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IN THIS ISSUE

The cover for our Spring issue depicts in the foreground two unidentified military veterans making their way through downtown Salt Lake City on May 15, 1971. The two men, one a long-haired Vietnam War veteran, the other, an eighty-year-old veteran of World War I proudly wearing three medals on the front of his jacket, march under a banner that reads “Utah Veterans Against the War.” The veterans, and hundreds of Utahns accompa-

ON THE COVER: *Anti-Vietnam War March in Salt Lake City, May 15, 1971.* STEPHEN HOLBROOK COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

IN THIS ISSUE (ABOVE): *Radical leader, Jerry Rubin speaks to University of Utah Students, February 8, 1970.* STEPHEN HOLBROOK COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

nying them, ended their march on that warm spring day at Pioneer Park where they listened to several anti-Vietnam War speeches, including one by the eighty-four-year-old great-grandmother Jessie Greenhalgh Musser.

These challenging years of the late 1960s and early 1970s when the Vietnam War occupied the nation and Utah's attention are the focus of the concluding article in this issue. Patriotic Americans stood on both sides—many supporting the nation's involvement in the Southeast Asian conflict, others opposing the war that drew more than three million American military personnel to far off Vietnam between 1965 and 1973. The first protest in Utah against the war took place in April 1965, less than a month after the first combat troops arrived in Vietnam. The last protest occurred on the eve of the ceasefire agreement signed in Paris on January 27, 1973, that paved the way for the last American troops to leave Vietnam two months later. The University of Utah campus was the epicenter for the shock waves of controversy that rolled across Utah during those troubled years.

As University of Utah students and faculty struggled with the issue of war, they united to celebrate the completion of the new J. Willard Marriott Library in 1968. Wallace Stegner, winner of the Pulitzer Prize, the National Book Award, and other awards gave the dedicatory address. Stegner, who was born in Iowa, came to Salt Lake City in 1921 graduating from East High School in 1925 and the University of Utah in 1930. Although not a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Stegner became acquainted with Mormons during his sojourn in Utah and many of his writings including *Mormon Country* (1942) and *The Gathering of Zion* (1964) cover Mormon subjects with sympathy and insight. Our first article in this issue examines Stegner's experience with Mormons. He did not consider himself an outcast, but the recipient of warmth and goodwill noting: "I have never ceased to be grateful for what they gave us when what they gave mattered a great deal; I was never tempted to adopt their beliefs, [but] I could never write about them...except as a friend."

The second article for this issue returns to the subject of irrigation in Utah as it examines the late nineteenth-century Abraham Irrigation Project in Millard County. Utilizing water from the Sevier River, officials of the irrigation company sought to expand the population of West Millard county by several hundred. Difficulties compounded when two irrigation companies struggled to work together on the project in the face of the national economic downturn brought on by the Panic of 1893 and the limited water available for the ambitious project.

The photographic essay of the Utah State Hospital in Provo, offers seldom seen pictures of patients, staff, and the accommodations of a facility that opened in Provo in 1885 as the Utah Territorial Insane Asylum. The institution became known as the Utah State Mental Hospital in 1903, and the Utah State Hospital in 1927. The photographs and accompanying text help us understand this important and sometimes overlooked element of our history while remembering the care rendered by dedicated doctors and staff in the service of others.

Once again, these four articles remind us of the great variety of human experiences—from expanding agricultural and economic activities through technology and the utilization of natural resources, to care for others, protest, and reconciliation.



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“Except As a Friend’: Wallace Stegner Among the Mormons

BY WILL BAGLEY

*I don't really want to repudiate the possibility, you see, of human decency and warmth and kindness and generosity and magnanimity, because I do see them. The people that I grew up among, though they were by no means angelic or 100 per cent virtuous, taught me at least the possibility.*¹

George Stegner arrived in Salt Lake City one bright spring afternoon in 1921, driving an Essex Super Six crammed from running boards to roofline with his family, their possessions, and smuggled Canadian hootch. His son's fictional recreation of the instant the family “rolled around the base of Ensign Peak and looked upon the city of the Saints” almost evokes a “This Is the Place” moment. “Gee,” said Wallace Stegner's fictional alter-ego. “This is a big town,” as his father surveyed the “wide streets, gutters running with clear mountain water, trees in long rows down the parkways.”

“Isn't it nice?” his mother asked. “It's like all the towns through here, so green and nice.” “Holy cats,” George Stegner said in awe: “I could sell whiskey in this town as fast as I could haul it in.”²

A young and bearded Wallace Stegner.

Thanks to the generosity of the Chevron Corporation, Stephen Trimble and Western historian Will Bagley served as Wallace Stegner Centennial Fellows at the University of Utah's Tanner Humanities Center.

¹ Wallace Stegner, “Literary by Accident,” *Utah Libraries* (Fall 1975), 19.

² Wallace Stegner, *The Big Rock Candy Mountain*, (New York and London: Penguin Books, 1991), 344–46.

As the son of wandering ne'er-do-well and Hilda Paulson Stegner, his long-suffering wife, young Wally had passed through Iowa, North Dakota, Montana, Washington, and Saskatchewan on his way to Zion. "I was born rolling," he recalled.³ His first dim memory was of living in a tent in Redmond, Washington, where a tramp warned that mountain lions stalked the surrounding rainforest. His first clear recollection was of his miserable stay in Sacred Heart Orphanage in Seattle. He remembered sleeping under a wagon on his father's homestead on the Saskatchewan prairie in 1914 as a hundred-mile-an-hour wind swept across the plains. It taught him "the universe doesn't have any obligation to you."⁴

On the eve of his adolescence, Stegner landed among the Mormons, who did not appreciate his father's speakeasies and blind pigs. Instead of feeling he was an outcast, the boy and his older brother Cecil encountered "a lot of plain warmth and goodwill, too. I have never ceased to be grateful for what they gave us when what they gave mattered a great deal; I was never tempted to adopt their beliefs, [but] I could never write about them, when it came to that, except as a friend," Stegner recalled. He credited the community's obsession with its past for making him "aware of growing up entirely without history, and set me on the trail to find or construct some for myself."⁵ The Mormon people and their orderly Zion introduced the young rolling stone to a community with strong families and clearly defined principles, a tradition of sacrifice for the common good, and a desert-tested, commonsense practicality forged over seven decades in the arid West. It was also a culture with a deep and complicated persecution complex as it confronted the fads and fashions of the Roaring Twenties.

"If I have a home town, a place where a part of my heart is, it is Salt Lake City, and the part of western history that seems most personal and real to me is Mormon history," Stegner wrote. As a youth, he found a comfortable middle ground in Utah's bifurcated society. "For the everyday virtues of the Mormons as a people I have a warm admiration, and hundreds of individual Mormons have been my good friends for forty years," he recalled.⁶ Ultimately, LDS society profoundly influenced his philosophy: "If I seem to relate individual identity to a social group, I don't think that's so strange in Utah, and I think Utah taught it to me," he remarked. "I was shaped by the places and people among whom I grew, and they taught me ways of seeing and feeling."⁷

Besides instilling a respect for traditional values, his adopted hometown

³ Philip Fradkin, *Wallace Stegner and the American West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), 13–14; and Stegner, *Marking the Sparrow's Fall: The Making of the American West* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1998), 29.

⁴ Dinitia Smith, "Puncturing the Myth of the West," *The New York Times*, September 8, 1997.

⁵ "Finding the Place: A Migrant Childhood," in Stegner, *Where the Bluebird Sings to the Lemonade Springs: Living and Writing in the West* (New York: Random House, 1992), 16.

⁶ Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964), 314.

⁷ Stegner, "Literary by Accident," 17.

provided much of the raw material Wallace Stegner used to build a “useable past” for himself. Stegner’s perspective has had a far-ranging impact upon how Americans view Utah and its self-proclaimed peculiar people. “Wallace Stegner sought kindness,” Carl Pope of the Sierra Club observed, and “he found it in Zion. Stegner took Brigham Young, and softened up that tough old bird, until the beehive’s hum, and not its sting, became the face of Mormonism to the world. These folks nest, Stegner told us, like some damn blue bird.”⁸

His Wasatch Front boyhood had another enduring impact on Stegner’s life. The staggering beauty of Utah’s mountains and the Colorado canyon country captured his heart and encouraged his lifelong love of the natural West. He felt Salt Lake City’s “instant access to the desert and mountains” made it unique.⁹ “Salt Lake lies in the lap of mountains. East of it, within easy reach of any boy, seven canyons lead directly up into another climate, to fishing and hunting and camping and climbing and winter skiing,” he remembered. The city’s “canyons opened out of my back yard.” Wally and his pals explored Mill Creek on “elaborate expeditions with knapsacks. In spring there were Lucerne fields and orchards to go through toward the canyon’s mouth,” and the patches always provided a snake or two, “and the orchards a pocketful of cherries or apricots.”¹⁰ Small wonder he acquired a love for nature and the wild from his adventures in Utah.

What made young Wally feel so “at home in the fields of the Lord,” and what made Wallace Stegner recollect “the city of the Saints” with such affection? The town’s stable families proved immensely attractive to the young tumbleweed, but he arrived at an opportune time, just as Mormon culture was undergoing its transformation from a radical new religious movement that sought, in Brigham Young’s words, “to revolutionize the whole world,” into a mainstream American faith perfectly happy to forget the wilder side of its rambunctious youth.¹¹ Salt Lake City had long been a community divided into Mormons and gentiles, with a substantial number of native-born “Jack Mormons” caught in the middle. The passions of the polygamy wars of the nineteenth-century had given way to a golden age of accommodation as the Latter-day Saints (LDS) struggled to adjust to the twentieth-century. The religion’s aging leadership found themselves in a situation similar to the bind that caught Puritan elders as their American-born children lost interest in the controversies of Calvinism. As frontier

⁸ Carl Pope, “Two Scrapings and a Bluebird’s Nest,” *Wisconsin Academy Review* 44 (Fall 1998): 6.

⁹ Peggy Fletcher [Stack] and L. John Lewis, “An Interview with Wallace Stegner,” *Sunstone, A Unique Mormon Magazine* 5 (January–February 1980): 8. Upon returning to Salt Lake City, Stack found that her tape recorder had failed to capture the interview. Stegner obligingly provided her written responses to a set of follow-up questions.

¹⁰ Stegner, “At Home in the Fields of the Lord,” in *The Sound of Mountain Water* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969), 165.

¹¹ Brigham Young, “Gathering the Poor,” September 16, 1855, 26 vols. *Journal of Discourses*, (Liverpool, 1854–1886), 3:5.

Utah disappeared in a storm of industrialization and cultural innovation, Mormon presidents and apostles faced a problem their Pilgrim forefathers had not confronted: modernity.

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, Mormonism struggled to redefine itself and its relations to the outside world—and the 1920s compelled its patriarchs to respond to changes they found baffling. Dramatic transformations in law, literature, fashion, and popular culture swept through American provinces even as remote and seemingly isolated as Utah, which also wrestled with the virtual collapse of its agricultural economy and the rapid decline in its mining industry. As Thomas G. Alexander observed, the LDS church had to deal “with conflicting pressures to build the community, provide wholesome entertainment, mollify potential competitors and critics, and live in harmony with aggressive eastern monopolists.”¹²

It was a challenge to comment on his friend’s life or work, the late William Mulder wrote, because Stegner had already “said it best already in his fiction, his histories and biographies, and his personal and critical essays.”¹³ Studies of the “Dean of Western writers,” an unfair limitation that casts a great American writer as a mere regionalist, have analyzed his career from every imaginable perspective, and several very good books have dealt with Stegner’s Utah connection.¹⁴ But as Dale L. Morgan suggested, Mormons “might profit by meditating upon Mr. Stegner’s thoughtful



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Wallace Stegner when he served as editor of the *University of Utah* literary magazine, *Pen*.

¹² Thomas Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 91.

¹³ William Mulder, “In Memoriam,” *Sunstone* 16 (November 1993), 10.

¹⁴ See Robert C. Steensma’s delightful *Wallace Stegner’s Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2007), which reprints “At Home in the Fields of the Lord” and “It Is the Love of Books”; and Gary Topping’s *Utah Historians and the Reconstruction of Western History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003). Professor Topping’s quarter-century of Stegner scholarship made it a challenge to follow in his footsteps and find anything to say he hadn’t already said.

comments on their faith, their society, and their history.”¹⁵ He learned much from the Saints of the West, and it is worth considering what modern Mormons might learn from his understanding of their history and culture. Stegner did not hesitate to criticize what he saw as the authoritarian and violent nature of this frontier religious movement, and his double-edged perspective was sometimes so sharp it made Gary Topping wonder why “the Mormons have been so willing to sit still for verbal drubbings from a Gentile that they would never accept from one of their own.”¹⁶

All his writing came from what he knew, Stegner said. “My involvement in history is personal, not scholarly,” He never would have taken up Mormon history had he not grown up in Salt Lake City “and lived at the warehouse on Tuesday nights.” Southern Utah’s canyon country inspired him to write about John Wesley Powell. All his non-fiction, Stegner admitted, was “an offshoot of personal experiences and personal acquaintances.”¹⁷ His wistful love affair with Salt Lake City reflected his need to identify a place as home: his lack of roots “seemed to me a deprivation both personally and professionally,” he mused in his early forties. The first dozen years of his “absence from Zion” persuaded him, “I am not as homeless as I had thought,” nor was he “a half stranger in the city where I had lived the longest, a Gentile in the New Jerusalem.” A few short visits convinced Stegner “I am as rich in a hometown as anyone.”¹⁸

“He loved this place and adopted Salt Lake as his home because he never had one to speak of as a kid,” said David Freed, Stegner’s tennis teammate.¹⁹ No friends “ever so closely and effortlessly” touched his heart as had Freed, Jack Irvine, and Milton “Red” Cowan. “Here for the first time I can remember triumphs, or what seemed triumphs then,” Stegner recalled. “In Salt Lake I wrote my first short story and my first novel.” Here he fell in love for the first time “and was rudely jilted for the first time and recovered for the first time,” describing his romances with two Mormon girls, Juanita Crawford and Helen Foster, who became famous as “Nym Wales,” one of the first Western journalists to meet Mao Zedong and the writer who added “Gung-Ho” to the American vocabulary. “In Salt Lake I took my first drink and acquired a delightful familiarity with certain speakeasies that I could find now blindfolded if there were any necessity,” Stegner wrote. He experimented with beer, peach brandy, and bathtub gin “and survived them all, as I survived the experience of driving an automobile at sixteen or seventeen, by hairbreadth but satisfactory margins.”²⁰

¹⁵ Dale Morgan, “When the Saints Came Marching In,” *Saturday Review* 48 (January 16, 1965).

¹⁶ Gary Topping, “Wallace Stegner and the Mormons,” *South Dakota Review* 23 (Winter 1985): 25, 27.

¹⁷ Wallace Stegner and Richard Etulain, *Conversations with Wallace Stegner on Western History and Literature* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983): 166.

¹⁸ Stegner, “At Home in the Fields of the Lord,” in *The Sound of Mountain Water* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1969), 30.

¹⁹ James Thalman, “One of Ours,” *Continuum: The Magazine of the University of Utah* (Winter 95): 1.

²⁰ Stegner, “At Home in the Fields of the Lord,” 33; and Wolfgang Saxon, “Helen Foster Snow,” *The New York Times*, January 14, 1997.

The natural wonders of the Wasatch Oasis and the excellent education Stegner found “in the homey, provincial city of Salt Lake” shaped the man and artist. Looking back, he realized how much brute accident accounted for the choices he made as a young man: “I didn’t choose a literary career and dedicate myself to it. I didn’t choose the West as the place I would write about and from. They chose me,” he claimed. The time he spent hunting, fishing, swimming, and sparking in Utah’s backcountry left the West and its landscapes “imprinted on his eyeballs.” The Great Basin, with its “geography you can see,” was “the place that he felt most himself.”²¹ As a native of the New Jerusalem, I know of no one who has captured “how beautiful this town really is,” “how it lies under a bright clarity of light,” “protected behind its rampart mountains,” or described so “miraculously the moody light and startling contrasts of a lake that belongs on the moon.”²²

Stegner became a writer in Salt Lake City, “because I had this little gift, which like a beaver’s teeth kept growing and making me chew to wear them down or else they’d lock my mouth shut.” Although he was “university-literary” as “a kind of game” while an undergraduate at the University of Utah, “It never occurred to me that I could become a writer,” he recalled. The interest of his professors led him to apply for a graduate fellowship and forsake “rising in the linoleum trade.” He only discovered his vocation when he returned to Utah to teach in 1935 and “felt a vague form of unrest. I didn’t know it, but it was my teeth growing.” He sat down and in three hours wrote “Bugle Song,” a short story whose brilliance Jackson J. Benson attributed to Stegner’s sheer talent. After that, “It turned out that I had to chew, because I had those teeth, and it turned out that I had to chew cottonwoods because those were the trees I grew up among, the ones that I found handy for my chewing.”²³

In *The Big Rock Candy Mountain*, the autobiographical novel Stegner called “not a literary effort but an act of exorcism,” the Masons like the Stegners, “couldn’t stay too long in one place. So they moved, and moved again.” But the book’s description of Utah society is sympathetic and affectionate. In *Recapitulation*, when Bruce Mason revisited his adopted hometown, the City of Salt Lake received even kinder treatment. “Are you properly grateful to be living in Paradise?” he asked an old friend. “The Mormons are all mixed up about heaven,” his friend explained. “The Book of Mormon makes heaven into a sort of New Jerusalem, with gold-paved streets and windows of opal and ruby. But the real Mormon heaven was made by hand, and it’s this, it’s an oasis in the desert.”²⁴

²¹ Lynn Stegner Interview, KUER Wallace Stegner Documentary, transcript at www.kued.org/productions/wallace_stegner accessed July 25, 2009.

²² Stegner, “At Home in the Fields of the Lord,” 30–31; and “Xanadu by the Salt Flats,” *American Heritage* (June/July 1981), 81–89.

²³ Stegner, “Literary by Accident,” 9–10, 14; and Jackson Benson, *Down By the Lemonade Springs: Essays on Wallace Stegner* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2001), 15.

²⁴ Stegner, *The Big Rock Candy Mountain*, 369, 375; and Stegner, *Recapitulation* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1979), 116–17.

Hilda Stegner's rootless life left "a million years of misery in her eyes," Milton Cowan recalled.²⁵ The boys found a warm welcome in Mormon homes, but her son appreciated how different her experience was in Salt Lake City. Her erratic husband prevented her from ever realizing the one dream she had all her life, building a home for her beloved sons, and Utah's insular culture left her isolated. "She was hungry, you know," Stegner told Richard Etulain. As the wife of a social outcast, she had few friends. "They were likely to be the wives of brakemen on the Union Pacific, people like that. Very, very humble companions, and almost always either non-Mormons or renegade Mormons . . . Adults couldn't make it into that Mormon society the way a child could, the way that I could." He "discovered the Mormon institution of Mutual (for Mutual Improvement Association, or MIA), which in every ward in Zion, on Tuesday nights," assembled teenagers for Boy and Girl Scout meetings, basketball, and dances, "and which welcomed even such gentile waifs as my brother and me."²⁶ But "there were no such entrees for her," Stegner recalled. In one of *The Big Rock Candy Mountain's* most moving passages, Elsa Mason's encounter with two women from the University of Utah drives home her "psycho-social isolation." Elsa watches as chipmunks search for peanuts or crumbs: "the first time she got one to come into her lap for a nut she laughed out loud for the pure joy of having made friends with someone."²⁷

"It seems to me, thinking it over, that she had a terribly limited and lonesome life. She had to do what a lot of women in the past have had to do—get a vicarious life out of her children," Stegner recalled.²⁸ Such insights reveal the complexity of Stegner's relationship to his past. His oft-expressed affection for the Mormons and his adopted hometown obscure much of the pain that haunted his coming of age. "My childhood was buried in Saskatchewan, my youth and my dead in Salt Lake City, and I was never going back to either of those places to live."²⁹ But none of the tragedies he endured "could dampen the happiness of those years of my youth, when, wanting nothing so much as to be accepted and to belong, I finally did belong," Stegner found while writing *Recapitulation*. Recollections "came back to me in a flood—weekends and summer vacations in the high, keen air of our cabin down in the high plateaus, camping trips with friends into the Wasatch or the Uintas, expeditions to Grand Canyon and Zion and Bryce and the slick rock country, moons that swam up over the Wasatch like bubbles in honey, the ripe exciting smell of the salt beaches at Saltair, or Great Salt Lake, the coolness of the canyon

²⁵ Fradkin, *Wallace Stegner and the American West*, 61. Cowan, a graduate of West High who went on to a distinguished academic career, liked to joke, "Wally and I went to different high schools together."

²⁶ "Wallace Stegner, 1909–" in *Contemporary Authors Autobiography Series*, 30 vols. (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1989), 9:261–62.

²⁷ Stegner, *The Big Rock Candy Mountain*, 379, 397.

²⁸ Etulain, *Conversations*, 10–11.

²⁹ Stegner, "Finding the Place: A Migrant Childhood," 20.

breezes on summer nights, the smell of damp lawns, the singing of mockingbirds down in the gully," he said. "I might have gone on in that rut for a long time, for a lifetime."³⁰

Instead, Stegner left Utah for graduate school at the University of Iowa in 1930. The endless green fields made him homesick for "the brown country where the raw earth showed." It took parting to make him know "approximately where he belonged" and how much Zion had given him an identity: "He was a westerner, whatever that was."³¹ Salt Lake City, he mused years later, "is not my hometown because my dead are buried there, or because I lived certain years of my youth and the first years of my marriage there, or because my son was born there." It was his home place because it drowned him "in acute recognitions." Salt Lake City was founded as a refuge, and it was "as sanctuary that it persists even in my Gentile mind and insinuates itself as my veritable hometown," he wrote.³² After earning his doctorate, Stegner returned to teach at his alma mater, but he moved on in 1937, never to return for more than a visit.

Stegner dealt with Mormon history throughout his career, most notably in *Mormon Country* (1942) and *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (1964). Mormons played peripheral roles in much of his non-fiction, notably in *One Nation* (1945), *The Preacher and the Slave* (1950), *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West* (1954), *American Places* (1985), and *The Uneasy Chair: A Biography of Bernard Devoto* (1989). Several essays describe acquiring an education and love for books during his years in Utah, and they all reflect his respect for its local folkways. Mormonism's almost instantaneous creation of a useable past appealed deeply to Stegner: "That historical piety is one of the things that have most interested me in Mormon culture. It has kept track of itself, it has valued its own saga," he acknowledged, thinking back to his epic history of the Mormon Trail. "Ironical, too: the Mormons came into the West to build the future, and even as [William] Clayton's roadometer clicked off the miles, they had already begun to build a past."³³

A fundamental respect and affection informed everything Wallace Stegner wrote about the Mormon people. He expressed his admiration with skill and a leavening of wit: "Though some early Mormons were born poor, and many achieved poverty, and many more had poverty thrust upon them, indigence was not their natural state, and they recovered from it with great promptness when left alone."³⁴ His affection for the Latter-day Saints did not prevent him from addressing the contradictions he saw entangled in the warp and woof of the culture. The Mormons, Stegner concluded,

³⁰ "Wallace Stegner, 1909," 9:262.

³¹ Stegner, *The Big Rock Candy Mountain*, 427.

³² Stegner, "At Home in the Fields of the Lord," 35–36.

³³ Stack and Lewis, "An Interview with Wallace Stegner," 8.

³⁴ Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 311.

contradicted Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier hypothesis: "In place of nationalism, democracy, and individualism I suppose you'd have to put sectionalism, theocracy, and community. They really *are* un-American," he admitted. "You can understand exactly why unwashed frontier communities found them hard to live with and why they found it hard to live with the unwashed communities."³⁵

"I write as a non-Mormon but not as a Mormon-hater," Stegner said. "Except as it affected the actions of the people I write of, I do not deal with the Mormon faith: I do not believe it, but I do not quarrel with it either." He refused "to whitewash the Mormon tribal crimes, which were as grievous as their wrongs" but sought to write the history of the Mormons "in the terms of the people who made it." That faith fascinated him—here, after all, "was a *faith* that people had died for"—but he dealt with it only when it affected people's actions. He respected the religion's organization, both historical and modern, but he was suspicious of its hierarchy, then and now, "in the way I am suspicious of any very large and very powerful commercial and industrial corporation." He avoided doctrinal, hierarchic, and political controversies: "I was much less interested in the doctrinal and political causes of this march than in the march itself." Stegner "was after visceral history," and "what faith did to the people who held it." He sought "to follow George Bancroft's rule for historians: I shall try to present them in their terms and judge them in mine. That I do not accept the faith that possessed them does not mean I doubt their frequent devotion and heroism in its service. Especially their women. Their women were incredible."³⁶

"While Stegner's view of the Mormons is often admiring, he also sees them as individuals with particular graces and flaws," novelist Zeese Papanikolas observed. Stegner "viewed Mormons as a people sometimes at odds with democratic values and the darker side of their history."³⁷ He found the faith's history especially relevant because it stood apart from the mainstream: "The American Dream as historians define it did not fit these whiskered zealots," he wrote in *Mormon Country*. "Theirs was a group dream, not an individual one; a dream of Millennium, not of quick fortune."³⁸ For Stegner, the Mormons made an especially useful case study because their desert kingdom contrasted so dramatically with Western myths of boundless resources and rugged individualism.

Stegner never hid his lack of religion: "About God I simply do not know; I don't think I can know," he said in 1950. Passionate faith made him suspicious "because it hangs witches and burns heretics, and generally I am

³⁵ Etulain, *Conversations*, 104.

³⁶ Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 314; and Stegner, *The Sound of Mountain Water*, 208.

³⁷ Zeese Papanikolas, "Wallace Stegner," in Allan Kent Powell, ed., *Utah History Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 532.

³⁸ Stegner, *Mormon Country*, 62.



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more in sympathy with the witches and heretics than with the sectarians who hang and burn them.” He feared immoderate zeal, be it Christian, Moslem, or Communist, for it created “orthodoxy with a sword in its hand.”³⁹ Latter-day Saints should thank Stegner “for telling their story with such clarity and verve, enabling them to see the familiar, both in their history and in the daily life around them, in fresh terms,” his friend William Mulder observed, but Mulder warned that some would find his personal credo “troubling for its secular humanism, dread word.”⁴⁰ As a young historian at the University of Utah, James Clayton questioned whether “Stegner’s own peculiar point of view, his non-religious humanism,” made it possible for him to accept the culture’s frontier authoritarianism but to “reject it out of hand” in its modern incarnation, “completely ignoring the continuing significance of the hierarchy to intelligent, believing Mormons as a deeply motivating source of divine revelation and authority.”⁴¹

Stegner hid neither his affection for the Mormon people nor his

With a Nevills boat trip in Glen Canyon on the Colorado River. Wallace Stegner is standing fifth from the left, with his wife Mary Page Stegner sitting in front of him.

³⁹ Wallace Stegner, “This I Believe: Everything Potent Is Dangerous,” in *One Way to Spell Man: Essays with a Western Bias* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1982), 3.

⁴⁰ William Mulder, “In Memoriam,” 10.

⁴¹ James L. Clayton, “From Pioneers to Provincials: Mormonism As Seen by Wallace Stegner,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Winter 1966): 111.

discomfort with the authoritarian ambitions and theocratic abuses of their leaders. It was his obligation as a writer: “not to flatter, not to praise, certainly not to overpraise,” but “to try to be honest, to try to be impartial, to try to be serious.”⁴² In *The Gathering of Zion* he deliberately let “the emigrants speak for themselves, so that there was literally no attitude I *could* take, pro or con. I was simply trying to recreate the experience as the people who had it had lived it. That seemed to me the only fair way.” Everything a historian writes is an interpretation, but Stegner’s sense of fair play extended to a consideration of his Mormon audience’s sensibilities: *Mormon Country* inadvertently included comments that some thought condescending: “I didn’t want that to happen again.”⁴³ At the same time, he told Richard Etulain, “I hope nobody comes out of my books thinking I am anti-Mormon; I’m mixed about them.”⁴⁴

Stegner’s three decades of correspondence with Western history polymath Dale L. Morgan, who Stegner praised as “a cross between a steam shovel and Jesus Christ,” provides insights into his approach to the Mormon past. Shortly before the attack on Pearl Harbor, Stegner outlined the astonishing parallels he noticed between old Deseret and modern totalitarian states while researching *Mormon Country*. “The whole thing is there—private army, secret police, encirclement myth, territorial dynamism, self-sufficiency, chosen people, absolute dictatorship operating through party rule, group psychology, esoteric symbols, [and] sacred or distinguishing uniforms.”⁴⁵

Morgan found Stegner’s remarks “on the singularly complete parallels in Mormon autocracy and modern totalitarianism” interesting and amusing, and he pointed to “even more parallels,” including the institution’s vast public works programs and experiments with price control and wage control during the 1860s. But Morgan was more protective of the faith of his fathers than his faithful critics give him credit. He warned, “any study of the Mormons as an American dictatorship” had to give due weight to frontier conditions or the parallels became “confusing and misleading.” Using totalitarianism as a yardstick to measure Mormonism was dangerous, he advised. The religion’s early social mutations were complex: he pointed to what Stegner called territorial dynamism and “the psychology of dispossession” combined with “a frontal attack by a society upon an environment. The whole Mormon experience with the land must be taken into consideration in any dissection of Mormon society—this is part of what I mean by inferring the intervention of the frontier.”⁴⁶ Stegner

⁴² Stegner, “Literary by Accident,” 14.

⁴³ Stack and Lewis, “An Interview with Wallace Stegner,” 9.

⁴⁴ Etulain, *Conversations*, 117.

⁴⁵ Wallace Stegner to Dale Morgan, November 24, 1941, in Page Stegner, ed., *The Selected Letters of Wallace Stegner* (Washington, D.C.: Shoemaker & Hoard, 2007), 326.

⁴⁶ Dale Morgan to Wallace Stegner, December 3, 1941, Dale Lowell Morgan papers, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, microfilm copy, Roll 6: 1122–23, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

moderated his observations in *Mormon Country*, but he presented Utah's frontier theocracy as "a dictatorship as complete in its power as any in contemporary Europe."⁴⁷

Stegner again asked for Morgan's help as he began work on *One Nation* for Look magazine, which was written to examine a "growing wave of intolerance and prejudice" that seemed to be a product of the "racial and religious stresses in wartime America."⁴⁸ Stegner hoped to include a Mormon community in the book to show a prejudice that had "about worn itself out or been broken up by the pressure of history." He confessed, "Actually, I'm dragging in the Mormons by the hair of the head because I like them and their country; they can hardly be said to be a persecuted minority any more."⁴⁹ Nothing came of Stegner's plan to use the Mormons as an example of a minority that had survived, adapted, and outgrown persecution. "They had been taught to expect persecution; their solidarity was moulded by hostility from without; their faith was the more secure, the more it showed that it could bear," he later wrote. "There was a streak of puritan masochism in many early Mormons—one feels that without tribulation they would hardly have felt confident of their identity."⁵⁰

Stegner's admiration of Brigham Young's dynamic leadership did not reflect the reservations he had about the frontier prophet's rough edges. Morgan warned him to take a close look at the evidence. "A great deal needs to be done in the re-evaluation of Brigham Young as a man: originally he was underestimated, by Mormons and non-Mormons alike; now, in reaction, he is being overestimated, or being credited with qualities he did not possess," Morgan wrote. "With all his magnificent abilities, Brigham Young was in his way credulous, provincial, and even, in some ways, ignorant."⁵¹ Stegner's admiration for Mormonism's founding prophets was mixed. "But since I like bad writers better than ruthless politicians and colonizers, I'm more sympathetic to Joseph than to Brigham," he joked. "A lot of things in Brigham's management of the Mormons after he got them to Utah don't stand too close examination," Stegner observed. He understood Young as "a hard man with a hard head" who stood accused of being accessory to a good many murders, he said. "Maybe he carefully didn't know, but maybe he sent the Sons of Dan out. I don't think the Mormon historians have ever settled that one, and neither have the non-Mormon ones. They may never be able to."⁵²

Gary Topping rebuked Stegner for oversimplification: "Young is the great hub around which *The Gathering of Zion* rotates," so "the Mormon

⁴⁷ Wallace Stegner, *Mormon Country* Reprinted with an introduction by Richard W. Etulain (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 93.

⁴⁸ Wallace Stegner and the Editors of Look, *One Nation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945), v.

⁴⁹ Wallace Stegner to Dale Morgan, June 19, 1944, Morgan Papers, roll 17:1239.

⁵⁰ Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 5, 31.

⁵¹ Dale Morgan to Wallace Stegner, July 13, 1942, Morgan Papers, roll 16:1127.

⁵² Etulain, *Conversations*, 110–11.

migration emerges in Stegner's pages as nothing less than an extension of Young's will and personality. When Brigham is present, things happen. When he is absent, they fall apart."⁵³ Topping felt Stegner overemphasized Mormon exceptionalism, but again, this is a complex problem: even Charles S. Peterson's solution—regionalism—fails to solve the puzzle, Topping notes. Peterson himself used the term "an exceptional people" to describe early Latter-day Saints, and as Jared Farmer observed, Utah's frontier past is "typical and exceptional at the same time."⁵⁴ Stegner noted Mormons "think of themselves as a peculiar people. In some ways they are so peculiar, both in their history and in the dense web of their practical life and their faith, that outside readers just won't believe them when they see them in print."⁵⁵

Stegner felt Latter-day Saints learned ambiguous lessons from their past, especially "that paranoid lesson of persecution. Mormons always expect to be persecuted. It's something they can learn from their heritage, but they could also learn from the last eighty years that persecution doesn't exist anymore—not in the ways they often envision it." An honest look at their history "might not sit quite so well with the hierarchy. For instance, they could learn that the theocracy in Utah was a police state with a secret police and all the rest of it, which most Mormons won't grant. If they do grant, they just sort of wave it away, cover it over with dead leaves." The remoteness the Mormons enjoyed during their first decade in the Far West gave their frontier theocracy "a pretty stiff and rigid form, and it was hard to resist. The gentile literature about the destroying angels and all the rest of it is lurid and exaggerated, but it's not based upon myth. It's based upon a fact," Stegner pointed out. "There *was* such a guy as Port Rockwell." While he acknowledged the faith's history of suffering, Stegner felt "the paranoid memory of persecution begets a conviction of continued persecution, with the result that you can't see anything critical of the church that isn't a dagger aimed at your heart." Few Mormon historians escaped the urge to act as defenders of the faith. "You don't have to search for truth, the truth is there. What you do have to do is explain, I suppose, how everybody comes to hate you so."⁵⁶

What most aggravated Stegner about Mormon history was the suppression of evidence, which left "no firm ground" for necessarily tentative historians "to take account of all the facts and allow for all the delusion, hatred, passion, paranoia, lying, bad faith, concealment, and distortion of evidence

⁵³ Gary Topping, "Wallace Stegner the Historian," in Charles Rankin, ed., *Wallace Stegner: Man and Writer* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 153.

⁵⁴ Topping, *Utah Historians*, 274; Charles S. Peterson, "Beyond Exceptionalist History," in Thomas Alexander, ed. *Great Basin Kingdom Revisited* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1991), 134, 142, 144, 147–50; and Jared Farmer, *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians and the American Landscape* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 14.

⁵⁵ Stack and Lewis, "An Interview with Wallace Stegner," 10.

⁵⁶ Etulain, *Conversations*, 105–06, 109.



that were contributed by both the Mormons and their enemies.” He found the religion’s attempts to control its past ironic if not comical: denied access to Thomas Bullock’s official journal of the 1847 trek, he found much of it reproduced in the easily accessible record called the *Journal History*.⁵⁷ “You can’t have partial truth, you’ve got to have it all, and no historian can operate with some of the cards missing from the deck,” he said. “The only way to get away from attack-and-defense history, it seems to me, is to throw the archives open to everybody.”⁵⁸ He asked Morgan if he would join in a “discussion of the difficulties that have traditionally been put in the way of objective historians by the Church. You, Fawn Brodie, [and] Juanita Brooks are all distinguished historians from within the faith who have had difficulty using the documents that you knew existed.” As editor of *The American West*, Stegner hoped for an article “which might exert some pressure on the Church Historian’s Office and help eventually loosen up sources.”⁵⁹

Mormon society was never that repressive, Stegner later said, but if the culture hoped to produce a significant body of literature it had to abandon

Wallace Stegner, center, at a book signing at Sam Weller’s Zions Bookstore. On the left is Everett Cooley, director of Special Collections at the University of Utah and on the right, Roger Hanson, director of the University of Utah Library.

⁵⁷ Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 111, 313.

⁵⁸ Etulain, *Conversations*, 111.

⁵⁹ Wallace Stegner to Dale Morgan, February 8, 1969, Morgan Papers, roll 17:1270.

trying “to control thought. The way to write is to keep your mind utterly free and absolutely open, and to write for the world.” If Leonard Arrington succeeded in “opening things up,” as he did at least temporarily, then what “you need to do is work and wait,” he told Peggy Fletcher Stack.⁶⁰

Generations of believing Mormon historians have avoided two obvious questions: why did their religion prove so provocative and combative, and why did Mormonism, like many radical new religious movements, both provoke and perpetrate acts of savagery? Stegner addressed the problems with disarming directness. Their troubles in the East had different causes, but “One way and another, the Mormons managed to get on ill terms with anyone, given time. A chosen people is probably inspiring for the chosen to live *among*; it is not so comfortable for outsiders to live *with*.” Stegner admired their suffering, endurance, discipline, faith, brotherly and sisterly charity, “the qualities so thoroughly celebrated by Mormon writers,” but he felt their humanity allocated them “a normal amount of human cussedness, vengefulness, masochism, backbiting, violence, ignorance, selfishness, and gullibility.”⁶¹

Wallace Stegner became one of the most insightful commentators on the reality of Mormon frontier violence, a subject of intensive study as historians gain more access to Mormon records. A growing body of evidence confirms his conclusion: “It would be bad history to pretend that there were no holy murders in Utah and along the trails to California, that there was no saving of the souls of sinners by the shedding of their blood during the ‘blood atonement’ revival of 1856, that there were no mysterious disappearances of apostates and offensive Gentiles.”⁶² Stegner had a tremendous admiration for Young’s practicality, but his admiration had its limits: he felt the Mormon leader was “the one who is to be charged with all the secret police activities, with the destroying angels, possibly with the Mountain Meadows Massacre.” From his reading of Juanita Brooks, Stegner concluded, “In that particularly horrible mass murder, Brigham was an accessory before the fact, and certainly after the fact. I don’t suppose anyone will ever prove that he gave the orders. I doubt very much that he did, but he certainly contributed to the climate that encouraged hard feelings against the gentiles.”⁶³ He put that event in a stark context: “the men who shed that blood were not what Brigham’s apostate wife Ann Eliza called them, ‘fiends rather than men.’ They were a more dangerous order of beings than fiends: they were Christians just up off their knees.”⁶⁴

Wallace Stegner knew it was pointless for Latter-day Saints to dissemble about their religion’s violent past or expend vast resources to defend the indefensible misdeeds of past leaders whose sexual antics or contempt for

⁶⁰ Stack and Lewis, “An Interview with Wallace Stegner,” 11.

⁶¹ Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 24, 312–13.

⁶² Stegner, *Mormon Country*, 96.

⁶³ Clayton, “From Pioneers to Provincials,” 112; and Etulain, *Conversations*, 110.

⁶⁴ Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 277.

the law would now get an ordinary Mormon excommunicated in short order. Stegner's review of Harold Schindler's path-breaking *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder* points to how the religion's historians might deal with the most violent and troubling episodes of its past with honesty and openness rather than equivocation.



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Schindler never sought to hide the orange of **Wallace Stegner.** Mormon violence in the apple barrel of

generic frontier violence: instead, he embraced the faith's colorful if sometimes disturbing past. "It is clear that this will be one of the light-bringing books—or maybe one should call them books that clear the muddled waters," Stegner predicted. "We can use it, and more, like it."⁶⁵

Why did most Mormons like Wallace Stegner? He cited a truism: "no one is so popular among the Saints as a Gentile who expresses a good opinion of them."⁶⁶ His enduring welcome was largely because he "was a gentile who didn't turn out to be a Mormon-hater."⁶⁷ Stegner wrote popular history, history that spoke to people because it was *their* story—and his telling of the Latter-day Saints' story especially pleased his Mormon friends. No less authority than Gordon B. Hinckley, the faith's prophet at the dawn of the twenty-first century, told Hal Schindler *The Gathering of Zion* was his favorite book.⁶⁸ "I have a great admiration for Wallace Stegner," said President Hinckley, who was his classmate. "His little book on the Mormons is a very moving book. He's done a good job, and I have enjoyed it. I've quoted on it, extensively at various times."⁶⁹

During the sesquicentennial of the Mormon Trail, the church president praised Wallace Stegner as "a close observer and a careful student" of the religion's past.⁷⁰ Some Western historians hold Stegner in equally high regard. "During most of his career in writing about the American West Stegner denounced destructive individualism and praised nourishing, hopeful communities," Richard Etulain observed. "In *Big Rock Candy*

⁶⁵ Wallace Earle Stegner Papers, Ms 0676, Box 154, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

⁶⁶ Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 143.

⁶⁷ Etulain, *Conversations*, 121.

⁶⁸ Author's recollection of a conversation with Hal Schindler.

⁶⁹ Vern Anderson and Peggy Fletcher Stack, "Transcript of the Interview with Gordon B. Hinckley, February 26, 2000," Salt Lake Tribune website, copy in author's possession.

⁷⁰ Gordon B. Hinckley, "True to the Faith," *Ensign* (May 1997): 65.

Mountain he depicted the darker, negative side; in *Mormon Country* the beneficial, positive side.”⁷¹ Charles Wilkinson wrote, “*Mormon Country*, more than any other book, explains in a fair-minded way the tangle of community, isolation, family, prejudice, warmth, zealotry, hardheadedness, and devotion that makes up the Church of Latter-day Saints.”⁷²

Perhaps because they were closer to their faith’s roughhewn youth, Mormons of Stegner’s age were more comfortable with his forthrightness than a generation raised on an increasingly denatured and sanitized mythology. Today’s Mormon pioneers appear less bedraggled, violent, hungry, and desperate with every modern handcart trek, and grow better looking, cleaner, more devoted, and just plain cheery despite whatever trials and persecutions they must endure in current movies, novels, and “faith-promoting” histories. The shift in a few LDS perspectives toward Stegner’s trail epoch is jolting. “If you want to read a book which has been written by someone who hates the Latter Day Saints, then this is the book for you,” an angry reviewer wrote on amazon.com. “This author has crossed the bridge between being factual and being a zealot [*sic*] bigot. I was raised not to bash anyone’s religion, but I guess that was not the case with this bitter old man.”⁷³

As long as grass grows and water runs, William Mulder hoped his friend would be read and remembered among the Mormons.⁷⁴ As a creation of that vibrant culture, and as a historian who has dealt with many of the same complicated mythologies and glorious stories, I have found Stegner’s mastery of Mormon sources, his deep sympathy for his subjects, and his ability to recreate the past as a captivating narrative to be a constant inspiration. Insightful critics, notably Richard White and Gary Topping, have noted Stegner’s limitations as a formal historian, but another school believes the genius for storytelling he and Bernard De Voto displayed so brilliantly, and their determination that great history should be as well-crafted as great literature, set a standard worth emulating. Elliott West’s *The Contested Plains*, Albert Hurtado’s *John Sutter*, David Robert’s *Devil’s Gate*, and Robert Utley’s *A Life Wild and Perilous* all combine scholarly precision with narrative drive. I often despair of matching the quality of Stegner’s masterful and engaging prose, but I deeply appreciate his integrity, humanity, and dedication to the people and places he loved.

Wallace Stegner’s confession about *Crossing to Safety* applies equally well to his work on Utah: “What I wrote was a labor of love and bafflement.”⁷⁵ Her father-in-law “was a kind of natural aristocrat,” Lynn Stegner remembers. “He believed if we tried and worked and kept at it that we could all

⁷¹ Etulain, “Introduction,” *Mormon Country*, 2nd ed., (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), vi.

⁷² Curt Meine, ed., *Wallace Stegner and the Continental Vision* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1997), 11.

⁷³ Review of *The Gathering of Zion*, “By A Customer” at www.amazon.com (accessed November 19, 2008). Stegner was in his mid-fifties when *The Gathering* appeared.

⁷⁴ William Mulder, “In Memoriam,” 10.

⁷⁵ Meine, *Wallace Stegner and the Continental Vision*, 57–58.

be better—better caretakers of the land, better brothers to each other, better keepers of the truth, better writers. He believed in belief, the power of it.” Stegner was “forward-looking, keeping up with the present. Yet history was always with him—his, the country’s, humanity’s. He *wanted* to remember; for him remembering was a legacy of things discovered.”⁷⁶ Wallace Stegner’s Utah legacy inspires hope we can all do better.

⁷⁶ Page and Mary Stegner, eds., *The Geography of Hope: A Tribute to Wallace Stegner* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1996), 96–97.



Development of the Abraham, Millard County, Irrigation Project, 1889-1900

By EDWARD LEO LYMAN

The west Millard County portion of the Pahvant Valley has for more than a hundred years been one of the premier agricultural areas of the Great Basin. This was possible because of the combination of abundant, fertile, and inexpensive land and a more plentiful supply of water than existed in most other valleys of the Great Basin. This water stemmed from the longest river in Utah, the Sevier. The Sevier River's headwaters originate from the tributaries on the Paunsaugunt and Markagunt Plateaus between Fish Lake and the Bryce Canyon-Panguitch Lake areas in southern Utah. The river sweeps north into Sanpete Valley where it curves southwest to naturally terminate in Sevier Lake in western Millard County.

Taming the Sevier River with secure diversion dams and adequate irrigation delivery systems proved to be a heroic contribution of the pioneer generation. This effort started with settlers primarily from the Fillmore area who, in 1860, commenced constructing the first dam at what they named Deseret, forty miles northwest of the first territorial capitol. However, the next year the dam washed out as it did again in 1862 and 1863 largely because of the bedrock-deficient streambed. As a result, a considerable number of formerly confident settlers moved away. Still others remained and in 1864 constructed a dam which lasted until

Abraham H. Cannon, the main promoter of the Abraham Irrigation project, which was named for him. He died at age thirty-seven, having served fourteen years as a Mormon general authority.

Edward Leo Lyman, originally from Delta, a neighboring town to Abraham, has edited the Abraham H. Cannon Apostolic Journals, which are being published by Signature Books. Cannon's journals are at Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah

the spring of 1868 when it, too, washed out for a fourth time. The project was then abandoned.¹

Seven years later in 1875, a second group of optimistic settlers under the leadership of William V. Black, the Latter-day Saint branch leader of this second group of pioneers, went to work to rebuild the troubled diversion dam.² This time, using different dam construction methods featuring more lumber framing, their dam held for a time. The rebuilt dam succeeded in giving this new group of settlers sufficient water to produce high crop yields until the spring of 1882 when the dam washed out for the fifth time.³ Black and the others made necessary repairs on their damaged dam to save some crops, but it continued to leak and threatened total collapse.

Continued problems with the repaired dam caused Black and the others to look for a better, more solid location and in 1886 a new dam site was chosen a mile up river at what was called the Gunnison Bend. A projected dam at this location would inundate the adjacent salt grass bottoms of the meandering Sevier River and also require a new main irrigation canal. The canal and the new dam would entail a higher degree of engineering, and prove more costly.

Three years later, on May 28, 1889, Black, who was also an official in the existing Deseret Irrigation Company and primary supporter for the new dam and enlarged and lengthened main canal, hosted thirty-three-year-old LDS church official, Abraham H. Cannon. Cannon was in the county on a church preaching assignment and Black took the opportunity to show him the new dam site. It was estimated that it would cost twenty-five thousand dollars for the dam and the new twenty-five foot wide canal, which would provide water to cultivate and develop lands to the south near Oasis, Deseret, and Hinckley. Cannon also recorded that Black showed him “where another canal might be constructed and thereby bring under cultivation an immense tract of [undeveloped] land” northwest of the proposed reservoir site.⁴ This project needed outside financial support.⁵ The meeting between the two men initiated a new agricultural project, later named Abraham, which attracted about four hundred new Mormon settlers and, later in the 1920s, one hundred gentile farmers to west Millard County.⁶

Black estimated that the later canal along with reservoir improvements

¹ Edward Leo Lyman and Linda King Newell, *History of Millard County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Millard County Commission, 1999), 102-105.

² *Ibid.*, 146-48.

³ Stella H. Day and Sebrina C. Ekins, *Milestones of Millard: 100 Years of History of Millard County* (Springville: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1951), 434-35.

⁴ Abraham H. Cannon Diary, May 28, 1889, holograph and typescript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

⁵ For some time, Abraham H. Cannon had been involved in a half-dozen similar projects. Had he lived longer—he died in 1896—he would have become one of the most successful entrepreneurs in Utah. At the October 1889 conference of the LDS church, he was sustained a member of the Council of Twelve. Edward Leo Lyman, ed., *Candid Insights of a Mormon Apostle: The Diaries of Abraham H. Cannon, 1889-1895*, fourth coming (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2010,) i-xxix.

⁶ Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 545-46. Unfortunately, in more recent years, something over a third of the once-cultivated land of the district has been abandoned.

could be constructed for approximately ten thousand dollars. Cannon quickly grasped Black's scheme and agreed to help generate financial support for the project among potential investors in Salt Lake City. Cannon recalled that earlier LDS church presidents Brigham Young and John Taylor had made lavish predictions about the great Pahvant Valley's agricultural potential.

Shortly after Cannon returned to Salt Lake City from Millard County, Black was in Salt Lake City to visit church headquarters and there with Cannon they met with the church's First Presidency about the new irrigation project. At the end of that meeting, Cannon recorded that church president, Wilford Woodruff's two counselors, Joseph F. Smith and George Q. Cannon (Abraham's father), would likely invest in the company as private investors. Later Woodruff and at least one of his adult sons also became temporarily involved in the company.⁷

Later in June, Cannon, accompanied by two other interested investors, Alfred Solomon and Charles H. Wilcken, met Black and rode "over the ground which we intend entering under the desert act [Desert Land Act of 1877]." Abraham noted "the land is a beautiful tract and a preliminary survey proves that water can be brought out of the river to cover it." Both Solomon and Wilcken expressed surprise at the extent of the country and the richness of the soil. After obtaining a plat map from Joseph S. Giles, Millard County Attorney and surveyor, Giles, Black, and the others agreed to meet in Salt Lake City the next week to assist members of the new company to make proper entries on the federal land.⁸ The men also held a preliminary meeting with the new Deseret and Salt Lake Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company, where they claimed all unappropriated water in the Sevier River and directed attorney Giles to see that such claims were properly recorded.⁹

On July 1, 1889, the parties interested in the projected Deseret project held a more formal meeting at LDS church headquarters, the Gardo House, where Abraham H. Cannon carefully explained the details of the proposed project. Articles of incorporation of the Deseret and Salt Lake Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company were read, amended and passed and ten men were presented as trustees, including young Abraham Cannon, and each member of the Mormon First

⁷ Cannon Diary, June 4, 1889.

⁸ Ibid. The Desert Land Act stipulated that a citizen or would-be citizen could file on up to one section (640 acres) of land with a down payment of \$0.25 per acre at the nearest federal land office. At the end of three years the homesteader would prove up on the land by demonstrating some of the land being claimed was being irrigated and other improvements made and paying \$1.00 per acre for the land.

⁹ Cannon Diary, June 26, 1889. The Deseret and Salt Lake Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company, which was organized in 1889, included several high ranking LDS church officials. There was some intent to establish a flour mill in connection with the enterprise, but although there would soon be such an establishment in the area, the company never became involved in it or other manufacturing enterprises. See L. John Nuttall Journal, July 16, 1889, holograph, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Presidency.¹⁰ Each of the ten men subscribed up to five hundred dollars for work on the canal. The next day, Cannon's first wife, Sarah Jenkins Cannon, went to the United States land office where she filed on a section of desert land. Twenty other individuals did likewise, taking up the central portion of the township first projected to be irrigated by the proposed canal.¹¹ Under the direction of superintendent Black, work commenced on the huge ditch.¹²

Following the church's October general conference, Cannon, then a new apostle, his father, George Q., President Woodruff, and several other stockholders, traveled to Deseret by train to hold a local church conference, look over the project, and meet with members and directors of the older Deseret Irrigation Company to discuss terms by which it and the newer company might combine their efforts and resources. It was agreed that the new Salt Lake City company would construct the new dam which would raise the impounded reservoir water level from five to ten feet. They also agreed that the older Deseret Irrigation Company would retain its water rights during low water level years. The local company would also receive a third of the additional impounded water for their invaluable prior water claims and work previously expended on the dam. These conditions were later ratified by the Salt Lake company, although some on each side would later resent what the other company had received or had failed to accomplish.¹³

A new problem for the project arose in mid-November when LeGrand Young, a Salt Lake City attorney who handled some of the LDS church legal matters as well as land and irrigation projects, reported that there were serious legal complications regarding the withdrawal of land from entry near previously designated government reservoir sites. Major John Wesley Powell, now head of the U. S. Geological Survey, had long advocated federal reclamation projects to irrigate semi-arid land in the West. A congressional appropriation for an irrigation survey in the western United States by the U.S. Geological Survey under Powell's direction also included a provision reserving irrigable lands, reservoir sites, and ditch sites from public entry.¹⁴ One of the areas to be withheld was the Gunnison Bend

¹⁰ Other trustees were Joseph S. Black, William V. Black, Andrew Jenson, Charles H. Wilcken, Alfred Solomon, and Brigham Y. Hampton.

¹¹ Cannon Diary, July 1, 2, 1889. Proposed federal legislation would have prohibited polygamists from homesteading on public lands. However, the legislation was never enacted. Perhaps Abraham Cannon was simply exercising characteristic precautions in anticipating such a law.

¹² Cannon Diary, October 4, 1889. William Black's nephew, Peter T. Black later recalled work was mainly accomplished using both the "Mormon" and slip scrapers, which were bucket-shaped shovels, each with handles with which the operator walking behind the scraper could steer the scrapers while also driving a team of draft animals. Once the scraper was full it was dragged up out of the excavation and along the banks of the new canal. Other homesteaders grubbed greasewood roots from the projected fields. See Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 536.

¹³ Cannon Diary, October 4, 22, 1889.

¹⁴ Donald Wooster, *A River Running West: The Life of John Wesley Powell* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 475.

location and thus the Millard County irrigation companies were severely threatened. The church's First Presidency immediately wrote to Utah's non-voting congressional delegate, John T. Caine, who promptly met with Powell about the Deseret matter. Powell informed Caine that the current interpretation of the law did indeed threaten the future of the new company but candidly encouraged those involved to continue with their project and seek clear title to the river water through the long-utilized doctrine of prior appropriation. He also advised Caine to encourage the homesteaders to continue their occupancy of the lands already claimed so as to be in a better position to reap any profits which they would accrue when all relevant questions were finally resolved.¹⁵ Caine, himself an entryman in the Deseret project, commenced work to get the project excluded from government jurisdiction. Although apprehensive, Caine recommended that additional land filings be made with the Secretary of the Interior in order to secure the canal's right of way, as well as securing the dam's location.

At a meeting early in 1890, Deseret and Salt Lake Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company stockholders agreed that to cease work would essentially assure the loss of eight thousand dollars that had already been expended on the canal. Further, continued effort would bring several additional sections of land into production. In February, they concluded to plant grain on a common cooperative field within the project later in the spring. By mid-April, five hundred acres had been planted with irrigation water being conveyed by the canal onto the new farm land. However, because of leakage at the earth filled dam, regular irrigation of the early-flourishing grain later in summer was not accomplished, and a major proportion of the crop never reached maturity that year.¹⁶

By the time the Salt Lake City company took over construction of the dam at the Gunnison Bend site, the older Deseret Company had already driven pilings in the river bottom to better secure the foundation of the dam, thinking that there was no better alternative.¹⁷ But when the older leaking dam failed in 1890 for the sixth time, there was every reason for the companies to continue their work on the new dam, despite warnings from Washington.

When the Salt Lake company took over construction of the dam, Cannon urged the hiring of West Jordan farmer and irrigation project developer Charles D. Haun to supervise the dam and canal project. The Cannon family had long enjoyed good dealings with Haun. As work proceeded on the new dam, Haun concluded to replace the piles that had already been driven and appeared to be "insecure in the sandy bed of the river" and instead "construct a frame [box-like] obstruction and load it

¹⁵ John T. Caine to Presidents Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, December 3, 1889, John T. Caine Papers, Church History Library. Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, hereafter cited as LDS Church History Library.

¹⁶ Cannon Diary, January 7, February 1, April 15, 1890.

¹⁷ Cannon Diary, November 1, 1889, July 7, 1890.

with slag.” On November 19, 1890, Abraham Cannon reported the dam was “nearly completed and the [excess] water was about to be turned over [the spillway].” Cannon continued in his diary: “It is well constructed under Chas. Haun’s supervision and will doubtless be able to stand the test of the very treacherous Sevier River.”¹⁸

Cannon’s observation proved to be spectacularly true. One of the best authorities on the Millard County water system and its history, the late Roger Walker of Sutherland, attested that Haun’s accomplishment in designing and constructing such a durable dam was of the utmost significance to assuring the future of the region.¹⁹ For more than a century west Millard County history has ignored the importance of the unsung hero, Haun’s dam design, and supervision of its construction.

Even as the dam was being completed, congressional delegate Caine wrote triumphantly that Congress had enacted and President Grover Cleveland had signed an act repealing the legislation which had so ominously threatened the future of the Deseret projects.²⁰ Receiving the good news Cannon wrote that the “present prospects are therefore good to our getting the titles to our land.”²¹ The entrymen redoubled their efforts to complete their land entries and prepared to use the irrigation water for their fields with greater regularity and certainty—a primary requirement of the Desert Land Act.²²

Later that season, the grain harvest netted three thousand dollars but it



LORI HAUN AND DONALD MAYNES

Charles D. Haun designed and supervised the construction of the Gunnison Bend Reservoir dam.

¹⁸ Cannon Diary, July 7, November 19, 1890.

¹⁹ Roger Walker in his history notes identified Haun as Hon. Copy of his notes in the possession of the author, with some notes in the files of Great Basin Museum, Delta, Utah. Existing sources seem to indicate that the original Gunnison Bend dam was constructed near the present Deseret Irrigation Company canal’s head gate and near the southwestern end of the concrete-lined earth fill dam running north and south along the eastern edge of the reservoir adjacent to what has been called Pack’s Bottoms. The later dam-spillway complex then runs several hundred yards east from the north end of the previously mentioned dam at what has long been known as the Cropper Cut. Both are surrounded on the west and north by the Gunnison Bend Reservoir. The Deseret Irrigation Company first cemented the walls of the Cropper Cut and long fill of the dam in the fall of 1913. See *Millard County Chronicle*, November 13, 1913.

²⁰ Cannon Diary, September 11, 1890. See also *Senate Executive Documents*, 51st Congress 1st session, doc. 199, 1-8 and Doc. 136, 1-15 for related documents.

²¹ Cannon Diary, September 11, 1890.

²² Cannon Diary, September 5, 1890.

was still necessary to borrow an additional ten thousand dollars, along with continued monetary assessments of \$4.25 per acre from each stockholder to continue the development of the land and water project.²³ By that juncture prominent Utah surveyor and land developer Jesse Fox, Sr. was supervising canal construction.

That fall company members decided to have a committee visit the project and designate a townsite. Abraham Cannon was predictably among those chosen to select the location. He chose the townsite located on the northwest portion of his own lands with a marker on a nearby elevated sand hill. The site was later relocated to a more optimum location on the so-called Solomon tract a mile to the northwest. The new town was first named Montezuma, because of the abundant arrowheads and other Native American artifacts found in the area. Its name was soon changed to Zarahemla, an ancient city in the Book of Mormon.²⁴

As construction on the new dam progressed Black gradually withdrew from major participation in the farming operations, and Lehi Pratt was appointed to be the primary farm supervisor for the project. However, because of the lack of success as farm supervisor he was dismissed in November 1890 and dam supervisor, Charles D. Haun was assigned also to be farm manager. Jesse W. Fox and his son remained in charge of the canal construction.²⁵

During the serious economic depression of the early 1890s Cannon and his associates spent much of their time raising needed capital for the dam and canal construction. Stockholders were encouraged to keep current on their assessments and if excessively late they were threatened to have their stock shares sold. Funds were borrowed against company and board members' signatures and property, along with attempts made to secure long-term bonds on some of the completed portions of the project.²⁶

There was another serious challenge that confronted the project. At least one other company was seeking claims to un-appropriated Sevier River water. As a result at a company meeting in late January 1892, Charles H. Wilcken urged all to redouble their efforts to complete the irrigation system before it was too late.²⁷ A week later, company attorney Barlow Ferguson was directed to take whatever steps necessary to secure and protect all company water rights. However, all understood the real challenge was to secure permanently both water and land, with the water to be utilized immediately "for useful purposes" on the acreage being claimed under the Desert Land Act.²⁸

²³ Cannon Diary, October 8, 1890; L. John Nuttall, Secretary to President of the Board of the Deseret Irrigation Company, August 16, 1892, L. John Nuttall Letterpress Copybooks (commonly letterbooks), L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

²⁴ Cannon Diary, November 10, 12, 19, 1890.

²⁵ Cannon Diary, November 10, 24, 1890.

²⁶ Cannon Diary, April 10, 1891, January 7, 1892.

²⁷ L. John Nuttall Journal, October 20, 1891, February 5, 1892.

There inevitably continued to be disputes with the older Deseret Irrigation Company as well. In late May 1891, for instance, Deseret newspaper editor and company secretary Josiah F. Gibbs informed Cannon that members of his company were dissatisfied with the Salt Lake City company's failure to meet its contractual obligations to complete the dam and canals. There were certainly inherent animosities on both sides, with respective company members each convinced they and their fellows had conceded too much.²⁹ In fact, the agreements were mainly mutually beneficial. The Salt Lake City outfit provided a crucial infusion of capital and technical expertise while the older Deseret company offered invaluable primary water rights, a good deal of practical experience with irrigation, and know how to raise crops in the formidable alkaline-clay soils in west-central Millard County.

Issues between the two companies remained unresolved. At an August 9, 1892, canal board meeting members of the Salt Lake City company proposed arbitration to settle the differences between themselves and the older Deseret company.³⁰ A week later, the Salt Lake City company's secretary L. John Nuttall claimed charges of \$1,616, mainly on the first dam the Salt Lake City company had assisted with prior to the older dam's severe leakage problems. He also threatened that if the matter continued to be ignored his associates would certainly resort to more concerted legal actions.³¹ In fact, the failure of the dam in 1890 was a problem shared by both companies. It appears at this juncture petty for the Salt Lake City interests to be seeking reimbursement for such losses from the other company, which had doubtless actually suffered greater losses.³²

With the onset of a severe national economic depression beginning in May 1893, all the representatives of the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company could do was assure creditors that "we are doing our best for them and we hope soon to pay them in full."³³ The basic debt remained at \$18,000. Later that fall they again attempted to raise additional funds through a combination of stock assessments and individual

²⁸ Cannon Diary, January 30, February 5, April 20, August 9, November 25, 1892. Establishing additional storage reservoirs to hold winter runoff from the central Utah watersheds was a most foresightful proposal never accomplished by the Salt Lake City stockholders (who proposed it at least three times). However, after most of the northern investors had withdrawn from involvement in the project, members of the older Deseret company, particularly President Jacob Hawley, did claim such waters and a reservoir site near the old Sevier Bridge crossing in southeastern Juab County in 1902. This gave them a superior water right to winter runoff much envied and resented by other Sevier River water users for more than the ensuing century. See Dudley D. Crafts, *History of Sevier Bridge Reservoir* (Delta: DuWil Publishing, 1976).

²⁹ Cannon Diary, May 28, 1891.

³⁰ Cannon Diary, August 9, 1892.

³¹ Cannon Diary, October 8, 1890. L. John Nuttall, secretary, to President of the board of the Deseret Irrigation Company, August 16, 1892, Nuttall Letterbooks.

³² L. John Nuttall, secretary, to President of the board of the Deseret Irrigation Company, August 16, 1892, Nuttall Letterbooks.

³³ Nuttall Letters, August 9, 1892, July 3, 1893, Nuttall Letterbooks.

loans for the amounts assessed, with the notes being secured with water shares and land.

At another company meeting it was agreed to try to procure a twenty-five-year bond at 8 percent interest, with such funds to be devoted to an additional reservoir needed upstream. This reservoir would ensure critical irrigation water during drought seasons. However, this, too, did not work out as hoped, and at the November 1894 meeting company officials assessed the stock to the full legal amount, raising its shares to par value.³⁴

Financial disputes between the two continued. Gibbs again pressed secretary Nuttall in late October 1894, regarding claims against the Salt Lake City company. Nuttall replied that he had submitted the Deseret Company claims to the board members and assured Gibbs there was “no disposition on our part to ignore your claims,” adding “our company also has claims against your company, and whilst we have not had any desire to press our claims by any arbitrary measures, we do not feel that you should do so either.” Nuttall suggested that as soon as they had their financial affairs in a little more secure position, “we will be ready to meet with your company in a friendly settlement of our respective claims and believe that the interests of both companies will be better sub[-]served thereby. We will not let the matter linger unceasingly.”³⁵ After continued numerous exchanges, Nuttall a year later assured Gibbs that his company wanted to do its fair share of canal repair and maintenance but found it difficult being one hundred fifty miles from the scene of the problems.³⁶ Yet many aspects of the unresolved situation persisted.

In July 1896, the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company suffered immeasurable loss with the untimely death of its president and consistent prime mover, Abraham H. Cannon at age thirty-seven. Apostolic colleague Francis M. Lyman suggested the man had literally worked himself to death, taking too little rest and loading far too much responsibility upon his strong shoulders.³⁷ Among other economic projects in which Abraham Cannon was involved were a gold mine in southern Nevada and a railroad about to be constructed through southern Utah to southern California. These ventures virtually fell apart with his passing.³⁸

The Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company limped

³⁴ Nuttall Journal, July 11, 1889, states that originally but 10 percent of the capital stock of fifty thousand dollars was paid in. Nuttall to President Board of Directors of the Deseret Irrigation Company, May 31, November 5, 1894, Nuttall Letterbooks. See also Cannon Diary, November 5, 1894.

³⁵ L. John Nuttall, secretary, to Josiah F. Gibbs, secretary, October 26, 1894, Nuttall Letterbooks.

³⁶ Nuttall to Gibbs, October 26, 1895, Nuttall Letterbooks.

³⁷ Francis M. Lyman at the Utah State Conference, Provo, July 19, 1896, in Brian H. Stuy, ed., *Collected Discourses Delivered by President Wilford Woodruff, His Two Counselors, the Twelve Apostles and Others* 5 vols. (Burbank, CA, Privately published: 1987-1992), 5:162-163, 165.

³⁸ Edward Leo Lyman, “From the City of Angels to the City of Saints: The Struggle to Build a Railroad from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City,” *California History* 70 (Spring 1991), 82-85; and Leonard J. Arrington and Edward Leo Lyman, “When the Mormon Church Invested in Southern Nevada Gold Mines,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 35 (Summer 2002), 77-85.



STELLA H. DAY AND SEBRINA C. EKINS, MILESTONES OF MILLARD

along toward eventual semi-recovery. When Deseret LDS Bishop, Milton Moody wrote Nuttall to inform him he was bringing several associates to Salt Lake City to resolve matters on New Years Day, 1897, the latter secretary pleaded for more time, specifically citing the loss of Cannon for persistent company disarray. He appealed for more time again a month later.³⁹

The Abraham Cannon project house can be seen in the background of this photograph of a horse and carriage with Elmer Fullmer, Leon Taylor and R. Westover.

After Abraham Cannon's death, Salt Lake City company officials — including the ever-present First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints — asserted demands never previously mentioned, some of which members of the older Deseret Irrigation Company considered most unfair. Some of their more faithful Mormon participants tried to be as submissive to the requests as possible, but to most the new demands appeared outrageous. Doubtless feelings between the two companies reached their most tense phase at this juncture. In early February 1897, Secretary Nuttall informed Oscar M. Fullmer, one of the earliest land claimants on the project that the First Presidency had appointed a committee to visit Deseret and confer with the Deseret Irrigation Company officials.⁴⁰

The main point of contention between the older water users in west Millard County and the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company was with the original agreement, which would allow the Salt

³⁹ Nuttall to Milton Moody, December 29, 1896, January 28, 1897, Nuttall Letterbooks.

⁴⁰ Nuttall to O[scar] M. Fullmer, February 4, 1897, Nuttall Letterbooks.

Lake City company to utilize 40 percent of the reservoir's stored water until the water level dropped to a depth of thirty inches at the canal's diversion head gate. At that water level the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company would be required to close its head gates and forego the use of any additional irrigation water until the water level again reached the height of thirty inches. As harsh as this provision was, it applied only to the severest drought years and was certainly the prerogative of the older Deseret company members holding the original water appropriation rights. However, there was an allegation made by some Salt Lake City stockholders that the Deseret company had lowered its diversion canal, which would have restricted water usage further for the Salt Lake City stockholders. This allegation was highly unlikely and proved to be false.⁴¹

For some time Nuttall had served as secretary to the First Presidency of the church and during this time had received excellent opportunities from church members as they promoted projects in the territory. He apparently expected similar generous favors and concessions from the Millard County irrigators as both parties had agreed to meet and discuss the problem. Nuttall in his effort to win support encouraged those men who "were acquainted with the matter in which the Deseret Company officers have taken the water, flooded their lands, etc. to the detriment of the farmers [of the Salt Lake City based irrigation project]" to attend the arbitration meeting. He also requested the presence of those who were familiar with whomever allegedly participated in "lowering the bottom of the Deseret company's canal," which — if true — might have markedly altered the lower water level at issue.⁴²

In an exchange of correspondence between Hinckley bishop William H. Pratt, a member of the Deseret Irrigation Company's board of directors and the church's First Presidency, Pratt asserted that the presidency had been misinformed on several related issues including the low water cut-off policy. Pratt pointed to previous agreements at the time the original Salt Lake City representatives approached the older company to share the reservoir and water rights. At a meeting held with Millard County stockholders and Salt Lake City company representatives Charles H. Wilcken and Brigham Y. Hampton, both promised that the Deseret Irrigation and Manufacturing Canal Company "did not want any of our [water] rights." However, in an earlier First Presidency letter, it had been suggested that the newer Salt Lake City company had received a fifth of the low water appropriation, which Pratt protested to be a blatant violation of the earlier agreement. Bishop Pratt and others had gone to great trouble and expense

⁴¹ Cannon Diary, September 5, 1890. See also W. H. Pratt to Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, March 16, 1897, Deseret Irrigation File, LDS Church History Library.

⁴² Nuttall to O. W. Fullmer, February 4, 1897, Nuttall Letterbooks. There is no known record of the committee investigation or meetings between representatives of the two companies. However, no further concessions were made by the Millard County company.



LEO LYMAN

over a good many years to secure their title to the best primary water rights on the entire Sevier River and he explained any alterations to the agreement might endanger agreements with upstream water users. Pratt recognized that the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company's request for the low water was worth at least seven thousand dollars, but still with some other church members wanted to defer any possible decision to their ecclesiastical superiors. But other company shareholders, including less committed Latter-day Saints and non-Mormons, were absolutely opposed to making any concession and none were made.⁴³

In the foreground, a section of the original Abraham Canal, with remnants of a cut through the upper bank for removing soil.

However, Pratt and other local Mormon irrigators were inclined to bend to the wishes of the Salt Lake City interests, by suggesting they could obtain five hundred shares of low water stock, worth twenty-five hundred dollars, if the Salt Lake City based company members desired to avail themselves of that purchase option. These low water shares would be sufficient for one irrigation stream to Abraham irrigators during periods of drought. Pratt conceded that was probably all the company could secure in light of the opposition of other recalcitrant stockholders.⁴⁴ The Salt Lake

⁴³ William H. Pratt to Presidents Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, September 23, 1897, Millard Stake, Deseret Irrigation File (microfilm reel 4 fd 35, CR 1 161), LDS Church History Library.

⁴⁴ Pratt to Woodruff, Cannon and Smith, September 23, 1897, LDS Church History Library.

City stock holders apparently never seriously considered the offer.⁴⁵

Sometime later, Pratt had occasion to be in Salt Lake City where he confessed surprise and pain that Nuttall and another church office bureaucrat, John Nicholson, insisted they “had lost all confidence in Pratt and Deseret Bishop Moody for the course they took in the former stockholders meeting.” As Pratt reported to the First Presidency, his conscience was clear in the matter and that he had not made any statement detrimental to the interests of the Salt Lake Company during earlier proceedings. He and others had been placed in a most difficult position and certainly needed to support their allegiance to their fellow irrigators and company stockholders in this crucial economic confrontation with seeming interloper-speculators seeking unfair concessions.⁴⁶

In a conciliatory exchange of letters with Pratt the First Presidency expressed hearty accord and they simply recommended that when his company representatives again conferred with the Salt Lake City people, the proceedings be conducted “in the spirit of the gospel.”⁴⁷ The LDS church First Presidency may yet have been overstepping their ecclesiastical prerogatives in asserting themselves in favor of their fellow stockholders, but Bishop Pratt affirmed that he would seek to use his influence to make certain fairness prevailed.

At this point in time, it is impossible to ascertain the results of this exchange except that there was never any alteration made to the primary agreement concerning what became known as the Abraham Canal Company having any share in the low water privileges held exclusively by the older Deseret Irrigation Company.⁴⁸

Throughout the 1890s, venturesome farmers, many of them from southern Idaho and Utah’s Dixie but also a substantial number of non-Mormons from California and the Midwest, gravitated to the lands soon to be named Abraham and purchased water shares and secured land either through the regular Desert Land and Homestead Acts or by purchasing relinquishments started by other claimants. Secretary Nuttall’s letterbooks amplify some of this process. A letter in early 1896 to Niels Borgeson reminded that he was

⁴⁵ This matter was later resolved when the combined water storage capacity of the two companies (by then associated with the newer and larger Melville and Delta Irrigation Companies) was able to adequately increase the storage capacity in a series to two additional reservoirs as well to reduce most drought crises.

⁴⁶ Pratt to Woodruff, Cannon and Smith, September 23, 1897, LDS Church History Library.

⁴⁷ Pratt to Woodruff, Cannon and Smith, September 23, 1897, which referred to a letter to him from the First Presidency September 20, 1897, Deseret Irrigation file, LDS Church History Library.

⁴⁸ Corroborating circumstantial evidence of this was that at a subsequent Salt Lake City meeting, company trustees once again sought to procure the funds necessary to construct a new dam and reservoir presumably upstream on the Sevier River for the purpose of storing additional unused run-off water for drought year emergencies. See note 28 herein about Sevier Bridge Reservoir. The newer and larger Delta and Melville Irrigation Companies developed lands and delivered Sevier River water to the north and east of the older projects cooperating on development of other reservoirs (Sevier Bridge or Yuba Dam in southeast Juab County and DMAD formerly called Diversion Dam north of Delta). These changes essentially eliminated low-water-drought crises.

in arrears for payment on several loan notes the company apparently offered him, with notification also mentioning the interest on these. He requested that the debtor inform the company when payment could be expected, but there was no expressed threat for non-compliance during the continuing depression period.⁴⁹ In another letter, to Bishop Joseph S. Black, Nuttall replied regarding inquiries about the status of three entrymen, Buxton, Tooleson and VanNoy, that they would not likely be required to vacate their lands even though in arrears on their assessments and other obligations. The same day he wrote to the father of one of those men to report there was no necessity of the son to “quit his work and improvements on [their] land north of Deseret” (the location of the greater Abraham project) for the reason that a neighbor, A. B. Sawyer, “bid in” their water stock when it came up for sale at auction and also paid the overdue assessments (to prevent the young claimant — and probably others — from losing his property). Nuttall then informed the father that all the families needed to do was see the neighbor and presumably reimburse him for his expenses to clear the matter.⁵⁰ There would often be extremely neighborly persons and similar actions in west Millard in these formative years.

There is evidence that the desperate measures instituted in 1894 and 1895 by trustees of the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company to pressure stockholders to pay their assessments or lose their property were mainly unsuccessful. As the long economic depression finally subsided in 1898, the irrigation company officials granted all stockholders permission to bring their property out of delinquency by simply paying the former assessments with little or no penalties. This opportunity remained current until February 1900 when farm produce and land prices began to rise. And even after the deadline, when an auction was staged to sell delinquent properties, longtime investor, William A. Rossiter, bid on several to prevent speculators from securing the properties at low prices, stressing to the original claimants that they might yet redeem their claims on fair terms from him.⁵¹

However, by that juncture, a most significant development took place. On September 1, 1898, LDS church president Wilford Woodruff died. Shortly before his death, he had executed a quit claim deed that bequeathed his former company headquarters-house at Abraham, which had been serving as both the local church and school, along with probably all of his real estate holdings in the Abraham area to “a group of Millard County citizens,” presumably local struggling Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company investors.⁵² It may be surmised that he had

⁴⁹ Nuttall to Niels Borgeson, January 9, 1896, Nuttall Letterbooks.

⁵⁰ Nuttall to J. S. Black, March 26, 1896; Nuttall to John Buxton, March 26, 1896, Nuttall Letterbooks.

⁵¹ Nuttall to “Dear Charley” [probably Wilcken], March 19, 1900, Nuttall Letterbooks.

⁵² Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 330.



understood that none of his own immediate heirs were interested in continuing involvement in the Millard County land and water enterprise. Consequently, he donated the property to those who most needed it.

***The spillway of the Gunnison
Bend Reservoir.***

Woodruff's action probably signaled the commencement of many other Salt Lake City investors divesting of their property at a loss to local Millard County investors, likely realistically concluding that there would never be much profit in the venture for absentee farmers. The dozen years of involvement in the company had not generated many profits for the Salt Lake County stockholders and the frequent disputes with their Millard County counterparts had doubtless helped curb their enthusiasm and confidence of good future prospects for the project. There were still members of the Nuttall and Wilcken families, among others, who remained involved in the project. But soon after Woodruff's death, company headquarters and meetings were moved from Salt Lake City to Millard County, a hundred fifty miles away.

Eventually, at some yet undetermined juncture after Woodruff's death, the Salt Lake City company changed its corporate name to the Abraham Irrigation Company. The name of the small community central to the project was also changed to Abraham, both in honor of the prime mover in both aspects of the venture. Both names continue to the present time.

In the 1900 census the community of Abraham surpassed one hundred fifty permanent residents, some of whom were doubtless former Salt Lake County residents, even though that segment of Abraham's population was in decline. Among those who remained, many were from Utah's Dixie who were doubtlessly more inured to life under semi-desert conditions than their city-dwelling counterparts from the north.

For those who stayed an important series of water-related court decisions began in the summer of 1900. Utah judges firmly upheld the superior water right claims of both the Deseret and Abraham irrigation companies, which considerably enhanced prospects for future prosperity on the vast west Millard land development projects. The favorable chain of legal developments would not be fully recognized for their significance until considerably later. In fact, the 1900 irrigation year happened to be one of dry seasons, which brought into play the low water drought rules.⁵³

Many early outside investors in the Deseret and Salt Lake Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company, later the Abraham Irrigation Company, eventually concluded that their involvement in the Millard County venture had been a mistake. Yet, they had in fact been crucial contributors of much of the capital to the future success of the significant agricultural enterprise in the region as was the impressive expertise of dam builder Charles D. Haun.

With other subsequent dam and company additions, the construction of the then new Gunnison Bend Dam and irrigation system proved financially beneficial for those who grew alfalfa seed, particularly in the boom years following both world wars. The Abraham project farmers, along with those of the later and more extensive Melville and Delta Irrigation Companies, added irrigation capacity that in some years produced over one quarter of the entire nation's output of good alfalfa seed and usually good alfalfa hay crops as well.⁵⁴

Local histories occasionally refer to the Abraham project as a church farm, which is technically inaccurate, but it is true that high church leaders, acting as private investors, certainly played an indispensable role in the inception of this land development scheme.⁵⁵

This same kind of water and land development partly by Salt Lake County investors occurred elsewhere, on the Ogden and Bear Rivers and in southern Idaho. Few impacted such a large potential acreage or were so isolated from larger population centers. All such ventures contributed appreciably to the economic expansion and stability of the region and significantly enhanced long-term agricultural production for the new state of Utah and its neighboring region.

⁵³ Nuttall to Charles H. Wilcken, July 9, 1900, Nuttall Letterbooks. See also Crafts, *Sevier Bridge Reservoir*.

⁵⁴ Lyman and Newell, *Millard County*, 246-48, 329-31.

⁵⁵ Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 536. See also Lavelle Johnson, historical sketches, Lavelle Johnson Papers, Utah State Historical Society, which includes what appears to be the initial draft of what writers of the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers included in the above-cited history.



Reflections: A Photographic Essay of the Utah State Hospital

By JANINA CHILTON

The following photographs represent a brief visual history of the Utah State Hospital beginning in 1885. Included are pictures that are at times exemplary and at other times disturbing. The history portrayed in these images parallels treatment in usage at other institutions across America. Even the architectural style of the buildings echoes the style of mental health institutions elsewhere. Many of the photos have not been seen for decades and most have never been published. They come from a variety of sources, but many were found in old cabinets or boxes in forgotten closets during the demolition of buildings at the hospital. Most were taken by unknown photographers, few were dated. They are rare portraits of some of Utah's forgotten citizens and of the compassionate and exceptional people who provided care to those citizens.

There are many quality works for the reader desiring a detailed history

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LEFT: The original Utah Insane Asylum taken just before the opening on July 15, 1885. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)



RIGHT: The Utah Territorial Insane Asylum with the addition of the north wing and administration portion of the building. c. 1895. (Courtesy of Allen's Camera)



RIGHT: The original building after extensive remodeling. c. 1936. (Used by permission, Utah State Historical Society, all rights reserved)

of mental health treatment. A noteworthy history specific to Utah is Charles McKell's October 1955 *Utah Historical Quarterly* article, "The Utah State Hospital: A Study in the Care of the Mentally Ill." This essay is not intended to be a comprehensive history of the hospital, but rather a visual glimpse into one of Utah's oldest and often misunderstood institutions.

It was likely that the need to care for mentally ill persons in Utah had existed since pioneers first came west in 1847. However, it was not until February 20, 1880, that an act to establish a Territorial Insane Asylum was passed by the Utah Territorial Legislature. In 1881, Provo City was chosen as the new site for the asylum. The specific location was selected near the east end of Center Street isolated from the center of town and where there was an ample supply of spring water. In keeping with attitudes of the time, the residents of Provo City were isolated from the asylum by distance, wet lands swamp and a trash dump.

The original asylum building was dedicated on July 15, 1885, and five

days later the first patients were admitted. The asylum would become the primary care facility for those with a mental illness for the next eighty-three years. In 1967, Utah's first community mental health center opened, gradually ten more would follow. Today, the Utah State Hospital (known by several other names earlier in its history) is one part of the continuum of care for Utah's mentally ill citizens.

As more patients arrived, the need for more space increased at the asylum. In 1890, a new north wing was added and the original building became the south wing of the growing complex. In 1891, the administration building was added which provided no new patient housing but provided additional office space as well as new living quarters for staff.

The main building as it appeared in the 1930s had undergone a dramatic renovation. The old gothic style of architecture had given way to a more modern and sleek look. The name of the institution also changed with the changing attitudes about mental illness. In 1896, Utah achieved statehood; consequently the asylum became the Utah State Insane Asylum. In 1903 the institution changed its name to the Utah State Mental Hospital, and in 1927 still another name change to the Utah State Hospital.

Over the years, additional buildings were added to accommodate the ever-growing population. Each new building represented the best thinking of the time. Two cottages built in 1901 were a radical change from large wards and multiple floors. Both were single wards designed to house thirty patients and consisted of only one floor. The Milton Hardy Building, constructed in 1908, consisted of two floors and was most likely a compromise between the large open wards, which was the traditional floor plan of the original building, and the cottage plan.

By the time the George Hyde Memorial Building was completed in 1922 and the Frederick Dunn Building ten years later, the multiple floor large dorms were again back in vogue. The difference between the two buildings reflected the treatment philosophy toward patients and their need for recreation. The Hyde Building contained a billiards room, a one lane bowling alley, and a swimming pool. The Dunn Building, completed during the Depression contained no such amenities. Hospital buildings constructed in recent years are a reflection of an increased concern for a patient's needs for privacy and space. All of the wards provide one and two bedroom dorms, a number of day rooms, and open courtyards.

Beginning with the Milton Hardy Building in 1908, each new building was named after the superintendent in office at the time of construction, but this custom was discontinued in 1951 with the construction of the student nurses home.

Early employees lived on the asylum campus, worked six and one-half days per week and were responsible for every aspect of patient care. The work was hard, the hours long and by today's standards, the salaries seem



ABOVE: This turn of the century photo of Asylum personnel included Superintendent Dr. Milton Hardy, who is seated center front. c. 1900. (Utah State Hospital Museum)

BELOW: The Asylums' first pharmacy adjoined the office of Superintendent Dr. Milton Hardy who is seated on the left. c. 1900. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)





Shown is a restraint known as the Utica Crib. The crib, patterned after a child's crib, was approximately six feet long, weighed about one hundred and fifty pounds and had a hinged top that could be fastened at night thus restricting movement and supposedly enforcing rest. It was believed that some types of mental illnesses required rest as a therapeutic measure. It was first used in 1846 in Eastern asylums and records show that it was used at the Utah Territorial Insane Asylum when it opened in 1885; it was discontinued in the 1920s when more humane restraints were developed. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)



low. However, before the turn of the twentieth century they were considered adequate. Salaries in 1885 ranged from \$125 per month for Medical Superintendent Dr. Walter Pike, to the third female attendant who received \$17.50 per month. Interestingly, the male attendant made \$25 per month and the male supervisor made \$37.50, \$4.17 more a month than the matron who received \$33.33 per month. It would be well into the twentieth century before female and male employees were paid the same salary and everyone worked a forty-hour week.

The asylum's first pharmacy was called the dispensary and adjoined the superintendent's office. The first recorded inventory of the dispensary in 1886 consisted of 130 items, including an odd array of pills, powders, and herbs. Some of the more unusual items included a gallon of Bourbon whiskey, sherry wine, powdered rhubarb, and Jamaica ginger. The first effective medicines for the treatment of mental illness would not be developed until the 1950s with the discovery of a new group of medicines known as the phenothiazines.

For the first seventy years of the institution's history, care remained primarily custodial. Therapeutic care was almost unknown in those early years. Over the years various forms of "treatment" were used, including the

A patient shown wearing a canvas straight jacket in 1954. The straight jacket was a common type of restraint used at hospitals across the country. It was used extensively at the hospital until the late 1950s. (Courtesy of the Provo Daily Herald)



This photo taken in 1918, shows a patient receiving a form of hydrotherapy known as a tonic "douche", as sprays were called at the time. A number of different sprays were used depending on the need of the patient. (Report of the Board of Insanity and Superintendent of the State Mental Hospital: For the Biennial Period Ending November 30, 1918, 11.)



This 1918 photo depicts another form of hydrotherapy in which tubs were used instead of sprays. In this version patients were placed in warm tubs filled with warm water, canvas covers were placed over the tubs to retain the heat and keep the patient in the tub. (Report of the Board of Insanity and Superintendent of the State Mental Hospital: For the Biennial Period Ending November 30, 1918, 12.)



This last version of hydrotherapy included a console that could produce a variety of different sprays and also included a heat lamp. c. 1950. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)



ABOVE: A patient being prepared for insulin shock therapy. c. 1950. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)



ABOVE RIGHT: Dr. C.V. Kivler administering Electro Convulsive Therapy (ECT) with the Reiter machine in 1955. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)

Utica crib, straight jacket and a variety of other devices which by today's standards would be considered punishment rather than treatment. However, from the beginning no restraint could be used without a doctor's order and earliest records indicate that superintendents continued to make an effort to minimize their use. Superintendent Dr. Walter Pike noted in his first Biennial Report to the Governor in 1888: "We have endeavored to carry out the "non-restrain" principle as far as possible, consistent with the safety of the patients, but have found ourselves obliged to make use of some restraint to prevent patients, while violent, from harming their fellow patients. We endeavor to get along with as little display of restraint in any form, as possible. But these evils cannot be avoided until we are able to classify." Most restraints were used to contain patients, especially those diagnosed with mania.

A new treatment known as hydrotherapy began at the hospital in 1910. The practice of hydrotherapy began in state hospitals around 1890 and was based on the medical use of water for other illness such as the immersion in cold water for the treatment of a high fever. Perhaps its use was also based on the popularity of spas during that era. Hydrotherapy included saline baths, sitz baths, hot and cold wet packs, and hot and cold baths. Cold wet sheet packs were often used as sedatives for excited

patients instead of the old forms of mechanical restraints. Warm baths were used to simulate patients who were depressed or catatonic (a phase of schizophrenia in which the patient is unresponsive). While the method of hydrotherapy may have seemed simple the technique of administering it was not. Care had to be used in the application of both cold and hot water in order to prevent serious injuries.

By today's standards hydrotherapy seems old fashioned and more like a restraint, but at the time it was widely used in state hospitals as well as in general hospitals for other illnesses. It is doubtful that hydrotherapy was ever in its self a cure; at best it was most effective as a sedative tonic, or as stimulation with only temporary benefits.

The use of hydrotherapy was phased out with the advent of medications in the 1950s.

In 1934, a new treatment known as convulsion therapy was added to the growing list of new therapies being introduced at state hospitals. The drug, Metrazol, was administered to produce the required convulsions that the therapy required. In 1937, hypoglycemic therapy, more commonly known as insulin shock therapy, was introduced at the hospital and Metrazol therapy was slowly discontinued. Insulin shock therapy patients were given large doses of insulin, which lowered the sugar content of blood and produced a diabetic coma. The object was to place the patient in an unconscious state for several hours. The usual treatment schedule was five times a week with up to fifty or sixty treatments. Insulin shock therapy was used to help restless or agitated patients become calm and tranquil. Both convulsive

This surgical room was located on the first floor of the main building until a modern Medical Surgical Building was completed in 1955. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)





ABOVE: Hundreds of pieces of beautiful wicker furniture were made by patients and staff. c. 1930 (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection) RIGHT TOP: A Patient working in the hospital greenhouse. c. 1940s. The farm and dairy provided nearly all of the food used by the institution. (Utah State Hospital Museum



Collection) RIGHT BOTTOM: Employees and patients working together made a number of different items including brooms, scrubbing brushes, dressers, screen doors, just to name a few. c. 1930 (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)



and hypoglycemic therapies were considered dangerous and were eventually discontinued as other more effective treatments were developed.

Electroconvulsive Therapy or ECT, which was introduced at the hospital in 1947, would become the most common of all the convulsive therapies. The earliest method of ECT could produce a rather violent convulsion, so care was given to make sure that no injuries occurred. According to treatment protocol, convulsion therapy was administered three times a week and included from five to fifteen treatments. Today, ECT is still considered a viable and effective treatment for severe depression. New methods have made the procedure considerably safer and it is only used with patient consent.

By 1950, the list of treatment options at the hospital had grown to include hypoglycemic therapy, electroshock therapy, hydrotherapy, psychoanalysis, group therapy, and narcoanalysis (a form of psychotherapy in which barbiturates are used to put patients into a light anesthesia to help them talk about events that might be suppressed). Although some of the early therapies seem ineffective when compared with current treatment

Patients and staff canning fruits and vegetables grown by patients. c. 1920s. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)

In 1938, patients and staff canned over 329,340 quarts of fruits and vegetables, grown by the patients.



options, they were considered a standard practice for state hospitals.

When medications were developed in the 1950s that were considered safer and more effective than earlier treatment modalities, nearly all of the other forms of therapies were discontinued. Today, the hospital provides a broad array of therapeutic programs including recreation, vocational, rehabilitation, and physical therapies.

Surgeries were performed at the asylum when it opened in 1885 until the mid-1970s when it became too costly to maintain current surgical equipment.

ABOVE: The hospital kitchen staff. c. 1900. Almost all of the food was grown at the hospital and all the meals were prepared by staff and patients. It wasn't until 1937 that the coal stoves were replaced with gas. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection) BELOW: The food was transported from the kitchen to the various wards on these hand-pulled carts until the late 1950s. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)





TOP: Beds in the hall of the men's ward, c. 1940s. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)



BOTTOM: A women's ward, c. 1930s. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)



A men's ward day room, c. 1940s. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)



Nearly every surgery that was available at a general hospital was available at the Utah State Hospital, including the birth of a few babies. Today patients who need surgical care are referred to local hospitals.

Along with a discussion of early treatment modalities, it is interesting to note the variety of reasons that people were committed to the institution in the early years. Some of the more interesting ones were: reading novels, solar heat exposure, spiritualism, financial embarrassment, disappointment, mental strain, overwork, fear of poverty, religious excitement, fright, remorse, sedentary life, over study in school, hypnotism and sheepherder.



By today's standards those are flimsy reasons for years of hospitalization.

From the opening of the asylum in 1885, patient labor was important to the operation of the facility. Every conceivable item was made, including tin cans, mattresses, and wicker furniture, shoes, clothing, towels, blankets, and numerous other items. Patients worked in the sewing room, laundry, kitchen, boiler house, farm and dairy. Patients were also involved in the construction of every new building until 1955. Years earlier, Superintendent Walter Pike noted in 1887, "That the employment of patients in pursuits which occupy the mind, and for the time being distract them from dwelling upon their delusions and insane ideas, is one of the most powerful aids to treatment and every means should be used to furtherance of such employment."

The farm was an important part of the treatment program as well as the fiscal efficiency of the hospital. In the 1924 biennial

ABOVE: A typical crowded ward, c. 1950. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)

TOP RIGHT: The strong room, c. 1940s (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)

BOTTOM RIGHT: A women's ward "birdbath," c. 1940s (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)

report, Dr. Frederick Dunn noted the progress of the farm, "That with more land added to our present holdings, this Institution will have made the long step toward self support." By the 1930s, the farm complex included hogs, chickens, turkeys, cattle, horses, and an apiary. However, it was not until 1956 when a professionally directed industrial therapy program was introduced that began coordinating the labor needs of the hospital with the treatment needs of the patient. The farm program was phased out in the 1960s and nearly all of the original industrial programs have been discontinued as well. Today, the hospital no longer relies on patient labor; the mission of the hospital is to aid patients in life skills and to return them to their communities as soon as possible.

In the early years patients ate family style in their respective wards. They were allowed cups, saucers, a tin bowl, knives and forks. As overcrowding became a problem knives and forks were seen as potential weapons and patients were allowed a metal spoon, their only eating utensil. It was not until the late 1950s that knives and forks reappeared.

Due to the constant problem of overcrowding and budget restrictions, many inhumane conditions existed at the hospital. A typical patient dorm area from the 1920s through the late 1950s housed between twenty and as





The large number of men on this walk is indicative of how overcrowded the hospital was in the 1940s. For many these walks were the only opportunity to escape the crowded wards, c. 1940. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)



This courtyard was located behind the Dunn Building and was modeled after a prison exercise yard, without out the armed guards, c. 1935. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)

many as fifty patients, which resulted in a total lack of privacy. There were neither dressers nor mirrors and patients were allowed to keep only very few personal belongings, any they did manage to keep they tucked under their mattresses or hid in their clothing.

Patients were allowed one bath per-week; during the rest of the week they washed in large sinks known as bird baths. Bathrooms allowed little privacy and until the 1950s there were no toilet paper dispensers. Patients had to ask a staff member for toilet paper.

By the 1940s, wards had become so crowded that beds were placed in alcoves and halls. In 1955, the hospital population peaked at 1,500 patients, nearly 200 over capacity. Two years later the state legislature doubled the funding for the hospital. With the extra funding and the leadership of Superintendent Dr. Owen P. Heninger, the treatment units and care of the patients were changed,



each unit with its own treatment team. This allowed for individual treatment plans and more personal care.

Other changes were made during Heninger's superintendence. He was determined to remove an area in the hospital known as the "strong room," which was erected in 1932, and built to house criminally insane men who were considered dangerous. The room consisted of four jail cells and the men placed there were never let out. In May 1950, the cells were finally removed. Interestingly, the four men who were moved from the cells and relocated within the general hospital population never caused problems.

Recreational activities for patients changed over time, often dependent on volunteers and the availability of staff and resources. Movies were shown when available and community groups often provided entertainment. Christmas and Fourth of July celebrations were held each year along with frequent dances. In the 1950s, the Red Cross Gray Ladies provided a number of regular activities for patients. They were also involved with the establishment of a new patient recreation center that included games, ping pong tables, books, magazines, a radio, phonograph, and records. By the 1960s patients were routinely allowed to leave campus for recreational activities.

Today, patients enjoy many community activities as well as having campus recreation facilities, which include a modern library, gym,

Patients attend a Fourth of July celebration on the hospital lawn, c. 1940. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)



swimming pool, weight room, ropes course, fish pond, and on ground out-door camping facility. However, volunteers are still an integral and valued part of the recreational as well as religious programs available to patients.

The Red Cross Gray Ladies and patients enjoy a visit from Leta, the dog, 1960. (Courtesy of the Provo Daily Herald)

With the establishment of community mental health centers elsewhere in the state beginning in the 1970s, the hospital population began to decline and the large old fashioned wings of the original building were no longer needed. They were demolished in 1976 and the remaining portion was demolished in 1981. Most of the old buildings have now been replaced with modern new facilities that provide both a therapeutic environment and a comfortable living arrangement that includes both private and semi-private bedrooms.

Gone are the large custodial institutions of the past. The facility in Provo has moved from a custodial asylum to a hospital in the full meaning of the word. It is no longer the only mental health facility in the state; rather it serves a supporting role to a broad community mental health system. Today, most people needing treatment for a mental illness remain in their communities. Individuals needing more intensive treatment are referred to the



hospital from one of eleven community mental health centers. The hospital currently employs 800 staff who provide a full array of services to 354 individuals including children ages 6–18, adults ages 18 and older and forensic patients committed by the criminal courts.

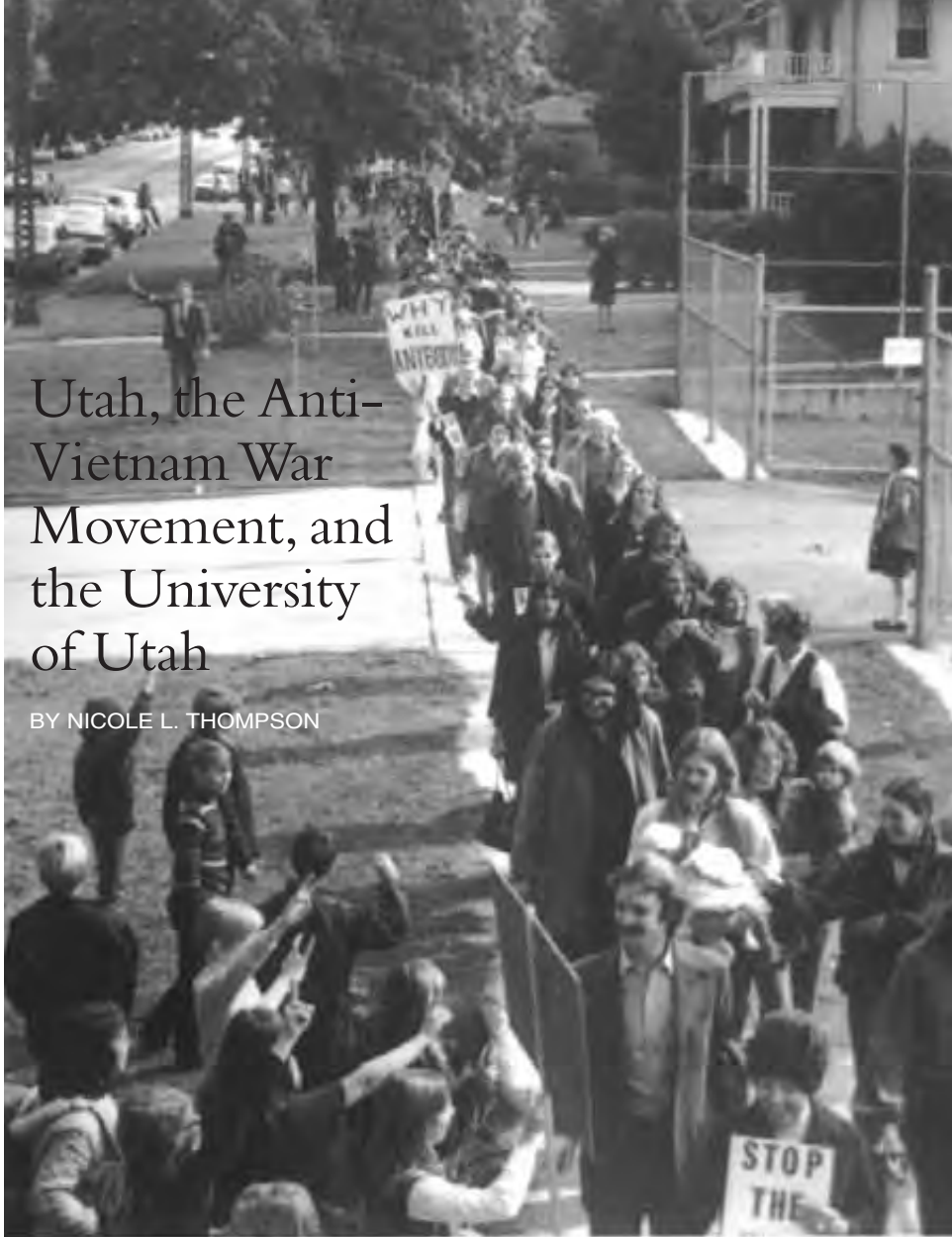
Demolition of the last remaining part of the original building, 1981. (Utah State Hospital Museum Collection)

Former Superintendent Dr. Owen P. Heninger noted in an evaluation report to the Welfare Commission in October 1951: “It is a mistake to center our attention on either the good or bad to the exclusion of the other. The hospital record is neither black nor white; it is a mixture of both, which results in a variable shade of gray, that on occasions is lighter or darker, depending upon the will of the citizens and officials to whom they gave responsibility. There may have been some excuse for the neglect of past years when society knew no better, but future generations will not be so generous in their evaluation unless advantage is taken of the knowledge now available.” Progress is not yet complete, neither is the history of the Utah State Hospital complete.

Utah, the Anti-Vietnam War Movement, and the University of Utah

BY NICOLE L. THOMPSON

STEPHEN HOLBROOK COLLECTION: UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY



On October 7, 1967, shortly after the beginning of fall quarter, student leaders at the University of Utah organized an important debate on the Vietnam War in the student Union Ballroom. The topic of the debate, which was moderated by J. D. Williams, professor of political science, was whether the United States should stay in the Vietnam War. Taking the anti-war side of the debate was Carl Oglesby, who at the time was the national Chairman of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and Robert Scheer, editor of the radical magazine *Ramparts*.¹ The pro-war side was advanced by Utah Senator Wallace Bennett (R) and Wyoming Senator Gale McGee (D). Oglesby referred to Bennett and McGee as

***Anti-Vietnam War Marchers on
Salt Lake City's South Temple
Street.***

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“superhawks” for their long time support in the Senate for the war. The two senators insisted that the debate be structured so that the first and last speeches would be in support of the war. There was, technically, no *last* speech. Oglesby and Scheer dominated the question-and-answer session so dramatically that they received a thunderous applause at the conclusion of the debate; the “superhawks” received the perfunctory applause.

Oglesby later recalled that of the three most exhausting years which he spent touring the United States, Canada, Puerto Rico, England, and Japan giving theatrical speeches as SDS Chairman, his most gratifying experiences of fighting against the establishment came during the debate in Salt Lake City.² Surprisingly, while Utahns generally held a strong anti-communist view and supported the war that was unfolding in Southeast Asia, the University of Utah campus may have seemed like an unlikely place for such a pivotal debate to unfold, yet, it was this debate that sparked a change in both anti-war and pro-war sentiments in the state.

The focal point of the anti-war movement in Utah was the University of Utah campus. The university dealt with issues such as recognizing the Utah chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), anti-war rallies, sit-ins, teach-ins, and statewide issues of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. University students participated in the nationwide moratoriums where ordinary citizens were asked to vocalize their opposition to the war, and rallied against the shootings at Kent State University. Anti-war and pro-war demonstrations took place side by side. In 1969 a chapter of the national organization of SDS was organized on the University of Utah campus—an action that concerned many Utahns and university students.

The polarizing effect of the Vietnam War spread throughout the United States and impacted Utah because of the state’s high college attendance and extensive military involvement. Utah led the nation for the percent of males attending college, and according to statistics from the 1970 census, Utah ranked fifth in the nation in the percent of young men who served in Vietnam. The percentage of Utah men who served in Vietnam is surprising because of the number of deferments which were available to young men for serving LDS missions, attending college, and having families.³

After five hours of rigorous debating at the Union Ballroom on October 7, moderator Williams stepped in and concluded the debate. Oglesby later wrote that, “two of the hawks’ big guns had gotten shot down in flames in Salt Lake City.” He added that an FBI informant later told him that he and

¹ Carl Oglesby, *Ravens in the Storm: A Personal History of the 1960s Antiwar Movement* (New York: Scribner, 2008), 113. *Ramparts* was an American political and literary magazine published from 1962 through 1975. The magazine was an early opponent of the Vietnam War. See Peter Richardson, *A Bomb in Every Issue: How the Short, Unruly Life of Ramparts Magazine Changed America* (New York: The New Press, 2009).

² Oglesby, *Ravens in the Storm*, 112.

³ Allan Kent Powell, “The Vietnam Conflict and Utah,” *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 613.

“Scheer presented a much better case than did those who spoke in favor of the United States’ position in Vietnam.”⁴ This was the first and last time in which any senator engaged in a student-sponsored debate on the war.

The anti-war side won spectacularly. The debate proved to be a turning point for many Utahns who began questioning the presence of the United States in Vietnam. Oglesby wrote that, “in one of the more conservative states of the Union, the children of the middle classes were starting to pay real attention to the war, and the more they learned, the less they liked what they saw... So a kind of emptiness was opening up in the American center between the need to win... and the need not to fight hard enough to do that.”⁵ The awareness which this debate set in motion is symbolic of what was happening elsewhere all across the country. The middle class was now questioning the United States’ presence in Vietnam, and the more they learned, the more they wanted the war to end.

In part and as a result of the debate, a vocal anti-war movement took hold in Utah in 1968 when some University of Utah students petitioned the university administration for official recognition of a chapter of the national organization Students for a Democratic Society. A year later the university granted SDS full recognition. However, the recognition of SDS by the university administration caused great concern among many Utah citizens and university students because SDS was seen to be a violent and radical organization. The efforts to stop the war were not confined to SDS, however. A number of other anti-war groups were created on campus such as the United Front to End the War and Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

The organization known as the Students for a Democratic Society originated in the early 1960s when it split away from the League for Industrial Democracy. University of Michigan student activist Tom Hayden wrote a lengthy political manifesto known as the Port Huron Statement. It outlined the goals, concerns, and agenda for the national SDS organization, and it criticized the federal government for the prolonged Cold War, racial and economic inequality, and it proposed ways to solve those issues. The Port Huron Statement declared: “We are the people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.”⁶ Finally, Hayden further criticized the apathy that college students had toward politics and the complacency that was evident on college campuses.⁷

University students in Utah were no exception to this complacency towards politics and the war. A picture on the front page of the *Daily Utah*

⁴ Oglesby, *Ravens in the Storm*, 117.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ For a good overview, see Tom Hayden, *The Port Huron Statement: A Visionary Call of the 1960s Revolution* (New York: Thunder’s Mouth Press), 2005, 1–45.

⁷ Karen Anderson, Michael Schaller, and Robert D. Schulzinger. *Present Tense: The United States Since 1945*, 3rd ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004), 288.



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Chronicle in May 1970, for example, portrays a young man with long hair sitting on a massive missile with his father yelling, “Get a haircut!” The caption reads, “Welcome to the Indifferent World of Utah.” When offered

anti-war literature from a member of the Young Democrats at Brigham Young University several months earlier, one woman commented, “I’m tired of reading about Vietnam in the newspaper and I don’t have time to read this.”⁸ An article in the *Daily Utah Chronicle* on November 27, 1968, months before the administration officially recognized SDS, quoted local SDS chairman Jim Beaver: “the goal of this group is ‘simply to try and develop a political conscience... the student body and especially the community reflect a certain lack of information. They’re relying on the *Reader’s Digest* to tell them what’s going on in the world.’” SDS and groups like them, such as the United Front to End the War, took it upon themselves to inform the public about the facts of the war and the United States’ involvement in the war.

Even before SDS applied for official recognition on the University of Utah campus in 1968, dozens of letters were written to university president James C. Fletcher expressing feelings of anger, fear, and malice towards SDS.⁹ One Utahn wrote: “As a taxpayer and concerned citizen, I feel that I

Motorcycle police officers on the north side of South Temple monitor the march of protesters on October 15, 1969.

⁸ “Utah Moratorium Activity Includes Fairgrounds Rally, U. Workshop,” *The Salt Lake Tribune*, November 16, 1969.

⁹ Don Le Fevre to James C. Fletcher, December 9, 1968, Dr. James C. Fletcher Presidential Papers, 1968-69, SDS, Box 43, Fd 22, University of Utah Archives,. Hereafter cited as Fletcher Papers.

would express vigorous protest and disapproval of allowing this organization to be sponsored in a Utah University.”¹⁰ Mrs. Franklin D. Maughan, a member of the school’s board of regents, told Fletcher: “We do not need this organization at the ‘U.’ One of the fine aspects of Utah colleges is the absence of professional agitators, such as those in S.D.S.”¹¹

Despite these concerns and fears expressed to Fletcher, of the nearly three-hundred chapters that existed in 1968, only six chapters were involved in any sort of university campus disorder.¹² And yet, these few disorders resulted in negative publicity, which made it difficult for students to organize a SDS organization on campus. While there were far more against the recognition of SDS, there were some supporters, even a few of whom were university faculty. Rick Miller, associate professor of anthropology, wrote President Fletcher urging the university administration to recognize SDS. “I think one must keep in mind that the individuals involved are still on campus, and it is far better to have them organized than disorganized... the fact that they make rash decisions is, I think, their prerogative, and they are very apt to learn by their mistakes...”¹³ Another faculty member, assistant professor of history Larry R. Gerlach stated: “If a number of students desire to form an organization, why should they not be permitted to proceed apace...the views of the rest of their classmates, the administration and the community to the contrary notwithstanding... Simply put: if you don’t like them, don’t join them.”¹⁴

While the administration was considering recognizing SDS, Associated Students of the University of Utah (ASUU) president Steve Gunn said of university student organizations, “No group can find widespread enough support to endanger the university unless there is a legitimate issue around which dissent can coalesce.”¹⁵

After much discussion within the university community and concerns expressed from the public, Fletcher sought advice from the university’s legal counsel, Gerald R. Miller. His response to Fletcher was that “failing to recognize SDS the University would be condemning a local group on the basis of hearsay information concerning the activities elsewhere of some members of the same national organization.” And he then added: “The University really has no alternative either legally or in a practical sense. The local chapter of SDS should be recognized as a University organization.”¹⁶

¹⁰ John D. Krebs to James C. Fletcher, December 3, 1968, Fletcher Papers, Box 43, Fd 22.

¹¹ Mrs. Franklin D. Maughan, to James C. Fletcher, December 1968, Fletcher Papers, Box 43, fd 22.

¹² *Daily Utah Chronicle*, November 27, 1968.

¹³ Rick R. Miller to James C. Fletcher, November 20, 1968, Fletcher Papers, Box 43, Fd 3.

¹⁴ L. R. Gerlach, “SDS is a Symptom, not a Cause of Political Problems,” *Daily Utah Chronicle*, November 26, 1968.

¹⁵ *Daily Utah Chronicle*, November 27, 1968.

¹⁶ Gerald R. Miller to James C. Fletcher, November 25, 1968, Fletcher Papers, Box 43, Fd 3. See also University of Utah Sesquicentennial Exhibition, *A Time of Tensions, 1964-1973*, J. Willard Marriott Library Special Collections, <http://www.lib.utah.edu/150/06/index.html>, (accessed July 7, 2008), Gerald R. Miller to James C. Fletcher, November 20, 1968, Fletcher Papers, Box 43, Fd 3.

Acting on the legal advice from Miller, President Fletcher and the university administration recognized the Utah chapter of SDS in 1969.

SDS became more visible when in October and November of 1969 it, along with local antiwar groups including the United Front to End the War, participated in two nationwide moratoriums on the war. These moratoriums were instigated by Jerome Grossman, a political activist and chairman of the Council for a Livable World, and were an effort to send a message to the United States government to end the war.¹⁷ The moratoriums



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were to deviate from the typical daily activities of students and non-students in order to protest the war, and learn the facts about why the United States was fighting in

James C. Fletcher, President of the University of Utah from 1964 to 1971.

Vietnam. One of the efforts made by SDS was to “get business[es] everywhere to close down for the day as a means of showing their support for the Moratorium.”¹⁸ Further, the idea for the organization of the moratorium was to put it in the hands of local groups to prevent spending hundreds of dollars in Washington, which is what it would have taken. Not only would this decrease the cost of the moratorium but instead of the protesters going to Washington they would go door-to-door in their own home towns, to people who knew and trusted them, and convince them to strike against the war. By this time the American people were tired of the massive demonstrations being reported on the news and needed something different to grab their attention.

The headline of the flyer that was passed out on the University of Utah campus prior to the October moratorium stated: “U.S. get out of Vietnam NOW: No Negotiations. Join the Oct. 15 Moratorium on Business-As-Usual.”¹⁹ The students and the public were encouraged by local antiwar

¹⁷ Jerome Grossman, interviewed by Nancy Earsy, December 3, 1996. Lexington Oral History Projects. <http://www.lexingtonbattlegreen1971.com/files/Grossman,%20Jerome.pdf> (accessed October 26, 2009).

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ “U.S. Get Out NOW: No Negotiations: Join the Oct. 15 Moratorium on Business-As-Usual,” United Front to End the War, 1969, copy in John Sillito Research Files, WA 86 box 33, Weber State University Archives. Hereafter cited as Sillito Research Files.

groups such as the United Front To End the War, and SDS, to take time out of their day to either show their support for the war or to demonstrate against it. Millions of Americans and upwards of four-thousand Utahns participated in the October 15th moratorium.²⁰

During the moratoriums, the United Front to End the War held teach-ins outside of the formal classroom setting at the University of Utah Union Ballroom where people discussed the facts about the war.²¹ The purpose of the teach-ins was to inform the attendees about the Vietnam War and its origins. These lively discussions reflected a strong position against the war. Questions were answered about why the United States was still in the war even though there were a growing number of people across the country against it. Why, after eight years of war and thousands of lives lost, the military only controlled less than one-third of South Vietnam, and why it was so important for American leaders to secure a victory.

Following the teach-in, protesters marched to the Federal Building in downtown Salt Lake City where several speeches were given. Organizers were required to obtain permission from the city to use a sound truck at the federal building and were given strict guidelines on how they were to conduct the march and demonstration. Further, those participating in the march were required to give their names to the city police department. A counter-demonstration held at the City and County Building was also organized. Organizers of that demonstration, however, were not required to obtain a permit nor were they given any guidelines as to how they should conduct their counter demonstration.²²

One organized group which opposed SDS and other similar student organizations was the conservative, right-wing John Birch Society. The John Birch Society, established in the mid-1950s by Robert Welch, a retired candy company official, was dedicated to preserving the United States Constitution and combating communism. A local spokesman for the John Birch Society voiced a concern with the activities of SDS at the University of Utah. Specifically, he said: "We feel the Moratorium is an act of treason and do not plan to give the people behind it any additional attention..." A spokesman for the counter-demonstrators added, "America's 'silent majority' should fly flags in support of U.S. policy in Vietnam..."²³

Far from the moratoriums, North Vietnamese premier Pham Van Dong

²⁰ "U. Students, Teachers Call War Moratorium Activity," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 16, 1969. The first Utah protest of American involvement in Vietnam occurred on April 17, 1965, the month after the first American combat troops arrived in Vietnam. A group of twenty-five "pacifists," led by Ammon Hennacy, the seventy-one-year-old director of the Joe Hill House of Hospitality and St. Joseph's Refuge, marched through downtown Salt Lake City. Twenty-three-year-old Stephen Holbrook was among the marchers. "Pacifists Stage Protest Walk in S.L., Slap U.S. Involvement in Viet Nam," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 18, 1965.

²¹ "Marathon Teach In Opposes War" *Daily Utah Chronicle*, October 14, 1969.

²² "Utah's Hawks, Doves Get Rally Guidelines," *The Salt Lake Tribune*, October 15, 1969.

²³ Viet War Protesters March Today – Patriotic Groups Mount Countermeasure," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 15, 1969.



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supported the national moratorium. The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that in a radio broadcast by Radio Hanoi, “[Pham Van Dong] called the Moratorium a ‘worthy and timely rebuff’ of President Nixon’s policies... He spoke of the ‘legitimate and urgent demand of the American people to save their nation’s honor and stop the useless dying of their sons.’”²⁴

University of Utah Students at an Anti-Vietnam War Rally.

While the media mostly covered the anti-war purpose of the demonstration, there was modest coverage of the counter-demonstrations supporting the war. On the same day as the moratorium over two-hundred counter demonstrators assembled at the City and County Building. Salt Lake City commissioner, Jake Garn, spoke to the crowd and said, “...if the Moratorium were successful, the United States would be communist and 40,000 American lives would have been sacrificed in vain.” This gathering of pro-war demonstrators was, according to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, the largest peace demonstration in Utah’s history.²⁵

A month later a second national moratorium was organized. Locally, the November moratorium and teach-in was held at Kingsbury Hall on the University of Utah campus in response to the requests from many students who were upset that more information was not given about why the U.S. became involved in the war. The theme of this teach-in was “After Vietnam, What Is the Next Step?” There were four teach-ins for the November moratorium. The first session presented by Dr. Albert Fisher, a geography professor at the University who specialized in regional, political,

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Powell, “The Vietnam Conflict and Utah,” 614.

and applied geography, was on the history of the Vietnam War, how the United States became involved, and the current situation in the war. The second session examined the war's economics, how it was hurting the country's economy, and if the U.S. should pull out. The third session featured a national leader of SDS and the director of Youth of America Federation, Randall Teague, in which they discussed the justification of the U.S. being in Vietnam. The last session of the teach-in focused on whether the U.S. should completely withdraw from Vietnam, or if the U.S. should negotiate an immediate withdrawal, or if there should be a ceasefire, or if there should be a gradual withdrawal.²⁶

The November moratorium elsewhere was more disruptive than it was in Salt Lake City. The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported on one incident that arose in which SDS was accused of militant actions, stating that "While the anti-Vietnam war march moved peacefully through downtown Washington [D.C.] Saturday, rival factions of the militant Students for a Democratic Society got into a fight at their headquarters." In actuality, the violence was provoked by the Weatherman faction, which was "a group of provocateurs trying to discredit SDS."²⁷

Shortly after the October moratorium and before the November moratorium a poll was taken of University of Utah students in which 52 percent supported a real learning program about Vietnam and the war, not just propaganda-filled rallies.²⁸ After the November moratorium, Utah Senator Wallace F. Bennett was asked whether the two moratoriums affected public opinion about the war, he stated that he calculated his mail was three to one in the support of Nixon's effort to end the war. "The October and November moratoriums have 'had an opposite effect on the American public than their planners had anticipated,' Bennett said, "and the protests have stirred up heart-warming support of the President."²⁹ During the November moratorium, President Nixon practically ignored the estimated 250,000 people who demonstrated in the streets of Washington D.C. and made it known that "it was a good day for watching football."³⁰

During March and April of 1970, as a result of the previous year's two moratoriums and outside speakers being invited to the campus, the University of Utah students and administration undertook a heated debate regarding freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. On March 2, Ms.

²⁶"November Vietnam 'Teach-in' to Present Varied Opinions." *Daily Utah Chronicle*, November 5, 1969. See also "Utah Moratorium Activity Includes Fairgrounds Rally, U. Workshop," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 16, 1969. There is no record indicating who the SDS national leader was. There were SDS meeting notes indicating that the speaker would most likely be SDS leader Pat Forman but even they were unsure who the speaker would be.

²⁷"Fight Erupts Between 2 SDS Groups," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 16, 1969.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ "Bennett Says Mail for Nixon 3 to 1," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 15, 1969.

³⁰ "Washington Scene: More Love-In Than Revolt," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 16, 1969.



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Elena Dillon, president of the San Francisco State College chapter of SDS, informally met with university students. Her presence was controversial simply because she was an SDS chapter president. During the informal gathering, the students received a letter from the Dean of Students, Virginia Frobes: “We don’t want to disrupt your present gathering with your guest speaker but feel you need to know we look on this as in violation of the Student Affairs rules... We will need to bring charges against your organization (S.D.S.) before the judiciary if you don’t disperse.”³¹ As evidence of how little the administration knew of or even cared about the students involved in SDS, the letter informing them that they were in violation of university rules and regulations was addressed to a “Mrs.” Laury Hammel, when in fact it should have been made out to “Mr.” Laury Hammel. SDS members claimed not to have any knowledge about stipulations regarding off-campus speakers even if the speakers were to address students at the university only.³²

Marchers on State Street with the Eagle Gate and the Utah State Capitol in the background.

A week later after Dillon’s visit, President Fletcher announced that he was forming a commission to oversee a new speaker policy. At an Institutional Council meeting, held on the Weber State College campus in connection with the Utah State Board of Higher Education, Fletcher announced he was “appointing a special Commission involving representatives of the faculty, students, alumni, and the Institutional Council to review

³¹ Virginia Frobes to Laury Hammel, March 2, 1970, Fletcher Papers, Box 48, Fd 3.

³² Elizabeth Haglund, “White Paper on Student Demonstrations” (paper presented to President James C. Fletcher, Salt Lake City, UT, 1970), 3 Fletcher Papers, Box 73, Fd 2. Hereafter cited as “White Paper.”

and improve the policy for the appearance of speakers on campus.”³³ This announcement sparked a controversy among students and citizens alike. One man wrote to President Fletcher and Governor Calvin L. Rampton, “Our country was built on dissent. It was so real at the time, that its values were recognized and made use of in building our society...In freedom of speech, the boundries [sic] were set on responsibility of the individual speaker for what was said...Freedom of assembly – this freedom has only the bounds of common interest binding the group. But nowhere do you find in either spirit or in written word, the right to tear down or force one group upon another outside the rules of society.”³⁴

On March 16, 1970, Governor Rampton wrote to the Commissioner of Higher Education, Dr. G. Homer Durham, regarding community members’ apprehensions about those who were speaking on the University of Utah campus. Noting that he had received numerous letters from concerned citizens about the conduct of speakers who had appeared at post-high school institutions, Rampton observed that any speaker “once on the campus must obey the laws of the state or the ordinance of the city or county concerned. If he does not do so, he should expect to be arrested.”³⁵ Rampton’s letter specifically came in response to controversial speaker Jerry Rubin, who spoke on the University of Utah campus on Sunday, February 8, 1970.³⁶ Rubin was a radical and co-founder of the Youth International Party, otherwise known as Yippie, and a stalwart in the Free Speech Movement. Rubin had become famous earlier for his Nazi salute to a judge when on trial along with six others on charges of conspiracy and incitement to riot during the 1968 Chicago Democratic National Convention.³⁷ Rubin’s speech sparked such controversy that the university’s administration received letters from alumni threatening they would no longer contribute to the alumni fund if people like Rubin were allowed to speak on campus.³⁸

On April 2, 1970, two days into University of Utah students’ annual “Challenge Week” activities held on campus, SDS was put on trial by the Associated Students of the University of Utah (ASUU). SDS was charged with violating the rules and regulations which governed University of Utah student organizations for not acquiring prior approval for their speakers, and not dispersing during the gathering on March 2 in which Ms. Dillon spoke. SDS was found guilty, but the organization

³³ “Statement by President Fletcher concerning the University Speaker Policy,” March 9, 1970, Fletcher Papers, Box 55, Fd 7.

³⁴ Governor Rampton to Dr. Durham, Salt Lake City, Utah, March 16, 1970, Fletcher Papers, Box 55, Fd 10.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ “Face to Face: Restrictions on Free Expression of Ideas,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 11, 1970.

³⁷ See Joseph R. Ugo, “Yippies,” in Mari Joe Buhle, Paul Buhle, and Dan Georgakas, eds., *Encyclopedia of the American Left* (New York: Oxford, 1988), pp. 918–19. For a summary of Rubin’s life and activities, see Eric Pace, “Jerry Rubin, 1960s Radical and Yippie Leader, Dies at 56,” *New York Times*, November 29, 1994.

³⁸ V.M. Erickson to President James C. Fletcher, May 17, 1970, Fletcher Papers, Box 55, Fd 2.

was only given a written letter of reprimand.³⁹

In a response to Rampton's earlier threat to make arrests based on language used in public speeches, two university students issued a challenge to that warning. At an anti-war rally sponsored by SDS on April 15, 1970, student Victor Gordon "suggested that at the count of three everyone yell in unison that most-despised word so that if arrests were to follow, everyone would have to be arrested. They did, and the following day Gordon was issued a summons to answer an obscenity charge ... [in] court. Another individual, John Shanonah, was also issued a summons for using the same word in his speech at the rally."⁴⁰ A day later, those two students were charged with "'speaking lewd or obscene words in a public place...' at [the] anti-war rally held in the Union Building on Wednesday, April 15." The two students then filed identical law suits which demanded "that the statute under which they were accused be declared unconstitutional" on the grounds that its intent was to intimidate and restrain them.⁴¹ An article written by SDS stated, "When the State has to use its anti-obscenity laws against Victor Gordon and John Shanonah for alleged use of 'obscene' words it is clear that 'obscenity' is a threat to the people who control the University...it needs to be recognized that it is not the 'obscenity' itself which is so threatening but rather what it represents – an expression of defiance of their authority to determine what is in the best interests of the students and the University."⁴²

The community got involved in this issue when Fletcher's speakers policy commission held a free speech hearing in connection with the Salt Lake Area Chamber of Commerce. On April 28, the Chamber's Board of Governors wrote Fletcher that in their opinion, "speakers should be barred from the campus in advance who refuse to agree not to advocate or incite riot, mob action, or violent overthrow of our government, that persons addressing other than student groups should be subject to the prior approval of the U of U administration..." These views were denounced by fifteen Utah attorneys who wrote, "...people should have the right to listen to and evaluate 'militant and obnoxious' groups if they like."⁴³ While waiting to hear the outcome of the commission's report on the speaker's policy, the nation heard about the killings of students at Kent State University.

On Monday, May 4, 1970, four students at Kent State were shot and killed by members of the Ohio National Guard during a protest against the United States' invasion of Cambodia. This event shocked university students across the country. The *Salt Lake Tribune* and other newspapers printed pictures of Kent State students staring at their dead classmates.⁴⁴ These and

³⁹ "White Paper," 6.

⁴⁰ "SDS on 'Obscenities,'" Ibid., Box 55, Fd 10.

⁴¹ "White Paper" 7-8.

⁴² *SDS on "Obscenities,"* Fletcher Papers, Box 55, Fd 10.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ In "Ohio Campus Riot Claims 4 Students," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 5, 1970.

other pictures of National Guardsmen armed with rifles ready to fire, patrolling the streets and on the Kent State campus in military vehicles, greatly concerned University of Utah students as they wondered if their safety was at risk as well.⁴⁵ The shootings at Kent State University eighteen hundred miles from Salt Lake City on the campus in northern Ohio, echoed across the Wasatch Mountains as firebombs, pickets, rallies, sit-ins, and a strike vote rolled across the usually placid University of Utah campus.

Monday evening, only hours after the shootings at Kent State, student leaders met to plan a campus protest against the shootings. Tension grew on campus. At 4:00 a.m. Tuesday morning, May 5, a homemade bomb, crudely made from a beer bottle, paper wick, and a thick mixture of diesel fuel and gasoline, was thrown into the ROTC building. The bomb exploded but failed to ignite, but did cause about two hundred dollars worth of damage to the ROTC office and could have easily destroyed the entire building had it ignited.⁴⁶

Later Tuesday morning, before 8:50 a.m. classes, about thirty students picketed at Orson Spencer Hall, a major classroom building at the university, and chanted: "Four dead at Kent State...War continues to escalate...Students strike now!"⁴⁷ Flyers were handed out that demanded a strike. "During the past week," the flyers read, "four students have been murdered at Kent State, a used car salesman ordered an invasion of Cambodia, Amerikan [sic] imperialist armed forces continued repression of third world liberation movements, and police state tactics have increased across the nation."⁴⁸ Other flyers stated: "Stop death – Prevent more Kent States – Support free speech – Strike!"; "Strike... Take action to end these inhuman tactics of oppression." The flyers directed students to protest against the Cambodian invasion, the Kent State killings, university complicity with the ROTC program and research for chemical-biological warfare, genocide against Vietnam, and opposition to third world liberation movements.⁴⁹

That afternoon, Tuesday May 5, one thousand five hundred students attended a rally sponsored by SDS and the Coalition for Student Rights. There, student body president Randy Dryer announced that there would be a memorial service held in honor of the slain Kent State students on Thursday afternoon, May 7th, and that on Friday after the 9:55 a.m. classes, faculty would hand out ballots so that the entire student body could vote on whether to strike.

According to the *Daily Utah Chronicle*, the predominant feelings at the

⁴⁵ Ibid., May 6, 1970.

⁴⁶ "U of U. Demonstration Against War Culminates in Newspaper Demands," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 6, 1970.

⁴⁷ "White Paper," 8.

⁴⁸ "United Student Strike," *United Front to End the War*, 1969. Sillito Research Files.

⁴⁹ "Care Beyond Books," "Strike!" and "U of U. Demonstration Against War Culminates in Newspaper Demands," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 6, 1970.

rally were “for calm, non-violence and rational, human-to-human discussion of issues...” and quoted students leaving the rally as saying, “‘Destruction has no place in progress,’ ‘Wait to find out the truth – then act,’ and ‘Violence has not accomplished anything.’”⁵⁰

Speakers at the rally condemned the war, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, biological warfare, the ROTC, and called for a strike. Assistant Dean of Students Peter Grundfossen commented on the proposed strike: “Only a minority of students will stay away from classes. Ours is an orderly campus and I see it remaining orderly.” The rebellious students did not consider themselves a minority, but felt they represented the feelings of the majority of the students.

SDS had long accused the *Daily Utah Chronicle* of being biased against their group. Following the Tuesday afternoon demonstration, approximately two-hundred students and non-students marched to the offices of the *Daily Utah Chronicle* where later that evening they demanded that the editor hand over the front page of the next day’s paper. The demonstrators demanded that the entire front page read “Strike!”⁵² When the editor-in-chief, Angelyn Nelson, informed them that the front page had already been completed and that no further changes could be made, the demonstrators littered the offices with the current day’s paper. Bent on changing the headlines to the *Daily Utah Chronicle*, the group then headed for the printing press where they found the doors to the printing press locked and five campus security officers guarding the building. Miss Nelson did allow two of the demonstrators to be interviewed for the purpose of reporting



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Attendees at the October 15, 1969, moratorium at Salt Lake City's Federal Building.

⁵⁰ “Protesters Call for Rally, Pickets,” and “Non-violence Stressed at Rally,” *Daily Utah Chronicle*, May 6 and 7, 1970.

⁵¹ “Cambodia, Kent Elicit Varied Reactions,” *Daily Utah Chronicle*, May 7, 1970.

⁵² “U of U. Demonstration Against War Culminates in Newspaper Demands,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 6, 1970



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on the event. Jeff Fox said that “the *Chronicle* distorts and suppresses the news. We’re not going to take her (Miss Nelson) distorting the news anymore.”⁵³ Nelson and managing editor Heidi Sorensen informed the demonstrators that they would be taking the paper to a printing plant in Bountiful and would proceed to distribute the papers themselves the next day.

***Anti-Vietnam War activists
Stephen Holbrook, left, and Joe
Redburn, right.***

Failing to take control of the *Chronicle*, the SDS demonstrators organized their own paper called *USED*. “It was conceived in anger Wednesday afternoon by members and former members of the ... *Chronicle* staff who were confused about where the *Chronicle* was, what the *Chronicle* is, and why the *Chronicle* isn’t...The thinking contained herein was randomly selected from the minds of members of an open conspiracy.”⁵⁴

Amidst the growing chaos of the events at Kent State and other universities across the country, three thousand students gathered for a rally at the University of Utah’s Union Building on Wednesday, May 6. During the rally, President Fletcher read a telegram he had sent earlier that day to President Nixon requesting that he meet his (Fletcher’s) timetable for bringing the soldiers back from Vietnam. He added that “In the midst of this anguish all of us do what we can to seek a peaceful dialogue and to express our disagreements without violence. For the good of all of us, I

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ *USED*, May 8, 1970, Sillito Research Papers.

urge you to meet your announced timetable for withdrawing American forces from Cambodia.”⁵⁵ He also requested that the students act in “any lawful and legitimate way.” Later that evening, students presented President Fletcher with a list of five demands: no speaker, literature or meeting restrictions, no National Guard, city or state police on campus, and no firearms on campus. The statement was signed by forty-one faculty members.⁵⁶

The following day, May 7, 1970, approximately one thousand students, many wearing black arm bands as a symbol of mourning, attended a memorial service for the slain Kent State students. After the memorial, the students gathered at the Union Building to hear President Fletcher’s response to their previous day’s demands. He stated that it wasn’t up to him to determine campus policy, “but that basic policies affecting [the] community can be arrived at only upon the basis of the consensus of the entire community...”⁵⁷ Dissatisfied with the response, about nine hundred students then marched side-by-side to the Park Building, where they engaged in a peaceful sit-in on the second floor main lobby. Their purpose was to gain the attention needed, and to demand a favorable response to the five demands they had issued earlier to President Fletcher. During the sit-in, they listened to speeches by students and faculty and sang songs.

As the unrest continued, Dennis Gladwell, editor of the *Utah Law Review*, met with other University of Utah law students to outline actions to prevent an incident like Kent State on their campus. Because students might find their lives in danger, Governor Calvin Rampton was to be invited to come to the school and address the students to “...inform [them] under what circumstances he would order national guardsmen and live ammunition on a Utah campus.”⁵⁸

Governor Rampton responded that he would summon the Utah National Guard and other armed officials onto the campus “only if it was obvious that campus, city, and county officials could not cope with the situation...troops would not load or fire their arms without orders from a high-ranking officer.”⁵⁹ He also added that the live ammunition would not be permitted or carried unless he had reason to believe that the dissenters were armed.

The first and only issue of *USED* contained a couple of speeches and a poem from the Park Building sit-in. One of the articles “Pardon me, sir, But your foot is in my face!” written by student Nick Snow, quoted Dr. Thomas King, the university’s provost, as stating that “Universities were founded on the basis that Man could resolve, through discussion, his

⁵⁵ James C. Fletcher to President Richard M. Nixon, May 7, 1970, Fletcher Papers, Box 55, Fd 5.

⁵⁶ “Fletcher Given Five Demands; Students to Stage Park Bldg. Sit-in,” *Daily Utah Chronicle*, May 7, 1970. University of Utah Sesquicentennial Exhibition, *A Time of Tensions, 1964-1973*, J. Willard Marriott Library Special Collections, <http://www.lib.utah.edu/150/06/index.html>, (accessed July 7, 2008).

⁵⁷ “White Paper,” 14.

⁵⁸ “Non-Violence Stressed at Rally,” *Daily Utah Chronicle*, May 6, 1970.

⁵⁹ “Rampton Schedules Rap Session,” *Daily Utah Chronicle*, May 13, 1970.

greatest problems.” Snow continued, “They became islands of rational thinking. And now, these islands have been invaded... you’re afraid, as any sane person would be, of our numbers... There are three hundred of us sitting in the Park Building. The publication offices were shut down because the staffers received a visit from more than a hundred irate souls...”⁶⁰ The premise of King’s speech was to comment on how the university was supposedly student-friendly, and that events like “the first Berkeley Free Speech Movement... won’t happen here because we’ve tried to integrate student thought into University affairs.”⁶¹ H. D. Roberson, a student poet at the Park Building sit-in penned: “We break and walk. Soldiers in the rain. Some people like to chant, so we all chant, ‘On Strike, Shut it down,’ until inside the administrative fortress... Who can talk to a corpse?”⁶² Excitement filled the air in the Park Building when the students were informed that the campus police were called to remove the students from the building and would be unarmed but when they showed up with pistols on their belts, “The crowd decided that being considered dangerous was flattering, though it did remind security of its promise.”⁶³

After two hours, President Fletcher appeared and informed the students that what he stated in his letter was the best he could do.⁶⁴ “Provost King told us that we were obstructing the business of the University, thereby committing violation of Utah Senate Bill 112. Some left, some didn’t.”⁶⁵ Refusing to leave the sit-in, eighty-five people were arrested including four juveniles, twenty-five non-students, and two faculty members.⁶⁶ In *USED*, a student wrote, “Bill Wilson, who was number three in the order of arrests, told *USED* that ‘Any jail sentence that I could get would be much less than what happened to those four Kent State students. The five demands we presented to President Fletcher were not that strong, they could have easily been met or at least discussed. It doesn’t take one and a half months for his commission to read the constitution.’” Another student commented, “It’s strange when they have to start making up laws for us to violate.”⁶⁷

Students and faculty members were literally waiting to be arrested of their own free will. The campus police had blocked off the doors so that no one was allowed in the building. Some students, after waiting for four hours to be arrested, got tired and just left. One student, when asked if he would return the next day to be arrested, said, “Maybe in a few days, [sic] if I tried to go back now they wouldn’t let me in. For the past three hours students have been trying to get in to get arrested, but the police won’t let them in

⁶⁰ Nick Snow, “Pardon me, Sir, But your foot is in my face!” *USED*, May 8, 1970, Sillito Research Files.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² H.D. Roberson, “Genesis of Involvement,” *USED*, May 8, 1970, Sillito Research Files.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ “White Paper,” 14.

⁶⁵ Roberson, “Genesis of Involvement,” *USED*, Sillito Research Files.

⁶⁶ “White Paper,” 15.

⁶⁷ Eric Stahlke, “Busted Busted,” *USED*, May 8, 1970, Sillito Research Files.

the building.”⁶⁸ Lt. Dan Waters of the campus police made it very clear that the individuals were not under arrest until they were approached by an officer. It took the police a total of nine hours to arrest all of the protestors. However, when they arrived at the police station, those who had been arrested were merely detained for about an hour while they were fingerprinted and then sent away. The eighty-three students who were arrested were threatened with suspension. However, the suspension was lifted in order for the students to attend the last week of classes.⁶⁹

The discussion that followed on whether the students and faculty had actually committed any crime was a very heated one. Defense attorney Mike Heyrend stated: “No one, not even Provost King, I think, knew whether or not regulations were actually being violated.”⁷⁰ Associate Professor of Law Richard L. Young, who protested with the students in the Park Building and was one of the faculty who was arrested, wrote President Fletcher, “Mr. Van Dam [Chief Criminal Deputy Attorney for Salt Lake County] told me that he did not believe that we had violated the law, that he had not favored criminal prosecution, and that he finally was forced to file the criminal charges against us because of intense political pressures from the Governor, the Attorney General, and the University. He [Van Dam] added that if the political pressures were removed, he would dismiss the charges against us.”⁷¹ President Fletcher received a letter from Raymond S. Uno, attorney at law in Salt Lake City, in support of the demonstrations stating: “Many of us feel that peaceful protest and dissent are being jeopardized by the over-reaction of many people and particularly our public officials...To protest and dissent peacefully we feel are important to our democratic system... The right to petition is guaranteed by the constitution...”⁷²

The student voter turnout on Friday, May 8, was large with nearly ten thousand daytime students participating. The results were against a strike as 5,911 voted against the strike and 3,432 voted for the strike. On the ballot was a place for students to make comments and the majority of the comments were to “get SDS off campus,” along with the generalization that SDS was a violent organization and that they were the ones causing the problems.⁷³



**Jerry Rubin in Salt Lake City,
February 8, 1970.**

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⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ James C. Fletcher to Gary Andersen, May 15, 1970, Fletcher Papers, Box 55, Fd 1.

⁷⁰ “Suspension Lift on 83 Extended,” *Daily Utah Chronicle*, May 13, 1970.

⁷¹ Richard L. Young to James C. Fletcher, May 19, 1970, Fletcher Papers, Box 55, Fd 2.

⁷² Raymond S. Uno to James C. Fletcher, June 5, 1970, Fletcher Papers, Box 5, Fd 14.

⁷³ “White Paper,” 16–17. “U. Ballots Show Sentiment for Removing SDS,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 10, 1970.

During the tense months of struggle, the SDS did not confine its activities to the University of Utah alone. Students from Utah State University, Weber State College (now Weber State University), Brigham Young University, Westminster College, and Southern Utah State College (now Southern Utah University) also participated, along with teenagers from local high schools as well as non-students, especially in the October 1969 national moratorium.⁷⁴ While university and high school students statewide participated in the anti-war protests organized by SDS, they were only a small minority of participants.⁷⁵ Even smaller was the number of individuals who were actually members of SDS. At one meeting, it was recorded that about seventy individuals were present, and that only half of them were actually members.⁷⁶ One of the students, who actively participated in the anti-war demonstrations and supported the cause of SDS, commented that many people did not officially join fearing repercussions being involved in SDS would have on their future careers.⁷⁷

For the most part the SDS organization was better known by the public-at-large for its anti-war protests and demonstrations nationally than at the state level. However, unbeknown to leaders of SDS on campus, university officials for several years had been collecting first-hand information on their organization. This activity became known to the university SDS leaders in 1971 when they learned from the student newspaper that the university administration had infiltrated their planning meetings so as to preempt any sort of action taken by them.⁷⁸ The *Utah Chronicle*, dated February 11, 1971, reported that the Campus Police had hired a Chicano student, Dick Shaaves, to gather information about SDS activities. A week later, the administration denied an SDS charge that it had hired infiltrators, noting that "Dr. John Dixon [executive vice-president] offered this supposition: Shaaves, hoping to gain a job in police work, attended SDS meetings and gave information to campus security, unsolicited, in the hope of making good impressions. Then he made the mistake of telling law professor Dick Young what he was doing."⁷⁹ Despite these denials, existing confidential documents now available at the University of Utah archives reveal that the administration and campus security had at least one spy in the midst of SDS.⁸⁰

The Kent State protest was the high water mark for the anti-Vietnam War unrest at the University of Utah. Nevertheless, demonstrations continued in Salt Lake City. On May 15, 1971, a crowd estimated variously at two to eight thousand marched from the State Capitol down State Street

⁷⁴ Kirk Baddley, interviewed by Nicole Thompson, June 20, 2008.

⁷⁵ Wayne Leary, interviewed by Nicole Thompson, June 12, 2008.

⁷⁶ Lt. Dan Waters to Director J. Elroy Jones, October 3, 1969, Fletcher Papers, Box 43, Fd 3.

⁷⁷ Clayton A. Coppin, interviewed by Nicole Thompson, June 2, 2009.

⁷⁸ In "SDS Accuses Administration of Hiring Infiltrator," *Daily Utah Chronicle*, February 11, 1971.

⁷⁹ "Administration Denies SDS Charge," *Daily Utah Chronicle*, February 18, 1971.

⁸⁰ Lt. Dan Waters to Director J. Elroy Jones, Salt Lake City, October 6, 1969, Fletcher Papers, Box 48 Fd 4.

to Third South then West to Pioneer Park to listen to speeches by Robert Scheer, former editor of *Ramparts Magazine* and eighty-seven-year-old Jessie Greenhalgh Musser.⁸¹ Less than a year later, a crowd of two to three thousand returned to Pioneer Park on April 24th to protest the renewed bombing of North Vietnam. Six months later, the United Front to End the War sponsored a showing of Emile de Antonio's film *Milhouse* on October 16, 1972, at the Capitol Theatre, asking for a two dollar donation to help buy advertising on local radio and television stations protesting the ongoing war in Vietnam.⁸² In January 1973, as the North Vietnamese agreed to a cease-fire, the last American troops in Vietnam prepared to leave, the



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draft ended, the commitment to an all-volunteer military became a reality, and President Richard M. Nixon began his ill-fated second term in office, the United Front to End the War also made the transition from years of protest to a hesitant celebration. After being denied permission to hold an "anti-coronation ball," on January 19 in the rotunda of the State Capitol and taking legal action against state officials, the United Front agreed to a compromise: "the ball was staged, as a social event and without antiwar activities as the group earlier intended. A rock music band played and persons danced."⁸³ The next year the leaders of the SDS, the United Front Against the War, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and other protest groups were considered history. A *Salt Lake Tribune* feature article asked with the headline "Where Have the Radicals Gone?"⁸⁴

Anti-Vietnam War protesters pass by the Cathedral of the Madeleine.

⁸¹ "Peace Chants Echo S.L. March," "Anti-war march hits Salt Lake," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 16 and 17, 1971. Ethel C. Hale to Shirley Pedler, Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union, January 31, 1985, in Stephen Holbrook Collection, MS B 1660, Box 2 cd. 18, Utah State Historical Society.

⁸² "United Front to End the War," *Daily Utah Chronicle*, October 16, 1972.

⁸³ "Group Gains Capitol Use," *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 20, 1973.

⁸⁴ "Where Have the Radicals Gone?" *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 8, 1974. The article quoted Kathy Collard, a practicing attorney and one of seven former radicals mentioned, "We were trying to focus the public's attention on the war. Our main goal was to educate. We wanted the people to really know what was going on with the war. People sometimes didn't like our method, but there was no equal time for radicals."



Young anti-war protesters in Salt Lake City with a sign that reads "War Is Not The Answer Only Love Can Conquer."

business as usual and take time to voice their opposition to the war. SDS held a significant role in advocating a strike on the university campus to demonstrate against the shootings at Kent State and were key advocates in supporting freedom of speech and freedom of assembly on the university campus. SDS sponsored teach-ins on the university campus to inform the public on issues such as the history of Vietnam and the origins of the war, and sit-ins where students were able to peacefully protest the Kent State shootings, the war in Vietnam, and the way in which the university was handling student demonstrations.

Marriner Eccles, a prominent Utah businessman and one of the first opponents of the war in Vietnam, saw that the issues which Utah dealt with in recognizing the Utah chapter of SDS, anti-war rallies, sit-ins, teach-ins, and statewide issues of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly all came down to the fact that "Youth is not a matter of years; it is a quality of mind. It is energy, imagination and readiness to leave the familiar past and strike out into the unknown future. Youth is an absolutely irresistible force – and it cannot be denied. It must have confidence in and be satisfied with our leadership or the country may see turmoil such as it has not known."⁸⁵

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the anti-war movement took hold in Utah and in the United States. A series of events, precipitated by a pivotal debate which took place on the University of Utah campus, led to a strong challenge of the Vietnam War. SDS struggled to become a recognized university organization because of its nationwide reputation for violent radicalism and the opposition which Utah citizens and students voiced. Once Utah lawyers deemed it illegal to deny them recognition SDS was officially organized in 1969 and played a major role in organizing and executing anti-war demonstrations. Two of the most significant demonstrations which SDS organized were the two moratoriums on the war in October and November 1969 in which citizens across the country were asked to stop their

⁸⁵ Marriner S. Eccles, *Vietnam: Politics & Hypocrisy – A Tragedy of Errors*, Salt Lake City, Utah, July 30, 1968, Marriner S. Eccles Papers, Bx 129, Fd 1, Special Collections, University of Utah.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ancient Peoples of the Great Basin & Colorado Plateau. By Steven R. Simms.

(Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008. 383 pp. Paper, \$26.95.)

THE BACK COVER of this volume proclaims it to be a regional synthesis of Great Basin prehistoric archaeology, hinting at contents dry as the dust of Danger Cave. Long-time consumers of archaeological texts might expect another march down the old, familiar Paleoindian–Archaic–Fremont–Late Prehistoric timeline, with pages of projectile point sequences and cultural trait lists to light the way, and with verbal “snapshots in time” to provide scenic diversion.

But no dry academic tour, this. Archaeologist Steven Simms has written a smart, engaging cultural history of the Great Basin and northern Colorado Plateau – an enjoyable compilation of research, thought, and theory that covers 13,000 years and over 200,000 square miles of territory.

Simms, professor of anthropology at Utah State University, is a highly regarded Great Basin archaeologist with a long career in academia. His authoritative book fills a hole in the professional archaeological literature of North America, yet is written in a comfortable narrative style that easily carries the reader along the currents and swirling eddies of deep time and expansive space. The past he describes is peopled by complicated, reasoning human beings who engage with landscapes, fluctuating climactic conditions, and shifting communities of plants and animals in a dynamic “spiral of contexts” (14). These people explore, colonize, occupy and shape their world. They interact with their neighbors, sometimes violently. They come and go, live and die, compete, trade, intermarry, fight, usurp, influence, overlap and split and merge, and sometimes they launch themselves into entirely new cultural trajectories. This past is nuanced, human, rich and marbled with colors and textures.

Ancient Peoples sets the stage with a vignette, an imagined healing ceremony unfolding in a lakeside encampment one chilly evening in A.D. 1304. The first chapter expands into a general baseline description of Basin and Plateau foraging societies, introducing key aspects of prehistoric technology, the ways people moved across and utilized the landscape, how they earned their living, how they organized their societies, and how they may have understood their world. Chapter 2 describes the physical setting — or, more accurately, settings, since the habitats, climate, and biota of the Basin and northern Plateau have shifted (sometimes practically veered) significantly during the past thirteen millennia. Simms’s key point here is that there has been no long-term ecological “balance” of humanity in perfect harmony with nature: ancient people had constantly to adjust to “a relentlessly dynamic tyranny of circumstance” (17).

The remaining three chapters summon archaeological, biological, and environmental data from Basin and Plateau sites to explain how and why cultures evolved from a foraging focus to farming and back to foraging. Along the way, Simms banishes some still-prevalent misconceptions about the past — among them, the

notions that ancient Americans resided in a pristine wilderness, lived hand-to-mouth in a daily struggle for survival, and knocked about in a largely empty and underutilized landscape.

In organizing his work, the author avoids wielding the old PaleoIndian/Archaic/Fremont/Late Prehistoric template like a cookie-cutter to divide the past into discrete cultures and periods with beginning-and-ending dates. Rather, he allows his chapters to overlap topically, cultivating a valuable sense of cultural continuity and interconnectedness.

This well-crafted volume includes 61 figures, 15 detailed illustrations, 110 pages of notes elaborating on textual references, and 39 pages of references. Simms's organization and writing style will engage the general reader as well as archaeology students and professionals. Few "regional syntheses" are as enjoyable as this one.

LEE KREUTZER
National Park Service
Salt Lake City, Utah

Jedediah Smith: No Ordinary Mountain Man. By Barton H. Barbour. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009. xiv + 290 pp. Cloth, \$26.95.)

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

Much more than that, though, Barbour has fashioned a major reinterpretation of Smith and his significance that is much more in tune with the predominant values of our own day than Morgan's. Specifically, Barbour is much less forgiving of Smith's racism and anti-Catholicism, and much more skeptical of the imperialistic aims of his explorations (Smith certainly did not "open" the West for Indians or Mexicans). And he is much less pietistic in his evaluation of Smith's Methodist

faith, for he points out that Smith readily prevaricated and disobeyed the law as it suited his purposes in California. One of the biggest shortcomings of Morgan's book was his inability to explain Smith's driven personality, and his refusal even to attempt to do so, publishing Smith's anguished letters to his family in an appendix, yet ignoring them in his text. Although no one, perhaps, will ever completely dissect the complications of Smith's psychology, Barbour at least recognizes an obligation to try, and his speculations are generally convincing. Finally, Barbour is at great pains to put Smith's career and the entire fur trade into a larger national and international context, engaging issues of prices and profits and the diplomacy of the three-way struggle among the British, Mexican, and American empires of which the fur trade was a major conflict.

One particularly happy feature of this biography is that it utilizes a fascinating letter from Smith to Secretary of War John Eaton written on the eve of his departure on the Santa Fe journey where he would lose his life. Only discovered in the past decade and published in the *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, the letter is an appeal to Eaton to include Smith at no pay as a guide to an army party preparing to explore the Rocky Mountains. In it, Smith details his experiences and knowledge of the mountains and in effect offers Eaton the opportunity to create a new Lewis and Clark expedition. The letter demonstrates as never before Smith's love of geographic discovery and bolsters Barbour's thesis that Smith's arduous journeys were never just about beaver, and were always almost as much about science. One of the West's greatest explorers has found the right biographer.

GARY TOPPING
Salt Lake Community College

Amasa Mason Lyman, Mormon Apostle and Apostate: A Study in Dedication.

By Edward Leo Lyman. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009. xvi + 646 pp.

Cloth, \$39.95.)

AMASA M. LYMAN'S LIFE was "so intertwined with his faith that his biography is in a very real sense an individual chronicle of the history of the church" (x). Lyman was an 1832 convert to Mormonism; a trusted associate of the LDS church's founder Joseph Smith; an apostle for most of his adult life; a missionary to many places, including the eastern and southern states, California, Great Britain, and Scandinavia; the founder of San Bernardino, the most successful Mormon colony; and one of the most articulate and charismatic speakers of his day. But in 1870 he was excommunicated after years of conflict with Brigham Young, the immediate cause being the heresy of Lyman's expansive view of Christ's atonement. Lyman then joined the more liberal-minded Godbeite movement for two years and continued an interest in spiritualism until his death in 1877.

Author Leo Lyman points out that the antagonism between Amasa and Brigham Young most likely led Young to orchestrate "the process of removing a figure in some ways almost equal to himself from the pantheon of prominent church leaders who have subsequently reigned within the public consciousness as the founders of the Mormon Church" (xi). A skilled historian and dedicated biographer, Leo Lyman has made it his life's work to correct this injustice and once again place Amasa Lyman in his rightful position in the church's history. Weighing in at three pounds, this apology is Leo Lyman's magnum opus, and if it were any more magnum, it would need a dictionary stand to hold it.

This is both an important and a flawed biography. The author has described his ancestor's life moment by moment as revealed in the historical record. LDS historians familiar with nineteenth-century Mormonism might glory in these minutiae, but the more general reader is overwhelmed by the 646 pages. It is as if one is reading Leo's chronologically organized and narrated research notes. The biography that this should have been demands another step—the distillation of events and the writing of them in such a way that the highlights of Amasa's life shine forth in the most telling incidents. Reduced by two-hundred pages, the biography would do greater justice to Amasa's significant life and be more satisfying for the reader.

The book's paper and binding are of high quality. The table of contents, however, lacks a list of maps and illustrations. It was not until page 244 that I discovered a section of six maps and forty photographs on the same kind of paper as the text. I had looked for maps to understand Lyman's early missionary journeys and the location of places in Missouri and Iowa, but by the time I found them, Amasa was in San Bernardino.

In spite of its shortcomings, this biography throws new light on many episodes of Mormon history, including Zion's Camp and the Battle of Crooked River in Missouri; the life of Joseph Smith; moving to, building up, and leaving Nauvoo; early dissenters in the church; the vanguard company to Utah in 1847; Lyman's 1848-50 mission to California; his leadership in the colonization of San Bernardino; his counseling of the perpetrators of the Mountain Meadows massacre and preaching against revenge in southern Utah; the workings of polygamy; the contrast between the more open, encompassing spirit of Joseph Smith's day and the institutionalized religion under Brigham Young; the lure of spiritualism; and the development of the Godbeite movement. Leo Lyman is not afraid to address difficult subjects, including documenting events that show Brigham Young in a less than favorable light. This notable book is worth the effort to read.

POLLY AIRD
Seattle, Washington

“Liberty to the Downtrodden”: Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer.

By Matthew J. Grow. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009. xx + 348 pp.

Cloth, \$40.00.)

SERIOUS STUDENTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY have undoubtedly caught glimpses of Thomas Kane popping up now and then on the mid-nineteenth-century political stage. The typical impression is likely one of an odd duck dashing here and there armed with pen and sword determined to do good. Even the Utah historian, who has seen Kane in somewhat sharper relief, must wonder what made the man tick and how seriously he should be taken.

At last comes a biography that allows us to draw a bead on Thomas and the entire Kane family. It is an enlightening view. We now see the man within a well-developed social, political, and cultural context. From these pages Tom stands not only as a real flesh-and-blood person but also as the mythical romantic hero he always sought to be. Sketching the essence of either would be a worthy accomplishment. Creating a portrait of both is masterful. Such is this biography.

Raised in a free-thinking, affluent Philadelphia household in the 1820s and '30s, young Tom developed a tenacious and life-long hold on the culture of honor. This included a commitment to chivalry, noblesse oblige, action-oriented service, and, above all, honor and integrity. Like a medieval knight, Kane galloped from cause to cause, embracing free soil, abolitionism, women's rights, and religious liberty à la the Mormons.

Mediating an end to the Utah War in 1858 brought Kane his brightest moment in the sun. Always frail and often sick, he overcame the rigors of travel, the challenges of bad weather, and the clash of big egos to negotiate a more or less peaceful settlement. The details are spelled out better here than in any other work, although the reader might still hope for a more explicit statement of exactly how Brigham Young first viewed this busy little interloper from the east. Kane must have left him slightly bemused at first.

After a ten-year hiatus, Kane renewed his interest in Mormon affairs, including a personal visit to Utah with his wife Elizabeth in 1872-73 and active correspondence with church leaders through the remainder of that decade. Though always disdainful of polygamy, he defended the religious right to practice it and helped to moderate some of the more acerbic proposals in Congress. He also offered prescient advice on the financial management of church property and the development of an educational system. Grow sees Kane's work among the Mormons as the most lasting and historically significant of this reformer's eventful life.

Thomas Kane was blessed with good luck. Sickly all his life, he nevertheless lived nearly to age sixty-two. He survived close combat in several Civil War battles while sustaining wounds to the leg, face, and chest. He married a devoted wife who stood by him through one quixotic venture after another. He lived the life of

a romantic adventurer just as he had scripted it and earned a spot in history for it. Yet for all this, his greatest stroke of good fortune may have come more than a century after his death when Matthew Grow assumed the role of his biographer. Mining the extensive collections at BYU, the LDS church archives, and other repositories around the country, Grow has created a thorough, balanced, insightful, and eminently readable biography.

To know Kane's world is to know America's rapidly shifting antebellum party system, the undercurrents of Jacksonian politics, and the social-cultural milieu of a young nation on the move. Matthew Grow generously shares his keen understanding of these complex matters, adding additional texture and value to his study. Who can resist the temptation to buy and read? This book will add luster to any library, personal or public.

STANFORD J. LAYTON
Weber State University

Mormon Convert, Mormon Defector: A Scottish Immigrant in the American West,

1848-1861. By Polly Aird. (Norman: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2009.

320 pp. Cloth, \$39.95.)

MORMON HISTORIAN Polly Aird has produced a well-written and sympathetic biography of her Scottish-born great-great uncle. Such biographies of Mormon converts who later left the fold are rare. During the nineteenth-century John C. Bennett, John Hyde, T.B.H. Stenhouse and his wife Fanny, wrote autobiographical accounts in which they outlined why they abandoned Mormonism. More recently Edward Leo Lyman and Ronald G. Watt have written scholarly biographies of their nineteenth-century Mormon ancestors (one an apostle and the other Brigham Young's scribe) who both left Mormonism to follow a Utah brand of spiritualism. Aird's ancestor was not as well-placed in Mormon society as these other "defectors" (with the possible exception of Hyde) and her book, therefore, describes the life of a more typical frontier Mormon.

Peter McAuslin (1824-1891) was born and raised in rural Scotland (near Glasgow) where coal miners were suffering from a "declining standard of living, crowded conditions, poor sanitation, and hunger." These conditions pushed the death rate in Glasgow to new heights, and soon after Mormon missionaries arrived in Scotland in 1840 they found fertile ground because of their "fundamental beliefs" and the new hope they offered "that their priests could cure the sick" (58-59). During 1843-44 three of Peter's maternal uncles were baptized, and by 1847 some of these relatives were preparing to leave Scotland with other Mormon converts bound for Utah.

In 1848, McAuslin converted to Mormonism and after receiving a personal

vision, he was instrumental in the subsequent conversion of his parents and his siblings. From 1848 until 1854, when he left Scotland for Utah, McAuslin attended services and learned “that even American elders had failings and that God’s church on earth was not yet perfected” (84). While McAuslin was living in Glasgow, one of several moves he made during difficult economic times, he met Agnes McAuslin (perhaps a distant relative) who was also a Mormon convert. Following the departure of Peter’s parents and siblings to Utah in 1853 he made financial arrangements for his own pilgrimage across the ocean.

The following year Peter, his brother-in-law Jon Allen and his fiancée Agnes, left Scotland for Liverpool, where they joined other European Mormons, including converts from Switzerland, Italy and France. In Liverpool, McAuslin and Agnes were married by Edward Martin before the departure of the *John M. Wood*, which sailed with 393 Mormon converts (including my great-grandfather) for New Orleans. During the voyage McAuslin was chosen as one of ten branch presidents. After arriving in New Orleans the Mormon converts took a steamer to St. Louis (where they were quarantined), another steamer to Kansas City, and from there took wagons across the plains to Great Salt Lake City. Aird makes good use of archival sources, most of which are located in the LDS Archives, to describe the events which took place during the journey from Liverpool to Salt Lake City.

After arriving in Utah Territory, McAuslin was reunited with his family but he also became quickly disenchanted with his newly adopted religion. He discovered that there “was discord among the highest levels of the church hierarchy” and he began to question the prophetic calling of Brigham Young (144). Ultimately, however, the doctrine of blood atonement and “the murder of the Parrishes [who were disillusioned Mormons planning to go to California] became a major reason for Peter McAuslin’s loss of faith” (175–77). Finally in May 1859, Peter and his family sought refuge at Camp Floyd, with at least seven other Mormon families, before they left the territory under military escort and traveled to California where he became a believer in spiritualism.

Aird’s discussion of the backdrop of McAuslin’s life from his conversion to his ultimate rejection of Mormonism is beautifully written, but her speculation concerning his reactions to various events is occasionally overdone. I believe that either she or her editor could have cut such phrases as: “Peter learned from their distress and general turmoil” (84); “Their faith brought many occasions of joy” (86); and “this new life must have caused anxiety” (147); from the manuscript or provided specific evidence to support the nexus between general events and Peter’s reaction to them. Nevertheless, Aird’s description of Peter’s decision to withdraw from the church contains more of her subject’s voice and she discusses multiple perspectives concerning the Utah War.

While *Mormon Convert*, *Mormon Defector* is classified as a biography, it is as much a general history of territorial Utah after McAuslin arrived and before he left, as it is biographical. It discusses the historical events which occurred during Peter’s lifetime more than his actual experiences or memories. This is not particularly

surprising since Peter McAuslin was not part of the Mormon leadership and was, like most Mormons, a minor character. Nevertheless, his story (particularly his conversion and departure from Mormonism) is part of the overall tapestry of events in Utah Territory that included common hard working “salt of the earth” folks who are usually forgotten, ignored or marginalized. Like the ethnic history *The Peoples of Utah*, it is a part of Utah’s broader story that needs to be expanded and developed.

MICHAEL HOMER
Salt Lake City

Mass Destruction: The Men and Giant Mines That Wired America and Scarred the Planet. By Timothy J. LeCain. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009.

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

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

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

literally turning a mountain into a hole at Bingham through the use of dynamite, powered steam shovels, and mass transportation, he brought innovations together “in a way that redefined the very meaning of what constituted a ‘mine’”(131).

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

NANCY TANIGUCHI

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The River Knows Everything: Desolation Canyon and the Green.

By James M. Aton. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2009. 246 pp. Cloth, \$34.95.)

WHILE IT SEEMS HARD to believe, there are still places on the Colorado Plateau that are not well-known and not widely publicized. In his latest environmental history Dr. James M. Aton has found and thoroughly researched one such place, Desolation and Gray Canyons (called Deso-Gray by the river community) on the Green River in eastern Utah. Following up on an approach he pioneered with Robert S. McPherson in *River Flowing from the Sunrise* published by Utah State University Press in 2000, Dr. Aton focuses his attention and scholarship on

this 118-mile canyon and river ecosystem and invites us to observe with him the centuries of environmental and human history as they unfold in this wild and isolated place. The approach is encyclopedic, beginning with the geologic history of the Green River, then moving on to discuss both archaic and modern Native American settlement patterns, attempts at residence and resource extraction by Euro-Americans, and ending with its utilization by today's wilderness-based recreationists, oil and gas prospectors, and government land managers.

Dr. Aton is a consummate story-teller, and so it is in chapter 4 ("Bunchgrass and Water: Settlement, 1880 to 1950") that the narrative really comes alive. Here we are treated to stories of outlaws, such as Butch Cassidy's Wild Bunch, would-be settlers, such as Jim McPherson and the Seamount brothers, who made a genuine but ultimately futile attempt to build a life farming and ranching in this unforgiving locale, and colorful characters, such as Ben Morris, who seemed to wander into Desolation Canyon almost by accident. It is, however, the women of this narrative whose stories excite the most interest and are perhaps the most inexplicable. For example, Tora McPherson was well-educated and an accomplished musician who left the relatively civilized environs of Provo to follow her husband to near complete isolation at the Cradle M Ranch on Florence Creek, there to raise four daughters in what must have seemed the most foreign environment imaginable.

The modern Ute Indian tribe comes in for special attention in Dr. Aton's story. In the only departure from his geographically-focused narrative, he traces the history of this people from their far-flung homeland in western Colorado and eastern Utah to a reservation in the Uinta Basin, much of which was later stolen from them when interest in the new mineral gilsonite peaked. He is careful to include the perspective of the Ute Indians in both the history and the future of Desolation Canyon.

As the book points out, the Yampa-Green River system is the only major riparian complex on the Colorado Plateau to maintain some semblance of ecological integrity. (Flaming Gorge Dam upstream has had an important but not decisive impact.) However, threats to this fragile environment abound. Oil and gas development moves year-by-year closer to the canyon rims, and Colorado water interests continue to cast hungry eyes on the Yampa. Dr. Aton's preservationist sympathies are evident throughout, so it is curious that he did not include a more thorough discussion of the attempts by the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance, the Sierra Club, and the Wilderness Society to secure statutory wilderness protection for the Yampa-Deso-Gray system.

The only criticism of the book that I have is its lack of maps. Dr. Aton's descriptions are geographically very specific, but the one map of Deso-Gray in the book is much too general. During my reading I found myself often running to the topographical maps to find the location of a Coal Creek or a Three Canyon.

All in all, James Aton and the Utah State University Press have produced a sumptuous book. It is copiously illustrated throughout, and the color photography

of Dan Miller is stunning. The binding, layout, and paper quality combine to make this a premier example of the bookmaker's art. The book is a great read, a feast for the mind and a treat for the eye. It is a major contribution to Western and conservation history.

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Leonard Arrington: A Historian's Life. By Gary Topping (Norman: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2008. 251 pp. Cloth, \$39.95)

GARY TOPPING'S BOOK, *Utah Historians and the Reconstruction of Western History*, was published in 2003. In it he provided insightful analysis of five prominent "Utah" historians and their writings: Fawn Brodie, Bernard DeVoto, Juanita Brooks, Dale Morgan, and Wallace Stegner. Noticeably absent was a chapter on one of Utah's most recognized and distinguished historians: Leonard J. Arrington. Topping wanted to include such a chapter, but was unable to at the time. Later, he was asked by the publisher's editor-in-chief to do an entire biography of the historian. It need not be a lengthy book, he was told, but it should give "the same extensive consideration [he] gave to the subjects of the previous book" (8). It is fortunate for aficionados of Utah history and historiography that Topping was encouraged to write what turned out to be an even fuller, more penetrating treatment of Leonard Arrington's life, particularly as a historian, than he could have done in a book whose pages would have to be shared by several other subjects.

Concluding that "our interest in a historian . . . lies in his historical work rather than his personal life", as important as that is, Topping concentrates on Arrington's life as a historian (as the title promises), and directs attention to those elements of his life that bear directly on his work. Because he does not give equal weight to all of Arrington's works, he is selective in those he chooses to examine in what he calls this "essay in historiography, not bibliography" (8).

During his long and distinguished career, Leonard Arrington produced scores of articles, essays, and books on western, Utah, and Mormon history. His first and perhaps most notable book, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1847-1900*, was published in 1958. Topping calls this book "one of the greatest single works ever produced on Mormon history and an acknowledged classic of western historiography" and points out that it is universally acknowledged as Arrington's best and most influential book (57). However, Topping points out that, unlike *Great Basin Kingdom*, which Arrington wrote on his own, many of the books which bore his name as author, were written with considerable assistance from colleagues and others. In one of those, *From Quaker to Latter-day Saint*:

Bishop Edwin D. Woolley, which Topping rates highly, Arrington's input was minor compared to that of Rebecca Cornwall, who was hired to assist in the researching and writing of the book. Unfortunately, because of restrictions placed by the benefactor who financed the effort, Arrington was allowed to acknowledge her participation only within the book's preface. At first Topping was irritated by the almost inevitable assistance or even collaboration of co-workers in the writing of Arrington's books, but then grew to "admire and perhaps even envy" the system that encouraged it (8).

In this brief but enjoyable and informative book, Gary Topping paints a sympathetic but realistic portrait of Leonard Arrington as historian and writer. Though clearly admiring the subject of his biography, he does not shy away from pointing out some of the weaknesses of his work. It does not take long to see that, in Topping's eyes, books such as *William Spry: Man of Firmness, Governor of Utah* and *David Eccles: Pioneer Western Industrialist*, two of Arrington's works-for-hire, do not hold a candle to *Great Basin Kingdom*, *The Mormon Experience* (co-authored by Davis Bitton, who gets high praise from Topping), or even *Beet Sugar in the West: A History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891-1966* — a "fascinating and unfortunately neglected little masterpiece" (9). Even Arrington's major biography, *Brigham Young: American Moses*, receives its share of criticism. However, whether praising or critiquing, Topping is fair and balanced in his assessments in this fascinating look into Arrington's literary life.

Gary Topping's *Leonard Arrington: A Historian's Life* is an excellent companion volume to Arrington's indispensable memoir, *Adventures of a Church Historian*. Both are required reading to fully understand the remarkable legacy of the man "universally regarded as the greatest of all Mormon historians," and, we could add, one of the most influential and important Utah historians, as well (15-16).

CURT A. BENCH
Salt Lake City, Utah

Place the Headstones Where They Belong: Thomas Neibaur, WWI Soldier.

By Sherman L. Fleek. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2008. xxiv + 222 pp.

Cloth, \$29.95.)

THOMAS NEIBAUR was one of some four million Americans who served in World War I, but only one of 124 who were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. He was the first Idahoan and member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to receive the country's highest medal for valor. On October 16, 1918, Neibaur and other soldiers of the 42nd Division, the "Rainbow Division," engaged in the last great battle of the war as part of the Meuse-Argonne offensive. Their orders were to capture a round knoll, the Cote de Chatillion, approximately

three miles west of the French town of Romagne. After two companions were killed and Neibaur was wounded taking three bullets in his right leg, he single-handedly engaged some forty to fifty enemy soldiers. When a fourth bullet passed through his hip and abdomen, Neibaur continued to fight killing four of the attacking German soldiers and taking eleven others prisoner. After receiving the Congressional Medal of Honor from General John J. Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary Forces, at his headquarters in Chaumont, France, Neibaur returned to the United States. Thousands of people attended "Neibaur Day," on May 27, 1919, to welcome the hero to his Sugar City, Idaho, hometown. The speeches, bands, and celebration were likely the high point in Neibaur's life, as the next twenty-three years were full of difficulty, discouragement, frustration, and anger.

Author Sherman L Fleek has captured, in this biography, the essence of one of the many veterans of The Great War. Fleek introduces Neibaur's connection to Mormonism and Utah through his grandfather, Alexander Neibaur, a Jewish immigrant from Germany to England where he converted to Christianity, joined the Mormon faith, and immigrated to the United States in 1841. At the time of his death in Salt Lake City in 1883, Alexander Neibaur was survived by eleven of his fourteen children, including James Neibaur who married Elizabeth Jane Croft in 1881. Thomas was born on May 17, 1898, and at the age of eleven, his family moved to Sugar City.

The carefully detailed background of Thomas' life as the son of an Idaho farmer and the events leading up to his enlistment as a nineteen-year old soldier are well told. Fleek offers great detail in describing what army life was like for the ordinary soldier. He is at his best in recounting elements of the battlefield history, and the specific events resulting in Thomas Neibaur receiving the Medal of Honor. Fleek then brings the hero home and places him back in an apathetic society headed for the Great Depression.

Going to war, especially experiencing the situations in the battle scenes as described so graphically by the author, is a life-changing event: no man (or woman) is ever the same person. Fleek is indeed sympathetic in his reporting of the tragedy of the returned hero and writes in a way that makes it possible for the reader to understand the time and place in which the war veteran found himself. Life has gone on without him, his experiences are only his own, and once honored, he is expected to return to being "a citizen" without evidence of stress or injury. "Shell Shock," "Battle Fatigue," or "Post Traumatic Stress Disorder," as it is now known, was to be fleeting then ignored.

Formal recognition of valor does not feed a family, manage anger and despair, or bring happiness to a wounded veteran whose resources will not sustain life. Thomas Neibaur becomes a hero a second time in his understanding of himself. His struggles were those of many, his trials were ignored by most. There is much to be learned from *Place the Headstones Where They Belong*. Heroism is not only

found on the battlefield, but in the living of everyday life, even to the return of the Medal of Honor as a protest to the lack of care for veterans.

Sherman L. Fleek has captured the essence of Thomas Neibaur in this well documented personal account. He honors our veterans in a way that helps us better understand their trials and their heroism. Thomas Neibaur, World War I soldier, deserves to be recognized as Fleek has honored him.

SU RICHARDS
Fort Douglas Military Museum

Post-Manifesto Polygamy: The 1899-1904 Correspondence of Helen,

Owen & Avery Woodruff. Edited by Lu Ann Taylor Snyder and Phillip A.

Snyder. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2009. xiv + 196 pp. Cloth, \$34.95.)

THIS, THE ELEVENTH VOLUME of the Life Writings of Frontier Women series from Utah State University Press, had its origin in a seminar on personal writings which Lu Ann Taylor took from Maureen Ursenbach Beecher at Brigham Young University more than a decade ago. When Lu Ann's death from cancer in 2000 left the manuscript near completion, her husband Phillip, a professor of English at Brigham Young University, sought to bring finality to the project through the helpful persuasions and assistance of Beecher and other colleagues.

The Snyders here offer a rich collection of personal correspondence between LDS church apostle Abraham Owen Woodruff (more commonly referred to in the text as Owen) and his two wives, Helen May Winters (married 1897) and Eliza Avery Clark (married 1901, and referred to more commonly as Avery in the text). This correspondence provides a window into the "immediate and relatively unmediated" dynamics of Mormon polygamy begun after the issuance of the 1890 Manifesto, which relationships, by that time, not only had to be kept secret from the public at large, but from the majority of fellow Latter-day Saints(3). The editors' introduction highlights some of the letters' dominant themes such as discouragement, loneliness, and self doubt.—important themes if not necessarily unique to the post-Manifesto iteration of the practice—and provides a useful springboard for further analysis. Additionally, this volume represents the most substantive biographical treatment of this lesser-known apostle to date.

Though the Snyders have done an admirable job of contextualizing and faithfully reproducing the text of the letters and providing helpful identifications in the endnotes of the people and events therein, I found the supporting research uneven. In at least two places the book refers to the excommunication of Matthias Cowley, apparently leaning on Avery

Woodruff's 1950s autobiographical reminiscence. Avery wrote that Cowley and John W. Taylor were excommunicated around the time of the so-called "Second Manifesto" in 1904. Avery apparently confused the departure of Apostles Taylor and Cowley from the Quorum of Twelve Apostles in 1905 with disciplinary action which occurred in 1911 and saw Taylor excommunicated but not Cowley. Furthermore, Cowley's entry in the biographical appendix states that Cowley left the LDS church in 1905, which is incorrect.

Another instance illustrates the Snyder's overreliance on Avery's reminiscence. Avery wrote that according to Owen's journal, in a council meeting in 1904, Owen sustained the Second Manifesto "contrary to his personal feelings" (123). Taking her reminiscence at face value, the Snyders state in one place that Owen's 1904 journal is "unavailable to scholars," and in another place "this section of Owen's journal is not included in BYU's Special Collections" (172, note 86 and 185, note 27). Thus, "Avery's comments on this issue cannot be verified." There is a simpler explanation, however, than a missing journal. On January 11, 1900, in a closed council meeting, Owen reported that President Lorenzo Snow "gave a speach [sic] in absolute discouragement of the practice [of polygamy] anywhere." Owen recorded that he "felt forced" to sustain the President's words despite his personal feelings on the matter (see Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage*, 372). Avery likely misremembered the timing and some of the circumstances of the incident while retaining the essence of the entry. However, by failing to at least provide for this possibility, the editors have potentially caused unnecessary confusion and questions about a purportedly lost or sequestered 1904 Woodruff journal.

In addition, though Snyder provides excerpts from the diary of Mexican missionary Alonzo L. Taylor that document Helen's final days, he omits reference to other Mexican missionary diaries, which shed similar light on Owen's final days and which would have rounded out this portion of the historical sketch.

These and similar issues should give researchers pause before relying too heavily on this text as an interpretive or technical resource for Mormon polygamy. Researchers would be better served in these general points by consulting Carmon Hardy's excellent works, *Solemn Covenant* or *Doing the Works of Abraham*. However, these issues notwithstanding, *Post-Manifesto Polygamy* will prove a valuable documentary contribution to the ever expanding historiography of Mormon polygamy.

JARED TAMEZ
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Spanish Mustangs in the Great American West: Return of the Horse.

By John S. Hockensmith. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009. 271 pp. Cloth, \$49.95.)

JOHN S. HOCKENSMITH is obviously a great admirer of the Spanish mustang. As he states in the beginning of his book: "Perhaps these horses of the expansive West, descendants of the hardy equine souls who endured the harshness of rough seas and untamed wilderness as they enabled their Spanish masters to colonize the New World, are truly the great American metaphor: running free, galloping headlong into stiff winds on the open plains, living under no laws but those governed by nature" (xi).

The author tells the story of the horse on the American continent, from its beginnings as a nine inch tall herbivore during the Eocene epoch forty-five to sixty million years ago, to their disappearance during an ice age ten thousand years ago, to their reintroduction by the Spaniards starting with Columbus' second voyage, to the herds of wild horses roaming freely over the plains, mountains and deserts when many were acquired by Native Americans, and then to their virtual disappearance as they were killed or captured, and the remaining herds interbred with modern horses introduced by ranchers and other settlers. Today the Spanish mustang exists only in small bands protected by enthusiasts.

The first horses came on the second voyage of Columbus in 1493. As more ships prepared to sail, a law was enacted to require at least twelve horses on each ship and they had to include some broodmares. The horses came first to the islands of the Caribbean and then on to the mainland. In the veins of these horses pumped the blood of the Arabian Desert horses combined with the North African Barbs and fused with the Iberian Peninsula horses such as Andalusians, Jennets, Sorraias, and perhaps Galician ponies first introduced by the Celts and Romans.

The Coronado expedition in 1540 brought a thousand horses and mules north from Mexico into the American Southwest. These horses traveled from as far west as the South Rim of the Grand Canyon to as far east as Kansas. Only half of the men survived the journey and historians have surmised that many of the expedition's horses could have escaped and produced mestenos or mustangs.

In 1598 Don Juan de Onate led two hundred soldiers and families north into New Mexico. During a thirty day period, Onate lost three hundred of his one thousand horses due to his inability to keep the horses from running off to join with the numerous bands of wild horses in the area. From that time on the wild horse herds increased in size as more Spanish horses escaped to live in the wild.

The Apaches may have been the first tribe to acquire horses. Franciscan Fria Alonso de Benavides wrote about a contact with a Gila Apache war party in 1623 whose chief was mounted on a horse. By 1659 the Navajo had horses. The Utes began trading with the Spaniards and acquiring horses as early as 1630. After the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and certainly by 1710, the Utes were fully mounted and vying for larger numbers of horses.

In 1680 the Tewa, Picuris, and Taos pueblo Indians rebelled and many Spanish were killed. The remaining settlers of New Mexico retreated to El Paso abandoning more than three thousand horses. The overabundance of horses acquired by the Pueblo Indians was traded to other tribes. After the Pueblo Revolt, the Comanches obtained massive herds and were quickly transformed into America's predominant Indian horse culture. The Indians obtained horses by stealing them from the Spanish, and by trading or stealing from other tribes. By 1750 the western Indians had become horse people.

Hockensmith details how the horse culture developed for the various tribes on the Plains, in the Great Basin, and on the West Coast. For about a hundred years the horse Indians reigned supreme. From the Comanches and Kowa on the southern plains, to the Apaches and Navajo in the southwest deserts, to the Sioux, the Cheyenne, and the Arapaho on the northern plains, the Utes in the mountains, and Shoshone, the Blackfoot, and the Crow in the northern mountains, and the Nez Perce and the Cayuse in the far west.

With the opening of the Oregon Trail, the California gold rush, and the passage of the 1862 Homestead Act, the west began to fill up with settlers and conflicts with the Indians increased. By the late 1860s and 1870s bison herds were depleted and replaced with longhorn cattle, the Indians were forcibly removed to reservations and their large horse herds were destroyed or dispersed. This brought an influx of American, English, and European bred horses with bloodlines that would begin to leave their genetic mark on the mustang.

By the end of the nineteenth-century there were few horses remaining who carried the undiluted blood of their Spanish ancestors. There were, however, a few hiding in isolated canyons and grazing on the reservations. There were, and are, a few dedicated individuals who wanted to preserve the Spanish mustang. Most of the last half of the book illustrates this effort. This is a coffee table sized book with a fascinating and important story to tell, illustrated with beautiful pictures of the fabled Spanish mustang.

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

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