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IN THIS ISSUE



Conflict is surely one of the overriding themes of history, but with conflict also comes the opportunity for reconciliation. In the waning days of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln urged Americans to behave “with malice toward none, with charity for all,” doing “all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.” This was a tall order: people clash with one another for complex reasons that cannot be easily dismissed. Even so, the reality of conflict and the hope of reconciliation unite this issue’s articles.

Athletics are, at least in part, about contest; in the midst of the civil rights movement, Brigham Young University’s athletic program became truly contested as activists used college sports to challenge racial inequality in the LDS church and in American society as a whole. From 1968 to 1971, the Cougars faced a tide of race-based demonstrations at their games. Some of these events escalated into memorable protests, such as the 1969 “black fourteen” incident in Laramie,

COVER: *Hashkéneinii Biye’, son of the noted Navajo headman Hashkéneinii, circa 1935–40.*

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ABOVE: *Union and Confederate veterans reminiscing together at a 1913 reunion held in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg.* LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Wyoming. Meanwhile, the momentum of social change became increasingly evident on the BYU campus itself, as our first article shows.

A century earlier, a young Catholic priest named Edward Kelly moved to Utah and soon thereafter crossed paths with Brigham Young. Their encounter came about because of a property dispute—a situation filled with the potential for disagreement. And yet, according to legend, Young acted in Kelly’s favor, and the two laid the foundation for a peaceful relationship between Catholics and Mormons in Utah. Our second article concludes that, in spite of real differences, leaders from both religions have fostered a climate of ecumenism. Author Gary Topping deals with a variety of sources in this article, encouraging us to consider questions about the quality of historical documents. Can we trust a document’s creator? What difference does that person’s perspective and motives make?

Our third article also examines the significance of perspective; it concerns clashes between Navajos and Anglos in the late nineteenth century. During that era, two white prospectors were murdered in an area of the Four Corners region that government agents called the “land of death.” Determining culpability for the crime was difficult, to say the least: a number of individuals presented conflicting reports, while an inadequate knowledge of the terrain hampered the effectiveness of investigations by white authorities. A history of strife between local whites and Indians only compounded these problems. It was a situation rife with trouble and misunderstanding.

The summer issue of *Utah Historical Quarterly* concludes with the story of Union and Confederate veterans who, in 1913, met under friendly circumstances to commemorate their battles of fifty years earlier. Utah sent a party of its own Civil War veterans to that 1913 Gettysburg reunion, though not without a little contemporary bickering among politicians. Still, the Gettysburg reunion was a satisfying event, where what might have seemed unthinkable before—the development of friendships among former enemies—occurred.



HAROLD B. LEE SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

“This Time of Crisis”: The Race-Based Anti-BYU Athletic Protests of 1968-1971

BY GARY JAMES BERGERA

Prior to mid-1978, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints prohibited black men of African lineage from its priesthood. The Salt Lake City-based church also barred black men and women from most of its sacred temple ceremonies. The

Coach Tommy Hudspeth and three BYU football players, 1965.

Gary James Bergera is the managing director of the Smith-Pettit Foundation, Salt Lake City, Utah. He appreciates the advice and assistance of Lester E. Bush, LaVell Edwards, Holly George, Duane E. Jeffery, Ron Priddis, Paul C. Richards, Paul A. Ruffner, Brian Walton, and Margaret Blair Young. All errors are Bergera's own.

church taught that the restriction was God's will.¹ Beginning especially during the American civil rights era of the 1960s, the church found itself at the center of a growing controversy over its policy, which many outsiders branded as de facto racism. Soon, critics began to focus on the church's educational showpiece, Brigham Young University (BYU), and its intercollegiate athletic program. The present study centers on the race-based anti-BYU intercollegiate athletic protests of the late 1960s and early 1970s, but first reviews BYU's encounters with issues of race specifically relating to blacks. Protestors portrayed BYU as a symbol of both LDS discrimination and American racism generally. At the same time, tension regarding the church's policy existed within the BYU community itself, as the orthodox stance of the school's hierarchy—embodied by its outspoken president, Ernest L. Wilkinson—occasionally clashed with the growing momentum of social change.

During the mid-twentieth century, the percentage of LDS students at BYU hovered at about 95 percent.² Yet despite such seeming homogeneity, students were not entirely "unified on social, political, or even religious questions," according to historian Heather Rigby.³ Two of the earliest references to blacks made in letters to BYU's student newspaper support Rigby's claim. "If those who laughed so loudly at those jokes about negroes [at a campus assembly]," Virginia B. Smith wrote in October 1948, "had stopped to consider whether that would really be the decent thing to do, there would probably have been very little . . . laughter."⁴ BYU's student council wrote, "One of our students has been the object of discrimination because of race . . . [as] a member of the Negro race . . . and we feel that as fellow students the entire studentbody should protest such discrimination to the utmost of our ability. It is a tradition of the Brigham Young University that men be accepted for their worth and not for the color of their skin."⁵

In 1954, BYU students debated the U.S. Supreme Court's recent *Brown v. Board of Education* decision banning segregation in public schools, as well as related developments.⁶ BYU's conservative lawyer-turned-president,

¹ Lester E. Bush and Armand L. Mauss, eds., *Neither White nor Black: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church* (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1984); Newell G. Bringhurst and Darron T. Smith, eds., *Black and Mormon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

² Brigham Young University, *Brigham Young University Enrollment Resume, 1977–78* (Provo, UT: BYU Office of Institutional Research and Planning, September 1978), 3, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; John Hawkins et al., "A Study of Current Student Attitudes about Brigham Young University and their Implications for University Fund Raising Programs," BYU College of Business, Graduate Student Research Report, No. 13, 1969, 47–48, Perry Special Collections.

³ Heather Rigby, "Responses to Racial Issues at Brigham Young University, 1963–1972," 1997, 8, MSS SC 2897, Perry Special Collections.

⁴ Virginia B. Smith, letter, *Universe*, October 14, 1948.

⁵ ASBYU Executive Legislative Council, letter, *Universe*, March 3, 1949.

⁶ Ardis Smith, "CRM [Civil Rights Movement], the *Daily Universe*, and the 1950s—Part One," March 19, 2009, accessed November 27, 2011, www.juvenileinstructor.org/crm-the-daily-universe-and-the-1950s-part-one; F. Ross Peterson, "'Blindside': Utah on the Eve of *Brown v. Board of Education*," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 73 (Winter 2005): 4–20.

Ernest Wilkinson, told LDS official Adam S. Bennion a week after *Brown* that the “Negro Question” “arises more frequently and gives us more trouble than any other.”⁷ By late 1958, some students began to wonder if BYU’s lack of engagement with integration issues might contribute to “racial prejudice” on campus.⁸ Other students approvingly quoted LDS leader Mark E. Petersen’s August 27, 1954, speech to church educators: “The negro seeks absorption with the white race. He will not be satisfied until he achieves it by intermarriage. That is his objective and we must face it. We must not allow our feelings to carry us away, nor must we feel so sorry for the negroes that we will open our arms and embrace them with everything we have.”⁹

Rebuttals followed. “While some students strongly supported segregation,” historian Ardis Smith comments, “other students spoke out against [segregation]. . . . One student declared that the current racial strife was rooted in ‘the miscarriage of the meddlings of the post–Civil War Republican Congress.’ . . . Another student . . . stat[ed] that segregation was not truly decided upon or supported by the people because ‘thousands of negroes [were] kept from the polls by fear and unfair practices.’” “BYU students had very different views and opinions of the civil rights movement and specifically about segregation,” Smith concludes.¹⁰

In January 1960, following a campus performance by the Harlem Globetrotters, an all-black exhibition basketball team, BYU’s Board of Trustees, composed of high-ranking church leaders, decided not to permit the team future use of the university’s facilities.¹¹ Two months later, the president of the Salt Lake City branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Albert B. Fritz, asserted that a Nigerian BYU student a few years earlier had been forced to live in the attic of a Protestant church because “the people of Provo would not rent their apartments” to black students, and that “Negro entertainers were not signed for [the 1959] junior prom because no motel or hotel” would lodge them.¹²

The following May 1960, Wilkinson learned that BYU had agreed to employ a black man—Edward O. Minor from Florida A. and M. University—to teach during summer school, a decision Wilkinson termed

⁷ Ernest L. Wilkinson to Adam S. Bennion, June 1, 1954, Ernest L. Wilkinson Presidential Papers, Perry Special Collections.

⁸ “Students Tired of Integration Issue,” *Daily Universe*, December 5, 1958.

⁹ Lila and Lurleen LaVar, letter, *Daily Universe*, December 10, 1958; see also George Hallock, letter, *Daily Universe*, January 5, 1959; for a history of LDS opposition to interracial marriage, see Patrick Q. Mason, “The Prohibition of Interracial Marriage in Utah, 1888–1963,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 76 (Spring 2008): 108–31.

¹⁰ Smith, “CRM.”

¹¹ Wilkinson, Diary, January 13, 1960, Wilkinson Papers; Brigham Young University, Board of Trustees Minutes, March 2, 1960, originals, Perry Special Collections; see also Board of Trustees, Minutes, March 3, 1965, and Executive Committee, Board of Trustees, Minutes, August 28, 1969. Copies of many of the documents cited in this article, including the minutes of BYU’s trustees, are in possession of the Smith-Pettit Foundation, Salt Lake City, where they are available to researchers.

¹² “America—All Races and Religions,” *Daily Universe*, March 23, 1960.

a “serious mistake of judgment.” Minor’s name had been submitted for clearance without, according to Wilkinson, mention of his race. When religion professor Daniel H. Ludlow informed an administrator that Minor was “colored,” the administrator reported the news to the academic vice president, Earl C. Crockett. “Crockett never even informed me,” Wilkinson wrote, “thinking apparently on the representation that he was light in color that others would not know it. The man’s photograph appeared in the paper the first of this week, from which it was apparent that he was colored. . . . I wish we could take him on our faculty,” Wilkinson continued, “but the danger in doing so is that students and others take license from this and assume that there is nothing improper about mingling with the other races.”¹³ By the next day, administrators had changed Minor’s duties from teaching students to advising departmental administrators, thus minimizing any risk of “mingling.”¹⁴

Some six months later, Wilkinson informed a few trustees that “a colored boy on the campus [had] been a candidate for the vice presidency of a class and receiv[ed] a very large vote.” The trustees “were very much concerned.” In fact, Wilkinson recorded in his diary that Harold B. Lee, an influential LDS apostle, had told him that “if a granddaughter of mine should ever go to the BYU and become engaged to a colored boy there I would hold you responsible.” Wilkinson retorted that Lee should “hold himself responsible because he was one of the members of the Board of Trustees that permitted the present policy [regarding the admission of blacks]; that if it was not right he ought to change it.” All three trustees present for the exchange favored “barring colored students from the BYU.” “This is a very serious problem,” Wilkinson recorded, “on which, of course, there are obviously arguments on both sides but surely we will have to face it squarely and resolve it.”¹⁵ Early the next year, and evidently for the first time ever, trustees went on record as officially “encourag[ing] Negro students to attend other universities.”¹⁶

In February 1961, during a basketball game against Utah State University in Logan, BYU became the target of the first race-related incident involving intercollegiate athletics. During the game, BYU’s Bob Wilson fouled out, at which point he and USU’s Max Perry “traded a few punches under the basket.” Soon other players joined in, including BYU center Dave Eastis and USU’s Darnel Haney.¹⁷ New violence broke out at the end of the game. Wilkinson recorded: “This colored player by the name of Haney came up and when one of our players [Eastis] was standing talking to others completely unguarded, swung at him and hit him square

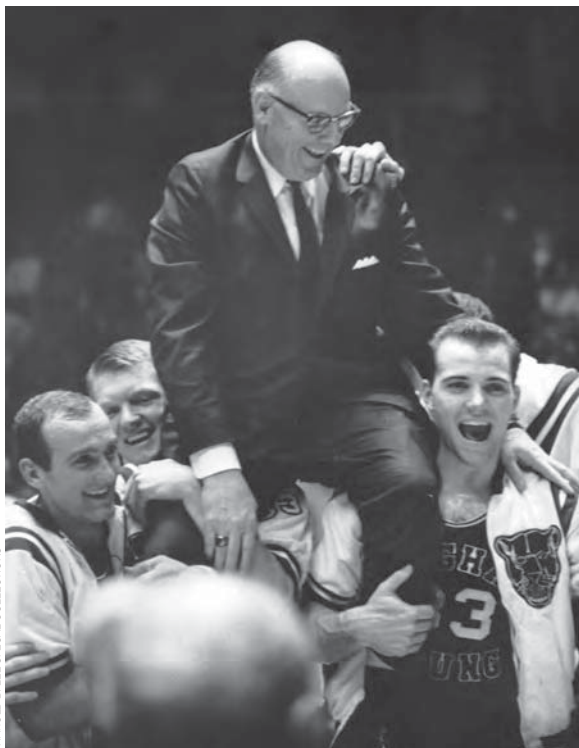
¹³ Wilkinson, Diary, May 5, 1960.

¹⁴ Ibid., May 6, 1960.

¹⁵ Ibid., November 10, 1960.

¹⁶ Board of Trustees, Minutes, February 1, 1961.

¹⁷ “Aggies ‘KO’ Cats 94–73,” *Daily Universe*, February 13, 1961.



Cougar basketballers carry Stan Watts after a championship win, Madison Square Garden, 1966.

in the mouth.”¹⁸ BYU’s student newspaper reported that “fans and students from both sides poured onto the floor and the battle raged.”¹⁹ Wilkinson and USU President Daryl Chase, together with BYU and USU coaches, met until 11:30 p.m. that evening. “Because the BYU is still the only white team in Utah,” Wilkinson wrote, “we are immediately accused of being anti-colored. Indeed, one of the prof[essor]s of USU . . . said

it was too bad that we had to draw the color line.” Wilkinson thought the schools should sever relations but that “public relations would forbid this.”²⁰ Instead, Chase and Wilkinson issued a public statement reading, in part: “Our investigation has already disclosed, contrary to persistent reports, that it was not triggered by any racial animosity on the part of the players, but was a case of individual controversy between certain players.”²¹ Haney sat out the rest of the season; Eastis graduated a few months later; Wilson was not permitted to play again against USU.²²

In early 1963, LDS church president David O. McKay approved the awarding of a BYU scholarship to a student from Nigeria.²³ The move reflected the church’s decision to open an exploratory mission in West Africa. Soon a formal scholarship subsidized the enrollment of Nigerians. Two years later, however, after two Nigerians had received scholarships, Harold B. Lee “vigorously” protested during a trustees’ meeting to “giv[ing]

¹⁸ Wilkinson, Diary, February 11, 1961.

¹⁹ “It ‘Had to Happen,’” *Daily Universe*, February 13, 1961.

²⁰ Wilkinson, Diary, February 11, 1961.

²¹ “Wilkinson, Chase Issue Statement, Seek Causes,” *Daily Universe*, February 13, 1961.

²² “Too Much Secrecy in ‘Trade’ Farce,” *Daily Universe*, February 8, 1962; Darnel Haney, interview by Brad Cole and Bob Parsons, July 31, 2006, accessed February 11, 2013, <http://129.123.-124.192/cdm/ref/collection/minority/id/233>.

²³ Board of Trustees, Minutes, March 6, 1963; Executive Committee, Board of Trustees, Minutes, March 14, 1963.

a scholarship at the B.Y.U. to a negro student from Africa.” Wilkinson thought that since McKay had authorized the program, “Brother Lee will have no more to say about this.”²⁴ However, by the end of the month, trustees decided to “discontinue . . . efforts to encourage other Nigerian students to attend BYU.”²⁵ At the time, a total of three Nigerians had enrolled at BYU, and sixteen others, all non-LDS, had applied for admission.²⁶ The decision to end the scholarship terminated the enrollment process for the applying Nigerians.

In early October 1963, the church, hoping to fend off accusations of racism as well as rumors of mass civil rights protests planned for downtown Salt Lake City, officially endorsed the federal Civil Rights Act (signed into law on July 2, 1964).²⁷ Yet, “‘Full’ equality to me,” wrote one BYU student, “means the inclusion of religious equality, and two ways of committing ourselves to establish this are to get to know and appreciate the Negro and to pray to our Heavenly Father to give to our Church in our time the revelation that will establish this.”²⁸ Before the end of the month, nationally circulated *Look* magazine published BYU freshman Ira Jeffrey Nye’s “Memo from a Mormon: In Which a Troubled Young Man Raises the Question of His Church’s Attitude toward Negroes.” Nye asked, “Can the principle of equality be reconciled with the Mormon doctrine of denial of the priesthood? This is the question that troubles me today.”²⁹

Two months later, Thomas E. Cheney, a BYU professor of English, stated publicly, “If the denial of priesthood to Negroes is interpreted as God’s will, a person might conclude . . . that the doctrine promotes rather than discourages discrimination, for if God denies Negroes equal rights, what other course has man?”³⁰ Complaints about Cheney’s comment quickly followed. BYU’s acting president, Earl Crockett, replied: “I am convinced that his [Cheney’s] intentions were good but he did not use wisdom regarding some of the things he said.”³¹ Crockett also met with Cheney, who recalled: “He said that the [First] Presidency of the Church were getting a lot of letters, and that they were upset about a lot of the things that were being said. . . . But President Crockett was very kind, and when he read the paper, he wrote me a note saying that he agreed with me in all that I said.” Later, Cheney learned that his promotion to full professor had

²⁴ Wilkinson, Diary, March 3, 1965.

²⁵ Board of Trustees, Minutes, March 31, 1965; see also James B. Allen, “Would-Be Saints: West Africa before the 1978 Priesthood Revelation,” *Journal of Mormon History* 17 (1991): 207–47.

²⁶ Wilkinson, memorandum of a meeting with the First Presidency, July 7, 1965, Wilkinson Papers.

²⁷ See *Conference Report of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, October 1963), 91–95.

²⁸ Iwan de Vries, letter, *Daily Universe*, October 10, 1963.

²⁹ Ira Jeffrey Nye, “Memo from a Mormon: In Which a Troubled Young Man Raises the Question of His Church’s Attitude toward Negroes,” *Look*, October 22, 1963, 74.

³⁰ “End of Mormon Bias against Negro Seen,” *Detroit Free Press*, December 30, 1963.

³¹ Perc A. Reeve and Market Berrett to Ernest L. Wilkinson, January 7, 1964; and Earl C. Crockett to Perc A. Reeve, January 9, 1964, Wilkinson Papers.

been held up because of his statements. "I saw your name on the list," Crockett told him, "and I decided that it might be better to wait for a year until it quieted down and was forgotten."³²

Racist rhetoric continued to surface sporadically on campus. In early 1965, a student wrote: "When I first heard a heckler . . . at a BYU football game call a Negro member of an opposing team a derogatory name, I was shocked . . . by the number of students who actually laughed and mocked in unison. . . . It has happened every time I have witnessed an athletic event where Negroes have participated at BYU."³³ At the end of the year, another added that "The spirit of brotherhood is not manifested in cries like 'Catch that nigger!'"³⁴ In late 1965, Wilkinson and members of BYU's athletics staff debated whether to recruit as football players two black LDS church members. While stating that if the young men's "academic training justified it," they would be "wholeheartedly" accepted, Wilkinson stressed that blacks should not be actively recruited, stating: "we felt that since there is no colored population in Provo . . . they might be better off going to some other institution where there are other colored students."³⁵ The next month, the dean of physical education, Milton Hartvigsen, confirmed that "we limited our recruiting to . . . non-negro athletes."³⁶ About this same time, administrators began sending the following letter to blacks who applied for admission:

As an Institution we do not look with favor upon marriages of any individuals outside their own race, whatever that race might be, and hence frown upon mixed courtships, which might result in such marriages. This point of view is not a matter of race prejudice for we believe that all races are important in God's eyes, but is the out-growth of observations relative to such relationships and the difficulties encountered by individuals participating in such courtships and marriages when attempting to adjust differences in family and cultural backgrounds.³⁷

That same spring of 1965, Wilkinson cancelled the campus appearance of the famous black singer Nancy Wilson. As if in response, a BYU student government-sponsored survey subsequently revealed that 95 percent of students had no "feeling concerning [the] race, creed, or color of entertainers."³⁸ Administrators also rejected a campus lecture on "Mormonism and the Negro."³⁹ Late the next year, the BYU Speakers Committee rebuffed a request to invite Monroe Fleming, one of few black Latter-day Saints, to

³² Thomas E. Cheney, interviewed by J. Roman Andrus, October 10, 1979, 13–14, Perry Special Collections. Cheney was appointed as full professor early the next year.

³³ Allan Weinstock, letter, *Daily Universe*, February 16, 1965.

³⁴ Rigby, "Responses to Racial Issues," 10.

³⁵ Wilkinson, Diary, December 22, 1965.

³⁶ Milton Hartvigsen, memorandum to Ernest L. Wilkinson, January 3, 1966, Wilkinson Papers.

³⁷ "Dear Sir," undated typescript in Lester Bush, comp., "A Compilation on the Negro in Mormonism," photocopy, privately circulated, copy in possession of the Smith-Pettit Foundation.

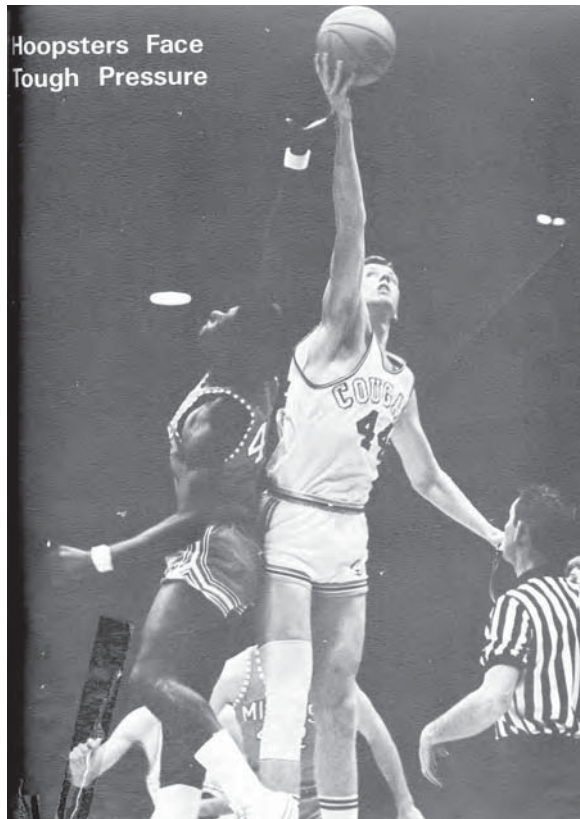
³⁸ Wilkinson, Diary, March 23, April 4, April 6, 1966; "Name Attractions, Finance, and Student Talent," ASBYU Student Body History, 1966–67, n.p., Perry Special Collections.

³⁹ University Speakers Committee, Minutes, December 2, 1966, Perry Special Collections.

speak.⁴⁰ When the topic of “The Negro and Job Opportunities in America” later came up, the Speakers Committee was told bluntly that McKay opposed “discussion for the present on this topic,” however noncontroversial.⁴¹

BYU’s next major brush with race relations came with the murder of nationally prominent civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4, 1968. King’s assassination occurred at the beginning of spring break, so public comment at BYU was mostly, but not entirely, absent. One student, Barbara J. McDaniel, complained about the lack of coverage, urging her peers to consider their own complicity in civil rights inequalities and expressing her “dream” that “freedom will ring from ‘Y’ mountain.” When the *Daily Universe* student editor explained the inadequate coverage of King’s death by referring to “dead news,” McDaniel countered: “[a] great man’s death and a tribute to his life is never ‘dead news’ as we testify to every Sunday.” In a note appended to McDaniel’s letter, the *Universe* said that comparing King’s death to that of Jesus was “in poor taste.” A second student added that King was not to be admired since his advocacy of civil disobedience contradicted LDS teachings on “obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law.”⁴²

Nationally, King’s death solidified black unrest into a tidal wave of resistance, protest, and demonstration. On April 13, 1968, seven black track and field athletes from the University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP) boycotted a match against BYU, the first such race-based protest against BYU. Two



In this illustration from the 1970 Banyan yearbook, a BYU Cougar faces a UTEP Miner.

⁴⁰ Ibid., December 5, 1967.

⁴¹ Ibid., March 20, 1968.

⁴² Ardis Smith, “BYU and Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968,” December 22, 2009, accessed November 27, 2011, www.juvenileinstructor.org/byu-and-martin-luther-king-jr-in-1968.

months earlier, a group of UTEP athletes had crossed picket lines protesting racism at the New York Athletic Club. When UTEP's returning black runners were praised for breaking the boycott line, they began to reevaluate their position. The students decided not to participate against BYU because, they said, of BYU's "belief that blacks are inferior and that we are disciples of the devil." "As a reason for the track team's boycott it may sound like a small thing to a white person," commented the team captain, "but who the hell wants to go up there and run your tail off in front of a bunch of spectators who think you've got horns."⁴³ UTEP suspended the seven athletes but also responded to BYU.⁴⁴ "Without any suggestion at all of trying to run your business," UTEP President Joseph M. Ray wrote to Wilkinson, "I think your institution will be a thorn in the side of the [Western Athletic] Conference until such time as you recruit at least a token Negro athlete. Until you do, all explanations that the charges are not true will not carry the ring of conviction."⁴⁵ "[M]ay I inform you," Wilkinson responded, "that . . . all Negroes who apply for admission and can meet the academic standards are admitted."⁴⁶

By this time, Wilkinson had also received word that the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was sending a five-person team to BYU to "determine whether we are complying with the [1964] Civil Rights Act. This, in and of itself, did not disturb us," Wilkinson recorded, "but we learned, unofficially, that we were the only university in this area to be visited in such manner, and that the committee was 'out to get us.'" BYU trustees contemplated foregoing all federal research contracts. Wilkinson urged patience, but placed on temporary hold plans for a new multi-million-dollar sports arena, worried that if BYU were expelled from the WAC, it might not be able to sustain the large venue.⁴⁷

Wilkinson soon found himself facing additional controversies. He met with staff to try to determine how best to handle a brewing imbroglio involving the musical group the Tijuana Brass. After signing a contract, the Brass had asked to bring with them a rhythm-and-blues band, the Checkmates, Ltd. Two BYU administrators previewed a Checkmates performance and, according to Wilkinson, "found their show to be filthy." BYU informed the Brass that the Checkmates would not be invited; the Brass demurred; BYU released them from their contract. However, as some of the Checkmates were black, Wilkinson worried, "people are bound to jump to the conclusion that we cancelled the contract because they were

⁴³ Craig Collisson, "The BSU Takes on BYU and the UW Athletics Program, 1970," accessed October 27, 2011, http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/BSU_BYU.htm.

⁴⁴ "Negro Athletes Boycott Track Meet with BYU," *Ames Daily Tribune*, April 13, 1968.

⁴⁵ Joseph M. Ray to Ernest L. Wilkinson, April 22, 1968, Wilkinson Papers.

⁴⁶ Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph M. Ray, May 3, 1968, Wilkinson Papers.

⁴⁷ Wilkinson, Diary, May 1, 1968; see also September 9, 1968. BYU announced plans for a new activities center—eventually named the Marriott Center—on September 17, 1968.

Negroes.”⁴⁸ Three months later, Wilkinson worked with student leaders to find “acceptable Negro speakers,” then confronted a new wrinkle. Administrators had previously ruled that any student caught selling marijuana “would be terminated immediately.” However, they also learned that BYU’s sole “American Negro” student was reportedly “selling marijuana.” “[B]efore we suspend him from school,” Wilkinson recorded, “he had better be convicted in the courts; otherwise . . . there would be a public clamor to the effect that he was being suspended because he was Negro.” Staff members objected that “we ought to treat him as we have done other students . . . I recognize that the proposal I had made gives him preference,” Wilkinson wondered, “but I am not sure but what it’s the wise course.”⁴⁹

BYU’s 1968 football season kicked off the next, more serious wave of race-based protests against the school. In late October, word spread that seven members of the San Jose State College team would boycott the November 30 game unless San Jose replaced its current coach, who was leaving, with a black coach and donated a percentage of revenues from the game to the college’s black student union. The previous month, at the international Olympic Games, two San Jose runners had raised black-gloved fists on the winners’ podium in silent support of human rights worldwide. San Jose’s student officers supported the protesters, urging administrators to “take all possible steps to cancel the football contract with BYU.”⁵⁰ San Jose president Robert D. Clark told the boycotting students that, while they would lose their grants-in-aid, he would help to replace the funds. “You’ve got to understand how we feel,” San Jose halfback Frank Slaton explained. “Those Mormons say . . . we can’t go to heaven because we’re black. Man, I just don’t want to associate with those people in any way.”⁵¹ When the two teams met, attendance was sparse, security heavy.⁵² Outside, protesters carried signs reading: “By attending this game you are silently supporting the racial bigotry of Mormonism.”⁵³ The night before, a bomb threat almost evacuated the hotel where the BYU team was staying.⁵⁴ “Those were tough times,” recalled linebacker and president of

⁴⁸ Wilkinson, Diary, May 10, 1968. See “Tijuana Trouble Brews,” *Daily Universe*, May 13, 1968; “No Tijuana,” *Daily Universe*, May 14, 1968. Herb Alpert asserted that BYU’s decision was racially motivated, a charge Wilkinson denied. See “Alpert Says BYU Racist,” *San Francisco Examiner*, June 13, 1968; “An Open Letter to Herb Alpert,” *Daily Universe*, June 18, 1968. Alpert’s accusations evidently stung: within the year, BYU approved the appearances of the black Ramsey Lewis jazz trio and the Fifth Dimension. See “The Night Soul Settled on BYU,” *Daily Universe*, April 14, 1969.

⁴⁹ Wilkinson, memorandum to Grant Richards, August 27, 1968, Perry Special Collections (first quotation); Wilkinson, Diary, October 22, 1968 (following quotations); see also January 24, 1969.

⁵⁰ “SJS Demands Cancellation,” *Daily Universe*, November 27, 1968; see also Timothy K. Fitzgerald, *Wavona Brotherhood: The San Jose State Campus Revolt* (New York: Strategic Book, 2004, 2005), 139–44.

⁵¹ “SJS Blacks May Boycott Y Game,” *Daily Universe*, November 25, 1968.

⁵² David A. Schulthess, interviewed by Paul C. Richards, January 14, 1992, 11, Perry Special Collections.

⁵³ “Threats Fizzle,” *Daily Universe*, December 2, 1968.

⁵⁴ “DB on BYU’s 1969 Team Shares His Memory of Black 14 Protest,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, accessed October 27, 2011, www.sltrib.com/byu/archive.php?p=5368&more=1&c=1&tb=1&pb=1.

San Jose's Black Athletes Federation, Anthony L. Jackson. "We were criticized by some for doing too little and others for doing too much. . . . In the end, it was worth it."⁵⁵

During the run-up to the boycott, BYU trustees wondered if the game should be canceled, but ultimately decided to proceed—provided that "adequate precautions and protections" be afforded the BYU participants; and that "any public statements on behalf of the University should merely state that BYU . . . merely operates under the direction of the University's Board of Trustees."⁵⁶ Wilkinson stressed that a cancelation "might be interpreted as an erroneous admission that we discriminate against the Negroes" and that "blacks on any other campus with whom we play could start an agitation to cancel those games."⁵⁷ The controversy prompted considerable student comment at BYU. "I'm grateful for being of the white race in a land where the white is supreme," wrote student reporter Judy Geissler, employing irony to provoke discussion. "But I'm even more thankful for having the sense of social responsibility to know it's my job to do everything I can to end the hypocrisy of the racial 'double standard' in America."⁵⁸ "These two statements are mutually exclusive," countered Alan A. Enke and Mima Broadbent. "Please, Miss Geissler—if you have one, make up your mind."⁵⁹ "A tribute to Judy Geissler and others of the supreme white race from a non-white student. Oink. Oink. Your inferior, Michael Hu," added another.⁶⁰ "I recently heard a high official of the Church slip into 'colored humor' at a stake conference," reported Ron Simpson. "Similar material has been rendered at BYU sacrament meetings."⁶¹ At about the same time, the *Daily Universe* found that 65 percent of BYU students favored recruiting black athletes. "The reason they don't recruit them isn't valid," one student said; "they just don't want negroes to socialize with our girls."⁶² In explaining the situation, the newspaper reported the oft-repeated concerns about intermarriage.⁶³

Meanwhile, an angry Wilkinson thought he had made it clear that "no article would appear in the 'Universe' on the Negro question unless" it was cleared with him.⁶⁴ He reported being "pretty caustic" with the student editor, telling him that he would see him again "after my meeting with the

⁵⁵ Sports, *Washington Square Magazine*, Summer 2009, accessed October 27, 2011, <http://www.sjsu.edu/wsqa/archive/summer09/sports/>.

⁵⁶ Executive Committee, Board of Trustees, Minutes, November 21, 1968.

⁵⁷ Executive Committee, Board of Trustees, Special Meeting, Minutes, November 26, 1968; see also Wilkinson, memorandum, December 4, 1968, Wilkinson Papers.

⁵⁸ "The Way It Is—Editorial Rambling," *Daily Universe*, November 27, 1968.

⁵⁹ Letter, *Daily Universe*, December 3, 1968.

⁶⁰ Letter, *Daily Universe*, December 13, 1968.

⁶¹ Letter, *Daily Universe*, December 13, 1968.

⁶² "Y Students Favor Negro Recruitment," *Daily Universe*, December 19, 1968.

⁶³ "Honest Discussion of BYU-Negro Athlete Recruitment Essential," *Daily Universe*, December 19, 1968.

⁶⁴ Wilkinson, Diary, December 19, 1968.

Board of Trustees in which this matter would be up for discussion.”⁶⁵ Wilkinson’s fears of trustee backlash were confirmed: “Why can’t [BYU] leave such problems to the Board of Trustees to decide?” asked LDS Apostle Delbert L. Stapley. “These two articles are ill-advised to say the least. This matter has been discussed a time or two with the Executive Committee and Board. They have not looked upon [the recruitment of blacks] with favor, as you know. . . . This could present problems about the whole school athletic program.”⁶⁶

In early January 1969, Wilkinson was relieved when a rumored sit-down strike during BYU’s basketball game against Stanford did not materialize.⁶⁷ A few days later, he secured approval “to make a statement with respect to Negro athletes and our policy on recruitment.” While some trustees—notably Ezra Taft Benson and Stapley—“thought no statement of any kind should be issued,” N. Eldon Tanner “thought we could no longer avoid making the statement. That turned the tide.”⁶⁸ The next day, Lester B. Whetten, a BYU dean and the former director of public relations, opined: “The Negro of today is not, and cannot become compatible with B.Y.U. standards.”⁶⁹ Likewise, BYU’s Speakers Committee quietly rejected appearances by prominent blacks, including Alex Haley.⁷⁰ Yet almost simultaneously, a panel of BYU professors insisted that the “allegation that BYU is racist in general and . . . anti-Negro in particular requires an answer.”⁷¹

Wilkinson quickly discovered that issuing a public statement was more difficult than he anticipated. Meeting with LDS officials Tanner, Gordon B. Hinckley, and Thomas S. Monson, he hoped for a positive statement. However, following comments by BYU administrators Milton Hartvigsen and Robert K. Thomas, the difficulties of the situation—which required finding solutions to “satisfy the blacks” and BYU’s accrediting agencies—became clear. When Hartvigsen “chimed in with the statement that if we did not do something, we were through with athletics at BYU,” Wilkinson became especially frustrated.

Annoyed, he asked Hartvigsen to “prepar[e] a very careful memorandum indicating that even if our athletic schedule with other schools was seriously curtailed, we would still need the activity center.” Wilkinson also asked Thomas to “prepar[e] a careful memorandum as to what may be the consequences in other fields of activity if it should be thought that we are

⁶⁵ Ibid., January 8, 1969.

⁶⁶ Stapley to Ernest L. Wilkinson, December 23, 1968, Wilkinson Papers. Stapley believed that “the Negro is entitled to considerations” but not to “full social benefits nor inter-marriage privileges with the Whites.” Stapley, letter to George W. Romney, January 23, 1964, copy, Smith-Pettit Foundation.

⁶⁷ Wilkinson, Diary, January 3, 1969.

⁶⁸ Ibid., January 9, 1969.

⁶⁹ Memorandum to Wilkinson, January 10, 1969, Perry Special Collections.

⁷⁰ University Speakers Committee, Minutes, January 14, January 21, 1969.

⁷¹ “BYU Profs Discuss Racism,” *Daily Universe*, January 14, 1969.

discriminating.”⁷² Trustees decided not to make any statement; they also wondered about avoiding all programs that called attention to minorities but concluded to continue to recognize creative minority students.⁷³

In early March 1969, news spread that students, mostly members of the black students union at the University of New Mexico, were petitioning their administrators to denounce BYU as a “racist institution,” cancel an upcoming track meet, and drop BYU from the WAC.⁷⁴ New Mexico’s student senate also recommended that the school cut all ties to BYU, a proposal that the school’s faculty also entertained. “The humiliation and anxiety suffered by the black athletes who have to participate in events against BYU,” explained New Mexico’s black forward, Greg “Stretch” Howard, “go beyond the realm of academic tolerance.”⁷⁵ However, New Mexico’s athletic council announced that it would suspend athletes who refused to participate for the remainder of the season.⁷⁶ At this same time, ATT executive Ramon S. Scruggs told BYU students that “white Americans are operating under a set of false assumptions. They believe that they are dealing with stupid people . . . [and] that only the hard-core ghetto black is bitter against the white man. . . . Mormons should understand, perhaps better than any other group of people, what the problems of prejudice are.”⁷⁷

The next month, Wilkinson received positive news: word that BYU was in full compliance with the anti-discrimination provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and notification that the WAC refused to investigate allegations of racism and to cancel an upcoming BYU–UTEP track meet.⁷⁸ On the other hand, Wilkinson had to deal with trustees who disagreed with his assessment that “for us to refuse to hire a Negro on our faculty because of his race was a plain violation of the law. Brother [Harold B.] Lee disputed this, saying that he could read the statute as well as I. I am sure he has never read the [Civil Rights] statute, and I could tell that other members of the committee were on my side not his.”⁷⁹

Hoping to dispel widespread rumors of racial insensitivity, BYU’s sophomore class sponsored a special “Brotherhood Week” in May 1969. Events included a faculty panel on “Causes of Racial Prejudice and Its Political Effects,” film screenings, a book display, an art and literature

⁷² Wilkinson, Diary, January 24, 1969.

⁷³ See Board of Trustees, Minutes, February 5, March 5, and April 9, 1969.

⁷⁴ “N.M. Students Seek End to BYU Ties,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 4, 1969; “Charges Refuted,” *Daily Universe*, March 5, 1969; “Dr. Wilkinson Denies BYU Tends to Practice in Racism,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 5, 1969.

⁷⁵ “Lobo Student Senate Votes to Sever BYU Athletic Relations,” *Provo Daily Herald*, March 21, 1969; “New Mexico May Sever Relations with BYU,” *Daily Universe*, March 25, 1969.

⁷⁶ “Lobo Athletes Warned about Boycotting BYU,” *Provo Daily Herald*, March 26, 1969; “UNM Warns Black Athletes Play or Face Suspension,” *Daily Universe*, March 27, 1969.

⁷⁷ “Scruggs Questions White Hang-Up,” *Daily Universe*, March 25, 1969; see also “Blacks Contribute,” *Daily Universe*, April 23, 1970.

⁷⁸ “BYU Complies with National Civil Rights Act,” *Provo Daily Herald*, April 3, 1969; “BYU Policy Study Refused by WAC,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 4, 1969.

⁷⁹ Wilkinson, Diary, April 9, 1969.



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contest, and a clothing drive in conjunction with the NAACP. However, administrators denied permission for several other activities. “Originally we made an attempt to secure Negro speakers,” explained Bob Elliott,

A demonstration outside a University of Arizona–BYU football game in Tucson, October 10, 1971.

sophomore class vice president and Brotherhood Week chair, “but due to a recent decision of the Board of Trustees to limit the number of Negro speakers to two a year, our attempts were rendered impossible. A great number of further activities, including discussions of Church and university racial policies, were planned but had to be scratched at the last minute because Church and university officials preferred to stand on previous [official] statements.”⁸⁰

As Brotherhood Week progressed, Judy Geissler, now assistant news editor for the *Universe*, penned an editorial commemorating Martin Luther King Jr. that encouraged students to “get out and DO something” to end racism.⁸¹ A week later, another student retorted that King was a “trouble-making Communist.”⁸² Geissler reported that reactions to her column—which included sixteen “anonymous phone calls” and “three anonymous letters”—“have amazed me, and even frightened me.” “Two of the anonymous callers insisted I was a card-carrying Communist, and a cell leader too, no doubt. One even threatened to burn a cross on my living room rug. . . . It is distressing,” she closed, “to see the two-facedness of those who profess to love their fellow men while refusing to support attempts to foster true brotherhood.”⁸³ In response, some students accused King of hypocrisy;

⁸⁰ “‘Brotherhood Week’ Begins,” *Daily Universe*, May 5, 1969; see also “Wilkinson Clarifies University Policies,” *Daily Universe*, May 12, 1969; J. LaVar Bateman, memorandum to Ernest L. Wilkinson, February 17, 1970, Wilkinson Papers; University Speakers Committee, Minutes, April 17, 1970, Perry Special Collections.

⁸¹ “In Memoriam: M. L. King,” *Daily Universe*, April 30, 1969, emphasis in original.

⁸² Letter, *Daily Universe*, May 6, 1969; see also Ezra Taft Benson, *Civil Rights—Tool of Communist Deception* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1968), 3, 10; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1997), 66–115.

⁸³ “Racial Bigotry: An Open Letter,” *Daily Universe*, May 7, 1969.

others termed him a “man of principle.” Michael Vanille wrote that the “Founding Fathers broke laws a little more serious than parade ordinances to establish freedom for all Americans.”⁸⁴

The third, and most disruptive, round of anti-BYU protests erupted that fall of 1969. On October 4, some 250 protesters gathered outside the stadium at Arizona State to heckle BYU players and fans. Organized by the school’s Black Liberation Organizational Committee, demonstrators waved signs and passed out leaflets.⁸⁵ A week later, Brian Walton, a BYU student government official, helped to defeat a student-backed resolution urging the WAC to sever relations with BYU.⁸⁶ The next week, fourteen black players at the University of Wyoming (Laramie) asked Coach Lloyd Eaton about wearing black armbands during their game against BYU. Eaton immediately dismissed them from the team.⁸⁷ During the October 18 game, the threat of violence was high. “It was just an ugly scene, one I will never forget,” recalled BYU defensive back Dick Legas.⁸⁸ “It was pretty unnerving for all of us,” added quarterback Marc Lyons. “Several wives and girlfriends made the trip to Laramie, and I still remember coach [Tommy] Hudspeth telling them, ‘I wish you hadn’t come.’”⁸⁹ “Many of the guys weren’t even Mormon,” Legas continued. “I had been baptized, but I was still Episcopalian in my mind. I had no problem with any ethnicity, nor did anybody that I am aware of on the team. We just wanted to play a football game.”⁹⁰ BYU lost 7 to 40.

Within the week, BYU student officers submitted to administrators their own proposed statement in support of civil rights and admissions.⁹¹ Wilkinson, who had hoped for an equally positive declaration from church leaders, was disappointed to learn of Harold B. Lee’s obstinacy.⁹² BYU staff

⁸⁴ Smith, “BYU and Martin Luther King.”

⁸⁵ “ASU Demonstration Charges Racism,” *Daily Universe*, October 6, 1969; “ASU Report Given,” *Daily Universe*, October 7, 1969.

⁸⁶ “BYU Leaders Fend Off Challenge,” *Daily Universe*, October 13, 1969; “Why Should ‘The Young Democrat’ Throw Its Support Behind Any Candidate—?” *Young Democrat*, April–May 1970.

⁸⁷ “Eaton Has Last Word,” *Daily Universe*, October 20, 1969; “Pokes Forgotten—UTEP Next,” *Daily Universe*, October 20, 1969; “Black 14 Becomes Black 11,” *Provo Daily Herald*, June 24, 1970; “Pokes Dismiss 14 Black Players for Support Anti-‘Y’ Protest,” *Provo Daily Herald*, October 19, 1969; see also “BYU Football: Remembering the Black 14 Protest,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 6, 2009; “Tony McGee and the Wyoming 14,” *Freedom’s Journal*, February 3, 2011, accessed November 28, 2011, www.freedomsjournal.net/2011/02/03/tony-mcgee-and-the-wyoming-14.

⁸⁸ “Remembering the Black 14 Protest,” November 6, 2009.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ “DB on BYU’s 1969”; see also Clifford A. Bullock, “Fired by Conscience: The Black 14 Incident at the University of Wyoming and Black Protest in the Western Athletic Conference,” accessed November 7, 2011, http://uwacadweb.uwyo.edu/robertshistory/fired_by_conscience.htm; James E. Barrett, “The Black 14: Williams v. Eaton, A Personal Recollection,” accessed October 26, 2011, http://uwacadweb.uwyo.edu/robertshistory/barrett_black_14.htm; Lane Demas, *Integrating the Gridiron: Black Civil Rights and American College Football* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 102–33; “Football, Racial Issues—Then Understanding,” *Salt Lake City Deseret News*, October 22, 2009.

⁹¹ “BYU Student Officers Turn in Positive Civil Rights Statement,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 23, 1969.

⁹² Wilkinson, *Diary*, October 27, 1969; see also October 29, 1969.



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could only continue to insist that while blacks were welcome, most would not be happy. “We have enough trouble recruiting non-Mormons,” stated athletic director Floyd Millet; recruiting blacks would be like “putting a cat in a dog pound,” added defensive tackle Scott Brayer. “Negroes who do come to BYU become so discontented they quit.”⁹³ In the meantime, student officials at the universities of Arizona and New Mexico passed resolutions calling for a ban of all future athletic competitions with BYU, though Utah State University students reconfirmed their support of BYU. An all-WAC faculty council considered proposals to recognize an athlete’s “right of conscience in regard to playing against any given school” but adjourned without deciding if BYU should be expelled.⁹⁴

BYU's 1970 men's varsity basketball team.

Before the WAC faculty council closed, BYU's Hartvigsen defended his school's policies. Hartvigsen turned the issue of discrimination around, accusing critics of the real intolerance: “when a religious group is publicly condemned, picketed, and ridiculed because of an unfashionable doctrine that has not demonstrated social consequence, this is called bigotry. . . . It is

⁹³ “Protest Waves Roll: Mormons Under Fire,” *Daily Universe*, November 4, 1969.

⁹⁴ “WAC vs. BYU,” *Daily Universe*, October 31, 1969; “USU to Support BYU,” *Daily Universe*, November 11, 1969; “WAC Embroiled in Racial Study,” *Daily Universe*, November 5, 1969; “No Decision by WAC Council,” *LDS Church News*, November 8, 1969; see also “BSA Demonstration Cancels WAC Meeting in Denver,” *Daily Universe*, November 6, 1969.

my opinion,” he continued, “that the Negro in Utah has better treatment, more acceptability, and greater educational opportunity than he finds outside the states represented in the Western Athletic Conference.”⁹⁵

After Wyoming, BYU played UTEP on October 25. Minor protests occurred outside the stadium; five participants were arrested for fighting. Arizona at BYU followed on November 1, but without incident.⁹⁶ When San Jose State arrived at BYU for November 8’s game, members of the team and coaching staff wore black armbands. (Players had worn armbands in Laramie the week before, but in solidarity.) “BYU, being sponsored by the Mormon institution,” San Jose’s players explained, “must realize that this sponsorship makes it the benefactor and somewhat the perpetrator of attitudes which will lead men into an eternal world of inharmonious relationships.” San Jose’s president called the action “commendable,” adding, “For young men to choose this form of protest to display their conscientious objections to a moral question is within the tradition of a free society.”⁹⁷ As a “joke,” some 200 BYU fans donned red armbands.⁹⁸

The next week, Stanford University shocked intercollegiate athletics by declaring that it would schedule no new athletic or other events with BYU because of the church’s practice of discrimination.⁹⁹ BYU officials scrambled to respond. The previous November 5, while Wilkinson was out of town, the trustees had debated recruiting—and the discussions were “spirited.”¹⁰⁰ While still not encouraging the recruiting of blacks (though not barring them from admission), trustees were becoming increasingly convinced that only a new statement explaining the church’s position might quell the protests and provide BYU with a more definitive response. Stanford’s surprise decision reinforced the need for a response.

Wilkinson accused Stanford of bigotry while also encouraging supporters to call for the ouster of school president Kenneth S. Pitzer.¹⁰¹ When Wilkinson met with the presidents of the WAC in late November, he found that most “did not think that the BYU intended to do anything substantial . . . with respect to recruiting Negro athletes.”¹⁰² Summarizing

⁹⁵ Leonard G. Rhoda, “The Life and Professional Contributions of Milton F. Hartvigsen” (EdD diss., Brigham Young University, 1979), 112–14.

⁹⁶ “Why Blacks Protested, and How Cougars Reacted,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 30, 1969.

⁹⁷ “Watts Cookin’,” *Provo Daily Herald*, November 9, 1969.

⁹⁸ “Trouble in Happy Valley,” *Newsweek*, December 1, 1969, 103.

⁹⁹ “Stanford to End All Competition with BYU,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 13, 1969; see also “Stanford Apologizes in Y. Incident,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 10, 1969; “Stanford Policy Explained,” *Daily Universe*, December 17, 1969; “Stanford Discusses BYU Situation,” *Provo Daily Herald*, January 14, 1970.

¹⁰⁰ Board of Trustees, Minutes, November 5, 1969; L. Brent Goates, *Harold B. Lee: Prophet and Seer* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1985), 379.

¹⁰¹ “Wilkinson Airs Race Policy,” *Daily Universe*, November 26, 1969; Special Issue, *BYU Today*, December 1969, copy, Perry Special Collections; “Wilkinson Claims Stanford Failed to Check Facts,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 23, 1969, cf. “Paper Flays Stanford’s BYU Policy,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 27, 1969.

¹⁰² Wilkinson, Diary, November 30, 1969.

events afterwards to Delbert Stapley, Wilkinson was surprised to hear Stapley say “we ought not to recruit any Negroes at the ‘Y.’” Wilkinson reminded the LDS apostle that “the opposite direction had been made at the last meeting of the Board [of Trustees] at which [Stapley] was not present, and I would proceed in that direction.”¹⁰³ Wilkinson had also heard that a “special committee” was preparing to report to top LDS leaders on “the Negro situation.” If such a report concerned BYU, Wilkinson told N. Eldon Tanner, he “wanted to . . . be in on the discussion.”¹⁰⁴ (Wilkinson was not invited to help compose the new statement.) Several days later, Wilkinson formally approved construction of a nine-million-dollar athletics center. “If, in the years to come,” he recorded, “our athletic program should be seriously curtailed either because of refusal of other teams to play us or because we ourselves decide to withdraw from inter-collegiate competition . . . this building will probably be known as ‘Wilkinson’s Folly.’” He also huddled with a public relations team “to discuss a national campaign in which we take the offensive in public attitudes toward” BYU.¹⁰⁵

Neither the church’s December 15 statement nor the end of the 1969 football season slowed the pace of protest, which in January 1970 shifted to BYU basketball. University of Arizona administrators rebuffed a call by the NAACP to cancel January 8’s game and ban all future relations with BYU.¹⁰⁶ The game was delayed ten minutes when a “free-for-all” broke out at the entrance to the gym; nine Arizona students were arrested. Ironically, Arizona’s coach led a local LDS congregation. During the game, Arizona’s three black starters wore black armbands. After the game, Arizona student officers called for the resignation of their university’s president.¹⁰⁷ Groups of Arizona students protested sporadically throughout the semester, including picketing local LDS worship services.¹⁰⁸ The student body officers of Utah’s combined colleges and universities countered that “only the innocent student or athlete suffers as a consequence of any such action.”¹⁰⁹ BYU’s

¹⁰³ Ibid., December 3, 1969.

¹⁰⁴ Wilkinson, memorandum of a Conference with N. Eldon Tanner, December 3, 1969, Wilkinson Papers. For more on the statement, see Goates, *Harold B. Lee*, 379–80; Sheri L. Dew, *Go Forward with Faith: The Biography of Gordon B. Hinckley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996), 295–96; Gary James Bergera, “Tensions in David O. McKay’s First Presidencies,” *Journal of Mormon History* 33 (Spring 2007): 222–41.

¹⁰⁵ Wilkinson, Diary, December 13, 1969.

¹⁰⁶ “NAACP Seeks Cancellation of BYU–AU Game,” *Provo Daily Herald*, January 7, 1969; “Arizona U. Denies NAACP Demands; President Issues Statement Supporting BYU,” *Provo Daily Herald*, January 8, 1970; “Arizona Pres. Kills Y Ban,” *Daily Universe*, January 9, 1970.

¹⁰⁷ “UA Students Arrested on Riot Charges,” *Provo Daily Herald*, January 11, 1970; “Arizona Faculty to Discuss Riot,” *Provo Daily Herald*, January 13, 1970; “Student Senate Calls for Resignation of U. of A. President,” *Provo Daily Herald*, January 13, 1970. The account in Richard Dahl, *BYU’s Stan Watts: The Man and His Game* (Bountiful, UT: Horizon, 1976), 166, differs slightly.

¹⁰⁸ “30 Remain at Sit-In Against Y,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 14, 1970; “Students Ask Arizona to Cut Y. Links,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 17, 1970; “Pickets Halt LDS Service,” *Daily Universe*, February 24, 1970; “Arizona Negroes Protest BYU; Arrests Made at Fort Collins,” *Provo Daily Herald*, February 25, 1970.

¹⁰⁹ “Utah Council Opposes ‘Using’ of Athletes,” *Daily Universe*, January 16, 1970.

alumni newspaper, meanwhile, implied that the protests formed part of a communist conspiracy.¹¹⁰ Then on January 17, during a wrestling meet in Greeley, Colorado, some eighty Colorado State students staged a sit-in; a bomb threat temporarily emptied the hall.¹¹¹

In early February, the BYU community received some good news: trustees approved a request from Melvin A. Givens, pastor of Salt Lake City's all-black Deliverance Temple Church of God in Christ, for BYU's A Capella Choir and Philharmonic Orchestra to participate in a special fund-raising event. "I don't agree with the policy or doctrine of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," Givens commented, "but I'm glad we could get together to show people that we're not going to kill one another about it."¹¹² Equally important, BYU also announced the signing of the school's first black athlete, football defensive back Ronald Knight from Oklahoma.¹¹³ "In the past," explained coach Tommy J. Hudspeth, "we felt we should discourage the Negroes because we felt they would not be happy in the social situation here. . . . We are only 35 minutes from Salt Lake City where there is a Negro community, and we are setting up appointments and introductions there. . . . A lot of people are mad at me right now," he continued, "because they feel we are giving in. . . . We are trying to show the other universities that we want to cooperate with them."¹¹⁴ "Ron was the one that took the brunt of what we were trying to do in regarding to breaking the color lines," Hudspeth later stated. "Ron was quite a young man. . . . He wanted to do things right and he was proud of his race. He was put under the gun quite a few times and he came out right because he was quite a man."¹¹⁵ Knight played to his 1971 graduation.

Positive developments were short-lived. BYU's basketball game against Colorado State (Fort Collins) on February 5 became the scene of the most violent demonstration yet. As BYU warmed up, protesters gathered on the floor, yelled epithets, and made threatening gestures. While BYU players met in the locker room, the faculty advisor to Colorado's black student association offered an opening prayer condemning those who "follow the dictates of men, and not of God."¹¹⁶ At half-time, while the BYU Cougarettes performed, more than one hundred students walked onto the court, surrounded the coeds, shouted curses, and made sexually aggressive

¹¹⁰ "Militants, Reds Attack Y, Church," *BYU Alumnus*, February 1970, 4.

¹¹¹ Wilkinson, *Diary*, January 18, 1970.

¹¹² "Y Groups Join Mahalia Jackson in Concert," *Daily Universe*, March 3, 1970.

¹¹³ Board of Trustees, Minutes, February 4, 1970; "BYU Gets Negro Athlete," *Provo Daily Herald*, February 3, 1970.

¹¹⁴ "Springville Chamber Hears Coach Talk about BYU Racial Situation," *Provo Daily Herald*, February 16, 1970.

¹¹⁵ Ryan Thorburn, *Black 14: The Rise, Fall, and Rebirth of Wyoming Football* (Boulder, CO: Burning Daylight, 2009), 70–71.

¹¹⁶ Wilkinson described the prayer as "not an invocation at all but a tirade against the BYU and the Mormon Church, a very inflam[m]atory speech which set the stage for what followed." Wilkinson, *Diary*, February 5, 1970.

gestures. Protesters in the stands threw raw eggs and loose debris. When Colorado's players returned, protesters moved to one of the corners. Several fights broke out. Forty Colorado security officers and Fort Collins policemen marched onto the court. Someone in the stands threw a piece of metal, which bounced off one of the helmeted security officers and struck a *Rocky Mountain News* photographer, leaving him temporarily unconscious. A Molotov-type cocktail followed, bursting into flames but not exploding. Seven people were eventually arrested, six suspended.¹¹⁷

After a half-hour delay, during which the court was cleared and cleaned, the Cougarettes finished their drill and play resumed. "I know the coach [Stan Watts] realized that what he was having to decide could actually mean the lives of his players," BYU's center Scott Warner commented.¹¹⁸ "The thing that worries me and the boys," Watts told *Sports Illustrated*, "is how far will it go? . . . One of these days, you know, somebody might pull a gun or something."¹¹⁹ Larry DeLaitre, one of five non-LDS members on BYU's varsity team, remarked: "I really do sympathize with the protesters . . . I really get uptight when we come out and I see the cold stares. I want to grab hold of somebody and yell, 'I'm Catholic! I'm Catholic!'"¹²⁰ Other BYU players likewise admitted they felt uneasy about the situation and sympathized to some degree with protestors. In contrast, Utah sportscaster Paul James, who called the game for KSL Radio, labeled the demonstration as "an insult to every law abiding citizen and every principle of law and order that this country stands for."¹²¹

Fearful, Wilkinson looked for answers in LDS theology. "Do you or any of your staff," he asked the dean of BYU's College of Religious Education, "know of any revelations that are specific as to what we might expect by way of disorders in the near future? Anything you can give me will be helpful to me in this time of crisis."¹²² He also asked trustees for a supplemental appropriation of \$100,000 for "security protection."¹²³ "These demonstrations against BYU," the religion dean subsequently asserted, "are not really demonstrations against the racial policies of this University [but]

¹¹⁷ "No Legitimacy in CSU Riot," *Daily Universe*, May 7, 1970; "CSU Prexy Reverses Ruling on Protesters," *Provo Daily Herald*, August 5, 1970.

¹¹⁸ Dahl, *BYU's Stan Watts*, 171.

¹¹⁹ William F Reed, "The Other Side of 'the Y,'" *Sports Illustrated*, January 26, 1970, 38; see also "Stan Watts Years Still Remembered," *Daily Universe*, October 14, 1983; "Violent Demonstration Marks BYU-Colorado Game," *Daily Universe*, February 6, 1970; "Demonstration Line Forms Before Game," *Daily Universe*, February 9, 1970; Dahl, *BYU's Stan Watts*, 168-71; "CSUPD History," accessed November 28, 2011, <http://police.colostate.edu/pages/history.aspx>; "Conviction Brought from CSU-BYU Riot," *Provo Daily Herald*, March 12, 1970.

¹²⁰ Reed, "The Other Side of 'the Y,'" 38.

¹²¹ "Retrospect: Brigham Young at Colorado State," *Daily Universe*, February 11, 1970. See also Paul James, *Cougar Tales: The Inside Stories from 20 Years of BYU Sports* (Sandy, UT: Randall Books, 1984), 47-52.

¹²² Wilkinson, memorandum to Daniel H. Ludlow, February 11, 1970, Perry Special Collections.

¹²³ Wilkinson, memoranda to Ludlow, February 16 and March 11, 1970, and attachments, Perry Special Collections; Executive Committee, Board of Trustees, Minutes, February 19, 1970. Wilkinson was advised to look for the money in other areas of his budget.

... against The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; these demonstrations are against the principle of freedom of religion; these demonstrations are against the principle of constitutional government in the United States.”¹²⁴ “These people,” coach Stan Watts echoed, “aren’t after us. They’re after America.”¹²⁵ “The way to destroy the Church,” suggested Hartvigsen, “is to destroy the fine intercollegiate athletic program at BYU.”¹²⁶ “This is a time of testing,” Harold B. Lee told students later that fall, “the like of which the Church has never gone through.”¹²⁷

Two days after the Colorado State game, BYU faced the University of Wyoming, where ten uniformed policemen stood in each corner of the court.¹²⁸ From the stands, demonstrators waved signs and then turned their backs to the American flag while the U.S. anthem played. Several games later, in El Paso, a scattering of signs and banners greeted BYU.¹²⁹ In Albuquerque, some students refused to stand or turned their backs during the national anthem. Before play started, protesters tossed raw eggs, lettuce, and other items onto the court. Liquid-filled balloons burst as they hit the floor. As the floor was cleaned, sections of the wax finish peeled off. Some forty minutes later, play started; BYU lost 68 to 82. Finally, in March, BYU played its last game of the season—losing once again, this time to Utah State. Watts had endured his worst season ever, while Wilkinson noted in his diary that “these disturbances” had a “marked effect on our players.”¹³⁰

That same semester, on January 20, 1970, BYU gymnastics had competed against the University of Washington in Seattle. During the match, twenty protesters threw catsup, salad oil, and eggs onto the mat; water was tossed in the face of Washington’s coach. After the meet, police accompanied BYU’s team from the building. Washington’s athletic director decided to review all future relations with BYU. On March 8, after a month of demands, demonstrations, sit-ins, and building occupations, Washington’s executive vice president announced that the university, after fulfilling its existing obligations, “has no plans to enter into any additional contracts for intercol-

¹²⁴ Daniel H. Ludlow, “Our Divine Destiny—A Third Dimension View,” March 17, 1970, in *BYU Speeches of the Year, 1969–70* (Provo, Utah: BYU Extension Division, 1970), 9.

¹²⁵ “Protest Not Against Y Says Watts,” *Daily Universe*, March 11, 1970.

¹²⁶ BYU Public Relations Coordinating Council, Minutes, February 20, 1970, Perry Special Collections.

¹²⁷ “Time of Testing,” *Daily Universe*, September 28, 1970.

¹²⁸ Colorado’s student government later sent four students to BYU. They concluded that BYU was not institutionally racist. “Colorado Students Visit Y Campus,” *Daily Universe*, April 9, 1970; “Black at Y,” *Daily Universe*, April 13, 1970.

¹²⁹ BYU spokesperson Heber Wolsey met with some of UTEP’s student protestors before the game. Following several heated hours of questions and answers, the students decided to curtail their plans to demonstrate. “[M]ilitant students on college campuses are not just a faceless group,” Wolsey wrote afterwards. “They may not agree with me. But they think, and hurt, just like I do.” Heber Wolsey, “Confessions of a Mormon Public Relations Man,” December 1988, 54–56, copy, Smith-Pettit Foundation.

¹³⁰ “Cougars Lose Again,” *Daily Universe*, March 2, 1970; “2 Get Jail Terms for ‘Y’—New Mexico Game Disturbance Feb. 28,” *Provo Daily Herald*, July 3, 1970; James, *Cougar Tales*, 52–53; Wilkinson, Diary, February 28, 1970 (quotation); Dahl, *BYU’s Stan Watts*, 173–74.

legiate sporting events with BYU.”¹³¹ Wilkinson was furious: “I think that he was shocked at the vigor of my conversation. . . . I thought it was very indecent on his part to not call me before the statement was made.”¹³² As many as thirty-five hundred protestors continued to agitate, with increasing violence, for the immediate cancellation of all contact with BYU; Washington’s black student union wanted Washington to be prohibited legally from entering into any new agreements with BYU.¹³³ Wilkinson received permission from LDS officials to intervene in any court action and to arrange for the publication in Seattle area newspapers of a statement defending BYU.¹³⁴ “From the beginning,” writes the historian Craig Collisson, “the protest at the UW was more militant than the protests at either UTEP or Wyoming.”¹³⁵



BYU BANYAN YEARBOOK, 1971

A member of a U. of A. fact-finding committee sent to gauge the level of racism at BYU, October 1971.

“[T]he only possibility of getting our point of view over,” BYU’s public relations director, Heber Wolsey, told Wilkinson, “was to put an advertisement

¹³¹ “Huskies to Seek Review of Relations with BYU,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 4, 1970; “BYU–Washington Situation Unsettled,” *BYU Alumnus*, March 1970. Other schools ending, or contemplating ending, ties with BYU included St. Mary’s College (Moraga, California) and Seattle University. Board of Trustees, Minutes, April 16, 1970; “Seattle U. Student Officers Urge Termination of Relations with BYU,” *Provo Daily Herald*, April 24, 1970.

¹³² Wilkinson, Diary, March 9, 1970; see also “Demonstrators Seek Break with BYU; Hogness, Wilkinson Make Statements,” *Daily Universe*, March 11, 1970.

¹³³ “Action Continues on Protests Against BYU,” *Daily Universe*, March 12, 1970; Wilkinson, Diary, March 13, 1970; “Panel Asks Washington U. End BYU Athletic Ties,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 27, 1970.

¹³⁴ Minutes of a Meeting of Spencer W. Kimball, Heber G. Wolsey, Wilford Kirton, Ernest L. Wilkinson, Harold B. Lee, and N. Eldon Tanner, March 17, 1970, Wilkinson Papers. See also Wilkinson, Diary, September 2 and September 24, 1970; Wilkinson and Jay Butler, memorandum to the First Presidency, September 8, 1970; Wilkinson to the First Presidency, September 9, 1970; Wilford W. Kirton Jr. and Oscar W. McConkie Jr., memorandum to the First Presidency, September 14, 1970; Wilkinson and Butler, memorandum to the First Presidency, September 18, 1970, Wilkinson Papers; Board of Trustees, Minutes, October 7, 1970, and February 3, 1971.

¹³⁵ Collisson, “The BSU Takes on BYU.”

in the Washington daily newspapers.” Wilkinson was skeptical: “We’d never get it approved.” “When are we going to learn the media is there for our use, too?” Wolsey pressed. “The militants know how to use it. What’s wrong with us? . . . You are not going to find the answer by expecting the past to take care of the future. What are you doing to do about it today?” “It was easier before you came to work for me,” Wilkinson quipped. “But go ahead. See what you can come up with.”¹³⁶ Accordingly, a lengthy statement, entitled “Minorities, Civil Rights and BYU,” appeared as a full-page advertisement in the *Seattle Times* on March 30 and in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* on March 31.¹³⁷ “Black members of the Mormon Church do not object to” being excluded from priesthood office, the statement read. “The objection is raised by Blacks who are not members of [our] Church and who, therefore, would have no desire to hold the Mormon priesthood. It is therefore obvious that this doctrine does not discriminate either civilly or religiously against those who are questioning it.”¹³⁸ New demonstrations at Washington failed to materialize that spring, and faculty tabled a motion to sever relations with BYU. A year later, Washington officially renewed contracts with BYU.¹³⁹ Clearly, for some BYU administrators, the confrontations functioned to mitigate their views of the protestors and possibly of the reasons for protesting.

If the tide of protests seemed to be turning, the momentum had not entirely dissipated. Toward the end of April 1970, San Diego State’s student council voted to cancel its football game with BYU later that fall, then reversed itself when two-thirds of students supported the match.¹⁴⁰ Next, the University of Hawaii’s black student union vowed to go to court to prevent BYU from participating in 1970’s Rainbow Basketball Classic. Hawaii students subsequently voted to permit the match but not schedule any future games. Hawaii’s president countered that his school “would continue to participate with Brigham Young University in athletic events, regardless of student opinions.” Additionally, members of the International Association of College Unions considered expelling LDS schools from the association, a proposal they eventually rejected.¹⁴¹ In June 1970, BYU trustees decided that students should only be urged to date within their own race but not be forbidden to do otherwise.¹⁴² Three months later, LDS

¹³⁶ Wolsey, “Confessions,” 64–65.

¹³⁷ “BYU Policy Ad Runs in Seattle Newspapers,” *Daily Universe*, March 31, 1970.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Collison, “The BSU Takes on BYU” and “The Fight to Legitimize Blackness: How Black Students Change the University” (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2008), 62–110.

¹⁴⁰ “Students Vote to Cancel Grid Game with BYU,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 30, 1970; “San Diego State Council Reverses Vote on BYU,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 21, 1970.

¹⁴¹ “Attack BYU Pact,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 21, 1970; “Hawaii BSU Tries to Block Game,” *Provo Daily Herald*, May 21, 1970; Board of Trustees, Minutes, June 3, November 4, 1970, March 3, 1971, April 5, 1972, and attachments; Wolsey, “Confessions,” 86–90.

¹⁴² Board of Trustees, Minutes, June 3, 1970.

and BYU officials screened a documentary on “the Negro and BYU”; the reaction was not uniformly positive, however, and the film was shelved.¹⁴³ Student government officials at Western Michigan University voted to boycott the school’s September 19 football game. The game proceeded.¹⁴⁴ In early October, six students from the University of Arizona toured BYU. They found “nothing to indicate that there [is] any more or less racism present than at any other school,” and that BYU was an “isolated institution whose members simply do not relate to or understand black people.”¹⁴⁵ Only minor protests accompanied Arizona’s October 10 game with BYU.

BYU’s new student body president, Brian Walton, decided to address the issue of racism head-on that fall as part of his activist-oriented social agenda. He convened on October 28, 1970, a special convocation to discuss “BYU’s relations with other schools” and “our internal situation with regards to minority groups and their treatment.”¹⁴⁶ Quoting James Baldwin, Martin Luther King Jr., Claude Brown, the Book of Mormon, the New Testament, BYU religion teacher Hyrum Andrus, and LDS official Hugh B. Brown, Walton announced the formation of a special committee on blacks at BYU, including recruitment. “Currently, we are abysmally ignorant of the real situation and which alternatives are viable and which are not,” he said.¹⁴⁷

Walton’s initiative was not universally embraced. “The . . . suggestions of . . . more Negro students, blacks studies programs, etc. are uncalled for,” wrote BYU religion professor Rodney Turner. “Our worst enemies are those well-meaning but misguided members of the Church who keep the pot of contention boiling because they will not MIND THEIR OWN STEWARDSHIPS.”¹⁴⁸ Wilkinson, on the other hand, agreed that Walton’s issues “cannot be lightly laughed off,” but worried that Walton might attempt to “determine the policies of the institution . . . I think we better check this before it gets underway,” he told administrators.¹⁴⁹ Walton’s presidency soon became mired in controversy, and only a portion of his ambitious agenda came to fruition.¹⁵⁰ While by no means the only negative reaction to Walton’s call for dialogue, Turner’s letter represented an increasingly

¹⁴³ Wilkinson, Diary, September 1 and September 2, 1970; Wolsey, “Confessions,” 78–79.

¹⁴⁴ “WMU Votes BYU Boycott,” *Salt Lake City Deseret News*, September 11, 1970; Wolsey, “Confessions,” 71–79.

¹⁴⁵ “BYU Not ‘Racist,’” *Daily Universe*, October 5, 1970; see also “BYU Friendliness a ‘Front?’,” *Daily Universe*, October 19, 1970.

¹⁴⁶ “Brian Walton Announces Studentbody Convocation,” *Daily Universe*, October 23, 1970.

¹⁴⁷ Brian Walton, “BYU and Race: Where Are We Now,” ASBYU Convocation, October 28, 1970 (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1970), Perry Special Collections, and “A University’s Dilemma: B.Y.U. and Blacks,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 6 (Spring 1971): 31–36.

¹⁴⁸ Letter, *Daily Universe*, October 27, 1970, emphasis in original.

¹⁴⁹ Wilkinson, memorandum to Ben E. Lewis, Robert K. Thomas, and Heber G. Wolsey, November 3, 1970, Wilkinson Papers.

¹⁵⁰ Today Walton believes that the “dialogue we started with other schools and the black students there . . . really did make a difference.” Brian Walton, e-mail to Gary Bergera, February 15, 2012.

minority response to BYU's and the LDS church's engagement with the forces of social change.

As if in tacit acknowledgement of past inequities, in early December 1970, BYU announced its first black faculty member: Wynetta Willis Martin, employed by the College of Nursing, on a part-time basis, to teach about "Negro culture."¹⁵¹ A week later, students at the University of Southern California and at Oregon State University protested at separate BYU basketball games.¹⁵² Minor incidents continued throughout the season, though nothing approached the protests of the previous year. Now, however, BYU officials—including Wilkinson and his successor as BYU's president, Dallin H. Oaks—could point to the recruitment of blacks to assert that protests against BYU were actually protests against BYU's black students.¹⁵³ The university invited increasing numbers of black speakers to campus, including Jesse Owens, William P. Foster, Maya Angelou, and Edward W. Brooke.¹⁵⁴ Eventually, BYU not only invited Alex Haley to speak on campus but later awarded him an honorary degree.¹⁵⁵

Footballer Ron Knight was joined, in 1971, by Bennie Smith, a defensive back from Arizona. Three years later, BYU's first black basketball player, guard Gary Batiste from Berkeley, enrolled. In 1976, Robert Stevenson became BYU's first elected black student body officer. The next year, Keith Rice, a forward from Portland, became BYU's second black basketball player. By June 1978, BYU boasted four black athletes.¹⁵⁶ Then, on June 9, 1978, the LDS church stunned members and critics alike by lifting all race-related restrictions to membership.¹⁵⁷ A year later, Stanford renewed relations with BYU. BYU began actively recruiting blacks, with a goal of ten to fifteen new black students per year.¹⁵⁸ The total number of black students on campus rose to forty in 1981. Thirty years later, the number of blacks campus-wide stood at 176 (0.6 percent of all students)—a more than three-fold increase.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵¹ "Wynetta Martin Joins BYU Faculty," *Daily Universe*, December 4, 1970; see also Wynetta Willis Martin, *Black Mormon Tells Her Story* (Salt Lake City: Hawkes Publications, 1972).

¹⁵² "Anti-BYU Demonstrations Hit Teams during Weekend Basketball Games," *Daily Universe*, December 14, 1970.

¹⁵³ See, for instance, Wilkinson, Diary, February 27 and May 23, 1971.

¹⁵⁴ J. LaVar Bateman, memorandum to Wilkinson, March 8, 1971, Wilkinson Papers; "Music of an Unhappy People," *Daily Universe*, August 8, 1972; "Speaker Lists Contributions," *Daily Universe*, November 3, 1972; "Senator Edward W. Brooke at BYU," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Summer 1978): 119–20.

¹⁵⁵ "Black is Beautiful," *Daily Universe*, March 30, 1972; "Haley Gets Honorary Y Degree," *Daily Universe*, September 1, 1977.

¹⁵⁶ "Y's Batiste Suspended," *Daily Universe*, December 13, 1974; "ASBYU's Black V.P.," *Daily Universe Monday Magazine*, September 7, 1976; "Varsity Team Will [Have] Fresh Recruits," *Daily Universe*, November 21, 1977; "Y Black Athletes React Favorably," *Daily Universe*, June 13, 1978.

¹⁵⁷ "Blacks Get Priesthood," *Daily Universe Extra*, June 9, 1978.

¹⁵⁸ David M. Sorenson and the Ad Hoc Committee on Minority Students, Re: Financial Aid for Minority Students, February 19, 1981, copy, Smith-Pettit Foundation.

¹⁵⁹ "From Protest to Promise," *BYU Today*, November 1981; "Slave Costumes Offend Blacks," *Daily Universe*, November 6, 1981; "Black Club at BYU," *Sunstone Review*, March 1982, 2; "BYU Demographics," Brigham Young University, accessed July 13, 2012, <http://yfacts.byu.edu/Article?id=135>.

The race-based protests against BYU athletics of the late 1960s and early 1970s used the issue of the LDS church's racial policies to focus on larger concerns regarding racism. Few activists believed that their actions, however extreme, would result in changes in LDS policy. The protestors made virtually all their demands of their own schools, not BYU. Yet BYU and the LDS church symbolized, in many ways, the obstacles to full citizenship confronting America's black communities; in turn, BYU served as a useful surrogate for LDS policy. The strategic use of BYU as a platform on which to articulate expressions of anger, grievance, and redress dramatized—publicly and forcefully—the concerns of American blacks. As BYU adopted a more accommodating policy, including the active recruitment of blacks, it effectively defused the rhetoric that succeeded more often than not in defining the LDS school in ways the majority of its officials, faculty, and students never intended.

Mormon- Catholic Relations in Utah History: The Early Years

By GARY TOPPING



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

One of the major themes in the history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) is the infamous inability of the Mormons and their neighbors to get along with each other.¹ An examination of Mormon–Catholic relations in Utah, however, indicates otherwise. From the 1866 establishment of Catholicism in the state, with the ministry of Father Edward Kelly, to the episcopacies of Lawrence Scanlan, John Mitty, and James Kearney, and the radio broadcasts of Monsignor Duane Hunt, Catholic officials and their LDS counterparts often endeavored to build friendships. In the twentieth century, the Cathedral of the Madeleine in Salt Lake City particularly served as symbol of ecumenism. ***The interior of the Cathedral of the Madeleine.*** Though a few rough spots occurred along

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¹ Some of those rough spots and their resolutions are studied in Gregory A. Prince and Gary Topping, “A Turbulent Coexistence: Duane Hunt, David O. McKay, and a Quarter Century of Catholic–Mormon Relations,” *Journal of Mormon History* 31 (Spring 2005): 142–63. Although I focus here on Catholic–Mormon relations, it should be noted that the Episcopalians also enjoyed generally good relations with the Mormons. See Frederick Quinn, *Building the “Goodly Fellowship of Faith:” A History of the Episcopal Church in Utah, 1867–1996* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2004). The vitriolic public assaults on Mormonism of the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Methodists raised a corresponding ire among the saints. Robert J. Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict (1862–1890)* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1941).

the way (and though extant records permit only partial understanding), this history suggests that hostility between the Mormons and their Catholic neighbors was anything but necessary or inevitable, and that, in fact, a high degree of comity existed between the two churches.

Many individual Catholics, in various capacities, passed through the territory that is now Utah during its early history. They included soldiers (the Rivera expeditions of 1765), missionaries (the Dominguez-Escalante expedition of 1776), fur trappers (Etienne Provost and Kit Carson), and even priests (Father Bonaventure Keller).² But by the time enough railroad workers and miners had settled in Utah to justify creating a permanent Catholic institutional presence, a much larger group—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—was already well established, and accommodating itself to its Mormon neighbors was a primary obligation of the Catholic clergy.

What would the Catholic position be vis-à-vis the Mormons? Would Catholics have an adversarial relationship with the Latter-day Saints, like the many Protestant denominations that aggressively sought Mormon converts and indeed the very destruction of Mormonism itself? Or, perhaps, would the Catholics foster a gentler posture of peaceful coexistence? On the other side, how would the Mormons react to what they might have reasonably regarded as a Catholic intrusion into the community they considered to be nothing less than a new Zion? The Catholic Church was ancient enough that the Mormons presumably understood its values and practices much better than the Catholics understood the upstart Mormon church, which had existed not even four decades. It took some time and some education in the culture of their Mormon neighbors before the early Catholic priests and lay people settled into a workable relationship.

The first priest required to wrestle with that issue was Father Edward Kelly from the Vicariate of Marysville, California, who pioneered the first permanent Catholic ministry in the territory in the fall of 1866.³ Beginnings are always important, and a romantic legend exists about Kelly's beginning in Utah. This inexperienced young man was also energetic: Kelly's bishop called him "the windfall from Chicago." Only a year after his ordination and at the outset of his tenure in Utah, Kelly encountered Brigham Young—the Lion of the Lord himself—and established a precedent for good relations with the Mormons.⁴ Kelly first arrived in Salt Lake City in May in response to a sick call he received in Nevada. He remained to

² Jerome Stoffel, "The Hesitant Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (Winter 1966): 48–55.

³ A vicariate is a sort of proto-diocese, to which Rome appoints a vicar to administer a geographic region that is not yet quite mature enough for diocesan status. Edward Kelly's name appears variously as "Kelly" and "Kelley."

⁴ Eugene O'Connell to A. Bowman, July 3, 1865, reports the ordination of Kelly. Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, typescript copy in Archives of the Diocese of Salt Lake City (hereafter referred to as Diocesan Archives). Henry J. Walsh, S.J., *Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails: The Story of the Pioneer Priests of Northern California* (Santa Clara: University of Santa Clara Press, 1946), 205, 207. See also Jerome Stoffel, "Father Edward Kelly," Jerome Stoffel Papers, Diocesan Archives.



DIOCESAN ARCHIVES

The small, one-story building near the center of this view was the only building on the Salt Lake City lot purchased by Father Edward Kelly in 1866.

celebrate Mass at Fort Douglas and baptize a dozen children; the enthusiasm of the tiny Catholic community so impressed Kelly that he sought, and was granted, permission to purchase land in the city. On this land, he proposed to build a church and a school.

Returning to Utah in September 1866 from a quick trip to Nevada, Kelly learned to his dismay that the person from whom he had purchased the property did not have clear title to it. Kelly agreed to submit the matter to Brigham Young for arbitration, so the story goes, because he did not want to involve the fledgling Catholic Church in Utah in a potentially messy and protracted lawsuit before it was even fairly launched. Although city records indicate that the matter actually was settled in court, the legend says that the prophet ruled in favor of the priest and even offered five hundred dollars toward construction of the school.⁵ Further, in an effort to establish

⁵ The story of Brigham Young's arbitration in the property dispute appears in Denis Kiely, "The Story of the Catholic Church in Utah," (1900), 2, Diocesan Archives, and was published for the first time in Dean W. R. Harris, *The Catholic Church in Utah, 1776-1909* (Salt Lake City: Intermountain Catholic Press, 1909), 282. Kiely's and Harris's influence as mythmakers was potent: Bernice Mooney, *Salt of the Earth: The History of the Catholic Church in Utah, 1776-1987* (Salt Lake City: Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City, 2nd ed., 1992), 41, Stoffel, "The Hesitant Beginnings," 56, and Gary Topping, *The Story of the Cathedral of the Madeleine* (Salt Lake City: Sagebrush Press, 2009), 3, repeat the story, even though Mooney, on p. 43, cites the case files of the court settlement!

a policy of open dialogue between the two leaders, Young admonished Kelly that “if you hear rumors flying about touching me or this people, come right here with them and I will always set things right. That’s the best way.”⁶ Actually, both the legend of Brigham Young’s intervention and the settlement in court could be true. The Utah judicial system at the time was the probate court system—infamous to those outside the LDS church because it was little more than a rubber stamp for the church—and the court would have followed whatever the prophet decided.

On another occasion, a non-Mormon doctor in Salt Lake City, John Robinson, entered into a property conflict with the mayor, Daniel H. Wells, and the city council. Robinson was called out in the middle of the night, supposedly to look after a patient, and brutally gunned down—some thought by Mormon fanatics. “Fears of violence seized the whole non-Mormon community,” one observer recalled. “The Gentiles are Panic Stricken and dare not express opinions of the foul deed,” reported another. After attending the funeral, Kelly received an anonymous note ordering him to leave the city. The next day, he showed the note to Brigham Young, who said, “Father Kelly, that was not written by my people and I can prove it by the quality of the paper used. You remain and I will see that you shall not be disturbed and that not even a hair of your head shall be touched.”⁷ What should we make of these two alleged encounters with the Lion of the Lord? The first one, the offer to dispel rumors, has a ring of authenticity, both because it is a first-hand report from Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle of the Episcopal Church about his own experience and because Tuttle would likely have known that Young made the same suggestion to Kelly. And certainly Young had an interest in any opportunity to rebut rumors started by his Protestant antagonists.

Young’s reported dismissal of the threatening note, however, cannot be literally true—though the prophet likely encouraged the priest to stay, for the welcome of any clergy who bore an olive branch meant good public relations for the Mormons. But the report itself is ridden with problems. One supposes that non-Mormon merchants, many of whom operated in Salt Lake City in 1866, imported paper of a better quality than the

⁶ Stoffel, “The Hesitant Beginnings,” 56. The property, which did indeed become the site of the first permanent Catholic church in Utah, was at the east end of Social Hall Avenue, on Second East between South Temple and First South. Kelly does seem to have met Brigham Young, however: Bishop O’Connell wrote that the young priest “was introduced to the monster Young, who received him most courteously . . . and invited him to officiate in the Tabernacle.” Kelly declined the offer, preferring to celebrate Mass in the Congregationalist Independence Hall. Walsh, *Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails*, 205. The story of the offer of five hundred dollars for the school appears in the *Semi-Weekly Telegraph*, March 14, 1867. I am indebted to Ron Watt for this reference. Kelly left Utah shortly after the resolution of the property dispute and never built the school; no record exists that Brigham Young ever paid him the money or renewed the offer to his successor. Young’s offer to dispel rumors comes from the reminiscences of the pioneer Episcopal Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, to whom he made the same offer and who reported that Young had previously made it to Father Kelly. Quinn, *Building the “Goodly Fellowship of Faith,”* 12.

⁷ Kiely, “The Story of the Catholic Church in Utah.”

homespun variety the Mormons manufactured. Customers of any or no religion would have access to such paper in the stationery shops of the city, and the idea that Young could instantly and confidently identify the author of the note as a Gentile by the appearance of the paper is incredible. Moreover, the last statement, in which Young guarantees Kelly's safety, would have been a tacit admission that Robinson's assassins were Mormons and that Young had the authority to tell them to leave Kelly alone. Otherwise, the only assurance he would be giving Kelly is that the local police would look after him, and the priest would derive little comfort from that, given the protection they afforded Dr. Robinson.

The problem with this account arises from the unreliability of its source, Father Denis Kiely, who arrived in Utah in the 1870s. Kiely claimed to have known Kelly and to have obtained his information directly from Kelly. We do know that Kelly revisited Salt Lake City several times in later years; however, Kelly's memory of his relationship with Brigham Young might have deteriorated, or Kiely might have altered this narrative to serve his project of creating a myth of Mormon–Catholic comity.⁸

At any rate, even if the report of Young's proffered protection were only approximately true, not only had Catholic–Mormon relations made a promising start, but the episode had also “cooled the ardor of those who had hoped to find in [Kelly] a champion of the forces of anti-Mormonism.”⁹ Furthermore, both of Kelly's encounters with Young demonstrate the amicable state of relations between the two Utah churches in the 1860s.

Utah Catholics struggled through the next few years and were preoccupied with building their first church, which they finished and dedicated in 1871; little indication exists of significant dealings with the Mormons during this period. The issue next emerges in the writings of Father Lawrence Scanlan, the great pioneer priest and first bishop of Salt Lake City, who brought Utah Catholicism to institutional maturity. Scanlan (1843–1915) was an Irishman educated at All Hallows College in Dublin, an institution created to train missionary priests who would minister to expatriate Irish scattered by the potato famine. Immediately following his ordination, Scanlan departed for California and arrived in San Francisco in 1868. After a brief parish ministry there, he was sent to the mining frontier of Nevada, where he received his baptism of fire serving rough Irish miners in Pioche. Scanlan returned briefly to Petaluma, California, but in 1873 he was sent to Utah, where he remained for the rest of his life.¹⁰

Although Scanlan's obituary includes the statement that “His relations with Brigham Young were always cordial and pleasant, and no antagonism

⁸ See Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950).

⁹ David L. Bigler and Will Bagley, *Innocent Blood: Essential Narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Norman, OK: Arthur H. Clark, 2008), 262.

¹⁰ Robert J. Dwyer, “Pioneer Bishop: Lawrence Scanlan, 1843–1915,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 20 (April 1952): 135–58.



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between the Bishop and any of the successors of Brigham Young has ever arisen,” one doubts that the two men had much to do with one another.¹¹ The Mormon prophet was in his declining years, and the young priest had his hands full trying to provide churches and priests and schools for his far-flung flock, scattered from Ogden to Silver Reef.

If Scanlan dealt infrequently with Young, dealing with the Mormon people was a daily fact of life. Much of what we know about those relationships comes to us through annual reports submitted by Scanlan, Denis Kiely (now Scanlan’s vicar general), and the archbishop of San Francisco, Joseph Sadoc Alemany, to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, an organization of French laypeople upon whom the tiny Utah Catholic population largely depended for financial support.¹² The reports

The Church of St. Mary Magdalen, erected in 1871 on the lot purchased by Kelly. The church was located on Second East, between South Temple and First South, at the east end of Social Hall Avenue.

¹¹ *Intermountain Catholic*, May 15, 1915.

¹² Although in recent decades the Roman Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City has become financially much better off than ever before, it has never been completely independent. During Scanlan’s day support came from the Pious Fund, an endowment for missions dating back to the Spanish era, and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Once profits from Utah silver mines began to roll in around the turn of the twentieth century, the church benefited from the fact that some of the wealthiest miners were Catholics, and Scanlan tapped some of those fortunes for special projects like the Cathedral of the Madeleine and St. Ann Orphanage. After the diocese went through some hard times trying to retire its debt in the 1920s and 1930s and having to finance a massive exterior restoration of the Cathedral in the 1970s, the bishops began to see the need for more systematic fundraising efforts. Accordingly, Bishop Joseph Lennox Federal



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Reverend Denis Kiely, Bishop Lawrence Scanlan's right-hand man and the first Vicar General of the Diocese of Salt Lake City.

reveal at least two things: first, the Catholic clergy, which consisted of two recently arrived Irish priests (Scanlan and Kiely) and a Spaniard (Alemany), possessed little understanding of Mormonism and of the best ways to deal with Mormons; second, that their understanding of and attitudes toward the Mormons changed considerably over time. The historian must exercise considerable wariness in using those

reports as sources, for they were fund-raising appeals, and a certain amount of demonizing the Mormons no doubt helped loosen those French purse strings.¹³

In a letter attached to the first report—an 1874 appeal for funds to help establish a Catholic school in Salt Lake City—Alemany admitted surprise at the warm reception the Mormons gave to the Catholics: “For some reason or other, they seem friendly to us; and if we could have a good Academy of Sisters there, much good could be hoped for.”¹⁴ Scanlan amplified the meaning of “much good” in his 1876 report, wherein he urged that “A Catholic school is very much needed in Ogden, where all the Catholic children are attending either Mormon or Protestant schools. This should be attended to at an early date, otherwise there is not only a

created the Diocesan Development Drive in the 1960s, and Bishop William K. Weigand created the Catholic Foundation of Utah in the 1980s. Even at that, the diocese still receives funds for special projects from the Catholic Church Extension Society and extraordinary grants from local patrons like Sam Skaggs.

¹³ Several of those reports, copies of which reside in the archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, have previously been edited for publication: John Bernard McGloin, “Two Early Reports Concerning Roman Catholicism in Utah, 1876–1881,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (October 1961): 333–46; Francis J. Weber, “Father Lawrence Scanlan’s Report of Catholicism in Utah, 1880,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34 (Fall 1966): 283–89, and “Catholicism Among the Mormons, 1875–79,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (Spring 1976): 112–32. As photocopies of all extant reports, both in French and English translation, exist in the Archives of the Diocese of Salt Lake City, I have used those copies even where a published text is available.

¹⁴ Alemany to the Society, January 31, 1874.

danger, but a certainty that many of our children there shall be perverted and for ever lost to the church.” On the other hand, he disclosed that simply educating Catholic children was only part of the plan—Catholics must also convert Latter-day Saint children. After observing “that there exists in the minds of non-Catholics generally, in this country, a bitter prejudice against anything Catholic,” Scanlan reported that the pious lives of the Holy Cross Sisters who established St. Mary’s Academy in Salt Lake City in 1875 made great progress “not only removing all prejudices from [Mormon] minds, but even gaining their respect and admiration.” Then came the climax of Scanlan’s report: “Hence, during the past year, many of the [Mormon] pupils expressed a desire to be baptized. I baptized about a dozen and refused to comply with the desires of many others, through motives of prudence and objections raised by their parents.”¹⁵

One respects Scanlan’s wisdom and sensitivity in refusing baptism to perhaps impressionable young minds, especially in the face of parental protest, but one must also observe that little difference existed between the motives and goals of Catholic and Protestant schools at that time. Both groups had learned that trying to shake the faith of an adult Mormon was generally a futile effort, while ministering to children—not yet so well-established in their faith—had potential. This was particularly so in the late 1870s and 1880s when public education in Utah meant Mormon ward schools; these institutions were, at best, of an inconsistent quality, while well-qualified teachers staffed the Catholic and Protestant schools. Scanlan put the matter bluntly in his 1880 report:

I am more in favor of schools here than of churches because the greater my experience, the more I am convinced that, if we would strike at the roots of the great evil prevailing here, we must do it, chiefly, if not entirely, through good schools, wherein the young minds shall be impressed, at least by example, by the truth and beauty of our holy Faith, before they are enslaved by passions and false teachings. Little, comparatively speaking, can be done with the adult portion of the Mormon people. Their training, the persecutions which they fancy they have suffered for the Lord; and their whole ecclesiastical system have made them fanatics and “set in their way”; and hence, there is no reasoning with them. Those who apostatize from the Mormon faith are opposed to every form of religion and generally become spiritualists [or] down-right infidels.¹⁶

Accordingly, Scanlan and the other clergy were capable of characterizing Mormonism intemperately, referring to Utah as “this far off and all but Pagan Land,” where they found themselves “amongst a people who had transplanted in American soil, if not all, at least the most objectionable errors of Mahomet, & whose superstition, & fanaticism have no parallel in modern times. . . . surrounded by numberless Mormons, all sorts of heresies, and countless scandals.”

Over time, though, close contact with those “numberless Mormons”

¹⁵ Scanlan to the Society, October 12, 1876, Diocesan Archives.

¹⁶ Scanlan to the Society, November 8, 1880, Diocesan Archives.

caused a dramatic change in attitude.¹⁷ It began happening in the early 1880s as a result of the demanding journeys Scanlan made through hundreds of miles of rural Utah to minister to Catholics in such remote communities as Silver Reef and Frisco. During those trips he often found himself dependent for provisions and lodging on the residents of Mormon farm towns along the way. Scanlan's obituary records that "he was compelled to seek shelter under their roofs, and be it said to their credit he was never disappointed. They had heard of him, and his difficult field of labor, and willingly and most hospitably received him wherever he went. This may serve in great measure to explain the broad tolerance which characterized his dealings with the members of that church."¹⁸

Presumably as a result of those cordial contacts, Scanlan began to receive invitations from Mormon communities to speak about Catholicism. Here once again the historian must keep an eye out for hyperbole: one questions whether towns like Provo—with its lone Catholic family—ever exhibited quite the avid curiosity that Scanlan's reports to the society indicate. Still, even discounting the reports considerably, they were nevertheless impressive:

We sometimes visit exclusively Mormon towns, and they receive us kindly and hospitably, offering us the use of a hall and even of their own churches, wherein to say Mass and hold other services. I visited some of those places lately, and preached night and morning to large and attentive audiences. After the services, many came to me and expressed themselves well pleased with our doctrines, asked me several questions and invited me to come again. This will show you that they are well disposed toward us, and our holy religion. This is as much as we can reasonably expect and is a strong encouragement to us in our efforts and sacrifices to convert and save them through the grace and mercy of God.¹⁹

By the end of 1880s, a major reorientation in attitude toward the Mormons was taking place. In 1888, in his last appeal to the Society, Scanlan indicated that converting Mormons remained a goal, but he also offered the following:

A friendly feeling, which may eventually result in some good, has been of late years manifested by the Mormons toward the Catholic Church and her institutions. This is owing to the fact that I, with my priests have adopted [a] reconciliatory policy towards them. Instead of abuse, which is unmercifully poured out against them from Protestant pulpits, we preach Catholic truth savoured with charity. [By] this many are attracted to the church, and it's of daily occurrence [*sic*] to hear some of them say "If the Mormon church be not true, the Catholic Church must certainly be the true & only church."²⁰

During the anti-polygamy crusade of the 1880s, Scanlan and the Episcopal bishop Daniel S. Tuttle seem to have been the only non-

¹⁷ Scanlan to the Society, October 12, 1876; Kiely to the Society, September 29, 1887; Alemany to the Society, November 7, 1881, Diocesan Archives.

¹⁸ *Intermountain Catholic*, May 15, 1915.

¹⁹ Scanlan to the Society, November 1, 1883, Diocesan Archives.

²⁰ Scanlan to the Society, November 2, 1888, Diocesan Archives.

Mormon clergymen in Salt Lake City to remain aloof.²¹ Apparently on repeated occasions the Protestant clergy held meetings to draft protests against polygamy to send to fellow clergy in the East, which the eastern ministers could use to lobby for government suppression of the institution. Scanlan was invited to such a meeting in 1881, but when he saw what the others intended to do, he walked out and refused to allow his name to be attached to the document. To his great dismay, however, and to that of his Mormon friends, the Protestants included his name nevertheless! Finding himself chided for the first time in the Mormon press, Scanlan issued a retraction. His obituary recounted the story: “I told them [the Protestant clergy],” said the Bishop, shaking his head sternly as though recalling the incident vividly, “that I would not be a party to any such fight. If Mormonism is right,” I said, “there is nothing that I can do to stop it from succeeding. If it is wrong, it will die of its own accord.”²²

Part of Scanlan's mellowing attitude toward the Mormons during the late 1880s was apparently motivated by his sympathy for them in the face of the withering assaults brought against them by the Protestants. In fact, he even came to their defense. Scanlan's Christmas homily in 1886 was in part a rebuke to the local Protestants for what he considered their unchristian treatment of the Mormons. The *Deseret News* reported the story with glee: “[He] has poked his sacerdotal stick into a hornet's nest. He has blown the local sectarian fire into a blaze and caused the flames of hate to encircle his devoted head . . . [by his homily] in which he used some expressions not highly complimentary to the religious status of the Protestant sects.”²³

Thereafter the *Deseret News* could hardly keep out of its own way in reporting stories complimentary to Scanlan. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ordination, for example, an editorial asserted that “There are few if any public men anywhere who stand fairer or more erect in the presence of the community in which they live than does Mr. Scanlan. He has been with us for the greater portion of the time, nearly all of it in fact, and has uniformly conducted the affairs of his church in a dignified, capable and unobtrusive manner, while personally affable, approachable and altogether correct in his deportment.” Finally, the paper offered “congratulations to

²¹ Quinn, *Building the “Goodly Fellowship of Faith,”* 30, reports the *Deseret News's* assessment of Tuttle as one who, like Scanlan, could be critical of Mormon theology while remaining friendly to both the LDS church and to individual Mormons.

²² The *Deseret News* confused the chronology in its reporting of these episodes. A November 1881 draft of the protest document appeared in the *News* on April 26, 1882, with Scanlan's name included. The *News* of June 7, 1882, carried a chastisement of Scanlan by a Mormon who reminded him that his Irish heritage included a tradition of persecution similar to the persecution of Mormons, implying that his participation in the anti-polygamy crusade was unseemly. Finally, the May 6, 1885, *Deseret News* contained Scanlan's retraction and indicated that it referred to an incident of “about a year and a half ago,” suggesting that he had been approached more than once. The narrative is contained in his obituary in the *Intermountain Catholic*, May 5, 1915.

²³ *Salt Lake City Deseret News*, February 2, 1887. The *News* had not reported the homily directly and had learned about it by means of an attack on it carried in a local Protestant paper, the *Utah Christian Advocate*. Thus the *News* reported the story over a month after the fact.



***The interior of the St. George
LDS tabernacle, circa 1932.***

Bishop Scanlan,” wishing him “many more pleasant and prosperous years.” Similarly, noting that Scanlan gave the benediction at the dedication of the Brigham Young monument in downtown Salt Lake City, the *News* added that Scanlan “is known as a liberal-minded ecclesiastical official and is respected by all who know him. . . . Of a man’s religious views and principles there is always room for difference of opinion, but the Latter-day Saints will be first to accord to every one who is honest and sincere in his convictions the rights and privileges to which sincerity is entitled.”²⁴

For its part, the Catholic press reciprocated with positive reportage about Mormon leaders. When Lorenzo Snow, president of the LDS church, died in 1901, for example, the *Intermountain Catholic* ran a substantial article on him and quoted the *Deseret News* in praise of his character. An extensive obituary likewise appeared for James S. Brown, one of the three Mormon pioneers responsible for the California gold discovery, though perhaps that discovery was perceived as giving Brown a historical significance irrelevant to his religion. And the 1911 death of the LDS apostle John Henry Smith, who was said to have been “rather a favorite friend” to Scanlan, elicited a long and laudatory obituary. “Differing radically from us in his religious beliefs,” the article said, “it is nevertheless incumbent upon all fair-minded men to lay aside those differences in creed and to note the sterling characteristics which endeared him to those nearest to him and to pay tribute to the man.”²⁵

²⁴ *Salt Lake City Deseret News*, July 8, 1893, and August 7, 1897.

²⁵ *Intermountain Catholic*, October 12, 1901, March 29, 1902, January 21, 1911, May 15, 1915.

The Smith obituary struck exactly the right balance: approval of the life of a great man should not be mistaken for approval of his religion. Utah Catholics, in their quest for cordial relations with their neighbors, never fell into the error of grasping at superficial similarities to plaster over the gulf that in fact existed between Catholicism and other faiths. That point became quite clear in a 1902 *Intermountain Catholic* article reprinting a national story announcing that the church's official position was to remain aloof from the Protestant crusade against Mormonism. It was a Catholic position from which neither of the other religions could have derived much comfort: "The Catholic Church stands alone, in magnificent isolation, from the jarring sects as they rise, wrangle, and decay. . . . In her eyes they are all the same—rebels against her divine authority, destroyers of Christian unity in the world, and teachers of false doctrines."²⁶

Nevertheless, within those well-defined theological limits, Mormons and Catholics found it possible not only to get along, but even to cooperate. Perhaps the most dramatic symbol of cooperation between the two faiths occurred in St. George in 1879. In the mid-1870s, what turned out to be rich silver deposits were discovered in the midst of sandstone strata some twenty miles northeast of St. George, and the ensuing rush to the site in 1876 created a non-Mormon mining town called Silver Reef. The geological anomaly of silver deposits in sandstone—a virtually unique phenomenon—was echoed by the equally anomalous social and economic phenomenon of a non-Mormon capitalist community in the midst of the Mormon agricultural towns of Washington County. Although the two communities regarded each other somewhat warily at the outset, it soon became apparent that they needed each other: the miners needed food, transportation, and building supplies, and the Mormons needed markets and money; as a result, a mutually beneficial symbiosis developed between them.²⁷

The relationship between the Silver Reef Catholics, the largest religious group in the town, and their Mormon neighbors formed a component of that symbiosis. Scanlan had a particular interest in the Silver Reef Catholics even though, in those horse-and-buggy days, the almost three hundred miles separating them from Salt Lake City might reasonably have put them beyond all but the most sporadic pastoral care. Upon his first visit to Silver Reef, though, Scanlan discovered that most of the Catholics were former members of his Pioche, Nevada, parish who had followed the silver rush to Utah. Accordingly, beginning in January 1879, he hurriedly erected a church, a school, and a hospital.

During his visits to Silver Reef, Scanlan boarded at the same hotel as John M. Macfarlane, a Latter-day Saint and the director of the St. George

²⁶ *Intermountain Catholic*, April 19, 1902.

²⁷ The story of Silver Reef has been told numerous times, most recently in Gary Topping, "Another Look at Silver Reef," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 79 (Fall 2011): 300–316, from which the passage that follows is derived.

Tabernacle choir, whose day job as deputy U.S. mineral surveyor required travel among the mining centers of the region. Learning of their mutual love of choral music, the two struck up a friendship. As that friendship developed, Macfarlane boldly offered the use of the St. George Tabernacle and his choir if Scanlan would bring the Silver Reef Catholics to St. George and present Mass there. The president of Macfarlane's Mormon stake turned out not to be as ecumenically minded as the choir director, but the higher-ranking Erastus Snow, an LDS apostle, intervened and ordered the service to be held.²⁸ The date of May 25, 1879, was selected.

What did Scanlan, Macfarlane, and their two churches hope to gain through such remarkable collaboration? Only tentative answers are possible, and even then only by reading between the lines of the sources. Although Scanlan reportedly told Macfarlane he had "neither a church nor a choir" in Silver Reef, he exaggerated at least in part, for the church had been completed in time for Easter Mass on April 13.²⁹ And surely Scanlan could have cobbled together at least some sort of choir out of the substantial Catholic population. More likely, he recognized that the tabernacle was a much finer structure than his little clapboard church, and that its choir, in the tradition of Mormon choral music, would far outdo anything he might assemble. Further, Scanlan did not abandon the quixotic quest for converts among the Mormons until the following decade, and he apparently regarded the St. George performance as an opportunity to disseminate sound doctrine.

On the Mormon side, Snow and Macfarlane might have seen it as an opportunity to show off the new tabernacle, which the LDS church had dedicated three years earlier in 1876, and its well-trained choir. On a darker note, the historian Juanita Brooks speculates that the Washington County Mormons might have been looking for some goodwill in their attempts to live down the grisly Mountain Meadows Massacre, which occurred only a few miles away—especially since the 1877 execution there of John D. Lee would have revived memories of that ghastly episode.³⁰

In any case, the service did take place. Scanlan previously claimed to have celebrated Mass in Mormon churches, but this is the only documented case of such an event. The liturgy was a Mass in D by a composer named Peters. Legend has it that Scanlan made repeated trips to St. George to help rehearse the choir in the meaning and proper pronunciation of the Latin. Although the St. George Mormons would have far outnumbered the contingent of Silver Reef Catholics, Scanlan carefully bridged understanding between the two groups by taking a few moments to explain the vestments he would wear, as well as including, perhaps in a homily or in a lecture

²⁸ L. W. Macfarlane, *Yours Sincerely, John M. Macfarlane* (Salt Lake City: The Author, 1980), 153–59.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 155.

³⁰ Jerome Stoffel to [Paul S.] Kuzy, December 30, 1987, Diocesan Archives. See also, Michael N. Landon, "'A Shrine to the Whole Church': The History of the St. George Tabernacle," *Mormon Historical Studies* 12 (Spring 2011): 125–48.

afterwards, the basic history and doctrines of Catholicism.³¹

Did this remarkable episode create rapprochement between Mormons and Catholics? It seems to have had little influence. The event was never repeated, and, with the dwindling of silver deposits, the Catholic presence in Silver Reef lasted only until 1885. Genuine ecumenical understanding must build upon many such outreach attempts over a long period of time. Also, the fact that this effort took place among a small group of people at the geographical frontier of both Utah Mormonism and Catholicism meant that its ripples were not likely to extend far. On the other hand, it is firmly planted in the historical memories of both churches, particularly the LDS church, whose historians have missed no opportunities to retell the story proudly. For a people so often treated as pariahs in American culture, the opportunity to extend an ecumenical gesture and to have it so enthusiastically accepted is a happy indication of the future possibilities such gestures hold.³²

Although documentation of Scanlan's episcopacy is more sparse than the historian would like, he kept much better records than any of his next three successors, Joseph S. Glass (1915–26), John J. Mitty (1926–32), and James E. Kearney (1932–7). Also, coverage of the bishops' activities and their relations with the Mormon church dropped off to little more than pious assertions by the local press that all people of all religions loved the bishops. The lack of press interest may reflect the fact that by the time of Scanlan's death, the existence of a growing flock of Catholics in the heart of Mormon country had ceased to be a novelty. Further, internal church matters occupied the bishops so fully that participation in public ceremonies constituted the bulk of their newsworthy activities. Bishop Glass, for one, was heavily involved with the Council of Defense during World War I and with redecorating the interior of the Cathedral of the Madeleine, while his two successors became desperately preoccupied with raising funds to retire the heavy indebtedness that Glass incurred through such ambitious projects and through a lack of financial acumen.³³

Amidst the scanty documentation of Glass's relationship with the Mormon Church, two sources give mixed signals. One—if indeed it is even credible—indicates that Glass had a close personal relationship with Heber J. Grant, president of the LDS church. This clue comes from the

³¹ Macfarlane, *Yours Sincerely*, 156; Denis Kiely, "Report to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, October 31, 1879," Diocesan Archives.

³² At the dedication of the Notre Dame de Lourdes church in Price on June 20, 1923, three Mormon women—June Whitmore, Edith Olson, and Mrs. L. S. Evans—provided vocal music as part of the Mass. Ronald W. Watt, *City of Diversity: A History of Price, Utah* (Price, UT: City of Price, 2001), 76. Since most of what happens in history never gets written down, it is impossible to know whether or how often such episodes of ecumenical cooperation occurred. But the existence of these two events in St. George and Price suggests that we might reasonably infer that other such cooperative efforts happened.

³³ See Gary Topping, "Bishop Mitty's Tough Love: History and Documents," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 79 (Spring 2011): 144–63.



Bishop Joseph S. Glass standing on the staircase in the reception area of his home at 82 Laurel Street, Salt Lake City. This might have been the site of the 1923 poker game.

papers of a Catholic lawyer, John Frederick Tobin. Tobin had been out of town for a period late in 1923, so a lawyer friend, Ira R. Humphrey, wrote to catch him up on the news of his social circle in Salt Lake City. In a postscript, Humphrey offered the following explanation for a typographical error earlier in the letter: “The spelling of ‘guess’ in the second paragraph is due to the fact that I played poker last night until after three o’clock this morning with Heber J. Grant, Rev. Goshen, Bishop Glass and Charley Quickley.”³⁴ The Salt Lake City directory reveals that Goshen served as pastor of the First Congregational Church and that a Charles *Quigley* (Humphrey’s typography was still unreliable) was a mine operator in the firm of Quigley and Welch.

Is this letter credible? It challenges the imagination to picture the puritanical Grant sitting at a card table, coatless with necktie loosened, bluffing a pair of deuces. Of course, that ardent prohibitionist and strict observer of the LDS health code, the Word of Wisdom, would not have

³⁴ Ira Humphrey to J. F. Tobin, December 15, 1923, J. F. Tobin Papers, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

partaken of the cigars and whiskey that seem fit accompaniments to such gatherings. And yet, unless this is some kind of inside joke to which we are not privy, there seems no reason to take the letter at anything but face value. Besides, Grant was well known for his efforts to eradicate Utah stereotypes and to establish productive relationships with powerful non-Mormons outside the state.³⁵ Looked at in that way, it is perhaps not incredible to discover him in an ecumenical role, rubbing shoulders with a Protestant minister and a Catholic bishop—even, perhaps, around a card table.

However, evidence of contemporary ecclesiastical friction exists in a very public forum. When Glass redecorated Scanlan's Cathedral of the Madeleine during World War I, he employed an array of artists in various media to transform the church from its simple, even austere, décor to the lavish display of color and intricate woodcarving that adorns the edifice today. Among the additions was a series of scriptural quotations in large gold letters across the front of the church, some of which could be interpreted as pointed theological statements. Two of them are well-known texts that the church has always cited as bases for Catholic authority: the famous "Thou art Peter" of Matthew 16:18 and "Except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood you shall not have life in you," from John 6:54–5. Above the St. Joseph altar in the east transept, though, sits St. Paul's warning from Galatians 1:8 that "Though we or an angel from heaven preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you let him be anathema" could be interpreted as Glass's scriptural basis for condemnation of the LDS religion, which Joseph Smith claimed to have received through the agency of heavenly visitors.

Or perhaps not. Amidst the struggles of World War I, the press gave so little coverage of the redecoration, even in the *Intermountain Catholic*, that it is difficult to know what anyone made of those messages, if that is what they were. Moreover, in those days before the cultural programs and ecumenical services that have flourished since the 1993 renovation of the Cathedral of the Madeline, few Mormons would even have entered the place and been aware of the inscriptions. Altogether, the history of that edifice encapsulates, to a degree, the ambivalent relationship between Mormons and Catholics in Utah.

Following Glass's episcopacy, bishops Mitty and Kearney were so preoccupied with fundraising efforts to get out of the financial hole created by Glass's extravagance that scant documentation of Mormon–Catholic encounters, positive or negative, remains. In the 1990s, Bishop William K. Weigand and Monsignor M. Francis Mannion successfully appealed to a wide variety of funding sources by portraying the cathedral as a "Cathedral

³⁵ Ronald W. Walker, "Heber J. Grant," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 230–31.



One of the potentially anti-Mormon scriptural quotations installed in the Cathedral of the Madeleine during Bishop Glass's World War I-era redecoration.

for all People,” because of its value architecturally and as venue for cultural events. During the tenures of Mitty and Kearney, though, Salt Lakers essentially perceived the cathedral as a Catholic site, leaving the bishops to raise funds exclusively from Catholic sources. Accordingly, no documented efforts were made to appeal for help even to individual Mormons, let alone the LDS church itself.

Nevertheless, evidence exists that Mitty was well received in the community, presumably by Mormons as well as by everyone else, largely because of his wartime service as an Army chaplain in Europe and because of his patriotism. Well before he completed the first year of his tenure, Mitty wrote to his mentor, Patrick Cardinal Hayes of New York, that “The non-Catholics are most cordial to me; I am getting invitations to talk from all sources and am accepting them. The American Legion had me broadcast a speech for Armistice Day and the Chamber of Commerce had me talk at their luncheon at which I waved the American flag. [Monsignor Duane G.] Hunt who has lived in Salt Lake [City] for 13 years tells me that he never saw such desire to have the Bishop or any Catholic attend non sectarian functions.”³⁶

³⁶ John J. Mitty to Patrick Hayes, November 18, 1926, Mitty Papers, Diocesan Archives.

Mitty used Hunt himself as a bridge between the Mormon and Catholic communities through a series of weekly radio broadcasts, called the “Utah Catholic Hour,” that aired almost continually on KSL, the LDS-affiliated radio station, from 1927 to 1949. Named for Father Charles Coughlin’s popular “Catholic Hour,” the program remained scrupulously noncontroversial and was devoted, instead, to explaining Catholic doctrines to Catholics and to discussing religious and ethical issues that had no sectarian content. Hunt brought to the broadcasts rhetorical skills finely honed from years of teaching at the University of Utah, and the programs became popular. Two years later, KSL created a national feed to the CBS network, allowing Hunt to reach an estimated one million listeners each week. Although the diocese paid KSL for the air time, the station reaped the further benefit of getting a million radio dials tuned to its frequency each week.³⁷

By the time Hunt became bishop of the Diocese of Salt Lake City in 1937, the Catholic and LDS churches had already developed deep historical



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**Duane G. Hunt, who hosted
“Catholic Hour” broadcasts on
KSL.**

³⁷ Francis J. Weber, “Duane Hunt, Apostle of Airwaves,” *The Tidings* (Archdiocese of Los Angeles), February 24, 1984. There were less happy encounters as well: after Hunt became bishop in 1937, he enlisted other priests to substitute for him occasionally. One was Msgr. Jerome Stoffel, who reminisced to Gregory Prince that once during a remodeling of the station, KSL assigned to him the more commodious studio that J. Reuben Clark used for broadcasts on Mormon subjects. As Stoffel left the studio, he encountered Clark, “who glowered at him as if to say, ‘What in the hell are you doing in my studio?’” Jerome Stoffel, interview by Gregory Prince, October 6, 1995, quoted in Prince, e-mail to Gary Topping, September 3, 2002, p. 6.

roots—roots that have only deepened over subsequent years. It is surely a remarkable fact in the history of religion that two faiths with such fundamental and irreconcilable theological differences have learned to coexist so peacefully and productively. Reviewing that history, their amicable relationship seems to have been based, for one thing, in the determination of Catholics to neither proselytize Latter-day Saints, nor, indeed, to engage in polemical exchanges of any kind. Catholic clergy have generally felt that they had their hands full just ministering to their own people without trying to steal sheep from other folds—a thievery that has, in any event, proved rather unproductive when attempted by Protestants. For the Mormons' part, after enduring violent assaults on their existence from other churches, the Catholic olive branch obviously represented a welcome respite.

Furthermore, Catholics and Mormons have learned to join forces in charitable, philanthropic, and cultural endeavors where religious differences have seemed irrelevant. Consider, for example, the cultural events regularly staged at the Cathedral of the Madeleine after its 1993 reopening. Even more dramatically, at this writing, Catholic Community Services is headed by Brad Drake—a Mormon. All these manifestations of interfaith cooperation and collaboration draw strength from a historical relationship carefully nurtured by leaders of both churches since the first permanent establishment of Catholicism in the heart of Mormon Utah.



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Murder and Mapping in the “Land of Death,” Part I: The Walcott-McNally Incident

By ROBERT S. MCPHERSON

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Four Corners region, especially southeastern Utah, had a reputation as a haven for troublemakers. Whether for Navajo, Ute, and Paiute Indians, or Anglo cowboys, miners, settlers, and transients, the area served as an escape hatch for those on the lam. This well-deserved but ill-begotten fame received a strong boost in the 1880s as groups of settlers and ranchers made their way into the area from different directions and for a variety of purposes. Competition for resources and differing ways of life created the kinds of conflicts that Hollywood later recreated and filmed in the same landscape. But for now, life was real and raw.

This article examines how the physical and social landscape of the Four Corners area—with its reputation as a “land of death”—played a role in the demise of two miners. This isolated incident, by itself, is not terribly important and is largely lost in the pages of history. It does, however, provide an interesting case study that typifies the problems of law enforcement in an isolated area, known only to those who lived there. Eventually, enough incidents occurred that the military considered placing a permanent cantonment near present-day Monticello—the topic of a second article, to be published in the fall 2013 issue of Utah Historical Quarterly. While this plan did not reach fruition, there is no missing the feelings of necessity that prompted the investigation and led to the charting of this unknown area.

In 1884 Dennis M. Riordan sat in the Navajo Agency in Fort Defiance, Arizona, feeling anything but defiant. He had assumed control of the expanding Navajo Nation in January 1883, leaving his home in California for the red rock desert of Arizona and New Mexico. The Indian agent now had responsibility for a growing population that between 1868 and 1892 officially doubled to 18,000 souls, but in reality was much **A 1932 view of Navajo Mountain.**

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larger.¹ The difficulties of the landscape pushed the Navajo all over their 20,000-square-mile reservation in mobile family units that made keeping track of most of them impossible, given the poor location of the agency at the southern end of this huge expanse of desert. Riordan was as impoverished as were his charges, with an annual salary of \$1,500 that encouraged him to submit his resignation six months after he arrived. It would take almost a year, however, before John Bowman from Colorado came to replace him.² Even during his short tenure, Riordan learned about “the land of death” northwest of the agency, that territory beyond the reservation boundaries that encompassed primarily northern Arizona and southern Utah. The agency’s 1882 annual report commented upon “a lawless remnant of the Pah Ute Indians and the Navajos affiliating with them,” but yet retained “hope that murders of prospectors and others in that heretofore land of death will be less frequent.”³

Unfortunately, these hopes were dashed on two counts. First, in early April 1884, word filtered south to Fort Defiance that Navajos had killed two prospectors—Samuel T. Walcott and James McNally—in the vicinity of Navajo Mountain, which straddles the Utah–Arizona border. As Riordan packed his bags, he dealt with this situation as best he could but left the main share of the follow-up work to the incoming Bowman. Second, the borders of the Navajo Reservation—and thus the area of primary jurisdictional concern—were about to change. On May 17, 1884, President Chester A. Arthur signed two executive orders that made all of the land in southeastern Utah between the San Juan River and the northern border of Arizona, as well as lands south of that border, part of the reservation. This did not encompass all of the “land of death,” which also included a triangle of territory with Moab at its northern tip, the Colorado River to the west, and the Colorado border to its east. It was enough, however, to add hundreds of miles of terrain to the agent’s responsibility.

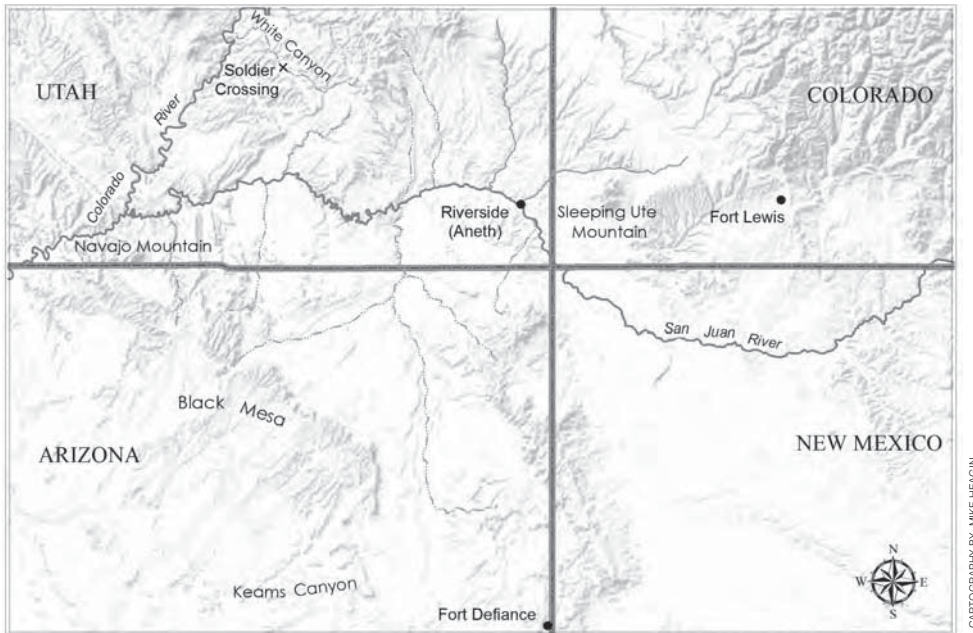
The “land of death” deserved its name. Also known to whites as “the Dark Corner” because it contrasted with the relatively calmer portions of the Four Corners area, this terra incognita of southeastern Utah had become a welcoming black hole for those who wished to disappear from the law and society. Ute, Paiute, and Navajo factions, as well as lawless elements from white settlements, appreciated the isolated canyon country, where resources were available only to those who understood the land and where many fight-and-flight incidents occurred.⁴ Two significant skirmishes

¹ Garrick Bailey and Roberta Glenn Bailey, *A History of the Navajos: The Reservation Years* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1986), 28.

² William Haas Moore, *Chiefs, Agents and Soldiers: Conflict on the Navajo Frontier, 1868–1882* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994): 256–57.

³ Galen Eastman, “Reports of Agents in New Mexico,” September 1, 1882, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), 129.

⁴ For examples of lawlessness in this area, see Robert S. McPherson, *As If the Land Owned Us: An Ethnohistory of the White Mesa Utes* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011) and *The Northern Navajo*



—the Pinhook Draw fight of 1881 and the battle at Soldier Crossing in 1884—led to embarrassing situations for white belligerents; on both occasions, Utes fought white forces to a standstill. In 1881, a group of cowboys suffered the loss of ten men, while in 1884, the U.S. military fled the scene because of poor logistical support.⁵ In these and several other conflicts, no one knew the canyon systems, watering holes, mountainous topography, escape routes, ambush sites, and location of allies as well as did the Native Americans. Indeed, in both 1881 and 1884, the Indians established traps for advancing forces, held the high ground, and understood what local resources could support them while they defeated their opponents. It was not surprising, then, that Riordan was reluctant to get involved in the tangle of canyons and ambush sites that sheltered hostile elements.

Navajo Mountain, a landmark on the northern edge of the reservation, had served as a sanctuary for Navajos ever since the United States military began rounding them up in the 1850s and 1860s to incarcerate them at Fort Sumner in New Mexico. To those fleeing from the cavalry and its Ute

The Four Corners region, including Navajo Mountain, Fort Defiance, and Fort Lewis.

Frontier, 1860–1900: Expansion through Adversity (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2001); J. Lee Correll, “Navajo Frontiers in Utah and Troublous Times in Monument Valley,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1971): 145–61; and Albert R. Lyman, *Indians and Outlaws: Settling of the San Juan Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962, 1980).

⁵ Rusty Salmon and Robert S. McPherson, “Cowboys, Indians, and Conflict: The Pinhook Draw–Little Castle Valley Fight, 1881,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 69 (Winter 2001): 4–28; McPherson and Winston B. Hurst, “The Fight at Soldier Crossing 1884: Military Considerations in Canyon Country,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 70 (Summer 2002): 258–81.

scouts, the mountain known as Naatsis'áán (Head of Earth Woman) was both part of a supernatural being and a shield that enemies could not penetrate. Even today's chants intone thanks to Navajo Mountain: "I am spared! Enemy has missed me!" "All of us have survived! ... For many more years!"⁶

The mountain's power proved sufficient to hold Navajo adversaries at bay. With water from the San Juan and Colorado rivers, springs and seeps dotting its sides, wood and grass enough for man and animal, and myriad tributary canyons, the mountain and its surrounding area beckoned to those needing shelter. Hashkéneinii (Giving out Anger) was one of these. One day in the early 1860s, a rider surprised Hashkéneinii at his hogan in Kayenta, Arizona, and announced that the dust they saw on the horizon belonged to American soldiers. Further, "there were some Ute scouts among the white soldiers and we were more afraid of them than the whites, as we had always been at war with them."⁷ In response to this news, Hashkéneinii and sixteen other people scattered across the desert floor and in the nearby canyons to avoid detection, reassembled that night, and with a few possessions headed north.

Hashkéneinii, mounted and armed, led the party and scouted for enemies. Next he turned west, traveling through a maze of canyons until he reached the southern end of Navajo Mountain. Exhausted, hungry, and footsore along with the rest of the group, Hashkéneinii's wife sat down and refused to go farther. The group selected a campsite, located a permanent source of water, began collecting seeds and nuts, killed an occasional rabbit, and prepared for winter. In order for their flock of twenty animals to increase, Hashkéneinii insisted that they could not eat sheep. Hashkéneinii was a taskmaster, pushing his people to work constantly, to do whatever survival required. His son recalled, "He drove everyone all day long and would never let us rest, knowing that we might starve." For this, Hashkéneinii received his name, which translates as "Giving out Anger" or "The Angry One." Hashkéneinii's group remained hidden at Navajo Mountain for six years. By the time the government released the Navajos from Fort Sumner in 1868, Hashkéneinii and his family owned large herds of sheep, as well as silver jewelry made from a vein of ore he had discovered.⁸

Navajo Mountain thereafter became the preferred hiding spot for Navajos, Utes, and Paiutes fleeing retribution. Thus, in 1884 when word first reached Riordan and later Bowman about the defiance of Navajos who had killed two prospectors near the mountain, they were learning of the latest incident in a long string of events that played off the isolation and

⁶ For an explanation of traditional Navajo religious teachings concerning this landmark, see Karl W. Luckert, *Navajo Mountain and Rainbow Bridge Religion* (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1977).

⁷ Hashkéneinii Biye', cited in Charles Kelly, "Chief Hoskaninni," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 21 (Summer 1953): 219–26.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 221.

lack of information concerning this territory. The seemingly insignificant deaths of Walcott and McNally provide a classic example of what the military faced when serving justice in an unknown and unforgiving land—a lesson repeated numerous times. Indeed, that July, even as the military attempted to apprehend one of the killers and retrieve the dead miners' bodies, the Soldier Crossing incident occurred. In this skirmish, Utes fought to a standstill an expedition of 175 men led by Captain Henry P. Perrine, commander of F Troop, Sixth Cavalry, from Fort Lewis, Colorado. The military lost two men. The captain's drubbing occurred because he lacked knowledge of terrain, while his enemies successfully made their way toward Navajo Mountain.⁹ So the Walcott-McNally incident represented a number of such brushes in the “land of death,” furnishing a lesson that the military and others had to learn and relearn until their knowledge of the land became comparable to that of their foes.

First news of the Walcott-McNally murders filtered into the agency via word of mouth. Riordan sent a Navajo scout named Pete to investigate. In the meantime, Henry L. Mitchell, a well-known firebrand living in Riverside (now Aneth), Utah, sent to the agent a copy of a letter that he had mailed to a friend of Walcott's. Mitchell reported two things. First, since February 8, Walcott and McNally had lost contact with fellow prospectors after splitting with a larger group to follow rumors of rich copper deposits. A month later, the other miners arrived on the San Juan River but knew nothing about their companions. Mitchell, who had lost a son and an acquaintance to Ute and Paiute depredations while prospecting in Monument Valley four years earlier, suspected the worst. Suggesting that “it is a common thing for the Navajos to kill white men that are travelling through the country,” Mitchell felt the time had come to teach the Indians a lesson they would not forget. That brought him to his second point. Mitchell had recently skirmished with a number of Navajos, killing one of them and “hop[ing] others [were] wounded or killed.” This led to the stationing of Perrine's Fort Lewis troops in the vicinity of Mitchell's ranch in order to keep the lid on such problems—problems that would eventually contribute to the fight at Soldier Crossing.¹⁰

Concern grew. Riordan wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that he himself had had a brush with the rumored perpetrators, who cornered him and another white man. The Navajos debated for several hours before letting the two go. As far as the agent was concerned, “this band of cut throats in that region” needed to be punished, “and if the party sent out is not strong enough to bring them in, I propose to send the entire

⁹ See McPherson and Hurst, “The Fight at Soldier Crossing.”

¹⁰ Henry L. Mitchell to Fred Fickey Jr., April 16, 1884, Letters Received—Adjutant General's Office, 1881–1889, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Letters Received—AGO). For more on Mitchell, see Robert S. McPherson, “Navajos, Mormons, and Henry L. Mitchell,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 55 (Winter 1987): 50–65.



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Hashkéneinii Biye'—a central figure in the Walcott-McNally incident—photographed by Charles Kelly, circa 1935–40.

Navajo Mountain, the powerful headman Hashkéneinii lived with his son, Hashkéneinii Biye'. These men had resided there now for more than two decades, were well-known, and were respected for both the physical and supernatural power they commanded. When Walcott and McNally camped in their territory, the members of this band naturally visited them to find out what had brought these strangers there.¹² Man with White Horses (Hastiin Bilij Ligai) appeared first and learned that the white men wanted to trade for corn and meat, which he promised to bring the next morning. When Slim Man (Diné Ts'ósí) and Man with White Horses's son, a "half-grown boy," reached the prospectors' camp, they joined Hashkéneinii Biye',

force at my command and if that will not do, I shall ask for troops. If my resignation was not pending, I would go myself and get those men or they'd get me."¹¹

Several firsthand accounts of the murders emerged. The first version, as reported by unnamed sources to Pete, the Navajo scout, placed the blame squarely on Hashkéneinii Biye' and described Slim Man, a second Navajo connected to the murders, as a concerned bystander. A second account, reported by an unnamed Navajo scout, blamed one of the miners for starting a shootout at the campfire. Slim Man himself accused Hashkéneinii Biye' of the killings, while Hashkéneinii Biye', in turn, implicated Slim Man. An account offered by Little Mustache defended Hashkéneinii Biye'. The presiding agent at Fort Defiance then had to sift through these versions of the story, with facts and fictions that could only be verified by action on the ground.

On April 19, the Navajo scout Pete returned with a detailed report provided by eyewitnesses. Near the southeast corner of

¹¹ Dennis M. Riordan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 19, 1884, Letters Received—Navajo Agency, New Mexico, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Letters Received—Navajo Agency).

¹² The following account is based on information found in "Report of Pete," May 4, 1884, Letters Received—Navajo Agency.

already seated at the fire. All three Navajos watched as the Americans ate breakfast, after which McNally left to secure the prospectors' five horses. The Indians were ready to barter, but Walcott wanted to wait for his companion to return, and so the Navajos bided their time. Slim Man wondered if the white men would accept one of his horses as a trade for the rifle he saw lying on the ground. Hashkéneinii Biye' proposed the deal; Walcott refused. This angered Hashkéneinii Biye' and rekindled the resentment that had smoldered in his heart since the killing of his relatives in Utah ten years before.

In January 1874, four young Navajos on a trading expedition had stopped in Grass Valley, Utah, during a terrific snowstorm. Seeking shelter, the men came across an empty cabin, took up residence until the storm ended, and killed a calf for food. Angered by the intrusion onto their property, the William McCarty family entered the cabin, killed three of the Navajos, and wounded the fourth, who managed to escape. This severely injured fourth man made his way back to his people, blamed the Mormons since the killings occurred in their country, and encouraged Navajos living on the northern end of the reservation to go to war. Jacob Hamblin, the Mormon apostle to the Indians, held council with the distraught Navajos and eventually averted a possible frontier war, but not before Navajo agent William F. M. Army became involved in the situation and ratcheted up the rhetoric. Central to Hamblin's success was his proving that the murderers were not Mormons but only bad men who needed punishment.¹³

Apparently, as Hashkéneinii Biye' contemplated these events, he remembered that there had been no satisfaction and no revenge on the perpetrators. He was still angry about it and his wife knew it. Because of this, the night before his encounter with Walcott and McNally, she hid his moccasins so that he could not hurt the two peaceful miners. But now, the time seemed right. Hashkéneinii Biye' proclaimed, "Let's kill these Americans. They are always mean and have no accommodation about them." Man with White Horses's son readily agreed, but Slim Man cautioned that their relatives would not like them to do it; the other two did not seem to care. Hashkéneinii Biye' told the boy to pick up the rifle, while he grabbed an ax. Walcott responded to Hashkéneinii Biye' first, trying to wrest the tool out of his hands until the Indian told Walcott that he was just checking the blade for sharpness. Walcott then went to the boy to get his rifle as the youth began to remove it from its scabbard. As Walcott bent over to secure the rifle, Hashkéneinii Biye' struck him in the back of the head with the ax, killing him instantly. As two older Navajos joined the group, Slim Man rose from his seat and asked, "What have you boys been doing fighting?" Slim Man explained to the older men what had happened, which raised the question of what course to follow with McNally. One of the old men,

¹³ Moore, *Chiefs, Agents, and Soldiers*, 124–36.

Little Mustache (Dághaa' Yázhí), answered "As long as one is killed, it is better to kill the other one too, for if they are murdered, no one will ever know anything about it."

The Navajos withdrew a short distance from the camp, but as McNally approached, Hashkéneinii Biye' began shooting at him with the newly acquired Winchester rifle. The prospector immediately tied all three horses he had together to form a standing breastwork, until all of the animals fell, mortally wounded. McNally lay behind his dead mounts and returned fire. Hashkéneinii Biye' quickly used all eight cartridges in the rifle and decided that he and his companions needed to crawl as close as they could toward their victim then engage him with their pistols. Little Mustache came the closest, twenty-five feet from the barricade, before all the Indians began firing. When Little Mustache raised himself above a tuft of grass to see, the miner spotted him and shot him in the head; McNally's bullet entered near his right eye and exited behind his ear. The wounded Indian jumped up and stumbled away. The others broke off the fight, secured their wounded friend, and brought him to a nearby hogan, where he could be warmed and cared for. They also sent word to Hashkéneinii's camp to make the headman aware of the incident. Shortly after dark, Hashkéneinii arrived with a group of followers. He sent an observer to see if McNally had moved and if so, where. The scout eventually returned saying that the white man had left; he did not know when or in which direction, but McNally had definitely left. Father and son, along with a number of others in this group, took up the trail, lighting matches to follow the miner's tracks. The next day it was over; they killed McNally.

Pete reported that Slim Man buried Walcott; collected and burned the men's blankets, saddles, and equipment (all covered with blood); and captured their two remaining horses, as well as two horses from the recent fracas at Mitchell's ranch on the San Juan River. He accompanied the scout as far as Pete's home in the Chinle Valley and planned to come to the agency with animals and equipment once the horses could travel again. Slim Man also made a statement of the events he witnessed. Riordan appreciated this testimony, which corroborated his judgment that these murders added to "scores of white men during the past ten years [who] have paid the penalty of daring to examine the country outside of this reservation with their lives."¹⁴

Additional information trickled in. According to another Navajo scout with a less convincing report, Walcott was much more the aggressor: he spoke sharply to the Navajos, drew his gun first, and shot one of the Navajos who sat peacefully at the campfire. The scout also asserted that McNally was badly wounded before leaving his horse barricade and that other uninvolved Navajos found him dead. Despite his significant injury, Little Mustache remained alive.¹⁵

¹⁴ Riordan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 22, 1884, Letters Received—Navajo Agency.

¹⁵ "Report of Sam-Boo-ko-di," April 19, 1884, Letters Received—Navajo Agency.



Slim Man came into the agency on May 5 and offered a report sharply at odds with that of the second Navajo scout. According to his account, when Man with White Horses first approached the camp the night before the shooting, he and the two miners shook hands and “hugged each other all around,” followed by a gift exchange of tobacco. The next morning after breakfast, the white men gave all three of the new visitors tobacco; Hashkéneinii Biye’ “was moving around all the time while the other two sat by the fire.” After the Navajo killed Walcott, he removed a pistol and holster that he had tried to trade for earlier, but had been refused. At this point, Man with White Horses returned to the camp, suggesting that they put a white rag on a stick, approach McNally, and then point him in the direction he should go to get home safely. Another Navajo man disagreed, and the group eventually decided to kill McNally. Slim Man explained the next day’s fight, adding that under the cover of darkness McNally had left his barricade before departing, gone into the camp, wrapped Walcott in some blankets, and piled his things around him. That night, although badly wounded, McNally travelled twenty-five miles before Hashkéneinii Biye’, Hashkéneinii, and “an old Navajo” caught up to the prospector and killed him. As for Slim Man, he felt sorry about the whole affair and did not hesitate to contradict Hashkéneinii, who had threatened to kill anyone who talked about it.¹⁶

Yet another actor in the drama came forth to testify—Hashkéneinii Biye’ himself, who arrived at the agency with his father and “a large

¹⁶ Ten-nai-tsosi (Diné Ts’ósi) “Story,” given to Riordan, May 5, 1884, Letters Received—Navajo Agency.

number of his warriors” on May 7.¹⁷ The interim agent, S. E. Marshall, took his sworn statement, which both the young man and his father signed, then turned the pair loose. Hashkéneinii Biye’ began his version of the events with his illness and his friends “singing over me all night to make me well.” Tired from the ceremony, he and his wife were returning that morning when they encountered the two Americans. Husband and wife received tobacco, offered to sell some mutton to the men, and then went home. The next morning, Hashkéneinii Biye’ traveled to the prospectors’ camp, watched them eat breakfast and then inhospitably give the leftovers to their dog, and waited for McNally to retrieve his horses. Hashkéneinii Biye’ told Slim Man to tell the white man where the animals were, but twice Slim Man refused. Walcott took out a pair of binoculars and let Hashkéneinii Biye’ look through them, but denied Slim Man the opportunity. Man with White Horses’s son went to look at the rifle on the ground; this angered the white man, so he chased after the boy with an ax but never caught him. Next, Walcott went after Slim Man, who sat by the fire. Fortunately, according to his account, Hashkéneinii Biye’ wrestled the ax out of the white man’s hand. The Navajo “hit him on the back of his head—not very hard, but just enough to knock him down. When the American fell I was very much frightened and threw the ax away.” Slim Man searched the prospector for things he might like, but as the victim gained consciousness, Slim Man took the ax and with three or four swings killed Walcott.

At this point Little Mustache arrived, and in answer to his question of what happened, Slim Man pointed to Hashkéneinii Biye’ and said, “My brother. I would be dead now if it was not for this man—he saved my life. The American was just about to hit me with the ax when he stopped it.” Twice later, Slim Man begged Hashkéneinii Biye’ not to tell what he had done: “Dear brother [do] not give [me] away and tell that [I] killed the old American as he was not hurt badly when [I] took the ax and killed him.” Slim Man also purportedly attacked McNally, trying to fire his pistol three times without success; he later assisted the others in the multi-pronged attack against the barricaded miner. Slim Man did not finally kill McNally, according to Hashkéneinii Biye’, but he certainly joined the party that searched for the miner. Whether this reversed story had any impact on subsequent events remains unclear, but Hashkéneinii Biye’ was not arrested during his trip to Fort Defiance.

Word of the incident eventually filtered back East, where friends and relatives of the murdered men demanded an investigation and some type of justice. Fred Fickey, an insurance adjuster and friend from Walcott’s hometown of Baltimore, Maryland, wrote a number of letters to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Secretary of the Interior, and military

¹⁷ Hashkéneinii Biye’, Statement, May 7, 1884, Charles Kelly Papers, Utah State Historical Society (USHS), Salt Lake City, Utah.

officials asking that the remains of both Walcott and his friend McNally from Albany, New York, be retrieved for a proper burial. According to Fickey, Walcott “was one of the most quiet of men, never quarreled with anyone, was a friend of the Indians,” did not drink or smoke, “and was a man who would rather run away than fight.”¹⁸ His wife was “frantic” over the incident, and the least that could be done was to have the two men’s remains procured and brought to Fort Lewis for Christian burial. Unfortunately, Fickey, who had been in contact with Mitchell and others in the area, said that no one dared venture into that country to complete the task.¹⁹ Something had to be done, but it did not appear that Agent Riordan was the man to do it.

John H. Bowman was a different kind of man. Having previously worked as a sheriff in Gunnison, Colorado, Bowman started the wheels of justice rolling toward Navajo Mountain as soon as he took charge of the Navajo Agency on June 30, 1884. Assuming responsibility for appropriate action on the ground, Bowman sent word to the miscreants that they had ten days to travel the 175 miles to the agency and give themselves up or he would assign Navajo scouts or, if necessary, the military, to apprehend them.²⁰ Things started to happen. Colonel L. P. Bradley ordered one of the officers of the Sixth Cavalry, which operated along the San Juan River, to find the graves of Walcott and McNally, in preparation for moving their remains to Fort Lewis once the weather was cold enough to do so. He also gave directions to make a detachment of soldiers available to Bowman on request, should it be necessary to ferret out the murderers.²¹

At first, the military backup did not seem necessary. On July 10, within the ten-day ultimatum period, Hashkéneinii turned himself in, then traveled to Fort Wingate under guard; a day later, Little Mustache, described as a very old man still suffering from his head wound, came in with some Navajo scouts.²² Before leaving for his incarceration, he provided a statement insisting that Hashkéneinii Biye’ and Slim Man tried to kill McNally and that he had been wounded by chance as he innocently walked near the battlefield.²³ A week later, Navajo scouts brought in Slim Man, who, with Little Mustache, joined Hashkéneinii in jail at Fort Wingate.²⁴ The effectiveness of the scouts was apparent since, according to Bowman, the “troops move so slowly that it is much easier to accomplish arrests with the scouts when the opposition is not too strong.”²⁵

¹⁸ Fred Fickey to Jonathan Findlay, May 10, 1884, Letters Received—Navajo Agency.

¹⁹ Fickey to Hiram Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 10, 1884; E. L. Stevens to Secretary of the Interior, June 12, 1884, Letters Received—Navajo Agency.

²⁰ John H. Bowman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 3, 1884, Letters Received—Navajo Agency.

²¹ L. P. Bradley to Adjutant General, Dept. of the Missouri, June 27, 1884, Letters Received—AGO.

²² Bowman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 11, 1884, Letters Received—Navajo Agency.

²³ Bowman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 12, 1884, Letters Received—Navajo Agency.

²⁴ Bowman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 19, 1884, Letters Received—Navajo Agency.

²⁵ Bowman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 12, 1884.

But opposition became too strong when the Ute and Paiute faction prominent in southeastern Utah conflicts entered the ring. Fresh from trouncing the cavalry from Fort Lewis at the Soldier Crossing fight, these men fell into their normal pattern of fight, flight, and dispersion together with their families; some made their way to Navajo Mountain. The Utes took charge of Hashkéneinii Biye', promising to protect him. With ten scouts, Bowman headed north, where he rendezvoused with forty soldiers from Troop K, Sixth Cavalry, operating under First Lieutenant H. P. Kingsbury, from Fort Wingate, New Mexico. On August 14, the agent met with five hundred Navajos at Thomas V. Keam's trading post in Keams Canyon, Arizona, and then moved toward Navajo Mountain.²⁶ Bowman wanted to know, among other things, whether the killings had occurred in Utah or Arizona. A definitive answer about the location of the murders would help with future military jurisdictional control, since Navajo Mountain sat on the Utah–Arizona territorial border, government authorities lacked knowledge of the terrain, and other conflicting information existed.

Lieutenant Kingsbury provided a detailed report of what happened.²⁷ Having traveled 122 miles from Fort Wingate to Keams Canyon in three days, the officer learned that Hashkéneinii Biye' was camped among three groups of Utes that altogether composed a total of thirty-two men. One of these groups had recently killed two of Captain Perrine's men at Soldier Crossing. The next day, August 19, in company with Bowman and his scouts, Kingsbury traveled thirty-eight miles over a rough and indistinct trail; another day of travel covered thirty-five miles, with little water available; after a few hours of rest, the command mounted at midnight and rode until daybreak. Finally, Kingsbury came upon the reported camp, only to find that the Utes had fled a few hours earlier and scattered into the canyons.²⁸

²⁶ S. E. Marshall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 22, 1884, Letters Received—Navajo Agency.

²⁷ H. P. Kingsbury to Post Adjutant, September 1, 1884, Letters Received—AGO.

²⁸ Frank McNitt has a brief account of this episode in *The Indian Traders* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962, 1989), 181–85. In it he suggests that the site of the enemy camp and hence the place that Walcott and McNally were killed was near Kayenta, Arizona, at a rock formation called El Capitan. Kingsbury's report, however, does not support this conclusion even though he says, "I had traveled very nearly due north from Keams' Canyon, and as a crow would fly, I think about 80 miles, the highest northern point reached was about 20 miles a little south of east from Navajo Mountain." Military mileage estimates during this time were surprisingly accurate, and although there is a marked difference between how "the crow flies" and navigation over Indian trails, the lieutenant obviously knew where he was. A few facts to support his statement: (1) All the Navajo scouts who reported to the agents during the previous five months speak of the incident being in the vicinity of the southeast corner of Navajo Mountain. (2) Straight line distance from Keams Canyon to the southeast corner of Navajo Mountain is eighty-six miles, roughly the same distance that others cited; from Keams Canyon to Kayenta is sixty-two miles, while eighty miles puts the site at the far northern end of Monument Valley, about ten miles away from El Capitan. This last distance is much closer to the vicinity of where the Mitchell–Merrick incident of 1880 occurred. (3) The military, depending on the scouts, traveled trails with their known watering places along the way. If they traveled exactly due north (360 degrees) they would be on course for Kayenta; an azimuth of 340 degrees would take them to Navajo Mountain; perhaps 350 degrees would take them "a little southeast" from this prominent landmark. (4) As a haven for escape—which the Utes

The events had reached their climax. Kingsbury backtracked twelve miles to meet with his pack train and established camp for the next three days, while Bowman secured Walcott's remains for burial at Fort Wingate. The agent also tried unsuccessfully to acquire any stock belonging to the murderers, only to learn that the animals had been "run out of the country and up into the mountains." Efforts to find McNally's body proved fruitless, since only the guilty knew its location. As Bowman continued with his duties, Kingsbury had time to ponder his failure.



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In his mind, it was easily explained:

***Navajo Mountain, framed by
Rainbow Bridge.***

The reason I did not surprise the Utes is plain: the Navajos were cowards and politicians; being afraid of the Utes they did not want them killed for protecting the murderer; they were afraid the Utes would retaliate on them; they therefore kept the Utes posted every night as to my whereabouts; they persistently lied about distance; they were spies the entire route.²⁹

Meanwhile, Left Handed (Tł'ah), a local Indian, gave a firsthand account from the Navajo perspective. Everyone in the area was well aware of the killings and knew that the agent had sent word that troops would come if Hashkéneinii Biye' did not surrender. Indeed, Hashkéneinii Biye' had received a new name: Át'íní, variously translated as "The One Who Did It" or "Had/Has Done It." In response to the government demand for his surrender, Hashkéneinii Biye' insisted, "I don't want to go. I'd rather be dead right here on my land. If they want me so badly they can come and cut my head off and take it."³⁰ At this same time, a group of Utes passed through the area, claiming that they had killed soldiers and admitting, "We

sought at this time—the Navajo Mountain region was well known to them, while the flatter, better known, and more accessible terrain of the Monument Valley region would not hide them as well from pursuing forces. Further, in August the higher elevations are cooler and the resources of grass, water, and wood more plentiful.

²⁹ Kingsbury to Post Adjutant, September 1, 1884, Letters Received—AGO.

³⁰ Walter Dyk, *Son of Old Man Hat: A Navaho Autobiography* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1938, 1967), 181.

did wrong and we're pretty sure we will all be killed." The One Who Did It traded a rifle and ammunition with them and eventually left the area when he heard that soldiers were on the way. The Navajos who remained feared the Utes as much as they did the approaching cavalry—both of whom brought back memories of the pursuits of the "Fearing Time" and the subsequent Fort Sumner period.³¹

Left Handed's mother panicked, "running around, saying, 'I want to go right now. I want to save myself.'" ³² Her husband, Old Man Hat, took a calmer approach; even after she fled, he leisurely gathered his livestock and prepared his camp for evacuation before leaving with a large group of Navajos for the canyon country. In the meantime, the cavalry had surrounded the empty Ute camp, the Utes and Paiutes having moved out to a "big round rock" where they spent the night building a wall with firing ports. The One Who Did It and his friend, Hairy Face (Nii'dit'oi), built their own defensive position and waited. After the soldiers departed, Old Man Hat took charge and persuaded a group of fifty men to accompany him to visit the soldiers.

As they traveled, the Navajos discussed how they would respond if asked about the Utes. They decided to say they knew nothing because the Utes had returned to their country. The Navajos "did not want any of the troops to get killed. If they'd gone after them [the Utes] they'd have been killed for sure, because the Utes and Paiutes were up on the big rock and had everything ready."³³ As they rode, the Navajos asked Old Man Hat to sing a war song as protection and as insurance that the talks would go well. Old Man Hat agreed and instructed them to swing their horses into a line, stretched out in an open area. By the time he finished, the Navajos reached the top of a hill and saw a large camp by a wash. Old Man Hat put his men in line again and approached the camp, which showed little sign of activity. As the Navajos arrived at the edge of the wash, the soldiers came running from their tents, "making some kind of noise, whistling or something," then forming their own line, with rifles ready.

In the meantime, Kingsbury and his interpreter, Chee Dodge, emerged from a tent and approached the Indians. They invited Old Man Hat to get off his horse; they shook hands in friendship, instructed all of the Indians to dismount and shake hands, and ordered the soldiers to stack arms and return to their tents. Old Man Hat introduced himself and his purpose:

We came here to shake hands with you, and we came to talk in the kindest way to each other. We came here for peace. And now we've shaken hands and are talking to each other in the kindest manner, we're all friends now. That's what we came here for. Even though I'm old—you look at me, and you know I'm old; you look in my mouth and

³¹ Utes aided Kit Carson in his scorched-earth campaign against the Navajo in 1863–64, a period that the Navajos came to call the "Fearing Time."

³² Dyk, *Son of Old Man Hat*, 184.

³³ *Ibid.*, 188.

you know I haven't any teeth, and I'm about blind and about deaf; you see my hair is white, and my skin is wrinkled, my whole face is full of wrinkles; you know I look ugly—but even though I'm this way I'm thinking about myself that I'll live many years yet. I want to be safe always. I don't want to die right now. Even though death from old age is coming soon I'm thinking about myself that I'll live for a long time yet. That's why I was chasing around, chasing away from you. I thought you were going to kill me. But here I've found out you are a kind man.³⁴

The discussion continued in this same polite manner. After Kingsbury reassured them about his purpose in asking for the Navajos' help, Old Man Hat said that if the Navajos assisted the military, The One Who Did It would kill his fellow Indians. He frightened them. Moreover, he was hard to find, and the military would not know where to seek him. "From here on it's pretty dangerous all over," warned Old Man Hat. "When a person does not know this country he'll surely get lost or die of thirst. It's dangerous to travel here, crossing the desert and the many canyons. A person has got to know where to get water, and water is scarce. There's no water for miles and miles. So I think it is dangerous to go after him." Next he asked that Hashkéneinii be released; the soldiers, in turn, reassured Old Man Hat that Hashkéneinii was well cared for, that the military would not harm those who lived a good life, and that everyone should come down off the mountain and go back home to care for their gardens and animals. The meeting ended with another round of handshaking and the distribution of tobacco before the Navajos departed.³⁵

The military spent three days in this encampment, five more returning to Fort Defiance, and two more en route to Fort Wingate, where they arrived on September 1. This completed a round-trip excursion of 359 miles. Kingsbury concluded that he would need one hundred mounted men and thirty days to "run the Utes, who are protecting the murderer, to ground [and that] the Navajos should be given to understand that condign punishment would follow treachery and tale bearing, and it should be meted out to the first caught going ahead of the marching column."³⁶ This plan never took place. Hashkéneinii Biye' remained at large, the government released his father and the other prisoners after about a year, McNally's body remained where it fell, and the military moved on to other pressing problems.

There is yet another side to this story. In all the accounts of the Walcott-McNally murders—statements generated by scouts, testimony given by participants, letters written by agents, and after-action reports filed by military commanders—one central figure emerges: Hashkéneinii Biye'. In 1939, Utah historian Charles Kelly spent a week interviewing Hashkéneinii Biye' himself. From this invaluable discussion came some of the best

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 190.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 191.

³⁶ Kingsbury to Adjutant, September 1, 1884.



*Hashkéneinii Biye' (left),
photographed late in life by
Charles Kelly, and his great-
grandson.*

personal information we have about his father, Hashkéneinii, their activities during the Long Walk period, his later dealings with the prospector Cass Hite, and aspects of Navajo culture and history in the Navajo Mountain–Kayenta region. Yet Hashkéneinii Biye' said nothing about the murders, except for what he implied when he talked about miners who came into his area to look for a silver mine. "If they refused to go, he [Hashkéneinii] had to kill them. Many white men have been killed around here; I have killed some myself."³⁷ Kelly went on to publish two articles

based on his interviews, but he apparently did not know about the Walcott–McNally incident.³⁸ Hashkéneinii Biye' died two years later; to most historians this part of the past remained buried in archives as deeply as Walcott's body was buried in the earth.

For the Navajo people living in the Monument Valley–Kayenta–Navajo Mountain region, the heritage of the old patriarch, Hashkéneinii Biye', continues. As the father of twenty-eight children from eight wives and as one of the wealthiest Navajos of his place and time, Hashkéneinii Biye' left a legacy that endures in the oral tradition. Many families bear the name Atene, a simplified version of the name Át'íní—The One Who Did It. In 1991, I had the good fortune to interview seventy-two-year-old Betty Canyon, a paternal granddaughter of Hashkéneinii Biye', in Monument Valley. Her understanding of the incident sheds light on her grandfather's

³⁷ Charles Kelly, "Chief Hoskaninni," Charles Kelly Papers, USHS.

³⁸ Charles Kelly, "Hoskaninni," *Desert Magazine* 4, no. 9 (July 1941): 6–9, and "Chief Hoskaninni," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 21 (July 1953): 219–26.

actions and on the importance of the 1874 Grass Valley killings, while also emphasizing a number of other cultural points important to the Navajos. Although this interview took place well over one hundred years after the incident and conflicts at times with the written record, the oral tradition has preserved much detail. Canyon:

The name Át'íní came from a man named Hastiin Át'íní, my paternal grandfather. He got that name because he was blamed for killing some white men. While he was being hunted, they [the government] asked, "Where is the one who did this killing?" and the people said, "He is the man, he is the one who did it." A group of soldiers came out to arrest him. They asked him why he killed these white men, and he told them because these white men had killed six [three] innocent Navajo people. These Navajos had gone to trade and sell with some white traders in a place called "Dził Binii' Lígai" [Mountain with White Face] somewhere north of Navajo Mountain. These Navajos had taken with them many tanned hides, rugs, saddle blankets, and jewelry in trade for some nice horses. They got what they came for and started on their way home.

It was sundown and very cold, so they decided to camp near Mountain with White Face. Here they found some old barns stocked with hay. They thought this would be a good place to keep warm. As they were settling down for the night, a couple of white men came by on their horses. The two men said it would be all right for them to stay inside for the night. Inside they found a wood stove and a pile of wood. "How nice of them. How can we refuse the offer?" they said. Neither side understood each other, but they were able to communicate through hand gestures. They were given some drinking water and some hay for their newly acquired horses and were grateful for the hospitality.

Before dawn the next day, one Navajo man went out to get his horse, but realized that something strange was going on. He became suspicious when he saw that some white men were outside not too far from them warming up and loading their guns by a fire. He came back inside to warn the others, who were still resting. "Don't be alarmed," one of them answered. "They were very nice to us last evening; don't worry about them." But the man was afraid, so he went back out and saddled his horse and rode out a ways, pretending to act normal. The moment he took off galloping, he heard gunshots ring out in the barn. As he rounded the corner of the mesa, he was shot in the arm but managed to escape. The white men hunted for him for about a week but failed to find him. He survived for two weeks in the wilderness, treating his wound with natural herbs and drinking some [of a potion]. He crossed back over the San Juan River and went to see Mister [Hastiin] Át'íní to tell him what had happened. Mister Át'íní was furious.

When Mister Át'íní's captors asked him why he had killed the soldiers [prospectors], he replied, "How can I forgive these white men? Our people cannot be replaced! They have murdered my uncle, who was a great medicine man. He used to sing the sacred Na'at'oyee Biká'jǫ́ (Shooting Way—Male Branch), Níłch'íjǫ́ (Wind Way), and the Hózhóǫ́jǫ́ (Blessing Way). He was also teaching me how to become a medicine man. For this very reason, I promised myself that I would have no mercy for any white man who strayed in our territory from that day onward. No matter what condition they were in, I was going to kill them too. The white men did the killing first—two great medicine men and some people—then took their horses. So they are at fault, not me. But yes, I am The One Who Did It (Át'íní)." He met with his captors at Tó Deełíní (Where the Stream Begins). The case was finally settled in that six [three] Navajos and two white men were killed, so that was just the same. That is how the name Át'íní came about.³⁹

³⁹ Betty Canyon, interview by Robert S. McPherson and Marilyn Holiday, September 10, 1991, in possession of the author.

The One Who Did It went on to become a powerful medicine man who understood how to use supernatural powers. Numerous stories exist of his ability to control the elements—especially lightning—and of his other forms of power, but these stories take us far beyond the scope of this article. Perhaps the testimony of his maternal granddaughter, Susie L. Yazzie, which she gave at the age of sixty-seven in 1991, will suffice. Speaking of her grandfather, Yazzie said,

He was an excellent medicine man and kept things sacred. He would not allow anyone to circle the hogan he was using for a sing [ceremony]. He would tell the people to keep away because the Holy People were present. It was the Holy People who were performing through him, so it was very sacred. And for the same reasons, he did not expect to be paid a high price. He performed the Yé'ii Bicheii ceremony, the Hail Storm Way (Nlóee), the nine day ceremonies, the fire dance and Enemy Way (Anaa'ji), plus the Blessing Way and Evil Way (Hóchxó'íjí) ceremonies. He was recognized by many people.⁴⁰

Hashkéneinii Biye' died in 1941, a powerful and respected member of his community. No indication exists that he was ever punished for the killing of the two prospectors.

Before leaving this incident, however, we must consider several points. Although they form just a short footnote in the history of the Four Corners area, the deaths of Samuel Walcott and James McNally and the subsequent events underscore the problems the military faced in performing its duty in this region. Most obviously, government officials could not fully pursue and prosecute suspects because they did not know the land—its trails and its resources. Kingsbury and Bowman depended totally on Navajo scouts. Those scouts were the only people involved in the affair who had any success in bringing in some of the culprits.

At the same time, for those fleeing the law who knew their way, travel was fairly rapid. It was just a matter of a week or so following the brush at Mitchell's ranch on the San Juan River before horses stolen from his place appeared at Navajo Mountain. The Utes and Paiutes who left victoriously from the fight at Soldier Crossing in White Canyon appeared in the same area in short order. The Navajo scouts also knew where and how to find the people involved and were very much aware of this isolated corner of refuge for those evading the law. As for the military, without maps—their way of navigating this inhospitable terrain—they had little chance of success unless they had guides. Something needed to be done to make travel faster and more predictable. That will be the reason for our subsequent expeditions into “the land of death” and the topic of part two of this story.

⁴⁰ Susie L. Yazzie, interview by Robert S. McPherson and Marilyn Holiday, August 6, 1991, in possession of the author.



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“The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here”: Utah Veterans and the Gettysburg Reunion of 1913

By KENNETH L. ALFORD AND KEN NELSON

“This is the old soldiers’ show—they paid the price of admission fifty years ago.”
—*New York Times*, June 29, 1913

Gettysburg was the defining battle of the American Civil War. When the Union and Confederate armies collided in southern Pennsylvania during the first three days of July 1863, the nation’s future hung in the balance. Both forces fought heroically. By the time the Confederate army retreated, around fifty thousand men were killed, wounded, or missing across the Gettysburg battlefields—the largest number of battle casualties during the entire Civil War. With the Union victory that ended Lee’s second and final invasion of the North, Gettysburg became “one of the decisive battles of the world.”¹ As the *Salt Lake Herald* noted in June 1913: “Had the Union army wavered and broke under the charge of Pickett’s men,

These GAR men represent some of the 44,713 Union veterans who attended the four-day reunion.

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¹ “Veterans to Meet on Battlefield,” *Carbon County News* (Price, UT), June 12, 1913.

there would have been two nations where there is now but one.”²

In November 1863, President Abraham Lincoln traveled to Gettysburg to dedicate a national cemetery, and his Gettysburg Address began the slow healing process for the nation. As the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg approached in July 1913, many Americans saw it as an opportunity to host the largest gathering for veterans of the Civil War and as an opportunity to finish what Lincoln had started fifty years earlier. That grand fiftieth anniversary reunion—and Utah’s participation in it—involved far more than assembling elderly veterans. First, political wrangling at the state level frustrated the efforts of local organizers to get Utahns to the event. Second, in Utah, as elsewhere in the nation, the reunion illuminated both the lingering tensions between Union and Confederate factions and the hopes that such animosity could finally be laid to rest. As John Widdoes, a nonagenarian veteran from American Fork, remarked as he left for a later celebration, “I’m going to shake hands with a Reb, something I’ve never done before.”³

Plans to celebrate the semicentennial of the battle of Gettysburg publicly began on January 5, 1909, during Governor Edwin S. Stuart’s biennial message to the Pennsylvania general assembly, when he observed that the nation was “approaching the fiftieth anniversary of the most decisive battle of the war for the suppression of the Rebellion, fought on Pennsylvania soil, at Gettysburg, July 1–3, 1863. . . . Many of the men [who fought] are still living . . . and it would be entirely in keeping with the patriotic spirit of the people of the [Pennsylvania] Commonwealth to properly recognize and fittingly observe this anniversary.” Stuart further suggested that “other States, both north and south, whose sons fought at Gettysburg, will surely co-operate in making the occasion one that will stand foremost in the martial history of the world.” Accordingly, on May 13, 1909, Pennsylvania’s general assembly created the Gettysburg fiftieth reunion commission and authorized \$5,000 for preliminary expenses.⁴

The newly created commission reached out to every state—including former Confederate states. They invited “the congress of the United States and her Sister States and Commonwealths to accept this invitation . . . to share in this important anniversary and to help make it an event worthy of its historical significance, and an occasion creditable and impressive to our great and re-united nation.”⁵ The commemoration was envisioned as “the greatest and most elaborate event of its kind ever [to] be held,” and the commission’s goal was “to have present on the battlefield all of the

² “On to Gettysburg!” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 28, 1913.

³ “Five Utah Veterans Leave for Gettysburg,” *Times-Independent* (Moab, UT), June 30, 1938, punctuation added.

⁴ *Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg: Report of the Pennsylvania Commission* (Harrisburg, PA: Wm. Stanley Ray State Printer, 1914), 3–4.

⁵ “Veterans to Meet on Battlefield,” *Carbon County News* (Price, UT), June 12, 1913.

survivors of the conflict and it is expected that there will be a large attendance of both confederate and union veterans.”⁶ Due to opposition from Southern veterans known as the “irreconcilables,” it took the United Confederate Veterans organization almost two years to accept Pennsylvania’s invitation to participate.⁷

Utah responded much faster. On August 2, 1910, Governor William Spry appointed Lucian H. Smyth, a Pennsylvania native and past commander of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) Department of Utah, to represent the state during planning meetings at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, that fall.⁸ A committee of Utah “Grand Army men” was appointed during the GAR’s state encampment in June 1912 to begin “collecting the names of [Utah] veterans who will go to Gettysburg.” The six-member committee canvassed the state, notifying Civil War soldiers. By December the committee announced that “Utah will send a delegation of considerable size to attend the fiftieth anniversary celebration.”⁹

The federal government became involved in 1912 and appropriated \$175,000 to pay “for the sheltering and subsistence of the veterans of the northern and southern armies” and authorized funding for “400 army ranges for cooking food, one field bakery, two large field hospitals and five infirmaries.” Washington also agreed to provide eighteen hundred physicians, surgeons, cooks, and support staff.¹⁰ Government engineers “made a survey of the [battlefield] ground, laid it off into streets and avenues, [and] created a water system for the camp.” The goal was to prepare everything so that the attending veterans would be able to eat and sleep without charge.¹¹

Citing the examples of Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and other states that had already provided “large appropriations for expenses, particularly for the transportation of old soldiers,” the Utah GAR petitioned the state legislature in January 1913 “to pay traveling expenses of

⁶ “Local Man to Aid in Great Pageant at Gettysburg,” *Salt Lake Telegram*, May 10, 1912. Many smaller commemorations and military reunions were held at Gettysburg prior to 1913. See John W. Frazier, *Reunion of the Blue and Gray. Philadelphia Brigade and Pickett’s Division. July, 2, 3, 4, 1887 and September 15, 16, 17, 1906* (Philadelphia: Ware Bros., 1906); Nina Sibler, *Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

⁷ “Blue and Gray Will Meet at Gettysburg,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 9, 1912.

⁸ Smyth served in the Third Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery Battery during the Civil War. “To Commemorate Battle,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, August 3, 1910; “Lucian H. Smyth to Represent Utah,” *Deseret News*, August 2, 1910; *Roster, Department of Utah G.A.R. by States. All Who Joined Since First Post was Organized. Living and Dead* (1914), 20.

⁹ “Utah Veterans to Go to Gettysburg,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 18, 1912. Lucian H. Smyth, W. M. Bostaph, M. M. Kaighn, N. D. Corser, J. M. Bowman, and Seymour B. Young made up the GAR committee.

¹⁰ There was apparently confusion regarding the exact figure authorized by Washington. Early reports list \$150,000, while later accounts suggest that Washington actually appropriated \$175,000. One account claims it was \$250,000. “Thousands Expect to Visit Gettysburg,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 30, 1912; “Provides Funds for the Gettysburg Celebration,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, August 9, 1912; “Will Ask \$10,000 to Pay Veterans’ Expenses,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, January 24, 1913.

¹¹ “Utah Veterans,” December 18, 1912.

each old soldier, Union and Confederate, in this state who desires to take part in the celebration.”¹² Unfortunately, the appropriation bill became a casualty of legislative bureaucracy. A senate bill providing \$10,000 to “pay the railroad fares and incidental expenses of the old soldiers going back to the scenes of the stirring sixties” was amended to \$7,500 before the body passed it.¹³ The Utah House of Representatives referred the bill to the committee on military affairs, and the committee “drafted a report providing that the bill go on the calendar without recommendation. The report was withdrawn and an adverse report was drafted. In turn, this report was killed and the bill was turned over to the appropriations committee. The next time the bill saw daylight was when, with a mass of other special appropriation bills it was presented to the house and laid on the table,” and there it remained without passage.¹⁴ A line in the separate appropriation bill provided funds “for the expenses of the Gettysburg celebration,” but the money could not be spent because “the provisions directing and authorizing the expenditures are dead.”¹⁵ When asked if the state could disburse the funds, the attorney general declared that “he could make no statement on this point until the matter had been considered formally.” The bottom line was that Utah’s Civil War veterans were left wondering if the state would pay for their travel to Gettysburg.¹⁶ On March 24, 1913, the state delayed offering a solution to this problem when it announced that “the veterans will have to pay their own expenses and wait for reimbursement from the next legislature.”¹⁷

Many Utah veterans took these events personally and felt that the legislature “intended to appease them by appropriating the money, but purposely neglected to provide a means for paying it out.”¹⁸ An April meeting between GAR representatives and the governor determined that “the soldiers will have to make arrangements with private individuals to advance the money and wait for the next legislature to pass the lost bill, if they are to have their expenses paid to and from the reunion.”¹⁹ Utah veterans who

¹² Ibid. The GAR “committee of arrangements” that helped prepare the funding legislation consisted of Lucian H. Smyth, M. M. Kaighn, J. M. Bowman, Seymour B. Young, Frank H. Hall, and Elias Price. “Will Ask \$10,000,” January 24, 1913.

¹³ “Civil War Veterans May Attend Reunion,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, January 31, 1913.

¹⁴ “Legal Effect of Gift to Veterans Worries Officials,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, March 23, 1913.

¹⁵ “Veterans Seek Plan to Realize on Law,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, April 10, 1913.

¹⁶ “Legal Effect of Gift,” March 23, 1913; “Appropriation for Civil War Veterans’ Trip Past Senate,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, February 12, 1913. Part of the problem with funding for the Gettysburg reunion came with the Utah legislature’s simultaneous considerations about how to properly care for veterans of Utah’s Indian Wars. As state senator L. M. Olson declared, “The legislature should first consider the appropriation for caring for Utah Indian war veterans in their old age before sending Civil War veterans away on an excursion.” The final senate vote on the Gettysburg funds was “Ayes 14, nays 1, absent and not voting, 3, [Senate] President Henry Gardner voted against the bill, not because he disapproved of its purpose, he said, but because he thought the state treasury was being overtaxed.” “Appropriation for Veterans’ Trip,” February 12, 1913.

¹⁷ “Veterans Will Get Gettysburg Funds,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, March 24, 1913.

¹⁸ “Veterans Seek Plan,” April 10, 1913.

¹⁹ “No State Funds Can Aid Veterans’ Jaunt,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, April 6, 1913.



hoped to attend began an “active search for some person who can advance \$7500 so [they] can attend the big Gettysburg reunion.”²⁰ Spry added “his assurance that the next legislature would unquestionably pass a bill reimbursing those who made the advance.”²¹

A reported 8,694 Confederate veterans attended the reunion. Veterans were asked to leave their battle flags at home, but many brought them anyway.

Which veterans would actually attend the reunion at the state’s expense now became a subject of debate. Newspapers reported that as many as eighty-five veterans expressed an interest in attending, and the press published several attendee lists. One list had as many as seventy-one names; in the end, sixty-five Utah veterans attended, making it one of the greatest contributors of the western states.²² The Utah GAR developed selection

²⁰ “Veterans Looking for Some One to Give Funds,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, April 8, 1913. The veteran committee in charge of “the arrangements for Utah’s participation” consisted of Lucian H. Smyth, M. M. Kaign, Seymour B. Young; W. M. Bostaph, Fred J. Kiesel, and W. L. H. Dotson. Kiesel and Dotson, Confederate veterans, were appointed to ensure that “the confederate ranks in Utah are well represented on the committee.” “Consider Way to Raise Funds,” *Logan (UT) Republican*, April 17, 1913.

²¹ “Raise Funds,” April 17, 1913.

²² The *Pennsylvania Commission Report* recorded that Utah sent sixty-seven Union veterans and nine Confederate veterans, for a total of seventy-six attendees. In comparison, Utah sent more veterans than Arizona (ten), Colorado (twelve), Idaho (forty-five), Montana (twenty-two), and New Mexico (one), but less than California (one hundred), Oregon (eighty-two), and Washington State (167). *Pennsylvania Commission Report*, 36–37. However, a discrepancy exists between the reported figure for Utah and veterans who actually attended; it is believed that sixty-five Utahns actually attended. See “Veterans of Both Armies Leaving Salt Lake for Famous Gettysburg Battlefield,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 28, 1913.

criteria to determine who would travel at the state's expense. The first priority went to veterans of the battle of Gettysburg. The second priority went to Confederate veterans "out of courtesy to the southerners." The third, and final, priority was Union veterans who were physically fit enough to make the trip. Several veterans who wanted to attend were "barred for this reason." Prioritization was required because Utah did not authorize enough funds to send all of the state's Civil War veterans who wanted to attend the reunion, and only sixty-six men could be accommodated in the tents reserved for the Utah delegation of veterans.²³ In developing these criteria, GAR leaders did not provide any special advantage for members of the Lot Smith Utah Cavalry Company—the only active duty Civil War military unit from Utah Territory.²⁴ (See pages 288–89 for a list of Civil War veterans who attended from Utah.)

Lucian H. Smyth, who chaired several Utah GAR commemoration committees, traveled to Gettysburg in May 1913 to attend a Pennsylvania commission meeting and tour the battlefield. He gave an enthusiastic report of the preparations and said, "I wouldn't have missed seeing that battle field for \$1000."²⁵

Travel arrangements for the Utah veterans were discussed during the thirty-first annual GAR Department of Utah encampment, held in Salt Lake City on May 17, 1913.²⁶ Resolutions passed during the encampment expressed "grateful appreciation" to Utah's governor and legislature for appropriating \$7,500 to meet the veterans' expenses but regretted that, "owing to the congestion of business in the closing hours of the session," the state government did not actually make the funds available. The Utah Civil War veterans were clearly disappointed that the state government had failed to deliver promised financial support. A separate, but related, GAR resolution urged "all our comrades and our friends the confederate soldiers residing in Utah to attend this great anniversary" in order to "help bury the last lingering remnant of sectional bitterness in the great ocean of patriotism that covers our beloved country."²⁷ It is a telling commentary on those times that even though half a century had passed since the war's end, the GAR still felt the need to reach out—specifically addressing Confederate soldiers and appealing for unity and patriotism.

²³ "Day's Anxious Vigil Rewarded; Veterans Leave for Gettysburg Today," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 27, 1913; "Only 66 Veterans Go to Gettysburg at State's Expense," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 26, 1913.

²⁴ Four Union veterans from the Lot Smith Utah Cavalry Company attended the 1913 Gettysburg reunion: James Isaac Atkinson (Woods Cross) and Joseph A. Fisher, John H. Walker, and Seymour B. Young (Salt Lake City). For additional details, see Joseph R. Stuart and Kenneth L. Alford, "The Lot Smith Cavalry Company: Utah Goes to War," in *Civil War Saints*, Kenneth L. Alford, ed. (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 2012).

²⁵ "Gettysburg Field Awaits Veterans," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, May 24, 1913.

²⁶ "G.A.R. Encampment to [B]e Held Here Today," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, May 17, 1913.

²⁷ "Utah Department, G.A.R., Holds Meeting; Veterans to Go East," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, May 18, 1913.

At noon on June 26, the day before their scheduled departure, approximately seventy Civil War veterans gathered in the U.S. marshal's office in Salt Lake City (where Smyth worked) to complete their travel plans. Their planning was "thrown into consternation by the announcement that the \$7500 appropriated by the legislature for the transportation of men [to Gettysburg] was not forthcoming, and no way had been found to get the money." After "three hours of gloom," Governor Spry informed the veteran committee that through the efforts of "several prominent business men" the promised \$7,500 "had been raised by a note given to the Zion's Savings bank" to furnish the money. Required travel funds were now available. The following day the *Salt Lake Herald* reported that the battle over funding almost "approached the proportions of the battle of Gettysburg, and many a veteran became weary of the struggle before yesterday's triumphant ending."²⁸ Each former soldier received \$97.00 for the trip, of which \$79.50 was deducted for the cost of his railway fare. The balance paid "for their sleeper berths [on the train] and general expenses." The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that "most of them will arrange to double up" in sleeping berths to reduce the cost.²⁹

Prior to departing Salt Lake City, each veteran was required to prove his status by showing (1) a certificate from a GAR post or United Confederate Veterans camp, (2) pension or discharge papers, or (3) Confederate parole papers or other sufficient evidence of service.³⁰ As many of the eligible veterans were elderly, a local doctor provided free physical examinations to any veteran who doubted his "physical ability to make the trip."³¹

The town of Gettysburg had fewer than five thousand residents and did not attempt to provide lodging for all of the reunion attendees. Veterans were housed on a temporary campground southwest of the city, about two hundred yards from the "high water mark monument on the battlefield" (which marks the farthest spot that Confederate soldiers reached during Pickett's Charge). The camp covered almost three hundred acres, and veterans were housed together by state. A "big tent," which seated between ten to fifteen thousand veterans, erected next to the camp was the site for speeches and performances during the reunion.

Over five thousand brown Sibley tents lined sixty-two streets; every street was named, and each tent was numbered. Five hundred electric streetlights were installed to "make the camp as brilliant as the Great White Way." The Army dug four large wells to supply the camp with 600,000 gallons of water daily. Running water was piped to every street intersection, and

²⁸ "Fund to Send Utah Veterans to Field of Battle Raised," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 27, 1913; "Anxious Vigil Rewarded," June 27, 1913. The *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission* (page 39) reports that \$7,370 of the \$7,500 was actually expended.

²⁹ "Anxious Vigil Rewarded," June 27, 1913.

³⁰ "Gettysburg is Mecca for 65 Utah Veterans," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 19, 1913.

³¹ "Talk Transportation," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 20, 1913.



The U.S. Army erected a tent city for the reunion that housed 53,407 veterans and occupied 278 acres.

thirty-two ice-water drinking fountains were installed as well. The Utah delegates enjoyed an excellent location for their tents—near the camp headquarters, the big tent, and a field hospital.³²

To care for the attendees, the campground included fourteen Red Cross stations and several regimental hospitals. “The magnitude of the undertaking would be difficult to grasp even if the encampment were for the entertainment of 50,000 men in the prime of life, but when one considers that the average age of the veterans is 72 years the task before those in charge of the camp is vastly more difficult.” Three hundred and fifty boy scouts stationed themselves throughout the camp to help answer the veterans’ questions and to guide them around. The camp’s extensive telephone system required “the stringing of 120 miles of wire” and made it possible to call anywhere in the country “reached by the telephone system.”³³ Active duty military units, such as the Fifteenth U.S. Cavalry from Fort Myers, Virginia, and the Pennsylvania state police patrolled the tent city.³⁴ The war department prepared for possible cold weather by purchasing forty thousand blankets at a cost of \$100,000, but instead of cool weather during the celebration, veterans experienced extreme heat that covered Gettysburg “as a blanket.”³⁵

Instead of twelve soldiers, eight veterans shared each tent in order to make them more comfortable. Upon arrival, each veteran was issued a cot, blankets, and a mess kit (with a plate, cup, knife, fork, and spoon). Each tent was equipped with two hand basins, a water bucket, candles, and two lanterns. Like other attendees, Utah veterans were required to carry everything they brought with them; no trunks were permitted in the camp. By giving veterans a place to sleep and meals to eat, the Army aimed to ensure that “the veterans will have nothing to do” except enjoy the reunion.³⁶

³² “Map Showing Camp for Veterans,” *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, after page 281.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ “Veterans’ Vanguard Reaches Gettysburg,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 27, 1913; “Hills of Gettysburg Mecca for Veterans,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 23, 1913.

³⁵ “Not Knave but Fool,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 4, 1913.

³⁶ “Hills of Gettysburg,” June 23, 1913.



J. K. Weaver, the surgeon general of the Pennsylvania National Guard, issued a set of health rules for attendees. He admonished the veterans to get enough sleep, eat the food provided by the Army, avoid intoxicating drinks, take an extra pair of shoes, and take it easy during the week. "Don't try to meet all of the old comrades at once. . . . In short, remember none of us is as young as we were fifty years ago."³⁷ In spite of that good advice, many veterans spent their time "tramping over the battlefield all day . . . as if it were a picnic. Some of them started out as early as 4 o'clock in the morning and kept it up until sundown."³⁸

Reunion organizers, concerned that lingering feelings of Confederate patriotism or resentment might mar the celebration, took every precaution to "prevent the stirring up of animosities." Veterans of both armies were asked "not to take their tattered battle flags to the celebration . . . the only flag which will be admitted to the camp will be the Stars and Stripes."³⁹ Their efforts were quite successful. During the reunion Confederate resolutions were unanimously adopted thanking the State of Pennsylvania for initiating the reunion and, in what must have seemed a little surreal to Union onlookers, for taking "pride in the fact that to the armies of the Confederacy is due the credit of demonstrating the utter impossibility of the dismemberment of the Union."⁴⁰ A reporter from the *New York Times* observed that Gettysburg's five thousand residents "saw men in blue and men in gray with arms over each other's shoulders or hand in hand, fighting their battles over again, but this time in a far different spirit."⁴¹

To feed the veterans, the government organized 1,600 cooks and dishwashers. Each of the four days, 130 bakers baked 185,000 pounds of bread in fourteen field ovens. Meal menus were created "with due regard for the age of the men."⁴² The hungry veterans consumed 180,000 pounds of potatoes and tomatoes; 200,000 pounds of meat; 36,000 pounds of sugar;

³⁷ "Veteran Vanguard Now in Gettysburg," *New York Times*, June 29, 1913.

³⁸ "Old Soldiers Defy Gettysburg Heat," *New York Times*, July 2, 1913.

³⁹ "Big Camp Bars War Flags," *New York Times*, June 25, 1913.

⁴⁰ "Pickett's Charge Fifty Years After," *New York Times*, July 4, 1913.

⁴¹ "Veteran Vanguard," June 29, 1913.

⁴² "Hills of Gettysburg," June 23, 1913.



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Confederate (left) and Union (right) veterans march in honor of the Gettysburg semicentennial.

and 7,000 pounds of table salt. The twenty meals provided for veterans were significantly improved over their 1863 fare. Whereas a typical soldier's dinner in July 1863 consisted of bacon, beans, hard tack, and coffee, in 1913 a representative dinner included fricassee chicken, peas, corn, ice cream, cake, cigars, fresh bread, hard bread, butter, coffee, and iced tea.⁴³

The sale of souvenirs and other goods was prohibited within the veterans' camp.⁴⁴ Yet the area just outside the campground and Gettysburg itself carried "the air of a circus day." Salesmen and showmen of every stripe came to Gettysburg in an effort to "induce the nickels from the pockets of the veterans." Outside the veterans' tent city every available room in Gettysburg was filled days before the reunion began. "Veterans without credentials and the civilian who had not enough foresight to make arrangements are sleeping . . . in any bed that they could find in the hustle of the day."⁴⁵

Reunion organizers hoped to demonstrate that "hatred and bitterness have been totally obliterated and that the country is a united country, with no north, no south in the sense that those terms are used in touching the

⁴³ "Sidelights of Gettysburg Reunion," *Duchesne Record* (Myton, UT), July 18, 1913.

⁴⁴ "Fakers to be Barred from Veterans' Camp," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 26, 1913; "Pouring into Gettysburg," June 29, 1913.

⁴⁵ "Veterans Gather on Historic Field," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 30, 1913.



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question of the conflict.”⁴⁶ Veterans—both Union and Confederate—were encouraged to “wear their army, corps, division, brigade and society badges, as a means of identification to their comrades in like commands” to assist in “bringing together comrades who would otherwise, by reason of lapse of time, fail to recognize each other.”⁴⁷

Most veterans traveled to and from the Gettysburg reunion by train.

The first Confederate veterans arrived at Gettysburg on June 26. “With their uniforms of gray topped by campaign hats the southerners soon became the central figures on the streets and scarcely a person they passed failed to stop and ask the privilege of a hand shake.” As a measure of the healing power of time, “the men in blue” extended them the warmest welcome.⁴⁸ The first Union veterans arrived the following day when the GAR Department of Pennsylvania held a state encampment preceding the reunion. As Pennsylvania GAR Union veterans paraded through the streets of Gettysburg, the “old soldiers in the blue and in the gray” met them “with cheers and salutes.”⁴⁹

While the focus of the commemoration was clearly on Civil War veterans, the GAR quickly pointed out that the commemoration was “by no means

⁴⁶ “Raise Funds,” April 17, 1913; “Orders to G.A.R. Issued,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 8, 1913.

⁴⁷ “Meet on Battlefield,” June 12, 1913.

⁴⁸ “Vanguard Reaches Gettysburg,” June 27, 1913; “Pennsylvania G.A.R. Encampment Opens Gettysburg Reunion,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 28, 1913.

⁴⁹ “Pennsylvania G.A.R. Encampment,” June 28, 1913.

exclusively for old soldiers. . . . The spirit behind the celebration is the aim to show to the world and to the people of the United States in particular that there is no longer sectional feeling as a result of the war." Accordingly, over fifty thousand civilians attended the commemoration.⁵⁰

To help veterans better afford the trip to Gettysburg, many railroad companies offered special pricing. The Trunk Line Passenger Association, for example, charged just two cents per mile to Gettysburg.⁵¹ As the Utah veterans left Salt Lake City on June 27, the *Ogden Standard* reported that a "happier, jollier crowd is seldom seen."⁵² Traveling over "the Oregon Short Line to Ogden, Union Pacific to Omaha, Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul to Chicago, Lake Shore & Michigan Southern to Cleveland, Erie to Youngstown and Western Maryland to Gettysburg," they were scheduled to reach Gettysburg the morning of July 1.⁵³ During the trip they were "side tracked" for several hours in Omaha and offered water that had "the flavor of decaying wood."⁵⁴ They found the wait uncomfortable as the cars became very hot—later learning that "the steam heat was turned on in all the radiators." The veterans passed the afternoon and evening in "torment" and "almost literally roasted."⁵⁵

As the Utah veterans neared Gettysburg, they "felt a decided impulse to engage themselves with reviewing recollections of the actual encounter on the battlefield fifty years ago."⁵⁶ In 1912, the *Salt Lake Telegram* profiled eight Civil War veterans living in Utah who fought at the battle of Gettysburg, four of whom attended the 1913 Reunion (John W. Reed, Ezra D. Haskins, Orlando F. Davis, and Norman D. Corser); each of these soldiers experienced the battle differently.⁵⁷ Reed summarized the battle by comparing it to "my idea of hell."⁵⁸ Haskins was the chief bugler for the First Minnesota Regiment. After being ordered by General Winfield Scott Hancock to stop a Confederate advance, his unit charged "into the mouth of the enemy's terrific fire. We were 262 men against 3000." Within minutes, 215 men, 82 percent of his regiment, lay dead—one of the highest unit casualty figures during the war.⁵⁹ Davis, an infantryman in the Thirty-sixth New York Regiment, remembered being "naturally nervous" when he saw "Pickett

⁵⁰ "Cared for at Gettysburg," June 29, 1913.

⁵¹ "Meet on Battlefield," June 12, 1913.

⁵² "Ogden Veterans at Gettysburg," *Ogden (UT) Standard*, July 9, 1913.

⁵³ "Veterans Leave for Gettysburg Reunion," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 28, 1913.

⁵⁴ "Ogden Veterans," July 9, 1913.

⁵⁵ "Steam Heat is Turned Into Hot Car on Hot Day," *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 10, 1913.

⁵⁶ "Utah Veterans Enjoy Reunion" *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 2, 1913.

⁵⁷ To read about the experiences of those veterans who could not attend the reunion, see "Celebrates Birthday Capturing Man Who Wounded Him on Head," "Night of Horror on Battlefield After Confederates Fled," "Rear Guard Before Battle and Followed Retreating Foemen," and "Wounded, Seeks Rest in Open House and Is Taken by Enemy," in *Salt Lake Telegram*, June 29, 1913.

⁵⁸ The only available copy of this article is missing the left edge. See "——— Is Killed by ——ed of Nephew at —— Climax of Conflict," *Salt Lake Telegram*, June 29, 1913.

⁵⁹ "Hurricane of Lead Kills Eighty-Two Per Cent of Regiment," *Salt Lake Telegram*, June 29, 1913.

Seymour B. Young, who enlisted as a private in the Lot Smith Company in 1862, was later active in the GAR.



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aiming his famous charge right against us. We lay down just as low as we could and fired at the rebels. . . . Little we knew how big the battle was.”⁶⁰

Corser recounted being wounded at Gettysburg—one of three serious wounds he received during the war. After being struck in the side, he “lost all interest in the fight.” Passing out on the battlefield, he was taken to an

army hospital where a surgeon saved his life. He was discharged shortly after the battle of Gettysburg, but rejoined his regiment and served with them until the end of the war.⁶¹ The Utah veterans arrived in Gettysburg around two o’clock on the morning of July 1, only to find that five of the eight tents reserved for them had already been taken by others. By four o’clock in the morning, they finally settled into their tents.⁶²

The battle of Gettysburg had lasted three days (July 1–3, 1863); the semi-centennial celebration at Gettysburg in 1913 spread over four days (July 1–4), and each day received a special designation from the Gettysburg Commission: July 1, Veteran’s Day; July 2, Military Day; July 3, Civic Day; and July 4, National Day.⁶³ The “formal exercises,” mostly speeches, lasted about two hours each day. Veterans were free to spend the remainder of their time as they pleased.⁶⁴

The commemoration was organized so that “the old soldiers will have the first day,” and that day began with reveille—the morning bugle call—similar to the way most soldiers’ days began during the Civil War. Newspapers reported that it was “a different reveille than that which the

⁶⁰ “Another Warrior Who Played His Part on Battlefield,” *Salt Lake Telegram*, June 29, 1913.

⁶¹ “Got His Wound in Wheat Field Fight as Bullets Rained,” *Salt Lake Telegram*, June 29, 1913.

⁶² “Hot Car on Hot Day,” July 10, 1913.

⁶³ “Veterans Meet Today,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, April 12, 1913.

⁶⁴ “Historic Field,” June 30, 1913.

fife and drum corps of the two great armies sounded fifty years ago.” That morning’s reveille called them “to a peaceful celebration while the call to the awakening in July, 1863, was a call of armies to conflict and, to thousands of men, a call to death.” The Pennsylvania Commission, the commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the commander-in-chief of the United Confederate Veterans jointly directed the first day’s events. The commemoration ceremonies formally began in the big tent with speeches from Secretary of War Lindy M. Garrison and John K. Tener, who succeeded Stuart as Pennsylvania’s governor. At the conclusion of Tener’s address, General Bennett H. Young, commander-in-chief of the United Confederate Veterans, rose and bowed toward Tener. He surprised the assembled veterans by announcing that “I can give you something that no one else can give you . . . the rebel yell.” Nine Confederate generals and a thousand Confederate veterans gave a yell that “was heard far back in the camp toward Gettysburg.” Young also called for government pensions to be given to Confederate as well as Union veterans by observing that “for nearly fifty years the people of the south without complaint have contributed millions for the pension of federal soldiers.”⁶⁵ While the hoped-for Southern federal pensions were never realized, the 1913 reunion at Gettysburg healed many hearts.

A particularly touching moment occurred during the first day when attendees were reminded that on June 30, 1863, when Brigadier General John Buford’s soldiers rode into Gettysburg prior to the battle, several young girls stood by the road and serenaded them. Six of those same women—now “pleasant-faced [and] gray-haired”—stepped on stage and sang together again. A *New York Times* reporter remarked that “whether the voices were or were not so good as they were fifty years ago, they sounded clear and sweet in the big tent, and no grand opera singer ever had such an appreciative audience.” Many soldiers were seen wiping tears from their eyes.⁶⁶

Veterans began misplacing personal items as soon as they arrived at Gettysburg so a lost-and-found bureau was created underneath the benches of the big tent. Thousands of soldiers checked there every day for lost items. Attendees found over one hundred crutches, and soldiers who came seeking “their lost crutches seldom can recognize them and most of them go away with somebody else’s.” Many sets of false teeth and a wooden leg were also found lying unclaimed around the camp.⁶⁷

The U.S. Army chief of staff directed the following day, July 2, Military Day. The second day also saw the only “unfortunate imbroglio” that occurred during the celebration—the stabbing of seven veterans in a Gettysburg hotel dining room. The conflict occurred after a Confederate

⁶⁵ “World’s Attention Again Centered on Gettysburg,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 2, 1913.

⁶⁶ “Girls of ’63,” July 1, 1913.

⁶⁷ “Sidelights of Reunion,” July 18, 1913.

veteran “uttered [a] slur upon the sacred memory of the martyred Lincoln.” A Union veteran present “jumped to his feet and began to defend the martyred President and berated his detractors. . . . Knives were out in a second and the room was thrown into an uproar. Women fled for the doors and crowded to the windows ready to jump to the street below.” The fight ended as quickly as it began, and “the men responsible for it all had disappeared.” Several doctors renewed their unheeded call to “have the Gettysburg saloons closed during the remainder of the celebration.” An editorial in the *Salt Lake Herald* attributed the stabbings to a combination of humidity, alcohol, and the extreme heat that “might well addle even sober brains.”⁶⁸

Fortunately, incidents such as these were the rare exception, rather than the rule, throughout the reunion. Commenting on that incident, James L. Welshans, a Union veteran from Ogden, wrote that “Every ex-Confederate with whom we since have talked, expressed sorrow and disappointment over this act.” He further observed that “Much has been said lately about this event [the reunion] having the effect of doing away with animosities, bitter feelings and hatred between the northern and southern sections of our country, implying that such have been largely existant [*sic*]. We wish to protest against this implication and insist that no such malignant spirit has existed between the ex-soldiers of the blue and the gray, except with but very few obstinate cranks.”⁶⁹

Eighteen governors participated during Civic Day on July 3. A federal delegation led by Vice President Thomas R. Marshall also included Champ Clark, Speaker of the House of Representatives, twenty-one representatives, and nine senators.⁷⁰ As evidence of the high esteem and “warmth of gratitude this great organization feels towards the Utah senator,” U.S. Senator Reed Smoot received a special invitation from the national headquarters of the Grand Army of the Republic to attend the celebration as its guest. Smoot traveled to Gettysburg on Monday, June 30, and participated in several days of reunion activities before returning to Washington, D.C.⁷¹

Speaking to veterans in the big tent, Marshall noted that expectations for the reunion had been greatly exceeded and “it would be in vain to speak of

⁶⁸ “Seven Men Cut in a Fracas in Gettysburg Hotel,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 3, 1913.

⁶⁹ “Ogden Veterans,” July 9, 1913.

⁷⁰ “Pickett’s Charge,” July 4, 1913.

⁷¹ “As a member of the Committee on Pensions, Senator Smoot took an especial interest in the necessary care of the nation’s veteran defenders and their widows. . . . He was largely instrumental in securing the improvements made of recent years in the pension laws.” *Hon. Reed Smoot Senior United States Senator from Utah: His Record in the Senate* (Salt Lake City: Chas. A. Morris, 1914), 7; “A Signal Honor,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 30, 1913. The *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 173, lists Smoot as a “Guest of Pennsylvania.” In April 1913, Smoot led a successful fight in the Senate to retain the jobs of “a number of civil war veterans who [were] employees and former employees of the Senate” who “Democrats [were] removing and dismissing.” See “Smoot to Lead Fight,” April 15, 1913, “Smoot to Fight for Civil War Veterans,” April 15, 1913, and “Base Ingratitude,” April 17, 1913, *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*.

right or wrong on this occasion. This celebration could only happen in America. Nowhere else in the world could men who fought as bitter foes fifty years ago meet and clasp hands in brother love as they are doing here.”⁷² Ohio’s governor, James M. Cox, promised the veterans that “today your names pass into the world’s great hall of fame—Yank with Johnny, blue with gray—to be revered as long as time endures.”⁷³ In complimenting the assembled veterans, Governor Eberhart of Minnesota received sustained laughter when he said, “What an indescribable pleasure must be experienced by Vice President Marshall, who presides over the Senate, and Speaker Clark, who presides over the House, to come here and look into the faces of so many honest men.”⁷⁴ Governor Mann of Virginia observed that good feelings were being engendered by the reunion and noted that on that day there was “no north and no south, no rebels and no yanks . . . [only] one great nation.”⁷⁵

The highlight of July 3 came with the reenactment of Pickett’s charge by veterans who participated in the original charge—survivors of General George S. Pickett’s Division and the Union Philadelphia Brigade who manned the stone wall opposing them. The Confederate veterans that day were but “a handful of men in gray,” as they marched once again over the field they had charged as youthful soldiers. This time, though, “there were no flashing sabers, no guns roaring with shell, only eyes that dimmed fast and kindly faces behind the stone wall that marks the angle. At the end, in place of wounds or prison or death were handshakes, speeches and mingling cheers.” The Confederates marched over a quarter mile that day, not as enemies, but as friends, and embraced Union veterans as citizens of a united country. “They crowded over the stone wall, shook hands and the charge was over.”⁷⁶

One Utah veteran, William Bostaph of the 103rd Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment, recorded his impressions of the reenactment in a letter to his wife Edith.⁷⁷ “Yesterday I spent the day at the point where Pickett’s charge culminated, a little spot of perhaps four acres on which was decided by a few hundred men the question whether this was one country or a divided one. . . . How little we realized at the time the tremendous issue at stake on

⁷² “Charge Again at Bloody Angle,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 4, 1913.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ “Pickett’s Charge,” July 4, 1913.

⁷⁵ “Forty Thousand Veterans Meet on Battlefield,” *Salt Lake Herald*, July 1, 1913.

⁷⁶ “Bloody Angle,” July 4, 1913.

⁷⁷ William M. Bostaph was a civil engineer who was unanimously elected as president of the Ogden Chamber of Commerce in 1909. He was extremely active in the Grand Army of the Republic, serving, at one point, as commander of the Utah Department. In 1909, during the GAR National Encampment in Salt Lake City, Bostaph was elected “Senior Vice-Commander-in-Chief” of the national organization—the only Utahn to hold a national GAR office. “Encampment of the GAR,” *Ogden Standard Examiner*, May 22, 1903; “William Bostaph Returns from Arizona,” *Ogden Standard Examiner*, May 24, 1905; “Utah State News,” *Davis County Clipper* (Bountiful, UT), April 16, 1909; and *Journal of the Fifty-Fifth National Encampment Grand Army of the Republic* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Offices, 1922), 269.



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this little spot and in the few minutes into which it was crowded.” He continued, “I was present when the Confederates and the Union men who fought there met at 3 pm on the hour of the fiftieth anniversary of the deadly conflict. There were speeches and general handshaking over the famous wall over which they fought fifty years ago.”⁷⁸

Bountiful resident Hilton Springstead, a Union veteran of the Ninth Michigan Cavalry who also witnessed the reenactment, published his impressions in the *Davis County Clipper*. He commented that “one of the most touching things that he witnessed while at the war veterans reunion at Gettysburg, was the burying of the hatchet between the blue and gray. He said a soldier from the north and one from the south who fifty years before had tried to club each other to death with their guns, on the third day of the engagement, when General Pickett ordered his men, numbering about 11,000 men, to make the charge at ‘bloody angle,’ went together and bought a new hatchet and dug a hole in the ground and buried the same.”⁷⁹

A large reunion occurred at the “Bloody Angle.” It was near this spot where Charles Warren and Daniel Ball met again after fifty years.

⁷⁸ “Salt Laker Writes from Battlefield,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 11, 1913.

⁷⁹ “Bountiful Briefs,” *Davis County Clipper* (Bountiful, UT), August 15, 1913. Hilton Springstead, who fought in several Civil War battles, moved with his family to Bountiful, Utah, from Colorado around the turn of the twentieth century, where they were “converted to Mormonism by Dr. J. H. Grant and other Bountiful Elders.” “Hilton Springstead Passed Away Thursday,” *Davis County Clipper* (Bountiful, UT), May 21, 1920.

Another Utah veteran who fought at Gettysburg was Confederate Charles Warren—"Old Charlie." During the trip, he was nicknamed "Pickett" by the other Utah veterans because he was a veteran of Pickett's Charge. Warren enlisted in the Confederate Army and served as a fourteen-year-old orderly in the 28th Virginia Infantry Regiment, the regiment of his uncle Colonel John Allen. Disobeying the orders of his uncle, he was in the first rank to reach Cemetery Ridge during Pickett's Charge.⁸⁰

While at the reunion, Warren met and shook hands over a cannon at the "Bloody Angle" with a Union veteran, Daniel O. Ball, one of Lieutenant Alonzo H. Cushing's gunners from Company A, Fourth U.S. Artillery Battery.⁸¹ Little did Warren know that he and Ball had actually met once before—during July 1863 on Cemetery Ridge.⁸² Of the experience, Warren said, "You see, I had no thought of meeting any of the boys on the other side so I could recognize them at Gettysburg, but I wanted to see the old Bloody Angle and that was one of the first places I made for when we reached Gettysburg. I had little trouble," he said, "in finding the place for it was well marked with a monument and two cannon. As I was looking over the old gun I heard a man say he manned the same gun on that day just fifty years before." After comparing battle memories, Warren and Ball figured out that they "had matched weapons during the thickest of the fight. I was a lad of fourteen years old and six months at the time and of course I was smaller and lighter than the gunner who proved afterwards to have been my new friend Ball. He bowled me over with the swab stick he had been using on the gun and I attacked him with one old sword bayonet, the only weapon I had. After the melee I came out with a bayonet wound in my forehead and Ball was shot through the arm."⁸³ (Warren left the South after the war and headed west, ending up in Utah, because he "couldn't stand Carpet-bagger rule.")⁸⁴

As the *New York Times* noted, the reunion had a great leveling effect on

⁸⁰ "Shakes Hands Over Cannon with Foe of 50 Years Ago," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, August 31, 1913; "Confederate Veteran Going Home," *Salt Lake Telegram*, February 28, 1928; "Hero of South Is Honored With Cross on Memorial Day," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 1, 1915.

⁸¹ At the outbreak of the Civil War, Battery A, Fourth U.S. Artillery—the unit Cushing would soon command—was "stationed at Fort Crittenden, in Utah Territory, protecting settlers from Indian attacks." Quoting an 1863 press release, the *New York Times* reported that Cushing's "gallantry was beyond praise." "What the Times Reporters Saw of Pickett's Charge," *New York Times*, June 29, 1913.

⁸² Daniel O. Ball might have served in Utah Territory with Battery A, Fourth U.S. Artillery, at the beginning of the Civil War. An August 1861 enlistment record from "Echo Canon," Utah Territory, exists for a soldier named Daniel Ball, aged twenty-six. *Registers of Enlistments in the United States Army, 1798–1914*, National Archives Microfilm Publication M233, roll 27.

⁸³ "Shakes Hands," August 31, 1913. See also "Defy Gettysburg Heat," July 2, 1913; "Stories of Reunion," *Ogden Standard*, July 2, 1913.

⁸⁴ Upon the death of his wife in 1928 and with assistance from the Salt Lake Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Warren decided to return to the South after a fifty-six year absence, twenty years of which he spent in Salt Lake City, to spend his last years with his comrades at the Lee Soldiers' Home in Richmond, Virginia. Warren passed away at the Soldiers' Home in 1929. "Exiled Veteran to Return to South Glad to Go Home—Maybe, He Says," *Salt Lake Telegram*, June 1, 1928; "Confederate Veteran Dies; Charlie Warren, Who Served 'Lost Cause' Dies in Virginny," *Salt Lake Telegram*, October 28, 1929.

the former soldiers—"Privates, Lieutenants, Captains, Majors, Colonels, Generals, [and] Governors, all look alike [at] Gettysburg."⁸⁵ Frequently after Confederate and Union veterans became acquainted, there was talk of joining the United Confederate Veterans and the Grand Army of the Republic into a single veterans' organization called the United Veterans of the United States. The idea remained just talk, though, as no direct action was taken to do so after the reunion.⁸⁶

Utah's reunion commission chair, Lucian H. Smyth, reported that "attendance at the battlefield was beyond all expectations. The streets of Gettysburg were so jammed that it was almost impossible to walk. On the night of July 3, about 3000 automobiles got into the crowd when the fireworks display was shown at Little Round Top and all the roads were so blocked that it took several hours to clear them for traffic." Smyth added that "the reunion was a big success, and one of the best lessons ever put before the world in showing the possibilities of a self-governing people."⁸⁷

The final day, July 4, was envisioned as "the biggest day of all" with the chief justice of the United States presiding over ceremonies in the big tent. President Woodrow Wilson addressed the veterans during a one hour visit to Gettysburg. After racing "across Pennsylvania and New Jersey at a speed sometimes approaching seventy miles an hour," Wilson (who was the son of Confederate, Joseph Ruggles Wilson, and the first Southerner elected president since Andrew Johnson assumed the presidency upon the death of Abraham Lincoln) declared to the assembled veterans: "We have found one another again as brothers and comrades, in arms, enemies no longer, generous friends rather, our battles long past, the quarrel forgotten—except we shall not forget the splendid valor, the manly devotion of the men then arranged against one another, now grasping hands and smiling into each other's eyes."⁸⁸ The veterans generally received the president's speech with a collective yawn; as the *New York Times* put it, the speech "did not inspire its hearers to [a] very enthusiastic response."⁸⁹

The original reunion schedule called for the president to lay the cornerstone of a Gettysburg peace monument, but sufficient funding had not been obtained.⁹⁰ Later that evening several hundred Confederate veterans

⁸⁵ "Cared for at Gettysburg," June 29, 1913.

⁸⁶ "Defy Gettysburg Heat," July 2, 1913.

⁸⁷ "Hot Car on Hot Day," July 10, 1913.

⁸⁸ "President Proceeds from Gettysburg to Summer White House," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 5, 1913 (first quotation); *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 174 (second quotation).

⁸⁹ "Mr. Wilson at Gettysburg," *New York Times*, July 5, 1913.

⁹⁰ "Raise Funds," April 17, 1913; "Orders to G.A.R.," June 8, 1913. "The plan for the monument fell through," and the cornerstone was not laid as planned. The idea for a peace monument was revived soon after the reunion by Colonel Andrew Cowan, a captain of the First New York battery at Gettysburg. Cowan presided over a committee that "went to Washington with a view of securing the introduction in Congress of a bill providing for the erection of a peace monument." "Weary Veterans Silently Depart from Gettysburg," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 6, 1913. As explained in the closing paragraphs of this essay, Cowan's petition in Washington was successful.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Civil War veterans—both Confederate and Union—pose together at Gettysburg in July 1913.

marched to General Liggett's campground headquarters "to pay their respects." While the general "stood in front of his tent and reviewed the march" their band played "Dixie" and "Maryland, My Maryland."⁹¹ The

grand reunion ended with the lowering of the camp commander's flag to half-staff, a brief tribute to the war dead, a forty-eight gun salute, five minutes of silence, and a fireworks display.⁹²

Although the reunion officially ended on July 4, the camp remained open until July 6 for veterans who wished to linger a little longer. In contrast to the pageantry that marked the beginning, "no flying banners, blaring bands or marching columns" accompanied the veterans as they quietly departed Gettysburg. Newspaper accounts trumpeted the "wonderful success of what has been described as an army camp that will stand as a model for all the countries of the world for years to come." By July 7, less than three hundred veterans remained.⁹³ The U.S. Army dismantled the campground over the next two months

⁹¹ "Charge Again at Bloody Angle," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 4, 1913.

⁹² "Pay Tribute to Sleeping Heroes," July 10, 1913.

⁹³ "Gettysburg Camp Closed," *New York City*, July 7, 1913.

and restored it to its original condition.⁹⁴

The first Utah veterans returned on July 7.⁹⁵ Utah attendee Seymour B. Young was very pleased with his reunion experience. In 1862, Young had served as a private in the Lot Smith Cavalry Company—the only active duty Civil War unit from Utah Territory. In 1913, he served as one of the presidents of the Seventy in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and as a commander of GAR Post Eight in Salt Lake City. When Young returned to Salt Lake City on July 8, he carried a list of the Utah veterans who attended and “checked off” each veteran upon his arrival home in Utah.⁹⁶

In all, 53,407 veterans attended the historic reunion—44,713 Union and 8,694 Confederate soldiers. The 1913 reunion “induced more interest among the old soldiers of the north and the south than any event which has happened since the day that the war closed.”⁹⁷ The oldest veteran to attend, Micyah Weiss of New York, was 112 years old; the youngest was sixty-two. The average age was seventy-two. Surprisingly, only nine veterans died during the reunion.⁹⁸

As the *New York Times* summarized, the Gettysburg battle commemoration was “neither a celebration of victory nor a mournful ceremony to commemorate defeat. Not a survivor of the men who fought on the Northern side in those three terrible days has gone to Gettysburg in the spirit of a conqueror, and surely none of our Southern brothers has gone to mourn the defeat of his cause. [But] the bond of fellowship and sympathy between the South and the North [was] strengthened”⁹⁹ The reunion was “in all respects the most unique gathering of the soldiers of the [18]60’s ever held. Men who fought each other fifty years ago . . . fraternized as long-separated brothers.”¹⁰⁰ What a grand experience it must have been to attend.

During the 1913 Gettysburg reunion, Confederate and Union veterans visibly demonstrated to the nation that the Civil War had truly ended. Two thousand-five hundred veterans met one last time, in 1938, for the seventy-fifth anniversary of the battle. To that reunion, Utah sent only five aging Union veterans.¹⁰¹ As a quarter of a million visitors gathered on July 3,

⁹⁴ “Weary Veterans Silently Depart from Gettysburg,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 6, 1913.

⁹⁵ Colonel J. W. Reed visited his brother at Port Byron, New York, where he met with a local resident named Lorenzo Ames, who claimed to remember Brigham Young when Young was a paint mixer in the area. “Veterans Expected Back from East Soon,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 7, 1913; “Colonel Reed Visits Brigham Young Home,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 23, 1913.

⁹⁶ “Veterans Return,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 9, 1913.

⁹⁷ “Veterans to Meet on Battlefield,” *Carbon County News* (Price, UT), June 12, 1913.

⁹⁸ James W. Wensyel, “Return to Gettysburg,” *American History Illustrated* (July/August 1993), 45; “Pickett’s Charge,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1913; Stan Cohen, *Hands Across the Wall: The 50th and 75th Reunions of the Gettysburg Battle* (Charleston, WV: Pictorial Histories, 1982), 17.

⁹⁹ “Gettysburg,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1913.

¹⁰⁰ “Sidelights of Reunion,” July 18, 1913.

¹⁰¹ *The Times-Independent* reported on June 30, 1938, that “Five elderly members of the Grand Army of the Republic left Salt Lake City early this week aboard a special train carrying soldiers of both armies to

1938, to remember the war and to dedicate the “Eternal Light Peace Monument” erected on Oak Hill, President Franklin D. Roosevelt accepted the monument on behalf of the nation. At the base of the monument are inscribed the words “Peace eternal in a nation united.”¹⁰²

UTAH CIVIL WAR VETERANS ATTENDING THE 1913 REUNION

The *Salt Lake Herald-Republican* published the following list of veterans on June 28, 1913, after the veterans had departed for Pennsylvania.¹⁰³ An earlier list in the *Salt Lake Tribune* named several other veterans who planned to attend.¹⁰⁴

Union Veterans of Gettysburg

Francis M. Bishop, Salt Lake City
 William H. Brown, Ogden
 H. P. Burns, Salt Lake City
 George A. Cook, Grouse Creek
 S. D. Chase, Salt Lake City
 Norman D. Corser, Salt Lake City
 Aaron Darling, Salt Lake City
 Orlando F. Davis, Salt Lake City
 William Goodsell, Salt Lake City
 Ezra D. Haskins, Salt Lake City
 W. H. McNeil, New Harmony
 Henry Page, Salt Lake City
 John W. Reed, Salt Lake City
 Henry C. Rode, Salt Lake City
 Thomas Smith, Midvale
 L. H. Smyth, Salt Lake City
 John Westen, Ogden
 William F. Wilson, Salt Lake City

Confederate Veterans of Gettysburg

A. D. Gillis, Eureka
 John J. Taylor, Payson
 Charles Warren, Salt Lake City

Additional Confederate Veterans

John Amos, Payson
 Walter A. Bennet, Salt Lake City
 John F. Beesley, Provo
 G. B. Dobbins, Salt Lake City
 W. L. H. Dotson, Salt Lake City
 B. F. Hill, East Millcreek

the gathering . . . Representing the Bee Hive state will be John W. Widdoes, 94, American Fork, Ira A. Stormes, 92, commander of the Utah department of the GAR, Robert L. Rohm, 90, Myton, Thomas W. Brookbank, 92, Salt Lake City, and George W. Vogel, 97, Ogden. The state's only two residents who fought under the Confederacy flag—William H. Perry and John D. Johnson both of Salt Lake City—could not make the trip because of illness. The five veterans all expressed pleasure at being invited to the reunion, although none actually fought in the battle of Gettysburg. “Five Utah Veterans,” June 30, 1938. None of those five Utah veterans attended the 1913 Gettysburg reunion. See Paul L. Roy, *The Last Reunion of the Blue and Gray* (Gettysburg, PA: Bookmart, 1950), 86.

¹⁰² Roy, *Last Reunion*, 117; Jay S. Hoar, “Gettysburg's Last Surviving Soldier: James Marion Lurvey,” *Gettysburg Magazine* 16 (1997): 124–28.

¹⁰³ “Veterans of Both Armies Leaving for Famous Battlefield,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 28, 1913. The newspaper included the name of an additional Union veteran, Amos K. Smith of Salt Lake City, in its June 28 list, but he did not attend.

¹⁰⁴ “Day's Anxious Vigil Rewarded; Veterans Leave for Gettysburg Today,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 27, 1913. Other lists of veteran attendees appeared on June 22 (“Thirty-Four Veterans Sign up for Trip East,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 22, 1913) and June 27 (“Fund to Send Utah Veterans to Field of Battle Raised,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 27, 1913).

Additional Union Veterans (GAR Members)

Charles E. Abbott, Salt Lake City
 James Isaac Atkinson, Woods Cross
 Ephraim Bartlett, Salt Lake City
 William Bostaph, Salt Lake City
 Charles W. Bouton, Salt Lake City
 Thomas Champion, Provo
 W. A. Clovis, Salt Lake City
 George W. Cochler, Salt Lake City
 Levi Dunham, Mount Pleasant
 C. O. Farnsworth, Salt Lake City
 Joseph A. Fisher, Salt Lake City
 John Gray, Ogden
 Leonidas H. Kennard, Salt Lake City
 John La Due, Salt Lake City
 Smith McComsey, Salt Lake City
 H. F. Menough, Ogden
 John N. Parsell, Salt Lake City
 George Piper, Springville
 John H. Powers, East Millcreek
 John M. Preshaw, Ogden
 Elias Price, Salt Lake City
 John A. Pritchett, Fairview
 A. B. Richardson, Farmington
 Albert L. Rivers, Salt Lake City
 William C. Roberts, Provo
 Andrew J. Sargeant, Salt Lake City
 Temple Short, Ogden
 Joseph F. Smith, Springville
 Hilton Springstead, Bountiful
 Thomas A. Starr, Salt Lake City
 Edward Theriot, Salt Lake City
 Frank G. Vallereux, Ogden
 David O. Wald, Provo
 John H. Walker, Salt Lake City
 James L. Welshans, Ogden
 John White, Salt Lake City
 R. D. Woodruff, Salt Lake City
 Seymour B. Young, Salt Lake City

BOOK REVIEWS

Books, Bluster, and Bounty: Local Politics and Intermountain West Carnegie

Library Building Grants, 1898–1920. By Susan H. Swetnam. (Logan: Utah State

University Press, 2012. xi + 251 pp. Cloth, \$27.95.)

BOOKS, BLUSTER, AND BOUNTY is a sleeper hit. Although its subtitle presents what might seem a dry and narrow subject, Susan Swetnam persuasively argues that the process of applying for Carnegie Library building grants—a process that was often contentious and not always successful—reveals a good deal about the Intermountain West and offers potential lessons for today. Swetnam began the project with some basic questions: Why did ordinary citizens advocate for libraries? Who were those citizens? And “can those of us who value books and reading today learn anything from them that we can use” (225)?

The supporting documentation that Swetnam mined from the Carnegie correspondence at Columbia University tells us how towns applying for a share of the industrialist’s fortune viewed themselves, their demography, their economies, and their (often inflated) hopes. Swetnam unearthed a wealth of detail, especially about populations, expectations for growth, and the ability of towns to shoulder a considerable share of costs. Here, for those towns, began the problems and the “bluster.” These places were new: many of the seventy-eight communities that applied for a grant had not existed when the previous census was taken and thus had no verifiable figures to report. Despite the rigorous application process, seventy-one towns in the Intermountain West succeeded in building a library, a success rate slightly higher than that of the nation as a whole. That success reflected the hard work and commitment of town leaders, including mothers and women’s clubs.

Swetnam divides the “Carnegie towns” into categories reflective of their populations and primary arguments. Twenty-four Utah towns applied, more than any other state in the region, and most were Mormon-dominated villages. While towns like Ephraim, Parowan, and Richmond were hardly economic powerhouses, they did have stable populations and committed leaders (virtually all of whom were Mormon men) and experienced little strife over site selection. Their applications emphasized how libraries could enrich education while helping keep vice at bay.

Not all Intermountain West towns fit the above category, of course. Some were “boom towns” that sprang up or grew dramatically because of developments like irrigation projects, mineral strikes, or railroad connections. Utah towns in this category included Beaver City, which experienced a gold strike, and Garland, with its Utah-Idaho Sugar Company mill. Such towns tended to employ boosterish rhetoric and to emphasize the literal profits that a library might help bring. Other towns, including Springville

and Eureka City, were what Swetnam calls “religiously diverse,” with substantial non-Mormon populations and comparably varied approaches. Eureka’s board, for example, reflected pride in religious toleration, and its application emphasized a library’s impact on immigrant miners.

Bigger towns—such as Salt Lake City and Ogden, both of which had gentile-dominated governments by the 1890s—made very different arguments, emphasizing how a library might help to combat Mormon domination. Swetnam’s background context here is not entirely persuasive. She claims that Salt Lake City “was home to the state’s anti-Mormon territorial government,” a problematic characterization both because it muddles state and territory and because Brigham Young was governor for a decade and the legislature was all Mormon until 1887. It seems clear, though, that Salt Lake City’s religious conflict spurred contention in the Carnegie library application process, until a fortuitous bequest of money and of a lot settled the matter.

The prospect of Utah towns gained a boost when the state government created the Utah Library-Gymnasium Commission. The commission’s first director, Howard Driggs, together with his assistants Karen Jacobsen and Mary Elizabeth Downey, tirelessly promoted the benefits of books and helped walk communities through the elaborate application process.

Swetnam concludes with laments about the current state of financial support for libraries. She suggests that today’s advocates, like their counterparts of a century ago, should “tie libraries symbolically to the coattails of current aspirations” (227). Her valuable book can help show the way.

JEFF NICHOLS
Westminster College

Across God’s Frontiers: Catholic Sisters in the American West, 1850–1920.

By Anne M. Butler. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012. xxi + 424 pp.

Cloth, \$45.00.)

ANNE M. BUTLER, Trustee Professor Emerita at Utah State University and former editor of the *Western Historical Quarterly*, has written a deeply researched and eloquently argued study of the Catholic sisters’ activities in the American West between 1850 and 1920. Her book, *Across God’s Frontiers*, is more than a narrative of the Catholic Church’s development or the story of the Catholic sisters’ social services in the West. Rather, Butler portrays how the sisters and the nuns built the Catholic Church and its communities in the frontier. She examines how the extraordinary circumstances of the territory shaped and influenced their identity, their

way of thinking, the structure of their organizations, and their perception.

Butler first describes the immigration of the nuns to the American West as pioneers. The sisters, who usually arrived from European cloisters, faced the challenge of considerably adjusting their lifestyles. Arriving in the Wild West, they endured homesickness, poverty, and language barriers. Quoting from original diaries and correspondences, Butler illustrates how the nuns overcame such difficulties by focusing on common religious goals, having support networks, and using their senses of humor.

Next, Butler discusses the various social services the sisters instituted in their communities, as well as their struggles to provide for their own basic needs. Those zealous sisters enjoyed the freedom to explore nontraditional employments and study new disciplines while fulfilling the dual roles of public caregiver and spiritual symbol. For instance, they undertook entrepreneurial ventures such as providing health-care services for railroad workers and miners, selling crafts and fancywork, and teaching private music lessons. Financial constraints necessitated the development of the nuns' hidden abilities and negotiating skills. In these strongly supported chapters, Butler illustrates the conflict between the male clergy and the sisters excellently: "many pastors and priests . . . showed themselves notoriously willing to take advantage of sisters' work, withhold compensation, and overlook the desperate living conditions of the nuns" (128).

The next chapters focus on the relationship of the sisters with their motherhouses and their local church leaders. Butler concludes that "predicaments and crisis taught religious women to stay watchful and fend off autocratic masculine controls when they could" (161). At the same time, the motherhouses recognized the need for reexamining the rules and either amending or retaining regulations based on the unique circumstances of the West. To substantiate this statement, Butler illustrates how the nuns and sisters both won and sometimes lost their contests with the clergy. She further emphasizes how sisters and nuns broadened their lives and discovered more about themselves as religious women.

According to Butler, one of the key persons among the Catholic sisters in the West was Mother Katharine Drexel, who shaped Catholic education and aggressively undertook many projects to improve western society. She also reached out to Natives, making it possible for other sisters to enter into their world. As the sisters served their fellow men regardless of color, sex, or age, they began to understand the West as a place of constant struggle between different people and various cultural backgrounds, beliefs, and traditions. Consequently, they began to see themselves as residents of an American society.

Female religious history and the history of the Catholic Church in America lack well-written studies. Butler's work, *Across God's Frontiers*, fills

this gap and opens up new ways to think about the work of Catholic sisters on the frontier.

ANDREA VENTILLA
University of Pecs
Pecs, Hungary

Hell of a Vision: Regionalism and the Modern American West. By Robert L.

Dorman. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012. xii + 256 pp. Cloth, \$50.00.)

IN THIS STIMULATING VOLUME, Robert L. Dorman, associate professor of Library Science at Oklahoma City University, explores western regional consciousness and identity between the 1890s and the present. Dorman interprets over four hundred scholarly articles and books, government reports, planning documents, novels, short stories, and films as manifestations of regionalism in this creative intellectual history. Dorman loosely defines the West as the seventeen westernmost states, excluding Alaska and Hawaii. His definition of regionalism is broad enough to encompass macroscopic views of the entire region as a distinctive, discrete area. It is also sufficiently fine-grained to encompass celebrations of local color and subregions such as individual states, river basins, and geographical provinces. This flexible definition allows Dorman to categorize far-flung works as manifestations of common regionalist impulses. A potential downside of this broad approach is that Dorman must be selective; he never mentions many significant regionalist works. The omissions are particularly apparent when viewed from the prism of a single state: prominent Utah authors whose regionalist writings receive some attention include Wallace Stegner, Bernard DeVoto, and Edward Abbey. But Dorman overlooks Stegner's celebration of Utah's cultural legacy, *Mormon Country*, as well as the writing of homegrown regionalists from Terry Tempest Williams and Dale Morgan to Juanita Brooks and Nels Anderson.

Although readers will find little that is distinctively Utah in this book, they can easily fit the state within the broad cultural outlines sketched by Dorman. The author describes how between the 1890s and the 1930s the West came to be associated with agrarianism. Two Old West archetypes flourished in popular culture: the pioneer farmer and the cowboy. Theodore Roosevelt, Owen Wister, Emerson Hough, Frederick Remington, and Zane Grey helped to perpetuate these archetypes. Meanwhile, regionalist female writers such as Willa Cather and Mari Sandoz offered detailed portraits of rural neighborhoods that complicated the male-centric vision of cowboys and homesteaders. Dorman omits other archetypal western heroes, including miners and explorers like Lewis and Clark.

Dorman convincingly argues that the Dust Bowl and Okie Migration of the 1930s delegitimized nationalistic perceptions of the pioneering farmers' nobility. Although Laura Ingalls Wilder and Rose Wilder Lane celebrated the pioneer in their Depression-era novels, John Steinbeck, Dorothea Lange, Paul Taylor, and Carey McWilliams documented the exploitation of migrant workers by western farmers in a post-frontier era. Dorman highlights regionalist elements of the New Deal, including its encouragement of local artists and writers and Indian arts and crafts and its decentralized management of crop and rangelands under local grazing districts and soil conservation districts. He overlooks a striking irony of New Deal western regionalism: the New Deal's best known explorations of local color—the photographs of Farm Security Administration (FSA) employees and the Bonneville Power Administration's "Roll on Columbia" songs recorded by Woody Guthrie—were produced by outsiders. Most FSA photographers lightly touched the country they photographed as they passed through, while Guthrie moved to the Northwest for only a few weeks to write his songs about the Columbia River Valley.

Regionalism took a backseat to nationalist patriotism and 100 Percent Americanism during the 1940s and 1950s. Then the cultural ferment and environmental activism of the 1960s and 1970s breathed new life into the regionalist picture as did the migration of millions of Americans into the Southwestern Sunbelt. The American Indian Movement's calls for sovereignty, ecologists' focus on the ecological integrity of bioregions, wilderness advocates' criticism of federally subsidized grazing on the public lands, and the Sagebrush Rebels' demand that the federal government cede control of the public lands to the states all reflected the regionalist spirit.

Dorman describes a "New West renaissance" of the 1980s and 1990s in which historical scholarship, literature, film, and art criticized the underside of American imperial projects in the West.

Readers with an interest in questions of regional identity and politics will relish this volume.

BRIAN Q. CANNON
Brigham Young University

Plain but Wholesome: Foodways of the Mormon Pioneers. By Brock Cheney.

(Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2012. xiii + 210 pp. Paper, \$19.95.)

IN 1997 THE UTAH STATE Legislature passed a bill that designated the Dutch oven as the official state cooking pot. And yet, for nineteenth-century Mormons, the Dutch oven of today did not exist. Brock Cheney's *Plain but Wholesome: Foodways of the Mormon Pioneers* contains many delightful

revelations such as this. Through methodologies employed by folklorists, historians, and archaeologists, Cheney argues that “the story of pioneer Utah can be told in a compelling fashion by using food as our main theme. . . . Settlers spent the overwhelming bulk of their energies and time in the pursuit of growing and preparing food” (175). Cheney’s exhaustively researched study clearly identifies the realities of Mormon pioneer life for a wide audience.

One of the major challenges for a study such as this is access to sources. Pioneer women cooked by routine and passed recipes to their daughters orally. Often, these recipes remained unrecorded for several generations. Diaries mention meals and dishes, but not preparation. However, Cheney puts the pieces together by using instructions from era-appropriate cookbooks and examines the physical materials left behind. On the trail, pioneers made soda biscuits to provide the necessary carbohydrates for the trek. In the Salt Lake valley, settlers pursued what was available in the wild (including pickleweed, sego bulbs, berries, game, and fish). Cheney spends much time explaining the intricacies of bread-making, food preservation, Scandinavian cooking, and even home brewing and wine-making.

While most studies of the Word of Wisdom (the Mormon health code) and its role in nineteenth-century Mormondom briefly discuss the haphazard observance of its proscriptions, Cheney looks deeper to reveal exactly how Mormon pioneers did not always abide them. Ethnic identities sometimes took precedence over religious affiliation; for example, British converts continued their rituals around tea, and Scandinavians continued drinking coffee long after they settled in Utah. Mormon families who brewed beer at home probably did so because they viewed beer as a viable form of nutrition, not as a recreational beverage.

Studies of food and foodways have the potential to reveal interesting and important issues of power and community. Cheney explains how geographical isolation, ethnic traditions, and poverty helped differentiate Mormon foodways from others. However, these factors were present for many other western settlers, as Reginald Horsman identified in his recent study *Feast or Famine: Food and Drink in American Westward Expansion*. So what makes Mormon pioneer foodways different from those of other western settlers? Cheney briefly mentions that Mormon religious sensibilities brought meaning to some of their food, particularly fruit. They viewed their vast orchards as fulfilled prophecy in making the desert “blossom as the rose.” Yet most of what marks Mormonism as different in this pioneer era receives little attention.

How did living arrangements due to plural marriage affect food preparation and consumption? How did the pursuit of food affect relations between Mormons and Native Americans? How did Mormon conceptions

of communalism influence the distribution of food? While a study of Mormon foodways would benefit from pursuing such questions, Cheney's book is nevertheless a vast source of information. As he states in his preface, "Foodies will find plenty of recipes here; folklorists will find stories, audiences, and performances; academics will find notes with primary sources" (xiii). For almost every dish mentioned, Cheney provides instructions for making it in a twenty-first-century kitchen, even suggesting to "add a small pinch of dirt, sand, or ash to each serving to simulate trail conditions" (47). Hopefully, Cheney's exhaustive and delightfully written study of Mormon pioneer foodways will lead to further studies of a topic that has much to offer the palate.

MELISSA COY FERGUSON
Utah State Historical Society

He Rode with Butch and Sundance: The Story of Harvey "Kid Curry" Logan.

By Mark T. Smokov. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2012. xvi + 440 pp.

Cloth, \$29.95.)

MARK T. SMOKOV HAS CAPTURED the life of Harvey Logan—Kid Curry—a cunning outlaw of Wild Bunch fame, in this definitive biography. It is a well-researched contribution for Wild Bunch enthusiasts that provides clarity and addresses some of the much-debated missing links in the era of transformation of the Old West.

Harvey Logan spent his formative years near Kansas City, Missouri, where he read about Jesse James. He and his brothers decided to go west to become cowboys and worked on several Montana ranches. They took on the Curry name, not from fellow Wild Bunch member Flat Nose George Currie, but because Harvey's older brother, Hank, was trying to elude his wife. The Logan (or Curry) brothers then settled in and started their own ranch.

Smokov describes well the events leading up to the Landusky-Curry feud, the incident that probably motivated the brothers to hit the outlaw trail. This feud resulted in the infamous gunfight between Pete Landusky and Kid Curry, during which the Kid shot and killed Landusky. A coroner's inquest found that Harvey Curry had murdered Landusky; warrants were issued for the arrest of Harvey, as well as for his brother Lonnie and friend James Thornhill. Although Lonnie and Thornhill were eventually found not guilty, Kid Curry was never cleared of his charge. He fled to the Hole-in-the-Wall in Wyoming, where he became associated with Flat Nose George Currie and eventually the other outlaws now known as the Wild Bunch.

Smokov follows Kid Curry's life of crime through stories of the Curry

brothers' involvement in robbing stages, sheep camps, and stores before progressing to bigger targets. At one such target, the Belle Fourche Bank in South Dakota, the Wild Bunch failed to rob the bank (getting away with money from some of the customers) but did receive unwanted recognition in the form of rewards for their capture. They were later arrested in Montana and returned to South Dakota for trial. They escaped from jail, and although two were caught, Curry and the Sundance Kid escaped.

Smokov details various train robberies attributed to the Wild Bunch, including one near Winnemucca, Nevada, and two in southern Wyoming. Of significance to Utahns, he makes the case that Utah's Butch Cassidy did not participate in the actual robberies, but did perhaps take part in the planning and the splitting of the loot. This argument, of course, contradicts a scene in the movie *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969) that portrays Butch Cassidy as one of the perpetrators of the robbery. Smokov makes the point that Butch Cassidy did not always lead the Wild Bunch. According to Smokov, he was the leader when it came to robbing banks, but Kid Curry was definitely the leader when it came to robbing trains.

Smokov traces Kid Curry through Texas, where the famous picture of the Fort Worth Five was taken, into Montana, where Curry led Train Syndicate members Deaf Charley Hanks and Ben Kilpatrick in the Great Northern Train robbery, and finally to Colorado, where, in a gunfight following an attempted train robbery, Kid Curry took his own life by shooting himself in the head.

Smokov's book supplies a needed addition to the literature of the Wild Bunch and the Old West.

A. JOEL FRANDSEN
Elsinore, Utah

BOOK NOTICES

Cedar City. Images of America Series. By Jennifer Hunter. (Charleston, SC: Arcadia

Publishing, 2012. 127 pp. Paper, \$21.99.)

On November 11, 1851, a band of thirty-six men arrived in the middle of a blinding snowstorm to begin the settlement of Cedar City. Before the year was out, log cabins were under construction, including one by George Wood, now located in the Frontier Homestead State Park. From its tentative beginning as a Mormon pioneer settlement, to its designation as Utah's "Festival City," nearly a century and a half of history can be found in the pages of this book by Cedar City resident Jennifer Hunter.

Organized topically, the eight chapters examine first settlers and heroes; religion and education; mining, agriculture, and industry; historic downtown and Main Street; planes, trains, and automobiles; films and tourism; Utah Shakespeare Festival; and Utah Summer Games and Festival City USA.

Salt Lake City's Historic Architecture. Images of America Series. By Allan Dale

Roberts. (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012. 127 pp. Paper, \$21.99.)

The rich architectural history of Salt Lake City provides the subject of this volume by Allen D. Roberts, an award-winning author and architect. The book covers nearly a hundred years of Salt Lake City history, from 1850 to the 1930s. The nine chapters are organized by types of buildings, including civic and public architecture; religious architecture; commercial and office architecture; industrial buildings; hotels and apartments; educational architecture; clubs and societies; theaters, depots, hospitals, and miscellaneous buildings; and single family residences.

Ogden's Trolley District. Images of America Series. By Shalae Larsen and Sue Wilkerson.

(Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012. 127 pp. Paper, \$21.99.)

The trolley served as a bridge between the horse-and-buggy era of the nineteenth century and the automobile age of the twentieth century. It facilitated the construction of homes outside the city center and stimulated business and activity in the heart of the city. Beginning with a mule-drawn trolley in 1883, the system evolved and became a valued part of Ogden for more than fifty years until its discontinuation in 1935. The Trolley District, listed on the National Register of Historic Places, stretches from Twentieth Street south to Thirtieth Street and from Harrison Boulevard west to Adams Avenue. Two residents of that district, Shalae Larsen and Sue Wilkerson, have compiled an impressive photographic history that reflects the colorful past and rich architecture of the Ogden Trolley District.

West Valley City. By Mike Winder. (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012. 127 pp.

Paper, \$21.99.)

Although West Valley City was not incorporated until 1980, its origins go back to 1848, when newly arrived Mormon settlers took up

land “Over Jordan” on the west side of the Salt Lake Valley and on the west side of the Jordan River. Working with the West Valley City Historical Society, the city’s mayor and veteran author, Mike Winder, has organized a book that follows a chronological order with half of the pages covering the period just prior to incorporation to the present. The book contains more than two hundred photographs and captions. It will go far to help the residents of Utah’s second largest city develop a sense of place and historical connectedness.

Legendary Locals of Ogden. By Sarah Langsdon and Melissa Johnson.

(Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012. 127 pp. Paper, \$21.99.)

As a companion series to the popular Arcadia Images of America Series that focuses on places, institutions, and events, *Legendary Locals of Ogden* is a most appropriate volume to launch the series in Utah. Sarah Langsdon and Melissa Johnson, staff at Weber State University’s Stewart Library Special Collections, have utilized the university’s collection of photographs relating to Ogden’s history—photographs that include everyone from prostitutes to presidents. *Legendary Locals of Ogden* is organized into nine chapters about pioneers, business men and women, public servants, teachers, the military, women’s organizations, culture and recreation, local and national leaders, and the famous and infamous.

Bitter Water: Diné Oral Histories of the Navajo–Hopi Land Dispute. Edited and

translated by Malcolm D. Benally. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011. 103 pp.

Paper, \$19.95.)

This slim book makes a strong case for the use of video in conducting oral history interviews. The four Navajo (Diné) women whose narratives it presents are residents of northern central Arizona, an area encompassed by the Navajo reservation that is also the historic home of the Hopi. Each of the four chapters begins with the Navajo transcript of the interview followed by the English translation. A fifth chapter, entitled “Sheep Is Life,” offers valuable insights into the importance of sheep in the culture and economic life of the Navajo. A useful chronology outlines important events in the controversy, from the passage by the United States Congress of the Navajo–Hopi Land Settlement Act in 1974 to the sending of relocation notices in October 2005.

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