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IN THIS ISSUE

UINTAH COUNTY REGIONAL HISTORY CENTER

Because 2010 is likely to be remembered as the year that the controversial National Health Care Reform Bill was passed by Congress and signed into law by the president, it is fitting that the first article for this last issue of the year deals with the issue of health care at the beginning of the twentieth century as it examines the history of the Park City Miners' Hospital. The first hospitals in Utah—St. Mark's, Holy Cross, and Deseret hospitals—were established by the Episcopal, Catholic, and LDS churches in 1872, 1875, and 1882. By the 1890s, it was clear that these hospitals were unable to provide the extensive and intensive care needed by injured miners. Consequently, a provision was included in the Utah Statehood Enabling Act providing that annuities from public land sales be used for the construction and operation of a state miners' hospital. In 1897, the Utah Legislature, in compliance with the Enabling Act, passed a law providing for a state miners' hospital to be located in Park City. When the public funded hospital was not built, Park City, under the leadership of the Western Federation of Miners local and with strong community support, undertook construction of the hospital on their own, which was completed in 1904. The hospital ceased operation in 1956 but remains today as one of Park City and Utah's most important historic buildings.

If health care remains an ongoing issue and concern for Utahns in the twenty-first century, so does the availability, ownership, and distribution of the region's scarce water resources. Likewise is the perceived friction between ecclesiastical and secular authority in the state. Our second article in this issue considers both issues as it looks at the battle between the settlements of Mona and Goshen during the 1870s over water flowing from the western slopes of Mt. Nebo in what was known as Little Salt Creek—now called Currant Creek.

***FRONT COVER:* Cooks in a Park City boarding house kitchen.** PARK CITY MUSEUM.
***ABOVE:* Ah Yen, known as China Mary, lived in Park City in the 1880s where she had a China ware shop on lower Park Avenue. She died in Evanston, Wyoming, on January 13, 1939 at an estimated age of 104 to 110.**

Located only ten miles apart, but in separate valleys, the two communities were settled by Mormon pioneers in the 1850s. However a shared religion and common pioneer experience were not enough to stay the conflict over water and the ensuing impact it had on the lives of these early Utahns.

Brigham Young Hampton seems to have led a double life—at least in the assessment of contemporaries. Among many nineteenth-century Mormons he was a stalwart, devoted pious saint. For others, however, he was seen as a "Latter-day thug." As our third article reveals Hampton was not all one or the other, but as is the nature of mortals he ambled back and forth across the line of praiseworthy and not so praiseworthy conduct.

PARK CITY MUSEUM

Completed in 1888, Park City's China Bridge provided access above Chinatown as the primary route from Rossie Hill to Main Street until the bridge was badly damaged in the fire of 1898 and had to be demolished.

Our final article for 2010 recounts an event in 1943 when a military plane enroute from Sacramento, California, to Fort Collins, Colorado, crashed in the remote reaches of Wayne County. When an intensive search involving thirty military planes and unknown number of civilian aircraft and search parties failed to locate the missing aircraft, three months later a group of Wayne County ranchers moving cattle from the mountains to the lower desert winter range came across the remains of the aircraft and the bodies of its six member crew. Major LeRoy Gray Heston, from Mather Field in Sacramento, California, was assigned to lead the recovery crew. His account of that effort offers an interesting and insightful view of the interaction of military personnel with the ranchers and their families in one of the most isolated and rural areas of the United States during World War II.

PARK CITY MUSEUM

Grassroots Healing: The Park City Miners' Hospital

BY BEN CATER

The story of the Park City Miners' Hospital, built in 1904, offers a unique opportunity to consider a number of important issues and developments in Utah's health care history. Among these are the treatment and care of hardrock miners and their families, the establishment of the first hospitals in Utah and the role of religious organizations in that effort, the attitudes and actions of Park City mining companies and mine owners toward the health of their employees and their families, the role of labor unions in fostering better care and facilities, community action in securing and maintaining a hospital, the political, economic, and cultural forces that influenced the development and location of health resources, and the issues of class, gender,

Doctor C.M. Wilson in front of Miners' Hospital

Ben Cater is a graduate instructor and a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History at the University of Utah. This article draws on research from his dissertation, "Public Health and Power in Salt Lake City, Utah, 1896-1939." He wishes to thank Gary Topping, W. Paul Reeve, Matt Basso, Paul Mogren, Alan Derickson, Steve Tatum, and the staffs of the Utah State Historical Society, the Special Collections Department of the Marriott Library, University of Utah, and the Park City Historical Society and Museum.

religion, and ethnicity, as they related to the hospital care of Utahns. As we consider the significance of the Park City Miners' Hospital, we must do so from the perspectives and needs of several groups—the miners and their families, mine owners, labor union leaders, doctors and health care providers, religious leaders, townspeople, and minority groups such as the Chinese.

Formerly a hospital specializing in the treatment of acute mining injuries, the two and one-half story Park City Miners' Hospital retains only traces of its original appearance—a brick exterior with double-hung windows, a wooden porch and a hipped roof, surrounding flowerbeds, ornate molding, and a large plaque reading "Miners Hospital 1904" located high above the building's entrance. The interior, long bereft of medical equipment and furniture, obscures the once modern floor plan of a kitchen, dumbwaiter, and dining room, a general ward, reception and private rooms, an operating and sterilizing room, as well as a furnace and coal bunker. A "smoking room" on the second floor where patients and staff socialized and relaxed, in addition to living quarters for nurses and a matron, also remain absent.[1] Instead, aluminum folding chairs, file cabinets, and empty packing boxes testify to the building's evolving use as a city storage center.

Located in the Wasatch Mountains thirty miles east of Salt Lake City, Park City incorporated in 1872. By 1900, the city expanded to become an important mining center of 3,759 residents, with the majority of "Parkites" working as wage laborers for silver mining companies that replaced individual prospectors in the 1880s.[2] The founding generation of native and foreign-born miners, many of whom were married or with dependents, established the city's civic and cultural infrastructure.[3] One institution that Park City lacked, however, was a local hospital. Early health care came by way of home remedies and doctors and herbalists living in town, with miners in Park City embracing their own folk cures for their illnesses.[4] Injuries, on the other hand, required more careful medical attention. Miners in Park City formed mutual aid associations like the Loyal League

[1] *Park Record*, April 30, and October 1, 1904.

[2] U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States 1900*, Census Reports, Vol. 1, Population Part 1, section 8, "Cities, Towns, Villages, and Boroughs," (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 477.

[3] Describing Park City in 1889, Edward Tullidge wrote, "There are a thousand homes with 'wife, children and friends' who have made 'the home' sacred and beautiful in a very Christian land. Indeed the Park City people can lay just claims to be a Christian society, and not, as in a primitive mining camp, a promiscuous gathering of stalwart, adventurous sons of Christian parents, whose almost only relation to religion and the church is the memory of the mother who taught them their prayers. . . ." Edward Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories*, Vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor, 1889), 519. In addition, the United States Census recorded 383 married men or men living with dependents in Park City in 1890, roughly 13 percent of the population.

[4] Park City had at least one practicing physician in 1879 although there was severe criticism of his practice. F. R. Moore wrote in the *Park Record,* August 20, 1881: "I employed him as my family physician, but from sad experiences have concluded that he is a man knowing nothing whatever about his profession."

to provide medical as well as financial aid to injured workers, and workingmen's unions that hired union doctors. The town's Chinese immigrants, who first arrived in 1880 after helping to complete the Utah Eastern spur line from Echo to Park City, used traditional healing remedies, including boiling and drinking tea to mitigate and prevent waterborne bacterial diseases such as typhoid, cholera, and dysentery.

The rapid and haphazard growth of Park City with a multi-ethnic population presented growing public health issues. Parkites followed the national trend by forming in 1880 a city health board. The board's ex-officio, a licensed physician, touted broad powers, including the authority to create and enforce quarantines, buy land for hospitals and cemeteries, enforce garbage collection, water and food purity, and regulate pharmaceutical sales.[5] As these efforts sometimes proved inadequate to treat chronic, life threatening, or complex medical cases, Parkites traveled to Salt Lake City to attend one of its three hospitals—St. Mark's, Holy Cross, or Deseret.

Like other western territories and states, Utah experienced its first wave of hospital building following the Civil War. For the most part, religious organizations, rather than cities and counties, took the lead establishing hospitals and in this way played a critical role in community development. In 1872, Daniel S. Tuttle, the Episcopal Bishop of Montana whose jurisdiction included Montana, Utah, and Idaho, established the territory's first modern hospital, St. Mark's Episcopal, in a rented adobe house on 500 East 400 South in Salt Lake City.[6] Tuttle's motivations were mixed. As a "Gentile" or non-Mormon religious leader, he perceived hospitals as a powerful non-confrontational means of religious persuasion and evangelism to Mormons, as well as an encouragement to the estimated five hundred Protestants and Catholics living in the city.[7] Missionary efforts to the frontier by the Episcopal Church became urgent after the Civil War, and hospital, school, and orphanage building comprised key components of the church's strategy.[8] Similarly, Roman Catholic Bishop Lawrence Scanlan worked in 1875 to establish the Holy Cross Hospital (initially St. Mary's). The Holy Cross Hospital signified "applied Christianity," Salt Lake City's growing religious diversity, and a physical reminder of the Catholic church's permanent presence in Utah and the trans-Rocky Mountain West, phenomena dating to the 1860s when the Holy See in Rome sent missionaries to far western regions and assigned their oversight

[5] City Council Meeting Minutes, June 6, 1894, and July 6, 1900, Park City Minutes, 1884- [ongoing], microfilm, Series 84968, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City.

[6] Frederick Quinn, *Building the 'Goodly Fellowship of Faith:' A History of the Episcopal Church in Utah, 1867-1996* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2004), 19.

[7] Raye Ringholz, *The First Century: St. Mary of the Assumption Catholic Church* (Salt Lake City: American Graphics, 1997), 17.

[8] James Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931* (New York: Archon Books, 1969), 230-37; David Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1993), 60-70.

to California dioceses.[9]

Besides religious imperatives, medical necessity also motivated hospital construction in Utah. These hospitals embraced new scientific ideas about antisepsis or "germ theory," used progressive surgical techniques like X-ray and anesthesia, and employed doctors and nurses trained at accredited medical schools. Modern medicine in the 1870s still remained in its infancy, and medical professionals commanded neither unqualified trust nor respect from the American public. Doctors and healers appeared to harm as much as heal their patients and although this perception would change over time many people, including the Latter-day Saints, retained this belief and held to traditional medical practices including herbalism, Thompsonian medicine, home cures, and faith in divine healing.[10] In 1882, the LDS church established the Deseret Hospital, which existed mainly as a maternity clinic, but which closed several years later due to financial reasons.

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Miners' Hospital Board of Directors.

Like other mining and smelting companies on the industrial frontier, those in Park City employed new mining technology and methods such as steam drills, dynamite, cranes, deep shaft elevators, concentrators, roasters, and reducers. The use of machinery and the employment of mining methods were costly. Mine owners forced miners to work long hours under dangerous working conditions, which precipitated serious or fatal accidents and illnesses. The twelfth census for "Occupation in Relation to Death" reported in 1900 that miners nationally suffered an "excessively high" death rate compared to that of other outdoor workers, and in Utah the death rate remained high until the advent and application in 1917 of federal and state

[9] Although Bishop Scanlan used "applied Christianity" in 1901 to describe the Catholic Judge Miners' Hospital, his thoughts about the Holy Cross Hospital manifested this idea as well. *Salt Lake Herald,* November 28, 1901. Bernice Maher Mooney and Msgr. J. Terrence Fitzgerald, *Salt of the Earth: The History of the Catholic Church in Utah, 1776-2007*, 3rd ed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008), 42-44.

[10] On the popularity of divine healing, see Heather Curtis, *Faith in the Great Physician: Suffering and Divine Healing in American Culture, 1860-1900* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 51-80. On Mormon beliefs about healing, see Lester Busch, Jr., *Health and Medicine among the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Crossroads Publishing, 1993), 69-100. Exemplifying the popular and Mormon distrust of medical doctors, in 1849 Brigham Young referred to doctors as "learned ignoramuses." *"Millennial Star* II," January 12, 1849, 182-84, quoted in Joseph Morell, M.D., *Utah's Health and You* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1956), 18.

mine safety laws regulating the structural conditions of mines.[11]

Many of the injured miners from the various mining camps scattered throughout the Utah Territory were parishioners of the Episcopal and Catholic churches. Both Tuttle and Scanlan, as they traveled the territory, saw the need to provide medical assistance to their flocks as well as to the poor and needy of the territory.[12] Both hospitals solicited funds from mining companies and developed a unique health plan for miners for the time. Along with their financial contributions, mining companies deducted one dollar per month from each miner, with the collected money going to the two hospitals. In return, miners received hospital care at no additional cost. St. Mark's Hospital featured six beds, a lay medical superintendent, and a medical director with a medical doctor's degree. Extant hospital records for St. Mark's Hospital indicate that many miners suffered from chronic diseases, such as silicosis or "miner's consumption," or lead poisoning also known as "wrist drop."[13] The latter developed due to acute exposure and ingestion of lead dust generated in mining operations, which attacked the body's reproductive and nervous systems. The most common result was temporary loss of motor functions. On the other hand, silicosis emerged as a common lung disease among miners exposed to crystalline silica dust, which precipitated consumptive symptoms, including chronic coughing, labored breathing, and bloodied sputum. Between 1880 and 1900, St. Mark's and Holy Cross treated six thousand cases of lead poisoning and silicosis.[14] Although not immediately life threatening, if left unchecked such diseases usually proved fatal, besides lessening a miner's quality of life and earning potential.

The second most common diagnosis of miners was "miscellaneous injury," which usually connoted life-threatening trauma resulting from workplace accidents. These injuries included falls from ladders, down mine shafts, being crushed by falling rocks, ore carts, and heavy machinery, with the loss of toes, feet, and hands all considered "ordinary

[11] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States 1900*, Census Reports Vol. 3, Vital Statistics Part 1, Analysis and Ratio Tables, section 3, "Occupations in Relation to Death" (Washington: United States Census Office, 1902), ccxciii; United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Statistics, "Monthly Review of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics," Vol. IV, January to June 1917 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917): 106; United States Department of Labor, "Recent Reports Relating to Workmen's Compensation and Accident Insurance," No. 3, March 1917 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917): 423-24.

[12] Daniel Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West: Reminiscences of Episcopal Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, 1866-1886* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 399; Marilyn Barker and R.P. Morris, M.D., *The Early Holy Cross Hospital, Salt Lake Valley* (1975), 5, 15.

[13] From reproduced hospital patient log in, W. Dee Halverson and David M. Walden, *St. Mark's Hospital, 1872-1997: A 125-Year Legacy of Quality Health Care in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Heritage Associates, 1997), 15.

[14] In Park City, mine management at the Silver King Mine agreed to test miners' masks, although it's unclear who tested them and whether mine officials purchased the masks for its miners. See the Silver King Coalition of Mines Company Records, Box 2, Accn. 1239, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. This number is based on the research of Ralph T. Richards. Unfortunately, the records that allegedly substantiate this number are lost. Ralph T. Richards, *Of Medicine, Hospitals, and Doctors* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1953), 126-27.

accidents."[15] Augustus Behle, a surgeon at St. Mark's, recalled a typical emergency case in which a miner required immediate and extensive surgery following an explosion. "The victim was a miner who was tamping dynamite in a hole while smoking and half his face was blown away in the resulting explosion." Through hours of surgery, which included skin and bone grafts, the patient received a new face and mouth.[16] Whether the patient returned to mining remains unclear. On the other hand Daniel McPolin, an Irish immigrant who moved to Park City in 1886 to work in the mines, suffered an accident damaging his eyes and hands permanently and rendering him handicapped. After recovering, he entered the hotel, saloon, and farming business.[17] Some surgeons preferred more sophisticated cases and complained of their "plebean" or "mercenary work."[18]

According to available evidence, Park City miners initially seemed content with the care they received at valley hospitals and the dollar-a-month fees deducted from their wages by the Park City mine operators. By 1880, thirty-six hundred patients had sought treatment at St. Mark's, which precipitated the hospital to move to a larger facility.[19] Two years later, the hospital added two more rooms and in 1893 relocated once more to a location opposite the Warm Springs—known for its alleged healing properties—at 200 West 700 North. Holy Cross Hospital also provided medical contracts to miners, and like St. Mark's moved to a more commodious space to accommodate growth.[20] On January 1, 1882, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that miners comprised the majority of three hundred patients admitted to the Holy Cross Hospital in the past year. Miners received medical attention for a variety of ailments, including lead poisoning, frozen feet, burns, and unspecified "mining accidents," with doctors and nurses acting as "angels of mercy." Only sixteen patients died at the hospital, and in subsequent years the death rate would fall as medical technology and education improved.[21] During the 1890s, Park City miners continued their relationship with valley hospitals, and newspapers such as the *Deseret News* published frequent reports about miners "improving nicely" or "resting comfortably."[22] Supportive press attention like this, besides

[15] *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 6, 1904.

[16] William Behle, *Biography of Augustus C. Behle, M.D., With an Account of the Early History of St. Mark's Hospital, Salt Lake City, Utah* (Salt Lake City: Edwards Brothers, 1948), 38, 64; Halverson and Walden, *St. Mark's Hospital*, 21.

[17] McPolin Farm Signpost, Park City, Utah, The Friends of the Farm and the National Register of Historic Places, (2004).

[18] Behle, *Biography of Augustus C. Behle,* 38; Holy Cross Hospital Staff Meeting, November 12, 1903, Holy Cross Hospital Records, 1875-1927, Box 4, folder 2, p. 8, Accn. 588, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

[19] Report of the Medical Director, St. Mark's Hospital Minute Book, June 7, 1880, pp. 33-35, Accn. 1789, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

[20] Barker and Morris, *The Early Holy Cross Hospital, Salt Lake Valley*, 5, 15.

[21] *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 1, 1882.

[22] *Deseret News*, February 2, 1902.

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Nurses on the porch of the Miners' Hospital.

personal recommendations, worked to attract miners throughout Utah, Nevada, Idaho, and Wyoming to Salt Lake City's hospitals.

Still, as St. Mark's and Holy Cross hospitals became popular as vital valley institutions, the need for a miner's hospital in Park City gradually took shape. Their twenty-five-mile distance from Park City's mines over a high mountain pass and down a rugged and steep canyon became a grave concern among miners as acute injuries increased in the 1880s. Park City miners believed that valley hospitals were too far away and could not be reached soon enough in case of emergencies. Passenger train service from Park City to Salt Lake City began operating in 1890, but trains departed only once daily and left critically wounded laborers the option of riding horseback or more commonly, in stagecoach, down the rough twenty-five-mile road to the valley. Moreover, mining company doctors did not exist in Park City, unlike those at Bingham Canyon and Castle Gate, where staff physicians attended miners at company hospitals.[23] Physicians and herbalists did reside in Park City, but they often lacked medicine, medical equipment, physical facilities, professional support, and patient records to provide adequate treatment. As a result, miners like Phil Davis endured additional torment after sustaining injuries. After an explosion tore "off his left hand and a portion of his right hand, besides blowing out both his eyes and otherwise disfiguring him," the foreman brought Davis to Holy Cross the next morning where surgeons amputated his arm below the elbow. The wagon ride to the hospital was "terrible," however, with Davis—dusty, fatigued, and "horribly mangled"—begging the foreman "to kill him and end his sufferings."[24] In another instance, after C.B. Powell accidently struck dynamite while drilling at the Quincy mine, his face was "literally shot into mincemeat, the left eye being blown out entirely and the eye socket filled with dirt and rock." "Groaning from untold pain," he "was laid on a blanket for two hours [and] forced to withstand the jostlings [sic] of a trip to the city."[25] Unlike many forced to

[23] Eric Swedin, "Bingham Canyon Physician: Paul Snelgrove Richards, 1892-1958," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 69 (Winter 2001): 60-68; Troy Madsen, "The Company Doctor: Promoting Stability in Eastern Utah Mining Towns," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 68 (Spring 2000): 139-56.

[24] *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 18, 1892.

[25] *Park Record*, January 30, 1904, quoted in Alan Derickson, *Worker's Health, Workers' Democracy: The Western Miners' Struggle, 1891-1925* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 108.

wait for transportation and medical care, Powell survived.

Miners also expressed the related concern of slow service at valley hospitals. Once at St. Mark's or Holy Cross, miners often waited several hours to a day to be diagnosed and treated. Recovery took a week or more, and the return trip to Park City an entire day. Lengthy hospital stays from serious mine injuries and the distance from Park City placed a heavy burden on most miners who were married or with dependents. Although some miners paid for family members to travel and stay at hotels in Salt Lake City, for miners who earned two to three dollars a day this meant a considerable expense.[26] Missed work also meant lost wages, and although no evidence exists, it seems likely that some miners avoided hospital care and its related costs.

In addition to distance and time, class bias seemed to frustrate Park City miners. Like most hospitals nationally, St. Mark's separated patients into general wards or private rooms, with miners, charity patients, and injured criminals awaiting booking, all entering the former. Wards were noisy, chaotic, and busy, and according to one surgeon, "at times there were as many as eighteen patients in small ward rooms and to get around it was necessary literally to climb over the beds."[27] Faced with crowded conditions, nurses had little time to provide for patients' special or basic needs, such as clean bedding and cleaning ward floors. In 1894, Mary Newitt, the newly hired superintendent for St. Mark's Nurses Training School, "refused to assume her charge unless some drastic changes were made." Not only did she find "the place dirty," but she also observed one patient with "no clean sheets. . . . The private rooms were nice but the wards were deplorable, being crowded with miners and railroad patients."[28] To improve their situations, some patients turned to bribes. E. H. Howard, editor of the *Park Record*, reported that a miner discovered "paying 5 or 10 dollars extra gets him more attention."[29] On the other hand, because miners typically lacked such means, most could only complain "that they were treated as charity or pauper patients after subscribing for several years to support the institution."[30] By contrast, middle and upper-middle class patients paid for private rooms and personal nurses.

Beginning in the early twentieth century, profit started replacing charity as the non-medical goal of hospitals nationally, and according to institutional records, St. Mark's and Holy Cross made persistent efforts to follow this trend. For example, between 1880 and 1936, charity patients at St. Mark's fell from constituting 12.4 to 6.9 percent annually; contract patients fell from 78.7 to 26.4 percent; private patients, on the other hand, increased

[26] *Park Record*, April 7, and December 27, 1890; November 14, and 28, 1903.
[27] Behle, *Biography of Augustus C. Behle*, 41.
[28] Ibid., 34-35.
[29] *Park Record*, April 7, 1900.
[30] Ibid., July 31, 1915.

from 8.9 to 65.3 percent.[31] In retrospect, miners cared for at St. Mark's Hospital participated in a historic hospital process that entailed charity and working-class patients being "cared for in the least expensive way" and the "number of patients paying for their care [shifting] the balance from wards services to private accommodations."[32]

Although hospital administrators and the media praised St. Mark's and Holy Cross for providing equal care, miners remained critical of the medical help they received.[33] Instead, they perceived their further victimization in the poor quality, unprofessional, and apparently uncaring treatment they and their loved ones experienced. Some of the medical staff provided poor care to many of the patients at St. Mark's. In one instance, "hysterical parents" brought their daughter back to St. Mark's for corrective surgery after surgeons sewed her scalp on backwards.[34] In another, "a doctor carelessly prescribed an over dose of some medicine and when unfavorable symptoms were manifest in the patient the doctor tried to throw the blame on another [doctor], accusing him of improperly preparing the prescription."[35] The *Park Record* also reported that men "often left the hospitals before cured. . . . Especially is this true in numerous cases of lead poisoning where doctors have prescribed medicine, and then dropped the case without ascertaining whether patients were improving or not, and showing no interest whatever."[36]

Both St. Mark's and Holy Cross embraced an "open" policy of allowing community physicians in good standing to practice at their institutions, and although this policy worked well at times and remains in place at many hospitals today, administrators at both hospitals worked to prohibit unqualified doctors from harming patients and hospital reputations. Wayne Babcock, a former interne at St. Mark's and later a professor of surgery at Temple University, recalled that in the 1890s staff members "feared the technique and methods of the hordes of city doctors who would flood into

[31] Halverson and Walden, *St. Mark's Hospital,* 85; Record and Minute Book, Board of Directors, December 15, 1909, p. 3, Box 80, Episcopal Diocese of Utah Records, Mss 686, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. On January 23, 1917, the St. Mark's Hospital business manager reported, "The thing most needed is a greater private room facility, and the above mentioned with a capacity of 375, would seem to be desirable if we can be successful in obtaining it." On August 16, 1940, the Board of Directors continued pressuring the state to remove disabled miners from the condemned Miners' Ward, so as to make room for more private accommodations: "the committee was instructed to continue its efforts to have them placed elsewhere." Record and Minute Book, Board of Directors, August 16, 1940, Box 81, p. 1, Mss 686.

[32] David Rosner, *A Once Charitable Enterprise: Hospitals and Health Care in Brooklyn and New York, 1850-1915* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 3.

[33] About Holy Cross Hospital, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported, "The poor suffering miners dressed in overall and canvas coat received the same care and attention from her as those who were clothed in purpose. [Sister Bartholomew] knew no distinction and her oft repeated expression, 'He is a perfect gentleman,' would be applied to the former oftener with great emphasis than to the latter." *Salt Lake Tribune* quoted in Barker and Morris*, The Early Holy Cross Hospital,* 17.

[34] Behle, *Biography of Augustus C. Behle,* 43.

[35] Ibid.

[36] *Park Record*, December 19, 1903, quoted in Derickson, *Worker's Health, Workers' Democracy*, 108.

the Hospital when some special emergency patient was admitted, and to avoid responsibility go into hiding."[37] At Holy Cross, on more than one occasion, doctors and nurses met with their Sister Superior to coordinate lists with area hospitals of "undesirable" doctors who practice "evil" and "should be disqualified from practicing."[38] Finally, miners also suspected Salt Lake City hospitals of collusion with mining corporations. At Holy Cross, for instance, a Dr. Mayo reported "endeavoring a patient with a suit against some corporation" to come in "for an X-ray of his knee, but this was refused."[39]

Historian Allan Derickson has argued that beginning in the 1890s, hardrock miners in the West took numerous and varied steps to "prevent occupational hazards and to assure themselves of adequate health care." Steps drew on the "self-help traditions of rank-and-file workers," and included planning, building, and governing miners' hospitals, of which more than twenty existed in the United States and Canada.[40] Park City miners belonged to this trend and petitioned legislators in Utah for a miners' hospital, as early as the 1890s. During the debates surrounding Utah statehood, delegates inserted a clause in the Enabling Act that provided annuities from public land sales for a state miners' hospital. Although Utah, like other western states, derived revenue and jobs from mining—ten million dollars and six thousand jobs annually—the inclusion of a public miners' hospital in the constitution manifests one of several progressive measures, including an eight-hour workday for miners and a provision banning women and children from the mines.[41]

After statehood in 1897, Park City miners in the Loyal League and Local #144 of the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) pressured Summit County representative C. A. Callis to act on the constitutional clause and build a branch of the "State Miners' Hospital at Park City."[42] Records for Local #144 have been lost, but the *Park Record* reported that miners met with Callis on several occasions to discuss the issue prior to it being introduced to the state legislature. On March 11, 1897, Callis introduced House Bill 147, "An Act Providing for the Erection and Maintenance of a Branch of the State Miners' Hospital at Park City, Utah."[43] The bill promised free treatment to indigent miners, but stipulated that those with means pay, and that a hospital commission composed of the governor and two of his

[37] Quoted in Richards, *Of Medicine, Hospitals, and Doctors,* 30.

[38] Minutes of the Staff Meeting 1907-1932, September 21, 1908, p. 19, and February 1912, p. 41, Holy Cross Hospital Records Box 4, folder 3, Accn. 588, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

[39] Minutes of the Staff Meeting 1902-1918, October 1908, p. 21, Holy Cross Hospital Records, Box 4, folder 2, Accn. 588, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

[40] Derickson, *Worker's Health, Workers' Democracy*, ix-xiv.

[41] U. S. Census Office, 12th Census, 1900, *Mines and Quarries, 1902* (Washington, D. C.: G. P. O., 1905), p. 323**;** U. S. Census Office, *Occupation at the Twelfth Census* (Washington, D. C.: G. P. O., 1904), p. 398.

[42] *Laws of Utah,* Second Legislative Session 1897, chapter lxiii, 241-42.

[43] *Park Record*, March 13, 1897.

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Ambulance at Miners' Hospital.

appointees—one from the Miners' Union—would oversee the institution. The bill passed fourteen to four in the senate and moved to the house, where it also passed, and governor Heber M. Wells signed the bill into law later that day.[44] Despite legislative support for the State Miners' Hospital, some Parkites, for reasons unknown, challenged or failed to support the hospital bill. In all likelihood, they took issue with section 11 of the bill, which provided five thousand dollars for the hospital once the city raised the same and provided land for the hospital.[45] For the next three years the legislative appropriation was unspent and the land set aside by Park City remained vacant. E. H. Howard, editor of the *Park Record*, tried to keep the issue alive editorializing "why Park City Should Have a Hospital." His rationale seemed agreeable and ultimately prophetic, but it fell on deaf ears, and the five thousand dollars in state annuities entered into an interest-bearing state miners' account for the next eight years accruing thirteen thousand dollars in the miners' hospital account.[46]

If some Parkites initially remained ambivalent about the hospital measure, many came to support it by 1903. In the fall of 1903, miners met

[44] *House Journal*, series 456, microfilm reel 4, pp. 510, 570, Utah State Archives.

[45] Ibid., 570.

[46] *Park Record*, April 7, 1900, and January 4, 1908. Beginning in 1917, those funds supported workmen's compensation claims, which the state Industrial Commission oversaw, and by 1932 the funds assumed costs for the state Miners' Ward at St. Mark's Hospital, which lasted until 1940. In 1941, state legislators provided for the creation of a tuberculosis sanitarium and hospital for miners, yet sixteen years later legislators diverted miners' funds to the University of Utah Medical Center Rehabilitation Unit. By 1996, with Utah miners seeking state sponsored medical aid as outlined in the 1894 Enabling Act, the United Mine Workers filed suit against the state in Third District Court. On January 26, 2004, Judge Glenn Iwasaki accepted a settlement that required the University to append "Miners Hospital" to the Rehabilitation Unit and to develop expertise in treating illnesses that commonly afflict miners. See *Public Documents of the State of Utah 1917-1918*, part 2, (Salt Lake City: F.W. Gardiner Co., 1919), section 19, p. 7; St. Mark's Hospital Minutes 1938-1944, August 16, 1940, Box 81, p. 2, Episcopal Diocese of Utah Records, Mss 686, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 25 and 27, 2004.

[47] *Park Record*, November 14, 1903.

to discuss the problem of medical care, which still entailed traveling to valley hospitals, their slow service, class bias, poor treatment, and apparent complicity with mining corporations. Besides these, company health contracts had also become compulsory for employment. As a result, miners requested that union president Joseph Langford meet with area mine owners to voice miners' complaints. Minutes of the meeting do not exist, but according to the *Park Record*, Langford requested on November 13 that company medical fees be "turned over to local #144 rather than to valley hospitals." Salt Lake Valley hospitals were poor quality and too far away, he insisted, and "not one married man out of a hundred [would] leave his home and family to attend them."[47] The only solution was to build a private local hospital for and by miners. Although the meeting produced no changes, Langford contacted town physicians the following day to request their employment if the hospital gained support; they agreed, but like union doctors throughout the West they probably did so for economic and not ideological reasons.[48]

By early December, the miners' proposal had circulated through town, and the city council drafted an official letter supporting the hospital.[49] Five days later, Langford received a message from the Silver King mine, the most prolific corporation in the area, explaining that the hospital proposal "was laid before our Board of Directors . . . and . . . will be taken up with the Management of the other mining Companies operating in Park City, at as early a date as possible."[50] Apparently, protocol required mine managers to coordinate corporate financial policies, such as healthcare and pay raises.[51] The *Park Record* predicted a positive response from the Silver King and its vice-president Thomas Kearns, as he supported miners' issues in the past, such as the eight-hour workday and a pro-mining tax amendment.[52] Moreover, Kearns had worked as a miner in the 1880s and understood

[48] Phone conversation with Alan Derickson, April 30, 2009.

[49] The Park City Council letter reads in part: "In support of the proposed hospital in Park City, offered the following resolution . . . whereas there is at present a movement on foot to establish a hospital in Park City, and believing that such a movement deserves the earnest and sincere support of the citizens of this city, 'the mayor and the council do most and sincerely endorse and support such object.'" December 2, 1903, Park City City Council Meeting Minutes, Series 84968, Utah State Archives.

[50] Letter from assistant secretary to Mr. Joseph P. Langford, President, Park City Miners' Union, December 7, 1903, p. 233, Box 3, Letter Book 2, Accn. 1239, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

[51] In the *Salt Lake Tribune*, David Keith, president of the Silver King Mine, said "There should be a concerted movement on the part of the mine and mill works of Park City to secure a uniform scale. While this is done, Silver King will pay the scale, whatever it may be agreed upon." *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 28, 1906. The *Park Record* on December 29, 1906, reported that the Daly-Judge and Daly-West mines had agreed to pay their miners a twenty-five cent increase.

[52] About taxing the miner, Kearns said at the 1895 constitutional convention, "Are you going to put a tax on that man and sell out what he has put his life to accomplish. . . a claim that he had patented. If you do, gentlemen, you will strike down one of the grandest industries in our new State, and I leave it to your generosity to relieve the poor prospector. Go into the cities and ask capital to go there and invest before the shaft is sunk, it will laugh at you." Reprinted in, Raye Ringholz, *Diggings and Doings in Park City* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1972), 44; Derickson, *Worker's Health Worker's Democracy,* 157.

miners' hardships. During the following week, however, Kearns suggested that valley hospitals still offered the "best" treatment and that he doubted whether miners could raise forty thousand dollars for hospital construction. The only prudent addition would be to build a "hospital ambulance car" to connect Park City to the valley hospitals. Moreover, a local hospital, he argued, would take revenue away from St. Mark's, which remained in debt, and from Holy Cross, which "was not paying interest on the money invested." Disappointed, Langford stated that he and Local #144 would continue to press for a local hospital and the miners' right to allocate their wages the best way they saw fit.[53]

On December 25, union leaders called a meeting at the Miners' Union Hall to discuss the miners' course of action. President Langford rallied miners to press forward with their goal, which included rescinding compulsory healthcare and raising money to begin hospital construction. A gifted leader and orator, Langford rallied miners with a rousing speech that recited their grievances, touched on their populist sensibilities, and their masculinity as husbands and fathers:

> You are all aware of existing conditions. How, at this time, we are compelled to submit to treatment which is not at all satisfactory; our money taken from us without our consent or approval; the long and tedious journey we have to undertake in order to reach the hospitals; . . . the expense incured [sic] for transportation to and from the city and the danger of never being able to reach our destination safely, especially during the winter months, when . . . there is a very great dread on the part of some our members to taking this journey through fear of further jeopardizing their lives. . . . Probably some of those who are opposed to the establishing of a hospital in Park City will tell us that we are weak and unable to cope with so large a proposition but we shall be stronger. . . . Brothers, allow me to suggest that now is the time for us to act. This is the time for us to assert our manhood, this is the time for us to show our enemies that we, poor miners as we are, are capable of doing noble things and not dreaming all day long. This is a glorious opportunity, let us grasp it. . . . We the miners of this camp . . . should be more keenly interested in this laudable undertaking than any other party [and] willing to do our duty to ourselves, our families, and our fellow men.[54]

Afterward, three hundred miners donated ten dollars each—approximately two or three days' wages—and voted to explore potential construction sites. Three days later, miners agreed to build the hospital after two hundred shares of capital stock were sold, a feat they accomplished by early January 1904.[55] After filing for incorporation, construction began on April 28 at a site donated by Eliza Nelson, an Irish immigrant widow.[56]

Despite support from twenty-three area mining firms, management at the Silver King and Daly-West mines remained opposed. Kearns, his partners David Keith and R.C. Chambers, and Earnest Bamberger still supported compulsory health contracts, which paid an estimated fifteen

[53] *Park Record,* December 12 and 19, 1903.
[54] Ibid., December 26, 1903.
[55] *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 28, 1903; January 3 and 9, February 24, March 21, and April 28, 1904.
[56] *Park Record*, March 26, 1904, April 22, 1921.

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Nuns in a horse-drawn wagon.

hundred dollars a month to valley hospitals. Miners, on the other hand, refused to back down and initiated a pro-hospital campaign. Western Federation of Minors secretary Ed Boyle canvassed the city in person and in print through the *Park Record,* the latter method being particularly effective as newspapers were "handed around in the neighborhood until they were wore out," according longtime resident Tom Walker.[57] Boyle requested that the community provide basic hospital needs, such as furniture, linens, food, financial, and moral support. In a vote of confidence for the hospital, Parkites responded immediately and in earnest. In July, several town residents agreed to furnish individual hospital rooms.[58] That same month, local cigar manufacturers and brewers rallied to organize a charity baseball game with all proceeds going to the hospital cause. In August, local masons of the Ontario Lodge and members of the Order of the Elks agreed to furnish two hospital rooms.[59] In September, union president Langford chaired the annual Labor Day parade, which yielded clothing and canned fruit for the hospital. Several days later, the hospital received a six hundred dollar gift from prominent businessman William Ferry, besides a promise by the Ladies of the Eastern Star to provide all furniture for the hospital.[60] In addition to these gifts and events, plays, balls, and dances also occurred to benefit the Miners' Hospital.

Although union activity during the early twentieth century often divided communities, such as that of the WFM in Colorado's 1903 labor

[57] Tom W. Walker, Mss A 1242, Utah State Historical Society.
[58] *Park Record*, July 16, 1904.
[59] Ibid., August 20, 1904.
[60] Ibid., September 3, and October 1, 1904.

wars, that of Park City's Local #144 rallied town residents in the spring and summer of 1904 behind a common cause. On October 1, Park City miners opened the Miners' Hospital, adding weight to their request two weeks later that mine managers reconsider their positions. Unwilling to rubber-stamp the hospital and perhaps sensing cleavages within miners' ranks, Kearns, Keith, and Bamberger decided to hold a miners' referendum on whether company health insurance would cease or become optional. On October 15, Silver King miners, the most numerous company men in the city, voted unanimously to cease company health care.[61]

Because mine owners resisted the hospital and the possibility of losing control over health care, their reversal in a short period of time raises significant questions. Almost an entire year passed between the hospital proposal and its construction, and mine owners possessed many good reasons to remain obstinate. First, they desired Park City to remain politically conservative. Organized labor existed in Park City, but mine owners only tolerated and certainly refrained from encouraging union power. The WFM had a national reputation for violence and radicalism, and in 1902, Utah witnessed a serious, physical confrontation between capital and labor during which the Park City Council sought to subvert union "anti-Americanism," including denying "the socialists" request to use city hall for Sunday night meetings.[62] Moreover, in 1906, David Keith would praise "the always conservative, reliable Park City, 'greater than the greatest mining camps in the west.'"[63] Valuing productive and subordinate workers, it seems Kearns and the other mine owners realized that accommodating miners' demands could make them appear weak, caving in and endorsing radical unionism in a traditionally conservative community.

Financial reasons could have also discouraged the owners' support of the hospital. R.C. Chambers, for example, signed the articles of incorporation for St. Mark's Hospital, sat on its board of directors, and held stock in the institution.[64] Kearns, a devout member of the Catholic community, donated large sums of his fortune to support parish projects, appreciated the Holy Cross Hospital, and desired its financial security. Moreover, in 1901, Mary Judge, widow of Kearn's former business partner John Judge, provided a large sum of money, reported to be between fifty and one hundred thousand dollars, to Bishop Scanlan to endow the Judge Miners' Hospital on 600 South 1100 East in Salt Lake City.[65] Company health contracts with

[61] Ibid., October 1, and 8, 1904.

[62] John Ervin Brinley, Jr., "The Western Federation of Miners," (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1972), 4; The Boston New Bureau, November 17, 1903, Silver King Coalition of Mines Company Records, Box 3, Accn. 1239, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. August 20, 1902, Park City City Council Meeting Minutes, Series 84968, Utah State Archives.

[63] *Park Record*, December 29, 1906, in David Keith Scrapbooks 1901-1942, Box 1, Mss B 504, Utah State Historical Society.

[64] David Walden Papers. Box 2, folder 14, p. 3, Accn. 2108, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

[65] *Salt Lake Herald*, November 28, 1901.

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Nuns in a horse-drawn sleigh.

Judge had just begun, and in an atmosphere of intense competition between St. Mark's, Holy Cross, and the new Groves-L.D.S. Hospital, it appeared foolish to divert patients to another institution in Park City.[66]

On the other hand, a combination of political, economic, and cultural reasons might have influenced Kearns, Keith, and Chambers to retract their hesitations and accommodate the miners' demands. Such reasons are speculative, as managers never spoke or wrote openly about their change of mind. Beginning in 1901, Kearns served as the Republican senator from Utah in the national capitol. Republicans opposed Mormon hegemony in Utah, and Kearns supported Park City as a financial Republican, Gentile stronghold. In 1903, Kearns paid ten thousand dollars in support of the effort to unseat Reed Smoot, a Mormon apostle and Republican senator.[67] Keith, on the other hand, while not a public political personality, remained a staunch anti-Mormon Republican who donated large sums of his wealth to supporting party platforms. Politically savvy, Kearns and Keith might have waited until community support for the hospital grew to such an extent that backing it became politically prudent and rewarding, a way of taming labor, benefiting townspeople, and ensuring their Republican proclivities.

Kearns, Keith, and Chambers might have also sympathized financially and medically with Park City miners, however this point should not be over stressed, as managers were never strong friends of labor. Kearns, for example, endowed the Cathedral of the Madeleine and Kearns-St. Ann's

[66] Fierce competition prevented the Judge Miners' Hospital from succeeding and in 1915 it closed as a hospital but reopened in 1921 as Judge Catholic High School, which it remains today.

[67] "David Keith Scrapbooks," Box 1, Mss B 504, Utah State Historical Society.

Orphanage in Salt Lake City, yet never personally gave money to the Miners' Hospital. Still, prior to achieving wealth and power, all three managers worked for wages, witnessed miners' injuries, and Kearns, in particular, supported pro-mining issues before the Miners' Hospital. In 1883, Kearns worked as a mucker at the Ontario Mine, where he met David Keith and R.C. Chambers, a pump engineer and a mine supervisor, respectively. Kearns worked for minimal wages, and although he and his partners never suffered work related injuries, they undoubtedly sensed the risks of a mining environment. In 1903, for example, an explosion at the Daly-West mine left thirty-nine miners dead, the deadliest accident in Park City's history. Kearns witnessed the physical destruction of the explosion, as well as its psychological toll on victims' families, and personally distributed one thousand dollars to survivors. Although this amount was small, that Kearns provided any monetary benefits is significant, given that no lawsuit emerged from the incident and that during the nineteenth century "prevailing legal doctrines"—employees' assumption of risk, contributory negligence, and negligence of fellow employees—"made operators virtually invulnerable" to lawsuit.[68] Other gestures demonstrating a modicum of sympathy included Kearns' willingness to serve as a pallbearer at miners' funerals, his and David Keith's agreement to lead a fundraiser for an Irish widow whose husband's accidental death in the mines left her in poverty, and their decision in 1913 to provide a new hospital ambulance and free transportation service for injured miners.[69]

Finally, mine managers also seemed to retain a sense of religious and ethnic fraternity with other western European Christians in Park City. In a nearly homogenous Mormon state, Christians numerically dominated Park City, making it a religious and ethnic island, as well as a base of power.[70] In 1880, approximately two thousand Irish and English Catholics and Protestants lived in Park City. At least once monthly Bishop Scanlan traveled to say mass and visit with Catholic residents. These residents collected six thousand dollars for a local parish, and later in 1881 gathered additional funds to complete the building.[71] In 1888, perhaps through the influence of Scotsman and Episcopalian R.C. Chambers, St. Luke's Episcopal parish opened in Park City. Church-sponsored schools followed, as well as churches built by Methodists and Baptists. In 1889, Edward Tullidge asserted that Christianity prevailed in Park City.[72] In this community, Christian managers felt at home. Thomas Kearns, for example, an Irish Catholic who worshipped at the Cathedral of the Madeleine, married Jennie Judge in a large Catholic ceremony in Park City attended by

[68] Derickson, *Worker's Health Worker's Democracy*, 175.

[69] *Salt Lake Telegram*, January 16, 1916; Ringholz, *The First Century*, 39-40; *Park Record*, August 23, 1913.

[70] Tullidge, *Histories,* 519-20; Mooney and Fitzgerald *Salt of the Earth*, 43.

[71] Ringholz, *The First Century*, 17; Gary Topping, *The Story of The Cathedral of the Madeleine* (Salt Lake City: Sagebrush Press, 2009), 7, 19.

[72] Tullidge, *Histories*, 519-20.

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Mother's and babies at the Park City Miners' Hospital.

the public. In later years, although Kearns did not live in Park City, he supported St. Mary's by providing its Easter and Christmas decorations. He also invited friends, many of whom were Park City miners and residents, to parties at his Salt Lake City mansion on Brigham Street, and on occasion socialized as "one of the boys" at Park City's Irish bars and saloons.[73] Finally, in the aftermath of the Daly-West explosion, which left mostly Irish Catholic miners dead, Kearns grieved with survivors and personally worked with Patrick Moloney, a parish secretary in Tipperary County, Ireland, to distribute funds to surviving relatives in Ireland and Park City.[74]

With the support of the broader Park City community, including reluctant mine owners, historical evidence indicates the Park City Miners' Hospital met with much success providing the medical needs of miners and other Parkites. In the hospital's first annual report, published in 1905, the hospital listed 538 patients and held health contracts with twenty-four area mines totaling fifteen thousand dollars. Most patients were miners with work related issues, including emergency and trauma injuries and chronic illnesses. In one instance, Thomas Werry and Dan Stevens were rushed to the hospital after a carload of timbers crashed on and around them, leaving them unconscious. The following day, the *Park Record* reported them as alive and "improving nicely."[75] In another account, mucker Alva John Baum, who would die in 1921 of miner's consumption, recovered at the hospital after an

[73] One old-timer recalled, "an anti-Catholic group of Parkites hired a professional boxer from New York to pick a fight in a local Irish bar. Tom stepped in and knocked the pro's head against the brass rail. When the boxer recovered and came down into the mine with four other ruffians to 'get' Tom, Kearns said he'd lick them all in a fight and told them to step on the cage . . . and when they were hoisted up to where they could smell fresh air, he'd take them all on at once. They left him alone." Ringholz, *Diggings and Doings*, 43-44.

[74] *American Eagle*, July 19, 1902; "Letter from Assistant Secretary to Patrick Moloney, Cloneysharp, Clonnolly, Cashel, Tipperary County, Ireland, June 22, 1903," book 2, Box 3, p. 84, "Letters," Accn. 1239, "Silver King Coalition of Mines Records," Special Collections, Marriot Library, University of Utah.

[75] *Park Record*, December 29, 1905.

errant explosion left him "washed down the flume crawling [and] trying to chew his fingers off" because of the pain.[76]

Parkites including "deserving widows," expectant mothers, charity cases, and those suffering from various accidents and injuries, also visited the hospital soon after its opening. By 1911, more than one-thousand individuals annually were treated at the hospital.[77] Although mine managers probably did not attend the hospital but rather those in the valley, Park City's Chinese immigrants, whose population remained small after the 1898 fire, certainly did. Upon discharge, however, they returned to their barracks along "Poison" Creek, as well as to their jobs in the laundry trade, deemed hygienically unfit and relegated to the margins of the town by the city health officer.[78] By contrast, the Miners' Hospital, located on Nelson Hill far from the mines and the city center, afforded patients a clean and fresh healing environment. Patients there enjoyed quiet rooms, pure air, adequate sunshine, and seasonal vegetables from the hospital's garden. Even more, they benefited from knowledgeable and tender nursing staff, with many nurses becoming popular public figures. For example, when Elsie Snyder, a "young lady . . . well known and beloved" as a "capable nurse" left for a special nursing position at Holy Cross, she received a published farewell from the *Park Record*. The paper did the same for Margaret Mockler when she left the Miners' Hospital for a "more lucrative and less arduous" position in Oregon; the paper declared that she would be remembered for her "earnest, hard work and exceptional ability as a manager and popularity as a nurse."[79] Other nurses who sustained untimely deaths, like Kittie Berry, received posthumous memorials in the *Park Record* from family, friends, and associates.[80]

As a labor union hospital, the Park City Miners' Hospital failed by 1919. The reasons are unclear and attest to the conflicting reports of miners, union leaders, hospital doctors and board of directors, and mine owners. During the early months of the first Red Scare in 1919, Park City like many towns witnessed a conflict between capital and labor in which miners and workers struck for better wages and closed or halted mines, quarries, and smelters. In response, Park City mine managers like G.W. Lambourne, president of the Judge Mining and Smelting Company, took

[76] Letter from Edith Baum to Joe Davich, January 16, 1973, Joe Davich Papers, Box 1, folder 7, Accn. 405, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

[77] *Park Record*, March 3, and October 28, 1905, January 21, 1911, August 18, 1916. On March 3, 1905, the city council stated that the Miners' Hospital was "open to all parties interested," which presumably included all persons needing medical attention regardless of their socio-economic, religious, or racial profile.

[78] David Hampshire, Martha Sonntag Bradley, Allen Roberts, *A History of Summit County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, Summit County Commission, 1998), 106; Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Park City, 1889, sheet 5, 6; "Revised Ordinances of Park City and Revised Statutes Relating to Cities and Towns, 1906, Title VII, chapters 1-4, 126, microfilm, Series 84866 Utah State Archives.

[79] *Park Record*, March 26, 1910, September 25, 1915.

[80] Ibid., March 28, 1919.

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Moving the Miners' Hospital to a new location.

action against the miners' union and cancelled the company's health contracts until union members removed the highly despised union radical, ostensible strike leader, and hospital secretary A. J. Berg.

On July 22, miners criticized mine owners for seeking to close the hospital and break the strike. The hospital relied on miners' subscriptions of company health contracts, as well as on community donations. Over the summer, doctors and nurses worked without pay and by October the situation at the hospital grew critical and close to bankruptcy. In an attempt to forestall the hospital's closure, doctors Edward LeCompte, Snow, and Finch issued a public letter in the *Park Record* to miners, hospital board of directors, and mine managers, criticizing Lambourne and the other mine operators for cancelling the health contracts with the hospital, and urging the miners to accommodate capital by removing Berg. The doctors also condemned hospital directors for their mismanagement, particularly their failure to collect hospital dues from miners who previously opted out of the plan of mine management of deducting hospital fees, the miners preferring to pay the hospital out of their own pockets. On October 18, hospital directors cited their inability to request Berg's removal as per union bylaws and maintained that the miners who failed to pay hospital dues belonged to the Industrial Workers of the World that infiltrated Park City. According to union officials, the IWW "succeeded pretty well" in destroying their local union. Facing their "peculiar situation" of belonging to a moderate union—too "fast" for management and too "slow" for IWW radicals—miners concurred on October 23 with the hospital board's decision to close the Park City's Miners' Hospital.[81]

For the next year, Park City lacked a real hospital. Early in 1920 town resident and registered nurse Margaret A. Clark opened an emergency clinic in several rented rooms in the New Hotel. Little is known about its clientele, services, and effectiveness, but in the following year the Sisters of

[81] Ibid., October 24, 1919, January 23, 1920, and May 22, 1925.

the Holy Cross, who came to Salt Lake City in 1875 to administer Holy Cross Hospital, purchased the closed Miners' Hospital and hired Clark as the hospital's superintendent. Reopening the Miners' Hospital in 1922, the Sisters followed the earlier business plan and ran the hospital as a not-for-profit enterprise, supported by dollar-a-month subscriptions. Subscriptions provided gratuitous comprehensive care, which included physician services, medicines with a doctor's prescription, and nursing and hospital care for all surgical cases that were not included under workmen's compensation laws, and other needed services. Subscribers could also opt for home care, in which doctors and nurses brought medical supplies to patients' homes. The hospital also provided care for those who paid on a more expensive case-by-case basis.[82]

In 1924, patronage at the Miners' Hospital appeared robust and expansion became necessary. The Sisters decided to build a third floor for an additional twelve beds and a storage room. The following year, the hospital built a new operating room and an apartment for Mrs. Clark and her family.[83] In the 1930s the hospital accommodated numerous polio patients, and during World War II housed an administrative office of the Red Cross and a blood donation center.[84]

By the end of the war, however, patronage decreased significantly and the Sisters decided to sell the hospital and concentrate their efforts at the Holy Cross Hospital in the Salt Lake Valley. The diminished need for beds at the Park City Hospital resulted largely from the closure of many Park City mines and the beginning decline of the population in Park City. Following the Sisters' selling of the hospital, a string of individual physicians worked to keep the institution viable but failed, in part due to the construction of a new four lane highway in 1956 connecting Park City to Salt Lake City and its hospitals. Pressured by the continued decline for hospital care and rising operational costs, Dr. William Orris of Murray sold the hospital to developers in 1956, who in turn transformed the building first into a condominium site, then a youth hostel, and then a bar in an effort to capture the new and growing outdoor winter and summer recreational activities. In 1980, Parkites supported an eight hundred thousand dollar bond issue to move, restore, and reinvent the Miners' Hospital into the Park City Public Library, which it remained until 1993 when it became home of the Park City Historical Society and later a city storage facility.

In assessing the historical significance of the Park City Miners' Hospital, we must consider the many varied historical issues that miners of the Park City Mining District faced as they worked to fund and operate their own hospital. In the late nineteenth century, modern hospitals emerged as religious sponsored urban institutions devoted to providing charitable

[82] Ibid., November 24, 1922.
[83] Ibid., November 18, and 22, 1924; July 30, 1925.
[84] Ibid., January 1, 1942.

BEN CATER

The Park City Miners' Hospital in the Summer of 2010.

medical services to the poor and working classes, as well as to those who possessed confidence in novel medical procedures, theories, and pharmaceuticals. Yet by the early twentieth century, nationally and regionally as well as in Salt Lake City, these charitable hospitals evolved into profitable institutions catering increasingly to paying middle-class patients and less concerned for workers and their families. In response, hardrock miners in Park City and elsewhere in the West worked through organized labor unions to fund, build, and administer their own hospitals, of which the Park City Miners' Hospital was one.

Although Park City miners at first encountered resistance from some Parkites, particularly mine owners and operators who sought to control their employees' health, these owners and operators changed their position for political, financial, and cultural reasons, and rallied town residents to build a local hospital. Beginning in 1904, miners received quality local medical care at minimal cost. The Park City Miners' Hospital also met the medical needs of the larger community generally without regard to social, economic or political status. In sum, as we debate and embrace national health care reform, the Park City Miners' Hospital stands as a local physical reminder of human health inequities, promises, and peculiarities due to historical factors of politics, economics, culture, and geography.

The Goshen and Mona Water Dispute, 1873-1881: A Case Study of the Struggle between Ecclesiastical and Secular Authority in Utah

SANDRA BRIMHALL

Mona Main Street before 1920.

By CLINTON BRIMHALL AND SANDRA DAWN BRIMHALL

In one of her short stories, "Where Nothing Is Long Ago," Mormon author Virginia E. Sorensen wrote about a farmer who killed his neighbor with a shovel during a dispute concerning irrigation water. Sorensen posed the question, "If a thief enters a man's own house in the night and means to rob him of all he has, all his clothes and all his food, thereby meaning to take the very lives of his wife and his little children—then what shall that householder do. . . . Is it not true that he who steals water is stealing life itself?"[1]

Born and raised in Utah during the early twentieth century, Sorensen knew some of the early pioneers who talked about "the wide, dry wastes before the

Clinton R. Brimhall is an English language major at Brigham Young University. Sandra Dawn Brimhall is a writer living in West Jordan, Utah.

[1] Virginia E. Sorensen, *Where Nothing Is Long Ago* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1960: Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998), 13-14.

mountain water was captured and put to use." The pioneers, like Sorensen, learned from hard experience that the "dry spaces, where jack rabbits hop through brush, as thick as mites on a hen, are always there, waiting to take over; dryness hugs the green fields, pulsing in, only the irrigation ditches keep it at bay."[2]

Sorenson's account of a deadly quarrel over water was fictional, but her perception that it has always been a precious commodity in the Arid West is fact. One interesting and far-reaching clash regarding water rights occurred between the two Utah Mormon towns of Goshen and Mona during the 1870s and early 1880s.

The residents of both towns were nearly all members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and when local church leaders were unable to resolve the contested issue, the conflict escalated into a lawsuit instigated by the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company against the Mona Canal Company. As a result of Goshen's decision to file the lawsuit contrary to church leaders' counsel, Goshen's LDS ward bishop, William Price, and his counselors John Rouse and Paul Gourley were removed from their church positions and most of the ward members were disfellowshipped or excommunicated from the church.[3]

The Goshen and Mona water dispute, and its eventual resolution, provides a case study of the struggle between ecclesiastical and secular authority in Utah during the late nineteenth century. In addition, this case demonstrates the difficulties church and government leaders experienced when attempting to provide an equitable distribution of water between old and new settlers in a community and between neighboring settlements.

Goshen Valley, located in Utah County just south of Utah Lake, was explored in the spring of 1856 by Phineas Cook and several other men while searching for stray cattle. Cook found the rich soil abundant natural resources, and a fairly large creek that entered the valley from the south. He obtained permission from Brigham Young to establish a new settlement in Goshen Valley.[4]

[2] Ibid.

[3] Raymond Duane Steele, *Goshen Valley History* (Goshen: privately published, 1960), 40; Goshen Ward Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1857-1984, LR 3259 2, Church History Library, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as LDS Church History Library. According to the Goshen Ward history, Rouse was sustained as first counselor and Gourley as second counselor to Bishop Price on June 5, 1877. When church members are disfellowshipped or excommunicated, they are precluded from taking the sacrament, speaking or praying in church services, and holding an office in the church.

[4] Life Sketch of Harriet Betsy Cook Teeples, February 1925, MSS A 2281 c. 1, Utah State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as USHS; Steele, *Goshen Valley History*, 1-3. Cook's daughter, Harriet Betsy Cook Teeples, who was twelve-years old when her family moved to Goshen, confirmed Steele's account that Cook received approval from Brigham Young to settle the town. In addition, an 1866 letter from William Price to George A. Smith made reference to a letter received from Brigham Young authorizing Cook to colonize Goshen. See MS 1322, Box 6. Folder 21, item 15, LDS Church History Library. Phineas Wolcott Cook was born on August 28, 1819, in Goshen, Connecticut. According to Teeples and Steele, Goshen, Utah, was named after Cook's birthplace. Cook recorded in his personal history that after arriving in Utah in 1848, he and his family first resided in Salt Lake City but after

A few months later, Cook and about twenty-five men returned and spent the summer building an irrigation dam across the creek, then known as Little Salt Creek (now Currant Creek). Most of the men returned to their homes before winter, but Cook and a few others remained in the valley.[5] The next spring, ten families built a fort and established a permanent settlement on the east side of the creek, approximately two miles north of the present site of Goshen. By the end of the summer, they were joined by ten additional families. The settlers named their town Fort Sodom, because the fort had been constructed with large cedar posts and filled in with sod from a nearby meadow. Cook was chosen by Brigham Young to serve as presiding elder of the branch with John Rouse and John Reynolds as counselors.[6]

During that first year, very little was grown because the virgin land had to be cleared of brush, irrigation ditches made, and seed planted. The following year, the settlers diverted the entire flow of the creek to irrigate the two hundred acres they cultivated. In subsequent years, much more acreage was irrigated from water stored in a community built dam.[7]

In the fall of 1859, the colonists abandoned Fort Sodom because of unhealthy conditions and boggy land and established a new settlement on the bench land approximately one mile southwest of the fort. The new site, which they named Sandtown, also turned out to be uninhabitable because of wind and sand.[8]

The next year, the settlers moved to another location, named Lower Goshen, which was situated approximately one and one half miles northwest of the original fort. As a result of the frequent moves and difficult conditions, a lack of unity developed among the people and Cook was released from his position as presiding elder.

On February 15, 1860, William Price, who resided in Salt Lake City, was ordained bishop and appointed to preside over the Goshen ward. Price, a brother-in-law of Brigham Young, was, according to family oral tradition, selected by Young to quell rebel church members in the town. Before

experiencing difficulties becoming established, they decided to relocate to Utah County. Cook originally planned to move to Summit Creek (now Santaquin) but, after arriving in Utah County, he found better opportunities in Payson. The family arrived in Payson on June 1, 1856. Cook died on July 24, 1900, in Afton, Wyoming. See *The Life and History of Phineas Wolcott Cook* (Brigham City: privately published, 1980), 95, 103, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, hereafter cited as Brigham Young University Library.

[5] Steele, *Goshen Valley History*, 1-3. Currant Creek receives its water supply from two small creeks that unite in Nephi Canyon about six miles east of Nephi. Although it is depleted by diversions made near its entrance into the valley, it is replenished by springs in Mona before it threads its way through Goshen Canyon and reaches Goshen. See Elwood Mead, et. al, *Report of Irrigation Investigations in Utah*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 144-47.

[6] The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Santaquin Stake, *Give Me This Mountain: A History of the Santaquin Utah Stake* (Santaquin: privately published, 1984), 154.

[7] Louie S. Steele Jensen, *Goshen Centennial History 1857-1957* (Goshen: privately published, 1957), 5; Steele, *Goshen Valley History*, 7.

[8] Steele, *Goshen Valley History*, 11.

receiving the call, Price had co-owned a general merchandise business with church apostle Orson Hyde. After being ordained, Price immediately sold his holdings and went directly to Goshen, traveling with Hyde. They arrived in Goshen on February 17, 1860.[9]

Like previous Mormon settlements, Lower Goshen seemed promising. The settlers surveyed and divided up the land, built adobe houses from nearby white clay beds, and their farms yielded a good harvest during the first several years of settlement. Improvements also were made to the dam. A large ditch, varying in width from seven to twelve feet and in depth from two feet to four feet, was made on the west side of the creek to the meadows, which provided the small farms with irrigation water. Although the residents were successful in raising grain, corn and potatoes, they discovered the soil was too alkaline for gardens as well as for fruit and shade trees.

During a visit to Lower Goshen in 1867, Brigham Young selected a new town site for the residents. By November 1869, all but one of the settlers had relocated to the new location. The settlement, Goshen, continued to receive water from the dam but as the population increased and more land was cultivated, the need to increase the dam's output became more acute.[10]

In 1871, the dam was reinforced and additional outlets made from the dam. The town also organized a water board which systematically measured the available amount of water in the various ditches. Shares of water were issued to individuals according to certain regulations and requirements agreed upon. Although it was common during this period for Mormon bishops to organize and supervise these types of endeavors in their wards and communities, Goshen records and histories do not describe the extent of Price's involvement with the dam or irrigation projects. Instead, Hugh McKee was appointed water master. He established an irrigation schedule to make sure that everyone received a fair share of water.[11]

About this same time, some Mona residents, perhaps unaware of Goshen's claim, also began using water from Salt Creek upstream from the Goshen dam. Their action deprived Goshen farmers of the water they had relied on, and trouble surfaced almost immediately.[12]

Mona (formerly known as Clover Creek), located in Juab County approximately ten miles southeast of Goshen, was originally settled several years before Goshen in February 1852. The settlement, however, was

[9] Steele, *Goshen Valley History*, 13. Price was born December 4, 1818, in Lee, Gloucestershire, England; see Earl Clinton Okelberry, interview by Jessie Embry, November 6, 1979, MSS/OH 380, Brigham Young University Library. Young was married to Mary Van Cott, sister of Price's wife, Martha Van Cott. Okelberry said Price, an outsider, was chosen as the new bishop because "there were too many rebels out there. They went to court too much and made too much trouble so he [Brigham Young] sent his brother-in-law out here."

[10] Steele, *Goshen Valley History*, 16.

[11] Jensen, *Goshen Centennial History*, 26; Steele, *Goshen Valley History*, 16, 29; *Give Me This Mountain*, 156; George Thomas, *The Development of Institutions Under Irrigation* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1920), 20; Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), 59.

[12] Steele, *Goshen Valley History*, 39.

temporarily abandoned in 1853 during the Walker War when settlers moved to Nephi for safety.[13]

In 1860, the town was resettled and a few years later and at Brigham Young's suggestion, Mona was relocated a few miles east to a healthier location. The new town was surveyed in 1867 and artesian wells were dug to obtain drinking water. Farming began on the east bench with irrigation water coming from Mt. Nebo. John Madison Haws and Edward Kay were appointed the first water presidents for the town.[14]

Two of the principal players on the Mona side of the dispute were Howard and Martha Jane Knowlton Coray. The Corays had joined the LDS church in 1840 and gathered with other church members in Nauvoo. Howard was a personal friend of Joseph Smith and served as one of his clerks, assisting the prophet in compiling material for the history of the church. Martha aided the prophet's mother, Lucy Mack Smith, in writing her son's biography.

After arriving in Utah with the John Sharp company in 1850, the couple resided in Salt Lake City and Tooele before settling in Provo in 1857. Prior to moving to Provo, Howard was employed as a clerk for LDS presiding bishop Edward Hunter in Salt Lake City for five years. He also worked as an accountant, teacher, farmer, and operated a molasses factory and sawmill. Martha served as the first secretary of Salt Lake City's Thirteenth Ward Women's Relief Society, which was organized in 1854. Possessed of a keen intellect, Martha published articles in the *Woman's Exponent* and her unpublished letters and journal reveal a sound understanding of the law. She also had an aptitude for medicine and distilled a variety of different herbs to produce medicines and liniments that she marketed from Nephi to Ogden. When Howard moved to Mona in 1871 to homestead a ranch, Martha remained in Provo but traveled frequently between Mona and Provo.

In 1875, Martha was appointed as the only female member of the Brigham Young Academy's first board of trustees, chaired by Abraham O. Smoot. Smoot also served as president of the Utah LDS Stake, which had jurisdiction over Goshen.[15]

[13] Alice P. McCune, *History of Juab County* (Nephi: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1947), 138.

[14] Ibid, 146; Bill Jasperson, interview by Sandra Dawn Brimhall, October 17, 2009, notes in author's possession; Lucille C. Tate, *Andrew B. Christenson, Mormon Educational Pioneer* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1981), 191; Bill Jasperson, who owns a ranch in both Goshen and Mona, is currently the President of the Board of the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company. He said Goshen and Elberta both receive their irrigation water from Currant Creek, which comes from streams out of Nephi Canyon. Goshen has priority rights to Currant Creek during irrigation season, but the remainder of the year, the water from the creek is stored in the Mona Reservoir and is used by Elberta irrigators. This arrangement was made in 1895, when the Mona Reservoir was built. Jasperson said Mona does not receive water from the Mona Reservoir, but instead receives its water supply from four streams coming off Mt. Nebo, as well as from wells and springs near the town. According to Tate, in the early 1900s, Mona had both surface and underground streams and much of the land was watered by deep artesian wells.

[15] Biography of Howard and Martha Jane Knowlton Coray, Coray Family Collection, MSS 1422, Brigham Young University Library; Amy Reynolds, "Martha Jane Knowlton Coray: A Women of Faith and Intellect," *BYU Magazine* (Fall 1997): 55-56; Andrew Jenson, *L.D.S. Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation*

It appears the Corays played a primary role in the creation and management of a canal company in Mona that was independent of earlier irrigation projects which had obtained water from wells and runoff from Mt. Nebo. Entries in Martha's journal reveal that during the fall of 1873, Howard and several of his sons surveyed a dam site, began hauling rock for the dam, and laid out a water ditch west of Salt Creek and upstream from Goshen.[16]

DAUGHTERS OF UTAH PIONEERS

Martha Coray.

The first indication in Martha's journal of trouble between Goshen and Mona was recorded on January 24, 1875, "I saw Bp. Smoot about Goshen's claim against us; sent letter to Pres. Young." Two months later she wrote, "Mr. Coray wrote to Goshen committee through Bishop Price, the refusal to acknowledge their jurisdiction." Subsequent journal entries document additional meetings with the Goshen men and further consultations with Smoot.[17]

On April 18, 1877, Goshen residents formed and registered a corporation, which they named the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company. The first officers of the corporation were: John Burreston [also spelled Burraston], Yern Jasperson, Powl Powlson [also spelled Powell Powelson], John Morgan, and Richard Johnson.[18]

of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 4 vols (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901), vol. 1: 485. Howard Coray was born May 6, 1817, in Steuben County, New York. Martha Coray was born in June 1821 in Covington, Kentucky. They were the parents of twelve children. In 1871, when the Corays homesteaded their ranch in Mona, Howard was fifty-four and Martha was fifty.

[16]Journal of Martha Jane Knowlton Coray, October 29, 1873, to November 9, 1873, April 2, 1875, Coray Family Collection, MSS 1422, Brigham Young University Library. Although Martha initially referred to the company on October 2, 1873, as the West Salt Creek Irrigation Company, it was later changed to the Mona Canal Company. The Corays actively defended the Mona Canal Company in the lawsuit with the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company.

[17] Coray Journal, January 24, March 25, April 27, May 9, and August 28, 1875, MSS 1422, Brigham Young University Library. The Corays evidently had a close personal relationship with Smoot. Martha recorded in her journal that he was a guest in their home on a number of occasions and that they consulted him, as a friend, as well as a church leader, about the Goshen lawsuit. Smoot's friendship with the Corays may have compromised his objectivity regarding the lawsuit. See Coray Journal June 25, 1874, May 9, 1875, and February 28, 1878.

[18] *The Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company Articles of Agreement,* (1878), Case 264, First District Court, Southern Division, (Utah County) Civil Case Files, Series 25941, Utah State Archives. Beginning in 1852, the Utah Territorial Legislature passed a number of incorporation acts authorizing canal companies to divert water from rivers. In 1870, the legislature passed a general incorporation act that also applied to "irrigation ditches" as well as other enterprises. In most cases, however, the settlers simply organized informal irrigation associations and Goshen residents probably had one of these informal associations before it was formally incorporated and registered in 1877. See Thomas G. Alexander, "Irrigating the Mormon Heartland: The Operation of Irrigation Companies in Wasatch Oasis Communities, 1847-1880," *Agricultural History* 76 (Spring 2002): 172-87. Although Price was a shareholder in the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company when it was incorporated, he was not an officer, nor was he an officer when the corporation filed its lawsuit against the Mona Canal Company.

The formal incorporation was probably done in anticipation of a lawsuit because six months later, on October 20, 1877, the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company filed a lawsuit in the First Judicial District Court against the Mona Canal Company.[19]

In the complaint, the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company alleged that in 1858 Goshen residents had constructed a dam on lower Salt Creek and all the necessary ditches to use all of the water from the stream for the use of the inhabitants of the town. And, although the town was relocated several times, the inhabitants continued to use the water from the dam, except during 1862-1863 when there was an unusually large amount of water in the creek. The Goshen Canal Company regularly maintained and repaired the dam as was necessary.

The complaint further alleged that in 1873 the Mona Canal Company constructed a dam across the stream, west of Mona, about ten miles upstream from the Goshen dam. The basis for the suit was that the Mona Canal Company's dam stored and diverted large quantities of water from the stream, and despite protests, the dam caused great and irreparable injury to the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company and those it represented; the Mona Canal Company seemed intent on continuing to divert the water.[20]

Coray a week later following the filing of the lawsuit recorded in her journal that "Pa [Howard Coray] and [John Madison] Haws went to see [George] Teasdale and [Joel] Grover about water business. . . . Pa got letter from Grover and Teasdale to [William] Price and Henry Snow."[21] Haws began serving as Mona's bishop in 1877 and Grover served as the Juab stake president from November 10, 1871, to July 1, 1877. Teasdale succeeded Grover and served as the Juab stake president until October 12, 1882, when he was called to the LDS Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.[22]

The Corays delivered the letter from Grover and Teasdale to Price on October 28, and three days later, Martha paid a visit to the LDS church's presiding bishop, Edward Hunter, and obtained another letter for Price. After Howard brought home the legal papers concerning the lawsuit, he and Martha consulted with their attorney several times as well as with members of their canal company about the water problem.[23]

[19] *Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company v. Mona Canal Company* (1878), First District Court, Southern Division (Utah County), Utah Registers of Action, Book B, p. 191,Series 25949, Utah State Archives. The complaint was signed by Powl Powlson, one of the officers and directors of the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company.

[20] *Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company v. Mona Cana Company* (1878), First District Court, Southern Division, (Utah County) Case 264, Utah Civil Case Files, Series 25941 Utah State Archives.

[21] Coray Journal, October 27, 1877. Although the typed transcript of Coray's journal states "Pa and Haws went to see Teasdale and Groner about water business," the original handwritten journal reveals the name is Grover, not Groner.

[22] McCune, *History of Juab County*, 142; Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 144, 515.

[23] Coray Journal, October 28 to October 31, and November 4, November 10, 1877; Edward P. Hunter Papers, MS 358, Marriott Library Special Collections, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereinafter cited as University of Utah Library.

DIANNE C. TATE

The Howard and Martha Coray farmhouse in Mona.

Eight days later, the Mona Canal Company, responded to the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company's suit with a motion to dismiss, alleging the complaint had failed to state facts that would justify a lawsuit. The Mona Canal Company also maintained the complaint was ambiguous, unintelligible and uncertain.[24]

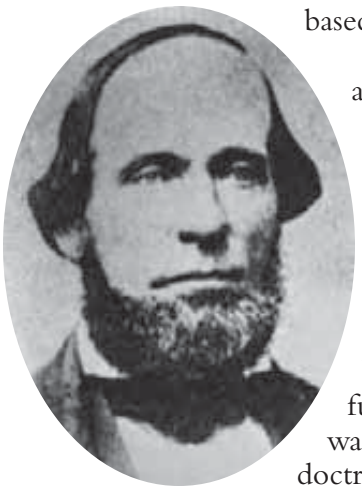
A month later, the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company filed an amended complaint, which had only minor alterations from the original complaint. On December 31, 1877, the Mona Canal Company again moved to dismiss the amended complaint for the same reasons as the first while arguing that the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company had not incurred any damages or injury by the Mona Canal Company's actions.[25] However, the complaint was not dismissed and witnesses were deposed in December 1877 and again in February 1878. Still others, including Howard and Martha Coray, continued to seek settlement of the dispute through church leaders instead of the courts.[26]

Church leaders were strongly opposed to members taking legal action against their brethren in the "Gentile" courts, maintaining that church members should resolve differences through church courts, especially bishops' courts, where a "higher law" could be followed that relied heavily upon an inherent sense of justice rather than on technicalities

[24] *Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company v. Mona Canal Company* (1878), First District Court, Southern Division, (Utah County) Case 264, Civil Case Files, Series 25941, Utah State Archives.

[25] Ibid. The amended complaint was signed by William H. Page, secretary of the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company.

[26] Coray Journal, December 20, 1877, to April 7, 1878.



Phineas Wolcott Cook.
DAUGHTERS OF UTAH PIONEERS.

based upon legal precedent.[27]

This ecclesiastical admonition prevailed in all areas of dispute, including water law. Historically, the common-law doctrine of riparian water rights, used in the eastern United States, maintained that property owners who owned land next to streams had the "natural" right to use the water in its natural flow, in cooperation with other landowners who had the rights of coequal use. In the arid West, however, where water was not as plentiful, the territories and states rejected riparian water rights doctrine and substituted it with the doctrine of prior appropriation.[28] Under the law of prior appropriation, the first appropriator was entitled to all of the water he had originally appropriated, even in times of scarcity, before a subsequent user was entitled to the water.[29]

Eventually, the West's doctrine of prior appropriation was modified so that, among other things, water rights could only be acquired for "beneficial uses." Under this principle, appropriators could not claim more water than they needed for their crops, livestock, mines, mills, or domestic use.[30]

Brigham Young and his followers developed a water policy unique from the common law and western practice; water was viewed as a public, not private, resource. According to this view, the government allowed prior appropriators to use the water as a type of easement, but prohibited the absolute ownership of water.[31]The Mormons, who had made a mass exodus to Utah and who expected thousands more to follow, realized that a first-come, first-served policy would seriously jeopardize any cooperative efforts to establish permanent settlements throughout the territory. According to George Thomas, an economics scholar and president of the University of Utah from 1921-1941, "The Mormons were the first people to establish an extensive civilization in America with its economic basis resting almost wholly upon irrigation agriculture."[32] In addition, they were

[27] James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), 261-62.

[28] For a brief discussion of the doctrine of prior appropriation in early Utah, see Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collins Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 314-21.

[29] Robert W. Swenson, "A Primer of Utah Water Law: Part 1," *Journal of Energy Law and Policy 5* (1984): 165-96.

[30] Ibid., Robert Parson, "Seeps, Springs and Bogs: The Changing Historic Landscape of Smithfield," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 68 (2000): 47.

[31] Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts*, 314-21.

[32] Ibid., George Thomas, *The Development of Institutions Under Irrigation* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1920), 13-14.

among the first to develop laws, regulations, practices, and customs regarding water usage.

On November 5, 1877, senior church apostle and acting church president John Taylor wrote a letter to William Price, informing him that he had been visited by some Mona residents regarding the water difficulties between Goshen and Mona. Taylor reported he also had conferred with Abraham Smoot concerning the matter and that he and Smoot were "sorry to learn that you have commenced a lawsuit in relation to this matter, which we consider all good Latter-day Saints ought certainly to avoid. We ought to understand that we possess superior means of obtaining justice that those laid out by Gentile litigation." Taylor emphasized that as a bishop, Price should use every available means in his power to "stop litigation on all subjects." Taylor suggested that, as an alternative, both sides could submit the dispute to an arbitration committee, comprised of persons from each county, which could amicably adjust the difficulty.[33]

DAUGHTERS OF UTAH PIONEERS

Bishop William Price.

Price in a return letter thanked Taylor for his letter and advice and then explained Goshen's reason for filing the lawsuit:

> It is evident the case has been misrepresented to you. We have tried many times to have them come to some terms by which an amicable settlement could be effected, but could not succeed. . . .they refused plainly to acknowledge authority to any portion or individual in Utah Co. with regard to their farming or irrigating in any respect and finally said that we had no right to the water. They were finally told that legal proceeding would be commenced to know who had a right to the water. Bro. Corey replied that is just what we want, that is right into our hands. . . Sis. Corey said she had a house and lot in Provo for which she could take $3000 any day and that it was on hand to sustain a suit. The people in this place have been very patient even when in some parts of the settlement there was no water to drink or to use for any purpose and our grain in the fields burning up. . . . Our irrigating committee commenced such [lawsuit] against them about two years ago but acting on the advice of Pres. Smoot

[33] John Taylor to William Price, November 5, 1877, John Taylor Family Papers, Church Business, MS 50, Box 2A, Folder 5, University of Utah Library. According to two personal histories, written by descendants of Goshen residents involved in the Goshen and Mona dispute, Utah Stake President Abraham O. Smoot and his high council held a meeting prior to the filing of the lawsuit on October 20, 1877, in which they decided Mona should be given a large portion of the water from Salt Creek (Currant Creek). In response to this decision, Goshen residents, who were in dire straits from lack of water, applied to the civil courts for help. See C. Clinton Allen and Retta C. Allen, *Life History of C. Clinton & Retta C. Allen & Family* (Salt Lake City: privately published, 1982), 16-17. Another Goshen resident, Henry Roberts in 1979 thought the decision to favor Mona was the result of the close personal ties that some of the people involved in the decision had with Mona residents, Henry and Virginia Roberts, interview by Jessie Embry, November 9, 1979, MAA/OH 286, Brigham Young University Library. See also Parker Thomas and Sterling Miller, *Thomas Family Histories*, (History of Richard Johnson), 1983, MSS A 4171, Utah State Historical Society Library.

withdrew it since and then they have acted worse and placed more dams on the creek and now if they are not restrained the prospect is that this settlement will be broken up.[34]

In addition to the jurisdictional dispute, the Corays also questioned if Goshen residents had met the legal requirement of prior appropriation. Martha recalled in her journal that a man named Hague had told them that in 1858, only two or three families were residing in Goshen and that they were using very little water.[35]

Despite their bluster, there is evidence the Corays were worried about the outcome of the lawsuit because, in the spring of 1878, they began looking for alternate sources of water in "North Canyon" and "Worm Creek."[36]

Martha recorded a flurry of other activities concerning the lawsuit from November 1877 to May 1878 that included correspondence and meetings with attorneys and members of the Mona Canal Company, and others such as Taylor, Price, Sharp, Hunter, Teasdale and L. John Nuttall. To help with legal expenses, Martha noted that shareholders in the Mona Canal Company were assessed five dollars per share for the lawyers. On May 29, 1878, she wrote, "Trial set for 10 o'clock. All sides are ready and anxious. . . laid over indefinitely."[37]

On June 1 and 2, 1878, the LDS church held a quarterly stake conference in Provo, which was attended by William Price, and probably some other church members from Goshen. On the first day of the conference, apostle Daniel H. Wells instructed the saints that God's priesthood was the only government that was capable of successfully directing the energies of man in every department of life. The next day, when John Taylor spoke, he went a step further and rebuked priesthood holders for appealing to the courts to settle their difficulties and exhorted bishops and their counselors to be "careful, just and impartial in their adjudications among the people."[38] A few days later, Price wrote Taylor and described the Goshen ward members' response to Taylor's conference message, "I arrived home from Provo about five on Monday evening and found the Brethren & Sisters feeling very badly as the news of the conference preceded me. I have met with my councilors and the board of directors of the irrigating association, and will have a meeting of all the ward on Friday and lay the matter before them." In another part of the letter, Price denied an allegation by William Finch that he [Price] and his

[34] William Price to John Taylor, November 16, 1877, John Taylor Presidential Papers, 1877-1887, CR 1 180, LDS Church History Library.

[35] Coray Journal, November 8, 1877; Steele, *Goshen Valley History*, 7.

[36] Coray Journal, May 2 to May 13, 1878.

[37] Coray Journal, November 8, 1877 to May 29, 1878. L. John Nuttal served as a private secretary to both church presidents John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff. Although Martha did not specifically name the other members of the Mona Canal Company, she and her husband had regular meetings with persons named John Jones, Lewis, Hooper and Hassett Geoalso [sic].

[38] *Deseret News*, June 12, 1878.

first counselor, Rouse, had forced Finch into the lawsuit.[39] Price in a subsequent letter to Taylor stated, "In answer your letter respecting Bro. John Jenkins, he did not vote to have the Goshen water case continued in the district court." Jenkins appears to have changed his mind about participating in the lawsuit because he was one of the original shareholders in the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company and he apparently was one of the persons who had joined in the complaint when the action against the Mona Canal Company was filed.[40]

Unlike Jenkins, however, a majority of the Goshen ward members voted to continue the lawsuit, despite Taylor's rebuke and the possibility of suffering the consequences. The judge assigned to preside over the case was Phillip Henry Emerson, who had been appointed as associate justice for Utah by President Ulysses S. Grant in 1873. Emerson served as a judge in the First District Court of Utah (Utah County) for twelve years, until his term expired in 1885. Local newspapers of the period described Emerson as a fair-minded, well-respected judge who, during his long judicial career in Utah, made few mistakes in the administration of the law.[41]

Despite Emerson's favorable reputation, LDS church leaders were wary of him as well as other federally appointed governors and judges, who, in their view, were guilty of harassment and spoliation. Beginning in 1862, the United States Congress had passed legislation which prohibited polygamy, divested the church of all assets in excess of fifty thousand dollars, and assigned federal judges the jurisdiction over Utah's criminal and civil cases and allowed them considerable leeway in the selection of jurors.[42]

The federal government's political and judicial crusade against the LDS church seemed to intensify during the mid-1870s, increasing the animosity between church and state. Adverse rulings in two high-profile cases, an 1873 divorce action against Brigham Young by one of his plural wives, Ann Eliza Webb Young, and an 1874 bigamy charge prosecuted by the government against George Reynolds, Brigham Young's private secretary, stunned Mormons and confirmed their fears about the difficulty of obtaining a fair trial in federal courts. Goshen's decision in 1877 to seek justice in one of these despised "Gentile" tribunals was unfortunate timing, to say the least.[43]

When the *Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company* v. *Mona Canal Company* case finally came to trial, on September 16, 1878, plaintiff's counsels, John

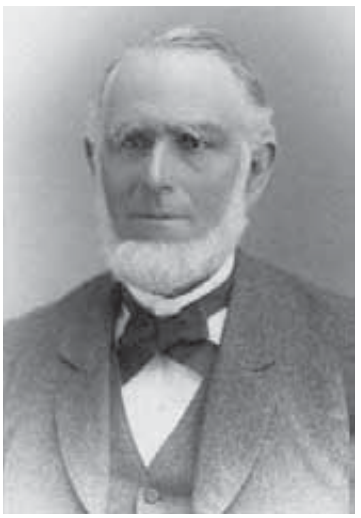
[39] William Price to John Taylor, June 6, 1878, CR 1 180, LDS Church History Library. Finch was not one of the original shareholders of the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company when it was incorporated on April 18, 1877.

[40] William Price to John Taylor, November 26, 1878, Cr 1 180, LDS Church History Library; *The Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company v. Mona Canal Company* (1878), Case 264, First District Court, Southern Division (Utah County) Utah Civil Case Files, Series 25941, Utah State Archives.

[41] *Deseret News*, December 3, 1880.

[42] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 356-58.

[43] For more discussion about these polygamy cases see James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 353-58.



DAUGHTERS OF UTAH PIONEERS

Abraham O. Smoot.

B. Milner and E. D. Hoge, and defendant's counsels, Joseph B. Roseborough and Samuel Merritt, waived the right to a jury trial and requested that the case be heard by Judge Emerson.

During the proceedings, witnesses were examined on behalf of the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company and the Mona Canal Company and, at the conclusion of their testimony, the judge heard arguments from counsel for the respective parties. After consideration, Emerson on January 4, 1879, entered a verdict for the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company prohibiting the Mona Canal Company from "…diverting or taking, or using in any manner interfering with, or preventing the natural flow of, any, or all the water of said Little or Lower Salt Creek…." The Mona Canal Company was also required to pay to the Goshen Company the sum of $359.20 to cover costs of the suit."[44]

Under the court's direction, U. S. Deputy Marshal Benjamin Bachman issued a notice on May 28, 1879, that "all the right title and interest of the Mona Canal Company in and to a certain dam across Salt Creek, near the town of Mona, Juab County, together with the canal. . . .with all the gates, sluices, and other appurtenances belonging to said dam and canal," should be sold at a public sale at the front door of the Nephi Court House on June 21, 1879, at 10 o'clock a.m." On the day of the sale, Bachman auctioned off the assets of the Mona Canal Company for $391.63.[45]

Unhappy with the verdict, Martha wrote Taylor requesting that disciplinary action be taken by the High Council of the Salt Lake Stake of Zion against the Goshen church members who were involved in the lawsuit. In response to Martha's request, the LDS Council of the Twelve Apostles held a special session on March 3, 1880, to consider the Goshen-Mona question. Acting on behalf of John Taylor, L. John Nuttall wrote a letter to Abraham Smoot on March 8, 1880, communicating the results of that meeting, "On motion, it was decided that the President of the Juab Stake of Zion, and the President of the Utah Stake of Zion, be instructed to call before their respective High Councils, those members of the Church, residing in their several Stakes, who are charged or implicated in the 'Mona-Goshen water

[44] *The Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company v. Mona Canal Company* (1878), Case 264, First District Court, South Division, (Utah County) Civil Case Files, Series 25941, Utah State Archives. On the same day the decree was issued, the *Deseret News* reported that "Judge P. H. Emerson has settled the long pending water difficulty between Goshen and Mona by a verdict for the Goshen folks." Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, January 4, 1879. Microfilm, LDS Church History Library.

[45] Ibid.

case,' to answer to the charge of going to the law in that case with their brethren, before the wicked and the ungodly contrary to council [sic]. You will please take this matter in hand at your earliest convenience, pursuant to the above action."[46]

Taylor sent a follow-up letter to Smoot on March 30 with further instructions. He wrote Smoot that he, and other church leaders, considered Goshen's decision to file the lawsuit to be a flagrant rebellion against church authorities. Taylor laid the blame for the mutiny at the feet of Price, whom he felt "evidently had not the firmness of manhood to stand up in defense of right and in magnifying his calling to which he had been ordained and elected." Taylor also advised Smoot that Price's counselors, Rouse and Gourley, who had voted "flatly against obeying Counsel," were "not fit to be Counselors to a Bishop…."[47]

The Mormon prophet emphasized that his displeasure concerning the case was not how it was adjudicated but that it was tried in a secular forum. "I am not now speaking of the merits of the case, for I believe that the High Council of Utah Stake, or Juab Stake, would have given the same decision, or nearly so, as the court did, and we cannot see that being governed by the technicalities of the law that any other decision could have been given than was given by the court, thus showing that these parties gained nothing by this direct act of rebellion." Taylor stressed that although he and other church leaders felt no vindictive spirit towards the people of Goshen, they recommended that Price be temporarily suspended as Goshen's bishop and that his counselors be discontinued. He also advised Smoot to find a high priest in the ward who was not involved in the lawsuit and to appoint him to preside in the ward and to "administer the sacrament to those whom you may consider worthy."[48]

The LDS church's strict stand with Goshen church members was consistent with its policy in similar situations. The 1870s were a transition time in Utah from the cohesive and cooperative communities of the early pioneers, who were willing to submit to ecclesiastical authority, to the more diversified and independent communities of the next generation. According to LDS historians Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, during this period,

[46] John Nuttall to Reed Smoot, March 8, 1880, John Taylor Family Papers, MS 50, Box 2A, Folder 29, University of Utah Library. The Council of the Twelve Apostles evidently decided the High Council of the Salt Lake Stake of Zion did not have jurisdiction over the residents of Goshen and Mona because they lived in Utah and Juab stakes. Instead, they remanded the case to the residents' respective high councils. Prior to 1877, the Salt Lake Stake High Council had ruled on cases throughout Utah, but after Brigham Young reorganized the priesthood and stakes shortly before his death, local high councils were given jurisdiction to rule on cases within their stakes. Appeals from high council decisions were made directly to the First Presidency. See William G. Hartley, "The Priesthood Reorganization of 1877: Brigham Young's Last Achievement, *BYU Studies* 20 (Fall 1979): 3-36.

[47] John Taylor to Reed Smoot, March 30, 1880, MS 50, Box 2A, Folder 5, John Taylor Family Papers, University of Utah. It appears from this letter that Price did not support the continuation of the lawsuit although his counselors Rouse and Gourley did. This is probably the reason Price was eventually reinstated as bishop, but with new counselors.

[48] Ibid.

"activities once supervised by the bishop—schools, taxes, irrigation, business enterprises, judging civil dispute—were taken over by the state and local governments or by private enterprise."[49] Taylor's condemnation of Price for not using his authority as bishop to prevent his ward members from airing their grievances before the ungodly demonstrates how church leaders struggled to keep the government from interfering in what had traditionally been ecclesiastical matters and to maintain the status quo.

One example of this is a letter Nuttall wrote at Taylor's request to Isaac Furniss on November 14, 1879, expressing concern about a problem Furniss was having with his local leaders. "Our impression is that if you do not insist on a public trial, that no one else will, and that all will pass off quietly." Furniss was advised that if he would spend his time talking of the goodness of God and in trying to make peace that "brotherly love would abound instead of strife."[50]

In 1881, the Juab High Council heard a case similar to the dispute between Goshen-Mona regarding old and new settlers' water rights. The early settlers of Levan, who claimed prior appropriation and continued use, were pitted against later settlers, who had labored to improve, maintain, and repair the infrastructure and had paid the water master for their share of the water. When the parties were unable to agree on a compromise, the local high council chastised them and ordered that the old settlers be given seventy-five acres of thin water (divided) water rights, rather than the one hundred and fifty acres they claimed. Although the parties appealed the decision to the First Presidency, Taylor affirmed the ruling.[51]

Wilford Woodruff in 1889 commented on another water problem that concerned him, "There come near being a war among the Latter Day Saints about the water going to Law & going to shooting Each other. I Councilled [sic] a Meeting among them and they met yesterday and today which has Calmed the Elements Considerable."[52]

Smoot and the Utah Stake High Council, acting on their own volition before receiving Taylor's March 30 letter, removed Price, Rouse and Gourley from their leadership positions on March 24, 1880. They also suspended from church membership all of the ward members who had supported the lawsuit. George Gourley (not to be confused with Paul Gourley who had been Price's counselor), was temporarily appointed to act as presiding high priest in the ward.[53]

[49] Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 213-14.

[50] John Nuttall to Isaac Furniss, November 14, 1879, MS 50, Box 2A, Folder 32, University of Utah Library.

[51] Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts,* 320.

[52] Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, 9 vols. (Midvale: Signature Books, 1984), 8:49.

[53] Goshen Ward History and Manuscript Reports, 1857-1984, LR 3259-2; Goshen Ward Record of Members, LR 3259 7 LDS Church History Library; Steele, *Goshen Valley History*, 40. George Gourley and Paul Gourley were two different men. Paul Gourley, who was a shareholder in the Goshen Irrigation and

One of the members suspended from church membership was Richard Johnson, an English convert who had been one of the directors of the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company when it was incorporated on April 18, 1877. According to his descendants, "It was a sad day in the Johnson family when Richard Johnson came home and told them he was no longer a member of the church." Johnson reacted to his suspension by temporarily returning to some of the bad habits, such as drinking and smoking, he had indulged in as a young man. After a few months, Johnson decided to return to church and to comply with church leaders' requirements, "he got up in church and confessed his folly of going to court over the water." As a result, Johnson was one of the first to be re-baptized and accepted back into full fellowship. He later served a two-year mission to England.[54]

SANDRA BRIMHALL

Yern Jasperson, Julia Johnson Jasperson, and their son John. Yern was one of the original directors of the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company when it was incorporated on April 18, 1877. He and his wife left the LDS church and never returned because of the water dispute.

From April through September 1880, sixty-two Goshen ward members, including Price and George Gourley were re-baptized.[55] A significant number of other Goshen ward members refused to comply with the

Canal Company, was serving as second counselor to Price when he was removed from office and suspended from the church. George Gourley was not a shareholder in the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company, probably one of the reasons why he was appointed to temporarily act as presiding high priest in the Goshen ward.

[54] Parker Thomas and Sterling Miller, comp. Thomas Family Histories, "History of Richard Johnson" typescript photocopy, MSS A 4171, Utah State Historical Society Library. According to Thomas and Miller, "In those days, people stood up in sacrament meeting and confessed their follies. . . . Quite a few of them involved in the water dispute never did that and for three generations their families were still out of the church." Thomas added, "I have always been proud of my grandfather Johnson for lining up so quickly again with the church after having been excommunicated over what I would judge a minor or most improper evidence." Although Johnson and some other Goshen residents expressed remorse for filing the lawsuit, the court's judgment remained in place and Goshen retained its priority claim on Currant Creek.

[55] Goshen Ward Record of Members, LR 3259 7, LDS Church History Library.

church's requirements for re-baptism and many left the community, never to return. Yern Jasperson, his wife Julia, and seven of their nine children left the church and in another family, five of ten children also became inactive. The fallout from the dispute also created divisions in families.[56]

A year later, at a special meeting held in Goshen on September 1, 1881, Price was re-installed as Goshen's bishop with George Gourley as his first counselor and Peter Okelberry as his second counselor. Church leaders who attended the special meeting included LDS church president John Taylor and apostles Wilford Woodruff, Joseph F. Smith, George Q. Cannon, Francis M. Lyman, Abraham O. Smoot, and John Henry Smith.[57]

Prior to traveling to Goshen, church leaders held quarterly conference meetings at Provo, Springville, Spanish Fork, Salem, Spring Lake Villa, Payson, and Santaquin. Isaiah Moses Coombs, who attended most of the meetings in the different towns, made no mention of what transpired in Goshen in his journal, although he noted that all of the church leaders' preaching was "of a very practical nature and has a tendency to do a great amount of good. . . ."[58]

It is difficult to determine what, if any, action was taken against Mona ward members as a result of the lawsuit. In 1883, the Mona LDS church records were destroyed when the meeting house burned to the ground. Surviving records reveal there was not a significant number of re-baptisms during 1880-1881 and that the few persons who were re-baptized were not involved in the dispute. Mona residents are aware that a "scuffle" occurred between their town and Goshen in the 1880s, but there is no collective memory, as there is in Goshen, of anyone being suspended or excommunicated from the church over the dispute.[59]

Price continued as Goshen's bishop until 1896, when he was ordained a patriarch by Francis M. Lyman. He passed away on September 18, 1906, in Goshen. The Corays remained in Mona until the fall of 1881, when they returned to Provo because of Martha's poor health. Some of their children, however, found new sources for water, probably from wells, and they remained on the Mona ranch for approximately another twenty years.[60] Martha passed away in Provo on December 14, 1881. After her death,

[56] Allen, *Life History of C. Clinton & Retta C. Allen,* 17; telephone interview by Sandra Dawn Brimhall with Bill White, March 4, 2009; notes in author's possession.

[57] Ibid., Goshen Ward, Nebo Stake Record of Members, 1874-1892, LR 3259 7, LDS Church History Library.

[58] Isaiah Moses Coombs Journal, September 1, 1881, LDS Church History Library, MS 1198.

[59] McCune, *History of Juab County*, 140; Record of members collection [Mona] 1836-1970, CR 375 8 LDS Church History Library; interview by Sandra Dawn Brimhall with Calvin Neilson, March 4, 2009; notes in author's possession; Allen, *Life History of C. Clinton & Retta C. Allen & Family,*17. See also Jessie Embry interview with Henry and Virginia Roberts, November 8, 1979, MSS/OH 286, Brigham Young University Library; interview by Sandra Dawn Brimhall with Charles D. and Dianne C. Tate, October 20, 2009; notes in Ms. Brimhall's possession.

[60] According to Kevin Creer with the Utah Division of Water Rights, the Coray's former ranch in Mona has been registered as being watered by wells, or underground water, since 1900. At that time, the property was owned by J. W. Roundy.

DAVID PETTY

Today the Young Living Lavender Farm occupies land irrigated by the Coray's during the 1870s.

Howard was called to serve a mission in Colorado. He died in Salt Lake City on January 16, 1908.

In conclusion, the Goshen and Mona water dispute demonstrates the struggle between secular and ecclesiastical authority in Utah during the 1870s and early 1880s in such matters involving water rights. For most of the latter half of the nineteenth century, church members were discouraged from going to court against other church members. The Goshen-Mona water dispute demonstrated the contempt LDS church leaders had for the "Gentile" courts and their belief that church members should submit to a higher law. It also shows the struggle bishops faced as they tried to be the spiritual leaders as well as direct the temporal affairs in their wards and communities. Finally, it suggests that, although Mormons regarded water as a public resource, they were sometimes willing to acknowledge that water disputes between communities and individuals had to be settled according to secular law on the basis of prior appropriation.

Virginia Sorensen's assertion that, in the West, people remember when important things were settled has proved true. In a desert state, like Utah, nothing concerning water is long ago.

"In defence of God's people if Need bee": Brigham Young Hampton[1]

By JEFF NICHOLS

DAUGHTERS OF UTAH PIONEERS

Brigham Young Hampton.

The struggle for power in territorial Utah produced many dramatic stories. In Mormon eyes, federal prosecution in the 1870s and 1880s of alleged Mormon crimes ranging from polygamy to murder created heroes and martyrs, metaphorically and actually. Federal legal authorities on separate occasions arrested the elderly Brigham Young for unlawful cohabitation and murder and jailed Young overnight on a contempt charge. The court also jailed Daniel H. Wells for contempt for refusing to answer prosecutors' questions about Mormon marriage ceremonies. Rudger Clawson earned respect for his brave adherence to his religious principles during his trial and prison term for unlawful cohabitation. Many

Jeff Nichols is an associate professor of history at Westminster College and the editor of a forthcoming version of Hampton's diary/autobiography in a volume as part of the "Kingdom in the West" series, published by Arthur H. Clark. A version of this paper was delivered at the 2007 Western History Association annual conference. He wishes to thank research assistant Sherrie Bakelar for her contributions.

[1] Brigham Young Hampton, Autobiography and Diary, 78 (henceforth "B. Y. Hampton Diary"), MS 2080, Church History Library, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. Hampton's diary/autobiography combines retrospective accounts, such as his version of Joseph Smith's murder, with periodic, often daily entries. When he had time, especially during his jail terms, the entries were more frequent and of greater length. He occasionally refers to scrapbooks that evidently do not survive. All spelling, grammar, and punctuation in quotations from Hampton's writing are in the original.

Mormons believed that President John Taylor's health suffered from his years "on the underground" evading federal marshals. A federal marshal killed the unarmed Edward Dalton in the course of an attempted arrest for polygamy. Mormons have celebrated these and other defiant Saints ever since for their resistance to tyranny and their sacrifices for their faith.[2]

Brigham Young Hampton played a front-line role in many of the public dramas of the period, and was jailed twice, once for a full year. His life story exemplifies the creation of a distinct Mormon identity, self-consciously at odds with others. Hampton's unpublished diary/autobiography is full of aspersions on sinister "gentiles" and "apostates," contrasted with defenses of the character, spirituality, and actions of Latter-day Saints. Hampton engaged fully in LDS life: he underwent multiple baptisms, tithed regularly, performed temple work, participated in church meetings and prayer circles, practiced plural marriage, joined the United Order of Enoch, stood watch at Brigham Young's deathbed, and defended his church against its supposed enemies. His reputation among Mormons was that of a pious saint devoted to his church and its cause, while among some non-Mormons, his image was of a Latter-day thug.[3] Hampton's experience was not that black and white, however. He also quarreled with his plural wives and vented his anger at LDS authorities and fellow Saints who he believed had cheated him financially and left him to face legal prosecution for the actions he took in defense of his church. Despite Hampton's sacrifices, the morally questionable nature of those actions makes him, at best, a problematic hero. Hampton's experiences with the law—as enforcer, suspect, and convict—give us a look inside the public struggle for power in Utah as well as glimpses of the domestic realities of living in plural marriage and the hardships that both could entail.

Hampton's family before his birth was linked closely to Brigham Young. Young converted to the LDS church in 1832; less than a year later, he

[2] For Young's arrests, see the account of Judge McKean's 1871 campaign below. On Wells, see B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century I*, 6 Vols., (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 5: 544-50; B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 1992), 45-46. On Clawson, see Stan Larson, ed., *Prisoner for Polygamy: The Memoirs and Letters of Rudger Clawson at the Utah Territorial Penitentiary, 1884-87* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 1993); Hardy, *Solemn Covenant* 48. On Taylor, see Roberts, 6: 187-90; and the description of his funeral in the Salt Lake City *Deseret News,* August 3, 1887. On Dalton, see Roberts, *Comprehensive History* 6:116-21; David L. Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847-1896* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1998), 333-34; and Fae Decker Dix, "Unwilling Martyr: The Death of Young Ed Dalton," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Spring 1973): 162-77. For descriptions of the honors and respect afforded prosecuted polygamists, see, for example, Richard S. Van Wagoner, "Prisoners for Conscience's Sake," in *Mormon Polygamy: A History*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 115-24; Melvin L. Bashore, "Life Behind Bars: Mormon Cohabs of the 1880s," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Winter 1979): 22-41; James B. Allen, "'Good Guys' vs. 'Good Guys': Rudger Clawson, John Sharp, and Civil Disobedience in Nineteenth-Century Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Spring 1980): 148-74; and Kimberly Jensen James, "'Between Two Fires': Women on the Underground," *Journal of Mormon History* 8 (1981): 49-61.

[3] Among other accusations, the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, the voice of activist gentiles, accused Hampton and another policeman of brutally beating a drunk, see *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 8, 9, 1875.

performed the marriage, or "sealing ceremony," between Jonathan Hampton and Julia Foster.[4] Jonathan was Young's partner in the carpentry business, and they had been friendly rivals for Julia Foster's affections. When Julia bore her second son in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1836, the Hamptons granted Brigham Young's request for the honor of naming the infant. Perhaps gaining a small victory, he gave him his own name.[5]

The Hampton family weathered the persecutions that have become legendary in the Mormons' story of their fitful trek west, including the expulsion from Kirtland and the later flight from Far West, Missouri.[6] B.Y. Hampton claims a family share in Joseph Smith's martyrdom in July 1844 as he describes his own father's death five months later at age thirty-three, exhausted and ill from the strain of protecting the Prophet.[7] The widowed Julia Foster Hampton moved her young family to Nauvoo, where she was sealed to Brigham Young for "time" (that is, the lives of the spouses) and to the late Jonathan Hampton for "eternity." Brigham Young stood as proxy for Jonathan Hampton in this arrangement, sometimes called a "proxy marriage."[8]

The family, however, did not join the exodus of Latter-day Saints to the Salt Lake Valley that began in 1846. Julia's father James Foster had been an LDS general authority, but the church excommunicated him in 1844.[9] As

[4] Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 35-36. Arrington writes that Young performed his first "sealing" on September 4, 1833, the same date that B.Y. Hampton gives for his parents' sealing at the hands of Young; see B.Y. Hampton Diary, 26-27, 61.

[5] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 67-68.

[6] Ibid., 68. For accounts of these moves, see "Early Persecutions," in Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 44-64.

[7] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 69. Jonathan Hampton appears in Mary Siegfried, comp., "List of Known Dead Buried in Old Mormon Cemetery Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois" (1941), 3, with a death date of December 30, 1844. Jonathan was a member of the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company, an undercapitalized and unchartered bank (or "anti-bank") that collapsed in the panic of 1837 and contributed to anti-Mormon sentiment. See Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, January 2, 1837, 3; Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900*, new edition (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 2005), 13-15. James Foster was one of the counselors who led the move from Kirtland on July 6, 1838; Journal History, March 13, 1838; History of the Church, 423.

[8] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 69-70; Lyndon W. Cook, ed. *Nauvoo Marriages Proxy Sealings, 1843-1846* (Provo: Grandin Book Co., 2004), 188. The most careful student of Young's wives, Jeffery Johnson, confirms that Young married Julia Foster on February 3, 1846, part of a flurry of nineteen marriages to Young in five weeks as the saints hurried to perform their ceremonies in the newly completed Nauvoo Temple before they emigrated West. See Jeffery Ogden Johnson, "Determining and Defining 'Wife': The Brigham Young Households," *Dialogue* 20 (Fall 1987): 61, 68, note 36; on proxy marriages, 58.

[9] Evidently, little is known of the reasons for his excommunication, but it may have involved the controversial succession after Joseph Smith Jr.'s murder and Brigham Young's reorganization of LDS leadership. Jonathan Hampton and his father-in-law, James Foster, both belonged to the Second Quorum of Seventy at the beginning of 1837; Journal History, December 31, 1836, 4. For Foster's appointment as a President of Seventies in September 1837, see Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 165. See also D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 466, 545-46; Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 141-42. Hampton writes that the family waited for wagons that Brigham Young promised, but they did not arrive in time; B.Y. Hampton Diary, 70.

the saints prepared to move west, Foster collected his daughter and her children and brought them to his nearby home. After he died, Julia married a non-Mormon, but he left her to prospect in California. In 1855, two LDS missionaries arrived at her home and asked Julia if she was still a faithful Mormon and if she wanted to "gather to Zion."[10] Julia and her children, including nineteen-year-old B. Y., immediately joined a church-owned wagon train for the arduous trek to Salt Lake City. There President Brigham Young folded Julia into his large household, and, according to Hampton, ensconced her as "general manager" in the Lion House, the residence where most of Young's wives lived, although she did not stay long.[11]

Julia Foster Hampton Cole Young, mother of Brigham Young Hampton. DAUGHTERS OF UTAH PIONEERS.

B. Y. Hampton found a place within the Latter-day Saint community and prospered modestly. He worked at a number of trades, including surveying and harness making, and married for the first time in 1856. A few months later, he was ordained a Seventy within the LDS church.[12] He also began his long career as a kind of utility bodyguard, detective, and foot soldier. Church authorities would call on Hampton repeatedly in the coming years to defend LDS interests, often with weapons. Hampton rarely admits to

[10] Julia Hampton wrote Brigham Young on March 1, 1853, and he replied (only Young's letter survives) offering assistance in migrating to Utah. See Brigham Young to Julia Hampton, July 25, 1853, Great Salt Lake City, in Brigham Young Office Files, letterpress copy book, letterpress copybook transcriptions, 126-27, in Richard E. Turley, ed., *Selected Collections from the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* CD-ROM (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2002). Thomas Colburn wrote that he and James Case re-baptized eight people at Julia Hampton's home, including her sons B.Y. and Eaderly; Journal History, May 31,1855.

[11] B. Y. Hampton Diary, 70-73. See W. Randall Dixon, "The Beehive and Lion Houses," in Colleen Whitley, ed., *Brigham Young's Homes* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002), 124-31. B.Y. reports that Julia "moved South" with Young in 1858 but left shortly after (for no stated reason) to live in Ogden with two of her children. See B.Y. Hampton Diary, 65. In the several biographies of Brigham Young, Julia Foster is mentioned in passing, if at all. One Young biographer lists two wives, no. 32, "Julia Foster," and no. 66, "Mrs. Hampton"; from the names of children and other marriages, it is clear they are the same woman, B. Y. Hampton's mother Julia. The biographer claims that "several visitors to Utah repeated the complicated story of Mrs. Hampton . . . [who] refused to be sealed to Young for eternity, left him in a huff, . . ." Stanley P. Hirshon, *The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 204, 219-20. A contemporary writer claims that "some misunderstanding" caused Brigham to "cast off . . . Mrs. Hampton"; Mrs. C. V. Waite, *The Mormon Prophet and his Harem* (Chicago: J. S. Goodman and Company, 1867), 220. Leonard Arrington's more scholarly study mention neither Julia nor her son B.Y. Hampton. For Arrington's list of wives, see Arrington, *Brigham Young,* Appendix C, 420-21.

[12] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 74-75.

engaging in violence, but he seldom denies it either, and he repeatedly states his willingness to do so. Hosea Stout, a friend of Hampton, called the loose group of Mormon men who engaged in physical defense or violence "Be'hoys" or "Brigham's Boys." They probably believed that they were following Brigham Young's wonderfully ambiguous counsel of 1874: "Treat our enimies as the enimies of the Kingdom of God and treat them kindly and let them see we did not stoop to as low and mean things as they and to take care of our selves and not get hurt or killed. But always have the drop on our enimies and strike the first blow[.]"[13]

In summer 1857, news reached Utah territory of the approach of U.S. Army troops, dispatched by President Buchanan to depose Governor Brigham Young and to put down an alleged Mormon rebellion. Hampton volunteered to join an armed group heading to Fort Hall, Idaho, where Brigham Young expected the army to winter; meanwhile, Young ordered the saints to abandon their capital and move south.[14] The army instead wintered near Fort Bridger. The following spring, Thomas Kane, acting as an intermediary, struck a deal between Young and the new territorial governor, Alfred Cumming, and Col. Albert Sidney Johnston for the troops to march through the city and to keep moving to the south before establishing a base. Hampton was one of the contingent left behind in the otherwise empty city, watching the soldiers through windows, ready on short notice to torch every building "and to fight the Armey to the death in defence of God's people if Need bee" should the troopers break the deal. In the event, the march passed off without incident, and Hampton and other Saints returned to their daily lives.[15]

[13] Hampton claims this was part of a blessing that Young passed along to Salt Lake City policemen via Chief Alexander Burt on October 30, 1874, see B.Y. Hampton Diary, 144-45. D. Michael Quinn describes "a culture of violence" that obtained in Utah in the 1850s and 1860s, when LDS authorities authorized or excused violence against errant Mormons, apostates, and others; Quinn provides evidence that similar violence continued to be sanctioned against anti-Mormons until 1890. See Quinn, *Extensions of Power*, 241-61. For Stout and the "Be'hoys," see Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861,* 2 vols., (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press and Utah State Historical Society, 1964; reprint, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press and Utah State Historical Society, 1982), II: 653, March 8, 1858; Quinn, *Extensions*, 242-44. Hampton was also friendly with the "Be'hoy" William H. Kimball and shared a jail cell with Stout and Kimball in 1871; see B.Y. Hampton Diary, 110, 111, 116, 119, 127, 199, 215. For the most notorious incidence of violence, the Mountain Meadows Massacre, see Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1950; rept. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962; third revision,1970, paperback ed. a foreword by Jan Shipps, 1991); Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002); and Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr. and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). For a discussion of violence against apostates, see Polly Aird, "`You Nasty Apostates, Clear Out': Reasons for Disaffection in the Late 1850s," *Journal of Mormon History* 30 (Fall 2004): 129-207.

[14] The list of names, including Hamptons, appears in the Journal History, September 13, 1857; also in History of the Church, September 13, 1857, 513-14. William Knox says that all the others besides him volunteered very reluctantly, and he also thought they were going to fight the army directly; Knox, Diary, September 13—November 12, 1857, LDS Church History Library.

[15] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 75-78. On the abortive "Utah War," see Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom,* 141-58, 181-89; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 170-94. An officer described marching through the city, deserted except for "a picked few of [Brigham Young's] 'destroyers' of decidedly rough and sinister aspect, left as a

In 1867, Mormon city officials "elected" Hampton a city constable, a job with its risks. He reportedly exchanged shots with some U.S. soldiers and wound up unscathed but with bullet holes in his clothes.[16] He served as a kind of spy on the doings of the so-called New or Godbeite Movement, a group of prominent LDS businessmen who challenged official church economic policy and who authorities cut off from the church. By 1871, Hampton was also serving regularly as one of Brigham Young's bodyguards.[17]

DAUGHTERS OF UTAH PIONEERS

Mary Jane Randolph Robinson Hampton.

Hampton joined most of the Salt Lake City police force in a small enforcement action that had important consequences. A gentile saloonkeeper named Englebrecht got into a licensing dispute with the city and continued to operate without a proper liquor license. Justice of the peace (and official in the LDS church) Jeter Clinton dispatched police to abate Englebrecht's saloon as a nuisance; that is, break open his barrels and smash his bottles.[18] This seemingly minor incident was among many that roiled Utah territory for the next two decades and divided its population along religious lines. Occupying the federal bench for Salt Lake City in 1871 was James B. McKean, who had determined to break the Latter-day Saints of some of their practices, especially the notorious custom of plural marriage, outlawed by the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act of 1862. The saloonkeeper Englebrecht turned to McKean's federal court for relief, and the court found B.Y. Hampton and the other policemen guilty of maliciously destroying saloon property. Englebrecht also filed a civil suit. The Mormons' lawyers countersued

police, and with orders to fire the city in case we offered to occupy it,…" "Journal of Capt. Albert Tracy," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 13 (1945): 27.

[16] B. Y. Hampton Diary, 86, 93-94; for the shooting, see *Deseret News*, February 23, 1870. The police were reportedly trying to arrest the soldiers for beating an Indian boy.

[17] B. Y. Hampton Diary, 92-93; as bodyguard, 102. On the Godbeites, see Ronald W. Walker, "The Commencement of the Godbeite Protest: Another View," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Summer 1974): 216-44; Walker, "When the Spirits Did Abound: Nineteenth-century Utah's Encounter with Free-thought Radicalism," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Fall 1982): 304-24; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 243; Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom,* 266-68, 276-79; and Roberts, *Comprehensive History* 5: 258-71. For contemporary coverage, see *Deseret News*, February 16, 1870.

[18] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 96-98; *Deseret News*, August 31, 1870.

and the case eventually reached the U.S. Supreme Court.[19]

Meanwhile Judge McKean moved decisively against the LDS leadership. McKean convened a grand jury through the U.S. Marshal rather than the territorial marshal as stipulated in territorial legislation until he had seated jurors that would return indictments of Mormons. Federal marshals arrested Brigham Young and others in the high leadership for lewd and lascivious conduct with their plural wives.[20] McKean made no secret of his real goal, stating that "It is therefore proper to Say that while the case at bar is called The People vs Brigham Young its other and real title is Federal Authority versus Polygamic Theocracy. . . . A System is on trial in the person of Brigham Young."[21] The grand jury later indicted many of the same church leaders for ordering murders during the "Utah War." Federal officials also attempted to prosecute rank-and-file Mormons for crimes, including the murder of Dr. J. King Robinson, a non-Mormon lured from his home and killed while in the midst of a property dispute with the city in 1866.[22] B.Y. Hampton was one of several men arrested for this murder in 1871. Hampton neither confirms nor denies that he had anything to do with Robinson's death. He notes that his wife Helen visited him in jail "and said that I was at home sick on the night that Robinson was Kiled," although his attorney later claimed that Hampton and other policemen were at the circus. Hampton writes that the two chief witnesses—one a gentile, the other a "dirty apostate Mormon . . . both Swore to most damnable lies."[23]

The federal authorities never formally charged Hampton, but he spent over four months in jail awaiting the action of the grand jury. The LDS community provided Hampton and his fellow prisoners with a good deal of support, and their conditions were hardly onerous. They were allowed to visit their families and attend the theatre (in a proscenium box offered by Brigham Young) until a rowdy surprise party thrown by "our most respected Citizens . . . Mormons and jentiles" embarrassed the federal marshals enough to move the prisoners from a city facility to the jail at Fort Douglas, considered a sort of non-Mormon stronghold.[24] The U. S. Supreme Court upset all of McKean's cases by ruling in *Clinton* v.

[19] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 96-98. For the civil suit, see *Deseret News*, September 7, 1870; for its result, see *Deseret News*, November 9, 1870. The rival legal systems are discussed throughout 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 and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), esp. chap. 9, "Mormon Law, Gentile Law." On McKean, see Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom*, 286-95, and Thomas G. Alexander, "'Federal Authority versus Polygamic Theocracy'": James B. McKean and the Mormons," *Dialogue* 1 (Autumn 1966): 85-100.

[20] Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts,* 137-38, 144-48.

[21] B.Y. Hampton carefully copied those lines into his diary, probably from the *Deseret News*, October 18, 1871, B.Y. Hampton Diary, 105. See also *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 3, 1872.

[22] For the dispute, see *Deseret News*, October 24, 1866; for the murder and investigation immediately following, see *Deseret News*, November 14, 1866; for Hampton's arrest, see *Deseret News*, December 27, 1871. See also Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom,* 248-58; Roberts, *Comprehensive History,* 5: 194-206.

[23] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 108. For the testimony, see *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 14, 16, 20, 22, and 23, 1871.

[24] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 118.

Englebrecht (1872) that the judge had violated Utah law for selecting grand jurors. The court voided all of the federal cases from the previous eighteen months, and released about 120 persons, including the two Brighams. The freed prisoners traveled to Brigham City for a celebration featuring several bands and a "sumptuis repast."[25] Hampton later enjoyed arresting the gentile witness against him for robbery and seeing him sentenced to two years in the penitentiary; and reported with satisfaction that a mine explosion killed the "dirty apostate."[26]

Rival authorities continued to clash throughout the 1870s, and B. Y. Hampton was often on the scene. He was among the police who abated two houses of prostitution in an attempt by Mormon officials to drive brothels (supposedly run exclusively by and for gentiles) out of the city. As in the Englebrecht case, the police became defendants in a civil lawsuit. The injured madams won in federal court (claiming the city authorities had targeted them as enemies of Mormons) and eventually collected about six thousand dollars in damages from the city.[27] In another incident, Hampton was minding City Hall when a contingent of U.S. soldiers with loaded carbines broke another soldier out of the city jail.[28] When the 1874 Salt Lake City municipal elections disintegrated into a squabble over voter qualifications, city police and U.S. marshals took turns threatening, shoving, and arresting one another. The marshals tried to arrest Mayor Daniel H. Wells, but Hampton and three other policemen "commenced the work of cleaning the sidewalk . . . . Several of the Marshals and their crowd beat a hasty retreat with soar and bleading heads and not one of the police were hurt . . . . " After the polls closed, the city policemen submitted to arrest by the marshals, but when a crowd threatened them, the Mormons "made them stand back at the musels of our revolvers . . . The mob would have reinacted the seans of Missouris and Illinoys if they dared they would have murdered us while we were prisoners[.]"[29] The atmosphere was so tense that Hampton believed that members of the "Gentile League" had sworn

[25] Ibid., 128. See *Clinton v Englebrecht,* 80 U. S. 434 (1871). For Englebrecht's lawyer's version, see R. N. Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah* (Salt Lake City: Tribune-Reporter Printing Company, 1914), 32-35; Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom,* 286-95; Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts,* 137-38, 141-48, 246-47; and Alexander, "'Federal Authority versus Polygamic Theocracy.'" For a contemporary Mormon view of McKean, see a reprinted *Omaha Herald* editorial of October 4, 1871, in *Deseret News*, October 11, 1871. For President John Taylor's summary view of McKean's campaign, see *Deseret News*, April 1, 1874. For surprise party, see B.Y. Hampton Diary, 118; and *Deseret News*, March 27, 1872; Hampton was finally released on April 30, 1872; see Diary, 127-28.

[26] For the arrest of C. W. Baker, see B.Y. Hampton Diary, 131; for the death of Thomas Butterworth, see 188.

[27] *Flint v. Clinton* et al., case no. 554 (3d dist. Civil case files, 1877); *Conway* v. *Clinton* et al., case no. 586 (3d dist. Civil case files, 1877); Jeffrey D. Nichols, *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power: Salt Lake City, 1847-1918* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 2002), 28-30; Nichols, "Polygamy and Prostitution: Comparative Morality in Salt Lake City, 1847-1911," *Journal of Mormon History* 27 (Fall 2001): 12-15; and B.Y. Hampton Diary, 130-31.

[28] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 137-38. See *Deseret News*, June 17, 24, 1874.

[29] B. Y. Hampton Diary, 139-41; *Deseret News*, August 12, 19, 1874, agrees with Hampton's version in most details; *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 12, 1874. See also Roberts, *Comprehensive History* 5: 378-79; Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom,* 300-301.

an oath to kill him.[30] He may have resorted to a juvenile tactic against his enemies. His estranged wife Helen told the apostate Fanny Stenhouse that Hampton had been one of the masked men who flung jars of human excrement at Stenhouse and her husband.[31]

The event that cost Hampton the most was an entrapment scheme that might have come from a bad sitcom. By 1885, federal authorities had the legal tools that Judge McKean had lacked to attack plural marriage. The Edmunds Act of 1882 made "unlawful cohabitation" illegal and did not require the prosecution to prove a plural marriage performed earlier. A determined new federal judge, Charles Zane, now presided over the same court McKean had headed. Beginning with Rudger Clawson, Zane's court eventually convicted more than a thousand Mormons and the prosecutions sent thousands more into hiding.[32] In mid-1885, a "citizens' committee" that included the prominent LDS businessman Francis Armstrong decided to counter the "judicial crusade." The committee authorized Hampton to hire two prostitutes. The women sent out invitations to the federal officials prosecuting the "crusade," and the Mormon citizens' committee watched through peepholes at the ersatz brothels. After some five or six months of this "detecting," Hampton claimed to have caught about one hundred men, "including several government officials and men in high standing in the comunty . . . All bitter enimies of the Saints and oposed to plural marrige as practized by the servants of God . . ," although the women failed to entice the federal judges or the governor.[33]

Hampton's trap first clanged shut on a deputy U.S. Marshal, who city police arrested as he stepped off the train from Ogden, where he had helped capture an LDS apostle wanted for unlawful cohabitation. A justice of the peace (a Mormon) found the marshal and several others who followed guilty of lewd and lascivious conduct, a violation of a city ordinance. However, the "L and L's," as Hampton called them, were well

[30] B. Y. Hampton Diary, 132-33. Hampton wrote that league members followed him home several nights but were "such cowards that a half dozen dou not attac" him and another Mormon. On the Gentile League Union, see Roberts, *Comprehensive History,* 5: 372-78; Edward W. Tullidge, *The History of Salt Lake City and its Founders* (Salt Lake City: Edward W. Tullidge, 1886), 590-92. The chairman of the Liberal ratification meeting reminded the crowd that they had a G.L.U. for protection; *Tribune*, August 5, 1872.

[31] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 120. Hampton does not comment on this accusation. For the incident, see Mrs. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *Tell It All: The Tyranny of Mormonism; or, An Englishwoman in Utah* (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 357-60. Stenhouse called the incident "a brutal outrage," 357. Unknown persons made similar attacks on the homes of federal officials in September 1885; *Deseret News*, September 16, 1885; *Deseret News,* September 23, 1885. Roberts immediately follows his account of those "regrettable incidents" with a brief version of Hampton's "brothel scheme," *Comprehensive History* 6: 157-59.

[32] Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts,* 148-97; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant* 39-83. On federal Judge Charles S. Zane, see Thomas G. Alexander, "Charles S. Zane, Apostle of the New Era," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34 (Fall 1966): 290-314. The Edmunds Act also contained measures to limit Mormon political power, especially the "Utah Commission" that monitored future elections. The Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 would further strengthen the federal authorities' power; Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts,* 197-209.

[33] Hampton writes that the witnesses were home missionaries and city policemen; B.Y. Hampton Diary, 168. For a fuller discussion of this incident, see also Nichols, *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power,* 32-36.

versed in the use of the competing legal institutions. Their lawyers quickly obtained writs of habeas corpus from the federal Third District Court. The U.S. Attorney declined to prosecute the cases, declaring that the eyewitness police testimony could not be trusted. Instead, a jury convicted the hapless B.Y. Hampton and his "female detectives" for keeping a house of prostitution. Hampton called the jurors "the most rabid jentiles enimies of the Laterday Saints. And friends of and associates of hoars and hoar masters and eavel doers in jeneral."[34]

So in December 1885, Hampton became perhaps the oddest of what Mormons called "prisoners for conscience sake," saints who proudly served time for upholding the tenets of their religion. The Mormon press expressed outrage that Hampton was suffering for exposing the immorality of their enemies and drew explicit parallels with the legal fate of "cohabs." Hampton reportedly received support from a surprising source. In highly improbable language, given that which appears in his journal entries, the *Salt Lake Herald* quoted the prisoner.

> "You see this pile of correspondence," said Brig Hampton, pointing to a heap of scented bijouterie on his desk. "Those are sweet epistles from a dozen or two high society ladies in this town, expressing their thankfulness to me for the change which has come over their husbands of late. They are at home promptly every night now, are kind and assiduous in their attentions, and altogether, they say, it's quite like a return of the old days of the honeymoon."[35]

The *Deseret News* published a poem ("translated from the original Paiute") condemning the case against Hampton.

> In his charge to the jury, Judge Zane,
> Said the city is full of ill fame,
> For which somebody sure was to blame.
> He would not mention anyone's name.
> But Brig. Hampton got cinched just the same.
> And that's what they call the conspiracy game.
> Chorus: There is sweet rest in heaven.[36]

Unlike those who served their terms at the grim territorial prison in Sugarhouse, however, Hampton occupied a room in the Salt Lake County Courthouse, where his jailer was a close friend and fellow policeman who allowed Hampton to hold his own door key and who took him riding and to visit his family.[37] Hampton even went prospecting for gold and silver, and

[34] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 171. Hampton writes that "our committies with others held a Meating all feard inditement and as none seamed anxious for the honors I volinteerd to take the whole responsibility on my self,'" B. Y. Hampton Diary, marginal note, 170. U.S. Attorney Charles S. Varian recounts the case, along with earlier prosecutions of polygamists, in a statement of April 1914 published in Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah,* 209-29.

[35] *Salt Lake Herald,* December 20, 1885.

[36] *Deseret News,* January 6, 1886.

[37] For descriptions of the often-grim conditions at the territorial prison, see Bashore, "Life Behind Bars," 28-33. The apostle George Q. Cannon experienced somewhat better conditions and received many visitors and gifts, see M. Hamlin Cannon, "The Prison Diary of a Mormon Apostle," *The Pacific Historical Review* 16 (November 1947): 393-409.

in a rare display of humor, named his mining claim the "Cheaf Conspirator."[38] The county court frequently took dinner in the celebrity prisoner's room. Hampton carefully listed the hundreds of visitors he received and the gifts they brought him, including, in those days before strict enforcement of the Word of Wisdom, bottles of brandy and cases of beer and porter. Several saints hiding from federal marshals on unlawful cohabitation charges spent nights in Hampton's room.[39] One marshal demonstrated his negotiable loyalties when Hampton hired him to investigate his estranged wife Helen.[40]

Hampton emerged from his year in prison still determined to fight anti-Mormons, but this time there was no party or "sumptuis repast" waiting for him. When no other committee members proved willing to continue the cases against the "L and L's," Hampton wrote that they were "to say the least weak in the knees."[41] The personal financial loss that Hampton had suffered, however, was much worse. Not only had he lost a year of income, but he also claimed to be out of pocket nearly $2,000, including his jailer's expenses of $900. Among other arrangements, Hampton had to take out a mortgage to pay one of the prostitutes $1,000 for her "detective work."[42] He wrote LDS church president John Taylor and his counselor George Q. Cannon seeking some financial relief, but received little but sympathy. For the rest of his life, Hampton pestered his fellow committee members and sometimes went over their heads to high LDS officials for repayment.[43] It seems likely that his confederates were trying to distance themselves from a notorious and embarrassing failure. Brigham H. Roberts, author of the official LDS history, called the brothel scheme a "regrettable thing" and its perpetrators "overzealous men."[44]

Hampton's domestic arrangements were sometimes as turbulent as his public activities. Like all saints, he heard many exhortations to practice celestial, or plural marriage, and his mother was one of the prophet's many wives. Hampton married three times in all. Although we have little evidence other than his version of events, some clues can be teased out about his relationships and his wives' experiences, including the tension and unhappiness of which some other plural wives complained. The dominant reality of those marriages was probably childbearing and raising: Hampton's first wife gave birth to five of his children, his second four, and his third ten.[45]

[38] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 217.

[39] Hampton's 1886 prison diary takes up far more space than any other similar period, presumably because he had so much time on his hands (and so many visitors), 172-226. He totaled up his year's visitors at 1,017 and 2,429 visits, 225. Some prisoners in the territorial prison also received many visitors. See, for example, William C. Seifrit, "The Prison Experience of Abraham H. Cannon," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (Summer 1985): 223-36.

[40] Hampton believed that Helen was talking to the U.S. Attorney, B.Y. Hampton Diary, 217.

[41] Among the first actions he took upon release was to make affidavits against those he had "detected"; Ibid., 226.

[42] Ibid., 232, 236.

[43] See, for example, Journal History, December 27, 1898.

[44] Roberts, *Comprehensive History,* 6:158.

[45] For the stories of some unhappy plural wives, see Ann Eliza Webb Young, *Wife No. 19, or The Story of*

Bertha King and Hampton were married in 1856, and he was sealed to Helen Bone and to Bertha in 1863. Bertha "being dissatisfyed"[46] left him to move to California in 1865 but ran out of money and returned. Fanny Stenhouse wrote that Hampton's first wife told her that he "whipped her because she would not consent to his stripping their home of everything that was either useful or handsome in order to furnish a house for his second wife. Finally, he shut her up while he took her entire parlour furniture away." They reportedly divorced in 1868.[47]

Helen was even unhappier but proved more persistent. Hampton writes that Helen left him for another man on their "sealing day," returning after a week but refusing to live with him until months later.[48] However, when he began courting Mary Jane Robinson, Helen "raise[d] a squall" at the Salt Lake Theatre.[49] A few months after Hampton and Mary were sealed, Helen attacked him in the street, then complained against him to an LDS bishop's court, promising to "distroy my property and insult me every opertunity on the Public Street untill I would treat her better and untill She got revenge."[50] Helen continued to make complaints against her husband in various church councils, but refused a divorce unless he supported her and her children. She complained to the *Tribune* that a gang of Mormon boys (including "a son of Mr. B. Y. Hampton") called her "a dirty rotten Gentile" and threw rocks at her children and her windows.[51] Like some other unhappy plural wives, Helen tried to enlist non-Mormon institutions in her cause, reportedly threatening to have Hampton prosecuted for lewd and lascivious conduct with Mary, whom he visited while ostensibly in jail for the Robinson murder.[52] Helen finally left for

a Life in Bondage, introductory notes by John B. Gough and Mary A. Livermore (Hartford : Dustin, Gilman, 1875); Annie Clark Tanner, *A Mormon Mother: An Autobiography by Annie Clark Tanner* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund and University of Utah Library, 1991), 236-41. See also Julie Roy Jeffrey, "'If Polygamy Is the Lord's Order, We Must Carry It Out,'" in *Frontier Women: "Civilizing" the West?*, rev. ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), 179-213; Stephanie Smith Goodson, "Plural Wives," in Claudia L. Bushman, ed., *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah*, (Cambridge: Emmeline Press Limited, 1976), 89-112; and Jill Mulvay Derr, "'Strength in our Union': The Making of Mormon Sisterhood," in Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 161-63. For a list of Hampton's wives' children, see B.Y. Hampton Diary, 10-15.

[46] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 84.

[47] Stenhouse, *Tell It All*, 328-29. B.Y.'s first wife was Bertha, but the complaint sounds more like Helen's. Stenhouse's autobiography appeared in several different versions; the full-length 1873 edition, called *"Tell it All,"* tells the same story without naming the Hamptons, 528-29. See also Ronald W. Walker, "The Stenhouses and the Making of a Mormon Image," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974).

[48] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 79-80.

[49] Ibid., 94.

[50] Ibid.

[51] *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 4, 8, 1874.

[52] For Helen's other complaints and the attempted divorce, see B.Y. Hampton Diary, 95, 99-101, 114, 118, 120-21, 158, 166, 185, 211-12, 216-17. For the threat to go to federal authorities, see B.Y. Hampton Diary, 117. Similarly, according to A. H. Cannon, his uncle Angus's first wife Amanda threatened to report Angus to federal authorities for marrying another woman, Abraham Hoagland Cannon Diaries, 1879-1896, volume 5:55-56, December 25, 1885 photocopy in Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City..

good in 1886.[53] B. Y. Hampton's story also hints at the patriarchal power enjoyed by husbands, as he shuffled his wives in and out of various houses and their children between various wives as their complex relations shifted.[54]

By Hampton's lights, Mary was his only mate who behaved like a true wife, standing by him throughout his legal troubles, helping him manage his properties, and raising their many children. Mary must have found marriage and motherhood trying, too. Undoubtedly, her most terrible trial had nothing to do with religion or political power. In the summer of 1879, four of Mary's children died of diphtheria within three weeks.[55] She may also have resisted the principle of plural marriage. Only three months after Hampton's year in jail ended (during which he always noted Mary's dozens of monthly visits before anyone else's), he wrote to President John Taylor asking for permission to marry again. Taylor counseled him to wait, and Hampton apparently changed his mind—or Mary helped him do so. Just three weeks after Taylor's letter, B.Y. and Mary were re-baptized, perhaps to demonstrate their renewed commitment to one another, and he does not mention another wife again.[56] Despite the "judicial crusade" that rocked the Mormon world, the federal authorities apparently never targeted Hampton for his marital relations, probably because he lived with Mary alone during the most intense period of the prosecutions. But B. Y. and Mary did expose themselves to risk, as members of the First Presidency sometimes spent nights "on the underground" in the Hamptons' house.[57]

The diary/autobiography that Hampton left has some surprising gaps. For example, he does not recount the murder of Andrew Burt, a friend and the chief of police while Hampton was on the force, and the subsequent mob lynching of Burt's evident killer.[58] Even more unlikely, after closely following political events and the anti-polygamy crusade, including the death of President Taylor and the escheatment of LDS church property, he skips entirely the climactic 1890 events, including the "Woodruff Manifesto" that renounced polygamy. Instead, his long 1890-1891 entries are headlined "Brigham Young Trust Cos Record of their making me ther scape goat." Once again, Hampton found himself facing prison time for prostitution. This time it involved a building that he had leased from the B.

[53] By 1886, Hampton was writing that he and Helen had not spoken "for many years," although she wrote him a letter while he was in jail again warning him to be careful about going home to Mary lest he and his jailer get in trouble, B.Y. Hampton Diary, 185. For Helen leaving, see B.Y. Hampton Diary, 217-18.

[54] For example, Bertha's children lived with Helen after Bertha left, but B.Y. removed them "on account of her abuse of them and me when I went to See them and gave them to my Wife Mary to Care for," Ibid., 100.

[55] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 12, 158-59.

[56] Ibid., 228-29.

[57] Ibid., 232-33; *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1838-1898,* ed. Scott G. Kenney (Midvale: Signature Books, 1984), 8: December 27, 1887, 473.

[58] On the Burt murder and lynching of Sam Joe Harvey, see Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Co., 1984), 120.

Y. Trust Company, which managed some of the late prophet's estate and included many prominent saints on its board. Hampton sublet the building; that tenant in turn sublet to a woman who fitted it out as an elaborate brothel. Hampton faced prosecution by the same federal officials in the same court for the same offense – keeping a house of prostitution – and again he felt abandoned by his Mormon partners. Even the madam was willing to forego her expensive renovations and vacate the house. Hampton wrote that "she was a hundred times more considerate than my should be friends and I think in the day of Judgment She will out Shine many of the BYT co." To his relief, however, the U. S. attorney dismissed the charge, agreeing with Hampton that the building had been leased to the madam without his knowledge. Hampton expressed amazement that an old enemy could deal with him fairly.[59]

After his near-brush with a third jail term, Hampton was probably disillusioned with the lack of support from the LDS leadership. As he aged, he was also less willing or useful as an enforcer. After 1890, he retreated from public duties to concentrate on private business, including building and running a hotel. His remaining diary reflects the inward turn, focusing on personal temple work and his family, with occasional references to the birthdays or deaths of high LDS officials, and increasingly, his money troubles. In 1897, he expressed relief that city officials appointed Mary as the women's matron at the city jail. Mary would bring in some much-needed income.[60] He also continued to pursue doggedly compensation for his disastrous detective scheme, especially after he was forced to declare bankruptcy and lost most of his property in 1899. The First Presidency finally awarded Hampton $3,600 in 1901.[61]

Brigham Young Hampton's death a few months later did not occasion much notice in either the Mormon or gentile-owned press.[62] Utahns were enjoying one of the periodic lulls in the rhetorical wars that still flared, and outside of his family and friends, Hampton probably seemed part of the

[59] The officers of the Brigham Young Trust Company included President George Q. Cannon (First Counselor to the LDS President) and Vice President Brigham Young, Jr., an Apostle. See Articles of Incorporation, Brigham Young Trust Company records, file no. 853, Corporation Files, Salt Lake County Clerk, Utah State Archives. B.Y. Hampton Diary, 242-43; Nichols, *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power,* 89-90.

[60] B.Y. Hampton Diary, 251; *Salt Lake City Directory, 1899*.

[61] Creditors forced Hampton into bankruptcy following a series of lawsuits, and Mary was also named in each of the suits. See *S. J. Brown vs. Mary J. R. R. Hampton et al.*, case no. 497 (3d dist. Civil case files, 1896); *Barton and Company vs. Mary J. R R.. Hampton et al.,* case no. 1149 (3d dist. Civil case files, 1897); *Ann O. Burt vs. Mary J. R. R. Hampton et al.,* case no. 1730 (3d dist. Civil case files, 1898); *Taylor Romney Armstrong Co. vs. B. Y. Hampton et al.,* case no. 2520 (3d dist. Civil case files, 1899). In each case, the court decided against the Hamptons and ordered their mortgaged property to be sold to satisfy their creditors. For the payment, see B. Y. Hampton Diary, 254; Journal History, June 7, 14, and 18, 1900. John Henry Smith, a counselor to President Joseph F. Smith, briefly describes the discussions that led to payment; *Church, State, and Politics: The Diaries of John Henry Smith*, ed. Jean Bickmore White (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in Association with Smith Research Associates, 1990), 457-58.

[62] The *Deseret Evening News* praised his "heroism" as a police officer, see July 22, 23, and 24, 1902; *Salt Lake Herald*, July 22, 23, 1902; and *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 22, 23, 1902.

past, when the LDS church had needed physical defenders. The causes he had served – defending Zion from military invasion, protecting the Prophet from attack, proving the moral hypocrisy of anti-polygamists—may have seemed quaint, or settled. Hampton's associations with prostitution (and possibly even murder) have also likely prevented him from joining the pantheon of Mormon heroes, despite his obvious loyalty and the price he paid in the temporary loss of freedom. The historical circumstances that produced Brigham Young Hampton's style of muscular chauvinism had passed and a new era of "Americanization" was well under way.[63]

[63] Gustive O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1971); Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

DEBRA ALLEN YOUNG

World War II Comes to Wayne County

By DEBRA ALLEN YOUNG

It is impossible to know how many thousands of military airplanes flew across the deserts and mountains of Utah en route to the European or Pacific Theaters during World War II or as training missions for the American pilots who would carry the war to the enemy. Most did so safely and without difficulty. However during 1943, two incidents, each with different outcomes, brought the war a little closer to the residents of Wayne County. As the two incidents unfolded, the modernity of the air age met the traditional agriculture and ranching frontier that had persisted in the small communities of Bicknell, Fremont, Hanksville, Loa, Lyman, Teasdale, Torrey, and other locations since the settlement of Wayne County in the 1870s. Accounts of the two events reveal interesting insights into the culture and lifestyle of mid-twentieth-century rural Wayne County, the process by which the United States military handled wartime emergencies, and the interaction of local civilians with soldiers who found the days they spent in the county unlike any other experience in their lives.

Although far removed from battlefields, war factories, and supply and shipping facilities, Wayne County experienced World War II with its rationing, gasoline restrictions, and the departure of 308 sons and daughters, nearly 15 pecent of the county's 2,400 residents, for military service. Others left the county to work in defense industries. Those

Soldiers and cowboys at Jeffery Ranch, November 1, 1943.

Debra Allen Young is the granddaughter of LaVor and May Brown who are included in this article. She has authored two family histories and is a history enthusiast.

at home, especially women, took up work and chores done by the young people who were now in the service, participated in salvage and recycling projects, and were generous in the purchase of war bonds.[1] The Harold Brown Post 92 of the American Legion, named for a Wayne County veteran of World War I, played an active role in the county to support the war effort while sponsoring programs to teach patriotism and good citizenship. Letters and news reports brought accounts of the war to Wayne County and small red and blue banners with a white star for each member of the family in the service hung from many of the homes in the county.

On January 25, 1943, a B-17 "Flying Fortress," landed in Loren Webster's pasture just west of the Lyman town cemetery.[2] May Taylor Brown recorded, "I was washing and I heard an awful noise. I looked out my window and a large airplane was circling our field. I pulled the washer plug and took Aunt Rula in the car and we watched the landing of the largest plane I ever saw."[3] The plane was, for its day, enormous standing nineteen feet tall, seventy-four feet long, with a wing span of one hundred three feet.

Engine trouble forced the B-17 to make the emergency landing. Local residents responded by looking after the crew and holding a dance in their honor. Meanwhile three trucks carried a crew of mechanics more than three-hundred miles from Wendover Air Field to fix the airplane. On January 28, three days after its safe landing, the aircraft was repaired. Schools were let out early so that children could join with the rest of the county's residents to watch the plane takeoff. As the pilot stepped off the distance needed for a safe takeoff, it was obvious that there was not enough space. Local men stepped forward to take down fences and cover a ditch with hands and shovels to remove the obstacles. At 4:20 p.m. the plane made its successful liftoff. The pilot circled the plane twice above the crowd as the enthusiastic observers waved, hollered, and honked their horns as they relished the successful departure and rejoiced that the bomber was on its way to help bring an end to the war.[4]

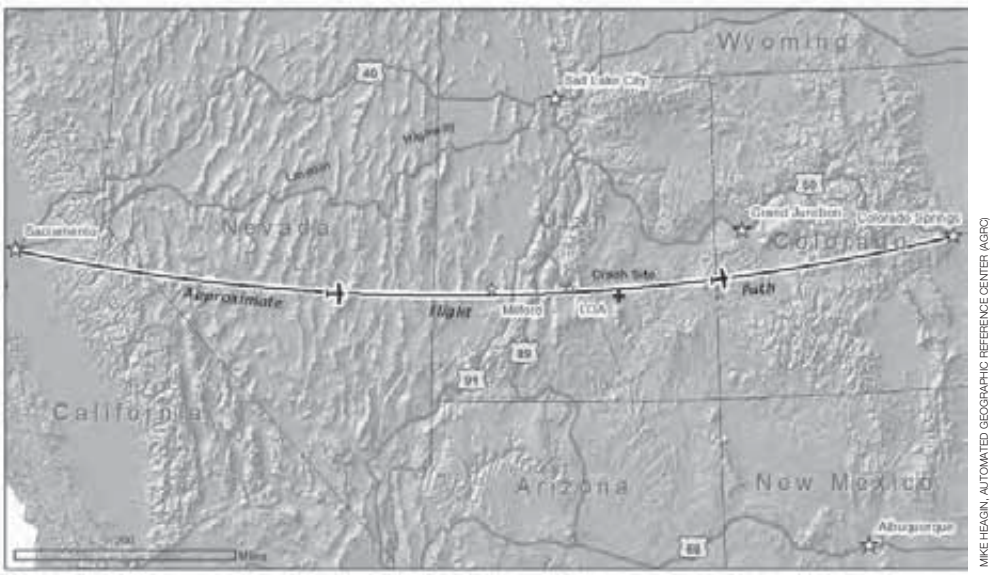
Nearly six months later, on July 14, another military aircraft encountered difficulties over Wayne County, but this time the outcome was tragic. The plane, a Lockheed AT-18A, left Mather Field in Sacramento, California, at 8:05 a.m. Pacific Time destined for Colorado Springs, Colorado. The last communication from the aircraft was over Milford, Utah. When the plane did not reach Colorado Springs, an intensive search was launched. Thirty planes left Mather Field as part of the search effort that stretched from

[1] Wayne County ranked among the top three counties in Utah in each of the World War II bond drives. After the war the county was given a Navy Corsair plane for exceeding the county's quota by 17 percent in the last Victory Loan drive. Miriam B. Murphy, *A History of Wayne County,* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Wayne County Commission, 1999), 304.

[2] Loren Webster was a prominent cattle rancher, farmer, mayor of Loa, and businessman.

[3] Family Record Book began by Phoebe Bastain Brown and continued by May Taylor Brown, in possession of the author.

[4] A conversation with Royce Allen and the author on March 14, 2009.



Flight route of the airplane from Sacramento to Colorado Springs.

Milford to Colorado Springs. The search aircraft were divided into flights based at Milford, Salt Lake City, Grand Junction, and Albuquerque. In addition, the Civil Air Patrol participated in the air search while civilian authorities undertook search efforts on the ground. With no success, the search was abandoned on July 25, 1943.[5]

In October, the wreckage of the airplane and the bodies of its six crew members were discovered in what is known locally as the Middle Desert.[6] LaVor Brown and his brother Lon, along with other Wayne County ranchers were moving two hundred head of cattle from their summer grazing grounds to Hanksville for the winter. Military officials were notified of the discovery and Major LeRoy Gray Heston, who was stationed at Mather Field, was assigned to oversee the recovery efforts.

Heston, who was born in 1903 in Grants Pass, Oregon, attended the University of Michigan, where he played football. In 1929, he joined the Army Air Corps and received his wings in February 1931. Following his release from the service, he went to the Philippine Islands where he joined two other pilots in establishing an inter-island airline. After four years of flying over the jungle islands in extremely hazardous conditions, he took a contract with Colonel C.L. Chennault in Kunming, China, to help train young Chinese pilots. After the United States entered World War II, he returned to full-time military duty and was assigned to train pilots at Mather Air Force Base.[7] In a lengthy letter written to his parents in Oregon

[5] Report of the Accident, from Headquarters Army Air Base, Salt Lake City, Utah, November 11, 1943, copy obtained from Accident-Report.com, (accessed March 11, 2007).

[6] The Middle Desert is located northeast of Capitol Reef National Park.

[7] Edna May J. Hill, *The Man Who Loved Flying, Col. LeRoy Gray Heston* (Grants Pass, OR: Josephine County Historical Society, 1995), 73.

shortly after the recovery mission was completed, Major Heston provides a detailed account of the discovery of the crew's remains by the Wayne County cowboys, his experiences with the local residents, and the exhausting effort to recover the bodies. It is clear that Heston talked at length with those involved in the discovery and was an astute observer of the people he met and the lives they led.

Dear Folks:[8]

LaVar Brown walked his horse ahead of the other two riders. The three cowboys were now far back in the desert of South Central Utah and about 75 miles from their homes. They had ridden out to look over the Brigam tea bushes. It was drawing close to November now and at that time each year the tea bushes are fat and ready, or soon would be – soon as the rain showers came. Its a small bush, looking like tumbleweed and the leaves look like toothpicks but the cattle like it and get fat on it. This country was their winter desert range.

Brown rode on ahead across the sand and rock strewn bottom of the deep alkali covered dry-wash. Then he stopped. He saw something very strange for that tough country. A face towel lay across the top of a sage bush alongside the creek. A creek that has a small trickle of alkali water running along for a hundred feet and then disappearing into the sand again. He leaned down from his saddle and picked it up curiously. It was a clean towel, hadnt been used. He turned and waved at the boys behind him. "What d'ya reckon this's doin' here?"

The other two pulled their horses up, looked at the towel silently. There isnt much gab wasted among those people. Their eyes started roaming around over the ground. One of them slid out of his saddle and picked up something, turned it over, opened it up as the others watched him. It was a leather pocket book. He slid his fingers into it and pulled out a card. It read, "Charles F. Royce, Sgt. U.S.A.A.F. LaVar who was the chattiest of the bunch said, "huh." Ike butted into LaVars conversation with his own grunt of "huh." Ed's eyes raised from the wallet and he looked far up and down the wash, his eyes stopped moving. LaVar and Ike watched him, then followed his gaze across to the steep badlands side of the wash which rose 300 feet onto the rim of a plateau. There lay a long bright object, flat against the slope. No one said anything for a minute, then LaVar spoke. "There's a star on it, like on an airplane." One of the others said, "Yep."

In formation the three moved out across the bottom of the wash toward the bright metal object. LaVar leading them guiding their horses straight up the steep, deep cut of the side of the wash. They knew they were to see strange things and instinctively they all three wanted to get on the higher ground. As they pulled their puffing horses up over the rim they looked east over the flat slopping plateau, cut every few hundred feet with a deep wash[.]ed. Their horses were nervous. They too knew something was wrong. Dead wrong. Then there it was. Straight ahead for a full mile lay the quiet desert, strewn with bits

[8] This letter was delivered to LaVor Brown in Loa on May 25, 1989, by John Cova from Grants Pass, Oregon. The original letter is in the LeRoy Gray Heston Collection, Josephine County Historical Society, Grants Pass, Oregon. I have kept the spelling and punctuation as they appear in the original, including the misspelling of LaVor Brown's name as "LaVar."

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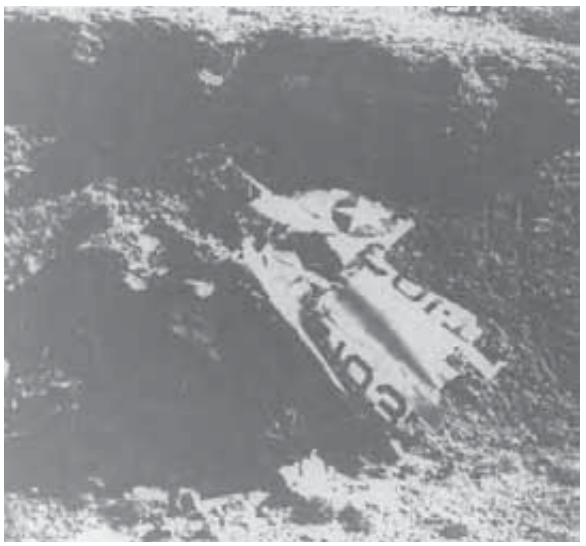
Army vehicles crossing a wash en route to plane crash site.

of bright metal. Here and there lay great blobs of it and finally at the end of the mile they could see one last stack of broken bright metal.

Together their spurs nudged their horses and they quietly trotted thru the debris toward the fartherest point. When they had gone nearly to the end, LaVar swung his horse sharply to the left and reined up, stopping the others. There lay a man, face down. He had been there a long time, weeks maybe. They trotted on, this time faster. They reached the final piece of wreckage and by this time they knew it to be an airplane. Quickly they turned their horses around and trotted back thru the area a different way. Now they saw other bodies, here and there, all over. LaVar pulled up his horse and motioned for the others. He told them to continue to look the range over but not to touch anything they found. He would ride back himself with the news.

Seated on his finest cowhorse, LaVar made one of the greatest rides known— 75 miles in 6 hours.[9] His horse could barely stand the next day. [Lon, his brother always said he ruined the best horse he ever had on that day.] LaVar

[9] Major Heston apparently over estimated the distance ridden by LaVor Brown. The distance from the crash site to the Jeffery Ranch is approximately thirty miles—a more reasonable but still a very challenging distance for a six hour horseback ride at a fast pace across rugged country. As a young boy, LaVor had learned hard work and commitment from his parents. His father Elroy was a farmer, school teacher, a deputy sheriff at one time, and a House Sergeant for the Utah State Legislature. His mother, Phoebe ran the Brown Hotel in Loa renting rooms to the drummers or salesmen passing through the county to buy cattle or sheep. Because he was the oldest, and his father away from home much of the time, it was left up to him to help his mother with daily chores associated with running this household. His mother was also sick with pernicious anemia, a low blood disease, which eventually took her life at the young age of fifty-two. LaVor remembered getting to school at noon after he had helped his mother with the laundry. "The teacher could see my red hands, and knew what I had been doing, and she didn't say a word." "History of Charles LaVor Brown," in possession of author.



ACCIDENT REPORT

Remains of the Lockheed AT-18A, photographed in November 1943.

phoned the nearest army air base. He told of the towel and the sergeant on the other end of the wire said, "so what." Then he told of the purse, and the sarg says, "any dough in it?" Then he told of the airplane wing, the metal and the wreckage and finally the bodies. Then the sarg yells at him, "well why in hell didn't you say so in the first place?"

Well, then the army got into high gear. You've got to hand it to the army when it gets going. It wasnt long until my phone rings in my office at Mather Field. In a few minutes I am listening to the C.O. saying, "Well Heston, it sounds like a job for you. Get ready as soon as you can and I will have a bomber waiting for you. We will make ready for you by the time you land in Salt Lake City. Good Luck."

They gave me a plane, with a pilot. It seemed strange, another man flying me around. Over the high Sierras, over Reno. I kept pretty close to the cockpit, I didnt like the idea of this other guy at the controls, but he had been sent along so he could take the ship back to Mather.

Now it was dark. I looked over the pilots shoulder and saw that slight change in the shade of night—weather. Those old mountain peaks were zooping by under us just about the time you saw them. Then the snow hit. I spoke in his ear. Get Salt Lake on the radio and get me the weather. Then I pushed him into the Co-pilots seat and took over. He worked the radio while we dropped down out of the snow. Now I could see shapes of mountains and could avoid them. It was a question of turning back right now or like in the old days of flying, get right down on the ground and push on thru. The Salt Lake radio told us we could land if we could get there. And we got there, but both of us a bit white around the gills, like you always get when you fly 'that stuff.' I felt good when it was over. Seemed a bit like the old days in P.I.[Philippine Islands], when one really flew to get there and when a plane was used like a tool to work with.

After landing I told the kid with me to stay on the ground that night and not to try to fly back through that stuff just because I did. He said, "Dont worry Major," and winked. When I went into operations office I found a note, telling me to phone Capt. Robert Thayer, regarding investigation of the accident in South Utah. He and I talked while I ate. He's a guy about my age and was a sergeant in Manile [Manila] when I was flying there. We fought the battle of P.I. for a while and then went into our new job.

Bob was assigned by his commander to be responsible for Salt Lake Army

ACCIDENT REPORT

Remains of the Lockheed AT-18A, in the middle desert of northern Wayne County.

Air bases part in the investigation.[10] He was a Capt. And I was a Major, so that settled the head man part of the deal. He said he hadnt planned this sort of thing before, so was ready for whatever I wanted him to do. In the meantime we had in a long distance call to the cowboy who had found the wreck. He was at Loa, Utah, 180 miles south of Salt Lake City. As we waited for the call to come in I began to tabulate the things we would need. Then the call came thru and we learned that the 'messenger on horseback' one named LaVar Brown, had the dope alright, and action was in order. I learned the type of country we would run up against and what they had available for our use down there.

The next morning we were up early (Sunday morning) sitting in Thayers office with our phone busy. Soon our officers began to show up, those we selected to go with us. We gave them certain things to collect and men to select, certain types and numbers. Then they left and soon cars and trucks began lining up outside the office. They were dispatched to different places to load up with supplies, etc. While this was going on I enjoyed every minute of it. The biggest reason was, I wasnt the man who had to wave his arms and yell for action. This was Bobs Post and Bob had to do the work. I was just a 'visitin' fireman', so to speak, with now and then a suggestion.

[10] The Salt Lake Army Air Base was established in early 1920. The Army Air Corps had determined that military, commercial, and private flight operations could satisfactorily be combined because of its "strategic and topographical advantages" and because it could easily be enlarged by the vacant land surrounding it. Fort Douglas, located nearby, also afforded potential housing and administrative facilities adaptable to Army Air Corps needs. Therefore, on August 2, 1940, Fort Douglas, which had been an infantry post since its establishment in 1862, was redesignated an Army Air Base by the Secretary of War, with Salt Lake City airport as its airfield.

In a short time the trucks were back, coming in one at a time from the Q.M. or Mess hall, Medical Dept., etc. Then came the officers, saying their part was complete. Showing their list of goods collected and signed for and so many men ready, all equipped with winter flying equipment for cold weather, blankets, pup tents and all the endless things that we might need. There was a young bright looking 2nd Lt. Osman, in charge of the repair and upkeep of the truck convoy. A 1st Lt. in charge, or rather the executive officer of the party. Then Capt. Mares, the Dr. to take care of all of us and to handle the bodies when we got there.

Capt. Thayer, Capt. Mares and myself pushed off in a staff car ahead of the others. The other two officers were to stay with the convoy and pick us up in Loa Utah. We were going ahead to get the lay of the land before the convoy got there. When they arrived we would have a camp site selected, all the local folks rounded up, all the dope doped out and find out who was lying, who had a good clear story of the facts and the best way for getting into the desert, etc.

On the way there we hit three snow storms and got to Loa about dark. Loa is on the southern hiway going north and south in central Utah. It is a town only because there is a county courthouse, two gas stations, a Mormon temple [Loa L.D.S. Tabernacle] and several homes close together.

As we pulled in by the courthouse we saw several hard looking guys standing around in the cold. We stopped and found that we were talking to the very men we wanted to find. They said they had been waiting there for us for several hours. It seemed nothing much to them. I would have impatiently but surely been frozen stiff by now, even though there was no snow on the ground.

They didnt talk much or offer much information. They answered questions when asked, short and too brief. The first thing they did was to give me the purse they had found before finding the bodies. LaVar Brown handed it over like it was hot. He was afraid he had done wrong by picking it up. When I told him he'd done right he reddened painfully and kinda shuffled his feet in his high-heeled boots and said, "Well, I dont mind sayin I was plumb worrit. Maybe I done wrong an again maybe I didnt I kept sayin to myself. Then I come acrost Ed here, up the wash yonder and he says, Yu oughtnt a done it, LaVar, it bein a part of the dead, an maybe agin the law too. Didnt sleep much last couple a nights." I came to find out later that this speech was the longest one LaVar had ever made or ever hoped to make. But from then on he sorta took over the job of spokesman for the crowd so we directed most of our questions to him.

Where would we camp. Well, there was the courthouse and a school. We might sleep in one of those buildings, or the church maybe. "We folks take the church as sacred, though," said LaVar. "Better get my uncle." He kept saying that, "Better get my uncle" to us during much of our questioning.

I always take care of the troops first and they would be here shortly so I thought of bedding them down inside the courthouse, or in the school building. "Reckon my Uncles got a key fer' em," said LaVar, quietly. I began to wake up to the fact that this uncle was maybe the spark-plug of the

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Army vehicles en route to plane crash site.

community. "Whats your uncles name?" I asked. "Grant," said LaVar. "He's called Grant Brown." He said the name proudly, respectfully. I looked at LaVar and then at the crowd as he spoke these magic words and I knew then I had found the answer to our present problems and possibly to our future ones as well.

LaVar was a slight small man, looked a lot like a stove poker, only twice as tough. He wore Levi-straus trousers that plainly showed the wear and tear of leather chaps. His high heeled boots clacked along the road when he walked, double timing ours, and his legs seemed to swing in an arc when he moved. His leathery face had a kind of blue-brown skin stretched tight across it. His small but powerful hands always hung cupped at his side and somehow they reminded me of the bottom of a dogs foot. His thin leather jacket was very worn. I would have been awfully cold dressed as he was but he seemed comfortable enough.

LaVar's uncle lived back from the hiway a short distance and as we drove up to the ranch we could hear the endless bawling of cows. "My uncles gonna weigh I guess, tomorrow, maybe." I could hear the cow hands riding around a mess of corrals in the dark, yipping at the cows and pushing them through gates.

We entered the typical looking ranch house, clean but very cluttered. LaVar yelled, "Emmy, oh Emmy."[11] Emmy filled the door as she shoved into the room from the kitchen, sleeves rolled up, hair in a knot on her head. She was a powerhouse with a big smile. "Evenin' LaVar, my land, soldiers and all, officers

[11] Emmy was Leone Robison Brown.

aint yu? sit down, Spot get off that chair and let the men folks sit down, and I suppose you came about the wreck in the Middle Desert? awful to lose boys like that—theres a picture of my oldest in his navy get-up, strong boy too—and theres my next, marines he is, last letter from Guadalcanal, sez he likes it, land how that boy can shoot, used to make Grant ashamed, then here is my next, army just got him and—"

Just then entered a tall lanky kid of 16, cowboy hat hi-heeled boots and chaps. Came in and stood looking at us and saying nothing. Mrs. Brown was still talking and surging about the room, picking up clothes, pushing up chairs to the fire. She, looking at the boy, said, "get out of this room and take off those stinking chaps, you know better than to come in here like that," and she turned to me and said, "they never learn, do they—says he wants to be in the flying army but I always say he's got to learn to mind first—"Fred" she yelled at him, "get Grant in here right away, these men didnt come here to listen to me."

The room suddenly seemed straightened and we found we had our laps full of family pictures, we all had chairs by the fire, a plate of apples was beside us a new pile of wood lay by the stove, and it all done so quick you could hardly see how it happened. And she stood, towering over us like a battleship only twice as fast. Then a couple of kids, heads together, timidly peaked around the kitchen door. "Git" was all she said, and they got.

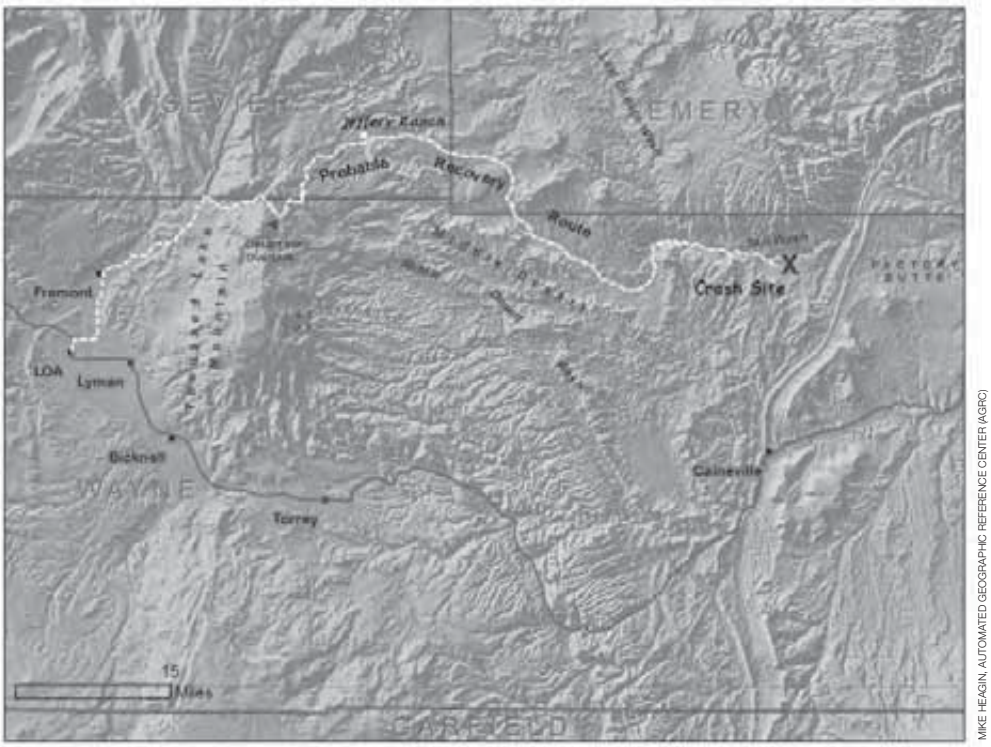
A man came quietly thru the kitchen door. Tough, lean and brown, just like LaVar Brown, but older. He pulled off his ear muffs, stretched out his knarled hand to the fire and said, "Grants my name." I both felt and saw Grant Brown. So did the others. I saw why LaVar kept saying, "my uncle knows." His uncle did know. For what we wanted to know it was almost as good as looking into an encyclopedia. Among other things it was decided we would sleep the 21 men and 5 officers in the courthouse. We would also need to round up 6 or 7 riders and a dozen or so horses. Feed for the horses. Gas to take with us. And water cans full of drinking water for all hands.

Then came the convoy, tooting their horns, the soldiers sticking their heads out into the freezing dark and yelling wise cracks at each other. As the boys piled out of that truck convoy, carrying barracks bags, I was standing by Grant. He'd been intently watching the soldiers, listening to their cussing and gripping and joking. He said "looks just like my bunch back in France last war. I sure do hope more of these boys come back than of what my bunch did. Ranchin' is fine but I sure wish I was with them."

An hour or more before daylight I kicked the gang out of their blankets. They didnt have to dress, they slept with their clothes on and continued to do so from there on out. They came up out of their sleep, gripping as usual.

The farmers fed them. Good old pork and eggs and flapjacks. Then making sure the trucks were ready to roll, extra gas, water and so forth. Then they pushed off with Grant in the leadcar, a Jeep. It was light enough to see by then and off they went onto a side road leading right up into the snow covered peaks. I was to meet them at the last water hole that night. A cattle ranch called Jefferys ranch.

It was an odd sight to me, not yet dawn, yet every house was lighted. When it was light I saw cow horses standing steaming in front of each home, its head down and the lines falling on the ground. A few minutes later horses and riders



MIKE HEAGIN, AUTOMATED GEOGRAPHIC REFERENCE CENTER (AGRC)

Route of the recovery group from Loa to the crash site.

were taking off in every direction, but I noticed each one would take a pass around where the soldiers were. Every one in the country knew we were there and they all wanted to see them. The cow hands would wave and grin and look back as they trotted away to their work for the day.

The soldiers, one from Brooklyn would say, "Hi, cowboy, wheres your guitar?" They would grin and answer, "guess I wont need it where I'm goin and if you got one better leave it behind, where you're goin you wont need it either."

Les [Morrell] was a great guy.[12] He was my prize cowhand on the whole trip. 55 years old and never was off the range except to fight in France for a year. Its all he knew and all he wanted to know. They say he has been on every important range in the U.S. I believe it. Horses do what he says. His make-up is beyond description. Average size and as hard and tough as a boot. Happy-go-lucky and loves to break horses, which he does every year.

That early morning LaVar and I rounded up extra saddles and threw them

[12] Les Morrell was a cattleman and a fine horseman. In the mid-1930s he purchased a summer cabin built by Paul Christensen in the 1920s on Thousand Lake Mountain. Morrell took the cabin apart piece by piece and reassembled it on his property in the Cathedral Valley for use as a winter camp for cowboys tending their herds. The cabin was used by the Jeffery and Morrell families as well as many Wayne County cattlemen. The property was sold to the National Park Service in 1970, and the Lesley Morrell Line Cabin and Corral has been listed on the National Register of Historic Places for its association with the history of grazing. Murphy, *A History of Wayne County,* 169-70.

into my car. Les was out rounding up good horses that were not in use. He would just ride into a ranch and take a couple. He said, "Slim wont need these for a few days." Slim didnt have them for a few days anyway.

I finally saw Les, with his weather beaten leather chaps flopping out thru the frost with several horses trotting a head of him. I asked LaVar when we would get to the last water hole and he said, "about the time we get there," and that was 30 miles away over very rough country and over a divide nearly ten thousand feet high. Of course he would take short cuts and we couldnt in a car. Then LaVar said he wanted to go to his house before he left.

We drove into his ranch and up to the rattle trap house. The kids came piling out, six of them about an inch apart in height. A deer trotted up the yard toward us and the kids patted its neck. I was nearly frozen with all my warm clothing and yet these kids had on one thin piece of clothing and standing with bare feet on the cold frosted ground.

He went into the house and met his long, thin, overworked wife. She had a bright face and talked and talked and smiled. The kids swarmed in after us and stood on one leg and looked at me, sniffing their overburdened noses. Like all ranch women she got busy, doing too many things at one time, fixing the fire with one hand and her hair with the other. Making excuses for the dirt. Said the kids were just getting ready for school. "Where is the school," I asked. And she pointed down the road. "Just down the road a piece," and I knew it to be the school in town several miles away.

As we talked the deer pushed open the kitchen door and came into look me over too. I reached out to touch it but it wouldnt let me. If I stayed real still it would even go thru my pockets but it wouldnt permit me to touch it. The wife said, "LaVar, git that critter out of this here kitchen, you know how it dirties up the floor, and besides its botherin the major." She chased the deer out of the kitchen.[13]

A few hours later we were climbing over the high divide, up where the snow began to show up on all sides. It's a barren open country with clusters of sage and quaken-asp and Cyprus type of growth.

Then came the sight of all sights. We broke out on top over the bumpy, one-way dirt road. LaVar said, "just take a look at that, its sure somethin aint it." We got out of the jeep and stood there, looking. We were up nearly 10,000 ft. looking east over the painted desert. It is called the badlands. But its beautiful to look at. Endless miles of the most beautiful colors I've ever seen. It was Hollywood, it wasnt real. I told LaVar so, but he said "Hollywood aint that good, yit." He pointed his lean crooked finger out over the desert and all that color and started showing me things. Far in the distance was a great mesa sticking up in the sky, called the Factory [Butte]. Now he says, "look north and west, there, about 4 hours fast ride and we will see a dark spot kinda. Well, that is about the location of the wreck." I said, "there is nothing to that, we can be there in no time. In a plane I could make it in ten minutes, easy, maybe five

[13] LaVor married May Taylor in 1929. Their years together were tough ones, trying to eke out a living in this small rural community during the depression and then the war. They were the parents of seven children and were living two and a half miles north of Loa on the outskirts of Fremont during this time. Their children fondly spoke of their pet deer all their lives.

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Camp in Salt Wash, near the crash site.

minutes." He grinned, "yeah, but wait till you get there major." I sure found out what he meant.

Then he pointed down at the foot of the divide and showed me where Jefferys ranch lay. I could see where the sage was cut out in squares. That would be real hay or alfalfa. That was the last water hole.

The convoy was ahead of me, moving down off the divide toward this water hole. We would stay there that nite and I would make a reconnaissance that afternoon by jeep or on horseback. The men would get a chance to loaf and rest up perhaps for the last time until we came back out of the desert.

LaVar pointed out a great range in the distance covered, with snow [Henry Mountains]. "Colorado river," he said, "Last Chance lays over there and Starvation [Salvation] comes down thataway." I was looking at a sight that is only bested by the Grand Canyon.[14]

Once we got down off the divide we pulled right into the Jeffreys ranch. Here was another movie scene again. Painted cliffs all around. The finest cattle you ever saw. A creek running right through acres of land and corrals. Fences were used only to keep the cattle away from the main houses. All buildings

[14] The divide where they were standing is the top of Thousand Lake Mountain. From this vantage point you can see the scenic Capitol Reef National Park, Upper Cathedral Valley below, with its sandstone monoliths rising up from the ground. This area is part of the much bigger Water Pocket Fold which runs nearly one hundred miles from Thousand Lake Mountain to the Colorado River (now Lake Powell). In the distance is the extremely remote mountain range of the Henry Mountains, one of the last ranges surveyed and named in the United States, and is the home to a herd of bison. The Fremont River meanders through this scenic area flowing from Fish Lake to Hanksville where it joins the Big Muddy and the two form the Dirty Devil which is a tributary of the Colorado River. The sight of this area is grand indeed.

were made of logs, log cabins with mud and thatched roof. Most of the cowhands were out so the log bunk houses were ready and waiting for the soldiers. When I got there they already had a crap game going strong and the cook had his modern army portable stoves all ready to start a meal going. He had them set up under a bunch of cotton-wood trees near a corral which was filled with calves just newly weaned, and they were bawling their lungs out. Their mothers, nearby, were bawling even louder, and what a racket. Everybody could hear it, all over the bottomlands. They bawled all nite long. It was awful.

The cook came over to me and said, "Listen Major, do I got to feed this army with only this private for help. I tried to break the game up in there by getting into it — they took all my dough, whats a guy goin to do?" Just like soldiers. I stuck my head in the bunkhouse and said, "O K fellas, break it up— fall out and give cookie a hand." One soldier yells, "Just in time Major, they was takin me to the cleaners."

Jefferys was a real rancher, yet a gentleman, and a highly educated one.[15] He was a rancher because he preferred it to any thing else. He was a wealthy man and I was told had a big home out of the range country on which he kept a fine family.

He seemed glad to see us and made us all feel welcome at once. He walked around with me and told me about the country we were heading into and then said he wanted to go with us. I was glad to hear that, it would be pleasant to have such a man around. I was really surprised to find such a superior type of man in this part of the country. He told me his father founded the ranch and he was raised on it. As we walked I saw how much work had been done. There were long lines of fine fence, wonderful natural irrigation and piped and ditched water, lots of feed and perfect beef-cattle by the hundreds. He grazed over many thousands of acres in the area. He too warned me to not let the men get separated tomorrow or at any time. He doubted if a man could get back alone from where we were going, even if he knew the right direction.

An hour before daylight Bob and I were up, getting the gang going. This time the cook was already up and I also found LaVar and Grant walking around in the dark, looking our stuff over. Les came up under the cotton woods in the dark, "Wheres the coffee, Major, kinda nippy this morin' aint it." I was froze. Les had fed and watered the horses already and it wasnt daylight yet.

Just after daybreak we were on the move, Les out ahead with the horses ahead of him and the rest of the cowhands in the truck. I had shifted to the Jeep now and took the lead. With me I had LaVar and Grant Brown. Jeffery stayed with the convoy. I wanted good heads with me to pick the first trail across the desert and I wanted a good head behind with the convoy. LaVar and Grant were so pleased with the ride in the Jeep they were like kids. I never thought about that. I never realized they would be so pleased to get a jeep ride.

[15] Alfred Barney Jeffery, called Barney, was a well dressed, refined, soft spoken man. His father established the substantial Jeffery Ranch to the north across the Wayne and Sevier County line. Barney and LaVor were good friends and ran their cattle through the same mountains and deserts in Wayne County. Because the Jeffery Ranch had a telephone in 1943, it was from this ranch that LaVor called the army to report the plane wreck. Conversation with Colleen Jeffery and the author, May 7, 2010, in Fremont, Utah. Mrs. Jeffery reported that sometime after the accident she and her husband Garn, son of Barney Jeffery, rode horses to the site. Sometime after their visit the remains of the aircraft were buried at the crash site.

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Camp in Salt Wash near the crash site.

They thanked me amany times during the trip for picking them to ride with me in the jeep.

We were soon out of the sight of the convoy which crawled along across the desert in four wheel drive and in second most of the time. As we would come up on a high piece I could look back and see that line of dust. I thot of our convoys in Africa and what a good target it would make for low flying airplanes, easy to spot a long way off. Now this convoy was following jeep tracks only. As we advanced, now and then Grant would say, "better swing off into that wash to the right." Then I would come to the rim and look down a hundred feet or more. Down below was a dry wash, and covered with more sand, boulders and desert-bushes here and there. The little old jeep, with Bob and I in the front would bounce along the rim and then I would spot a place to go down, where I thot the convoy could make it, and we'd drop over the rim and down we'd go. The first time I did it Grant nearly bailed out. I laughed and told him to stay with us that he hadnt seen anything yet. Both men had on their spurs all the time.

When it looked like a bad grade I would wait for the convoy or just keep going till I came to a better place to get down and then I'd race back and lead the convoy to it so it wouldnt follow the wrong tracks over the desert. Les was to wait for us at a particularly bad spot up ahead, with the horses. This was an area where everything was cut to shreds with bad lands. Here we all came together again and we made sure we were all there. From then on it got tough. I kept Les and some of the riders with me and led out. Down over the grade we would go and then stop and look back. It was then I left the staff cars, they couldnt make it (3 of them). Even those wonderful 4 wheel drive trucks would stand on end but they had on winches with cables so I would ease them down one at a time or use a pully around a boulder up high and snake them up or down. Those cowhands would set on their horses and watch, silently, and every

time a truck would hit bottom and then top a wash, they'd look at each other and slowly shake their heads. Grant said, "and I used to say that only a horse could do it." Frankly I was worried about something going wrong in the process myself, but I didnt want to break up the convoy. There was always one thing that kept going on its own, the jeep.

We would run along the bottom of the dry wash and come across a wet spot with quick sand. If it was still frozen we could make a run across it and leave a rider there to warn those behind. If it was a bad one I would have to back the jeep out quick and hunt another way around for the convoy to take. It was one tough day. As the day wore on it got warm and I was able to shed my fleece lined clothing, but when I'd ride in under those 1,000 foot ledges I'd have to put it on again. The scenery, of course, was one of the worlds best but I was worried about those behind me and didnt get to enjoy it as I would have under other circumstances.

I finally reached the spot where LaVar found the towel. He said when we got there, "I never knew a car would ever see this desert." There was the place where the towel was and there was where the purse had lain. Far across the salt-covered wash lay a wing and the steep side of a slope. I left the jeep and took out on foot, looked at the wing and then climbed the steep sides of the wash until I got on top. There for a mile or more across the plateau and gullies lay the wreckage. It was awful to see, already knowing what I was to find there.

I sent Bob Thayer and Grant back to meet the convoy and see if they were still moving. LaVar and I, with two of the horses, stayed there. We were going to make one quick survey of the wreckage while they were gone. I watched Bob and Grant bumping over the rocks in the jeep, having a big time.

Personal baggage lay everywhere along with pieces of metal. I walked fast and tried not to be too smart in figuring this thing out. Best way is not to get too technical, just let your mind wander around for a while, and let your imagination go to work. Then those metal pieces would begin to fit together.

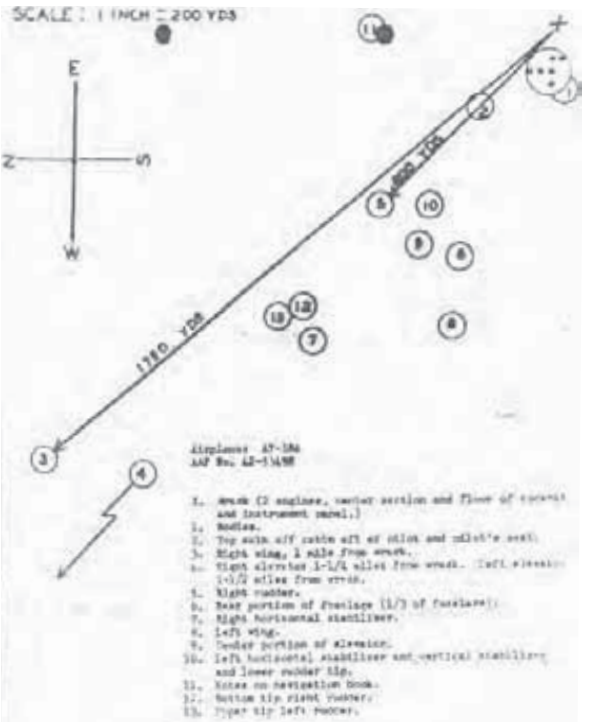
I was very tired climbing up and down washes, trying to cover that mile when I came across the body of Spence. Major Spence had been a very good friend of mine. It was he who had been piloting the plane. There is nothing for animals to live on in that desert, so none had been at him, but birds had however and his flesh was two thirds gone, eaten or rotted into the sand. I could see he had instantly died. He was 200 yards from the final wreckage, thrown clear. LaVar then pointed the other bodies out to me. We could see six, all thrown clear before final plunge of the ship. Then we went to the final wreckage.

The old imagination was working now. I could see 90% of what had taken place. The plane had fallen apart in the air, something that happens once in a million times. In probably 2 seconds it had been all over. The plane in shreds with the pilots falling free in the air. They made their mistake by not having their parachutes tied to them. Had they only had their chutes strapped to them they probably would have all been alive today. Providing of course, they could have found their way out of the desert in July.

The rest was tough, tiresome, nasty and hard. Before sundown a rider was seen coming across the desert toward us and finally a jeep, so we knew the gang had returned. When they came up they said the convoy was in the bottom of

the salt wash and cookie was setting up chow. I was sure glad to hear it.

For two days I stayed there, studying each piece carefully, trying to figure out that last 10% that was not clear on that first afternoon. I finally got it all doped out except just what part failed first and that is the most important thing. But to learn that was impossible.



Lockheed AT-18A aircraft wreckage diagram.

There were three sides to that trip. The hard going, the interesting places and beautiful scenery, and the chance to meet and know another type of people. The cowhands of course were as interested in us as we were in them. Big Bill Taylor, always listened, never talked much. A big tough guy who wasnt at all. And Andy Hunt the toughest looking of them all, hard as nails. We kidded him every morning, asking him if he thot he was going to be able to hold out till we got back.

There was the soldiers themselves, a gang I never get tired of watching. Every soldier is different, yet they have a certain sameness. The sameness that makes them into an army I guess. Those kids were wonderful. They griped, they cussed, they kidded each other and dont worry, every so often the major too, or the Captain. No one was left out. I would have felt slighted if they had overlooked me.

The sand was awful, the wind was hard and cold, the chow was swell but always full of sand, the cook was hard to get along with but always full of wise cracks and gripping, just like a cook usually is. His helper was overworked and said nothing because the cook would always answer him, "well, you begged to come along didnt yah, shut your trap or you'll never get to go anywheres again."

Then came the evenings around the brush fire. The soldiers gripped about collecting the brush but were tickled about having the fire. I had to drive them to bed so they could get their proper rest, none of them wanted to leave the fire. One bunch, three of them, dug a hole in the sand, about 3 feet deep and put the pup tent over it—"to get out of the wind," they said. The next morning we had to dig them out. The wind changed during the night and drove the sand into the open end of their tent. The next night the same gang tried to follow the advise of the cowboys and keep their tent crosswind for any change in the wind. That was fine but they also built a brush fire on the ground

so the ground would stay warm all night. They got along fine for an hour or so until one of them uncovered a hot coal and then he went right straight up thru the tent. His blankets caught on fire too, and there was some of the best cussing I've yet heard in this mans army.

The cowboys laughed so hard during those days that they were actually sore in their sides. Soldiers will try anything once and in most cases be successful. When the trip was over, some of the cowhands told me it was as fine a bunch of kids as they had ever hoped to meet up with, yet to me they were just soldiers. When it came to work those kids would never stop going. It made no difference if it was cold, hot, day or night. They would just cuss, grip, grin and work. If they hadnt we would never have got in or out of those badlands.

The trip back was tough of course but it wasnt as difficult as going in. The trucks had cut a road now, flattened out the bumps and not much chance of getting lost. The first road in that part of Utah.

Back in Loa we slept on the floor of the courthouse again. Then it was goodbye to the cowboys who helped us do a really tough job—and well too believe me. The cowboys hated to see our gang go. They followed us around, kept offering us things. I brought home a big sack of jerky.

We wanted to pay Grant and he said, "No, Major, thanks just the same. Just cause you're in the army dont think its just your war. Its seldom we folks get a chance to help out and we're sure proud to do it. No, guess we're hirin' you, instead of you hirin' us folks."

Then back to Salt Lake and then off in a plane again over the mountains headed west. Approaching California weather broke clear and the moon sat big up there. Down below were the lights of Reno. It was nearly midnight but Reno was still going strong. Then the big Sierras, Lake Tahoe below—then the lights of the valley and Sacramento. I slept well the rest of the night, believe me.

It was a great trip and just thought you would like to hear about it in detail.

Bye,
LGH

The official accident report was submitted and contained the following information:

The men who perished in the plane were the pilot Major Paul E. Spence of Boise, Idaho, age 26, and who had logged in 1,331.4 hours of air time; navigator Captain Robert D. Spitzer of Anderson, Indiana, age 28; navigator First Lieutenant Leonard A. Keyes Jr. of Newark, New Jersey, age 27; navigator Second Lieutenant Orion Levi Mock of New Albany, New York, age 25; engineer Staff Sergeant Allen G. Herbert of Iota, Louisiana age 28; and radio operator Sergeant Charles F. Royce of Sacramento, California, age 21.

The official accident report describes that parts of the airplane were found in an area of approximately one square mile. The largest portion of the wreck consisted of engines, the center section, control columns and floor of the cockpit. The impact was so violent that it was impossible to determine the position of any control at the time of the accident.

Safety belts found attached to seats indicated that they had not been used

at any time during the current flight. All belts were pulled up to such short lengths that they would not reach around a man. Crew members with the exception of one man were not wearing parachutes, and the one man had only the leg straps fastened and could not use his parachute when thrown clear of the airplane. Only five of the six parachutes, which are presumed to have been in the airplane, were found and they were scattered over an area of 150 to 400 yards from the bodies.

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Major LeRoy Heston, Captain Thayer, and Captain Manes.

The condition of the wreck indicates that the outboard wing panels broke upward from the engine nacelles and were torn from the aircraft. The nose section burst open across the bottom just ahead of the pilot's instrument panel. It parted from airplane, twisting upward and from left to right. The entire lower half of fuselage showed evidence of enormous internal pressure resulting in the skin being blown outward. The upper portion of fuselage showed some evidence of high external pressure. The airplane broke into six major units.

There was no evidence of fire or explosion by combustion on any part of the wrecked aircraft. The disintegration of the aircraft was so complete and the parts so scattered that it was impossible to determine conclusively the sequence of structural failures. The only fact which can be definitely established is that the airplane did not strike the ground before disintegration occurred.

It is the opinion of the investigating officer that this airplane flying at an altitude of approximately 11,000 feet above sea level, and 4,000 feet above extremely rough terrain, through scattered thunderstorms, attempted to pass between two such storms and encountered such violent air conditions that a structural failure occurred resulting in almost instantaneous and complete disintegration of the aircraft during flight.[16]

Following Major Heston's return to Sacramento, he was sent to the Far East where he was assigned to General Douglas MacArthur's staff to help

[16] Official Report of the Accident, from Headquarters Army Air Base, Salt Lake City, Utah, dated November 11, 1943, copy obtained from Accident-Report.com, March 2007 and Death Certificates obtained from the Utah Historical Society website (accessed April 3, 2009).

prepare for the invasion of Japan. He remained on active duty following the war with assignments at the Pentagon, on the faculty of the Air War College, and as Air Attache in Taiwan. He retired to Grant's Pass, Oregon, in 1958 and lived there until his death in 1982.[17]

In November 1943, LaVor received a letter from Colonel Frank W. Wright of the Salt Lake Army Base commending him for his efforts to help in the recovery of the wrecked aircraft. "Your conduct in riding seventy-five miles by horse to report the finding of the wreck and subsequently guiding the accident crew to the scene reflects the highest credit upon yourself, both as an individual and as a citizen." He goes on to say "your untiring efforts . . . will be a source of consolation to the bereaved relatives of the deceased, and a cause of justifiable pride in yourself. Certainly they have been for me a source of great satisfaction in you as a citizen of our nation at war."[18]

After the recovery and the hard life of cattling had run their course, LaVor tried his hand at many things from Utah Poultry to hauling uranium. Then in 1947 he bought an Allis Chalmers tractor, the first one in Wayne County, to clear his land and clean the ditches of over growth. Soon it became apparent that there was a great use for it within the county and LaVor Brown & Sons Construction Company was born. This company made many improvements throughout the county and surrounding areas. He oiled and built new roads, realigned the Fremont River in Hanksville, installed the power line into Hanksville which brought lighting to the airport and many outlying areas in the county, and so much more. One of his most commendable endeavors was digging all the graves in the county's cemeteries.

LaVor also purchased a motel in Loa and he and May called it the Brown Motel. Here they made many new friends from across the states and abroad. Later he built a café and laundromat next door to the motel to accommodate their guests and the residents of the county.

He continued his friendships with his fellow cattlemen throughout his life, riding with them in the Wayne Riding Club where they participated in the county's rodeo and parades, and chasing wild horses in the San Rafael swell north of Hanksville.

Rough and rugged he always was. May often said of her husband "he's like a bull in a china closet." He worked hard and played hard. His hands once held red dirt and lava rock; fields of alfalfa and livestock; saddles and ropes; gears of backhoes and tractors; and lumber and nails. In all of his life of hard work and strife he never forgot about one week in 1943 riding across the desert with the army in tow to bring home the boys who had died for their country in his wild and wonderful part of the world.

[17] Heston's wife Pearl retired with him to Grant's Pass in 1958 but she became dissatisfied with her life in the rural hills of Southern Oregon and left Heston and moved to Southern California to be with her sisters. Hill, *The Man Who Loved Flying*, 70.

[18] Frank W. Wright, Colonel, Headquarters Army Air Base, Salt Lake City, Utah, to LaVar Brown, November 11, 1943, in possession of author.

The Mormon Passage of George D. Watt, First British Convert, Scribe for Zion.

By Ronald G. Watt. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2009. ix + 293 pp. Cloth, $39.95.)

MOST STUDENTS OF UTAH HISTORY have heard of the Deseret Alphabet. They might even link George D. Watt's name with it. Some might have seen one or more of the books printed in the peculiar type. They likely consider this topic a curious footnote in Utah history.

In actuality, it was part of a bigger issue in the 1850s and 1860s when the key Mormon leaders envisioned building Zion as a new society with people gathering from distant lands to build a cooperative Christian community. It was to be economically self-sufficient to prepare a people for the return of Christ. One aspect of it was a reformation of the English alphabet, with one letter to match each sound. George Watt was instrumental in developing that alphabet.

Ronald Watt, a great-grandson of George D. Watt, has spent part of his long scholarly career researching his ancestor. He has now presented his findings in a superb biography that reveals much more than his role with the Deseret Alphabet including LDS church beginnings in England and Scotland where Watt was the first convert. We learn much about family life, polygamy, and agriculture in early Salt Lake City. We are offered an inside view of the LDS church leadership as Watt worked in Brigham Young's office and traveled with him throughout the Great Basin as his scribe. We also learn about the intellectual activities in the city as Watt participated in science, literature and art forums.

The chapters on England describe the poverty and its impact on Watt's childhood. He married Mary Ann (Molly) Gregson in 1835, was converted to the LDS church and baptized in Preston, England, July 30, 1837. A turning point in his life was learning Pitman shorthand that fashioned his career as a scribe and laid the foundation for the Deseret Alphabet that used the Pitman classification of sounds.

Watt served a mission in Scotland and England, presiding over the Edinburgh District, before he and his family emigrated to Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1842. He returned with his family to the British Isles in 1846 for another mission and when they returned to Salt Lake City in 1851, they traveled in a group of 378 Mormons. An interesting account of the mission, ocean voyage and trek to Utah is provided.

After reaching Utah, Watt put his skill with Pitman shorthand to good use working in Brigham Young's office, taking notes for countless meetings, general conferences, and stake conferences in and outside the Salt Lake Valley. His notes cover important events such as the Mountain Meadows Massacre, activities of federal judges sent to Utah, the establishment of Fort Douglas, the Black Hawk War, and the construction of the Salt Lake Tabernacle and Temple.

George D. Watt, a polygamist, married five women, three of whom were ages seventeen, eighteen, and twenty-one when he was fifty years old. He fathered twenty-nine children. Watt's many letters to his wives have survived and capture

his great desire for a large posterity and his struggle to earn a livelihood even though he was a capable gardener and homebuilder. A "man for all seasons," Watt was a voracious reader, wrote numerous newspaper articles, lectured to the Polysophical Society and the Universal Scientific Society, rendered sketches, acted in theatrical productions, sang, and played the viola in the Salt Lake Theater orchestra.

Watt's life changed dramatically in the spring of 1868, when he and Brigham Young lost their tempers over work and compensation issues. Watt stormed out of the office and Young refused to seek reconciliation.

Watt was attracted to the spiritualism of the Godbeite movement, especially to their independence from authority and criticism of Brigham Young. As the author concludes, "Watt had struggled long and hard, but finally his Mormonism failed. His neighbors, his old friends and perhaps the hardship of the farm changed him, and he substituted spiritualism for his Mormon faith" (253).

Ron Watt has a long perspective on his subject. As a university student four decades ago, the author began his research on his great-grandfather. During his professional career in the LDS Church Historian's Office, he found many sources including his great-grandfather's letters. Other material came from Brigham Young University, the Utah State Historical Society, and family connections. His footnotes cite these documents well but the book lacks a bibliography. He digested the issues for a long time and is to be congratulated for compressing the story into a short account, overcoming the temptation to tell us all he knows. The book provides a fine insight into the reality of the 1850s and `60s at the center of church authority. Nonetheless it is a rather tragic story of George D. Watt's estrangement from the LDS church.

DOUGLAS D. ALDER
Dixie State College

Gettysburg to Great Salt Lake: George R. Maxwell, Civil War Hero and Federal Marshal among the Mormons. By John Gary Maxwell. (Norman: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2010. 392 pp. Cloth, $39.95.)

ANYONE WHO HAS LIVED in the Deep South knows how the word "carpetbagger" resonates with true-blooded southern folk. If some foolish Yankee deigns to suggest that there were "heroes" in that class, the resultant outrage would break eardrums. In Utah, on the other hand, where carpetbag federal officials and their friends wielded an arguably heavier hand on the Mormons and for a much longer time than they did on Southerners during Reconstruction, there is little collective memory of the plague of *uitlanders* who afflicted the territory with

outside rule for nearly forty years before Utah's own "Redemption" came with statehood in 1896.

Now comes a fascinating and impressively instructive book about a grievously wounded Civil War veteran who came to Utah as federal registrar of land in 1869 to earn later as federal marshal the title of "the carpetbagger from Hell" from the Mormons. His biographer would instead have us remember stridently anti-Mormon George R. Maxwell as a much-needed hero in nineteenth-century Utah, someone for whom "wings of flight are overdue" (345).

With an overwhelming but exhaustive reliance on secondary sources, the author traces artfully the pattern of Maxwell's imprint on the complicated fabric of the bizarre *Kulturkampf* that characterized the history of Utah Territory, "the longest campaign of overt civil disobedience in American history" (26). A prominent Liberal party functionary involved in every issue from the Ann Eliza Webb scandal to the pursuit of justice for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, Maxwell seemed omnipresent and virtually at the center of every attempt on the part of federal officials and their Gentile associates to wrest control of Utah from the hands of the Mormon oligarchy.

Its thick contribution to the historiography of Utah notwithstanding, the work's first part covering Maxwell's pre-Utah exploits, during which he received the title "Thunderbolt of Sheridan," adds in itself another quality biography to the already hundreds of Civil War tomes reverencing some valiant soul or another who played a dashing role on that tragic stage of history. Like many others who survived the bloodbath, he bore for the rest of his life both physical and psychological scars that burdened him greatly, but some readers, particularly veterans, will have a hard time awarding a hero's label to someone who probably lied about his brevet rank of general. Despite this and perhaps understandable struggles with temper, alcohol, and finances, he was certainly a sturdy man of duty and devotion, as he saw them. He was also a very tough customer. Confronting on one occasion an unruly crowd of Mormons, he blasted them into quietude with the following oath: "We are ready to meet you – come on and do your best – and we will hang any G__d____ Bishop to a telegraph pole and turn their houses over their heads —We'll show them who is going to run things down here" (218).

A retired academic surgeon with emeritus status at both the University of North Carolina and the University of Utah, biographer Maxwell (apparently no relation to his subject) worried early on that his work might "offend one side or both," although it is abundantly clear in ensuing pages that there is little chance it will offend non-Mormons (13). The book's flavor is decidedly and uniformly sour when it comes to the Mormons who inhabit its pages. Proclaiming himself at the outset a disciple of self-styled Utah history "revisionists" David Bigler and Will Bagley, he demonstrates fairly consistently throughout the book that he, like his subject, has little sympathy for Mormonism in general and nineteenth-century Mormons in particular. That said, his book is generally and laudably straight-

forward narrative history, although he occasionally indulges in verbiage and topics that border the editorial and the debatable. For example, he redundantly chides Mormon leaders for such un-American failings as their lack of attention to the Fourth of July and for a heretical refusal to lament the death of Custer. Curiously, he even joins in the current sport popular in anti-Mormon circles of questioning by what definition there are more than thirteen million Mormons in the world and whether the LDS church is actually "the fastest-growing Christian denomination" (343).

With only a few minor grammatical and syntactical errors, the text flows smoothly and eloquently, drawing the reader along from page to page with colorful stories and language that illustrate brilliantly the drama of the times. Despite its largely one-dimensional view of Mormons and Mormonism, Maxwell on Maxwell represents solid and worthy biography as well as a major addition to the historiography of nineteenth-century Utah.

GENE A. SESSIONS
Weber State University

All Veins, Lodes, and Ledges throughout their entire Depth: Geology and the Apex Law in Utah Mines. By William T. Parry. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004, 139 pp. Cloth. $30.00.)

WILLIAM T. PARRY'S BOOK is not a light read, and it is probably not for everybody, but it is an extremely interesting study of a narrow issue of mining law. The book "focuses on the mining laws that awarded a mining claim's locater the right to pursue his vein as deep as it went, even though it might depart from the vertical projection of the lines of his claim and pass under the claim of another"(3). Such an award was given only if the locater could demonstrate that "his claim included the apex of the vein." The apex of the vein "is the top or highest terminal point, of a vein at or nearest to the surface of the ground"(3). The author reviews the development of this legal standard by including mining disputes which originated in the Little Cottonwood, Park City, Ophir, Bingham, and Tintic Mining Districts. He notes that such disputes demonstrate that "judges and juries often did not understand the complex geological issues" and that "[e]xpert witnesses with impressive credentials came up with opposite conclusions when looking at the same rock exposures" (5).

Parry provides a useful background of mining laws (beginning in the sixteenth century), U. S. laws which set standards for legalizing mining claims (including an 1872 law which "grants a claim owner the right to veins, lodes, or ledges that apex on his land as deep as they go, even though they might pass beneath adjacent land

holdings"), and "mining rights beyond surface rights." He also discusses how ore deposits are made (to prepare the reader to understand the legal disputes which are discussed in the book), and gives a geology lesson concerning the various periods (from the Paleozoic –570 to 245 million years ago—to the Cenozoic—66.4 million years ago to the present). He then discusses mining beneath a claim followed by a description of the geology and legal issues which arose in specific mining districts in Utah, including Little Cottonwood, Tintic, Bingham, Ophir, and Park City.

Perry concludes that the Utah courts were unsuccessful in their attempt to establish a uniform standard because ore deposits in Utah mines "do not fit the classic vein envisioned by the lawmakers" and because the cases involved scientific issues ("geological relationships of veins, lodes, replacements, faults, igneous rocks, breccias, dikes, etc."), that judges and juries were not specially trained in this field, and that even experts who were trained often took opposite positions. Parry believes that "Judges, in frustration at the differences of opinion, sometimes came up with their own theories and explanations or just believed the most convincing witnesses and lawyers" and that by 1906 "opinions of the geological and legal community were divided on the apex law"(123).

The apex law remains the same today as it did in 1872 even though a failed attempt was made to amend or abolish it in 1912. Nevertheless, Parry also points out that "since the early 1900s there have been few significant court cases concerning conflicts over extralateral rights" and that "by the 1920s most of the major apex suits were coming to an end"(128). Parry argues that the courts were ill equipped to deal with the issue when it was being litigated and concludes that the "wide diversity of opinions of engineers and geologists who were expert witnesses in the court cases might suggest that they were not objective in forming their opinions, that their clients and consulting fees influenced their opinions. In other words they did it for the money." Ultimately, he believes that experts are advocates hired to persuade the court and that the "court is an amateur critic of geological science; no rigorous tests of scientific accuracy will be applied. Winning the trial is paramount"(128).

Parry's book provides a good discussion of a complex legal issue which neither geologists nor lawyers were able to agree about.

MICHAEL W. HOMER
Salt Lake City

The American Military Frontiers: The United States Army in the West, 1783-1900. By Robert Wooster. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009. xvi + 362 pp. Cloth, $39.95.)

AN ACKNOWLEDGED AUTHORITY on the field of the United States Army and the frontier, Robert Wooster provides an effective and updated survey of the army's activities in the changing borderlands of the United States. Wooster immediately engages the tension between the public notions of citizen militia and the institution of a standing army. From their experiences with the British Army before the Revolution, Americans remained suspicious of such an institution. Yet, as Wooster suggests, necessity called for some form of military force seen as vital to securing order in the western frontier. There, settlers and indigenous people clashed over possession of the land and the use of its resources. Congress established a regiment in 1784 and extended its service in 1785. A standing army of a sort began to emerge unintentionally but decidedly. The Constitution, legislative acts and war secured the army's place in the early republic.

The army proved indispensable for settling the borderlands during the nineteenth century. It made the frontier safe for settlers pushing the boundaries of the United States into lands possessed by indigenous peoples such as the Lakota, Apache, and others. The army fought several major wars and numerous small conflicts during the nineteenth century. In the War of 1812 the army and volunteers ended the confederacy of the Shawnee leader, Tecumseh, defeating him at the battle of the Thames. In the 1860s, the army ended the resistance of the Comanche and others in the Southern Plains. A decade later the army removed the threat of the Lakota and the Cheyenne in the Northern Plains in grueling battles not all victorious as Custer's annihilation in 1876 demonstrates.

The army also provided an immense source of economic growth. Thomas Jefferson moved military resources to the southwest of the young republic in the early nineteenth century. Roads, money, and forts invigorated the economy and drew substantial private investment. Similarly, Texas, once admitted to the Union called for and received federal troops to protect her people against the depredations of the indigenous people in the 1850s. The forts the army built for protection and the roads for access to the borderlands promoted expansion while the federal government poured in via troop salaries and construction large sums of money which gave the state a vigorous shot of badly needed capital. The army, then as now, remained a source of prosperity for civilians.

Wooster places the army's scientific and exploratory missions in the center of the nation's capacity to build an empire in the west. Expeditions by Lewis and Clark and John C. Fremont opened up new routes into the west and greatly enhanced the knowledge of a region barely understood. Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, used the army to remake the west of his day. He supported an expanded

system of roads, surveys of western rivers and the Great Lakes, and a major survey for a transcontinental railroad, all conducted by army personnel.

The army also faced ever changing borderlands. The victory in the Mexican-American War, the Gold Rush of 1848, and the migration of Mormons to the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 remade the west. The army now had to deal with tens of thousands of Hispanics and two- hundred-thousand Indians in conquered territories and an equally large number of migrants trudging to Northern California seeking its mineral riches.

The army occupied a key place as one of the country's agents of Manifest Destiny. As Wooster's study makes clear, the army filled many purposes from safeguarding settlers to preserving the emerging national park system. Wooster's multifaceted analysis should be the standard for our understanding of the frontier army and its relationship with the nation's borderlands.

EDWARD. J. DAVIES
University of Utah

Utah in the Twentieth Century. Edited by Brian Q. Cannon and Jessie L. Embry.

(Logan: Utah State University Press, 2009. ix + 412 pp. Cloth, $32.95.)

AS THE FIRST DECADE of the twenty-first century draws to a close, historians are already offering new perspectives and demonstrating considerable enthusiasm for the state's more recent past. Where the nineteenth-century themes of settlement and expansion, conflict, the struggle for statehood, polygamy, the impact of the railroad and mining, among others, have been the primary focus of Utah historians in the past, at the same time important studies of twentieth-century topics have been completed. Nevertheless, there remains much to be learned about the state's more recent history. This volume lays a solid foundation on which to build our understanding of Utah's experience during the past century.

In 2006 the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University sponsored a seminar on Utah in the twentieth century. From that seminar has come the present volume of sixteen essays arranged in four sections: "Getting to Know the Place: Image and Experience," "Connecting to the Nation: Utah and the U.S.A.," "Voicing Government: Politics and Participation," and "Growing Challenges: People and Resources." Each of the four sections is introduced by the editors with an informative and analytical statement about the theme. For anyone interested in Utah in the twentieth century the general introduction to the book is an excellent beginning point. Here the editors describe important issues and themes of Utah's recent history, and assess how prominent Utah historians including George Ellsworth, Helen Papanikolas, Charles Peterson, Dean May, and Thomas Alexander have addressed the time

period in their general histories of Utah. It is unfortunate, but understandable, that the editors did not continue with an accounting of important published monographs on twentieth-century subjects and a description of potential topics that need further work. Perhaps this could be the subject for a future Redd Center seminar. In any case, the general introduction and the introductions to each of the four sections offer the reader a good beginning point from which to explore the rich and varied subjects of Utah in the twentieth century. They should be read carefully before plunging into the focused topics that follow.

In addition to contributions by the editors, Brian Q. Cannon "Utah's Denial of the Vote to Reservation Indians, 1956-57," and Jessie L. Embry, "What Is the Best Way to Govern a City?" the other authors and articles include: Stephen C. Sturgeon, "The Disappearance of Everett Ruess and the Discovery of Utah's Red Rock Country"; Kristen Rogers-Iversen, "The Famous Blue Valley and a Century of Hopes"; Susan Sessions Rugh, "Selling Sleep: The Rise and Fall of Utah's Historic Motels"; David Rich Lewis, "Bernard DeVoto's Utah"; Amanda Midgley Borneman, "'Proud to Send Those Parachutes Off': Central Utah's Roses during World War II"; Jacob W. Olmstead, "Educating the Mormon Hierarchy: The Grassroots Opposition to the MX in Utah"; Matthew C. Godfrey, "The Battle over Tariff Reduction: The Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, Senator Reed Smoot, and the 1913 Underwood Act"; Wayne K. Hinton and Stephen Roberds, "Public Opinion, Culture, and Religion in Utah"; John S. McCormick and John R. Sillito, "'We are not seeking trouble and so will just go along quietly just now': The IWW's 1913 Free-Speech Fight in Salt Lake City"; James B. Allen, "Utah's Public Schools: Problems, Controversies, and Achievements, 1945-2000"; Adam Eastman, "From Cadillac to Chevy: Environmental Concern, Compromise, and the Central Utah Project Completion Act"; Jedediah S. Rogers, "The Volatile Sagebrush Rebellion"; and Douglas D. Alder, "Utah's Recent Growth: The St. George/Washington County Example."

The Charles Redd Center for Western Studies is to be commended for facilitating the discussion of Utah in the twentieth century and following through in working with Utah State University Press to edit, introduce, and publish this fine collection of papers.

ALLAN KENT POWELL
Utah State Historical Society

Years of Promise: The University of Utah's A. Ray Olpin Era, 1946-1964. By Anne Palmer Peterson. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009. xvi + 135 pp. Cloth, $19.95.)

ANNE PALMER PETERSON, a historian for the David Eccles School of Business at the University of Utah (Salt Lake City), has written a breezy, yet informative overview of Ray Olpin's eighteen-and-a-half-year reign over the University of Utah during the tumultuous middle decades of the twentieth century. It is Peterson's assertion, and one that is evidently widely shared, that Olpin (who was forty-eight when he arrived at the university and sixty-six when he retired), together with a handpicked corps of associates, helped to transform the east-bench school from a small liberal arts college to a well regarded regional, even national, research-oriented university. While a cursory review might incline one to regard Peterson's treatment as more boosterism than history, especially in view of the many accompanying photographs, such a conclusion would be wrong. Peterson's strength is taking complex subjects and making them easier to understand. Hers is an accomplishment that helps to make educational history more interesting than one might guess possible.

In seven largely topical chapters (plus a brief concluding chapter), Peterson chronicles Olpin's challenges and successes. Among these are the acquisition of a portion of the adjacent Fort Douglas (increasing the university's campus from one hundred-fifty to six hundred plus acres); the growth of the student body from four thousand to twelve thousand (of course, the G.I. Bill's subsidies didn't hurt); Olpin's recruitment of nationally and internationally distinguished faculty; Olpin's repeated, sometimes heated, run-ins with Utah's iron-willed, budget-conscious Governor J. Bracken Lee whom Olpin once accused of "using the tactics of Joe Stalin of Russia" (32); Olpin's nurturing of the university's medical school (which some in Utah's medical community feared might result in unwanted competition); Olpin's relentless drive to secure increased funding (mostly federal) for university-based research from two hundred to six million dollars; his "tenacious" bridge-building involving such seemingly disparate entities as Kennecott Copper Corporation and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; his support of the construction of the Pioneer Memorial Theater; his encouragement of educational opportunities for faculty and students far beyond the borders of the United States; and his support of academic freedom and individual conscience. "There will be no loyalty oaths in this university as long as I am president, and that's that," one of his colleagues remembered him insisting. (x)

Yet as Peterson also points out, Olpin was not without contradiction. Consider, for example, that despite what seems to be a near-universal support of intellectual freedom, Olpin nonetheless helped to orchestrate the departure from the university of James E. P. Toman, an Assistant Professor of Physiology, in 1949

when rumors surfaced regarding Toman's possible Communist sympathies. The allegations were never proven, and Toman was not allowed to testify in his own defense, but Olpin's behind-the-scenes intervention (which included enlisting a security guard to quietly monitor Toman's activities) helped to convince Toman to resign before any termination could take effect. Toman relocated to the Chicago Medical School and a notable career in the chemical modulation of brain function. Though Peterson is quick to note that from that point on, Olpin was unstinting in championing a diversity of views on campus, the Toman Affair would make for a compelling, instructive stand-alone treatment of the limits of academic freedom. (Olpin was not alone in his fears of Communist infiltration.) The university's first Fine Arts dean, Avard Fairbanks, publicly equated modernism with Communism. "These influences have one boasted goal," Fairbanks ominously insisted: "the destruction of our cultural tradition and priceless heritage." (97) Ironically, Olpin eventually grew weary of Fairbanks's complaints and demoted him from Dean to a consultant in fine arts and resident sculptor.

Like all good history, Peterson's deceptively engaging book reminds readers that what we celebrate today usually has its beginnings in the sweat and tears of the past.

GARY JAMES BERGERA
The Smith-Pettit Foundation
Salt Lake City

Journeys West: Jane and Julian Steward and Their Guides. By Virginia Kerns.

(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010. xxvi + 414 pp. Cloth, $55.00.)

DRY, WIND-BLOWN DESERT, searing summer temperatures, poverty far beyond the norm of the Great Depression—this is hardly the setting for a fun-filled adventure, but it was the context in which Julian Steward and his newly married second wife, Jane, found themselves. For two years (1935-1936), this couple traversed the Great Basin, interviewing Numic-speaking peoples—primarily Paiute, Ute, Gosiute, and Western Shoshone—in an effort to fulfill anthropological contracts offered by large research universities and the federal government. Under the direction of Alfred L. Kroeber but rubbing shoulders with others who were to become luminaries in their field—Robert Lowie, Omer Stewart, E. Adamson Hoebel, and Isabel Kelly—Steward gathered materials that eventually secured his niche in the growing pantheon of cultural anthropologists. His most important work summarized in *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (1938) is still used today for detailed explanations about aspects of the cultures he studied.

Three related topics thread through *Journeys West*. The first is Steward's professional life. Kroeber had sent him forth to interview Indian elders, attempting to complete cultural trait lists that could be recorded, compiled, and analyzed to

show relations, correlations, or lack thereof among various groups. Much of it boiled down to checklists which Steward resented. The whole approach seemed flawed because it was so confining. Julian had his own ideas, and though faithfully fulfilling his obligation, was enamored with defining and locating a "patrilineal band" which he was confident existed but had not been identified. He never did find it. Along the way, however, he explored new concepts that are widely used today such as cultural ecology, cultural adaptation, carrying capacity of the land, and a variety of political/economic approaches influenced by the environment. For those wishing to pursue this discussion, *Scenes from the High Desert, Julian Steward's Life and Theory* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003) by the same author will be of help.

A second and related thread is that of the Indian people Steward interviewed to obtain this information. The research took him into some of the most desolate areas of California, Nevada, Idaho, and Utah in search of elders who remembered the old days back to the mid-nineteenth century. As in most field work there was some success but more often frustrating dead ends. Unlike today's ethnographic research where the "informant" often becomes a friend, the anthropologist speaks the language, and relationships may continue for many years, Steward was on a time schedule, depended on interpreters, and often stayed only a few hours or at the most five days with any one person. Each of those interviewed is discussed in this book, a picture provided when possible, and their contributions enumerated, which was not how Steward handled their identity in his work. Anonymity gave an air of scientific professionalism, important in a discipline seeking credibility.

The third thread is Julian and Jane's personal life as newly-weds sweltering their way across the Great Basin. According to interviews with Jane and her husband's writings, the first year was a working adventurous honeymoon-of-sorts, the second an increasing drudgery for a pregnant wife trying to sustain enthusiasm. Contract work in Washington, D.C., at the end of the field season of 1936 looked very inviting and initiated a series of contracts and employment that prevented any further extended field research for the rest of the couple's life together.

Readers will find strong Utah connections throughout the book. Jane's grandfather was George Q. Cannon, Julian taught at the University of Utah (1930-1933), they spent time with the Gosiutes on the West Desert, Paiutes of southwestern Utah, and the Northern Utes on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation. In addition, the author delights in taking "side trips," almost as if she were just as anxious to leave the humdrum of daily interviews as were the Stewards. For instance in one chapter Kerns touches on everything from John Muir, to Mark Twain, to the Utah Hawaiian colony of Iosepa, to a Gosiute origin myth, to Central Utah's "Dust Bowl," to racing on the Bonneville Salt Flats, to a discussion of the Taylor Grazing Act, as well as University of Utah campus politics—all sandwiched in to what Steward was doing professionally.

This book is well-written, heavily documented, and accurate. However, it is not the first one I would put in the hands of an aspiring anthropologist. Steward was a

man of his era in a field so heavily influenced by the social mores of his time—the importance of scientific objectivity, a questionnaire approach to people's lives, and the cutthroat competition for a new "model" that others quickly attacked—that the real humanity of the profession is rarely mentioned. There was no excitement for Steward, just the facts; there was little recognition of the people, other than getting the "scoop;" employment (read money) drove the work, with little apparent love of the subject or the people. Today's ethnographic research and participant observation move far beyond, giving credit where it is due and a more sophisticated understanding of culture. It will be interesting to see how cultural anthropology as a discipline will fare in the next eighty years, as others look back to see how we handled our "Steward-ship."

ROBERT S. MCPHERSON
College of Eastern Utah—San Juan Campus

Ho! For Wonderland: Travelers' Accounts of Yellowstone, 1872-1914. Edited by Lee B. Whittlesey and Elizabeth A. Watry. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009. xv + 336 pp., Cloth, $29,95.)

IN NINETEEN EPISODES, tourists' accounts of their late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Yellowstone travels are excitingly recaptured within *Ho! For Wonderland*. Those readers who love the Park will want to read this book and, possibly, relive their own Yellowstone experience through the eyes of these past visitors. Paul Schullery of Bozeman, Montana, a Yellowstone scholar, presents a nostalgia rousing introductory essay.

In 1872, Yellowstone became the world's first National Park and went on to achieve nationwide fame almost immediately. The natural wonders, which drew scores of nineteenth-century visitors to the park, are still doing the same for today's guests. These earlier adventures are well told in *Ho! For Yellowstone*. The geysers, the paint pots, and the spectacular vistas, so enthusiastically reported by these nineteenth-century visitors, still amaze today's visitors

One of the earliest records of the new Yellowstone National Park was the long and detailed account attributed to Granville Stuart, one of the Montana Territory's earliest and most famous citizens. He experienced, and wrote about Virginia City's well-known vigilante era. Stuart was an exceptionally gifted observer and chronicler, whose well-turned phrases helped bring his Yellowstone adventures to life for the reader.

The Northern Pacific Railroad Company sold tickets for trains departing from the Midwest at St. Paul, Minnesota, as well as from Portland on the West Coast. Vacationers could tour through the park and back for one hundred ten dollars. This price included train fare, one berth in a Pullman car, meals in the dining car,

stage transportation through the park and five days' hotel accommodations in the park. For this price, the visitor could look forward to viewing Mammoth Hot Springs; the Lower and Upper Geyser Basins; and, for an additional forty dollars, the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone could be included. Guests could also "indulge" in wine at dinner and hire guides to "show them the lesser-known sights" of Yellowstone. George W. Wakefield, who had been known as "a stage man" for over thirty years, handled the park's transportation. Another employee, lauded by park management, but not always the visitors, was Mr. Henderson, "an old-timer in the park," and a "veritable encyclopedia of information" regarding Yellowstone, which he loved to share with the tourists. (126) These knowledgeable and affable employees—reportedly so helpful in disseminating park lore that some visitors, after one of their lectures, were said to have gone into Yellowstone with a headache from all the information they tried to digest at the park's entrance.

Another popular way to see Yellowstone, whether in the nineteenth-century or today, was/is by bicycle. Cycling became fashionable in the United States during the 1880s. One of the first to bicycle through the park was Lyman B. Glover, well-known nationally as a "sound and graceful writer, a drama critic, editor, actor and theater manager" (167). According to the authors, the fifty-year-old Glover made the Yellowstone trip purely for adventure. Glover found the park to be "the finest place he had ever ridden." Not only was the natural beauty of the Park awe-inspiring, but the "astonishing sweep" of the Northern Pacific Railroad as it traversed the Mississippi River was a "not-to-be-forgotten experience," as well. Glover, a native of the Windy City, opined that the average Chicagoan seemed to possess only the most vague and uncertain idea of "Yellowstone." He noted "apparently innocent grades," if not guarded against, "will seize the wheel in a grasp of iron and carry it away, no matter how much frantic backpedaling is attempted" (180).

The park's best known spot, Old Faithful Inn, has enchanted park visitors since it was built in 1903-04. Whether by foot, bicycle, horseback, or automobile, Yellowstone National Park has been, and continues to be, a favorite vacation destination for Americans. For well over a century the park has been entertaining guests and offering spell-binding sites to the public. *Ho! For Wonderland* provides a fascinating look at the beginning of tourism at Yellowstone. The accounts chosen for presentation herein are informative and make for interesting reading. What more can we ask of a book?

M. GUY BISHOP
Woods Cross

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Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation

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The following figures are the average number of copies of each issue during the preceding twelve months: 3,016 copies printed; 0 dealer and counter sales, 2,525 mail subscriptions; 0 other classes mailed; 2,525 total paid circulation; 64 free distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier, or other means; 2,589 total distribution; 427 inventory for office use, leftover, unaccounted, spoiled after printing; total, 3,016.

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

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