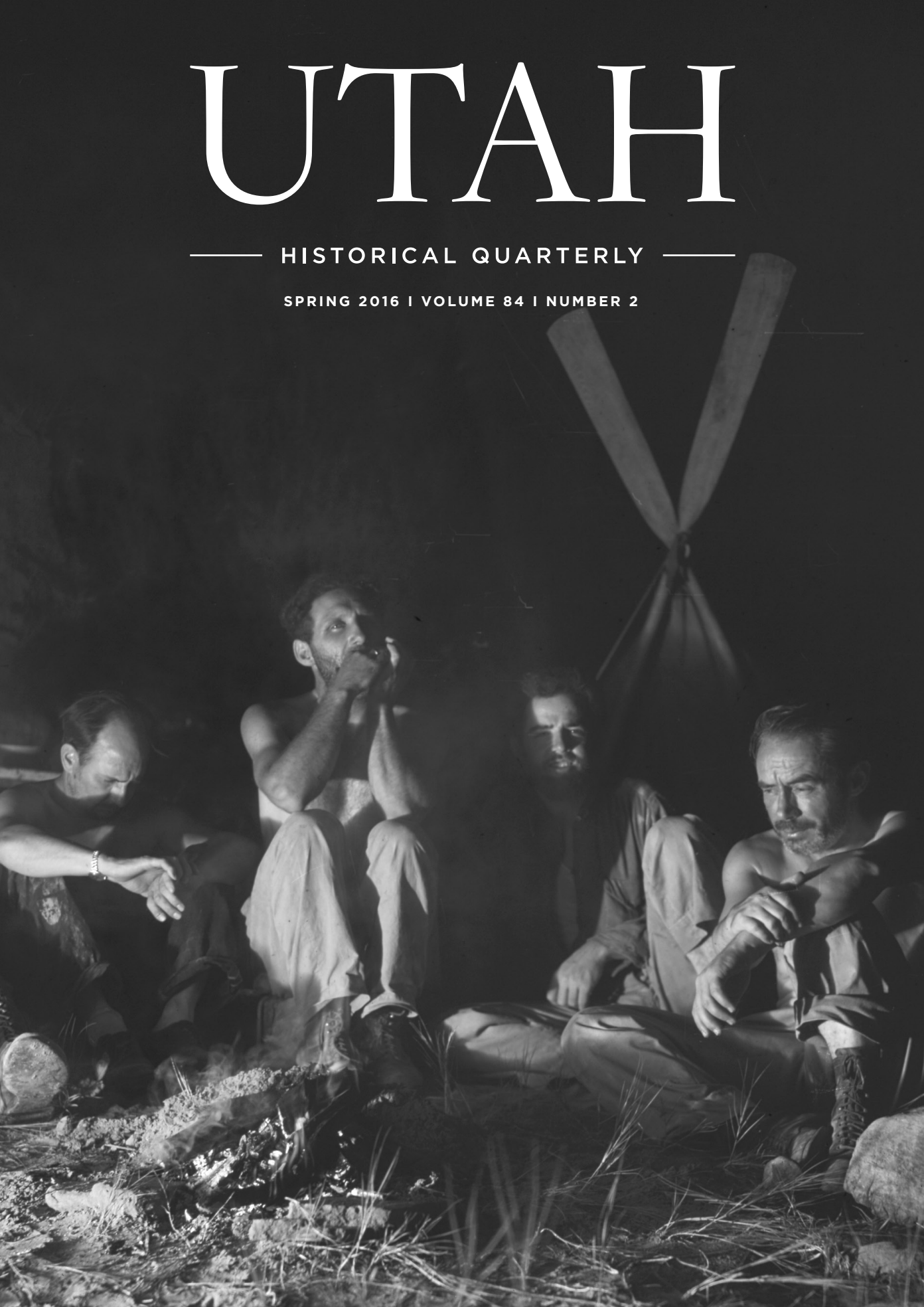
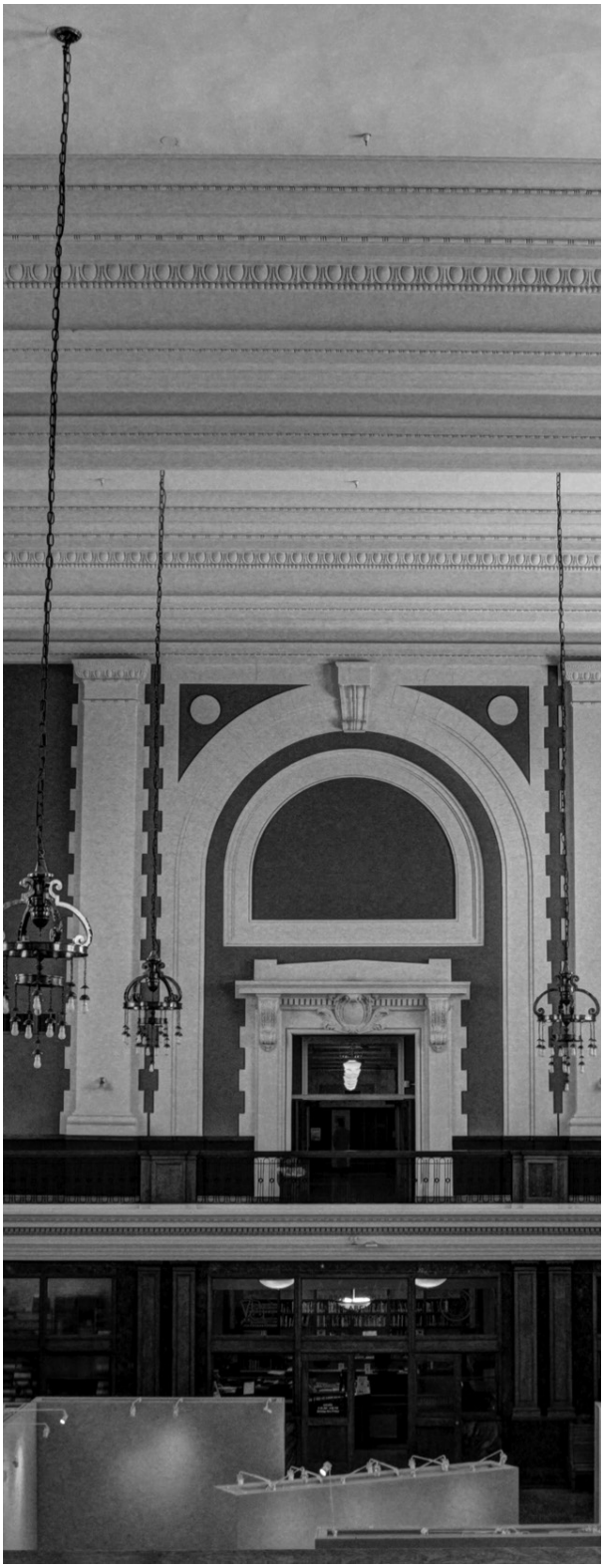
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The Rio Grande Depot, home of the Utah State Historical Society.

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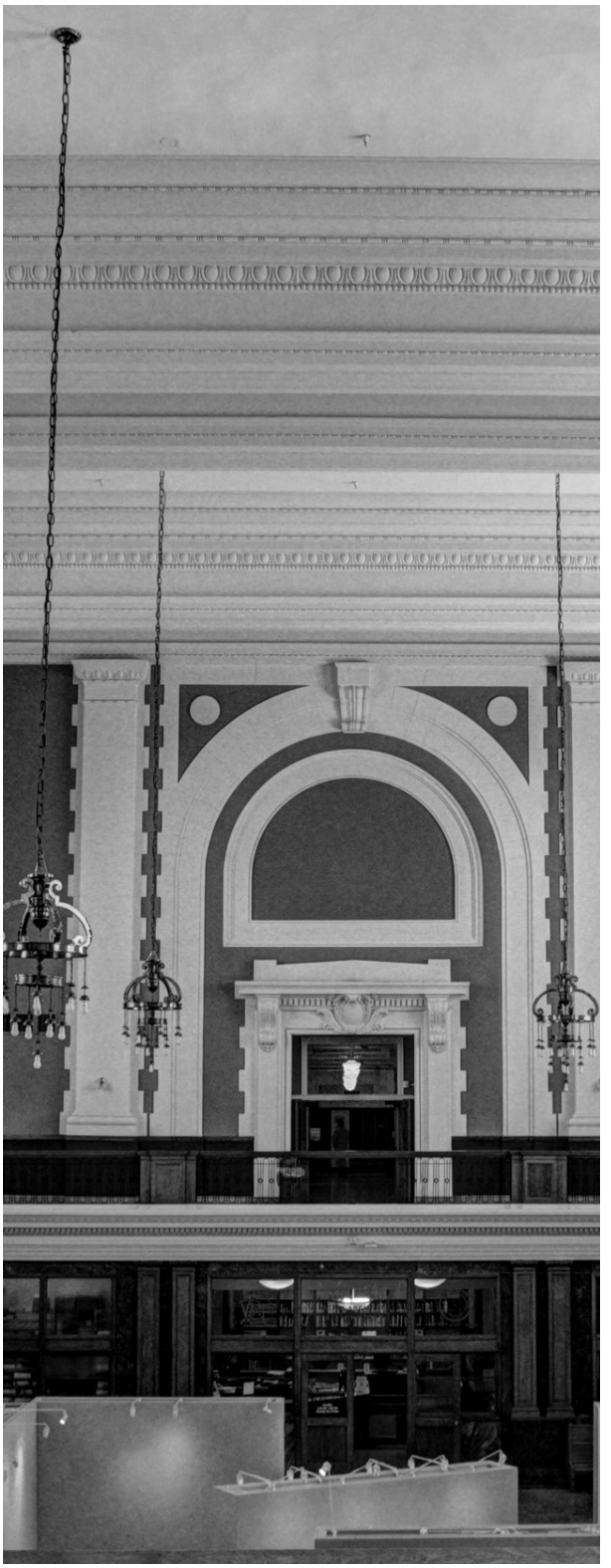
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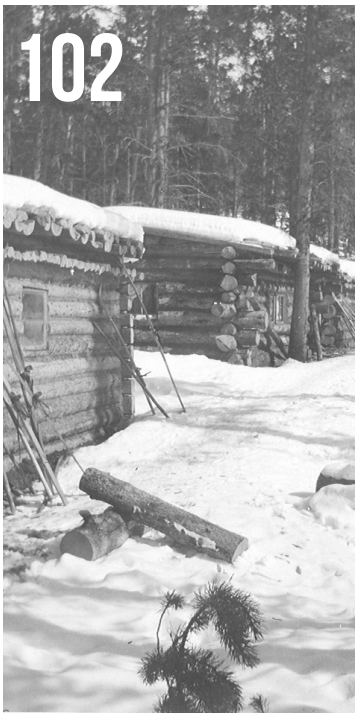
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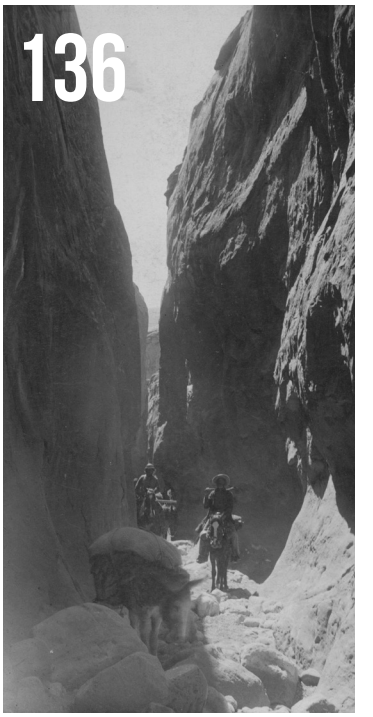
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CONTENTS

101 IN THIS ISSUE
180 BOOK REVIEWS
187 BOOK NOTICES
188 UTAH IN FOCUS

ARTICLES

102 "WOODEN BEDS FOR WOODEN HEADS": RAILROAD TIE CUTTING IN THE UINTA MOUNTAINS, 1867–1938
By Christopher W. Merritt

118 A MOST HORRIBLE CRIME: THE 1908 MURDER OF MARY STEVENS IN ORDERVILLE, UTAH
By Roger Blomquist

136 JAMES E. TALMAGE AND THE 1895 DESERET MUSEUM EXPEDITION TO SOUTHERN UTAH
By Craig S. Smith

152 TURNING "THE PICTURE A WHOLE LOT": THE CCC INVASION OF SOUTHEASTERN UTAH, 1933–1942
By Robert S. McPherson and Jesse Grover

172 BARN RAISING
By Emily Brooksby Wheeler

BOOK REVIEWS

180 **IMMIGRANTS IN THE FAR WEST:**
Historical Identities and Experiences
Jessie L. Embry and Brian Q. Cannon, eds. • *Reviewed by Timothy Dean Draper*

181 **SOUTH PASS:**
Gateway to a Continent
Will Bagley • *Reviewed by Patricia Ann Owens*

182 **AN 1860 ENGLISH–HOPI VOCABULARY WRITTEN IN THE DESERET ALPHABET**
Kenneth R. Beesley and Dirk Elzinga • *Reviewed by Robert S. McPherson*

183 **A FADED LEGACY:**
Amy Brown Lyman and Mormon Women's Activism, 1872–1959
Dave Hall • *Reviewed by Jennifer Rust*

185 **THE MAPMAKERS OF NEW ZION:**
A Cartographic History of Mormonism
Richard Francaviglia • *Reviewed by Paul F. Starrs*

BOOK NOTICES

187 **WAYS TO THE WEST:**
How Getting Out of Our Cars Is Reclaiming America's Frontier
Tim Sullivan

187 **MORMONISM AND AMERICAN POLITICS**
Randall Balmer and Jana Riess, eds.

IN THIS ISSUE

"The historian sets himself a dangerous, even an impossible, task," writes the historian Daniel J. Boorstin. Far removed from the event being examined, the historian must piece together stories using imperfect sources. Rather than uncover history, she creates it from little more than relics—fragments—of the past. The sources she uses may or may not represent a sample of the experiences people really had. If "survival [of sources] is chancy, whimsical and unpredictable," as Boorstin argues, assessing the provenance, representation, and significance of sources is that much more essential. The historian cannot perfectly succeed in telling history "as it really happened," as the nineteenth-century German historian Leopold Von Ranke suggested could be done. Yet by evaluating, scrutinizing, and questioning remaining evidence, she can hope to capture the essence of lives and experiences once lived.

The essays in this issue represent fine examples of current practitioners working with varied sources. Archaeological artifacts as historical sources, for instance, are rarely represented in the pages of *UHQ*. However, our lead article shows how artifacts have given us a more complete understanding of past logging operations in the Uinta Mountains. Decaying cabins, flumes, and crib structures remain as tangible reminders of this unique chapter in Utah and western history. These and many other artifacts reveal much about how tie cutters for the railroad industry worked, and they also give sometimes surprising insight into the social history of the men, women, and children who lived in logging camps. This article is also a reminder that sometimes local actions—in this case, the harvesting of trees in a forgotten corner of the state—served national purposes.

Through court proceedings, press coverage, and personal interviews, our second piece reconstructs a story that is both sensational and familiar—how, in 1908, a teenage boy from a respected family murdered a pregnant young woman with whom he was keeping company on the sly. This piece of intrigue occurred in what might seem the most unlikely place: Orderville, Utah, whose residents had lived communally in the 1870s and 1880s. Yet this case involved more than the relationship between two teenagers. A scaffolding of social expectations, history, and law surrounded the young people and played some part—however minimal—in Alvin Heaton Jr.'s decision to murder Mary Stevens.

Our third essay brings us to a little-known episode in the life of a familiar Utah and Mormon figure, James E. Talmage. Readers see a different side to the university president and theologian—a man obsessed with scouting geologic formations in the peaks and canyons of southern Utah and northern Arizona. If he did not have the precision or expertise of his contemporaries Clarence Dutton and Grove Karl Gilbert, who both authored geological monographs, Talmage had the determination to fulfill the expedition's objectives. This essay, based primarily on Talmage's record of his travels, is a fine example of narrative-driven history tuned to the finer details.

Newspaper accounts and especially oral histories reconstruct a different kind of encounter. The next article examines the cultural outcomes of a "peaceful invasion" of southeastern Utah by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Of course, that New Deal program brought economic and environmental changes to Utah, but its members—the "Cs"—also participated in a host of cultural exchanges with the people of San Juan and Grand counties. Young men from gritty eastern cities taught boxing, baseball, and the Lindy Hop to the people of Blanding and Monticello, even as they learned about American Indian culture, small-town entertainment, and the ways of local girls.

The spring issue concludes with an homage to an unlikely landmark, a horse-barn-turned-art-studio on the Utah State University campus. In this short piece, Emily Wheeler recounts a few of the memories associated with this structure, from its raising in 1919 to its razing in 2015, showing how multifaceted and deep the memory of a place can be.



Hand-hewn railroad crossties made of lodgepole pine covering the ground in the Mill Creek area of the Uinta Mountains, ca. 1912–1913.

—

U.S. Forest Service

"WOODEN BEDS FOR WOODEN HEADS"

Railroad Tie Cutting in the Uinta Mountains, 1867–1938

BY CHRISTOPHER W. MERRITT

A pencil inscription on the lintel of a dilapidated log cabin on Smith's Fork in the center of the Uinta Mountains reads "Wooden Beds for Wooden Heads," an identity expression of a mostly forgotten part of Utah, Wyoming, and even national history. Most Utahns are unaware of the rich logging history of their state, or how broad-shouldered, tie-cutting men, alongside women and even children, helped to shape the settlement of the American West beginning with construction of the nation's first transcontinental railroad. Between 1867 and 1938, loggers cut a low estimate of ten million railroad crossties from the densely forested slopes and terraces of the Uinta Mountains' North Slope (fig.1). In nearly 500,000 acres stretching from the Bear River on the west to Henry's Fork on the east, professional (full time) and subsistence or seasonal loggers harvested millions of lodgepole pines to feed the growth of the United States' railroad infrastructure. Although the Weber and Provo headwaters and several other smaller drainages in Utah also provided ties, the North Slope of the Uintas was uniquely situated to yield a more than adequate supply. From the 1860s to the 1930s, tie cutting was completed by hand with a broad axe during the winter; the ties were floated to market using major rivers and creeks during the spring thaw, and delivered to the railroads in summer.

As construction of the Transcontinental Railroad crossed southern Wyoming, the Union Pacific's need for wood was immense, with at least 5,200 crossties—2,600 trees—per mile of track. Measuring between seven and eight feet in length and seven inches on the faces, a railroad crosstie was

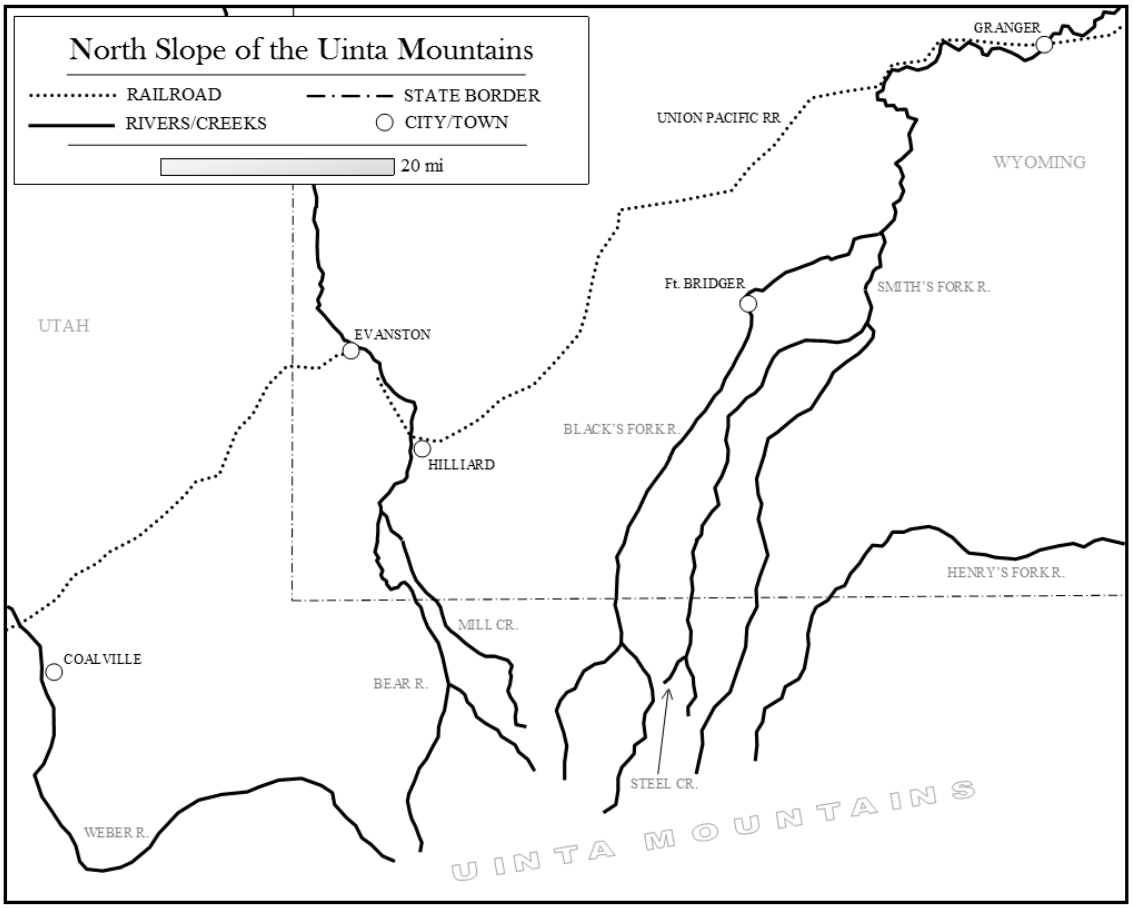


Figure 1. Tie cutting area of the North Slope of the Uinta Mountains, extending from the Bear River on the west to Smith's Fork on the east. Note that the Bear, Black's Fork, and Smith's Fork rivers all flow to the railroad line.

central to the completion of the lines. But as anyone familiar with this landscape knows, available timber is in short supply along the railroad and modern highways. As it had done when it pushed across the Midwest, the Union Pacific and other railroad companies looked far afield for an ample supply of crossties. Beginning in the 1860s, loggers cut ties from the Medicine Bow, Routt, Laramie, Wind River, and Uinta Mountain ranges and used rivers and creeks to move them towards the railroad lines.[1] Tie cutting and river transport continued into the 1930s, when changes in technology and supply chains altered the flow of this wooden commodity. Forestry historian Sherry Olsen notes that "tie manufacture was on a grand scale in the Rockies, and tie cutting was one of the most rugged and most lucrative jobs of the mountain frontier."[2]

Despite its significance, tie cutting has received scant attention from historians. The retired forester L. J. Colton's reminiscent account of logging activity in the Bear River area of the Wasatch National Forest, published in the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, is the earliest published reminiscence on the topic but is limited in its scope to one era and drainage, and Thomas Alexander's history of the United States Forest Service in the Inter-

1 For more information on the industry in Wyoming, see Robert G. Rosenberg, "Woodrock Tie Hack District, Bighorn National Forest Cultural Resource Management Plan," Prepared for Bighorn National Forest, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1999, 9–10; Joan Trego Pinkerton, *Knights of the Broadax: The Story of the Wyoming Tie Hacks* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Publishers, 1981); William Wroten, "The Railroad Tie Industry in the Central Rocky Mountain Region, 1867–1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Colorado Boulder, 1956).

2 Sherry Olsen, *Depletion Myth: A History of Railroad Use of Timber* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1971), 23.

mountain Region only touches on the tie industry along the North Slope.[3]

One problem for the historian is that the industry's transient labor working for wages at seasonal jobs is minimally represented in period documents or difficult to identify.[4] Consequently, few documentary sources detail the tie cutting industry of the North Slope, with only one census record, newspaper cuttings, draft cards, and a handful of other primary sources as the complete listing of historical records existing for this major industry.[5] A 1913 United States Forest Service report on the industry and an oral history of Forest Service ranger Archie Murchie are also insightful. The latter is the only historic personal account of the industry, albeit from an outsider's slant. The North Slope's geopolitical ties to Utah yet geographic and economic connections to Wyoming further limited the tie industry's presence in the historic record; apparently, much of the industry never filed paperwork in Summit County, Utah, and census takers from neither state ventured into the mountains until 1930.

It is into this relative void of historical research that archaeology, focused on the material remains of this industry, can offer a data source and perspective not seen in other scholarship or documentary resources. Forgotten cabins, rotting back into the ground from which their logs once sprung, are the tangible reminders of this lost facet of western history (fig. 2). Historical archaeology allows a place-based and tangible reconstruction and interpretation of the social history of diverse peoples based on material culture and available documentary resources. The historical archaeologist James E. Ayres published two well-researched articles on the industry, and he created a framework to understand the interconnectedness of the region's hundreds of tie cutting archaeological sites.[6] Forest Service and avocational archaeologists have documented over two hundred logging camps between Bear River and Smith's Fork, each providing clues to this unique industry and pattern of industry that exist outside the purview of historic records alone.[7] Unfortunately, looting, metal detection, vandalism, and catastrophic wildfires continue to damage and remove these material artifacts.

Euro-American logging in the Uintas likely began in 1843 with Jim Bridger and Louis Vasquez's construction of Fort Bridger on the Black's Fork River in Wyoming. The Mormons acquired Fort Bridger in 1855 to supply emigrants to Utah Territory and erected a sawmill in the Uintas to supply wood to the travelers and construction efforts. As a sutler for the U.S. Army, which later took control of Fort Bridger, Judge W. A. Carter erected several sawmills in the Uintas through the 1870s.[8]

None of these efforts ever supplied railroad crossties until 1867, when the Union Pacific Railroad's advance parties of graders started moving across southern Wyoming Territory. An 1864 reconnaissance report of the proposed transcontinental line by Union Pacific engineer Samuel B. Reed to company vice president T. C. Durant underscored the importance of timber

3 L. J. Colton, "Early Day Timber Cutting Along the Upper Bear River," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Summer 1967): 202–7; Thomas G. Alexander, *The Rise of Multiple-Use Management in the Intermountain West: A History of Region 4 of the Forest Service*, FS-399 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Forest Service, May 1987).

4 For information on the West's transient laborers, see Carlos Schwantes, "The Concept of the Wageworkers' Frontier: A Framework for Future Research," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (1987): 39–55.

5 There are no known company records for the Standard Timber Company, the largest timber firm on the North Slope between 1912 and the 1940s. In 1940, an accidental fire in a Standard Timber barn in Millis, Wyoming, destroyed much of the company records. *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, June 21, 1940, 9.

6 James E. Ayres, "Logging Camps in the Uinta Mountains, Utah," in *Forgotten Places and Things: Archaeological Perspectives on American History*, edited by Albert E. Ward (Albuquerque: Center for Anthropological Studies, 1983); James E. Ayres, "Standard Timber Company Logging Camps on the Mill Creek Drainage, Uinta Mountains, Utah," *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 9 (1996): 179–82.

7 Archaeological data are contained with the Uinta-Wasatch-Cache National Forest Heritage Program site records (Supervisor's Office, South Jordan, Utah), and the Utah Division of State History Antiquities Program Site Records (Rio Grande Depot, Salt Lake City, Utah), and are not accessible by non-archaeologists per federal and state laws for sensitive information.

8 William A. Carter, Jr., "Fort Bridger in the 70s," *Annals of Wyoming* 11 (1939): 111–13; William N. Davis, Jr., "The Sutler at Fort Bridger," *Western Historical Quarterly* 2 (1971): 37–53. A sutler is a civilian trader who received a contract from the military to provide goods and supplies to military posts or troops on deployment. See David M. Delo, *Peddlers and Post Traders: The Army Sutler on the Frontier* (Helena, MT: Kingfisher Books, 1998).



Figure 2. Collapsed log cabin barn that once held the four to six horses common to a tie camp during the 1910s–1920s, near Black's Fork River.
—
Christopher Merritt

resources as he "looked upon the scarcity of timber as the most serious obstacle to be overcome in the building of the road through the mountains." Reed reported to Durant that to solve this issue he surveyed the Uinta Mountains where "on the head waters of the Bear River . . . there are large tracts of white Norway pine, suitable for railroad purposes, that can be rafted down Bear River to the line."[9]

Partners Levi Carter and General Isaac Coe received most of the initial contracts to supply railroad ties to the Union Pacific and operated in the Uintas through the 1880s. Coe and Carter supplied ties to the Union Pacific for prices ranging from $1.00 to $1.30 per tie, while paying only 35–60 cents to cutters. High profit margins and a monopoly to supply ties to the Union Pacific helped to cement Coe and Carter as the premier tie cutting corporation in Utah, Wyoming, and Colorado. Union Pacific's expansion into developing coal resources in Wyoming further provided opportunity for Coe and Carter to provide narrow gauge railroad ties and mine supports. Coe and Carter constructed at least three sawmills in the Uintas on Muddy Creek, Black's Fork, and at the confluence of Steel Creek and Smith's Fork, although these produced milled construction lumber and not railroad ties. Coe and Carter subcontracted the majority of tie cutting along the Bear River and its tributaries to independent loggers or smaller operations such as Evanston Lumbering Company and Burris and Bennett. Fewer ties

9 Reed likely is referencing the dense stands of lodgepole pine when he writes about white Norway pine, as they are visually similar to an untrained land surveyor. Samuel B. Reed, *Union Pacific Railroad: Report of Samuel B. Reed of Surveys and Explorations from Green River to Great Salt Lake City* (New York: Union Pacific Railroad Company, 1865), 11.



Figure 3. Standard Timber Company crews constructing aspen and willow cribbing to protect irrigation canals from being filled with railroad crossties in the Mill Creek area, ca. 1912–1913.
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U.S. Forest Service

came out of the Black's Fork and Smith's Fork drainages to the east.[10]

While not strictly constructed for use in the tie cutting industry, the thirty-mile Hilliard Flume and six-mile Howe Feeder Flume along the Bear River played a pivotal role in the development of timber on the North Slope. Built in 1872, the Hilliard Flume floated ties, poles, sawed timber, and firewood from the headwaters of the Bear River in Utah to Hilliard, Wyoming, near the railroad grade. The elevated flume, sometimes as high as twenty feet off the ground, was an engineering feat and tourist attraction for travelers on the Union Pacific. The flume was largely dismantled during the 1880s and 1890s after the timber supply in the area had been exhausted, and the salvaged materials were used as building supplies for ranches in Wyoming.[11]

While the flume had enabled timber to be

10 Scott Thybony, Rober G. Rosenberg, and Elizabeth Mullett Rosenberg, *The Medicine Bows: Wyoming's Mountain Country* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Press, 1985), 60; James E. Ayres, "Transcription of Bill of Exceptions, Case of Amos Mosher vs. The Hilliard Flume and Lumber Company," 1975, Uinta-Wasatch-Cache National Forest Supervisor's Office, South Jordan, Utah; James E. Ayres, Transcription of "Bill of Exceptions, Case of B. F. Woods vs. The Hilliard Flume and Lumber Company," 1975, Uinta-Wasatch-Cache National Forest Supervisor's Office, South Jordan, Utah. In 1882 approximately 80,000 railroad ties for the Oregon Short Line railroad, 25,000 for the Utah and Northern railway, and 35,000 mining props for Rock Springs coal mines floated down the Black's Fork River by Coe & Carter. See "Local Intelligence," *Uinta Chieftain*, June 3, 1882, 3.

11 Katie Toponce, *Reminiscences of Alexander Toponce, Pioneer* (Salt Lake City: Century Printing Company, 1923), 190; Frederik E. Shearer, ed., *The Pacific Tourist: An Illustrated Guide to the Pacific Railroad, California, and Pleasure Reports across the Continent* (New York: Adams and Bishop Publishers, 1879), 107.

transported nearly year-round, the loggers in the Uintas generally operated on a seasonal round with cutting occurring in the fall and winter. Heavy spring melt swelled the rivers and allowed cutters to float their ties to market. From 1867 to 1938, the Bear River, Black's Fork, and Smith's Fork witnessed many years of spring tie floats, some reaching upwards of 500,000 crossties per year or roughly one million trees[12] (table 1). Tie drivers, called river rats in other logging areas of the United States, followed the flow from the mountains all the way to docks at Granger, Hilliard, Almy, and other locations along the Union Pacific railroad. Tie drivers used long hooked poles called pickaroons to dislodge jams of ties and keep the flow moving downstream. Seasonal floats were the cheapest method to get the nearly half-million ties to the railroad grade but wreaked havoc to downstream irrigation canals by choking them with ties once a year. After 1912, the Standard Timber Company constructed, without much long-term success, protective cribbing at diversion points for canals to prevent this damage (fig. 3). This yearly cycle of ties damaging irrigation canals led to several lawsuits in the twentieth century and helped lead to cessation of floating ties off the North Slope in 1939.[13]

Splash dams were a common means of damming a small stream or river to create an impoundment upstream. Each dam's interior was lined with lumber and had at least one large gate or sluice opening (fig. 4). During the spring thaw, tie cutters pushed the parked ties into the reservoir. Once the reservoir was full of ties, they would open the sluice gate and let the ties burst forth into the channel. A dam still chokes the Stillwater Fork of the Bear River that once diverted water into the Howe Feeder Flume of the Hilliard Flume, although water has found its way through the tangled mess of logs and cribbing.[14] Only one intact splash dam on the North Slope dates to the 1860s and 1870s. Others at Mill Creek and Steel Creek are in fair condition given their constant exposure to damp and wet conditions.[15]

The last decades of the nineteenth century signaled a decline of the tie industry. Construction of the Denver & Rio Grande Railway led to a shift of tie cutting in the Weber and Provo river drainages, with ties floated to Echo and Wanship on the Weber and down Provo Canyon on the Provo. Construction of Union Pacific's Oregon Short Line spur lines from Echo Canyon to Park City led to tie cutting and floating along the Weber River, while on the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railway, construction on the west flank of the Wasatch Mountains led to cutting along the Provo River and floating into Provo. On those rivers, declining demand, poor remaining wood quality, and low river flows led to the last documented drive in the early 1890s. A national economic recession in the 1890s led to the Union Pacific cancelling all contracts with Coe and Carter and to the company shutdown in 1895. It is likely that during the next few years tie cutting continued as a minor industry, as existing railroads still needed annually between 200 and 300 replacement ties per mile of track. Likely due primarily to patterns of low demand, little to no historical evidence points to tie cutting and driving on the North Slope between 1895 and 1912. According to a 1915 article in the *Timberman*, "from 20 to 30 years ago many of the streams of the Uintah range were driven for ties and mining timber."[16]

Tie cutting witnessed a resurgence nationally after 1900 and on the North Slope after 1912 due to

12 An article in 1915 indicated that Standard Timber cut approximately 700,000 ties on the North Slope, although no other documentation establishes this. "Salt Lake and Utah," *Lumberman* 16, no. 7 (1915): 50. The first recorded mention of automobiles hauling railroad ties off the north slope of the Uinta Mountains occurred in 1934, as there were 100,000 ties stranded due to water shortages. *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, July 5, 1934, 15. While specific data for the number of ties floated each year is not currently available, newspaper articles suggest that between 1930 and 1935 the Standard Timber Company annually cut between 200,000 and 300,000 ties from the Uintas. *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, September 29, 1935, 12.

13 George Loff, "Tie Driving in Wyoming," *Cross-tie Bulletin* 3 (1922): 12; F. S. Baker and A. G. Hauge, "Report on Tie Operation, Standard Timber Company, Uinta National Forest, 1912–1913," 33, unpublished report on file at Uinta-Wasatch-Cache Supervisor's Office, Salt Lake City.

14 James Ayres, "Howe Flume National Register of Historic Places Nomination," 1978, on file at Antiquities Section, Utah Division of State History.

15 Archaeological Site Forms (42SM21 and 42SM70), on file at Antiquities Section, Utah Division of State History.

16 Lyndia Carter, "'Tieing' Utah Together: Railroad Tie Drives," *Utah History Blazer* (July 1996): 10–11; Thybony, et al., *The Medicine Bows*, 63; "Salt Lake and Utah," 50.

TABLE 1. NUMBERS OF RAILROAD TIES FLOATED DOWN BLACK'S FORK AND SMITH'S FORK OF THE GREEN RIVER

Black's Fork	*1882*	105,000	*Uinta Chieftain*, June 3, 1882, 3
	1915	400,000 [1]	*Salt Lake Telegram*, May 17, 1915, 2
	1916	500,000 [2]	*Ogden Standard-Examiner*, May 20, 1916, 5
	1919	250,000 [3]	*Salt Lake Telegram*, December 24, 1919, 1
	1920	450,000 [4]	*Salt Lake Telegram*, February 18, 1920, 2 and July 28, 1920, 2
	1921	450,000	*Salt Lake Telegram*, May 17, 1921, 5
	1929	180,000 [5]	*Ogden Standard-Examiner*, July 23, 1929, 2
	1935	175,000	*Ogden Standard-Examiner*, June 3, 1935
Smith's Fork	*1929*	180,000[5]	*Salt Lake Tribune*, May 15, 1929, 7
	1935	250,000	*Salt Lake Telegram*, May 27, 1935, 10

[1] Tally were those hung up from a poor flow year in 1914 but freed in 1915.

[2] Newspaper account notes that most of the 500,000 estimate are ties, though not all.

[3] Ties cut in spring 1918 but hung up due to poor flow.

[4] Almost all were hung up during the year due to low water, and did not make it to market that year.

[5] *Ogden Standard-Examiner* article states that 180,000 ties were floated on the Black's and Smith's forks, but it does not provide specific numbers per river.

Note that these numbers are based on available historical data and are not comprehensive.

a growing economy and a rapid expansion of existing railroads and a growth of new spur lines. By the early 1900s, nearly one-fifth of America's annual timber harvest was going to the railroad industry, and demand was only increasing—between 1890 and 1919, the need for crossties expanded from 64 to 145 million per year. Of course, this demand was not uniform across the Intermountain West; the Uinta Mountain headwaters of the Provo and Weber rivers were not heavily cut for ties after the 1890s. This changing landscape of railroad construction and maintenance led to intensification of logging on the North Slope through the arrival of the Standard Timber Company. Organized in 1912 in Lincoln, Nebraska, by D. M. Wilt, Standard Timber Company established its headquarters in Evanston, Wyoming, and began preparations for cutting over the North Slope. To kick off this venture, Standard Timber signed a contract in 1912 with the Union Pacific to supply seven million ties within nine years.[17]

Wilt was a longtime logging company operator in Colorado but had been chased out of that state for timber poaching—cutting on Federal Reserve lands without permission or royalties. After decades of heavy private and corporate abuse of grazing, timber, and mineral lands held in the public trust, the federal government had enacted the Forest Reserve Act of 1897 to provide for the protection and conservation of watersheds and natural resources. With the creation of the United States Forest Service (USFS) in 1905, the government took greater command of forest and timber resources. Due to the lack of homesteading lands in the North Slope, much of the mountain range became variably part of the Ashley, Wasatch, and Uinta national forests. The only remaining inholdings of private land resulted from the 1862 and 1864 Railway Land Grant Acts that transferred ownership of public domain lands to railroad companies to spur railroad construction. These lands were granted in a checkerboard pattern of alternating, one-mile-square sections for a distance of ten miles on each side of the railroad line.[18]

17 Olsen, *Depletion Myth*, 4; Nelson C. Brown, *Forest Products, Their Manufacture and Use* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1919), 263; Baker and Hauge, "Report on Tie Operation, Standard Timber Company, Uinta National Forest, 1912–1913," 1.

18 Ayres, "Standard Timber Company Logging Camps on the Mill Creek Drainage, Uinta Mountains, Utah," 179–80; Alexander, *The Rise of Multiple-Use Management*



Figure 4. Overview of a splash dam at Mill Creek. Archaeology suggests it was constructed before 1890 given the lack of modern nails, but was reused by Standard Timber Company after 1913.

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U.S. Forest Service

In the winter of 1912–1913, Standard Timber Company established its North Slope logging headquarters on Mill Creek, a tributary of the Bear River approximately 35 miles south of Evanston. At this location, Standard Timber constructed a two-story log cabin commissary and a number of supporting buildings, including a blacksmith shop, accounting office, doctor/dentist office, storerooms, and cabins for temporary housing (fig. 5). The Mill Creek Commissary held all the provisions a tie cutter would need: tools (axes, saws, pickaroons, and tie sleds), canned foodstuffs, clothing, and personal items like harmonicas. A 1913 report by two USFS employees illustrated that the costs of these goods at the Mill Creek Commissary were at least twice that of a comparable store in Ogden, Utah. This demonstrated to the USFS employees that Standard Timber Company was gouging its workforce to maintain high profits. The lack of a different consumer option meant a fifty percent markup for Standard Timber.[19]

Unlike the previous decades of cutting ties on the North Slope, with individuals working for themselves and controlling their own production, Standard Timber offered work to tie cutters but did not make them formal employees.[20] These loggers, sometimes known as gyppos, were assigned timber stands for cutting and worked alongside tie cutters, haulers, and drivers as part of a complex system of tie production and delivery.[21]

in the Intermountain West, 21; Robert Athearn, *Union Pacific Country* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976), 32.

19 Baker and Hauge, "Report on Tie Operation, Standard Timber Company, Uinta National Forest, 1912–1913," 41–44.

20 R. T. King, *The Free Life of a Ranger: Archie Murchie in the U.S. Forest Service* (Reno: University of Nevada-Reno Press, 1991), 74.

21 "Haulers" would pick up finished ties from stacks placed along the edges of strip roads and take them to areas near creeks or splash dam reservoirs, while



Figure 5. Mill Creek Commissary in background, with tie cutters piling, or banking, finished railroad crossties to be floated downstream in the spring, ca. 1912–1913. The splash dam would be a few hundred yards to the right (north).
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U.S. Forest Service

By spring of 1913, Standard Timber had at least 150 loggers working the Mill Creek drainage. To avoid paying royalties to the Forest Service, the company focused its initial logging efforts on those lands owned by the Union Pacific. By 1915, however, those lands had been worked over, forcing the company to cut on USFS lands through contract and permits, working east towards the Black's Fork River.[22]

Without use of any flumes, the loggers shifted back to a winter cutting and spring floating cycle. Cutting in winter was beneficial for two main reasons. First, this allowed tie cutters to shift employment during the summer months to other pursuits such as farming or to follow the ties to market on drives. Second, and most importantly, heavy snowfall in the Uintas allowed the transport of ties from the cutting fields to banking areas along streams through use of horse-drawn sleds. These two-horse team-drawn sleds carried several dozen ties at a time, sliding across the thickly drifted snow and ice. A lasting reminder of this winter logging cycle are hundreds of high-cut stumps, or those lodgepole and spruce trees that had been cut sometimes as high as six feet above the ground (fig. 6).

The Standard Timber Company loggers and others venturing into the mountains focused their blades on lodgepole pine and spruce of a certain size and age. To maximize efficiency in cutting, loggers focused on trees that measured between eight and ten inches in diameter at chest height. Felling was done with a single-man saw and with a broad axe used to trim the log into a squared railroad tie. A sin-

"drivers" would follow the ties during the spring float and break up log jams and keep the product moving to market.

22 Baker and Hauge, "Report on Tie Operation, Standard Timber Company, Uinta National Forest, 1912–1913"; "Salt Lake and Utah," 50.



Figure 6. The author stands beside a high-cut stump, approximately 5'8" tall, located near Archie Creek Camp, 2015.
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Utah Division of State History

gle tree yielded two eight-foot lengths with seven-inch faces (sides). According to the 1913 Forest Service report, a tie cutter could fell and buck upwards of twenty railroad ties per eight to ten-hour day (fig. 7). With Standard Timber Company paying 17 cents per first-rate cross tie, the average tie cutter made about $3.40 per work day. By the early 1920s, though, surplus workers and abundant supplies of crossties had decreased wages by 25–30 percent, according to a 1922 report.[23]

When tie cutters moved into a new area for harvesting, they constructed their own cabins and supporting structures, which cut into their profits. Constructing and furnishing each cabin with doors, bunks, tables, windows, and a stove cost about $23.34 and required about twenty-two days of labor. Tie cutters used the Standard Company commissary to acquire tools, food, and clothing. With a normal tie camp in the 1910s comprised of at least three cabins, and supporting about three to six men, the costs quickly escalated.[24] Archaeological evidence suggests that these cabins ranged in size from ten by ten feet for small individual or dual-occupancy cabins to twenty-five by forty feet for barns and cookhouses (fig. 8).[25] Interiors of cabins covered with logs individually numbered in lumber crayon provide evidence that tie cutters often deconstructed, moved, and rebuilt cabins as they moved from one area to another.[26]

23 "Conditions in Railroad Tie Industry Discussed at Producers' Annual," *Southern Lumberman*, February 4, 1922, 40.

24 Baker and Hauge, "Report on Tie Operation, Standard Timber Company, Uinta National Forest, 1912–1913," 23.

25 Archaeological site data is contained with the Uinta-Wasatch-Cache National Forest Heritage Program site records, located in South Jordan, Utah, and the Utah Division of State History Antiquities Program Site Records in Salt Lake City, and is not accessible by non-archaeologists per federal and state laws for sensitive information.

26 Personal communication with James Ayres, August 3, 2014.



Figure 7. Tie cutter sporting an ascot, bucking a tie, or cutting it into two eight-foot lengths in the Mill Creek area of the Uinta Mountains.
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U.S. Forest Service

From 1912 to 1916 most of Standard Timber logging efforts reportedly focused on the Mill Creek area, with a second commissary constructed on the Main Fork of the Black's Fork River, approximately ten miles east, finished in 1916. From the twenty-two-cabin Black's Fork Commissary, which is still the most visible and visited historic site on the North Slope today (though on private land), tie cutters moved into the headwaters of the East, Middle, and West forks of Black's Fork. Cutting continued on these streams throughout the 1920s. A final commissary was established on Steel Creek, a tributary of Smith's Fork, in 1920 or 1921. Steel Creek was eight miles east of the Black's Fork Commissary and was the major hub of cutting activity from the Wyoming/Utah line all the way up to tree line at 10,000 feet. As seen from the location and dates of commissaries, tie cutting in the post-1900 period generally moved west to east. No tie cutting was likely done on Henry's Fork, further east, due to the river's course, which would have floated railroad ties over 70 miles downstream of the railroad, too far to be hauled to the railroad sidings at Green River, Wyoming. Standard Timber Company operated additional cutting areas in the Wind River Mountains of Wyoming and floated ties over 130 miles to tie pullouts at Green River City throughout the 1920s and early 1930s.[27]

A remarkable shift in the labor force occurred between 1867 and the 1910s. From what little historical evidence exists, most nineteenth-century loggers on the North Slope were only part-time cutters. Many ventured back to farms and ranches in Wyoming or Utah during the summer months. Most appear to have been of Anglo-Irish or European descent, although we know little about the nationalities and backgrounds of the men and women who worked

27 After 1903, ties pulled out at Granger, Green River, and other locations were likely sent for preservation treatment at the Union Pacific facility in Laramie. Quincy Craft, "Timber Conservation in Wyoming," *American Forestry* 26 (1920): 740–41.

and occupied in nineteenth-century tie cutting camps. With the arrival of Standard Timber in 1912, foreign-born professional tie cutters and loggers from Sweden and Finland began to dominate the labor force. It appears that some might have been experienced loggers from the Midwest, but others directly emigrated from Europe to Wyoming. Due to the lack of any federal or state population census until 1930, limited demographic information is available.

World War I draft cards dated 1917–1918 provide information on the nationality of loggers at the Black's Fork Commissary, which included a majority of Swedes and Norwegians, with additional cutters and tie drivers from Bulgaria, Austria, Turkey, Finland, Russia, Germany, and Canada. The military exempted from the draft nearly all Standard Timber loggers due to the national strategic need for railroad ties.[28] The sole 1930 Federal Census, erroneously labeled "Henry's Fork Tie Camp"—almost certainly the Steel Creek Commissary—provides evidence of the shift in demographics.[29] Unlike the 1910s, the majority of those enumerated at the camp were American born, with those from Sweden, Finland, Norway, Canada, and Germany rounding out the national backgrounds. Interestingly, though, nearly all of the American-born workers had parents whose birthplaces were in Sweden or Finland. In many cases tie cutting, and logging in general, was a family affair, and these second-generation immigrants were continuing the tradition. Ranger Archie Murchie's accounts include stereotypic views of Swedish and Finnish immigrants and even a number of 1930s-era derogatory comments about transient "Okie" loggers from Oklahoma and Missouri.

Dominance of the tie cutting industry by northern Europeans led to unique cultural facets of life on the North Slope. As Forest Service ranger Archie Murchie described, loggers "played all Scandinavian music, and, of course, did Scandinavian dances. They had one dance they danced a lot—they called it Hambo, as close as I can pronounce it. They danced a lot, and most times they had a few whiskey bottles passing around too, which added to their good time." While no examples have been found archaeologically, Murchie mentions that camps organized by Finnish tie cutters possessed log cabin saunas that provided a cultural continuity for the loggers and also a warm respite to the sometimes-frigid conditions of the Uintas' long winters.[30]

Oral histories and census records provide a small glimpse into the inner workings of those camps and alter the perception of all-male logging camps. "There were no women in the camp," Murchie recalled, "so they would take turns on who would be the women and who would be men for dancing. Sometimes they'd tie a ribbon or handkerchief around the fellow's arm, and he was a woman." While a colorful anecdote of a seemingly womanless landscape, Ranger Murchie's oral history does not reflect other historical evidence to the contrary. Murchie contradicts his own statement to describe how the wives and children of the loggers assisted in the peeling of bark from felled trees and helped to stack, or park, ties along roads for pick up in 1934–1935. In 1913, of the 181 individuals discussed in the report, there were only 20 women, many of whom appeared to be wives of the loggers in the satellite camps surrounding the Mill Creek Commissary.[31]

In 1916, Mrs. A. Pearson gave birth to the first documented baby (a boy) on the North Slope at the Mill Creek Commissary.[32] By the 1920s and 1930s, logging on the North Slope had definitely become a family affair, with women and children appearing in census records and oral histories. At the Steel Creek Commissary, where a small school operated for at least one year in the 1920s, the 1930 census shows 13 women and 20 children in addition to the 65 men. A thin sheet-iron corset hook found by archae-

28 U.S. World War I Selective Service System Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918, data online at ancestry.com from National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

29 *Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

30 King, *The Free Life of a Ranger*, 79. Archaeologists have documented sauna remains in Northern Michigan associated directly with Finnish hardwood logging camps. John G. Franzen, "Northern Michigan Logging Camps: Material Culture and Worker Adaptation on the Industrial Frontier," *Historical Archaeology* 20 (1992): 90.

31 King, *The Free Life of a Ranger*, 79; Baker and Hauge, "Report on Tie Operation, Standard Timber Company, Uinta National Forest, 1912–1913," 33.

32 *Wyoming Times*, March 30, 1916, 8.



Figure 8. Tie cutter's camp on MacKenzie Creek, near Mill Creek, ca. 1912–1913. Note the cross country skis leaning against the cabins. These were used to access the cutting fields in the winter.
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U.S. Forest Service

ologists at a tie camp near Mill Creek Commissary provides tangible proof of the presence of women at these camps, although we must always be wary of assigning gender to certain artifacts (fig. 9).[33]

From an archaeological perspective, there is yet more to be learned about camp life and demographics within these remote logging camps that could challenge and support the historical record. As noted by Murchie's description of drinking during Scandinavian dancing at Steel Creek, workers consumed large quantities of alcohol. Standard Timber Company, however, prided itself on running a dry camp and did not provide any alcohol at the commissaries, at least according to the 1913 Forest Service report.[34] Artifacts at dozens of sites on the North Slope tell a different story: Standard Timber employees consumed significant amounts of

33 Christopher W. Merritt, Rachelle Green, and Tom Flanigan, "Preliminary Report on Uinta-Wasatch-Cache National Forest Archaeological Collections," Uinta-Wasatch-Cache National Forest, Supervisor's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2011.

34 King, *The Free Life of a Ranger*, 79.

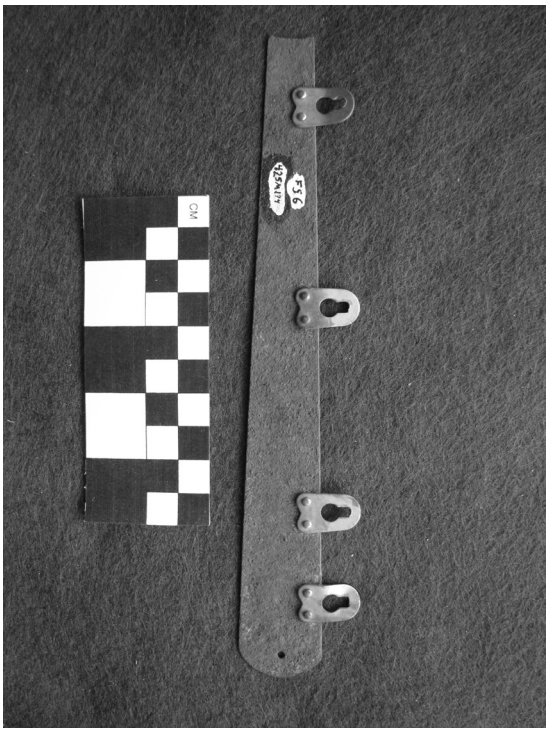


Figure 9. Corset hook recovered from a tie cutter camp on MacKenzie Creek near Mill Creek, possible evidence of women or a uniquely dressed man.

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Christopher Merritt

Midwestern beer produced by Schlitz, Blatz, and Miller and bottled by William Franzen and Sons in Milwaukee. Stoneware whiskey crocks emblazoned with the cobalt-blue logo of a distributor in Evanston are found at nearly every camp. Archaeologists also found numerous pint-sized whiskey flasks at the bases of stumps in the cutting fields, far from camp, forming an image of a person taking a break during a long winter's day to imbibe with something stronger than water.[35] Of course, bottles of these types might have been used to hold water for keeping saws cool and for use in sharpening, but they likely first contained something far more stimulating.

Archaeological sites and artifacts are all that remain of this once-prosperous industry that dominated the Uintas for nearly a century. After years of dealing with legal proceedings from irate ranchers tired of having their canals and ditches fouled by the seasonal floats, Standard Timber manager Malcolm McQuaig announced the end of winter cutting and tie floating in October 1939.[36] The following year, 1940, the Union Pacific Railroad discontinued the use of hand-hewn and river-driven ties; the last known sawmill-manufactured ties floated down the Wind River of Wyoming in 1946.[37] Introduction of gasoline-powered chainsaws, diesel sawmills, and heavy trucks into the logging world radically changed the way trees were cut. All these factors led to the abandonment of the traditional industry of hand-cut railroad ties, at least on an industrial level. Standard Timber Company continued operations in the 1940s, and slowly faded to memory. In the post–World War II period, logging transitioned toward a broader suite of products and milled products, with workers traveling from nearby towns or living in makeshift and portable frame cabins. In his autobiography, retired USFS forester Isaac E. Smith noted that the new timber sales on Smith's Fork in the late 1930s and early 1940s "was well opened up with roads built by the Forest Service and strip roads left by the tie hacks," which facilitated the use of trucks, and "our 1 ½ ton trucks were driven along the strip roads and loaded by hand," replacing the horse-drawn sleds of the previous eras. The heyday of the tie cutter had passed.[38]

Today, the legacy of tie cutting covers nearly every ridge, valley, and bench on the North Slope of the Uinta Mountains. Decades of archaeological research have identified over 200 sites containing the remnants of over 500 cabins that range in date from the 1860s to the 1950s. In other areas the loggers never left, as evidenced by the Suicide Park graves on the Wyoming/Utah state line on Smith's Fork. The graves of three tie hacks, who were reputed to have committed suicide due to being infirm or elderly, rest peacefully under aspen trees and

35 Unpublished archaeological artifact catalog for Steel Creek and Mill Creek Commissaries, and MacKenzie Creek Camp, on file at Uinta-Wasatch-Cache National Forest Supervisor's Office, South Jordan, Utah.

36 *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, October 1, 1939, 3.

37 Rosenberg, "Woodrock Tie Hack District, Bighorn National Forest Cultural Resource Management Plan," 9–10.

38 Isaac E. Smith, "Autobiography of Isaac E. Smith," 1979, 47–48, on file at U.S. Forest Service Region 4 Headquarters, Ogden, Utah.

a ramshackle pole fence. While it is unclear if the remains of Ole Olson, Charlie Mattsen, and Jack Rose actually rest within this solitary graveyard, the site portrays the harsh life and unforgiving circumstances of tie cutters past their prime.[39] Collections made by archaeologists have helped our understanding of the types of food and drink they consumed, and the discovery of harmonica reeds, Swedish language newspaper clippings, and canned fish can tell a more human story than can historical documents alone. Work by the Forest Service and others continues to document and catalog the remains of these contributors to the building of the West.

Looters and vandals in search of bottles and cans have decimated many of these sites' archaeological deposits, with those looters taking significant pieces of American history and turning them into objects of status or wealth. For example, the original Coe & Carter camp on the Black's Fork River was systematically looted in the 1980s with entire trenches cut through standing cabins.[40] In other sites, walls of cabins have been torn down to fuel campfires or for simple pyromaniacal joy. During a volunteer project in 2000, archaeologists spent weeks mapping the Mill Creek Commissary site, only to find that overnight someone had excavated several yards of soil, displacing thousands of artifacts and destroying the mapping system.[41]

An uninformed traveler of the Mirror Lake Highway might pass a solitary cabin, roof fallen and barely visible above the shrubbery, and never even realize the contribution of its former occupant to the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad and the arrival of a truly continental flow of goods, people, and ideas. As is not uncommon in archaeology and history, the story of the North Slope cutting industry will never be completely documented and explicated, but that is part of the fun and mystique of getting hands on with the past. Thanks to the work of dedicated historians and archaeologists and the continued preservation efforts of Forest Service personnel, the tie cutting industry will continue to be interpreted and preserved until the last log decays into the earth to feed the next generation of lodgepole and spruce.

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Christopher W. Merritt is a historical archaeologist and Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer at the Utah Division of State History. He thanks James E. Ayers for his 50 years of work and passion to tell this story.

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WEB EXTRA

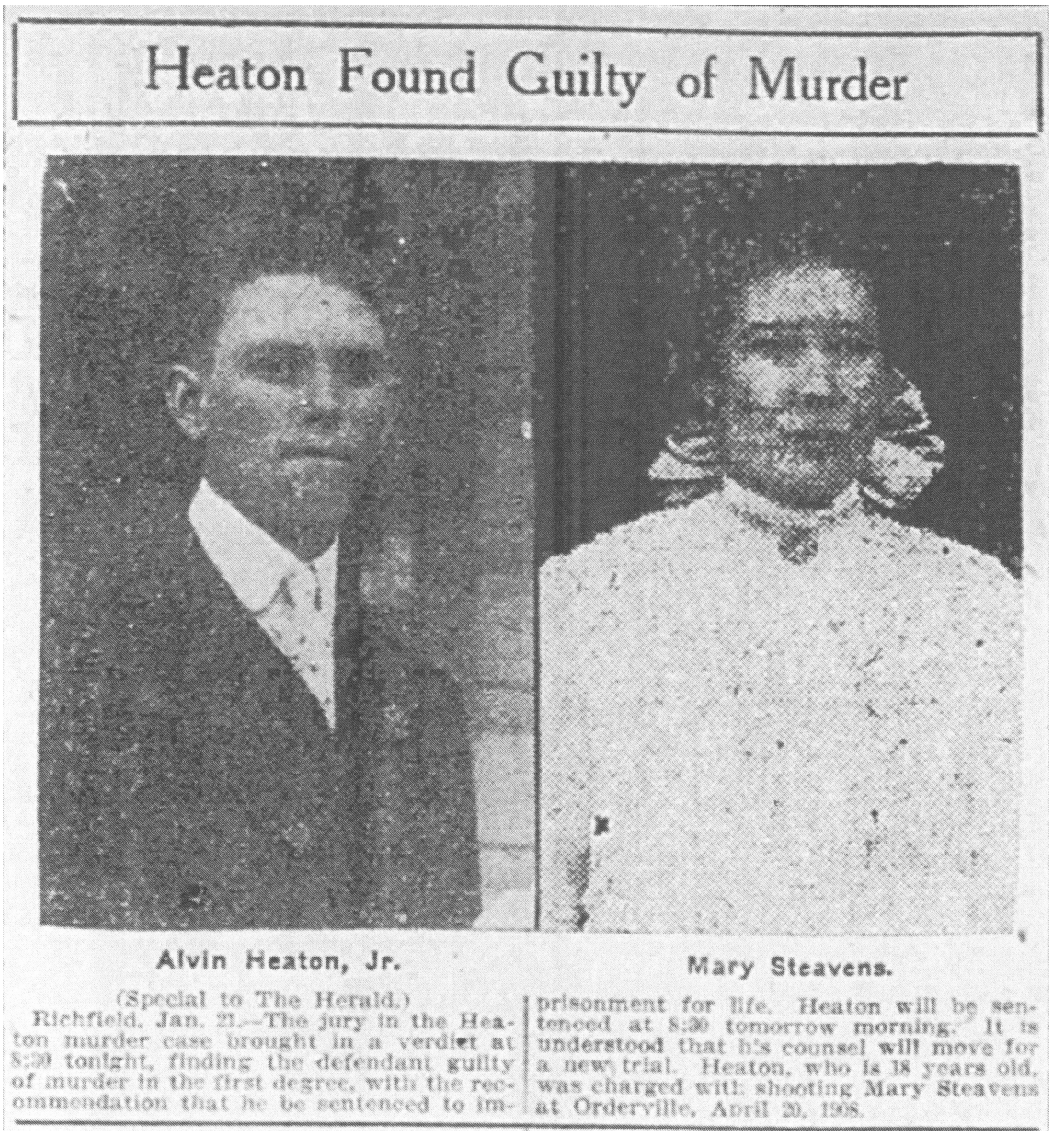


Visit history.utah.gov/uhqextras to take a guided tour with Christopher Merritt at several tie-hacking and logging sites on the North Slope and to view a gallery of historic photographs of tie-hacking operations and color contemporary photographs of the archaeological remains. We also offer an interview with Dr. Merritt to discuss the tools, methodologies, and insights of historical archaeology.

39 Death records for Rose and Mattsen suggest they were actually buried in Robertson, Wyoming. No record of Jack Rose's death exists. See Death Certificates at the Utah State Archives and Records Service, Salt Lake City, Utah.

40 Personal communication with James E. Ayres, July 21, 2012.

41 Charmaine Thompson, notes for site 42SM70, August 2000, on file at Uinta-Wasatch-Cache National Forest, Supervisor's Office, South Jordan, Utah.



Heaton Found Guilty of Murder

Alvin Heaton, Jr.

Mary Steavens.

(Special to The Herald.)

Richfield, Jan. 21.—The jury in the Heaton murder case brought in a verdict at 8:30 tonight, finding the defendant guilty of murder in the first degree, with the recommendation that he be sentenced to imprisonment for life. Heaton will be sentenced at 8:30 tomorrow morning. It is understood that his counsel will move for a new trial. Heaton, who is 18 years old, was charged with shooting Mary Steavens at Orderville, April 20, 1908.

A brief piece from the January 22, 1909, issue of the Salt Lake Herald *that suggests the amount of newspaper coverage the sensational murder of Mary Stevens received in Utah. Stevens's paramour, Alvin Heaton Jr., was convicted of her murder and sentenced to life in prison. (Note that the media often spelled her last name incorrectly.)*

A MOST HORRIBLE CRIME

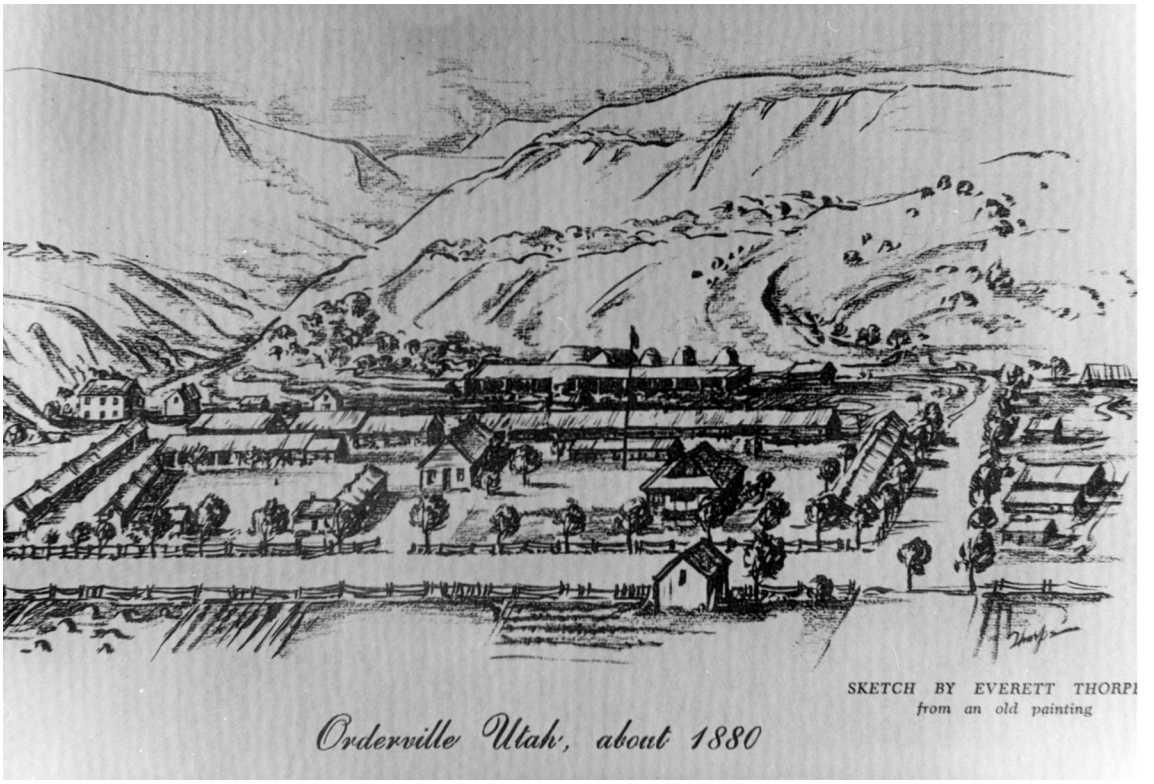
The 1908 Murder of Mary Stevens in Orderville, Utah

BY ROGER BLOMQUIST

Two shots rang out, followed by the victim's scream, in Gardner Hollow just outside Orderville, Utah. After a brief pause, another shot rang out; a moment later, a final shot. No one except the gunman witnessed the grisly crime, not even the victim. Only a lone ten-year-old sheepherder, about a mile away, heard the shots outside the hollow. Hunting in the area was common, so there was no apparent cause for him to be alarmed.[1] The events of April 20, 1908, when Mary Manerva Stevens was brutally shot in the back and her body hastily secreted in a ravine, are almost lost to history. The killer was Alvin Franklin Heaton Jr., a young man of good character and actions, according to reports both before and after the killing, yet who took the life of another human being in a premeditated act.

Although historians can trace the events leading to Stevens's death, it is more difficult to understand Heaton's action. The two unwed young people had been engaged in a sexual relationship, behavior that during this time left them both—but especially her—open to public shame if it became known. The closed, highly religious atmosphere of turn-of-the-century Orderville could have only added to this stigma. What was more, Stevens reportedly claimed that state law gave her leverage and protection. Finally, the testimony of Heaton's peers established that he was comfortable using coarse—even misogynistic—language to describe her,

1 "State Opens Its Case against Young Heaton" and "Evidence Completed in Heaton Murder Case," *Richfield (UT) Reaper*, January 21, 1909.



This drawing shows Orderville as it may have looked circa 1880. The apartment house units—known as "shanties"—bordering the town square suggest the communal orientation of the town.

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Utah State Historical Society

suggesting that this young man placed women in different categories based on their sexual activity, while giving himself impunity. All of these aspects of their social world could have contributed to Heaton's decision to murder Stevens.

Historical sources compound the difficulty of understanding this episode. Precious little is actually known of Stevens and the others, since this is a story that has been hidden away in the community and only whispered about since its occurrence, until it is impossible to know the full matter's truth. Even many modern residents of Orderville have not grown up with the story. Newspaper and legal reports exist, but they are sparse and it is difficult to determine their level of accuracy and the biases they contain. Newspaper accounts must be used with caution, especially when no legal documents can corroborate them. With the possible exception of the accounts of the killer's confession and trial, the journalists of the time seemed to rely as much on each other as they did on actual witnesses to obtain information for their articles. The difficulty in other sources exists because this crime divided community members, who buried it away and rarely spoke of it afterward.[2] Not even the biography of Thomas

2 Rosemary Heaton Cundiff, interview by Roger Blomquist, March 26, 2015, Salt Lake City, Utah, in possession of the author. Cundiff stated that her brother, Alvin Dean Heaton, who was named after Alvin F. Heaton Jr.'s father, grew up without ever hearing the story of Mary Stevens's death. Cundiff did, however, hear of it as a child from her grandfather, Christopher Beilby Heaton, who was Alvin Heaton Jr.'s first cousin and twenty years old at the time of the murder. Because of the lack of information, I have carefully scrutinized and cross-checked the extant sources to reconstruct the events as completely as possible. The main body of sources consists of newspaper accounts, which by their very nature are suspect but still provide the most information available to us today. Whenever possible, I compared multiple newspaper articles against the legal documents and other sources and then with each

Chamberlain, the man who convinced the killer to confess, mentions the case or his involvement with it.[3] Samuel R. Thurman's law firm, which represented the killer, routinely destroys its records after seven years and has no account of the Heaton case.[4]

Stevens's death and the events leading up to it occurred in a place with a distinctive history that, by 1908, was in a time of transition. Orderville is located in southern Utah's Long Valley, along historic Highway 89 between Panguitch and Kanab. The telephone had arrived there in 1905, but the local advent of the automobile was still a few years away.[5] Orderville's past added to the change occurring there. While Orderville was not the only Utah community to live the United Order, the LDS church's cooperative program, Orderville was organized with the United Order as its first priority, and it was the most successful and longest-lasting example of the movement, holding out until 1885.[6] This practice set Orderville apart from its neighbors and provided its residents with a sense of pride in what they perceived to be an elite community; the Heaton family was well established in Orderville, having been there since its founding.[7] Further, to force polygamy to an end, the federal government passed several laws during the nineteenth century condemning the practice. Many LDS church officials in Orderville still lived polygamy in 1908, causing some of the townspeople to feel that they had to protect and defend their way of life. Perhaps the insularity of this town and its sense of communal consciousness led to the shock and polarization over the tragic events of April 20, 1908.

Still other factors played into this pressured situation. Perhaps the most critical aspect was a Utah law that made "intercourse with a[n unmarried] woman between the ages of thirteen and eighteen a felony."[8] Comments Heaton made while in jail provide evidence that this law worried him and that it might have motivated him to choose murder over marriage.[9] And although gender dynamics were beginning to change in America generally at this time, the evidence from Heaton's own set of associates suggests that a sexual double standard was in place among them. While none of these aspects of life in the Orderville of 1908 can be blamed for Heaton's decision, they do set the stage for his actions.

While her parents lived in nearby Mt. Carmel, eighteen-year-old Mary Stevens lived with her brother Joseph, his pregnant wife Francis (Heaton's first cousin), and their two small children in Orderville to attend school. They lived in a two-story house with a cellar at the corner of Sand and Wash Streets.[10] She made good grades and was in the process of taking her final examinations for graduation; it was on the morning of April 20th that she took the first

other to establish the commonality of truth. Although the news media often sensationalizes the sensational, in this situation, the newspaper articles seem to be mostly in alignment with the official documents and oral history that remain.

3 Jonathan M. Chamberlain and Beverly Christensen Chamberlain, *Happy is the Man: A Social Biography of Thomas Chamberlain (1854–1918)* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Printing Services, 2009).

4 Dawn Chapman, personal communication with Roger Blomquist, April 3, 2015. Chapman is an employee of Snow, Christensen, and Martineau, which was the law firm of Thurman, Wedgewood, and Irvine at the time of the murder.

5 Martha Sonntag Bradley, *A History of Kane County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society / Kane County Commission, 1999), 187–91; "Orderville, UT," accessed May 20, 2014, www.townoforderville.com; Adonis Findlay Robinson, ed., *History of Kane County* (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing, 1970), 411.

6 Robinson, ed., *Kane County*, 407–19; Bradley, *Kane County*, 127.

7 Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 279, 467–70.

8 Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840–1910* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 200. Information provided by Marlayne Nye. On April 9, 1912, the Utah Supreme Court upheld the decision to incarcerate Donald Chapman for seventy-five days, in the case of *Utah State vs. Chapman*. Police officers caught and arrested Chapman and Beatea Mathews in the act of fornication. Harmel L. Pratt, *Report of Cases Decided in the Supreme Court of the State of Utah*, vol. 40 (Chicago: Callaghan, 1914), 550.

9 "Evidence Completed in Heaton Murder Case."

10 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*, Sixth District Court (Kane County), Civil and Criminal Case Files, Case 73, Series 10570, Utah State Archives and Records Service, Salt Lake City, Utah (USARS); Warren C. Foote ed. *Christopher Beilby Heaton and His Wives Margaret Ann Esplin, Christina Maria Allen, Sarah Elizabeth Esplin, Phoebe Ellen Norwood and Their Descendants: A Book of Remembrance* (privately published, 2009), 135.

portion of her exams. Mary decided to spend that afternoon in study and preparation for the rest of the examinations. She walked back to her brother's house for lunch and then left with her books to walk up the hill towards the nearby canyon.[11] As he worked in his garden, Joseph stopped to watch her walk out of sight and then went back to tending his soil. Since she made it a practice to spend the night with girlfriends, Joseph was not concerned when she did not return that night. He expected to see her in the morning when she came back to get ready for school. Mary was a dedicated student, so Joseph thought she was either relaxing with friends after she had studied or was in a late-night study session. Since he was comfortable in the knowledge that she was preparing for finals, he went to bed expecting to see her the next day.[12]

The following morning, Mary did not come home to get ready for school. Joseph, still not concerned but wanting to make sure all was well, walked down to the schoolhouse to see her. He found she was not at the schoolhouse and asked the teacher, David Smith, and his students if they had seen Mary that morning. No one had. Joseph now became concerned because it was not like her to miss school.[13] He telephoned their parents, who lived two and a half miles south in Mt. Carmel, and asked if his sister had spent the night there. They answered in the negative; they had not seen her either.[14]

Joseph, now fully concerned, walked up the hill to where he had last seen Mary and found her tracks. He followed them along the trail towards Gardner Hollow (commonly known as Gordon or Garden Hollow). It was fortunate for him that it had not rained during the night, making her tracks easy to follow.[15] As he entered the hollow he discovered another set of footprints, those of a male who had come up beside her. The two sets of tracks continued side by side until they came to a clear spot in the hollow where they became confusing. As he looked more closely, Joseph found pools of blood in the dirt.[16] Concern grew into alarm, and he ran back into town and located Constable Wilford W. Heaton, Justice of the Peace Edward Carroll, Wallace Adair, Nevin Luke, and David Esplin to help find her.[17] The party soon arrived at the blood-soaked sand in the hollow. While they examined the area, one searcher found a piece of blue ribbon in a ravine close by. As they pulled on the ribbon they found it was still attached to the buried hat Mary wore when she had walked up the hill the previous day. As they dug deeper and cleared away the sand, rocks, and brush, they found Mary's body buried face down. They dug her body out and conducted a quick onsite coroner's inquest to discover her cause of death. There were four bullet wounds in her back and a wound along the left side of her scalp, just above the ear.[18]

Mary Stevens had been murdered.

The members of the search party had no doubt that the killer had previously chosen this spot because it was "situated in a concealed side-canyon under a shelving rock and a narrow gulley about eight feet deep that had been washed out wide enough for the body to be concealed."[19] They carefully carried her body down the mountain to Joseph's house and laid her on the table. Sarah Foote, a resident of the community, found a .38 caliber bullet within Mary's clothes as she carefully removed them from her body.[20] Meanwhile, Joseph telephoned his

11 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "School Girl Is Foully Murdered," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 25, 1908.

12 "Body of Girl Found in Canyon," *Inter-Mountain Republican*, April 25, 1908; "Murder at Orderville," *Richfield Reaper*, April 30, 1908.

13 "School Girl Is Foully Murdered."

14 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "Shocking Murder," *Washington County News*, April 23, 1908; "School Girl Cruelly Slain," *Deseret News,* April 25, 1908; "Did Alvin Heaton Slay Young Woman?," *Salt Lake Tribune,* January 11, 1909.

15 "Boy Accused of Brutal Murder," *Deseret News,* May 6, 1908.

16 Ibid.; "Alvin Heaton Admits He Killed the Girl," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, May 14, 1908; "Body of Girl Found in Canyon."

17 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "State Opens Its Case against Young Heaton."

18 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "State Opens Its Case against Young Heaton"; "A Shocking Murder," *Washington County News*, April 23, 1908; "School Girl Cruelly Slain."

19 "Boy Accused of Brutal Murder"; "Girl Is Mysteriously Killed in Southern Utah," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, April 25, 1908; "Alvin Heaton Admits He Killed the Girl"; "Heaton Confesses to Brutal Murder," *Inter-Mountain Republican,* May 14, 1908.

20 "State Opens Its Case against Young Heaton."

father, Ezra Stevens, and informed him of the murder. Ezra immediately came to Orderville and followed his son to the murder scene. With some difficulty, Ezra identified the tracks of the killer from the hollow back toward town as he followed the intermittent tracks along the rocky trail. Exercising great concentration, he relocated the tracks each time they were lost until he had followed them to the town's edge. The tracks then became obscured with the foot traffic that passed through the area after the killer passed. Ezra determined that a size six man's shoe had made the tracks, and others later confirmed his findings.[21] This information helped narrow the search since six was an unusually small shoe size for a man.

It was customary for students to take their books up to Gardner Hollow and study, and it was supposed that Mary Stevens had done so when she met her untimely death. It was thought that perhaps the perpetrator saw her go up the canyon and took advantage of the opportunity to attack her. This idea was strengthened by the fact that she was shot in the back while she attempted to flee her assailant.[22] Her violent death shocked the people of Kane County, who committed to do everything they could to bring the killer to justice, and immediately telephoned Kanab for Kane County Sheriff James A. Brown to investigate. He hurried to Orderville, accompanied by Dr. Andrew John Moir and County Attorney Herman Scott Cutler.[23] They arrived in Orderville at about ten o'clock on the night of April 21.[24]

Moir, a graduate of Michigan College of Medicine and Surgery, conducted the examination of Stevens's body to determine a motive for the crime. As expected, he found her corpse to be advancing in decomposition. He also found abrasions on her right arm and one on her right earlobe. There was a ragged scalp wound above and in front of her left ear about two inches long, and slight abrasions on both her arms that could be explained by the rocks and debris dumped onto her body. He also recorded that four gunshots had entered her back, but only two exited, coming out her left breast. He found no evidence of vaginal violence; however, he did find indications that she had intercourse previous to her murder. Moir determined that any one of the gunshot wounds in her back would have proven fatal.[25] As far as motive for murder, however, the evidence was inconclusive.

Since Orderville was such a small, tightly knit religious community, its people were convinced only an outsider would commit such a crime. The sheriff was from Kanab, however, so he was not so quick to dismiss the idea of a townsperson committing the crime. He began to investigate a seventeen-year-old youth from a prominent Orderville family named Alvin F. Heaton Jr. The reports on Heaton were mixed. Perhaps in a sensational effort to sell papers, journalists noted that the youth had been "playing the tough" and had allegedly "shot up the town" a time or two.[26]

Townspeople, on the other hand, were reported as being convinced his alibi was solid and would stand up in court, and they expected the sheriff would soon release him. They were hopeful when they heard the rumor that another man, who left town the day after the murder, had been arrested about eighty miles to the north in the town of Circleville. Yet the sheriff never veered from his conviction that young Heaton was the perpetrator. More and more evidence came to light that convinced law enforcement officials of Heaton's guilt, and they arrested him for the crime.[27] He had a .38 caliber gun, the same foot size as the killer, and a chink in his alibi. The officials decided that enough evidence existed to proceed to a trial, and Heaton was taken to Kanab for arraignment.[28]

21 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "State Opens Its Case against Young Heaton"; "School Girl Is Foully Murdered"; "Arrested for Kanab Murder," *Deseret News*, May 1, 1908.

22 "A Shocking Murder"; "School Girl Cruelly Slain."

23 "School Girl Cruelly Slain"; "Body of Girl Found in Canyon."

24 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*

25 Ibid.; "State Opens Its Case against Young Heaton."

26 "Orderville Crime Remains a Mystery," *Inter-Mountain Republican*, April 28, 1908.

27 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908; Transcript of docket and proceedings, filed June 17, 1908; and information filed June 20, 1908, all in *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "Orderville Crime Remains a Mystery"; "Arrested for Kanab Murder," *Deseret News*, May 1, 1908; "State Opens Its Case against Young Heaton"; "Alvin Heaton Arrested," *Richfield Reaper*, May 7, 1908.

28 "Alvin Heaton Arrested."



MARY STEAVENS.
From a Photograph Taken Two Days Prior to the Murder.

This grainy photograph of Mary Stevens is an artifact of the young woman's life, which ended only two days after the image was taken. Stevens was a good student who lived with her brother's family so that she could attend school in Orderville.

—

Deseret News, May 6, 1908

As the case developed, the newspapers began reporting on the social aspect of Stevens's and Heaton's relationship. One contemporary article noted that she was of "humble parentage" and not part of Heaton's popular crowd. Heaton snubbed Stevens in public, it continued, and showed indifference, but he kept company with her "on the quiet."[29] The differences between the two were not merely ones of family status; Stevens was also from the nearby town of Mt. Carmel which, in the 1870s, chose to not adhere strictly to the United Order. This impelled a group of Mormons to move north and establish Orderville. A sense of separation might have lingered between the residents of the different towns those many years later. All in all, Heaton's condescending behavior must have been painful to Stevens—to have him refuse to acknowledge their relationship in the daylight but then to curry her physical favor in the dark.

Before her death Stevens had written a piece that, according to newspaper accounts, she planned to read the following week at her graduation commencement exercises. She knew at the time she was pregnant and seemed to be in a reflective mood when she wrote the essay, entitled "I Wonder." Stevens used "I Wonder" to question the qualifications of the state board of education, the patience of her teacher, and the inattention of local adults to the condition of the school. She also spent much time considering the behavior of her classmates. In "I Wonder" she mentioned both Alvin Heaton and his girlfriend Mamie Robinson: "I wonder if Alvin could think of more to growl at? If he can't, I wonder why?" and "I wonder if Mame thinks she's large enough to be worth mentioning." This appears to be a comment against Robertson, since Stevens had a relationship with Robertson's boyfriend without her knowledge.[30]

Stevens also mentioned one Heber Meeks, asking, "I wonder why Heber stands so straight and thinks himself so great? I wonder if it's because he's class president or I wonder if it's because he's so popular among the girls? Well I wonder." Unbeknownst to most of the community, Meeks also allegedly had a relationship with Stevens around this time.[31] This knowledge certainly adds new insight to her question of why the class president "stands so straight and thinks himself so great." Once again, Stevens had broken into her class's upper echelon and spent

29 "A Paper of Interest," *Richfield Reaper,* February 4, 1909.

30 Not much is known about Mary Emily (Mamie) Robertson. She was born in Orderville on May 21, 1890, to Isaac Sapp, a blacksmith, and Emily (Emma) Jane Sapp. She married sheepshearer David Evans Pryor in Panguitch on December 13, 1912, less than four years after her boyfriend Alvin Heaton was convicted of murder. They had two daughters and David preceded her in death in 1969; she did not join him until December 6, 1983.

31 Alvin Croft, Diary, Kanab Heritage Museum, Kanab, Utah. Access granted by Deanna Glover.

intimate time with one of its leaders.[32] She concluded with, "I wonder if this audience thinks our program is worth listening to? If they don't I wonder why? I wonder if they don't think I'm quite smart?" At this point, Stevens was likely the only one who knew she was pregnant. If the town found out, she could face shame and ostracism. "I Wonder" suggests that this young woman understood the difficulties she faced and seriously contemplated the world she lived in. "I wonder and still I wonder," she asked, "but I cannot wonder what we all will become."[33]

In time, something about Heaton's reported behavior caused concern on the part of District Attorney Joseph Erickson, so on his way home to Richfield he stopped in Panguitch and sent Dr. R. Garn Clark, a graduate of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in Baltimore, Maryland, down to investigate. Unfortunately, the reports do not explain what it was about Heaton's behavior that caused this concern. Under Erickson's orders, Clark had the body exhumed. Clark and Moir conducted a more thorough examination, making an abdominal incision to remove the uterus. Upon dissection they found a fetus, which finally provided motive for the murder.[34]

Heaton originally appeared in Kanab at the end of April for his preliminary arraignment but was unprepared both physically and mentally for the proceedings. One report stated that he showed signs of embarrassment or fright at first, as indicated by a slight quivering of his lower lip, but he soon overcame it. Once calm, the *Deseret News* reported, "he maintained an appearance of indifference."[35] Heaton did not, or could not, focus on what Justice of the Peace Edwin Mantripp Ford said as he read the complaint against him; instead, the young man looked about the room or stared out the window, perhaps in a state of disbelief. Judge Ford did not see an attorney in the room, so he asked if Heaton had obtained counsel. Heaton answered in the affirmative, but when the judge asked him where he was, Heaton simply stated that he did not understand what Ford meant. Ford dismissed the arraignment to allow Heaton sufficient time to secure a lawyer and reappear before him at a later date.[36] While it could be concluded that Heaton was a cold-blooded killer by his actions here, taken with all the sources and evidence, a portrait of an addled youth also emerges.

Heaton again appeared with Defense Attorney John Franklin Brown before the justice court for arraignment on May 9, 1908. The small Kane County courtroom was filled to capacity because even with outlaws often riding through the area, nothing like this had ever happened in the sleepy community before. Spectators eager to get a glimpse of the alleged killer surrounded the building. Reporters said Heaton was in good spirits and frequently smiled and visited with "singular unconcern" with those around him.[37] He pleaded innocent with an alibi that adequately covered his whereabouts on the murder day with witnesses—except for the hour between five and six o'clock.[38] Heaton claimed that he had been alone cleaning stables during that hour, but no one could verify this story. Brown and Moir had walked the route together from town up to the murder site and back, and even after they spent ten minutes at the crime scene, they were able to make the circuit in about fifty minutes. This allowed plenty of time for Heaton to commit the crime during that hour.[39] Upon deeper investigation, it was found

32 Only one contemporary source named Heber Meeks as a participant in the events surrounding Stevens's death. It is possible that Alvin Croft remembered incorrectly when he named Meeks. For information about Meeks's life, see "Register of the Heber Meeks Collection, 1985–1986," accessed February 22, 2016, http://files.lib.byu.edu/ead/XML/MSS1677.xml.

33 "A Paper of Interest."

34 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "Alvin Heaton Arrested," *Richfield Reaper*, May 7, 1908; "Did Alvin Heaton Slay Young Woman?"

35 "Arrested for Kanab Murder," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, May 2, 1908; "Arrested for Kanab Murder," *Deseret News*, May 1, 1908.

36 "Arrested for Kanab Murder," *Deseret News*, May 1, 1908; "Boy Is Suspected of Brutal Murder," *Salt Lake Tribune* May 2, 1908.

37 "Boy Is Charged with Murder of Girl," *Salt Lake Telegram*, May 2, 1908; "Arrested for Kanab Murder," *Deseret News*, May 1, 1908.

38 Transcript of docket, June 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "Heaton before Court," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, May 9, 1908; "Kanab Trial of Alvin Heaton Continued to November Term of Court," *Deseret News*, August 24, 1908.

39 Others testified that they made the circuit in less time. "State Opens Its Case against Young Heaton"; "Arrested for Kanab Murder," *Deseret News*, May 1, 1908; "Arrested for Kanab Murder," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, May 2, 1908; "Boy Is Charged with Murder of Girl"; "Boy Is

that Heaton's shoe size matched perfectly with the tracks found at the scene.[40] Several county residents were now convinced of his guilt in this matter, but many others believed that "the boy [was] simply the victim of a chain of circumstances."[41]

Before the hearing in the county jail, Heaton underwent interrogation by Sheriff Brown and community members Thomas Chamberlain, Hans Sorensen, and H. S. Cutler. At this point, Heaton broke down and confessed to Chamberlain. He admitted that he had killed Mary Stevens and dictated a step-by-step accounting of how had he done it, while Brown wrote down the confession and presented it to Heaton for his signature. In the court trial, Chamberlain admitted that the written words on the signed confession were not exactly the words of the defendant but made no elaboration beyond that.[42] It became obvious to them that the crime was premeditated and that Heaton had endeavored to create an alibi to turn away suspicion.[43] His confession began:

> With my own free will, without promise of hope of reward, or without fear or threats on the part of any person or persons, I confess with my own free will and choice that on April 20, A.D. 1908, at about 5:30 p.m., I shot to death Mary Steavens [*sic*]. I put her in a wash in the rocks and covered her body with loose rocks.[44]

Heaton continued with an admission that he had once had illicit relations with her, and since Stevens was pregnant she wanted him to marry her. He refused because he did not love her. This led to a quarrel between them because, Heaton said, she was adamant that their child be born under the protection of his name. Again he refused and she used the last piece of leverage she had against him: by law she could force him to marry her.

At that point, Heaton's planning came into play as he made the final fateful decision that it was better for him to end Stevens's life, if she persisted, than for him to face legal punishment or social exclusion; he would not be held responsible for this child. Therefore, in an exchange the week before the murder, he traded a deck of playing cards with John W. Healy, a local man, to borrow his Smith and Wesson .38 caliber, double action revolver. He made the trade under the guise of shooting rabbits at a local roundup.[45]

Heaton admitted that on the morning of the 20th, he and Stevens had made an appointment for around five o'clock that evening to meet in Gardner Hollow and continue their discussion. It was at this time that the young man began to construct his alibi to avoid arrest. He went to the cooperative store where his uncle worked and spent some time there. Heaton wanted as many townspeople as possible to see him so they could testify of his whereabouts. He then went home and ate his midday meal and retrieved the gun he had borrowed from Healy. He worked around the family's lot while he drove some wandering cows away and then went into the barn to be invisible to anyone who might have been watching.

Before long, Heaton slipped away and walked up the hill to Gardner Hollow and waited for Stevens to arrive. Once they were together, they walked farther up the hollow and stopped in an open spot. They then continued their earlier conversation. According to Heaton, Stevens again insisted that he marry her and again he refused, "Won't you let me off and not make me marry you?" he pleaded. "No," she said. "I can make you marry me by law."[46]

Suspected of Brutal Murder."

40 "Boy Is Charged with Murder of Girl"; "Boy Is Suspected of Brutal Murder."

41 "Heaton before Court."

42 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "Evidence Completed in Heaton Murder Case."

43 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908; and Transcript of docket, filed June 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "Boy Accused of Brutal Murder."

44 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "Boy Murderer's Written Confession," *Deseret News*, May 16, 1908.

45 The trade was for a month's time. Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "Arrested for Kanab Murder," *Deseret News*, May 1, 1908.

46 When Heaton said he "had had unlawful relations with her," and reported that Stevens told him, "I can make you marry me by law," he was probably referring to the Utah State law making premarital sexual relations with minors illegal.

Now, as the specter of social and familial pressure came to bear on Heaton, it seemed to him that there was no amicable way out of this situation. He drew the borrowed gun as she looked away and shot her twice from behind. Stevens fell to her knees, and he shot her a third time, which caused her to fall flat on her face. Heaton then stepped over her body and shot her a fourth time. He hurriedly concealed Stevens's body in a small ravine and covered it with rocks and brush; then he noticed her hat. He buried it and headed back down toward town at a jog.

Heaton stopped in at his cousin's house for a moment to see if he was home so that someone would see him back in town to help solidify his alibi. Since his cousin was not there, Heaton hurried back home. While on his way, he saw Joseph Stevens walking to his mother-in-law's house. He also saw his uncle Fred Heaton and others visiting at the house. Heaton slipped past everyone and went into the barn to hide the spent cartridge shells. Once he had dealt with the shells, Heaton went into the house and hid the empty gun in his trunk. Then he changed his blood-splattered clothes (he would later explain this away as chicken blood) and proceeded back out to clean the stall in the barn as though nothing had happened. The youth closed his confession by explaining that when he had completed cleaning the stall, he returned to the house and visited with his mother until he went back down to the co-op, to be seen in public once again.[47]

On June 19, 1908, the preliminary hearing began against Heaton to determine if enough evidence existed to take him to trial. District Attorney Erickson and County Attorney Cutler represented the state of Utah. The defendant still did not appear to be nervous when he entered the courtroom and smiled at people he knew. The victim's brother, Joseph Stevens; the clerk in the local co-op store, Edward Carroll; constable Wilford Heaton; Sarah Foote, who dressed Mary's body; Johnny Healy, who owned the murder weapon; and Sheriff Brown all testified at the hearing.[48]

Attorney Brown, able to see how the hearing would shape up, waived the right to a preliminary hearing after Joseph Stevens testified. However, the prosecuting attorneys decided to continue on and complete the hearing; unfortunately, the records do not indicate why they made this decision. Perhaps the prosecuting team wanted to solidify their case before they moved on to trial. Since Brown had already conceded to the state, he remained silent throughout the remainder of the hearing and refused to cross-examine the witnesses. It is believed that the members of the defense team knew that an acquittal was out of the question at this point and solely worked to keep Heaton from being executed, as they tried to change the charge from first-degree to second-degree murder. It is understandable why the defense would be willing to waive the defendant's right to a preliminary hearing since there was overwhelming evidence and testimony against him, including his own confession.[49]

During the hearing, Joseph testified that Mary had lived with him and his wife in Orderville to attend school there. He also testified that she did not come home the night of April 20th, so after he checked in at the school and found she was not in attendance on the 21st, he went up the hill to track her movements and found the crime scene. Edward Carroll testified that he sold the defendant six cartridges of .38 caliber shortly before the murder. As justice of the peace in Orderville, it was he who organized the coroner's inquest in Gardner Hollow and examined the wounds after the search party had recovered the body. Wilford Heaton, the Orderville constable, related similar details.[50]

The testimony of Dr. John Moir provided critical information about the association between Heaton and Stevens. Moir described his exam-

47 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "Boy Murderer's Written Confession"; "Alvin Heaton Admits He Killed the Girl"; "Boy Confesses to A Hideous Murder," *Salt Lake Telegram*, May 14, 1908; "Alvin Heaton Confesses," *Richfield Reaper*, May 14, 1908; "Young Alvin Heaton is the Guilty Party," *Washington County News*, May 14, 1908; "State Opens Its Case against Young Heaton."

48 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*

49 Ibid. Transcript of docket, June 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "Held to District Court for Murder"; "State Prison for the Boy Murderer," *Deseret News*, June 22, 1908; "Will Bring Heaton to the State Penitentiary."

50 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*

ination process and the four bullet wounds in Stevens's back, along with the two exit wounds in front. He explained that when he examined her external reproductive organs he found no indication of violence. When the prosecuting attorneys asked if he had made any other examination of her body, Moir answered that he had discovered that Stevens had sexual relations with someone before her death. When asked how soon before the crime these relations had taken place, he answered that authorities disagreed on the time frame. He could not say whether the intercourse had taken place just moments before the murder or before then. Moir also testified that he and Dr. Clark had later exhumed the young woman and found that Stevens had been six or seven weeks pregnant.[51]

Sarah Foote was then called to testify. She confirmed that as she spread the wet, bloody clothing out to dry, she found a bullet in a fold of the knit undershirt. Foote also testified about the number and location of wounds from bullets that had entered Stevens's back and exited her front, information that correlated with Moir's medical description.

The next witness, Johnny Healy, testified that the revolver shown to him—the murder weapon—did indeed belong to him and that he had lent the gun to Alvin Heaton shortly before the murder. When Heaton asked to trade his deck of cards for the use of Healy's gun at an upcoming roundup, Healy found nothing odd in the request and agreed to the exchange.[52] Sheriff Brown gave a timeline of events from the point when he was called in Kanab until Heaton confessed and Brown had completed his investigation. Brown told of the interrogation conversation with Heaton, where he (Heaton) discussed the chain of events, as he lured Stevens up to the hollow and discussed her pregnancy. Heaton also explained how she was prepared to force him to marry her, which influenced his decision to kill Stevens and hide her body. He then returned to town with his alibi ready.[53]

After the hearing, Heaton was moved from Kanab to the state penitentiary in Sugar House for safekeeping.[54] Officials felt it would cost less to house the young man in Salt Lake City, since the Kane County jail was not equipped for the long-term care of inmates.[55] Heaton's trial was set for November 23, 1908, with attorney John Brown scheduled to represent him.[56]

At some point, and for reasons not disclosed in the legal records, the Salt Lake City attorney Samuel Richard Thurman replaced Brown, presumably because of the high-profile nature of the case and the desire to have a more skilled attorney at the helm.[57] Thurman was on his way to Kanab to meet with Heaton before the trial began when he received word in Marysvale that the trial had been postponed. He then turned around and returned to Salt Lake City. John Foy Chidester was the sitting judge for the Sixth District Court in Sevier County, but since he had "unfinished business in the Fourth Judicial District Court," Provo's Judge John Edge Booth replaced him. Chidester sent a written invitation to Booth asking him to step in and oversee all the legal proceedings, including this trial. Booth was not available until December 3, so the trial was moved back. [58]

The newspapers reported about the stir of excitement in Kanab, noting that the locals had

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 No stenographer was available at the beginning of the hearing, so the proceedings were taken down in longhand, which caused them to move along slowly. Later, when the court acquired a stenographer, the proceedings moved along at a normal pace. This fact was commented on by the *Deseret News*. Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "State Prison for the Boy Murderer."

55 "State Prison for the Boy Murderer"; "Will Bring Heaton to the State Penitentiary"; "Utah State News," *Davis County Clipper*, July 3, 1908.

56 "Court in the South: Alvin Heaton Arraigned for Murder," *Richfield Reaper*, August 20, 1908; "Murder of Mary Steavens [sic] at Kanab," *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 23, 1908; "Utah State News," *Davis County Clipper,* July 3, 1908.

57 Thurman formed the Thurman and Wedgewood law firm in 1893 and moved it to Salt Lake City in 1906. He served as mayor of Lehi in 1877, was an assistant U.S. attorney for Utah Territory, and a member of Utah's Constitutional Convention who successfully petitioned for women's suffrage. He served in the Utah territorial legislature and was appointed as a justice of the Utah Supreme Court, where he served as chief justice for two years. "Alvin Heaton Confesses."

58 John F. Chidester to John E. Booth, Sixth District Court (Sevier County), Court Cases 618–61, 1908–1909, Case 631, USARS (hereafter Case 631).

already decided on Heaton's guilt or innocence. Because of their acquaintance with Heaton and his family, the people of the county were so polarized on the matter that the defense counsel petitioned for, and was granted, a change of venue. The dissension must have been manifested in the mounting impossibility of finding an impartial jury. The only way to assure justice would be served was to relocate the trial somewhere far enough away to find fair jurors but close enough for Heaton to still be judged by his peers.[59] It was decided to move the trial from Kane County to Richfield in Sevier County, which was located two counties away but still within the Sixth Judicial District.[60] Booth granted the change of venue after he received the affidavits of Sheriff Brown, his half brother Attorney Brown, Alvin Heaton, and Justice of the Peace Edward Carroll, and the consent of District Attorney Erickson.[61]

While Heaton awaited trial, his new attorney decided to have him examined by an alienist—or psychiatrist—to determine his sanity. Sheriff Myron Alma Abbott of Sevier County escorted Heaton to Salt Lake City from Richfield for the examination. Thurman informed the press that he would announce the doctor's verdict in the trial if it had any bearing. Since the insanity plea never came out in court, more than likely the doctor found him sane, although not yet mature. After Heaton's examination, Thurman returned him to Sevier County.[62]

The trial began in Richfield on January 12, 1909, with jury selection before Judge Booth.[63] As Thurman gave his opening statement, a hush reportedly fell in the courtroom as the audience strained to hear every word. Heaton, who sat next to Sheriff Abbott, was described by the *Richfield Reaper* as "a mere stripling, in appearance, a schoolboy, regular features, eyes dark and bright with no sign of any abnormal proclivities."[64] According to the newspaper accounts, Heaton looked much like any other farm boy in the territory, not a murderer. And while his parents wrung their hands, Heaton appeared to be the calmest and most unconcerned person in the courtroom. It was crowded with spectators since this was reported as the first murder trial ever conducted in Sevier County.[65]

As the prosecution team began its work, it painted a picture filled with damning information. Several witnesses spoke about the physical aspects of the case. Dr. Moir testified that after he had examined Mary Stevens's body, he determined that any of the four gunshots into her body would have been fatal. Moreover, he testified again of evidence that Stevens had sexual relations before her death and, indeed, was pregnant. Ten-year-old Merlin Brinkerhoff related that while herding sheep he heard four shots coming from Gardner Hollow at about half past five on April 20, 1908. The time was significant because the five o'clock hour was the only point in Heaton's alibi for which he could not provide solid eyewitnesses. Mary's father, Ezra, detailed how he had followed the tracks

59 Samuel R. Thurman, Affidavit, November 28, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "Change of Venue Granted," *Salt Lake Herald*, December 6, 1908; "Court in the South: Heaton Case Transferred to Richfield," *Richfield Reaper*, December 17, 1908; "Life Imprisonment for Alvin Heaton Jr.," *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 23, 1909.

60 James F. Brown, James A. Brown, Edward Carroll, and Alvin F. Heaton, change of venue requests; and John E. Booth, change of venue approval, all in *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "Arrested for Kanab Murder"; "Change of Venue Granted"; "Court in the South," *Richfield Reaper*, December 17, 1908; "Did Alvin Heaton Slay Young Woman?"

61 James A. Brown, John F. Brown, Alvin Heaton, and Edward Carroll, Affidavits; and Booth, change of venue approval, December 3, 1908, all in *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.* I could not find a record explaining why a Fourth District Court judge granted a change of venue request or why he took over a case in the Sixth District Court.

62 "To Test Sanity of Young Man Accused of Murdering Girl," *Salt Lake Telegram*, January 11, 1909; "Did Alvin Heaton Slay Young Woman?"; "Heaton Case Next Week," *Richfield Reaper*, January 7, 1909.

63 Samuel Thurman's Salt Lake City law partner, Edgar Andrew Wedgewood, helped present Heaton's defense. "Heaton Murder Case Interests Richfield," *Inter-Mountain Republican*, January 17, 1909; "Heaton Murder Trial," *Salt Lake Herald*, January 17, 1909. The jurors were selected as follows: F. P. Anderson (Redmond), John Anderson (Monroe), Peter Christiansen (Monroe), David Collings (Monroe), Joseph R. Hooton (Central), B. W. Hopkins (Joseph), W. E. Hyatt (Joseph), Ole Larsen (Monroe), J. B. Sorenson (Redmond), Soren Sorenson (Elsinore), and Hans Tuft (Monroe). "The Heaton Murder Case Now on Trial," *Richfield Reaper*, January 14, 1909. "Heaton's Trial Has Richfield All Agog," *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 16, 1909.

64 "The Heaton Murder Case Now on Trial."

65 "State Opens Its Case against Young Heaton"; "The Heaton Murder Case Now on Trial." Only about a dozen women attended this first session, but more joined the audience as the trial progressed.

THE STORY OF THE CARD GAME, TRUE OR NOT, OPENS A WINDOW ONTO THE DOUBLE STANDARD ENJOYED BY ALVIN, JUNIUS, AND HEBER (AND MANY OTHER MEN OF THEIR ERA), WHICH GAVE THEM THE LATITUDE TO SEEK THEIR OWN CONQUESTS EVEN AS THEY SHOWED TREMENDOUS DISREGARD FOR SEXUALLY ACTIVE WOMEN.

of a man who wore size six, Heaton's shoe size. Likewise, Cutler, the prosecuting attorney of Kane County, noted how he had fitted Heaton's shoes into the tracks left on the ground and found them to be a perfect match. [66]

As in the preliminary hearings, John Healy testified that he owned the gun that killed Stevens and that Heaton had rented it from him, and Edward Carroll stated that he had sold six cartridges of .38 caliber to Heaton, his nephew, just before the murder.[67] James A. Brown, the Kane County sheriff, testified that Heaton had admitted that the gun was in a trunk at his house. Upon learning this, Brown went to the house and retrieved it. He also testified that Heaton's coat and shoes, which had blood on them, were submitted to Herman Harms, the state chemist, for blood analysis. The sheriff explained that Harms had determined the blood was indeed human and not from a chicken, as Heaton had declared. Harms was then called to the stand, where he verified the sheriff's testimony.[68]

Other witnesses provided hints about the relationship between Heaton and Stevens. Stella Stout, for instance, stated that she had seen Heaton calling on Mary at eleven o'clock one night about three weeks before the murder.[69] Three of Heaton's peers, Joseph Adair, Junius Heaton, and Valentine Tate, offered testimony not about the facts of the murder, but rather about the dynamics of their social world—testimony that, if true, painted Alvin Heaton as a misogynist and suggested the amount of shame a sexually active single woman might face in that time and place.

Joseph Adair, a friend of the defendant, testified of a conversation he had with Alvin Heaton before the murder occurred. He maintained that Heaton remarked, as they walked past Gardner Hollow, that this would be a good place to commit a murder. Adair claimed that he would hate to be the one who did it since the killer would most surely be caught. This prompted Heaton to say that in order to escape detection, one simply needed to act natural.[70] Adair's alleged deeper involvement in the event did not come to light until many years later, long after the trial had ended, through conversations with Kane County locals who remember the whispers that circulated for years after the event and from Alvin Croft's Journal.

Two longtime residents of the area recall stories from their childhoods that never surfaced during the trial, or in the newspapers or magazine articles but is corroborated in Alvin Croft's journal. Three boys—Joseph Adair, Alvin Heaton, and Heber Meeks, according to Croft—were all rumored to have been intimate with Stevens around the time she became pregnant. Croft explained that in order to decide how to resolve this situation, the three boys played cards to decide which one of them would either marry her or kill her.[71] The task fell on Heaton.

66 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "State Opens Its Case against Young Heaton."

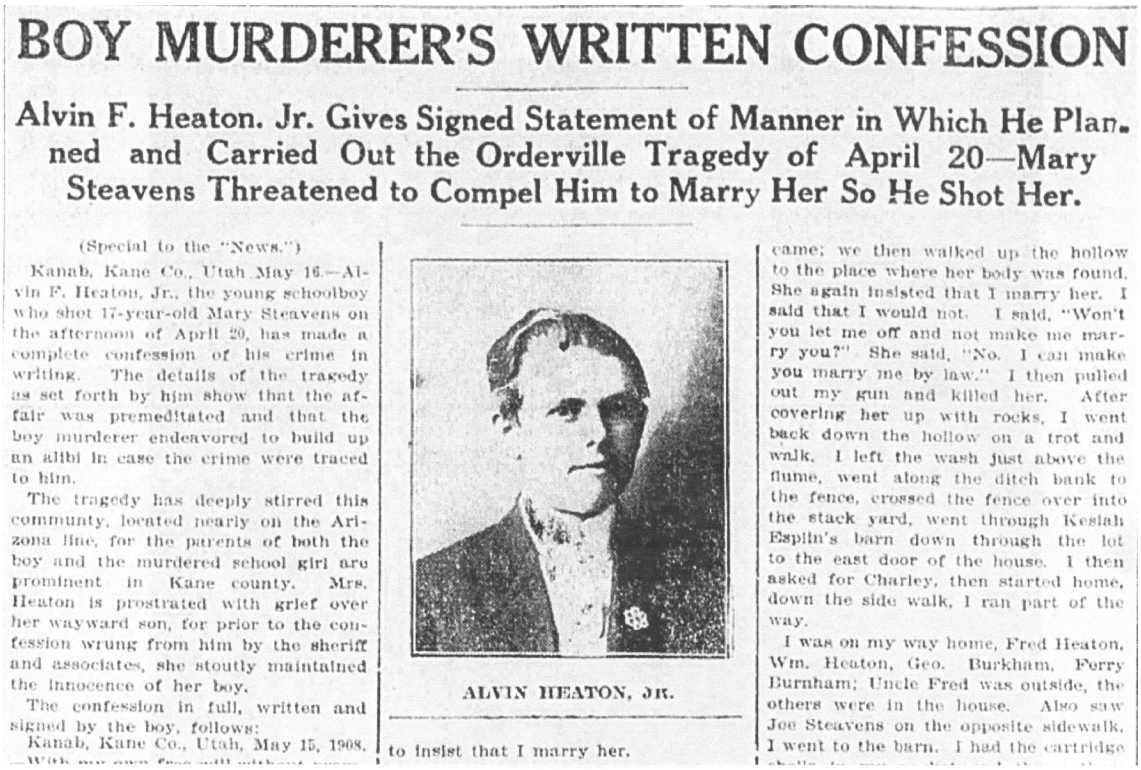
67 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*

68 "State Opens Its Case against Young Heaton."

69 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*; "State Opens Its Case against Young Heaton."

70 Ibid.; Croft, Diary.

71 The other two sources tell that the boys drew lots, which could have been done using the card deck. Dicki Robinson, interview by Roger Blomquist, March 25,



BOY MURDERER'S WRITTEN CONFESSION

Alvin F. Heaton. Jr. Gives Signed Statement of Manner in Which He Planned and Carried Out the Orderville Tragedy of April 20—Mary Steavens Threatened to Compel Him to Marry Her So He Shot Her.

(Special to the "News.")

Kanab, Kane Co., Utah May 16.—Alvin F. Heaton, Jr., the young schoolboy who shot 17-year-old Mary Steavens on the afternoon of April 20, has made a complete confession of his crime in writing. The details of the tragedy as set forth by him show that the affair was premeditated and that the boy murderer endeavored to build up an alibi in case the crime were traced to him.

The tragedy has deeply stirred this community, located nearly on the Arizona line, for the parents of both the boy and the murdered school girl are prominent in Kane county. Mrs. Heaton is prostrated with grief over her wayward son, for prior to the confession wrung from him by the sheriff and associates, she stoutly maintained the innocence of her boy.

The confession in full, written and signed by the boy, follows:

Kanab, Kane Co., Utah, May 15, 1908.

—With my own free will without

ALVIN HEATON, JR.

to insist that I marry her.

came; we then walked up the hollow to the place where her body was found. She again insisted that I marry her. I said that I would not. I said, "Won't you let me off and not make me marry you?" She said, "No. I can make you marry me by law." I then pulled out my gun and killed her. After covering her up with rocks, I went back down the hollow on a trot and walk. I left the wash just above the flume, went along the ditch bank to the fence, crossed the fence over into the stack yard, went through Keslah Esplin's barn down through the lot to the east door of the house. I then asked for Charley, then started home, down the side walk, I ran part of the way.

I was on my way home, Fred Heaton, Wm. Heaton, Geo. Burkham, Ferry Burnham; Uncle Fred was outside, the others were in the house. Also saw Joe Steavens on the opposite sidewalk. I went to the barn. I had the cartridge

A front-page article from the Deseret News, *May 16, 1908, containing Alvin Heaton Jr.'s confession of murder. Heaton's confession was not admitted as evidence in court because he gave it to Thomas Chamberlain, a prominent religious leader in Kane County.*

If this story is true, the card game and the decision to end Stevens's life might have spawned the conversation between Adair and Heaton about Gardner Hollow.[72]

According to the sources, this conspiracy was decided under the greatest secrecy, and none of the boys breathed a word of it during the trial or investigation. Only through the luck of the draw was Heaton, instead of the other two young men, chosen to either marry or murder Stevens.[73] The story of the card game, true or not, opens a window onto the double standard enjoyed by Alvin, Junius, and Heber (and many other men of their era), which gave them the latitude to seek their own conquests even as they showed tremendous disregard for sexually active women.

During the trial, Junius Heaton said that he and the defendant had been riding the range across the state line in Arizona when he asked Alvin "what sort of girl" Stevens was. Alvin replied that "she was no good and that he could kill her as easily as he could a dog." Junius replied "You don't mean that," to which Alvin responded, "Well that just goes to show what the boys think of her. I don't know as I would kill her, but that just goes to show what the boys think."[74] Again, this group of young men apparently accepted Stevens as a sexual partner but looked down on her publicly and took advantage of her vulnerability. In at least Alvin's case, this lack of respect for Stevens found an outlet in very crude language—something Valentine Tate, from Mount Carmel, spoke about in court.

2014, Kanab, Utah, in possession of the author; Cundiff, interview.

72 Joseph Adair would later marry Marie Henrie, who was only five years old at the time of the murder. They married on September 27, 1919, when he was thirty-five years old and she was sixteen. *Utah, County Marriages, 1887–1937*, s.v. "Mr. Joseph Adair and Miss Marie Henrie," p. 290, accessed October 6, 2015, familysearch.org.

73 Croft, Diary; Robinson, interview; Cundiff, interview.

74 "State Opens Its Case against Young Heaton."

Tate testified that he was conversing with Heaton at a dance in Orderville in February 1908, several weeks prior to the murder and around the time, or shortly thereafter, of Heaton's and Stevens's relationship. At the dance, as Stevens passed by on the floor, Heaton made the comment that "someone ought to take her virtue and then take her out and kill her." When asked if those were Heaton's exact words, Tate stated that the defendant's words were "couched in rougher form." Cross-examination found there were no other witnesses from the dance who could corroborate this story.[75] It is not known whether the card game happened before this incident or not. Perhaps Heaton made his decision on the sole basis of the law, or perhaps he chose to end Stevens's life rather than carry the shame of being a young unwed father in a pressured community. Either way, Heaton's actions and the testimonies of his associates establish that he had little respect for the reputation, body, and life of Stevens.[76]

Heaton apparently had a very different relationship with Mamie Robinson, the young woman whom he publicly dated. As a witness for the defense, the eighteen-year-old Robinson stated that she had known Heaton all of her life and, like several other witnesses, testified that he had a reputation for being peaceful, quiet, virtuous, and moral. She also admitted that she was Heaton's sweetheart and would do anything to clear his name. Robinson denied that she had quarreled with Heaton over his intentions with Mary Stevens or even knew about them.[77] The difference in Heaton's behavior toward Robinson and Stevens, and Robinson's professed lack of knowledge about Heaton's other activities, suggests that, as in other places during this time period, sexual access marked women as belonging to separate social categories. While a fellow such as Heaton might enjoy and cultivate a physical relationship with a woman, those very relations meant that she might receive much worse treatment in other settings.

Finally, the witnesses included individuals to whom Heaton had confessed. Thomas Chamberlain's testimony was especially important but problematic. The trouble came with Chamberlain's high rank in the local LDS hierarchy. Since Chamberlain had been a bishop in Orderville and was, in 1908, a member of an LDS stake presidency in Kane County, Thurman demanded that Heaton's confession was not valid in a secular court of law. Under examination, Chamberlain explained that he interrogated Heaton at the request of the county attorney and not as a religious leader. Although Chamberlain assured the court that he did not quote scripture to the defendant or make any other religious inducements to get the boy to confess, Thurman successfully argued that Mormon teachings were so ingrained in the cultural psyche that during the interrogation Heaton did not distinguish between Thomas Chamberlain the religious leader and the civilian servant. He claimed that Heaton's statement was given as a religious confession to a religious leader and was therefore inadmissible in court. Due to the defense's argument, the prosecution refused to enter the statement as evidence.[78]

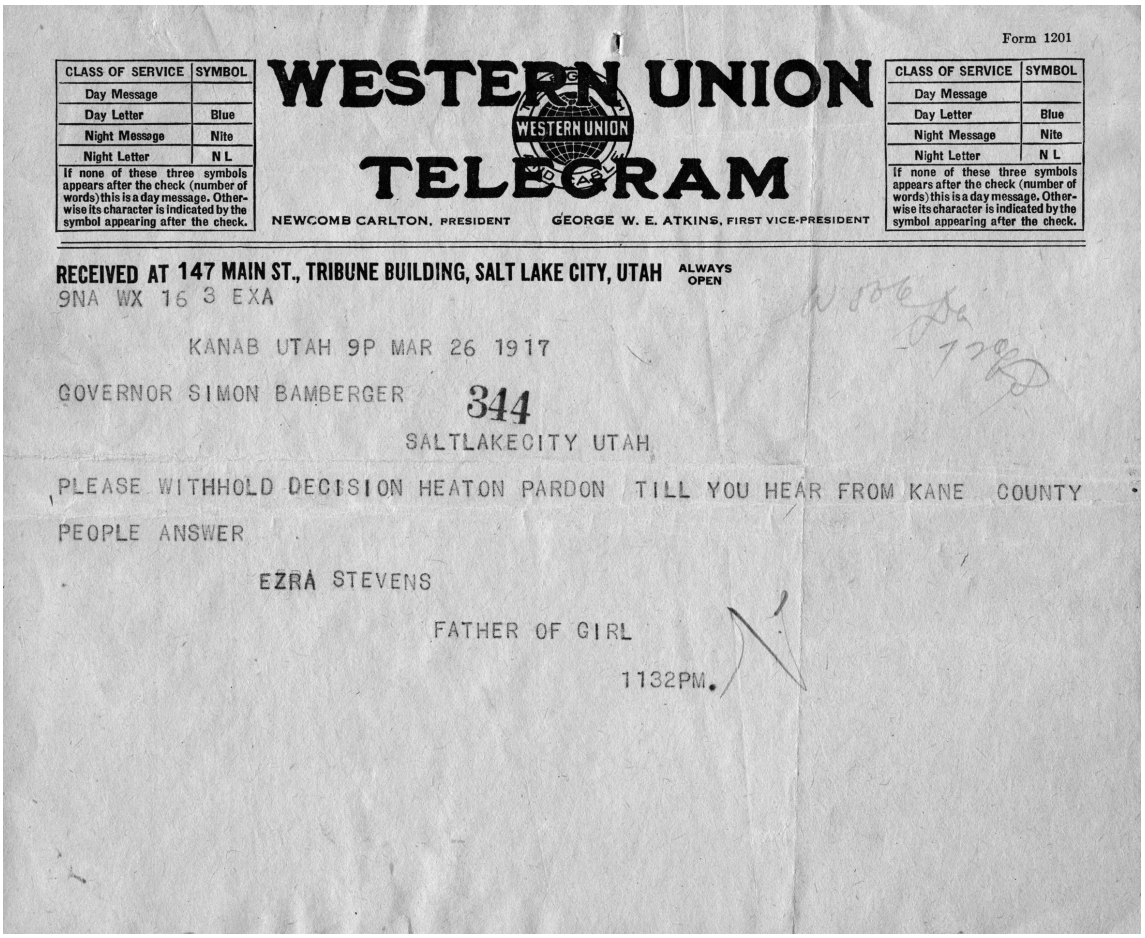
Heaton did make an admission of guilt, however, that stood in court. Carl Ramsay and Louis Bean testified that, while they were visiting the Kane County jail, Heaton admitted to them that he had killed Mary Stevens. At the time, Ramsay told Heaton, "Well, I'd hate to be you if you done it," to which Heaton replied, "Well, I done it all right." Ramsay then asked him if anyone had seen him commit the crime, and Heaton

75 Ibid.

76 Testimony, June 16 and 17, 1908, *State of Utah vs. Alvin F. Heaton Jr.*

77 "Evidence Completed in Heaton Murder Case."

78 Thomas Chamberlain, the man Cutler asked to convince Heaton to confess to his crime, was a leading citizen in the county and the local Mormon church. In addition to his position in a stake presidency, Chamberlain was one of the founding members of Orderville and the second president of its United Order. He was also a bishop in the area, when he lived there with his five wives. Therefore the defense successfully argued that regardless of the hat Chamberlain wore when he implored Heaton to confess, the essence of the man was that of religious leader. Heaton, who came from a very prominent LDS family in Kane County, would have connected first to the essence of Chamberlain long before he recognized the role the older man was in at the moment. Hence it could be said that the prosecution took unfair advantage of that deep religious connection to convince Heaton to confess to the crime. Bradley, *A History of Kane County*, 111–13. "Evidence Completed in Heaton Murder Case"; "State Rests Case in Heaton Trial," *Inter-Mountain Republican*, January 21, 1909.



Form 1201

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

RECEIVED AT 147 MAIN ST., TRIBUNE BUILDING, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH ALWAYS OPEN

9NA WX 16 3 EXA

KANAB UTAH 9P MAR 26 1917

GOVERNOR SIMON BAMBERGER 344

SALTLAKECITY UTAH

PLEASE WITHHOLD DECISION HEATON PARDON TILL YOU HEAR FROM KANE COUNTY PEOPLE ANSWER

EZRA STEVENS

FATHER OF GIRL

1132PM.

A March 1917 telegram from Ezra Stevens, the father of Mary Stevens, asking Governor Simon Bamberger to suspend a decision to pardon Alvin Heaton Jr. This communication is part of the case file for Heaton's pardon.

—

Utah State Archives and Records Service

answered, "No, no one ever saw me within three miles of the d—d place."[79]

Once the prosecution rested, Thurman produced several witnesses, including Mamie Robinson, who testified that they saw Heaton at different times during the day to show that his day was fully accounted for. He did all he could to mount a convincing defense, but he could not overpower the evidence presented by the state. Heaton did not take the stand at any time in his defense.[80]

After five and a half hours of deliberation the jury returned with a verdict. The spectators who followed the case rushed back into the courtroom to hear the outcome. As the jurors returned to their seats the defendant was reported as being "the coolest and apparently the most disinterested person in the room."[81] When asked the verdict, jury foreman B. W. Hopkins presented "guilty of murder in the first degree with a recommendation to mercy." Thurman objected to this finding, so the jury returned to the deliberation room. Within a few minutes they returned with the verdict of "murder in the first degree with a recommen-

79 "Evidence Completed in Heaton Murder Case."

80 Ibid.

81 "Closing Scenes of Murder Case," *Richfield Reaper*, January 21, 1909.

dation of life imprisonment at hard labor."[82] Heaton had successfully avoided the death penalty.

Heaton calmly sat in his seat and gave no indication that he heard the verdict. He made no movement that he recognized he had been found guilty of a major crime or that he was about to spend the rest of his life in the state prison. The *Richfield Reaper* remarked that "It is almost beyond conception that a young man could listen to the verdict placing the guilt of the most horrible crime ever heard of in this part of the state and remain so indifferent. Yet young Heaton was unmoved."[83] Perhaps he was not indifferent at all and was only in a state of shock, or, knowing his guilt, he had fully resigned himself to his fate.

Alvin Heaton began his sentence of life imprisonment with hard labor. It is reported that after the trial when Sheriff Abbott escorted Heaton back to his jail cell, the defendant made the comment that he got what he deserved. He also commented that he recognized the fact that he could have received the death penalty for his crime.[84]

After his first year in prison, Heaton obtained the position of dining room waiter in the warden's household. As a result of this relationship, Warden Arthur Pratt and Heaton became friends. After Heaton had served eight years in the penitentiary, Pratt decided to retire. On April 1, 1917, the newspapers reported that at the last minute, Pratt moved to secure a pardon for Heaton so they could walk out the prison doors together on Pratt's last day.[85] However, the legal documents show that Heaton applied for a commutation of sentence as early as November 25, 1916. District Attorney Erickson and Judge Booth both wrote letters to the Board of Pardons that supported Heaton's request for release. Erickson, Booth, and Pratt cited Heaton's youth at the time of the murder, his family's standing in the community, and his subsequent good behavior as reasons to release him.[86]

According to the reports, Heaton's sentence had already been commuted down to November 1917 because of his good behavior. Since that was only seven months away, Pratt wanted the board to release him a little earlier. Pratt had secured lodging and employment for Heaton as a waiter in Orderville. After an emergency meeting on March 30, the Board of Pardons determined that Heaton had indeed been a model prisoner and should be released early.[87] While the records do not indicate what made Heaton an exemplary prisoner, the fact that he spent seven years as the Pratts' family waiter is significant. On the other hand, Heaton's early release also meant that Stevens was never given a full measure of justice.

Heaton did not return to Orderville upon his release. Instead he moved to Provo, becoming the headwaiter at Sutton's Café by 1922. He married Bernice Hindmarsh, and by 1924 they had a

82 Ibid.; Verdict of jury, Case 631; "Heaton Found Guilty of Murder," *Salt Lake Herald*, January 22, 1909; "Heaton Sentenced to Life Imprisonment," *Inter-Mountain Republican*, January 23, 1909; "Life Imprisonment for Alvin Heaton Jr.," *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 23, 1909; "Utah State News," *Davis County Clipper*, January 29, 1909.

83 "Closing Scenes of Murder Case," *Richfield Reaper*, January 21, 1909.

84 "What Heaton Said," *Richfield Reaper*, January 28, 1909.

85 Arthur Pratt advocated for the humane treatment of prisoners and the position that prison terms could be "reformative as well as punitive." This view could help explain his leniency toward Alvin Heaton. "State Prison a Model Institution," *Deseret Evening News*, December 20, 1913, p. 67; see also Richard S. van Wagoner and Mary van Wagoner, "Arthur Pratt, Utah Lawman," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (1987): 32.

86 "Model Prisoner to be Pardoned," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, March 22, 1917; "Pardon for Slayer Sought by Warden," *Salt Lake Telegram*; March 22, 1917; "Pardon Board to Meet on Friday," *Salt Lake Telegram*; March 23, 1917; "Board to Consider Plea for Heaton," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 24, 1917. It can be surmised that the petitions for Heaton's early release (other than those by Pratt) were for the November release date, and the emergency meeting was scheduled in the attempt to move the already approved release date from November to April 1, 1917.

87 The letters and commutation requests, as well as a telegram from Ezra Stevens to Simon Bamberger, may be viewed online at "Board of Pardons Prisoner Pardon Application Case Files," *Utah State Digital Archives*, s.v. "Alvin F. Heaton," accessed March 26, 2015, images.archives.utah.gov/cdm/landingpage/collection/328; "Model Prisoner to be Pardoned"; "Pardon for Slayer Sought by Warden"; "Pardon Board to Meet on Friday"; "Board to Consider Plea for Heaton"; "Slayer of Girl Granted Pardon," *Salt Lake Telegram*, March 30, 1917; "Prison Gates Are Open to Heaton," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 2, 1917; "Utah State News," *Davis County Clipper*, April 4, 1917.

four-year-old son.[88] He then received word that his mother's sheep needed to be tended to and that her house was going into foreclosure. After a sixteen-year absence, Heaton finally returned to his hometown. With his brother Gerald, and Howard and Joseph Chamberlain, Heaton drove from Provo to Kane County.[89]

On July 2, 1924—Mary Stevens's birthday—the four men drove down Highway 89 to tend to family business. It is believed that Alvin drove the automobile that night in the dark when they reached Kane County. For some reason, as they reached the vicinity of where he killed Stevens, the automobile veered off the road, went over a retaining wall, overturned, and killed Alvin instantly. The other three walked away with minor injuries.[90]

The murder and trial made headlines when they happened, but shortly afterward the state moved on, and Stevens's murder was generally forgotten except in the memories of Kane County residents. It was not until 1940, when an article appeared in *Dynamic Detective* magazine that this story resurfaced to an extent. It is possible that its author went to Orderville and interviewed the residents living there because she included details in her article, such as Heaton's pigeon-toed walk, that never came out in court or the newspapers. The same information showed up in a Milwaukee newspaper in 1953, but neither of these pieces had any citations.[91] Perhaps their authors merely took artistic license to help sell copies.

As sensational and widely reported as this murder was in 1908, time has left it in obscurity. There were no transcripts taken from the trial because no one paid to have them done, so the only records we have of the proceedings are from the lengthy *Richfield Reaper* articles. A handful of legal documents remain from the Kane and Sevier county proceedings, but they are greatly limited in scope and time frame. Unfortunately, we will never be able to fully understand why this man murdered a woman in cold blood. The pressure he might have felt because of her pregnancy, as well as the double standard in place among his peers, could have contributed to his decision. Perhaps, later in life, law-abiding citizenship was just an act to avoid more prison time or, more than likely, the reality of going to prison made such a tremendous impression on Heaton that he determined to never do anything that would return him there.

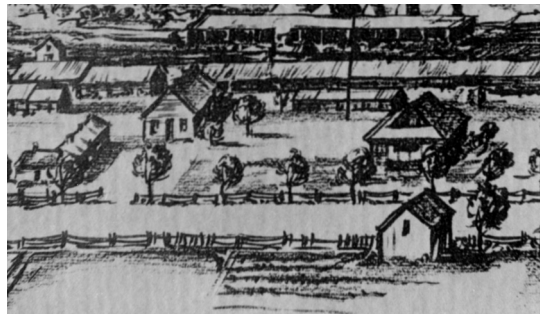
Today, the sound of Alvin Heaton's shots still echo quietly through Long Valley, heard only by those who choose to stop and listen, but beyond that, much of the world has forgotten him, Mary Stevens, and her undeserved death.

—

Roger Blomquist received his Ph.D. at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln and taught history at both Brigham Young University and Utah Valley University. He just released the first volume, Handcart Journey, *of the much-anticipated South Pass historical fiction series. He is also working on releasing "A Most Horrible Crime" as a novel under a different title.*

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WEB EXTRA



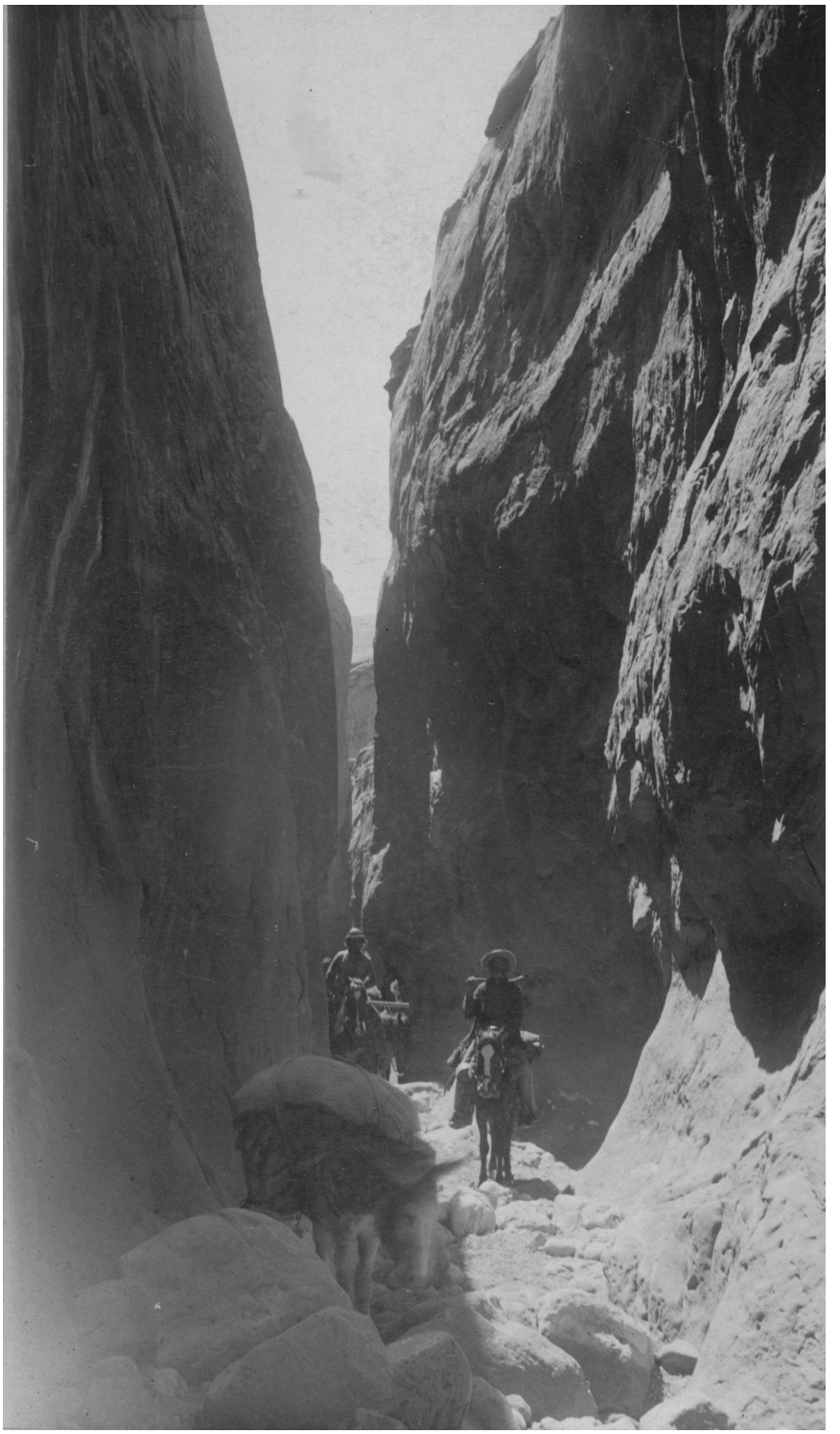
We spoke with Roger Blomquist about the process of investigating Stevens' murder. Check out our conversation at history.utah.gov/uhqextras.

88 *Provo City and Utah County Directories* (Provo, UT: R. L. Polk), 1922, 1924.

89 Accounts vary whether this was Heaton's first visit home or if he had been down a couple of weeks earlier to tend to his mother's sheep; it seems likely this was his second visit since his release. "Alvin Heaton Killed," *Garfield County News*, July 4, 1924; "Auto Mishap Brings Death," *Salt Lake Telegram*, July 4, 1924; "Death Halts Slayer at Scene of Deed," Salt Lake Telegram, July 9, 1924; "Alvin Heaton Victim of Auto Accident," *Richfield Reaper*, July 10, 1924. Howard and Joseph were sons of Thomas Chamberlain and his first wife.

90 "Alvin Heaton Killed"; "Auto Mishap Brings Death"; "Death Halts Slayer at Scene of Deed"; "Alvin Heaton Victim of Auto Accident."

91 Margaret A. Beaty "Crimson Romance of the Mormon Beauty," *Dynamic Detectives: True Police Cases,* February 1940 vol. 6, no. 36. Harold Q. Masur, "Pigeon-Toed Killer," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, August 16, 1953, magazine section, 14.



The Deseret Museum Expedition led by James E. Talmage explored parts of the rugged and highly dissected high plateau desert region of southern Utah and northern Arizona. The route often included narrow sandstone canyons in this arid region. Talmage stressed that their "object is to study the formations and not simply to traverse the country."

—

L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University

JAMES E. TALMAGE AND THE 1895 DESERET MUSEUM EXPEDITION TO SOUTHERN UTAH

BY CRAIG S. SMITH

As 1894 dawned, the University of Utah faced dire financial difficulties. The financial Panic of 1893 and the resulting inadequate appropriation from the Utah Territorial legislature put the university in an unsustainable position. Proposals to solve the problem included combining it with the Agricultural College of Utah and placing the consolidated institutions in Logan. Under consideration was even the suspension of the university until funds became available at some future time.[1]

Several university professors approached the First Presidency of the LDS church for its help to save the university. After a number of discussions, the First Presidency agreed to discontinue the one-year-old Church University and to direct the funds and equipment earmarked for that insti-

1 Ralph V. Chamberlin, *The University of Utah: A History of Its First Hundred Years, 1850–1950* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1960), 197–207; Michael Quinn, "The Brief Career of Young University at Salt Lake City," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Winter 1973), 83.



James E. Talmage, ca. 1895. At the time of the Deseret Museum Expedition, Talmage was president of the University of Utah, Deseret Professor of Geology, and director of the Deseret Museum.
—
Photograph by the Johnson Company.
L. Tom Perry Special Collections

tution to the University of Utah as an endowment. They concurred that there were not enough students to support both institutions, that rivalry between the two would weaken both, and that the finances of Utah could only support one university.[2] The cooperative agreement included appointing Dr. James E. Talmage as president of the university and forming a $60,000 endowed professorship—the Deseret Professorship of Geology—under the control and support of the Salt Lake Literary and Scientific Association, a subsidiary institution of the LDS church.[3] The appointment of Talmage as university president would favor the Mormon influence in ongoing conflicts over political and social control of the territory, although all accepted that the university should remain a secular institution.[4]

In addition to becoming University of Utah president, Talmage was also selected as the Deseret Professor of Geology. Talmage, who at the time taught chemistry at the Church University, wrote in his journal at the news of becoming a geology professor: "Indeed it is asked by both the Church authorities and the University officials that I take up a new branch—geology: in other words, I am asked to divorce the scientific mate with whom I have lived so happily for a number of years, and proceed at once to court another damsel: of whom I know little beyond the fact that she is comely and enjoyable."[5] The agreement also provided the university use of the facilities and building of the Deseret Museum, another institution owned by the Salt Lake Literary and Scientific Association, of which Talmage was director.

The following year, while university president and Deseret Professor of Geology, Talmage directed and embarked on a seven-week sci-

2 First Presidency of the LDS church, "Official Announcement," August 18, 1894.

3 James E. Talmage, Journal, April 10, 1894, Holograph, James E. Talmage Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, 203–6; Quinn, "The Brief Career of Young University at Salt Lake City," 84.

4 John R. Talmage, *The Talmage Story, Life of James E. Talmage—Educator, Scientist, Apostle* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1972), 125.

5 Talmage, Journal, March 30, 1894. Talmage actually took classes in geology at Lehigh University, wrote an elementary textbook on science—*First Book of Nature* (1888)—that included chapters on geology, and was elected a Fellow of the Geological Society of London in December 1894.

entific expedition to the remote backcountry of southern Utah from July 22 to September 7, 1895, funded by a special geology department appropriation with help from the LDS church through the Deseret Museum. This article documents this little-known expedition into the rugged and highly dissected high plateau desert region of southern Utah and northern Arizona—a region characterized by faults, canyons, high cliffs, and little water. At the time, communication with Salt Lake City and the outside world was delayed by weeks. With official support from the LDS church's First Presidency, Talmage and his party completed a circuitous route of southern Utah and northern Arizona, collecting specimens, surveying the terrain, examining and recording geologic formations, and preaching to local residents, who rendered support to him and his men.

Talmage's expedition followed in the footsteps of, but did not equal, the great geographical and geological studies of the Powell and Wheeler surveys of the 1870s that described and mapped much of the West's high plateau region.[6] Two geologists, Clarence Dutton and Grove Karl Gilbert, working under the United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region directed by John Wesley Powell, authored geological monographs. These reports gave Talmage the background and direction for his investigations. Dutton's landmark report, published in 1880 and based on three field seasons from 1875 to 1877, described the high plateau region of southern Utah, focusing mostly on its igneous history; later, in 1882, he published a Tertiary history of the Grand Canyon.[7] Gilbert's monograph described the geological history of the Henry Mountains, concentrating on the laccolith formations, a mass of igneous rock formed from magma that did not extend to the surface but spread laterally into the strata.[8]

6 Richard A. Bartlett, *Great Surveys of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); Herbert E. Gregory, "Scientific Explorations in Southern Utah," *American Journal of Science* 243 (October 1945), 527–49.

7 Clarence E. Dutton, *Geology of the High Plateaus of Utah* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rock Mountain Region, 1880); Dutton, *Tertiary History of the Grand Canon District* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1882).

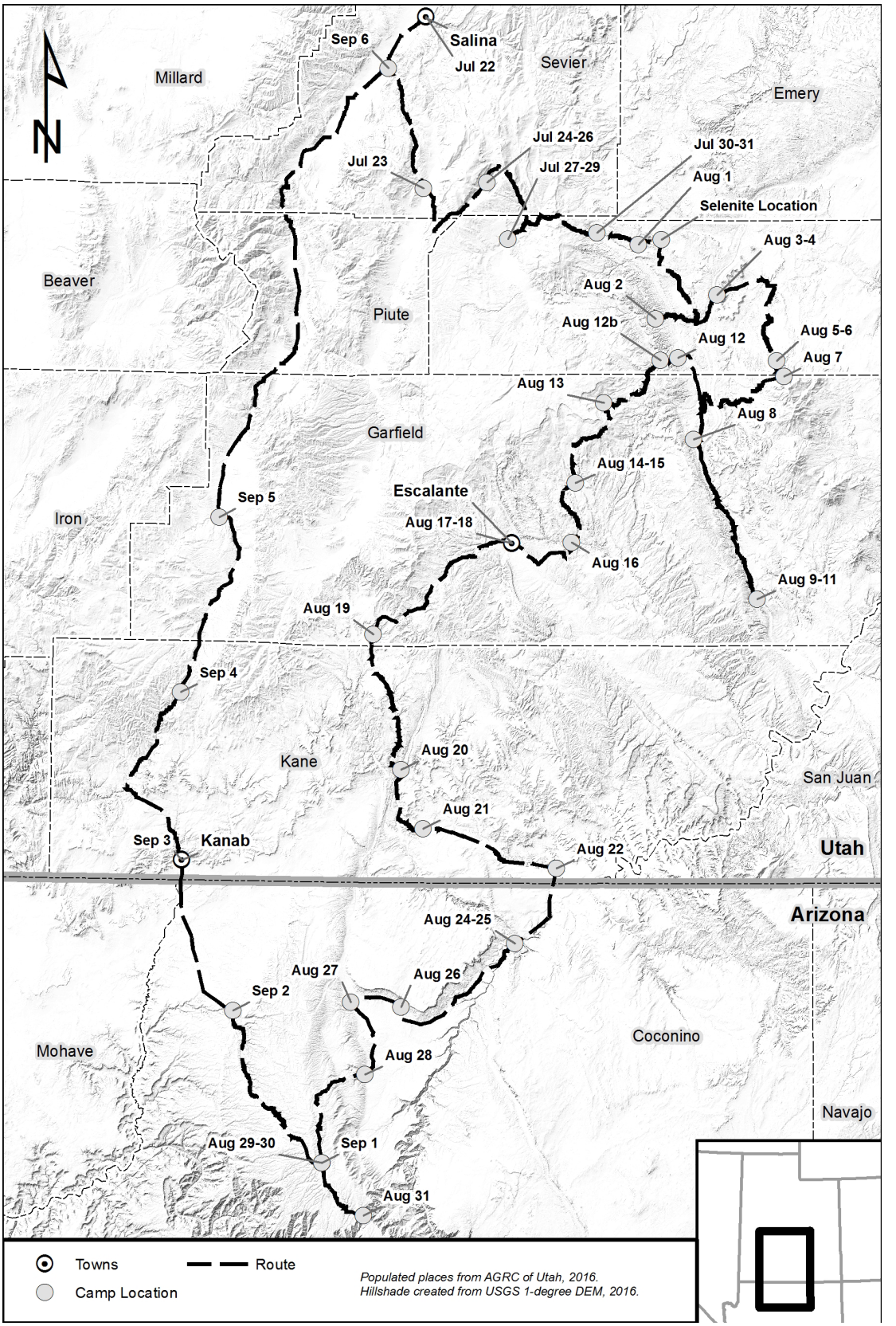
8 G. K. Gilbert, *Report on the Geology of the Henry Mountains* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rock Mountain Region, 1877).

TALMAGE'S JOURNAL REVEALS AN INDIVIDUAL PASSIONATELY COMMITTED TO HIS SCIENTIFIC PURSUITS UNDER TRYING CONDITIONS.

Though not clearly stated in Talmage's journal—the principal historical record of the expedition—the goals for the expedition were much more modest than those of these large multiyear and well-funded U.S. government surveys. The expedition was more a reconnaissance of a large area to obtain a firsthand view and clearer understanding of the geology, collect rock specimens for the Deseret Museum, and take photographs of the formations. Talmage did not spend more than a day or two studying any one location. His plans included visiting the selenite area from which the Deseret Museum had been collecting samples for several years, investigating the laccolith formations of the Henry Mountains as described in Gilbert's monograph, and learning more concerning the structure of the Waterpocket Fold. One of his major objectives of the journey was to inspect the locality in the Wahweap area containing sandstone with peculiar markings that many locals believed to be of human origin. He also wished to make additional observations at the Grand Canyon, an area he first examined in May 1887. Talmage stressed in his journal that their "object is to study the formations and not simply to traverse the country."[9]

Talmage's journal reveals an individual passionately committed to his scientific pursuits under trying conditions. The expedition at times was lost, on the verge of running out of water, and even forced into "borrowing" horses off the range to replace ones that gave out along the trail. The journal presents a compelling story of the difficulties of conducting scientific fieldwork in a remote and arid region during the late nineteenth century—difficulties that were amelio-

9 Talmage, Journal, August 10, 1895.



Map of the 1895 Deseret Museum Expedition's route through southern Utah and northern Arizona.

rated to a degree by Talmage's position and connections with the local people. Also significant is that the expedition was directed by one who would later become one of the better-known Utahns, a member of the LDS church's Quorum of the Twelve and a theological writer. This episode furnishes insights into the secular scientific side of Talmage's life that are not as well known as his theological endeavors.

Ten men accompanied Talmage, including two colleagues at the University of Utah: George Raynolds Mathews, the vice-director of the expedition, was professor of French and German, and William Dalton Neal, the expedition secretary, was an instructor in geology and mineralogy under Talmage.[10] The others were Major H. C. Hill, W. Forsberg, and men whom the *Salt Lake Herald* listed as "Messrs. Chamberlin, Poulson, Woodbury, Doxey, Riter and Ridges"— probably laborers or students hired to help with the expedition.[11]

The party left by train from Salt Lake City on July 22 and arrived in Salina that night, where they camped. The following morning they continued their journey toward Fish Lake but only made it as far as about Burrville, due to their wagons being too small for the ten-person party's gear. They finally arrived at Fish Lake and camped near the outlet at the north end of the lake at about noon on July 24. The rest of the day was spent fishing and visiting with friends from Richfield and Monroe at the "charming resort" on the lake where many families spent the summer. The next day one of their party, Hill, returned to Salina. Talmage and a companion studied the glacial cirques along Sevenmile Creek north of Fish Lake, while the rest of the party fished and hunted. He also hunted for a short time, shooting enough food for a good meal.

The next day, Talmage and a few others followed a pattern that they would continue throughout the expedition of getting up early to explore the surrounding area taking notes, specimens, and photographs while others stayed back in camp. During the day he and Neal climbed the hills on each side of the Fremont River Gate shooting photographs and drawing sketches of the river through Johnson Flat. This occurred before the area was inundated by the waters of the Johnson Valley Reservoir. The following day, July 27, Talmage and Neal were again up early examining the geology of the area while the rest of the party prepared to leave for Fremont. Upon reaching Fremont, they camped on the land of Franklin Wheeler Young, a leading settler of the area.[12] Young and his family showed great hospitality and insisted that they have dinner with them, as was the norm of the local people throughout their journey. As part of the LDS church support of the expedition, the office of the Presiding Bishop had ordered the church officials in Fremont to furnish ten horses to Talmage's party, which caused quite a commotion. The horses were provided, but Talmage commented: "As to quality of horseflesh we can say little for an encouraging nature from what we have thus far seen. If the church horses, those turned in for tithing are fair samples of the horses of this region, an improvement in stock is needed."[13] His journal also revealed that many people in the area had expressed concerns over the scarcity of water in the area they planned to investigate and had ominous dreams about the expedition's fate. Talmage's wife and friends reportedly had similar dreams of death befalling them, though Talmage brushed them aside, believing his expedition would be protected by a divine power.

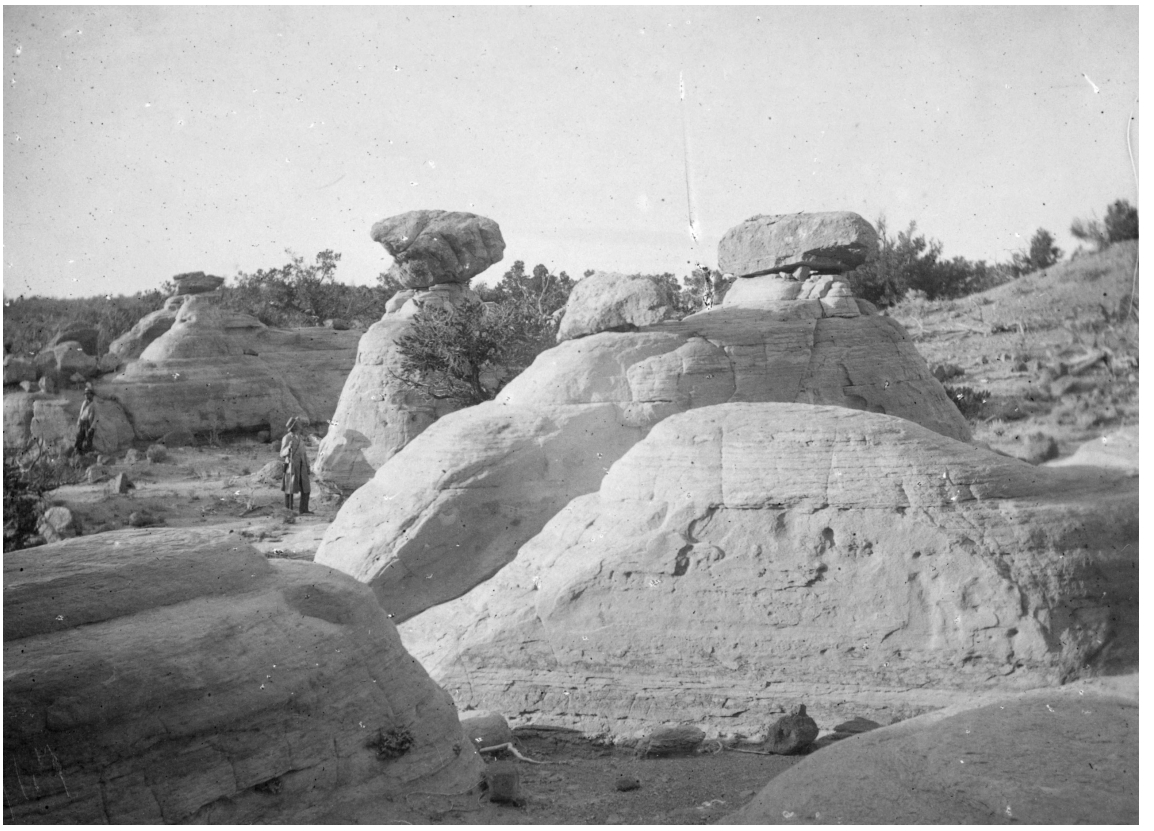
On July 28, a Sunday, Talmage and Mathews spoke to the local LDS church meeting as part of their religious duties, an activity they per-

10 *University of Utah Catalogue for 1894–95* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1894). George Raynolds Mathews (1861–1899) received degrees from Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, the Divinity School of Yale University, and the Divinity School at Harvard. He started at the University of Utah in 1892 and was full professor of French and German from 1893 until his retirement due to ill health in 1899. Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, 588. William Dalton Neal (1869–1918) graduated from the University of Deseret Normal School in 1888 and then graduated from the Scientific Course in 1892. He completed his doctorate and then suffered a stroke, which left him paralyzed. Margaret Neal Anderson, www.findagrave.com.

11 "A Scientific Expedition," *Salt Lake Herald*, July 22, 1895. Individuals with those last names are listed as laborers and students in *R. L. Polk & Co.'s Salt Lake City Directory 1893* (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk & Co., 1893).

12 Young (1839–1911) had settled in what was then known as Rabbit Valley—the area around Fremont—and gave Thurber and Loa their names. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1914), 95–98.

13 Talmage, Journal, July 27, 1895.



Jurassic sandstone on the flank of Thousand Lake Mountain. Talmage and his party traveled from Fremont, Utah, over Thousand Lake Mountain into Cathedral Valley passing these formations just above the valley.

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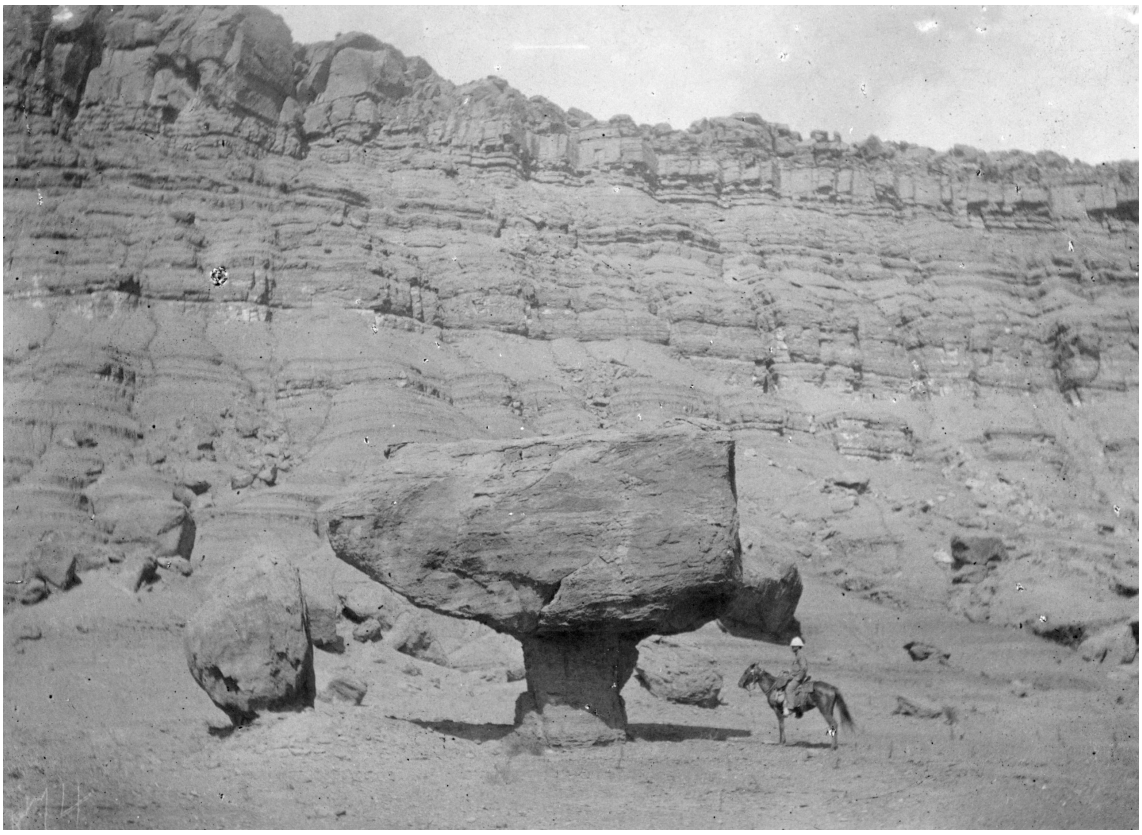
L. Tom Perry Special Collections

formed on most Sundays during the trip. That night two individuals of the party, Woodbury and Chamberlin, came down with severe fevers and started for home the following day. The sickness of these individuals delayed the group's departure from Fremont until July 30. During the delay, Talmage examined formations in the area while others prepared for departure over the Thousand Lake Mountains.

Talmage obtained the services of Joseph Eckersley, the Wayne LDS stake clerk, as a guide, and Irvin Tanner to look after the horses.[14] The party journeyed east over the forested Thousand Lake Mountains during a heavy storm and camped in the desert in Cathedral Valley, in what is now Capitol Reef National Park. After supper, Talmage and a few other men climbed to the top of the surrounding mesas and recorded the imposing view: "Gorgeous palaces majestic temples, stately cathedrals, towering castles with battlements and towers abound. A rain storm, with rolling thunder and sharp lightening added to the grandeur of the scenes. I was so impressed with the beauty of the surroundings that I could scarcely take my notes."[15] This description compares in exuberance to the earliest—and perhaps finest—description of Capitol Reef country; in 1866 Franklin Wooley,

14 Eckersley (1866–1960) later became a prominent church leader and public figure, serving as county attorney, county superintendent of schools, and state senator. See Miriam B. Murphy, *A History of Wayne County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1999): 100; Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1941): 929-931; Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, vol. 3 (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1920), 366–67.

15 Talmage, Journal, July 30, 1895.



Igneous boulder on a pillar along Hartnet Wash in what is now Capitol Reef National Park. The expedition traveled down Hartnet Wash through the South Desert to the Fremont River, where they camped for the night.
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the adjutant of a military expedition led by Captain James Andrus, observing from the more elevated Aquarius Plateau "a naked barren plain of red and white Sandstone" and "high buttes," wrote that the "Sun shining down on this vast red plain almost dazzled our eyes by the reflection as it was thrown back from the firey surface."[16] On their return to camp in the dark Talmage and his companions became lost and wandered for hours, barely avoiding "precipices and chasms."

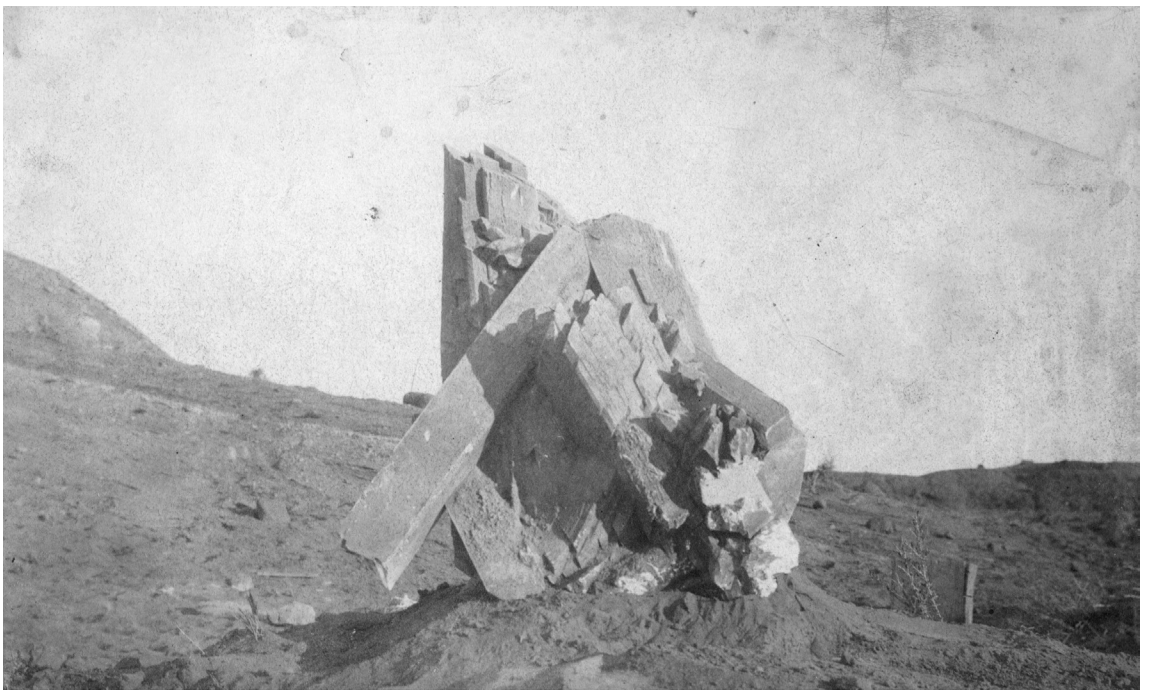
Early in the morning on July 31, Talmage and others including Eckersley ascended the mesa to take photographs at sunrise. They hoped to return to camp by breakfast but decided to return by way of the desert, which "proved to be an instructive though arduous journey." Eckersley wrote upon arriving in camp that they were "sick as we had ate nothing for 22 hours, had slept little and walked about 35 miles, mostly under a burning sun with little to drink save that we could sip from pocket holes in the rock."[17] A violent rainstorm kept them in a dilapidated cabin for the rest of the afternoon, but by evening Talmage was out studying igneous dikes, a major focus of Clarence Dutton's monograph.[18]

The men spent the next day "viewing, sketching, and photographing the erosion monuments." Talmage named them "Temples of the Desert," "Desert Synagogues," and "Watch Tower of the Wilderness." After spending the following morning again visiting some of the erosional

16 C. Gregory Crampton, ed., "Military Reconnaissance in Southern Utah, 1866," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 32 (Spring 1964), 156–57.

17 Joseph Eckersley, Journal, July 31, 1895, Holograph, Vol. 6, box 2, fd. 1, Eckersley Papers, MS 1579, LDS Church History Library.

18 Dutton, *Geology of the High Plateaus of Utah.*



Selenite crystals visited by the Talmage party in what is now Capitol Reef National Park. For years the Deseret Museum had been collecting these fine crystals and trading them to other museums, including those in Europe.

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monuments, the party continued to the Fremont River. On the way they stopped at the selenite location where the Deseret Museum had been collecting fine gypsum crystals for several years, which Talmage traded to other museums, including those in Europe.[19] These investigations in the area of Cathedral Valley generally retraced those of Clarence Dutton, although, unlike Dutton, Talmage apparently made no new discoveries in the field. His was a quick reconnaissance of a couple days, taking photographs and notes that could be used in his classes and lectures. On August 3 the party arrived in Caineville, a village on the north bank of the Fremont River, and contacted the LDS bishop, Walter E. Hanks, as was their typical procedure when arriving at a settlement. The local people provided badly needed food and supplies, as well as three fresh horses. While members of the party rested, Talmage and two companions rode twelve to fifteen miles northwest into the desert in a futile attempt to find another selenite formation.

The next day, a Sunday, Talmage, Eckersley, and Mathews spoke to an LDS congregation under a bowery roof. Talmage also gave a lecture on "Stimulants and Narcotics" in the evening. Eckersley mentioned that the mosquitoes were thick. The following morning, accompanied by Bishop Hanks, the expedition continued "over a region devoid of even the vestiges of vegetation" to the base of Mount Ellen, the highest peak of the Henry Mountains, and camped without feed for the animals. The party attempted to visit and examine the laccolith formations of the Henry Mountains as recorded by Grove Karl Gilbert in his important monograph.[20] Talmage agreed with Gilbert's observation that only geologists would take interest in the Henry Mountains. Owing to the terrain and the heat, he confided

19 Talmage wrote an article for the journal *Science* describing the mound of selenite or gypsum, which at the time measured thirty-five feet in length, ten feet in width, and twenty feet in height. James E. Talmage, "The Remarkable Occurrence of Selenite," *Science* 21 (February 1893), 85–86. This article was based on the Deseret Museum's collecting activities prior to the expedition.

20 Gilbert, *Report on the Geology of the Henry Mountains*.

that the work was "somewhat unpleasant."[21] Eckersley complained, "I never suffered so much from thirst as on this trip."[22]

On the second day in the Henry Mountains, after heavy rains and wind ceased, a few of the men climbed to the summit of Mount Ellen,while Talmage circumscribed in rough terrain one of the mountains, observing "Ellen put[ting] on a robe and a wreath of clouds: the thunder and lightening added grandeur to the scene." After returning to camp, he spent a chilly night under a large juniper, twenty-five feet high and seven feet in circumference at its base. As with the investigations in Cathedral Valley, Talmage's study of the Henry Mountains was cursory compared with Gilbert's two months of fieldwork, although his brief stint studying the range afforded an invaluable firsthand view of the laccolithic formations. Because of terrible feed for the animals and their resulting suffering, the party left the Henry Mountains on the morning of August 8, traveling twenty-five miles westward toward the Waterpocket Fold, a steep monoclinal uplift running the length of what is now Capitol Reef National Park. The next four days were spent traveling south along the eastern side of the massive Waterpocket Fold, struggling to find a way through it. Although they failed to find a new route and had to turn around and use the known passage along Pleasant Creek, Talmage considered their efforts a great success because he was able to study geologic formations, take photographs, and collect specimens.

The first day of the four proved the most trying up to this point. As they traveled south paralleling the face of the several-hundred-feet high Waterpocket Fold, the face of another monocline wall rose to their east, forming a canyon that narrowed as they proceeded south. Talmage explained:

> Mile after mile we followed the walls; the heat was oppressive water an unknown occurrence except for the little we brought from last night's camp in our canteens, and that of very bad quality. One of the party had still a pint or so of water from the Henry Mt. spring by which we camped the last day of our stay there: and this was precious liquor. At one o'clock we found a little water in holes or pockets in a deep gulch, from a pint to a few gallons in the various depressions: but the water was dirty, and strongly impugnated with alkali. The horses could not get down to it, and the poor creatures suffered, but for a little we could offer in a bucket. One of the animals is ill, and for a time we feared we would have to leave him; such a necessity would have been a dangerous calamity to us.[23]

By evening they finally found a series of large waterpockets filled with water. The animals immediately rushed into the water with their saddles and packs still affixed, and the men relaxed and bathed in the rock-hewn tubs. Talmage enjoyed sitting on a rock bench within one of the tubs while he wrote in his journal with a candle in one hand.

The entire next day was devoted to riding up a dead-end canyon looking for a passage through the Waterpocket Fold. They rode twenty miles but ended up at the same campsite as the previous night. Two days later, after resting in camp on Sunday, the party turned around and retraced its steps to the north along the Waterpocket Fold to Pleasant Creek, where the men spent the night. The next day they rode up the swollen Pleasant Creek to Ephraim K. Hanks's ranch in an amphitheater of the creek west of the Waterpocket Fold. Hanks, who had settled on Pleasant Creek in 1882, treated the party to badly needed fruit, milk, and buttermilk, and supplied them with potatoes and corn, refusing any payment.[24]

The group continued up Pleasant and Tantalus creeks and ascended the slope of Boulder Mountain under a torrent of rain "far away from

21 Talmage, Journal, August 6, 1895.

22 Eckersley, Journal, August 6, 1895.

23 Talmage, Journal, August 9, 1895.

24 For more on Ephraim Hanks, a Mormon Battalion veteran and early Utah pioneer, see Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, 764–66; Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 660. Andrew Jenson described the ranch during a visit in 1891 as "a cozy little nook in an opening in the mountain where there is a few acres of land on which Bro. Hanks had set out about 200 fruit trees." Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 660.



Willard Croxmull, Talmage, Joseph Nelson, and S. H. Allen on their way to the Grand Canyon, May 24, 1887. Although this photograph was taken during Talmage's earlier journey to the Grand Canyon, it shows how they would have been outfitted for the Deseret Museum Expedition.
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L. Tom Perry Special Collections

any shelter." Although most of his men awoke feeling ill the following morning, having slept in wet bedding, Talmage thought the night "a glorious one; sometimes [*sic*] after midnight the rain ceased, the moon appeared and shed a glory over mountains and forest. The mammoth pines amongst which we are encamped played during the entire night peal after peal like a mighty organ with deep toned pipes alone speaking."[25] Their day's travel generally followed the present-day scenic Highway 12 along the flanks of Boulder Mountain to Boulder Creek, affording amazing views of the Henry Mountains, Navajo Mountain, and the dissected plateau country with its multicolored formations. As Talmage wrote, "one realizes here the force of Dutton's declaration that the Plateau region is itself a great geological map, molded in relief, and colored by Nature, so that its significance can be read from a great distance," indicating his familiarity with Dutton's work.[26] They camped on Boulder Creek where "the fishing here is excellent."

In the hope of reaching Escalante, the party proceeded early the next morning on the less-traveled Boynton Trail instead of the longer standard road, being assured by their scout that he could follow the trail. After two hours of hard travel over sometimes steep slopes of sandstone, they became lost and returned to their starting point at midday—though Talmage found the journey "interesting and instructive." While stopped at their camp, they met Amasa Lyman Jr. returning from Escalante to his nearby ranch.[27] He recommended that they

25 Talmage, Journal, August 14, 1895.

26 Ibid.; Dutton, *Geology of the High Plateaus of Utah*.

27 Lyman (1846–1937), son of Amasa Mason Lyman, was the first settler in the Boulder area in 1889. Newell and Talbot, *A History of Garfield County*, 182–84.

use the Boynton Trail and offered to guide them to Escalante the next day—over what Talmage later described as "deep gulches and canons through which small streams flowed, with rushes and cane brakes, and other marsh plants abounding." They ascended from these canyons to the mesa tops by way of trails carved in the sandstone, and in places the horses relied on footholds chiseled into the rock. At one point, two of the horses "endeavored to find a short cut across the face of a stone inclined fully 60°; and in consequence each of them slipped and slid down the rock face, leaving much of their hair and cuticles on the stone."[28]

They finally arrived at the Escalante River and the next day at the small hamlet of Escalante in the Potato Valley, eleven days behind schedule.[29] Talmage and Mathews spoke at an LDS church meeting on Sunday. Talmage returned to the meetinghouse in the evening and again gave his "Stimulants and Narcotics" lecture. He noted that the "audiences both afternoon and evening were large and appreciative." The next morning they started their push to Wahweap Creek, arriving in Henrieville that night after a "discovery of some interesting fossils" and after passing through "sandstones, conglomerates, and shales weathered and worn most fantastically, and the beautiful Pink Cliffs in the distance."[30] They spent the night in the Tithing House yard after visiting with the LDS bishop of the town. En route to the small town of Pahreah (Lower Paria) on the Paria River, the men and their animals waded through sand, deep mud, and a creek swollen from recent rainstorms, wearing the animals completely out.

Talmage and Mathews spent the next morning at Lower Paria in search of fruit and vegetables and information on the next segment of their journey. The town consisted of only seven families; Talmage claimed that "even with my lack of skill I am reasonably sure I could throw a stone over the town."[31] He visited with the town's bishop who kindly exchanged two fresh horses for the party's most weary pair and provided his stepson as a hired scout.[32] They traveled ten or twelve miles and camped in the desert with no water and little feed for the animals. On August 22 they reached the mesa top between Wahweap and Warm creeks in the present-day Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. Even though the mesa afforded no water and poor feed, Talmage rejoiced at finally arriving at the location of the major object of their difficult journey

> to visit the place of occurrence of sandstone bearing peculiar markings,—lines at right angles, forming map like pages, suggesting plans of cities with streets, alleys, blocks, houses etc. Some small specimens of this stone have been brought me: and several scientific men to whom they have been shown have pronounced them an artificial production. Some of our people whose zeal for the Book of Mormon has actually clouded their judgment, pronounced this, as every other occurrence having any resemblance to archaic work, as Nephite origin.[33]

He judged the markings as natural and was able to find undisturbed outcrops of the stone near the camp, proving their natural origin. Examining these stones in their natural context was one of the important contributions of the expedition, which ended any speculation of their human origin. He published at least two papers on the subject.[34]

The next day was devoted to studying the sandstone formation and collecting specimens. The lack of water was a major problem, forcing them to return to fill their containers at the last watering place with strongly alkaline water that made some of the party sick. They also visited Glen Canyon, today the location of Lake Powell, described as "walls perpendicular

28 Talmage, Journal, August 16, 1895.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., August 19, 1895.

31 In 1892, eight families lived in the town of Pahreah; by 1929 only one man remained. The town site was completely abandoned in 1930. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 628.

32 John Wesley Mangum (1852–1940) served as the presiding elder beginning in 1890. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 628.

33 Talmage, Journal, August 22, 1895.

34 James E. Talmage, "A Peculiarly Marked Sedimentary Rock," *Utah University Quarterly* 1 (December 1895): 193–97; James E. Talmage, "On Certain Peculiar Markings on Sandstones from the Vicinity of Elen Canon, Arizona," *Science* 11 (February 9, 1900), 220.

but simple, lacking the buttresses and recesses of the Grand Canon; river muddy and sluggish; height of walls, about 800 ft."[35]

On August 24, the party faced a frustrating morning trying to round up their animals after they wandered away during the night when the scout failed to hobble the horses correctly. En route to Lee's Ferry, their first stop on their way to the Grand Canyon, one of the party's horses was so worn out that it was abandoned on the trail, and others had to be pulled more than half the way. In many places the "precipitous and dangerous" trail ran only a foot or two from the edge of a perpendicular cliff. The horses often knocked loose rocks off the path that fell "with loud reverberations into the rocky depths below." Late in the evening, after having depleted their food supplies for both the party and animals, the party struggled into Warren M. Johnson's farm at Lee's Ferry. Johnson had settled with his wives at this spot in 1876. His family greeted the weary men with an evening meal of bread, milk, and fresh fruit and "the pleasant odor of alfalfa, sweet clover, 'arrow weed,' etc."[36]

Sunday was a refreshing interval of rest in their "toilsome travel." They enjoyed "an abundance of fruit,—melons, peaches, plums, pears, apples, and grapes." and took badly needed baths in the muddy Colorado River, "exchanging one coating of dirt for another." One in their party went back and retrieved the horse that had been abandoned the previous day. However, the next day, back on the trail—the Kanab Road—toward the Grand Canyon, they again abandoned one of their horses. By the time they reached Jacob's Pools, an important resting place between Kanab and Lee's Ferry first developed by Jacob Hamblin, the entire party and animals had been completely worn down.[37] Talmage did add that "the day has been a successful one in the attainment of the purposes of our expedition," although actual geologic investigations were probably limited due to travel difficulties.

A band of "desert horses" appeared at the watering troughs in the morning, and because a couple of their horses were in a weakened condition, Talmage decided to catch one of the ranch horses and use it as a pack animal. He justified this seizure as "not exactly a case of horse stealing,—nothing more than borrowing." He was acquainted with some of the officers in the Kaibab Land and Cattle Company, or VT Ranch, and would set matters right with them.[38] The party spent another toilsome day driving and leading the animals through the sand. By nightfall they reached House Rock Spring in House Rock Valley, the headquarters of the VT Ranch. None of the ranchmen was present, but they had good accommodations with "water, piped and running into deep troughs, stone hut, good feed in fenced pasture." Nearby was a fenced grave with a headstone hewn from local stone of a twenty-year-old woman, May Whiting, who died there in 1882.[39]

In the morning of August 28, they again succeeded in commandeering another ranch animal, "a fine flea bitten gray mare with colt," and put her into service as a pack animal. They headed south, skirting the edge of the Kaibab Plateau to the ranch house at Kane Spring, where they met VT Ranch range rider Walter E. Hamlin and reported their taking of the range animals. The following day the party made a "steep and arduous" ascent to the summit of the Kaibab Plateau at De Monte Park, the summer range for the VT Ranch.[40] Mathews's personal horse, one of the strongest of the bunch, completely collapsed during the ascent. Talmage still recorded the day as a pleasant journey through interesting "glades, copses and forests."

On August 31, after being delayed most of the previous day by the feeble attempt of rounding up range animals, the party finally set out

35 Talmage, Journal, August 23, 1895.

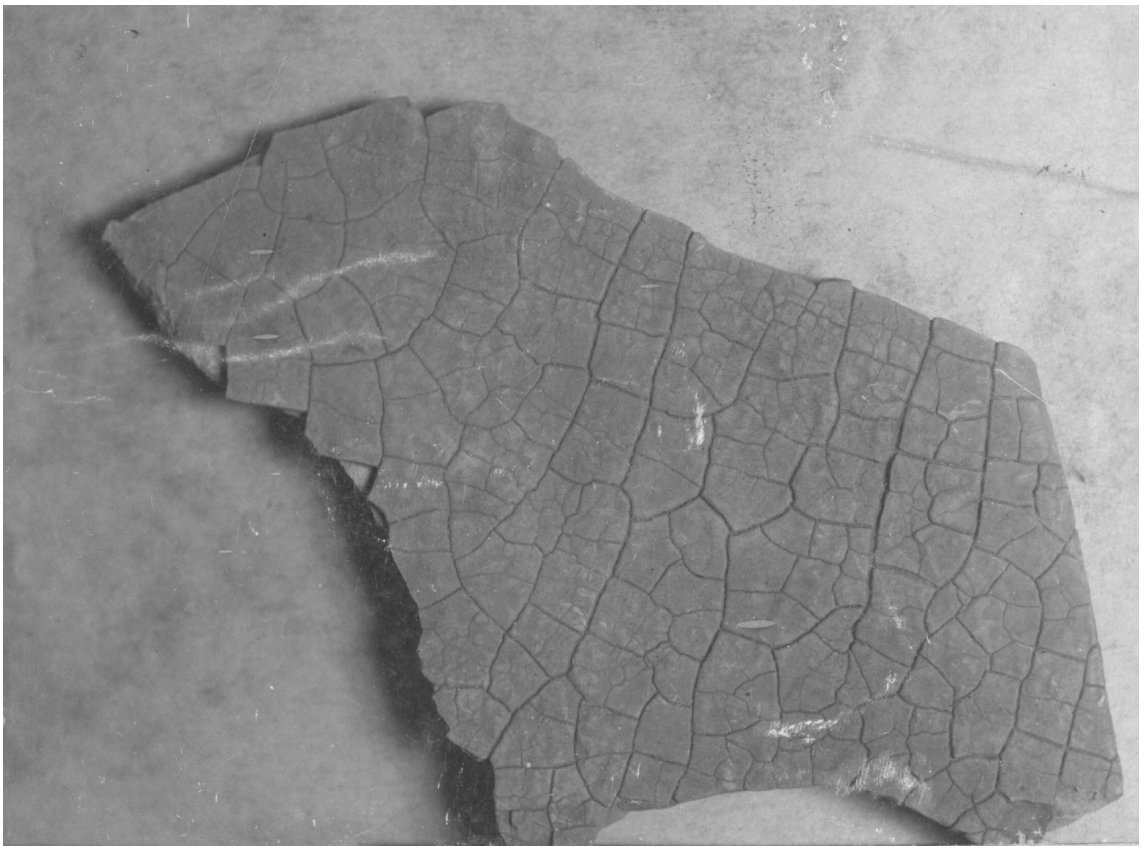
36 Johnson left Lee's Ferry shortly after Talmage's visit and evidently moved to the Big Horn Basin of Wyoming. For more on Johnson, see P. T. Reilly, "Warren Marshall Johnson, Forgotten Saint," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Winter 1971), 3–22; P. T. Reilly, *Lee's Ferry: From Mormon Crossing to National Park* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1999).

37 Todd M. Compton, *A Frontier Life: Jacob Hamblin, Explorer and Indian Missionary* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2013), 159.

38 John W. Young, son of Brigham Young, obtained the ranch in 1887 or 1888. Jerry D. Spangler, *Vermilion Dreamers, Sagebrush Schemers* (Flagstaff: Grand Canyon Trust, 2007), 57.

39 Ibid., 56.

40 Ibid., 58.



Closeup of one of the peculiarly marked sandstone slabs collected near Glen Canyon. One of the goals of the Deseret Museum Expedition was to determine whether the markings on these slabs were of human origin as some locals were claiming. Talmage verified that the markings were natural. The photographed slab measures 16 cm long and 11 mm thick.

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L. Tom Perry Special Collections

for the Grand Canyon. Before long, two of their party, Mathews and Riter, ventured off course and became separated from the rest of the party until the evening of the following day. The rest of the party camped near a lagoon at the head of Bright Angel Canyon. The water from the lagoon was first boiled "and after such treatment the liquid is seen to contain a multitude of cooked animalcules, particularly crustaceous, redden by the heat." They had time to enjoy Bright Angel Canyon and the Nankoweap Valley under a gorgeous sunset. Sunday was the first Sabbath that they did not observe as a day of rest. They justified the breaking of the Sabbath because they were way behind schedule and did not want to miss the opportunity to explore the "famous region of wonder" after exerting such an extreme effort to reach it. They inspected many amazing points of interest but could not take photographs as the photographic plates were with the missing men. They spent only a single day making observations without the ability to take photographs, limiting the scientific usefulness of their visit.

They then made a quick night ride back to Del Monte Park and upon arriving met the foreman of the VT Ranch, Ed Lamb. They camped at the "Troughs" within Nail Canyon on the western flank of the Kaibab Plateau—probably Big Springs, the location of the Levi Stewart and John Naegle ranches.[41] The next day the party traveled to Kanab, then with the assistance of James L. Bunting continued on to Salina. Before they left Kanab, LDS bishop Joel Hill Johnson had taken custody of the horses acquired in

41 Ibid., 37.

ALTHOUGH THE EXPEDITION DID NOT RESULT IN ANY SIGNIFICANT SCIENTIFIC PUBLICATION, IT DID FURNISH TALMAGE AN ON-THE-GROUND AND PRACTICAL VIEW OF THE GEOLOGY OF SOUTHERN UTAH THAT PROBABLY FACILITATED HIS TEACHING AS DESERET PROFESSOR OF GEOLOGY, A POSITION HE HELD UNTIL 1907. HE ALSO USED DATA FROM THIS FIELDWORK FOR TALKS GIVEN AT PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS, THEREBY CEMENTING HIS STANDING AS A GEOLOGIST AMONG HIS PEERS.

Fremont and used during the expedition. By September 7 Talmage and his men had reached Salina, in time to catch the morning train to Salt Lake City. Talmage arrived home that evening, and "to my great joy and gratitude of heart I found wife and children in good health." They made the journey from the Grand Canyon to Salt Lake City in fewer than six days.

After returning home, Talmage settled into his busy routine teaching as Deseret Professor of Geology, conducting his administrative duties as president of the University of Utah, and running the Deseret Museum as director of that institution, as well as lecturing in the evenings and speaking at LDS church meetings on Sundays. One of the first products of the expedition was the article published by Talmage in the December 1895 issue of the *Utah University Quarterly* concerning the peculiarly marked sandstone collected near Glen Canyon. Examining these sandstone slabs was a major goal of the expedition. Three short articles concerning various observations from the fieldwork, including another on the peculiarly marked sandstone, appeared in *Science* in 1900.[42] These articles were based on talks given at the western section of the Geological Society of America meetings in December 1899 attended by the major western geologists of the time.

No major monograph detailing the results of the reconnaissance was published, and such a study was probably not one of its goals. At the same time Talmage was completing these papers on southern Utah, he was also occupied producing one of his major and well-known theological works, *The Articles of Faith*, published in 1899, and writing his scientific treatise on the Great Salt Lake for general audiences in 1900.[43] Although the expedition did not result in any significant scientific publication, it did furnish Talmage an on-the-ground and practical view of the geology of southern Utah that probably facilitated his teaching as Deseret Professor of Geology, a position he held until 1907. He also used data from this fieldwork for talks given at professional meetings, thereby cementing his standing as a geologist among his peers. The photographs and the samples obtained during the expedition provided the Salt Lake City public an opportunity to learn more concerning the geology of their state at the Deseret Museum and through lectures presented by Talmage. This expedition and other

42 Talmage, "On Certain Peculiar Markings on Sandstones from the Vicinity of Elen Canon, Arizona," 220; Talmage, "Notes Concerning Erosion Forms and Exposures in the Deserts of South Central Utah," *Science* 11 (February 9, 1900), 220; Talmage, "Conglomerate 'Puddings' from the Paria River, Utah," *Science* 11 (February 9, 1900), 220.

43 James E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1899); James E. Talmage, *The Great Salt Lake Present and Past* (Salt Lake City: *Deseret News*, 1900).

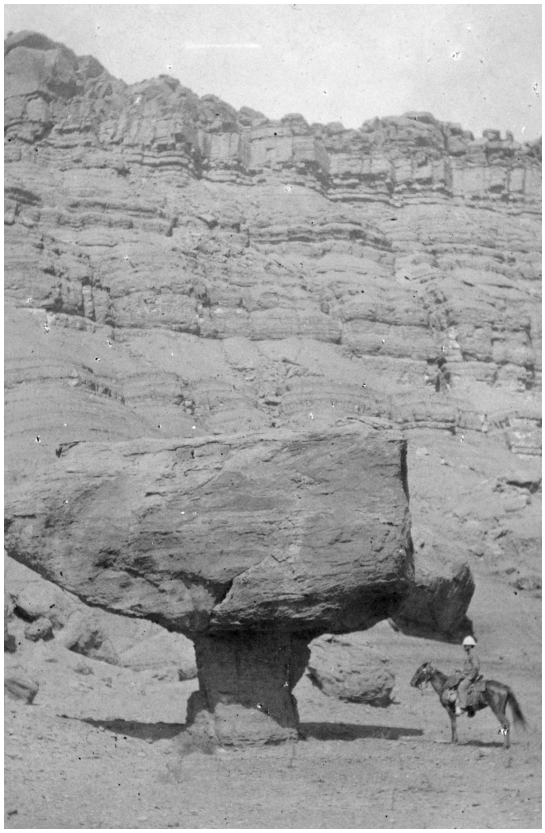
efforts by Talmage were among the first to popularize the fascinating geology of the state to the people of Utah. His labors as an early promoter of science in Utah as a teacher, lecturer, and director of the museum are mostly overlooked and overshadowed by his more famous theological writings.

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Craig Smith is a retired archaeologist living in Salt Lake City. *He thanks the L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University for access to the James E. Talmage journals and for use of the photographs.*

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WEB EXTRA



At history.utah.gov/uhqextras we provide a link to a digital copy of Talmage's diary, housed at the L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.



These four men—(left to right) Bo Montella, Mike Gaines, Toddy Wozniak, and Willie Certonio—were among the Cs who came to southeastern Utah, met young women, married, and remained to make permanent homes. This picture, taken on the Utah-Arizona border in the 1940s, illustrates not only the lasting friendship created during the CCC experience but also an acceptance of a land far different from the East.

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San Juan County Historical Society

TURNING "THE PICTURE A WHOLE LOT"

The CCC Invasion of Southeastern Utah, 1933–1942

BY ROBERT S. MCPHERSON AND JESSE GROVER

In the summer of 1942, as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) program ended in Utah, an editorial in the *Salt Lake Tribune* summarized the state's past years of involvement with the federal government by writing, "More than all else, it aided youth to get a new grip on destiny and to obtain a saner outlook on the needs of the nation."[1] At this point the country had entered the dark days of World War II with Utah beginning its wartime transformation. Hindsight must have made those preceding years seem placid, even hopeful, when young men of service age joined "Roosevelt's Tree Army" to improve the land and assist the economy. They also brought their own type of change in a cultural sense, as these men from all parts of the nation descended on Utah for their work assignments. Indeed, it has become almost stereotypical to talk about the "boys" from the East coming to the West, where they encountered a strange but appealing lifestyle. As with many stereotypes, there is a level of truth but also some wide departures from reality.

One of those slippery notions attached to this experience of two very different worldviews colliding is that of change. Just how different were the Cs (as the young men in the CCC program were known) to people in the communities they joined? Was the Idaho or Montana or Wyoming experience similar or different to that of Utah? What were the cultural values of participants on both sides of the equation? And when a writer uses

1 Editorial, *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 3, 1942, 4.

phrases like "new grip on destiny" and "saner outlook," what exactly does that mean? Likewise, how can the amount and type of cultural change be measured, when few paid attention to it at the time? In this article the reader can glimpse a small slice of the CCC experience as it occurred in southeastern Utah. Change resulting from the interaction of two different groups underlies much of what is presented, but that knowledge remains more anecdotal than quantifiable. What does emerge is a better understanding, in some instances even a reaffirmation, of the aforementioned stereotype of how a number of isolated, predominantly Mormon, communities accepted and worked together with some newly introduced neighbors—the Cs.

We examine the CCC experience in southeastern Utah here for three primary reasons. The first is the uniqueness of the area. While the program did its work across the entire United States, providing a "homogenized" experience for participants, there were differences. Every young man who picked up a shovel was no doubt dressed pretty much the same, lived in a pseudo-military environment, and sent part of his pay home to mom and dad. Yet the environment and cultures within the program often provided contrast. In Utah, twenty-six camps were established during the first year, with a total of 116 camps having existed in the state by the end of the program (1942).[2] The majority of the young men came to Utah camps from eastern states (in a ratio of six easterners to one westerner) with large urban populations and little public land.[3] This was especially true in southeastern Utah, where a huge portion of public lands were extremely isolated, filled with Ancestral Pueblo ruins, populated by American Indians, and fit the bill for a greenhorn easterner's idea of the Wild West. Many of the newcomers saw southeastern Utah as a different place from a different era, torn from the pages of a Zane Grey novel.

Second, the closely knit, rural communities in this area provide an interesting contrast to the urban experience. Southeastern Utah—with its Mormon population, small-town infrastructure, and close ties to the land—had a lifestyle of its own. This was more in keeping with other rural towns on the Colorado Plateau, whereas cities on the Wasatch Front and elsewhere in the West were more in tune with other parts of the United States, as a quick perusal of the newspapers coming from this region demonstrates. We have chosen to examine the CCC in terms of culture more than of the different projects completed or their economic impact. The emphasis is on what the young men experienced and how they adopted and adapted to the communities in which they lived.

This brings us to the third point, that of sources. As important as this federal program was for the people of Utah, relatively little has been written about it by historians.[4] On the other hand, plenty of primary sources document the state's CCC experience. Kenneth Baldridge correctly wrote: "Across the state of Utah, camp and community newspapers served as a virtual diary of the period relating those incidents which seldom made their way into official reports. It is to these newspapers and to the personal accounts of the participants themselves that later generations must look to investigate one of the most interesting facets of this most interesting program—just how life was lived in the CCC."[5] The *San Juan Record* in San Juan County and the *Times Independent* in Moab ran full columns on their respective CCC neighbors as well as feature articles about proj-

2 Only a third of the camps operated during any given year. Beth R. Olsen, "Utah's CCC: The Conservators' Medium for Young Men, Nature, Economy, and Freedom," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (Summer 1994): 262–63.

3 Ibid.

4 An unpublished doctoral dissertation and a 1971 article by Kenneth Baldridge provide an overview of the CCC experience in Utah. A 1994 article by Beth Olsen centers on the Wasatch Front, discussing the economic impact of the CCC and how it prepared young men for World War II. These two *Utah Historical Quarterly* articles are the only full-length treatments of the CCC in this state, and neither one includes much on southeastern Utah. While a search of this topic on the *UHQ* website lands 241 hits, most of them look at specific projects developed on the Wasatch Front. Not until the 2008 publication of *With Picks, Shovels, and Hope* did southeastern Utah get much billing, in a book that looks at the entire Colorado Plateau. Kenneth W. Baldridge, "Nine Years of Achievement: The Civilian Conservation Corps in Utah" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1971); Baldridge, "Reclamation Work of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (Summer 1971): 265–85; Olsen, "Utah's CCC," 261–74; Wayne K. Hinton and Elizabeth A. Green, *With Picks, Shovels, and Hope: The CCC and Its Legacy on the Colorado Plateau* (Missoula, MT: Mountain Press, 2008).

5 Baldridge, "Nine Years of Achievement," 286.

ects and life in the camps, providing a week-by-week description. Also, in the 1970s and 1980s, history professor Gary L. Shumway from the University of California–Fullerton, with a band of students, recorded the experiences of many of the townspeople who lived near the camps as well as some of the men who served in the CCC in this area, creating a rich trove of information that is unrivaled in other parts of the state for its specificity. As Baldridge pointed out, this is the primary way to get at the cultural side of this experience, especially since the vast majority of those who lived it are now gone. What follows is the record these people left behind.

The three main towns in southeastern Utah in 1930 were Moab, with a population of 863 people, Monticello, with 496, and Blanding, with 555.[6] Ten years later, Moab had increased by 25 percent, Monticello by 35 percent, and Blanding by 100 percent, largely because of the presence of CCC camps in or near each of the towns. Each camp would have approximately two hundred men, and depending upon the projects to be tackled, there were times when more than one camp would be present to labor at a different set of tasks, which again increased the population dramatically. The men in the camps were often on a six-month rotation, with some camps shifting in and out of the area and others more permanently stationed. This meant that during the nine years that the program existed, nineteen different shifts of personnel occurred within the various camps. As for the towns, these population fluctuations proved significant given the previously stable nature of the communities. Add to this the fact that the region had a large population of Mormons—an estimated 90 percent in Blanding and Monticello—who had different teachings and practices than those of many in the CCC.[7] While no record exists of the religious faiths of the CCC men working in this area, a study conducted in four camps on the Wasatch Front indicates that there were twenty-six different church affiliations represented among those men.[8] Moab, on the other hand, because of its founders, proximity to the railroad, and general history, was more cosmopolitan, with a lower Mormon population of around 40 percent.[9] Before they arrived, the majority of CCC boys had never heard of Mormons, but in spite of what could have been a sticking point, both groups appear to have had a relatively high rate of acceptance of one another.[10]

Unlike many large influxes of people into established communities, the men and women of southeastern Utah requested this one. For over three years, the Great Depression had trapped rural Utah in a grinding poverty that seemed irreversible without the same kind of help that more populated areas were receiving. There was plenty of work that needed to be done but no money to do it. Roosevelt's "Emergency Conservation Work," a program enacted in March 1933 and dubbed the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1937, provided an ideal answer for rural Utah, with its abundance of land and limited population. The program offered the services of young men between the ages of eighteen to twenty-three (later, seventeen to twenty-eight) who came from underprivileged, uneducated, underemployed, and debt-ridden families in the East and to a lesser extent in the West. The CCC was organized as a pseudo-military program that introduced enrollees to a regimented life of hard work and service under actual army officers as well as local experienced men (LEM); the young men improved the land through conservation practices wherever they were assigned. Their "enlistment" could be as short as six months or could extend to two years of service, with the goal of not only improving the landscape but also the individual. Change for both was intended.

For those on the receiving end, there were also benefits. Six months after the inception of a CCC program, communities began realizing what a boon it was, while those without the program were eager for the assistance. On average expenses varied from camp to camp,—it took

6 U.S. Census, cited in Kenneth R. Weber, "Cultural Resource Narrative for Class 1 Cultural Resources Inventory for BLM Lands in South San Juan County, Utah" Part 2, (Montrose, CO: Centuries Research, 1980), 116.

7 Curtis Robertson, interview by Kim Stewart, July 8, 1971, 8, Southeastern Utah Project, Fullerton Oral History Program, OH 1033, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter Southeastern Utah Project; USHS).

8 Baldridge, "Nine Years of Achievement," 295.

9 Ibid.

10 Toddy Wozniak, interview by Kim Stewart, July 10, 1971, 8, Southeastern Utah Project, OH 1108.



about $20,000 to build a camp in Utah with another $5,000 spent each month to maintain it. Add to this what the "boys" spent in town on "liberty," and one can see why they were so popular in a depressed economy.[11] Moab was an early recipient, having its first camp from April to October 1933. Its primary objective was road improvement in the La Sal Mountains, later extended to erosion and flood control. San Juan County eyed Grand and began campaigning for its own piece of the pie, arguing: "Our county and each district therein, needs new energy and life so that we may enjoy some of the results of cheap money and relieve the distress caused by a period of privation and hardship during which values have dropped, taxes much unpaid, and doubtful attitude has gradually become dominating. . . . The [*San Juan*] *Record* declares that an emergency exists in this county."[12] The first glimmer of help came that November when the Civil Works Administration gave employment to eighty-five San Juan County men working on roads between La Sal and Monticello, extending down to Blanding.[13] Not until March 1934 was there hope of receiving a camp. Governor Henry H. Blood appointed Robert H. Hinckley as director of Utah Emergency Relief, and Hinckley requested that more camps be established in Utah. San Juan boldly proclaimed that it was "entitled to one and the people expect it. To now leave us out after so many have enjoyed the ben-

11 Baldridge, "Nine Years of Achievement," 327.

12 "San Juan Must Get Its Share of Reconstruction Funds Now," *San Juan Record* (hereafter *SJR*), September 14, 1934, 1.

13 "Civic Works Administration Gives Employment to 85," *SJR*, November 30, 1933, 1.



This group shot of Camp DG-34, Company 3241, in Blanding shows an interesting mix of regular army officers, "local experienced men" in civilian attire, and Cs in their government-issue dress uniforms. This camp was at times one of the largest in Utah in terms of employing numbers of workers.
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San Juan County Historical Society

efits from this public work isn't fair."[14] San Juan and Grand got their camps and then some.

There were four reasons that southeastern Utah was so successful in leveraging the CCC program into the region. Primarily, well over 80 percent of the area's lands are federal and, in the 1930s, were in bad shape from overgrazing and erosion.[15] Cattle and sheep had removed the grass and browse; strong rains and snowmelt had done the rest. Another reason was that Governor Blood, a Democrat, had personally lobbied in Washington D.C., capturing double the amount of federal funds that had been originally allocated for Utah. In comparison with CCC activity from coast to coast throughout the United States, Utah came out very well. Utah ranked among the ten highest states that received CCC money, having received 20 percent of these funds between 1933 and 1939; in 1942 when the program ended, the federal government had spent $52,756,183 in the state.[16]

Climate was another factor. While work crews labored in the mountains during the summer, they also could go to lower elevations in the winter, where it was warmer with less snow, keeping the men busy the entire year. Finally, the rural communities wanted the young men to come and spend their money to relieve the beleaguered economy.[17] In 1939 the *San Juan*

14 "Requests Made by State for More CC Camps," *SJR*, March 22, 1934, 1.

15 Bruce Louthan, "A Tale of Four Camps," *Canyon Legacy* 19 (Fall/Winter 1993): 3.

16 Baldridge, "Nine Years of Achievement," 354–55.

17 Ibid., 3–4.

Record estimated that with every two hundred enrollees coming in to a community, the town payroll increased by about two thousand dollars a month.[18] This was based on each boy receiving a monthly allotment of thirty dollars, with twenty-five dollars sent home; the rest they could spend in town. Not just the town benefited; this was a symbiotic relationship, where each would grow by helping the other.

The CCC program made good economic sense but some of the townspeople had concerns about social issues. Albert R. Lyman, a founding father of Blanding, wrote, "We had heard of CCC camps and their degrading influence on the communities in which, or near to which, they were set up."[19] This was not just a worry for local people, since many of the military men who worked with the camps at the time expressed similar thoughts. Baldridge interviewed a lot of these individuals, who agreed that a good portion of the men brought into Utah from New Jersey and New York were "hoodlums." One retired colonel told him that many of the easterners were riffraff whom "they wanted to get rid of back in their own home towns . . . we were used as a reform school," even though the CCC leadership tried to screen troublemakers out.[20]

In early spring 1935, the government proposed to plant a camp in Blanding. Deliberations started. The location was a primary concern. If it were in the town, the community might have greater control or influence than if it were established at a distance. Others felt the farther away the better—"if it could be kept out of our social zone that would be the place for it."[21] Lucy Harris, who was a young girl at the time, remembers some of the townspeople's reactions:

> A lot of people didn't want them to come, and a lot of people didn't care if they came. Well, I think that there were some people who were afraid that it would be a bad influence. I think in some cases it was, and in some cases it turned out real well. . . . It might be that we weren't outgoing enough, too, and friendly enough. I think sometimes it's because people don't know exactly how to act. You're afraid that if you're too friendly and they don't want to be, then it's not going to be so good.[22]

Community members looked at the experience of Moab, overcame their fear, and opened their arms to what would become one of the largest camps in Utah, having as many as 240 recruits at one time.[23]

A brief description of the government program, its objectives, and organization provides context for what played out during these years. The Cs established permanent base camps from which more temporary smaller camps were manned for special projects. Each camp had a particular mission and fell under a specific government entity and responsibility, which was indicated by its letter designation. For instance, those with a DG prefix had leadership provided by the Division of Grazing, NP from the National Park Service, F from the Forest Service, SCS from the Soil Conservation Service, and PE from Private Erosion, where one of the above agencies worked to improve private landholdings for the well-being of all.[24] Each of these base camps served as home for around two hundred young men (see table 1).

Both Grand and San Juan counties cover a huge geographical area, the former standing at 3,684 square miles and the latter at 7,933 square miles. In order to meet the needs of such a large and diverse environment, government agencies needed flexibility to move men and equipment to specific locations where they could remain for some time to finish a project. Temporary establishments called spike camps held usually from twenty-five to fifty men, who worked on a project in places such as the Bears Ears, Mexican Hat, Montezuma Creek, Indian Creek, Bluff, Cisco, or the La Sals for a limited amount of time. If a smaller crew could perform the task, then a

18 "Population Figures of Monticello Get Big Increase," *SJR*, May 4, 1939, 1.

19 Albert R. Lyman, *History of Blanding: 1905–1955* (Monticello, UT: self published, 1955), 82.

20 Baldridge, "Nine Years of Achievement," 136.

21 Ibid.

22 Lucy Harris, interview by Kim Stewart, July 12, 1971, 8–9, Southeastern Utah Project, OH 1040.

23 Gary L. Shumway, *This Part of the Vineyard: A Centennial Overview of the History of Blanding, Utah* (Yorba Linda, CA: Shumway Family History Publishing, 2005), 79.

24 Louthan, "A Tale of Four Camps," 4.

TABLE 1. CCC BASE CAMPS IN SOUTHEASTERN UTAH

GRAND COUNTY	SAN JUAN COUNTY
Warner Lake Camp (F-20) April–October 1933	Monticello Camp (F-41/SCS-8) 1933–1940
East Moab Camp (PE 214/SCS-6) 1933–1934 and 1940–1941	Blanding Camp (DG-34) 1935–1942
Dalton Wells Camp (DG-32) 1935–1942	Dry Valley Camp (DG-157) 1940–1942
Arches Camp (NP-7) 1940–1942	

fly camp of a dozen or two dozen men might go to the area. In some instances, these average numbers might double, given the need and the time necessary to accomplish the task. Consider one small but representative example of the cost-effectiveness of what these men accomplished. One crew out of Blanding opened up a source of water for livestock at Distillery Springs. They blasted a sandstone ledge to create a seven-foot-wide path to the spring. "The trail was 800 feet in length and had six switchbacks; however, for just seventy-two man-days and a cost of $142.47 for materials and supervision, another supply of water became available."[25]

With shovels and axes, bulldozers, and predator poison, the Cs did everything. Although each camp was specialized for a particular series of tasks, once it was established, the men served as jacks-of-all-trades. They built roads, strung fences, created flood control projects, planted trees, emplaced culverts, established reservoirs, dug wells, eradicated noxious weeds, thinned timber, destroyed animal pests, restored rangelands, stopped erosion, repaired watercourses, fought forest fires, created parks—and the list goes on. These men had a huge impact on the environment and the economy of southeastern Utah.

Not just the environment changed. The CCC program's purpose was clear: "The [recruits] are here to develop, first of all, themselves. The change is to be used to give them a better and broader aspect of life."[26] The process started as soon as they stepped off the train at Thompson, Utah. Imagine leaving New York or New Jersey or Ohio and finding yourself in the small communities of southeastern Utah. Frank "Bo" Montella of Brooklyn, New York, told how it started for him. "We boarded a troop train at Fort Dix [New Jersey]. This train carried enough troops to not only fill Blanding's camp, but camps in Dry Valley, Green River, Murray, Hanksville, and Moab. When we got to Thompson, I think about 70 of us got assigned to Blanding, as well as Moab and Dalton Wells. It was an isolated place. We thought it was out of this world."[27] Toddy Wozniak from Connecticut did not take things quite as far, suggesting the area was only at the end of the earth, while others "actually expected to find skyscrapers in Monticello."[28] Even after the initial shock, there were still surprises. Montella, coming from the bright city lights of Brooklyn, continued:

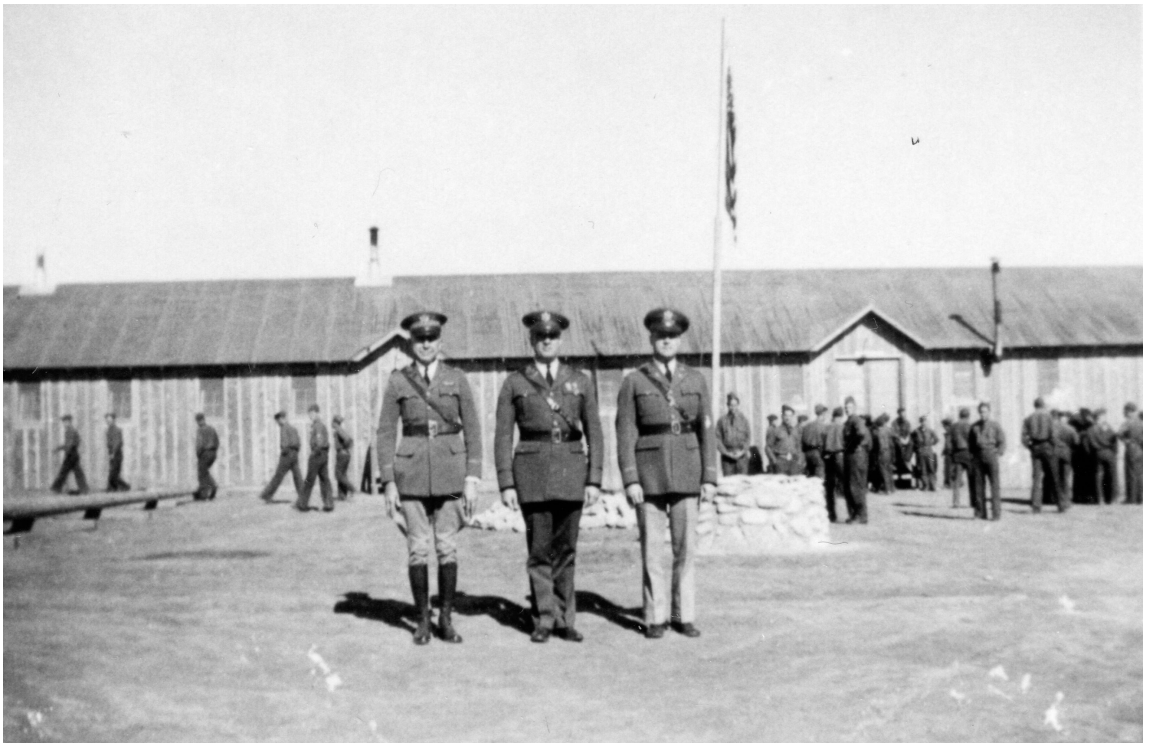
> When we came [to Blanding] they only had one light in the street and that was right in the center of Main Street. There was a UTCO gas station and they had one little bulb and that was just a hun-

25 Baldridge, "Nine Years of Achievement," 170.

26 "Blanding CCC News," *SJR*, February 24, 1938, 9.

27 Frank "Bo" Montella, interview by Kim Stewart, July 9, 1971, 1, 8, Southeastern Utah Project, OH 1034.

28 Wozniak, interview, 4; "CCC Camps Get Number of New Recruits," *SJR*, August 11, 1938, 4.



Officers pose in front of the flag at CCC Camp G-157, located in Dry Valley between Monticello and Moab. The military orientation of these camps—from reveille to taps and the daily activities in between unwittingly prepared young men for their involvement in World War II, when hard work, team effort, and sacrifice were crucial.

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San Juan County Historical Society

> dred-watt bulb. That was all there was to it. After we got off Main Street we started walking out these other streets that never had any pavement, just dirt and gravel. We kinda got lost going back to our camp. We thought that getting lost around here was quite a thing.[29]

James Catsos, also from New York, had a different impression. He described having a sour grapes attitude toward life and all that it had handed him. The Thompson, Utah, experience started a positive change, as the perceived mystique of the West began to work its magic. The drive to Moab amidst the boulders and sagebrush gave rise to the belief that "cowboys, Indians, stagecoaches, and trading posts [would be] every few feet in Utah."[30] The hard reality of transplanting trees, fixing trails, and building fences did not erase the charm, so that when Catsos and others transferred to Monticello a month later, there was apprehension that the romance might just be over. "All of us were astonished by the greetings as we arrived. Cheery 'Good Mornings' and 'Howdys.' This was altogether the unexpected. As days passed we realized we were lucky to be here and none of us were homesick."[31]

Settling into the base camp was the next experience in change. Throughout the United States, the pattern was the same. The recruit completed inoculations and processing papers at his home station and point of departure, boarded the train, and entered a military-like world. Issued clothing for work consisted of denim pants and shirt, while for more formal occasions, khakis were de rigueur. Haircuts and clean-shaven faces were mandatory. Wozniak

29 Montella, interview, 9.

30 James Catsos, "A New York Boy Writes Impressions of Monticello," *SJR*, July 7, 1938, 13.

31 Ibid.

mentioned that new recruits in the Blanding Camp received a peer initiation. "When a guy came, they'd want to break him in! They'd strip him down, throw him in a cold shower, then they had these G.I. brushes, and they'd rub him down with one of them till he was red as a beet."[32]

Poorly insulated open barracks heated in the winter by a coal-burning stove and scorched by the sun in the summer, spring cots "pretty near worse than sleepin' on the floor," one footlocker, a place to hang clothes behind the bunk, and mess hall cuisine provided the basics of life.[33] Reveille sounded at six o'clock in the morning so that by eight the men were on task, working until four o'clock in the afternoon, with supper at five and taps at ten. Weekends were usually free, assuming the leadership issued a pass for "liberty," then on to the large open-air trucks to town. Moab, because of its more liberal atmosphere, smaller Mormon population, and larger size, was the preferred destination. One CCC veteran remembered that "when the libertees of all five [CCC camps] converged on Moab nearly every Saturday night, it was 'spooky.'"[34]

Managing a camp with two hundred or more young men drawn from various cities and different walks of life presented unusual challenges. The military personnel handled discipline within the camp; the government agency on the project was responsible for the men while they were working. Although everyone in the camp saluted the same flag in the morning, ethnic divisions in the camp mirrored those found in the city. For instance, in the Dry Valley Camp, fifty Italian recruits spoke their native language in their area of the camp while twenty-two Puerto Ricans used Spanish in theirs.[35] In September 1941, the government allowed local recruits to join the CCC and remain in the area of their home.[36] This was a change from the previous practice of sending them to some other place in Utah. Anxious for employment, twelve local men enrolled in the same Dry Valley Camp a month after the announcement. When added to the LEMs who provided supervision at every camp—men like Philip Hurst and Floyd Nielson from Blanding, who advised large contingents of recruits—the influence of the local population became increasingly pronounced, adding another flavor to the mix.

At times discipline was necessary. One of the most effective was the "skin list." If an individual failed to perform a duty—say he fell asleep on his two-hour fire watch in the winter when stoves had to burn all night to heat the barracks—he might receive assignments that had to be performed on the weekend while his friends were on liberty.[37] Brig and kitchen duty also served as deterrents to misbehaving. Young men often settled disagreements by boxing. Each combatant received a pair of gloves and was then turned loose, but there was no guarantee that right necessarily triumphed over might.[38] Leaders generally encouraged boxing to work off energy, create esprit de corps, and provide entertainment through inter-camp and local boxing matches.

The most dramatic example of program failure in leadership, discipline, and accomplishment in southeastern Utah rests with the Arches CCC Camp (1940–1942). In trouble from the beginning due to ineffective control and pusillanimous decision-making, the ranking lieutenant at one point faced an unruly crew that refused to work, had low levels of achievement, showed a lack of respect toward both internal and external leaders, and lost the opportunity to strengthen community relations. The lieutenant eventually committed suicide. Camp personnel decreased in number but continued to work on projects such as road improvement, construction of park facilities, and water control until they received the dubious honor of belonging to one of the first camps closed in this CCC region due to negative inspection reports. Although this experience was the exception, it provides a graphic illustration of the impor-

32 Wozniak, interview, 15.

33 Deniane Gutke (Kartchner), "Enrollee a Day Kept Depression Away," *Blue Mountain Shadows* 1, no. 2 (Spring 1988): 79.

34 Terby Barnes, "The Dry Valley CCC Camp," *Canyon Legacy* 19 (Fall/Winter 1993): 17.

35 Ibid.

36 "Dry Valley C.C.C. Camp News," *SJR*, October 23, 1941, 8.

37 Bruce D. Louthan, "Dalton Wells CCC Camp," *Canyon Legacy* 19 (Fall/Winter 1993): 12.

38 Gutke, "Enrollee a Day," 81.

tance of discipline and effective leadership.[39]

Each camp had its own doctor to take care of bumps and bruises. These physicians worked closely with local hospitals and health professionals and, where there were none, also provided assistance in the communities, delivering babies, setting fractures, and providing medicine. Many local people appreciated this help, but there was one doctor from the Dalton Wells Camp who earned a special reputation for performing unnecessary appendectomies. A nurse in the Moab hospital recalled how he roared down the dirt road to town at "ninety and one hundred miles an hour . . . and he would come down and he would take out these kids' appendix. Then he'd come around and say, 'See all the sand in there.' It would give him an excuse for taking them out. . . . But everyone who got a stomach ache seemed to have appendicitis. So finally, this happened so much that he finally lost his license to practice."[40] For the most part, however, communities welcomed having medical assistance that otherwise might be a hundred miles or more away. When the camps closed, what had been a dispensary or barracks became homes, sheds, and in one case, a local school for Native Americans.

Other benefits arose from the program. In Blanding, for instance, dirt roads turned to mud bogs when it rained or snow melted. One of the initial CCC projects was to improve transportation. Alene May tied her first recollection of their presence with mud "right up to the axel of the trucks and the cars cause we didn't have a gravel road in Blanding. I was really grateful to the CCC camp because when they moved in here we got this main drag through town and up to the CCC camp graveled, and that was one road we could drive in the winter time without getting stuck."[41] Winter brought other challenges. In 1939, cattle and sheep owners in the Moab area requested that a large tractor with a bulldozer blade open roadways so that hay and grain could reach the trapped animals. For three weeks, CCC men and equipment worked tirelessly, plowing passageways through the snow. As itemized by the newspaper, their accomplishments included: "100 miles of road to the Hatch Point district were opened, benefiting 30,000 sheep and 1000 cattle; 26 miles of road were cleared in the Coyote Wash and Rattlesnake areas succoring 10,000 sheep and 100 cattle; 18 miles of badly drifted roads were opened to Old La Sal, bringing relief to 300 sheep and 100 cattle." Little wonder that the stockmen "expressed their deep appreciation for the aid rendered, stating that they undoubtedly would have suffered heavy losses of livestock without this help. They likewise expressed their thanks for the efficient work carried on, day and night, Saturdays and Sundays in relay shifts until the job was done."[42]

At other times, the land dried out to the point that forest fires became prevalent. It seemed as if every year there was a fire, whether it was a wild land or house fire that was poised to ruin lives and place stress on the small communities.[43] As if rooting for a home team, the newspapers cheered on as the "Blanding Boys Suppress Fire Threatening Forest."[44] In this instance, a forest ranger on his way home one afternoon noticed a blaze spreading through the piñon and juniper trees at the base of Blue Mountain. Upon notification, the CCC camp supervisor dispatched his men and equipment to extinguish this fire in Recapture Canyon before it reached the tall timber forest. On another occasion a fire swept over part of the National Forest lands on Elk Ridge near the Bears Ears. "Due to the excellent training received in the camp, the blaze was under control after a six-hour battle. However, it was necessary to patrol the fire line so the fire would not spread." Cs from the Dalton Wells, Green River, and Blanding camps were enrolled in the effort, the Blanding men working especially hard as they fought the fire for twenty-seven hours.[45]

These were big tasks, but the Cs' work also went right down to the outhouse. In 1939, the

39 Hinton and Green, *With Picks, Shovels, and Hope*, 196–202.

40 Bruce D. Louthan, "Medicinal Moments with the CCCs," *Canyon Legacy* 19 (Fall/Winter): 15.

41 Alene J. May and Marva Laws, interview by Kim Stewart, July 29, 1971, Southeastern Utah Project, OH 685, 6–7.

42 "CCC Camp Relieves Suffering Livestock in San Juan Areas," *SJR*, March 16, 1939, 5.

43 Lyman, *History of Blanding*, 78.

44 "Blanding CCC Boys Suppress Fire Threatening Forest," *SJR*, July 20, 1939, 9.

45 "Blanding CCC News," *SJR*, July 4, 1940, 9.

same year of the blizzard, Blanding's reservoirs burst, flooding the land and wiping out two-thirds of the town's capacity to store water. Yet repairs cost local people nothing. In Monticello and other parts of San Juan County, crews built five bridges, emplaced 160 culverts, remodeled the courthouse, repaired fifty-three miles of roads, helped build schools in Blanding and Monticello, fixed river and canal banks, and constructed "177 sanitary privies" for individuals.[46] Whether it was fire, flood, or blizzard, the people of southeastern Utah appreciated the service.

Not only was change wrought upon the land, but also in the lives of individuals. Just as powerful as bulldozers and pickaxes was education. As mentioned previously, a major goal of the program was to help recruits gain the skills and preparation for life after they left the CCC. To that end, each camp had an education director and a facility with tables, chairs, and a library so that everyone had an opportunity to spend his spare time profitably.[47] The education and job training programs not only demonstrated how to do projects but also explained the theoretical reason behind them.[48] No matter where a person might be in his educational goals, the program started there and moved him forward. Some enrollees had no previous schooling and so they learned to read and write; others took correspondence courses or classes to finish high school; still others worked on college credits. There was also a wide range of classes for trades such as journalism, diesel engineering, welding, auto mechanics, and forestry, and there were offerings for entertainment such as photography, leather work, and jewelry-making.[49] Each camp had its own mimeographed newspaper circulated among its members and throughout the community, while many of the instructors for the educational program came from the town in which the camp was located.

If reports in the *San Juan Record* are any indication, the education program was a huge success. Year after year, columns dedicated to what was



The smiles of the Cs in this mock fight hide the seriousness of the boxing contests waged between different camps as well as with local pugilists. Favorites like "Tommy McCormick–The Fighting Irishman," "Tarzan Terhalls," and "K. O. Pittman" had short-lived local careers, as each six-month rotation brought in a new crew of scrappers ready for the ring.
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San Juan County Historical Society

happening at each of the camps touted enrollment. "Every man in the camp registered for at least one class Monday night." "Average enrollment of 4.2 classes per man was obtained." After listing all of the trade classes offered in the Blanding camp then mentioning that everyone was enrolled in something, the *San Juan Record* states: "In academic study, 106 men are enrolled in four groups of mathematics, 75 men in four groups of English. Eighteen men were attracted to a Spanish class with an equal number in radio."[50] Perhaps the title bestowed on the education program during a discussion of responsibility linked to citizenship was not too far afield when the author wrote that "the perpetuation of this organization as the 'West Point of Citizenship' is desirable and happily, most wholesomely approved."[51]

Wholesome recreation was also part of education and with this many men, there needed to be some valiant efforts in that direction. Each

46 Fay Lunceford Muhlestein, *Monticello Journal II, 1938–1970* (Monticello, UT: self published, 2009), 17–18.

47 "New CCC Arrivals Cause Pool Hall Disturbance," *SJR*, January 30, 1936, 1.

48 "Blanding CCC News," *SJR*, February 17, 1938, 13.

49 "Education in the CCC," *SJR*, January 30, 1936, 1.

50 "CCC Camp News," October 19, 1939, 13, "Blanding CCC News," August 29, 1940, 9, "Blanding CCC News," *SJR*, July 25, 1940, 9.

51 "The CCC and Its Part in the Citizenship Training of Youth," *SJR*, June 27, 1940, 9.

camp had a recreation facility with pool and ping-pong tables, a reading area, and comfortable furniture for visiting. Individuals from the communities gave talks and slide shows every Tuesday night about local history, geological wonders, and other topics of interest. For instance, "Mr. Musselman lectured on the beauties of San Juan County, showing about 150 of the most entertaining slide pictures that could be procured in this region. Mr. Musselman told of his many experiences with the Indians."[52] Local historian Albert R. Lyman visited a spike camp at Johnson Creek and talked of "hair-raising experiences" with Indians and outlaws during the settlement of the region, while others entertained the Cs with guitar and harmonica.[53] Another time, "Two Guns Jones" and three local girls filled the camp library with their singing and dancing. "The outstanding performance of the evening was 'Sugar Foot Wilson' dressed up in a short green outfit, who danced like a real ballet performer. She did the type of dancing that made a hit with the fellers."[54]

A number of the Cs became fascinated with Indian culture, one man saying he "was happy that he had come out to the West and have enjoyed my stay in Blanding. I have developed a hobby out here and that is the study of Indian life."[55] On a few occasions, the barracks that won the Saturday morning inspection received the reward of a trip to the Ute Bear Dance held in Allen Canyon during the spring—"something that an Easterner hears about but seldom sees."[56] There were also excursions to the Goosenecks (an entrenched meander of the San Juan River), Monument Valley, Natural Bridges, and other picturesque sites.[57] Large open-air flatbed trucks provided the transportation. Upon return, the men developed their photographs in the base camp dark room then wrote articles about their experiences for the camp newsletter.

Athletics played a large role in the entertainment arena. There were two sports in which the city boys continually triumphed—boxing and baseball or softball. Many of the best boxers came from highly industrialized cities and a few had fathers who fought professionally, while others had learned the sport for sheer survival. Fighters represented their barracks (their home base during inter-camp rivalry) and as opponents against residents of the towns they were living near. From the beginning of the CCC invasion, this sport drew crowds from surrounding areas. Visitors' Day at the Warner CCC Station September 15, 1933, established the pattern. The local report in the *San Juan Record* left no doubt about what it was like traveling to the La Sal camp at seven in the morning. "The editor of the paper was on the road, cars ahead and cars behind, and after the road leading to the station was passed, a string of cars and trucks coming from Moab lined the road. A real good time was enjoyed by two or three hundred visitors who went up to help entertain the camp boys in a day of program and sports, and they surely had it according to reports."[58] Each camp had its favorite boxers, many of whom had their own titles. There were Buster Eagleburger, Tommy McCormick–the Fighting Irishman, Hook Mauska, Battling Dusty, Tarzan Terhalls, and K.O. (Knock Out) Pittman.[59] The fighting was intense, and in some cases, disagreements spilled out of the ring and into the audience, but it was nothing that some Cs serving as "special deputies" could not handle.

Meanwhile, many of the CCC boys—raised in the shadow of New York's Yankee Stadium and in cities throughout the East—had grown up with baseball mitts in hand. Locals competing against these men thought they might as well have been playing the New York Yankees. Montella, a Brooklyn boy, recalled the first time his camp played a baseball game in Blanding. "We used to have a cracker-jack baseball team in camp. As a matter of fact, we beat everyone. The first good team we organized in camp played the locals, which is what we called the townspeople. We went down there and they'd play us a game of baseball. . . . The first game I think we beat the townspeople 27 to 2. Of course, we had

52 "CCC Activities," *SJR*, February 20, 1936, 1.

53 "CCC Activities," *SJR*, February 6, 1936, 1.

54 "Blanding CCC News," *SJR*, September 8, 1938, 4.

55 "Local CCC Youth Prefer Eastern Girls to Western Girls," *SJR*, September 29, 1938, 4.

56 "Blanding CCC News," *SJR*, June 23, 1938, 9.

57 "Blanding CCC News," *SJR*, May 23, 1940, 13.

58 "CCC Activities," *SJR*, September 21, 1933, 1.

59 "CCC Activities," February 6, 1936, 1, "CCC Activity," September 8, 1938, 4, *SJR*.



A CCC team plays baseball against the men of Blanding. The Cs are credited with bringing the game to many of the small towns in southeastern Utah. If they were not the first, they certainly introduced a level of sophistication in the sport unknown to local teams.
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San Juan County Historical Society

been brought up on baseball and we loved it."[60] These CCC boys loved baseball so much they built their own diamond, but after defeating the locals so many times, they found few people outside of the camps who wanted to play.[61]

Another aspect of education and character development expected of the recruits was practicing religion. In rural Utah, this took on a strong Mormon tinge. Clergy from different denominations visited each camp on a regular basis. Brush Keele remembered the Catholic chaplains going through the barracks asking if the enrollees were Catholic and, if they were, strongly inviting them to services.[62] Other chaplains might conduct religious meetings for all the men of the company early Monday morning, while another would be available on Monday evening and Tuesday morning.[63] As one minister from New York noted, "The chaplain does not depend upon dim religious light, stately ecclesiastical architecture, or soft organ tones, as he steps into the recreation hall of a CCC camp."[64] On the other hand, many of the young men probably looked to their involvement with the CCCs as an opportunity to shed their family beliefs. One Jewish man, Lieutenant Jake Ranisky, had been meeting with some of the local LDS members in Blanding. When asked if he would like to join their faith, he responded, "Well I like your religion; I think it's good. But if I ever get the guts enough to get rid of this one religion I got, I won't never take up with another one."[65]

In general, there was no clear understanding of who Mormons were or what they believed in when new arrivals appeared in camp. There also was no doubt that the local folks were more than willing to share their beliefs. The Cs

60 Montella, interview, 10.

61 "Blanding CCC News," August 15, 1940, 9, "CCC Activities," March 12, 1936, 1, *SJR*.

62 Gutke, "Enrollee a Day," 81.

63 "Blanding CCC News," *SJR*, August 15, 1940, 9.

64 Baldridge, "Nine Years of Achievement," 292.

65 Deniane Gutke, "Open Arms? The CCC Invasion of San Juan County," *Blue Mountain Shadows* 1, no. 1 (Fall 1987): 63.

were welcomed to participate in community events of all types—including church. Some of the young men attended the Mutual Improvement Association (MIA) sponsored by the LDS church for youth. At one point twenty Blanding Cs were registered as members of the MIA and "enjoyed participating in these services of the Mormon Church" while the same number were attending "cottage meetings" or discussions about the Mormon faith.[66] The fact that Blanding was a "dry" Mormon town reduced the availability of alcohol. An individual once attempted to establish a liquor store, but it did not take long for the town council to stop the process.[67]

Perhaps the most successful way local Mormons proselyted was through friendship. Alene Jones May felt "that people accepted them real well. At least we did around our house. I can't speak for anybody else, but my mother and dad were both raised here in the early days . . . and it made no difference whether people were members of the [LDS] church or not, they all stayed at the Bishop's home. So my mother was raised that this is the way you do; if people need a bed they need a bed, and it doesn't make any difference who they are, and if they need something to eat, why you feed them. . . . This is just the way we were raised."[68] Bishop J. B. Harris invited the Cs into his home for entertainment and to spend time with his daughters. He built an amusement room in the basement that allowed the girls to invite crowds over for parties and other events.[69]

Personnel at the different camps responded warmly to these kinds of activities. As Bruce Louthan, a researcher of Moab history put it, "Whether due to mutual dependency for survival or frontier diplomacy or Western hospitality, the towns quickly came to an accommodation with the CCCs that approached a parental embrace."[70] Excitement in the Monticello camp was tangible as the Pioneer Day celebration approached that July 24, 1938. Two truckloads of Cs from the Moab camp were joining them in an event that the *San Juan Record* predicted would be "remembered by all of the boys when they get back East."[71] The same article mentioned Mathew and John Szul, Cs who were also known as Masters of the Dance. Every Saturday night these men gave dance lessons that included "the Shag, Peabody, Merry Widow Waltz, and the Lindy Hop." John had won a silver cup in Jersey City and was now sharing his talents with locals. Just how much of a "saner outlook" on life the Lindy Hop provided might be questioned, but the men enjoyed the opportunity to mix with the Mormon girls.

The camps held at least biannual open houses with dinners and entertainment for community members. At other times, members from a camp could each invite a special guest for an activity and refreshments. Sometimes, the leaders at the camp rented the LDS ward meetinghouse for a musical program presented by a CCC orchestra followed by a dance until midnight. The next day the camp would open for "inspection" by the town followed by "enough ice cream for a thousand guests."[72] That was enough for every person in Blanding plus the membership of the camp to have their fill and then some.

So that one does not get the impression that there were no problems, there appeared to be three areas that held potential for contention—women, politics, and general law enforcement—all centering on a change in atmosphere. Even before the camps arrived, there had been concerns in Blanding and Monticello as to what a large influx of men from the East would do to the moral fiber of a staid Mormon community in the West. The question about the role of women weighed heavily during deliberations. Over two hundred young men plunked down in the "wilderness" had the potential of being a recipe for disaster. Baldridge, in assessing the general Utah experience, cited impressions from two individuals. One Southern Baptist C who worked in Bountiful recalled, "Most of the residents tried to keep their daughters from

66 "Blanding CCC News," *SJR*, January 27, 1938, 12; Muhlestein, *Monticello Journal II*, 7.

67 Harris, interview, 15.

68 May and Laws, interview, 19.

69 Ibid., 17.

70 Louthan, "Dalton Wells CCC Camp," 13.

71 "Life in a Local CCC Camp Is Described," *SJR*, July 21, 1938, 9.

72 "CCC Camp News," October 12, 1939, 9, "Blanding CCC Camp to Hold Open House," April 25, 1940, 9, "CCC Camp DG-34 Celebrates Its Sixth Anniversary," April 13, 1939, 1, *SJR*.

associating with the boys from camp . . . but the boys who were known and acted like gentlemen were eventually accepted." A second man, who was not LDS but had served as a camp superintendent in Utah, felt "the Mormon people must teach their girls physical hygiene and the facts of life at an early age because the boys seemed to have a better time with less problems of V.D. (venereal disease) and pregnancies than did those camps that I was either camp engineer or superintendent of in New Mexico and Texas."[73]

Surprisingly, the general tenor of events was positive but not without effort on everyone's part. Perhaps Philip Hurst's talk to some of the young men he supervised as a foreman in the CCC gives the best feeling for the tone of the LDS community. In one of his weekly safety meetings, he taught what was expected of young men and women:

> Now listen. Blanding is just a little Mormon town and they don't believe in a lot of this stuff. I'll take guys down there to the show but I expect you to be like men, act like men. If you start stepping around with any of those Mormon girls down there, by George, I want you to remember that those girls are priceless in the sight of their mothers, and I don't want one dirty thing pulled off around them at all. If you can't uphold those standards with that thought, I want you to stay absolutely away from them. I just will not tolerate it otherwise.[74]

It did not take long to put rules to a test. One night during an MIA dance a group of Cs arrived after having imbibed alcohol. The superintendent of the organization greeted them at the door and told them that if they got rid of the alcohol, they could enter. "But I guarantee if you leave at all after you come in, you're not coming back."[75] The men agreed and enjoyed the dance.

At least some southeastern Utahns thought that the flirtations between the Cs and the girls in town had plenty to do with the social dynamics between local young men and women. One person remarked that those women who were less popular reportedly "fell like a piece of straw to the fire."[76] When Hurst was asked if he thought that the local boys were upset with the CCC boys coming in and attracting the attention of the girls, he said bluntly, "Well, the Blanding boys wouldn't care anything about these gals that were getting picked. Oh I guess they'd care, probably some of them might have been their sisters."[77] Whether or not this was the case, local girls did have fun with the visiting Cs. Some girls gave names to the boys. One "Red" had his own song: "Red sailed in the sunset, all day I'll be blue; Red sailed in the sunset, and we're missing you."[78] Names given to others included Gray Goon (because of the suit he wore and his good looks), Blackie, Cookie, Brodie, and "Just a Peanut."[79]

The J. B. Harris home was often occupied in the evenings by CCC boys, and everyone was welcomed. Since the family was prominent in the Mormon community, there was no smoking or drinking in their house, and the CCC boys acted with the utmost respect.[80] Lucy Harris remembered, "We had a few dates with them. I remember one night, my mother and father were in Salt Lake and we invited some of the boys down and they brought a case of candles to our home. We sat around our kitchen table and melted the candles down into wax and then we made all kinds of little objects out of them."[81] Another time, some of the boys wanted to learn to dance so they asked the Harris girls to teach them. Lucy loved to dance and was quite good, so she went to the camp once a week to teach the boys who wanted lessons.

A number of departing Cs, leaving Blanding after a six-month stint, summarized the wide range of attitudes toward women in a *San Juan Record* article. J. F. Smith from Brooklyn, who was headed back East, enjoyed Utah, and

73 Baldridge, "Nine Years of Achievement," 322, 325.

74 Philip Hurst, interview by Kim Stewart, June 30, 1971, 20, Southeastern Utah Project, OH 1036a.

75 Fern Watkins, interview by Deniane Gutke, June 28, 1987, 5, San Juan County Historical Commission, Blanding, Utah.

76 Gutke, "Open Arms?," 61.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid., 62.

79 May and Laws, interview, 18.

80 Ibid.

81 Harris, interview, 2.

hoped to settle down with his sweetheart (who was presumably not a western girl) in the West. Switching to religion, he felt "the Mormon religion is very interesting and I have taken great interest in it. I think if I were to look up my ancestors, I would find their religion was Mormonism." Another man, James Sonney from Trenton, New Jersey, boldly stated, "My main reason for coming out West was for the change of women. I think the most interesting study is that of women." Yet, Sonney concluded, "I prefer eastern girls to western girls." R. Fillipponi shared a similar sentiment. "Wanted to see the West and was disappointed in the country and the women, and a certain girl in Blanding."[82]

There were those in the same article who disagreed, and there were those who married Mormon girls and stayed in southeastern Utah for the rest of their lives. At least fifteen such unions took place in Blanding, eight of which lasted for a few years while the other couples shared their entire lives together.[83] Some people objected to the marriage of Mormon girls to men outside of the faith.[84] The same pattern of love and marriage existed with men in Moab. How these future husbands and wives met was purely left to chance. Curtis Robertson, a native of Moab who started in the Moab CCC before transferring to the Uinta Basin Camp, said,

> I was in the CCC camp when I met my wife. She lived in Roosevelt. I was standing inside the dance hall and she came in with the fellow that she was engaged to. They had been for a ride and her hair was all messed up. She asked him if he had a comb, but he didn't. I was standing there and I said, 'Well, I have one. Do you want to use mine?' So she borrowed my comb. Then I asked her for a dance. And that was the beginning of our little affair. We have been married thirty-five years. So that is not too bad; we still get along all right.[85]

Bo Montella met his wife when he took his laundry into town to get it cleaned. His future wife's home was near the laundry, he met her, and they started dating.[86] Toddy Wozniak, on the other hand, met his wife at a movie. "I threw some popcorn at her, I think, at a show or something and we started going together. We've been married 31 years. See what popcorn can do for you."[87] Combs, laundry, popcorn, dances—there was no predicting what would happen once the Cs arrived.

Religion again entered in, this time as families came together. Many of the men were Catholic and did not embrace the predominant religion at first. Eventually some would change their faith while others remained staunchly true to their initial beliefs. Regardless of the individual acceptance or rejection of the LDS faith, the large majority of those who married and stayed in Utah had a strong respect for the beliefs of the women they married.

After women came the issue of politics. Southeastern Utah may be generally characterized as Republican country, but from 1932 to 1944, the Democrats held sway, as was true with Utah in general.[88] The Democratic Party led by Franklin Delano Roosevelt controlled much of the budget and the bestowal of assistance during the Depression. One of the big concerns for the townspeople about the CCC camps was that local politics could be unfairly influenced by the large vote cast by this bloc. To the dismay of Blanding residents, one CCC boy actually ran for a political office, which could have decided the vote.[89] He did not advance very far in the election process, but the issue did not go unnoticed.

The government often appointed the superintendents of the CCC, which was a matter of concern amongst some of the local Democrats. Philip Hurst lost his job as foreman due to this type of conflict. He explained how he was a Republican and everybody knew it. "I kept my mouth shut. My older brother is an avid Republican, a radical Republican. Because of that he caused me a lot of trouble. The only reason

82 "Local CCC Youths Prefer Eastern Girls to Western Girls," *SRJ*, September 29, 1938, 1, 4.

83 Lyman, *History of Blanding*, 82.

84 May and Laws, interview, 15.

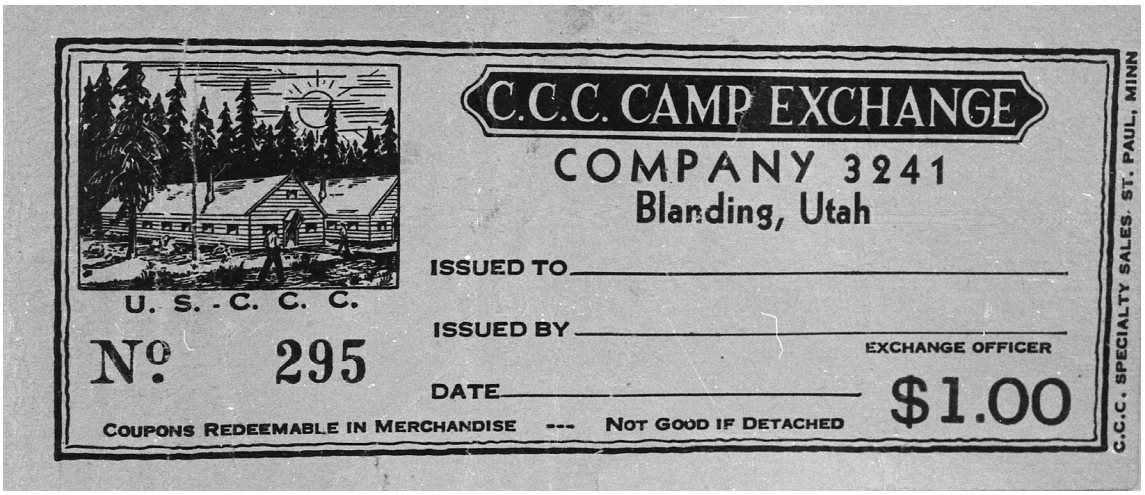
85 Robertson, interview, 12.

86 Montella, interview, 10.

87 Wozniak, interview, 8.

88 Gutke, "Open Arms?," 62.

89 Ibid., 63.



During the Depression, with banks closing and money in short supply, different businesses, schools, banks, and local government entities created their own medium of exchange, known generally as Depression scrip. Over 3,200 different types of scrip have been identified from the 1930s. The CCC camp exchange in Blanding had its own individual receipt, redeemable in merchandise. In addition to meeting the need for a system of payment, it was endorsed to an individual and signed by an official, giving it a personal touch that helped eliminate the theft of money in an environment with a lot of young men from all walks of life.

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San Juan County Historical Society

I got in [to the CCC] was that I kept still and I was already working for the Forest Service. They liked me and the Democratic committee . . . were dear friends of mine."[90] At the time the government was establishing the Monticello Camp, Hurst was in Salt Lake City, serving on a grand jury. He received a telephone call from the forest supervisor, who told him that he needed to return to San Juan immediately because trouble was afoot. Hurst went to the judge, explained the situation, received his release from jury duty, and drove south. "When I got to Moab I went to see the supervisor and he said, 'You're in trouble. You'd better get up to Monticello and see what you can do.' Well that was late in the fall during an election year when Alf Landon ran against Roosevelt." During a rally in Blanding, the Democratic committee thought that Hurst had been riding around in a truck yelling "Vote Landon." Though Hurst could prove that it was his brother—not him—who had shouted his support for the Republican candidate all over town, the committee said "'We're not going to let anybody have a job that has a brother who is that radical.'"

Hurst said he was persistent enough to get considered again, largely in part to the few friends he had on the committee. They told him if he declared the Democratic Party for his political clearance, they would begrudgingly let him in. Hurst said, "I'll see you in hell . . . before I'll do that. I still had a little honor and integrity. Well that was it; that ended my CCC career." He had worked for the CCC from 1933 until 1938 and came highly recommended by the Forest Service, Park Service, and Soil Conservation Service based on what he had accomplished; however, it was not enough for him to keep his job. In Hurst's mind, "If you weren't a Democrat, you didn't get a job. It wasn't a matter of a man's qualifications. In those days it was working out your political grudges. It was too bad, it was sad."[91]

The final area of contention was maintaining the law, which could mean dealing with anything from pranks to serious crime. Even in the camps there were opportunities for a little deviltry. Food fights in the mess hall when the mess sergeant was absent, stealing the foreman's shoes, throwing new recruits in a cold shower,

90 Hurst, interview, 17–19.

91 Ibid.



A crew of Cs at a sawmill on Blue Mountain. Frost Black, a sawyer, commented about working with men like this: "They were all greenhorns; they didn't know how to do a thing. They'd hardly ever seen a horse or wagon and had never done any sawing or anything, but a lot of them were good men. They got on it right quick and did a good job."

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San Juan County Historical Society

swimming in the reservoir that served as Blanding's drinking water, and sending enrollees with letters on top of a barracks roof for the mail plane were all part of the fun.[92] For those who missed their weekend liberty, short-sheeting beds and mixing footlockers up sometimes led to fist fights.[93]

Gary Shumway recalled some of the local boys in Blanding seizing an opportunity to take advantage of the Cs new to the area. They brought over a tethered porcupine on a leash and sold "porcupine eggs" that, if incubated, would surely hatch. After weeks of waiting, those duped learned that they were warming cockleburs. Another time, some of the locals took new recruits on a hike through canyon country to the west of Blanding. As they walked they told stories of predatory animals, vengeful Indians, and axe murderers. Late at night, after the recruits were scared and totally lost, the Blanding boys sent them away from the campfire to hide while they slipped home. Eventually the Cs realized they had been tricked and had to stumble their way through unfamiliar country to get back to base camp.[94] It was a hard-learned lesson.

Camp and local officials worked well together to handle disturbances in town. A phone call or message was all that was necessary to bring an officer on the scene. One night a group of drunken Cs entered a pool hall. By the time a police officer arrived, the scene had quieted so that by simply notifying camp officers, the culprits were identified and punished.[95] Other times local individuals handled the issue, for better or worse. During Sunday church services, several CCC boys entered the building and began making noise and bothering the congregation. Karl Lyman told them, "Now you're welcome to come in and sit down but this is a church house and we just can't have you making this much noise." They responded with, "Look, this is a free country. We can do whatever the

92 Gutke, "Enrollee a Day," 79.

93 Lloyd M. Pierson, "Life in a CCC Camp," *Canyon Legacy* 19 (Fall/Winter 1993): 27.

94 Shumway, *This Part of the Vineyard*, 81–82.

95 "Education in the CCCs," *SJR*, January 30, 1936, 9.

&%%& we please." Lyman picked up a heavy iron chair and started swinging it at them saying, "Now listen you fellows, you're either going to get out or get hurt!" They left.[96] Another time a group of Cs was standing on the porch of a building that had a dance going on inside. After a police officer told them to make way or move along but saw little response, he decided to cool them off on this cold winter night. With the help of some local young men, he hooked up a fire hose out of view, moved it to the front of the building, and proceeded to douse the Cs until they retreated to camp.[97]

If something went amiss or was stolen or damaged, people first blamed the boys at the CCC camps. As outsiders—and as people from large cities—they drew immediate suspicion.[98] Once, a safe stolen from Parley Redd's Store was blown open and left on the public square with a lot of checks and papers lying about. The thinking of the townspeople was that "an ordinary fellow wouldn't have known how to bust up those safes. But those guys [Cs] knew all the answers. Some of those guys weren't kids. . . . They have been schooled in all the trades of crime in New York. Well, the peace officers out here in these little communities were just about as helpless as they could be. It would take professionals to compete with them."[99] Toddy Wozniak, who was in the CCC at the time, countered that "The townspeople always blamed them because it was the logical thing to do. . . . The people eventually found out that it wasn't the CCC boys who did it. The townspeople wouldn't want to tell you anything about their own, and the CCC boys wouldn't want to tell you anything about their faults."[100]

Floyd Nielson, born in Bluff and raised in Blanding, worked with the CCC for six years as a foreman leading crews and later as a superintendent in San Juan County. He provided perhaps the most balanced assessment of what these young men were like when they came and when they left.

> I had another company from New York. They were Italians, and oh boy, were they tough. They were kids who had been pulled out of detention homes where they had been locked up, and those kids knew everything. There was nothing they didn't know about how to be a gangster. I had those kids for better than a year and then I acted as superintendent for quite a while over all the camps, and I never had any trouble with those kids. The CCC did a lot of good. The kids left here with a lot of respect for the place, and they had a good time. They write to me from all over the world.[101]

Life is about change and for those individuals in the CCC program, that change was accelerated. From first boots in the sand at Thompson, to holding an ax, to the life in a western—even Mormon—town, to learning a skill or trade, the C recruit was in for a life-changing experience. This was also true for those who worked with or lived by them. The peaceful CCC invasion tried to accomplish good wherever it occurred. But beyond the physical accomplishments that transformed the land dramatically came the transformation in the lives of the young men who experienced the West. Frank "Bo" Montella, one of those New York "gangsters" who arrived in Blanding as a recruit, eventually became the company's First Sergeant in charge of new recruits, and married a local (yes, Mormon) girl, said it best: "I don't know what I would have been [if I hadn't come here]. Coming to the C's really turned the picture a whole lot."[102]

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Robert S. McPherson, who is a professor of history at Utah State University, recently became a Fellow of the Utah State Historical Society and currently teaches in Blanding.

Jesse Grover graduated from Utah State University Eastern, Blanding, with his associate degree in 2014 and is currently enrolled as a history major at USU with the goal of becoming a teacher. He appreciates having received the Charles S. Peterson Scholarship in 2013, which made possible the work on this article.

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96 Gutke, "Open Arms?," 62.

97 Wozniak, interview, 7.

98 Wozniak, interview, 7.

99 Hurst, interview, 22.

100 Wozniak, interview, 7.

101 Floyd Nielson, "Blanding CCC Camp," *Canyon Legacy* 19 (Fall/Winter 1993): 18–19.

102 Jean Akens, ed., "Frank Montella," *Canyon Legacy* 19 (Fall/Winter 1993): 22.



The barn, circa 1940, when it housed horses on the Utah State Agricultural College campus.
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Courtesy Utah State University Special Collections

A building may have a deep influence on the lives of people who grow up around it, live in it, work in it, learn in it, play in it, or pass by it as a landmark on the landscape. Once a building is demolished, not only is the historic "artifact" lost forever, but the memories of the building and the stories of the people who interacted with it gradually fade. Emily Brooksby Wheeler tells how one group of people rescued stories of a building that ultimately could not be saved.

BARN RAISING

BY EMILY BROOKSBY WHEELER

Until recently, a run-down horse barn stood in the heart of Utah State University. Nearly one hundred years rested heavily on its gambrel roof. Its dingy white paint blended with the dirty snows of Logan's long winters. Even when the snow melted, it was little more than an obstacle to most students trying to get from the parking lot to their classes. To people who knew the barn, however, it ranked with Old Main as one of the quintessential campus buildings: a cherished part of the university's history and their own campus experiences.

The first time I explored the barn, I didn't find much to love. The interior was dark, almost gritty, even with the lights on, and smelled of dust, damp concrete, and car exhaust from the neighboring parking lot. The uneven-looking stairs deterred my curiosity about the condemned upper stories. Abandoned junk cluttered the narrow rooms on the first floor. I ventured to the back of the building, looking over my shoulder, jumping at every creak and groan. The last room stopped me in my tracks. Row upon row of cages lined the walls, filled with gray pigeons—residents of the animal psychology lab. If those birds weren't crazy before they came here, they probably were now. I hurried back into the sunshine and stared up at the engraving over the old barn doors, "Man's Best Friend." The message caught my imagination, beckoning me to look a little deeper, to discover the stories hidden beneath the barn's clutter and dust.

Long since emptied of horses and hay, the old barn housed offices, labs, and vacant classrooms. When some of the resident professors sought permission to remodel the barn, they inadvertently brought about the end of an era. The fire marshal condemned the top floor, and the university evacuated the human tenants to safer locations, leaving behind only the rats, pigeons, and graduate students of the animal psychology lab.

The barn was never intended for human occupation, some at the university reasoned, and it might have finally come to the end of its usefulness. Anthropology professor and museum director Dr. Bonnie Pitblado, however, recognized the barn's importance to the university's history and agricultural heritage and set about generating grassroots interest to save the building and create a new home for the cramped Museum of Anthropology in the process. My graduate work in historic preservation landed me on her little team of students determined to hold an unusual kind of barn raising.

To bring the barn back from the brink of ruin, we first hoped to resurrect its memory, its place in the campus consciousness. That meant digging up stories. The barn—any historic space—is like a palimpsest:



Don Young's 1966 depiction of a burglar on the lam, running through the Art Barn (detail). Young completed the painting as an illustration student in a class taught by Professor Jon Anderson. The artist died an untimely death, but Anderson later donated Young's painting to USU's Museum of Anthropology.

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Utah State University
Museum of Anthropology

a valuable piece of parchment that medieval monks scraped clean and reused. Even though they added new stories, traces of the old layers remained, waiting to be rediscovered by historians.

The top layer of the barn's story was the easiest to read. The professors exiled from the barn were still on campus and excited to talk to us. Dr. Charles Huenemann, from the Philosophy Department, told us, "It was really great to be in the Barn because we had a sense of camaraderie, and we were off on the edge of campus in a certain sense in a marginalized building. . . . The fact that we were all in this old building together gave us this sense of being a club in a way . . . we called each other Barnies. A guy next to me had a pet snake in his office, but every so often he would let the snake out to just kind of climb around . . . you'd be walking down the hall and suddenly there would be this four or five foot long king snake."[1]

Other Barnies shared his sentiments; the barn was a special place, despite its awkward location, frequent maintenance problems, and nonhuman residents. Like the quirky old relative of the campus buildings, it added character to the USU family. Debora Seiter, the wife of one of the Barnies, also missed the easygoing friendliness of the barn. She recalled bringing her uncle, a World War II veteran who attended USU through the G.I. Bill, to visit campus. He was thrilled to see the barn; it caught his attention as one of the few familiar sights after his sixty-year absence.[2] This account reminded us that, while the Barnie days were a colorful part of the barn's history, they were only the most recent episode. The building was often called the Art Barn, a vestige from an older layer of stories.

In 1957, Utah State Agricultural College graduated to Utah State University. As part of the rapid changes taking place at USU, all the animals and barns were removed from the main campus except the horse barn, with its permanent, concrete foundation. The building was deserted until a fire in the ceramics lab left the Art Department scrambling for a new place to move its kilns. Someone remembered the neglected barn. Other art classes followed, until pottery took up the entire bottom floor, and drawing and painting classes occupied the top two levels of the barn—the former hay loft.

The artists who had occupied the Art Barn, students and professionals, are no longer on campus, but when they heard about what we were trying to do, they hurried to us with their stories. Most of the students who knew the Art Barn thought of it as a refuge during the turbulent 1960s and 1970s.

1 Charles Huenemann, interview by Bonnie Pitblado, February 25, 2010, USU Museum of Anthropology Art Barn Project transcripts, copy in the author's possession (hereafter Art Barn Project).

2 Deborah Seiter, interview by Bonnie Pitblado, October 21, 2010, Art Barn Project.

Ruth Swaner, a Cache Valley artist and author, studied in the Art Barn in the 1960s, when nude models were first introduced into the drawing classes. She recalled, "When the first person disrobed, you could hear a pin drop . . . I just about dropped my pencil."[3] Some of the students protested to the university administrators and local LDS church leaders. The church leaders calmed the controversy, saying the human body was a beautiful creation worth learning to draw.

On one occasion, a burglar fleeing the police tried to hide in the barn, not knowing he was running into a life drawing class featuring a nude model. One of the students captured the scene in a vivid painting: the screaming female model, the art students scrambling to save their drawings, the professor shouting for order, and the officers tackling the burglar in the middle of the classroom.[4] Don Young, the student who painted the scene, died not long afterward at the age of thirty, but his professor, Jon Anderson, still had the painting. After telling us the story, he donated it to the USU Museum of Anthropology in hopes that it might someday hang in the restored barn.

The nature of the art program led to the development of a community between the students and professors. Rose Milovich remembered, "There was a cluster of students who were there eighteen to twenty four hours a day, and I was one of those students. We would eat together, and fire pots, and make pots. One of our friends, Mashihiro, decided that we should cook dinner over the raku kilns, and so he made fried rice. . . . It was a lot of fun; it was like a family. We were all different people and all from different places. We helped each other."[5]

Darnel Haney, an African American student recruited to USU's basketball team during the 1960s, recalled the difficult time he had adjusting to Cache Valley. His team had a hard year, and he started dating his future wife, a local white woman. The Art Barn became a refuge for him. Haney said, "I walked in there and there were a lot of people doing different things. It was a relaxed atmosphere. There was a freedom in there that was not every place where you go on a campus. Smiles were there and helpful hands were always there."[6]

One of the janitors in the Art Barn was an elderly, toothless man who had no access to dental care. He loved the Art Barn and the people who used it. When one of the other janitors tried to steal some expensive equipment, this fellow stopped him. In gratitude, the professors and students pooled their money for dentures as a Christmas gift, which touched the caretaker deeply.[7]

Even far-off events like the Iranian Revolution of 1979 impacted Cache Valley and the Art Barn. Everyone on campus was put on high alert for signs of potential terrorist activity. One night, someone snuck into the Art Barn and turned on the gas valves. A single spark would have destroyed the whole building. The shaken members of the Art Barn community redoubled their vigilance to protect their barn, never knowing if the incident was attempted terrorism or some other kind of vandalism.[8]

The Art Department eventually moved to a new, modern building, and that layer of the barn's story came to an end. The love these former students and professors felt for the Art Barn has not faded, though; if anything, it has grown.

Learning the barn's past drew us all under the shelter of its gambrel roof, making us hungry to know and preserve the building. We researchers wouldn't stop digging until we reached the foundation: the first layer of the barn's history. There are fewer people around who remember the building before its Art Department years, so we turned to the USU archives and the memories of a few long-time valley residents to reconstruct the barn's oldest layer.

The archivists, growing interested in our ongoing project, helped us unearth the original 1919

3 Ruth Swaner, interview by Bonnie Pitblado, November 30, 2010, Art Barn Project.

4 Jon Anderson, interview by Bernadene Ryan, October 18, 2010, Art Barn Project.

5 Rose Milovich, interview by Jason Neil, February 16, 2011, Art Barn Project.

6 Darnel Haney, interview by Jason Neil, June 23, 2011, Art Barn Project.

7 Adrian van Suchtelen, interview by Jason Neil, May 28, 2011, Art Barn Project.

8 Ibid.



This image shows the barn in about 1962, during its first years as the "Art Barn." As the building's purpose changed from a place that housed animals to a home for art classes, sliding doors were removed and windows were added on the second floor.

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Utah State University Museum of Anthropology

blueprints for our barn, as well as newspapers heralding the unveiling of this "modern" horse barn.[9] In 1919, flush with money and soldiers from World War I, the campus underwent a spate of modernization. Automobiles had rendered another, older barn used for parking horses and carriages obsolete, and it was sacrificed to make way for more classrooms. As Utah's land grant college, however, Utah State still needed barns to serve as agricultural labs and teaching facilities. Professors designed a new barn as a model for the rest of the valley. Above the north door, they placed the sign that read "Man's Best Friend," supposedly a cavalry motto referring to horses rather than dogs.[10]

We found accounts of young students—now octogenarians—who took school field trips to learn about the animals in the campus barns. Some Cache Valley residents worked their way through school at Utah State Agricultural Col-

9 "Horse Barn Is Modern," *Student Life* 18, no. 4, October 10, 1919.

10 Utah State Agricultural College, *Buzzer 1943 Yearbook* (Logan, UT: Graduating Class of 1943, 1943), 21, *Utah State University Digital Collections*, Utah State University Buzzer Yearbooks Collection, accessed February 19, 2016, digital.lib.usu.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/buzzer. Cavalries were still in use in 1919, and the armed forces had a presence on campus, but we could not track the exact origin of this phrase.

lege by driving the hay wagons or feeding the animals at night. They still recall the names of long-dead horses, including U-Dandy, the stud, and Lucy, the gentle draft horse who pulled the wagons. To these people, the barn was still a bright, hay-scented building filled with animals.

No matter how much dust we scraped away, there would always be more layers, more stories. The barn was a faithful secret keeper, holding onto forgotten memories that added to its atmosphere as a well-used, well-loved old building.

Those of us who worked on collecting the barn's history hoped it would find a use that reflected its colorful past and its role in campus history. Unfortunately, the funding to preserve the barn never materialized, and our barn raising stuttered to a halt. The building was once again in limbo. We had no choice but to move on to other projects.

I happened to be driving through campus in June 2015 and saw construction work going on around the barn. I parked to watch. An excavator brought its bucket down on the barn's gambrel roof with shocking finality. I flagged down a worker to ask if anything of the barn was being preserved. He told me they made a casting of the "Man's Best Friend" sign, which was too fragile to save, but he was not sure what the university was going to do with it.

All that is left of the barn now are the stories we saved. Those experiences connected us to other communities formed around the building over the years: stable hands, students, artists, custodians, and professors. Their past became a part of ours, and we added our own layer, a new, final chapter. Stories are ephemeral, yet when they are remembered and preserved, they can last longer than monuments or concrete foundations.

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Emily Brooksby Wheeler has an M.A. in history and an MLA in historic and cultural landscapes from Utah State University.

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IMMIGRANTS IN THE FAR WEST:

Historical Identities and Experiences

EDITED BY JESSIE L. EMBRY AND BRIAN Q. CANNON

Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2015. viii + 485 pp. Paper, $29.00

This volume of essays originating in the Charles Redd Center summer seminar of 2011 offers an introduction to ongoing themes and approaches in immigration and ethnic historiography in the West. An ambitious effort to survey ongoing research in the field, *Immigrants in the Far West* does acknowledge the limits to its approach, stating that the contributions "address significant questions and illuminate key facts of the immigrant experience but do not offer a complete overview of western immigration" (17). Nevertheless, the editors do seek to include scholarship that represents diverse disciplinary, ethno-racial, regional, and experiential histories. In essence, the volume provides a competent overview of recent research trends in ethnic, immigrant, and western history that may acquaint upper undergraduate, graduate, and lay audiences to contemporary historiographical trends.

Perhaps the most valuable contribution of this work is its summary of historiography, especially in the introduction and prefatory comments to Parts One, "Who We Were and Who They Thought We Should Be," and two, "What We Came For and What We Made of It." Not only do the editors identify the contributions of scholars such as David Roediger, Alejandro Portes, Min Zhou, and Hasia Diner to the fields of ethnic and immigration history, but they also highlight seminal works examining ethnicity and immigration in the West, ranging from the work of Frederick Luebke to David Emmons, including Elliot Barkan's *From All Points: America's Immigrant West, 1870s–1952* (2007).

The first seven essays are bundled in a section that examines identity, focusing on "the importance of local context, immigrant agency, legislation, and activism in shaping and contesting identity" (44). Diverse European, Latino, and Asian peoples within geographical areas including the Pacific, desert, and mountain Wests are discussed. The construction of identity as part of the Mexican immigrant experience is examined in three very different essays. Brett Garcia Myhren considers how immigrants and colonists interpreted the nature and meaning of Mexican California prior to 1841; D. Seth Horton employs textual criticism of Francisco Madero's *La sucesión presidencial en 1910* and two post-revolutionary novels to study immigration; and Anne M. Martinez writes about institutional efforts to shore up the Catholicism of Mexicans in the West. Eileen V. Wallis's inclusive article looks at public education and Americanization campaigns, while Katherine Benton-Cohen and Matthew Basso comment on issues of race and immigration with the Dillingham Commission and in Montana's copper communities, respectively. An intriguing narrative and one of possibly particular interest to those studying Utah and LDS history is Ryan Dearinger's study of labor and the building of the transcontinental railroad. Viewing race, religion, class, and nationality as central to identity construction, Dearinger argues that for Mormons work on the railroad afforded "the chance of national acceptance . . . [as well as] a renewed sense of cultural superiority"(112).

Put simply, Part Two examines the traditional bookends of immigration study: push and pull factors. As previously mentioned, the editors provide a useful introductory survey of historiography, but they also include short biographies of individuals that personalize the immigrant experience. Possibly for idiosyncratic reasons, I was most engaged by

Michelle A. Charest's fusion of textual analysis and historical archaeology to explore the various uses and community meanings for the saloon in Irish communities in the mining West. Two studies in particular—Karen S. Wilson's examination of community building by Los Angeles Jews and Andrew Offenburger's study of the colonization of Boers along the U.S.–Mexico border—feature histories of immigrant peoples in new geographical settings. Other essays by Mindi Sitterud-McCluskey, Mark I. Choate, J. Matthew Shumway, and Jessie L. Embry and Meisha Slight focus on Mormon colliers, Italians, and Latinos.

As with most essay collections, *Immigrants in the Far West* functions best as a survey of current and ongoing research. This volume does a particularly good job in introducing the reader to historiographical traditions in racial, ethnic, immigration, and western studies and does so while accommodating contributions from other disciplines in the humanities and the social sciences. At first glance the table of contents may appear to be inordinately weighted in favor of histories of the Mormon and mining West, but a closer look at the text allows the reader to comprehend the greater inclusivity of groups and universality of themes that the underlying organizational structure of the text provides. While I would have preferred greater discussion of Asian immigration, ethno-class relations, and late-twentieth and twenty-first century histories, I found the work quite satisfactory and worth the efforts of readers seeking an informative introduction to the historical fields covered.

— TIMOTHY DEAN DRAPER
Waubonsee Community College, Illinois

SOUTH PASS:

Gateway to a Continent

BY WILL BAGLEY

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014. 325 pp. Cloth, $29.95

Will Bagley's latest book, *South Pass: Gateway to a Continent*, nicely elucidates René Dubos's idea of the "genius of the place." A scientist and environmentalist, Dubos wrote about the set of attributes—physical, biological, social, and historical—that makes a place different from all others.[1] Located south of the Wind River Mountains in Wyoming, South Pass is such a place. It is a high, treeless valley that countless numbers of people have utilized to cross the Rocky Mountains. Bagley, the author of two books on the Oregon and California trails, describes South Pass as "the gateway to a continent" (15). In ten chapters, he outlines why this is true.

Focusing on the initial Euro-Americans who traversed South Pass, the first three chapters depict fur traders who first traveled through the pass after 1812. These chapters detail the role of the Astorians; the exploits of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company; the experiences of men such as Robert Stuart, Andrew Henry, James Clyman, and Jedediah Smith; and the rendezvous. The lasting legacy of the fur trade was the new knowledge it produced of the geography of the American West. Many of the fur traders became guides for the emigrant caravans that began to cross the plains in the 1840s, following in the footsteps of Benjamin Bonneville, the first to drive wagons over the pass.

The next five chapters address the topic of overland migration. Missionaries, including

1 René Jules Dubos, "The Genius of the Place, Tenth Horace M. Albright Conservation Lectureship, University of California at Berkeley, School of Forestry and Conservation, February 26, 1970.

the first white woman to cross the pass, traveled west in the late 1830s. Between 1840 and 1870 more than a half-million Americans traveled through South Pass to destinations in the West. Bagley includes accounts of the 1849 gold rush to California, the Mormon handcart parties, and the development of shortcuts such as the Lander Cutoff to make for a quicker journey. One colorful chapter depicts tales of the Pony Express crossing the pass and its eventual replacement by the telegraph. Additional information explains how the Civil War impacted the region through the removal of troops from western forts, which then allowed frequent Indian attacks on the telegraph wires. The final chapter recounts the 1867 gold rush to South Pass and the experiences of the final wagon trains that traversed the region.

Bagley writes in the preface that South Pass belongs to the American people and ought to be protected as a significant historical site for future generations. In 1960, President Dwight Eisenhower designated South Pass a National Historic Landmark; it is also listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Nonetheless, the region is not immune from threat of destruction that might result from the building of a natural gas pipeline.

South Pass is a rugged landscape that yet inspires visitors, just as it did early pioneers. Standing there today is not much different than it was in the 1840s. Bagley quotes Wyoming native Tom Bell, "'I can stand on South Pass and close my eyes, and hear the hoof beats of the Pony Express riders, the cracking of ox-team drivers' whips, the creak of wagon wheels, the voices of women and children. South Pass is one of the few places where you can stand in 2006 and 1846 at the same time'" (294).

This well-written and extensively researched volume surely will apprise readers of the characteristics and history of South Pass and shine a light on the genius of this place.

— PATRICIA ANN OWENS
Lawrenceville, Illinois

AN 1860 ENGLISH-HOPI VOCABULARY WRITTEN IN THE DESERET ALPHABET

BY KENNETH R. BEESLEY AND DIRK ELZINGA

Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2015. x + 161 pp. Paper, $19.95

Probably everyone who reads this review—regardless of denominational affiliation—has experienced the following: whether on a crowded street in the middle of a city, on the backroads of some hinterland, or in a foreign country, you spy from a distance two young men in white shirts with black name tags and assume they are Mormon missionaries. Those visual elements are two of three distinctive hallmarks of the missionary program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The third quality is less visible: teaching in the language of the people they are called to serve. Brigham Young, in his day, taught the missionaries he sent to Native Americans that this was the only way to achieve success. After counseling select individuals that they were not to worry about building personal wealth or helping white men, he said, "save the red ones [men], learn their language, and you can do this more effectively by living among them as well as by writing down a list of words, go with them where they go, live with them and when they rest let them live with you, feed them, clothe them and teach them as you can, and being thus with you all the time, you will soon be able to teach them in their own language" (46).

That is exactly what a group of seven men, led by Jacob Hamblin, attempted in the winter of 1859–1860 during the second of fifteen missions to the Hopis between 1858 and 1873. Following a short stay, Hamblin departed with four of the missionaries, leaving Marion Jackson Shelton and Thales Hastings Haskell—two men gifted with linguistic ability—behind to record the Hopi language in a phonetic system called the Deseret Alphabet. The ultimate goal was

to eventually translate and write the Book of Mormon in the Indians' tongue. The people of Orayvi (Oraibi) on Third Mesa in northern Arizona welcomed Shelton and Haskell, but these two men were also very much on their own for food and maintenance, which at times proved to be a struggle. No white shirts and name tags here. For four months, they lived among the people recording their language and developing a 486-word dictionary using the forty symbols of the Deseret Alphabet, just as linguists today use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). This earlier system appeared around 1853, underwent a number of revisions, then fell into disuse by 1875. Shelton and Haskell's work provided one of the best and most complete examples of its application to Native American languages. At the end of this four-month experience, Shelton felt he had failed to teach the Hopis the alphabet because they were constantly involved with dances and ceremonial activity—the winter is the height of important ritual performance. Haskell, undaunted, returned during the winter of 1862–1863 for a second visit, but there was no further work on the dictionary.

Beesley and Elzinga, two linguists, have written a work that operates on two levels. The first third is nonlinguistic contextual background, discussing the missionaries and missions, different types of phonetic alphabets, and correspondence written between church leaders and Shelton. The remaining two-thirds of this book rests in the domain of linguistics with a discussion of the Hopi language, issues specific to it, and a complete reproduction of the English-Hopi dictionary with transcriptions in both the Deseret Alphabet and IPA. I have consulted a Uto-Aztecan linguist who was reading the book at the same time and found that he was delighted at the insight these two authors provide. On the other hand, for a historian to read "it is reasonable to assume that he [Shelton] heard the prevocalic /r/ in 1860 Orayvi as rhotic and probably nonsibilant, while he heard the /r/ in syllable-final position as something definitely sibilant, probably [ʂ]. The prevocalic /r/s of his informants may have been nonsibilant voiced fricatives" gives pause. The point: there is something here for both camps—those interested in a historic literary mission to the Hopi as well as the linguistic side of what these men preserved by using the Deseret Alphabet. The book is an interesting piece of scholarship.

— ROBERT S. MCPHERSON
USU Eastern, Blanding

A FADED LEGACY:

Amy Brown Lyman and Mormon Women's Activism, 1872–1959

BY DAVE HALL

Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2015. 266 pp. Cloth, $34.95

Amy Brown Lyman was a captivating and ambitious woman whose activism and achievements should rank her as one of the most accomplished historical figures in twentieth-century Utah. In *A Faded Legacy: Amy Brown Lyman and Mormon Women's Activism, 1872–1959*, Dave Hall examines why today, "Lyman is all but forgotten among her own people and rates not even a footnote outside the Latter-day Saint community" (xi). The fortitude, fiscal responsibility, and faith demonstrated by Lyman in the service to her church and community through two world wars, the Great Depression, and multiple personal tragedies earns her a place of study in a manner that transcends traditional gender or religious study frameworks.

Hall illustrates the political and religious climate that facilitated acute and comprehensive activism by the women of Lyman's generation. Her rural upbringing, with its strong focus on religion and education combined with extensive experience in the reality of childbirth-related death and illness (including her mother's resulting disability and the deaths of two sisters) to provide Lyman with a strong foundation for her efforts later in life. Hall affirms that Lyman's concerns about marriage and childbirth stemmed from these memories, as she acknowledged in a letter to a friend, "I want to see and hear a few more things before I sink into oblivion" (38). Subsequent travels east, including time spent at Jane Addams's Hull

House, exposed Lyman to practices of scientific social work she would successfully implement in Utah.

A Faded Legacy examines the role Lyman played in modernizing the Relief Society (the LDS organization for women), including updating record keeping and business practices, which led to the efficient distribution of charity and increased the number of young women involved. Hall illustrates Lyman's management style as tough and demanding, "Her employees often expressed not just admiration, but real affection for her, explained in large measure because of the unbridled concern she showed for them and for their personal development." He explains, "She used her unusual powers of perception to sense their needs and potential" (81).

The post–World War I years found Lyman adding the state legislature to her list of accomplishments, successfully advocating for the passage of the Sheppard-Towner Act, providing the maternal and infant care that would significantly decrease mortality rates in the years following its passage. Hall writes, "As Utah continued its move from national pariah (religion), it now became something of a national model" for maternal and infant health (97). Hall also illustrates Amy's "dynamic involvement" in the establishment of the Utah State Training School, postulating that "Lyman no doubt took great satisfaction in the success of the Training School legislation. Although she did not know it at the time, it represented one of the last organized forays by Relief Society women into the political process" (111).

Lyman worked to increase relief efforts during the Great Depression, but economic conditions worsened and there was a change in LDS church leadership. Hall explains the "national trends whereby those with long years of experience in relief matters—most often women—were shunted aside from new loci of power in dramatically expanded public agencies, while new figures—generally men informed less by practical experience than by political and ideological concerns—took their place" (124).

A Faded Legacy follows Amy Lyman and her husband Richard R. Lyman on their LDS mission to Europe, where Amy's tenacity and devotion to the church and welfare work strengthened her resolve to improve the social and economic situation at home. Her time as Relief Society president should have cemented her legacy of activism and church loyalty. Instead, Hall posits what would have happened if Richard had not been excommunicated, effectively ending Amy's tenure as president. While members of the LDS faithful will find much to enjoy in this biographical account, those outside of the LDS church will be equally intrigued by the questions arising from what happens when a woman's accomplishments are overshadowed by a husband's indiscretions.

Hall seeks to reestablish the memory of Lyman and other women of her generation. He writes, "Pursuing a path that at times intersected, sometimes diverged, and, at other times, paralleled that followed by other American women, these children of polygamy left behind an impressive record of accomplishments that resulted in remarkable benefits for themselves and subsequent generations" (9). While explanations of church hierarchy are muted, they are nonetheless critical to understanding the myriad of power struggles and personalities faced by Lyman. Her life spans from polygamous, pre-statehood days to homesteading and legislating, from a time when Progressive women helped to shape the American political landscape to the post–World War II era when LDS women were encouraged to be good wives and homemakers. *A Faded Legacy* is a fascinating case study of a woman who navigated several spheres with intermittent peace and frequent turbulence, and it is a solid text for any gender studies curriculum.

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THE MAPMAKERS OF NEW ZION:

A Cartographic History of Mormonism

BY RICHARD FRANCAVIGLIA

Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2015. xv + 264 pp. Cloth, $34.95

Few authors bring such authority and experience to a formal study of map history as Richard Francaviglia, especially when the matter at hand is delivering a close reading of Mormon cartographic accomplishment. This sizable and quite hefty volume, handsomely prepared and illustrated with over one hundred full-color images, manages to do exactly what Francaviglia promises to do, revealing how "maps can serve religion in metaphorical as well as practical ways" (20). In a book dense with small type, the author estimates that there are better than 120,000 words describing the evolving geographical presence on the land of adherents of Mormonism (and non-LDS outsiders) and the ways that maps define human aspirations, journeys, settlements, and expansion over the course of two hundred years, going back to upstate New York. There, of course, Joseph Smith took the early steps in founding a religion whose followers are now officially known as members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, though still widely referred to today as Mormons.

Francaviglia's publications about aspects of built or vernacular culture on the Mormon landscape date back to 1969; for seventeen years, until his retirement in 2008, he was director of the Center for Greater Southwestern Studies and the History of Cartography at the University of Texas at Arlington. Clearly this is a scholar who brings a lifelong seriousness to studies of Mormons and Utah and who is capable of assessing how that American-born religious movement served to inspire and sometimes alarm its beholders. Mapping is not only a serious business for travelers and cartographers, it is an indication—as Francaviglia points out often and accurately—of the attitudes and beliefs of those who create maps and plans. While few of the materials included in *Mapmakers of New Zion* are the interpretive thematic maps that geographers or accomplished graphic artists create to expose and explicate a body of data, the volume does reproduce maps aplenty from many a source.

It is, therefore, particularly noteworthy that a main theme in this book are the cartographic "historical originals" that Mormons themselves generated, as their influence expanded from New York to Ohio and Illinois, and, after the migration across the Great Plains, to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake (239). This is, therefore, as much a study of evolving Mormon ideology and practical experience as it is an examination of maps. Many of the most interesting maps, Francaviglia notes, were long held within the LDS church archives and, because they sometimes brought forth inconvenient truths, were not always featured in atlases of Zion, Deseret, and the Utah Territory. He aims for a less partial view and largely pulls it off.

From the days of Joseph Smith onward, Mormon leaders have been careful students of maps, which loom large in church history. This book sees no need to confine itself to published maps from that history: there are rarely seen and well-reproduced manuscript maps, paintings, and photographs of map-quilts, brochures, panoramas from the Salt Lake City airport, and a map showing "Church Missions Worldwide." Handsome photographs of the LDS Church Office Building—which is familiar to anyone who has walked near Temple Square in Salt Lake City—display the building's sensible adornment with a vast pair of world maps, carefully carved into its lower stone façade, reflecting a commitment to expanding the worldwide reach of the LDS faith.

This study contains long and interesting chapters highlighting singular maps and their makers. The maps of the City of Zion, once attributed as a divine revelation given to Joseph Smith, appear as plans that changed in significant ways, especially with contributions from the cartographer-artist Frederick Williams, and the evolving maps, going from "plan" to "practice," are discussed at length in chapter one. That plan would offer a basic blueprint for

the layout and design of many a "four-square" Mormon town. An early plat map, proposed as a design for Salt Lake City and drafted by Thomas Bullock, was compiled a mere three weeks after the initial Mormon arrival in Utah in 1847 (81).

A separate chapter discusses at length the work of James H. Martineau, expanding Francaviglia's previous thought on this subject. Maps from non-Mormons find their place too, including the deservedly famous 1878 "Map of the Utah Territory: Representing the Extent of the Irrigable, Timber, and Pasture Lands," produced as a part of John Wesley Powell's *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region* (120). Many of the reproductions come from the stunningly detailed scanned maps in David Rumsey's extraordinary collection, much of which Rumsey has placed online, offering the most accessible archive available of western cartographic materials (and free of charge); Francaviglia rightly thanks Rumsey at length for his contributions to all students of cartography. The variety is bracing: reproduced in this book are manuscript maps, Government Printing Office maps, LDS church archives maps, and artifactual maps, including a fine reproduction of one of the Iosepa petroglyphs—which may or may not be a map but certainly provides food for thought.

In a well-crafted afterword, Francaviglia discusses that potential plague of the researcher-author—competing volumes that appear in print while you are winding up your own work. In his case, that was a 2012 second edition of *Mapping Mormonism: An Atlas of Latter-day Saint History*. Francaviglia worked around an interesting and potentially awkward turn of events and even wrote his own generous review of the *Atlas* after it emerged in print. While a huge number of maps appear in the other volume, Francaviglia points out that few come from the church archives, noting that continuing and sometimes conflicting revelations are always relevant. He suggests that the books be used side by side rather than in competition, and that advice seems sage enough.

Ultimately, *Mapmakers of New Zion* is as much about cartographic history (fundamentally, a branch of scholarly geography) as it is about Mormonism. This is a thoroughgoing look at how maps reveal ideas and ideals and at the people who craft them, and it offers an absorbing discussion of Mormon practice. In 2009, I published a long essay in the *Geographical Review* that I titled "Meetinghouses in the Mormon Mind: Ideology, Architecture, and Turbulent Streams of an Expanding Church." I most certainly would have loved to have had this study by Richard Francaviglia beside me as I worked through my notes. He provides us with quite the legacy.

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WAYS TO THE WEST:

How Getting Out of Our Cars Is Reclaiming America's Frontier

BY TIM SULLIVAN

Logan: Utah State University Press, 2015. xxv + 324 pp. Paper, $24.95

Beginning with an introduction to a black LeMond Poprad cyclocross bike, Tim Sullivan invites his readers to join him on an interactive journey across the West to observe how efforts to move toward more sustainable transportation have affected landscape, social interaction, and a personal understanding of environment for American westerners. As he moves through cities such as Las Vegas, Phoenix, Denver, Boise, and Salt Lake City, Sullivan abandons the convenience of traveling by automobile and focuses on his experiences relying on busses, bikes, railways, and his own two feet. He addresses the history and development of city planning, as well as the contemporary challenges that arise when traditional automobile transportation practices are tested with new ideas, giving way to pedestrian traffic, bike routes, and community transit. Sullivan talks to a wide array of people including locals, business owners, city planners, politicians, and transit CEOs, to name a few. *Ways to the West* provides an interesting look at the evolution of transportation and city planning across the American West, as well as an exciting experience in meeting the people who are directly involved and affected by its changes.

MORMONISM AND AMERICAN POLITICS

EDITED BY RANDALL BALMER AND JANA RIESS

New York: Columbia University Press, 2015. xiii +244. Paper, $30.00

Mormonism and American Politics includes a compilation of essays from thirteen scholars in Mormon history. The essays cover a vast history of Mormon involvement in politics, starting with Joseph Smith's political position as the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in nineteenth-century Illinois and ending with Mitt Romney's 2012 presidential bid. The writings in this book address the various political positions that leaders in Mormonism have taken on some of the twentieth century's hottest topics, including social reform, race, and women, as well as the Mormon struggle to be taken seriously as patriots and contributors to the American political system. Altogether, the essays are tied together by their observation of an effort by Mormons to assert their positions in politics and achieve acceptance in America's political system.



VOLUNTEERS OF AMERICA, 1908

A lunch counter operated by the Salt Lake City branch of the Volunteers of America, March 27, 1908, 115 East First South. A few weeks earlier, newspapers had reported about the many unemployed men in the city, whose needs this institution met. The local Volunteers offered several services—mostly free—including a "soup house," dispensary, hotel, employment agency, and rummage room.

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Outside the Denver and Rio Grande Depot, 1910. UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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BACK COVER

— A 1939 certificate awarded to Ralph Peay, an enrollee with Civilian Conservation Corps in Provo, Utah. *Utah State Historical Society*

FRONT COVER

— A group of Cataract Canyon boaters rest for the night, 1947. *Al Watkins Morton Collection, Utah State Historical Society*



IN THIS ISSUE

The 1895 Deseret Museum Expedition
The CCC in Southeastern Utah
Tie Cutting in the Uinta Mountains
A 1908 Orderville Murder