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IN THIS ISSUE



As this issue begins the eighty-first volume of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* we might return to the ageless questions of what is history and why does it matter. In his book, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*, Professor John Lewis Gaddis offers some insights. He cautions that “Studying the past is no sure guide to predicting the future. What it does do, though, is to *prepare* you for the future by expanding experience, so that you can increase your skills, your stamina—and, if all goes well, your wisdom” (11). Professor Gaddis also instructs that “Historians ought not to delude themselves into thinking they provide the *only* means by which acquired skills—and ideas—are transmitted from one generation to the next. Culture, religion, technology, environment, and tradition can all do this. But history is arguably the best method of enlarging experience in such a way as to command the widest possible consensus on what the significance of that experience might be” (9). For the past eighty years, the *Utah Historical Quarterly* has enlarged our understanding of the Utah experience from prehistoric times to the present. The four articles in this issue continue that mission.

When John Wesley Powell and his men carried out the systematic survey of the Colorado River region following the epic 1869 expedition down the Green and Colorado Rivers, they came to rely on southern Utah Mormons to provide and transport supplies and to help them navigate their way through the twisted geography of Utah’s canyon country. Respect, if not friendship, came to characterize the relationship between Powell’s men and the Mormons with whom

COVER: A group of early twentieth century men, women, and children pose in front of the California Bar in Bingham Canyon. UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

IN THIS ISSUE: Miners in Bingham Canyon during the first decade of the twentieth century. UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

they worked and traveled. Their relationship was all the more interesting in that many of the Mormon frontiersmen who assisted with the survey were participants in the infamous massacre of men, women, and children at Mountain Meadows in September 1857. What questions were asked of these participants and what answers were given as the men sat around campfires in the remote locations far from towns and villages is an interesting topic for speculation and investigation. Contemporary diaries and letters, as analyzed in our first article, offer some clues.

Testifying before a committee of the United States House of Representatives in 1879 considering the question of the eight hour work day, Henry Rothschild argued against the proposed law claiming “Political economy teaches us that the laborers and the capitalists are two different forms of society....The laborer should do as good as he can for himself, and the capitalist should do as good as he can for himself.” This view was expressed by workers as well including the radical Industrial Workers of the World whose 1905 preamble begins with the sentence, “The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.” How did this clash of capital and labor play out in early years of the twentieth century as Industrial America drove the nation to economic supremacy? One manifestation was the employment of labor spies by companies to keep a clandestine eye on the workers and their unions and to subvert their goals when they clashed with those of the company. Our second article reveals a little-known aspect of Utah’s history in discussing the activities of labor spies in the state.

As early Utahns built their homes, businesses, places of worship, and public buildings they made use of an abundance of local stone—granite, sandstone, volcanic rock, and limestone. As our third article reveals Sanpete oolite limestone was a popular local building material that came to be used in some of Salt Lake City’s most prominent homes and buildings as well as the famous Spreckels mansion and the Hearst Castle in California. How was the stone formed, how was it quarried, how was it used are questions answered in this insightful article.

Our final article for this issue takes readers back to the tumultuous years of the late 1960s and early 1970s when student unrest, anti-war protests, and a counter-culture movement raised new challenges. Few, if any, of the nation’s colleges and universities were unaffected. Even Brigham Young University saw a wave of student activism roll over the Provo campus. While the activism was not as violent or as radical as on many other university campuses, it nevertheless did exist at BYU and occurred at a time when the university became a nationally known institution.

This offering of explorers, frontiersmen, labor spies, miners, businessmen, quarry workers, builders, students, professors, and administrators, will, we hope, bring expanded insights and wisdom.



Fame Meets Infamy: The Powell Survey and Mountain Meadows Participants, 1870–1873

BY RICHARD E. TURLEY JR. AND ERIC C. OLSON

John Wesley Powell took his midday meal on September 5, 1870, high on the plateau between Paragonah and Panguitch, Utah, in company with John D. Lee and Jacob Hamblin. Lee recorded that they enjoyed a “pare of Baked chickings.” “Major” Powell—as most called him in reference to his service during the Civil War—had attached himself to an expedition of some forty men headed by Brigham Young. The expedition’s goal was to visit the Mormon settlements on the Paria River and Kanab Creek. This was the first day of what would turn out to be a

Lee’s Ferry, Paria Crossing, seen from the west with Lonely Dell in the center, 1872.

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four-day journey to the Paria and then to Kanab.¹

Less than twelve months earlier, at age thirty-five, Powell had completed his famous run from Green River, Wyoming Territory, to the confluence of the Colorado and Virgin rivers in present-day Nevada. This tangled canyon country cut by the Green and Colorado rivers was a massive area, at the time virtually unknown to those of European descent. As one biographer said of the 1869 trip, “Powell aimed to fill in that blank in the map. His plan, such as it was, took audacity to the brink of lunacy.” Indeed, the physical strain and excitement notwithstanding, “for Powell, the expedition was primarily an *intellectual* adventure”—an effort to advance science by filling in the “blank space on the map.”²

Powell’s journey with the Mormon exploration party grew out of lessons learned during the 1869 expedition. That first effort had been low budget and ramshackle. Given the quality of the equipment and the limited private funding, it was a wonder Powell and most of his men survived the journey. While they had proven humans could run the Green and Colorado, from Powell’s perspective they had accomplished very little science. Thus, Powell set his sights on a second expedition, this one covering the same route as the first but with the backing, staffing, time, equipment, and supplies to complete a full survey of the canyon country. As William H. Goetzmann has observed, “Because the [1869] voyage had been so hectic and the scientific results so meager, Powell decided to make the trip again in 1871, this time in a more leisurely fashion that would include stops to map the terrain and measure such things as the dip and strike of the geological strata.”³ Key to this second attempt would be sufficient resupply at the few points along the route where people could gain access to the river. In 1870, Powell found himself again in Utah to make such arrangements.

By the summer of 1870, as the result of his 1869 journey, Powell was a nationally known figure. As Donald Worster has written, “Powell’s journey down the legendary river of the West was one of the greatest events in the history of American exploration.”⁴ Goetzmann labeled the 1869 trip through “the rapids and the whirlpools and the deep forbidding canyons of the unknown Colorado” to reveal “the last mystery of the American West” as “one of history’s most dramatic events.”⁵ Consequently, as Edward Dolnick observed, “Powell emerged from the Grand Canyon a hero and a celebrity, a kind of nineteenth-century astronaut.”⁶

¹ *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848–1876*, ed. Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 2:135.

² Edward Dolnick, *Down the Great Unknown: John Wesley Powell’s 1869 Journey of Discovery and Tragedy through the Grand Canyon* (New York: HarperCollins, 2001), 3, 13; emphasis in original.

³ William H. Goetzmann, foreword to Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage* (1962; repr., Tucson: University of Arizona, 1991), xvii.

⁴ Donald Worster, *A River Running West: The Life of John Wesley Powell* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 200.

⁵ Goetzmann, foreword to Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage* (1991), xvii.

⁶ Dolnick, *Down the Great Unknown*, 290.

The September 1870 exploratory trip had an all-star cast, even apart from Major Powell. Sixty-nine-year-old Brigham Young stood at the head, as he did in nearly all things concerning The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in early Utah. His principal guide and interpreter was Jacob Hamblin, who by then had decades of experience scouting the high desert canyons and mesas of the Colorado Plateau. In response to Powell's inquiry, Young had recommended Hamblin to assist the major in the effort to resupply the second expedition. Also included in the expedition—as “road commissioner” and “commissary,” respectively—were two of Mountain Meadows Massacre infamy: John D. Lee and William Dame. Lee was charged “with instruction to take Guard, locate & work New Roads,” while Dame ran the “Traveling Tavern” with responsibility for the group's “sumptuous table.”⁷

Powell's midday meal with Lee on September 5, 1870, proved to be the first of many contacts in the coming months between the major (and other members of his survey party) and men with a connection to the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Both groups found themselves traversing the identical blank spaces on the map, though on decidedly divergent trajectories with equally divergent purposes.

The aging perpetrators of the massacre lived on the margins because they felt the heat of the law and the disapprobation of even their fellow Mormons; they were on the run, seeking isolation. Powell's youthful corps of scientists and explorers simultaneously sought adventure and aspired to account for one of the least known places on the continent by bringing the tools of science and careful observation to bear on the tumbled drainage of the Colorado. Thrown together in these fringes, the groups met and interacted. Powell's men relied on the massacre participants for assistance in finding their way, moving supplies, and working with native peoples.

The 1870 Young party, having concluded the midday meal, made its way off the plateau to the former site of Panguitch, now abandoned as the result of the Black Hawk War. Powell, Hamblin, and Lee selected the second night's encampment at “Bishop Roundy's old Station”—present-day Alton. When Brigham Young decided to bypass the settlement of Kanab on the journey out, Powell loaned Lee a horse so he could ride to Kanab to direct supplies eastward for the exploring party.⁸

Lee rejoined the party at a point well beyond the mouth of Johnson Canyon along the base of the Vermilion Cliffs. By 6:00 p.m. on September 8, the group had negotiated the Chinle hills west of the Paria and the wide, silty bottomlands of the Paria River; then they pushed through the high cliff of the “Box,” where the river cuts through the upthrust of Navajo and Wingate sandstone west of the Cockscomb, and pressed six miles south to the “noted Fortification built by Peter Shirt[s],” Lee's old neighbor at Fort Harmony.⁹

⁷ *Mormon Chronicle*, 2:135; Worster, *River Running West*, 210–11.

⁸ *Mormon Chronicle*, 2:135–37.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 2:137.

Shirts had built a fort and planted crops in a broad cove near the meandering and fitful Paria. Neither Young nor Lee was impressed. Young declared, “There is nothing here desirable for us.” The party headed for Kanab the following day.¹⁰ Along the way, Powell recounted to Lee “a Miricle,” which had occurred the previous day, before Lee rejoined the party. One of the two horses pulling Lorenzo Roundy’s wagon stumbled, causing the horses, wagon, and driver to tumble down a twenty-foot slope. There they became pinned, balancing just short of a much



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more precipitous fall. Powell had expected to see “a Man’s Neck broke, a Pair of Horses killed & a carriage [broken] to attums at least.

John Wesley Powell, December 1869.

But,” Powell explained to Lee, “with you Mormons, in a Moment all is up again & no body hurt.”¹¹ Roundy walked away with “a slight embrasure on the arm and head,” while “the horses were a little bruised.”¹²

The journey from Johnson Canyon to the Paria took the party across “barren, Roling, cedar Ridges covered occasionally with Petr[i]fied wood.”¹³ This coincided with Brigham Young’s later report, on September 25, in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, of a notable campfire discussion with “Major Powell.” Among the topics were the speed with which light traveled from the stars to the earth and the origins of the “petrified trees lying on the ground” and of fossilized shells. As Young recalled, Powell “philosophised a little upon it” but left Young feeling that, while “it is not our prerogative to dispute the effects, for they are before us, these and kindred topics give rise to much speculation on the part of the scientific; but it is for me to wait until their causes are made known from the proper

¹⁰ Ibid., 2:138–39.

¹¹ Ibid., 2:139; A. Milton Musser to editor, September 10, 1870, in “Correspondence,” *Deseret Evening News*, September 21, 1870.

¹² Musser to editor, September 10, 1870, in “Correspondence.”

¹³ *Mormon Chronicle*, 2:137.

Wyoming in May, it did not reach the mouth of the Dirty Devil River until September 30, 1871.¹⁶

Jacob Hamblin had responsibility for arranging resupply at points where there was access to the river. The exploratory party met one such supply train from Hamblin at Gunnison Crossing (today's Green River, Utah, where I-70 crosses the river). Powell, who had parted with the company earlier in the Uinta Basin, was in the lead, accompanied by Fred and Lyman Hamblin, Jacob's brother and son.¹⁷

A second supply train was to meet the party at the Dirty Devil, but in the unexplored sandstone maze of what is now Garfield and Wayne Counties, Hamblin could not find the headwaters of the river. Consequently, Powell's group cached one of its boats—the *Cañonita*—and started down Glen Canyon for the Paria in the remaining two vessels. Hamblin arranged for a resupply at Crossing of the Fathers in lower Glen Canyon.¹⁸

At Crossing of the Fathers, Powell left the party to return to Salt Lake City. Accompanying Powell was Jack Hillers, whom Powell had hired in Salt Lake City the previous May as an oarsman.¹⁹ Their route to Kanab took them through the Skutumpah settlement, where John D. Lee had a ranch to which he had moved some of his large and growing family earlier that year. On October 17, Hillers recorded that Lee “entertained us hugely.”²⁰

Back on the Colorado River, Thompson led the remaining eight members of the party to the point where the Paria River joins the Colorado (known today as Lee's Ferry), where they arrived on October 23, 1871.²¹ At this point, the high sandstone walls dropped just enough to permit relatively easy access to the river from both sides. The Paria Crossing had long been used by both Indians and whites to traverse the river.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 230.

¹⁷ “Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones, April 21, 1871–December 14, 1872,” ed. Herbert E. Gregory, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 16–17 (1948–1949): 70–71; “Diary of Almon Harris Thompson,” ed. Herbert E. Gregory, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 7 (January, April, and July 1939): 41–42.

¹⁸ “Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones,” 70–71; Worster, *River Running West*, 230. Isaac C. Haight—the main church, civic, and military leader at Cedar City who helped plan the Mountain Meadows Massacre—had accompanied Hamblin in his effort to find the route down to the mouth of the Dirty Devil. “Journal of W. C. Powell, April 21, 1871–December 7, 1872,” ed. Charles Kelly, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 16–17 (1948–1949): 417–18.

¹⁹ Worster, *River Running West*, 222, 231. Hillers served as part-time assistant to original Powell survey photographer E. O. Beaman and photographer-in-training Clem Powell. Later he was an apprentice to replacement photographer James Fennemore. In the process, Hillers mastered the complex, laborious photographic process of the day. A clear favorite of Major Powell, Hillers rose from deck hand to become photographer of the survey. Later he served as photographer for both “Powell's Geological and Geographical Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region” and the United States Geological Survey. “*Photographed All the Best Scenery*”: *Jack Hillers's Diary of the Powell Expeditions, 1871–1875*, ed. Don D. Fowler (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1972), 1.

²⁰ “*Photographed All the Best Scenery*,” 87.

²¹ “Diary of Almon Harris Thompson,” 56–60. One member of the original 1871 crew, Frank Richardson, was left behind at Browns Park because the strain of the voyage had proven too much for him. Worster, *River Running West*, 226; “Journal of W. C. Powell,” 270.

Powell's men were low on food. Frederick Dellenbaugh noted that "so liberally had we used our rations that we were nearing the end, and we began to look hopefully in the direction from which we expected the pack-train to arrive." Yet "four days passed and still there was no sign of it."²² The party was reduced to half-rations.

They had their first visitors on October 28—five days after their arrival. From the far side of the Colorado, not from Kanab, they first heard an "Indian yell" and looked to see "three natives." Soon another figure appeared "and in good English came the words, 'G-o-o-d m-o-r-n-i-n-g,' long drawn out." Powell's men rowed over to investigate. "On landing," Dellenbaugh wrote, "we were met by a slow-moving, very quiet individual, who said he was Jacob Hamblin. His voice was so low, his manner so simple, his clothing so usual, that I could hardly believe that this was Utah's famous Indian-fighter and manager."²³ Hamblin and company were returning from an expedition to the Navajo.

Accompanying Hamblin were nine Navajos for a trading visit to the southern Mormon settlements, as well as Isaac C. Haight, George W. Adair, and Joe Mangum. Haight and Adair had both participated in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, Haight playing a major role in Cedar City and Adair being present on the ground.²⁴

The members of the Powell expedition took great pleasure in the company of both the Navajos and the Mormons. They made supper for the group. The Navajos were "a very jolly set of fellows, ready to take or give any amount of chaff, and perfectly honest," Dellenbaugh wrote.²⁵ Clem Powell remembered that the Powell men persuaded the Navajos to sing and dance. After a while, Clem recorded, "all of us, white and red, joined hands and danced around the fire."²⁶ When the Navajos retired, the remaining visitors—Hamblin, Haight, Adair, and Mangum—sang some "Mormon songs" and spent time "relating . . . their Mormon experiences."²⁷

Before leaving the next day, the Mormons shared with the hungry Powell expedition what Clem Powell called "Mormon beans" and what Dellenbaugh (perhaps more accurately) called "Mexican beans." These "reddish brown" beans (in contrast to the white beans in the expedition's supplies) helped the Powell group to "eke out [their] supplies" for a few more days.²⁸ Still, if the supply train did not arrive soon, Powell's men faced

²² Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage: The Narrative of the Second Powell Expedition down the Green-Colorado River from Wyoming, and the Explorations on Land, in the Years 1871 and 1872* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), 152.

²³ *Ibid.*, 153.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 153; "Journal of W. C. Powell," 358–59; "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 105.

²⁵ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 154; "Journal of W. C. Powell," 35–59; "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," 60.

²⁶ "Journal of W. C. Powell," 359.

²⁷ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 154; "Journal of W. C. Powell," 359.

²⁸ "Journal of W. C. Powell," 359; Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 154.



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possible starvation. “If we are compelled to leave here on foot with but one day’s rations,” wrote John F. Steward, who was injured, “I do not know how it will end. . . . I should probably not survive.”²⁹

Arriving in Kanab, Hamblin and Haight learned that Powell’s supply train had not been heard from for days and might be lost. Haight enlisted Charles Riggs to join him in making a hurried trip to the Paria with a pack mule laden with relief supplies. The two men covered the distance from Kanab to the mouth of the Paria in two and a half days and “galloped into camp at full speed” on November 4. Less than twenty-four hours earlier, the supply train had finally arrived.³⁰ The pack train had become lost, taking ten days to cover the distance Haight had traveled in less than three.

Haight’s efforts impressed Powell’s men. Both Clem Powell and Fred Dellenbaugh made special note of the quantity of butter packed on their mule, saying it was “the first time we had seen any of this latter article since the final breakfast at [Green River, Wyoming] on May 22d.”³¹ Clem praised

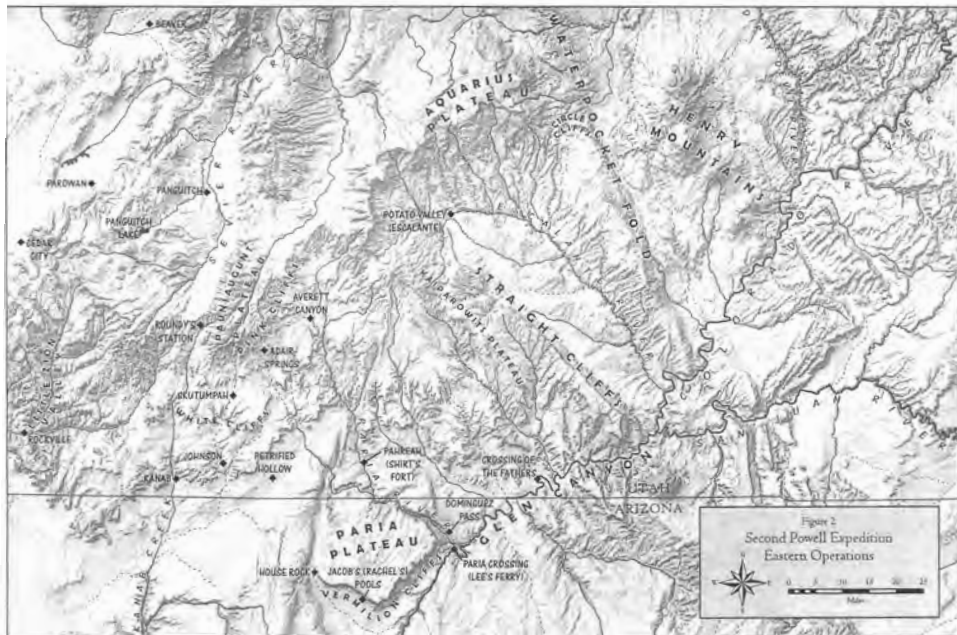
Second Powell expedition, Green River, Wyoming, May 22, 1871.

Individuals shown, from left: (left boat) E.O. Beaman, Andrew Hattan, Walter Clement Powell; (center boat) Stephen Vandiver Jones, John K. Hillers, John Wesley Powell, Frederick S. Dellenbaugh; (right boat) Almon Harris Thompson, John F. Steward, Francis Marion Bishop, Frank Richardson.

²⁹“Journal of John F. Steward, May 22–November 3, 1871,” ed. William Culp Darrah, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 16–17 (1948–49): 249–50.

³⁰ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 157; “Journal of W. C. Powell,” 361.

³¹ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 157; “Journal of W. C. Powell,” 362.



NATHAN NELSON

Haight and Riggs as “large-hearted gentlemen” who had “hastened to our rescue,” making “the journey in two days, driving furiously.” Their “prompt and generous efforts in our behalf we . . . will long remember.”³²

**Second Powell Expedition,
Eastern Operations.**

That night, “Haight favoured us with some Mormon songs and recited examples of the marvellous curative effects of the Mormon ‘laying on of hands.’”³³ From their personal dealings with the man, Powell’s men could not reconcile Haight’s great kindness with his reputed role in the massacre. “He is an agreeable man in camp,” wrote Stephen Jones. “It is hard to believe him guilty of the crimes laid to his charge. Can it be that he would sanction and assist in the murder of women and children?”³⁴

For much of 1872, Powell was absent from the survey that bore his name. Thompson took charge of the work just as he had during earlier travels on the Green and Colorado. The principal labor of the winter months was to establish a nine-mile base line and then triangulate from that base line to establish distances and locations for mapping. Thompson directed the efforts of a crew that included Bishop (for a time), Clem Powell, Fred Dellenbaugh, Jack Hillers, Stephen Jones, E. O. Beaman, and

³² *Chicago Tribune*, February 27, 1872, in “Journal of W. C. Powell,” 361–62n. A few months later, on February 6, 1872, Thompson paid Charles Riggs \$12.00 for the “trip to Colorado” and “Mrs. Riggs \$10.00 for butter and milk.” “Diary of Almon Harris Thompson,” 67–68.

³³ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 157.

³⁴ “Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones,” 106. Thompson felt sufficiently comfortable with Haight to dine in Toquerville with the Haight family on April 10, 1872. “Diary of Almon Harris Thompson,” 74.

Andrew Hattan, along with various Mormon locals.³⁵ Thompson and his men finished the Kanab base line on February 21, 1872.³⁶

The following day, Thompson added Mountain Meadows Massacre participant and Kanab resident George W. Adair to the survey payroll at forty dollars per month. Twenty years old at the time of the massacre, Adair was now in his mid-thirties. He had more extensive involvement with the Powell survey than any other massacre participant, working under Thompson's direction on and off for the next year and a half. Perhaps not coincidentally, on the day Thompson hired Adair, he noted: "Found all our stock for the first time for a month."³⁷

On March 21, Thompson led an excursion southwest from Pipe Spring across the Uinkaret Plateau toward Mt. Trumbull. They camped in the vicinity of Mt. Trumbull, making visits to the tops of that mount and Mt. Logan. Some visited the Grand Canyon. By early April, the heavy, late-season snow had chased the party down to lower (and warmer) climes in the vicinity of St. George. Thompson recorded on April 7 that they "ate all our flour tonight" and the next morning had a "breakfast of beans."³⁸

The next day, at Berry Springs along the Virgin River (just south of Harrisville Gap and present-day Quail Creek Reservoir) they encountered George Adair with Clem Powell and a wagon with corn and beef from Kanab. Adair had left Kanab for Washington County on April 3. Thompson noted: "George commenced work again." Two days after meeting up with Adair at Berry Springs, Thompson "took dinner at Hights" in Toquerville.³⁹

One editor has characterized Adair's role in the Powell survey as "horse wrangler, packer, and man-of-all-work."⁴⁰ Thompson noted "taking George Adair with me to talk to Indians."⁴¹ On April 22, Adair retrieved "some goods that the Major had procured in Salt Lake City and shipped down for distribution among the Sheviwits and Pa-Utes"; he then hauled the "Indian goods" to Ft. Pearce, southeast of St. George. Next, Adair joined Thompson,

³⁵ Robert W. Olsen Jr., "The Powell Survey Kanab Base Line," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 37 (Spring 1969): 262–64; Worster, *River Running West*, 234–36. The Powell surveyors' first camp was at Eight Mile Spring, east of Kanab at Eight Mile Gap at the base of the Shinarump Cliffs just north of the Utah-Arizona border.

³⁶ Olsen, "Powell Survey Kanab Base Line," 266.

³⁷ "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," 69. For references to Adair's interactions with Powell's men, see Fowler, "Photographed All the Best Scenery," 95, 96, 104, 107, 110n61, 111n63, 113, 117; "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 113–14, 120, 126–27, 131–33, 135–36, 138–39, 141; "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," 74–78, 88, 90, 93, 98, 101, 105–6; "Journal of W. C. Powell," 410, 413, 417, 422, 449, 453–54, 457–58, 471, 475. Herbert E. Gregory, in "Stephen Vandiver Jones, 1840–1920," 15, wrote, "To no small degree the success of the land surveys is due to the skill and knowledge of Utah men employed as guides and packers," including "George Adair."

³⁸ "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," 70–74.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 74; "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 113.

⁴⁰ "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 113n94. This source mistakenly lists an obituary for a different George Adair.

⁴¹ "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," 74.



Almon Harris Thompson, Powell's second in command and director of field operations for the second expedition.

Thompson's wife, Ellen, Dellenbaugh, and Clem on an exploring trip to Mt. Bangs in the Virgin Mountains southwest of St. George.⁴² In the midst of this, Adair repeatedly picked up supplies for the group.⁴³

Adair's trip to St. George with Professor and Mrs. Thompson coincided with news that the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled that "the trials in the territorial court over which Judge [James B.] McKean presided were

illegal," resulting in the release of certain Mormon prisoners, including Brigham Young. While the Thompsons returned to Berry Springs, Adair remained in Washington with fellow Mormon and survey wrangler William (Willie) Johnson to enjoy the "jubilee" that ensued.⁴⁴

"Johnson returned at noon" the next day and "reported a big time last night. Nearly every one drunk." Jones concluded: "From his appearance judge that he assisted." As for Adair, he "had a fight and remained to have his trial. Came in near night, looking considerably the worse for rough usage." Nonetheless, Jones recorded that the next day "Adair went to Rockville to buy corn," and three days later "Adair went to Washington to buy flour."⁴⁵ Apparently, Adair's rowdy and exuberant behavior, fueled by a bit of Dixie wine, did not diminish his usefulness to the survey party or

⁴² "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 120, 121; "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," 76. One of the expedition's boats was named the "Nellie Powell," after Thompson's wife, Ellen L. Powell, a sister of John Wesley Powell.

⁴³ "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 117, 120; "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," 75.

⁴⁴ "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 119. On the legal case in question, *Clinton v. Englebrecht*, see Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 137–38, 246–47.

⁴⁵ "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 119, 120. An entry in the records of the Washington County probate court for May 6, 1872, shows that Adair and three others were convicted of "riot" on April 17, 1872, and were fined ten dollars. County Court Record Book, Book B, May 6, 1872, p. 11, Washington County, County Clerk, Court Records, 1854–1887, film 484840, item 5, Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Thompson's confidence in Adair's ability to keep the group supplied. On May 10, Thompson recorded, "George went home." Four days later, Thompson "let George Adair have 215 lbs. flour" and, on May 20, Adair "commenced work again."⁴⁶

Shortly thereafter, Adair joined Thompson and others of the survey on the first part of a remarkable four-week journey (May 25-June 22) from Kanab to the mouth of the Dirty Devil River over some of the wildest country on the continent. Their immediate goal was to locate the mouth of the Dirty Devil and retrieve the *Cañonita*. If he successfully located this junction, Thompson would accomplish what Powell, Hamblin, and others before him had failed to do. Where Hamblin had mistaken the Escalante River for the Dirty Devil and others had become snarled in the convoluted slickrock wilderness west of the Colorado River, Thompson alone recognized that the Escalante ran to the west of the Henry Mountains (then called the "Dirty Devil" or "Unknown" mountains), while the Dirty Devil ran to the east of them.⁴⁷

The party began to assemble in Johnson Canyon on May 25. New photographer James Fennemore, delayed by illness, had missed the turn north into Johnson Canyon in the dark. When he finally stopped at midnight, he "tied his mule and tried to sleep." In the night, "the mule broke loose," and Fennemore had to "back track" on foot to Johnson Canyon. Meanwhile, Adair had gone "back on the road to find some things lost last night" on his way and found Fennemore, thirsty, tired, and hungry. With Adair's assistance, Fennemore finally reached camp at 10 a.m., "played out."⁴⁸

The party set out on Thursday, May 30, 1872. (Thompson employed massacre participant Nephi Johnson to care for a horse during his absence.) In addition to six members of the second Powell expedition (Thompson, Jones, Dellenbaugh, Hillers, Clem Powell, and Hattan), the group included Pardon Dodds, former agent from the Uintah Agency; Fennemore; and the two Mormon wranglers, Adair and Willie Johnson.⁴⁹

On May 31, 1872, the group found itself six miles from the base of the Paunsaugunt Plateau southeast of the "Pink Cliffs" of what is now Bryce Canyon National Park, in a "beautiful valley with a fine cool spring." They were "about $\frac{3}{4}$ miles" north of Swallow Lake in Park Wash. This little lake ("200 yards across," according to Thompson) had its outlet through "a narrow cañon of white [Navajo] sandstone." Jones declared the location "very pretty," and Dellenbaugh concurred that it was "an exceedingly beautiful little valley."⁵⁰

⁴⁶ "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," 77, 78.

⁴⁷ Worster, *River Running West*, 242-44.

⁴⁸ "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 126-27; "Journal of W. C. Powell," 417.

⁴⁹ "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," 79; "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 127, 127-28n109.

⁵⁰ "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," 79; "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 128-29; Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 197.

Struck by the beauty of the location, with water from both a spring and a lake, “George Adair instantly declared that he meant to come back here to live.”⁵¹ According to Jones, “Adair laid claim to the entire valley by sticking up a notice to that effect by the spring.”⁵² Thompson proposed to call the wide, timbered valley in which the party set their camp “Adair Valley” and the nearby watering area “Adair Spring.”⁵³

The group proceeded northeast along the heads of several deep Navajo sandstone gorges and finally emerged in a side canyon where, six years earlier—in August 1866, at the height of the Black Hawk War—a band of Indians attacked Mormon militiamen, killing Elijah Averett Jr. The Mormons buried Averett in a shallow grave. Dellenbaugh noted that “the wolves had dug out [the grave], leaving the human bones scattered all around.” Clem recorded, “We replace the remains, hoping they will not again be disturbed.”⁵⁴

As the exploration stalled in Potato Valley about a week later, Thompson concluded to send Adair and two of the Powell party—Clem Powell and Stephen Jones—back “to Kanab for rations,” with instructions to “return here as soon as possible.”⁵⁵ Thompson could see what is also apparent today: the Escalante drainage and the Boulder Mountain high country defy all order and logic. Given the group’s uncertainty about the trail to the Dirty Devil and the remote, daunting terrain, resupply was essential.

Accordingly, on June 8, 1872, Adair, Jones, and Clem turned their faces toward Kanab leading a train of four pack horses. By the time the group reached Kanab on June 12, Adair was “quite sick.” Nonetheless, the next day they “packed 3 horses and left Kanab at 11 A.M.” By June 16, when they had traveled sixty-two miles to the head of the Paria, Jones wrote, “Adair very unwell” and “Adair very sick.” After covering thirteen miles, the men “decided to camp until morning” to permit Adair some rest. The group soon pushed on despite discomfort and inconvenience.⁵⁶

For more than a week, the three-man relief party waited for Thompson, Dodds, and Hattan (the other four members of the party were to take the *Cañonita* down the Colorado to the Paria from the mouth of the Dirty Devil). It was “anxious waiting” as the men considered whether “the party . . . had trouble with the Indians.” On June 30, their path crossed a fresh horse

⁵¹ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 197.

⁵² “Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones,” 129; “Journal of W. C. Powell,” 419.

⁵³ “Diary of Almon Harris Thompson,” 79. Today, this location is just south of the Skutumpah Road in the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, a few miles north of Lick Wash. There is no indication that Adair ever settled in the valley. At 6,500 feet and many miles from any settlement, the setting’s beauty was likely outweighed by the impracticality of living in such a harsh and isolated place. Not much has changed in the intervening 140 years.

⁵⁴ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage* (1908), 197–98; “Journal of W. C. Powell,” 420–21. On events surrounding the killing of Averett, see John Alton Peterson, *Utah’s Black Hawk War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998), 313n54.

⁵⁵ “Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones,” 132.

⁵⁶ “Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones,” 132–33; “Diary of Almon Harris Thompson,” 82.

trail, and the resupply party met up with the returning explorers.⁵⁷

They reported that, after twelve days' effort and wandering, Thompson had successfully reached the point where the Dirty Devil met the Colorado. There, he left Dellenbaugh, Hillers, Fennemore, and Johnson to repair the *Cañonita* and float it down the Colorado to the Paria. Thompson, accompanied by Dodds and Hattan, turned back towards Kanab, where they met Adair and the others who had been waiting nearly two weeks.⁵⁸

On returning to Kanab, Thompson turned his attention to another important aspect of the second leg of the voyage: resupply in the Grand Canyon. He took Adair and Jones, along with five Paiutes,

on a short exploration trip to the Kaibab Plateau looking for resupply routes into the Grand Canyon. From Thompson's description, the group reached the Grand Canyon on July 17 near what today is known as Monument Point, north of and several thousand feet above a bend in the Colorado River. Thompson determined their location to be due west of Mt. Trumbull and nine air miles from Kanab Wash, a location known as the "Pa Ute" trail down to the river at which "we can take rations in without trouble."⁵⁹

Willie Johnson soon arrived in Kanab from the mouth of the Paria to report that his four-man group had successfully floated the *Cañonita* down the Colorado from the Dirty Devil through Glen Canyon to the Paria Crossing. The three remaining members of that group—Hillers, Dellenbaugh, and Fennemore—along with Clem Powell and Hattan (who later traveled over from Kanab) waited nearly a month for Major Powell and Thompson to arrive.⁶⁰



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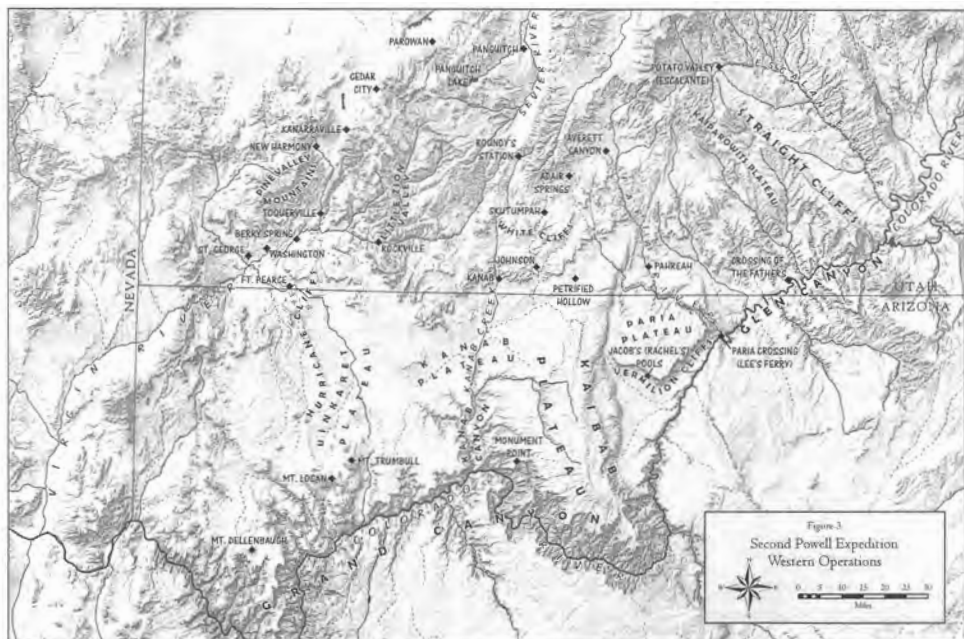
Isaac Haight.

⁵⁷ "Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones," 133–36.

⁵⁸ "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," 83–88.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 90–91.

⁶⁰ "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," 91; Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 209–14.



NATHAN L. NELSON

Of the *Cañonita* group's arrival at the Paria crossing in 1872, Dellenbaugh wrote, "We discovered that some one had come in here since our last visit, and built a house."⁶¹ In the early months of 1872, John D. Lee had commenced a ferry at the Paria Crossing and had established a home ("Lonely Dell"). When Powell's men arrived, Lee was busy farming to provide for himself and one of his families.⁶²

Firing signal shots and getting no reply, Dellenbaugh walked up the Paria with his Winchester on his shoulder. "Why I had the gun I don't know," Dellenbaugh later ruminated, "not for Lee of course." One of Lee's wives, Rachel Woolsey Lee, spotted Dellenbaugh and the rifle. As he approached the cabin, she slipped inside. Farther on, Dellenbaugh found Lee plowing a field. "Lee stopped the horses and resting his hands on the plough handles turned his head to look at the new comer," Dellenbaugh recalled. "As soon as Lee understood who I was he was very pleasant and always was while we were there."⁶³ Hillers was with Dellenbaugh and recorded, "After stating our case, [Lee] told us to make his home our home until our men came down, which we accepted. Gave him some flour."⁶⁴ Dellenbaugh reported

**Second Powell Expedition,
Western Operations.**

⁶¹ Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, *The Romance of the Colorado River: The Story of Its Discovery in 1540, with an Account of the Later Explorations, and with Special Reference to the Voyages of Powell through the Line of the Great Canyons* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903), 316.

⁶² *Mormon Chronicle*, 2:175, 180–84, 195; Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 211.

⁶³ Frederick S. Dellenbaugh to Mr. Kelly, in "F. S. Dellenbaugh of the Colorado: Some Letters Pertaining to the Powell Voyages and the History of the Colorado River," ed. C. Gregory Crampton, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 37 (Spring 1969): 235; Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 210.

⁶⁴ "Photographed All the Best Scenery," 129.

that the “farm [was] in fairly good order with crops growing, well irrigated by the water he took out of the Paria.”⁶⁵

Lee had earlier confided in his diary, “I looked upon Powel as being a Friend to us.” He recorded the group’s arrival with an eye to the providential: “They were out of Meat & groceries, all but coffee & Flour.” Consequently, Powell’s men made a deal with Lee: “They offered to furnish us the Flour & coffee if we would cook for them till the remainder of the co. would come up with supplies from Kanab.” To Lee, “this was again another Manifestation of the favour of Heaven, for we were getting Short of Groceries, & flour was also good pay & when Powel’s supplies came that they furnish me.” Conversely, “our vegetables, Beef, Butter & cheese was a treat to [them].”⁶⁶

Powell’s men immediately stepped in to assist Lee in moving a wagon along an eroded bank of the Colorado. They “were verry kind & saved our waggons from upsetting in the River,” Lee wrote.⁶⁷ A midsummer storm sent a flash flood down the Paria, tearing out a recently constructed diversion dam and filling the irrigation ditches with heavy silt. Powell’s men attempted to repair the dam. This proved unsuccessful, though, when another “freshet” swept down the Paria, nearly “tak[ing] th[e]m away, tools & all.”⁶⁸ On July 19, Clem recorded: “Received another invitation to work on the dam. Accepted it and lost our shovel; Andy swore.”⁶⁹

Powell’s men assisted with Lee’s garden. Hillers noted: “Hoed onions and beets in the forenoon.” On August 2, Hillers “commenced to make a cultivator for Lee.”⁷⁰ Dellenbaugh joined Hillers in doing a little gardening. “On Monday having nothing else to do,” Dellenbaugh wrote, “we took some hoes and worked in Lee’s garden till near noon.” He added, “The next day we worked in the garden again, repaired the irrigating ditch, and helped about the place in a general way, glad enough to have some occupation even though the sun was burning hot and the thermometer stood at 110° in the shade.”⁷¹ On July 29, Clem recorded that Dellenbaugh had been “plowing for ‘Brother Lee’” and “returned late from Lee’s with a lame foot.” In sum, Dellenbaugh explained, “almost every day we did some work in the garden and we also repaired the irrigation dam.”⁷²

Lee kept what he saw as his part of the bargain with Powell’s men. As Clem put it on his arrival from Kanab, “The boys have been boarding with Mrs. Lee, No. the 18th,” Emma Batchelor.⁷³ Indeed, on the day that Clem

⁶⁵ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 211.

⁶⁶ *Mormon Chronicle*, 2:194, 204–5.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 2:205.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:206; “*Photographed All the Best Scenery*,” 130; Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 211.

⁶⁹ “*Journal of W. C. Powell*,” 433.

⁷⁰ “*Photographed All the Best Scenery*,” 129–32. Clem also noted on July 31: “Another day wasted and spent in idleness. Thermometer regularly reaches 110° above zero.” “*Journal of W. C. Powell*,” 435.

⁷¹ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 211.

⁷² “*Journal of W. C. Powell*,” 434; Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 211.

⁷³ “*Journal of W. C. Powell*,” 432.

and Hattan arrived, "Sister Emma, as she would in Utah properly be called, invited us to dinner and supper," Dellenbaugh wrote.⁷⁴ On July 16, after "the boys worked on the dam," Clem noted "a gay dinner at Lee's and some home-made beer."⁷⁵

Assistance from Lee's family also came in the form of fresh produce. One evening after working in the Lee garden, Hillers and Dellenbaugh returned to camp with corn and squashes. Clem commented, "Vegetables are doing us a pile of good at this season of the year." A few days later he noted that Lee had sent "a few squashes and some onions." Still later, "Lee sent over some green corn and squashes."⁷⁶

Lee did not pass up the opportunity to share his Mormon faith with his visitors. On July 21, Lee visited the Powell camp to deliver a Navajo blanket that Clem had lost on the trail from Jacob's Pools. Clem wrote, "'Brother' Lee . . . regaled us with the doctrines of the Latter-day Saints; boasts of having 18 wives and 62 children."⁷⁷ Dellenbaugh noted that "Brother Lee . . . called to give us a lengthy dissertation on the faith of the Latter-Day Saints." As Lee did so, Andy Hattan, "always up to mischief, in his quiet way, delighted to get behind [Lee] and cock a rifle. At the sound of the ominous click Lee would wheel like a flash to see what was up. We had no intention of capturing him, of course," Dellenbaugh reflected, "but it amused Andy to act in a way that kept Lee on the *qui vive*."⁷⁸

To celebrate the July 24 holiday—what Clem called "the anniversary of Mormon Independence"—Lee and his family fixed "a splendid Dinner & invited our generous friends . . . to spend the glorious 24th with us & participate in the festivities & recreations."⁷⁹ "Had a good dinner," Clem Powell recorded. "The Old Gent regaled us with sermons, jokes, cards, &c."⁸⁰ Dellenbaugh concluded his description of the day: "So far as our intercourse with Lee was concerned we had no cause for complaint. He was genial, courteous, and generous."⁸¹ Hillers wrote that they had "a splendid dinner" and "played cards and sang songs." But despite Lee's sermons, the Powell men "returned to camp without a change of opinion of Mormonism."⁸² Lee's enthusiasm and frequent preaching led Clem Powell to conclude that "Lee is a little crazy."⁸³ Lee felt the same mixture of wonder and oddness toward his guests, judging that the July 24 celebration went off well. "All enjoyed ourselves first rate," he wrote, "with many thanks from our strange friends."⁸⁴

⁷⁴ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 211.

⁷⁵ "Journal of W. C. Powell," 433.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 435–36.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 433.

⁷⁸ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 212.

⁷⁹ "Journal of W. C. Powell," 434; *Mormon Chronicle*, 2:206.

⁸⁰ "Journal of W. C. Powell," 434.

⁸¹ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 212.

⁸² "Photographed All the Best Scenery," 130.

⁸³ "Journal of W. C. Powell," 434.

⁸⁴ *Mormon Chronicle*, 2:206.



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

As might be expected, the topic of the massacre came up almost as soon as the *Cañonita* party reached Lonely Dell from the Dirty Devil. The night of their arrival, Lee confided in Dellenbaugh “his own version of the Mountain Meadows Massacre claiming that he really had nothing to do with it and had tried to stop it.”⁸⁵ Whether Dellenbaugh believed Lee’s story at the time or not, he found that “personally,” Lee “was an agreeable man” and “pleasant enough.” Dellenbaugh felt “sure that, ordinarily he would have had no murderous intentions.” Although Powell’s men had no plans to apprehend the fugitive, “yet he sometimes thought we might be trying to capture him,” Dellenbaugh recalled.⁸⁶

***Second Powell Expedition,
first encampment.***

Powell and Lee crossed paths on August 13, 1872, just a mile out of Lonely Dell.⁸⁷ Powell was heading for the survey’s camp at the mouth of the Paria. “‘Brother’ Lee invited the new-comers over to supper,” Clem wrote.⁸⁸ The group enjoyed “wattermellons” selected by Lee and Powell and “a super of vegetables . . . with much applause to the donors.”⁸⁹

Powell was in a hurry to complete the run of the Grand Canyon. On August 15, he sent Adair back to Kanab with the wagons. Thompson

⁸⁵ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 211. In fact, Lee’s role in the massacre was substantial. See Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 142–45, 148, 153–55, 157–59, 161–62, 168–73, 187–209.

⁸⁶ Dellenbaugh, *Romance of the Colorado*, 138n1; Dellenbaugh to Kelly, in Crampton, “F. S. Dellenbaugh of the Colorado,” 235–36.

⁸⁷ *Mormon Chronicle*, 2:207; “*Photographed All the Best Scenery*,” 132.

⁸⁸ “*Journal of W. C. Powell*,” 436.

⁸⁹ *Mormon Chronicle*, 2:208.

recorded that they gave Adair seventy-five dollars with instructions to buy rations and meet the party at the mouth of the Kanab in the Grand Canyon by September 4.⁹⁰

Powell was apprehensive about the remaining leg of the voyage—the darkest, most isolated section of the trip—because not only was it laced with rocks and rapids, but the water level in the Colorado was much higher than when Powell had passed through in 1869.⁹¹ His young and depleted crew would need the confidence and assurance that supplies awaited them at a specific location downstream.

Adair's resupply role was crucial. Having lost three men on his first expedition because of despair, Powell knew the psychological, as well as practical, peril of running short on basic provisions. That Powell now entrusted Adair with responsibility to move supplies down Kanab Canyon to the Colorado River by a date certain underscores the confidence that Powell and Thompson had developed in this massacre participant. The leaders of the survey knew from experience that Adair was a frontiersman, confident enough in the wild to follow directions and arrive on time at a remote rendezvous point where resupply was essential.

In Thompson's diary, Adair is always "George," suggesting an affection or familiarity not afforded other members of the party. Clem Powell captured Adair's lively personality: "Adair is our Indian interpreter, a late acquisition to the party. He abounds in jest and anecdotes; his yarns about the camp-fire would set up a Dime Novel Company for a twelve-month."⁹² Adair told Powell's men about the massacre. Dellenbaugh remembered: "George Adair, whom I knew well, a young fellow at the time, said he joined the crowd without knowing what it was all about." From his experience with Adair, Dellenbaugh was inclined to believe that Haight, Lee, and Philip Klingensmith were the "real perpetrators" of the crime.⁹³

As Powell and his men commenced the final leg of their journey, Lee summarized in his diary entry for July 24 his view of the group as "our generous friends of Maj. Powel's expedition."⁹⁴ In turn, Dellenbaugh remembered, "Lee was most cordial and we could not have asked better treatment than he gave us the whole time we were at Lonely Dell."⁹⁵

The push down the Colorado from the Paria to the Kanab was, in the eyes of Dellenbaugh, "a forlorn hope." The expedition was undermanned without original members Francis Bishop, Beaman, and Steward. They were down to just two boats with the roughest and most isolated stretch of river ahead in high water. The enterprise evoked great uncertainty.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," 93; "Journal of W. C. Powell," 437.

⁹¹ "Journal of W. C. Powell," 438.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 422.

⁹³ Frederick S. Dellenbaugh to Mr. Kelly, August 16, 1934, in "F. S. Dellenbaugh of the Colorado," 242.

⁹⁴ *Mormon Chronicle*, 2:206.

⁹⁵ Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*, 216.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 215.

The three-week run through the Grand Canyon, although a challenge, achieved the basic scientific goals of the expedition. When Powell and his men reached Kanab Wash on September 7, George Adair and two other men were there to meet them with supplies.⁹⁷ With reports of unfriendly Indians downstream, high water that made the rougher rapids ahead even more dangerous than on the 1869 voyage, and little more to be gained on the scientific front by running the rest of the canyon, Powell and Thompson concluded to terminate their journey at that point and head north to Kanab. Thompson wrote of informing “the boys of our decision this morning. All very pleased. The fact is each one is impressed with the impossibility of continuing down the river.”⁹⁸ By September 12, most of the party was back in Kanab.



DAUGHTERS OF THE UTAH PIONEERS

George Adair.

Survey work continued for the next several months—with Adair in his accustomed support role—but by the end of 1872, the remainder of Powell’s men who had come down the river from Wyoming in 1871 had returned to their homes in the east. Only Thompson and Hillers would continue to work with Powell in the survey.⁹⁹ Powell’s confidence in Adair is seen once more in a final assignment: Adair guided American landscape artist Thomas Moran and *New York Times* correspondent Justin E. Colburn from Fillmore south to Kanab. As Moran reported to his wife: “Powell does not leave here with us, but gives us a man [Adair] who has been with him a long while. So we are all right.”¹⁰⁰ Their route took them through Toquerville on July 23 after a side trip to the dark pink Navajo sandstone cliffs southeast of Kanarraville, now part of the Kolob section of Zion National Park. Adair apparently also served as “guide” for “an excursion of four days” into what “is called by the Mormons ‘Little Zion Valley,’” today’s Zion Canyon.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ “Photographed All the Best Scenery,” 141–42.

⁹⁸ “Diary of Almon Harris Thompson,” 98.

⁹⁹ “Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones,” 155; Worster, *River Running West*, 257–58.

¹⁰⁰ Tom to “My dear Wife,” July 17, 1873, in Amy O. Bassford, ed., *Home-Thoughts, from Afar: Letters of Thomas Moran to Mary Nimmo Moran* (East Hampton, NY: East Hampton Free Library, 1967), 33; Worster, *River Running West*, 298–301; [Justin E. Colburn], letter, July 23, 1873, in “The Land of Mormon,” *New York Times*, August 7, 1873; [Justin E. Colburn], letter, August 13, 1873, in “The Colorado Canon,” *New York Times*, September 4, 1873. In 1872, Powell had “been appointed Commissioner to locate the Indians of southern Utah and northern Arizona on reservations.” Gregory, in “Journal of Stephen Vandiver Jones,” 141.

¹⁰¹ [Justin E. Colburn], letter, August 13, 1873, in “The Colorado Canon,” *New York Times*, September 4, 1873.



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The men who accompanied Powell on his second expedition—none of whom was over the age of thirty-five—returned east to lives of accomplishment far from the desert country of the Colorado Plateau. Only young Dellenbaugh—not yet twenty at the conclusion of the second voyage—stayed in close contact with the West. For sixty years after the second expedition, Dellenbaugh continued to correspond with people in Utah; he had been profoundly moved by what he had seen and experienced during his twenty months with Powell's men in the canyon country.

In compiling the account of his explorations, Powell conflated the original journey of 1869 with the second expedition of the 1870s.¹⁰² Notably, he was silent about his expedition's repeated interactions with, and reliance on, figures who had a part in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Lost in the earliest telling of the story were the firsthand accounts of contact and reciprocity over a period of four years between the youthful adventurers from the East and the seasoned Mormon frontiersmen of the West, some of whom bore blame for the massacre of Arkansas emigrants in 1857.

¹⁰² J. W. Powell, *Exploration of the Colorado River of the West and Its Tributaries, Explored in 1869, 1870, 1871, and 1872* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875). Goetzmann labels this a "literary strategy" that "did extreme violence to history, obscuring not only some of his [Powell's] own achievements but also those of the able men who served under him on his second expedition." The second expedition, he noted, "produced the more lasting scientific results." Goetzmann, foreword to Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage* (1991), xviii.

THE PINKERTON ≡ LABOR SPY ≡ BY MORRIS FRIEDMAN



Labor Spies in Utah During the Early Twentieth Century

By DAWN RETTA BRIMHALL AND SANDRA DAWN BRIMHALL

When George W. Riddell came looking for work in Utah's Tintic Mining District in 1905, the boomtown where he settled, Eureka, was the district's business and civic center. Eureka had a population of approximately thirty-five hundred, and was home to more than ninety businesses and four major mines—the Bullion Beck and Champion, Centennial Eureka, Eureka Hill and Gemini—and later the Chief Consolidated Mining Company. A few years earlier, Tintic had been heralded by *The Salt Lake Mining Review* as “among the leading mining sections of the intermountain region,” and the *Eureka Reporter* had boasted that the district, which had produced approximately thirty-five million dollars in ore from 1870–1899, was “carving its way into becoming one of the richest and largest producers of the entire country.”¹

The Pinkerton Labor Spy, an exposé of the use of labor spies to disrupt and gather information on western labor unions. The book was published in 1907.

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¹ *Eureka Reporter*, September 15, 1905. The Tintic Mining District is located approximately seventy miles southwest of Salt Lake City in Utah and Juab counties. Eureka had a population of 3,325 in 1900 that grew to 3,829 in 1910. Philip F. Notarianni, “Tintic Mining District” in *From the Ground Up: The History of Mining in Utah*, ed. Colleen Whitley (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2006), 342, 353–54. Eureka's population experienced ebbs and flows between census years due to the transitory nature of the mining town.

After finding employment in one of the mines, Riddell promptly joined and took an active role in the affairs of the Eureka Miners' Union No. 151, which was affiliated with the Western Federation of Miners (WFM). By September 1905, he had moved up the union ladder to become vice-president, and, six months later, on March 9, 1906, he was elected president. Riddell served in this capacity until September 7, 1906, and he was subsequently chosen to represent the union at the WFM national convention scheduled for June 1907 in Denver, Colorado.

The promising newcomer, however, soon proved to be a flash in the pan. A month before the convention, in May 1907, Riddell suddenly left town, without settling with creditors or leaving his forwarding address. Like fool's gold, he was not what he had pretended to be. Although he had posed as a hard-rock miner, Riddell was in fact an undercover Pinkerton detective, known as "Agent No. 36," who had been hired by the Tintic Mine Owners' Association to spy on the union.²

Riddell and other Pinkerton detectives across the United States were forced to take cover after they were publicly identified and denounced as labor spies by a disgruntled former Pinkerton National Detective Agency employee, Morris Friedman, who had worked as a stenographer in the agency's Denver office. In 1907 Friedman published an exposé titled *The Pinkerton Labor Spy* that detailed the company's use of its agents to "disrupt, subvert, and spy on the Western Federation and other unions."³

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as unions struggled to organize various parts of America's labor, one strategy used by businessmen, railroad owners and mine moguls to combat unionization was to employ undercover private detectives to infiltrate unions and to monitor their activities. As a result, during this period, private detective agencies experienced unprecedented growth and prosperity. In 1899 the Pinkerton agency hired fifty-eight new detectives and an additional sixty-five the next year. Within a few years, the agency also opened twelve new offices, increasing its national total to twenty. By 1904 New York City alone had seventy-five different agencies and Chicago and Philadelphia were home to approximately thirty each.⁴

The spies reported on employees' attitudes and work performance,

² *Eureka Reporter*, September 15, 1905; March 9, 1906; May 17, 1907. The Pinkerton National Detective Agency, which was founded by Allan Pinkerton in Chicago in 1850, is a private security guard and detective agency.

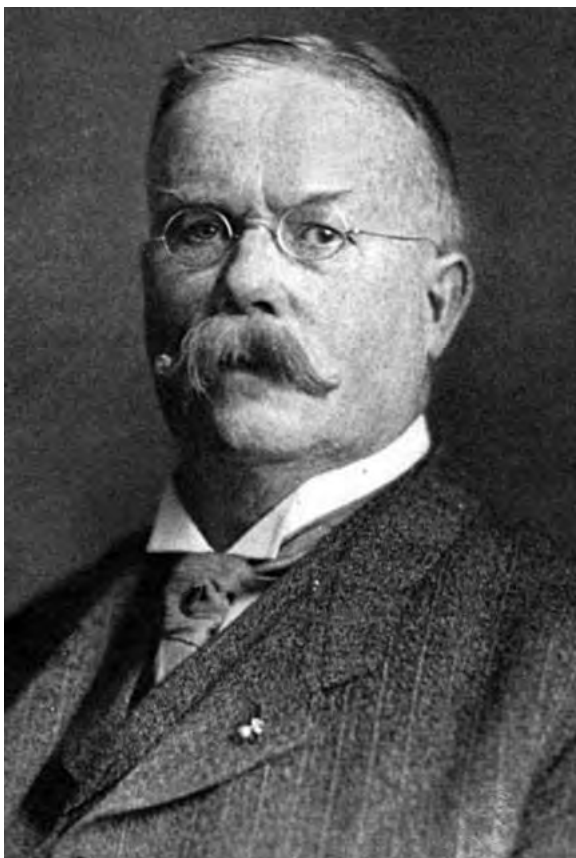
³ Morris Friedman, *The Pinkerton Labor Spy* (New York: Wilshire Book Co., 1907); J. Anthony Lukas, *Big Trouble: A Murder in a Small Western Town Sets off a Struggle for the Soul of America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 687.

⁴ Lukas, *Big Trouble*, 83-84. In 1907, there were three detective agencies listed in the *R. L. Polk & Co. Salt Lake City Directory*, but only one agency, the Western Detective Agency, appears to have had a local office, which was listed at 400-401 Herald Building. The other two agencies, the Pinkerton National Detective Agency and the Thiel Detective Service Company, were listed as having offices in Denver. However, according to an article in the *Salt Lake Herald*, dated October 27, 1906, the Thiel Agency of St. Louis filed a notice with the county clerk, announcing its intent to open a branch office in Salt Lake City.

identified union organizers and members, advised management of union plans and the possibility of strikes, obtained positions of leadership to influence union policies and encouraged members to be more favorable to management. Through studying the activities of Riddell, and other undercover agents, it is possible to analyze the character and methods of union spies and the result of their actions in Utah and neighboring states.⁵

Such a dramatic increase of private detectives throughout the nation was evidence of a massive breakdown of unity and trust among individuals, employers and employees, business colleagues, and government leaders and their constituents. There were several reasons for this erosion of mutual confidence—enormous economic growth and expansion of mass markets, migration of workers from rural areas to big cities, increased European immigration, corruption in business and government, and huge technological developments that changed the nature and pace of the miners' work.⁶

The technological advancements, such as compressed air drills, often decreased the number of workers needed and demoted experienced miners to muckers or shovelers, reducing their pay from \$3.00 to \$2.50 per day. The innovative equipment and procedures, if they were improperly



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James McParland, a spy for the Pinkerton Agency, infiltrated the Molly Maguires, a secret society of Irish coal miners in Pennsylvania in the 1870s. He later became head of the agency's Denver office.

⁵ Friedman, *The Pinkerton Labor Spy*, 1; Lukas, *Big Trouble*, 83. Some labor spies also reported on problems in the work environment such as timbers that were in bad shape or a shortage of drills. They also evaluated the mine supervisors and noted when they were bad-tempered or uncivil to the miners. See Katherine G. Aiken, *Idaho's Bunker Hill: The Rise and Fall of a Great Mining Company, 1885-1981* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), 51.

⁶ Lukas, *Big Trouble*, 84; Ben E. Pingenot, *Sirango* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1989), xix-xxi; Aiken, *Idaho's Bunker Hill*, 11.

implemented or when they occasionally failed, also created new risks for miners already working in a hazardous environment. Existing tension between mine owners and miners was further aggravated when the owners, seeking more luxurious living conditions, moved away from the mining towns, relying on managers to look after their interests. The miners blamed the faceless, “greedy” owners for many of their problems.⁷

To reclaim their status and to retake control of their workplace, miners organized into local unions. During the first years of the twentieth century, union membership in the United States increased from 868,500 in 1900 to 2,072,700 by 1904.⁸ In Utah, hard-rock miners, coal miners and smelter workers also participated in the national trend toward unionization, although many of the early unions “more or less took on the form of fraternal organizations.”⁹

Mine owners responded to the dramatic increase in unions by forming owners’ associations that worked together to fix wages, to prevent union activists from organizing or obtaining employment and to keep tabs on existing unions. They also worked to divide the miners along ethnic lines and to disenchant them with the union leaders’ political views.¹⁰

Pinkerton detectives first became involved in labor issues in the early 1870s when the Molly Maguires, a secret society of Irish coal miners, began perpetrating terrorist activities in Pennsylvania’s anthracite counties. James McParland, a legendary Pinkerton operative, was assigned to infiltrate the Mollies and to stop the murders, violence and destruction of property.

Acting undercover for two and a half years using the pseudonym James McKenna, McParland obtained sufficient evidence to convict twenty Mollies for the crimes, and they were eventually hanged. The Pinkerton’s participation in the widely publicized Mollie Maguire case caused some to conclude the agency had an anti-labor bias.¹¹

Successful undercover operatives like McParland possessed several

⁷ Elizabeth Jameson, *All That Glitters: Class, Conflict, and Community in Cripple Creek* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 25, 76; Jeanette Rodda, “Go Ye and Study the Beehive: The Making of a Western Working Class” (New York: Routledge, 2000), 173.

⁸ Aiken, *Idaho’s Bunker Hill*, 11; Allan Kent Powell, “The Foreign Element and the 1903-04 Carbon County Coal Miners’ Strike,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (1975): 125. According to Aiken, one of the main reasons miners formed unions was because of safety concerns. Many miners contributed one dollar per month to a hospital fund because, due to the dangerous nature of mining, hospitals were very important to miners. There was a general concern that the mine company was spending the miners’ hospital contributions. Jameson also stressed that mining was a hazardous occupation and that “family welfare depended on the health of the wage-earners. Injury sickness and death lurked as constant dangers.” Jameson, *All That Glitters*, 90-91.

⁹ Sheelwant B. Pawar, “The Structure and Nature of Labor Unions in Utah, An Historical Perspective, 1890-1920,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (1967): 246-48; David L. Schirer, “The Western Federation of Miners,” in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 1994), 632-33.

¹⁰ Aiken, *Idaho’s Bunker Hill*, 46, 51-52; Mark Wyman, *Hard Rock Epic: Western Miners and the Industrial Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 80.

¹¹ Pingnot, *Siringo*, xix-xxi; Lukas, *Big Trouble*, 178-87. McParland, who was dubbed by some as the “Great Detective,” was eventually promoted as the head of the agency’s Denver office.

essential qualities besides quick-wits and nerve—they were “strong enough to bear heavy manual labor;” they were a “gregarious sort, who could drink and roughhouse;” and they were “American enough to keep faith with Pinkerton and civilization.” Many of the secret agents also were unmarried; a desirable characteristic for their type of work, so if worse came to worse they “wouldn’t leave behind a widow and a brood of helpless babes.”¹²

Some union leaders maintained there was another requirement for an effective labor spy—treachery. During the Molly Maguire trial, one of the defense attorneys, in describing McParland, said, “This man who will take you to his bosom, gain your confidence and stealthily work upon your affections, your favor or your esteem, and then like a viper turn upon you and betray you, ought to be condemned by every honorable and right-thinking person.”¹³

In 1891, the Pinkertons were associated with another high profile dispute between labor and management in Coeur d’Alene, Idaho, when mine owners employed operatives from several agencies to infiltrate the local unions in the district’s mining camps. One of those agents was Charles A. Siringo, a tough and resourceful forty-four-year-old “cowboy detective” who had worked undercover out of the Pinkerton’s Denver office for five years.

Siringo had his work cut out for him. The miners were constantly on the lookout for spies and only a few weeks before Siringo arrived, they had run a detective from another agency out of town. Under the name C. Leon Allison, Siringo obtained work as a mucker for the Gem mine and then



Charles A. Siringo worked as an undercover agent out of the Pinkerton’s Denver office for five years during the 1890s.

¹² Lukas, *Big Trouble*, 178; Aiken, *Idaho’s Bunker Hill*, 50. According to Aiken, “most of the operative reports emphasized how taxing the detectives found their undercover employment to be; the operatives often stayed home from work because they were too tired or the work was too difficult.”

¹³ Lukas, *Big Trouble*, 187.

ingratiated himself with the miners by frequenting the saloons and making himself “a ‘good fellow’ among ‘the boys.’” After winning the miners’ trust he was elected as the union’s recording secretary, a position that made him privy to the union’s plans and gave him access to its records.

Like Riddell, Siringo was eventually identified as a spy, but not before he had spent several months dispatching valuable information to the agency, which helped keep the owners a step ahead of the miners. After learning that armed union men were gunning for him, Siringo decided it was time “to emigrate,” and he escaped the mob by crawling beneath the boardwalk of Coeur d’Alene’s main street. Although it first appeared the miners had achieved an unequivocal victory throughout the mining district, Idaho Governor, Norman B. Willey ultimately declared martial law and sent six companies of the national guard into the area to quash the rebellion.¹⁴

The success of the mine owners’ associations in crushing local unions in the West created a movement for region-wide associations of unions.¹⁵ After the controversial events at Coeur d’Alene, delegates of local unions from Idaho, Montana, South Dakota, Colorado and Utah met in Butte, Montana in 1893 and organized the Western Federation of Miners, the WFM, “a great federation of underground workers throughout the western states.” The Eureka Miners’ Union, which was established in 1886, was one of the local unions that sent representatives to the convention.¹⁶

By 1903, the WFM had recruited thirty to forty thousand members with approximately two hundred local unions throughout half a dozen states and parts of Canada. In Utah, between the years 1900 to 1916, approximately thirty-five locals affiliated with the WFM.¹⁷

Although it was later perceived as an extremist organization, the WFM initially vowed to establish a positive relationship with employers through the use of arbitration and conciliation to settle disputes.¹⁸ The vow was soon broken, however, in response to western mine owners’ militant anti-unionism, the socialist leanings of WFM officers, and economic pressures brought on by the national panic and depression of 1893. The panic resulted in a decline of silver and lead prices, which exacerbated the existing tensions between management and labor when some mine owners decided to lay off workers, reduce wages, and increase their attacks on unions.¹⁹

¹⁴ Charles A. Siringo, *A Cowboy Detective*, (Chicago: W. B. Conkey Co., 1912), 135-52; Lukas, *Big Trouble*, 101-103. According to Lukas, the miners had first begun to unionize in Coeur d’Alene in 1887.

¹⁵ Rodda, *Go Ye and Study the Beehive*, 209; Michael Neuschatz, *The Golden Sword: The Coming of Capitalism in the Colorado Mining Frontier* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), 28.

¹⁶ Lukas, *Big Trouble*, 104; Philip F. Notarianni, *Faith, Hope and Prosperity: The Tintic Mining District*, (Eureka: Tintic Historical Society, 1992), 39; Paul A. Frisch, “Labor Conflicts at Eureka, 1886-97,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (Spring 1981): 155.

¹⁷ Lukas, *Big Trouble*, 221; Schirer, “Western Federation of Miners,” 632-33.

¹⁸ Wyman, *Hard Rock Epic*, 172.

¹⁹ Rodda, *Go Ye and Study the Beehive*, 256; James C. Foster, ed., *American Labor in the Southwest: The First One Hundred Years* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982), 33; Notarianni, “Tintic Mining District,”



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Like their counterparts in other western states, Utah miners also were severely affected by the economic downturn of 1893. In Eureka, the miners' union voted to strike after management closed the Bullion Beck

The mining town of Eureka with the Eureka Miners' Union Hall on the north (right) side of Main Street.

Mine putting two hundred men out of work. The company later reopened the mine but reduced wages from \$3.00 to \$2.50 a day. The national WFM supported the Eureka miners, donating six hundred dollars to their cause. As the strike progressed, tempers flared on all sides—management, workers, and strike breakers—leading to incidents of violence. After seven long months and despite significant support from members of the community, the strike ended and miners were forced to accept the lower wages.²⁰ The strike was the most severe labor dispute in the district's history. Although recovery was slow, the development of new mills, improved water supplies, and renewed mining activity in the mid-1890s brought Tintic again to the forefront of Utah's mining districts.²¹

In 1901, a Socialist Party was organized in Eureka, and a year later, on February 8, 1902, the Eureka Miners' Union Local No. 151, which again affiliated with the WFM, was re-organized with fifty charter members.

349. According to Foster, who was quoting Samuel Gompers, "The Western Federation of Miners was so determined to subordinate the labor movement to socialism that reason could not prevail." Silver and lead prices became unstable and fell in 1893 when the government repealed the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, which had required the government to back currency with silver by purchasing one half million ounces of silver per month. See Notarianni, *Faith, Hope and Prosperity*, 39; Neuschatz, *The Golden Sword*, 30.

²⁰ Notarianni, *Faith, Hope and Prosperity*, 39; Frisch, "Labor Conflicts at Eureka," 155. According to Notarianni, the miners' union also had grievances regarding the company boarding house and store.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 45.



The Eureka Miners' Hall was used for union and fraternal organization meetings on the second floor and housed the Golden Rule Store on the first floor.

According to William M. Knerr, the Socialist Party's organizer in Utah, the Tintic district was "a perfect example of the industrial and political movements of the workers working hand in hand, and they are certainly a lively bunch. . . ."²²

The re-launching of a union in the town was an uphill battle because of the troubles with the old union, but once it had a toehold, the new union's

growth was "phenomenal," and by 1907 its membership had swelled to approximately seven hundred.²³ According to the *Eureka Reporter*, the new union struggled to improve the lives of the miners and lobbied for a uniform pay scale in the district. "Some of the mines in Eureka are paying the lowest wages that are being paid anywhere in the state but others are paying all that the union is asking for," wrote the *Eureka Reporter*, quoting union president J. J. O'Hara.²⁴

In the spring of 1905, the union threatened another strike but the dispute was amicably settled. "We are pleased to know that the mine owners and those in charge of the various mines were willing to treat their employees fairly in this matter," wrote the *Eureka Reporter*. "The outlook

²² Ibid, 74; John S. McCormick, John R. Sillito, "Socialists in Power: The Eureka, Utah, Experience: 1907-1925," *Weber Studies* 6 (Spring 1989):58; John S. McCormick, John R. Sillito, *A History of Utah Radicalism: Startling, Socialistic and Decidedly Revolutionary* (Logan: Utah State University, 2011), 108, 144-45, 223. According to McCormick and Sillito, by 1911 there were nearly three hundred Socialists in Eureka. In addition, more than five hundred members of the Eureka Miners' Union subscribed to the Socialist Party's newspaper, *The Inter-Mountain Worker*. William M. Knerr visited Eureka to solicit support for the newspaper. Knerr also said concerning his trip that "Our meeting with the miner's union was splendid, the reception accorded us being most enthusiastic and cordial." In 1912, Knerr ran unsuccessfully for a seat in the United States House of Representatives as Utah's Socialist candidate. It is interesting to note that in Utah politics, the Socialist Party enjoyed its greatest electoral success in Eureka.

²³ *Eureka Reporter*, February 1, 1907.

²⁴ Ibid., April 14, 1905.

for Eureka is more bright than it has been for many years and while we have such capable and honest men connected with the union and the various mines of the camp there is little likelihood of any serious trouble between employer and employee.”²⁵

An offshoot of the Western Federation of Miners, the Industrial Workers of the World, (IWW) was founded in Chicago in June 1905 proclaiming that workers and owners had nothing in common. An IWW local was organized in Eureka during November 1905 with thirty-nine members. The IWW, or “Wobblies,” was even more radical than the WFM and was reputed to be primarily supported by socialists and anarchists. The Wobblies believed that the solution to society’s ills was not a reformation, as advocated by the WFM, but a revolution through direct action such as strikes, demonstrations, and sabotage. The ideological differences between the two unions eventually resulted in an internal war in the fall of 1906 and by 1907 the WFM had withdrawn its support from the IWW.²⁶

A combination of several factors including the lingering ill-feelings over the 1893 strike, Eureka’s rejuvenation and the possibility of additional crippling strikes, the continuing fluctuation of prices for silver and lead ore, the rise of socialism, and the organization and rapid growth of the WFM and IWW unions in Eureka were the likely catalyst in motivating the Tintic Mine Operators’ Association to hire a labor spy.

Whatever the reason, either the mine owners or the Pinkertons, or both, apparently believed the situation merited one of the agency’s best operatives because George Riddell was no run-of-the-mill detective. Friedman, who described him as a “second James McParland,” grudgingly admired the former quartz miner for his intelligence and shrewdness.²⁷

Before coming to Utah, Riddell worked undercover for two years in a mine near Telluride, Colorado. He infiltrated the local WFM union to investigate the murder of mine manager Arthur Collins and the suspicious disappearance of mine guard William J. Barney. Although the mine owners paid the agency approximately seven thousand dollars for Riddell’s services, he was unable to unearth any important evidence or discover an “inner circle” of members within the WFM who were allegedly responsible for the crimes.²⁸

²⁵ Ibid., April 21, 1905.

²⁶ David Hampshire, Martha Sonntag Bradley and Allen Roberts, *A History of Summit County: Utah History Series* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Summit County Commission, 1998), 301; *Eureka Reporter*, November 17, 1905; Lukas, *Big Trouble*, 232–33, 691–92; Andrew Hunt, “Beyond the Spotlight: The Red Scare in Utah, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 61 (Fall 1993): 374.

²⁷ Friedman, *Pinkerton Labor Spy*, 117–19.

²⁸ Ibid. The WFM organized a series of strikes in Colorado during the early part of the twentieth century that later became known as the “Colorado labor wars.” The first of these strikes, one of the nation’s bloodiest, took place at Cripple Creek in 1903–1904, and additional strikes followed in other mining camps such as Telluride. According to James D. Horan, “The miners used dynamiters and rifle teams, while the owners used the state militia, armed strikebreakers, and vigilantes.” See James D. Horan, *The Pinkertons: The Detective Dynasty That Made History* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc, 1967), 459, 466.

Although there is no record of Riddell's precise movements when he first arrived in Eureka, it is likely he followed the agency's standard procedure for undercover operatives. According to Friedman, when an operative began a new assignment, he first found a place to live with a private room, usually in company lodgings. The operative next rented a post office box under his real name and promptly sent the box number to one of the agency's many post office boxes, all rented under assumed names. He then secured work, through his own efforts, as a bona fide craftsman. However, if after a reasonable length of time, the operative was unable to obtain employment, the agency disclosed the operative's identity to the client, under strict confidentiality, and he was immediately put to work.²⁹

The standard rate of pay for secret agents was eighteen dollars a week, plus reimbursement for any living and incidental expenses. Agents were allowed to pocket any additional money they received from working as miners. In addition, clients were required to pay ten dollars a day for a daily report that the operative mailed to the agency.³⁰

According to Friedman, "secret agents were the main source of revenue and profit at every branch of the Agency," and because of this, extreme care was exercised by the agency to preserve the true identity of all secret operatives to protect them from physical danger and to maintain their effectiveness as spies. Only the superintendent of the office where the operative worked, and the superintendent's assistant, knew an operative's real name. The agency always used the operative's assigned number, instead of his signature, on all receipts, letters and expense bills.³¹

Labor spies in the mining industry were most vulnerable to exposure when they actually began working in the mines. It was one thing to be a "good old boy" in the saloons, but an inexperienced miner or a man unaccustomed to hard physical labor, stood out like a sore thumb. One of the advantages that both Siringo and Riddell had was that they were seasoned laborers who could hold their own with the other miners.³²

Ironically, some of the characteristics that enabled the detectives to be good at their jobs, such as intelligence and shrewdness, also made them easily distinguishable from the miners and put union leaders on their guard.³³ Agents also caused suspicion when they mailed their daily reports to the agency. After his exposure, Siringo was told by one of the miners one of the things that had caused union leaders to suspect he was a traitor was that he had made too many trips to a nearby town to mail letters.³⁴

²⁹ Ibid, 8-9. For additional information on company towns and boardinghouses, see James B. Allen, "The Company Town: A Passing Phase of Utah's Industrial Development," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34 (1966): 138-60.

³⁰ Ibid, 10, 16.

³¹ Ibid, 8, 17.

³² Aiken, *Idaho's Bunker Hill*, 50.

³³ Ibid, 213, endnote 28, citing Frederick Burbidge, Bunker Hill Mine Assistant Manager.

³⁴ Siringo, *A Cowboy Detective*, 137-38. According to Friedman, all correspondence between the agency

Union labor spies, such as Riddell and Siringo, not only provided intelligence on “the ranks of labor,” they also were used as agents provocateurs who provoked workingmen to “ill-advised action, or even violence” in order to “tarnish and break the union.”³⁵ During the mid-1920s, some critics of labor espionage even went so far as to allege that detective agencies “agitated radicalism, formed radical labor organizations, and fomented labor troubles through paid representatives in order to make fees in exposing the movement,” and they also claimed that “prominent radicals were allowed to slip through the hands of the investigators that the search might be continued.”³⁶

One method of “breaking the union” was to encourage indiscriminate expenditures from union funds, which depleted the union’s financial reserves and weakened its bargaining power. On March 16, 1906, a week after Riddell was elected president of the union, its members voted to appropriate a thousand dollars, roughly a miner’s yearly salary, for the defense fund of WFM President Charles H. Moyer and Secretary William D. Haywood, who were both on trial in Boise for the assassination of Idaho’s former governor Frank Steunenberg. According to the *Eureka Reporter*, the money was “undoubtedly the largest sum appropriated for this purpose by any union in the state.”³⁷ A month later, the union donated another one hundred dollars for the “homeless people of California” and the local IWW gave twenty-five dollars.³⁸

Riddell also may have been instrumental in negotiations that helped to

and its secret operatives was written on plain stationery and envelopes. The letters of instruction to operatives were written with lead pencil, but the envelopes could be addressed with pen. It was a strict rule of the agency that none of the correspondence should be typewritten, because it might arouse suspicion. See Friedman, *Pinkerton Labor Spy*, 8-9.

³⁵ Lukas, *Big Trouble*, 83, 178. Lukas was quoting from Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor who noted, somewhat later, that “Never has the private detective been used to such an extent, or with such unscrupulousness, as during the first decade of the twentieth century.”

³⁶ *Salt Lake Telegram*, February 13, 1923.

³⁷ *Eureka Reporter*, March 16, 1906. Steunenberg served as Idaho’s fourth governor from 1897-1901. He died on 30 December 1905 from injuries sustained from a bomb that had been wired to the gate in front of his home. Steunenberg had incurred the wrath, and lasting animosity, of labor and WFM leaders when he was governor, after he requested that President William McKinley send troops to Idaho to quell trouble in the mining camps. The military commander of the force arrested miners without preferring charges, incarcerated them in “bull pens” or stockades and shut down local newspapers. According to Horan, Steunenberg’s murder was the “climax to the war between the mining unions and the mine operators. For years, both sides had indulged in a number of savage acts. The union members bombed, shot, and mutilated nonunion workers in Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and Idaho mines. The operators in the MOA – Mine Owners Associations – paid dismal wages, refused to adopt safety measures, and used their political strength to influence local and state officials to crush the unions.” Local authorities believed that Haywood and Moyer, acting as officers of the WFM, were responsible for Steunenberg’s assassination and they charged them with his murder and brought them to trial in Boise, Idaho. It is interesting to note that Haywood, who was known in labor circles as “Big Bill,” was the son of a Mormon pioneer and he was born in Salt Lake City on 4 February 1869. Haywood’s father was a Pony Express rider who also tried his hand at silver mining in the Oquirrh Mountains. “Big Bill” joined the WFM in 1895 and in May 1900 he had become a member of the WFM executive board. He also was one of the founding members of the IWW. See Lukas, *Big Trouble*, 50, 204, 209; Horan, *The Pinkertons*, 469.

³⁸ *Eureka Reporter*, April 27, 1906.

prevent a miners' strike. On July 27, 1906, the *Eureka Reporter* wrote, the "mining companies of Eureka and in fact all of the mines of the district have decided to grant the request of the miners for a uniform scale of \$3.00 per day. . . . it was generally understood that unless the increase was granted there would be a general strike on the first of next month and this uncertain feeling has created a scarcity of labor here keeping union miners away from the Tintic camps. Business has also suffered to a certain extent as a result of the strike rumors which have been in circulation and for that reason the statement that the trouble has been adjusted satisfactorily to all concerned will be good news to everyone."³⁹

During Riddell's tenure as president, members of the Eureka Miners' Union finalized plans for a new union hall. They also accelerated the construction schedule for the building's completion to accommodate the increasing number of persons who wished to attend union meetings. When the building was finished in 1907, the two-story concrete block structure cost the union between fourteen and sixteen thousand dollars.⁴⁰

After leaving Eureka, Riddell traveled to Boise, Idaho, where he attended the Steunenberg murder trial, as a possible witness for the prosecution.⁴¹ Testimony from a miner named Joseph C. Barnes, who had been a friend of Riddell's when they belonged to the union at Telluride, shed further light on Riddell's activities as a provocateur. According to one newspaper account, Barnes, who testified for the defense, "declared Riddell was constantly suggesting violence. He proposed to roll two logs of dynamite down a hill into the Liberty Bell mill; he advised the miners to 'punch' any of the deputies or 'bad men' who looked cross; told them to burn the town of Telluride, to beat up any man who started to work and run them out of town."⁴²

When Barnes was cross-examined by the prosecuting attorney, however, he was forced to admit he had never engaged in any criminal act with Riddell. He also acknowledged that although he and Riddell had talked about killing any man who stopped them from returning to Telluride after they had been deported, Riddell had never actually offered to help him commit murder.⁴³

Riddell's audacity was demonstrated during the trial when Friedman, at the request of the famous defense attorney Clarence Darrow, pointed the wily detective out to court spectators. One newspaper reported, "Riddell—

³⁹ Ibid., July 27, 1906. According to the newspaper article, other laborers and muckers continued to work for \$2.50 per day.

⁴⁰ *Eureka Reporter*, April 13 and July 27, 1906; Pearl D. Wilson, June McNulty and David Hampshire, *A History of Juab County*, Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Juab County Commission, 1999), 126. Union meetings were held on the second floor, but the first floor was rented out to commercial establishments. The first occupant in 1909 was the Golden Rule Store, owned and operated by Earl C. Sams and J.C. Penney. Sams later became national president of the J.C. Penney Company.

⁴¹ *Eureka Reporter*, June 28, 1907.

⁴² *Salt Lake Telegram*, July 3, 1907.

⁴³ Ibid.

The motto and symbol for the Pinkerton's National Detective Agency was well known to Utah and Western miners.

who ten days before had gone on a drunken binge through Boise saloons—smilingly acknowledged the witness's attention.”⁴⁴

Darrow, who was apparently annoyed by Riddell's cheek, described him as a “grinning hyena,” and referred to the agency in general as a bunch of “slimy Pinkertons.”⁴⁵

The *Eureka Reporter*, which closely monitored and reported on the trial, expressed moral outrage at Riddell's covert activities. “There is absolutely nothing of a secret nature about the doings of our union and our meetings might as well be open to the public said a well-known member of the local branch. These spies are sent out for the purpose of stirring up trouble—nothing else. The members here know that on several occasions this man Riddell tried to incite union men to do things which would have put our organization in an unfavorable light.”⁴⁶

On May 20, 1907 the *Deseret News* ran an article about another Pinkerton agent, W. H. Adams, who was exposed as a spy while serving as a union official in Bingham. Adams, after being elected as the union's corresponding secretary, had forwarded the minutes of all of the organization's secret meetings to the Pinkerton regional office in Denver.

The detective was described as “a pleasant appearing young man, about 30 years old, who rapidly won favor as a member of the union.” Suspicion first arose against Adams after he missed a union meeting and he was “overly anxious” to see the minutes from the meeting. When Adams subsequently repeated the request each time he was absent, he was shadowed and he was “finally caught with the goods and was told to decamp from town.” The secretary of the union, E. O. Locke, maintained that the fact Adams was allowed to leave peaceably instead of receiving “drum head treatment,” was evidence the union had “nothing to conceal and our records will stand all rigid inspection.” According to Locke, miners were upset that Adams had betrayed their trust, not because of any damage he had done to the union. “To know that he has done what he has only arouses in us the contempt anyone would have for one who plays false, but there is no resentment,



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⁴⁴ Lukas, *Big Trouble*, 688.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 706.

⁴⁶ *Eureka Reporter*, June 7, 1907.

as nothing could have gone out that can hurt us,” Locke said.”⁴⁷

Whether or not the Bingham union had something to conceal is debatable, but the union members in Eureka and Bingham appeared to be less violent towards those they considered traitors than their fellow miners in Idaho and Colorado. Riddell and Adams, unlike Siringo who had to flee the Coeur d’Alene district in fear of his life, apparently did not suffer any serious repercussions for their actions. Adams, in particular, who moved to Salt Lake City after leaving Bingham, evidently did not fear local retaliation.⁴⁸ Labor spies had evidently become a genuine problem for the WFM because its officers, Charles Moyer and Big Bill Haywood, who had attended a WFM convention in Salt Lake City in the summer of 1905, both charged that “every one of their most secret meetings had been attended by Pinkerton detectives, employed by the Mine Owners’ Association.” The two men supported their claim by pointing out to reporters “men who fraternized with them in the saloons and restaurants, and others who attended their meetings as spies upon their actions, and argued in the convention, from these premises, that it would be best to hold no more secret sessions, but to open the doors.” According to the *Deseret News*, the new policy was implemented and local reporters were allowed admittance at many of the WFM meetings.⁴⁹

Other unions complained about spies in their organizations as well. When Frank Buchanan, president of the Structural Iron and Bridge Workers’ Union visited Salt Lake City in March 1904, he noted during a speech that paid spies had entered the unions and that employers were hiring leaders to mislead their constituents.⁵⁰

Pinkerton agents, detectives in general, and people who were causing trouble in labor circles were discussed during a meeting of striking telegraphers in August 1907. According to an article in the *Ogden Standard Examiner*, “Local No. 30 of the Commercial Telegraphers’ union is not to be outdone by the Western Federation of Miners in the importance of their present strike. The boys have discovered that they are being watched and spied upon by Pinkerton detectives. Some of the operators claim to have seen Pinkerton men, whom they were able to identify following them around and spying upon their movements.”⁵¹

The suspicion that there were union spies throughout Utah’s mining camps created an atmosphere of mistrust and fear among miners and

⁴⁷ *The Deseret News*, May 20, 1907.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid. On January 15, 1908, a group of mining men, representing fifty producing Utah mines, met in Salt Lake City and organized the Utah Mine Operators’ Association also known as the Utah Mine Owners’ Association. The officers were: John Dern, president; Thomas Kearns, first vice-president; Willard F. Snyder, second vice-president; Harry S. Joseph, secretary; and C. E. Loose, treasurer. The officers, in addition to W. W. Riter, Ernest Bamberger, Lafayette Hanchott and W. C. Alexander, comprised the directorate. See *Salt Lake Mining Review*, January 30, 1908.

⁵⁰ *Deseret News*, March 22, 1904.

⁵¹ *Ogden Standard Examiner*, August 20, 1907.



fostered a “them against us” mentality between management and workers. A former resident of Bingham recalled, “In the mines a person had to be on his guard, there were company spies who spoke their language and who carried all rumor and talk of labor troubles to the mine officials. The companies were enemies.”⁵² Despite the precautions that some Utah labor leaders adopted to prevent espionage, such as only electing “well known union men as officers,” they were unable to keep all labor spies from infiltrating the unions.⁵³

In 1913, Pinkerton operatives who were working undercover in the Bingham mine made news again when they informed local authorities that Mexican laborers were supplying a fugitive, Rafael Lopez, with food and that they were endeavoring to raise the money to help him leave the country. Lopez, who had been born to a prominent Mexican family in Chihuahua in 1886, was a desperado who became the object of one of Utah’s most sensational manhunts. After killing half a dozen men, Lopez was eventually “trapped inside the Apex Mine, [at Bingham] which was smudged and sealed, and left to starve.”⁵⁴

During the next decade, labor spies continued their covert activities throughout Utah. When the United States entered World War I in 1917, the departure of men for Europe created a skilled labor shortage that decreased the output of the mines. In early 1919, Park City mine owners attempted to control rising costs by reducing wages seventy-five cents per

⁵² Helen Z. Papanikolas, “Life and Labor Among the Immigrants of Bingham Canyon,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 (Fall 1965): 293.

⁵³ *Eureka Reporter*, March 8, 1907.

⁵⁴ *Carbon County News*, December 18, 1913; Linda Sillitoe, *A History of Salt Lake County: Utah Centennial History Series* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Salt Lake County Commission, 1998), 157. According to some sources, Lopez somehow escaped the mine and returned to Mexico.

day, an amount so significant that eight to nine hundred miners and mill workers went on strike, forcing the first total closure of Park City's mines in fifty years.⁵⁵

Mine owners, who blamed the strike on the IWW, refused to negotiate with the union, claiming the extremist organization did not represent the majority of miners. To monitor interaction between IWW members and more conservative miners, the Silver King Consolidated Mining Company hired the Globe Inspection Company, which had an office in downtown Salt Lake City, to send operatives to work undercover in Park City.⁵⁶

The Globe Inspection Company's reports provide further insight on how labor spies operated in the mining camps. On May 27, 1919, after spending the morning at Salt Lake City's Union Passenger Station to meet the Butte train and observe if any known IWW union leaders or members had come to town, "Operative No. 240" boarded "the afternoon stage for Park City and upon the Opr's. [sic] arrival in Park City he started looking for a room and getting situated there. The Opr. secured a room at the Salt Lake House. In the evening the Opr. walked around town but found everything to be rather quiet. The Opr. noticed, however, that there were numbers of men standing around and talking or walking up and down the street."⁵⁷

On the following day, the operative, who evidently was an experienced miner and was in good standing with the union, interviewed a number of men about the strike situation. "Home owners and married men of Park City say as soon as the mine owners give a 75 cent raise, they will go back. However, the majority of the miners, who are single, are more radical than the others."⁵⁸

During the next few weeks, the operative continued to make daily rounds of the train depot, Miner's Union Hall and other known gathering places of union members, gleaning information that he forwarded to the home office.

Most of the married men believe that if a secret ballot is taken on Sunday, the majority would call off the strike Operative heard no less than fifteen men complaining that the strike committee was not trying to settle the trouble This morning there seems to be a split in the ranks of the strikers, and the men are all talking about the coming meeting tonight in the American Theater. The strike committee has a type written notice posted in several places in the city and in the Union Hall to notify all loyal union members on strike to stay away from the meeting called for tonight At 8:15 p.m., just before the meeting was called to order, Opr. stepped outside and in front of

⁵⁵ Hal Compton and David Hampshire, "Park City," in *From the Ground Up: The History of Mining Utah*, Colleen Whitley ed. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2006), 330.

⁵⁶ Mike Ivers Papers, Silver King Consolidated Mining Company, MS 370, Box 1, Folder 8, J. Willard Marriott Library, Special Collections, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. The Globe Inspection Company's office was located in the Judge Building, which was built by Mary Judge in 1906. She was the widow of John Judge, who was a partner in the Daly-Judge Mining Company and who also worked with Thomas Kearns and David Keith to develop the Silver King Mine in Park City.

⁵⁷ Ibid, May 27, 1919.

⁵⁸ Ibid, May 28, 1919.

the Miner's Union Hall and counted between 255 to 260 men who were loyal to the strike committee and were not going to attend the meeting . . . [During the meeting] there were 106 votes cast and every one of those votes were to call the strike off and go back to work.⁵⁹

On June 20, 1919, after talking with a man named Dave Gwilliams, who was the chairman of the strike committee, the operative reported that Gwilliams "seems very down-hearted and said that he was sure now that the strike was broken, because so many of the men he thought were loyal to the committee were going over to the new faction." He also noted that he had overheard other men in the miner's hall express their concern that the miners who had returned to the mines seeking work "were apt to get all of the preferred jobs." The operative also did his part to further discourage the miners from continuing the strike by telling them "it was useless to try and continue with the men split up in two factions as they are now, and with more of them going back up the hill each day rustling for work."⁶⁰

Despite the strike committee's discouragement about continuing the strike, union leaders confided to the operative that they "were going to get busy and keep up the agitation and hard feelings as much as possible." Bert Young, an IWW delegate, even said he hoped that the mine owners in Park City did not raise the wages because it would hurt their plans of trying to get the boys into "one big union." Young also revealed his plans to go "over to Eureka and also around the Tintic Standard Mine" for a few days to "try and write up as many new members as possible," noting that "he would have to be very careful so that the 'home guards' as he called them, would not know that he was in the city."⁶¹

In addition to his regular reports, the operative prepared a list of approximately two hundred men who were IWW members or union sympathizers and he also kept a tally of the miners, radicals and foreigners he observed leaving town with their baggage. Some of the intelligence the operative passed on to the mine owners may have actually benefited the miners in the long run, such as the conversation he overheard between union leaders Dave Gwilliams and G. Adamson that the miner's hospital was in "deplorable condition." The operative also relayed the opinion of a miner named Willard McKenzie, a "radical" who did not belong to the IWW, that one foreman was "trying to get the tunnel through too cheap and that was why he was passing some timber work that should be done at once." Other dangerous conditions in the mine, such as "broken caps that needed to be changed at once," were also brought to the mine owners' attention.⁶² By the end of the summer of 1919, the strike had completely collapsed and from 1921 to 1922, production in the mining district doubled.⁶³

⁵⁹ Ibid, June, 13, 14, and 17, 1919.

⁶⁰ Ibid, June 20 and 22, 1919.

⁶¹ Ibid, July 4, 1919.

⁶² Ibid, August 7, 1919.

⁶³ Compton and Hampshire, "Park City," 332.

After the resolution of the strike, Globe Inspection Company spies continued their espionage in Park City and Salt Lake City. A report from the company dated July 10, 1923, quoted a warning issued to union members by IWW delegate W. G. Nelson, who was an organizer in the Eureka district. "Be careful when rustling employment at the Tintic Standard. It is full of stools and it is well known among the IWW that twelve men who have the authority to wear stars are working undercover in that mine."⁶⁴

In another report dated August 17, 1923, an operative who attended an IWW meeting in Salt Lake City, expressed his contempt at the behavior of five unfamiliar men he suspected were labor spies from a competing company. After the men maneuvered to have their leader, Harry Kinney, nominated and sustained as the chairman of the meeting, the operative observed, "This man Kinney proved himself to be a very poor chairman, apparently not familiar with proceedings and before the meeting had been in session any length of time, a motion was made that another of these strangers be appointed to act as chairman Action of this kind only increased suspicion, the old 'Wobblies' realizing there was a frame-up somewhere Secretary Sullivan protested against the seating of anyone in such a manner." After some confusion, the meeting was ruled "out of order" and "all old 'Wobblies' left the hall together, leaving the balance standing in front of the hall." He added:

All five of the strangers who tried to get into the meeting last night are under suspicion and this man Kinney has been singled out as a detective. There was much business of importance to be transacted in the meeting last night, but the old members did not feel like taking any chances in bringing this business up unless absolutely certain that all members present were loyal 'Wobblies.' It is my personal opinion that Kinney is a representative from some agency but his work was rather crude. He will never get very far when it comes to getting information as he is under suspicion and those in charge of the office will watch him closely.⁶⁵

The Globe Inspection Company became involved in another Utah labor dispute when coal miners throughout the nation went on strike in 1922 and coal companies near Price, in Carbon County, employed spies to infiltrate "miners' union and keep close tabs on the activities of union leaders."⁶⁶ Operatives, also known as "inspectors," attended local IWW and United Mine Workers (UMW) meetings and also closely followed the movements of all union members.⁶⁷

After attending one IWW meeting, an inspector reported, "There is going to be considerable labor trouble in the mining camps of Utah this

⁶⁴ Ivers papers, July 10, 1923.

⁶⁵ Ibid, August 17, 1923.

⁶⁶ Allan Kent Powell, "Utah and the Nationwide Coal Miners' Strike of 1922," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Spring 1977): 138.

⁶⁷ Spring Canyon Area Coal Company Records, MSS 252, Box 3, Folder 6, Harold B. Lee Library, Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. The United Mine Workers, a union for coal workers and technicians, was founded in Columbus, Ohio, on January 22, 1890.

Spring Delegates in the Bingham district, Park City district and Butte district report that men are getting uneasy some of the members in the Bingham district are anxious to take action sometime in March.” A few months later, another report quoted two IWW workers who predicted “that within the next year the coal miners of this state would be lined up solidly under the IWW banner.” Another inspector reported that after following two Italians from a distance and eavesdropping



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on their conversation, he had learned that “if trouble breaks out in this district during the coming year and it is possible to get the

Four members of the Park City Western Federation of Miners.

American miners to walk out, the Italians and Greeks will go with them and will stick until they finish. But the foreigners are not going to be goats again and unless the Americans take the lead, there will be no strike.” Other reports described the activities of UMW labor organizer Frank Bonacci. “Ran into Bonacci who had bought a new car to get around the camps better. Bonacci has recruited 200 new members.” On March 24, 1926, Bonacci told an inspector he was having so much success that he had “sent in a special request for a good organizer to come to Utah immediately and help him out.”⁶⁸

This boost in union membership in Utah and throughout the nation was paralleled by an increase in labor espionage which, by the late 1920s, had “come to be a common, almost universal, practice in American industry.”⁶⁹ According to testimony provided by members of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) during Senate hearings in 1937, American industries were spending more than eighty million dollars per year to spy on their workers. In addition to their testimony, NLRB members also provided a list showing that 230 private detective agencies had labor informants in more than one hundred cities. The hearings were part of an investigation that began in 1936, when the nation’s leaders addressed the issue of labor espionage after the Seventy-fourth United States Congress

⁶⁸ Spring Canyon Area Coal Company Records, February 16, August 2, 1924; February 23, 1925; March 20 and 24, 1926.

⁶⁹ Robert Michael Smith, *From Blackjacks to Briefcases: A History of Commercialized Strikebreaking and Unionbusting in the United States* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003), 82.

passed Resolution 266, which called for an “investigation of violations of the right of free speech, assembly, and of interference with the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively.” The Committee of Education and Labor was assigned to conduct the investigation and a subcommittee was appointed to focus specifically on labor espionage. From 1936 and 1941, the subcommittee, under the direction of Senators Elbert D. Thomas of Utah and Robert La Follette, Jr., of Wisconsin, held hearings and published reports on the subject, which was vigorously debated on both sides of the question.⁷⁰

One of the agencies scrutinized during the hearings was the Pinkerton National Detective Agency. La Follette charged that “while the Pinkertons pointed with pride to the fact that they had refused retainers that had any connection with marital infidelity, it was within their code to pay men to spy on fellow workers and that without such work the Agency would collapse.”⁷¹ Robert Pinkerton, who was the grandson of the agency’s founder, Allan Pinkerton, defended the employment of labor spies, which had been one of the most lucrative aspects of his company’s business, with the argument that “I feel a man running a business must keep himself posted on how that business is being run.” The agency also justified its actions by submitting a file that contained evidence of more than two thousand court convictions of criminals who had been guilty of labor related crimes such as assault, bombings and murder. Pinkerton, however, refused to provide sources for this information, alleging that it would jeopardize the safety of the agency’s secret operatives.⁷²

After the hearings were concluded, a resolution was passed stating that “so-called industrial spy systems breeds fear, suspicion and animosity, tends to cause strikes and industrial warfare and is contrary to sound public policy.”⁷³ According to historian Robert Michael Smith, “While no sweeping legislation had been enacted, the revelations of the La Follette Committee sparked a strong public reaction against the anti-union industry. Cringing under an uncomplimentary light in April 1937, the Pinkerton board of

⁷⁰ Horan, *The Pinkertons*, 508-509. During the Great Depression, the public’s reverence for business and private property dramatically decreased and there was an outcry against unethical business practices, including anti-union activities. In 1935, Congress passed the Wagner Act, which made the federal government the arbiter of employer-employee relations through the creation of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). The Wagner Act established the rights of employees to organize, join, or aid labor unions and to participate in collective bargaining through their representatives. When the NLRB experienced obstacles in implementing the guidelines of the Wagner Act, the board called for congressional action. In 1936, a Democratic Congress responded by passing Resolution 266.

⁷¹ Horan, *The Pinkertons*, 508-509. . According to Robert Michael Smith, “Nearly one-third of those in the employ of the Pinkerton Agency, for instance, held high positions, including one national vice- presidency, fourteen local presidencies, eight local vice-presidencies, and numerous secretaryships.” Smith, *From Blackjacks to Briefcases*, 88

⁷² Horan, *The Pinkertons*, 509. Besides the Pinkerton agency, the subcommittee investigated the nation’s four other largest detective agencies: William Burns International Detective Agency, the National Corporation Service, the Railway Audit and Inspection Company and the Corporations Auxiliary Company. See Morn, *The Eye That Never Sleeps*, 186-88.

⁷³ Ibid.

directors unanimously agreed that ‘this agency in the future not furnish information to anyone concerning the lawful attempts of labor unions or employees to organize and bargain collectively.’”⁷⁴ In a later interview with the *New York Times*, Robert Pinkerton stated, “That [labor espionage] is a phase of our business that we are not particularly proud of and we’re delighted we’re out of it. However, there was nothing illegal about it at the time.”⁷⁵

The presence of labor spies in Utah during the early part of the twentieth century impacted the state’s industry and labor in several ways. Labor espionage aggravated the already strained relations between mine owners and miners; it generated mistrust among workers; it kindled sympathy for the labor movement in local newspapers and in public opinion; and, in some cases, it motivated union leaders to decrease the number of their secret sessions and to open their doors to local reporters.

It also left its mark on those who practiced it. In later life, Siringo, who worked for the Pinkertons for twenty-two years, came to regret some of his questionable activities as a labor spy. Although he had initially considered the agency to be a “model institution,” he later denounced it as “a school for the making of anarchists, and a disgrace to the enlightened age.”⁷⁶

Siringo, McParland and Riddell, and others like them, were an ingenious and resilient breed of men who were required to operate in an environment where the boundaries between honor and treachery were undefined and where the end often seemed to justify the means. In the end, however, there were few winners and many losers among those who were involved with labor espionage. One historian has opined it was inevitable that private detective agencies, and their employees, that were “born out of a nationwide need for law and order,” should eventually “become ensnared in the same corrupting influence and moral decay that so pervaded the era.”⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Smith, *From Blackjacks to Briefcases*, 95.

⁷⁵ Quoted in Horan, *The Pinkertons*, 508-509.

⁷⁶ Pingnot, *Siringo*, xix-xxi.

⁷⁷ Ibid; James McParland passed away in Denver, Colorado, on May 18, 1919. After retiring from the Pinkerton agency, Charles Siringo spent the rest of his life in Texas and California. He died on October 18, 1928, in Altadena, California. The authors have been unable to determine what happened to George W. Riddell after his appearance in Boise at the Steunenberg murder trial.



DREAMSTIME PHOTOGRAPH

A Majestic Building Stone: Sanpete Oolite Limestone

By WILLIAM T. PARRY

Long before gold, silver, and copper mines caught the headlines in early Utah newspapers, another treasure was being quarried from the earth in the Sanpete Valley. Oolite limestone from Sanpete County was the building stone chosen for many private and public structures in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A great variety of rocks suitable for building were formed during the complex geological history of Utah. The building stone varieties exposed in the mountains near the early settlements include onyx marble from Nephi, sandstone from *The Hearst Castle (Casa Grande)*.

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Park City and Heber City, granite from Little Cottonwood Canyon near Salt Lake City, and volcanic rock from St. George and Beaver.¹ The oolite limestone exposed in the isolated Sanpete Valley one hundred miles south of Salt Lake City was the most widely used.

The widespread use of the Sanpete oolite limestone was due to its cream color, ease of quarrying and carving, durability, and its exposure in easily accessible sites near the valley floor. Stone craftsmen among early Mormon immigrant settlers recognized the value of the stone and opened quarries soon after settlement. Architects inspired by the Beaux-Arts and Neoclassical styles found the stone suited their artistic talents, and the arrival of railroad transportation, made possible the use of the stone for structures beyond Sanpete County.

The attractive physical properties of the Sanpete oolite limestone were due to the geological conditions of formation and exposure in Sanpete Valley. Sanpete Valley is surrounded by great slabs of inclined sedimentary rock layers that rise from the valley floor and flatten on the crest of the Wasatch Plateau on the east, and the cliffs of the San Pitch Mountains on the west. Oolite limestone beds occur at the base of the Wasatch Plateau near the valley floor. The oolite limestone is a part of the Green River Formation, which was formed in a large prehistoric lake named Lake Uinta that extended from Sanpete Valley into the Uinta Basin. The age of the lake and the limestone is 43.1 to 46.4 million years.²

The formation of oolites in a lake environment required some special conditions. First, the water must be supersaturated with the carbonate minerals. Next a suitable nucleus must be present around which the carbonate mineral may precipitate. Wave action agitates the grains to permit precipitation to completely surround the nucleus. Oolites are restricted to water that is less than a few meters in depth and agitated by wave action near a shoreline.³

The properties of the stone reflect its texture, mineralogy, and chemical composition. Oolites 1.5 to 2 millimeters in diameter are the most striking textural feature. They are either hollow or partially filled with granular material cemented by medium gray silica and calcite. Composition includes both calcium and magnesium carbonate. The carbonate minerals are relatively soft and easily carved. The limestone contains small amounts of iron and aluminum oxides that contribute to the pleasing color of the quarried stone.⁴

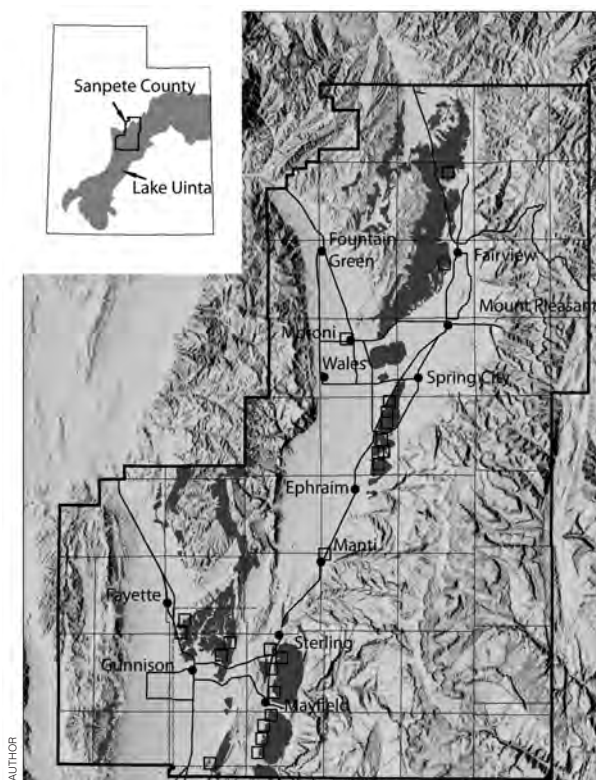
Exposure of the stone at the surface made quarrying Sanpete oolite

¹ Bryce Tripp, *Utah Stone* (Salt Lake City: Utah Geological Survey Public Information Series No. 17, 1993), 1-17.

² Malcolm P. Weiss and Douglas A. Sprinkel, *Geologic Map of the Manti 7.5-minute Quadrangle, Sanpete County, Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Geological Survey Map 188, 2002), 10.

³ B. W. Sellwood, "Shallow-water carbonate environments," in H. G. Reading ed. *Sedimentary Environments and facies* (New York: Elsevier, 1978), 268; R. C. Selly, *Ancient Sedimentary Environments and Their Subsurface Recognition*, 4th ed. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1996), 213.

⁴ A. R. Pratt and Eugene Callaghan, *Land and Mineral Resources of Sanpete County, Utah*, Utah Geological and Mineralogical Survey, Bulletin 85 (Salt Lake City: Utah Geological and Mineralogical Survey, 1970), 38.



The location of oolite limestone quarries in Sanpete County. The quarry locations are indicated by an open square. The shaded area indicates the oolite limestone exposures in the county.

stone for construction material an attractive endeavor. Sanpete Valley formed as a result of faulting on the Valley Fault on the west side of the valley. The west side of the valley dropped downward forming the valley and tilting the sedimentary layers upward to the east on what is known as the Wasatch Monocline, which extends seventy miles from Milburn to Salina.⁵ The minimum

age of the monocline is thirty-eight million years.⁶ The underlying Flagstaff Limestone is also tilted upward to the east, and makes up much of the upper surface of the Wasatch Plateau.⁷ Erosion by westward flowing streams removed much of the Green River Formation from the Wasatch Plateau and exposed the Green River Formation at the base of the plateau.

The stone sometimes deteriorates with time due to freezing and thawing of water in the stone pores, groundwater attack, and chemical attack by industrial gases. Water trapped in moist limestone expands when frozen and causes deterioration. Also, ground water chemically attacks the limestone. Carl J. Christensen studied the response of the stone to atmospheric sulfur derived from industrial sources. In a series of laboratory experiments and examination of deteriorated stone on the University of Utah Park Building, he found that atmospheric sulfur reacted with the limestone to form hydrated calcium sulfate mineral, gypsum. The gypsum replaced the

⁵ Weiss and Sprinkel, *Geologic Map of the Manti*; Irving J. Witkind, Malcolm P. Weiss, and Terrence L. Brown, *Geologic Map of the Manti 30' x 60' Quadrangle, Carbon, Emery, Juab, Sanpete, and Sevier Counties, Utah* (U. S. Geological Survey Miscellaneous Investigation Series Map I-1631, 1987).

⁶ Shelly A. Judge, "The Origin and Evolution of the Wasatch Monocline, Central Utah," (Ph. D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 2007), 180, 329.

⁷ Hellmut H. Doelling, Paul A. Kuehne, and Douglas A. Sprinkel, *Interim Geologic Map of the Ephraim 7.5-minute Quadrangle, Sanpete County, Utah*, Open-file Report, 556 (Salt Lake City: Utah Geological Survey, 2009).

limestone, expanded in volume and caused exfoliation of the limestone building blocks.⁸

The oolite limestone was easily located by quarry men due to the extensive exposure and highly visible white color along the base of the inclined rock layers. Once located, the limestone was relatively easy to quarry compared to other types of rock. For example, in 1904 the cost of quarrying granite was estimated at \$4.53 per cubic yard compared to the cost of limestone at \$0.74 per cubic yard.⁹

The limestone was quarried and split to dimensions ready for stonecutters to begin dressing the surface. Quarrying began by first excavating a working face in the quarry. Next a channel was excavated at the end of this face and overlying shale or unsuitable rock was removed to expose three faces of the stone. Then, the art of quarrying begins by taking advantage of joints and natural planes of weakness in the rock. In the oolite which is a sedimentary rock, bedding surfaces form one set of weakness planes, and two sets of joints perpendicular to bedding that may be visible only to a trained eye form additional weakness planes. The rock may be quarried into large, rectangular-shaped blocks along such weakness planes.

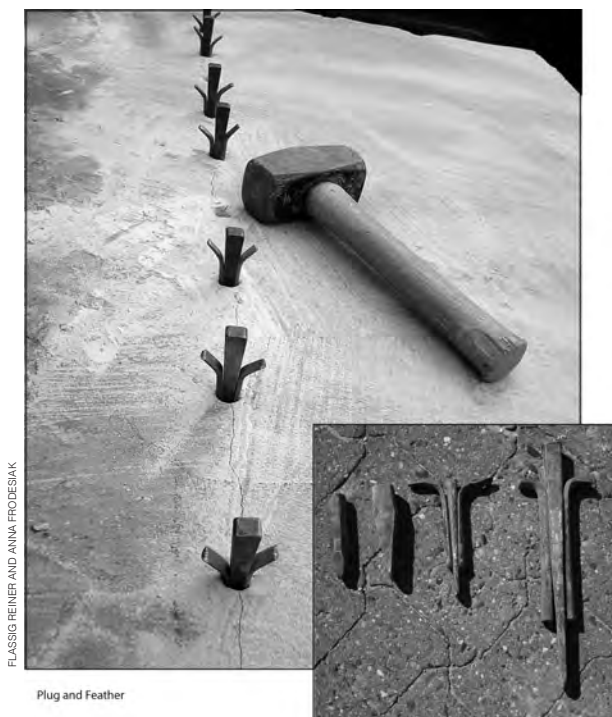
The rock was quarried using only hand tools and the plug-and-feather technique. First, holes were drilled by hand along one of the joint sets. Then a “feather” was inserted. The feathers were short pieces of half-round iron, and the rounded side fits the curved sides of the drilled hole. The plug was a wedge that fits between two feathers. The wedges were hammered with successive hammer blows to tighten them, and then each plug (wedge) was struck with one or two hard blows in succession, waiting a suitable length of time between each set of blows to allow the strain to accumulate in the rock. The ring of the hammer blow against the wedge told the quarry man that the strain was the same in each wedge. The depth of the drilled holes and the spacing along the joint were determined by the thickness between adjacent bedding planes of the rock that were being quarried.¹⁰

Once broken loose from the quarry working face, the quarried stones were moved on to rollers then loaded onto horse-drawn wagons using a derrick. In the photograph taken about 1901, six quarry men and a dog are shown in the foreground of the working Ephraim quarry. The overburden waste of shale and thin-bedded limestone has been removed with the help of the man at the far right and his wheelbarrow. The man at the far left foreground stands on the upper limestone surface where feather and

⁸ Carl J. Christensen, *Sanpete Oolite Limestone as a Building Material*, Bulletin No. 140 of the State School of Mines, University of Utah (Salt Lake City: Utah Engineering Experiment Station, University of Utah, 1967), 1-30.

⁹ Hulbert Powers Gillette, *Rock Excavation Methods and Costs* (New York: M. C. Clark, 1904), 209-13.

¹⁰ Mary Gage and James Gage, *The Art of Splitting Stone* (Amesbury, MA: Powwow River Books, 2005), 36-44, 58-62.



FLASSIG REIMER AND ANNA PRODESIAK

Plug and Feather

Tools used in splitting oolite limestone using the plug and feather method.

wedges were to be used to break the stone free. Edward L. Parry, in a dark suit, and the quarry foreman in a vest stand next to stone newly broken loose and moved into position for lifting by the derrick. The stout pole derrick consisted of a heavy vertical timber held in place by guy ropes. An inclined timber attached to the base of the vertical timber was hinged so that its distal end could move both horizontally and

vertically. A block-and-tackle assembly at the end of the inclined timber passed through pulleys from the end of the inclined timber to the top of the vertical timber and then to a winch. The winch, with a set of gears, was operated by hand. The lifting tongs, a scissor-like apparatus with a chain looped through the two handles and both ends, were attached to the block and tackle. As the chain was lifted by operation of the winch, the two hooks were pulled together to hold the block of rock securely. Once the rock was clear of the ground surface, the inclined timber could be swung horizontally to a desired location, and the rock lifted vertically so that it could be placed on a wagon or railroad car. The worker near the wagon holds the derrick tail rope to position the crane over the wagon being loaded. Two men at the vertical timber operate the winch for hoisting the stone. The chain tongs holds the stone suspended from the derrick as it is swung into place over the wagon. Various hand tools are held by other workers or scattered about including shovels, lever bars, picks, etc. The vertical timber stands today in the Ephraim quarry and the decayed remains of the inclined timber can still be seen.

Manti, settled in 1849, Ephraim, settled in 1854, and Spring City, settled after much Indian trouble in 1859 were central to the development of the oolite limestone. Stonemasons, stonecutters, and quarrymen who had learned their trade from such diverse localities as Tennessee, New Hampshire, New York, Vermont, Denmark, Sweden, Wales, Canada, and England were among the pioneer settlers in each of these communities.



TOM BROOKS

Under the leadership of Isaac Morley, the original settlers of Manti comprised of 224 men, women, and children arrived in the isolated, high-mountain Sanpete Valley on November 19, 1849, and sought shelter from the winter winds on the south side of a prominent sagebrush, juniper covered, and rattlesnake infested hill protruding from the plateau to the east that would later become known as “Temple Hill.” Twenty-seven dugouts were built into the hillside composed of shale and oolite limestone. This first group of settlers included at least one stonemason, Augustus E. Dodge who was born in New York. Early pioneers spent the first miserable winter in the dugout caves. Their first homes were built of logs and later adobe. Trees had to be felled in the nearby mountains and hauled to the building site for log homes, but the stone was nearby.

***Ephraim oolite limestone quarry
about 1901.***

Elizah Averett born in Tennessee, Jerome B. Kempton born in New York, Thomas Thorpe from England, Welcome Chapman from Vermont, Artemus Millet from New Hampshire, and William Miles from New York were masons and stonecutters who arrived in 1850.¹¹ Within the first few years of settlement, these stonemasons recognized the utility of the stone exposed in that first hill where settlement began. Stone quarries were quickly opened and stone was quarried for farm buildings, many of the first houses, all of the first public buildings, and a stone wall fort, twelve-feet

¹¹ *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States 1850*, Microfilm roll 919, National Archives Microfilm Publication.

high and walls two feet thick, was constructed in May and June 1852 for protection.¹²

The first oolite home in Manti was built in 1851, but was later demolished. Some examples of oolite limestone structures still standing are the Black-Tuttle-Folsom Home built in three stages from the 1850s to 1880s, and the John Patten House built in 1854 of primitive stone masonry. Orville Sutherland Cox and then Jezereel Shoemaker first owned the Cox-Shoemaker-Parry Home, built in 1858. Both men were members of the 1849 group of settlers. The house was purchased by Edward L. Parry in 1877 and was home to four generations of Parrys. The John Crawford home was built in 1874, the Manti City Hall was built in 1873-1882, the present-day Yardley Inn and Spa was built of oolite limestone in 1910, and the Sanpete County Courthouse was built in 1935-1937.

The unique beauty and utility of the Sanpete stone was quickly recognized throughout the territory. When the Washington National Monument Society on February 10, 1851, invited the Utah Territory to provide a stone for the Washington Monument in Washington D. C., the General Assembly of the Provisional State of Deseret passed a resolution approved by Governor Brigham Young to "procure a block of marble from the best specimens of stone in the state (territory)." A committee chosen by Governor Young selected the oolitic limestone from quarries at Manti.

The talented stonemason, William Ward, considerably enhanced the qualities of the stone with his carving. A native of Leicester, England, Ward followed the family trade of stonemasonry and carving. After emigrating to Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1844 and later to Utah in 1850, he was appointed foreman of the stonecutters working on the temple block in Salt Lake City and was made assistant to Truman O. Angell Sr., chief LDS architect. His credits included participating in the design and construction of the Lion House, the Salt Lake Temple, and other buildings. His intricate carving of the oolite limestone made it a magnificent addition to the Washington Monument.

The block of oolitic limestone for the Washington Monument was three-feet long, two-feet wide and six and one-half inches thick. The carving on the stone features a beehive at the center with the motto "Holiness to the Lord" and the all-seeing eye with rays above and Deseret in large letters below. The base of the block is covered with carvings of different kinds of foliage and a semicircular arch is enriched with morning glory vines and blooms. On each side are spandrels, one showing the symbol of union enriched with foliage, and the other displaying a cornucopia. The edge is a fillet 1.5 inches wide and 0.75 inches deep. After a three-month journey, the stone arrived at Washington D. C. on September 27, 1853, and was placed in the monument some time during

¹² Demont H. Howell, *The Shoulders on Which We Stand* (Fairview: Fairview Museum of History and Art, 1982), 4.



the mid 1880s. The limestone later showed the ravages of time and weather, and was supplemented by more durable granite in 1951.¹³

Shoemaker-Cox-Parry Home in Manti was constructed of locally quarried oolite limestone in 1858.

The most spectacular structure in Manti, the Manti LDS Temple, was constructed of oolite limestone from 1877 to 1888. The temple is luminous, and under a combination of light from the setting sun and floodlight illumination, appears to float in the sky in the evening light when viewed from many miles away. The beautiful building is the result of the work of William Harrison Folsom, the architect for the temple, and Edward L. Parry, the master mason. The temple walls, with buttresses and crenellations, resemble a medieval fortress. The two towers were designed in French Second Empire style with mansard roofs and dormer windows all related in a harmonious manner. Folsom rejected the traditional American religious architecture of spires and cupolas. The completed building appears more like a great mansion than a conventional church or cathedral. Folsom also designed the Manti Tabernacle built of oolite stone, but the Manti Temple was his crowning achievement.¹⁴

Ephraim, formerly named Pine Creek and then Cottonwood, was settled

¹³ Senate Document No. 12, 82nd Congress, 1st session, March, 1951, 25 pages. Stonemason William Ward was one of the four English stone carvers described by Carol Edison in "Custom-made gravestones in early Salt Lake City: The Work of Four English Stone Carvers," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (Fall 1988): 312-17.

¹⁴ Paul L. Anderson, "William Harrison Folsom: Pioneer Architect," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (Summer 1975): 254-55; V. J. Rasmussen, 1988, *The Manti Temple*, (Manti: Manti Temple Centennial Committee, 1988), 8.



soon after Manti, and construction of the fort began in 1854, as the establishment of stone quarries in the nearby exposures of stone east and northeast of Ephraim followed soon after settlement. Names of quarry operators are a clear indication of their Scandinavian heritage. In Ephraim, the Sanpete White Stone Company's initial owners were P.C. Peterson Sr., Anthon H. Lund, Dr. Charles Jensen, and Henry Lund. Later P.C. Petersen Jr. was a part owner and manager and Heber Poulson was foreman. There was no shortage of talent as the White Stone Company employed seventy-two men a day. Other quarries were owned and operated by Lauritz, Otto, and A. C. Nielson, Jacob Peterson, Joseph Thorpe, M. P. Madsen, Peter Mortensen, Jorgen Jorgenson, and Soren P. Jensen.

This stone of oolite limestone was carved for the Washington Monument.

The 1860 U. S. Census for Ephraim lists stonemasons and cutters from far flung places. Collins E. Flanders was from New Hampshire, Parlen McFarlen and William Bubble hailed from Canada, Nels Christian and Andrew Hanson had come from Denmark. Additional stonecutters included Peter L. Breinholt, Alfred Bailey Sr., John C. Johnson Sr., Lars Christensen, Niels Jensen, and Niels Spendrup. These craftsmen built many homes and other buildings of oolite limestone. For example, the Ephraim City Building was constructed of machine-cut oolite limestone, and the Ephraim United Order Cooperative Store was constructed in 1872 of oolite limestone.¹⁵

¹⁵ Centennial Book Committee, William G. Barton, ed., *Ephraim's First 100 Years* (Ephraim, 1954), 69.



AUTHOR

Spring City is the third city whose geology and history are intricately bound with the Sanpete stone industry. This picturesque little town lies in solitude at the foot of the Wasatch Plateau hidden behind white hills of oolite limestone that separate it from the rest of the Sanpete Valley.

The Manti Temple was constructed of oolite limestone between 1877 and 1888.

The first attempt to settle Spring City was made in 1852, but was abandoned because of Indian attacks. The community was resettled in 1859, and the 1860 U. S. Census lists no stonemasons.¹⁶ Stonemasons arrived with the Danish immigrants who arrived in the 1860s. The new arrivals wasted no time in quarrying limestone from the hills southwest of town. Homes built between 1865 and 1890 comprise over one-third of existing homes and either the rich cream-colored oolite limestone or adobe were the most common building materials.

Jens Jorgen Sorensen, John Peter (Jens) Carlson, and John Bohlin were the principal stonemasons. Thirty-year-old Jens Jorgen Sorensen arrived in Spring City in 1882. A native of Stanby, Denmark, Sorensen made his mark as a stonemason on many buildings in the area including the Manti Temple,

¹⁶ Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States 1860.



The Spring City Chapel was constructed of oolite limestone between 1902 and 1911.

the Spring City Hall, the Spring City Chapel, and the James Blair home.

John P. Carlson was an excellent craftsman. His stonework included the Manti Temple, Spring City LDS chapel, City Hall and many homes in town; his own home is regarded as an outstanding example of his proficiency. Carlson began construction of his home in 1896 doing everything himself. He quarried, dressed, and smoothed the stone. He made lime fillings

to form mortar for the 1/8-inch joints; the interior walls exposed the smoothed stone. Unfortunately, Carlson died in 1927 at age seventy-eight before construction on his home was completed.

Scandinavian stonemasons who worked on buildings in Spring City included Wiley Allred, Hans Hansen, and Peter Monsen. Wiley Payne Allred was both a physician and stonecutter. He was born in Bedford County, Tennessee, the son of James and Elizabeth Warren Allred. He crossed the plains in 1851, settled first in Provo, then the Allred Settlement that became Spring City, and later contributed his skills to the Manti Temple construction. Hans Jorgen Hansen and his wife, Ane Kirsten, came from Denmark in 1859. They lived first in a dugout then a log cabin, before construction of their one and a half story rock home built in 1874. Peter Monsen was a Swedish convert who built his own cut stone home between 1871 and 1883.

The strikingly beautiful Spring City LDS Chapel is the most prominent of Spring City's oolite limestone structures. It is situated on the town's Main Street where its stunning architecture and white stonework set the tone for the whole town. John F Bohlin was the stone supervisor while John P. Carlson prepared the stone for the building. The stonemasons were John P. Carlson, Jens Sorensen and Lars Larsen. Architect Richard C. Watkins designed the building, which took nine years to build (1902-1911) and was dedicated in 1914 when the annex was completed. The main hall is 40 x 89 feet with a 75 foot tower, ten rooms and a seven-room annex.



AUTHOR

Scandinavian stone workers also built Spring City's city hall in 1893 of local oolite limestone, and the Crisp-Allred house of oolite limestone in the early 1880s. Danish immigrant Niels Peter "Baker" Jensen built a rock barn. The Orson Hyde home was built sometime after 1863. (Hyde was an important LDS church leader.) Jens Sorensen built the Isaac Edgar Allred home of cut stone in 1875. The older section of the Judge Jacob Johnson home was built between 1870 and 1872 of cut stone with a large addition completed in 1892. The Simon T. Beck residence was built in 1883 and the Crawford Homestead in 1884.¹⁷

The Sanpete County Courthouse in Manti was constructed of oolite limestone between 1920 and 1926.

Oolite limestone quarries are exposed almost the full north-south length of Sanpete Valley. Edward L. Parry and sons operated the largest quarries near Ephraim and Manti. The Ephraim quarry is the largest of the quarries with a working face fifty to seventy-five feet high and twenty-four hundred feet long. The upper part is waste rock of calcareous shale and thin-bedded limestone. The lower part is composed of massive limestone beds four to six feet thick separated by thin shale partings. The Manti quarry most recently worked lies on both sides of a north-flowing gully and forms a discontinuous chain with a composite length of 2,380 feet. The latest oolitic bed to be quarried is eight feet thick overlain by twenty-two feet of waste rock. An older quarry east of the temple that has not been worked for many years has a working face ten to fifteen feet high and 1,650 feet long with

¹⁷ For more information on Spring City buildings see Cindy Rice, "Spring City: A Look at a Nineteenth Century Mormon Village," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (Summer 1975): 260-77; Kaye C. Watson, *Life under the Horseshoe: A History of Spring City* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1987), 23-120; and Peter L. Goss and Kaye Watson, *A Guide to Architecture and History of Spring City* rev. ed. (Spring City: Friends of Spring City, 2007), 1-52.



usable stone three to five feet thick at the base of the working face.¹⁸

The Mine, Quarry, and Metallurgical Record of the United States, Canada and Mexico lists limestone quarries at Ephraim and Manti operated by E. L. Parry in 1897, but no other operators were listed. Arthur Henrie and Company cut stone for buildings and cemetery markers; later the company became Manti Marble Works in competition with E. L. Parry and sons. By 1907, three quarries were in operation: the Oolitic Stone Company organized by K. B. Koch, S. D. Evans, and C. B. Jack, Parry Brothers, and Lauritz, Otto, and A. C. Nielson Brothers.¹⁹

None of the early skilled and experienced stone masons and quarrymen in Sanpete County was as experienced as Edward L. Parry. He learned the mason trade from his father in St. George, Denbighshire, North Wales, located adjacent to Caernarvonshire with the two largest quarries in the

The Thomas Kearns Mansion on Salt Lake City's South Temple Street was constructed of oolite limestone between 1900 and 1902.

¹⁸ W. R. Hansen, "Stone" in *Mineral and Water Resources of Utah*, UGMS Bulletin (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1964), 222-28.

¹⁹ *Mine and Quarry News Bureau* 1897; "Sandstone and Limestone" in *Stone; an Illustrated Magazine* 28 (1907) 283; Albert Antrei, *High Dry and Offside* (Manti: Manti City Corporation, 1995), 269; *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 2, 1907; *Salt Lake Herald*, September 18, 1906.

world—Penrhyn and Dinorwic.²⁰ Edward L. Parry migrated to the United States in 1853 at the age of thirty-five. He participated in the initial stages of the construction of the Salt Lake LDS Temple, became chief mason of the St. George LDS Temple, directed building of the St. George Social Hall, was chief mason on the St. George Tabernacle, and several other buildings. Immediately after completion of the St. George Temple, Edward moved to Manti where he was master mason on the Manti LDS Temple from 1877 to 1888.²¹ He and his eldest son Edward Thomas prospected for potential quarries, located attractive ledges of stone northeast of Ephraim, and filed claims on the property.²²

The Ephraim quarry was opened and operated while construction on the Manti Temple was in progress. Stone from the Ephraim quarry was used in some of the upper levels of the temple.²³

After completion of the Manti Temple, the oolite limestone continued to be used for local buildings including the Sanpete County Courthouse completed in the 1930s. With the arrival of the railroad in Sanpete County—first to Wales in 1882, then Moroni in 1884 and Manti in 1893—the local limestone could be shipped from the county to Salt Lake City, San Francisco, and localities from Colorado to California. The first stone from the E. L. Parry and Sons Ephraim quarry was shipped to Elias Morris, a stone dealer in Salt Lake City in 1882. The stone blocks, ranging in size from 157 to 257 cubic feet (13 to 21 tons), were taken to Wales on wagons and put on railroad cars for shipment to Salt Lake City.²⁴ E. L. Parry's account books show regular shipments of stone including shipments to San

²⁰ In the mid-nineteenth century Penrhyn employed 2,000 men and the slate industry at its peak in the 1870s employed 11,000 to 14,000 men. The rock splitter was the real artist and quarrymen were the elite group of the quarry workers. R. Merfyn Jones, *The North Wales Quarrymen* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982), 72.

²¹ Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, Vol. IV *Biographical* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1892), 459–61. George Brooks grew up in the home of Edward L. Parry where he learned the craft of stone masonry. Details of the life of Edward L. Parry are given in Juanita Brooks, *George Brooks Artist in Stone*, (N.P., 1965), 11–79.

²² Edward L. Parry claimed 368 acres in 1880, and Edward Thomas claimed an additional 80 acres in circa 1883. The Utah Territory had no laws providing for claiming public lands for the purpose of quarrying stone. The Parrys had been advised that in the absence of any other method, the land could be claimed under the Desert Land Act. Blodwen P. Olson, “The White Stone Men,” *Beehive History* 23 (1997): 18; “The Quarry Contest,” *Deseret News*, May 21, 1884. Claims were filed on the property under the Desert Land Act of March 3, 1877, which was enacted to promote the development of arid and semiarid lands of the Western United States. Through this act, individuals could apply for land to cultivate and irrigate public lands. The cost was \$1.25 per acre and a promise to irrigate at least one-eighth of the land within three years. A partial payment of \$0.25 per acre was required. Competition among quarry men for the best stone was intense, and included examples of overlapping claims and claim jumping. “Attempt to Jump a Stone Quarry,” *Deseret News*, May 7, 1884; “The Sanpete Quarry Question,” *Deseret News*, May 7, 1884; “The Quarry Question Again,” and “Made Still More Clear,” *Deseret News*, May 21, 1884.

²³ “Stone Quarries Fade into History Pages,” *Manti Messenger*, July 30, 1970.

²⁴ Gary B. Peterson and Lowell C. Bennion, *Sanpete Scenes: A Guide to Utah's Heart* (Eureka: Basin Plateau Press, 1987), 60–61; David F. Johnson, “The History and Economics of Utah Railroads” (M.S. Thesis, University of Utah, 1947); Clarence Andrew Reeder, “The History of Utah's Railroads, 1869–1883” (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1970).



Francisco. In 1887, stone was shipped from the Ephraim quarries to Salt Lake City for use in the Hooper and Eldredge Building on Main Street and the Salt Lake County Jail.²⁵

Stone was supplied from the largest quarries northeast of Ephraim and in Manti for other impressive buildings in Salt Lake City and in California. The building stone treasure of Sanpete County and the fortunes being made from the silver mines of Park City came together on South Temple (Brigham) Street in Salt Lake City. Two good friends and silver mining partners, Thomas Kearns and David Keith, chose the north side of South Temple Street at 529 East (Keith) and 603 East (Kearns) for their homes of oolite limestone. In 1900, the railway transported twelve hundred tons of white oolite from the E. L. Parry and Sons Quarry to be used in the Thomas Kearns residence.²⁶ The Kearns mansion, now the state governor's mansion, is a French Renaissance Chateausque structure designed by architect Carl M. Neuhausen who also designed the Cathedral of the Madeleine in Salt Lake City.²⁷ The mansion, begun in 1900 and completed in 1902, was built of

The David Keith mansion, a short distance west of his partner's mansion on South Temple Street, was constructed of oolite limestone between 1898 and 1902.

²⁵ Blodwen P. Olson, "The White Stone Men," *Beehive History* 23 (1997): 18.

²⁶ "Parry's Stone Quarry," *Deseret News*, August 10, 1887.

²⁷ *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 4, 1900.



oolite limestone. It displays round towers at the corners with conical roofs, a steeply pitched hipped roof, complex exceedingly broken roofline, tall chimneys, and gabled decorative wall dormers

The Adolph B. Spreckels mansion, completed in 1913, was constructed of Sanpete oolite limestone in the Pacific Heights area of San Francisco.

Architect Frederick A. Hale designed the nearby David Keith mansion, begun in 1898 and completed in 1902.²⁸ The mansion incorporates four massive Tuscan stone columns that support a Greek-style, pedimented portico and symmetrical facade in a Neoclassical style. The Keith mansion is built upon a sandstone foundation to avoid the deleterious effects of moisture on the oolite limestone structure. In sharp contrast to the Kearns mansion only a short distance to the east, the roofline is simple with neither towers nor tall chimneys. Rectangular window openings appear on a smooth facade.

The Pacific Heights area of San Francisco, California, has a breathtaking view of San Francisco Bay and the Golden Gate. Adolph B. Spreckels, son of sugar tycoon Adolph Claus J. Spreckels, and his wife, Alma de Bretteville Spreckels, built the Spreckels mansion to be San Francisco's largest mansion. The architects were Kenneth MacDonald Jr. and George A. Applegarth. Applegarth was trained at Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, France, and the Spreckels mansion was his most prominent contribution to San Francisco's architectural heritage. Several homes were torn down or moved down the street to make room for the large mansion. The massive Beaux-Arts French baroque-style chateau was completed in 1913 and

²⁸ Margaret D. Lester, *Brigham Street* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1979), 89-98.

displays Beaux-Arts influences of rigid symmetry, perfect proportions, and columned entries. The mansion was built of reinforced concrete faced with “cream colored Manti stone that yields itself delicately to the finest touches of the artist’s chisel. The vestibule is also of Manti stone inlaid with mosaics.”²⁹ The mansion, sometimes referred to as the “Parthenon of the West,” consists of fifty-five rooms including a Louis XVI Ballroom. A series of arched window bays are separated by stylized Ionic columns. Intricately carved limestone forms the cornice, tops of the columns, and spaces between window arches and balconies above.³⁰

About two hundred miles south of San Francisco along the Pacific coast, a second, larger, more magnificent mansion with equally spectacular views of the Pacific Ocean was begun for William Randolph Hearst, a leading newspaper publisher. The mansion sits on a hill overlooking San Simeon Bay and offers some of the most impressive views of the central California coast. Architect Julia Morgan designed the Hearst mansion also called the Hearst Castle or Casa Grande at Hearst’s 240,000 acre ranch at San Simeon, California. Morgan, like Applegarth, was trained at the Ecole Des Beaux-Arts in Paris, France. The Hearst Castle designed in the Renaissance style of southern Spain was constructed of reinforced concrete and faced with Sanpete oolite limestone. Four stairway towers are modeled after a church in Ronda, Spain. The mansion has fifty-eight bedrooms, fifty-nine bathrooms, and many other rooms. Construction began in 1919 and was finally completed in 1947. In 1927, limestone from Sanpete was selected for the facing of the main building.³¹

The Park (Administration) Building at the University of Utah, located on the hill overlooking the Salt Lake Valley at the top of Second South Street is another building constructed with Sanpete oolite limestone. The Beaus-Arts and Neoclassical styles inspired architects S. C. Dallas and William S. Hedges of the architectural firm of Cannon, Fetzer, and Hansen.³² Broad expanses of plain walls, quiet roofline, square window bays,

²⁹ “New A. P. Spreckels Home Splendid Mansion,” *San Francisco Call*, May 25, 1913.

³⁰ Bernice Scharlach, *Big Alma San Francisco’s Alma Spreckels* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1990), 34, 40; Sally B. Woodbridge, John M. Woodbridge, Chuck Byrne, *San Francisco Architecture* (Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 2005), 144; Mitchell Schwarzer, *Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Area: A History and Guide* (San Francisco: William Stout Publishers, 2007), 107.

³¹ “We finally took the bull by the horns and are facing the entire main building with a Manti stone from Utah, about the color of Caen stone or of the similar Spanish stone most of the carved Gothic ‘antiques’ have been made of.” Julie Morgan to Arthur Byne, Spanish expert and antiquarian, October 31, 1927, Julia Morgan Collection, Special Collections, Robert E. Kennedy Library, California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, California. See Victoria Kastner with photographs by Victoria Garagliano, *Hearst Castle: The Biography of a Country House* (New York: Harry N Abrams Books, New York, 2000), 132; Sara Holmes Boutelle, *Julia Morgan Architect* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988), 188-98.

³² Ralph V. Chamberlin, *The University of Utah: A History of its First Hundred Years 1850-1950* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press 1960), 242-43; United States Department of Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, Inventory Nomination Form Number 78002682, University of Utah Circle, URL <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/NRHP/text/78002682.pdf> [accessed May 15, 2012 .]



ionic columns and a pedimented portico illustrate the neo-classical revival style of the architecture. Construction was completed in 1914.

The University of Utah's Park Building, constructed of Sanpete oolite limestone, was completed in 1914.

The Utah County Courthouse in Provo is a Neoclassical building constructed 1920–1926 of oolite limestone from Manti and Ephraim quarries.³³ Joseph Nielson of Provo designed the Neoclassical building exterior to follow classical features of Greek buildings similar to the Park Building.

The Sanpete oolite limestone was exhibited in at least two world fairs—the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition and the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. At the 1904 Fair, E.L. Parry and Sons were awarded a silver medal for their oolite limestone exhibition.³⁴

The Green River Formation in Sanpete County has been an important historical source of building stone and will likely continue to be an important producer in the future. Currently, the Utah State Division of Oil, Gas, and Mining reports six active building stone quarry permits in Sanpete County.³⁵

Quarrying, cutting, and laying the stone are labor intensive and expensive. Other building materials such as brick, concrete, other natural

³³ Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, *A History of Utah County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Utah County Commission, 1999), 185.

³⁴ *Manti Messenger*, December 22, 1893; July 6, 1905.

³⁵ Andrew Rupke, Bryce Tripp, and Taylor Boden, *Limestone, Dolomite, and Building Stone of Sanpete County*, Open-file Report 589 (Salt Lake City: Utah Geological Survey, 2011), 15.

stone, and synthetic stone have competed successfully with the Sanpete oolite limestone. In addition, the durability of the oolite limestone is questionable in some applications. Some renovation, repair, and replacement of stones have been necessary because of exposure to the elements.

The extensive use of Sanpete oolite limestone in many public and private structures is a product of historical, cultural and geological conditions. Geological conditions of formation were responsible for the attractive color, ease of shaping, and carving. Later geological events led to its extensive exposure throughout the north-south length of Sanpete valley. Experienced stone craftsmen arrived with Mormon immigrants and recognized the beauty and utility of the stone. The arrival of the railroad permitted use of the stone in structures from Colorado to California, and the stone suited the imaginations of architects inspired by the Beaux-Arts and Neoclassical styles who chose the stone for their projects. All of these factors contributed to popular use of the Sanpete Valley oolite limestone.



THE BAYMAN

Student Political Activism at Brigham Young University, 1965-71

By GARY JAMES BERGERA

There is certainly a spirit of unrest throughout the country and while it is manifest only slightly at the BYU it is nevertheless manifested here.

—Ernest L. Wilkinson, May 11, 1970

The presence of student political activism at Brigham Young University during the late 1960s and early 1970s was, like student activism elsewhere, as much a function of the school's prevailing culture as of activist trends nationally. BYU students across the political spectrum responded to local and national events in ways both informed by and in

Students meet in Student President Brian Walton's office in 1971. Left to right: Nanci Sinclair, Jon Ferguson (vice-president), Ann Fluckiger, Paul Larsen, Lauryl Fife, Terrell Hunt, John Taggart, and Walton.

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reaction to political and intellectual currents on the Utah Valley campus. Thus a discussion of BYU student activism must also examine the political climate at the LDS church-owned school. Such a consideration locates BYU activism as occurring at an institution already politicized by an outspoken president, a mostly—but not entirely—sympathetic Board of Trustees, and a faculty and student body espousing somewhat broader political interests.

The appointment in 1951 of Ernest L. Wilkinson as BYU president reflected, in part, LDS fears over the perceived threat of Soviet communism.¹ A convert to the Republican Party and hardline conservative, Wilkinson needed little encouragement when Stephen L. Richards, a member of the LDS First Presidency, charged at his inauguration that he “implant in youth a deep love of country and a reverential regard for the Constitution of the United States.”² The Church’s president, David O. McKay, subsequently prayed that Wilkinson might “understand more than anyone else in education circles the dangers of communism...”³ “This institution,” Wilkinson promised, “is definitely committed to a philosophy which is the antithesis of that espoused by the communists.”⁴ “[H]ardly a day went by that we did not hear something about socialism or the like,” remembered one of Wilkinson’s employees. “He didn’t want anything tainting our campus, and he pretty much saw to it that people of that kind were kept out.”⁵

“There had been some activity politically at the university before Ernest Wilkinson became president,” remembered Provo attorney George S. Ballif, “but not nearly as much as [after] his administration began. ... There were many university professors who were Democrats, and some ... stayed on with the university after Ernest came, but they weren’t very vocal Democrats.”⁶ In 1953, one BYU teacher characterized the “professional radicalism” of his colleagues as extending “no further than [to a] belief in Social Security or Adlai Stevenson.”⁷ Until 1959, Wilkinson refused to authorize activities honoring the United Nations, which he believed competed with the “American form of republican government.”⁸

¹ For more, see Gary James Bergera, “Ernest L. Wilkinson’s Appointment as Seventh President of Brigham Young University,” *Journal of Mormon History* 23 (Fall 1997): 128–54.

² Richards, “The Charge,” October 8, 1951, in *The Messenger*, November 1951, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

³ Quoted in Ernest L. Wilkinson, Diary, April 28, 1960, Wilkinson Papers, Perry Special Collections.

⁴ Ernest L. Wilkinson to John A. Widtsoe, August 13, 1949, in Wilkinson Biographical File, Perry Special Collections.

⁵ Jan Chase Izatt, Oral History, April 1968, 4, Perry Special Collections.

⁶ George S. Ballif, Oral History, February 18 and March 8, 1974, 32–33, Perry Special Collections.

⁷ Quoted in “Scope of Academic Freedom; Dogmatism Is Only Real Threat,” *Daily Universe*, April 21, 1953.

⁸ Board of Trustees, Minutes, November 23, 1955, June 3, December 2, 1959; “Board of Trustees Reverses Stand on BYU United Nations Activities,” *Daily Universe*, December 10, 1959. All citations from the minutes of BYU’s trustees, including board and executive committee meetings, are from excerpts in possession of the Smith-Pettit Foundation.



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While anti-communist speakers appeared regularly on campus during Wilkinson's twenty years in office, liberal-leaning lecturers were often excluded. "There are certainly going to be no communists speaking to our students," Wilkinson insisted in 1957, "nor are there going to be any fellow travelers who invoke the Fifth Amendment ..."⁹ Administrators tried repeatedly to persuade FBI director and anti-communist crusader J. Edgar Hoover to visit the school.¹⁰ "Over the years," Wilkinson wrote to Hoover in 1958, "we have had great admiration for your distinguished and unselfish public service which has not been surpassed by anyone else in the nation."¹¹ Speakers routinely challenged students to "become as indoctrinated in Americanism as Soviet children are in communism."¹² "When the conservative position in modern America is viewed in light of the Kingdom of God," BYU religion professor Hyrum L. Andrus told students in 1962, "its strengths become apparent....liberalism, like the plan proposed by [Satan] and his hosts in the War in Heaven, is deficient and perverse."¹³ The next day, BYU alumnus Reed Benson, Utah coordinator for the ultra-conservative John Birch Society and oldest son of LDS Apostle Ezra Taft Benson himself an ardent anti-communist, added, "We haven't treated [communists] yet for what they are—murderers."¹⁴

Campaigning during the 1970 student election.

⁹ Wilkinson, Diary, September 9, 1957.

¹⁰ See "Crusader Tells Menace of Communist Program," *Daily Universe*, October 24, 1960.

¹¹ Ernest L. Wilkinson to J. Edgar Hoover, July 29, 1958, Wilkinson Biographical File.

¹² "Education Answer to Threat of Communism," *Daily Universe*, May 1, 1962.

¹³ "Conservatism," *Daily Universe*, November 8, 1962.

¹⁴ "R. Benson Advocates Opposition," *Daily Universe*, November 9, 1962.



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Celebrating BYU's win over the University of Utah football team in 1965.

Responding to such rhetoric, some students complained about Wilkinson's "unabashed partisanship." "The political speakers at university programs, with one exception, have been of one political party," wrote one student in 1954. "I believe ... these programs have degenerated from an educational function into a political harangue."¹⁵ In 1961, when Wilkinson announced that the year's commencement speaker would be Barry Goldwater, conservative Republican Senator from Arizona—whom Wilkinson introduced as "essentially one of us"—one undergraduate composed a "special glossary of terms": *socialism*—"any plan for social change or betterment not cleared with either Barry Goldwater or President Wilkinson"; *conscience*—"a special sense of right and wrong which is possessed only by ... a few Republicans of the extreme right, most of whom the students of Brigham Young University have been privileged to hear speak during the last year"; and *freedom of assembly*—"freedom to listen ... to a defense of President Wilkinson's political philosophy."¹⁶

Throughout the early 1960s, the number of politically partisan speeches sometimes accounted for almost 60 percent of total offerings. Some students "object[ed] to the use of our devotional as the vehicle of political

¹⁵ Roger A. Sorenson, Letter, *Daily Universe*, November 2, 1954.

¹⁶ Maurice M. Tanner, Letter, *Daily Universe*, May 23, 1961. Wilkinson, Introduction, "Brigham Young University Commencement Address," June 2, 1961, in *BYU Speeches of the Year, 1960-61* (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1961).

indoctrination.”¹⁷ BYU’s student newspaper added: “Most of us who have been around for a while realize that President Wilkinson is a conservative Republican. We know these things because he has told us many times.” Another student wrote, “Can we claim intellectual honesty for ourselves ... when we present only one side of an issue while the other is disparaged or at best neglected?” Not all students were dissatisfied, however. More than a few expressed shock when the director of the American Association of Marriage Counselors claimed that “Soviet families are happier and more stable than American families.” One undergraduate commented, “It would appear [the speaker] is in actual essence a socialist at heart and chooses to support his views with what he saw in Russia.” Still, many, perhaps most, students remained politically neutral.¹⁸



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Royce Swenson received a plaque honoring him as the one thousandth graduate of the BYU Air Force ROTC Program, May 26, 1972.

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¹⁷ Jim Duggan, Letter, *Daily Universe*, April 19, 1962. According to my calculations from speeches printed in *BYU Speeches of the Year, 1952-53*, and succeeding years.

¹⁸ “Same Old Stuff? Maybe,” *Daily Universe*, June 21, 1962; S. George Sundal, Letter, *Daily Universe*, May 22, 1963; “Home Life Happy in Soviet Union,” *Daily Universe*, December 5, 1961; “Student Initiates Critique Series,” *Daily Universe*, December 5, 1961; and “Campus Political Balance,” *Daily Universe*, December 5, 1962.

¹⁹ Wilkinson, Memoranda of Conferences with David O. McKay, January 19 and March 7, 1962, Wilkinson Papers. For more, see Gary James Bergera, “‘A Strange Phenomena’: Ernest L. Wilkinson, the LDS Church, and Utah Politics,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Summer 1993): 89-115.

²⁰ “Communist Will Speak at Wednesday Assembly,” *Daily Universe*, May 10, 1963.

²¹ “Forum Speaker Strikes Blow at Communism,” *Daily Universe*, May 16, 1963.

criticisms that followed, Wilkinson stressed: "Brigham Young University stands squarely... in denouncing communism as a devilish and satanic gospel. I am surprised that anyone thought otherwise."²²

Wilkinson also expanded the criteria used in faculty hiring and promotion to include "commitments to business history and ... the business community," as well as "affiliations with the conservative elements of economics."²³ He balked at appointing teachers whose political and economic views differed from his own, and sometimes punished faculty whose views did.²⁴ BYU's undergraduate course in American history was "adjusted" in 1968 to include "treatments of ... the American system of free enterprise" as well as LDS Churchman J. Reuben Clark's writings on the U.S. Constitution.²⁵ After reviewing a survey of student attitudes two years later, Wilkinson vowed to do even more "to maintain our republic."²⁶ Campus dance bands were screened for possible communist sympathizers. School administrators contacted local radio stations to complain about musicians such as Joan Baez, "known to be a communist..."²⁷ When Wilkinson learned that the number of BYU students using federal food stamps had more than doubled, he asked "for guidance." Trustees felt that "additional comments... would draw attention to the program," but Apostle Benson later publicly condemned the practice.²⁸

Wilkinson's anti-communism reflected an affinity among many LDS officers, most notably Benson, for right-wing ideologies. At BYU, the response to such a faction was divided. Religion professors Reid E. Bankhead, Glenn L. Pearson, and Hyrum Andrus favored, like Benson, the political/economic teachings of the John Birch Society and had to be cautioned not to "interject their personal opinions and feelings in the classroom."²⁹ After meeting Birch Society founder Robert Welch,

²² "Wilkinson Comments Repeated," *Daily Universe*, May 21, 1963; "Wilkinson Quotes Church Officials," *Daily Universe*, May 17, 1963.

²³ Weldon J. Taylor, Memorandum to Robert K. Thomas, December 4, 1968, Perry Special Collections; Wilkinson, Diary, November 29, 1960; Board of Trustees, Executive Committee Minutes, January 28, February 3 and 25, 1965, June 4, 1969; Wilkinson, Diary, February 1-6, 1965.

²⁴ See Board of Trustees, Executive Committee, Minutes, January 28, February 3 and 25, 1965; and Wilkinson, Diary, February 1-6, 1965. The specific case here involved the hiring of LDS church members Bartell C. Jensen and Robert H. Slover. Jensen accepted a position at Utah State University; Slover joined BYU's political science faculty. Slover, who was also a colonel in the U.S. Army, told LDS officials: "a staff officer's job is to ... fight for what he thinks is right and as far as the problem is concerned ... [But] when the commander makes a decision whether it's your decision or somebody else's decision, then you get behind him and make it work" Slover, Oral History, February 10, 1994, 3, Perry Special Collections. See also, Gary James Bergera, "The Monitoring of BYU Faculty Tithing Payments, 1957-63," *Sunstone*, October 2011, 32-43; and Bergera, "The 1966 BYU Student Spy Ring," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 79 (Spring 2011): 164-88. Slover taught full time from 1965 to 1978, then an additional eight years part time.

²⁵ Board of Trustees, Executive Committee, Minutes, November 21, 1968.

²⁶ Wilkinson, Memorandum to Weldon J. Taylor, March 27, 1970, Perry Special Collections.

²⁷ Wilkinson, Memorandum to J. Elliott Cameron, September 27, 1966, Perry Special Collections.

²⁸ "Food Stamp Numbers Climb," *Daily Universe*, March 25, 1971; Board of Trustees, Minutes, April 7, 1971; "Pres. Benson Warns Against Communism," *Daily Universe*, April 13, 1977.

²⁹ College of Religious Instruction Departmental Chairmen's Meeting, Minutes, April 20, May 6, 1964, Perry Special Collections.



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Wilkinson wrote, “The John Birch Society is **BYU students in 1969.** a real patriotic living and moving organization....I would probably agree with 90 percent of their teachings.”³⁰ BYU political scientist Louis C. Midgley took a dimmer view and publicly rebuked Birch devotees in 1964: “Their morality is simply the old notion that the end justifies the means; any stick to beat the devil.”³¹ Two months later, twenty-two BYU teachers signed an open letter condemning John A. Stormer’s 1964 conservative call-to-arms *None Dare Call It Treason* as a “piece of fanaticism.”³² They explained that their letter was written because Stormer’s book was “being distributed in certain BYU religion classes... [and] regarded as authoritative because of this sponsorship.”³³ David O. McKay, who worried that Birch-LDS inroads were “causing...embarrassment,” instructed BYU officials not to “bring [Birch] speakers to the campus...The matter [should be] dropped entirely.”³⁴

The number of non-Birch Society conservative lecturers picked up considerably following Wilkinson’s unsuccessful bid for the U.S. Senate in 1964 and return to campus.³⁵ Favored speakers included General Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines; George M. Mardikian, San Francisco restaurateur and U.S. military advisor on food preparation; Kenneth W. McFarland, superintendent of the Topeka (Kansas) Public School District; and news commentator Paul Harvey. As Wilkinson explained: “I am looking for the very best speakers in the nation, but they must have honest-to-God

³⁰ Wilkinson, Diary, August 19–22, 1965, April 13, 1966.

³¹ “Birch Society Review,” *Daily Universe*, May 22, 1964.

³² “None Dare Call It Treason Causes Sincere Concern,” *Daily Universe*, July 23, 1964.

³³ Richard D. Poll, Letter, *Daily Universe*, July 30, 1964.

³⁴ Combined from Earl C. Crockett, Memorandum, December 11, 1965, and McKay, Letter to Crockett, June 4, 1964, Wilkinson Papers (while Wilkinson ran for office, Crockett was Acting President).

American thinking, who inspire us to greater heights rather than sow the seeds of disillusionment.”³⁶ In an effort to distance himself from criticism, Wilkinson partially delegated responsibility for the selection of speakers in 1965 to a Speakers Committee, though he retained final approval.³⁷ Under Wilkinson’s eye, committee members adopted a policy of prohibiting speakers who “advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States or of its constituent units by force, or in any other way violate restrictions imposed for public safety”; or who “advocate or espouse ideas inimical to a belief in a divine creator, honesty, morality and individual responsibility, or take advantage of [their] forum in any other way to demean the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or its doctrines or policies.”³⁸ The next year, BYU’s Young Democrats and Young Republicans jointly hosted a discussion on “Political Extremism” featuring faculty from BYU, the University of Utah, and Weber State College.³⁹

During Wilkinson’s 1964 absence, BYU’s Acting President Earl C. Crockett approved the speaking engagements of four alleged communist sympathizers: Louis Untermeyer, a consultant in English poetry to the Library of Congress; Max Lerner, a syndicated newspaper columnist; Stringfellow Barr, a historian and political satirist; and musicologist Allan Lomax.⁴⁰ Upon his return, Wilkinson cancelled the contracts of Barr and Lomax.⁴¹ When television journalist Howard K. Smith, who had also been invited during Wilkinson’s absence, spoke favorably of U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson’s New Society, Wilkinson promised critics that Smith would not be invited again.⁴² Following the appearance of U.S.

³⁵ See Gary James Bergera, “‘A Sad and Expensive Experience’: Ernest L. Wilkinson’s 1964 Bid for the U.S. Senate,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62 (Fall 1993): 304–24.

³⁶ Wilkinson, Letter to Kenneth McFarland, April 19, 1966, Wilkinson Papers.

³⁷ BYU’s emphasis on politics in speaker selection coincided with a de-emphasis in such areas elsewhere. See, for example, Stanley N. Kinney, “The Speaker Ban and Student Organizations at the University of Michigan, 1914–20,” *History of Education Journal* 7 (Summer 1956): 133–43; “The Speaker Ban Extended at the University of Michigan, 1920–35,” *History of Education Journal* 7 (Fall 1956): 1–17; and James E. Watson, “The Place of Controversy on the Campus,” *Journal of Higher Education* 36 (January 1965): 18–24.

³⁸ Wilkinson, Memorandum to John T. Bernhard, Stephen Covey, Herald R. Clark, H. Smith Broadbent, LaVar Rockwood, D. Kirt Hart, Dale Taylor, and the ASBYU President, April 23, 1965, Wilkinson Papers; “Policy for BYU Speakers Committee,” August 1965, Perry Special Collections.

³⁹ See J. Kenneth Davies, ed., *Political Extremism—Under the Spotlight* (Privately printed, 1966). The discussion was held on the BYU campus on April 25, 1966, and featured John T. Bernhard (BYU), Victor B. Cline (University of Utah), James T. Duke (BYU), David K. Hart (BYU), and Quinn G. McKay (Weber State College).

⁴⁰ For criticisms of Untermeyer, Lerner, Barr, and Lomax, see E. Eugene Bryce, Letter to David O. McKay, November 30, 1965, Wilkinson Papers; Wilkinson, Diary, October 5, 1965; Wilkinson, Letter to Mrs. Grant E. Mann, January 18, 1966, Wilkinson Papers; and Wilkinson, Letter to Mrs. Newell J. Olsen, January 25, 1966, Wilkinson Papers.

⁴¹ Wilkinson, Memorandum to John T. Bernhard, January 31, 1966, Wilkinson, Memorandum to J. LaVar Bateman, February 14, 1966, and Bateman, Memorandum to Wilkinson, February 18, 1966, all in Perry Special Collections. Barr’s and Lomax’s contracts were signed by BYU representatives after Wilkinson’s return.

⁴² Wilkinson, Letter to Anne Richards Horton, April 2, 1966; and Wilkinson, Letter to Helen Stafford, April 2, 1966, both in Perry Special Collections.

Vice-President Hubert Humphrey in October 1966, Wilkinson complained that he had been pressured into allowing the Vice-President to speak, and was particularly annoyed that he had not had enough time to provide a Republican rebuttal.⁴³ Less than two years later, Wilkinson refused to cancel classes for U.S. Presidential candidate Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Still, an overflow of some fifteen thousand students packed the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse to hear Kennedy quip, “I had a very nice conversation with



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Dr. Wilkinson, and I promised him that all Democrats would be off the campus by sundown.”⁴⁴ In late 1970, Wilkinson accompanied Barry Goldwater and Utah’s Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate, Laurence J. Burton, to the school’s Homecoming Assembly. Over the protests of student body officers, Wilkinson invited Goldwater, who had not been cleared, to address the captive audience.⁴⁵

**Vice-President Spiro Agnew with
BYU President Ernest Wilkinson,
May 8, 1969.**

During the late 1960s, trustees expanded school policy to prohibit speakers who “engaged in programs or movements antagonistic to the Church or its standards.” Wilkinson interpreted this to bar “atheists,” “subversives,” “those [having] any link with Russia or who would destroy our country,” and “those who would defame or ridicule our concept of strict morality.”⁴⁶ Because conservative speakers remained a dominant presence, complaints persisted. “It is my impression,” wrote BYU political

⁴³ Wilkinson, Diary, October 15, 17, and 21, 1966; “Vice-President Humphrey Visits BYU,” *Daily Universe*, October 24, 1966; Wilkinson, Memorandum of a conference with David O. McKay, October 24, 1966, Wilkinson Papers.

⁴⁴ “Kennedy at BYU Wednesday,” *Daily Universe*, March 25, 1968; “Kennedy Speech Attracts Capacity Crowd,” *Daily Universe*, March 28, 1968. One student remembered the experience as “something I would never have predicted and will never forget. It was stunning” (Brian Walton, E-mail to Bergera, November 29, 2011). Wilkinson recorded: “I really think that Bobby is more competent than his brother [John F. Kennedy]—helped in large part by his legal training, but I still don’t trust him” (Diary, March 27, 1968).

⁴⁵ “At Forum,” *Daily Universe*, October 20, 1970.

⁴⁶ Board of Trustees, Minutes, March 6, 1968; Wilkinson, Memorandum for Trustees, December 15, 1969, Perry Special Collections.

scientist Ray C. Hiram, “that the [speakers] committee is entirely responsible for censoring rather than promoting...”⁴⁷ Five months later, Wilkinson responded, “It is a matter of deciding whether to host speakers whose views on matters parallel our own as opposed to those whose views we do not respect.”⁴⁸ Nearly two-thirds of BYU students countered in a 1970 poll that “viewpoints contrary to the Church stand should have an opportunity for exposure on campus.”⁴⁹ Perhaps aware of the sentiment among students, Speakers Committee members tried to increase student participation in choosing speakers in 1969. However, Wilkinson advised the committee, “I am not at all sure that students are the ones to select these assembly speakers.”⁵⁰ Men and women prohibited from speaking for political reasons throughout the late 1960s include Donna Allen, Erich Fromm, George Wallace, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (Shah of Iran), Gore Vidal, Marshall McLuhan, Whitney Young, Stewart Udall, Betty Furness, and Jesse Jackson.⁵¹ Wilkinson also criticized the speaking engagements of members of his own faculty, including economist J. Kenneth Davies; political scientists Stewart L. Grow, Melvin P. Mabey, and J. Keith Melville; and historian Thomas G. Alexander, whom Wilkinson called a “socialist.”⁵²

Also in keeping with his conservative agenda, Wilkinson pushed for the establishment of an ROTC (Reserve Officers’ Training Corps) unit on campus. Trustees had previously rejected such requests but relented in the wake of deepening U.S. involvement in Korea.⁵³ Wilkinson assured parents in 1956 that BYU’s U.S. Air Force unit had been “set up with prudence under the spirit of our Heavenly Father.”⁵⁴ He was convinced that such training afforded students “one way in which, in accordance with prophecy, the elders of Zion may help to save our country.”⁵⁵ Given the alternative

⁴⁷ Hiram, Memorandum to John T. Bernhard, May 31, 1968, Perry Special Collections.

⁴⁸ “Wilkinson Defends Policies,” *Daily Universe*, October 30, 1968.

⁴⁹ “BYU Student Body, 1970,” 32, Perry Special Collections.

⁵⁰ Wilkinson, Memorandum to Lorin F. Wheelwright, April 17, 1969, Perry Special Collections.

⁵¹ See “The Case of Donna Allen, or Censorship at BYU,” ca. 1967, Perry Special Collections; “Student Government,” *Daily Universe*, January 4, 1968; Wilkinson, Memorandum to J. Elliot Cameron, August 26, September 28, 1968, Wilkinson Papers; Wilkinson, Memorandum to Robert K. Thomas, December 1, 1969, Perry Special Collections, and University Speakers’ Committee, Minutes, 1965–71, Perry Special Collections.

⁵² Wilkinson, Memorandum to Robert K. Thomas et al., October 12, 1970, Wilkinson Papers; Wilkinson, Diary, May 10, 1970. The next year, Wilkinson attempted to expand the list of “proscribed performances.” Instead, trustees adopted a statement mirroring the 1965 BYU Speakers’ Committee guidelines, with the following additions: that speakers not have committed “acts of immorality, dishonesty, or other conduct”; that “any person who has qualified as a candidate for the ... office of president of the United States [be allowed to] address general assemblies ... without prior submission of his or her name to the board”; and that “no speaker be disqualified solely on political grounds.” See “General Policies of the Performance Standards Committee—Working Paper, 13 April 1971,” 3–4, and “General Policies of the Performance Standards Committee—Working Paper, 11 May 1971,” both in Perry Special Collections; Board of Trustees, Minutes, December 1, 1971.

⁵³ Board of Trustees, Minutes, June 5, 1953.

⁵⁴ Wilkinson, “Your Boy in the Service,” *33rd Annual Leadership Week, 1956* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1956), 11–12, Perry Special Collections.

⁵⁵ Wilkinson, “ROTC Enrollment at BYU,” September 24, 1968, 9, Perry Special Collections.

facing draft-age students, the response tended to be favorable. "An ROTC unit here—now—would have certain very definite advantages," one student commented. "...Male students who feel the warm breath of their local draft boards down the back of their necks would not have to transfer to schools which already have [a military program] to finish their education."⁵⁶ By 1953,



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enrollment had skyrocketed to eighteen hundred, then plummeted during the early 1960s to less than a hundred, but by 1965 had more than quadrupled.⁵⁷ BYU subsequently obtained permission to establish an Army ROTC

BYU students demonstrating for the recall of student body president Brian Walton, November 1970.

unit, and the Daniel H. Wells ROTC building was dedicated in 1969. Following the end of the Vietnam war in the mid-1970s, enrollment in both units again decreased, though participation has remained relatively strong.

At the beginning of fall semester 1961, BYU administrators suggested that ROTC cadets supervise daily U.S. flag raising and lowering ceremonies on campus.⁵⁸ Some students viewed the ceremony as an inconvenience, and one school official observed, "Very few will stop to pay proper respect by standing at attention..."⁵⁹ Irked, administrators decided to have the national anthem played as well. The response was again mixed. While many students stood at attention, others protested.⁶⁰ One wrote, "I believe that forcing people to surrender even one minute a day through coercion is un-American."⁶¹ Another joked, "I have also watched many of the foreign students during these precious moments....They seem to show a passive tolerance and not a deep passionate commitment. They need to be taught true love of America, and if they are not going to develop that love they can leave—especially those ungrateful Canadians."⁶²

⁵⁶ "BYU Men Voice Approval of ROTC Establishment," *Daily Universe*, February 13, 1951.

⁵⁷ See Joseph F. Boone, "The Roles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Relation to the United States Military, 1900-1975," (Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, April 1975), 446, 457-60, 462.

⁵⁸ "ROTC Takes Care of Flag," *Daily Universe*, October 5, 1961.

⁵⁹ "Flag Deserves Attention," *Daily Universe*, January 12, 1962.

⁶⁰ Roger B. McFarland, Letter, *Daily Universe*, April 23, 1965.

⁶¹ David L. Daly, Letter, *Daily Universe*, March 28, 1967.

⁶² Mike Noonchester, Letter, *Daily Universe*, December 18, 1968.

Wilkinson's support of ROTC was matched by his distrust of the Peace Corps. Both the Peace Corps and its domestic counterpart, VISTA (Volunteers In Service To America), were repeatedly refused permission to recruit on campus.⁶³ Although LDS businessman J. Willard Marriott and LDS official Hugh B. Brown opposed Wilkinson's policy, Wilkinson argued that the programs were welfare subsidies to third world countries and attracted students away from military and LDS missionary service.⁶⁴ The irony of sponsoring an ROTC unit while denying the Peace Corps access to campus did not go unnoticed.⁶⁵ Because of increasing criticism of BYU's policy, Peace Corps representatives were eventually allowed, in late 1970, to interview interested students "on the same basis as any other company interviewing students": through appointments initiated by students in response to announcements on campus bulletin boards.⁶⁶

In many ways, the initial response of BYU students to the Vietnam war differed from their reaction to the first three American wars of the twentieth century. Where Mormons had previously remained suspicious of the intentions of U.S. leaders at the onset of American mobilization, U.S. Cold War rhetoric had by the early 1950s made considerable headway among church members. Nearly 60 percent of BYU students in one survey believed that war with Russia was "inevitable." Many based their belief on LDS scripture.⁶⁷ A 1952 survey revealed that more than three-fourths of BYU men favored compulsory military service, but that a majority also felt a person should not be "forced to go to war if he considers it to be morally wrong."⁶⁸ Within fifteen years, support of military involvement in Vietnam had become a measure of patriotism, and following Congress's passage of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in 1964, 84 percent of BYU men expressed a willingness to fight.⁶⁹ The next month, while a growing number of American college students protested United States intervention in Vietnam, eighty BYU students marched through Provo's streets to mail a letter carrying sixty-five hundred signatures to President Lyndon Johnson in support of the war.⁷⁰ "In these days of student protests," commented one student, "it is good to know that some colleges like BYU are not joining in."⁷¹

⁶³ Board of Trustees, Minutes, May 3, 1961; Deans' Council, Minutes, January 5, 1965, Perry Special Collections; Board of Trustees, Minutes, September 1, November 3, December 1, 1965.

⁶⁴ Milan D. Smith and J. Willard Marriott, Letter to Thorpe B. Isaacson, November 29, 1965, Perry Special Collections; Board of Trustees, Minutes, January 10, 1952, June 3, 1970; "Church Continues Ban on Peace Corps Recruiting on 'Y' Campus," *Daily Herald*, June 10, 1970.

⁶⁵ Scott Hinckley, Letter, *Daily Universe*, November 2, 1970.

⁶⁶ Ben E. Lewis, Minutes of a Meeting, November 20, 1970, Perry Special Collections; Board of Trustees, Minutes, December 2, 1970.

⁶⁷ "BYU Students Present Views in Poll on Important Issues," *Daily Universe*, February 5, 1952.

⁶⁸ "Wars and Rumors of Wars," *Daily Universe*, February 5, 1952.

⁶⁹ "Men Prefer War, Women Marriage," *Daily Universe*, October 19, 1965.

⁷⁰ "Y Students March Through Provo," *Daily Universe*, November 1, 1965; "Draft Card Burning No Joke," *Daily Universe*, November 3, 1965. Wilkinson was one of the letter's signers ("Viet Nam Letter Receives Praise," *Daily Universe*, October 29, 1965).

⁷¹ "Viet Protestors, Blight on America," *Daily Universe*, October 20, 1965.

As U.S. involvement in Vietnam deepened, LDS officials announced in December 1965, "Latter-day Saints are not pacifists. ... Neither are they conscientious objectors."⁷² "Mere membership in the Church does not make one a conscientious objector," the First Presidency's secretary stated a year later: "It is not possible for an individual citizen to have the information that is available to the president and the Congress, and without all of the facts he is not in a position to judge."⁷³ BYU speakers reminded students that "freedom is bought with the red blood of soldiers, not red paint on posters."⁷⁴ One undergraduate pinned his draft card to his shirt and announced that he was "protest[ing] against protestors."⁷⁵ Fears that a weekly "Free Forum" sponsored by BYU student government was turning the school into "another Berkeley" proved unfounded when a 1967 poll showed that 80 percent of students believed the United States "should not pull out of Vietnam."⁷⁶ That same year, administrators announced the inauguration of an annual "American Week" to "promote support for a better America." Military Week followed to demonstrate support for the school's ROTC units.⁷⁷ In April 1968, Boyd K. Packer, an Air Force veteran and Church leader, publicly condemned conscientious objection.⁷⁸ Faced with "jeopardiz[ing] its already fragile and restricted arrangement with the U.S. government for deferments from the draft for LDS proselyting missionaries," the First Presidency affirmed its support of the draft in 1969.⁷⁹ Wilkinson told graduating seniors in 1970, "I trust you will all be good soldiers."⁸⁰

One of the most revealing studies of the reaction of BYU students to Vietnam was conducted in 1968 by two BYU psychologists. They found that most students lacked "a solid foundation on which to base their policy preferences," but nonetheless agreed that "communists must be crushed before peaceful solutions can be implemented" and that "continued American intervention in the war is justified."⁸¹ A second study added that most students shared a common belief, reinforced by LDS and BYU leaders, in America as "God's chosen land" and viewed American foreign policies as

⁷² Editorial, *LDS Church News*, December 4, 1965, written by LDS Church Apostle Mark E. Petersen.

⁷³ Joseph Anderson, Secretary to the First Presidency, Letter to Chaplain Brent M. Holmes, October 30, 1970, copy in possession of the Smith-Pettit Foundation.

⁷⁴ "Dr. McFarland Stresses 'Stand Up, Be Counted,'" *Daily Universe*, April 15, 1966.

⁷⁵ Phillip H. Porter, Letter, *Daily Universe*, December 6, 1967.

⁷⁶ "Alarm Over Free Forum," *Daily Universe*, March 22, 1967; "Y Opinion Places Romney on Top," *Daily Universe*, October 18, 1967.

⁷⁷ See *Torch of Freedom* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1967).

⁷⁸ Packer, Speech in *Conference Reports of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, April 1968* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1968), 33-36.

⁷⁹ D. Michael Quinn, "Conscientious Objectors or Christian Soldiers? The Latter-day Saint Position on Militarism," *Sunstone*, March 1985, 21.

⁸⁰ Wilkinson, "Student Problems: Civil Disorder, Vietnam," June 16, 1970, in *Speeches, Summer School, 1970-71* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1971), 6.

⁸¹ Knud S. Larsen and Gary Schwendiman, "The Vietnam War Through the Eyes of a Mormon Subculture," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Autumn 1968): 152-62.



**BYU students demonstrating
in support of student body
president Brian Walton,
November 1970.**

to 75 percent, while the number identifying as Democrat rose only from 13 to 16 percent.⁸³

Despite BYU's reputation as an "oasis of calm" during this period, public acts of dissent were not entirely absent from the LDS campus. Indeed, when compared to World War I, World War II, and the Korean war, Vietnam proved to be the most divisive among BYU students. As with student unrest nationally, dissent at BYU embraced not only the war but also student rights, student participation in campus decision-making, and minority discrimination.⁸⁴ "Why should the [Vietnamese government] waste [its] own people when [it] can sucker American boys to blindly fight and die instead?" asked one BYU student.⁸⁵ During BYU's 1969 Military Week, a second student wrote, "I do not believe it a fit honor to our war dead to display the weapons that killed them."⁸⁶ The on-going discussion of American policies, contained in letters to BYU's student newspaper and elsewhere, found outlets in more visible forms of dissent.

An unexpected voice in support of pacifism came in late 1969 from LDS Apostle Gordon B. Hinckley. "I have felt very keenly the feelings of many of our young men concerning this terrible conflict," he reported at a BYU devotional service. In apparent defense of conscientious objection, he confided, "A man has to live with his conscience, his principles, his convictions and testimony, and without that he is as miserable as hell. Excuse me, but I believe

⁸² T. Tammy Tanaka, "Why No Revolts at BYU: The Silent Language of the Mormon World-View and Patriotism at Brigham Young University," (Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968).

⁸³ Political affiliations are reported in Larsen and Schwendiman, "Mormon Subculture," 153; "Nixon Leads Seven to One," *Daily Universe*, November 3, 1972.

⁸⁴ "No Flag-Burning at Brigham Young University—A University Without Trouble," *U.S. News and World Report*, January 20, 1969, 58–59; Verne A. Stadtman, "Constellations in a Nebulous Galaxy," *Academic Transformation, Seventeen Institutions Under Pressure*, David Riesman and Verne A. Stadtman, eds. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973, sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education), 1–11.

⁸⁵ "U.S. Policy," *Daily Universe*, December 7, 1967.

⁸⁶ Mark Jasinski, Letter, *Daily Universe*, March 27, 1969.

it.”⁸⁷ Utah’s Democratic Senator Frank Moss echoed Hinckley’s sentiment six days later.⁸⁸ But at a special Veteran’s Day devotional service the next week, Hartman J. Rector Jr., a Navy veteran and member of the Church’s First Council of the Seventy, appeared in military uniform to highlight his support of U.S. policy. “This nation represents the last great bastion of freedom and liberty,” he asserted.⁸⁹ The next year, again only a few days apart, Hinckley reaffirmed his hatred “of war with all its mocking panoply,” while Rector speculated that war “was an instrument in the hands of the Lord” to further missionary work in Vietnam.⁹⁰ Meanwhile, that spring, LDS Church member Frank C. Child, a professor of economics at the University of California–Davis, told BYU students, “In the name of freedom we stamp out freedom,” and former U.S. Presidential candidate George W. Romney said that the war “was the most tragic foreign policy mistake in our nation’s history.”⁹¹

Debate over the war soon shifted to more tangible activism. Although BYU students of the late 1960s and early 1970s were influenced by their peers on other American campuses, a tradition of sometimes large-scale demonstrations was not unknown to BYU alumni. In 1910, students paraded through Provo in support of prohibition.⁹² The next year, almost the entire student body gathered to oppose the dismissal of three faculty members for teaching organic evolution and biblical criticism.⁹³ In 1919, students demonstrated for the League of Nations and later boycotted devotional services because of a policy of forced attendance.⁹⁴ In the early 1960s, a protracted struggle to extend BYU’s Christmas break divided the school. At the height of the controversy, more than two thousand students burned the Dean of Student Life in effigy.⁹⁵ The mid-1960s also saw the emergence of BYU panty raids and hardening of the school’s policy on “demonstrations.” Following one particularly animated siege in 1965,

⁸⁷ Combined from “The Loneliness of Leadership,” November 4, 1969, in *Speeches of the Year, 1969-70* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1970), 3, and “Elder Hinckley Speaks of Leaders’ Loneliness,” *Daily Universe*, November 5, 1969. The second half of Hinckley’s comment appears only in the *Daily Universe*.

⁸⁸ “Senator Moss Says Leave Vietnam,” *Daily Universe*, November 11, 1969.

⁸⁹ Rector, “Let Us Stand Up For Freedom,” November 11, 1969, in *Speeches of the Year, 1969-70* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1970), 8.

⁹⁰ Hinckley, “Lest We Forget,” November 10, 1970, in *Speeches of the Year, 1970-71* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1971), 3; “Missionaries to Nam,” *Daily Universe*, November 16, 1970.

⁹¹ “War Topic of Viet Advisor,” *Daily Universe*, April 22, 1970; Romney, “A New Age for America,” April 27, 1970, in *Speeches of the Year, 1969-70* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1970), 5.

⁹² “Greatest Parade in the History of the World,” *White and Blue*, November 8, 1910.

⁹³ John T. Wahlquist, “B.Y.U. Reminiscences,” 1–2, in N. L. Nelson Biographical File, Perry Special Collections.

⁹⁴ Ibid.; “Dean’s Council Vetoes Student Body Petition for Registration Delay,” *Daily Universe*, December 12, 1950.

⁹⁵ See “Senate Vote Falls Short, IOC Subjection Remains,” *Daily Universe*, May 10, 1960; “Grumble, Grumble,” *Daily Universe*, May 20, 1960; “Students Question Dean on Vacation, Rent, Jobs,” *Daily Universe*, October 26, 1960; “Short Holiday Ahead,” *Daily Universe*, October 27, 1960; “Vacation Mad Students Rally at Cannon Center,” *Daily Universe*, December 9, 1960; “It’s Official! Leave Friday,” *Daily Universe*, December 12, 1960; “Angry Students Erupt in Protest Rally,” *Daily Universe*, December 3, 1962; “Five Days Added for Travel,” *Daily Universe*, October 11, 1967.

Wilkinson ruled that any student apprehended at the scene of a “riot,” defined as a gathering of two or more people disturbing the peace, would be summarily “dismissed.”⁹⁶

As fall semester 1965 began, Wilkinson asked the Dean of Student Life, in what may be the earliest reference to the possibility of Vietnam-related protests, to “look out” for “incipient tendencies” among students “so that we can nip [them] in the bud.”⁹⁷ To students two days later, Wilkinson commented, “All of us feel very good because we feel that the student body is completely behind us.”⁹⁸ Despite mounting anti-war sentiment nationally, not until late 1968 did the first major demonstration occur at BYU, when sixty students wearing black armbands attended a speech by Curtis LeMay retired U.S. Air Force general and conservative running mate of third party U.S. presidential candidate George Wallace. Their backs to LeMay, the students tried to disrupt his address by applauding at intervals.⁹⁹ Fearing such activities might escalate, administrators produced a list of “suggestions regarding disturbances” and appointed a committee on student unrest.¹⁰⁰ They also adopted, two years later, a civil disturbance plan and discussed the feasibility of organizing a campus “riot squad.”¹⁰¹

As U.S. fighting in Vietnam intensified through 1968–69, so did student unrest. In March 1969, representatives of a BYU “Free Student Coalition” presented sixteen demands—including recognition of a Mobilization for Peace Club, abolishment of ROTC class credit, and establishment of a Civil Rights week—to unreceptive administrators.¹⁰² Wilkinson, in an April memo, expressed anxiety that “nothing get started on this campus against the ROTC” and blamed national demonstrations on “communist revolutionaries.”¹⁰³ “Their ultimate goal,” he later explained, was “... destruction of our existing social order.”¹⁰⁴ At campus-wide devotional services in late April 1969, Boyd Packer invited student critics to study elsewhere.¹⁰⁵ When rumors of a demonstration against the appearance of Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew surfaced in early May, BYU’s Dean of Fine Arts suggested that

⁹⁶ See “Six Face Discipline for Friday Student Rampage,” *Daily Universe*, December 5, 1962; “On the Acropolis,” *Daily Universe*, December 14, 1962; “300 Participate in Riot,” *Daily Universe*, February 24, 1965; “Dean Sets Action Code,” *Daily Universe*, September 28, 1965.

⁹⁷ Wilkinson, Memorandum to J. Elliot Cameron, September 22, 1965, Wilkinson Papers.

⁹⁸ “President Wilkinson Blasts Misconduct in Annual Address,” *Daily Universe*, September 24, 1965.

⁹⁹ See Ralph McDonald, Letter, *Zion’s Opinion*, November 13, 1968, Perry Special Collections.

¹⁰⁰ “Suggestions for School Leaders Regarding Disturbances”; Swen C. Nielsen, Chief of BYU Security, Memorandum to Committee on Civil Disturbance, October 24, 1968, both in Perry Special Collections.

¹⁰¹ Swen C. Nielsen, Memorandum to Sam F. Brewster, “Confrontation and Disaster Alert Plan,” March 25, 1970, Perry Special Collections.

¹⁰² “Sixteen Demands of Free Student Coalition Delivered by Ralph McDonald at Hyde Park Forum, March 5, 1969, 12:00 noon, Memorial Lounge, ELWC,” Perry Special Collections.

¹⁰³ Wilkinson, Memorandum to Edwin B. Butterworth, April 12, 1969, Perry Special Collections.

¹⁰⁴ “Pres. Wilkinson Lays Riots Squarely On Revolutionaries,” *Daily Universe*, April 18, 1969; “Rout Campus Rioters With Force, Y. President Declares,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 19, 1969.

¹⁰⁵ “Packer Discusses Role of Dissent,” *Daily Universe*, May 1, 1969.

the university “alert some of our outstanding students to be ready to stand up for what we believe... It would be hard for the media not to recognize such students or to ignore their statements in favor of our position.”¹⁰⁶ Wilkinson agreed, but Agnew’s appearance took place without incident.¹⁰⁷

Hoping to improve relations with the student body, Wilkinson “subjected” himself to an “interrogation” (Wilkinson’s terms) by nearly three hundred students at a campus “Free Forum” in late May 1969. Wilkinson afterwards confided that “there is more unrest on the campus than there has been in any previous year.”¹⁰⁸ As a reminder that BYU would not tolerate violent dissent, Wilkinson had the school’s Code of Student Conduct amended that fall to provide for “disciplinary action” in the event of “obstruction or disruption of teaching, research, administration, disciplinary procedures, or other university activities...”¹⁰⁹ Student plans for participation in a nationwide boycott of classes in mid-October 1969 to protest the war were averted when student government officers voted instead to “support the idea that each person should write his congressman expressing his opinions either for or against the Vietnam War.” As a further compromise, several campus workshops and lectures on war and pacifism were scheduled during the national moratorium.¹¹⁰



L. TOM PERRY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

The BYU student club Spectrum sponsored in 1970 a series of skits collectively titled “Guerilla Theater” protesting US involvement in the Vietnam war.

¹⁰⁶ Wheelwright, Memorandum to Wilkinson, April 24, 1969, and Wilkinson, Memorandum to Wheelwright, April 25, 1969, Perry Special Collections. For the response of Student Body President Kenneth T. Kartchner to the suggestion, see below.

¹⁰⁷ Lael J. Woodbury, Memorandum to Wheelwright, May 1, 1969, Perry Special Collections; “Agnew Condemns Violence,” *Daily Universe*, May 9, 1969.

¹⁰⁸ Wilkinson, Diary, May 9, 1969. See also a transcript of the question-and-answer session attached to Lyle Curtis, Memorandum to Wilkinson, June 3, 1969, Perry Special Collections.

¹⁰⁹ “Brigham Young University Code of Student Conduct,” Fall 1969, Perry Special Collections.

¹¹⁰ “Miller, Beutler Protest War, Apathy During ‘Indoor’ Hyde Park Forum,” *Daily Universe*, October 9, 1969, and “The Program,” *The Young Democrat*, October 20, 1969; “Moratorium Motivates Collegians,” *Daily Universe*, October 15, 1969; ASBYU Executive Council, Minutes, October 13, 1969, Perry Special Collections; “Task Force: ‘No Simple Solution’” and “Hyde Park Sparks Heated Debate,” *Daily Universe*, October 16, 1969. For events at the University of Utah, see Nicole L. Thompson, “Utah, the Anti-Vietnam War Movement, and the University of Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 78 (Spring 2010):154-74.

During the next few years, administrators initiated a program of covert surveillance of the university's "radical" students.¹¹¹ For example, at Wilkinson's insistence, BYU Security maintained a close watch on activist and Vietnam veteran Jerry L. Owens, a participant in November 1969's moratorium demonstrations in Salt Lake City, as well as on some forty other people involved in the weekend demonstrations. BYU's Chief of Security reported, "Heretofore some of our students with radical political views have floundered about rather aimlessly; however, it appears now that they are being used by some rather skillful agitators, some of whom are what we might call 'known communists.'" Wilkinson instructed Security to continue its surveillance to prevent any "entanglement" between BYU and possible communist sympathizers and, in early 1970, asked trustees for a supplemental appropriation to cover "additional security protection."¹¹² Increasingly defensive, Wilkinson issued a special statement in March 1970 on "campus conduct": "Any person who participates in or supports illegal or disruptive action designed to subvert the purposes of the university and its sponsoring institution will be subject to immediate arrest and criminal prosecution."¹¹³ Wilkinson also asked the Director of Public Relations to brief him regularly on "disturbances or riots" at other American universities.¹¹⁴ That May, Wilkinson applauded BYU's "cool" reaction to the expansion of the war into Cambodia and the deaths of four demonstrators at Kent State University in Ohio. To his diary, however, he confessed, "There is certainly a spirit of unrest throughout the country and while it is manifest only slightly at the BYU it is nevertheless manifested here."¹¹⁵

When specific instances of student protest occurred on campus, BYU officials tended to act swiftly. For example, undergraduates were told to remove peace signs from their dormitory windows with the curt explanation, "You don't need a reason."¹¹⁶ More drastically, students who publicly questioned BYU policies were sometimes quietly investigated by the Office of Student Life to determine if grounds existed for disciplinary action.¹¹⁷ After the appearance of one student's letters to the editor in the *Daily Universe*, Wilkinson complained to the Deans of Fine Arts and Student Life, "I wish [the dean of Fine Arts] would see to it that no further letters of [this student] go into the *Universe*, and I wish [the Dean of

¹¹¹ Faculty were not immune from such surveillance. See Bergera, "The 1966 BYU Student Spy Ring."

¹¹² Swen C. Nielsen, Memorandum to Wilkinson, November 17, 1969, Wilkinson Papers; Board of Trustees, Minutes, January 7, 1970; Board of Trustees, Special Executive Committee, Minutes, February 19, 1970. See also "Dissent at BYU," *Seventh East Press*, February 20, 1982.

¹¹³ *Bulletin*, March 13, 1970, reprinted in J. Wesley Sherwood, "Emergency Operations Plan, Brigham Young University," September 1979, E2, Perry Special Collections.

¹¹⁴ Wilkinson, Memorandum to Edwin Butterworth, March 16, 1970, Perry Special Collections.

¹¹⁵ "Y Pres Lauds 'Cool' Students," *Daily Universe*, May 11, 1970; Wilkinson, Diary, May 11, 1970.

¹¹⁶ Bob Anderson and Glenn Blake, Letter, *Daily Universe*, May 16, May 1969. See also Wilkinson, Memorandum to J. Elliot Cameron, December 11, 1969, and attachment, Wilkinson Papers.

¹¹⁷ See, as an example, David W. Child, Letter, *Daily Universe*, May 6, 1969; Wilkinson, Memorandum to J. Elliot Cameron, May 12, 1969, Wilkinson Papers.

Student Life] would see if there is anything we can do with respect to [the student].” The Dean of Student Life replied that his office had been “watching” the student “very carefully during the entire year.” He admitted that he did not “have anything that would justify taking any action against [the student] at this point” but promised that after the student’s graduation, his office intended “to tag [the student’s] records so that he will not return to BYU.”¹¹⁸

In May 1970, when several students asked permission to collect signatures on a petition calling for the withdrawal of congressional funding for the war, officials responded by banning all petitions.¹¹⁹ Wilkinson explained that with the approach of the end of the school year, “students need all of their time to adequately prepare” for final exams.¹²⁰ One student replied, “If my memory is correct, a few years ago a petition circulated at BYU was sent to Washington supporting the war in Vietnam. How can this apparent double standard be rationalized?”¹²¹ Another wrote, “I am angry. Angry because of the invisible iron glove that keeps us in our place; angry with the kind of education that teaches us to ‘accept’ rather than discover; angered by words praising us for our silence, words that have undertones of warning.”¹²² Five days later, administrators reversed their decision to allow “individual students [to] circulate petitions on campus which do not violate the fundamental objectives of BYU.” Still, “all petitions would be submitted to the dean of students for approval.”¹²³

Students responded, in part, to such measures by electing in 1969 and in 1970 Kenneth T. Kartchner and Brian F. Walton as student body presidents. Kartchner, who campaigned that “the policies of student ‘government’ are essentially decided by the administration,” won by more than a thousand votes.¹²⁴ Seeing himself as an “interloper in student government,” Kartchner later termed his victory “a cruel satire on student elections that had backfired” and recalled his year in office as “not a particularly satisfying time, but it was endlessly interesting.”¹²⁵ At one point, Wilkinson suggested that Kartchner

¹¹⁸ Wilkinson, Memorandum to Lorin F. Wheelwright and J. Elliot Cameron, April 20, 1970, Perry Special Collections; Cameron, Memorandum to Wilkinson, May 20, 1970, Wilkinson Papers. The student, William Marshall Cowden, was a sociology major and a member of Students for a Democratic Society (Cowden, Letter, *Daily Universe*, April 1, 1970). See also the anti-SDS editorial in the *Daily Universe*, April 13, 1970, and Wheelwright, Memorandum to Wilkinson, April 14, 1970, Perry Special Collections.

¹¹⁹ “War and Riot Messages Sent,” *Daily Universe*, May 8, 1970. See also “Election, War Spark Five Petitions,” *Daily Universe*, May 21, 1970, and Wilkinson, Diary, May 11, 1970.

¹²⁰ “Draft of Statement on Decision Not to Have Political Petitions Circulated at the Present Time,” Perry Special Collections; “Petition Ban Explained,” *Daily Universe*, May 14, 1970; “BYU Bans Student Petitions,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 14, 1970.

¹²¹ Paul S. Carpenter, Letter, *Daily Universe*, May 14, 1970.

¹²² Linda McKenzie, Letter, *Daily Universe*, May 21, 1970.

¹²³ “BYU Eases Restraints on Campus Petitions,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 16, 1970; “Petitions Okay with ‘Order,’” *Daily Universe*, May 19, 1970.

¹²⁴ Campaign advertisement, *Daily Universe*, April 17, 1969; “Kartchner Wins by One Thousand,” *Daily Universe*, April 28, 1969.

¹²⁵ Kenneth T. Kartchner, E-mail to Bergera, November 19, 2011, and attachment.

stage a university-wide “demonstration” in support for U.S. government and BYU’s “wholesomeness.” Kartchner thought the idea was “artificial and contrived.” He met with BYU religion teacher and Democrat Hugh Nibley on how best to show “respect for the president vs. my own disgust of the war.” Nibley opined that he “wouldn’t do it.” Kartchner decided not to.¹²⁶

Walton believed that administrators “lack wisdom because they don’t take into account the maturity, responsibility and loyalty of the student body,” and later vowed, with running mate Jon Ferguson, to make student government more relevant. Worried, Wilkinson asked an aide about Walton’s politics. “I am told that Brian Walton [is] very far to the left,” he wrote.¹²⁷ Walton described himself as “barely to the left of center.”¹²⁸

Despite losing in the preliminaries, Walton and Ferguson survived as write-in contenders. On the second day of voting, however, they were disqualified for alleged campaign violations. An appeal to the ASBYU Supreme Court resulted in a ruling in their favor as well as a public chastisement of the Student Elections Committee for “discriminatory enforcement of rules.” A new election was ordered.¹²⁹ Two days later, Wilkinson announced he was postponing the elections so that he could conduct a “special investigation” into possible “violations of university standards.”¹³⁰ Four months earlier, Walton had been stopped by a BYU Bookstore employee for alleged shoplifting. Walton said that he had simply forgotten, before leaving the store, to pay for the few items in question. He received a reprimand from University Standards but no other punishment. Trustees wondered if Wilkinson should “encourage Brother Walton to withdraw” from the election. Wilkinson decided to turn the investigation over to the ASBYU Supreme Court, while also privately instructing BYU’s legal counsel to assist the student justices in reaching a decision.¹³¹

Two weeks later, the student court found Walton “not guilty” and ruled that no one would be disqualified from the election. When votes were

¹²⁶ Ibid. Kartchner “didn’t think students should be doing much more than studying...My orientation was forged in a semester I had spent at the University of San Marcos in Lima, Peru, 1962. The president of the Student Communist Party was in one of my classes and we spent more time in the streets and on strike than in the classroom. It was an exhilarating 4 months and richly fulfilled my personal objective of learning Spanish, but classwork was virtually non-existent and I felt like my student friends were in a *pas de deux* with the professors to avoid actual school work. I didn’t want to contribute to moving BYU in that direction...” (E-mail to Bergera, November 20, 2011).

¹²⁷ “Rival Emerges at Registration,” *Daily Universe*, September 22, 1969. Walton served as Vice-president of Academics from 1969 to 1970. “Remember to Vote,” *Daily Universe*, April 10, 1970; Wilkinson, Memorandum to Dean A. Peterson, March 31, 1970, Wilkinson Papers.

¹²⁸ Walton, E-mail to Bergera.

¹²⁹ “Walton Appeal Heard,” *Daily Universe*, April 20, 1970; “Court Calls New Election,” *Daily Universe*, April 22, 1970.

¹³⁰ “Walton Rumor Told,” *Daily Universe*, April 17, 1970; “Election Postponed,” *Daily Universe*, April 23, 1970.

¹³¹ Board of Trustees, Executive Committee, Minutes, April 23, 1970; “Supreme Court to Decide Election,” *Daily Universe*, April 28, 1970; “Walton Statements,” *Daily Universe*, May 13, 1970; Gary H. Carver, Memorandum to Walton, December 29, 1969, Perry Special Collections. Clyde D. Sandgren, Memorandum to Wilkinson, May 11, 1970, Perry Special Collections.

counted the next week, Walton and Ferguson won by 350 votes.¹³² In congratulating Walton, Wilkinson pointed out “that there were only 7,048 votes cast, or about 30 percent of the student body, and that [Walton] received only 38 percent of the votes cast, or [the support of only] about 13 percent of the student body.”¹³³

Wilkinson’s letter initiated an exchange that continued throughout Walton’s term. When Wilkinson introduced an unscheduled political speaker at a student assembly, Walton complained in behalf of ASBYU’s Executive Council. When Wilkinson announced his intent to hold students to increasingly strict dress standards, Walton wrote: “If the introduction of these arbitrary specifics is an attempt to remove ‘radical’ elements from campus, I think that it is ill-founded.” Walton thought the school should “treat students with due respect.”¹³⁴

In fall 1970, Walton created a President’s Commission on Student Affairs with subcommittees on “Student Government,” “Student Rights,” and “Legal Research.” The Student Rights Subcommittee reviewed “inconsistencies or arbitrary application of university policy to the detriment of students.” The Legal Research Subcommittee investigated student rights in contractual agreements with the university, specifically student housing contracts. When Walton delivered an address to students toward the end of October calling for increased sensitivity on racial issues, he announced the creation of a committee to study the recruiting of black students.¹³⁵ BYU religion professor Rodney Turner responded: “The Negro issue is a most sensitive one; it should be dealt with by the inspired servants of God; it should not be the subject of a campus-wide forum.” Colleague Reid Bankhead urged BYU’s returned missionaries to run for office so that it could be “hissed abroad that returned missionaries run the BYU campus, and not intellectuals, disciples of Plato and Rousseau, eggheads, whiz kids, rationalistic sharpies, et cetera.”¹³⁶

At about the same time, Wilkinson issued a one-page flyer entitled “Men of BYU—A Message from the President,” encouraging enrollment in ROTC. Twelve students, including Walton and Ferguson, countered with five hundred copies of “An Important Message to the Men of BYU,” identifying alternatives to military service, which they distributed at special

¹³² “ASBYU vs. Brian Walton,” 18, Perry Special Collections; “No Candidate Cut,” *Daily Universe*, May 8, 1970. “Vote Today or Tomorrow,” *Daily Universe*, May 14, 1970; “Walton Wins,” *Daily Universe*, May 18, 1970.

¹³³ Wilkinson, Letter to Walton, May 18, 1970, Perry Special Collections.

¹³⁴ Walton, Memoranda to Wilkinson, October 30, May 28, 1970, Perry Special Collections.

¹³⁵ “Student Commission Details Released,” *Daily Universe*, October 26, 1970; “Group Study Begins,” *Daily Universe*, December 15, 1970. Walton, “BYU and Race: Where We Are Now,” October 28, 1970, Perry Special Collections; “Racial Tensions Aired,” *Daily Universe*, October 29, 1970.

¹³⁶ Rodney Turner, Letter, *Daily Universe*, October 27, 1970; “Prof Asks Returned Missionaries to Lead,” *Daily Universe*, October 28, 1970.

Founders Day ceremonies.¹³⁷ Wilkinson denounced the flyer, condemned Walton, and invited all BYU veterans to wear their uniforms during an upcoming campus Veteran's Day devotional.¹³⁸ The controversy reached school trustees, and the Dean of Student Life quickly notified Walton that "authorization to distribute this pamphlet...is hereby rescinded."¹³⁹

A group of students began circulating a petition for Walton's resignation. They asserted that Walton had encouraged students to "go against the council of [the Church's] prophets" and claimed his committees misrepresented "the mutual love and appreciation which characterize the administration, faculty, and students at BYU." Walton responded that "no one should have [thought] that this year's student body presidency was going to stick its head in the sand." By the end of 1970, fifteen students issued *A More Important Message to the Men of BYU* in defense of military service.¹⁴⁰ Walton served to the end of his term, but his tenure was dampened somewhat by what one professor termed the "shameful harassment of the student body president."¹⁴¹

Wilkinson's anxieties also spilled over into the management of the *Daily Universe*. In early 1969, he forwarded three clippings from the *Universe* to an aide asking, "I wish you would take the time to prepare a careful answer to the letter published January 6, and we will find some way of getting it in the *Universe* under some student's name."¹⁴² Wilkinson wanted a newspaper that "represent[ed] all publics other than just the students."¹⁴³ The next year, he hired a professional "general manager" to oversee the student newspaper. A list of unsuitable topics soon included "advocacy of communism, socialism, fascism and other extremist doctrines or systems of government;...of birth control, illicit sex, drug abuse, illegal procedures, invasion of privacy, and other anti-social practices; debate on the validity of church doctrines;

¹³⁷ The other ten signers were Jay Christensen, Peggy Fletcher, Peggy Hunt, Terrell Hunt, Andrew Kimball, Paul Larson, Tom Litster, Joel McKinnon, Westley Shook III, and Nanci Sinclair. Terrell Hunt, who served as both Walton's campaign manager and later Executive Assistant, had prepared a statement in defense of his application for status as a conscientious objector and drew from this to produce the "basic content" of *An Important Message* (see Hunt, E-mail to Bergera, November 30, 2011, and attachment).

¹³⁸ Wilkinson, Diary, October 24, 1970. "I was a little scared to sign it [i.e., the flyer]," Walton remembered. "I thought I would take a big hit for doing it, but I couldn't have seen it being as big as it was. We quoted the General Authorities [of the LDS Church], as I recall, and it was quite mild" (E-mail to Bergera). "Uniforms on Campus Okayed by Wilkinson," *Daily Universe*, November 9, 1970; "Wilkinson States Military Position," *Daily Universe*, November 11, 1970.

¹³⁹ Board of Trustees, Minutes, October 29, November 4, 1970; J. Elliot Cameron, Memorandum to Walton, November 3, 1970, in ASBYU History, 1970-71, 115, Perry Special Collections.

¹⁴⁰ Wilkinson, Memorandum to Ben E. Lewis, December 1, 1970, Wilkinson Papers; Performance Standards Committee, Minutes, December 8, 1970, Perry Special Collections; Ben E. Lewis, Minutes of Meeting, December 11, 1970, Perry Special Collections. The fifteen students signing *A More Important Message* were Joanne Campbell, Janet Darley, Alice Ferger, David Handy, Paula Hansen, Joan Hendricks, Bary Larsen, Ken Larsen, Jane Nance, Donald Perkins, Bela Petsco, Carol Anne Schuster, Clarence Starks, Carl Watkins, and Atheline B. Wold.

¹⁴¹ "Recall Walton," *Daily Universe*, November 5, 1970; "ASBYU President's Message," *Daily Universe*, November 6, 1970; Skip Morrow et al., Letter, *Daily Universe*, November 9, 1970; "Students Withdraw Recall," *Daily Universe*, November 13, 1970; William E. Dibble, Letter, *Daily Universe*, November 6, 1970.

¹⁴² Wilkinson, Memorandum to Stephen R. Covey, January 15, 1969, Perry Special Collections.

¹⁴³ Wilkinson, Memorandum to Stephen R. Covey, January 15, 1969, Perry Special Collections and Wilkinson, Diary, April 18, 1969.



ANDREW E. KIMBALL

ridicule of university and Church leaders;...[and] other issues as may be identified by the Board of Trustees.” Over the next few years, the list of taboo topics grew:

“Negro and the priesthood and other racial problems; polygamy; sex education, pornography, nudity;...personal stories on Church leaders involving age, health, children, et cetera; confidential Church and university information...embarrassing incidents both historical and current; attacks on Church and BYU policies;...Church policies regarding the war in Vietnam;...evolution and claims of science in conflict with beliefs of Church leaders; Church censorship...and acid rock music, nude painting, et cetera.”¹⁴⁴

At the administration’s urging, the *Universe’s* 1969 student editor, Pierre Hathaway, agreed to replace the Letters to the Editor section with a question-and-answer column, allowing administrators to respond to inquiries rather than have criticisms appear uncontested. However, only five months later, in February 1970, the paper’s manager reported to the Board of Student Publications that Hathaway was guilty of “gross irresponsibility” and called for his resignation. One week later, Hathaway resigned.¹⁴⁵

BYU student activists Tom Litster (left) and Andrew Kimball (right), 1970-71.

¹⁴⁴ Lorin F. Wheelwright, Memorandum to Wilkinson, June 27, 1969, Perry Special Collections, and Wheelwright, Memorandum to Dallin H. Oaks, February 9, 1972, Perry Special Collections.

¹⁴⁵ “Policy Respecting Publication of [Letters in] the *Universe*,” June 13, 1969; “Policy Statement for the *Daily Universe*,” September 12, 1969, both in Perry Special Collections; Rodger Dean Duncan,

Hathaway's critics complained that he had run photographs of long hair and beards, favorable reviews of rock-and-roll groups, and discussions of the LDS church and blacks.¹⁴⁶ When Hathaway's replacement in April 1970 printed an article on racial prejudice, Wilkinson wrote to the chair of the publications board (who was also Dean of Fine Arts), "Will you please see to it that...when there are articles, they are somewhat buried by their location in the newspaper?"¹⁴⁷ In response, the publications chair urged that students be allowed to "continue to publish student opinion that expresses viewpoints different from official opinion... and that [advisors] try to balance the same with opposite opinion of equal or superior weight and influence." He believed that if administrators "muzzle every cry of student anguish and never give it a chance to be heard in the *Universe* [they could] expect it to be expressed in some other way—in an underground paper, or, heaven forbid, in more violent form."¹⁴⁸ Less than a month later, Wilkinson received a letter from the First Presidency cautioning him "against doing or saying anything which could be misinterpreted as an improper suppression of student thoughts and attitudes."¹⁴⁹ Wilkinson proceeded quietly to transform the *Universe* into a strictly "laboratory paper" headquartered in the Department of Communications.¹⁵⁰

In referencing underground newspapers, BYU's publications chair had in mind two recent publications. The single-issue *Cuspidor* told of BYU students "Dick Decent" and "Jane Birch," whose conversation included, "Oh my goodness. Is it already time for me to go learn more about the great things our wonderful Military Industrial Complex is doing to keep that ever present danger, communism, for ever entering...these great United States?"¹⁵¹ From October 1968 to May 1969, *Zion's Opinion*, a two-sided, single sheet, became one of the most successful independent student publications to surface at BYU. Containing articles and editorials praising a free press, *Zion's Opinion* also provided readers with excerpts from the school's 1966 re-accreditation report and other information not widely available.¹⁵² Concerned, Wilkinson asked an aide if there were "any legal action [that could

Memorandum to Board of Student Publications, February 10, 1970, Perry Special Collections; "Full Support," *Daily Universe*, February 10, 1970; "Gillespie Replaces Hathaway," *Daily Universe*, February 16, 1970.

¹⁴⁶ See Duncan, Memorandum to Wilkinson, February 17, 1970; Wilkinson, Memorandum to J. Elliot Cameron, October 1, 1969; Duncan, Memorandum to Cameron, October 16, 1970; N. Eldon Tanner, Letter to Wilkinson, January 16, 1970; Wilkinson, Letter to Tanner, January 17, 1970; Lorin F. Wheelwright, Memorandum to Wilkinson, January 14, 1970, all in Perry Special Collections.

¹⁴⁷ Wilkinson, Memorandum to Wheelwright, May 7, 1970, Perry Special Collections.

¹⁴⁸ Wheelwright, Memorandum to Wilkinson, May 22, 1970, Perry Special Collections.

¹⁴⁹ First Presidency, Letter to Wilkinson, June 18, 1970, Perry Special Collections.

¹⁵⁰ "Suggested Reorganization of Daily Universe" and correspondence between Heber G. Wolsey and Wilkinson, Perry Special Collections; "Editors Note," *Daily Universe*, May 11, 1972; "Daily Universe Professionalized," *Daily Universe*, July 26, 1972; "President Oaks Years," *Daily Universe*, January 12, 1976; "The Daily Universe," *Daily Universe*, September 5, 1978.

¹⁵¹ *Cuspidor*, n.d., Perry Special Collections.

¹⁵² *Zion's Opinion*, October 18, December 5, 1968, March 17, 1969, Perry Special Collections. *Zion's Opinion* began simply as *Opinion*, but by the third issue had added *Zion's*.

be taken against] the undercover newspaper.”¹⁵³ The editors discontinued the paper in May 1969 at the urging of a ranking Church official in favor of working “within the established procedures and organization at the BYU.”¹⁵⁴

Other dissenting voices surfaced, but the threat of reprisal succeeded in limiting protest.¹⁵⁵ During the 1968–69 school year, the student club Spectrum, a “forum for open discussion of important matters on a non-partisan and hopefully intelligent level,” sponsored a panel on poverty in America and also gathered eighteen hundred signatures on a petition calling for an all-volunteer military. In October 1970, Spectrum members staged a series of anti-war skits titled “Guerilla Theater.”¹⁵⁶ Complaints followed, and the students were denied permission to restage the production.¹⁵⁷ Spectrum later held a public discussion on Vietnam, featuring BYU conscientious objectors Terrell E. Hunt and Andrew E. Kimball, grandson of Church Apostle Spencer W. Kimball. “If we loved [each other],” Kimball said, “we wouldn’t butcher each other.”¹⁵⁸ “[T]he opposing panelists (and the overwhelming majority of the audience),” Hunt recalled, “took the position that war is justified under a very broad range of circumstances, and has even been characterized as be[ing] ordered by God Himself. That’s pretty stiff competition, but we made our point!”¹⁵⁹ The event “turned out to be not nearly so violent [an] attack as we were afraid of,” Wilkinson recorded. “Young Andy Kimball is very sincere in his views but is naive and impractical.” Still, Wilkinson insisted, “I don’t believe any Mormon can be [a pacifist].”¹⁶⁰

By 1968, six explicitly partisan political clubs had emerged on campus:

¹⁵³ Wilkinson, Diary, November 19, 1968.

¹⁵⁴ Wilkinson, Memorandum to J. Morris Richards and Lorin F. Wheelwright, May 16, 1969, Wilkinson Papers. See also “Once an Underground Newspaper,” *Daily Universe*, December 13, 1979. Though not an underground paper per se, the monthly newsletter of BYU’s Young Democrats, especially under the leadership of student activist Omar Kader, published liberal points of view.

¹⁵⁵ For the decline in student unrest nationally, see Phillip G. Altbach, “Student Activism in the 1970s and 1980s,” *Student Politics: Perspectives for the Eighties*, Philip G. Altbach, ed. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1981), 8–11.

¹⁵⁶ Spectrum was founded by students Dante Gumucio, Andrew Kimball Jr., and Larry Vollintine in 1967 as New Politics Club, with BYU Dean Martin B. Hickman as faculty advisor. Initially, administrators asked club members to sign loyalty oaths, but Hickman advised against doing so. Administrators backed down, then asked that the club change its name to avoid confusion with the national left-leaning “National Conference for New Politics.” Spectrum returned to campus in 1968 and during the height of its popularity had some fifty-plus members. See Larry R. Vollintine, “The Founding of Spectrum at BYU, 1967–1969,” attached to Vollintine, E-mail to Bergera, November 17, 2011. “Club Presents Guerilla Theater,” *Daily Universe*, October 29, 1970. See also Gale Lee Gray, Letter, *Daily Universe*, October 30, 1970.

¹⁵⁷ Performance Standards Committee, Minutes, December 11, 1970, Perry Special Collections.

¹⁵⁸ “Spectrum Panel Probes Vietnam,” *Daily Universe*, February 26, 1971.

¹⁵⁹ Hunt, E-mail to Bergera, and attachment.

¹⁶⁰ Wilkinson, Diary, February 24, 1971. For Kimball’s anti-war activism, see *Wasatch Front*, October 1970, 7, 11, Perry Special Collections. Shortly afterwards, and at Wilkinson’s prodding, Kimball’s grandfathers met separately with him “to talk me out of my unorthodox views. ... The conversations were silly, on both our sides,” Kimball recalled. One grandfather “emphasized that long hair conveyed the wrong values. I responded that short hair conveyed to me materialism, complacency, etc., and that in any case Jesus had long hair, which made my grandfather angry, and he forbade me to speak about ‘the savior’ in connection with hippies” (E-mail to Bergera, November 3, 2011).

Young Democrats, Young Republicans, Young Independents, Young Conservatives, Young Americans for Freedom, and Young American Independents. Petitions to organize chapters of the W. E. B. DuBois Club, Students for a Democratic Society, Americans for Democratic Action, and the Peace and Freedom Party were denied. Administrators contended that DuBois was a “communist front organization,” that SDS championed violence, and that Peace and Freedom advocated “contraceptives” and “free love.”¹⁶¹ Only one club, Young Democrats, provided an outlet for politically liberal students. Consequently, they not only boasted the largest membership of any official political club during the 1960s but drew repeated threats of banishment, such as in 1969 when members displayed a peace symbol on campus, distributed anti-draft literature, and exhibited books by “Che” Guevara and Malcolm X.¹⁶²

Much of the drive fostering student political activism at BYU waned with Wilkinson’s 1971 resignation, the end of the Vietnam war, and an upswing in conservatism among college students nationally. The number of political clubs dwindled until administrators decided to recognize only two: Young Republicans and Young Democrats. Trustees noted that the Republican and Democratic Parties enjoy an “established record of not creating the kind of difficulties with which the board is concerned” and banned additional clubs to “avoid...excessive” politicization.¹⁶³ The number of BYU undergraduates favoring a Republican U.S. President rose from 73 to 86 percent.¹⁶⁴ By the mid-1970s, students had begun referring to BYU as a “hot bed of social rest.”¹⁶⁵

While not as dramatic or as frequent as that taking place at some other American colleges, BYU student political activism during the late 1960s and early 1970s was nonetheless a recurring feature of student life on the LDS campus. Students, and occasionally faculty, pursued a variety of approaches in expressing a wide spectrum of political views on national and local events. Such activism speaks to the intellectual engagement with modern American life that both marks the contemporary college experience and functions as an indicator of the diversity of belief among LDS church members generally.

¹⁶¹ J. Elliot Cameron, Memorandum to Wilkinson, November 26, 1968, Wilkinson Papers; “BYU Refuses SDS Formation,” *Daily Universe*, November 21, 1968; “Sounding Board,” *Daily Universe*, December 6, 1968.

¹⁶² Bob Keith, Letter, *Zion’s Opinion*, March 25, 1969.

¹⁶³ See “Minutes of the Meeting of Dean Cameron with Vice-Presidents,” March 19, 1971, Perry Special Collections; Board of Trustees, Executive Committee, Minutes, April 18, June 20, December 19, 1974; Board of Trustees, Minutes, January 9, 1975.

¹⁶⁴ See “GOP Affiliation Vaults to Highest Level Since Eisenhower Era,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 25, 1984; “Nixon Leads Seven to One,” *Daily Universe*, November 3, 1972; “Political Speeches Highlight Y Week,” *Daily Universe*, October 29, 1976.

¹⁶⁵ *Beginning BYU, 1976-77*, 43, Perry Special Collections. Not until the early 1980s did dissent again begin to surface at BYU. See, for example, “Disputes Follow Iranian Speech,” *Daily Universe*, February 28, 1980; “Mrs. Matheson Heckled,” *Daily Universe*, October 23, 1980; “‘Plowshares’ Not Guns’ at BYU,” *Sunstone Review*, April 1982, 3; “BYU Students Demonstrate Against Aid for Contras,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 18, 1986; and “Demonstrators Duel Politely at BYU,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 5, 2007.

BOOK REVIEWS

From the Land of Ever Winter to the American Southwest: Athapaskan Migrations, Mobility, and Ethnogenesis. By Deni J. Seymour (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2012. xii + 443 pp. Cloth, \$70.00.)

ARCHAEOLOGISTS have a way of starting debates that last for decades and may never be satisfactorily concluded. That is a short time when one is used to working in one thousand year increments. Ongoing discussions include the origin of Native Americans, how many were here at time of contact, and when did they arrive in their present location. Deni J. Seymour tackles the latter issue as it applies to Athapaskan speakers (Navajo and Apache) and their entrance into the Southwest. This long-standing deliberation has advanced steadily as various disciplines—archaeology, history, linguistics, biology (DNA), mythology, geography, and art (ceramics and rock art)—are brought to bear to determine when, where, and how these people arrived. For the Utah reader, since the Navajo comprise the largest tribe in the state, this discussion is as prehistorically relevant as the advent of the Mormons and others during historic times.

The when of the debate is still not settled. With nineteen authors and eighteen chapters in this book, fact and opinion have been unable to provide a definitive answer—the chronology ranging between 1000 AD and the early 1500s. The general trend with most of the authors, however, is to push Navajo entrance further into the past; what used to be considered highly unlikely—1300 AD—is now within a reasonable possibility. This date is particularly important since it is by this time that the Anasazi abandoned sites like Mesa Verde and others in the northern San Juan region. Part of the problem with dating sites and artifacts is defining what belonged to these proto-Athapaskan people. As hunters and gatherers mixed with like-minded folk such as the proto-Numic speakers (Utes and Paiutes) plus the activity of the Ancestral Puebloans (Anasazi and Fremont), one can see how issues arise. While there are certainly diagnostic elements peculiar to the sedentary cultures, there are still questions as to what Athapaskan pottery and other aspects of material culture look like.

The migration route of these people is another concern. There are proponents for travelers descending from northwestern Canada on the western side of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, some who argue for a route between the mountains, while others vote for travel on the plains east of the Rockies. Most of the presenters tend toward the latter two with some of the more convincing arguments suggesting that the between-mountain route through Utah and into the Southwest is most likely. Many believe that the Farmington, New Mexico, area and Four Corners region was a crucial starting point for identifiable Navajo culture. The Diné agree since according to their religious teachings, this is where they emerged from the worlds beneath this one.

Among some of the interesting tidbits that arise from this research is the Apache recollection of place names far to the north that describe geographical sites along a possible migration route; the fact that DNA for Navajos “shows the greatest evidence of Southwestern ancestry . . . [and that they] most resemble the Puebloans and least resemble the northwestern Athapaskans”(125). Other points of interest are that Navajo mythology may hold important answers that have previously been ignored; and that a specific tribe—the Chipewyan—actually is the most likely candidate for being the northern ancestor of the Navajo and Apache based on “linguistics, glottochronology, and Saskatchewan and Barrenland archaeological site material” as well as radiocarbon dating of specific sites along a tentative migration route(338). Regardless of the fact-based arguments each author makes, there is an opportunity for everyone to raise a hand off of his or her armchair and vote.

This book is recommended as the latest and best summary of the literature examining the Athapaskan migration into the Southwest. As in most volumes with multiple contributors, some chapters are more compelling, better written, and documented than others. But in general, this is an excellent work that Deni Seymour has pieced together.

ROBERT S. MCPHERSON
Utah State University, Eastern–Blanding Campus

West from Salt Lake City: Diaries from the Central Overland Trail. Edited by Jesse G. Petersen. (Norman: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2012. 328 pp. Cloth, \$34.95.)

IN 1858, CAPTAIN JAMES H. SIMPSON of the U.S. Army’s Corps of Topographical Engineers was ordered to Utah during the so-called Utah War. He was stationed at Camp Floyd, south of Salt Lake City. In 1859, he was ordered to survey a travel route from Camp Floyd across the Great Salt Lake Desert and the Great Basin that ended at present-day Genoa, Nevada. This route became the Central Overland Trail and was used by the Pony Express and the Overland Stage. Simpson’s route would be an alternative for travelers from Salt Lake City to California who had to travel a much longer distance either by a northern route or a southern route.

Research for *West from Salt Lake* began over a decade ago by James O. Hall who was curious about how many overland emigrant parties traveled the Central Overland Trail. Because of health problems, Hall was unable to complete his research. Jesse G. Petersen, author of the book *A Route for the Overland Stage: James H. Simpson’s 1859 Trail Across the Great Basin*, stepped in to complete the research and bring this book to publication.

One of the major goals of the research was to document the approximate number of emigrants who used the Central Overland Trail. Twenty-seven diaries were eventually located and are included in this book. A handful of these diaries have been previously published, but most were in editions that had limited distribution, so it is useful for researchers to have them collected in this volume. The diaries cover the years from 1859 to 1868.

The collection includes eleven diaries by females. In Petersen's judgment, these diaries are the most interesting and I agree with this opinion. One of the most detailed diaries in this book is by Delia Thompson Brown. Brown's diary is rich in details of day-to-day travel across the desert. Although water and grass were scarce, the beauty of the desert did not escape her notice. On August 3, 1860, she wrote: "A bright beautiful morning and Oh such a glorious sunrise. The air is so bracing and pure but some complain of cold. It just suits me—so much better than the valley climate we have had" (120).

Petersen concludes that the diaries in this book establish the fact that more emigrants than were previously thought used the Central Overland Route and makes this book a significant contribution to Western trails history. No doubt this book will stimulate interest in searching for additional diaries of this route. Petersen is an expert on this trail and his some eight hundred footnotes fill out details of diary entries, which by the nature of a travel diary are generally brief. Nine maps are grouped at the beginning of the diaries. These maps are among the clearest and most informative I have ever seen, and, again, can serve as a model for trail historians.

I would like to conclude by noting that this book is dedicated to the memory of the late Gregory M. Franzwa. Franzwa was a superb trails historian and a principal founder of the Oregon-California Trails Association, one of the most active organizations dedicated to interpreting and preserving this historic trail. This is a fitting memorial.

PETER H. DELAFOSSE
Salt Lake City

Cleaving the Unknown World: The Powell Expeditions and the Scientific

Exploration of the Colorado Plateau. Edited by Don D. Fowler. (Salt Lake City: The

University of Utah Press/Utah State Historical Society, 2012. xx + 251 pp. Paper, \$24.95.)

ROY WEBB IN HIS FOREWORD to *Cleaving the Unknown* describes John Wesley Powell's 1869 and 1871 explorations of the Green and Colorado rivers as "among the most significant, stirring and well documented in American history" (ix). Webb also points out that from these

expeditions seventeen different accounts were produced. These documents coupled with the current popularity of river rafting and of the exotic draw of the Southwest have kept the demand for these expedition accounts alive and well among historians and the general public.

Cleaving the Unknown represents the finish to an ambitious project by the University of Utah Press and the Utah State Historical Society to reprint and make available all of the different journals and documents associated with John Wesley Powell's Colorado River explorations. This particular volume brings together previously published and out of print journals, maps, photographs and correspondence depicting these famous explorations. Although a bit eclectic, this book of documents may be the most interesting of this series because it brings back into print the diaries, photographs, maps and writings of the lesser known members of the expedition—Jack Hillers, Francis Bishop, Frederick Dellenbaugh and John Colton Summer.

Also of significance is the reprinting of the original journal of John Wesley Powell's 1871-72 expedition. As Don and Catherine Fowler note in their introduction, there has been some confusion and complaint over Powell's willingness, most likely for public relations purposes, to blend together events from his 1869 and 1871 trips. These accounts were published in Part 1 of his book *Explorations of the Colorado of the West and Its Tributaries*. However, the particular diary published here was actually written on the 1871-72 trip, giving the reader a more accurate account of Powell's experiences.

Cleaving also reprints the fine book about Jack Hillers "Photographed All the Best Scenery." Hillers, who started as a boat hand on the 1871 expedition, showed an interest and an aptitude for photography and eventually replaced E.O. Beaman as Powell's photographer. This serendipitous event helped launch Hillers to a career as a notable western photographer. Hillers kept a lengthy journal of the trip, plus journal excerpts from later expeditions in the southwest. As an added bonus many of Hillers' photographs are printed in this volume.

Two other sets of documents relating to the 1871-72 expeditions can also be found in *Cleaving the Unknown*. The rough maps of Francis Bishop (with William Rusho's excellent commentary) enlighten the readers to how the cartography of the second trip was created. Rusho also notes that Bishop's maps, although not the best, had the added bonus of showing where camp sites and lunch breaks were taken. Finally, a set of Dellenbaugh letters is presented that give his impressions of the expeditions and how they have been depicted a half century after the fact. This definitely adds Dellenbaugh's perspective fifty years after his voyage with Powell.

Finally, the last piece of this volume is the 1869 journal of John Colton Summer edited by famous river historian Dock Marston. This piece,

although interesting, seems a bit out of place because all of the other documents in the book relate to the 1871-72 expeditions and beyond. Of interest is the story of how Summer's diary arrived at the office of the *Missouri Democrat*.

This book, along with the series about Powell, represents an important contribution to the literature of western American exploration, especially of the Colorado Plateau. Being able to purchase all six of these accounts in one volume is definitely a plus.

BRAD COLE
Utah State University

Playing with Shadows: Voices of Dissent in the Mormon West. Edited by Polly Aird, Jeff Nichols, and Will Bagley. (Norman: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2011. 518 pp. Cloth, \$45.00.)

THE TITLE FOR THIS BOOK, *Playing With Shadows*, comes from an 1853 warning by Brigham Young to followers of Gladden Bishop, "...not [to] court persecution for...you are not playing with shadows, but it is the voice of the Almighty you are trying to play with..." (5). *Playing with Shadows*, Volume 13 in the Arthur H. Clark series *Kingdom in the West: The Mormons and the American Frontier*, provides an introduction and an afterword in which the editors recount the story of dissent within the Mormon faith from the period of Joseph Smith to the end of the nineteenth century. The writings of George Armstrong Hicks, Charles Derry, Ann Gordge, and Brigham Young Hampton comprise the bulk of the book with the Hicks, Derry, and Gordge accounts from reminiscences, whereas Hampton's is from a diary. The editors introduce each individual and provide excellent and abundant footnotes to explain the events and people identified in the accounts.

The first story is that of George Armstrong Hicks, a man who had his differences with both Brigham Young and Erastus Snow. Hicks is perhaps best known for his ballad, "Once I Lived in Cottonwood." Polly Aird explains that he never lived in Cottonwood but moved to Utah's Dixie from Palmyra, Utah. His story begins with an excellent description of how he was just a common worker, "...one of the hewers of wood and drawers of water" (83). He then discusses his family joining Mormonism, his life in Palmyra, his move to southern Utah, his problems with Erastus Snow when Snow refused to give him some flour, and also with Brigham Young concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre and other matters. He was excommunicated from the LDS church but returned late in life.

Charles Derry's story is that of an English convert who came to Utah in the 1850s where he experienced the Reformation and the Utah War and found that life among Utah Mormons was much different than he had anticipated. After suffering injustices, abuse, and confiscation of his oxen when he expressed his plans to leave Utah, he eventually made his way to the Midwest where he died in 1921 at the age of ninety-five.

The inclusion by the editors of the Ann Gordge account was a poor choice. Gordge was the last wife of John D. Lee and writes of her life with Lee and his other wives and the mayhem that took place until she departed and went off to other adventures with the Apache Indians and Billy the Kid. The editors justify including her early story because it is based on facts which they discuss in the footnotes. However, even the editors admit that her later story is pure imagination. Sources are most important in substantiating any life history, and as one who has worked with sources all his life, I find the Gordge account is a poor source and should have been excluded from this book.

The last account is from Brigham Young Hampton's journal. The editors have done an excellent job in filling in the gaps in the story of this strange man whose story adds much to this volume. The editors describe Hampton as one "...eager to live his faith and defend his church...he remained loyal to the LDS church, despite his anger and disillusionment with some of its leaders after the death of Brigham Young" (331).

Altogether the stories, except for Gordge's, are believable and interesting and needed to be published so that readers can know about their hardships, struggles, and problems.

The editors begin with a general premise about apostasy. However, the life stories included are not all about apostates. Derry left Utah Mormonism only to join with the Josephites. Hicks left Mormonism over injustices in his own life only to finally return. From what the editors can gather Gordge left the church and never returned. Hampton was a faithful Mormon to the end and later served in the Salt Lake Temple.

Brigham Young and Erastus Snow in particular are presented in a negative light. A more balanced use of footnotes, including the elimination of questionable sources, would temper the harsh assessment of these church leaders and give a better understanding of the complexities of individuals and events.

Playing With Shadows seems to be two books in one: the first concerning the life histories of four individuals; and the second an examination of apostasy in nineteenth century Mormonism--probably an impossible attempt for one book. Nevertheless, the book will help us understand better such terms as apostasy, dissent, disillusionment, and individual choice, that are essential in writing the history of nineteenth century Utah.

RONALD G. WATT
South Jordan

To the Peripheries of Mormondom: The Apostolic Around-the-World Journey of

David O. McKay, 1920-1921. By Hugh J. Cannon, edited by Reid L. Neilson.

(Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2011. xxxii + 244 pp. Cloth, \$29.95.)

“COME WITH US . . . on our trip around the world,” invites Salt Lake City stake president Hugh J. Cannon as he begins the tale of his and Latter-day Saint Church Apostle David O. McKay’s 366-day journey crisscrossing the globe studying the “spiritual and, as far as possible, temporal needs” of Church membership while seeking to “ascertain the effects of ‘Mormonism’ upon their lives” (1). More than nine decades after their adventure, Cannon’s account of the journey comes to life in Reid L. Neilson’s edited account, *To the Peripheries of Mormondom: The Apostolic Around-the-World Journey of David O. McKay, 1920-1921*. Winner of the Mormon History Association’s Geraldine McBride Woodward Best International Book Award for 2012, the book chronicles the mission of McKay and Cannon as they “traveled a total of 61,646 miles not counting trips made by auto, streetcars, tugs, ferry boats, horseback, camels etc.” (154).

To the Peripheries of Mormondom recounts their meetings with missionaries and members in Japan, Hawaii, Tahiti, the Cook Islands, New Zealand, Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, Australia, the Middle East, and Europe as well as experiences touring the mystical lands of China, Singapore, India, and Egypt. Highlights include McKay’s dedicating the country of China for the preaching of the gospel and the pair’s walking in the footsteps of the Savior in the Holy Land.

Cannon’s original text, authored shortly after the mission but never published in his or McKay’s lifetime, is augmented by Neilson’s skilled editorial hand. His light editing preserves the account’s devotional tone, while his sixty-eight page introductory and photographic essay and sixty-three pages of endnotes add flavor and scholastic insight. Drawing from his expertise as a leading historian of global Mormonism as well as his knowledge of sources as managing director of the Church History Department for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Neilson’s additions clarify cultural and geographic terms, introduce prominent characters, and enliven the account with material from McKay’s personal writings. These scholarly additions enhance the engaging narrative previously published by Cannon’s children as *David O. McKay Around the World: An Apostolic Mission, Prelude to Church Globalization* (2005).

While at its most basic level, *To the Peripheries of Mormondom* is a travelogue, Cannon and Neilson both repeatedly seek a higher purpose for their text. Cannon openly admits “the impelling motive in writing an account of this tour is to bear witness of the goodness of the Lord to those who depend upon him” (34). True to this purpose, Cannon’s narrative wanders

at times, skipping some details while focusing on others, always seeking to demonstrate the divine hand in their journey. For his part, Neilson demonstrates his expertise in international religious history, asserting that the account of the tour “is one of the more significant texts in the historical canon of global Mormon studies” because it narrates a journey that transformed the faith, through its future leader David O. McKay, into a global religion (ix).

Though more than ninety years old, the text has significance for students of modern Mormonism. While the tale narrates globetrotting adventures, the book is important for western American history because it demonstrates how two prominent Utahns and the church they served interacted with the outside world in the 1920s. The mission transformed David O. McKay, and he later transformed his Utah-based church because of it. As Neilson argues, the journey reshaped the faith’s global worldview, laying the groundwork for its modern international initiatives. Cannon concluded that “the most wonderful thing [they] saw on this journey around the world” was the gospel’s “effect upon mankind”(155, 158). The account demonstrates how an expanded appreciation for the peoples of the world affects church leaders, helping them fulfill the charge to take the gospel to all nations.

SCOTT C. ESPLIN
Brigham Young University

The Guardian Poplar: A Memoir of Deep Roots, Journey, and Rediscovery.

By Chase Nebeker Peterson. (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2012. xx + 300 pp. Cloth, \$39.95.)

IS IT POSSIBLE to review a memoir without also commenting on the memoirist’s own life? Though I had read of Chase N. Peterson before turning to the recently published autobiography—of his contributions to Utah’s educational landscape, his career as a medical doctor, his years at Harvard followed by his years at the University of Utah, and finally news of his cancer diagnosis—I had never met him in person. I still haven’t, but based on his touching, engaging memoir, I regret never having done so. Approaching his mid-eighties, Peterson emerges in his autobiography as intelligent and driven, personable, broad-minded, compassionate. He is a man fully engaged with the world; animated as much by science as by Mozart; compelled by both belief and skepticism; as much in love as ever with his wife and muse of more than fifty years, Grethe Ballif.

Peterson’s narrative is episodic and conversational, and may not be as

precisely detailed as some readers would want. (For example, I had to look elsewhere to find Peterson's exact birth date.) But such a focus is not Peterson's primary objective. The book, he writes, "is a collection of stories that shed light on my particular human and spiritual journey" (xvi). "The stories I have chosen to record in a memoir," he later adds, "may have the purpose, in part, of pushing back the evening of growing darkness while shining a small light on life as it is" (285). Peterson thus conducts readers through the lives and impact of his forebears and especially parents; from a halcyon youth in Logan, where his father presided for twenty-nine years over Utah State Agricultural College (later Utah State University) to a heady, privileged education at a New England preparatory school; then to Harvard and back to Utah where he practiced medicine in Salt Lake City. In 1967, he returned to Harvard as Dean of Admissions and in 1971 was named a vice-president. In 1978, he journeyed back to Utah as Vice-President for Health Sciences at the University of Utah, and five years later was appointed university president, a position he held until 1991. Following his resignation, he took up medicine again and in the late 1990s was diagnosed with multiple myeloma, a bone-marrow cancer. He chose to pursue both traditional and experimental treatments, and despite some difficult periods, including bouts of post-traumatic stress and anxiety, has lived well beyond the three to four years that were originally predicted.

Peterson is a gentle, self-effacing memoirist, and the unpretentious nature of his narrative occasionally serves to highlight the limits of autobiography. Readers will not find much in the way of a critical, probing in-depth analysis of Peterson's life. Largely, but not entirely, absent is any attempt to weigh carefully the various aspects of Peterson's character, personality, and intellect that have contributed to his successes and missteps. (An exception may be his account of his involvement in the "Cold Fusion" controversy at the University of Utah.) For example, Peterson downplays his extraordinary admission as an extremely precocious teenager to the prestigious Middlesex College school; he glosses without much comment over his rise as a popular student leader; and presents himself as similarly oblivious of the importance of his acceptance into Harvard and later into Harvard's medical school. Clearly, there is more to Peterson than appears on the pages of his autobiography. While readers (myself among them) applaud his humility, I am left to wonder how best to account satisfactorily for the nature and scope of his accomplishments.

Peterson is also generous almost to a fault; rarely, if ever, does he offer criticisms of his colleagues and acquaintances. And when he does, he seems always to couch them in ways that could also be read as compliments. For example, he notes that colorful basketball coach Rick Majerus was known for a "coarse midwestern tongue"—a euphemism for the coach's use of profanity—and was "almost incapable of being managed" (203). Even so,

Peterson adds, "It was hard to stay mad at the fellow" (204).

Peterson portrays himself as a faithful member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Yet his liberal temperament sometimes placed him at odds with certain LDS church teachings. He writes sensitively of his disagreement with his church's withholding of its priesthood from black men of African descent, and of the pleading letter he and others sent to LDS Church President Spencer W. Kimball urging the lifting of such restriction less than a month before the policy was officially reversed in mid-1978. (Peterson does not in the least claim credit for the change, though the coincidence of the timing of his letter and the change in policy is intriguing.) Of his church's current opposition to same-sex marriage, Peterson's dissent is equally thoughtful: "Reason and tolerance lie at the heart of the gay issue for me. I ache with the pain the debate causes individuals and families, especially as a result of the strong stand against homosexual marriage the LDS Church took on a recent gay-marriage initiative in California [i.e., the Proposition 8 controversy]. I believe the church will wrestle with that problem for the next decade while moving to include more 'in the tent,' much as it did with the issue of granting the priesthood to people of black heritage" (269).

Peterson concludes his autobiography with a poetic meditation on solitude and loss as well as a paean to friends, family, and especially his wife. "To hide from loneliness," he writes, "is to hide from love and family and humanity, for loneliness defines my blessings" (286). "I can't wait to be Chase boy again," he then closes, "be fed from a scraped apple and pass it on to Charlie [a grandson who died at age one]. That is the loneliness of gratitude ... and the glory down to the final mortal moments graced with family, Mahler, and Mozart" (286; ellipsis in original). All memoirs should be so eloquent, so moving, so humane.

GARY JAMES BERGERA
Salt Lake City

Nikkei in the Interior West: Japanese Immigration and Community Building

1882-1945. By Eric Walz. (Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press, 2012. xvii + 236

pp. Cloth, \$50.00)

NIKKEI IN THE INTERIOR WEST documents the immigration and settlement of Japanese Americans in the interior states of Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and Nebraska.

The author, who grew up in southeastern Idaho, had spent his early years on a farm surrounded by immigrant farmers and neighbors. An interest

in farming and ethnicity, and the influence of a particular Japanese American neighbor, led him to study ethnicity and agriculture.

The dearth of information on Japanese American farmers and their influence in the West led the author to the present book: A history of Japanese immigration to the West and their migration from the West Coast to the interior western states.

The time period is from 1882—the Chinese Exclusion Act and the beginning of Japanese immigration to the United States—to 1945, the end of World War II and the return to civilian life following the removal and internment of 120,000 Japanese Americans from the West Coast.

The book begins with a description of the conditions in Japan—social, economic, and personal—that led to migration to the United States. It then describes the forces that brought the Japanese immigrants from Hawaii and the West Coast to the inland Western states.

The author incorporates models of immigration, such as uprooting, transplanting, and adaptation, to explain the dynamic of immigration. To further understand and explain the development of Japanese American communities, he discusses the idea of diaspora—the dispersal or scattering of communities overseas. The term *Nikkei* describes descendants of Japanese who emigrated to another country.

Through diaries, interviews, local records, and oral history documents, the author brings a personal and very human odyssey as seen through the eyes of one family in particular as well as the experiences of other Japanese Americans. Photographs and maps add visual immediacy. On a personal note, the histories were informative, as this reviewer knew these families and learned more about their incredible history in Utah through reading this book.

Distinctions were found in the experiences of the *Nikkei* communities of the West Coast and the Interior West. The fewer numbers who settled in the interior formed smaller enclaves yet faced similar economic, social, and prejudicial hardships as the Japanese Americans in larger West Coast cities. The austerity of geography and climate also prevented communities from coalescing into larger groups.

A chapter is dedicated to the formation of local associations such as Japanese associations, Japanese language schools, Buddhist and Christian churches, and the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) that provided cultural support and served as community focal points. The LDS church was a key religious and community influence that cemented the *Nikkei* communities to the white community.

The author describes the effects of Pearl Harbor and the internment of West Coast Japanese on the *Nikkei* communities in the interior. While the interior *Nikkei* were not rounded up and put in internment camps, wartime hysteria led majority groups to presume all Japanese Americans

were guilty of being anti-American by reason of race.

Although the author ends his book around 1945, he does make references to the aftermath of the war on the lives of the Nikkei community. However, the premise that the long time residents were not actively protesting the government's actions or clamoring for redress overlooks the evidence that the 1978 biennial JACL convention in Salt Lake City called for redress and reparations from the government: a formal apology for the unlawful incarceration of 120,000 Japanese Americans, and reparations in the form of monetary payment to survivors.

In *Nikkei in the Interior West*, Eric Walz has written a well-researched and detailed view of the settlement of Japanese Americans in the interior west. He documents the presence and growth of Japanese Americans in the region long before World War II. Through following the lives of real people and their families, he provides insight into their contributions to the social, economic, and cultural fabric of their larger communities.

RONALD M. ARAMAKI
Dexter, Michigan

Plural Wife: The Life Story of Mabel Finlayson Allred. Edited by Martha Bradley-

Evans. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2012. vi +190 pp. Cloth, \$34.94.)

WHEN MABEL FINLAYSON married Rulon Allred in 1937, he already had other wives, including her twin sister, Melba. Mabel became part of a polygamous organization she refers to simply as "The Group." Her life story offers a personal insight seldom seen into the fundamentalist groups that developed when The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints dropped the practice of polygamy in 1890.

Martha Bradley-Evans's introduction, which occupies almost one-third of the book, and her notes throughout provide excellent background and context. She discusses the end of the practice of polygamy by the LDS church and then provides the bases of the various fundamentalists' claims to hold the right and authority to continue the practice. For example, when Mabel talks about the "Eight-hour Meeting" during which LDS President John Taylor purportedly granted authority to perform polygamous marriages, Bradley-Evans adds background information with sources.

Bradley-Evans was initially given three separate versions of Mabel Allred's life story: Mabel's hand-written original "on simple lined paper in pencil, the kind a child would take to school in a notebook" (2). The first typed version had some adjustments in grammar, style and language and shows editing by Mabel, her daughter Dorothy, and son Jerry. Finally there was a second typed version. Bradley-Evans chose to use the original as her

base, with information from the later ones inserted in brackets or notes. It was a good decision.

The finished product reflects Mabel Allred's own voice and personality well. Her style is conversational. A reader can almost hear her whisper as she confides secrets or her delight at a family gathering. Mabel explains why she chose to leave the LDS church in which she had been raised, live much of her life in hiding from civil authorities, bouncing from house to house, city to city, even back and forth to Mexico. While she talks about living in a house with several wives, living in a house with her children, living in a hovel or a huge mansion, she continually emphasizes Rulon's attempts to be fair to all of his wives.

We learn that Mabel experienced bouts with depression for nearly her entire life. She must ask Rulon's permission for everything from giving piano lessons to buying something. She delights in her gift for music, whether she is teaching Rulon's children how to play or serving as the organist for the local LDS Ward, even though the bishop knows her family situation full well. She explains her return to the LDS church near the end of her life.

Mabel paints her life as a love story. She knew as soon as she met Rulon that he was the man she would marry, and she never lost the belief that he was the only man for her. When she talks about rival claimants murdering him at his naturopathic physician's office, she does not dwell on the horror. She emphasizes that he died six weeks after their fortieth wedding anniversary.

The book is enhanced by the use of family photographs and ends with a postlude from the Allred children about their parents followed by a few of Rulon Allred's poems. The single drawback is the lack of an index, although that is mitigated by frequent breaks in the text for what are effectively chapter titles.

While this book opens a window into the practices of fundamentalists for any student of Utah or LDS history, it is far more a doorway into the thoughts and feelings of a woman who followed her own conscience but who also made insightful observations of others with both clarity and charity.

COLLEEN WHITLEY
Salt Lake City

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