull Monument," \textit{Improvement Era}, XVII (November, 1913), 70.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., "Biographical Sketch and Diary of Isaac Chauncey Haight," 49.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.
to warn Brigham Young not to bring more Mormons to the Valley for fear of starvation.\textsuperscript{24}

Subsequent entomological research regarding the characteristics of the Mormon cricket justifies the fears felt by these pioneers. The black insects, technically identified as \textit{Anabrus simplex}, measure 1.25 inches in length and are wingless. They generally inhabit the mountain country but occasionally become plentiful enough to descend into the valleys in outbreaks which last from two to six years. Traveling in bands the size of a city block to a square mile or more, these sluggish insects move from one-eighth to almost two miles per day. Relishing garden crops, small fruits, and grains, they also are cannibalistic with regards to their dead or injured fellows, and they have been seen consuming leather harnesses and large rattlesnakes, evergreen trees, and sagebrush.\textsuperscript{25}

Every conceivable defensive tactic was tried by the farmers to fight this “army of famine and despair.”\textsuperscript{26} In an account written nine years later, Jesse N. Smith said that initially water was turned into ditches surrounding the fields. This method, however, proved ineffective because “it seemed impossible to drown them, as they would recover after being a long time under water.” Then, he added, the pioneers took advantage of the crickets’ cannibalism. Since they “showed some preference for the dead or disabled of their own number,” crickets were killed at the borders of the fields to keep other crickets fed.\textsuperscript{27}

Sticks, clubs, brooms, brushes, and willows were used to knock the black creatures off the plants. Fires were built into which the crickets were driven. Some Mormons discovered that the insects disliked certain noises, so women and children went into the fields with bells and sticks and tin pans to scare the black villains.\textsuperscript{28} A five-year-old girl was given a wooden mallet with which to smash crickets.\textsuperscript{29} Possibly the oddest technique was tried by John Young who, with his brother, pulled a rope back and forth across the tops of the grain to knock off the climbing crickets before they could reach the heads of the wheat.\textsuperscript{30} Initially ignorant of

\textsuperscript{24} “Journal History” (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historian’s Library, Salt Lake City), June 9, 1848.
\textsuperscript{26} Whitney, \textit{History of Utah}, I, 377.
\textsuperscript{27} Jesse N. Smith, \textit{Journal of Jesse N. Smith: The Life Story of a Mormon Pioneer, 1834–1906} (Salt Lake City, 1933), 13.
\textsuperscript{28} Sarah P. Rich, “Journal of Sarah De Armon Pea Rich” (typescript, Brigham Young University), 82.
\textsuperscript{29} Manomas Andrus, “Biography of Manomas Lavina Gibson Andrus: 1842–1922” (typescript, Brigham Young University), 2.
\textsuperscript{30} John R. Young, \textit{Memoirs of John R. Young, Utah Pioneer, 1847} (Salt Lake City, 1920), 148.
cricket habits, the pragmatic pioneers soon claimed to be gaining a "fund of knowledge" about the enemy.\textsuperscript{31}

**Counter-attack by the Gulls**

The harrassed farmers "prayed and fought and fought and prayed" for almost two weeks against the dumpy crickets — which some Mormons jokingly described as a cross between the spider and the buffalo.\textsuperscript{32} It is difficult to pinpoint exactly when the California gulls first arrived to assist, but on June 9 the Valley leaders described the dramatic event in a letter to Brigham Young: "The sea gulls have come in large flocks from the lake and sweep the crickets as they go; it seems the hand of the Lord is in our favor."\textsuperscript{33} Daily the gulls flew to the Mormon fields to consume crickets. Twelve days later another letter to Brigham Young noted the continuing activity of the crickets despite the gulls: "Crickets are still quite numerous and busy eating but between the gulls and our own efforts and the growth of our crops we shall raise much grain in spite of them."\textsuperscript{34} Patriarch John Smith remembered that the gulls "came every morning for about three weeks, when their mission was apparently ended, and they ceased coming."\textsuperscript{35} It appears that the 1848 cricket invasion lasted for at least a month and probably longer. In that time crickets had eaten grain clean two or three times in some fields.

The awesome spectacle of innumerable screaming sea gulls, filling the sky and shading earth from sun, seemed at first to portend a third plague for the Mormon crops. John Smith left this description:

> The first I knew of the gulls, I heard their sharp cry. Upon looking up I beheld what appeared like a vast flock of pigeons coming from the Northwest. It was about three o'clock in the afternoon... There must have been thousands of them. Their coming was like a great cloud; and when they passed between us and the sun, a shadow covered the field. I could see gulls settling for more than a mile around us.\textsuperscript{36}

Initially the gulls were feared because their presence in the Valley was strange to many of the new settlers. Summarizing the history of the Mormon church up to 1850, Thomas L. Kane that year told the Pennsylvania Historical Society that gulls "were before strangers to the valley."

\textsuperscript{31} "Journal History," June 21, 1848.  
\textsuperscript{33} Smith, *Captain Jefferson Hunt*, 136-37.  
\textsuperscript{34} "Journal History," June 21, 1848.  
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., June 9, 1848.  
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid.
an opinion he must have gained from a Valley resident. Likewise, a Valley letter published in the Little Rock, Arkansas, Democrat in 1849 claimed that the "mountain men" familiar with the Great Salt Lake area said that gulls had never been seen there prior to 1848. Needless to say, such a belief would enhance the drama of the gulls' appearance that year.

The California gulls, now regular inhabitants of the Great Salt Lake region during spring and summer months, amazed the beleaguered pioneers not only by the amount of crickets they killed but also by the unusual manner of consumption. The gulls would feed on crickets until full, drink some water, and then regurgitate prior to consuming more crickets. Therefore it appeared that their main objective was to kill crickets rather than to feed on them. George Q. Cannon, for example, received such an impression after walking along water ditches where he saw "lumps of these crickets vomited up by those gulls." To ornithologists, however, such vomiting by gulls is not unusual. Responding to Cannon's descrip-

Reprinted by Deseret News (Salt Lake City), June 15, 1850.

"Miracle of the Gulls," painted by Jack Vigos, is in the possession of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City.
tion, gull expert F. E. L. Beale judged that "these 'lumps of crickets' were undoubtedly 'pellets' of indigestible parts habitually disgorged by the birds."  

**CONTEMPORARY RESPONSE TO THE GULLS**

These Mormon pioneers, alone in the Great Basin wilderness, devout in their demanding faith, and convinced that they were God's modern Chosen People, attributed much of their experience as a religious body to the Divine Will. Thus in 1848 some, but not all, who witnessed the Cricket War felt that God had performed a miracle in their behalf by sending the gulls. As noted earlier, the June 9 letter to Brigham Young expressed belief that "the hand of the Lord" guided the gulls. 

That such a belief became popular in a short time is shown in a most descriptive diary entry penned late in 1848. Henry Bigler, a member of the Mormon Battalion returning from Mexican War duty in California, was impressed by the story of the Cricket War he heard immediately upon arriving in Salt Lake City:

[Sept. 28] The whole face of the earth I am told was literally covered with large black crickets that seemed to the farmers that they [the crickets] would eat up and completely destroy their entire crops had it not been for the gulls that came in large flocks and devoured the crickets. I am told that the gulls would feast themselves on the crickets to the full and straight way disgorge them and begin again and thus they did destroy the crickets and save the crops and ... all looked upon the gulls as a God send, indeed, all acknowledged the hand of the Lord was in it, that He had sent the white gulls by scores of thousands to save their crops.

Various pioneers familiar with the 1848 episode likewise affirmed, years later, that the gulls had been divinely sent. Typical is this 1853 tribute by Thomas S. Terry: "God who was ever ready to bless his Faithfull Children, Sent the Gulls, who was timely Saviours in our behalf, and Saved our Crops from total ruin."  

Immediate reverence for the gulls was expressed in laws adopted to protect them. A number of documents indicate that it was forbidden to shoot, kill, or annoy gulls with firearms. Bigler wrote that this protec-

---

43 Henry W. Bigler, "Diary of Henry W. Bigler, 1846–1850" (typescript, Brigham Young University), 1, 106.
44 Thomas S. Terry, "Diary of Thomas Sirls Terry: 1825–1877" (typescript, Brigham Young University), 11.
tion was afforded because “all” the pioneers looked upon the gulls as a “God send.”

The “Miracle of the Gulls” has been a popular faith-promoting story in Mormon circles for a half-dozen generations. The first mention of the “miracle” in a Mormon general conference was made by Apostle Orson Hyde on September 24, 1853, when he asserted that the gulls had been agents prepared by the hand of providence. Two years later the Deseret News offered this encouragement for Mormon farmers then suffering a devastating grasshopper plague:

We do not feel... the least apprehension for the final result of the present destruction. As for the Saints we are perfectly aware that through faith and obedience they can prevail in the grasshopper war, at least as well as they did in the cricket war of 1848.

Similarly, versions currently found in such Mormon periodicals as the Improvement Era and the Instructor and in the standard church histories by B. H. Roberts and Joseph Fielding Smith positively assert the miraculous nature of the event.

PROBLEMS WITH THE TRADITIONAL ACCOUNT

Surprisingly, a number of the contemporary sources which should have contained accounts of the “Miracle of the Gulls” make no mention of it. Various memoirs and autobiographies, for example, retrospectively tell of the cricket invasion in 1848 but say nothing of the gulls. Also, all of the diarists quoted earlier for the day-by-day account of the cricket advances — Haight, Snow, Steele, Sessions, and Mrs. Young — ceased making diary entries during the first week of June, when the crickets were at their worst, and then said nothing about the gulls when their diaries were later reactivated! For example, Eliza R. Snow’s next diary reports were dated June 10 and June 15; they bemoan the general agricultural situation but completely ignore the newly arrived sea gulls. Similarly unusual is the non-mention of gulls by the outspoken apostle, Parley P. Pratt. Neither his 1848 letters to his brother Orson in England nor his

50 Snow, Eliza R. Snow, 365.
The Seagull Monument, erected on September 13, 1913, is the work of Mahonri M. Young.

Later autobiography mention gull attacks on crickets, even though Parley witnessed — and lamented in these sources — the 1848 difficulties.\(^5\)

Likewise unusual is the lack of mention of the “miracle” in the official Mormon newspaper in England, the Millennial Star. Not only Parley Pratt’s letters, but all Valley reports reaching the Star painted an unduly optimistic picture of 1848 Valley agricultural conditions. Very slight reference to cricket damage plus a passing remark printed in 1849 about the gulls is all that the English Mormons were told about the Cricket War of 1848.

Some understanding of this silence about gulls comes when the actual significance of these birds for the ensuing 1848 harvest is evaluated. Was it a successful harvest? If so, how much did the gulls contribute to that success?

On the one hand are found glowing production reports like those sent to England by Parley Pratt. In September, for example, he wrote that a very successful harvest had been produced: “Wheat harvest com-

\(^5\) Parley P. Pratt, Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt (Salt Lake City, 1938).
menced early in July, and continued till August. Winter and spring wheat have both done well, some ten thousand bushels have been raised.” He added that a surplus of ten to twenty thousand bushels was expected.52

A more moderate estimate comes from Henry Bigler: “Their crops were pretty much harvested. . . . Buck wheat was good, potatoes fine, but the corn crop was light and fodder short.”53 On the other hand are more pessimistic reports. Isaac Haight, optimistic in July, wrote that his final wheat harvest was poor.54 John Steele’s harvest consisted of a mess pan full of corn ears.55 A. J. Allen produced but five bushels of wheat from two acres.56 Chapman Duncan wrote five years later that the 1848 harvest had been light due to lack of irrigation.57

Official Mormon church reports, more than any other source, indicate that the 1848 harvest was far from successful. They objectively discuss the factors which, in addition to the crickets, were to blame. The High Council Presidency, in evaluating the Valley’s agricultural situation for Brigham Young on July 21, 1848, rated the gulls as helpers but certainly not as rescuers:

The brethren have been busy for some time watering their wheat and as far as it is done the wheat looks well and the heads are long and large. The crickets are still quite numerous and busy eating, but between the gulls and our own efforts and the growth of our crops we shall raise much grain in spite of them. Our vines, beans and peas are mostly destroyed by frost and the crickets; but many of us have more seed and are now busy replanting. . . . Some of our corn has been destroyed, but many large fields look very well and corn is growing very fast.58

This letter identifies four factors, determinants of the harvest, which are important for any assessment of the role played by the gulls. Individual pioneer actions, in addition to gull efforts, are credited for controlling crickets. Also, frost initially was every bit as damaging as the crickets, a climatic misfortune which the gulls could not effect in any way. In addition specific crops such as corn and beans were hurt more than others by crickets. Undoubtedly individual farmers responded to the gulls according to the amount of cricket damage their fields did or did not receive and to the final amount produced by their own fields. Another factor noted in

54 Haight, “Biographical Sketch and Diary of Isaac Chauncey Haight,” 49.
57 Chapman Duncan, “Biography of Chapman Duncan, 1812–1900” (typescript, Brigham Young University), 1849 comments.
58 “Journal History,” June 21, 1848.
other sources was insufficient irrigation, which also reduced the harvest possibilities.

The gulls were completely slighted in a more significant letter written the next year. The first Valley epistle officially sent by the First Presidency of the Mormon church to the scattered non-Utah Mormons included a thorough evaluation of the 1848 harvests. Negative factors received the greatest emphasis:

The brethren had succeeded in sowing and planting an extensive variety of seeds at all seasons, from January to July, on a farm about twelve miles in length, and from one to six in width, including the city plot. Most of their early crops were destroyed, in the month of May, by crickets and frost, which continued occasionally until June. . . . The brethren were not sufficiently numerous to fight the crickets, irrigate the crops, and fence the farms of their extensive planting, consequently they suffered heavy losses.59

It must not be overlooked that this official summary of Valley experiences from the first arrival of the pioneers until 1849 nowhere mentions the gulls, despite prominent notice paid the cricket plague! According to this evaluation, the crop losses were severe. Therefore, the actual physical benefit brought by the gulls could not have been as extensive as is popularly believed.

**REPEAT PERFORMANCES SINCE 1848**

The Cricket War of 1848 is sometimes confused in pioneer writings with similar occurrences during the subsequent two years, when the gulls were more responsible for halting the crickets. Both gulls and crickets arrived earlier in 1849. Plover, a specie of shore bird native to the Great Salt Lake area, arrived before the gulls, according to a general church epistle dated April 9, 1849:

The month of March and April, to the 4th, was very mild and pleasant, and many small crickets have made their appearance, but large flocks of plover have already come among them, and are making heavy inroads in their ranks.60

By June 6 gulls also were attacking the crickets.61 Two days later Brigham Young and others were reported to be “busy killing crickets, building fences, etc.”62 According to Thomas L. Kane the early arrival of the gulls “saved the wheat crop from all harm whatever” in 1849.63

---

60 "Journal History," April 9, 1849.
Crickets invaded the Valley again in 1850.\(^{64}\) They were allied with grasshopper hordes in 1855, a year in which gulls again were on the attack.\(^{65}\)

The "Journal History" compiled by the Mormon Church Historian's Office contains a number of newspaper articles describing gull and cricket activities in Utah and the western United States. Millions of crickets, for example, invaded Rush Valley, Utah, in 1904.\(^{66}\) Mandan, North Dakota, reported thousands of sea gulls in the grain fields in 1921 attacking grasshoppers.\(^{67}\) A Montana report in 1924 said that gull flocks numbering from 4,000 to 5,000 birds preyed upon grasshoppers for more than six weeks.\(^{68}\) Colorado reported thousands of gulls attacking grasshoppers in 1926.\(^{69}\) An estimated one million gulls were feeding on Saskatchewan grasshoppers in 1933.\(^{70}\) Four years later gulls feasted on Mormon crickets in Oregon.\(^{71}\) An estimated 5,000 to 8,000 gulls raided crickets southeast of Tooele City in 1937 during a cricket invasion which lasted until the next year.\(^{72}\) More recently, gulls battled crickets in Oregon in 1947\(^{73}\) and in Utah in 1952.\(^{74}\)

In 1848 the Mormon farmers felt that their experience was singularly unique. But these numerous examples suggest that encounters between gulls and crickets are common to the natural history of the western United States.

**Reevaluation**

Current research alters the traditional sea gull-cricket story in many respects while substantiating its basic facts. As a result the following information should be taken into account in credible versions of the dramatic struggle:

1. The gulls were not strangers to the Valley. Records before and since show that various types of gulls, including the California gull involved in 1848, regularly inhabit the Great Salt Lake

---

\(^{64}\) James E. Talmage, "Were They Crickets or Locusts and When Did They Come?" *I.E.*, XIII (December, 1909), 97-108.

\(^{65}\) *Deseret News*, May 23, 1855.

\(^{66}\) "Feasting on Crickets," *I.E.*, III (September, 1904), 890.

\(^{67}\) *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 25, 1921.

\(^{68}\) *Gazette* (Billings, Montana), August 26, 1924.

\(^{69}\) *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 17, 1926.

\(^{70}\) "Journal History," February 9, 1935.

\(^{71}\) *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 21, 1937.


\(^{73}\) *Deseret News*, May 23, 1947.

\(^{74}\) Ibid., June 9, 1952.
area. These birds are natural enemies of various insects, including crickets.

2. Gulls habitually regurgitate the indigestible parts of insects they have swallowed. This action was unusual to the pioneers but standard eating procedure for gulls.

3. Gulls did not arrive until after severe cricket damage had occurred. Even after the gulls had been “feasting” on crickets for two weeks, the insects still were “quite numerous and busy eating.”

4. In 1848 the Mormon crops were seriously damaged by three ruthless enemies — frost, crickets, and drought — and the gulls dealt with only one of these.

5. The “miraculousness” of the event was not clearly recognized by contemporaries. The Mormon church’s First Presidency was notably silent concerning any “Miracle of the Gulls” in its letters. Likewise, the Millennial Star never told the English Saints about such a miracle. Diarists who detailed the cricket advance did not mention the gulls.

6. Since 1848 gulls frequently have been on the wing to feast on crickets and other insects, making the 1848 encounter hardly unique.

Like numerous other popular accounts of important and unusual historical events, the details of the Cricket War of 1848 over the years have been oversimplified, improved upon, and given somewhat legendary characteristics.

The fact remains, nonetheless, that the 1848 Mormon pioneers would have suffered more than they did, had not the gulls come to their aid. Physically, the gulls helped avert a complete agricultural disaster; the amount of crickets which thousands of gulls could consume in two or three weeks would be a staggering figure. And the birds did relieve hard-pressed farmers from arduous toil against the crickets. More importantly perhaps, the gulls provided mental and emotional rejuvenation. Undoubtedly threats of leaving for California were diminished by the sudden appearance of the gull flocks. At a nadir of discouragement the farmers must have felt their burden lightened and their hopes at least temporarily raised by their unexpected ally.

The “Miracle of the Gulls” story remains appropriate as an expression of the faith held by Mormon pioneers and their descendants. To them, God can and does personally intervene in the everyday affairs of
men when faith is exercised. Whether or not the gulls performed some type of mental or physical "miracle" under God's direction in 1848 is not as important as is the confidence Mormons feel that God could so act if He willed it. In the final analysis it is this belief, as well as the benefit gulls have periodically provided Utahns, that is honored by the impressive Sea Gull Monument.  

The Sea Gull Monument was erected on Temple Square on September 13, 1913. It is the work of Mahonri M. Young, a grandson to Brigham Young.

THE SEA GULLS AND THE CRICKETS

From out the foothills all along  
The crickets swept, a countless throng,  
The verdure lay before them green,  
Behind 'twas like a fire-swept scene.  
And as they neared the fields of grain  
The settlers fought them might and main,  
Till unavailing efforts gave  
The proof that none their crops could save.  

Lo! then, a wonder in the skies  
To them glad vision brought surprise!  
Above the low horizon's bound,  
With wings all fluttering round and round,  
In cloud-like flocks, the sea gulls flew,  
In their migration strange and new;  
And myriads over all the land,  
As if they came at God's command,  
Sought for the crickets, as was meet,  
And ate as though compelled to eat,  
And ate, disgorged, and ate, till then  
Disgorged, they ate, and ate again;  
Till, at the sunset, they took flight  
And o'er the lake passed out of sight.  
Again, each morning they returned,  
As if about the task concerned  
Of clearing all the land so clean  
That not a cricket could be seen.  

And to this day, the Saints believe  
The sea gulls came here to achieve  
A rescue from impending woes  
Of famine, that these insect foes  
Most surely would have made, that day,  
Had not God's power swept them away.  
And so the law's protecting care  
Gives to the gulls an ample share;  
And gratitude we give most fair  
These winged pilgrims of the air.

J. L. Townsend

(Excerpts from a poem published in the Improvement Era, VIII [July, 1905], 641.)
The Changing Impact Of Mining On the Economy of Twentieth Century Utah

BY JAMES B. ALLEN
In spite of early Mormon opposition to Patrick Edward Connor's efforts to promote mining in Utah, by 1900 the mining industry had become a major force in the economic life of the state. In that year Utah produced nearly $17 million worth of non-ferrous metals and supplied 5 per cent of America's gold, 16.1 per cent of its silver, and 17.7 per cent of its lead. In addition 8.3 per cent of the total labor force, and 12.6 per cent of the non-agricultural labor force worked at the exploitation of the state's mineral resources. Of all major occupational groups, mining followed only agriculture and manufacturing in total number of employees.

The influence of mining in Utah extended far beyond mere numbers of workers. Initial development had brought money into the territory and helped stimulate immigration and colonization. Money received in wages promoted the spread of a market economy through the demand for goods and services required by employees. The need for various accouterments to mining—including picks and shovels, haulage cars, wagons, dynamite, and transportation services—spurred the growth of such important industries as lumbering, blacksmithing, manufacturing, banking, and various retail trades. In addition technical developments in processing laid the foundation for further mining development, especially in lead, copper, and zinc, and the contribution of these metals to the state would become immeasurably greater than that of gold or silver. As Leonard Arrington has written: "It was almost as if the earth itself was one great bonanza from which man was able to obtain an abundance of the things he needed and desired."

The vast mineral wealth of Utah, however, had scarcely been tapped. Resources included over 200 minerals, some 35 of which are considered major minerals and are now regularly produced in the state. The eastern portion of Utah was rich in fuels, and huge coal fields covered some 15,000 square miles, or about 18 per cent of the total area of the state.

Dr. Allen, associate professor of history at Brigham Young University, presented this paper at the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Utah State Historical Society, September 20, 1969, in Park City, Utah. The author expresses appreciation to members of his 1969 summer graduate Seminar in the Mountain West, and especially Mr. Robert L. Hales, for assistance in collecting data for this paper.


2 Leonard J. Arrington, The Changing Economic Structure of the Mountain West, 1850-1950 (Logan, Utah, 1963), 33, 44. Unless otherwise noted, all decennial employment figures and percentages to 1950 are taken from this monumental study.


Utah became the leading coal-producing state west of the Mississippi. Large oil and natural gas resources have been developed in recent years, and extensive oil shale deposits provide opportunity for significant future development. Other important bituminous substances include Gilsonite, the only major deposits of which are found in Utah, and various rock asphalts.

The most important metallic resource in the state is copper, and 18 per cent of the nation's supply is taken from the huge open-pit mine at Bingham. Utah is third in the nation in the production of gold. Lead, zinc, and silver deposits are known in various parts of the state and iron is also widespread, although the major deposits are in Iron County. The most exciting new development has been the discovery in Millard County of the world's largest known beryllium deposits. Other major Utah metals include manganese, molybdenum, uranium, and vanadium. Tungsten, titanium, mercury, thorium, and the rare earths also exist in important quantities, but no significant extraction has yet begun.

Among non-metallic minerals, Utah holds valuable, although undeveloped, quantities of alunite and barite as well as important deposits of clays and shales used in construction work. In 1951 eighteen of Utah's twenty-nine counties produced gem stones and the state led the nation in the production of obsidian, was fourth in output of petrified wood, and sixth in producing agate. Utah's gypsum deposits are among the largest in the United States, and the state produces significant quantities of limestone, dolomite, phosphate, saline minerals, sand and gravel, silica, and various kinds of building stone. The process of extracting all these minerals has built an industry which over the past century has produced over $8 billion worth of products. The value of these minerals jumped from $16.70 per capita in 1870 to over $400.00 per capita in 1963, compared with a national average of $104.00. Utah ranks sixteenth in the nation in total value of minerals produced and sixth in terms of the percentage of total labor force employed in mining.

---

7 Mineral and Water Resources, 65. Gilsonite is a black, lustrous substance having the appearance of solidified tar. It may be converted to coke and gasoline. It is also used in ink, floor tile, brake linings, paint, and many other products. It is important to the economy of northeastern Utah.
8 Ibid., 71.
9 Ibid., 169.
THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC IMPACT

With good cause, then, Utah has been called the "Treasure House of the Nation." It is the intent of this article to examine the role of mining in the economy of this mineral-rich state. No industry stands alone, and each contributes something to as well as draws something from other segments of the economy. With respect to mining, one might ask such questions as what percentage of the mining product is exported? How much employment does mining provide, and how does this compare with general employment patterns in the state? How does employment in mining promote other business activities? What taxes are paid by the industry? How has mechanization affected employment patterns as well as production figures? Finally, how have these factors changed in the twentieth century, and what does this tell us about the present and possible future role of mining in the economic life of Utah? A consideration of these questions provides valuable insight not only into this problem but also into the changing nature of Utah's economy as a whole.

CHANGING EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS

In spite of the increasing value of minerals produced in Utah, employment in mining as a percentage of the total work force declined significantly after 1900. The explanation for this lies in improved technology, a change in mining patterns, and a general shift of emphasis in the state's economy. In 1900 some 7,000 people, or 8.3 per cent of the work force, were employed in mining, as compared with 10,000 workers but only 7.6 per cent of the labor force in 1910. It was in that decade that Utah's chief metal product, copper, came into its own, due largely to the technological developments of Daniel C. Jackling and associates in the processing of low grade ores. Copper production climbed from 9.2 million tons to 63.8 million.\(^\text{11}\) This was an increase of some 600 per cent as compared with an increase of less than 50 per cent in the number of total miners. Metal, however, accounted for slightly less than half the increase in total mining employment. The other half came mostly in coal, which jumped from 989 employees in 1900 to 2,463 in 1910. This reflected a bitter rivalry for production between Utah Fuel Company, a subsidiary of the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad, and a number of independent producers about the middle of the decade.\(^\text{12}\) The coal mining industry more than doubled its output, from 1.1 million tons to


Coal mines at Scofield, Utah, in the 1900's. Photograph gift of Robert W. Edwards.

2.5 million. Clearly, technological changes in metal mining had greatly increased the output per man but such changes were not evident in coal mining.

The important fact here, however, is that mining decreased as a percentage of total employment in the state. It is instructive to observe which industries experienced the most substantial growth. Employment in building trades and construction jumped from 4.7 to 11.7 per cent; non-ferrous metal manufacturing nearly quadrupled its total employment and rose from .6 to 1.5 per cent of the labor force; transportation, communication, and other utilities jumped from 6.7 to 8.9 per cent, the greatest increase being in railroads; wholesale and retail trade rose from 5.8 to 9.3 per cent.

The fact that Utahns were employed in producing more than one important mineral sometimes helped ease the adverse effects of national economic fluctuations on the state. Events between 1910 and 1940 provide a good illustration. The early stages of World War I precipitated a

slump in the world copper market forcing Utah Copper to curtail its operations by 50 per cent. The industry bounced back in 1915 and 1916, but drastic cut-backs after the war led to the shutting down of the Magna mill in 1919 and the Arthur plant in 1921.\textsuperscript{14} At the same time the war stimulated coal mining as a variety of expanding West Coast industries provided new markets and Utah production exceeded 6 million tons in 1920. By that time metal mining had lost nearly 2,000 workers and accounted for only 3.7 per cent of total Utah employment, but coal mining had gained over 1,500 employees and accounted for a record 2.7 per cent.\textsuperscript{15}

In the 1920’s coal mining entered a depressed condition which was alleviated only by the demands of World War II.\textsuperscript{16} These same years, on the other hand, were boom years for copper mining and manufacturing, and the decline which set in with the Depression was at an end by 1936.\textsuperscript{17} These conditions were reflected in another shift in the employment pat-


\textsuperscript{15} The only decennial figures showing a higher percentage employed in coal mining are those for 1950, in which coal mining was 2.9 per cent.


\textsuperscript{17} Arrington and Hansen, “Richest Hole on Earth,” 72–73; 1969 Statistical Abstract, 209.
tern. In 1940 Utah employed the same percentage of workers in mining as it had in 1920. Metal mining, however, had increased its employment by approximately 1,800, to account for 4.8 per cent of the total workers in the state, while coal had lost nearly 1,800 workers and carried only 1.5 per cent of the state total. In this decade the tables were turned and copper provided the long-range stable employment which was lost through a declining coal industry.

Between 1920 and 1940 the most significant increase in percentage of state employment came in wholesale and retail trade, transportation, communications and other utilities, and in federal government employment. Manufacturing actually declined, although non-ferrous metals manufacturing showed a slight increase. In general employment was beginning to move into more areas not directly affected by the fortunes of mining.

In 1940 the number of employees in Utah's service industries exceeded, for the first time, the number in the basic production industries of agriculture, mining, manufacturing, and transportation. This was the beginning of a dramatic evolution in the economy of the state, and over the next two decades industrial expansion in terms of employment, productivity, and variety almost equaled the previous hundred years. This does not mean that mining declined in value or general importance, but merely that the economy became more diversified, that automation began to replace manual labor, and that there was a greater pyramid of economic activity built on each industry. Many sectors of the mining industry were strengthened. Iron mining, in particular, was stimulated by the establishment of Geneva Steel near Provo, and expanded markets in Colorado and California. After 1956 petroleum and petroleum products also increased in importance, as did various non-metallic minerals such as salt, sulphur, fertilizers, and building materials.

Amid these changes relative employment in mining continued to decline. Total mining employment in 1960 was some 12,000 workers, about 2,000 above the 1940 level, but down to a mere 4 per cent of the state total. In mid-1969 total mining employment was down to 3.1 per cent. Where mining had once been second only to manufacturing in non-agricultural employment, it was now last among twelve major industrial groups, including agriculture. In terms of employment alone, the

---

impact of mining on the economy of Utah was of relatively small importance. Significantly, the major increase was in the area of federal employment. By 1969 the federal government was the largest employer in the State of Utah, hiring 24.5 per cent of the total work force.

One reason for the diminishing role of mining in the employment pattern was that substantial increases in productivity took place, due mainly to mechanization. In 1920 the value of all mineral products in the state amounted to $76,537,000. There were 10,117 men employed in mining, which meant that each man produced an average of $7,654 in value. By 1966 there were only 1,800 more men employed in mining, but the average production amounted to $40,387 per man, or an increase in productivity of over 550 per cent!\(^{21}\) In addition technological progress had a tendency to increase the use and value of certain minerals without increasing the actual quantity produced at the mines. These minerals underwent more efficient processing and more extended fabrication before reaching the final customer than they had earlier in the century. There was also greater use of scrap metals as well as substitutes for metal, such as plastics, rubber products, and laminated beams. As a result of such developments in technology not only Utah but also other states experienced a downward trend in proportional mining employment.\(^{22}\)

**Payrolls**

Another measure of economic impact is direct payrolls. In 1929, the peak production year prior to the Great Depression, mining provided 11 per cent of the total civilian income in the state and was sixth among the ten major sources of income.\(^{23}\) By 1967 it had steadily declined to ninth place, followed only by farming, and providing only 4 per cent of the state’s total civilian income. On the other hand mining remained high in terms of average monthly wages paid, rating number two among the major non-agricultural industries in 1937, and climbing to number one by 1967.

With the statistical decline of mining in terms of total payrolls came an increase in industries related to mining. Manufacturing, for example, increased from 13.1 per cent in 1929 to 16.8 per cent in 1967, and it has been estimated that approximately one-third of Utah’s manufacturing is


\(^{23}\) Mining was preceded, in order, by wholesale and retail trade, farming, transportation, communication and public utilities, and manufacturing. It was followed by general services; government; finance, insurance, and real estate; and construction.
devoted to primary manufacturing of metals. In this way the declining significance of mining payrolls was somewhat offset by the increase in payrolls directly related to mining. The major increase, however, came in the area of government services, which jumped dramatically from a seventh place 7.6 per cent of the payrolls in 1929 to first place 26.5 per cent in 1967.  

**The Danger of Too Much Dependence on Mining**

It has been suggested that the declining role of mining in terms of employment and payrolls is not a dismal picture either for the industry or for the State of Utah. For the state it may be considered simply a healthy withdrawal from a position of too much dependence upon one industry. For example a 1959 master’s thesis at the University of Utah by Victor A. Stuckenschneider considered the impact of mining on Utah’s economy during the Great Depression. Stuckenschneider concluded that since a significant portion of Utah’s income depended upon mining, the cyclical nature of mining caused Utah to be adversely affected by the Depression more than the nation as a whole. Utah mining, it was shown, fluctuated more than other segments of the economy, and more than mining in the rest of the nation. For the nation as a whole, the value of mineral output decreased by 58 per cent, but in Utah it decreased approximately 80 per cent. Further, Utah’s output was mostly in metallics, which experienced the greatest fluctuation within the mining industry. In the final analysis, declared Stuckenschneider, even though only about 7 per cent of Utah’s working force was employed directly in mining a total of 31 per cent was directly or indirectly dependent upon it. Agriculture accounted for more employment, but fluctuations of farm income were not as great as fluctuations in mining. Utah’s high dependence upon mining activity, then, helped account for the seriousness of the Depression. If all of this is accurate, the diversification of industries in Utah, and the consequent decline in the total impact of mining, should be considered a healthy development as far as the general economy of the state is concerned.

---

26 Actually, according to Arrington’s figures, in 1930 6.2 per cent of the total labor force and 8.2 per cent of the non-agricultural labor force was employed in mining.
27 In this connection see Utah Economic and Business Review, 29 (September, 1969) for a very interesting article on “The Impact on the Utah Economy of the 1966–1967 Copper Industry Strike.” Although the findings in this article are not considered definitive, they seem generally to indicate that the total impact of the strike on the economy was not as severe as some sources have suggested.
TAXES

Another indicator of the relative importance of mining to the state is the amount of taxes paid. In 1956 assessed valuation of mineral properties amounted to 30.5 per cent of all the assessed valuation in the state, but by 1969 it had dropped to 15.39 per cent. This was due to a decline in uranium and iron production, although the copper strike, which lasted into three months of 1968 and thus affected the 1969 valuation, had some impact.\(^2^8\)

In terms of total taxes, in 1962 mine owners paid $14.5 million in property taxes, or about 15 per cent of all property taxes paid in the state. In 1968 the total property tax assessed mines was about the same amount, but it had dropped to only 10.5 per cent of all property taxes.\(^2^9\)

Mine occupation taxes amount to 1 per cent of the gross value for metallic minerals and 2 per cent for oil and gas, after limited deductions. In 1968 this source added some $2,674,000 to the general fund, or 3.4 per cent of the total $79.5 million. This was the fifth highest of eleven major general revenue sources. In the same year funds received from federal leasing of mining property on school lands amounted to $1,993,000 or about 3 per cent of the Uniform School Fund.\(^3^0\) As revenue sources, even these small percentages are obviously significant and it can be seen that mining has an important place in the tax structure of the state.

INTER-RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MINING AND OTHER SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY

Employment, wages, and taxes all provide some indication of the role of mining in the economy of Utah, but its impact may be seen more fully by studying the direct and indirect relationships between mining and other sectors of the economy.

First, most of Utah's mineral production is neither manufactured nor consumed within the state. It is exported, and has been from the beginning of the century. In 1900 about half the people employed in mining were engaged in gold and silver mining. Of this group, nearly 95 per cent were actually employed for export purposes, as were 86 per cent of those producing copper, lead, and other minerals. In 1940, 95 per cent of all employment in metal mining was for export, and in 1950 the figure was 92 per cent.

\(^2^8\) Paul S. Rattle, Manager, Utah Mining Association, to Members of the Utah Mining Association, Salt Lake City, August 15, 1969. (Copy in possession of the author.)
Other minerals which are exported include coal and iron. In 1962, for example, nearly 27 per cent of all the coal mined in Utah was shipped to California, Washington, and Oregon.\(^{31}\) Iron ore is currently shipped not only to the Geneva Steel Plant in Utah County, but also to Colorado, California, and to some Eastern States. On occasion it has even been shipped to Japan.\(^{32}\) Natural gas is also exported from Utah, and much of the state’s petroleum is piped elsewhere for processing and refining. This is one reason why petroleum production has a relatively low total impact on the economy. If petroleum or any other exporting industry dealt mainly in finished or consumer goods, it would contribute more to income and employment within the state.\(^{33}\) In 1960, 75 per cent of all those employed in all phases of Utah mining were employed for export.\(^{34}\) Although the dollar value of exported minerals is not directly a part of the economy of Utah, beyond the amount received in wages, the export demand is essential to that economy. Utah could not possibly consume even a small percentage of all the copper, for example, produced in the state. The export demand provides a market for Utah products and therefore direct employment in mining, along with the multiplier effects of this employment discussed below. In this respect export industries are “basic”\(^{35}\) to the economy of the state.

Much of Utah’s mining product, nevertheless, remains in the state for milling, smelting, and primary manufacturing. Mineral processing is actually the most important segment of the Utah manufacturing industry in terms of employment, wages and salaries, and utilization of power, fuels, and transportation. In 1964 the combined payroll of primary metals manufacturing, fabricated metals, and the products of petroleum, coal, stone, clay, and glass exceeded $130 million, half of which represented primary metals. In addition, over 60 per cent of the railroad tonnage for that year was the product of the state’s mines.\(^{36}\)

These figures suggest that mining contributes a significant multiplying effect to the economy. In 1955 it was estimated that for every dollar paid in wages in the non-ferrous mining industry, another dollar was paid

\(^{31}\) Mineral and Water Resources, 41.

\(^{32}\) Nelson and Harline, Utah’s Changing Economic Patterns, 105.


\(^{34}\) Wayne K. Hinton, “Economic Structure of the Mountain West, 1960.” Mr. Hinton, a Ph.D. candidate in history at Brigham Young University, prepared this paper in a graduate seminar in the summer of 1967 in order to add an analysis of the 1970 census to the figures presented in Arrington, Changing Economic Structure.

\(^{35}\) See Arrington, Changing Economic Structure, 10, for a discussion of what constitutes a basic industry in the eyes of regional economists.

\(^{36}\) Nelson and Harline, Utah’s Changing Economic Patterns, 64, 70.
by the mines, mills, and smelters for goods and services. These included expenditures for coal, electricity, explosives, timber, machinery, equipment, and various chemicals used in milling. In addition the extensive use made of railroads added still more to the economy.\textsuperscript{37}

Another way of expressing the relationship of mining to the economy is in terms of the gross value added by manufacturing. In 1958 it was determined that the value added in primary metals manufacturing was $141 million, in manufacturing of coal and petroleum products about $23 million, and in manufacture of stone, clay, and glass products $33 million. These values alone equal 45 per cent of the total $412 million value of all manufacturing in the state.\textsuperscript{38} In the same year some 38,855 people were employed in manufacturing.\textsuperscript{39} If we assume that 45 percent were employed directly or indirectly as a result of Utah's mineral production and add this to the total employed in mining, we find that some 13 per cent of the total non-agricultural employment was related to

\textsuperscript{37}Nelson, \textit{Utah's Economic Patterns}, 85.  
\textsuperscript{38}Mineral and Water Resources, 12-14.  
\textsuperscript{39}1969 Statistical Abstract, 67.
mining. The multiplying effect would continue, of course, in proportion to the demands for goods and services created by manufacturing.

This multiplying effect has not been constant throughout the century, and Utah’s manufacturing industry has grown most significantly only during and after World War II. Between 1939 and 1956 the per cent of the state’s population employed in manufacturing jumped from 2.5 to 4.6, and the value added to the economy by manufacturing rose from $87 million to $271 million. World War II provided the main stimulus and by 1955 the primary metals industry was the single most important manufacturer, furnishing 31 per cent of the state’s manufacturing employment. Since that time employment in primary metals has declined by almost 30 per cent, due to automation, but the payroll has increased by approximately 10 per cent and the average wage by approximately 40 per cent.

One of the most interesting and exhaustive efforts yet made to determine the relationship between Utah’s various economic sectors was an input-output analysis by Iver E. Bradley done under the auspices of the Bureau of Economic and Business Research at the University of Utah in 1963. This ambitious project received financial aid from the federal government. This is the only far-reaching study of this sort available, but it reveals some interesting facts about the mining industry in the year 1963.

Bradley first constructed a basic input-output table for 1963 in which he showed the dollar flow for goods and services between various sectors of the economy. The gross output of the state for that year was over $12 billion, and mining provided a relatively low 4.5 per cent of that figure. Other significant figures show that mining purchased 6.8 per cent of the gross output of railroads and 8.1 per cent of the gross output of electric, gas, and sanitary services. Mining paid 6.5 per cent of the total amount paid by industry to state and local governments, and provided 4.15 per cent of the total payments for wages, profits, employee benefits, etc. Relatively speaking, these percentages do not seem very large and suggest less overall dependence upon mining than probably existed earlier in the twentieth century.

Bradley, "Utah Interindustry Study," U.E.B.R., Vol. 27. The following facts are based on this report.
In another table Bradley analyzed the per-dollar distribution of purchases for each sector of the economy. With regard to metal mining, he found that for every one dollar of output, 31 cents went to "households": that is for wages, benefits, profits, etc. In coal mining 49 cents went to households, and other non-metal mining provided 41 cents. Only 11.5 cents went into households from petroleum and natural gas. Within the industry, then, most mining activity contributes a high portion of its gross output to its own employees and investors while the petroleum industry contributes a relatively low portion. Capital consumption, imported goods, and taxes all drew more heavily upon this industry than did households.

Bradley's most interesting figures were his "income multipliers." These represented a recognition that direct payments to households increased consumer income and created a chain reaction in the economy. Two types of "multipliers" were calculated. Type II was the most significant for it took into consideration direct payments, indirect payments, and so-called "induced payments" stemming from indirect payments and creating another round of spending. Here the relatively low input of mining to the total economy of the state is well illustrated. Of the 39 sectors in the economy, metal mining ranked twentieth in its multi-

Oil operations in the Colorado and San Juan rivers area. Photograph gift of the Utah Petroleum Council.
plier effect, non-metal mining twenty-second, petroleum and natural gas ranked twenty-fifth, and coal mining ranked twenty-sixth. This is especially significant in the case of coal mining, for this industry ranked eighth in terms of direct income payments to households (that is, percentage of output which went into income), yet only twenty-sixth in its multiplier effect. By comparison the economic sectors with the highest multiplier effects were retail food, livestock, general contractors, wholesale non-durable goods, dairy and poultry, amusement and recreation, food manufacturing, nonprofit organizations, automobile dealers and service stations, and primary metals manufacturing.

**Miscellaneous Considerations**

There are many other factors connected with mining which may in some small way affect our understanding of its total impact on the economy of the state. Tourism, for example, is one of the growing industries of Utah as well as the rest of the Western States. While the direct effect of mining on tourism is probably too small to be considered, it is nevertheless of interest to note that Kennecott Copper attracts tens of thousands of tourists annually to view its fantastic hole in the ground at Bingham. An indirect influence is the fact that two famous old mining towns, Park City and Alta, have been revived as tourist centers. Their mining history is part of their aura and thus part of their attraction, especially in Park City. In addition hundreds of ghost town enthusiasts, history buffs, and others annually visit such historically exciting places as Mercur, Frisco, and the Tintic Mining District. While they may spend only $10.00 a day for gas, this could symbolically represent a tiny multiplier effect even of mining activities long since abandoned.

**The Future**

What, then, is the future of mining in Utah? There seems little question that production and processing of the primary metals will remain at a high level, and that Utah will continue to produce a significant portion of the national output. New uses for coal and coal products promises a possible upswing in that industry, and there is little doubt that petroleum products will continue to increase in value. New mining developments are likely to occur as the vast oil shale deposits in eastern Utah are exploited, although it may be some time before this becomes commer-

---

cially feasible. Beryllium promises to come into its own soon, as do magnesium and lithium which are scheduled to be produced from the brines of the Great Salt Lake and the wells in Grand County.\textsuperscript{44} It was estimated in 1964 that total per capita demand for minerals would increase significantly so that by the year 2000 the demand for finished steel would have increased 200 per cent, lead by 180, zinc by 250, and copper by 275. Although the uranium boom of the 1950’s had been phased out by the 1960’s, peaceful uses were expected to keep this industry active.\textsuperscript{45}

All this presents a most hopeful prospect for the future stability and viability of the mining industry, but it does not reflect the other factors that show its probable impact on the total economy of the state. It has been estimated by the Bureau of Economic and Business Research that actual employment as well as the ratio of employment in mining will continue to decline, reaching 10,100, or 1.8 per cent of the state total in 1985, and remaining the lowest of the ten major industrial groupings.\textsuperscript{46} Manufacturing is also expected to decline. Obviously the multiplier effect of mining will not increase but, probably, will decrease slightly over the years. In general it can be said that mining will continue to be a basic industry in that it will provide an important tax base, jobs, manufacturing possibilities, and many needed fuel and building products, as well as demands for goods and services which will have the effect of supporting many other sectors of the economy. But the citizens of the Treasure House of the Nation will not find their state as economically dependent upon mining as it may have been in the past.

\textsuperscript{44} Nelson and Harline, \textit{Utah's Changing Economic Patterns}, 18–19; \textit{Salt Lake Tribune}, August 9, 1969.
\textsuperscript{45} Nelson and Harline, \textit{Utah's Changing Economic Patterns}, 88.
\textsuperscript{46} Lawrence Nabers, Jewell J. Rasmussen, and John W. Lord, \textit{Employment, Population, Income and Automobiles in Salt Lake, Ogden, Provo Metropolitan Areas and State of Utah} (Salt Lake City, 1966), 17, 33.
George Q. Cannon,
Utah's Delegate to
Congress.

Elias Smith,
probate judge from
1852 to 1882.

Fairness in the
Salt Lake County Probate Court

BY JAY E. POWELL

The stormy debate occasioned by the unusual jurisdiction of Utah’s probate courts¹ was not primarily prompted by a concern for justice and fairness. Simply stated, the basic issue was power politics — both Mor-

Mr. Powell received his B.A. from the University of Utah in 1968. He is presently a VISTA Volunteer working in Wisconsin and plans to attend law school upon completion of his VISTA commitment.

¹ For a concise summary of the dispute, see James B. Allen, “The Unusual Jurisdiction of County Probate Courts in the Territory of Utah,” Utah Historical Quarterly, 36 (Spring, 1968), 133–42.
mons and representatives of the federal government claiming the right and the power to control the courts of first instance in the territory. The Mormons had seized the initiative, taking advantage of a loosely-worded provision in the territorial Organic Act to pass legislation granting general civil and criminal jurisdiction to the probate courts. In effect the Mormon-controlled probate courts were thereby given original jurisdiction concurrent with the territorial district courts, which were presided over by federally appointed judges. This action, though hardly conventional, was quite within the authority the Organic Act granted the territorial legislature. While unusual, the expanded probate jurisdiction was not unique. On occasion Congress granted similar powers to probate courts in other territories. Further, since Congress had to approve all legislation passed by territorial legislatures, the action of the Utah Legislature in delegating judicial powers received Congress’ official, if perfunctory, blessing.

The issue of probate jurisdiction may never have amounted to anything had it not been for two essential conditions. One was the cohesive and authoritarian nature of Mormon religious, social, and political structures. The other was the presence of certain federal judges who chafed at seeing legal business they normally would have handled going to the probate courts. It was relatively simple for these judges to depict the jurisdictional dispute as a secessionist threat by the Mormon “empire.” Only as a minor variation on this secessionist theme did fairness become involved. Once the major premise was granted, it was easy to imply that in the courts of Brigham’s autocratic kingdom justice for outsiders did not exist.

So it was that the crusading judges, raising the ghost of secessionism and making it appear alive and strong in Utah — and given a boost by the publicity generated by polygamy — succeeded in stirring Congress from its customary lethargy toward territorial affairs. Once aroused, Congress would not be denied. When the probate court question came up for congressional consideration in the form of the Poland Bill in 1874, the vote was overwhelmingly against the extended jurisdiction. Utah Delegate George Q. Cannon vainly sought to build dikes of reassurance to stem the congressional tide, but his rational tools were inadequate to the task of containing what had become an emotional issue. The issue of power was in this instance, as in the Civil War, resolved in favor of the federal government.

One of Cannon’s ineffective “dikes” was an attempt to prove statistically that the probate court in Salt Lake County was fair. Of eighty-
four suits pitting Mormons (Utah's "insiders") against non-Mormons (the "outsiders"), juries decided fifty-nine in favor of the non-Mormons.²

Quite apart from the obvious fact that Cannon really did not prove fairness with his figures is the question whether it is possible for court records to speak to the issue of fairness. Certainly a case-by-case determination of fairness is virtually impossible, since there is only the barest outline of cases in the court dockets. It may be possible, however, to draw some valid conclusions by expanding and refining the statistical approach which Delegate Cannon used. The assumption underlying a statistical analysis is that consistency indicates a basic fairness in court operations.

For this article the docket of the Salt Lake County Probate Court, beginning at its organization in 1852 and extending through mid-1855, was chosen to test the possibility of statistically-determined fairness.³ In using a statistical approach it is first necessary to establish a standard to use in testing the court under specific conditions. The total performance of the court was chosen as this standard. Of 225 non-divorce civil suits filed, 128, or 57 per cent, resulted in decisions by the court. The remainder were withdrawn or otherwise discontinued before the rendering of a decision, usually before commencement of trial proceedings. The cases decided by the court yield the key statistic: the plaintiff-defendant decision ratio. The Salt Lake court awarded 89 per cent of its decisions to plaintiffs and 11 per cent to defendants.⁴ These percentages will serve as the standard of fairness and will be compared to the percentages observed under special conditions. For the purpose of compiling these figures, a judgment of any size awarded the plaintiff was considered a decision in his favor, while only a suit dismissed by the court was considered a decision for the defendant.

First among possible biases is that against non-Mormons and non-residents. In larger terms this is the "insider-outsider" problem mentioned earlier. All non-divorce civil suits may be classified as follows:⁵

---
²Ibid., 142.
³For a more thorough statistical analysis of the operations of this court, see Jay E. Powell, "An Analysis of the Nature of the Salt Lake County Probate Court's Role in Aggravating Anti-Mormon Sentiment, 1852-1855" (honors essay, University of Utah, 1968).
⁴By way of comparison, James Willard Hurst, The Growth of American Law (Boston, 1950), 172-73, notes that of cases filed in New Haven County, Connecticut, 1919-32, forty per cent were terminated by some kind of court action. Of these eighty-three per cent were decided in favor of the plaintiff. Hurst stresses (p. 176) the non-existence of reliable statistics for judicial activities before the year 1920; and, indeed, this writer has found none. The figures quoted are thus the earliest available statistics capable of comparison with those from the Salt Lake court.
⁵Insiders were identified by comparing the list of litigants obtained from the docket against "Crossing the Plains," Microfilm #38335, parts 10, 11, and 12 (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City; original card file in L.D.S. Church Historian's Library, Salt Lake City).
It will be noted that a clear majority of civil suits were between outsiders — usually emigrants on their way to the coast. Relatively few cases set insiders and outsiders against each other. Of those which did and were carried through a court decision, the results were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases Decided</th>
<th>Insider v. Outsider</th>
<th>Outsider v. Insider</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Noms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Decision for Plaintiff</td>
<td>15 (88%)</td>
<td>16 (84%)</td>
<td>31 (86%)</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision for Defendant</td>
<td>2 (12%)</td>
<td>3 (16%)</td>
<td>5 (14%)</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision for Insider</td>
<td>15 (88%)</td>
<td>3 (16%)</td>
<td>18 (50%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision for Outsider</td>
<td>2 (12%)</td>
<td>16 (84%)</td>
<td>18 (50%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The decision rate for plaintiffs and defendants is relatively stable and compares favorably with the norm. It is obvious that, for winning a suit, being a plaintiff was much more important than being an insider. It is easily seen that the insider-outsider decision ratio — which is the statistic quoted by Delegate Cannon in Congress — is meaningless by itself. It could fluctuate dramatically depending upon the relative number in each category who were plaintiffs or defendants, without reflecting any change in the basic fairness of the court.

The figures for criminal actions are equally informative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases Filed</th>
<th>(minus) Confessions</th>
<th>Decisions by Court</th>
<th>Nature of Decision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Insider Defendant</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outsider Defendant</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference between the insider and outsider conviction-acquittal ratios may indicate that outsiders were arrested and indicted on less substantial evidence than were insiders. If so, the court refused to play along. On the other hand the difference may show that Saints were thought more culpable for waywardness than were uninstructed Gentiles. In any event it seems clear that the court was inclined to be sympathetic with
outsiders and was not especially interested in humiliating or fining those who appeared before it as criminal defendants.

Since litigation was officially discouraged by the church, one might suspect that repetitious litigants would suffer at the hands of the court. But here, too, the figures fail to support the suspicion. Some 39 repeating litigants were involved in 107 suits. However, of these 23 participated in only two suits apiece and ten in three each. The greatest number of suits for one person was seven, but only one litigant reached that total. Of 61 total decisions, repeaters won 26 and lost 35.

By eliminating duplications (24) caused when two or more repeaters were involved in the same suit; by focusing on the plaintiff-defendant decision rate instead of the repeater win-lose rate; and by eliminating from consideration “first” suits (28) in which neither party yet qualified as a repeater, the following figures result. They are remarkably similar to the court norms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suits Filed</th>
<th>Decisions Rendered</th>
<th>Decision for Plaintiff</th>
<th>Decision for Defendant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30 (88%)</td>
<td>4 (12%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Norms) | | | 30 (89%) | 4 (11%) |

Because of the few cases involved, other areas of possible prejudice require an anecdotal, rather than statistical, approach. Prominent church leaders, for example, rarely appeared before the court. Brigham Young filed two suits — one in the amount of $150.00 and the other for $1,409. Both suits were withdrawn before trial upon payment of the demanded sums. Wilford Woodruff also filed two suits, one of which was settled before trial. He won the other by default.

It is interesting that Orrin Porter Rockwell and William A. Hickman, both known for preferring to settle grievances by more direct methods, appeared before the court as plaintiffs. Rockwell sued to collect a $15.00 debt and was given full judgment by the court. Hickman was a civil plaintiff twice and a criminal defendant once. His first time in court he filed a $2,500 suit against three co-defendants — all of whom fit the category of “repetitious litigant.” The case was withdrawn from the court by agreement of the parties and submitted to arbitrators upon their posting $5,000 bond to guarantee compliance with the arbitrators’ decision. Their decision was to award Hickman a niggardly $70.00. In his

6 Salt Lake County, Probate Court, “Docket A-1, June 25, 1852-Sep. 1, 1860” (Salt Lake County Clerk’s Office), 152, 276.
7 Ibid., 188, 255.
8 Ibid., 37.
second appearance he was named defendant in a complaint for "assault with intent to commit personal injury." But the case was taken from the probate court by a writ of habeas corpus issued by District Judge Leonidas Shaver. Whatever the disposition of that case, Hickman was back in the probate court two weeks later filing another civil suit, which was discontinued for some unspecified reason.¹

Church agencies sometimes had resort to the judicial process. The Tithing Office filed one suit for $57.67, which it won by default. A horse owned by the defendant was attached by the court and sold to satisfy the judgment.¹⁰ The Perpetual Emigrating Fund filed ten suits, which, according to Hosea Stout who acted as attorney for the P. E. F., were occasioned by debtors intending to leave the territory without settling up.¹¹ However, these ten suits produced but one court decision, which was in favor of the P. E. F. The nine remaining suits were either withdrawn upon pretrial settlement or discontinued upon discovery that the defendants had no property to attach and, presumably, were destitute.

Suits filed by merchants to collect overdue accounts were invariably successful, in spite of the fact that the majority of these merchants were outside concerns and were characterized by church leaders as profiteers seeking to drain the territory of its liquid capital. Since the merchants undoubtedly possessed the required legal documentation of their customers’ indebtedness, the cases were pretty much of the open-and-shut

—Ibid., 122, 235, 240.
—Ibid., 191.
variety. It should not, however, be assumed that the court was necessarily reluctant in awarding these judgments, since it has been suggested that the Mormon faith being against all commercial transactions and social relations with Gentiles, "if the brethren would disobey counsel and get into trouble," they enjoyed the discomfiture of the litigant brother, and as they thought he deserved to lose, they made it so.\(^{12}\)

It does not appear from the above evidence that the Salt Lake County Probate Court was unfair during its first years of operation. This is not, of course, the same as proving that the court was a pillar of impartiality. If anything has been established by our foray into the risky world of statistics, it is that in a number of areas highly vulnerable to bias the court apparently did not vary from its customary standard of justice. If bias was at work it was at least not the clumsy, unimaginative amateur who would have risked being surprised raiding the statistical cookie jar. The question of the existence of a more sophisticated bias in the Salt Lake court, as the question of the fairness of the probate court system as a whole, remains unanswered.

\(^{12}\) "Journal History" (L.D.S. Church Historian's Library), September 17, 1877 (quoted from the New York Herald).

---

1870

The women of Utah were enfranchised. The Liberal Party was organized in Salt Lake City, and commenced its warfare against the "Mormons." The annual muster of the Utah militia was forbidden by Gov. Schaffer. Judge James B. McKean commenced his inglorious career in the Territory. Dr. Taggart, assessor of internal revenue, made a despicable attempt to compel the Church to pay an enormous tax on tithing, but failed in his scheme.

(Andrew Jenson, comp., Church Chronology. A Record of Important Events Pertaining to the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints [Salt Lake City, 1914], 82.)
The Gentile women of Utah, united since 1871 in opposition to Mormon plural marriage, girded for definite action in 1878 when two

Mr. Larson, past contributor to the Utah Historical Quarterly, is professor of history at Brigham Young University, Provo.
hundred of them organized the Anti-Polygamy Society. Two years later the Anti-Polygamy Standard sounded their battle cry as an echo of the Civil War death chant to the other "relic of barbarism." The organization labored to keep the plural wife issue alive in the United States and undoubtedly influenced anti-polygamy sentiment in the nation's capital. However, it was not until Mrs. Angie F. Newman, evangelistic Methodist from Lincoln, Nebraska, came to Salt Lake City in the summer of 1880 that the ladies focused attention more directly on aid to the Mormon polygamous wives who were expected soon to rebel against their masters or be cast off in the process of anti-polygamy law enforcement.

With this in mind, Mrs. Newman proposed to establish a house of refuge toward which she collected funds from the local Methodist congregation and won a promise of $3,000 from the Women's Home Missionary Society. However, the movement slowed during her temporary absence from Utah Territory, and in the meantime Congress passed the Edmunds Law in 1882 to put teeth into the earlier Anti-Bigamy Law of 1862. With its definition of polygamous living as unlawful cohabitation, and subjecting offenders to six months imprisonment and/or a fine of $300.00 the new law promised early breakup of the Mormon polygamy system.

When Mrs. Newman returned to Utah in November of 1883 she was ready to resume the battle to rehabilitate her Mormon sisters. In December she succeeded in collecting $6,500 for the project at a convention of the Women's Home Missionary Society held in Cincinnati. She was also encouraged by a nod of approval from wives of several Methodist bishops and especially from America's First Lady, Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes. However, upon facing the problem close at hand in Utah, she realized that her efforts would be very limited unless she could win federal support. Such support could best be won through linking her project with the government effort to abolish polygamy. To this end she moved from a sectarian to a non-denominational approach and gained the support of the Anti-Polygamy Society which included the Gentile civic and religious leaders of the territory. This united "Christian but undenominational" body now proceeded, with the support of Governor Eli H. Murray and other federal officials, to organize "The Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah."

1 Phrase adopted in the political platform of the newly organized Republican party in 1856 — "It is both the right and imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism — polygamy and slavery." Kirk H. Porter, National Party Platforms (New York, 1924), 24.
2 Salt Lake Tribune, December 2, 1883, as quoted in Robert J. Dwyer, The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict (1862-1890) (Washington, D.C., 1941). Dwyer has a good summary of the Industrial Home movement in Chapter VII.
The incorporation was effected on March 15, 1886, and organized with

... a board of thirteen directors or trustees, and a president, eight vice presidents, a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary and a treasurer. ... the following-named persons shall be officers of this corporation: George A. Lowe, George S. Ellis, Hector M. Scott, James M. Darling, Ira E. Lyons, Henry W. Lawrence, Rebecca L. Shelton, Clara Huse, Emma C. Miller, Martha A. Locke, Margaret D. Zane, and Martha M. Campbell, each and all of Salt Lake City, Utah, and Jeanette H. Ferry of Park City, Utah shall be President, Emma L. Carroll, Hettie M. Critchlow, Emma L. Miller, Cora Huse, Rebecca L. Shelton, Margaret D. Zane and Martha M. Campbell, each and all of Salt Lake City, Utah, and Angie F. Newman of Lincoln, Nebraska shall be vice presidents and Martha A. Locke of Salt Lake City, Utah, shall be corresponding secretary, and Anna Baker of Salt Lake City, Utah shall be recording secretary.

Article VI outlined the "objects, pursuits, and business of the corporation" in very general terms without direct reference to the Mormon institution of polygamy. The "corporation" was to

... form, build, equip, provide for, maintain and regulate, in all necessary and proper ways, industrial homes, boarding houses, schools, hospitals, such places for instruction, aid, betterment and general benevolent and charitable purposes at Salt Lake City and other places in Utah Territory and elsewhere, and in which to promote and accomplish the fitting of persons for industrial and all other pursuits. Also to teach, instruct, discipline, educate and fit the active duties of life all classes of people without distinction, but more especially women and children.

In a meeting of the Board of Directors held on March 22, it was unanimously

Resolved that Mrs. Angie F. Newman of Lincoln, Nebraska, one of the vice presidents of this corporation be, and is hereby appointed and authorized to represent this corporation in Washington D.C. and at other Eastern places, as its aid and assistant in forwarding all matters pertaining to the business of the Corporation.

Among the matters listed was "to secure in all proper ways congressional action and assistance by way of appropriations."

---

3 The high standing of the officers and advocates of the Association was stressed in all approaches to government officials for financial support. See remarks of Honorable Isaac Struble on floor of the House, October 4, 1888, in U.S., Congressional Record, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1887–88, XIX, Part 10, 555.

4 There was speculation among the Mormons that the movement was initiated by the evangelical churches whose objective was to promote their missionary cause in Utah, and that the anti-polygamy feature was added to secure government appropriations. This view finds support in the extreme disappointment expressed by the Home sponsors over the eligibility limitations adopted with regard to prospective inmates. Said the Deseret News (Salt Lake City) of July 29, 1899, "This special anti-Mormon feature was not, it seems, originally contemplated and was added in the hope of making sure of additional and continued appropriations from Congress."

While polygamy was not mentioned specifically in the Articles of Incorporation, there was no mistaking the Association's assumed role in support of the government's "Judicial Crusade" against plural marriage. A dramatic rise in the number of convictions and imprisonments for unlawful cohabitation from three in 1884 to thirty-nine by the end of 1885, with forty-three cases awaiting trial, was not without related significance. That the number of arrests would continue upward to justify the Gentile women's rescue mission was fully expected by the Utah Commission and the federal judiciary. Four members of the Commission addressed the chairman of the House Appropriation Committee on March 12, 1886, in support of Mrs. Newman's assignment in Washington.

We believe that such a beneficence, supplemental to the enforcement of the laws for the suppression of polygamy in Utah will effectively aid in accomplishing the result sought through Congressional legislation. It may be reasonably hoped that this provision for the maintenance and industrial education of polygamous wives and children will induce the withdrawal of many who are now held through fear of the distress and suffering that would inevitably result to them from such separation. We desire, therefore, to second the appeal of the Association in this behalf.7

Mrs. Newman, who was already in Washington when authorized on March 22 to represent the Industrial Home, was armed not only with credentials from the officers of the organization itself, but with a number of letters written to congressmen in her support by members of the ministry and from Governor James Davies of Nebraska.8 She lost no time in making contacts to get her petition for support of the Home before Congress. Senator Henry W. Blair of Missouri introduced it in the Senate on April 29 where it was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.9 When it was introduced in the House on June 14 it was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.10

Mrs. Newman was pleased to attend a hearing May 7 before the Committee on Education and Labor on the "proposed establishment of a school under the direction of the Industrial Christian Home Association

---

8 A presidentially appointed committee of five members to administer the election machinery in Utah.
9 Territorial Papers, No. 60, Polygamy File (National Archives, Washington, D.C.). Judge Charles S. Zane, Attorney W. H. Dickson, and U.S. Marshal E. A. Ireland wrote similarly: "There are many women now members of polygamous families who would renounce their present relations if they had any place of shelter or any means of support assured for themselves and their children. There are many more who have renounced polygamy and Mormonism together, and who have nothing but their hands to ward off starvation . . . ."
9 These letters are preserved among Territorial Papers, No. 60, Polygamy File, P. & M. (NA).
11 Ibid., 5642.
of Utah, to provide means of self support for the dependent classes of that territory, and to aid in the suppression of polygamy therein." The hearing was based on a memorial from the officers of the Association and presented to the Committee by their zealous agent. Following a statement of the proposed activities of the organization — which were presented under the heading of training in domestic industries, mechanical industries, and temporary shelter for homeless women and children — the memorial concluded with a defense and justification of their application.

The demand for such an institution is found (1) in the anomolous social condition of Utah Territory under Mormon regime. (2) . . . it is hopeless to expect a Mormon legislature to appropriate funds to meet a condition of things which the Mormon leaders declare does not exist or to establish an institution which shall contribute toward the disintegration of the Mormon Church . . . .

The question of self-support is basal to the solution of the problem of the disruption of polygamous households.

It is a well known fact that there are many who would voluntarily abandon polygamous relations if facilities for self-support were provided.

Furthermore it is futile to legislate against existing relations and make no provision for the terrible exigencies which arise in the execution of the law . . . .

Therefore it is with confidence in that justice which is the apotheosis of mercy that we . . . ask of your honorable body the appropriation of $100,000 to the Industrial Christian Home Association for the construction and equipment of such an institution as herein specified.11

Since the women of Mormondom were apparently unaware of the "evils" set forth as facts by the crusaders, their denial came promptly.

To the Honorable Committee of the Senate on Education and Labor:

Gentlemen:

. . . One of the principle reasons why she [Mrs. Newman] makes this application appears to be the benefits proposed to be offered to Mormon women by this institution, inasmuch as it would provide "avenues of escape from polygamy and its attendant evils to young Mormon females who would otherwise be held in bondage to that system." As we are the representatives of the Mormon women, we do, in their name, most emphatically protest against any such pretext being used for obtaining a share of the public funds. No Mormon woman, old or young, is compelled to marry at all; still less to enter into polygamy . . . . Mormon girls have homes as happy, as pure and as desirable as any of their Eastern sisters, and are far more independent. If they choose to be self-sustaining there are abundant opportunities for so doing . . . . The same freedom exists for any who desire to leave the Mormon Church . . . .

The letter, which was signed “on behalf of the Mormon women of Utah,” concluded with a protest against Mrs. Newman seeking public alms for the benefit of Mormon women against whom she was “industriously circulating malignant falsehoods.” The letter then added

We must positively assert that there is not a Mormon wife, whether plural or otherwise, who would accept charity at the hands of those who have procured, and are still demanding passage of laws whose enforcement has brought sorrow and desolation into our once happy homes.\(^2\)

The Gentile voice, predicting that the proposed house of refuge would be flooded by waiting applicants, drowned out the Mormon protest in Congress and on June 11, 1886, the Deseret News commented, under the heading “A Huge Gentile Anti-Mormon Sham,” “Here is a proposition before Congress to give a little knot of schemers in Utah $100,000 to establish a home for ‘escaped’ polygamous wives. It will not be surprising if it is given to the plotters to spend as they please.” The first Session of the Forty-Ninth Congress did respond favorably on Augustt 4, 1886, by appropriating $40,000 to aid

in the establishment of an Industrial Home in the Territory of Utah, to provide employment and means of self-support for the dependent women who renounce polygamy, and the children of such women of tender age, in said Territory, with a view to aid in the suppression of polygamy therein.

The money appropriated was to be under the management of a Board of Control to consist of the governor, justices of the Supreme Court, and the district attorney.\(^3\)

When Congress created the Board of Control to manage expenditures of the fund, the officers of the Industrial Home felt their success in winning an appropriation had been partially negated. Mrs. Newman complained bitterly in a letter to President Grover Cleveland on November 13, that the officers and the Board of Directors of the Association were unable to advance a single step because of the interpretation of the law by Governor West. She complained because the governor, uncertain as to the actual needs claimed by the crusaders, had instituted a survey of his own, the results of which differed from the radical claims which had won the appropriation. Mrs. Newman further stated that

\(^2\) The letter was signed by Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells, Ellen B. Ferguson, Emily S. Richards, and Josephine M. West. Territorial Papers, R.G. 48, Polygamy File, May 12, 1886 (NA). Mrs. Newman, in a letter of May 20 addressed to Honorable William W. Blair, chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, took issue with the claims of the Mormon women, citing several controversial reports on the evils of polygamous living.

\(^3\) Territorial Papers, No. 60, Polygamy File (NA); also U.S., Statutes at Large, XXIV, Chap. 902, p. 292.
The report of the Senate Committee determines to whom the appropriation is made. It expressly states "under the direction of the Industrial Christian Home Association." ... President Cleveland, this enterprise is women's work for her suffering sex. It was projected by a Society of which Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes is the President. To have the enterprise entirely withdrawn from those who originated it—and won the victory, is certainly not just.

The Board of Control, reluctantly headed by Governor West, responded to its assignment and "early in November 1886 leased for one year, with privilege of two, at a monthly rental of $45.00, a property in an excellent and desirable neighborhood." The lot contained a large two-story brick house with an additional three-room cottage in the rear. Both were suitably furnished for the care and comfort of anticipated occupants. Upon recommendation of officers of the Association, Dr. Ruth W. Wood of Kansas City was employed and placed in charge. Finally announcement was made "to all those thought to be in sympathy with the project... its readiness for the reception of all legal applicants."

The first report of the Board of Control to the President on November 25, 1887, announced the opening of the Home on November 27, 1886, that it has received within its walls to the present time, of the class prescribed by law, twenty-seven as follows: from December 1886 through February 1887—twelve persons—3 women and 9 children; in the second quarter, six—two women and four children; in the third quarter, eight—four women and four children—also one child born in the "House."

The report included a separate return by Mrs. Jeanette Ferry, president of the Association, and made two major recommendations—to liberalize the legal requirements for admission to the Home and that some other agency than the Board of Control should be selected as disbursing agent of the funds. The board supported this suggestion by recommending that...
the Executive Committee of the Association be constituted a board for the purpose.  

The annual report for 1888 showed a decrease in the number of refugees accepted in the Home which included nineteen, of whom five were women and twelve children. Nevertheless, the Association purchased a lot on Fifth East between First and Second South streets and commenced building operations. After available finances were exhausted, an appeal to Washington brought further congressional legislation on October 19, including an appropriation to erect or complete...a building adapted and designed to carry out the purposes of this Act and which when entirely completed...shall not in cost exceed the sum of fifty thousand dollars...and a further sum is hereby appropriated to complete the work above mentioned not exceeding the sum of twenty-four thousand dollars.

In response to Mrs. Ferry’s recommendations, controlling admissions to the Home were liberalized to include first legal wives, women and girls with polygamous surroundings in danger of being coerced into polygamy, girls of polygamous parentage anxious to escape from polygamous influences, and women and girls who have been proselyted elsewhere and removed to the territory in ignorance of the existence there of polygamy. The building was placed in the “custody of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah Territory to be used and occupied by it for the purpose of aiding in the suppression of polygamy.” Finally in a transfer of authority “the said Utah Commission shall hereafter act as the board of control over said Association, both in the erection of said building and in the conduct of the work of the Association hereafter.”

The Industrial Home was not only opposed to the Mormons as an affront to their community but it also became a political issue with Republicans supporting and Democrats opposing it. Governor West was reluctant to accept the reports upon which the promoters based their claim for congressional appropriations. He made an independent survey of the Mormon polygamous community and when his findings failed to

---

18 Territorial Papers, No. 77, P. & M. (NA).
19 There being a question as to how many of the applicants admitted to the Home were actually polygamy refugees to justify further congressional appropriations, Isaac Struble listed ten women up to October 6, 1888, who could qualify as related to the polygamy problem. U.S., Congressional Record, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1887-88, XIX, Part 10, 555-64.
20 Ibid. Isaac Struble, in support of the appropriation, gave us reasons for the currently low number of occupants in the Home as the present unsatisfactory rented housing and opposition from the Mormons. One public letter which he quoted referred to the Home as “conceived in falsehood, born of prejudice, being reared and fondled by their bitterest enemies and the devil’s benediction rests upon it.”
21 Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, U.S., Statutes at Large, XXV, Chap. 1210, p. 584.
22 Ibid.
The Utah Commission, who assumed control of the Industrial Christian Home in 1888 until 1893 when the Home was abandoned. The Commission offices, along with other territorial offices, were in the building until 1896 when Utah was granted statehood. From left to right are A. S. Paddock, A. L. Thomas, Alex Ramsey, G. L. Godfrey, A. B. Carlton, and J. R. Pettigrew.

support their sweeping charges, he was accused of political motivation. Delegate Caine addressed sympathetic Democrats in Congress when he emphasized the disappointing response of the intended beneficiaries to the enticements of the Home, and, referring to the small numbers, said “and this number was secured by systematic and persistent canvass of almost every settlement in the Territory.” The Republican Salt Lake Tribune gave Caine credit for influencing the Democrats in Congress against the project by his assurances that such a Home was not desirable. “But,” the newspaper suggested, “it adds a straw to the cumulative evidence that there is a good deal going on of which statehood could be the outcome.”

24 Salt Lake Tribune, October 4, 1888.
The Tribune then continued as unrealistically as the most enthusiastic supporters of the Home to claim “could the idea on which it was originated be carried out, it would from the first week overflow with inmates. There are thousands of wives and destitute polygamous children who would gratefully accept a retreat of that kind.” It concluded that the only explanation for Democratic opposition was some kind of alliance with the Utah Democratic majority.

The Utah Commission assumed actual control of the building on November 15, 1888. The former Board of Control headed by the territorial governor had already taken title to the property on Fifth East in the name of the “Industrial Christian Home Association” which title was promptly conveyed to the United States. It had then contracted for the erection of a brick and stone building to be “used for the purposes intended by the promoters of the scheme and contemplated by the Acts of Congress.” The new Board of Control finding the walls of the main building completed and the roof on, gave its approval of the plans and construction. The Home when completed in June 1889, included, in addition to an office and several service areas, forty sleeping rooms which could be increased to fifty if required. The structure was three-stories high with a basement and two wings, north and south, of equal height “which add very much to the symmetry of the building and the beauty of the architecture.” Street cars passing close by made the Home readily accessible to the center of the city. About the first of June the removal was made from the rented building to the new Home where the inmates “were comfortably installed and most pleasantly situated.”

However, the new building, together with an annual $4,000 maintenance appropriation, failed to attract the expected number of occupants which dropped to nine in August of 1889. Of these six were women and three men. The December 19 report of the Commission reflected doubt as to the success of the project and the next year, August 22, 1890, it complained “Thus far but few of these classes have availed themselves of the munificence of the Government by accepting the home thus generously offered them.” When the number of inmates remained about twenty for 1892, the Commission, in October, admitted failure of the project.

It is a conceded fact that this institution has not been as successful as was hoped for by its friends in inducing a larger number of those for whom it was intended or those who were expected to accept the benefits. The question has been raised several times as to whether it would not be better to discontinue this charitable institution and work and allow the building to be turned over to the Government to be used for other purposes.

The polygamy issue having been ostensibly closed with the issuance of the Manifesto in September of 1890 by Wilford Woodruff, president of the Mormon church, the Utah territorial legislature stirred the wrath of the Executive Committee of the Home by petitioning Congress to turn the building over to the use of the Salt Lake City public schools. The Gentile ladies, including Mrs. Ferry, president; Mrs. Allen, secretary; and Mrs. Newman reacted vigorously on March 15, 1892,

We protest against the giving of $60,000 worth of property, the moneyed value of the Home to those who never wanted the home in their midst. Congress appropriated this money for a Government institution; we ask that it so remain ... we ask that the home be continued the coming year, for its original purpose and in accordance with the law establishing the home.

So it remained for another year operating on the final $4,000 congressional appropriation made August 5, 1892. On April 12 the Grand Army of the Republic headquarters Department of Utah petitioned for occupation of the building. In spite of strenuous efforts by Mrs. Newman in Washington to secure operating funds, no more were forthcoming. On May 22 the Utah Commission advised the Secretary of the Treasury that the Industrial Home would cease operations on June 15, 1893, and applied for permission to occupy it as an office building. It added that there was ample room for the other federal officials in Utah as well. On June 1, the Treasury Department wired permission. Subsequently on June 15, Henry W. Lawrence, chairman of the Executive Board of the Industrial Home sounded the Home’s death knell. Addressing the Utah Commission, he wrote, “I am instructed by the Board of Directors to turn over and deliver to you as the ‘Board of Control’ the ‘Industrial Home Building’ and grounds in this City with the furniture and fittings therein.”

---

28 Territorial Papers, No. 81, P. & M., Polygamy (NA).
29 U.S., Statutes at Large, XXVII, p. 385.
30 Territorial Papers, No. 85, Polygamy Home (NA).
31 Ibid., No. 89, Polygamy File (NA).
32 Ibid.
and contents to the Utah Commission and moved out of the Home on July 1, 1893. On the same day the president of the Salt Lake Board of Education petitioned the Secretary of the Treasury in Washington for use of the building for a high school in the city.

The Commission moved into the Home in July, followed soon thereafter by the governor of the territory, the adjutant general, secretary, and U.S. mining inspector. Certain alterations were permitted inside the building to accommodate the office requirements of the officials and the following year provision was made for gas heating. The 1894–95 session of the Utah territorial legislature convened in the Home.

In the meantime the Enabling Act to allow Utah statehood was passed by Congress July 16, 1894. On May 6, 1895, a state constitution was adopted in convention and ratified by public vote on November 5, together with election of state officers. The Utah Commission dispatched its chairman, J. R. Letcher, to Washington on December 14, to deliver to the President the new state constitution in anticipation of his proclamation of Utah’s admission to the Union. The emissary was also to confer with the Secretary of the Interior in relation to “closing up the business of this Commission and as to the disposition of the records and the government property in custody of the Board.” Chairman Letcher addressed the Secretary of the Interior recommending that an application from Governor-elect Heber M. Wells, for permission to locate state offices temporarily in the Home, be granted. Secretary Hoke Smith replied on January 7, 1896, granting permission for such use of the Home “free of rent for 90 days after which some rental agreement would be made.” Congress passed a joint resolution on January 4 directing the territorial governor and secretary to turn their offices over to the new state officials, including “all furniture and fixtures of their respective offices and all property of like character belonging to the United States including that held by the board known as the Utah Commission.”

Governor Heber M. Wells and Secretary J. T. Hammond moved into the Home and, on April 1, 1896, signed receipts for official records

33 Ownership of the property rested with the Treasury Department, but the Secretary refused management of it.
34 Territorial Papers, R.G. 48, Office of Secretary, P. & M. File (NA).
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid., 87.
38 U.S., Statutes at Large, XXIX, p. 461.
and furniture which were turned over to them by the "late" Utah Commission. The state legislature, meeting in January, appointed a committee to make necessary housing arrangements for the rest of the state officers, but without satisfactory results. On January 12, 1897, the governor reported that the Board of Examiners had entered into a four-year contract with Salt Lake County by which all the present state officers were provided with quarters in the City and County Building.39

With neither the state officers nor all the remaining federal officials choosing to locate in the Industrial Home, in July 1899 the government announced that the Home would be sold at auction. On September 7 a special report to the Deseret News from Washington disclosed that "bids were opened by the supervising architect of the Treasury today for the sale of the building and ground of the Industrial Christian Home in Salt Lake City."40 The highest bid was $22,500 offered by Charles B. Litcomb. Passing into private hands, the controversial structure became a family hotel known to Salt Lakers as the Ambassador located at 145 South Fifth East. In 1945 it was purchased by the Ambassador Athletic Club by which it is operated for its members.

39 Utah State, Message of Governor Heber M. Wells to the Second Session of the State Legislature of Utah ([Salt Lake City, 1897]), 4–5.
40 Deseret Evening News (Salt Lake City), September 7, 1899.

THE INDUSTRIAL HOME

There should be a change in the affairs of the so-called Industrial Home. At present it is but a roaring farce, a county poor house. The objects for which the appropriation was secured have been in no particular achieved. . . . The present programme should be stopped. We do not believe that any course of reasoning will justify the present position of the thing. . . . The present institution should be closed until the law can be made more explicit, or if that cannot be, then the money should be returned to the Treasury. Congress certainly never intended under the title of that bill to have opened an alms house, pure and simple, in Utah.

(Salt Lake Daily Tribune, October 13, 1887.)
Diggings and Doings in Park City. By Raye Carleson Price. Introduction by Lowell Thomas. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970. 103 pp. $3.95)

Raye Carleson Price's Diggings and Doings in Park City is the third history of that community to be published in recognition of the centennial in 1969 of silver mining in that area. The book is not a comprehensive history, but a charmingly light-hearted potpourri of the past and present of a colorful town. The mixture begins with an Introduction by Lowell Thomas and continues in three sections: the first combines Mrs. Price's written text with a wealth of photographs, old and new; the second is Harry Harpster's superb "Photographic Portrait" of contemporary Park City; and the third is a delightful collection of recipes representative of Park City's varied nationalities and ranging from Cornish pastries to homemade soap. The whole combines to recreate, with warmth and skill, the boom town atmosphere which makes clear that what happened at Virginia City happened also in Utah.

What truly distinguishes this book is its photographs, which are lavish in number and excellent in quality. Credit for the old-time examples is too sketchily given, but they are a remarkable collection. The jewel of the volume is Harry Harpster's "Photographic Portrait." Here, in peeling paint and gingerbread trim, in boots and ore buckets and bar stools, and in magnificent faces, are recorded without words the past and present of a community and its people. It is a pity we are told nothing whatever about Harry Harpster himself.

Lowell Thomas, in his Introduction, identifies the book's greatest value when he says, "Here is a side of Utah's history that needed to be told, . . . the establishment of a non-Mormon island in a sea of Latter-day Saints . . .." Because the Mormon migration so dominates (and rightly) the history of this state, we too easily accept it as the entire history. Slowly, and especially over the last five years, I have come to appreciate the contribution of Utah's non-Mormon citizens, and I am delighted to see their histories published. It is important that we meet Park City's Cornishmen, Scots, Irishmen, Chinese, and Scandinavians—they are part of our historical heritage.

Utah hosted the Western Governors' Conference at Park City from June 7 to June 11. To set the proper tone for their visit among the Parkites, each governor and his lady found a copy of Mrs. Price's book in their room when they arrived.

Lucybeth C. Rampton
First Lady
State of Utah
A Navajo Saga. By Kay and Russ Bennett. (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1969. 239 pp. $6.95)

No more can it be said that all the histories of the American Indian are written by whites. The jacket of A Navajo Saga tells us that Kay Bennett is a Navajo married to a Missouri-born husband, who researched the activities of the non-Indians presented in the book, while Kay wrote of Navajo life.

This delightfully written story of the days preceding, during, and following the concentration-camp experience of 1864 to 1868 fills a long-felt need. It has been told by whites, both prejudiced against and in favor of the Navajos but, as far as this reviewer knows, always based upon the written records of government officials. The book now before us is based upon Kay Bennett's remembrance of tales often told her by her own family — the chief character in the book was her grandmother — and, it must be said, aided by her own imagination. It is a historical novel rather than a scientific history; for example she frequently tells us what people were thinking and mentions details which, while they add greatly to the enjoyment of reading, would hardly have been handed down by word of mouth. Of real value, too, is the Treaty of 1868, of which the author says "Twenty six headmen made their marks, whereby they agreed to the provisions of a treaty which had been explained to them but which they only partially understood" — an understatement which anyone with even a rudimentary acquaintance with the Navajo can well appreciate if he were to try to translate "degrees of longitude," not to mention the confusion in the minds of the soldiers who drew up the treaty on the subject of latitude and longitude! But these are trifling matters for us today. More important are such points as the Navajo agreeing never to "kill or scalp white men or attempt to harm them."

This point, as is perhaps not commonly known, was used by Navajos drafted in the second world war, since Germans are white men — and that is why so many of them were sent to Japan to kill yellow men! It may be a feeble defense of our government which has been accused of failing to provide schools adequate for the Navajo children, to recall that the provision to supply a school and teacher for every thirty Navajo children was "to continue for not less than ten years," i.e., to 1878. So much for treaty. Justice is something else again.

This reviewer may be pardoned for riding two of his hobbies: (1) that serious books in the English language should be in English, and (2) that an expert in one field of knowledge should not try to deal dogmatically with material in other fields.

A sixth grade pupil would be rebuked, I think, for confusing the verb "to lie" and "to lay." It comes as a shock to read "everyone laid down and slept" (p. 15). But a more severe shock comes when one reads in the Preface: "In its present form the Christian belief is in a Holy Trinity, three manifestations of God as a creating spirit, a preserving spirit called Christ, and a destroying spirit called the Holy Ghost" (p. ix), and a little later "Virgin Mary might be considered as another manifestation of God, the Preserver."

It should hardly be necessary to say that "in its present form" Christian belief is what it was at the beginning and as the fourth century Council of Constantinople expressed it in what is now known as the Nicene Creed: "We believe ... in the Holy Ghost, Lord [i.e., God] and Life-Giver." No destroyer He! This reviewer has been a student of Christian doctrine for more than sixty years and has yet to find a trace of any Christian body which considers the Holy Ghost as a destroying spirit, or any
which regards the Virgin Mary as a manifestation of God.

While perhaps not great art, the illustrations are attractive line drawings and show a knowledge of Navajo dress in the period in which the narrative is laid. Tourists today think of the velveteen, long-sleeved blouse, and the full, ankle-length skirt as typical traditional Navajo dress. But actually this dress was unknown until captivity at Fort Sumner, when the real traditional woven beel of the Navajo women wore out, and was replaced by "modern American" garments of the period — later ornamented by the Navajo women with silver and bead decorations. It is the old beel which Kay portrays.

A book worth having and reading.

H. BAXTER LIEBLER
Missionary to the Navajo
Monument Valley, Utah


Dr. Cooley, former director of the Utah State Historical Society, has organized a remarkable amount of pertinent information in this small volume. Chapters on the land, original inhabitants, explorers and first settlers, settlement and expansion, and after statehood are followed by some suggested field trips and a selected Bibliography. A five-page Introduction by Clifford Lord encourages research in local history and suggests some basic research attitudes and practices.

Dr. Cooley's many years of study in Utah history combined with his concise writing style have enabled him to produce an excellent students' guide to the state. He conveys a sympathetic understanding of Utah's history, especially the unique aspects, without sacrificing his objectivity. For example, in discussing the causes of the Utah War, he says: "While exaggerated in both degree and kind, the rumors had much basis of fact. The courts established by Congress were secondary to those created by the Utahns to administer their kind of justice. Politics did not operate along national party lines. There were no Whigs, Democrats, or (later) Republicans. One slate of officers was chosen usually by the church leaders, and these were 'sustained' at the polls. Opposition candidates were discouraged, and party government was nonexistent. Schools, although partially supported by local taxes, taught Mormon doctrine and were completely Mormon oriented. The Indians, considered special charges by the Mormons because of the teachings of the Book of Mormon, were unduly influenced against other white men. An army of perhaps 5,000 Utah militiamen stood ready to respond to the call of their military leaders who were also their civil and ecclesiastical leaders. And, of course, polygamy was widely practiced.

"But although these conditions existed, they were enlarged and distorted by the disgruntled appointees in Utah who found themselves resisted and resented at every turn. The Utahns, 99 per cent Mormons, wanted men of their own choosing to administer their justice and preside over them. The long list of abuses at the hands of non-Mormons in Missouri and in Illinois prompted the Mormons to move to their isolated refuge in Utah and to create a state where they would be the majority. In this, their desires were thwarted by the creation of territorial government rather than statehood. And so at every opportunity, the Utahns applied to Congress for statehood. On six different occasions they called a convention and drafted a constitution only to have it rejected in Washington. It is no wonder mutual ill-will existed between the Utahns and those sent to govern them."
Thus, in two short paragraphs he summarizes the problems and attitudes that characterize much of the territorial history.

Since over half of the volume is devoted to Utah's history before the Mormon settlement, one may wonder at the author's emphasis. Certainly a review of the geography of the area together with a description of the early Indian inhabitants, is important, as are the explorations of the region by Spanish priests, British and American fur trappers, and others; but it appears that the pre-Mormon period is allotted more space than is warranted in so small a volume.

An interesting reversal of the famous "This is the Place" statement attributed to Brigham Young is made when the author writes:

"The Mormons, after locating camp in the center of present Salt Lake City, began flooding the parched soil and plowing. When their leader Brigham Young entered the valley on July 24, several acres of corn, potatoes, and beans were already sown. By their action, the pioneers had assured Brigham Young that 'This was the Place' where their home would be."

The author has followed the standard approach to the colonization of Utah when he maintains that "There never was a more orderly and carefully conceived plan of development for such a large area as that of the Mormon experiment in Utah and the surrounding areas." Then follows the usual list of outer-cordon colonies including Salmon River, San Bernardino, Carson Valley, and Moab. Recent studies indicate that all of these colonies were mistakes or failures and that the plans were not quite as orderly or carefully conceived as has been supposed.

There is a minor error in attributing Stephen A. Douglas's quote concerning "cancerous growths on the body politic" to the Republican party platform, but the essence is correct.

None of these criticisms should be interpreted as detracting materially from the value of the booklet. It is an excellent survey of Utah's history and attractions and should be widely distributed.

EUGENE E. CAMPBELL
Professor of History
Brigham Young University


This is the story of a wild, fast-talking, loudmouthed braggart and compulsive liar who posed as a bad man, but like all big mouths was not as dangerous as he appeared to be. His big mouth got him into all kinds of trouble, but he apparently never killed a man.

This book is actually a history of the sheepmen's and cattlemen's war in Cassia County, Idaho, in the 1890's when sheep began to take over the grazing ranges of the West. Diamondfield Jack Davis applied for a job on the immense cattle ranch of John Sparks and was hired to keep the sheepmen from crossing a designated line into cattle country. He did frighten off some sheepmen, wounding one in an argument, but so far as the record shows never killed anyone.

Eventually two sheepmen were killed in Cassia County and because of his bragging Diamondfield Jack and his partner were accused of the killings and arrested and confined in the Cassia County jail. From here on the book tells the story of what should have been called The Story of Pioneer Injustice. Jack had been promised protection by his employer, John Sparks, and to his credit, Sparks went all the way to protect him. Two famous lawyers were hired. One was Orlando W. Powers, the most celebrated lawyer in Salt Lake City, and James H. Hawley, who later
became quite prominent in Idaho politics. The prosecution contained such names as William E. Borah, then a young lawyer who later made a great name for himself in the United States Senate. The case of Diamondfield Jack Davis versus the State of Idaho was in the courts for the next six years. Twice Davis missed being hung by the margin of a few hours, but was saved by many appeals, even to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Davis was convicted of murder purely by circumstantial evidence. But his case took several very unusual twists which are difficult to understand in these days. First, his partner was acquitted and set free, although he was just as guilty as Davis. Second, two other men eventually confessed to the murders, but were acquitted. Jack Davis, in spite of the confessions of the real killers, was kept in jail and resentenced to death from time to time for another three years, which is the real puzzler in this story of legal injustice. He was finally pardoned by the Idaho Pardons Board, on which the governor was chairman.

Oddly enough, Jack Davis went to Nevada after his release, located many rich mining claims and became wealthy, associated with the big capitalists of Nevada (of which John Sparks was then governor), and was written up in various magazines, including the Saturday Evening Post. But hard luck finally caught up with him and he died broke in 1949.

This is an interesting story of the sheep and cattle war in Idaho. Its principal fault is that the author has used too much unimportant detail, which makes reading somewhat tedious. But he certainly has done a very complete job of research, which will be of value to researchers.

CHARLES KELLY
Author
Salt Lake City, Utah


The Fifes of Logan, Utah, know more cowboy songs, and more about them, than anyone living. They now have more than fifty volumes in their private library of materials transcribed from rare publications, as well as copies of virtually all the major manuscript collections of western songlore, plus texts from 78-rpm records. They have sound recordings from oral sources. They know folklore bibliography inside-out, and they understand the western character thoroughly from years of residence and field work. In 1966 they drew on these materials to prepare a specialists' annotated facsimile edition of Thorp’s pioneering 1908 volume Songs of the Cowboys. Now, from the same publisher, comes their selection for a general audience of songs representing, as they put it, the “ethnic” music of Western Anglo-America.

Considering that the Fifes selected 128 songs from thousands of choices, and were limited by the intended audience of this book to one paragraph of commentary per song, they have done a remarkable job. Although the volume does not contain the “200 songs” promised on the dust jacket, it corrals an ample 181 texts. Fifty-three are variants, seemingly redundant, but an invaluable bonus for scholars, and one that few trade publishers will provide. Cowboy songs of about 1870 to 1930 are emphasized, but a much wider range of western song is included under such headings as “Frontier Realism,” “Love Across Cultures,” and “Swing Your Partner.” In any such selection a reader may miss his favorites; my own are the Northwest classic “Acres of Clams” and Carl T. Sprague’s 1929 recording “The
Mormon Cowboy." I could have done without "Ragtime Cowboy Joe" for one of them.

The criteria for selection were traditionality and authenticity, not some sophisticated standard of completeness or folksiness. The Fifes do not merely reprint other sing-along collections or patch up fragments with borrowed verses and "improved" language. They print songs as they find them, and when they borrow something — say a melody from one source to fit a text from another — they explain. The majority are oral texts, but the roster of published sources sounds like a folksy reading list: Hobo News Folio, Thomas County [Kansas] Cat, Put's Golden Songster, The Family Guide Songster, Orejana Bull for Cowboys Only, and scores of others. One lapse in the selection principles, it seems to me, is the use about twenty times of "oral" sources that are really professional folklorists. That their songs were frontier favorites in the variants presented is doubtful, but that is the implication.

There are many riches in this collection, and only a few nuggets may be displayed in a review. As the Fifes say of one group, the songs are "as numerous and varied as the folks at a Mormon family reunion," and it may be added, as sentimental, reminiscent, and occasionally tough-minded too. We find straight ethnographic data:

"We started in to raise our flock
Our chickens were the Plymouth Rock,
Our cattle were the Jersey fine,
And Poland China were our swine."

We find the mythic lure and ultimate reality of western life:

"But when I left my eastern home, a bachelor so gay,
To try to win my way to wealth and fame,
I little thought that I'd come down to burning twisted hay,

In my little old sod shanty on the claim."

We find irony:

"Before you try cow-punching, kiss your wife,
Take a heavy insurance on your life,
Then cut your throat with a barlow knife,—
For it's easier done that way."

We find social protest:

"I went to the boss to draw my roll
He figgered me out nine dollars in the hole.
So I'll sell my outfit as fast as I can,
And I won't punch cattle for no damn man."

And we find pathos:

"I'm going to leave old Texas now,
They've got no use for the longhorn cow,
They've plowed and fenced my cattle range,
The people there are all so strange."

The Fifes display a marvelous sensitivity towards these "primitive" poems in their comments. They have no patience with "interpretive hanky-panky" or "schmaltzy velvet-lined phrases" (pp. x-xi) in singing style, but they are tuned in to the texts' lyrical and philosophical qualities. They remark cogently on such concepts as "pragmatic Christian materialism" (p. 331) or "Neoplatonic meditation" (p. 326) or even "a kernel of existential truth" (p. 241). In one expansive flight, they suggest that "Stereotyped western images and rhythms, like old lace or a Bach fugue, are interwoven to produce pulsating effects like the beating of the heart or the alternation of night and day" (p. 231). They balance academic language with regional similes like "as popular on the frontier as whiskey or whiskers" and metaphors like "a heap of doggerel you have to plow through." The combined effect is a style that is both refreshing and thought-provoking.
On the whole this book represents enlightened popularizing, but the scholarly reader will have a few regrets, mainly that he is denied more of the Fifes' knowledge for the sake of generous margins and attractive book production and illustrations. Sources and informants are all named, but they remain names only in the abbreviated notes. Little comparative annotation is given. A few texts are clearly not songs but poems; i.e., "At a Cowboy Dance" and "A Cowboy's Prayer." Some texts grouped as variants of a single song (i.e., "Johnny Cake") really represent several distinct types that share commonplace phrases. A few comments about the wider folk circulation are more cryptic than useful; "fixed in Anglo-Scottish tradition long before the West was won," or "We have it in scores of texts" are examples. The general reader may wonder how nightingales got into a western folksong, what a "broadside" is, or what the "scatological overtones" are in johnny cake that is "baked brown." This also brings to mind the conspicuous absence of any bawdy or indecent songs, which of course formed a significant part of the western folk tradition but, understandably, are not to be expected in a book needing a G-rating.

In the Fifes' future western folk song studies the scholars will want more notes, facts, and analysis, but of the present work we must say, as Henry James did of Treasure Island, that it is "delightful, because it succeeded wonderfully in what it attempts."

Jan Harold Brunvand
Associate Professor of English
University of Utah


Pearl Baker is a brave woman for undertaking to write the biography of controversial Bert Loper. Failing to grasp the psychological undertones as presented by O. Dock Marston in the excellent Introduction, Mrs. Baker interprets her subject as a young person might regard the senior citizen living next door whom she understands through rumor, legend, and subjective recitations from the man she holds in awe. The book provides a homely and frequently candid account of Loper's inadequacies, fears, and social maladjustments.

Trail On The Water will be regarded as a depiction of river history by the buffs who lean closer to romance than to objectivity. Except for two entries from the journal of Don Harris, which pertain to Loper's death, the author interprets him from his own views and these usually are distorted. It is interesting to compare Chapter 2 with the Utah Historical Quarterly, Volume XXVIII (July, 1960), pages 300-2, which makes it easy to reject Loper's version of Russell's "betrayal."

More serious than the errors of fact are the errors of omission. This defect is difficult to reconcile since the author had access to Loper's diaries, and contemporaneous materials are available. Possibly Mrs. Baker would have contributed more to serious scholarship had she presented the Loper diaries in their entirety, along with editorial comment, thus allowing the riverman to speak through his own words.

After his failure of 1907, Loper carried a burden of personal doubt which caused him to reject society through a self-imposed exile. Thirty-two years later, bolstered by the presence of Don Harris, Loper resolved his guilt by running every rapid during a low-water traverse of Grand Canyon. For this triumphant phase of her subject's life, Mrs. Baker expends eleven words (p. 103).

Of the thirty-two illustrations in the book, over half are irrelevant to Bert
Loper’s career on the river, and there is not a single view shown which was taken by the man whose first extensive river trip was made for the purpose of a lecture tour illustrated by his own photographs.

Several thousand river travelers have examined the boat in which Loper took his last ride. It is drawn up on the talus and tied to a small tree in Marble Canyon. (See Utah Historical Quarterly, Volume 37 [Spring, 1969], pages 258-59.) This reviewer has heard river neophytes give valid criticism of the design and construction while finding it difficult to believe that such a craft had been visualized and built by a man with over forty years of experience on the Colorado River.

Mrs. Baker has a total of seven footnotes in her text. Regretably there is neither index nor bibliography. The format, type, and binding are adequate without being impressive in quality. The publisher has omitted the date of printing and there are typesetting errors on pages 30, 75, and 99. The maps by Robert Price do little to augment the text, and on Plate 3 he locates the Urn at Wahweap instead of at Warm Creek.

The book is readable and interesting if considered to be directed at the pulp reader rather than the student of history.

P. T. REILLY
Author
North Hollywood, California


Narrated by Helen Sekaquaptewa, a Hopi woman of “traditional” Oraibi parentage, and recorded by Louise Udall, this account makes a most readable and worthwhile book. It is candid and direct and moves with a convincing simplicity through the entire experience of Mrs. Sekaquaptewa and her family.

To all appearance Louise Udall has done a remarkable job of keeping herself out of the account. It is told in the first person of the Hopi woman with a fidelity that is deviated only rarely. The most notable instance of editorial elaboration is in connection with the 1906 division of Oraibi “friendlies” and “hostiles” that saw the latter group forced from the village because they refused to make modest accommodations to the white man’s way. Contemporary reports of white observers filed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs were studied by Mrs. Udall. Some use of this material is denoted by italicized text, others by quotation marks. In still other places the context seems to suggest that the Sekaquaptewa story was supplemented by information from these written versions. Although this constitutes no serious problem, footnotes identifying the use of outside material might have added to the clarity of the account.

The characters of Helen Sekaquaptewa and those near her come through strong and clear. Honesty and a courageous and practical effort to deal with the everyday challenges of life are patent. Avoiding any tendency to rebel and even with occasional resignation, the central figures seek adjustment with the various forces that surround them. With intelligence and not a little sacrifice they emerge into the white man’s world while holding fast much that is dear in the environment and tradition of their people.

It is a success story. The process of adaptation as visualized in the Bureau of Indian Affair’s policy of educating young Hopis bears fruit in the lives of the Sekaquaptewa family.

In addition to being a charming and delightful narrative, this work makes a serious contribution to the history of the Hopi people. In recent decades the genesis of Oraibi village has been the
object of numerous studies. Helen Sekaquaptewa’s eyewitness account brings an additional dimension to these. Laying quiet stress upon the relation social change bears to shifting physical environment, the work focuses several problems of the twentieth century Hopi experience. As an example may be cited changes in Hopi farming methods that have been explained in accepted studies as the result of natural forces. According to Mrs. Sekaquaptewa, erosion along Oraibi Wash arose from the failure of villagers to spread the water over the fields that lay in its course when the “friendlies-hostiles” conflict disrupted normal routine. Untended because of the expulsion of ceremonial leaders upon whom rested responsibility for rites initiating the irrigation process, Oraibi Wash’s water cut away the fields. Thus new modes of agriculture were required and the progressive deterioration of old Oraibi ensured.

*Me and Mine* is a happy addition to the historical literature of the American Indian and makes an important contribution to the history of the Southwest.

**Charles S. Peterson**  
Director  
*Utah State Historical Society*


In *My Life with History*, Professor Emeritus John D. Hicks is writing for two audiences: the circle of family members and close friends, whose interest is in the author as a person, and the larger circle of professional associates and students, whose concern is with the historian and his times. The two audiences are not entirely compatible and the two missions are not fully integrated, but both groups will find much in the book to inform, delight, even to inspire.

As a doctoral student of Professor Hicks at Berkeley and a visitor in the Hicks summer home at Dutch Flat, this reviewer stands in the zone of overlap of the two circles, and for him both the man and the teacher-author take on new dimensions in this relaxed and thoughtful memoir.

Most widely known for his two-volume text, *The Federal Union* and *The American Nation* (4th ed., 1963, 1964), its one-volume abridgement, *A History of American Democracy* (3rd ed., 1966), and his contribution to the New American Nation Series, *Republican Ascendancy, 1921-1933* (1960), the author is also remembered by every graduate student in American history in the last generation for his monograph, *The Populist Revolt* (1931). His teaching career took him to Hamline College, North Carolina College for Women, Nebraska University, Wisconsin University, and the University of California at Berkeley. In the last three institutions he held chairmanships, deanships, and other major administrative positions. The good will and good humor, the thoroughness, the unflappability, the moral conservatism, and the non-evangelical political liberalism which characterized his professional activities are reflected in *My Life with History*.

The thesis is stated in the Preface: “The United States was born in the country and has moved to the city.” . . . This wise aphorism not only summarizes the history of our nation; it is also the story of my life” (p. viii). The Hicks story begins in the Missouri homes of an often-moving Methodist minister, and as one shares the experiences of a young man “of WASPish background” through a flirtation with the ministry and a stint as a rural Wyoming schoolteacher, the Turnerian flavor of the later lectures on American social and frontier history becomes quite understandable. Acknowledging his bias, Professor Hicks notes, “The truth, perhaps, is that Turner was right for his time. It was nineteenth—
not twentieth century America that he was trying to explain" (p. 62).

One moving into history will find good advice on lecturing, writing, counseling students, and relating to fellow teachers and administrators scattered throughout the book. In connection with one of his deanships, Hicks observes that “professors are terrible infighters; they operate with no holds or weapons barred” (p. 149). His technique is characterized deprecatingly as keeping peace by holding as few meetings and changing as few regulations and procedures as possible. Yet one may fairly assume that more affirmative administrative and diplomatic gifts led to his becoming dean of the Graduate Division and chairman of the History Department at Berkeley, and then chairman of the key Committee of Seven that mediated between regents and faculty in the loyalty-oath controversy, 1949-50. The account of that crisis makes interesting reading in connection with today’s campus tumult, toward which, incidentally, Professor Hicks expresses little sympathy for most student militants. Frequent rotation in office is his key recommendation for university administration.

The reader who seeks social history and commentary will have to make his way through much that will seem to him trivial, even banal. To the Hicks grandchildren, by no means least among the audience to which the autobiography is directed, this may not seem the case.

“Never once,” writes Professor Hicks at the close of My Life with History, “have I regretted my choice of a profession” (p. 356). Few have practiced that vocation more successfully or communicated its joys and challenges to students more effectively.

Richard D. Poll
Professor of History
Brigham Young University


This is the finest book sent to this reviewer in a long time. The format is beautiful and there are more than two hundred photographs, many of them in color. Geographic features are always interesting, but they assume full meaning only in terms of people. Here is the complete story of one of the most interesting rivers of the West told in terms of the people who have been intimately tied up with it: Indians who lived along its banks and in its canyons, explorers who sought to conquer and use it, priests who tried to tame it, photographers who tried to capture its elusiveness on film, poets who were moved to creativity by the awesome splendor of its might in cutting through the crust of the earth, geologists who are presented with an open textbook on the formation of the earth, and modern tourists who stand in wonder at the gaping hole cut by the river. It is fitting that this book should be published in the anniversary year of Major John Wesley Powell’s descent of the river through the Grand Canyon, thus filling in the last blank on the map of the United States.

Canyon and environs for over four thousand years. This is followed by detailing the work of Spanish conquistadores and missionaries and by allowing those people to tell the story themselves. The Spanish are followed by the mountain men and finally by John Wesley Powell. "The Conquest" details problems faced by the U. S. in trying to harness the power and water of the Colorado for the benefit of the Southwest. "The Legacy" tries to detail the Grand Canyon as a national experience, a pride, and a heritage and an area that needs to be preserved as part of the national heritage.

The editor is to be congratulated on his choice of contributors and Wallace Stegner of Beyond the Hundredth Meridian fame has set the book in perspective in the Foreword. The book should stand beside Gregory Crampton's Standing Up Country on the bookshelf of every person interested in the Southwest.

Robert W. Delaney
Chairman, History Department
Fort Lewis College
Durango, Colorado


Ghost Towns of the American West is a popularized, entertaining, and easy-to-read account of the rise and fall of several rip-roaring far western mining towns. It is by no means a scholarly work (nor does it appear that the author intended it to be), but its appeal is to the western history buff who wants to relive the adventure and excitement of the frontier.

The book is filled with colorful descriptions and entertaining anecdotes that should stimulate the imagination of any ghost town tourist. A typical anecdote is the story of Peter Nichols of Columbia, California, who was convicted of murder and sentenced to death. At the same time, citizens of Columbia had obtained ten thousand signatures on a petition to transfer the state capital to their town. Nichols's enterprising lawyer somehow got hold of the petition, cut off the part about changing the capital, and substituted a petition asking that Nichols be spared. The governor was so impressed with the large support for Nichols that he signed the petition, thus canceling the death sentence. If the book was written primarily for entertainment, it comes off well.

For a person who wants to know the real history and significance of western ghost towns, however, the book leaves much to be desired. It is filled with misleading historical assumptions, such as the idea that all ghost towns were the result of the mining frontier. Further, there is no attempt to catalogue in any way the towns of the past, or even to suggest how many there were. Only one Utah town, for example, Silver Reef, is mentioned. The Bibliography is woefully lacking in depth, and does not even list the several popular, well-illustrated publications on western ghost towns by Florin Lambert, or the entertaining volume by Nell Murbarger, Ghost Towns of the Glory Trail, which far outshines Silverberg's book. Furthermore, the authenticity of his historical accounts are generally open to question when it is realized that the author relied mainly on popular writers of the day and on sensationalist newspaper accounts. Nearly all of the story of Virginia City, Nevada, for example, is taken from the writings of Mark Twain. This is not to say that the book does not have accurate material in it, for the author presents some good material on the wealth of certain mines, the rise of selected mining companies, and the excitement caused by initial strikes. The emphasis, however, is on the excitement, and the tendency is to build upon the legendary tradition of the mining camps. The
author concludes with a statement that will make almost any professional historian either throw the book down in disgust or chuckle with delight at having finished such a well-written piece of historical fiction. Wrote Silverberg: "We who have seen too many western movies and television plays sometimes tend to think that the legends of the Wild West were all invented by modern scriptwriters — but the ghost towns remain, and their battered ruins testify that all this did in fact happen, that the legends are true, that behind all the tall tales lies reality."

The appearance of another book on ghost towns raises some questions of historical interpretation far beyond the scope or intent of this book, but which should receive brief comment. The study of towns which have come and gone is significant for reasons other than the interest generated by a few colorful stories. These towns were part of the process of frontier building, and historians need to spend more time on problems such as the process of community building; how and why political organizations came into being; comparative studies on political structure and processes; the nature of social organization; the kind of everyday life enjoyed by residents of isolated communities; the relationship between these camps and the development of regional economy; the development of business organizations as related to or influenced by these boom towns; the social and economic results of the closing of a town. These and other interpretative questions are the real challenges that historians should take up in order to make the study of western ghost towns significant. It is not the fact that they are ghosts, but the fact that they were towns that is important. A fine start in this direction is Duane A. Smith's *Rocky Mountain Mining Camps* (Bloomington, 1967), but it is only a beginning and it is hoped that more scholars will take up a serious study of the urban frontier in the West.

**JAMES B. ALLEN**

Associate Professor of History
Brigham Young University

*Enough Rope: The inside story of the censure of Senator Joe McCarthy by his colleagues — the controversial hearings that signaled the end of a turbulent career and a fearsome era in American public life.* By ARTHUR V. WATKINS. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., and Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969. xii + 302 pp. $6.95)

Probably a more enigmatic demagogue than Senator Joe McCarthy has never graced the American political scene, nor has there been a more effective and vociferous individual willing to use and abuse people for whatever ends he sought. Much has been written about Senator Joe McCarthy and the impact he made in American politics during the Eisenhower years. Much of what has been written has been speculative, for McCarthy remained an enigma until his death. Those works written by former McCarthy staff members hardly qualify as objective.

The present book by one of the protagonists of the McCarthy drama is intended to be a primary source for "future political scientists" who wish to analyze this period of American history. It is, however, much more than a simple account of the work of the Senate Committee to Study Censure Charges (the Watkins Committee). It is personal testimony of a man's belief in fair play; it is a treatise on the legality and role of congressional investigating committees; it is an individual's personal observation of the personality of Joe McCarthy; it is a sober look at the inner workings of the most exclusive club in the world — the U. S. Senate; and, in humble retrospect, it is a postscript to the political career of a senator of whom
Time Magazine said: “A man little known in the past who should be long remembered in the future.” It is also a man’s failure to grasp the realities of the political game, for with an almost novice’s naïveté, Watkins expected those who lauded and praised him for his unselfish service and devotion to duty to give him long-term support. Instead, he was betrayed—a feeling he is justified in maintaining.

Watkins’s selection as a member of the Senate Committee to Study Censure Charges was made because he eschewed publicity and was almost never in the limelight, and he had excellent experience as a lawyer and judge. His role as chairman was inevitable, for he was the senior Republican senator among the three lawyers on the committee in a Republican-controlled Senate. His dedication to duty made him accept the post and helped him resign himself to the ordeal that was to follow. There was widespread belief that the committee would be ineffectual because Senator McCarthy had undeniable general support among highly vocal right-wing groups for his ostensible fight against communism. It was generally conceded that the “lion had been thrown into a den of lambs.”

Watkins, however, was determined not to let the committee proceedings degenerate into the fiasco of the Army-McCarthy hearings. He was zealous in conducting the hearings under the Senate floor rules (including the rules against smoking). The initial session under his tutelage let McCarthy and the world know that he was intent on discharging his responsibilities firmly. When McCarthy attempted to make a mockery and circus of the proceedings, as he had done before, Chairman Watkins pounded the gavel on the table, silencing the junior senator from Wisconsin in a manner without precedent. McCarthy was heard to utter “the most unheard of thing I ever heard of” as he left the room.

The author details the inner-workings of the committee and the reasons for dropping many of the charges against McCarthy. As members of the Select Committee, the senators represented not their respective constituencies, but the United States Senate, and they were determined not to undermine it or to lay precedent which could hamper future congressional investigations. The committee decided not to consider McCarthy’s open invitation to the two million federal employees to give him information on “graft, corruption, or treason” as justification for censure. They did not want to limit Congress’ own access to information. Other charges, such as McCarthy’s use of confidential and classified information, were likewise dropped. The Select Committee did recommend that Senator McCarthy be condemned for his contemptuous conduct towards the Gillette Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, which had attempted to investigate, in 1951–52, his role in the retirement of Senator Baldwin and the defeat of Senator Tydings’s bid for re-election. The Watkins Committee also recommended censure for his “inexcusable” and “reprehensible” behavior towards General Ralph Zwicker when he had appeared before McCarthy’s Committee.

Once the Watkins Committee made the report to the Senate, the ordeal of the debate began. It was during this time that Senator Watkins was subjected to exhaustive and abusive questioning by McCarthy, “grandstanding” to the reporters in the galleries. McCarthy’s technique was to read from the Record, newspaper clippings, and other sources under the guise of asking questions, but in reality trying to use up the last reserve of Watkins’s strength. This action moved Senator Wallace Bennett to amend the censure resolution to include McCarthy’s abuse of the chairman. In a tactical move to preserve support for the committee’s report, Watkins agreed to drop the cen-
sure charges for McCarthy's abuse of General Zwicker. When the final vote was taken, Senator Joe McCarthy was "condemned" on two counts: (1) his behavior towards the Gillette Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections; and (2) for his treatment of Chairman Watkins.

Once the Senate Censure Resolution was adopted, McCarthy's power and influence began to wane, ending with his death two years later. In retrospect, Watkins correctly concludes that "McCarthy got his comeuppance not for his abuse of individual witnesses or his fight against communism but for his contempt of the Senate."

In perhaps an ironic twist of fate, Watkins's service and dedication as chairman of the Select Senate Committee to Study Censure Charges was his undoing. No sooner had laurels and praise been showered on him, than dissident right-wing elements in his own state began to plan for his defeat in his bid for re-election in 1958. Former Utah Governor J. Bracken Lee, running as an Independent and supported by outside wealthy sources amenable to ultra-conservatism, headed the opposition. He drew enough votes away from Watkins to ensure his defeat in his campaign against Democrat Frank Moss, who, in turn, was being helped by the then Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (who had praised Watkins for a magnificent job as chairman of the committee to censure McCarthy). Watkins's loss in his bid for re-election brought down the final curtain on an interesting phase of American history.

Watkins has written an important book, detailing his role in the dramatic events of the McCarthy era. He has written it with humility and simplicity, painstakingly documenting the reasons for every move he made. This book has been long in coming, but once here it is a significant contribution.

RODOLFO MARTINEZ
Professor of Political Science
Eastern Kentucky University
Richmond, Kentucky

NEW BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS


Indian Depredations in Utah. Compiled and edited by PETER GOTTFREDSON. Revised by MERLIN G. CHRISTENSEN. (Salt Lake City: Merlin G. Christensen, 1969)


ARTICLES OF INTEREST


The Living Wilderness — 33, Autumn 1969: “Primitive Areas — A New Designation Under BLM [Vermillion Cliffs],” by Bob Whitaker, 12–14


The Pony Express — XXXVI, February 1970: “Rocky Mountain’s Top Historian [Charles Kelly],” 1; “He Won His Wife In a Poker Game,” by CHARLES KELLY, 3–5; “Sketch on Charles Kelly,” 5–6


Sunset, The Magazine of Western Living — 144, May 1970: “Topaz seekers are invited,” 38ff.; “Old opera house reborn . . . in Utah,” 52; “The birds have two great stopover places around Great Salt Lake [Bear River Refuge and Antelope Island],” 64–65; “Havasupai baskets . . . coming back,” 66; “Newspaper Rock . . . near Canyonlands,” 78; “Down, down to Havasu, The only way to get there is afoot or on horseback. And May is the glorious month to go,” 80–83


Western Gateways, Magazine of the Four Corner States — Ten, Number One: “Into this land — long on beauty and short on resources — A Little Piece of Heaven Fell [Seventh Day Adventist Hospital in Monument Valley],” by JACK ROOF, 54ff.


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

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

The different classes of membership are:

- **Student** ........................................... $ 3.00
- **Annual** ........................................... $ 5.00
- **Life** ............................................... $100.00

For those individuals and business firms who wish to support special projects of the Society, they may do so through making tax-exempt donations on the following membership basis:

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

Your interest and support are most welcome.