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IN THIS ISSUE



It could be argued that the four most important presidential elections of the nineteenth century were the 1800 election of Thomas Jefferson that brought the Revolution of 1800 and its transfer of authority from the Federalists to the Jeffersonian Republicans; the 1828 Election of Andrew Jackson that ushered in the era of Jacksonian Democracy and the “Common Man;” the 1860 election of Abraham Lincoln that brought the Southern Secession and Civil War; and its precursor the election of 1856 that witnessed the birth of the Republican Party, the deepening conflict over slavery, and raised again the question of federal authority versus local rights and prerogatives. The platforms were clear. For Democrats the idea of popular sovereignty was the solution for the slavery question. Territories, not the federal government, would have the right to allow or not allow slavery. For the newly created Republican Party, the ultimate goal was to abolish not only slavery, but its twin relic of barbarism—polygamy. Mormon Utah favored the Democratic platform. The Territory had been created as part of the Compromise of 1850 which gave both Utah and New Mexico the choice about slavery under the canons of popular sovereignty. Furthermore the Democratic platform directed that territories could make decisions about all their “domestic institutions.” Was polygamy a “domestic institution” exempt from federal interference under the popular sovereignty idea? Our first article in this issue analyzes the question with interesting and surprising insights.

COVER: *Students and teachers in front of the Molen, Emery County School.*

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

IN THIS ISSUE: *A children's playhouse in the Forest School, 900 East 1200 South, in Salt Lake City.* UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

A fundamental element in our public education system is the kindergarten, an institution that developed first in Europe and came to the United States in the 1860s. Kindergartens are part of a public school system that now includes elementary schools, junior high/middle schools, and high schools. Utah's kindergarten movement began in 1880 as part of the education initiative carried out by the Presbyterian Church. In a short time other churches, including the LDS church, established kindergartens. As church-sponsored kindergartens developed, so did the prospect of making kindergartens a part of the territorial public school program. The effort was led by teachers and other professional educators. Success came in 1895 with legislation permitting children age four to six to attend public kindergartens with the cost paid by local school districts. In 1904 the Salt Lake City Board of Education established a public kindergarten program. A half century later, in 1953, state funds became available to local school districts for kindergartens. The story of this struggle and the women who made public kindergartens a reality in Utah is the subject of our second article in this issue.

In the pantheon of Utah's most famous twentieth century architects, Taylor A. Woolley occupies an important position for promoting the Prairie Style of Frank Lloyd Wright in the state and ushering in a dramatic change in the state's built landscape in the early twentieth century as the Prairie Style and its compatible bungalow-type houses replaced the pioneer and Victorian styles of the nineteenth century. Woolley began working for Frank Lloyd Wright in 1909 as a draftsman and continued his association with the famous architect after Woolley returned to Salt Lake City.

The unwarranted shooting death of twenty children and six adults at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut on December 14, 2012, is the most recent in a heartbreaking list of tragedies and accidents that have befallen the United States. Utahns were drawn even closer to the event with the news that one of the victims, six-year-old Emily Parker, a native of Ogden would be returned to Utah for a memorial service and burial. Seventy-four years earlier another December tragedy near Riverton in the South end of the Salt Lake Valley brought national attention to Utah when twenty-three students and their twenty-nine-year-old bus driver were killed when the school bus in which they were riding was hit by a north bound Denver and Rio Grande Western train at Burgon's Crossing. Fifteen students survived the horrific accident, although seven suffered severe injuries in what was, to that time, the most deadly bus-train accident in American history. Our fourth article in this issue recounts the event and ensuing reforms that were instituted to better safeguard the public.

Our final article for this issue recalls the life of one of Utah's early twentieth-century local newspaper men, community promoter, and history enthusiast. Frank Asahel Beckwith arrived in Delta in 1913 and until his death in 1951 at the age of seventy-four published the *Millard County Chronicle*. He was, in addition to being one of Utah's most respected and best-known newspapermen, "...an author, inventor, geologist, anthropologist, explorer, and, above all else, the epitome of an eternal scholar." More than sixty years after his death, Delta, Millard County, and Utah continue to benefit from his legacy.



Buchanan, Popular Sovereignty, and the Mormons: The Election of 1856

BY RONALD W. WALKER

During the last week of February 1857, with clouds dark and lowering, the citizens of Lancaster, Pennsylvania turned out to say goodbye to their favorite son, James Buchanan, who was on his way to become the fifteenth president of the United States.¹ Buchanan had been elected after a tumultuous contest, which had more than its share of moral and political theater.² Buchanan had won on a platform of “popular

The Musical Fund Hall in Philadelphia where the Republican Party met in 1856 to nominate John C. Fremont as its presidential candidate and adopt a platform calling for the abolition of the “twin relics of barbarism” —slavery and polygamy.

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¹ George Ticknor Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan: Fifteenth President of the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1883), 2:187; Philip Shriver Klein, *President James Buchanan: A Biography* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962), 270–71.

² Kenneth M. Stampp, *America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 31.

sovereignty,” which promised American territories the right to make decisions about their “domestic institutions.” Before the election was over, however, politicians also raised a side issue: Did popular sovereignty apply to the Mormons in distant Utah? And what should be done with these peculiar people? While these questions may have not have influenced many ballots, they were important to Utah. They set the stage for the Utah War by increasing the public’s hostility to the Mormon people. They also revealed the hopes of the Saints, who, contrary to some historians, wanted local decision-making, not political independence. It is a story that historians have largely left untold.³

As Buchanan’s carriage made its way to the railroad station, the crowd cheered wildly, which brought the president-elect to protest: It was not right, he modestly said, for a mortal man to receive such homage.⁴ This was exactly the kind of heavy comment that people came to expect of Buchanan, whose self-importance reflected the general belief that he was one of the best prepared politicians to gain the White House. He was hoping that his administration might equal or exceed Washington’s, he told close advisors, and certainly the times required a great man.⁵ The nation seemed overtaken by political violence and low political practices. Everyone was talking about the slave question. Could the Union endure?

Buchanan had been at the political game longer than most could remember. Early in his career, he had served in the Pennsylvania legislature and then four terms in the House as a member of the Federalist party, before joining the Democrats and supporting Andrew Jackson’s bid for the presidency in 1828. The move put Buchanan in the political mainstream, just as the Democratic Party was beginning its thirty-year ascendancy. Jackson, who some said really did not like Buchanan, put aside his distaste to appoint him to the legation at St. Petersburg in Russia. During this tour Buchanan found himself in his natural element. He learned fine wines and cigars. He also learned that he could hold his own with some of the best diplomats in Europe.⁶

³ The classic study for the politics of 1856 and the Mormon question is Richard D. Poll, “The Mormon Question, 1850-1865: A Study of Politics and Public Opinion,” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1948), which served as the basis for Poll’s, “The Mormon Question Enters National Politics, 1850-1856,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 25 (1957): 117-31. Poll’s main interest was how the Mormon question affected national politics—and not how the election shaped Utah. Nor did Poll have available to him many national newspapers and several important sources now available at the Church History Library of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City. Subsequent studies of the Utah War, more by omission than by argument, have also downplayed the election’s impact. See Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850-59* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1960) and William P. MacKinnon, *At Sword’s Point, Part I: A Documentary History of the Utah War to 1858* (Norman: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2008), 56. David L. Bigler and Will Bagley, *The Mormon Rebellion: America’s First Civil War, 1857-1858* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2011) also minimized the election, while suggesting that the Utah Saints sought political or national independence.

⁴ Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan*, vol. 2, 187; Klein, *President James Buchanan*, 270.

⁵ Klein, *President James Buchanan*, xvii.

⁶ Philip Gerald Auchampaugh, *James Buchanan and His Cabinet on the Eve of Secession* (Lancaster, PA: Lancaster Press, 1926), 10; Klein, *President James Buchanan*, 73-8, 96.

When Buchanan returned home, Pennsylvania chose him as one of its senators. He served for the next decade. Although hard-working and devoted to his political party and generally well respected, he never escaped the shadows. He was unable or unwilling to attach his name to any important piece of legislation—never becoming the center of interest or debate. He liked instead to work behind the scenes, perhaps in small groups or at one of his famous dinner parties, where he was at his best. He never hazarded himself too far on any issue, gaining the sobriquet, “Friend of the Obvious.”⁷

Buchanan was a perpetual candidate for the U.S. presidency, in 1844, 1848, and 1852, usually by coyly staying above the fray and “reluctantly” making himself available. One observer remarked, “Never did a wily politician more industriously plot and plan to secure a nomination than Mr. Buchanan did, in his still hunt for the Presidency.”⁸ Compensations came along the way. James K. Polk made him his secretary of state and eight years later, Franklin Pierce, another man who beat him out for the presidency, offered him a seat on the Supreme Court (which Buchanan turned down) before appointing him minister plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James in London.

Buchanan was in London when the campaign of 1856 began. He had an unusual credential. By “freak fate,” he had always been out of Congress during the great debates over the extension of slavery and therefore carried no heavy sectional baggage. As a result, his supporters argued he could unite the Democratic party and finally carry the election. He remained properly modest. “I know. . . that you would consider me in a state of mental delusion if I were to say how indifferent I feel in regard to myself on the question of the next Presidency,” Buchanan wrote to a possible supporter. However, the next breath kept the door open. The next presidential term, he gravely warned, would likely be “the most important and responsible of any which has occurred since the origin of the Government,” which meant that “no competent and patriotic man” could shrink from such a duty.⁹ He was waiting in the wings.

One of Buchanan’s rivals for the Democratic Party’s nomination was the “Little Giant”—Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. Aware that economic and political power were shifting to the North, Douglas and other party leaders wanted to get the slave question out of Congress where southern representatives were fighting a rearguard action for their “rights.” Douglas’s plan for sectional peace was to let the people in the territories decide on slavery for themselves. He called his proposal “popular sovereignty,”

⁷ Klein, *President James Buchanan*, 142.

⁸ Ben Perley Poole as cited in Klein, *President James Buchanan*, 194.

⁹ James Buchanan to William L. Marcy, February 15, 1856, in John Bassett Moore, comp. and ed., *The Works of James Buchanan, Comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence*, 12 vols. (New York: Antiquarian Press Ltd., 1960), 10:49.

or sometimes “popular democracy” or “squatter democracy.”

These phrases were not new. They had been around at least since the 1600s when the English Puritans used them against the Stuart kings. The American colonists had used them, too, when fighting the crown-appointed officers before and during the American revolution.¹⁰ The idea of popular sovereignty lay at the root of the famed Northwest Ordinance of 1787 when America promised self-government and eventual statehood to the settlers living in the western lands of the new republic. But the Ordinance, despite its good intentions, posed problems. It required a step-by-step process that might require many years to complete, during which time, according to one historian, “the rights of self-government that most white males elsewhere took for granted,” including the right to elect leaders and make local laws, were withheld.¹¹ During this awkward stage, territorial governments were “colonial” in the sense that outsiders were generally appointed by a distant central government to hold local executive and judicial offices. Self-government was postponed.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

James Buchanan, elected president of the United States in 1856.

Douglas wanted to end this situation while at the same time he was making a series of political calculations. With people in the territories exercising their “popular sovereignty” to decide the slave question for themselves, he hoped to temper the South’s rising spirit of secession and bring peace to the nation. Along the way, the South might pick up a few new states friendly to its cause. Of course, personal ambition was a factor, too. If his policies were a success, he might be that much closer to taking up quarters at the Executive Mansion. His first step was some language he inserted into the omnibus Compromise of 1850. Four years later he got the Nebraska-Kansas Act through Congress, which promised these territories the right to decide whether slavery should exist within their boundaries.

When the Democratic Party met for its national convention in Cincinnati during the summer of 1856, delegates made “popular sovereignty” the centerpiece of their platform. They then turned to selecting a nominee. The leading candidates were incumbent president Franklin Pierce, Stephen Douglas, and James Buchanan. On the sixteenth ballot, the convention

¹⁰ Julianne L. Wood, “Popular Sovereignty,” in *Dictionary of American History*, 415–16, ed. Stanley I. Kutler, et. al., vol. 6 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons and Thomson Gale, 2003).

¹¹ Richard White, *It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 155.



**John C. Frémont, Republican
candidate for the presidency in
1856.**

finally went for Buchanan, who accepted by writing a formal letter filled with the diplomatic phrases for which he was famous. The Kansas-Nebraska Act “does no more than give the force of law to this elementary principle of self-government,” Buchanan told the delegates. At stake was neither slavery nor anti-slavery, but democracy, Buchanan said, who insisted that the position was the political

high road. “How vain and illusory would any other principle prove in practice in regard to the Territories,” he wrote.”¹² Buchanan probably went further than he wished. When the Kansas-Nebraska Act passed Congress two years earlier, he had silently wrung his hands with indecision and foreboding from the safe distance of London. But now party unity required him to agree. He was also setting aside his well-known antipathy for Douglas, which was fully reciprocated (when Buchanan was Secretary of State, Douglas had turned down one Buchanan dinner invitation after another).

Buchanan’s letter to the convention also had a few words to say about religion. “No party founded on religious or political intolerance towards one class of American citizens, whether born in our own or in a foreign land, can long continue to exist in this country,” he said, probably with an eye to putting down the anti-Catholicism in the country. “We are all equal before God and the Constitution and the spirit of despotism and bigotry which would create odious distinction among our fellow-citizens will be speedily rebuked by a free and enlightened public opinion.” These words came from a man who some said was among the most religious ever to be elected to the presidency. Although he put off a formal declaration of an institutional faith, he had been raised under the stern demands of his Scotch-Irish forebears, and he regularly attended services and paid his pew fees. A further measure of his feeling, he tried to find time each day to read

¹² James Buchanan to the Committee of Notification, June 16, 1856, Moore, *The Works of James Buchanan*, 10:81-5.

from the Bible or from one of the popular scriptural homilies of the time, and he prayed as often. He looked for God's hand in human events.¹³ He closed his letter with a summary of his religion, sense of providence, and U.S. Constitutionalism, which had been the anchors of his life. "Let us humbly implore His continued blessings," he wrote, and pray "He may avert from us the punishment we justly deserve for being discontented and ungrateful while enjoying privileges above all nations, under such a constitution and such a Union as has never been vouchsafed to any other people."¹⁴

Buchanan and the Democratic Party had two opponents during the election. The American Party fielded Millard Fillmore, an upstate New Yorker and former U.S. President, who during his career had shown surprising kindness to the Mormons. First he had appointed Brigham Young, the Mormon leader, to be governor of the newly created Utah Territory in 1850. He then retained Young during the "Runaway Controversy" a year later, when territorial officers in Utah left their posts and clamored for a new governor and the dispatch of U.S. troops to the western territory. The American Party hoped to steer a middle course in the politics of the time, and it hoped to capture the votes of old-line Whigs, whose party had collapsed before the sectional crisis. Unfortunately, the American Party also had a mean streak about it. Many of its members opposed Masons, Catholics, and the new immigrants who were flooding the nation and threatening "traditional" values. Buchanan's words about religion were meant to strike a blow against the American Party's intolerance and nativism and to win as many Irish-Catholic votes as possible.

The Republicans also opposed the Democrats. These men were members of a new party, only a couple of years old, that stood for a liberal policy of dispensing western lands to homesteaders, a national program of public works such as a transcontinental railroad, and the regulating of commerce from Washington. Above all else, it wanted an end to the compromises over the possible extension of slavery—the party believed that "popular sovereignty" was a dodge to avoid making hard, moral decisions. For their presidential candidate, the party overlooked some of its most able and seasoned leaders, such as New York Senator William H. Seward or Ohio's Salmon P. Chase, in favor of "Pathfinder" John C. Frémont, famous for four explorations of the American West as well as for his impulsive, insubordinate dash. In sum, the Republicans declared themselves alliteratively to favor "Free Soil, Free Men, and Frémont."

Events in Kansas Territory were a backdrop to the election. Shortly after Congress declared itself in favor of letting territories decide for themselves about slavery, pro-slavery Missourians crossed the Kansas border to elect candidates of their choosing. Northerners responded with young men from

¹³ Auchampaugh, *James Buchanan and His Cabinet*, 159–60, 198.

¹⁴ James Buchanan to the Committee of Notification, June 16, 1856, Moore, *The Works of James Buchanan*, 10:81–5.

the Midwest and New England, who entered Kansas to cast opposing ballots. Soon Kansas had rival legislatures, rival governors, and rival capitals—and a rising tide of violence that mocked the ideals of democracy and fair play. After seven hundred pro-slavers took the abolitionist stronghold of Lawrence, Kansas, and burned its “Free State Hotel” and broke up two newspapers, Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner furiously denounced the “Crime Against Kansas” on the floor of the upper chamber. Sumner’s violence with words was met with actual physical violence: Preston Brooks, a South Carolina congressman, beat Sumner with a heavy cane while Sumner sat at his desk in the Senate chamber, inflicting injuries from which Sumner never fully recovered. Two days later the half-crazed abolitionist, John Brown, along with a small band of like-minded men, butchered five pro-slavery men in Kansas. Brown split open the head of one man and chopped his arms from his body.¹⁵ In a wild response, four hundred Missourian “Border Ruffians” leveled the town of Osawatimie, Kansas, and killed one of Brown’s sons. As the election of 1856 approached, the cycles of voting fraud, property damage, and killing were transforming the territory into what Horace Greeley and the *New York Tribune* called “Bleeding Kansas.”¹⁶

All these issues and events were prologue to the “Mormon issue.” Most Americans knew at least something about the Mormons, whose church had been established in 1830 in upstate New York and had taken the formal name of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Americans generally knew, too, strife seemed to go hand-in-hand with these people. They had been driven from New York to Ohio and then to Missouri, Illinois, and most recently to Utah Territory. Buchanan had more than a nodding acquaintance with them. In 1839 he had met with President Van Buren and Joseph Smith, the Mormon founding prophet, when Smith came to Washington to ask for help after his people had been forced to leave Missouri. Buchanan was Secretary of State when the government enrolled five hundred Mormons to serve in the Mexican War. He had also donated to the national relief campaign to aid the Mormon refugees strung across the plains of Iowa during their “exodus” to Utah.¹⁷

The Mormons continued to make news once they settled in Utah. The “Runaways” created headlines with their claims that Young was disloyal and was a polygamist. In 1852 the Mormons officially admitted their plural marriage. The following year Indians in central Utah killed U.S. Army

¹⁵ Affidavits of Mahala Doyle and John Doyle in testimony attached to minority report, “Howard Committee,” as cited in Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858*, 4 vols. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), 4:43.

¹⁶ Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2004); Thomas Goodrich, *War to the Knife: Bleeding Kansas, 1854-1861* (Mechanicsburg, PA., Stackpole Books, 1998).

¹⁷ Davis Bitton, “American Philanthropy and Mormon Refugees, 1846-1849,” *Journal of Mormon History* 7 (1980), 69.

Captain John Gunnison, along with a half dozen of Gunnison's men. Although the Indians had attacked the troopers for the killing of one of their leaders by emigrants a few weeks before, many easterners put the blame on the Mormons.¹⁸ Some non-Mormons in Utah, whom Utahns called "Gentiles," agreed, and they said the Mormons were trying to turn the Indians against the nation.

It is not clear what motivated the anti-Mormons. Some were put off by Young, others by nothing more than an anti-Mormon scorn. Still others were unscrupulous opportunists, who hoped for government contracts if power shifted away from the local people.¹⁹ Some opposition reflected the delicate insecurities of Americans themselves.²⁰ On the other hand, some argued on grounds of principle and vision. They believed that the Mormons, with their polygamy and theocracy, did not fit into the usual American mold—Utah seemed too seventeenth-century Puritan, too odd and anxious, and too millenarian. These men, in and outside of Utah, believed the nation had to bring the saints under control.

By the beginning of 1856, Utah's delegate to Congress, John M. Bernhisel, knew that the opposition to his people was strong and growing. Bernhisel, an unassuming and temperate man, was everything that the supposedly fanatical Mormons were not. He had been trained as a medical doctor at the University of Pennsylvania and once served as Joseph Smith's physician and attaché. He had another advantage: He was a one-wife man and a reluctant one at that—he had waited until the age of forty-six to marry. His quiet diplomacy had won many friends in Washington, and when necessary he could speak his mind to President Young, although always in his quiet and well-spoken way.

Bernhisel began the year with a public letter to the *Washington Union*, the Democrats' party newspaper. A simple visit to Utah's "longitudes," Bernhisel said, would quickly dispel any idea that the Mormons were disloyal. Nor was there truth about Young's publicized statement that he intended to remain as Utah's governor, whatever the costs. Bernhisel said Young had merely expressed his "devout submission to the Providence which rules all created things" (Young's belief in providence at least equaled Buchanan's). Finally, he denied rumors that Utah had thirty thousand under arms (another report Bernhisel cited said seven thousand "disciplined" troops), although the territory, like most American communities, had a

¹⁸ David Henry Miller, "The Impact of the Gunnison Massacre on Mormon Federal Relations: Colonel Edward Jenner Steptoe's Command in Utah Territory, 1854-55" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1968); Ronald W. Walker, "President Young Writes Jefferson Davis about the Gunnison Massacre Affair," *Brigham Young University Studies* 35 (1995) 146-70.

¹⁹ Thomas G. Alexander, "Conflict and Fraud: Utah Public Land Surveys in the 1850s, the Subsequent Investigation, and Problems with the Land Disposal System," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 80 (Spring 2012): 108-131.

²⁰ J. Spencer Fluhman, *"A Peculiar People": Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

²¹ *Washington Union*, January 4, 1856.

militia to keep order. Bernhisel was trying to put out fires, and his various denials were a catalog about what was being said about the Mormons.²¹

Bernhisel's private letters to Young were also full of foreboding. Congress would never reconfirm Young as governor as things stood, Bernhisel told the Mormon leader. The best that could be done was to let the matter slide, which effectively would allow Young to stay in office into the indefinite future. Meanwhile, Bernhisel told Young to expect no favors from Congress, like the building of a new road from Great Salt Lake City to Fort Bridger or paying off some of the costs of a recent "Walker" Indian war. He also warned that Utah's new attempt to secure statehood was doomed from the start. "The bitter and cruel prejudice against us as a people is such, ostensibly on account of the plurality doctrine, but the true cause probably lies much deeper."²² Bernhisel was speaking of the prejudice that he was meeting on every side.

The question of statehood also raised the explosive issue of whether "popular sovereignty" applied to Utah.²³ What was good for the Democrats' goose (the extension of slavery) might equally serve the Mormon gander (polygamy), Republicans were sure to say. For Americans unwilling to accept Utah's unusual marriage system, Utah statehood showed just how pernicious the constitutional doctrine of "popular sovereignty" might be.

Popular sovereignty and polygamy had been linked before. Shortly after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, newspapers opposed to Douglas in Illinois had suggested that the senator had a hidden purpose. Douglas, who had forged friendly or at least political ties with the Mormons while they were his constituents, had used the phrase *domestic institutions* when writing the Kansas-Nebraska Act. What *institutions* did Douglas have in mind besides slavery, it was asked? Could he also be talking about polygamy? The prominent, early twentieth-century historian-politician, Albert J. Beveridge, reviewing the political back-and-forth in Illinois in the middle 1850s, put polygamy at the head of a list of secondary issues facing Douglas in the state's political wars, after the extension of slavery itself.²⁴

Nor had the linkage passed the notice of Senator Sumner, who saw the political and moral advantage of putting polygamy and popular sovereignty side-by-side. "I presume no person could contend that a polygamous husband, resident in one of the States, would be entitled to enter the national Territory with his harem—his property if you please—and there claim immunity," Sumner had protested when the Kansas-Nebraska Law was being debated in the nation. "Clearly, when he [the polygamist] passes

²² Bernhisel to Brigham Young, January 17, 1856 and March 18, 1856, Church History Library. Last citation has the quotation.

²³ *New York Times*, March 19 and June 3, 1856.

²⁴ Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858*, 4 vols. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), 3:236-7.

the bounds of that local jurisdiction which sanctions polygamy, the peculiar domestic relation would cease; and it is precisely the same with Slavery.”²⁵

Historian Richard Poll found the similar tie after Franklin Pierce in 1853 recommended that the federal lands in Utah and New Mexico territories be surveyed and made available to settlers.²⁶ The House Committee on Public Lands reported a bill that proposed “that the benefits of this act shall not extend to any person who shall now, or at any time hereafter, be the husband of more than one wife.”²⁷ The proposed bill set off a warm debate over the constitutionality of federal authority and local decision-making, and to avoid the dangerous issue Congress finally removed from the legislation any provision about ownership and instead simply appointed a surveyor-general for Utah to measure metes and bounds. For the next fifteen years, Utahns would bristle over their inability to secure legal title to their lands, claiming their religion was being used as an excuse to deny them the land rights extended elsewhere. The privileges of the federal domain were not given Utah until 1869.²⁸

The issue of polygamy and popular sovereignty would not go away. The *St. Louis Republican* looked at the constitution Utahns were proposing and saw conspiracy. “The plan of crimes, mutually tolerating each other, seems to be spreading shameless iniquities, seeking the possession of new territories,” the newspaper opined. Slavery and polygamy were trying to “jointly possess the land.” The *Republican*’s comments came despite the proposed Utah constitution saying nothing about either slavery or polygamy—Utahns hoped that silence might increase the chances of their bid. The editorial reached even upstate New York where the celebrated *Frederick Douglass’s Paper*, the organ of the former slave and now a crusading abolitionist, put it into its pages.²⁹

It was probably inevitable that the polygamy issue would find its way into the Republican Party’s platform in 1856, given the strong views being bandied about. The party met in Philadelphia in the middle of June, two weeks after Democrats had selected Buchanan and popular sovereignty. Californian John A. Willis was given the task of writing the first draft of the plank on federal authority in the territories, and he decided to join slavery and polygamy together, “to make war upon polygamy, and at the same time strengthen the case against slavery,” he later said. “Polygamy was already odious in the public mind and a growing evil,” and both “social institutions [slavery and polygamy] rested precisely on the same constitutional basis,”

²⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, appendix, 268.

²⁶ Poll, “The Mormon Question, 1850–1865,” 30–34.

²⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, 1092.

²⁸ Lawrence L. Linford, “Establishing and Maintaining Land Ownership in Utah Prior to 1869,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Spring 1974): 126–43.

²⁹ *St. Louis Republican*, May 28, 1856, and “State of Deseret,” *Frederick Douglass’ Paper* [Syracuse, New York], June 13, 1856, as archived in Historian’s Office, Historical Scrapbooks, 1840–1904, LDS Church History Library.

with popular sovereignty sheltering each. Willis's resolution declared Federal power. "Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery."³⁰

When Willis submitted his draft proposal to the larger committee, he met two objections. First, one party leader complained that the resolution was repeating itself. Wasn't polygamy just another form of slavery? Another objection was about style. Were the Republicans going to stoop to epithets? In the end, both complaints were swept aside, and the highly charged words, "the Twin Relics of Barbarism," were retained as useful "instrumentalities in political warfare." When presented to the delegates, the resolution was approved with "rapturous enthusiasm."³¹ After all, Republican politicians and newspapers had been saying as much for two years, but without the catchphrase that transformed heavy political arguments into a campaign war cry. With the words sounding deep within the Republican soul, "The Twin Relics of Barbarism" became one of the more famous slogans of American presidential politics.

The conventions had done their work, and now came the campaigning. The Democrats stood for preserving the Union—and the old, proven ways of their political power, which put a premium upon local and states rights and the hope of keeping the issue of slavery off the national agenda. In contrast, the Republicans were proposing the radical expansion of federal power, mainly to curb the moral evil of slavery. Somewhere in the tumult was the Mormon question, which more than one Republican warrior pressed to his bosom. According to New York Senator William H. Seward, perhaps the leading man of the party, slavery and polygamy went hand-in-hand. To allow either Utah into the Union as a polygamous state or Kansas as a slave state "will bear heavily, perhaps conclusively, on the fortunes of the entire conflict between Freedom and Slavery," he said.³² He had been making the same argument for several years.³³

The *New York Herald* put the matter in down-to-earth tones that was typical with the newspaper: "And here comes a nice question—nicer than niggers—between Congress and squatter sovereignty. Does Congress or does squatter sovereignty cover the question of polygamy? Does the constitution reach it? What is to be done with it? The question will soon be put, and it will have to be met. . . . Utah and the saints must be looked after."³⁴

³⁰ Kirk H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson, comp. *National Party Platforms*, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), 1:27.

³¹ John W. Willis, "The Twin Relics of Barbarism," *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* 1 (1890), 41–42.

³² "The Presidential Contest, *New York Tribune*, October 23, 1856.

³³ *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Congress, 1st session, appendix, 154.

³⁴ *New York Herald*, June 17, 1856.

Buchanan and Frémont observed the protocols of the time by letting their supporters do the campaigning. Less than a week after the Republican convention, former Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton launched an attack upon President Franklin Pierce for not taking action against the Mormons. Benton had been an arch-nemesis of the saints since the late 1830s when Missouri ultras had driven them from the state. The intervening years had not softened his opposition. He now claimed that Utah represented a “state of things at which morality,



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decency, [and] shame revolts,” with Brigham Young defiant in his power. As a leading Democrat, Benton was trying to prevent the Republicans from tarring the Grand Democracy with the Mormon brush—making people think that popular sovereignty somehow put the Democrats on the side of the saints. When it came time to cast his vote, Benton went for Buchanan, despite being Frémont’s father-in-law.³⁵

Millard Fillmore, who was elected president in 1850, ran in the 1856 as a candidate of the Whig—American—and Know Nothing Party.

Republican Congressman Justin S. Morrill of Vermont also used strong language. Morrill, one of the party’s founding fathers, labeled polygamy an “abomination” and created a “sensation” in the House by proposing national legislation to end it. He was aiming squarely at overturning Democratic constitutional doctrine, claiming that Washington had “exclusive jurisdiction” in the territories and that “no principle of self-government or citizen sovereignty” could possibly justify Mormon plurality. His bill called for a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars against polygamists and a stiff prison sentence of two to five years on any “person” marrying a plural spouse or sexually “cohabiting” with them. Morrill’s loosely drawn

³⁵ Extract of Thomas H. Benton’s Speech at St Louis, June 21, 1856, from unnamed newspaper, Historian’s Office, Historical Scrapbooks, 1840–1904, box 1, folder 4, book 4, page 42, Church History Library.

provisions put Mormon women as well as Mormon men at risk—and theoretically any non-Mormon living in the territories who might be involved in an extended sexual relationship outside of marriage.³⁶ Morrill would introduce one anti-LDS bill after another during the next twenty years.

Morrill's bill combined moral reform with shrewd politics, which continued with parade float and banner during the next months. According to nineteenth-century Utah historian, Edward Tullidge, "every campaign where John C. Frémont was the standard bearer of the party, there could be read: *The abolishment of slavery and polygamy; the twin relics of barbarism!*"³⁷ Incidental evidence suggests that Tullidge was not exaggerating too much. An Indianapolis, Indiana, rally had "Brigham Young, with six wives most fashionably dressed, hoop skirts and all, each with a little Brigham in her arms," occupying one parade wagon drawn by a yoke of pioneer oxen. "Brigham," said the correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*, "was making himself as useful and interesting as possible among his white, black and piebald better-halves. He also held a banner inscribed 'Hurrah for the Kansas-Nebraska bill—it introduces Polygamy and Slavery.'"³⁸ The parade attracted a reported crowd of sixty thousand people.³⁹

A handbill, allegedly written by the Mormons, was distributed at a pre-election rally in Philadelphia. Addressed to the "*Faithful Followers of the Lord, and Recipients of His Grace*," it claimed to give advice. "We call upon you to stand firm to the principles of our religion in the coming contest for President of the country," it said. "The Democratic Party is the instrument in God's hand, by which is to be effected our recognition as a sovereign State, with the domestic institutions of slavery and polygamy, as established by the patriarchs and prophets of old, under divine authority, and renewed in the saints of Latter-day, through God's chosen rulers and prophets." In contrast, the handbill said the Republicans were standing in the way of the saints and the fulfillment of the scripture when in the last days "seven women [shall] lay hold to one man." The flyer was supposedly ordered by "the President and Rulers, at Great Salt Lake on the Fourteenth Day of August, 1856."⁴⁰

It was a fake, of course. It used words that were neither a part of the style nor the vocabulary of the Mormons, and nothing in the present-day church archives gives the document the least credence. It was undoubtedly the product of some Republican operatives who hoped to use anti-Mormon prejudice to peel votes from Buchanan—what modern politicians would call "dirty tricks." Nevertheless, leading opinion-makers took the

³⁶"The Latest News," *New York Tribune*, June 27, 1856.

³⁷ Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: By the Author, 1886), 140.

³⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, July 15, 1856, cited in *New York Times*, July 21, 1856.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ As reproduced in *The Mormon*, November 15, 1856.

bait. Shortly after the election, Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* printed the broadside as well as an article that opined that Buchanan, "old bachelor though he is" (Buchanan never married) had become the instrument of Mormon hopes for getting Utah and polygamy into the Union—perhaps the Mormons even hoped that Buchanan at the right time might renounce "his bachelorship, . . . [and] make up for lost time by taking [the prescribed] seven wives." The sarcasm of the article was aimed at the slave-holders of the South: Because southerners made slaves their concubines, it was a small step for them to accept the Mormon version of sexual plurality, especially if it might gain the South two votes in the Senate once Utah got into the Union.⁴¹ The *New York Herald* also printed the handbill, and it became grist for such politicians as Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois and Representative Morrill, who saw it as another example of the saints' treachery.⁴²

During the first week of July, President Pierce summoned Bernhisel to the White House to give him a dressing-down. Pierce was furious about rumors he was hearing concerning the Mormons' supposedly rigging or tampering with juries—no doubt an echo from the Gunnison trial. Moreover, Pierce had heard that Governor Young was preaching the doctrine of exclusion, that is, telling the saints not to have anything to do with Gentile outsiders.

U.S. army officers and Utah's federal territorial officials had been experiencing one run-in after another with the Utah settlers, and their one-sided and exaggerated reports had been flowing to the nation's capital for several years. Sometime after his stressful meeting with Pierce, Bernhisel met with an excited congressman, who wanted to cut off a shipment of arms to Utah's territorial militia. "We shall have trouble with your people," the congressman told Bernhisel, "and I think we should not put arms into their hands." Of greatest concern to Bernhisel, however, was the looming Morrill Anti-Polygamy bill, which he now thought would get through the House, although he hoped that he had enough votes in the Senate to kill it. "The feeling and prejudice among members of both branches of the national Legislature against Utah, and its domestic institution were never before so great as at this time, and the hostile feeling seems to be on the increase, and is not confined to northern [Republican] members alone, but is shared by some southern members, slave holders, who profess to believe in the principle of [federal] non-intervention [in the territories]."⁴³ The latter were running for political cover because of the Republican campaign assaults.

John Taylor and George A. Smith—the two men given the task of presenting Utah's statehood petition to Congress—did not know what to do. They were among Utah's best and ablest. Both had served in the local

⁴¹ *New York Tribune*, November 10, 1856.

⁴² *New York Herald*, November 9, 1856. For the Trumbull and Morrill expressions, see Poll, "The Mormon Question Enters National Politics," 130.

⁴³ Bernhisel to Young, July 17, 1856, Brigham Young Office Files, Church History Library.

territorial assembly and, reflecting Utah's church-state condition, also had high church office as members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, second only to Young's three-man First Presidency. Taylor's most recent assignment was to preside over the church's eastern missions and to publish the New York-based newspaper, *The Mormon*, which put him in the cockpit of the war of words. Smith, a cousin of founding-prophet Joseph Smith and the youngest apostle ever chosen for the Quorum, had Falstaffian wit and girth and the easy way of a natural politician. Both Taylor and Smith felt the heavy duty of being on a religious and political mission.

They had arrived in Washington during the summer of 1856 and immediately sought the advice of Senator Douglas, who must have remembered one of his talks with Joseph Smith. Smith predicted a bright future for Douglas, including a quest for the U.S. presidency—though Smith's prediction had come with a warning. "If ever you turn your hand against me or the Latter day Saints you will feel the weight of the hand of the Almighty upon you," Smith reportedly had said, "and you will live to see and know that I have testified the truth to you, for the conversation of this day will stick to you through life."⁴⁴ Douglas had helped the saints many times in the intervening years, perhaps for political reasons, but the saints saw in Douglas a man whose sympathies for them ran warm and perhaps deep.⁴⁵ Douglas had aided the saints' trek west by supplying government maps and reports, and several Mormon letters since had warmly renewed the bond.⁴⁶ One of Young's letters to Douglas repeatedly called him a "friend."⁴⁷ In the first months of 1850, during the preliminaries before the Congress enacted its great sectional compromise of that year, Douglas had laid before the Senate an earlier Utah petition for statehood.⁴⁸

When Taylor and Smith approached Douglas, they knew that the Mormon situation had become difficult. The "twin relics" platform, Taylor fumed, had been a "mean, dastardly act" that had used polygamy as a wedge issue against the Democrats, the Mormons' natural political allies. Taylor complained that the Democrats, thrown back on their heels, were showing an anti-Mormon zeal that put even the Republicans "in the shade." The Mormons had become "the great national political shuttlecock, to be bandied by every political battledore."⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Church Historian's Office, History of the Church, CR 100 102, volume 11, pp. 197-8, May 18, 1843; Brigham Young to Stephan A. Douglas, May 2, 1861, Brigham Young Office Files, CR 1234, box 5, volume 5, p. 783.

⁴⁵ Poll, "The Mormon Question, 1850-1865," 35-38.

⁴⁶ Orson Hyde to the Council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, April 26, 1844, 5, Joseph Smith Papers, box 3, fd. 6, Church History Library.

⁴⁷ Brigham Young to Stephen A. Douglas, April 29, 1854, Young Correspondence.

⁴⁸ Poll, "The Mormon Question, 1850-1865," 38.

⁴⁹ "Report of Taylor and Smith to the Utah Legislative Assembly," printed in Everett L. Cooley, comp., "Journals of the Legislative Assembly Territory of Utah Seventh Annual Session, 1857-1858," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 24 (October 1956), 346-8; John Taylor to Brigham Young, July 12, 1856, Brigham Young Office Files, Church History Library.

Yet, Douglas appeared to be sympathetic. As chairman of the Senate's powerful committee on territories, Douglas told the Mormon representatives he had been able to defeat the mad rush to dismantle Utah Territory by giving its land to surrounding states and territories—the objective was to neuter Mormon local government (and local choice) by making the saints isolated minorities in surrounding governments. However, Douglas also told the delegates that if they insisted upon presenting their petitions for statehood, they would pay a heavy price. The petitions would certainly go down before heavy majorities in both the House and Senate, and the bill to cut Utah into pieces might gain new strength. Moreover, Morrill's anti-polygamy bill continued to be a problem, which, if enacted, threatened to put Utah in the middle of a widespread and unprecedented federal prosecution. Because of the strong winds blowing against the saints, Douglas told Taylor and Smith to be patient. *If* Buchanan were elected and *if* the Democrats gained control of Congress—and *if* popular sovereignty became more widely accepted—then something might be done for the Mormons.⁵⁰ The “ifs” were large.

Taylor and Smith reluctantly accepted Douglas's advice. Their decision to stand down was carried in the national press, and the Mormons went on record with the face-saving comment that “the present opposition [against them] to be only for party effect,” which might end after the election.⁵¹ But nothing that Taylor and Smith did—or did not do—appeared to help. The Mormon question had become too much a part of the campaign. In August, the *New York Herald*, arguably the nation's most popular newspaper, began more articles on Utah. “Humanity shudders at the degradation, disgrace and suffering which those unhappy females are compelled to submit to,” said one article about the women in Utah. “The hard labor, the cruel treatment, and personal neglect they endure is absolutely shocking. [Moreover] the manner in which the local government is conducted, the vulgarity of the public documents, and the occasional proclamations of the Governor of this benighted Territory, afford the most complete evidence of bigotry, misrule and tyranny.”⁵² The newspaper made no attempt to document any of its sweeping charges.

It is not known what prompted the *Herald's* fierce obloquy, although there was a group of men in Utah, opposed to Mormon rule, who during the summer had begun a letter-writing campaign to put conditions in the territory in the worst possible light. One of the most damaging letters was from “Veritas,” which appeared in the *New York Tribune*. While the identity of its author is unknown, a leading candidate is William W. Drummond, an

⁵⁰ “Report of Taylor and Smith to the Utah Legislative Assembly,” 346–8; John Taylor to Brigham Young, July 12, 1856, Brigham Young Office Files, Church History Library.

⁵¹ *New York Tribune*, July 5, 1856.

⁵² Historian's Office, Historical Scrapbooks 1840–1904, box 1, fd. 4, book 4, p. 57, quoting *New York Herald*, August 20, 1856.

unsteady territorial judge, who had become involved in several bitter conflicts with the saints. Drummond had recently left the main Utah settlements for the Carson Valley in present-day Nevada, where he began to write anti-Mormon dispatches as well as a legal opinion that challenged the way Mormons were using Utah's probate courts. Another of Drummond's public-press letters would appear under the like-sounding name of "Verastus."⁵³ Drummond liked Latin names. He used them when naming his children, one of whom was called "Veritas," or something like it. He had apparently chosen a pen name as sort of an insider's game to hint at his real identity.⁵⁴

Veritas claimed to be writing from Utah and said he possessed the most serious inside information. He suggested that the "diabolical" rituals of the Mormon endowment rivaled those of the Greeks' sensual Temple of Ceres and said the endowment bound the saints together in blood-oaths to avenge the murder of Joseph Smith. He also said that Utahns had stolen the Green River ferries from mountain men and that the church, working behind the scenes, had prevented the felony convictions during the Gunnison massacre trial. Veritas pointed out that Brigham Young was currently building a large home for his "sixty spirituals (formerly called concubines)," which meant that the American government, by paying Young's governor's salary, was subsidizing his corruption. Drummond's charges were meant to put a stop to Utah's statehood proposals and to make sure that Douglas's doctrine of "popular sovereignty" would never have a place in the territory. "Now. . . [Utahns] ask you to admit them [as a new state] and thus legalize their system," the letter concluded. "May I not hope the American people will pause and reflect before taking such a step—one which would dim the luster of our national greatness; which would bring with it present disgrace and future infamy—a step which time with its finger of scorn would point at as the blackest page in our history."⁵⁵

In addition to the incendiary, over-the-top public letters making their way east, a dozen additional letters are known to have been sent to various offices of the government, and this number probably did not represent the half of it.⁵⁶ Several complaints had to do with the territorial post office, as territorial officers claimed that their mail was being regularly opened. Young strongly denied the charge, although copies of some letters ended up in Young's office files.⁵⁷ Surveyor-General David H. Burr reported that

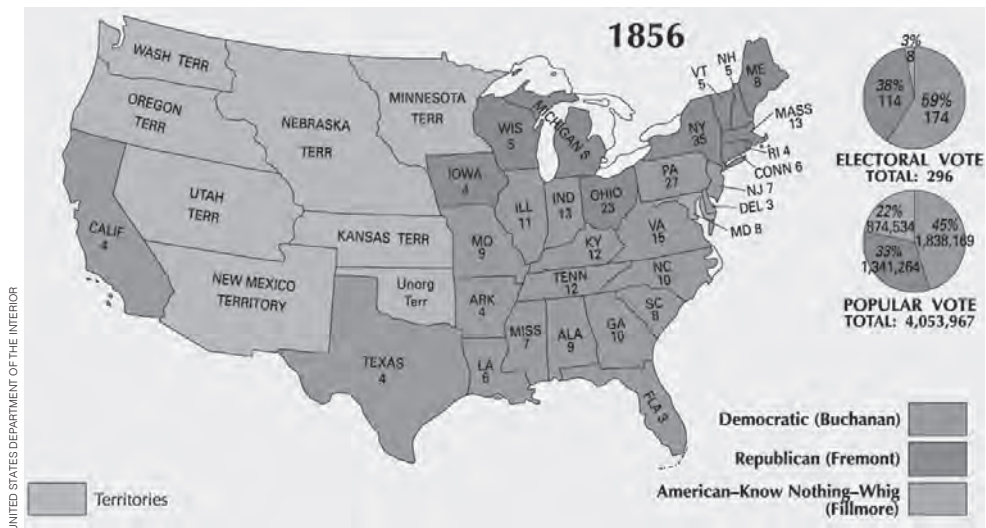
⁵³ MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point*, 120.

⁵⁴ Communication of William MacKinnon to author, June 2012.

⁵⁵ "The Political Secrets of Mormonism," May 30, 1856, published in *New York Tribune*, August 7, 1856.

⁵⁶ MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point*, 56-60.

⁵⁷ Brigham Young to Bernhisel, February 4, 1858, Young Correspondence. "I know nothing of it [opening the non-Mormon mail], and care less," Young wrote. "Hence treat this [rumor] like thousands of other attempts to fasten upon this people guilt and crime, we pass it by unnoticed. We could not afford to keep a standing army of clerks to refute such idle tales." For letters in Young's files, see MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point*, 53, 58.



one of his men had been brutally attacked, and a full recovery was in doubt. The beating had “high authority,” Burr said, which implied Young’s responsibility.⁵⁸ Indian Agent Garland Hurt told Washington that Young’s “boasted policy” toward the local Indians had been “conducted at the sacrifice of the lives and property of a deluded populace, who were groaning in poverty and distress.”⁵⁹ Hurt also joined the chorus accusing saints of alienating the Indians from the government, making them Mormon vassals.

William M. F. Magraw’s letter to Franklin Pierce, written in October, was another piece of Gentile anti-Mormonism. Magraw was a former U.S. mail contractor and Utah surveyor, and he shared the negative feelings of many of the territorial officers about Utah and the saints, especially after he lost his mail contract to Utahns and a local court imposed a costly settlement against him for a breach of contract to Mormon apostle Erastus Snow. “There was much warmth and feeling on this occasion,” said Magraw’s attorney after the court decision had been handed down by the Mormon jury.⁶⁰ Perhaps in pique and certainly because of his strong opposition to all things that were Mormon, Magraw complained that “there is left no vestige of law and order, no protection for life and property” in Utah, as the local

⁵⁸ David H. Burr to Thomas A. Hendricks, August 30 and September 20, 1856, “The Utah Expedition,” Message from the President of the United States, 35th Congress, House of Representatives, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 71, 115-6, 117-8.

⁵⁹ Garland Hurt to George W. Manypenny, November 20, 1856, “The Utah Expedition,” Message from the President of the United States, 35th Congress, House of Representatives, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 71, 182.

⁶⁰ Hosea Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861*, edited by Juanita Brooks, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press and Utah State Historical Society, 1964), July 2, 1855, August 5, 1856, and September 15, 1856, 2:557-8, 599, and 600.

priesthood was “as despotic, dangerous and damnable as has ever been known to exist in any country.”⁶¹

Magraw claimed Mormon policy was “framed in dark corners” and “promulgated from the stand of tabernacle or church, and executed at midnight, or upon the highways, by an organized band of bravos and assassins, whose masters compel an outraged community to tolerate [it] in their midst.” This last charge had often been made against the Mormons since their days in Missouri when they were accused of having a group of men called “Danites” to kill anyone who stood in their way. While Magraw’s letter lacked proof, he nevertheless assured Polk “conservative people” would recoil once the full story became known. Then, an outraged public might bring upon Utah “bloodshed, robbery[,] and rapine” and leave the territory to become a “howling wilderness.” However, there was a solution. If Young were removed from office, hundreds of grateful citizens, he predicted, would rise up against the current church leaders. “I know that they will be at no loss for a leader.”⁶²

At the time that Magraw was writing his letter to Pierce, Isaac Hockaday, brother of Magraw’s former partner John M. Hockaday, sent one of his own to the President. Hockaday’s letter charged that the Gentiles in Utah were suffering “wrongs, abuses and outrages” and that Utah was under the control “of the most lawless set of knaves and assassins who disregard and trample under foot the rights of those not belonging to their so called religious community as well as those who are unwilling to sanction and affiliate with them in their most obscene outrages.”⁶³

The Gentile letters must have had a role in the growing consensus about the saints. By late October as the election campaign was ending, the leading newspapers of the nation were calling for drastic action. The bumptious *New York Herald* wanted federal troops to “exterminate the Mormons” and scorned the American government’s failure to take on the Mormons.⁶⁴ The *New York Tribune*, perhaps the Republicans’ leading journalistic voice, called for “wise and firm measures” against the Mormons and their “evil.” The *Tribune* cited strategic reasons. The Mormons and the Indian allies controlled the transcontinental lines of travel and communication, it complained, where the national railroad was likely to be built.⁶⁵ Even Buchanan overcame his scruples against national public works and joined the Republicans to support the project, also citing national security. California and the west coast could not be protected

⁶¹ W. M. F. Magraw to Mr. President, October 3, 1856, “The Utah Expedition,” Message from the President of the United States, 35th Congress, House of Representatives, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 71, 2-3.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Isaac Hockaday to Pierce, October 6, 1856, Miscellaneous Letters of Department of State, National Archives, as cited in MacKinnon, *At Sword’s Point*, 57.

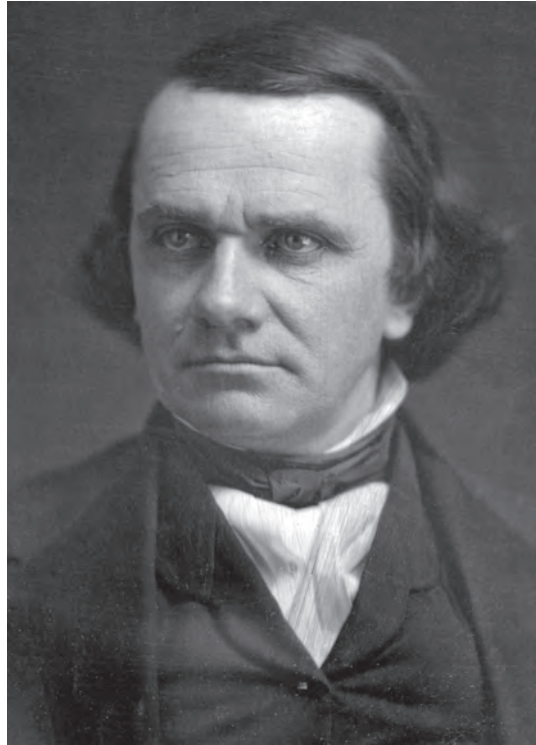
⁶⁴ *New York Herald*, October 19, 1856, as cited in *The Mormon*, October 25, 1856.

⁶⁵ Historian’s Office, Historical Scrapbooks 1840-1904, CR 100, 91, box 1, fd. 4, book 4, pp. 63, apparently quoting the *New York Tribune*, October 25, 1856.

without it, he argued.⁶⁶

“Prejudice against Utah on account of its ‘peculiar institution’” had never been greater, Bernhisel wrote Young.⁶⁷ George A. Smith offered to boost Bernhisel’s flagging spirits by having joint prayers, but Bernhisel put him off, apparently thinking that Smith was trying to manage him.⁶⁸ Taylor took refuge about what was being said against his people in the strain of apocalypticism that ran in early Mormonism. Were not the lies and distortions being leveled against the saints fulfilling the end-of-times that Joseph Smith had often spoken of? Taylor had in mind Smith’s prophecy about a coming civil war. This revelation predicted the “death and misery of many souls” beginning in South Carolina, probably because of the slavery.⁶⁹

“How fast the words of Joseph are hastening to their accomplishment in regard to the division of the North and South; and how literal in regard to South Carolina,” Taylor pointed out. Preston Brooks, the congressman who had thrashed Sumner, came from South Carolina, along with other firebrands who were warning that the South would leave the Union if Frémont won the election. “Talk about us entering the Union; there is no Union,” Taylor said. “There is a nominal, patched up, national growling, disunited, quarreling confederacy; but no Union. The elements will not fuse and the different factions meet in Congress not as the representatives of a great Nation, but as demagogues[,] as factionists, as national enemies.” Taylor believed the nation was coming apart, everything a “boiling cauldron,” as old political alliances were breaking down and new ones rising.⁷⁰



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Stephen Douglas, Senator from Illinois, supporter of Popular Sovereignty, and presidential candidate in 1860.

⁶⁶ Stampp, *America in 1857*, 48.

⁶⁷ Bernhisel to Young, August 18, 1856, Young Correspondence.

⁶⁸ George A. Smith to Young, November 12, 1856, Young Correspondence.

⁶⁹ Doctrine and Covenants 87:1-2; 130:12-13.

⁷⁰ John Taylor to Young, October 17, 1856, Young Correspondence.

The Mormon bid for statehood was not as simple as it seemed. On one hand, the saints wanted to be admitted to the Union, which they valued because it upheld “just and holy principles” that, according to another of Smith’s revelations, set the pattern for the “rights and protection of all flesh.”⁷¹ The saints believed among the great constitutional privileges was self-government. As long as Utah remained a territory and not a state, that God-given right remained very uncertain. However, while the practical Mormons were doing their best to make Utah a state, their belief in a quickly coming end-of-times kept them second-guessing. Were all their efforts to get into the Union really a waste of time?

The only weapon that the Mormons had during the election was *The Mormon*, which Taylor continued to edit. The newspaper called on those making charges against the Mormons to offer “the act, the time, the place, to justify their accusations.”⁷² It also tried to draw a narrow but impossible line between Utah’s desire for local government and its practice of plural marriage. “All we want is equal rights,” the newspaper said. Another editorial tried to make Utah’s polygamy a matter of humor. “Polygamy among the Mormons can never be part of . . . any one’s business outside of Mormonism. . . . How can it? We don’t insist that . . . others should have two or more wives—there are plenty of men that never deserved one—neither do we ask . . . others for any jewel [of a wife] that . . . they may possess.”⁷³ In the end, Taylor’s hope to duel with the nation’s leading newspapers went nowhere. No one was listening.

When the campaign ended, Buchanan won the presidency, and the Democrats enjoyed majorities in the new Thirty-Fifth Congress. But there was a new political landscape. Although Fillmore’s American Party received more than one in five votes cast, it had captured only one border state. It had no future. Nor had the Democrats done well in the North. Frémont had closed fast and carried all but five of the “free states.”⁷⁴ The Republicans had every reason to feel good about their first try at national politics—and for their future. A few more northern states, and next time they would have the Executive Mansion.

During the campaign, *The Mormon* had praised Buchanan as an “honorable, high-minded, courteous gentleman,” but had done little else to support him.⁷⁵ The last thing that Buchanan and the Democrats (and popular sovereignty) needed was the support of the Mormons, which was lukewarm anyway. Young privately hoped for Fillmore in 1856 and Douglas in 1860, the two national figures who had done the most to help Utah.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Doctrine and Covenants 101:77, 80; see also Doctrine and Covenants 98:5–7.

⁷² “Ex-Gov. Reeder on Gov. Young and Utah,” *The Mormon*, August 30, 1856.

⁷³ “Boys, Don’t Disturb the Bee Hive,” *The Mormon* June 1854.

⁷⁴ Stamp, *America in 1857*, 6, 37.

⁷⁵ “Mr. Buchanan,” *The Mormon*, June 14, 1856.

⁷⁶ Brigham Young to John M. Bernhisel, July 17, 1856, Young Correspondence.

But Young was too much a realist, or millenarian, to be optimistic. When Buchanan was elected, he had the satisfaction that the nationally-minded, anti-polygamy Republicans had been kept out of office. But there was no jubilation. Bernhisel, writing from Washington, warned not to expect any favors.⁷⁷

The Mormons hoped that once the ballots were counted things might calm down. But the Saints were too good newspaper copy, and once the moral flame about polygamy and theocracy had been lit, it was hard to extinguish. Something had to be done about Utah, clamored the *New York Sun*, two weeks after the polls closed, and the newspaper wanted the work to start with the next session of Congress. A “libidinous priesthood” was demoralizing and enslaving women, while government in Utah was more absolute than even Mahomet’s rule. The *Sun* even made the remarkable claim the Mormons posed the greatest threat facing American republicanism, ignoring for the moment the problems with race and section.⁷⁸

The billingsgate was not limited to the New York dailies. Democrats in the South and Upper South, realizing the damage done by polygamy to their popular sovereignty and to their party, tried to rid themselves of any vexing Mormon tie. “The abominations of polygamy, and the outrages of theocratic despotism, cannot shelter themselves under the panoply of Squatter Sovereignty,” said the Richmond *Enquirer*, casting aside the South’s usual constitutional views.⁷⁹ By the end of the year, Apostle Taylor, still editing *The Mormon* in New York City, was beside himself. “There does seem . . . to be gaining ground a deep[,] settled prejudice against Utah and her interests,” he wrote to Young. “Some of our papers here have hinted at [our] extermination &c. A general feeling of hatred is being engendered.”⁸⁰

There was still the unfinished business of Utah’s statehood petitions. In January 1857, Bernhisel, Smith, and Taylor were back in Senator Douglas’s office asking for more advice. Douglas was even more outspoken. Any move to request statehood—the slightest tremor—might bring from Congress “hostile action,” Douglas gravely warned. The startled Mormons wanted to know what Douglas was actually saying. While Douglas refused to give any details, his reply had alarming ambiguity and emphasis. If the Mormons insisted on going before Congress, they should expect a reaction “of the most hostile character.”⁸¹

“All our friends if we have any deserving the appellation have been of [the] opinion nothing could be effected and that an attempt would be certain defeat and injurious,” Taylor tried to explain to Young. Taylor said

⁷⁷ George A. Smith to Young, November 12, 1856, and Bernhisel to Young, November 19, 1856, Young Correspondence.

⁷⁸ *New York Sun*, November 18, 1856, in Historian’s Office Historical Scrapbooks, 1840–1940, box 1, fd. 4, book 4, p. 78.

⁷⁹ As cited in *The Mormon*, December 13, 1856.

⁸⁰ John Taylor to Brigham Young, December 20, 1856, Young Correspondence.

⁸¹ “Report of Taylor and Smith to the Utah Legislative Assembly,” 348. Emphasis in the original.

that Greeley at the *New York Tribune* continued his “deadly hostility” by publishing the anonymous letters from Utah. The church could not have “a more virulent, bitter, and unscrupulous enemy” than Greeley, Taylor thought.⁸² But editor James Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald* was only a step or two behind, if that.⁸³

The Mormons began to think that there might be some kind of a plot against them—as almost certainly there was. Some of the letters and articles appeared to be a part of an organized attempt to overthrow the Mormon regime and seemed to come from a small group of long-standing opponents in Utah. These conspirators included territorial officers, men seeking or holding Federal contracts, and Gentile merchants in Salt Lake City. Young had already sent a list of more than two dozen names of possible church enemies to see if Taylor could find anything out about their work. An unnamed source had given this information to Young, and Young admitted that he was uncertain about its accuracy.⁸⁴ But according to Young’s source, these opponents were preparing anti-statehood affidavits and making lists of plural wives of Mormon leaders. The idea was to embarrass the Mormons at every turn.⁸⁵ In early 1857 at least three national journals carried statistical surveys of the plural wives of Mormon leaders, just as predicted.⁸⁶

Taylor responded to Young’s rumors with some of his own. During recent weeks, he had heard of “certain indications and expressions” of dark plots, Taylor wrote back to Salt Lake City. Enemies in Utah might be working to bring “a new dynasty” to the church and possibly even working to destroy or kill the Mormon leaders, he told Young, although he could learn nothing for certain.⁸⁷ Taylor’s findings agreed with some of the passages of Magraw’s letter to Pierce, which had spoken of a possible coup. The apostle’s startling report was written in a matter-of-fact letter to Young. Its even tenor showed how much the Mormons had come to expect violation and hardship. After receiving Taylor’s letter—and perhaps before—Young withdrew from public view for several months. While perhaps Young’s absence was due to poor health, it is also possible he took the threats against his life seriously.

The election of 1856 and the conduct of the territorial officers left Young despairing, and in January 1857 the Utah legislature drafted strongly worded memorials asserting its “right to have a voice in the selection of our rulers.”⁸⁸ The “right” apparently included taking action against the

⁸² John Taylor to Brigham Young, December 20, 1856, Young Correspondence.

⁸³ *The Mormon* replied to these and other articles, November 15 and 29, December 6, 13, and 20, 1856, and January 3, 10, 17, and 24, 1857.

⁸⁴ Brigham Young to George A. Smith, July 30, 1856, Young Correspondence.

⁸⁵ Brigham Young to John M. Bernhisel, July 17, 1856, Young Correspondence.

⁸⁶ Poll, “The Mormon Question, 1850–1865,” 66ff.

⁸⁷ John Taylor to Brigham Young, December 20, 1856, Young Correspondence.

⁸⁸ Memorial, Executive Files, Governor’s Office Files, Young Office Files, Church History Library.

officers still in the territory as well as those who might come in their place. “Why not kick them out of the Territory[,] say You,” Young rhetorically wrote to his friend Thomas L. Kane about the men who had been so busy with their conspiratorial letter-writing. “That’s just it, we intend to, the very first opportunity. We are resolved that their United States’ official dignity shall no longer screen them.”⁸⁹ Young also told Smith and Bernhisel that any new batch of unfit federal appointees would be turned out “as fast as they come let the consequences be what they may.” The saints were “determined to claim the right of having a voice in the selection of our officers, he said, and if the politicians in Washington were unwilling to listen, Young wanted the memorials of the Utah legislature published in the national press.”⁹⁰ While historians have recently argued that these petitions and Young’s anger were keys to precipitating the Utah War, a great deal lay behind both.⁹¹

Much had changed in 1856. While the year had begun with the Mormons hoping that Utah might gain statehood and become an equal partner in the Union, these plans were in ruins twelve months later. An American public had found deeper fathoms of mistrust and objection against the Mormons. A new national political alignment had taken hold that involved a surging and moralistic Republican Party, anxious to end old constitutional theories about local decision-making in the west. As it turned out, while Representative Justin S. Morrill did not have the votes to pass his anti-polygamy bill, he did persuade the House in January 1857 to pass a resolution requesting the President to tell Congress whether “any resistance, organized or otherwise, has been made, or is to be apprehended, against the official action or administration of the United States territorial officials in the Territory of Utah.”⁹² Outgoing Franklin Pierce quietly pocketed the request. This was one dangerous baton best passed on to a successor.

There is no way of knowing what Buchanan thought of the Mormons as he made his way to the Lancaster railroad station in February 1857. He did not keep a diary, and his letters were as circumspect as usual, which left close friends and later historians guessing. Of course, he knew of the Republican success with the “relics” of barbarism, and he knew what the newspapers were saying about the Mormons—and he may have known something about the reports that had come to the Pierce Administration. Buchanan went to great pains to keep himself informed, and he had a wide network of friends inside and outside of the government. He must have felt an obligation to preserve the Democratic Party as well as the Union, and

⁸⁹ Brigham Young to Thomas L. Kane, January 7, 1857, Letterbook C, Young Office Files, Church History Library.

⁹⁰ Brigham Young to George A. Smith and John M. Bernhisel, January 3, 1857, Letterpress Copybook 3:259, Young Office Files, Church History Library.

⁹¹ William P. MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part I*, 65–74, 100–102; Bigler and Bagley, *The Mormon Rebellion*, 105–7.

⁹² Cited in Poll, “The Mormon Question, 1850–1865,” 68.

for him the two objectives went hand-in-hand. As a “dough-faced Democrat”—a northerner with sympathy for the South—he knew that he had to take action to prevent the Republicans from exploiting the Mormon issue further.

These political pressures posed a dilemma. On one hand, the Democratic Party was still officially committed to popular sovereignty, but Buchanan was having private second thoughts. An early draft of Buchanan’s inaugural speech suggested the citizens of Kansas and Nebraska didn’t have power to make a decision over slavery until a state constitution was proposed, which, if adopted, would have gutted the doctrine. When Lewis Cass, soon-to-become Buchanan’s Secretary of State, learned of these words he was furious. Cass, one the first and strongest squatter rights boosters in the country, threatened to withdraw from the new cabinet. Buchanan quickly retreated. The right to local decision-making was “sacred,” he said when actually giving his speech, “as ancient as free government itself.” Nothing could be “fairer” than to let the people of a territory “to decide their own destiny for themselves, subject only to the Constitution of the United States,” he said.⁹³

As Buchanan now became responsible for making the government’s public decisions regarding Utah, he had to choose between this constitutional ideal—the view of the nation’s dominant political party—or respond to the rising calls being made upon him to take action against the saints. In the end, he chose an expedient path and no doubt what he felt to be the necessary one. One reason why he abandoned popular sovereignty and sent an army to Utah was the election of 1856. In the end, the Utah War had another nagging inconsistency. Many of the soldiers and government officers sent to Utah in 1857–58, who were so outspoken about the saints being traitors and secessionists, would in a few short years, carry the colors of the Confederacy’s Stars and Bars.

⁹³ Moore, *The Works of James Buchanan*, 10: 106–8fn.; also see Klein, *President James Buchanan*, 271–2.



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Women and the Kindergarten Movement in Utah

By ANDREA VENTILLA

The account of the kindergarten movement in Utah in the late nineteenth century offers an opportunity to reevaluate important issues in Utah's history regarding women and education. These include the role of women and educational associations of the territory in fostering the kindergarten movement, the establishment of the first kindergartens and kindergarten training schools in Utah as well as the role of religious organizations in that effort, the reaction of the territorial and state education superintendents to the developing kindergarten movement, and how and when the women of Utah were able to make kindergarten attendance free and part of public education. Essential to the understanding of the early kindergarten movement in Utah is the arrival during the 1870s of missionaries and educators from Protestant denominations who saw education as the means to win converts from the Mormon faith. Consequently, the attitudes of Mormon and non-Mormon women toward each other helped shape a united effort to promote kindergartens.

Paradigms about children and childhood discovery began to change during the eighteenth century Enlightenment in Europe. At

The kindergarten movement in Utah was enhanced by the training at Utah's universities. These students and faculty at Brigham Young University were members of the Myster Club in 1906.

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this time philosophers and educators such as John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Claud Adrien Helvetius, and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi redefined the Middle Age idea that children were mini-adults to be used as servants in homes to a different view that encouraged the treatment and education of children consistent with their age.¹

Friedrich Froebel was one of the most prominent and influential nineteenth century proponents of kindergarten education.² His ideas were brought to the United States by German immigrants in the 1850s.³ Elizabeth Palmer Peabody became an enthusiastic American follower of Froebel's theories in the 1860s.⁴ By the 1870s Peabody not only urged the establishment of kindergartens but she also called for the creation of kindergarten training schools. Due to her direct influence, a number of Froebel and kindergarten associations were formed throughout the United States in the 1880s.

Elizabeth Peabody believed "... that the average woman is sufficiently gifted by nature to make a good kindergartner... one who could not be educated to become a kindergartner, should never dare to become a mother."⁵ Although kindergarten education was a womanly duty, it required appropriate training: "any soundly cultured, intelligent, genial-tempered young woman, who loves children, can appreciate and practice it [kindergarten work], if—and only if—she is trained by a teacher."⁶

These ideas regarding kindergarten reached Utah more gradually where Camilla Cobb, adopted daughter of German immigrant and educator Karl G. Maeser, opened the first kindergarten in 1874 after attending Dr. Adolph Douai's training school in New Jersey.⁷ The kindergarten was established in

¹ For more information about educators in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see: S. P. Chaube-Akhilesh Chaube, *Western Educational Thinkers* (New Delhi, India: Concept Publishing Company, 2002).

² Friedrich Froebel was a German pedagogue who recognized that little children have unique needs and capabilities. He developed the word "kindergarten" and also the concept of early childhood education. In Froebel's theory the kindergarten is a place for children where they can observe and interact with nature, and also a location where they themselves can grow and develop in freedom from arbitrary political and social imperatives. For more information about Froebel and his method, see Joachim Liebschner, *A Child's Work: Freedom and Guidance in Froebel's Educational Theory and Practice* (Cambridge, UK: Lutherworth Press, 2006).

³ Kristen Dombkowski Nawrotzki, "The Anglo-American Kindergarten Movements and Early Education in England and the USA, 1950-1965," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 2005), 42.

⁴ Elizabeth Peabody was an educator, philosopher, and writer. As a literature lover she opened a bookstore in her hometown, Boston. She was able to read in ten different languages and translated the first English version of a Buddhist scripture. Peabody was an advocate of antislavery and Transcendentalism. She also made efforts for the rights of the Paiute Indians. For additional details about Elizabeth Peabody's life, see: Bruce A. Ronda, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody: A Reformer On Her Own Terms* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

⁵ Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, *Lectures in the Training Schools for Kindergartners* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Company, 1897), 16.

⁶ Elizabeth Peabody, *Moral Culture of Infancy, and Kindergarten Guide* (New York: J. W. Schemerhorn & Co., 1870), iii.

⁷ As a new convert to Mormonism, Camilla Cobb came to Utah from Germany in 1857. She taught in her private elementary school and served in the LDS Primary Association for thirty-seven years. Catherine Britsch Frantz, "Camilla Clara Mieth Cobb. Founder of the Utah Kindergarten," in Colleen Whitley, ed., *Worth Their Salt, Too* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000), 45.

the house of the LDS church president Brigham Young, with the support of Brigham's son, John W. Young. The kindergarten lasted for two years until Camilla was asked to teach older students and a qualified replacement for the kindergarten was unavailable. Later, however, with the organization of the LDS Church's Primary Association, she returned to early childhood education and continued to be active until the end of her life.

According to contemporary educators, kindergarten education was important for developing young children's early moral and religious education. They recommended that this be accomplished by reading the Holy Bible and other religious literature. This approach was particularly emphasized in Utah, where different Protestant denominations came, beginning in the late 1860s, with a principal purpose of converting members of the LDS church from their misguided religion. Education seemed to provide the best tool for achieving this objective, especially with children and, to a lesser extent, their parents. "The schoolwork must go hand in hand with church work in evangelizing the territory," admonished the Presbyterian journal *The Earnest Worker* in 1883.⁸ Elizabeth A. Parsons, a teacher of the Presbyterian Collegiate Institute, wrote in her reminiscences about the necessity of religious education in early childhood education:

Somewhere in my reading I had learned of the new educational ideal and methods of Pestalozzi and Froebel. I was deeply impressed with the importance these two great educators laid upon spiritual development in their educational system, and I felt that their methods, if applied in this mission school [Collegiate Institute], would be a very great assistance not only to the intellectual but to the spiritual aspects of the work of this institution and the efforts in general that were being made by the Home Missions among the Mormon youth of the territory.⁹

The first private kindergarten owned by a Presbyterian opened on September 3, 1880, under the management of Anna Elizabeth Richards Jones and operated until 1887.¹⁰ In 1883, the Presbyterian Church began its

⁸ *The Earnest Worker*, September 1883. Archives, Giovale Library, Westminster College, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁹ "Reminiscences of the Beginning of Kindergartens in Salt Lake City, Utah." Anne Marie Fox Felt papers, box 1, folder 4, p.1, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. Elizabeth H. Parson and her husband were teachers at the Collegiate Institute until their retirement in 1898. Elizabeth Parson was also the matron of the boarding department at this institution. After their work in Utah they moved to Pasadena, California. J.M. Coyner, "History of the Salt Lake Collegiate Institute from its organization April 12, 1875 to May 5, 1885," written in 1897. Copy in Archives, Giovale Library, Westminster College. The Presbyterian Church founded the Collegiate Institute in Salt Lake City in 1875. The school had both elementary and college preparatory classes. In 1897, the school began to offer college classes and changed its name to Sheldon Jackson College. This institute took up the new name of Westminster College five years later. In 1911 the school became the first accredited two-year junior college in the Intermountain area. For more information about Westminster College see: Joseph A. Vinatieri, "The Growing Years: Westminster College from Birth to Adolescence," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (Fall 1975): 344-61; R. Douglas Brackenridge, *Westminster College of Salt Lake City. From Presbyterian Mission School to Independent College* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1998).

¹⁰ Anna Elizabeth Richards Jones graduated from the Normal Department of Iowa College in 1878. She moved to Utah with her husband, Marcus E. Jones in 1880. After closing her school, she conducted a kindergarten training school at the University of Utah during the school year of 1887-1888. Anna Elizabeth Richardson Jones, "As a Teacher," Anne Marie Fox Felt Papers, Box 2, folder 3. The term *private* mainly refers to the fact that the parents had to pay tuition for the education. The private kindergartens accepted any children regardless of religion.



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Augusta W. Grant.

involvement in the kindergarten movement in Utah when women members requested that the Woman's Executive Board of Home Missions in New York City send a kindergarten teacher to Salt Lake City. The first kindergarten opened under the direction of Elizabeth Dickey in the basement of the Collegiate Institute. The kindergarten consisted of two grades: one with morning sessions for the youngest children between ages two and four, and the other with afternoon sessions for five year old children that served as a preparatory class for lower school grades.¹¹ Elizabeth Dickey conducted kindergarten training programs in both Salt Lake City and in the Westminster Presbyterian congregation.¹² To promote kindergarten

education, Dickey organized classes for mothers where she demonstrated kindergarten methods and drew attention to the importance of proper education for children. In 1887, after four years, Dickey's health began to deteriorate and she resigned, resulting in the closure of the kindergarten in the Presbyterian Church. Five years later, Bessie Goodrich, another well-educated kindergarten teacher, arrived in Salt Lake City at the invitation of Mary Millspaugh, the wife of the principal of the Collegiate Institute. Health problems hindered Goodrich's work as a teacher until she left Utah in 1894.

Following the Presbyterian Church's pattern, other denominations also tried to establish kindergartens. Because of the fundraising and charitable activities of women, free kindergartens were offered for short periods of time, but, for the most part, they remained private institutions with regular tuition charged. For example, the Episcopal Church opened a private kindergarten in Rowland Hall with the help of Bertha Robinson Harmes in 1892.¹³ A year later, the Episcopal Church opened a free kindergarten under the direction of Helen H. Durant, a graduate of California Kindergarten Training School. However, it lasted only for a year.¹⁴

With the arrival of Alice Chapin, a well-educated kindergarten teacher and trainer from Boston Kindergarten Training School, kindergarten training

¹¹ Salt Lake Collegiate Institute Catalogue, 1886-1887. Archives, Giovale Library, Westminster College.

¹² "Reminiscences of the Beginning of Kindergartens in Salt Lake City," 3.

¹³ Rowland Hall was a combined elementary and high school institution for girls only, which was run by the Episcopal Church. Making an exception for the kindergarten department, they accepted boys as well. "Rowland Hall A Home School for Girls, Salt Lake City. 1892-93," Rowland Hall-St. Mark's School Records, 1883-1955. Utah State Historical Society. For a more detailed description of this school, see: Mary R. Clark, "Rowland Hall-St Mark's School: Alternative Education for More than a Century," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Summer 1980): 271-92.

¹⁴ *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 23, 1893.

started to blossom in Utah. She began her first kindergarten training class in 1894. In order to provide practical training opportunities for her kindergarten courses, Elizabeth Porter launched a model kindergarten in the First Congregational Church.¹⁵ Under the direction of Alice Chapin, additional kindergartens were opened at the First Methodist and First Baptist Churches. Also in 1894, three other churches—the Methodist, The Salt Lake Phillips Congregational, and the Unitarian—started private kindergartens with the coordination of their active women.¹⁶

Beginning in 1878, LDS church women expanded the Primary Association as a religious organization for elementary-aged children. Two leaders of the Primary Association, Louie B. Felt and May Anderson, were actively engaged in kindergarten, participating in Alice Chapin's 1894 kindergarten teacher training course and using the acquired knowledge to develop the Primary Association's curriculum, as well as for starting a private kindergarten in the Eleventh Ward in 1895.¹⁷

As the kindergarten movement began in Utah, kindergarten associations were organized nationally to help promote early childhood education, and a number of educators proclaimed the usefulness and importance of early childhood education in preparing little children for elementary school. At the Congress of Women held in Chicago in 1893, two speeches addressed the importance of kindergartens:

The kindergarten system is based upon the belief, laid down by the greatest authorities on education, that the most important formative period in youth is before the child has finished seven years of life, and before the regular training of the public school belongs to him by right of age. Habits, associations, desires and experiences are acquired which last through life. The faculties are developed, the senses quickened, and good behavior, discipline, self-control, manners, morals—all begin with the first awakening powers of the child.¹⁸

Women in Utah understood the importance of this duty. In January 1892, women of the Presbyterian Church organized the first kindergarten association called the Salt Lake Kindergarten Association. By this time the women's priorities shifted from converting the LDS population of the territory to making kindergarten education free and available to the general public: "The Association felt the necessity for free kindergartens, both as an introduction step to kindergartens in the public schools and as something

¹⁵ "Reminiscences of the Beginning of Kindergartens in Salt Lake City," 8.

¹⁶ *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 16, September 9, 1894; John Sillito, "Conflict and Contributions: Women in Churches, 1847-1920" in Patricia Lyn Scott and Linda Thatcher, eds., *Women in Utah History: Paradigm or Paradox?* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005), 93.

¹⁷ For more information about the history of the LDS Primary Association, see: Carol Cornwall Madsen and Susan Staker Oman, *Sisters and Little Saints. One Hundred Years of Primary* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1979); Susan Staker Oman, "Nurturing LDS Primaries. Louie Felt and May Anderson 1880-1940," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (Summer 1981): 262-75; *Deseret Evening News*, December 24, 1895.

¹⁸ Virginia Thrall Smith, "The Kindergarten," *The Congress of Women* (Kansas City: Thompson & Hood, 1894), 178-79. The two speeches were given by Virginia Thrall Smith and Sarah Brown Cooper. Blanche Brown, who later came to Utah to teach kindergarten training, presented a kindergarten class at the Fair.

indispensible for the many poor children getting a street education in vice and crime before reaching the school age of six years.”¹⁹ With the growth in the awareness of the benefits of the kindergarten movement, charitable attention began to focus on kindergartens. Augusta W. Grant wrote about kindergarten work in her journal: “Attended meeting of the board of the kindergarten association of which I am secretary. The kindergarten has been opened for about a month ago. It is a school for little waifs, and I think it is a very sweet charity.”²⁰

The Salt Lake Kindergarten Association also advocated the education of mothers and kindergarten teachers. The Association did not only organize kindergartens but also arranged for a kindergarten teacher training course taught by Bessie Goodrich.²¹ The organization strived to support the cause among community members with the hope that kindergartens would become part of the public school system. The Association secured passage of territorial legislation in 1894 that allowed Utah school boards to make kindergartens part of their public schooling.²² As momentum accelerated, a new organization, the Free Kindergarten Association, held its first meeting in the Salt Lake City Ladies’ Literary Club on June 18, 1894.²³ Under the leadership of Emma J. McVicker, the Free Kindergarten Association replaced the Salt Lake Kindergarten Association.²⁴ With the Utah Federation of Women’s Club providing accommodations, the Free Kindergarten Association arranged for “Froebel classes” to educate mothers.²⁵ Alice Chapin began to teach and conduct the kindergarten teacher training. As a result of the Association’s ongoing fund raising activities, the first free kindergarten commenced in January 1895 under the name of Neighborhood House.²⁶ Blanche Brown, a teacher from Chicago, was first assigned to teach the children. However, because of illness, Brown returned to the East Coast, and Alice Chapin took over the leadership of the

¹⁹ “First Kindergarten in Salt Lake City,” Anne Marie Fox Felt papers, box 1, fd. 4, p.1.

²⁰ This approach led to opening several orphanages in Utah. Floralie Millsaps, “Caring for Children: The Orphan’s Home and Day Nursery Association,” *Beehive History* 27 (2001): 26–28; Kathryn Callahan, “Sisters of the Holy Cross and Kearns–St. Ann’s Orphanage,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 78 (Summer 2010): 254–74; and Anne Marie Fox Felt papers, box 1, fd. 10.

²¹ “First Kindergarten in Salt Lake City,” 1.

²² “Reminiscences of the Beginning of Kindergartens in Salt Lake City,” 6.

²³ The Ladies’ Literary Club was organized by non-Mormon women in Salt Lake City for the purpose of “literary pursuits and mental culture.” Patricia Lyn Scott, “Eliza Kirtley Royle: Beloved Club Mother,” in Colleen Whitley, ed., *Worth Their Salt* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 44–59.

²⁴ Emma J. McVicker was an enthusiastic educator in Utah. She began her career in the Collegiate Institute and later became the first woman superintendent in Utah. Regarding her life, see: Carol Ann Lubomudrov, “A Woman State School Superintendent: Whatever Happened to Mrs. McVicker?” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (Summer 1981): 254–61.

²⁵ “Mother’s classes” or “Froebel classes” referred to the same training session which focused on Froebel’s method. The curriculum of the classes included Froebel’s works, Peabody’s letters, and Pestalozzi’s works as well. This training also aimed to teach appropriate children songs and games. “Reminiscences of the Beginning of Kindergartens in Salt Lake City,” 11. Emma J. McVicker was also the president of the Utah Federation of Women’s Club. See: Jill Mulvay Derr, “Scholarship, Service, and Sisterhood: Women’s Clubs and Associations, 1877–1977” in Scott and Thatcher, eds., *Women in Utah History*, 249–94.

²⁶ *The Salt Lake Herald*, January 13, 1895.



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institution.²⁷ Like its predecessor, the Free Kindergarten Association also considered its most important duty to ratify free public kindergartens. In 1895 the Free Kindergarten Association succeeded in securing passage of a school law permitting attendance of children four to six years of age, with the cost to be covered by the school district. Thanks to this campaign, Utah included kindergarten as an integral part of its school system and as a provision of the new state constitution.²⁸

Children participate in a school outing.

On March 29, 1895, LDS women, including Sarah M. Kimball, Ellis R. Shipp, Emmeline B. Wells, and Mary Isabelle Horne, met in the home of Georgiana Fox Young, to establish the Utah Kindergarten Association for the purpose of opening kindergartens by Mormons and promoting the usefulness of kindergarten education among Mormon mothers. The Association established five kindergartens, namely in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Wards as well as in Forest Dale. Graduates of the Brigham Young Academy (BYA) kindergarten department and those students who completed the Utah Kindergarten Association's kindergarten training taught in all five of the ward kindergartens.²⁹ Like the

²⁷ Regarding the history of the Neighborhood House see: Lela Horn Richards, *Fifty Years of Neighborhood House 1894-1944* (Salt Lake City: Neighborhood House and Day Nursery Association, 1944).

²⁸ Article X Section 2 of The Constitution of the State of Utah, 1895, states: "The Public School system shall include kindergarten schools, common schools, consisting of primary and grammar grades, high schools, an Agricultural College, a University, and such other schools as the Legislature may establish."

²⁹ *Utah Daily Chronicle*, May 21, 1895.

Salt Lake Kindergarten Association and the Free Kindergarten Association, the Utah Kindergarten Association endeavored to establish appropriate training for mothers. The Association worked with Anna K. Craig of the Brigham Young Academy kindergarten department to launch the appropriate courses.

The kindergarten movement in Utah expanded to include other churches, congregations, and organizations. For example, Anna Elizabeth Jones' Salt Lake Kindergarten and Grade School taught the children in Salt Lake City's Jewish Synagogue from 1884 until 1887.³⁰ The first free kindergarten, called Neighborhood House, began operations in the Odd Fellows Hall in 1895, but later moved to St. Mark's Episcopal Church, then to the LDS Thirteenth Ward schoolhouse, and, by the early 1900s, the kindergarten continued its operations in the basement of the Unitarian Church. The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported in 1893: "At last we have the prospect of free kindergartens in Salt Lake. The churches have joined in the broad and concerted movement for turning over the buildings used for their primary schools for this purpose and also to aid in establishing and keeping up this beautiful charity."³¹

Cooperation was also evident in the training of kindergarten teachers who were required, like all teachers, to have a suitable certificate to be eligible for employment as a teacher and training was sought regardless of religion. For example, Emmeline Y. Wells, who later became the Mormon Utah Kindergarten Association's teacher trainer, received her certificate from the Presbyterian Salt Lake Kindergarten Association.³² Ella Nebeker Stewart, a Mormon who later taught in the University of Utah's model kindergarten, attended a Presbyterian training school.³³ Dr. Jesse Millspaugh, a Presbyterian and leader of the Salt Lake School District, volunteered that in selecting girls to take the kindergarten training and act as teachers in that capacity, he preferred the Mormons.³⁴

³⁰ "Anna Elizabeth Richardson Jones As a Teacher," Anne Marie Fox Felt Papers, Box 2, folder 7, p. 3.

³¹ "Free Kindergartens," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 11, 1893.

³² Emmeline Young Wells was the daughter of the early Salt Lake City mayor, Daniel H. Wells. She was in charge of directing kindergartens for the Utah Kindergarten Association. After receiving a certificate in kindergarten teaching, she studied psychology at LDS College in Salt Lake City. Beside the kindergarten movement she also participated in other activities. She was a charter member of the Cleofan Literary Club as well as the Wasatch Club. She was also the curator of the Daughters of Utah Pioneer's Museum for many years. She served at the Primary Board of the Salt Lake Stake of the LDS church. Anne Marie Fox Felt Papers, box 6, fd. 10.

³³ "Reminiscences of Mrs. William Stewart," Anne Marie Fox Felt Papers, Box 1, folder 4.

³⁴ Dr. Jesse Millspaugh had a medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania. He came to Utah in 1883 and became the second principal of the Collegiate Institute. He continued his work there until 1890 when he was appointed to be the first superintendent in Salt Lake City. In 1889 he moved to Minnesota to become president of the Minnesota State Normal School. In 1904 he accepted the appointment as President of the California State Normal School at Los Angeles. He lived there until his death in 1937. He made this statement while he was a superintendent in Salt Lake City, but unfortunately it is unclear why he preferred Mormon teachers. For summaries about the Mormon-Presbyterian relations, see: Jana Kathryn Riess, "Heathen in Our Fair Land: Presbyterian Women Missionaries in Utah, 1870-90," *Journal of Mormon History* 26 (Winter, 2000): 165-95; R. Douglas Brackenridge, "Hostile Mormons and Persecuted Presbyterians in Utah, 1870-1900: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Mormon History* 37 (Summer, 2011): 162-228; Minutes of the Utah Kindergarten Association June 14, 1895, Anne Marie Fox Felt Papers, Box 1, folder 5.

The Presbyterian Free Kindergarten Association demonstrated its willingness to cooperate with other denominations when soon after its organization, the Association's president, Emma J. McVicker, suggested inviting the Mormon May Booth Talmage, the wife of the president of the University of Utah, to be a member of the executive board of the Association, which she accepted.³⁵ This gesture seemed to create an opportunity for the various denominations to unite in an effort to advance the kindergarten movement in spite of the distrust and animosity on other issues that existed among different religious organizations at this time in Utah's history.



Children on a kindergarten playground with teeter-totters as the primary recreational equipment.

Nevertheless, conflict did surface between two leaders of the kindergarten movement in Utah—Alice Chapin and Emmeline Y. Wells. Soon after Chapin arrived in Utah, she wrote a letter to the territorial school commission complaining that Miss Wells, an ambitious teacher for the Utah Kindergarten Association, did not have a kindergarten certificate and should not be allowed to teach.³⁶ Chapin's motive is not clear, but Wells responded to the accusation by stating that she had earned a certificate from a training held by the Salt Lake Kindergarten Association in 1892. To put the issue to rest, Wells was sent to Colorado Springs at the Utah Kindergarten Association's expense to participate in a summer kindergarten

³⁵ Minutes of the Utah Kindergarten Association June 14, 1895. The next year, in 1896, Emma J. McVicker was appointed as the first female member of the University of Utah Board of Regents. *Utah Daily Chronicle*, April 8, 1896. May Booth Talmage was a well-educated teacher who enrolled in Brigham Young Academy's normal course (teacher training). After graduation she taught in an elementary school in Kaysville until she married James G. Talmage. She was a women activist, serving on the General Board of the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association of the LDS church for almost forty years. She was also a member of the Utah Territorial Women's Suffrage Association and represented the women of Utah at the World Congress of Women at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. She was charter member of a few other associations, such as the Parent-Teacher Association, Authors' Club, and the Friendship Circle. Register of the Merry May Talmage (1868-1944) Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collection, Brigham Young University. Minutes of the Utah Kindergarten Association June 14, 1895.

³⁶ Minutes of the Utah Kindergarten Association May 3, 1895.

course.³⁷ The conflict was resolved and Emmeline Wells was invited to teach songs and games at Alice Chapin's training school.³⁸

For Mormon leaders of the Utah Kindergarten Association, the question of accepting non-Mormon children and prospective teachers arose in 1895 when they received letters from women wanting to place their children in the Association's kindergarten and desiring to enroll in teacher training courses.³⁹ The Association members voted to accept non-Mormon participants, a decision that was confirmed by Salt Lake Stake President Angus M. Cannon.⁴⁰ At Brigham Young Academy in Provo, non-Mormon Anna K. Craig directed the school's kindergarten department from 1894 until 1897.⁴¹ By the late 1920s the kindergarten movement had met with success in Utah. In writing a history of the kindergarten movement in Utah for her master's thesis, Anne Marie Fox Felt asked Elizabeth A. Parsons to write her reminiscence about the early kindergartens in Utah. In her account, Parsons stated that Elizabeth Dickey had opened the first Froebelian kindergarten. However, in an affidavit before a notary public, Camilla Cobb also claimed to have opened the first Froebelian kindergarten in Utah after going to the East Coast to study the Froebel methods there.⁴² Cobb's claim was substantiated by notarized statements by former students Susa Y. Gates, Brigham W. Young, Fannie V. Young Clayton, Zina Young Card, and Seymour B. Young that they had attended Cobb's

³⁷ Minutes of the Utah Kindergarten Association July 3, 1895.

³⁸ Marie Anne Fox Felt, "History of Kindergartens during the Pioneering Period 1874-1898," Marie Anne Fox Felt papers Box 8, folder 1. p. 14. Alice Chapin's course was popular among the Mormon women leaders. For example Ruth May Fox and Ellis R. Shipp participated in it as well. See: Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr, *Women's Voices. An Untold History of the Latter-Day Saints 1830-1900*. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1982): 375-76. Minutes of the Utah Kindergarten Association, July 3, 1895.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., June 14, 1895. For summaries about women in different churches in Utah see: Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Decade of Détente: The Mormon-Gentile Female Relationship in Nineteenth Century Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 63 (Fall, 1995): 298-319; John Sillito, "Conflict and Contributions: Women in Churches, 1847-1920," in Scott and Thatcher, eds., *Women in Utah History*, 82-128.

⁴¹ Anna K. Craig came to Utah to teach in the kindergarten department of Brigham Young Academy in 1892. As many women at the time, she played an active role in different associations and clubs, such as the Utah Sororis Club, and the Nineteenth Century Club of Provo. She became a member of the first Board of Directors of the Women's Council. She was a charter member of the First Church of Christ and registered herself as a Christian Science practitioner. She lived in Provo for forty-six years, until her death. Shortly after her appointment, Craig wrote to Sarah Cooper, President of the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association in San Francisco, in advance of Cooper's planned meeting with Karl G. Maeser, principal at BYA. Fearing that she might lose her job because she was not a member of the Mormon church, Craig asked Cooper to reinforce the importance of kindergarten education and the significance of Craig's work. Anna K. Craig to Sarah Cooper, February 27, 1894, Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper Papers 1813-1921, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. The reasons for Craig's fears are not clear, but there seemed to be no basis for them as she stayed with the faculty until 1897, and kindergarten education continued for years at the Academy. Anna Craig's professional reputation was also apparent when the Utah Kindergarten Association asked her to be one of the trainers in the kindergarten teacher's class. The Association knew that Craig's nursery training education was accepted everywhere in the nation.

⁴² Felt papers, box 1, fd. 1

kindergarten in 1874 and 1875.⁴³

Early education leaders recognized the selfless efforts of kindergarten advocates in Utah's largest communities, but also questioned the timing for adding kindergartens to the public school system. In his 1894-95 report, the territorial school superintendent T. B. Lewis concluded:

Too much cannot be said in commendation of the labor that has been performed by representative ladies of Salt Lake, Ogden, Provo, Logan and in other cities and towns in the way of establishing kindergarten schools and in some instances maintaining them free from any charge of tuition against the parents of the children . . . I must however call your attention to the fact that first class kindergarten training is being given in the cities mentioned, under the management of noble and heroic women whose hearts are engaged in their efforts; and the class-work is being conducted by trained teachers who have demonstrated satisfactorily their fitness and competency. It now rests with the legislature to make the kindergarten the base of our free public school system.⁴⁴



The Free Kindergarten in Salt Lake City.

However, in his first report as state school superintendent, Dr. John R. Park expressed negative feelings about making kindergarten part of the public school system asserting that the public schools of Utah should not be expanded to include kindergartens "until the common schools were placed on a more efficient basis."⁴⁵ Park also said that no clear philosophy had developed to provide a worthwhile objective for kindergarten education, and that because of this it would be some time before capable teachers would be available. Park concluded that "a far-seeing public policy would dictate that no public function should be extended until it has been clearly shown that no injustice will be done and that the people will be benefited in proportion to the outlay."⁴⁶

In response to Park's harsh and in some ways true opinion, a new group, the Utah State Kindergarten Association, was founded on June 24, 1896, to

⁴³ Copy of the original can be found in Felt, "History of Kindergartens during the Pioneering Period 1874-1898."

⁴⁴ Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Schools for Utah Territory, for the Years 1894 and 1895. (Salt Lake City: Geo. Q. Cannon & Sons Company, 1896): 9.

⁴⁵ First report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Utah for the school year ending June 30, 1896 (Salt Lake City, 1897), 39.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

**Anna K. Craig.**

extend the kindergarten work throughout the state. Among the new organization's aims was to establish a kindergarten training school at the University of Utah which would provide qualified teachers, expand the number of kindergartens in public schools, and circulate kindergarten literature among parents and teachers.

Until the founding of the Utah State Kindergarten Association, the kindergarten movement was focused primarily on

the Salt Lake City area. The new Association immediately turned its attention to establishing branches throughout Utah, and sought to organize summer kindergartens and mother classes in every county. As a result of the Association's campaign, 11,164 children attended kindergarten throughout Utah during the 1910-11 school year.⁴⁷

Utah political, educational, and religious leaders signed an endorsement in support of the goals and work of the Utah State Kindergarten Association. These leaders included Heber M. Wells, Governor of Utah, John R. Park, President of the State Board of Education; James E. Talmage, President of the University of Utah; J. F. Millspaugh, Superintendent of the Salt Lake City schools; R. J. Caskey, Superintendent of the Collegiate Institute; R. G. McNiece, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church; Dr T. C. Illiff, Superintendent of the Methodist Mission; Reverend Clarence T. Brown, Pastor of the First Congregational Church; Reverend Lawrance B. Ridgley, Rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church; Reverend B. F. Clay, Pastor of the Central Christian Church; H. B. Steelman, Pastor of the first Baptist Church; and Heber J. Grant, Apostle of the LDS Church.⁴⁸ Augusta M. Grant, wife of Mormon Apostle Heber J. Grant, became president of the

⁴⁷ John Clifton Moffit, *The History of Public Education in Utah*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1946), 353.

⁴⁸ "Kindergarten Association to Honor Charter Members on Fortieth Anniversary," Anne Marie Fox Felt papers, box 1, fd. 1,



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association.⁴⁹ Presbyterian Emma J. McVicker was appointed treasurer while Anna K. Craig, Alice Chapin, Elizabeth H. Parsons, and William Stewart were among the Association's members.⁵⁰

Students and teachers sitting in a school gymnasium.

The establishment of kindergarten classes at the University of Utah was a welcome expansion for the university and boon to the kindergarten movement. In his report for 1896, University President James E. Talmage wrote that: "The addition of a well equipped Kindergarten department is rendered necessary by the growing importance of this part of the teacher's labor. The Kindergarten is recognized in the Constitution of the State as an integral part of the public school system; and already many petitions have been presented asking that kindergarten training classes be established in connection with the normal School."⁵¹ His comments, together with the Association's efforts, resulted in a grant of thirty-five hundred dollars to the kindergarten department at the University of Utah for two years in a row.⁵² The funding made possible two free kindergartens and a popular mother's

⁴⁹ Augusta W. Grant began her teaching career when she was thirteen as a teacher assistant in her mother's school. Later she became the principal. She graduated from the University of Utah's teacher training course. She continued to teach until her marriage to Heber J. Grant, who later became president of the LDS church. She participated in other women activities and she was also a delegate to the Mother's Congress held in Washington D.C. in 1898. Emerson Roy West, *Latter-Day Prophets: Their Lives, Teachings, and Testimonies with Profiles of Their Wives*. (American Fork: Covenant Communication Inc, 1997), 123.

⁵⁰ "History of Utah State Kindergarten Association," Anne Marie Fox Felt papers, box 1, folder 7, p. 3.

⁵¹ Reports of the Board of Regents and of the President, for the Year 1896. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1897), 24.

⁵² The kindergarten training commenced at the University of Utah in 1888. William M. Stewart, the previous Nineteenth Ward District school principal, became the head of the normal (teacher training) department at the university in 1888. He invited Anna Elizabeth Richards Jones to teach in the department. The training was terminated after a year and did not resume until 1897. "Anna Elizabeth Richardson Jones As a Teacher," Anne Marie Fox Felt papers, box 2, fd. 7.

class, which operated under the joint management of a committee made up of members of the board of education and the Utah State Kindergarten Association.⁵³ Initially three classes were offered within the kindergarten program: Child Study, Observation in Kindergarten, and Kindergarten Practice and Theory.⁵⁴

Recognizing the need for more structure to the program, Mary C. May, a graduate of the Chicago Kindergarten Association and leader of the kindergarten department at the University of Utah, proposed that “both the Kindergarten and Primary work would be greatly benefitted if each department would have supplementary training in the work of the other.”⁵⁵ With the approval of university president Dr. Joseph T. Kingsbury and William M. Stewart, the head of the teacher training department, May wrote to two experts on teacher training, Colonel Francis Wayland Parker of the Cook County Normal School in Chicago and Dr. John Dewey, a professor of the University of Chicago, asking for their opinions about establishing a training curriculum where the kindergarten graduates could teach in primary grades and the primary teacher could use kindergarten methods and materials. Both men supported the proposal and by 1902 two training programs were established—a four year long kindergarten course and an expanded five year normal-kindergarten course.⁵⁶ Although trained teachers were highly sought, those who did not possess a certificate of efficiency in kindergarten work from a normal school could teach by demonstrating their knowledge of the principles and practices of teaching kindergarten by passing an examination offered by the state board of education.⁵⁷

After John Park’s death in 1900, Emma J. McVicker, a key figure of the kindergarten movement, was appointed state superintendent of education. She proposed that the school age be lowered to five years and that the first two years of school be spent in kindergarten. She anticipated the need for more kindergarten teachers and encouraged young women to

⁵³ “History of Kindertartens during the Pioneering Period 1874-1898,” 1.

⁵⁴ Second Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Utah. For the biennial period ending June 30, 1898, (Salt Lake City, 1899), 76, 83.

⁵⁵ Mary C. May was a native of Chicago who studied at Saint Mary’s School in Illinois. She earned an educational degree from The Chicago Free Kindergarten Association where she worked as a kindergarten teacher after her graduation for nine years. Mary established the kindergarten department at the University of Utah where she remained until 1906. “Mary C. May Autobiography,” Anne Marie Fox Felt papers box 2, fd. 10.

⁵⁶ Fourth Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Utah, for the biennial period ending June 30, 1902. (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1903), 38. Besides the University of Utah, Brigham Young Academy also offered kindergarten training. The first kindergarten summer training course commenced in 1891 under the leadership of Emma Finch Park. After this summer course the Academy established a kindergarten department where Mary Lyman Gowan taught for a year. Between 1893 and 1897, Anna K. Craig led the department. The next year, in 1898, Jane Skofield became the director of education at the institution. Ida Smooth Dusenberry began her work in the kindergarten department in 1899. She was a graduate from Anna Craig’s class and received her certificate from Wheelock Kindergarten College in Boston. Dusenberry taught at BYA for more than twenty years.

⁵⁷ Laws of the State of Utah (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1897), 162.



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receive formal training to teach.⁵⁸

A kindergarten Christmas program.

In 1904 the Salt Lake City Board of Education established a public kindergarten in the Union School at the corner of Third West and First North Streets making the first time that "...children under six years of age were admitted to the public schools."⁵⁹ D. H. Christiansen, Salt Lake City School Superintendent, proposed that in order to deal with the large number of children of kindergarten age in the city several short sessions be held in the same room for rotating sections of children or, alternatively, that the different sections be offered for a part of the year.⁶⁰

Funding remained the basic problem as state law permitted kindergartens to be established by local school districts, but state lawmakers failed to provide any monetary support for kindergartens. With the support of the State School Superintendent, the Utah State Parent-Teachers' Association, the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, the LDS Primary Association, and the Salt Lake Federation of Labor, the Utah State Kindergarten Association proposed legislation in 1913 to address the funding problem. But the initial initiatives were not successful because of opposition by local superintendents and school boards concerned about the increased financial burden they would incur for their districts.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Third report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Utah, for the biennial period ending June 30, 1900, (Salt Lake City, 1901), 24-25.

⁵⁹ Fifth report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Utah, for the biennial period ending June 30, 1904 (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1905), 52.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 53.

⁶¹ Report of the Kindergarten Association on work completed in connection with house bill #82. Anne Marie Fox Felt Papers, box 1, fd. 11.

The effort was renewed in 1923 under the leadership of Rose Jones, President of the Utah State Kindergarten Association. The association's goals included obtaining the backing of other organizations, expanding the number of branches throughout the state, promoting the establishment of kindergartens, and seeking to convince local school superintendents of their value.⁶² In a letter sent in 1930 to all Utah school superintendents, the group now known as the Utah State Kindergarten-Primary Association, acknowledged the financial difficulties local school districts faced, but made a strong case for the value of kindergartens.

We are aware of the fact that...the establishment of kindergartens in the many communities of the state, would bring about added expense and so increase the yearly budget. On the other hand, we would fail in our mission if we did not call your attention to the compensating fact that, in the long run, kindergarten education will pay for itself....In the first place, experience has shown that where efficient kindergartens have been established retardation in the first grade has been reduced to a minimum. In the second place, children who have received kindergarten training are more alert, physically, intellectually. In the third place, a good kindergarten becomes the community laboratory for training young mothers in the best methods of child management. In this way, it contributes directly to the solution of the very important problem of adult education and training for family life.⁶³

Progress came with small victories. State legislation passed requiring at least one kindergarten in each school district with a population of two thousand or more. Consequently for the 1937-1938 school year, sixty-three trained kindergarten teachers taught in one hundred and four public and an additional five private kindergartens in the state.⁶⁴

Support for the kindergarten movement continued in the post-World War II era as the Utah State Kindergarten-Primary Association worked with the Education Committee of the Utah House of Representatives. Their efforts culminated in the passage of House Bill 27 in 1953, which provided state funds to local school districts to support kindergartens.⁶⁵

What had begun three-quarters of a century earlier as an initiative of progressive-minded women working with their respective religious institutions and cooperating in statewide organizations was now an accepted and popular element of Utah's public education system.

⁶² Rose Jones was an enthusiastic educator. She received her Bachelor's Degree from Brigham Young Academy's teacher training program in 1896. She taught in Logan until 1904 when she began her Master's program at Columbia University. Her involvement with the kindergarten movement began in 1915 when she became head of the kindergarten department at the University of Utah. Anne Marie Fox Felt Papers, box 2, fd. 8.

⁶³ Anne Marie Fox Felt Papers, box 1, fd. 11.

⁶⁴ "History of the kindergarten movements in the western states." Presented at the 47th annual convention of the Association for Childhood Education. (Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1940), 54.

⁶⁵ The passage of House Bill 27 was especially noteworthy in that it came during the administration of Governor J. Bracken Lee whose conservative philosophy was to restrict public funding for education.



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Taylor A. Woolley, Utah Architect and Draftsman to Frank Lloyd Wright

By PETER L. GOSS

Taylor Woolley outside the Villino Belvedere, Fiesole, Italy, 1910. Taylor Woolley left Salt Lake City in 1908 and headed to Chicago hoping to find work in one of the city's major architectural offices. The following year he found work in Frank Lloyd Wright's office. After closing his Chicago office Wright traveled to Europe to prepare a portfolio of his work for a German publisher. He invited his draftsman, Taylor Woolley, and his oldest son, Lloyd Wright, to assist him. Woolley is standing outside the Villino Belvedere in which he and Lloyd Wright worked on the drawings for the famous "Wasmuth" Portfolio.

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Architecture was a promising career for Taylor A. Woolley, a young Utahn at the turn of the twentieth century. Unfortunately formal education in the subject was not available in Utah or the surrounding states. A beginning draftsman learned by office experience and by taking drafting and drawing courses through such institutions as the International Correspondence School of Scranton, Pennsylvania. Woolley worked as a draftsman for two Salt Lake architectural firms. His office experience no doubt introduced him to the architecture of Chicago and New York City via architectural periodicals, and, most likely, the encouragement of one of his bosses, architect Alberto Treganza, led to his wanderlust. With three years of work experience as a draftsman, he headed to Chicago first working for a well-connected “society” architect, Howard Van Doren, Shaw in 1908 and part of 1909. In the evenings he took classes in drawing at the Chicago Art Institute. Beginning in 1909 he was employed as a draftsman by the successful and prolific Frank Lloyd Wright.

At the time Wright was considering a major change in his life due to several circumstances. A romantic liaison with the wife of one of his clients caused personal unrest and affected his marriage. The invitation of a German

Construction photograph of Frank Lloyd Wright's Taliesin, Spring Green, Wisconsin. The wing on the left contained a workroom-studio and a bedroom for the draftsmen.

The main living area for Frank Lloyd Wright and Mamah Cheney is at the end of the courtyard.

Photo by Taylor Woolley, c. 1911.

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publisher to produce a portfolio of his work offered an opportunity for professional advancement. Wright decided to sell his practice and go to Europe with Mamah Borthwick Cheney where he would set to work on the portfolio. In what appeared to be a last minute decision Wright invited his oldest son Lloyd and Taylor Woolley to go to Italy to help produce the drawings that would become the lithographic plates for a two volume publication known as the Wasmuth Portfolio.

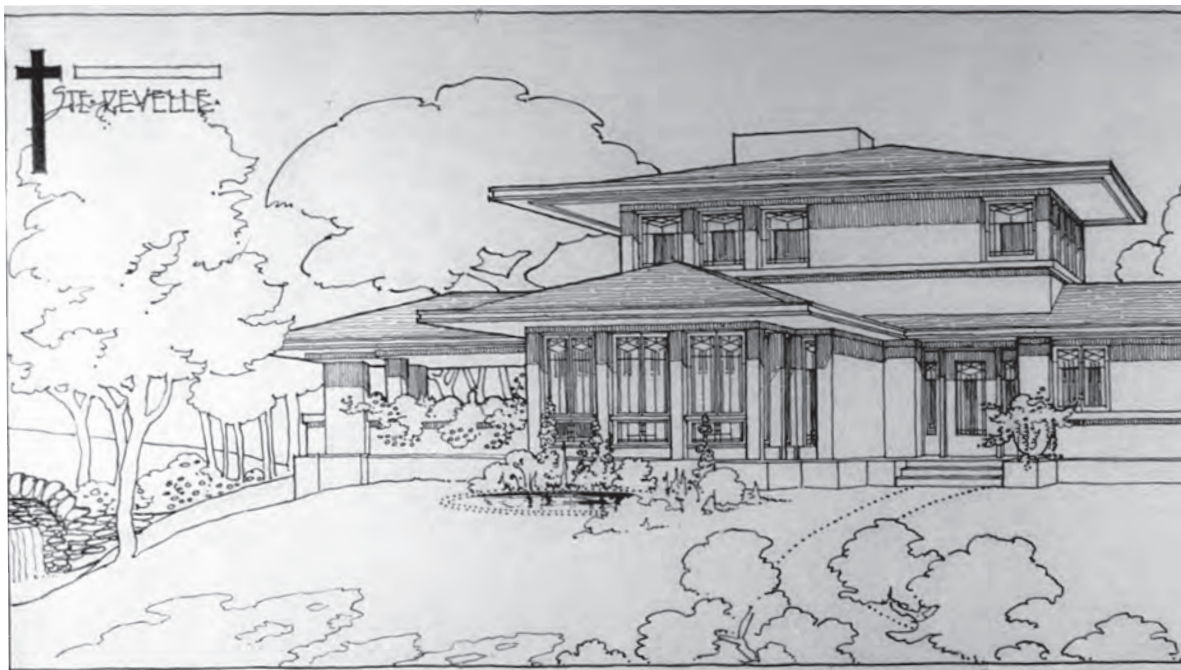
Woolley and Lloyd went to Italy in 1910 and helped Wright set up a studio in the



TAYLOR WOOLLEY COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Taylor Woolley (left) and his future architectural partner Cliff Evans at Taliesin c.1911. They are standing outside the workroom wing of Frank Lloyd Wright's unfinished Taliesin near Spring Green Wisconsin preparing to paint a portion of the new construction.

The dining room (above) of Taliesin, Spring Green, Wisconsin, c. 1911. The dining room and adjacent living room at Taliesin were destroyed in a fire set by a servant in August of 1914. Mamah Cheney, and her two children, and four others were murdered at the time the fire was set by the same servant.

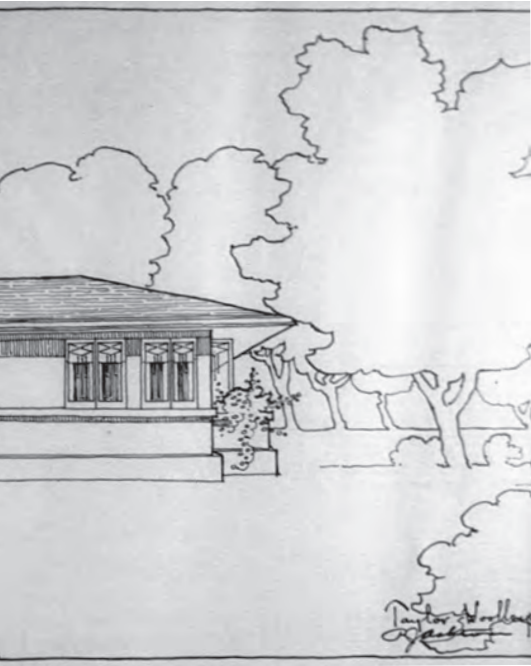


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Villino Belvedere in Fiesole, near Florence. Using Wright's office renderings and working drawings, Woolley and the younger Wright completed, with crow quill pen and India ink, the drawings from which the lithographic plates were produced. Woolley realized the significance of this event and documented their working environment with his Kodak folding pocket camera. A year later he used the same camera to document the construction of Taliesin, the home Wright built for himself and the then divorced Mamah Borthwick, near Spring Green, Wisconsin. Woolley's photographs of Taliesin under construction between 1910 and 1911 were the first documentation of this world famous site. Several of his photographs include his friend and eventual partner Cliff Evans.

Between 1911 and 1914 Woolley divided his time between Salt Lake City, where he designed homes in the Prairie Style for the Kimball and Richards Building Company, developers of Salt Lake City's Gilmer and Highland Park subdivisions, and Chicago where he assisted with projects in several architectural offices. In

A Prairie Style residence in the Ste. Strevell subdivision c. 1913. This project for Charles N. Strevell, owner of the Salt Lake Hardware Co. never reached fruition. It consisted of eleven Prairie style residences surrounding a creek. The site was to be bordered by 900 East and Windsor Ave. in the Sugarhouse neighborhood of Salt Lake City. The project was co-designed by architects Taylor Woolley and Raymond Ashton.



1911 he designed a Prairie Style residence for his sister and brother-in-law, Irreta and Samuel Jackson in the Forest Dale neighborhood of Sugarhouse. He also became a registered architect in Utah. In Chicago he worked for Hermann Von Holst with Marion Mahony, who also had previously worked for Wright. Mahony married Walter Burley Griffin in 1911 and Woolley worked in their office after 1911. The Griffins won the 1912 design competition for Australia's Capitol City, Canberra.

At the end of March 1914 Wright wired Woolley requesting his help to prepare an exhibition of Wright's work to be shown at the Chicago Architectural Club. Woolley, who was in Salt Lake City at the time, immediately left for Taliesin where he took another set of photographs that included a puppet theater that Wright had built for the exhibition. The exhibition opened at the Chicago Art Institute in April 1914; Wright wanted Woolley to stay on at Taliesin through the summer; however Woolley was unable to do so. On August 15, 1914, a terrible tragedy



SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The William W. Ray residence, 1915, Yale Ave., Salt Lake City. Woolley's inspiration for this house was Frank Lloyd Wright's "Fireproof House Plan for \$5,000," published in Ladies Home Journal in 1907. This house type became very popular in Utah as well as nationally. Originally intended to be constructed of concrete very few were, although Utah examples were often constructed of masonry.



SHPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Residence of Taylor and Dorrit Woolley, 1222 East 900 South, Salt Lake City, c. 1917. The house is located in the Gilmer Park subdivision, a portion of which was designed by Woolley for the Kimball and Richards Development Company. No longer designing in the Prairie Style the Woolley's residence reflects the vernacular architecture of an English Cottage. The living room featured Dorrit's baby grand piano.



SHPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Automobile Showroom of the Randall-Dodd Automobile Company, Social Hall Ave., Salt Lake City, c. 1919. Tall, reinforced concrete columns form a spacious showroom for automobiles of the 1920s.



SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Belvedere Apartments on the corner of State St. and Social Hall Ave., Salt Lake City, c. 1919. Designed by Woolley for the firm of Miller Woolley and Evans this cosmopolitan structure is the first of two large commissions undertaken by the firm for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It was constructed of a reinforced concrete frame covered with a brick veneer containing decorative terra-cotta accents.



SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Automotive Center, Randall-Dodd Automobile Company, Social Hall Ave., Salt Lake City, c. 1919 (Demolished). Social Hall Ave. was transformed into an automobile row consisting of a number of auto showrooms for various motor companies all constructed of reinforced concrete frames. This was the second of the two LDS Church commercial commissions undertaken by the Woolley Miller and Evans firm. At the completion of the project in 1922 the Social Hall was demolished.

occurred at Taliesin when a deranged servant set fire to the house and then murdered Mamah Borthwick, her two children, and four others, including Emil Brodelle the thirty-year-old draftsman that took Woolley's place.

When work in Chicago declined, Woolley returned to Salt Lake City but maintained contact with the Griffin office and worked periodically on projects for the Chicago firm. He married his sweetheart Dorrit Evans on December 15, 1915. Dorrit was a musician who formally studied piano in Chicago. Within three years they moved into their new home designed by Taylor on property they owned in Gilmer Park, its living room dominated by a baby grand piano. It is there that they raised their son, Nathan and their daughter, Blossom. Woolley practiced architecture in the Chicago office of Walter Burley Griffin until 1917 when he joined fellow Salt Lake City architects Miles Miller and his brother-in-law Cliff Evans in the firm of Miller, Woolley and Evans.

Miles Miller, a Utahn, began his apprenticeship in Salt Lake City in 1908. His early work consisted of schools and church buildings in Utah and Idaho. The announcement of their firm in the *Salt Lake Tribune* mentions the role of each of the principals: Miller in charge of the business organization and superintendence of out-of-town work, Woolley, the head designer responsible for city work; and landscape architecture; and Evans, to supervise the engineering department. Almost immediately the firm was commissioned by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to undertake two large commercial projects on Social Hall Avenue in downtown Salt Lake City. It is not known whether Miles Miller was instrumental in securing these commissions, but the Belvedere Apartment building and Automotive Center showrooms along Social Hall Avenue were the largest commissions of their careers. The firm generated eighty-four ink-on-linen sheets of drawings for the apartment building and one hundred three ink-on-linen sheets of drawings for the Automotive Center. Woolley continued to do most of the residential work of the firm, including his own residence on 900 South. The firm dissolved in 1922 after the completion of the Social Hall Avenue commissions. Miller opened his own firm in 1922 and continued specializing primarily in public schools and church buildings for the LDS church in Utah and Nevada.

The firm of Woolley and Evans was formed in 1922 and provided design services for commercial, religious, and residential projects. The Midwestern Prairie Style was no longer popular nationally and many architects turned to various historical styles. The firm's first major religious commission for the LDS church was the Colonial Revival red brick Yale Ward House of 1925, not far from their own residences in Gilmer Park. In 1931 the Salt Lake City Commission gave permission to the Salt Lake City Art Barn Association to build an exhibition space in Reservoir Park. The firm of Woolley & Evans was chosen to design the facility and again used the Colonial Revival style. The Art Barn opened in 1933 with an exhibition of Utah artists picked by Woolley, a friend of many Utah artists. During that



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

same year Governor Henry H. Blood appointed Woolley to the position of “Capitol Architect.” This appointment lasted until 1941 at the conclusion of Blood’s second term as the seventh governor of Utah. In this position Woolley was involved with landscape at the Capitol building as well as supervising work done on the Capitol building, including the installation of murals in the capitol rotunda painted by various Utah artists during the WPA era. Apparently Woolley’s position as state architect did not prevent the firm from accepting work during the 1930s. In 1938 Woolley and Evans received the commission to design the LDS ward house in their neighborhood. The Garden Park ward on Yale Avenue in Gilmer Park was unusual in that it was built partly upon the foundations of the Legrand Young—John Howard estate. The ward house is one of two non-residential buildings within the Gilmer Park National Register Historic District. The brick building’s style according to the ward dedicatory pamphlet was “English with an Elizabethan spirit.” At the south end of the site Red Butte Creek flows east to west through attractively landscaped grounds that contain a pond and gazebo enclosed by a decorative brick wall, making it a favorite setting for wedding photographs.

During the 1940s the firm continued designing residences, commercial buildings, and a large number of remodelings of existing buildings. In 1941

Drawing of the Garden Park Ward Scout Home, Yale Ave., Salt Lake City, 1941. This building is west of the ward house designed by Woolley and Evans in 1938. To the south of this building, Red Butte Creek runs through the site.



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

his beloved wife Dorrit passed away at the age of forty-eight. Taylor Woolley ended his career in the late 1940s with his involvement in the design of "This Is the Place" state park. Here he collaborated with his lifelong friends sculptor Mahonri Young and artist Waldo Midgley. It was Young's commission, and in 1947 he brought in Woolley for architectural consultation and to handle the landscape surrounding the monument. Midgley worked on the monument lettering. It wasn't considered complete until the official lighting ceremony held November 15, 1949. Taylor Woolley lived out the remainder of his life at his home in Gilmer Park and died in 1965 at the age of eighty.

The lighting ceremony at "This Is the Place Monument" November 15, 1949. The monument involved the collaboration of Taylor Woolley, Mahonri Young, sculptor, and painter Waldo Midgley. It was completed a year or so before the lighting ceremony. Among the dignitaries are Mr. and Mrs. Ezra Taft Benson, John D. Giles at the microphone, Taylor Woolley, Mahonri Young, President George Albert Smith, and Governor J. Bracken Lee.



Safety Lessons: The 1938 Burgon's Crossing School Bus and Train Accident

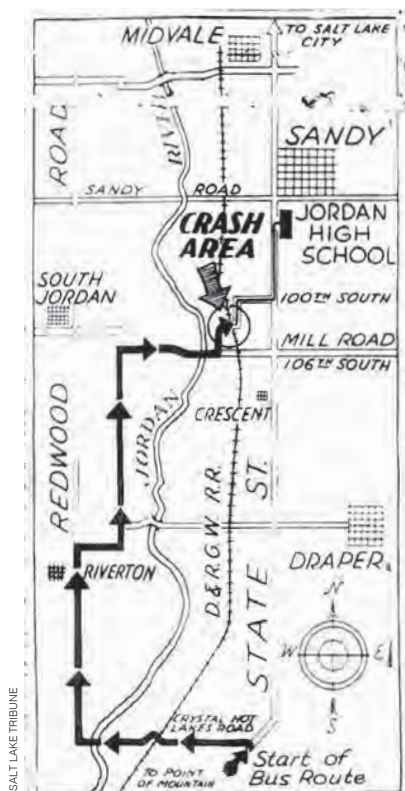
By ERIC G. SWEDIN

On December 1, 1938, a Thursday, early in the morning, Denver and Rio Grande Western No. 31 left Helper, located in central Utah, pulling twelve loaded freight cars, thirty-eight empty cars, and a caboose. The second-class freight train, named the Flying Ute, was running late, but that was not unusual; it lost even more time as it made its way north, running four hours and nineteen minutes late when it passed Provo. A light snow was falling in the cold morning.

Just northwest of Riverton, in the southern part of the Salt Lake Valley at approximately 3rd West and 102nd South, a country road approached the railroad track, but turned to run parallel to the railroad track for 2,600 feet, almost a half a mile, before turning at a right angle to cross the tracks at Burgon's Crossing. As the train came to the road, the fireman on the engine saw that a school bus was on the parallel section of the road, some distance ahead of the train. The crew had seen school buses on this road before. Visibility was reported to be up to a half mile and the open country contained no obstructions; the head brakeman later testified that he could see the end of his train at all times from his position in the engine.

Photo of the crash site that appeared in the December 2, 1938, issue of the Salt Lake Tribune.

Eric Swedin is Associate Professor of History at Weber State University.



The route of the school bus from Riverton north to Jordan High School.

Trains were required to sound a whistle whenever they approached a railroad crossing. A whistle board on the side of the track, 1,430 feet from Burgon's Crossing, reminded them of this responsibility. The crew sounded the whistle and kept it blowing as they approached the crossing.

The bus driver, twenty-nine-year-old Farrold Henry Silcox, had been driving the bus for almost three years, and had not been cited for any traffic violations as a driver. Silcox was familiar with the route and the road and he had already picked up thirty-eight students. Band instruments being brought to school by the students were piled on seats towards the front of the bus.

The morning bus run could be a hard drive on winter mornings because there was no heater in the vehicle, though the windshield was equipped with a defrosting window and windshield wiper. The driver ran a strict bus, not allowing students to stand or be too loud. Students reported that on that morning there was no "unusual noise, loud talking, laughing or singing."¹ The bus windows were closed because of the weather, and steam covered all the

windows, with the exception of the defrosted windshield.

The bus turned and stopped at the railroad crossing. State law required, as did school district policy, that school buses come to a full stop before crossing railroad tracks, and "before proceeding on his way, the driver must be certain that no train is approaching from either side."² Normally, at this

¹ "Interstate Commerce Commission; Washington; Report of the Director Bureau of Safety; Accident on the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad; Riverton, Utah; December 1, 1938; Investigation No. 2315," <<http://www.drgw.net/info/index.php?n=Main.ICC2315>>, accessed November 5, 2012. This is a copy of Inv-2315, the Interstate Commerce Commission report of their investigation of the accident. Unless otherwise cited, the narrative is derived from this detailed report, which is the most reliable and objective account of the accident, written shortly afterwards with a focus on what exactly happened. As time went on, survivors of the accident and others added details to their recollections that may or may not be accurate. This is not surprising, since a sudden traumatic accident usually leaves only fragmented memories that survivors sift through and reassess over the years, adding information from other sources, and trying to make sense of what happened. Two other useful accounts of the accident are found in Scott Crump, *The First 100 Years: A History of Jordan School District* (West Jordan: Jordan School District, 2005), 23-26, 59; and Melvin L. Bashore and Scott Crump, *Riverton: The Story of a Utah Country Town* (Riverton: Riverton Historical Society, 1994), 151-63.

² Ibid. State law did not require school buses to stop if traffic control signals (also called safety appliances) were operating. See *Revised Statutes of Utah 1933*, 57-7-44.



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time of day, no trains were on the tracks. Investigators later watched the tracks themselves and found that on average only twenty-two trains a day used this track, with a tendency for more traffic to occur in the middle of the night. The bus driver was on the left-hand side of the bus, while the train approached from his right. The train engineman was on the right side of his engine, while the bus was stopped on his left side.

Seeing no train, because the side windows were steamed up, and not hearing the train whistle because the windows were all closed, and not expecting a train at that time of day, the bus driver worked the gears and proceeded forward. None of the students remembered hearing the train whistle, though one girl remembered hearing another student toward the front of the bus cry out, "train."³

The fireman on the train was still looking out the side window when he saw the bus start to move forward. He cried out a warning to the engineman, who immediately applied the emergency brakes. The train had a valve pilot which recorded engine power output and speed on a strip of paper, which served both as an instrument that the train driver used and a record of engine performance and speed. The valve-pilot tape on the engine later showed that the train was going fifty-two miles per hour.⁴ Trains on this section of track were allowed to travel fifty miles per hour. At 8:43 a.m., the freight train hit the center of the bus.

Sixteen-year-old June Wynn lived near the crossing and was standing at her doorway, waiting for the bus to pick her up. She described the



RIVERTON: THE STORY OF A UTAH COUNTRY TOWN

These photos of the school bus show the main part of the bus after the accident (above left) and part of the bus attached to the locomotive (above).

³ "Survivors Relate Impressions After Bus Disaster," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 2, 1938.

⁴ See William Bell Wait, *Valve Pilot Tape Talks* (New York: Valve Pilot Corporation, 1943).

accident for a reporter: "I could see the lights of the bus and the train half a mile away, and I watched while the bus pulled up to the tracks. It stopped today the same as usual. It always stops for the crossing. But this time it started up again . . . The bus just sort of exploded and went dragging off down the tracks."⁵

The bus was made completely of steel. The right side of the bus was sheared off and the body of the bus came to rest one hundred feet from the railroad crossing, while the more sturdy chassis of the bus was pushed by the train engine almost a half mile further down the track before the train came to a stop. Debris from the bus was scattered along that half mile. The bus chassis forced the lead pair of train engine wheels off of the tracks and welding torches were necessary to later cut the bus chassis out from underneath the front of the train engine.

David Witter, an unemployed twenty-two year old truck driver, was catching a ride in a boxcar, walking back and forth, trying to keep warm, when the train came to a stop. He got out to see "the awfulest thing I ever saw."⁶ At first, because of all the carnage, he assumed that the train had hit a cattle truck, then he saw the children in the snow, some lying still and some looking "bewildered."⁷ Those victims that looked well enough to be moved, he carried to the warmth of the caboose. "One little girl was standing there screaming, holding for dear life to a little pocketbook."⁸ A newspaper reporter arrived to find "Fragments of torn bodies, tattered bits of school texts, battered band instruments and twisted pieces" of the bus, scattered along the tracks on the snowy landscape.⁹

Within a half hour, hundreds of people gathered at the site: "hysterical parents," rescue crews, law enforcement officers, ambulances, and anxious onlookers.¹⁰ Searching through the wreckage, Highway Patrolman Bob Howard found his own niece and nephew.¹¹ Other workers walked along the tracks with baskets and sacks, gathering bus parts and body parts, while the injured and the dead were taken to the Salt Lake General Hospital.¹² The *New York Times* also reported that Sheriff Grant Young ordered "a thorough search of the snow-covered area near the track to recover parts of bodies and clothing."¹³

⁵ "23 Killed in School Bus Hit By Train in Utah in Storm," *New York Times*, December 2, 1938; also quoted in "Engine Plows Into Car [sic] of Jordan Pupils," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 2, 1938. Numerous other articles in this issue of the *Salt Lake Tribune* cover various aspects of the accident.

⁶ "23 Killed."

⁷ "Traveler Tells of Aiding Hurt Children," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 2, 1938.

⁸ "23 Killed."

⁹ "Engine Plows."

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ "Utah Department of Public Safety: Nation's Deadliest Traffic Accident," <http://www.publicsafety.utah.gov/highwaypatrol/history_1939/deadliest_accident.html>, accessed on November 5, 2012.

¹² "Engine Plows."

¹³ "23 Killed."

Crash Victims Buried as Another Dies

Death of Girl Brings Bus Fatalities to 24

Solemn last rites were scarcely over Sunday for 14 victims of the Jordan school district bus-train collision Thursday when Reta Beckstead, 15, died in a local hospital, bringing the total disaster death toll to 24 persons.

Death of the girl, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Royal V. Beckstead of South Jordan, occurred at 6:57 p. m. of complications following injuries suffered in the catastrophe, the nation's worst recorded motor vehicle accident.

Meanwhile, saddened families of the Riverton First and Second L. S. wards planned final honors for the other eight student victims of the tragedy and the bus driver at mass funeral services Monday at 10 a. m. and 2 p. m. in the community junior high school.

Thousands Attend

Thousands gathered Sunday at two mass ceremonies in the Riverton auditorium and two other services, as sympathetic speakers, commemorative music and floral tributes combined to sound requiem notes for 14 students.

In addition to the many gathered for the actual services, thousands of others paid tribute to the victims of the pre-Christmas tragedy with 10-second periods of silence in their respective churches.

A similar silent period will be observed Monday, when students of all schools in the Jordan district, except Jordan and Riverton, gather at the school nearest their homes—not the one they attend if it is farther away—for the momentary tribute, after which they will be at-

Mourners Offer Last Tribute to Children



Crowds of mourners thronged Sunday to this flower-decked Riverton junior high school auditorium to pay final tribute to victims of the Jordan district bus-train disaster at mass funeral services.

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Twenty-two students and the bus driver died immediately. Another student, fifteen-year-old Reta Marie Beckstead, died at St. Marks Hospital three days later. The remaining fifteen students lived, though seven of them were gravely injured. It was the kind of accident, with so much force involved, that death and life were a matter of inches. The girl who heard another student call out "train" woke up to find herself in the snow with only slight injuries.¹⁴ Other students survived by happenchance: one girl was reported dead, though she was not on the bus; another boy, who had a perfect school attendance record for the year, helped his father with the family grocery store in the morning and was too late to catch the bus, though he ran after the bus in an effort to catch it; his sister normally rode the bus, but had taken another bus instead; and two other teenagers were delayed by the snow and missed the bus.¹⁵

Funeral services for fourteen of the twenty-four victims were held on Sunday, December 4th at the Riverton Junior High School.

Dr. Paul S. Richards, who ran the nearby Bingham Hospital and Clinic and was also president of the Jordan School District Board, heard about the accident via a telephone call and immediately rushed to the site of the accident, some ten miles away.

Richards "stayed on the scene until all the bodies had been cleaned up. Many of them were mangled and torn into shreds and small fragments. We got underneath the train with whisk-brooms and dust-pans and gathered

¹⁴ "Survivors Relate Impressions."

¹⁵ "Youth Spoils School Mark, Saves Life by Tardiness," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 2, 1938.

pieces of flesh, bowel, clothing, hair, skin and the like.” Richards was also concerned about the psychological fallout from the accident and took particular care to ensure that all traces of the victims were collected or removed. He intuitively understood that people would visit this site, perhaps as part of the grieving process, and finding blood or flesh would simply be horrifying. After the train had been moved away, the rescue workers “took flaming torches and seared the ties and rails and removed all blood spots until there was no remaining evidence of the accident.”¹⁶

Dr. Richards recalled later that the dead bodies “were put together in [similar] caskets as carefully as could be and inasmuch as many were fragmented, experts were called in.” One expert, “who had the ability of matching like tissues,” came from Denver. Some “bodies were torn to the point where no identity could be established,” except through dental records.¹⁷ A special local Red Cross relief committee was immediately formed to direct aid to the accident victims and their families. The committee planned to raise funds to pay for medical bills and other immediate needs, as well as to pay for long term care for those crippled in the accident. Richards served as the chairman.¹⁸

Six mass funerals were planned for Sunday and Monday. Two of the funerals, morning and afternoon, were held in the school auditorium of Riverton Junior High to make room for the numerous mourners.¹⁹ Ten seconds of silence were observed in church services throughout the state on Sunday. Jordan High School suspended classes after the accident and did not reopen until Tuesday, while Riverton Junior High School was closed on Monday. Other school children in the Jordan school district were asked to go to the nearest schools to their homes on Monday, regardless of whether they attended that school normally, where they assembled at 10:00 a.m., to stand at attention and “pay silent tribute to the memory of their deceased schoolmates.”²⁰ The students were then dismissed for the rest of the day.

The nation’s newspapers ran the accident as front page news. The newspaper coverage asked the obvious questions: what had happened, why had it happened, and how could it be prevented in the future? The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that local fog had been heavy, making visibility a problem,

¹⁶ Ann R. Barton, ed., Paul S. Richards, “The Memoirs of Dr. Paul” (1965), 73-74. This typescript document is available at the Spencer S. Eccles Health Sciences Library at the University of Utah. Copies are also available at the Special Collections at the J. Willard Marriott Library at the same university and the Historical Department Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ “Relief Committee Acts to Aid Bereft Families,” *The Salt Lake Tribune*, December 3, 1938.

¹⁹ See “Wards Plan Mass Funeral Rites for Bus Disaster Victims,” *The Salt Lake Tribune*, December 3, 1938; “Rail Crossing Crash Victims’ Rites Set Sunday, Monday,” *The Salt Lake Tribune*, December 3, 1938; “Mass Funerals Will Honor Crash Victims,” *The Salt Lake Tribune*, December 4, 1938; and “Crash Victims Buried as Another Dies,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 5, 1938.

²⁰ “ICC Starts Fatal Crash Investigation,” *The Deseret News*, December 3, 1938.

though later investigation showed that this was not accurate.²¹ The federal government sent two investigators from the Interstate Commerce Commission, while other agencies from the state government conducted their own inquiries, including the "State Public Service Commission, the State Industrial Commission, State Department of Public Instruction, and the State Highway Patrol."²² On the local level, the county sheriff conducted an investigation to report to the county attorney.

Dr. Richards and the Jordan School District board met in "long meetings with parents of the victims . . . We felt that inasmuch as this was purely an accident we should get the parties together and come to some kind of an agreement regarding the settlement." The school board also "advised the parents against employing any attorneys" and the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad gave the school board the "responsibility of adjudicating the losses." Richards took on the personal responsibility to "adjudicate lost functions in those who had been injured," a similar responsibility that he often performed for the Utah State Industrial Commission by medically describing the resulting permanent disabilities from industrial accidents. According to Richards,

the families agreed to a reasonable settlement for those who had been killed. This whole case was handled through the understanding which the Board achieved with both the railroad and the families of the students who had been involved in the accident. To me, it was a very remarkable thing that we could conduct the whole accident as a school problem and have no hard feelings, no legal involvement, and no attempt at placing the responsibility.²³

While Richards' recalled a lack of legal action two decades later in his dictated memoirs, unified legal action by the families of the victims did occur.²⁴

While the injured students had been taken to the county hospital, afterwards the victims went to other doctors for further care and rehabilitation. Richards cared for several of the cases because of his reputation for such care. He recalled students "with broken backs and some with compound fractures" of their limbs; "Some of these patients were very



AUTHOR

Dr. Paul S. Richards.

²¹ "Fog Obscured Rail Crossing," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 2, 1938.

²² "New Crash Death Boosts Bus-Train Fatalities to 23," *The Deseret News*, December 2, 1938. See also "State Board to Probe All Bus Crossings," *The Deseret News*, December 2, 1938; and "Agencies Join In Probe of Bus Disaster," *The Salt Lake Tribune*, December 3, 1938.

²³ Barton, ed., "The Memoirs of Dr. Paul," 73-74.

Bus Tragedy Forecasts Increased State Regulation

Brief Sketches Of Crash Victims' Lives
Families of 21 Children, Driver Listed

Crash Pushes Drive for Safe Crossings
Accident Scene Okohed in Recent Survey

Town Plans Mass Funeral For Victims of Tragedy

'First Mishap Of Career,' Says Engineer

Bus Driver

disfigured, but with plastic surgery and restorative types of procedures all the injured turned out very well.”²⁵ Some of the students remained his patients for the next two decades.

This was the worst school bus accident up until that time in American history and still remains the worst bus-train accident. Two later accidents that exceeded the death toll for school bus accidents both happened in Kentucky. In 1958 a school bus near Prestonsburg, Kentucky, collided with a tow truck and plunged into a river, drowning the driver and twenty-six students. Twenty-two other students managed to swim to safety.²⁶ In 1988, near Carrollton, Kentucky, a drunk driver in a pickup truck collided head-on with a former school bus being used as a church bus. The accident initially caused only minor injuries, but the bus caught fire and twenty-seven people, mostly children, died trying to use the narrow rear exit. Only seven people escaped.²⁷ Other train accidents have killed many more, usually when a train with passengers derailed or two trains collided.

The nation already knew that it had a problem with school bus accidents at railroad crossings. In the previous ten years, four school buses had been hit, killing a number of people. The public conversation immediately

Pictures of eighteen of the twenty-four victims were published in the December 2, 1938, issue of the Salt Lake Tribune.

²⁴ “Damage Suits For \$365,500 Filed by Bus Victims’ Parents,” *The Ute Sentinel*, February 24, 1939.

²⁵ Barton, ed., “The Memoirs of Dr. Paul,” 75.

²⁶ “Kentucky: National Guard History Museum—Prestonsburg School Bus Disaster,” <<http://kyngis-history.ky.gov/history/4qtr/addinfo/pburgbusdisaster.htm>>, accessed November 5, 2012.

²⁷ “10 years ago, 27 people died in a fiery crash,”

turned to the safety appliance that would have stopped the Utah accident from happening: a train-actuated crossing guard. The sole warning sign at Burgon's Crossing was a crossed-buck sign reading "RAILROAD CROSSING." There were 2,200 railroad crossings in Utah, of which only 125 were "protected by train-actuated signals" and twenty more had watchmen.²⁸ The state Public Service Commission had "recently recommended" that 137 more crossings receive additional safety appliances.²⁹ As a temporary measure elsewhere in the state, Weber County formed junior traffic patrols where a student would get out of every school bus at railroad crossings to see if a train was approaching before the bus would be allowed to cross the tracks.³⁰

This episode effectively illustrated contemporary attitudes towards safety and the causes of accidents. Dr. Richards analyzed what happened, seeking to find a root cause, which he found in the weather conditions. According to Richards:

We allayed all hysteria and concluded from every possible angle that this was purely an accident. The locomotive engineer said that the bus stopped. He knew it stopped because he saw it standing there, but because of a peculiar type of cloud formation that was hanging near the ground, the driver's view must have been obscured and as he advanced forward onto the tracks, the train struck the middle of the bus.³¹

The search to find a person to blame by their actions or lack of action was common in safety thinking at this time, dominated as it was by the psychological approach.³² The bus driver was exempted from blame because of the weather. Richards did not take the analysis one step further, though many others did. A safety appliance, if it had worked correctly, would have certainly averted the collision.

The official accident report for the Interstate Commerce Commission concluded with some common sense recommendations. They recognized that not only was the accident a result of not having an additional safety appliance, like the crossing guards, but it also reflected the lack of the correct rules to govern driver behavior. Such rules, turned into habits, made a person's activities safer. The recommendations: that more stringent rules covering the operation of school buses over grade crossings should be prescribed and strictly enforced; that all drivers of school buses be required to open the front side door when the stop is made at each railroad crossing at grade; and that, whenever practicable, buses should be routed so as to avoid grade crossings that are not protected by watchmen or devices to give visual warning when a train is approaching.³³

<<http://www.enquirer.com/editions/1998/05/10/kybusa110.html>>, accessed November 5, 2012.

²⁸ "Agencies Join."

²⁹ "23 Killed."

³⁰ "ICC Starts."

³¹ Barton, ed., "The Memoirs of Dr. Paul," 73.

³² See Michael Guarnieri, "Landmarks in the History of Safety," *Journal of Safety Research* 23 (1992): 151-58.

³³ "Interstate Commerce Commission."

While the number of train-automobile collisions and fatalities have fallen in frequency over the years, the problem still persists despite the widespread use of safety appliances at crossings, such as warning lights and crossing arms, and safety education programs and public service advertisements. In 2008, there were 2,426 collisions involving trains in the United States and 290 people died.³⁴

The Burgon's Crossing accident and others like it did have a positive effect. Any child who has ridden a school bus may have noticed that the school bus stops at every railroad crossing and the driver opens the front side door while looking both directions down the tracks. That simple act of opening the front door would have saved twenty-three students and a bus driver in 1938.

³⁴ "Crossing Collisions & Casualties By Year Operation Lifesaver, Inc.," <<http://oli.org/about-us/news/collisions-casulties/>>, accessed November 5, 2012.

The Renaissance
Man of Delta:
Frank Asahel
Beckwith,
*Millard County
Chronicle*
Publisher,
Scientist,
and Scholar,
1875–1951

By DAVID A. HALES



BECKWITH PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION, DELTA CITY LIBRARY

On February 1, 1913, at five o'clock in the morning, Frank Asahel Beckwith and his wife, Mary Amelia Simister Beckwith, arrived at the train station in Delta, Millard County, Utah. The weather was mild for mid-winter, warm enough that Frank carried his Remington typewriter in his bare hands as they trudged across the snowless ground to the hotel. After breakfast, the Beckwiths walked over to the town for their first look at their new home, and to say that Frank was displeased with what he saw would be something of an understatement. "Never was I more discouraged in my life," he wrote. "Such a dreary outlook! Scattered over 900 acres was the most miserable collection of huts, shells, shacks, and whatnots ever slung up in a hurry....I had never stepped into a more soul-sinking place in my life. And to think that I had deliberately chosen to settle here! ...I was never so blue. I would have turned back and taken the

Frank Beckwith was an avid reader and student of many subjects.

David A. Hales is a retired librarian and educator now living in Draper. The author wishes to thank Jane Beckwith for her assistance with the article and for allowing him access to the private papers and photographs of the Beckwith family in her possession. He also acknowledges and thanks Meghan Hekker Nestel for her editorial assistance.

train out but that the wife held me fast to the bargain I'd made."¹

Beckwith had agreed to serve as the cashier of the Delta State Bank, which opened with four thousand dollars, including one two-thousand dollar deposit made by attorney and co-founder James A. Melville.² The safe did not arrive for three weeks after the bank opened, so Beckwith took five hundred dollars in silver home every night in a "tin can-like affair," and slept with the currency in his vest underneath his night gown and a revolver inside the bed.³ Beckwith's salary was seventy-five dollars a month, which he soon learned did not go far in supporting a family of five (their three children had joined them in time for summer), even in tiny Delta, Utah. They lived for a while in the basement of the Kelly Hotel, in conditions that Beckwith referred to as "might raw," and swept more than one "trantler bug" (scorpion) from their home.⁴

It did not take long, however, for the Beckwith family to overcome their negative first impressions of Delta. Yes, times were tough, "But, what," wrote Beckwith, "was the use of complaining. Everybody else was just as poor or even poorer."⁵ Their hardships gave the people of Delta a common ground, a reason to connect with and support each other, and Beckwith was impressed that "nobody was stuck up." Instead, they "were all in the same canoe, paddling or bailing water, and no drones. And all worked right on the same common level, free with the other, no sharp lines drawn... We danced together, without clique or coterie, all one bunch, jolly, free and everybody knew everybody else. ... We all sigh and look back to those times and say 'Them were the good old days all rightee!'"⁶ It was this second impression of Delta that would be the lasting one—Frank Beckwith would call Delta home for most of the rest of his life, and make many significant contributions to his town, state, and country, not only as a banker, but as a newspaper publisher, writer, photographer, inventor, anthropologist, geologist, and explorer.

Considering Beckwith's life before moving to Delta, it is not surprising it took him a little while to warm up to the town. Beckwith was born in Evanston, Wyoming, to Asahel Collins Beckwith and Mary Stuart Rose on November 24, 1875. He had an older brother, Fred Beckwith (born in Echo City, Summit County, Utah Territory, on December 16, 1873), and two half-siblings from his father's first marriage.⁷ Asahel Collins Beckwith

¹ Frank A. Beckwith, "Personal Reminiscences: A Gleaning of Thirteen Years in Delta," 1, typescript in the possession of Jane Beckwith, Delta, Utah.

² The letterhead for the Delta State Bank on a letter dated June 21, 1917, notes the following: Officers: James A. Melville, President; Frank Beckwith, Cashier; Directors: James A. Melville, Hiatt C. Maxfield, William J. Finlinson, John E. Steele, Edgar W. Jeffery, J. W. Jenkins, Joseph Sampson.

³ Frank A. Beckwith, "Personal Reminiscences," 3–4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷ Asahel C. Beckwith was first married to Elizabeth Russel. They had two children Dora Edith Beckwith, born October 2, 1859, in Medina City, Clemens County, Nebraska, and John Asahel Beckwith, born on March 10, 1862, on the Little Blue River, Nebraska.

was one of the richest men in Wyoming. When he was a young man, A. C. Beckwith and his friend, Anthony Quinn, had almost literally stumbled across a fortune when they found a small steamboat filled with guns, ammunition, barrels of whiskey, and knives abandoned in the mud of the Platte River. A. C. Beckwith and Quinn appropriated the deserted supplies, as law and custom stated such discarded goods were “the property of anyone who could retrieve it,” and sold them to Union Pacific Railroad workers in Wyoming and Utah.⁸ According to Frank Beckwith’s friend Charles Kelly, “by the time construction was completed the boys [A.C. Beckwith and Quinn] were comparatively rich.”⁹ A. C. Beckwith invested his profits in various enterprises, opened a bank, and started the “BQ” Ranch



BECKWITH PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION, DELTA CITY LIBRARY

(Beckwith, Quinn, and Company Ranch), *Frank Beckwith as a young boy.* which included fifteen thousand acres and the largest cattle herd in Wyoming.¹⁰ He also built the Beckwith Race Tracks in Evanston, co-operated the Rock Springs coal mines, was the senior member of the mercantile firm of Beckwith & Lauder, served as a World’s Fair commissioner for the state of Wyoming, and held several other prestigious positions within the state.¹¹

His wealth and position allowed A. C. Beckwith to provide a comfortable life for his family, including a beautiful red brick home in Evanston and the services of a maid and a houseboy.¹² In spite of such material luxuries, Frank did not have an easy childhood—his father “ruled with a fist of iron,

⁸ Charles Kelly, “Steamboat in the Desert, the Story of Asa [sic] C. Beckwith, Father of Frank Beckwith, Resident of Evanston, Wyoming.” Charles Kelly Papers, Special Collections, Marriot Library, University of Utah, MS 100, Box 11, Folder 21.

⁹ Ibid., 4.

¹⁰ Ibid.; Errol Jack Lloyd, “History of Cokeville, Wyoming” (master’s thesis, Utah State University, 1970), 103.

¹¹ David Dean, “The Uinta Stock Farm—1884,” 3, typed unpublished manuscript in the possession of Jane Beckwith; “Asahel C. Beckwith,” manuscript dated 1897 in the Wyoming Historical Society, Cheyenne, Wyoming, 332.

¹² Jane Beckwith, interview by author, January 10, 2012.



BECKWITH PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION, DELTA CITY LIBRARY

Frank Beckwith as a young man.

and no glove, and was determined that his young sons, Fred and Frank, were not to grow up as ‘sissies’.”¹³ He expected them to work hard and become successful businessmen like him. Fortunately for Beckwith, learning came naturally. From an early age, Frank Beckwith had an inquisitive mind and loved to read about many subjects. His mother was a former schoolteacher, and she had accumulated a large collection of books in their home, including works of history and Greek mythology. She encouraged Frank to read these works when he was a young boy and books provided a never-ending fascination for her son.¹⁴

Beckwith graduated from Evanston High School in 1892 at the age of sixteen. His valedictory essay concerned electricity, a subject Beckwith had been “delving into it for many years” with the help of *The A.B.C. of Electricity* by William Henry Meadowcraft, a book endorsed by Thomas A. Edison himself. Beckwith “read and re-read the book, until I had completely and fully mastered the essay lessons it taught. Then I got volume after volume, harder and harder.” He even “built a small dynamo; and it ran—but not for long at a time, as it was crude, quickly got over-heated, and the brushes would actually get to burning, showing the blue flames of vaporized copper. Was I tickled?”¹⁵ Beckwith may have wanted to continue his education after high school, but instead, Frank was to become a banker, a position he had learned about while working at his father’s bank in Evanston.¹⁶ However, two years after his graduation, when Beckwith was just eighteen, his mother passed away, followed by A.C. Beckwith two years later. At such a young age, Fred and Frank Beckwith did not have the necessary experience to maintain their father’s expansive holdings, and the companies slowly went bankrupt.¹⁷

On August 25, 1898, Beckwith started his own family when he married Mary Amelia Simister of Coalville, Utah.¹⁸ The couple made their home in Evanston for about two years, lived briefly in Salt Lake City, and then

¹³ Utah Newspaper Hall of Fame (Salt Lake City: Utah State Press Association, 1966), 1, copy in the possession of Jane Beckwith, Delta, Utah.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Frank A. Beckwith, “Affliction, Agony and Torture to E. Eugene Gardner,” 1, typescript in the possession of Jane Beckwith.

¹⁶ Jane Beckwith, interview.

¹⁷ Leland Ray Hunsaker, “A History of the Millard County Chronicle 1910-1956” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968), 29; This is the most definitive history of the *Millard County Chronicle* from its beginnings to 1956.

moved back to Evanston in 1902, where Beckwith worked for the Beckwith banking company. In 1907, Frank and Mary returned to Salt Lake City, where Frank found employment as a banker for the McCormick Banking Company and Utah Savings, Tracy Loan & Trust Company, a teacher at Henager Business College, and a secretary for C.C. Goodwin at *Goodwin's Weekly*. By the time the Beckwiths made their 1913 move to Delta, they had added three children to their family—Athena Beckwith Cook, born 1900; Frank S. Beckwith, born 1904; and Florence W. Beckwith Reeves, born 1907. The family lived in Delta until 1917, when they moved to Oakley, Idaho, where Beckwith worked as a bank cashier. In 1919, the Beckwiths returned to Delta, and made the small town their permanent home.¹⁹

Upon his return to Delta, Beckwith discovered that the local newspaper, *The Millard County Chronicle*, was for sale, and jumped at the chance to change careers. The paper had been published since July 4, 1910, and its owner, Charles A. Davis, had become physically and mentally exhausted by the strain of producing it. Whether Davis himself sold his stock in the paper and his interest in the Linotype machine to Beckwith, or whether the bank repossessed the paper and then sold it to Beckwith is not clear, but either way, Frank Beckwith was now a newspaperman.²⁰

When Beckwith took over the paper, its future seemed pretty secure. The alfalfa seed crops were record breaking, and the sugar factory in Delta assured a ready market for the sugar beets. Mines were operating in the area, and the railroad had announced plans to build a spur line to Sugarville (a farming area northwest of Delta) to haul beets to the sugar factory.²¹ Beckwith was able to convince Otto Reidman, a Swede who had worked for Davis, to stay on at the paper long enough to teach Beckwith's eldest daughter, Athena, how to operate the Linotype and his son, Frank S. Beckwith, how to operate the handset.²² For several years, the Beckwiths self-produced the paper, with only the occasional added help of a few part-time workers and correspondents from nearby towns. Athena took most of the responsibility for the business aspects of the paper including social news gathering and selling advertisements, which left Beckwith free to do what

¹⁸ Mary was born on May 1, 1874, at Coalville, Summit County, the daughter of John William and Elizabeth Brierly Simister. During their entire married life she was very supportive of her husband's many activities and assisted in the publication of the weekly newspaper until the business was sold in 1958. In Delta, she was active in civic and community affairs, including the American Red Cross, the Jolly Stitchers Club, and Betah Rebekah Lodge No. 47, I.O.O. F., at Delta. Mary died on February 2, 1965, in Delta. She was ninety years old and outlived her husband by fourteen years. She is buried next to him in the Delta City Cemetery; "Final Tribute Paid in Rites Friday for Mrs. Beckwith," *Millard County Chronicle*, February 11, 1965.

¹⁹ "Frank A. Beckwith, Editor of Chronicle Since 1919, Dies of Heart Ailment," *Millard County Chronicle*, June 14, 1951.

²⁰ J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1938), 65.

²¹ Hunsaker, "A History of the *Millard County Chronicle*," 30.

²² *Ibid.*, 37.

he truly came to love—write about what he was interested in.

Frank Beckwith's enthusiasm for the newspaper was clear in his general attitude and the effort he put into it. According to Charles Kelly, Beckwith always went about his work amiably. He never "got temperamental, never got angry, and in the toughest situations [he] could always think of a joke."²³ Beckwith also always dressed up to go to work, donning a white long-sleeved shirt with garters, a bow tie, and sometimes a green visor.²⁴ He enlisted the assistance of eleven correspondents, who sent him news from the surrounding communities to help keep the people of Delta informed of what was happening with their friends and relatives, and he himself gathered the local news and took the majority of the photographs needed for the paper. Beckwith, camera in hand, became a familiar face at all the local events, and he traveled the county in his old truck, visiting various towns and sites. In later years, he also took up aerial photography.²⁵

Like many locally based newspapers of the time, the *Chronicle* documented the comings and goings of the county, along with births, marriages, deaths, news from churches, clubs, and lodges, and local and national politics. It featured articles about local individuals and events, as well as emergencies, accidents, fires, and major events, including the Great Depression, the two World Wars, the building of and local news from the World War II Topaz Internment Camp, and the discussion regarding the decision to build Highway 6 connecting Delta with Ely, Nevada. It included cartoons drawn by Beckwith, and was printed in special editions at Christmas time and in commemoration of important events (such as a memorial edition highlighting local servicemen who died in World War I).²⁶

The business end of the paper changed hands a couple of times while under Beckwith's ownership. On October 1, 1925, Beckwith leased the printing work to Henry T. Howes, an Englishman and an experienced newspaperman who moved to Delta from Roosevelt. Beckwith enjoyed having more time to write without worrying about the business side of managing a weekly local newspaper, but the arrangement only lasted until September of 1927, when, according to Athena Beckwith Cook, Howes became overdue on his payments.²⁷ At this time, Beckwith's son, Frank S. Beckwith, was persuaded to return from Los Angeles, where he had been working in the real estate business after studying for two years at the University of California at Berkeley. Frank S. Beckwith did some writing for the newspaper, but his primary responsibility was to be the business manager and printer. He and his father were very different in their

²³ Charles Kelly, "Reminiscences of Frank A. Beckwith," Charles Kelly Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, MS 100, Box 12, Folder 3.

²⁴ Jane Beckwith, e-mail message to author, March 7, 2012.

²⁵ Over 2,000 of Beckwith's photographs have been digitized and are available online at the Delta City Library, Beckwith Photograph Collection. URL content.lib.utah.edu/cdm4/az_details.php?id=45

²⁶ Hunsaker, "A History of the Millard County Chronicle," 92

²⁷ Ibid., 45.

approaches to writing and business, Frank S. being much less formal than his father, but the two enjoyed working together, and Beckwith was happy to once again have more time for writing. No matter who was running the business end, however, Beckwith was firmly aware that the *Chronicle* had an obligation

to be dependable, reliable, and informative for its readers, and he was committed to producing a paper dedicated to its readership.

Not surprisingly, a large portion of the *Chronicle*'s readership was composed of farmers. Farming was an essential aspect of life in Millard County, and it was the rich soil deposited from Lake Bonneville that first drew Mormon pioneers to the west side of the county in 1860. Crops grew well in this soil, if the farmers learned how to irrigate the heavy clay soil and there was water to irrigate them. At first, there were difficulties controlling the water that came down the Sevier River, but the ability to build reservoirs over the years alleviated the water problems unless there was a drought. Starting in the early 1900s, efforts were made to encourage outsiders to purchase land and move to the area. The Carey Land Act, also known as the Federal Desert Land Act, also played a role in settlers coming to the area because they could purchase 160 acres of land for fifty cents per acre plus the cost of water rights. These new residents settled primarily in Sutherland, Woodrow, north of Sutherland, and South Tract, located southeast and east of Delta.²⁸

The *Millard County Chronicle* helped with these promotions, and when Frank Beckwith first came to Delta in 1913, he became actively engaged in these efforts. He wrote brochures and newspaper articles to persuade new farmers to come to the area. The following is typical of the types of articles published in the *Chronicle* to advertise the area:

This special edition is issued because this country needs population—men and women who are not afraid of hard work—who will grub the brush from the soil, and make this great valley and the adjoining foothills into one vast garden spot. Thousands of acres of fine tillable soil with first-class water rights are now lying dormant here awaiting more toilers so that they may be utilized for the benefit of mankind.²⁹



The building in Delta that housed the hotel and bank office.

²⁸ Edward Leo Lyman and Linda Newell King, *A History of Millard County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Millard County Commission, 1999) 211, 229. While most of the early residents of West Millard County were Mormons, this changed considerably with the development of the land boom. Most of the individuals who moved into the area at that time were non-Mormons.

By the time Beckwith purchased the *Chronicle* in 1919, the population of Millard County was still less than ten thousand. Of the 3,840,000 acres of land, the majority of which was tillable, only about 133,000 acres were actually being farmed with irrigation, with some additional land being dry-farmed.³⁰ A letter written to a Mr. M. de Brabant on September 14, 1921, by an unknown author who had just completed an inspection tour of Millard County sponsored by the Pahvant Valley Boosters Day Celebration Committee, accurately noted some of the positive and negative aspects of the farming situation in the area:

Millard County has excellent soil, good climate, adequate water supply and all the natural requirements necessary to a productive agricultural district....[However] the entire "Delta District" is in a deplorable condition from an agricultural standpoint. Through mismanagement, ignorance and an attempt to farm large acreage per man, the district has become water-logged, pest infested and productive of less than twenty-five per cent of its capabilities.³¹

In order to correct these conditions, the letter writer recommended that the farmers be "taught intensified farming, fertilization, crop-rotation and constant war on pest control," and that more farmers be encouraged to settle in the area, in order to "permit the present holder of the land to decrease their overage and make it possible for them to farm their smaller farms.... About 40 acres is all one man can farm successfully in Millard County."³²

The unknown letter writer was not the only one to hold these opinions about what was needed to improve the county, and upon purchasing the *Chronicle*, Beckwith resumed his dedication to encouraging agricultural progress. He continued to write promotional articles in the paper, praising the attributes of the county and calling on those willing to work the land to come farm in Millard. He also wrote articles about farming practices, and featured articles about successful farmers in the area. Eventually, he started writing articles urging farmers to become more diversified in the types of crops they grew, encouraging them to raise turkeys to eat all the grasshoppers in the area, and attempting to motivate them to try new farming techniques that could benefit not just them, but the county.

Regardless of any efforts that were made to follow advice such as that published by Beckwith, Millard County farmers as a whole had mixed financial success in the years after World War I. During and immediately after the Great War, the number of acres under cultivation doubled, and the additional land yielded a good quantity of alfalfa seed and sugar beets, but by the time of the Great Depression, increased taxes and poor drainage problems had caused many farmers to leave.³³

²⁹ *Millard County Chronicle*, November 22, 1917.

³⁰ Letter to Mr. M. de Brabant, September 14, 1921. The name of the author of the letter is illegible, but it was sent from Los Angeles, California. Copy in the possession of Jane Beckwith.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*



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Much like the community it served, the *Millard County Chronicle* had its ups and downs. The paper fared pretty well in the aftermath of World War I—subscriptions increased as more people came into the area, and the Beckwiths were able to supplement the paper's income by printing butter wrappers for a number of local women who marked their homemade butter with their trademark before selling it.³⁴

However, by the end of the 1920s, the agricultural troubles in the area led to a decrease in subscriptions and the need for butter wraps, as farmers lost their property and left the area. Conditions were so severe that the sugar factory closed in 1924.

Despite these losses, the *Chronicle* actually prospered during the depression. According to Frank S. Beckwith, "If the depression hadn't come along when it did we would have gone broke, but as it was we were swamped with legals (and they paid for them at the legal rate) and so we not only weathered the storm but actually prospered. I never had it so good—work two days a week and fish five."³⁵ The *Chronicle* received another increase in prosperity during World War II, when the War Relocation Authority removed eleven thousand Japanese-Americans to Topaz, which was located just sixteen miles northwest of Delta. This was the biggest surge to the economy since the sugar factory was built in the area in 1918, and "Everybody benefitted, especially the businessmen who dealt in goods."³⁶ Thus, while the *Chronicle's* readers struggled through drought, financial panic, and agricultural depression, the paper flourished through the Great

³³ Lyman and King, *A History of Millard County*, 280–82.

³⁴ Hunsaker, "A History of the *Millard County Chronicle*," 37.

³⁵ Frank S. Beckwith, "The *Millard County Chronicle*," *Utah Publisher and Printer*, April 1953), 8.

³⁶ *Ibid.*



**Frank Beckwith, his daughter
Athena and wife Mary Simister
Beckwith.**

Depression and the prosperity of two world wars. Under Beckwith's guidance, it remained a leader in the week-to-week business of helping to mold and establish public opinion;

serving as a "faithful mirror of the community"; and, recording the history of Millard County through narrative and photograph.³⁷

Frank Beckwith was much more than a banker and newspaper man, however. He was also an author, inventor, geologist, anthropologist, explorer, and, above all else, the epitome of an eternal scholar. Beckwith had a great quest for knowledge that had been encouraged by his school teacher mother, and he spent countless hours studying many subjects, including Latin and Greek, and the works of Plato, Homer, Shakespeare, Emerson, and many others. He learned the Pittman Howard method of shorthand, using an Edison phonograph with cylinders that enabled him to make recordings that he played back to help him practice. Beckwith quickly became proficient, and used the technique to take notes on his readings, interviews, and research.

The breadth and depth of Beckwith's self-taught information was astonishing—his friend Charles Kelly wrote that he "was constantly amazed at the extent of his knowledge of so many different subjects."³⁸ For example, Beckwith became fascinated with the Mayan calendar, and spent hours extensively studying and trying to decipher the characters. He drew correlations between the calendar and known astronomical dates, and tried without success to have his findings published in scientific magazines.³⁹

Religion was also an area of great interest for Beckwith. While he was a Mason as his father was before him, he was also, as noted by Kelly, "a student of all religions" whose "mind was too great to be fettered by any one dogma. His great unrealized ambition was to put on a breech-clout and live like a primitive Indian, close to nature. He felt that the Indians were more sincere in their beliefs than most white men."⁴⁰ Beckwith was also very interested in Hindu philosophy and mythology, along with other

³⁷ George L. Bird and Frederic E. Merwin, *The Press and Society: A Book of Readings* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), 199.

³⁸ Charles Kelly, "A Tribute to Frank Beckwith," *Millard County Chronicle*, June 21, 1951.

³⁹ Frank A. Beckwith, "Mayan Calendar," documents in the possession of Jane Beckwith.

⁴⁰ Kelly, "Tribute." Beckwith was a member of the Wasatch Lodge No. 1 and the Tintic Lodge No. 9 Free and Accepted Masons. He first became a Mason in 1902.

religions. Above all, he believed in religious tolerance. To his Mormon friend E. Eugene Gardner he wrote, "The traditions of Mormonism are too precious to you for appraisal [sic] by another. Cherish them. They are what greatness is made from."⁴¹

Although he was not a member of the LDS church, Beckwith became interested in the religious background of Utah in general, and more specifically the local area. After reading the book *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* by Josiah F. Gibbs, he became enamored with the subject, especially after learning that some of the descendants of the men involved lived in the area. Kelly wrote that Beckwith "became more and more interested in his research on 'MMM' as he wrote it, until finally he could talk of nothing else. He pursued every possible clue that would furnish additional information."⁴² Kelly himself was also interested in the massacre, and the two pursued their research together over a twenty year period, often visiting and camping overnight at the site. After accumulating so much material for so many years on the subject, Kelly approached Beckwith about publishing a book with their findings, but Beckwith, who did not wish to stir up trouble as a gentile in a largely Mormon town, was opposed.⁴³ Beckwith did, however, feel that it was important to place historical monuments at the appropriate sites. He worked tirelessly in an effort to get historical monuments built at the Mountain Meadows Massacre site, and the site of the 1853 Gunnison Massacre (which occurred just west of Delta). Beckwith even spoke at the dedication ceremony of the Mountain Meadows monument on September 9, 1932, marking the 75th



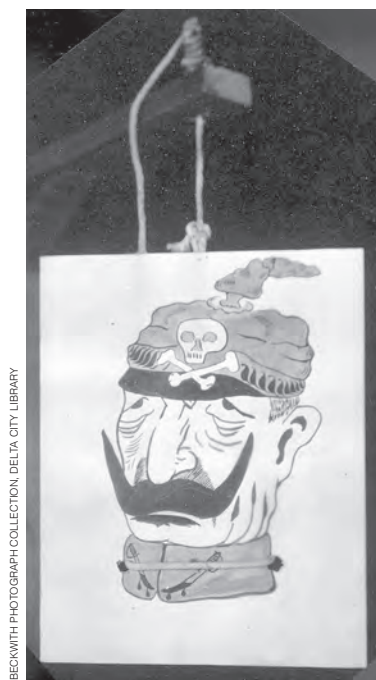
BECKWITH PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION, DELTA CITY LIBRARY

Frank Beckwith working at the printing press for the Millard County Chronicle.

⁴¹ Frank A. Beckwith, "Affliction, Agony and Torture to E. Eugene Gardner," 6, typescript in the possession of Jane Beckwith.

⁴² Kelly, "Reminiscences."

⁴³ Ibid.; Kelly wrote a draft of the book, but it was never published. Materials collected by Frank Beckwith were deposited as Manuscript Collection 49 at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.



A caricature of Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany drawn by Frank Beckwith during World War I.

anniversary of the event.⁴⁴

The subjects that appealed to Beckwith more than any other, however, were those involving science. Kelly noted that Beckwith “had the mentality of a scientist and an almost fanatical desire to pursue any subject in which he was interested to the furthest possible conclusion.”⁴⁵ Beckwith himself remarked that he “would rather study Geology for vast intervals of time, and Astronomy for Vast distances, Light as I study it for Photography—and Chemistry for its wonders—well, I hump over those volumes more than you possibly imagine.” In the same letter to Eugene Gardner he wrote, “Science is the noblest, best, most fascinating thought in the world. As Pupin says, ‘It is God’s language: and we men must learn it, Eugene—must learn its vowels, its words, its construction. We must master the physical laws of the universe.’”⁴⁶ As he had done with electricity as a young man in high school, as an adult, Beckwith “studied radio activity until I was black in the face.”⁴⁷ He also stud-

ied astronomy from an early age, and he had a telescope when he lived in Delta that he would let others use to observe the night skies. His granddaughter, Jessie Lynn Cook, clearly remembers nights spent staring at the stars, her grandfather pointing out the constellations.⁴⁸

Beckwith’s interest in science naturally lent itself to creation, and by the time he moved to Delta, he had three inventions under his belt. In the 1890s, he had remodeled “an old-style Ideal powder measure fitted with a disk for loading a small charge of nitro powder, one disk for 10 grains and one for 12 grains of Laflin & Rand Sporting Rifle Smokeless.” His detailed account of the procedure, including drawings and tables, were published in 1899.⁴⁹ Next, Beckwith invented a safety device for firearms that was “applicable to single and double action revolvers and rifles and shot guns.”⁵⁰ For this invention, he was offered a fifteen thousand dollar capital stock and

⁴⁴ Delta City Library, Beckwith Photograph Collection, Identifier 030gp.tif.

⁴⁵ Kelly, “Reminiscences,” 1; This document is also published in Frank Beckwith, *Indian Joe: In Person and in Background* (Delta: DuWill Publishing Company, 1975).

⁴⁶ Frank A. Beckwith, “Affliction, Agony and Torture,” 5, 6, 8.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Jessie Lynn Cook, “His Knowledge Ever Grows,” 1950-1951, typescript in the possession of Jane Beckwith.

⁴⁹ Frank A. Beckwith, “A Powder Measure,” *Shooting and Fishing*, November 9, 1899, 68-69.

⁵⁰ *Wyoming Pun*, April 28, 1906.

10 per cent royalty on all cash sales. In 1907, Beckwith patented an automatic temperature regulator, which, in conjunction with an electric thermostat, provided a means to automatically control the heat supply to the desired degree during both day and night. It was equally efficient on furnaces or boilers.⁵¹ The device was manufactured by the Jewell Manufacturing Company in Auburn, New York, who advertised it as “The Jewell Controller with Time Clock Attachment.” According to the advertisement, there would be “No shivering or ‘catching cold’ on chilly mornings when the Jewell Control is looking after your comfort.”⁵²

After living in Delta a short time, Beckwith discovered a new fascination—the history and culture of local American Indians. Customers consistently brought to the bank Indian artifacts that they had unearthed while plowing and working the fields, and Beckwith rapidly developed an anthropological interest in the study of Indians.⁵³ Over the years, Beckwith amassed an extensive collection of Indian artifacts, which he housed in the *Chronicle* offices. The artifacts, some of which were eventually returned to their owners, attracted a large number of visitors both locally and from afar, and Beckwith was always happy to share his knowledge. Beckwith also fulfilled a life-long dream when he traveled to New Mexico to visit the Pueblo Indians. He made lantern slides of the photographs he took during the trip and gave lectures about the Pueblo Indians that eventually included information about Millard County Indians as well.⁵⁴

Inspired by his fascination with Indian artifacts, Beckwith also undertook the study of the petroglyphs in the area, and became an authority on petroglyphs in Utah. He and Charles Kelly traveled all over the state, photographing and attempting to interpret the engravings. With the help of Joseph J. Pickyavit, a Native American who resided in Kanosh and who was known locally as “Indian Joe,” Beckwith attempted to deduce what certain petroglyphs depicted. He published several articles and photographs about



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This photograph of the sun emblem petroglyph was taken by Frank Beckwith in Braffet Canyon, near Summit in Iron County in 1939.

⁵¹ Frank A. Beckwith, Automatic Temperature Regulator, patented March 26, 1907, No. 848,280, copy in the possession of Jane Beckwith, Delta, Utah.

⁵² “70 at 7-” Jewell Manufacturing Company Advertisement, copy in the possession of Jane Beckwith, Delta, Utah.

⁵³ Hunsaker, “A History of the Millard County Chronicle,” 29.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 67.



This photograph of a Navajo woman and girl was taken by Frank Beckwith in Delta in 1948.

petroglyphs in popular and professional journals such as the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *Desert Magazine*, *National Pictographic Society Newsletter*, *El Palecio*, and in early issues of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*.

According to Kelly, these articles made Beckwith one of the first people to write about the petroglyphs, as for many years archaeologists and ethnologists had considered them taboo.⁵⁵

Pursuing his study of petroglyphs gave Beckwith an even deeper appreciation of Indian culture. "Because of his deep study of Indian lore," Kelly states, "[Frank] was accepted immediately and always enjoyed his visits with these Indians. I believe he learned more of the lore and mental processes of these Indians than any other white man. His great ambition at this time was to be able to forget he was white, and live as an Indian long enough to understand them perfectly."⁵⁶ Beckwith is even said to have had an Indian name, Chief SEV-VI-TOOTS, although it is not known if he was given it by the Indians or gave it to himself.⁵⁷ Because of his time spent with the local Indians, Beckwith eventually wrote a book about them. Titling his book *Indian Joe: In Person and in Background*, Beckwith focused on the family and culture of Joe Pickyavit and his people.⁵⁸ At first he produced six copies of the original manuscript himself, setting the type on an old Linotype and providing his own illustrations and photographs. The book has been called "a grandiose task and a great tribute to his friend Indian Joe and the other Paiutes...The appeal of the book is the personal account of one man's reaction to the friendship of another."⁵⁹

Beckwith's explorations of the Millard County area in his quest for petroglyphs also sparked his interest in the geology of the region. Delta and the surrounding area were once the bottom of Lake Bonneville, and the ter-

⁵⁵ Kelly, "Frank A. Beckwith, Reminiscences," 2.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Jane Beckwith, interview.

⁵⁸ Beckwith, *Indian Joe*, xiii.

⁵⁹ Frank A. Beckwith, *Indian Joe: In Person and Background* (Delta: DuWil Publishing Company, 1975), v. In 1975, twenty four years after the first six copies were published, the grandchildren of Beckwith published a thousand copies of the book. According to Dorena Martineau, a staff member at the administrative office of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, this book is still used extensively to answer questions they receive; telephone conversation with Dorena Martineau, December 13, 2012.

ances made by its shorelines are visible on surrounding mountains. Beckwith first studied and photographed the Pahvant Butte, a volcanic crater built up from the bottom of the lake. He then began to study the House Mountains, west of Delta, where he found his first fossil trilobites. Beckwith later found more trilobites in the Wheeler Amphitheatre, and west through Marjum Pass and Wahwah Valley. Curious to learn more about the fine specimens he was finding everywhere, Beckwith ordered every available book on the subject. He had an impressively large collection of various types of fossils, including microscopic trilobites no larger than a flyspeck.

Over the years, Beckwith sent thousands of his collected trilobites to the Smithsonian Institution, but one fossil in particular stood out over the others. Encouraged by Kelly, Beckwith sent the Smithsonian a trilobitesque fossil that had been given to him by Emory John, a farmer in Clear Lake, Utah. The fossil, as it turned out, was actually a new genus of merostome, and was the first one ever found in Millard County. Experts at the Smithsonian named the fossil *Beckwithia typa*, and paleontologist Charles Elmer Resser wrote about it in a professional publication.⁶⁰ Beckwith's daughter Athena reported that having the fossil named after him was the greatest honor that had ever come to her father, and that he would rather have had the write-up about the fossils than a thousand dollars.⁶¹ Another unique feature on the specimen was named after Emory John.

Along with petroglyphs and trilobites, Frank Beckwith was known for discovering and naming various historic landmarks in the area. In 1926, Beckwith and Mormon Bishop Joseph Damron were credited with discovering the resemblance of the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith in a volcanic rock. The formation is known today by various names, such as the



BECKWITH PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION, DELTA CITY LIBRARY

Frank Beckwith speaking at the dedicatory ceremony of a monument at Mountain Meadows on September 10, 1932, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the tragic massacre.

⁶⁰ Charles Elmer Resser, "A new Middle Cambrian Merostome Crustacean," *Proceedings U.S. National Museum*, Vol. 79, ART.33 68272-31. A sampling of the accession records from the Smithsonian Institution, United States National Museum record: April 21, 1927, twenty-seven specimens of trilobites from the Middle Cambrian of Utah; July 6, nineteen hundred specimens of Middle Cambrian trilobites of Antelope Springs, Utah and forty slabs containing Cambrian and Ordovician fossils, from Utah; January 5, 1928, two hundred specimens of Cambrian trilobites and two slabs of Ordovician fossils from Nevada.

⁶¹ Hunsaker, "A History of the *Millard County Chronicle*," 66-67.

“Great Stone Face,” “Guardian of the Desert,” and “Keeper of the Desert.”⁶²

Beckwith also played an important role in exploring and naming landforms in the area around what is today Arches National Park. Local residents of Grand County had explored the beautiful rock formations for many years, and as early as 1917, Delicate Arch was featured on the front page of the local newspaper and heralded as “Scenic Wonder Near Moab.” The potential for tourism in the area was soon evident, and eventually led to President Herbert Hoover signing an executive order creating Arches National Monument on April 12, 1929. In 1933–34, an official expedition was organized and sent into the Arches to prepare a map of the area and to conduct an official archaeological investigation of the new monument.⁶³

Due to his knowledge and experience as a geologist, explorer, and historian of the area, Frank A. Beckwith was selected as the expedition’s leader. Along with about fifteen trained scientists and assistants, Beckwith surveyed the area, and the group named and renamed many of the landforms. Frank Beckwith is credited with naming Landscape Arch. By the end of March 1934, the team had completed their work for less than ten thousand dollars. Beckwith followed up the expedition by publishing an official report, and he “also wrote several articles publicizing the area. Maps and a geologic survey were also published as a result of the expedition.”⁶⁴

After traveling so extensively, and studying the archaeology, geology, and history of mid-Utah so thoroughly, Beckwith decided to write a guide to the area entitled *Trips to Points of Interest in Millard and Nearby*. For this book, he “drew materials from his large library of scientific works, sorted it, removed the technical terms, and gave the boys a presentation very readable, highly informative, and entertaining.”⁶⁵ Beckwith dedicated the book to the Boy Scouts of Millard County, whom he had accompanied on many trips into the desert and given many talks on astronomy, because he felt that “The Boy Scouts are taught to do a ‘good turn.’—Well here’s a ‘good turn’ done to them.”⁶⁶ The Boy Scouts sold the guidebook door to door, and all proceeds went to support their activities. The publication remained a popular guide for the local people and for visitors to the area for many years.

As is probably quite clear by now, Frank Beckwith was a prolific writer. Besides his hundreds of editorials for the *Chronicle*, his articles on petroglyphs and trilobites, and his books on Indian Joe and places to see in Millard County, Beckwith also published articles relating to banking in *Journal of the American Bankers Association*, *Inter-mountain Banker*, and *Coast Banking*. He

⁶² Frank A. Beckwith, *Trips to Points of Interest in Millard and Nearby* (Springville: Art City Publishing, 1947), 4; “Does the Great Stone Face Really Resemble the Prophet Joseph?,” *Deseret News*, May 9, 2010.

⁶³ Richard A. Firmage. *History of Grand County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Grand County Commission), 1996, 270.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Frank A. Beckwith, *Trips to Points of Interest*, 4.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; For his contribution to the Boy Scouts of America, Beckwith was presented with their Honorary Tenderfoot Badge by President George Albert Smith of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at a ceremony in Salt Lake City.

wrote many feature articles for the *Deseret News* and the *Salt Lake Tribune*, as well as for other small Utah newspapers. Although Beckwith was not a Mormon, the official Mormon publication *The Improvement Era* published fourteen articles under his legal name and a further seven articles under his pen



BECKWITH PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION, DELTA CITY LIBRARY

name, Mrs. Grace Wharton Montaigne, between 1925 and 1930.⁶⁷ Articles published included "First Issue of the *Deseret News*," "Historic Old Cove Fort," and "Recipe for a

Frank Beckwith and his friend and fellow historian, Charles Kelly, December 12, 1948.

Wedding Cake," which addressed the items needed for a successful marriage. Some of these articles were illustrated with his own photographs.

Beckwith also wrote many essays and articles that were never published. He compiled numerous scrapbooks of various lengths and for a multiplicity of subjects, including one for his granddaughter, one for his daughter, and one for historical sites. He also wrote extensive essays on various topics, such as a seventeen page essay called "Thoughts on the Fossil," and composed long letters to friends. Beckwith would have liked to have had more of his works published, a wish that stemmed from a sincere desire to share his knowledge rather than any concern about becoming wealthy, but, as noted by Charles Kelly, "Frank had one very unfortunate fault. When he became intensely interested in a subject, he seemed to take for granted that everyone else was almost as well informed as himself. Consequently.... he would dive into the middle of a discussion rather than begin at the beginning or carry through. This was the only thing that prevented him from selling various articles he wrote."⁶⁸ Nevertheless, Beckwith served as an inspiration to other writers, including Kelly, who dedicated his book *Outlaw Trail* to him, because he first introduced Kelly to the story of Butch Cassidy. Kelly also fashioned the character "Fossil Hunter" in *Sand and Sagebrush* after Beckwith.⁶⁹

Frank A. Beckwith continued his work at the *Chronicle* and his many other projects and activities until he died from a heart ailment at the age of seventy-four on June 11, 1951, at the Fillmore Hospital. His funeral was conducted in Delta by the Tintic Lodge No. 9. Free and Accepted Masons. He was buried in the Delta City Cemetery. In 1966, Beckwith was inducted

⁶⁷ It is not known why he used the pen name of Grace Wharton Montaigne or why the *Improvement Era* would publish his article under this name. However, one of his favorite authors was Michel de Montaigne.

⁶⁸ Kelly, "Reminiscences."

⁶⁹ Kelly, "Tribute."

into the Utah Newspaper Hall of Fame in recognition of the considerable contributions he made to his community and to the Utah newspaper publishing world through his many years operating the *Chronicle*.⁷⁰ But Beckwith was much more than a newspaperman. He was a good father and grandfather, who drew cartoon horses for his granddaughter and took the time to explain to her the meanings behind the beaded figures on an Indian-made pair of gloves.⁷¹ He was an expert on the rock art, archaeology, geology, and history of the Millard County area, and he was always willing to consult in a kind and professional manner with any of the many amateurs and scientists who came to the desert seeking his knowledge. He was a story-teller and a teacher, both through the written and spoken word, and as one listened to him “the emptiness of the desert [began] to fade, and the wasteland [became] a fabulous storehouse of scientific information as well as an area of interest.”⁷² He was a photographer, a writer, and, above all, a scholar.

At the time of Beckwith’s death, Marvel Wilcox Clayton, a life-long resident of Millard County wrote:

Delta valley has lost one of its noblest citizens. It seems difficult to visualize Delta without an aristocratic-appearing, brilliant scholar—Mr. Beckwith. He was one of the few men you could know by name and sight only and yet feel an utter emptiness at the thought of not seeing him again. But we shall never forget him, for he has left so much to remember; and, after all, the most enduring treasures of life are those of memory.⁷³

It is one such memory, recorded by his granddaughter in the year before his death, which perhaps provides the most timeless and encapsulating image of Frank Beckwith: “He sits by the fire smoking his pipe, eyes intent and foot swinging lazily. Dickens, Shakespeare, Mark Twain, Kipling, and Greek philosophers are friends to him. No amount of research is too much for [him]. . . . His studies never end, his interests never end, his knowledge ever grows.”⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Frank S. only survived his father by five years. He died of a heart attack on May 12, 1956 in Delta. He is buried in the Delta City Cemetery, and was inducted into the Utah Newspaper Hall of Fame in 1984. The *Millard County Chronicle* was owned and operated by Robert and Inez Riding from 1958 until 1970. Since then the newspaper has been back in the hands of the family. Today, the newspaper is skillfully guided by Sue Beckwith Dutson, a daughter of Frank S. Beckwith and granddaughter of Frank A. Beckwith, and her partner and daughter-in-law Shellie Morris Dutson.

⁷¹ Cook, “His Knowledge Ever Grows.”

⁷² Don Howard, “Frank Beckwith—Desert Scholar,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 17, 1949.

⁷³ Marvel Wilcox Clayton, letter to Jessie Lynn Cook, June 13, 1951, copy in the possession of Jane Beckwith.

⁷⁴ Cook, “His Knowledge Ever Grows.”



In Memoriam

JAY M. HAYMOND

October 11, 1933 – January 12, 2013

Jay Melvin Haymond was born October 11, 1933. I would make his acquaintance at Brigham Young University in 1964, where he was pursuing a Master's Degree in Political Science and History. In 1965 we both accepted positions at Dixie College in St. George, Utah. The college had recently moved to its new campus. We shared an office, he teaching both political science and history classes. He was faculty sponsor for the "Young Republicans"; I for the "Young Democrats" who numbered about one-fourth of the group he enjoyed.

We both left Dixie College in 1969; Jay to pursue his Ph.D. in history at the University of Utah, and I as "historic preservation officer" at the Utah State Historical Society. In August 1971, I was appointed Director, Utah State Historical Society, and Jay was completing his Ph.D. work.

John James, former librarian at the Society had resigned for health reasons, which allowed us to offer Dr. Haymond that job at the Society. Replacing John James was a major challenge for anyone, but librarian Jay would be asked within a few years to move the Society and its library treasures to new facilities, since Governor Scott Matheson and First Lady Norma chose to re-occupy the Kearns Mansion as the Governor's residence.

The first move in 1978 was to the Crane Building located at 200 South and 300 West while the Denver and Rio Grande Depot was being renovated as the new and current home for the Utah State Historical Society. Again, Jay directed and managed the transfer of the many historical materials to the new location and put the new library facilities in top shape to serve the public and scholars.

Jay had a larger vision for his and the library's role at the Society, which included collecting documents, expanding service, the education of those who would use the library, and giving greater attention to history groups and organizations throughout the state. To assist in that mission, Jay set up an "Oral History Program," which interviewed hundreds of people so that their histories would be preserved and made accessible.

Secondly, he organized the state's Geographic and Place Names Association, which collected data and educated the public and historians about that facet of Utah history. He would also help organize the Intermountain Archivists Association, which provided education services for the professional care and use of their documents, and for making them readily available to researchers who used these repositories. He helped organize the Utah Historic Trails Consortium to help understand, interpret, and preserve the trails that have been important in Utah's past.

Jay's penchant for marshaling all of the Utah history resources he could led him to move forward in organizing the Association of Utah Historians consisting of the staff at the Historical Society, public school teachers teaching Utah history, and professional historians at the various colleges, universities, and organizations in the state. Direct dividends of these organizational efforts were extensive. First off, with the celebration of the United States Bicentennial in 1976, Jay worked to secure the selection of Charles S. Peterson as the author of the Utah volume in the States and the Nation Series prepared under the direction of the American Association for State and Local History. With the Utah Statehood Centennial Celebration in 1996, Jay directed the compilation and publication of *Utah: The Right Place*, a one-volume history of Utah written by Thomas G. Alexander. It was his vision and involvement that led to the compilation of the twenty-nine volume Utah Centennial County History series as an important legacy of Utah's centennial celebration in honor of Utah becoming the forty-fifth state.

Jay was also given administrative assignments as acting director of the Society in 1985 and 1986. His tenure at the Society came to an end with his retirement in 1998. He faced the long-term challenges of type I diabetes. He apprised colleagues of possible symptoms of troubles, but in my more than twenty years of working with him, only once did we need to intervene, using information he made certain we had been given. Jay was a mentor to younger members of the staff by encouraging them to further their research and study of Utah history. He believed that every community and group should actively engage its history with the best tools and resources available.

Upon retirement, Jay and his wife Pat continued to live in Salt Lake City; however, when their daughter Lise and her husband Mark Hansen moved to Illinois, they chose to follow. Pat died in 2003. Jay moved to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and then to Boise, Idaho, choosing to remain close to family.

IN MEMORIAM

Jay died January 12, 2013, at age seventy-nine. He touched the lives of us who knew him personally. His integrity was always evident. His services to Utah history, and to the Utah State Historical Society are without peer. We thank you Dr. Jay M. Haymond on both counts.

Melvin T. Smith
Former Director,
Utah State Historical Society

BOOK REVIEWS

Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet. By John G. Turner. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012. vii + 500 pp. Cloth, \$35.00.)

JOHN G. TURNER, a Professor of Religious Studies at George Mason University and a non-Mormon, has written a major new biography on Brigham Young. Turner's work is the most complete, in-depth study of the Mormon leader produced in some three decades. Not since Leonard J. Arrington's landmark 1985 *Brigham Young: American Moses* has there been a comparable biography. Turner's book is significant in several respects. First, it is the most thoroughly researched biography on Young yet produced. The author carefully utilizes the vast collection of Brigham Young papers in the LDS Church History Library. He has also drawn from manuscripts and primary sources in various other libraries and archives throughout the country. Turner has effectively mined these materials, resulting in a fresh look at Young as a complex and, in some ways, conflicted individual. These documents also reveal the Mormon leader as "sincere in his faith [whose] highest loyalty was to his church and its kingdom"(5).

A second major contribution is Turner's skill in placing Young "within the context of mid-nineteenth century American religion and politics" (viii). Turner carefully discusses Young's early activities as a struggling artisan in upstate New York, including his encounter with the "welter of religions" in the so-called Burned-Over District and his continuing struggles with "spiritual despair" as "a pious Christian seeker"(14,17, 19). All this preceded Young joining Joseph Smith's still-fledgling Mormon church in 1832. Turner traces Young's activities following his Mormon conversion and links his extraordinary missionary success in England to the hard times known as the Hungry 1840s.

Turning to Young's emergence as Mormonism's principal leader following Joseph Smith's death, the author discusses the Latter-day Saints' problematic relationship with federal authorities relative to political developments in American society at large. These included westward expansion, sectionalism, and Reconstruction—all of which informed Young's actions as the Mormon prophet-president.

Third, Turner provides a detailed, frank examination of Brigham Young's polygamous household. He carefully considers the changing dynamics within Young's ever-growing family, as it evolved over some five decades. Young's first two monogamous marriages were followed by a series of plural marriages, commencing with Lucy Decker in 1842 and ending in 1872 to Hannah Tapfield—his fifty-fifth and last wife.

Turner forthrightly details Young's dilemma in satisfying the often-conflicting desires of these women. This was due, in part, to the fact that Young had his favorites—specifically, Emmeline Free and Amelia Folsom.

In contrast, a number of Young's other wives expressed dissatisfaction, and twelve women abandoned Young's polygamous household through either divorce or separation or both. Turner quotes Young's daughter Susa Young Gates who stated that her father "could not pay equal attention" to all his wives (327). Young himself admitted "that no polygamous husband could always satisfy all of his wives," lamenting, "Where is the man who has wives and all of them think he is doing just right to them? I do not know such a man" (181).

Fourth, Turner offers enlightening insights concerning Young's inner thoughts and anxieties. In discussing Young's troubled psyche at the time of the Utah War, the author vividly describes his subject's "unusual and sometimes intimate dreams. In various dreams Colonel [Albert Sidney] Johnston and his old nemesis Lieutenant Sylvester Mowery tried to kill [Young], enemies chased him into a ravine, and a California emigrant first attacked him with a bowie knife before deciding to take his own life. In yet another dream, a woman approached him privately and indicated that 'she wished to have connection with him.'" And in a third dream, "one of the new territorial judges ordered him [Young] to relieve himself in public." Turner concludes, "The intimate disclosures and the hints at Young's sexuality were out-of-character for a man usually circumspect about such topics" (289).

The strengths of Turner's biography notwithstanding, it is disappointing in several respects. A complete list of Young's fifty-five wives and fifty-seven children is conspicuously absent—a striking omission given the author's detailed discussion of Young's involvement with polygamy. More seriously, the author fails to discuss other aspects of Young's family life, in particular his interactions with his children. Other than brief mention of Young's less-than-successful efforts to groom his three oldest sons for leadership positions within the LDS church hierarchy, little more is said about his role as a father. Turner also fails to elaborate on Young's evolving relationship with his father and brothers. This oversight is perplexing given Turner's earlier, detailed discussion of Young's difficult relationship with his authoritarian father as contrasted to the amicable relationships with his brothers.

Even more problematic is the tone and tenor of Turner's narrative, painting a generally negative portrait of the Mormon leader. Granted, the author acknowledges Young's notable accomplishments, specifically his success in persuading the largest number of Mormons to accept his leadership claims in wake of Joseph Smith's 1844 assassination and his skill in shepherding thousands of his followers to the Great Basin and subsequently settling them in some 350 scattered settlements, thereby earning him the title, "the greatest colonizer in American history" (3).

But, in general, the biography focuses on the less-uplifting aspects of the Mormon leader's behavior and actions. Turner repeatedly notes Young's

teaching of the so-called Adam-God theory, along with the “doctrine of blood atonement.” “Several brutal acts of violence” resulted from the latter teaching during the turbulent 1850s, which Turner claims were either “explicitly authorized” by Young or “condoned” by him (258–63). As for Young’s role in the infamous 1857 Mountain Meadows Massacre, Turner states that the Mormon leader “fomented the hatred and anxiety that made it conceivable for Mormons ... to slaughter men, women, and children,” adding that his “saber-rattling, militia operations and Indian policy contributed” to the atrocity (280). In its aftermath, Young “denigrated the massacre’s victims and defended the Mormon murderers” and placed “full blame” for the massacre itself on the local Indians (309–10). Such observations prompt Turner to ask, rhetorically, “Could Young have accomplished what he did without leading his people into the darker chapters of Mormon history, such as the excesses of the [Mormon] reformation, the handcart tragedy, and the Mountain Meadows Massacre?” (410).

Despite its deficiencies, John G. Turner’s *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet* provides significant new information and presents the Mormon leader from a fresh, provocative perspective. It, moreover, chronicles Young’s own religious odyssey, including his tenacity in protecting both his church and dedicated followers. As the author astutely notes, Young’s “faith became his ‘all in all’” in that he “fully accepted that Joseph Smith was God’s prophet” and, following the latter’s death, saw “himself occupying a similar, divinely appointed position” (4–5). Turner’s important work, while not completely superseding Arrington’s *American Moses* (admittedly, an overly effusive work), is certain to stimulate debate concerning the validity of either scholar’s portrait. Indeed, the basic dilemma facing all Mormon Studies scholars, as sagaciously noted by Turner himself, is that “the field of Mormon history is a hall of mirrors, full of distorted and incomplete reflections of nearly every event” (viii).

NEWELL G. BRINGHURST
Visalia, California

Civil War Saints. Edited by Kenneth L. Alford. (Provo and Salt Lake City: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University and Deseret Book Company, 2012. xxxiv + 569 pp. Cloth, \$31.99.)

THE WORD THAT IMMEDIATELY comes to mind when the reader first takes this book in hand is “Wow!” In thick and slick coffee-table form, the volume is heavy, both literally and figuratively. With the sesquicentennial of the Civil War upon us, a new book about how the Mormons dealt with

the bloody quarrel seemed inevitable, but what was not so inevitable was that it would be this good and this complete in its coverage of the Mormon experience with the national travail. While E. B. Long's *The Saints and the Union* (1981) dealt principally with events and issues within Utah Territory and its western environs during the war, and Margaret Fisher's 1929 book satisfied genealogists, Kenneth Alford has collected nineteen scholarly essays that delve into virtually every aspect of the conflict's connections to Mormon life and thought, from Lincoln's relationship with the Mormons (Mary Jane Woodger) to a reprint of the late Harold Schindler's revisionist analysis of the Bear River Massacre (with an addendum by Ephriam Dickson). In brief, the volume gives much truth to the cliché about "leaving no stone unturned."

At the end of the essays, Alford appends three documents edited by William MacKinnon on Civil War strategies "Rooted in Utah" and then an exhaustive, and eminently usable, bibliography. After a brief analysis of the work of Camp Douglas photographer Charles Beckwith (Ephriam Dickson), there follow almost one hundred fifty pages devoted to identifying hundreds of Latter-day Saints who qualified for the title of "Civil War Veterans," nearly a fifth of them Confederates. The appendices present not only genealogical and sometimes biographical data on the soldiers but also a painstaking description of research methods that led to their identification. Although not a few of them became Mormons after the war and many were members of Lot Smith's mounted company protecting the Overland Trail, the findings perhaps challenge the common notion that only a handful of Latter-day Saints served in either contending army. As a genealogical tool alone, Alford's volume would be worth the price, but the rest of the book presents enough information and riveting analysis to double its value.

For readers familiar with the history of nineteenth-century Utah, there are few surprises in the collection of essays, particularly with reference to Mormon ambivalence and virtual neutrality during the hostilities. Apostle John Taylor declared during the early days of the war, "We know no North, no South, no East, no West," a statement that provided Richard Bennett with a title for his contribution on Mormon interpretations of the war (100). Actually, Taylor's remark was among the mildest of the hierarchy's condemnatory comments about the United States. "The destruction of the nation is sealed," proclaimed Heber Kimball (97). His friend Brigham Young's near delight with the apparent dissolution of the Union and his visceral dislike for Abraham Lincoln, whom he considered "as weak as water," helped fuel his apocalyptic vision of the conflict, his belief in the justice of the war's carnage, and his hope that the isolated saints could stay essentially aloof from it all (69). Other essays nevertheless demonstrate that the war had inexorable effects on Young's followers and their homeland in the West. The establishment of Camp Douglas, chronicled by William

MacKinnon and Ken Alford, as well as the role of the Grand Army of the Republic (Ken Alford) and other carpetbaggers in Utah (Andrew Skinner) in the aftermath of the war directly affected Utah and the Mormons. Also interesting in this respect was the war's impact on Mormon emigration (William Hartley).

The editor and his collaborators have constructed an invaluable resource for Utahns, as well as for Civil War historians and genealogists. The collection contains a few quibbling flaws, among them some unnecessary redundancy and, more understandably, an unevenness of quality, but the overall achievement is prodigious.

GENE A. SESSIONS
Weber State University

Edward Hunter Snow: Pioneer—Educator—Statesman. By Thomas G. Alexander.

(Norman: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2012. 432 pp. Cloth, \$34.95.)

THOMAS ALEXANDER has produced another significant book, this one a biography and one of the most important of the many biographies about Utah history. It is closely related to his major work, *Mormonism in Transition* (1986). Both books describe Utah's change, between 1880 and 1930, from an agricultural society and village system to a society at the beginning of urbanism and industrialization. The current work focuses on remote southern Utah, where Edward Hunter Snow was an entrepreneur, political leader, educator, and ecclesiastical leader. One of Alexander's interpretive points is that for Latter-day Saints there existed little distinction between secular and sacred activities. For Snow, promoting a telephone system or a canal company was a community effort worth religious as well as government labor.

Edward Hunter Snow was the son of Apostle Erastus Snow, the great colonizer of Utah's Dixie. The elder Snow deeply influenced his son, though Edward did not become a polygamist. In this he served as an example of the transition taking place within Mormonism. The younger Snow spent his youth farming, but he also took education seriously and promoted it all his life. After his 1885 marriage to Sarah Hannah Nelson, Snow served the LDS church in a number of capacities; his callings included missionary, tithing clerk (which allowed him to learn much about the local economy), and high councilor. In 1888, Snow faced the difficulty of his father's death. Anthony W. Ivins—Snow's brother-in-law and a high-ranking member of the LDS hierarchy who nonetheless did not enter polygamy—then became his role model.

A life-long Democrat, Snow committed himself to public service. In 1894, Snow (at only twenty-nine years old) and Ivins both served in the State Constitutional Convention. After ratification and statehood came to Utah, “Tony” Ivins convinced Edward to run for the legislature. Snow served for two terms, but further ecclesiastical assignments soon occupied his time. Among these was a calling as president of the St. George LDS stake, a capacity Snow filled for the next twenty-four years. The stake at that time included the area from Ely to Bunkerville, Nevada, and from Harmony, Utah, to Mt. Trumbull, Arizona, as well as the heartland of Utah’s Dixie. To visit this vast area, Snow regularly traveled fifteen hundred miles by buggy.

At the beginning of his term as stake president, Snow suggested the following goals to his fellow stake leaders: build an ice plant, get electric lights into the area, develop a water system, and build a high school. They approved. Snow promoted the building of a public school (with grades one to eight) named the Woodward School, in 1901. Woodward School’s success made it sensible to have a high school. Woodward was a public school, but Snow knew the church would more likely sponsor an academy. After the LDS First Presidency approved the building of what became Dixie College, Snow and his colleagues scoured the stake to raise matching funds for the church donation of \$20,000. The Stake Board of Education directed the college until 1935, when the State of Utah took it over.

All during his stake presidency, Snow promoted economic development. He owned a flour mill and several farms and founded the St. George Bank. Yet Snow faced the challenge of geographical isolation because the railroad never reached St. George, which limited economic growth. In 1930, Snow thrilled to watch as the Arrowhead Trail (with his support) became Highway 91.

Sarah Hannah Snow was a powerful supporter of her husband’s career. Initially she feared that Edward would bring a second wife home from his mission, but he remained a determined monogamist throughout his life. Some women may have envied Hannah’s large home and other advantages, but her life was challenging. Edward’s many positions required him to leave home often and required her to regularly host church, state, and financial officials. Further, the couple had seven children, the youngest born when Hannah was forty-five years old.

In 1931, the LDS church released Snow as stake president and called him to serve as the president of the St. George Temple. Meanwhile, he had worked nearly full-time in Salt Lake City since 1925 as chair of the State Board of Equalization and Assessment. Snow felt strongly about reforming the state’s tax structure. As an outspoken Democrat, he had considerable influence in writing the legislation that led to the creation of the State Tax Commission. That passed the legislature in March 1931, following a tough

series of negotiations. Governor George Dern nominated Snow to be chair of the new commission, but he declined in order to return to his southern Utah responsibilities. Snow had only a year to live.

Edward Hunter Snow provides all historians with a model in the use of documents. Alexander had hundreds of documents at his disposal, including Snow's journals, letters, and talks; the extensive collections of the Harold B. Lee Library and Archive at Brigham Young University; the collections of the LDS Church History Library, the Utah State Historical Society; Dixie State College; and the *Washington County News*. Alexander has been over this ground before and has mastered it again. For instance, his chapter on the tax question provides a clear, complete description of all the issues and negotiations involved, even as it details Utah's transition into modernity. On the issue of documentation, the book is outstanding. Alexander masterfully describes the life of a man hardly known by Utahns and causes one to consider seriously the demands and meanings of a life spent in civic service.

DOUGLAS D. ALDER
Dixie State College

Coal in Our Veins: A Personal Journey. By Erin Ann Thomas. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2012. 274 pp. Cloth, \$29.95.)

MANY ACCOUNTS of the development of the Utah coal industry tend to focus on the important role of industrial immigrants from southern Europe. But before the Italians and Greeks and South Slavs came, there were the Welsh and other immigrants from the coal districts of Britain, who composed the greater part of the mining workforce in the nineteenth century. One of those Welsh miners was Evan Thomas, who immigrated to Utah from Merthyr Tydfil in 1874 with his wife, Margaret Davis, and their five children. They settled initially in Logan but within a few years relocated to Scofield, where their two eldest sons, Frederick and Evan, Jr., were among the two hundred or more men and boys killed in the May 1, 1900, Winter Quarters mine explosion. Evan, Sr., and a third son, Zephaniah, would normally have been with them in Mine Number One, but Evan, "feeling he had been given an inferior room, 'rose to his full five foot three inches and roundly denounced the foreman, the superintendent, and the Pleasant Valley Coal Company generally before taking his youngest working son and heading home'"(60). Zephaniah later made his way into management and served as mine foreman at Castle Gate during a tumultuous period that included the 1922 strike; the mine explosion on March 8, 1924, that killed 172 men; and the subsequent surge in Ku Klux Klan activity that culminated in the lynching of Robert Marshall on

June 18, 1925, for the murder of Castle Gate mine guard Milton Burns.

Zeph's son Robert, whose early memories included the Utah National Guard protecting his family's home during the 1922 strike, later worked alongside his father in a small Oregon mine. It was Robert who initiated the family's break from coal mining, earning a doctoral degree from Columbia University and becoming a prominent professor and administrator at Brigham Young University. Author Erin Ann Thomas dedicates her book to Robert, her grandfather.

As the title suggests, this is a highly personal effort to come to terms with the author's mining heritage, a book that combines family memoir with investigative journalism. Impelled by the memory of seeing both her grandfather and her father weeping as they watched the old movie, *How Green Was My Valley*, Thomas made a pilgrimage back to the ancestral landscape of South Wales where she visited with miners' families and examined the human impacts of mine disasters, including the 1966 Aberfan disaster in which a waste dump landslide crushed an elementary school, killing 144. She also noted the disruption of lives that followed upon the closure of the last deep pits. From Wales, she returned to Utah and retraced her family history through Scofield, Winter Quarters, Sunnyside, and Castle Gate, some of them now ghost towns where only the cemeteries remain to tell the story of life and death in the mines. Then the book's focus shifts to a series of visits the author made from her current home near Washington, D. C., to the coal country of West Virginia. There she met with the families and neighbors of the thirteen miners who died in the 2006 Sago explosion and observed the environmental impacts of the growing practice of mountaintop removal.

Coal in Our Veins remains personal even as it ranges farther and farther from Thomas's own family heritage. The author's own experiences, impressions, and thoughts are always at the forefront. However, the character of the book changes in the later chapters, becoming more polemical as the author develops a critique of the role of coal in our economy and society. The image of "coal in our veins," which initially referred to a family heritage of mining, broadens to include a clinical reference to the author's asthma, aggravated by atmospheric pollutants from coal-burning power plants. In the final chapters, beginning with "The Energy Future of America," the "coal in our veins" refers also to the nation's excessive dependence on cheap fossil fuels and the social and environmental costs of that dependence.

The author's arguments are obviously deeply felt, but the latter part of the book is, on the whole, less satisfying than the earlier portions. Thomas acknowledges that some coal mines are better, safer, than others, and that many miners take pride in their skills and find fulfillment in the fellowship of their comrades. She grants the economic benefits of coal mining to local

communities, noting that is one of the best-compensated industrial occupations. Still, she would obviously prefer a future in which no men had to descend underground to earn a living, no hills were decapitated to uncover their treasures, and no coal-fired power plants spewed their particulate matter into the atmosphere. But like many other advocates of clean, renewable energy, she underestimates the massive scale of the transformation that would be required to replace the energy-density of fossil fuels: all of the windmill forests that would have to cover the hills, all of the quiet desert valleys filled with unsightly solar collectors; the shorelines sacrificed to tidal generation schemes and the pain to consumers compelled to pay more and more for the electricity on which their lifestyle depends.

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The Midwife: A Biography of Laurine Ekstrom Kingston. By Victoria D. Burgess.

(Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2012. xiv + 272 pp. Cloth, \$26.95.)

LAURINE EKSTROM KINGSTON is a fascinating subject for biography. The first wife of the son of Charles Elden Kingston, founder of the Davis County Cooperative Society and the Mormon fundamentalist Latter-day Church of Christ (LDCC), Kingston dedicated much of her life to midwifery within her church community and outside of it. *The Midwife* is Victoria D. Burgess's attempt to share Kingston's life and philosophy. In addition, *The Midwife* includes a brief history of one of the most notorious polygamist groups in the country, as well as Kingston's role in the home birth movement in Utah.

Born in Idaho in 1931, Kingston and her parents moved to Bountiful in 1935 to join the Davis County Cooperative Society. Her Mormon mother and Lutheran father were drawn to the Co-op primarily for its economic utopianism. All members consecrated their property to a common pool and drew upon the Co-op's funds when needed. Members denied themselves of worldly goods in order to keep their hearts pure. While many Co-op members entered into polygamist relationships, Kingston's father was never interested in taking a second wife.

With the approval of the Kingston leadership, Kingston finished high school and earned her Licensed Practical Nurse (LPN) degree in 1951. She soon found work at LDS Hospital. She married her "love match," Leon Kingston, the eldest son of the churches founder Charles Elden. After Kingston became a mother she stayed home with her children. Eventually her husband took her sister Rowenna as a second wife. As her children grew older, Kingston felt herself "called" by God to serve as a midwife. A

spiritual person by nature, Kingston saw her work as divinely inspired and was described as having a “sixth sense” about the needs of both mother and baby. Her medical training ensured that she had a contingency plan in place should complications arise over the course of a delivery.

While Burgess reveals the basics of gendered power and an alternative economic arrangement within the Co-op and the LDCC, her characterization of the Kingston group is rather benign when compared to Andrea Moore-Emmett’s *God’s Brothel* (2004). Kingston’s sister-wife Rowenna was one of the founding members of Tapestry Against Polygamy, an organization to help stop physical and sexual abuse within polygamist sects. Burgess briefly discusses Rowenna’s story and hints at moments where Kingston delivered babies from mothers who had been sexually abused. However, there is no mention of incestuous marriages, teen mothers, preventable deaths, or children born with birth defects (ranging from not having fingernails to fused limbs) as former polygamist women describe in *God’s Brothel*. For the reader expecting these claims to be verified by a midwife to fundamentalist polygamists, Burgess and Kingston offer only silence.

Perhaps this is due to Kingston’s personal nature. Burgess explains that Kingston’s door was always open to anyone in need. In a delivery, Kingston’s primary objective was to ensure that both baby and mother were cared for, to introduce the child’s spirit to the world, and to encourage instant bonding between mother and child. Kingston’s career grew outside of her community as more parents chose home births. Her position as both an experienced LPN and a midwife allowed her to create bridges between sometimes antagonistic medical professionals and home birth advocates.

A biography written by a psychologist, Kingston’s story does not come heavily footnoted or extensively connected to the background material one might expect of a professional historian. Drawing upon a series of interviews conducted with Kingston, at times it is difficult to discern Burgess’s voice from that of her subject. Also problematic is a lack of linear storytelling that is essential to biography. This tendency to jump back and forth through time proves difficult for the reader, since biographical writing requires linear progression for structural support. Despite these flaws, the story of Laurine Ekstrom Kingston’s life is an important addition to better understanding women’s roles in medicine, the home birth movement, and religious history in Utah and the United States.

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